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

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# Appendix A

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## Sociolinguistic questionnaire

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	Question (English)	Question (Malay Indonesian)
1	<b>Basic Information</b>	
1.1	Name	<i>Nama</i>
1.2	Sex	<i>Jenis</i>
1.3	Date of birth	<i>Tanggal lahir</i>
1.4	Place of birth	<i>Tempat lahir</i>
1.5	Place of residence	<i>Tempat tinggal</i>
1.6	Present occupation	<i>Pekerjaan sekarang</i>
2	<b>Education</b>	
2.1	Highest education	<i>Pendidikan/ sekolah sampai tingkat apa?</i>
2.2	Primary school	<i>SD</i>
2.3	Junior high school	<i>SMP</i>
2.4	Senior high school	<i>SMA</i>
2.5	Where were/are your teachers from? What language would they use to speak to you?	<i>Di sekolah tu, guru dong dari mana saja? Dan, bahasa apa yang dong pake ko omong deng kakak/bapak/mama?</i>

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2.6	What language did your parents speak to you before primary school?	<i>Sebelum masuk SD tu, bahasa apa yang orang tua dong pake ko omong dengan kakak/bapak/mama?</i>
2.7	What language did your parents speak to you during primary school?	<i>Waktu masi SD tu, bahasa apa yang orang tua dong pake ko omong dengan kakak/bapak/mama?</i>
2.8	What language did you speak to your friends in the playground?	<i>Bahasa apa yang dipakai di luar ruangan kelas?</i>
2.9	What language do/did you speak inside the classroom?	<i>Bahasa apa yang dipakai di dalam kelas?</i>
2.10	What was the teacher's attitude if they heard Abui?	<i>Bagaimana sikap guru ketika mereka mendengar orang berbicara bahasa Abui?</i>
<b>3</b>	<b>Family</b>	
3.1	Who do you currently live with?	<i>Sekarang ni, kakak/bapak/mama tinggal/tidur di satu ruma dengan siapa?</i>
3.2	Who are your siblings?	<i>Kakak/bapak/mama pung saudara dong tu siapa?</i>
3.3	Father's name	<i>Nama bapak kandung</i>
3.4	Where is father from?	<i>Bapak kandung dari mana?</i>
3.5	Father's age	<i>Umur bapak kandung</i>
3.6	Did father go to school? When? Where?	<i>Apa bapak sekolah? Kapan? Di mana?</i>
3.7	Father's occupation	<i>Pekerjaan bapak kandung</i>
3.8	Father's language	<i>Bahasa bapak kandung?</i>
3.9	Where are paternal grandparents from?	<i>Orang tua dari Bapak kandung asal dari mana?</i>
3.10	Paternal grandparents' language?	<i>Orang tua dari bapak kandung asal dari mana?</i>
3.11	Mother's name	<i>Nama Ibu kandung</i>
3.12	Where is mother from?	<i>Ibu kandung dari mana?</i>

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3.13	Mother's age	<i>Umur ibu kandung</i>
3.14	Did mother go to school? When? Where?	<i>Apa ibu kandung sekolah? Kapan? Di mana?</i>
3.15	Mother's language	<i>Bahasa ibu kandung</i>
3.16	Where are maternal grandpar- ents from?	<i>Orang tua dari ibu kandung asal dari mana?</i>
3.17	Maternal grandparents lan- guage	<i>Bahasa orang tua dari ibu kandung</i>
4	<b>Marriage</b>	
4.1	Marital status	<i>Sudah menikah?</i>
4.2	When did you get married?	<i>Kapan menikah?</i>
4.3	Spouse's name	<i>Nama isteri/suami</i>
4.4	Spouse's language	<i>Bahasa isteri/suami?</i>
4.5	Which language do you speak with your spouse?	<i>Bahasa apa dipakai kalau bpk/ibu berbicara dengan isteri/suami?</i>
4.6	Do you have children?	<i>Sudah punya anak?</i>
4.7	What language do you use with them?	<i>Bahasa apa dipakai dengan anak?</i>
4.8	Which language does your spouse speak with your children?	<i>Bahasa apa isteri/suami Bpk/Ibu berbicara dengan anak?</i>
5	<b>Extended network</b>	
5.1	Have you ever lived with your grandparents?	<i>Perna tinggal dengan nenek dong?</i>
5.2	Did grandparents go to school?	<i>Nenek dong perna sekola ko tida?</i>
5.3	How often do you visit or call your grandmother?	<i>Biasa pi main main di nenek dong ko tida?</i>
5.4	Why do you visit or call her of- ten?	<i>Kenapa baru sering pigi di nenek?</i>
5.5	What language do you guys speak together?	<i>Habis kaka/bapak pi di nenek tu, Kaka omong dengan dia pake bahasa apa?</i>
5.6	What do you guys usually talk about?	<i>Kamu dua omong apa saja?</i>

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5.7	Who are your closest friends (Abui and non-Abui?)	<i>Kakak punya teman-teman yang paling akrab tu siapa siapa?</i>
5.8	Where do they live?	<i>Dong tinggal di mana?</i>
5.9	How often do you visit these friends?	<i>Satu minggu/bulan tu, kamu bertemu berapa kali?</i>
5.10	What do you do when you're together?	<i>Kamu bikin apa saja?</i>
5.11	Do you have nay plans to travel together? If so, where?	<i>Habis itu, kamu ada rencana jalan jalan pi mana?</i>
6	<b>Migration</b>	
6.1	Have you ever lived somewhere else for a longer period?	<i>Pernah tinggal di tempat lain (untuk pendidikan, kerja)</i>
6.2	Where?	<i>Di mana?</i>
6.3	Length of stay at each place?	<i>Berapa lama di tempat masing-masing?</i>
6.4	What were the reasons for moving there?	<i>Kenapa tinggal di sana?</i>
6.5	What were the reasons for moving back?	<i>Kenapa pulang ke sini?</i>
6.6	Which languages were spoken there?	<i>Bahasa apa yang dipakai di sana?</i>
6.7	When you finish school, would like to move away for work or stay here?	<i>Lu su habis sakola na lu mau pi mana? (Mau pigi merantau ko di sini saja?)</i>
6.8	Where would you like to go and why?	<i>Kalo mau merantau/kulia na mau pi mana? Mau kerja apa? kenapa?</i>
6.9	If you earned a lot of money, what would you like to do?	<i>Kalo kakak pung uang su banyak, mau buat apa?</i>
7	<b>Language proficiency</b>	
7.1	How well do you speak Alor Malay?	<i>Kakak punya bahasa pasar itu bagaimana?</i>
7.2	When did you learn Alor Malay?	<i>Kapan mulai belajar bahasa pasar/ dari umur berapa kaka mulai belajar bahasa pasar?</i>

