

*A grammar of Klon:
a non-Austronesian language
of Alor, Indonesia*

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A grammar of Klon:
a non-Austronesian language
of Alor, Indonesia

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Cover picture of a moko by Louise Baird. Mokos (metal drums) often have a link to the supernatural, and are a traditional form of wealth, and still used all over the Alor archipelago in important cultural transactions, such as brideprice.

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List of abbreviations

Wherever possible the Leipzig glossing rules have been used.

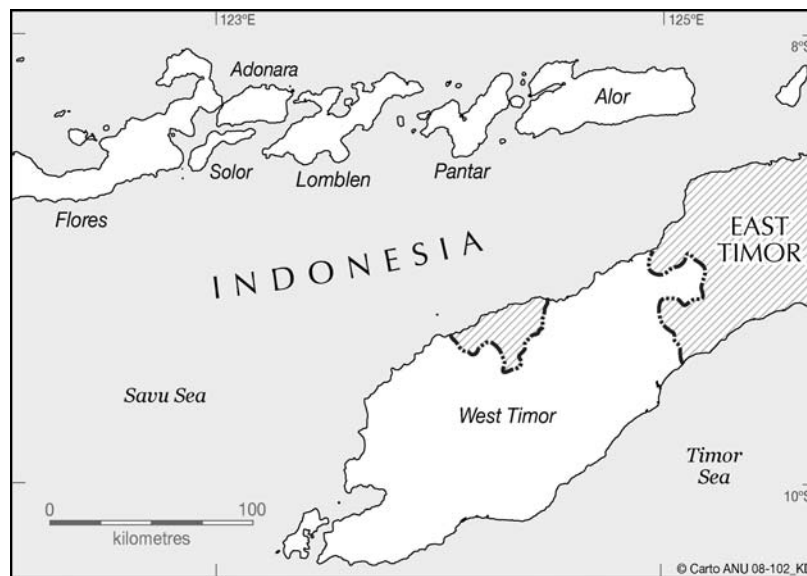
A	the most agent-like argument in a transitive clause
ACT	Actor
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
APPL	applicative
C	consonant
CLF	classifier
CPV	comparative
COMPL	completive aspect
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuative aspect
DEM	demonstrative
DEO	deontic mood
DIS	discourse particle
DIST	distal
D.TOP	different topic
DU	dual
DUR	durative aspect
EPI	epistemic mood
EXCL	exclusive
^F	free pronominal paradigm
FOC	narrow focus particle
HOR	hortative
IMP	imperative
IPFV	imperfective (incompletive) aspect
INCL	inclusive
INTS	intensifier
INTR	intransitive
IRR	irrealis
ITR	iterative
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NSG	non-singular
O	the most patient-like argument of a transitive clause
PL	plural
POSS	possessive

PRF	perfect aspect
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal
PU	Primary Undergoer
Q	question particle
RC	relative clause
RECP	reciprocal
RED	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative clause marker
RES	resumptive pronoun
S	the single argument of an intransitive clause
SEQ	sequential conjunction
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous conjunction
s.o.	someone
s.t	something
S.TOP	same topic
SU	Secondary Undergoer
s.w	somewhere
TAG	tag
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
TTL	title, form of address
UND	Undergoer
V	vowel
VI	valence increaser
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
1	Class I pronominal paradigm
2	Class II pronominal paradigm
3	Class III pronominal paradigm
4	Class IV pronominal paradigm

1 Introduction

1.1 Setting: history, location and languages

The Alor archipelago lies in south-east Indonesia, to the north of the island of Timor. It consists of the two larger islands of Alor and Pantar and a handful of smaller islands.



Map 1: Alor in relation to surrounding islands

Alor has been known to Europeans since Pigafetta in the 16th century.¹ There is evidence that Alor was already part of a trade network in the area before its colonisation by the Dutch.² Alor was in fact first claimed by the Portuguese, but the Portuguese influence was minimal.³ In 1853, the Portuguese gave up their claim on the Alor archipelago in exchange for the Dutch Pulau Kambing (Ataúru) north of Dili. For decades, the Dutch involvement with Alor also remained limited, until 1910 when the Dutch started a military campaign to control local Alorrese rulers. This resulted in regular revolts from the local

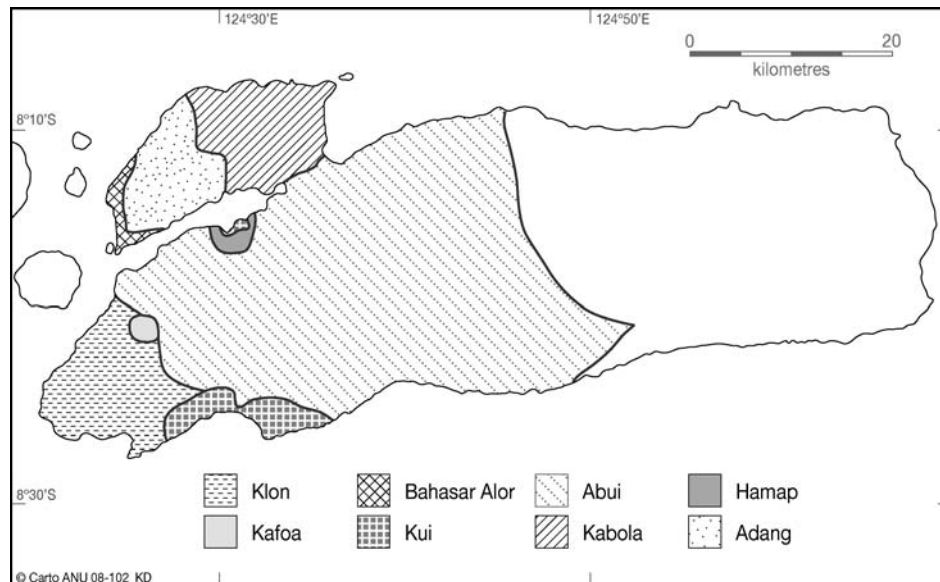
¹ Pigafetta was an Italian navigator, who travelled with Magellan circumnavigating the world, and one of only 15 men to survive the journey.

² For example, in 1851, every year more than 100 vessels came to the island, with traders from Buton and Kupang to buy rice and corn, as well as Bugis and Makassar to buy wax (van Lynden 1851:333).

³ Their influence was said to be limited to 'handing out Portuguese flags to some coastal rulers, among others those of Koei, Mataroe, Batoelolong, Kolana' (van Gaalen 1945:2).

rulers up until 1945 (van Gaalen 1945:2–9). In the late stages of WWII Alor came under Japanese administration, and only after WWII, after Soekarno and Hatta declared independence, was the presence of Dutch law generally accepted. This was only shortly before the Dutch withdrew from Indonesia in 1949–50, and Indonesian independence was felt throughout the archipelago. Today, the Dutch cultural influence is most visible in Kalabahi, and in the Kabola peninsula.

The precise number of languages and dialects present in the Alor archipelago remains elusive. The difficulty in obtaining reliable figures lies in the fact that much of the island is very hard to access due to a mountainous landscape, with few roads, coupled with individuals' varying widely in their estimates of the number of languages based on their concept of what a language as opposed to a dialect is. Realistic estimates of the number of languages in the archipelago range from 15 to 30 languages (see Stokhof 1975; Grimes, C., et al. 1997, and Grimes, B. 2005, which is based on Grimes, C. et al. 1997). Alor island is the largest of the islands in the archipelago, being approximately 80km by 100km in size, with 12 to 20 languages.



Map 2: Languages of West Alor

Aside from Austronesian languages spoken by small migrant communities, such as the Bajau or Bugis people, there are two Austronesian languages spoken (as first languages) in the Alor archipelago: Bahasa Alor or Alorese, and Malay. Bahasa Alor is believed to be structurally related to Lamaholot spoken in eastern Flores. Two varieties of Malay are spoken: Alor Malay (Baird, Klamer and Kratochvil 2004a), which is a Malay dialect derived from Bazaar ('Pasar') or Pidgin Malay (Adelaar and Prentice 1996) and standard Indonesian, the national language of Indonesia. Both varieties of Malay are prestige languages in the Alor archipelago. Many people on Alor call Alor Malay 'Bahasa Indonesia' and do not make a distinction between it and standard Indonesian. Some people appear to perceive the difference between Alor Malay and standard Indonesian as a difference between the registers of a single language, so that Alor Malay is used in most daily contexts, while standard Indonesian is reserved for formal, official occasions, and

daily contexts, while standard Indonesian is reserved for formal, official occasions, and primarily used by politicians. The use of standard Indonesian in daily contexts appears to alienate people somewhat and the speaker is regarded as ‘snobby’. Many Alorese understand standard Indonesian, but are unable to speak it themselves.

The remaining languages spoken in the Alor archipelago are all Papuan or non-Austronesian languages. The largest of these Papuan languages, as far as number of speakers is concerned, is Abui with approximately 16,000 speakers (see Kratochvíl 2007).

Aside from town-born Alorese, who are typically monolingual in Malay,⁴ the majority of people on the island of Alor are bi- or multi-lingual, generally speaking Malay in addition to at least one of the local languages.

1.2 Overview of Klón

1.2.1 Language names

The name Klón is both the name of an ethnic group and the language that they speak. This language name is variously spelt Klón, Kolón or Kelón by native speakers. Despite the multiple spellings the pronunciation remains the same [kəlon]. The spelling ‘Klón’ is used throughout this grammar in keeping with orthographical conventions concerning the representation of schwas (see §2.5.2). Klón is also referred to by the alternate names of Kelóng and Kalóng by other ethnic groups on Alor (Grimes, B. 2005; Grimes, C., Therik, Dix Grimes and Jacob 1997; Martis, Kurniawati, Arítónang, Astar and Feirizal 2000; Stokhof 1975; Author’s Kafoa fieldnotes 2004).

1.2.2 Genetic affiliation

The genetic affiliation of Klón is not yet clear. Stokhof (1975) hypothesised that Klón belongs to the Trans-New Guinea phylum, in the South Bird’s Head-Timor-Alor-Pantar branch of languages, in the Timor-Alor-Pantar group, in the Makasai-Alor-Pantar subgroup, as an Alor language. More recently the languages of Alor, including Klón, are believed to form a part of a West Bomberai-Timor-Alor-Pantar subgroup, a part of the Western branch of the Trans New Guinea Family (Pawley, Ross and Osmond, forthcoming). The exact genetic affiliation of Klón, or other Alor languages, is yet to be verified.

1.2.3 The Klón dialects

The Klón language is divided into two dialects by native speakers — Klón Bring and Klón Paneia. As with the language name, the dialect names are also used to identify groups of people. Klón Bring is spoken in the sub-district of South-West Alor (Kecamatan Alor Barat-Daya). More specifically it is spoken in hamlets in the villages of Probur, Probur Utara, and Tribur, by a total of approximately 3000 speakers. Klón Paneia is spoken in hamlets in the villages of Halerman, Margera, and Manatang by approximately 2000–3000 speakers.⁵ Due to the fact that I lived in the hamlet of Mataraben, in a Klón Bring

⁴ Dependent on their ethnic group, and personal family situation.

⁵ Figures were obtained from linguistic survey work carried out by the author in 2003, Grimes et al., (1997) and figures in BPS (2001).

community, most (approximately three quarters) of the collected Klon language data is from the Bring dialect, with only a small sample of materials from the Paneia dialect. Therefore, this study will focus on Klon Bring, and unless otherwise stated all examples in this grammar are from the Bring dialect. The main differences between the two dialects appear to be regular phonological variation, lexical differences and different pronominal paradigms. A common phonological difference is that Bring back vowels in syllables of the structure CVC will be diphthongised in Paneia (e.g. *koh* → *koih* ‘finish’, *huh* → *huih* ‘to say’). A couple of lexical differences are, for example, Bring *aal* ‘big’ is Paneia *alta* ‘big’ and Bring *abang* ‘to say’ is Paneia *bam* ‘to say’. Table 1.1 illustrates the differences between the singular free possessive pronouns (see §6.3 on Klon possession).

Table 1.1: Comparison of Bring and Paneia possessive pronouns

	Klon Bring	Klon Paneia
1SG.POSS	<i>ne</i>	<i>ning</i>
2SG.POSS	<i>e</i>	<i>ing</i>
3POSS	<i>ge</i>	<i>ging</i>

There is not a clear-cut border between the two Klon dialects. For example, the people who live in the hamlet of Aluben in the southern part of Probur village are regarded as Bring people, but they use a mixture of Klon Bring and Klon Paneia features in their speech.

Intelligibility between the two dialects is very much influenced by an individual’s exposure to the other dialect. Klon Bring speakers with very occasional or non-existent contact with Klon Paneia speakers often experienced difficulty in understanding Klon Paneia when they were exposed to it, and were quite derisive of the other dialect. However, those speakers with extensive contact, as would be expected, had no intelligibility problems, and had neutral attitudes towards it. Most Klon Bring speakers that I worked with could identify at least one feature that was different in Klon Paneia to their own dialect.⁶

1.3 Previous research

To date there has been scanty linguistic and anthropological research carried out in the Alor archipelago, although the early part of this century has seen a surge in linguistic research in the area.

The most well-known anthropological work concerning Alor is Du Bois (1960). Du Bois carried out ethnographic research with Abui speakers in the mountains in central Alor. More recently student Godfrey (2006) produced an anthropological overview of contemporary Alor.

Other grammars of languages of the Alor archipelago are: *The grammar of Adang*, written by scholar John Haan (2001), a grammar of Abui (Kratochvíl 2007) and a grammar of Teiwa spoken on Pantar (Klamer forthcoming). Several papers, primarily on the Blagar

⁶ A typical example that I was given is that the form *ing* in Klon Bring means ‘to vomit’, while in Klon Paneia it is a second person possessive pronoun ‘yours’.

and Woisika⁷ languages, have been written by the linguists Steinhauer and Stokhof based on field research they carried out in Alor in the 1970s (Steinhauer 1977, 1983, 1991, 1993a, 1993b, 1995; Steinhauer and Stokhof 1976; Stokhof 1975, 1983). Donohue (1997, n.d) wrote on linguistic phenomena found in Alor languages, and in the past few years various papers have been written by linguists Louise Baird, Gary Holton, Marian Klammer and František Kratochvíl.

The research carried out by the author represents the first linguistic research of substance to be undertaken into the Klon language. The only previously published work on Klon consists of two word lists, one in Stokhof (1975), the other in Martis, Kurniawati, et al. (2000). A third unpublished word list, and 36 elicited sentences were collected in 1999 by linguist Doug Marmion from The Australian National University on a reconnaissance trip to Alor.⁸

1.4 Data and approach for the study

The data for this grammar come from two fieldwork trips carried out by the author in 2003 and 2004. I lived and worked in the Klon Bring speaking community in Mataraben hamlet in Probur village for a total of approximately four months. I used three main techniques for data collection: participant observation, text collection and elicitation.

Participant observation was used to aid my own language learning process, which contributed to my understanding of Klon, Klon Bring speakers and the socio-linguistic contexts of language use. Participant observation was an ongoing process while living amongst the speech community, with the understanding from members of the speech community that I was constantly learning from them.

Text collection is invaluable to linguistic research for several reasons. Firstly, through text collection morpho-syntactic structures that cannot be discovered through elicitation and may not appear in everyday conversation are revealed, because it is spontaneous speech rather than elicited. Secondly, by collecting texts speakers are in direct control of any personal and cultural information that the researcher has access to. Thirdly, through the collection of culturally significant texts from a range of indigenous genres, not only is linguistic data recorded, but also the cultural traditions of the people that speak that language are documented. Information about the texts used in the production of this grammar can be found in Appendix A. Texts were recorded using a digital video recorder. These recordings were downloaded to a laptop in the field and the audio transferred onto CDs for data protection. Copies were made of the digital cassettes for reasons of redundancy of data after returning to the Netherlands. Approximately 15 hours of filmed textual data was transcribed, glossed and translated into Indonesian or Alor Malay with the help of local trained assistants. The annotated texts were then entered into the Toolbox database, and I translated them into English. Further elicited examples and notes were also entered into the database.

⁷ The name 'Woisika' is not accepted as a language name on Alor. Woisika is the name of a place, and the people who live there call their language 'Kamang'.

⁸ Due to the socio-political climate in eastern Indonesia at the time he was unable to pursue research in Alor and changed his field-site to Papua New Guinea.

Elicitation of specific data from a few speakers was used sparingly. It was primarily used to obtain explanations and more examples of morpho-syntactic structures found in texts and to procure answers to questions not readily available from texts.

I also used several well-known props to elicit stories and utterances. One speaker provided the storyline to accompany Mercer Mayer's children's book *Frog, where are you?*, which consists solely of pictures. Another speaker provided narration to the *Pear story* video clip, which doesn't contain any speech. Three elicitation tools produced by linguists from the Max Plank Institute were used as prompts to elicit specific linguistic phenomena. These were: short video clips depicting people performing everyday activities; animated video clips, known as *Motion Land*; and photos, which were used in a photo matching game, where the participants matched photos by describing them to one another, without being able to see the photo being described or each other.

1.5 Physical and cultural setting

Most Klon speech communities live in mountains up to approximately 700 metres above sea level, with average temperatures of 17 to 28 degrees centigrade in the dry season, which is approximately from May to October, during which time rain rarely falls. Temperatures are slightly warmer in the wet season, which is approximately from November to April, during which time it rains heavily every day. Within these two major seasons Klon identify other seasons, such as winter (June–August), when temperatures are noticeably cooler, especially overnight in the mountains, spring (September–October) when many trees come into flower, and the windy season (October–December). The Klon also identify the passage of time through agricultural seasons.

The majority of Klon speakers are farmers. The main food crops are cassava, sweet potato, taro and corn. The main cash crop is candle-nuts, with some farmers also having smaller cash crops of kenari-nuts, coffee or vanilla.

Klon speakers are traditionally head-hunters. Elderly Klon related that Dutch protestant missionaries put an end to head-hunting when they arrived in the early part of the twentieth century, in the process also forbidding the performance of traditional songs and dances, and other now lost and forgotten cultural practices. An example of this is the *lego-lego* circle dances⁹ that the Alor archipelago is famous for: the Klon say that missionaries told them to stop performing them because they were 'evil' and 'associated with head-hunting and wars'. These days when there is cause for a party, and hence *lego-lego* dancing, the Klon perform *lego-legos* from other Alor ethnic groups, most notably from Alor Kecil on the west coast of the Alor Bird's Head, and from the nearby island of Pura. Only two *lego-legos* with Klon songs were performed whilst I lived there, and appear to have been innovated in the past ten years or so. The songs that accompany these *lego-legos* tell of wars from the past, of which young people are generally ignorant, and old men argue over the finer points.

⁹ In a *lego-lego* dancers, both men and women together, form a circle, with arms around each others' waists or shoulders or holding hands, and perform intricate foot movements as they move around in the circle in an anti-clockwise direction. The foot movements are performed in time with rhythmic singing.

1.6 Sociolinguistic setting

1.6.1 Multilingualism

Precise figures on multilingualism were not collected, and so the percentages presented here are impressionistic, based on data obtained from speakers who provided recorded texts (see Appendix B). Almost 100% of Klon aged between 12 and 65 years old are bilingual in Klon and Malay. Most male speakers over the age of 65 years are also bilingual in Klon and Malay, but there is a significant number who are monolingual in Klon. Older women are much more likely to be monolingual in Klon. No women over the age of 70 who could speak Malay were encountered. Most of these women had never left the Klon speaking region.

There is an increasing number of Klon parents who are making a conscious decision to speak only Malay to their children. The largest bulk of monolingual Malay speaking children in the Klon region were under the age of 12 at time of research. There are two main reasons parents cite for wanting their children to be monolingual. The first is that there are many ‘mixed’ marriages, where parents come from different linguistic backgrounds, and instead of learning each other’s languages they use Malay to communicate. The second reason is that parents do not want their children to have ‘accented’ Indonesian and they do not want their children to learn ‘improper’ Indonesian, which they say would impede their job prospects. They believe that by being monolingual in Malay, as with a large proportion of the population of the town of Kalabahi, their child will have a greater chance of obtaining a well-paid job in the future (see §1.6.5).

Several recordings of children playing together were made, and from these it is apparent that many village children do use Klon, but there is also a significant proportion who do not. Klon speaking children when interacting with monolingual Malay speaking children also use Malay.

Klon speakers who are multilingual, in addition to speaking Klon and Malay speak one or more other regional language(s) from the Alor archipelago and/or from East Timor, which they typically learnt while residing in another location. Some people, typically men over 60 years old who received some Dutch education, speak some Dutch, while an increasing number of younger people are learning English at school.

Of the approximately 3000 Klon Bring speakers, approximately 500 speak Klon as a second language and speak Kafoa as their mother tongue.¹⁰ Amongst people currently in their 40s there has been some intermarriage between Klon speakers and people from the nearby island of Pura (mainly Blagar speakers). Those people from Pura who choose to live in Klon speaking areas learn to speak the language. Other people from outside of the Klon speaking area, for example Flores civil servants (such as teachers and a health worker) despite living for up to ten years in the Klon speaking region have not learnt the language.

Klon is still very widely spoken in most aspects of daily life. Malay, typically Alor Malay, but sometimes Indonesian, is typically spoken with outsiders. Malay (usually Alor Malay, sometimes standard Indonesian) is used in church, at evening prayer sessions,

¹⁰ The term ‘mother tongue’ is used rather than ‘first language’, because it appears that Kafoa children tend to learn Malay as their first language, acquiring Kafoa, and other regional languages as they grow (Author’s Kafoa fieldnotes 2004).

funeral services, in school, and in all government business, such as presidential elections and independence day speeches.

1.6.2 Ritual speech

There is a ritual speech register in Klon, which is only known by elderly men. The genre is identifiable by extensive use of parallelism and metaphoric language. The spheres in which ritual speech are used are said to be diminishing, as less of the traditional cultural practices are performed. In the corpus there is ritual speech data in the form of speech-making at a vigil over a corpse and bridewealth discussions, in addition to some ritual speech parallel pairs and metaphors scattered in the speech of Big Men in historical narratives.¹¹ The young men that I worked with to gloss and translate the texts knew a few of the parallel pairs and metaphors, but generally had to seek the meanings from their elders. They complained about how difficult this type of language was, but at the same time were very excited to learn it for themselves. There did not appear to be any restrictions on who could learn the parallel pairs and metaphors, but in my corpus ritual speech is only used by old men who are also regarded as Big Men.

It remains unclear to me whether the tradition of using ritual speech will be continued or not. It seems that as men go through life they slowly learn the parallel pairs and metaphors used in ritual speech, and if they attain Big Man status, then they will be able to use such language.

1.6.3 Access to media

The Klon, despite many being literate, do not have a tradition of literacy within their society, and this persists until today. Reading and writing (in standard Indonesian) is regarded as something that civil servants (such as government officials, or school teachers) are required to do as a part of their jobs. Most parents regard literacy an important skill for children to learn, in order that they may have a chance at obtaining a ‘good job’ as a civil servant. Given this context it is unsurprising that spoken forms of media (in standard Indonesian), although far from widely available, are more readily accessible than written forms (also in standard Indonesian).

Newspapers are quite difficult to obtain in the town of Kalabahi, let alone rural areas. Given that Klon culture is not oriented towards the written word, newspapers rarely, if ever, reach the Klon speaking region. Radios, too, are surprisingly scarce in the region, considering their affordability in comparison to televisions, and their not requiring electricity. Those people who do own radio-cassette players, tend to listen to music rather than listen to news broadcasts.

As noted, the economy in the Klon speaking region is primarily a subsistence economy. Most families do however earn some money either through the sale of cash crops or by having a civil servant amongst them. However, buying power is very limited compared to that of people in richer parts of Indonesia, or other parts of the world. Despite meagre cash flows there is an increasing number of televisions in those hamlets with electricity, which are almost exclusively purchased by non-Klon civil servants. Houses with televisions have

¹¹ ‘Big Men’ can roughly be regarded as the social and political elite in the community, who have attained those positions through their own efforts. See Foley (1986:19–20) and references therein.

become community focal points. For example, at night time (when the generator is running) a large proportion of the Mataraben population leave their homes and gather at the various houses that have televisions. People generally have a particular house at which they are a regular viewer, which typically reflects clan affiliation or political alliance.

Money is not the only inhibiting factor in the purchase of televisions. Due to the mountainous terrain of Alor it is virtually impossible to obtain a signal for live-to-air television outside of Kalabahi bay. Therefore, if one wishes to watch television it is necessary to also purchase a satellite dish. Most people do not have satellite dishes, but rather they own televisions so that they can watch VCDs, the slightly less sophisticated cousin of DVDs. Pirated VCDs are reasonably cheap and readily obtainable. These VCDs are of three linguistic types: the first have spoken Chinese with Indonesian subtitles, the second have spoken English with Indonesian subtitles, and the third have songs from Ambon, which are performed in Ambon Malay, with Ambon Malay subtitles.

Aside from VCDs the Klon speech community does not have much exposure to the outside world through media sources. This is in keeping with Klon general attitudes towards outsiders.

1.6.4 Outsiders: facilities and attitudes

Perhaps as a hangover from head-hunting days, outsiders are generally greeted with suspicion by the Klon. Outsiders' prolonged presence in their community is only tolerated as long as the unofficial (but also undisputed) head of the Klon ethnic group feels favourably towards them, and they provide the community with something that would otherwise be absent. In the majority of Klon hamlets outsiders are completely non-existent, except for perhaps a few women who have married into the community. Such women all seem to learn the language fairly quickly. In the hamlet of Mataraben (where I resided), there were comparatively many outsiders, because of an unusually high density of facilities for hamlets in the region, such as having a bitumen road from town to the hamlet, night-time electricity, a health centre, three kiosks, a church, both a primary school and junior high school, and a weekly market.

The outsiders in Mataraben either come from the nearby island of Flores (in which case they speak Austronesian languages) or from the even closer island of Pura (in which case they speak a related Papuan language). Most of the outsiders are teachers at either the primary school or the junior high school. The health-worker at the health centre was also from Flores, but in September 2004 was 'run out of the village' so to speak for political reasons, and replaced by a Klon speaking health-worker. Night-time electricity for Mataraben and surrounding hamlets (both in the villages of Probur and Probur Utara) is supplied by a generator located in Mataraben, which was installed, and maintained by an East Timorese (who speaks Tetun and a little Makasai in addition to Indonesian) and his offsider who was a Bahasa Alor speaker.

Most hamlets in the Klon speaking region have a locally owned and run kiosk — a small shop where it is possible to buy items such as noodles, rice, kerosene, cigarettes and lollies. Mataraben has three shops. One locally-owned, one owned by a Chinese-Javanese man, and run by Javanese family members, and one run by the Flores health-worker's wife (which was shut down when they left the village). They each stock different items, so that between the three of them it is possible to purchase, in addition to the usual items stocked in a kiosk, soft drinks, coffee, salt, sugar, thongs (flip-flops) and soap. The shop owners

also buy the local cash crop of candle-nut from local farmers, which they then re-sell in town to another middle-man.

Klon speakers on the whole are uninterested in the background of outsiders, such as where they come from or their life histories. Additionally the locals with whom an outsider may interact may be quite restricted, the outsider expected to fulfil a very narrow social role in the community. Aside from non-Klon wives, outsiders typically do not learn Klon. They may learn a few basic everyday phrases, but claim that it is too hard to learn. If they do attempt to speak Klon their efforts tend to be met with uproarious laughter, which is very discouraging. It appears that both the Klon and the outsiders are happy using Malay as their common language.¹²

Related to attitudes towards outsiders are Klon attitudes towards change. They seem to have a mixed attitude towards change. On the one hand they remain very suspicious of outsiders and uninterested in the outside world. Yet, on the other hand, they covet the material wealth that they perceive outsiders to possess. It seems that Klon are quick to adopt material changes into their life, such as easy access to food through a market, VCDs and gambling, so long as it does not compromise their obtaining more material wealth in the future. However, socially they are reluctant to change their behaviour. Continued use of Klon is related to, amongst other things, which of these two competing forces will ultimately prevail.

1.6.5 Attitudes towards Klon

Attitudes throughout the Alor archipelago are generally negative towards local languages, and the Klon speaking region is no exception. Klon Bring in general regard the local language as old-fashioned, out of date, and the language of poor uneducated people. A cause-effect relationship is frequently perceived, that is, those who speak Klon will become poor and uneducated.

Only a few people attached any importance to documenting Klon Bring before it is no longer spoken. Most of these people were old men, who in addition to being concerned about the transmission of cultural heritage, such as knowledge of the heroic deeds of ancestors, frequently had political motivation in having their version of a historical narrative recorded. In general, the documentation and description of their language was typically regarded at best indifferently, but more frequently as pointless by villagers.

The community in general, and most individuals, do not think about their language and culture abstractly (or want to) and regard local language as just a part of their existence (this is perhaps not uncommon world-wide). Those who did think about their local language and culture, on the whole had negative attitudes towards it, often regarding local language and culture as a hindrance to becoming wealthy. These people continue to use Klon in most spheres of their daily lives, except for talking to their children.

When comparing Klon to another language speakers invariably regarded Klon as inferior. For example, one Klon Bring speaker once told me that Klon Bring was the easiest language to learn in the whole of Alor, because unlike everyone else on the island they did not have accents when they spoke. Although never stated quite so fully by other

¹² Having the status of 'outsider' at times impeded linguistic fieldwork. For example, it was expected that I would only work with important men, and as a result only two recordings of women were made, one of who was originally from Pura and the wife of a Big Man, and the other the wife of a clan leader.

members of the community, the idea that Klon was an easy language compared to other languages on Alor was commonly expressed. They regarded this perceived simplicity in a negative way, comparing Klon to ‘good difficult’ languages like English.¹³ People frequently said that Klon was a ‘back-to-front language, not straight forward like Indonesian’, referring to Klon being a verb-final language, as opposed to verb-medial, and that Klon was ‘wrong’ and Indonesian was ‘correct’.

In principle, Klon speakers believe that bilingualism is a good thing, as long as the languages are standard Indonesian and English. Klon speakers believe that speaking these two languages will lead to economic success in life, while speaking anything else would be a hindrance.

Klon attitudes towards their language can be summarised as being at best indifferent, but frequently negative. As mentioned, whether Klon continues to be passed onto future generations is probably dependent on whether desire for material change or social conservatism prevails.

1.7 The influence of other languages

1.7.1 Local languages

All textual data in the corpus contains lexical items from other languages. Typically non-Klon constituents are clearly Malay-derived, however, some texts contained utterances from other local languages. For example, in the text entitled *Gadis Limon* ‘Lemon Girl’, the main character when distressed spoke in what Klon speakers refer to as the Pura language, as in (1.1), which does not contain any Klon lexical items.¹⁴

- (1.1) *Onung pito otonung e no tonu e lole da tan ton,*
mine blood wind oh or cyclone oh carry run carry swim
atmadi dola.
take.away lemon
‘May a cyclone carry my body off to a lemon tree.’
GLW018

1.7.2 Malay

Unsurprisingly, given that most Klon speakers also speak Malay and Malay is viewed in a more positive way than Klon, Malay words, phrases, calques, and discourse structures are frequently found in Klon texts. The only text out of the corpus that contains no Malay at all was the ritualised wailing of female mourners. However, in all other everyday and ritualised speech genres Malay words were used.

¹³ For example, Klon thought much more highly of me once I started studying Kafoa in addition to Klon, because they regard Kafoa as a difficult language to learn.

¹⁴ Pura is a nearby island, located just off the south-west coast of Alor, between Alor and Pantar. Steinhauer (1977, 1993a, 1993b, 1995) has carried out research into Blagar, spoken on Pura. The reliability of the parsing and glossing of example (1.1) could not be verified.

The status of Malay words and phrases as found in Klon texts has yet to be investigated. It remains for further research to evaluate whether these are loanwords, nonce borrowings, or instances of code-switching or mixing.¹⁵

There does not appear to be as extensive calquing from Indonesian as observed in some other local languages in the Nusa Tenggara Timur region (e.g. in Keo (Baird 2002)), but it does still occur. The most frequently occurring calque in the corpus is of the Malay *tidak apa-apa*, literally translated as ‘no anything’, it means ‘it doesn’t matter’ or ‘it’s alright’. Whereas in Malay the negator occurs in initial position, in Klon this idiom is expressed by using the noun *ngan* ‘thing’ followed by the irrealis and negative adverbs, as can be seen in (1.2). The order of [N IRR NEG] is highly unusual and only used in this calque. In predicative negation the irrealis adverb typically precedes the predicate, while the negator follows it (see §8.6).

- (1.2) *Ngan hok nang.*
 thing IRR NEG
 ‘It doesn’t matter./It’s alright./No problem.’

1.8 Typological overview and layout of this grammar

Chapter 2 describes the phonetics and phonology of Klon Bring. Klon Bring has 17 consonant phonemes and 12 phonemic vowels, of which there is a length distinction in five of the vowel positions. There are four sequences of vowels that can be regarded as diphthongs. Underived words can be one, two or three syllables in length. Word stress is based on the weight of syllables. Chapter 2 is rounded out with an overview of the orthography used in this grammar.

Chapter 3 describes the grammatical relations found in Klon. Ample morpho-syntactic evidence supports the identification of the grammatical relations of Actor, Undergoer, Primary Undergoer and Secondary Undergoer. Subsequently Klon can be labelled as an agentive language.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of word classes. The two major open classes of noun and verb are identified and their sub-classes described. The minor closed classes of adjectives, demonstratives and deictics, pronominals, numerals, classifiers and adverbs are then discussed.

Chapter 5 explores the forms and functions of the many pronominals found in Klon. There are three Actor argument pronominal paradigms, four Undergoer argument pronominal paradigms, a dual pronominal paradigm, and an emphatic pronominal paradigm.

Chapter 6 examines the internal structure of noun phrases, and the many types of nominal modification. Alienable and inalienable possession are also described, illustrating the use of the three possessive pronominal paradigms.

Chapter 7 examines verbal processes and derivations. The uses of the valence increasing prefix *u-* and applicative *mi-* are described and partial and full reduplication of verbs is examined. The chapter finishes with explanations of the formation of reflexives and reciprocals.

¹⁵ Wherever Malay words are used in examples in this grammar they are in roman text in contrast with the italics of the rest of the example.

Chapter 8 describes Klon adverbs and their functions. Five types of adverbs are identified: temporal, additive, aspectual, modal and negative. The focus of the chapter is on the aspectual and modal adverbs, which are highly salient within discourse.

In Chapter 9 the single-predicate clause types of Klon are presented: intransitive, transitive and ditransitive. This is followed by a description of interrogatives and imperatives. There are two types of interrogatives: polar questions and content questions; and imperative and prohibitive utterances.

Chapter 10 describes serial verb constructions. Following an overview of the Klon SVC characteristics, the symmetrical SVCs of sequential, manner and parallel and the asymmetrical SVCs of directional, modal, instrumental, placement and locational are described.

The final chapter, Chapter 11, examines the ways in which clauses combine in discourse. Relative clauses and complement clauses are described here. Clauses may be coordinated by either using one of three conjunctions or simple parataxis. Klon discourse is also ordered through the use of tail-head linkage and the use of discourse markers.

There are four appendices in this grammar. Appendix A provides metadata for the texts used in the production of the grammar; Appendix B provides sociolinguistic metadata for the main language helpers who assisted with the production of this grammar; Appendix C contains two sample texts; and Appendix D provides Klon — Malay — English word lists, compiled from the corpus collected during field research.

2 *Phonetics and phonology*

2.1 Consonants

2.1.1 Consonant phonemes

Klon has 17 consonant phonemes, as presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Klon consonants

Place ► ▼Manner	Labial	Alveolar apical	Palatal laminal	Velar dorsal	Glottal
Voiceless stop	p	t		k	ʔ
Voiced stop	b	d	ɟ	g	
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Rhotic trill		r			
Fricative		s			h
Approximant	w		j		
Lateral approximant		l			

The following minimal pairs show contrast between consonants with similar articulatory features. A full stop < . > indicates a syllable break, while the symbol < ' > is used to indicate primary stress and < ₁ > is used to indicate secondary stress. When the stress symbol is used it also marks a syllable break.

Table 2.2: Klon consonantal minimal pairs

Contrast	Klon	English
p~b~m~w (#_)	paŋ baŋ maŋ waŋ	'work garden' 'request' 'sharp' 'middle-sized, small'
t~d~n (#_)	ta: da: na:ʔ	'lie down' 'parent-in-law' 'drink'
k~g~ŋ (/ _#)	ak ag- aŋ	'part' 2NSG.UND ₁ - 'sweat'

k~g (#_)	kə'wai gə'wai	'swollen' 'divide evenly'
m~n~ŋ (_#)	'gam.bal gan gaŋ	'wing' 3ACT 'pinched'
l~r (#_)	laŋ raŋ	'long' 'crunch'
s~h (#_)	sai hai	'colour' 'no reason'
ʔ~h~Ø (#_)	ʔɛl hɛl ɛl	'buy' 'lift' 'see'

2.1.2 Stops

Most of the stop consonant phonemes occur syllable initially in any syllable, and syllable-finally in ultimate syllables. There are three exceptions: the voiced velar stop /g/, which only occurs syllable initially; the voiced velar nasal /ŋ/, which only occurs syllable-finally; and the voiced palatal stop /j/, which only occurs word-finally, and infrequently.¹ There is a gap in the consonant system left by the lack of a voiceless palatal stop /c/. Given the restricted distribution and infrequent occurrence of the voiced palatal stop /j/ this gap is less surprising.

Voiceless stops are sometimes non-contrastively aspirated.

Examples of each of the stops in word-final position and syllable-initial position both word-initially and word-medially are provided below.

Oral stops

/p/

Klon	English
pat	'to tie'
a 'da ₁ pu	'to cook'
mop	'to sleep'

/t/

Klon	English
tə'kin	'run'
'bon.tui	'fog'
hə'rot	'to sew'

¹ Despite the possible complementary distribution between the voiced velar stop [g] and the voiced velar nasal and voiced palatal stop neither [g] ~ [ŋ], or [g] ~ [j] are believed to be allophones of a single phoneme. The phonemes [g] and [ŋ] are not completely in complementary distribution, as both may occur in word medial codas. Some older speakers do not have the phoneme [j], instead they use the alveolar voiced stop /d/, in places where other speakers use this phoneme.

/k/

Klon	English
kə'bak	'spear'
mə'kɛʔ	'earth'
kap	'feather'

/ʔ/

Klon	English
ʔɛh	'forest'
ɛʔɛdɛn	'some'
wɛʔ	'blood'

/b/

Klon	English
bu:m	'flower'
kə'bak	'spear'
ʔib	'star'

/d/

Klon	English
dol	'mountain'
a'daʔ	'fire'
tɛd	'to sail'

/tʃ/

Klon	English
tɛʃ	'fight' ²
oʃ	'to call a dog'
o'doʃ	'bounce'

/g/

Klon	English
gil	'bells'
ɛ'gɛʔ	'road'

Nasal stops

There are three nasal stop phonemes. The nasals /m/ and /n/ may occur syllable-initially or in codas. The velar nasal /ŋ/ only occurs in codas.

² Note the contrast with /tɛd/ 'to sail'.

/m/

Klon	English
mə'kɛʔ	'earth'
'gam.bal	'wing'
kum	'blunt'

/n/

Klon	English
nə'bur	'liver'
i 'ni,nok	'person'
mɔn	'snake'

/ŋ/

Klon	English
naŋ	negative adverb
'aŋ.kol	'oneself'

2.1.3 Rhotic trill

Although the rhotic trill occurs both syllable initially and finally (in any syllable within the word), it is very marginally found word initially.³

/r/

Klon	English
ruh	'massage'
'gɔr.kɛi	'tail'
ur	'moon'

2.1.4 Fricatives

There are two fricative phonemes: /s/ and /h/.

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in both syllable initial and final positions. However, it only occurs word initially in 0.21% of words (that is, 4 out of 1903 lexical items). Two of the four lexical items with /s/ as an onset are clearly borrowings (*seng* 'money' > Dutch; *sus* 'sad, in trouble' > Malay *susah*), and a third *sai* 'colour' is only used in ritual speech.

The voiceless velar fricative /h/ occurs in all consonantal positions within syllables.

³ It was only found word initial in 0.58% of lexical items (11 out of 1903 lexical items).

/s/

Klon	English
seŋ	'money'
'kɛ.sɛl	'sweet potato'
i'ʔɛs	'to live'

/h/

Klon	English
hə'la	'rope'
i'hir	'salt'
gɛh	'bite him'

2.1.5 Approximants

The voiced labio-velar approximant /w/ and the voiced palatal approximant /j/ do not occur syllable-finally. Some speakers pronounce the voiced labio-velar approximant /w/ as a voiced bilabial fricative [β], but infrequently.

/w/

Klon	English
wiir	'to cry'
waa	'go'

/j/

Klon	English
jong	'this'
jale	'below'

2.1.6 Lateral approximant

The voiced lateral approximant /l/ occurs both syllable initially and finally. It can also occur in word-medial codas.

/l/

Klon	English
bɛ:l	'taro'
də'long	'neck'
'bul.gen	'sky'

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Long and short vowel phonemes

Klon has vowels at eight places in the oral cavity, five of which closely resemble the cardinal vowels. Each of these cardinal vowels has a phonemic contrast in length, while the three non-cardinal vowels do not.⁴

Table 2.3: Klon vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i:		u u:
Close-Mid	e		o o:
Open-Mid	ɛ ɛ:	ə	ɔ
Low		a a:	

In Table 2.4 minimal pairs for each vowel with a long/short distinction are provided, as well as minimal pairs for similar vowels. The mid-front unrounded vowel /e/ and the open-mid back rounded vowel /ɔ/ only marginally occur. However, there are minimal pairs between the various mid vowels which warrants positing them as distinct phonemes. Schwa only occurs in unstressed syllables.

Table 2.4: Vowel phoneme minimal pairs

Contrast	Klon	English
o~ɔ~o:	om	'man, husband'
	ɔm	'elder sibling'
	o:m	'uncle'
o~ɔ~u~u:	or	'louse'
	ɔr	'tail'
	ur	'moon'
	u:r	'see'
i~e~ɛ	mih	'sit'
	meh	'betel vine'
	meh	'leaf-litter'
a~a:~ɛ~ɛ:~i~i:	har	'sabre'
	ha:r	'evil sea spirit'
	her	'descend'
	he:r	'group'
	hir	'taboo'
	hi:r	'corner'

⁴ It has been informally suggested that the vowel length contrast found in other Alor languages may in fact be tones, and tones have been identified in neighbouring Abui (Kratovichil 2007). The auditory analysis of Klon did not reveal any tones. However, there are a large number of apparent homonyms in Klon, which may in fact have a tonal contrast. An acoustic analysis of Klon, and investigation of the possibility of tones, remains for future research.

2.2.2 Vowel sequences

There are four vowel sequences. Each of these consists of one of the cardinal vowels in the first part followed by the high front vowel /i/, as can be seen in Table 2.5. None of the long vowels or the marginal mid-vowels occur in such sequences. All of the sequences are pronounced as a single syllable, and occur in both open and closed syllables, as can be seen in Table 2.6.

Table 2.5: Klon vowel sequences

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	i:	u u:
Close-Mid	e		o o:
Open-Mid	ɛ	ɛ:	ə ɔ
Low		a	a:

Table 2.6: Vowel sequences in open and closed syllables

Vowel sequence	Klon	English
ai	agai haib	'go' 'danger'
ɛi	bei bɛin	'axe' 'fall, collapse'
oi	boi oin	'jungle' 'wood'
ui	bui duin	'betel nut' 'inside'

The final sound in the sequence could be regarded as a glide [j] in the open syllables, but this analysis is not possible for closed syllables, because to have two consonants in the coda would contravene Klon phonotactic rules. Additionally, the vowel sequences behave in the same way as long vowels, that is, they are able to occur in monosyllabic words or the ultimate syllable of di- or trisyllabic words (see §2.3). For these reasons the four vowel sequences are regarded as diphthongs.

2.3 Syllable structure

Klon underived words can be one, two or three syllables in length.

