Pronominal marking in the Alor-Pantar languages
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1 Introduction
Alor-Pantar family: 15-20 Papuan/non-Austronesian languages, spoken on the islands of Alor and Pantar, eastern Indonesia.

Map 1. The islands Alor and Pantar in eastern Indonesia

Map 2. The Alor-Pantar languages

- Prefixes generally index Undergoers only, i.e. P’s in nominative-accusative languages and P’s and some S’s in semantically aligned languages.
- Different functions of prefixes: Alienable or inalienable possession on nouns vs. argument indexing on verbs.
- Family shows considerable variation in the verb prefixation patterns.

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Variety of constraints, similar to those noted for:

- Differential Subject Marking: volitionality (Mohanan 1990).

Languages:

- Teiwa (Pantar; Klamer 2010)\(^2\)
- Adang (Bird’s Head-Western Alor; Haan 2001)\(^3\)
- Klon (Western Alor; Baird 2005, Baird 2008; Baird, in press)\(^4\)
- Abui (Central-Western Alor; Kratochvil 2007)\(^5\)
- Western Pantar (Pantar; Holton, in press)\(^6\)

Figure 1. Genealogical tree of selected Alor-Pantar languages based on cognates/sound correspondences (cp. Holton, Klamer, and Kratochvil 2009)

Prefixes are:

- Very similar in form, common historical origin, but widely different distributions in the individual Alor-Pantar languages.
- Lexical verb classes based on the distribution of the prefixes are generally very different across the AP languages.

Number of prefix sets:

- Several in Alor languages (Adang, Klon and Abui; and also Kamang – A. Schapper, pers. comm.).
- A single set in the Pantar languages (Western Pantar and Teiwa).

Constituent order: SV and APV, with PAV as a pragmatically motivated variant.

Alignments:

- Nominative-accusative\(^7\), i.e. always S=A (Teiwa and Adang)

\(^2\) All Teiwa examples are from Klamer (2010).
\(^3\) All Adang examples are from Haan (2001).
\(^4\) All Klon examples are from Baird (2008).
\(^5\) All Abui examples are from Kratochvil (2007).
\(^6\) All Western Pantar examples are from Holton (in press).
\(^7\) In the discussion of alignment, we use the following primitives for core participants (cf. Comrie 1981): A (more agent-like argument of a transitive clause), S (single argument of an intransitive clause), and P (more patient-like argument of a transitive clause).
• Term “semantic alignment” suggests that indexation patterns are directly determined by verbal or participant semantics (e.g., Loma, a South Western Mande language from Liberia with a strict active/stative distinction [Arkadiev 2008: 105]).
• More typical is a semantic alignment systems which is semantically motivated, yet partly determined on lexical grounds.

2 Nominative-accusative languages: Teiwa and Adang
• Verbs are either intransitive or transitive.
• S and A are encoded with a free pronoun
• Animate P’s (as in living humans and animals) are encoded with a prefix.
• Rare type: In only 6% of the languages from Siewierska’s (2005) sample in WALS.

2.1 Teiwa
• Intransitive verbs are never prefixed.
• S is always encoded like A, i.e. with a free pronoun.

Dynamic volitional predicate in (1) vs. dynamic non-volitional predicate in (2):

(1) a her
TEE 3SG climb
‘He climbs up.’ (p. 169)

(2) ha-fat a wuran? a wuran
TEE 2SG-leg 3SG swell/swollen 3SG swell/swollen
‘Is your leg swollen? [Yes,] it is swollen.’ (p. 169)

Transitive clause in (3), where P is indexed with a prefix on the verb:

(3) a pi-liin
TEE 3SG 1PL.INCL-invite
‘He invited us.’ (p. 167)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
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<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
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<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
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<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
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<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.ELSEWH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTRIBUT.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Teiwa prefixes

Class 1 verbs express the (animate) object with a prefix on the verb. A separate NP constituent may optionally be present.


High correlation between animacy and the presence of a prefix (Klamer and Kratochvíl 2006).

