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Variation and change in Abui : the impact of Alor Malay on an indigenous language of Indonesia

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The impact of Alor Malay on an indigenous language of Indonesia

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Variation and change in Abui

The impact of Alor Malay on an indigenous language of Indonesia

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In loving memory of my late mother

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List of Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ADD	Addressee
AGT	Agentive
ALL	Allative
AL	Alienable
APPL	Applicative
ATTR	Attributive
BEN	Benefactive (verb series V)
CERT	Certainty
CLF	Classifier
COND	Conditional
CONJ	Conjunction
CV	Conversation
DEM	Demonstrative
DIR	Directive (verb series VI)
DISC	Discourse marker
DIST	Distal demonstrative
EG	Ethnographic interview
EMPH	Emphatic
EXCL	Exclusive
EX	Exclamative
FC	Forced choice
FEM	Feminine
FN	Fieldnotes
FOC	Focus
F	Female

GOAL Goal (verb series IV)
HESIT Hesitation marker
INAL Inalienable
INCH Inchoative
INCL Inclusive
INTR Intransitive
INTS Intensifier
IPFV Imperfective
IRR Irrealis
LNK Clause linker
LOCA Locational
LOC Locative (verb series III)
MED Medial demonstrative
MOD Nominal modifiers
M Male
NAGT Non-agentive
NEG Negation
NREFL Non-reflexive
NR Narrative
PAT Patientive (verb series I)
PFV Perfective
PLZ Pluralizer
PL Plural
POSS Possessive
PRES Presentative
PRIOR Prioritive
PROX Proximal demonstrative
PRO Pronominal
PT Put Stimuli
QNTF Quantifier
RDP Reduplication
REC Recipient (verb series II)
REFL Reflexive
REPORT Reportative
SEQ Sequential linker
SG Singular
SL Sociolinguistic interview
SS Surrey Stimuli
STAT Stative
SYM Sound symbolic
TAG Tag marker
TOP Topic
TR Transitive
UNCERT Uncertainty
VOC Vocative
VP Verb phrase

WL	Word list
A	Most agent-like argument in transitive clause
Ab.	Abui
AM	Alor Malay
An	Answer
Id.	Indonesian
IDR	Indonesian Rupiah
Ml.	Malay
P	Most patient-like argument in transitive clause
Pt.	Portuguese
Qu	Question
S	Subject of intransitive clause
SD	Sekolah Dasar
SMA	Sekolah Menengah Atas
SMP	Sekolah Menengah Pertama
SVC	Serial verb construction

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview

Indonesia is home to over 700 languages. That amounts to around 10% of the world's languages. It is only its eastern neighbor, Papua New Guinea, that has more languages (Simons & Fennig, 2018). Tucked away in a small corner in south-east Indonesia lies a small island called Alor. Whilst being modest compared to Indonesia as a whole, the linguistic diversity on Alor is substantial. This diversity is especially noteworthy considering Alor's size of around 2150km2, which is smaller than the Dutch province of Utrecht. Renting a scooter for the day and drive along Alor's northern coast and one is likely to hear up to ten mutually unintelligible, indigenous languages. Renting a dirt bike and driving to the lush interior of the island and several more can be added. The largest of them all is Abui, or *mountain language*, which occupies the mountainous central-western part of the island. With such rich diversity, how do all these various ethnic groups communicate with one another when they gather in communal spaces such as markets or universities?

For informal talk, such as when eager old ladies try to charm buyers with their giant, red smiles and freshly collected betel nut, or when university students share a cigarette during their recess, people often use Alor Malay. Alor Malay is a colloquial form of Malay spoken on Alor which resembles other colloquial varieties found in eastern Indonesia (Baird, Klamer, & Kra-

tochvíl, in prep.). For more formal talk, such as in the graduation speech given by the university principal, Indonesian is used. Indonesian is the national language of Indonesia. It is a standardized, classical form of Malay, whose name was coined only after Indonesia became independent in 1945 (Sneddon, 2003). Alor Malay and Indonesian are mutually intelligible, but there are still large differences between them across all levels of language. Nonetheless, both Alor Malay and Indonesian are completely unintelligible with respect to Abui.

Neither Alor Malay nor Indonesian are indigenous to Alor. Before any form of Malay was brought over to the island, people had to learn their neighbor's language in order to form marriage alliances and trade with one another.[1] Malay initially started appealing to the tongues of coastal dwellers of Alor several centuries ago when it offered opportunities to trade with other islanders.[2] Foreign traders, especially from the island of Sulawesi, visited the shores of Alor and used Malay to trade with coastal folk. The Chinese did the same, before eventually settling on the island, probably around the 1850s. When the Dutch expanded their colonial sphere and gained a stronghold on the island in the early 1900s, they too used Malay for colonial administration and insisted on using it to communicate with local leaders. They set up a few missionary schools and encouraged local leaders to enrol, learn Malay, and convert to Protestantism.

The more substantial influx of Malay, however, came in the second half of the 1900s, with the rise of the Indonesian nation state and efforts to achieve high school enrolment rates. In 1965, a large number of families living in mountain villages were encouraged to resettle on the northern coast and be close to schools, health facilities and the regency capital town of Kalabahi. As school enrolment grew exponentially, teachers became increasingly frustrated at the fact that many children spoke Abui at school and could not always follow what was going on in Malay, now referred to as *Indonesian*. As a result of this, teachers decided to take drastic measures, banning the use of Abui at school and pleading with Abui parents to raise

[1] In addition, silent trading was also practiced at designated trading posts. One trader would place their goods beside a rock or tree, then walk away. Another trader would walk past and exchange the goods with their end of the bargain.

[2] The following statements concerning historical events are taken from sources such as Baron van Lynden (1851), Aritonang and Steenbrink (2008), Wellfelt (2016) as well as from my own fieldwork; see §2.2 for an elaborate discussion of these events.

their children exclusively in Indonesian, instead of Abui, so that children would come well prepared for school. Many parents quickly adopted this new parenting strategy, acknowledging that their children's education and use of Indonesian held the key to their future prospects - although strictly speaking, they began using Alor Malay instead of Indonesian. Parents did not see this as a threat to the extinction of Abui because they believed that their children would pick Abui up as they grew older anyway, since most people spoke Abui in the community - a pattern that still holds today.

Fast forward 30 years to today where most speakers below 25 use Alor Malay to converse with one another. Take *Fan Malei*, for example, a 22 year-old Abui man.[3] He was raised speaking Alor Malay with his parents and peers. However, he frequently overheard a lot Abui because older adults use it in daily conversation. As a child, he admits to having been able to understand a fair amount and respond to requests, but was often too shy to respond. In puberty, he began understanding even more and started uttering a few phrases when necessary. By the end of puberty, he discovered that more was being expected of him in the community. He increasingly found himself in the company of older men, who often conversed in Abui among themselves. Today, his Abui is fully conversational; however, he still feels like he cannot quite be as witty as some of his older peers. On top of that, he will often realize that he cannot find the appropriate Abui word or that an Alor Malay word is more suitable, so he will use that instead. Occasionally, when he does use an Abui sentence, his older peers, like his uncle for example, will tease him because his Abui sounds a bit deviant to their own. His uncle may not have a clear idea of how exactly his Abui is deviant, but he will lament his nephew's poor use of the language and his necessity to overload his speech with Alor Malay words.

Fan Malei and his uncle vary in how they speak Abui. Fan Malei is not alone; most of his peers also vary in how speak with respect to older speakers. This thesis investigates how various age-groups vary in their speech. Specifically, it focuses on three areas of grammar in which they vary comparing not just Fan Malei and his uncle, but speakers younger and older than him as well, around 66 in total. It also delves deep into why they vary. Evidently, it centres around the variable of age, which is used as a proxy for a number of historical, social, and psycholinguistic factors. What histor-

[3]This name does not refer to a particular individual but a prototypical one instead.

ical developments have played a role in shaping the current speech community? How are children socialized in the community with respect to language and how do current attitudes towards the language affect their acquisition? What are the effects of their acquisition path on their language knowledge and use?

What is taking place in the Abui community is common across many indigenous minority communities over the world: specifically, it is experiencing gradual language shift from Abui to a majority language, in this case Alor Malay. This shift is causing the Abui language to exhibit a lot of variation. But, why is such variation interesting in the first place? All languages evolve, or rather, various features within a language innovate or change. When a feature becomes innovated, this rarely happens abruptly, but gradually instead. What this gradual process actually consists of is variation among speakers in a speech community. Thus, studying on-going or *synchronic* language variation in a language offers a window into various stages of language change (Labov, 1963, 1989; Sankoff, 2006; Meyerhoff, 2013).

Until recently, most studies on language variation were conducted on Western (urban) communities (e.g. Labov, 1966, 1972; Dorian, 1981; Kerswill, 1994, 1996). While these studies have supplied a wealth of insights and methodologies, there is much additional value to be gained in studying contact-induced variation and change in indigenous communities. Firstly, they offer unique opportunities to challenge or support existing sociolinguistic models concerning variation and change, as summarized by the following quote from Stanford and Preston (2009b, p. 4):

> When an indigenous language dies and its visible community vanishes, we lose invaluable opportunities to observe language variation and change in situations that are starkly different from those more commonly studied. It might be that certain culturally dependent types of variation or other important evidence about sociolinguistic principles and patterns are disappearing forever along with these cultures; it is undoubtedly the case that these communities can give us a deeper and more balanced perspective on language variation and change.

In particular, investigating speech communities with different social stratification can strengthen our understanding of which social factors in-

fluence language. For example, while socio-economic class might be a useful variable in explaining linguistic variation in the Netherlands, other variables such as clan (Stanford, 2009) or covert hierarchies (Clarke, 2009) might be more relevant in other (indigenous) communities (Stanford & Preston, 2009b). Furthermore, even a commonly studied variable such as gender might have exhibit hugely different results in various communities, highlighting its culture-specific implications (Labov, 1990; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999; Dubois & Horvath, 1999; Stanford & Preston, 2009b).

Second, while much work in urban communities has revealed phonological and lexical variation, it may be that in smaller indigenous communities, other areas show more variation, such as syntax, morphology, and semantics (Trudgill, 2011). Literacy and language standardization, for example, have been shown to limit variation in urban environments (van Hout, 1989). In indigenous communities without as many codified, standard forms as in communities with written, standardized, prescriptive traditions, there is undoubtedly more variation present. Studying the boundaries of acceptable variation also becomes a relevant endeavor for the field (Nagy, 2009).

Third, because most indigenous minority languages are in contact with a more dominant, majority language, one can argue that contact and variation are inevitable components of research on indigenous minority languages by default (Stanford & Preston, 2009b). However, traditionally, grammars have been presenting languages as homogeneous units, choosing not to focus on either contact phenomena (Bowern, 2008) or variation (Nagy, 2009). In reality, however, there are few documented instances of no contact, or no variation. Thus, discussions on contact and variation offer a more complete account of a language.

Fourth, because many indigenous languages in a given setting are often in contact with a common majority variety, conducting cross-linguistic studies on contact with a common majority variety may further strengthen models of language contact and change. In Indonesia, many indigenous languages are in contact with a Malay-based *lingua franca* and/or Standard Indonesian (henceforth Malay Indonesian; see also p. 22) (Sneddon, 2003; Paauw, 2008). Bowden (2002, p. 115) suggests that, rather than many of the languages of eastern Indonesia disappearing, what we can expect to happen first instead is that they many of them will converge towards Malay Indonesian. This thesis is the first study of on-going variation and change on

a language of the Alor-Pantar archipelago and one of the few of its scale in possibly in all of Indonesia. It thus lays the groundwork for cross-linguistic work probing into whether other languages will experience similar contact effects and thus converge towards Malay Indonesian. This is particularly interesting given the demographics of Indonesia, and in particular in NTT, the province where Abui is spoken. Here, indigeneity is "the norm, not a separate identity" as is the case elsewhere, for example, across the Americas (Holton, 2009, p. 164). This begs the question whether similar outcomes are to be expected in different continents with varying demographics.

Fifth, in addition to offering insights on the current sociolinguistic state-of-the-art in many speech communities today as well as being able to make predictions about language change in the future, studying language variation in indigenous speech communities may also inform diachronic studies geared towards understanding the past. Studies like this provide a base from which other researchers can study diversification and language split (Rojas Berscia, 2019) as well as prehistoric contact (Ross, 2013). Of all the various types of communities today, indigenous communities offer the closest proxy from which to examine how language diversification may have taken place in the past. Thus, studying the range of (acceptable) variation in a speech community as well as examining soft and hard boundaries with neighboring communities may offer valuable insights in understanding diversification (Rojas Berscia, 2019).

In addition, Ross (2013) has suggested that in order to understand prehistoric contact between various languages in Melanesia (of which Alor is a part), we need to collect more variationist studies examining a linguistic variable across age-groups, with a tight focus on the social setting and the relevant variables that might account for this variation. Because the sociolinguistic setting of many communities may be fluid and complex, as is the case with the Abui in Takalelang, a more nuanced characterization of the bilingual situation is called for, something which is sometimes lacking in models of contact induced change (Kusters, 2008; Trudgill, 2011; Ross, 2013). This view is also echoed in Muysken (2010), who advocates for a scenario approach which involves an elaboration of the sociolinguistic setting as opposed to simply developing theories of language contact which simply say if language A and B come into contact, X happens (Muysken, 2013). Ross (2013) believes that paying close attention to age and in particular investigating the language of preadolescents and adolescents will offer a window

into incipient change. In this thesis, much attention is paid to the linguistic and sociolinguistic behavior of preadolescents and adolescents and how it compares to older groups.

Sixth, and particularly relevant for the region at hand, this thesis provides a case study of contact between a majority Austronesian language (Alor Malay) language and a minority Papuan language (Abui). Contact between Austronesian and Papuan languages has been postulated to be ongoing for over 3,000 years, with many attempts to characterize the effects of this contact on the languages of (eastern) Indonesia throughout the years (e.g. Grimes, 1991; Reesink, 2002; Himmelmann, 2005; Klamer, Reesink, and van Staden, 2008; Klamer and Ewing, 2010; Gil, 2015; Schapper, 2015; Reesink and Dunn, 2017; Fricke, 2019; Klamer, 2019). Many debates revolve around piecing together issues such as the type of bilingualism that took place, the linguistic features which were transferred, the directionality of transfer, and the time-depth of contact for changes to take place. Without written records or extensive archaeological remains, research on languages spoken today as well as contact between them may hold the key to understand the linguistic and non-linguistic past of eastern Indonesia and beyond. Studies like this current thesis offer a synchronic perspective, thus adding a new angle to the growing body of work investigating this type of contact.

Finally, the sociolinguistic study of a community in a process of shift could also have implications for language revitalization. It highlights areas of the grammar which are susceptible to change and also pinpoints which groups of speakers are most likely to instigate them. It also offers a thorough discussion on the history of events which have led to the current events, backed up by interviews with young speakers, parents, school teachers, and principals. In many of the interviews with younger speakers, they had the opportunity to reflect on their own language upbringing as well is its implications for language maintenance or loss. The research for this thesis also has also coincided with and informed efforts by a few community members who were active in their efforts to revitalize the language (see §2.4.4 for further discussion).

This chapter proceeds as follows: Section 1.2 poses the main research questions. Section 1.3 situates Abui in its geographic and demographic context. Section 1.4 presents some key introductory elements of the Abui language, discussing its classification, multilingualism and language shift, as

well as previous and current work on the language. Section 1.5 discusses some basic observations on the Abui people, specifically endonyms and exonyms, livelihood, religion, marriage, and digital media. Section 1.6 describes linguistic diversity in Indonesia as well as the spread of Indonesian. Section 1.7 offers a brief typological comparison of the two main varieties in contact: Abui and Alor Malay. Section 1.8 discusses the bulk of the theoretical background on which this thesis is situated. Section 1.9 provides an overview of the remaining chapters.

1.2 Aims and research questions

Given these considerations, this thesis sets out to answer the following question: How has Alor Malay influenced the grammar of Abui?

The first aim is to investigate variation in the speech of younger and older speakers. The second aim is to understand the disparity between speakers' active and passive knowledge of Abui. The third aim is to understand how historical factors and sociolinguistic variables have shaped the current contact scenario. These three aims strive to provide a window into incipient contact-induced change.

Three linguistic variables were selected for investigation: reflexivity in possession (Chapter 5), verb usage (Chapter 6), and reduplication (Chapter 7). For each of these three variables, the following questions are posed: (i) *How much variation exists among speakers of different age-groups?* (ii) *How is age correlated with the variation?* In addition to these questions, two additional questions are posed for the variables of reflexivity in possession and verb usage: (iii) *How is gender correlated with the variation?* (iv) *What do differences in production and comprehension tell us about speakers' knowledge of the reflexivity distinction and verbal semantics?*

1.3 Geographic and demographic information

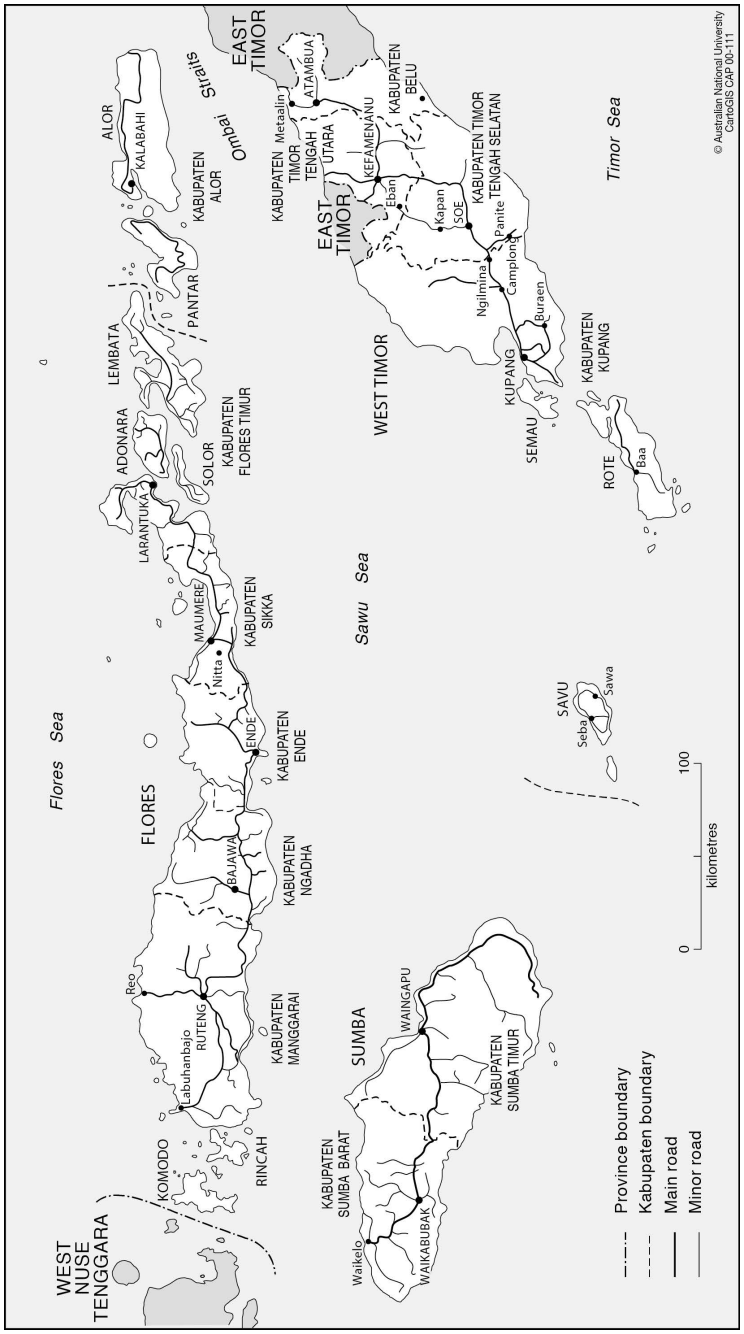
Abui (ISO 639-3: abz; abui1241) is a Papuan (non-Austronesian) language spoken by 17,000 people on the island of Alor in eastern Indonesia (Klamer, 2017). Alor is situated on the eastern part of the Lesser Sunda Island chain in the greater Timor region (see Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: Greater Timor region within South East Asia



Politically, Alor is situated on the eastern border of the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (henceforth NTT), which is governed by the provincial capital, Kupang, located on the island of Timor (see Figure 1.2). NTT houses around 4 million Indonesians, who mostly live in rural villages (Holton, 2009). Economically, NTT remains one of Indonesia's poorest and least urbanized provinces. It has a high proportion of employment in primary industry, namely agriculture, fishing, and animal husbandry (G. Jones, Nagib, Sumono, & Handayani, 1998). For the year of 2017, the district statistics office estimated that 43,900 individuals on the island of Alor (21.67% of population of Alor) were living below the poverty line (Alor, 2018).

Figure 1.2: The province of Nusa Tenggara Timur



Alor is part of the Alor archipelago, which also includes the islands of Pantar as well as other small neighboring islets. Together, they form a *kabupaten* 'regency' (see Figure 1.3). The capital of the regency is the port town of Kalabahi and is governed by a *bupati* 'regent'. A census from 2013 indicates a population of 196,613,[4] almost triple the amount of 70,000 reported in the 1930s (Du Bois, 1944). According to the same census, the regency of Alor has 17 *kecamatan* 'districts' and 175 *desa* 'village clusters'.[5] Of these, Abui speakers live in five *kecamatan* 'districts': Alor Selatan with its main settlement Kelaisi, Alor Barat Daya with its main settlement Moru, Teluk Mutiara with its main settlements Welai and Fanating, and Alor Tengah Utara with its main settlements Atengmelang, Mainang, and Takalelang, and Mataru with its main settlement Kalunan (updated from Kratochvíl, 2007, pp. 1-2).

[4] https://alorkab.bps.go.id/ accessed on 21/02/2019.

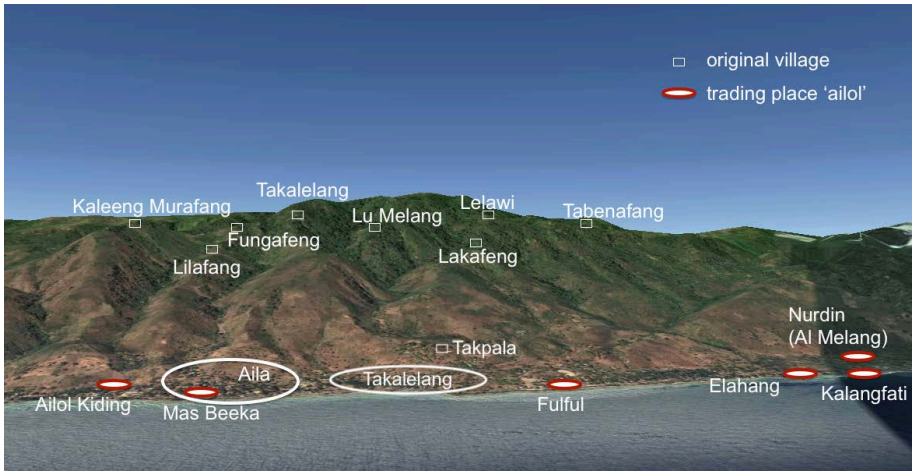
[5] A *desa* is often consists of several settlements or *kampung* 'village'. The exact borders of a *desa* are subject to fierce discussion and are thus constantly changing.

Figure 1.3: Map of Alor regency



The research for this thesis was conducted in the village of Takalelang which forms part of the *desa* 'village cluster' of Lembur Barat (see Figure 1.3). The village of Takalelang lies on the northern coast, adjacent to Alor's main roadway. It was founded in 1965 as a resettlement from former inhabitants of the *Meelang Talaama* 'Six Villages' alliance, composed of six original mountain villages, *Kaleen*, *Murafeng*, *Mahafuui*, *Lilafeng*, *Fuungafeng*, and *Takalelang* which used to be situated on the hilltops further inland (Kratochvíl, Delpada, & Perono Cacciafoco, 2016). The location of these original six villages as well as of modern-day Takalelang is shown in Figure 1.4[6] which offers a view of the area from the northern coast looking southwards.

Figure 1.4: View from Northeast of modern-day Takalelang and the *Meelang Talaama* 'Six Village' alliance (map made by František Kratochvíl).



Takalelang is named after one of these mountain villages, Takalelang, which has now been abandoned. As such, the mountain village is referred to in Malay as *Takalelang gunung* 'mountain Takakelang' referring to a period roughly before 1965, while *Takalelang pantai* 'coastal Takalelang' often refers to the current village, founded after 1965 (see §§2.2-2.3 for in-depth discussion of the resettlement to the coast). The location of today's Takalelang began as a resting place surrounding the hilltop resting post of Takpala. Today, Takpala is inhabited by around 14 families and stands at the

[6]The figure also shows other nearby villages as well as old trading places (*ailol*) which are not particularly relevant for this discussion.

highest point of Takalelang. It mostly has traditional style Abui houses and also contains the *maasang* 'altar', where the *lego-lego* dance is performed (see Figure 1.5; see also Appendix V).

Figure 1.5: Children look on as their parents perform the *lego-lego* dance



Alor has a tropical climate with two seasons: a rainy season from November until April and a dry season from May until October. The interior of the island has steep hills, ridges, and ravines, and is home to two volcanoes, Mount Koya-Koya (1765 metres) in east Alor and Mount Muna (1440 metres) in southwest Alor (Klamer, 2010).

The island contains a small airstrip in the Kabola region of the Bird's Head, opposite the islet, Sika. The Bird's Head refers to the north-western peninsula of Alor, which includes the Kabola and Alor Barat Laut regions in Figure 1.3. From here, at least in the years 2015-2018, one-hour flights operated three times per day to the provincial capital of Kupang. Additionally, ferries left several times per week to Larantuka, Kupang, and other ports in NTT. Smaller boats travelling to the neighboring Pantar, or the Pantar Straits were also common. In addition, boats leaving from eastern and southern Alor often made day trips to Timor-Leste.

Throughout written history, Alor has been referred to by several names. One of the earliest mentions of the islands by the Portuguese referred to it as *Mallua* (Pigafetta, 1525/2010). This was probably the term that one of the ethnic groups, the Kui, used to refer to the mountainous area of the island (Baron van Lynden, 1851).

The precise etymology of Alor is as of yet unclear. What is known is that the term as referring to the island as a whole comes from a small area of the island, located in the Bird's Head. This area, one part of which is known as *Alor Kecil* 'Small Alor' and the other part known as *Alor Besar* 'Big Alor', is currently inhabited by a Muslim ethnic group that speaks *Bahasa Alor* 'Alorese'.[7] This inference was already made by Baron van Lynden (1851), back in 1851 when he deduced that the name of the island comes from the 'regency' on Alor's north western corner.[8] One folk etymology suggests that the term could be derived from the word that the Alorese people use for the island itself as well as for themselves *Allurung* (Alorese: *allu* 'river', *rung* 'together'; "those living together at the river") (Klamer, 2010, p. 4).

The Abui term for Alor, is *Al*. When combined with the pluralizer, as in *Al loqu*, it may also refer to the Alorese people of the coast and to Muslims more generally. In addition, it is combined with the word *meelang* 'village' to denote the one Abui village that is predominantly Muslim, *Al meelang* (which also goes by the Arabic name of *Nurdin*). Apart from the names *Mallua* and *Alor* (or *Allor*), the island has also later been referred to as *Omba*(*a*)*i*, *Ombo*, and *Emmer*; however, it is unclear where these terms originate from (Baron van Lynden, 1851).

[7] Alorese refers specifically to an Austronesian language spoken by a Muslim ethnic group that settled in Alor in the last six to seven centuries (Klamer, 2011). To avoid confusion, when the population of Alor (including speakers of Alorese and other languages) is mentioned it will be referred to as 'people of Alor'.

[8] *Allor is een regentschap op Allors n.w. hoek* (Baron van Lynden, 1851, p. 329).

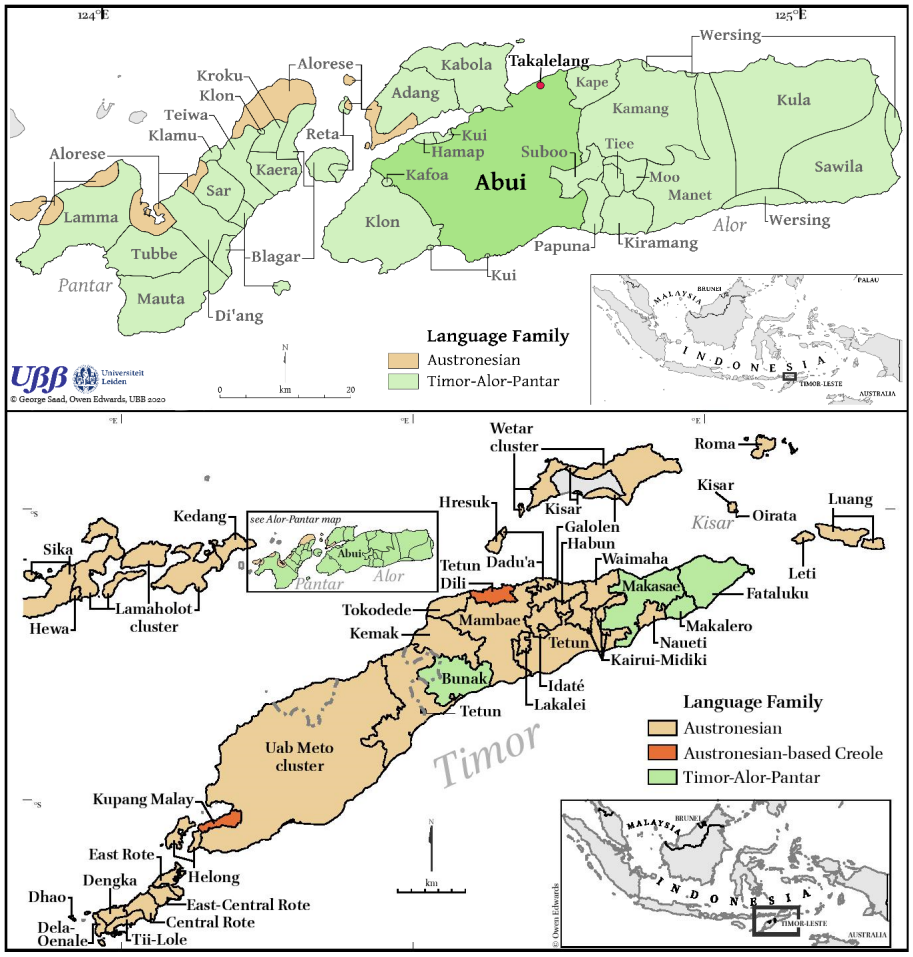
1.4 The Abui language

1.4.1 Language classification

Abui belongs to the Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) family of languages, a group of ∼30 Papuan[9] languages spoken on the islands of Timor, Alor, Pantar and surrounding satellite islands. Around 25 of the languages are spoken on Alor, Pantar, and the Pantar Straits. Bunak is spoken in both West Timor (Indonesia) and Timor-Leste, while Makasae, Makalero, and Fataluku are spoken in Timor-Leste. Oirata is spoken on the small island of Kisar, further to the east of the island of Timor (see Figure 1.6).

[9]The term *Papuan* here refers to a cluster of (presently) unrelated language phyla spoken in the vicinity of New Guinea which are demonstrably non-Austronesian (Ross, 2005).

Figure 1.6: Map of Timor-Alor-Pantar languages



As pointed out in Klamer (2017) and Schapper (2017), there are many challenges attributed to establishing language borders. Speakers typically use the current village name to refer to their language, while some may use the ancestral village, or clan name (Klamer, 2017, p. 6). In addition, older maps of Alor typically have displayed Abui, and to a lesser extent Kamang, as occupying a large chunk of the central part of Alor, though it was admitted that it was likely that many smaller languages inhabited the region (Klamer, 2017).

Recently, with some additional data having been gathered, some of

these smaller ethnolinguistic groups have begun to be included in maps (cf. Han, 2015; Schapper, 2017; Kaiping, Edwards, and Klamer, 2019. This is the case for Suboo, Tiee, Moo, and Manet(aa), which all seem to be closely related to Kamang; however, they all claim to be independent groups (Schapper, 2017). Papuna, or Fafuna as it also known, appears to be closely related to Abui, yet speakers also claim to be distinct from Abui (Delpada p.c.). All in all, it must be noted that the borders between these languages remain highly elusive and much more work is required to establish phonological and morpho-syntactic differences.[10]

Another recently labeled addition is Kape, or Kafel, located in northern central Alor, in the Lembur *kecamatan* 'district'. Previous maps show this area to be part of Abui; however, recent fieldwork by the author has confirmed this not to be the case.[11] Kape is much more closely related to Kamang than it is to Abui and is likely to be a variety of what has been labeled the Kamang cluster (cf. Schapper, 2017). It is referred to as *Kape kawai* 'Kape language' by speakers themselves and *Kafel tanga* 'Kafel language' by the Abui (see §1.5.1 for further discussion).

In addition to Timor-Alor-Pantar languages, Alor and Pantar are also home to an Austronesian language named Alorese (see Klamer, 2011 and §2.2 for brief discussion of Austronesian arrival on Alor).

That these islands are home to Papuan languages, while being so far away from New Guinea, has drawn the attention of linguists, anthropologists, and archaeologists. In the last two decades, there has been a surge in the documentation and description of the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages in addition to various attempts to classify the languages (Holton, Klamer, Kratochvíl, Robinson, and Schapper, 2012; Robinson and Holton, 2012; Holton and Robinson, 2017; Schapper, Huber, and van Engelenhoven, 2017 and references therein). The most recent classification of the Timor-Alor-Pantar family, using lexical data from a number of Timor-Alor-Pantar varieties and Bayesian phylogenetic inference (Kaiping & Klamer, Submitted), is presen-

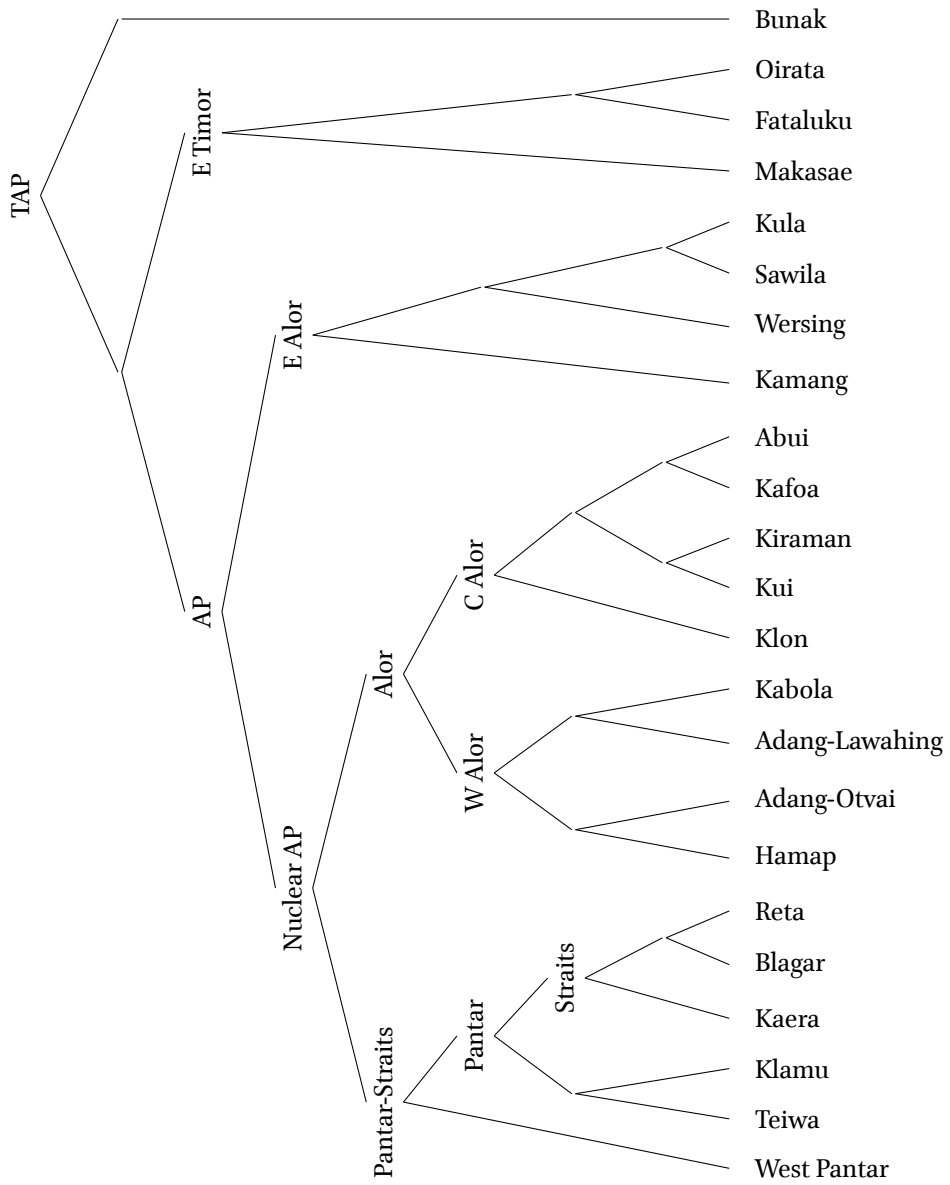
[10]The current map makes use of *desa* 'village cluster' information' to establish the borders of Suboo, Papuna, and Kiraman(g). The borders of Tiee, Moo, and Manet(aa) are loosely based on Schapper (2017, p. 3), *desa* information as well as information from multilingual speaker from Apui named Yulius Mantaon. The borders for Kape (Kafel) were established based on a survey and fieldwork done by the author.

[11]This would place the north eastern border of Abui at the village of Likwatang, with the neighbouring village of Lelahomi being Kape speaking.

ted in Figure 1.7. In this analysis, the East Alor subgroup forms an early split-off from the other Alor-Pantar languages.[12]Abui forms part of the Central Alor sub-group, which consists of Kafoa, Kiraman, Kui, and Klon.

[12]Some of the languages shown on the map in Figure 1.6, such as Kroku, Di'ang, Sar, Suboo, Papuna, Tiee, Moo, Manet(aa), and Kape are not displayed in the tree in Figure 1.7 because not enough lexical data has been collected on them for them to be included in the phylogenetic study by Kaiping and Klamer (Submitted). In addition, the language displayed in Figure 1.7 as 'Western Pantar' encompasses the three varieties, Lamma, Tubbe, and Mauta in Figure 1.6 (see Holton, 2014).

Figure 1.7: Timor-Alor-Pantar language family (based on the analysis of Kaiping and Klamer (Submitted))



1.4.2 Multilingualism and language shift

In the Takalelang speech community, there is *triglossia* (Sneddon, 2003; Paauw, 2008. Three varieties exist today: Abui, Alor Malay, and Standard Indonesian. Abui is considered the indigenous minority language, while Alor Malay and Indonesian together function as the majority languages. The term *indigenous* denotes that the Abui people consider the land on which they live to be their own. The term *minority* is used to denote a binary sociolinguistic relationship to a larger majority language(s) (Stanford & Preston, 2009b). The two majority languages in the community, the basilectal Alor Malay and the acrolectal Indonesian, are mutually intelligible.

Alor Malay is a regional variety of Malay spoken as a *lingua franca* on Alor and Pantar.[13] It is an eastern variety of Malay (c.f. Adelaar and Prentice, 1996; Paauw, 2008) and probably descends from a mixture of other related eastern varieties such as Kupang Malay and Ambon Malay, all of which come from a trade variety of Malay (Baird et al., in prep.). This variety was initially spoken in coastal parts of Alor by Muslim traders (Baron van Lynden, 1851). It then spread further as Malay also became the language of trade by Chinese and other merchants, the language of administration and governance by Dutch colonial officers (Baird et al., in prep.), in addition to being used as the language of religion and education by Protestant missionaries and school teachers.[14] Today, Alor Malay is used in daily conversation within many Abui speech communities, especially when Abui parents address their children and when youngsters hang out and play. It is also used outside the community by adults who come into contact with speakers from other ethnic groups, such as at markets, or at the capital town of Kalabahi. While today it is many people's first language, for large periods it was spoken as a second language. As such, it calques many expressions and constructions found in Papuan languages (Baird et al., in prep. own fieldnotes).

Standard Indonesian is the national language of Indonesia. It is a descendant of the literary 'Classical Malay' used in royal courts of the Riau-Johor Sultanate which was then adopted by the Dutch as the language of schooling, Christianity, and government administration (Sneddon, 2003; Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008). It has since undergone additional levels of

[13] In this thesis, Malay is used interchangeably with Alor Malay.

[14] It is likely that, during this period, several different varieties of Malay were being used; see §2.2.6.

language standardization by the Indonesian state and has been taught prescriptively at educational institutions ever since its introduction at primary schools (Sneddon, 2003). Today, Indonesian is typically prevalent in four main domains: religion, education, government-related affairs, and media. However, it is limited in its use in daily life, as Abui and Alor Malay are often preferred as languages of daily communication.

Alor Malay is mutually intelligible with Standard Indonesian. They are occasionally judged metalinguistically as different varieties by some speakers, but most often are lumped together as *Bahasa Indonesia* 'the Indonesian language'. While lexically they are quite similar, they differ significantly in their morpho-syntax (see Baird et al. (in prep.) for detailed comparison). Furthermore, they differ in their history as well as their domains of use. Despite the fact that they are often used in distinct domains, are typologically different, and enjoy different status, in reality, the two varieties are often used in tandem, especially at school settings and at church settings. They function as a high and low register of one broad variety. For this reason, in this thesis, when they are used in tandem or when the distinction is not entirely relevant, they will be referred to as Malay Indonesian.[15]

Among all the villages that together make up the Abui speaking community, there is quite some variation in terms of the sociolinguistic setting. In a number of mountain hamlets, such as Tifol Afeng, Abui is still used by parents to raise children, while Malay Indonesian is learned at school. Communities like those are considered to be home to the most vital varieties of Abui (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 4; own fieldnotes). However, as is the case with many parts of Alor, many former mountain villages (such as Takalelang, Fanating, and Mainang) have been relocated to the coast or valleys in the last 50-60 years (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 4) - while retaining the same village name. This move to the coast, which has subsequently brought inhabitants of these newly found village closer to markets, churches, and schools, has resulted in a gradual shift to Alor Malay as the language of raising children and daily communication among youngsters. This means that coastal resettlement communities, such as Takalelang, Likwatang, and Petleng are considered

[15]The terms Malay Indonesian or Malay-Indonesian have also been used to denote all varieties of Malay and Indonesian spoken across Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Brunei including Bazaar Malay varieties, such as Alor Malay (Tadmor, 2009). When used in this thesis, Malay Indonesian refers to the broad variety used by speakers on Alor and Pantar who mix Alor Malay and Indonesian.

to be farther down the cline in terms of shift to Alor Malay than varieties spoken in villages which remained in the mountains such as Tifol Afeng. However, even among coastal re-settlements, the situation varies, with the Abui spoken in Takalelang considered more vital than the Abui spoken in Benlelang, for example (see Figure 1.3 for map with village names).

Takalelang's current position along the coast means its inhabitants have easier access to schools, churches, the sea, the regency capital of Kalabahi, as well as to other villages. As a result, they often come into contact with other ethnic groups with whom they use Alor Malay as a *lingua franca*.[16] This resettlement has had implications for the shift to Malay. Initially, the resettling encouraged households to be within reasonable walking distance of schools and churches, two institutions that relied heavily on the use of Malay Indonesian. For instance, the primary school SD Takalelang has been located in the area of Belubul (*Fulful* in Figure 1.4) since 1949. Once schools began filling up between the 1970s and 1990s, many of the children could not speak Malay Indonesian at school. As a result, teachers banned Abui at school and children were scolded and beaten for speaking it. As a consequence of this, when these children (who themselves had suffered from such treatment) became adults and had kids of their own, they responded by raising them in Malay to prepare them for school and ensure they would not receive the same treatment.[17] This created a disparity between children who became more dominant in Malay and adults who were more dominant in Abui, resulting in *transitional bilingualism*: "certain groups primarily speak the local language and others the language of wider communication" (Grenoble, 2011, p. 33).

Initially, it was thought that children would pick up Abui from the community, especially as they grow older and are required to engage in community affairs. To some extent, this has proven to be true; however, this has also meant that as time goes on, the community is becoming increasingly more dominant in Malay and less so in Abui (see Chapter 2). Nonetheless, despite the fact that children are addressed mostly in Malay, as they reach

[16] In addition to the Abui, Alor Malay, and Indonesian, there are a number women and men from other ethnic groups, speaking their own languages, that have moved into Takalelang. These include, but are not limited to, Bugis (Sulawesi), Manggarai (Flores), Kolana (Alor), and Alorese (Alor).

[17] These events were referred to in interviews I conducted on the history of schooling in Alor. For a synthesis of these findings, see Chapter 2.

the end of puberty, they are typically expected to be more fluent in Abui, as Abui is still the language used by adults (Kratochvíl, 2007). This often means that when people start becoming more active speakers of Abui in late adolescence/early adulthood, they use many Malay borrowings and also display a high incidence of simplification in their speech (as discussed extensively in Chapters 5, 6, 7).

In terms of multilingualism with other local languages spoken on Alor and Pantar, sometimes it is the case that certain elders who have ties with other parts of Alor, may have also acquired the language of that region, such as Adang or Kabola. Extending now beyond Takalelang and into the Abui community as a whole, there are some villages or village clusters where a local language is spoken alongside Abui. For example, in the Muslim village of Nurdin (Ab. *Al meelang*), located on the northern coast (shown in Figure 1.4), Abui men marry Alorese women. In this village, typical Austronesian activities such as weaving are commonplace and children are often raised in Alor Malay; however, some children may develop knowledge of both Abui and Alorese. In the Apui region, Kamang and Suboo are also spoken alongside Abui. Furthermore, Abui is also spoken as a language of wider communication by elder speakers of Kafoa, Hamap, (western) Kamang, Kape, and Suboo (Kratochvíl, 2007; Schapper, 2014b; Han, 2015; Delpada, 2016; Baird, 2017).

1.4.3 Previous and current work on Abui

The Abui language and people are among the best studied in the Alor archipelago. Colonial officers, anthropologists, linguists, and ethnobotanists, have all published materials on the Abui language and people. In addition, over the last few years, with a rise in tertiary education, a number of bachelor's and master's theses by Abui students themselves have been produced.

A number of colonial reports on Alor, conducted by Dutch colonial government officials (e.g. *residenten* 'residents', *controleurs* 'controllers, district officers', and *posthouders* 'postholders'), were published between 1851 and 1944 (e.g. Baron van Lynden, 1851; Anonymous, 1914; Nieuwenkamp, 1922, 1925; Le Roux, 1929; van Gaalen, 1945, cf. Hägerdal, 2010, 2011). These include information on languages spoken, demographics, terrain, clothing of the local population, political events, relations among *raja*s 'kings', and nomenclature of the various ethnic groups (amongst other topics). The earliest

piece of Abui linguistic data comes from Nieuwenkamp (1925, p. 146) when he lists the numerals 1 to 10 (see also §1.5.1). In the 1930s, the renowned psychoanalyst and anthropologist, Cora Du Bois, professor at Columbia University, conducted several years of research in the Atengmelang village, and produced a monograph, entitled 'The People of Alor: A social-psychological study of an East Indian Island' (Du Bois, 1944). In addition, Martha Nicolspeyer, from Leiden University, went on fieldwork with Du Bois and subsequently wrote her PhD dissertation on the social structure of the Abui, where she also included some annotated texts and an Abui-Dutch word list (Nicolspeyer, 1940). The first grammatical sketch of Abui, though rudimentary, was written by Stokhof (1975), who like Du Bois and Nicolspeyer before him, focused on the Atengmelang variety. Stokhof annotated a text, collected by DuBois herself and worked with an Abui speaker from Welai to annotate it (p. 115) - the Atengmelang and Welai varieties differ significantly. He also provided information on where Abui is spoken, and described some basic structural features of the language.

Since 2003, the linguist František Kratochvíl has been conducting research in the Takalelang village. This has resulted in a surge of description and documentation of the Takalelang variety. This includes a full-fledged grammar (Kratochvíl, 2007) as well as publications dealing with the complex semantic alignment system (Kratochvíl, 2011b, 2014a), generic verbs (Klamer & Kratochvíl, 2010), amongst other morphosyntactic topics. In addition, Kratochvíl collaborated with numerous other scholars and language documentation experts. Klamer and Kratochvíl (2018) is a diachronic study on the evolution of differential object marking in Alor-Pantar languages. A study on the Abui landscape, including the etymology of place names co-indexed between oral traditions and real space was reported in Kratochvíl, Delpada, and Perono Cacciafoco (2016). Kratochvíl has collaborated closely with the Abui linguist, Benidiktus Delpada, and together they have produced work on grammatical topics (Kratochvíl & Delpada, 2015) as well as an Abui-Indonesian-English dictionary that has gone through several editions (e.g. Kratochvíl and Delpada, 2008, 2014). Delpada also produced a BA thesis dealing with emotion predicates (Delpada, 2012), and an MA thesis tackling the complex topic of tonal phonology in Abui (Delpada, 2016). Lanma (2019) wrote a BA thesis on language maintenance at and the introduction of Abui at primary school level (discussed in more detail in §2.4.4).

A number of linguists at the Nanyang Technological University of Singa-

pore have worked collectively on detailing Abui myths, as well as picking out mythical toponyms, locating them, and working out their etymology (e.g. Perono Cacciafoco, Cavallaro, and Kratochvíl, 2015; Perono Cacciafoco and Cavallaro, 2017, 2018). Furthermore, Delpada and Kratochvíl have collaborated with a number of students from the Nanyang Technological University to produce illustrated story books and a documentary on the Mon-Mot-Mon tale (see Kratochvíl, Delpada, Siao, et al., 2016). In addition, Chan Wan Ting has written a BA thesis on the conceptualization of disease in Abui (Chan, 2016) as well as an MA thesis on the conceptualization of health in Abui (Chan, 2019). A.M. Blake has worked on the ethnobotany within several Abui dialects (e.g. Blake, 2018). To date, several linguists have collected word lists of a number of dialects, making Abui one of the best described in terms of dialectal variation (see Kaiping et al., 2019). In addition, there are ongoing efforts to use computational methods on the Abui corpus collected by Kratochvíl to improve our understanding of verb classes and their pronominal prefixes (e.g. Zamaraeva, Kratochvíl, Bender, Xia, and Howell, 2017). Finally, the historian and anthropologist, Emilie Wellfelt has worked extensively on the historyscape of Alor - which includes the Abui (Wellfelt, 2011, 2016).

1.5 The Abui people

This section presents a few notes on contemporary topics pertaining to the Abui people such as their endonyms and exonyms, livelihood, religion, marriage, and digital media. Apart from the information on endonyms and exonyms, the observations presented here stem mostly from the author's fieldwork.

1.5.1 Endonyms and exonyms

The term *Abui* refers to the "collection of hills and the entire interior of the island [of Alor]" (Kratochvíl, Delpada, & Perono Cacciafoco, 2016). It was used to differentiate the inland folk with coastal folk, a dichotomy that has been present for centuries (Baron van Lynden, 1851; Anonymous, 1914; Du Bois, 1944; Kratochvíl, 2007; Wellfelt, 2016). It specifically refers to *gunung besar* (Id.) 'large mountain' located at the heart of the Abui territory, in contrast to *gunung kecil* (Id.) 'small mountain' located in the Bird's Head of Alor. Today,

the Abui people in the village of Takalelang refer to themselves as *Abui loqu* 'mountain folk'.[18]

Du Bois (1944) explains that, when she began her fieldwork in the 1930s, the language spoken in Atengmelang had no given name to it. She thus chose to label the language *Abui* as the term was already in use as an endonym to differentiate the people of Atengmelang from coastal peoples. In the Abui language, the term must be used in combination with the word for 'language'. The Takalelang variety uses *Abui tanga* 'Abui language/speech/word'. However, there is considerable regional, dialectical variation in the word for 'language/speech/word' in the Abui dialects. The north western Petleng-Welai-Mola dialect chain uses *Abui laral*, while the Southern Mataru (from the village of Ulaga) dialects use *Abui lak*.

Apart from the language name *Abui*, Ethnologue lists *Barue*, *Barawahing*, *Namatalaki* as alternative names (Simons & Fennig, 2018), probably based on Stokhof (1975) and Grimes, Therik, Grimes, and Jacob (1997). It is unclear where the term *Barue* is derived from exactly, but it could be related to *Barawahing*. *Barawahing* is a derogatory exonym, allegedly meaning 'black, smelly, and smoky' (Grimes et al., 1997). Gomang (1993, p. 134) suggests that the term was used by the Alorese to denote inland, mountain people who are 'out-groups to the Alorese'. The term *Barawahing* appears throughout the last two centuries to refer to what is likely to have been Abui-speaking people by colonial sources. This is not surprising, given that the Dutch were in close contact with the coastal Alorese. For example, when discussing the names of the ethnicities of the kingdoms of Mataru and Batulolong, two Abui speaking territories on the southern coastline, an unnamed colonial officer mentions that the mountain folk of these areas probably belong to the *Barawahieng* tribe as they at least speak the same language (Anonymous, 1914, p. 76).[19] Van Gaalen also mentions the term *Barawahing* to refer to the people of Limbur-Welai and Mataru, who we know to be Abui speaking. Nieuwenkamp (1925) gives a few notes on the Barawahing language, which all but confirm it to be Abui.[20]

[18] *Abui loqu* is composed of the name of the ethnic group plus the plural word *loqu*. Other varieties of Abui use a different plural word: Petleng uses *loki* (Saad, 2019a), while Ulaga uses *djiei* (Saad, 2019c).

[19] "De bergbevolking van Mataroe en Batoelolong behoort waarschijnlijk ook tot den stam Barawahieng; zij spreekt ten minste dezelfde taal."

[20] Using Dutch spelling conventions, Nieuwenkamp (1925, p. 146) lists the numerals

Although no longer the case, in the 1930s, *Barawahing* was also the name of the district where Atengmelang was located (Du Bois, 1944, p. 17). Today, many speakers from Takalelang are unaware of this term.[21] In 1945, Van Gaalen mentions that coastal folk (not specifying which coastal folk) referred to the Abui as *orang Bani* 'the Bani people' in Malay. As for the term *Namatalaki*, *Namata* is a term some Abui people use for the entire island of Alor (Wellfelt, 2016, p. 174). It was also the term given to inland people, sometimes with derogatory undertones, and other times with a neutral connotation of being a farmer (Wellfelt, 2016, pp. 143-4). Based on lexical evidence from some Abui dialects, it is highly probable that *laki* means ' language/speech/word'.[22] In addition to these terms, Kamang speakers refer to the Abui as *Makedai*∼*Makerai*. However, it is unclear what this term means.

At a reported number of 17,000 speakers, the Abui constitute the largest ethnolinguistic group on the islands of Alor and Pantar. As is common in many parts of Indonesia, speech varieties as well as people are often referred to with the name of their village. Sometimes this form of nomenclature may also heighten differences across Abui villages. Rather than being one large homogeneous group, some Abui villages still hold animosity towards one another. This sometimes means resistance and minor rejection of a pan-Abui identity. Certain tensions between highland Abui folk and coastal Abui folk are not unheard of today, with notions of modernity being self-assigned by coastal folk and primitiveness labeled onto highland folk. However, there are some commonalities that go beyond mutual intelligibility. This includes a shared perception about the place of origin being the village of Ateng Afeng, located near the village of Padang Alang in the South Alor district (Wellfelt, 2016, p. 142).

Having said that, it is also unclear to what extent ethnic self-denomination and linguistic self-denomination align and whether the figure of 17,000 overstates the actual number of language users. As pointed

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from 'one to ten' *noekoe - oki - soea - boeti - deti - telama - detioki - detisoea - detiboeti - karmoekoe* (it is possible that the author made a spelling mistake, writing *karmoekoe* instead of *karnoekoe*.

[21] However, Reta speakers, on the island of Pura, still use *Varavahing* as a derogatory term to refer to 'an unskilled person, originally of Abui origin' (Jeroen Willemsen p.c.). It is almost certain that this term was borrowed from Alorese.

[22] Compare Kamang (Nailang) *lak* (fieldnotes), Kui *lak* (Windschuttel & Shiohara, 2017, p. 111), and Fataluku *luku* (Kaiping et al., 2019).

out in §1.4.1, a number of smaller ethnolinguistic groups which have been lumped as part of the Abui cluster are actually separate groups/languages. Kape, which occupies the northern *desa*s of the Lembur *kecamatan*, Luba and Lembur Timur, is not mutually intelligible with Abui and is more closely related to Kamang (see Figure 1.6). However, one of the reasons this group might have been lumped together with Abui in all the previous maps (e.g. Kratochvíl, 2007, p. xv, Schapper, 2017, p. 3, and Klamer, 2017, p. 7) is that speakers of Kape often claim to be part of the Abui ethnicity, using the terms *Kape kawai* 'Kape language' and even *Abui kawai* 'Abui language' interchangeably to refer to their language. In addition, many elder Kape speakers also speak Abui proper, which they refer to as *Makadai kawai* 'Makadai language'. The Abui typically do not consider them as part of the same ethnolinguistic group, referring to them as *Kafel loqu* 'Kafel people' and acknowledging their linguistic relatedness to Kamang.[23]

1.5.2 Livelihood

Most Abui people are farmers, with their main staples consisting of corn, cassava, and rice. In the more mountainous villages, hunting and gathering is also practiced (Kratochvíl, 2007). Since many villages have moved down to the coast, they experience less favorable farming conditions, so that they rely less on their own produce and more on purchases from the local market. Typical purchases include betel nut, cigarettes, sugar, coffee, noodles, rice, fruits, vegetables, and toiletries. Mountain folk typically grow betel vine, betel nut, tobacco, mango, chili, coconuts, cloves, cocoa, cashew nuts, candle nuts, and vanilla (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 3). Many of these products are sold by women at main market hubs, such as Apui, Mebung, and Kadelang.

In addition, many coastal Abui people now also practice fishing. They often sell their catch at designated stands along the northern roadway, while some villagers sell their catch by driving around on motorbikes. Furthermore, it is common for children to search for shells and crustaceans along the shorelines. Another increasingly common enterprise is small shop businesses. Some families own small kiosks in and around villages selling goods such as cigarettes, soap, sweets, soft drinks, and other packaged goods.

[23] This area of Alor is known to be volatile, with inter-village wars often resulting in the frequent rearranging of *desa* borders.

Loans from village community banking schemes are commonly given out to people starting small shop businesses.

Other professions include school teachers across various parts of Alor. A common occupation for men is motorcycle taxi chauffeur or *tukang ojek* (Id.). In addition, some Abui people also work as civil servants. Other professions include security guards, gas station employees, garage workers, and construction workers. When construction or agricultural work needs to be done within the village, villagers are summoned to assist in the labor. They are typically reimbursed a small fee in addition to being offered a meal.

Abui people in the village of Takalelang also receive income through tourism. Often, tourists come to visit the *kampung tradisional* 'traditional village' of Takpala (a hamlet located on the hilltops of the Takalelang village complex). They typically pay a fee to wear Abui attire, involving a buffalo hide shield and a bow and arrow, and if the group is large enough, watch the *lego-lego* dance (in which individual participants receive a small fee). In addition, there is a small marketplace near the *maasang*, the 'altar around which the *lego-lego* dance is performed'. Here, villagers lay out their cloths, jewelry, and other forms of handicraft which they attempt to sell to tourists. The increase in tourism is also encouraging some youngsters to pursue jobs as tour guides, but so far, it is mostly members from other ethnic groups that occupy these few positions.

Figure 1.8: Villagers in Takpala place *tafaa* 'kettledrums' on the *maasang* 'altar' as they prepare for a *lego-lego* dance ceremony for tourists



Because the province of NTT is one of the poorest in all of Indonesia and economic opportunities are sparse in Alor, it is common for Abui people to go abroad in search of work (in AM., this is referred to as *pi merantau*). There are Abui migrant communities in Jakarta, Batam, Bali, Kalimantan, Rote, and Kupang. Common professions include policemen, security guards, teachers, *ojek* drivers, to name but a few. It is also common for Abui women to work as domestic servants, typically in Bali. The growing communities in these areas attract more young people from Alor in search of work or better education.

Nowadays it is becoming increasingly common for youngsters to pursue a bachelor's education (*S1*) either in Kalabahi or in Kupang. Teacher training, Biology, and Theology are commonly pursued majors. In addition, a small group of inhabitants from Takalelang have studied English Language and Literature or Teaching English as a Foreign Language. Those that study in Kupang typically live in dorms with other Abui students and frequently visit more permanent Abui households, where they often speak Abui. Kupang is a popular destination for ambitious young women and men

in search of a good education. There are enough family ties, both at university and in the city itself to accommodate female students. Once they graduate, unless they find a spouse who lives in Kupang, they typically move back to Takalelang and make a living there as well as search for a spouse.

Students pursuing a bachelor's education have often also been exposed to workshops and courses aimed at language documentation in the province of NTT. This, coupled with increased attention by researchers from Leiden, Hawai'i, Singapore, and elsewhere, has also meant that a small number of (young) adults also earn a living assisting researchers in their own research as well as playing active roles in the documentation of their language and culture.

In sum, the last few decades have seen a decrease in the proportion of farmers in the community and an increase in the number of people moving away for work. Many of the current professions require the use of Alor Malay and/or Indonesian, such as selling at markets or holding government positions; however, involvement in tourism and research are encouraging the use of Alor Malay, Indonesian, and Abui.

1.5.3 Religion

Today, most of the Abui population is Protestant, having converted between 1920 and 1960 (Wellfelt, 2016; Delpada, 2016). However, a handful of Muslim and Catholic villages exist as well. Nurdin is a fully Muslim village, with its own mosque. Here, Muslim Abui men often marry Muslim Alorese women.

Takalelang is one of the few predominantly Catholic villages found on Alor, having converted to Catholicism in 1979.[24] Today, the practice of Catholicism is visible and prominent in everyday life with many social gatherings revolving around the faith. Catholic holidays are celebrated by the entire community and a large number of people go to Church on Sundays. The pastor often hails from Timor or Flores and carries out the mass in Standard Indonesian. The Catholic community of Takalelang is organized according to *kelompok* (Id.) 'groups'. These groups often rotate responsibilities such as church singing and the organization of activities. Typically, it is common for *kelompok* to come together several days before the church sermon to practice singing. Afterwards, it is common to have a Sunday feast with

[24] The spread of Protestantism in Alor is discussed further in Chapter 2.

prominent members of the community. Perhaps uncharacteristically, after a Sunday sermon, communal activities such as construction or agricultural work are organized. During Catholic holidays, it is common for the *kelompok* to each organize their own feasts. These feasts involve lots of food and alcoholic drink, typically reserved for males. Pigs, chickens, and goats are often slaughtered and grilled. Loud music is played by big speakers and youngsters along with male elders often sing and dance until the early hours.

Despite the salience of these religions, pre-Abrahamic beliefs are still practiced to this day, often by elders. A prominent feature of these beliefs is contact with *nala kaang* 'good beings' (Delpada, 2016). Many biblical stories have been internalized and blended in with Abui oral narratives. For example, the female ancestor Tilaakar has often been linked to the figure of the virgin Mary, while Tilaakar's sons, Alomalei and Karmalei, have often been associated with Cain and Abel (Delpada, 2016). In addition, there exists a modern day myth about how *Lamoling*, the original being of worship, became malevolent and was then replaced by *Lahatala*, a representation of the Christian (and Islamic) 'god of light' (Perono Cacciafoco et al., 2015; Kratochvíl, Delpada, & Perono Cacciafoco, 2016). The switch to Catholicism is also linked to the preservation of the spirit house of Takalelang *Kanuworwati* (see Delpada, 2016 for more details).

Furthermore, it is common for people to have a *nama nasrani* (Id.) 'Christian name' and *nama kampung* (Id.) 'village name'. People's Christian names often feature prominent biblical figures and are used at schools, at the expense of the 'village name' (see Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 134 for more information on naming practices).

1.5.4 Marriage

Marriage is considered an important milestone in an Abui person's life. Someone's status within the community rises and this is also marked by a change in terms of address. Once a person has gotten married, they are referred to as *kalieta* which roughly translates to 'adult/elder'. They are then addressed using Abui terms of address reserved for parents, such as *maama* 'father' and *niya* 'mother' or Malay terms *bapa* 'father' and *mama* 'mother' (see §2.4.2 for more information on the socialization processes involved in the various life-stages in preparation for marriage).

Today, marriage in Christian villages combines Christian rituals as well

as traditional norms found on Alor of bride-price negotiations. In the past, arranged marriages were common as was polygamy, provided the man had enough wealth to pay the appropriate bride-price. Today, it is common for men and women to meet through social events, message each other by use of digital media, enter a relationship and then begin the process of bride-price negotiation. While meeting partners and dating has changed drastically, the negotiation process itself has remained similar [EG.65M.AG].[25]

Typically, once a man and woman are in a relationship and are considering marriage, they inform their parents. Shortly afterwards, it is customary for the male's kin to initiate the bride-price negotiation by approaching the female's kin with betel nut. The male's kin will also consult an *orang tua adat* (Id.) 'an elder from his clan that specializes in ritualized marriage'. The Abui name for this elder is *fing kaang* 'Clan eldest one' or *kalieta kaang* 'Clan elder'; however, typically the Kabola term *tang wala* is used for reasons presently unclear. Another expression to describe the role of this elder is *ama* (*tan*)*tamang takia*, literally translated as 'person in the middle who runs back and forth'. Once this initial step has been undertaken and the female's kin agrees, the negotiations may be adjourned to another day.

Once the negotiations have been resumed, several elders take to the *meja adat* (Id.) 'negotiation table'. Typically only married elders who speak the Abui ritual language and are from the appropriate clan may be seated. Being married and knowing the ritual language are crucial prerequisites, signifying the vital role marriage as well as language plays in marriage negotiation [EG.65M.AG]. On the negotiation table, it will be discussed what the bride-price must be - many of the types of payment and their names have remained the same since Du Bois (1944). Typically, a *tafaa* (Ab.) *moko* (Id.) 'bronze kettledrum' and *fuokung* (Ab.) *gong* (Id.) 'gong' must be offered (a payment known in Abui as *kafuk*); see Figure 1.8. Pigs may also be offered (a payment known as *paheh*) and/or free gifts of corn, cassava, and rice (known as *punghe*) (Du Bois, 1944). In addition, cloths and household goods such as plates, cutlery, and pots may be offered.

The whole negotiation process may take several weeks and occasionally even months. During this period, after several rounds of negotiation, it is possible for the woman to move into her new husband's house. Typic-

[25]This code refers to a recording in the author's corpus where this topic is discussed. See §3.6 for more information on the naming of recordings.

ally, at this point the bride-price payment has not been paid off and sometimes it may be several decades until it is. At any moment when negotiations are going well, the bride and groom can choose to legitimize their marriage by hosting a church ceremony. After the church ceremony, the bride and groom are officially wed; however, negotiations and payment for bride-price may persist well into their later years. The terms of the payment may be updated years into the marriage, and this often allows the woman to use this as leverage against the man's infidelity in the marriage (Du Bois, 1944, p. 186).

1.5.5 Digital media

Today, digital media is playing an increasingly prominent role in communication, self-identity, and recreation, especially among young people. Despite the lack of electricity in some parts of Takalelang, most adults and youngsters have mobile phones, and many youngsters are connected to the internet. Already in the four year span of my fieldwork, from 2015 to 2018, there was a huge surge in the amount of smartphones. As is common in Indonesia, Facebook plays a very important role in communication as well as self-identity. While Abui is rarely ever written down on paper, it is frequently used in texting as well as chatting through Messenger, and creating posts on Facebook. Several groups on social media dedicated to the learning and revitalization of Abui also exist and are actively used. Having said that, digital media exposes people further to Standard Indonesian, and it is common for Abui speakers to use Indonesian when creating status updates relating to religion, government matters, or even emotional outbursts.

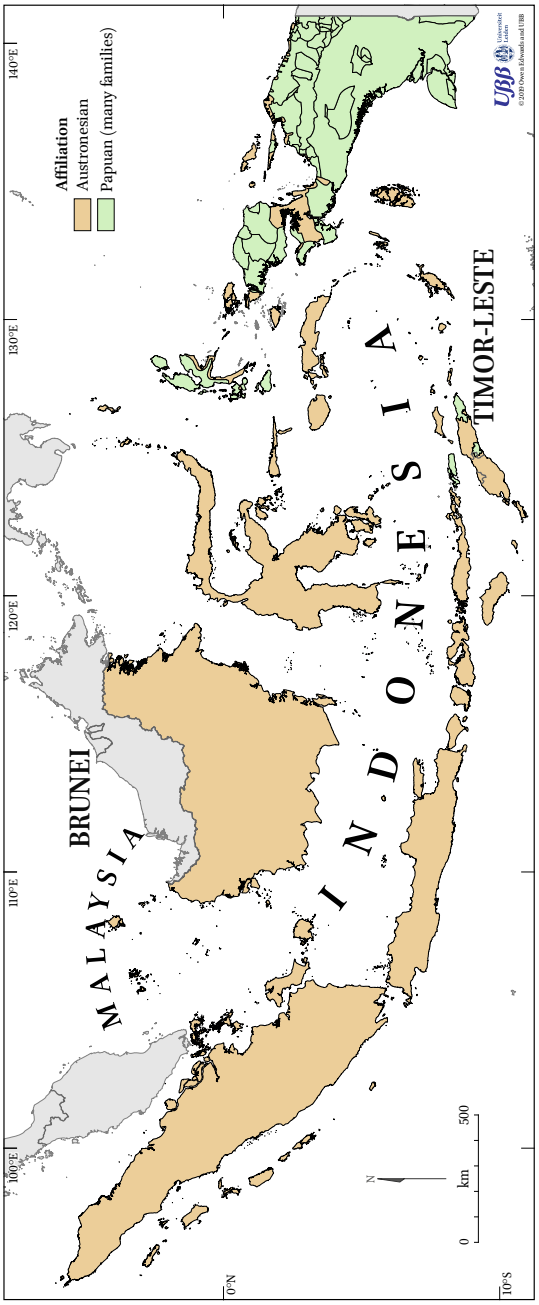
The combination of increased tourism in Takalelang and digital media has also meant a soar in exposure of the village to other parts of Indonesia as well as the world. Indonesian tourists, mainly from Jakarta and Kupang, often pose for photos in the village, wearing traditional attire, and then upload those photos on Facebook and Instagram. In addition, the village has received some attention from media outlets shooting brief news reports as well as film crews filming documentaries on the Abui people.

As mentioned in §1.5.4, phones and social media have also changed courting rituals. Whereas before, arranged marriages and courting during ceremonial dances were commonplace, nowadays, parents complain that their children use phones to woo one another [eg.65m.ag].

1.6 Linguistic diversity in Indonesia and the spread of Indonesian

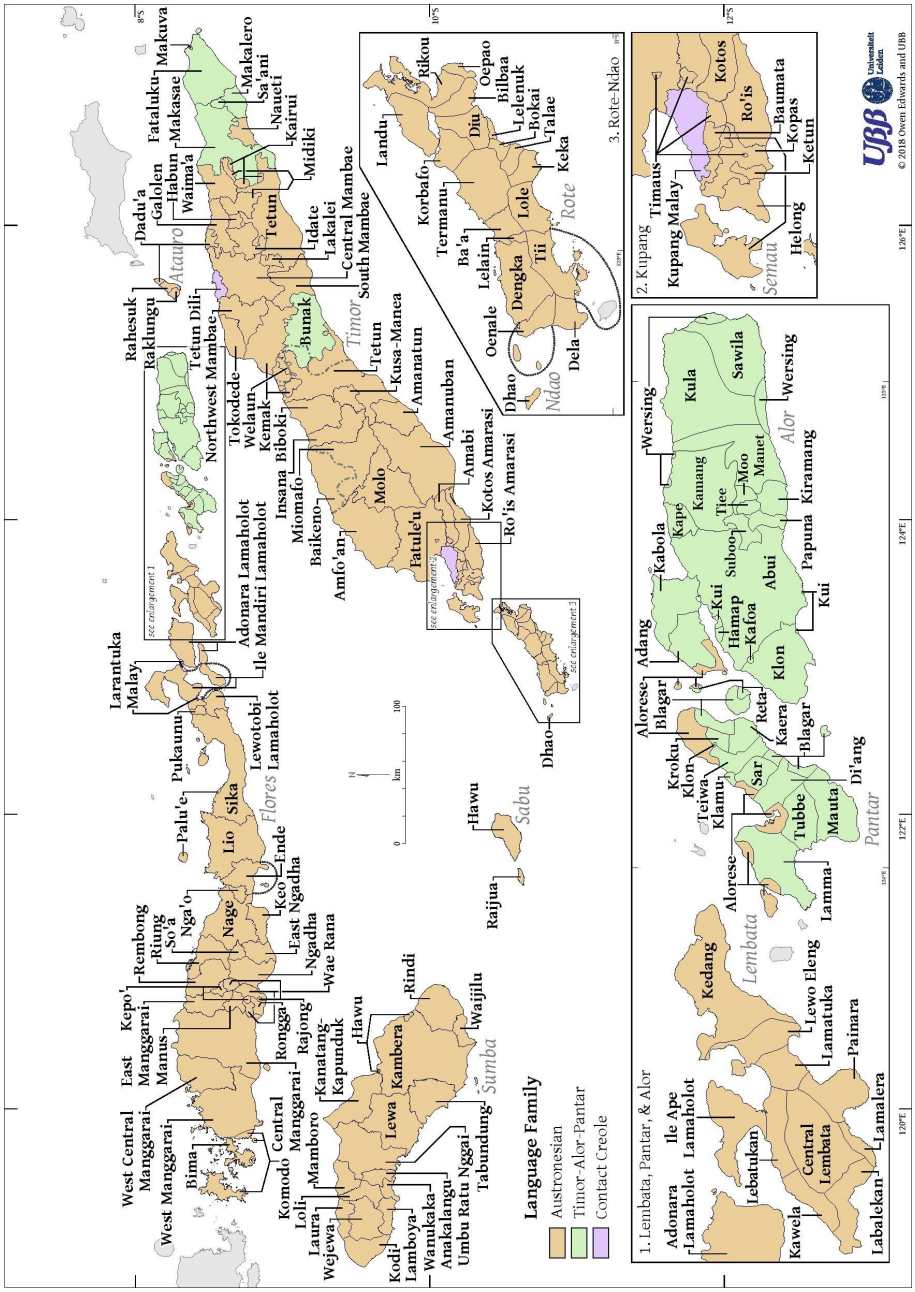
According to Ethnologue, Indonesia is home to 707 living languages, of which 701 are indigenous, while 6 are non-indigenous (Simons & Fennig, 2018). The majority of languages in Indonesia belong to the Austronesian language family. However, numerous Papuan (non-Austronesian) language families are also found, namely in the Timor-Alor-Pantar region, Halmahera, and West Papua (see Figure 1.9).

Figure 1.9: The language families of Indonesia and Timor-Leste



The province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT), where Abui is spoken, and the country of Timor-Leste are home to at least 90 languages as shown in Figure 1.10. This is a conservative count which treats the Manggarai, East Sumba, and Meto clusters as one language; splitting them up leads to a count of around 120 languages ('Languages of Nusa Tenggara Timur and Timor-Leste', 2018). Around thirty of these languages are Papuan, while the rest are Austronesian. Linguistic evidence, both lexical and typological, reveals deep language contact between these two language phyla (e.g. Schapper, 2015; Klamer, 2017; Schapper, 2017).

Figure 1.10: Map of languages of NTT and Timor-Leste



Unlike other parts of the world such as the Americas where indigenous populations form a marginal part of the whole population, in Indonesia and in NTT in particular, most of the population is indigenous. Thus, indigeneity in NTT is 'the norm, not a separate identity' (Holton, 2009, p. 164). However, despite this, it is a common trend all over Indonesia, although more prominently in eastern Indonesia, that many indigenous languages are under threat from Indonesian and other dominant regional languages (Sneddon, 2003; Arka, 2013). Other dominant regional languages include ethnic vernaculars, such as Manggarai in western Flores, or Banjarese in South, Central, and East Kalimantan (Sneddon, 2003; Arka, 2013). Other regional varieties include former trade varieties of Malay such as Papuan Malay in (coastal) West Papua, Kupang Malay in West Timor, or Alor Malay in Alor (see Adelaar and Prentice, 1996; Paauw, 2008; Kluge, 2014; Baird et al., in prep.). For the most part, these Malay varieties are somewhat mutually intelligible with Standard Indonesian. In addition to these, there often also exists a colloquial form of Indonesian, especially in cities and big towns, or any multi-ethnic spaces (Gil, 2001; Sneddon, 2003; Paauw, 2008).

In his seminal book, Foley (1986, p. 41) makes the claim that 'the sociolinguistic interaction between Malay and the vernacular languages in the rural areas [of Papua] has not yet been researched, but this would be a project well worth undertaking in the near future'. Since then, there have been some efforts to document this interaction in a select few speech communities in Papua (e.g. van den Heuvel, 2007). Due to the huge expansion of Malay Indonesian in most parts of Indonesia, this claim also holds in other regions as well.

For places such as Flores and West Papua, Arka (2013) remarks that there is little resistance to the influx of the Indonesian language. He attributes this to people's perception that Indonesian provides tangible access to socioeconomic advantages and the threat it poses to local languages is not always immediately obvious to people. Arka's interviews with youngsters in Flores reveal a negative attitude towards their local language. Baird (2002) notes that many more urbanized Keo communities in Central Flores are seeing a rise in monolingualism in Malay Indonesian. She discusses this as being a trend of the mid-1980s (p. 16). In the larger context, she correlates age with proficiency in Indonesian, suggesting younger speakers are more fluent than middle-aged women, who speak market Indonesian, with strong interference from Keo. In central Maluku too, Ambon Malay, the domin-

ant *lingua franca*, has also displaced many local languages (Bowden, 2002; Sneddon, 2003). There are countless examples of this shift to Malay Indonesian to be found all over the archipelago from Biak in West Papua (van den Heuvel, 2007) to Lampung in West Sumatra (Walker, 1976; Sneddon, 2003).

On Alor and Pantar, language shift to Alor Malay is taking place at a rapid rate (Schapper, 2014a; Klamer, 2017; Schapper, 2017). Much of this is related to strict government policies regarding schooling, including the banning of local languages, as well as the need to move away from the home village in order to get secondary education (Klamer, 2017).

The role of schooling in the language shift scenario and the language socialization process taking place in the Takalelang speech community (elaborated upon in depth in §2.3 & §2.4.2) is argued to be characteristic of many other scenarios across the Alor archipelago, and even across Indonesia. For example, within Alor, Baird (2017) claims that Kafoa children are spoken to exclusively in Alor Malay by their parents, but "once they reach school age, and start attending communal gatherings they have extensive exposure to Kafoa and soon become proficient in it [as well as other local languages]" (p. 57). Almost identically to the Abui situation, Kafoa adults suggest that their "children would just pick up their mother tongue as they grow up."

As for Kula, Williams (2017, p. 187) makes a similar claim suggesting that, "children are most frequently spoken to in Malay. Most children have a passive knowledge of Kula, understanding simple instructions, but regularly responding in Malay." He adds that "nearly all young adults know the language well enough to interact with elders and sometimes use Kula among themselves". For Kui, the situation appears to be more grim, especially because the language has only 833 speakers (Katubi, 2011 cited in Windschuttel and Shiohara, 2017). Windschuttel and Shiohara (2017) suggest that the community is in a clear state of shift, where children in some villages know a substantial amount of vocabulary but lack the ability to confidently use more complex grammatical structures, often calqueing Indonesian structures. The authors remain silent on whether children become more proficient as they become older, in ways reported for Abui, Kafoa, and Kui. Similar shifting scenarios have been reported for Teiwa, Sawila, and Klon (Baird et al., in prep.).

Despite these observations, it does appear that there is variability in terms of how far the various languages of Alor and Pantar are in terms of shift, with many inland communities still preserving their language. Fur-

thermore, this delayed acquisition process of the local language, where speakers only become fluent in (young) adulthood is also proposed to be significantly under-represented in the literature on language shift and language contact, especially considering how widespread the process seems to be.

Finally, it must be pointed out that not all indigenous languages in Indonesia are under threat from Indonesian. Some large languages (typically spoken in western Indonesia), such as Javanese and Sundanese, for example, are highly vital and even taught at university level (Sneddon, 2003). Officially, there is legislation promoting local languages in Indonesia. In practice, this support is minimal. As a matter of fact, as discussed in §2.3, legislation mandating schools to promote Indonesian at the expense of local languages has played a huge role in the decline of Abui. At the same time, efforts are well underway to introduce Abui at the Takalelang primary school (see §2.4.4).

1.7 A typological comparison of Abui and Alor Malay

In this section, a brief comparison of the main typological features of Abui and Alor Malay are given.[26] The goals of this section are twofold: The first is to sketch a general typological profile of the two varieties from a comparative perspective such that the reader may acquire a general sense of the languages based on relevant areal features and so that it is clear how similar or different the languages are (§§1.7.1-1.7.3).[27] The second is to introduce the topics which are elaborated upon in detail in this thesis, namely possession, verb usage and semantics, and reduplication in addition to related sub-features (§1.7.4).

[26] A sketch grammar of Abui is also provided in Chapter 4. For a more elaborate grammatical description of Abui, readers are referred to Kratochvíl (2007). For a sketch grammar of Alor Malay, readers are referred to Baird et al. (in prep.).

[27] For a brief comparison between Alor Malay and Standard Indonesian, readers are referred to Baird et al. (in prep.) and Sneddon, Adelaar, Djenar, and Ewing (2012).

1.7.1 Abui

Abui exhibits a number of typical Papuan features such as APV word order[28] and agglutinating morphological structure (Kratochvíl, 2007). In terms of its verbal morphology, four types of patterns can be found. Prefixes may index S or P arguments (see §4.6). Stem alternation, suffixes, and reduplication all mark aspect. In particular, Abui uses both stem alternation and suffixes to mark the perfective and imperfective (see §4.7.2), while reduplication may be used to mark intensity and iterativity (see §7.3). A number of serial verb constructions (SVC) are commonly used, such as causative SVCs and directional SVCs (see §4.8). Furthermore, the verbal negation particle, *naha*, occurs post-verbally.

In terms of nominal morphology, only possession may be marked on the noun. In particular, a possessed noun obligatorily receives a prefix. Abui also contains an alienability distinction in possession, another typically Papuan feature found in the languages of eastern Indonesia (Klamer, 2004) (see §4.4). The word order of a possessive phrase and the possessive reflexivity distinction are discussed in §1.7.4. Abui does not mark gender or number morphologically. There are two pluralizer words, *loqu* and *we* which may be used to mark distinct types of plurality (see §4.4.3).

Abui also encodes a clusivity distinction in first person plural, a typically Austronesian feature (Klamer, 2004) (see Table 4.11). Furthermore, demonstratives typically follow the head noun. When they modify a noun, they may encode distance as well as speaker/interlocutor perspective (see §4.4.5). In addition, they may modify a clause, appearing clause finally, where they may be used for clause chaining, while also marking evidentiality or stance (Kratochvíl, 2017).

1.7.2 Alor Malay

Alor Malay is considered a 'contact variety of Malay' (Baird et al., in prep.) and shares a number of typological features with eastern varieties of Malay (see Adelaar and Prentice, 1996 and Paauw, 2008). Contact varieties of Malay show innovations with respect to other varieties of Malay (Paauw,

[28]The labels A and P are used to denote the most agentlike argument of a transitive clause, while P denotes the most patientlike argument of a transitive clause, following Comrie (1989), Haspelmath (2011).

2008). Furthermore, within Alor, it is not completely homogeneous, often reflecting substrate features from the local language of the community that speaks it. In this thesis, the variety spoken by Abui speakers is investigated.

Alor Malay typically uses AVP word order and is highly isolating. If it has any morphology, this is usually fossilized in words such as *melayani* 'to serve', *berdiri* 'to stand (up)', *kungjungi* 'to visit', *sampekan* 'to convey', and *terantuk* 'to trip'. However, quite often, the verb stem appears on its own. Serial verb constructions are commonly found in Alor Malay, especially directional SVCs, such as *bawa datang* 'bring (lit. bring come)' and causative SVCs, such as *kasi jatu* 'drop (lit. give fall)'. In addition, tense and aspect are not marked morphologically. Instead temporal and aspectual adverbs are used. Furthermore, like many varieties of Malay, it uses full reduplication to mark a whole range of notions, such as intensity, iterativity, and casualness (see §7.4 for more examples). Furthermore, the verbal negation marker *tida* occurs pre-verbally as in *dia tida omong* 'he does not speak'.

On the noun, full reduplication is also used and is the only morphological process on the noun. It marks plurality, collectivity, and diversity (see also §7.4). Alor Malay may combine reduplication with a plural word *do*(*ra*)*ng* to mark plurality. Like many Austronesian languages, there is no alienability distinction in possession. In principle, Alor Malay has a clusivity distinction in its pronoun system (*kami* 'we (EXCL)' versus *kita* 'we (INCL)'); however, oftentimes this distinction is not adhered to strictly, with many speakers overgeneralizing *kita* 'we (INCL)' to 'we (EXCL)' contexts as well. The word order of a possessive construction is: possessor possessed.

Demonstratives typically precede their head noun, as in *itu laptop* 'that laptop'. In addition, a reduced form of the demonstrative may sometimes be added post-nominally to add focus, as in *itu laptop tu* 'THAT laptop'. Finally, in ways similar to Abui, reduced forms of demonstratives may also be used clause-finally; however, their precise function is still not well understood.

1.7.3 Summary of differences between Abui and Alor Malay

The general typological differences are summarized in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: General typological differences between Abui and Alor Malay

	Abui	**Alor Malay**
Word order	APV	AVP
Morphological profile	Relatively agglutinating	Highly isolating
Verbal morphology	Pronominal prefixes indexing S, P. Aspect marking suffixes and reduplication	Fossilized verbal morphology, bare stem. Reduplication
Serial verb constructions	✓	✓
Aspect marking	Stem alternation, suffixation, reduplication, adverbs	Reduplication, adverbs
Verbal negation	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal
Nominal morphology	Possession	Reduplication
Plural marking	Plural word	Plural word & reduplication
Alienability distinction	✓	✗
Clusivity distinction	✓	✓
Order of possessive construction	Possessor possessed	Possessor possessed
Demonstrative word order	N DEM	[DEM N] (DEM)
Clause final demonstratives	✓	✓

1.7.4 Features investigated in this thesis

While there are many typological topics which may show sensitivity to contact, the three selected for investigation in this thesis include: reflexivity in

possessive marking (Chapter 5), verb usage and semantics (Chapter 6), and reduplication (Chapter 7).

There are two main motives for the choice of these three variables. Firstly, as discussed in §5.3.2.1, these variables were not selected *a priori*. Instead, a corpus that could display variable grammatical patterns across age-groups was collected. Only after data processing did it become clear that these three variables showed a particularly high amount of variation among age-groups and warranted further investigation (see §8.4 for discussion on other variables). They were also found in enough utterances to conduct comparative analysis. Secondly, they provide a good balance of features with regards to complexity. Reflexivity in possessive marking and verbal semantics are more complex in Abui, while reduplication is less complex. This allows for the testing of transfer (see §1.8.3).

Concerning reflexivity in possessive marking, Abui can morphologically distinguish in the third person between P arguments which are possessed by the A argument (He pulled his [own] friend) versus P arguments which are possessed by an argument outside the clause (He pulled his [someone else's] friend). Alor Malay does not distinguish between reflexive or non-reflexive third person possessives.

Concerning verb usage and semantics, in this thesis, I focus on differences in how Abui and Alor Malay encode the events of *visual perception*, *falling*, and *change of state* (see §6.3). For each event domain, Abui uses at least two verbs to encode a particular distinction, while Alor Malay uses one verb generically. For example, Abui makes a distinction between (-)*wahai* 'look at [+CONTROL]' and *-ien* 'see [– CONTROL]', while Alor Malay uses *lihat* 'visually perceive'.

With regards to reduplication, it is found in both Abui and Alor Malay; however, its distribution across word classes, as well as its form and function is different. In Abui, reduplication is more limited in scope, compared to Alor Malay. It has more restrictions regarding which word classes and which words can be reduplicated. In addition, it has certain morphological restrictions governing which part of the word may be reduplicated. In Alor Malay, reduplication is much more productive and involves total reduplication. The features are summarized in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Typological features between Abui and Alor Malay addressed in this thesis

	Abui	**Alor Malay**
Reflexive possessive distinction	✓	✗
Verb usage and semantics in certain domains	Typically highly specific	Typically vague
Reduplication	Verbs, adjectives, question words	Nouns, verbs, adjectives, question words

1.8 Theoretical background

This section situates the Abui contact scenario within the broader context of variation and change in indigenous minority communities and introduces the fundamental themes that form the basis for the remaining chapters of this thesis. First, §1.8.1 unpacks the components of this specific scenario, elaborating on the relevant sociolinguistic processes. Next, §1.8.2 discusses sociolinguistic variables of age and gender and how they are taken as proxies for language dominance in predicting language variation. Section 1.8.3 describes the outcome of simplification, attributing it to two causes: transfer and incomplete acquisition. Section 1.8.4 describes the three domains of grammar in Abui which are subject to change due to both imperfect learning and transfer, namely inflectional morphology, verb choice, and reduplication. Finally, §1.8.5 elaborates on the importance of complementing production data with comprehension data in understanding variation and change.

1.8.1 Scenarios of contact: Indigenous minority communities and heritage language communities

There are many different types of scenarios that involve language contact. As such, it is necessary that we provide in-depth descriptions of the speech community when discussing outcomes of contact. As Lüpke (2016, p. 45)

puts it, "since cultural conventions and culturally motivated profiles of communities and individuals emerge as crucial for types and intensity of multilingual interaction, detailed ethnographic studies need to inform research on language contact and multilingualism." The Abui scenario can be characterized as an indigenous minority community in contact with, and in a state of gradual shift to, a majority language. As pointed out in §1.4.2 & §1.6, the contact scenario in Takalelang resembles that of other indigenous minority communities in Alor and in Indonesia as well as beyond. In addition, to a lesser extent, the Abui case also resembles that of heritage language communities (e.g. Backus, Seza Doğruöz, and Heine, 2011; Moro, 2016). The relevant components discussed here are a) level of bilingualism, b) processes of socialization and acquisition, and c) time-depth.

