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Klon pronouns in their typological and linguistic context within Wallacea, Eastern Indonesia

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KLON PRONOUNS IN THEIR TYPOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC CONTEXT WITHIN WALLACEA, EASTERN INDONESIA

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

Phonetic transcription and characters generally follow IPA with the following exceptions. For high front semivowel, I use <*y*> rather than <*j*> as is common in eastern Indonesia. For phonetically long vowels I write a double VV as in the practical orthography. For *n-g* sequences that are not velar engma *[ŋ],* I write <*n'g*>, as in the practical orthography.

1.1 Symbols

§	cross reference, section, see section,	(e.g. §3.5.3, §4.2.6)
[text]	phonetic data	(e.g. [ˡlɪŋ] , [ᵘdub])
/text/	phonemic data, underlying morphemes	(e.g. /mgol/, /ma-mnaak/)
<text>	orthographic, typographic	(e.g. <kwél>, <óró'>, <ntan>)
*[ ]	unattested, not found, ungrammatical	(e.g. *[….])
C	consonant	
CC	consonant cluster	
V	vowel	
VV	vowel sequence	can be same (like vowels), or different (unlike)
'	orthographic glottal	(e.g. ge'uur, do'ool, bé')
~	reduplication boundary	(e.g. ku~kuun, ki~kiik)
#	number	(e.g. #1, #3)
-	morpheme boundary	

1.2 General

BP	before present (archeological dating)
cf.	compare; see also
e.g.	for example
et.al.	and others (in multi-authored bibliographical references)
etc.	etcetera; and so forth (other examples not presented)
f. ff.	and following page(s) (e.g. 2008:34ff.)
i.e.	in other words
lit:	literally
sp.	species (singular; flora and fauna)
s.o.	someone
s.t.	something

1.3 Pronouns, affixes and clitics

I try to follow Leipzig glossing conventions where possible. Given that so many pronominal forms, affixes and clitics in Klon and other Alor-Pantar languages are commonly represented by only one or two letters, with C-, V-, VC, CV-, V, CV, I generally use the following short modifications for the sake of space in interlinear examples. So *t-* would be glossed '1piP' rather than '1PL.INCL.POSS'.

1, 2, 3	first person, second person, third person	
s	singular	(e.g. 1s, 2s, 3s)
p	plural	(e.g. 1p, 2p, 3p)
d	dual	(e.g. 1d, 2d, 3d)
i	inclusive	(e.g. 1di, 1pi)
e	exclusive	(e.g. 1de, 1pe)
A	Actor, macrorole	(e.g. 1sA, 1peA, 2pA, 3sA)
U	Undergoer, macrorole	(e.g. 1sU, 1piU, 2pU, 3sU)
P	Possessive	(e.g. 1sP, 2sP, 3sP, 1piP, 2pP)

1.4 Other

Some categories have multiple abbreviations. This reflects preserving the original abbreviations from other sources.

A, ACT	actor
ADJ, adj	adjective
ADV, adv	adverbial
AL, ALIEN	alienable
ALL	allative
AP	Alor-Pantar
APPL	applicative
Asp	aspect
ATTR	attributive
Aux	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
Cmpar	comparative
CNJ	conjunction
COMPL	Completive aspect
COND	conditional marker
CONT	continuative
CAUS	causative
Deic	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
Disc	discourse
DIST	distal in time, space, or reference; that, there, then
DUP	reduplication

DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
exc	exclusive
EXCL	exclamation
EXIST	existential
FOC	focus marker
FUT	future
G, GEN	genitive
IMMED	immediate
INAL	inalienable
inc	inclusive
INTENS	intensifier
Interj	interjection
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
IPFV	imperfective
LIM	
LNK	linker
LOC	locative: in, at, on
M	modifier
MB	mother's brother
N	noun
NEG	negation, negative, no, not
NEG1	first part of bipartite negation
NEG2	second part of bipartite negation
NM	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
Num	number, numeral
O, OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PART	particle
Paus	pause
PFV	perfective 'already'
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POST	postposition
PRED	predicate
PREP	preposition
PRO	pronoun
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal in time, space or reference; this, here, now
Q	question
QP	question particle
Qnt	quantifier
R	the most recipient-like argument
REFL	reflexive
REL	relativizer
REAL	realis
RC, RelCL	relative clause
RECIP	reciprocal

S, SUBJ	subject
SEQ	Sequential marker
S O V	Subject-Object-Verb (unmarked order in a transitive clause with NP arguments)
S V O	Subject-Verb-Object (unmarked order in a transitive clause with NP arguments)
S_A	single argument of active intransitive clause (subject in role of Actor)
S_O	single argument of non-active intransitive clause (subject in role of Undergoer)
SG	singular
SPEC	spesific
SVC	serial verb construction
T	the most theme-like argument
TAM	Tense-aspect-mood
TAP	Timor-Alor-Pantar
TAQ	tag
TOP	topic
U, UND	undergoer
V	verb
vi	verb intransitive
V S O	Verb-Subject-Object (unmarked order in a transitive clause with NP arguments)
vt	verb transitive
ySib	younger sibling

ABSTRACT

Klon is a typologically SOV Timor-Alor-Pantar (Papuan) language, spoken by around 10,000 people on the islands of Alor and Pantar in eastern Indonesia. Like most SOV languages, Klon has postpositions, possessor before possessed, and sentence-final question particles. NPs are left-headed, with attributive modifiers, numerals, quantifiers, relative clauses, and demonstratives following the head noun. Klon has both pre-verbal and post-predicate verb modifiers. Preverbal modifiers can only modify verbal predicates. The language is aspect-prominent, with no grammatical tense. Like many SOV languages, Klon has clause-final standard negation, often occurring as bipartite negation.

Klon syntax pivots around the Undergoer. Only Undergoers are indexed on verbs. There are multiple sets of Undergoer pronouns, proclitics and prefixes. Some associations are lexically specific. Some show semantic contrast with the same verb root. Undergoer proclitics may mark: object of a transitive verb, reflexive, or optionally mark intradirective verbs of motion, posture, bodily function or experience.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Following this introductory chapter, chapter 2 surveys grammatical structures commonly associated with SOV typology to place Klon in its typological context. Chapter 3 surveys patterns commonly found in Alor-Pantar languages to place Klon in its regional context. Chapter 4 provides a sketch of the phonology and grammar of Klon, to provide a context for chapter 5 which discusses Klon pronouns. Chapter 6 reviews the significance of several things addressed in this thesis.

This chapter presents the key research question for this study (§1.1), a brief sociolinguistic profile of Klon (§1.2), a description of the data collection and data corpus (§1.3), and the significance of the research (§1.4).

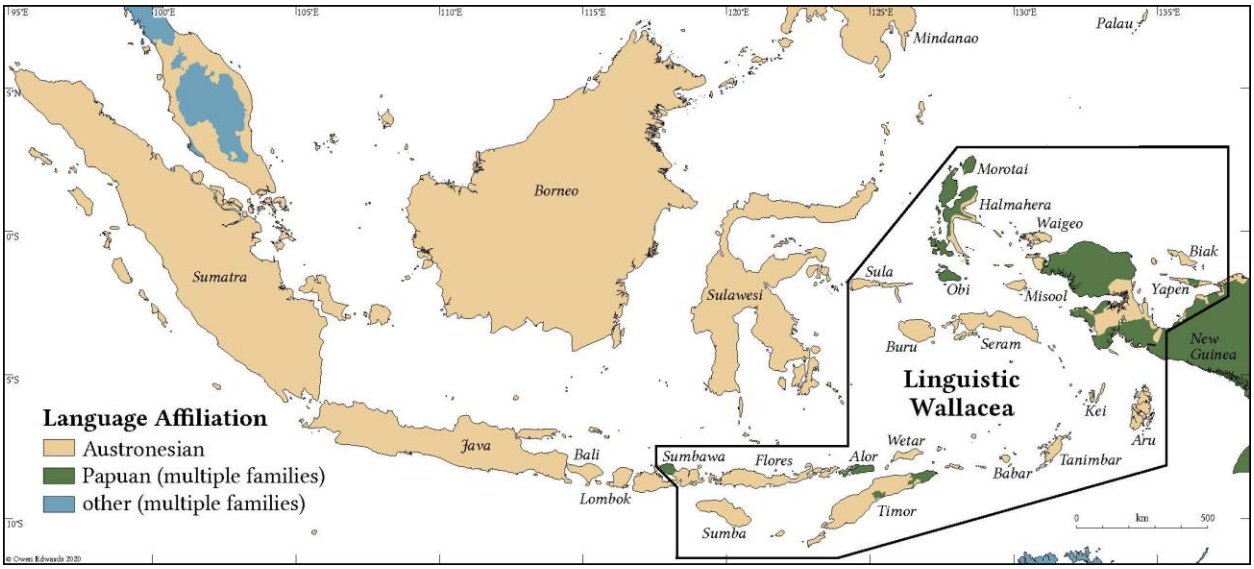
1.1 Primary research question

In the published grammar of Klon (Baird 2008), there are many unanswered questions regarding complexities found in the Klon Undergoer pronouns. My focused research question for this study is: given the complexity of forms in Klon Undergoer pronouns, what principles govern the distribution of undergoer pronouns in Klon discourse?

1.2 Sociolinguistic profile

The Klon language [kyo] is spoken on Alor and Pantar Islands in eastern Indonesia, within the region of intense contact between typologically different Austronesian and Papuan languages known as "linguistic Wallacea" (see Figure 1-1). The region is also a cross-roads between the Austronesian and Melanesian worlds (Schapper 2015, Grimes and Edwards, forthcoming).

Figure 1-1: The region of Linguistic Wallacea

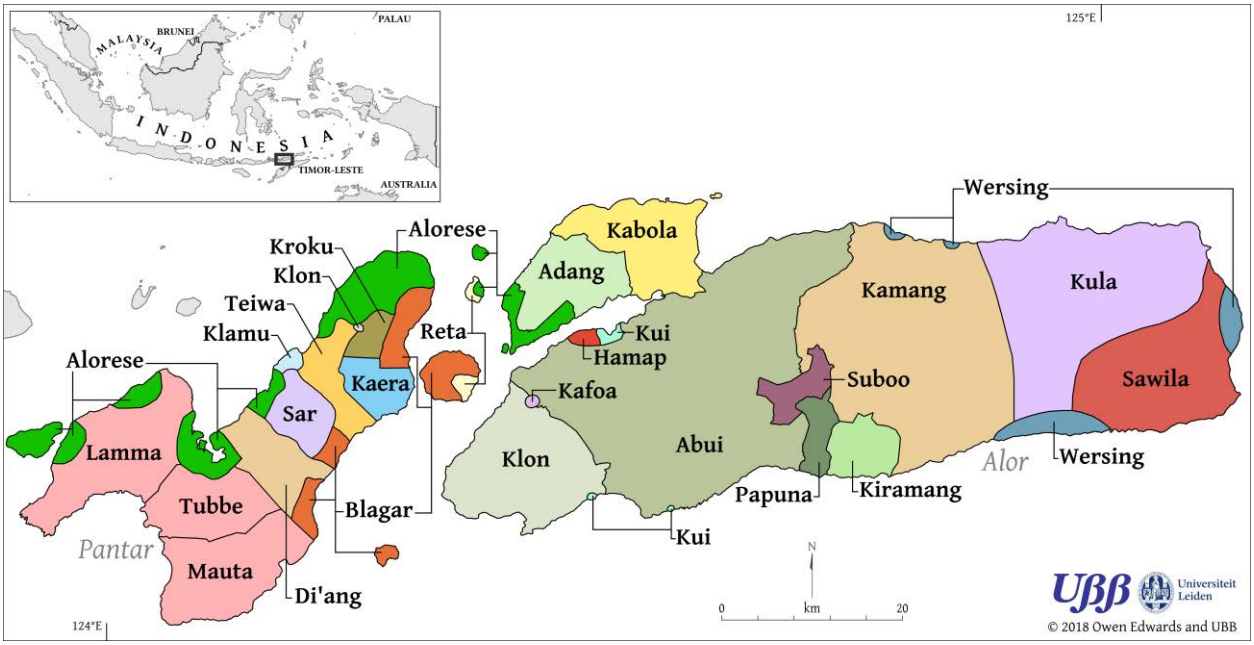


Klon is a Papuan SOV language spoken mostly on Alor Island, with three satellite communities on Pantar Island (see Figure 1-2). The name of Klon is used to refer to the ethnic group, the language and a particular clan. Around 10,000 people speak Klon as their first language, and speakers are spread over three sub-districts (Indonesian: *kecamatan*) in the Alor regency. These include: (i) *Kecamatan Alor Barat Daya* with the largest townships (Indonesian: *desa*) of Probur, Halerman and half of Probur Utara; (ii) *Kecamatan ABAD Selatan*[1] in the township of Margeta, Manatang, Tribur and Orgen; and (iii) *Kecamatan Pantar* in only three hamlets (Indonesian: *kampung*) of Paneia, Sawah and Panggar in the township of Bukit Mas.

People in many clans speak Klon. There are around 14 clans of which I am aware: Bring, Pné, Klon, Kbór, Lalel, Molel, Dohin, Bulel, Braklel, Tarbelel, Aluben, Madal, Triwaat, and Nekbaan. Each clan has several lineages within it, and each clan has its own history of where they came from and settled in their villages up until the present day. Most live in the mountainous areas of Alor and Pantar, although some groups have moved down to resettle on the coast.

[1] It is a newly expanded sub-district in the Klon speaking area.

Figure 1-2: Alor-Pantar languages, including Klon



Klon-speaking people are mostly farmers. Their way of farming is mainly traditional swidden agriculture. There is no irrigation, so farming depends on rain. The rainy season is normally from around November to April. From August to October is the time to prepare their gardens for planting. November to December is usually the time to plant corn, rice, beans and tubers. Every few years they move from one plot to another, so preparing their fields is referred to as *il aran* 'cutting the garden'.

Apart from farming, many speakers are also tradesmen. The tradition of working together to help each other build houses is still very strong. When building a house, usually the men bring some building material with them to donate to house owner, such as corrugated tin roofing, wood, and so forth. The women bring food, such as cakes, corn, rice, vegetables and so on. House-building is a community event. What all this means is that vocabulary associated with farming, building and weaving is shared by all speakers rather than the domain of specialists.

Klon speakers continue to maintain oral traditions such as singing, telling stories, dancing the *Lego-lego*[2] together using traditional musical instruments, such as gongs and drums. These are usually done in association with traditional events, preparing gardens, planting, and building houses. They use their local language in all these activities.

Children in the region grow up as bilingual or multilingual speakers, where Klon is their first language, and Alor Malay (Baird, Klamer and Kratochvíl, 2004; Saad, 2020), a Malay-based creole spoken on Alor and Pantar is their second/regional language. When they go to school, Klon children learn standard Indonesian (Baird 2008:18), as the national language.

There are five dialects of the Klon languages: Bring, Pné[3] (Pné lek), Gor huh (Klantang)[4], Klon and Lukbal (Jones *et al* 2020a:1). These five dialects can generally be grouped into two broad categories based on differences in the vocabulary, the form of possessive pronouns, and phonological patterns. The two broad differences in the form of possessive pronouns are illustrated in Table 1-1 (with practical orthography symbols in < >).

Table 1-1: Possessive pronouns different

	Bring, Klon and Lukbal		**Pné and Gor huh**	
1sP	nɪɪ	<néé>	niŋ	<ning>
2sP	ɪɪ	<éé>	ɪŋ	<ing>
3sP	gɪɪ	<géé>	giŋ	<ging>
1peP	nˈgɪɪ	<n'géé>	nⁱgiŋ	<n'ging>
1piP	pɪɪ	<péé>	piŋ	<ping>
2pP	ˈgɪɪ	<égéé>	ⁱgiŋ	<iging>
3pP	(ⁱni) gɪɪ	<(inni) géé>	(ⁱni) giŋ	<(inni) ging>

[2] Lego-lego is a traditional dance in the Alor regency.

[3] In Baird (2008), the term Pneia is used to refer to Pné (Pné lek). Pné (or Pné lek) is the term used and preferred by speakers of the dialect. Pneia is the term used by speakers of other dialects.

[4] *Gor huh* or *Klantang* is commonly referred to as a 'mixed language' as a transitional variety between the Pné and Bring dialects. Many words are quite similar to Bring, while possessive pronouns use the same form as the Pné dialect. Many speakers of this dialect belong to the Pné clan.

The same two groupings are reflected in shared phonological differences. There is a diphthongization in Pné and Gor huh dialects, where Bring, Klon and Lukbal dialects have back vowels in CVC syllables (Baird 2008:5), as illustrated in Table 1-2.

Table 1-2: A common phonological difference across groupings of Klon dialects

Bring, Klon and Lukbal	Pné and Gor huh	Gloss
h**u**h	h**ui**h	*say*
gad amu**ʤ**	gad amu**iʤ**	*his beard*
k**o**h	k**oi**h	*finish*
nidᵒl**o**ŋ	nidᵒl**ou**k	*my throat*

In terms of the lexicon, most adult speakers are able to distinguish lexical similarities and differences between dialects. However, there are some words of the Pné dialect that are not understood by speakers of the other four dialects, because they are different altogether. Table 1-3 compares some lexical and phonological differences across the five dialects.

Table 1-3: Lexical differences across Klon dialects

Gloss	**Bring**	**Klon**	**Lukbal**	**Pné**	**Gor huh (Klantang)**
my older sibling	niʔom	niʔom	neyome	neʔaal	niʔom
servant	mlei	mlei	mlai	mlai	mlai
my father	niman	niman	niman	nemaan	niman
coconut	ataa	ataa	ataa	wat	ataa
eat	kdeʔ	kde	kde	kdai	kdeʔ
sister	odool	odool	odool	ud mar	uʔodʒool
brother	odoim	odoim	odoim	ud omoʔ	uʔudʒuum
rain	unuur	unur	unuur	onoor	unuur
chase	globei	globeiʔ	globeiʔ	globeʔ	globaiʔ

The data of this present study primarily reflects the Klon Bring dialect.

1.3 Data collection and data corpus

The primary data for this research is based on original data collected by Novliana Klakik-Koloman, a native speaker of Klon and a language documentation technician at Unit Bahasa dan Budaya (UBB), Kupang. The text corpus used in this study includes narratives (folktales and local histories) and non-narrative texts that she recorded and transcribed from ten different native speakers who live in Probur village, in the Klon Bring speaking area. Novliana transcribed them using the Saymore software, and then made them available to myself and others at UBB. There are published by UBB and available for download at: http://ubb.or.id/bahasa/dokumentasi-bahasa/. There are 19 texts that I use as primary data.

From the transcribed texts, I did initial interlinearizing in FLEx and Toolbox, then settled on using Toolbox as simpler and faster for my purposes. That also enabled interactive concordance searches to look for grammatical patterns in their discourse contexts. The corpus searches also helped to identify the forms, functions, and distributions of various Klon pronouns.

Besides the natural texts made available by UBB, I also supplemented the primary data corpus with reference to my own Klon fieldnotes and my lexical database of approximately 1400 words from previous fieldwork with UBB. Supplementary data are also from published books of the Bible translated into Klon and checked for grammatically with at least three groups of native speakers.[5] When questions arose about particular data, I occasionally sought clarification from language-aware native speakers of Klon via WhatsApp.

[5] See Dryer (2012:2) for a discussion of the use of Bible translations as sources for language descriptions.

1.4 Significance of the research

There are four important benefits from this study. First, is a more thorough description of the pronominal systems of Klon, which refines and expands on previous research done by Baird (2008) and adds to general knowledge about Alor-Pantar languages (Klamer 2017).

Second, this thesis includes a brief sketch of the phonology and grammar of Klon, refining and extending the information provided in Baird's previous work, and making it available for further studies of Alor-Pantar languages and general typological studies. There are points on which we diverge.

Third, the results of this study are intended to provide insights to the Klon UBB translation team to better understand how the complexity of pronominal systems play an important role in the language, thus helping them produce more coherent, cohesive, accurate, and natural Klon translated texts and early-grade readers for school.

Fourth, the results of this study are also intended to give a multi-faceted understanding of the linguistic mechanisms used in Klon discourse, and a more comprehensive understanding of grammatical relations and pronominal systems than those presented by Baird (2008).

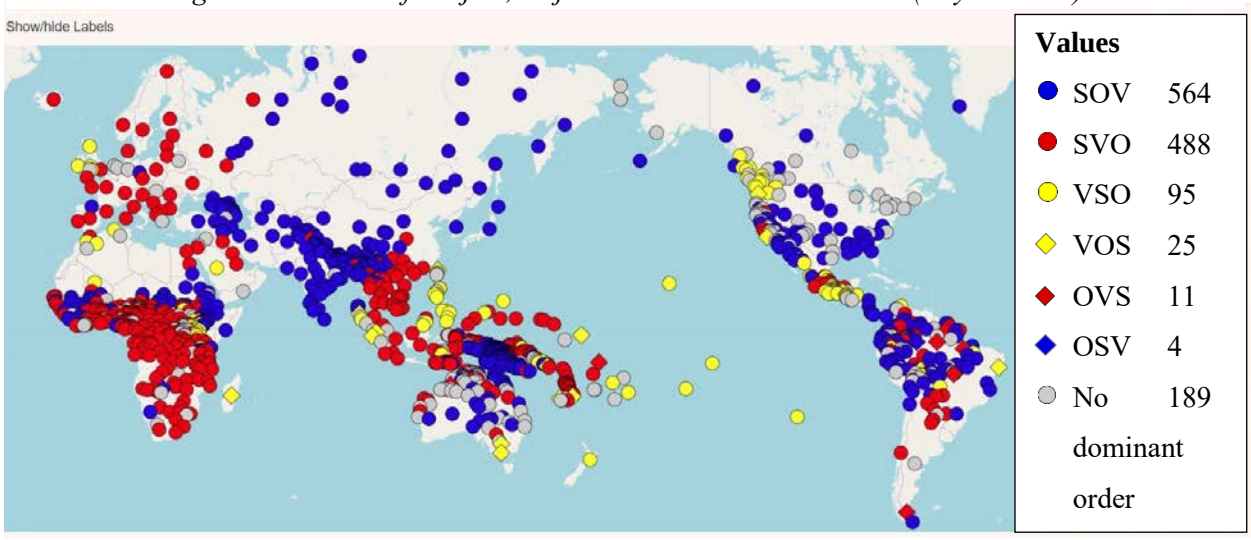
CHAPTER 2
SUMMARY OF SOV TYPOLOGY

This chapter summarizes issues in Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word-order typology as background for understanding Alor-Pantar languages. SOV is one of six fairly common typological patterns found in languages of the world. Other common patterns include SVO, VSO, VOS, OVS and OSV (Payne 1997; Dryer 2013a). The patterns at the beginning of the list are more common, and those at the end are less common.

SVO is a well-known pattern. That is partly because languages with this pattern include major languages of the world such as English, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Latin, Mandarin, and languages in Southeast Asia such as Indonesian (Malay), Thai, etc. In eastern Indonesia, the two best-known languages studied in universities, Indonesian and English, are both SVO.

A survey of 1379 languages by Dryer (2013a) showed that SOV is the most common pattern in his sample of languages in the world, as seen in Figure 2-1.

Figure 2-1: Order of Subject, Object and Verb in WALS online (Dryer 2013a)



Hammarström (2016) supported the results from Dryer, using a larger sample of 5252 languages viewed from two perspectives, namely counting based on the language and on the language family. The results by language showed that the two dominant patterns are roughly the same percentage of the total (SOV at 43.3% and SVO at 40.3%). The distribution by language family showed that more than half of the language families surveyed had SOV structure, as seen in Table 2-1.

Table 2-1: Distribution of word order types (Hammarström 2016)

Word Order	**No. of Languages**	**Percentage**	**No. of Families**	**Percentage**
SOV	**2275**	**43.3%**	**293**	**56.6%**
SVO	2117	40.3%	55	13.0%
VSO	503	9.5%	27	6.3%
VOS	174	3.3%	15	3.5%
OVS	40	0.7%	3	0.7%
OSV	19	0.3%	1	0.2%
UNFIXED	124	2.3%	26	6.1%

Until recent works such as Klamer (2017), word-order typology has not informed the description of Alor-Pantar languages. Recent studies that have included typology, on the other hand, have provided important insights into how Alor-Pantar languages work, demonstrating that they are not 'strange' (as seen through the eyes of people familiar with English and Indonesian), but are actually quite 'normal' for SOV languages.

In Indonesia, specifically in the province of East Nusa Tenggara, there are two language families: Austronesian with SVO typology, and Non-Austronesian (Papuan) with SOV order. The following are examples of transitive clauses with OV order from Alor-Pantar languages in (1-2), and VO order from English and Indonesian in (3-4) for contrastive illustration.

(1) Welem ɑrɑk mɑɑi kdɪʔ. [Klon, own fieldnotes]
[(name)] [rice cook] [eat]
S **O** **V**
'Welem eats/ate the (cooked) rice.'

(2) Ol poko no iraa tnai. [Wersing, own fieldnotes]
[child small one] [water] [drink]
S **O** **V**
'A child drinks/drank water.'

(3) [The cat] [ate] [a fish]. [English]
S **V** **O**

(4) Johanes mənulis surat. [Indonesian]
[(name)] [write] [letter]
S **V** **O**
'Johanes writes/wrote a letter.'

Dryer (2013:6-7) describes the significance of basic word order as follows: "The order of object and verb has received considerable attention because of the fact that a large number of other features are predictable from it, at least in a statistical sense. For example, OV languages tend to be postpositional, genitive before noun, adverb before verb, complementizer at end of clause, and standard-marker-adjective order in comparative clauses, while VO languages tend to exhibit the opposite orders." Payne (1997) summarized Greenberg's universals by comparing the correlation with the order of object and verb, as illustrated in Table 2-2.

Table 2-2: Summary of Greenberg's universals (Payne 1997:72)

Greenberg's universal	Parameter	Correlation	
1	main clause	V-O	O-V
3, 4	adpositions	preposition	postposition
2	genitive (possessor) and head noun (possessed)	N-G	G-N
17	head noun and modifier	N-M	M-N
24	relative clauses and head noun	N-RelCL	RelCL-N
9	question particles	sentence-initial	sentence-final
12	question words	sentence-initial	sentence-initial or elsewhere

The Table above shows what is statistically "normal" for these two dominant patterns.

The summary of OV typology features in this chapter include the head-modifier order in adpositional phrases (§2.1), possessor and possessed (§2.2), adverb and verb (§2.3), attributive NP: noun and modifier (§2.4), relative clause and head noun (§2.5), numeral phrase (§2.6), demonstrative phrase (§2.7), negation (§2.8), and question particles (§2.9).

2.1 Order in adpositional phrases

There are two common types of adpositions, namely prepositions and postpositions. Prepositions precede the noun phrase complement that follows them, as illustrated from Dela-Oenale (Austronesian, Rote Island) in (5). Postpositions follow the noun phrase complement that precedes them, as in Western Pantar (Papuan, Pantar Island) in (6). Both of these languages are spoken on islands relatively near each other in the same region.

(5) Dela-Oenale preposition (Tamelan 2007:8)

To?o	ŋga	tao	fe~feta-s	[sia	ume-n].
MB	1SG	make	DUP~party-NM	at	house-3SG

'My mother's brother is having a party at his house.'

(6) Western Pantar postposition (Holton 2014:21)

Tiaku	[mea	geguŋ]	migaŋ.
glass	table	under	place

'Set the glass under the table.'

Those two examples illustrate the correlation between postpositions with OV typology, in contrast to prepositions often associated with VO typology.

2.2 Order of possessor and the possessed noun

In a possessive or genitive construction, a simple noun phrase (NP) consists of a head noun (the possessed noun) and the possessor. For example, in English, *Rina's bag* and *the fruit of the tree*, *Rina's* and *of the tree* are the possessors, while *bag* and *the fruit* are the possessed nouns. One can see these two different grammatical constructions in English have different orders of the possessor and the possessed.

Either the possessor precedes the possessed noun (possessor-possessed; *Rina's bag*), or the possessor follows the possessed noun (possessed-possessor; *the fruit of the tree*).

The order of possessor-possessed is typical of OV languages (Greenberg 1963, Payne 1997, Velupillai 2012). Pre-posed possessors are illustrated in the Teiwa example in (7) and Abui in (8), both Alor-Pantar languages.

(7) Teiwa (Klamer 2010:189)
Uy ga-yaf
person 3s-house
'Someone's house' (lit. 'A person's house')

(8) Abui (Kratochvíl 2007:145)
Maama he-konrek
father 3II.AL-shirt
'Father's shirt'

These examples show the pre-posed possessors associated with OV typology, which contrasts with post-posed possessors that are often associated with VO typology, as in Indonesian.

2.3 Adverb and verb

It is common in OV languages that the adverb precedes the verb (Adv-V). The following examples from Teiwa (9) and Kamang (10) illustrate the Adv-V order. Both are Alor-Pantar languages.

(9) Teiwa (Klamer 2010:126)
A mudiŋ bir-an.
3s strong run-REAL
ADV **V**
'He runs fast.'

(10) Kamang (Schapper 2014:272)
Gal kape likka fal.
3s rope firm bind
ADV **V**
'He tied the rope firmly.'

2.4 Attributive NP: Noun and modifier

There are two possible orders of attributive modifier with a head noun. That is, the modifier precedes the noun (M-N), or the modifier follows the noun (N-M). Greenberg (1963) assumed that the order of modifier and noun correlated with the order of object and verb.