(4) name ha’an n-oqai g-unba’
TEI sir 2SG 1SG-child 3SG-meet ‘Sir, did you see (lit. meet) my child?’ (p. 159)

(5) … kotan u dumar moxod-an si a wa
TEI spin.top DIST push drop-REAL SIM 3SG go ‘… [her brother] pushed away [and] dropped that spin top, while [it]
yaqai ewar trunan yix ta gi gula’ a wa: …
down.below return roll descend TOP go finish 3SG say went back down, rolled, she [the girl] said: …’

• A few transitive verbs alternate between Class 1 and 2, e.g., -sii ‘bite someone’ and sii ‘bite (into) something’.

Class 3 verbs select an animate (augmented prefix) or inanimate (normal prefix), only -wulul ‘talk with, tell’, -wultag ‘talk’, -tewar ‘walk with/to’, -kiid ‘cry for/about’, and -tad ‘hit’.

(6) ha gi ga’-wulul
TEI 2SG go 3SG.ANIMATE-talk ‘You go tell him. / You go talk with him.’ (p. 91)

(7) ha gi ga-wulul
TEI 2SG go 3SG-talk ‘You go tell it (i.e. some proposition)!’ (p. 91)

• Some exceptions to the animacy basis, e.g., -uyan ‘look for somebody, search something’ always has a prefix and occurs with either an animate (8) or an inanimate object (9):

(8) a qavif ga-uyan gi si...
TEI 3SG goat 3SG-search go SIM ‘He went searching for [a] goat...’ (p. 88)

(9) ha gi ya’ siis nuk ga-uyan pin aria’
TEI 2SG go small_bamboo_sp dry one 3SG-look_for hold arrive ‘look for dry bamboo to bring here’ (p. 340)
Other class 3 verbs are: -sar ‘notice, find (water)\(^8\), -laman ‘quarrel with sth, negotiate sth (road)’, -miar ‘play with sth (embers)’, -tane’ ‘kick sth (coconut).

Converse situation, in which a Class 2 verb occurs with an animate object, rare and restricted to bali ‘see, watch’, mat ‘take’, ga ‘take along’, moxod ‘drop’.

\[(10)\] ga-manak waal ta yaa yiivar bali si

‘His master goes down and sees [the] dog, …’ (p. 428)

• Strong correlation between animacy of the object and presence of a prefix, yet this correlation is not absolute.
• Ultimately, Teiwa verbs fall into three lexical classes (abstracting away from the exceptions).
• The Teiwa system is grammaticalized along the lines of animacy.

### 2.2 Adang

- Nominative-accusative
- Only P’s are indexed with a prefix.


Intransitive clause (11) vs. transitive clause (12):

\[(11)\] bel min

ADG dog die

‘Dogs die.’ (p. 212)

\[(12)\] bel n-eh

ADG dog 1SG.I-bite

‘A dog bit me.’ (p. 230)

Class 1 of transitive verbs always has a prefix (PI), closed class (Haan 2001: 228)

\[(13)\] John na-hou mih

ADG PN 1SG.I-tell sit

‘John told me (to) sit down.’ (p. 250)

Typically, the prefix indexes animate P’s.


• There are more of these in Adang than there are in Teiwa.

\(^8\) Sar ‘see, notice somebody/something’ can appear with or without prefix regardless of whether the object is animate or inanimate.
Class 2 of transitive verbs do not have prefixes and (with a very few exceptions) only occur with inanimate objects.

\[(14) \quad \text{Manu aru} \quad \text{tarp} \quad \text{tataʔ} \quad \text{eham}\]

ADG PN deer bone cut INC ‘Manu is about to cut deer bones.’ (p. 226)


- Exceptions to this are beh ‘hit’, hɔr ‘injure’, luhiŋ ‘hunt’\(^9\), masang ‘shoot’, nod ‘to tie (animals)’, and tu ‘scratch’, which can (or have to) occur with animate objects.