Similar to what is found in Takalelang, in many communities across the globe, indigenous minority languages are in a gradual state of shift to a majority language. Abui is considered an indigenous language because it is the language spoken by the Abui people of Alor, who have been living and cultivating the region they currently live on for many generations (see §1.5.1 for more information). The varieties of Alor Malay and Indonesian, which are often lumped together as *Bahasa Indonesia* 'the Indonesian language' are considered the language(s) of the majority group because they are the languages that are spoken by the politically more powerful group of people and provide access to socio-economic growth in Indonesia.

Language shift is an end stage whereby the indigenous language is given up completely by the community, which then only speak the majority language. While there are documented instances where shift is abrupt, shift is generally more gradual, stretched across several generations. This gradual state of shift is commonly referred to as *language attrition*: it is characterized by incomplete acquisition (Grenoble, 2011). Language attrition typically involves *transitional bilingualism*: 'as the speaker population is in the process of shift, certain groups primarily speak the local language and others the language of wider communication' (Grenoble, 2011, p. 33).[29] It is typically older speakers who continue to speak the indigenous language, while younger speakers shift to speaking the majority language (Austin &

[29] In this sense, Grenoble's definition of language attrition differs from definitions given in the bilingualism literature, such as Schmid (2011, p. 11) which typically refer to attrition on the individual as opposed to community level as 'the total or partial forgetting of a language by a healthy speaker'.

Sallabank, 2011). This also leads to unbalanced bilingualism where younger speakers are more dominant in the majority language than in the minority language.

Among the Abui, speakers above 40 are Abui dominant, while speakers below ∼35 are typically Alor Malay dominant (see 2.4.2). This also gives rise to various types of speakers, such as fluent speakers (full acquisition), and semi-speakers (partial acquisition) (Dorian, 1981; Grinevald & Bert, 2011). Strictly speaking, speakers above 40 have acquired Abui since birth and are thus fully-fledged fluent speakers. Speakers below 35 did not have the same acquisition path because many of them acquired Alor Malay first and only became active speakers of Abui during or after adolescence.

In this gradual state of shift, or language attrition, a language is negatively stigmatized (Thomason, 2001) and may become increasingly endangered. Endangerment is a continuous notion and is typically assessed using several criteria, such as intergenerational transmission and absolute number of speakers (UNESCO, 2003) (see §2.4.4 for an assessment of Abui's level of endangerment). This means that the indigenous language might be acquired incompletely by one generation and that that generation may in turn pass it on to another generation, which will then learn it imperfectly. As such, it is important to pay close attention to the language acquisition and socialization path. As mentioned in §1.4.2, nowadays, it is common for many children of indigenous languages of Indonesia, and especially Alor, to go through a delayed process of language acquisition. The fact that they only become active speakers of the language in late adolescence or early adulthood suggests that their native language is more akin to an L2 and will show effects of delayed acquisition.

However, endangerment may not necessarily lead to language death - the language may also be maintained or revitalized. Here, it is important to pay close attention to the domains of use of the language (see §2.4.1). In the Abui case, Abui is still used among adults in matters of daily life and especially more formal matters such as bride-price negotiation and community gatherings. Furthermore, as discussed in §2.4.4, there is a significant movement to introduce the language at primary school level that may see increased usage of the language by younger speakers and thus also a larger degree of acquisition. This has been enhanced by workshops organized by linguists and traction being generated by social media by Abui speakers calling for increased use of the language.

Finally, apart from indigenous communities in a state of shift and attrition, another relatable bilingual scenario is found in heritage language communities. Speakers of a heritage language are defined as 'individuals who grew up in a household where the language spoken is not the dominant language of the larger national society' (Moro, 2016, p. 4). Typically, these individuals are unbalanced bilinguals, meaning that they are more dominant in the majority language than they are in their home language (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). There are some key similarities and differences between the Abui community and heritage communities. In terms of similarities, the main similarity is that in both instances, speakers are unbalanced bilinguals who experience incomplete acquisition of their heritage language: Older speakers are more fluent in the heritage language than younger speakers. Thus, by definition, they are also more dominant in the majority language of wider communication. In addition, time depth of contact may also be considered a common feature. For example, it is also possible to find heritage communities that have been in contact with a majority language for a similar amount of time as Abui has been in contact with Malay, 50-60 years (e.g Tukish-Dutch bilinguals in the Netherlands Backus et al., 2011).

There are, however, two key differences. Firstly, their acquisition paths differ. Typically, in heritage language communities, a child is first exposed to the heritage language before schooling and then experiences a shift in dominance as they enter school, where they become more dominant in the majority language later on in life (Polinsky, 2008). In the Abui scenario, this is the opposite. Abui children are first exposed mostly to Alor Malay before and during school; however, the older they get, the more they are also exposed to Abui-speaking adults who begin expecting them to be fluent in the language. Another difference is that a heritage language community is usually a migrant community, while an indigenous minority language community is endogenous to the region it resides.

Typically, in heritage studies, a heritage variety is compared to a baseline homeland variety, for example Ambon Malay as spoken in Ambon and Ambon Malay spoken in the Netherlands and in contact with Dutch (Moro, 2016). In the Abui scenario, it is less feasible to have such a setup and include a baseline homeland variety because most varieties of Abui are in some contact with Alor Malay.[30] Instead, the speech of Abui L1 speakers,

[30]However, as mentioned in §1.4.2, some varieties are more vital than the Takalelang

typically speakers above age 40 is compared to the speech of Alor Malay L1 speakers, typically below the age of 35. Throughout this thesis, insights are drawn from other indigenous minority communities as well as heritage language communities.

1.8.2 Language dominance

This section discusses the empirical decision to use age and gender as proxies for language dominance. Dominance is a key concept especially in communities where individuals have different levels of bilingualism. Silva-Corvalán and Treffers-Daller (2016, p. 4) define a dominant language as "[a language] in which a bilingual has attained an overall higher level of proficiency at a given age, and/or the language that s/he uses more frequently, and across a wider range of domains". They label proficiency as a "component of dominance", defining it as the "advancement in the knowledge of a specific aspect of language" (Silva-Corvalán & Treffers-Daller, 2016, p. 4).

In bilingual communities, only a few speakers might be true *balanced bilinguals*, meaning that their "mastery of two languages is roughly equivalent" (W. Li, 2000, p. 6). Most speakers are *unbalanced bilinguals* or *dominant bilinguals*, suggesting that they have "greater proficiency in one of [their] languages and use it significantly more than the other language(s)" (W. Li, 2000, p. 6).

Typically, proficiency and dominance are operationalized using questionnaires, self-ratings, transcripts of spontaneous speech, and tests. However, all of these measuring techniques have been criticized for not offering sufficient validity and for being too simplistic to capture the complexity of language (see Treffers-Daller, 2016, p. 264). It has been claimed, for example, that self-ratings may under-report a speaker's proficiency, while some may over-report (Grenoble, 2011, p. 28). For the research in this thesis, although self-ratings of speakers' language proficiency were collected, this data was not systematically analyzed. While self-ratings give a general idea of how confident speakers were in their ability, it was decided that, instead, age would be used as a proxy for dominance. Age has the advantage that it incorporates a certain history of language use, mitigated by historical developments in community language strategies, as well including specific life-

variety.

stages. This is argued to capture the fluid nature of dominance (see §2.4.2.1).

There was a broad characterization made in §1.8.1 about speakers above 40 being Abui-dominant while speakers below ∼35 being Alor Malay-dominant. This first suggests an obvious two-way categorization based on age and language dominance. Furthermore, there are different levels of unbalanced bilingualism. In this respect, one can also speak of speakers above 40 being Abui L1 speakers. To a large extent, most of them are also Alor Malay L2 speakers, because they learned Alor Malay aged 7 or higher. For the group of Alor Malay-dominant speakers, most speakers learned Alor Malay before Abui (see also §3.4). Alor Malay is thus their L1 and Abui their L2. However, some speakers also claim to be balanced bilinguals, having learned both languages simulatenously.

In addition, within the Malay-dominant group of speakers below 35, age is broadly correlated with dominance. Thus, there are incremental differences such that a (pre)adolescent, aged 14, for example, will claim to be less dominant in Abui than a (young) adult, aged 24, for example [CV.14F.AL]. Much of this is related to language socialization and life-stages: children are typically addressed in Malay and interact more with Malay-speaking peers, while (young) adults interact more with older Abui-speaking adults and elders (see §2.4.2).

However, as has been pointed out previously by Meisel (2007), the concept of dominance is not without flaws and is in any case not a fixed notion for an individual. It is a fleeting term, that evolves with the age and life-span of individual and is highly subject to input. This could not be more applicable to the Abui scenario where there are clear behavior changes throughout the life-span with regards to language choice.

To a lesser extent, gender is also a factor accounting for dominance. This is argued to be due to social factors as opposed to biological ones. Gender may account for differences in social networks and thus language use and exposure. As elaborated upon further in §2.4.2.2, females, especially (pre)adolescent females, tend to be more Abui-dominant than their male peers. This is mainly due to the observation that young males are afforded more play time with peers away from the hamlet, while young females spend more time with adults, tending to domestic chores. This implies that younger females are more exposed to Abui than males.

Finally, a closing caveat concerning sociolinguistic variables is in place. While age and gender are argued to play an important role in explaining

much of the variation in indigenous minority communities in general and among the Abui in particular, it must be stressed that these variables be treated differently for every community in question. Gender can have very different implications on language under different social circumstances. In addition, as Stanford and Preston (2009b) and Palosaari and Campbell (2011) point out, meaningful variables in other settings, such as socioeconomic class and education level in urban settings, may not be as relevant for explaining variation in indigenous minority languages. Instead, it may be that a host of other variables are more relevant. In the Abui context, for example, it seems as though a person's affiliation with religious and educational institutions as well as whether they have resided with their grandparents could be linked to someone's language dominance as well. However, these variables were not investigated systematically as a) there was some missing data and b) they fell outside the scope of the thesis.

1.8.3 Simplification: Transfer vs. incomplete acquisition

A common outcome of languages which are in a state of language shift and attrition as well as of heritage language communities is simplification (e.g. O'Shannessy, 2011; Palosaari and Campbell, 2011; Moro, 2016). Simplification is generally used as a cover term for phenomena such as "loss, or reduction, regularization of paradigms, and preference for certain types of structures" (Moro, 2016, p. 27). Simplification is also linked to transparency which is defined here as a tendency to "to maintain a one-to-one mapping between underlying semantic structures and surface forms, with the goal of making messages easily retrievable of listeners" (Slobin, 1977, p. 186). Often it is the non-transparent features that are harder to acquire, and thus more vulnerable to loss or reduction (Villerius, 2019, p. 15).

Typically, two causes for the outcome of simplification have been proposed: transfer and incomplete acquisition. Transfer, also referred to as cross-linguistic influence, is defined as "the influence of a person's knowledge of one language on that person's knowledge or use of another influence" (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 1). Transfer is clear and obvious to see when a recipient language *gains* a particular feature that it did not have before contact. This can refer to transfer of matter (a form), transfer of pattern (a structure) (Sakel, 2007), and sometimes even to both. For example, Imbabura Quechua has borrowed the Spanish relativizer *que* 'that' and conjunc-

tions *si* 'if' and *purki* 'because'. In addition, when speakers use these Spanish forms, they also use Spanish-modelled subordinate clauses instead of former nominalized constructions (Gómez-Rendón, 2007). Thus, Spanish has transferred both matter and pattern into Imbabura Quechua. However, transfer is less easy to diagnose when a language loses or reduces a feature, i.e. experiences simplification.

Another possible source of simplification is incomplete acquisition of the L2. As a result of incomplete acquisition, speakers may opt for more transparent features. This predicts that "L2 surface features structures will tend to mark each significant underlying meaning element explicitly, irrespective of the of the facts of the L1" (Seuren & Wekker, 1986, p. 62). There are documented instances where simplification takes place as a result of incomplete acquisition where it is quite clear that no transfer from the L1 has taken place. One example is the overgeneralization of overt pronouns in L2 Italian in contexts where L1 Italian speakers would have used a null pronoun (Sorace & Filiaci, 2006; Sorace, 2011). Here, it did not matter whether the learner's L1 had pro-drop (Spanish) or not (English), as both sets of L2 learners of Italian still overgeneralized overt pronouns. In other words, despite the fact that both Spanish and Italian would have favored a null pronoun in a given context, Spanish learners of Italian still used overt pronouns. This clearly points to general learner difficulties rather than transfer from the L1. Changes involving simplification due to incomplete acquisition, in the absence of transfer have also been labeled indirect influence (Grenoble, 2000). On the community level, they are more a part of the language attrition process than direct transfer; however, contact is still responsible for these changes in that it has led to the attrition.

Some researchers have shown that simplification often occurs as a product of both transfer and incomplete acquisition. They have done this by comparing the simplification of a category in one language by different sets of L1 speakers, for example, by comparing the use of L2 English prepositions by L1 Finnish speakers and by L1 Swedish speakers (Jarvis & Odlin, 2000). They found that both types of speakers exhibited simplification, but that the simplification was governed by transfer from their respective L1. For example, Finns overgeneralized the use of the English preposition *in*, a form of simplification, to contexts typically requiring *on*, *at* or *to*. This was done presumably consistent with the structure of Finnish. Swedish learners, on the other hand, did not overgeneralize *in* in this way because Swedish *i*

functions in a similar way to English.

However, quite often, depending on the typological comparison between the languages and the studies available, it is impossible to tease transfer and incomplete acquisition apart. The studies above have tried to disentangle them by comparing at least two different sets of L1 speakers, e.g. Finnish L1 speakers vs. Swedish L1 speakers learning English. However, not all studies have the means to do so and many simply investigate one set of of L1 speakers. Where only one type of L1 background is investigated, it is often assumed that *both* incomplete acquisition and transfer are responsible for simplification. For example, the Siberian language Evenki is reducing and reanalyzing its case system due to contact with Russian. Russian has around half the number of cases as Evenki; so the reduction of cases could be seen as convergence towards the Russian system, i.e transfer from Russian. At the same time, case systems are known to become reduced in situations of imperfect incomplete acquisition; therefore, the simplification taking place is argued to be a case of both transfer and incomplete acquisition (Grenoble, 2000).

In this thesis, I take a similar position in assuming that the most likely explanation for simplification involves both transfer and incomplete acquisition acting together to enhance the process of simplification (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Palosaari & Campbell, 2011). Without a comparison of other L1 speakers, it is impossible to tease them apart.

Transfer as well as incomplete acquisition are argued to be both responsible for the results in Chapter 5 on the reflexive possessive and Chapter 6 on verb usage and semantics. In Chapter 7 on reduplication it is likely that transfer is playing a more prominent and direct role than incomplete acquisition. These three domains are discussed in the next section in more detail.

1.8.4 Three areas of investigation

In a state of language attrition, several broad patterns of change are typically observed. Marked features (those which are less frequent) may be replaced by unmarked, more frequent features or alternatively be used more frequently. Obligatory rules may become optional, and morphological and syntactic patterns may be reduced (Campbell & Muntzel, 1989; O'Shannessy, 2011). In this thesis, the simplification of inflectional morpho-

logy, the overgeneralization of verbs, and the transfer of reduplication patterns are discussed as illustrations of these processes.

Inflectional morphology is an area that is highly prone to being simplified, reduced, or lost altogether in contact (Prévost & White, 2000a, 2000b; Palosaari & Campbell, 2011). For example, American speakers of Finnish whose dominant language is English fail to mark case and number agreement on adjectives (Palosaari & Campbell, 2011). One prominent hypothesis in the field of inflectional simplification is the Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (MSIH). The MSIH suggests that oftentimes, L2 learners have underlying knowledge of a given inflectional category or feature but that, in online production, they have trouble mapping the abstract feature to the morphological form (Lardiere, 1998a, 1998b, 2000; Prévost & White, 2000a, 2000b).

The inflectional morphology category under investigation in this thesis is the reflexive possessive prefix in Abui (see §1.7). The category of the reflexive possessive itself has been shown to be very sensitive to contact. Specifically, it has been shown to pose problems for L2 learners that speak L1s which do not have the reflexivity distinction in possession such as French and German learners of Norwegian, for example (Tingsell, Källström, and Lindberg, 2011; Fabricius-Hansen, Helland, and Pitz, 2017; Helland, 2017). From a processing perspective, distinguishing between a reflexive and non-reflexive possessive involves several levels. It first involves attributing possession to a noun, establishing that the possessor is third person, then determining whether the possessor is bound locally or non-locally and then selecting the appropriate morpheme. Abui has this distinction, while Alor Malay lacks it. Therefore, this is an area expected to show sensitivity to contact among young speakers, who are dominant in Alor Malay.

Another area investigated in this thesis is lexical semantics determining verb usage. It is typically the case that languages do not have one-for-one translation equivalents. Sometimes a language may use a broad system to describe a given event (relatively underspecified), while another may use a narrow system (relatively overspecified) (Gathercole & Moawad, 2010). This essentially means that one language may have multiple verbs with varying distinctions to describe various sub-events which in one language would only be described using one verb. For example, in the domain of visual perception in Abui and Alor Malay, Abui distinguishes between two verbs, *-wahai* 'look at' and *-ien-* 'see', while Alor Malay uses one verb *lihat* 'look at,

see'. It has been shown in many different types of contact scenarios that speakers whose dominant language uses a broad system will overgeneralize one verb when learning a target language (L2) that has a narrow system (Pavlenko and Driagina, 2008; Ameel, Malt, Storms, and Van Assche, 2009; Gathercole and Moawad, 2010). It is thus expected that when young speakers engage in these event domains in Abui, they overgeneralize one verb at the expense of the other on the conceptual model of Alor Malay. Typically, the most frequently used verb is expected to be overgeneralized.

Reduplication is another area which is discussed in this thesis as being prone to contact; however, despite much work on reduplication as a typological feature, less work has actually been done looking at reduplication from a contact perspective (Evans, 2009). The few studies that have investigated reduplication from a contact perspective show some interesting commonalities: Many of the recipient languages were influenced by a Malay-based *lingua franca* donor language in similar ways and many of the recipient languages already had reduplication in their system, prior to contact, but converged their systems to match those of the Malay-based *lingua franca* (e.g. Ansaldo and Matthews, 2004; Wee and Lim, 2004; Evans, 2009; Yanti and Raimy, 2010).

For example, both Macanese and Singaporean English reduplication patterns have been shown to be influenced by Malay (as well as Sinitic). This is especially so in nominal reduplication to mark plurality as well as in verbal reduplication to mark casualness or continuity (Ansaldo & Matthews, 2004; Wee & Lim, 2004). In addition, this has also been described for Alor-Pantar languages in contact with Alor Malay, such as nominal reduplication to mark plurality in Kafoa (Baird, 2017, p. 67) and verbal reduplication to mark casualness in Reta (Willemsen, to appear).

Thus, because the reduplication system in Alor Malay is more complex in some ways than the Abui system, examining variation in reduplication marking in Abui allows us to investigate whether transfer is taking place from Alor Malay into Abui, as shown in the studies above.

It must be pointed out that such phenomena are not per se unique to situations of intermediate language shift or attrition; these changes are also attested in other contact scenarios, as well as language-internally. However; what is unique about scenarios similar to the Abui-Alor Malay one is that these changes take place very rapidly (O'Shannessy, 2011; Palosaari & Campbell, 2011; Matsumoto, 2015).

1.8.5 Production and comprehension data

In order to have a more complete grasp of the variation and change taking place in Abui, comprehension data must complement production data. First, it allows us to obtain a more accurate understanding of how much knowledge speakers actually possess, which is generally useful in contact studies. Second, it allows us to test a prominent hypothesis regarding inflectional morphology: the Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (Lardiere, 1998a, 1998b, 2000; Prévost and White, 2000a, 2000b; introduced in §1.8.4). Third, it is particularly relevant for this specific speech community where children only become active speakers of Abui in (post)adolescence in order to evaluate differences among groups and understand the variation more clearly.

Combining comprehension data with production allows for a more complete understanding of a speaker's competence as production alone may not always be enough to determine a speaker's knowledge of a given linguistic category. It is well known that, while speakers may struggle with certain features in production, this is not necessarily the case in comprehension (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). Comprehension data thus offers a window into how far a change is entrenched in the minds of speaker (Onar Valk, 2015). If comprehension data matches production data, then this may be used to strengthen claims that a given innovation is underway. However, if there is a mismatch as there often is, with speakers performing better in comprehension, this could suggest that speakers still possess knowledge of a given category rule, but struggle to instantiate it during production.

As such, comprehension data may also be used for testing the Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (introduced in §1.8.4). Typically, the MSIH is tested by examining how a category manifests itself in various grammatical environments (Lardiere, 1998a, 1998b, 2000; Prévost & White, 2000a, 2000b), such as Dutch gender manifesting itself in various word classes (e.g. demonstratives, relativizers, adjectives). Examining the speech of individuals producing this category in all its various environments allows us to investigate whether speakers retain knowledge of this category. However, for a feature like the reflexive possessive, which only occurs in one environment, the only way to test whether speakers may still have knowledge of the category but suffer processing problems during production is to collect comprehension data.

Furthermore, it is argued here that comprehension data is particularly relevant in the Abui speech in order to understand the effects of the acquisition process on passive speakers' knowledge. Abui children are exposed to Abui from birth, but only become active speakers during or after adolescence; their parents all claim that they can understand most of the language, but only start responding in it once they have reached or completed puberty (see §2.4.2). Therefore, it is interesting to compare discrepancies in production and comprehension data among speakers who do not actively speak the language (i.e. (pre)adolescents) with speakers who speak it more (i.e. the rest). In other words, how much knowledge do speakers acquire by being passive listeners up until (post)adolescence? It can also shed light on whether some groups are more prone to produce a certain form due to a lack of knowledge or due to sociolinguistic reasons, such as picking a more novel form. For example, if it is found that two groups have similar results in comprehension but different results in production, one can conclude that while they have similar knowledge, their behavior differs. This could shed light further on explaining certain types of behavior: is the variation explained more by not having acquired the right knowledge or by having acquired it but choosing to select a novel form for other reasons?

In the research for this thesis, production data is primarily collected in the form of conversational recordings (§3.5.1) and the Surrey Stimuli video elicitation set (see Fedden, Brown, Kratochvíl, Robinson, and Schapper (2014); §3.5.2.1). Comprehension data is collected using a forced-choice task (§3.5.2.2).

1.9 Organization of the thesis

The thesis proceeds as follows: Chapter 2 *The contact scenario: History and sociolinguistic profile* devotes some attention to the sociolinguistic and socio-historical aspects of the speech community under investigation. The main motivation for including a chapter like this is to satisfy several calls in the literature to have a comprehensive picture of the sociolinguistic forces at play during the complex scenario of language contact and change (cf. Stanford and Preston, 2009a; Ross, 2013). A brief history of the last millennium is provided offering a general historical background, as well as highlighting key developments which favored the rise of Malay on Alor. This is followed

by a description of the rise of schooling, which also played an important role in the shift to Malay. Then, the current sociolinguistic scenario is sketched out, with a focus on the language socialization process as well as age and gender, two key sociolinguistic variables.

Chapter 3 *Methodology* discusses the methodology used in the research reported in this thesis. In particular, it describes the two broad types of data used: sociolinguistic and ethnographic interview data, on the one hand, as well as linguistic data on the other. In addition, it discusses the speaker sample that participated in the research for this study, focusing on how speakers were split up into four age-cohorts: (pre)adolescents, young adults, adults, elders.

Chapter 4 *A sketch grammar of Abui* familiarizes the reader with the grammar of Abui. The main topics include basic clausal syntax, the noun phrase, the verb phrase, pronouns, pronominal prefixes, and basic clausal operations. While much descriptive work has been done on Abui, including a full-fledged grammar, this chapter gives a basic backbone from which the more specific topics, which will receive more particular attention in later chapters, will be understood. Examples from my own fieldwork are used, in addition to material from previous literature and the Kratochvíl corpus (see §3.7).

Chapter 5 *Variation and change in reflexive possessive marking* is the first of three case studies of language variation and change. It investigates the topic of the third person reflexive possessive from a variationist perspective, showing how (pre)adolescents, and in particular male (pre)adolescents, are losing the distinction. By doing so, this chapter shows how they are simplifying the possessive system.

Chapter 6 *Variation and change in verb usage* is the second of the case studies of language variation and change. It focuses on the verbal semantics of three event types which lack direct translation equivalents in each language: verbs of visual perception, verbs of falling, and verbs of change of state. To express each of these event types, Abui uses at least two distinct verbs (which mark subtle differences), while Alor Malay uses one generic verb only. What is found here is that in all three of these domains, (pre)adolescents and young adults generally tend to overgeneralize one of the verbs at the expense of the other. Some of these tendencies are even observed in adults.

Chapter 7 *Variation and change in reduplication* is the third of the case

studies of language variation and change. It tackles variation from a more qualitative approach, dissecting instances of pattern and matter transfer from Alor Malay to Abui in the domain of reduplication. What is found here is that (pre)adolescents and young adults generally use reduplication in Abui in ways which are similar to reduplication in Alor Malay, thereby borrowing the 'pattern' from Alor Malay. In addition, they often also insert reduplicated phrases from Alor Malay, thereby borrowing 'matter' as well.

Chapter 8 *Concluding remarks* revisits the research questions, summarizes the main findings of this thesis, integrates them in a general discussion, and offers directions for further research.

Chapter 2

The contact scenario: History and sociolinguistic profile

2.1 Introduction

In order to understand contact-induced variation and change in Abui, it is important to provide a historical discussion on the series of events that led to the current scenario of contact. In addition, having a clear picture of the current sociolinguistic profile is crucial in contextualizing the processes of language change taking place in the community.

This chapter seeks to answer the following questions: How did Malay gain prominence in Alor and more specifically in the Abui territories? What role did schools, governments, and the Church play in the spread of the language? How have these occurrences shaped the current sociolinguistic profile of Takalelang? More specifically, how do people today acquire the language and become socialized in the community? Which sociolinguistic variables are likely to play a role in predicting linguistic variation?

Drawing on historical sources, as well as interviews with school teachers, this chapter familiarizes the reader with the speech community under investigation by discussing key historical events with respect to politics, economics, religion, and education. Specifically, §2.2 presents some key sociopolitical highlights that took place on Alor during a 900-year period, with a focus on the last ∼200 years. Since schooling is a central theme in the pro-

cess of language shift, a separate section is devoted to discussing its history on Alor and the role it played in more detail, combining historical records with interviews with school principals and teachers (see §2.3).

The second part of this chapter discusses the current sociolinguistic structure of Takalelang (§2.4). In particular, §2.4.1 discusses the domains of use of the three varieties, §2.4.2 describes the language socialization process and delves into two key variables responsible for language variation in the community: age and gender. Furthermore, a discussion of language attitudes is provided in §2.4.3, followed by an assessment of the vitality of the Takalelang speech variety of Abui (§2.4.4).

2.2 Historical overview of Alor and the Abui land

Much of the written record pertaining to Alor comes from Dutch colonial sources from the 1850s-1950s. These sources make use of even earlier sources and discuss relations between the people of Alor, the Dutch, and Portuguese as well as between the people of Alor and other ethnic groups found in the Dutch East Indies (the name attributed to Indonesia in colonial times). While also providing useful documentation of place names, local attire, colonial administration, conflicts, and trading commodities, they were also littered with pejoratives about the savagery of the local population. As Wellfelt (2016, p. 11) remarks, "[they are] also an exposé of judgemental assessments, more revealing of ideals in the colonial administration than of the places and peoples described". In addition to these colonial sources, Alor is home to a rich oral history tradition, which has been kept alive and documented, most notably in Wellfelt (2016), Delpada (2016), Kratochvíl, Delpada, and Perono Cacciafoco (2016). These sources are also consulted. A final source includes data gathered from ethnographic interviews on socio-political events in the later half of the 1900s (see §3.3).

Where available, this section provides a historical account containing a variety of themes, which provide a background for the Abui community of Takalelang. These themes include: initial contact between Europeans and the people of Alor, socio-political developments, missionary activity, some highlights in the development of schooling, the sociolinguistic situation at the time, and the history of Takalelang.

2.2.1 1100-1500: Trading routes

The area of eastern Indonesia was at the heart of the hotly coveted spice trade, providing spices, aromatic woods, forest products, and slaves (Martínez & Vickers, 2012). Even before this trade fell into the hands of European colonial powers, the area was home to important trading networks established by major kingdoms such as the Srivijaya, Majapahit, and Gowa (Makassar) as well as smaller informal networks, such as the Sama-Bajau, Binongko, and Solorese (Kratochvíl, Delpada, & Perono Cacciafoco, 2016). It is likely that even as early as the 1100s, the small island of Alor was involved in these large and complex trading routes which stretched all the way to present-day Vietnam, northern India, and possibly China (Klamer, 2011). Today, this is visible in artifacts such as *moko* kettledrums, currently used as bride price payment and first thought to have originated from Vietnam (Higham, 1996; Kratochvíl, 2007).[1] Other artifacts include *falota*, cloths originating from India, and porcelain from China (Kratochvíl, Delpada, & Perono Cacciafoco, 2016). Alor was strategically located just north of Timor, the source of the in-demand sandalwood and was often used as a pit stop to replenish food and water for the trading ships (Baron van Lynden, 1851; Kratochvíl, Delpada, & Perono Cacciafoco, 2016).

The Majapahit empire, for example, had already included the island of Pantar (known as Galiyao in those days) as part of its dependencies in the 1300s (Holton, 2010). The 1300s also coincide with a major migration to Pantar, of an Austronesian group coming from eastern Flores, today known as the Alorese. The sea-faring and expert merchant Alorese people settled on Pantar, then moved to coastal Alor and had frequent trading exploits with the likes of the Makassarese, Buginese, and Solorese, who they also intermarried with and established marriage and trade alliances with (Anonymous, 1914; Gomang, 1993; Klamer, 2011).

By this period, a trade version of the Malay language must have already been used as a *lingua franca* in eastern Indonesia more generally (Paauw, 2008, p. 54) and it is highly likely that foreign trade with Alor was also conducted in Malay. Around 1460, Islam arrived in the Moluccan islands of Tidore and Ternate (both around 1050 km away) (Cribb, 2010). Then, in the

[1] The origin of the *moko* kettledrums is disputed. More recent work has suggested that, while kettledrums originated in South East Asia, *moko* drums in particular were manufactured in Java for export to the Solor-Alor region (Calò, 2009; Emilie Wellfelt p.c.).

late 1500s, oral traditions suggest that Ternate and Tidore sent four Islamic missionaries to Alor and Pantar (Gomang, 1993, p. 98).

2.2.2 1500-1900: Imports, exports, and colonial tug of war

The years 1500 to 1900 marked the beginning of colonial contact between the inhabitants of Alor, European navigators, and later colonialists. While some new trading opportunities were presented to all parties involved, contact was rather minimal. Yet, it was enough to cause some tension between the two colonial powers, the Dutch and the Portuguese, who later caused a split of allegiances on the island. It was in this period that the Dutch finally established control on the island, albeit minimally, and laid the foundations for heightened involvement in the 1900s.

The first contact Europeans had with Alor was when the famous Spanish armada, the Armada De Moluccas, docked on Alorese shores in January 1522. Under the command of Ferdinand Magellan and later Juan Sebastian del Cano, the Armada de Moluccas was the first expedition to complete the circumnavigation of the globe (Le Roux, 1929). While Ferdinand Magellan had already been killed by the time the fleet arrived on Alor, a Venetian nobleman, Antonio Pigafetta, jotted down some initial encounters with the inhabitants of Alor, which resulted in a publication of his memoirs in 1525. The fleet arrived on Alor, or on 'Mallua', as he referred to it, after sailing South through turbulent waters from the island of Buru in Maluku. After spending fifteen days on the island, Pigafetta mostly made rather derogatory remarks about the local population. He also provided a brief description of the attire of the people, noting down buffalo hide shields, boars' tusks, and loin cloths made from tree bark. Finally, he described some brief and friendly trading encounters with the people, mentioning wax and pepper as two prominent commodities (Pigafetta, 1525/2010).

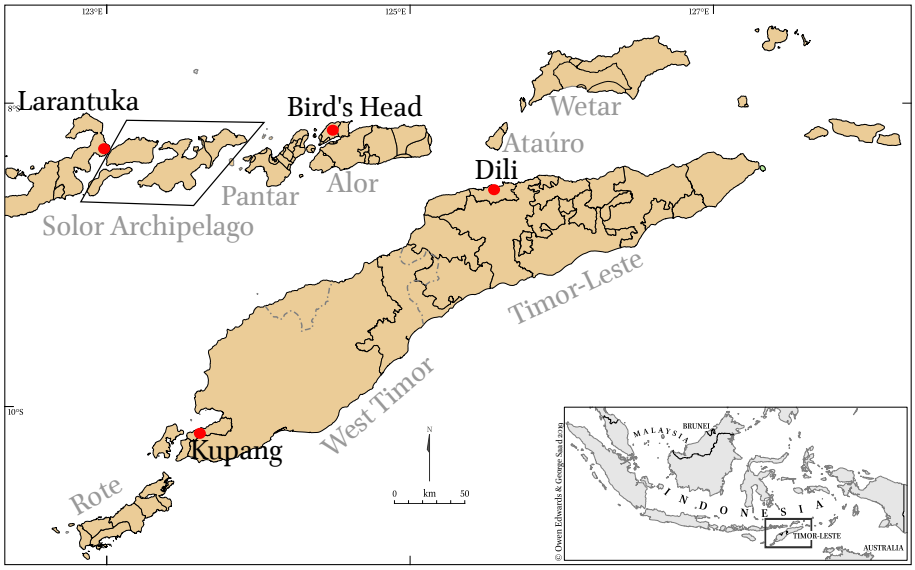
The arrival of the Dutch and Portuguese colonial powers in the 1500-1600s brought new trading opportunities and must have also encouraged the use of Malay - given that Malay was the language of trade. In the mid 1550s, the Portuguese were already established in Larantuka (eastern Flores) and Dili (eastern Timor), and may have begun missionary activity on Alor (Klamer, 2010); see Figure 2.1. A century later, in 1630, a Dominican Catholic missionary from Portugal was posted on Alor and Pantar more permanently (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008, p. 83). On the other hand, Dutch

colonial officers briefly encountered the Alor Archipelago in 1613 but only engaged in more serious trading relationships in the 1670s after they had established a base in Kupang, West Timor. Even then, trading possibilities were rather limited, with the Dutch trading iron for beeswax and slaves with some local *rajas* (Hägerdal, 2010; Baron van Lynden, 1851).[2] Meanwhile, the Portuguese sold iron pieces, cutlasses, and axes to mountain folk.[3] Moreover, the people of Alor continued trading with other groups in the East Indies. For example, they bought gongs and *moko* 'bronze kettledrums' from merchants from Sulawesi (Hägerdal, 2010). In addition, it was in the mid-1600s where, due to a Dutch blockade of the seas of Makassar, that many Makassarese settled in the Bird's Head. There, they allied with the Portuguese and intermarried with the Alorese. This also saw the rise in prominence of the port of Alor Kecil. Trade and Islam were two key uniting forces in the alliances formed between the Makassarese and Alorese; however, alliances with the Portuguese and Dutch respectively also made matters complex (Gomang, 1993, p. 97).

[2]Slaves in general had been a major export until the end of the 1700s (Baron van Lynden, 1851).

[3]Today, there are number of Portuguese loans in Abui, for example, potentially representing this trade, such as *sapada* (Ab.) '(type of) machete' > *espada* (Pt.) 'sword' and *kadera* (Ab.) 'wooden bench' > *cadeira* (Pt.) 'chair'. Portuguese was commonly spoken in Larantuka and Dili; therefore, to this day, the lexicons of both Larantuka Malay (Paauw, 2008, p. 67) and Tetun Dili (Hajek, 2006) have been significantly influenced by Portuguese. It is unclear whether these loans entered directly from Portuguese. It is more likely that they entered through an intermediate language.

Figure 2.1: Map of Alor and surrounding islands



New trading opportunities and alliances brought about a series of internal conflicts and polarization on the island: the Portuguese had allies in the southern and eastern part of Alor, while the Dutch gathered support from the Bird's head, the central and western parts of Alor, as well as Pantar and the Solor Archipelago (see Figure 2.1) (Wellfelt, 2016, p. 197). As internal conflicts on Alor arose, various *rajas* began asking their neighbours in western and eastern Timor, respectively, for help. This thus heightened tensions between the colonial powers, prompting them to gather around the negotiation table and settle the territories (Nieuwenkamp, 1922; Hägerdal, 2010).[4]

In the mid-1800s, with Dutch interest in Alor growing amid the surge of Portuguese involvement, the Dutch *resident* from Timor, Baron van Lynden, was sent on a long visit to Alor. He described a lively domestic trading culture, with highland folk trading their rice, corn, betel vine, and betel nut with coastal folk in return for iron, brass wire, and beads (Baron van Lynden, 1851, p. 333). In addition, he reported that the coastal Muslim people

[4]In a meeting in 1851, the Dutch offered the Portuguese a sum of money plus the island of Ataúru (Pulau Kambing) to reclaim the areas of eastern Flores, Solor Archipelago, Pantar, and Alor (see Figure 2.1). The only victors of the deal were the Dutch. The Portuguese government criticized the deal (Wellfelt, 2016), while local rulers were not pleased either (Hägerdal, 2010; Klamer, 2011).

of Alor[5] spoke some Malay and traded with the Butonese (Binongko), Buginese, Makassarese, and people from Kupang.[6] Dutch sovereign status over Alor was established in 1860, but the Dutch showed marginal interest in dissolving local conflict, instead allowing *rajas* to grapple with power, so long as the Portuguese were kept at bay in eastern Timor (Hägerdal, 2010).

While Malay was certainly in use by coastal people of Alor trading with the Butonese, Buginese, Timorese, and Makassarese, another probable development in the spread of Malay was the arrival of the Chinese. By the year 1851, Chinese merchants had already set up settlements on both Alor and Pantar (Baron van Lynden, 1851, p. 332). This implies that they had been actively establishing contact and trading in the years preceding that. Du Bois (1944) reports that it was only by the end of the 1800s that the Chinese began trading on the coast; however, she might have been unaware of the fact that they had established settlements on Alor half a century before that. In the late 1930s, Nicolspeyer (1940) suggests that there were around 190 Chinese people trading copra (dried coconut kernels) in Kalabahi.[7] These traders probably initially spoke a variety of eastern trade Malay, possibly similar to Kupang Malay or Ambon Malay (Baird et al., in prep.).

2.2.3 1900-1940: Alor as part of the colony

The first half of the 1900s played a crucial role in the formation of modern-day Alor. Most notably, it was in this period when Dutch colonial officers began seriously asserting their rule on the island and engaging with internal affairs.[8] This shift of power would have important implications for the acceleration of the Malay language on the island. While previously, Malay was

[5]Today, in the capital town of Kalabahi as well as in coastal parts of the Bird's Head„ there are numerous descendants of these ethnic groups, who take pride in their ancestors' trading exploits.

[6]*De strandbewoners spreken eenig maleisch* [...] *De buitenlandsche handel wordt voornamelijk gedreven door praawen van Boeten, Boegis, Makassar, en een paar van Kupang*. 'The coastal folk speak some Malay [...] Foreign trade is conducted with proas [type of Austronesian sailing boat] from Buton, Bugis, Makassar, and a few from Kupang.' (Baron van Lynden, 1851, pp. 332-333).

[7]This is also in line with oral reports today, which point to the presence of five generations of people of Chinese descent in Alor (Marlon Adang p.c.).

[8]Much of the historical records from the first part of 1900s come from the memoirs of the Dutch *controleur*, G.A.M. van Gaalen (van Gaalen, 1945), which were translated into English by Hägerdal (2010, 2011).

spoken by a few coastal (Muslim) merchants (Baron van Lynden, 1851) and was thus limited to the domain of commerce, the 1900s would see a rise in the prominence of Malay as the language of colonial power, education, religion, and 'modernity'. At the same time, this shift of power also resulted in a number of bloody wars between the Abui and the Dutch, before tensions quieted down.

In order for the colonial administrators to expand their sphere of influence, it was important that the local *rajas* would be able to communicate with the Dutch in the *lingua franca* of the Indies, Malay. The year of 1906 marked the beginning of the Dutch Protestant mission, led by the *Indische Kerk* 'Church of the Indies', the most prevalent missionary organization in many parts of eastern Indonesia (Cribb, 2010 cited in Hägerdal, 2011). The Dutch propagated the use of Malay as a language of communication throughout the colony, as well as the language of Protestantism and schooling. The year 1906 was also the year that the first two schools on the island were opened (Klamer, 2011; Wellfelt, 2016). From then on, education, the Malay language, allegiance to the Dutch, and Protestantism would become closely intertwined (more extensive information on the history of schooling is provided in §2.3).

In the early 1900s, the Dutch began exercising their control more visibly as they began appointing Dutch *posthouders* 'postholders' across the Alor archipelago (Hägerdal, 2010). This allowed them to collect taxes, mostly in the form of unpaid labour, which they used to build the port town of Kalabahi and several pathways emanating from it in 1906 (Nieuwenkamp, 1922). In 1910, under the command of Governor-General van Heutz, the Dutch started a military, as well as an educational campaign by appointing *rajas* themselves. They would then send these *rajas* to school to learn Malay and also convert to Protestantism. By doing so, they tore up the island into *rajadoms* and then recruited their services to impose Dutch rule (Klamer, 2011; Wellfelt, 2016).

However, this was not always a smooth process and sometimes also resulted in a series of conflicts with local *rajas* who refused to observe Dutch rule and pay taxes. An early example of this can be found with their dismantling of the *rajadom* of Mataru. The *rajadom* of Mataru[9] was located in

[9]In coastal areas as well as Kalabahi, Mataru has the reputation of having been home to the first *rajadom* in Alor (Wellfelt, 2016, pp. 297-8).

the southern coast of Alor and was thus considered a strategic location. The *raja* at the time spoke the Boi language,[10] but could not speak Malay - this lead to many misunderstandings.

The Dutch wanted to replace the *raja* with an Abui man who spoke Malay so they sent an Abui man for schooling instead and then tried to get him to take over the throne. The *raja* was outraged and this led to a disastrous series of conflicts between the *raja*, the Dutch, and neighbouring *rajadoms*. Eventually, in 1916, the Dutch colonial government decided to strip Mataru of its *rajadom* and subsequently offered it to the *raja* of Kui, an action that would create a split between the northern territories of Welai and Lembur on the one hand, and Mataru on the other (Wellfelt, 2016).[11] This story is one of many where language (i.e. Malay) combined with Dutch politics to play a crucial in the power struggles and the colonization process (Wellfelt, 2016, p. 298).

Another key encounter between the Abui and the Dutch colonial forces is the revolt in 1918 against the demands of the coastal Alorese *raja*, who was acting on behalf of the Dutch in demanding taxes. This uprising was orchestrated by the self-proclaimed female Abui sultan, Malielehi. Malielehi was seen as a *Nala Kaang* 'Good Being' , a human who had emerged from the Earth with special, magical powers (Du Bois, 1944; Wellfelt, 2011, 2016; Delpada, 2016). She had become fed up with the demand for taxes so she led an ambush to assassinate the Alorese *raja* in the village of Fuung Waati (Wellfelt, 2011). Dutch troops retaliated, arresting and deporting her, while also burning 300 Abui men in a cave before restoring power (Wellfelt, 2011; Delpada, 2016). This also had consequences for resettlement. In 1918, the colonial government forced villagers from the five-village Atengmelang complex to move down from the ridges to the floor of an enclosed valley (Du Bois, 1944, p. 17).

[10] According to Emilie Wellfelt (p.c.), 'The Boi-speakers are a small community, a few families, that according to their origin story migrated from Timor, from 'Likusa-Maubara' in a *perahu* 'proa [type of Austronesian sailing boat]' called Lete-Lete, and settled in the village Padailak, centre of the *rajadom* Mataru. Their ancestor married the daughter of Tolanbán, the *raja tanah* 'land king'. The descendants of this union are the *raja* clan *Paneg Araman* of Mataru, and they speak the *bahasa pantai* 'coastal language', Boi.'

[11] Today, Abui is spoken in Mataru. However, the lexicons and phonologies of (southern) Mataru varieties of Abui on the one hand and the Northern varieties of Abui such as Petleng, Mola (Welai area) and Takalelang (Lembur area) on the other show some significant differences (see Saad, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c).

During the 1930-40s, according to Cora Du Bois, four *rajaships* were in place: Alor Proper (including Pura and Pantar), Kui, Batulolong, and Kolana, all of which cut through linguistic and cultural borders. Under each *raja* was a *kapitan* (cf. Dutch *kapitein*, Portuguese *capitão*). A *kapitan* administered a smaller district and assisted the *raja* in collecting taxes and hearing litigations. Under a *kapitan*, was a local leader of village clusters named a *tumukun* (a term borrowed from Javanese). Finally, each village was run by a *kepala* 'head' (Du Bois, 1944, p. 16).[12]

2.2.4 1940-1965: Abui wars, independence, and relocation

The years between 1940 and 1965 represented a period of turmoil in the history of the Abui land, and in particular Takalelang.[13] During this period, the Abui experienced the stability of being governed by three different regimes: the Japanese, the Dutch, and the newly formed Indonesian state. In addition, the people of Takalelang had experienced two major fires: one due to internal warfare and another as a result of a kitchen disaster. Another major change taking place in the community was the growing prominence of the Protestant Church as well as schooling. All of these events instigated the relocation of many villages from mountains to coast and, as a result, play a key role in the rise of Malay in the Takalelang community.

The 1940s was generally a period of heavy warfare on Alor. One of the most notable wars was the infamous war between Takalelang and the neighbouring village of Atengmelang. Warriors from Atengmelang sacked Takalelang by setting it on fire. It is unclear exactly what the motive was, with many different versions of events being circulated (Wellfelt, 2016). After a number of houses were rebuilt, in 1954, a decade later, another major fire burned the village of Takalelang. The fire was allegedly caused by a kitchen fire, whereby coconut oil and kerosene were confused for one another. It was also much larger than the one caused by the war, and as a result many lost their lives. After this, the government provided some *bantuan rehab* 'rehabilitation relief'; however, most relief came from neighbouring villages in the form of corn and rice. People camped in the woods, sleeping under trees and also using branches to hang their food [EG.65M.SH].[14] After that, several

[12] All of these terms are Malay terms.

[13] At the time, Takalelang was still located in the mountaintops.

[14] The code [EG.65M.SH] refers to recording of an ETHNOGRAPHIC interview by a 65-year-

huts were rebuilt and people continued living there until the mid-sixties.

The Japanese occupied Alor from 1942-1945, resulting in a period of revolts from local rulers (Hägerdal, 2010; Klamer, 2011). The period of Japanese rule was a time of suffering for a lot of inhabitants of Alor, with tales of starvation, beatings, and rape all being reported (Wellfelt, 2016).[15] After a few minor raids and assassinations, the Japanese lost WWII and left Alor in 1945. Shortly after, the Dutch briefly re-assumed power by sending the Dutch *controleur*, van Gaalen, and several other officials (Wellfelt, 2016).[16] Van Gaalen wrote about a number of topics in his *memorie* 'memorandum', including the sociolinguistic setting of Alor after WWII (van Gaalen, 1945; Hägerdal, 2010, 2011). He stressed the importance of local leaders knowing Malay, since there were as many as 13 languages on the island plus dialects (Hägerdal, 2011, p. 62). He also remarked that the people of the Bird's Head peninsula were mostly able to speak Malay as a result of the presence of a large number of schools and access to the port capital of Kalabahi (Hägerdal, 2011). He contrasted them to the Abui folk of the Welai and Lembur regions of central Alor, who he claimed had less contact with outsiders, spoke much less Malay, and often wore warrior attire. As Wellfelt (2016, p. 10) remarks, van Gaalen's comparison between the people of the Bird's Head who wore Malay sarongs and spoke Malay and the inland people who wore local attire is an early indication of a language ideology that was injected by Dutch colonial forces and has remained ever since: speaking Malay is a sign of intelligence, while speaking the local languages is a sign of being primitive, a sign of being *bodok*[17] 'stupid, ignorant'.

The year 1947 was a pivotal year in terms of schooling and religion. The *Gereja Masehi Injili di Timor* (GMIT) was formed (Wellfelt, 2016). This was an

old male discussing school history. For more info on these interviews, see §3.3.2. Original excerpt: *Jadi sesudah kampung terbakar baru nanti ada pembantuan sedikit dari pemerintah ada bantuan dari tetanggah, dari kampung lain, jagung, padi, datang kasi keluarga-keluarga tapi tidak ada rumah ketemu taru di mana, jadi gantung-gantung di pohon-pohon. Kemudian tidur-tidur di bawa pohon. baru nanti ada bikin pondok, bikin apa. Kasihan waktu itu.*

[15] Recording CV.QU (see Chapter 3, §3.6) contains a fragment whereby an 85-year-old Abui monolingual lady sings a song taught to her by the Japanese authorities.

[16] Other accounts suggest van Gaalen was already on Alor when the Japanese arrived and that he sought refuge in the village of Otvai in the Bird's Head peninsula (Marlon Adang p.c.).

[17] Abui speakers of Alor Malay have reanalyzed the Malay word *bodoh* as containing a final /k/.

autonomous unit within the Dutch led *Indische kerk* 'Church of the Indies'. That same year, the GMIT erected the first school in Takalelang, *Sakolah Rakyat Gereja Masehi Injili di Timor Takalelang*. Two years later, they closed the school down and then moved it from the mountain tops to the northern coast, where it is found today.

In 1949, when Indonesia gained independence, the Indonesian state stopped funding church organizations. At this point, while there were at least ten Protestant churches active in Alor, one of the most prominent, besides the GMIT was the KINGMI (*Kemah Injil Gereja Masehi di Indonesia* 'Tabernacle Gospel Christian Church') (Wellfelt, 2016, p. 223). During this period, the prominence of the church was growing. The increase in missionarization was also coupled with a disdain towards local traditions. Dancing *lego-lego* was forbidden in some areas as it was associated with inter-village warfare and many cultural artifacts were burned and destroyed (Wellfelt, 2016, p. 224). This also coincides with a modern day myth about how *Lamoling*, the original being of worship became malevolent, was then replaced by a representation of the Christian (and Islamic) 'god of light', *Lahatala* (Perono Cacciafoco et al., 2015; Kratochvíl, Delpada, & Perono Cacciafoco, 2016).

2.2.5 1965-1985: Shift of location, religion, and language

The mid-1960s presents a milestone in the language shift scenario to Malay. Between 1965 and 1966, the Protestant Church relocated from the hilltops in Takalelang to the northern coast, close to the GMIT school in Takalelang. That the school and now church were already there and the incidence of fires from the 40s and 50s encouraged many families to relocate to the northern coast as well.[18] In particular, families from six mountain settlements, tied together by an alliance known as *Meelang Talaama* 'Six villages' relocated to the northern coast where the hamlet of Takpala was and still is located. They formed a new settlement which they named after older ancestral village, Takalelang (Kratochvíl, Delpada, & Perono Cacciafoco, 2016).[19]

[18] This process of relocation of mountain villages to more flat territories was initiated by the Dutch, at least in the time of Du Bois (Du Bois, 1944, p. 17). However, it was only in the 1960s and the years following that this move gained more momentum.

[19] *Meelang Talaama* is an alliance formed by six smaller settlements located in the inland, namely *Kaleen, Murafang, Mahafuui, Lilafang, Fuungafeng,* and *Takalelang* and part of a larger confederation known as Lembur (Kratochvíl, Delpada, & Perono Cacciafoco,

In addition to these factors, the government also played a crucial role in the resettlement to the coast, namely through two initiatives: *Desa gaya baru* 'New style village' and *Tim turun ke bawah* 'Move down team'. The goal of these initiatives was to encourage, sometimes even force, small mountain hamlets, to move down to the coast and form larger hamlets. This would allow governments to impose more homogeneity on and control over these newly formed villages, in exchange for access to healthcare, schools, and religious institutions (Wellfelt, 2016, pp. 120-121).

One motive that encouraged families to obey the government's call for resettlement was a fear of being branded a communist. The communist party PKI came under intense scrutiny in the mid-1960s and it was commonplace for people - and sometimes entire villages - to be branded communists, imprisoned, and then assassinated - sometimes without even having any involvement with the party. The government feared a growing following in the mountains and wanted people to resettle to the coast (Wellfelt, 2016, pp. 120-121).

In 1979, Takalelang changed allegiance from the GMIT to the Catholic Church. Often, as was the case here, this was due to conflict between a village member and someone affiliated with the GMIT Church (Wellfelt, 2016). At this point, as a result of missionary pressure and political events in Indonesia almost everyone in the Abui speaking area had adopted a world religion (Wellfelt, 2016).[20] In 1980, a new primary school opened: *Sekolah Dasar Instruksi Presiden Mabu* (often abbreviated to SD Inpres Mabu). This was done supposedly to have an alternative to the Protestant school, GMIT Takalelang, for the growing number of Catholics (see §2.3.1).

In 1984, two government officials from Jakarta visited Takpala, the top part of the larger Takalelang village which houses several bamboo Abui houses. Their intention was to establish a site where tourists could come and observe 'local customs'. Shortly after, the regent of Alor (*bupati*), and several other high government officials held an inauguration feast, where the two sacred houses, which had been forbidden were raised again. Young people who had been forbidden from learning the *lego-lego* and *cakalele* dances,

2016). See §1.4.2 for map and more information.

[20] As Wellfelt (2016, p. 225) writes, "In conjunction with the political turmoil in 1965, when the government banned the Communist Party and then 'strongly urged that all Indonesian citizens apply for membership of one of the five recognized religions', many religious organizations recorded a distinct increase in members".

were now learning the dances to perform for tourists (Wellfelt, 2016).

2.2.6 Summary of historical events in the spread of Malay

Because Alor was in the orbit of the spice and sandalwood trade, middlemen from major kingdoms such as Srivijaya, Majapahit, and Gowa occasionally docked on the island (Barnes, 1982; de Roever, 2002; Kratochvíl, Delpada, & Perono Cacciafoco, 2016; Wellfelt, 2016). This is quite possibly the first time the coastal people of Alor came into contact with Malay. In addition, coastal people, such as the Muslims from Pandai, Blagar, Bamusang, Alor Kecil and Alor Besar probably already knew some Malay, as they had been trading with other groups from Sulawesi, such as the Bugis and the Makassarese, with whom they also set up marriage alliances (Gomang, 1993). When the resident of Timor, Baron Van Lynden, wrote a report on Alor in the early 1850s, Malay was already being used as a trading language and *lingua franca* among Alorese coastal groups and traders from Solor, Buton, Makassar, Bugis, Kupang (Baron van Lynden, 1851, pp. 323-324). In addition, Malay was also the language associated with Islam, so it is likely at least some elite religious figures would have also had command of the language (van Engelenhoven p.c.). All of this points to some Malay having been spoken on coastal, Muslim areas by figures of high status with other groups even before the Chinese had settled by the mid 1800s.

In addition to being used as the language of Islam, Malay became the vehicle for the spread of Christianity under the Portuguese and Dutch (Paauw, 2008, p. 54). However, it wasn't until the early 1900s, when the Dutch began establishing more control in Alor, that Malay rose in prestige and began being used as a political force.

The Dutch *posthouders* 'postholders' and *controleurs* 'controlers, district officers' mostly came from Kupang, so it was likely that they were speaking Kupang Malay. This period coincided with the rise in prominence of the Bird's Head region, including the Muslim coastal population, and possibly some Adang speakers, who began adopting Malay-style attire and helped construct the first Protestant schools. Up until the 1940s, Malay was spoken mainly in coastal areas along the Bird's Head and it is possible that this initial variety of Alor Malay was the result of koineization of the Malay spoken by several ethnolinguistic groups. First, there were the groups of foreign traders who settled on the island. This included Muslim settlers, such as the

Butonese, the Bugis, and the Makassarese who had trade relations with the coastal Alorese as well as Chinese merchants who settled in Kalabahi (Baron van Lynden, 1851; Hägerdal, 2010, 2011; Baird et al., in prep.). Trade and Islam would have been the main domains of use. Although these might have been the earliest groups to bring Malay to the island, it is unclear how much influence groups of immigrant traders would have had in the spread of the language.

Second, and more dominantly, there were Dutch colonial administrators, Protestant missionaries, their assistants (who usually came from Rote), and school teachers, who themselves might have used both classical Malay (as found in the Bibles and school books in Ambon), and colloquial Kupang Malay and/or Ambon Malay. Third, there were the *rajas* of Alor and their families, whose Malay must have been influenced by their local languages, mostly notably Alorese, but possibly also Wersing (Kolana), Abui (Mataru, Kui, Batulolong). In addition, it is also possible that a number of coastal Adang and Kabola speakers also spoke Malay as they too had more frequent ties to the Dutch than other groups.

By this point, apart from some councils with the *rajas* 'local leaders' and *tumukuns* 'local leaders of village clusters', mountainous populations such as the Abui, had very little contact with Malay, although a number of schools were beginning to emerge in the highlands and some family members of wealthy Abui families were being sent to the Bird's Head to learn Malay there.

Up until the 1960s, Malay Indonesian was not very widespread in the Abui territory. However, in 1965, after families founded the new village of Takalelang on the northern coast there was a steady increase in school attendance. The value of attending school, which meant learning Malay Indonesian and becoming integrated into the Indonesian state, was also rising. Both government officials and school teachers would play a key role in promoting the use of Malay Indonesian, often at the expense of Abui. The Protestant and Catholic Churches also played a role in this, both in their affiliation with schools and because the Bible and psalm books were translated in Malay Indonesian (Wellfelt p.c.). Finally, what all of this suggests is that Abui has been in contact with Malay for a period of 50-60 years.

2.3 The impact of schooling on language shift

Section 2.3.1 discusses the incipient phases of schooling on Alor up until 1965, while inevitably mentioning the crucial role that the Protestant Church played in this.[21] Section 2.3.2 discusses the strong impact of resettling as well as government and teacher policies from 1965 until the present, drawing from historical sources as well as ethnographic interviews with actors involved in this process.

2.3.1 1901-1965: Early history of schooling on Alor

The Protestant mission on Alor began in 1901, with the arrival of the Protestant Reverend, J.F. Niks, and the baptism of the first inhabitant of Alor (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008). The mission was run by the Dutch *Indische Kerk* 'Church of the Indies', which, as mentioned in the previous section, led the Protestant mission in many parts of eastern Indonesia (Cribb, 2010). In 1906, the *Indische Kerk* opened the first school on Alor, a three-year *Volkschool* (*Sekolah Rakyat*) 'compulsory school', in the Bird's Head territory of Alor Kecil (Klamer, 2011; Wellfelt, 2016). Shortly afterwards, the Dutch opened another school in the nearby village of Dulolong as well (Klamer, 2011). This marked the beginning of a blend of power, religion, and education.

Just like other parts of Indonesia, "the elite were encouraged to read and write and to partake in colonial administrations" (Wellfelt, 2016, p. 107). Unlike other parts of Indonesia, where the government played a role in schooling, schooling in this period was entirely in the hands of the *Indische Kerk* - though the Church was paid by the colonial state. While the Dutch were unable to spread Christianity in an already Muslim western Indonesia, they saw the potential to combine education with the spread of Christianity in eastern Indonesia (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008, p. 240). The Malay language was the medium used to tie these elements together.

In the years that followed, a number of other schools began cropping up in the coastal region of the Bird's Head, home to the Muslim Alorese people. Alorese villages became the springboard from which Protestant schools would emerge, due to the close ties the Dutch had with the Muslim

[21] Since the focus of this thesis is on the Abui people, only Protestant and Catholic schools are discussed in this section. As such, Muslim schools are not mentioned.

Alorese people, as well as the availability of labour (Wellfelt, 2016). Soon after, schools would also make their way into the central and eastern Alor interior but with limited initial success.

For example, in Atengmelang, a school was in place between 1925 and 1931 but soon had to be shut down due to the hostility shown to the teachers (Du Bois, 1944, p. 17). These *Indische Kerk*-run schools typically consisted of one Dutch missionary and other educated missionary teachers from other parts of Indonesia (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008). As a result, the instructors could not speak Abui and only about 20 boys spoke Malay; therefore, their influence was minimal (Du Bois, 1944, p. 17).

In 1937, school attendance was still quite low. There were 32 schools, with only 2089 schoolchildren attending (a census from the 1930's reports around 90,000 inhabitants on Alor (Hägerdal, 2010)). In 1947, this number would increase to 37 schools, with 5326 attending. Another notable increase was the percentage of girls attending from 21% in 1937 to 28% in 1947 (Hägerdal, 2011, p. 62).[22]

In spite of this, it was clear that Malay was growing in prestige. Schoolchildren who knew Malay often held a power position of serving as interpreters for government officials and the rest of the Abui population (Du Bois, 1944, p. 223).[23]

It is unclear exactly what type of Malay was taught at these schools, but if it followed the same pattern as the Moluccas, this might have been a mix of classical high Malay of the Bible[24] and low Malay (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008, pp. 391-392), possibly already used in Kalabahi by the Chinese community, Dutch colonial officers, and Alorese merchants.

At this point, Protestantism was also making steady ground among the non-Muslim population. In the 1920s, as part of the conversion process, the Protestant mission slowly began dismantling local beliefs, calling

[22] Sources differ in terms of the numbers. Aritonang and Steenbrink (2008, p. 306) suggests there were 30 schools in 1939, while Du Bois (1944, p. 17) suggests there were 25 schools scattered through the high country, without giving a precise date.

[23] It is clear from some of the autobiographies in Du Bois (1944) that schooling was not only limited to children as such. For example, Du Bois's interpreter, Fantan, says that he went to school in Atengmelang for two-and-a-half years at the age of around sixteen (p.354).

[24] Classical high Malay was based on a Christian variety of Malay that had emerged in the 1600s and then readjusted for the Klinkert translation in the 1900s (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008, pp. 460,826).

upon people to abandon some of their material culture, by burning wood carvings, for example (Wellfelt, 2016, p. 213). By 1939, it was reported that 66,850 had been baptized - nearly the entire non-Muslim population of Alor. Typically, *rajas* (or their children) were encouraged to go to school to learn Malay so that they could be involved in colonial administration as well as enabling them to get baptized and convert to Protestantism. This would then send a signal to the people in the *rajadom* to surrender their idols and direct their prayers to the Christian God (Wellfelt, 2016, p. 167).

By documenting people's dreams and visions, Du Bois (1944) shows how, despite initial minimal missionary involvement and school attendance in some parts of the highlands, missionary teachings as well as a rise in prestige of Malay were creeping into the consciousness of the Abui people and becoming intertwined with Abui ideologies. This is evident in some of the prophecies and dreams of two key Abui figures, which make it clear that they began internalizing, popularizing, and advocating messages 'which the native missionary talked [about]' (Wellfelt, 2016, p. 214) such as abandon your guardian spirit, Malay is the language of communication with enlightened beings, and that honest people went to heaven and sat in chairs (Du Bois, 1944, p. 401).

In 1946, the GMIT opened the first school[25] in the Takalelang region in the hilltops, close to where most people from the six village alliance were living. In 1947, it moved down to Latufui, and then in 1948 moved down away from all the villages to the northern coastal area where it is currently located (the school is referred to as SD GMIT Takalelang but is technically located in the hamlet of Belubul). It was hoped that the move to the coast would encourage families to move down as well. For 20 years, there was little permanent migration, with the area along the northern coast around SD Takalelang mostly consisting of gardens and fields [SL.68M.SH].

Instead, schoolchildren who were encouraged to go to school (there were not many at the time), had to hike up and down the hilltops and valleys for hours each day to arrive to school [SL.68M.SH]. The only resting point available in the vicinity was the hilltop known as Takpala which at the time consisted of one or two houses. They were forced to cover up their lower bodies and this meant wearing loincloths and sharing the scant clothing

[25] In the early years, it was a Sunday school, and began as a *volkschool* (*sekolah rakyat*) 'public compulsory school'.

handed out by the *raja*.[26] For food, they often brought with them a corncob or two in their baskets, which was meant to last them the entire trip. In short, conditions were miserable for many children and thus they had little incentive to attend [SL.68M.SH].

2.3.2 The role of *SD* 'Primary schools'

One of the biggest factors in causing the shift from Abui to Malay Indonesian was the role that primary schools played in this process, especially in the late 1960s up until the 1990s. The two primary schools crucial to this process for the village of Takalelang were SD GMIT Takalelang (erected in 1946) and SD Inpres Mabu (erected in 1980).[27]

By the mid to late 1960s, many families from the *Meelang Talaama* 'Six village alliance' had moved down to the new settlement of Takalelang, putting them within walking distance to SD Takalelang.

As more and more children were beginning to flock the school, the teachers soon realized that many of them could barely understand Malay Indonesian and were performing badly at school. From then on, the teachers initiated a campaign to ensure that schoolchildren could cope with the language barrier and began imposing a ban on the use of Abui. Already in 1967, when the principal of SD Takakelang in 2017, himself went to the school as a six-year-old, it was forbidden to speak Abui. There were signs with the writing *dilarang berbahasa daerah* 'it is forbidden to speak the local language (i.e. Abui)'. In those days, it was typically accepted for first and second graders to speak Abui because they knew virtually no Malay Indonesian when they entered school. The teachers spoke to them in Abui and tried to ease them into learning Malay Indonesian. In grades three to six, teachers would become increasingly stricter with banning Abui. They often beat children and yelled at them, telling them they were *bodok* 'stupid, ignorant' for not speaking Malay Indonesian.[28]

[26] The Abui no longer recognize any *rajas*, but descendants of previous Abui *rajas* still claim to enjoy a privileged position (Simon Lanma p.c.).

[27] *Sekolah Dasar* (*SD*) 'primary school' typically lasts six years, before schoolchildren move on to junior secondary school (SMP), for three years and senior secondary school (SMA), for three final years.

[28] The information presented in the following paragraphs comes from interviews with the principal of SD Takalelang, as well as with teachers at SD Mabu who were vital in the

However, in the early years, some parents objected to this treatment. They marched to school and confronted the teachers angrily for beating their children. These protests were to no avail. Teachers insisted on the importance of speaking Malay Indonesian so that the schoolchildren would succeed at school, be able to sell goods at the market, travel around the country, and still be able to communicate with people from different ethnic groups [EG.65M.SH].

The 1970s saw an increased movement from the emerging Indonesian state to standardize the Indonesian language and impose policies advocating the use of Indonesian, specifically 'good and correct Indonesian' (*Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar*). As part of this, the state established the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan* 'Center for Language Development and Cultivation' in 1975 (Heryanto, 1995).

Another factor which prompted action by teachers was the fact that at least since the early 1970s, NTT has scored lowest among Indonesian provinces in most indicators of education (Royono & Rahwidiati, 2013). The proportion of the workforce in NTT with secondary education was significantly less than in Indonesia as a whole (M. A. Jones, 1988).[29]

In the 1970s, children who went to school were continuously scolded and beaten for speaking Abui. When these kids graduated, became adults, and began having kids of their own, they wanted to ensure that their kids would not suffer the same treatment as them. Therefore, in the 1980s, parenting strategies began adapting to the new regulations in place at school. Children born in the 1980s, especially the mid- and late-80s were being increasingly raised in Alor Malay.[30]

Considering that the 1980s was the decade of transitioning from raising children in Abui to Alor Malay, there was still some variation in terms of which language was being used to raise children. Some common trends

movement to ban Abui from school and encourage the use of Indonesian.

[29]There have been improvements in the indicators of education in NTT since the early 1970s. The illiteracy rate for people aged 10+ decreased from 42% in 1971 to 35% in 1980 and to 19% in 1995. The proportion of the population aged 15+ that had completed junior secondary education in 1980 was 9.2%. By 1995, this figure almost double to 20.4% (M. A. Jones, 1988).

[30](*Di tahun 80an*) *itu sudah Bahasa Indonesia. Yang tamat itu kan, suda pigi, tida lanjut pendidikan, pasti kawin. Kawin, mulai melahirkan anak, dia mulai latih ajar bahasa indonesia... Di tahun 80an itu sudah mulai rame orang berbahasa Indonesia saja* [EG.65M.SH].

involved children of affiliates with the educational system (teachers, supervisors, principals) being raised almost exclusively in Alor Malay, in order to set an example.[31] On the other end of the spectrum, children whose parents still lived in montane villages and who themselves frequently went up and down, were often raised predominantly in Abui. In this period, parents did not always show too much willingness to send their children to school. Often, according to former teachers, parents would not do enough to prepare them for school in the morning. Instead they would be content to let them help out at home or in the field [EG.48M.SH]. One teacher described the periods of harvest and planting as a 'big illness to the world of education'.[32]

In 1980, a new primary school was opened by the government: SD Negeri Inpres Mabu. This was supposedly done to provide an alternative to the Protestant run, GMIT Takalelang, for a growing Catholic community. SD Mabu was ironically also established because SD Takalelang was considered too far from the actual village of Takalelang (despite the name, SD Takalelang is located near the hamlet of Belubul and is about a 20 minute walk from Takalelang), and so SD Mabu provided a closer alternative for schoolchildren [EG.60M.SH]. In 1983, the Center for Language Development and Cultivation released the 'Broad guidelines of the state', which mandated that "language development and cultivation are to be implemented by compelling the use of good and correct Indonesia", while also stating that regional languages are to be respected, "but only in so far as they enrich the national language, arts, culture, and identities" (Parera, 1983 cited in Heryanto, 1995, p. 38). Sneddon (2003, p. 208) states that:

> Traditional cultures and arts were seen as playing little part in this progress, except in so far as they could attract foreign tourists to Indonesia. The government has thus in practice done little to encourage maintenance of regional languages and cultures, both because this is regarded as playing little part in development and progress and because of fears of encouraging regional loyalties and jealousies.

The 1983 directive coincided with the rise of Takpala in 1982 as a tourist attraction, who could come and observe the 'traditional people of Alor'.

[31] *Apa lagi bilang guru to? Saya guru to? Jadi sa musti ajar anak saya harus bahasa Indonesia* [EG.45M.SH].

[32] *Saat tanam dan saat panen itu, itu penyakit besar di dunia pendidikan* [EG.48M.SH].

However, despite providing support for the maintenance of Takpala, they did little to promote the use of Abui.

In the late 80s and early 90s, there were several strategies that teachers used to implement these new guidelines, at SD Mabu at least, and carry forward to shift to Malay Indonesian. Some were aimed at the schoolchildren themselves, while others were aimed at the parents. For the children, teachers used positive and negative reinforcement. Firstly, as is common at Indonesian schools, the teachers implemented a ranking system that favoured schoolchildren who spoke Indonesian and neglected schoolchildren who spoke Abui. This also encouraged schoolchildren to press one another to learn Indonesian.[33] As for parents, many teachers preached at church and other community gatherings, [34] encouraging them to raise their children in Alor Malay so that when they enter school, they would be able to understand their lecturer and perform well at school. It was also assumed that because Abui was spoken at home, it would be learned anyway through mere exposure to adults and other peers, a view that is still very predominant today.[35]

In 1993, the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) was established and this effectively reduced the number of schoolchildren being beaten by teachers [EG.75M.SH]. However, teachers were still clamping down on the use of Abui in the playground. At this point, it was mostly children whose parents lived in more mountainous villages such as Kafak Beka who were inclined to use Abui. Schoolchildren who lived in Takalelang

[33] *Setiap anak yang suda lancar bahasa Indonesia, itu dia bisa tanggap itu berbagai pelajaran yang disedukan oleh guru jadi setiap hasil ulangan semester, itu mereka selalu menjuarai, peringkat kelas. Akhirnya, yang tadi tida dapat peringkat ini mereka juga rasa ada perasaan dengan dep teman jangan terlalu fokus di bahasa daera jadi kita tinggalkan ini supaya kita juga bisa dapat peringkat di kelas, begitu. Anak yang tetap dengan bahasa daerah dibanding dengan anak-anak yang tiap hari dengan bahasa Indonesia itu. Ini saat hasil ulangan semester, ulangan kelas ulangan kenaikan kelas malam mereka yang suda lancar bahasa Indonesia itu yang selalau dapat ranking jadi itu yang mendorong teman-teman yang tadinya tetap dengan bahasa daerah* [EG.48M.SH].

[34] *Yang sebelum Fani datang itu, itu saat itu, terlalu, di tempat-tempat baik di gereja di masyarakat juga selalu takankan bilang ini selalu kasi ajar anak dengan bahasa Indonesia* [EG.48M.SH].

[35] *Anak itu akan tau itu bahasa daerah dari rumah lewat pergaulan orang tua dengan ini dengan anak yang bersangkutan. yang perlu kita belajar keras itu bahasa Indonesia yang kita perlu belajar keras, sementara bahasa daerah ini suda ada di ruma. Ini baik pendidik ko apa, nara sumbar suda ada di ruma memang. Yang untuk belajar bahasa Indonesia ini kita harus cari dia punya orang, sala satu guru* [EG.48M.SH].

mostly used Alor Malay to communicate with one another.

Since the 2000s, virtually all schoolchildren use Alor Malay in the playground. At this point, there was no question about the threat of children using Abui. The teachers' wishes from the earlier decades were fulfilled. Currently, at SD Takalelang, there are no rules forbidding schoolchildren from speaking Abui; however, since their parents raise them in Alor Malay anyway, their Abui isn't proficient enough for them to feel comfortable speaking it in the first place. As a result of this, the principal suggests that there are efforts to introduce classes in Abui [EG.65M.SH] (see §2.4.4 on vitality and revitalization efforts).

Figure 2.2: School children at SD Takalelang



In summary, the 1960s and 70s saw a rise in school attendance. Many children entering school at the time only spoke Abui with another and struggled to perform well as result. Teachers began imposing strict regulations, banning the use of Abui at schools, while also encouraging parents to raise their children in Alor Malay as opposed to Abui. By the 2000s, al-

most all schoolchildren who hailed from Takalelang had been raised in Alor Malay by their parents and used it at school to communicate with their peers.

In addition to these developments, another crucial trend was the fact that many children were (and still are) being sent to live with relatives outside Takalelang for educational purposes. This included pursuing secondary school in Kalabahi and/or Kupang. Inevitably, their exposure to Abui would decrease; however, in the later years, growing Abui communities in places like Kupang would help strengthen Abui identity and their exposure to Abui (see also §1.5.2).

2.4 Current sociolinguistic profile

Having discussed the general history of Alor as well as the more specific history of schooling in the Abui land, this section elaborates on the current sociolinguistic makeup of Takalelang. Specifically, the topic of domains of use of the various languages is discussed in §2.4.1, language acquisition and socialization is discussed in §2.4.2, language attitudes in §2.4.3, vitality and revitalization attempts in §2.4.4.

2.4.1 Domains of use

In daily life across the whole speech community, there is often a lot of code-switching between Abui and Malay Indonesian and between Alor Malay and Indonesian. However, certain domains exist where one of these varieties is most prominent.

Abui is still the language spoken by adults for daily conversation. It is thus used in 'adult' affairs, such as settlements of disputes, annual ceremonies, *lego-lego* dancing and singing, and bride-price negotiations. Some of these also require Abui ritual speech. Abui is also used by grandparents in almost all aspects of life, also when addressing (grand)children. It is almost always used among Abui people of all age-groups in hospitality contexts when visitors or guests are present. When ordering their children to help out and serve guests, parents consider it good manners to address their children in Abui. In addition, parents also use Abui to both scold and to show affection to their children. Furthermore, the language is also used in

the domains of sustenance, agriculture, and possibly when describing emotion among adults and their children.

In education, Abui has not been allowed since the advent of schooling in the early 1900s. Despite intensive attempts to eradicate the language from school premises from the 70s to the 80s, teachers today adopt a lax approach towards Abui at school. It is not forbidden, but few kids actually use it. Having said that, there have been recent, significant attempts to officially introduce the language at SD Takalelang but these are still on-going (as documented in the BA thesis written by Daniel Lanma, (Lanma, 2019); see also §2.4.4).

Normally, adults address children in Alor Malay, although this gradually begins to change as children grow into adolescents and adults (Kratochvíl, 2007; see §2.4.2). Children and siblings often also use Alor Malay with one another in daily life. Alor Malay is also used by people of all ages to communicate with non-Abui people from Alor and Pantar. Typically, within Takalelang, this involves communication with tour guides, tourists from other Alor-Pantar groups as well as nurses, police officers,[36] certain government officials, and priests. Furthermore, because Takalelang sits on the northern coast alongside the main roadway, many villagers frequently visit the town of Kalabahi and the Kadelang Market (*Pasar Kadelang*). In the market, Abui people speak to one another in Abui while they use Alor Malay to speak to speakers of other ethnicities, although they address them using their native forms of address (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 4).

Standard Indonesian is prevalent in four main domains: religion, education, government-related affairs, and media. People are most frequently exposed to Standard Indonesian during the Sunday sermon at the Catholic church in Takalelang. In addition, radios broadcasting evening prayers are also commonly used. Standard Indonesian is also used at all levels of education. However, it is quite likely that it is most prevalent in senior secondary school as well as at university level. Apart from language lessons, it was observed at primary school and junior secondary school that most speakers from Alor and Pantar mix Indonesian and Alor Malay when conversing with schoolchildren. Teachers from other parts of Indonesia often hail from Timor or East Flores, where similar eastern Malay varieties are spoken. Thus,

[36] Policemen from other parts of Indonesia, such as Bali for example, sometimes also speak Alor Malay.

they too use a mix of Indonesian and a colloquial eastern variety of Malay when addressing younger children.

Formal government affairs, such as letters, and speeches given by government officials as well as formal complaints are done in Indonesian. In the media, too, people are exposed to Standard Indonesian, especially as TVs become more common and more people gain more access to the internet. It is also commonly used among youngsters on Facebook, when creating status updates pertaining to religion, politics, and even some emotional topics. As a matter of fact, even emotional messages about preserving the Abui language and culture are often communicated in Standard Indonesian. Furthermore, when tourists outside NTT (and Indonesia) arrive in Takalelang, they are often also addressed in Standard Indonesian. Typically, being fluent in Indonesian, something many older Abui people are not, is regarded as a status symbol of being highly educated (Delpada, 2016).

While Abui, Alor Malay, and Indonesian are the three varieties that are used most regularly, Kupang Malay, Jakarta Indonesian and, to a lesser extent, English also play a role in the community, albeit a more marginal one. Kupang Malay, the Malay variety spoken in the capital of Timor, Kupang (Jacob & Grimes, 2011), may be characterized as a mesolect if Alor Malay is considered the basilect, and Indonesian the acrolect. Much of the Abui youth spends time in Kupang for education; therefore, Kupang Malay is sometimes seen as a more prestigious local Malay variety, indicative of affiliation with the provincial capital Kupang. Speakers use Kupang Malay on Facebook when messages are addressed to people from the same province of NTT and they also use it with tourists from Kupang. In addition, Abui people are also exposed to other mesolectal varieties of Indonesian, such as Jakarta Indonesian, mostly through TV, the internet, and interaction with tourists from Jakarta. Some speakers enjoy imitating the Jakarta Indonesian to show their affinity to it and have a laugh about how different it is. Another language that is becoming increasingly popular is English. A number of Abui people study English at university level in Kalabahi or Kupang. They sometimes use English with foreign tourists and occasionally also with researchers. In additon, they are sometimes exposed to English through TV and the internet. It has become increasingly popular over the last few years to write Facebook posts in English to express cryptic messages. The distribution of domain of use of the three main varieties, Abui, Alor Malay, and Indonesian is summarized in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Domains of use in Abui, Alor Malay, and Indonesian

Domain of use	Abui	Alor Malay	Indonesian
Household	Used by adults among one another and adults to children to fetch items.	Used by adults to children and by children and youngsters among themselves.	-
Education	Minimal. Some efforts in place to introduce language at school.	Often used with primary school children.	Books, language of instruction at junior (SMP) and senior high school (SMA)
Religion	Sometimes used in household prayers.	-	Always used in church sermons, church choir, and the Bible. Sometimes also used in household prayers.
Traditional ceremonies	Still strongly used.	Used informally among audience.	-
Marketplace	Used among Abui speakers.	Typically used with other Alor-Pantar ethnic groups.	Rarely used.
Government	Occasionally used in informal contact between Abui government officials and Abui elders.	Sometimes used in informal contact with government officials.	Used in official letters and contacts with government officials.
TV	Only used in a handful of documentaries done on the Abui.	-	Used in news reports, movies, tv shows, often in conjunction with Jakarta Indonesian.
Social media	Used for friendly banter.	Used very often for posts interacting with people from Alor/Pantar.	Used for religious and political announcements. Also used for emotional statements.
Interaction with guests	Used among one another in presence of guests.	Used with guests from eastern Indonesia.	Used with people outside eastern Indonesia.

2.4.2 Language acquisition and socialization: The importance of age and gender

Language acquisition and socialization in an individual's time span, along with the social networks and community of practices that accompany these processes, can have a strong impact on multilingual language use as well as leave distinct types of traces on the language in question (Lüpke, 2016, p. 39). The general trend in Takalelang is that children grow up speaking Alor Malay, thus becoming *passive-active* speakers of Abui, and only begin becoming *active* speakers of Abui at the end of adolescence or beginning of young adulthood.[37] This increases gradually, such that they become fluent as adults because Abui is still the language used by adults (Kratochvíl, 2007; Delpada, 2016). In addition, especially in childhood and adolescence, girls seem to have more territorially-based networks, spending more time tending to domestic chores, and interacting with older Abui ladies. As a result, they often feel more comfortable conversing in Abui than their more free roaming male counterparts. As such, all of this has created a state of *transitional bilingualism* in the community, meaning individuals and groups have levels of bilingualism which differ to one another another - typical of a shift and gradual attrition scenario (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; see also §1.8.1). In order to better understand language variation and change in Abui, it is essential to elaborate on the language acquisition and socialization paths taking place in the community.

Crucial to this is a discussion of age and gender as linguistic variables which, as pointed out in §1.8.2, are used as proxies for language dominance. This section lays out a detailed account of the processes and life-stages that a person passes through from the time of birth up until adulthood and relates them to changes in their language use and exposure. Specifically, §2.4.2.1 discusses age as a variable, while §2.4.2.2 focuses on gender as a variable, showing differences in socialization patterns.

2.4.2.1 Age: History and life-stages

In any given speech community, age is likely to play a key role in explaining linguistic variation (Labov, 1963, 1990; Bailey, Wikle, Tillery, & Sand, 1991; Eckert, 2012, 2017). Age can be broken down into two components: history

[37] The term *passive-active* is defined on page 94.

and life-stage. Both history and life-stage are argued to play a crucial role in defining the four age-groups which have been put together for the study of variation and change in Abui, discussed at length in §3.4. The following quote by Eckert (2017, p. 151) describes these two components in more detail:

> If aging is movement through time, age is a person's place at a given time in relation to the social order: a stage, a condition, a place in history. Age and aging are experienced both individually and as part of a cohort of people who share an experience of history and/or a life-stage. The study of age in relation to language, particularly the study of sociolinguistic variation, lies at the intersection of history and life-stage. The individual speaker or age cohort of speakers at any given moment represents simultaneously a place in history and a life-stage. Age stratification of linguistic variables, then, can reflect change in the speech of the community as it moves through time (*historical change*) and change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through life (*age grading*).

Therefore, in order to understand linguistic variation more clearly, it is crucial to make a distinction between change in the speech community and change in the individual. The linguistic implications of this distinction are revisited in the discussions in §5.4 and §6.5. This current section discusses what implication these components have on the structure of the speech community.

As described in §2.3, because of a change in schooling and parenting strategies between the 70s and 80s, speakers aged above 40 share a different linguistic history compared to younger speakers. Speakers above 40 were raised as Abui native speakers and only learned Malay when they entered school anywhere between the ages of around seven and twelve. Speakers below the age of around 35 share a more similar history to one another than speakers above 40, because these younger speakers were raised predominantly in Alor Malay and become active speakers of Abui later on in life. The following paragraphs describe the life-stages that Abui people go through, with a focus on language socialization and acquisition as it applies today.

The first life-stage is from birth until adolescence, where people are referred to using the Abui term *moqu* (see §3.4.1 for discussion of *moqu* as

an age-group in this study). When children are born today, they are addressed in Alor Malay by their parents, siblings, and peers. Their grandparents, and especially their grandmothers,[38] however, usually address them in Abui. Typically, even when children are spoken to in Abui, they still report responding in Alor Malay. At the same time, a number of children report having lived or stayed frequently with their grandparents, especially while their parents are at work in the fields. Important to note is that it does not appear as though adults use a baby-talk register or any simplified style of speaking to children (Brown & Gaskins, 2014) when addressing infants or children.

Despite these tendencies, it must be pointed out that, generally speaking, children are quite often not directly addressed by adults to begin with and there is thus also little direct speech training. They interact mostly with their peers, both children of their own age and slightly older children or siblings. This was already observed by Du Bois (1944, p. 47):

> My evidence for early speech is confined largely to imprecations during temper tantrums, since in most other respects small children were quite shy in attempting to talk. They were to be seen occasionally addressing a few words quietly to an age-mate or asking an older person for something. There was no direct speech training given by adults. In fact, there was a definite pattern of ridiculing the mistakes of children and teasing them about such errors. Children have to pick up speech through the absorptive processes of hearing older people talk and having instructions addressed to them.

Much of this is still applicable today. Children are mostly addressed directly when their parents are commanding them to fetch something or help out with a chore or when they are being scolded or praised for something. Further, children's developmental speech errors in Alor Malay or even when they attempt to speak Abui are mocked in a comical fashion. Moreover, it has been claimed for non-Western societies (e.g. Mayan, Samoan, and Kaluli) where children are not addressed frequently by adults, that they

[38] Elder Abui women are more likely than men to have less command of Malay and even be monolingual, due to the fact that many did not obtain schooling or migrate out of the village.

may be better attuned to deriving word meanings from hearing others use words, as opposed to being engaged with directly in joint attention (Brown & Gaskins, 2014). The claim here is that infants may develop more enhanced strategies to be able to decipher overheard speech compared to societies which predominantly focus on child-centered face-to-face-interaction. This argument could favour the ability to acquire language through exposure and overheard speech, which is common in the Abui community - however, much more research is necessary to properly test this claim.

At around the age of six or seven, when a child starts attending primary school (*SD*), the situation changes slightly. At primary school, the child receives much more child-directed speech by the teacher. In this setting, while teachers still predominantly use Alor Malay, efforts are made to teach the child the higher register of Indonesian, which is the language used in textbooks as well as posters on the wall. During the six years of primary schooling, a child's Indonesian will improve, but they will still continue using Alor Malay with their peers both in the playground and in communal spaces at home.

As such, crucial to this process is that language acquisition and socialization are usually not based heavily on interaction in the nuclear family, but in peer groups instead (Lüpke, 2016, p. 39). This claim was also echoed by McConvell (2008, p. 240) for the Gurindji people in the Victoria River District in Australia, whereas the same can be said about the Abui:

> Failure of perfect or near-perfect transmission of the language of previous generations does not solely result from interaction between young children in the early acquisition phase and the parental generation. Young children are also subject to linguistic input from older children, and this peer influence can eclipse that of the parental and grandparental generation. Children and teenagers may deliberately choose not to emulate parents or the old language. Instead they select or build a language variety of their own from among the models available. If there is no counter-weight from the old language, then this peer-group talk can form the basis of the language of the rising generation.

Interestingly enough, in late childhood and early adolescence (9-13-years-old), which typically coincides with the end of primary school, most

children use exclusively Alor Malay to communicate with one another. However, when pressed to speak Abui, such as during the recording of some narratives and the collection of the Surrey Stimuli elicitation set (see §3.5.2), many of the speakers did possess communicative competence, despite rarely ever speaking the language at this point. A similar pattern was found for speakers under 25 in the Gapun village of Papua New Guinea (Kulick & Terrill, 2019). As such, these speakers are characterized as *passive-active* bilinguals, a term used to describe (typically young) bilinguals who possess 'passive competence and communicative competence in the vernacular: they understand everything said to them and they respond in culturally appropriate ways, [yet] do not use the vernacular in conversations with fluent speakers' (Kulick & Terrill, 2019, p. 15).

During the end of adolescence, when many children are already in junior secondary school (*SMP*) many parents report that their children's Abui starts improving; they start understanding a lot more and also begin responding in Abui. This bears no relation to the school itself, as there is no instruction in Abui. However, what it does relate to is an increase in exposure within the community itself. In this period, children and adolescents learn to work in the fields, occasionally forage for food, gather firewood, and help out their mother or father in domestic chores, practices that have, at some level, remained similar since Du Bois's work.

Adulthood begins at sexual maturity, typically at the age of seventeen. No ritualized rite of passage exists from adolescence to adulthood (Du Bois, 1944, p. 80). It also appears to be split into two main phases: a) young adulthood, the period which entails preparation for marriage and b) adulthood, the period after marriage and child rearing. The notion of 'young adults' is based on the Abui terms *neeng abet* 'young male' and *maayol maak* 'young female', which denotes the period in between adolescence and marriage, when an individual is improving their livelihood and preparing for marriage. Typically, this consists of starting work, accumulating wealth, learning to work in the fields independently, and sometimes even getting a university education. There are also aesthetic processes that typically take place during this period. In the past, it was common for males and females to blacken and file their teeth (Du Bois, 1944, p. 83). Today, girls will typically start wearing make-up and straightening their hair, while boys will learn how to ride scooters, buy a cell phone, start smoking, and also groom themselves more.

Once an individual has found a partner and gotten married, their status

in the community changes. They are addressed using different address terms in either Abui or Alor Malay, such as *maama* (Ab.), and *bapa* (AM) 'father' for men and *niya* (Ab.) and *mama* (Ml.) 'mother' for women. They are then referred to as *kalieta* which is the equivalent of 'adult' or 'elder'. The same applies to someone having a child, even without getting married. The age of 25 was given as a typical age at which one gets married, for both males and females. In the past, it appears as though females got married younger than males (Du Bois, 1944, p. 84), but this does not appear to be the case today [EG.65.AG].

Exposure and use of Abui is highly correlated with ageing, that is, transitioning from *moqu* '(pre)adolescent' to *neeng abet*/*maayol maak* 'young male/female' and then to *kalieta* 'adult/elder'. There are several reasons for this, related to the fact that 'aging' within the Abui speech community entails prolonged exposure to the language by default and it also entails gaining access to different community of practices and thereby expanding social networks - which necessitate the use of Abui.

In terms of simple exposure, even if children don't speak Abui, their mere presence in the community means that they will develop some knowledge of the language because it is still actively spoken. This is evidenced in the fact that many non-Abui women who have married into the community as adults have either learned to speak the language or can at least understand it. An even stronger argument can be made about children who grew up in the community. However, length of exposure in and of itself is not always enough.