Dryer (2013), however, points out that assumption is not well grounded statistically by showing that the N-M order is more common than M-N order, and that both orders are found among OV languages and VO languages. This is illustrated below by examples from Austronesian (SVO on top) and Papuan (SOV at bottom) languages in and around the greater Timor region.[1] There is no correlation in these examples between the order of noun-modifier with word-order typology.

(11)

a. **Kupang Malay**
batu bɛsar
stone big
'big stone'

b. **Tii**
batu moʔok
stone big
'big stone'

c. **Amarasi**
faʊt koʔu
stone big
'big stone'

d. **Tetun**
fatuk boot
stone big
'big stone'

e. **Teiwa**
war uaad
stone big
'big stone'

f. **Klon**
wor aal
stone big
'big stone'

g. **Abolo**
wui mati
stone big
'big stone'

h. **Wersing**
wor pidasi
stone big
'big stone'

2.5 Relative clause and noun

Just like in the N-M order, the order of the Relative Clause (RC) and Noun (N) does not correlate strongly with the order of object and verb. While Greenberg (1963) generalized that the RC-N order is the typical order of SOV languages, this assumption is not reflected in the SOV languages in Alor-Pantar, as seen in examples (12) and (13).

[1] These examples are taken from published Bibles and the author's fieldnotes.

(12) Wersing (Schapper and Hendery 2014:359)

David,	[pede	pilit$_{ATTR}$	[motumo	min]$_{RC}$=a]$_{NP}$	oŋ.
David	machete	sharp	beneath	be.at=SPEC	use
	N		**RC**		

'David, use the sharp machete that's down below.'

(13) Abui (Kratochvíl 2007:169)

[moku	fila]$_{NP}$	ba	[pikai	kira	nu]$_{NP}$
kid	be.young	LNK	head	be.hard	SPC.AD
N			**RC**		

'a little child that is stubborn.'

In both the Wersing and Abui examples, head nouns come before the relative clause.

While there is no strong correlation between order of N-RC with OV or VO, nevertheless typologically the order in a Relative NP often mirrors the order in an Attributive NP (Section 2.4).

2.6 Numeral and noun

The cardinal numbers with a noun they modify are divided into two orders. The numeral precedes the noun (Num-N), or the numeral follows the noun (N-Num). It is common for both orders to be found in both OV and VO languages (Dryer 2007: 105). In the greater Timor region, both Austronesian (SVO) and Papuan (SOV) languages share the order of N-Num in the numeral NP.[2] Indonesian exhibits the reverse order found in languages of western Indonesia. Example (14) shows the contrast between the order in Indonesian, and the order in the Austronesian (Tii, Amfo'an) and Papuan (Wersing, Teiwa and Abolo) languages.

(14)

a. Indonesian	b. Tii	c. Amfo'an
satu rumah	uma esa	umel mese?
one house	house one	house one
'one house'	*'one house'*	*'one house'*

[2] These examples are taken from the published Bibles and the author's fieldnotes.

d. Wersing
sob no
house one
'one house'

e. Teiwa
yaf nuk
house one
'one house'

f. Abolo
baŋ nu
house one
'one house'

Dryer (2013) pointed out that there is no clear correlation with both orders of Num-N and N-Num found in OV and VO languages. However, the Tii and Amfo'an examples suggest that the SVO Austronesian languages in this region may have shifted from the western pattern (illustrated by Indonesian) to the dominant N-Num order found in SOV Papuan languages in this region.

2.7 Demonstrative and noun

The Indonesian and Kupang Malay examples in (15a-b) illustrate two logical orders of demonstrative and noun, Dem-N and N-Dem. Both of these languages are SVO Austronesian.

(15)

a. Indonesian
mobil itu
car DIST
'that car'

b. Kupang Malay
itu oto
DIST car
'that car'

Examples (16) and (17) represent SOV Papuan Alor-Pantar languages, also showing variation in the order of demonstratives and nouns.

(16) Abui (Kratochvíl 2007:111)
do sura
PROX book
'this book (near me)'

(17) Teiwa (Klamer 2010:26)
uy a
person PROX
'this person'

From the four examples above, it can be seen that there is no correlation in this region between word-order typology and the order of demonstratives and nouns, even within Alor-Pantar languages.

2.8 Negation

Verb-final languages have negation systems that vary from one another. Table 2-3 shows variation in the position of standard negation in verb-final languages around the world (Dryer 2013). In the Table below [Neg-V] and [V-Neg] indicate the negation is affixed to the verb.

Table 2-3: The position of standard negation found in OV (Dryer 2013c)

OV languages					
NegSOV	SNegOV	SONegV	**SOVNeg**	SO[Neg-V]	SO[V-Neg]

More than one pattern is found in Alor-Pantar (AP) languages. The most common pattern in AP languages is post-predicate (or clause final) negation, SOVNeg. This is illustrated in (18) and (19).

(18) Western Pantar (Holton 2014:22)

Giŋ	naiŋ	hukuŋ	kauwa.
3PL.A	1SG.U	sentence	NEG

'They didn't put me in jail.'

(19) Abui (Kratochvíl 2007:277)

al	loku	di	fe	mahitiŋ	nee	naha.
Muslim	PL	3A	pig	meat	eat	NEG

'Muslims do not eat pork.'

This post-predicate negation associated with OV typology contrasts with pre-verbal standard negation often associated with VO typology, as found in Indonesian.

2.9 Question particles

The typical position of question particles in OV languages is a sentence-final (Greenberg 1963 in Payne 1997), as shown in the Wersing examples in (20a-b).[3]

[3] These examples are taken from published Bibles.

(20)

a. Ye-pa de g-nirkan=e?
2pP-father still 3sU-alive=QP
'Is your father still alive?'

b. O tetenar tpa no ge-au, anta?
PROX teaching new one 3-QP, or/QP
'Is this a new teaching?'

The Wersing examples in (20a-b) show that Alor-Pantar languages also follow the pattern associated with OV languages, where the question particles are clause-final.

Summary

We have seen statistically in the world's languages that the order of possessor-possessed and postpositions have a strong correlation with OV typology. These are also found in Alor-Pantar languages. The post-predicate negation found in Alor-Pantar languages is one of several patterns commonly found in OV languages, but not commonly found in SVO languages. Clause-final question particles found in Alor-Pantar languages is another pattern. There is also a strong statistical correlation between the order in an Attributive NP and in a Relative NP, which is seen in Alor-Pantar languages. These patterns are significantly different to those commonly found in SVO languages that are more familiar to people in Indonesian universities.

CHAPTER 3
SUMMARY OF FEATURES OF ALOR-PANTAR LANGUAGES

This chapter summarizes selected features of Alor-Pantar (AP) languages within the Timor-Alor-Pantar language family. AP languages are referred to as 'Papuan' languages. However, the term 'Papuan' does not refer to genetic ties with many other unrelated 'Papuan' language families (Lynch 1998; Klamer 2017). It only identifies this language family as different from the dominant family in this region, namely the Austronesian languages. Thus, 'Papuan' identifies the AP languages as non-Austronesian.

The Alor-Pantar branch includes over twenty Papuan languages spoken on the islands of Alor and Pantar, such as Abui, Adang, Blagar, Di'ang, Hamap, Kabola, Kaera, Kafoa, Kamang, Kiramang, Kui, Kula, Klamu, Klon, Papuna, Reta, Sar, Sawila, Suboo, Teiwa, Wersing, and Western Pantar (i.e., Lamma, Tubbe and Mauta) (Klamer 2017).[1] Two additional languages, Alorese and Alor Malay[2] are Austronesian. The location of these languages is seen in Figure 3-1 below.

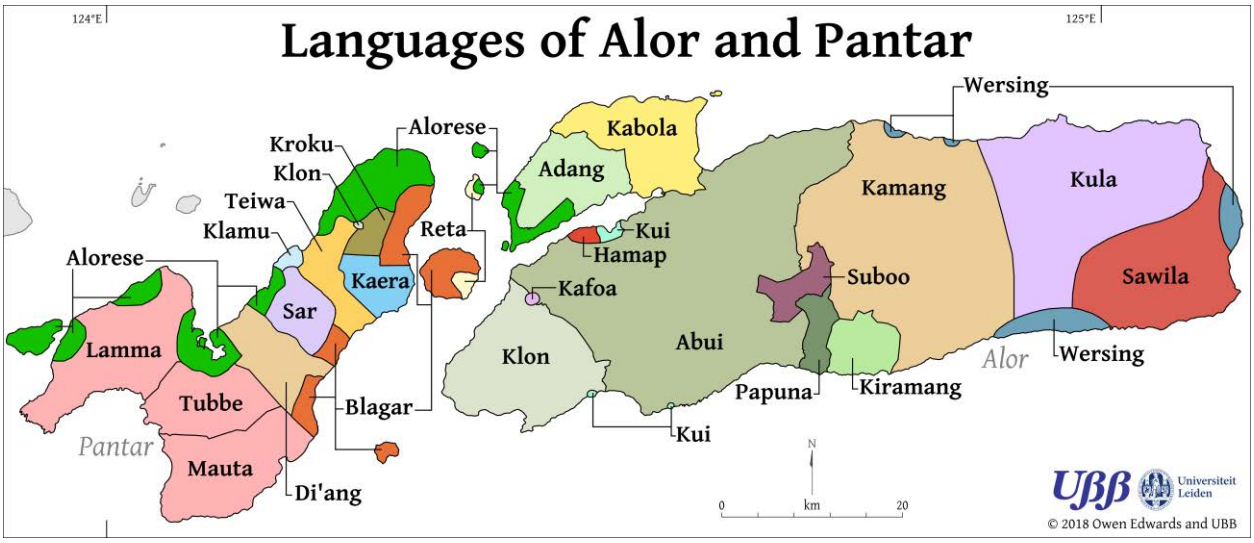
The summary of language features in this chapter provides an overview of Alor-Pantar languages i.e., external and internal relationships (§3.1), phonology (§3.2), morphology (§3.3), semantic alignment of core arguments (§3.4), and syntactic features (§3.5) which includes constituent order (§3.5.1), postpositions (§3.5.2), possession (§3.5.3), clause final negation (§3.5.4), clause final conjunctions (§3.5.5), and serial verb constructions (§3.5.6).

---

[1] The name used by Klamer is *Deing*. Native speakers in the townships (Indonesian: *desa*) of Lawahing call their language *Abolo*. In a workshop conducted by UBB in 2016 on Pantar Island, the native speaker participant called his language *Dorit*, not *Kaera*.

[2] Alor Malay is a Malay-based creole language spoken in and around Alor island. This language does not appear in Figure 3-1 and Figure 3-2.

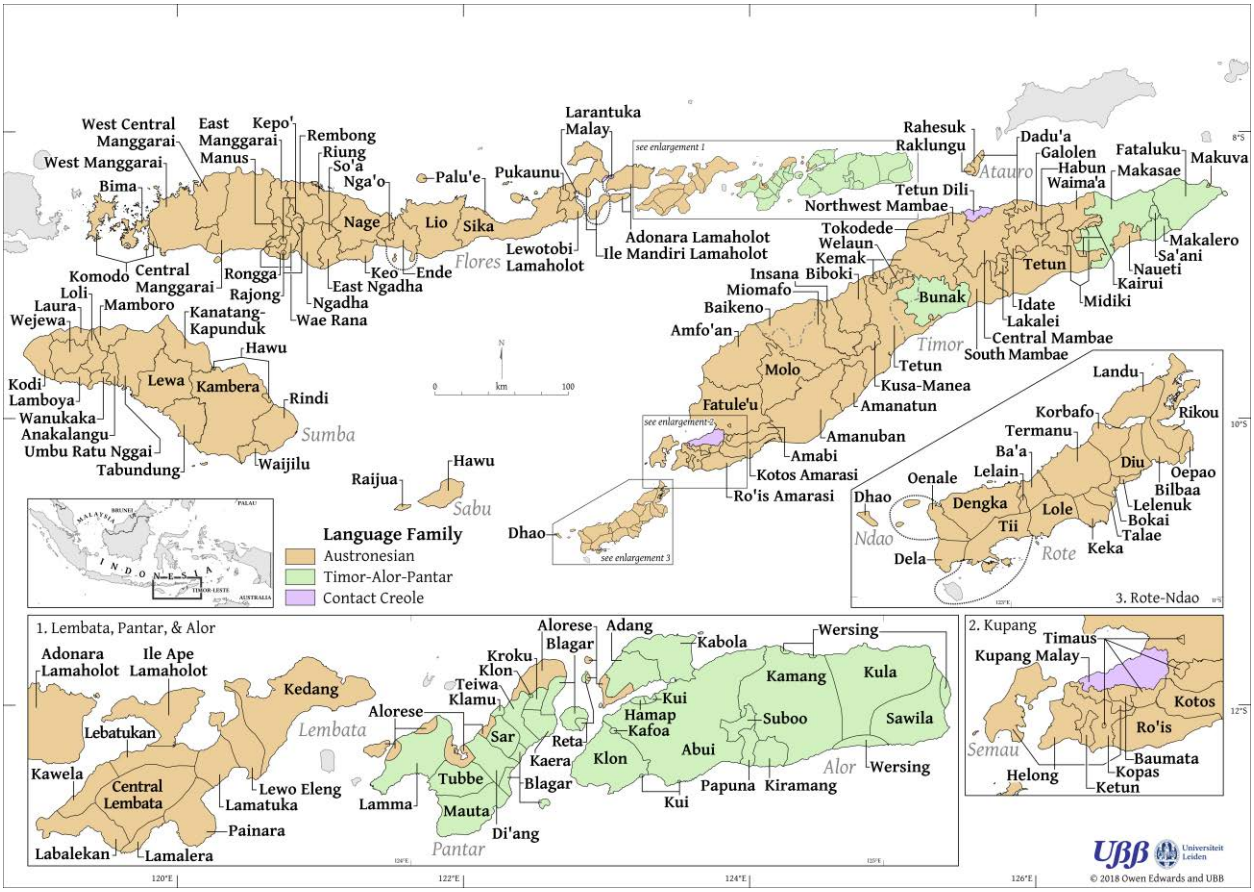
Figure 3-1: Alor-Pantar languages



3.1 Overview of Alor-Pantar languages

This section provides a brief overview of the external and internal relationships of the Papuan languages in Alor-Pantar. AP languages are a branch within the Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) family. TAP also includes the Timor-Kisar group of Papuan languages of Bunak in central Timor, Fataluku, Makasae, and Makalero in eastern Timor, and Oirata on the southern part of Kisar island (Schapper, Huber & van Engelenhoven 2017), as shown in Figure 3-2.

Figure 3-2: Location of the Papuan languages of Timor-Alor-Pantar (in green)



Debate among scholars regarding the classification of TAP languages is not settled. Holton and Robinson (2017) summarize at least three hypotheses related to the higher-level affiliation of TAP languages.

1) TAP languages are related to the West Papuan languages of North Halmahera;

2) TAP languages are part of the Trans-New Guinea phylum;

3) TAP languages are related to the West Bomberai family (in the Bird's Neck of Papua), with no link to Trans-New Guinea more broadly.

After examining each of the three hypotheses compared with recently collected data in the TAP languages, they conclude that the TAP languages are a family-level isolate. In other words, TAP stands alone.

Ross (2005) previously noted that TAP probably links to the Trans New Guinea family (#2 above), based on a similar pronoun. He also suggested TAP might be linked to the West Papuan family (#1

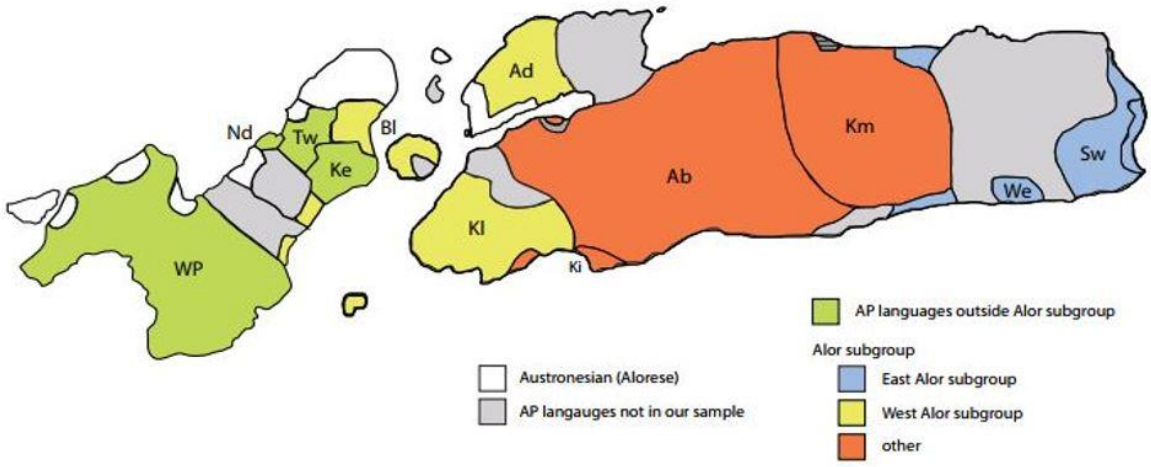
above). However, both are rejected by Holton and Robinson (2017). They argue that the existing evidence is insufficient to support the connection between TAP and West Papuan. There is still a possibility that TAP may link to West Bomberai languages (#3 above). Many languages in that region are underdocumented, so new data and further investigation are needed to clarify this.

Moreover, there are at least two theories regarding where speakers of the Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) languages come from (Grimes et.al. 1997:8-9). One is that TAP speakers are remnants who stayed in Timor from early human migrations travelling eastward from Southeast Asia to New Guinea around 42,000 BP (=before present; O'Conner 2015, cited in Grimes and Edwards, forthcoming). Another theory says that they are people who later travelled westward back to Timor-Alor-Pantar from the New Guinea mainland. There is trace linguistic and archeological evidence to support both of these scenarios (Grimes and Edwards, forthcoming).

It is thought that westward migrations to Timor from the New Guinea mainland preceded the arrival of Austronesian-speaking peoples around 4,000 BP by several thousand years, and may have continued and even overlapped with their arrival (Bellwood 1997; Ross 2005; Pawley 2005, cited in Klamer 2017:9). Because of being able to reconstruct an Austronesian term for betelnut for Proto Alor-Pantar, it is possible that the break-up of the Alor-Pantar branch of TAP may have overlapped with the arrival of the Austronesians (Klamer 2017). However, Grimes & Edwards (forthcoming) point out methodological problems linking such dating with reconstructable loanwords.

Alor-Pantar languages are related to each other internally as a branch of TAP. Holton & Robinson (2012, 2017) sub-grouped the AP languages based on two methods, shared phonological innovations and shared cognates. The subgroups within AP languages are seen in Figure 3-3.

Figure 3-3: Alor-Pantar subgrouping (Holton & Robinson 2017a:71)



3.2 Phonology

The sound systems of Alor-Pantar languages are relatively simple. Table 3-1 illustrates some vowel systems in Alor-Pantar languages and includes two TAP languages on Timor (Schapper, Huber & van Engelenhoven 2017). The typical vowel system of AP languages is a basic five-vowel system with another five long vowels. This pattern can be seen in Kaera, Blagar, Abui and Kamang. The close-mid long vowels in Teiwa may be missing. Adang, Abolo and Klon (see §4.1.2) add another two mid-vowels, meaning that they have a seven-vowel base system, with various combinations of long vowels. Blagar has a marginal length distinction with only a small number of items occurring with long vowels (Steinhauer 2014, cited in Schapper, Huber & van Engelenhoven 2017). A length distinction is absent from Western Pantar, Wersing, Bunak and Makalero. Bunak and Makalero are in a different branch of TAP.

Table 3-1: TAP vowel systems (Schapper, Huber & van Engelenhoven 2017:124)

Teiwa		
i, iː		u, uː
e		o
	ɑ, ɑː	

Kaera		
i, iː		u, uː
e, eː		o, oː
	ɑ, ɑː	

Blagar		
i (iː)		u (uː)
e (eː)		o (oː)
	ɑ, ɑː	

Abui		
i, iː		u, uː
e, eː		o, oː
	ɑ, ɑː	

Kamang		
i, iː		u, uː
e		o
	ɑ, ɑː	

Sawila		
i, iː, y, yː		u, uː
e, eː		o, oː
	ɑ, ɑː	

Adang		
i (iː)		u (uː)
e (eː)		o (oː)
ɛ		ɔ
	ɑ, ɑː	

Abolo		
i, iː		u, uː
ɪ, ɪː		ʊ, ʊː
e, eː		o, oː
	ɑ, ɑː	

Western Pantar		
i		u
e		o
	ɑ	

Wersing		
i		u
e		o
	ɑ	

Bunak (Timor)		
i		u
e		o
	ɑ	

Makalero (Timor)		
i		u
e		o
	ɑ	

The consonant inventory of proto-Alor-Pantar (pAP) has been reconstructed by Holton & Robinson (2017), and contains 14 consonants, as seen in Table 3-2.

Table 3-2: Reconstructed proto-Alor-Pantar consonant inventory (Holton & Robinson 2017:52)

	Labial	Apical	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p b	t d		k g	q	
Fricative		s				h
Nasal	m	n				
Glide	w		j (=y)			
Liquid		l (r)				

Klamer (2017:14) reported that Pantar languages have the largest consonant inventories among the Alor-Pantar branch, with Teiwa having 20 consonants, and Western Pantar with 16 consonants plus 10 geminates or long consonants. The complexity decreases further to the east in Alor, where Abui has 16 native consonants. Kamang and Wersing have 14 consonants.

There are several unique consonants found in the AP language family (Klamer 2017; Holton & Robinson 2017). There are geminate stops in Western Pantar in the medial position. For example, *habbaŋ* 'village', and *dubba* 'push'. Teiwa has two unique consonants, namely a pharyngeal fricative */ħ/* and a uvular stop */q/*, as in *ħor* 'lime, chalk', *moħod* 'drop (on purpose)', *baq* 'body', and *miaq* 'white'. Kaera has a velar fricative /x/. And Blagar has voiced bilabial implosive stop /ɓ/, e.g., *ɓititu* 'seven' (Blagar-Dolabang).

3.3 Morphology

Investigation by Klamer (2017) on about 20 Alor-Pantar languages found that AP languages have limitations on morphological complexity. Firstly, nominal morphology is typically limited to possessive prefixing, and word-formation is often done by compounding. Klamer also noted that the languages of Pantar are less agglutinative than those of central and eastern Alor. Tables 3-3 and 3-4 show the different paradigms of person prefixes between Teiwa (Pantar) and Kamang (central Alor). It can be seen that Teiwa has only one prefix paradigm with *a*-vowels referring to singular, and *i*-vowels referring to plural forms. By contrast, Kamang has multiple prefix paradigms (see also Fedden & Brown 2017).

Table 3-3: Teiwa person prefixes (Klamer 2010:78; Klamer 2017:26)

	Prefix
1SG	n(a)-
2SG	h(a)-
3SG	g(a)-
1PL.EXCL	n(i)-
1PL.INCL	p(i)-
2PL	y(i)-
3PL	g(i)-, g(a)-

Table 3-4: Kamang person prefixes (Schapper 2014, cited in Klamer 2017:26)

	Prefixes					
	PAT	LOC	GEN	AST[3]	DAT	DIR
1SG	na-	no-	ne-	noo-	nee-	nao-
2SG	a-	o-	e-	oo-	ee-	ao-
3	ga-	wo-	ge-	woo-	gee-	gao-
1PL.EXCL	ni-	nio-	ni-	nioo-	nii-	nio-
1PL.INCL	si-	sio-	si-	sioo-	sii-	sio-
2PL	i-	io-	i-	ioo-	ii-	io-

Secondly, AP languages are also limited in derivational morphology. Klamer (2017: 27) says, "Some AP languages have verbal prefixes that increase valency, including a causative and/or an applicative (e.g., Blagar, Adang, Klon); but in other languages such derivations are either unproductive (Teiwa), or absent altogether (Western Pantar)." Example (21b) illustrates the Sawila applicative prefix *li-* in *li-ilo* 'shine for someone / at something'.

(21) Sawila (Kratochvíl 2014, cited in Klamer 2017:27)

a. Laampuru **ilo**.
lamp be.bright
'The lamp is bright.'

[3] AST stands for the *assistive* which refers to the participant who assists in the action.

b. Laampuru li-ilo.
lamp APPL-be.bright
'The lamp is shining for someone / at something.'

Thirdly, there is little similarity in structures or functions between languages within the Alor-Pantar branch in marking Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM), as illustrated in Table 3-5.

Table 3-5: Prefixing and suffixing of aspect morphemes (Klamer 2017:28)

Western Pantar	i- ɑ-	Progressive Inceptive
Kaera	-it, -t -i ɑŋ	Imperfective Perfective Continuative
Kamang	-si -mɑ -tɑ	Imperfective Perfective Stative

3.4 Semantic alignment of core arguments

Semantic alignment systems are defined as the relationship between S (the single argument of an intransitive verb), A (the most agent-like argument of a transitive verb), and U (the most patient-like argument of a transitive verb). Klamer (2017) found two phenomenon of split-S, or accusative alignment in AP languages. Split-S occurs when a language has different marking for active and non-active intransitive verbs. Some AP languages have one pattern where S arguments are indexed on the verb, as illustrated in Abui examples in (22) and (23).

(22) Abui (Kratochvíl, cited in Klamer 2017:20 & Kratochvíl 2007: 15)
Sieŋ mɑ he-noo-maran-i.
rice cook 3.LOC-1s.GOAL-come.up.COMPL-PFV
'I am satiated with the rice.'

(23) Nɑ no-lak.
1s 1s.REC-leave.for
'I go away, retreat myself.'

We can see here that example (22) refers to a non-active, and (23) is active.

Another phenomenon occurs in AP languages where the verbs only index the U argument, while S (24) and A (25) are free forms. The example from Blagar is given to illustrate it.

(24) Blagar (Steinhauer 2014, cited in Klamer 2017:19)

ʔana	mi	bihi.
3s	in	run

'He/she/it runs in it.'

(25)

ʔana	uruhiŋ	aru	ʔ-atapa-t	imina.
3s	deer	two	3-shoot.with.arrow-LIM	die

'S/he killed two deer with bow and arrow.'

3.5 Syntactic features

3.5.1 Constituent order

As summarized in chapter 2, the basic word-order typology of most AP languages is SOV, as in the following examples.

(26) Western Pantar (Holton 2014)

Gaŋ	jattu	walli	ga.
3s.ACT	tree	trim	PFV
S	**O**	**V**	

'S/he cut down the tree.'

(27) Abolo (Tang'ala dialect)

Bɪl	nami	dopo	ɪhɪ.
dog	person	DIST	3U.bite
S	**O**		**V**

'A dog bit that person.'

The constituent order of a language or language family tends to correlate with the order of several syntactic characteristics in the language (Greenberg 1963). Thus, as a verb-final language, AP languages also have postpositions which follow their complement (§3.5.2). Possessors precede the possessed noun (§3.5.3). Clausal negators follow the predicate (§3.5.4). And clause-final conjunctions often combine with clause-initial ones (§3.5.5).

3.5.2 Postpositions

Postpositions in Alor-Pantar languages generally encode location in space and time. Their function marking location is seen in the Kaera and the Adang examples below.

(28) Kaera (Klamer 2014, cited in Klamer 2017:19)

Giŋ	[abaŋ	**mi**]	mis-o.
3p	village	LOC	sit-FIN

'They stay in the village.'

(29)

Giŋ	abaŋ	**miŋ**	gu,	mis-o.
3p	village	be.at	that	sit-FIN

'Those [that] are in the village, [will] stay [there].'

(30) Adang (Robinson & Haan 2014, cited in Klamer 2017:25)

Na	ʔarabah	**mi**	mih.
1s	Kalabahi	in	sit/live

'I live in Kalabahi.'

(31)

ɛi	matɛ	nu	taŋ	**ta**	lamɛ	eh.
boat	be.large	one	sea	on	walk	PROG

'A large boat is traveling on the sea.'

3.5.3 Possession

There are two main issues regarding possession in Alor-Pantar languages. Firstly, the order is the head noun follows the genitive (Gen-Noun), as illustrated in (32) for Teiwa.

(32) Teiwa (Klamer 2010, cited in Klamer 2017:22)

a.	**na**-yaf	b.	yaf
	1s.POSS-house		house
	'my house'		*'(a) house, houses'*
c.	**na**-tan	d.	tan
	1s.POSS-hand		hand
	'my hand'		*'not good for '(a) hand, hands'*

In (32a, c) the Teiwa genitive prefix *na-* '1s.POSS' comes before the possessed nouns, *yaf* 'house' and *tan* 'hand'. These examples contrast with the dominant Austronesian pattern (Noun-Gen) in this greater Timor region. For example, in Tii (Austronesian, Rote Island) *lima-ŋ* 'my hand', the genitive enclitic *-ŋ* '1s.POSS' comes after the possessed noun *lima* 'hand'.

Secondly, there is a distinction in genitive constructions between alienable and inalienable nouns. The distinction is illustrated in (33) for Abui (Papuan, Alor island). Kratochvíl (2007) reported that Abui inalienable possessors are indicated by the prefix *na-* '1s.INAL', while the alienable possessors are marked by the prefix *ne-* '1s.ALIEN'.