- Alternation between Class 1 and 2, e.g., -bang ‘ask someone’ and bang ‘ask for something’, -puɲ ‘catch/hold someone’ and puɲ ‘hold something’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PI</th>
<th>PII</th>
<th>PIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>n(a)-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>ne-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG OBV</td>
<td>ḳ(a)-</td>
<td>ḳ-</td>
<td>ḳe-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG PROX</td>
<td>s(a)-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>se-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ni-</td>
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<td>nie-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL INCL</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>pie-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL OBV</td>
<td>ḳ(a)-</td>
<td>ḳ-</td>
<td>ḳe-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL PROX</td>
<td>s(a)-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>se-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\text{Table 2. Adang prefixes}\)

- Three distinct but related sets prefixes PI (a), PII (o), and PIII (e).
- The PIII-series always increases the valence of a verb by one (allative meaning of motion towards a referent).
- Such additional arguments are almost always animate.

\[(15) \quad \text{Bain sapad} \quad \text{puɲ} \quad \text{ne-hɔʔ}\]

PN sword hold 1SG.III-arrive ‘Bain came to me holding a sword.’ (from INTR hɔʔ ‘arrive’) (p. 373)

PII-prefix set only with lap ‘look for’ (object needs to be human, typically a kin relation).

\[(16) \quad \text{Bain mang} \quad \text{karešang} \quad \text{seng} \quad \text{lap} \quad \text{biʔ}\]

ADG PN only work money look for a lot ‘Bain works too hard making money.’ (p. 357)

\(^9\) This verb normally takes the object na ‘thing’. There is a traditional belief that names of animals should not be used lest the hunters have bad luck (Haan 2001: 226).
Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Teiwa</th>
<th>Adang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alignment</td>
<td>NOM-ACC</td>
<td>NOM-ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High correlation between presence of prefix and animacy of the referent</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of verbs with obligatory prefix</td>
<td>more</td>
<td>fewer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefix sets</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Main similarities and differences between Teiwa and Adang

3 Semantically aligned languages: Klon, Abui, and WP

- Key parameter for intransitives: Volitionality
- A non-volitional or less volitional S is encoded with a prefix, while a volitional S is encoded with a free pronoun.

3.1 Klon

- In Klon, prefixes restricted to (non-volitional) S and P.
- Klon has three sets of prefixes P1, PII, and PIII.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P1</th>
<th>PII</th>
<th>PIII</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>no-</td>
<td>ne-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>V-/Ø-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>go-</td>
<td>ge-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>ng-</td>
<td>ngo-</td>
<td>nge-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>te-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>Vg-</td>
<td>ogo-</td>
<td>ege-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ini g-</td>
<td>ini go-</td>
<td>ini ge-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Klon prefixes

Klon has three lexical classes of intransitive verbs:

- Class 1: verbs which mark S like A, namely with free pronouns
- Class 2: verbs which mark S like P, namely with a prefix
- Class 3: verbs which mark S like A (with a free pronoun) or like P (with a prefix), depending on properties of the argument

Class 1 of intransitive verbs (no prefix):

- Large class.
- Contains verbs of various semantic types, e.g., *diqiri* ‘think’, *hler* ‘cut grass’, *liir* ‘fly’, but also stative ones like *mkuun* ‘fat’ (Baird 2005: 6).

Intransitive clause in (18) vs. transitive clause in (19):
Class 2 of intransitive verbs (prefix):
- Small class.
- Its members encode S with a PII-prefix. S’s of these verbs are always non-volitional participants, e.g., atak ‘rather large’, egel ‘tired’, hrak ‘hot’:

\[
(20) \text{go-hrak} \\
\text{KLN} \quad \text{3SG.II-hot} \\
's/he is hot' (p. 76)
\]

- Marking in Class 2 has a semantic motivation.
- But Class 2 is not semantically exhaustive because Class 1 (S=A) also includes stative verbs, such as mkuun ‘fat’.
- Marking of S=P in Klon intransitives is determined by a verb’s lexical class 2 or 3.