Aging and life-stages come with access to additional communities of practice. This is because, the older a person becomes, the more their networks expand. Children's social networks are limited to those in their age-group, plus or minus a few years.[39] As Kerswill (1996, p. 198) puts it, 'adolescents are clearly significant bearers of change; their networks allow them to have wider contacts than young children, and their desire for a distinct social identity means that they are willing to modify their speech'. In addition, young adults further expand their social networks because, as they round

[39] Social networks were not investigated systematically for all speakers. Towards the end of the research, more focus was being paid to social networks when conducting sociolinguistic interviews, but there is not enough data to conduct a quantitative study. Instead, these statements are based on participant observation of how various age-groups interact with one another.

off adolescence and prepare for adulthood, they begin spending more time with adults. Once they get married and acquire further status by doing so, they earn privileges ranging from specific linguistic terms of address and being able to own a house to being able to sit on the negotiation table during bride-price negotiations (see §1.5.4 for more details on the marriage process).

The accrual of status that comes with adulthood should not be understated. Children suffer from a very low status and their entrance into adulthood through marriage and childbirth is likely to compel them to adhere to the norms of adults (Du Bois, 1944), and this includes being fluent in Abui. Therefore, when an individual enters adulthood, they will be expected to engage more with other older speakers. This is commonly seen among young mothers, who spend a considerable amount of time with older women, who occasionally care for the child (see §2.4.2.2 for more details on gender as a variable).

To sum up, children are raised in Alor Malay by their parents, siblings, and peers. During primary school, they learn Indonesian, speak Alor Malay with most people around them yet develop active-passive competence in Abui; they rarely ever speak Abui, but when called upon, can speak the language. During puberty, their Abui starts improving due to longer exposure and changes in socialization patterns. In the period of young adulthood (typically between 17 and 25), when they start becoming serious about accumulating wealth and finding a partner, their ties with adults also grow, and their Abui use and exposure improves as well. When they get married, they enter the adults club, at which point they interact more with even older speakers, often in Abui. At this point, their Abui is expected to be fluent.

2.4.2.2 Gender

Gender has been known to play an important role in explaining linguistic variation (Labov, 1990; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999; Dubois & Horvath, 1999). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999) point out that in order to make generalizations about language and gender, the social practices and relations of various gender groups in a given speech community must first be studied in detail. This seems particularly relevant for the study of variation in indigenous minority speech communities, as the social practices and relations in these communities are likely to differ from those of speech com-

munities in western, urban, majority societies (Stanford & Preston, 2009a).

Some of the observations made by Cora Du Bois about gender roles in the late 30s/early 40s are still to be observed today. Abui society can be characterized as being patriarchal and patrilocal. Men enjoy more privileges and less restrictions than women at all stages of life (Du Bois, 1944). Also, their linguistic socialization differs, most notably in the earlier stages of their development.

During the *moqu* period (childhood and adolescence), girls are typically afforded much less play time than boys and instead have much more duties (Du Bois, 1944, p. 57). As a result, in late childhood, boys are even said to enjoy a more privileged position than adult women (Du Bois, 1944, p. 76).

Du Bois (1944, p. 114) states that 'girls have a more purposive training in childhood for adult roles.' She goes on to add that girls show resentment to the maternal role because they are prematurely asked to undertake it with their younger siblings. While I cannot comment on 'resentment' today, what I have observed is that girls as young as nine-years-old can independently fetch firewood, start a fire, prepare basic meals such as boiled corn or rice, and feed and care for their younger siblings. Throughout their upbringing, they spend more time with other female relatives (mother, grandmother, aunts), tending to domestic chores such as fetching pig food and firewood, cooking, cleaning, and weaving baskets. In a lot of these activities, despite often being directly addressed in Malay, they obtain passive knowledge of Abui because they are constantly surrounded by Abui speaking adults. In addition, sometimes they are addressed directly in Abui by many older women who rarely ever speak Malay. They are typically also not permitted to roam around freely in the absence of an older sibling or cousin. As a result, they are argued to have territorially bound social networks (Milroy & Milroy, 1985).

As they enter adolescence and adulthood, the situation may change, however. Nowadays, it is increasingly more acceptable for *maayol maak* 'young women' to leave Takalelang in search of work or education elsewhere. One fundamental reason for this is the already existing establishing of Abui (migrant) communities in places like Kalabahi, Batam, Jakarta, Kupang, Rote, and Bali, which make it socially acceptable to move away (see §1.5.2 on livelihood of Abui people).

Many women move back to Takalelang to take care of their parents and/or find an Abui husband. Quite often, when they move back, their in-

creased status brought about by simply being older and also having lived abroad usually compels them to reintegrate into the community, spend a lot of time with other adults, and make more conscious efforts to master the Abui language. Marriage brings a woman into more contact with older adult women, who may often help her out with her baby or with domestic chores.

For boys, the situation is different and appears to be even more dependent on age and life-stage. Male children and adolescents will often spend a lot of time away from their hamlet, playing with other (male) age mates. Typically, they speak Malay with their peers, as Malay has very high prestige among adolescents. This strongly suggests that young girls must have more exposure to Abui relative to boys.[40] However, the situation for boys changes when they become *neeng abet* 'young men'. As Du Bois (1944, p. 82) states,

> In the course of a few months, they break away from the irresponsible free-roving play groups of growing boys and become far more solitary and sedentary. They imitate the indolence of older wealthy men. At the same time, they begin to speculate about the possibilities and the means for entering the financial system of the adults and about ways of ingratiating themselves with men of influence who may be of assistance to them.

This is a common trend for young men who stay in Takalelang. However, nowadays, it is also common for *neeng abet* 'young men' to finish high school and look elsewhere for better livelihoods. Moving to Kupang for educational purposes is common, as is moving to any of the other locations where the Abui have established settlements. When they return to Alor, they will similarly make efforts to reintegrate into the community and establish more contacts with other adults.

The process of marriage and bride price negotiation, while not done exclusively by the groom, places great responsibility on the shoulders of young adult males in terms of establishing ties with older members of the community and especially with the *tang wala* 'arbitrator' whose services he will procure in order to negotiate with the bride's kin. By the time an Abui man

[40] It was also observed that (pre)adolescent males felt more shy speaking Abui to me than females, which also explains why it was easier to collect conversational data from (pre)adolescent girls; see §3.5.1.

is married and gains the status of a *kalieta* 'adult/elder', he is expected to be fully fluent in the language.

To sum up, generally speaking, there appear to be linguistic differences among males and females with respect to language socialization and fluency, with age playing an interactive role. A young girl's childhood and adolescence involves more playing restrictions as well as domestic responsibilities and due to the fact that they spend a lot of time with older Abui women, who themselves often speak Abui, they are likely to be more fluent in the language than (pre)adolescent males. On the other hand, young men, in their quest for manhood, establish more contact with adults and as a result practice their Abui more in their later years. In adulthood, with a shift and status and an expansion of social networks, both genders are expected to be proficient in Abui and use it on a daily basis with other adults.

2.4.3 Language attitudes

The historical events in the last 60 years (§2.2) have created a fluctuating series of language attitudes. Between the 1960s and the early 2000s, as a result of the aggressive school policies regarding the banning of Abui, many Abui adults had a negative attitude towards their language, associating it with being *bodok* 'stupid, ignorant'. Malay Indonesian was the language (continuum) that was seen as offering economic prosperity, mobility, and access to status, within the local community, as well the extended community.

However, while many adults possessed such an attitude, the attitude was mostly geared towards child rearing. Adults continued speaking Abui throughout this period, meaning that adolescents and young adults who were growing up and seeking access into and status pertaining to the adult world had to alter their attitude and obtain proficiency in Abui.

During interviews with 9-10 Abui elders, it became apparent that some elders exhibited a cause for concern for the shift in parenting strategies. Many speakers also expressed their concern that more efforts should be made in other institutions to promote the use of Abui. For older speakers, Abui still retains much prestige. This is typically not the case for children and adolescents who converse in Alor Malay, a language they regard as a lot more cool than Abui.

However, as they become young adults, this situation begins to change.

They realise the access that Abui provides to adult institutions like marriage and wealth accrual and so a very visible attempt to learn the language is made.

Today, attitudes have changed slightly and have become more positive towards Abui. There are several factors for this. Firstly, many Abui elders have observed how the trends discussed earlier have affected the youth and have, as a result, become alarmed at the situation of potentially losing their language. Secondly, with the rise of education among many Abui youths, especially education regarding language teaching and language documentation, many of the youths themselves have been working actively towards altering attitudes among other Abui youths. Thirdly, the presence of foreign linguists, making efforts to learn the language as well as organizing dictionary workshops and documentary showings, has also helped raise awareness about the sociolinguistic situation as well as undo some of the negative attitudes, previously associated with the language.

2.4.4 Vitality and revitalization attempts

According to ethnologue, Abui is considered *vigorous* (Simons & Fennig, 2018). UNESCO (2003) lists nine factors which form the composition of the vitality of a language: 1) intergenerational transmission; 2) absolute number of speakers; 3) proportion of speakers within the total population; 4) trends in existing language domains; 5) response to new domains and media; 6) materials for language education and literacy; 7) governmental and institutional attitudes and policies, including official status and use; 8) community member' attitudes toward their own language; 9) amount and quality of documentation.

In offering a brief assessment of Abui's vitality status based on UNESCO's nine factors, the focus is on the Takalelang variety exclusively, as opposed to the whole Abui community.[41] The nine factors are laid out in Table 2.2.

[41] As mentioned in §1.4.2, the situation differs rather significantly, with more mountainous varieties being more vital than coastal villages.

Table 2.2: An assessment of Abui's vitality based on UNESCO's nine factors

Vitality assessment	**Abui case**
Intergenerational transmission:	Parents do no pass on the language to children; however they do pass it on to young adults.
Absolute number of speakers:	500 in Takalelang; 17,000 in total.
Proportion of speakers within the total population:	Proportion of speakers within the total population: around 7-8% of all population on Alor.
Trends in existing language domains:	Abui used for daily communication among adults and in traditional ceremonies.
Response to new domains and media:	Abui, Alor Malay, and Indonesian are all used on social media and the internet.
Materials for language education and literacy:	A 16,000-word dictionary exists, as does a dictionary app. In addition, efforts are underway to teach Abui at primary school level. SMS and Facebook also offer opportunities for literacy.
Governmental and institutional attitudes and policies, including official status and use:	No official status or use.
Community members' attitudes toward their own language:	Parents still raise their children in Alor Malay; however, more and more parents are realizing the effects this may have on the vitality of the language and promise to implement a more bilingual approach.
Amount and quality of documentation:	Important anthropological works were published in the 1940s. Today, there is a lot of documentary material on the language; it appears to be one of the best documented languages in the Alor-Pantar archipelago.

In recent years, there have been a number of joint, communal efforts to raise awareness of the sociolinguistic situation in Takalelang as well as attempts to reverse the effects of the harsh policies from the 70s-90s. While

this has not fully succeeded in reversing the situation, there are some positive trends. Currently, most parents are aware of the fact that the current sociolinguistic situation of not raising their children in Abui will lead to the disappearance of the language. This did not appear to be the case over a decade ago.

A number of documentation projects have been undertaken, ranging from small to large by both Abui members themselves as well as foreign students. As discussed in §1.4.3, a number of Singaporean students have collaborated with the Abui community as well as the linguist, František Kratochvíl, to produce illustrated children's books in Abui and English as well as a documentary (see §1.4.3; Kratochvíl, Delpada, Siao, et al., 2016; Kratochvíl and Delpada, in prep.). In addition, several editions of a comprehensive dictionary have been published (e.g. Kratochvíl and Delpada, 2008) based on over 15 years of data collection as well as dictionary workshops organized by Kratochvíl. Furthermore, a number of orthography workshops have also been organized by Kratochvíl.

Having said that, there have been recent, significant attempts to officially introduce the language at SD Takalelang (see Lanma, 2019). The principal at SD Takalelang has been working with some teachers to create a curriculum for the teaching of Abui in primary school. Furthermore, a number of teachers have begun teaching some rudimentary, informal Abui classes to primary school children, see Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: Basic Abui class at SD Takalelang: teacher asks students to name body parts in Abui.



Finally, despite not being in circulation, a school book, titled *Bahasa dan sastra daerah Abui* 'Language and literature of the Abui area' has been published in recent years (see Nai, 2013). However, the book is relatively unknown and suffers from a number of key issues. Firstly, it is based on a neighbouring dialect, most likely Welai/Petleng, causing objections from the Takalelang community. Secondly, it contains a number of photographs of people from Takalelang which were allegedly used without permission. Thirdly, no rigorous attempts appear to have been made to settle on a convenient and representative orthography.[42]

Based on this information, it would seem that the Takalelang variety is indeed vigorous because a) when adolescents become adults, they learn to speak Abui fluently and b) some efforts are underway to introduce the language in primary school. However, it remains to be seen what will happen to language use when the current generation of (pre)adolescents becomes

[42]The book was shown to me by a tour guide in the Museum of Alor Regency (also known as the Museum of a Thousand Moko) in Kalabahi in 2017. During this period, few linguists and school affiliates around Takalelang seemed to be aware of its existence.

adults and whether Abui will be introduced at primary school in the near future.

2.5 Summary and conclusion

This chapter has presented some key highlights that took place in Alor in the last few centuries, focusing on important economic, demographic, political, social and linguistic developments. This highlighted the fact that the coastal peoples had already been involved in trade with outsiders and were also using Malay even before the Dutch established a foothold. Much of peoples living inland, in the highlands, had occasional trading contacts with coastal peoples but did not engage too much with them as they held them in distrust. When the Dutch began focusing more of their attention on Alor in the early 1900s, they set up a base in the Kabola bay and established good relations with coastal traders and peoples of the Bird's Head, mostly notably, Alorese, and possibly also some Adang speakers. They then used this base to set up the first Protestant schools, which they then tried to spread with (initially limited) success to the highlands. Many schools were moved back or set up anew on the coast, a project which led to a large number of mountain villages to resettle on the coast. This played a major role in the shift away from Abui to Malay Indonesian.

Furthermore, a discussion of schooling was provided, illustrating the important role school teachers and government legislation played in the language shift scenario. Abui was banned from school and parents were encouraged, during church meetings and community gatherings, to raise their children in Malay Indonesian in preparation for school.

These events have led to the current sociolinguistic setting, in which children are raised in Malay but gradually develop competence in Abui, which they begin speaking more actively after adolescence. This acquisition and socialization process was discussed in detail, shedding light on age and gender as variables. Linguistic practices and social networks appear to differ for speakers of different ages and genders. This was followed by a discussion on the domains of use of Abui, Alor Malay, and Standard Indonesian. In addition, a discussion was provided on language attitudes as well as a brief assessment of the vitality of the language accompanied by some revitalization efforts.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This thesis adopts a mixed-methods approach, integrating a number of different methods in order to understand the processes underlying language variation and change in Abui. The aim of this chapter is to describe and motivate these various methods.

In order to investigate the mechanisms of change, a variationist study of a given linguistic feature must be accompanied by a thorough description of the speech community (Ross, 2013). This resulted in two broad categories of data: 1) sociolinguistic and ethnographic interview data and 2) linguistic data. Sociolinguistic and ethnographic interviews were conducted in order to comprehend the history and current structure of the speech community. More specifically, sociolinguistic survey data was collected from a large number of individuals in order to explore specific variables relevant for explaining linguistic variation. Ethnographic interviews were conducted with a smaller group of speakers to hone into two topics that became relevant for the study of this specific speech community: a) emic notions of life-stages (introduced in §2.4.2 and elaborated on in §3.4) and b) the history of language use at schools (discussed in §2.3). Taken together, data from these interviews was used to construct four age-cohorts based on emic notions of age categories. Linguistic data was collected for each of these age-cohorts and then compared to one another. Three types of linguistic data were col-

lected: conversational data, experimental data, and data from fieldnotes.

Conversational data consisted of various kinds of conversations. Experimental data was collected in the form of both production data and comprehension data. The production data was gathered from a video elicitation task while the comprehension data was gathered from a forced-choice task. The data from fieldnotes includes elicited data and data from participant observation. These latter types of data were important in forming and testing hypotheses in addition to observing speaker's judgments and attitudes towards variation. The diverse types of data are summarized in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Breakdown of various types of data

Interview data	Sociolinguistic	Sociolinguistic survey
	Ethnographic	Focus group discussions on age-groups School behaviour interviews
Linguistic data	Conversational	Conversations
	Experimental	Surrey Stimuli production task Forced-choice comprehension task
	Fieldnotes	Elicitation Participant observation
	Other	Put Stimuli, narrative, word list

This chapter is organized as follows: The details of how fieldwork was undertaken are discussed in §3.2. Sociolinguistic and ethnographic interview data are discussed in §3.3. A description of how the speakers were sampled, is presented in §3.4, which is both a result of the interview data and a method of sampling for the linguistic data which is discussed in §3.5. The details of the corpus on the whole are illustrated in §3.6. Section 3.7 describes the Abui corpus assembled by Kratochvíl, which was also consulted for this thesis. Section 3.8 discusses how the various types of data were analyzed and synthesized for the various chapters of this thesis.

3.2 Fieldwork

Fieldwork for this thesis was conducted in the village of Takalelang, *desa* 'vilalge cluster' Lembur Barat, *kecamatan* 'sub-district', Alor Tengah Utara,

kebupaten 'regency' Alor, in the Nusa Tenggara Timur province of Indonesia (see Figures 1.3 and 1.4 in Chapter 1 for maps of Takalelang). In Takalelang, I was introduced into the speech community by Benny Delpada and Simon Lanma who I had met in Singapore and Kupang, respectively, through the help of the linguist, František Kratochvíl. Once in the community, several members introduced me to their friends and family members.

The village of Takalelang was selected as the setting for investigation for two main reasons. First, most of the prior (descriptive and historical linguistic) research done on Abui was done in Takalelang on the Takalelang dialect, by František Kratochvíl. This meant that there was a very steady foundation in place, both in terms of the available published materials and corpora of the language as well as the local community's reception towards foreign researchers.

Secondly, the village of Takalelang lies on the coast, adjacent to Alor's main road. This means that it is an ideal location for the study of ongoing language shift. This is because many community members frequently visit the market in Kalabahi, the regency capital, and thus often come into contact with other ethnic groups with whom they use Alor Malay as a *lingua franca* (see §1.4.2). In addition, there are two primary schools stationed on the western and eastern border of the village, meaning that sociolinguistic work investigating the impact of schools on the local community could also be conducted in a feasible manner.

Three fieldtrips were undertaken for this research in the years 2015, 2016, and 2017. Each fieldtrip lasted for a duration of two to two and half months. The languages used for daily communication included Alor Malay, Indonesian, and Abui. All interviews were always conducted in Alor Malay and Indonesian, as this allowed me to transcribe them myself and analyze them in a more swift manner.

Having studied Standard Indonesian before my first fieldtrip, my first few weeks involved me speaking the standard variety as much as possible. As time went on and I developed more exposure to Alor Malay and to the sociolinguistic situation, I began learning Alor Malay and using it as much as possible during interviews and day-to-day interaction. Using Alor Malay, as opposed to Standard Indonesian, decreased the distance between myself and the speakers, who often associate Standard Indonesian with government and other formal affairs.

During the collection of linguistic data, I typically used Alor Malay to

carry out instructions. Especially in the early stages of fieldwork, my ability to explain instructions clearly was only possible in Alor Malay. Furthermore, it was unclear to what extent younger speakers would fully understand instructions in Abui. This was evidenced by the fact that some of assistants in my research team deliberately chose to address them in Alor Malay when giving them instructions. As such, Alor Malay seemed like the most appropriate option.

In my second and third year of fieldwork, my Abui improved significantly. It allowed me to hold slightly above basic conversations and be able to conduct simple interviews and elicitation sessions. It also enabled me to partake in common etiquette practices within the village.

3.2.1 Research team and local language experts

The work for this project is the product of collaboration from a large research team in Takalelang. The team consisted of at least seven members from the Abui community, Simon Lanma, Benny Delpada, Ansellmus Delpada, Frengki Delpada, Lorens Malbiyeti, Vicary Maufani, and Dori Lanma. All of these individuals, in addition to many others, expressed their willingness to offer their assistance to any tasks involved in this PhD project, including actively teaching me their language.

Ansell Delpada, Simon Lanma, Benny Delpada, Frengki Delpada, Lorens Malbiyeti were responsible for transcribing the data in ELAN and then translating it. Wherever possible, they also added additional notes if they considered the speech to be ungrammatical or infelicitous. Vicary Maufani with her status as a school teacher offered her support in recruiting younger participants for the Surrey Stimuli task. Dori Lanma was of great assistance on a daily basis with transcriptions, translations, and basic vocabulary. She was also an invaluable language coach when necessary, constantly practising Abui and teaching me new expressions. In addition, she too assisted with transcriptions and judgements on other people's speech (see §3.5.3.1).

In line with consultation with several local community members and researchers active in the area, local language experts were reimbursed in a number of different ways. Food and board were reimbursed on a weekly basis or purchased from the local market. Typically, experts transcribing and translating a recording or assisting with interviews were either reimbursed at a rate similar to that of a local school teacher or were offered gifts such as

betel nut and/or cigarettes.

In addition, several of these individuals were actively involved in carrying out their own language documentation and description projects both on an academic and a societal level. This ensured a fruitful relationship that benefited from expertise from both the researcher and members of the local community. For example, for the ethnographic interviews conducted with elders concerning life-stages, we were able to align the goals of this PhD project with the goals of several community members.

The questions were put together with several Abui members with aims that were communally decided upon such as establishing particular life-stages, understanding language behaviour among them, and shedding light on how some of this behaviour can be reversed. These interviews were always conducted by an Abui speaker, Simon Lanma, who used the interviews as an opportunity to ask the interlocutors whether they had specific requests on what could be done in terms of local language teaching, documentation, and revitalization. In addition, many of these recordings also documented social issues in the community and allowed interlocutors to express their views on certain injustices with respect to local government which they felt they were being subjugated to. Simon used this field training and these recordings for his BA thesis which, at the time of writing, had just been completed. These recordings are also being used as proof for efforts by Simon and others to introduce Abui into the local school systems.

3.2.2 Equipment

In the field, a Canon XA-20 video camera was used for the video recordings, along with two shotgun Sennheiser XLR K6P and ME 64 microphones. This set-up was ideal for recording interviews, conversations, and elicitation tasks. Additionally, an Olympus LS-12 audio recorder was used where video was deemed unfit or impractical. Finally, a Panasonic Toughbook CF-53 was used to process the data in the field. The software used for the analysis of the data is discussed in §3.8.

3.3 Sociolinguistic and ethnographic interview data

The interview data comprise two types: sociolinguistic interviews and ethnographic interviews. Dubois and Horvath (1999) discuss the importance

of combining both sociolinguistic methods, following the Labovian tradition, e.g. Labov (1963, 1990) and ethnographic methods, following Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992). Instead of being mutually exclusive, Dubois and Horvath (1999) argue that the two are complementary - both offering different levels of granularity to the study of language change in progress. The sociolinguistic survey methodology offers a bird's eye perspective on the data. Focusing on collecting data from a representative sample, it allows for a comparison between a group in question and the broader speech community. In addition, it allows for comparisons across different speech communities (Labov, 1990; Dubois & Horvath, 1999). Where the sociolinguistic approach offers a survey of the community, the ethnographic approach offers an in-depth understanding of the social structure of a particular group in question (Dubois & Horvath, 1999). It allows for a detailed study of locally-defined groups and their relationship to one another. It treats variables such as 'age' and 'gender' as socially constructed, with different manifestations in different places at different times (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992, 1999; Eckert, 2017).

In the research for this thesis, the sociolinguistic interview was aimed at gathering information from an individual speaker about their own basic information and language use. Such data was used to establish variables, such as 'language use during primary school', for instance. This allowed for quantitative comparisons whose implications are discussed in Chapters, 5, 6, 7. The ethnographic interview, on the other hand, was aimed at eliciting a few individual's views of the makeup of the speech community. The questions were less targeted at the individual's life history but at the history of the community as a whole as well as at its current makeup. Together, both these types of data established four well informed age-cohorts, discussed in §3.4. Sociolinguistic interviews are discussed in §3.3.1 while ethnographic interviews are discussed in §3.3.2.

The interviews were always conducted in a mix of Alor Malay and Indonesian for ease of processing. There were three reasons why the interviews were conducted in Malay Indonesian as opposed to Abui. First, the my ability to conduct interviews in Malay Indonesian was significantly higher than my ability in Abui. Second, in the cases, when the interviews were carried out by an Abui speaker, having them in Malay Indonesian meant that I could follow most of the interview and could intervene if necessary. Third, the interviews would be much less time-consuming in terms of tran-

scription, translation, and coding. All of the interviewees were fluent in Alor Malay, literate, and had some level of schooling. On the rare occasion that an older speaker would fail to fully comprehend the question in Malay Indonesian, the interviewer would switch to Abui briefly.

3.3.1 Sociolinguistic interviews

The aim of the sociolinguistic interviews was to collect data that could *a priori* be relevant to explain the variation found in the speech community. Data from these interviews was intended to be used alongside data from the experimental studies such that comparisons could be made across age-groups.

The sociolinguistic interviews were based on a questionnaire which was assembled in 2015 before my first field trip, in collaboration with Marian Klamer, Hanna Fricke, and Yunus Sulistyono. The questions were initially drafted in English and then translated into Standard Indonesian. During the first field trip, the questions were read out in Standard Indonesian. This later appeared to create a formal atmosphere; in later field trips, it occurred to me that it would be more appropriate to adjust the questions to Alor Malay, which I felt many speakers would feel more at ease with. This is evident in some of the questions added at a later stage. Often a combination of the two was used within the interview, which is commonplace in Takalelang. As such, on the whole the language of the interviews can be characterized as a mix of Standard Indonesian and Alor Malay. [1]

Much of the data emanating from these interviews may be considered 'self-reports': with speakers giving subjective opinions on language use, language attitudes, and proficiency. The core of the questionnaire included questions about the speaker's name, the names of their immediate family members, their age, gender, migration history, marital status, educational status, language use, language attitudes, and proficiency. Every year the questionnaire was adapted and new questions were added based on new observations and hypotheses that were not available before the first field trip. Additional questions added later included questions such as, "What language did your parents speak to you before primary school" and "Have you every lived with your grandparents?". Table 3.2 presents a small sample

[1] In this thesis, I often refer to this dialect mixing as Malay Indonesian; see §1.4.2 for a discussion of the term Malay Indonesian.

Table 3.2: Sample of sociolinguistic questionnaire

Question (English)	**Question (Malay Indonesian)**
Name	*Nama*
Date of birth	*Tanggal lahir*
Place of birth	*Tempat lahir*
Place of residence	*Tempat tinggal*
Who do you currently live with?	*Sekarang ni, kakak/bapak/mama tinggal/tidur di satu ruma dengan siapa*?
Who are your siblings?	*Kakak/bapak/mama saudara dong tu siapa*?
What language was used to you before primary school?	*Sebelum masuk SD tu, bahasa apa yang orang tua dong pake ko omong dengan kakak/bapak/mama*?
What language was used to you during primary school?	*Waktu masi SD tu, bahasa apa yang orang tua dong pake ko omong dengan kakak/bapak/mama*?
Have you ever lived with your grandparents?	*Perna tinggal dengan nenek dong*?
At what age would you say you felt comfortable speaking Abui?	*Kakak/Bapak/Mama pung umur berapa dulu baru rasa nyaman omong pake bahasa Abui*?

of the questionnaire. For the full questionnaire, readers are referred to Appendix I.

Sociolinguistic data was collected for 66 participants, who were split into four age-cohorts. This is the same number of speakers who took part in the production task (see §3.5.2.1). Of these, 33 were recorded in the form of an interview, while 33 were filled in to the questionnaire manually at a later stage, without producing a recording. The reason not all sessions could be recorded was due to there being some constraints on recording an interview, such as time and the absence of a parent figure in the case of younger speakers. Despite this, relevant sociolinguistic information was recorded for all 66 participants and filled into the excel file containing the questionnaire. The majority of the answers to the questions and variables were not investigated

quantitatively ; however, they were useful in describing the sociolinguistic setting in Chapter 2. At the same time, many of these questions offered a window into factors that might be relevant for future enquiry. They pointed to relevant areas for further investigation with respect to school attitudes and the relevance of marriage in language use - topics later dealt with in the ethnographic interviews in §3.3.2.

3.3.2 Ethnographic interviews

The ethnographic interviews targeted several individuals to discuss the speech community as a whole, instead of giving detailed accounts of their own life history.

Two types of interviews with an ethnographic approach were conducted. The first targeted emic notions of life-stages and age categories (§3.3.2.1). This was done in order to have a better understanding of age as a variable and to split the population into age-cohorts in order to study language variation, following Eckert (2017). The outcome of these interviews is a breakdown of the speech community into age-cohorts and described accordingly in §3.4.

The second type of ethnographic interviews (§3.3.2.2) targeted specific events that led to a shift in schooling and parenting strategies, accounting for the widespread use of Alor Malay in the speech community. The outcome of these interviews is a description of the speech community and its history in Chapter 2. These interviews were conducted in the second and third year respectively, when a sketch of the sociolinguistic setting had been put together through the sociolinguistic survey data.

3.3.2.1 Focus group discussions on life-stages

In order to discuss important life-stages in the Abui community and establish how the population could be split up accordingly, I conducted five focus group discussions which were semi-structured in nature and based on a list of questions already agreed upon beforehand. The goal of these interviews was to adopt an emic approach and gather Abui-specific information on age-related terminology. This included specific events related to age categories, and age-ranges within these categories. This information was synthesized with information from interviews on school history to establish

four age-cohorts, discussed in detail in §3.4.

There were two main motivations for carrying out these interviews in this way. Firstly, in order to robustly test the relationship between age and language change, age must be split into age-cohorts (Eckert, 2017). Because the span of ages is so great, using age as a continuous variable makes it otherwise difficult to achieve statistical significance with fine grained age differentiation. Secondly, an emic approach is often preferred to an etic approach. While an etic approach splits speakers up into pre-defined, arbitrarily determined and equal age spans, an emic approach splits speakers according to a shared experience of time which may be linked to life-stage or history (Eckert, 2017; see also §2.4.2.1).

In preparation for these discussions, a set of questions was drafted in conjunction with two Abui speakers aged 25 and 32, respectively, namely Simon Lanma and Benny Delpada (see Appendix II for full list of questions). We discussed at length what questions would be both relevant and culturally appropriate. In total, five focus group discussions were conducted, interviewing nine speakers. Each interview included either one or two elders, one or two Abui interviewers, and myself. The discussions were mostly led by Simon Lanma, who had often featured in the media and was experienced at interviewing people. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. By having an Abui speaker carry out the interview, there was a higher chance that the responses would be covered in a more comprehensive manner. The Abui interviewer felt at ease clarifying questions that did not immediately elicit the desired response, and the speakers interviewed felt at ease discussing matters in detail.

The interviews had the following structure. First, Simon and I both explained the general goals of our research and the specific goals of the interview. These were outlined as relating to how Abui children are socialized in the community, what language they speak at school, and how today's generation differs from yesterday's generation, as well as how Abui society is composed of various age-groups. Second, Simon asked the speaker(s) to introduce themselves, stating where they grew up, how old they were, and how many children they have. Afterwards, he asked the speakers to discuss what came to mind, in their view, when they thought of a specific age-related term. He started with terms like *moqu kieng* 'infant' and *moqu* 'child'. This went on for the age-groups in question, which included *neeng abet*/ *maayol maak* 'young man/woman' and *kalieta* 'adult'. Speakers were asked to elab-

orate on specific life-stages associated with these events in addition to estimating an age-range for each term, if applicable. He then moved on to ask questions about language use and bride price negotiations. Finally, many speakers also provided information containing comparisons between the situation today and that of their own childhood. Figure 3.1 illustrates the set-up used for one of these interviews.

Figure 3.1: Ethnographic interview on age-groups



The interviews were transcribed and translated using ELAN. For analysis, an Excel sheet with all the common questions was compiled; subsequently, data from all nine participants was added to this questionnaire.

3.3.2.2 Interviews about schooling and language policy

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Abui Takalelang speech community has seen drastic changes in the last 50-60 years. The aim of the interviews discussed in this section was to gather more information on the structural changes underlying a shift in language use and behaviour at school. Since schools played the largest role in promoting Malay Indonesian at the expense of

Abui, interviews were conducted with current and retired school teachers, principals, and supervisors. In some of sociolinguistic surveys, several speakers pinpointed specific teachers who were stark proponents for banning Abui at schools and promoting the use of Malay Indonesian. Some of these individuals were then approached and interviewed.

Specifically, I conducted five interviews with five Abui members associated with schools. The interviews were semi-structured in nature, typically lasting between one and two hours. Unlike the focus group discussions on life-stages, it was not possible to recruit the services of Abui speakers to conduct the interviews; therefore, the interviews were conducted by myself. In these interviews, the interviewees recounted the history of schooling in Alor more generally and Takalelang more specifically. They all gave precise dates about when certain schools moved or opened. They also offered precise information on specific years where some classes spoke better Abui then others, allowing for detailed descriptions of the shift in language use and attitudes.

In addition, they gave in-depth accounts about how they and their colleagues implemented an order that banned the use of Abui in the classroom and in the school playground. They offered their motivations for doing so as well as offering precise information about how various generations responded to this order over the years. This information was synthesized to produce a brief history of schooling in the Takalelang area (presented in §2.3).

The interviews were all audio-recorded. However, since the goal of these interviews was to provide a small sketch of the history of language use in schools, only some fragments were transcribed and translated into English using ELAN. In addition, notes taken during the interviews were also consulted. Appendix III provides a sample question list used during one of these interviews.

3.4 Sampling the speech community

The outcome of the ethnographic interviews led to the formation of four age-cohorts of speakers in the Takalelang speech community, presented in Table 3.3. These age-cohorts are delineated by age and are inspired by Abui age terms denoting certain life-stages and history, which were discussed in §2.4.2.1.

Table 3.3: Age-related terms

Abui term	**English gloss**	**Life-stage; history**	**Age-range (years)**
Moqu	'(Pre)adolescents'	Birth until end of puberty	9-16
Neeng abet / maayol maak	'Young adults'	End of puberty until marriage	17-25
Kalieta	'Adults'	Marriage; grew up speaking Abui and Alor Malay	26-34
Kalieta	'Elders'	Marriage; grew up speaking Abui only	40-75

These age-ranges represent approximations based on numbers given during the ethnographic interviews. They are meant to revolve around people's general notions about certain life-stages, such as the end of puberty marking the start of 'young adulthood' and marriage marking the start of 'adulthood'.

Of course, for any given speaker, it is possible that their age does not correspond to the life-stage described in Table 3.3. For example, the table assumes that any given speaker aged between 26-34 must be married. While this was mostly true, it was not always true. In a situation where there was a possible mismatch between age and life-stage, age took precedence over life-stage in determining group membership. Therefore, if a speaker aged between 26-34 was unmarried, they were still placed in the group of *kalieta* 'adults' (aged 26-34). This was motivated by the fact that it was not always possible to determine whether a particular speaker conformed to a given life-stage, whereas it was always possible to determine their age. In other words, while gathering information on some life-stages, such as marriage was possible, understanding whether someone had reached the end of puberty and was diligent enough to be considered a viable mate (another common trait of 'young adults') posed clear ethical as well as practical limitations. Thus, it was impossible to place a speaker into the group of *moqu*

'(pre)adolescents' or *neeng abet/maayol maak* based on life-stage criteria alone. As such, age was selected as a determining factor, while life-stages are used to characterize the groups in a broad sense.

After I had established these age categories, I then used these cohorts to organize the speaker population. For the variationist studies in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, I made sure that the cohorts had a representative amount of speakers fitting into a particular age-category. I recruited appropriate speakers during community gathering such as Church, sports matches, and by simply taking walks in the village and asking people whether they wanted to be recorded. Most speakers were recruited in the village of Takalelang, although some were recorded in the city of Kupang, Timor, where a large diaspora of Takalelang Abui speakers reside. In Takalelang, several members introduced me to their friends and family members, who then took part in the study.

All four age-cohorts are discussed in detail in §§3.4.1-3.4.4. In these sections, four main types of information is presented. First, information is given about the life-stages of each cohort. This is followed by their respective age boundaries. Furthermore, self-report data on language exposure from the sociolinguistic interviews is also presented. This includes i) language used by parents to speaker before primary school, ii) language used by parents to speaker during primary school, and iii) language used with peers in primary school playground. Variables i) and ii) provide insight into parenting strategies. Comparing variable i) across the four groups depicts how parents have altered their language family policy in response to pressure from government and school officials. Comparing variables i) and ii) also shows within the individual's timespan whether their parents have changed their language family policy as the child has settled into primary school. The reason this was selected was that parents often claimed that they were worried that if they wouldn't speak Alor Malay to their children before primary school that their children would risk suffering at school due to abuse from teachers as well as the inability to keep up. They also claimed that once children had safely learned Alor Malay and were doing well at school that they were willing to start using more Abui with them. Finally, variable iii) shed light into what language children were speaking among themselves in the playground. Because the playground was a highly stigmatized setting for play, it gives a conservative account of how often children were speaking Abui to another. Finally, general tendencies about their current linguistic

behaviour are also presented.

3.4.1 *Moqu* '(pre)adolescents'

The '(pre)adolescent' group (9-16 years) is derived on the basis of the Abui *moqu*, a term used to denote children and teenagers. Sexual maturity marks the end of *moqu*hood. In the past, a child would be given a loincloth to ritually mark the passage from *moqu* to sexual maturity (Du Bois, 1944). Today, no such ritual exists anymore, but the concept of *moqu* is still widely used to refer to someone who is not yet fully sexually mature.

Moqu is typically used more broadly in everyday life[2] than it is in this thesis as it typically covers the period from birth up until adolescence. For this thesis, the age of nine was selected as the lower boundary of *moqu*, because running tasks to elicit Abui with children below nine proved to be difficult, as they did not feel comfortable speaking Abui nor conducting the task. Therefore, the lower boundary of nine was selected for practical and experimental reasons; however, the upper boundary of sixteen was selected because it characterizes the end of puberty. It is thus representative of the category itself, as evidenced from excerpt (1).

(1) Q: *Menurut Bayi, kita biasa bilang moqu itu, apa*?
'According to grandpa, what does it mean when we utter the word *moqu*?'
A: *Moqu itu... Anak sejak lahir sampe dengan umur 16, itu dianggap moqu.*
'What we consider a *moqu* is any child from birth up until the age of 16.' [EG.65M.AG]

A socially constructed characteristic feature includes 'knowing how to

[2]The term might be combined with other modifiers to specify more specific periods. For example, *moqu kieng* refers to the first stage of *moqu* and might be loosely translated as 'newborn'. Speakers describe this phase as being the one where the newborn can not be separated from its caregiver. Speakers also refer to this stage using the Malay Indonesian term *anak merah* 'red child'. The next stage of *moqu*hood is *moqu fila* 'small child' which typically refers to the ages of zero to five. Additionally, a term introduced at least in the last half century, is *sakola moqu* 'school child', which typically refers to children from the ages 6-16 years. Crucially enough, Abui does not have a designated word to describe the adolescent stage, typically classifying adolescents in puberty as *moqu* until they are fully sexually mature and become available candidates for marriage [EG.60M.AG].

work'. Knowing how to work typically refers to being able to work in the fields. For men, it also involves knowing how to build a house, while for women it involves being able to undertake domestic chores. *Moqu* typically do not know how to 'work' on their own. As a result, they are not considered viable for marriage, as excerpt (2) shows.

(2) *Moqu belum bisa kerja... moqu berarti itu puber yang memang su begitu* (*15 - 16 tahun*) *tapi belum bisa dikawinkan masi dianggap itu anak*.
'A *moqu* can not fully work yet. *Moqu* does indeed refer to an adolescent in puberty (of around 15-16 years). However, (s)he may not get married.' [EG.65M.AG]

Today, all members of the (pre)adolescents group of *moqu* are Alor Malay-dominant bilinguals. They only speak Alor Malay with their peers and age-mates. The few instances in which they report speaking Abui is when they converse with their grandparents; even then, while grandparents often address their grandchildren in Abui, some respond in Abui while others still respond in Alor Malay. Sociolinguistic data from nineteen members of the *moqu* '(pre)adolescents' group reveals that a great majority of speakers (16/19) report being addressed in Alor Malay by their parents in their early childhood, before entering primary school (see Table 3.4). Six speakers, who report being addressed in Alor Malay before entering primary school, report being addressed in both languages during primary school, indicating that parents adjusted their language patterns. This is in line with two claims that parents make. The first one is about the emphasis of the use of Malay Indonesian with children before they enter primary school so that they can cope with the language of instruction. The second is about children gradually becoming more fluent as they grow older, in this case as they transition into primary school. All nineteen participants report speaking exclusively Alor Malay in the playground. As such, this increased Abui language use by parents has little to do with school as such, but has more to do with the gradual process of language acquisition and socialization that takes place with Abui (see §2.4.2).

There was one outlier in this group who reported being addressed in Abui by his parents both before and during primary school as well as initiating speaking it with peers in the primary school. This was a boy who

was born in the mountain hamlet of Tifol Afeng, who lived in between Tifol Afeng and Takalelang. As discussed in §1.4.2, many children from Tifol Afeng grow up speaking Abui. The two speakers who reported being addressed using both languages both lived with their grandparents (who spoke little Malay) for at least four years.

Table 3.4: Self-reports on early language exposure of (pre)adolescents (N=19)

(Pre)adolescents (age 9 - 16 years)	**Alor Malay**	**Both**	**Abui**
Language used by parents before primary school	16	2	1
Language used by parents during primary school	10	8	1
Language used with peers in primary school playground	18	0	1

3.4.2 *Neeng abet/maayol maak* 'young adults'

Neeng abet 'young male adult' and *maayol maak* 'young female adult' are the terms used to describe sexually mature members who are searching for a spouse. Being a *neeng abet/maayol maak* 'young adult' also means that a person must be able to work independently, which is deemed crucial if one is to be considered as a viable spouse. Today, finishing an education also affects the age in which people get married. Both terms correspond to similar ages in both genders. They typically have a range from about 17 to 25 years, as excerpt (3) shows.

(3) Q: *Terus, bagaimana dengan neeng abet atau maayol maak, menurut nenek*?
'Then, what about *neeng abet* or *maayol maak*, according to grandpa?
A: *Kalo neeng abet dengan maayol maak itu su mulai umur 17 sampe dengan 24-25, paling tinggi 30*
'As for *neeng abet* and *maayol maak*, this begins from age 17 until 24-25, max. 30' [EG.65M.AG]

When asked for the age at which people typically get married, the interviewees typically gave twenty-five as a milestone, arguing that people would start to ask questions if a marriage wasn't planned by that age. The age of

twenty was given as an age that allowed young adults to finish their studies, work for a few years, and accumulate wealth, in preparation for a dowry payment. It was also pointed out by several speakers that while 17-25 is a representative age-range for the category of *neeng abet* 'young adult male', the essential characteristic that the term holds is unmarried status. In other words, if someone within that age-range bears a child or gets married, they will no longer hold the status of *neeng abet*/ *maayol maak* 'young adult' but will move unto *kalieta* 'elder', as evidenced from excerpt (4).

(4) *Umur belasan ju, su kawin berarti su bukan neeng abet lagi, su status bapa tu, status kalieta*
'Even if someone is a teenager, if they were to get married, then they will no longer be a *neeng abet*. Their status will change to *bapa* 'father' (in Alor Malay), or to *kalieta* 'adult/elder' (in Abui).' [EG.57M.AG1]

The reverse is true. If someone in their thirties is not yet married, they are still considered a *neeng abet* or *maayol maak*, as excerpt (5) shows.

(5) *Na, sampe umur tigapuluan juga belum kawin berarti dia masi neeng abet. Umur mulai 35 ke atas itu yang, kadang orang tida bilang neeng abet karena itu suda masuk di usia usia orang tua walaupun dia belum kawin.*
'Further, even if someone has reached their thirties,the fact that they have not yet gotten married yet still means that they are a *neeng abet* 'young adult male'. However, this lasts until 35. From 35 onwards, even if they have not gotten married, they are no longer called a *neeng abet* because they've entered the age of elders.' [EG.45M.AG2]

The young adults are also Alor Malay-dominant bilinguals. Their early exposure as indicated in Table 3.5 resembles that of the group of (pre)adolescents, although the group of young adults have had slightly more exposure to Abui. For example, four young adults report being addressed equally in both languages, while two report mostly being addressed in Abui. Similarly to the (pre)adolescents, we see an increase in exposure to Abui (besides Alor Malay) when the young adults entered primary school.

The two speakers that report being addressed in Abui both before and during primary school also lived with grandparents. The same holds for the speakers who selected both.

Table 3.5: Self-reports on early language exposure of young adults (N=19)

Young Adults (age 17 - 25)	**Alor Malay**	**Both**	**Abui**
Language used by parents before primary school	13	4	2
Language used by parents during primary school	10	7	2
Language used with peers in primary school playground	15	3	1

Today, many young adult speakers who had been living away from the Abui home community for a certain period of time (e.g., for educational and career purposes) report having made conscious efforts to resettle into the community upon their return, and improving their Abui as they take on more important 'adult' roles in the community. Speakers who remained in Takalelang their whole life also report an improvement in their Abui, both in terms of fluency and frequency of use.

3.4.3 *Kalieta* 'adults'

The group of 'adults' consists of speakers aged 26-34 years. It is based on the Abui term *kalieta* which is a term reserved for adults who are married or have children two typically defining features of this age category. Especially if one has a child, this change of status to *kalieta* also bears with it an additional name; the person in question is now called 'child so-and-so's father/mother', as described in excerpt (6).

(6) *Setela dia suda beruma tangga, kawin, dia suda tida neeng abet itu suda 'neeng kalieta'. Apa lagi suda ada anak, itu suda 'neeng kalieta'. Sudah dikatakan kecil punya bapak.*
'When he has married and settled down, he is no longer a *neeng abet* 'young male' but a *neeng kalieta* 'adult male' instead. Especially if he has a child, then he is definitely a *neeng kalieta* 'adult male'. He is (then) referred to as 'child so-and-so's father'.' [EG.45M.AG2]

The lower boundary of twenty five corresponds to the age at which many people typically get married. This age is generally higher today than it was in the past due to the fact that a lot of young Abui speakers pursue tertiary education either in Kalabahi (Alor Island) or in Kupang (Timor Island) [EG.45M.AG2].

Technically speaking, the Abui term *kalieta* is used for any adult who is married and/or has children all the way into old age. For the purposes of this study, however, a distinction is made between *kalieta*, aged between 26-34 and *kalieta*, aged 40 and above (discussed in §3.4.4). There are two important reasons for this distinction, one due to life-stage and the other due to history. In terms of life-stage, there is some evidence to suggest that speakers view 25 to 35 as the ideal window for marriage. This is also related to status. The evidence for this can be seen in how people observe unmarried adults. People below 35 who are not married may still be considered *neeng abet*/*maayol maak* 'young (unmarried) adults'; however, people above 35 who are not yet married will automatically be referred to as *kalieta*, as shown by excerpt (5). This points to the age of 35 as representing some sort of threshold.

The second reason for this is not due to life-stages per se, but due to different history. Speakers aged 26-34 were the first generation to have undergone a shift to Alor Alor Malay, while speakers above forty were all raised in Abui and may be considered true Abui L1 speakers (see §§2.3-2.4.2.1 for discussion on age and a change in schooling patterns respectively).

In terms of language exposure, the adults group was the first to undergo a change in parental linguistic strategies: not all parents unequivocally raised them in Alor Malay; they often mixed Abui and Alor Malay. This is shown in Table 3.6,[3] which presents a more balanced distribution compared to the two younger groups. Before and during primary school, a considerable number of speakers in this age-group is raised either exclusively in Abui, or in both Abui and Alor Malay. Similarly to the (pre)adolescents and young adults, we see a rise in exposure to Abui as the speakers entered primary school. As regards the language used to communicate with friends in the playground, we see that half of the speakers reported using mostly

[3]There was missing data for one speaker with regards to the variable 'Language used with peers in primary school playground' which is why the total number of tokens amounts to 18 instead of 19.

Abui. This number is considerably higher than in the other two groups illustrating that the 1980s and early 1990s was a period when children still spoke Abui to each other.

Here again, the four speakers that report being addressed in Abui before primary school either lived with their grandmothers (N = 3), or grew up in Tifol Afeng (N = 1).

Table 3.6: Self-reports on early language exposure of adults (N=19)

Young Adults (age 26 - 34)	**Alor Malay**	**Both**	**Abui**
Language used by parents before primary school	7	8	4
Language used by parents during primary school	3	9	7
Language used with peers in primary school playground	8	3	7

Today, 'adults' typically speak both Alor Malay and Abui to their peers. They speak mostly Abui to elders and mostly Alor Malay to younger speakers as well as their own children.

3.4.4 *Kalieta* 'elders'

The age-cohort of elders (range: 40 - 75 years) has been designated as the control group in this research. This group is the speaker group from which the patterns and rules of Abui grammar are assumed to be derived (as reported in e.g., Kratochvíl, 2007), and is taken to represent the grammatical norm. Only nine speakers were selected; they showed very little variation in the linguistic variables selected for investigation. There are two crucial metrics on which to split the Abui notion of *kalieta* into two groups of 'adults' and 'elders', one due to them represented a different life-stage and another due to them also having a different history with regards to langauge use and exposure.

With regards to life-stage, the 'elders' group typically represents a later stage in adulthood compared to the group labeled 'adults' (discussed in §3.4.3). In this age category, most members would be suitable to sit on the *meja adat* (Malay Indonesian), roughly translated as 'the table of customs'. This refers to the negotiation table for bride price, land ownership and other

important matters. In order to sit on the *meja adat*, both marriage and proficiency in the Abui ritual language are required. This is not always accessible to speakers in the 'adults' group.

With regards to their language history, while the *kalieta* 'adults' (26-34 years) grew up with a mix of Alor Malay and Abui, *kalieta* 'elders' (40-75 years) grew up speaking Abui, as evidenced by (7).

(7) *Mulai tuju delapan tahun itu kita pung bahasa Abui itu sudah. Kan dulu kan kita hanya omong bahasa Abui saja to*?
'From age 7-8 our Abui would be fluent. I mean, in the past, we only spoke Abui, you know.' [EG.49F.AG]

Elders only received exposure to Alor Malay from teachers when they entered schools, as depicted in excerpt (8). They often dropped out of school after two or three years. This was especially common for women whose parents insisted that they stay home and lend an extra hand in the fields. Most parents of the members of this group spoke Abui and thus raised this group in Abui. The parents did not receive any formal education; however, some of their fathers received some Alor Malay literacy training by foreign (Dutch) administrators, learning to write on stone slates (see §2.3; Du Bois (1944) mentions that barely twenty boys knew how to speak Malay in the entire five-village complex in Atimelang).

(8) *... perkembangan dulu lain. Dulu kami ini tida tau bahasa itu Indonesia yang mana. Bahasa Indonesia saja kita turun sakola baru tau. Hanya bahasa Abui.*
'..in the past, the developments were different. In the past, we did not know what Indonesian even was. We had to go down to school (from the villages in the hills), and then we would learn Indonesian. [It used to be] only Abui.' [EG.60M.AG]

Table 3.7 illustrates that all nine speakers sampled for the sociolinguistic interview report being spoken to by parents in Abui both before and during primary school.[4] In addition, they all claim to have initially used Abui with peers in primary school playground until they were punished for doing so (see §2.3 for more info on school policies).

[4]One speaker did not attend primary school. This is why the field the third row has only 8 speakers.

Table 3.7: Self-reports on early language exposure of elders (N=9)

Young Adults (age 40 - 75)	**Alor Malay**	**Both**	**Abui**
Language used by parents before primary school	0	0	9
Language used by parents during primary school	0	0	8
Language used with peers in primary school playground	0	0	8

Today, the elders use Abui to communicate with other (young) adults and elders, and speak Alor Malay only to children and non-Abui speakers.

3.4.5 Summary of age-groups

Sections 3.4.1-3.4.4 have given descriptions on the four age-cohorts used to categorize speakers for the variationist studies found in this thesis. The age-groups correspond roughly to certain age-ranges which are in turn related to certain life-stages. The cohorts were inspired by the Abui terms and life-stages associated with them. However, speakers are placed into age-cohorts purely based on their age and not on whether they conform to a given life-stage. In addition to age-ranges and life-stages, information was presented on their early language exposure as well as their current language use. The differences between the age-groups in terms of early language exposure and current language use are summarized in Table (3.8). For further information on marriage practices as well as the construct of age as broken down into life-stage and history, see §1.5.4 and §2.4.2.1 respectively.

Table 3.8: Summaries of differences between age-groups

	Moqu **'(Pre)adolescents'**	***Neeng abet/maayol maak*** **'young adults'**	***Kalieta*** **'adults'**	***Kalieta*** **'elders'**
Age-range	9-16	17-25	26-34	40-75
Life-stage	Not yet sexually mature	Sexually mature. Prepare for marriage.	Typically married and/or bear child	Married. Can participate in ritualized negotiations
Early exposure	Raised in Alor Malay by parents. Spoke Alor Malay with peers.	Raised in Alor Malay by parents. Spoke Alor Malay with peers.	Raised by both Abui and Alor Malay by parents. Spoke a mix with peers.	Raised in Abui by parents. Spoke Abui with peers. Learned Alor Malay at school
Current use	Speak Alor Malay with peers and adults.	Speak Alor Malay with peers. Speak Alor Malay and Abui with adults	Speak Alor Malay and Abui with peers. Speak Alor Malay and Abui with adults. Speak Alor Malay with children.	Speak Abui with peers and parents. Speak Alor Malay with children.

3.5 Linguistic data

In order to study on-going language contact in as complete a manner as possible, several threads of linguistic data were collected: conversational data (§3.5.1), experimental data (§3.5.2), data from fieldnotes (§3.5.3). Conversational data includes spontaneous speech involving several speakers. Experimental data includes two types of data: production data gathered by means of the Surrey Stimuli video elicitation task (§3.5.2.1) and comprehension data gathered by means of a forced-choice task (§3.5.2.2). Data from fieldnotes includes elicited data (§3.5.3.1), and data obtained from participant

observation (§3.5.3.2).

The different types of data were used for various purposes across Chapters 4-7. Conversational, experimental, and elicited data were used for the sketch grammar (Chapter 4) and for the study on reduplication (Chapter 7). Conversational and experimental data was used in the two studies on variation and change (Chapter 5, 6).

Taken together, data collection was carried out to capture three main dimensions relevant to the study of language change: a) genre diversity, b) ecological validity, c) comparability across different kinds of participants.

To achieve genre diversity, data from conversational recordings was collected alongside data from experimental recordings. These types were further supplemented by elicited data to test certain hypotheses about the language. Further, the method of participant observation produced data and questions that would not have otherwise arisen in more controlled environments. In addition, even within category of experimental data collection, two modalities were targeted: production and comprehension. This combination allowed for a more complete testing of speaker's competence; it allowed for a testing of speaker's online processing as well as their linguistic knowledge.

The second dimension of ecological validity refers to the extent to which the data here may be representative of how people actually speak and are spoken to. Spontaneous conversational data is typically the closest one can come in terms of collecting ecologically valid data and it is for this reason that this type of data was collected. Furthermore, the age-range of speakers from the conversational data of 1 to 85 years also adds further ecological validity to the data because it is representative of nearly every age category in the community.

The third dimension of comparability across different kinds of participants was met through the collection of experimental data. Therefore, the studies in Chapter 4 and 5, which rely predominantly on experimental data are comparable, as the same speakers were sampled. For the experimental data collected, speakers were split into four groups: three experimental groups and one control group. The experimental groups had similar numbers of participants, spread across gender evenly. While the conversational data was more spontaneous and thus less comparable across speakers, the experimental data involved responses to the same set of stimuli. In addition, the majority of speakers performed both the production and the

comprehension task.

Of course, these types of data do not individually satisfy all three of the criteria outlined above, but taken collectively, they form a varied sample of data that does.

3.5.1 Conversational data

The genre of conversation is often considered highly ecologically valid. Most people use language to converse with one another, so collecting conversations represents language use in its most natural form (Dingemanse & Floyd, 2014). In total, 19 conversational recordings were transcribed and translated. The age-range of speakers was 1 to 85 years. Data from speakers above 40 provided a baseline for how the language is spoken by Abui L1 speakers. Data from younger speakers was representative of how the language is undergoing change.

There are two types of conversations in my corpus. The first is spontaneous conversations, where I simply recorded conversations already taking place, while the second is directed conversations, where I brought speakers together and directed them to engage in conversation.

In the first type, speakers were approached whilst already sitting together and engaging in conversation. Then, I kindly asked whether I could set up the camera and record their existing conversation, explaining I was interested in recording a *konversasi sehari-hari* 'everyday conversation'. I pointed out that I simply wanted speakers to forget that the camera was there and continue having their everyday conversation, implying that I did not expect a formal register but a casual one. I also highlighted that I wasn't particularly interested in collecting Abui data, making clear that any language or variety that came up would be suitable as long as speakers felt they were conversing naturally. These instructions led to the collection of a number of recordings containing natural speech which often included code-switching of Abui and Alor Malay.[5]

The second type was less spontaneous. It involved directing the recording by asking speakers to come together and converse with one another from a list of topics. This method was implemented particularly for (pre)-adolescent speakers. Typically, it was not always possible to record them

[5] Generally speaking, code-switching is not addressed as it fell outside the scope of this thesis; however, some references are made to it in Chapter 4, example (113) and in §7.6.1.

speaking spontaneously because they were often found running around and playing. However, with the help of a school teacher and/or adult speakers, they often agreed to sit down and have informal conversations about their favourite school subjects or what activities they had been engaging in. A breakdown of all the conversations transcribed and translated in my corpus is listed in Table 3.9.[6]

[6] In addition to the nineteen conversations presented here, around twenty more were recorded but left untranscribed and untranslated.

Table 3.9: Abui corpus of conversational data

Duration	Code	Content	Speaker age and gender
0:01:50	BB	Conversation centred around a baby	1F, 5F, 23M, 40F, 43F, 45F, 50M, 70F
0:16:41	QU	A young male asking an elder man to ask his mother questions about her past	23M, 50M, 85F
0:09:54	SC	2 sisters conversing about school	15F, 25F
0:13:57	MM	A boy reciting the Mon Mot Mot story to his friends	9F, 11F, 12F, 13M
0:08:44	CT	A child telling his friends a traditional story	13M, 16F
0:12:10	DA	A young adult asking 2 adolescents about their daily activities	13M, 16F
0:08:43	LU	Young adult asking questions to 2 adolescents about language use	13M, 16F
0:06:15	AL	Young adult asking questions to adolescent girl about language use	14F, 23M
0:04:15	LP	A (pre)adolescent girl assists a 3 older women in preparing lunch	9F, 40F, 40F, 45F
0:19:49	CP	An (pre)adolescent girl assists a 3 older women in baking a cake	9F, 40F, 40F, 45F
0:41:50	GJ	2 girls making jewelry	23F, 27F
0:22:15	BC	2 boys conversing about school and future plans	24M, 19M
0:19:48	GO	4 girls conversing on Orpa's porch	21F, 22F, 23F
0:24:05	WG	Women gossiping under a tree	22F, 26F, 32M, 34F, 40F, 49F
0:31:31	CS	People of all ages, sitting on a porch and practising for the choir for a Sunday church sermon	7M, 15F, 22F, 40F, 43F, 45F, 46M
0:24:48	AH	A young lady, her baby daughter, her mother, and two other ladies sitting and chatting	0.5F, 22F, 40F, 42F, 43F
0:19:45	JH	3 speakers in their early thirties taking care of their children and conversing with an old lady	4F, 5F, 30F, 32M, 32F, 34M, 75F
0:07:00	LH	A group of young adults sitting at someone's home, conversing with some adults; lots of Abui/Alor Malay code-switching	18M, 22M, 24M, 25M, 26M, 27M, 43M, 47F
0:07:43	HB	3 (pre)adolescents discussing their hobbies and what they did earlier in the week	10F, 12F, 15M
5:01:03	*Total*		

As illustrated in Table 3.10 the conversational data includes data from speakers ranging from age 1-85. In a number of recordings, toddlers were also present. Therefore, these recordings have some instances of child-directed speech as well as utterances from children themselves. In other recordings, some old ladies above the age of 75 were present. All in all, 38 females were recorded, compared to 18 males. There are several possible explanations for this gender bias in some of the age-groups. The first one is coincidence; 6 of the children aged (1-8 years) all happened to be female. Moreover, in the (pre)adolescent group, boys typically felt more shy than girls to take part in a conversation.[7] In the elders group, it appeared to be easier to find women gathered in one space, conversing naturally. Men appeared to be more scattered around.

Table 3.10: Participant table for conversational data

Group	**Age-range (years)**	**M**	**F**	**Total**
Children	1-8	0	6	6
(Pre)adolescents	9-16	2	9	11
Young adults	17-25	7	8	15
Adults	26-34	5	2	7
Elders	40-85	4	13	17
Total	1-85	18	38	56

There were several advantages of using conversations for this research. Generally, when transcribed and translated, conversational data provides the basis for text data which often form the backbone of grammatical analysis. They are also essential in analyzing the more pragmatic, semantic and subtle parts of language (Payne, 1997). Thus they were used extensively for the sketch in Chapter 4. The advantage of using texts is that it becomes possible to study how people actually speak, as opposed to how people think they speak. This is especially important in studies such as the ones included in this thesis, where a lot of statements are made about which variant in the

[7]However, it was observed that girls generally felt more comfortable speaking Abui. This could be related to socialization practices discussed in §2.4.2.2. Gender differences in language use are also discussed in Chapter 5.

speech community is considered felicitous and grammatical.

Another advantage of using conversations is that they may be used for the study of conversational analysis, which is useful as a separate field of study but also proved relevant for the research in this thesis. In the context of studying language change in progress, conversations were insightful in understanding whether or how speakers use other-initiated repair to correct the speech of younger, less fluent speakers. Although not investigated systematically, this type of repair, or 'corrections' by older speakers in conversation proved helpful in pointing out areas of the language that younger speakers struggled with, in addition to highlighting what kind of methods older speakers used to correct their speech, if at all. This thus proved to be a novel means to study the treatment of age-related variation.

This is evident in example (9), where a 22-year-old speaker reduplicates the wrong verb *heyel~heyel-ra* 'go insane' and is then corrected by a 40-year old speaker through the use of *ayoq~ayoq-da* 'split in half'. This phenomenon was one of the methods used in early stages of this research to tag speech that appeared to deviate from community norms. Instances like this, for example, highlighted reduplication as a possible area of investigation, which is why it was later investigated.

(9) a. 22-year-old female

A-pong *heyel~heyel-ra!*
2SG.INAL-face RDP~go.insane-IPFV

'Your face is going insane! (You are drunk)' [CV.22F.AH]

b. 40-year-old female

"A-pong *ayoq~ayoq-da"* *ba* *henil-e.*
2SG.INAL-face RDP~two-IPFV REPORT like.this.IPFV-IPFV

' "Your face is being split in half (You are drunk)!" Like that.' [CV.40F.AH]

However, despite these advantages, conversational data also has some shortcomings. One disadvantage that it is more time-consuming to transcribe than other genres. Furthermore, due to its free nature, it is not always possible to obtain comparable data among speakers. As such, it was not possible to collect conversational data from all the participants I tested to

conduct quantitative analyses. For this reason, I also collected experimental data.

3.5.2 Experimental data

Experimental data was split into production data and comprehension data. To gather production data, the Surrey Stimuli video elicitation task was used (§3.5.2.1). To gather comprehension data, a forced-choice task was used (§3.5.2.2).

3.5.2.1 Production data: Surrey Stimuli video elicitation task

The Surrey Stimuli task (Fedden, Brown, & Corbett, 2010; Fedden & Brown, 2017) is a series of 40 short video clips spanning about five seconds. The clips are listed along with a brief description in Table 3.11. For a list of the 40 clips, plus accompanying screenshots of the videos, see Appendix IV.[8]

One of the main advantages of data from the Surrey Stimuli task is that it provides comparability across various speakers, making it ideal to study language variation across age-groups. It also provides video clips which target many areas relevant for Abui grammar. This is because the task was initially designed by a group of researchers interested in pronominal marking in the Alor-Pantar languages more generally. It contains a large amount of both intransitive events and transitive events involving two participants, making it useful for studying variation in pronominal marking, reflexive possessive marking, lexical semantics, among other topics. Often, semantic factors related to pronominal marking, such as animacy and volitionality were manipulated in the clips, providing an adequate range of experimental conditions. The stimuli set had been tested on Abui and other AP languages (see Fedden et al., 2014; Fedden and Brown, 2017) and did not appear to violate any cultural or pragmatic norms. Finally, it is important to underline that, initially, the elicitation task was not hypothesis-driven, but rather aimed to collect a corpus in which variable grammatical patterns could be identified.

The procedure of the task went as follows: speakers were asked whether they were interested in being recorded as they watch short video clips on a computer and describe what was going on in the clip, using Abui. This was

[8]The initial set had 42 clips, but 2 were not available when downloading the set from http://www.smg.surrey.ac.uk/projects/alor-pantar/pronominal-marking-video-stimuli/.

Table 3.11: The Surrey Stimuli video clips

Code	Description of clip
C01	man pulls other man
C02	girl leans on man
C03	people dancing
C04	boy steps on sleeping man
C05	man sleeping on bed
C06	man sitting against wall and dozing off
C07	woman sitting and laughing
C08	man holds snake, gives it to girl who is afraid
C09	water being poured into glass
C10	man lying down, talking to himself
C11	man sitting against house and eating banana
C12	man is standing, boy runs over to him
C13	one man is standing, another walks into him
C14	man walks over to a wall and sits down
C15	coconut tree; one coconut falls
C16	man walking, bumps into, and then hugs tree
C17	4 logs, 1 large one
C18	girl pulling log
C19	man walks over and sees axe with blood
C20	man walks and steps on banana
C21	man standing and leaning on house
P01	man smells other man
P02	man smells cheese
P03	match goes out
P04	man sitting, leaning against wall and waking up
P05	a short man and tall man are standing
P06	boy hears noise and is startled
P07	boy is sleeping; man comes and wakes him up
P08	bent person on all 4s with rock on back
P09	man walks over and trips on log
P11	banana falls on log
P12	man hears other man
P13	man hugs tree
P14	small log placed on big bent plank
P15	man cradles child
P17	man standing
P18	3 stones of different sizes
P19	banana falls on stomach of man lying down
P20	man running
P21	man leaning on wall, gets up, and walks away

accompanied by the reassurance that they could resort to Alor Malay should they struggle to find the right Abui words to describe the clips. Instructions were always given in Alor Malay; while watching the clips, they were asked *apa yang terjadi?* 'what was going on?'.[9] Participants were video-taped while performing the task. On three occasions where video was inappropriate or unavailable, the session was audio recorded. For the (pre)adolescent group, the instructions were given by a school teacher, as an authoritative yet familiar figure from whom the children were used to following instructions.

The experiment was most often conducted at their own home, but sometimes it was also conducted at the household where I was staying. Specific efforts were made to avoid the presence of older speakers who were often tempted to interfere and 'correct' utterances they felt were ungrammatical. When it was unavoidable to be in the presence of older speakers, I made it very clear that I was only interested in the speech of the participant in question, and that the recording could be jeopardized should others get involved. Some older speakers later objected to the idea that I was collecting language data from speakers who are 'not fluent yet'. However, I reiterated my motivation of collecting data from various ages, in order to study the development of the language. I also pointed out that it was important to have an idea of how less than fluent speakers spoke Abui for didactic purposes.

In general, speakers performed the task smoothly and comfortably. On a small number of occasions, I was prompted to initiate repair and intervene. The first of these involved instances where speakers were simply encouraged to elaborate. Speakers sometimes gave too little information or missed an essential part of the target response. This could come in the form of open ended question, such as asking why something happened, if they gave a short response. An example of this would be from a video were a man kneels down, sees an axe in a pool of blood (Clip C19 in Table 3.11). If a response merely yielded, 'the man was scared', I would probe further and ask 'why was scared?' or 'what did he see?'.

Other instances that prompted me to interject included utterances that

[9] As mentioned in §3.2, speakers were given instructions in Alor Malay for two main reasons. First, especially in the early stages of fieldwork, explaining instructions clearly was only possible in Alor Malay. Second, it was unclear to what extent younger speakers would fully understand instructions in Abui. This was evidenced by the fact that some of my assistants deliberately chose to address them in Alor Malay when giving them instructions. As such, Alor Malay seemed like the most appropriate option.

weren't clearly audible due to poor articulation or background noise. In asking speakers to repeat their utterance, some speakers shuffled around their utterance and used a different choice of words. In all of these cases of researcher-initiated repair, the second utterance was always considered. The second utterance was also considered in instances of self-repair, where the participant would repeat their responses in favour of a more accurate and better constructed sentence. Having said that, there is still a large amount of variation in the responses given.

In total, the Surrey Stimuli task was collected from 66 speakers, spread across the four age-cohorts, as illustrated in Table 3.12.[10] For each the three experimental groups, (pre)adolescents, young adults, adults, 19 speakers were recorded.[11] However, for elders (age 40-75), the control group, only nine speakers were recorded because their speech showed little variation from one another. Furthermore, most of the published resources on Abui are based on data from speakers in this age-cohort (e.g. Kratochvíl, 2007, 2011a; Kratochvíl and Delpada, 2014). Nonetheless, the sum of nine still appeared to be large enough to run certain statistical analyses, such as the Kruskall-Wallis test, reliably.

Table 3.12: Participant table for Surrey Stimuli Production Task

Group	**Age-range (years)**	**M**	**F**	**Total**	**Mean age**
(Pre)adolescents	9-16	9	10	19	13.47
Young adults	17-25	10	9	19	21.42
Adults	26-34	10	9	19	30.29
Elders	40-75	4	5	9	50.44
Total	9-75	33	33	66	25.51

3.5.2.2 Comprehension data: Forced-choice task

While it is essential to examine speaker's language production, it is also important to investigate speakers' comprehension in order to explore to what

[10] For details on how this type of data was transcribed and translated, see §3.8.

[11] In the adults group, the recording of one of the speakers was not recorded firsthand, but was taken from the Kratochvíl corpus; see §3.7.

extent a given feature or simplification pattern is entrenched in a speaker's competence (Onar Valk, 2015; see also §1.8.5). In order to test for speakers' comprehension, a forced-choice task was conducted.

In a forced-choice task, speakers are typically presented with more than one similar constructions in either writing or speech and must select which of the sentences is most felicitous, grammatical, or appropriate for a given stimulus. They are thus 'forced' to select which construction fits best. This is especially useful in testing constructions with similar underlying meanings. Thus, it proved useful in testing variation within a given linguistic category, such as reflexivity in third person possession, for example.

In this research, the task was devised to test four linguistic variables (see Table 3.13). The first step involved selecting video clips which could elicit constructions suitable to these variables. A total of 30 clips were selected, most of which were taken from the Surrey Stimuli production task, while five were recorded with Abui speakers for the purpose of this task. For every video clip shown to participants (also labeled a 'trial'), two conflicting sentences were recorded, one containing a match and the other a mismatch. Thus, a total of 30 videos were shown accompanied by 60 audio stimuli.

In order to find the appropriate sentence pair for every trial, I sat down with native elder speakers and discussed sentences that could be considered matches. Once they had been selected, they were then uttered by a native speaker (25-year-old male speaker) and audio recorded. Subsequently, the task was piloted with two other native speakers above the age of 40 to test whether the target sentences were fully grammatical and/or felicitous to them and also whether the nontarget sentences were not fully grammatical and/or felicitous.

The task was split into two experimental sets, A and B. The 30 video clips were then randomly shuffled for each set. Half of the participants were assigned to set A while the other half were assigned to set B. The participants watched the video clips and listened to the recording of the two sentences accompanying the clip, which had also been randomized, so that the target was sometimes first, and sometimes second.

The procedure went as follows. After agreeing to the task, a speaker sat down next to me, facing a laptop. Using a jack splitter, both the speaker and myself each had our own set of headphones. This ensured that we could both listen to the audio-recorded stimuli. I would then play a video, and follow it up with sentence 1, and then sentence 2. I then asked the speaker in

Alor Malay, *mana yang pas*? 'which one fits [with the video]?'. Speakers then uttered ' one' or 'two'. They were always presented with two trial rounds in the beginning, involving simple sentences such as 'the man is sitting' vs. 'the man is standing', along with a video of one of these postures. This afforded them time to acclimatize to the task. Everyone passed the trial round. All sessions were audio-recorded. After the sessions, the sessions were played back and the answers were then filled into an excel sheet. Figure 3.2 illustrates the set-up of the task.

Figure 3.2: Forced choice set-up



An example of a trial involving a match and a mismatch is presented in (10a-b). The video stimulus shown here involves 'a man pulling his (own) friend' (Clip C01 in Table 3.11). The variable in question is the use of the reflexive possessive (discussed in Chapter 5). Option (10a) represents a match because it contains the reflexive possessive prefix *de-* while option (10b) represents a mismatch because it contains the non-reflexive possessive prefix *he-*.

(10) Target: Reflexive possessive (*dV*-) Video clip C01 [man$_x$ pulling his$_x$ friend]

a. **Reflexive match: (*dV*- prefix)**

Neeng	*nuku*	***de-feela***	*ha-fik-e.*
man	one	3.REFL.AL-friend	3.PAT-pull-IPFV

'A man$_x$ is pulling his$_x$ friend.' [FC.POSS1.MATCH]

b. **Non-reflexive mismatch (*hV*- prefix)**

Neeng	*nuku*	***he-feela***	*ha-fik-e.*
man	one	3.NREFL.AL-friend	3.PAT-pull-IPFV

'A man$_x$ is pulling his$_y$ friend.' [FC.POSS1.MIS]

The four linguistic variables addressed by the 30 trials include: 1) reflexive possessive marking, 2) verb usage, 3) pronominal indexation, and 4) clause linkers. For the full list of trials for the forced-choice task, see Appendix V. The order of trials was randomly assigned, meaning that since they belonged to different variables, they acted as distractors for one another. Despite four variables being tested, this thesis only reports on two of them: Reflexive possessive marking in Chapter 5 and verb usage in Chapter 6.

To ensure that speakers were not guessing and could tease apart a match from a mismatch, every clip that targeted a given form was counterbalanced by another clip which targeted the mismatch of that form. For example, there were three videos such as (10), which targeted the reflexive possessive *dV*-, where the non-reflexive possessive represented a mismatch. To counterbalance this, there were also three trials targeting the non-reflexive *hV*-, where the non-reflexive possessive *hV*- represented a match and the reflexive *dV*- represented a mismatch. This was done for every variable; see Table 3.13.

Table 3.13: Description of trials for forced-choice task

Variable	Condition	Trials
Possessive marking	Reflexive possessive target	3
	non-reflexive possessive target	3
Verb usage	Visual perception 1: 'see'	2
	Visual perception 2: 'look at'	2
	Motion 1: 'fall over'	2
	Motion 2: 'fall from above'	2
	Change of state 1: 'get up'	2
	Change of state 2: 'wake up'	2
Pronominal indexation	GOAL prefix target	3
	PATIENT prefix target	3
Clause linkers	SEQUENTIAL *ya* target	3
	LINKER *ba* target	3
Total		30

A total of 60 participants took part in the forced-choice task during a two-month fieldtrip in 2017. Most of the participants who took part in the production task also participated in the comprehension task. In total, 9/66 participants from the Surrey Stimuli production task were not available for the forced-choice task. To compensate, three new speakers were added for the forced-choice task. Information about the participants is laid out in Table 3.14. All 60 recordings may be found in The Language Archive (click here).

Table 3.14: Participant lists for experimental tasks

		Production			Comprehension		
Groups	**Age-range**	**M**	**F**	**Total**	**M**	**F**	**Total**
(Pre)adolescents	9-16	9	10	19	9	9	18
Young adults	17-25	10	9	19	9	5	14
Adults	26-34	10	9	19	9	8	17
Elders	40-75	4	5	9	5	6	11
Total	9-75	33	33	66	32	28	60

3.5.3 Fieldnotes

In this thesis, I make a distinction between data that has been recorded by audio or video (such as conversational and experimental data) and data which has been jotted down in a notebook or on a laptop (fieldnotes). Data from my fieldnotes generally comes in two forms: elicited data (§3.5.3.1) and data obtained from participant observation (§3.5.3.2).

3.5.3.1 Elicited data

Both elicitation and textual data (conversations, narratives) are crucial for a comprehensive descriptive account of a language (Payne, 1997, p. 366). Payne defines elicitation as 'samples of language that accomplish hypothetical communicative tasks'. The reason they are considered hypothetical is that typically a intermediary language is used to elicit a translation equivalent utterance. This type of elicitation can be especially useful in the early parts of fieldwork (Bowern, 2008, p. 77). Elicitation can also involve back translation, meaning that the researcher offers a sentence in the target language and then asks the speaker to translate it into the intermediary language. Duranti (1997, p. 98) discusses the importance of elicitation as allowing the linguist to uncover regularities in the linguistic system and get access to forms that might not be very accessible in every day speech. Another form of elicitation includes asking for grammaticality judgements. This involves presenting an utterance to a speaker and asking them whether the utterance is a good sentence (Bowern, 2008, p. 78). This can be particularly tricky, be-

cause speakers can have all sorts of different opinions on what constitutes a good or a bad sentence, and it is not entirely clear which part of the sentence they might be at odds with. All three types, namely translation, back translation, and judgements were used throughout this thesis.

In the research for this thesis, Alor Malay was used as a language of elicitation, especially in the early stages. This had several advantages and disadvantages. The main advantage was it was the language that most speakers are fluent in, and some even native. This created one less hurdle in terms of understanding one another. In addition, its reputation as a *bahasa sehari-hari* 'colloquial day-to-day language', meant that speakers felt at ease speaking it during elicitation sessions. This brought about a more casual atmosphere, which perhaps might have been different through the use of the more formal register of Standard Indonesian. However, when compared to Abui, Alor Malay lacks much of the complexity both lexically and morpho-syntactically. This meant that it was often difficult to capture some of the subtleties using Alor Malay. Towards the later stages, Abui was used as the language of elicitation.

Elicitation served two main functions. First, it was used to gather grammaticality judgements on and modifications of the speech of younger speakers, by older speakers. Second, it allowed for the filling of gaps in sentences involving minimal pairs, used primarily for the sketch grammar (Chapter 4).

Presenting older speakers sentences uttered by young speakers and asking them for their judgements made it possible to detect areas of the grammar that appeared to show variation across age-groups. This method brought to my attention that the topic of reflexivity in possession, verb usage, and reduplication warranted further investigation. In Chapter 7 on reduplication, judgements by older speakers, in the form of corrections, were presented as converging evidence to illustrate that many of the forms used by younger speakers differed from those used by older speakers. This (along with actual utterances by older speakers) was taken to show that younger speakers were innovating the system (see §7.5 for more on this methodology).

This is illustrated in example (11a-b). (11a) presents an utterance by a 13-year-old female who uses a reduplicated form *hayok~ha-yok* 'RDP~3.PAT-shake'; (11b) presents an elicited sentence (a correction) of (11a) by a 40-year-old female, showing the use of a serial verb construction *ha-yok ha-tel* '3.PAT-shake 3.PAT-tie.together'.

(11) a. 13-year-old female

Di *de-raala* ***hayok~ha-yok*** *ba* *di*
3.AGT 3.REFL.AL-throat RDP~3.PAT-shake LNK 3.AGT
taa.
sleep.IPFV

Intended: 'He shakes his neck back and forth and then sleeps. [SS.13F.55]

b. Correction of (11a) by a 40-year-old female

Di *da-wata=ng* ***ha-yok*** ***ha-tel.***
3.AGT 3.REFL.INAL-neck=ALL 3.PAT-shake 3.PAT-tie.together

'He shakes his neck back and forth.' [FN.40F]

These 'corrections' were elicited in the field, while going over a recorded text with an older speaker. The elicited utterances were often noted down in the notes tier of the ELAN file, which accompanied a recording.

The second purpose of elicitation was to test hypotheses and fill in gaps for the sketch grammar. This was done in the field by using fieldnotebooks. After I had returned from the field, digital media was also used extensively to gather further elicited data. Skype calls facilitated elicitation. The most salient medium used was Facebook, a platform that has become increasingly more widespread in the elicitation of linguistic data. Indonesians are generally active users of Facebook and this includes the Abui as well. Certain groups on Facebook, such as *Abui Tanga Hetahai* 'Learning Abui', proved to be useful settings to elicit grammaticality judgments in addition to gathering translations of certain Abui phrases (see also §1.5.5 for more information on digital media use). Furthermore, some utterances were elicited using WhatsApp, which allows for instant voice messages to be sent out back and forth. These methods are not without pitfalls, however, with the main concern being the fact that the researcher is not only eliciting data (which in itself is out of context) but he is also far removed from the actual speakers. For these reasons, where possible, data elicited using these media was kept to a minimum, such as when illustrating example sentences involving minimal pairs.

To sum up, the elicited data used in this research comprises: translations, back translations, and judgements. Translations and back translations are scattered across notebooks, and conversations among digital me-

dia (Facebook, Whatsapp). Judgement data is all recorded in the notes tier of the ELAN files accompanying the recordings. In total, it is estimated that there are at least 300 elicited phrases and/or clauses scattered across these categories.

3.5.3.2 Data from participant observation

Having spent over six months in the village of Takalelang over the span of three years, I developed a level of Abui proficiency that was sufficient for basic conversations. Abui speakers constantly made active efforts to speak to me in Abui. As such, about 10% of fieldnote data used in this thesis, come from active participation in the community. The type of participant observation can be characterized as a combination of *passive participation* and *complete participation* (Duranti, 1997). When recording conversational data, I engaged mostly in *passive participation*, trying to be as unintrusive as possible, and walking away from the scene, such that speakers could converse more naturally. During day-to-day affairs, I tried to engage as much as possible in *complete participation*, attempting to speak Abui whenever appropriate.

As such, some of the examples tagged as fieldnote data comes from my own intuitions about the language, which stem from conversational phrases used in everyday interactions. In addition, some examples also come from phrases that have been overheard and jotted down. While participant observation is an essential method for conducting fieldwork, it may be less reliable than audio and video recordings because there is no raw data to fall back upon. Examples derived from participant observation were generally kept to a minimum.

3.5.4 Other

In addition to conversational, experimental, and data from fieldnotes, there were a few other miscellaneous recordings that were used as sources of data in this thesis. These include a short narrative about the story of Ateng Ateng, a recording of a video elicitation set, called the Put Stimuli (Bowerman, Gullberg, Majid, & Narasimhan, 2004),[12] and a word list of around 600 items

[12]The Put stimuli can be downloaded from the following url: http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/volumes/2004/put-project/.

(Saad, 2019b). The narrative and Put Stimuli were collected in the early phases of the research with the simple aim of collecting as many types of data as possible. The word list was collected for the Lexirumah database (Kaiping et al., 2019).

Figure 3.3: Collection of word list with three Abui elders



3.6 The corpus

This section provides an overview of all the recordings belonging to the categories discussed in §3.3 and §3.5.[13] Section 3.6.1 provides details on the recordings as organized by type of data, while §3.6.2 provides a breakdown of the four age-groups and the type of data collected for each age-group and speaker.

[13]The corpus may be accessed via the following link:
https://archive.mpi.nl/islandora/object/lat%3A1839_0ae02515_e62a_47f4_835d_fb1b4bd43f23

3.6.1 Organized by type of data

A breakdown of the corpus of sociolinguistic and ethnographic interviews is presented in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15: Breakdown of corpus of interview data

Type	Code	Subtype	N recordings	Total Duration	Age-range of speakers
Sociolinguistic interviews	[SL]	-	33	∼25:00:00	9-75
Ethnographic interviews	[EG]	Age-group	5	04:06:00	40-65
		School history	5	09:43:00	48-56

Note: Duration corresponds to HH:MM:SS

A breakdown of the linguistic data is presented in Table 3.16.[14] All of the types of data, except for 'fieldnotes', have recordings and transcripts, which have been archived and can be freely accessed.

[14] This duration includes the total number of transcribed and translated text and not the total duration of the actual recording. Thus, the total duration of transcribed and translated conversational text is 05:01:03. There are at least double the amount of untranscribed and untranslated conversations.

Table 3.16: Breakdown of corpus of linguistic data

Type	Code	Subtype	N recordings	Total duration	age-range of speakers
Conversational	[CV]	-	19	05:01:03	1-85
Experimental	[SS]	Surrey Stimuli Production task	66	∼22:00:00	9-75
	[FC]	forced-choice Comprehension task	60	∼15:00:00	9-75
Fieldnotes	[FN]	Elicited data	∼300 phrases	-	23-75
		Data from participant observation	∼30 phrases	-	1-85
Other	[NR]	Narrative	1	00:01:25	67
	[PT]	Put stimuli	1	00:22:46	43
	[WL]	Wordlist	1 (∼600 words)	02:25:05	40

Note: Duration corresponds to HH:MM:SS

Every linguistic example, excerpt, or claim extracted from my corpus and presented in this thesis contains a code which offers information on a) the genre of the recording, b) the age and gender of the speaker, and c) the unique identifier of the recording (see Tables 3.15 & 3.16 for abbreviations). For instance, example (12a) is cited as [CV.50M.QU]. The CV code implies the genre of the recording is 'conversational', the 50M implies the speaker is a 50-year-old male, and the QU corresponds to the unique identifier of the recording which links to a recording of a man asking his mother 'QUestions' about her past.

[SS.59F.33]

Example (12b) is taken from a response to the Surrey Stimuli elicitation task and thus has the following citation [SS.59F.33]. The SS corresponds to 'Surrey Stimuli'. The 59F denotes that the speaker is a 59-year-old female, and the 33 points to her being coded as the 33rd participant of the Surrey Stimuli task. Example (12c) is taken from my fieldnotes (either through elicitation or participant observation) and is thus given the code FN.[15] Ex-

[15]Typically, when an example was elicited from a speaker, a code for age and gender is

amples from the recordings labeled 'other' each contain the genre code relating to their specific source recording (e.g. NR 'narrative').

(12) a. *maayol*
'woman' [CV.50M.QU]

b. *neeng*
'man' [SS.59F.33]

c. *kaai*
'dog' [FN]

All examples, excerpts, and claims taken from recordings contain a link to the video/audio files in the archive. Clicking on any code will take the reader directly to the session. The only exception is for conversational recordings. Clicking a conversational code (CV) will take the reader to Table 3.9 which contains a list of all the conversational recordings. The list itself contains links to the recordings in the archive. It must be noted that the codes issued in this thesis differ slightly from the file names used for the actual recordings. Furthermore, data from Abui wordlists, which is stored in the LexiRumah database (Kaiping et al., 2019) is cited using references that take the reader to the database (e.g. Saad, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c).

In addition, I collected a small corpus of Alor Malay, with five Surrey Stimuli tasks and one conversation, as presented in Table 3.17. All but one of these recordings were conducted with Abui-Alor Malay bilinguals; one recording was done with an Adang-Alor Malay speaker. In total, seven speakers were sampled. This was used for the Alor Malay examples used throughout this thesis as well as to have a baseline of the contact variety in question.

Table 3.17: Breakdown of Alor Malay corpus of linguistic data

Type	Code	Subtype	N recordings	Total Duration	age-range of speakers
Conversational	[CV.AM]	-	1	00:20:17	23-27
Experimental	[SS.AM]	Surrey Stimuli	5	∼01:40:00	15-40

given. If the example is taken from participant observation, no code for age and gender is given.

3.6.2 Organized by speaker

Tables 3.18-3.21 list all the speakers from the four age-groups group who participated in the research for this thesis, along with the tasks that they performed.[16]

Table 3.18: Speaker and recording information for *moqu* '(pre)adolescents' group

Speaker code	Age	G	Surrey Stimuli	Forced-choice	Conversational	Sociolinguistic questionnaire
Ma	9	F	✓	✓		✓
La	10	M	✓			✓
Lo	11	M	✓			✓
Ma	10	F	✓	✓	✓	✓
Od	12	F			✓	
Je	12	M	✓			✓
Es	12	F	✓	✓	✓	✓
La	13	M	✓	✓		✓
At	13	M	✓	✓	✓	✓
Le	15	M	✓	✓	✓	✓
Te	14	F	✓			✓
Ri	14	M	✓	✓		✓
Ap	14	F	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ar	14	F	✓	✓		✓
At	15	M		✓		
Ro	15	M	✓	✓		✓
Ma	15	F	✓	✓		✓
Ri	15	F	✓	✓	✓	✓
As	15	M	✓	✓		✓
Na	16	M	✓	✓		✓
Ag	16	F	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ri	16	F	✓	✓		✓

[16] A checkmark under sociolinguistic questionnaire implies that the basic amount of sociolinguistic data has been filled in for a given speaker. This includes: age, gender, place of birth, information on siblings, information on (grand)parents, and early language exposure.