For monosyllabic words the syllable template is (C) V(V) (C), which can be represented as in Figure 2.1. Note that schwa cannot fill the nucleus position. See §2.1 above for details on which consonants can fill the consonantal slots in the onset and coda.

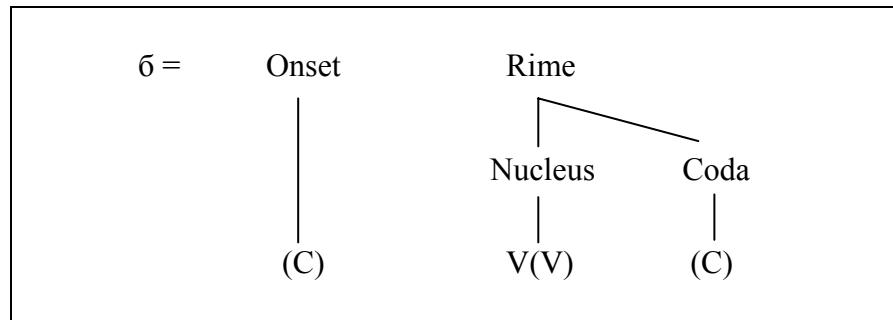


Figure 2.1: Structure of monosyllabic words

From this template seven syllable types are found, each of which is illustrated in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7: Monosyllabic word syllable structure

Syllable structure	Klon	English
CV	bo	conjunction
CVV	ma: lui	'cat' 'chilli'
CVC	mih	'sit'
CVVC	lood loid	'crying of dog' 'to hang'
VC	as	'time past'
VVC	a:l oin	'big' 'wood'
V	ε ei	2SG.ACT 'canoe'

The sequence VV (either V_iV_i or V_iV_{i+1}) is only found in monosyllabic words, or the ultimate syllable of multi-syllabic words. Thus the only type of heavy syllable found in a non-ultimate slot in multi-syllabic words is one that contains a consonantal coda. Therefore, all of the syllable structures found in monosyllabic words can be found in the ultimate syllable of multi-syllabic words, however those of the penultimate and pre-penultimate syllables are restricted.

In disyllabic words the penultimate syllable may have one of the structures illustrated in Figure 2.2. The consonants that may fill the coda position in the penultimate syllable of disyllabic words are restricted. Oral stops and approximants may not occur in word-medial codas, whereas nasal stops, liquids and fricatives do. Schwa may occur as the nucleus of the penultimate syllable of disyllabic words. Examples illustrating the different types of penultimate syllables found in disyllabic words is provided in Table 2.8.

Stress may fall on either the ultimate or the penultimate syllable in disyllabic words, dependent on the status of the penultimate syllable. If the penultimate syllable is a heavy syllable, with the structure CV(V)C stress falls on it (e.g. ['bɒŋ.həp] 'fog'). Otherwise, if the penultimate syllable is light, then the stress will fall on the ultimate syllable (e.g. [nə'mɜː] 'wind').

The stress pattern of disyllabic words formed as the result of a morphological process is also dependent on whether the penultimate syllable is heavy or not. For example, when a monosyllabic word becomes disyllabic, by being prefixed by valence increasing *u-* (see §7.3) then the stress falls on the ultimate syllable, because the penultimate syllable is light (e.g. [huh] 'to say' → [u'huh] 'to tell'). However, if a Class III Undergoer pronoun is cliticised to a monosyllabic verb, then the stress will fall on the penultimate syllable because it is heavy (e.g. ['gɪn.kɒb] 'hit him/her/them').⁵

2.4.2 Trisyllabic words

There are very few underived words consisting of more than two syllables. There are two stress patterns found in trisyllabic words.

trisyllabic word stress: '6.6.6 / 6'6.6

In all trisyllabic words secondary stress falls on the ultimate syllable. However, they differ as to whether primary stress falls on the penultimate or pre-penultimate syllable. There are several reasons for this.

In underived trisyllabic words the placement of primary stress is dependent on the comparative status of the penultimate and pre-penultimate syllables: whichever is the heaviest will receive primary stress (e.g. [kə'reɪ.jən] 'work', [a'da.pu] 'cook', ['ɒm.kə.nɛɪ] 'man').

In derived trisyllabic words stress placement varies depending on the type of process the base word has undergone. If a trisyllabic word is formed through a process of compounding, then the compound retains the same stress pattern found in the two elements (e.g. [kar] 'ten' + [o'rok] 'two' → ['kɑː.o.rɒk]; [e'tɛ] 'tree' + [weɪ] 'leaf' → [e'tɛ.weɪ] 'tree leaves'). If a disyllabic word is partially reduplicated the primary stress always falls on the pre-penultimate (newly-reduplicated) syllable (e.g. [mən'neɪm] 'perfumed' → ['mɛ.nə.nɛɪm], [a'beɪ] 'who' → [a.qɑː.beɪ], [bə'reɪ] 'slow' → ['bɔː.bə.rɛɪ]). On the other hand if a disyllabic word is prefixed by an Undergoer pronoun then which syllable receives primary stress is again dependent on which of the syllables is heaviest (e.g. [ri.jən] 'care for' → [gə'ri.jən] 'care for him/her/them'; [pə.nɛɪ] 'hit' → ['gɔː.pə.nɛɪ] 'hit him/her/them').

In words with four syllables, the first syllable receives primary stress, and the ultimate syllable receives secondary stress (e.g. ['mi.kə.re.jən] 'work at').

⁵ Because they are heavy monosyllables, contrasting with the other Undergoer pronouns, this stress pattern may be the reason that the Class III Undergoer pronouns can be used in slots other than immediately preceding the verb (see §5.3.4).

2.5 Orthography⁶

2.5.1 Phonemes

Orthographic symbols used for Klon phonemes are presented in Table 2.10 and Table 2.11..

Table 2.10: Orthographic symbols for Klon consonantal phonemes

Place ► ▼ Manner	Labial	Alveolar apical	Palatal laminal	Velar dorsal	Glottal
Voiceless stop	p	t		k	q
Voiced stop	b	d	j	g	
Nasal	m	n		ng ⁷	
Rhotic trill		r			
Fricative		s			h
Approximant	w		y		
Lateral approximant		l			

Table 2.11: Orthographic symbols for Klon vowel phonemes

	Front		Central	Back	
High	i	ii		u	uu
Close-Mid	é			o	oo
Open-Mid	e	ee	(Ø)	ò	
Low			a	aa	

There are many words in which the glottal stop is non-contrastive either word-initially or word-finally. In such cases sometimes the glottal stop is uttered and sometimes it is not. Therefore, as it is non-contrastive, and ambiguity is not an issue the glottal stop is not written for such words. For example the third person non-singular pronoun may be realised phonetically either as [iniʔ] or as [ini] and does not contrast with any other word, therefore it is written <ini>.

2.5.2 Unstressed vowels

Typically, unstressed vowels are reduced to schwa, but some unstressed vowels retain more of their height and backness features than others. Generally, those vowels that retain some height and backness features are written. Word-initial unstressed vowels are written when there is no prefixation, but omitted when there is prefixation.

⁶ For an explanation of the development of orthographies in Alor see Baird and Klamer (2006).

⁷ Note that when the symbols <ng> occur at the beginning of a word/syllable they denote two stop phonemes with a schwa between them (see §2.1.2), and only at the end of a syllable do they denote the velar nasal stop.

Schwa is never written. When there are orthographic consonant clusters at the beginning of a word or between a prefix and a base it can be assumed that there is an intervening schwa.

The only consonant clusters in Klon occur across syllable boundaries. They are generally, although not always, separated by a schwa. This is a phonetic rather than phonological process; for this reason and also to avoid potential ambiguity with other vowels no symbol is used to represent schwa in this position. For example:

[lahəwain] <lahwain> ‘wander around’

2.5.3 Vowel sequences

When a vowel is preceded by an approximant, the approximant is written as a consonant (either <w> or <y>). When the approximant follows a vowel, then the approximant is also written as a vowel (<i>). In this way syllable structure becomes apparent, with approximants indicating the beginning of a new syllable. This is consistent with Indonesian orthography, with which most Klon speakers are familiar and comfortable with. Examples of this can be seen in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12: Orthography of vowel sequences

Othorgraphy used	Unused option	English
<eyeh>	*eieh	‘don’t’
<oyor>	*oior	‘move’
<yaah>	*iaah	‘unable’
<myar>	*məiar	‘uncle’
<yol>	*iol	‘push’
<gwak>	*gəuak	‘released’
<iwil>	*iuil	‘light’
<waa>	*uaa	‘go’
<weer>	*ueer	‘river’
<wòr>	*uòr	‘rock’
<ei>	*ey	‘canoe’
<globei>	*gəlobey	‘chase him’
<amai>	*amay	‘below’

2.5.4 Morphemes

2.5.4.1 Alienable/inalienable possession

Klon has a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession (see §6.3.3). Inalienably possessed items include body parts and kin terms. Such items are obligatorily possessed. The possessive pronoun cannot be separated from the noun and so inalienably possessed nouns are written as a single word with their possessive pronoun prefix, as can be seen in Table 2.13.

Table 2.13: Orthography of inalienably possessed items

Possessive pronoun and noun	Written version	English
n- ooi	<nooi>	'my mother'
ni- man	<niman>	'my father'
g- en	<gen>	'his/her eyes'
eg- wer	<egwer>	'your (NSG) ears'

Klon speakers are inconsistent in the way they write alienable possessive pronouns: sometimes they are written attached to the possessed noun, sometimes they are written separately. The forms for alienable possessive pronouns are different to those for inalienable possession, but the same as one type of Undergoer pronoun. In order to distinguish them from inalienable possession and Undergoer pronouns they are written separated from the possessed noun, as in Table 2.14.

Table 2.14: Orthography of alienably possessed items

Possessive pronoun and noun	Written version	English
ge kuur	<ge kuur>	'his dog'
pe il	<pe il>	'our (INCL) garden'

2.5.5 Actor/Undergoer pronouns

Klon Actor pronouns (see §5.2) may occur adjacent to a predicate, but more typically are separated from it by intervening constituents. Therefore Actor pronouns are always written as independent words.

There are four classes of Undergoer pronouns in Klon (see §5.3). No constituent may intervene between them and a verb (except for Class III pronouns), and they are a part of the stress pattern of the verb. Therefore, the Undergoer pronoun and verb are written as a single word, as illustrated in Table 2.15.

Table 2.15: Orthography of Undergoer pronouns

Pronoun class	Undergoer pronoun + verb	Written form	English
Class I	n- eh	<neh>	'bite me'
Class II	no- pnei	<nopnei>	'hit me'
Class III	nin= mah	<ninmah>	'shoot me'
Class IV	ne- uur	<neuur>	'see me'

2.5.6 Valence increasing *u-* and applicative *mi-*

The orthography of the valence increasing prefix *u-* (§7.3) is uncontroversial and is written as a single word together with its host, as in Table 2.16.

Table 2.16: Orthography of valence increasing *u-*

Valence increaser + Host	Written form	English
u- ahan	<uahan>	'wash (something)'
u- hbur	<uhbur>	'sweep (something)'
u- Malaj	<umalaj>	'speak Malay'

The form *mi* is used as a comparative, a verb, an applicative and also in temporal expressions. When used as a verb or in temporal expressions it is written as a separate item. When used as an applicative it prefixes to verbs, and therefore is written together with the verb as a single word. Similarly when it is used as a comparative *mi-* prefixes to adjectives, and therefore is written together with the adjective as a single word. Illustrations of each of these uses and the orthographic convention used to depict them can be seen in Table 2.17.

Table 2.17: Orthography of *mi*

	Morphemes	Written form	English
Comparative + adjective	mi- knit	<miknit>	'smaller'
Applicative + verb	mi- uur	<miuur>	'see with (instrument, e.g. glasses)'
Verbal <i>mi</i>	alah yo mi	<alah yo mi>	'be at the house'
Temporal expression containing <i>mi</i>	minuk mi	<minuk mi>	'at one moment'

2.5.7 Words with multiple affixes

There are instances in which a single item may have multiple affixes. In such cases the order of the affixes is fixed, and the result is written as a single word.

Verb + Affixes	Written form	English
<i>mi-ge-uur</i> APPL-3UND ₃ -V	<migeuur>	'see him with (an instrument, e.g. glasses)'

2.5.8 Reduplication

Klon has both partial and full reduplication (see §7.5). Full reduplication of verbs is used to indicate durativity or iterativity of an activity. Partial reduplication of verbs is sometimes also used with this function. Some verbs may be reduplicated with either full or partial reduplication with the same meaning. Whenever reduplication is used with a durative or iterative function, regardless of whether it is full or partial, a hyphen is written between the reduplicant and its base, as can be seen in Table 2.18.

Table 2.18: Orthography of reduplicated items

Phonetic form	Written form	English
[lamlam]	<lam-lam>	‘to walk and walk’
[lalam]	<la-lam>	‘to walk and walk’
[huhuh]	<hu-huh>	‘to talk and talk’
[ɛʔɛlɛl]	<e-elel>	‘to search and search’

Partial reduplication of verbs may also be used with a derivative function (see §7.5.2–§7.5.3). When used as a derivative process no hyphen is used between the reduplicant part and the stem, in order to avoid confusion with the other type of reduplication. Examples of this can be seen in Table 2.19.

Table 2.19: Orthography of derivative reduplications

Stem and meaning	Phonetic form	Written form	English
<buuk> ‘to guard’	[bubuuk]	<bubuuk>	‘a guard’
<edan> ‘scared’	[ɛdɛdan]	<ededan>	‘a coward’
<tbui> ‘to defend, to war’	[tətəbui]	<ttbui>	‘a war-monger’

3 *Grammatical relations*

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Properties of grammatical relations

Following the theoretically neutral synthesis by Payne (1997) grammatical relations are treated as ‘... relations between arguments and predicates in a level of linguistic structure that is independent (or ‘autonomous’) of semantic and pragmatic influences’ (Payne 1997:129). Using a variety of morpho-syntactic features the two main grammatical relations of Actor and Undergoer are identified for Klon.

In different languages different overt coding and behaviour and control properties are relevant in the identification of grammatical relations (see Keenan (1976:324); Andrews (1985:71); Givón (1997:28, 1995) and Payne (1997)). The overt coding properties relevant in the identification of Klon grammatical relations are participant reference marking on verbs and constituent order. Additionally, the behaviour and control properties of promotion through increase in valency, reciprocals, noun incorporation, and anaphoric reference in paratactically conjoined clauses can also be used to identify Klon grammatical relations.¹

3.1.2 Grouping of A, S and O

For descriptive purposes I use the three letters A, S and O (as established by Dixon (1972, 1979, 1994) and used by Andrews (1985) and many other linguists subsequently) to refer, respectively, to the most agent-like argument in a transitive clause, the single argument of an intransitive clause, and the most-patient like argument in a transitive clause. Additionally I use the letter E to refer to the ‘extension to core’ non-A, non-O argument found in ditransitive clauses (following Onishi 2001:2). The identification of grammatical relations is concerned with how these arguments group together.

It is widely accepted that there is a primary distinction between 1. the grouping of A and S arguments versus O and 2. the grouping of O and S arguments versus A. Languages of the first type can be labelled ‘accusative’, while languages of the second type can be labelled ‘ergative’.

In addition to these two major types there is a third type of language, in which the S argument sometimes behaves in the same way as the A argument, and at other times it behaves in the same way as the O argument. Such languages have received many labels,

¹ Reflexivisation is not a valence altering process in Klon (see §7.6). A transitive verb takes two arguments, expressed by pronominals marked for the same number and person.

many of which are mentioned by Mithun (1991:511). One of the main reasons that such languages have been labelled in so many ways is because the motivation between the grouping of S with A and S with O differs from language to language. Dixon (Dixon 1979, 1994) tried to overcome the multiple motivations by positing the label ‘split-S’, while other scholars (e.g. Merlan 1985; Van Valin 1990), have used the label ‘split intransitive’. Meanwhile Durie (1988) argues that these labels are misnomers, because there is no category of ‘intransitive subject’ in these languages to be split.

It will be shown in subsequent sections that 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. Consequently, the grammatical relations of Actor and Undergoer are identified, and Klon is labelled as being ‘agentive’.²

3.2 Argument coding

3.2.1 Participant reference coding

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.

There are five full pronominal paradigms used for encoding core arguments in Klon (leaving aside reduced forms and the hortative pronoun paradigm), which are described in Chapter 5. The distribution of the five paradigms is summarised in Table 3.1. There is no single set of pronouns that can solely fill any of the core roles of A, S and O. However, there is a clear distinction between the free pronominal paradigm and the bound pronominal paradigms, as illustrated in Table 3.1. The paradigms for the bound pronominals are presented in §5.3. Three classes of bound pronominals are prefixes, while a fourth class consists of proclitics. The choice of pronominal that a verb takes is typically lexicalised, although there are some instances in which the choice is semantically motivated (see §5.3.6).

Table 3.1: Pronoun distribution

	Free pronouns	Bound pronominals
marks A	yes	no
marks S		
marks O	no	yes

As can be seen in Table 3.1, A arguments can only be marked by free pronouns, and O arguments can only be marked by bound pronouns. S arguments can be marked by any of the pronouns, hence they group together with A arguments in some instances (S_A), and group together with O arguments in other cases (S_O). The semantic nature of the referent determines how the S argument is realised (see §4.3.6). The examples below illustrate the use of free pronouns for A and S_A arguments, and Class I bound pronouns for O and S_O arguments. (Note that the other classes of bound pronouns behave in the same way.) In

² When discussing grammatical relations capitals are used for the terms Actor and Undergoer, and in discussing semantic relations lower case letters are used for the terms actor and undergoer.

example (3.1) the free pronoun *ini* ‘3NSG’ is used for an A argument, and the Class I bound pronominal *g-* ‘3UND’ is used for an O argument. In (3.2) the Class I bound pronominal *n-* ‘1UND’ is used for a S_o argument, and the free pronoun *na* ‘1SG.ACT’ is used for an A argument. In (3.3) the free pronoun *ini* ‘3NSG’ is used for a S_A argument.

- (3.1) *Koh ini awa g- eh nang.*
 finish 3NSG again 3UND₁- feed NEG
 After (that was finished) they didn’t feed her any more.
 KKTo002
- (3.2) *Uruut béq ma, n- edan, na ete hil agai.*
 deer pig come 1SG.UND₁- scared 1SG.ACT tree climb go
 Deer and pig came, I was scared, I climbed a tree.
 BBTo006
- (3.3) *Nang, ini hok waa nang.*
 NEG 3NSG IRR go NEG
 No, they didn’t go.
 LBH016

Based on participant referent coding the following conclusions can be made about the grammatical relations of Actor and Undergoer: Actor arguments can be defined as those arguments which can be expressed by pronouns from the free pronoun paradigm; Undergoer arguments can be defined as those arguments which can be expressed by any of the bound pronominal paradigms.

3.2.2 Constituent order

Constituent order in Klón is partially syntactically motivated, and partially pragmatically determined.

The single argument of an intransitive clause may be realised 1. by a full NP, 2. by a free pronoun (S_A), 3. by a bound pronoun (S_o), or 4. by a combination of a full NP and a pronoun. In all cases the constituent order is SV. That is, there is no difference in constituent order, despite a possible difference in argument marking. Therefore, examining constituent order within intransitive clauses alone is unenlightening as far as grammatical relations are concerned.

Transitive clauses may have one of three constituent orders: AOV; OAV; or AVO. Hawkins (1983) presents three criteria for determining basic constituent order: 1. constituent order with highest text frequency, 2. highest frequency within the grammatical system, and 3. grammatically unmarked status of constituent order. While Dryer suggests basic word order should be based on the ‘... definition that allows the strongest generalizations about word order correlations’ (Dryer 1996).

Transitive clauses containing two full nominal constituents (i.e. NPs or free pronouns) are rare in texts. In all texts the bulk of these transitive clauses occur at the beginning of the text. This makes sense, as at the beginning of a narrative, interview, conversation etc. the participants are being established, while later in the text it is possible to track the (already established) participants through ellipsis or use of pronominals. Table 3.2 illustrates how few transitive clauses with two nominal constituents there are in four

randomly selected texts of varying sizes. The percentage of transitive clauses with two full nominal constituents in each of the clauses varies very little across the four texts.³

Table 3.2: Distribution of transitive clauses within texts

Text name and type ⁴	Total number of clauses	Transitive clauses containing two nominal constituents	AOV	OAV	AVO
<i>Kegiatan Pikul Kayu</i> 'The activity of carrying wood' (personal narrative)	144	17 (12% of all clauses)	12 (70% of trs. clauses)	2 (12% of trs. clauses)	3 (18% of trs. clauses)
<i>Nama Kampung Probur</i> 'The name of Probur village' (interview)	128	5 (4% of all clauses)	2 (40% of trs. clauses)	0	3 (60% of trs. clauses)
<i>Riwayat Hidup Adat</i> 'Story of traditional life' (personal narrative)	112	5 (4% of all clauses)	5 (100% of trs. clauses)	0	0
<i>Dukun Wanita 2</i> 'The Midwife' (interview)	239	13 (5% of all clauses)	10 (77% of trs. clauses)	3 (23% of trs. clauses)	0

The most commonly occurring constituent order type in transitive clauses (with either both full nominal constituents or verbal agreement marking) in texts is AOV, as is reflected in the data in Table 3.2. Based on this AOV can be identified as the basic constituent order of Klon. However, each constituent order is used with different discourse pragmatic functions. AOV constituent order is the most grammatically unmarked, but it is pragmatically marked, as it is used to introduce new participants into discourse (typically in O function). An example of this can be seen in the SVC in (3.4), the opening utterance of a personal narrative. The speaker establishes the main participants of the narrative by using full nominals (as well as pronominal marking on the verbs) for the A and O arguments.

- (3.4) *Ise orok akan, man mantri M.U. ngin= elel qad*
 before two night father official M.U. 1NSG.EXCL.UND₃= search come
A O V
 Two nights ago Mr Official M.U came looking for us

³ Although the numbers are very low and perhaps not strictly statistically significant, the figures in Table 3.2 do reflect the data and conclusions are able to be drawn from them.

⁴ See Appendix A for more information about these, and the other texts used in the preparation of this grammar.

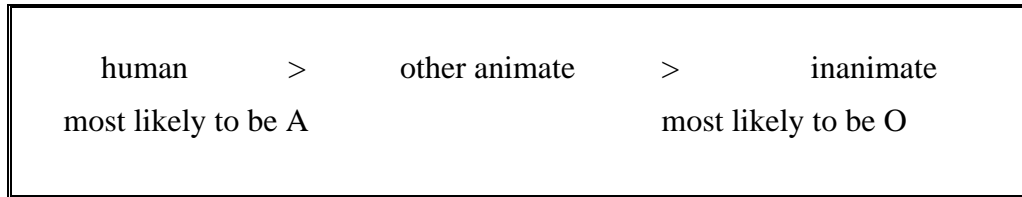


Figure 3.1: Klón animacy hierarchy

In the bold clause in (3.7) with OAV constituent order *eteq yo* ‘that wood’ is clearly the Undergoer, while *ini* ‘they’ is clearly the Actor. An utterance in which ‘wood chain-sawed them’ would be highly marked, and could not be expressed with the structure in (3.7).

- (3.7) *Bo ni lam, ni agai u- hiid,*
 SEQ INSG.EXCL walk INSG.EXCL go VI- reach
 So we walked, we went reaching (the place of the fallen trees),
- ho jam nuk ge- lam agai yo, eteq yo ini sengsor agai,*
 SIM time one 3UND4- walk go that wood that 3NSG chainsaw already
 and in an hour walked there, they had already chain-sawed the wood,
- eteq kak o a ubei nah, bo hos yeh.*
 wood board that 3RES many very SEQ place CONT
 there were very many planks of wood placed there.
 PBT007

In the case that the two arguments in a transitive clause are equivalent on the animacy hierarchy (that is, they are either both human, or both another animate) and context (either from previous discourse, the speech location, or shared cultural knowledge) does not disambiguate, then constituent order is used to do so. In such cases O arguments cannot be marked for focus through the use of constituent order. The constituent order that is always used in contexts where there is little, ambiguous or no other evidence to determine the grammatical relation of the participants is AOV. Therefore it can be said that constituent order is used to identify the grammatical relations of arguments in an unmarked transitive clause: the left-most argument can be identified as the Actor, and the pre-verbal argument can be identified as the Undergoer.

Ditransitive clauses contain three core arguments, and thus three grammatical roles can be identified. The referent of the O argument in ditransitive clauses has the semantic role of recipient, while the referent of the E argument has the semantic role of theme. The O argument in transitive clauses and ditransitive clauses is both semantically and morpho-syntactically equivalent. Klón ditransitive clauses have the constituent order AEOV or EAOV. AEOV constituent order is basic, but EAOV frequently occurs when it is clear from context and the animacy hierarchy which argument is the E argument and which the A.

The transfer verb *en* ‘to give’ is obligatorily prefixed by a Class I Undergoer pronoun, which refers to the recipient. This can be seen in (3.8)–(3.9), in both of which the O argument — the recipient — is marked on the verb by the first person singular Undergoer pronominal *n-*. Example (3.8) contains an *en* ‘to give’ ditransitive clause with the

constituent order AEOV and in (3.9) the ditransitive *en* ‘to give’ clause has the constituent order EAOV.⁵

- (3.8) Bapak *ak n- en na kde.*
 father part 1SG.UND₁- give 1SG.ACT eat
A E O V
 Dad give me some to eat (lit. I eat).
 GWKM073

- (3.9) *Bo gan ehok yo igi n- en agai*
 SEQ 3ACT place that 2NSG.ACT 1SG.UND₁- give PRF
E A O V
de bo nab araa bo, na naaq?
 CONJ SEQ what water SEQ 1SG.ACT drink
 You’ve given me that place, but what water so I drink?
 AKOB034

In Dryer’s (1986) terminology the two non-A arguments in ditransitive clauses can either be labelled ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’, when the O argument of a transitive clause corresponds to the theme argument of a ditransitive clause; or can be labelled as ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’, when the O argument of a transitive clause corresponds to the recipient argument of a ditransitive clause.

In Klon, as mentioned above, the recipient argument found in ditransitive clauses is morpho-syntactically equivalent to the O argument found in transitive clauses, that is, it is prefixed to the verb occurring in the immediately pre-verbal slot, while the theme argument in the construction occurs left of the recipient argument. Thus the grammatical relations of Primary Undergoer (referring to the O argument of ditransitive clauses) and Secondary Undergoer (referring to the E argument of ditransitive clauses) can be identified.

3.2.3 Anaphoric co-reference in paratactically conjoined clauses

Anaphoric co-reference or deletion of arguments across clauses often provides evidence for one of the grammatical relations in a language, typically (although not exclusively) involving the A argument of a transitive clause. In Klon, if the same grammatical relation is used across clauses then it can be deleted, or reduced by using a pronominal form in the following clause. Whether a free or bound pronominal is used is dependent on the grammatical relation of the argument.

If two arguments in paratactically conjoined clauses have referentially equivalent A and S arguments, then the argument in the second clause can be either reduced to a pronoun or deleted.

Examples (3.10)–(3.11) each contain two transitive clauses in which the A arguments are referentially equivalent. In (3.10), in which the A argument in the first clause is expressed as a proper name, and in (3.11), in which the A argument in the first clause is expressed by a pronoun, the A argument in the second clause is co-referentially deleted.

⁵ In the textual corpus E arguments only occur in NPs. A clause was elicited in which both O and E arguments were Undergoer pronominals prefixed to the verb, but the grammaticality of the example is dubious.

This contrasts with (3.12), in which the A arguments are not equivalent, and therefore must be overtly expressed in both clauses.⁶

- (3.10) *Peter Joni gin= tendang, koh ho Ø Louise di awa gin= kob.*
 Peter Joni 3UND₃= kick finish SIM Ø Louise also again 3UND₃= hit
A O O V Ø O O V
 Peter kicked Joni and (Peter) also hit Louise.
 TCJ008

- (3.11) *Na in= tendang, koh ho Ø gin= kob.*
 1SG.ACT 2SG.UND₃= kick finish SIM Ø 3UND₃= hit
A O V Ø O V
 I kicked you and (I) hit him.
 TCJ94-008

- (3.12) *Na in= kob, koh ho ga in= tendang.*
 1SG.ACT 2SG.UND₃= hit finish SIM 3ACT 2SG.UND₃= kick
A O V A O V
 I hit you then he hits you.
 TCJ94-007

In (3.13) the A argument in the first clause is co-referential with the deleted S_A argument in the second clause.

- (3.13) *A ne- uur, koh bo Ø u- agar.*
 2SG.ACT 1SG.UND₄- see finish SEQ Ø VI- laugh
A O V Ø V
 You saw me then (you) laughed.
 TCJ93-006a

The presence of multiple intransitive clauses in paratactically conjoined clauses is rare. However, if the S_A arguments in two paratactically conjoined clauses are referentially equivalent the second instance will be either reduced to a pronoun, as in (3.14), or deleted. Reduction is much more common than deletion with co-referential S_A arguments across clauses because without a constituent, such as a clausal coordinator or an overt argument to break up verbs, the utterance could be considered a SVC (see §10.2) rather than two clauses. This ambiguity can be seen in (3.15).

- (3.14) *John ma de, a imih.*
 John come CONJ 3RES stay
S_A V S_A V
 John came and stayed.
 TCJ001a

- (3.15) *Pi taan kde inok.*
 INSG.INCL.ACT sell eat able
 We sell (and we) can eat.
 SPGS003

In (3.16), containing an intransitive and a transitive clause, the S of the first clause is referentially equivalent to the A which is deleted.

⁶ Examples (3.10)–(3.14), (3.16), (3.19) and (3.20) in this section are elicited utterances.

- (3.16) *Joni qad, Ø Peter g- el*
 Joni come Ø Peter 3UND₁- see
S_A V Ø O O V
 Joni came and (Joni) saw Peter.
 TCJ004

Anaphoric co-reference in paratactically conjoined clauses, then, would at first sight appear to support the notion that Klon is nominative-accusative, with the ‘subject’ argument able to be co-referentially reduced or deleted. However, this is not the case. Referentially equivalent O and S_O arguments can likewise be co-referentially reduced or deleted, in paratactically conjoined clauses. Such evidence, taken alone, would support the notion that Klon is ergative-absolutive, with S and O grouping together as ‘absolutive’, with an ‘ergative’ A. However, in light of the above evidence showing the co-referential behaviour of A and S_A arguments this conclusion would also be erroneous.

Example (3.17) consists of five clauses. Clauses 2, 3, and 4 contain a common referent. In clause 2 the referent is a S_O argument, in clauses 3 and 4 an A argument. In the fourth clause the referent is deleted, as it is co-referential with the A argument in the third clause. However, the referent cannot be deleted in clause 3 because it does not have the same grammatical relation as the S_O argument in clause 2. Further, in (3.18) we see that the A and S_A arguments in clauses 8 and 9 respectively expressing the protagonist of the story are co-referentially deleted. However, the protagonist is overtly mentioned again in clause 10 in which he is expressed as a S_O argument. Note also that the ‘deer’ S_A argument is co-referentially deleted in clause 6.

- (3.17) [*Uruut béq ma*]₁ [*n- edan*]₂ [*na eteq hil agai*]₃
 deer pig come 1SG.UND₁- scared 1SG.ACT tree ascend go
S_O V A O V V

Deer and pig came, I was scared, I climbed up a tree,

[*Ø eteq kol ta mteh*]₄ [*uruut qeh g- lul qad.*]₅
 Ø tree tree.top above stand deer forest 3UND₁- follow come

(I) stood at the top of the tree, the deer came through the forest.

BBTo006

- (3.18) [*Ø Qad*]₆ [*bo nok bo*]₇ [*Ø peh kbor ong puin g- tap diqiri*]₈
 Ø come SEQ good SEQ Ø bow arrow this hold 3UND₁-shoot say
Ø V Ø O O V

(It) came so (I) held this bow and arrow to shoot it,

[*ho Ø yaah*]₉ [*n- edan.*]₁₀
 SIM Ø unable 1SG.UND₁- scared

Ø V S_O V

but couldn’t, I was scared.

BBTo007

In the case that two O arguments in paratactically conjoined clauses are referentially equivalent, then the second is deleted or, more typically, reduced. In (3.19) the O arguments in the two clauses are co-referential. In the first clause the O argument is expressed by both a personal name, and agreement marking on the verb, while in the

second clause the full NP is co-referentially deleted. In fact it is ungrammatical to express the second occurrence of a referentially equivalent O argument by a full NP.

- (3.19) *Joni Peter gin= tendang, koh ho Louise awa gin= kob.*
 Joni Peter 3UND₃= kick finish SIM Louise again 3UND₃= hit
 A O O V A O V
 Joni kicked Peter then Louise hit him (Peter) again.
 TCJ007

If an O and S argument are referentially equivalent, but the S argument is expressed in the same way as an A argument, then it must be overtly stated, as it has a different grammatical relation, as can be seen in (3.20).

- (3.20) A *ne- uur, koh bo na u- agar.*
 2SG.ACT 1SG.UND₄- see finish SEQ 1SG.ACT VI- laugh
 A O V S_A V
 You saw me then I laughed.
 TCJ93-006

In (3.21) we see that the S_O argument *uruut* ‘deer’ in clause 3 is co-referential with the O arguments in clauses 4, 5 and 6. Because it is co-referential it is not expressed by a full NP again, but remains marked on verbs that take obligatory pronominal marking.

- (3.21) [*Qad hben nuk uap o*]₁ [*buk nuk uap o*]₂ [*uruut di i u- egel*]₃
 come land one across that hill one across that deer also DUR VI- tired
 S_O V
 Coming across some land, crossing a hill, the deer was also becoming tired,
 [*kuur non g- eh*]₄ [*bo ni agai go- hiid*]₅
 dog PL 3UND₁- bite SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT go 3UND₂- reach
 A O V
 all the dogs bit it and we went and reached it
 [*bo ni g- ebeer.*]₆
 SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT 3UND₁- die
 and we killed it.
 BBTo018

Paratactically conjoined intransitive clauses are very rare in Klon. I could find no such clauses in which both of the S arguments were S_O. Additionally no examples were found in the corpus of an S_O argument co-referential with the O of a previous clause.

To summarise, A and S_A arguments that are co-referential across clauses may have the second member either marked by a pronoun or deleted. A and S_O arguments are not co-referential and therefore reduction and deletion is not possible. Co-referential O arguments or O and S_O arguments, when expressed by full NPs can be co-referentially deleted, but remain marked on the verb. This provides further support of the identification of two primary grammatical relations in Klon. Once again, in cross-clausal co-reference A and S_A arguments group together as Actor arguments and O and S_O arguments group together as Undergoer arguments.

3.2.4 Reciprocals

Reciprocals are a valency reducing process in Klon. A reciprocal marker (*t-/to-/tin-/te-*) is prefixed to verbs to indicate that the Actor and Undergoer of a semantically transitive clause have the same referent, and thus reduce the valency of the clause to become syntactically intransitive (see §7.7). The reciprocal marker is coreferential with the Actor argument, as can be seen in (3.22). The reciprocal marker can only occur with non-singular Actors, hence it can be used to identify such arguments.

- (3.22) *Nang bo ga kukun, ni to- kar to- oloq,*
 NEG SEQ 3ACT early.morning 1NSG.EXCL.ACT RECP- call RECP- call
 So it was early morning, we called each other
- gen to- g- nuk kenap i koh,*
 until RECP- 3UND₁- one complete DUR finish
 until we were all gathered together,
- wed o di ni mid, ge nmei yo a= let yaah*
 now that only.then 1NSG.EXCL.ACT climb 3POSS_F place that INTS= far unable
 only then did we climb, his place was very far,
- de ho, nga anaq gen-gnok,*
 CONJ SIM 1NSG.EXCL.HOR amount many
 but there were a lot of us,
- bo ni to- ma~ mar lam,*
 SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT RECP- RED~ together walk
 and we walked together,
- bo ni snang.*
 SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT happy
 so we were happy.
 PBTo005

3.2.5 Promotion through increase in valency

There are two valence increasing prefixes: the general valency increaser *u-* and applicative *mi-* (see §7.2–§7.4). These prefixes are used to introduce a core argument into a clause that would otherwise be absent or expressed by other means. There are three processes relevant to grammatical relations.

Undergoer arguments can be introduced into a clause when the valence increasing prefix *u-* is prefixed to an intransitive verb, as illustrated by (3.24), which contrasts with (3.23).

- (3.23) *Do om yo buser yeh.*
 respectful.title man that talk CONT
 S_A V
 That man is talking.
 AB3:275a

- (3.24) *Ngi wra kreyang u- buser.*
 INSG.EXCL.ACT tomorrow work VI- talk
A O V
 Tomorrow we'll talk about work.
 AB3:275b

An Actor argument can be introduced into a clause when the valence increasing prefix *u-* is prefixed to a noun, deriving an intransitive verb, as the examples in Table 3.3 illustrate.

Table 3.3: Derived intransitive verbs

Underived noun		Derived intransitive verb	
<i>Malaj</i>	'Malay'	<i>uMalaj</i>	'speak Malay'
<i>kdeh</i>	'head'	<i>ukdeh</i>	'to lead'
<i>Klon</i>	'Klon'	<i>uKlon</i>	'speak Klon'

Undergoer arguments can be introduced into a clause when the applicative *mi-* is prefixed to a verb. It is used to promote oblique arguments to O status with an instrumental role, as illustrated by (3.26), and contrasts with (3.25), which does not contain an applicative.

- (3.25) *Na lam.*
 1SG.ACT walk
S_A V
 I'm walking.
- (3.26) *Na doob mi- lam.*
 1SG.ACT stick APPL- walk
A O V
 I use a stick to walk.

3.2.5 Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation is an identifying feature of the grammatical relation of Undergoer. Noun incorporation is a valency-decreasing process, since an argument (the Undergoer) becomes a part of the (now intransitive) verb. Evidence that the Undergoer is a part of the verb comes from a different stress pattern and the fact that verbal prefixes may be attached to the noun, as in (3.27), containing the incorporated noun *araa* 'water'.

- (3.27) *Nuk mteh na mi- ho~ hod yongo wo, ong biasa ge yo,*
 one stand 1SG.ACT APPL- RED~ cut that that this usual 3POSS_F that
 The one standing here that I'm cutting, this is his,
- gtan mnaak onon ngi yo adakoq gten,*
 branch small all INSG.EXCL.ACT that firewood do
 we make firewood from all the small branches,

u- adapu u- araa hos, u- araa g- tut, ni kde naaq.
 VI- cook VI- water cook VI- water 3UND₁- hot 1NSG.EXCL.ACT eat drink
 to cook, to boil water, to heat water, we eat and drink.
 GWKM007

Incorporated nouns are always non-agentive and typically generic, nonreferential and indefinite. As in (3.27) the combination of incorporated noun and verb generally denotes habitual, permanent or characteristic activities, states or events.

3.3 Summary

The alignment of arguments is primarily semantically and pragmatically motivated in Klon. However, in addition to the grammatical relations of Actor and Undergoer corresponding to Foley and Van Valin's (1984) semantic macroroles (see §4.3.6), there is also significant morpho-syntactic evidence to support the positing of these categories as grammatical relations in Klon, summarised in Table 3.4. The identification of these grammatical roles is significant in the description of Klon morpho-syntax, and will be used throughout the remainder of this grammar. Further, the alignment of A, S and O arguments, into Actors (A and S_A) and Undergoers (O and S_O), supports the labelling of Klon as an agentive language (Palmer 1994).

Table 3.4: Summary of features of grammatical relations

Feature	Actor	Undergoer	Primary Undergoer	Secondary Undergoer
denotes S arguments	yes	yes	no	no
denotes A arguments	yes	no	no	no
denotes O arguments	no	yes	yes	no
denotes E arguments	no	no	no	yes
expressed by free pronouns	yes	no	no	no
expressed by bound pronouns	no	yes	yes	yes
left-most argument in unmarked transitive clause	yes	no	N/A	N/A
pre-verbal argument in unmarked transitive or ditransitive clause	no	yes	yes	N/A
second pre-verbal argument in ditransitive clause	no	no	no	yes
can be promoted through <i>u-</i> on intransitive verbs	no	yes	no	no
can be promoted through <i>u-</i> on nouns	yes	no	no	no
can be promoted through <i>mi-</i> applicativisation on verbs	no	yes	no	no
is coreferential with reciprocal	yes	no	no	no
can be incorporated into verb	no	yes	no	no

3.4 A note on adjuncts

Adjuncts are those constituents that, unlike core arguments, are not required in a clause to be either overtly expressed or understood by speakers. Unlike core arguments they never denote A, S, O or E. They provide extra contextual information about the event/situation denoted in the clause. The most common type of adjunct is adverbs, which are discussed in Chapter 8. Temporal expressions are another type of adjunct. Complement clauses are not adjuncts as they are required by certain verbs (see §11.3).

4 *Word classes*

4.1 Introduction

The identification of word classes in Klon is supported by clear morpho-syntactic evidence, and is largely unproblematic. Klon has two major open word classes of noun (§4.2) and verb (§4.3), which make up the content words of the language. In addition to these two open word classes there are many small closed word classes, the members of which primarily fulfil the grammatical functions of the language. These classes are: adjectives (§4.4.1), demonstratives (§4.4.2), pronominals (§4.4.3 and Chapter 5), numerals (§4.4.4), classifiers (§4.4.5), adverbs (§4.4.6 and Chapter 8) as well as miscellaneous grammatical items (§4.4.8).

4.2 Nouns

4.2.1 Definition

There are two types of nominal constituents in Klon: pronouns and NPs. NPs are typically referring constituents, used as Actor and Undergoer arguments in a clause, but can also be used predicatively (see §9.2.1). Syntactically nouns always occur within NPs, therefore the distributional criteria diagnostic of nouns in Klon Bring are based on their behaviour within NPs. There are two main sub-classes of nouns: common nouns (§4.2.2) and proper names (§4.2.3).

4.2.2 Common nouns

The non-exhaustive criteria listed below are diagnostic of membership into the class of common noun. (See §6.2 for examples.)

1. Common nouns may be modified by some other nouns;
2. Common nouns may be modified by adjectives;
3. Common nouns may be modified by some verbs (typically those that semantically denote qualities);
4. Common nouns may be relativised;
5. Common nouns may be modified by demonstratives;
6. Common nouns may be possessed.

Based on morpho-syntactic behaviour common nouns can be further sub-classified as being count nouns versus mass nouns, and inalienably possessed versus alienably possessed. Count nouns are common nouns that can be modified by the plural marker or numerals (see §6.2.1), while mass nouns cannot. Inalienably possessed nouns are possessed using pronouns from one of the two bound possessive pronominal paradigms and alienably possessed nouns are possessed using pronouns from the free possessive pronominal paradigm (see §6.3.2–§6.3.3). There is no one-to-one relationship between the two types of sub-classes. For example, some alienably possessed nouns are count nouns, such as *il* ‘garden’, while others are mass nouns, such as *araa* ‘water’.

4.2.2.1 A note on compound nouns

In §6.2 we see that head nouns can be modified by some other nouns, in order to specify the type of the head noun in some way. For example the noun *akal* ‘child’ can be used to modify the noun *hiq* ‘chicken’ (*hiq akal*) to specify that the chicken is a baby chicken, that is, a chick. This process of modification occurs at the phrase level, and semantically the core meaning of each of the two individual nouns is present in the collocation of the two nouns.

Compound nouns also consist of two nouns, typically with the second one in the pair delimiting the first in some way. For example, *il* ‘day’ can be compounded with *akan* ‘night’ to become *il-akan* ‘night-time’. Like nominal modification semantically the sum of the two nouns frequently equals the compound. However, unlike nominal modification, this process takes place at the word level.

Within texts it is often impossible for a non-native Klon speaker to determine which nominal constituents are compound nouns and which are nominally modified. However, the two can be distinguished based on a paraphrase test. If a single noun (the first noun out of the pair) can be used alone in a paraphrase of the utterance, then nominal modification has taken place (and the single noun can be regarded as the head of an NP). For example, if the referent *hiq akal* ‘chick’ (lit. chicken child) has been introduced into discourse one could subsequently say *hiq yo* ‘that chicken’ with the same referent. If the two nouns must be used together then compounding has taken place (in which case together they form the head of an NP). For example, if one talks of *ik-òm* ‘siblings’ (lit. younger sibling-older sibling), one cannot subsequently say *ik yo* with the same referent. *Ik yo* refers to ‘that younger brother’.