Class 3 of intransitive verbs (variation):
- Fluid semantic alignment.
- S=A (free pronoun) is the default (Baird 2008: 52)
- S=P (prefix) if the participant is presented as (particularly) affected:

\[
(21) \text{ga kaak} \\
\text{KLN} \quad \text{3SG itch} \\
's/he is itchy (but able to tolerate it)' (p. 55)
\]

\[
(22) \text{ge-kaak} \\
\text{KLN} \quad \text{3SG.III-itchy} \\
'S/he is (unbearably) itchy' (p. 55)
\]

- In most cases, marking is a fixed property of the lexical verb class, thus for Class 1 S=A and for Class 2 S=P (but still semantically motivated in the latter case).
- Fluid semantic alignment in Class 3, either S=A or S=P are possible depending on the affectedness of the participant.
- S need not be a volitional participant for the default encoding S=A (cf. a kaak above), but diverging alignment S=P must be semantically motivated (Klamer 2008: 237).

Transitives: choice of prefix set PI, PII, or PIII depends on the lexical specification of a verb.

- About 30% of transitive verbs use PI (mainly with animate P’s)
- More than 50% of transitive verbs use PII (more frequent with inanimate P’s)
- About 4% use with PIII.
3.2 Abui

- Only volitional participants are marked by a free pronoun.
- Three distinct (but formally related) sets of prefixes used for non-volitional participants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PI</th>
<th>PII</th>
<th>PIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>n(a)-</td>
<td>no-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>a- (Ø before V)</td>
<td>o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>d(a)-</td>
<td>do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>h(a)-</td>
<td>ho-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>nu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>po-/pu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ri-</td>
<td>ro-/ru-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTR</td>
<td>t(a)-</td>
<td>to-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Abui prefixes

Choice of prefix set is not lexicalized (as in Klon) but depends on a number of semantic considerations. A rough semantic characterization of the argument roles indexed by these three prefix series are:

- The PI\(^{11}\) series is used for typical, affected animate or inanimate patients undergoing a change of state, e.g., ha-dik [3I-prick] ‘pierce through it’.
- The PII series is employed for mainly animate patients (or themes) not undergoing a change of state, e.g., ho-dik [3II-prick] ‘poke, tickle him’.
- The PIII series is used for less affected participants (e.g., locations, benefactives, purposes, or propositions). The PIII prefixes are mainly used with inanimates but also with human/animate recipients, e.g., he-dik [3III-prick] ‘stab (at) it’, he-l [3III-give] ‘give him/her/them’.

Intransitive verbs with a volitional argument express S=A (free pronoun). Semantically, these are mainly motion verbs, posture verbs, and social activities. E.g., ayong ‘swim’, firet ‘run’, kalol ‘fortell (fortune or the future)’, kawai ‘argue’, luuk ‘dance’, miei ‘come’, taa ‘lie’, yaa(r) ‘go’.

(24) kalieta loku kawai
ABU old_person PL argue
‘Old people are arguing.’ (p. 93)
Intransitive verbs with a non-volitional participant encode S=P.

(25)  
\textit{wata} \textit{ha-yei}  
\text{ABU coconut 3I-fall}  
\text{‘A coconut falls.’} (p. 80)

Volitional S’s are marked like A (free pronoun), non-volitional S’s are marked like P (prefix).

(26)  
\textit{na} \textit{låk}  
\text{ABU 1SG leave_for}  
\text{‘I go away.’} (p. 15)

(27)  
\textit{no-låk}  
\text{ABU 1SG.II-leave_for}  
\text{‘I retreat/disappear.’} (p. 15)

Transitive clause in (28):

(28)  
\textit{Simon di kaai ha-loi}  
\text{ABU PN 3SG dog 3I-chase}  
\text{‘Simon chased the dog.’} (p. 15)

Role of animacy in the indexing patterns of transitive verbs:

• one class of verbs which never have a prefix and which exclusively occur with inanimate Undergoers, e.g., baai ‘grind’, bang ‘carry’, buuk ‘drink’, kadel ‘split’, mihi ‘set down’, tur ‘scoop’, and wit ‘carry in arms’.
3.3 Western Pantar

- Three dialects (Tubbe, Mauta, and Lamma).
- Two distinct paradigms of independent pronouns (Actor and Undergoer)
- Single paradigm of bound pronominal prefixes.
- The WP prefix system is complex and currently under investigation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free pronouns</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Undergoer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>nang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>han</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>gang</td>
</tr>
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<td>ning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PAUC</td>
<td>taing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>hing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ging</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Western Pantar free pronouns and prefixes (Holton, in press)

- WP has a semantic alignment system in its free pronouns.
- Sufficiently controlling arguments are expressed with Actor pronouns (29)
- Not controlling/less controlling arguments expressed with Undergoer pronouns (30).