Table 3.19: Speaker and recording information for *neeng abet/maayol maak* 'young adults' group

Speaker code	**Age**	**G**	**Surrey Stimuli**	**Forced-choice**	**Conversational**	**Sociolinguistic questionnaire**
Ar	17	M	✓	✓		✓
Ti	17	F	✓			✓
Ri	18	M	✓			✓
Ti	19	M	✓	✓	✓	✓
Na	18	F	✓			✓
De	19	F	✓			✓
Ma	20	F	✓	✓		✓
Vi	20	F	✓	✓		✓
We	21	F			✓	
Lu	21	F			✓	
An	22	F	✓	✓	✓	✓
Be	22	M	✓	✓		✓
Ad	22	F	✓	✓	✓	✓
An	23	M	✓	✓	✓	✓
Si	23	M	✓	✓	✓	✓
Di	23	F	✓	✓		✓
Yu	24	M	✓	✓	✓	✓
Vi	24	M	✓	✓		✓
Ya	25	M	✓	✓		✓
Lo	25	M	✓	✓		✓
Sa	25	F	✓	✓		✓

Table 3.20: Speaker and recording information for *kalieta* 'adults' group

Speaker code	**Age**	**G**	**Surrey Stimuli**	**Forced-choice**	**Conversational**	**Sociolinguistic questionnaire**
Yo	26	M	✓	✓		✓
Sa	26	F	✓	✓	✓	✓
Fr	26	M	✓	✓		✓
Ko	27	F	✓	✓		✓
Fi	27	M	✓	✓		✓
Ya	28	F	✓	✓		✓
Le	28	F			✓	
Bo	30	M	✓	✓		✓
Pe	30	M	✓	✓		✓
An	30	M	✓	✓		✓
Lo	30	F	✓	✓		✓
Me	31	M	✓	✓		✓
Ma	31	F	✓	✓		✓
Lu	32	F	✓	✓		✓
Hi	32	F	✓		✓	✓
Be	32	M	✓	✓	✓	✓
Do	33	F	✓	✓		✓
Ar	32	M	✓	✓		✓
An	34	F	✓	✓	✓	✓
Je	34	M	✓		✓	✓

Table 3.21: Speaker and recording information for *kalieta* 'elders' group

Speaker code	Age	G	Surrey Stimuli	Forced-choice	Conv	Socioling	age-group discussions	School history interview
Sa	40	F			✓			
Lo	40	F	✓	✓		✓		
Do	40	F	✓	✓		✓		
Or	43	F	✓	✓		✓		
La	43	M	✓	✓		✓		
Su	40s	F			✓			
Ma	40s	M					✓	
Ye	45	M					✓	
Ar	46	M	✓	✓		✓		✓
Ni	47	F			✓		✓	
Si	48	M						✓
Ju	49	F					✓	
Ju	50	M						✓
Ab	50	M	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Ma	50?	M			✓			
Ag	50+	F		✓				
Ma	53	M						✓
So	55	F					✓	
Ar	56	M						✓
Da	56	M	✓	✓		✓		
Ka	57	M					✓	
Ni	59	F	✓	✓		✓		
Ma	60	M					✓	
Ay	65	M					✓	
Ne	70	M		✓				
Am	70+	F				✓		
Ni	70+	F			✓			
Lo	75	F	✓	✓		✓		
Lo	80+	F			✓			

Note: Conv: conversation, Socioling: sociolinguistic questionnaire

3.7 Kratochvíl corpus

In addition to the corpus collected by the author, another corpus which was used for the research in this thesis is the Kratochvíl corpus. The Kra-

tochvíl corpus, generously made available by František Kratochvíl, is the largest Abui corpus available. It consists mainly of Abui data collected in the years 2003-2016 in Takalelang as well as Tifol Afeng, Mainang, and some other villages. The corpus was made available using the software SIL Toolbox and consists of text files. The genres include conversations, narratives, elicitation stimuli responses, elicitation, text messages, as well as transcripts from Nicolspeyer (1940). The corpus has data from speakers who are Abui L1 speakers, with the exception of data from speakers who were working directly with Kratochvíl on transcriptions. The names of the speakers were always available meaning that it was possible to also derive their age. Many examples in Chapters 4 and 5 are borrowed from the Kratochvíl corpus and are cited generically as follows: (Kratochvíl corpus).

3.8 Data analysis

The data used in this thesis went through several analytical stages before it could be used for Chapters 1 to 7 of this thesis. What follows is an explanation of these stages, from a general level of how the recordings were analyzed using software such as ELAN and FLeX to the specific level of how each of the chapters implemented certain types of analyses.

One of the first levels of analysis involved transcribing and translating the video and audio recordings. This was done using ELAN, version 5.2 (Sloetjes, 2018). The advantage of using ELAN is that it allows for simultaneous playback of video and transcription. Transcriptions are also time aligned. Every recording corresponds to one ELAN file, meaning that there is no centralized database where all the data can be browsed at once. However, it is possible to conduct concordance searches across all ELAN files, a feature that I used extensively.

As for the ethnographic and sociolinguistic interviews, I transcribed most of them on my own. This was possible because the language being used was Malay Indonesian, which I felt comfortable transcribing on my own. Plus, I myself had been participating in the interviews so I was aware of the content. An Excel sheet database containing broad questions pertaining to the ethnographic interviews was created whereby all the answers could be presented in a centralized fashion. This was also the case for the sociolinguistic interviews, which contained data on the majority of speakers recor-

ded in the corpus.

As far as the Abui linguistic data recordings are concerned, every recording which was transcribed and translated was done so under the guidance of Abui native speakers, aged between 22 and 50 years. On several occasions, Abui speakers who were trained in the use of ELAN transcribed and translated recordings on their own and sent them to me. This was done to maximize the amount of transcription and translation. Native speakers assisting in transcription and translation were always instructed to also flag utterances that appeared ungrammatical or unfelicitous and propose modified sentences in a separate tier in ELAN (see §3.2.1 for more information on the team of Abui speakers that assisted in transcription and translation).

The 66 Surrey Stimuli recordings were also imported into the programme FieldWorks SIL (FLEx), version 8.2. The advantage of using FLEx is that it offers a centralized platform where all texts can be viewed at once. The disadvantages of using it are that it is not possible to link the texts to multimedia files and that it is most suitable for texts involving one speaker only. This means that it must be used in tandem with ELAN.

For the three chapters on language variation and change, Chapters 5, 6, 7, three excel databases were created, documenting the linguistic variable in question.

The next paragraphs describe how each type of data was used in the various chapters. They are intended to be used by a reader who has preferably already read the chapters and is seeking further information on the process of data analysis. In Chapters 1 and 2, both the sociolinguistic and ethnographic interview data was used to describe the sociolinguistic setting and history. For the current chapter, the ethnographic interviews focussing on age categories were used to establish the four age-groups discussed in §3.4. For Chapter 4: A sketch grammar of Abui, the Flex corpus, the ELAN files of all of the linguistic data, and fieldnotes were used. For Chapter 5: Variation and change in the reflexive possessive, Chapter 6: Variation and change in verb usage, and Chapter 7: Variation and change in reduplication, Surrey Stimuli data from all 66 participants was copied into an Excel file. Each speaker was listed chronologically based on their age. In addition, every one of the 40 Surrey Stimuli responses was listed as a separate column. This proved to be the most visually pleasing way of maintaining a central database, where I could browse variation for every speaker.

For Chapter 5: Variation and change in the reflexive possessive, all of

the nouns were coded for as either being possessed or unpossessed. Further, they were then coded based on which possessive was used, indicating whether the possessive was used in a standard way or not, for example, whether a reflexive possessive prefix was used in a reflexive possessive environment. A total of fourteen coding options were implemented. However, for the actual analysis, only 4 were applied. This data was then entered into SPSS version 25 and a Kruskall-Wallis test was performed. In addition, the conversational data was used to gather frequency counts on the desired constructions. Finally, the forced-choice data was coded for the reflexive possessive in SPSS version 25; a Chi-squared test was used to analyze the data.

For Chapter 6: Variation and change in verb usage, the clips containing the relevant events were isolated and then coded for based on the verb being used. The visual perception event domain contained five clips, the falling event domain contained five clips, while the change of state event domain contained three clips. These were then coded for based on which verb the speaker used to describe the event. This data was then entered into SPSS version 25 and a Kruskall-Wallis test was performed on the production data. The Kratochvil corpus was used to gather frequency counts on the desired constructions. As for comprehension data, the forced-choice data was coded for the selected verbs in SPSS version 25 and then a Chi-squared test was used to analyze the data.

For Chapter 7: Variation and change in reduplication, all instances of reduplication in my corpus were selected and then added to an excel sheet. Each utterance was then coded for age of speaker and type of reduplication. In addition, translations were given in Alor Malay along with any judgements and corrections that older speakers had with regards to the original utterance. The same was done for a database of parallel serializations as well as for Alor Malay reduplications.

3.9 Summary and conclusion

This chapter has described and motivated the methods used in the research for this thesis. It covered the two broad types of data: sociolinguistic and ethnographic interview data as well as linguistic data. It discussed how these interviews were carried out and how they were crucial in establishing a sketch of the social setting and history of the speech community. It also presented

the four age-groups that were constructed based on the interview data. Four features of each group were discussed: their age-range, their life-stage, their early exposure, and their current usage.

Furthermore, the various types of linguistic data were elaborated upon: conversational, experimental, and fieldnotes. Experimental data included both a production and comprehension task, while fieldnotes included elicited data and data from participant observation. These various types of data were then summarized in a description of the corpus collected over a span of three years. Finally, a discussion was given on how the data was analyzed in addition to how it fit into each chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 4

Sketch grammar of Abui

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to familiarize the reader with the grammar of Abui.[1] This chapter is intended to give a background to the basic typological features of Abui, in which the topics elaborated upon in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 can be situated. For an extensive grammatical description, readers are referred to Kratochvíl (2007).

The data in this chapter comes from three main sources.: data collected by the author, data from the Kratochvíl corpus, and existing (published) work, notably Kratochvíl (2007, 2011b), Kratochvíl and Delpada (2014), Kratochvíl (2014a), Delpada (2016). For the data collected by the author, each example contains a code which links it to the name of the recording (see §3.6 for more extensive information).

This chapter is structured as follows: Section 4.2 sketches the phonology, §4.3 discusses the basic clausal syntax, §4.4 describes the noun phrase, §4.5 elaborates on free pronouns, §4.6 focuses on pronominal prefixes, §4.7 describes the verb phrase, §4.8 discusses serial verb constructions, and §4.9 describes some basic clausal operations. Lastly, section 4.10 summarizes the main features of Abui grammar discussed in this sketch.

[1]This chapter is based on Saad (to appear). Abui. In A. Schapper (Ed.), *The Papuan languages of Timor, Alor, Pantar: Volume 3.* Boston/Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

4.2 Phonology

This section discusses the basics of Abui's phonology. The data comes mostly from Kratochvíl's (2007) grammar of Abui and Delpada's (2016) MA thesis on Abui phonology.

4.2.1 Consonants

Abui has a relatively simple phoneme inventory. There are 16 native consonants and three additional consonants borrowed from Malay Indonesian[2] (Delpada, 2016). This analysis follows Delpada's analysis (2016) of treating the uvular plosive /q/ as phonemic and thus differs from Kratochvíl (2007). Unlike both accounts, however, the glottal stop is not treated as phonemic for reasons that are explained below. The consonant inventory is presented in Table 4.1 (where the orthographic conventions differ from the IPA symbol, the grapheme is presented in angle brackets). The three borrowed consonants from Malay, /ʧ/,/ʤ/,/g/ are represented in round brackets in the table.

Table 4.1: Consonant inventory

	Bilabial	**Alveo-dental**	**Palatal**	**Velar**	**Uvular**	**Glottal**
Plosive	p b	t d		k (g)	q	
Affricate			(ʧ) <c> (ʤ) <j>			
Fricative	f	s				h
Nasal	m	n		ŋ <ng>		
Trill		r				
Lateral		l				
Approximant	w		j <y>			

Abui has voice distinctions in bilabial plosives, alveo-dental plosives, and velar plosives. Minimal pairs for plosives are illustrated in examples (1-3) (from Delpada, 2016, p. 50). Since the borrowed phoneme /g/ only ap-

[2]The term Malay Indonesian is discussed on page 22.

pears in Malay Indonesian loans, the minimal pairs in (3) show instances of two Abui words which have been borrowed from Malay.

(1) Minimal pairs for bilabial plosives /p/ ≠ /b/
/pa/ 'go down' /ba/ 'LNK'
/peːqa/ 'near' /beːqa/ 'bad, can not'

(2) Minimal pairs for alveo-dental plosives /t/ ≠ /d/
/atɪk/ 'pour, drip' /adɪk/ 'mat; screen'
/taː/ 'lie down, sleep' /daː/ 'edible tuber sp.'

(3) Minimal pair for velar plosives /k/ ≠ /g/
/kɛlas/ 'class' /gɛlas/ 'glass' [FN]

One of the major findings from Delpada (2016) is that there is a phonemic distinction between the velar plosive /k/ and the uvular plosive /q/ when previously it was thought that [q] was simply an allophone of /k/ (Kratochvíl, 2007). Delpada (2016, pp. 51-53) presents evidence in the form of minimal pairs as shown in (4).

(4) Minimal pairs for /k/ ≠ /q/
/teːkɛ/ 'collapse' /teːqɛ/ 'cut, cultivate'
/aːk/ 'perch' /taːq/ 'border'

Abui has three fricatives: /f/, /s/, /h/. Minimal pairs for fricatives are shown in example (5) (from Delpada, 2016, p. 53).

(5) Minimal pairs for fricatives /f/ ≠ /s/ ≠ /h/
/feːŋ/ 'fill' /seːŋ/ 'money' /hen/ 'DIST'
/fɔq/ 'belt' /sɔq/ 'shoot inaccurately' /hɔq/ 'SYM'

Abui has three nasals: /m/ ≠ /n/ ≠ /ŋ/. Minimal pairs for nasals are shown in examples (6-7) (from Delpada, 2016, p. 55).

(6) Minimal pairs for nasals /m/ ≠ /n/
/maɪ/ 'COND' /naɪ/ 'sugar palm'
/maːma/ 'father' /naːna/ 'older sibling'

(7) Minimal pairs for nasals /n/ ≠ /ŋ/
/afɛna/ 'Afena (place name)' /afeːŋa/ 'other, different'
/faːŋfaːnaj/ 'threshold' /faŋaj/ 'sp. of grass'

Abui has two liquids: /r/ ≠ /l/. Minimal pairs for liquids are shown in example (8) (from Delpada, 2016, p. 56).

(8) Minimal pairs for liquids /r/ ≠ /l/
/rɛl/ 'to smash' /lɛl/ 'tug at'
/maːr/ 'cook.PFV' /maːl/ 'cook.IPFV [CV.27F.GJ]

Abui has two approximants (semi-vowels): /w/ ≠ /j/. Minimal pairs are listed in example (9) (from Delpada, 2016, p. 55).

(9) Minimal pairs for approximants /w/ ≠ /j/
/waː/ 'leaf' /jaː/ 'go'
/awoːŋ/ 'advise you' /ajoːŋ/ 'swim'

In borrowings from Malay Indonesian, Abui also has the voice distinction in affricates /ʧ/ and /ʤ/. Minimal pairs are illustrated in (10).

(10) Minimal pairs for affricates /ʧ/ ≠ /ʤ/
/matʃam/ 'kind of, similar to' /ʤam/ 'hour' [CV.24M.BC]

Further, in this thesis, the glottal stop is argued to be phonetic rather than phonemic as has been claimed elsewhere (e.g. Kratochvíl, 2007; Delpada, 2016). There are no known minimal pairs and its distribution is predictable. It occurs phonetically in vowel initial morphemes, such as [ʔaˈta] 'leaf' and [ʔa] 'you (SG)' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 35). It also occurs intervocalically when prefixes are attached to vowel initial morphemes such as *he-amakaang* [hɛʔamaˈkaːŋ] '3.AL-person' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 35).

Table 4.2 illustrates the phonotactic distribution of Abui consonants. It is based largely on Kratochvíl (2007, p. 31) with the inclusion of the uvular plosive, /q/ and the exclusion of the glottal stop /ʔ/.

Table 4.2: Abui consonant phonotactics (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 31)

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

4.2.2 Vowels

Abui has 5 cardinal vowels, each with a long counterpart, shown in Table 4.3. For some vowels, difference in length also implies a difference in quality.

Table 4.3: Abui vowels (adapted from Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 26 Delpada, 2016, p. 57)

	Front		**Mid**		**Back**	
High	ɪ <i>	iː<ii>			u	uː <uu>
Mid	ɛ<e>	eː <ee>			ɔ <o>	oː <oo>
Low			a	aː <aa>		

Minimal pairs showing the contrasts between the five cardinal vowels are presented in (11-15) (from Delpada, 2016, pp. 57-58).

(11) Minimal pair for vowels /ɪ/ ≠ /ɛ/ ≠ /ɔ/
/fɪl/ 'plait' /fɛl/ 'cry, lament' /fɔl/ 'thin, slender'

(12) Minimal pair for vowels /ɪ/ ≠ /ɛ/ ≠ /a/
/pɪ/ 'IPL.INCL' /pɛ/ 'near' /pa/ 'go down'

(13) Minimal pair for vowels /a/ ≠ /u/ ≠ /ɔ/
/kal/ 'clean by cutting wood' /kul/ 'white' /kɔl/ 'tie, bind'

(14) Minimal pair for vowels /ɛ/ ≠ /u/ ≠ /ɔ/
/bɛt/ 'sprinkle.PFV' /butɪ/ 'four' /bɔt/ 'stone for crushing'

(15) Minimal pair for vowels /ɪ/ ≠ /ɛ/ ≠ /u/
/ɪl/ 'call.IPFV' /ɛl / 'give you (IPFV)' /ul/ 'small hole'

The minimal pairs in (16-20) show the contrasts between short and long vowels (from Delpada, 2016, p. 53; Kratochvíl, 2007, pp. 28, 30, 31).

(16) Minimal pairs for /a/ ≠ /aː/
/kafaq/ 'spear' /kafaːq/ 'tobacco'
/bata/ 'seed' /bataː/ 'wood/tree'

(17) Minimal pairs for /ɛ/ ≠ /eː/
/mɛl/ 'taste' /meːl/ 'bleat (goat)'
/nɛ/ 'name' /neː/ 'eat.IPFV'

(18) Minimal pairs for /ɔ/ ≠ /oː/
/nɛtɔku/ 'my foot' /natoːq/ 'my stomach'
/hakɔnra/ 'break down stem' /hakoːnra/ 'pat him/her/them on the forehead'

(19) Minimal pairs for /u/ ≠ /uː/
/luk/ 'rub.IPFV' /luːk/ '(lego-lego) dance'
/buk/ 'cradle.IPFV' /buːk/ 'consume.IPFV'

(20) Minimal pair for /ɪ/ ≠ /iː/
/pɪ/ '1PL.INCL.AGT' /piː/ '1PL.INCL.POSS'

Abui has 10 vowel sequences, presented in Table 4.4. All five vowels can occur in the first position. In the second position, all but /u/ can occur.

Table 4.4: Abui vowel sequences (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 38)

V1/V2	/ɪ/	/a/	/ɛ/	/ɔ/
/u/	uɪ	ua		uɔ
/ɪ/		ɪa	ɪɛ	ɪɔ
/a/	aɪ			
/ɛ/	ɛɪ	ɛa		
/ɔ/	ɔɪ			

Some examples of these sequences are given in (21-23).

(21) Vowel sequence involving /uɪ/
/aˈnuɪ/ 'rain' /ruɪ/ 'rat' (Saad, 2019c)

(22) Vowel sequence involving /ɔɪ/
/ɔɪ/ 'your vagina' /jɛɪˈkɔɪ/ 'turtle' (Saad, 2019c)

(23) Vowel sequence involving /ɪa/
/ˈkɪak/ 'collect fruits between leaves' /ˈfɪaj/ 'candlenut'
(Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 37)

4.2.3 Syllable structure

There are 6 syllable types in Abui. Delpada (2016, p. 59) mentions 5 syllable types: V, CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC. VV refers to vowel sequences. To those, VC may also be added. Most verbal or nominal roots consist of 2 syllables. The smallest lexical item involves V. Syllables may be either light or heavy. A light syllable consists of a monomoraic nucleus and is either open (e.g. CV) or closed (CVC), while a heavy syllable consists maximally of a bimoraic nucleus (CVVC) (Kratochvíl, 2007). Consonant clusters within one syllable are not found. A bimoraic nucleus includes long vowels and diphthongs. Tables 4.5 and 4.6 present a few examples of monosyllabic and disyllabic words, respectively.

Table 4.5: Monosyllabic words

V	/ɪ/	'put' (Saad, 2019c)
VC	/ɪt/	'lie on' (Saad, 2019c)
CV	/mɪ/	'take' (Saad, 2019c)
CVV	/buɪ/	'short' (Saad, 2019c)
CVC	/fat/	'corn' (Saad, 2019c)
CVVC	/sɪɛŋ/	'rice' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 43)

Table 4.6: Disyllabic words

CVCV	/bɪ.ka/	'seed' (Saad, 2019c)
CVCVC	/ka.faq/	'spear' (Saad, 2019c)
CVCVV	/ta.haɪ/	'look for' (Delpada, 2016, p. 54)
CVCVVC	/ha.luol/	'follow him' [FN]
CVVCV	/tɛɪ.na/	'when' (Saad, 2019c)
CVCCV	/foq.da/	'become big' [FN]

4.2.4 Stress

The phonetic characteristics of stress involve intensity, pitch, and lengthening. Stress assignment is based on an iambic pattern (Kratochvíl, 2007).

Stress is assigned to the final syllable when a word consists of a two light syllables, as in (24), or a light syllable followed by a heavy syllable, as in (25) (from Kratochvíl, 2007, pp. 51-52).

(24) a. /nu.ˈku/
nuku
'one'

b. /pu.ˈlaŋ/
pulang
'arrow'

c. /ku.ˈja/
kuya
'bird'

(25) a. /na.ˈhaː/
nahaa
'younger sibling'

b. /ka.ˈfaːk/
kafaak
'tobacco'

c. /fa.ˈhaɪ/
fahai
'sea crocodile'

Trisyllabic words typically consist of three light syllables, as shown in (26a-c), but sometimes the final syllable may be heavy, as in (26d) (from Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 53). In all of these cases, stress also falls on the final syllable.

(26) a. /ma.hɪ.ˈtɪŋ/
mahiting
'meat'

b. /muk.nɛ.ˈhɪ/
muknehi
'sibling of same sex'

c. /si.bi.ˈrɛl/
sibirel
'worm'

d. /ma.la.ˈtaɪ/
malatai
'sand'

In disyllabic and trisyllabic prosodic words containing a heavy syllable followed by a light syllable, stress is assigned to the penultimate, heavy syllable, as in (27a) (from Kratochvíl, 2007, pp. 55-56).

(27) a. /ˈbuɪ.da/
bui-da
be.short-INCH.IPFV
'become short'

b. /ˈnaɪ.di/
nai-di
be.lost-INCH.PFV
'got lost'

c. /ka.ˈwaɪ.sa/
kawaisa
be.rich
'rich'

d. /ta.ˈlaː.ma/
talaama
six
'six'

Examples (28a-b) show a minimal pair illustrating how stress assignment is closely linked to vowel length. Example (28a) shows the iambic pattern of final stress, while (28b) shows how the heavy syllable containing a long vowel attracts stress.

(28) a. /fa.ˈlɪŋ/
faling
'axe' [SS.56M.7]

b. /ˈfaː.lɪŋ/
faaling
'listen to' [SS.40F.69]

A salient characteristic of the Takalelang variety is for the mid front vowel /ɛ/ and its long counterpart /eː/ to change quality under stress when followed by the velars [ŋ,k] and the uvular [q] and be pronounced as the diphthong [ɛa] and [eːa] respectively (see Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 62 for examples).

(29) /ɛ/ -> [ɛa]/_{ŋ,q,k}#, /eː/ -> [eːa]/_{ŋ,q,k}#

/ˈsɛŋ/	*seng*	[ˈsɛaŋ]	'money'
/ˈtɛq/	*teq*	[ˈtɛaq]	'sunbathe'
/ˈpeː.ka/	*peeka*	[ˈpeːaka]	'near'

4.2.5 Lexical tone

Abui may be regarded as a low-density lexical tone language. In Kratochvíl (2007), tone was argued to play a marginal role in a select few lexical items. Delpada (2016) then provided more instances of lexical tone minimal pairs. Some words which are segmentally homophones show pitch differences when analysed suprasegmentally (Delpada, 2016, p. 69). Examples (30a-c) illustrates some minimal pairs (from Delpada, 2016, p. 69). An acute accent represents high pitch, while a grave accent represents low pitch. No diacritic means mid pitch.

(30)

a.	/í.á/	/i.à/
	ia	*i-a*
	'moon'	'put-IPFV'
b.	/lák/	/làk/
	laq	*laq*
	'to break'	'to mark'
c.	/fír/	/fìr/
	fir	*fir*
	'star'	'to rush'

One example of the morphophonemic role of tone can be seen with possession. Typically, when mono- or disyllabic nouns with high pitch on the final syllable receive a possessive prefix, e.g. *he-* (3.AL), there is no change in pitch, as in (31a-b).

(31)	a.	/fú/	/he.ˈfú/	
		fu	*he-fu*	
		'betelnut'	'3.AL-betelnut'	(Delpada, 2016, p. 76)
	b.	/pu.ˈjúŋ/	/hɛ.ˈpu.júŋ/	
		puyung	*he-puyung*	
		'saliva, spit'	'3.AL-saliva'	(Delpada, 2016, p. 76)

However, with longer words that have high pitch on the final syllable, the addition of a possessive prefix shifts the high pitch unto the penultimate syllable, resulting in a falling pitch on the final syllable, as in (32a-b).

(32)	a.	/bu.kɔ.ˈmáŋ/	/hɛ.bu.kɔ́.ˈmàŋ/	
		bukomang	*he-bukomang*	
		'lung'	'3.AL-lung'	(Delpada, 2016, p. 76)
	b.	/ka.ba.ˈlá/	/hɛ+ka.bá.ˈlà/	
		kabala	*he-kabala*	
		'cloth'	'3.AL-cloth'	(Delpada, 2016, p. 76)

For a more extensive list of suprasegmental morpho-phonemic processes, see Delpada (2016).

4.3 Basic clausal syntax

Abui has APV, SV word order.[3] An Abui clause consists minimally of a predicate and core arguments. Overtly expressed arguments, adverbial modifiers, and other particles are optional (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 240). The clausal template is laid out in (33) (adapted from Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 240).

(33) [(ADV) ($NP_{A/S}$) (ADV) ($NP_{S/P}$) (VP) (NEG) (DEM)] (CONJ)

The initial (left-most) slot is occupied by a temporal, modal, or deictic adverbial. The second slot is occupied by an A or S argument. The predicate then begins with an adverb and an NP and/or pronominal of an

[3] This thesis follows Comrie (1989) and Haspelmath (2011) in using the labels A, S, and P. They correspond to the following: A (most agent-like argument in a transitive clause), S (subject of intransitive clause), and P (most patient-like argument in a transitive clause). See §4.3.1 for more information on these roles in the Abui context and §§4.5-4.6 for more information on how they are expressed.

S or P argument. This is followed by the verb phrase. Negation is always post-verbal. Clausal demonstratives follow the negation marker and conjunctions are positioned at the end (right-most slot) of a clause. Section 4.3.1 discusses constituent order in verbal clauses. Section 4.3.2 introduces equational clauses, §4.3.3 discusses adverbs, §4.3.4 describes negation and §4.3.5 focuses on questions.

4.3.1 Constituent order in verbal clauses

In transitive clauses which are pragmatically unmarked, Abui has A P V word order, as shown in example (34). In intransitive clauses, it has S V word order, as shown in (35).

P arguments are indexed on the verb through prefixation. This is shown in example (34), where the P argument, *defeela* 'his friend', is obligatorily indexed by the patientive prefix *ha-*.[4]

(34) Transitive clause

A		P	V
[*Neeng*	*nuku*]	*de-feela*	*ha-fik-e.*
man	one	3.REFL.AL-friend	3.PAT-pull-IPFV

'A man is pulling his friend.' [SS.43F.25]

(35) Intransitive clause

S		V	
[*Neeng*	*ayoqu*]	*oro*	*natea.*
man	two	DIST.LOCA	stand.IPFV

'Two men are standing there.' [SS.43F.25]

While, typically, the P argument follows the A argument, there are a number of pragmatically marked instances where the P argument may precede the A argument. In (36), the P argument, *bataa do* 'this log', precedes the A argument, *ama* 'person'. This is particularly common with an inanimate P and an animate A; the argument realization is argued to be determined

[4] S arguments may also be prefixed on the verb. See §4.6 and Kratochvíl, 2011b, 2014a for more information on split intransitivity.

semantically (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 179).[5] Typically, a demonstrative is used to focalize a P; however, it is not obligatory.

(36) [*Bataa do*]$_{\text{P}}$ *wan* [*ama*]$_{\text{A}}$ *mi-i.*
wood PROX already person take-PFV
'This log, someone already took it (and placed it on top of another one).' [SS.43M.44]

In more complex multi-clause utterances, where arguments are not overtly expressed, Abui uses certain devices to track arguments and specify their argument roles. Example (37) illustrates the expression of an A argument through the use of both a full NP, *he-maama* ' his father', and an agentive pronoun *di* '3.AGT'. This is often done to mark the NP as being the A argument in clauses where the P argument has been brought up in earlier discourse, such as the focalized P, *moqu nuku do* 'this child' in (37). In addition, the use of the agentive pronoun also adds more volitionality to the event.

(37) [*Moqu nuku do*]$_{\text{P}}$ [*he-maama di*]$_{\text{A}}$ *oro*
child one PROX 3.AL-father 3.AGT DIST.LOCA
ha-but ba natea.
3.PAT-cradle.PFV LNK stand.IPFV
'This child, his father is standing there, cradling him.' [SS.40F.24]

In (38), the agentive pronoun *di* and the nonagentive pronoun *hel* also establish which of the two NPs is the A and which is the P. The use of *di* in the second clause, marks the NP *hewiil* 'his child' as the A of the second clause. The use of *hel* in the second clause, marks the NP of the previous clause, *ama nuku* 'a person', as the P.

(38) [*Ama nuku*]$_j$ *tadeei*$_{\text{clause1}}$
person one sleep.PFV

he-wiil$_k$ *di*$_k$ *hel*$_j$ *taai laak-i.*$_{\text{clause2}}$
3.AL-child 3.AGT 3.NON.AGT on.top walk-PFV

'(While) a person$_j$ was asleep, his child walked on top of him$_j$.' [SS.43M.44]

[5] It has also been claimed, at least for Reta and Teiwa, and probably other AP languages, that *ama* 'person' is used as an 'empty' subject used with front-shifted objects as a kind of functional passive (Jeroen Willemsen p.c.).

Further, in transitive clauses, Abui also uses pitch to mark an NP as either an A argument or a P argument as shown in Delpada (2016, p. 154).

4.3.2 Equational clauses

Equational clauses are defined as the equivalence of a nominal argument with an entity in a nominal predicate. No copula exists in Abui. Example (39) presents an example of an equational clauses with a pronoun and a nominal predicate, while (40) illustrates the use of an equational clause involving two overt NPs.

(39) *Nedo* *ri-tuong* *do!*
1SG.FOC 2PL.AL-teacher PROX
'I am your teacher!' [CV.23F.GJ]

(40) *Ata* *ama* *kalieta.*
A. person old.person
'Ata is an old person.' [FN]

Demonstratives are often used to signal phrase boundaries, as in the use of the distal demonstrative *nu* in (41).

(41) *Simon* *nu* *ne-feela.*
S. DIST 1SG.AL-friend
'Simon is my friend.' [FN]

Despite the absence of a copula, a presentative marker (Payne, 1997, p. 123) may be encliticized to a noun, as in (42), or to a stative verb as in (43).

(42) *Ya=e.*
water=PREST
'It is water.' (Delpada, 2016, p. 101)

(43) *Maayol* *maak* *bai,* *maayol* *maak=e.*
woman be.young.FEM EMPH woman be.young.FEM=PREST
'A young woman, I was a young woman!' [CV.75F.QU]

4.3.3 Adverbs

As shown in Table (33), two slots are reserved in the clausal template for 'adverbials' and 'adverbs'. Kratochvíl (2007, p. 264) makes a distinction between adverbial modifiers and adverbs (proper), and suggests that adverbial modifiers are a broader category which includes deictic demonstratives, independent nominal predicates or verbal predicates. As for adverbs proper, their position in a clause is more free than other word classes; they can be positioned between the subject and predicate, as with *el* 'before' in (44), or appear clause initially, as with *el* 'before' in (45).

(44) *Na* ***el*** *kopi* *buut-i.*
1SG.AGT before coffee drink.PFV-PFV
'I have already drunk coffee.' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 265)

(45) ***El*** *na* *mahiting* *mi* *kaai* *he-l.*
before 1SG.AGT meat take dog 3.LOC-give.IPFV
'Before, I gave the dog some meat.' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 265)

4.3.3.1 Temporal and aspectual adverbs

Like other Alor-Pantar languages (Klamer, 2017) and Malay Indonesian, Abui does not mark tense morphologically. Speakers may use temporal adverbs to express temporal relations. In addition, Abui speakers may also combine aspectual adverbs with morphologically marked aspect. Examples of temporal and aspectual adverbs are given in Table 4.7 (taken from Kratochvíl, 2007, pp. 265-267).

Table 4.7: Abui temporal adverbs

Temporal adverb	English gloss
yal	'now'
el	'before'
dara	'still'
wan	'already'
dikaang	'again'
afeida	'yesterday'
akun(*di=te*)	'tomorrow (lit. dark)'
kurbai(*=se*)	'in a while; soon'

The use of the adverb *afeida* 'yesterday' is illustrated in (46). It is used in conjunction with the perfective suffix *-i* attached to the verb *bel-* 'buy'.

(46) *Maaha* ***afeida*** *fu* *bel-i?*
who yesterday betel.nut buy-PFV
'Who bought betel nut yesterday?' [CV.27F.GJ]

Kratochvíl (2007) suggests that Abui can take up to two adverbs, as illustrated in (47) with the use of *yal do* 'now' and *wan* 'already'.

(47) ***Yal*** *do* *di* *wan* *laak-e.*
now PROX 3.AGT already leave.for-IPFV
'He is already leaving now.' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 265)

In order to express the future, verbal predicates are used as adverbials, as evidenced by their verbal morphology; these markers are an example of temporal adverbial modifiers rather than adverbs proper. An adverbial modifier may be combined with the prioritive aspect enclitic *=se*/*te* often marked on verbs as in (48a-b) (for more information on adverbials, see Kratochvíl (2007, p. 270). The prioritive denotes the meaning of 'first' or before 'anything else' (see §4.7.2.3). In (48a), the prioritive *=se* combines with the adverb *kurbai* 'in a while'. In (48b), the adverb *akun* 'be.dark' may be verbalized using the inchoative aspect marker *-di* and combined with the prioritive to derive the meaning 'first thing tomorrow morning'.

(48) Temporal adverbials using prioritive

a. ***Kurbai=se*** *pi* *we.*
a.while=PRIOR 1PL.INCL.AGT go
'We'll leave in a while.' [CV.21F.GO]

b. ***Akun-di=te*** *sei-e*
be.dark-INCH.PFV=PRIOR go.down.IPFV-IPFV
henil-e *ho?*
do.like.this.IPFV-IPFV TAG.CERT
'First thing tomorrow morning, you'll go down again, that's right, isn't it? [CV.23M.BC]

An example of the aspectual adverb *wan* 'already' is presented in (49).[6] The verbs *yaa sei* 'go.IPFV come.down.IPFV' are marked for the imperfective, showing that *wan* 'already' may also occur with imperfective verbs.

(49) ***Wan*** *eng* *Kalangfat* *baai* *yaa* *sei?*
already 2SG Kalabahi also go.IPFV come.down.IPFV
'Had you already been going back and forth to Kalabahi?' [CV.50M.QU]

4.3.3.2 Modal adverbs

Abui has a small class of modal adverbs which may be placed clause initially, or before the predicate. The modal *kuul* 'must' expresses deontic modality as in example (50a-b).

(50) a. ***Kuul*** *di* *henil-e.*
must 3.AGT do.like.this.PFV-PFV
'He should be (coming).' (Kratochvíl corpus)

b. *Pi* ***kuul*** *tanga* *anang-ra.*
1PL.INCL.AGT must language speak-IPFV
'We must speak Abui.' [CV.50M.QU]

The Abui adverb *yang* 'maybe', expressing possibility, may also be positioned clause initially or before the predicate, as in (51a-b).

[6] The form *eng* is a second person singular pronominal form marking a restricted agent. It is not discussed in this sketch but is elaborated further in Kratochvíl (2014a, p. 574) and Saad (n.d.).

(51) a. ***Yang*** *di* *lol* *laak* *beeqa* *to*
maybe 3.AGT wander walk be.bad PROX.ADD
re?
TAG.UNCERT
'Maybe he is not able to wander around, right? [CV.27F.GJ]

b. *Kamai* *di* ***yang*** *furai* *ba* *rui* *tahai.*
cat 3.AGT maybe run.PFV LNK rat search.for
'The cat is perhaps running to search for the rat.' (Kratochvíl corpus)

Abui also has an irrealis marker *ko*. The irrealis marker *ko* expresses some form of uncertainty in relation to the predicate. It is frequently used to denote the future tense as in (52), where it is often translated using Alor Malay *nanti* 'later'.[7]

(52) ***Ko*** *Fani* *di* *bensin* *isi-dia.*
IRR F. 3.AGT gas.ML insert.ML-INCH.IPFV
'Fani will add gas (at some later point in time).' [CV.75F.JH]

Because its most frequent function appears to be marking future tense, previous accounts have labeled it as a future tense marker (cf/ Kratochvíl, 2007). Later accounts, however, have analyzed *ko* as an irrealis marker (cf. Kratochvíl, 2014a) . This is further illustrated in its use in past tense constructions involving uncertainty which contain the aspectual adverb *wan* 'already', as in (53), and the perfective suffix *-i*, as in (54).

(53) ***Ko*** *wan* *a* *maayol* *maak?*
IRR already 2SG.AGT woman be.young.FEM
'Were you perhaps already a young woman?' [CV.50M.QU]

(54) ***Yang*** ***ko*** *ha-mun-i.*
maybe IRR 3.PAT-stink-PFV
'Maybe he stank.' [SS.59F.33]

The modality of possibility, 'can' and 'can not' are expressed by the verbs *kaang* 'be good/can' and *beeqa* 'be bad/can not', which are placed clause

[7] Unlike other varieties of Malay, Alor Malay does not use the future marker *akan* but uses *nanti* 'later, afterwards' to express the future.

finally (see Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 367). Furthermore, mood, modality, and stance are often expressed by demonstratives in final position (for more, see Kratochvíl, 2017).

4.3.4 Negation

Negation is clause-final in Abui and is expressed using the negation particle *naha*, as shown in (55) and (56).

(55) *Di neei* ***naha.***
3.AGT eat.PFV NEG
'He did not eat (it).' [SS.26M.5]

(56) *Di h-ien* ***naha*** *ya bataa la=ng*
3.AGT 3.PAT-see NEG SEQ tree MED.LOCA=ALL
ha-muk-di.
3.PAT-.lock.horn-INCH.PFV
'He did not see it so he charged into the tree.' [SS.40F.24]

Abui does not have a distinct form for the prohibitive and simply uses *naha* in prohibitive constructions as in (57).

(57) *Eng marang* ***naha!***
2SG go.up.IPFV NEG
'Don't be forced into going up!' [CV.34M.JH]

In negation of a nominal predicate, the form *naha* is also used, and is positioned post-nominally as in (58).

(58) *Ri* ***naha.***
2PL.INCLAGT NEG
'Not you (pl).' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 278)

4.3.5 Questions

Polar questions are marked using rising intonation. Structurally, they do not differ from other types of clauses, such as declarative clauses. Example (59) uses declarative clause morphosyntax, with rising pitch on the final syllable.

(59) *A* *mahi-i?*
2SG.AGT hear-PFV
'Did you hear that?' [CV.34M.JH]

Tag questions typically place particles *ho* and *re* (derived from *re* 'or') clause-finally. The particle *ho* implies more certainty than *re*, as shown in (60-61). In other words, it is used when a positive answer is expected.

(60) *Lakaang* *maseena* *ho?*
INTS awesome TAG.CERT
'It's really awesome, isn't it?' [CV.25F.SC]

(61) *...* *mara* *yai* *paneeng* *re?*
go.up.IPFV song make TAG.UNCERT
'(We are) going up (there) to sing, right?/ (Are we) going up (there) to sing?' [CV.49F.WG]

Abui has several question words, most of which form their own class, while one appears to be more verb-like. Question words include *nala* 'what' (62), *teina* 'when' (63), *te* 'where' (64), *tewir/tewile* 'how/why.PFV/IPFV' (65) and (68), *maa* 'who' (66), *yeng* 'how much' (67).

(62) *It=do* ***nala?***
PROX.LOCA=PROX what
'What it this (here)?' [SS.43M.44]

(63) *Ata,* ***teina*** *a* *maran-i?*
A. when 2SG.AGT go.up.PFV-PFV
'Ata, when did you arrive (in Alor)?' [FN]

(64) *Longe,* *a* ***te=ng*** *yaa?*
Loni.VOC 2SG.AGT where=ALL go.IPFV
'Loni, where are you going to?' [FN]

The word *tewir* 'how' is formally a verb; it can have a perfective form, as in *tewir* and an imperfective form *tewil*(*e*). It might have grammaticalized from *te* 'where' and *wir*/*wil* 'be.like.PFV/IPFV'. Because it is still verb-like, in order for it to be complemented with another verb, such as *moni* 'die-PFV' in (65), it must receive the prioritive clitic *=te*.

(65) ***Tewir=te*** *di* *mon-i?*
how/why.PFV=PRIOR 3.AGT die-PFV
'How did it die?/ Why did it die?' [FN]

Abui uses the 'who' word to refer to a name as in (66) and 'how much' to refer to countable or ordinal nouns, such as 'class' as in (67) (cf. Gil, 2018).

(66) *A-ne* ***maa?***
2SG.INAL-name who
'What is your name?' [FN]

(67) *Kelas* ***yeng*** *mara?*
class how.much go.up
'Which class are you going to?' [CV.25F.SC]

Interrogative clauses that use question words often begin with the particle *ma*, as in (68) and (69). This particle typically claims the turn, marks a new topic, and signals a question.[8]

(68) *Ma* *tewil* *ba?*
DISC how.IPFV REPORT
'So, how exactly (did he say)?' [CV.26F.WG]

(69) *Ma* *e-ura* *yo* *yeng?*
DISC 2SG.AL-sibling.of.opposite.sex MED.ADD how.much
'So, how many female siblings do you have?' [CV.16F.CT]

4.4 Noun phrase

The Abui noun phrase (NP) is relatively simple when compared to the verb phrase. The only type of morphology found on the noun is possessive marking, which is head-marking; the possessed noun is inflected, while the possessor is not. There is no gender or number marking on nouns. However, some nouns can be modified by classifiers when enumerated. Furthermore, a plural word may be used to mark plurality.

The NP template is sketched out in (70) (adapted from Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 156). It includes a nominal possessor NP, a head noun, a noun modifier/numeral classifier, an attributive (adjective/stative verb), a quantifier, a relative clause, and a demonstrative.

[8] I thank František Kratochvíl for pointing this out.

(70) (NP_{psr}) [(POSS)-NP_{head} (MOD/CLF) (ATTR) (QNTF) (RC) (DEM)]

An example of an NP that includes a head noun, a classifier (CLF), an attributive (ATTR), and a quantifier (QNTF) is presented in (71).

(71)

HEAD	CLF	ATTR	QNTF
bataa	*tuku*	*foq-a*	*nuku*
wood	piece.CLF	be.big-STAT	one

'one big piece of wood' [SS.59F.33]

The next subsections describe these slots in more details. Possession is discussed in §4.4.1. Nominal modifiers, which include modifier nouns/classifiers and stative verbs/adjectives are discussed in §4.4.2. Quantification is discussed in §4.4.3, relative clauses are discussed in §4.4.4, and demonstratives are discussed in §4.4.5. In addition, nominalization is discussed in §4.4.6.

4.4.1 Possession

Possession is marked on the possessed noun by means of the prefix *he-*/*ha-*, henceforth *hV-* (the theme vowel alternation marks an alienability distinction; see §4.4.1.1. The possessor always precedes the possessed in the following template: POSSESSOR POSSESSED. As illustrated in example (72a-b), the possessor *Ata* precedes the possessed noun, *he-maama* '3.AL-father' and *ha-tang* '3.INAL-hand', respectively.

(72) POSSESSOR POSSESSED

a. *Ata* *he-maama*
Ata 3.AL-father
'Ata's father' [FN]

b. *Ata* *ha-tang*
Ata 3.INAL-hand
'Ata's hand' [FN]

Furthermore, possessed NPs can be embedded and thus function as both possessed and possessor nouns as in example (73) where three nouns, *heya* 'his mother', *hefala* 'her house', and *heui* 'its back' all function as both possessor and possessed. Some of these possessive constructions refer to more or less fixed collocations. *Simon heya* 'Simon's mother', for example, is

a standard form of reference or address towards a parent, where there are some taboos against using a given name, especially when referring to them in the third person. Similarly, *heui hieng* 'the eye of the back/behind' is also commonly used in a fixed construction.

(73) *Na* *oro* *Simon* *he-ya* *he-fala* *he-ui*
1SG.AGT DIST.LOCA Simon 3.AL-mother 3.AL-house 3.AL-back
h-ieng *we* *aisa.*
3.INAL-eye go pee.IPFV
'I want to go pee there, in the hole behind Simon's mother's house (lit. in the eye of Simon's mother's house's behind.' [CV.34F.WG]

4.4.1.1 Alienability

Abui has an alienability distinction, which is at least partially semantically-based (although some items are lexically based). The possessive prefix on alienably possessed nouns is optional, while on inalienably possessed nouns, it is obligatory (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 140).

In the domain of body parts, most body parts, such as 'hand' (74a) are inalienably possessed; however, a few, such as 'leg' (74b) are alienably possessed. Kinship terms are alienably possessed, as in (74c).

(74) a. *ha-tang*
3.INAL-hand
'his/her/their hand' [CV.27F.GJ]

b. *he-toqu*
3.AL-leg
'his/her/their leg' [SS.50M.35]

c. *ne-ura*
1SG.AL-sibling.of.opposite.sex
'my sister/brother' [SS.16F.12]

In examples (74a-c), inalienability is denoted by the theme vowel *a* while alienability is denoted by the theme vowel *e*. This holds for first and second person singular as well as third person. In the plural persons, the alienability distinction is not marked morphologically (see Table 4.8).[9]

[9] In terms of the reconstruction of the forms themselves, Klamer and Kratochvíl (2018,

Table 4.8: Abui possessive prefixes

Person	Alienable possessor	Inalienable possessor
1SG	*ne-*	*na-*
2SG	*e-*	*a-*
3	*he-*	*ha-*
3.REFL	*de-*	*da-*
DISTR	*te-*	*ta-*
1PL.INCL	*pi-*	*pi-*
1PL.EXCL	*ni-*	*ni-*
2PL	*ri-*	*ri-*

Further, there also seems to be some internal dialectical variation within Abui with respect to which vowels are selected to mark alienability. The Petleng-Welai-Mola variety, also spoken on the northern coastline, denotes the alienable possesser with the thematic vowel /o/.

4.4.1.2 Reflexivity in third person possession

Abui makes a distinction between a non-reflexive third person possessive marker *ha-*/*he-* and a reflexive third person possessive marker *da-*/*de-*. The term 'reflexive possessive' has been used in the literature for the AP languages (e.g. Robinson and Haan (2014) for Adang).

Examples (75a-b) are both transitive clauses. In both examples, Simon is the A argument. In (75a), the P, *de-wiil* '3.REFL.AL-child', is inflected with a third person reflexive possessive binding it to the A argument. This implies that the possessor of the P must be the A of the clause, *Simon*. In (75b), the P, *he-wiil* '3.AL-child', is inflected with a generic (non-reflexive) third person possessive, binding it to an argument outside the clause. Thus, the possessor must be someone other than *Simon*.

p. 26) illustrate how the possessive with thematic vowel /a/ is a reflex of the proto-AP patient indexing morpheme. They also show how those with the vowel /e/ are a reflex of the proto-AP genitive prefix.

(75) a. [*Simon*]$_{A}$ [***de-wiil***]$_{P}$ *ha-buk-e.*
S. 3.REFL.AL-child 3.PAT-cradle.IPFV-IPFV
'Simon cradles his (own) child.'
not 'Simon cradles his (someone else's) child' [FN]

b. [*Simon*]$_{A}$ [***he-wiil***]$_{P}$ *ha-buk-e.*
S. 3.AL-child 3.PAT-cradle.IPFV-IPFV
'Simon cradles his (someone else's) child.'
not 'Simon cradles his (own) child.' [FN]

It must be pointed out that example (75b) may invoke two additional readings. The noun *Simon* may also be interpreted as being the lexical possessor of *hewiil* 'his child', as in *Simon hewiil* 'Simon's child'. This NP as a whole can then either be treated as an A argument as in (76a) or as a P argument in (76b). In order to disambiguate (76a) from (76b), Abui speakers use pitch to signal phrase boundaries between subject and predicate. Further research is required to show exactly how this is done (but see Delpada, 2016, p. 119 for a discussion on A vs. P disambiguation in monosyllabic words through intonation).

(76) a. [*Simon he-wiil*]$_{A}$ *ha-buk-e.*
S. 3.AL-child 3.PAT-cradle.IPFV-IPFV
'Simon's child cradles him (Simon).' [FN]

b. [*Simon he-wiil*]$_{P}$ *ha-buk-e.*
S. 3.AL-child 3.PAT-cradle.IPFV-IPFV
'Cradle Simon's child.' or 'Simon's child was cradled.' [FN]

The reflexivity distinction in possession is one of the areas of the grammar that shows sensitivity to contact. As such, it is discussed at length in Chapter 5. Further, an additional point to mention is that the reflexive *dV*-paradigm is also found in verbal morphology, signalling third person reflexivity as well as intransitivity (see §4.6.7.1 for the pronominal prefix; In addition, see §8.4 for more information on the possible link between the third person reflexive possessive *dV*- and the reflexive pronominal *dV*-). The reflexive forms *da-*/*de-* are reflexes of the pTAP reflexive verbal agreement prefix *dV- (Schapper, 2017, p. 10).

4.4.1.3 Distributive possessor

The distributive possessive prefixes *te-*/*ta-* are used in opposition to the other plural markers which all denote collective possession. They are commonly used to express body parts with multiple possessors, since a body part typically cannot be possessed by more than one person, as in (77) and *te-pikai* 'our head/each of our head' in (78).

(77) ***ta-tang***
DISTR.INAL-hand
'our hand(s)/each of our hand(s)' [CV.27F.GJ]

(78) *Pi* *dowir* *ba* ***te-pikai*** *henil*
1PL.INCL.AGT thus.do.PFV LNK DISTR.AL-head do.like.this.IPFV
bai *kaang?*
also be.good
'If we do this on our head, is that also fine? [CV.27F.GJ]

Example (77) is often translated into Alor Malay using the first person plural, *kita punya tangan* 'our (INCL) hands'. In example (78), the A argument is marked by the first person plural inclusive pronoun *pi*, while the NP *te-pikai* 'our head/each of our head' is possessed using a distributive prefix. The reason for this discrepancy is that Abui does not have a distributive agentive pronoun.

4.4.2 Nominal modifiers

In an NP, stative verbs, adjectives, or other nouns may modify a head noun. In attributive constructions, stative verbs often receive the stative verb suffix *-a* as shown in (79a), while adjectives do not, as in (79b).

(79) Attributive construction
a. *fala* *foq-a*
house be.big-STAT
'a big house' [FN]
b. *kaai* *akan*
dog black
'a black dog' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 160)

Adjectives form a small closed class of less than 10 items and are differentiated from stative verbs by the fact that they cannot head a VP in a predicative clause (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 109). In other words, while *fala foqa* in (79a) can have the reading 'the house is big' as shown in (80a), the utterance in (79b) cannot have a predicative reading 'a dog is black'. For the derivation of a predicate reading, the enclitic *=i* 'put' must occur with the adjective *akan* 'black', as in (80).

(80) Predicative construction

a. *Fala foq-a.*
house big-STAT
'The house is big.' [FN]

b. *Kaai akan=i.*
dog black=put
'The dog is black.' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 160)

Examples (81a-b) illustrate an attributive and predicative construction. Morpho-syntactically, they look identical. However, they are differentiated suprasegmentally through the use of intonation (Delpada, 2016). In example (81a), the pitch peaks at /bu/ indicating that *faling bula* is treated as one prosodic phrase, while in (81b), it peaks at /ling/ indicating a phrase boundary between /ling/ and /bu/.

(81) a. Attributive construction

faling búl-a
axe sharp-STAT
'a sharp axe' (Delpada, 2016, p. 158)

b. Predicative construction

falíng bul-a
axe sharp-STAT
'the axe is sharp' (Delpada, 2016, p. 158)

Modifier nouns are nouns that co-occur with head nouns (82a-c). They typically modify a head noun by applying a characteristic such as gender and age (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 158).

(82) Modifier nouns

a. [*kalieta*]$_{\text{head}}$ [*neeng*]$_{\text{modifier}}$
old.person man
'old man' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 157)

b. [*wiil*]$_{\text{head}}$ [*neeng*]$_{\text{modifier}}$
child man
'son, boy' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 157)

c. [*kaai*]$_{\text{head}}$ [*bilel*]$_{\text{modifier}}$
dog sprout
'puppy' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 158)

4.4.3 Quantification

Quantification involves the use of quantifiers, numerals, and classifiers. Non-numeral quantifiers, and numerals, occupy the same syntactic slot and may not co-occur with one another. In addition, similar to adjectives and stative verbs, they can function attributively or predicatively (see Kratochvíl, 2014b).

4.4.3.1 Non-numeral quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers express an imprecise quantity of nouns and include *faaring* 'many', *sila* 'plenty', *kabei* 'a little', *loqu* 'PLZ', and *we* 'ASSOC' Kratochvíl (2007, p. 121). Example (83) illustrates the use of *faaring* 'many', which can take both an attributive and a predicative reading.

(83) *amakaang faaring*
person many
'many people' or 'the people are many' [CV.23F.OG]/[FN]

Plurality can be expressed by the plural particles *loqu* and *we*. *Loqu* is used more commonly and is typically used to mark plurality and collectivity of nouns, as in (84a-b).

(84) a. *moqu fila loqu*
child be.young PLZ
'little children' [CV.16F.LU]

b. *konrek loqu*
t.shirt PLZ
't-shirts' [CV.50M.BB]

The plural word *we* is typically used with proper names for humans expressing associative plurality. It can also be used with other human nouns, where it also marks associative plurality. In contrast, *loqu* marks individualized plurality, as shown in (85a-c).

(85) a. *Benny we ut yaa.*
Benny ASSOC garden go.to.IPFV
'Benny and his associates go to the garden.'
(Schapper fieldnotes cited in Klamer, Schapper, and Corbett, 2017, p. 383)

b. *Ne-maayol we ut yaa.*
1SG.AL-woman ASSOC garden go.to.IPFV
'My wife and her associates go to the garden.' [FN.45F]

c. *Ne-maayol loqu ut yaa.*
1SG.AL-woman PLZ garden go.to.IPFV
'My wives go to the garden.' [FN.45F]

The plural word *loqu* is unrelated to other plural markers in the other AP languages (Klamer et al., 2017). It seems to be etymologically related to the form *loqu* 'person, figure, man' referring to fetish figurines, used in rituals to bewitch people using needles (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 75). There also seems to be considerable dialectical variation, with the Southern Abui variety of the Mataru Selatan area using the form *dijiei* (Saad, 2019c) which is a possible cognate of the forms found in some of the East Alor languages: *deing*, for Wersing, *du*(*a*) for Kula, and *du* for Sawila (listed in Klamer et al., 2017).

In addition to marking plurality, *loqu* can also be used in the nominalization of verbs, adjectives, and place names, a function that has become relatively widespread. These derivational uses are discussed in §4.4.6 on nominalization.

4.4.3.2 Numeral quantifiers

Abui has, like some other AP languages, a mixed 5-10 base numeral (Schapper & Klamer, 2017). The Abui numerals are shown in Table 4.9 (based on Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 119).

Table 4.9: Abui numerals

Gloss	**Abui numeral**
1	*nuku*
2	*ayoqu*
3	*sua*
4	*buti*
5	*yeting*
6	*talaama*
7	*yeting ayoqu*
8	*yeti sua*
9	*yeting buti*
10	*karnuku*
11	*karnuku wal nuku*
77	*karyeting ayoqu wal yeting ayoqu*
100	*aisaha nuku*
651	*aisaha talaama karyeting wal nuku*
1000	*rifi nuku*
4000	*rifi buti*
1,000,000	*rat nuku*

The base-5 system manifests itself in the numerals 7, 8, and 9, all of which are additively assembled on the base *yeting* '5'. The monomorphemic *talaama* '6' is a reflex from proto-Alor-Pantar **talam* (Schapper & Klamer, 2017). Like the other AP languages, the order is: N NUM (Klamer et al., 2017), as in (86).

(86) N NUM

a. *wi* *sua*
stone three
'three stones' [SS.75F.56]

b. *tuung yeting*
year five
'five years' [CV.23M.LU]

Ordinal numerals are constructed by attaching the third person possessive prefix *he-* to the numeral, as in (87).

(87) ... *yal dikaang* ***he-sua*** *ho?*
now again 3.AL-three TAG.CERT
'... and now the third one, right? (Kratochvíl corpus)

Numerals may also be used predicatively using the inchoative aspect markers. The numeral *ayoqu* 'two' is verbalized using the inchoative aspect suffix *-di/da*, as in (88) where it is used in a resultative construction.

(88) *Maayol nuku di kabala nu fiet ba*
woman one 3.AGT cloth DIST tear.PFV LNK
hoo-ayoq-da.
3.GOAL-TWO-INCH.IPFV
'A woman rips a piece of cloth into two.' [PT.43F.1]

4.4.3.3 Numeral classifiers

As mentioned above, nouns are not classified for gender or number. However, a head may combine with another noun (labeled here a numeral classifier) when enumerated. Kratochvíl (2014b) considers these classifiers as a subclass of modifier nouns. In (89), the use of the numeral classifier nouns *bika* 'kernel', *upi* 'fruit', and *tuku* 'piece' (which is not reported in paper) are illustrated.

(89) a. *na-wet* ***bika*** *nuku*
1SG.AL-tooth kernel.CLF one
'one tooth of mine' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 164)

b. *moqu* ***upi*** *talaama*
child fruit.CLF six
'six children' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 164)

c. *bataa* ***tuku*** *buti*
tree piece.CLF four
'four pieces of wood' [SS.30M.36]

Many similar numeral classifiers occur in other AP languages, taking on a structure very similar to Indonesian. This has led Klamer (2018) to suggest that the high incidence of numeral classifiers in Abui and other AP languages could be a likely result of contact with neighbouring Austronesian languages, including more recent contact with Indonesian.

4.4.4 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Abui are restrictive, implying that the relative clause is essential and relevant in recovering the identity of a known referent through locating it, as opposed to just offering additional information.

An NP is relativized through the use of the relativizer *ba*. Typically, a demonstrative may also follow the relative clause (REL rel.clause DEM), as shown in (90) and (91). However, sometimes the demonstrative may be omitted if, for example, the relative clause is followed by an agentive pronoun, as in (92).[10]

The head of the relative clause may occupy any grammatical role with respect to the relative clause. In other words, it may function as either an A, S, or P argument of the relative clause. Example (90) illustrates a relative clause in which the head noun *wiil neeng* 'young man' is the expression of the S argument of the verbs in the relative clause *mit* 'sit' and *yatul* 'doze off'. In (91), the head noun, *sura* 'letter', is the P argument of the relative clause *halakda* 'read (it)'. Example (92) presents an instance where the head noun *wiil neeng* 'young man' expresses the A argument to the relative clause *konrek kika meng* 'wearing a red t-shirt'.

(90) Head noun as S argument to relative clause

[*Wiil*	*neeng*]$_{\text{head}}$	*ba*	[*e*	*mit*	*ba*	*yatul*]$_{\text{rel}}$	*yo*
child	man	REL	before	sit	LNK	doze.off.IPFV	MED.ADD
de-balei		*san*	*nee.*				
3.REFL.AL-banana		ripe	eat.IPFV				

'That young man who was sitting and dozing off earlier is eating his banana.' [SS.34M.59]

[10] The relativizer, *ba*, is also a generic clause linker, linking a VP to another VP, as in *mit ba yatul* 'sit and doze off' in (90) and as further discussed in §4.9. In forming relative clauses, it links VPs or NPs to a head noun.

(91) Head noun as P argument to relative clause

E [*sura*]$_{\text{head}}$ *ba* [*ha-lak-da*]$_{\text{RC}}$ *nu* *henu*
before letter REL 3.PAT-read-INCH.IPFV PRO.DIST DIST
di *fal* *to-sama* *laak* *naha* *nu.*
3.AGT be.separate DIST-REC-be.together walk NEG DIST
'It was not the same as the letter that we read earlier.' [CV.50M.QU]

(92) Head noun as A argument to relative clause

[*Wiil* *neeng*]$_{\text{head}}$ *ba* [*konrek* *kika* *meng*]$_{\text{RC}}$ *di* *kabei*
child man REL t.shirt be.red wear.IPFV 3.AGT a.bit
la *marak-di.*
MED.LOCA be.startled-INCH.PFV
'The young man who was wearing a red t-shirt got startled.' [SS.26F.54]

4.4.5 Demonstratives

This subsection discusses the primary functions of Abui demonstratives, which include marking spatial and anaphoric relations with respect to their head noun. Abui demonstratives encode distance and viewpoint, as illustrated in Table 4.10. Some demonstratives can appear either adnominally or pronominally. Pronominal demonstratives are formed by adding *he-* to the demonstrative bases, as shown in the table.

Table 4.10: Abui adnominal demonstratives (Kratochvíl, 2011a)

Distance	**Viewpoint**	
	Speaker	Addressee
Proximal	*do* / *hedo* PROX	*to* / *heto* PROX.ADD
Medial	*o, lo* / - MED	*yo* / - MED.ADD
Distal	*nu* / *henu* DIST	*hu* / - DIST.ADD

Adnominal demonstratives, such as *do*, co-occur with other NP elements, such as a head noun in (93a). Pronominal demonstratives, such as *hedo* in (93b) stand in for a whole NP.

(93) a. Adnominal demonstrative

[***Yai*** ***do***]$_{NP}$ *paneeng!*
song PROX do/make
'(We) should sing this song!' [FN.40F]

b. Pronominal demonstrative

Hedo *paneeng!*
PRO.PROX do/make
'(We should) sing this one!' or 'This is the one (we should) sing!'
[CV.48F.WG]

In this sketch, only the core functions of demonstratives are discussed, and distinctions in form are made with respect to how they modify a noun (adnominally (§4.4.5.1) vs. pronominally (§4.4.5.2)). For a description of the extended uses of demonstratives, for example, to mark stance and evidentiality, see Kratochvíl, 2011b, 2017. In addition, the present analysis makes a distinction between demonstratives and locationals, both of which are treated as deictic demonstratives in previous accounts (e.g. Kratochvíl, 2011b, 2017). Locationals, which occupy a different syntactic slot with respect to demonstratives, are not discussed in this sketch (they are glossed as LOCA).

4.4.5.1 Adnominal demonstratives

In terms of viewpoint, Abui distinguishes between speaker-based and addressee-based demonstratives (Kratochvíl, 2007). Examples (94-95) illustrate this distinction in the proximal domain. Both examples are extracted from a recording where two girls are sitting next to each other and making jewelry. Typically, when one speaker refers to an object they themselves are holding, they use the speaker-based proximal *do*, while when they refer to an object that the addressee is holding, they use the addressee-based proximal *to*. In example (94), the speaker is holding a seed and a piece of string in demonstration of how to make a bracelet. As a result, the proximal, speaker-orientated demonstrative *do* is used to modify *tila* 'string' because the object in question is proximal to the speaker.

(94) *Tila* ***do*** *mi* *he-tukola.*
string PROX take 3.LOC-insert
'Insert this string inside (as I am doing now).' [CV.27F.GJ]

In example (95), the speaker is referring to a needle that the addressee is holding; this is encoded by the addressee-based proximal *to*.

(95) *Korbai* *ting* ***to*** *di* *faq-e.*
in.a.while needle PROX.ADD 3.AGT break-IPFV
'That needle (which you are holding) might break.' [CV.27F.GJ]

4.4.5.2 Pronominal demonstratives

In terms of form, pronominal demonstratives resemble adnominal demonstratives except that they contain the segments /he/. In terms of function, just like adnominal demonstratives, pronominal demonstratives may encode deictic relationships in the domains of space or anaphora. For example, the pronominal proximal addressee based demonstrative *heto* may be used spatially as in (96a) and anaphorically as in (96b).

(96) a. Spatial proximity to addressee

Ni-ea, ***heto*** *enra* *naha* *bai!*
1PL.EXCL-mother PROX.ADD cry NEG EMPH
'Mother/Madam, that one (that you are holding) does not cry much!' [CV.45F. AH]

b. Anaphoric proximity to addressee

Heto *neeng* *wida* *yo!*
PROX.ADD male be.like MED.ADD
'That one (that you are referring to) is like a boy!' [CV.27F.GJ]

Pronominal demonstratives typically occur in two types of constructions. In their most basic sense, they can can modify a referent already mentioned in discourse or in visual proximity as in (96a-b), but also (97a). Another usage is to modify a pre-posed clause in a type of cleft construction as in (97b). In (97a), *heto* 'PROX.ADD' refers to a 'bundle of betel nut' close to the interlocutor and mentioned already by the interlocutor. In (97b), *henu* 'PRO.DIST' modifies, not an NP, but the preceding clause *nuku takai* 'chewing one' instead.

(97) Pronominal demonstratives

a. Modifying NP

Ma ***heto*** *wan rifi yeting.*
DISC PRO.PROX.ADD already thousand five
'Well, that (which is close to you) is already five thousand Rupiah.' [CV.70F.JH]

b. Modifying clause

Nuku takai, ***henu*** *kaka∼adik nu.*
one chew PRO.DIST siblings.ML DIST
'Chewing one (betel nut together), that is (what is meant by) being siblings' [CV.45F. AH]

The pronominal proximal demonstrative *hedo* is often also used as a focus pronoun; see §4.5.3.

4.4.6 Nominalization

Abui may nominalize a VP using two strategies: by using the plural marker *loqu* and by using possessive prefixation.

The plural marker *loqu* denotes plurality and collectivity and may be placed after a verb, as illustrated with the verbs in (98a-c), where both active (98a-b) and stative verbs (98c) may be nominalized using the plural marker.

(98) a. *firai* ***loqu***
run PLZ
'runners' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 115)

b. *kafering* ***loqu***
horrify PLZ
'soldiers' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 115)

c. *walangra* ***loqu***
be.fresh PLZ
'newcomers, Malay-speaking people' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 115)

In addition, place names may be nominalized to form proper nouns denoting ethnicity or nationality – these have both plural denotations as in (99a) and singular denotations, as in (99b). Examples such as (99b) are interpreted predicatively.

(99) a. *Pantar* ***loqu***
Pantar PLZ
'people from Pantar' [FN]

b. *Nedo Takalelang* ***loqu.***
1SG.FOC village.name PLZ
'I'm from Takalelang; I'm a Takalelang person.' [FN]

Additionally, certain verbs may be nominalized by adding possessive markers and placing them within an NP, as in example (100) where the verb *mit* 'sit' is nominalized using the possessive prefix *he-*. It is presently unclear to what extent this process is productive.[11]

(100) *Fukar he-mit*
F. 3.AL-sit
'Fukar's way of sitting' [CV.23F.GO]

4.5 Pronouns

As discussed in §4.3, I adopt an A, S, P system for the expression of arguments: A (most agent-like argument in a transitive clause), S (subject of intransitive clause), and P (most patient-like argument in a transitive clause). Abui uses two strategies to express these arguments pronominally: free pronouns and verbal indexation. Which of the two is used depends on the argument role in question, as well as semantic factors and inflectional class membership. A arguments are expressed using agentive pronouns.[12] S arguments are expressed using agentive pronouns, nonagentive pronouns, or pronominal prefixes. P arguments are expressed using nonagentive pronouns, or pronominal prefixes. Free pronouns are explored in this section, while pronominal prefixes are discussed in §4.6.

Abui argument structure is highly sensitive to the inflectional class of the verb. Some verbs may encode S arguments using an agentive pronoun, some using a nonagentive pronoun, and others using a pronominal prefix. For some verbs, these preferences are obligatory, while for others, they are

[11] This process is also found in other AP languages, such as Reta (Willemsen, to appear).

[12] In many analyses of TAP languages, the labels A, S, and P are used alongside labels such as agentive and patientive. A, S, P, refer to core argument roles; while agentive and patientive refer to pronominal paradigms which may be used to encode these roles.

optional. In other words, some verb stems show fluid alignment depending on semantic factors of the event in question. The same verb root may allow for different options based on the semantics of the event. Some more volitional events may encode S arguments with an agentive pronoun, while others may index S arguments using a prefix. This typically determines whether an S or P argument will be expressed using a pronoun or prefix.

An argument may be expressed i) using a pronominal prefix/pronoun only, ii) using an NP only, or iii) using both an NP and a pronominal prefix/pronoun.

In this analysis, Abui pronouns are roughly split up into agentive and nonagentive pronouns, on the one hand, and topic and focus pronouns on the other.[13].

(101) Agentive pronoun

Na	*we.*
1SG.AGT	go.IPFV

'I go.' [CV.27F.GJ]

Topic and focus pronouns, on the other hand, encode information structure and are always left-dislocated. In (102), the first person focus pronoun *nedo* is used to put the first person referent in focus.

(102) Focus pronoun

Nedo	*dara*	*beeqa*	*yo.*
1SG.FOC	still	can.not/be.bad	MED.ADD

'I still can not.' [CV.40F.CS]

In predicative expressions involving stative verbs or nominal predicates, such as (102), a focus pronoun may be the sole marker of personhood; in this case 1SG. However, in most other clauses, such as transitive clauses, pronouns encoding information structure are often doubled, occurring with

[13]The exact status of pronouns in Abui remains unresolved. This sketch takes a broad approach and treats many complex pronominal words as pronouns, while previous accounts (Kratochvíl, 2007, 2011a, 2014a) treat them as verbal predicates. This implies that there are even more pronouns than presented in this sketch. For more information, see Kratochvíl (2014a), Saad (n.d.)

other pronouns or pronominal prefixes (elaborated further in §4.6). Example (103) exemplifies this 'doubling' by showing the use of a (focus) pronoun *nedo* alongside an agentive pronoun *na* '1SG.AGT'.

(103) Focus pronoun Agentive pronoun
Nedo *na* *we.*
1SG.FOC 1SG.AGT go
'*I* go.' (Kratochvíl corpus)

A list of Abui pronouns is presented in Table 4.11.[14] These four types are discussed in the subsequent sections.

Table 4.11: Abui pronouns

	Agentive	**Non-agentive**	**Focus**	**Topic**
1SG	*na*	*nel*	*nedo*	*nel*
2SG	*a*	*el*	*edo*	*el*
3	*di*	*hel*	*hedo*	*hel*
3.REFL	-	*del*	-	-
DISTR	-	*tel*	-	-
1PL.INCL	*pi*	*pil*	*pido*	*pil*
1PL.EXCL	*ni*	*nil*	*nido*	*nil*
2PL	*ri*	*ril*	*rido*	*ril*
3.PL	-	-	-	*hel loqu*

4.5.1 Agentive pronouns

Agentive pronouns may encode an A argument or a volitional S argument and for this reason are glossed as AGENTIVE (Kratochvíl, 2007). Examples (104-105) illustrate the use of the first person singular agentive pronoun *na* expressing an A and an S argument respectively. In (104), the A, *na*, acts on a third person P argument, which is indexed on the verb using the prefix *he-*. In (105), the S, *na*, is the sole argument of the verb *ayon-i* 'swim.PFV-PFV'.

[14] There is no number distinction in third person; the pronouns encode both singular and plural referents. The only exception to this is the topic marker, *hel loqu*, which is used for plural referents exclusively.

(104) A argument

[***Na***]$_{A}$ [***he***]$_{P}$-*faaling-di.*
1SG.AGT 3.LOC-listen-INCH.PFV
'I listened to it.' [CV.23M.BC]

(105) S argument

Afeida *war-weria* [***na***]$_{S}$ *ayon-i.*
yesterday sun-noon 1SG.AGT swim.PFV-PFV
'Yesterday at noon, I swam.' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 560)

In third person, the use of the agentive pronoun *di* may mark discourse-related as well as semantic information. It can stand alone or be used appositionally, marking discourse-related functions in the process.

When it stands alone in a clause, it often refers to a referent mentioned in earlier discourse, as in (106), with the NP it refers to, *neeng nuku* 'one man', already mentioned in the previous clause.

(106) *Neeng nuku natet ba* [***di***]$_{A}$
man one stand.PFV LNK 3.AGT
[*he*]$_{P}$-*do-mpang~pang.*
3.LOC-3.REFL.REC-RDP~think
'A man stood there, thinking about something.' [SS.75F.56]

In multi-clause constructions with multiple referents, this strategy is also used to disambiguate NPs, and establish that the NP preceding it appositionally is an A argument. In (107), *di* '3.AGT' follows *moqu nuku* 'a child', to signal *moqu nuku* as the S and A argument of the upcoming clause(s). Doing this ensures that *moqu nuku* 'a child' is not interpreted as the P.

(107) *Kalieta neeng nuku natea* [[*moqu nuku*]$_{NP}$ *di*]$_{A}$
old.person man one stand.IPFV child one 3.AGT
furai ba me hoo-fahat-i.
run.PFV LNK come.IPFV 3.GOAL-hug.PFV-PFV
'An old man was standing, the child came running to hug him.' [SS.50M.35]

In addition, the appositional use of *di* may be used to mark semantic factors with respect to the A argument, such as definiteness and volition

(Kratochvíl, 2011a; Fedden et al., 2014; Kratochvíl & Delpada, 2015). The minimal pairs in (108a-b), which contrast the appositional use of *di* alongside an NP with the use of an NP in the absence of *di*, illustrate the marking of a definiteness interpretation on the A.

(108) a. Indefinite A
Moqu loqu kuul sakola he-sei.
kid PLZ must school 3.LOC-come.down.IPFV
'Children must attend school.' (Kratochvíl & Delpada, 2015, p. 188)

b. Definite A
Moqu loqu ***di*** *kuul sakola he-sei.*
kid PLZ 3.AGT must school 3.LOC-come.down.IPFV
'The children must attend school.' (Kratochvíl & Delpada, 2015, p. 188)

Furthermore, *di* may mark volition, as illustrated in (109a-b). Fedden et al. (2014, p. 64) suggest that in reflexive constructions, there is a difference between volitional reflexive clauses and nonvolitional reflexive clauses. They suggest that combining a pronoun with a coreflerential pronominal prefix creates a reflexive reading in which a participant is both the instigator of an action and affected by it. In (109a-b), the reflexive prefix *da-* is obligatory. The use of the pronoun *di*, however, is optional: if used, it marks volitionality. In (109a), the use of the pronoun *di* adds volitionality to the event of showering, putting emphasis on the fact that the A, *Fani*, washed himself with intent. Example (109b), on the other hand, also implies that *Fani* 'had a shower'; however, it does not put emphasis on himself as being the volitional actor.

(109) a. With agentive pronoun
Fani ***di*** *el da-wel-i.*
F. 3.AGT before 3.REFL.PAT-wash-PFV
'Fani has washed himself.' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 562)

b. Without agentive pronoun
Fani el da-wel-i.
F. before 3.REFL.PAT-wash-PFV
'Fani already had a shower.' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 562)

Currently, further research is required to determine which factors trigger the marking of definiteness and which ones trigger volitionality; however, reflexive constructions with the use of *di* seem to favour volitional readings.

4.5.2 Nonagentive pronouns

This section discusses the class of verbs which may encode S or P arguments using a nonagentive pronoun.[15]

Example (110a) illustrates the use of the second person plural nonagentive pronoun used with the verb *takai* 'bite'. In example (110b), the inanimate P, *fat ma* 'cooked corn', is not encoded using a pronoun.

(110) a. *Korbai kaai di* ***ril*** *takai!*
in.a.while dog 3.AGT 2PL.NAGT bite.IPFV
'Soon, the dog will bite you (pl.)!' [CV.22F.GJ]

b. *Na fat ma takei=se.*
1SG.AGT corn cooked bite.IPFV=PRIOR
'I'm about to eat (cooked corn or anything else cooked).' [FN.40F]

In addition, when used with animate Ps in third person, nonagentive pronouns can also be used to mark specificity. This is done through the adnominal use of a pronoun alongside a full NP as shown in examples (111a-b). In (111a), the use of *hel* indicates a specific, known referent, i.e. 'her husband, Bapak Likeus'. The absence of *hel* in (111b) suggests generic reference to an unknown, unspecified person.

[15] These pronouns have been described in previous accounts as consisting of a serial verb construction involving the verb 'give' *-l* (e.g. Kratochvíl, 2007, 2011a, 2014a). However, they are argued here to be strictly pronominal as they show no verbal characteristics. For example, they are not inflected for aspect. These pronouns may index either an S or a P argument and are more similar in function to the pronominal prefixes which are located on the verb (discussed in §4.6).

(111) a. *Ni-ya* *Lis* *de-neeng* ***hel***
1PL.EXCL.AL-mother L. 3.AL.REFL-man 3.NAGT
tahai.
search.for.IPFV
'Niya Lis is searching for her husband (Bapak Likeus).' [FN.43M]

b. *Ni-ya* *Lis* *de-neeng* *tahai.*
1PL.EXCL.AL-mother L. 3.AL.REFL-man search.for.IPFV
'Niya Lis is searching for her (future) husband.' [FN.43M]

It is not always clear exactly which verbs fall under the class of verbs that encodes animate affected Ps with a pronoun and inanimate affected Ps without a pronoun or prefix. However, one tendency seems to be, as suggested by Klamer and Kratochvíl (2018, p. 16), that this applies to 'typical transitive verbs' (Comrie, 1989), such as 'kill', 'hit', 'kick', 'carry', 'search for', 'take', and 'hold', which 'have a highly agentive A and a highly patientive P'. Another subtype of verbs that fall under this class include derived verbs, which receive the inchoative suffixes *-di*/*da*/*dia*. This is illustrated with the use of the third person reflexive nonagentive pronoun *del* in combination with the verb *amakaangdi* 'became human' as in (112).

(112) *tekok* *nu* *la* ***del*** *amakaang-di*
lizard DIST MED.LOCA 3.REFL.NAGT human-INCH.PFV
'(After falling into the fire), the lizard became human' (Kratochvíl corpus)

It is also frequently used in verbs inserted from Malay to encode animate P arguments, such as *demaama*'his father', used with the inserted verb *sandardia* 'lean on' in (113).

(113) *Moqu* *di* *de-maama* ***hel*** *sandar-dia.*
child 3.AGT 3.REFL.AL-father 3.NAGT lean.on.ML-INCH.IPFV
'The child leans on his father.' [SS.28F.51]

4.5.3 Focus pronouns

Focus pronouns (*edo* series; see Table 4.11) bring a referent into focus. They may encode an A, S, or P argument. They are never obligatory and may be 'doubled', that is, they may occur with other pronouns, pronominal prefixes,

or full NPs. In example (114), the first person focus pronoun *nedo* occurs with the first person agentive pronoun *na* encoding an S argument. In (115), *nedo* occurs alongside the first person locative prefix *ne-*, encoding a P argument.

(114) *Haba ma* ***nedo*** *na kabei laak∼laak-i*
but DISC 1SG.FOC 1SG.AGT a.bit RDP∼walk-PFV
lol-e!
wander-IPFV
'Alright, but I here, am going on a little stroll!' [CV.34M.JH]

(115) ***Nedo*** *ne-r naha.*
1SG.FOC 1SG.LOC-give.PFV NEG
'(They) didn't give it *to me*.' [CV.43F.OH]

For third person referents, the focus pronoun *hedo* occurs with a full NP, as in (116) where *hedo* puts *neeng nuku do* 'this man' into focus. The third person focus pronoun *hedo* is identical in form to the third person pronominal demonstrative (see §4.4.5.2).

(116) *Neeng nuku do he-feela difal natet ba*
man one PROX 3.AL-friend 3.together stand.PFV LNK
di tanga haba ***hedo*** *kabei lohu...*
3.AGT speak but 3.FOC a.bit be.tall
'This man is standing with his friend and talking, but (this one) is a bit tall...' [SS.48M.70]

They may also reference a possessor of a possessed argument as in (117), where *edo* '2SG.FOC' puts focus on the second person possessor of *e-tung* '2SG.AL-year'.

(117) *Na-tahang ba "ma* ***edo*** *e-tung yeng=e?"*
1SG.PAT-ask LNK DISC 2SG.FOC 2SG.AL-year how.much=PRES
'I was asked/(he) asked me, "What about you, how old are you?"'
[CV.27F.GJ]

4.5.4 Topic pronouns

Topic pronouns (*el* series; see Table 4.11), although identical in form with nonagentive pronouns (§4.5.2), differ from them in their function and syntax. They are used to topicalize NPs and occur at the beginning of a clause. Unlike nonagentive pronouns which only encode S or P arguments, topic pronouns can reference S, P, and A arguments, as examples (118-120) illustrate.

In example (118), the second person plural topic pronoun *ril* is used to express the S argument of the verb *yaar-i* 'go.PFV-PFV'. It is also involved in as relative clause construction *ril ba tuong nu* 'you (pl.), who are teachers,/those of you who are teachers'.

(118) ***Ril*** *ba* *tuong* *nu* *moqu* *loqu* *he-fala=ng*
2PL.TOP REL teacher DIST child PLZ 3.INAL-house=ALL
yaar-i.
go.PFV-PFV
'You (pl.), who are teachers,/those of you who are teachers went to the children's houses.' [CV.27F.GJ]

Examples (119-120) illustrate the use of topic pronouns to express an A argument (first person) and a P argument (second person) respectively.[16] In these examples, as is common, the topic pronouns are combined with the word *baai* 'also'. Like focus pronouns, they may co-occur with other pronominal markers such as agentive pronouns, prefixes, or possessed NP arguments. In example (119), *nel baai* 'I too' co-occurs with the first person agentive pronoun *na*. In (120), *el baai* 'you too' co-occurs with the possessed NP *a-nooting* '2SG.INAL-spirit' and the prefix *o-* '2SG.REC'.

(119) ***Nel*** *baai* *na* *me* *kabei* *he-wahai=se*
1SG.TOP also 1SG.AGT come a.bit 3.LOC-look.at=PRIOR
yo!
MED.ADD
'I, too, want to come and have a look at it!' [CV.70F.JH]

[16] In example (119), the topic pronoun *nel* topicalizes a first person singular A (as denoted by the agentive pronoun *na*) acting on a third person P (as denoted by the prefix *he-*. In (120), the topic pronoun *el* topicalizes a second person singular P (as denoted by the prefix *o-*, being acted upon by the third person A, *a-nooting* '2SG.INAL-spirit'.

(120) ***El*** *baai* *a-nooting* *o-pa* *mia* *naha*
2SG.TOP also 2SG.INAL-spirit 2SG.REC-touch be.at NEG
do?
PROX
'You also don't remember?' (lit. 'You too, your spirit is not at yourself?') [cv.20f.gj]

The third person topic pronoun *hel* is also used as an adnominal topic marker. It is positioned before the head noun, in a construction that often also includes a demonstrative. Example (121) illustrates this construction, with *hel* preceding the NP *hel raja do*, which precedes the proximal demonstrative *do*. The topicalized constituent also occurs with the agentive pronoun *di*.

(121) ***Hel*** *raja* *do* *di* *kuda* *do* *bel-i.*
3.TOP king.ML PROX 3.AGT horse PROX buy-PFV
'This king (who I alluded to earlier), he bought a horse.' [NR.67M.AA]

Synchronically, it is clear that topic pronouns differ from nonagentive pronouns. Topic pronouns may reference any type of argument, while nonagentive pronouns may only index S or P arguments. In addition, topic pronouns occur at the beginning of a clause, while nonagentive pronouns occur before the verb. Topic pronouns are more similar to focus pronouns because they can refer to any argument (A, S, or P) and often occur clause-initially.

4.6 Pronominal prefixes

Abui indexes P arguments and some S arguments on the verb through prefixation.[17] Abui has six paradigms for pronominal markers. These pronominal prefixes serve multiple functions: 1) they indicate the person and number of the argument, 2) they establish semantic relationships between arguments, and 3) they interact with the stem to derive new meanings (see §4.7.1).

[17] Other P or S arguments may be encoded using NPs and/or pronouns (as discussed in §4.5), while for some verb classes, they are only expressed by lexical NPs.

The paradigms are listed in Table 4.12.[18] As with possessive prefixes in Table 4.8 and pronouns in 4.11, the consonant indicates person and number. The theme vowel, however, gives rise to six paradigms, characterized by their semantic gloss.[19]

The six paradigms are elaborated in more detail in §§4.6.1-4.6.6. Section 4.6.7 discusses the 3.REFL paradigm which marks third person reflexive constructions as well as the DISTR paradigm which marks distributive and reciprocal constructions.

Table 4.12: Abui pronominal prefixes (S or P)

Person	PAT	LOC	REC	GOAL	BEN	DIR
1SG	*na-*	*ne-*	*no-*	*noo-*	*nee-*	*nooq-*
2SG	*a-*	*e-*	*o-*	*oo-*	*ee-*	*ooq-*
3	*ha-*	*he-*	*ho-*	*hoo-*	*hee-*	*hooq*
3.REFL	*da-*	*de-*	*do-*	*doo-*	*dee-*	-
DISTR	*ta-*	*te-*	*to-*	*too-*	*tee-*	*tooq-*
1PL.INCL	*pi-*	*pi-*	*pu-/po-*	*puu-/poo-*	*pii-*	*pooq-*
1PL.EXCL	*ni-*	*ni-*	*nu-/no-*	*nuu-/noo-*	*nii-*	*nooq-*
2PL	*ri-*	*ri-*	*ru-/ro-*	*ruu-/roo-*	*rii-*	*rooq-*

Note: Abbreviations refer to the following: PATIENTIVE, LOCATIVE, RECIPIENT, GOAL, BENEFACTIVE, DIRECTIVE

4.6.1 Patientive prefix

The patientive prefix indexes P arguments[20] which are specific, significantly affected and individuated; they are prototypical patients (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 189). It is the most frequently attested pronominal prefix and it is also the only pronominal prefix that is reduplicated (see §7.3). It is historically the

[18] This analysis differs from previous accounts (Kratochvíl, 2007, 2011b, 2014a; Fedden et al., 2014) which treated the human distal paradigm as a verb in a serial verb construction.

[19] As Kratochvíl (2011a) cautions, the glosses attributed to these paradigms are meant to be approximations and do not denote fixed semantic roles as such.

[20] A distinction is made between a P argument, which refers to to the most-patient like argument in a transitive clause and which can be indexed by a host of different prefixes, and the patientive prefix, which is one type of option available to index a P argument.

oldest pronominal prefix, reconstructable to pTAP (Holton et al., 2012, p. 98; Klamer and Kratochvíl, 2018, p. 82).

Its distribution can be divided based on two types of verbs. On some verbs, it is the obligatory prefix for any referent, regardless of the semantic properties of the referent or of the event (e.g. animacy) (Klamer & Kratochvíl, 2018). For example, the verbal stem *fik* 'pull' obligatorily indexes the P argument (namely the referent which is pulled) using the patientive prefix, as in (122). In (122a), the *ha-* prefix indexes the animate P argument *de-feela* '3.REFL.AL-friend', while in (122b), it indexes the inanimate P argument *bataa tuku nuku* 'a log'.

(122) a. Animate P
Ata di [*de-feela*]$_{\text{P (patientive)}}$ *ha-fik-e.*
A. 3.AGT 3.REFL.AL-friend 3.PAT-pull-IPFV
'Ata is pulling his friend.' [SS.40F.69]

b. Inanimate P
Ama nuku di [*bataa tuku nuku*]$_{\text{P (patientive)}}$
person one 3.AGT wood CLF one
ha-fik-e.
3.PAT-pull-IPFV
'A person is pulling a log.' [SS.50M.35]

Another example of a verb that obligatorily indexes its P argument using the patientive prefix is *wel* 'bathe' as shown in (123a). As shown in (123b), with no prefix, the clause is ungrammatical.

(123) a. *Ata, a* [*e-wiil*]$_{\text{P (patientive)}}$ *ha-wel-i?*
A. 2SG.AGT 2SG.INAL-child 3.PAT-bathe-PFV
'Ata, have you washed your child?' [FN.40]

b. * *Ata, a* [*e-wiil*]$_{\text{P}}$ *wel-i?*
A. 2SG.AGT 2SG.INAL-child bathe-PFV
Not good for: 'Ata, have you washed your child?' [FN.40]

In addition, it can also index S arguments. In example (124a), the verb *quoil* 'fall over' indexes a first person S, *ama nuku* 'a person' using the third person reflexive patientive prefix *da-*. With no prefix, the clause is ungrammatical (124b).

(124) a. [*Ama nuku*]$_{\text{S (patientive)}}$ *laak-i ba miei*
person one walk-PFV LNK come.PFV
da-quoil-i.
3.REFL.PAT-fall.over-PFV
'A person walked by and fell over.' [SS.50M.35]

b. * [*Ama nuku*]$_{\text{S}}$ *laak-i ba miei quoil-i.*
person one walk-PFV LNK come.PFV fall.over-PFV
Not good for: 'A person walked by and fell over.' [FN.40]

4.6.2 Locative prefix

The locative prefix may express a broad range of functions depending on the lexical semantics of the verb as well as its inflectional class. Typically, some verbs use the locative prefix to index a locative-like argument; however, the locative prefix also has other functions as well. For example, it often combines with the verb *wahai* 'look at' to index the referent being 'looked at', as in *faling* 'axe', in (125).

(125) *Neeng nuku me* [*faling*]$_{\text{P (locative)}}$ *he-wahai.*
man one come axe 3.LOC-look.at
'A man comes to look at the axe.' [SS.40F.69]

Note that the locative prefix may alternate with a bare verb stem to encode the semantic property of specificity and/or definiteness. In example (126a), the locative prefix indexes the P argument, *bataa* 'wood' and marks the property of definiteness. In example (126b), the verb stem is left bare, signaling that the P argument *bataa* 'wood' is unspecified.

(126) a. Locative prefix: Definite undergoer

Maama [*bataa*]$_{\text{P (locative)}}$ *he-faaq-da.*
father wood 3.LOC-chop-IPFV
'Father is chopping the wood (a certain/known quantity of wood).' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 586)

b. No prefix: Indefinite undergoer

Maama [*bataa*]$_{\text{P (unidexed)}}$ *faaq-da.*
father wood chop-IPFV
'Father is chopping wood.' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 586)

The locative prefix may alternate with the patientive prefix to encode varying levels of affectedness in a certain subset of verbs. The patientive prefix may be used productively to combine with the lexical semantics of the root to encode a high level of affectedness while the locative prefix *he-* encodes a low level of affectedness, as shown in examples (127a-e) (taken from Kratochvíl and Delpada, 2015).