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7.3	Whom did you learn it from and where?	<i>Dari siapa dan di mana belajar bahasa pasar?</i>
7.4	How well do you speak Abui?	<i>Kakak punya bahasa Abui itu bagaimana?</i>
7.5	When did you learn Abui?	<i>Kapan mulai belajar bahasa Abui?</i>
7.6	Whom did you learn it from	<i>Dari siapa dan di mana belajar bahasa Abui?</i>
7.7	Why did you learn it?	<i>Kenapa belajar Bahasa Abui?</i>
7.8	Did your parents start speaking Abui to you more at a certain age?	<i>Kakak punya umur berapa dulu baru mama dengan bapa sering pake bahasa Abui ko omong dengan kakak?</i>
7.9	At what age would you say you felt comfortable speaking Abui?	<i>Kakak/Bapak/Mama pung umur berapa dulu baru rasa nyaman omong pake bahasa Abui?</i>
8	<b>Language Use</b>	
8.1	What language do you use at home now?	<i>Bahasa apa dipakai di rumah?</i>
8.2	With siblings?	<i>Dengan kakak/adik?</i>
8.3	With father?	<i>Dengan bapak?</i>
8.4	With mother?	<i>Dengan mama kandung?</i>
8.5	With maternal grandparents?	<i>Dengan nenek dari mama?</i>
8.6	With paternal grandparents?	<i>Dengan nenek dari Bapak?</i>
8.7	With parents-in-law?	<i>Dengan mertua?</i>
8.8	What language do you use in the market?	<i>Dipakai di pasar?</i>
8.9	With Abui speaker?	<i>Dengan orang Abui</i>
8.10	With non-Abui speaker?	<i>Dengan orang lain</i>
8.11	What language do you use at work?	<i>Bahasa apa dipakai di tempat kerja?</i>
8.12	What language do you use in church?	<i>Di gereja?</i>
8.13	Community gathering?	<i>Dipakai di pertemuan masyarakat di kantor desa?</i>

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8.14	What language do you use when hanging out with close friends?	<i>Bahasa apa dipakai dengan teman teman dari komunitasnya?</i>
8.15	Do you spend a lot of time in the kitchen (Females)?	<i>Biasa lu di dapur tu, berapa lama/sampe kapan?</i>
8.16	What language do you use in the kitchen with your daughters (Females)?	<i>Bahasa apa yang mama pakai untuk omong dengan anak di dapur?</i>
9	<b>Language attitudes</b>	
9.1	What is the language you consider your mother tongue, the language closest to your heart, the language you are most fluent in?	<i>Bahasa yg mana adalah bahasa yang dianggap "bahasa Ibu", bahasa yang paling lancar, yang paling dikuasai?</i>
9.2	What are some words/expressions in Abui that sound strange to you?	<i>Apakah ada kata-kata dari bahasa Abui yang terdengar aneh di telinga bapak? Beri contoh beberapa kata saja!</i>
9.3	Do you think your language is changing? If so, can you give some examples?	<i>Apakah menurut bapak bahasa Abui mengalami perubahan? Contohnya adakah perbedaan antara bahasa yang dipakai orang tua dulu dengan anak muda sekarang?</i>
9.4	Do you think your language is an old language? Was it already spoken a long time ago?	<i>Apakah menurut bapak bahasa Abui adalah bahasa yang kuno? Apakah bahasa ini sudah dituturkan sejak lama?</i>
9.5	Who in the community speaks the language best? Why?	<i>Dari beberapa kelompok masyarakat penutur bahasa Abui kelompok mana yang bisa menuturkan bahasa Abui paling baik? Kenapa?</i>

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| 9.6  | Who in the community speaks the language worst? Why?                 | <i>Dari beberapa kelompok masyarakat penutur bahasa Abui kelompok mana yang bisa menuturkan bahasa Abui paling buruk? Kenapa?</i> |
| 9.7  | Do you encourage your children to speak Abui? Why?                   | <i>Apakah bapak/ibu mendorong anak-anak untuk belajar bahasa Abui? Kenapa?</i>  |
| 9.8  | What do you do when your child makes a mistake in the language? Why? | <i>Apa yang bapak/ibu lakukan jika anak-anak bapak/ibu melakukan kesalahan dalam menuturkan bahasa Abui?</i>                      |
| 9.9  | Which languages are important for children to learn? Why?            | <i>Menurut bapak/ibu, bahasa apa yang paling penting untuk dipelajari oleh anak-anak?</i>   |
| 9.10 | Do you think that the Abui should be taught at school? Why?          | <i>Menurut bapak/ibu, apakah bahasa Abui harus diajarkan di sekolah?</i>  |
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## Appendix B

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### Ethnographic interview sample list on life-stages