(29) nang birang
WP 1SG.ACT speak
‘I speak.’

(30) naing massa
WP 1SG.UND tired
‘I am tired.’

- Some intransitive verbs can appear with either Actor or Undergoer pronouns.
- Choice is governed by participant semantics (varying degree of control).

(31) nang muddi
WP 1SG.ACT strong
‘I should be strong.’

(32) naing muddi
WP 1SG.UND strong
‘I am strong.’

In transitive clauses, Actor pronouns are used for the more agentive, controlling argument and Undergoer pronouns for the less agentive argument, as in (33):

---

12 Fourth person pronouns are used in switch-reference to distinguish a distinct third person.
Both participants may be coded with Undergoer pronouns, if neither is sufficiently controlling (not absence of control, but less control):

(34) naing gaing oswang aggi
WP 1SG.UND 3SG.UND outside take
‘I coaxed him outside.’

Affectedness in WP:
• Referents indexed with a prefix are less affected.
• Preference for independent pronoun over prefix with more highly affected undergoers of transitive verbs.

(35) nang gaing diti
WP 1SG.ACT 3SG.UND stab
‘I stabbed him (severely).’

(36) nang ga-diti
WP 1SG.ACT 3SG-stab
‘I stabbed him (superficially).’

Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameters relevant for indexation</th>
<th>Klon</th>
<th>Abui</th>
<th>WP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fluidity of semantic alignment</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefix sets</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choice of prefix set</td>
<td>rarely possible</td>
<td>often possible</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Main similarities and differences between Klon, Abui, and Western Pantar

4 Number of prefix sets

• Alor languages (Adang, Klon, and Abui): 3 sets.
• Pantar languages (Teiwa and WP): 1 set.

• Prefix choice in Adang is lexically fixed.
• In Klon, it is lexicalized in most cases. Less that 10% of verbs may be prefixed by a choice of either PII (neutral) or PIII (malefacitve, ?affected):

(37) adaq ne-hrk
KLN fire 1SG.III-hot
‘The fire makes me (unbearably) hot.’ (p. 76)
(38)  \texttt{mdi no-hrak}  \\
KLN  sun  1SG.II-hot  \\
‘The sun heats me up.’ (p. 76)  \\
• In Abui, many verbs can appear with more than one prefix set, e.g.:  

(39)  \textit{ha-dik} [3I-prick] ‘pierce through it’  
\textit{ho-dik} [3II-prick] ‘poke/tickle him/her’  
\textit{he-dik} [3III-prick] ‘stab (at) it’  

\textit{ha-fanga} [3I-say] ‘order him’  
\textit{ho-fanga} [3II-say] ‘scold him’  
\textit{he-fanga} [3III-say] ‘say it (i.e. an utterance)’

• West-east continuum of those languages which have several series:

(40)  Adang (fixed) > Klon (minor variation) > Abui (major variation)  
> Kamang (unknown, but at least four sets of prefixes [A. Schapper, pers.  
comm.], that makes us hopeful)

5 Prefixes in the nominal domain (Possession)

5.1 Possession in Teiwa (NOM-ACC)

• Prefixes on nouns are used to indicate alienable and inalienable possession.  
• Forms are very similar, though not identical, to the object prefix set found on  
verbs.\textsuperscript{13} Inalienably possessed nouns have an obligatory prefix.  
• Alienably possessed nouns can occur without a prefix, thus:

(41)  \texttt{POSS-Inalien\_N na-tan} ‘my-hand’  
\texttt{*tan}

(42)  \texttt{(POSS-)Alien\_N (na-)qavif} ‘(my-)goat’  
\texttt{qavif}

Inalienably possessed nouns are either:  

Differential marking is animacy-based:  
• Alienable possessors may be animate or not, inalienable possessors (of body  
parts and kin relations) are always animate.  
• This is reflected in the use of prefixes with animate objects in the verbal  
domain.