(127)	+ **affected: PAT *ha-***	- **affected: LOC *he-***
a.	i) *ha-lilri* 'boil it'	ii) *he-lilri* 'warm it up'
b.	i) *ha-kuya* 'expose it'	ii) *he-kuya* 'peel it'
c.	i) *ha-taang* 'give it away'	ii) *he-taang* 'pass it along'
d.	i) *ha-bel* 'pull it out'	ii) *he-bel* 'pluck it'
e.	i) *ha-ril* 'ram it in'	ii) *he-ril* 'plant it in'

4.6.3 Recipient prefix

The recipient prefix, called as such to adhere to previous accounts (e.g. Kratochvíl, 2011a; Fedden et al., 2013, 2013; Kratochvíl, 2014a), is still rather poorly understood in terms of its semantic role. A common pattern found in constructions involving the recipient prefix is that they are often co-indexed with the A argument, that is, they are often reflexive.[21] Kratochvíl (2014a, p. 558) refers to arguments indexed by this prefix as "human [...] self-benefactors who are involved [in a state or event] alone, without others".

An example of its semantics denoting the meaning of 'alone, without others' is given in (128), which derives the sense of 'becoming better alone, internally' or 'healing'.

(128) *Do-kaang.*
3.REFL.REC-be.good
'He is healing (getting better).' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 563)

Another example of its semantics denoting the meaning of 'alone, without others' is given in (129a-b). Here, its use is illustrated on the verb *laak* 'walk' along with the agentive pronoun *di*. This invokes a reading of 'returning (to his returning location)' or 'walk back to his own point of departure'.

[21] Note, however, that other prefixes may also be involved in reflexive constructions (see (109)).

(129) a. *Di* *laak.*
3.AGT walk
'He leaves, he is going (to some place).' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 562)

b. *Di* *do-laak.*
3.AGT 3.REFL.REC-walk
'He returns (to his original location).' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 562)

It can also be combined with other prefixes (and thus other P arguments), while still retaining its sense of 'alone, without others'. This is illustrated with the verb *nuhapai* 'keep her with us' in (130). The P argument *maayol moqu* 'daughter' is indexed using the patientive prefix *ha-* while the first person exclusive A argument is encoded using the pronoun *ni* and is also co-indexed on the verb using the recipient prefix to create the reading 'keep her with us (without others)'.

(130) *Ni* [*maayol* *moqu*]$_{\text{P (patientive)}}$ *nu-ha-pai.*
1PL.EXCL.AGT girl child 1PL.EXCL.REC-3.PAT-keep
'We keep our daughter with us.' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 565)

In addition to these uses, it may also appear in emotion predicates alongside another prefix. This use is illustrated in (131). Here, both the person generating the anger and the person to whom the anger is directed at are marked as P arguments, highlighting the default, non-agentive interpretation of the expression of anger.

(131) *O-ne-baai.*
2SG.REC-1SG.LOC-be.angry
'You are angry at me.' (Kratochvíl corpus)

4.6.4 Goal prefix

The goal prefix often indexes animate arguments. For example, it may contrast with the locative prefix to distinguish animate from inanimate P arguments, as in (132a-b). In (132a), the goal prefix *hoo-* on the verb *hoo-hab-i* '3.GOAL-lean.on.PFV-PFV' indexes the animate P argument, *neeng nuku do* 'this man'. In (132b), the locative prefix *he-* on the verb *he-hab-i* '3.LOC-lean.on.PFV-PFV' indexes the inanimate P argument *fala* 'house'.

(132) a. Animate P argument: Goal prefix

[Neeng nuku do]$_{\text{P (goal)}}$ *he-wiil di del mi*
man one PROX 3.AL-child 3.AGT 3.REFL.NAGT take
ba hoo-hab-i ba natea.
LNK 3.GOAL-lean.on.PFV-PFV LNK stand.IPFV

'This man here, his child is standing and leaning on him. [SS.40F.24]

b. Inanimate P argument: Locative prefix

Neeng nuku del mi [fala]$_{\text{P (locative)}}$
man one 3.REFL.NAGT take house
he-hab-i ba natet-i.
3.LOC-lean.on.PFV-PFV LNK stand.PFV-PFV

'A man stood (there) leaning on the house.' [SS.43M.44]

This alternation differentiating animacy is also illustrated for the verb *laak* 'walk' as in (133a-b). In (133a), the goal prefix *hoo-* indexes the animate P *ama nuku* 'a person' on the verb *hoo-laak-e* '3.GOAL-walk-PFV'. In (133b), the locative prefix *he-* indexes the inanimate P *de-maama he-toqu* '3.REFL.AL-father 3.AL-leg' on the verb *he-laak-e* '3.LOC-walk-IPFV'.

(133) a. Animate P argument: Goal prefix

[Ama nuku]$_{\text{S/P (goal)}}$ *taa hu moqu nuku*
person one sleep.IPFV DIST.ADD child one
di laak-i ba miei hoo-laak-i.
3.AGT walk-PFV LNK come.PFV 3.GOAL-walk-PFV
'A person was sleeping when a child came walking by and walked on him.' [SS.50M.35]

b. Inanimate P argument: Locative prefix

Moqu fila nuku di [de-maama he-toqu]$_{\text{P (locative)}}$
child small one 3.AGT 3.REFL.AL-father 3.AL-leg
he-laak-e.
3.LOC-walk-IPFV
'A child walked on his father's leg.' [SS.34F.52]

It should be mentioned that the goal prefix may also alternate with the patientive prefix to mark an animacy distinction. In (134a), the goal pre-

fix *hoo-* indexes the animate P argument *de-feela* '3.REFL.AL friend', while in (134b), the patientive prefix *ha-* indexes the inanimate P argument *roti* 'bread'.

(134) a. Animate P argument: Goal prefix

Neeng nuku [*de-feela*]$_{\text{P (goal)}}$ *hoo-munang.*
man one 3.REFL.AL-friend 3.GOAL-smell

'A man smells his friend.' [SS.50M.35]

b. Inanimate P argument: Patientive prefix

... [*roti*]$_{\text{P (patientive)}}$ *ha-munang.*
bread.ML 3.PAT-smell

'(He) smells bread.' [SS.40F.69]

The goal∼locative/patientive alternation to mark animacy is an alternation that only applies to a subset of verbs, such as verbs which do not involve a change of state.

4.6.5 Benefactive prefix

This prefix, as its name suggests, indexes a benefactor argument. This is shown in example (135), where the benefactive *ee-* indexes a second person benefactor.

(135) *Ma na ee-bol.*
DISC 1SG.AGT 2SG.BEN-hit
'Let me hit (it) for you.' (Klamer & Kratochvíl, 2018, p. 16)

Example (136a-b)[22] contrasts the use of the locative prefix *he-* and the benefactive prefix *hee-* on the verb *wik* 'carry in arms'. In (136a), the locative prefix *he-* indexes the theme being carried. In (136b), the theme is not indexed on the verb, but the benefactor is, using the benefactive prefix *hee-*.

[22] In this thesis, I gloss *wik* as 'carry in cloth'; however, Kratochvíl glosses it as 'carry in arms'. Therefore, when citing Kratochvíl, I adhere to his glossing.

(136) a. Locative prefix
A-tang *do* *mi* *he-wik.*
2SG.INAL-hand PROX take 3.LOC-carry.in.arms.IPFV
'Carry it in your hands.' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 559)

b. Benefactive prefix
... *hee-wik-e!*
3.BEN-carry.in.arms.IPFV-IPFV
'... carry (it) for him!' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 559)

4.6.6 Directive prefix

Kratochvíl (2014a, p. 580) describes the function of this prefix as marking a distal human goal, as evidenced by the derivation of the verb 'go down to meet' in example (137).[23] In addition, he suggests that it occurs mostly with (i) verbs of motion, locomotion and position, (ii) verbs of communication, and (iii) verbs of bodily processes (urinate, defecate).

(137) *Pi* [*raha*]$_{\text{P (directive)}}$ *hooq-sei.*
1PL.INCL.AGT chief 3.DIR-go.down.IPFV
'We go down to meet the [far away] chief.' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 580)

It is often used with the verb *fanga~fangi* 'speak.IPFV~PFV' to derive the meaning 'tell s/o', as in (138).

(138) *Mama* *ya* *bapa* *hooq-fangi=te.*
mother.ML CONJ father.ML 3.DIR-speak.PFV=PRIOR
'Let mother and father know as soon as possible.' [CV.34M.JH]

The *ooq-* series is analyzed as a prefix and not a verb because it may take up the PRO1 slot in between the PRO2 slot and the verbal stem, as shown in (139) (see also 144). In this example, the verb *fanga* 'speak' indexes two arguments: situated in the PRO1 slot, the *he-* prefix indexes the NP, *depengelaman* 'his experience'. In the PRO2 slot, the *hooq-* prefix indexes a third person human referent.

[23] For more information on how pronominal prefixes may combine with the verb stem to derive new meaning, see §4.7.1.

(139) *He-walangra tanga maye de-pengalaman mi*
3.AL-Indonesian speech COND 3.REFL.AL-experience.ML take
ba he$_{\text{PRO2}}$*-hooq*$_{\text{PRO1}}$*-fanga.*
LNK 3.LOC-3.DIR-speak.IPFV
'He talked to him about, what is known in Indonesian as, his *pengalaman* (experience).' (Kratochvíl corpus)

The *-ooq* series of inflections were previously described as being verbal units combining the recipient prefix *o-*, and in later accounts, the goal prefix *oo-*, with the verb *-k* 'throw' (Kratochvíl, 2007, 2011a, 2014a). In the current analysis, they are described as being strictly pronominal, as there is little evidence in favour of them exhibiting any verbal features; see also the verbal template in (144). In addition, in this analysis, they are expressed using the uvular plosive /q/ instead of the velar plosive /k/, following (Delpada, 2016) (see §4.2).

4.6.7 Reflexive, distributive, and reciprocal constructions

This subsection discusses reflexivity distinctions in third person using the *dV-* series as well as the marking of distributivity and reciprocity using the *tV-* series.

4.6.7.1 Third person reflexive constructions

Abui has two third person paradigms, a *hV-* paradigm used for third person P arguments, and a *dV-* paradigm used for third person S arguments and reflexive P arguments. [24] Their difference is illustrated in examples (140a-b). In (140a), the third person (non-reflexive) prefix *ha-* is used, indexing a P argument not co-referential with the A argument, *Fani*. In (140a), the prefix third person reflexive prefix *da-* indexes the same referent as the A argument, *Fani*. Kratochvíl (2014a, p. 563) states that the main difference between the two series is that "the [*dV-* paradigm] implies that the participant [Fani] carries some responsibility for the event, which is completely missing when the [*hV-* paradigm] is used".

[24] Similarly to the possessive prefixes, both these forms and functions are direct reflexes of the pTAP forms: *hV-* is a reflex of *ga- (Holton et al., 2012, p. 98) and *dV-* from *dV- (Schapper, 2017, p. 10).

(140) a. *hV-* paradigm
Fani di el ha-wel-i.
F. 3.AGT before 3.PAT-pour-PFV
'Fani has washed him.' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 562)

b. *dV-* paradigm
Fani di el da-wel-i.
F. 3.AGT before 3.PAT.REFL-pour-PFV
'Fani has washed himself.' (Kratochvíl, 2014a, p. 562)

4.6.7.2 Distributive and reciprocal constructions

The distributive, expressed by the *tV-* paradigm, is a category found throughout the AP languages (Klamer, 2017). It is highly sensitive to the lexical semantics and valency of a particular verb. Unlike other person markers, it has a wide scope of reference. It can express both distributive readings as well as reciprocal readings. In addition, it may index third person referents as well as first person plural referents, depending on its interaction with agentive pronouns.

Whether the *tV-* prefix will trigger a distributive reading or a reciprocal reading depends on the configuration of the NPs in a clause. To trigger a distributive reading, there must be at least two distinct NPs, with one clear A argument and one (or more) P arguments. In example (141), the A argument is simply expressed using the third person agentive pronoun *di*,[25] while the P argument is expressed by the full NP *ama loqu* 'people'. The *ta-* prefix implies that the A 'hits each and every one of the people'.

(141) Distributive reading
[*Di*]$_{A}$ [*ama loqu*]$_{P}$ *ta-luk.*
3.AGT person PLZ DISTR.PAT-hit
'He hits each and every one of the people.' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 80)

Another example of the distributive construction is shown in (142). Here, the A argument is expressed by *ama* 'person/people' and there are five P arguments, which are expressed by all the various village names. The distributive prefix *ta-* signals that the villages are separate entities and that the act of 'ordering' was done to each and every one of these entities.

[25] In Abui, there are no distributive pronouns as there are in some AP languages.

(142) Distributive reading

[*Ama*]$_{A}$ [*Al Yoka Wat*]$_{P1}$, [*Ateng Melang*]$_{P2}$, [*Kuya Tai*]$_{P3}$,
person village.name village.name village.name
[*Balet Me*]$_{P4}$, [*Fui Miang*]$_{P4}$ *ta-bot-i.*
village.name village.name DISTR.PAT-order-PFV

'People ordered each of Al Yoka Wat, Ateng Melang, Kuya Tai, Balet Me, Fui Miang (to come fight).' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 186)

To derive a reciprocal reading, there must be an S argument expressed as an overt NP, as in *ama ayoqu* 'two people' and the dimorphemic *mi=ng* 'be.at=ALL' must be used, as in (143a). [26] The role of *ming* in a reciprocal construction is such that when used alongside a distributive, it triggers a reciprocal, third person reading. The use of *ming* is crucial in establishing both a reciprocal reading and third person reference as in (143a). Excluding *ming* triggers a distributive reading with first person reference, as shown in (143b).

(143) a. Reciprocal reading: S argument

[*Ama ayoqu*]$_{S}$ ***mi=ng*** *ta-fik-e.*
person two be.at=ALL DISTR.PAT-pull-IPFV
'Two people are pulling one another.' [SS.50M.35]

b. Distributive reading: A argument P argument

[*Ama ayoqu*]$_{A}$ [*ta*]$_{P}$*-fik-e.*
person two DISTR.PAT-pull-IPFV
'Two people are pulling each one of us.' [FN.27F]

4.7 Verb phrase

The verb is the most complex word class in Abui. Abui verbs, as discussed in §§4.5-4.6, index P and/or S arguments. This is done in the two pronominal prefixes slots, (PRO1 and PRO2). Additionally, Abui verbs may encode aspect morphologically. A stem may undergo stem alternation (ASPECT1),

[26] It is unclear what the function of *ming* is precisely; Kratochvíl (2014a, pp. 576-79) states that it is used for inanimate, specific goals where the NP is not syntactically adjacent to the clitic *=ng* or to describe a consequence.

take a suffix, (ASPECT2), and/or take a prioritive clitic (ASPECT3). The verbal template is laid out in (144).[27]

(144) PRO2-PRO1-verb.stem.ASPECT1-ASPECT2=ASPECT3
(Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 209)

In addition to encoding argument roles, the pronominal prefixes also encode vague/abstract semantic features that interact in complex ways with the stem to derive new meanings, as shown in some of the examples in §4.6. The derived meaning is mostly, but not always, predictable, and several attempts have been made to describe how prefixes interact with various verb classes to encode semantic features such as volitionality and affectedness (Kratochvíl, 2011b; Fedden et al., 2013; Fedden et al., 2014; Kratochvíl, 2014a). In addition, there is also interaction with the aspectual system (Kratochvíl & Delpada, 2015). This section discusses verbal morphology in Abui, and elaborates on how the various morphological processes interact with one another to derive event semantics.

4.7.1 Derivation of meaning

As mentioned above, event semantics are determined by the core semantics of the verb stem, the use of pronominal markers which also encode semantic factors, and the use of aspectual morphology (discussed in §4.7.2). In addition, the position of a verb in a serial verb construction may alter its semantics (discussed in §4.8).

Examples (145a-b) illustrate one of these strategies, namely the use of a pronominal prefix to derive new event semantics. Example (145a) illustrates the use of the verb *tahaai* 'search for.PFV' with no pronominal indexation of the P argument *neeng* 'man'. In (145b), the P argument *Abui tanga* 'Abui language' is indexed on the verb using the locative prefix *he-*, deriving the meaning 'learn'. Both clauses are transitive; however, only in (145b) is the P argument indexed on the verb. This indexation alters the semantics of the stem to derive the sense 'learn'.

[27] Klamer and Kratochvíl (2010) have also argued that Abui stems can be broken down into single segments. In this sketch, stems are treated as the smallest unit.

(145) a. *Dara neeng* ***tahaai*** *naha ...*
still man search.for.PFV NEG
'Before (you) had searched for a man ... ' [CV.50M.QU]

b. *Na Abui tanga* ***he-tahai.***
1SG.AGT A. language 3.LOC-search.for.IPFV
'I'm learning Abui.' (Kratochvíl corpus)

The alternation of various inflections to express various semantic factors has been discussed extensively in Kratochvíl (2011b), Fedden et al. (2013), Kratochvíl (2014a), Fedden et al. (2014). For example, as discussed in §4.6.2, affectedness can be marked using the alternation between the patientive inflectional paradigm (146a) and the locative inflectional paradigm (146b).

(146) a. High degree of affectedness

Ha-lil-ri
3.PAT-be.hot-INCH.PFV

'Boil it' (Kratochvíl & Delpada, 2015, p. 222)

b. Low degree of affectedness

He-lil-ri
3.LOC-be.hot-INCH.PFV

'Warm it up' (Kratochvíl & Delpada, 2015, p. 222)

Some verbs may have one or two P/S prefixes. This can alter the event semantics. In (147a), the root *minang* 'be conscious' combines with the patientive prefix *-da* to derive the meaning 'wake up', indexing the argument *neeng nuku* 'a man'. In (147b), the verb *he-a-minang* '3.LOC-2SG.PAT-be.conscious-INCH.IPFV' indexes two arguments: a second person singular P, as expressed by prefix *a-* (slot 1) and a third person P, *alowai he-daweng* 'epidemic 3.AL-medicine' as expressed by the prefix *he-* (slot 2). As a result, the sense 'remember' is derived.

(147) a. One argument indexed

*Neeng nuku ... **da**-minang-di.*
man one 3.REFL.PAT-be.conscious-INCH.PFV

'A man woke up.' (lit. 'A man became conscious.') [SS.43F.25]

b. Two arguments indexed

Alowai he-daweng ...
epidemic 3.AL-medicine
***he-a**-minang-dia mai*
3.LOC-2SG.PAT-be.conscious-INCH.IPFV COND

'If you remember the medicine of the epidemic...' (lit. 'If you became conscious of the medicine of the epidemic...') (Kratochvíl corpus)

4.7.2 Aspect marking

Aspect is expressed morphologically using stem alternation, suffixation, and encliticization (for expression of aspect using serial verb constructions, see Kratochvíl (2007)). Imperfective and perfective aspect are expressed using both stem alternation and suffixation (§4.7.2.1).

Some aspectual suffixes may encode imperfective or perfective aspect in addition to encoding other functions such as inchoactive aspect and processes such as verbal derivation (§4.7.2.2).[28] Additionally, the prioritive is expressed as a clitic (§4.7.2.3).

4.7.2.1 Perfective and imperfective aspect

Most Abui verbs may be expressed with either a perfective or an imperfective stem. Many verbs, though not all, can further add aspectual suffixes to their stem. An example of a verb which has distinct perfective and imperfective stems and can take aspectual suffixes is given in (148). An example of a verb with distinct stems which does not take aspectual suffixes is given in (149). An example of a verb with a single stem and aspectual suffixes is given in (150).

[28] The expression of aspect in Abui is complex, involving a number of irregular forms.

(148) Class (i): Stem alternation and suffixation

a. *buuk-e*
drink.IPFV-IPFV
'is drinking'

b. *buut-i*
drink.PFV-PFV
'drunk/has drunk' [FN]

(149) Class (ii): Stem alternation but no suffixation

a. *me*
come.IPFV
'is coming'

b. *miei*
come.PFV
'come/has come' [SS.43F.25]

(150) Class (iii): Suffixation but no stem alternation

a. *laak-e*
walk-IPFV
'is walking'

b. *laak-i*
walk-PFV
'walked/ has walked' [SS.43M.44]

In class (i), there are subsets of verb classes which show predictable alternations, some of which include the following: *k*∼*t* (shown in (148)), *ŋ*∼*n* and *l*∼*r*. The *l*∼*r* alternation of the verb *maal* ∼*maar* 'cook.IPFV∼cook.PFV' is illustrated in (103a-b). In these examples, stem alternation occurs alongside suffixation.

(151) a. *Nala hu mi dieng* ***maal-e?***
what DIST.ADD take pot.lid cook.IPFV-IPFV
'How (using what) are you going to cook?' [CV.22F.GJ]

b. *Nala ma, henu e ni* ***maar-i*** *yo.*
what cooked DIST before 1PL.EXCL cook.PFV-PFV MED.ADD
'Rice is what we cooked before.' [CV.27F.GJ]

Verbs marked for the perfective appear both as final and nonfinal verbs. Nonfinal verbs often take the perfective form, for reasons that are still not well understood. Nonfinal verbs appear before (sequential) linkers (152) and the prioritive (153). However, this 'perfective' verb form is argued not to carry any perfective function; it is simply the default form for verbs in these positions.

(152) Clause linker

... baleei san taai ***laak-i*** *ya nahare*
banana ripe on.top walk-PFV SEQ almost
da-quoil-i.
3.REFL.PAT-fall.over-PFV
'(He) stepped on a ripe banana and then almost fell over.' [SS.31M.67A]

(153) Prioritive

Fuu meeting nu baai wit ba
betel.nut betel.nut.vine DIST ADD carry.with.cloth.PFV LNK
miei=se.
come.PFV=PRIOR
'Bring over some betel nut and vine.' [CV.48F.AH]

The perfective form often appears with both clause linkers *ya* and *ba*. The linker *ya* signals sequential relationship between clauses, while the linker *ba* may signal a simultaneous relation, as shown by *wit* 'carry.with.cloth.PFV' in (153). Despite its perfective form, the verb preceding *ba* may still get an imperfective reading, as in (154). In this example, the verb *hoo-fahat* '3.GOAL-embrace.PFV' appears in the perfective, as it precedes the linker *ba*. However, it is tied to the main verb *natea* 'stand.IPFV' which appears in imperfective form.

(154) *Ama nuku bataa* ***hoo-fahat*** *ba natea.*
person one tree 3.GOAL-embrace.PFV LNK stand.IPFV
'A person embraced a tree while standing.' [SS.50M.35]

There appears to be an exception to this tendency. When posture verbs as well as speech verbs appear before the linkers *ya* and *ba*, they may appear in their imperfective form.

4.7.2.2 Inchoative aspectual suffixes

These include but are not limited to (IPFV∼PFV): *-da∼-di*, *-ra∼-ri*, *-na∼-ni*. In addition to marking aspect, these suffixes can also i) add an inchoative reading to stative verbs and ii) verbalize nominal roots. In addition, Klamer and Kratochvíl (2010), Kratochvíl (2017) have argued that these roots mark

lexical aspect as well. Examples (155a-c) illustrate the use of *-da*∼*-di* as markers of inchoative reading to stative verbs. [29]

(155) a. *he-isi* *foq-a*
3.AL-body be.big-STAT
'His body is big.' or 'big body' [FN.26M]

b. *He-isi* *foq-da.*
3.AL-body be.big-INCH.IPFV
'His body is becoming big.' [FN.26M]

c. *He-isi* *foq-di.*
3.AL-body be.big-INCH.PFV
'His body has become big.' [FN.26M]

Kratochvíl and Delpada (in prep.) has also argued that the form *-dia* may replace *-da* when the change of state is gradual, as in (156). The suffix *-dia* is also the form used for the insertion of loanwords (see §4.7.3).

(156) *weria-dia* *mai*
noon-INCH.IPFV COND
'when it (gradually) became noon' (Kratochvíl corpus)

In example (157), the nominal root *amakaang* 'human' is verbalized using the suffix *-di*. It receives an inchoative reading.

(157) *Tekok* *nu* *la* *del* *amakaang-di.*
lizard DIST MED.LOCA 3.REFL.NAGT human-INCH.PFV
'The lizard became human.' (Kratochvíl corpus)

In the analysis presented in this sketch, it is unclear whether there is a semantic difference between the inchoative suffixes (e.g. *-da*∼*-di*, *-ra*∼*-ri*, *-na*∼*-ni*) or whether the choice between them is lexically determined.[30] There are only a handful examples of minimal pairs, illustrated in (158-159). Example (158) illustrates the derivation of the stative verb, *kaang* 'be good'.

[29] Example (155a) may have two readings depending on the intonation used; see §4.4.2.

[30] These suffixes have been previously described as being composed of generic verbs (Klamer & Kratochvíl, 2010). In this sketch, they are analysed as one portmanteau suffix.

(158) ø∼*-ri* ∼*-di* alternation (Klamer & Kratochvíl, 2010, p. 214)

a. *kaang*
be.good
'good'

b. *kaang-ri*
be.good-INCH.PFV
'finished, ready'

c. *kaang-di*
be.good-INCH.PFV
'become good'

Example (159) derives the noun, *da-rek* '3.REFL.INAL-chest', which is a body part. In (159b), the meaning derived from the combination of the locative prefix *de-* and the inchoative suffix *-ni* is 'become thirsty'. In (159c), the meaning derived is from the combination of the patientive prefix *-da* and the inchoative suffix *-di* is 'turn chest up'. This clause is often combined with the verb *taa* 'to sleep' when describing someone who is sleeping on their back (i.e. with their chest facing upwards).

(159) ø∼*-ni* ∼*-di* alternation (Kratochvíl & Delpada, 2014, p. 68)

a. *da-rek*
3.AL.REFL.chest
'his chest'

b. *de-rek-ni*
3.LOC-chest-INCH.PFV
'he has become thirsty'

c. *da-rek-di*
3.PAT-chest-INCH.PFV
'he turned his chest up'

4.7.2.3 Prioritive =te/se

Abui may attach a prioritive clitic onto the verb. This clitic may be roughly translated as 'first'.[31] It implies that the event of the verb attached to it be done before any other activity. This makes it a useful resource for which to

[31]The prioritive is a prominent category in the AP languages and in Alor Malay although it is often subsumed under a different name. The term was introduced to describe the word

encode several other notions : 1) immediate future, 2) imperative, 3) sequential clauses.

The prioritive is used extensively to mark the immediate future. This construction is often in Abui greetings, when speakers ask each other where they are going, as in (160). Its use in (160b) implies that the speaker is acting out the predicate of 'going to the flat part of the village' before anything else.

(160) a. Qu: *A* *te=ng* *yaa?*
2SG.AGT where=ALL go
'Where are you going towards?' [FN]

b. An: *Na* *fui* ***saai=se.***
1SG.AGT flat.land go.down.PFV=PRIOR
'I'm going to the flat part of the village.' [FN]

It is often also used for other immediate future announcements such as announcing that one is about to start eating or drinking – a cornerstone of Abui etiquette. Example (161) is a standard politeness formula before the commencement of a meal (irrespective of the type of food). Once again, its use implies that the speaker is prioritizing the predicate (in this case of eating) before anything else.

(161) *Na* *fat* *ma* ***takei=se.***
1SG.AGT corn boiled chew.PFV=PRIOR
'I'm about to eat.' [FN]

Similar to Kafoa (Baird, 2017) and Kui (Windschuttel & Shiohara, 2017), it is used to soften requests for politeness reasons, and is thus employed in imperative constructions as shown in (162), where it is encliticized to the verb *-r* 'give'.

(162) *Yeting* *he-i* *mi* ***ne-r=te.***
five 3.LOC-associate take 1SG.LOC-give.PFV=PRIOR
'Give me 5,000 IDR worth (of cake).' [CV.39F.AH]

---

dapo in Sawila (Kratochvíl, 2014c). In Kamang, the clitic *=nte* is glossed as FIRST (Schapper, 2014b, p. 329). In Kafoa, the clitic *=t* is glossed as 'first' (Baird, 2017). In Alor Malay, the prioritive is expressed using the post-verbal word *dulu* 'first'. Its high salience in Abui, Malay, and other (T)AP languages could suggest that this is an areal feature.

Furthermore, it is also used to signal sequentiality when discussing multiple events. In example (163), it is encliticized to the verb *dayemfi* 'be unaware', signaling that this event has been completed first, before the event in the following clause.

(163) *Kabei taadei* ***da-yemf-i=te*** *dikaang*
a.bit sleep.PFV 3.REFL.PAT-be.unaware-PFV=PRIOR then
da-minang-di.
3.REFL.PAT-be.conscious-INCH.PFV
'He was fast asleep for a bit and then woke up.' [SS.48M.70]

In example (164), it is encliticized to the verb *kaangri* 'finish', signaling that another event is about to take place.

(164) *Masi kurbai ama moop-i* ***kaangri=te*** *pi*
so a.while person pray.PFV-PFV finish.PFV=PRIOR 1PL.INCL
we?
go
'So after people have finished praying, we (can) go (there and work)?' [CV.22F.GO]

In terms of its form, there are two important related points. First, the prioritive must always be attached to a perfective root and a perfective suffix. This can be seen in examples (160 - 165b). Second, concerning the complementary distribution of the forms, *=te* and *=se*, there does not appear to be a difference in function. Instead, there appears to be dialectal variation between *=te* and *=se* as observed by comparing other varieties of Abui. Since the inhabitants of Takalelang are relocated migrants from multiple mountain villages, it is possible that this variation reflects a form of dialect mixing; however, this requires further research.

In addition, it has been observed, although not tested empirically, that some verbs have a preference for *=te* while others have a preference for *=se*. For example, the verb *fangi* 'talk.PFV' always receives the *=te* prioritive, while *saai* 'come.down.PFV' receives the *=se* form, as in (165a-b). This suggests that the variation might be lexically and/or phonologically conditioned.

(165) a. *Na* *he-falaaqa* ***he-fang-i=te.***
1SG.AGT 3.AL-bright 3.LOC-speak-PFV=PRIOR
'Let me clarify.' (lit. 'I will first speak its brightness.') (Kratochvíl corpus)

b. *Edo* *a* *do=ng* ***saai=se*** *baai!*
2SG.FOC 2SG.AGT PROX=ALL come.down.PFV=PRIOR EMPH

'You, come down here now!' [CV.50M.BB]

4.7.3 Insertion of loan verbs

Many Abui speakers insert[32] Malay Indonesian verbs into Abui. This is mostly true of younger speakers but may also be found among older speakers. When Abui speakers insert Malay Indonesian verbs into Abui, they attach the inchoative aspect marker *-dia∼di*, as in examples (166-167), where the Malay Indonesian words are in bold. This is the standard derivational form for the insertion of any type of Malay Indonesian verb; however, there is no evidence that an inchoative reading is derived as such.

(166) ***jongkok****-di*
squat.ML-INCH.IPFV
'(he) squats' [SS.34M.59]

(167) *del* *mi* *tembok* ***sandar****-dia*
3.REFL.NAGT take wall.ML lean.on.ML-INCH.IPFV
'(he) leans on a wall' [SS.34F.52]

4.8 Serial verb constructions

Serial verbs are a signature feature of the AP languages (Klamer, 2017; Schapper, 2014b). The definition of serial verbs described for the AP languages in (Klamer, 2017, p. 23) also applies to Abui:

[32]The term insert(ion) is used as a cover term for borrowing and code-switching because no systematic study has been conducted which of the two phenomena best characterize the use of these Malay Indonesian words.

> Serial verb constructions (SVC) are analyzed as two or more verbs that occur together in a single clause under a single intonation contour. They share minimally one argument and their shared argument(s) is (are) expressed maximally once. SVCs are distinguished from bi-clausal constructions by the presence of a clause boundary marker in between the clauses in the latter (a conjunction-like element, an intonational break, or a pause). The verbs in a SVC share aspect marking.

Kratochvíl (2007, p. 348) also adds that 'verbs share negation, no constituents except arguments may intervene between the verbs'. This section discusses four types of SVC: argument-adding SVC, Directional SVC, Resultative SVC, and Causative SVC.[33] For a full discussion on SVC in Abui, see Kratochvíl (2007).

4.8.1 Argument-adding SVC using *mi* 'take'

SVCs may be used to introduce event participants in verbs that syntactically can only index one argument (Kratochvíl, 2007; Klamer, 2017). For example, give-constructions are carried out using a SVC consisting of the verb *-l/-r* 'give' which indexes the 'recipient' argument, as expressed by *ne-* '1SG.LOC' in (168). The 'theme' (the referent which is given), is expressed as a full NP alongside the verb *mi* 'take'.

(168) *Bantal* ***mi*** ***ne-r=te!***
cushion take 1SG.LOC-give.PFV=PRIOR
'Give me a cushion!' [FN.40F]

In addition to give-constructions, the verb *mi* 'take' occurs in a large number of other SVC. It occurs in a number of constructions with an instrumental type reading. In (169), *palootang* 'rattan' is marked as an instrument involved in the event of 'hitting'.

(169) *Di* *palootang* ***mi*** *nel* ***bol.***
3.AGT rattan take 1SG.NAGT hit
'He hit me with a rattan (stick).' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 592)

[33] In addition, a fourth type of SVC is discussed directly in Chapter 7, 'parallel SVC'. It is discussed alongside reduplication.

4.8.2 Directional SVC

The verb *mi* 'take' is also used in directional SVCs (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 362). In these constructions, the direction is established using motion verbs such as *me* 'come', *we* 'go', *mara* 'go.up', *sei* 'go.down'. In example (170), the event 'bring' is composed of the verb *mi* 'take', the verb *miei* 'come.PFV'.

(170) *Na* *we* *nala* ***mi*** ***miei=se.***
1SG.AGT go what take come.PFV=PRIOR
'I am about to go bring something.' [CV.34F.WG]

The verb *mia* 'be at/in' is also used in SVC alongside a motion verb, such as *sei* 'come down' to derive the direction away 'from' the argument of *mia* as in (171).

(171) *Monmot* *Mon* *Karuwal-Kabuwal* ***mia*** ***sei***
M. snake place.name be.at come.down.IPFV
naha.
NEG
'Mon Mot Mon did not come down from Karuwal Kabuwal.' (Kratochvíl corpus)

4.8.3 Causative SVC

Causative SVCs consist of the verb *ong* 'make/do'+ main verb. In example (172), the verb *ong* 'make/do' combines with the verb *hayeei* 'fall over' to derive the meaning 'drop'. The A argument of this SVC is expressed by *moqu nuku do* 'this child', while the P argument is expressed by *bataa* 'log'.

(172) *Moqu* *nuku* *do,* *oro* *bataa* *ha-fik* *ba* ***ong***
child one PROX DIST.LOCA log 3.PAT-pull LNK make/do
hayeei.
fall.from.above
'This child pulls a log there and then drops it.' [SS.40F.24]

In example (173), the verb *ong* 'make/do' combines with the stative verb *damaai* 'be short' to derive the meaning 'reduce'.

(173) *Di* *tanga* *do* ***ong*** ***damaai.***
3.AGT speech PROX make/do be.short
'He shortens his speech.' [CV.32F.JH]

4.9 Basic clausal operations

Abui uses a number of different strategies to link clauses. Typically, clause linkers are positioned post-verbally. They include the linker *ba* and the sequential linker *ya*. Clause linkers may also include complementizers, the prioritive clitic *=te*, demonstratives, and other particles. In example (174), the (generic) linker *ba* is used to join the clause *bataa tuku hafiki* 'pull(ing) a log' and *me* 'come.IPFV'.

(174) *Moqu fila nuku bataa tuku ha-fik-i ba*
child be.young one tree CLF 3.PAT-pull-PFV LNK
me.
come.IPFV
'A small child approaches, pulling a log.' [SS.48M.70]

Clause linkers must be preceded by a perfective stem of the verb and sometimes also with the perfective suffix, as in (174), where the perfective suffix *-i* in *hafiki* precedes the linker *ba*. While the perfective forms might be used, they do not express perfectivity as such (see §4.7.2).

The sequential linker *ya* signals a sequence of events, as in (175).

(175) *Moqu nuku do laak-i miei ya de-maama*
child one PROX walk-PFV come.PFV SEQ 3.REFL.AL-father
taai laak-i.
on.top walk-PFV
'A child came walking and then stepped on his father.' [SS.40F.24]

A common strategy to combine clauses is to use the pronominal distal demonstrative *henu*. It can modify either the A, S, or P argument of the clause. In (176), it focuses the A argument, *George*, while in (177), it focuses the P argument of the verb *hedaminang* 'he remembered it', which is indexed using the locative prefix *he-*.

(176) *"Nike do maayol kaang" ba George henu*
N PROX girl be.good REPORT G. PRO.DIST
henil-e.
do.like.this.IPFV-IPFV
'Nike is a good girl; George is the one that said this. [CV.34F.WG]

(177) *Henu* *he-da-minang.*
PRO.DIST 3.LOC-3.REFL.PAT-be.conscious
'That is what he remembered.' [SS.30F.41]

The demonstrative, *henu*, can be used to create a simultaneous and punctual reading. Often, it links an imperfective clause to a perfective clause to indicate that while one event was ongoing, another took place. In example (178), *henu* links the clause *Moqu nuku darang ba taa* 'A child was sleeping on his side' with *neeng nuku dikaang miei hateini* 'a man then came and woke him up'.[34] Prosodically, *henu* is part of the first clause.

(178) *Moqu* *nuku* *da-rang* *ba* *taa* *henu*
child one 3.REFL.PAT-be.on.side LNK sleep.IPFV PRO.DIST

neeng *nuku* *dikaang* *miei* *ha-tein-i.*
man one then come.PFV 3.PAT-wake.up-PFV

'A child was sleeping on his back (that is) when a man then came and woke him up.' or 'It was when a child was sleeping on his back that a man came and woke him up.' [SS.59F.33]

4.10 Summary and conclusion

In summary, this chapter has provided a sketch of Abui grammar so that Chapters 5, 6, 7 can be understood more deeply. In terms of its morphology, Abui has a relatively simple phoneme inventory, with phonemic vowel length, and low density lexical tone (Kratochvíl, 2007; Delpada, 2016). In terms of its constituent order, Abui is an APV, SV language. It has large verb and noun classes and it has a small class of adverbs and adjectives. Most property words are stative verbs. Most question words form their own class, while one is formally a verb. Abui is relatively agglutinating, largely due to the structure of the verb phrase.

Some of Abui's most typologically unique features include its elaborate semantic alignment system. The inflectional class of the verb, in addition

[34] Alor Malay has a very similar construction involving *tu yang* and *ni yang* which is not found in other Malay varieties. This is argued to be an areal feature and possibly an example of a calque from the AP languages into Alor Malay (fieldnotes; Jeroen Willemsen p.c.).

to semantic factors, determine how the A, S or P will be encoded. A arguments (and some S arguments) are encoded using a free agentive pronoun, while some less volitional S or P arguments may be encoded using a nonagentive pronoun. Most Ps and some Ss, however, are indexed using pronominal prefixes. Abui contains two prefix slots on certain verbs, with a choice of six pronominal paradigms. This semantic alignment system does more than just encode arguments; it interacts in complex ways with the event semantics of the stem to derive new meanings. For example, P arguments may be indexed using different prefixes to mark differences in change of state, or affectedness. Abui, like other Alor-Pantar languages, has various types of serial verb constructions including directional SVCs and causative SVCs.

Noun phrases are relatively simple, with nouns only inflecting for possessive marking. There is no morphological marking of case, gender, or number. Plurality may be indicated by a plural word. The demonstrative system encodes distance and speaker/interlocutor perspective in the spatial domain, but also extends these characteristics into other domains such as evidentiality and stance (see Kratochvíl, 2017). As such, demonstratives are used very frequently, especially on the clausal level. Finally, nouns and loanwords/code-switches are verbalized using derivational suffixes. Verbs may be nominalized using a possessive prefix or by using the plural word.

Chapter 5

Variation and change in reflexive possessive marking

5.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates variation and change in reflexive possessive marking among the four age-groups discussed in §3.4.[1] Abui has a reflexivity distinction in its possessive system: it differentiates morphologically between 'He$_j$ hugs his$_j$ child' and 'He$_j$ hugs his$_k$ child'. Alor Malay lacks this possessive reflexive distinction, such that the sentence, 'He$_j$ hugs his$_{j/k}$ child', is ambiguous purely from a morphological perspective. Language contact studies suggest that the reflexivity distinction poses problems to L2 speakers whose L1 lacks such a distinction. For instance, Tingsell et al. (2011), Fabricius-Hansen et al. (2017), and Helland (2017) show that German and French (languages that lack a reflexivity distinction) learners of Norwegian and Swedish (languages with the reflexivity distinction) fail to master the reflexivity distinction, and tend to simplify the system by overgeneralizing one form on the model of their L1.

Given that Alor Malay lacks this reflexivity distinction in the marking of possession, we expect to find some simplification in the Abui possessive

[1]This chapter is based on Saad, G., Klamer, M., & Moro, F. (2019). Identifying agents of change: Simplification of possessive marking in Abui-Alor Malay bilinguals. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics*, 4(1), 1–29. doi:10.5334/gjgl.846

marking system. In particular, based on the observations above, we expect to find simplification in the groups that are least dominant in Abui and most dominant in Alor Malay. Since it was not possible to operationalize dominance as such, age and gender were taken as proxies for dominance (see §2.4.2).

In order to test whether this simplification is indeed connected to age, we conducted a cross-sectional study using the apparent time construct (Labov, 1963; Bailey et al., 1991), which is based on the assumption that synchronic differences between age-groups reflect diachronic language change. Following this line of argumentation, we take one synchronic sample which consists of four different age-groups of Abui-Alor Malay bilinguals: (pre)adolescents (aged 9-16), young adults (aged 17-25), adults (aged 26-34), and elders (over 40). Indeed, the least Abui-dominant group, (pre)adolescents is the group that shows the highest incidence of simplification.

In addition to age, gender has also been shown to be a crucial variable in explaining linguistic variation (Labov, 1990; Dubois & Horvath, 1999; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999). In Takalelang, young females have been observed to have more territorially bounded networks, and they socialize more with the older generations. Young males are typically afforded more time to roam around and play (see §2.4.2.2). The present study shows that the language of (pre)adolescent females is more conservative than that of their male counterparts, whose language shows a higher degree of simplification.

By combining production data and comprehension data, we tested their active and passive knowledge of the reflexive prefixes. We did so to test the predictions of a prominent hypothesis often proposed to explain the vulnerability of inflectional morphology in bilinguals, the Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (MSIH, Prévost and White, 2000b). This hypothesis is usually applied to bilinguals such as L2 learners (Prévost & White, 2000b) and heritage speakers (Montrul, 2011) but is also shown to hold true for Abui-Alor Malay bilinguals.

The MSIH states that L2 learners generally have underlying knowledge of a given inflectional category or feature. However, in online production, they have trouble mapping the abstract feature to the morphological form (Lardiere, 1998a, 1998b, 2000; Prévost & White, 2000a, 2000b). This means that L2 speakers still possess the knowledge; however, they may resort to a default form during oral production. Since it is not possible to test the re-

flexive possessive in a different grammatical environment (because it only manifests itself in one), a useful way of testing the MSIH is by comparing production and comprehension data. If the MSIH holds, then it follows that, despite speakers performing badly in production, good performance in comprehension should be indicative that they retain knowledge of these inflectional categories.

The results show that both (pre)adolescents and young adults have significant difficulty producing the reflexive possessive distinction, while, in comprehension, only (pre)adolescents have difficulty. The findings of this study show that (pre)adolescents are the leaders of linguistic change with respect to the reflexive possessive. Overall, the speakers perform better in comprehension than in production. This indicates that, in general, they still retain linguistic knowledge of the reflexivity distinction but have difficulties accessing or applying this knowledge during oral production. Using the apparent time construct, we suggest that the speech patterns of younger speakers will persist and become fully-fledged changes in the grammar of Abui over the next decades.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 5.2 describes the expression of third person possession in both Abui and Alor Malay. Section 5.3 describes the present study. Section 5.4 discusses and synthesizes the findings, while §5.5 presents the conclusions of the chapter and offers suggestions for further research.

5.2 Possession marking in Abui and Alor Malay

5.2.1 Abui

As discussed in §4.3.1, a simple transitive clause in Abui has an A argument and a P argument, and either one of these can be possessed or not. Example (1) has an unpossessed A argument, *neeng nuku* 'a man', and an unpossessed P argument, *kalieta neeng nuku* 'an elderly man'.[2] A possessed A argument NP is illustrated in (2); in this clause 'Daniel's friend' is the A argument, and the P argument of the verb *fik* 'pull' is expressed by the verbal prefix *na-* '1SG.PAT'. In (3), 'Daniel' is the A argument, and the P argument of *fik* 'pull' is

[2] An unpossessed, bare noun is interpreted as indefinite, while the numeral *nuku* 'one' can be used to overtly express indefiniteness.

the possessed NP *ne-feela* 'my friend', which is also expressed by the verbal prefix *ha-*. In (2), the possessive prefix *he-* '3.AL(IENABLE)' indexes the third person features of 'Daniel'; in (3), the possessive prefix *ne-* '1SG.AL(IENABLE)' indexes a first person possessor (not 'Daniel').

(1) [*Neeng nuku di*]$_A$ [*kalieta neeng nuku*]$_P$ *ha-fik.*
man one 3.AGT elder man one 3.PAT-pull
'A man pulls an elderly man.' [SS.32M.45]

(2) [*Daniel he-feela*]$_A$ *na-fik-e.*
Daniel 3.AL-friend 1SG.PAT-pull-IPFV
'Daniel's friend is pulling me.' [FN.26M]

(3) [*Daniel*]$_A$ [*ne-feela*]$_P$ *ha-fik-e.*
Daniel 1SG.AL-friend 3.PAT-pull-IPFV
'Daniel is pulling my friend.' [FN.26M]

As indicated by the glosses, possessor marking in Abui is different for alienable and inalienable nouns.[3] Alienable and inalienable nouns are formally distinguished by having an optional vs. obligatory possessive prefix: *faling* 'axe' in (4) may occur with or without a possessor prefix, while the body part *-min* 'nose' in (5) must take an obligatory possessive prefix (see also Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 13). Within the prefix itself, the alienability distinction is encoded by the theme vowel. Prefixes with the vowel /e/ are alienable, as illustrated in (4); prefixes with the vowel /a/ signals that the possessed noun is inalienable, as illustrated in (5). Note that a third person possessor noun such as 'Daniel' in (4) and (5) precedes the possessed NP and forms a phrase with it.[4]

(4) *Daniel he-faling*
D. 3.AL-axe
'Daniel's axe' [FN.26M]

[3] For more information on possession, see §4.4.1.

[4] The alienability distinction in Abui nouns is largely semantically based: the majority of nouns expressing body parts are inalienable. However, most kinship nouns (e.g. *wiil* 'child', *maama* 'father') and some body parts (e.g. *toku* 'leg') fall into the class of alienable nouns, so the noun class distinction is also partially arbitrary.

(5) *Daniel ha-min*
D. 3.INAL-nose
'Daniel's nose' [FN.26M]

Besides the alienability distinction, the present chapter revolves around yet another distinction encoded in third person possessive prefixes: the distinction between "reflexive" and "non-reflexive" possessive prefixes. A "reflexive" possessive prefix encodes a referential relation between the A argument and the possessor of the P argument in the clause. This is illustrated in (6a), where the reflexive possessive prefix *de-* '3.ALIEN.REFL' on the P argument *de-wiil* 'his child' is coreferential with the A argument Daniel. Using the prefix *de-* thus expresses unambiguously that Daniel is cradling his own child. In contrast, the non-reflexive possessive prefix *he-* on the P argument in (6b) is not bound by the A argument.[5] In this case, the child is possessed by someone outside of the clausal context; it is not Daniel's child. The two prefixes differ only in their initial consonant. Reflexive prefixes may be alienable or inalienable, compare (6a) and (7a); as can the non-reflexive prefixes, compare (6b) and (7b).[6][7] In what follows, we use the notion "reflexive *dV-*" as a cover term for both alienable and inalienable reflexive prefixes, and the notion "non-reflexive *hV-*" or "default *hV-*" as cover terms for both alienable and inalienable non-reflexive prefixes.

[5]The sequence *Daniel he-wiil ha-buk-e* in (6b) allows two different readings, depending on intonation. The reading indicated by the subscripts in (6b) is attained by rising pitch on the final syllable of *Daniel*, indicating that this noun constitutes a separate (A argument) NP; while falling pitch on the final syllable of *hewiil* would mark it as the P argument NP of the clause 'Daniel$_j$ cradles his$_k$ child'. An alternative reading is invoked with rising pitch on the final syllable of *hewiil*, thus marking [*Daniel he-wiil*] as the A argument NP of the clause (which does not have an P argument NP): [*Daniel$_j$ he$_j$-wiil*]$_A$ *ha-buk-e* '[Daniel's child]$_k$ cradles him'. In this chapter, we focus on clauses with a simple A argument NP and a possessed P argument NP such as the one in (6b) but possessor prefixes occur in more contexts, see the overview in (8)-(9) below.

[6]Example (7b) is unambiguous and the distal demonstrative and applicative *nu-ng* does play a role in the possessor reference.

[7]Agentive pronouns like *di* in (7b) cannot occur as possessors inside of NPs. Hence, (7b) does not allow the alternative readings relating to different phrase boundaries that was discussed for (6b) in Footnote 5, where the possessor is a (proper) noun.

(6) a. *Daniel*$_{j}$ ***de***-$_{j}$*wiil* *ha-buk-e.*
D. 3.REFL.INAL-child 3.PAT-cradle-IPFV
'Daniel cradles his (own) child.' [FN.26M]

b. *Daniel*$_{j}$ ***he***-$_{k}$*wiil* *ha-buk-e.*
D. 3.NREFL.INAL-child 3.PAT-cradle-IPFV
'Daniel cradles his (someone else's) child.' [FN.26M]

(7) a. *Di*$_{j}$ ***da***-$_{j}$*tang* *ha-fik-e.*
3.AGT 3.REFL.AL-hand 3.PAT-pull-IPFV
'He is pulling his (own) hand.' [FN.26M]

b. *Di*$_{j}$ ***ha***-$_{k}$*tang* *nu-ng* *ha-fik-e.*
3.AGT 3.NREFL.AL-hand DIST-APPL 3.PAT-pull-IPFV
'He is pulling his (someone else's) hand.' [SS.27F.61]

In this chapter, we consider the non-reflexive *hV-* prefix as the "default" or "unmarked" third person possessor prefix. The first motivation for doing so is that this prefix is found in a wider range of grammatical contexts than the reflexive prefix. It can refer to a possessor in an NP (as in (4) and (5)) - irrespective of whether that NP is the A argument or the P argument of a clause. In addition, it can also refer to a possessor outside of the clausal context, as in (6b) and (7b). In contrast, the reflexive *dV-* is restricted to only one context: it only occurs on P argument NPs, where it always refers to the A argument of a clause, as in (6a) and (7a). It cannot occur in an A argument NP and never refers to an NP-internal possessor (that is, *Daniel de-wiil* cannot be an A argument and cannot mean 'Daniel's child'), and neither can it refer to a possessor outside of the clause (that is, *de-wiil* cannot mean 'someone else's child'). In (8)-(9) we summarize the various grammatical contexts where reflexive *dV-* and non-reflexive *hV-* are found: only one grammatical context for the reflexive possessor (8), against four contexts for the non-reflexive, (9a-d).

(8) Reflexive possessor on P argument, without possessor N in NP: see example (6a)

(9) a. Non-reflexive possessor on P argument, without possessor N in NP: see example (6b)

b. Non-reflexive possessor on P argument, with possessor N in NP

[*Daniel*$_j$ *he*$_j$-*wiil*]$_P$ *ha-buk-e.*
D. 3.NREFL.AL-child 3.PAT-cradle-IPFV

'(Someone) cradles Daniel's child.'/ 'Daniel's child is being cradled.'

c. Non-reflexive possessor on A argument, without possessor N in NP

[*He*$_j$-*wiil*]$_A$ *ha*$_{j/k}$-*buk-e.*
3.NREFL.AL-child 3.PAT-cradle-IPFV

'His child cradles him.'

d. Non-reflexive possessor on A argument, with possessor N in NP

[*Daniel*$_j$ *he*$_j$-*wiil*]$_A$ *ha-buk-e.*
D. 3.NREFL.AL-child 3.PAT-cradle-IPFV

'Daniel's child cradles him.'

The second reason to analyze the non-reflexive *hV-* as the default possessive prefix is that it is much more frequent than the reflexive *dV-*. This is shown in Table 5.1, which reports token frequencies of all third person prefixes in my conversational corpus of around 5 hours from speakers aged between 1-85 years (see §3.6). As shown, the non-reflexive occurs 267 times, while the reflexive only occurs 30 times.

Table 5.1: Tokens of "non-reflexive *hV-*" and "reflexive *dV-*"

	Non-reflexive *hV-*	**Reflexive *dV-***
Alienable	*he*: 206	*de*: 27
Inalienable	*ha*: 61	*da*: 3
Total	267	30

5.2.2 Alor Malay

In contrast to Abui which distinguishes both reflexivity and alienability, Alor Malay has only one construction to encode third person possessive relations. Possession is marked using the possessor *punya* which may follow either a full NP as in (10) or a pronoun, as in (11a). Possessors are expressed analytically as full NPs or pronouns preceding the possessed; there are no possessive affixes involved.

(10) *anak dong punya mau*
child PL POSS want
'children's desires' [EG.57M.1]

Like many other eastern varieties of Malay, possessive constructions all derive from a clausal construction with the verb *punya* 'to possess' (Adelaar & Prentice, 1996). The possessive *punya* may be reduced to *pung* or *pu*, as in (11a) and (11b). The third person construction *dia pung*/*pu* can be further abbreviated to *dep*, as in (11c).

(11) a. *dia punya teman*
3.SG POSS friend
'his friend' [SS.28F.AM.70]

b. *dia pu teman*
3.SG POSS friend
'his friend' [SS.11M.AM.3]

c. *dep teman*
3.POSS friend
'his friend' [SS.15F.AM.16]

Unlike Abui, Malay does not specifically encode the "reflexive" referential relation between a clausal A argument and the possessor of the P argument. This is illustrated in (12), which allows for either a reflexive or a non-reflexive possessive reading.

(12) *Daniel koko dep anak.*
Daniel cradle 3SG.POSS child
'Daniel cradles his (own) child.'; 'Daniel cradles his (someone else's) child.' [FN.40F.AM]

In the context of the present discussion, it is relevant to note that Alor Malay reflects a [possessor-possessed] order that is also attested in Abui, as well as in the other Papuan languages of the region. This order is opposite to the [possessed-possessor] order of Standard Indonesian (e.g. *anak saya* 'child 1SG; my child').

5.2.3 Summary: Differences between Abui and Alor Malay possessive constructions

Abui possessive structures are more complex than those in Malay. They involve affixes encoding alienability distinctions on the possessed as well as prefixes coding the relatively subtle 'reflexive' referential (binding) relation between a clausal A argument and the possessor of the P argument in the clause. This relation disambiguates between third person possessors with referents within the clause and those with referents outside the clause. In contrast, Malay has no possessor affixes and no restrictions on binding relations between the A argument of a clause and the possessor of its P argument.

5.3 Present study

5.3.1 Introduction

Given the typological differences in possessive marking strategies in Abui and Malay, this study aims to test whether there is variation in the expression of the reflexivity distinction in third person possessive marking among the four bilingual age-groups. From a linguistic point of view, the reflexivity distinction represents a suitable domain to investigate language contact effects among Abui-Malay bilinguals for two reasons: (i) it has been shown to be an area sensitive to contact, and (ii) the dominant language Malay lacks such a distinction.[8]

[8]When surveying the data, there did not appear to be any striking variation in the marking of alienability, despite the fact that this could have emerged as an area sensitive to contact – Alor Malay does not encode the distinction, whereas Abui does. Encodings of alienability distinctions are often observed to be highly stable across time and insensitive to contact (Nichols, 1992), and the lack of variation in this domain of Abui is no exception. This is probably due to the fact that all nouns in Abui belong to either the lexical class of alienables or the class of inalienables; and these class memberships are partly semantically

First, while many areas of grammar are potentially prone to contact, the reflexivity distinction in possessive marking is particularly sensitive because it involves binding relations between the possessor of the P argument and either the A argument of the clause (local binding) or a referent outside the clause (non-local binding). The Abui possessive system requires speakers to apply morpho-syntactic rules of possessive prefixation on the P argument of a clause, while at the same time determining whether the possessor of the P argument has the same referent as the A argument of the clause, or a referent that is outside of the clausal domain (for example, introduced earlier in discourse, recoverable by applying knowledge of the world or by considering the non-linguistic context in which the clause was uttered). This task requires considerable computation effort.

Second, because Alor Malay lacks the reflexive distinction in its possessive marking, it is underspecified compared to Abui. The one Malay third person possessive construction *dia punya* '3SG POSS' allows for both local and non-local referential interpretations, while in the Abui system, there are two forms, one of which is dedicated to encode locally bound antecedents, the other for other non-local antecedents. Following Sorace and Serratrice (2009, p. 199), the underspecification in Malay is expected to "give rise to ambiguity and optionality in the L2 [Abui] because it allows a wider range of possible mappings". Kim and Montrul (2004) and Kim, Montrul, and Yoon (2009) show that when languages with two different binding systems come into contact, the binding relations of the dominant language are transferred to the weak language. Thus we expect that the underspecified nature of binding in Malay will transfer to Abui in the Malay dominant bilingual groups.

Given these considerations, we investigate the reflexivity distinction in possessive marking among Abui-Malay bilinguals. More specifically, we address the following questions: (i) Is there variation in third person possessive constructions across the four age-groups of Abui bilinguals? (ii) If there are any significant differences in their use of possessive constructions, how are age and gender linked to the variation? (iii) What do differences in production and comprehension tell us about speakers' knowledge of the reflexivity

determined and partly arbitrary (see Footnote 4). Variation that is related to lexicalized semantic classes of nouns refers to a different language module than variation in possessor marking that is related to syntactic binding relations. The latter area is known to be sensitive to contact (Sorace & Filiaci, 2006; Sorace & Serratrice, 2009); see also §8.4.

distinction?

Having had less exposure to Abui than the two other groups, (pre)adolescents and young adults are expected to have difficulty with the reflexivity distinction. As far as speaker gender is concerned, we expect young females to perform better than their male peers as they often spend more time at home and have less contact with people outside the community (see §2.4.2.2). (Pre)adolescents and young adults are expected to simplify the system by generalizing one of the two forms. Possessives expressed with a marked form are more likely to be replaced by a form that is less marked (Tingsell et al., 2011). The Abui default non-reflexive *hV-* prefix is far more frequent and has wider distributional patterns than the reflexive *dV-* prefix, which is less frequently used in Abui, and also cross-linguistically rarer. The latter may thus be considered the more marked possessive prefix (Holm, 2000). We expect that younger speakers generalize the default prefix *hV-* to contexts that in the language of the elders are reserved for the *dV-* prefix only.

Production data only does not provide information on whether the variation reflects incomplete knowledge of the reflexive possessive distinction or whether it is only a surface problem during oral production. It might be that the young Abui-Alor Malay bilinguals struggle to produce the reflexive form in the correct context but still retain enough knowledge to recognize it in comprehension. The disparity between production and comprehension has been known for quite some time, with most studies showing that features which are problematic for speakers in L2 production may not necessarily be so in comprehension (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). This is especially relevant when considering the socialization process of Abui speakers: speakers develop passive knowledge in childhood and adolescence and begin speaking actively in early adulthood. Passive knowledge can be tested using judgment data from comprehension tasks (Sorace & Filiaci, 2006; Meakins & O'Shannessy, 2010; Onar Valk, 2015; Stadthagen-González, López, Couto, & Párraga, 2017). Following the predictions of the Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (Prévost & White, 2000b), we expect that speakers will exhibit passive knowledge of the reflexivity distinction, performing better in comprehension than in production.

In order to answer the research questions and test our predictions, we conducted two studies: one on oral production elicited by means of the Surrey Stimuli video-clips depicting various types of events (§5.3.2); and an-

other on comprehension elicited by means of a forced-choice task (§5.3.3). In the general discussion in §5.4, the results of both experiments are elaborated upon in more detail and discussed in light of another.[9]

5.3.2 Study 1: Production data

The aim of the production data study is to compare the use of third person possessive prefixes across the four Abui age-groups. The methodology of this study is discussed in §5.3.2.1, while the results are presented in §5.3.2.2.

5.3.2.1 Methodology

Data was obtained from a total of 66 participants, divided into four groups according to age. Information about the participants is laid out in Table 5.2. The age-groups are discussed in detail in §3.4.

Table 5.2: Participant table for Surrey Stimuli production task

Group	Age range (years)	M	F	Total	Mean age
(Pre)adolescents	9-16	9	10	19	13.47
Young adults	17-25	10	9	19	21.42
Adults	26-34	10	9	19	30.29
Elders	40-75	4	5	9	50.44
Total	9-75	33	33	66	25.51

The production task involved the use of 40 elicitation videos from the Surrey Stimuli, discussed in detail in §3.5.2.1 and listed in Table 3.11. For the present study, all the P argument NPs in all the utterances were tagged as either unpossessed or possessed. The unpossessed NPs were excluded from this study.[10] The possessed P argument NPs were subsequently coded as

[9] More in-depth information on how the data was coded and analyzed can be found in §3.8.

[10] Some might argue that using a (zero-marked) unpossessed P argument NP is the result of an avoidance strategy used by speakers who do not want to make a choice between the reflexive and non-reflexive possessive prefixes. Evidence for this particular avoidance strategy would be, for example, the observation that the group of (pre)adolescents use more

matches or mismatches according to whether the possessive prefix matched or not the type of environment. For instance, if the participant used the reflexive prefix *dV-* in a reflexive environment, or the non-reflexive prefix *hV-* in a non-reflexive environment, these were coded as "reflexive match" and "non-reflexive match", respectively (Table 5.3, coding categories (a) and (c)). In contrast, the possessed NPs were coded as "reflexive mismatch" or "non-reflexive mismatch" if the participant used the default non-reflexive prefix in a reflexive environment and vice versa (Table 5.3, coding categories (b) and (d)).

Table 5.3: Categories used to code the possessed NPs in the oral production data

Coding categories	**Prefix**	**Environment**	
(a) reflexive match:	reflexive	reflexive	✓
(b) reflexive mismatch:	non-reflexive	reflexive	×
(c) non-reflexive match:	non-reflexive	non-reflexive	✓
(d) non-reflexive mismatch:	reflexive	non-reflexive	×

It is important to underline that the elicitation task with the 40 Surrey clips was not hypothesis-driven, but rather served to collect a corpus in which variable grammatical patterns could be identified. As a result, it was not a completely controlled production task, and did not have a predetermined amount of reflexive or non-reflexive targets in the responses that were elicited: these were coded as such per utterance and per speaker after the recording had been done. The (non-)reflexive environments were

unpossessed NPs than the elders in descriptions of the same video-clip. Inspection of my corpus does not provide such evidence. But even if it did, there are good reasons to exclude the unpossessed NPs from this study, because their use is determined by many other factors besides possibly being used as an avoidance strategy. For example, the choice of P argument noun determines to a large extent whether or not it will be possessed: a rock is intrinsically unpossessed, a child is intrinsically possessed; so an unpossessed P argument NP with the noun rock is expected, but an unpossessed P argument NP with the noun child is not. In general, variation in using unpossessed and possessed NPs has dimensions that are quite different from those of variation in using a reflexive or a non-reflexive possessive prefix, so we will not compare these here.

determined on the basis of linguistic and extra-linguistic information, and corroborated by feedback from older speakers.

Using video elicitation stimuli, both the referents and their real world context is known and kept constant, so that it is possible to reliably interpret the target of the possessed P argument NPs used in the utterances. For example, the responses to clip C11 in Table 3.11 (man sitting against a wall of a house eating a banana) would for some speakers be 'A man is eating a banana', while others would respond with a possessed P argument, 'A man is eating his banana'. In this particular instance, the utterance would be considered to have a reflexive environment based on the context of the depicted event. The clip shows a context with only a man and a banana present, which favours the interpretation that the banana is possessed by the man who is present in the clip, not by someone else who is not visible in the clip. The same reasoning was applied to clips depicting prototypical non-reflexive environments. For example, clip P19 (banana falls on stomach of man lying down) was described by most speakers as 'A banana falls on his stomach'. Is 'his stomach' used in a reflexive or a non-reflexive context? Since 'banana' is the A argument of the clause it can never be coreferential with the possessor of 'stomach', so this utterance was coded as a non-reflexive target. In all cases, feedback from older speakers who were asked to comment on the felicitousness of utterances supported the (extra-)linguistic interpretations.

At the same time, many clips allow more than one possible interpretation. For example, clip C01 (man pulls other man), one speaker responded 'a man is pulling his friend', in which case 'his friend' would be coded as a reflexive target; whereas another speaker responded 'a man is pulling another man's hand', in which case the utterance was tagged as a non-reflexive target, because the A argument of the clause 'a man' is not the possessor of the other man's hand. In other words, different speakers may have different targets responding to the same clip. For this reason, we determined the target for every utterance of every speaker, as opposed to only one possible target per clip.

5.3.2.2 Results

This section presents the results regarding the use of reflexive and the non-reflexive prefixes in the Surrey Stimuli production of the four age-groups. In

addition, gender is also tested to see if it plays a role in the selection of the appropriate prefix.

The results of reflexive prefix mismatches are presented first. An example of a reflexive match and mismatch is provided in (13a-b). The utterances in (13a-b) are produced in response to clip (a man holding a girl). In their responses, speakers refer to the girl as *wiil* 'child' (in the sense of 'offspring').[11] The target form is the reflexive prefix *de-*: the scene depicted in the video-clip gives no reason to suggest that the child held by the man is another person's child. To describe the clip, the elder speaker uses the reflexive form *de-* (13a), whereas the (pre)adolescent speaker uses the non-reflexive *he-* (13b).

(13) a. 40-year-old female (Elder)

Neeng kalieta nuku oro ***de****-wiil*
man old one DIST.LOCA 3.REFL.INAL-child
ha-buk-e.
3.PAT-cradle-IPFV

'A man cradles his (own) child (there).' [SS.40F.24]

b. 9-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent)

Neeng nuku ***he****-wiil ha-buk-e.*
man one 3.AL-child 3.PAT-cradle-IPFV

? 'A man cradles his (someone else's) child.'
Intended: 'A man cradles his (own) child.' [SS.9F.21]

Table (5.4) displays the proportion of reflexive mismatches such as the one in (13b) averaged over the speakers. The higher the percentage, the more frequently participants used the non-reflexive prefix *hV-* instead of the reflexive prefix *dV-*.

[11] The term *moqu* is used for 'child' in the sense of young person.

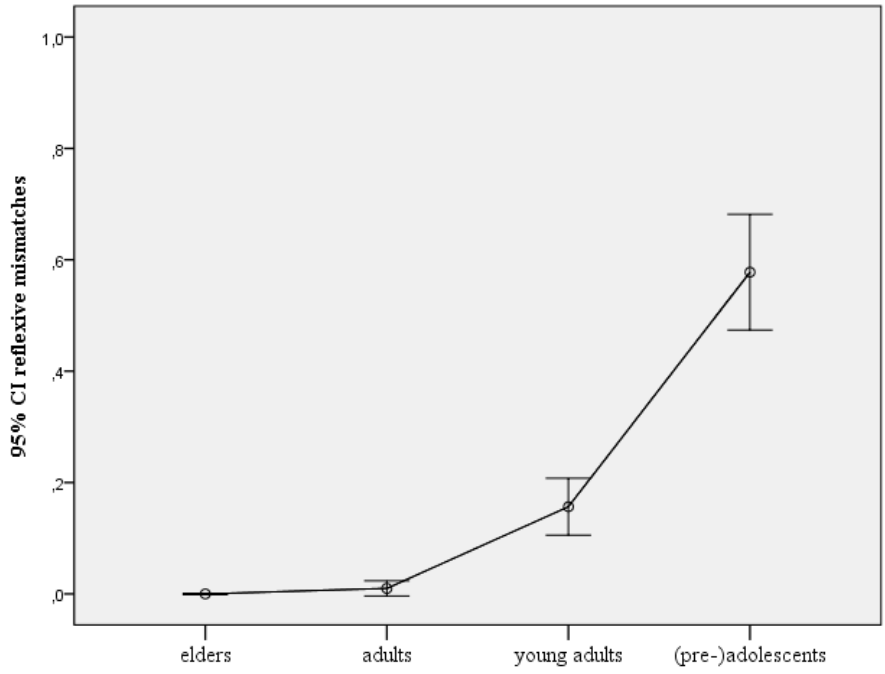
Table 5.4: Production data: Proportion of mismatches for reflexive prefix *dV-*

Group	**Speakers**	**Proportion**	**SD**
(Pre)adolescents	19	52/90 (58%)	.49
Young adults	19	31/198 (16%)	.36
Adults	19	2/202 (1%)	.09
Elders	9	0/66	.0

A non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test[12] shows a statistically significant difference between the proportion of mismatches in the four groups ($H(3) = 168.978$, $p < .001$). A post-hoc pairwise comparison shows that (pre)adolescents produce mismatches significantly more often than the other three groups (p's < .001), using the unexpected prefix in 58% of the cases. They are followed by the young adults, who produce significantly fewer mismatches than the (pre)adolescents, but significantly more than adults and elders. No statistical difference was found between adults and elders ($p = .996$). The graph in Figure 5.1 visualises the results, highlighting a striking increase in reflexive mismatches in the younger age-groups.

[12]We used the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test instead of an ANOVA because the data was not normally distributed (Field, 2013). A linear mixed-effects model was also attempted; however, the results were not interpretable due to complete separation, as can be seen in Table 5.4, where the group of elders has a proportion of 0/66.

Figure 5.1: Mean and 95% (C)onfidence (I)interval of reflexive mismatches across the four age-groups



Furthermore, we examined the relationship between gender and reflexive mismatches using a chi-square test. We investigated such a relationship in the (pre)adolescent and young adult groups, as these are the two groups that significantly differ from the control group of elders. These results are summarized in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Production data: Proportions of reflexive matches and mismatches between males and females in the (pre)adolescent and young adult groups

Group	Gender	Reflexive match	Reflexive mismatch	Total
(Pre)adolescents	male	13 (28.9%)	32 (71.1%)	45
	female	25 (55.6%)	20 (44.4%)	45
Young adults	male	87 (82.9%)	18 (17.1%)	105
	female	80 (86.0%)	13 (14%)	93

The relationship between mismatches and gender was significant in the (pre)adolescent group, X^2 (1, N = 90) = 6.55, p <.01. Among the females in this age-group the proportion of mismatches is about 44%, as opposed to 71% among their male peers. For the young adult group no relationship was found between gender and reflexive mismatches, X^2 (1, N = 198) = .37, p = .34.

To test for directionality, we also tested speakers' non-reflexive mismatches. This includes the use of a reflexive prefix in a non-reflexive environment. Table 5.6 displays the proportion of non-reflexive mismatches. This type of mismatch is virtually absent in the dataset. A non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test showed no significant differences between the age-groups (H(3) = 3.753, p = .289).[13]

Table 5.6: Production data: Proportion of mismatches for non-reflexive prefix *hV-*

Group	Speakers	Proportion	SD
(Pre)adolescents	19	1/39 (3%)	.16
Young adults	19	3/104 (3%)	.16
Adults	19	0/91	.0
Elders	9	0/41	.0

[13]Nonetheless, it is worth noticing that the only four tokens of non-reflexive mismatches are attested in the younger groups.

In sum, speakers are far more likely to overgeneralize the non-reflexive *hV-* prefix to reflexive environments rather than using the reflexive *dV-* prefix for non-reflexive environments. (Pre)adolescent and young adult speakers are simplifying the system by extending the use of the non-reflexive prefix *hV-* to reflexive contexts. Within the (pre)adolescent group, gender has an effect such that males overgeneralize the *hV-* prefix more frequently than their female peers.

5.3.3 Study 2: Comprehension data

In this second study, comprehension data from the four Abui age-groups is examined. The methodology of the study is described in §5.3.3.1, and the results are presented in §5.3.3.2.

5.3.3.1 Methodology

Comprehension data was obtained from a total of 60 participants during a two-month field trip in 2017. Most of the participants who took part in the production task also participated in the comprehension task. In total, 9 out of 66 participants from the production task were not available for the comprehension task.[14] To compensate, three new speakers were added for the comprehension task. Information about the participants is laid out in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Participants list in forced-choice comprehension study

Group	Age-range (years)	M	F	Total	Mean age
(Pre)adolescents	9-16	9	9	18	13.78
Young adults	17-25	9	5	14	22.28
Adults	26-34	9	8	17	29.52
Elders	40-75	5	6	11	52.72

Comprehension data was collected by means of a forced-choice task (elaborated upon in detail in §3.5.2.2). Participants were presented with a video-clip and a pair of sentences spoken by a native speaker. From each

[14] These speakers had moved to other villages, both in and outside of Alor.

pair, participants were asked to choose the sentence that they found more acceptable in relation to the video-clip. Illustrations of two video-clips with their two respective sentences are in (2a)-(2b). In both of these examples, option (a) represents the target.

(14) Target: Reflexive possessive. Clip C01 'man$_j$ pulling his$_j$ friend'

a. Match

[*Neeng nuku*]$_j$ ***de***-$_j$*feela* *ha-fik-e.*
man one 3.REFL.AL-friend 3.PAT-pull-IPFV
'A man$_j$ is pulling his$_j$ friend.'

b. Mismatch

[*Neeng nuku*]$_j$ ***he***-$_k$*feela* *ha-fik-e.*
man one 3.NREFL.AL-friend 3.PAT-pull-IPFV
'A man$_j$ is pulling his$_k$ friend.'

(15) Target: Non-reflexive possessive. Clip C08 'she$_j$ is afraid of his$_k$ snake'

a. Match

[*Neeng nuku*]$_k$ *mon* *hoo-puna,* *dikaang* *di* [*moqu*
man one snake 3.GOAL-hold then 3.AGT child
fila]$_j$ *hoo-ha-tang* *haba* *di*
small 3.GOAL-3.PAT-hand.over but 3.AGT
he-$_k$*mon* *h-ieng* *mielang.*
3.NREFL.AL-snake 3.PAT-see.IPFV be.afraid

'A man$_k$ is holding a snake. Then, he gives to a child$_j$ but she is afraid of his$_k$ snake.'

b. Mismatch

[*Neeng nuku*]$_k$ *mon* *hoo-puna,* *dikaang* *di* [*moqu*
man one snake 3.GOAL-hold then 3.AGT child
fila]$_j$ *hoo-ha-tang* *haba* *di* ***de***-$_j$*mon*
small 3.GOAL-3.PAT-hand.over but 3.AGT 3.REFL.AL-snake
h-ieng *mielang.*
3.PAT-see.IPFV be.afraid

'A man$_k$ is holding a snake. Then, he gives it to a child but she is afraid of her$_j$ snake.'

The task contained 30 video-clips and 30 pairs of sentences describing what was happening in the clips. Of these 30 video-clips, six targeted a possessive relation (three a reflexive one and three a non-reflexive one). The other video-clips tested other features and functioned as distractors for the purpose of this study. The three reflexive possessive target video-clips were taken from the Surrey Stimuli (see §5.3.2.1). For the non-reflexive target sentences, two of the clips were taken from the Surrey Stimuli while one was recorded specifically for the forced-choice task, as the Surrey Stimuli did not provide enough contexts to elicit such a response. The new clip showed the researcher smoking a cigarette, and then another Abui speaker snatching it from his hand and smoking it (see §3.5.2.2 for more details; see also Appendix V for a full list of stimuli).

5.3.3.2 Results

Table 5.8 reports the proportion of reflexive mismatches, namely the choice of non-reflexive sentence in response to a video-clip depicting a reflexive relation (e.g. P15 man$_k$ cradling his$_k$ child). The two older groups, adults and elders, always chose the sentence where the P argument is marked with the reflexive *dV-* prefix, so that their proportion of mismatch is zero. The young adults performed similarly to the older groups, with only 2/42 (5%) mismatches. The (pre)adolescent group shows a higher proportion of mismatches, namely 15/54 (28%), indicating that they sometimes selected the sentence where the P argument is marked with the non-reflexive *hV-* prefix, even though the video-clip showed a reflexive possessive relation.

Table 5.8: Comprehension data: Proportion of mismatches for reflexive prefix *dV-*

Group	**Speakers**	**Proportion**	**SD**
(Pre)adolescents	18	15/54 (28%)	.45
Young adults	14	2/42 (5%)	.21
Adults	17	0/51 0	.0
Elders	10	0/30 0	.0

The Kruskal-Wallis test shows a significant difference in the proportion

of reflexive mismatches across the four groups ($H(3) = 29.853$, $p < .001$). A post-hoc pairwise comparison shows that the proportion of mismatches produced by (pre)adolescents is significantly higher than those produced by the three older groups (p's < .001). Conversely, there is no statistical significant difference among the groups of young adults, adults, and elders. The (pre)adolescents choose the expected sentence with the reflexive *dV-* prefix in 72% of the cases; in the remaining 28% they select the sentence with the non-reflexive *hV-* prefix. This mismatch occurs in 7/18 speakers of which six are male and one is female.

To examine the relation between mismatches and gender in the (pre)adolescent group, a chi-square test shows a significant relation between mismatches and gender, X^2 (1, N = 54) = 6.59, p <.05. As in production, female (pre)adolescent speakers are more likely to select the correct reflexive sentence, while the proportion of mismatches is higher for their male peers. These results are summarized in Table 5.9. The three mismatches found in the female group are all made by the same speaker.

Table 5.9: Comprehension data: Proportion of reflexive matches and mismatches between male and female in the (pre)adolescent group

Group	**Gender**	**Reflexive match**	**Reflexive mismatch**	**Total**
(Pre)adolescents	male	16 (57.1%)	12 (42.9%)	28
	female	23 (88.5%)	3 (11.5%)	26

Table 5.10 reports the proportion of non-reflexive mismatches: choosing a reflexive sentence in response to a video-clip depicting a non-reflexive relation (e.g. C08 man$_k$ carrying snake; girl$_j$ fears his$_k$ snake). The three older groups make virtually no error, as they almost always choose the sentence where the P argument is marked with the non-reflexive *hV-* prefix. The (pre)adolescents sometimes select the sentence where the P argument is marked with the reflexive *dV-* prefix, even though the video-clip showed a non-reflexive possessive relation.

Table 5.10: Comprehension data: Proportion of mismatches for non-reflexive prefix *hV-*

Group	Speakers	Proportion	SD
(Pre)adolescents	18	15/54 (28%)	.45
Young adults	14	3/42 (7%)	.21
Adults	17	1/51 (2%)	.0
Elders	11	0/30	.0

The Kruskal-Wallis test shows a significant difference in the proportion of non-reflexive mismatches across the four groups ($H(3) = 24.500$, $p < .001$). A post-hoc pairwise comparison shows that the proportion of mismatches produced by the (pre)adolescents was significantly higher than those produced by the three older groups (p's < .005). Conversely, the three older groups do not demonstrate any statistically significant difference. This result is unexpected, given what has been observed so far. (Pre)adolescents are found to overgeneralize the non-reflexive *hV-* prefix to reflexive contexts both in production and in comprehension. We expected them, therefore, to perform at ceiling when they were asked to respond to video-clips depicting non-reflexive relations. However, 14 out 18 participants, at least in one case, fail to attain the target, selecting the sentence with the reflexive *dV-* prefix. This behavior is found across participants, with no difference between male and female, X^2 (1, N = 54) = .22, p =.433). The fact that, unlike in the other tasks, mismatches are found in almost all the speakers regardless of gender may indicate that these are instances of hypercorrection rather than systematic errors.

5.4 Discussion

We investigated how Abui-Alor Malay bilingual speakers use possessive constructions, addressing three major questions: (i) Is there variation in third person possessive constructions across the four age-groups of Abui-Alor Malay bilinguals? (ii) If there are any significant differences in their use of possessive constructions, how are age and gender linked to the variation? (iii) What do differences in production and comprehension tell us

about speakers' knowledge of the reflexivity distinction?

As predicted, (pre)adolescents (age 9-16 years) showed the most variation of the four groups in overgeneralizing the non-reflexive possessive prefix to reflexive contexts. This confirms that speakers consider the non-reflexive *hV-* prefix as the default to mark possession on nouns, while the reflexive *dV-* prefix is seen as the marked form. The simplification mechanism attested is overgeneralization of the semantically least specified form, interpreted here as the default form. Young adults (17-25 years) also differed significantly from adults (26-34 years) and elders (40-75 years), although they showed less variation than the younger group of pre-adolescents. This distribution suggests that (pre)adolescents and to some extent young adults are losing the reflexivity distinction, while for adults and elders, the reflexivity distinction is still obligatory.

Gender was found to be linked to the variation in the group of (pre)adolescents, where females were more conservative while males accounted for most of the variation. The gender differences are argued to relate to the differences in social networks of Abui (pre)adolescent females and males. Abui girls have territorially bounded social networks (Milroy & Milroy, 1985), spending more time with other female relatives (mother, grandmother, aunts) attending to domestic chores such as fetching pig food and firewood, cooking, and cleaning. In a lot of these activities, despite often being directly addressed in Alor Malay, they obtain passive knowledge of Abui because they are surrounded by Abui speaking adults. In addition, sometimes they are addressed directly in Abui as many older women do not always feel comfortable speaking Alor Malay. Boys, on the other hand, spend a considerable amount of time away from their hamlet, playing with other boys. Typically, they speak Alor Malay with their peers, as Alor Malay has very high prestige among adolescents. This strongly suggests that young girls must have more exposure to Abui relative to boys.

The finding that social networks are different among younger generations and thus yield gender differences has also been reported in the Cajun English speech community (Dubois & Horvath, 1999). However, the observation that (pre)adolescent males are the agents of linguistic change stands in contrast to studies reporting that role for females instead. This was found to be the case for urban communities (Labov, 1990; Campbell, 2013) but also for indigenous minority communities such as the K'iche' of Guatemala (Romero 2008) and the Garifura of Belize (Ravindranath, 2008) (cited

in Stanford and Preston (2009a, p. 10). It seems that people of either gender can be the agents of change, depending on the specific social practices and roles that females and males carry out in a given community, and the type of social networks they have (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999). In language change, the factor of gender appears to be highly culture-specific (Labov, 1989; Sankoff, 1994; Dubois & Horvath, 1999). Before turning to the next point of discussion, it is important to note that there were no gender effects for any of the other groups. This means that gender only played a role in explaining differences among (pre)adolescents. The fact that male young adults do not show siginficant differences could suggest that the young adult life-stage might indeed increase a male's exposure to Abui (see §2.4.2.1).

Age and gender of speakers are thus relevant variables in explaining the observed variation, and they are also crucial characteristics of the type of bilingualism studied here. In fact, exposure to and use of Abui vary, and increase as an individual's age increases: as many parents put it, "We need to raise our children in Alor Malay so that they do well at school. When they grow up, they will learn Abui from their peers, simply by living in the community". This implies that the acquisition of Abui in Takalelang involves a prolonged period of passive knowledge up until adolescence when speakers gradually begin developing active knowledge.

To test the implications this type of bilingualism might have on outcomes of contact, we compared speakers' (i) (pre-)school exposure to Abui, and (ii) current exposure to Abui. Since (pre)adolescents were raised mostly in Alor Malay and still speak predominantly Alor Malay with their peers, they have low (pre-)school exposure and also low current exposure to Abui (see Table 3.4). As such, they may be characterized as active-passive bilinguals (Kulick & Terrill, 2019): they have passive knowledge of Abui, can speak it if called upon, yet rarely ever do. As Alor Malay-dominant speakers, the (pre)adolescents appear to be losing the reflexivity distinction in their speech.

Young adults share with (pre)adolescents a similar low level of (pre)school exposure to Abui, yet have higher current exposure. They presumably also had passive knowledge growing up, as they claim they spoke mostly Alor Malay during childhood, but now speak Abui more as their prominence in the community rises and they have more direct contact with elders. This low quantity of Abui input in their (pre)school years explains why some young adult speakers have problems with the reflexivity distinc-

tion, while their current increased quantity of Abui input may explain why they have fewer problems than (pre)adolescents.

In addition, while the *quantity* of input that the (pre)adolescents and young adults received in (pre)school years may have been roughly similar, as depicted in Table 3.4 and Table 3.5, the *quality* of the input they received is likely to have been different. The reason for this lies in the adjacent age-groups: (Pre)adolescents receive some input from young adults, who already show some variation. It has been observed that variation in children and teenagers is likely to be enhanced by variable input received from older peers, as opposed to input received from the parental generation (McConvell, 2008), while children are also known to increase the frequency of an innovative form (Labov, 1989; Sankoff, 1994). Young adults, on other hand, receive input from adults and elders, who as the results show, retain active and passive knowledge of the possessive prefixes.

Considering the type of bilingualism found among the four age-groups with varying amounts of passive and active knowledge of Abui, we tested differences in their production and comprehension. We predicted that (pre)adolescent and young adults would perform better in the comprehension task than in the production task, because we still expect them to retain knowledge of the reflexivity distinction, despite the fact that it poses problems in production. Passive comprehension of language requires less processing effort than active production (Onar Valk, 2015). In addition, a number of studies show that while speakers appear to have trouble producing inflectional forms on the surface, they actually retain knowledge of the underlying rule (Prévost & White, 2000a, 2000b).

This prediction was borne out: (Pre)adolescents selected the target sentence significantly more often in the comprehension task than in the production task. This fits in neatly with self-reports from members of the community, suggesting that children and adolescents can understand the language but struggle to speak it. A similar but less significant difference between comprehension and production was observed in the young adults, while adults and elders performed at ceiling in both comprehension and production. Within the (pre)adolescent group, we found that there were significant differences between males and females, with males attaining the reflexive target much less frequently – in line with the production data, for reasons discussed above.

That (pre)adolescents and young adults performed better in compre-

hension than in production tells us that both groups have knowledge of the grammatical distinction of reflexivity, but that this knowledge is not always applied during oral production. This provides evidence in support of the Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (Prévost & White, 2000a), which states that L2 learners may have underlying knowledge of a given inflection category or feature, but fail to instantiate it during oral production (Lardiere, 1998a, 1998b, 2000; Prévost & White, 2000a). This will lead speakers to resort to a default form, which is indeed what we observe in the present study, where speakers resort to the more general, non-reflexive possessor prefix. Ideally, evidence for the MSIH arises by examining multiple grammatical environments in which a given feature manifests itself (e.g. by examining how gender in Dutch manifests itself in articles, demonstratives, pronouns, adjectives, etc.). However, since it is not possible to test the Abui reflexive possessive in a different grammatical environment (because it only manifests itself in one), we tested whether speakers retain knowledge of the feature by comparing production and comprehension data.

One unexpected result in our study was that, in the forced-choice task targeting the non-reflexive prefix *hV-*, (pre)adolescents performed worse in comprehension than they did in production. We propose that this might be due to a task effect for a number of reasons. First, Abui bilingual speakers perform poorly in comprehension tasks because it is possible that their mode of Abui acquisition is oral, and they do not receive any kind of formal instruction in Abui. Therefore, they might have little metalinguistic awareness of their language and little experience in being tested in Abui. This observation is in line with the results of a study conducted by Montrul (2011) on L2 and heritage speakers. According to Montrul (2011, p. 2011), there is a direct relationship between mode of acquisition and type of task, such that heritage language speakers are better at oral tasks that minimize metalinguistic knowledge, while L2 speakers are better at tasks that are more explicit and metalinguistic. Although Abui bilinguals are different from the prototypical heritage speakers in Montrul's study, they may share with them the unfamiliarity with certain type of tasks. Secondly, another possible task-effect is the length of the sentences in the forced-choice task. The sentences developed for these stimuli involved a higher processing load than for the reflexive target set: two out of the three trials used a combination of two sentences in order to elicit a non-reflexive meaning, while all three trials of the reflexive target consisted of only one sentence. The reason for this is that in

the non-reflexive targets the possessor referred to by the prefix is outside the clause, so an additional clause introducing the possessor was necessary in two of the trials. In the reflexive targets, the possessor is simply the A argument of the clause, so adding an extra clause was not necessary. Finally, considering that we observed gender differences in the reflexive target in both production and comprehension, the fact that there were no gender differences in the comprehension part of the non-reflexive target may be another indicator that the results in this part of the comprehension task are more likely due to task effects. Taken together, these results lay the platform for further research, and we suggest that a follow-up forced-choice study would need to control for sentence length.

The methods and findings of this study are a direct answer to the call by Ross (2013) that, in order to develop models of contact-induced change which allow us to reconstruct the processes that brought about these outcomes, we need to collect more studies examining a linguistic variable across age-groups. These studies should focus on the social setting and the relevant variables that might account for the variation. Two findings from the current chapter directly contribute to Ross's approach.

First, as Ross suggests, in studying language contact and change, it is imperative to focus not only on the language of children or adults, but to pay particular attention to the language of (pre)adolescents as they are the most likely agents of change. Our study shows that the (pre)adolescents of the Takalelang community indeed show the most variation when compared to adult Abui L1 speakers.

Second, our study offers somewhat diverging evidence from the two types of contact-induced processes of change presented in Ross (2013): bilingually-induced change and shift-induced change. While on the one hand, the Abui setting is more characteristic of relatively stable bilingualism, the outcome of the contact, simplification, is more similar to what happens after a shift (Ross, 2013, p. 30). We suggest that the explanation lies in the type of bilingualism found in the Abui community. It is well known that different types of bilingualism have different outcomes of contact (O'Shannessy & Meakins, 2012) and that outcomes from one type may not necessarily be applied to others (Ameel et al., 2009; Ross, 2013). For example, simultaneous bilingual child learners have been shown to converge on monolingual-like targets (Döpke, 2000) while later sequential bilinguals do not (MacWhinney, 1987; Cook, Iarossi, Stellakis, & Tokumaru,

2003; O'Shannessy & Meakins, 2012). However, many Abui speakers are a hybrid between sequential and simultaneous bilinguals: they acquire receptive competence in the language during childhood, but become active speakers post-adolescence. This type of bilinguals is highly underrepresented in the bilingualism and variationist literature, but we expect it to be much more widespread in Indonesia and Melanesia (Nevins, 1998; Bowden, 2002; Schokkin, 2017).

Before concluding the chapter, one question that was not empirically addressed but was often alluded to is whether the variation observed in the (pre)adolescent group will lead to a fully-fledged change (following the apparent-time construct) or whether this group will learn the reflexivity distinction as it grows older (age-grading). At this point, without a real-time study, it is impossible to ascertain whether age-grading will nullify the observed variation in the young speakers, or whether they will continue to show it when they become adults. A recent review by Sankoff (2006) suggests that age-grading is actually much less widely attested than previously thought, and that changes detected in younger groups typically do carry through as speakers grow older. In addition, Kerswill (1996, p. 198) points out that during the period of adolescence (age 16 at the latest), speakers "no longer have the ability to acquire lexically complex rules [or] new oppositions". This would suggest that the reflexive *dV-* prefix and thus the reflexivity distinction may become lost in the Abui community of Takalelang over the next decades.