	Question (English)	Question (Malay Indonesian)
1	I've come to you this morning to ask about the development of the Abui language in this village. Before we begin, can you please introduce yourself, giving your name, your age and place of birth in addition to discussing how many kids you have and where they live?	<i>Ini pagi mau datang di bayi karena mau tanya-tanya soal perkembangan bahasa Abui di enam kampung ini, begitu. Mungkin sebelum saya mulai, bapak bisa perkenalkan diri lebi dulu, nama siapa, terus, sekarang umur suda berapa, lahir di mana, begitu.</i>
2	According to grandpa, what does it mean when we say the word <i>moqu</i> 'child'?	<i>Menurut Bayi, kita biasa bilang moqu itu, apa?</i>
3	Ok then, what about <i>neeng abet</i> 'young man' or <i>maayol maak</i> 'young woman'?	<i>Terus bagaimana dengan neeng abet atau maayol maak?</i>

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| 4  | What are the main differences between a <i>neeng moqu</i> 'boy' and a <i>neeng abet</i> 'young man' on the one-hand and a <i>maayol moqu</i> 'girl' and a <i>maayol maak</i> 'young woman' on the other? | <i>Apa perbedaan antara neeng moqu dan neeng abet kemudian maayol moqu dan maayol maak ?</i>                                    |
| 5  | At around what age is someone able to get married?   | <i>Itu anak tu usia usia pas berapa kira kira dia suda bisa kawin?</i>  |
| 6  | At that age of around 17, 18, can someone speak Abui or not?   | <i>Dalam 17, 18 itu apakah dia bisa berbahasa Abui atau bagaimana?</i>  |
| 7  | How would we compare the situation now with what used to happen in the past?   | <i>Jadi bagaimana dengan anak sekola dong sekarang? Kalau kita banding dengan dulu?</i>   |
| 8  | During the marriage process, is it required to establish connections with an elder (serving as a ritual specialist)?   | <i>Dalam proses kawin mawin ini apakah kita membutuhkan atau ada hubungan-hubungan dengan ketua adat ko tida?</i>               |
| 9  | Who exactly is this elder who mediates the negotiation?  | <i>Jadi itu orang tua adat yang mau pigi di perempuan atau laki-laki itu siapa?</i>   |
| 10 | Is there a specific type of language used by this elder?   | <i>Mungkin orang tua adat yang pi kasi tau itu, mungkin ada dia punya bahasa ko?</i>  |
| 11 | Do you need to be married to sit on the negotiation table?   | <i>Di kuliling meja adat itu, apakah itu orang-orang yang suda kawin saja yang bisa duduk di meja adat itu, atau bagaimana?</i> |
| 12 | How old is a <i>fing kaang</i> typically?  | <i>Jadi fing kaang itu di umur sekitar berapa?</i>  |
| 13 | What about the <i>kalieta kaang</i> ?  | <i>Bagaimana dengan kalieta kaang?</i>  |
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| 14 | Concerning your children, how would you describe the development of their Abui, before entering primary school, during primary school, during junior high school, and during senior high school? | <i>Anak lima ini, itu, dia punya perkembangan bahasa Abui tu bagaimana? Bapak lihat dong meningkat itu, apakah, sebelum dong sekolah atauka dong suda masuk di SD, di SD tu seperti apa? Di SMP tu seperti apa?</i> |
| 15 | Approximately at what age were they skillful (fluent) in Abui?   | <i>Kira-kira dia usia berapa dia mahir?</i>   |
| 16 | In general terms, at what age is someone completely fluent in Abui?  | <i>Secara umum, bai melihat, kira-kira pada umur berapa orang betul-betul su tau bahasa Abui?</i>   |
| 17 | As far as you can see, what are the differences between a 15-year-old and a 30-year-old in terms of their Abui?  | <i>Sejau mana bai lihat, kira-kira orang yang dari usia 15 dengan 30, itu dia punya perbedaan tu seperti bagaimana?</i>   |
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## Appendix C

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### Ethnographic interview list sample on school history

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	Question (English)	Question (Malay Indonesian)
1	Let's begin with the history of SD Mabu.	<i>Kita mulai dengan sejarah SD Mabu.</i>
2	Where and when did you finish primary school, junior high school, and senior high school?	<i>Bapak tamat SD, SMP, SMA di mana dan di tahun berapa?</i>
3	In that time, was it mandatory for a child to attend school?	<i>Waktu itu, apa anak-anak diwajibkan masuk sekolah?</i>
4	So, in the 80s, it was the case that parents preferred their children to go to the fields (instead of going to school)?	<i>Saya punya satu pertanyaan tentang masa tahun delapan puluhan. Jadi, orang tua lebi mau dong pu anak dong pi kebun?</i>
5	When did you start teaching at Mabu Primary School?	<i>Bapak, kapan mulai mengajar di SD Mabu?</i>
6	How many years did you teach at Mabu Primary School?	<i>Terus bapak, berapa lama mengajar di SD Mabu?</i>
7	After that where were you relocated to?	<i>Habis itu, bapak pinda ke mana?</i>