Some compound nouns from texts can be seen in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Commonly occurring nominal compounds

Compound	Literal translation	Free translation
<i>araa-ol</i>	‘water-pool’	‘pool of water’
<i>ada-bon</i>	‘fire-smoke’	‘smoke’
<i>ik-òm</i>	‘younger sibling-older sibling’	‘siblings’
<i>arak-ei</i>	‘uncooked rice-leftover’	‘rice husk’

4.2.3 Proper names

Proper names — personal names and place names — cannot be modified in the same way as common nouns. They cannot be possessed nor be modified by other nouns. However, they can be modified by demonstratives, be relativised, take the plural marker (*o*)*non* and be modified by adjectives.

Example (4.1) shows the personal name *Pransina* being modified by a demonstrative, and (4.2) shows the personal name *Karel* being modified by a relative clause.

- (4.1) *Pransina ong ul òm.*
 Pransina this child elder.sibling
 This Pransina was the elder sibling.
 KKTo002

- (4.2) *E wed =e Karel de g- neq mi- go- kar ong*
 oh now =FOC Karel REL 3POSS₁- name APPL- 3UND₂- call this
 Eh now this Karel who is called by his (grandfather's) name

di qada yeh nang.
 also IPFV exist NEG
 didn't exist yet.
 PKPM094

In example (4.3) the proper name *Klon* is modified by the plural marker.

- (4.3) *Mteh ongo eneem biasa ngin Klon onon*
 stand this tall.grass usual 1NSG.EXCL.ACT Klon PL
 This standing here, tall grass, usually we Klon,

ngi puin iwi wei wed =e qada grik hos ongo.
 1PL.EXCL.ACT use house roof now =FOC IPFV cut place this
 we use it to roof houses, now (we) haven't yet cut and placed this (lot of grass).
 GWKM135

In example (4.4) the personal name *Labgei* is modified by the adjective *kulbin* 'old' and the demonstrative *yo* 'that'.

- (4.4) *Gan yongo Labgei kulbin yo wo ge~ gel nang.*
 3ACT this Labgei old that that RED~ obtain NEG
 He here, that old Labgei we couldn't ever catch.
 SNMAo049

Personal names frequently occur in the first position of nominal compounds used as place names, with the second noun typically denoting a place, such as *Meilim-buk* 'Meilim mountain' and *Kboi-eben* 'Kboi village'. Other place names have been derived from compounds, such as *Mataraben* from *mtar* + *eben* 'redwood village' and *Wormanem* from *wòr* + *mnem* 'perfumed rock'.

4.2.4 A note on verbalised nouns

All nouns can be used predicatively (see §9.2), but there is also a small set of nouns that can be used verbally. Rather than being derived through the use of a specific morphological process, the verbalised nouns undergo a process of conversion by merely being used with verbal morpho-syntactic features. The semantics of such verbalised nouns is roughly ‘to use the N’. For example, in (4.5) the noun *duur* ‘knife’ is verbalised through prefixation of an Undergoer pronominal, with the meaning ‘to knife’ or ‘to cut’. In example (4.6) the noun *wei* ‘leaf, roof’ is verbalised through partial reduplication indicating iterativity and occurs in an instrumental SVC (see §10.4.4). Used verbally and reduplicated *we-wei* means ‘to habitually or repeatedly roof’.¹ This noun is also verbalised in (4.3) above, taken from the same text, without any change in form, but simply occurring in a verbal syntactic slot.

- (4.5) *Mentok, dat om Haron =e ge- mod mid,*
 past.medium grandchild male Haron =FOC 3UND₄- climb climb
 In the past, (his) grandchild Haron climbed it (a palm tree),

ho bgib tyok bo, mid, beh go- duur, o mi orok,
 SIM shake shake SEQ climb branch 3UND₂- knife that be.at two
 all the while shaking, then climbed, (he) cut (=knived) branches, (he did) that
 twice,

bo isen eden, u- klik yaah, bo u- doa tolak.
 SEQ before when VI- sick unable SEQ VI- pray reject
 and afterwards(=*isen eden*) (he) was very sick, and almost died
 (lit. rejected praying).
 PKPM113

- (4.6) *Eneem ole hos powo, U. gi- doqom ge eneem,*
 tall.grass over.there place there.below U. 3POSS₂- grandfather 3POSS_F tall.grass
 The tall grass placed below over there is U’s grandfather’s tall grass,

biasa ini puin iwi we~ wei.
 usual 3NSG hold house RED~ roof
 usually they use it to roof houses.
 GWKM039

4.3 Verbs

4.3.1 Morpho-syntactic criteria

Verbs are used to describe actions, processes, achievements and states, and are the main predicate type in Klon. The following are non-exhaustive morpho-syntactic criteria diagnostic of verbs in Klon Bring:

¹ Nouns, when used nominally, are not reduplicated. Only verbs and adjectives are reduplicated (see §7.5 for reduplication of verbs and §4.4.1 for reduplication of adjectives). Note that reduplication is used to nominalise verbs.

1. Verbs may be used predicatively;
2. Verbs may occur in SVCs (Chapter 10);
3. Verbs may be fully reduplicated to indicate iterativity or durativity (§7.5.4);
4. Verbs may be nominalised using partial reduplication, with the resultant noun denoting the Actor of the verb (§7.5.2);
5. Verbs may be nominalised by a combination of prefixation by *u-* and partial reduplication, with the resultant noun denoting the Undergoer of the verb (§7.5.3);
6. Verbs may take the reciprocal prefix *t(o/e/in)-* (§7.7).

In addition to these distributional criteria some verbs can be prefixed by either valence increasing *u-* or the applicative *mi-* (see §7.2–§7.4) and some verbs can be prefixed by the intensifier *a=* (see §7.8).

4.3.2 Sub-classes of verbs

In many languages sub-classes of verbs can be identified based on the transitivity of their members. In Klon it is only appropriate to discuss the syntactically-realised transitivity of a particular verb, rather than lexical transitivity, because most verbs can occur in both intransitive and transitive clauses. Instead it is more useful to identify sub-classes based on the pronominal Undergoer prefixes (if any) that a verb takes, because the choice of pronominal Undergoer prefix is lexicalised for each individual verb.

Verbs can be identified as belonging to one of three classes of verbs based on how they combine with pronominal prefixes. These classes are labelled as 1. verbs with obligatory pronominal prefixes (§4.3.3), 2. verbs with optional pronominal prefixes (§4.3.4), and 3. verbs that are rarely pronominally prefixed (§4.3.5). The bulk of Klon verbs are optionally pronominally prefixed. The distribution of pronominal prefixes and proclitics across the three classes can be seen in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Sub-classes of verbs and distribution of pronominal prefixes/proclitics

	Distribution of pronominal prefixes/proclitics
Verbs with obligatory pronominal prefixes	1. verbs take Class I pronominal prefixes
Verbs with optional pronominal prefixes	2. verbs take Class II pronominal prefixes 3. verbs take Class III pronominal proclitics 4. verbs take Class IV pronominal prefixes 5. verbs take either Class II or Class III pronominal prefixes/proclitics 6. verbs take either Class II or Class IV pronominal prefixes
Verbs that are rarely pronominally prefixed	7. verbs take Class IV pronominal prefixes (if ever prefixed)

Most verbs take only one class of pronominal prefix regardless of whether that pronominal refers to an O or S_O argument. However, there are a few verbs that may take different pronominal prefixes dependent on whether they are being used transitively or intransitively. An example of this is the verb *oros* ‘crash’. It is an optionally pronominally

prefixed verb, which when used transitively takes either a Class II prefix or a Class III proclitic (*go-oros* ‘crash into it’/*gin-oros* ‘crash into her’). Contrastively, when used intransitively *oros* ‘crash’ either takes a Class IV Undergoer pronominal prefix (*ge-oros* ‘he (accidentally) crashed’) or doesn’t take any Undergoer prefix, instead taking an Actor argument (*ga oros* ‘he (deliberately) crashed’). See §4.3.6 on the split in S marking in intransitive clauses and the choice of pronominal for intransitively realised verbs.

4.3.3 Verbs with obligatory pronominal prefixes

Verbs with obligatory pronominal prefixes take Class I Undergoer pronominal prefixes (see §5.3.2). Most verbs with obligatory pronominal prefixes are realised syntactically as transitive, but some, such as *biir* ‘be sick’ and *dak* ‘be caught between two things’ are usually realised syntactically as intransitive. Examples of some verbs with obligatory pronominal prefixes can be seen in Table 4.3, with the third person Undergoer pronominal *g-*. A textual example of the verb *g-oj* ‘call a dog’ is presented in example (4.7). Further examples of verbs with obligatory pronominal prefixes can be seen in §5.3.2.

Table 4.3: Obligatorily prefixed verbs

Obligatorily prefixed verb	English Translation
<i>g-ab</i>	‘close (to him)’
<i>g-bam</i>	‘to take leave (of her)’
<i>g-daleq</i>	‘to pick (him) up/to meet (her)’
<i>g-daar</i>	‘to invite (him)’
<i>g-lain</i>	‘seduce (her)/encourage (him)’
<i>g-leh</i>	‘in debt to (her)’
<i>g-lul</i>	‘to follow (him)’
<i>g-oj</i>	‘to call a dog(=it)’
<i>g-nal</i>	‘to lie (to her)’
<i>g-pot</i>	‘to bury (it)’
<i>g-riyang</i>	‘take care of (him)’
<i>g-téng</i>	‘to wake (her)’
<i>g-biir</i>	‘(he is) sick’
<i>g-dak</i>	‘(she is) caught between two things’

- (4.7) *Koih bo kuur ongo ini g- oj, g- oj,*
 finish SEQ dog this 3NSG 3UND₁- call.dog 3UND₁- call.dog
 Finished then they called the dog, called it,
ho lale ini g- mang, bo lood.
 SIM below 3NSG 3POSS₁- voice SEQ whine
 and below it answered and whined.
 PABHo021

There are three pieces of evidence that suggest that the Class I Undergoer prefixes on obligatorily prefixed verbs may be lexicalising to become a part of the verb and losing their pronominal function. Firstly, although the form of the prefix changes according to person and number, Klon speakers are unable to consciously separate an Undergoer prefix from an obligatorily prefixed verb, and do not recognise such verbs as Klon words without an Undergoer prefix. Secondly, there are many obligatorily prefixed verbs that, although they can occur with Undergoers with different person and number specifications, are typically only used with the third person; for example *g-lék* ‘count it’, *g-lél* ‘scatter it, spray it’, *g-min* ‘place it’ and *g-oj* ‘call a dog’ (see (4.7) above). There are many verbs beginning with /g/ that synchronically cannot take Undergoer prefixes, but semantically incorporate an Undergoer argument, such as *glar* ‘to sail (it)’, *glei* ‘to twist (it)’ and *glip* ‘to fill (it)’. Such verbs have possibly been reanalysed by speakers, so that in the past the /g/ may have been a prefix. Thirdly, further evidence that lexicalisation may be taking place comes from the fact that some verbs that are obligatorily prefixed by a Class I Undergoer pronominal are coming to be double-marked by a second Undergoer pronominal prefix; for example *g-g-lai* ‘to irritate him/her’/*ng-ng-lai* ‘to irritate us (excl)’, and *go-g-yol* ‘to push him’/*no-n-yol* ‘to push me’. There are also examples of verbs with obligatory pronominal prefixes when used intransitively taking both the Undergoer marking and Actor marking, for example *na n-weel* ‘I bathe’/*ga gweel* ‘he bathes’, and *ga g-biir* ‘he’s sick’ *ngi ng-biir* ‘we’re (excl) sick’.

4.3.4 Verbs with optional pronominal prefixes

The bulk of Klon verbs are optionally prefixed by Undergoer pronominal prefixes. Whether an optionally pronominally prefixed verb is prefixed or not is context dependent. The Undergoer pronominal prefix taken by optionally prefixed verbs is lexically determined, that is, when verbs are used transitively they lexically select for Class II, III, IV, II/III, or II/IV Undergoer pronominal prefixes (see §5.3), and Class I, II, III or IV when used intransitively (see §5.3.6). Synchronically there do not appear to be any unifying semantic or syntactic features that determine which class of pronoun a verb will take. However, there are a few generalisations that can be made concerning the alternation between Class II/Class III and Class II/Class IV pronominal prefixes. These are discussed in §5.3.6. Some examples of optionally pronominally prefixed verbs when used transitively can be seen in Table 4.4, using the third person Undergoer pronominal from the appropriate class.

Table 4.4: Optionally prefixed verbs

Optionally prefixed verb	English translation	Undergoer pronominal class
<i>go-tek</i>	‘to plant (it)’	Class II
<i>go-tinggen</i>	‘to fight (her)’	Class II
<i>gin=tek</i>	‘to stab (him)’	Class III
<i>gin=upuur</i>	‘dry (it) in the sun’	Class III
<i>ge-eek</i>	‘tell (him) off’	Class IV
<i>ge-moi</i>	‘help (her)’	Class IV

An example of the optionally pronominally prefixed verb *wrin* ‘to dig’ can be seen in examples (4.8)–(4.9). In (4.8) it is used unprefixes with a nominal argument, while in (4.9) it is prefixed by the Class II Undergoer pronominal prefix *go-*. Further examples of optionally pronominally prefixed verbs can be seen in §5.3. Examples of verbs that may take either Class II or Class III pronominals or Class II or Class IV pronominal prefixes can be seen in §5.3.6.

(4.8) *Nang, on mi, bo bet wrin, bo g- pot?*
 NEG pot be.at SEQ hole.in.ground dig SEQ 3UND₁- bury
 So, fill the pot, then dig a hole in the ground, then bury it (the pot)?
 DWM055

(4.9) *Mi oyor, na ong go- wrin!*
 be.at move.aside 1SG.ACT this 3UND₂- dig
 Move aside, I here will dig it!
 AKPV005b

4.3.5 Verbs that are rarely pronominally prefixed

Some verbs do not occur with Undergoer pronominal prefixes in narratives or conversations, but may be pronominally prefixed in ritual speech. Examples can be seen in Table 4.5, with a textual example of the rarely pronominally prefixed verb *hrud* ‘straighten’ in (4.10).

Table 4.5: Rarely pronominally prefixed verbs

Rarely prefixed verb	English translation
<i>mih</i>	‘sit’
<i>hod</i>	‘sort, filter’
<i>hol</i>	‘crawl’
<i>iqes</i>	‘live’
<i>ohok</i>	‘to have fun’
<i>pek</i>	‘exist’
<i>seh</i>	‘regret’
<i>tbet</i>	‘to test’
<i>yayo</i>	‘to sing’

(4.10) *Uruut o g- wat hrud.*
 deer that 3POSS₁- neck straighten
 The deer straightened its neck.
 SKBC019

Although these verbs do not take Undergoer pronominal prefixes in narratives and conversations, it is possible that they might take them in ritual speech. In this case they will be prefixed by a Class IV Undergoer pronominal prefix. This can be seen in the passage of ritual speech in (4.11), which contains the rarely pronominally prefixed verbs *iqes* ‘live’, *lam* ‘walk’, *mteh* ‘stand’, *gel* ‘know’ and *mgih* ‘hear’. In all cases the verbs take Undergoer arguments rather than Actor arguments because the single arguments of the verbs are non-

instigating, non-controlling and highly affected — the first group of verbs refers to a dead person, while the second group refer to the listeners of the ritual speech.

- (4.11) *Jadi yongo memang p- oi kulbin,*
 so that indeed 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- mother old
 So indeed, this is our old mother,
- pi- òm kulbin taa agai,*
 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- elder.sibling old sleep PRF
 our old elder sibling who already sleeps,
- de ho hok ga go- agai nang,*
 CONJ SIM IRR 3ACT 3UND₂- go NEG
 but who hasn't been accompanied away yet,
- makna ge- iqes ge- lam ge- mteh yo,*
 past 3UND₄- live 3UND₄- walk 3UND₄- stand that
 when she lived, she walked, she stood,
- bo ni mi g- lul mi kenap nang,*
 SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT be.at 3UND₁- follow be.at complete NEG
 we couldn't follow her completely,
- goham bok odi, bo ge ga yeh yo =we,*
 perhaps not.reach later SEQ 3POSS_F 3ACT exist that =DIS
 she was not capable of reaching the future, so she is,
- gan ong =e, ni- òm qada taa,*
 3ACT this =DIS 1SG.POSS_F- elder.sibling IPFV sleep
 this is her, my elder sibling is not yet asleep,
- pi qada tuquin nang,*
 1NSG.INCL.ACT IPFV hide NEG
 we have not yet hidden (buried) her,
- na ta- u- huh supaya ool pan yar eben*
 1SG.ACT above- VI- say so.that woman sibling.in.law tree village
 (I) say the above so that affinal and cosanguinal kin,
- ul ul de wed i qad yeh ongo, ege- gel*
 child child REL now DUR come CONT this 2NSG.UND₄- know
ege- mgih.
 2NSG.UND₄- hear
 you children of now come and you know and you hear.
 PBB007

4.3.6 Split-S pronominal marking

Syntactically some verbs are realised intransitively, others are realised transitively, and some may occur either intransitively or transitively depending on context. Those verbs that are able to occur intransitively can be classified based on the grammatical role of their

single arguments. This classification cross-cuts the above classification of verbs based on pronominal prefixation.

As mentioned, classifying verbs based on transitivity is not appropriate for Klon. However, regardless of whether a verb can also occur transitively, the intransitive manifestation of verbs is lexically determined, and hence we can identify sub-classes of intransitively used verbs.

When used intransitively, verbs take a single argument which always precedes the verb, regardless of its form as a NP or pronominal. Three groups of intransitive verbs can be identified based on the grammatical role of their single arguments:

1. Actor Intransitives (S_A) — those verbs that always take an Actor argument;
2. Undergoer Intransitives (S_O) — those verbs that always take an Undergoer argument; and
3. Actor/Undergoer Intransitives — those that sometimes take an Actor argument and sometimes take an Undergoer argument.

S_A marking is lexicalised for many intransitive verbs, resulting in the majority of intransitive verbs always taking S_A marking. These intransitive verbs can be regarded as the default group because the perceived features of the argument are often irrelevant, playing no role in determining the marking of S. However, the perceived semantic features of the single argument do play a determining role in all other cases, that is, for verbs that always take S_O marking and those that sometimes take S_A marking and sometimes S_O marking.

The semantic features of performance, effect, instigation, control and affectedness determine the choice between S_A and S_O marking in Klon, as they do for many languages, such as those compared by Mithun (1991). As Van Valin (1990:251) points out '(...) the [semantic] variation is highly constrained, and the parameters that define it are just those which underlie the RRG [role and reference grammar] theory of lexical semantics'. Moreover, these features are the very same ones used by Foley and Van Valin (1984) in defining their macroroles of 'actor' and 'undergoer'.

In Klon the referents of arguments perceived of as performing, effecting, instigating, or being in control of an event/situation are coded by free Actor pronouns (that is, using the same marking as A arguments). While those referents of arguments perceived of as not performing, effecting, instigating or being in control of an event/situation, but rather possibly perceived of as being affected by it are encoded by bound Undergoer pronouns (that is, using the same marking as O arguments). The arguments of some intransitive verbs are always marked by either S_A or S_O marking, while others are marked based on contextual semantic influences, that is, there is a choice. For example, the single argument of the verb *odok* 'able to see supernatural events rarely seen' can only be encoded by S_O marking, using a Class II bound pronoun. However, the single argument of the intransitive verb *wet* 'urinate' may be encoded by a free pronoun when the referent is perceived of as being in control of the action (*ga wet* 'he urinates (with control)'), whereas a Class IV pronoun will be used when they are perceived to be not in control of the action (*ge-wet* 'he (uncontrollably) urinates').

Actor intransitives make up the bulk of intransitive verbs, and, as noted, are regarded as the 'default' group (Baird 2005:6). The representation of the single argument as an Actor for Actor intransitives is wholly lexicalised. A few examples of Actor intransitive verbs

can be seen in Table 4.6.² Contextual examples of the Actor Intransitive *liir* to fly can be seen in (4.12), in which the Actor argument is expressed by the noun *eneem* ‘master’, and in (4.13), in which the Actor argument is expressed by the third person Actor pronoun *ga*.

Table 4.6: Actor intransitive verbs

Actor intransitive verb	English translation
<i>abon</i>	‘to block’
<i>agar</i>	‘to laugh’
<i>dot</i>	‘to rest’
<i>emei</i>	‘to wait, be patient’
<i>eqerek</i>	‘scattered about’
<i>hlong</i>	‘to slither’
<i>hook</i>	‘to arrive’
<i>ihin</i>	‘to blow’
<i>hum</i>	‘to peer’
<i>manggrik</i>	‘to think a long time’
<i>okdok</i>	‘to be upside down’

- (4.12) *Ongo wain ge teeh, eneem liir agai,*
 this bee 3POSS_F pulp master fly PRF
 This is honeycomb (=bee’s pulp), (its) owner has flown,

ongo, ge teeh =e, a mung
 this 3POSS_F pulp =FOC 3RES fall
 this, its honeycomb, it’s fallen,

bo wed ni go- puin ong.
 SEQ now INSG.EXCL.ACT 3UND₂- hold this
 so now we’re holding it.
 GWKM042

- (4.13) *Yeh ongo oton pdok, bisa pi ete kdar ta- hos,*
 exist this jackfruit sap able INSG.INCL.ACT tree branch above- place
 This is jackfruit sap, we can put it up on tree branches

de hiq ga qad ta- mih ge u- pdok
 CONJ bird 3ACT come above- sit 3POSS_F VI- sap
 so birds will come and sit on it, they’re covered in sap (=sapped),

g- tan u- pdok g- e u- pdok ge wreka u- pdok,
 3POSS₁- arm VI- sap 3POSS₁- leg VI- sap 3POSS_F feather VI- sap
 their arms are covered in sap, their legs are covered in sap, their feathers are covered in sap,

² Note that the only verb in the table that does not also occur transitively (and can also be categorised as a rarely pronominally prefixed verb) is *hlong* ‘to slither’.

ho ga liir yaah, bisa pi go- puin.
 SIM 3ACT fly unable able 1NSG.INCL.ACT 3UND₂- hold
 and they can't fly, we can catch them.
 GWKM078

Unlike for Actor intransitives, the choice of an Actor or an Undergoer argument for Undergoer intransitives and Actor/Undergoer intransitives is not lexicalised, but rather semantically motivated, as discussed above.³ Undergoer intransitives are prefixed by Class I or Class II Undergoer pronominal prefixes, and some examples of such verbs can be seen in Table 4.7. A contextual example of the Undergoer intransitive verb *dob* 'straight' can be seen in (4.14), with the third person dual Class I Undergoer pronominal *ele g-*.

Table 4.7: Undergoer intransitive verbs

Undergoer intransitive verb	Undergoer pronominal prefix class	English translation
<i>g-dak</i>	Class I	'(he is) caught between something'
<i>g-biir</i>	Class I	'(she is) sick'
<i>g-dob</i>	Class I	'(it is) straight'
<i>go-ham</i>	Class II	'(he is) capable'
<i>go-egel</i>	Class II	'(she is) tired'
<i>go-atak</i>	Class II	'(it is) rather large'

(4.14) *Ele t- lul mteh =e ele g- dob lam?*
 3DU RECP follow stand =DIS 3DU 3UND₁- straight walk
 Are those two standing following each other or walking straight?
 PMKY124

When taking an Undergoer argument, almost all Actor/Undergoer intransitives take Class IV pronominal prefixes. However there are some Actor/Undergoer intransitive verbs that may be prefixed by Class I Undergoer prefixes, and three Actor/Undergoer Intransitive verbs were identified in the corpus that take Class III Undergoer proclitics. Some examples of Actor/Undergoer intransitives can be seen in Table 4.8. A textual example is presented in (4.14), in which the Actor/Undergoer intransitive verb *ampi* 'follow' takes a Class IV Undergoer pronominal prefix.⁴

³ That is, those arguments that are perceived of as performing, effecting, instigating, or being in control of an event/situation are coded by Actor arguments, while those arguments that are perceived of as *not* performing, effecting, instigating, or being in control of an event/situation are coded by Undergoer arguments.

⁴ Although *ampi* 'follow' can be used transitively, the obligatorily prefixed verb *g-lul* 'follow (him)' is typically used.

Table 4.8: Actor/Undergoer intransitive verbs

Actor/Undergoer intransitive verb	Verb with Undergoer	Verb with Actor
<i>ebeer</i> ‘to die’	<i>g-ebeer</i> ‘he died (was killed)’	<i>ga ebeer</i> ‘he died’ (neutral on cause of death)
<i>emeq</i> ‘not want’	<i>g-emeq</i> ‘she (inherently) doesn’t want’	<i>ga emeq</i> ‘(she decided) she doesn’t want’
<i>ihih</i> ‘stand up’	<i>g-ihih</i> ‘he (involuntarily/reluctantly) stands up’	<i>ga ihih</i> ‘he (deliberately) stands up’
<i>tiqoyon?</i> ‘like what?’	<i>gin=tiqoyon?</i> ‘it is like what?’ (in how it is affected)	<i>gan tiqoyon?</i> ‘it’s like what?’ (neutral)
<i>koh</i> ‘finish’	<i>gin=koh</i> ‘it is (uncontrollably) finished’	<i>ga koh</i> ‘it is finished’ (controlled)
<i>yeh</i> ‘exist’	<i>gin=yeh</i> ‘she exists’ (affected by her existence)	<i>ga yeh</i> ‘she exists’ (neutral)
<i>eneh</i> ‘calm’	<i>ge-eneh</i> ‘he is (inherently) calm’	<i>ga eneh</i> ‘he is (volitionally being) calm’
<i>kaak</i> ‘itchy’	<i>ge-kaak</i> ‘she is (unbearably) itchy’	<i>ga kaak</i> ‘she is itchy’ (able to tolerate it)
<i>éléng</i> ‘hungry’	<i>ge-éléng</i> ‘he is (unbearably) hungry’	<i>ga éléng</i> ‘he is hungry (able to tolerate it)’

- (4.15) *Agai il a~ aran mi,*
 go garden RED~ cut.low.lying.vegetation place
 It was (=it went to) garden-clearing season,
- bo ini il aran, ho gan di, ge- ampi.*
 SEQ 3NSG garden cut.low.lying.vegetation SIM 3ACT also 3UND₄- follow
 then they went to clear the garden, and him too, he followed.
 AKOB093

The existence of the Actor/Undergoer intransitives illustrates that there is not a straightforward, clear-cut distinction between Actor intransitives and Undergoer intransitives in Klón. Further, although based on data from narrative texts and elicitation the categories of Actor intransitive and Undergoer intransitive appear to be discrete classes, there is evidence to suggest that the classes are more fluid than presented above. Some verbs that only occur as Actor intransitives in narrative texts and have had this status confirmed by elicitation, behave as Undergoer intransitives in ritual speech texts.⁵ This means that the class of Actor/Undergoer intransitives is much larger (and possibly unlimited) in ritual speech compared to other genres. Although it is useful to draw a

⁵ Such verbs include *iqes* ‘to live’, *lam* ‘to walk’, *mteh* ‘to stand’ and *mgih* ‘to hear’, as seen in the passage of ritual speech in example (4.11) in §4.3.5 above.

distinction between Actor intransitives, Undergoer intransitives and Actor/Undergoer intransitives when discussing everyday Klon, the distinction does not appear to be language-wide (see Baird 2005:8–9).

4.3.7 A note on nominalised verbs

In parallel to the way in which nouns may be used as verbs merely by using verbal morphology (see §4.2.4), verbs are occasionally nominalised using zero-derivation by simply appearing as the head of a NP. For example, in (4.16), the verb *go-buuk* ‘guard him’ taking a Class II Undergoer prefix is possessed by a free pronoun and modified by the plural marker *onon*.

- (4.16) *Bo man leer ga ge go- buuk onon go- hoi*
 SEQ mister ruler 3ACT 3POSS_F 3UND₂- guard PL 3UND₂- order
 So the ruler he ordered his guards (=his guard-hims)
- Pransina ong g- puin go- agai penjara mi gtain.*
 Pransina this 3UND₁- hold 3UND₂- go jail be.at release
 to catch Pransina take her (=go with her) and release her in jail.
 KKTo021

The verb *buuk* ‘to guard’ could also have been nominalised through partial reduplication resulting in *bubuuk* ‘a guard’. Indeed reduplication is the typical method used to nominalise verbs, and is discussed in §7.5.

4.4 Closed word classes

4.4.1 Adjectives

Identifying a class of adjectives in a language can be a controversial exercise. Many languages in East Nusantara — both Austronesian and non-Austronesian — do not contain a class of adjectives, with words that denote typically ‘adjectival meanings’ behaving morpho-syntactically as verbs (Himmelman 2005:128). However, in Klon there is sufficient morpho-syntactic evidence to posit a separate class of adjectives. Distributionally adjectives overlap with verbs — they are both used predicatively and attributively. However, unlike adjectives, not all verbs can be used attributively to modify nouns, and adjectives do not fulfil any of the other criteria for membership into the class of verbs (§4.3.1). Additionally, adjectives undergo morphological processes specific to this word class. Semantically Klon adjectives denote colours, size, age, attributes and qualities. The criteria diagnostic of membership into the word class of adjectives are described below.

Adjectives are used attributively to modify nouns. This is the most basic and common function of adjectives within Klon discourse. Examples of attributive use can be seen in (4.17), in which the adjective *kulbin* ‘old’ modifies *doqol* ‘grandmother’, and (4.18), in which *kranjang* ‘basket’ is modified by *aal* ‘big’.

- (4.17) *Doqol kulbin ge- huh: 'Eh yo na gel*
 grandmother old 3UND₄- tell Eh that 1SG.ACT know
 The old grandmother told him: 'Eh I know that,
de ho a mih di na e- huh.'
 CONJ SIM 2SG.ACT sit first 1SG.ACT 2UND₄- tell
 but you sit down first (then) I'll tell you.'
 KKTo036
- (4.18) *Ga hik koh ga saku mi go- her qad*
 3ACT pick finish 3ACT pocket place 3UND₂- descend come
 He finished picking, he put (pears) in his pocket, descended with them
kranjang aal mi.
 basket big place
 (and) put (them) in a big basket.
 PST005

Adjectives can be used predicatively, as in (4.19) in which *tkoor* 'heavy' is used as the sole predicate in a clause, and the elicited example (4.20), in which *aal* 'big' is modified by the imperfective incompleted aspect adverb *qada* (see §8.4.3).

- (4.19) *Nang bo, ngi mi- ghel, ho tkoor.*
 NEG SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT APPL- lift SIM heavy
 So we lifted (planks of wood), and (they were) heavy.
 PBT008
- (4.20) *Hiq keek yo qada aal qada.*
 chicken male.animal that IPFV big IPFV
 The rooster isn't big yet.
 NPADJ022

The comparative affix *mi-* is prefixed to adjectives, typically when used predicatively, to indicate that the argument of the predicate displays the quality indicated by the adjective more intensely than another referent. This can be seen in examples (4.21)–(4.23). Because not all items being compared are obligatorily mentioned, the comparative can also be used with a superlative inference.⁶

- (4.21) *Ele ik òm yo gi- òm mi- tu~ tuk.*
 3DU younger.sibling elder.sibling that 3POSS₂- elder.sibling CPV- RED~ short
 From those siblings the elder is shorter/shortest.
 NPADJ029
- (4.22) *Iwi gudang ge tak nuk mi- kekein.*
 house storehouse 3POSS leg one CPV- small
 One of the posts of the storehouse is smaller (than the others)/smallest.
 NPADJ053

⁶ There are also instances in the corpus of adjectives being prefixed by the comparative when used referentially, see for example (6.26) in §6.2.4.

- (4.23) *Peter Karel ng- ana= tong yo Peter =e mi- lang.*
 Peter Karel 1NSG.EXCL.UND₁- CLF= three that Peter =FOC CPV- tall
 (From) us three Peter, Karel (and me) Peter is taller/tallest.
 NPADJ030

Adjectives can be partially reduplicated to intensify the quality indicated by the adjective, as can be seen in Table 4.9. This type of reduplication can be regarded as iconic, like the full reduplication of verbs (see §7.5.4).

Table 4.9: Partial reduplication of adjectives

Adjective	Reduplicated form
<i>qakan</i> 'black'	<i>qa~qakan</i> 'pitch black'
<i>knoh</i> 'lazy'	<i>k~knoh</i> 'very lazy'
<i>tkoor</i> 'heavy'	<i>t~tkoor</i> 'very heavy'
<i>brai</i> 'slow'	<i>b~brai</i> 'very slow'

4.4.2 Demonstratives and deictics

There are eleven demonstratives. They are identified as such based on Dixon's definition that a demonstrative is '(...) any item, other than first and second person pronouns, which can have pointing (or deictic) reference' (Dixon 2003:61–62). Two distances can be identified: proximal, close to the speaker, and distal, not close to the speaker. Proximal forms contain the velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/ and distal forms contain the voiceless bilabial stop phoneme /p/. These basic forms combine with the morphemes *o* and *yo*, both of which are also used as demonstratives. *O* has an alternate *wo*, which is used when the preceding word is vowel-final. The demonstratives can be followed by the plural marker (*o*)*non* rendering the demonstrative plural, with the proximal demonstratives roughly translatable as 'these' and the distal demonstratives roughly translatable as 'those'. However, the use of the plural marker is not obligatory when referring to more than one entity. There are many instances where an unmodified demonstrative is used to refer to non-singular referents. The set of demonstratives can be seen in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Klon demonstratives

proximal	<i>ong</i>	<i>yong</i>	<i>ongo</i>	<i>yongo</i>
distal	<i>po</i>	<i>op</i>	<i>yop</i>	<i>opo</i>
other	<i>o/wo</i>	<i>yo</i>		

The precise function of each of the individual demonstratives has yet to be established. However, it is known that the demonstratives are used exophorically; anaphorically; they are used to identify background information; and they are used for spatial orientation. Examples of each of these functions can be seen below.

The proximal and distal demonstratives are used with an exophoric function, that is, they are used to refer to entities in the 'real world' extralinguistic setting. This is illustrated by example (4.24), in which *op* 'that' is used attributively. The utterance was accompanied by an index finger pointing gesture, indicating the tree.

- (4.24) Sudah, *kalbat op di u- huh di.*
 already k.o.tree⁷ that also VI- tell first
 That's enough (lit. already), also talk about that *kalbat* tree.
 GWKM006

The proximal series of demonstratives and *o* and *yo* are used anaphorically to track referents through discourse. In (4.25) *o* modifies *Beneben ge bok* 'Beneben's tree' indicating that the referent is the same as the previous referent, that is *ben* 'kapok', and then *yo* once again anaphorically refers to the kapok tree, this time in a reduced NP (see §6.2.4). In example (4.26) *ong* 'this' is used anaphorically referring to Labgei one of the main protagonists in the text.

- (4.25) *E ole mteh po ben, Beneben ge bok o,*
 hey over.there stand that kapok Beneben 3POSS_F tree that
 Hey that standing over there is kapok, Beneben's (lit. kapok village) tree,

yo di guna, biasa Mlang non ei gten inok.
 that also use usual Pura.people PL canoe make able
 that's also used, Pura people are habitually able to make canoes (from
 kapok wood).
 GWKM032

- (4.26) *Wed usong unu her, nok de, na wo o- tmein,*
 now seven market descend good CONJ 1SG.ACT that 2SG.UND₂- request
 Descend to next week's market (=seven (days from) now), right, and I'll
 request you,

de mde, de u- ilik,
 CONJ climb CONJ VI- sell.at.market
 and climb and sell (things) at market,

de Labgei ong pi g- ebeer.
 CONJ Labgei this 1NSG.INCL.ACT 3UND₁- die
 and this Labgei we'll kill him.
 SNMAo003

By combining *o* or *yo* with the other demonstratives it is possible for the resultant demonstrative to have multiple functions — both as a tracking device and some other function, such as a spatial function, or nominalising function. Proximal forms are used to refer to referents that have just been mentioned, referents that are 'near by' in the discourse. This can be seen in (4.27), in which *o* is suffixed to the proximal demonstrative *ong*, creating *ongo* which is used with an anaphoric referent tracking function.

- (4.27) Pak *Lukas ge kuur ip= nuk maa ip= nuk.*
 Mister Lukas 3POSS_F dog CLF= one cat CLF= one
 Mr Lukas had one dog and one cat.

⁷ The Indonesian name for this tree is *kesambi*, and its botanical name is *schleichera oleosa*.

Minuk mi do= om Lukas ongo kreyang ge- agai
 one.moment be.at TTL= man Lukas this work 3UND₄- go
 At one moment this Mr Lukas went to work

gen mdiq tak.
 until day middle.of.day
 until the middle of the day.
 LKMG001

Klon demonstratives are also used to identify background information within discourse. There are two ways in which this is done: the demonstrative either occurs clause-finally — nominalising the clause; or it occurs clause-initially on its own, referring to a preceding section of discourse.

Foley (1986:202) noted that it is a typical feature of Papuan languages that some subordinate clauses behave morpho-syntactically like nominal phrases. Reesink (1994) more specifically identifies deictic elements and adpositions as the constituents used in both nominal phrases and the nominal phrase-like subordinate clauses, and discusses what he terms the resultant ‘domain-creating constructions’ in the languages of Usan, Korafe, Folopa, Enga and Dani. In Klon, demonstratives are used to nominalise clauses, which are used as background information. An example of this can be seen in (4.28), in which the nominalised clause *hiq ogol kukrek yo* ‘(when) the chickens begin to crow’ is background setting to the remainder of that part of the story.

(4.28) *Doqom ge yo hur o, hiq ogol kukrek yo,*
 grandfather 3POSS_F that characteristic that chicken begin crow that
 Grandfather’s that, characteristic, the chickens began to crow,

ho t- en glak agai, mteh,
 SIM 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- eyes open PRF stand
 and our eyes were open, (we were) up,

de pi kreyang kuk yang =e,
 CONJ 1NSG.INCL.ACT work work work =DIS
 and we would work work work,

wed =e pi hlim o t- e mi
 now =DIS 1NSG.INCL.ACT cloth that 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- leg place
 now (if) we covered our legs in cloth,

t- tan mi t- to mi kok,
 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- arm place 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- head place wrap
 covered our arms in cloth, wrapped our heads in cloth

de taa yeh, ho ga etur en glak yo,
 CONJ sleep CONT SIM 3ACT first eye open that
 and continued to sleep, if he woke first (=open your eyes),

yej nang yo, ho, bo ped ih i mi bak,
 able NEG that SIM SEQ machete body DUR be.at cover
 unable, then he would hit us with a covered machete,

i mi, ga tin= t- gtain yo
 DUR be.at 3ACT 1NSG.INCL.UND₃= 1NSG.INCL.UND₁- release that
 still covered, he'd release us,

ga hok te- uur nang.
 3ACT IRR 1NSG.INCL.UND₄- see NEG
 he wouldn't allow us (=see us).
 PKPM105

Demonstratives are used at the beginning of a clause to mean 'given that', where 'that' refers to a previous section of discourse. An example of this can be seen in the last line of (4.29) (which follows on from example (4.26)), in which *yo* 'that' refers to the just hatched plan.

(4.29) *Nang bo, adob, ge ool lega ma, bo go- tmein*
 NEG SEQ true 3POSS wife 3S.TOP come SEQ 3UND₂- request
 So, true, his wife she came, and was told

ga u- huh 'E naj u- tmein abang
 3ACT VI- say 2POSS brother.in.law VI- request say
 he said 'Ask your brother-in-law saying

wed usong a unu her di.'
 now seven 2ACT market descend first
 in seven days time you (=woman's brother-in-law) descend to the market.'

'Adob =e tinaak?'
 true =DIS lie
 (She said) 'True or not?'

'Adob, unu her de mde ele t- el di.'
 true market descend CONJ climb 3DU 1NSG.INCL.UND₁- see first
 'True, descend to the market but climb (so) those two meet us first.'

'Eh yo gan o oyon.'
 hey that 3ACT that thus
 'Ok, that, it will be thus.'
 SNMAo004

There are nine deictics in Klon, the analysis of which is also unfortunately beyond the scope of this grammar. They can roughly be categorised as being distinguished based on vertical height, with all items referring to space 'above' containing *ta*. They are most typically used as referential constituents. The items can be seen in Table 4.11. Note that *po* in two of the items in the below series is most likely related to the demonstrative *po*.

Table 4.11: Deictics

'above' series	<i>ta</i>	<i>tale</i>	<i>tang</i>	<i>atal</i>
'below' series	<i>ya</i>	<i>lale</i>	<i>tapo</i>	<i>powo</i>
other	<i>ole</i> 'over there'			

4.4.3 Pronominals

Pronominals form a closed word class. They can be identified based on their endophoric and exophoric properties and occurrence in paradigms incorporating different person and number combinations. There are five sub-classes of pronominals, which are based on the differing forms and syntactic functions of their members.⁸ These are:

1. Actor argument pronominals;
2. Undergoer argument pronominals;
3. Possessor pronominals;
4. Emphatic pronominals; and
5. Discourse pronominals.

In addition to these, there is a paradigm of dual pronouns, which co-occur with either Actor or Undergoer pronominals to denote Actor or Undergoer arguments of dual number. The possessive pronouns are described in §6.3.2, while all the other pronouns are discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4.4 Numerals

The Klon numeral system is a base ten system. Numerals higher than ten are created in a similar way to that of English, where the numerals are expressed as multiples of ten, followed by *awa* ‘again’ and the units, for example *kar usong awa orok* ‘seventy two’ [lit. ten seven again two]. The numerals one to twenty are presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Klon numerals

Number	Klon Numeral	Number	Klon Numeral
1	<i>nuk</i>	11	<i>kar nuk awa nuk</i>
2	<i>orok</i>	12	<i>kar nuk awa orok</i>
3	<i>tong</i>	13	<i>kar nuk awa tong</i>
4	<i>ut</i>	14	<i>kar nuk awa ut</i>
5	<i>eweh</i>	15	<i>kar nuk awa eweh</i>
6	<i>tlan</i>	16	<i>kar nuk awa tlan</i>
7	<i>usong</i>	17	<i>kar nuk awa usong</i>
8	<i>tidorok</i>	18	<i>kar nuk awa tidorok</i>
9	<i>tukainuk</i>	19	<i>kar nuk awa tukainuk</i>
10	<i>kar nuk</i>	20	<i>kar orok</i>

⁸ Although they are nominals, pronominals do not fulfil the criteria for membership into the word class of noun. Only one sub-type of pronominal — Actor argument pronominals — shares morpho-syntactic properties with nouns and NPs. Both Actor argument pronominals and NPs are used as the arguments of predicates, and Actor argument pronominals and nouns can both be modified by demonstratives.

The morpho-syntactic characteristics diagnostic of the word class of numeral are:

1. Numerals may modify nouns (see §6.2.1);
2. Numerals may be prefixed by a classifier (see §4.4.5);
3. Numerals may be used predicatively;
4. Numerals can be prefixed by the valence increasing prefix *u-*, applicative *mi-* or Undergoer prefixes to derive intransitive verbs (see §7.3.4);
5. Numerals can be made distributive by partial reduplication, as can be seen in example (4.30).

- (4.30) *Nang bo adob, ngi ete kak yo*
 NEG SEQ true INSG.EXC.ACT tree board that
 So right, we lifted the wood
- nu~ nuk ghel ma tin- ta- hos, u- nuk keb o~ orok.*
 RED~ one lift come RECP- above- place VI- one piece RED~ two
 one by one and placed them on top of each other, one person two pieces each.
 PBT010

Cross-linguistically it is common to find that the numeral ‘one’ has idiosyncratic behaviour compared to the other numerals in a particular language. *Nuk* the numeral ‘one’ in Klon is an example of this. In addition to functioning in the same way as the other numerals, *nuk* ‘one’ can be used nominally, taking a human referent. In this way it may be modified in the same way as other nouns, for example by being possessed — *ngi-nuk* ‘our friend’ (§6.3), or by being relativised (see §11.2).