(33) Abui (Kratochvíl 2007, cited in Klamer 2017:21)

a. na-min
1s.INAL-nose
'my nose'

b. ne-fala
1s.ALIEN-hand
'my house'

Variation in the alienable and inalienable possessors in AP languages is shown in Table 3-6. (Different subscripts indicate different paradigms in a single language.)

Table 3-6: Alienable and inalienable possessors in AP languages (Klamer 2017:22)

Location	Language name	Alienable possessor	Inalienable possessor
Pantar	West Pantar Teiwa Kaera	free form optional $prefix_a$ $prefix_a$	prefix obligatory $prefix_a$ $prefix_b$
Pantar Straits	Blagar	free form	prefix
Alor	Klon Abui Kamang	free form $prefix_a$ $prefix_a$	$prefix_a$, $prefix_b$ $prefix_b$ $prefix_b$

The typical usage of inalienable marking in AP languages is to indicate possession of body parts and kinship nouns, as in (32c), (33a) and (34)[4].

[4] These examples are taken from published Bibles and the author's fieldnotes.

(34)

a. **Teiwa**
na-xalaʔ
1s.INAL-mother
'my mother'

b. **Klamu**
na-waa
1s.INAL-mother
'my mother'

c. **Pura**
n-iva
1s.INAL-mother
'my mother'

d. **Wersing**
n-ea
1s.INAL-mother
'my mother'

e. **Kula**
nə-gaja
1s.INAL-mother
'my mother'

f. **Abolo**
n-iwi
1s.INAL-mother
'my mother'

3.5.4 Clause final negation

AP languages typically have a clause-final (or post-predicate) negation, commonly associated with SOV typology. The examples are from Western Pantar (35) and Kamang (36) below.

(35) Western Pantar (Holton, cited in Klamer 2017: 161)
Gaŋ keʔe na waŋ jawiŋ **kauwa**.
3s.ACT meat eat exist agree NEG
'He doesn't like to eat meat.'

(36) Kamang (Schapper 2014: 233)
Dum=a ga-boʔra-si **naa**.
child=SPEC 3.PAT-die-IPFV NEG
'The child is not dying.'

3.5.5 Clause final conjunctions

Most AP languages have clause-final conjunctions. Often these are combined with clause-initial ones. Example (37) from Kaera illustrates this. The comma reflects a prosodic juncture.

(37) Kaera (Klamer 2014, cited in Klamer 2017: 15)
Gaŋ ge-topi gu med **a**, **xabi** mampelei utug med mi kunaŋ masik namuŋ gu gi-iŋ.
3s 3s.ALIEN-hat that take and then mango three take LOC children male PL that 3p-give
'He takes that hat of his and then takes three mangoes to give to the boys.'

In the Kaera example above, the clause-final conjunction *a* 'and' combines with clause-initial *xabi* 'then'. The intonation dips and a slight pause follows *a* 'and'.

The intonation dip following the conjunction is common in both Papuan and Austronesian languages in this region. This is further illustrated from Abolo, a Papuan language in (38), and Kupang Malay, a Malay-based contact creole in (39).

(38) Abolo[5] (Papuan, Alor island)

Na	saŋ	baŋ	eme	laŋ	so bó,	na	na	lele	puɲ	daŋ.
1s	go	village	old	to	but,	1s	thing	light	hold	NEG

'I went to the old village, but I didn't hold the torch.'

(39) Kupang Malay (creole, Timor island)

Makan	abis	ju,	baru	doŋ	jalan	pi	pasar.
eat	finish	also,	then	3p	walk	go	market

'After eating, only then did they go to the market.'

3.5.6 Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) can be defined simply as two or more consecutive verbs occurring in a single clause without any elements between those two verbs. The different verbs share core arguments, and function as a single predicate.[6] Example (40a) illustrates a Teiwa SVC. Example (40b) is not an SVC because the word *ba* 'CONJ' is placed between the verbs *min-an* 'die-REAL' and *baʔ* 'fall down'.

(40) Teiwa (Klamer 2010; Klamer 2017:23-24)

a.

A	ta	min-an	baʔ.
3s	TOP	die-REAL	fall.down

'He died falling down.'

b.

A	ta	min-an	ba	baʔ.
3s	TOP	die-REAL	CONJ	fall.down

'He died then fell down.'

[5] Examples (38) and (39) are from the author's fieldnotes.

[6] This oversimplification is sufficient for illustration purposes here. The literature on serial verbs addresses much more complexity (Aikhenvald 2006; Dixon 2006; Haspelmath 2016; Senft 2008; Jacob and Grimes 2011).

Klamer (2017:23-24) reports that SVCs in AP languages generally have two functions. The first is to express a wide range of notions, including direction, manner and aspect, as illustrated in (40a), (41) and (42), respectively.

(41) Western Pantar (Holton 2014, cited in Klamer 2017: 24)

Habbaŋ	mau	aname	**horaŋ**	**sauke-jabe.**
village	there	person	make.noise	dance-(dance type)

'Over there in the village people are making noise dancing the jabe dance.'

(42) Teiwa (Klamer 2010; Klamer 2017:23-24)

A	**bir-an**	**gi**	awan	awan	**tas-an**	**gula?....**
3s	run-REAL	go	far.away	far.away	stand-REAL	finish

'She run far away [and] stood [still]….'

The second function of SVCs is to introduce event participants in discourse, as illustrated in the Abui example (43).

(43) Abui (Kratochvíl 2007, cited in Klamer 2017: 25)

Nei	yo	la	**mi**	**ne-r**	te	yo!
1s.POSS	DEM	PART	take	1s.LOC-give	first	DEM

'Give me mine!'

Klamer (2017) discusses many more features of Alor-Pantar languages, and in greater detail, but the features introduced here are sufficient to provide a context for a description of Klon in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4
SKETCH OF KLON PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

This chapter has two sections: Klon phonology (§4.1), and Klon grammar (§4.2). As a sketch rather than a comprehensive grammar, the discussion and examples are limited to briefly illustrating the basic and most common patterns.

The phonology presents a brief description of Klon consonants (§4.1.1), vowels (§4.1.2), syllable structure (§4.1.3) with a few notes on the practical orthography to bridge between this thesis and materials published in Klon (§4.1.4).

The grammar section briefly covers types of simple clauses (§4.2.1), verbs and verb phrases (§4.2.2), nouns and noun phrases (§4.2.3), adpositional phrases (§4.2.4), possession (§4.2.5), and adding complexity in sentences (§4.2.6).

4.1 Phonology sketch

4.1.1 Consonants

Klon has eighteen native consonants and one borrowed consonant, given in Table 4-1. None of the consonants are considered unusual in the region.

Table 4-1: Klon consonants (with practical orthography symbols in < >)[1]

	Labial	**Apical**	**Laminal**	**Dorsal**	**Glottal**
Obstruent (voiceless)	p	t	(ʧ) <c>	k	ʔ <'>
Obstruent (voiced)	b	d	ʤ <j>	g	
Nasal	m	n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Fricative		s			h
Flap/trill		r			
Lateral		l			
Semivowel	w		j <y>		

Some contrasts are shown in examples (44)-(46) between k, h, and ʔ, along with the interaction of glottal consonants with short and long vowels (indicated as V and VV respectively).

(44) Contrasts between k, h and ʔ (Jones et.al. 2020a:13-14)

huuk	*size, measurement*
huʔ	*plait (as in basket, box with ingredients for chewing betelnut)*
tuʔ	*where (which one)*
tuh	*kind of thorny weed*
tuu	*shave, scrape (moustache, pig fur, certain leaves)*

(45)

dool	*mountain*
doʔool	*respected adult woman*
bɪʔ	*pig*
bee	*shout, scream*

(46)

tɑʔɑɑ	*lima bean (Phaseolus lunatus L.)*
ɑtɑɑ	*coconut*
kɪʔɪ	*very hungry, starving*
kee	*coconut leaf*

The following consonant sequences in Klon are found, illustrated in example (47). Many are word initial. Some of these sequences are across morpheme boundaries.

[1] The loan phoneme is indicated in parentheses.

(47) Klon consonant sequences (Jones et.al. 2020a:17)

p: pk, ph, pl, pr, pn, pd

t: tk, tb, tp, tr, tm, tw, tl, td

k: kl, kd, kn, kr, kw, kb, km

b: bh, bg, br, bl

d: dg, dr, dl

g: gy, gp, gt, gl, gm, gs, gd, gr, gn, gw, gb, gk, gh

Consonant sequences are found only in syllable onsets. Most apparent initial consonant sequences are actually broken up by a 'fast vowel', discussed below.

4.1.2 Vowels

Klon has seven phonemic base vowels, each with equivalent long vowels, making 14 vowels altogether, shown in Table 4-2. This seven-vowel analysis contrasts with Baird (2008:34ff), who recognized length in only five vowels, and had eight base vowels with schwa. What Jones et.al. 2020a (followed here) describe as a contrast between mid vowels and high open vowels, Baird describes as a contrast between open-mid and close-mid vowels. What Baird describes as a schwa, Jones et.al. 2020a (followed here) treat as a non-phonemic transitional vocoid described by speakers as a 'fast vowel', and not written as a vowel in the practical orthography. The 'fast vowel' is discussed later in this section.

Table 4-2: Klon vowels (with practical orthography symbols in < >)

		Front	**Central**	**Back**
High	close	i, iː <i, ii>		u, uː <u, uu>
	open	ɪ ɪː <é, éé>		ʊ ʊː <ó, óó>
Mid		e, eː <e, ee>		o, oː <o, oo>
Low			ɑ, ɑː <ɑ, ɑɑ>	

Contrasts between high close, high open, and mid vowels are shown below in Table 4-3.

Table 4-3: Contrasts between high close, high open, and mid vowels in Klon

(expanded from Jones et.al. 2020a:3-4)

High close vowels		High open vowels		Mid vowels	
i [i]		**é [ɪ]**		**e [e]**	
liŋ	*cave*	ˈlɪŋ	*hungry*	ᵉleŋ	*vegetable*
liip	*bed*	ˈlɪp	*pour*	ᵉlep	*steer (e.g., boat, ship)*
pil	*lay down as a base*	ˈpɪl	*compete with you*	ᵉpel	*flooded*
wiit	*basket*	ɪt	*pull out*	et	*your bottom*
wiir	*cry*	ˈwɪr	*your ear*	ᵉwer	*lime*
u [u]		**ó [ʊ]**		**o [o]**	
ul	*child*	ʊl	*pool, pond*	ol	*pestle*
duul	*smooth*	ʊʊl	*kind of pest on rice*	ool	*female, wife*
buum	*flower*	ʊm	*male, husband*	om	*older sibling*
gluul	*follow s.o./s.t.*	ᵘgʊʊl	*long ago*	ᵒgool	*swamp taro*
luk-hool	*bow down*	lʊk	*demon, evil spirit*	lok	*fish trap*

Contrasts between short and long vowels are shown below in Table 4-4.

Table 4-4: Contrasts between Klon short and long vowels in Klon (from Jones et.al. 2020a:10)

Short vowels			Long vowels		
i [i]	bil	*edible fruit species*	**ii [iː]**	biːl	*rat disk (on a traditional house post)*
é [ɪ]	ɪl	*buy*	**éé [ɪː]**	ɪːl	*stop*
e [e]	el	*strand (of a rope)*	**ee [eː]**	eːl	*white hair*
u [u]	ur	*moon, month*	**uu [uː]**	uːr	*see*
ó [ʊ]	ʊl	*pool, pond*	**óó [ʊː]**	ʊːl	*kind of pest on rice*
o [o]	ol	*pestle*	**oo [oː]**	oːl	*female, wife*
a [a]	bah	*needle*	**aa [aː]**	baːh	*servant*

Klon vowels are found in all positions in the word (Jones et.al. 2020a:6-10). Klon vowels are also found in sequences, including short-short, and long-short. In sequences of two short vowels (short-short), only high vowels are found in the second position (Jones et.al. 2020a:9). Samples of Klon vowel sequences are seen in Table 4-5.

Table 4-5: Klon vowel sequences (expanded from Jones et.al. 2020a:8)

Vowel sequences					
ai	waiŋ	*bee*	**au**	au	*thorny stem of a tuber*
	aɡai	*go*			
aai	mlaai	*wilted*	**ʊi**	ʊlʊiŋ	*write*
	naai	*clean*		ʊiŋ	*twig*
ei	wlei	*wild date palm*	**ʊʊi**	gemʊʊi	*help him/her*
	nmei	*place*		plʊʊi	*prone, lying face downward*
oi	toboi	*tight, pull us*	**ui**	puiŋ	*hold, use*
	okoin	*headlice*		klui	*elephant foot yam (Amorphophallus muelleri)*
ooi	olooi	*gather, join*	**uui**	kuui	*skin*
	thooi	*send*		ɣuui	*mock someone*

Only the following vowel sequences are found in my data corpus: <ai>, <aai>, <au>, <ei>, <oi>, <ooi>, <ói>, <óói>, <ui> and <uui>. Other vowel sequences have not been found.

There is also what native speakers describe as a 'fast vowel' in Klon (Jones et.al. 2020:4-5) not indicated as a vowel in the practical orthography,[2] but indicated in various ways in Baird (2008). Grimes and Edwards (forthcoming) note that this 'fast vowel' often parallels a full vowel comparatively in related languages and describe the 'fast vowel' found in some Papuan languages of Alor-Pantar, and some Austronesian Flores-Lembata languages as follows:

> "There is no phonemic schwa, but there is a non-phonemic epenthetic vowel used to break up consonant clusters. It is unstressed, of short duration and not syllabic. It is mostly central, and often takes on the colour of nearby vowels (Jones et.al. 2020a). Native speakers sometimes refer to this as a 'fast vowel' (Indonesian: *vokal cepat*). So /mgol/ → [məgol] ~ [mŏgol] ~ [mgol] 'banana', /ngan/ → [nəgan] ~ [năgan] ~ [ngan]

[2] What native speakers call 'fast vowels', some linguists might call 'reduced vowels' of short duration and slightly centralized. There is also a kind of 'vowel harmony' happening with the 'fast vowel' taking on the quality of surrounding vowels, but often a little more centralized.

‘thing, matter’, /ngeen/ → [nəgeen] ~ [nĕgeen] ~ [ngeen] ‘give us’. Although the Papuan language of Wersing spoken on Alor only has a five-vowel system, it has a similar phenomenon of epenthetic schwa-like ‘fast vowels’ used to break up consonant clusters, as in /ptori/ → [pətori] ‘boiled corn’, /tteng/ → [təteŋ] ‘our hands’, /tma/ → [təma] ‘sea’ (Jones et.al. 2020b). Here we simply note the close phonetic similarities in the description of Alor-Pantar languages Klon and Wersing with descriptions of schwa in nearby Austronesian languages on Flores as being unstressed, of short duration, and like an epenthetic vowel to break up consonant clusters.”

In Klon, two different contexts for ‘fast vowels’ are noteworthy. The first is to break up consonant clusters, as illustrated in (48).

(48) The ‘fast vowels’ which break up consonant clusters in Klon (Jones et.al. 2020a:4)

<kwél>	pronounced	[kʲwɪl]	*grass*
<mgol>	pronounced	[mᵒgol]	*banana*
<gmuk>	pronounced	[gᵘmuk]	*his horn*
<ntan>	pronounced	[nᵃtan]	*my hand*

A variation on the first context is noteworthy because of a high frequency conflict that potentially arises between the phonetics and how to write the sounds in the orthography because of the need for diagraphs. The velar /ŋ/, represented by a digraph <ng> (for transferability to Indonesian), needs to be distinguished from a nasal-velar sequence n-g. The orthography solution below was chosen by a group of native speakers after discussion of several possible options.

(49) A special orthography solution for n-g in Klon (Jones et.al. 2020a:6)

Orthography	Pronunciation	Incorrect	Gloss
<n'gan>	[nᵃgan]	[nagan]	*thing, matter*
<n'goraap>	[nᵒgoraap]	[nogoraap]	*come to us (exclusive)*
<n'geen>	[nᵉgeen]	[negeen]	*give to us (exclusive)*

The second context for the 'fast vowel' is a word initial short V before a medial single C. These are represented in the practical orthography with a single V and a single, as in the example below.[3]

(50) The 'fast vowel' in word initial short V before a medial single C (Jones et.al. 2020a:5)

<abang>	pronounced	[ᵃbaŋ]	*saying*
<éléng>	pronounced	[ᶦlɪŋ]	*hungry*
<eleng>	pronounced	[ᵉleŋ]	*vegetable*
<ikin>	pronounced	[ᶦkin]	*mosquito*
<óró'>	pronounced	[ᵒrʊʔ]	*civet cat (Viverra tangalunga)*
<omon>	pronounced	[ᵒmon]	*tame*
<udub>	pronounced	[ᵘdub]	*rainbow*

4.1.3 Syllable structure

Syllable structure is often described with reference to consonant-vowel (C-V) sequences. The minimal syllable of Klon consists of only a single vowel (V), or just the nucleus.

Klon has multiple syllable patterns for monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic words.[4] The divisions below reflect the syllabic perceptions of native speakers in examples (51), (52) and (53), respectively.

(51) Monosyllabic words

V	u	'APPLICATIVE'
CV	ma	'come'
CVV	hai	'useless'
CVC	bɪʔ	'pig'
VC	ʊm	'male, husband'
VVC	uur	'see'
CVVC	weer	'river'

[3] At the moment, the practical orthography does not distinguish between word-initial 'fast vowel' and word-initial 'full vowel'. Native speakers seem to have little difficulty distinguishing the two. The practical orthography also does not distinguish between vowel-initial and glottal-initial words.

[4] Klon syllable structure is complicated by native speaker perceptions that the 'fast vowel' is non-syllabic. So, while a linguist might treat mgol as two syllables with light and heavy syllable weight, native speakers consistently treat it as a single syllable. Addressing this issue properly is outside the focus and scope of this study.

CCV	mdi	‘sun, day’
CCVV	hlaa	‘rope’
CCVC	mgol	‘banana’
CCVVC	traiɲ	‘name of place, people group (Timor)’

(52) Disyllabic words

VCV	igi	‘you-pl’
VCVV	unuu	‘market’
VCVC	eben	‘village’
VCVVC	ihiih	‘get up’
CVCV	lalɪ	‘even, equal’
CVCVC	hukun	‘punish’ (loan)
CVCVVC	heneen	‘flame’
VCCVVC	ahkool	‘shrimp’
CCVCVV	globei	‘chase someone/something’
CCVCVC	krejaŋ	‘work’
CVCCVVC	mamnaak	‘child’ /ma-mnaak/
CVCCVC	bultaŋ	‘sky’

(53) Trisyllabic words

CVCVCV	wɪdodi	‘only then’
CVCVCVC	tidórók	‘eight’ /tid-órók/ (órók ‘two’)

As can be seen in the examples above, the syllable nucleus of monosyllabic and disyllabic words in Klon may be simple or complex, with complex nuclei containing either a long vowel or a vowel sequence.

4.1.4 Practical orthography

A number of orthography issues have been introduced throughout this phonology sketch. Jones et.al. (2020a) have shown that Klon is actually a system based on seven vowels, each of which has a long counterpart that needs to be contrasted in the practical orthography as described in §4.1.2. The Klon community has chosen to write the high open vowels as <é> [ɪ] and <ó> [ʊ] respectively, calling them “high /e/” and “high /o/” to distinguish them from their unmarked counterpart symbols.

In §4.1.2 it was noted that the ‘fast vowel’ does not need to be indicated, except in certain contexts. One of those contexts is word-initial, and the second context distinguishes the digraph <ng> [ŋ] from the

CC sequence <n'g> [ng], the latter not found in Indonesian. The Klon community has chosen to write this sequence as <n'g> as in *n'gan* ‘thing, matter, issue, stuff’.

In examples in this thesis, IPA [j] is written <y>, long vowels are written as a double vowel (VV), and n-g sequences often use the practical orthography convention of <n'g>.

4.2 Grammar sketch

4.2.1 Simple clauses

Simple clauses in Klon are composed of a SUBJECT + PREDICATE. A simple clause is one that is unmarked pragmatically (such as by fronting), or by the use of morphological or periphrastic devices to repackage the argument structure.[5] The subject in Klon is the left-most argument within a pragmatically unmarked clause.[6] Prosodically, there is sometimes a rising intonation contour that marks the juncture between a Subject and a Predicate, particularly if the Subject is a deictic NP. This intonation juncture is often indicated with comma by native speakers and can be seen in some of the examples that follow.

There are broadly three types of predicates in Klon: verbal, non-verbal and semi-verbal (see also Shopen 2007a:224; Grimes 1991; Tamelan 2021). These are distinguished by what construction forms the predicate, and what clause-level operators can be used to modify them. Each type of predicate is discussed in turn.

4.2.1.1 Verbal predicates

Verbal predicates in Klon include the verb with its verbal modifiers and all non-Subject arguments internal to the clause. Most of these additional arguments typically come after the Subject and before the verb, except complement clauses of complement-taking verbs, which follow the verb and

[5] For example, in the English sentence, *the dog, they chased (it) away*, ‘the dog’ has been moved out of the object slot and fronted in the sentence for pragmatic reasons. *She is well*, uses a single-argument predicate with the subject as Undergoer, whereas *she made him well*, uses ‘made’ as a periphrastic causative to change the argument structure to have both an Actor and Undergoer. These are not ‘simple’ or unmarked clauses.

[6] Baird (2008:41) notes that the Actor is the “left-most argument in [an] unmarked transitive clause”, but the observation can be broadened to Subject in all unmarked clauses in Klon regardless of the type of predicate.

complementizer. Complement-taking verbs in Klon typically include verbs of speaking, cognition, and perception (§4.2.6.8). Intransitive verbs in Klon are distinguished in the morphosyntax between Actor oriented active verbs, and Undergoer oriented non-active verbs.[7]

Verbal clauses in Klon show a limited kind of semantic alignment. As background to the following discussion, it is important to note that 1) Klon is Undergoer-prominent in only indexing Undergoers on the verbs, but that 2) only some verbs are obligatorily indexed for Undergoer, some are optional, and some take no Undergoer prefixes. Using Dixon's (1979, 1984) terminology of S, A and O, Baird (2008:57) notes:

> "Participant reference coding is only of relevance to the identification of Klon grammatical relations when referents are encoded by pronominals. When encoded by a NP there is no morphological marking of a referent's grammatical relation. … S arguments in Klon pattern the same way as A arguments when the referent has actor-like properties, and pattern the same way as O arguments when the referent has undergoer-like properties."

What that means for verbal predicates is that while the notion of an unmarked transitive clause is fairly straightforward, a distinction in types of intransitive clauses is not. The primary morphosyntactic distinction found is on those intransitive verbs that are obligatorily indexed for Undergoer, which provides a clear basis for distinguishing some S_O from some S_A. But in some cases, whether the single argument (Subject) of an intransitive verb should be interpreted as S_O or S_A is not always clear. Those that

[7] Baird (2008:29-42f) notes that grammatical roles in Klon revolve primarily around distinguishing Actor and Undergoer. Following Van Valin (2005) and others, the macrorole of Actor encodes the most agent-like argument in a clause. But not all Actors are agents. For example in the English sentence, *the man cut the wood*, the subject is Actor as agent doing something deliberately to a patient. But in the sentence, *the rock crushed the house*, the subject is Actor as instrument, with no agency or deliberation involved. Similarly the macrorole of Undergoer encodes the most patient-like argument in the clause. But not all Undergoers are patients. For example in the English sentence, *the man cut the wood*, the object (the semantic Undergoer) is a fully affected patient. But in the sentence, *the man saw the wood*, the Undergoer is goal, and not affected in any way.

are clear provide a basis for distinguishing three types of verbal predicates in Klon: active transitive, active intransitive (abstractly: DO verbs), and non-active intransitive (abstractly: BE verbs).[8]

(54) Active transitive clauses

Nɑ wik ko hrot.
[1s]$_{Subj}$ [umbrella EMPH sew]$_{Pred}$
'I sew a mountain umbrella [from palm leaves].' [PayGunung.4:3]

(55) Ni hiʔ g-bok.
[1pe]$_{Subj}$ [chicken 3U-cut]$_{Pred}$
'We (exc) slaughtered a chicken.' [SejBring.1:51b]

(56) Inni ool ge-baŋ.
[3p]$_{Subj}$ [female 3U-request]$_{Pred}$
'They asked for women/a woman.' [PenJepang.3:8]

(57) Active intransitive clauses

Ni tkin trʊʊs.
[1pe]$_{Subj}$ [run CONT]$_{Pred}$
'We (exc) kept running.' [RumAdat.6:14a]

(58) Non-active intransitive clauses

Ul yo g-biir.
[child DIST]$_{Subj}$ [3U-sick]$_{Pred}$
'That child (is) sick.' [elicited]

(59) Kaap yo gɑ mguul.
[craft DIST]$_{Subj}$ [3s sound]$_{Pred}$
'The airplane was noisy.' [PenJepang.3:15a]

All the examples above of different types of verbal clauses reflect the broad pattern of Subject + Predicate.

4.2.1.2 Non-verbal predicates

Like verbal predicates, Klon non-verbal predicates also follow the subject. Non-verbal predicates cannot take the pre-verbal modifiers discussed in §4.2.2. There are nominal predicates, quantifier predicates, and existential predicates.

[8] The use of abstract DO and BE broadly follows the discussion of verbal semantics in Van Valin (2005).

Nominal predicates in Klon are equative clauses where the first NP (the subject) of the clause is identical to or coreferential with the second NP (the nominal predicate). The two NPs are juxtaposed. There is no copula involved. The nominal predicate can be a simple NP, a possessive NP, a proper noun, or a numeral NP. These are illustrated below.

(60) Naŋ, oŋ nii mgol.
NEG1 [PROX]$_{Subj}$ [1sP banana]$_{Pred}$
'No, this (is) my banana.' [SejBring.1:16]

(61) Nii n-ni yo, Bl... Ko....
[1sP 1sP-name DIST]$_{Subj}$ [(name) (name)]$_{Pred}$
'My name (is) Bl... Ko...' [PenJepang.3:2]

(62) Gaan yo-wo nii man boŋ.
[3s DIST-EMPH]$_{Subj}$ [1sP father young]$_{Pred}$
'That one there (is) my young master.' [LulÓgóól.24:65d]

(63) Sipri yoŋ gii ool ʊrʊk.
[(name) PROX]$_{Subj}$ [3P wife two]$_{Pred}$
'Sipri here has two wives.' (lit. 'this Sipri his wife two')[9] [LulÓgóól.4:19]

Quantifier predicates may have either a numeral or a quantifier as the predicate, which specifies a quantity attributed to the Subject. These are illustrated below.

(64) Nii umur, kar toŋ awaa iwih.
[1sP age]$_{Subj}$ [tens three add five]$_{Pred}$
'I (am) thirty-five years old.' (lit. 'My age, thirty-five.') [PotKebun.19:2]

(65) Nii kreyaŋ yoŋ obei.
[1sP work PROX]$_{Subj}$ [many]$_{Pred}$
'I have a lot of work here.' (lit. 'my work this (is) much') [GhooiGLu.13:2c]

Postpositional existential predicates in Klon use the locative postposition *mi* 'in, at' in a secondary sense as an existential 'exist'. They are often used in presentational clauses to introduce into a narrative participants or props that have on-going relevance in the discourse.[10] In this case what would otherwise be

[9] This example could alternatively be analyzed as having a left-dislocated topic with a quantifier predicate.

[10] Grimes (2018) notes that several languages on Timor, including Tetun (*iha*), Galolen (*mia*) and Kemak (*dia*) also use locative adpositions in a secondary existential function in presentational clauses in discourse. Tamelan

the locative complement of the postposition functions as the Subject of the existential clause, as illustrated in (66).

(66) Gaan bʊr yo, teer ʊl obei mi.
3s valley DIST [tar pool many]$_{Subj}$ [EXIST]$_{Pred}$
'In that valley, there were many tar pools.' [LulÓgóól.14:10a]

All the examples above of different types of non-verbal clauses show the broad pattern of SUBJECT + PREDICATE.

4.2.1.3 Semi-verbal predicates

Semi-verbal predicates in Klon are similar to non-verbal predicates, but they can take only a restricted set of verbal modifiers that do not occur with non-verbal predicates. Semi-verbal predicates include attributive, locative postposition and similative predicates.

Attributive predicates in Klon use an adjective-like modifier which can be a noun or adjective used predicatively in the clause, rather than attributively in an NP. The attributive *kwaah* 'rich' in (67) and *aal* 'big' in (68) attribute an adjective-like quality to the subject.

(67) Abram yo, ɑ kwaah yaah.
[(name) DIST]$_{Subj}$ [3U rich INTENS]$_{Pred}$
'Abram (is) very rich.' [LulÓgóól.13:2a]

(68) nɪɪ ul ʊm Sela ga aal agai
[1sP child male (name) 3s]$_{Subj}$ [big PRF]$_{Pred}$
'My son Sela had grown up.' (lit. 'my son Sela he already big') [LulÓgóól.38:11e]

The following example (69) shows that *aal* 'big' as a process, can also apply to non-human or inanimate referents.

(69) U hnan, geen g-et yo ga aal.
APPL weave, until [3P-bottom DIST 3s]$_{Subj}$ [big]$_{Pred}$
'Weave it, until the bottom [of the basket] becomes bigger.' [MemBakul.8:11]

(2021:315-316) describes a similar secondary existential function of the locative preposition *sia* in Dela, spoken on Rote Island. Dela *sia* is in a postpositional slot when functioning as an existential.