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| 8  | When you started working at Mabuh Primary School, where were the majority of teachers from?  | <i>Waktu bapak mulai mengajar di SD Mabuh tu, guru dong tu kebanyakan orang mana?</i>  |
| 9  | Where were most of the children from at Mabuh Primary School?  | <i>Terus bapak, murid dong tu, kebanyakan dari mana?</i>   |
| 10 | What language did they use to speak to the schoolchildren?   | <i>Dong pake bahasa apa ko omong dengan murid dong?</i>  |
| 11 | Before entering primary school, did they already know Indonesian?  | <i>Sebelum dong masuk SD, apa dong suda tau bahasa Indonesia ko tida?</i>  |
| 12 | If we were to compare the year 1987 (when you started working there) with the year 1996 (when you left there), how was the children's language use and knowledge of Indonesian before entering primary school and during primary school?           | <i>Dari tahun 1987 sampai 1996 tu, apakah bapak pernah lihat perubahan tentang penggunaan bahasa Indonesia. Kalau kita banding penggunaan murid sebelum masuk SD dengan waktu sudah masuk SD. Dari 1987 sampai 1996 tu.</i>                  |
| 13 | In the eighties (as you are saying), the teachers would force children to speak Indonesian. Did you guys also inform parents that they should speak to their children in Indonesian at home so that they would understand (the language) in class? | <i>Tahun delapan puluhan kan guru dong paksa anak-anak supaya tau bahasa Indonesia. Apakah kamu juga kasi tau orang dong ko dong pake bahasa Indonesia dengan anak-anak dong di rumah supaya waktu masuk SD dong bisa mengerti di kelas?</i> |
| 14 | How would you guys let the parents know?   | <i>Bagaimana ko kamu kasi tau orang tua tu?</i>  |
| 15 | Did teachers also walk from house to house to speak to parents?  | <i>Apa guru dong juga jalan dari rumah ke rumah ko omong dengan orang tua?</i>   |
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- 16 So the generation of parents, perhaps in the 1990s and upwards, they were the ones began raising their children in Indonesian, right? *Jadi generasi orang tua, mungkin di tahun 1990 ke atas, mereka yang mulai besarkan anak pake bahasa indonesia, to?*
- 17 Was it the government that told the teachers that they must force the schoolchildren to speak Indonesian or was this initiative taken from the teachers themselves? *Apakah pemerintah yang kasi tau guru dong bilang musti paksa murid-murid atau dari guru sendiri?*
- 18 What about if we were to compare it to the situation nowadays? (In terms of the languages spoken before entering primary school and the languages spoken during primary school) *Kalau dibandingkan dengan masa sekarang?*
- 19 Today, are there any parents that raise their children speaking Abui? *Sekarang ni, apakah ada orang tua yang besarkan anak pake bahasa daerah?*
- 20 So today, if I were to go to Mabui Primary School, all the kids would speak Indonesian to each other, both inside and outside class. In the past, it was different, right? The kids all spoke Abui outside class (as you just mentioned). So, what I'd like to know is when did this situation begin to change? *Kan sekarang ni, kalau saya pigi di SD Mabui tu, semua pake bahasa Indonesia, di dalam kelas juga di luar juga. Tapi dulu tu lain, to? Anak-anak dong semua pake bahasa Abui di luar kelas. Jadi saya mau tau ni, kapan ko ini situasi mulai berubah?*
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| 21 | Today, primary school and junior high school children usually feel more comfortable speaking Indonesian (as opposed to Abui), right? So, when would you say they start feeling comfortable speaking Abui? | <i>Sekarang ni, kalau anak SD dan SMP dong biasanya lebih nyaman pakai bahasa indonesia to? Jadi kapan mereka rasa nyaman pake bahasa Abui atau suda lancar pake bahasa Abui?</i> |
| 22 | How is it with the Abui language development (acquisition) of your children, Santi and Benny?   | <i>Bagaimana dengan bapak pung anak-anak pung perkembangan bahasa daerah (Santi dan Benny)?</i>   |
| 23 | So, Benny's grandmother spoke to him in Abui; how would he respond?   | <i>Jadi Benny pung nenek omong dengan dia pake bahasa Abui, dan dia balas pake bahasa apa?</i>  |
| 24 | If we were to compare your children('s language proficiency), would you say that Santi is most fluent in Abui?  | <i>Kalau kita banding bapak pung anak-anak, apakah Santi yang paling tau bahasa daerah?</i>   |
| 25 | How old was Santi when you started speaking Abui to her?  | <i>Santi punya umur berapa dulu baru kamu omong pake bahasa daerah dengan dia?</i>  |
| 26 | Today, is it important for people to speak Abui when they are adults?   | <i>Sekarang ni, kalau orang sudah dewasa tu, dong harus pake bahasa daerah. Apakah itu penting ko tida?</i>   |
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# Appendix D

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## Surrey Stimuli elicitation kit

Surrey stimuli elicitation set (x40)<sup>1</sup>

C01: man pulls other man



C02: girl leans on man



C03: people dancing



C04: boy steps on sleeping man



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<sup>1</sup>Downloaded from <http://www.smg.surrey.ac.uk/projects/alor-pantar/pronominal-marking-video-stimuli/> (Fedden et al., 2010).

C05: man sleeping on bed



C06: man sitting against wall and dozing off



C07: woman sitting and laughing



C08: man holds snake, gives it to girl who is afraid



C09: water being poured into glass



C10: man lying down, talking to himself



C11: man sitting against house  
and eating banana



C12: man is standing, boy runs  
over to him



C13: one man is standing,  
another walks into him



C14: man walks over to a wall and  
sits down



C15: coconut tree; one coconut  
falls



C16: man walking, bumps into,  
and then hugs tree



C17: 4 logs, 1 large one



C18: girl pulling log



C19: man walks over and sees axe  
with blood



C20: man walks and steps on  
banana



C21: man standing and leaning  
on house



P01: man smells other man

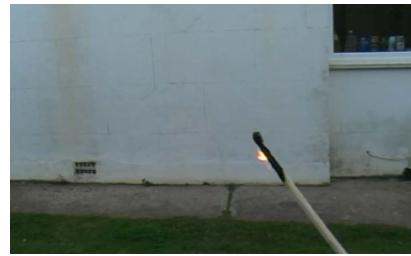




P02: man smells cheese



P03: match goes out



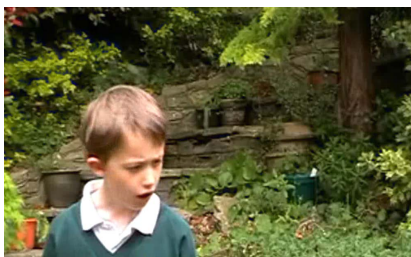
P04: man sitting, leaning against wall and waking up



P05: a short man and tall man are standing



P06: boy hears noise and is startled



P07: boy is sleeping; man comes and wakes him up



P08: bent person on all 4s with  
rock on back



P09: man walks over and trips on  
log



P11: banana falls on log



P12: man hears other man



P13: man hugs tree



P14: small log placed on big bent  
plank





P15: man cradles child



P17: man standing



P18: 3 stones of different sizes



P19: banana falls on stomach of man lying down



P20: man running



P21: man leaning on wall, gets up, and walks away





# Appendix E

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## Forced-choice elicitation kit

Forced-choice stimuli (x30).