4.4.5 Classifiers

There are two types of classifiers in Klon: numeral classifiers and noun classifiers.

4.4.5.1 Numeral classifiers

Numeral classifiers form a very small closed class in Klon, with only three members. They are used to classify entities when they are being counted, and because of this function they only occur cliticised to the front of numerals. Their use is not obligatory, and appears to be in decline, with older speakers using classifiers more frequently than younger speakers. Based on this evidence it is possible that Klon had a richer classifier system in the past, which is synchronically no longer used.

The three classifiers are sortal classifiers, that is, classifiers that ‘(...) specify units in terms of which the referent of the head noun can be counted’ (Craig 1994:566). There are two general classifiers (*ip=* and *up=*) and one specific classifier for people (*ana=*). The general classifiers can be regarded as residual classifiers, roughly translatable as ‘amount’. The difference between the two general classifiers was explained by Klon speakers as being one of register, with *ip=* being used in formal speech and *up=* being used in more informal speech.

The classifier-numeral construction is used to modify a head noun within a NP, as in the first example (4.31), or it is used in reduced NPs to refer to an ellipsed head noun, as in the second example (4.32) (see §6.2.4).

- (4.31) *Ga hben ip= nuk buk ip= nuk o ga ge- tkin.*
 3ACT land CLF= one hill CLF= one that 3ACT 3UND₄- run
 He one (bit of) land, one hill, he ran through it.
 BBT0017

- (4.32) *Ho ga wed sepeda pu~ puin ong, ga ge ete ih ong,*
 SIM 3ACT now bike RED~ use this 3ACT 3POSS_F tree fruit this
 He used the bike, he (that) had fruit,

up= tong ma **ana= tong** g- en, bo ini o nu~ nuk.
 CLF= three come CLF= three 3UND₁- give SEQ 3NSG that RED~ one
 brought three pieces (and) gave them to the three people, so they (got) one each.
 PST0017

4.4.5.2 Noun classifiers

Unlike numeral classifiers, noun classifiers are not used in the quantification of nouns. Noun classifiers are used to indicate that the noun being classified belongs to a particular subset of nouns. The noun classifiers are free forms and are themselves able to be used as the heads of NPs. Their use is non-obligatory and appears to be used for stylistic purposes. For example; *ul*, literally ‘child’ may precede *ool* ‘woman’, indicating not that the woman is a child, but rather that ‘woman’ is a member of the class of ‘people’ (*ul ool* ‘woman’); *ool* ‘woman’ could elsewhere be preceded by *do* indicating that the woman is respected (*do ool* ‘madam’). A non-exhaustive list of Klon noun classifiers can be seen in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Klon noun classifiers

Noun classifier	English translation	Used for
<i>ul</i>	‘child’	people
<i>keb</i>	‘piece’	flat, bendy things
<i>ami</i>	‘time’	time
<i>yar</i>	‘trunk’	trees
<i>gen</i>	–	clumps of plants
<i>man</i>	‘father’	respected men
<i>do</i>	–	respected people
<i>kak</i>	‘board, plank’	trees, wood

4.4.6 A note on adverbs

Klon has five sub-classes of adverbs: temporal, aspectual, modal, additive and negative. They are discussed in Chapter 8. Notions typically expressed by manner and quantifying adverbials in other languages are expressed through verbs, nouns, adjectives or SVCs in Klon.

4.4.7 Discourse marker =e

The discourse marker =e or its variant =we (used when following vowel-final words) has multiple functions, depending on the item to which it cliticises, and the clause type in

which it occurs. Discourse marker =*e* may cliticise to either nominal constituents, in which case it is used as a focus marker (see §6.2.1.1), or to the clause-final constituent, in which case its function is dependent on whether the clause is interrogative or imperative.

In (4.33) the discourse marker occurs in an imperative utterance. The utterance is identifiable as an imperative rather than an interrogative because the intonation over the clitic falls rather than rises. On the other hand, in (4.34), the utterance is identifiable as an interrogative because the discourse marker takes rising intonation. When occurring in interrogatives discourse marker =*e* functions much like a tag, while in imperatives it behaves like an imperative marker.

(4.33) *Bo il taa akan =e!*
 SEQ day sleep night =DIS
 Leave it until night!
 PMKY150

(4.34) *G- tan iik yeh nang =e?*
 3POSS₁- arm left exist no =DIS
 There is no left arm right?
 PMKY166

4.4.8 Miscellaneous grammatical items

Some grammatical items have not been described in this chapter. They are discussed in various chapters throughout the grammar. Aside from the word classes mentioned in this chapter Klon contains:

- interjections;⁹
- the plural marker (*o*)*non* (see §6.2);
- valence increasing prefix *u-* (see §7.3);
- applicative *mi-* (see §7.4);
- the intensifier *a=* (see §7.8);
- content question words (see §9.6.3);
- the prohibitive *eyeh* (see §9.7);
- the relative clause marker *de* (see §11.2); and
- three coordinate conjunctions (*de*, *bo* and *ho*) which are described in §11.4 and §11.5 respectively.

⁹ Interjections remain for future research.

5 *Pronouns*

5.1 Introduction

Klon has twelve pronominal paradigms. There are three pronominal paradigms used specifically to express Actor arguments, four pronominal paradigms used to specifically express Undergoer arguments, a dual pronominal paradigm, an emphatic pronominal paradigm, three pronominal paradigms to express possessors in possessive constructions, and additionally several third person pronouns used with various discourse functions. This chapter will be primarily concerned with the Actor and Undergoer pronominals, in addition to the discourse pronominals. The possessive pronouns are discussed in §6.3.2.

5.1.1 Number in pronominal paradigms

In all of the pronominal paradigms presented in this chapter Klon distinguishes between singular, non-singular and dual number for first and second persons and sometimes in third person (see Table 5.1, Table 5.2, Table 5.9, Table 5.10, and Table 5.11). The term ‘non-singular’ is used rather than ‘plural’, because, in general, the term ‘dual’ is used for reference to two people and ‘plural’ implies a number greater than two people. In Klon, however, the non-singular forms can complement the dual forms. Hence they may indicate either two or more people (see §5.4). Therefore, the term ‘non-singular’ is a more appropriate label for these forms. Klon further distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive in the non-singular and dual pronouns, where the inclusive pronouns refer to the speaker plus addressee, and possibly others, and the exclusive pronouns refer to speaker and one or more other people, but not the addressee.

There is no number distinction in third person Undergoer pronouns or the Actor pronoun *ga(n)*. To disambiguate number, these pronouns may be additionally marked by a third person non-singular or dual free form when appropriate (*ini ga* ‘3NSG.ACT’, *ini g-/go-/gin-/ge-* ‘3NSG.UND’, *(ini) ele ga* ‘3DU.ACT’, *(ini) ele g-/go-/gin-/ge-* ‘3DU.UND’).

5.2 The marking of Actors

As shown in Chapter 3, Klon has an agentive system, whereby Actor S arguments pattern the same way as A arguments, and Undergoer S arguments pattern the same way as O arguments. There is a small set of verbs that may take either S_A or S_O arguments dependent on the perceived semantic role of a referent in a particular context (see §5.3 and especially §5.3.5 below and §4.3.6).

The Actor pronouns (that is, A arguments and S_A arguments) are presented in Table 5.1. All Actor pronouns — both the full and reduced forms — are free pronouns. The second person and third person non-singulars have conflated when reduced, taking the form *i*. This form is currently only used in contexts where there is no ambiguity as to which person it refers to. In potentially ambiguous contexts the full form is always used. The reduced forms appear to be more informal than the full forms, and speakers are happy for the reduced forms to be written as such.¹ There is no gender distinction for any of the person/number combinations.

In addition to the Actor forms used in declarative or interrogative utterances, there are also hortative forms for first and second person non-singular Actor pronouns. These pronouns are typically used in combination with a standard Actor pronoun.

The forms of the non-singular pronouns can be seen to be built upon the singulars. Non-singular forms consist of the vowel /i/, instead of the singular /a/. The third person non-singular form *ini* frequently occurs with a non-phonemic word-final glottal stop.

Note that the orthographic symbols <ng> in the first person non-singular exclusive series (for all pronoun types) denote two stop phonemes separated by a schwa, not the velar nasal (see §2.1.2 and §2.5.1).

Table 5.1: Klon Actor pronouns

Person and number	Full form	Reduced form	Hortative form
1SG	<i>nan</i>	<i>na</i>	
2SG	<i>aan</i>	<i>a</i>	
3	<i>gan</i>	<i>ga</i>	
1NSG.INCL	<i>pin</i>	<i>pi</i>	<i>pa</i>
1NSG.EXCL	<i>ngi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nga</i>
2NSG	<i>igi</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>aga</i>
3NSG	<i>ini</i>	<i>i</i>	

Example of Actor pronoun used to refer to A argument

- (5.1) *Ma koh aal lang ik, bo ga ool méd.*
 come finish big tall COMPL SEQ 3ACT woman take
 So it came that (he) grew up and then he took a wife.
 SKBC006

Example of Actor pronoun used to refer to S_A argument

- (5.2) *Ga kde~ kde, koh bo, a lam.*
 3ACT RED~ eat finish SEQ 3RES walk
 He ate and ate finished and he left (=walked).
 SKBC009

¹ The phoneme /n/ at the end of many of the full forms may be associated with animacy or affectedness. However, the precise difference between those forms with and without phoneme /n/ remains for future research.

Examples of hortative Actor pronouns

(5.3) *Ni nga ng- eweel di!*
 INSG.EXCL.ACT INSG.EXCL.HOR INSG.EXCL.UND₁- bathe first
 Let's bathe first!
 GWKM147

(5.4) *Ool at Keterina mde de pa agai!*
 woman girl Keterina climb CONJ INSG.INCL.HOR go
 Miss Keterina come up so that we go!
 KKTo039

5.3 The marking of Undergoers

5.3.1 Overview

Undergoers in Klón are either the O argument in a transitive clause or the S_o argument in an intransitive clause, where the S argument is perceived of as not performing, effecting, instigating or being in control of an event/situation, but rather being somehow affected by it. As with Actor pronouns, there is no gender distinction for any of the Undergoer pronoun person/number combinations.

There are four Undergoer pronominal paradigms presented in Table 5.2.² The prefix that an individual verb (either used transitively requiring an O argument, or intransitively requiring a S_o argument) takes is lexically determined, rather than semantically determined. See §4.3 for the distribution of Undergoer pronominals across the lexical subclasses of verbs.

There is a small proportion of transitively realised verbs (approximately ten percent) that have an alternation in the type of Undergoer pronominal prefix that they take. For these verbs the choice of Undergoer pronominal prefix is semantically motivated, dependent on the context of use (see §5.3.6). There is no parallel semantic alternation for intransitive verbs that take Undergoer pronominal marking, but some intransitive verbs that take Undergoer arguments may alternatively take an Actor argument (see §4.3.6).

For each person and number (except for second person singular) there is a common consonant or consonants across all four Undergoer pronominal classes. The consonants used are the same as those used for Actor pronouns, with the exception of first person inclusive, which is represented by the consonant *t-* in the Undergoer pronouns, and by *p-* in the Actor pronouns. Note that reciprocals have the same form as the first person non-singular inclusive Undergoer pronominals (see §7.7), free possessive pronouns have the same form as Class IV Undergoer pronominals, and Class I bound possessive pronouns have the same form as Class I Undergoer pronominals (see §6.3.2).³

² Multiple pronominal paradigms are common in other languages found throughout the Alor archipelago (see Baird (2005) and Donohue (n.d.)).

³ Historically Class II, III and IV Undergoer pronouns may have been segmentable into Class I forms plus *-o/-in/-e*, but synchronically there is no evidence to support such an analysis.

The vowel (V) in Class I second person pronouns is a copy of the first vowel in the stem of the verb that it is prefixed to, if the stem is consonant initial (e.g. *adaar* ‘invite you’, *eded* ‘hit you’). If the stem is vowel initial then there is zero marking (e.g. *eh* ‘bite you’).

Table 5.2: Klon Undergoer pronominals

Person and number	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
1SG	<i>n-</i>	<i>no-</i>	<i>nin=</i>	<i>ne-</i>
2SG	<i>V- / ∅</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>in=</i>	<i>e-</i>
3	<i>g-</i>	<i>go-</i>	<i>gin=</i>	<i>ge-</i>
1NSG.INCL	<i>t-</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>tin=</i>	<i>te-</i>
1NSG.EXCL	<i>ng-</i>	<i>ngo-</i>	<i>ngin=</i>	<i>nge-</i>
2NSG	<i>Vg-</i>	<i>ogo-</i>	<i>igin=</i>	<i>ege-</i>
3NSG	<i>ini g-</i>	<i>ini go-</i>	<i>ini gin=</i>	<i>ini ge-</i>

Both Actor and Undergoer arguments may be expressed by a full NP or a pronoun, or by both a full NP and a pronoun. In example (5.5) the Actor is expressed by both a proper name and a pronoun, and the Undergoer is expressed by a noun which is cross-referenced on the verb by an Undergoer pronoun.

- (5.5) *Ho ga abang ‘Adob Tin ga ul go- mid*
 SIM 3ACT say true Tin 3ACT child 3UND₂- climb
 So she said: ‘It’s true, Tin she brought the child up

ul òm ta g- mih agai, jadi ngan hok nang.’
 child older.sibling above 3UND₁- sit PRF so thing IRR NEG
 and placed it up in the placenta (lit. elder sibling) so it doesn’t matter’.
 DWM₂10b

5.3.2 Class I Undergoer prefixes

Approximately one third of transitive verbs take Class I Undergoer pronoun prefixes.⁴ The group of intransitive verbs that take Class I pronouns is the second largest group (after Class IV) that take S₀ marking. Some of the intransitive verbs that take Class I pronouns may alternatively be marked by a free Actor pronoun, others may not. In the majority of cases a Class I Undergoer pronominal prefix has an animate (typically human) referent, but it may also be used to refer to inanimate referents, such as *g-hik* ‘break it’. Examples of both transitive and intransitive verbs that take Class I Undergoer prefixes can be seen in Table 5.3, with textual examples in (5.13)–(5.15).

⁴ From a sample of 252 transitive verb types 77 (30.5%) take Class I prefixes.

Table 5.3: Example of verbs that take Class I Undergoer pronoun prefixes

Klon verb		Meaning
<i>g-ab</i>	TR	'close (to him)'
<i>g-ap</i>	TR	'release (her)'
<i>g-daleq</i>	TR	'pick up (him)'
<i>g-daar</i>	TR	'invite (her)'
<i>g-ded</i>	TR	'hit (him)'
<i>g-ding</i>	TR	'swear ((at) her)'
<i>g-eh</i>	TR	'bite (him)'
<i>g-hik</i>	TR	'break (it)'
<i>g-dak</i>	INTR	'(she's) physically caught between two things'
<i>g-edan</i>	INTR	'(he's) scared'
<i>g-biir</i>	INTR	'(she's) sick'
<i>g-emeq</i>	INTR	'(he) doesn't want'

Examples of Class I prefix

(5.6) *Na g- eh no- ham nang.*

1SG.ACT 3UND₁- feed 1SG.UND₂- capable NEG

I'm not capable of feeding them.

LBH025

(5.7) *Yo ga nger ge ih yo ge guna o yeh,*
that 3ACT candle.nut 3POSS_F fruit that 3POSS_F use that exist

That is candle nut fruit's use,

wed o pemrenta onon t- hoi u- mgad u- puin.

now that government PL 1NSG.INCL.UND₁- order VI- plant VI- use

now the government and so on (ie. people in positions of power) order us to plant it.

GWKM030

5.3.3 Class II Undergoer prefixes

Over half of transitive verbs take Class II Undergoer pronoun prefixes,⁵ and thus this is the most commonly occurring Undergoer pronoun prefix type on transitive verbs. Conversely, the intransitive verbs that take Class II Undergoer prefixes form the second smallest group to take Undergoer marking. Intransitive verbs that take Class II prefixes cannot alternatively take Actor prefixes. Class II prefixes may be used with either animate or inanimate referents, but tend to occur more frequently with inanimate referents. There is a variety of semantic roles that a referent may fill, including patient, goal and comitative. Some examples of transitive and intransitive verbs that take Class II Undergoer prefixes can be seen in Table 5.4, and example (5.8) illustrates a Class II pronoun from a text.

⁵ From a sample of 252 transitive verb types 134 (53.2%) take Class II prefixes.

Table 5.4: Examples of verbs that take Class II Undergoer pronoun prefixes

Klon verb		Meaning
<i>go-hiid</i>	TR	‘reach (it/him/her)’
<i>go-hler</i>	TR	‘cut down (it)’
<i>go-hos</i>	TR	‘spill (it)’
<i>go-huus</i>	TR	‘whistle ((to) him)’
<i>go-ihih</i>	TR	‘wake (her)’
<i>go-tinggen</i>	TR	‘fight (him)’
<i>go-tkin</i>	TR	‘run ((with ⁶) her)’
<i>go-wrin</i>	TR	‘dig (it)’
<i>go-bek</i>	TR	‘wobble (it)’
<i>go-bras</i>	TR	‘throw (it)’
<i>go-dir</i>	TR	‘tear (it)’
<i>go-pnei</i>	TR	‘hit (him)’
<i>go-atak</i>	INTR	‘(it’s) rather large’
<i>go-odok</i>	INTR	‘(he’s) able to see supernatural events rarely seen’
<i>go-egel</i>	INTR	‘(she’s) tired’

Example of Class II pronoun

- (5.8) *Aan go- tlek.*
 2SG.ACT 3UND₂- war
 You fought them./You went to war with them.
 LBH003

5.3.4 Class III Undergoer proclitics

Unlike the other Undergoer pronominals, the Class III Undergoer pronouns are regarded as proclitics. All of the other Undergoer pronouns (Class I, II and IV) always occur prefixed to a verbal base, and phonologically become a part of the word. Further evidence that these pronouns are attached to the verb comes from the fact that no other constituent can intervene between a bound pronoun and a verbal base. Class III Undergoer pronouns, on the other hand, sometimes cliticise to a verbal base, but unlike the other bound pronouns other constituents can intervene between them and the verb, as in the idiomatic example (5.9), in which the Class III second person non-singular pronoun *igin=* is used as the head of a relative clause. It would otherwise immediately precede the verb rendering *pi igintek* ‘we stab you(NSG)’.

- (5.9) *Bo na ma ongo, igin= de pi tek di,*
 SEQ 1SG.ACT come this 2NSG.UND₃= REL 1NSG.INCL.ACT stab first

⁶ Comitative.

bo na ege- ma ongo.
 SEQ 1SG.ACT 2NSG.UND₄- come this
 So I come to join together (to go to war), so I come to (invite) you.
 (lit. So I come here and we stab you first and I come to you here.)
 PABHo043

As mentioned, all of the classes of Undergoer prefixes may mark either O Undergoer arguments or S_o Undergoer arguments. However, in keeping with their idiosyncratic behaviour, there are only three examples of intransitive verbs with an S_o argument marked by a Class III pronoun in the corpus — all of which may also take Actor pronouns (*tiqoyon* ‘be like what?’, *koh* ‘finish’, and *yeh* ‘exist’).

Only just over ten percent of transitive verbs take Class III Undergoer pronoun proclitics.⁷ These pronouns may be used with either animate or inanimate referents, but more commonly have animate referents. Examples of transitive and intransitive verbs that take Class III Undergoer pronominal proclitics can be seen in Table 5.5, with a textual example in (5.10).

Table 5.5: Examples of verbs that take Class III Undergoer pronoun proclitics

Klon verb		Meaning
<i>gin=abaar</i>	TR	‘pull (it/her/him)’
<i>gin=door</i>	TR	‘hit (her)’ ⁸
<i>gin=kirkir</i>	TR	‘to think ((about) him)’
<i>gin=kla</i>	TR	‘to bring a case against (her)’
<i>gin=kning</i>	TR	‘to howl ((at) him)’
<i>gin=kob</i>	TR	‘to hit (her)’
<i>gin=lan</i>	TR	‘shake (him)’
<i>gin=mah</i>	TR	‘shoot (her)’
<i>gin=pkas</i>	TR	‘climb (it)’
<i>gin=tiqoyon?</i>	INTR	‘(it) is like what?’
<i>gin=yeh</i>	INTR	‘(it) exists’
<i>gin=koh</i>	INTR	‘(it’s) finished’

Example of Class III proclitic

(5.10) *Nang bo ik om yo =we waa*
 no SEQ younger.sibling man that =FOC go
 So the younger brother went,

eh mud ge mang yo waa gin= tek ma gin= tek.
 hey lemon 3POSS_F sharp that go 3UND₃= stab come 3UND₃= stab
 ah the lemon thorns stabbed him here and stabbed him there.
 GLW029

⁷ From a sample of 252 transitive verb types 31 (12.3%) take Class III prefixes.

⁸ There are many verbs translated as ‘hit’ (*pukul* in Indonesian) by Klon speakers, which take different Undergoer pronominals (including *gin=door*, *gin=kob*, *gin=wreh*, *go-pnei*, *g-mrung* and *g-ded*). The semantic difference between the forms is not yet understood.

Class III proclitics are the Undergoer pronominals that are always used with loan words from Malay, as can be seen in (5.11) and (5.12).

(5.11) ...*de ho ini gin=* paksa.
 CONJ SIM 3NSG 3UND₃= force
 ... but they forced her ...
 KKTo020

(5.12) *Ho wed a ini gin=* tolong *ongo*
 SIM now 2SG.ACT 3NSG 3UND₃= help this
 So now you help them,

hok haib u- ebeer u- ihin =e nang?
 half danger VI- die VI- lose =DIS NEG
 have any died or not?
 DWM₂052

5.3.5 Class IV Undergoer prefixes

Class IV Undergoer pronoun prefixes are the least commonly used on transitive verbs, with only approximately four percent of transitive verbs requiring this prefix type.⁹ Conversely, the largest group of intransitive verbs that take S₀ marking take Class IV prefixes. All of the intransitive verbs that take Class IV prefixes can also take Actor pronouns. Class IV prefixes are the ‘default’ prefix for intransitive verbs that typically take an Actor argument, but under the right semantic conditions the single argument is treated as an Undergoer (see §4.3.6). Examples of transitive and intransitive verbs that take Class IV Undergoer prefixes can be seen in Table 5.6, with a textual example in (5.13).

Table 5.6: Examples of verbs that take Class IV Undergoer pronoun prefixes

Klon verb		Meaning
<i>ge-uur</i>	TR	‘see (him)’
<i>ge-adapu</i>	TR	‘cook ((for) her)’
<i>ge-eek</i>	TR	‘tell (him) off’
<i>ge-ghol</i>	TR	‘move ((for) her)’
<i>ge-moi</i>	TR	‘help (him)’
<i>ge-tbak</i>	TR	‘be angry ((with) her)’
<i>ge-ampi</i>	INTR	‘(he) follows’
<i>ge-eneh</i>	INTR	‘(she’s) calm’
<i>ge-eten</i>	INTR	‘(it’s) ripe’
<i>ge-ket</i>	INTR	‘(he) defecates’
<i>ge-wet</i>	INTR	‘(she) urinates’
<i>ge-kaak</i>	INTR	‘(he’s) itchy’
<i>ge-éléng</i>	INTR	‘(she’s) hungry’

⁹ From a sample of 252 transitive verb types 10 (4%) take Class IV prefixes.

Example of a Class IV prefix

- (5.13) *Ni e- qad a agai de*
 INSG.EXCL.ACT 2SG.UND₄- come 2SG.ACT go CONJ
nge- moi.
 INSG.EXCL.UND₄- help
 We come to you and you go to help us.
 LBH003

5.3.6 Semantically determined pronoun choice

5.3.6.1 Overview

The Undergoer pronominal paradigm from which an individual verb selects is on the whole lexicalised. Mostly, a particular verb can only take one particular type of prefix, and this selection is lexicalised rather than being semantically based. That is, verbs cannot be semantically classified based on which pronominal paradigm they select from, and the pronominal paradigms themselves cannot be given labels reflecting any semantic differences. Despite this almost-language-wide phenomenon, there are some exceptions. As seen in Chapter 4 the argument of some intransitive verbs may be expressed either with an Actor pronoun or with an Undergoer pronoun, dependent on the semantic features a particular referent is perceived of possessing. In a parallel way some transitive verbs may have their Undergoer argument expressed by one of two pronominal paradigms, the choice being based on the semantic features of the referent.

There are two types of prefix alternation: 1. an alternation between a Class II Undergoer prefix and Class III Undergoer proclitic (§5.3.6.2); and 2. an alternation between a Class II and Class IV prefix (§5.3.6.3).

5.3.6.2 Class II/Class III Undergoer alternation

From the 10% of transitive verbs that may take a pronoun prefix alternation approximately three quarters of these have an alternation between Class II and Class III prefixes/proclitics.¹⁰ The alternation is based on two types of semantic distinctions. In the first, the Class II prefixes refer to non-human referents, and the Class III proclitics refer to human referents. In the second, the Class II prefixes are used to refer to an activity that occurs once or only has a single referent, and the Class III proclitics are used to refer to an activity that occurs repeatedly or has more than one referent. These semantic distinctions can be seen in Table 5.7, while they are illustrated with textual examples in (5.14)–(5.15).

¹⁰ From a sample of 17 transitive verb types that have a prefix alternation 13 have an alternation between Class II and Class III object prefixes.

Table 5.7: Class II and Class III alternations

Verb with Class II prefix		Verb with Class III prefix	
<i>go-hban</i>	‘fell (it)’	<i>gin=hban</i>	‘fell (him)’
<i>go-hkek</i>	‘open (it)’	<i>gin=hkek</i>	‘open (her)’
<i>go-hrot</i>	‘sew (it)’	<i>gin=hrot</i>	‘sew (him)’
<i>go-ihin</i>	‘fetch (it)’	<i>gin=ihin</i>	‘fetch (her)’
<i>go-ilin</i>	‘lick (it)’	<i>gin=ilin</i>	‘lick (him)’
<i>go-oros</i>	‘crash ((into) it)’	<i>gin=oros</i>	‘crash ((into) her)’
<i>go-pat</i>	‘tie (it)’	<i>gin=pat</i>	‘tie (him)’
<i>go-gtal</i>	‘lift (it)’	<i>gin=gtal</i>	‘lift (her)’
<i>go-ihir</i>	‘cut (it) finely’	<i>gin=ihir</i>	‘cut (them) finely’
<i>go-kde</i>	‘eat (it)’	<i>gin=kde</i>	‘eat (it repeatedly)’
<i>go-taan</i>	‘accuse (him)’	<i>gin=taan</i>	‘accuse (him repeatedly)’
<i>go-igin</i>	‘pick ((at) it)’	<i>gin=igin</i>	‘pick ((at) it repeatedly)’
<i>go-hbur</i>	‘sweep (it once)’	<i>gin=hbur</i>	‘sweep (it repeatedly)’

Example of Class II/Class III alternation

- (5.14) *Ul wiir ong gin= gtal.*
 child cry this 3UND₃= lift.s.t
 Lift this crying child.
 UPJ005

- (5.15) *Krong ga aan yo a= tkoor yaah bo go- gtal di.*
 sack 3ACT carry that INTS= heavy unable SEQ 3UND₂- lift.s.t first
 The sack he’s carrying it’s very heavy so lift it first.
 UPJ006

5.3.6.3 Class II/Class IV Undergoer prefix alternation

From the 10% of transitive verbs that may take a pronoun prefix alternation approximately one quarter of these have an alternation between Class II and Class IV prefixes.¹¹ If the Undergoer is perceived of as being a beneficiary or maleficiary then it will be expressed using a Class IV prefix, otherwise a Class II prefix will be used. This semantic difference can be seen in Table 5.8, and examples (5.16)–(5.17).

¹¹ From a sample of 17 transitive verb types that have a prefix alternation 4 have an alternation between Class II and Class IV object prefixes.

Table 5.8: Class II and Class IV alternations

Class II prefix		Class IV prefix	
<i>go-kreyang</i>	‘work ((at) it)’	<i>ge-kreyang</i>	‘work ((for) her)’
<i>go-krui</i>	‘scream ((at) him)’	<i>ge-krui</i>	‘scream ((for) him)’
<i>go-qad</i>	‘come ((with) her)’	<i>ge-qad</i>	‘come ((for) her)’
<i>go-hrak</i>	‘(he is) hot’	<i>ge-hrak</i>	‘(he is) hot (and suffering)’

Example of Class II/Class IV alternation

- (5.16) *Mdi no- hrak.*
 sun 1SG.UND₂- hot
 The sun heats me up.
 KB10:90a

- (5.17) *Adaq ne- hrak.*
 fire 1SG.UND₄- hot
 The fire makes me (unbearably) hot.
 KB10:90b

5.4 Dual pronouns

Klon dual pronouns occur frequently in discourse, as do the other pronouns. They are free forms and can be seen to be created from the base *ele* (which is frequently pronounced with a non-phonemic word-final glottal stop) plus the consonants used to mark person in the non-singular Actor pronouns, that is, [NSG + DU].¹² The third person dual pronoun frequently co-occurs with the third person non-singular *ini* or its reduced form.

The dual pronouns are used as both Actor and Undergoer arguments. When occurring as Actor arguments they appear as presented in Table 5.9. The dual pronouns can co-occur with the non-singular hortative forms to refer to hortative Actors of dual number. Example (5.18) illustrates dual pronouns being used to mark Actor arguments.

Table 5.9: Klon dual Actor pronouns

Number and person	Full form	Reduced form	Hortative form
1DU.INCL	<i>ple</i>	–	<i>ple pa</i>
1DU.EXCL	<i>ngle</i>	<i>nle</i>	<i>ngle nga</i>
2DU	<i>egle</i>	–	<i>egle aga</i>
3DU	<i>(ini) gle</i>	<i>(i) ele</i>	–

Examples of dual pronoun being used as an Actor

¹² The proto-Trans New Guinea form for duals is *-le* (Malcolm Ross pers. comm.).

- (5.18) *Nang gen agai mdi heher bo, Pransina gi- man ele her agai,*
 NEG until go sun afternoon SEQ Pransina 3POSS₂- father 3DU descend go
 Then it came to be late afternoon so Pransina and her father,
bo ibiq yo ele g- ebeer.
 SEQ fish that 3DU 3UND₁- die
 those two went down and those two killed the fish.
 KKTO010

When used as Undergoer arguments the dual pronouns precede the verb and co-occur with a non-singular Undergoer prefix indicating the same person. Table 5.10 illustrates how the dual pronouns co-occur with Undergoer prefixes across all four prefix classes, and example (5.19) shows the third person dual pronoun occurring with a Class I Undergoer pronominal.

Table 5.10: Klon Dual Undergoer Pronouns

Person and number	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
1DU.INCL	<i>ple t-</i>	<i>ple to-</i>	<i>ple tin=</i>	<i>ple te-</i>
1DU.EXCL	<i>ngle ng-</i>	<i>ngle ngo-</i>	<i>ngle ngin=</i>	<i>ngle nge-</i>
2DU	<i>egle Vg-</i>	<i>egle ogo-</i>	<i>egle igin=</i>	<i>egle ege-</i>
3DU	<i>(ini) ele g-</i>	<i>(ini) ele go-</i>	<i>(ini) ele gin=</i>	<i>(ini) ele ge-</i>

Example of dual pronoun being used as an Undergoer

- (5.19) *Yaah, bo ini ge om Koimo Kalok ele ini g- tang:*
 unable SEQ 3NSG 3POSS_F man Koimo Kalok 3DU 3NSG 3UND₁- ask
 It was too much, so they asked their two men Koimo and Kalok:
 PABHO060

5.5 Emphatic pronouns

The Klon emphatic pronouns are both the most phonologically and morphologically complex of the pronominals.¹³ The emphatic pronouns are formed from Class II bound possessive pronouns (see §6.3.2) prefixed to *ngan*, which in other contexts is a noun meaning ‘thing’. The emphatic pronouns are used to emphasise the agentive nature of a referent, and none of them are very common in my corpus. They are presented in Table 5.11, with one of the few textual uses shown in (5.20).

¹³ This is in keeping with Siewierska’s observation (Siewierska 2004:74).

Table 5.11: Klon emphatic pronouns

Person and number	Emphatic pronoun		English
1SG	<i>ni-ngan</i>	‘1SG-thing’	myself
2SG	<i>i-ngan</i>	‘2SG-thing’	yourself
3	<i>gi-ngan</i>	‘3SG-thing’	himself/herself
1NSG.INCL	<i>pi-ngan</i>	‘1NSG.INCL-thing’	ourselves
1NSG.EXCL	<i>ngi-ngan</i>	‘1NSG.EXCL-thing’	ourselves
2NSG	<i>igi-ngan</i>	‘2NSG-thing’	yourselves
3NSG	<i>ini gi-ngan</i>	‘3NSG-thing’	themselves
1DU.INCL	<i>ple pi-ngan</i>	‘1DU.INCL-thing’	our(two)selves
1DU.EXCL	<i>nge ngi-ngan</i>	‘1DU.EXCL-thing’	our(two)selves
2DU	<i>egle igi-ngan</i>	‘2DU-thing’	your(two)selves
3DU	<i>ini ele gi-ngan</i>	‘3DU-thing’	their(two)selves

- (5.20) *Bo na n- bet ong ningan na g- ruh.*
 SEQ 1SG.ACT 1SG.POSS₁- stomach this 1SG.EMPH 1SG.ACT 3UND₁- massage
 So I, myself, massaged my belly.
 DWM₂001

5.6 Third person discourse pronouns

There are three third person pronouns — *lega*, *gele*, and *a* — which are used with specific referent tracking functions not accorded to the other third person forms. All pronouns can be used to track referents within discourse. However, the primary function of the Actor and Undergoer pronouns is to mark the Actor and Undergoer in a particular clause. This contrasts with the three discourse pronouns, which are primarily used to say something about the argument in wider discourse.

It is unsurprising that the only discourse pronouns are third persons: whereas first and second persons always refer to the speaker and addressee, there may be many potential referents for a third person pronoun, potentially causing ambiguity. The discourse pronouns are used to help disambiguate potential problems of mistaken identity.

Although each of the three pronouns is specifically used to track anaphoric referents in discourse they say very different things about the referent. The pronoun *a* can be regarded as neutral as far as topicality is concerned — a purely referent-tracking device impervious to topicality. On the other hand *lega* tracks ongoing topics, while *gele* tracks new topics, where a topic is regarded as the most salient referent in a particular section of discourse; the central character to the current action. The resumptive pronoun *a* is commonly used through all kinds of texts by all speakers of all ages. Conversely, *lega* and *gele* tend to mainly occur in the speech of older men, and their use is primarily reserved for potentially ambiguous circumstances. None of the discourse pronouns are obligatorily used.

The third person pronoun *a* is used to track a referent in discourse with the same grammatical relation and topicality status across clauses. The pronoun *a* can co-occur with the third person Actor pronouns *ga* and *ini*, the Undergoer pronouns *g-*, *go-*, *gin=*, and *ge-*, and *lega*. *Leg*a and *a* are both ‘tracking’ pronouns and therefore they may co-occur when a

referent is topical, in keeping with the function of *lega*. On the other hand, *gele* and *a* cannot co-occur because it is a contradiction to both track a referent and introduce it as a new topic at the same time.

In (5.21) the arguments in bold all have the same referent — three warriors — the protagonists of the story. The pronoun *a* is used to remind the listener that the person doing the action is the same as previously expressed.

- (5.21) *Ana= tong qad, a ip= tong hil, bo ini mteh,*
 CLF= three come 3RES CLF= three hang SEQ 3NSG stand
 The three of them came, those three anchored then they got up
- a lam gen agai ole ul om egeben.*
 3RES walk until go over.there child man elders
 and they went until they went over there to the male elders.
 LBH009

Another example can be seen in (5.22), in which *a* is used initially to track *Òm Olor non=e* ‘all of the Òm Olor clan’, then once another third person referent is introduced joining together with the first one *i bal* ‘they together’ *a* subsequently refers to both the original referent plus the newly mentioned ones, which it also refers to in its last mention in the example.

- (5.22) *Bo u- myer udar, gen i koh,*
 SEQ VI- circle.dance recite.poetry until DUR finish
 So they sang and danced until finished,
- bo idil kukun nab ool o Òm Olor non =e*
 SEQ tomorrow early.morning what wife that Òm Olor PL =FOC
 then the next morning the – what, women – the Om Olor clan,
- ini a ma boge, dayah Hingkoi yongo ge yo*
 3NSG 3RES come EPI ancestors Hingkoi that 3POSS_F that
 they came maybe, the ancestor Hingkoi
- ul non i bal a ma boge,*
 child PL 3NSG.ACT together 3RES come EPI
 and his children together they came maybe,
- da ool ong a go- ma boge.*
 parent.in.law woman this 3RES 3UND₂- come EPI
 the mother-in-law they came to her maybe.
 AKOB016

The third person pronoun *lega* is used to track referents with ongoing topic status. This can be seen in (5.23). The use of *lega* rather than *a* can be regarded as more emphatic, highlighting the topical nature of the referent.

- (5.23) *Nang bo adob lega mi ihih, bo béq gi- ihi ghel méd ma*
 NEG SEQ true 3S.TOP be.at get.up SEQ pig 3POSS₂- faeces lift take come
 So he indeed got up, and took pig’s faeces

ping g- ad ta meq, koh bo lega kde,
 plate 3POSS₁- mouth above place finish SEQ 3S.TOP eat
 and put it on top of the plate's mouth, then he ate,

arak mai di kde gen a koh, koh bo lega u- huh:
 cooked.rice also eat until 3RES finish finish SEQ 3S.TOP VI- say
 he also ate rice until he finished, then he said: ...
 SNMAo009

The third person pronoun *gele* is used to mark that a referent is a new topic. *Gele* is used for referents that have already been introduced into the discourse, but may not be obviously topical. As with other pronouns it can be used in conjunction with full NPs as in (5.24), or it can stand alone, as in (5.25). Because of its function *gele* looks somewhat like a switch-reference pronoun. However, it is not a switch-reference pronoun for three reasons: 1. it is sensitive to topic rather than grammatical relations; 2. it is only used in ambiguous circumstances; and 3. it is limited to third person referents.¹⁴

(5.24) *Ho ge Malaj u- wiir ho abang* 'Nona nona Keterina naik
 SIM 3POSS malay VI- cry SIM say miss miss Keterina ascend
 Then crying using their Malay (the angels) said 'Miss, miss Keterina climb up

kita pulang' ho, Keterina gele amai ge g- war
 1PL.INCL¹⁵ go.home SIM Keterina 3D.TOP under 3POSS 3UND₁- turn
 and we'll go home', then Keterina replied from below

ge Klon huh ho 'Na mde yaah ini phor ugun puin
 3POSS Klon say SIM 1SG.ACT climb unable 3NSG chain spin hold
n- lek ik'.

1SG.UND₁- tie COMPL

in her Klon 'I can't climb up, they've already tied me up with chains.'
 KKTo040

(5.25) *Man leer ga go- kar, bo okneq gele qad.*
 father ruler 3ACT 3SG.UND₂- call SEQ woman 3D.TOP come
 The ruler called them [the women] so the women came.
 KKTo017

¹⁴ As Siewierska (2004:179) points out in a footnote: 'Switch-reference systems, which are also used for reference tracking (...) are not sensitive to person'.

¹⁵ The first person inclusive pronoun *kita* is Malay in origin, and is appropriately labeled 'plural' rather than 'non-singular'.

6 *Noun phrases*

6.1 Introduction

As in most languages, in Klon a distinction can be made between two types of nominals: nouns and pronouns. The difference is expressed by Foley as follows: ‘Pronouns (...) are shifting referring expressions in contrast to nouns, which are constant referring expressions’ (Foley 1986:66). In Klon, nouns syntactically occur in noun phrases, whereas Actor and Undergoer pronouns do not. Klon pronouns form their own word class separate from nouns. Despite this, pronouns and NPs have much in common, and can be regarded as different types of nominal constituents. For example, nominal constituents (that is, both pronouns and NPs) can be used as referential arguments, in which case they are used to fulfil the grammatical relations of Actor and Undergoer, and the semantic roles, amongst others, of ACTOR, UNDERGOER, EXPERIENCER, FORCE, RECIPIENT, GOAL, THEME and DESTINATION. Noun phrases can additionally be used predicatively (see §9.2). This chapter is primarily concerned with noun phrases, and nominal possession is discussed in §6.3.

6.2 Noun phrase structure and modification

6.2.1 Basic NP structure and simple modification

Klon NPs consist minimally of a noun, with optional adnominal modifiers which follow the head. The basic structure can be represented as in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: Klon noun phrase structure

$$\text{NP} = (\text{POSS}'\text{R}) \text{Nh}^{(*)} (\text{Nm})^* (\text{ADJ})^* (\text{V}) \{(\text{PL}) (\text{NUM})\} (\text{RC}) (\text{DEM})$$

where:

POSS'R	possessor	NUM	numeral
NP	noun phrase	RC	relative clause
Nh	head noun	DEM	demonstrative
Nm	modifier noun	()	optional constituent
ADJ	adjective	{ }	alternative constituents that do not co-occur
V	verb	*	constituent type can be repeated
PL	plural marker		

Below are examples of the different types of modification that occur within NPs.

N

The most basic NPs consist of a single noun. In (6.1) *bat* ‘corn’ is used as an Undergoer in a transitive clause.

- (6.1) Oktober *ur* *ugihib* *yo* *pi* *bat* *etur* *tek*.
 October month run.out that 1NSG.INCL.ACT corn first plant
 At the end of October we plant corn first.
 KKP016

Poss’r N

The head noun of a NP can consist of a nominal possessive construction, as in (6.2), in which the possessed nouns *ge* ‘his leg’ and *gtan* ‘his arm’ are used as Undergoer arguments. See §6.2.5 below for more on nominal possession.

- (6.2) *Gen* *i* *koh* *kuur* *hok* *ebeer* *nang*,
 until DUR finish dog IRR die NEG
 So the dog didn’t die,

awa *mu* *g-* *e* *u-* *ilin* *g-* *tan* *u-* *ilin*.
 again just 3POSS₁- leg VI- lick 3POSS₁- arm VI- lick
 it just licked his legs and his arms.
 GLW039

NN

Some nouns are able to modify other nouns. These modifying nouns are not considered a sub-class of noun, but rather a semantic sub-type of common noun. In addition to being able to be used and modified in the same ways as other common nouns (see §4.2.2) they can also be used to modify other nouns. The semantics of modifying nouns delimit or more narrowly specify the type of the head noun, as in (6.3).

- (6.3) *Hi* *keek* *yo* *tkin*.
 chicken male.animal that run
 That rooster is running.
 NPADJ0361

See §4.2.2.1 on the difference between compound nouns and nominally modified nouns.

N Adj

One of the functions of adjectives in Klon discourse is to modify nouns. An example of this can be seen in example (6.4), in which *knis* ‘small’ modifies the noun *gtan* ‘branch’.¹ See §4.4.1 for more information about adjectives.

¹ *Gtan* ‘branch’ appears to be derived from *g-tan* ‘its hand/arm’, as in example (6.2), but because synchronically it is not possible to use any of the other possessive pronouns and retain the meaning ‘branch’, *gtan* ‘branch’ is regarded a single morpheme.

- (6.4) *Nok, péd go- ma, de pi gtan knis ong*
 good machete 3UND₂- come CONJ 1NSG.INCL.ACT branch small this
u- gbok gel.
 VI- cut obtain
 Good, bring the machete so that we can (=gel ‘obtain’) cut this small branch.
 GWKM054

N V

Some verbs are able to modify nouns, as can be seen in (6.5), in which *ibiq* ‘fish’ the Undergoer NP in the transitive clause is modified by the verb *dgar* ‘fry’. There are no instances of pronominally prefixed verbs modifying nouns in the corpus.