5.5 Summary and conclusion

This case study of variation combined methods from descriptive linguistics, bilingualism research, and variationist sociolinguistics to investigate the causes and distribution of contact-induced variation in possession marking in an underdescribed type of bilingual speech community in eastern Indonesia. It was shown how inflectional morphology is simplified due to limited language input and cross-linguistic influence. Age and gender are crucial variables in explaining the variation among the Abui-Alor Malay bilingual groups. Younger bilinguals overgeneralize the default, non-reflexive possessive prefix *hV-* to reflexive contexts significantly more than older Abui speakers. In particular, (pre)adolescent males could be the main

drivers of the change, should this change grammaticalize. Our results lend support to the Missing Surface Inflectional Hypothesis, with comprehension data revealing that speakers still retain much knowledge of the reflexivity distinction but fail to produce the forms in production. By comparing the use of possessive markers among four groups of Abui-Alor Malay bilinguals, this study shows that one of the outcomes of contact during this 50-60 year time frame of bilingualism is simplification, which is argued to be strengthened, yet not exclusively caused, by the fact that Alor Malay lacks the distinction.

While showing that simplification is underway, this study has also laid the platform for future studies. Firstly, a follow-up panel study in at least eight years' time would enable us to answer the question of whether the currently observed variation will persist and lead to fully-fledged language change. Secondly, a follow-up to this study could also involve the investigation of the alienability distinction which, alongside the reflexivity distinction, is also encoded in third person possessive prefixes. Comparing alienability and reflexivity, two features which Alor Malay lacks, can offer valuable insights with regards to the vulnerability of possessive inflection referring to semantic noun classes vis-a-vis syntactic binding relations (see also §8.4).

Chapter 6

Variation and change in verb usage

6.1 Introduction

A verb typically refers to an event or state. An event can be highly complex and multifaceted. As a result, languages differ greatly with regards to which components of an event they encode lexically and grammatically.

Abui and Alor Malay are two languages that differ in how they encode a number of events. For example, in Abui, within the event domain of *visual perception*, speakers use the verb *-wahai* 'look at' when they are 'looking at a photo' or 'looking at their interlocutor', typically with some sort of control or intention. However, speakers use the verb *-ien-* 'see' when they happen to 'see a rat' or 'see a banana on the floor', typically as a sort of experience, without much control. In this respect, one of the features that distinguishes these two events is [± CONTROL]. Alor Malay speakers, on the other hand, use only one generic verb for the event of visual perception, *lihat* 'see, look at'. They typically do not distinguish by the choice of verb they use whether they are 'looking at a photo' with control, or whether they happen 'to see a banana on the floor', without much control. Therefore, in Alor Malay, the semantic feature [± CONTROL] is not relevant for distinguishing these contexts lexically. The same is true of other event domains, such as *falling* or *change of state* for example, which also distinguish a semantic feature in Abui but not in Alor Malay.

These subtle differences across languages make the lexical semantics of

verbs highly volatile during contact (Ameel et al., 2009). Typically, in bilingual settings, speakers whose dominant language does not distinguish a given feature, such as in Alor Malay, often have trouble using verbs in the right context when learning a language that does make a distinction, such as Abui. This is usually attributed to the fact that conceptual representations associated with the distinction have not been carved out (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). When speaking Abui, older more Abui dominant speakers typically encode the distinctions alluded to above by using the verbs in their appropriate contexts, yet many younger, more Malay dominant speakers generalize one verb to contexts requiring another verb. For example, they often generalize *-wahai* which originally means 'look at' to 'see' contexts requiring the verb *-ien-*. Thus, instead of using two verbs to encode a distinction [± CONTROL], they simply use one verb in two contexts, thereby simplifying the system.

The main aim of this chapter is to examine to what extent this *generalization*, a form of simplification, is found across the four age-groups, (pre)adolescents, young adults, adults, and elders. The secondary aim is to investigate how the sociolinguistic variables of age and gender can account for the variation. Since younger age is correlated with less exposure to Abui and more dominance in Alor Malay, it is expected that the younger a speaker is, the more likely they will be to overgeneralize a verb to another context. In addition, (pre)adolescent boys in particular are expected to overgeneralize more than girls because they too appear to have less exposure to Abui than girls due to their socialization patterns (see §2.4.2.2 for discussion of gender in the speech community).

Furthermore, given that production and comprehension represent different modalities of language processing and that production data might not always provide the complete picture, the final aim of this chapter is to explore what differences in production and comprehension can tell us about how entrenched a given change is among the various age-groups. Here, it is expected that despite generalization being exhibited in speakers' production, their comprehension will reveal that they still retain some knowledge of how to use these verbs.

The methodology used in this chapter involves the Surrey Stimuli production task as well as the forced-choice comprehension task (see §3.5.2). Both of these tasks were carried out by the four age-groups. Out of the 40 clips shown in the Surrey Stimuli task, the clips eliciting verbs pertaining to

the events of *visual perception*, *falling*, and *change of state* were isolated for investigation in this chapter. These three domains were selected purely for the reason that they seemed to be most salient in the stimuli. Furthermore, out of the 30 clips used in the forced-choice task, which investigated a variety of topics, 12 clips that also focused on the verb use of these three event domains were isolated.

This chapter is structured as follows: Section 6.2 discusses generalization as an outcome of contact. An explanation of verb usage in both Abui and Alor Malay is provided in §6.3. The present study is discussed in §6.4, including a production task (§6.4.2) and a comprehension task (§6.4.3). A general discussion is offered in §6.5, followed by a conclusion in §6.6.

6.2 Generalization as an outcome of contact

Generalization, also referred to as *widening*, *extension*, and *broadening*, is a commonly attested semantic change where the range of meanings of a word expands to a wider array of related contexts (Blank, 1999; Traugott & Dasher, 2001; Campbell, 2013). For example, the Latin word *adripare/ arripare* used to have the specific meaning of 'reach the river's shore'. It then took on the more generic meaning of 'reach any destination' (Blank, 1999; Traugott & Dasher, 2001). Generalization is a type of prototypical change whereby a prototype of a category is taken to refer 'to another member of the category or to the [entire] category itself' (Blank, 1999, p. 76). In this sense, it is a type of simplification because it involves the loss of a specific feature.

Generalization has been attested both in the absence of contact (Blank, 1999; Traugott & Dasher, 2001) and in the presence of contact (Ameel et al., 2009; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Gathercole & Moawad, 2010). In the presence of contact, when a verb in an L1 is more generic than a translation equivalent in an L2, this could result in generalization taking place on the model of the L1. This may be considered a type of lexical calque (Ross, 2013).

This section provides case-studies of generalization as an outcome of contact (§6.2.1), sketches underlying mechanisms behind generalization (§6.2.2), sheds light on the types of bilinguals most prone to experiencing generalization (§6.2.3), describes the role of polysemy and frequency in the generalization of verbs (§6.2.4) and discusses the spread of generalization in a speech community (§6.2.5).

6.2.1 Case-studies of generalization

Generalization has been attested as an outcome of contact in a number of different bilingual settings. Most often this is characterized as a form of loan translation or lexical calquing. This may take the form of copying either the semantic polysemy or the syntactic polysemy of the model language into the recipient language (Ross, 2013).

Both forms of lexical calquing have been attested in heritage speaker communities as well as groups of second language learners. In all of these cases, speakers spoke an L1 which had one generic verb and were learning an L2 that had more specific verbs. Put differently, the L1 had a wide system, while the L2 had a narrow system (Gathercole & Moawad, 2010). What these two complementary bilingual settings exhibit is that generalization is a process that is favoured by the bilingual mind and at the same time may spread into a community.

An early examination of this took place in the Yiddish community in the United States which was bilingual in both American English and American Yiddish. Yiddish used to have two lexical items to describe the event of 'going': *gejn* 'to go on foot' and *forn* 'go by vehicle'. Yiddish was in prolonged contact with English, a language that has one generic verb *go*, which is unspecified for MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION. As a result of contact, the Yiddish verb *gejn* (which originally meant 'to go on foot') displaced *forn* 'go by vehicle' and became the generic verb to encode motion (Weinreich, 1953, p. 54).

Other examples of contact-induced generalization can be found in a contemporary heritage speaker community, such as the Turkish heritage community in the Netherlands. Turkish, as spoken in its homeland, typically differentiates between two types of 'do' verbs, *yapmak* and *etmek*. The difference between the two verbs is not semantic, but syntactic instead. The verb *yapmak* is more syntactically polysemous than *etmek* (which is mostly used with a few words of Arabic origin) and is also much more frequent (Backus et al., 2011). Due to contact with Dutch, which only has one verb for 'do' (*doen*) Turkish speakers generalize *yapmak* to contexts in which Turkish homeland speakers would use *etmek*.

Studies on generalization as an outcome of contact in bilingual communities can also be supplemented by studies looking at L2 acquisition of lexical semantics. These studies have the advantage that they provide

enough fine-grained analyses of the causes of semantic generalization and can isolate certain variables. In addition, they involve instances of unbalanced bilingualism as a result of imperfect learning, so they bear some similarities to the Abui speech community. A number of these studies have looked at how bilingual speakers deal with translation equivalents which have different conceptual representations. Specifically, they focus on speakers whose L1 does not specify for a particular feature and whose L2 does.

Pavlenko and Driagina (2008) looked at American learners of Russian and their use of directional verbs corresponding to 'run' and 'roll'. In these verbal domains, English is underspecified compared to Russian: Russian encodes lexical aspect, while English does not. In particular, English does not use different 'running' verbs to distinguish between a) 'running unidirectionally to a given point' and b) 'running multidirectionally (back and forth)'. Russian, on the other hand, does lexically distinguish between multidirectional verbs such as *begal* 'he was running (back and forth)' on the one hand and its unidirectional counterpart *pobezhal* 'he ran (from A to B)' on the other. In a corpus of narratives elicited by American learners of Russian, it was found that speakers overgeneralized the multidirectional verbs to contexts where monolinguals would have used unidirectional verbs.

A study on Saudi Arabic L1/English L2 bilinguals also yielded similar results (Gathercole & Moawad, 2010). One of the conditions tested was speakers' use of English verbs which were more specific than their Arabic translation equivalents. This includes English verbs like *to hunt* and *to fish* which correspond to the Arabic verb *yistad* 'to hunt/to fish'. The authors found that speakers were more likely to use one generic English verb, as opposed to differentiate between *to hunt* and *to fish*.[1] In addition, they found a stronger effect for words which had senses which were conceptually close together, such as between Ar. *yistad* 'to hunt/to fish' and En. *to hunt* and *to fish*, where 'hunting' and 'fishing' can both be subsumed under the umbrella notion of 'catching an animal for provision'. This effect was weaker for words which were not conceptually close together, such as between Ar. *darb* 'to hit/to multiply' vs. English *to hit*, *to multiply*, where there does not appear to be a

[1]The authors tested for both verbs and nouns and their conclusions did not differentiate the two. However, word mappings onto referents or concepts (prototypical nouns) and word mappings onto events and states (prototypical verbs) have been shown to vary greatly, with verbs showing more vulnerability than nouns during contact (Ameel et al., 2009).

semantic relationship between 'hitting' and 'multiplying'.

The conclusion from all of these studies is that L2 speakers whose L1 makes fewer distinctions conceptually have trouble learning the conceptual distinctions in the L2.

6.2.2 Mechanisms of generalization

All of these case studies indicate that speakers copy the lexical semantics of verbs in their dominant language onto verbs in their weaker language. There are a number of cognitive, psychological, and structural mechanisms to explain why the semantic change of generalization is favoured. A number of accounts explaining the causes are presented below.

Weinreich (1953) stated that the surface similarity between two lexical items in two different languages 'fool' the bilingual into thinking that the underlying lexical semantics are the same. This seems heightened by a bias towards functional or processing economy, where the more simple system is favoured. In other words, this could be prompted by the need to eradicate a 'seemingly uninformative distinction' referring here to the distinction that the verbs make in one language but not in another (Alferink & Gullberg, 2014, p. 34). Blank (1999, p. 77) argues that speakers have a natural tendency to reduce 'superfluous complexity in the lexicon', striving to communicate at the 'lowest possible costs'.

Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) offer an additional perspective on why generalization takes place. They first point to errors in simply memorizing several L2 lemmas for each L1 lemma. Additionally, and more importantly, they argue that this generalization takes place due to mental representations still being mapped onto schemas created by the L1. In other words, they suggest that speakers have not yet become sensitivized to the cognitive component which might split a concept into various lemmas, each with their own distinctions. Pavlenko and Driagina (2008) point out that in order for English learners of Russian to fully grasp the verbs of motion which were differentiated based on lexical aspect and use them in their appropriate contexts, speakers must transform the previously undifferentiated conceptual representations of 'running' into representations that account for distinctions between unidirectionality and multidirectionality. Until speakers establish the appropriate mental representations, they will continue to use these verbs interchangeably in spontaneous speech because the pair

of verbs is loosely attached to one, single L1 mediated conceptual representation. The frequent and appropriate production and comprehension of these words should sensitize speakers to particular conceptual distinctions, and this may lead to new mental representations referred to as *language-mediated concepts* (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). These distinctions should then allow speakers to perform naming, identification, comprehension, and inferencing tasks along similar lines (p.115).

6.2.3 Type of bilingualism and generalization

As with any area of language sensitive to contact, the type of bilingualism in question can play a role in the prevalence of generalization. Type of bilingualism can be broken down into a number of important components, such as age of onset, duration of exposure, proficiency, mode of acquisition, consistency of parents speaking a given language, and domains of language use (Ameel et al., 2009). As Gathercole and Moawad (2010) suggest, it is crucial to apply a developmental perspective on bilingual semantics and document these features as closely as possible. It is thus important to have a thorough description of the bilingualism profile of a particular group (for the Abui case, see §2.4.2). Ameel et al. (2009) caution that results emerging from studies of one type of bilingual setting should not necessarily be generalized to other types of bilingual settings. Gathercole and Moawad (2010) highlight the need to investigate how, for example, late bilinguals might differ from early bilinguals. Presently there are some predictions that can be made for the outcomes of a given type of bilingualism, although more research comparing them is needed. We have seen that processing economy, and a lack of mental representations were characterized as being some of the cognitive factors responsible for the process of generalization. These two cognitive factors interact differently with type of bilingualism.

Ameel et al. (2009) discuss three broad types of bilinguals: compound bilinguals, subordinate bilinguals, and coordinate bilinguals. Compound bilinguals were simultaneously raised in two languages, with their parents having spoken their own language to them consistently throughout the years. Subordinate bilinguals refer to second language learners. These bilinguals consist of speakers who were raised monolingually but then learned a second language after their first language had been acquired. The prediction here is that lexical transfer is highly likely to take place from the L1 to the

L2, regardless of the complexity level of the L1, especially in the early stages of learning the L2. Eventually, as speakers gain more exposure to the L2, the L1-specific mappings influencing the L2 will be replaced by L2-specific mappings. Coordinate bilinguals refer to bilinguals who use their two languages in distinct environments with no overlap. Although some interaction between the languages is expected, it is unclear what this type of bilingualism will do to the complexity of a given category. However, the problem with such categories is that they don't always account for bilingualism settings which are more fluid and complex, such as those found in Takalelang and in other parts of the world.

Perhaps a more appropriate strategy is to take an ontogenetic approach. Gathercole and Moawad (2010) investigated the role of age of acquisition of the L2 on speaker's likelihood of generalization. They tested Arabic learners of English as an L2 at age 6 (early bilinguals) and compared them to Arabic learners of English as an L2 at age 12 (late bilinguals). They found that both early and late bilinguals were likely to generalize an English word on the model of Arabic, but that late bilinguals were even more likely to do so. The reasons the authors give for this are that late bilinguals already have an L1 system in place, meaning that the L2 is more likely to be modeled on the L1. Specifically, they remark that new L2 words will be learned in non-linguistic contexts that will be 'understood according to the conceptual organization already in place and will [thus] be linked with associated L1 words that are similarly associated with the given contexts' (p. 404). This is because, at the early stages of L2 acquisition, the L1 is used as an intermediary for access to meaning for the L2 lexical item (Kroll & Stewart, 1994). As Abutalebi (2008, p. 470) puts it, 'the L2 is mediated through L1 translation while L1 is concept-mediated.' Early bilinguals, on the one hand, do not have a fully developed L1 and its associated conceptual underpinnings, suggesting that for them each language can develop alongside one another with little overlap (Gathercole 2007). Each language can thus develop its own conceptual organization, and as a result, the lexical items can remain separate.

Even for the late bilinguals (age of onset > 12), who generalize due to transfer from their L1, there is evidence to suggest that, with sufficient exposure to the L2, their lexical semantic processing can improve. In fact, Indefrey (2006) has argued that age of L2 acquisition plays little role in lexico-semantic processing, with L2 proficiency and exposure being much more important. With more exposure to the L2 and as proficiency rises, the L2

learner will develop an emergent semantic system with its own conceptual system and rely less on that of the L1 (Pavlenko 2009). Abutalebi (2008) also points to the importance of improving L2 proficiency to reduce the dependency on the L1. The convergence hypothesis (Green, 2003) further supports this notion, postulating that 'any qualitative difference between native speakers of a language and L2 speakers of that language disappear as proficiency increases' (p. 204).

To conclude, what these studies imply is that semantic transfer and generalization in particular can take place when the L2 is acquired after the age of 6. The propensity for this to happen increases with age. At the same time, even late bilinguals, with enough exposure and input to an L2, can develop L2 mediated conceptual representations and as a result use the lexical items appropriately.

6.2.4 The role of frequency and polysemy

The studies above have offered explanations as to why generalization takes place in a given bilingual setting. However, it was not always clear why a particular verb would get selected for generalization while another would become displaced. Some studies point to word frequency and polysemy as being crucial in predicting semantic change more generally, and I argue that these are also relevant in explaining generalization as well.

Word frequency refers to how often a word typically occurs in a language, as measured by large text corpora or print materials, which may in turn offer approximations for the distribution of words in spoken language (Carterette & Jones, 1974; Dahan & Magnuson, 2006). *Polysemy* refers to the coexistence of many possible meanings that a word may have, especially when used in different contexts. Verbs often have multiple senses, all of which share some systematic relationship among one another (Booij, 2007).

Winter, Perlman, and Majid (2018) found that words that are more frequent and cognitively accessible are frequently 're-used to express other concepts' (p.7). This is thus closely linked to polysemy: higher frequency words are more likely to be used in a variety of contexts, which will then lead to the acquisition of additional senses (Zipf, 1945; Calude & Pagel, 2011; Winter et al., 2018). Weinreich (1953) also claims that low frequency words are more subject to replacement. With regards to polysemy, the *law of innovation* states that more polysemous words have a higher rate of semantic

change (Hamilton, Leskovec, & Jurafsky, 2016). In a situation of incomplete acquisition, it thus follows that both frequency and polysemy are good predictors of whether a word will undergo generalization.

6.2.5 The spread of generalization in the community

So far, we have addressed the topic of how a change, or deviation from the norm, might emerge in the mind of a single speaker due to lexical semantic processing and the influence of one language on another. That it may emerge in the mind of a single speaker also implies that it has the potential to emerge in the minds of multiple speakers independently of one another. In addition, speakers may also spread this deviation from the norm to one another based on a number of socio-pragmatic factors. Taken together, these two forces result in innovations in a select few speakers, and gradually this variation may increase such that the innovation becomes a fully-fledged change. This process might even be heightened in a bilingual speech situation that is gearing towards gradual shift and is in a state of language attrition. In this scenario, a combination of not enough input from the narrow system and more dominance from the wide system, will lead to semantic generalization, as subtle distinctions between words are lost in favour of more generic words that express the core meaning and leave the subtleties to context or leave them out of the frame altogether.

This section focuses on the socio-pragmatic reasons why this deviation from the norm spreads across speakers. It addresses the broader question of how generalization might spread within the speech community by the adoption of both a speaker and interlocutor's communicative needs: when does a semantic innovation in one speaker's mind become adopted by other speakers and eventually lexicalized in a language (Blank, 1999)?

People produce semantic innovations on a daily basis, yet they rarely become adopted by other members of the community (Blank, 1999). Speakers must not only be exposed to the innovation, but they must be motivated to (re)produce it in public, exposing it to others in the process (Enfield, 2008). When they do become adopted by other members of the community, this is often due to a combination of a pragmatic decision based on the innovation's good cognitive performance (Blank, 1999) as well as biases involving personality traits and social relations of the innovator (Enfield, 2008).

The innovation that comes about from generalization involves the tri-

umph of two competing elements: economy over expressibility. When a set of highly specific lexical variants give way to one generic variant, speakers lose some expressibility offered by the highly specific set but gain economy. What happens in a semantic innovation is the association of a word with other potential concepts in its conceptual space. It sometimes happens that a speaker uses a word in a sense that is slightly different to how it had been used before. Due to context, the interlocutor probably understood what was meant (Blank, 1999). If the relation was deemed efficient, the interlocutor might use the word in a similar context or adopt this new sense. This innovation may spread to enough people, in which case it may then become lexicalized, thus becoming more polysemous (Blank, 1999). When a shift in semantics becomes adopted by other community members it is often a pragmatic decision based on the innovation's good cognitive performance (Blank, 1999). Enfield (2008) argues in favour of a bias relating to the properties of the variant (innovation). Here content and frequency play important roles. An innovation that is considered useful or advantageous will be intrinsically more attractive, sometimes even irrespective of the prestige of the innovator. Its higher frequency will in turn make it more attractive. Further, Blank (1999, p. 76) has indirectly suggested that once some speakers begin innovating by generalizing a word, this variation has a high chance to become a fully-fledged change. This is because, as Enfield (2008) argues as well, this will automatically lead to even higher frequency which will in turn make the new sense more attractive.

6.3 Three event domains in Abui and Alor Malay

This section discusses the three event domains in Abui and Alor Malay that were selected for investigation: *visual perception, falling,* and *change of state*. The main differences between Abui and Alor Malay is that, within each domain, Abui uses a narrow system while Alor Malay uses a broad system. This means that for each of these three events, Abui uses at least two verbs to lexically distinguish two contexts, while Alor Malay simply uses one verb to encode each event.

In this respect, Abui distinguishes between contexts based on a given semantic feature, while Alor Malay does not. For example, in the event domain of 'visual perception', Abui lexicalizes verbs in accordance with whether

they involve [± CONTROL]: the verb (-)*wahai* 'look at' encodes the component [+CONTROL] because it implies an event of visual perception involving control, while the verb *-ien* 'see' encodes the component [–CONTROL] because it implies an event of visual perception lacking control. This is illustrated for three event domains, visual perception, falling, change of state, in Table 6.1.[2]

Table 6.1: Event domains

Event Domain	**Semantic Feature**		[± Feature] **Sense**	**Abui form**
Visual perception	[±CONTROL]	⟨	[–] 'see'	*-ien*
			[+] 'look at'	(-)*wahai*
Falling	[±ELEVATION]	⟨	[–] 'fall over'	*-quoil-*, *-kaai-*
			[+] 'fall from above'	*hayeei*
Change of state	[±CHANGE OF POSTURE]	⟨	[–] 'wake up (INTR/TR)'	*-minang-*/ *-tein-*
			[+] 'get up'	*-rui-*

Sections 6.3.1, 6.3.2, 6.3.3 discuss these three event domains in detail. They elaborate on the distinctions lexicalized in Abui and compare them to the generic verbs found in Alor Malay.[3] Each of the three event domains is split according to [±FEATURE] and examples of the use of each verb in its designated context are given. In addition, discussions of polysemy and token counts of word frequency are also presented in order to further understand the distribution of these verbs in the lexicon.

[2]These distinctions are found in other Alor-Pantar languages, such as Kamang, for example. Sometimes, the Abui forms are also cognate with the Kamang forms, though this is not always the case. Compare Kamang *kawaila* 'fall over' vs. *mo'tan* 'fall from above' (Schapper & Manimau, 2011) and Abui *-quoil-* 'fall over' vs. *hayeei* 'fall from above'.

[3]These three event domains represent a small sample of domains that where Abui uses a narrow system, while Alor Malay uses a broad system. Another example includes the verbal domain of 'eating': Abui, *nee* 'eat soft food' and *takai* 'chew/ eat hard food', Alor Malay, *makan* 'eat, chew on'. There are of course numerous examples where Alor Malay uses a narrow system, while Abui uses a broad system. One example is Abui *buuk* 'drink; smoke' and Alor Malay *minum* 'drink' and '(*isap*) *rokok* 'smoke' (Kratochvíl p.c.). However, not too many of these examples were found in the corpus of Surrey Stimuli data.

6.3.1 Verbs of visual perception

Given that vision has been shown psychologically to be the dominant human sense (Alais & Burr, 2004; Stokes & Biggs, 2014), many studies have shown that a large number of languages have adapted to this by a) using visual perception verbs more frequently than verbs for other types of perception and b) lexically differentiating different types of visual perception (Viberg, 1983; Levinson & Majid, 2014; Winter et al., 2018).

What is of interest here is the lexical differentiation between different types of visual perception. Cross-linguistically, it is extremely common for languages to use a *dynamic system* where they encode a distinction between the experience verb 'see' and the activity verb 'look at' (Viberg, 1983; Majid & Levinson, 2011). *Experience* refers to 'a state (or inchoative achievement) that is not controlled', while *activity* here refers to 'an unbounded process that is consciously controlled by a human agent' (Viberg, 1983, p. 123). With these characteristics in mind, the feature [± CONTROL] is used to differentiate these two verbs. In Abui, the context 'see [– CONTROL]' is expressed by the experience verb *-ien*, while the context 'look at [+ CONTROL]' is expressed by the activity verb (-)*wahai*.

Examples (1a-b) illustrate two instances of the use of the experience verb *-ien* in a 'see [– CONTROL]' context. In (1a), the verb *-ien* is used to describe the process of 'having a dream (lit. seeing a dream)'. Having a dream in Abui is considered experiential; one does not visually perceive a dream with any sort of control.

Example (1b) is a response to a clip from the Surrey Stimuli (see §3.5.2 for discussion of stimuli) showing a man walking by, failing to 'see the banana' on the floor and then stepping on it. The experience verb *-ien* is used to describe the event of 'not seeing the banana'. Since the main activity of the scene is the man passing by and not a controlled inspection of the banana, the fact that the banana was not taken note of implies that he did not unconsciously experience the sight of the banana, which is why he stepped on it. That he was not actively engaged in the controlled act of eyeing the banana is less relevant than the fact that he did not experience it visually, which is why the experience verb, *-ien* 'see [– CONTROL]' is used.

(1) 'see [– CONTROL]'

a. *Na piei nuku* ***h-ien-i.***
1SG dream one 3.PAT-see-PFV
'I had a dream' (lit. 'I saw a dream'). (Kratochvíl & Delpada, 2008, p. 104)

b. *Neeng nuku laak-i me mai balei* ***h-ien*** *naha.*
man one walk-PFV come.IPFV COND banana 3.PAT-see NEG
'As a man passed by, he didn't see the banana.' [ss.40F.24]

The use of the activity verb *-wahai* 'look at [+ CONTROL]' is shown in (2a-b). Example (2a) is a response to clip P02 where 'a man is sitting and actively eyeing the cheese' (see Table 3.11). After looking at it carefully, he decides not to eat it. As such, he is evidently engaging in an activity of visual perception involving control. Similarly, in (2b), the the same verb is used to encode the act of 'looking at a handle'. The use of the PRIORITIVE *=se* 'before anything else' marks an imperative, [4] suggesting the act of visual perception is intended as a controlled, volitional activity.

(2) 'look at [+ CONTROL]'

a. *Neeng nuku do mit ba keju* ***he-wahai.***
man one PROX sit LNK cheese 3.LOC-look.at
'A man is sitting and looking at some cheese.' [ss.40F.24]

b. *Puna nu* ***he-wahai=se!***
handle SPC 3.LOC-look.at=PRIOR
'Look at that handle (now).' (Kratochvíl & Delpada, 2014, p. 110)

The distinctions between the two verbs are illustrated further with some minimal pairs in (3a-b). In (3a), the speaker is using an imperative *he-wahai=se* 'just look at her' to request the interlocutor to engage in an activity of visual perception. In (3b), the use of the experience verb *h-ien=te* 'just see it' is infelicitous because the experience of visual perception is expected to come to the speaker with little control. Speakers thus reject (3b) in favour of (3a).

[4] The PRIORITIVE is often used on verbs and is used in a similar way to the post verbal Alor Malay particle *dulu* 'first'. It implies that the event be done as soon as possible. For more information on the prioritive, see §4.7.2.3.

(3) a. *Fukar baai he-da-lal-i a*
F. also 3.LOC-3.REFL.PAT-laugh-PFV 2.SG
he-wahai=se!
3.LOC-look.at=PRIOR
'Fukar also laughed about it, just look at her!' (Kratochvíl corpus)

b. *Fukar baai he-da-lal-i a*
F. also 3.LOC-3.REFL.PAT-laugh-PFV 2.SG
h-ien=te!
3.PAT-see=PRIOR
?? 'Fukar also laughed about it, just see her!' Not good for: 'Fukar also laughed about it, just look at her!' [FN]

Within the event of visual perception, verbs are sensitive to the entity being perceived. This means that, even within the same event, either *-ien* or (-)*wahai* may be used depending on which object was the focus of visual perception and to what extent viewing that object is considered an experience or an activity. Therefore, in responses to the same elicitation stimuli, such as about 'a man slipping on a banana because he didn't see it', native speakers appropriately used either of the two verbs, depending on which object was the focus of visual perception. When the 'banana' is expressed as the object of visual perception, the experience verb *-ien* 'see [–CONTROL]' is used, as in (4a). When 'near his feet' is expressed as a predicate functioning as the object of visual perception, the activity verb (-)*wahai* 'look at [+CONTROL]' is used as in (4b). The rationale behind these choices may be described as follows: when the 'banana' is expressed as the object of visual perception, its perception is assumed to be experienced because observing bananas in a controlled manner is not an inherent part of the act of walking. Thus, the experience verb [–CONTROL] *-ien* is used. However, when the object of visual perception refers to 'near his feet', this essentially involves an object that a pedestrian is actively expected to be looking at, hence the use of the verb (-)*wahai* 'look at' is used as in (4b).

(4) Response to clip C20 'Man walk and step on banana'

a. 'see banana'

Neeng nuku laak-i me mai balei san
man one walk-PFV come.IPFV COND banana ripe
h-ien *naha.*
3.PAT-see NEG

'As a man walked along, he didn't see the banana (and then stepped on it).' [ss.40F.69]

b. 'look near feet'

Neeng nuku laak-i miei ya de-toku
man one walk-PFV come.PFV SEQ 3.REFL.AL-foot
peng ***wahai*** *naha.*
be.near look.at NEG

'A man came along, and then didn't look near his feet (so he stepped on it).' [ss.40F.24]

Having illustrated the basic differences between the verbs *-ien* and (-)*wahai* in their core senses 'see' and 'look at', respectively, I now turn to two crucial factors governing the distribution of these verbs: polysemy and frequency. An important point to make about the word *-ien* is that it is more polysemous than the verb (-)*wahai* 'look at'. First, it may also denote the meaning of 'find'. Second, it denote the meaning 'know, understand', especially when combined with the verb *laka*. Third, it may be combined with the aspectual suffix *-ri*(*a*) to derive 'show'. Fourth, it can be used as a noun (and is obligatorily possessed) POSS-*ieng* 'POSS-eye'. Fourth, may be combined with *ui* 'back' to derive the meaning 'backside'. Sixth, it appears to be grammaticalizing into a verb compound indexing arguments in constructions as in *hieng mielang* 'be afraid of him' (lit. 'see him, be afraid)'.

In the Kratochvíl corpus, the form *-ien* with all its senses included appears 434 tokens (6.72% out of a total verb count of 6450). This is almost double the amount that (-)*wahai* appears (226 tokens, 3.50%). However, *-ien* with the strict sense of 'seeing' actually appears less frequently (84 tokens, 0.51%) than the the verb (-)*wahai* (226 tokens, 3.50%). These figures are presented in Table 6.2. What this shows is that strictly in the domain of visual perception, (-)*wahai* is more frequent than *-ien* but that it is less polysemous.

Table 6.2: Frequency of visual perception verbs (Kratochvíl corpus)

Sense	**Verb**	**Tokens**	**% of total number of verbs (N = 6450)**
All senses	*-ien*	434	6.72%
- 'see'	*-ien*	84	0.51%
'look at'	(-)*wahai*	226	3.50%

As opposed to Abui, Alor Malay does not lexically encode a distinction between visual activity and visual experience, a tendency which is considered cross-linguistically rare (Viberg, 1983). In other words, Alor Malay *lihat* 'visually perceive' is unspecified for the feature of CONTROL, with both senses 'see' and 'look at' being expressed using the verb *lihat* much in the same way that English may use the verb *smell* polysemously to encode both the activity (i.e. 'to sniff') and the experience (for e.g. 'to smell something burning'). Examples (5a-b) show data from Alor Malay which was provided in response to the same video clips that were used to obtain the Abui examples (1b) and (2a), which elicited *-ien* and (-)*wahai* respectively. In Alor Malay, both clips elicited one and the same verb, the generic visual perception verb *lihat*.[5]

[5]Like Abui, Alor Malay does not mark tense grammatically: however, it may indicate tense through temporal adverbs. Throughout this chapter, in the absence of temporal adverbs, the default tense will be the present tense.

(5) Alor Malay

a. 'see'

Laki-laki satu jalan datang ni=yang dia tidak
man one walk come PROX=REL 3.SG NEG
lihat *pisang.*
visually.perceive banana

'As a man passes along, he does not see the banana.'[SS.40F.AM]

b. 'look at'

Laki-laki duduk ko ***lihat*** *keju.*
male sit LNK visually.perceive cheese

'A man is sitting and looking at some cheese.' [SS.40F.AM]

In summary, Abui lexicalizes visual perception verbs according to the feature [± CONTROL]. The verb *-ien* 'see' refers to an uncontrolled visual experience, while (-)*wahai* 'look at' refers to a controlled visual activity. The verb *-ien* in its specific sense denoting 'see' occurs less frequently than the verb (-)*wahai* 'look at'. However, *-ien* is much more polysemous and may be used in various grammatical contexts; when taking into account its other senses, it appears almost twice as much as the verb (-)*wahai* 'look at'. Finally, Alor Malay has one only verb *lihat* for the generic act of visual perception.

6.3.2 Verbs of falling

In the event domain of 'falling', Abui verbs are specified for the feature [±ELEVATION], lexically distinguishing between 'falling over [–ELEVATION]' and 'falling from above [+ELEVATION]'.

Even though gravity necessitates that everything 'fall down', the fundamental difference between these two contexts is in elevation, axis, and relative landing position. The context 'falling over' encodes an event where an entity is positioned upright on the ground and then falls completely to the ground. This includes humans who started off standing or walking and then fall over to the ground. This may also include inanimate entities such as trees. Because part of the entity was already on the ground, the feature [–ELEVATION] is relevant. On the other hand, in the context of 'falling from above', the entirety of an entity falls from point A to a lower point B. This includes coconuts falling from trees, balls falling from the sky and people fall-

ing from motorbikes. As such, the feature [+ELEVATION] is relevant. These two distinctions are depicted in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Falling verbs

Event Domain	**Semantic Feature**		**Context** [± feature]	**Abui form**
Falling	[±ELEVATION]	⟨	[−] 'fall over'	*-quoil-*, *-kaai-*
			[+] 'fall from above'	(*el ong*) *hayeei*

Abui has two synonymous verbs expressing the context of 'falling over −ELEVATION', *-quoil-* and *-kaai*, while the context 'fall from above' is denoted with the form (*el ong*) *hayeei*. All three of these verbs may index either animate or inanimate entities. For the 'falling over' verbs *-quoil-* and *-kaai*, the verb forms remain the same for both animate or inanimate entities, while for the 'fall from above' verb, the form *hayeei* indexes an inanimate referent and *el ong hayeei* indexes an animate one. The verb *ong* 'make/do' creates a causative serial verb construction while *el* refers to a non-agentive pronoun.[6] The citation form for the 'fall from above' verb is thus denoted as (*el ong*) *hayeei*.

The verbs expressing the context of 'falling over', *-quoil-* and *-kaai* are illustrated in examples (6a-c) while the verb expressing the sense of 'falling from above', *hayeei*, is illustrated in example (7). Both verbs in examples (6a-b) were judged by elders to be felicitous descriptions for clip P09, where a man was walking along, stumbled on a log, and then fell to the ground. As illustrated in (6c), elders categorically rejected the expression *del ong hayeei* '(s)he fell from above' as a response to this clip, because, in the clip, the man did not fall from an elevated surface, but was walking along a plain before falling. In other words, because his feet were on the same level throughout and the falling took place along the same axis, the verb *del ong hayeei* may not be used - as it is only appropriate for falling events where an entity started at point A and ended up at a lower point B.

[6] See §4.5.2 for a discussion of non-agentive pronouns and §4.8.3 for a discussion of causative serial verb constructions.

(6) 'fall over [– ELEVATION]'

a. *Neeng nuku laak-i me mai*
man one walk-PFV come COND
da-quoil-i.
3.REFL.PAT-fall.over-PFV
'As a man came along, he fell over.' [SS.40F.69]

b. *Neeng nuku laak∼laak-i ba me kaberang-di*
man one RDP∼walk-PFV come LNK trip-INCH.PFV
ba ***da-kaai.***
LNK 3.REFL.PAT-fall.over
'A man came scurrying along, tripped, and fell over.' [SS.30F.41]

c. *? Neeng nuku laak-i ba me kaberang-di ba*
man one walk-PFV come LNK trip-INCH.PFV LNK
del ong hayeei.
3.REFL.NAGT make fall.from.above
? 'A man came along, tripped, and fell from above.' Not good for:
'A man came along, tripped, and fell over.' [FN.40F]

In example (7a), the verb *hayeei* 'fall from above' is used to describe an event where a banana falls from above onto the flat surface of a standing log. In (7b), the animate noun, *kaai* 'dog' jumps up and then falls down, so the verb *hayeei* is also appropriately used as the dog falls from above.

(7) 'fall from above [+ ELEVATION]'

a. *Balei san nuku bataa tuku tahang* ***hayeei.***
banana ripe one wood CLF on.top fall.from.above
'A ripe banana fell on top of a log.'

b. *Kaai di da-pak-di ba* ***del ong***
dog 3.AGT 3.REFL.PAT-jump.PFV LNK 3.REFL.NAGT make
hayeei.
fall.from.above
'The dog flung himself up and then made himself fall down.'
(Kratochvíl & Delpada, 2014, p. 128)

Example (8) illustrates the distinction between *daquoili* 'fall over' and *hayeei* 'fall from above' as used in the same sentence to describe different

types of falling. In this example, the speaker has just watched a short video clip in which two football players are contesting a header. The ball falls on one of the players' heads (from above) and this is described using the clause *hepikaai hayeei* 'falls on his head'. As a result, the player then falls to the ground; this is expressed using *nuku ... daquoili* 'one (man) fell over'. In addition, as shown in (9), *-quoil-* may be substituted by *-kaai* with no change in meaning, indicating that they are indeed synonyms.

(8) *Nuku ba bal di he-pikaai hayeei yo*
one REL ball 3.AGT 3.AL-head fall.from.above MED.ADD
da-quoil-i.
3.REFL.PAT-fall.over-PFV
'The one, on whose head the ball had fallen (from above), fell over.'
(Kratochvíl corpus)

(9) *Nuku ba bal di he-pikaai hayeei yo*
one REL ball 3.AGT 3.AL-head fall.from.above MED.ADD
da-kaai.
3.REFL.PAT-fall.over
'The one, on whose head the ball had fallen (from above), fell over'
[FN.26M]

Another important difference between the 'fall over' verbs, *-quoil-* and *-kaai*, on the one hand and the 'fall from above' verb *hayeei* on the other is in their polysemy. The verbs, *-quoil-* and *-kaai*, are not polysemous, while *hayeei* has a richer array of senses than just 'fall from above'. Its core falling sense 'fall from above' has been extended metaphorically to other domains, including: 1) 'something bad befalling someone', 2) '(get) hit' 3) 'close a door', 4) '(arrive) until a certain point'.

In addition to and in spite of its polysemy, in absolute terms, it is also much more frequent, as show in Table 6.4. It accounts for 6.81% of all the 6450 verbs in the Kratochvíl corpus, while the 'fall over' verbs, *-quoil-* and *-kaai-*, combined occur in only 22 tokens (accounting for only 0.34% of the total number of verbs. Even when we exclude the additional senses, *hayeei* in its strict sense 'fall from above' still occurs in 171 tokens (2.65%), which still greatly outnumbers *-quoil-* and *-kaai-* combined.

This points to the prevalence, not only of the lexical item *hayeei* with respect to either *-quoil-* (439 vs. 16) and *-kaai-* (439 vs. 6), but also to the

prevalence of the sense 'fall from above' with respect to the sense 'fall over' (171 vs. 22).

Table 6.4: Frequency of falling verbs (Kratochvíl corpus)

Sense	**Verb**	**Tokens**	**% of total number of verbs (N = 6450)**
'fall over'	*-quoil-*	16	0.25%
	-kaai	6	0.09%
	total	22	0.34%
All senses	*hayeei*	439	6.81%
- 'fall from above'	*hayeei*	171	2.65%

Turning now to Alor Malay, there is only one lexical item available for 'fall', *jatu*, which is unspecified for ELEVATION: the senses 'falling over' as in (10a) and 'falling from above' as (10b) are both expressed by the same verb, *jatu*.

(10) Alor Malay

a. *Laki-laki satu ada jalan datang ko dia terantuk*
man one PROG walk come LNK 3.SG trip
langsung ***jatu.***
immediately fall
'As a man passes by, he trips and falls.' [SS.AM.40F]

b. *Pisang* ***jatu*** *di atas kayu*
banana fall LOC top wood
'A banana falls on top of a log.' [SS.1LM.AM.3]

In summary, Abui lexicalizes falling verbs according to the feature [± ELEVATION]. The synonyms *-quoil-* and *-kaai* 'fall over' refer to a falling event where an entity which is already partially on the ground falls completely to the ground, hence the component [– ELEVATION]. In contrast, the verb *hayeei* 'fall from above' refers to a falling event where the entirety of an entity is at a higher starting point and falls onto a lower landing point, hence the component [+ ELEVATION]. In addition to these componential differences, *hayeei* 'fall from above' is also more polysemous than *-quoil-* and *-kaai*

'fall over'. As such, in absolute terms it is also much more frequent as well. Moreover, if we only consider the strict sense of *hayeei* of 'fall from above' and exclude its other senses, then it is still more frequent than *-quoil-* and *-kaai* 'fall over'. Finally, Alor Malay uses one verb *jatu* 'fall' to encode the generic act of falling.

6.3.3 Verbs of change of state

The third event domain discussed here is 'change of state'. In this domain, Abui lexicalizes distinctions in both event semantics and argument structure. With respect to event semantics, Abui lexicalizes verbs based on the feature of [± CHANGE OF POSTURE]. The principle distinction in verbs of change of state we are concerned with is between 'wake up [–CHANGE OF POSTURE]' and 'get up [+CHANGE OF POSTURE]'.[7] Specifically, 'wake up' verbs involve a change of state from sleeping consciousness to waking consciousness without a change of posture. On the other hand 'get up' verbs involve a change of state by moving into an upright posture, without necessarily a change in consciousness. These are summarized in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Change of state verbs

Event Domain	**Semantic Feature**		**Senses** [± feature]	**Abui form**
Change of state	[±CHANGE OF POSTURE]	⟨	[–] 'wake up' [+] 'get up'	*-tein-*, *-minang-* *-rui-*

As illustrated in Table 6.5, the 'wake up [–CHANGE OF POSTURE]' sense further lexicalizes verbs according to argument structure, with the root *-tein-*[8] being used for transitive clauses of 'waking someone up' and *-minang-*[9] being used in intransitive clauses of 'someone waking up by themselves'. The 'get up' [+CHANGE OF POSTURE] sense, on the hand, uses one verb stem *-rui-*[10] for both transitive and intransitive clauses, with the

[7] In some parts of this chapter where space is limited, CHANGE OF POSTURE is abbreviated to COP.

[10] The root *-rui-* may or may not involve a change in conscious state.

choice of agreement prefix (*ha-* or *da-* for third person) determining transitivity. For transitive verbs, the *ha-* (3.PAT) inflection indexes a P argument, while for intransitive verbs, the *da-* (3.REFL.PAT) inflection indexes S arguments.

These distinctions in both event semantics and argument structure are exemplified in examples (11-12). Example (11a) illustrates the use of the verb *-tein-* 'wake up TR [–CHANGE OF POSTURE]'. In this example, the 'child' is woken up by the father but is not physically raised up; instead, he remains lying on the ground, hence the component [–CHANGE OF POSTURE].

Example (11b) illustrates the use of the verb *-minang-* 'wake up INTR [–CHANGE OF POSTURE]'. Here, the man woke up by himself while he was seated against a wall and he subsequently remained seated, involving a lack of change of posture.

(11) 'wake up [– CHANGE OF POSTURE]'

a. Transitive
Neeng moqu nuku anei taa ya he-maama
man child one ground sleep.IPFV SEQ 3.AL-father
di me ***ha-tein-a.***
3.AGT come.IPFV 3.PAT-wake.up-IPFV
'A small boy is sleeping on the ground, his father comes along and wakes him up.' [SS.40F.24]

b. Intransitive
Neeng nuku ... tadei haba oro marak-di ba
man one ... sleep.PFV but DST startle-PFV LNK
da-minang-di.
3.REFL.PAT-be.conscious-PFV
'A man was asleep (leaning against something), but got startled and woke up.' [SS.43F.25]

In (12), the verb *-rui-* 'get up' entails the component [+CHANGE OF POSTURE]. It is derived from the root *rui* 'be erect'. In the transitive 'get up' example, (12a), Ata was lying down, looking at his phone; then Simon came and dragged him up, causing him to be upright. In the intransitive example, (12b), the man was just sitting against the wall, awake. He then got up and left. Both (12a-b) imply a change of posture, hence the use of *-rui-* 'get up'.

(12) 'get up [+ CHANGE OF POSTURE]'

a. Transitive

Simon di Ata ***ha-rui-di*** *ba mit-i.*
S. 3.AGT A 3.PAT-erect-INCH.PFV LNK sit-PFV
'Simon woke Ata up/raised Ata and then (Ata) sat.' [FN.43F]

b. Intransitive

Neeng nuku mit-di ***da-rui-di*** *ba*
man one sit-INCH.PFV 3.REFL.PAT-erect-INCH.PFV LNK
laak-i.
sit-PFV
'A man was seated, got up, and walked away.' [SS.30F.41]

The distinctions between the two senses 'wake up' and 'get up' are further illustrated with minimal pairs in (13). In both examples, the S argument, *neeng nuku* 'one man', is 'lying on the bamboo surface'. This clause implies a lack of change of posture; therefore the 'wake up' verb *minang* verb is preferred as in (13a), while the 'get up' verb *daruidi* appears infelicitous, as in (13b).

(13) a. *Neeng nuku wan* ***da-minang-di***
man one already 3.REFL.PAT-be.conscious-INCH.PFV
haba dara lik tahang taa.
but still bamboo.surface on.top lie.IPFV
'A man is already awake, but is still lying on the bamboo surface.'
[FN.40F]

b. *Neeng nuku wan* ***da-rui-di*** *haba*
man one already 3.REFL.PAT-be.erect-INCH.PFV but
dara lik tahang taa.
still bamboo.surface on.top.of lie.IPFV
?? 'A man has already gotten up, but is still lying on the bamboo surface.' [FN.40F]

Another important difference between the verbs *-tein-*/*-minang-* 'wake up' and *-rui* 'get up' is that the verb *-rui-* is more polysemous. It may occur in a larger number of grammatical contexts and it can index both animate and inanimate targets. It may be used for causing humans to get up as well as objects, such as houses, planks, or motorbikes. It can also be used to index

intangible nouns, such as 'history', 'stories', or 'discussion points'. When the argument is inanimate, new senses are derived, comparable to 'resurrect' in English, 'set straight', or 'risen'. The verbs *-tein-*/*-minang-* are more restricted in that they typically only index animate arguments.[11]

In sum, for the change of state verbs both event semantics and argument structure are lexicalized; in other words, both of these factors determine the use of distinct lexical items. In terms of event semantics, Abui obligatorily differentiates these verbs based on the feature of [±CHANGE OF POSTURE]. The verbs *-tein-* 'wake up TR' and *-minang-* 'wake up INTR' express the component [–CHANGE OF POSTURE], while the verb *-rui-* 'get up' expresses the component [+CHANGE OF POSTURE]. In terms of argument structure, the [–CHANGE OF POSTURE] verbs *-tein-* 'wake up TR' and *-minang-* 'wake up INTR' also lexicalize transitivity distinctions. The [+CHANGE OF POSTURE] root *rui* 'get up' is used in both transitive and intransitive constructions, with the choice of pronominal prefix determining its valency.

In terms of frequency data from the Kratochvíl corpus, Table 6.6 illustrates that the 'wake up' verbs *-tein-* (4 tokens, 0.06%) and *-minang-* (2 tokens, 0.03%) are much less frequent than the *-rui-* 'get up' verb (59 tokens, 0.91%). The verb *rui-* 'get up' occurs 68 times (1.05%) if we include the additional senses.

Table 6.6: Frequency of change of state verbs (Kratochvíl corpus)

Sense	**Verb**	**Tokens**	**% of total number of verbs (N = 6450)**
'wake up'	*-tein-*	4	0.06%
All senses	*-minang-*	10	0.15%
- 'wake up'	*-minang-*	2	0.03%
All senses	*-rui-*	68	1.05%
- 'get up'	*-rui-*	59	0.91%

[11]The verb *-minang-* must always index an animate argument. However, it can additionally add another argument using the locative prefix to derive the meaning 'remember something (lit. become conscious of something)'. In this respect, it is also polysemous, having the meaning 'wake up' and also 'remember something'.

As for Alor Malay it has only one verb for the relevant change of state event domain. As such, it is indeterminate with respect to CHANGE OF POSTURE. The Alor Malay term *bangun* 'get up' lumps together the two senses lexically differentiated in Abui. It says nothing about whether the sleeping animate being has moved upright or opened their eyes or not. With respect to argument structure, Alor Malay transitive clauses involve the use of the CAUSATIVE *kasi* 'give' in a serial verb construction, while intransitive clauses simply use the verb *bangun*.

Examples (14a-b) illustrate the use of the intransitive *bangun* 'wake up/get up'. The examples are taken from responses in Alor Malay to the same elicitation stimuli presented to speakers in Abui in examples (11b-12b). The verb *bangun* 'wake up, get up' is used to express the two senses lexically differentiated by Abui and corresponds to Abui *-minang-* and *-rui-* respectively.

(14) Alor Malay

a. 'wake up INTRANSITIVE'

Dia	*kaget*	***bangun***	*habis*	*ada*	*lihat*	*kiri*	*kanan.*
3.SG	shocked	get.up	SEQ	PROG	look	left	right

'He got startled and woke up; then, he looks left and right.'

b. 'get up INTRANSITIVE'

Dia	***bangun***	*ko*	*jalan.*
3.SG	get.up	LNK	walk

'He gets up and leaves.'

Turning now to the transitive usage, examples (15a-b) illustrate the use of *kasi bangun* 'wake s.o up/erect s.o/sth', composed of the CAUSATIVE *kasi* 'give' and *bangun* 'wake up, erect, get up'. Example (15a) addresses the 'wake up sense' which implies a lack of change of posture, while (15b) illustrates the 'get up' sense which implies a change of posture.

(15) Alor Malay

a. 'wake up TRANSITIVE'

Anak kecil satu ada tidur, dia punya bapa ni
child small one PROG sleep, 3.SG POSS father PROX
ada jalan datang ko ***kasi bangun*** *dia.*
PROG walk come LNK give get.up 3.SG

'A small child is sleeping, his father comes along and wakes him up.'

b. 'get up TRANSITIVE'

Simon ***kasi bangun*** *Ata ko duduk.*
S. give get.up A. LNK sit

'Simon lifts Ata up and then sits.'

A breakdown of the forms in Abui and Alor Malay are presented in Table 6.7.[12]

Table 6.7: Change of state verbs in Abui and Alor Malay

Sense	**Language**	**Transitive**	**Intransitive**
'wake up'	Abui	*ha-tein-*	*da-minang-*
	Alor Malay	*kasi bangun*	*bangun*
'get up'	Abui	*ha-rui-*	*da-rui-*
	Alor Malay	*kasi bangun*	*bangun*

To conclude, Abui lexically differentiates verbs based on [±CHANGE OF POSTURE]. The verbs *-tein-* (transitive) and *-minang-* (intransitive) refer to a change of state event where an entity enters a waking state of consciousness with no change of posture. The verb *-rui-* (both transitive and intransitive) refers to a change of state event involving a change of posture. The verb *-rui-* is also both more frequent and more polysemous than the verbs *-tein-* and *-minang*. Alor Malay is indeterminate to the feature and uses one verb *bangun* polysemously.

[12]The *ha-* inflection is used in transitive clauses to index a P argument, while the *da-* inflection is used in intransitive clauses to index an S argument.

6.3.4 Summary: Differences between Abui and Alor Malay

In the event domains of visual perception, falling, and change of state, Abui lexical semantics are more complex than those in Alor Malay. Abui lexically distinguishes at least two verbs for each of the follow features within three event domains: 1) [± CONTROL] for visual perception verbs, 2) [± ELEVATION] for falling verbs, and 3) [± CHANGE OF POSTURE] for change of state verbs. In these three event domains, Alor Malay does not differentiate these features and uses omly one verb for each domain.

6.4 Present study

6.4.1 Introduction

Given that these cross-linguistic lexical semantic differences exist, the broad aim of this study is to test whether the three Malay-dominant bilingual age-groups, (pre)adolescents (age: 9-16 years), young adults (age: 17-25 years), and adults (age: 26-34) (see §3.4) show variation in their use of these Abui verbs compared to the control group of elders.

When certain semantic features are not specified lexically in the dominant language but are in the target language, it is likely that L2 speakers might fail to conceptualize the distinctions encoded by the set of verbs in the target language (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). This may thus lead to generalization. Because the age-groups in this study show different exposure and thus dominance in Abui and Malay, age is used as a proxy for dominance. In other words, younger speakers are more akin to L2 speakers of Abui. In addition to age, gender is also expected to play a role in explaining differences within the groups (see §2.4.2.2).

With this in mind, the following research questions are addressed: (i) Is there variation in the use of the 'visual perception', 'falling', and 'change of state' verbs across the four age-groups? (ii) If there are any significant differences in their use of these verbs, how are gender and age linked to the variation? (iii) What do differences in production and comprehension tell us about speakers' knowledge of the verbs in these three domains?

It is expected that the groups will behave differently and that in each domain, one verb will be overgeneralized and used in other contexts at the expense of another verb. This is expected to manifest itself in an in-

crease in frequency of one form. Specifically, it is predicted that the youngest two groups, (pre)adolescents (age: 9-16) and young adults (age: 17-25), will exhibit generalization in all three domains and that the verbs which are most frequent will be generalized, namely (-)*wahai*, (*el ong*) *hayeei*, and *-rui-*. This is due to those groups' more limited relative exposure to Abui and early dominance of Alor Malay. As for adults (age: 26-34), who have high levels of proficiency, we predict that they will pattern like the control group of elders in all three event domains. This hypothesis is based on the convergence hypothesis (Green, 2003), which postulates that a high level of proficiency in the less dominant language should eventually lead to the same lexical-semantic mental representations as L1 speakers (in this case elders). This points to the importance of late learning in the acquisition of these lexical-semantic features. As far as gender is concerned, it is expected that (pre)adolescent boys will generalize the most, due to the fact that they spend more time away from the hamlet than girls and are less involved in contact with adults (see §2.4.2).

Differences in production and comprehension are expected. Indeed, many studies show that features which are problematic for speakers in L2 production may not necessarily be so in comprehension (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). Comprehension tasks, and in particular forced-choice tasks, are especially useful in this respect as they allow us to test whether speakers are still able to tease apart the subtle lexical distinctions between verbs. Testing comprehension becomes even more relevant in a speech community where speakers grow up and spend many years of their life having passive-active knowledge of the language (cf. Kulick and Terrill, 2019). In production, frequency is expected to be more likely to play a role in determining which verbs gets used. As such, it is predicted that generalization takes place more frequently in production than it does in comprehension.

In order to test these hypotheses, two studies were conducted that both focused on the use of verbs in the three event domains: visual perception, falling, and change of state. The studies involved: 1) The Surrey Stimuli production elicitation task (§6.4.2), where participants were asked to watch video stimuli and describe their content and 2) a forced-choice comprehension task (§6.4.3) where participants listened to two minimal pair sentences while watching video stimuli, and were then asked to select the sentence that best matched the event in the video stimulus (see 3.5.2 for more in-

formation on these two tasks). A general discussion is presented in 6.5.[13]

6.4.2 Study 1: Production data

The aim of the production data study is to compare the use of visual perception, falling, and change of state verbs in production across the four age-groups. The methodology of this study is discussed in §6.4.2.1, while the results are presented in §6.4.2.2.

6.4.2.1 Methodology

For the production data, a total of 66 participants were tested, divided into four groups according to age and life-stages, as displayed in Table 6.8. For a detailed discussion of how the age-groups were construed, see §3.4.

Table 6.8: Participant list for Surrey Stimuli production task

Groups	**Age range**	**M**	**F**	**Total**
(Pre)adolescents	9-16 (m: 13.47)	9	10	19
Young adults	17-25 (m: 21.42)	10	9	19
Adults	26-34 (m: 30.29)	10	9	19
Elders	40-75 (m: 50.44)	4	5	9
Total	9-75 (m: 25.51)	33	33	66

Production data was collected by means of the Surrey Stimuli video elicitation task (Fedden et al., 2013; see §3.5.2.1 on discussion of task description and execution). While all the responses were being transcribed and annotated, they were also being double checked by older, native speakers for grammaticality and felicitousness. After this process, it was clear that there was considerable age-related variation in the choice of verbs for certain events, in the sense that some verbs appeared to be generalized to other contexts. While many other verbs also showed variation among speakers, the three event domains of visual perception, falling, and change of state were selected for further investigation for two reasons. First, these domains

[13] More in-depth information on how the data was coded and analyzed can be found in §3.8.

contained the verbs that were the most frequently used in the production task, while the other types of verbs were used sporadically and thus did not fulfill sampling criteria. Second, these event domains were present in clips eliciting two polarities of a given feature (e.g. both ± CONTROL as opposed to just + CONTROL). In other words, this made it possible to study whether, for example, *-ien* was used appropriately in its target context 'see [– CONTROL]' as well as whether (-)*wahai* was used appropriately in its target context 'look at [+ CONTROL]', instead of just one of these polarities. This allowed for the testing of directionality of generalization.

Coding

The construct of *generalization* was operationalized by isolating clips eliciting events of visual perception, falling, and change of state and then coding the responses as either a match or mismatch; see Table 6.9. A match implied that the appropriate verb was used in its appropriate context. A mismatch implied that an infelicitous verb was used, meaning that a given verb was 'generalized' to a context that warranted another verb. The benchmark for what consisted of the appropriate context was provided on the basis of i) the verb used by speakers above 40 in that particular context and ii) their metalinguistic judgments about the use of the verb while watching the recording. The paragraphs below offer a detailed illustration of the various matches and mismatches for the three event domains.

Examples of both a match and a mismatch for the visual perception verb 'see' are presented in (16a-b). Both of these utterances are given by different speakers as responses to the clip C20 'Man walks by, does not see a banana, and then accidently steps on it'. The target verb in this context is the experience verb *-ien* 'see' (see §6.3.1). As such, the elder's utterance in (16a) is coded as a match as it correctly uses the verb *-ien*, while the young adult's utterance in (16b) is coded as a mismatch because it uses the activity perception verb *-wahai* 'look at'.

Table 6.9: Coding of event domains

Event Domain		Context	Match	Mismatch	Stimuli used for target
Visual perception	⟨	'see [– CONTROL]'	*-ien*	(-)*wahai*	C4, C16,C20
		'look at [+ CONTROL]'	(-)*wahai*	*-ien*	C4, C16, C20, P09, P12
Falling	⟨	'fall over [–ELEVATION]'	*-quoil-*, *-kaai-*	*hayeei*	C20, P09
		'fall from above [+ELEVATION]'	*hayeei*	*-quoil-*, *-kaai-*	C15, P11, P19
Change of state	⟨	'wake up [–COP]'	*-minang-*, *-tein-*	*-rui-*	P04, P07
		'get up [+COP]'	*-rui-*	*-minang-*, *-tein-*	P21

(16) **Visual perception:** *-ien* 'see' target; C20 'Man walks by, does not see a banana, and then accidently steps on it';

a. **Match** 43-year-old female (Elder)

Neeng nuku laak-i me mai balei san
man one walk-PFV come COND banana ripe
h-ien *naha tai laak-i.*
3.PAT-see.PFV NEG on.top walk-PFV

'As a man passed by, he didn't see the ripe banana and stepped on it.' [SS.43F.25]

b. **Mismatch** 21-year-old female (Young adult)

Neeng nuku laak-i ya balei san ***he-wahai***
man one walk-PFV SEQ banana ripe 3.LOC-look.at
naha ba di la tai laak-i.
NEG LNK 3.AGT MED.LOCA on.top walk-PFV

'A man walked by, and then did not look at the ripe banana and stepped on it.' [SS.21F.42]

The same method was applied to the coding of verbs for falling. The utterances in (17a-b) are produced in response to video clip P09 'Man walk and fall'. In this clip, a man falls over after walking quickly and tripping. Therefore, the target is a 'fall over' verb, such as *-quoil-* or *-kaai*. Either of the two represents a match, as in the elder's use of *-quoil-* in (17a). A mismatch is represented by the use of *hayeei* 'fall from above' as in the (pre)adolescent's utterance in (17b).

(17) **Falling**: *-quoil-* 'fall over' target; P09 'Man walk and fall'

a. **Match** 40-year-old female (Elder)

Neeng	*nuku*	*laak-i*	*me*	*mai*
man	one	walk-PFV	come.IPFV	COND

da-quoil-i.
3.REFL.PAT-fall.over.PFV

'As a man was walking, he fell over.' [SS.40F.24]

b. **Mismatch** 9-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent)

Neeng	*nuku*	*me*	*ba*	***hayeei.***
man	one	come.IPFV	LNK	fall.from.above

'A man walked and fell (from above).' [SS.9F.9]

As for verbs of waking up, examples (18a-b) illustrate responses to video clip P07 'Man wake up child'. In this clip, a man comes and wakes up his child simply by nudging him. The child wakes up but remains lying on the ground. Because there is no change in the posture of the child, the target verb of this clip is *-tein-* 'wake up' and not *-rui-* 'get up'. A match is thus exemplified by the elder's use of *hateina* in (18a), while a mismatch is exemplified by the (pre)adolescent's use of *haruida* 'cause something/one to get up' as in (18b).

(18) **Change of state:** *-tein-* 'wake up' target; Clip P07 'man wake up child'

a. **Match:** 40-year-old female (Elder)

Neeng moqu nuku anei taa ya he-maama
man child one ground sleep.IPFV SEQ 3.AL-father
*di me **ha-tein-a.***
3.AGT come 3.PAT-wake.up-IPFV

'A boy was sleeping on the floor; then, his father came and woke him up.' [SS.40F.24]

b. **Mismatch:** 15-year-old male ((Pre)adolescent)

Moqu nuku di taa ba he-maama me ba
child one 3.AGT sleep.IPFV LNK 3.AL-father come LNK
ha-rui-da.
3.PAT-erect-IPFV

'A child was asleep; then, his father came and raised him up.' [SS.15M.10]

As was the case in Chapter 5, the Surrey Stimuli task with the 40 clips was not hypothesis-driven, but rather served to collect a corpus in which variable grammatical patterns could be identified. As a result, it was not a completely controlled production task, and did not have a pre-determined amount of 'see [– CONTROL]' or 'fall over [– ELEVATION]' targets, for example; these were coded as such per utterance and per speaker after the recording had been done. Out of the 40 Surrey stimuli, only a select number of video stimuli had the potential to elicit the contexts and verbs in question. These are presented in Table 6.9 (a list of Surrey Stimuli and their descriptions can be found in Table 3.11; see also Appendix V for depictions of all the clips).

For the 'falling' and 'change of state' verbal domains, the clips were very rigid in their interpretation in that they could only elicit one context. For example, clip C20 and P09 could only elicit a 'fall over [– ELEVATION]' context because a man was walking along a straight plain as he (was about to) 'fall over'; meanwhile, clips C15, P11, P19 could only elicit a 'fall from above [+ ELEVATION]' context because the objects in the clips were falling from above to the ground. This means that if a a speaker produced a falling verb, it was instantly clear whether the verb was a match or mismatch.

However, for the visual perception clips, the clips could potentially eli-

cit either a 'see [– CONTROL]' context or a 'look at [+ CONTROL]' context, depending on the construction and object used (see example (4) for examples of one clip eliciting two contexts and two verbs). Despite this fluidity, it was always clear whether the appropriate verb had been used and the type of construction used in the individual responses very clearly indicates which of the two readings was intended.

6.4.2.2 Results

Tables 6.10-6.15 display the proportion of mismatches for each of the six contexts. The proportion of mismatches refers to how often the wrong verb was used in a given context. In all three domains, the [– FEATURE] context is presented first, followed by the [+ FEATURE] context. For all of these tables, the higher the mean, the more frequently the participants produced the mismatch.

Visual perception

Table 6.10 shows the proportion of mismatches for 'see [– CONTROL]' contexts. The proportion of mismatches illustrates how often a speaker used the mismatch verb, (-)*wahai* 'look at', in a 'see [– CONTROL]' context when the form *-ien-* was expected. In the 'Proportion' column, the denominator shows how many times a group produced a 'see [– CONTROL]' context, while the numerator shows how many times a group used (-)*wahai* 'look at' instead of *-ien-* 'see'.[14] For example, (pre)adolescents produced 11 'see [– CONTROL]' contexts where the verb *-ien-* was expected, yet they used the verb *-wahai* 'look at' 8/11 times (or 73%), while using *-ien* 'see' only 3/11 times (or 27%). The higher the percentage, the more frequently speakers used the mismatch verb, (-)*wahai* 'look at', in a 'see [– CONTROL]' context.

[14] Recall from §6.4.3.1 that the amount of 'contexts' produced is dependent on both the stimulus shown and the construction a speaker uses. Because speakers were free to describe the clips in ways they saw fit, not all speakers produced constructions that could be used for this particular study. This is why the denominators differ per group.

Table 6.10: Production data: Proportion of mismatches for *-ien-* 'see [– CONTROL]' target

Group	Speakers	Proportion	SD
(Pre)adolescents	19	8/11 (73%)	.47
Young adults	19	14/17 (82%)	.39
Adults	19	1/13 (8%)	.28
Elders	9	0/4 (0%)	.0

A non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test shows a statistically significant difference between the proportion of mismatches in the four groups ($H(3) = 22.183$, $p<.001$). A post-hoc pairwise comparison shows that (pre)adolescents produce mismatches significantly more often than adults and elders ($p<.05$). Young adults also produce mismatches significantly more often than adults and elders ($p<.01$). The results show that young adults had a higher proportion of mismatches (82%) compared to (pre)adolescents (73%); however, the difference was not significant ($p = .906$). Furthermore, there were no significant differences between the proportion of mismatches between adults (8%) and elders (0%), ($p = .983$). In short, these results show that both (pre) adolescents and young adults had a high number of mismatches, compared to adults and elders, who had close to none.

The proportion of mismatches for 'look at [+ CONTROL]' contexts is given in Table (6.11). The proportion of mismatches illustrates how often a speaker used the mismatch verb, *-ien-* 'see [– CONTROL]', in a context when (-)*wahai* 'look at [+ CONTROL]' was expected. As indicated by the 0 for every group, in every 'look at [+ CONTROL]' context, speakers of all groups unanimously used the appropriate verb, (-)*wahai* 'look at [+ CONTROL]'.

Table 6.11: Production data: Proportion of mismatches for (-)*wahai* 'look at [+ CONTROL]' target

Group	Speakers	Proportion	SD
(Pre)adolescents	19	0/3	.00
Young adults	19	0/26	.00
Adults	19	0/20	.00
Elders	9	0/5	.00

Taken together, Tables 6.10-6.11 show a clear pattern: (Pre)adolescents and young adults generalize the nontarget form (-)*wahai* 'look at [+ CONTROL]' to contexts warranting the verb *-ien-* 'see [– CONTROL]'. However, all groups use the target form in 'look at [+ CONTROL]' contexts appropriately. This suggests that the verb (-)*wahai* 'look at' is becoming generalized and displacing the form *-ien-* and that the feature [CONTROL] is being lost in the domain of visual perception.

Falling verbs

Table 6.12 illustrates the mismatches produced for 'fall over [– ELEVATION]' contexts. Specifically, the higher the percentage, the more frequently speakers used the mismatch verb, (*el ong*) *hayeei* 'fall from above [+ ELEVATION]', in a 'fall over [– ELEVATION]' context warranting the verbs, *-quoil-* or *-kaai*.

Table 6.12: Production data: Proportion of mismatches for *-quoil-*/*-kaai* 'fall over [– ELEVATION]' target

Group	Speakers	Proportion	SD
(Pre)adolescents	19	20/23 (87%)	.34
Young adults	19	29/29 (100%)	.00
Adults	19	14/29 (48%)	.51
Elders	9	0/9 (0%)	.00

A non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test shows a statistically significant difference between the proportions of mismatches in the four groups ($H(3) = 42.616$, $p < .001$). As can be seen from the table, the mean scores of the three Alor Malay dominant groups, (pre)adolescents (87%), young adults

(100%), and adults (48%) were all relatively high, while as expected, the control group, elders, had a mismatch rate of 0. All of these three groups differed significantly from the elders (*p*'s <.001). What these results suggest is that all three of the Alor Malay dominant groups, (pre)adolescents, young adults, and adults, had a tendency to overgeneralize the verb (*el ong*) *hayeei* 'fall from above [+ELEVATION]' to 'fall over [– ELEVATION]' contexts.

A post-hoc pairwise comparison shows that (pre)-adolescents, who obtained a high mismatch proportion of 87%, significantly differed from adults and elders (*p*'s <.001). One of the more striking results is the behaviour of young adults, who obtained a mismatch rate of 100%. This means that in every context warranting a 'fall over' verb *-quoil-*/*-kaai*, young adults used the verb 'fall from above' (*del ong*) *hayeei*. Young adults did not differ significantly from (pre)-adolescents; however, they did differ significantly from adults and elders (*p*'s <.001).

Table 6.13 shows the results for 'fall from above [+ ELEVATION]' contexts targeting the verb, (*el ong*) *hayeei*. All speakers use the target verb in 'fall from above [+ ELEVATION]' contexts.

Table 6.13: Production data: Proportion of mismatches for (*el ong*) *hayeei* 'fall from above [+ ELEVATION]' target

Group	**Speakers**	**Proportion**	**SD**
(Pre)adolescents	19	0/15	.00
Young adults	19	0/17	.00
Adults	19	0/15	.00
Elders	9	0/9	.00

Taken together, Tables 6.12-6.13 show a clear pattern: (Pre)adolescents, young adults, and adults generalize the nontarget form (*el ong*) *hayeei* 'fall from above [+ ELEVATION]' to 'fall over [– ELEVATION] contexts. However, all groups use the target form in 'fall from above [+ ELEVATION]' contexts. This suggests that the verb (*el ong*) *-hayeei* is becoming generalized and displacing the forms *-quoil-*/*-kaai* and that the feature [ELEVATION] is being lost in the domain of falling.

Change of state verbs

Table 6.14 illustrates the proportion of mismatches for 'wake up [– CHANGE OF POSTURE]' contexts, targeting the verbs *-tein-* (TR)/*-minang-* (INTR). The numerator represents counts for the use of the mismatch verb *rui* 'get up'. The higher the percentage, the higher the rate of mismatch.

Table 6.14: Production data: Proportions of mismatches for *tein-*/*-minang-* 'wake up [– CHANGE OF POSTURE]' target

Group	**Speakers**	**Proportion**	**SD**
(Pre)adolescents	19	22/27 (81%)	.40
Young adults	19	20/34 (59%)	.50
Adults	19	9/31 (29%)	.46
Elders	9	0/12	.00

A non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test shows a statistically significant difference between the proportion of mismatches in the four groups (H(3) =28.906, p <.001). A posthoc pairwise comparison confirms that (pre)adolescents show significant differences to adults and elders (p <.001), but not to young adults (p=.183). As for young adults, they produced a mismatch 59% of the time, a proportion also statistically different to adults (p <.05) and elders (p <.001). That there were no statistically significant differences between (pre)adolescents and young adults suggests that both (pre)adolescents and young adults were much more likely than adults and elders to generalize the nontarget form *-rui-* 'get up [+ CHANGE OF POSTURE]' to 'wake up [– CHANGE OF POSTURE]' contexts. In addition, there were no significant differences between adults (29%) and elders (0) (p =.204).

Table 6.15 illustrates 'get up' [+ CHANGE OF POSTURE] contexts, targetting the form *-rui-*. As evidenced by the 0s, all groups use the target form appropriately.

Table 6.15: Production data: Proportion of mismatches for *-rui-* 'get up [+ CHANGE OF POSTURE]' target

Group	Speakers	Proportion	SD
(Pre)adolescents	19	0/12	.00
Young adults	19	0/16	.00
Adults	19	0/17	.00
Elders	9	0/8	.00

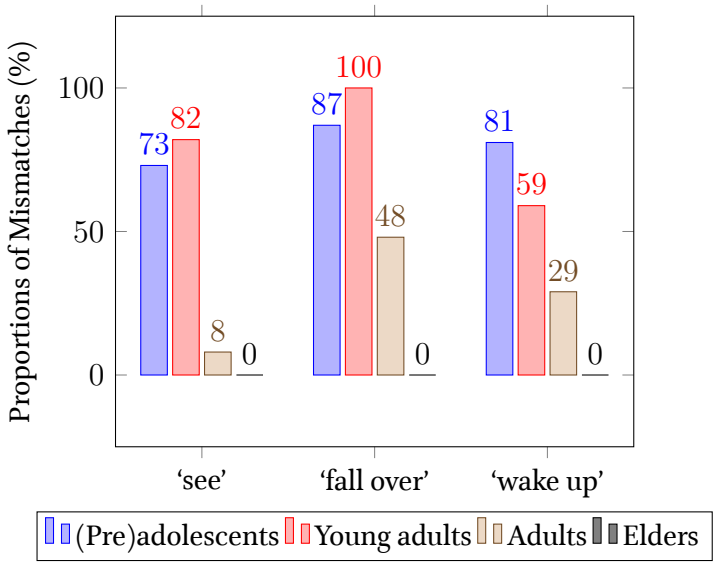
Taken together, Tables 6.14-6.15 show a clear pattern: (Pre)adolescents and young adults generalize the nontarget form *-rui-* 'get up' to 'wake up [– CHANGE OF POSTURE]' contexts. However, all groups use the target form in 'fall from above [+ CHANGE OF POSTURE]' contexts. This suggests that the verb *-rui-* 'get up' is becoming generalized and displacing the forms *-tein-* /*-minang-* and that the feature [CHANGE OF POSTURE] is being lost in the domain of change of state.

6.4.2.3 Interim Summary

So far, we have seen the results presented for the proportion of mismatches across four age-groups, for the three verbal domains. In all three domains, generalization is clearly widespread, highlighting the loss of the features [CONTROL], [ELEVATION], [CHANGE OF POSTURE], respectively.

Figure 6.1 visualizes the results of the preceding paragraphs, by using the mean percentages. It depicts the three contexts that elicited mismatches and excludes the three contexts that did not include a single instance of mismatch. Comparing the three contexts, it seems that 'fall over' shows the highest proportion of mismatch.

Figure 6.1: Proportion of mismatches for 'see', 'fall over', 'wake up'



Gender

Gender effects were tested for (pre)adolescents and young adults, because these are the two groups that showed significant differences in all three event domains. To test for gender, the three domains had to be collapsed into one variable, testing them separately was not possible because there were too few tokens to run a Chi-squared test. Recall that adults showed significant differences to elders in the 'fall over' target context, while they did not show any differences in any of the other conditions. Because of this, there were not enough tokens to run a Chi-squared test so gender could not be tested. The results are presented in Table 6.16.

Table 6.16: Gender differences across all three domains

Groups	**Gender**	**Match**	**Mismatch**	**Total**
(Pre)adolescents	male	3 (11.1%)	24 (88.9%)	27
	female	8 (23.5%)	26 (76.5%)	34
Young adults	male	7 (19.4%)	29 (80.6%)	36
	female	10 (22.7%)	34 (77.3%)	44

The results for both groups were not statistically significant. For (pre)adolescents, there were no gender differences: X (1, N = 61) = 1.570, p = .210. For young adults, there were also no gender differences: X(1, N = 80) = .128, p = .721.

However, despite these insignificant results, there do appear to be some gender differences among (pre)adolescents. (Pre)adolescent males have a mismatch rate of 88.9%, while females have a rate of 76.5%. It could be that the sample size is too small to show any significant differences.

6.4.3 Study 2: Comprehension data

The second study investigates comprehension data from the four Abui age-groups collected in the form of the forced-choice task. The methodology of the study is described in §6.4.3.1 and the results are discussed in §6.4.3.2.

6.4.3.1 Methodology

Comprehension data was collected from a total of 60 participants. Of these 60 participants, 57 had also already participated in the production task (which tested 66 participants), while 3 speakers only took part in the comprehension to compensate for the 9 speakers that could not be tested. See Table 6.17 for a full breakdown of participants.

Table 6.17: Breakdown of participants

		Production task			**Comprehension task**		
Groups	**Age range**	**M**	**F**	**Total**	**M**	**F**	**Total**
(Pre)adolescents	9-16	9	10	19	9	9	18
Young adults	17-25	10	9	19	9	5	14
Adults	26-34	10	9	19	9	8	17
Elders	40-75	4	5	9	5	6	11
Total	9-75	33	33	66	32	28	60

As discussed in §3.5.2.2, a forced-choice task targeting several areas of grammar was conducted. The forced-choice task presented speakers with a set of 30 video clips, each accompanied by the audio stimuli consisting of

two sentences; speakers were then asked to select one of the two sentences that best matched the video clip. Out of the 30 video clips, 12 targeted verbal semantics, while the rest targeted other areas and thus acted as distractors for one another. The three event domains were represented using four clips each. Table 6.18 shows the various configurations of the clips, shown along with the sentences and their associated target and mismatch. Out of the total of twelve trials, nine included videos already used in the production task, while for three trials, new videos had to be recorded.[15]

Table 6.18: Description of forced-choice stimuli targetting verb usage

Clip description	**Match**	**Mismatch**	**Clip used**
Visual perception			
'A man does not see the tree, so he bumps into it.' (excluded)	*hien*	*hewahai*	C16
'A man does not see the banana, so he steps on it.'	*hien*	*hewahai*	C20
'A man is looking at something.'	*hewahai*	*hien*	-
'' A man passes by, does not look near his feet, and trips.'	*wahai*	*hien*	P09
Falling			
'A man passes by (trips over a log) and stumbles over.'	*daquoili*	*del ong hayeei*	P09
'A man steps on a banana and nearly stumbles over.'	*daquoili*	*del ong hayeei*	C20
'A coconut falls from a tree.'	*del ong hayeei*	*daquoili*	C15
'A banana falls on a man's stomach.'	*hayeei*	*daquoili*	P19
Change of state			
'A man wakes up child.'	*hateina*	*haruida*	P07
'A man wakes up other man.'	*hateina*	*haruida*	-
'The house which has been erected burns.'	*haruida*	*hateina*	P10
'(A man is lying down); Other man raises him up.'	*haruida*	*hateina*	-

[15] Furthermore, it should also be noted that the first stimulus in the visual perception domain was excluded from the analysis because after having run the task, elders for that particular trial did not produce a 100% match rate. This means that it was not guaranteed that the trial was actually a clear-cut 'see [– CONTROL]' because there was so much variation in how elders perceived it. For all of the other trials, they unanimously achieved a 100% match rate and were therefore included.

An example of an audio stimulus match and mismatch are presented in (19a-b). Example (19a) illustrates a match because it uses the target verb *hateini* 'woke (him) up [– CHANGE OF POSTURE]' while (19b) illustrates a mismatch because the nontarget verb it uses the nontarget verb *haruidi* 'raised him [+ CHANGE OF POSTURE]'. A full list of the 12 audio stimuli is presented in the Appendix V.

(19) Video stimulus P07: 'Man wakes up child'

a. **Match**

Neeng	*nuku*	*miei*	*ba*	*moqu*	*nuku*
man	one	come.PFV	LNK	child	one

ha-tein-i.
3.PAT-wake.up-PFV
'A man came and woke a child up.'

b. **Mismatch**

Neeng	*nuku*	*miei*	*ba*	*moqu*	*nuku*	*ha-rui-di.*
man	one	come.PFV	LNK	child	one	3.PAT-erect-PFV

'A man came and raised a child up.'

It must be noted that for the change of state event domain, only transitive verbs (*ha-tein-* and *ha-rui-*) were used.

6.4.3.2 Results

The results are divided according to the three verbal categories, each bearing two targets. They are presented in Tables 6.19-6.24.

Visual perception

Table 6.19 illustrates the proportion of mismatches for *-ien-* 'see [– CONTROL]' targets. Choosing the sentence containing the verb (-)*wahai* 'look at [+ CONTROL]' is counted as a mismatch, while the sentence containing the verb *-ien-* 'see [– CONTROL]' is counted as a match.

For this condition, the number of trials (the denominator in the 'Proportion' column: 18, 14, 17, 10) tested is half the amount of the other conditions because one video clip was excluded (see Footnote 15).

Table 6.19: Comprehension data: Proportions of mismatches for *-ien-* 'see [– CONTROL]' target

Group	Speakers	Proportion	SD
(Pre)adolescents	18	6/18 (33%)	.49
Young adults	14	3/14 (21%)	.43
Adults	17	0/17 (0%)	.00
Elders	10	0/10 (0%)	.00

A Kruskal-Wallis test revealed that there was a significant differences across the four groups ($H(3) = 9.971$, $p < .05$). This difference was between (pre)adolescents (33%) and adults (0%), $p < .05$, as revealed by a post-hoc pairwise comparison. There were no significant differences between (pre)adolescents and elders, even though elders attained a proportion of 0%. This was due to the small sample size of the elders ($N = 10$), compared to (pre)adolescents (N=18) and adults (N=17). There were also no significant differences between young adults and any of the other groups.

Table 6.20 shows the opposite condition in the visual perception domain, targeting (-)*wahai* 'look at [+ CONTROL]'. Here, the use of the verb (-)*wahai* 'look at' represents a match, while the use of *-ien* 'see' represents a mismatch. The total number of tokens are double the amounts analyzed for the 'see' condition above.

Table 6.20: Comprehension data: Proportions of mismatches for (-)*wahai* 'look at [+ CONTROL]' target

Group	Speakers	Proportion	SD
(Pre)adolescents	18	6/36 (14%)	.35
Young adults	14	3/28 (10%)	.31
Adults	17	4/34 (11%)	.33
Elders	10	0/20 (0%)	.00

A Kruskal-Wallis test revealed that there were no significant differences among groups ($H(3) = 2.888$, $p > .05$). However, the table still shows that all of the Alor Malay-dominant groups produced at least a few mismatches.

Falling

As for the event domain of falling, the results for the context 'fall over [– ELEVATION] are presented in Table 6.21. Here, the use of *-quoil-* 'fall over' represents a match, while *hayeei* 'fall from above' represents a mismatch.

Table 6.21: Comprehension data: Proportion of mismatches for *-quoil-* 'fall over [– ELEVATION]' target

Group	Speakers	Proportion	SD
(Pre)adolescents	18	12/36 (33%)	.48
Young adults	14	8/28 (29%)	.46
Adults	17	4/34 (11%)	.32
Elders	10	0/20 (0%)	.00

A Kruskal-Wallis test revealed that there were significant differences among groups ($H(3) = 11.474$, $p < .05$). A post-hoc test was then conducted to test pairwise comparisons. The test revealed one significant difference: (Pre)adolescents, with a proportion of 33% differed significantly from elders, who had a proportion of 0% ($p < .05$). These results suggest that, even in comprehension, (pre)adolescents prefer (*el ong*) *hayeei* over *-quoil-* 33% of the time. Interestingly, there were no significant differences between young adults and elders, probably again due to the small sample size.

The proportion of mismatches for the context 'fall from above [+ ELEVATION]' are illustrated in Table 6.22. Here, the use of (*el ong*) *hayeei* 'fall from above [+ ELEVATION]' represents a match, while *-quoil-* 'fall over [– ELEVATION]' represents a mismatch.

Table 6.22: Comprehension data: Proportion of mismatches for (*el ong*) *hayeei* 'fall from above [+ ELEVATION]' target

Group	Speakers	Tokens	SD
(Pre)adolescents	18	1/36 (3%)	.17
Young adults	14	0/28 (0%)	.00
Adults	17	0/34 (0%)	.00
Elders	10	0/20 (0%)	.00

A Kruskal-Wallis test revealed that there were no significant differences

among groups ($H(3) = 2.278, p > .05$). Speakers almost unilaterally preferred the target (*el ong*) *hayeei* 'fall from above' over the mismatch *-quoil-* 'fall over', showing, similarly to the production task, that all speaker groups use this verb appropriately.

Change of state

The proportion of mismatches targetting 'wake up [– CHANGE OF POSTURE]' are presented in Table 6.23.

Table 6.23: Comprehension data: Proportion of mismatches for 'wake up [– CHANGE OF POSTURE]' target

Group	Speakers	Proportion	SD
(Pre)adolescents	18	2/36 (6%)	.23
Young adults	14	1/28 (4%)	.19
Adults	17	1/34 (3%)	.17
Elders	10	0/20 (0%)	.00

As can be seen in Table 6.23, the mean proportions were all generally quite low. The Kruskal-Wallis test revealed that there were no significant differences in mismatches found between any of the groups ($H(3) = 1.231, p > .05$).

As for the *-rui-* 'get up [+ CHANGE OF POSTURE]' target, the results are presented in Table 6.24.

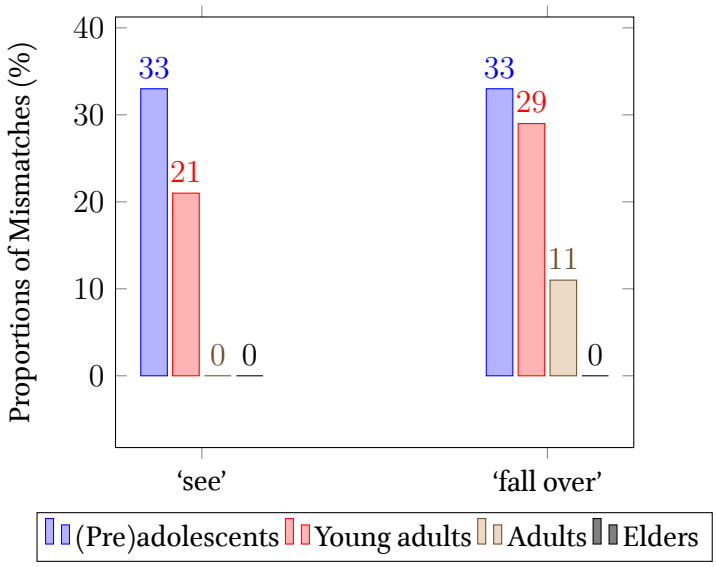
Table 6.24: Comprehension data: Proportion of mismatches for '*-rui-* 'get up [+ CHANGE OF POSTURE]' target

Group	Speakers	Proportion	SD
(Pre)adolescents	18	3/36 (8%)	.28
Young adults	14	0/28 (0%)	.00
Adults	17	0/34 (0%)	.00
Elders	10	0/20 (0%)	.00

A Kruskal-Wallis test revealed that there were no statistically significant differences among groups ($H(3) = 6.952, p > .05$).

In short, out of the six conditions, in only two were there significant differences across groups, namely in the 'see [– CONTROL]' context and the 'fall over [– ELEVATION]' context. In both of these conditions, it was (pre)-adolescents who differed significantly from elders.

Figure 6.2: Comprehension data: Proportion of mismatches for 'see', 'fall over'



6.5 Discussion

Three questions were posed at the beginning of this study: (i) Is there variation in the use of the 'visual perception', 'falling', and 'change of state' verbs across the four age-groups? (ii) If there are any significant differences in their use of these verbs, how are gender and age linked to the variation? (iii) What do differences in production and comprehension tell us about speakers' knowledge of the verbs in these three domains?

As predicted, there was variation in the use of the verbs among the four age-groups. In the production data of all three domains (comprehension data is discussed below), (pre)adolescents (9-16 years) and young adults (17-25 years) used a [+ feature] verb in its target [+ feature] context, but also overgeneralized it to a nontarget [- feature] context. Adults overgeneralized

a [+ feature] verb to a [- feature] context only in the domain of falling, but differentiated the contexts in the domain of visual perception and change of state. Elders (40-75 years), being the control group, consistently used a [+ feature] verb in a [+ feature] context and a [- feature] verb in a [- feature] context.[16]

The patterns observed for (pre)adolescents, young adults, and to a lesser extent adults, point to an increase in generalization: one form is used in an extended context, at the expense of another form. These include the use of the form (-)*wahai* in the original context of 'look at' as well as the new context of 'see', the use of (*el ong*) *hayeei* in the original context 'fall from above' and the new context 'fall over', as well as the use of *-rui-* in its original context 'get up' and its new context 'wake up'. These forms appear to be gradually displacing the forms originally reserved for those contexts. The variation suggests an increase in frequency of the generalized forms rather than a categorical change. Nonetheless, this distribution suggests that the specific semantic distinctions encoded by the features [CONTROL] in events of visual perception, [ELEVATION] in events of falling, [CHANGE OF POSTURE] in events of change of state are gradually becoming irrelevant distinguishing features in these three event domains. In this sense, generalization is leading to the loss of these lexical features.