The previous two examples illustrate a common pattern often found early in a Klon discourse, of a double expression of subject with both NP plus pronoun.[11] There is often no prosodic separation of the NP from the pronoun. In Role and Reference Grammar terms, the NP conveys the referential information, while the pronoun indicates the role-related information (Van Valin 2005).

Postpositional phrases can be used as a *locative predicate*. The postposition *mi* 'at, in' and *taaŋ* 'on' indicate a location ascribed to the subject, as illustrated in (70)-(72).

(70) Na wo dusun nuk mi
[1s EMPH]$_{Subj}$ [hamlet one LOC]$_{Pred}$
'I'm in a hamlet.' [HukBela.2:3a]

(71) Na Totom eben mi.
[1s]$_{Subj}$ [(place) village LOC]$_{Pred}$
'I am in Totom village.' [Mtareben.11.1]

(72) Yesus adaa ei taaŋ.
[(name)]$_{Subj}$ [still boat on]$_{Pred}$
'Jesus was still on the boat.' [Mrk.4:35a]

Similative predicates in Klon are formed by the combination of the transitive verb *geʔuur* 'see s.t', the motion verb *agai* 'go' and the transitive-like *gogon* 'like' to express a similarity between two noun phrases. Like active transitive clauses, the similative construction requires two arguments. Unlike active transitive clauses, there is no agency and no affectedness in the two arguments, even though one is in the position of Subject and the other explicitly marked as an Undergoer. Example (73) compares the similar quality (red) between two things (moon and blood), while (74) compares the similar lifestyle between two persons.

(73) Awaa bo ur di bo ga i ki~kiik ge-ʔuur agai wɪ gogon.
add SEQ [moon also FUT 3s]$_{Subj}$ [INCEP DUP~red 3U-see go blood like]$_{Pred}$
'And the moon will also become red like blood.' [GhooiGLu.2:19-21d]

[11] See Dixon (2010b:210ff) and Haspelmath (2013:224) for similar constructions in other languages and a discussion of the double-expression of arguments.

(74) Yohanis gılı inok-iʔes yo **ge-ʔuur agai** dayah Elia **gogon.**
[(name) 3s.?? good-life DIST]$_{Subj}$ [3U-see go ancestor (name) like]$_{Pred}$
'Yohanis' way of life was like that of ancestor Elia.' [Mark.1:4-6f]

All the examples above of different types of semi-verbal clauses show the broad pattern of SUBJECT + PREDICATE.

4.2.2 Verb and verb phrases

A verb is a class of words that mostly express actions, states, and other dynamic situations (Shopen 2007a:9). A verb phrase (VP) is syntactically headed by a verb. In Klon, a VP minimally consists of a free root, or a root that combines with a pronominal prefix. A VP may contain maximally two pronominal prefixes, a PRO-1 and a PRO-2. And a VP may have various tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers as well as various other adverbial modifiers.

This section discusses verb classes (§4.2.2.1) in very broad terms, pre-head modifiers (§4.2.2.2), post-head modifiers (§4.2.2.3) and constraints on order and co-occurrence of verbal modifiers (§4.2.2.4).

4.2.2.1 Verb classes

Van Valin (2005:33) argues that the most fundamental classification of verbs is between static and non-static or non-active and active. In discussing Klon verbal predicates in §4.2.1.1, it was noted that there is a semantic alignment distinction marked in Klon morphosyntax requiring a distinction for intransitive verbs between *active intransitive* (in which the single argument is in the macrorole of Actor), and *non-active intransitive* (in which the single argument is in the macrorole of Undergoer). So, in this analysis of Klon I use the terms 'active' and 'non-active', as also used by Grimes (1991), and Tamelan (2021).[12] It was also noted in §4.2.1.1 that some Klon verbs are obligatorily indexed pronominally for Undergoer, some verbs optionally so, and some verbs are never indexed for Undergoer. The Undergoer prominence of the indexing on verbs thus means that while some active transitive verbs and non-active

[12] The more widely used 'stative-active' term for this kind of distinction creates confusion in this region, since the so-called 'stative' verbs have both state and process readings and distinctions within them. The term non-active avoids such labelling confusion.

intransitive verbs are indexed for Undergoer, active intransitive verbs do not take the same Undergoer indexing prefixes.

Active verbs describe the action done by a syntactic subject in the macrorole of Actor. In addition to active transitive and active intransitive verbs previously mentioned, there are also a few ditransitive verbs and verbs that take complement clauses. The latter two are discussed briefly in §4.2.6.

Active transitive verbs typically have two core arguments in unmarked clauses, a syntactic subject (A) and an object (U), both coming before the verb. They are syntactically classified into three categories based on the way they encode the object: (i) with NPs or a free pronoun Undergoer; (ii) with an obligatory Undergoer prefix; and (iii) with an optional Undergoer prefix.

(i) active transitive verbs with NPs or a free pronoun Undergoer that have no indexing on the verb are illustrated below, with the Undergoer argument bolded in dark blue, and the verb in dark red.

(75) Inninok yo **arak** **maai** **kdɪʔ**.
person DIST rice cook eat
'The people ate the (cooked) rice.' [elicited]

(76) Inni **inni** **giin** **ɪlɪɪl**.
3p 3p 3U seek
'They (the Japanese) looked for them (the local people).' [PenJepang.3:18b]

(77) Bo lam **inninok** **ɪlɪɪl**, **ool** **aat** **ɪlɪɪl** dool lɪ, drɑ lɪ
SEQ walk person seek, female young seek mountain ALL valley ALL
'So (they) went to look for people, to look for young women to the mountains and valleys,'
[PenJepang.3:12a]

(ii) active transitive verbs with an obligatory Undergoer prefix that require indexing on the verb, are illustrated below.

(78) Kuur **ul** **yo** **g-eh**.
dog child DIST 3U-bite
'A/the dog bit the child.' [elicited]

(79) Inni nuk gɑ **ɪtɪ** **g-bok**.
person one 3s wood 3U-cut
'A person was cutting wood.' [elicited]

(80) Inni g-lobei.
3P 3U-chase
'They chased him.' [SejBring.1:31]

Some active transitive verbs can take two pronominal Undergoers, as in the example below.

(81) Inni ogo-g-taiɲ.
3p 2pU-3U-release
'They released you (pl) (from) it [prison].' [Goghooi.16:36]

(iii) Active transitive verbs with an optional Undergoer prefix are illustrated below. The examples below illustrate a pragmatic contrast found with many transitive verbs in many languages. When the Undergoer is relevant to the discourse, it is indexed on the verb, as in (82). When the activity itself is in pragmatic focus, or the Undergoer is assumed, a transitive verb may be used as if it is intransitive in the syntax, as in (83).

(82) Akaan bo e?~eben noon mi ihiih bo ge-buser.
evening SEQ DUP~village PL APPL stand SEQ 3U-talk
'So that night the village elders gathered, then (they) discussed it.' [RumAdat.6:8]

(83) Yesus ele adaa buser yıh.
(name) 3d still talk CONT
'Yesus (plus one other) were still talking.' [Mrk.5:35a]

Active intransitive verbs typically have one pre-verbal core argument, which is subject. The subject is typically in the macrorole of Actor, with varying degrees of agency, volition, and deliberation. They are often verbs of motion, posture, and bodily function. Since active intransitive verbs in Klon have no Undergoer, there is no indexing on the verb. These are illustrated below.

(84) Ni tkin trʊʊs.
1pe run CONT
'We (exc) kept running.' [RumAdat.6:14a]

(85) Ga mtıh.
3s stand
'He stood.' [GhooiGLu.9:33]

(86) Ga kder ta mih.
3s chair on sit
'She sat on the chair.' [elicited]

There is a set of optional pronouns in Klon that is found with verbs of motion and posture, and perhaps some experiencer verbs. Baird (2008:66-80) only recognizes the third person form *a* and calls it a 'resumptive pronoun' tracking topical referents in a discourse. However, their close association with verbs of motion and posture, evokes a broader phenomenon associated with semantic alignment languages in Alor-Pantar, and in both Papuan and Austronesian languages throughout eastern Indonesia and out into the Pacific (Pawley 1973, Fedden and Brown 2017:420-421; Grimes and Edwards (forthcoming)). Pawley (1973) observed that many verbs of motion and posture that are syntactically intransitive in Indo-European languages are syntactically transitive in many languages of Oceania. He called these *intradirective* verbs, and pointed out that the Actor (the one doing the action) is simultaneously also the Undergoer (the one whose location or position is being changed, or the one experiencing the action). Actor and Undergoer are coreferential. These verbs should not be treated as reflexive, although they are sometimes formally similar to reflexives, as is the case in Klon. Pragmatically there is no discernable difference with and without the optional coreferential Undergoer proclitic. The coreferential pronoun is the same (*a*) for 2s, 3s, 3p, so person and number are distinguished by the free pronoun. The full set is described in chapter 5.[13]

(87) Ga **ad.**
3s come
'She came.' [RumAdat.6:32]

(88) Ga a **ad.**
3s 3U come
'He came.' [LulÓgóól.14:17]

(89) Naan na **ad.**
1s 1sU come
'I came.' [elicited]

[13] In §5.3 the set of Undergoer proclitics is shown to have multiple functions. They can a) mark Undergoers on transitive verbs, b) indicate that third person Actor and Undergoer are coreferential on transitive verbs (reflexive), indicating that the two pronouns have the same referent (the absence of the Undergoer proclitic implies the two have different referents), c) marks an optional coreferential Undergoer with intradirective verbs of motion and posture.

(90) Ga a **moop.**
3s 3U sleep
'He slept.' [Mrk.4:37]

(91) Ga a **awaar.**
3s 3U return
'He returned (home).' [GhooiGLu.11:10]

(92) Ple pa **agai.**
1di 1piU return
'We both go.' [BabjadiBatu.7:7b]

Non-active intransitive verbs typically have one pre-verbal core argument, which is subject. The subject is typically in the macrorole of Undergoer, with varying degrees of affectedness. These often express states, resulting states and processes, and can be abstractly reflected as BE, BE-at, BECOME (change-of-state, resulting state) relationships. Some experiencer verbs are non-active. Some non-active verbs obligatorily index the Undergoer, and others do not.

(93) Ul yo **g-biir.**
child DIST 3U-sick
'The child (is) sick.' [elicited]

(94) Kaap yo ga **mguul.**
craft DIST 3s sound
'The airplane was noisy.' [PenJepang.3:15]

(95) Yesus g-bet **ɪlɪŋ.**
(name) 3P-stomach hungry
'Yesus was hungry.' (lit: Yesus his stomach (was) hungry)' [Mrk.11:12]

(96) Gi-ʔih dɒb a **plam** yaah.
3P-body truly 3U tired INTENS
'He was really tired.' (lit: His body (was truly so very tired.)' [LulÓgóól.25:29]

Ditransitive verbs and mechanisms that change the argument structure of a verb are discussed in §4.2.6 (adding complexity in a clause).

4.2.2.2 Pre-head modifiers

Klon is an aspect-prominent language. So most verbal modifiers relate to aspect and modality, rather than to grammatical tense. What is marked as grammatical tense in Indo-European languages tends to be

indicated in Klon by a time word or phrase fronted in a sentence, a paragraph, or an event or episode in the discourse, and applies to the whole unit. These time words or phrases are almost always fronted peripheral arguments, external to the clause. Clauses without any tense-aspect-mood (TAM) modifiers can have multiple readings with regards to tense and aspect. It is the pre-verbal and post-predicate modifiers that can be used to restrict the possible readings. In some cases, a combination of pre-verbal and post-verbal modifiers co-occur.

The following examples show how a verb without modifiers can have multiple readings, and how time words set an event in time, without the use of grammatical tense.

(97) Ga Buraŋ unuu agai.
3s (PLACE) market go
'He went to the Burang market.' [SejBring.1.5b]
'He was on his way to the Burang market.'
'He is on his way to the Burang market.'
'He will go to the Burang market.'

(98) **Wraa** ga Buraŋ unuu agai.
tomorrow 3s (PLACE) market go
'Tomorrow he will go to the Burang market.'

(99) **Mleŋ** ga Buraŋ unuu agai.
yesterday 3s (PLACE) market go
'Yesterday he went to the Burang market.'

Pre-verbal modifiers in Klon include the imperfective *adaa* 'be in the process of, still', *awaa* 'again, further', inceptive *i* 'begin to', and the modal *ge* 'should, have to, must'. The deontic Malay loan *musti* 'must, have to, should' often occurs following the subject instead of just before the verb. The pre-verbal part of the bipartite negation *hook* 'neg2' is discussed in §4.2.6. Pre-verbal modifiers are internal to the clause, coming either just before the verb, or following the subject. Pre-verbal modifiers in the VP are bolded in dark blue in the examples below.

(100) Yesus ele **adaa** buser yıh.
Yesus 3d still talk CONT
'Yesus (plus one other) were still talking.' [Mrk.5:35a]

(101) Na **awaa** ge araa g-tut.
1s again 3U water 3U-hot
'I was heating the water again for him.' [SejBring.1.48]

(102) Inni **i** abaŋ, mu a agai.
3p INCEP saying just 3U go
'They began to say that they would just go home.' [PenJepang.3.29]

(103) Yoŋ **ge** inni ıbıŋ-e nuk u ne-huh.
3p should person other-?? one APPL 1sU-speak
'This should be one other person tell/explain it to me.' [GhooiGLu.8.31b]

(104) Pımırınta noon **musti** ngıı parkaar yoŋ u buser.
government PL must 1peP case PROX APPL talk
'The government must talk and take care of this dispute of ours.' [GhooiGLu.16:37]

4.2.2.3 Post-head modifiers

Other aspect and mood modifiers occur following the verb. Several of these are full verbs that are also used as clause-level modifiers. For example, *agai* '1) go, 2) already, perfective'. Because post-head modifiers are in close proximity to the verb and modify the verb, it is not unreasonable to assume they are part of the VP. However, since some also modify non-verbal predicates, they are better treated as post-predicate (clause-final) modifiers, external to the clause with scope over the whole.

Post-head modifiers in Klon include *boge* 'might, possibly, maybe', the perfective *agai* 'already', completive *ik* 'finish', the continuative *yıh* 'continue', *trʊʊs* 'continue (loan)', the modal *diʔ* 'first, priority', *naŋ* 'neg1' and perhaps others. The clause final *diʔ* is an imperative or hortative modal used to demand that the conditions should be met before doing something else. It can either occur by itself or co-occur with the deontic Malay loan *musti* 'must, have to, should'. Negation is treated more fully in a separate section in §4.2.6. Post-head modifiers are bolded in dark blue in the examples below.

(105) Inni a g-beer **boge**.
3p 3U 3U-kill might
'They might kill him.' [Mrk.14:1-2b]

(106) Inni mıd **agai**.
3p take PFV
'They had already taken (it).' [SejBring.1.9]

(107) Kdiir ɑ tkin **ik.**
demon 3U run COMPL
'The demon ran away.' [Mrk.7:29c]

(108) Yakop adaa inninok noon yo gʊ-buser **yɪh.**
Yakob still person PL DIST 3U-talk CONT
'Yakob was still speaking with those people' [LulÓgóól.29:9a]

(109) Ni tkin **trʊʊs.**
1pe run CONT
'We (exc) kept running.' [RumAdat.6:15b]

(110) Pi iwii wo wor taaŋ nuk g-tɪɪn **di?.**
1pi house EMPH stone on one 3U-make first
'We have to build a stone house (before doing anything else)!' [BerdGereja.10.33]

(111) Pi **musti** ge-barah **di?.**
1pi must 3U-be.careful first
'We have to be careful with that!' [GhooiGLu.5:35c]

(112) Ga haai agai **naŋ.**
3s needless go NEG1
'He didn't needlessly go (there).' [Mrk.5:35d]

4.2.2.4 Constraints on order and co-occurrence of verbal modifiers

Pre-verbal and post-predicate modifiers can occur in various combinations. Table 4-6 reflects the combinations, along with the number of occurrences found in the extended data corpus.

Table 4-6: Frequency and co-occurrence of verbal modifiers

Function	Pre-verbal	VERB	Post-predicate	# Instances
still	adaa	X		41
again, further	awaa	X		38
Inceptive	i	X		18
must (loan)	musti	X		9
Imperative: *first*		X	di?	232
Perfective		X	agai	27
might, possibly		X	boge	42
Completive		X	ik	5
Continuative		X	yıh	6
Intensifier		X	yaah	9
Neg1		X	naŋ	9
Neg2	hook	X		5
Bipartite negation	hook	X	naŋ	41
Bipartite intensifier	a	X	yaah	40
Q tag?		X	-e adaa?	5
Combination	adaa + i	X		5
Combination	adaa	X	yıh	9
Combination	adaa hook	X	naŋ	9
Combination	adaa	X	naŋ	12
Combination	musti	X	di?	36
Combination	hook ... adaa	X	naŋ	17

4.2.3 Nouns and noun phrases

Payne (1997:33) classified morphosyntactic properties of nouns into two groups: distributional and structural properties. Based on the distribution, nouns can function as the head of a noun phrase (NP), the arguments of the clause (A and U) and non-verbal predicates (see §4.2.1.3). A basic NP may consist of only a noun or free pronoun, or be modified by articles, attributives, numbers, quantifiers, adverbials or even with more complex modifiers like relative clauses. Nominal arguments can be possessed.

In the following sub-sections, I discuss noun classes (§4.2.3.1), pre-head modifiers (§4.2.3.2), post-head modifiers (§4.2.3.3), deictics and demonstratives (§4.2.3.4), complex N + N heads (§4.2.3.5), and order and co-occurrence of NP modifiers (§4.2.3.6).

4.2.3.1 Noun classes

Based on distributional properties, nouns in Klon distinguish common nouns and proper nouns. Common nouns are divided into nouns that do not take possessive prefixes (alienable), and nouns that do take possessive prefixes (inalienable). Alienable nouns are illustrated in Table 4-7 below.

Table 4-7: Examples of alienable nouns

	Gloss
mgol	*'banana'*
wor	*'stone'*
iwii	*'rumah'*
hlɑɑ	*'rope'*
hiʔ	*'chicken'*
huh	*'language'*

Alienable nouns refer to nouns such as some body parts and kinship terms which are optionally possessed. For example, the root *man* 'father' usually takes the inalienable possessive prefixes, such as *gi-man* '3P-father'. But when it is followed by a name, there is no possessive prefix: *man* + (name).

Inalienable nouns include many physical or conceptual part-whole associations such as some body parts, some kin terms, and 'name' that are obligatorily possessed. Some are shown in Table 4-8.

Table 4-8: Examples of inalienable nouns

Inalienable	**Gloss**
no-oi	*'my mother'*
g-bet	*'his/her belly'*
t-muiŋ	*'our (inc) nose'*
g-mɑŋ	*'his/her voice'*

Proper nouns include personal names and place names, as illustrated in Table 4-9.

Table 4-9: Examples of proper nouns

Name of persons	Family names	Clan names	Place names
Blandina, Thomas, Urbanus, Marsalina, Rut, Paulina, Mokoil	Koilmo, Loban, Kalei, Plaimo, Kolimo, Mareben, Koloman, Klakik, Koilal	Pne, Triwat, Lalel, Molel, Bring, Klon	Wormnem, Hwak, Mtaraben, Ndang, Été Bgór, Burang, Tam Kdok, Probuur

4.2.3.2 Pre-head modifiers

Klon pre-head modifiers include the quantifier *gnɪ* 'each, all'.

(113) gnɪ ibi
all fish
'all fish, each and every fish' [LulÓgóól.1:21]

Possessors are also pre-head modifiers (see §4.2.5)

4.2.3.3 Post-head modifiers

A number of different kinds of modifiers may follow the head noun in a NP. Each of the examples below are preceded by a label with the type of modifier listed. The first is an attributive modifier.

(114) nmer aal
wind big
'big wind' [BerdGereja.10.43a]

Numeral modifier:

(115) mem kar ʊrʊk awaa usoŋ
seed ten two add seven
'twenty-seven pieces' [MemBakul.8:13]

(116) ool aat nuk
female young one
'one young woman' [PenJepang.3:6]

Relative clause modifier:

(117) inninok riyal de go-nu~nuk mih yo
person many REL 3U-DUP~one sit DIST
'the many people who were gathered there' [GhooiGLu.1:23]

The plural marker *noon* comes outside (to the right of) attributive modifiers, as illustrated below.

(118) ool aat **noon**
female young PL
'the young women' [PenJepang.3:13b]

4.2.3.4 Deictics and demonstratives

Klon has a basic three-way distinction in spatial-temporal-referential deictics: proximal (this, here, now), distal (that, there, then), and remote (over there, yonder).[14] There are intermediate blended forms that provide a six-way set of incrementally relative distances. All point to a definite referent known from the discourse or from general knowledge. Klon demonstratives come as the right-most constituent of the NP. Klon demonstratives are illustrated in Table 4-10.

Table 4-10: Klon demonstratives

Form	Gloss
oŋ	*'proximal'*
yoŋ	*'proximal-plus'*
yo	*'distal'*
yop	*'distal-plus'*
op	*'remote' (visible)*
po	*'remote' (not visible)*

(119) Mkei **yo**, pi wrin.
ground DIST 1pi dig
'We (inc) dig that ground.' [CaNamSayur.13:10]

(120) NII kreyaŋ **yoŋ** obei.
1sP work PROX many
'I have a lot of work here.' (lit. 'my work this (is) much') [GhooiGLu.13:2c]

The demonstratives *yoŋ* 'proximal' and *yo* 'distal' in Klon can also function as the head of an NP.

Besides functioning as a third person singular pronoun, *gaan* can also co-occur with demonstrative markers in Klon to track the most topical referent, as in the example below.

[14] The abstract characterization that some make between 'near speaker', 'near addressee', and 'away from both speaker and addressee' is too narrow to account for the many instances in the Klon data that have neither speaker nor addressee as the discourse locus.

(121) (gaan) nmei yo
3s place DIST
'that (particular) place' [LulÓgóól.10:10]

4.2.3.5 Complex N + N heads

The following example illustrates complex N + N heads in Klon:

(122) araa g-een yo
water 3P-eye DIST
'the spring of water' [LulÓgóól.16:14]

4.2.3.6 Order and co-occurrence of NP modifiers

The following examples illustrate some of the fuller NPs found in the extended corpus, including combinations of pre-head and post-head modifiers.

(123) gnɪ ɪtɪʔ ih de ter g-omi mi yoŋ
each tree fruit REL garden 3P-inside LOC PROX
'every (tree) fruit inside this garden' [LulÓgóól.2:16]

(124) luub de gɪɪ bok aʔ~akaan yo
sheep REL 3P body DUP~black DIST
'the sheep whose body is black' [LulÓgóól.30:32]

4.2.4 Adpositional phrases

As is typical for a verb-final language, the postposition follows its complement. Most adpositional phrases in Klon function as oblique or peripheral arguments in the clause. Unless they are pragmatically fronted external to the clause, they typically come after the Subject: Actor and before the Object: Undergoer. The order of the adpositional phrase and the Undergoer can change for pragmatic focus. The order of the postposition (in dark red) and its complement (in dark blue) in Klon is illustrated below.

(125) Ni dool ta mid.
1pe mountain on ascend
'We went up <u>on the mountain</u>.' [RumAdat.6.28c]

(126) Makana wo, Briŋ nuk le wo lalɪ Eweŋ Mten mi il aran no.
earlier EMPH Bring one ALL EMPH even (PLACE) LOC virgin.garden EMPH
'In the past, there was a Bring (man) who opened a new garden in Eweng Mten,' [SejBring.1.4a]

The primary function of postpositions in Klon is to encode location in space or time. Klon has the following postpositions listed in Table 4-11.

Table 4-11: Klon postpositions

	Postposition	**Gloss**
1	mi	*'at, in, from'*
2	le ~ lɪ	*'to (a person or place)'*
3	tɑ	*'on'*
4	tɑɑŋ	*'on'*
5	ɑtɑl	*'above, up'*
6	ɑmɑɑi	*'below, down'*
7	gwɑtɑŋ	*'above something'*
8	gomi	*'inside something'*

Postpositions *mi* 'at, in, from' and *tɑɑŋ* 'on' in Klon may also serve as existential predicates, as discussed in §4.2.1.3.

4.2.5 Possession

Klon has two different possessive constructions, and two corresponding forms of possessive markers: free and bound. The person and number of the possessor is expressed with a free possessive pronoun followed by the noun for alienable nouns (like 'house', 'banana'), and either a bound possessive prefix alone or a combination of the free possessive pronoun with the bound possessive prefix for inalienable nouns (such as 'hand', 'head'). The possessive pronouns in Klon are given in Table 4-12.

Table 4-12: Possessive pronouns in Klon

	POSSESSION	
	FREE	**BOUND**
1sP	nɪɪ	n-, ni-
2sP	ɪɪ	e-, i-
3P	gɪɪ	g-, gi-
1peP	n'gɪɪ	n'g- ~ n'ge-, n'gi-, n'ga-, n'go-
1piP	pɪɪ	t-, pi-
2pP	ɪgɪɪ	eg- ~ ege-, ig-, ag-, og-

The typical order in both possessive constructions in Klon is the Possessor precedes the Possessed noun (POSSESSOR-POSSESSED), as in (127)-(128).

(127) Naŋ, oŋ nɪɪ mgol.
NEG1 PROX 1sP banana
'No, this (is) my banana.' [SejBring.1:16b]

(128) Nipon no gɪɪ g-nɪ yo Mo... Ma....
Japanese EMPH 3P 3P-name DIST (name)
'The Japanese's name is Mo… Ma….' [PenJepang.3:7]

Cross-linguistically 'inalienable possession' normally means the possessor is obligatory. In Klon, there is what Baird (2008:90f) labels 'inalienable possession', which tends to relate to some body parts and kinship terms. But in my data the inalienable marking is not always obligatory on all nouns that take the possessive prefixes. For example, the root *man* 'father' usually takes the inalienable possessive prefixes, such as *(gɪɪ) gi-man* '(3P) 3P-father'. But when it is followed by a name, there is no possessive prefix: *man* + (name) as in *man Yunus*. Similarly, for 'uncle (mother's brother)' with *(gɪɪ) gi-myaar* '(3P) 3P-uncle' and *myaar* + (name) as in *myaar Laban*. However, the same is not true for 'mother'. One can have *(gɪɪ) go-oi* '(3P) 3P-mother', but not the bare root before a name.

Table 4-13 shows examples of obligatorily prefixed inalienable body parts, alongside alienable body parts with no prefixes.

Table 4-13: Inalienable and alienable body parts in Klon

Inalienable	Alienable
(gɪɪ) g-een *'(3P) 3P-eye'*	gɪɪ trop *'3P bone'*
(gɪɪ) g-tɑn *'(3P) 3P-hand'*	gɪɪ kuui *'3P skin'*
(gɪɪ) g-itʊʔ *'(3P) 3P-head'*	

The full set of possessive forms for 'eye' is given in the Table below.

Table 4-14: Possessive paradigm with 'eye'

	'eye'	Gloss
1sP	n-een	*'my eye'*
2sP	een	*'your (sg) eye'*
3sP	g-een	*'her/his eye'*
1peP	n'g-een	*'our (exc) eye'*
1piP	t-een	*'our (inc) eye'*
2pP	eg-een	*'your (pl) eye'*
3pP	inni g-een	*'their eye'*

In addition to the adnominal (phrasal) possession described above, Klon has several mechanisms available for asserting predicative possession. All of them follow the general pattern of a clause described in §4.2.1 as Subject + Predicate with the boundary in the examples below indicated by commas. These mechanisms include various possessive and existential predicates, as illustrated below.

(129) (Nɑɑn), nɪɪ iwii nuk, **o-yɪh**.
1s 1sP house one DIST-EXIST
'I have a house.' (lit: a house of mine exists) [elicited]

(130) Nɪɪ iwii yo, **o-yɪh**.
1sP house DIST DIST-EXIST
'That house of mine exists. [elicited]

(131) Yo, **nɪɪ** **iwii**.
DIST 1sP house
'That (is) my house.' [elicited]

(132) Iwii nuk yo, **nɪɪ**.
house one DIST 1sP
'One house there (is) mine.' [elicited]

(133) Ped yo, **nii.**
machete DIST 1sP
'That machete (is) mine.' [elicited]

4.2.6 Adding complexity in clauses and sentences

This section looks first within a clause, before expanding outside the clause. As a grammar sketch, both the discussion and the examples are brief and limited. The topics are organized as follows:

4.2.6.1 Oblique arguments
4.2.6.2 Ditransitive verbs, double object constructions
4.2.6.3 Mechanisms for repackaging argument structure
4.2.6.4 Serial verb constructions
4.2.6.5 Reduplication
4.2.6.6 Negation
4.2.6.7 Peripheral arguments and topicalization
4.2.6.8 Complement clauses
4.2.6.9 Combining clauses

4.2.6.1 Oblique arguments

Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) provides the broad framework for this section. Van Valin (2005:4) characterizes clause structure as follows:

> "The RRG notion of (non-relational) clause structure is called 'the layered structure of the clause' and it is based on two fundamental contrasts: between the predicate and non-predicating elements, on the one hand, and, among the non-predicating elements, between arguments and non-arguments, on the other, i.e., between those NPs and adpositional phrases which are arguments of the predicate and those which are not."