- (6.5) *Ga ting mej ta mid ga ibiq dgar méd,*
 3ACT jump table above climb 3ACT fish fry take
 It jumped up onto the table, it took the fried fish,
koih ga go- tkin, kuur di a g- lobei.
 finish 3ACT 3UND₂- run dog also 3RES 3UND₁-chase
 then ran away with it, the dog also chased it.
 LKMG009

N PL

In Klon nouns with animate referents can be marked for plural by the plural marker (o)non, which immediately follows the noun/s that it modifies, as in (6.6).

- (6.6) *Nang bo nge ketua onon qad ngo- thook,*
 NEG SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.POSS_F leader PL come 1NSG.EXCL.UND₂- meet
 So our leaders came and met us,
ngin anggota nuk nuk ngo- thook,
 1NSG.EXCL.ACT member one one 1NSG.EXCL.UND₂- meet
 met us members one by one,
ni yel g- mung.
 1NSG.EXCL.ACT time 3UND₁- fall
 and we made a schedule.
 PBTo003

The plural marker is also used to create associative plurals, whereby marking a noun for plural implies that associates of the referent are also referents. This can be seen in (6.7)

- (6.7) *Yo ga nger ge ih yo ge guna o yeh,*
 that 3ACT candle.nut 3POSS_F fruit that 3POSS_F use that exist
 That is candle nut fruit’s use,
wed o pemrentah onon t- hoi u- mgad u- puin.
 now that government PL 1NSG.INCL.UND₁- order VI- plant VI- hold
 now the government and so on (i.e. people in positions of power) order us
 to plant it.
 GWKM030

N Num

Modification of head nouns by a numeral is common.² Numerals have the structure [(CLF=) NUM], that is, they obligatorily consist of a numeral, which in some cases is cliticised by a classifier (see §4.4.5 for a discussion of classifiers). In (6.8) the numeral *kar tong* ‘thirty’ is used to modify a noun, without a classifier, while in (6.9) the classifier *up=* is prefixed to the numeral *tong* ‘three’ modifying the noun *kuur* ‘dog’.

(6.8) *Ho Buwembui u- huh ‘Leh kar tong n- eh mi ong ...’*
 SIM Buwembui DER- say arrow ten three 1SG.POSS₁- waist be.at this
 Then Buwembui said: ‘(There are) thirty arrows at my waist here (...)’
 YUA_w046

(6.9) *Alah ho kuur di awa awar nang kuur up= tong po*
 house SIM dog also again return NEG dog CLF= three that
 At home a dog also didn’t return, (from) three dogs

up= orok ek awar, nuk o awa apa tkin.
 CLF= two only return one that again part run
 only two returned, one had run somewhere again.
 BBTo022

As can be seen from the use of *up=orok* ‘two’ and *nuk* in (6.9) it is possible for a numeral to be used on its own, referring to an ellipsed head noun (see §6.2.4).

See §4.4.4 and §4.4.5 for further discussion of numerals and classifiers respectively.

N Rc

Relative clauses are used to specify the head noun in a NP (see §11.2). The relativiser *de* occurs at the left edge of the relative clause. *De* is also used as a coordinating conjunction (see §11.4). The relative clause in (6.10) contains an intransitive verb and modifies an Undergoer, while the one in (6.11) contains a transitive clause and modifies an Actor.

(6.10) *Ge ih de b~ bgor op biasa hiq odom nana.*
 3POSS_F fruit REL RED~ yellow that usual wild.bird peck
 Those seeds of its that are yellow are usually eaten by wild birds.
 GWKM010

(6.11) *Bo biasa ininok de ga g- tap onon o wo*
 SEQ usual person REL 3ACT 3UND₁- shoot PL that DEM
 So all those people who go shooting

ini gan ben yar yo mial bo u- mih,
 3NSG 3ACT kapok tree that hunting.hide SEQ VI- sit
 use the kapok tree as a hunting hide and they sit there,

² Non-specific quantification of a noun does not occur within NPs. It is achieved through the use of verbal or adjectival quantifiers.

ini trab gten bo ta- mih.
 3NSG bamboo.platform do SEQ above- sit
 they make a bamboo platform and sit up there.
 GWKM127

N Dem

Demonstratives are used to locate referents in discourse, time, and place. In (6.12) *yo* ‘that’ is used to track the referent *mlir* ‘eel’ in discourse. See §4.4.2 for a discussion on the different types of demonstratives.

- (6.12) *Ele awa awar ma, ho mlir yo awa inok*
 3DU again return come SIM eel that again able
 Then they returned, the eel had come back to life,

bo awa her ara ol mi,
 SEQ again descend water pool be.at
 and had returned back down to the pool of water,

mlir yo wed ini gbok hik go- orok.
 eel that earlier 3NSG cut break 3UND₂- two
 the eel had been cut into two earlier.
 PABHo009

6.2.1.1 A note on the focus marker

The narrow focus clitic *=e* is a discourse marker, not a nominal modifier.³ It can either cliticise to the head noun or the last constituent in a NP, regardless of the type of noun phrase modifier it is, because rather than operating at the phrase-level like the other modifiers, *=e* operates on the level of discourse. In (6.13) the focus marker cliticises to the last noun in the Actor NP (printed in bold in the example). If the host constituent ends in a vowel then the allomorph *=we* is used, as in (6.14), in which a possessor, but not the whole possessive construction is in focus (see §6.3). The discourse marker *=e* can be used in all of the major utterance types, that is, declarative, interrogative and imperative utterances (see §4.4.7).

- (6.13) *Bo wed i qad o tok yong adaq i mteh ong,*
 SEQ now DUR come that palm this IPFV DUR stand this
 So until now this palm is still standing here,

*ge- mod yaah mentok dat om **Haron** =e*
 3UND₄- climb unable past.medium grandchild man Haron =FOC

ge- mod mid ho,
 3UND₄- climb climb SIM
 unable to be climbed, in the past (his) grandson Haron had climbed it

³ ‘In a narrow-focus structure, the focus domain is limited to a single constituent, and any constituent, be it subject, object, oblique NP or nucleus, can be the focused constituent’ (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:208).

bgib tyok, bo mid beh go- duur, o mi- orok,
 shake shake SEQ climb branch 3UND₂- knife that be.at two
 all the while shaking, then climbed, (he) cut branches, (he did) that twice,

bo isen eden, u- klik yaah, bo u- doa tolak.
 SEQ before when VI- sick unable SEQ VI- pray reject
 and afterwards(=*isen eden*) (he) was very sick, and almost died
 (lit. rejected praying).
 PKPM113

- (6.14) *ge =we iwi a bein*
 3POSS_F =FOC house 3RES fall
 his whose house fell
 YEJ014

6.2.2 Multiple modification and order of modifiers

As is predictable from the phrase structure rule stated above, multiple modifiers may occur in a single NP, as in example (6.15) which contains both a numeral and a demonstrative.

- (6.15) *Adob, bo odol lega adapu, bo ini kde,*
 true SEQ sister 3S.TOP cook SEQ 3NSG eat
 True, so the sister cooked, and they ate,

idil wed odoim orok ge kuur orok yo go, bo
 tomorrow just brother two 3POSS_F dog two that bring SEQ
ini elel agai,
 3NSG search go
 the following day the two brothers took those two dogs, and they went
 searching,

ho Buwembui Tawentai ga uhul hla gten, bo mih yeh.
 SIM Buwembui Tawentai 3ACT rattan string do SEQ sit CONT
 while Buwembui Tawentai he made rattan string, sitting down.
 YUA015

The order of repeated modifiers of the same constituent type (i.e. nouns or adjectives) within a NP is, to a certain degree, rigid. The order in which they occur is free when there are three or less modifiers within the NP, otherwise the order is set.

If there are three modifiers or less within the NP, two of which are adjectives, one denoting size and the other colour, then the verbs may occur in either of the possible orders, as in (6.16) and (6.17).⁴

- (6.16) *hi kikiik aal ip= orok*
 chicken red big CLF= two
 two big red chickens
 NPADJ005

⁴ The semantic difference resulting from the different orders is unknown.

- (6.17) *hi aal kikiik ip= orok*
 chicken big red CLF= two
 two big red chickens
 NPADJ006

However, if there are more than three modifiers in a NP then the order of adjectives is set with size following colour, as in (6.18).

- (6.18) *hi keek kikiik aal ip= orok*
 chicken male.animal red big CLF= two
 two big red roosters
 NPADJ007

If a third adjective referring to age is introduced, the order is different again. The age term must precede the size term, and the colour term may then either precede, as in (6.19) or follow, as in (6.20), the other two verbs.

- (6.19) *hi keek kikiik kulbin aal nuk yo*
 chicken male.animal red old big one that
 that one big old red rooster
 NPADJ017

- (6.20) *hi keek kulbin aal kikiik nuk yo*
 chicken male.animal old big red one that
 that one old big red rooster
 NPADJ019

When there are multiple nouns modifying the head noun in a NP the order of those nouns is free when they are the only modifiers in the phrase, as in (6.21)–(6.22). However, if there are other modifiers in the phrase, then the order is set. This can be seen in (6.23), in which ‘baby roosters’ is expressed as *hi akal keek*. *Hi keek akal* is unacceptable in this context due to the numeral modification.

- (6.21) *hi akal keek*
 chicken child male.animal
 baby rooster
 NPADJ011

- (6.22) *hi keek akal*
 chicken male.animal child
 baby rooster
 NPADJ012

- (6.23) *Hi akal keek ip= orok =e ole iriip mteh yo.*
 chicken child male.animal CLF= two =FOC over.there quiet stand that
 It's the two baby roosters that are standing quietly over there.
 NPADJ013

6.2.3 Noun co-ordination and list NPs

It is very common to see NPs with multiple nouns. There are three reasons that this occurs: 1. the nouns are compounded (see §4.2.2.1); 2. nouns may be describing attributes of the head noun (see §6.2) or 3. the nouns form a list NP. There is no phrasal coordinating conjunction.

List NPs contain multiple nouns that together form a single NP which is used as a single argument within discourse. They contain nouns all of the same sub-class, without any word-level modification, such as compounding or possession. All of the nouns are of equal status to the others. Example (6.24) contains a list NP, in which the list of small animals behave as the Undergoer argument of the transitive verb *elēl* 'to search for'. List NPs are not common in the corpus.

- (6.24) *Bo klaa kiik leer yo, bo ga ip*
 SEQ eagle red ruler that SEQ 3ACT descend
 He was a red eagle so he went down
- kangkur, tkeet, mtuk, eipek elēl, bo a kde.*
 pipis grasshopper gecko frog search SEQ 3RES eat
 to search for molluscs, grasshoppers, geckos and frogs to eat.
 YUA064

6.2.4 Reduced noun phrases

In reduced NPs the head noun has been ellipsed leaving behind modifiers that replace it. The most common reduced NPs are those that contain a demonstrative or those that contain a classifier and numeral, as in (6.25). However, reduced NPs containing adjectives also occur, as in (6.24) and headless relative clauses may be regarded as a type of reduced NP (see §11.2).

- (6.25) *Ana= tong qad, a ip= tong hil, bo ini mteh a lam,*
 CLF= three come 3RES CLF= three hang SEQ 3NSG stand 3RES walk
 The three of them came, those three anchored then they got up and they went
- gen agai ole ul om egebeen.*
 until go over.there child man elders
 until they went over there to the male elders.
 LBH009
- (6.26) *Mleng ni ge eteq aan ik,*
 yesterday 1NSG.EXCL.ACT 3POSS_F wood carry COMPL
 Yesterday we carried his wood,
- mi- tuang ni aan mi- ubei qada.*
 CPV- a.little 1NSG.EXCL.ACT carry CPV- much IPFV
 we've already carried the lesser (amount) of his wood, the most not yet.
 PBT018

6.3 Possession

6.3.1 Overview

Possession is prototypically used to express the relationship that holds between a human and an object, where the object belongs to the human. However, possession is also frequently used to express the social relationship that holds between two individuals (especially kinship relationships), or to express a part-whole relationship. There are also other relationships encoded by possession that don't clearly fall into one of these categories.

In nominal possession the possessor always precedes the possessed item. Nominal possession has the structure (N) POSS.PRON N, where the first noun is the possessor and the second noun is the possessed item. It is possible for the possessor to be expressed solely by means of a possessive pronoun, but it is not possible for the possessor to be expressed solely by a full noun, that is, the use of possessive pronouns in nominal possession is obligatory. Together the possessor and possessed form the head noun of a NP, which can be modified in the same ways as other nouns (§6.2).

There are three sets of possessive pronouns. The choice of pronoun is determined by the relationship that holds between the possessor and possessed item, more specifically the choice of pronoun is determined by whether a possessed item is alienably or inalienably possessed.

6.3.2 Possessive pronouns

There are three possessive pronominal paradigms. The forms found in two of the possessive pronominal paradigms are the same as those found in the Undergoer pronominal paradigms (see §5.3). However, due to their very different behaviour they are regarded as different pronouns. The paradigm of free possessive pronouns and Class IV Undergoer pronouns have the same form,⁵ but whereas the free possessive pronouns are free forms (e.g. they can take the focus clitic =*e*, and occur predicatively) and precede nouns and refer to a possessor, the Undergoer pronouns are bound to the following verb (e.g. cannot take the focus clitic =*e*, and never occur predicatively) and refer to an Undergoer. Likewise, the Class I bound possessive pronouns have the same form as the Class I Undergoer pronouns, but the possessive pronouns only attach to nouns and refer to a possessor, whereas the Undergoer pronouns only attach to verbs and refer to an Undergoer. The forms found in the Class II bound possessive pronoun paradigm are not found in any other pronominal paradigm.

The three possessive pronoun paradigms are presented in Table 6.1. The vowel for second persons in the Class I bound possessive pronoun paradigm is the same vowel as the first vowel in the noun that it attaches to, when the noun is consonant-initial. The second person singular pronoun is not overtly realised when the noun is vowel-initial.

⁵ This is except for first person non-singular inclusive pronominals: the Undergoer form is *te-*, and the possessive form is *pe-*.

Table 6.1: Klon possessive pronouns

Person and number	Free possessive pronouns	Bound pronouns I	Bound pronouns II
1SG	<i>ne</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>ni-</i>
2SG	<i>e</i>	<i>V- / Ø-</i>	<i>i-</i>
3	<i>ge</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>gi-</i>
1NSG.INCL	<i>pe</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>pi-</i>
1NSG.EXCL	<i>nge</i>	<i>ng-</i>	<i>ngi-</i>
2NSG	<i>ege</i>	<i>Vg-</i>	<i>igi-</i>
3NSG	<i>ini ge</i>	<i>ini g-</i>	<i>ini gi-</i>

Possessors can also be expressed by the free dual pronouns in combination with the appropriate non-singular pronoun, as in Table 6.2. Although it is grammatical to have a possessor expressed solely by a dual pronoun it is rare.

Table 6.2: Klon dual possessive pronouns

Person and number	Free possessive pronouns	Bound pronouns I	Bound pronouns II
1DU.INCL	<i>ple pe</i>	<i>ple t-</i>	<i>ple pi-</i>
1DU.EXCL	<i>ngle nge</i>	<i>ngle ng-</i>	<i>ngle ngi-</i>
2DU	<i>egle ege</i>	<i>egle Vg-</i>	<i>egle igi-</i>
3DU	<i>ele (ini) ge</i>	<i>ele (ini) g-</i>	<i>ele (ini) gi-</i>

6.3.3 Alienable versus inalienable possession

Semantically inalienably possessed nouns are those nouns that can be considered as inherently belonging to a possessor, whereas the possession of alienably possessed nouns could conceivably change. However, the semantic reasoning behind the two types of possession is not always reflected in the data. Thus the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is regarded as morpho-syntactic in nature. For example, the Klon encode *ooi* ‘mother’ as inalienably possessed, but encode *om* ‘husband’ as alienably possessed. Most inalienably possessed nouns denote body-parts, while most kin-terms, which in other languages are frequently inalienable, are alienably possessed. Inalienably possessed nouns are obligatorily possessed. That is, they cannot occur as a bare root and must always occur in a possessive construction.

Alienable possession is expressed by the free possessive pronoun paradigm, as can be seen in Table 6.3, while inalienable possession is expressed by the two bound possessive pronoun paradigms, as in Table 6.4.

Table 6.3: Examples of Klon alienable possession

Semantic type	Alienable possessive construction	English
prototypical possession	<i>pe</i> <i>il</i> 1NSG.INCL.POSS _F garden	'our garden'
part-whole relationship	<i>mej</i> <i>ge</i> <i>tak</i> table 3POSS _F LEG	'table-leg'
kinship-relationship	<i>Ne</i> <i>ul</i> 1SG.POSS _F child	'my child'

Table 6.4: Examples of Klon inalienable possession

Semantic type	Pronoun paradigm	Inalienable possessive construction	English
kinship relationship	I	<i>ng-</i> <i>ooi</i> 1NSG.EXCL.POSS ₁₋ mother	'our mother'
kinship-relationship	II	<i>i-</i> <i>man</i> 2SG.POSS ₂₋ father	'your father'
body-part	I	<i>ag-</i> <i>puih</i> 2NSG.POSS ₁₋ navel	'your navel'
body-part	II	<i>gi-</i> <i>ih</i> 3POSS ₂₋ body	'his/her/their body'
other	I	<i>n-</i> <i>neq</i> 1SG.POSS ₁₋ name	'my name'
other (relationship)	II	<i>igi-</i> <i>nuk</i> 2NSG.POSS ₂₋ one	'your friend'

As with the choice of Undergoer pronoun (see §5.3) the choice between the two inalienable pronominal paradigms is lexically determined. As can be seen in Table 6.4, whether a noun is vowel- or consonant-initial does not determine the choice of pronoun, nor does the semantic type of possessive relationship. There is one broad generalisation that can be made (although it is not a hard and fast rule, as evidenced by Table 6.4): inalienably possessed body parts tend to take the first type of bound possessive pronoun (i.e. *n-*, *V-*, *g-* etc.), while other inalienably possessed nouns, such as kin terms (most of which are alienably possessed), and words denoting other inalienable relationships or concepts tend to take the second type of bound possessive pronoun (i.e. *ni-*, *i-*, *gi-* etc.). The noun *neq* 'name' can be marked by both a free possessive pronoun and a bound pronoun. No other nouns have been found that can take both types of marking.

There are a few synonymous nouns denoting body-parts in Klon, one of which is obligatorily inalienably possessed, the other not obligatorily possessed (and hence alienably possessed). For example, *tak* 'leg' is alienably possessed, whereas *e* 'leg' is

obligatorily inalienably possessed. Context determines which is used. Likewise, there are two terms for ‘head’: *to* and *kdeh*. The form *to* is obligatorily inalienably possessed, while the form *kdeh* isn’t. The presence of two forms for the word ‘head’ can be explained culturally. In all of the languages of western Alor the word for ‘head’ or one of the terms for ‘head’ is alienable, due to the historical practice of head-hunting.⁶ A hunted human head is highly alienable, not only can it be removed from someone’s body, but in the past it could also have been used as a form of currency to pay off debts to a group of people. Head hunting was recently enough practiced, and sufficient stories still remain that the form *kdeh* is still widely used.

6.4 Additional use of free possessive pronouns

As seen above, the canonical ordering of constituents in possessive NPs is [(POSS’R NP) POSS.PRON POSS’D], as in the three possessive constructions in bold in (6.27), the first and second of which contain a bound possessive pronoun, and the third containing a free possessive pronoun.

- (6.27) ***I*** ***ele*** ***g-*** ***mot*** *ole* *Y. gen,*⁷
 3NSG 3DU 3POSS₁₋ behind over.there Y. face.him
 Their backs face Y,

g- ***mot*** *ole* ***Y. ge*** ***alah*** *a* *g-* *dale.*
 3POSS₁₋ behind over.there Y. 3POSS_F house 3RES 3UND₁₋ close
 Malay: *Y. pung rumah*
 their backs are over there close to Y’s house.
 PMKY139

The order of the constituents in a possessive NP containing a free possessive pronoun is very occasionally changed, with the possessed item preceding the possessor and leaving the free possessive pronoun at the end of the NP, as in (6.28) and in (6.29). Such constructions look like transitive clauses with the constituent order [UND ACT V], where the Undergoer is topic.

- (6.28) Bapak *ong* *nanab* *ge?*
 father this what 3POSS_F
POSS’D **POSS’R** **POSS.PRON**
 Malay: *Bapak ini apa punya*
 Dad what owns this?
 GWKM46
- (6.29) *Bo* *iqal* *na* *u-* *tuub* ***ge*** *ongo.*⁸
 SEQ all 1SG.ACT DER- indicate 3POSS_F this
 Malay: *semua saya tunjuk dia.punya ni*
 I’m showing all of these she owns/of hers.
 PMKY197

⁶ This claim is based on data collected in a survey of west Alor languages by the author in 2003.

⁷ Literally ‘eye him’ – *g-* ‘3UND₁₋’ *en* ‘eye’.

⁸ This demonstrative is not modifying the possessive pronoun.

The free possessive pronouns are not restricted to occurring within possessive NPs containing both a possessor and a possessed item (although they occur more frequently within a possessive NP than elsewhere). Free possessive pronouns can also be used in constructions in which they are preceded by a possessive noun, but there is no possessed item, as in (6.30). Free possessive pronouns may also be used as nominal constituents on their own. For example, the third person free possessive pronoun *ge* in this context means ‘his/hers/theirs’, as in (6.31), in which it is used as an argument in an intransitive clause.⁹

- (6.30) *Huh Probur ge.*
 say Probur 3POSS_F
 Malay: *omong Probur punya*
 Talk about Probur’s.
 NKPP006

- (6.31) *Ge i koh ketel po nab araa kikiik =e ak mi,*
 3POSS_F DUR finish kettle that what water red =FOC part be.at
 Malay: *de.punya su abis*
 Hers was finished, his wife took the kettle with whatever red liquid in it

bo ge ool ghel ma glas lang nuk mi elep.
 SEQ 3POSS_F wife lift come glass tall one be.at pour
 and poured it into a tall glass.
 SCJ004teasameactor

The use of the free possessive pronouns is somewhat similar to the use of *punya*¹⁰ in Alor Malay (Baird, Klamer and Kratochvil 2004), and hence Malay glosses have been provided under each of the possessive constructions in this section. *Punya* also occurs between possessor and possessed (e.g. *de pum bibi* ‘his aunt’ (lit. 3sg POSS aunt)); it follows a possessor, without an overtly mentioned possessed item (e.g. *Mama punya su rusak* ‘mum’s is already broken’ (lit. mum POSS already break)); and together with a pronoun or noun it can occur as a core argument (as in(6.31)). As yet, it is unclear whether borrowing of this construction has taken place between Klon and Alor Malay and if so, in which direction the borrowing occurred.

⁹ Note that the verb *koh* ‘finish’ typically takes an Undergoer argument, which when expressed by a pronoun takes a Class III pronoun (see §5.3.3).

¹⁰ *Punya* has several allomorphs, dependent on the first sound in the following item.

7 *Verbal morphology*

7.1 Introduction

Verbs, adjectives and NPs can all be used as predicates in Klon. However, they cannot all be modified in the same ways. The list below shows modifications that all predicates can undergo.

1. Single-word predicates (i.e. verbs and adjectives) can be reduplicated (§7.5);
2. Predicates may be intensified by the proclitic *a=* (§7.8).
3. Predicates may be modified by aspectual adverbs (§8.4);
4. Predicates may be modified by modal adverbs (§8.5);
5. Predicates may be negated by a combination of the irrealis mood adverb *hok* and the negative adverb *nang* (§8.6).

Verbs are by far the most common predicate in Klon, and can undergo morphological processes other predicates cannot. Having said that, Klon does not have a great deal of verbal morphology. There is the valency increasing prefix *u-* (§7.3) and applicative *mi-* (§7.4). Aside from the Undergoer pronominals (see §5.3), there are two processes which change a word's status or category. The first is the use of the valency increasing prefix *u-* (§7.3.3–§7.3.4), and the second is reduplication (§7.5). Partial reduplication encodes nominalisation (§7.5.2–§7.5.3). Full reduplication is used to indicate iterativity (§7.5.4). Descriptions of reflexives (§7.6), reciprocals (§7.7) and the intensifier *a=* (§7.8) round off the chapter. Aspect and mood are primarily expressed through adverbs. Their primary scope is over the predicate complex of a clause, and they are described in Chapter 8.

7.2 Valence increasing prefixes

Klon has two valence-increasing operators: the general valency increasing prefix *u-*, and applicative prefix *mi-*. The valency increasing prefix *u-* may occur on a variety of bases, including verbs, while applicative *mi-* only ever occurs on verbal bases. When occurring on verbal bases, both prefixes introduce an Undergoer argument into a clause. The main difference between the two is the semantic role of the argument that is introduced. Applicative *mi-* introduces arguments with the semantic role of INSTRUMENT. Valency increasing prefix *u-* on the other hand may introduce a semantically much wider range of Undergoer arguments, including PATIENTS, RECIPIENTS, GOALS and THEMES.

The two prefixes may never co-occur on a single verb. Typically a single verb may only take either valency increasing *u-* or the *mi-* applicative. However, although rare, some

verbs may take either *u-* or *mi-*. When this happens, rather than having a typical applicative function *mi-* alters the meaning of the verb. This can be seen in Table 7.1, which contains the verbs from the corpus that Klon speakers say may take either *u-* or *mi-*.

Table 7.1: Verbs that take either valence increasing *u-* or applicative *mi-*

Verb	with prefix <i>u-</i>	with applicative <i>mi-</i>
<i>agam</i> ‘mention, chat’	<i>u-agam</i> ‘chat with s.o’	<i>mi-agam-mi-bahar</i> ‘chat with ancestors’
<i>eneet</i> ‘forget’	<i>u-eneet</i> ‘forget s.t.’	<i>mi-eneet</i> ‘too late’
<i>nal</i> ‘observe’	<i>u-g-nal</i> ‘search for it’	<i>mi-g-nal</i> ‘pick it’
<i>uuh</i> ‘hold on hip’	<i>u-g-uuh</i> ‘hold her on hip’	<i>mi-g-uuh</i> ‘hold her on hip using cloth’

7.3 Valence increasing prefix *u-*

7.3.1 Overview

The valence increasing prefix *u-* may add an argument to a clause (typically an inanimate Undergoer argument), in which case the *u-* prefix has a pronominal-like function, prefixed to the predicate (§7.3.2). Prefix *u-* can be affixed to verbs with optional pronominal prefixes or obligatory pronominal prefixes (§7.3.2), adjectives (§7.3.3), numerals and some nouns (§7.3.4). Derived verbs result when *u-* is prefixed to adjectives, nouns and numerals.

7.3.2 Valence increasing function on verbs

When prefixed to verbs *u-* adds a typically inanimate Undergoer argument to the clause. Prefix *u-* behaves like a pronominal prefix: it may either be used alone on the verb to refer to the added argument, or it may be used to cross-reference the added argument which is also expressed by a NP. Examples of verbs with optional pronominal prefixes that may take valence-increasing prefix *u-* can be seen in Table 7.2. Examples of these verbs with personal pronominal prefixes can be seen in the third column.

Table 7.2: Verbs that optionally take pronominal prefixes with *u-* and pronominal prefixes

Verb	<i>u-</i> prefixed	Pronominally prefixed
<i>adapu</i> ‘to cook’	<i>u-adapu</i> ‘to cook s.t’	<i>pe-adapu</i> ‘to cook for us’
<i>buser</i> ‘to talk’	<i>u-buser</i> ‘to talk about s.t’	<i>go-buser</i> ‘to talk to him’
<i>gdoor</i> ‘to hit’	<i>u-gdoor</i> ‘to hit s.t’	<i>gin=gdoor</i> ‘to hit her’
<i>akah</i> ‘to tear’	<i>u-akah</i> ‘to tear s.t.’	<i>go-akah</i> ‘to tear it’
<i>kde</i> ‘to eat’	<i>u-kde</i> ‘to eat s.t.’	<i>go-kde</i> ‘to eat it’
		<i>gin=kde</i> ‘to eat it repeatedly’
<i>kreyang</i> ‘to work’	<i>u-kreyang</i> ‘to work on s.t’	<i>go-kreyang</i> ‘to work with him’
		<i>ge-kreyang</i> ‘to work for him’
<i>mran</i> ‘to trample’	<i>u-mran</i> ‘to trample s.t’	<i>go-mran</i> ‘to trample her’
<i>ebeer</i> ‘to die’	<i>u-ebeer</i> ‘to die from s.t’	<i>g-ebeer</i> ‘to kill him (trs)/he died (intrs)’
<i>ihiir</i> ‘to cut finely’	<i>u-ihiir</i> ‘to cut s.t. finely’	<i>go-ihiir</i> ‘to cut it finely’
		<i>gin=ihiir</i> ‘to cut them finely’

As can be seen from Table 7.2 whereas a personal pronominal prefix adds an animate (typically human) argument to a verb, the *u-* prefix adds an inanimate argument. The following examples using the verb *ebeer* ‘die’ illustrate this. In example (7.1) *ebeer* ‘die’ is used in an Undergoer intransitive clause with a single NP argument *doqom* ‘grandfather’ and no marking on the verb.

- (7.1) *Karel aan di ma, de bo na o- tuub*
 Karel 2SG.ACT also come CONJ SEQ 1SG.ACT 2SG.UND₂- show
 Karel you also come so that I show you
- abang Karel ong di ge dat, aan qada hok yeh nang,*
 say Karel this also 3POSS_F grandchild 2SG.ACT IPFV IRR CON NEG
 saying Karel here is also his grandchild, you didn’t exist yet
- bo i- doqom ebeer.*
 SEQ 2SG.POSS₂- grandfather die
 when your grandfather died.
 GWKM081

In examples (7.2) and (7.3) the verb *ebeer* ‘die’ is pronominally prefixed. In example (7.2) *ebeer* ‘die’ is used in a transitive clause with the animate Undergoer argument marked by both a NP *Labgei ong* ‘this Labgei’ and a third person Undergoer pronominal prefix on the verb. In example (7.3) *ebeer* ‘die’ again occurs in a transitive clause, this time only a third person Undergoer pronominal prefix on the verb is used to identify the Undergoer.

- (7.2) *Wed usong unu her, nok de, na wo o- tmein,*
 now seven market descend good CONJ 1SG.ACT that 2SG.UND₂- order
 Next week descend to the market and I’ll order you
- de mde, de uiliik, de Labgei ong pi*
 CONJ ascend CONJ sell CONJ Labgei this 1NSG.INCL.ACT
- g- ebeer.***
 3UND₁- die
 to go up and sell so that we can kill this Labegai.
 SNMAo003
- (7.3) *Nuk mde g- ebeer g- ebeer go- agai man leer*
 one ascend 3UND₁- die 3UND₁- die 3UND₂- go Mr ruler
- g- en.*
 3UND₁- give
 One ascended killing them and killing them bringing them and giving
 them to the ruler.
 SNMAo014

In examples (7.4) and (7.5) the verb *ebeer* ‘die’ is prefixed by *u-*. In example (7.4) the prefix *u-* is used to introduce the inanimate Undergoer argument *haib* ‘danger’, the reason for dying. That is, the *u-* prefix causes the S argument to become an A argument (*hok* ‘some’) and introduces a new O argument (*haib* ‘danger’). While in example (7.5) the reason for dying is not explicitly stated with a NP. Instead the *u-* prefix is used in a

pronominal-like fashion, and the reason is inferable from the previous section of discourse in which the speaker talks of how his grandfather used to beat them if they did not get out of bed early in the morning.

- (7.4) *Ho wed a ini gin= tolong ongo*
 SIM now 2SG.ACT 3NSG 3UND₃= help this
 So now you help them like this,

hok haib u- ebeer u- ihin =e nang?
 some danger VI- die VI- lost =FOC NEG
 do any die from danger or not?
 DWM₂052

- (7.5) *Yo po ga awa abang u- t- ebeer*
 that that 3ACT again say VI- 1NSG.INCL.UND₁- die

u- t- hin.
 VI- 1NSG.INCL.UND₁- lost

That (would happen and) he would say again we would die from it
 (not getting up early in the morning).

PKPM106

Note that the verb *ebeer* ‘die’ in example (7.5) takes both a pronominal prefix (*t-* ‘us (incl)’) and the *u-* prefix. This is not common, but does occur with some optionally-prefixed verbs. Other optionally-prefixed verbs which can also take both the *u-* prefix and a pronominal prefix can be seen in Table 7.3. Note that the order of [valence increasing prefix-pronominal prefix-root] goes against the cross-linguistic tendency for the opposite order to occur.

Table 7.3: Verbs optionally taking pronominal prefixes that take both *u-* prefix and a pronominal prefix

Optionally prefixed verb	Verb with pronominal prefix	Verb with <i>u-</i> prefix	Verb with both <i>u-</i> and pronominal prefix
<i>huh</i> ‘to say’	<i>te-huh</i> ‘tell us (INCL)’	<i>u-huh</i> ‘tell s.t’	<i>u-te-huh</i> ‘tell us (INCL) s.t’
<i>kar</i> ‘scream, call’	<i>go-kar</i> ‘call him’	<i>u-kar</i> ‘scream s.t’	<i>u-go-kar</i> ‘call s.t to him’
<i>mung</i> ‘fall’	<i>g-mung</i> ‘make her fall/she fell’	<i>u-mung</i> ‘drop s.t’	<i>u-t-mung</i> ‘s.t falls on us’
<i>ebeer</i> ‘die’	<i>eg-ebeer</i> ‘you (PL) die’	<i>u-ebeer</i> ‘die from s.t’	<i>u-eg-ebeer</i> ‘you (PL) died from it’

Although the *u-* prefix introduces a new argument, and may promote a S argument to become A when introducing a O argument (as seen above) resulting in a transitive clause, ditransitive clauses do not result when introducing a new argument for a verb which already typically occurs in transitive clauses. This can be seen with all of the verbs (both optionally and obligatorily prefixed) that take both a pronominal prefix and the *u-* prefix. The clauses remain syntactically transitive.

In example (7.6) the verb *huh* ‘say’ occurs three times. In the second instance it is used in an intransitive clause, with no prefixation of any sort. In the third use it occurs in a transitive clause. The verb *huh* ‘say’ is prefixed by both an Undergoer pronominal and *u-*, which cross-references *nuk* ‘one (thing)’.

- (7.6) *Ga u- huh: ‘Nang na huh nuk u- ege- huh di:*
 3ACT VI- say NEG 1SG.ACT say one VI- 2NSG.UND₄- say first
 He said: ‘I say, (I) have one thing to say to you first:
Himbur awa breh hah kot tbal agai ik tkin’.
 Himbur again tear fallen city collapse PRF COM run
 Himbur has also fallen, the city has already collapsed, so run’.
 SNMAO025

When prefixed to obligatorily-prefixed verbs *u-* occurs on the outside of the pronominal prefix, in the same way as for the optionally pronominally prefixed verbs we saw above. Examples can be seen in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4: Obligatorily-prefixed verbs with *u-* prefix

Obligatorily prefixed verb	Obligatorily prefixed verb with <i>u-</i>
<i>g-dan</i> ‘close to him’	<i>u-g-dan</i> ‘move/make close to him’
<i>g-lain</i> ‘encourage, seduce her’	<i>u-g-lain</i> ‘ask, invite her’
<i>g-nal</i> ‘observe it’	<i>u-g-nal</i> ‘look for it’
<i>g-ab</i> ‘close to him’	<i>u-g-ab</i> ‘to dock’
<i>g-lul</i> ‘follow her’	<i>u-g-lul</i> ‘follow her’
<i>g-dud</i> ‘push him’	<i>u-g-dud</i> ‘back out’
<i>g-uuh</i> ‘hold her on hip’	<i>u-g-uuh</i> ‘hold her more on hip’
<i>g-war</i> ‘he returned/return to it’	<i>u-g-war</i> ‘answer, repay’

Although when asked, Klón speakers could come up with examples of obligatorily pronominally prefixed verbs that can take the *u-* prefix, such verbs very rarely occurred within textual data. It is not always clear what the function of the *u-* prefix is on obligatorily pronominally prefixed verbs. However, one clear example can be seen in (7.7) in which the obligatorily pronominally prefixed verb *war* ‘return’ is used in an Undergoer intransitive clause, where the single argument is expressed by the second person non-singular Undergoer pronominal prefix *ag-*. In example (7.8)¹ *war* ‘return’ is used in a transitive clause, with an ellipsed Actor argument. The Undergoer argument is expressed both as a NP — *tomlir bok* ‘*tomlir* tree’ — and as a third person pronominal prefix. In (7.9) when additionally prefixed by *u-*, the obligatorily pronominally prefixed verb takes the additional argument *nabo* ‘with what?’. (Note that, although *u-* introduces another argument, the clause remains syntactically transitive.)

¹ This example comes from Aluben, where speakers use a mixture of the Bring and Paneia dialects. *Yaih* ‘unable’ in Paneia is equivalent to *yaah* ‘unable’ in Bring.

- (7.7) *Jadi wed igi kursus i koh de*
 so just.now 2NSG.ACT course DUR finish CONJ
ag- war qad ong?
 2NSG.UND₁- return come this
 So you just finished the course and you returned coming here?
 DWM₂048
- (7.8) *Tomlir bok g- war di yaih.*
 k.o.tree tree 3UND₁- return also unable
 (We) also couldn't return to the *tomlir* tree.
 LSDU010
- (7.9) *Pi tlek, de pi menang agai ongo,*
 1NSG.INCL.ACT war CONJ 1NSG.INCL.ACT win PRF this
 We warred and we won,
nabo u- g- war pi ini g- en?
 with.what VI- 3UND₁- return 1NSG.INCL.ACT 3NSG 3UND₁- give
 what will (we) pay him back with, (what) will we give him?
 PABHo054

7.3.3 Adjective-derived causative *u-* prefixed verbs

Some verbs can take on a causative reading when additional arguments are added into a clause. When used in intransitive clauses the verb *mung* means 'to fall': *ge-mung* means 'she (UND) (accidentally) fell' and *ga mung* means 'she (ACT) (deliberately) fell'. When we add in an additional argument the meaning of the verb can be interpreted as being 'drop' for inanimate Undergoers or 'make fall' for animate Undergoers: *Joni g-mung* 'Joni dropped it'/'Joni made her fall' (for example by pushing her).

When the *u-* prefix is affixed to adjectives, they are causativised subsequently deriving verbs. Examples can be seen in Table 7.5. Note that the Undergoer pronominal prefix used on adjectives is always a Class I prefix (see §5.3.2). Unlike with verbs, it is not possible to create a causative verb from an adjective by just adding an Undergoer pronominal prefix — the *u-* prefix must be used. Conversely, the Undergoer pronominal prefix may be optional for some adjectives, for example *u-knis* 'make it smaller' and *u-dgim* 'strengthen it'.² An example of an adjective-derived causative verb in context can be seen in (7.10), containing the verb *u-g-tuk* 'shorten it'.

² This is most likely because the Undergoer pronominal typically used is the velar stop *g-* representing third person, which may be difficult to pronounce in the presence of another velar stop in the verb stem.

Table 7.5: Adjective-derived causative verbs

Adjective	Causative verb
<i>lang</i> ‘tall, long’	<i>u-g-lang</i> ‘lengthen it’
<i>tuk</i> ‘short’	<i>u-g-tuk</i> ‘shorten it’
<i>uqur</i> ‘short’	<i>u-g-uqur</i> ‘shorten it’
<i>aqaal</i> ‘very big’	<i>u-g-aqaal</i> ‘enlarge it’
<i>knis</i> ‘small’	<i>u-(g-)knis</i> ‘make it smaller’
<i>wang</i> ‘small’	<i>u-g-wang</i> ‘make it smaller’

- (7.10) *Nang bo mid olod gtan e atal ta opo*
 NEG SEQ ascend hard.wood branch part top above that
 Then (he) climbed up above the top part of a hard wood branch,
lega péd puin u- g- tuk mi g- mung bo her.
 3S.TOP machete hold VI- 3UND₁- short be.at 3UND.- fall SEQ descend
 he took the machete and shortened it (the branch), dropped it then descended.
 SKBC020

7.3.4 Valence increasing *u-* on nouns and numerals

There is a small group of nouns, which when prefixed with *u-* become derived verbs, presented in Table 7.6. Due to the small number of nouns that may be prefixed by *u-*, it seems that this usage of the *u-* prefix may be lexicalised. The verbs take a single argument, and semantically can be categorised as ‘to use N’. The only way in which a school could be logically used is to attend it, hence the meaning of *uskol* ‘to attend school’.

Table 7.6: *u-* derived intransitive verbs

Noun	Derived verb
<i>kdeh</i> ‘head’	<i>ukdeh</i> ‘to lead, to head’
<i>Klon</i> ‘Klon’	<i>uklon</i> ‘to speak/use Klon’
<i>Mlaj</i> ‘Malay’	<i>umlaj</i> ‘to speak/use Malay’
<i>skol</i> ‘school’	<i>uskol</i> ‘to attend school’

When prefixed to a numeral the *u-* prefix derives a verb which takes a single argument, as in (7.11)–(7.12).³

- (7.11) *Nok bo ma t- yaj tmein ma qad o mulai yo*
 good SEQ come INSG.INCL.POSS- born born come come that new that
 So then it came we were born,

³ The *u-* prefix is not being used as a numeral classifier here. See §4.3.5.

Hingkoi uwa koh wed ge ul om yéh yo wo u- orok.
 Hingkoi here finish now 3POSS_F child man exist that that VI- two
 then Hingkoi, his sons were two.

AKOB012

- (7.12) *De mulai prenta masuk, de ma*
 CONJ begin government enter CONJ come
 So the government began to come in and arrive
- pe desa Probur yeh yongo,*
 1NSG.INCL.POSS_F village Probur exist that
- hanya ge pemrenta ong qad,*
 only 3POSS_F government this come
 then we had Probur [village] here, only the government came,
- i- man ong go qada u- tong ek,*
 2SG.POSS₂- father this increase IPFV VI- three only
 your father brought it [the government] to just three,
- ebeng mu bantu yo oyon.*
 other only help that thus
 others just helped.
- NKPP022

7.4 Applicative *mi-*

As noted above, applicative *mi-* is used to introduce Undergoer arguments with the semantic role of INSTRUMENT into a clause. It is not widely found in discourse and there are three reasons that probably contribute to this. Firstly, there is another (more established) method of introducing instruments into discourse, namely through instrumental SVCs (see §10.4.4). Secondly, there is another valence increasing prefix (*u-*), which may introduce Undergoers with a wide range of semantic roles (see §7.3). Thirdly, applicative *mi-* appears to have been fairly recently grammaticalised from the verb *mi* ‘be at’, and has perhaps not yet fully completed the process (see Baird forthcoming).

Mi is used in four different ways in Klon. *Mi* is used as a verb in both mono- and multi-verbal clauses, it is used in adverbial phrases, it is used as a comparative prefix on adjectives (see §4.4.1) as well as being used as an applicative. The applicative use and use in adverbial phrases have grammaticalised from the verbal use in SVCs (Baird, forthcoming), while the comparative use appears to be synchronically unrelated.

Mi, because it is a phonetically small unit, prosodically attaches to the constituent that follows it if they occur in the same phonological phrase. For example, in locational SVCs (§10.4.6) *mi* precedes the other verbs in the serial complex, but it is treated as a separate unbound constituent because its behaviour is verbal. The only instance in which *mi* does not occur in the same phonological phrase as the following constituent is when it occurs in adverbial phrases.

When *mi* is used as an applicative it not only occurs in the same phonological phrase as the following constituent, but there is also phonological evidence to support its analysis as a bound item. When schwa-initial verbs are prefixed by applicative *mi* the schwa is

deleted, providing evidence that *mi* in this context is indeed bound. For example *mi-eweel* ‘APPL-bathe’ is realised as [miwe:l]. This contrasts with the verb’s phonetic realisation when preceded by a phonetically similar unbound item: *ni eweel* ‘we EXCL bathe’ realised as [ni əwe:l].

Syntactically, the applicative prefix *mi-* introduces an Undergoer argument into the clause, with the semantic role of INSTRUMENT. In some instances this results in transitive clauses, as in (7.13), while in other cases it results in ditransitive clauses, with the introduced argument taking the grammatical relation of Secondary Undergoer, as in (7.14). As with all Undergoer arguments, the Undergoer argument of an applicative verb may be ellipsed when understood from previous discourse or shared knowledge, as in (7.15).