There was a clear pattern of which verbs were selected for generalization. There are two reasons (-)*wahai* 'look at', *hayeei* 'fall from above', *rui* 'get up' were generalized and not other verbs, *-ien-* 'see', *-quoil-*/*-kaai-* 'fall over', *-tein-*/*-minang-* 'wake up TR/INTR'. The former verbs were all more frequent than their polar counterpart and often also more polysemous, except in the visual perception event domain. Both frequency and polysemy are argued to be important lexical semantic factors that might determine the outcome of semantic change and additionally be extra sensitive in bilinguals. This is in line with Winter et al. (2018) who found that words that are more frequent are often 're-used to express other concepts' (p.7). Frequency is also linked to polysemy: higher frequency words are more likely to be used in a variety of contexts, which will then lead to the acquisition of additional senses (Zipf, 1945; Calude & Pagel, 2011; Winter et al., 2018). However, this

[16]The fact that in all three domains a [+ feature] verb is generalized has little to do with the fact that it has a [+ feature] in and of itself and is argued to be related to frequency and polysemy. The 'features' were chosen arbitrarily and are presented as such in the discussion out of convenience and brevity.

did not apply in the domain of visual perception, where there was a mismatch between polysemy and frequency. In this domain, (-)*wahai* 'look at' is more frequent than *-ien* 'see', yet less polysemous. In this instance, it appeared that frequency was a better predictor than polysemy.

In addition, the graph in Figure 6.1 also shows that these three event domains pattern rather differently to one another. This is to be expected since the verbal domains of visual perception, falling, and change of state encode very different types of events with respect to one another. In addition, they have a very different distribution across the lexicon. As mentioned in §6.4.2.1, the choice of investigating these three domains was purely based on the fact that they appeared most in the responses to the Surrey Stimuli, clearly pointing to a bias created by the elicitation stimuli. At the same time, the differences between these domains can show us how a similar cause (contact with Alor Malay) can have different outcomes across verbs. It thus reveals which verbs are further down the path of generalization. In this sense, (*el ong*) *hayeei* 'fall from above' in the falling domain is more advanced than the other two domains. It is also the verb that is most polysemous and most frequent of any of the verbs generalized.

As for the link between gender and the variation, surprisingly, gender was found not to be a statistically significant variable in explaining the variation. This is at odds with the findings in Chapter 5, which clearly show that (pre)adolescent males accounted for the greatest variation due to their lower exposure to Abui. This stems from the observation that females have more territorially bound networks and spend a lot of time with older female speakers than males do with older males at this age (see §2.4.2.2). However, this did not appear to be as relevant in the domain of verb choice as it was in the domain of reflexivity in possession. At the same time, there were still some differences, albeit insignificant ones, showing that (pre)adolescent males produced more mismatches than females. For a general discussion on what these differing results might tell us, see Chapter 8.

Age, on the other hand, proved to be strong predictor of whether generalization took place. Age is a defining feature of the transitional bilingualism found in the speech community. This is linked to both history and life-stage which together have implications for exposure and language use. Specifically, history relates to early exposure to and use of Abui, while life-stage relates to current exposure to and use of Abui. In terms of history, (pre)adolescents, young adults, and adults all had more exposure to Alor

Malay in their childhood years than to Abui, while, elders had more exposure to Abui than Alor Malay. This explains the differences between elders and the rest. The differences between adults and the two younger groups, (pre)adolescents and young adults can be explained by history and life-stages. The group of present-day adults (who were roughly born between 1990 and 1980) were the first cohort of speakers whose parents transitioned from raising their children in Abui to raising them in Alor Malay. As such, the parents of this group often used a mix of the two languages when raising their children. They are likely to have had more exposure to Abui than the group that is currently (pre)adolescents and young adults, on the other hand, who were raised predominantly in Alor Malay.

In addition to history, there are differences in life-stages between (pre)adolescents, young adults, and adults which imply an increase in language use of and exposure to Abui as well. This relates closely to the type of bilingualism found in the community, where children are raised in Alor Malay but gradually become more active speakers as they enter young adulthood and married life. This implies that the acquisition of Abui involves a prolonged period of passive knowledge up until adolescence when speakers gradually begin developing active knowledge. Entering young adulthood (~age 17) is considered an important milestone as it marks the onset of sexual maturity and signals a person's readiness for marriage. Social networks are expanded to include (more Abui-dominant) speakers typically older than one's peer group, as people search for ways to improve their livelihood. In this sense, life-stage and exposure to Abui are intertwined: adults have more exposure to Abui than young adults, who in turn have more exposure than (pre)adolescents. Based on this, we would expect to find incremental differences, such that increased age (entering a new life-stage) correlates with less generalization.

Interestingly enough, the life-stage from (pre)adolescence to young adulthood did not impact speakers' use of these verbs; there were no differences at all between verb usage among (pre)adolescents and young adults. Both groups simplify the system by the generalization of one verb at the expense of another. As a matter of fact, overall, young adults even generalize at a higher proportion than (pre)adolescents; however, these differences are not significant. The second important life-stage is the marking of adulthood through marriage, which typically takes place at around the age of 25. This too was expected to have an increase in a speaker's exposure to and

use of Abui. Here, the group of adults shows significant differences with the younger groups of (pre)adolescents and young adults in two out of three of the verbal domains. The differences could indeed be explained by a combination of life-stage and history (alluded to above). In terms of life-stage, it is possible that the increased exposure and domains of use of Abui, associated with becoming an adult account for the results. It is impossible to test to what extent these results are more due to early language exposure than current language exposure, but it appears fair to attribute both factors as being responsible for explaining linguistic differences between adults and the younger groups of (pre)adolescents and young adults.

One hypothesis was that these lexical distinctions could be learned by the group of adults and that they would not exhibit any signs of generalization. This was based on previous studies which have shown that as proficiency in the L2 rises with more exposure the L2 learner may develop a lexico-semantic system with its own conceptual system and rely less on the L1 (Green, 2003; Abutalebi, 2008; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2008).[17] While adults did not generalize in the domain of visual perception and change of state, interestingly enough, they did in the domain of falling.

This suggests that the low early exposure to Abui may not be completely offset by increased current exposure associated with the adult life-stage. In other words, because adults generalized as well, there is no conclusive evidence that increased late exposure and proficiency may eradicate generalization altogether. The fact that we observe this significant difference with elders, as well as some degree of mismatches even in the non-significant differences, implies that the semantic changes documented in this chapter, despite being most widespread and advanced among (pre)adolescents and young adults, probably originated in the group that is now adults. Given that exposure to and use of Abui only increases with age, the fact the current group of adults exhibits variation suggests that generalization was likely already taking place around thirty years ago. Perhaps, with increased age, some speakers learned to lexically distinguish the semantic features splitting those verbs; however, interestingly enough, other speakers did not distinguish them in production. At the same time, in opposition to the claim that this change may have originated thirty years ago, one can also not rule

[17] Proficiency was not directly tested in this study. However, adults' self reports on their fluency of Abui score higher than those of young adults.

out the fact that this may have been a later change. If we assume this, then it may be possible that young adults (who generalize across the board) might have also influenced adults, despite being younger than them. This could be a possibility if we assume that the generalized forms are not necessarily stigmatized and that adults and young adults spend time together.

In addition to these sociolinguistic and lexical factors, it is also possible that processing difficulties associated with lexical retrieval might be masking speakers knowledge of the verbs. To test whether speakers did or did not have the mental representations underlying the distinctions between these verbs, comprehension data was used. The results revealed four main findings.

Firstly, overall, (pre)adolescents, young adults, and adults all perform better in comprehension than in production. This suggests that speakers still have knowledge of the distinctions between verbs, but are not able to integrate this knowledge in production. This finding is in line with the notion that passive comprehension requires less processing effort than active production (Onar Valk, 2015). What this suggests is that speakers do have the mental representations in mind, but that in production, they have trouble mapping the representation of the event with the lexical item. This implies that processing difficulties involving lexical retrieval are in part to blame for the high variation in the production task, a finding in line with other studies comparing similar types of production and comprehension data (Malt & Lebkuecker, 2017). This is also supported by neurolinguistic evidence: Osterhout, McLaughlin, Pitkänen, Frenck-Mestre, and Molinaro (2006) used ERPs (Event-related Potentials) in an online comprehension task and found that learners incorporated L2 knowledge much faster than is typically expected in production. However, the fact that we do find significant differences across groups even in comprehension is also suggestive that some speakers do not retain the underlying knowledge of how these verbs must be used. In particular, (pre)adolescents showed significant differences compared to all the other groups in 2/6 contexts. They generalized (-)*wahai* 'look at' to 'see' contexts and *hayeei* 'fall from above' to 'fall down' contexts. Interestingly, they did not differ from the other groups with regards to the change of state event domain, showing that they still retain knowledge of the distinctions between the verbs *-tein-* 'wake up TR', *-minang-* 'wake up INTR' on the one hand and *-rui-* 'get up' on the other, despite production data showing the contrary.

Second, what is most striking is that young adults showed very similar results to (pre)adolescents in production, yet had different results in comprehension. This suggests that young adults retain more knowledge than (pre)adolescents and consequently that they had greater difficulties with lexical retrieval because they had more of a discrepancy between production and comprehension than (pre)adolescents. The fact that (pre)adolescents showed significant differences compared to elders in both production and comprehension suggests that they indeed lack some of the knowledge of these verbs. One of the main differences between (pre)adolescents and young adults is that young adults are in a different life-stage and thus have more exposure to Abui. It could be that this increased life-stage increases their knowledge of the verbs; after all, lexical growth is known to take place well into older age (Ramscar, Hendrix, Shaoul, Milin, & Baayen, 2014; Lahmann, Steinkrauss, & Schmid, 2016). However, they still fail to integrate this knowledge, either due to processing issues such as lexical retrieval or due to conscious efforts to use these forms for reasons currently not yet understood. At the same time, one can not exclude the possibility that the smaller sample size of young adults (N = 14) compared to (pre)adolescents (N = 18) is rendering their proportion of mismatches insignificant. Of course, it is possible that a combination of these factors is accounting for the results.

There are also some statistically nonsignificant results that deserve mention. In production, the pattern of generalization was completely unidirectional. In other words, in the three domains, one verb was favoured over the other and generalized; there was no generalization in the other direction (see Tables 6.11, 6.13, 6.15 for all the 0% proportions for the targets 'look at', 'fall from above', 'get up'). In comprehension, in particular for the 'look at' target, (pre)adolescents, young adults, and adults produced some degree of mismatches, namely 14%, 10%, 11% respectively. This illustrates that while speakers show some knowledge of these verbs, they still show some confusion in comprehending the verbs. Weinreich (1953) noted that in the period where generalization is gradually taking place, confusion is likely to take place, suggesting that at the time that both forms are still present in the target language, the verbs are used interchangeably and inconsistently. Eventually, one of the terms becomes fixed as 'an expression of the combined content, and the other abandoned' (p. 54).

Two important questions arise, with the first pertaining to whether

these innovations are contact-induced. These innovations are argued to indeed be contact-induced based on the fact that elders do not generalize while the younger, more Alor Malay dominant groups do generalize. In addition, the dominant language Alor Malay, only uses one form to encode each of these three events. It has been shown in a number of previous studies that speakers whose L1 uses a broad system, like Alor Malay, and who are learning an L2 that uses a narrow system, like Abui, will have difficulties using the verbs correctly. They are thus likely to overgeneralize one of the forms. This was found both for bilingual speech communities and for second language learning contexts.

A follow-up question is whether the contact phenomenon at hand is a case of simplification due to incomplete acquisition or due to transfer (in the form of lexical calqueing) from Alor Malay into Abui.[18] One of the difficulties in arguing for lexical calquing is that the types of semantic changes discussed here are commonly attested in the absence of contact (e.g. Blank and Koch, 1999; Traugott and Dasher, 2001; Campbell, 2013). Lexical calques usually involve more rare combinations of words, corresponding to the donor language, as for example in the German word *fernsehen* 'television' (lit. 'remote vision') which is a literal translation of English *television* (Matras, 2009). Nonetheless, at this point, one argument can be made in favour of lexical calquing in the domain of visual perception, where the form *-ien-* 'see' is being replaced by the form (-)*wahai* 'look at'. It is cross-linguistically rare to have only one visual perception verb (Viberg, 1983; Majid & Levinson, 2011) so the fact that generalization is taking place could strongly suggest transfer from Alor Malay.[19]

Silva-Corvalán (1994) typically argues that simplification and overgeneralization involve internal tendencies but are accelerated by bilingualism. It is argued here that both lexical calquing (transfer) and incomplete acquisition are acting in a cumulative way to account for the patterns of generalization. To really tease the two apart, one would need to investigate verbs which involve a broad system in Abui and a narrow one in Alor Malay. In addition, one would also need to examine verbs that have the same level of

[18] Lexical calquing is defined here as 'copying the polysemies of the model language into the recipient language' and is considered a synonym of 'loan translation' (Ross, 2013, p. 19).

[19] It was not possible to get much information on whether creoles encode this distinctions. If many creoles do encode this distinction, this would strengthen the claim that generalization here is due to lexical calquing.

specificity in Abui and Alor Malay, such as Abui *-buk* 'cradle (without cloth)' and *wik* 'cradle (with cloth)' which correspond to Alor Malay *koko* 'cradle (without cloth)' and *gendong* 'cradle (with cloth)'.

One important question that is unlikely to be addressed conclusively in the absence of a real-time longitudinal study is whether these innovations will lead to fully-fledged changes. In other words, will age-grading take place such that the current group of (pre)adolescents generalize less when they grow older? Speculating on the basis of the synchronic data, it does appear that the current group of (pre)adolescents will keep generalizing when they grow older and that this variation will indeed lead to change. Insights from another study and observations from the current data support this hypothesis. Firstly, Gathercole and Moawad (2010) found that words which conceptually contained very similar senses, applicable to the verbs in the three event domains (e.g. 'fall from above' vs. 'fall over'), had a much higher chance of being generalized than verbs which were conceptually more different to one another. This predicts that, at least for the three event domains described, generalization is likely to persist.

Secondly, (pre)adolescents produced significant mismatches in comprehension, suggesting that they do indeed lack some of the lexical knowledge differentiating these verbs; this will increase the chances that they will thus use the most frequent verb generically. Then the question arises, will they acquire this knowledge when they enter the life-stage of young adulthood? Looking at the data from young adults, the answer is likely to be: probably not. The current cohort of young adult produced a high proportion of mismatches in all three domains, showing their high tendency to generalize. This suggests that (pre)adolescents will continue receiving input which favours the generalized forms. Finally, even the age-cohort above young adults, *adults*, produced enough mismatches to show evidence that they also generalize in one of the domains (falling). This shows that some of the innovations described here are so far advanced that they even occur in the speech of a group that has had higher levels of exposure to Abui than the current group of (pre)adolescents may ever have. Taken together, all of this predicts that when the current group of (pre)adolescents enters young adulthood and adulthood, they will continue to generalize.

One final point to make about the Abui speech community is that it is not always easy to use labels like early vs. late bilingual, or compound vs. subordinate bilingual and define age of onset as such. While studies using

these categories may offer useful predictions, in reality the acquisition and socialization processes involved here are different to what is discussed in other bilingual studies looking at generalization such as Ameel et al. (2009), Gathercole and Moawad (2010); that is, they are much more fluid. In addition, claims which correlate different kinds of linguistic changes with their likelihood to take place in adults and adolescents, like those found in Ross (2013) are also not unproblematic. While they take into account typical developmental patterns (such as age of acquisition of certain features) and social factors (such as social networks of adolescents), they may not always account for changes in multilingual use associated with different life-stages, which is argued here to be more widespread in many parts of Indonesia and also Melanesia (Bowden, 2002; Baird, 2017; Schokkin, 2017; Williams, 2017). One of the conclusions of this study which may be compared to studies looking at similar speech communities (e.g in Alor) is that generalization is likely to happen as a result of contact with Alor Malay and specifically as a result of children not being active speakers of Abui.

6.6 Summary and conclusion

This study investigated the distribution and causes of lexical variation in three event domains. Much of the variation was explained by age, and thus also by exposure to Abui. The group of elders was used as the control group, since Abui is their L1 and they only learned Alor Malay after the age of 7. Variation was highest among (pre)adolescents and young adults. Some variation was also found in adults, hinting that this is the group in which these innovations first appeared. The comprehension data illustrated that speakers still retain much lexical knowledge about the verbs. This suggests that processing difficulties associated with lexical retrieval could explain the discrepancies. Despite this, I argue that the three verbs (-)*wahai* 'look at', *hayeei* 'fall from above', *rui* 'get up' which originally only referred to those specific senses, are becoming the generic verbs for 'visually perceive', 'fall', and 'get up/ wake up' and that the specific verbs *-ien-* 'see', *-quoil-*/*-kaai-* 'fall over', *-minang-* 'wake up ' and to a lesser extent *-tein-* 'wake (s/o) up' might become obsolete. If these semantic changes happen, then there is sufficient evidence that L1 transfer from Alor Malay into Abui has taken place.

There are several exciting avenues for further research. The first one

would include a follow-up panel study in eight years time, when members of the current age-groups would have advanced to the adjacent age-group. This would allow for the testing of age-grading and offer a much more clear answer to the question of whether the current variation will lead to change. In addition, future work can focus on other verbs that appear to be undergoing generalization such as the perception verbs 'hear' and 'listen'. Moreover, it could be worthwhile to tease out the effect of transfer from Alor Malay by looking at translation pairs that are congruent across languages such as Ab. *-buk* vs. AM. *koko* 'cradle (with cloth)' and Ab. *-wik* vs. AM. *gendong* 'embrace (without cloth)' in addition to looking at pairs which are 'broad' in Abui and 'narrow' in Alor Malay. This can determine to what extent direct transfer is taking place. Finally, future work can also try to extrapolate the findings of this speech community to speech communities of closely related Alor-Pantar languages to address the topic of how small-scale variation can lead to linguistic diversity. Specifically, future work can examine cognates in other Alor-Pantar language of the three generalized verbs.

Chapter 7

Variation and change in reduplication

7.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the effect of contact on Abui reduplication by comparing the use of reduplication across four age groups: (pre)adolescents, young adults, adults, and elders.[1] This chapter shows how contact with Malay has led to both matter and pattern borrowing of reduplication in Abui.

In language contact situations, contact-induced change can occur both with or without the replication of form. When morphological forms are replicated, this is referred to as 'matter' borrowing (Matras & Sakel, 2007a; Sakel, 2007; Gardani, Arkadiev, & Amiridze, 2014). For example, the Austronesian language, Biak, spoken in West Papua, has undergone a lot of matter borrowing from Malay Indonesian. This is evident in the borrowing of words from various word classes, such as the the verb *putar* 'turn', the auxiliaries *bisa* 'can' and *harus* 'must', and the nouns, *rusa* 'deer' and *pasar* 'market' (van den Heuvel, 2007).

When morphological techniques, or structural patterns without forms, are replicated, this is referred to as 'pattern' borrowing (Matras & Sakel, 2007a; Sakel, 2007; Gardani et al., 2014). For example, the Nadahup language, Hup, spoken in the Vaupés region in South America, has borrowed re-

[1]This chapter is based on Klamer, Marian and Saad, George. Under review. Reduplication in Abui as transfer of matter and pattern. Submitted to *Morphology*.

lative clause and evidentiality strategies from the neighbouring Tukano language. Hup uses an object case marker on a verb to derive relative clauses on the model of Tukano, while it has also developed a fused tense-evidentiality marker also on the model of Tukano (Epps, 2007).

In many languages, clear-cut instances of pattern borrowing have been attested, whereby a pattern, absent in language A, is then transferred to language A through contact with language B. However, fewer studies have focused on the effects of contact on morphological patterns that are overlapping between languages. This means investigating a pattern that is already shared between language A and language B, but whose underlying functions, processes, and distribution are different. In situations like these, transfer of these underlying features can also take place (see Heine and Kuteva, 2005; Backus et al., 2011). As Matras and Sakel (2007b, p. 17) argue, pattern borrowing "is facilitated by a pivot common to both languages". The transfer of reduplication from Alor Malay to Abui is one such example.

In both Abui and Alor Malay, reduplication is found; however, reduplication in Alor Malay is much more widespread. Alor Malay reduplication is distributed across open word classes, serves a wide range of functions, and is highly productive. Reduplication also exists in Abui but it has a narrower scope and is less productive. For example, it applies to fewer word classes, and within the classes where it does apply, such as verbs, it does not apply systematically - it is sometimes dispreferred to other verbal strategies in marking similar functions. In addition, Alor Malay verbal reduplication encodes a wider range of notions such as casualness, typically not found in Abui. Finally, in terms of form, Alor Malay reduplication simply involves total reduplication, while Abui reduplication involves more nuanced rules.

This chapter compares the use of reduplication in Abui across the four age-groups to investigate the role of contact in changing the reduplication system. We argue that the reduplication patterns of Abui are being expanded under influence from Alor Malay. The reduplication system of young Abui speakers is converging with the system in Alor Malay due to the dominance of the latter, and the observed change applies first and foremost to the domain where there is structural overlap between the reduplication patterns in both languages, i.e. verbs.

In this chapter, several tendencies of emergent matter and pattern transfer are documented. In addition, some instances of nonce borrowings are discussed, also known as nonce replications (Backus et al., 2011). Nonce

replications here refer to constructions used by younger speakers which only appear between once and three times in the corpus. While they are idiosyncratic and might never be produced again, if they are indeed propagated, then they may reflect the incipient stages of pattern borrowing (Backus et al., 2011). In this study, it is argued that the nonce instances of reduplication reflect an increased productivity of the feature.

This chapter differs from Chapters 5 and 6 in three crucial ways. First, unlike these two chapters which focused on linguistic features which were less complex in Alor Malay than in Abui, this chapter focuses on a feature which is more complex in Alor Malay than in Abui. Because Alor Malay is generally simpler than Abui - as exemplified in Chapters 5 and 6, it is important to also investigate an area where Alor Malay is more complex to observe whether transfer and complexification are taking place in Abui, as opposed to just simplification as described in Chapters 5 and 6 (see also §1.7). By complexity, what is meant here is that Alor Malay reduplication applies to a larger set of verbs, word classes, and encodes more functions. Reduplication was indeed found to be an area that showed age-related variation, so it was included in the research for this thesis.

Second, the studies in Chapters 5 and 6 involved a quantitative, variationist approach where large amounts of data could be tested across four age-groups. This chapter offers a slightly different approach. It applies qualitative methods, where judgement data by older speakers is used in tandem with language use of older speakers to compare variation with younger speakers. Some tokens and frequency counts are presented; however, no statistical tests were performed. This is because there was unfortunately not enough data to conduct large-scale studies similar to the previous chapters - and as such there is no comprehension data either. In addition, only age is investigated here, unlike the other chapters which investigate both age and gender.

Third, because reduplication data was more sparse than data in the other chapters, this chapter uses a database drawn from both Surrey Stimuli and conversational data. In contrast, Chapters 5 and 6 analyze data from the Surrey Stimuli only.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 7.2 discusses reduplication from a typological and contact perspective, §7.3 and §7.4 describe the function and distribution of reduplication in Abui and Alor Malay, respectively. Section 7.5 discusses the methodology used in this chapter. Section 7.6 dis-

cusses four ways in which the use of reduplication among of younger speakers are being modelled on the kinds of reduplication found in Alor Malay: (i) they borrow reduplicated matter from Alor Malay (§7.6.1); (ii) they replace classic Abui parallel serial verb constructions by verb reduplications (§7.6.2); (iii) they apply the semantic notion of 'casualness' or 'aimlessness' that is found in Alor Malay reduplications on Abui reduplications (§7.6.3); and (iv) they expand Abui reduplication to new domains where older speakers do not use reduplication (§7.6.4). Section 7.7 presents a summary and a discussion of the findings.

7.2 Reduplication: A typological and contact perspective

Reduplication is a morphological word formation process in which some portion of a word is doubled. Total reduplication doubles the entire word, including all of its affixes; partial reduplication doubles some morphophonologically characterized subpart of the word, e.g. a syllable, a root, or a stem (Rubino, 2005, p. 11). An example of total reduplication is presented in (1a-b), where the stem *lari* 'run' is reduplicated.

(1) Papuan Malay (Kluge, 2014, p. 158)
   a. *lari*
      'run'
   b. *lari~lari*
      'keep running'

An example of partial reduplication is illustrated in (2a-b). Here, part of the stem, namely the first syllable /he/ are reduplicated, while the second syllable /ra/ is not.

(2) Blagar (Steinhauer, 2014)
   a. *hera*
      'descend'
   b. *he~hera*
      'descend further'

Cross-linguistically, reduplication can carry a number of meanings. In (1), reduplication marks continuation (Kluge, 2014, p. 178), while in (2),

it "indicates movement or position further in the same direction" (Steinhauer, 2014, p. 158). The meanings associated with reduplication across languages are typically drawn from a limited repertoire with an iconic grounding (Moravcsik, 1974; Gil & Hurch, 2005). On verbs, adjectives and adverbs, reduplication typically adds a semantic element related to the distribution of an argument, tense or aspect (expressing continued or repeated occurrence, completiveness, inchoativity); attenuation or intensity, transitivity (valence, object defocusing) or reciprocity (Rubino, 2013; Y. Li & Ponsford, 2018). On nouns, reduplication confers plurality, distribution, and collectivity.

In addition, within the same language, reduplication may also be polysemous, that is, have several meanings and interpretations (Y. Li & Ponsford, 2018). For example, the Austronesian language, Gayo, spoken in Sumatra, uses full reduplication to express two seemingly contradictory functions: either emphasis or attenuation (Eades, 2005). Furthermore, this is also commonly attested in many eastern Malay varieties across word classes. Papuan Malay is one well documented example. On verbs, for example, reduplication can mark up to seven functions: i) continuation, repetition, and habit, ii) plurality and diversity, iii) intensity, iv) immediacy, v) aimlessness, vi) attenuation, and vii) imitation. In addition, reduplicated phrases can undergo an interpretational shift, i.e. receive an adverbial or nominal reading (Kluge, 2014, p. 185).[2] Alor Malay, as described briefly in §7.4, shares many such properties with Papuan Malay.

The fact that reduplication may express contradictory notions, such as intensity and aimlessness, is actually quite common cross-linguistically (Mattes, 2007; Kiyomi, 2009; Moravcsik, 2013; Kluge, 2014). This is due to the nature of reduplication, which is to mark that a word is to be understood in an out-of-the-ordinary sense, either by being *more* or being *less* in relation to the baseline (Moravcsik, 2013). Here, as Kluge (2014, p. 184) points out, the linguistic context is crucial in determining which interpretation is selected.

Generally speaking, reduplication is a crosslinguistically common morphological strategy (Rubino, 2013) especially in Austronesian languages (Blust, 2013, p. 406) and in Timor-Alor-Pantar languages (Schapper, 2014a, 2017). It has also emerged in many creoles (Bakker & Parkvall, 2005). As

[2] Kluge (2014) includes adjectives in her definition of verbs. For verbs proper, there are five as opposed to seven.

such, it is argued to be one of the universal combinatory principles governing improvised language behaviour (Muysken, 2013, p. 716). Muysken argues that the iconic properties of reduplication, especially to mark emphasis and iteration, is a commonly attested outcome of bilingual optimization strategies.

In addition to - or perhaps due to - its role as basic combinatory principle, reduplication has also been identified as being sensitive to language contact (Ansaldo & Matthews, 2004; Wee & Lim, 2004; Evans, 2009). In the few examples in the literature so far, minority languages of Indonesia containing reduplication have converged their systems to match that of the dominant Indonesian *lingua franca*. This has been shown to go in two directions, both reducing the native system to match the Indonesian system, or expanding it to match the Indonesian system. For example, Tanjung Raden Malay initially had a larger set of reduplication patterns but due to contact with Standard Indonesian and Riau Indonesian, which themselves have less reduplication patterns than Tanjung Raden Malay, it reduced its reduplication system to match the fewer patterns found in the dominant language (Yanti & Raimy, 2010).[3]

In a similar vein, languages which initially had a relatively smaller reduplication system with respect to the dominant *lingua franca* have expanded their system. This has been observed in the Alor-Pantar archipelago with TAP languages in contact with the dominant *lingua franca*, Alor Malay. Kafoa, one of Abui's closest relatives, appears to have also borrowed a reduplication pattern from Alor Malay, namely nominal reduplication to mark plurality (Baird, 2017). This is illustrated in examples (3a-b).

(3) Kafoa (Baird, 2017, p. 67)

a. *kan*
child
'child'

b. *kan~kan*
RDP~child
'children'

[3]In this example, Tanjung Raden Malay is considered the indigenous minority language while Standard Indonesian and Riau Indonesian are considered the dominant majority languages of wider communications. In the next examples, local Malay is considered the dominant majority *lingua franca*.

In addition, the notion of aimlessness and casualness (discussed for the closely related Papuan Malay in Kluge, 2014 and for Alor Malay in §7.4) also appears to be calqued from Alor Malay to another Alor-Pantar language, Reta (Willemsen, to appear; p.c.) as shown in examples (4a-b). This pattern resembles Malay *duduk~duduk* 'sitting around' (see also examples (24) and (26)).

(4) Reta (Willemsen, to appear, p. 12)
   a. *miha*
      sit
      'sit'
   b. *miha~miha*
      RDP~sit
      'sitting, sitting around'

Interestingly, as we shall see in §§7.6.3-7.6.4, similar processes are also taking place in Abui.

7.3 Reduplication and verb serialization in Abui

Abui reduplicates verbs, numerals, and question words, but not nouns. Verbal reduplication is one strategy used in Abui to mark intensity, continuity and repetition of an event as discussed in §7.3.1. While reduplication is currently the more productive strategy, for specific events, older speakers, prefer to use a strategy known as parallel verb serialization, discussed in §7.3.2.

7.3.1 Abui reduplication

Verbs are the most commonly reduplicated word class.[4] Many different types of verbs can be reduplicated, such as intransitive, transitive, stative, and derived verbs. The most common type of function of verbal reduplication is to mark intensity, continuation, or repetition of an event or state

[4] Abui nouns are not generally or productively reduplicated, although there are some lexicalized reduplications of nouns such as *luka~luka* 'monkey' which have a base that is not used independently (**luka* is not an Abui word). Such lexicalized nominal reduplications also exist in Alor Malay, also for animal species: *cumi-cumi* 'squid' and *kupu-kupu* 'butterfly'.

denoted by the verb (described as 'increased degree, extension, or impact' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 274)). A less common, yet widespread function includes gradual change, which is available on stative verbs (Kratochvíl & Delpada, in prep.). In terms of form, verbal reduplication typically involves stem reduplication; aspectual suffixes and pronominal prefixes are not reduplicated (with one exception, discussed below).[5]

An illustration of a reduplication of a simple intransitive verb is illustrated in (5). The stem, *laak* 'walk', is reduplicated, while the aspectual suffix *-i* is not part of the reduplication. Reduplication here marks increased intensity.[6]

(5) *Ama nuku do* ***laak~laak-i*** *ba we.*
person one PROX RDP~walk-PFV LNK go
'A man was scurrying along.' [SS.48M.70]

The reduplication of stative verbs is illustrated in (6a-c). These examples show the stative verb *falaaka* 'be bright' in (6a), which is inflected for aspect in (6b) and reduplicated in (6c) to express increased degree.

(6) a. *Na lampu falaak-a he-wahai.*
1SG.AGT lamp be.bright-STAT 3.LOC-look.at
'I look at a bright lamp.' [FN.26M]

b. *Bumi wan falaak-da.*
earth.ML already be.bright-INCH.IPFV
'It's already dawn' (lit. 'Earth has already become bright') [FN.26M]

c. *Bumi wan* ***falaak~falaak-da.***
earth.ML already RDP~be.bright-INCH.IPFV
'It is already morning' (lit. 'Earth has already become very bright'). [FN.26M]

On intransitive stative verbs, reduplication may also be used to mark 'gradual change' as shown in examples (7-8). In these constructions, a stative verb is typically combined with an inchoative aspect marker *-da*/*di*

[5] Apart from pronominal prefixes and aspectual suffixes, there are no other productive affixes on the verb (see example (144) in Chapter 4).

[6] It is common to combine reduplication of the manner verb *laak* 'walk' with path verbs such as *we* 'go', *me* 'come'.

'INCH.IPFV/PFV' (see §4.7.2.2). Only the stem is reduplicated, while the aspect suffix is not.

(7) a. *kiik-a* red-STAT 'red'
b. *kiik-da* red-INCH.IPFV 'turn red'
c. *kiik~kiik-da* RDP~red-INCH.IPFV 'gradually turning red'
(Kratochvíl & Delpada, in prep.)

(8) a. *yook-a* wet-STAT 'wet'
b. *yook-da* wet-INCH.IPFV 'turn wet'
c. *yook~yook-da* RDP~wet-INCH.IPFV 'gradually turning wet'
(Kratochvíl & Delpada, in prep.)

While in general, affixes (pronominal prefixes and suffixes) are not involved in reduplication, there is one exception to this rule. Out of the six pronominal prefix paradigms that Abui has, the patientive paradigm[7] may be reduplicated alongside the verbal stem, while those of the other paradigms may not (see §4.6 for overview on pronominal prefix paradigms; see also Kratochvíl, 2011a, 2014a).[8]

The distinction between the patientive paradigm and other pronominal paradigms is illustrated in examples (9-12). Examples (9-10) show the reduplication of verb stem and patientive pronominal prefix *ha-*.

(9) *Neeng nuku natet ba pining*
man one stand.PFV LNK field
halak~ha-lak-da.
RDP~3.PAT-examine-INCH.IPFV
'A man is standing there inspecting the field.' [SS.56M.7]

(10) *Hedo pi pi-maama he-nala*
3.FOC 1PL.INCL.AGT 1PL.INCL.AL-father 3.AL-thing
la=ng ***habeeq~ha-beeq-da.***
MED.LOCA=ALL RDP~3.PAT-bad-INCH.IPFV
'This here, we are really destroying our esteemed friend's thing.' [CV.75F.HJ]

[7]The patientive paradigm is also the most frequently used paradigm and is a reflex of the proto-Alor-Pantar pronominal form (see Klamer and Kratochvíl, 2018).

[8]My thanks go to František Kratochvíl for making this acute observation.

In examples (11-12),[9] the pronominal prefix *do-* '3.REFL.REC' belongs to the recipient paradigm and is therefore not reduplicated; only the stem is reduplicated.

(11) *Neeng nuku ... do-anang~anang-ra.*
man one 3.REFL.REC-RDP~converse-IPFV
'A man (is lying on his back) having a whole conversation with himself.' [SS.43F.25]

(12) *Neeng nuku oro mit ba do-m-pang~pang*
man one DIST.LOCA sit LNK 3.REFL.REC-in-RDP~think
'A man is sitting there, pondering (something)' [SS.43F.25]

Numerals are reduplicated to create distributive numerals, which function to express notions such as 'one by one' as in (13a), 'two by two' as in (13b), and 'in groups of 27' as in (13c).

(13) a. ***nuk~nuk-da***
RDP~one-INCH.IPFV
'one by one' [FN.26M]

b. *A-pong* ***ayoq~ayoq-da.***
2SG.INAL-face RDP~two-INCH.IPFV
'You have a faceache.' (lit. 'Your face goes two by two.') [CV.43F.AH]

c. *kar ayoqu wal yeting* ***ayoq~ayoq-da***
ten two ADD five RDP~two-INCH.IPFV
'in groups of 27' (Klamer et al., 2017, p. 348)

Reduplicated numerals are formally predicates. Specifically, they undergo stem alternation and attach an inchoative aspect suffix, such as *-da* in examples (13a-c). A full list of stem alternations and inchoative aspectual suffixes for the numerals 'one' to 'six' is presented in Table 7.1 (taken from Klamer et al., 2017, p. 349). As shown in the table, the stem also undergoes irregular stem alternation such as *sua* 'three' > *sui~sui-da* 'three by three'. In

[9] The segment *-m-* in *dompangpang* in (12) is probably lexicalized from an earlier compound involving *m(i)* 'inside' and *pa* 'touch'. It is no longer productive, athough similar related forms do exist.

addition, the inchoative *-na* is used fo numerals 'four' and 'five', while the inchoative *-ra* is used for 'six'. Note that because of the quinary system, when the numerals seven, eight, and nine are in the ones position, they follow the morphological rules of the numeral added to the base 'five'. This is shown in (13c), where the distributive numeral of '27' is derived by reduplicating the numeral *ayoqu* 'two', because the numeral *yeting ayoqu* 'seven' consists of the addition of *yeting* 'five' and *ayoqu* 'two'.

Table 7.1: Abui cardinals and distributives

	Cardinal	Distributive
1	*nuku*	*nuk~nuk-da*
2	*ayoqu*	*ayoq~ayoq-da*
3	*sua*	*sui~sui-da*
4	*buti*	*buk~buk-na*
5	*yeting*	*yek~yek-na*
6	*talaama*	*talan~talan~ra*

Larger numbers (borrowed from Malay) undergo full reduplication and do not take an aspectual suffix, as in *rifi~rifi* 'in thousands', in (14).

(14) *Ama* ***rifi~rifi*** *sei* ...
person RDP~thousand come.down.IPFV
'People came in thousands (to that place.)' (Kratochvíl, 2014b).

Question words may also be reduplicated to derive indefinite pronouns, as in (15), where *nala* 'what; thing' is reduplicated to mean 'something' or 'whatever'.

(15) *We hel loqu iti* ***nala~nala.***
go TOP PL lie RDP~what
'Going there, there is something/whatever.' [CV.75F.JH]

To sum up, reduplication is found on verbs, numerals, and question words. It is most prominent on verbs where it most often marks intensity and continuity, while it may occasionally also mark gradual change. However, reduplication, even on verbs, does not appear to be entirely productive; it may not be used for every verb. In addition, there are restrictions and

rules in terms of form. Typically only the stem is reduplicated; aspectual suffixes are not, and only the patientive prefix may take part in the reduplication. Section 7.3.2 highlights that reduplication is not entirely productive, discussing a few event types where another strategy is favoured over reduplication.

7.3.2 Abui parallel verb serialization

Abui also has a subset of verbs for which reduplication is not considered the optimal strategy to express notions of increased intensity, continuation and repetition. For some of those verbs, although not all, a strategy involving the use of conventionalized and lexicalized serial verb constructions must be used. This is sometimes referred to as 'parallel serialization' or 'synonymous serialization'. Parallel serialization is a type of verb serialization where two verbs with parallel or in some instances synonymous meanings are paired together to convey repetitive events, or events with an increased intensity (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 357).

Examples of three such constructions are presented in (16-18).[10] In (16), the parallel verb pair include *-yok -tel* '-shake' '-tie together' meaning 'shake back and forth'. In (17), *-lal* 'laugh' *-baai* 'revel' combine to derive the meaning 'burst out laughing'. In (18), *-fik* 'pull' *-bel* 'pull out' combine for the meaning 'tugging back and forth'.[11]

One important feature of these constructions is that both verbs in the construction have the same argument structure. As such, they are both marked with the same pronominal prefix. Examples (16-18) illustrate this, while also presenting three different persons being indexed. In example (16), the third person patient prefix *ha-* is used on both verbs *ha-yok ha-tel* 'shake back and forth' indexing *deisi* 'his body' in a transitive clause 'He shakes his body back and forth'. In (17), the reflexive patient prefix *da-* is used on both verbs *da-lal da-baai* 'burst out laughing' to index *maayol nuku* 'a woman' in a reflexive construction. In (18), the distributive patient prefix *ta-* is used on the verbs *ta-fik ta-ber* 'tugging each other back and forth'. The distributive prefix signals a reciprocal relation between the participants

[10] There are many more of these event types, but these three were investigated because they appeared in the responses to the Surrey Stimuli.

[11] These verbs may also occur on their own.

(for more information on reflexive as well as reciprocal constructions, see §4.6.7).

(16) *de-isi=ng* ***ha-yok*** ***ha-tel.***
3.REFL.AL-body=ALL 3.PAT-shake 3.PAT-tie.together
'[He] shakes his body back and forth.' [SS.30M.36]

(17) *Maayol nuku do-nakal mit ba* ***da-lal***
woman one 3.REFL.REC-alone sit LNK 3.REFL.PAT-laugh
da-baai.
3.REFL.PAT-revel
'A woman is sitting by herself and burst out laughing.' [SS.59F.33]

(18) *Neeng ayoqu oro ming* ***ta-fik***
man two DIST.LOCA ALL DISTR.PAT-pull
ta-ber *ba me do.*
DISTR.PAT-pull.out.PFV LNK come PROX
'Two men there are tugging each other back and forth, coming our way.' [SS.43M.44]

In my corpus, parallel serializations are used by the older Abui speakers, while the younger speakers mostly use verb reduplications instead, a strategy that older speakers find unacceptable. Section 7.6.2 discusses this contrast in more detail.

7.4 Reduplication in Alor Malay

Reduplication in Alor Malay bears some differences as well as similarities to reduplication in Abui. In terms of form, unlike Abui, only full reduplication is found. This is related to the fact that Alor Malay has little productive morphology (see footnote 13; §1.7; Baird et al., in prep.). In terms of distribution, it is more widespread than it is in Abui. It is found on a larger number of word classes, is more productive, and also has more functions. Specifically, nouns, verbs, adjectives, question words and numerals can all undergo reduplication.

On nouns, reduplication marks a number of closely related quantitative functions. This may be (associative) plurality as in (19), collectivity as in

(20), or diversity as in (21). In (19), *ana~ana* 'RDP~child' is reduplicated and also combined with the plural word *dorang*/*dong* to mark plurality.[12]

(19) *Kemarin, ini=apa, dengan **ana~ana** dong latihan tu*
yesterday HESIT with RDP~child PL practice DIST
ko?
TAG
'Yesterday, erm, you had singing practice with the children, right?'
[CV.24F.DA.AM]

In (20), *mama~mama* 'RDP~mom' is combined to form the collective noun of 'ladies'.

(20) *Sepertinya ibu, dia pung tangan kita lihat ni,*
it.looks.like mother 3.AGT POSS hand 1PL.INCL look PROX
*ke **mama~mama** begitu.*
like RDP~mom like.that
'It seems like a woman. Her hands, [if] we look at them, resemble those of ladies.' [SS.25M.30.AM]

In (21), *daun~daun* 'RDP~leaf' marks the diversity of 'all sorts of leaves'.

(21) ***Daun~daun** ada banyak di George pung bahu jadi,*
RDP~leaf exist many LOC G. POSS shoulder so
ini, Simon datang ko kasi bersi.
PROX S. come LNK CAUS clean
'There were all sorts of leaves on George's shoulder, so, well, Simon came and cleaned [it].' [SS.28F.80.AM]

The semantic meaning elements of plurality and diversity can also be seen when reduplication is applied to verbs and adjectives. For verbs, reduplication can express the intensity, repetition, continuation, or habituality of an event or state; as well as its aimlessness or casualness (see also Sneddon et al., 2012 and Kluge, 2014).

[12] Reduplication to mark plurality, while still common in eastern varieties of Malay, is more salient in Standard Indonesian (see Sneddon et al., 2012). In eastern varieties such as Kupang and Alor Malay, the plural word is often used sometimes on its own and other times alongside a reduplicated form.

In example (22), reduplication of the verb *bergerak* 'move' marks continuation of the event of moving.[13]

(22) *Wa ada **bergerak~bergerak** la!*
EXCL PROG RDP~move EMPH
'Wa...he keeps on moving!' [CV.9F.MM]

In example (23) reduplication of the verb *foto* 'take photos' expresses an activity of 'taking photos over and over again'. In both examples (22) and (23), the progressive marker *ada*, originally meaning 'exist', is combined with the reduplicated verbs to mark continuation.

(23) *Dia ada sengaja **foto~foto** orang tu.*
3SG PROG deliberately RDP~take.photo person DIST
'He is deliberately taking many photos of them over and over again.'
[CV.28M.DA.AM]

Another prominent function of verbal reduplication in Alor Malay (as well as many other Malay varieties) is to express doing something in an aimless or casual manner, i.e. without a particular goal (cf. Sneddon et al., 2012; Kluge, 2014). In (24), the subject, *nyong* 'man', is just sitting around casually, not engaging in any other activity and with no particular aim in mind. This is expressed by using the reduplicated form *duduk~duduk* 'RDP~sit'.

(24) *Ada nyong satu, dia **duduk~duduk**.*
be man one 3SG RDP~sit
'There's a man, just sitting around.' [SS.28F.80.AM]

In example (25), the reduplicated form of *jalan* 'walk' implies 'walking around aimlessly', with the adverb *terus* adding a sense of continuity.

(25) ***Jalan~jalan** terus makanya lu lupa to?*
RDP~walk continuously hence 2SG forget TAG
'Constantly going around for no reason; no wonder you forgot, eh?'
[CV.28M.DA.AM]

[13] Unlike other varieties of Indonesian, where *ber-* is treated as a prefix and thus does not take part in the reduplication, Alor Malay has very little productive morphology. Thus, verbal reduplication involves full reduplication, as in *bergerak~bergerak* and not *bergerak~gerak*.

In (26), some examples of reduplications carrying a notion of aimlessness and casualness are given.

(26)

senyum 'to smile'	*senyum~senyum* 'smile for no reason'
pikir 'think'	*pikir~pikir* 'ponder'
jalan 'walk'	*jalan~jalan* 'go for a stroll; travel around'
pegang 'hold (tightly)'	*pegang~pegang* 'hold (loosely)'
duduk 'sit'	*duduk~duduk* 'sitting around, relaxing'
berdiri 'stand'	*berdiri~berdiri* 'standing around (without purpose)' [FN.40F]

The interpretation of the meaning element added by the reduplication process depends on the lexical semantics of the base word as well as the combination with other items in the clause (e.g. using the reduplication in a progressive construction with *ada* 'PROG' as in (23), or combining it with the adverb *terus* to express continuation in (25)). In addition, it also interacts with the pragmatic context of the utterance. As a result, the same reduplication may get different interpretations depending on the context where it is used. For example, *senyum~senyum* 'RDP~smile' may mark casualness or aimlessness as in 'smile for no reason', but in other contexts it can mark repetition, continuation or intensity ('smile repeatedly', 'keep on smiling', 'smile a lot').

Adjectives can also be reduplicated to mark intensity. This is illustrated in example (27), where the adjectives *keras* 'strong' and *takut* 'afraid' are both reduplicated. With the prohibitive *jangan*, the construction means 'don't be so afraid'.

(27) *Omong ko suara **keras~keras** jangan **takut~takut** la!*
speak COMPL voice RDP~strong PROH RDP~afraid EMPH
'Speak such that your voice is loud and strong, don't be so afraid!' [SS.23M.6]

Further, similar to Abui, question words, such as *apa* 'what' or *kapan* 'when' are reduplicated to derive impersonal pronouns, such as 'whatever' or 'whenever', as shown in (28-29).

(28) *Saya tida punya apa~apa untuk kamu.*
1SG NEG have RDP~what for 2PL
'I don't have anything for you (pl.).' [FN.23F]

(29) *Kapan~kapan dia datang di Takpala, di orang Abui,*
RDP~when 3SG come LOC Takpala LOC person Abui
baru dia liat kita na dia senang begitu.
then 3SG see 1PL.INCL COND 3SG happy like.that
'Whenever/someday she'll come to Takpala to the Abui people; when she'll see us, she'll be happy.' [CV.28M.DA.AM]

Alor Malay also reduplicates numerals to derive distributive numerals, which function to express notions such as 'one by one', as in (30).

(30) *Dulu OMK ni banyak orang tapi* ***satu~satu***
past Catholic.youth PROX many person but RDP~one
su mulai keluar.
already start exit
'In the past there were lots of young Catholic Abui people, but one by one they've started to leave.' [FN.23F]

7.4.1 Summary: Comparison of reduplication in Abui and Alor Malay

To sum up, reduplication in Abui and Alor Malay shares some similarities and exhibits some differences. Abui generally reduplicates the stem (with a few exceptions), while Alor Malay reduplicates the whole word. Another difference is that reduplication in Abui is less productive than it is in Alor Malay. Abui has no nominal reduplication, while Alor Malay marks (associative) plurality, diversity, and collectivity through nominal reduplication. In Abui, reduplication is not entirely productive; it may be applied to many but not all types of verbs, marking intensity, continuation, repetition, and gradual change. In Alor Malay, reduplication is much more productive; it may be applied to all verbs and marks intensity, continuation, repetition, and casual/aimless manner. Reduplication of stative verbs and adjectives in Abui marks intensity or gradual change, while in Alor Malay, it only marks intensity. Reduplication of question words appears to work similarly across both languages, deriving indefinite pronouns. Reduplication of numerals

also has the same function, namely to mark distribution 'one-by-one'. The reduplication features of both languages are compared in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Reduplication in Abui and Alor Malay

	Abui	**Alor Malay**
Formal features	Partial reduplication	Total reduplication
Verbs	Intensity, continuation, repetition; not entirely productive	Intensity, continuation, repetition casual/aimless manner; entirely productive
Nouns	n/a	(Associative) plurality, diversity, collectivity
Adjectives/ stative verbs	Intensity, gradual change	Intensity
Question words	Indefinite pronoun	Indefinite pronoun
Numerals	Distribution	Distribution

7.5 Present study

For this study, reduplication data in Abui is compared across the four age-groups of (pre)adolescents, young adults, adults, and elders; see §3.4 for discussion on age-groups. The source of the data includes the Surrey Stimuli (∼25 hours) and conversational data (∼5 hours) (see §3.5 for more details).[14] From both of these genres, we isolated all the utterances that contained reduplications in Abui. In total, this amounted to 189 utterances by a total of 60 different speakers; see Table 7.3.

As shown in Table 7.3, the group of (pre)adolescents had the most number of speakers producing reduplications (20 speakers), while elders had the

[14] As stated in §3.5, the data was not originally intended to elicit reduplication patterns, but was rather aimed at eliciting an Abui bilingual corpus of various age-groups from which variable patterns could be detected. Only after recording and transcribing the data, did it become clear that the reduplication patterns showed variability across the age-groups which warranted further investigation. In addition, genre was not controlled for in this study.

least (8 speakers). These speaker counts refer to speakers who produced a reduplication in either the Surrey Stimuli or a conversation.[15] While generally speaking, less data was collected from a smaller number of elders than (pre)adolescents, the figures in the table also suggest that there was a higher chance that (pre)adolescents would produce a reduplication than the other groups, possibly as a sign that it is becoming more frequent and productive among them.

Table 7.3: Participant list for reduplication tokens

Groups	**Age range**	**Speakers**	**Total number of reduplication tokens**
(pre)adolescents	9-16	20	65
Young adults	17-25	17	56
Adults	26-34	15	44
Elders	40-75	8	24
Total	9-75	60	189

With respect to which verbs were reduplicated, all speakers reduplicated a wide range of verbs: 45 different verb forms were used in the 189 utterances we investigated. The most frequent of these included *laak* 'walk' (28 tokens), (*dom*)*pang* 'think' (26 tokens), *halak* 'inspect' (15 tokens), and *anang* 'talk' (11 tokens) used by all age-groups. Together, these four verbs accounted for 80/189 utterances. Out of the 45 verbs, 41 other verbs had between 1 and 3 tokens. There is thus very little overlap in the Abui verbs that speakers reduplicate. This is especially striking since the data consists of responses to a stimuli set depicting a limited set of events, which we would expect to show a bias towards a limited set of verbs.

The Abui data presented in this chapter are of three types. First, we compare Abui utterances across age-groups, which we argue are representative of emerging trends in reduplication patterns. Second, we evaluate the utterances of the younger speakers using the judgements of older speakers, in the form of corrections to utterances that appear ungrammatical to them. These judgements are not part of the original data set, but were eli-

[15] As such, they may differ to other counts, such as number of speakers in Surrey Stimuli (cf. Tables 3.12 and 3.10).

cited after the initial data had been recorded and transcribed (they are indicated as 'corrections' in the text; see also §3.5.3.1 for more information on judgement data). Third, we contrast the utterances of younger speakers ((pre)adolescents or young adults) with utterances that the older speakers (adults or elders) themselves produced in response to the same video stimuli. Occasionally, utterances by older speakers in the Kratochvíl corpus are included to illustrate a contrast in usage.

One of the main motivations for including this judgement data was to include additional evidence to support the claim that younger speakers' utterances deviated from the norm. Ideally, if there was an equal number of speakers in each group, one could compare their utterances only; however, only eight elder speakers were sampled, compared to 20, 17, and 15 for (pre)adolescents, young adults, and adults, respectively. Therefore, judgement data had to be brought in to pinpoint that utterances by younger speakers deviated from those acceptable by elders. In addition, because the differences in meanings are so nuanced and there do not appear to be any clear-cut rules as to which verbs are reduplicated and which are not, it is even more important to recruit elder native speakers to evaluate them. Finally, because it has been claimed that indigenous minority languages have large amounts of variation due to a lack of a standard, using judgements is a useful means to tap into the boundaries of acceptable variation (Nagy, 2009).

Using both judgements and utterances of older speakers, we hope to show that some of the reduplications used by (pre)adolescents and young adults are not acceptable according to elder speakers, and that these explicit judgements, which were given after the recordings were made, are indeed supported by what elders (and to some extent adults) actually produced when they were recorded. Taken together, these two types of evidence show emerging trends in the reduplication patterns of younger speakers.[16]

Furthermore, in addition to isolating 189 utterances containing Abui reduplication, we also isolated 20 utterances containing parallel serializations. Parallel serialization constructions, like reduplication, are used with certain events to mark intensity in Abui (discussed in §7.3.2). They were collected in order to compare which strategy was preferred among which

[16]More in-depth information on how the data was coded and analyzed can be found in §3.8.

age-group.

Finally, in order to be able to compare the Abui patterns with those attested in Alor Malay, we also compiled a set of 93 Alor Malay utterances containing reduplications. These utterances were used as a database on which the description in 7.4 is based. These utterances came from responses to the Surrey Stimulus task and from conversational recordings both collected from the Alor Malay corpus (see §3.17) as well as from Alor Malay utterances present in the Abui corpus (see §3.16).

7.6 Transfer of reduplication from Alor Malay into Abui

In this section, we discuss the transfer of reduplication from Alor Malay into Abui. First, we present matter transfer: reduplications in Alor Malay as part of Abui utterances in §7.6.1. Next, we describe three ways in which young bilinguals transfer patterns of verbal reduplication into Abui under influence of Alor Malay: (i) by replacing parallel serializations with reduplications (§7.6.2); (ii) by using reduplication to mark the notion of aimlessness (§7.6.3), and (iii) by expanding reduplication to new structural domains (§7.6.4). In §7.6.5, we summarize the token frequencies of these four types of transfer for the four age-groups.

7.6.1 Matter transfer: Malay reduplications

Malay insertions are found in the utterances of all Abui speakers; however, only in the younger group (mostly (pre)adolescents and young adults) does the set of Malay insertions also include reduplications. Two frequently inserted Malay reduplications by younger speakers include the adverbs *tiba~tiba* 'suddenly' (from the base form *tiba* 'arrive')[17] and *sama~sama* 'together' (from the base word *sama* 'with; same') - in the examples below, the insertions are marked in bold. Both of these reduplications are treated as adverbs when inserted into Abui; however, *sama~sama* 'together' is occasionally aslo treated as a verb.

[17] As pointed out by František Kratochvíl (p.c.), even in Malay, *tiba~tiba* is a lexicalized form and native speakers are probably not readily aware of the derivation link between *tiba* and *tiba~tiba*, suggesting that is probably inserted as one chunk. Nonetheless, it is still an instance of matter borrowing involving a reduplicated form.

In example (31), the Alor Malay loan *tiba~tiba* occurs in the adverbial slot, before the agentive pronoun *di* 'he'.

(31) 25-year-old male (Young adult)

oro *nu=ng* *we* ***tiba~tiba*** *di* *kaberang-di.*
DIST.LOCA DIST=ALL go suddenly.ML 3.AGT trip-INCH.PFV
'[He was] going there; suddenly, he tripped.' [SS.25M.43]

Examples (32-34) illustrate the insertion of *sama~sama* 'together'.[18] In (32), *sama~sama* is treated as an adverbial, modifying *laak* 'walk'.

(32) 27-year-old female (Adult)

Moqu *loqu* *nu* *hel* *mi=se* ***sama~sama*** *laak.*
child PL DIST 3.NAGT take=PRIOR together.ML walk
'Those children, pick them up and walk together.' [CV.27F.GJ]

In examples (34) and (33), younger speakers combine *sama~sama* 'together' alongside the Abui word *-tafuda* 'all' to derive the sense 'altogether'.

(33) 24-year-old male (Young adult)

Moqu *loqu* *faring* *ya* *pi-muknehi* *George*
child PL many and 1PL.INCL.AL-same.sex.relative G.
baai *nu-tafuda* ***sama~sama*** *we-i* *hare...*
also 1.PL.EXCL-all together.ML go-PFV so
'Many kids and our brother George as well, we all went together, so...' [CV.24M.BC]

(34) 22-year-old female (Young adult)

Pu-tafuda ***sama~sama-di*** *ba* *yai* *paneeng* *naha!*
1PL.INCL-all together.ML-INCH.PFV LNK song make NEG
'We can't all sing together!' [CV.22F.OG]

[18] Malay *sama~sama* 'together' can also be used in other contexts, such as in responses to *terima kasih* 'thank you'. It does not seem to be used in Abui in this particular sense.

The base form of *sama~sama* is Malay *sama* 'same'. Interestingly, the base form *sama* 'same' has also been borrowed into Abui and is used by older speakers. It appears to be fully integrated into Abui and it differs suprasegmentally from Malay *sama* 'same'. In the Abui *sama* 'same', the first syllable is short and the second one prominent, while in Malay, the first syllable is prominent and longer.[19] Thus, the borrowing of *sama* 'same' must have happened at an earlier stage than the reduplicated form, especially since most adult speakers do not consider Abui *sama* to be a Malay word, whereas they flag *sama~sama* immediately as a Malay insertion, indicative of young people's speech.

The form *sama~sama* is typically not found in older speakers' speech. When older speakers are presented with sentences such as (32-34) containing *sama~sama*, they often reject it and construct a new sentence only containing *-tafuda*, as in (35).

(35) 40-year-old female (Elder)

Pu-tafuda	*yai*	*paneeng*	*naha!*
1PL.INCL-all	song	make	NEG

'We can't all sing together!' [CV.22F.OG]

In addition, this is also reflected in how they speak; to derive the sense 'altogether', they use *-tafuda* 'all' on its own, as shown in (36).

(36) 40+ year-old (Elder)

Nu-tafuda	*hel*	*fala*	*nu=ng*	*taa.*
1.PL.EXCL-all	TOP	house	DIST=ALL	sleep.IPFV

'We slept in that house altogether.' (Kratochvíl corpus)

The categorization of *sama~sama* in Abui varies. Often, it is treated as an adverbial, with no morphology and occurring before the verb, as in (32) and (33). Sometimes, however, it is treated as a verb, as in (34), where it takes the inchoative perfective suffix *-di* that is commonly indicative of a derived verb. It also occurs in clause-final position that is typical for verbs, preceding the clause linker *ba*.

Examples (37a-c) and (38) illustrate two instances of nonce insertions. These utterances only occur between once and three times in the corpus.

[19] I thank František Kratochvíl for pointing this out.

In (37a), a (pre)adolescent speaker inserts *teman~teman* 'RDP~friend' into an Abui nominal construction; compare Alor Malay (37b) and Abui (37c). In Abui, nominals cannot be reduplicated, as shown by the ungrammatical phrase between brackets in (37c).

(37) a. Abui with Alor Malay loan reduplication: 12-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent)

*e-**teman~teman*** *loqu*
2SG.AL-RDP~friend.ML PL

'your friends' [CV.12F.MM]

b. Alor Malay: 40-year-old female (Elder)

lu pung teman~teman dong
2SG POSS RDP~friend PL

'your friends' [FN.40F]

c. Abui: 40-year-old female (Elder)

e-feela loqu (* *e-feela~feela loqu*)
2SG.AL-friend PL

'your friends' [FN.40F]

Another example is *senyum~senyum* 'smile continuously/with no aim' (from *senyum* 'smile') in (38). The verb *senyum* 'smile' does not have a direct equivalent verb in Abui. This lexical gap could be a plausible explanation for the matter transfer of this Malay term into Abui.

(38) 27-year-old male (Adult)

Wiil neeng nuku iti de-wiil ha-buk
child man one PROX.LOCA 3.REFL.AL-child 3.PAT-cradle
*ba natet haba la **senyum~senyum** ba*
LNK stand.PFV but MED.LOCA RDP~smile LNK
natet do.
stand.PFV PROX

'A young man is standing here cradling his child but he is standing and smiling for no reason.' [SS.27M.56]

The token frequencies of matter transfers are listed in Table 7.4. These counts include the widespread insertions *sama~sama* 'together' and

tiba~tiba 'suddenly' as well as full nonce reduplications (of verbs, nouns and other words) that are directly transferred from Malay. (pre)adolescents and young adults have similar tokens: 16/65 (25%) vs. 13/56 (23%), while adults have 5/44 (11%) and elders have 0. More specifically, (pre)adolescents favour *sama~sama* insertions as well as nonce insertions, while young adults favour *sama~sama*, and *tiba~tiba*.

Table 7.4: Token frequencies for matter transfer

Groups	**Speakers**	**Total**	**Matter transfer**		
			sama~sama	***tiba~tiba***	**Nonce**
(Pre)adolescents	20	65	16 (25%)		
			5	0	11
Young adults	17	56	13 (23%)		
			7	6	0
Adults	15	44	5 (11%)		
			2	1	2
Elders	8	24	0		
			0	0	0
Total	60	189	34		
			14	7	13

7.6.2 Pattern transfer I: The replacement of parallel serializations by reduplications

As discussed in §7.3.2, Abui employs parallel serialization as one of its two major strategies to express increased intensity, continuation, and repetition of events. Although Abui lacks a standard grammatical norm, there are two indications that Abui speakers consider parallel serializations as the 'older' and more preferred pattern compared to verb reduplications. First, with regards to specific events, elder speakers utter such parallel serializations instead of reduplicated constructions; second, they also explicitly reject the reduplicated constructions as sounding unacceptable.

In this section, we review the younger speakers' tendencies to use reduplicated constructions instead of parallel serializations, and compare them

with corrections provided by older speakers, complemented by naturally produced utterances by older speakers. Tokens are presented in Table 7.6 at the end of the section.

Specifically, the parallel serializations in Table 7.5 were all uttered by older speakers in response to certain video stimuli (see Table 3.11). (pre)adolescents (age 9-16), especially, seem to prefer reduplicated constructions over parallel serializations when faced with the same video stimuli.

Table 7.5: Use of parallel serializations and reduplications by older and younger speakers

Older speakers **Parallel serializations**	**Younger Speakers** **Reduplications**	**Translation**
-yok -tel -shake -tie.together	*-yok ~-yok* RDP~shake	'shake (s/t) back and forth'
-lal -baai -laugh -revel	*-lal ~-lal* RDP~laugh	'burst out laughing'
-fik -bel/r -pull -pull.out	*-fik ~-fik* RDP~pull	'tug back and forth'

These constructions are illustrated in (39-41) below. The reduplication uttered by the younger speakers in (39a), (40a) and (41a) is semantically equivalent to the parallel serialization uttered by the older speakers in (39b), (40b) and (41b). However, while (pre)adolescents would rather use reduplication to encode the intensity, continuation or repetition of events, the older speakers prefer to express this by parallel serialization.

In (39a), in response to Surrey Stimuli clip C03, a 13-year-old speaker reduplicates *ha-yok* '3.PAT-shake' to mark intensity and repetition. From (39b), derived from judgment data, and (39c), derived from production data, it is clear that older speakers have a preference for using the parallel serialization *ha-yok ha-tel* '3.PAT-shake 3.PAT-tie.together'.

(39) Responses to clip C03 'People dancing'

a. 13-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent)

Di	*de-raala*	***hayok*~*ha-yok***	*ba*	*di*
3.AGT	3.REFL.AL-throat	RDP~3.PAT-shake	LNK	3.AGT

taa.
sleep.IPFV
Intended: 'He shakes his neck back and forth and then sleeps.' [SS.14F.55]

b. Correction of (39a) by 40-year-old female (Elder)

Di	*da-wata=ng*	***ha-yok***	***ha-tel.***
3.AGT	3.REFL.INAL-neck=ALL	3.PAT-shake	3.PAT-tie.together

'He shakes his neck back and forth.' [FN.40F]

c. 30-year-old male (Adult)

... *de-isi=ng*	***ha-yok***	***ha-tel.***
3.REFL.AL-body=ALL	3.PAT-shake	3.PAT-tie.together

'[he] shakes his body back and forth.' [SS.30M.36]

In example (40a), a 16-year-old speaker marks intensity on the verb *da-lal* '3.REFL.PAT-laugh' through reduplication. Both (40b) and (40c) show that older speakers (adults and elders) have a preference for the parallel serialization *da-lal da-baai* '3.REFL.PAT-laugh 3.REFL.PAT-revel'.

(40) Responses to clip C07 'Woman sitting and laughing'

a. 16-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent)

Maayol *nuku* *o* *mit-i* *ba* *do-nakala* *o*
woman one MED sit-PFV LNK 3.REFL.LOC-alone MED
dalal~da-lal.
RDP~3.REFL.PAT-laugh

Intended: 'A woman is sitting and laughing really hard on her own.' [SS.16F.17]

b. Correction of (40a) by a 40-year-old female (Elder)

Maayol *nuku* *o* *mit-i* *ba* *do-nakala* *wala*
woman one MED sit-PFV LNK 3.REFL.LOC-alone only
o ***da-lal*** ***da-baai.***
MED 3.REFL.PAT-laugh 3.REFL.PAT-revel

'A woman is sitting and laughing really hard on her own.' [FN.40F]

c. 48-year-old male (Elder)

Maayol *nuku* *do-nakala* *mit* *ba* ***da-lal***
woman one 3.REFL.LOC-alone sit LNK 3.REFL.PAT-laugh
da-baai.
3.REFL.PAT-revel

'A woman is sitting and laughing really hard on her own.' [SS.48M.70]

In (41a), a similar example is shown with the verb *ha-fik* '3.PAT-pull' reduplicated by a 22-year-old speaker to derive the meaning 'tug'. Similar to the examples above, the correction in (41b) provided by a 40-year-old speaker, complemented by the utterance in (41c) are clear indications that older speakers prefer parallel serialization while speakers under 34 have a preference for reduplication. In (41c), the distributive prefix *ta-* encodes the reciprocity of the event.

(41) Responses to clip C01

a. 22-year-old male (Young adult)

Neeng *nuku* *de-feela* *ha-tang* ***hafik~ha-fik.***
man one 3.REFL.AL-friend 3.INAL-hand RDP~3.PAT-pull

'A man is tugging on his friend's hand.' [SS.22M.38]

b. Correction of (41a) by 40-year-old female (Elder)

Neeng *nuku* *de-feela* *ha-tang* ***ha-fik***
man one 3.REFL.AL-friend 3.INAL-hand 3.PAT-pull
ha-bel.
3.PAT-pull.out.IPFV

'A man is tugging on his friend's hand.' [FN.40F]

c. 48-year-old male (Elder)

Neeng *ayoqu* *oro* *ming* ***ta-fik***
man two DIST.LOCA ALL DISTR.PAT-pull
ta-ber *ba* *me* *do.*
DISTR.PAT-pull.out.PFV LNK come PROX

'Two men there are tugging each other back and forth, coming our way.' [SS.48M.70]

The token frequencies for reduplication utterances where parallel serialization would be expected are listed in Table 7.6. The column 'Parallel serialization target' represents contexts where intensity is meant to be marked on a verb that is typically used in a parallel serialization. (Pre)adolescents produce five of these targets, using reduplication in four of them, while using parallel serialization in one. Young adults produce four such targets, using reduplication in one of them, while using parallel serialization in three. Adults produce nine such targets, using reduplication in one of them, while using parallel serialization in eight. Elders produce seven targets, and use parallel serialization in all seven. This suggests that (pre)adolescents are most likely to use reduplication instead of parallel serialization, although two instances were also found in young adults and adults combined.[20] These

[20] Alor Malay also has serial verb constructions, so one question that might come to mind is whether the verb serialization strategy of Abui could be a pattern that is similar to

results show that this type of pattern transfer of reduplication is not incredibly salient; however, it is still found in the community, especially among (pre)adolescents.

Table 7.6: Token frequencies for pattern transfer I: Replacement of parallel serializations

Groups	**Speakers**	**Parallel serialization target**	**Reduplication**	**Parallel serialization**
(Pre)adolescents	20	5	4	1
Young adults	17	4	1	3
Adults	15	9	1	8
Elders	8	7	0	7
Total	60	25	6	19

7.6.3 Pattern transfer II: Reduplicating with the notion of aimlessness

As discussed in §7.4, in Alor Malay, reduplication of verbs not only marks intensity, continuity and repetition, but also aimlessness and casualness. In Abui, reduplication marks intensity, continuity and repetition, but the notions of 'aimlessness' and 'casualness' are not found in the verb reduplications of the older speakers. Reduplications by young speakers, however, do express notions such as 'aimlessness' and 'casualness'; for example *natea~natea* 'just standing aimlessly' in (42) and *mit~mit* 'just sitting around aimlessly' in (43).

(and perhaps influenced by) verb serialization in Alor Malay. We compared both patterns and did not see a connection between them, as many Alor Malay serializations encode notions that are different from the notions expressed by the parallel serializations in Abui, and also involve different types of verbs.

(42) 13-year-old male ((Pre)adolescent); response to clip P06

Wiil neeng ***natea~natea*** *mai he-feela nuku*
child man RDP~stand COND 3.AL-friend one
hor-i.
3.call.PFV-PFV

'As the man was just standing there [casually], his friend called out to him.' [SS.13M.47]

(43) 15-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent); response to clip P21

Neeng nuku do ***mit~mit*** *ba langsung laak-e.*
man one PROX RDP~sit LNK immediately.ML walk-IPFV

'A man is just sitting around [casually]; then walks away.' [SS.15F.22]

Another example from the corpus is *wahai~wahai*, with the meaning 'look around aimlessly' shown in (44). It is likely that this Abui reduplication is calqued on the Malay reduplication *lihat~lihat* 'look around aimlessly'. For older speakers, *wahai~wahai* does not mean 'looking around aimlessly'. For them, reduplication of *-wahai* 'to look at' (with a pronominal object prefix *he-*) means 'staring at [something] continuously'.[21] This was not the event depicted in clip P06 in (44).

(44) 15-year-old male ((Pre)adolescent); response to clip P06

Neeng nuku di natea ba ***wahai~wahai.***
man one 3.AGT stand.IPFV LNK RDP~look.at

'A man is standing and looking around (aimlessly).' [SS.15M.10]

The token frequencies are presented in Table 7.7. A total of 15/189 (7.9%) reduplicated forms were used in ways which expressed aimlessness/casualness. (Pre)adolescents used 8/65 (12.3%) reduplicated forms with the notion of aimlessness/casualness, followed by young adults, 6/56 (10.7%) and adults 1/44 (2.2%). Elders did not produce any such forms. This data shows that this type of transfer is most salient among (pre)adolescents and young adults.

[21]The verb (-)*wahai* 'look at' is also involved in another process of contact-induced change, namely semantic generalization, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Table 7.7: Token frequencies for pattern transfer II: Transfer of notion of aimlessness/casualness

Groups	Speakers	Total number of reduplications	Pattern transfer II
(Pre)adolescents	20	65	8 (12.3%)
Young adults	17	56	6 (10.7%)
Adults	15	44	1 (2.2%)
Elders	8	24	0
Total	60	189	15 (7.9%)

7.6.4 Pattern transfer III: Expanding reduplication to new domains

Sections 7.6.2-7.6.3 focused on two specific types of pattern transfer, which appear more than twice in the corpus. There also appeared a large series of reduplications which deviated from the norm, but which did not group together to form any significant pattern; thus because many utterances are nonce utterances (occuring between once and three times), they are grouped together in this section. This section differs slightly to the previous ones as the previous ones show one clear pattern of use, while this section presents a number of nonce examples. Grouped together, the examples in this chapter are argued to suggest an increased productivity for the process of reduplication.

The examples presented here include instances relating to function and form. In terms of function, we describe nonce instances where reduplication in Abui is used beyond its traditional grammatical domains, discussed in §7.3. Young Abui speakers are expanding the use of reduplication to replace verbal constructions in a way that is not (yet) acceptable for speakers of the older generation. They also extend reduplication to the nominal domain. In terms of form, younger speakers are simplifying the system by ignoring some of the more complex rules regarding which affixes are reduplicated and simply reduplicating the whole word, similar to Alor Malay.

Examples (45a-c) illustrate evidence for the claim that younger speakers are applying reduplication to verbs that would otherwise not be reduplic-

ated. In the utterance by a 17 year-old in (45a), the Abui verb *karok* 'snore' is reduplicated (and its first vowel is also changed from [a] to [o], by analogy to the Malay word *mengorok* 'snore'). The reduplication indicates continuity and/or intensity. It was deemed unacceptable by a 40-year-old, who corrected it as in (45b). In the corpus, it occurs several other times as an unreduplicated stem, as in (45c). It is still unclear[22] exactly why older speakers do not accept this reduplication, while they do accept other reduplicated verbs (see §7.3). Nonetheless, it is taken to suggest that younger speakers apply reduplication more productively and to a wider set of verbs than do older speakers.

(45) Responses to clip C05

a. 17-year-old male ((Pre)adolescent)

Neeng nuku iti taa do o
man one PROX.LOCA sleep.IPFV PROX MED
korok*~*korok*-*da *do.*
RDP~snore-INCH.IPFV PROX

'A man is sleeping and snoring.' [SS.17M.1]

b. Correction of (45a) by 40-year-old female (Elder)

Neeng nuku taa ba karok-e.
man one sleep.IPFV LNK snore-IPFV

'A man sleeps and is snoring.' [FN.40F]

c. 31-year-old male (Adult)

Neeng kalieta nuku iti taa ba
man old.person one PROX.LOCA sleep.IPFV LNK
karok-e.
snore-IPFV

'A man is sleeping and snoring.' [SS.31M.59]

In example (46a), the 17-year-old speaker reduplicates the verb *hayeei* 'fall' to signal that the log that the girl was carrying kept falling; that is, to express the iterativity of the event. As shown in (46b) and (46c), a more

[22] It was confirmed with older speakers that it wasn't the vowel change which triggered their ungrammaticality judgement, but the reduplication instead.

commonly used construction to describe this event involves using a serial verb construction with the causative verb *ong* 'make/do'. In (46b), the child causes the log to fall, as evidenced by the pronoun *di* '3.AGT', whereas in (46c), the reflexive pronoun *del* implies that the log makes itself fall.

(46) Responses to clip C18

a. 17-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent)

... lakang tihai mai o ***hayeei~hayeei*** *ba iti.*
very heavy COND MED RDP~fall.from.above LNK lie

'... because it is very heavy, it keeps falling and lies (there).' [SS.17F.32]

b. Correction of (46a) by 40-year-old female (Elder)

... lakang tihai mai o di la ong
very heavy COND MED 3.AGT MED.LOCA make
hayeei.
fall.from.above

'...because it is very heavy, she drops it there.' [FN.40F]

c. 43-year-old female (Elder)

Moqu nuku oro bataa ha-fik-e. Del
child one DIST.LOCA wood 3.PAT-pull-IPFV 3.REFL.NAGT
ong hayeei di ha-fik beeqa.
make fall.from.above 3.AGT 3.PAT-pull can.not

'A child is pulling a log. It falls, she can't pull it (anymore).' [SS.43F.25]

The corrections listed in (45b) and (46b) to the examples (45a) and (46a), respectively, show that younger speakers are expanding the verb reduplication pattern to mark distinctions such as intensity and iterativity that were previously marked by other verbal constructions. Older speakers do not accept all the reduplications that young speakers produce.

In addition to applying reduplication to verbs, young speakers also extend it to the nominal domain. The corpus contains two instances of reduplicated Abui nouns, shown in (47a-b), both uttered by young speakers. The reduplication *neeng~neeng* 'men' may have been created partly analogous to Alor Malay *laki-laki* 'man; men', which can have both a singu-

lar and a plural interpretation. The reduplication of *maayol~maayol* 'women' is meant to mark plurality; the Malay equivalent would be *perempuan~perempuan* 'women'.[23] In contrast, (47c) shows an adult's use of the plural word *loqu*, which is the default strategy for marking plurality. Only two instances of this occurred.

(47) Responses to clip C03

a. Reduplication of nouns; 14-year-old female ((pre)adolescent)
Neeng~neeng *ya* ***maayol~maayol*** *o*
RDP~man and RDP~woman MED
do-ha-yok.
3.REFL.REC-3.PAT-shake
'Men and women are dancing.' [SS.14F.15]

b. Reduplication of nouns; 24-year-old male (young adult)
Neeng~neeng ***maayol~maayol*** *del*
RDP~man RDP~woman 3.REFL.NAGT
to-wal-ri *ba* *do-ha-yok-e.*
DISTR.REC-be.like-PFV LNK 3.REFL.REC-3.PAT-shake-IPFV
'Men and women are gathered together and dancing.' [SS.24M.40]

c. Use of plural word; 32-year-old (Adult)
Neeng ya maayol loqu do-ha-yok-e.
man and woman PL 3.REFL.REC-3.PAT-shake-IPFV
'Men and women are dancing.' [SS.32F.60]

In addition, there were a few deviant nonce reduplications concerning form. In these instances, younger speakers reduplicated the whole word, as opposed to just the stem, akin to Malay reduplication (as discussed in §7.4). There were, in total three such types of reduplications. An example given here relates to a non-verb reduplication attested in young speakers: *nuku~nuku* 'one by one' in (48). This form is likely to be a calque from Malay *satu~satu* 'one by one' (compare example (30) above). Although Abui can reduplicate cardinal numerals to derive distributive numerals (Klamer et al., 2017, pp. 348-349), as shown in (48c), as well as in (14) above, the generally

[23] As discussed in §7.4, (associative) plurality in Alor Malay may also be marked using the plural word *dorang*/*dong*.

accepted form of the distributive of 'one' takes an irregular short form *nuk* of the stem *nuku* 'one', and is inflected as a verb, with the aspectual suffix *-da*/*di*. In contrast, the reduplication of the young speaker in (48a) just copies the regular form *nuku* 'one', without any additional affixes.

(48) a. 16-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent)

A-ra ***nuku~nuku,*** ***nuku~nuku*** *he-fanga.*
2SG.PAT-try RDP~one RDP~one 3.REC-speak.IPFV

'Try (it) one by one, say it one by one.' [CV.16F.DA]

b. Correction of (48a) by 40-year-old female (Elder)

A-ra ***nuk~nuk-di*** *ba* *he-fanga.*
2SG.PAT-try RDP~one-INCH.PFV LNK 3.REC-speak.IPFV

'Try to say it one by one.' [FN.40F]

c. 27-year old female (Adult)

Meeting *ba* *taha* *tel* *amet-a* *ba* *rifi*
betel.vine REL on.top tie small-STAT REL thousand
nuk~nuk-da *yo...*
RDP~one-INCH.IPFV MED.ADDR

'The betel vine that you tie [in] small [bunches] which [sell for] 1000 per piece...' [CV.27F.GJ]

What has been shown in this section is a number of instances of nonce reduplication. The most notable ones include an increased productivity on verbs, an expansion of reduplication to the domain of nouns, and the use of total reduplication on numerals, instead of stem reduplication. The token frequencies for a combined total of all the deviant reduplications of types discussed in this section are listed in Table 7.8. (pre)adolescents produced 6/65 (9.2%) such tokens, followed by young adults, 3/17 (5.4%), and adults, 1/44 (2.2%). All of these instances were shown not to be acceptable for speakers of the older generation. This suggests that (pre)adolescents are most likely to exhibit this kind of transfer, followed more moderately by young adults and to a much lesser extent adults. This is analysed as an extension of the reduplication pattern already present in Abui under influence of Alor Malay.

Table 7.8: Token frequencies for pattern transfer III: Expanding reduplication to new domains

Groups	Speakers	Total number of reduplications	Pattern transfer III
(Pre)adolescents	20	65	6 (9.2%)
Young adults	17	56	3 (5.4%)
Adults	15	44	1 (2.2%)
Elders	8	24	0
Total	60	189	10 (18.9%)

7.6.5 Summary of token frequencies

Section 7.3 described 'native' patterns of reduplication found in older speakers. Sections 7.6.1-7.6.4 have described instances of contact-induced reduplications, which included both matter transfer and pattern transfer (three types). Table 7.9 summarizes the token frequencies found in each of these categories. It displays the total number of reduplications per group and lists the number of native reduplications as well as the instances of contact-induced reduplications.

Looking at the column of 'native reduplications', it is clear that there is positive correlation with age. (Pre)adolescents produced 31/65 (47%) native reduplications, followed by young adults 33/56 (59%), adults 36/44 (82%), and elders 24/24 (100%).

Looking now at the category of contact-induced reduplications, (pre)adolescents and young adults have similar tokens with respect to matter transfer: 16/65 (25%) vs. 13/56 (23%). With regards to pattern transfer (combining the three types), (pre)adolescents show a higher proportion compared to young adults: 18/65 (28%) vs. 10/56 (18%). Adults had 5/44 (11%) tokens of matter transfer and 3/44 (7%) tokens of pattern transfer, while elders had 0 tokens of either.

Table 7.9: Summary of total token frequencies for reduplicated words

Groups	**Speakers**	**Total N of reduplications**	**Native reduplications**	**Contact-induced reduplications**			
				Matter transfer	**Pattern transfer**		
					PT1	**PT2**	**PT3**
(Pre)adolescents	20	65	31 (47%)	16 (25%)	18 (28%)		
					4	8	6
Young adults	17	56	33 (59%)	13 (23%)	10 (18%)		
					1	6	3
Adults	15	44	36 (82%)	5 (11%)	3 (7%)		
					1	1	1
Elders	8	24	24 (100%)	0	0		
					0	0	0
Total	60	189	124	34	31		
					6	15	10

7.7 Discussion

Verbal reduplication exists in both Alor Malay and the Abui of elder speakers, encoding intensity, continuity, and repetition. However, reduplication is used much more elaborately and productively in Alor Malay than in Abui. While Alor Malay reduplicates nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, question words and numerals, Abui reduplicates only (stative) verbs, question words and numerals. In addition, there are restrictions on Abui verbal reduplication that do not apply in Alor Malay: to encode intensity, some Abui verbs must feature alongside another verb in a parallel serial verb construction; in Alor Malay, any verb can be reduplicated. Furthermore, Alor Malay allows for a broader set of semantic notions to be expressed through reduplication, such as casualness/aimlessness.

Comparing the reduplication patterns of (pre)adolescents, young adults, adults with those of elders, it is observed that (pre)adolescents and young adults, in particular appear to be expanding the system in four ways: 1) They tend to use more matter reduplication borrowings from Alor Malay, 2) They use verb reduplications instead of parallel serializations, 3) They extend the semantic notions encoded by reduplications to include casualness/aimlessness, 4) They use reduplication more productively on verbs and in some cases also reduplicate items from other word classes. The outcome observed here involves both the transfer of matter and the transfer of pattern, and more specifically pattern extension, whereby 'an existing pattern spreads to a wider range of contexts' (Backus et al., 2011, p. 743) in the younger generation. Adults display very few of these tendencies, and generally behave like elders.

In terms of matter transfer, we observed a number of Malay insertions such as *sama~sama* 'together' and *tiba~tiba* 'suddenly', which are used very regularly by younger speakers. These two, but especially *sama~sama* 'together' seem to be increasingly integrated into Abui. In addition, there are a number of nonce insertions such as *teman~teman* 'friends' and *senyum~senyum* 'smile for no reason'. Such transfer of reduplicated matter is a clear instance of direct transfer from Alor Malay into Abui. It was mostly (pre)adolescents and young adults who used matter insertions (to a similar degree), while adults did so to a much lesser extent. This is in line with the language exposure and language use of these age-groups, discussed in §3.4.

We described three types of pattern transfer which all involved ex-

tending the reduplication pattern into new domains. Judgements by elder speakers as well as utterances from them were used to show that these were indeed emerging patterns, previously not in use. In this area as well, (pre)adolescents were most likely to engage in pattern transfer, followed by young adults, and then by adults. This too is in line with their language exposure and use. The most salient type of pattern transfer taking place in all three groups combined is the calquing of the notion of casualness and aimlessness.

We argue that matter transfer may also accelerate the pattern transfer process. For example, both of the nonce instances of matter borrowing, the first using reduplication to mark plurality and the second applying the notion of casualness/aimlessness, are also attested as pattern transfer. Matter transfer accelerating pattern transfer has been shown in other languages as well, such as, for example, the matter borrowing of Spanish conjunctions into Imbabura Quechua triggering Spanish-modelled subordinate clauses instead of former nominalized constructions (Gómez-Rendón, 2007).

In a contact scenario, speakers do not always necessarily introduce completely new structures borrowed from the other language, but tend to build on structures which already exist in their native language. In other words, pattern transfer nearly always involves an adaptation in the frequency distribution of patterns that already existed in the recipient language (Silva-Corvalán, 1993, 1994, 2008). This adaptation in frequency has been referred to as a 'system-preserving change', as it involves a restructuring of the system, altering 'the way in which a [shared and existing] category is expressed' (Backus, 2004, p. 180). A 'shared' category may share some parameters across two languages, but may also have some important underlying differences, as in the case of reduplication in Alor Malay and the Abui of older speakers. Backus et al. (2011) claim that a construction that initially shows a small amount of overlap with a dominant language, may very easily expand its usage further and thus gain a larger amount of overlap due to contact. For example, using a subject-verb-object word order in German subordinate clauses (which normally have subject-object-verb order) is common in informal styles of German, but due to the influence of English on the German variety spoken in Australia, it has become the standard order for subordinate clauses in Australian German (Clyne, 2003).

A similar process of expansion is argued here to explain why younger Abui speakers extend their reduplication system to i) include verbs that

would normally only be serialized to mark intensity, ii) add the notion of casualness, and iii) reduplicate verbs and nouns that normally would not be reduplicated. That is, when speakers find evidence for a construction that is shared among the dominant and recipient language, that structure is likely to show an increase in frequency in the recipient language, in addition to becoming more entrenched and more productive (Backus, 2004). Furthermore, as pointed out in §7.2 and §7.4, reduplication in Alor Malay may have multiple functions, sometimes even marking seemingly opposite functions. The fact that younger speakers are encoding casualness/aimlessness in addition to intensity (based on context) is evidence that they are transferring this flexibility from Alor Malay to Abui. This may be considered a form of complexification of Abui.

While incorporating the notion of casualness/aimlessness may be seen as a form of complexification, there are also ways in which the reduplication system is undergoing simplification. For example, reduplication in Abui, by being less productive is in Alor Malay imposes more restrictions on speakers. It appears to be lexically based, so speakers have to process which verbs may or may not be reduplicated. In addition, there are subtle rules governing form: suffixes are not reduplicated, except for the patientive paradigm. Younger speakers appear to be simplifying the system by expanding the inventory of verbs which may be reduplicated and by choosing to ignore formal rules, by simply using total reduplication. The fact that both complexification and simplification are taking place is not uncommon (Trudgill, 2011). Both of these phenomena seem to suggest strongly that transfer from Alor Malay is taking place.

Word classes might offer a window into entrenchment and productivity. The transfer of Alor Malay reduplication first expands the reduplication of verbs, expanding a pattern that already existed in Abui. Nouns are still only slightly affected, as Abui traditionally does not have noun reduplication. This suggests that the emergent contact-induced change discussed here first affects and expands the verbal domain where both languages have structural overlap, initially staying away from the nominal domain where no structural overlap exists. However, the nonce borrowings of noun reduplication could suggest that, after verbal reduplication is expanded, nominal reduplication might be next in line. Here too, it was shown that both matter transfer of reduplicated Alor Malay nouns and pattern transfer of reduplicated Abui nouns were found.

In addition to these tendencies involving pattern extension, several other factors must be mentioned in explaining this contact scenario. First, reduplication is generally known to be a category which is transferred through contact (Ansaldo & Matthews, 2004; Wee & Lim, 2004; Bakker & Parkvall, 2005; Evans, 2009; Reid, 2009). As mentioned in §7.2, other Alor-Pantar languages, such as Kafoa and Reta have also been reported to be the subject of potential transfer effects from Alor Malay with respect to the marking of plurality and casualness/aimlessness respectively (Baird, 2017; Willemsen, to appear), so it is unsurprising that this transfer would also take place in Abui. If this is indeed the case, future studies could investigate more Alor-Pantar languages and observe whether Alor Malay is affecting their reduplication systems in similar ways.

It must also be pointed out that reduplication is a cross-linguistically common morphological strategy (Rubino, 2013) and has been cited as being one of the universal basic combinatory principles governing improvised language behaviour (Muysken, 2013). This implies that it is rather prominent in scenarios involving incomplete acquisition. This thus explains its salience in pidgins and creoles (Bakker & Parkvall, 2005). Bakker and Parkvall (2005) list a number of key hypotheses explaining the prevalence of reduplication in creoles. Besides the obvious iconic element of reduplication, they argue that reduplication arises in the pidgin phase. Due to the limited lexicon offered by a pidgin, communicative pressure might force the lexicon to expand. In addition to borrowing matter (which Abui speakers also do), another efficient method is to introduce a morphological process to derive new meanings. Therefore, taken together, the new Abui reduplication patterns are likely to be the result of a combination of contact-induced change and these universal word forming strategies. These different factors cannot be easily disentangled, and are argued to all play a role in explaining the phenomena discussed here.

Both the matter and pattern transfer tendencies described here are argued to be a form of emergent contact-induced change (Backus et al., 2011, p. 745): these changes are not completed yet, none of these changes have reached a level of full systematicity, and are merely present in a few constructions. Similar to what Backus et al. (2011) found for Turkish-Dutch contact, emergent contact-induced change in reduplication in the Abui context is argued to be an outcome favoured by the bilingualism setting at play. Abui has been in contact with Malay for roughly 50 to 60 years, and especially the

groups of (pre)adolescents and young adults now consider Malay to be their dominant language (see §2.4.2). Future, follow-up studies of the same population can investigate whether this variation leads to change.