The distinction made between non-core arguments (that is, arguments that are neither subject nor object) that are 'oblique arguments' and 'peripheral arguments' (non-arguments) is potentially useful. Oblique arguments are internal to the clause and are often part of the assumed or implied argument structure of the verb. For example, motion verbs may imply a GOAL, SOURCE, or PATH. Verbs of posture may imply a LOCATION. Cutting and carrying verbs may imply an INSTRUMENT or MANNER. Verbs of

exchange imply both a RECIPIENT and a THEME. Peripheral arguments are considered external to the clause and may be unrelated to the argument structure of the verb, hence the characterization above as not being an argument of the predicate. Peripheral arguments tend to relate a clause or sentence externally to the higher-level discourse.

In Klon, oblique arguments may be expressed by a postpositional phrase or an NP. In pragmatically unmarked clauses they come after the subject. In transitive clauses they typically also come before the Object: Undergoer (SUBJECT – OBLIQUE – OBJECT – VERB), although the order of OBJECT – OBLIQUE is also found. Oblique arguments are illustrated briefly below.

(134) Ni **dool** **ta** mid.
1pe mountain on ascend
*'We went up <u>on the mountain</u>.' (*Oblique postpositional phrase) [RumAdat.6.28c]

(135) Mleŋ ga **Worgwat** **eben** agai.
yesterday 3s (PLACE) village go
*'Yesterday he went <u>to the Worgwat village</u>.' (*Oblique NP) [elicited]

(136) Inni nɔk ga **ped** **puiɲ** ɪtɪʔ g-bok
person one 3s machete use wood 3U-cut
'A person was cutting wood with a machete.' [elicited]

(137) Inni nɔk ga **ter** **mi** ɪtɪʔ g-bok
person one 3s garden LOC wood 3U-cut
'A person was cutting wood <u>in the garden</u>.' [elicited]

With verbs that do not take Undergoer prefixes, Klon speakers find the order of both OBLIQUE – OBJECT and OBJECT – OBLIQUE acceptable, as illustrated below. Oblique arguments are marked in the examples below with the postposition *ta* 'on'.

(138) Ga **medʒ** **ta** **arak** **maai** kdɪʔ.
3s table on rice cook eat
'She ate the (cooked) rice <u>on the table</u>.' (OBLIQUE – OBJECT) [elicited]

(139) Ga **arak** **maai** **medʒ** **ta** kdɪʔ.
3s rice cook table on eat
'She ate the (cooked) rice <u>on the table</u>.' (OBJECT – OBLIQUE) [elicited]

Other natural text examples also show the order of OBJECT – OBLIQUE, as illustrated below.

(140) Inni **boom** **tiin** **ta** g-muŋ.
3p bomb 1piU on 3U-drop
'They (will) drop bombs on us.' [PenJepang.3:16c]

4.2.6.2 Ditransitive verbs, double object constructions

Ditransitive verbs can have three core arguments: a subject and two objects. These two objects are traditionally referred to as 'direct object' and 'indirect object'. Ambiguity in the terminology is created when discussing alternate orders of the two objects and their multiplicity of possible case roles, so in the typological literature, more neutral terms are used (Dryer 2007a:254ff; Malchukov, Haspelmath and Comrie 2010; Margetts and Austin 2007:396). The label 'R' is used for the most recipient-like argument in ditransitive clauses (which may be a recipient, beneficiary, goal, addressee, location, or source). 'T' is used for the most theme-like argument (the object whose location or ownership is being transferred, or the entity or information conveyed by the Actor to the R participant).

In Klon, both the R and T arguments come after the subject and before the verb. Both arguments are expressed as NPs. Both T-R and R-T orders are found in Klon as illustrated below.

(141) Gɑ **dʊʊi** **ni-man** ge-en.
3s [money]$_T$ [1sP-father]$_R$ 3U-give
'She gave my father money.' [elicited]

(142) Gɑ **ni-man** **dʊʊi** ge-en.
3s [1sP-father]$_R$ [money]$_T$ 3U-give
'She gave money to my father.' [elicited]

Both orders are considered grammatical by Klon speakers. There is the perception by native speakers that in both examples above, the Undergoer prefix *ge-* '3U' indexes the R argument, regardless of the order. Similar patterns are found with pronouns and deictics as in the examples below.

(143) **Yo** gɑ **ge-**en.
DIST 3s 3U-give
'She gave that to him.' [elicited]

(144) **Ngan** **yo** gɑ **ge**-en.
thing DIST 3s 3U-give
'She gave that thing to him.' [elicited]

(145) **Gɪɪ** **yo** gɑ **ge**-en.
3P DIST 3s 3U-give
'His thing, she gave (it) to him.' [elicited]

4.2.6.3 Mechanisms for repackaging argument structure

A few mechanisms are found in Klon to repackage the role structure, add arguments, reduce arguments, and so forth. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are discussed in chapter 5. Reflexive pronouns make the Actor and Undergoer of transitive verbs coreferential (e.g., *I shaved myself*). Reciprocal pronouns make plural Actors simultaneously also be Undergoers (e.g., *they were fighting each other*).

Applicatives are found in Alor-Pantar languages (Klamer 2017) and also more widely in the region (Grimes 1991; Tamelan 2021; Truong and McDonnell 2021). Applicatives are usually multi-functional. They are known to function as verbalizers, transitivizers, causatives, mark argument incorporation, and map benefactive, goal, instrument, locative, recipient, theme case roles. They do not always just add or reduce arguments or indicate a shift in expected case role. They can be aspectual, for example making an activity verb have an accomplishment reading, indicate that a goal is definite and specific (e.g., *he went up* [vague, general] vs. *he went up* [to a specific and known destination]), or increase the degree of deliberation (e.g. *look* vs. *look with deliberate intensity*).

In Klon, the *applicative* verbal proclitic *u* is known to have several of the functions described above, and others are expected to be noted as more data become available.[15] Baird (2008:94-101) describes Klon *u* as encoding PATIENT, RECIPIENT, GOAL and THEME, as well as functioning as a causativizer and verbalizer. A few functions of applicative *u* are illustrated below.

[15] Baird (2008:94ff) analyzed the Klon applicative *u* as a verbal prefix. However, it comes before the Undergoer prefix on the verb, so I treat it as a proclitic. The native speakers I work with tend to write it separated from the verb. Baird (2008:94-102) glosses the multi-functional *u* as a 'verbalizer'. However, given the multi-functional nature of *u* as much more than just a verbalizer, I call that 'applicative' and label it APPL.

(146) Causative:

Kaap	yo	ga	mguul	yoho,	adaa	**u**	**g-tɪn**.
craft	DIST	3s	sound	if.then	fire	APPL	3U-do

'If an airplane was heard, then that made us put out the fire.' [PenJepang.3:15]

(147) Verbalizer of NP:

Man	Yunus	**u**	**Klon**	**huh**	i-nok.
father	(name)	APPL	Klon	language	INCEP-good

'Mr. Yunus is speaking the Klon language well.' [elicited]

(148) Verbalizer of numeral:

Sipri	yo	gɪɪ	ul	ool	yo	**u**	**ʊrʊk**.
(name)	DIST	3P	child	female	DIST	APPL	two

'Sipri has two daughters.' (lit. 'that Sipri's daughters (are) two') [LulÓgóól.29:16]

(149) Added locative argument:

Makana	dayah	noon	Ndang	budʒ	**u**	**lool**.
earlier	ancestor	PL	(place)	hill	APPL	gather

'In the past, the ancestors gathered on Ndang hill.' [HukBela.2:5]

4.2.6.4 Serial verb constructions

Verb serialization or serial verb constructions (SVC) are used to express a complex event as a single predicate and share at least one core argument under a single intonation contour. A combination of two or more lexical verbs within an SVC express individual components of a complex event. While the general and regional literature on SVCs shows much greater complexity (Aikhenvald 2006; Dixon 2006; Jacob and Grimes 2011; Haspelmath 2016), the simplification above is sufficient for the purposes of this grammar sketch of Klon.

(150) SVC with intransitive verbs:

Soldaai	noon	**ihiih**	**mtɪh**	ɑ	**tkin**.
soldier	PL	get.up	stand.up	3U	run

'The soldiers got up (and) ran.' [LuÓgóól.14:10]

(151) Ik ʊm mo **tiŋ** **ma** **her**.
ySib male EMPH jump come descend
'It was the younger brother who jumped down.' [BabjadiBatu.7:10a]

(152) SVC with transitive + intransitive verbs:
Inni agai mer yo **mɪd** **ma** u inni ge-huh.
3p go news DIST take come APPL 3p 3U-language
'They left (and) brought the news (to) tell people.' [Mrk.6:12a]

(153) Inninok ool aat noon inni **g-ʊ** **tkin** eh mi.
person female young PL 3p 3U-bring run jungle LOC
'People took (and) ran the young women off to the jungle.' [PenJepang.3:13b]

Note in the preceding example, that the locative postpositional phrase expressing goal is moved after the SVC so the verbs can function together as a single unit.

There is much more that can be said about SVCs in Klon, but that is beyond the scope of this sketch. Baird (2008:135ff) devotes an entire chapter to the topic.

4.2.6.5 Reduplication

Reduplication in Klon has different functions associated with different parts of speech. Most reduplication is full reduplication of the root or stem, although some partial reduplication is also found.

In §4.2.2, it was shown that complexity can be added in the clause with various pre-verbal and post-predicate adverbial modifiers. Most of those modifiers mark aspect or mood. *Iterative aspect* or extended duration in Klon, however, is achieved through reduplication of active verbs, as in the examples below.

(154) u gʊ *increase* → ugʊ-ugʊ *keep increasing, keep rising*
ma *come* → ma-ma ho *eventually*

Reduplication of non-active verbs and adjectives adds *intensity* or allows them to function as adverbs of *manner*, as in the following examples.

(155)	nok	*good*	→	nok-nok	*do it well, carefully*
	kdaad	*fast*	→	kdaad-kdaad	*do it quickly, rapidly*
	eleek	*sweet*	→	eleek-eleek	*very sweet, pretty*
	ʊgʊʊl	*begin*	→	ʊgʊʊl-ʊgʊʊl	*the very beginning*
	yaah	*evil*	→	yaah-yaah	*cruelly, roughly, coarsely*
	dʊb	*straight*	→	dʊb-dʊb	*honest, pure-hearted*

Reduplication of numerals and nouns adds variety. With numerals the variety is distributive as illustrated below.

(156)	tar	*one*	→	tar-tar	*each one*
	ruup	*kind*	→	ruup-ruup	*various kinds*
	eben	*village*	→	eben-eben	*various villages*
	dool	*mountain*	→	dool-dool	*various mountains*
	n'gan	*thing*	→	n'gan-n'gan	*possessions, various things*
	aram	*kin group, clan*	→	aram-aram	*various clans and ethnic groups*
	tu	*where*	→	tu-tu	*wherever, anywhere, everywhere*

It is important to note that the function of 'plural' with *noon* is independant of the function of 'variety' achieved through reduplication, as in the example below.

(157)	dool	*mountain*
	dool nuk	*a mountain*
	dool taaŋ	*on the mountain*
	dool noon	*mountains*
	dool-dool	*various mountains, mountainous region*
	dool-dool noon	*the various mountains*

4.2.6.6 Negation

Standard clausal negation in Klon is usually expressed by a combination of the (usually) pre-verbal particle *hook* 'NEG2' and the clause final (or post-predicate) *naŋ* 'NEG1' (as two parts of bipartite negation) which negates the whole clause.[16] This is illustrated in the following examples.

[16] Baird (2008:244) labels the particle *hook* as 'irrealis', and not necessarily a negative, although her free translations are negative. I analyze *hook* 'NEG2' as a part of bipartite negation in conjunction with the main clause-final or post-predicate negator *naŋ* 'NEG1'. Klamer (2017) notes that clause-final negators are typical of Alor-Pantar languages. Grimes and Edwards (forthcoming) note that bipartite negation is also found in Flores-Lembata

(158) Ga **hook** agai **naŋ**.
3s NEG2 go NEG1
'He did not go.' [elicited]

(159) Ga **hook** ıtı g-bok **naŋ**.
3s NEG2 wood 3U-cut NEG1
'She did not cut wood.' [elicited]

(160) Ool aat noon inni a tkin kʊh, bo **hook** inni ool ge-en **naŋ**.
female young PL 3p 3U run finish, SEQ NEG2 3p female 3U-give NEG1
'The young women had (successfully) run away, so they (the Probur people) did not give the women to them (the Japanese).' [PenJepang.3:22]

(161) Yaah bo inni g-lobei ho, **hook** mi g-ʊ hiid **naŋ**.
then SEQ 3p 3U-chase but NEG2 LOC 3U-carry get NEG2
'So then they chased him, but did not get him.' [SejBring.1:31]

In a negative response to a yes-no question, the negator *naŋ* 'neg1' is used without *hook* 'neg2', as shown below.

(162) bo a yo dan, wıd nuk gaan no lı tkin, a g-ıl le?
SEQ 2s DIST be.at, day one 3s EMPH ALL run, 2s 3U-know Q?
'So you were there, the day there was a person who ran away, did you know him?' [SejBring.1:23b]

(163) **Naŋ**.
NEG1
'No.' [SejBring.1:24a]

Besides the standard negation illustrated above, Klon also has other negators which show differences in form, function, and distribution, as illustrated in Table 4-15.

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languages not far to the west of Alor, in the Rote-Meto languages just south of Alor, and also in Ambon-Seram languages several hundred kilometers to the northeast of Alor.

Table 4-15: Klon negatives

Function	Form	Gloss
Standard NEG	hook ... naŋ	no, not
Prohibitive	ɪyɪh ... naŋ	don't, shouldn't
	anok ... (naŋ)	don't (do it) again, don't (do it) anymore
Temporal-aspectual NEG	hook adaa... naŋ	not yet
	hook ... mi naŋ	no longer, not anymore
	hook mluŋ naŋ	not long, soon
Existential NEG	hook yɪh naŋ	there is no X
	hook ... mi naŋ	there is no X
Modal NEG	yaah	not allow, cannot, may not, unable
	yaah	not good
	ɪmɪɪŋ	not want to, not going to
Tag	-e naŋ?	or not?

There are two prohibitives or negative imperatives in Klon. First, the bipartite negator *ɪyɪh ... naŋ* 'don't, shouldn't' is generally used for prohibitions, as illustrated in (164). Second, the combination of *anok* 'don't (do it) again' and the optional *naŋ* 'NEG1' is used to warn against doing something that has been previously prohibited, as in (165). The use of *naŋ* 'NEG1' may make it emphatic.

(164) **ɪyɪh** ɪgɪ-dan **naŋ**!
PROH 2pU-afraid NEG1
'Don't be afraid!' [Mrk.16:6b]

(165) Wɪd oŋ **anok** kɔ! Ga oŋ g-luul, **anok** tleek **naŋ**!
day PROX PROH2 EMPH! 3s PROX 3U-follow PROH2 battle NEG1
'Now do not do this anymore! From now on, don't fight anymore.' [SejBring.1:35]

4.2.6.7 Peripheral arguments and topicalization

Oblique arguments were discussed in §4.2.6.1. It was shown that their position in pragmatically unmarked clauses is internal to the clause and normally follows the subject. So, it is not surprising that peripheral arguments that are not entailed by the semantics of the verb, but link the clause externally into

the higher level discourse would appear to be external to the clause and come before the subject. These are typically time words and phrases, or locations, and are often fronted as they signal a paragraph-level shift in time or location, linking the clause to the higher-level discourse.

(166) **Mleŋ** ga Buraŋ unu agai.
yesterday 3s (PLACE) market go
'Yesterday she went to the Burang market.' [elicited]

(167) **Wraa** ga Buraŋ unu agai.
tomorrow 3s (PLACE) market go
'Yesterday she went to the Burang market.' [elicited]

However, when the time is foregrounded as an assertion, it follows the subject, as shown below.

(168) Oknıı **mleŋ** **mi** ga ad.
female yesterday LOC 3s come
'The girl has been here since yesterday.' [elicited]

Even though the pragmatically unmarked order is PERIPHERY – SUBJECT – OBLIQUE – OBJECT – VERB, in fact there is quite a bit of flexibility of ordering of constituents, as illustrated below.

(169) Default or unmarked order:
Mleŋ ga alaah mi dʊʊi ni-man ge-en
yesterday 3s house LOC money 1sP-father 3U-give
'S/he gave my father money in the house yesterday.' [elicited]

The following alternate orders are also grammatically acceptable to native speakers, showing a fairly fluid order, but not completely so. It is assumed that the different ordering of constituents reflects subtle pragmatic differences, but that has not yet been fully pursued.

(170) a. mleŋ ga **alaah mi** **dʊʊi** ni-man ge-en.
b. mleŋ ga **dʊʊi** **alaah mi** ni-man ge-en.
c. mleŋ ga **alaah mi** ni-man **dʊʊi** ge-en.
d. mleŋ **alaah mi** ga **dʊʊi** ni-man ge-en.
e. **dʊʊi** ni-man ga ge-en.

However, the following orders are considered ungrammatical.

(171) f. *[ni-man alaah mi mleŋ ga dʊʊi ge-en.]
g. *[ni-man dʊʊi ga ge-en.]
h. *[alaah mi ga mleŋ dʊʊi ni-man ge-en.]
i. *[ga mleŋ alaah mi dʊʊi ni-man ge-en.]

What the examples above throughout this section show, is that in Klon there is not a clear morphosyntactic basis for distinguishing between oblique arguments and peripheral arguments. Both can occur before or after the subject pronoun. And there is also no clear distinction between those arguments that are entailed or evoked by the semantics of the verb, and those that are independent of the semantics of the verb, as in the examples above with 'give', where neither the time nor the location are entailed by the semantics of the verb 'give'. However, the constituent order in Klon is not entirely fluid, as the ungrammatical examples above also show. R arguments particularly must stay fairly close to the verb, and time margins not entailed by the semantics of the verb should not follow the subject pronoun.

When a deictic NP is fronted, there is usually a slight intonation rise and dip after the deictic, often with a trace pronoun inside the clause. Such topicalization is external to the clause.

(172) E~ʔeben noon yo, ni ge to-paah.
DUP~village PL DIST 1pe 3U 1piU-unite
'Those village elders, we (exc) were united with them.' [BerdGereja.10:48]

(173) Doos yo, ni go-ʔaas.
box DIST 1pe 3U-open
'That box, we opened it.' [RumAdat.6:10]

(174) Grɪɪʤ pertama yo, ni gudaŋ ya mi grɪɪʤ.
church first DIST 1pe storehouse under LOC church
'That first church, we did the church service under the storehouse.' [BerdGereja.10:19]

However, when there is no clear intonation dip, the different order seems to indicate a different pragmatic focus or prominence.

(175) Unmarked order:
Mleŋ kuur ul yo g-eh.
yesterday dog child DIST 3U-bite
'The dog bit the child yesterday.' [elicited]

(176) Fronted subject:

Kuur	mleŋ	ul	yo	g-eh.
dog	yesterday	child	DIST	3U-bite

'The dog bit the child yesterday.' [elicited]

(177) Fronted object:

Ul	**yo,**	mleŋ	kuur	**g**-eh.
child	DIST	yesterday	dog	3U-bite

'That child, yesterday, the dog bit him.' [elicited]

If the 3s free pronoun *ga* is added before 'the dog', it changes the meaning significantly, such that it no longer refers to the dog, but to the child as the one doing the biting.

(178) Repackaged Actor and Undergoer:

Ul	**yo**	mleŋ,	**ga**	**kuur**	**g**-eh.
child	DIST	yesterday	3s	dog	3U-bite

'The child bit the dog yesterday.' [elicited]

4.2.6.8 Complement clauses

Many verbs of speaking, cognition and perception in Klon can take complement clauses. The most common complementizer is *abaŋ* from a verb meaning 'say'. Schachter (1985:50, cited in Grimes 2018) notes cross-linguistically, "A good many languages have a complementizer that is rather transparently derived from the verb meaning 'say'." In Klon, both the complementizer and its complement clause follow the verb in the matrix clause, making it syntactically unusual, unlike other "objects".

(179)

Ga	inni	**ge-huh**	**abaŋ,**	"N-omi	yo	a	sus	yaah!"
3s	3p	3U-speak	saying,	1sP-inside	PROX	3U	trouble	INTENS

'He told them saying, "My heart is deeply troubled!"' [Mrk.14:34]

(180)

Yunus	le-ga	Sole	**gu-buser**	**abaŋ,**	"Ni-man!	I	nok	yoho,	...."
(name)	ALL-3s.FOC	(name)	3U-speak	saying	1sP-father!	INCEP	good	if.then	

'Yunus spoke to Sole saying, "My father! It would be good if, ..."' [*LulÓgóól.30:25*]

(181)

Ga	**n'g-taŋ**	**abaŋ,**	"Tuyon?	Igıı	igi-man	adaa	iʔes	se!"
3s	1peU-ask	saying	how	2pP	2pP-father	still	alive	EMPH!

'He asked us (exc) saying, "How is it (possible)? Your father is still alive!"' [LulÓgóól.30:25]

(182) Le-ga **u** **g-waar** **abaŋ**, "Adʊb, ni-man!"
ALL-3s.FOC APPL 3U-reply saying right 1sP-father
'She replied to him saying, "That's true, my father!"' [GhooiGLu.5:8b]

(183) Ga **u** **kirkir** **abaŋ**, "Itɪ ih yo, na kdɪ ho, ..."
3s APPL think saying tree fruit DIST 1s eat then
'He thought that, "The fruit of the tree, (if) I eat (it) then, ..."' [LulÓgóól.3:6]

(184) N'gi **mgih** **abaŋ**, inninok ɪbɪŋ ak ad, ...
1pe hear saying, person other some come
'[When] we heard that some other people came ....' [GhooiGLu.15:25]

4.2.6.9 Combining clauses

In Klon there are many ways to combine clauses. This may be done by juxtaposition (no overt connector), with just the non-final intonation signalling that the clauses are to be taken together as a single package. There are also many overt connectors used to link clauses. These include conjunctions, time words and phrases, reduced adverbial clauses (*In that way, ...*), aspect markers, and others. As is common in both Papuan and Austronesian languages in the region, the non-final intonation contour often indicated in writing by a comma, often *follows* the conjunction or other connector, rather than preceding it as is common in Indonesian or Indo-European languages.

(185) Ni waa gaan oŋ mi grɪɪdʒ dʒo, nmer aal mtɪh.
1pe go 3 PROX APPL church EMPH wind big stand
'[When] we (inc) went to church here, [then] a big wind came.' [BerdGereja.10:43a]

(186) Inni ad u hiid **ho**, inninok riyal yoor ad.
3p come APPL arrive then person many group come
'(When) they arrived <u>then</u>, a group of many people came.' [elicited]

(187) Awaar ad **di** ga kedua good **ho**, inni grɪɪdʒ.
return come only.then 3s second hit then 3p church
'He came back before hitting the second [bell] <u>and then</u>, they had a church service.'
[BerdGereja.10:21b]

(188) Yoŋ a g-tɪɪn **yoho**, bo na na hook yo oyon g-tɪɪn naŋ.
PROX 2s 3U-make if.then FUT 1s 1s NEG2 like.that 3U-make NEG1
'<u>If</u> you do it <u>then</u>, I will not do it like that.' [elicited]

(189) Mdi ɑ hrɑk yɑɑh, **bo** nɑ n-weel diʔ.
sun 3U hot INTENS so 1s 1sU-bathe first
'The sun is very hot, so (consequently) I have to take a bath now.' [elicited]

(190) **Kʊh** **bo** ge ɪtɪp hbɑn, **bo** u ʊlʊiɲ, hlɑɑ g-tɪɪn.
finish SEQ should (plant sp.) cut.down SEQ APPL toast rope 3U-make
'<u>After that</u>, cut down the Etep plant, <u>then</u> toast (it over the fire), to make rope.'
[BuAnaPanah.5:6]

(191) Gii mi te idiil, n'gi gɑɑn po mi lam.
3P LOC ?? tomorrow 1pe 3 remote LOC walk
'<u>The next day</u>, we (inc) we left from there.' [GhooiGLu.21:8a]

The above examples briefly illustrate some common patterns. A more thorough study of inter-clausal relations in Klon is beyond the scope of this study.

CHAPTER 5
PRONOMINAL SYSTEMS IN KLON

This chapter presents an overview of various pronominal systems in Klon. Free pronouns are discussed first (§5.1), followed by contrastive focus pronouns (§5.2), Undergoer proclitics (§5.3), other Undergoer pronouns (§5.4), reflexives, and intensifier pronouns (§5.5), possessive pronouns (§5.6), demonstrative pronouns (§5.7), interrogative pronouns (§5.8), reciprocal pronouns (§5.9), and relativizer (§5.10).

5.1 Free pronouns

Klon free pronouns have long and short forms. They distinguish person (first, second, third), number (singular, plural, dual) and clusivity. Klon marks first person dual and plural for inclusive and exclusive. For example, the plural pronouns *piin, pi* '1pi (first plural inclusive)' include the addressee (we, including you), whereas *n'giin, n'gi* and *ni* '1pe (first plural exclusive)' exclude the addressee (we, excluding you). Dual pronouns are also common in other Alor-Pantar languages. Klon only has the long forms for dual pronouns, and all those are marked by *-le*. Klon free pronouns are summarized in Table 5-1. Note that while there is no distinction in *form* between the short forms 3s and 3p, there is a difference in *function* and *distribution*, with 3p only being used for Undergoer, and not Actor. This same conflation is seen in other pronominal sets discussed in later sections.

Table 5-1: Klon free pronouns

	FREE PRONOUNS	
	LONG FORM	SHORT FORM
1s	naan	na
2s	aan	a
3s	gaan	ga †
1pi	piin	pi
1pe	n'giin	nigi, n'gi, ni
2p	igiin	igi
3p	inni	ga †
1di	p-le	—
1de	n'g-le	—
2d	eg-le	—
3d	(ʊrʊk) e-le	—

† The short form *ga* '3p' is used only for Undergoer arguments, whereas *ga* '3s' is used for both Actors and Undergoers.

Free pronouns can function as the subject for all types of predicates (§4.1). They can be used for the subject of active transitive, active intransitive and non-active verbs. Their semantic macrorole (as either Actor or Undergoer) or case role, is determined by the position in the syntax in combination with the semantics of the predicate, as shown in the following examples:

(192) Active intransitive:

Ni tkin trʊʊs.
1pe run CONT
'We (exc) kept running.' [RumAdat.6:14a]

(193) **Pi** lam.
1pi walk
'We (inc) walked.' [PayGunung.4:33]

(194) **Ga** kder ta mih.
3 chair on sit
'She sat on the chair.' [elicited]

(195) Non-active intransitive:

Ga mguul.
3 sound
'It was noisy.' (it refers to the airplane in this context) [PenJepang.3:15]

(196) nɪɪ ul ʊm Sela **ga** aal agai
[1sP child male (name) 3]$_{Subj}$ [big PRF]$_{Pred}$
'My son Sela had grown up.' (lit. 'my son Sela he already big') [LulÓgóól.38:11e]

(197) Locative predicate:

Na Kup mi.
[1s]$_{Subj}$ [(place) LOC]$_{Pred}$
'I am in Kupang.' [elicited]

Other pronominal sets mark specific functions (such as Undergoer, intensifier, reciprocal, possessor, contrastive, and so forth), but several of those sets underdifferentiate between 3s/3p or 2s/3s/3p. In such cases, the free pronoun may be optionally added to disambiguate person and number. So for example *inni* '3p' can be optionally combined with the following pronouns to indicate that the referent is actually 'third plural': *a-ŋkool* '3-intensifier', *g-* '3Undergoer', *g-* '3Possessive', and so forth. These are illustrated below, with the free pronoun subject (Actor) bolded in dark blue, and the free pronoun object (Undergoer) of the transitive verb bolded in dark red.

(198) Active transitive:

Inni **inni** **giin** ɪlɪɪl.
3p 3p 3U seek
'They (the Japanese) looked for them (the local people).' [PenJepang.3:18b]

(199) **Inni** **giin** ɪlɪɪl.
3p 3U seek
'They looked for him/them.' [elicited]

The long form and the short form are not fully interchangeable. For example, since the short form does not distinguish between 3s/3p, only the long form *inni* '3p' may be used to specify that the referent is plural. Only the long forms may be modified with *di* 'also', while the short forms cannot, as illustrated in the following examples.

(200) a. **piin** **di** ge-to-tuk
1pi also 3U-RECIP-obey
'We also obey each other's [traditional law].' [SejBring.1:40b]

b. *[**pi** **di** ge-to-tuk]
1pi also 3U-RECIP-obey

(201) a. **gaan** **di** ihiih mtɪh
3s also get.up stand
'He also got up.' [SejBring.1:26]

b. *[**ga** **di** ihiih mtɪh]
3 also get.up stand

5.2 Contrastive focus pronouns

Contrastive focus pronouns in Klon are used to emphasize that the referent of the pronoun is the one in focus, in contrast to other possible referents in the discourse or extra-linguistic context. The contrastive focus in Klon is formed by a combination of personal pronouns and the emphatic particle *-we*. The vowel associated with this set is /e/. The set of contrastive focus pronouns in Klon is shown in the Table below.