- (7.13) *Ni nger elel knai elel,*
 INSG.EXCL.ACT candle.nut search cenari.nuts search
 We search for candle nuts and cenari nuts
- ni mi- gbon mi- ghek,*
 INSG.EXCL.ACT APPL- roast APPL- dry.in.sun
 we roast them, dry them in the sun,
- ni eben agai taan kde,*
 INSG.EXCL.ACT village go sell eat
 we go sell them in the village,
- doi mi- tel seng mi- tel.*
 money APPL- exchange money APPL- exchange
 exchange money.
 GKWM014
- (7.14) *Bo kwet op ga kbak mi- tpan, bo ga uilin,*
 SEQ basket that 3ACT spear APPL- stab SEQ 3ACT lick
 Then she stabbed the basket with a spear and licked it,
- ho mkal, bo ga ge- uur kwet yo ihi =e u- mi.*
 SIM bitter SEQ 3ACT 3UND₄- see basket that faeces =FOC VI- be.at
 it was bitter then she saw the basket was full of faeces.
 YUA096
- (7.15) *A naaq a kde =we a mi- eweel a mi- ruh.*
 2SG.ACT drink 2SG.ACT eat =DIS 2SG.ACT APPL- bathe 2SG APPL- massage
 You drink (it) you eat (it), you use (it) to bathe, you use (it) to massage.
 AKOB039

7.5 Reduplication

7.5.1 Overview

There are two types of reduplication in Klon: partial reduplication and full reduplication. The duplicated element in partially reduplicated verbs consists of the first syllable of the verb, which precedes the rest of the verb. If the vowel of a monosyllabic root is long, it is shortened in the reduplicated part. For some vowel-initial verbs, only the

first vowel is reduplicated, with an inserted epenthetic glottal stop between the reduplicant and the first vowel of the verb.

Full reduplication is used iconically to indicate aspect: either iterativity or durativity of the activity denoted by the verb (§7.5.4). There are two types of partial reduplication: 1. partial reduplication derives nominals denoting the semantic actor of the verb (§7.5.2) and 2. *u-* prefixed partial reduplication derives nominals which denote the undergoer of the verb (§7.5.3). Partial reduplication is also used to intensify adjectives (see §4.4.1).

There are some verbs where the partially reduplicated form is not employed for nominalisation, but for iterativity, where full reduplication is normally employed (see Table 7.9). To avoid any confusion, the two types of reduplication are kept separate by different orthographic conventions: words created through reduplication are written as a single word (e.g. *ttkin* ‘runner’, *qaqakan* ‘pitch black’, *ukkode* ‘food’), while iterative verbs are written with a hyphen between the stem and reduplicant (e.g. *koor-koor* ‘hunt and hunt’, *la-lam* ‘to walk and walk’).

Numerals can also be partially reduplicated to create a distributive sense. Examples of this can be seen in §4.4.4.

7.5.2 Partial reduplication: nominal Actor derivation

Partial reduplication is used productively to nominalise verbs, with the resulting noun indicating the Actor argument of the verb, as illustrated by example (7.16), with further examples in Table 7.7.

- (7.16) *Yaah bo li~ liik⁴ te~ tej peh méd,*
 unable SEQ RED~ evil RED~ fight bow take
 It was too much, so the champion fighters took bows,
bo ga t- hoi ge wat,
 SEQ 3ACT 1NSG.INCL.UND₁ order 3POSS_F neck
 they ordered us,
bo ini awa li~ liik te~ tej onon awa tin= lol,
 SEQ 3NSG again RED~ evil RED~ fight PL again 1NSG.INCL.UND₃= gather
 they, all the champion fighters gathered us together
bo ini awa ge- hil.
 SEQ 3NSG again 3UND₄- ascend
 and they ascended there again.
 SNMAo018

⁴ In order to become a champion, in addition to surviving many battles, one must be a ruthless (evil) killer, hence *li-liik* ‘champion’ has been derived from *liik* ‘evil’.

Table 7.7: Partial reduplication of Klon verbs

Klon verb	English	Klon derived noun	English
<i>hik</i>	‘pick’	<i>hihik</i>	‘picker’
<i>wiit</i>	‘carry’	<i>wiwiit</i>	‘carrier’
<i>kar</i>	‘call, scream’	<i>kakar</i>	‘caller, screamer’
<i>taa</i>	‘sleep’	<i>tataa</i>	‘sleeper’
<i>buuk</i>	‘to guard’	<i>bubuuk</i>	‘a guard’
<i>tbui</i>	‘to war’	<i>ttbui</i>	‘war-monger’
<i>tkin</i>	‘run’	<i>ttkin</i>	‘runner’
<i>kdok</i>	‘keep, store’	<i>kkdok</i>	‘chicken trap’
<i>tej</i>	‘fight’	<i>tetej</i>	‘fighter’
<i>liik</i>	‘evil’	<i>liliik</i>	‘champion’

A notable exception to this process is the Undergoer intransitive verb *edan* ‘to be scared’. When partially reduplicated the derived noun *eqedan* ‘coward’ denotes the Undergoer argument of the verb.

7.5.3 *u-* prefixed partial reduplication: nominal Undergoer derivation

In §7.5.2 we saw that partial reduplication is used to derive nouns from verbs, where the noun denotes the actor of the verb. There is a second type of productive partial reduplication that derives nouns from verbs. In this second type the verb is prefixed by the valence increasing prefix *u-* (see §7.3) and then partially reduplicated. The resultant noun denotes the referent of the Undergoer of the *u-* prefixed verb, as illustrated in Table 7.8. For example, adding *u-* to the verb *hil* ‘hang’ adds a locational Undergoer; adding *u-* and then partially reduplicating the verb derives a noun that denotes that locational Undergoer. Similarly, if valence increasing *u-* is prefixed to the verb *ing* ‘to vomit’ it adds an Undergoer argument denoting the thing vomited; adding *u-* and then partially reduplicating the verb derives a noun that denotes the thing that makes someone vomit.

Table 7.8: Derived partial reduplication

Verb	Verb with <i>u-</i> prefix	Derived partially reduplicated form
<i>hil</i> ‘to hang’	<i>uhil</i> ‘to hang s.w’	<i>uhihil</i> ‘hanging place’
<i>g-ab</i> ‘close to (it)’	<i>ugab</i> ‘to dock s.w’	<i>ugagab</i> ‘docking place’
<i>éléng</i> ‘hungry’	<i>uéléng</i> ‘to be hungry for s.t’	<i>uéqéléng</i> ‘s.t that makes one hungry’
<i>g-war</i> ‘return, respond’	<i>ugwar</i> ‘to answer, respond’	<i>uggwar</i> ‘response, repayment’
<i>huh</i> ‘to say’	<i>uhuh</i> ‘to talk about’	<i>uhuhuh</i> ‘topic of conversation’
<i>ing</i> ‘to vomit’	<i>uing</i> ‘to vomit s.t’	<i>uiqing</i> ‘thing someone vomits’
<i>kaklok</i> ‘to give birth’	<i>ukaklok</i> ‘to give birth to s.o.’	<i>ukkaklok</i> ‘thing/person that was born’
<i>kde</i> ‘to eat’	<i>ukde</i> ‘to eat s.t’	<i>ukkde</i> ⁵ ‘food’

⁵ Note that *kkde*, without the *u-* prefix is also commonly used meaning ‘food’. This is possible because *kkde* cannot be used to mean ‘eater’.

7.5.4 Full reduplication: iterativity, durativity

Full reduplication of a verb is used productively to indicate iterativity or durativity of the action denoted by the verb, as can be seen in Table 7.9. As mentioned, some commonly occurring verbs that are not partially reduplicated with a derivational function, are partially reduplicated with an iterative or durative meaning, for example *lam* ‘walk’ and *mih* ‘sit’.

Table 7.9: Full reduplication of Klon verbs

Klon verb	Reduplicated verb
<i>hik</i> ‘pick’	<i>hik-hik</i> ‘pick and pick’
<i>kar</i> ‘call, scream’	<i>kar-kar</i> ‘call and call’
<i>taa</i> ‘sleep’	<i>taa-taa</i> ‘sleep and sleep’
<i>uur</i> ‘see’	<i>uur-uur</i> ‘look and look’
<i>huh</i> ‘say’	<i>huh-huh</i> ‘talk and talk’
<i>mih</i> ‘sit’	<i>mih-mih/mi-mih</i> ‘sit and sit’
<i>lam</i> ‘walk’	<i>lam-lam/la-lam</i> ‘walk and walk’
<i>elel</i> ‘search’	<i>e-elel</i> ⁶ ‘search and search’

7.6 Reflexives

Klon has no reflexive pronouns nor a reflexive particle. The canonical way to create reflexive constructions is to use both Actor and Undergoer pronouns with the same number and person, as in (7.17) and (7.18).

- (7.17) *Pi* *te-* *uur.*
 1NSG.INCL.ACT 1NSG.INCL.UND₄- see
 We see ourselves.
 KB10:92

- (7.18) *Na* *nin=* *kob.*
 1SG.ACT 1SG.UND₃= hit
 I hit myself

In order for some verbs to appear in reflexive constructions, both a standard Actor pronoun and a hortative Actor pronoun must be used, in addition to the Undergoer pronoun. The verb *ebeer* ‘to die’ is one such verb, as can be seen in (7.19).

- (7.19) *Igi* *aga* *eg-* *ebeer!*
 2NSG.ACT 2NSG.HOR 2NSG.UND₁- die
 You kill yourselves!
 KB10:74

Some verbs are always semantically reflexive, for instance verbs of grooming, such as *eweel* ‘to bathe’, as in (7.20).

⁶ Although not represented orthographically because of the hyphen, there is an epenthetic glottal stop inserted between the stem and reduplicant.

- (7.20) *Ng* *ng-* *eweel*.
 1NSG.EXCL.ACT 1NSG.EXCL.UND₁ bathe
 We bathe (ourselves).
 KB10:79

7.7 Reciprocals

Reciprocals are expressed through the use of non-singular Actor pronouns together with a reciprocal prefix on the verb. The reciprocal prefixes have the same form as the first person non-singular inclusive Undergoer pronominals, that is, *t-*, *to-*, *tin-* and *te-* (see §5.3).⁷ Despite this, there is rarely any confusion, because context usually disambiguates the two uses. Examples (7.21)–(7.22) illustrate the use of the reciprocal.

- (7.21) *Gi-* *man ong kantor mi kreyang*,
 3POSS₂- father this office be.at work
 The father worked in an office,

ini t- riyang t- muinpuin ma,
 3NSG RECP- take.care.of RECP- care.for come

ho g- ooi i ebeer.
 SIM 3POSS₁- mother DUR die
 they took care of each other, until their mother died.
 KKTo002
- (7.22) *Nang bo ini hu*ih ‘*E yo g- ebeer di*’,
 NEG SEQ 3NSG say oh that 3UND₁- die first
 So they said ‘Those have to be killed’,

nang bo ini to- ar agai ta~ t- ab go,
 NEG SEQ 3NSG RECP- go.close go RED~ RECP- close increase
 then they approached each other going closer to each other,

wed ini go- t~ tlek, bo aram ole t~ tlek ma po,
 earlier 3NSG 3UND₂- RED~ war SEQ clan over.there RED~ war come that
 now they fight them the warring clan over there came,

ini har ongo ini méd, bo hod, hod ho mdek lalat taqebek.
 3NSG sabre this 3NSG take SEQ cut cut SIM lightning like ray
 they took sabres then cut, cutting then sparking like lightning.
 PABHo049

⁷ Historically these forms may have been used as a distributive pronoun, which subsequently developed reciprocal and Undergoer pronominal functions. In Teiwa, a related language spoken on Pantar, the form *ta’an* is still used exclusively as a first person distributive pronoun, and in Abui, another related language spoken by communities to the east of the Klon-speaking area on Alor, the forms *ta-*, *te-* and *to-* are used with the sole function of being distributive pronominals (Baird, Klammer and Kratochvil 2004).

7.8 Intensifier *a=*

The clitic *a=* intensifies verbs that denote qualities. It is typically translatable with the superlative reading of ‘most’. Examples of this can be seen in (7.23) and (7.24). Verbs modified by *a=* frequently occur in modal SVCs (see §10.4.3) containing the verb *yaah* ‘unable’, which further intensifies the meaning of the utterance, as in example (7.24).

- (7.23) *Ge araa yo a= dre.*
 3POSS_F water that INTS= sweet
 Its water is the sweetest.
 PKPM086

- (7.24) *Gan ong a= liik yaah yo.*
 3ACT this INTS= evil unable that
 He here is the most very evil.
 SNMAo049

The intensifier clitic *a=* also occasionally occurs on other parts of speech which results in derived verbs. An example of the intensifier cliticising to a noun can be seen in example (7.25). An example of the intensifier cliticising to an adjective can be seen in the elicited example in (7.26) containing the modal SVC *a=tkoor yaah* ‘really very heavy’.

- (7.25) *A= òm, òm yo g- neq yo Loban.*
 INTS= older.sibling older.sibling that 3POSS₁- name that Loban
 Being the eldest sibling, the elder sibling his name was Loban.
 AKOB-008

- (7.26) *Krong ga aan yo a= tkoor yaah bo go- g_{tal} di.*
 sack 3ACT carry that INTS= heavy unable SEQ 3UND₂- lift first
 The sack he’s carrying is really very heavy so lift it first.
 UPJ006

8

Adverbs

8.1 Introduction

Klon adverbs are morphologically unchanging constituents that have scope over predicates or whole clauses. Individual adverbs have different syntactic distributions, some always occurring clause-initially or clause-finally, some always preceding predicates, while yet others may occur in a combination of these positions. The types of adverbs that are identified for Klon are: temporal (§8.2), additive (§8.3), aspectual (§8.4), modal (§8.5) and negative (§8.6).

8.2 Temporal adverbs

A non-exhaustive list of temporal adverbs can be seen in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverb	English translation
<i>mleng</i>	'yesterday'
<i>makna</i>	'past (unspecified)'
<i>wed</i>	'now, just now, earlier (recent past and present)'
<i>mentok</i>	'in the past (medium-term)'
<i>ogol</i>	'past (remote)'
<i>wra</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>miglang</i>	'immediately'
<i>wek</i>	'future (unspecified)'
<i>uthang</i>	'momentarily'
<i>minuk</i>	'one moment'
<i>isen</i>	'before'
<i>di</i>	'first'

There are five adverbs used to refer to the past as opposed to three adverbs referring to the future. The Klon conceptualisation of time, based on temporal adverb use (excluding the specific adverbs *mleng* 'yesterday' and *wra* 'tomorrow') can be schematised as in Figure 8.1.

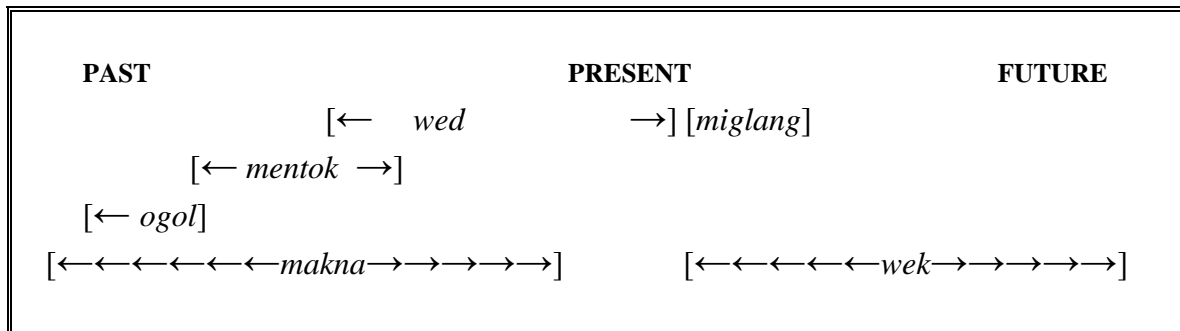


Figure 8.1: Klon conceptualisation of time

The temporal adverbs show that Klon do not conceptualise time in the same way as most people from a European background do, splitting time into past, present and future. As seen, the Klon have general terms for ‘past’ and ‘future’, but do not have such a term, or concept for ‘present’. Rather the English concepts of ‘immediate past’ and ‘present’ are expressed using the single adverb *wed*.

8.3 Additive adverbs

Additive adverbs show that an action has been repeated or another participant has been added to events under discussion. Klon has two such adverbs: *awa* ‘again’ and *di* ‘also’, both used in example (8.1).

- (8.1) Dan *wek* *wra* *bo* *agai* *tu* *mi* ***di***, *ho* *ga* *yeh* *oyon*
 and future tomorrow SEQ go where? be.at also SIM 3ACT leave.behind thus
 And in the future also wherever it (old plates) will be left behind thus
- ini* ***awa*** *awar* *qad* *tin=* *elel* *tin=* *wraip*
 3NSG again return com 1NSG.INCL.UND₃= search 1NSG.INCL.UND₃= examine
 they will return again looking for us and questioning us
- bisa* *pi* *ge-* *elek* *u-* *huh.*
 able 1NSG.INCL.ACT 3UND₄- clear VI- tell
 and we can clarify it.
 SPGS009

8.4 Aspectual adverbs

8.4.1 Overview

...‘aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation’. (Holt (1943:6) quoted in Comrie (1976:3))

Aspect is generally regarded as consisting of two parts: viewpoint and situation (or Aktionsart), where viewpoint is expressed through overt grammatical coding, while situation is inferable from the semantics of a predicate together with its arguments, and other constituents within a clause (Smith 1991:6). In Klon, four aspectual adverbs express viewpoint, but their interpretation may differ slightly from context to context based on the situation type of an utterance. A fifth aspectual adverb expresses situation (*i* ‘durative

aspect'), and is the adverb most affected by situation inferable from other constituents in the clause. A list of the aspectual adverbs can be seen in Table 8.2. Each of the aspectual adverbs are described in turn in the sub-sections below.

Table 8.2: Aspectual adverbs

Aspectual adverb	Description	Position in clause	Section
<i>i</i>	durative aspect (DUR)	precedes predicate	§8.4.2
<i>qada</i>	imperfective incomplete aspect (IPFV)	precedes predicate (may also follow, when doubled)	§8.4.3
<i>ik</i>	completive aspect (COMPL)	clause final	§8.4.4
<i>agai</i>	perfect aspect (PRF)	follows predicate	§8.4.5
<i>yeh</i>	continuative aspect (CONT)	clause final	§8.4.6

Note that iterative aspect is also marked in Klon. However, unlike the other aspects which are marked by adverbs iterativity is expressed by reduplication (see §7.5.4).

8.4.2 Durative aspectual adverb *i*

The aspectual adverb *i* is used when a situation is durative (i.e. states, activities and accomplishments), but not for punctual, instantaneous situations (i.e. semelfactives or achievements). Most typically it immediately precedes a verb, in which case it prosodically attaches to the verb, but it may also occur earlier within a clause. It has scope over the entire clause.

When the aspectual adverb *i* co-occurs with stative situations it has a durative reading, as in (8.2). When used in stative situations *i* can also co-occur with the imperfective aspectual adverb *qada*, thus further emphasising the durativity of the situation, as in (8.3). When *i* is used with stative situations it may be typically translated into English by either 'still' or 'currently'.

(8.2) *Nan i mteh godal godal, ho uruut ne- uur,*
 1SG.ACT DUR stand make make SIM deer 1SG.UND₄- see
 I still stood then the deer looked at me,

ho n- en u- gmal, bo ga ihih mteh a tkin.
 SIM 1SG.POSS₁- eyes VI- blink SEQ 3ACT get.up stand 3RES run
 I blinked my eyes and it got up, stood and ran away.
 BBTo011

(8.3) *Ongo ge ih i wlang, ih tkat o qa~ qakan,*
 this 3POSS_F fruit DUR young fruit dry that RED~ black
 This is its still-young fruit, the dry fruit is black,

ih wlang w~ wleng ongo, b~ bgor ong qada i wlang.
 fruit young RED~ green this RED~ yellow this IPFV DUR young
 the young (edible) fruit is green, this yellow one is still young.
 GWKM132

When *i* co-occurs with activities, it has an inceptive reading, that is, the durative activity is beginning/has begun, as in (8.4). When used for situations denoting activities the aspectual adverb *i* frequently co-occurs with the Malay word *mulai* ‘begin’, which highlights its inceptive reading, as in (8.5). When it is used with an inceptive sense durative *i* can co-occur with the continuative aspectual adverb *yeh*, as in (8.6), wailed by a mourner, recorded at the vigil over a corpse. However, unlike when it is used with states, when the durative aspectual adverb *i* occurs with activities it cannot co-occur with the imperfective aspectual adverb, which would indicate that the activity was already taking place, and hence would contradict the inceptive sense.

- (8.4) *Gen o ur mi orok =e mi tong,*
 until that month be.at two =FOC be.at three
 Until two or three months

ho ah ngan ga angkol =e ini ge- train huh ong,
 SIM ah thing 3ACT yourself =FOC 3NSG 3UND₄- foreigner say this
 and the thing was he was by himself and they spoke foreigner (language)

bo ga ge- uur, oh ini op oyon, ini agai op méd o op,
 SEQ 3ACT 3UND₄- see oh 3NSG that thus 3NSG go that take that that
 so he watched them oh they did this [gesturing] then they took that [gesturing],

bo g- neq ong oyon, ga u- wrep waa waa,
 SEQ 3UND₁- name this thus 3ACT VI- listen go go
 so its name was this, he listened and listened

ho koh gan di i train huh mgih.
 SIM finish 3ACT also DUR foreigner say hear
 and finally he began to understand foreigner (language).
 AKOB091

- (8.5) *Il aran eteq hban gen i koh*
 garden cut.low.lying.vegetation wood fell until DUR finish
 Clear the garden,

ho pe tib o gen qad unuur ma,
 SIM INSG.INCL.POSS_F burn that until come rain come
 then we burn until the rains come

bo ini i mulai mgad puin.
 SEQ 3NSG DUR begin plant hold
 and they begin to plant.
 AKOB98

- (8.6) *Ye e e n- ooi ye*
 ye eh eh 1SG.POSS₁- mother ye
 Waah oh mum waah

wed ong ini i qad yeh o n- ooi o.
 now this 3NSG DUR come CONT oh 1SG.POSS₁- mother oh
 now they are beginning to come oh mum oh.
 THDV009

When *i* co-occurs with accomplishments it emphasises the telicity of the situation, as in (8.7), in which it precedes the verb *koh* ‘finish’. *I koh* is frequently used to indicate that the previous situation has been accomplished (see §11.8).

(8.7) *Ul òm u- ahan méd ma ge nmei mi.*
 child older.sibling VI- wash take come 3POSS_F place be.at
 Wash the placenta (lit. elder sibling) and put it in its place.

Gen i koh g- ooi ul ih o g- eweel,
 until DUR finish 3POSS₁₋ mother child baby that 3UND₁₋ bathe
 That finished wash the mother’s baby,

gen i koh o, méd ma g- meq, gen i koh o,
 until DUR finish that take come 3UND₁₋ place until DUR finish that
 that finished, take it and bring and place it, that finished

g- oi yo awa g- eweel g- ruh,
 3POSS₁₋ mother that again 3UND₁₋ bathe 3UND₁₋ massage
 bathe its mother and massage her,

koh ge ul o g- lul taa.
 finish 3POSS_F child that 3UND₁₋ follow lie.down
 then she lies down next to her child.

DWM₂032-033

In some cases the addition of the durative aspectual adverb *i* has resulted in lexicalisation of particular items. One such example is *imih*: when the word *mih* ‘to sit’ is prefixed by the durative aspectual adverb it means ‘to stay’.

8.4.3 Imperfective incomplete aspectual adverb: *qada*

The aspectual adverb *qada* indicates imperfective aspect. It is concerned with the internal temporal make-up of a situation, without referring to either the inception or endpoint. *Qada* is used to indicate that a situation is incomplete. Although it does not overtly refer to the inception of the situation, it is always possible from context to infer whether the situation has begun or not. Therefore there are two possible English translations for *qada*: ‘not yet’, which makes no mention of the inception of the situation, or ‘still’, which indicates that the situation has begun (and is continuing). *Qada* typically precedes the predicate, with scope over the whole clause, but other constituents may intervene between it and the predicate, as in (8.8), in which *qada* is translatable as ‘still’.

(8.8) *Wed =e ge ininok o onon tkin wren, mo~ moot onon o,*
 now =DIS 3POSS_F people that PL run swim RED~ thin PL that
 Now their people ran away, the thin ones,

kulbin onon qada wed =e her, ho qad o Hle onon qad.
 old PL IPFV now =DIS descend SIM come that Kui PL come
 the old ones were still descending when the Kui came.

SNMA029

In some instances *qada* is doubled, appearing both before and after the predicate. This indicates that the situation has begun and emphasises the incomplete nature of it, as in example (8.9). In such uses *qada* is translated into English with ‘still ... (not) yet’. In example (8.9) we see that the irrealis adverb *hok* (§8.5.2) can also co-occur with *qada* adding to the sense of incompleteness, that is, that something hasn’t (yet) happened.

- (8.9) *Nang bo man leer u- huh ‘Wed igin= ong abe*
 NEG SEQ father ruler VI- say now 2NSG.UND= this who

qada qad qada?’

IPFV come IPFV

So the ruler said ‘Now of you here who still hasn’t come yet?’,

ho ge go- buuk man leer ge go- buuk abang:
 SIM 3POSS_F 3UND₂- guard father ruler 3POSS_F 3UND₂- guard say
 the ruler’s guards said

‘Nang, Keterina qada hok qad qada,’

NEG Keterina IPFV IRR come IPFV

‘Well, Keterina still hasn’t come yet’,

nang bo man leer ge go- buuk go- hoi
 NEG SEQ father ruler 3POSS_F 3UND₂- guard 3UND₂- order

Keterina ge- agai.

Keterina 3UND₄- go

so the ruler ordered his guards to go to Keterina.

KKTo018

8.4.4 Completive aspectual adverb: *ik*

The aspectual adverb *ik* indicates completive aspect, that is, it indicates that the activity, accomplishment, or achievement expressed in a clause has been completed, as in (8.10) and (8.11). It always occurs clause-finally, having scope over the entire clause.

- (8.10) *Man: ‘Yaah’*
 father unable
 Father: ‘It’s bad.’

Ul: ‘Eten ik to?’

child ripe COMPL TAG

Child: ‘It’s ripe isn’t it?’

Man: ‘Rusak.’

father rotten

Father: ‘It’s rotten.’

Ul: ‘Eten ik, he go- ma de na naaq kde.’

child ripe COMPL ah 3UND₂- come CONJ 1SG.ACT drink eat

Child: ‘It’s ripe, ah bring it so I can eat (it).’

GWKM037

- (8.11) *Do- om di i eweeng g- lul a her ik.*
 title- man also DUR ladder 3UND₁- follow 3RES descend COM
 The man had also followed the ladder and descended.
 PSTo020

The adverb *ik* can co-occur with the perfect aspectual adverb *agai*, as in (8.12). When both of these aspectual adverbs are used in this way it emphasises the completive nature of the event and the ongoing relevance of it. When these two aspectual adverbs occur together, either adjacent to each other or within a serial verb construction separated by verbs the particle *agai* always precedes *ik*.

- (8.12) *Nang bo ini u- g- mui koh,*
 NEG SEQ 3NSG VI- 3UND₁- annihilate finish
 So they were annihilated,

nang bo ini peh méd e g- tap boge,
 NEG SEQ 3NSG bow take oh 3UND₁- shoot EPI
 then they took their bows to shoot

ho ga u- huh: 'Nang na huh nuk u- ege- huh di:
 SIM 3ACT VI- say NEG 1SG.ACT say one VI- 2NSG.UND₄- say first
 and he said: 'I have one thing to say to you first -

Himbur awa breh hah kot tbal agai ik, tkin, bo u- huh nang,
 Himbur again tear fallen city collapse PRF COM run SEQ VI-say NEG
 Himbur has fallen again, the city has already collapsed, so run, don't talk

de tkin, nang bo, ho aga breh, bo i mui koh.'
 CONJ run NEG SEQ SIM 2SG.HOR tear SEQ DUR annihilate finish
 but run otherwise you will all be annihilated'.
 SNMAO025

8.4.5 Perfect aspectual adverb: *agai*

Perfect aspect '(...) indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation' (Comrie 1976:52). In Klon the aspectual adverb *agai* expresses this aspect, as can be seen in (8.13) and (8.14). The perfect aspectual adverb immediately follows the predicate that it has scope over.

- (8.13) *Bo ni lam, ni agai u- hiid,*
 SEQ 1NSG.EXCL walk 1NSG.EXCL go VI- reach
 So we walked reaching (there)

ho jam nuk ge- lam agai yo, eteq yo ini sengsor agai,
 SIM time one 3UND₄- walk go that wood that 3NSG chainsaw PRF
 in an hour the walk they had already chain-sawed the wood,

eteq kak o a= ubei nah, bo hos yeh.
 wood board that INTS= many very SEQ place exist
 there were very many planks of wood placed there.
 PBT007

- (8.14) *Ni g- lul gen mdiq heher agai,*
 1NSG.EXCL.ACT 3UND₁- follow until sun afternoon PRF
 We followed until it was already late afternoon
- ho kuur i g- eh, ho kuur di bok tong go- puin.*
 SIM dog DUR 3UND₁- bite SIM dog also body three 3UND₂- hold
 and the dog began to bite it, while three dogs also held it.
 BBT015

The perfect aspectual adverb *agai* has transparently been derived from the verb *agai* ‘go, reach’. It is probable that the use of *agai* in certain SVC constructions led to its reanalysis as an aspectual adverb. Synchronically there are still contexts in which, despite the meaning of the utterance being clear, it is not always apparent whether *agai* is being used as a verb or as an aspectual adverb. For example, in (8.15) *agai* could be a verb referring to the movement involved in moving the child, or the perfect aspectual adverb, indicating that the bringing up, and sitting up have been done.

- (8.15) *Ho ga abang: ‘Adob Tin ga ul go- mid ul*
 SIM 3ACT say true Tin 3ACT child 3UND₂ climb child
 So she said: ‘It’s true, Tin she brought the child up
- òm ta- g- mih agai, jadi ngan hok nang’.*
 older.sibling above 3UND₁- sit AGAI so thing IRR NEG
 and placed it up in the placenta so it doesn’t matter’.
 DWM₂010b

8.4.6 Continuative aspectual adverb: *yeh*

Continuative aspect indicates an ongoing state or situation. *Yeh* is continuative, rather than progressive, because unlike progressive aspect (which can only be used with non-stative situations (Comrie 1976:51)) *yeh* can follow both verbs denoting states, as in (8.16) and dynamic situations, as in (8.17).

- (8.16) *‘Adob kaklok agai lale taa yeh, a gel =e nang?’*
 true give.birth PRF below sleep CONT 2SG.ACT know =DIS NEG
 ‘True (she’s) given birth (and) is sleeping below, did you know or not?’
 DWM₂020
- (8.17) *Mteh dgim di, lem yeh yo, wa bapa,*
 stand strong first shake CONT that wow father
 Stand strong first, it’s shaking, wow Dad,
- he-eh nok bo her bapa, Meos oyor Meos.*
 ha-ha good SEQ descend father Meos move aside Meos
 ha-ha okay so come down Dad, Meos move aside.
 GWKM057

It is not always altogether clear whether *yeh* is an aspectual adverb, or the existential verb, occurring in SVCs.¹ Synchronically it is probably analysable as both. *Yeh* when used with a continuative meaning always occurs contiguous to the verb it modifies, following it. The combination of verb plus *yeh* has most of the characteristics of SVCs (see §10.2). However, *yeh* does not occur in a SVC with its existential meaning, thus supporting a reanalysis of *yeh* as an aspectual adverb.

8.5 Modal adverbs

8.5.1 Overview

Modality refers to a wide range of attitudes and beliefs, primarily towards the actuality of an event or situation. In Klon, there are three adverbs which are used to express modality. These are presented in Table 8.3, and individually discussed in the following sections.

Table 8.3: Klon modal adverbs

Modal adverb	Description	Section
<i>hok</i>	irrealis modal adverb (IRR)	§8.5.2
<i>musti</i>	deontic modal adverb (borrowed from Malay) (DEO)	§8.5.3
<i>boge</i>	epistemic modal adverb (EPI)	§8.5.4

8.5.2 Irrealis modal adverb: *hok*

Realis modality is not overtly marked in Klon, but irrealis modality is. The irrealis modal adverb *hok* is used to indicate that a situation ‘has not actually happened or holds true’ (Payne 1997:244). It almost always co-occurs with either the imperfective aspectual adverb *qada* (§8.4.2), as in (8.18) (in which case the irrealis marker always follows the aspect marker), or the negative adverb *nang*, as in (8.19). Indeed, predicate negation is typically achieved by placing the irrealis particle before the predicate and the negator after the predicate (see §8.6).

- (8.18) *Ongo ini grik, koh bo ini u- mhol,*
 this 3NSG cut finish SEQ 3NSG VI- clean
 This they finish cutting then they clean it,

pek ong onon o qada hok qada grik qada, qada u~ ur.
 exist this PL that IPFV IRR IPFV cut IPFV IPFV RED~ short
 all this hasn’t been cut yet, it’s still short.
 GWKM136

- (8.19) *U- omi na ningan na g- tet*
 VI- remember 1SG.ACT 1SG.EMP 1SG.ACT 3UND₁- massage
 Remember that I myself have massaged (them)

¹ The concepts of continuity and existence may also be expressed by single constituents in other languages of the region. In Pidgin Malay Derived varieties of Malay (such as Alor Malay) the existential *ada* is used to indicate progressive aspect (Adelaar and Prentice 1996).

gen qad wed ong, ini hok awa no- skol nang.
 until come now this 3NSG IRR again 1SG.UND₂- school NEG
 until now, they're not sending me to school again.
 DWM₂064

8.5.3 Deontic modal adverb: *musti*

Deontic modality indicates obligation through the non-actuality of an event being imposed on a situation. Many languages have means of expressing degrees of deontic modality. However, Klon only has a single particle — *musti* — to express deontic modality, and this has clearly been borrowed from Malay.² Despite its obvious origins, *musti* is a nativised Klon mood particle, frequently used by speakers of all ages. *Musti* expresses the weak deontic notion translatable as ‘should’ in English, as can be seen in (8.20). It typically immediately follows Actor arguments (realised either as pronouns or NPs), and has scope over the whole clause.

(8.20) *Ge odi u- g~ g- war opo,*
 3POSS_F later VI- RED~ 3UND₁- turn that
 His repayment is

odi ga nge pkar klub qel,
 later 3ACT INSG.EXCL.POSS_F clothes club buy
 that later he will buy us club clothes

de ni pertandingan hok ni musti
 CONJ INSG.EXCL.ACT competition some INSG.EXCL.ACT DEO
 so when we have a competition some of us we should

ni pkar klub pake di.
 INSG.EXCL.ACT clothes club wear first
 wear club clothes.
 PBT002

8.5.4 Epistemic modal adverb *boge*

The epistemic modal adverb *boge* is used to indicate that a speaker is not certain about the actuality of a proposition that they are expressing. It presents a possible situation or scenario (Chung and Timberlake 1985:242). *Boge* is translatable into English variously as ‘maybe’, ‘possibly’ or ‘might’. Syntactically *boge* always follows the predicate, and has scope over the scenario that the predicate forms a part of.

Example (8.21) contains an explanation of the events depicted in a MPI short video clip. The speaker was asked to describe the events in the clip. He used the epistemic modal adverb to indicate that one of his statements is speculation. This contrasts with all his other assertions that are based on facts gleaned from the video clip.

² In Alor Malay (Baird, Klamer and Kratochvil 2004) *musti* is used in precisely the same way it is in Klon, meaning ‘should’.

- (8.21) *Do ool aal nuk alal-eheb anak-nok bo lam boge,*
 TTL woman big one neatly.dressed excellent SEQ walk EPI
 One large woman is very well dressed and maybe going out,
de ho bo nok, ga hok qada mhak di qada,
 CONJ SIM SEQ good 3ACT IRR IPFV eat also IPFV
 but, right, she hasn't eaten,
yo, ga mhak yeh.
 that 3ACT eat CONT
 so she's eating.
 SCJ003ET_soupsit

In example (8.22) *boge* is used to create a humorous utterance. A Klon language-helper explained that without the epistemic modal adverb the utterance would sound like a threat, but by using *boge* the speaker indicates that the scenario isn't real.

- (8.22) *Y: 'Mih, hok mung nang.'*
 sit IRR fall NEG
 Y: '(It's) sitting, (it) hasn't fallen.'
K: 'Aan =e mung boge.'
 2SG.ACT =FOC fall EPI
 K: 'You might fall.'
 PMKY216

8.6 Negative adverb

There is a single negative adverb in Klon *nang*. It occurs clause-finally to negate the predicate of a clause, regardless of whether the predicate is verbal or nominal. As noted in §8.5.2 the irrealis marker typically precedes the predicate that is negated, as happens with the verbal predicate *ihih* 'get up' in (8.23) and the nominal predicate *kkde* 'food' in (8.24).

- (8.23) *Òkoin elel elel taa mi mop,*
 louse search search sleep to.be sleepy
 Searching and searching for lice until (they fell) sound asleep,
bo do- om orok ge tak ewen ongo,
 SEQ title- man two 3POSS_F leg thumb this
 so the two men's big toes
ini wòr g- ooi ge g- min,
 3NSG stone 3POSS₁₋ mother 3POSS_F 3UND₁₋ put.s.t under.s.t
 they put a rock under them,
koh bo, wòrkat ma ta- g- mung,
 finish SEQ small.rock come above- 3UND₁₋ fall
 then dropped a small rock on top
bo ini ge ewen a but, i ele a ebeer,
 SEQ 3NSG 3POSS_F thumb 3RES destroyed 3NSG 3DU 3RES die
 so their toes were destroyed, and those two died,

hok ihih nang.

IRR get.up NEG

they didn't get up.

PABHo063

(8.24) *Ge ih ongo kde yaah, hok k~ kde nang.*

3POSS_F fruit this eat unable IRR RED~ eat NEG

Its fruit is inedible, it's not food.

GWKM130

The irrealis modal adverb *hok* and the negative adverb *nang* are also used to negate whole clauses in the same way in which predicates are negated, that is, with the irrealis adverb preceding the clause, and the negative adverb following the clause. This can be seen in (8.25) and (8.26).

(8.25) *Hok pi yo ara tin- ghal yej nang.*

IRR 1NSG.INCL.ACT that issue RECP- wrong able NEG

We cannot wrong each other.

SNMAo054

(8.26) *Hok pi adaq go- gtain nang,*

IRR 1NSG.INCL.ACT IPFV 3UND₂- release NEG

We haven't released it,

pi adaq pa puin.

1NSG.INCL.ACT IPFV 1NSG.HOR hold

we still use it.

SKPG024

The negative particle *nang* is also used with a discourse function to mark the end of one section of discourse and the beginning of another (see §11.8), and in prohibitives (see §9.7).

9

Utterance and clause types

9.1 Introduction

Declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives can be identified for Klon based on Sadock and Zwicky's (1985:160) definition. However, as Sadock and Zwicky discuss, despite there being similarities in the utterance types cross-linguistically, language-specific idiosyncrasies are also common. In this chapter clause types based on their transitivity are initially described in §9.2–§9.5. This is followed by a discussion of interrogatives in §9.6 and imperatives in §9.7.

9.2 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses contain a single argument and a predicate. All intransitive clauses have the constituent order of S Pred. Three types of intransitive clauses can be identified: 1. Actor intransitive clauses, 2. Undergoer intransitive clauses, and 3. predicate nominal clauses.

The grammatical roles of Actor and Undergoer are defined and described in Chapter 3, with examples of intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses (§3.2.2). The difference between an Actor intransitive clause and an Undergoer intransitive clause lays in the way that the single argument of the verb is expressed. As in other clause types the argument in an intransitive clause may be expressed by a NP, by a pronoun, or by a combination of the two. If the single argument of the intransitive verb is not marked on the verb, then the clause is an Actor intransitive clause. If the single argument is marked on the verb, then the clause is an Undergoer intransitive clause.

In Actor intransitive clauses the single argument is expressed using an argument with the grammatical role of Actor, as in (9.1) containing a pronominal Actor, and in (9.2) containing a NP Actor. If a pronominal Actor is used it will be a free pronoun, the same type of pronoun used for an Actor argument in a transitive clause like (9.3).

- (9.1) *Bo ini o- rap qad, na trim inok.*
SEQ 3NSG 2UND₂- go come 1SG.ACT receive able
So they came to you, I can receive them.
LBH003

- (9.2) *Gi- to krid yo her ben yaar yo mi.*
3POSS₂- head hair that descend kapok tree that be.at
Her hair fell down (below) the kapok tree.
GLW009

- (9.3) Bola *ting yo waa med, de go- ma =we nang*
 ball jump that go take CONJ 3UND₂- come =DIS NEG
 Go and get that jumping ball and bring it, not
bo na in= sepak.
 SEQ 1SG.ACT 2SG.UND₃= kick
 and I'll kick you.
 UKV007

In Undergoer intransitive clauses the single argument is expressed using an argument with the grammatical role of Undergoer, as in (9.4) containing a pronominal Undergoer argument, and as in (9.5) containing a NP Undergoer argument. If a pronominal Undergoer argument is used it will be a bound pronoun (Class I, II, III or IV), as used for Undergoer arguments in transitive clauses, such as in (9.6). Formally there is no difference between a NP Actor argument and an NP Undergoer argument. The only way that we can know the difference is if the verb is one that exclusively takes Undergoer arguments as in (9.5) or exclusively takes Actor arguments (see §4.3.6).

- (9.4) *N- ooi ege- eneh mih, no~ nok mih.*
 1SG.POSS₁- mother 2NSG.UND₄- calm sit RED~ good sit
 Ladies, you be calm and sit, sit well.
 OTPV012
- (9.5) *Nang bo ele ge kuur g- oj bo ele a lam,*
 NEG SEQ 3DU 3POSS_F dog 3UND₁- call.dog SEQ 3DU 3RES walk
 So those two called their dogs and they went,
do ool yo emeq 'Mhel tkat yo korong en
 TTL woman that not.want meat dry that sack basket
 the woman didn't want (them to) 'There's dry meat in storage
bo pek ong, bo a nok lam nang'.
 SEQ exist this SEQ 2SG.ACT good walk NEG
 so you best not go'.
 GLW056
- (9.6) *Aga mi lam, aga mi mteh,*
 2NSG.HOR be.at walk 2NSG.HOR be.at stand
 You live
nuk ga ege- ek ege- ok yo di nang.
 one 3ACT 2NSG.UND₄- angry 2NSG.UND₄- angry that also NEG
 and no one is angry at you either. (lit. you walk (there) you stand (there) one
 he is also not angry at you.)
 PBB006

Although uncommon, if the single NP argument in an Actor or Undergoer intransitive clause is either understood from context or is co-referential with an argument of the same grammatical relation as in the previous clause then it may be ellipsed (§3.2.3).

The third type of intransitive clause found in Klon contains a nominal predicate. Predicate nominal intransitive clauses typically express the concept of equation. Such

clauses consist of two NPs, the second (right-most) NP is identified as the predicate, based on the fact that in all other intransitive clauses (and most other types of clauses as well (although see §3.2.2)) the predicate is clause-final. In (9.7) the NP *September ur* ‘the month of September’ is acting as the predicate of the clause, and is referentially equivalent to its argument. Hence (9.7) can be labelled an equative clause. The clause in (9.8) is also an equative clause. Equative clauses containing the possessed word *neq* ‘name’ followed by the actual name are a frequently occurring type of equative clause in the corpus.