7.8 Summary and conclusion

The function and distribution of reduplication in the Abui spoken by younger speakers is affected by pattern transfers from Alor Malay, combined with matter transfer. The changing patterns are first applied to the domain where there is overlap in both languages: existing Abui verb reduplications become more Alor Malay-like by extending the structural patterns and the notion of casualness from Alor Malay into Abui. The addition of this notion is argued to be a form of complexification in Abui. At the same time, because speakers apply reduplication across the board to verbs that typically do not get reduplicated and sometimes also reduplicate the whole word instead of just the stem, reduplication itself is argued to also show simplification. This contact-induced change is favoured by 50 to 60 years of stable bilingualism and is also enhanced by the fact that reduplication is a universal word forming strategy and can emerge spontaneously in language contact situations. Thus, the emerging trends reported here are argued to be explained by both transfer from Alor Malay as well as incomplete acquisition of Abui.

Chapter 8

Concluding remarks

This chapter has four main parts. Section 8.1 revisits the research questions posed at the beginning of this thesis. Section 8.2 summarizes all seven chapters and provides the main findings of each. Section 8.3 synthesizes the findings from all the chapters and provides a general discussion. Section 8.4 provides some avenues for further research.

Given these considerations, this thesis sets out to answer the following question: How has Alor Malay influenced the grammar of Abui?

The primary aim is to investigate variation in the speech of younger and older speakers. Doing so will provide a window into incipient contact-induced change. The secondary aim is to understand how historical and social factors led to the current contact scenario. Combining the collection of linguistic data with sociolinguistic data on speaker's histories, language backgrounds, and practices will enable us to observe the effect of social factors on language change.

8.1 Revisiting the research questions

This thesis set out to answer the following question: How has Alor Malay influenced the grammar of Abui? Specifically, two sub-questions were posed: (i) How much variation exists in *reflexive possessive marking*, *verb usage*, and *reduplication*? (ii) How is age correlated with the variation? Moreover, two additional questions were posed for two of these areas, namely: iii) How is

gender correlated with the variation in *reflexive possessive marking* and *verb usage*? (ii) What do differences in production and comprehension tell us about speakers' knowledge of the *reflexivity distinction* and the *verb usage* pertaining to certain event domains? The answers to these questions are presented in §8.2.

8.2 Summary of results

The answer to the first question is that contact with Alor Malay has led to the simplification of Abui; this is argued to be both due to transfer from Alor Malay as well as incomplete acquisition of Abui. Age was used as a proxy for language dominance and thus contact with Alor Malay as well; older people were more dominant in Abui and were less likely to exhibit transfer effects from Alor Malay, while younger speakers were less dominant in Abui and more dominant in Alor Malay, thus more likely to exhibit transfer effects from Alor Malay as well as show effects of incomplete acquisition. In the three linguistic areas investigated, the reflexivity distinction in possession is becoming neutralized, certain verbs are taking over others and becoming more generic, while reduplication is becoming more productive and more Malay-like in function and form. The sub-questions are answered in the summaries of their respective chapters, namely Chapters 5, 6, 7.

Chapter 1 introduced the main themes of this thesis. It situated Abui in its geographic and linguistic context. It introduced the speech community of Takalelang and discussed some observations about the Abui people. It then provided some theoretical background, before posing the main research questions.

Chapter 2 was devoted to deconstructing the contact scenario. This first involved a discussion of some key historical events in the last few centuries, providing the reader with background on Alor's colonial history told through the lens of Dutch colonial documents as well as oral histories. One of the goals of this chapter was to show how Malay was introduced to the island for economic, political, and religious motives. The introduction of schools and the erection of Protestant churches in the early 1900s was the start of a process of school enrollment and conversion which was used to teach Malay to *rajas* 'local leaders' and thus strengthen ties with the Dutch. The next few decades saw a rise in enrolment for both boys and girls; how-

ever, it was not until the mid-1960s that school attendance began rising steadily. This was a result of many families relocating from montane villages down to the coast to be closer to schools, churches, markets, and medical facilities (as part of government schemes). With school attendance rising in the 70s, 80s, and 90s, teachers began imposing strict rules banning the use of Abui at schools. Schoolchildren were expected to address teachers as well as each other using only Malay Indonesian. Parents were also encouraged, during church gatherings and community meetings, to prepare their children for school by raising them in Malay as opposed to Abui. After an in-depth discussion of schooling in the Takalelang region, the second part of Chapter 2 shed light on the sociolinguistic profile of the speech community in Takalelang. In particular, it described the three main varieties, Abui, Alor Malay, and Indonesian in the community and their domains of use. It also elaborated on the processes of language acquisition and socialization as well as on two key sociolinguistic variables: age and gender. Then a brief discussion was provided on language attitudes and an assessment was made on Abui's vitality and revitalization attempts. This chapter also established that the community of Takalelang has been in intense contact with Malay for roughly 50-60 years.

Chapter 3 discussed the methodology used in the research for this thesis. It described how the fieldwork was carried out. It also discussed the two main types of data collected: a) sociolinguistic and ethnographic interview data and b) linguistic data. The ethnographic interviews were also used to put together four age-groups which were used to study variation and change in Abui: (pre)adolescents (9-16 years old), young adults (17-25 years old), adults (26-34 years old), and elders (40-75 years old). These age-groups were elaborated on in detail. The linguistic data included conversational data and experimental data. The experimental data consisted of both production data (the Surrey Stimuli) and comprehension data (a forced-choice) task. Finally, details on the corpora collected (and used) were also provided.

Chapter 4 provided a sketch grammar of Abui. This provided an in-depth introduction to the language and served as a brief handbook from which the topics in Chapter 5-7 could be better understood. The key topics included: phonology, basic clausal syntax, the noun phrase, pronouns, pronominal prefixes, the verb phrase, serial verb constructions, and basic clausal operations.

Chapter 5, the first case study of variation and change, was dedicated to the study of the reflexive possessive prefix. The reflexive possessive prefix marks reflexivity in third person possession, contrasting it with a non-reflexive possessive. This category is only found in Abui but not in Alor Malay. The reflexive possessive prefix was shown to be prone to variation across the four groups of speakers tested in both production and comprehension. In particular, (pre)adolescents and to a lesser extent young adults neutralized the distinction between the reflexive and non-reflexive, by generalizing the non-reflexive prefix to contexts otherwise warranting a reflexive possessive. Adults patterned like elders in that they retain the distinction. Interestingly, it was found that gender played a role in explaining the variation in the group of (pre)adolescents: Boys were more likely to neutralize the distinction than girls. This was explained by the fact that boys had less exposure to Abui than girls because they were more free to roam around and spend time speaking Alor Malay with peers, while girls were more tied to the home environment assisting their older female relatives (who often speak Abui) with domestic chores and thus being more exposed to Abui. When testing their comprehension, only (pre)adolescents showed significant differences with respect to elders, while young adults and adults did not. In addition, as with the production data, gender also played a role in comprehension, with boys showing a higher likelihood to simplify the reflexive system than girls. These differences in comprehension suggested that (pre)adolescents have knowledge of the distinction of the grammatical distinction of reflexivity but fail to instantiate it in production. This also provided evidence for the Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (Prévost & White, 2000a, 2000b).

Chapter 6 was devoted to the study of lexical semantics and verb usage. Three domains were selected for investigation: visual perception, falling, and change of state. In all of these domains, Alor Malay and Abui do not have translation equivalents: Alor Malay uses one verb, while Abui uses at least two, marking subtle distinctions which are not lexically distinguished in Alor Malay. It was shown that age-related variation was found in how speakers used these verbs in both production and comprehension. In the production of all three domains, (pre)adolescents and young adults were significantly more likely to generalize one verb at the expense of another. In one domain, namely falling, even adults were likely to generalize one verb at the expense of another. The results from the comprehension data revealed

that speakers had more knowledge of these distinctions than the production data would suggest. In comprehension, only (pre)adolescents showed significant differences to the rest of the groups in terms of their likelihood to generalize. This was the case in the domains of falling and change of state, but not in visual perception. There were two surprising results from this study. First, unlike the results in Chapter 5, there were no significant gender effects for verb usage. Secondly, young adults performed very similarly to (pre)adolescents in production, showing significant differences compared to elders; however, in comprehension, they did not show any differences to elders, indicating that they have substantial knowledge of these verbs but seemingly fail to produce them in alignment with what they know.

Chapter 7 explored variation and change in reduplication. Both Abui and Alor Malay were shown to have reduplication; however, reduplication in Alor Malay is more productive, spread across more word classes, and marks more functions. Variation was found across the reduplication patterns of the four age-groups. Specifically, four types of transfer from Alor Malay to Abui reduplication were found. First, there was matter transfer, in particular the insertions: *sama~sama*, *tiba~tiba*, as well as a few nonce matter insertions. Three types of pattern transfer were discussed. The first involved reduplicating verbs to mark intensity which would have otherwise been used in a parallel serialization construction. The second involved using reduplication to mark casualness/aimlessness. The third involved a number of nonce reduplications which were ungrammatical to older speakers, either because the words used typically do not get reduplicated or because speakers reduplicated the right words, but applied the wrong formal features (i.e. whole-word reduplication instead of stem reduplication). All of these trends were shown to be evidence for transfer from Alor Malay because Alor Malay uses reduplication in the same way. It was mostly (pre)adolescents and, to a lesser extent, young adults who exhibited these tendencies. Adults, produced a few of these tokens, also showing that some of these innovations are present in them as well but less saliently so.

8.3 General discussion

As alluded to in §8.2, the main outcome of 50-60 years of intensive Alor Malay contact with Abui is predominantly simplification. Speakers are los-

ing the reflexivity distinction in the third person possessive system and are instead generalizing the generic possessive to all third person possession contexts. In verb usage, speakers are failing to distinguish between semantically similar verbs in a given domain and are instead overgeneralizing the more frequent and polysemous ones. Because Alor Malay is relatively more simple in possession and in these verbal domains, the outcome of simplification observed in Abui is attributed to both transfer and incomplete acquisition. In the area of reduplication, the outcome involved both simplification and complexification, which is not uncommon (Trudgill, 2011). In the verbal domain, the fact that speakers were using reduplication more productively on verbs that older speakers would not have reduplicated is a form of simplification; they are no longer applying the same restrictions that older speakers use on certain verbs. In addition, with respect to form, they are reduplicating the whole word; therefore, they are also no longer applying certain rules, such as 'only the stem gets reduplicated, as well as the patientive prefix.' At the same time, complexification is taking place because they are adding the notion of 'casualness/aimlessness' to verbal reduplication. In addition, some speakers are beginning to extend reduplication to the nominal domain, thus adding the marking of plurality to reduplication. Both of these are argued to be due to transfer, namely pattern transfer. Additionally, they are also transferring some matter reduplications, most notably *sama~sama* 'together', *tiba~tiba* 'suddenly', thereby also filling a lexical gap. In the domain of reduplication, transfer was more obvious than in the previous two domains.

While the types of changes described here are prototypical of changes found in minority communities experiencing shift and attrition (O'Shannessy, 2011; Palosaari & Campbell, 2011), they are also commonly found in many other contact scenarios, cross-linguistically. For example, simplification of the possessive system by generalizing the nonreflexive has been found in German and French L2 learners of Norwegian (Fabricius-Hansen et al., 2017; Helland, 2017). In addition, overgeneralizing a frequent verb at the expense of another has been found among second language learners (e.g. Ameel et al., 2009; Gathercole and Moawad, 2010) as well as heritage language speakers (Weinreich, 1953; Backus et al., 2011). Furthermore, similar effects for reduplication have been found in Macanese and Singaporean English which have both adopted reduplication features from Malay (among other languages) (Ansaldo & Matthews, 2004; Wee & Lim,

2004). What is unique in the Abui case, however, is the high degree of variation and the rate of change, which seems to be accelerated in comparison with a more healthy scenario (Palosaari & Campbell, 2011). Typically, with more stable bilingualism these changes may take several centuries to be completed, as in the case of Macanese and Singaporean English (Ansaldo & Matthews, 2004; Wee & Lim, 2004). However, as is common in shift and attrition scenarios, sometimes these changes may be instantiated in one or two generations (e.g. Silva-Corvalán, 1994; O'Shannessy, 2005).

Of the three areas investigated in this thesis, the area of verb usage stood out as showing the greatest extent of variation. Looking at the proportions of mismatches, it is clear that verb usage and thus lexical verbal semantics is the area that is most advanced in terms of change, with respect to the other two features. This is evidenced by the higher proportion of verb generalization with respect to the other areas. For example, in the domain of falling, (pre)adolescents generalized the verb 'fall from above' to 'fall over' contexts 87% of the time. This was even higher for young adults who generalized it 100% of the time. Even adults generalized at a proportion that was significantly different to elders (48%). In contrast, for the reflexive possessive, (pre)adolescents produced a mismatch proportion of 58%, while young adults produced a proportion of 16%. Adults patterned similarly to elders and had a mismatch rate of only 1%.

In addition, a related point of discussion is why gender proved to be significant among (pre)adolescents for the variable of the reflexive possessive but not for verb usage.[1] One explanation could be methodological. There was a larger set of total tokens in the reflexive possessive (M: 45, F: 45) than there was with all the verbs combined (M: 27, F: 34). The other, more likely explanation is that these gender differences reveal that verb usage and thus lexical semantics are more affected by contact than the reflexive possessive and thus inflectional morphology. In the reflexive possessive, there is clear evidence to suggest that males are driving the change, as they account for much of the mismatches. Males generalize the non-reflexive 71.1% of the time compared to Females, who generalize significantly less, at 44.4%. In contrast, in verb usage, both males and females show high proportions of generalization (M: 88%, F: 76%). These figures confirm that (pre)adolescent males have difficulty with both areas. However, they also reveal that females

[1] Gender was not tested for reduplication.

do not struggle as much with the reflexive possessive as they do with verb usage.

The sociolinguistic data confirms that there are gender differences with respect to socialization and acquisition, with (pre)adolescent girls receiving more input and exposure than their male counterparts. The differences in terms of outcome are argued to be indicative that verb generalization is innovating at a faster rate than the other areas. This may indicate that with their increased relative input, girls have mastered the reflexive distinction, whereas in the domain of semantics, increased relative input does not play a strong role in predicting whether they will differentiate between the verbs in production, although it did in comprehension. This claim is supported by the fact that adults, who are meant to have much more input than the younger groups, also generalize in one of the verb usage domains, while they don't for the variable of the reflexive possessive. This simply suggests that groups that do have high relative exposure still struggle with verb usage.

It is well known that, generally speaking, morphosyntax and lexical semantics are affected differently in contact (e.g. Romaine, 1995; Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Ross, 2013; Ramscar et al., 2014; Lahmann et al., 2016). In language attrition (on the individual level), Lahmann et al. (2016) found that age of onset was a good predictor of grammatical complexity but not of lexical semantic complexity. Ross (2013) offers a diachronic approach, suggesting that when languages are in contact, the first area of the target language to converge with the recipient language is the lexicon (*lexical calquing*), followed by morphology (*grammatical calquing*), and then by syntax (*syntactic restructuring*/*metatypy*). Romaine (1995) offers a similar progression. The findings in this thesis support both models. However, as Matras (2009) points out, attempts to create a hierarchy of convergence have not been unproblematic. For example, Silva-Corvalán (1994, p. 220) suggests that, in situations of community attrition, first morphology is affected, then the lexicon, and then syntax. Meanwhile, Stolz and Stolz (1996) suggest that first discourse is affected, then the clause, followed by the phrase, and ending with the word. In any case, as Gathercole and Moawad (2010, pp. 388-389) point out, even within the domain of lexical calquing, there can be large differences across words, with words which are 'conceptually close' much more likely to get calqued than words which are 'conceptually far'. In adition, there are many other constraints which can play a role in which areas of the grammar may be targeted first, such as structural similarities between

the languages. Thus, it seems fair to adopt a nuanced approach, whereby detailed case-studies of various features within a specific language are compared to one another.

8.4 Avenues for further research

The research in this thesis has answered the questions posed in the beginning of this thesis. At the same time, it has also raised a number of other questions. This section mentions a few possible directions for further research emerging from these questions. These include: Which other linguistic variables appear to be sensitive to change? Which linguistic variables appear to be stable? What will the situation be in eight-years-time? How does what is taking place in the Takalelang speech community compare to what is happening in other Abui speech communities?

In addition to the three topics addressed in Chapters 5-7, other areas which appear to show sensitivity to contact and thus may warrant future investigation include aspect marking, pronominal marking, and the ordering of clauses. Both aspect marking and pronominal marking are marked morphologically on the verb. Aspect marking, which is typically expressed through stem alternation and/or suffixation, appears to be reanalyzed to a more analytic system. The perfective stem seems to be merging with the imperfective and there is more reliance on temporal and locative adverbials to mark aspect. Similar processes have been described in many other contact settings, such as for the Ghanaian language, Likpe, in contact with Ewe (Ameka, 2006) and Russian in contact with English (Polinsky, 2008) to name but a few. In addition, Abui's complex semantic alignment system seems to be undergoing leveling. The Abui pronominal system, discussed briefly in §4.6 and in depth in Kratochvíl (2011b, 2014a) appears to be losing the expression of many of the semantic factors which are expressed in the speech of older speakers. At the same time, the pronominal indexing characteristics of these prefixes seem to remain intact. In other words, the consonant of the pronominal prefixes (in all persons except second person singular, which is expressed through the absence of a consonant), still marks person and number; however, the vowel, which typically encodes semantic factors, is being levelled. In addition, some variation with respect to clause ordering was observed. In biclausal constructions, consisting of a transitive

clause followed by an intransitive clause (often with a posture verb), older speakers seemed to prefer the order: 1) transitive verb LINKER 2) intransitive, posture verb as in *bataa hoofahat ba natea* 'hugging a tree and standing'. Younger speakers (below 35) seemed to prefer the reverse word order *natea ba bataa hoofahat* 'standing and hugging a tree'. More Alor Malay data is needed to verify whether this is a word order calque from Alor Malay.

Three other topics which appear to be resisting change through contact include: constituent word order, the alienability distinction, and reflexivity on the verb phrase. These variables have not been investigated systematically in the way that the variables in this thesis have; however, a scan of the data reveals that these topics appear to be stable. Speakers of all ages retain APV word order: almost all clauses end verb-finally. This is suggestive that the length of contact, 50-60 years, as well as the intensity of contact, are not strong enough to exert any influence yet on Abui constituent order; however, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, the ordering of clauses does seem to be affected.

In addition, alienability is another area that does appear to be stable so far. While there were not many inalienably possessed nouns in my corpus, a brief count revealed that speakers of all ages had no difficulties differentiating alienably possessed nouns from inalienably possessed nouns. The fact that speakers did have difficulty with marking reflexivity on possessive prefixes but not alienability suggests that the issues may lie more with the interface between inflectional nominal morphology and binding, rather than inflectional nominal morphology more generally. However, much more research is needed to test this claim.

In addition, third person reflexivity on the verb, as marked by the *dV-* pronominal paradigm (see §4.6.7), does not seem to be affected either. Many younger speakers still use the *-dV* paradigm to mark reflexive constructions (e.g. 'He scratched himself.' or 'He washed himself.'). One possible hypothesis to explain this could involve the fact that marking reflexivity on the verb might be a lot more frequent than using a reflexive possessive on a noun. Many intransitive or reflexive constructions use the *dV-* paradigm (see Kratochvíl, 2014a for discussion). In addition, it could be that, for many younger speakers, the *dV-* paradigm might be becoming (semi)-fossilized. A similar process has already taken place in Bunaq (Schapper, 2009). While many of these tendencies seem to be persistent enough, further quantitative research needs to be conducted to confirm these observations and their

hypotheses.

A follow-up panel study in eight years time, for example, from could address the important question of whether age-grading takes place or whether the changes observed in younger speakers are indicative of incipient change (as is often predicted). In other words, since it is claimed that, as speakers grow older, they receive more input from elders (i.e. Abui dominant speakers), does this increased exposure reduce the amount of simplification found, given that the comprehension studies show that some speakers still retain knowledge of the features under investigation? Eight years is the range of three of the younger groups, therefore, in roughly eight years time from the year of the last period of data collection, 2017, speakers would enter the adjacent age-group. For example, it could be that with increased exposure to the L1 speech of elders, (young) adults begin producing more utterances involving the appropriate use of the reflexive possessive. A panel follow-up study could investigate this claim. It is crucial in determining to what extent this process of socialization involving a lack of early Abui acquisition is affecting the language. A study like that would clarify the implications that this sociolinguistic setting has on acquisition and language contact more generally.

Finally, another possible avenue for further research involves the investigation of language maintenance and shift in a different Abui speech community. This could include a montane village, where Abui seems to be more vital, such as Tifol Afeng, for which we already have a body of data in the Kratochvíl corpus. This would not only shed light into the sociolinguistic situation of the wider Abui speech community, but also allow us to investigate even more clearly to what extent some of the findings in this thesis are unique to the level of contact with Alor Malay and to what extent they are part of general processes of acquisition. For example, it was shown in Chapter 6 that (pre)adolescents, young adults, and to some extent even adults generalize one verb at the expense of another. At the same time, it also known that lexical choice is subject to age-grading; that is, speakers are likely to learn new semantic distinctions and adjust their choice of lexical items as they grow older. In this sense, age may not be an absolute proxy for dominance. Having a more conservative, vital Abui community to compare to would allow us to investigate to what extent that which is observable in Takalelang is representative of the acquisition of Abui more generally and to what extent it represents a specific scenario explained by the bilingualism

dynamics of Takalelang.[2]

[2]I thank Peter Austin for pointing this out.

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Appendix A

Sociolinguistic questionnaire

	Question (English)	Question (Malay Indonesian)
1	**Basic Information**	
1.1	Name	*Nama*
1.2	Sex	*Jenis*
1.3	Date of birth	*Tanggal lahir*
1.4	Place of birth	*Tempat lahir*
1.5	Place of residence	*Tempat tinggal*
1.6	Present occupation	*Pekerjaan sekarang*
2	**Education**	
2.1	Highest education	*Pendidikan/ sekolah sampai tingkat apa?*
2.2	Primary school	*SD*
2.3	Junior high school	*SMP*
2.4	Senior high school	*SMA*
2.5	Where were/are your teachers from? What language would they use to speak to you?	*Di sekolah tu, guru dong dari mana saja? Dan, bahasa apa yang dong pake ko omong deng kakak/bapak/mama?*

2.6	What language did your parents speak to you before primary school?	*Sebelum masuk SD tu, bahasa apa yang orang tua dong pake ko omong dengan kakak/bapak/mama?*
2.7	What language did your parents speak to you during primary school?	*Waktu masi SD tu, bahasa apa yang orang tua dong pake ko omong dengan kakak/bapak/mama?*
2.8	What language did you speak to your friends in the playground?	*Bahasa apa yang dipakai di luar ruangan kelas?*
2.9	What language do/did you speak inside the classroom?	*Bahasa apa yang dipakai di dalam kelas?*
2.10	What was the teacher's attitude if they heard Abui?	*Bagaimana sikap guru ketika mereka mendengar orang berbicara bahasa Abui?*
3	**Family**	
3.1	Who do you currently live with?	*Sekarang ni, kakak/bapak/mama tinggal/tidur di satu ruma dengan siapa?*
3.2	Who are your siblings?	*Kakak/bapak/mama pung saudara dong tu siapa?*
3.3	Father's name	*Nama bapak kandung*
3.4	Where is father from?	*Bapak kandung dari mana?*
3.5	Father's age	*Umur bapak kandung*
3.6	Did father go to school? When? Where?	*Apa bapak sekolah? Kapan? Di mana?*
3.7	Father's occupation	*Pekerjaan bapak kandung*
3.8	Father's language	*Bahasa bapak kandung?*
3.9	Where are paternal grandparents from?	*Orang tua dari Bapak kandung asal dari mana?*
3.10	Paternal grandparents' language?	*Orang tua dari bapak kandung asal dari mana?*
3.11	Mother's name	*Nama Ibu kandung*
3.12	Where is mother from?	*Ibu kandung dari mana?*

3.13	Mother's age	*Umur ibu kandung*
3.14	Did mother go to school? When? Where?	*Apa ibu kandung sekolah? Kapan? Di mana?*
3.15	Mother's language	*Bahasa ibu kandung*
3.16	Where are maternal grandparents from?	*Orang tua dari ibu kandung asal dari mana?*
3.17	Maternal grandparents language	*Bahasa orang tua dari ibu kandung*
4	**Marriage**	
4.1	Marital status	*Sudah menikah?*
4.2	When did you get married?	*Kapan menikah?*
4.3	Spouse's name	*Nama isteri/suami*
4.4	Spouse's language	*Bahasa isteri/suami?*
4.5	Which language do you speak with your spouse?	*Bahasa apa dipakai kalau bpk/ibu berbicara dengan isteri/suami?*
4.6	Do you have children?	*Sudah punya anak?*
4.7	What language do you use with them?	*Bahasa apa dipakai dengan anak?*
4.8	Which language does your spouse speak with your children?	*Bahasa apa isteri/suami Bpk/Ibu berbicara dengan anak?*
5	**Extended network**	
5.1	Have you ever lived with your grandparents?	*Perna tinggal dengan nenek dong?*
5.2	Did grandparents go to school?	*Nenek dong perna sekola ko tida?*
5.3	How often do you visit or call your grandmother?	*Biasa pi main main di nenek dong ko tida?*
5.4	Why do you visit or call her often?	*Kenapa baru sering pigi di nenek?*
5.5	What language do you guys speak together?	*Habis kaka/bapak pi di nenek tu, Kaka omong dengan dia pake bahasa apa?*
5.6	What do you guys usually talk about?	*Kamu dua omong apa saja?*

5.7	Who are your closest friends (Abui and non-Abui?)	*Kakak punya teman-teman yang paling akrab tu siapa siapa?*
5.8	Where do they live?	*Dong tinggal di mana?*
5.9	How often do you visit these friends?	*Satu minggu/bulan tu, kamu bertemu berapa kali?*
5.10	What do you do when you're together?	*Kamu bikin apa saja?*
5.11	Do you have nay plans to travel together? If so, where?	*Habis itu, kamu ada rencana jalan jalan pi mana?*
6	**Migration**	
6.1	Have you ever lived somewhere else for a longer period?	*Pernah tinggal di tempat lain* (*untuk pendidikan, kerja*)
6.2	Where?	*Di mana?*
6.3	Length of stay at each place?	*Berapa lama di tempat masing-masing?*
6.4	What were the reasons for moving there?	*Kenapa tinggal di sana?*
6.5	What were the reasons for moving back?	*Kenapa pulang ke sini?*
6.6	Which languages were spoken there?	*Bahasa apa yang dipakai di sana?*
6.7	When you finish school, would like to move away for work or stay here?	*Lu su habis sakola na lu mau pi mana?* (*Mau pigi merantau ko di sini saja?*)
6.8	Where would you like to go and why?	*Kalo mau merantau/kulia na mau pi mana? Mau kerja apa? kenapa?*
6.9	If you earned a lot of money, what would you like to do?	*Kalo kakak pung uang su banyak, mau buat apa?*
7	**Language proficiency**	
7.1	How well do you speak Alor Malay?	*Kakak punya bahasa pasar itu bagaimana?*
7.2	When did you learn Alor Malay?	*Kapan mulai belajar bahasa pasar/ dari umur berapa kaka mulai belajar bahasa pasar?*

7.3	Whom did you learn it from and where?	*Dari siapa dan di mana belajar bahasa pasar?*
7.4	How well do you speak Abui?	*Kakak punya bahasa Abui itu bagaimana?*
7.5	When did you learn Abui?	*Kapan mulai belajar bahasa Abui?*
7.6	Whom did you learn it from	*Dari siapa dan di mana belajar bahasa Abui?*
7.7	Why did you learn it?	*Kenapa belajar Bahasa Abui?*
7.8	Did your parents start speaking Abui to you more at a certain age?	*Kakak punya umur berapa dulu baru mama dengan bapa sering pake bahasa Abui ko omong dengan kakak?*
7.9	At what age would you say you felt comfortable speaking Abui?	*Kakak/Bapak/Mama pung umur berapa dulu baru rasa nyaman omong pake bahasa Abui?*
8	**Language Use**	
8.1	What language do you use at home now?	*Bahasa apa dipakai di rumah?*
8.2	With siblings?	*Dengan kakak/adik?*
8.3	With father?	*Dengan bapak?*
8.4	With mother?	*Dengan mama kandung?*
8.5	With maternal grandparents?	*Dengan nenek dari mama?*
8.6	With paternal grandparents?	*Dengan nenek dari Bapak?*
8.7	With parents-in-law?	*Dengan mertua?*
8.8	What language do you use in the market?	*Dipakai di pasar?*
8.9	With Abui speaker?	*Dengan orang Abui*
8.10	With non-Abui speaker?	*Dengan orang lain*
8.11	What language do you use at work?	*Bahasa apa dipakai di tempat kerja?*
8.12	What language do you use in church?	*Di gereja?*
8.13	Community gathering?	*Dipakai di pertemuan masyarakat di kantor desa?*

8.14	What language do you use when hanging out with close friends?	*Bahasa apa dipakai dengan teman teman dari komunitasnya?*
8.15	Do you spend a lot of time in the kitchen (Females)?	*Biasa lu di dapur tu, berapa lama/sampe kapan?*
8.16	What language do you use in the kitchen with your daughters (Females)?	*Bahasa apa yang mama pakai untuk omong dengan anak di dapur?*
9	**Language attitudes**	
9.1	What is the language you consider your mother tongue, the language closest to your heart, the language you are most fluent in?	*Bahasa yg mana adalah bahasa yangg dianggap "bahasa Ibu", bahasa yangg paling lancar, yang paling dikuasai?*
9.2	What are some words/expressions in Abui that sound strange to you?	*Apakah ada kata-kata dari bahasa Abui yang terdengar aneh di telinga bapak? Beri contoh beberapa kata saja!*
9.3	Do you think your language is changing? If so, can you give some examples?	*Apakah menurut bapak bahasa Abui mengalami perubahan? Contohnya adakah perbedaan antara bahasa yang dipakai orang tua dulu dengan anak muda sekarang?*
9.4	Do you think your language is an old language? Was it already spoken a long time ago?	*Apakah menurut bapak bahasa Abui adalah bahasa yang kuno? Apakah bahasa ini sudah dituturkan sejak lama?*
9.5	Who in the community speaks the language best? Why?	*Dari beberapa kelompok masyarakat penutur bahasa Abui kelompok mana yang bisa menuturkan bahasa Abui paling baik? Kenapa?*

9.6	Who in the community speaks the language worst? Why?	*Dari beberapa kelompok masyarakat penutur bahasa Abui kelompok mana yang bisa menuturkan bahasa Abui paling buruk? Kenapa?*
9.7	Do you encourage your children to speak Abui? Why?	*Apakah bapak/ibu mendorong anak-anak untuk belajar bahasa Abui? Kenapa?*
9.8	What do you do when your child makes a mistake in the language? Why?	*Apa yang bapak/ibu lakukan jika anak-anak bapak/ibu melakukan kesalahan dalam menuturkan bahasa Abui?*
9.9	Which languages are important for children to learn? Why?	*Menurut bapak/ibu, bahasa apa yang paling penting untuk dipelajari oleh anak-anak?*
9.10	Do you think that the Abui should be taught at school? Why?	*Menurut bapak/ibu, apakah bahasa Abui harus diajarkan di sekolah?*

Appendix B

Ethnographic interview sample list on life-stages

	Question (English)	**Question (Malay Indonesian)**
1	I've come to you this morning to ask about the development of the Abui language in this village. Before we begin, can you please introduce yourself, giving your name, your age and place of birth in addition to discussing how many kids you have and where they live?	*Ini pagi mau datang di bayi karena mau tanya-tanya soal perkembangnan bahasa Abui di enam kampung ini, begitu. Mungkin sebelum saya mulai, bapak bisa perkenalkan diri lebi dulu, nama siapa, terus, sekarang umur suda berapa, lahir di mana, begitu.*
2	According to grandpa, what does it mean when we say the word *moqu* 'child'?	*Menurut Bayi, kita biasa bilang moqu itu, apa?*
3	Ok then, what about *neeng abet* 'young man' or *maayol maak* 'young woman'?	*Terus bagaimana dengan neeng abet atau maayol maak?*

4	What are the main differences between a *neeng moqu* 'boy' and a *neeng abet* 'young man' on the one-hand and a *maayol moqu* 'girl' and a *maayol maak* 'young woman' on the other?	*Apa perbedaan antara neeng moqu dan neeng abet kemudian maayol moqu dan maayol maak ?*
5	At around what age is someone able to get married?	*Itu anak tu usia usia pas berapa kira kira dia suda bisa kawin?*
6	At that age of around 17, 18, can someone speak Abui or not?	*Dalam 17, 18 itu apakah dia bisa berbahasa Abui atau bagaimana?*
7	How would we compare the situation now with what used to happen in the past?	*Jadi bagaimana dengan anak sekola dong sekarang? Kalau kita banding dengan dulu?*
8	During the marriage process, is it required to establish connections with an elder (serving as a ritual specialist)?	*Dalam proses kawin mawin ini apakah kita membutukan atau ada hubungan-hubungan dengan ketua adat ko tida?*
9	Who exactly is this elder who mediates the negotiation?	*Jadi itu orang tua adat yang mau pigi di perempuan atau laki-laki itu siapa?*
10	Is there a specific type of language used by this elder?	*Mungkin orang tua adat yang pi kasi tau itu, mungkin ada dia punya bahasa ko?*
11	Do you need to be married to sit on the negotiation table?	*Di kuliling meja adat itu, apakah itu orang-orang yang suda kawin saja yang bisa duduk di meja adat itu, atau bagaimana?*
12	How old is a *fing kaang* typically?	*Jadi fing kaang itu di umur sekitar berapa?*
13	What about the *kalieta kaang*?	*Bagaimana dengan kalieta kaang?*

14	Concerning your children, how would you describe the development of their Abui, before entering primary school, during primary school, during junior high school, and during senior high school?	*Anak lima ini, itu, dia punya perkembangan bahasa Abui tu bagaimana? Bapak lihat dong meningkat itu, apakah, sebelum dong sekolah atauka dong suda masuk di SD, di SD tu seperti apa? Di SMP tu seperti apa?*
15	Approximately at what age were they skillful (fluent) in Abui?	*Kira-kira dia usia berapa dia mahir?*
16	In general terms, at what age is someone completely fluent in Abui?	*Secara umum, bai melihat, kira-kira pada umur berapa orang betul-betul su tau bahasa Abui?*
17	As far as you can see, what are the differences between a 15-year-old and a 30-year-old in terms of their Abui?	*Sejau mana bai lihat, kira-kira orang yang dari usia 15 dengan 30, itu dia punya perbedaan tu seperti bagaimana?*

Appendix C

Ethnographic interview list sample on school history

	Question (English)	**Question (Malay Indonesian)**
1	Let's begin with the history of SD Mabu.	*Kita mulai dengan sejarah SD Mabu.*
2	Where and when did you finish primary school, junior high school, and senior high school?	*Bapak tamat SD, SMP, SMA di mana dan di tahun berapa?*
3	In that time, was it mandatory for a child to attend school?	*Waktu itu, apa anak-anak diwajibkan masuk sekolah?*
4	So, in the 80s, it was the case that parents preferred their children to go to the fields (instead of going to school)?	*Saya punya satu pertanyaan tentang masa tahun delapan puluan. Jadi, orang tua lebi mau dong pu anak dong pi kebun?*
5	When did you start teaching at Mabu Primary School?	*Bapak, kapan mulai mengajar di SD Mabu?*
6	How many years did you teach at Mabu Primary School?	*Terus bapak, berapa lama mengajar di SD Mabu?*
7	After that where were you relocated to?	*Habis itu, bapak pinda ke mana?*

8	When you started working at Mabu Primary School, where were the majority of teachers from?	*Waktu bapak mulai mengajar di SD Mabu tu, guru dong tu kebanyakan orang mana?*
9	Where were most of the children from at Mabu Primary School?	*Terus bapak, murid dong tu, kebanyakan dari mana?*
10	What language did they use to speak to the schoolchildren?	*Dong pake bahasa apa ko omong dengan murid dong?*
11	Before entering primary school, did they already know Indonesian?	*Sebelum dong masuk SD, apa dong suda tau bahasa Indonesia ko tida?*
12	If we were to compare the year 1987 (when you started working there) with the year 1996 (when you left there), how was the children's language use and knowledge of Indonesian before entering primary school and during primary school?	*Dari tahun 1987 sampai 1996 tu, apakah bapak pernah lihat perubahan tentang pengunaan bahasa Indonesia. Kalau kita banding pengunaan murid sebelum masuk SD dengan waktu sudah masuk SD. Dari 1987 sampai 1996 tu.*
13	In the eighties (as you are saying), the teachers would force children to speak Indonesian. Did you guys also inform parents that they should speak to their children in Indonesian at home so that they would understand (the language) in class?	*Tahun delapan puluan kan guru dong paksa anak-anak supaya tau bahasa Indonesia. Apakah kamu juga kasi tau orang dong ko dong pake bahasa Indonesia dengan anak-anak dong di rumah supaya waktu masuk SD dong bisa mengerti di kelas?*
14	How would you guys let the parents know?	*Bagaimana ko kamu kasi tau orang tua tu?*
15	Did teachers also walk from house to house to speak to parents?	*Apa guru dong juga jalan dari rumah ke rumah ko omong dengan orang tua?*

16	So the generation of parents, perhaps in the 1990s and upwards, they were the ones began raising their children in Indonesian, right?	*Jadi generasi orang tua, mungkin di tahun 1990 ke atas, mereka yang mulai besarkan anak pake bahasa indonesia, to?*
17	Was it the government that told the teachers that they must force the schoolchildren to speak Indonesian or was this initiative taken from the teachers themselves?	*Apakah pemerintah yang kasi tau guru dong bilang musti paksa murid-murid atau dari guru sendiri?*
18	What about if we were to compare it to the situation nowadays? (In terms of the languages spoken before entering primary school and the languages spoken during primary school)	*Kalau dibandingkan dengan masa sekarang?*
19	Today, are there any parents that raise their children speaking Abui?	*Sekarang ni, apakah ada orang tua yang besarkan anak pake bahasa daerah?*
20	So today, if I were to go to Mabu Primary School, all the kids would speak Indonesian to each other, both inside and outside class. In the past, it was different, right? The kids all spoke Abui outside class (as you just mentioned). So, what I'd like to know is when did this situation begin to change?	*Kan sekarang ni, kalau saya pigi di SD Mabu tu, semua pake bahasa Indonesia, di dalam kelas juga di luar juga. Tapi dulu tu lain, to? Anak-anak dong semua pake bahasa Abui di luar kelas. Jadi saya mau tau ni, kapan ko ini situasi mulai berubah?*

21	Today, primary school and junior high school children usually feel more comfortable speaking Indonesian (as opposed to Abui), right? So, when would you say they start feeling comfortable speaking Abui?	*Sekarang ni, kalau anak SD dan SMP dong biasanya lebih nyaman pakai bahasa indonesia to? Jadi kapan mereka rasa nyaman pake bahasa Abui atau suda lancar pake bahasa Abui?*
22	How is it with the Abui language development (acquisition) of your children, Santi and Benny?	*Bagaimana dengan bapak pung anak-anak pung perkembangan bahasa daerah* (*Santi dan Benny*)*?*
23	So, Benny's grandmother spoke to him in Abui; how would he respond?	*Jadi Benny pung nenek omong dengan dia pake bahasa Abui, dan dia balas pake bahasa apa?*
24	If we were to compare your children('s language proficiency), would you say that Santi is most fluent in Abui?	*Kalau kita banding bapak pung anak-anak, apakah Santi yang paling tau bahasa daerah?*
25	How old was Santi when you started speaking Abui to her?	*Santi punya umur berapa dulu baru kamu omong pake bahasa daerah dengan dia?*
26	Today, is it important for people to speak Abui when they are adults?	*Sekarang ni, kalau orang sudah dewasa tu, dong harus pake bahasa daerah. Apakah itu penting ko tida?*

Appendix D

Surrey Stimuli elicitation kit

Surrey stimuli elicitation set (x40)[1]

C01: man pulls other man



C02: girl leans on man



C03: people dancing



C04: boy steps on sleeping man



[1]Downloaded from http://www.smg.surrey.ac.uk/projects/alor-pantar/pronominal-marking-video-stimuli/ (Fedden et al., 2010).

C05: man sleeping on bed



C06: man sitting against wall and dozing off



C07: woman sitting and laughing



C08: man holds snake, gives it to girl who is afraid



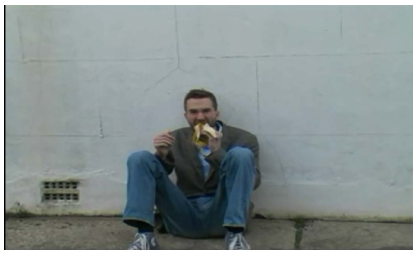
C09: water being poured into glass



C10: man lying down, talking to himself



C11: man sitting against house and eating banana



C12: man is standing, boy runs over to him



C13: one man is standing, another walks into him



C14: man walks over to a wall and sits down



C15: coconut tree; one coconut falls



C16: man walking, bumps into, and then hugs tree



C17: 4 logs, 1 large one



C18: girl pulling log



C19: man walks over and sees axe with blood



C20: man walks and steps on banana



C21: man standing and leaning on house



P01: man smells other man



P02: man smells cheese



P03: match goes out



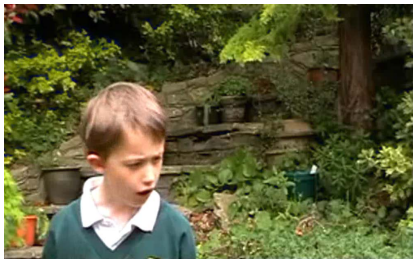
P04: man sitting, leaning against wall and waking up



P05: a short man and tall man are standing



P06: boy hears noise and is startled



P07: boy is sleeping; man comes and wakes him up



P08: bent person on all 4s with rock on back



P09: man walks over and trips on log



P11: banana falls on log



P12: man hears other man



P13: man hugs tree



P14: small log placed on big bent plank



P15: man cradles child



P17: man standing



P18: 3 stones of different sizes



P19: banana falls on stomach of man lying down



P20: man running



P21: man leaning on wall, gets up, and walks away



Appendix E

Forced-choice elicitation kit

Forced-choice stimuli (x30).

Reflexive possessive target *dV-* (x3)

Stimuli prompt for (1) (SS Clip P14)



(1) Target: Reflexive possessive 1

a. Match

[*Neeng*	*nuku*]$_j$	***de***-$_j$*wiil*	*ha-buk-e.*
man	one	3.REFL.INAL-child	3.PAT-cradle-IPFV

'A man$_j$ cradles his$_j$ child.'

b. Mismatch

[*Neeng*	*nuku*]$_j$	***he***-$_k$*wiil*	*ha-buk-e.*
man	one	3.NREFL.AL-child	3.PAT-cradle-IPFV

'A man$_j$ cradles his$_k$ child.'

Stimuli prompt for (2) (SS Clip C01)



(2) Target: Reflexive possessive 2

a. Match

[*Neeng*	*nuku*]$_j$	***de***-$_j$*feela*	*ha-fik-e.*
man	one	3.REFL.AL-friend	3.PAT-pull-IPFV

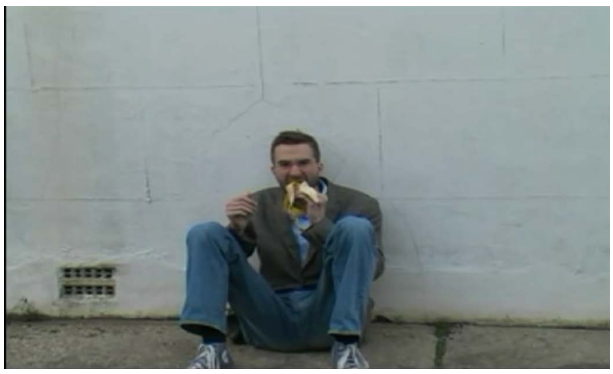
'A man$_j$ is pulling his$_j$ friend.'

b. Mismatch

[*Neeng*	*nuku*]$_j$	***he***-$_k$*feela*	*ha-fik-e.*
man	one	3.NREFL.AL-friend	3.PAT-pull-IPFV

'A man$_j$ is pulling his$_k$ friend.'

Stimuli prompt for (3) (SS Clip 11)



(3) Target: Reflexive possessive 3

a. Match

[*Neeng*	*nuku*]$_j$	*mit*	*ba*	***de***-$_j$*balei*	*san*	*nee.*
man	one	sit	LNK	3.REFL.AL-banana	ripe	eat.IPFV

'A man$_j$ is was sitting and eating his$_j$ banana.'

b. Mismatch

[*Neeng*	*nuku*]$_j$	*mit*	*ba*	***he***-$_k$*balei*	*san*	*nee.*
man	one	sit	LNK	3.NREFL.AL-banana	ripe	eat.IPFV

'A man$_j$ is was sitting and eating his$_k$ banana.'

Nonreflexive possessive target: *hV-* (x3)

Stimuli prompt for (4)



(4) Target: Non-reflexive possessive 1

a. Match

Balei$_j$	***ha***-$_k$*tok*	*tahang*	*hayeei.*
banana	3.NREFL.AL-stomach	on.top	fall.from.above

'A banana$_j$ fell on his$_k$ stomach'

b. Mismatch

Balei$_j$	***da***-$_j$*tok*	*tahang*	*hayeei.*
banana	3.REFL.AL-stomach	on.top	fall.from.above

'A banana$_j$ fell on its$_j$ stomach'

Stimuli prompt for (5) (SS clip C08)



(5) Target: Non-reflexive possessive 2

a. Match

[*Neeng nuku*]$_{k}$ *mon hoo-puna, dikaang di moqu*
man one snake 3.GOAL-hold then 3.AGT child
fila hoo-ha-tang haba di$_{j}$ ***he***-$_{k}$*mon*
small 3.GOAL-3.PAT-give but 3.AG 3.NREFL.AL-snake
hieng mielang.
3.PAT.see be.afraid

'A man$_{k}$ is holding a snake. Then, he gives to a child but she$_{j}$ is afraid of his$_{k}$ snake.'

b. Mismatch

[*Neeng nuku*]$_{k}$ *mon hoo-puna, dikaang di moqu*
man one snake 3.GOAL-hold then 3.AGT child
fila hoo-ha-tang haba di$_{j}$ ***de***-$_{j}$*mon*
small 3.GOAL-3.PAT-give but 3.AG 3.REFL.AL-snake
hieng mielang.
3.PAT.see be.afraid

'A man$_{k}$ is holding a snake. Then, he gives it to a child but she$_{j}$ is afraid of her$_{j}$ snake.'

Stimuli prompt for (6)



(6) Target: Non-reflexive possessive 3

a. Match

[*Ata*	*Neeng*]$_k$	*di*	*kafak*	*buuk*	*henu*	*Akanmai*
A.	man	3.AGT	cigarette	drink.IPFV	DIST	A.
di$_j$	***he***-$_k$*kafak*	*ho-pa*	*mi*	*ba*		
3.AGT	3.NREFL-cigarette	3.REC-touch	take	LNK		
buuk-e.						
drink.IPFV-IPFV						

'As Ata Neeng$_k$ is smoking a cigarette, Akanmai$_j$ grabs his$_k$ cigarette and smokes it.'

b. Mismatch

[*Ata*	*Neeng*]$_k$	*di*	*kafak*	*buuk*	*henu*	*Akanmai*
A.	man	3.AGT	cigarette	drink.IPFV	DIST	A.
di$_j$	***de***-$_j$*kafak*	*ho-pa*	*mi*	*ba*		
3.AGT	3.NREFL-cigarette	3.REC-touch	take	LNK		
buuk-e.						
drink.IPFV-IPFV						

'As Ata Neeng$_k$ is smoking a cigarette, Akanmai$_j$ grabs his$_j$ cigarette and smokes it.'

Semantics - Visual perception: *-ien* 'see' target (x2)

Stimuli prompt for (7) (SS clip C16)



(7) Target: *-ien* 'see' 1

a. Match

Neeng nuku do laak-i we-i ya bataa yo
man one PROX walk-PFV go-PFV SEQ wood MED.ADD
di ***h-ien*** *naha ya bataa la-ng*
3.AGT 3.PAT-see NEG SEQ wood be.MED-APPL
hoo-yaa-ri.
3.GOAL-go-PFV

'This man was walking away; then he didn't see that tree, so he bumped into it.'

b. Mismatch

Neeng nuku do laak-i we-i ya bataa yo
man one PROX walk-PFV go.PFV SEQ wood MED.ADD
di ***he-wahai*** *naha ya bataa la-ng*
3.AGT 3.PAT-look.at NEG SEQ wood be.MED-APPL
hoo-yaa-ri.
3.GOAL-go-PFV

'This man was walking away; then he didn't look at that tree, so he bumped into it.'

Stimuli prompt for (8) (SS clip C20)



(8) Target: *-ien* 'see' 2

a. Match

Neeng nuku laak-i me mai, balei yo
man one walk-PFV come COND banana MED.ADD
di ***h-ien*** *naha ya tai laak-i.*
3.AGT 3.PAT-see NEG on.top SEQ walk-PFV

'A man walked by, he didn't see that banana; then he stepped on it.'

b. Mismatch

Neeng nuku laaki me mai, balei yo
man one walk-PFV come COND banana MED.ADD
he-wahai *naha ya tai laak-i.*
3.AGT 3.PAT-look.at NEG SEQ on.top walk-PFV

'A man walked by, he didn't look at that banana; then he stepped on it.'

Semantics - Visual perception: (-)*wahai* 'look at' target (x2)

Stimuli prompt for (9)



(9) Target: (-)*wahai* 'look at' 1

a. Match

Akanmai	*di*	*nala*	*nuku*	***he-wahai.***
A.	3.AGT	what	one	3.LOC-look.at

'Akanmai was looking at something.'

b. Mismatch

Akanmai	*di*	*nala*	*nuku*	***h-ien-i.***
A.	3.AGT	what	one	3.PAT-see

'Akanmai saw something.'

Stimuli prompt for (10) (SS clip P09)



(10) Target: (-)*wahai* 'look at' 2

a. Match

Neeng nuku do laak-i we-i ya de-toku peng
man one PROX walk-PFV go-PFV SEQ 3.REFL.AL near
he-wahai *naha hare kaberang-di.*
3.LOC-look.at NEG so trip-INCH.PFV

'This man walked away and was not looking in front of him (lit. near his feat) so he tripped.'

b. Mismatch

Neeng nuku do laak-i we-i ya de-toku peng
man one PROX walk-PFV go-PFV SEQ 3.REFL.AL near
h-ien *naha hare kaberang-di.*
3.PAT-see NEG so trip-INCH.PFV

'This man walked away and was not seeing in front of him (lit. near his feat) so he tripped.'

Semantics - Falling: *-quoil-* 'fall over' target (x2)

Stimuli prompt for (11) (SS clip P09)



(11) Target: *-quoil-* 'fall over' 1

a. Match

Ama *nuku* *laak-i* *miei* *ya* *kaberang-di* *ba*
person one walk-PFV come-PFV SEQ trip-PFV LNK
da-quoil-i.
3.PAT-fall.over-PFV

'A person was coming by, tripped, and fell over.'

b. Mismatch

Ama *nuku* *laak-i* *miei* *ya* *kaberang-di* *ba*
person one walk-IPFV come.PFV SEQ trip-PFV LNK
del ***ong*** ***hayeei.***
3.REFL.NAGT make fall.from.above

'A person was coming by, tripped, and fell from above.'

Stimuli prompt for (12) (SS clip C20)



(12) Target: *-quoil-* 'fall over' 2

a. Match

Ama nuku baleei tai laak-i ya nahare
person one banana on.top walk-PFV SEQ almost
da-quoil-i.
3.PAT-fall.over-PFV

'A person stepped on a banana and then fell over.'

b. Mismatch

Ama nuku baleei tai laak-i ya nahare
person one banana on.top walk-IPFV SEQ almost
del ong hayeei.
3.REFL.NAGT make fall.from.above

'A person stepped on a banana and then fell from above.'

Semantics - Falling: (*del ong*) *hayeei*- 'fall from above' target (x2)

Stimuli prompt for (13)



(13) Target: *del ong hayeei* 'fall from above' 1

a. *Wata* *nuku* ***del*** ***ong*** ***hayeei.***
coconut one 3.REFL.NAGT make fall.from.above
'A coconut fell from above.'

b. Mismatch

Wata *nuku* ***da-quoil-i.***
coconut one 3.PAT-fall.over-PFV
'A coconut fell over.'

Stimuli prompt for (14)



(14) Target: *hayeei* 'fall from above' 2

a. Match

Balei	*san*	*nuku*	*bataa*	*tuku*	*tahang*	***hayeei.***
banana	be.ripe	one	tree	CLF	on.top	fall.from.above

'A ripe banana fell from above onto a log.'

b. Mismatch

Balei	*san*	*nuku*	*bataa*	*tuku*	*tahang*
banana	be.ripe	one	tree	CLF	on.top

da-quoil-i.
3.PAT-fall.over-PFV

'A ripe banana fell over on a log.'

Semantics - Change of state: *-tein-* 'wake up' target (x2)

Stimuli prompt for (15)



(15) Target: *-tein-* 'wake up' 1

a. Match

Neeng	*nuku*	*do*	*moqu*	*nuku*	***ha-tein-i.***
man	one	PROX	child	one	3.PAT-wake.up-PFV

'A man woke up a child.'

b. Mismatch

Neeng	*nuku*	*do*	*moqu*	*nuku*	***ha-rui-di.***
man	one	PROX	child	one	3.PAT-get.up-INCH.PFV

'A man lifted a child up.'

Stimuli prompt for (16)



(16) Target: *-tein-* 'wake up' 2

a. Match

Ata Neeng di Akanmai ***ha-tein-i.***
A. man 3.AGT A 3.PAT-wake.up-PFV

'Ata Neeng woke Akanmai up.'

b. Mismatch

Ata Neeng di Akanmai ***ha-rui-di.***
man one PROX one 3.PAT-erect-INCH.PFV

'Ata Neeng lifted Akanmai up.'

Semantics - Change of state: *-rui-* 'get up' target (x2)

Stimuli prompt for (17)



(17) Target: *-rui-* 'get up' 1

a. Match

Fala ba ama ***ha-rui-di*** *nu,*
house REL person 3.PAT-get.up-INCH.PFV DIST
to-ra-li.
DIST.REC-burn-INCH.PFV

'The house that someone erected burned.'

b. Mismatch

Fala ba ama ***ha-tein-i*** *nu,*
house REL person 3.PAT-wake.up-INCH.PFV DIST
to-ra-li.
DIST.REC-burn-INCH.PFV

'The house that someone woke up burned.'

Stimuli prompt for (18)



(18) Target: *-rui-* 'get up' 2

a. Match

Akanmai	*di*	*Ata*	*Neeng*	***ha-rui-di.***
A.	3.AGT	A.	man	3.PAT-get.up-INCH.PFV

'Akanmai lifted Ata Neeng up.'

b. Mismatch

Akanmai	*di*	*Ata*	*Neeng*	***ha-tein-i.***
A.	3.AGT	A.	man	3.PAT-wake.up-INCH.PFV

'Akanmai woke Ata Neeng up.'

Clause-linking: *ya* 'SEQUENTIAL' target (x3)

Stimuli prompt for (19)



(19) Target: *ya* 'SEQ' 1

a. Match

Bataa *tuku* *natet-i* ***ya*** *balei* *san* *tai*
wood CF stand.PFV-PFV SEQ banana be.ripe on.top
hayeei.
fall.from.above

'A log was standing; then a banana fell on top of it.'

b. Mismatch

Bataa *tuku* *natet-i* ***ba*** *balei* *san* *tai*
wood CF stand.PFV-PFV LNK banana be.ripe on.top
hayeei.
fall.from.above

'A log was standing and a banana fell on top of it.'

Stimuli prompt for (20)



(20) Target: *ya* 'SEQ' 2

a. Match

Neeng nuku taadei ***ya*** *balei san paaka nuku*
man one sleep.PFV SEQ banana be.ripe piece one
ha-toq tahang hayeei.
3.INAL-stomach on.top fall.from.above

'A man was asleep there; then a banana fell on his stomach.'

b. Mismatch

Neeng nuku taadei ***ba*** *balei san paaka nuku*
man one sleep.PFV LNK banana be.ripe piece one
ha-toq tahang hayeei.
3.INAL-stomach on.top fall.from.above

'A man was asleep there and a banana fell on his stomach.'

Stimuli prompt for (21)



(21) Target: *ya* 'SEQ' 3

a. Match *ya* 'SEQ'

Timoi do latukoi fili ***ya*** *wata nuku*
wind PROX INTS young SEQ coconut one
del ong hayeei.
3.REFL.NAGT make fall.from.above

'This wind is very strong; then the coconut fell.'

b. Mismatch

Timoi do latukoi fili ***ba*** *wata nuku*
wind PROX INTS young LNK coconut one
del ong hayeei.
3.REFL.NAGT make fall.from.above

'This wind is very strong and the coconut fell.'

Clause-linking: *ba* 'GENERAL CLAUSE LINKER' target (x3)

Stimuli prompt for (22)



(22) Target: *ba* 'LNK' 1

a. Match

Maayol	*nuku*	*mit-i*	***ba***	*da-lal-e.*
woman	one	sit-PFV	LNK	3.REFL.PAT-laugh-IPFV

'A woman is sitting and laughing.'

b. Mismatch

Maayol	*nuku*	*mit-i*	***ya***	*da-lal-e.*
woman	one	sit-PFV	SEQ	3.REFL.PAT-laugh-IPFV

'A woman is sitting; then laughs.'

Stimuli prompt for (23)



(23) Target: *ba* 'LNK' 2

a. Match

Ama	*nuku*	*da-rek-di*	***ba***
person	one	3.REFL.PAT-be.on.back-INCH.PFV	LNK
taa.			
sleep.IPFV			

'A person is on his back and sleeping.'

b. Mismatch

Ama	*nuku*	*da-rek-di*	***ya***
person	one	3.REFL.PAT-be.on.back-INCH.PFV	SEQ
taa.			
sleep.IPFV			

'A person is on his back; then he sleeps.'

Stimuli prompt for (24)



(24) Target: *ba* 'LNK' 3

a. Match

Ama	*nuku*	*oro*	*ya*	*mi*	***ba***	*yambuk*	*walia.*
person	one	DIST.LOCA	water	take	LNK	glass	fill

'A person there pours water in a glass (lit. takes water and pours it into a glass).'

b. Mismatch

Ama	*nuku*	*oro*	*ya*	*mi*	***ya***	*yambuk*	*walia.*
person	one	DIST.LOCA	water	take	SEQ	glass	fill

'A person there pours water in a glass (lit. takes water; then pours it into a glass).'

Pronominal indexation: *hoo-* 'GOAL' target with animate P (x3)

Stimuli prompt for (25)



(25) Target: *hoo-* 'GOAL' 1

a. Match

Neeng	*abet*	*nuku*	*di*	*neeng*	*kalieta*	*nuku*
man	be.young	one	3.AGT	man	be.old	one

***hoo**-munang.*
3.GOAL-smell

'A young man smells an old man.'

b. Mismatch

Neeng	*abet*	*nuku*	*di*	*neeng*	*kalieta*	*nuku*
man	be.young	one	3.AGT	man	be.old	one

***ha**-munang.*
3.PAT-smell

'A young man smells an old man.'

Stimuli prompt for (26)



(26) Target: *hoo-* 'GOAL' 2

a. Match

Moqu fila del mi neeng kalieta
child be.young 3.REFL.NAGT take man be.old
***hoo**-hai.*
3.GOAL-lean.on

'A young child leans on an old man.'

b. Mismatch

Moqu fila del mi neeng kalieta
child be.young 3.REFL.NAGT take man be.old
***he**-hai.*
3.LOC-lean.on

'A young child leans on an old man.'

Stimuli prompt for (27)



(27) Target: *hoo-* 'GOAL' 3

a. Match

Akanmai	*di*	*Ata*	*Neeng*	***hoo**-luk.*
A.	3.AGT	A.	man	3.GOAL-(sc)rub

'Akanmai rubs Ata Neeng.'

b. Mismatch

Akanmai	*di*	*Ata*	*Neeng*	***he**-luk.*
A.	3.AGT	A.	man	3.LOC-(sc)rub

'Akanmai rubs Ata Neeng.'

Pronominal indexation: *ha-*/*he-* '3.PAT'/'3.LOC' target with inanimate P (x3)

Stimuli prompt for (28)



(28) Target: *ha-* '3.PAT' 1

a. Match

Neeng	*nuku*	*di*	*keju*	***ha**-munang.*
man	one	3.AGT	cheese	3.PAT-smell

'A man is smelling cheese.'

b. Mismatch

Neeng	*nuku*	*di*	*keju*	***hoo**-munang.*
man	one	3.AGT	cheese	3.GOAL-smell

'A man is smelling cheese.'

Stimuli prompt for (29)



(29) Target: *he-* '3.LOC' 2

a. Match

Neeng nuku del mi ba fala foqa
man one 3.REFL.NAGT take LNK house be.big
***he**-hai.*
3.LOC-lean.on

'A man leans on a house.'

b. Mismatch

Neeng nuku del mi ba fala foqa
man one 3.REFL.NAGT take LNK house be.big
***hoo**-hai.*
3.GOAL-lean.on

'A man leans on a house.'

Stimuli prompt for (30)



(30) Target: *he-* '3.LOC' 3

a. Match

Dori *di* *tawal* ***he****-luk.*
D. 3.AGT wok 3.LOC-(sc)rub

'Dori is scrubbing the wok.'

b. Mismatch

Dori *di* *tawal* ***hoo****-luk.*
D. 3.AGT wok 3.'GOAL-(sc)rub

'Dori is scrubbing the wok.'

Appendix F

Photos

An Abui lady looking pensive at an election campaign.



Woman embrace one another as they perform the *lego-lego* dance.



A woman preparing a giant pot of rice. Nowadays, rice has become a mainstay in most households in coastal villages. It is often bought at markets.



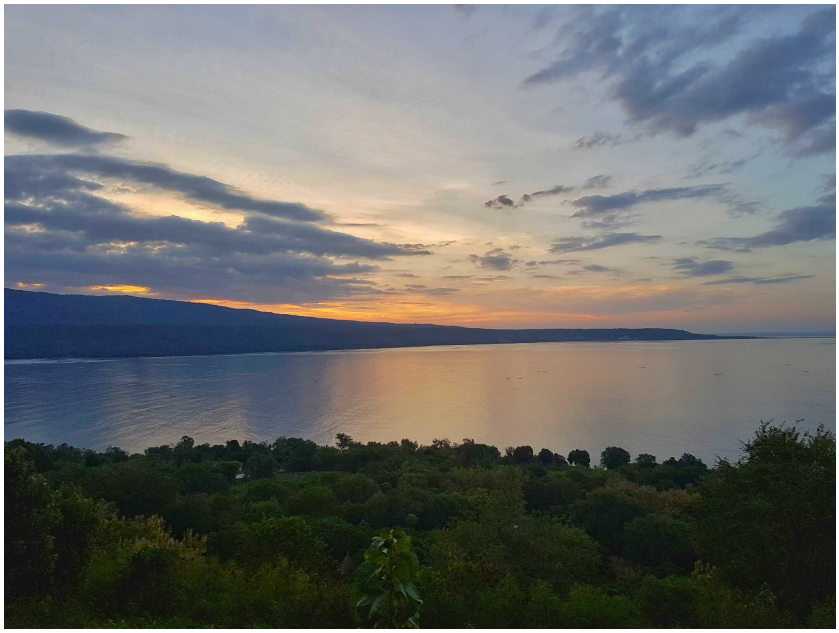
A morning view of the *masang* 'altar' in Takpala.



Abui men prepare a grand entrance before performing the *lego-lego*.



A view from Takpala of a sunset behind the Kabola region.



A young girl smiling after a church sermon.



A group of Abui ladies from various generations.



A girl uses a leaf to protect herself against the rain.



Nederlandse samenvatting

Deze dissertatie onderzoekt de invloed van het Alor Maleis op het Abui, een Austronesische en een Papuaanse taal in Oost-Indonesië. Hiertoe wordt het Abui van jongere taalgebruikers vergeleken met dat van oudere taalgebruikers. Dit gebeurt aan de hand van drie taalkundige variabelen, waarin wordt gekeken naar het *wederkerend bezittelijk voorvoegsel*, *het gebruik van werkwoorden* en *reduplicatie* (herhaling van (een deel van) een woord). In het algemeen blijkt dat de 50 à 60 jaar van intensief taalcontact tussen het Alor Maleis en het Abui geleid heeft tot vereenvoudiging van de grammatica van het Abui. In het bijzonder verdwijnt het onderscheid in wederkerigheid in bezittelijke voorvoegselen, worden sommige werkwoorden door andere vervangen en krijgen ze een meer algemene betekenis, en wordt reduplicatie steeds productiever, waarbij het steeds meer Maleise vorm- en functiekenmerken vertoont. Deze fenomenen, zo wordt betoogd, zijn een geval van onvolledige taalverwerving en -overdracht.

Hoofdstuk 1 plaatst het Abui in zijn geografische en taalkundige context. Het introduceert de taalgemeenschap van Takalelang en noemt een aantal kenmerken van het Abuivolk. Ook geeft dit hoofdstuk de achtergrond voor de belangrijkste theoretische onderwerpen die in de dissertatie aan bod komen. Dit zijn: het belang van het schetsen van taalcontactscenario's, het begrip taaldominantie, het gevolg van vereenvoudiging, de drie onderzochte taalkundige variabelen, en het belang van het combineren van taalproductie- en taalbegripsgegevens. Na deze achtergrond volgen de centrale onderzoeksvragen.

In hoofdstuk 2 wordt het taalcontactscenario beschreven. Een aantal

belangrijke historische gebeurtenissen die in de afgelopen eeuwen hebben plaatsgevonden worden behandeld. Ook bevat het een beschrijving van het huidige sociolinguistische profiel van het Abuivolk. De historische invalshoek voorziet de lezer van achtergrondinformatie over de koloniale geschiedenis van Alor, zoals deze opgetekend staat in Nederlandse koloniale documenten en overgeleverd wordt in verhalen. Een van de doelen van dit hoofdstuk is om te beschrijven hoe het Maleis om economische, politieke en religieuze redenen op het eiland geïntroduceerd werd. De oprichting van scholen en protestantse kerken aan het begin van de 20e eeuw luidde het begin van onderwijs en bekering tot het Christendom in. Beide werden ingezet om Maleis te onderwijzen aan de raja's 'lokale bestuurders' en om zo de banden met de Nederlanders te verstevigen, die Maleis als algemeen communicatiemiddel in Oost-Indië gebruikten. In de daaropvolgende decennia nam het aantal jongens en meisjes dat naar school ging toe, maar pas sinds midden jaren zestig was er een echte stijging. Dit was het gevolg van grootschalige verhuizingen van families uit berggebieden naar de kust, waar ze toegang kregen tot scholen, kerken, markten en medische voorzieningen (door de overheid opgezet). Onder toename van het aantal leerlingen in de jaren zeventig, tachtig en negentig legden leraren strenge regels op, die het gebruik van Abui op scholen verboden. Leerlingen werden geacht om hun leraren en elkaar toe te spreken in het Indonesisch (of Alor Maleis). Bovendien werden ouders tijdens kerkbijeenkomsten en gemeenschapsvergaderingen aangespoord om hun kinderen op school voor te bereiden door Indonesisch of Alor Maleis te gebruiken in plaats van het Abui. Het tweede deel van hoofdstuk 2 schetst het sociolinguistische profiel van de taalgemeenschap van Takalelang. In het bijzonder beschrijft het de drie belangrijkste talen in de context van hun taalgemeenschap en de domeinen waarin ze gebruikt worden: het Abui, het Alor Maleis en het Indonesisch. Het gaat in op zowel taalverwerving en de rol van taal in de gemeenschap als twee belangrijke sociolinguistische variabelen: leeftijd en geslacht. Daarnaast worden houdingen ten opzichte van de besproken talen behandeld en worden de vitaliteit en revitaliseringspogingen van het Abui geëvalueerd.

Hoofdstuk 3 bespreekt de methodologie die voor het onderzoek in deze dissertatie gebruikt is. Het beschrijft in detail hoe het onderzoek uitgevoerd is en weidt uit over de twee belangrijkste gegevenssoorten: a) sociolinguistische en etnografische interviewgegevens and b) taalkun-

dige gegevens. De interviews zijn gebruikt om vier leeftijdsgroepen te onderscheiden, aan de hand waarvan variatie en verandering in het Abui bestudeerd wordt: (pre)pubers (9–16 jaar oud), jongvolwassenen (17–25 jaar oud), volwassenen (26–34 jaar oud) en ouderen (40–75 jaar oud). De taalkundige gegevens omvatten zowel conversatiegegevens als experimentele gegevens. Deze laatste groep gegevens bestaat uit zowel taalproductiegegevens (de Surreystimuli) als taalbegripsgegevens (een zogenaamde "gedwongen-keuzetaak" forced-choicetaak). Ten slotte behandelt dit hoofdstuk details van de voor dit onderzoek verzamelde (en gebruikte) corpora.

Hoofdstuk 4 is een grammaticale schets van het Abui, een uitgebreide introductie tot de taal zelf, waarmee hoofdstukken 5 tot7 beter te begrijpen zijn. De behandelde onderwerpen zijn: fonologie, basiszinsbouw, de nominale constituent, voornaamwoorden, voornaamwoordelijkevoorvoegsels, de verbale constituent, seriële werkwoordsconstructies en het combineren van zinnen.

Hoofdstuk 5, de eerste casestudy van variatie en verandering, behandelt het wederkerige bezittelijke voorvoegsel. Dit voorvoegselgeeft wederkerigheidaan in bezittelijke constructies in de derde persoon en contrasteert daarin met niet-wederkerige bezittelijke constructies. Deze categorie wordt alleen aangetroffen in het Abui, niet in het Alor Maleis. Het wederkerige bezitsvoorvoegsel laat variatie in zowel productie als begrip zien onder de vier onderzochte leeftijdsgroepen. Met name de (pre)pubers en, in mindere mate, de jongvolwassenen neutraliseren het onderscheid tussen wederkerig en niet-wederkerig door het niet-wederkerige voorvoegsel te generaliseren in contexten die normaliter het wederkerige voorvoegsel vereisen. Daarentegen wordt dit onderscheid door de volwassenen en de ouderen gehandhaafd. Er is een verschil in geslacht in de groep van (pre)pubers: jongens maken minder vaak onderscheid in wederkerigheid dan meisjes. De reden die hiervoor wordt gegeven is dat jongens minder dan meisjes aan het Abui worden blootgesteld, omdat zij meer vrijheid hebben om zich buitenshuis te bewegen en Alor Maleis te spreken met hun leeftijdsgenoten. Meisjes zijn daarentegen meer aan de huiselijke omgeving gebonden en worden geacht om hun oudere vrouwelijke leeftijdsgenoten (die vaak Abui spreken) in het huishouden the helpen. Hierdoor komen zij meer met het Abui in aanraking. Bij begripsexperimenten laten alleen de (pre)pubers significante verschillen zien ten opzichte van de ouderen, in te-

genstelling tot de jongvolwassenen en de volwassenen. Geslacht speelt niet alleen een rol in taalproductie, maar ook in taalbegrip. Jongens neutraliseren het onderscheid vaker dan meisjes. Deze verschillen in taalbegrip suggereren dat (pre)pubers het grammaticale reflexiviteitsonderscheid kennen maar nietzelf gebruiken. Dit levert bewijs voor de Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (Prévost & White, 2000a, 2000b).

Hoofdstuk 6 gaat overhet bestuderen van variatie en verandering in het gebruik van werkwoorden en lexicale semantiek (woordbetekenis). De drie geselecteerde onderzoeksdomeinen zijn: werkwoorden die 'zien', 'vallen', en 'opstaan' uitdrukken. In al deze domeinen vertonen het Alor Maleis en het Abui verschillen: het Alor Maleis gebruikt één werkwoord, dat met tenminste twee verschillende werkwoorden in het Abui correspondeert. Deze werkwoorden drukken subtiele verschillen uit die niet op die manier?tot uiting komen in het Alor Maleis. Dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat de verschillen in de productie en begrip van deze werkwoorden samenhangen met de leeftijd van de sprekers. In alle drie domeinen generaliseren de (pre)pubers en de jongvolwassenen significant vaker het ene werkwoord ten koste van een andere. In het domeinmet woorden voor 'vallen' zijn zelfs volwassenen geneigd om één werkwoord te gebruiken. De taalbegripsgegevens laten zien dat sprekers meer kennis van deze verschillen hebben dan de productiegegevens eventueel impliceren. In taalbegrip zijn het alleen de (pre)pubers die significant meer generaliseren dan de andere leeftijdsgroepen. Dit was het geval in de domeinen met woorden voor 'vallen' en toestandsverandering, maar niet in het domeinmet woorden voor 'zien'. Twee resultaten van deze studie zijn verrassend. Ten eerste lijkt (anders dan in hoofdstuk 5) geslacht geen rol te spelen in het gebruik van werkwoorden. Ten tweede gedragen jongvolwassenen zich bijna hetzelfde als de ouderen, wat erop wijst dat ze weliswaar een aanzienlijke kennis hebben van deze werkwoorden maar er niet in slagen om deze kennis zelf te gebruiken.

Hoofdstuk 7 verkent variatie en verandering in reduplicatie (herhaling). Er worden vier vormen van taaloverdracht (*transfer*) onderscheiden tussen reduplicatie in het Alor Maleis en in het Abui. Ten eerste is er materiaaloverdracht (*matter transfer*), met name de invoegingen *sama∼sama, tiba∼tiba* en een aantal incidentele invoegingen van Alor Maleis talig? materiaal. Daarnaast zijn er drie soorten vormoverdacht (*pattern transfer*). De eerste behelst het redupliceren van werkwoorden om intensiteit uit te drukken.

De tweede soort vormoverdracht is reduplicatie die gebruikt wordt om nonchalance uit te drukken. De derde soort is een aantal incidentele reduplicatievormen die ongrammaticaal zijn voor oudere sprekers, omdat ofwel de gebruikte woorden meestal niet gereduplicеerd worden, ofwel de sprekers de juiste woorden reduplicеren, maar met de verkeerde formele kenmerken (bijvoorbeeld: reduplicatie van het hele woord in plaats van enkel de stam). Al deze kenmerken zijn bewijs voor taaloverdracht met het Alor Maleis als brontaal. Het zijn vooral de (pre)pubers en, in mindere mate, de jongvolwassenen die deze tendensen laten zien. Volwassenen produceren deze reduplicatievormen zelen, wat laat zien dat deze vernieuwingen weliswaar aanwezig zijn in hun spreektaal, maar niet zo nadrukkelijk. In tegenstelling tot hoofdstukken 5 en 6 gebruikt dit hoofdstuk geen kwantitiatieve methoden, gebruikt het geslacht niet als een variabele, en doet het geen uitspraak over de mate van taalbegrip. Desalniettemin geeft het aan dat er ten aanzien van reduplicatie duidelijke verschillen bestaan tussen de leeftijdsgroepen, wat wijst op een sterke invloed van het Alor Maleis.

Ringkasan dalam bahasa Indonesia

Disertasi ini bertujuan untuk menyelidiki pengaruh Bahasa Melayu Alor dalam Bahasa Abui. Dalam penyelidikan ini, penutur Bahasa Abui berusia muda, yang sudah sepenuhnya terpengaruh oleh Bahasa Melayu Alor melalui kontak bahasa, dibandingkan dengan penutur Bahasa Abui yang berusia lebih tua. Disertasi ini menyajikan tiga studi kasus mengenai variasi bahasa dan perubahan bahasa melalui pembahasan tentang *posesif refleksif* (reflexive possessive), pemakaian kata kerja (verbs), dan *pengulangan* (reduplication). Secara umum, temuan dari penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa kontak yang kuat antara Bahasa Melayu Alor dan Bahasa Abui selama 50 – 60 tahun belakangan telah membuahkan hasil berupa penyederhanaan tata bahasa Abui. Penyederhanaan ini khususnya terlihat dari: perbedaan refleksivitas pada posesif yang telah menjadi netral, beberapa verba yang telah mengambil alih verba yang lain dan juga bersifat menjadi lebih umum, dan pengulangan (reduplication) yang menjadi lebih produktif dan lebih mirip dengan Bahasa Melayu Alor dalam hal bentuk dan fungsi. Temuan-temuan ini diusulkan sebagai sebuah kasus yang merupakan hasil dari pemerolehan bahasa secara tidak lengkap dan transfer bahasa.

Bab I menggambarkan Bahasa Abui dalam situasi geografis dan konteks linguistis. Bab ini memperkenalkan komunitas penutur Bahasa Abui di Desa Takalelang dan mendisukusikan beberapa ciri-ciri umum orang Abui. Selain itu, bab ini menyediakan latar belakang teoretis yang penting dalam disertasi ini, misalnya mengenai pentingnya menguraikan skenario kontak, gagasan mengenai dominasi bahasa, hasil dari penyederhanaan tata

bahasa, tiga variabel–variabel linguistis yang telah disebutkan, dan pentingnya menggabungkan data-data produksi bahasa dan pemahaman bahasa. Deskripsi latar belakang ini kemudian diikuti oleh rumusan-rumusan masalah penelitian.

Bab 2 dikhususkan untuk mendekonstruksi skenario kontak bahasa. Dekonstruksi ini melibatkan sebuah diskusi mengenai peristiwa-peristiwa historis selama beberapa abad terakhir dan sebuah deskripsi tentang profil sosiolinguistik terkini. Sisi historis dalam bab ini menyajikan latar belakang historis Alor pada masa kolonial, sebagaimana diungkapkan dalam dokumen-dokumen dari Belanda, sekaligus sejarah lisan dari masyarakat Alor. Salah satu tujuan dari bab ini adalah untuk mendeskripsikan bagaimana Bahasa Melayu diperkenalkan ke dalam masyarakat Alor atas dasar ekonomi, politik, dan keagamaan. Pengenalan sekolah-sekolah dan pendirian gereja-gereja Protestan pada permulaan tahun 1900-an menandai awal dari proses partisipasi anak di sekolah dan mulainya penyebaran Agama Katolik. Keduanya, pengenalan sekolah dan penyebaran Agama Katolik, menggunakan Bahasa Melayu Alor dalam penyampaiannya sehingga dapat menguatkan ikatan antara orang Alor dengan bangsa Belanda yang sudah lebih dahulu menggunakan Bahasa Melayu sebagai sarana komunikasi di penjuru Nusantara. Dalam beberapa dekade selanjutnya, terlihat peningkatan partisipasi anak laki-laki dan anak perempuan dalam sekolah. Meskipun demikian, baru pada pertengahan 1960-an peningkatan partisipasi anak sekolah mulai meningkat secara tetap. Peningkatan ini merupakan hasil dari banyaknya jumlah kepala keluarga yang melaukan perpindahan dari desa-desa di gunung ke dataran rendah yang lebih dekat dengan sekolah-sekolah, gereja, pasar, dan fasilitas kesehatan (sebagai bagian dari program pemerintah Indonesia). Dengan meningkatya partisipasi sekolah pada tahun 70-an, 80-an, dan 90-an, para guru mulai menggalakkan aturan ketat bagi anak sekolah dengan melarang penggunaan bahasa Abui di sekolah. Anak-anak sekolah diharapkan untuk menyapa guru dan teman-temannya dengan menggunakan Bahasa Indonesia (atau Bahasa Melayu Alor). Para orang tua juga dianjurkan untuk melakukan hal yang sama, ketika di gereja dan perkumpulan masyarakat, untuk menyiapkan anak-anak mereka bersekolah dengan membesarkan anak-anak dengan Bahasa Indonesia/Bahasa Melayu Alor, yang berkebalikan dengan pemakaian Bahasa Abui. Setelah diskusi mengenai dunia pendidikan dan sekolah di Desa Takalelang disajikan, bagian kedua bab 2 ini mengungkap profil sosiolin-

guistik dari komunitas tutur Bahasa Abui di Takalelang. Secara terperinci, bagian ini mendeskripsikan tiga variasi utama, yaitu Bahasa Abui, Bahasa Melayu Alor, dan Bahasa Indonesia di dalam masyarakat dan domain penggunaannya. Bagian ini juga menguraikan proses pemerolehan bahasa dan sosialisasi beserta dua variabel kunci sosiolinguistik: usia dan gender. Kemudian, disajikan diskusi singkat mengenai sikap bahasa dan penilaian masyarakat mengenai pentingnya Bahasa Abui dan upaya-upaya untuk merevitalisasi penggunaan Bahasa Abui.

Bab 3 merupakan diskusi tentang metodologi yang diterapkan dalam penelitian ini. Bab ini mendeskripsikan detail mengenai kerja lapangan untuk mengambil data (fieldwork). Bab ini juga merincikan dua jenis data yang diambil: a) wawancara sosiolinguistis dan ethnografis; dan b) data linguistis. Wawancara etnografis digunakan sebagai landasan untuk menetapkan empat kelompok usia yang digunakan untuk menyelidiki variasi bahasa dan perubahan bahasa di dalam Bahasa Abui. Kelompok-kelompok usia tersebut meliputi: kelompok usia (sebelum) remaja (9-16 tahun), sebelum dewasa (17-25 tahun), dewasa (26-34 tahun), dan orang tua (40-75 tahun). Kelompok-kelompok usia ini diperinci secara detail di bab ini. Data linguistis meliputi data percakapan dan data eksperimental. Data eksperimental terdiri dari data produksi tuturan (stimuli Surrey) dan data komprehensi bahasa (pilihan ganda). Terakhir, rincian mengenai korpus data yang terkumpul (dan yang digunakan) juga dibahas di bab ini.

Bab 4 berisi deskripsi tata bahasa Abui. Bab ini memberi gambaran yang mendalam mengenai Bahasa Abui dan dapat berperan sebagai buku pegangan ringkas yang dapat membantu pembaca untuk memahami diskusi di bab 5-7 dengan lebih baik. Topik-topik utama yang didiskusikan di bab ini meliputi fonologi, sintaksis klausa sederhana, frasa nomina, pronominal, prefiks-prefiks pronominal, frasa verba, konstruksi verba berderet, dan operasional klausa sederhana.

Bab 5, yang merupakan studi kasus pertama tentang variasi bahasa dan perubahan bahasa, didedikasikan untuk menyelidiki prefiks reflextif posesif (reflextive possessive prefix). Prefiks reflektif posesif ini menandai refleksivitas pada pronomina posesif orang ketiga, dengan membandingkannya dengan posesif yang non-reflektif. Kategori linguistis ini ditemukan dalam Bahasa Abui, tetapi tidak dalam Bahasa Melayu Alor. Prefiks reflektif posesif ini rawan akan munculnya variasi antar kategori usia yang diujikan pada produksi bahasa dan pemahaman bahasa. Khususnya,

pada kategori usia (sebelum) remaja dan, pada tingkatan yang lebih rendah, sebelum dewasa, mereka menetralkan perbedaan antara prefiks yang refleksif dan yang non-refleksif dengan cara membuat generalisasi prefiks yang refleksif, yaitu dengan mengeneralisasikannya ke konteks yang refleksif. Artinya, kelompok usia ini lebih memilih prefiks non-reflektif daripada prefix reflektif. Orang dewasa memiliki pola seperti orang tua yang masih menggunakan prefiks pembeda ini. Yang menarik, gender ternyata juga memainkan peran dalam menjelaskan variasi bahasa dalam kelompok usia (sebelum) remaja: anak laki-laki lebih banyak menetralkan prefiks dibandingkan dengan anak perempuan. Hal ini dijelaskan oleh fakta bahwa anak laki-laki berintraksi lebih sedikit dengan Bahasa Abui dari pada anak perempuan karena anak laki-laki lebih bebas bergaul dengan teman-teman mereka dan berinteraksi dengan Bahasa Melayu Alor, sementara anak perempuan lebih sering berada di rumah dan membantu saudara atau kerabat perempuan mereka (yang lebih sering menggunakan Bahasa Abui) dengan pekerjaan rumah tangga sehingga mereka lebih sering berinteraksi dengan Bahasa Abui. Ketika pemahaman berbahasa mereka diuji, hanya kelompok usia (sebelum) remaja yang menunjukkan perbedaan mencolok dibandingkan dengan kelompok usia orang tua, sedangkan kelompok usia sebelum dewasa dan dewasa tidak menunjukkan perbedaan yang mencolok. Sementara itu, sama halnya dengan produksi bahasa, gender juga memainkan peran dalam pemahaman Bahasa. Anak laki-laki menunjukkan kecenderungan untuk menetralkan prefiks dari pada anak perempuan. Perbedaan dalam hal pemahaman bahasa ini menunjukkan bahwa kelompok usia (sebelum) remaja sebenarnya memiliki pengetahuan menganai perbedaan gramatikal dari refleksivitas, tetapi mereka gagal dalam proses produksi bahasanya. Hal ini juga memberi bukti tambahan untuk teori Missing Surface Inflection(Prévost & White, 2000a, 2000b).

Bab 6 dikhususkan untuk studi variasi bahasa dan perubahan bahasa dalam hal penggunaan verba dan semantik leksikal. Ada tiga domain yang dipilih untuk diselidiki: persepsi visual, jatuh (falling), dan bangun (change of state). Dalam ketiga domain ini, Bahasa Melayu Alor dan Bahasa Abui tidak memiliki terjemahan yang setara: Bahasa Melayu Alor memiliki satu buah verba yang memiliki korespondensi dengan minimal dua buah verba yang berbeda dalam Bahasa Abui. Verba-verba dalam Bahasa Abui ini menandai perbedaan tipis yang tidak ditandai secara leksikal dalam Bahasa Melayu Alor. Ditunjukkan bahwa variasi yang berhubungan dengan

usia telah ditemukan dalam cara penutur Bahasa Abui yang menggunakan verba-verba ini di dalam proses produksi bahasa dan pemahaman bahasa. Dalam proses produksi ketiga domain, kelompok usia (sebelum) remaja dan sebelum dewasa secara signifikan menunjukkan kecenderungan untuk mengeneralisasikan satu verba dengan mengorbankan verba yang lain. Dalam satu domain, yaitu domain jatuh, bahkan kelompok usia dewasa juga menunjukkan kecenderungan untuk mengeneralisasikan satu verba dengan mengorbankan verba yang lain. Hasil dari data pemahaman bahasa mengungkap bahwa penutur Bahasa Abui sebenarnya memiliki pengetahuan lebih mengenai perbedaan verba ini dibandinkan dengan yang ditunjukkan data produksi bahasa. Dalam pemahaman bahasa, hanya kelompok (sebelum) remaja menunjukkan perbedaan yang mencolok dibandingkan dengan kelompok usia yang lain dalam hal kecenderungan untuk mengeneralisasi. Temuan ini adalah cerminan dari domain jatuh dan domain bangun (change of state), tetapi tidak pada domain persepsi visual. Ada dua hasil yang mengejutkan dari studi domain ini. Pertama, tidak seperti hasil di bab 5, tidak ada pengaruh kuat gender dalam penggunaan verba. Kedua, kelompok usia sebelum dewasa menunjukkan kesamaan dengan kelompok usia orang tua. Hal ini mengindikasikan bahwa mereka memiliki pengetahuan yang besar mengenai verba-verba ini, tetapi sepertinya gagal untuk menggunakan verba-verba ini dalam proses produksi bahasa karena produksi bahasa ini tidak mencerminkan pengetahuan mereka.

Bab 7 mengeksplorasi variasi bahasa dan perubahan bahasa dalam hal pengulangan kata (reduplikasi). Ada empat macam transfer bahasa dalam hal reduplikasi dari Bahasa Melayu Alor ke Bahasa Abui. Pertama, ada transfer matter, khususnya insersi sama sama, tiba tiba, dan beberapa nuansa matter insersi lainnya. Selain itu, bab ini juga mendiskusikan tiga jenis transfer pola. Jenis yang pertama melibatkan reduplikasi verba untuk menandai intensitas yang kalau tidak diterapkan, pasti sudah digunakan dalam konstruksi paralel berderet. Jenis yang kedua melibatkan penggunaan reduplikasi untuk menandai casualness/aimlessness (misalnya, jalan-jalan). Jenis yang ketiga melibatkan reduplikasi kosong yang, menurut kelompok usia orang tua, tidak gramatikal, baik karena kata-katanya seharusnya tidak boleh direduplikasi maupun karena para penutur kelompok usia muda mereduplikasi kata-kata yang boleh direduplikasi, tetapi penerapannya tidak dengan fitur yang sesuai (contohnya reduplikasi penuh suatu bentuk kata tetapi tidak bentuk dasarnya). Semua kecenderungan ini merupakan

bukti transfer bahasa dari Bahasa Melayu Alor. Kelompok usia yang menunjukkan kecenderungan ini adalah kelompok usia (sebelum) remaja dan, pada tingkatan yang lebih rendah, kelompok usia sebelum dewasa. Kelompok usia dewasa, yang memproduksi beberapa token-token ini, juga menunjukkan bahwa beberapa inovasi ini tampak pada tuturan mereka hanya saja tidak menonjol. Bab ini berbeda dengan bab 5 dan 6 dalam hal metode: bab ini tidak menggunakan metode kuantitatif; bab ini juga tidak menyelidiki gender sebagai variabel, atau melaporkan data pemahaman bahasa. Meskipun demikian, bab ini menunjukkan bahwa ada variasi yang besar dalam proses reduplikasi dalam lintas kelompok usia yang menunjukkan pengaruh kuat dari Bahasa Melayu Alor.

Curriculum Vitae

George Saad was born in Athens, Greece on September 30th, 1989. After graduating from the International School of Choueifat in Cairo, Egypt in 2007, he moved to the Netherlands and attended University College Utrecht. In 2010, he obtained a BA in Liberal Arts, following tracks in Development Studies, Economics, Anthropology, and Linguistics. For his BA final project, he interned at an NGO in Tanzania, and wrote a report on village banking schemes in the Kilimanjaro Region, Tanzania. In 2011, he began a Research Master's program at Radboud University Nijmegen, where he graduated in 2014 with an MA thesis on the Chicham language Shuar, for which he conducted three months of field research in the Ecuadorian Amazon. From 2011 to 2014, George worked as a student assistant at the Language and Cognition group of the MPI for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. In 2014, he started his PhD research at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics as part of the NWO-funded VICI project *Reconstructing the past through languages of the present: The Lesser Sunda Islands*, led by Marian Klamer. He currently works as a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Amsterdam in the NWO-funded VIDI project *Exceptions rule! Lexical conditions on grammatical structure*, led by Eva van Lier, where he is conducting research on Kamang, a Timor-Alor-Pantar language.