**Reflexive possessive target *dV*- (x3)**

Stimuli prompt for (1) (SS Clip P14)



(1) Target: Reflexive possessive 1

a. Match

[*Neeng nuku*]<sub>j</sub> *de-jwiil*                      *ha-buk-e.*  
 man    one    3.REFL.INAL-child    3.PAT-cradle-IPFV

‘A man<sub>j</sub> cradles his<sub>j</sub> child.’

b. Mismatch

[*Neeng nuku*]<sub>j</sub> *he-kwiil*                      *ha-buk-e.*  
 man    one    3.NREFL.AL-child    3.PAT-cradle-IPFV

‘A man<sub>j</sub> cradles his<sub>k</sub> child.’

## Stimuli prompt for (2) (SS Clip C01)



## (2) Target: Reflexive possessive 2

## a. Match

[*Neeng nuku*]<sub>j</sub> *de*<sub>-j</sub>*feela*            *ha-fik-e*.  
 man    one    3.REFL.AL-friend    3.PAT-pull-IPFV

'A man<sub>j</sub> is pulling his<sub>j</sub> friend.'

## b. Mismatch

[*Neeng nuku*]<sub>j</sub> *he*<sub>-k</sub>*feela*            *ha-fik-e*.  
 man    one    3.NREFL.AL-friend    3.PAT-pull-IPFV

'A man<sub>j</sub> is pulling his<sub>k</sub> friend.'

## Stimuli prompt for (3) (SS Clip 11)



## (3) Target: Reflexive possessive 3

## a. Match

[*Neeng nuku*]<sub>j</sub> *mit ba de-jbalei san nee.*  
 man one sit LNK 3.REFL.AL-banana ripe eat.IPFV  
 'A man<sub>j</sub> is was sitting and eating his<sub>j</sub> banana.'

## b. Mismatch

[*Neeng nuku*]<sub>j</sub> *mit ba he-kbalei san nee.*  
 man one sit LNK 3.NREFL.AL-banana ripe eat.IPFV  
 'A man<sub>j</sub> is was sitting and eating his<sub>k</sub> banana.'

Nonreflexive possessive target: *hV*- (x3)

Stimuli prompt for (4)



(4) Target: Non-reflexive possessive 1

a. Match

*Balei<sub>j</sub> ha<sub>-k</sub>tok tahang hayeei.*  
 banana 3.NREFL.AL-stomach on.top fall.from.above  
 'A banana<sub>j</sub> fell on his<sub>k</sub> stomach'

b. Mismatch

*Balei<sub>j</sub> da<sub>-j</sub>tok tahang hayeei.*  
 banana 3.REFL.AL-stomach on.top fall.from.above  
 'A banana<sub>j</sub> fell on its<sub>j</sub> stomach'

## Stimuli prompt for (5) (SS clip C08)



## (5) Target: Non-reflexive possessive 2

## a. Match

[*Neeng nuku*]<sub>k</sub> *mon hoo-puna, dikaang di moqu*  
 man one snake 3.GOAL-hold then 3.AGT child  
*fila hoo-ha-tang haba dij he-kmon*  
 small 3.GOAL-3.PAT-give but 3.AG 3.NREFL.AL-snake  
*hieng mielang.*  
 3.PAT.see be.afraid

'A man<sub>k</sub> is holding a snake. Then, he gives to a child but she<sub>j</sub> is afraid of his<sub>k</sub> snake.'

## b. Mismatch

[*Neeng nuku*]<sub>k</sub> *mon hoo-puna, dikaang di moqu*  
 man one snake 3.GOAL-hold then 3.AGT child  
*fila hoo-ha-tang haba dij de-jmon*  
 small 3.GOAL-3.PAT-give but 3.AG 3.REFL.AL-snake  
*hieng mielang.*  
 3.PAT.see be.afraid

'A man<sub>k</sub> is holding a snake. Then, he gives it to a child but she<sub>j</sub> is afraid of her<sub>j</sub> snake.'



## Stimuli prompt for (6)



## (6) Target: Non-reflexive possessive 3

## a. Match

[Ata Neeng]<sub>k</sub> di kafak buuk henu Akanmai  
 A. man 3.AGT cigarette drink.IPFV DIST A.  
 di<sub>j</sub> he-<sub>k</sub>kafak ho-pa mi ba  
 3.AGT 3.NREFL-cigarette 3.REC-touch take LNK  
 buuk-e.  
 drink.IPFV-IPFV

'As Ata Neeng<sub>k</sub> is smoking a cigarette, Akanmai<sub>j</sub> grabs his<sub>k</sub> cigarette and smokes it.'

## b. Mismatch

[Ata Neeng]<sub>k</sub> di kafak buuk henu Akanmai  
 A. man 3.AGT cigarette drink.IPFV DIST A.  
 di<sub>j</sub> de-<sub>j</sub>kafak ho-pa mi ba  
 3.AGT 3.NREFL-cigarette 3.REC-touch take LNK  
 buuk-e.  
 drink.IPFV-IPFV

'As Ata Neeng<sub>k</sub> is smoking a cigarette, Akanmai<sub>j</sub> grabs his<sub>j</sub> cigarette and smokes it.'