Table 5-2: Klon contrastive focus pronouns

	CONTRASTIVE FOCUS
	Emphatic (*-we*)
1s	ne-we
2s	e-we
3s	ge-we
1pi	pe-we
1pe	n'ge-we
2p	ege-we
3p	inni-we
1di	ple-we
1de	n'gle-we
2d	egle-we
3d	(ʊrʊk) ele-we

Below are some examples of contrastive focus pronouns in Klon.

(202) Pɪɪ g-haal yo **pe-we** musti aan diʔ.
1piP 3P-wrongs DIST 1pi-EMPH must carry first
'We (inc) are the ones who must bear our mistakes [not somebody else].' [GhooiGLu.13:38]

(203) Gaan **inni-we** hurat prenta mɪd ma ne-en.
3 3p-EMPH letter order take come 1sU-give
'They are the ones who gave the job description to me.' [GhooiGLu.25:5]

(204) Naan yoŋ, **ne-we** Apo.
1s PROX 1s-EMPH (name)
'I here, really am Apo.' [elicited]

5.3 Undergoer proclitics

The Undergoer proclitics in Klon may mark the Undergoer of a transitive clause, may indicate that third person referents in a transitive clause are coreferential (reflexive; same referent, rather than different referent), or may optionally mark the Undergoer as coreferential with the Actor for intradirective verbs of motion, posture, bodily function and some experiencer verbs. The vowel associated with this set is /a/. Note that 2s/3s/3p all have the same form. The set of Undergoer proclitics are shown in the Table below.

Table 5-3: Klon Undergoer proclitics

	Proclitic (*a*)
1s	na
2s	a
3	a
1pe	n'ga
1pi	pa
2p	aga

The Undergoer proclitic may mark the object of a transitive verb, as in the examples below. Note that Undergoer proclitics frequently co-occur with other sets of pronouns.

(205) Inni **a** g-beer boge.
3p 3U 3U-kill might
'They might kill him.' [Mrk.14:1-2b]

(206) bo inni ɑ iin mɪd.
FUT 3p 2sU 2sU take
'They will take/marry you.' [LulÓgóól.12:12]

The Undergoer proclitics may also indicate that the third person object of a transitive verb is coreferential with the Actor, thus marking a *reflexive* construction (see §5.5). The following examples show a contrast in meaning with the presence or absence of the Undergoer proclitic with transitive verbs.

(207) Gɑ ɑ giin kʊb.
3s 3U 3U hit
'She hit herself.' (same referent) [elicited]

(208) Gɑ giin kʊb.
3s 3U hit
'She hit her.' (different referent) [elicited]

In §4.2.2.1 it was noted that these Undergoer proclitics optionally occur with intradirective verbs of motion, posture, bodily function, and some experiencer verbs. They indicate the Actor doing or experiencing the action of the verb is simultaneously also the Undergoer – the one whose location or position is being changed. Intradirective verbs that are syntactically like transitive verbs but whose Actor and Undergoer are coreferential are found widely throughout eastern Indonesia and the Pacific (Pawley 1973; Grimes and Edwards, forthcoming).

(209) Gɑ (ɑ) ɑd.
3s 3U come
'She came.' [LulÓgóól.14:17]

(210) Nɑɑn (nɑ) ɑd.
1s 1sU came
'I came.' [elicited]

(211) Gɑ (ɑ) moop.
3s 3U sleep
'She slept.' [Mrk.4:37]

(212) Inni (ɑ) ɑwɑɑr.
3p 3U return
'They returned (home).' [GhooiGLu.11:10]

(213) Ple (pɑ) ɑgɑi.
1di 1iU go
'We both go.' [BabjadiBatu.7:7b]

The Undergoer proclitics can also be used with transitive verbs involving motion, indicating the Actor is also a theme whose location is being changed, but they cannot occur with transitive verbs that have Actor:agent and Undergoer:patient with a fully affected patient, as illustrated below.

(214) Pi pɑ g-luul.
1pi 1piU 3U-follow
'We (inc) follow him.' [elicited]

(215) *[Pi pɑ bɑt mɑɑi kdɪʔ.]
1pi 1piU corn cooked eat
'We (inc) ate cooked corn.' [elicited]

Some experiencer verbs are overtly marked to indicate that the Subject is also being impacted by the experience, as illustrated by two different mechanisms below. In the first example, the subject is indicated by the short form of the free pronoun, and the coreferential Undergoer is marked by a prefix. The second uses the long form of the free pronoun along with the Undergoer proclitic to indicate the subject is also experiencing something, while the object of the transitive verb is indicated by a prefix on the verb.

(216) Iyɪh ɑ ɪ-dɑn nɑŋ.
PROH 2sU 2sU-ɑfrɑid NEG1
'Don't be afraid.' [LulÓgóól.15:1]

(217) Nɑɑn di nɑ g-ɪl.
1s ɑlso 1sU 3U-know
'I also understood that.' (compare English: It dawned on me.) [LulÓgóól.25:29]

Baird (2008:78-80) analyzed the *ɑ* of this set as a) restricted to third person; b) a discourse-level pronoun tracking topical arguments; and c) a 'resumptive' pronoun in its function.

What Baird failed to note is that a) all her examples with *ɑ* are with intradirective verbs, b) that *ɑ* is part of a fuller set of pronouns sharing similarities of form, function, and distribution; c) that these pronouns can also mark the Undergoer of transitive verbs (as shown earlier in this section); d) that these pronouns can be used to indicate that third person Actors and Undergoers are coreferential (*reflexive*); and e) that they can be used in isolation with no preceding discourse, and are therefore not resumptive. The

common leave-taking in the examples below requires no connection with anything or anyone spoken about previously, so they are not resumptive pronouns.

(218) Naan **nɑ** agai.
1s 1sU go
'I'm going now.' [observed]

(219) N'giin **n'gɑ** agai.
1pe 1peU go
'We (exc) are leaving now.' [observed]

5.4 Undergoer pronouns

The Undergoer pronouns in Klon include the Undergoer proclitics (§5.3), free Undergoer pronouns and bound Undergoer prefixes, as shown in the Table below. The form *-iin* is what identifies the set of free Undergoer pronouns. Only Undergoers are indexed directly on the verbs. There are no Actor prefixes indexed on Klon verbs. Note that the third person forms do not distinguish between singular and plural.

Table 5-4: Undergoer pronouns in Klon

	UNDERGOER PRONOUNS						
	PROCLITIC (*ɑ*)	FREE (*-iin*)	BOUND PREFIXES				
			g-	*ge-*	*go-*	*gʊ-*	*(ɑ)*
1s	nɑ	niin	n-	ne-	no-	nʊ-	
2s	ɑ	iin	e-		o-	ʊ-	
3	ɑ	giin	g-	ge-	go-	gʊ-	
1pi	pɑ	tiin	t-	te-	to-	tʊ-	
1pe	n'gɑ	n'giin	n'g-	n'ge-	n'go-	n'gʊ-	n'gɑ-
2p	ɑgɑ	igiin	eg-	ege-	ogo-, og-	ʊgʊ-	ɑg-

Examples of the free Undergoer pronouns are shown below. They may co-occur with the bound prefixes.

(220) A **n'giin** hukun.
2s 1pe punish
'You (sg) punished us (exc).' [LulÓgóól.44:16]

(221) Inni **niin** taan boge.
3p 1s sell want
'They want to sell me.' [Mrk.9:31]

(222) Inni boom **tiin** ta **g**-muŋ.
3p bomb 1pi on 3U-drop
'They (will) drop bombs on us.' [PenJepang.3:16c]

Examples of bound Undergoer prefixes are shown below.

(223) Briŋ **g**-waar.
(group) 3U-turn
'Bring people flipped it (a stone).' [SejBring.1:28]

(224) Na **g**-luul.
1s 3U-follow
'I follow him.' [elicited]

(225) Inni ool **ge**-baŋ.
3p female 3U-request
'They asked for women/a woman.' [PenJepang.3:8]

The question naturally arises whether the selection of the form of the prefix is lexically determined or whether they indicate different functions. Baird (2008:30) notes, "The choice of pronominal that a verb takes is typically lexicalized, although there are some instances in which the choice is semantically motivated." This becomes particularly interesting when trying to figure out differences in function between the different sets of bound prefixes, represented abstractly by their third person forms as: *g-, ge-, go-, gʊ-*. While some verbs appear to take only one set, a few verbs can take more than one prefix with the same root, and this is where we begin to see some semantic differences between the different sets of verbal prefixes (see also Baird 2008:74-76). Yet for every tendency that can be observed across a number of verb roots, there are also exceptions in the data. So consequently the generalizations about the semantic functions associated with the different bound prefixes are presented as *tendencies* that apply to many examples, but not hard and fast *meaning* that applies to all the data. For example, the Undergoer free pronouns (*giin*) tend to refer to human Undergoers in a number of case roles (patient, goal, theme), whereas the prefix set (*go-*) tends to refer to inanimate Undergoers (also patient, goal, theme) on the same roots. But there are exceptions to both. Similarly the *ge-* set often refers to human Undergoers in a dative

or benefactive role, but again, there are many exceptions. Some examples of such semantic differences (and lack of differences) are shown in the examples below. In examples (226) and (227) *ge-* and *gʊ-* map benefactive arguments, whereas in (229) *ge-* refers to the topic of conversation and in (230) *gʊ-* refers to the addressee.

(226) Ga gi-man daʔom **ge**-kreyaŋ.
3s 3P-father in-law 3U-work
'He worked <u>for</u> his father-in-law.' [LulÓgóól.29:30]

(227) Inninok oŋ **gʊ**-kreyaŋ.
person PROX 3U-work
'These people worked <u>for</u> them. (the Japanese)' [PenJepang.3:25]

(228) Yesus ele adaa buser yıh.
(name) 3d IPFV talk PROG
'Yesus (plus one other) were still talking.' [Mrk.5:35a]

(229) Akaan bo eʔeben noon mi ihiih bo **ge**-buser.
evening SEQ DUP~village PL APPL stand SEQ 3U-talk
'So that night the village elders gathered, then discussed <u>it</u>.' [RumAdat.6:8]

(230) Inni **gʊ**-buser.
3p 3U-talk
'They talked <u>to</u> him.' [PenJepang.3:25]

(231) Yusup, Welem ele leer **go**-buser.
(name) (name) 3d king 3U-talk
'Yusup and Welem both talked <u>with</u> the king.' [LulÓgóól.47:8]

It is possible that a larger data corpus might show clearer patterns, but with the data available, both Baird (2008) and my own corpus show clear exceptions to the shared tendencies on some verbs that can be observed with more than one set of bound prefixes.

5.5 Reflexives, and intensifier pronouns

Klon has no special set of true reflexive pronouns that function as a coreferential argument in a transitive clause (e.g. *he cut himself, I hit myself*) (see also Baird 2008:105). However Klon does have a set of *intensifier pronouns* whose functions overlap with some functions of reflexive pronouns in other

languages (such as some functions of '-self' in English, and some functions of *sendiri* 'self' in Indonesian). The Klon intensifier pronouns emphasize the unique participation of the subject 'he *himself* went to the garden', or some cases that would be glossed with '*alone*, by (him)self'. The intensifier pronouns in Klon are composed of the Undergoer proclitics (§5.3) plus the intensifier *-ŋkool* 'self, alone' (see Table 5-5). The intensifier pronouns are often not arguments in the clause by themselves, but usually modify other nouns or pronouns.

Table 5-5: Klon intensifier pronouns

	INTENSIFIER PRONOUNS
	PROCLITIC + (*-ŋkool*)
1s	nɑ-ŋkool
2s	ɑ-ŋkool
3	ɑ-ŋkool
1pi	pɑ-ŋkool
1pe	n'gɑ-ŋkool
2p	ɑgɑ-ŋkool

The following example illustrates a common use of intensifier pronouns.

(232) Nase **ɑ-ŋkool** ɑ gʊ-dal
(name) 3-INTENS 3 3U-do
'Nase himself continued to do it.' [BerdGereja.10:58b]

True *reflexives* (in which the coreferential pronoun is an argument of the clause) in Klon are most commonly indicated by transitive clauses in which the Actor and Undergoer pronouns have the same person and number, thus indicating they are coreferential. Reflexives are illustrated briefly below, to show that the Klon intensifier pronouns are quite different.

(233) Nɑ **niin** kʊb.
1s 1sU hit
'I hit myself.' [elicited]

(234) Nɑ **niin** hod.
1s 1sU cut
'I cut myself.'[seen as an intention to commit suicide] [elicited]

In the third person, it is potentially ambiguous whether a pronoun is same referent or different referent. The addition of the Undergoer proclitic (§5.3) indicates Actor and Undergoer are coreferential.

(235) Ga a **giin** kʊb
3s 3U 3U hit
'She hit herself.' (same referent) [elicited]

(236) Ga **giin** kʊb
3s 3U hit
'She hit her.' (different referent) [elicited]

Intensifier pronouns in Klon are different from reflexives and are illustrated in the examples below.

(237) Ne-we **na-ŋkool** eek mi a-wataŋ.
1s-EMPH 1s-INTENS only LOC 2sU-above
'Only I alone am above you (in rank/status/authority).' [LulÓgóól.41:40]

(238) Hook Mtaraben **a-ŋkool** inni ge-en, Probur ro naŋ
NEG2 (name) 3-INTENS 3p 3U-give (name) EMPH NEG2
'The Mtaraben people alone gave them (the women) to them (the Japanese), the Probur people did not.' [PenJepang.3:21]

In the following example it appears the intensifier pronoun functions as the single argument of the clause.

(239) Wɪd yoŋ **pa-ŋkool** eek
now PROX 1pi-INTENS only
'Now it's just the two of us (inc) by ourselves/alone.' [LulÓgóól.39:12]

5.6 Possessive pronouns

Klon has two kinds of possessive pronouns, free and bound prefixes, shown in the Table below.

Table 5-6: Klon possessive pronouns

	POSSESSIVE		
	(-ɪɪ)	BOUND	
		g-	*gi-*
1s	nɪɪ	n-	ni-
2s	ɪɪ	e-	i-
3	gɪɪ	g-	gi-
1pi	pɪɪ	t-	pi-
1pe	n'gɪɪ	n'g-	n'gi-, n'ge-, n'ga-, n'go-
2p	ɪgɪɪ	eg-	ig-ˈege-, ag-, og-

In §4.2.5 it was noted that Klon has two different possessive constructions, and two corresponding forms of possessive markers: free and bound. The person and number of the possessor is expressed with a free possessive pronoun followed by the noun for alienable nouns (like 'house', 'banana'), and either a bound possessive prefix alone or a combination of the free possessive pronoun with the bound possessive prefix for inalienable nouns (such as 'hand', 'head'). The order of both possessive constructions in phrasal (adnominal) possession is **POSSESSOR-POSSESSED**. These are illustrated below.

(240) Naŋ, oŋ **nɪɪ** **mgol**.
NEG1 PROX 1sP banana
'No, this (is) my banana.' [SejBring.1:16b]

(241) Nipon no **gɪɪ** **g-nɪ** yo Mo... Ma....
Japanese EMPH 3sP 3sP-name DIST (name)
'The Japanese's name is Mo... Ma....' [PenJepang.3:7]

(242) Na **n-tan** hod.
1s 1sP-hand cut
'I cut my hand.' [elicited]

The free possessive pronouns may also be used predicatively in the normal predicate slot in the clause to assert possession, as in the examples below.

(243) Iwii nuk yo, **nɪɪ**.
house one DIST 1sP
'One house there (is) mine.' [elicited]

(244) Ped yo, nɪɪ.
machete DIST 1sP
'That machete (is) mine.' [elicited]

5.7 Demonstrative pronouns

Klon has a basic three-way system (proximal, distal, remote). The first two are used for relative distance in space (here, there), time (now, then), and reference (this, that). The third is used primarily for spatial relations (yonder). Klon also has morphologically blended intermediate forms that indicate six relative incremental distances: ***oŋ*** – *yoŋ* – ***yo*** – *yop* – ***op*** – *po* (the three base forms are bolded). Klon demonstratives and their variants are listed in Table 5-7. The demonstratives in Klon can combine with either the contrastive focus *we* or the emphatic particle *wo* to add focus or emphasis to a particular argument in the clause. Klon demonstratives are definite and anaphoric in discourse. A demonstrative can function as the subject of a clause. In deictic NPs the demonstrative comes at the outermost (right) layer of the NP.

Table 5-7: Klon demonstrative pronouns

SIMPLE		**CONTRASTIVE FOCUS (*we*)**		**EMPHATIC (*wo*)**	
FORM	GLOSS	FORM	GLOSS	FORM	GLOSS
oŋ	*proximal*	oŋ-e	*this is the one which*	oŋ-o	*this very one*
yoŋ	*proximal-plus* (yo + oŋ)	yoŋ-e	*this-plus is the one which*	yoŋ-o	*this-plus very one*
yo	*distal*	yo-we	*that is the one which*	yo-wo	*that very one*
yop	*distal-plus* (yo + op)				
op	*remote (visible)*				
po	*remote (not visible)*				

Examples below illustrate some uses of demonstrative pronouns in Klon.

(245) Iwii **yo** ɑ beiɲ
house DIST 3U collapse
'That house collapsed.' [BerdGereja.10:44]

(246) wik hrot **yoŋ** gɪɪ nok
umbrella sew PROX 3sP good
'This mountain umbrella [sewn from leaves] has benefits.' [PayGunung.4:34a]

(247) Contrastive focus demonstrative:
Inni **yo-we** ɑ agai
3p DIST- EMPH 3U go
'They (the Japanese) are the ones that went home.' [PenJepang.3:23c]

(248) Emphatic demonstrative:
makaiɲ waat yıh **yoŋ-o**
traditional.house exist DIST-EMPH
'There is this particular traditional house over here.' [RumAdat.6:5a]

Because restrictive relative clauses are usually anaphoric in discourse but are part of an NP argument in the main clause, they often have a demonstrative as their outer (right-most) boundary, as illustrated below.

(249) inninok riyal de go-nu~nuk mih **yo**
person many REL 3U-DUP~one sit DIST
'the many people who were gathered there' [GhooiGLu.1:23]

(250) nmei **yo** sedʒarah de wıd nɑ u huh **yoŋ-o**
place PROX history REL now 1s APPL language PROX-EMPH
'this historical place that I want to tell you about now' [BabjadiBatu.7:3]

5.8 Interrogative pronouns

Klon has a number of question words and phrases, several with variant forms, as listed in the Table below. They can all fill the slot of an argument in a clause.

Table 5-8: Klon interrogative pronouns

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS		
COMMON FORM	ALTERNATE FORM	GLOSS
ɑb	ɑʔɑb	*who*
ɑb-e	ɑʔɑb-e	*who is it that*
ɑb inni we		*who is the person that*
ɑbo		*whose*
nɑb	nɑnɑb	*what*
nɑb-e	nɑnɑb-e	*what is it that*
nɑb de	nɑnɑb de	*what is it that*
tu		*where*
tu mi	tu bo mi	*at where*
tu lɪ		*to where*
tu we		*which (of choices) is it that*
nɑb ge	nɑbo ... ge	*why (because of what reason)*
tiyon bo	tuyon bo	*why (for what purpose)*
tiyon	tuyon ~ tuʔuyon	*how (manner, reason)*
dendi		*when*
eden		*how much, how many*

Interrogative pronouns usually occur in the syntactic position of the argument that is being queried, as in the following examples.

(251) **Abe** iwii g-tɪɪn?
who house 3U-make?
'Who made the house?' [BerdGereja.10:34]

(252) Inni u huh ɑbaŋ, nɑɑn yoŋ **ɑbe**?
3p APPL language say 1s DIST who
'Who do they say that I am?' (lit: they say that I am who) [Mrk.8:27]

(253) Oŋ, pi **tiyon**?
PROX 1pi how
'How about us here?' (lit: here, we are <u>how</u>?) [HukBela.2:21b]

(254) A **tu bo mi**?
2s at where
'Where are you?' (lit: you (are) <u>where</u>?) [LulÓgóól.3:9]

(255) **Nabo** a **ge** yo oyon g-tɪɪn?
why1 2s why2 DIST like 3-do
'<u>Why</u> did you do that?' [LulÓgóól.3:13]

(256) <u>Possessor (pragmatically fronted as a demand)</u>:
Abo gɪɪ kwaah bo igi puiŋ?
whose 3sP authority SEQ 2s use
'<u>Whose</u> authority did you use?' [GhooiGLu.4:7]

5.9 Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocal pronouns are used to express mutual actions and conditions between two participants (Shopen 2007a:29). The plural participants are reciprocally both Actors and Undergoers. Klon has one free reciprocal pronoun *tiin*, and three proclitics *to, te* and *ti* glossed as 'each other, one another'. The reciprocal forms have the same form as the first person plural inclusive Undergoer forms (see Table 5-4), but can be used with other plural pronouns in a reciprocal construction. This is illustrated in the examples below.

(257) inni yo **to** tkeiŋ
3p DIST REC ask.question
'They asked each other.' [HukBela.2:21a]

(258) Bring, Hlɪ pi be yaah, **to** tuub yo di yɑɑh.
(clan) (clan) 1pi custom REC point DIST also may.not
'Bring and Kui people, we (inc) have a traditional law where we cannot accuse/blame each other either.' [SejBring.1:57]

(259) n'gi **tiin** mɪd, bo ool-ʊm
1pe REC take become female-male
'We married each other, becoming husband and wife.' [LulÓgóól.20:12]

It is common in Klon to have reciprocal pronouns occurring in phrasal or clausal poetic parallelisms, as illustrated in the following examples.

(260) **tiin** kob **tiin** wreeh
REC hit REC beat
'fighting each other' [SejBring.1:38]

(261) Iyıh **tiin** klaa yaah **tiin** prees yaah!
PROH REC report may.not REC examine may.not
'Don't judge each other and blame one another!' [HukBela.2:33]

(262) Ple **ti** hlaa **te** kiklik
1di REC rope REC DUP~sick
'We are both upset with each other.' (figurative; literary doublet) [LulÓgóól.13:8]

(263) Ni **to** wiir **to** krim.
1pe REC cry REC cry
'We (inc) cry with/for each other.' [PenJepang.3:28]

5.10 Relativizer

Dixon (2010b:314) points out that a relative clause can function as a clausal modifier of an NP argument of the main clause. In Klon, the most common strategy for relativization uses the relativizer *de* 'which, who, whom, that'. Complex NPs using *de* are illustrated below.[1]

(264) ool aat **de** inni ge-baŋ
female young REL 3p 3U-request
'the young girl for <u>whom they asked</u>' (lit: who they asked for her) [PenJepang.3:21]

(265) nmei yo sejarah **de** wıd na u huh yoŋ-o
place PROX history REL now 1s APPL language PROX-EMPH
'this historical place <u>that I want to tell you about now</u>' [BabjadiBatu.7:3]

[1] Baird (2008:149-151) notes that only Actor and Undergoer arguments are relativised in Klon, and that a Klon has both headed and headless relative clauses.

(266) inninok **de** inni g-hooi
person REL 3p 3U-order
'the person <u>whom he ordered</u>' (lit: who he ordered him) [PenJepang.3:24]

(267) inninok **de** gaan mer yo mgih
person REL 3 news DIST hear
'the people <u>who heard that news</u>' [GhooiGLu.5:5]

(268) wik yıh yoŋ-o pi hrot **de** agai ta~taa **de** liip yop ta me
pandan exist PROX-EMPH 1pi sew REL go DUP~sleep REL spread.out DIST on put
'There are these pandanus leaves [that] we have sewn (them into a mat), <u>which [we have] spread out there [on the sleeping platform] for [us] to go sleep on</u>.' [PayGunung.4:28]

Note in the following example that the relative clause does not modify a head noun in the main clause, and that it comes after the verb, instead of in the unmarked order of the Undergoer argument preceding the verb in a clause. In this example, the relativizer itself appears to be the head of the construction.

(269) Na uur **de** ga boŋ
1s see REL 3s young
'I was looking at <u>the one [bamboo] that is young</u>.' [MemBakul.8:4]

CHAPTER 6
SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

This study has benefited significantly from the ground-breaking grammar of Klon by Louise Baird (2008). Yet this study has also benefited from many additional resources that have become available since Baird's work was published, and also from using a different data corpus (chapter 1). The role of the very language-aware native speakers of Klon who shared their insights and intuitions with me also cannot be understated. Each of these factors contributes to enhanced understanding of Klon grammar.

A number of recent studies on word-order typology have allowed this discussion about Klon to be informed by cross-linguistic studies of patterns commonly associated with S O V typology (chapter 2). For example, the postpositions, pre-posed possessors, and post predicate clausal modifiers found in Klon are quite common in SOV languages.

A number of recent studies on Alor-Pantar languages, most notably Klamer (2017), have allowed the discussion about Klon to be informed by descriptive and comparative studies of Papuan languages related to Klon (chapter 3). Both the studies on typology and on Alor-Pantar languages allow this study to place Klon within its typological, comparative and regional context.

In the phonology, this study follows Jones et.al. (2020a) in analyzing seven base vowels and seven long variants, along with a 'fast vowel' (§4.1). This analysis is not only supported by native speakers, but is also consistent with the independent analysis of related languages, such as Abolo (Jones et.al. 2020c). In doing so, this study diverges from Baird (2008).

A broad generalization was made in §4.2.1 showing that simple clauses in Klon follow the pattern of SUBJECT + PREDICATE. This pattern was shown to apply across all predicate types and subtypes, whether they are verbal, non-verbal, or semi-verbal. This generalization appears to be a new insight for Klon.

In §4.2.1, §4.2.2, §4.2.6, and in chapter 5, it was noted that only Undergoer prefixes are affixed to the verb, and Klon syntax generally pivots around the Undergoer and its case role interpretations. That is where the complexity in the pronominal system is found. That is where limitations to perceptions of grammaticality are found when moving arguments around in different orders. Within the clause the Undergoer cannot move very far from the verb, whereas the position of the Subject: Actor is much more flexible.

The description of the various Klon pronominal systems (chapter 5) was shown to be considerably simpler than what was described by Baird (2008). For example, the free pronouns were shown to mark person and number, but not role. Their role is interpreted by their position in the syntax in combination with the semantics of the verb or other predicate. Other pronominal subsystems mark role or function, but may under-differentiate person and number such that there may be a conflation of 3s/3p or 2s/3s/3p. In such cases, the free pronoun may be optionally added to disambiguate person and number. Separating person and number from function considerably simplifies the description of the Klon pronominal system, and avoids, for example, having several different glosses for the pronoun *inni* '3p', when one is sufficient.

There is a third person pronoun *a* that Baird (2008: 78-80) described as a discourse-driven 'resumptive' pronoun linked with Actor. This study has shown that a) it is part of a fuller set of optional pronouns; b) it is not resumptive in discourse, since it frequently occurs in isolation with no preceding discourse; c) the set marks an Undergoer proclitic with some transitive verbs (like *kill*); d) its presence with two third person arguments in a transitive clause indicates they are coreferential (reflexive), and e) the Undergoer proclitic most frequently occurs with what would elsewhere be thought of as active instransitive verbs of motion, posture, bodily function (*walk, run, sit, sleep*) and some experiencer verbs (*afraid*), indicating these verbs are *intradirective*, where the person doing the action is simultaneously also the Undergoer whose location or position is being changed, or who is experiencing the dynamic of the verb. This use with intradirective verbs also flags that Actor and Undergoer are coreferential, just as in the transitive reflexive construction mentioned above. Intradirective verbs of this sort are found widely throughout eastern Indonesia and into the Pacific.

The three-way distinction in the demonstratives (proximal, distal, remote) were shown to each have intermediate forms that are incremental blends between the base forms: *oŋ – yoŋ – yo – yop – op – po*.

APPENDIX A:
SUMMARY OF KLON PRONOUNS

This Appendix provides a brief summary of Klon pronominal systems for easy reference and comparison. These include various kinds of personal deixis (personal pronouns), as well as spatial, temporal and referential deixis.

The free pronouns indicate person and number. Their function or grammatical role (such as Actor) is determined by their position in the syntax in combination with the semantics or argument structure of the verb. Many of the pronominal proclitics and pronominal prefixes specify function or role, but are underspecified for person and number. So in some cases there is no distinction between 3s/3p, or 2s/3s/3p share the same form. In these cases, the free pronoun, such as *inni* '3p', may be optionally added before the proclitic or prefix to disambiguate person and number. Each set is discussed in chapter 5.

	FREE PRONOUNS		CONTRASTIVE FOCUS
	LONG FORM	SHORT FORM	Emphatic (*-we*)
1s	naan	na	ne-we
2s	aan	a	e-we
3s	gaan	ga †	ge-we
1pi	piin	pi	pe-we
1pe	n'giin	nigi, n'gi, ni	n'ge-we
2p	igiin	igi	ege-we
3p	inni	ga †	inni-we
1di	p-le	—	ple-we
1de	n'g-le	—	n'gle-we
2d	eg-le	—	egle-we
3d	(ʊrʊk) e-le	—	(ʊrʊk) ele-we

† The short form *ga* '3p' is used only for Undergoer arguments, whereas *ga* '3s' is used for both Actors and Undergoers

Note in the table below that the *instensifier* pronouns are composed of the Undergoer proclitics plus *-ŋkool*. The simple Undergoer prefixes and the simple possessive prefixes are identical in form. The difference is that the Undergoer prefixes attach to verbal bases, whereas the possessive prefixes attach to nominal bases.