(9.7) *Il aran ur yo September ur.*
 garden cut month that September month
 Garden clearing month is the month of September.
 KKP001

(9.8) *Ehek g- neq Pailelang.*
 village 3POSS₁- name Pailelang
 The village name is Pailelang.
 RHAM004

Predicate nominal intransitive clauses containing a pronominal argument are very rare in the corpus. In such clauses pronominals refer to Actor arguments, as in example (9.9) containing the third person dual pronoun *ele*, and in example (9.10) containing the third person non-singular pronoun *ini*.¹

(9.9) *Ele ool om.*
 3DU woman man
 Those two were married (lit. woman and man).
 KKT001

(9.10) *Ini li~ liik te~ tej t~ tkoor.*
 3NSG RED~ evil RED~ fight RED~ heavy
 They were very heavy warriors.
 PABH0045

9.3 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses are those clauses that contain two core arguments — an Actor and an Undergoer. Transitive clauses have one of three constituent orders: [ACT UND V], [UND ACT V] or [ACT V UND]. The choice of constituent order is determined by the discourse pragmatic function and animacy of the referents. This is discussed in §3.2.2. Actor and Undergoer arguments are expressed by nominal constituents, that is NPs and/or pronominals. Either the NP Actor or NP Undergoer argument of a transitive clause may be ellipsed if it is understood from context, or if it is co-referential with an argument of the same grammatical relation in a previous clause (see §3.2.3).

Transitive verb stems can be characterised as being of one of three types based on the realisation of the Undergoer argument:

¹ Although both *ele* and *ini* can be used as both Actor and Undergoer arguments, we know that these pronouns are being used as Actor arguments in predicate nominal clauses, because if they were being used as Undergoers they would co-occur with an Undergoer pronominal prefix (see §5.3).

1. verb stems that are obligatorily prefixed by an Undergoer pronominal (see §4.3.3), as with the two bolded verbs in (9.11);
2. verb stems that are optionally prefixed by an Undergoer pronominal (see §4.3.4), for example the Undergoer argument of *agai* ‘go’ in (9.12) is expressed as a NP, while in (9.13) it is marked on both the verb and as a NP;
3. verb stems that don’t take Undergoer pronominal prefixation and only take NP Undergoer arguments (see §4.3.5), as with *elel* ‘search’ in (9.12).

Undergoers that are marked on a transitive verb may typically also be expressed by a full NP, as in (9.14). Undergoers expressed as a noun can be incorporated into the verb (see §3.2.6).

Actor arguments may be expressed by a NP, as in (9.11), by a (free) pronoun, as in (9.12), or by a combination of the two, as with *man leer ga* ‘the ruler he’ in (9.13).

(9.11) Foto *nuk ongo béq orok mi*,
photo one this pig two be.at
There are two pigs in this photo

awa ininok nuk yo eteq ak g- ab mi pek,
again person one that tree across 3UND₁- close be.at exist
ACT UND UND V

and one person standing near a tree,

eteq ip= orok ge ak ak béq nuk ong etur,
tree CLF= two 3POSS across across pig one this first
the two trees are at his side, a pig is in front,

ininok =e ham oin nuk go- puin,
person =FOC middle wood one 3UND₂- hold
the person is in the middle holding (some) wood,

béq nuk awa iwek g- lul, bo elel.
pig one again from.behind 3UND₁- follow SEQ search
and a pig is following from behind, so search (for it).

PMKY001

(9.12) *Ni nger elel knai elel,*
1NSG.EXCL.ACT candle.nut search kenari.nut search
ACT UND V

We search for candle nut, search for kenari nut,

ni mi gbon mi ghek,
1NSG.EXCL.ACT be.at roast be.at dry.in.sun
we roast it and dry it in the sun,

ni eben agai taan kde,
1NSG.EXCL.ACT village go sell eat
we go to village to sell it,

doi mi- tel seng mi- tel.
 money APPL- exchange money APPL- exchange
 we exchange it for money.
 GWKM014

- (9.13) *Bo man leer ga ge bu~ buuk onon go- hoi*
 SEQ father ruler 3ACT 3POSS_F RED~ guard PL 3UND₂- order
 So the ruler ordered his guards

Pransina ong g- puin go- agai penjara mi gtain.
 Pransina this 3UND₁- hold UND₂- go prison be.at release
 to catch Pransina and take her and put (=release) her in jail.
 KKTo021

- (9.14) *Peh o na g- pai di, na g- pai yaah,*
 bow that 1SG.ACT 3UND₁- pull first 1SG.ACT 3UND₁- pull unable
 I pulled the bow first, I couldn't pull it,

n- tan non di b~ bgib b~ bgib koh.
 1SG.POSS₁- arm PL also RED~ shake RED~ shake finish
 my hands were also shaking.
 BBTo009

9.4 A note on ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses contain three arguments — an Actor, Primary Undergoer (PU) and Secondary Undergoer (SU) (see §3.3). They have the structure [ACT SU PU V] or [SU ACT PU V]. Ditransitive clauses are very rarely used in any type of speech genre. There is only one verb in Klon that always occurs in ditransitive clauses: the verb *en* ‘to give’. This verb is obligatorily prefixed by a Class I Undergoer pronominal prefix to indicate the recipient (the Primary Undergoer) and the theme argument occurs as a NP (the Secondary Undergoer) (see §3.2.2 and §3.3).

The number of syntactic arguments in a clause is not necessarily a reflection of the number of semantic arguments that a verb may take. When a speaker wishes to talk of three referents they will typically use a SVC, with different verbs within the serial complex taking different Undergoer arguments, but sharing the same Actor argument (see §10.2). Alternatively speakers frequently rely on addressees’ ability to infer arguments, based on previous discourse or shared knowledge. However, on occasion Klon speakers do use ditransitive clauses.

9.5 A note on nominalised clauses

One of the functions of Klon demonstratives is to nominalise clauses. Such nominalised clauses are used in the expression of background information within discourse and are possibly classifiable as subordinate. Unfortunately the study of these clauses was beyond the scope of this grammar and their precise status and function remains for further research. Examples of clauses nominalised by demonstratives can be seen in §4.4.2.

9.6 Interrogatives

9.6.1 Overview

Two types of interrogative utterances can be identified for Klon based on their different syntactic structures: 1. polar questions, and 2. content questions. Aside from containing special question words, interrogatives are identifiable from their intonation pattern. Both polar and content questions have rising intonation over the last word in the utterance. Functionally, interrogatives are used with the illocutionary force of questions or ‘prompts’.

9.6.2 Polar questions

Polar questions are used to seek an affirmative or negative response from an addressee. Speakers frequently use them to seek clarification concerning the accuracy of the statement contained within them. Polar questions have two characteristics that differentiate them from declarative utterances: rising intonation at the end of the clause, and the possible use of tags.

Polar questions are frequently marked solely by intonation, as in (9.15)–(9.17), which have rising intonation over the last syllable of the final word in the utterance. If the final words in these examples took falling intonation rather than rising intonation they would be declarative utterances with the illocutionary force of statements.

As can be seen from (9.15)–(9.17), it is possible to respond to polar questions in a variety of ways. A response to a polar question can be a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’, as in (9.15), or it can be a more elaborate answer, as in (9.16), alternatively it may provide additional information not directly requested in the question, yet confirms the statement in the question by not contradicting it, as in (9.17).

(9.15) a. *Jadi wed igi kursus i koh,*
so now 2NSG.ACT course DUR finish
So once the course was finished

de ag- awar qad ong?
CONJ 2NSG.UND₁- turn come this
you returned coming back here?

b. Ya.

yes

Yes.

DWM₂048-049

(9.16) a. *Koh a gin= tein?*
finish 2SG.ACT 3UND₃= disagree
Then did you disagree with her?

DWM₂011

b. *Na awa u- huh ‘Ah dob =e nang e n- ooi?’.*
1SG.ACT again VI- say ah true =DIS NEG oh 1SG.POSS₁- mother
I said again: ‘Ah is that true or not Mum?’.

DWM₂012

- (9.17) a. *‘Bo pemrenta desa =we o- hoi?’*
 SEQ government village =FOC 2SG.UND₁- order
 ‘So the village government ordered you?’
- b. *‘Ngo- te- tlan.’*
 INSG.EXCL.UND₂- approaching six
 ‘We (were there) for six days.’
 DWM₂043-044

Tags are also used to mark polar questions. In (9.18) and (9.19) the very common *nang* ‘(or) not’ tag is used to create a focused alternative question. The tag *nang* ‘(or) not’ typically occurs utterance finally, but it may also occur question-initially, as in (9.20). Whenever the negative adverb *nang* is used as a tag, the constituent preceding it (the predicate in question) is cliticised by the discourse marker *=e*.

- (9.18) *Ini ngan hok eg- en =e nang?*
 3NSG thing some 2NSG.UND₁- give =DIS NEG
 Did they give you things or not?
 DWM₂046
- (9.19) *Kalo eqebeen hok klik di, a g- tet inok =e nang?*
 if elders some sick also 2SG.ACT 3UND₁- massage able =DIS NEG
 If some old people are also sick can you massage them or not?
 DWM₂056
- (9.20) *Dgim =e nang de a mid =e?*
 strong =DIS NEG REL 2SG.ACT climb =DIS
 Is it strong or not what you’re climbing?
 GWKM056

In a similar vein, other focused alternative polar questions can be formed by cliticising the second last option with the discourse marker, as in (9.21).²

- (9.21) *Ceret ong mih, taa =we mteh?*
 kettle this sit lie.down =DIS stand
 Is this kettle sitting, laying or standing?
 PMKY215

The discourse marker *=e* can also be used as a tag in polar questions by itself, as in (9.22)–(9.25). Example (9.22) contains a modal SVC, in which *yaah* ‘unable’ is used to intensify the first verb in the complex (see §10.4.3).

- (9.22) *A lil yaah =e?*
 3RES sting unable =DIS
 Does it sting a lot?
 GWKM024

² In such examples the discourse marker is best translated with the disjunctive conjunction ‘or’ in English, but *=e* is not analysed as a conjunction because this interpretation is restricted to its use in polar questions. Based on other structures in Klon, such as the paratactic conjunction of clauses and the use of the conjunction *de* with a multitude of inferable meanings, including disjunction, *=e* is best not analysed as a conjunction.

- (9.23) *Ong =e? Gon hahal pek yongo pe oh*
 this =DIS gong moko exist that 1NSG.INCL.POSS_F oh
 These right? Those gongs and steel drums there are ours,
pe pal makna pe òm puin
 1NSG.INCL.POSS_F fold past 1NSG.INCL.POSS_F older.sibling use
 um our bridewealth from the past, our ancestors used it
ool qe~ qel araa wain.
 woman RED~ buy water pay
 to pay brideprice.
 SKPG023
- (9.24) *Ho gan op uwa =we?*
 SIM 3ACT that here =DIS
 So is that it?
 NKPP013
- (9.25) *A gel =e qada =we?*
 2SG.ACT know =DIS IPFV =DIS
 Do you know or not yet?
 PMKY156

The Malay tag *to*³ is also used in polar questions, as in (9.26). It always occurs utterance finally, as in Malay, and in the same way that the Klon *=e* is used.

- (9.26) *A bui ge- mod to?*
 2SG.ACT betel.nut 3UND₄₋ climb TAG
 You're climbing the betel nut tree right?
 GWKM056

Aside from being used as questions to find out the 'truth' of a statement, polar questions can also be used to prompt story telling. Example (9.27) contains a polar question marked solely by rising intonation, but rather than seeking an affirmative or negative response, the speaker wants the addressee to tell a story.

- (9.27) *Ak agai ini angkol kaklok,*
 part go 3NSG self give.birth
 Some go and they give birth themselves,
de ul òm yo ga qad nang?
 CONJ child older.sibling that 3ACT come NEG
 but (how about if) the placenta (lit. elder sibling) doesn't come?
 DWM₂026

9.6.3 Content questions

Content questions are used to elicit information. Each content question ends in rising intonation, and contains within it a content question word, which identifies what particular

³ Originally from Dutch *toch*.

information a speaker wishes to know. There are six content question words: *abe* ‘who?’, *nab(e)* ‘what?’, *tioyon*, *tion* ‘how?, like what?’, *eden* ‘how much?, how many?’, *tu* ‘where?’ and *tuoyon* ‘why?’.⁴

abe ‘who?’

The content question word *abe* ‘who?’ is used to establish the identity of an unknown human referent. In the corpus there are only examples of *abe* ‘who’ being used to refer to an Actor argument, as in (9.28)–(9.29).⁵ In the response the referent is also presented as an Actor argument, as can be seen in (9.29b).

(9.28) *Abe* *go-* *et* *awa?*
 who 3UND₂- pull.out again
 Who pulled it out again?
 AKPV008c

(9.29) a. *Abe* *o-* *kar?*
 who 2SG.UND₂- call
 Who called you?
 DWM₂039

b. **Pemrenta** *bidan* *g-* *hoi* *ngin=* *elel*
 government midwife 3UND₁- order 1NSG.EXCL.UND₃= search
 The government ordered midwives, searched for us

t~ t- ruh te~ tet elel,
 RED~ 1NSG.INCL.UND₁- massage RED~ massage search
 searched for masseuses,

nang bo ini nin= méd agai dukun kampung u- skol.
 NEG SEQ 3NSG 1SG.UND₃= take go traditional.healer village VI- school
 so they took me the traditional village healer to go to school.
 DWM₂040

nab ‘what?’

The content question word *nab* ‘what?’ is used to elicit information about non-human referents. It can be used to identify an unknown referent, as in (9.30) or it may be used to identify a particular referent out of a set of possible referents, as in (9.31).

In (9.30) and (9.32) the content question word *nab* ‘what?’ is used to elicit information about Undergoer arguments. In the questions the content question word replaces an argument with an Undergoer grammatical relation and it precedes the Actor argument, and

⁴ All of the data containing interrogative use comes from textual data, without additional elicited materials. The content question word *tuoyon* ‘why’ was elicited in a word list, but there are no instances of it used in textual data. The absence of questions seeking reasons in the corpus may be interpreted as meaning that it is very rarely used. The content question word *tioyon* ‘how, like what’ may also be used in some instances in a similar way to English ‘why’. There are also no examples of negated content questions in the corpus.

⁵ Presumably *abe* ‘who’ can be used to question an Undergoer argument as well, but there were no instances of this in the textual data, and I never attempted to elicit it.

is not cross-referenced on the verbs. This is also the case for the Undergoer argument in the response in (9.30b). In all cases the Undergoer argument is clause-initial because it is focused (see §3.2.2). If the response in (9.30b) was a declarative utterance within a narrative the clause would probably have had the structure found in (9.31), where the Actor precedes the Undergoer, which is cross-referenced on the verb.

(9.30) a. *Ho wed a ini g- tet ong nab a puin*
SIM now 2SG.ACT 3NSG 3UND₁- message this what 2SG.ACT use
So when you massage them what do you use

ini g- tet?
3NSG 3UND₁- message
to massage them?
DWM₂059

b. *Minyak bo na puin.*
oil SEQ 1SG.ACT hold
I use oil.
DWM₂060

(9.31) *Na minyak go- puin.*
1SG.ACT oil 3UND₂- hold
I use oil.

(9.32) *Bo gan ehok yo igi n- en agai*
SEQ 3ACT place that 2NSG.ACT 1SG.UND₁- give PER
So you've given me a place

de bo nab araa bo na naaq?
CONJ SEQ what water SEQ 1SG.ACT drink
but what water will I drink?
AKOB034

The content question word *nab* has a partially reduplicated form *nanab*, which is used in equative clauses, in which the nominal predicate is being questioned. Examples of it can be seen in (9.33)–(9.34). In the examples the speakers are a young boy, and a young man respectively, each talking to their father. There are no examples of *nanab* in the corpus being used amongst equals or by speakers over the age of 20.

(9.33) a. *Bapak ong nanab ge?*
father this what 3POSS_F
Dad what owns this?

b. *Wain bo i~ iriip.*
bee SEQ RED~ quiet
Bees, so be very quiet.
GWKM46

(9.34) a. *Ho ge g- neq nanab?*
SIM 3POSS_F 3POSS₁- name what
So what's its name?
GWKM003a

- b. *Mtar ong, eteq ong ge g- neq 'mtar'.*
 red.wood this tree this 3POSS_F 3POSS₁- name red.wood
 This red wood, this tree is called 'red wood'.
 GWKM004

The content question word *nab* 'what?' also has an alternate form *nabe/nabo*, which only occurs in very informal contexts followed by the numeral *nuk* one. This form of the content question word *nabe nuk/nabo nuk* has an indefinite meaning of 'something, whatever', as in (9.35). This use is considered colloquial and coarse.⁶ None of the other content question words appear to have corresponding indefinite forms like this.

- (9.35) *Mangkok ong ole iik g- dale, mangkok ong,*
 mug this over.there left 3UND₁- close mug this
 The mug is on the left, the mug,

ah ceret ong mteh, mih, mangkok ole bo nabe nuk mi,
 ah kettle this stand sit mug over.there SEQ something one be.at
 ah the kettle is standing, is sitting, the mug is on something,

yong ah bat dgaar =e nabe nuk mi,
 this ah corn fry =DIS something one be.at
 this ah fried corn or on something,

bunga awa g- mot dan mi, awa nabo nuk ta mteh.
 flower again 3UND₁- behind part be.at again something one above stand
 the flower is again at the back, again standing on top of something.
 PMKY232

tioyon 'how?'

The content question word *tioyon* 'how?, like what?' is frequently shortened to *tion*. Both forms are used by the same speaker in the same text, as in (9.36)–(9.37). There does not appear to be any meaning or functional difference between the two forms. The meaning of *tioyon* is difficult to translate into English. As can be seen in (9.36)–(9.37), it can frequently and most naturally be translated by a 'what' question. Although synchronically *tioyon* is mono-morphemic, and the form *ti* does not occur elsewhere as a meaningful unit,⁷ in other contexts, *oyon* is used to mean 'thus, like this/that'. This appears to be clearly related to the meaning of the content question word, which is perhaps best understood as meaning 'like what?, thus what?'.⁷

- (9.36) *Jadi waktu a g- tet koh doqol abang tioyon?*
 so when 2SG.ACT 3UND₁- massage finish grandmother say how
 So when you finished massaging her what did grandmother say?
 DWM₂009

⁶ Speakers say in Malay that the use of the focus particle in this way is *kasar*.

⁷ The form *ti* does not occur as a meaningful unit in Klon Bring, but in Klon Paneia it is used as a first person non-singular pronoun.

- (9.37) *Yo bo ul òm ga her nang bo a tion?*
 that SEQ child older.sibling 3ACT descend NEG SEQ 2SG.ACT how
 So the placenta (=older sibling) came down then what did you do?
 DWM₂028

eden ‘how much/many?’

The content question word *eden* ‘how much/many?’ is used to question propositions that involve the concept of ‘amount’, be it an amount of time, as in (9.38), or an amount of people or things, as in (9.39), in which it is used rhetorically, and indefinitely. *Eden* ‘how much/many?’ always occurs in the position of a numeral, and hence follows nouns, as do numerals, as in (9.38) or can be preceded by a classifier, as in (9.39).

- (9.38) *Selama a te~ tet ongo o tun eden agai?*
 during 2SG.ACT RED~ massage this that year how.many PER
 How many years have you been a masseuse?
 DWM₂063

- (9.39) *Gen qad u- kdok ip= eden ek i yeh,*
 until come VI- keep CLF= how.many only DUR exist
 Kept (old plates) up until now, only how many are left,

bo na hanya tuang ek u- huh,
 SEQ 1SG.ACT only a.little only VI- say
 so I’ve just said a little

de pi al pa gel pa mgih.
 CONJ INSG.INCL.ACT all 1NSG.INCL.HOR know 1NSG.INCL.IMP hear
 so that we all know and we all listen.
 SPGS008

tu ‘where?’

The content question word *tu* ‘where?’ typically occurs as the locational argument of a verb, such as *mi* ‘be at’, as in (9.40), but it may also follow a locational noun, like a modifier, as in (9.41).

- (9.40) *Tu mi skol?*
 where be.at school
 Where did you go to school?
 DWM₂041

- (9.41) *Ho eben umum de Probur ongo ge oyar o ehek tu?*
 SIM village general REL Probur this 3POSS_F main that place where
 So the general village of Probur has it’s centre where?
 NKPP008

9.7 Imperatives

Imperatives may be overtly marked by the discourse marker =*e*, special hortative pronominal forms, or alternatively they may take no marking at all. In contrast to

interrogatives, imperatives have falling intonation utterance-finally. Aside from grammatical differences imperatives can be distinguished from declarative utterances by stress. As is common cross-linguistically, most imperative utterances are directed towards a second person with no overt mention of this referent. However, it is perfectly grammatical to overtly encode second persons in Klon imperatives.

The discourse marker =*e* is not very commonly used in imperatives, but does occasionally occur as in (9.42).

- (9.42) *Bui bak yo go- ma =e!*
 betel.nut place that 3UND₂- come =DIS
 Bring the betel nut box!
 OTPV016

As seen in §5.2, there are hortative forms for some of the non-singular pronouns: *pa* (1NSG.INCL), *nga* (1NSG.EXCL), and *aga* (2NSG). These typically co-occur with the standard non-singular Actor pronouns when used in imperative utterances, but not always if a standard Actor pronoun is present in the immediately preceding clause. For example, in (9.43) the Actor pronoun *ngi* ‘we EXCL’ is used in the clause preceding the clause containing *nga* ‘we HOR’ and so is not repeated.

- (9.43) *Ngi lam hil nga agai!*
 1NSG.EXCL.ACT walk ascend 1NSG.EXCL.HOR go
 We walk upwards, let’s go!
 PBT006

Most imperatives do not contain the discourse marker =*e* or hortative pronouns. As mentioned, intonation does not play a defining role in imperative utterances — an imperative clause has falling intonation clause-finally, as do declarative utterances. Examples (9.44)–(9.46) are the first three utterances in one of the texts from the corpus (The history of Peteben Hamlet). All of them are imperatives, but none of them use either imperative pronouns or the discourse marker.

Stress may play a role in imperative utterances with the predicate (almost always a verb) sometimes being stressed, by lengthening the vowel(s) in it and increasing amplitude. The use of predicate stressing can be illustrated by examples (9.44)–(9.46). A young man says the utterances (9.44)–(9.45) as way of introducing the elderly man who begins telling a story in (9.46). Predicate stressing only occurs in ‘informal’ imperatives, such as (9.44). There is no ‘imperative’ stress in (9.45), because the imperative was directed towards one of the speaker’s elderly relatives, to whom he shows respect. It was explained that if *mulai* ‘begin’ was stressed that this would be disrespectful. It is clear from the context that the illocutionary force of (9.45) was that of an imperative rather than a declarative. Likewise the imperative *uwrep* ‘listen’ in (9.46) is not stressed, but it is clear from context that it is an imperative.

- (9.44) *I iriip ah!*
 2NSG.ACT quiet ah
 You (lot) be quiet!
 SKPG001

- (9.45) *Koh ik, bo a mulai.*
 finish COM SEQ 2SG.ACT begin
 (That's) finished so you start.
 SKPG002
- (9.46) *Peteben ge wòm, bo na u- huh, bo u- wrep.*
 Peteben 3POSS_F history SEQ 1SG.ACT VI- say SEQ VI- hear
 (It's) the history of Peteben (lit. bamboo village) that I'm talking about so listen.
 SKPG003

There are two words that can be used in prohibitives: the first is the prohibitive *eyeh* 'don't', as in (9.47), and the second is the negative adverb *nang* 'not', as in (9.48). The prohibitive *eyeh* 'don't' is regarded as sterner than the use of the negative adverb *nang*. The discourse marker =*e* is sometimes additionally cliticised to the negative adverb, as in (9.49) and (9.50).

- (9.47) *Tka yo di eyeh.*
 steal that also PROH
 Don't steal that either.
 GWKM060a
- (9.48) *Lapang ong pi al go- aran, bo kukui, tinggen nang.*
 field this 1NSG.INCL.ACT all 3UND₂- cut SEQ play fight NEG
 We all helped clear this field, so play don't fight.
 UKV006b
- (9.49) *Ah qgar nang =e!*
 ah laugh NEG =IMP
 Ah don't laugh!
 OTPV018
- (9.50) *Eh yo yo nang =e! Lapang ong pi al mi kukui.*
 hey that that NEG =DIS field this 1NSG.INCL.ACT all be.at play
 Hey don't be like that, this field is for all of us to play on.
 UKV004b

Most typically both the prohibitive and the negator are used in a single prohibitive utterance, as in (9.51)–(9.53), in which the prohibitive precedes the verb and the negative adverb follows. This is regardless of whether the predicate is mono-verbal or a SVC, as in (9.53). The use of constituents both preceding and following the predicate is parallel to the way in which a predicate may be negated by being preceded by the irrealis adverb, and followed by the negative adverb (see §8.6).

- (9.51) *Bo knai yeh yo, kalo ga hah mot yo ta hah yo,*
 SEQ kenari.nut exist that if 3ACT fallen behind that above fallen that
 So that kenari nut, if the kenari nut falls above

ho ne bo eyeh elel nang, yo Madal nge.
 SIM 1SG.POSS_F SEQ don't search NEG that Madal 1NSG.EXCL.POSS_F
 that's mine so don't search for it, that's ours, the Madal people's.
 AKOB022

- (9.52) *Wro ong na ben, bo ininok eyeh méd nang,*
 orchard this 1SG.ACT forbid SEQ person don't take NEG
 I forbid this orchard so that people don't take (it),

ge- totuk, wed =e pi ngan nuk
 3UND₄- withdraw.with.fear just =DIS 1NSG.INCL.ACT thing one
 withdraw in fear from it,

g- neq u- huh, eyeh mutna elel nang,
 3POSS₁- name VI- say don't random search NEG
 don't just search for this thing that we're talking about

gen gmai glip koh odi méd.
 until lift.ban lift.ban finish later take
 until the ban has been lifted, then take (it).
 GWKM059

- (9.53) *Eyeh mutna méd puin nang* papan *u- mtén agai ul akal non*
 don't random take use NEG board VI- build PER child child PL
 Don't just take and use it, a board has been erected,

her kbak non o ngan de pa gel pa mgih,
 descend spear PL that thing REL 1NSG.INCL.IMP obtain 1NSG.INCL.HOR hear
 all the descendents we must know, we must listen,

wed =e g- neq yaah o adob yaah.
 just =DIS 3POSS₁- name unable that true unable
 what is called 'taboo' is really taboo (lit. 'unable').
 GWKM060b

10 *Serial verb constructions*

10.1 Introduction

A striking feature of Klon discourse is the presence of very many verbs. Some of these multi-verbal constructions are paratactically conjoined clauses (see §11.6), while others are serial verb constructions (SVCs). Both are very frequent across all speech genres in the corpus.

In this chapter, in the description of Klon serial verb constructions, I will follow the typological framework of Aikhenvald (2006). In her framework Aikhenvald initially identifies symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs, defining symmetrical SVCs as those that contain components from unrestricted classes, all being of equal status, whereas asymmetrical SVCs contain a verb from a closed class, which provides some kind of ‘modification specification’ of the non-restricted verb(s) (Aikhenvald 2006:29). Aikhenvald then identifies certain semantic types of symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs. A summary of the differences between asymmetrical and symmetrical serial verbs, applicative also to Klon SVCs, can be seen in Table 10.1, (taken from Table 2 in Aikhenvald (2006)).

Table 10.1: Asymmetrical and symmetrical serial verbs
(taken from Table 2 in Aikhenvald (2006))

Properties of serial constructions	Asymmetrical	Symmetrical
1. Semantics	aspectual, directional, modal, associative, causative	sequence of events, cause-effect, manner, SVCs with synonymous verbs
2. Iconic constituent order	NO: depends on the construction type	YES: for sequential and cause-effect SVC NO: for manner and synonymous SVC
3. Grammaticalisation or lexicalisation	grammaticalisation	lexicalisation

A prototype or continuum-type approach towards the definition of SVCs seems to be the most typologically useful, since there can be great variation in the defining characteristics of SVCs across languages. In §10.2 the defining features of Klon SVCs are

noted, most of which have cross-linguistic correlates. Language-specific properties of symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs are then described in §10.3 and §10.4 respectively, with their semantic subtypes described in the sub-sections. As seen in Table 10.1, symmetrical SVCs are prone to lexicalisation and asymmetrical SVCs are prone to grammaticalisation. There are instances of both occurring in Klon. Lexicalisation is discussed in §10.3.4. The grammaticalisation of specific SVCs is dealt with elsewhere in the grammar (see §8.4.5 and §8.4.6 on the development of aspectual adverbs), and noted in §10.4.7.

The semantic type of a specific serial verb construction is not always clear-cut. In some cases it is possible to semantically label a single construction in more than one way. I have tried to characterise SVCs semantically, based on their most salient features.

10.2 Structural characteristics of Klon SVCs

One of the common definitions of SVCs that linguists these days tend to agree on is that SVCs behave like their mono-verbal counterparts (see for example Foley and Olson (1985), Durie (1997:289–290) and Aikhenvald (2006:1)). The characteristics defining Klon SVCs presented below can all be seen as aspects of SVCs behaving as single predicates.

1. Klon SVCs can be regarded as consisting of a single event. This is a controversial characteristic of SVCs cross-linguistically (see for example Pawley and Lane (1998) and Schultze-Berndt (2000)).
2. Klon SVCs have a single illocutionary force, and belong to a single utterance type. It is not possible, for example, for some of the verbs in the complex to be declarative, and others to be interrogative.
3. No verbs within Klon SVCs are syntactically subordinate to one another. We know that verbs within a serial complex are not subordinate to one another, because of their other structural characteristics.
4. The coordinating conjunctions (see §11.4–§11.5) cannot occur between the verbs within a SVC, and so the verbs *mteh* ‘stand’ and *lam* ‘walk’ in (10.1) are not a part of a SVC, but rather form separate clauses. The verb *koh* ‘finish’ together with the sequential conjunction *bo* indicate a new section of discourse (see §11.8).

(10.1) *Koh bo mteh de lam.*
 finish SEQ stand CONJ walk
 So get up and walk.
 AKOB030

5. Klon SVCs can only have a single intonation contour, with no stress or intonation breaks occurring between the verbs that are typical of those found at the edges of clauses. Auditory analysis of Klon texts confirms this criterion, but acoustic analysis to confirm it remains to be carried out. Example (10.2) contains a sequence of five verbs (*her et et yaah toor*), which do not form a single SVC, because of the intonation breaks between them, indicated orthographically by commas. The commas also

indicate clausal breaks.¹ There are two SVCs in (10.2): a sequential SVC (see §10.3.2) *her et* ‘go down to pull out’, and a modal SVC (see §10.4.3) *et yaah* ‘unable to pull out’, which do not have any intonation breaks between their components. The verb *toor* ‘hard’ forms a clause unto itself.

- (10.2) *Nok bo ga her et, et yaah, toor.*
 good SEQ 3ACT descend pull.out pull.out unable hard
 Then he went down to pull them out, (but) couldn’t pull (them out),
 (they were) hard.
 KKTW015

6. Klon SVCs share a single Actor argument, which is only marked once by either a full NP or a free pronoun.² This can be seen in (10.3), in which the single argument of both of the verbs in the motion SVC *a-awar qad* ‘come back’ is *kuur angkol* ‘the dog itself’. Note that due to anaphoric co-reference the Actor argument is ellipsed in the following clause.

- (10.3) *Kuur angkol a~ awar qad alah mi ik.*
 dog self RED~ return come house be.at COMPL
 The dog itself came back and was at home.
 BBTO026

7. Serial constructions may, or may not, share Undergoer arguments. This can be seen in the sequential SVC in (10.4), in which some verbs share an Undergoer argument, while another verb within the complex takes a different Undergoer. Thus, the Undergoer argument *béq giqihi* ‘pig’s faeces’ is shared by the verbs *ghel* ‘lift’, *méd* ‘take’, *ma* ‘come’, and *meq* ‘place’, while the verb *meq* ‘place’ takes a different Undergoer argument *ping gad* ‘plate’s mouth’. If an Undergoer argument is marked by a pronominal prefix, all verbs sharing that Undergoer argument in the verb complex will take the pronominal prefix,³ as in the parallel SVC in (10.5). Likewise, if a reciprocal prefix is used it will be used on all of the verbs within the construction, as in the parallel SVC in (10.6).

- (10.4) *Nang bo adob lega mi ihih,*
 NEG SEQ true 3S.TOP be.at get.up
 So he indeed got up,

bo béq gi- ihi ghel méd ma ping g- ad ta- meq.
 SEQ pig 3POSS₂- faeces lift take come plate 3POSS₁- mouth be.above- place
 and took pig’s faeces and put it on top of a plate’s mouth. (lit. lift take come
 place pig faeces above the plate)
 SNMAo009

¹ These clauses are paratactically coordinated. See §11.6.

² In some cases the Actor argument may be ellipsed altogether when co-referential with an Actor argument in the previous clause. This does not alter the fact that the SVC has a single Actor argument.

³ This is regardless of whether the Undergoer argument is an O argument or a S_o argument.

- (10.5) *Wedé ul akal her kbak mi ul mi,*
 just child child descend spear be.at child be.at
dat de tu~ tu mi yo ge- tkin ge- wren,
 grandchild REL RED~ where be.at that 3UND₄- run 3UND₄- swim
bo ini ge- huh.
 SEQ 3NSG 3UND₄- say
 Descendants everywhere were told. (lit. descendants everywhere were
 run to and swum to so they told them)
 PKPM090

- (10.6) *Ni to- kar to- oloq gen tognuk kenap i koh.*
 1NSG.EXCL.ACT RECP- call RECP-call until join complete DUR finish
 We called each other until we were all gathered together.
 PBT005

8. Peripheral constituents, such as adverbs, cannot intervene between the verbs in a Klon SVC. The temporal adverb *di* ‘first’ intervenes between verbs in (10.7), and so it is not possible that this construction is a SVC. Further evidence, such as the presence of an intonation break after *di* ‘first’, supports the analysis that the sequence of verbs *her di mde teh-klem* ‘descend first climb tired’ is not a SVC.

- (10.7) *Nang bo ngi mi ghel ho, tkoor, de ngi abang*
 NEG SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT be.at lift SIM heavy CONJ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT say
 So we lifted them and they were very heavy, so we said
musti u- nuk kak o~ orok di, nang bo ni u- huh
 DEO VI- one board RED~ two first NEG SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT VI- say
 one person should (carry) two planks, so we said
yo kak nu~ nuk her di, mde t- eh klem,
 that board RED~ one descend first climb 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- guts lazy
 descending first (with) one plank each (we'd) be too tired to climb
nang bo pi mu u- nuk o~ orok aan.
 NEG SEQ 1NSG.INCL.ACT only VI- one RED~ two carry
 so one person just carries two each.⁴
 PBT008

9. All of the verbs in a Klon SVC have shared aspect and mood, with a single aspect or mood marker having scope over the entire serial complex, as in the instrumental SVC in (10.8), in which *yeh* the continuative aspect adverb is shared by both *puin* ‘to use’ and *ma* ‘to come’.

- (10.8) *Ga tkin lam lam lam agai, ho nuk go- thook,*
 3ACT run walk walk walk go SIM one 3UND₂- meet
 While he sped going going going he met someone

⁴ Because of the great distance they had to carry the planks, they decided to carry two each in one trip rather than having to make three trips: descending the mountain with one plank, climbing all the way to the top of the mountain again and then descending with a second plank.

nuk sepeda **puin ma yeh**, *de tkin bet*, *bo gin= oros*,
 one bike use come CONT and run strong SEQ 3UND₃= crash
 coming using a bike and was travelling fast and crashed

bo ge kranjang po a mung, gan di ge sepeda iqal mung.
 SEQ 3POSS_F basket that 3RES fall 3ACT also 3POSS_F bike all fall
 then his basket fell, and him, and his bike, everything fell.

PSTo011

10. A Klon SVC can only take one negator that has scope over the entire verbal complex. The individual verbs within a SVC cannot be separately negated, nor can some be negated and others not. This can be seen in the manner SVC in (10.9), in which the negator *nang* has scope over both of the verbs *ini gab* ‘close to them’ and *mi-mih* ‘to sit, stay’ in the SVC.

(10.9) *Kalo na ini g- ab mi~ mih, yo ho bisa,*
 if 1SG.ACT 3NSG 3UND₁- close RED~ sit that SIM able
 If I’m staying close to them then I can,

kalo na ini g- ab mi~ mih nang yo,
 if 1SG.ACT 3NSG 3UND₁- close RED~ sit NEG that
 if I’m not staying close to them

ho ini ne- tkin qad, na agai bisa ini gin= tolong.
 SIM 3NSG 1SG.UND₄- run come 1SG.ACT go able 3NSG 3UND₃= help
 then they run to me, I can go and help them.

DWM027

10.3 Symmetrical serial verb constructions

10.3.1 Overview

Symmetrical SVCs are those SVCs in which all of the verbs are of equal status. Cross-linguistically semantic types of symmetrical SVCs include: sequence of events, cause-effect, manner, and SVCs with synonymous verbs. In Klon the semantic types of sequence of events (§10.3.2), manner SVCs (§10.3.3), and parallel SVCs (§10.3.4) can be identified. Symmetrical SVCs cross-linguistically tend towards lexicalisation, as they do in Klon. Examples of this are provided in §10.3.5.

10.3.2 Sequential SVCs

In sequential SVCs the event is divided into sub-events, denoted by separate verbs. The order of the verbs is iconic, following the temporal sequence of sub-events. This iconic sequencing can be seen in examples (10.10)–(10.11): in (10.10) first time ‘comes’ then they grow into adults; in (10.11) they first take wood before building. As can be seen from the examples, sequential SVCs may either contain intransitive verbs, in which case they are contiguous, as in (10.10), or transitive verbs, in which case they are non-contiguous as in (10.11), in which the verbs are separated by NP Undergoer arguments. When the verbs are non-contiguous sequential SVCs typically only contain two verbs, whereas in contiguous sequential SVCs it is possible to have more verbs.

- (10.10) *Ge g- neq hok yeh nang, gen ma bah ebeen.*
 3POSS_F 3POSS₁- name IRR exist NEG until come grow adult
 They didn't have names, until (they) came to grow into adults.
 TBM003
- (10.11) *Biasa ni balok mé~ méd iwi g~ gten,*
 usual INSG.EXCL.ACT beam RED~ take house RED~ do
 We usually take beams to make houses,
eteq ong eteq dgim.
 tree this tree strong
 this wood is strong wood.
 GWKM005

Further examples of sequential SVCs from the corpus can be seen in Table 10.2. The verbs and their Undergoer arguments have been included in the table. Note in the final example in the table that the Undergoer argument *mreh* 'k.o tree' of *agai* 'go' follows the verb in order that the SVC be wholly contiguous. (See §3.2.2 on AVO constituent order.)

Table 10.2: Sequential SVCs

Sequential SVC	Literal gloss	Translation
<i>alah agai doi méd</i>	home go money take	'go home and get money'
<i>unu agai ibiq qel</i>	market go fish buy	'go to the market and buy fish'
<i>ehék gbok en</i>	area cut give.to.you	'clear and give you a place (land)'
<i>gan yo glul gbok her gen agai mreh</i>	it that follow cut descend until go k.o.tree	'clear following down-wards there until the tree'

10.3.3 Manner SVCs

In manner SVCs one of the verbs in the serial construction describes the manner in which the other verb(s) is/are executed. The descriptive manner verb always precedes the other verbs in the verbal complex. The verbs in manner SVCs are always intransitive, hence manner SVCs are always contiguous, as can be seen in (10.12) and (10.3).

- (10.12) *Gen i koh kdad awar qad, man leer qad.*
 until DUR finish quick return come father ruler come
 Then (he) quickly came back, the ruler came.
 KKTo026
- (10.13) *Pi brai brai lam agai nmei mi hos koh di,*
 INSG.INCL.ACT slow slow walk go place be.at put finish first
 We walked slowly, putting (them) in the place,
pi pa u- eel,
 INSG.INCL.ACT INSG.INCL.HOR VI- stop
 then we rested,

nang de pi awa her di,
 NEG CONJ 1NSG.INCL.ACT again descend first
 otherwise we would have descended

t- awar yo t- eh klem.
 1NSG.INCL.UND₁- return that 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- guts lazy
 and we wouldn't want to return. (lit. us returning we'd feel lazy.)
 PBT0009

10.3.4 Parallel SVCs

These SVCs are labelled 'parallel' because they contain pairs of verbs that have a typically parallel relationship, such as being (near) synonyms, antonyms, or activities that are somehow seen as typically co-occurring (see Fox (2005)). This is an extremely common type of SVC in all types of Klon speech genres. Parallel SVCs consist of two verbs, which are always contiguous to one another. The ordering of the verbs in the verb complex is strict, indicating that this type of serialisation has been lexicalised. Semantically the resultant meaning of a parallel SVC may equal its parts or it may have a slightly different meaning to the combined verbs. Examples of parallel SVCs from the corpus can be seen in (10.14)—(10.15).

(10.14) *Tkin, Himbur kot breh agai, aa tbal hah ik, bo tkin.*
 run Himbur city tear PERF fence collapse fallen COM SEQ run
 Run, Himbur city has been torn down, the fence has collapsed and fallen so run.
 SNMAo024

(10.15) *Pabgei tale Lukbal lega abang, u- huuh abang:*
 Pabgei above Lukbal 3s.TOP say VI- tell say
 Pabgei above Lukbal said, told saying

'Ah nan ongo wo Hle onon u- huuh abang
 ah 1SG.ACT this that Kui PL VI- tell say
 'Ah me here, all the Kui say

nan ong kes, kes meng'.
 1SG.ACT this scabies scabies person
 I'm full of scabies'.
 SNMAo001

Further examples of parallel SVCs can be seen in Table 10.3, and in §10.3.5 on lexicalisation of SVCs.

Table 10.3: Parallel SVCs

Parallel SVC	Literal gloss	Translation
<i>ma tyaj tmein ma qad</i>	come we (were) born we (were) born come arrive	'many generations were born'
<i>umyer udar</i>	to.circle-dance to.recite.verse	'celebrate'
<i>deng mdin</i>	plant plant	'to plant'
<i>beyah wangyah</i>	traditional law taboo, oath	'forbidden'
<i>to-ara tin-ghal</i>	RECP-make.issue, RECP-wrong	'make problems with each other'
<i>uhbur umhol</i>	sweep wipe	'to clean'
<i>ebeer ihin</i>	to.die to.lose	'to die'

10.3.5 Symmetrical SVCs containing motion verbs

Most Klon motion verbs contain information about both movement and path. They are used specifically for their path semantics in asymmetrical directional SVCs (see §10.4.2). Otherwise motion verbs are very commonly used in all types of SVCs, and this section aims to show how they cross-cut SVC types.

Motion SVCs that only contain motion verbs are symmetrical because the verbs are equal in status and are chosen from an open class. Such SVCs can be classified as being sequential SVCs when the verbs are iconic in describing the sub-events of movement; as manner SVCs when one of the motion verbs describes the manner in which one of the other motion verbs is performed; or as parallel SVCs when the motion verbs are near-synonyms, and their use lexicalised.

The SVC in (10.16) contains a motion sequential SVC, where each of the motion verbs represents a sub-event of the whole construction, told sequentially. Note this example also contains the parallel SVC *gokar goolo* 'to call it'.

- (10.16) *Ini lam gen agai weer,*
 3NSG walk reach go river
 They walked until they went to the river
- bo Anus ga ge eipek yo go- kar go- olo.*
 SEQ Anus 3ACT 3POSS_F frog that 3UND₂- scream 3UND₂- call
 then Anus called his frog.
 KFBB030

The most commonly used verb in motion manner SVCs is *tkin* 'run', as in (10.17), in which it co-occurs with *ma* 'come'. Such manner verbs in this type of serialisation are used to describe the manner of the motion while other verbs tell of the path.

- (10.17) *Bo tkin ma araa ol le her.*
 SEQ run come water pool be.at descend
 Then come running down to the pool of water.
 PABHo017

Example (10.18) contains a parallel motion SVC consisting of the near-synonyms *hil* 'ascend'; and *mid* 'climb'.

- (10.18) *Koh bo ini Terman o Himbur go ge- hil,*
 finish SEQ 3NSG Terman that Himbur together 3UND₄- ascend
 So they and Terman together went up to Himbur,
ge- hil mid bo agai.
 3UND₄- ascend climb SEQ go
 they ascended and went.
 SNMAo021

Table 10.4 contains further examples of SVCs containing only motion verbs.