5.2 Possession in Abui (Semantic alignment)

• Inalienable possession is marked by PI prefixes (highly affected prefix series),  
mainly with body parts.

(43)  \texttt{na-loku}  
\texttt{*loku}  
\texttt{ABU 3SG.INALIEN(I)-arm}  
‘my arm’

\textsuperscript{13} The only differences are that (i) there is no form for 3PL elsewhere and (ii) \texttt{a}- (which is  
homophonous to the short SBJ pronoun, but a bound form) can also be used in 3\textsuperscript{rd}  
person singular and plural.

-13-
• Inalienable marking also with a few non-body part nouns, e.g., \(-ne\) ‘name’ and \(-mol\) ‘enemy’:

\[(44)\] ABU ha-\(ne\) ‘his/her name’ (p. 143) *\(ne\)

• Alienable possession is indicated by the PIII series (least affected prefix series), also with kinship terms and some body parts.

\[(45)\] \(ne-fala\) \(fala/\*na-fala\)

ABU 1SG.AL(III)-house ‘my house’ (p. 139)

• If any series of prefixes is privileged to occur with animates it is the PII-series, but this series does not occur with nouns. Thus:

\[(46)\] *\(no-loku\) ‘my arm’ BUT \(na-loku\)

\(\*no-kuta\) ‘my grandparent’ BUT \(ne-kuta\)

\(\*no-fala\) ‘my house’ BUT \(ne-fala\)

• Rather than animacy, the relevant factor seems to be control/affectedness.

• Formal parallel between verbal and nominal prefixes based on the semantic parallel between inalienable possession and highly affected patients.

• Agent and possessor have full control over patients and inalienably possessed items, respectively.

6 Additional local properties

• Teiwa: focus

• Abui: specificity

• Western Pantar: modality

6.1 Focus in Teiwa

• Pragmatics impinge on indexing patterns in Teiwa.

• No (expected) prefix in object-focus constructions, for example, when the object is focused with \(la\):

\[(47)\] \(rai\ [na\ la\] soi ga-kamadal ga-boxan\ tas\)

TEI king 1SG FOC order 3SG-belt 3SG-guard stand

‘I was ordered by the king to guard his belt.’ (p. 28)

• Or contrastive focus with a full pronoun (48) instead of a pronominal prefix (49).

\[(48)\] \(miag\ yivar\ ga’an\ sii.\)

TEI yesterday dog him bite

‘Yesterday a dog bit him [not me].’ (p. 407)

\[(49)\] \(miag\ yivar\ ga-sii.\)

TEI yesterday dog 3SG-bite

‘Yesterday a dog bit him.’ (p. 407)
• Absence of prefix on the verbs soi ‘order’ and sii ‘bite’ does not reflect change in argument structure or animacy of the object, rather function of the focus construction.

6.2 Specificity in Abui
• In Abui, specific Undergoers, i.e. those which are in principle identifiable within a particular discourse (Himmelmann 1997: 101), get a prefix, non-specific ones do not.

(50) maama bataa  fak-d-a
ABU father  wood  break-hold-DUR
‘Father splits wood.’ (p. 179)

(51) maama bataa  he-fak-d-a
ABU father  wood  3III-break-hold-DUR
‘Father splits the wood (the nearer defined quantity of wood).’ (p. 179)

• However, only if the verb is capable of taking a prefix. With non-prefixed verbs a specific reading seems to be available (even if there is no prefix).

(52) ama  kawen  mi
ABU person  machete  take
‘Someone takes a machete.’ OR ‘People take machetes.’ (p. 179)

• The exact extent to which specificity figures into argument realization and prefixing patterns in Abui is under investigation.