	Undergoer Pronouns							**Intensifier**	**Possessive**		
	Proclitic (***a***)	Free (***-iin***)	Bound prefixes					Proclitic + (***-ŋkool***)	(***-ɪɪ***)	Bound	
			g-	***ge-***	***go-***	***gʊ-***	***(a)***			***g-***	***gi-***
1s	nɑ	niin	n-	ne-	no-	nʊ-		nɑ-ŋkool	nɪɪ	n-	ni-
2s	ɑ	iin	e-		o-	ʊ-		ɑ-ŋkool	ɪɪ	e-	i-
3	ɑ	giin	g-	ge-	go-	gʊ-		ɑ-ŋkool	gɪɪ	g-	gi-
1pi	pɑ	tiin	t-	te-	to-	tʊ-		pɑ-ŋkool	pɪɪ	t-	pi-
1pe	n'gɑ	n'giin	n'g-	n'ge-	n'go-	n'gʊ-	n'gɑ-	n'gɑ-ŋkool	n'gɪɪ	n'g-	n'gi-†
2p	ɑgɑ	igiin	eg-	ege-	ogo-, og-	ʊgʊ-	ɑg-	ɑgɑ-ŋkool	ɪgɪɪ	eg-	ig-‡

† The 1pe possessive prefixes also include: *n'ge-, n'gɑ-, n'go-*

‡ The 2p possessive prefixes also include: *ege-, ag-, og-*

Interrogative pronouns used in information questions in Klon are listed below.

Interrogative Pronouns		
Common form	Alternate form	Gloss
ab	aʔab	*who*
abe	aʔabe	*who is it that*
ab inni we		*who is the person that*
abo		*whose*
nab	nanab	*what*
nabe	nanabe	*what is it that*
nab de	nanab de	*what is it that*
tu		*where*
tu mi	tu bo mi	*at where*
tu lɪ		*to where*
tu we		*which (of choices) is it that*
nab ge	nɑbo ... ge	*why (because of what reason)*
tiyon bo	tuyon bo	*why (for what purpose)*
tiyon	tuyon ~ tuʔuyon	*how (manner, reason)*
dendi		*when*
eden		*how much, how many*

Reciprocal pronouns *tiin, to, ti* ‘each other’ are only used with plural Actors.

The main *relativizer* is *de* ‘which, who, that’.

The *plural* marker is *noon* ‘plural’.

Simple *demonstratives* and their variants are listed in the table below.

SIMPLE		**CONTRASTIVE FOCUS (*we*)**		**EMPHATIC (*wo*)**	
FORM	GLOSS	FORM	GLOSS	FORM	GLOSS
oŋ	*proximal*	oŋ-e	*this is the one which*	oŋ-o	*this very one*
yoŋ	*proximal-plus* (yo + oŋ)	yoŋ-e	*this-plus is the one which*	yoŋ-o	*this-plus very one*
yo	*distal*	yo-we	*that is the one which*	yo-wo	*that very one*
yop	*distal-plus* (yo + op)				
op	*remote (visible)*				
po	*remote (not visible)*				

APPENDIX B:

KLON TEXT 1: SEJARAH BRING

Meta data:

Title:	History of Bring (Interlinear)
Narrated by:	Urbanus Plaimo
Recorded by:	Novliana Koloman (for UBB)
Date of recording:	August 31, 2018
Transcribed by:	Novliana Koloman
Translated by:	Novliana Koloman (into Indonesian)
Translated by:	Johnny M. Banamtuan and Charles Grimes (into English)
Orthography:	(*Uses the practical orthography, not IPA*)
Interlinearized by:	Johnny M. Banamtuan
Source file:	kyo 01 Sejarah Bring-UP.db

Interlinear text:

SejBring 001

Néé	**nné**		**yo,**	**nné**		**Urbanus**	**Plaimo.**
néé	n-	né	yo	n-	né	Urbanus	Plaimo
1sP	1sP-name		EMPH	1sP-name		(name)	(name)
pro	pro-n		Disc	pro-n		n	n

My name is Urbanus Plaimo.

SejBring 002

Néé	**yo**	**umur**	**ro**	**wo,**	**tun**	**kar**	**tidórók**	**awaa**	**tlaan.**
néé	yo	umur	ro	wo	tun	kar	tidórók	awaa	tlaan
1sP	EMPH	age	EMPH	EMPH	year	tens	eight	add	six
Pro	Disc	n	Disc	Disc	n	Num	Num	Qnt	Num

I am eighty six years old (86).

SejBring 003

Ongo	**Bring**	**géé**	**yo,**	**sejarah**	**woom**	**bo**	**na**	**u**	**huh.**
ong -o	Bring	géé	yo	sejarah	woom	bo	na	u	huh
PROX-EMPH	(place)	3P	DIST	history	history	SEQ	1s	APPL	language
Deic-Suf	n	Pro	Deic	n	n	Cnj	Pro	clitic	n

This is a history of Bring that I would like to tell.

SejBring 004a

Makana	wo,	Bring	nuk	le	wo	lalé	Eweng	Mten	mi	il	aran	no,
makana	wo	Bring	nuk	le	wo	lalé	Eweng	Mten	mi	il	aran	no
earlier	EMPH	(place)	one	ALL	EMPH	level	(place)		LOC	field		EMPH
time	Disc	n	Num	Post	Disc	n	n		Post	vi		Disc

In the past, there was a Bring (man) who opened a new garden in Eweng Mten,

SejBring 004b

mgol	**mdin**	**geen**	**u**	**mii.**
mgol	mdin	geen	u	mii
banana	plant	until	APPL	full
n	vt	Prep	clitic	vi

(and he) planted the whole garden with bananas.

SejBring 005a

Mler-eteen	**bo**	**ga**	**wo**	**méd**	**agai**	**taan**	**géé**	**ho,**
mler-eteen	bo	ga	wo	méd	agai	taan	géé	ho
ready to harvest	SEQ	3s	EMPH	take	go	sell	3P	COND
vt	Cnj	Pro	Disc	vt	vi	vt	Pro	Cnj

Later when the bananas are ripe, he will go and pick (them and) wants to sell them,

SejBring 005b

wraa	**gó**	**Burang**	**unuu**	**agai.**
wraa	g- ó	Burang	unuu	agai
tomorrow	3U- carry	(name)	market	go
n	Pro-vt	n	n	vi

the next day (he) was planning to take the bananas to the Buraga market.

SejBring 006

Yo oyon	**bo**	**idiil**	**ge**	**agai**	**ho**	**inni**	**méd**	**agai,**	**yaah**	**ga**	**a**	**lam.**
yo oyon	bo	idiil	ge	agai	ho	inni	méd	agai	yaah	ga	a	lam
like.that	SEQ	tomorrow	3U	go	COND	3p	take	PFV	then	3s	3U	walk
Deic	Cnj	n	Pro	vi	Cnj	Pro	vt	Asp	Cnj	Pro	Pro	vi

So then the next day when he went there, someone had already taken it, so he went home.

SejBring 007

Agai de awaa gó tpuiny, gó tpuiny nuk awaa eteen u mtéh.
agai de awaa gó tpuiny gó tpuiny nuk awaa eteen u mtéh
go REL again 3U look 3U look one again ripe APPL stand
vi Cnj Qnt Pro vt Pro vt Num Qnt Adj clitic vi

He went again to have a look at it, have a look at the banana (bunch) one more time, it obviously was ripe.

SejBring 008

“Bo op po wraa bo na gó agai taan no yo oyon.”
bo op po wraa bo na g- ó agai taan no yo oyon
SEQ remote EMPH tomorrow SEQ 1s 3U- carry go sell EMPH like.that
Cnj Post Disc n Cnj Pro Pro-vt vi vt Disc Deic

“So tomorrow I will take it and go to sell it there.”

SejBring 009

Idiil agai yo, inni méd agai.
idiil agai yo inni méd agai
tomorrow go DIST 3p take PFV
n vi Deic Pro vt Asp

The next day he went, someone had already taken it.

SejBring 010

Bo wo gi mi tong bo le wo agai ho,
bo wo gi mi tong bo le wo agai ho
SEQ EMPH 3P LOC three SEQ ALL EMPH go COND
Cnj Disc Pro Post Num Cnj Post Disc vi Cnj

eteen u mtéh bo ga.
eteen u mtéh bo ga
ripe APPL stand SEQ 3s
Adj clitic vi Cnj Pro

So already for the third time he went, and it turned out there were some that were ripe.

SejBring 011a

Nang bo wo ga na' plok bo ga u at,
nang bo wo ga na' plok bo ga u at
then EMPH 3s palm stick SEQ 3s APPL sharp
Cnj Disc Pro n n Cnj Pro clitic vi

bo ga ghél ma gomi mi,
bo ga g- hél ma g- omi mi
SEQ 3s 3U- lift come 3P- inside LOC
Cnj Pro Pro-vt vi Pro-n Post

So consequently he took the rib from the leaf of an Arenga palm frond and sharpened it, then he put it inside there (in the banana he had cut in two),

SejBring 011b

kóh bo tuk ma u ga'at.
kóh bo tuk ma u g- a'at
after.that tip come APPL 3U-connect
Cnj n vi clitic Pro-vt

and after that he joined the two ends.

SejBring 012

Kóh bo wo, ghél ma géé hiil bo ga a lam.
kóh bo wo g- hél ma géé hiil bo ga a lam
after.that EMPH 3U- lift come 3P climb SEQ 3s 3U walk
Cnj Disc Pro-vt vi Pro vi Cnj Pro Pro vi

After that, he left it hanging and went home.

SejBring 013a

Idiil kukuun bo ga alal-óbóng kóh, bo ga agai yo,
idiil ku~ kuun bo ga alal-óbóng kóh bo ga agai yo
tomorrow DUP~morning SEQ 3s dress.up finish SEQ 3s go EMPH
n time Cnj Pro vi vi Cnj Pro vi Disc

Early the next morning after he finished getting dressed up, then he left,

SejBring 013b

gó dób lam agai ho, ga mgol inni gó agai kóh.
g- ó dób lam agai ho ga mgol inni gó agai kóh
3U- carry straight walk PFV COND 3s banana 3p carry go finish
Pro-vt vi vi Asp Cnj Pro n Pro vt vi vi

he went straight towards (the garden), and discovered someone had taken off with that (bunch of) bananas.

SejBring 014

Nang bo ga mi glang geen agai unuu, geen agai ho,
nang bo ga mi glang geen agai unuu geen agai ho
then 3s right.away until go market until go COND
Cnj Pro ASP Prep vi n Prep vi Cnj

Hlé nuk a pei mih yéh.
Hlé nuk a pei mih yéh
(group) one 3U guard CONT
n Num Pro vt Asp

Then he went straight to the market place, went arriving there, and there was a Kui person sitting there watching.

SejBring 015

Le	**huh,**	**“Ah!**	**Bo**	**taan**	**ong,**	**néé**	**mgol**	**ongo!”**
le	huh	Ah	bo	taan	ong	néé	mgol	ong -o
ALL	language	(upset)	SEQ	sell	PROX	1sP	banana	PROX-EMPH
Post	n	Interj	Cnj	vt	Deic	Pro	n	Deic-Disc

He said, “Ah! So what you are selling here are my bananas!”

SejBring 016a

Hlé	**óm**	**lega**	**u**	**huh,**
Hlé	óm	lega	u	huh
(group)	male	3sFOC	APPL	language
n	n	Pro	clitic	n

“Nang,	**ong**	**néé**	**mgol.**	**Néé**	**mgol,**	**naan**	**ong**	**néé**	**mgol.”**
nang	ong	néé	mgol	néé	mgol	naan	ong	néé	mgol
NEG1	PROX	1sP	banana	1sP	banana	1s	PROX	1sP	banana
Neg	Deic	Pro	n	Pro	n	Pro	Deic	Pro	n

The Kui person said, “No, this is my banana. My banana, me here's banana.”

SejBring 017

Hlé	**óm**	**di**	**ga**	**a**	**éméén**	**gmung.**
Hlé	óm	di	ga	a	éméén	g- mung
(group)	male	also	3s	3U	reject	3U-drop
n	n	Adv	Pro	Pro	vt	Pro-vt

The Kui man rejected giving it up.

SejBring 018a

Bo	**todal**		**todal**		**géé**	**yaah**	**geh**	**mi**	**klem**	**bo**	**ga**	**wo,**
bo	to-	dal	to-	dal	géé	yaah	geh	mi	klem	bo	ga	wo
SEQ	RECIP-	argue	RECIP-	argue	3P	bad	angry			SEQ	3s	EMPH
Cnj	Pro-	v	Pro-	v	Pro	vi	(idiom)			Cnj	Pro	Disc

har	**blin**	**bo**	**ga**	**hod**	**gbeer**	**ro,**
har	blin	bo	ga	hod	g- beer	ro
sword	pull	SEQ	3s	cut	3U- kill	EMPH
n	vt	Cnj	Pro	vt	Pro-vt	Disc

So they kept arguing and it went bad. He (the banana owner) was furious, pulled out his sword, and killed him (the Kui man),

SejBring 018b

hod	**gó**	**tuk**	**órók**	**bo**	**ge**	**taa,**	**bo**	**ga**	**ihiih**	**mtéh**	**a**	**tkin.**
hod	g- ó	tuk	órók	bo	ge	taa	bo	ga	ihiih	mtéh	a	tkin
cut	3U- carry	tip	two	SEQ	3U	put	SEQ	3s	get up	stand	3U	run
vt	Pro-vt	n	Num	Cnj	Pro	vt	Cnj	Pro	vi	vi	Pro	vi

cut him in half, put him down, then got up and fled, leaving him behind.

SejBring 019a

```
Ma   wo,  Klon   no   eben    ege' gluul      a   mid,
ma   wo   Klon   no   eben    ege' g-  luul   a   mid
come EMPH (clan) EMPH village path 3U- follow 3U  ascend
vi   Disc n      Disc n       n    Pro-vt     Pro vi

de  ógóól    adaa  óhóór aal eh laang,
de  ógóól    adaa  óhóór aal eh laang
REL formerly still jungle
Cnj adv      Asp   (idiom)
```

He went up (in to the mountains) on the Klon (Buraga) trail, which used to be jungle,

SejBring 019b

```
Hom Bulak ege' gluul      a   mid,
Hom Bulak ege' g-  luul   a   mid
(place)   path 3U- follow 3U  ascend
n         n    Pro-vt     Pro vi

bo  agai ta lé   yo    Gwér   mi.
bo  agai ta lé   yo    Gwér   mi
SEQ go   on ALL  DIST (place) LOC
Cnj vi   n  Post Deic  n      Post
```

He went up the Hom Bulak trail, then kept going until arriving at Gwér.

SejBring 020

```
Kóh bo     ga  wo   mid    agai, bo  olek  ohkeek,
kóh bo     ga  wo   mid    agai  bo  olek  ohkeek
after.that 3s  EMPH ascend go    SEQ cloth open
Cnj        Pro Disc vi     vi    Cnj n     vt

bo  gitó     pat góher,      a   te   kóh,
bo  gi- tó   pat gó- her     a   te   kóh
SEQ 3P- head tie 3U- descend 3U  wear finish
Cnj Pro-n    vt  Pro-vi      Pro vt   vi

bo  ga  géé pkar    ébéng ga  puiny,
bo  ga  géé pkar    ébéng ga  puiny
SEQ 3s  3P  clothes other 3s  use
Cnj Pro Pro n       n     Pro vt

kóh bo     ga  ahkool, tbur gódal.
kóh bo     ga  ahkool  tbur gó- dal
after.that 3s  shrimp  crab 3U- do
Cnj        Pro n       n    Pro-vt
```

After that he went up (to another place), and took off his clothes, then he tied his headcloth, and went down (to the stream), wearing other clothes, then he was searching for prawns and crabs.

SejBring 021

Gi ahkool, tbur gódal,
gi ahkool tbur gó- dal
3P shrimp crab 3U- do
Pro n n Pro-vt

wor yel wéd ga ta mtéh lega gwaar ro,
wor yel wéd ga ta mtéh lega g- waar ro
stone wet now 3s on stand 3sFOC 3U- turn EMPH
n n n Pro POST vi Pro Pro-vt Disc

té kriik géé yo a ip lé.
té kriik géé yo a ip lé
foot digit 3P DIST 3s go ALL
n n Pro Deic Pro vi Post

He hunted prawns and crab, the rocks that were wet from him stepping on them, he turned over.

SejBring 022

Kóh bo wo i ahkool, tbur éléél gódal~gódal lo ho,
kóh bo wo i ahkool tbur éléél gó-dal~gó- dal lo ho
after.that EMPH PFV shrimp crab seek DUP ~3U- do EMPH COND
Cnj Disc Asp n n vt ~Pro-vt Disc Cnj

inni globei ad hook.
inni g- lobei ad hook
3p 3U- chase come meet
Pro Pro-vt vi vt

After that he (pretended to) begin to hunt prawns and crab over and over, so that the people chasing him would come and find him doing that.

SejBring 023

Ad bo,
ad bo
come SEQ
vi Cnj

“Bo a yo dan, wéd nuk gaan no lé tkin a gél le?”
bo a yo dan wéd nuk gaan no lé tkin a g- él le
SEQ 2s DIST exist day one 3s EMPH ALL run 2s 3U- know ALL
Cnj Pro Deic v n Num Pro Disc Post vi Pro Pro-vt Post

When they came, then… “So you were there, the day there was a person who ran away, did you know him?”

SejBring 024a

“Nang, naan di wéd do kukuun mi na ong dan.
nang naan di wéd do ku~kuun mi na ong dan
NEG1 1s also recent EMPH DUP~morning LOC 1s PROX exist
Neg Pro Adv n Disc time Post Pro Deic v

“No, I have been here since early this morning.

SejBring 024b

Ong hook wéd mde nang.
ong hook wéd mde nang
PROX NEG2 recent ascend NEG1
Deic NEG n vi Neg

Here, there hasn’t been anybody who has come up here.

SejBring 024c

Nuk yo lé ma, naan di gél.”
nuk yo lé ma naan di g- él
one DIST ALL come 1s also 3U- know
Num Deic Post vi Pro Adv Pro-vt

If anybody had come, I surely would have known it.”

SejBring 025

Yaah bo Hlé noon a awaar.
yaah bo Hlé noon a awaar
then (group) PL 3U return
Cnj n Qnt Pro vi

Then the Kui people went back home.

SejBring 026

A awaar bo, wéd po di gaan di ihiih mtéh yo,
a awaar bo wéd po di gaan di ihiih mtéh yo
3U return SEQ recent DIST also 3s also get.up stand DIST
Pro vi Cnj n Deic Adv Pro Adv vi vi Deic

géé lal-trainy noon mi atainy kóh, bo ga ihiih mtéh,
géé lal-trainy noon mi atainy kóh bo ga ihiih mtéh
3P clothes PL dress.up finish SEQ 3s get.up stand
Pro n Qnt vt vi Cnj Pro vi vi

Hlé mgol ege' lé a hiil.
Hlé mgol ege' lé a hiil
(group) banana path ALL 3U climb
n n n Post Pro vi

So when they went back, only then did he stand up and go put his clothes on, then he stood up and walked past the Kui people’s banana grove.

SejBring 027

Geen	**Bring**	**eben,**	**yowe**		**lam,**	**lam,**	**lam**	**geen**	**no**	**ur**	**tong,**
geen	Bring	eben	yo	-we	lam	lam	lam	geen	no	ur	tong
until	(place)	village	DIST-REL		walk	walk	walk	until	EMPH	month	three
Prep	n	n	Deic-Rel		vi	vi	vi	Prep	Disc	n	Num

ur	**ut,**	**wédodi**	**ga**	**awaa**	**her**	**unuu**	**mi**	**yo**
ur	ut	wédodi	ga	awaa	her	unuu	mi	yo
month	four	only.then	3s	again	descend	market	LOC	DIST
n	Num	Cnj	Pro	Asp	vi	n	Post	Deic

tkoor	**bo**	**n'gan.**
tkoor	bo	n'gan
shouting.mad	SEQ	thing
vi	Cnj	n

Upon arriving at the Bring's village, then he kept walking and walking and walking for three or four months (idiom: several months). Only then did he go back down to the market. There he danced the war dance while shouting.

SejBring 028

Ga	**abango,**	**"He,**	**Bring**	**wor**	**gwaar**	**re!"**	**Yo oyon.**
ga	abang -o	He	Bring	wor	g- waar	re	yo oyon
3s	saying-EMPH	(upset)	(group)	stone	3U- turn	EXCLAM	like.that
Pro	Cmpl- Disc	Interj	n	n	Pro-vt	Disc	Deic

He said, "(upset), the Bring people were the ones who turned over the stones!" That's what he said.

SejBring 029

Nok	**bo**	**wo**	**inni**	**abang,**	**"Ah!"**
Nok	bo	wo	inni	abang	Ah
then	EMPH	3p	saying	(upset)	
Cnj	Disc	Pro	Cmpl		Interj

So then they said, "Ahh!"

SejBring 030

Hlé	**noon**	**no**	**kruui**	**bo**	**ge**	**yo**	**ge**	**agai**	**mo**	**wo.**
Hlé	noon	no	kruui	bo	ge	yo	ge	agai	mo	wo
(group)	PL	EMPH	shout	SEQ	must	DIST	3U	go	EMPH	EMPH
n	Qnt	Disc	vi	Cnj	TAM	Deic	Pro	vi	Disc	Disc

The Kui people shouted, then felt compelled to go after him.

SejBring 031

Yaah	**bo**	**inni**	**globei**	**ho,**	**hook**	**mi**	**gó**	**hiid**	**nang.**
yaah	bo	inni	g- lobei	ho	hook	mi	g- ó	hiid	nang
then		3p	3U- chase	COND	NEG2	LOC	3U- carry	get	NEG1
Cnj		Pro	Pro-vt	Cnj	Neg	Post	Pro-vt	vt	Neg

So they chased him but, did not get him.

SejBring 032

Hook mi gó hiid nang bo, yaah bo mu tleek.

```
hook mi   g-  ó    hiid nang bo  yaah bo mu   tleek
NEG2 LOC  3U-carry get  then     then    just battle
Neg  Post Pro-vt   vt   Cnj      Cnj     Aux  vi
```

Not getting him, then fighting just broke out.

SejBring 033

Tleek ko we tleek mi usong, beel mi usong.

```
tleek  ko   we  tleek  mi   usong  beel mi   usong
battle EMPH REL battle LOC  seven  bell LOC  seven
vi     Disc Rel vi     Post Num    n    Post Num
```

The sound of battle was heard seven times.

SejBring 034

Beel i week bo ga wo, inni yo, Mobeel Mei Ben na,

```
beel i   week bo  ga  wo   inni yo   Mobeel Mei Ben na
bell PFV when SEQ 3s  EMPH 3p   DIST (name)         EMPH
n    Asp Q    Cnj Pro Disc Pro  Deic n              Disc
```

n'gan no, Bila Lamnaak, nuk ko Bring géé ó'óm yo,

```
n'gan no   Bila Lamnaak  nuk ko   Bring    géé ó'óm   yo
thing EMPH (name)        one EMPH (people) 3P  oldest DIST
n     Disc n             Num Disc n        Pro n      Deic
```

At the sound of the last (battle), Mobeel Mei Ben and Bila Lamnaak , respected traditional Bring elders,

SejBring 035

n'gan no Hlé géé ó'óm bo, n'gan no Boi Banmlei ya bo,

```
n'gan no   Hlé     géé ó'óm   bo  n'gan no   Boi Banmlei ya    bo
thing EMPH (group) 3P  oldest SEQ thing EMPH (name)      under SEQ
n     Disc n       Pro n      Cnj n     Disc n           Post  Cnj
```

inni yo, Kinang Banhoom, bo inni gtan no kriik inni tewal

```
inni yo   Kinang Banhoom  bo  inni g-  tan  no   kriik inni tewal
3p   DIST (name)          SEQ 3p   3P- hand EMPH digit 3p   across
Pro  Deic n               Cnj Pro  Pro-n    Disc n     Pro  vi
```

kóh bo, ping ma u gdan bo gbok.

```
kóh bo     ping  ma   u      g-  dan     bo  g-  bok
after.that plate come APPL   3U- connect SEQ 3U- cut
Cnj        n     vi   clitic Pro-vt      Cnj Pro-vt
```

and respected traditional Kui elders, Boi Banmlei and Kinang Banhoom, they cut across their fingers and dripped the blood on to the plate.

SejBring 036

Gbok bo wo, wé' dwel bo,
g- bok bo wo wé' dwel bo
3U- cut SEQ EMPH blood collect.liquid SEQ
Pro-vt Cnj Disc n vt Cnj

bo ót taang di gó naa bo hbeen taan di gó naa.
bo ót taang di g- ó naa bo hbeen taan di gó naa
SEQ beach upon also 3U- carry drink SEQ land sell also carry drink
Cnj n Post Adv Pro-vt vt Cnj n vt Adv vt vt

After cutting (their fingers), then they collected the blood and gave it to those who were on the beach, and on land, and up in the mountains, for them to drink.

SejBring 037

Wéd ong anok kó! Ga ong gluul, anok tleek nang.
wéd ong anok kó ga ong g- luul anok tleek nang
day PROX not.again EMPH 3s PROX 3U- follow not.again battle NEG1
n Post n Disc Pro Deic Pro-vt n vi Neg

So now, don't do this anymore! From now on, do not fight any more wars.

SejBring 038

Abe a ga tleek ga thaai ya, tiin kob tiin wreeh yoho,
abe a ga tleek ga thaai ya tiin kob tiin wreeh yoho
who 3U 3s battle 3s wound under RECIP hit RECIP beat COND
Q Pro Pro vi Pro vt Post Pro vt Pro vt Cnj

n'gan no duur onge bo ad dlong hbel yo oyon.
n'gan no duur ong- e bo ad dlong hbel yo oyon
thing EMPH knife PROX-REL SEQ come throat slaughter like.that
n Disc n Deic-Rel Cnj vi n vt Deic

Whoever wars against each other and fights each other, this knife here will come and slit their throat on its own.

SejBring 039

Kóh bo inni duur ro wo, go dór wóóh.
kóh bo inni duur ro wo go dór wóóh
after.that 3p knife EMPH EMPH 3U altar establish
Cnj Pro n Disc Disc Pro n vt

After that, they made an altar on which to place the knife.

SejBring 040a

Géé dór wóóh wéd ma mten yo,
géé dór wóóh wéd ma mten yo
3P altar establish now come do DIST
Pro n vt n vi vt Deic

bo gaan no mi yo ma waa.
bo gaan no mi yo ma waa
SEQ 3s EMPH LOC DIST come go
Cnj Pro Disc Post Deic vi vi

They erected that altar (as a reminder), established from now until eternity.

SejBring 040b
Hlé noon no a dób bo, ge otuk,
Hlé noon no a dób bo ge o- tuk
(group) PL EMPH INTENS straight SEQ 3U 3- respect
n Qnt Disc Adv vt Cnj Pro Pro-vt

piin di ge totuk geen ad do,
piin di ge to tuk geen ad do
1pi also 3U 1pi-respect until come EMPH
Pro Adv Pro Pro-vt Prep vi Disc

prenta géé yo u gbik.
prenta géé yo u g- bik
government 3P EMPH APPL 3U- strengthen
n Pro Disc clitic Pro-vt

The Kui people remained truly fearful and respectful. We also (remained fearful and respectful) until the (modern) government system was established.

SejBring 041
Bo yaah bo, inninok Bring ge inni glei her mih ha,
bo yaah bo inninok Bring ge inni g- lei her mih ha
SEQ then person (group) 3U 3p 3U- via descend sit EMPH
Cnj Cnj n n Pro Pro Pro-vt vi vi Disc

inninok i kóh, inninok ko wé' maang mi hkak ko ebeer agai.
inninok i kóh inninok ko wé' maang mi hkak ko ebeer agai
person PFV finish person EMPH blood all LOC vomit EMPH die PFV
n Asp vi n Disc n Qnt Post vt Disc vi Asp

Later on, the Bring people who moved down here to live, they and their descendants all died off from vomiting blood.

SejBring 042
Ebeer agai, yaah bo wo inni yo u'uur-uklool.
ebeer agai yaah bo wo inni yo u- 'uur-u- klool
die PFV then EMPH 3p DIST APPL-see-APPL-divine
vi Asp Cnj Disc Pro Deic v

They died off, and later on they were seen through divination.

SejBring 043

Aas	**bo**	**hi'**	**bo**	**klool.**
aas	bo	hi'	bo	klool
previously	SEQ	chicken	SEQ	divine
Adv	Cnj	n	Cnj	vi

Long ago, they did divination using chickens.

SejBring 044

Ni	**yo**	**hi'**	**yo**	**nenaj**	**geen**	**ad**	**nenaj**	**jo**
ni	yo	hi'	yo	ne-naj	geen	ad	ne-naj	jo
1sP	EMPH	chicken	DIST	1sP-in-law	until	come	1sP-in-law	EMPH
Pro	Disc	n	Deic	n	Prep	vi	n	Disc

gó	**tdan**	**na,**	**géé**	**araa**	**tut**	**on**	**no**
g-	ó	tdan	na	géé	araa	tut	on	no
3U-	carry	connect	EMPH	3P	water	hot	cooking.pot	EMPH
Pro-vt		vt	Disc	Pro	n	vi	n	Disc

néé	**ge**	**gtal**	**ho,**	**wé'**	**a**	**u**	**mii.**
néé	ge	g- tal	ho	wé'	a	u	mii
1sP	3U	3U- lift	COND	blood	3U	APPL	full
Pro	Pro	Pro-vt	Cnj	n	Pro	clitic	vi

So my sister in-law experienced that. Her pot for boiling water, when I picked it up, it was full of blood.