Semantics - Visual perception: *-ien* 'see' target (x2)

Stimuli prompt for (7) (SS clip C16)

(7) Target: *-ien* 'see' 1

a. Match

*Neeng nuku do laak-i we-i ya bataa yo*  
 man one PROX walk-PFV go-PFV SEQ wood MED.ADD  
*di h-ien naha ya bataa la-ng*  
 3.AGT 3.PAT-see NEG SEQ wood be.MED-APPL  
*hoo-yaa-ri.*  
 3.GOAL-go-PFV

'This man was walking away; then he didn't see that tree, so he bumped into it.'

b. Mismatch

*Neeng nuku do laak-i we-i ya bataa yo*  
 man one PROX walk-PFV go.PFV SEQ wood MED.ADD  
*di he-wahai naha ya bataa la-ng*  
 3.AGT 3.PAT-look.at NEG SEQ wood be.MED-APPL  
*hoo-yaa-ri.*  
 3.GOAL-go-PFV

'This man was walking away; then he didn't look at that tree, so he bumped into it.'

## Stimuli prompt for (8) (SS clip C20)

(8) Target: *-ien* 'see' 2

## a. Match

*Neeng nuku laak-i me mai, balei yo*  
 man one walk-PFV come COND banana MED.ADD  
*di h-ien naha ya tai laak-i.*  
 3.AGT 3.PAT-see NEG on.top SEQ walk-PFV

'A man walked by, he didn't see that banana; then he stepped on it.'

## b. Mismatch

*Neeng nuku laaki me mai, balei yo*  
 man one walk-PFV come COND banana MED.ADD  
*he-wahai naha ya tai laak-i.*  
 3.AGT 3.PAT-look.at NEG SEQ on.top walk-PFV

'A man walked by, he didn't look at that banana; then he stepped on it.'

## Semantics - Visual perception: (-)wahai 'look at' target (x2)

Stimuli prompt for (9)



(9) Target: (-)wahai 'look at' 1

a. Match

*Akanmai di nala nuku he-wahai.*

A. 3.AGT what one 3.LOC-look.at

'Akanmai was looking at something.'

b. Mismatch

*Akanmai di nala nuku h-ien-i.*

A. 3.AGT what one 3.PAT-see

'Akanmai saw something.'

## Stimuli prompt for (10) (SS clip P09)



(10) Target: (-)wahai 'look at' 2

a. Match

*Neeng nuku do laak-i we-i ya de-toku peng*  
 man one PROX walk-PFV go-PFV SEQ 3.REFL.AL near  
*he-wahai naha hare kabelang-di.*  
 3.LOC-look.at NEG so trip-INCH.PFV

'This man walked away and was not looking in front of him (lit. near his feat) so he tripped.'

b. Mismatch

*Neeng nuku do laak-i we-i ya de-toku peng*  
 man one PROX walk-PFV go-PFV SEQ 3.REFL.AL near  
*h-ien naha hare kabelang-di.*  
 3.PAT-see NEG so trip-INCH.PFV

'This man walked away and was not seeing in front of him (lit. near his feat) so he tripped.'

Semantics - Falling: *-quoil-* 'fall over' target (x2)

Stimuli prompt for (11) (SS clip P09)

(11) Target: *-quoil-* 'fall over' 1

a. Match

*Ama nuku laak-i miei ya kaberang-di ba*  
 person one walk-PFV come-PFV SEQ trip-PFV LNK  
*da-quoil-i.*  
 3.PAT-fall.over-PFV

'A person was coming by, tripped, and fell over.'

b. Mismatch

*Ama nuku laak-i miei ya kaberang-di ba*  
 person one walk-IPFV come.PFV SEQ trip-PFV LNK  
*del ong hayeei.*  
 3.REFL.NAGT make fall.from.above

'A person was coming by, tripped, and fell from above.'

Stimuli prompt for (12) (SS clip C20)



(12) Target: *-quoil-* 'fall over' 2

a. Match

*Ama nuku baleei tai laak-i ya nahare*  
 person one banana on.top walk-PFV SEQ almost  
*da-quoil-i.*

3.PAT-fall.over-PFV

'A person stepped on a banana and then fell over.'

b. Mismatch

*Ama nuku baleei tai laak-i ya nahare*  
 person one banana on.top walk-IPFV SEQ almost  
*del ong hayeei.*

3.REFL.NAGT make fall.from.above

'A person stepped on a banana and then fell from above.'

Semantics - Falling: (*del ong hayeei*- 'fall from above' target (x2)

Stimuli prompt for (13)

(13) Target: *del ong hayeei* 'fall from above' 1

a. *Wata nuku del ong hayeei.*  
 coconut one 3.REFL.NAGT make fall.from.above  
 'A coconut fell from above.'

b. Mismatch

*Wata nuku da-quoil-i.*  
 coconut one 3.PAT-fall.over-PFV  
 'A coconut fell over.'



## Stimuli prompt for (14)



(14) Target: *hayeei* 'fall from above' 2

a. Match

*Balei san nuku bataa tuku tahang hayeei.*  
 banana be.ripe one tree CLF on.top fall.from.above  
 'A ripe banana fell from above onto a log.'

b. Mismatch

*Balei san nuku bataa tuku tahang*  
 banana be.ripe one tree CLF on.top  
*da-quoil-i.*  
 3.PAT-fall.over-PFV  
 'A ripe banana fell over on a log.'

Semantics - Change of state: *-tein-* 'wake up' target (x2)

Stimuli prompt for (15)

(15) Target: *-tein-* 'wake up' 1

a. Match

*Neeng nuku do moqu nuku ha-tein-i.*  
 man one PROX child one 3.PAT-wake.up-PFV

'A man woke up a child.'

b. Mismatch

*Neeng nuku do moqu nuku ha-rui-di.*  
 man one PROX child one 3.PAT-get.up-INCH.PFV

'A man lifted a child up.'

## Stimuli prompt for (16)



(16) Target: *-tein-* 'wake up' 2

a. Match

*Ata Neeng di Akanmai ha-tein-i.*

A. man 3.AGT A 3.PAT-wake.up-PFV

'Ata Neeng woke Akanmai up.'

b. Mismatch

*Ata Neeng di Akanmai ha-rui-di.*

man one PROX one 3.PAT-erect-INCH.PFV

'Ata Neeng lifted Akanmai up.'