6.3 Modality in WP
• Tendency for prefixes to occur in irrealis contexts.
• Often to express a desire or intention (53).
• In contrast, forms without the pronominal prefix (54) are more typically associated with realis contexts.

(53) nang  na-golang  ta
WP  1SG.ACT  1SG-return  IPFV
‘I’m going to go home (but haven’t yet).’

(54) nang  golang  ga
WP  1SG.ACT  return  PFV
‘I went home (already).’
7 Mappings of properties onto the tree

**Figure 2.** Important properties for AP languages (Solid line - Nominative-accusative and animacy, Dashed line - Semantic alignment and volitionality/affectedness, Dotted line - 3 sets of prefixes)

**Figure 3.** Additional local properties (Solid line - Modality, Dashed line - Focus, Dotted line - Specificity)

- If semantic alignment is widespread in the whole family, we would like to assume it was the original system and that Teiwa and Adang represent innovations, where the system has been grammaticalized along the lines of animacy.
- If that is the case and given Siewierska’s (2005) observation, then Teiwa and Adang have innovated into a typologically rare type.
- Given that the prefix sets only differ in the vowel, it seems likely that it was the original situation to have just one series (as in today’s Pantar languages) and that the other sets are reanalyses from combinations of a pronominal prefix and other material, e.g., another prefix of a different type (?applicative).
- The trajectory NOM-ACC => Semantic is also possible, but there is no evidence for impersonal subject markers in the AP languages of the type *it-me-sleep [it sleeps me]* meaning ‘I sleep’. When this impersonal marker disappears the result is a semantic alignment system, as described for North-Halmaheran languages by Holton (2008).
References


Appendix
In all the following tables brackets in prefix forms distinguish between pre-vocalic and pre-consonantal position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long form</td>
<td>Short form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>na'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ha'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>a'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>ni'in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>pi'in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>yi'in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>i'man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.ELSEWH.</td>
<td>i'in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTRIBUT.</td>
<td>ta'an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A. Teiwa free pronouns and prefixes (Klamer 2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free pronouns</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Undergoer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>nang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>hang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>gang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4SG</td>
<td>a'ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>ping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>ning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.PAUC</td>
<td>taing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>hing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ging</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B. Western Pantar free pronouns and prefixes (Holton, in press)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free pronouns</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Undergoer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG OBV</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG PROX</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL COLL</td>
<td>pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL DISTR</td>
<td>ta-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL OBV</td>
<td>supi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL PROX</td>
<td>sa-ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C. Adang free pronouns and prefixes (Haan 2001, prefix forms reanalysed into three sets– SF and DB)

Fourth person pronouns are used in switch-reference to distinguish a distinct third person.
Free pronoun Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>PI</th>
<th>PII</th>
<th>PIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>n(a)-</td>
<td>no-</td>
<td>ne-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a- (Ø- before V)</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>d(a)-</td>
<td>do-</td>
<td>de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>h(a)-</td>
<td>ho-</td>
<td>he-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>po-/pu-</td>
<td>pi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ri-</td>
<td>ro-/ru-</td>
<td>ri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTR</td>
<td>t(a)-</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>te-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table D. Abui free pronouns and prefixes (Kratochvil 2007)*

Free pronoun Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full</th>
<th>Reduced</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>na(n)</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>no-</td>
<td>ne-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>a(n)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>V-/Ø-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>ga(n)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>go-</td>
<td>ge-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>ngi</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ng-</td>
<td>ngo-</td>
<td>nge-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>te-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>igl</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>Vg-</td>
<td>og-</td>
<td>ege-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ini g-</td>
<td>ini go-</td>
<td>ini ge-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table E. Klon free pronouns and prefixes (Baird 2008)*

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15 Kratochvil (2007: 78-9) distinguishes two subtypes of third person prefix. The 3a type shares the same referent with the A argument within the same clause (e.g., in reflexives), whereas the 3b type does not share the same referent with the A argument within the clause. 3a prefixes can also be used to index an (animate/mostly human) experiencer.

16 Actor NPs can be followed by the pronoun *di* in the 3rd person, mainly with human Actors, but also with non-humans of considerable agentive force, e.g., a storm.