SejBring 045

Na	**ipiih**	**ge**	**gtal**	**bo**	**ge'ipiih**	**iri'**	**yo,**
na	ipiih	ge	g- tal	bo	ge- ipiih	iri '	yo
1s	pour	3U	3U- lift	SEQ	3U- pour	IMMED	DIST
Pro	vt	Pro	Pro-vt	Cnj	Pro-vt	vi	Deic

wé'	**mdook**	**mde**	**kóh**	**bo.**
wé'	mdook	mde	kóh	bo
blood	smell	ascend	after.that	
n	n	vi	Cnj	

When I lifted it up about to pour it out, then the smell of blood came out.

SejBring 046

Yaah	**bo**	**na**	**ool**	**gó**	**yaah,**
yaah	bo	na	ool	g- ó	yaah
then		1s	wife	3U- carry	bad
Cnj		Pro	n	Pro-vt	vi

“Ong	**nab**	**araa**	**bo**	**wéd**	**igi**	**n'ge**	**gtut**	**yong**	**oyon?”**
ong	nab	araa	bo	wéd	igi	n'ge	g- tut	yong	oyon
PROX	what	water	SEQ	recent	2p	1peU	3U- hot	like.this	
Deic	Q	n	Cnj	n	Pro	Pro	Pro-vi	Deic	

Then I was angry at my wife, “What kind of water is this that you heated so that it became like this?”

SejBring 047

Bo araa ga wo kur mi bo wéd na gtut te.
bo araa ga wo kur mi bo wéd na g- tut te
SEQ water 3s EMPH bamboo LOC SEQ recent 1s 3U- hot use
Cnj n Pro Disc n Post Cnj n Pro Pro-vi vt

So I used the water that was in the bamboo to heat it.

SejBring 048

Ódi wo, nang bo na ghél go-hóós mi ahan mi laim kóh,
ódi wo nang bo na g- hél go- hóós mi ahan mi laim kóh
only.then EMPH then 1s 3U- lift 3U- spill wash.clean finish
Cnj Disc Cnj Pro Pro-vt Pro-vt (idiom) vi

wédodi na awaa ge araa gtut.
wédodi na awaa ge araa g- tut
only.then 1s add 3U water 3U- hot
Cnj Pro Qnt Pro n Pro-vi

Then I poured out (the pot) and washed it completely clean, before I added hot water.

SejBring 049

N'gan de wo idiil na skol ge agai n'gan de nólam,
n'gan de wo idiil na skol ge agai n'gan de nó- lam
thing REL EMPH tomorrow 1s school 3U go thing REL 1sU-walk
n Cnj Disc n Pro n Pro vi n Cnj Pro-vi

naan skol her na mde.
naan skol her na mde
1s school descend 1s ascend
Pro n vi Pro vi

The next day I wanted to go to school, so (I asked someone to) escort me. When I returned from school, then I went up (to her house).

SejBring 050

Yowe ad do, kóh ebeer agai.
yo- we ad do kóh ebeer agai
DIST-REL come EMPH after die PFV
Deic-Rel vi Disc Cnj vi Asp

When I arrived, (she) was already dead.

SejBring 051a

Nang bo idiil bo ni yo gpót kóh,
nang bo idiil bo ni yo g- pót kóh
then tomorrow SEQ 1pe EMPH 3U- bury finish
Cnj n Cnj Pro Disc Pro-vt vi

Then the following day, we finished burying her,

SejBring 051b

bo	**ni**	**hi'**	**gbok,**	**hi'**	**usong**	**ni**	**gbok.**
bo	ni	hi'	g- bok	hi'	usong	ni	g- bok
SEQ	1pe	chicken	3U- cut	chicken	seven	1pe	3U- cut
Cnj	Pro	n	Pro-vt	n	Num	Pro	Pro-vt

then we (exc) slaughtered chickens, we (exc) slaughtered seven chickens.

SejBring 052

Gbok	**ko**	**gi**	**dlong**	**le**	**gbok**	**geen**	**no,**	**kdeh**	**ho**	**ma**
g- bok	ko	gi	dlong	le	g- bok	geen	no	kdeh	ho	ma
3U- cut	EMPH	3P	throat	ALL	3U- cut	until	EMPH	head	COND	come
Pro-vt	Disc	Pro	n	Post	Pro-vt	Prep	Disc	n	Cnj	vi

bróbb,	**bok**	**ko**	**ghél**	**ma**	**wo**	**n'gan**	**no**	**wor**	**méd**
bróbb	bok	ko	g- hél	ma	wo	n'gan	no	wor	méd
throw.away	cut	EMPH	3U- lift	come	EMPH	thing	EMPH	stone	take
vt	vt	Disc	Pro-vt	vi	Disc	n	Disc	n	vi

ghuui	**yo**	**go**	**óiny**	**alaa**	**mi**	**gtainy.**
g- huui	yo	go	óiny	alaa	mi	g- tainy
3U- arrange	DIST	3U	twig	surround	LOC	3U- free
Pro-vt	Deic	Pro	n	vt	Post	Pro-vt

We (exc) cut their necks and the heads we threw away. Their bodies we brought and arranged stones and sticks in the circle and released (the bodies of the chickens) inside.

SejBring 053

Bo	**wo**	**ga**	**tkoor**	**gódal,**	**gódal,**	**gódal**	**lo**
bo	wo	ga	tkoor	gó- dal	gó- dal	gó- dal	lo
SEQ	EMPH	3s	shouting.mad	3U- do	3U- do	3U- do	EMPH
Cnj	Disc	Pro	v	Pro-vt	Pro-vt	Pro-vt	Disc

geen	**agai**	**ga**	**wo,**	**geen**	**dór**	**op**	**mi**	**tpan**	**no**	**ho,**
geen	agai	ga	wo	geen	dór	op	mi	tpan	no	ho
until	go	3s	EMPH	until	altar	there	LOC	pound	EMPH	COND
Prep	vi	Pro	Disc	Prep	n	Post	Post	vt	Disc	Cnj

ebeer	**ta**	**yo.**
ebeer	ta	yo
die	on	DIST
vi	POST	Deic

They kept flopping around until they banged into the altar, and then they died straightaway.

SejBring 054a

Bo	**hi'**	**ip**	**usong**	**ga**	**i'aal**	**gaan**	**yoyon**	**maang**	**bo.**
bo	hi'	ip	usong	ga	i'aal	gaan	yoyon	maang	bo
SEQ	chicken	(counter)	seven	3s	all	3s	like.that	all	SEQ
Cnj	n	Qnt	Num	Pro	Qnt	Pro	Deic	Qnt	Cnj

So altogether there were seven chickens who did that.

SejBring 054b

Yaah bo ong geen dór glei her ong
yaah bo ong geen dór g- lei her ong
then PROX until altar 3U- via descend PROX
Cnj Deic Prep n Pro-vt vi Deic

bo ga u muui u mgar bo, mu tiyon gnook?
bo ga u muui u mgar bo mu tiyon g- nook
SEQ 3s APPL mass.death SEQ only how 3U- control
Cnj Pro (idiom) Cnj Aux Q Pro-vt

Because they continued all the way to the altar before they all died, what should be done about it?

SejBring 055

Hlé noon bo gokar bo, damei yo,
Hlé noon bo go- kar bo damei yo
(group) PL SEQ 3U- call SEQ peace DIST
n Qnt Cnj Pro-vt Cnj vi Deic

ge u waa nang iseden no,
ge u waa nang iseden no
REL APPL go NEG1 several EMPH
Rel clitic vi Neg Qnt Disc

geen dór waa mu wo go lek.
geen dór waa mu wo go lek
until altar go just EMPH 3U dismantle
Prep n vi Aux Disc Pro vt

They summoned the Kui people to reconcile with them, but several attempts did not succeed, until eventually the altar was dismantled.

SejBring 056

Bo ping noon no get dook kóh,
bo ping noon no g- et dook kóh
so plate PL EMPH 3P- bottom hole finish
Cnj n Qnt Disc Pro-n n vi

géé duur adaa i mdek a i aan bo ni gó wo.
géé duur adaa i mdek a i aan bo ni g- ó wo
3P knife still DUR sharp 3U DUR intact SEQ 1pe 3U- carry EMPH
Pro n Asp Asp n Pro Asp vi Cnj Pro Pro-vt Disc

So the bottoms of the plates were all missing, but the knife was still sharp and still intact, so we took it.

SejBring 057

Her amaai wo eben no get mi éhél ta wo dór
her amaai wo eben no g- et mi éhél ta wo dór
descend low EMPH village EMPH 3P-bottom LOC above on EMPH altar
vi n Disc n Disc Pro-n Post Post Post Disc n

gmin yo, go dór go keel bo amaai mih yo.
g- min yo go dór go keel bo amaai mih yo
3U- put DIST idolatry.place SEQ low sit DIST
Pro-vt Deic (idiom) Cnj n vi Deic

(Then we) went down to a place above the lower village and we made an altar there. We made a place of traditional worship there and there were those who came down to live there.

SejBring 058
Yowe yo, Hlé we Bring ele yo,
yo- we yo Hlé we Bring ele yo
DIST-REL EMPH (group) REL (group) 3d DIST
Deic-Rel Disc n Rel n Pro Deic

piin Bring pibal péé yo sejarah yo.
piin Bring pi- bal péé yo sejarah yo
1pi (group) 1pi-all 1piP DIST history DIST
Pro n Pro-Qnt Pro Deic n Deic

So the two groups, the Kui people and the Bring people, that history is shared by all of us.

SejBring 059
Bo Bring, Hlé, pi be yaah, to tuub yo di yaah,
bo Bring Hlé pi be yaah to tuub yo di yaah
SEQ (group) (group) 1pi traditional.law RECIP point DIST also cannot
Cnj n n Pro v Pro vt Deic Adv Neg

to mleer pruiny yo di yaah.
to mleer pruiny yo di yaah
RECIP spittle spit DIST also cannot
Pro n vi Deic Adv Neg

So consequently the Bring people and the Kui people share the same customary law of defending each other. We (inc) cannot accuse each other and also cannot spit at each other (idiom: abuse each other).

SejBring 060
Bo gaan a u waa, bo i kóh.
bo gaan a u waa bo i kóh
SEQ 3s 3U APPL go SEQ DUR finish
Cnj Pro Pro clitic vi Cnj Asp vi

So (the story) goes to there, and is finished.

APPENDIX C:

KLON TEXT 2: HUKUM BELA

Meta data:

Title:	Customary law of defending each other (Interlinear)
Narrated by:	Minggus Thomas Loban
Recorded by:	Novliana Koloman (for UBB)
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Interlinearized by:	Johnny M. Banamtuan
Source file:	kyo 02 Hukum Bela-MTL.db

Interlinear text:

HukBela 001

Naan	**no**	**ning**	**nné,**	**Minggus**	**Thomas**	**Loban.**
naan	no	ning	n- né	Minggus	Thomas	Loban
1s	EMPH	1sP	1sP-name	(name)	(name)	(name)
Pro	Disc	Pro	pro-n	n	n	n

My name is Minggus Thomas Loban.

HukBela 002

Ning	**umur**	**ro,**	**kar**	**éwéh**	**awaa**	**tlaan.**
ning	umur	ro	kar	éwéh	awaa	tlaan
1sP	age	EMPH	ten	five	add	six
Pro	n	Disc	Num	Num	vt	Num

I am fifty six years old (56).

HukBela 003

Na	**wo**	**dusun**	**nuk**	**mi,**	**desa**	**Probuur,**
na	wo	dusun	nuk	mi	desa	Probuur
1s	EMPH	hamlet	one	LOC	township	(place)
Pro	Disc	n	Num	Post	n	n

kampung Mtaraben, eben Mtaraben mi.
kampung Mtaraben eben Mtaraben mi
village (place) village (name) LOC
n n n n Post

I live in a hamlet in the township of Probuur, the village (Malay loan) of Mtaraben, in the Mtaraben village.

HukBela 004
Wéd Bring, Pné, n'gi bei yaah yéh yong.
wéd Bring Pné n'gi bei yaah yéh yong
now (group) (group) 1pe traditional.law CONT PROX
n n n Pro vi Asp Deic

These days there is a traditional alliance between we (exc) Bring people and Pné people.

HukBela 005
Makana dayah noon Ndang buk u lool.
makana dayah noon Ndang buk u lool
earlier ancestor PL (place) hill APPL gather
time n Qnt n n clitic vt

Long ago, the ancestors gathered on Ndang hill.

HukBela 006
Awaa Pné, Triwaat, Lalel, Molel ho, Mlaang buk u lool.
awaa Pné Triwaat Lalel Molel ho Mlaang buk u lool
add (clan) (clan) (clan) (clan) COND (name) hill APPL gather
Qnt n n n n Cnj n n clitic vt

The Pné, Triwaat, Lalel and Molel clans gathered together on Mlaang hill.

HukBela 007
Hlé ga wo mi ihiih bo ga Trainy gethooi,
Hlé ga wo mi ihiih bo ga Trainy ge- thooi
(group) 3s EMPH LOC get.up SEQ 3s (group) 3U- send
n Pro Disc Post vi Cnj Pro n Pro-vt

bo ad Hwak mi taa.
bo ad Hwak mi taa
SEQ come (place) LOC sleep
Cnj vi n Post vi

The Kui people got up (and went to summon) the Timor people, and then sent them to come sleep at (a place called) Hwak.

HukBela 008
Bo odi dayah Mokoil Koilal Bring yéh yong,
bo odi dayah Mokoil Koilal Bring yéh yong
SEQ only.then ancestor (name) (clan) CONT PROX
Cnj Cnj n n n Asp Deic

ga her   Été' Bgór u   buuk.
ga her   Été' Bgór u   buuk
3s descend (place)   APPL   guard
Pro vi   n   clitic vt

So then ancestor Mokoil Koilal of the Bring clan, he went down to keep watch at the river Été' Bgór.

HukBela 009
Weer Été' Bgór u   buuk ho, inni u   huh,
weer Été' Bgór u   buuk ho   inni u   huh
river (place)   APPL   guard COND 3p   APPL   talk
n   n   clitic vt   Cnj Pro clitic vt

“Bo araa yo   eek?
 bo araa yo   eek
 so water DIST only
 Cnj n   Deic Aux

Keeping watch at the river Été' Bgór, they said, “So is that the only water?

HukBela 010
Na aan a   ta   lé   mi   taa, wéd yéh ong n'géé mi   taa.”
na aan a   ta   lé   mi   taa   wéd yéh ong n'géé mi   taa
1s 2s 2sU on   ALL LOC sleep now CONT PROX 1peP LOC sleep
Pro Pro Pro POST Post Post vi   n   Asp Deic Pro   Post vi

You live up there, but where you are sleeping now belong to us.”

HukBela 011
Tetapi Bring   yéh yong, inni hok   órók wiit.
tetapi Bring   yéh yong inni hok   órók wiit
but   (people) CONT PROX 3p   small.basket two carry
Cnj   n   Asp Deic Pro   n   Num vt

But these Bring people brought two small baskets (to use in sorcery).

HukBela 012
Hok   órók wiit, bo inni her,   akaan inni her.
hok   órók wiit bo inni her   akaan inni her
small.basket two carry SEQ 3p   descend night 3p   descend
n   Num vt   Cnj Pro vi   n   Pro vi

Bringing the two small baskets (for use in sorcery), they went down, they went down at night.

HukBela 013
Aaa!   Lalel, Molel la, Pné,   Triwaat noon her.
aaa   Lalel Molel la   Pné   Triwaat noon her
aah   (clan) (clan) EMPH (clan) (clan) PL   descend
Interj n   n   Disc n   n   Qnt vi

Aah! The Lalel, Molel, Pné and Triwaat clans all went down.

HukBela 014

Inni ya inni géé araa kur yo,
inni ya inni géé araa kur yo
3p under 3p 3P water bamboo.bucket DIST
Pro Post Pro Pro n n Deic

ghél ma Été Bgór araa mi gdim,
g- hél ma Été Bgór araa mi g- dim
3U- lift come (place) water LOC 3U- submerge
Pro-vt vi n n Post Pro-vt

inni a gó mid, été kó', kesel.
inni a g- ó mid été kó' kesel.
3p 3U 3U- carry ascend cassava sweet.potato
Pro Pro Pro-vt vi n n

The water and the bamboo water container, they submerged in the Été Bgór river, and when they pulled it back up, it had become cassava and sweet potatoes.

HukBela 015

Aaa! Bring noon inni ler ip po, akaan inni her araa ihin,
aaa Bring noon inni ler ip po akaan inni her araa ihin
aah (group) PL 3p bring go EMPH night 3p descend water draw
Interj n Qnt Pro vt vi Disc n Pro vi n vt

été kó', kesel di ma inni go'aan inni goput,
été kó' kesel di ma inni go- aan inni go- put
cassava sweet.potato also come 3p 3U- carry 3p 3U- carry
n n Adv vi Pro Pro-vt Pro Pro-vt

bo a mid.
bo a mid
SEQ 3U ascend
Cnj Pro vi

Aah! That night the Bring people went down to fetch water. When they went back up, they also carried cassava and sweet potatoes.

HukBela 016

Bat, arak ma a mid, bo inni gaan no lé mhak-naa,
bat arak ma a mid bo inni gaan no lé mhak-naa
corn rice come 3s ascend SEQ 3p 3s EMPH ALL eat- drink
n n vi Pro vi Cnj Pro Pro Disc Post vi- vt

gaan no lé ódó-puu bo kdé-naa.
gaan no lé ódó-puu bo kdé-naa
3s EMPH ALL cook SEQ eat-drink
Pro Disc Post vt Cnj vt- vt

Corn and rice they also took up with them. (When they got there), they ate and drank, they cooked it and ate and drank there.

HukBela 017

Aaa!	**Hlé**	**ga**	**waa**	**Trainy**	**gó**		**ad,**
aaa	Hlé	ga	waa	Trainy	g-	ó	ad
aah	(group)	3	go	(group)	3U-	carry	come
Interj	n	Pro	vi	n	Pro-vt		vi

bo	**ge**	**ta**	**lé**	**Hwak**	**mi**	**ge**	**i**	**taa**	**yo.**
bo	ge	ta	lé	Hwak	mi	ge	i	taa	yo
SEQ	must	on	ALL	(place)	LOC	3U	DUR	sleep	DIST
Cnj	TAM	Post	Post	n	Post	Pro	Asp	vi	Deic

Aah! The Kui people brought in the Timor people (as allies in the fighting with Bring people), and insisted that they encamp at Hwak.

HukBela 018

Krat	**de**	**yo**	**nabool**	**lo**	**tatpan**	**bo**	**inni**	**puiny.**
krat	de	yo	nabool	lo	ta~tpan	bo	inni	puiny
weapon	REL	DIST	umm	EMPH	DUP~pound	SEQ	3p	hold
n	Cnj	Deic	Paus	Disc	vt	Cnj	Pro	vt

They (the Timor people) brought, umm, muzzle-loading weapons.

HukBela 019

Tetapi	**nang,**	**inni**	**haai**	**taa.**
tetapi	nang	inni	haai	taa
but	NEG1	3p	useless	sleep
Cnj	Neg	Pro	Adv	vi

But they camped there in vain.

HukBela 020

Taa,	**taa,**	**taa,**	**nang**	**inni**	**bee.**
taa	taa	taa	nang	inni	bee
sleep	sleep	sleep	then	3p	shout
vi	vi	vi	Cnj	Pro	vi

They slept night after night, then they shouted.

HukBela 021

Inni	**yo**	**to**	**tkeiny,**	**“Ong**	**pi**	**tiyon?**
inni	yo	to	tkeiny	ong	pi	tiyon
3p	DIST	RECIP	ask.question	PROX	1pi	how
Pro	Deic	Pro	vt	Deic	Pro	Q

They asked each other, “What are we doing here?

HukBela 022

Pi	**haai**	**taa**	**ongo!”**
pi	haai	taa	ong- o
1pi	useless	sleep	PROX-EMPH
Pro	Adv	vi	Deic-Disc

There is no point in us camping here!”

HukBela 023

Dayah lalé Été Bgór mi,
dayah lalé Été Bgór mi
ancestor level (place) LOC
n n n Post

Mokoil Koilal i riyal gó tiyon?
Mokoil Koilal i riyal g- ó tiyon
(name) PFV many 3U- carry how
n Asp Qnt Pro-vt Q

The ancestors who were at the flat place of Été Bgor, Mokail Koilal and many others, how were they doing?

HukBela 024a

Nange, bo ong di inni hook her araa ihin,
nang-e bo ong di inni hook her araa ihin
NEG1-EXCLM so PROX also 3p NEG2 descend water draw
Neg- Disc Cnj Deic Adv Pro Neg vi n vt

No, in this place they could not go down to draw water,

HukBela 024b

bo atal di bo araa mi ap pé!
bo atal di bo araa mi ap pé
SEQ above also SEQ water LOC probably EXCLM
Cnj n Adv Cnj n Post TAM Disc

maybe up there they must have had water!

HukBela 025

Padahal akaan yéh yo, dayah Mokoil Koilal lega mi ihiih,
padahal akaan yéh yo dayah Mokoil Koilal lega mi ihiih
whereas night CONT DIST ancestor (name) 3sFOC in get.up
Cnj n Asp Deic n n Pro Post vi

bo ga peet i wlang ma inni geen.
bo ga peet i wlang ma inni ge- en
SEQ 3s small.bamboo PFV raw come 3p 3U- give
Cnj Pro n Asp n vi Pro Pro-vt

Actually the previous night, ancestor Mokoil Koilal had gotten up and gone and cut lengths of bamboo that were still green, came back and gave them to them (another group of Bring people).

HukBela 026

Bo mid, bo inni hol, bo inni araa inni blin,
bo mid bo inni hol bo inni araa inni blin
SEQ ascend SEQ 3p split SEQ 3p water 3p pull
Cnj v Cnj Pro vt Cnj Pro n Pro vt

bo ghél ma ta lé Hwak gdalé mi hlin.
bo g- hél ma ta lé Hwak g- dalé mi hlin
SEQ 3U- lift come on ALL (place) 3P- portion LOC hang
Cnj Pro-vt vi POST Post n Pro-n Post vt

So then they took them (the green bamboo) back up and they split them (lengthwise). Then they used them (end to end) to bring water to that part of Hwak, and suspended it there (so that water would flow off the end of the bamboo).

HukBela 027
Kukuun no inni gaan no mi eweel-uruh.
ku~kuun no inni gaan no mi eweel-uruh
DUP~morning EMPH 3p 3s EMPH LOC bathe-massage
time Disc Pro Pro Disc Post vi- vt

Early in the morning they bathed there.

HukBela 028
Araa kur ma mi hóós araa twéél agai her,
araa kur ma mi hóós araa twéél agai her
water bamboo.bucket come LOC spill water flow go descend
n n vi Post vi n vt vi vi

inni gaan no mi eweel-uruh.
inni gaan no mi eweel-uruh
3p 3s EMPH LOC bathe-massage
Pro Pro Disc Post vi- vt

The water that flowed out they used to fill bamboo water containers and to go down and bathe there, with the falling water massaging them.

HukBela 029
“Ah! Bo atal ong di araa haal yéh,
Ah bo atal ong di araa haal yéh
(upset) SEQ above PROX also water bamboo.pipe CONT
Interj Cnj n Deic Adv n n Asp

bo inni eweel-uruh ongo, ohok-ódói ongo,
bo inni eweel-uruh ong- o ohok-ódói ong- o
SEQ 3p bathe-massage PROX-EMPH be.happy PROX-EMPH
Cnj Pro vi- vi Deic-Disc vi Deic-Disc

ghééng-tang ongo!
ghééng-tang ong- o
laugh.aloud PROX-EMPH
vi Deic-Disc

“Aah! So here in the upper location there was also a bamboo pipe, so they were bathing here, they were being happy here, and they were laughing here!

HukBela 030

Tpan, aai yéh ongo,
tpan aai yéh ong- o
pound smash CONT PROX-EMPH
vt vt Asp Deic-Disc

inni ong di n'gan kekde yéh ap po!”
inni ong di n'gan DUP~kde yéh ap po
3p PROX also thing DUP~food CONT probably EMPH
Pro Deic Adv n n Asp TAM Disc

There was pounding and smashing (actions associated with food preparation), which means they probably had food there!”

HukBela 031

Ongo, piin ongo taa ur ge taa,
ong- o piin ong- o taa ur ge taa
PROX-EMPH 1pi PROX-EMPH sleep month 3U sleep
Deic-Disc Pro Deic-Disc vi n Pro vi

éléng ge taa, ge nang.
éléng ge taa ge nang
hungry 3U sleep 3U NEG1
vi Pro vi Pro Neg

Here (in the middle location), we had been sleeping here for months, and we were going to sleep hungry, it didn’t work out (to wait them to come).

HukBela 032

Ah! Yo pi yo, kokoh ongo blin ma lalé nabool lo
Ah yo pi yo kokoh ong- o blin ma lalé nabool lo
(upset) DIST 1pi EMPH sign PROX-EMPH pull come level umm EMPH
Interj Deic Pro Disc vt Deic-Disc vt vi n Paus Disc

Taam Kdok mi wo, n'gan de pi to beel,
Taam Kdok mi wo n'gan de pi to beel
(name) LOC EMPH thing REL 1pi RECIP bell
n Post Disc n Cnj Pro Pro n

bo yaah bo inni gaan no lé to beel.
bo yaah bo inni gaan no lé to beel
SEQ then 3p 3s EMPH ALL RECIP bell
Cnj Cnj Pro Pro Disc POST Pro n

Aah! In that way, we (inc) made a small monument and dragged it to the flat place, …umm, … of Taam Kdok. Then we signaled them, and they signaled us.

HukBela 033a

Bo	**a**	**ttan**		**kriik**	**ko,**	**Hlé**		**géé**	**ó'óm**
bo	a	t-	tan	kriik	ko	Hlé		géé	ó'óm
SEQ	3U	1piP-	hand	digit	EMPH	(group)		3P	oldest
Cnj	Pro	Pro-	n	n	Disc	n		Pro	n

gtan		**kriik**	**mi**	**gbok;**
g-	tan	kriik	mi	g- bok
3P-	hand	digit	LOC	3U-cut
Pro-n		n	Post	Pro-vt

So our fingers, the fingers of the senior Kui elders were cut (as part of a reconciliation ceremony);

HukBela 033b

a	**Pné,**	**Triwaat,**	**Lalel,**	**Molel**	**géé**	**ó'óm**	**gtan**	**kriik**	**mi**	**gbok;**
a	Pné	Triwaat	Lalel	Molel	géé	ó'óm	g-tan	kriik	mi	g- bok
3U	(clan)	(clan)	(clan)	(clan)	3P	oldest	3P-	digit	LOC	3U-cut
Pro	n	n	n	n	Pro	n	Pro-n	n	Post	Pro-vt

the senior elders of the Pné, Triwaat, Lalel and Molel clans cut their fingers;

HukBela 033c

Bring	**géé**	**gtan**		**kriik**	**mi**	**gbok.**	
Bring	géé	g-	tan	kriik	mi	g-	bok
(clan)	3P	3P-	hand	digit	LOC	3U-	cut
n	Pro	Pro-n		n	Post	Pro-vt	

and the Bring's (elders) cut their fingers.

HukBela 034

Wéd	**ong**	**pi**	**to**	**bei**	**yaah,**	**to**	**waang**	**plool**	**ló,**
wéd	ong	pi	to	bei	yaah	to	waang	plool	ló
day	PROX	1pi	RECIP	traditional.law		RECIP	traditional.law		EMPH
n	POST	Pro	Pro	vi		Pro	vi		Disc

iyeh	**tiin**	**kla**	**yaah**	**tiin**	**prees**	**yaah.**
iyeh	tiin	kla	yaah	tiin	prees	yaah
PROH	RECIP	report	may.not	RECIP	examine	may.not
Neg	Pro	vt	Neg	Pro	vt	Neg

These days we already have a traditional alliance, we are not allowed to accuse each other, and we are not allowed to investigate each other (under any circumstances).

HukBela 035

A	**to**	**tuub**	**yaah**	**to**	**tpeeng**	**yaah,**
a	to	tuub	yaah	to	tpeeng	yaah
INTENS	RECIP	point	may.not	RECIP	expose	may.not
Cmpar	Pro	vt	Neg	Pro	vt	Neg

to eek yaah to ook yaah.
to eek yaah to ook yaah
RECIP snap.at may.not RECIP angry may.not
Pro vi Neg Pro vi Neg

We are not allowed to point at each other, and not allowed to snap at each other in anger.

HukBela 036
Wéd ong pi mu nuk mu ak, de pi mih.
wéd ong pi mu nuk mu ak de pi mih
day PROX 1pi just one just part REL 1pi sit
n Deic Pro Aux Num Aux v Cnj Pro vi

These days we only love each other so that we can live together.

HukBela 037
Bo gaan no a u waa.
bo gaan no a u waa
SEQ 3s EMPH 3U APPL go
Cnj Pro Disc Pro clitic vi

So it (my story) just goes to here.

HukBela 038
Naan ong na géé élék ehuh.
naan ong na géé élék e- huh
1s PROX 1s 3P meaning 2sU-talk
Pro Deic Pro Pro n Pro-vt

I have explained its significance to you.

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