Semantics - Change of state: *-rui-* 'get up' target (x2)

Stimuli prompt for (17)

(17) Target: *-rui-* 'get up' 1

a. Match

*Fala ba ama ha-rui-di nu,*  
 house REL person 3.PAT-get.up-INCH.PFV DIST  
*to-ra-li.*  
 DIST.REC-burn-INCH.PFV

‘The house that someone erected burned.’

b. Mismatch

*Fala ba ama ha-tein-i nu,*  
 house REL person 3.PAT-wake.up-INCH.PFV DIST  
*to-ra-li.*  
 DIST.REC-burn-INCH.PFV

‘The house that someone woke up burned.’

## Stimuli prompt for (18)



(18) Target: *-rui-* 'get up' 2

a. Match

*Akanmai di Ata Neeng ha-rui-di.*

A. 3.AGT A. man 3.PAT-get.up-INCH.PFV

'Akanmai lifted Ata Neeng up.'

b. Mismatch

*Akanmai di Ata Neeng ha-tein-i.*

A. 3.AGT A. man 3.PAT-wake.up-INCH.PFV

'Akanmai woke Ata Neeng up.'

Clause-linking: *ya* 'SEQUENTIAL' target (x3)

Stimuli prompt for (19)



(19) Target: *ya* 'SEQ' 1

a. Match

*Bataa tuku natet-i ya balei san tai*  
 wood CF stand.PFV-PFV SEQ banana be.ripe on.top  
*hayeei.*  
 fall.from.above

'A log was standing; then a banana fell on top of it.'

b. Mismatch

*Bataa tuku natet-i ba balei san tai*  
 wood CF stand.PFV-PFV LNK banana be.ripe on.top  
*hayeei.*  
 fall.from.above

'A log was standing and a banana fell on top of it.'

## Stimuli prompt for (20)



(20) Target: *ya* 'SEQ' 2

a. Match

*Neeng nuku taadei ya balei san paaka nuku*  
 man one sleep.PFV SEQ banana be.ripe piece one  
*ha-toq tahang hayeei.*  
 3.INAL-stomach on.top fall.from.above

'A man was asleep there; then a banana fell on his stomach.'

b. Mismatch

*Neeng nuku taadei ba balei san paaka nuku*  
 man one sleep.PFV LNK banana be.ripe piece one  
*ha-toq tahang hayeei.*  
 3.INAL-stomach on.top fall.from.above

'A man was asleep there and a banana fell on his stomach.'

## Stimuli prompt for (21)



(21) Target: *ya* 'SEQ' 3

a. Match *ya* 'SEQ'

*Timoi do latukoi fili ya wata nuku*  
 wind PROX INTS young SEQ coconut one  
*del ong hayeei.*  
 3.REFL.NAGT make fall.from.above

'This wind is very strong; then the coconut fell.'

b. Mismatch

*Timoi do latukoi fili ba wata nuku*  
 wind PROX INTS young LNK coconut one  
*del ong hayeei.*  
 3.REFL.NAGT make fall.from.above

'This wind is very strong and the coconut fell.'



Clause-linking: *ba* 'GENERAL CLAUSE LINKER' target (x3)

Stimuli prompt for (22)



(22) Target: *ba* 'LNK' 1

a. Match

*Maayol nuku mit-i ba da-lal-e.*

woman one sit-PFV LNK 3.REFL.PAT-laugh-IPFV

'A woman is sitting and laughing.'

b. Mismatch

*Maayol nuku mit-i ya da-lal-e.*

woman one sit-PFV SEQ 3.REFL.PAT-laugh-IPFV

'A woman is sitting; then laughs.'

## Stimuli prompt for (23)



(23) Target: *ba* 'LNK' 2

a. Match

*Ama nuku da-rek-di ba*  
 person one 3.REFL.PAT-be.on.back-INCH.PFV LNK  
*taa.*  
 sleep.IPFV

'A person is on his back and sleeping.'

b. Mismatch

*Ama nuku da-rek-di ya*  
 person one 3.REFL.PAT-be.on.back-INCH.PFV SEQ  
*taa.*  
 sleep.IPFV

'A person is on his back; then he sleeps.'

## Stimuli prompt for (24)



(24) Target: *ba* 'LNK' 3

a. Match

*Ama nuku oro ya mi ba yambuk walia.*  
 person one DIST.LOCA water take LNK glass fill

'A person there pours water in a glass (lit. takes water and pours it into a glass).'

b. Mismatch

*Ama nuku oro ya mi ya yambuk walia.*  
 person one DIST.LOCA water take SEQ glass fill

'A person there pours water in a glass (lit. takes water; then pours it into a glass).'

**Pronominal indexation: *hoo-* ‘GOAL’ target with animate P (x3)**

Stimuli prompt for (25)



(25) Target: *hoo-* ‘GOAL’ 1

a. Match

*Neeng abet nuku di neeng kalieta nuku*  
 man be.young one 3.AGT man be.old one  
*hoo-munang.*  
 3.GOAL-smell

‘A young man smells an old man.’

b. Mismatch

*Neeng abet nuku di neeng kalieta nuku*  
 man be.young one 3.AGT man be.old one  
*ha-munang.*  
 3.PAT-smell

‘A young man smells an old man.’

## Stimuli prompt for (26)



(26) Target: *hoo-* 'GOAL' 2

a. Match

*Moqu fila del mi neeng kalieta*  
 child be.young 3.REFL.NAGT take man be.old  
*hoo-hai.*  
 3.GOAL-lean.on

'A young child leans on an old man.'

b. Mismatch

*Moqu fila del mi neeng kalieta*  
 child be.young 3.REFL.NAGT take man be.old  
*he-hai.*  
 3.LOC-lean.on

'A young child leans on an old man.'

