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

Saad, G.M.

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Author: Saad, G.M.
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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]

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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.