## Stimuli prompt for (27)



(27) Target: *hoo-* 'GOAL' 3

a. Match

*Akanmai di Ata Neeng hoo-luk.*  
 A. 3.AGT A. man 3.GOAL-(sc)rub  
 'Akanmai rubs Ata Neeng'

b. Mismatch

*Akanmai di Ata Neeng he-luk.*  
 A. 3.AGT A. man 3.LOC-(sc)rub  
 'Akanmai rubs Ata Neeng'

Pronominal indexation: *ha-/he-* '3.PAT'/'3.LOC' target with inanimate P  
(x3)

Stimuli prompt for (28)



(28) Target: *ha-* '3.PAT' 1

a. Match

*Neeng nuku di keju ha-munang.*  
man one 3.AGT cheese 3.PAT-smell

'A man is smelling cheese.'

b. Mismatch

*Neeng nuku di keju hoo-munang.*  
man one 3.AGT cheese 3.GOAL-smell

'A man is smelling cheese.'

## Stimuli prompt for (29)



(29) Target: *he-* '3.LOC' 2

a. Match

*Neeng nuku del mi ba fala foqa*  
 man one 3.REFL.NAGT take LNK house be.big  
*he-hai.*  
 3.LOC-lean.on

'A man leans on a house.'

b. Mismatch

*Neeng nuku del mi ba fala foqa*  
 man one 3.REFL.NAGT take LNK house be.big  
*hoo-hai.*  
 3.GOAL-lean.on

'A man leans on a house.'



## Stimuli prompt for (30)



(30) Target: *he*- '3.LOC' 3

a. Match

*Dori di tawal he-luk.*

D. 3.AGT wok 3.LOC-(sc)rub

'Dori is scrubbing the wok.'

b. Mismatch

*Dori di tawal hoo-luk.*

D. 3.AGT wok 3.'GOAL-(sc)rub

'Dori is scrubbing the wok.'



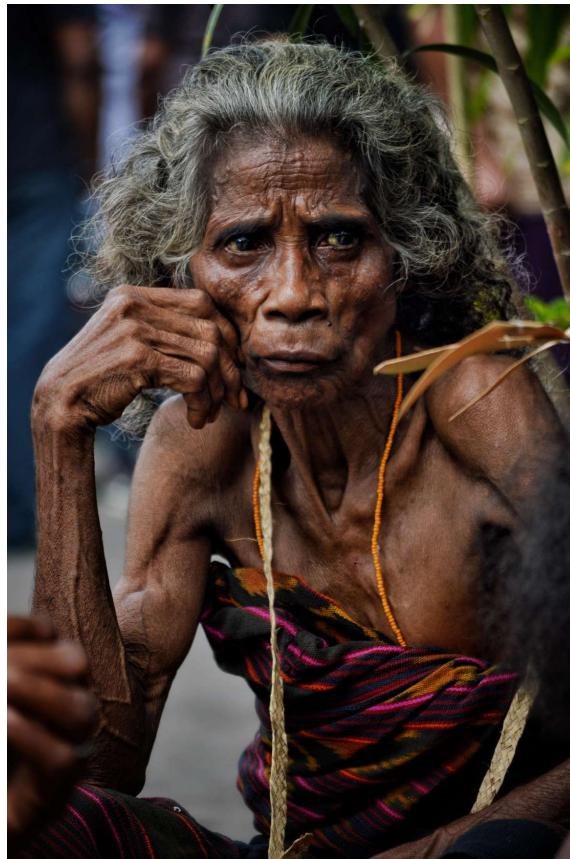


## Appendix F

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### Photos

An Abui lady looking pensive at an election campaign.



Women embrace one another as they perform the *lego-lego* dance.



A woman preparing a giant pot of rice. Nowadays, rice has become a mainstay in most households in coastal villages. It is often bought at markets.





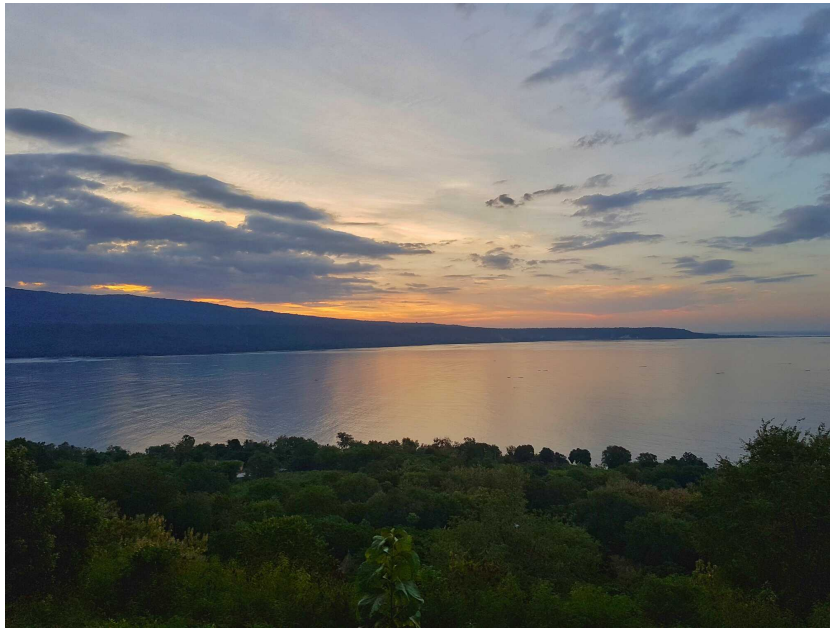
A morning view of the *masang* 'altar' in Takpala.



Abui men prepare a grand entrance before performing the *lego-lego*.



A view from Takpala of a sunset behind the Kabola region.



A young girl smiling after a church sermon.





A group of Abui ladies from various generations.



A girl uses a leaf to protect herself against the rain.