Table 10.4: SVCs containing motion verbs

SVC type	SVC	Literal gloss	Translation
sequential	<i>glul agai</i>	follow it go	‘follow it and go’
manner	<i>tkin lam</i>	run walk	‘going running’
parallel	<i>hook qad</i>	arrive come	‘arrive’
directional	<i>her agai</i>	descend go	‘go downwards’

10.3.6 Lexicalised SVCs

It is a common feature of symmetrical SVCs that they lexicalise. This is the case with many symmetrical SVCs in Klón, especially sequential and parallel SVCs, but not a feature of manner serialisations. Klón also contains lexicalised asymmetrical SVCs, which is not predicted in Aikhenvald’s typology, as seen in Table 10.1. Admittedly these are not as common as lexicalised symmetrical SVCs.

Contiguous sequential SVCs without Undergoer arguments are more likely to be lexicalised than those with Undergoer arguments, because the range of possible referents for Undergoer arguments is very extensive, but the common occurrence of particular events involving two sub-events is more limited. Example (10.19) contains the sequential SVC *ihih mteh* ‘to get up and stand’. The meaning of this SVC equals the semantic meanings of its parts. As can be seen in this example, this lexicalised SVC is often followed by further activity, with either more verbs added to the serial complex, or by a paratactically conjoined clause, as is the case in (10.19), with the SVC followed by the clause *a tkin* ‘it ran’.

- (10.19) *Nan i mteh, godal godal ho, uruut ne- uur,*
 1SG.ACT DUR stand make make SIM deer 1SG.UND₄ see
 I stood still, time passed (=make make) and the deer looked at me,
ho n- en u- gmal, bo ga ihih mteh a tkin.
 SIM 1SG.POSS₁- eyes VI- blink SEQ 3ACT get.up stand 3RES run
 I blinked my eyes and it got up and ran away.
 BBTo011

Another commonly occurring lexicalised SVC in everyday speech is *méd ma Und mi*, literally ‘to take come (Undergoer) place’, which together mean ‘bring and place’, as can be seen in (10.20). This SVC is an asymmetrical placement SVC (see §10.4.5).

- (10.20) *Ongo ge ih ho k~ kde, hol,*
 this 3POSS_F fruit SIM RED~ eat split
 This is its fruit, food, split it,
- koh pi go- kiqi, nok o,*
 finish 1NSG.INCL.ACT 3UND₂- lever good that
 that done we lever it (out), right,
- pi méd ma bokor hok mi hos.*
 1NSG.INCL.ACT take come bowl small.basket be.at place
 we bring (it) and place (some) in a bowl or small basket.
 GWKM049

It is a feature of parallel SVCs that they are lexicalised. They occur in set combinations with a fixed order (see §10.3.4).

Further examples of lexicalised SVCs can be seen in Table 10.5.

Table 10.5: Lexicalised SVCs

SVC type	SVC	Literal gloss	Translation
locational	<i>mi mimih lam lol</i>	be at stay walk gather	‘to live at’
locational	<i>mi taa mi mih</i>	be at sleep be at sit	‘to stay’
parallel	<i>te mang</i>	wear pants wear a top	‘to get dressed’
parallel	<i>myer tkoor</i>	circle dance ritual fight	‘to <i>lego-lego</i> (perform a traditional circle dance)’
parallel	<i>g-eweel g-ruh</i>	bathe him massage him	‘bathe him’
parallel	<i>(il) pnen yayo</i>	(song) sing sing	‘to sing songs’
parallel	<i>kde naaq</i>	to eat to drink	‘to eat’
parallel	<i>taan kde</i>	to sell to eat	‘to make a living’

10.4 Asymmetrical serial verb constructions

10.4.1 Overview

Asymmetrical serial verb constructions are those that contain a verb from a closed or small class of verbs that modifies the other verb(s) in the verb complex. Common semantic types of asymmetrical SVCs include those that are aspectual, directional, modal, associative or causative. Klon has directional SVCs (§10.4.2), modal SVCs (§10.4.3), instrumental SVCs (§10.4.4.), placement SVCs (§10.4.5) and locational SVCs (§10.4.6). Analogous to the lexicalisation of symmetrical SVCs, asymmetrical SVCs tend towards grammaticalisation. In §10.4.7 this issue is addressed with regard to Klon SVCs.

10.4.2 Directional SVCs

Directional SVCs contain at least one motion verb, the path semantics of which is used to indicate the direction of the event denoted by the SVC. It is only the subset of motion verbs that contain the notion of path or direction as a part of their semantics that can be used in this type of SVC. The position of the motion verb within the verbal complex is not

fixed. *Agai* ‘go’ is by far the most commonly occurring verb in directional SVCs lending the notion of motion away from the deictic centre, as in (10.21). In (10.22) the motion verb *mid* ‘ascend’ is used to indicate the direction of the action denoted by the SVC.

(10.21) *Bo ele agai wet.*
 SEQ 3DU go urinate
 So those two went to urinate.
 YUAW029

(10.22) *Kulbin onon i twai mid.*
 old PL DUR part ascend
 The old (people) began to separate moving upwards.
 SNMAO027

Further examples of directional SVCs from the corpus can be seen in Table 10.6.

Table 10.6: Directional SVCs

Directional SVC	Literal gloss	Translation
<i>ip agai gen</i>	descend go reach	‘descend away until’
<i>gbok waa</i>	cut go	‘clear away (from here)’
<i>mid gen agai</i>	ascend until go	‘ascend away until’
<i>gbok ma waa</i>	cut come go	‘cut to and fro’
<i>lam agai koor</i>	walk go hunt	‘walk off going hunting’
<i>ting ma</i>	jump come	‘to jump out at’
<i>agai taa</i>	go sleep	‘go to sleep’

10.4.3 Modal SVCs

Modal SVCs typically consist of two verbs, the final verb in the serial complex being one of the modal verbs *yaah* ‘unable’ or *inok* ‘able’. The verb *yaah* ‘unable’ is frequently used in modal SVCs retaining that meaning, but it is also used in SVCs to intensify the meaning of a verb, or to indicate that the activity denoted by the verb is to be viewed pejoratively. An example of *yaah* ‘unable’ in a modal SVC can be seen in (10.23), in which *gpai* ‘pull it’ is modified by the verb *yaah* ‘unable’, and an example of *inok* ‘able’ in a modal SVC can be seen in (10.24).

(10.23) *Peh o na g- pai di, na g- pai yaah,*
 bow that 1SG.ACT 3UND₁- pull first 1SG.ACT 3UND₁- pull unable
 I pulled the bow first, I couldn’t pull it,

n- tan non di b~ bgib b~ bgib koh.
 1SG.POSS₁- arm PL also RED~ shake RED~ shake finish
 my hands were also shaking and shaking.
 BBTO009

(10.24) *Biasa Mlang non ei gten inok.*
 usually Puranese PL canoe make able
 Usually Pura people are able to make canoes (from kapok wood).
 GWKM032

There is a second way of expressing the concept of ‘unable’, by using the phrase *yej nang*, literally ‘able NEG’. There are no instances in the corpus of *yej* being used positively, it is always negated.

10.4.4 Instrumental SVCs

There are two ways of adding Undergoer arguments with the semantic relation of INSTRUMENT to a clause: by using the applicative prefix *mi-* (see §7.4 and also Baird, forthcoming); or by using an instrumental SVC, containing the verb *puin* ‘hold’. In (10.25) *puin* ‘hold’ is used in a contiguous SVC taking the instrumental argument *peh kbor* ‘bow and arrow’ and in (10.26) it is used in a non-contiguous SVC taking the instrumental argument *ge eneem* ‘his tall grass’.

- (10.25) *Qad bo nok bo peh kbor ong puin g- tap diqiri,*
 come SEQ good SEQ bow arrow this hold 3UND₁ shoot think
 It came so I thought to use the bow and arrow to shoot it,
ho yaah, n- edan.
 SIM unable 1SG.UND₁- scared
 but couldn’t I was scared.
 BBTo007

- (10.26) *Gi- doqom ge eneem biasa ini puin iwi we~ wei.*
 3POSS₂- grandfather 3POSS_F tall.grass usual 3NSG hold house RED~ roof
 They usually use his grandfather’s tall grass to roof houses.
 GWKM039

Further examples taken from the corpus of instrumental SVCs, with the instrumental Undergoer argument, can be seen in Table 10.7.

Table 10.7: Instrumental SVCs

Instrumental SVC	Literal gloss	Translation
<i>ata puin n-tet</i>	coconut hold me-massage	‘massage me with coconut’
<i>har puin t-t-ebeer t-t-hai</i>	sabre hold RED~us-die RED~us-murder	‘murder us with a sabre’
<i>sepeda puin ma</i>	bicycle hold come	‘come by bicycle’
<i>gon ong puin ool qel</i>	gong this hold woman buy	‘buy a woman using a gong’
<i>ulu puin go-pat</i>	hair hold it-tie	‘tie it with hair’

10.4.5 Placement SVCs

Placement SVCs contain the verbs *ma* ‘come’ and *mi* ‘be at, place’. Syntactically each of these verbs within the SVC is transitive, taking an Actor argument and different Undergoer arguments. Both Undergoer arguments precede their verbs, and so the verbs are non-contiguous, as in (10.27).

- (10.27) *Ge ih pi ma qon mi,*
 3POSS_F fruit 1NSG.INCL.ACT come pot place
 We put its fruit in a pot,
araa ma tang udur ghek ta g- min,
 water come above ash clamp above 3UND₁- put.under
 put water on top, clamp ash down,
mai, pi kde t- bet u- kin.
 cooked 1NSG.INCL.ACT eat 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- stomach VI- full
 cooked, we eat until our stomachs are full.
 GKWM049

Placement SVCs are not restricted to containing just the verbs *ma* ‘come’ and *mi* ‘be at, place’. Although these verbs are always present, other verbs may also occur in the verbal complex, as in (10.28).

- (10.28) *Nang bo lega kbak ma g- en mi tpan gen i koh,*
 NEG SEQ 3S.TOP spear come 3POSS₁- eye be.at stab until DUR finish
 Then he stabbed his eye with a spear until done,
bo lega train lui mnaak o han g- en mi g- hui,
 SEQ 3S.TOP foreigner chilli small that chew 3POSS₁- eye be.at 3UND₁- spit
 then he chewed a small type of chilli and spat it in his eyes
koh bo lega a go Hirla agai.
 finish SEQ 3S.TOP 3RES together Hirla go
 then he went together (with the head) to Hirla.⁵
 SNMAo050

Further examples taken from the corpus of placement SVCs, including the Undergoer arguments, can be seen in Table 10.8.

Table 10.8: Placement SVCs

Placement SVC	Literal gloss	Translation
<i>go-ma kwet mi</i>	it-come basket place	‘put it in the basket’
<i>meh ma t-ad mi</i>	betel.vine come our-mouth place	‘put betel nut in our mouths’
<i>at gta méd ma hok mi</i>	bamboo.spikes take come small.basket place	‘take bamboo spikes and put them in a small basket’
<i>gula ma mde gelas mi</i>	sugar come ascend glass place	‘put sugar in a glass’

10.4.6 Locational SVCs

Locational SVCs are an extremely commonly used type of SVC in Klon discourse. *Mi* ‘be at, place’ occurs in locational SVCs as well as placement SVCs. The use of *mi* ‘be at,

⁵ A language helper explained that when someone dies their eyes go heavenwards where they join another body and live again. Once they die in that place, however, they die and no longer exist. To ensure that an enemy really dies in this world and doesn’t move to the next life they remove the eyes, or in this case fill the gouged out eye sockets with chilli.

place' in locational SVCs allows for a LOCATION argument to be added to an otherwise intransitive clause as an Undergoer. *Mi*'s behaviour in locational SVCs is quite different to that found in placement SVCs. The verbs in locational SVCs are always contiguous, with *mi* preceding the other verb(s), as in (10.29) and (10.30).

- (10.29) *Hle onon uqilik, bo leer ga ma,*
 Kui PL vengeful SEQ ruler 3ACT come
 The Kui were vengeful so the ruler he came
- bo waa qad Koilal Marka g- hoi*
 SEQ go come Koilal Marka 3UND₁- order
 then came and went and ordered Koilal Marka

qad amai alol mi ted.
 come below harbour be.at sail
 to come sail below in the harbour.
 SNMAo012

- (10.30) *Ini abang o 'Na lam gen u- elel,*
 3NSG say that 1SG.ACT walk until VI- search
 They said 'I walked until I found,
- eben buur u- elel, Hwak mi awar, Hwak weer mi taa'.*
 village flat VI- search Hwak be.at return Hwak river be.at sleep
 found a flat village and returned to Hwak, slept at Hwak river'.
 SNMAo055

Further examples of locational SVCs from the corpus can be seen in Table 10.9.

Table 10.9: Locational SVCs

Manner SVC	Literal gloss	Translation
<i>mi hah</i>	be.at fall	'to fall at'
<i>mi obon</i>	be.at block	'to hide at'
<i>mi kukui</i>	be.at play	'to play at'
<i>mi hos</i>	be.at place	'to place at'
<i>mi kdok</i>	be.at store	'to store at'
<i>mi anaa</i>	be.at arrange	'to arrange at'

10.4.7 A note on the grammaticalisation of asymmetrical SVCs

As seen in Aikhenvald's Table 10.1, in §10.1, components of asymmetrical SVCs tend to grammaticalise over time. There are three examples of this in Klon: 1. the perfect aspect marker *agai* being grammaticalised from the verb *agai* 'to go, reach'; 2. the continuative aspect marker *yeh* being grammaticalised from the verb *yeh* 'exist'; and 3. the applicative prefix *mi-* being grammaticalised from the verb *mi* 'be at, place'. The grammaticalisation of the aspectual adverbs *agai* and *yeh* is addressed in §8.4.5 and §8.4.6 respectively, and *mi* is discussed in Baird (forthcoming).

11 *Clause combining*

11.1 Introduction

In Chapter 9 the basic clause types found in Klon were described. In this chapter the embedded clauses — relative clauses (§11.2) and complement clauses (§11.3) — are described, together with coordinated clauses and other techniques for combining clauses to organise discourse. There are two types of coordinated clauses in Klon: those that are overtly conjoined by a coordinating conjunction — *de* (§11.4), *bo* or *ho* (§11.5) — and those that are paratactically coordinated (§11.6). Segments of discourse, typically consisting of a number of coordinated clauses, are connected through tail-head linkage (§11.7) or separated by words and phrases used as discourse markers (§11.8). All of the above techniques result in different relationships holding between the clauses.

11.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses occur within a NP to modify the head noun of that NP. In Klon the relativiser *de* is used to introduce relative clauses.¹ As with other nominal modifiers, relative clauses follow the head noun that they modify. In a NP containing all possible NP modifiers the relative clause will occur in the second last (second right-most) position before a demonstrative (see §6.2.1).

Only the core arguments in a main clause can be modified by a relative clause, that is arguments with the grammatical relations of either Actor or Undergoer. It is more common for Actor arguments to be relativised than Undergoer arguments in the corpus. The relativised noun of the main clause is omitted from the relative clause if it is an Actor argument, and optionally cross-referenced on the verb if it is an Undergoer argument. In the following examples the relative clause is in bold, and the whole of the NP containing the relative clause is bracketed. In (11.1) the Actor argument *ge kuur* ‘his dog’ of an intransitive clause is relativised. The relativised noun is the Actor argument of the relative clause which contains a transitive clause with two SVCs. In (11.2) the Undergoer argument *eteq wei* ‘leaf’ is relativised.

¹ Note that the relativiser has the same form as the conjunction (§11.4).

- (11.1) [*Ge kuur de eteq wain u- hi~ hil,*
 3POSS_F dog REL wood bee VI- RED~ hang
go- mod ge- pkas go- bek go- lan ongo]
 3UND₂- climb 3UND₄- climb 3UND₂- wobble 3UND₂- shake this
 His dog which climbed and shook the tree with the bee's nest,
mi kdad, ho wain eben yo mu gin= ta- mung,
 be.at shocked SIM bee village that just 3UND₃= above- fall
 got a shock when the bee's nest fell on top of him,
go- mu~ mung go- e~ erek bo,
 3UND₂- RED~ fall 3UND₂- RED~ explode SEQ
 fell on him so the bees were angry
lega ihih mteh, mu a tkin.
 3S.TOP get.up stand just 3RES run
 and he stood up and ran.
 KFBB042
- (11.2) [*Eteq wei de ole weer g- ad tang]* *go- méd moi,*
 tree leaf REL over.there river 3POSS₁- mouth above 3UND₂- take help
 That leaf that's over there at the edge of the river was taken to help,
ge abad u- ooi, koh, inok.
 3POSS_F wound VI- rub finish able
 rubbing it (the leaf) on its (an eel's) wounds then it was able (to return to life).
 PABH016

There are no restrictions on the type of predicate that may occur in a relative clause. For example, aside from verbal predicates, such as *mi* 'be at' in the first relative clause in (11.3), nominal predicates may also occur in relative clauses, such as *hihik* 'picker' as in the second relative clause in (11.3).

- (11.3) *Ana= tong po lam, a miglang agai [eteq*
 CLF= three that walk 3RES immediately go tree
 Those three walked until (they were) beneath the
de wed ini hi~ hik yar mi] [ho do- om de wed hi~ hik ong]
 REL earlier 3NSG RED~ pick tree be.at SIM TTL man REL earlier RED~ pick this
 fruit tree that earlier the pickers were at, while the man who was a picker earlier
olok tang mteh yeh, gi- nuk ge- wrep,
 space.under.house above stand CONT 3POSS₂ one 3UND₄- wait
 was standing under the tree waiting for his friend
de ana= tong ong lam, a mi glei.
 CONJ CLF= three this walk 3RES be.at pass
 when the three people walked by.
 PST022

Relative clauses may modify any type of nominal. In (11.4) the head of the relative clause is the numeral ‘one’ *nuk* (see §4.4.4). Such usage of *nuk* ‘one’ is similar to the way in which *one* can be used in English, as can be seen from the translation. The head of the relative clause is both the Actor argument of the main clause and the relative clause.

- (11.4) [*Nuk de hi~ hik ong*] *gan ga eteq kol*
 one REL RED~ pick this 3ACT 3ACT tree treetop
 This one who is the picker up the tree
bo tang her mkei awar.
 SEQ above descend ground return
 descends returning to the ground.
 PST003

It is possible for more than one relative clause to modify a single noun, as with *ininok* ‘person’ in (11.5), which is modified by two relative clauses using the relativiser *de*, the second an increment. This illustrates the delineating, modifying effect of relative clauses. The head of the relative clause is the Actor within both of the relative clauses, and the Undergoer in the main clause.

- (11.5) [*Ininok de awiit de wed qad a g- ruh o*]
 person REL pregnant REL earlier come 2SG.ACT 3UND₁- massage that
 Now the person that was pregnant that came earlier and you massaged
a gel =e nang?
 2SG.ACT know =DIS NEG
 did you know or not?
 DWM017

Klon has headless relative clauses, that is, relative clauses which themselves refer to the head noun that they relativise. An example of a headless relative clause can be seen in (11.6).

- (11.6) *Jadi waktu de i agai u- skol ong, ini ogo- tmein,*
 so when REL DUR go VI- school this 3NSG 2NSG.UND₂- request
 So when (those) who began going to study, (as) they requested you,
bo doi hok ini eg- en =e nang?
 SEQ money IRR 3NSG 2NSG.UND₁- give =DIS NEG
 did they give you money or not?
 DWM077

It is interesting to note that most relative clauses, as can be seen from the above examples (with (11.2) a notable exception), are followed by a demonstrative. This raises the question of whether the demonstrative is modifying the head noun or whether relative clauses are actually nominalised by these demonstratives and used similarly to other attributive nominals. This issue awaits further research.

11.3 Complement clauses

Klon verbs typically take nominal arguments. However, some verbs require complement clauses, most notably verbs of thinking and speaking.² There is no overt marking of complementation. The complement clause is merely adjacent to its verb. The placement of the complement clause relative to its verb is lexically determined. That is, some verbs require the complement clause to precede them, while others require that it follows. In (11.7) the complement clause *noke ge eipek gan yo mi* ‘in case his frog was there’ precedes the verb *diqiri* ‘think’, whereas the complement clause of the verb *kirkir*³ ‘to think’ in (11.8) follows the verb. From (11.7)–(11.8) the distinction between placement of complement clauses may initially appear dependent on whether the complement clause is direct or indirect speech or inner monologue. However, this is not the case, as can be seen in (11.9) which contains two instances of the verb *abang* ‘say’ followed by complement clauses. The first complement clause of *abang* ‘say’ is direct speech and the second indirect speech. This example also shows that complement clauses can be embedded within other complement clauses — the second complement clause embedded within the first.

The term complement ‘clause’ may be somewhat of a misnomer for the complement that these verbs take, because these verbs can take several paratactic coordinated clauses (see §11.6) as a complement, not just a single clause. All of the paratactically coordinated clauses become the complement of the verb. There is an example of this in (11.8), in which the verb *kirkir* ‘think’ takes three paratactic coordinated clauses as its complement.

- (11.7) *Nang bo lega eteq yo ge- mod,*
 NEG SEQ 3S.TOP tree that 3UND₄- climb
 So he climbed the tree
- gen agai g- tan ta a mih,*
 until go 3POSS₁- arm above 3RES sit
 to the branch and sat
- wed o di ga eteq dok yo mi llik,*
 just that also 3ACT tree hole that be.at look.through.hole
 then he looked into the tree hole,
- g- bet erem, ho noke ge eipek gan yo mi, diqiri.*
 3POSS₁- stomach grumble SIM lest 3POSS_F frog 3ACT that be.at think
 thinking to himself (=his stomach grumbled) lest the frog was inside.
 KFBB046

² ‘In every language there is a restricted set of verbs (R) which may or must have another verb (rather than an NP) as — or relating to — one of their arguments. (...) If the second verb is predicate of a clause which functions as an argument of the verb from set R, this is called a complement clause. (...) Members of set R are called complement-taking verbs’ (Dixon 2004). Based on this definition, Klon verbs of thinking and speaking are complement-taking verbs that take complement clauses (rather than using a complementation strategy). Eight such verbs were found in the corpus: *abang* ‘say’; *huh* ‘say’; *tra* ‘say, suspect, think’; *diqiri* ‘think’; *kirkir* ‘think’; *manggrik* ‘think a long time’; *owo* ‘think, regard’; and *yetera* ‘think’.

³ This verb comes from Malay *pikir* or *kira* ‘think, reckon’.

- (11.8) *Na mih, bo na kirkir: ong n- angkol eek,*
 1SG.ACT sit SEQ 1SG.ACT think this 1SG.UND₁- self self
 I sat down and I thought: here I'm alone
bo uruut hok qad, na tion?
 SEQ deer arrive come 1SG.ACT how?
 what would I do if the deer came.
 BBT005
- (11.9) *Labgei awa Pabgei tale Lukbal, lega abang, u- huh abang:*
 Labgei again Pabgei above Lukbal 3S.TOP say VI- tell say
 Labgei and Pabgei from Lukbal said
 [*Ah nan ongo wo, Hle onon u- huh abang:*
 ah 1SG.ACT this that Kui PL VI- tell say
 'Ah me here, those Kui say
 [*nan ong kes, kes meng'.]*
 1SG.ACT this scabies scabies person
 I'm full of scabies'.
 SNMAo001

As can be seen in (11.7)–(11.9) there is no overt grammatical particle to differentiate between direct and indirect speech or inner monologue. Rather they are distinguished based on the deictic orientation of the utterance. In direct speech the deictic orientation of the complement clause is focused on the person whose speech is reported (e.g. 'I am here'), whilst in indirect speech the deictic orientation of the complement clause is focused on the person reporting the speech (e.g. 'he said he was there'). Although not universally employed, in narratives speakers will frequently begin direct speech with the interjection *ah*, as in (11.9) above.

11.4 Coordinate conjunction *de*

Foley (1986:201) notes that the close relationship between relative clauses and adverbial clauses '(...) is readily apparent in many Papuan languages, in which they are formally very similar or even identical'. In Klon the relativiser (§11.2) is formally identical to the coordinating conjunction *de*. Unlike other non-Austronesian languages discussed by Foley, the non-relativising function of *de* does not introduce a subordinate clause, but rather a coordinate clause, while the conjunction has inferable adverbial semantics.

Clauses can be conjoined by the conjunction *de* with a range of inferable meanings holding between the two clauses. Native Klon speakers translate this conjunction variously as 'then, and', 'but', 'or', 'if' and 'so (that)'.⁴ None of these meanings are actually contained within the conjunction, rather the translations illustrate the kind of relationships that are inferable as holding between the two clauses — sequential temporal (then, and), adversative (but), conditional (if), resultative or purposive (so (that)). These translations imply an unequal relationship between the conjoined clauses, but there is no evidence to suggest that this is the case. The clauses on either side of the conjunction are independent clauses, each able to occur without being joined to the other. Frequently an argument in the second clause can be understood as a participant from the first clause, in which case it may

⁴ Using Alor Malay Klon speakers translate *de* as '*langsung, lalu, dan*', '*tapi*', '*kalo*', or '*supaya, jadi*'.

be ellipsed (as it may be in other types of constructions, such as paratactic coordinated clauses (§11.6)). However, there do not appear to be strict rules that such arguments must be ellipsed if they are co-referential with an argument in the preceding clause.

In (11.10) a sequential temporal relationship is inferable for the clauses conjoined by *de*. When a sequential temporal relationship is inferable *de* can co-occur with the sequential conjunction *bo* (§11.5), as can be seen in (11.11).

- (11.10) *Anus ge kuur ele ihih mteh, de a lam, eipek elel, ge- agai.*
 Anus 3POSS_F dog 3DU get.up stand CONJ 3RES walk frog search 3UND₄- go
 Anus and his dog got up, stood then/and they walked, searching for the frog,
 going to it.
 KFBB029

- (11.11) *Go- wrep, de bo pi ong go- pak.*
 3UND₂- leave CONJ SEQ 1NSG.INCL.ACT this 3UND₂- nail
 Leave it alone then/and we'll just nail this.
 AKPV009d

The second occurrence of *de* in (11.12), illustrates the conjunction's use with an adversative reading.⁵ Typically when an adversative relationship is inferable *de* co-occurs with the simultaneous conjunction *ho* (§11.5), which follows *de*, as in (11.13). As the two items, *de* and *ho*, are phonologically light they prosodically attach to each other.

- (11.12) *Ge eneem di go- kar olo, ak ebeng go- kar,*
 3POSS_F master also 3UND₂- scream call friend other 3UND₂- scream
 Its master also screamed, he screamed for friends

de qad, ini gin= moi, de hok nuk qad di nang.
 CONJ come 3NSG 3UND₃= help CONJ IRR one come also NEG
 to come and help, but not one came.
 KFBB024

- (11.13) *Il akan, bo Anus ge kuur ele mhak,*
 day night SEQ Anus 3POSS_F dog 3DU eat
 It was late so Anus and his dog ate,

koh bo ele agai a i taa
 finish SEQ 3DU go 3RES DUR sleep
 then they went to sleep,

de ho toples gen Anus u- eneet, uter nang.
 CONJ SIM container lid Anus VI- forget shut NEG
 but Anus forgot the container lid and didn't close it.
 KFBB010

In other contexts the conjunction *de* can be used when a conditional relationship is inferable between two clauses. Unlike in the above examples, where *de* always occurs between the clauses, *de* occurs at the beginning of the clause containing the condition, which can precede the clause showing the result if the condition is met. The result clause

⁵ The first instance of *de* in this example is inferable as purposive.

does not have any overt syntactic marking. This can be seen in (11.14) in which the conditional clause is *de pi nunuk aan her* ‘if we carried down one each’, and the clause expressing the result is *pi hok mde nang* ‘we wouldn’t come up’.

- (11.14) *Nang de pi nu~ nuk aan her,*
 NEG CONJ 1NSG.INCL.ACT RED~ one carry descend
 So, if we carried one each down
pi hok mde nang, let a= yaah.
 1NSG.INCL.ACT IRR climb NEG far INTS= unable
 we wouldn’t come up (again) it was so far.
 PBTW012

In (11.14) we have just seen that *de* can head conditional clauses, while the resultative clause is unmarked. In other contexts resultative or purposive clauses can be marked by *de*. In Klón it is not always clear whether a resultative or purposive translation is most appropriate, because there is no formal difference, and any distinction is based on a listener’s interpretation. In (11.15) the conjunction *de* is used three times, in each case the clause following the conjunction can be seen to be either the result or purpose (or both) of the actions in the previous clause.

- (11.15) *Tun tong ongo, pemerinta tetap no- hoi n- tain,*
 year three this government continue 1SG.UND₂- order 1SG.UND₁- order
 These three years the government still ordered me
de orang ongo u- kdech, de mtei ong go- ghen mi deng
 CONJ people this VI- head CONJ paddock this 3UND₂-do be.at plant
 to lead the community so that this field was cleared to plant
mi mdin, de ininok ong =e bo a= unok a= upoh.
 be.at plant CONJ person this =FOC SEQ INTS= happy INTS= happy
 so that the community would then be happy.
 RHAMW018

11.5 Temporal coordinate conjunctions *bo* and *ho*

Klón has two temporal coordinate conjunctions *bo* and *ho*. *Bo* indicates that the activity/event/state in a clause follows sequentially from the previous clause. *Ho* indicates that the activity/event/state in a clause is simultaneous with a previous clause.

The sequential conjunction *bo* occurs more frequently in the corpus than the simultaneous conjunction *ho*. There are eight instances of sequential *bo* in example (11.16) one is used in combination with the negative adverb and one is used in combination with the verb *koh* ‘finish’ to form the discourse markers *nang bo* and *koh bo* (see §11.8). There is an example of simultaneous *ho* in both (11.16) and (11.17).

- (11.16) *Kuur ana= tong, bo ini g- eh, bo odal yaah,*
 dog CLF= three SEQ 3NSG 3UND₁- bite SEQ do unable
 There were three dogs so they bit it (a deer) so (the deer) couldn’t move
ngi agai i go- hiid, bo g- tap g- beer,
 1NSG.EXCL.ACT go DUR 3UND₂- reach SEQ 3UND₁- shoot 3UND₁- kill
 when we reached it, then we shot it dead,

koh bo ni an gen mai,
 finish SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT roast until cooked
 that was done so we roasted (it) until cooked,

bo ni tkoin go- atak,
 SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT cut.finely 3UND₂- rather.large
 then we cut it rather roughly,

bo ngi nga ler,
 SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT 1NSG.EXCL.HOR carry
 then we carried (it),

ni qad weer mi u- eel,
 1NSG.EXCL.ACT come river be.at VI- stop
 we came to a river to rest,

ho il i akan, nang bo ngi hwai ghen,
 SIM day DUR night NEG SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.ACT tent do
 and it was becoming night, so we made a tent,

bo gan o ni mi taa gen il blok,
 SEQ 3ACT that 1NSG.EXCL.ACT be.at lie.down until day bright
 then we slept there until day,

wed ngi nga lam,
 just 1NSG.EXCL.ACT 1NSG.EXCL.HOR walk
 only then did we start walking,

ni lam gen qad alah,
 1NSG.EXCL.ACT walk until come house
 we walked until coming home,

bo tkoin adapu gen mai, bo ak ma kuur g- en,
 SEQ cut.finely cook until cooked SEQ part come dog 3UND₁- give
 then we cut (it up) and cooked (it) until cooked, then part we gave to the dogs
 to eat,

ak ngi nga kde.
 part 1NSG.EXCL.ACT 1NSG.EXCL.HOR eat
 part we ate.

BBT011

- (11.17) *Nge- uur, ho na bgib ik,*
 1NSG.EXCL.UND₄- see SIM 1SG.ACT shake COMPL
 (It) saw us and I shook,

ne tak n- tan non di iqal bgib a koh.
 1SG.POSS_F leg 1SG.POSS₁- arm PL also all shake 3RES finish
 my legs and arms were all shaking uncontrollably.

BBT008

11.6 Paratactic coordinated clauses

Discourse in Klon is characterised by long strings of clauses, sometimes connected by a conjunction, but frequently merely juxtaposed. Each clause within such a string is an independent clause.⁶

Paratactic coordinated clauses, as with SVCs, contain many verbs. The primary distinction between the two lies in the fact that SVCs are mono-clausal whereas paratactic coordinated clauses are multi-clausal. One of the defining features of whether an utterance is mono- or multi-clausal is the presence or absence of an Actor argument. SVCs can only take one Actor argument, while paratactic coordinated clauses typically have an Actor argument per clause. The individual clauses within a paratactic coordinated clauses may contain SVCs.

The structure of the following piece of discourse in (11.18) is typical of Klon discourse in general. Of the eleven clauses in (11.18), eight are paratactically coordinated. Four of the clauses use typical words or phrases to help the listener identify segments within the whole (see §11.8). Rather than speakers flagging the relationship that holds between clauses for listeners with grammatical particles, listeners are expected to infer the relationship that holds between the clauses. This results in iconic structuring of discourse, with clauses following on from each other temporally or logically.

- (11.18) [*Li~ liik te~ tej ole, ge u- tong*]
 RED~ evil RED~ fight over.there 3POSS_F VI- three
 The war-mongers over there had three people,
 [*bo tam buur ini ge- wrep*] [*ini gin= trim*]
 SEQ tamarind flat 3NSG 3UND₄₋ wait 3NSG 3UND₃₌ receive
 [*ini i mteh*]
 3NSG DUR stand
 and they waited by the tamarind on the flat to be received,
 [*a lam*] [*ini agai eben alah, li~ liik te~ tej ge alah*]
 3RES walk 3NSG go village house RED~ evil RED~ fight 3POSS_F house
 they stood, they went to the house of the war-mongers,
 [*ga ini u- eel*] [adat] [*mhak naaq*] [*i koh bo 'Tu?'*]
 3ACT 3NSG VI- stop customary.law eat drink DUR finish SEQ where
 they rested, they chewed betel nut (lit. customary law), they ate and drank, then
 'What's it to be?' (lit. where?)
 [*bo 'Pi go- tlek'*] [*ho 'Pa agai Tutuibuk'*.]
 SEQ 1NSG.INCL.ACT 3UND₂₋ war SIM 1NSG.HOR go Tutuibuk
 'We fight them' and 'Let's go to Tutuibuk'.
 LBH010

⁶ Clause-chaining is a common feature of Non-Austronesian languages, what Foley (1986:175) describes as being '(...) probably the most distinctive feature of Papuan languages in general (...)'. Foley (1986:175–198) describes clause-chaining in several Non-Austronesian languages; and in detail for Yimas (1991:445–456). Foley regards dependent verbs as central to clause-chaining in Papuan languages. Such dependent verbs are absent in Klon, as is a switch reference system (although see §5.6), another frequently occurring feature of clause-chaining. For these reasons the paratactic linking of clauses in Klon cannot be regarded as clause-chaining.

11.7 Tail head linkage

Tail-head linkage in Klon joins sections of discourse through the repetition of the predicate of a clause at the beginning of the following clause. The predicate may be either verbal, as with *méd* ‘take’ in (11.19), or *ebeer* ‘die’ in (11.20), or it can be nominal, as with *pegawai* ‘civil servant’ in the second instance of tail-head linkage in (11.20).

- (11.19) *Koh wed ga u- huuh: ‘Labgei kulbin a ma,*
 finish just 3ACT VI- say Labgei old 2SG.ACT come
 Then he said ‘Old Labegai you come and you take the heads of your corpses,
e tab kdeh ong méd, méd de go- mid’.
 2SG.POSS_F corpse head this take take CONJ 3UND₂- climb
 take (them) to bring them up’.
 SNMAW018

- (11.20) *Gan o mi gen i koh, bo nok, ni- man ong,*
 3ACT that be.at until DUR finish SEQ good 1SG.POSS₂- father this
 He was there until finished, right, my father
tale mi ebeer.
 above be.at die
 died up there.
Ebeer, de ho pegawai, pegawai, bo tale kreyang.
 die CONJ SIM civil.servant civil.servant SEQ above work
 (He) died, but he was a civil servant, a civil servant so he worked above.
 RHAMW005-006

In the case that the predicate is verbal, the whole verbal complex is repeated, including any affixation, such as pronominal marking, as in (11.21) and (11.22).

- (11.21) *Ini go- qad, go- qad, bo ini kde.*
 3NSG 3UND₂- come 3UND₂- come SEQ 3NSG eat
 They brought it, brought it then they ate.
 KKTW012
- (11.22) *Gen ebeer gen i koh, ni- myar non n- riyang,*
 until die until DUR finish 1SG.POSS₂- uncle PL 1SG.UND₁- care.for
 Until dying until (it was) finished, it was my uncles that took care of me,
n- riyang, n- muinpuin, gen ma bah ebeen.
 1SG.UND₁- care.for 1SG.UND₁- responsible until come grow adult
 took care of me and were responsible for me until I grew into an adult.
 RHAMW007

Sometimes the repeated verb is also followed by the expression *gen i koh* (see §11.8), roughly translatable as ‘until it was finished, then’ (lit. ‘until DUR finish’), as in (11.23).

- (11.23) *Ini o to puin, ho huuh gel erem gel,*
 3NSG that examine hold SIM talk know grumble know
 They examined (me) and (knew I) was skilled (lit. talk and know,
 grumble and know)

bo ini no- hoi, HKM ongo u- mteh.
 SEQ 3NSG 1SG.UND₂- order HKM this VI- stand
 so they ordered me to lead HKM.

U- mteh gen i koh, de ho ge yar ogol
 VI- stand until DUR finish CONJ SIM 3POSS_F beginning beginning
 I lead until it was finished, but in the beginning

ho ininok non ini emeq.
 SIM people PL 3NSG not.want
 people didn't want me to.
 RHAMo014-015

11.8 Words and phrases used as discourse markers

There are words and phrases used in Klon which help to structure discourse. Such words and phrases are not conjunctions, but are rather used to mark the end or beginning of different sections of discourse. The most commonly occurring discourse markers are: (*i*) *koh* 'finished', *gen i koh* 'until it's finished', *gen V* 'until V', and *nang bo/koh bo/nok bo* 'so, then, ok, now'.⁷ As can be seen there are a few items that are used in multiple markers, most noticeably the verb *koh* 'finish', and the sequential conjunction *bo*.

(I) *koh* 'finished'

(*I*) *koh* 'finished' is used extensively to signal the end of one section of discourse, or more specifically marking that an activity/event/state is complete. It occurs at the end of an intonation group, typically following a verb, and takes falling intonation. This can be seen in (11.24), in which it is not preceded by the durative aspect adverb, and in (11.25), in which it is preceded by the durative aspect adverb.

(11.24) *Wed ini eteq mi- mtén koh, ini awa go- et.*
 earlier 3NSG tree APPL- build finish 3NSG again 3UND₂- pull.out
 They just built (a fence) with a tree, (then) they pulled it out again.
 AKPV008a

(11.25) *Ne kreyang yo, na proyek glul i koh,*
 1SG.POSS_F work that 1SG.ACT project follow DUR finish
 My work was to join in on projects,

na go- gtain, go- gtain gen i koh,
 1SG.ACT 3UND₂- release 3UND₂- release until DUR finish
 then I let it go, let it go until finished,

na awa miglang sulap u- kukui.
 1SG.ACT again immediately conjuring VI- play
 I again immediately played at conjuring.
 RHAMo008

⁷ Klon speakers also use Malay discourse markers to structure discourse, such as *walaupun* 'although', *biar* 'although', *jadi* 'so', *kalo* 'if', and *karna* 'because', which will not be described here.

Gen i koh ‘until (it’s) finished’

Gen i koh ‘until (it’s) finished’ can either occur at the end of an intonation group, or at the beginning of a new intonation group. It is used to mark of the end of an activity, to show that a particular activity, event or state was finished, before moving onto the next activity, event or state. *Gen i koh* most typically occurs at the end of an intonation group, as in (11.26). When occurring at the beginning of an intonation group *gen i koh* has a function comparable to tail-head linkage, as in the second sentence. It is possible that this use has been derived from the tail-head linkage use, with an ellipsed verb (see §11.7 above).

(11.26) *Na ong le kib, béq, hiq qel gen i koh,*
1SG.ACT this at goat pig chicken buy until DUR finish

na go- ip,
1SG.ACT 3UND₂- descend

Here I bought goats, pigs, chickens, I took them

lale mi taan.

below be.at sell

to sell down there.

RHAMo010

Gen i koh *tun kar usong awa orok,*

until DUR finish year ten seven again two

Then it was the year 72

bo na n- awar mde.

SEQ 1SG.ACT 1SG.UND₁- return climb

I returned.

RHAMo011

Gen V (V*) ‘until V’

When *gen* ‘until’ precedes a verb or series of verbs it indicates that the action/state/event denoted by the verb(s) is the last in that section of discourse. *Gen V* is not as commonly used as *V (V*) gen i koh*. Examples of the use of *gen V* can be seen in (11.27) (repeated from example (11.22)) and (11.28). As can be seen in the first use of *gen V* in example (11.27), *gen V* and *gen i koh* are not mutually exclusive.

(11.27) ***Gen ebeer gen i koh,*** *ni- myaar non n- riyang,*
until die until DUR finish 1SG.POSS₂- uncle PL 1SG.UND₁- care.for
After dying it was my uncles that took care of me,

n- riyang n- muinpuin, gen ma bah ebeen.

1SG.UND₁- care.for 1SG.UND₁- responsible until come grow adult

took care of me and were responsible for me until I grew into an adult.

RHAMo007

(11.28) *Tlek dob yaah, bo na n- awar mde,*
war straight unable SEQ 1SG.ACT 1SG.UND₁- return climb

There were lots of wars so I returned climbing up,

o tun orok gen qad eben ongo.
 that year two until come village this
 (it had been) two years until (I) came to this village.⁸
 RHAMo013

***Nang bo/koh bo/nok bo* ‘so, then, ok, now’**

Nang bo, *koh bo* and *nok bo* are all used at the beginning of new sections of discourse. The first items (i.e. *koh* ‘finish’, *nok* ‘good’ and *nang* NEG) are used to mark that the activity/event/state in the previous clause is complete or no longer relevant, while the conjunction *bo* indicates that the upcoming section follows on sequentially from the preceding section (see §11.5). *Nang bo* is the most commonly occurring of the three types of discourse markers used in this way. The negator alone can also be used to order discourse.⁹ Examples of the use of *nang bo*, *koh bo* and *nok bo* can be seen in (11.29)–(11.32).

(11.29) *Tlek ong, gen qad ma gwai gbak ho nang,*
 war this until come come distribute distribute SIM NEG
 Because they won it came to the distribution,

ni- man onon ong, ini hahal ini g- en nang,
 1SG.POSS₂- father PL this 3NSG moko¹⁰ 3NSG 3UND₁ give NEG
 now my parents weren’t given a *moko*,

‘*Ah nin= ongo Bring, Bring wòr g- g- awar,*
 ah 1NSG.EXCL.UND₃= this Bring Bring stone 3UND₁- RED turn
 ‘Ah us Bring, us Bring worked really hard (lit. turned stones),

tioyon bo i hahal ng- en nang?’.
 how SEQ 3NSG moko 1NSG.EXCL.UND₁- give NEG
 how could you not give us a *moko*?’.

RHAMo023

Nang bo ini u- huh:* ‘*Ngan hok nang,*’ ***nang bo
 NEG SEQ 3NSG VI- say thing IRR NEG NEG SEQ
 So they said ‘No problem’,**

‘*Agai =gi mih, a i mih,*’
 go =IMP sit 2SG.ACT DUR sit
 then ‘Please sit down, you sit down’,

⁸ The speaker lived ‘down’ in East Timor for two years in the seventies when there was much violence, and then returned ‘up’ to his mountain village in Alor.

⁹ *Nang bo* has also been calqued into the Malay used by Klon speakers, as *tida jadi* (lit. ‘no so’) or just *tida* (lit. ‘no’), and used with the same discourse function as the Klon. It appears that the negator is used to indicate that the previous section is no longer relevant. There is a similar use of the negative in the NAN Dani language Wano (Reesink, G. pers. comm.).

¹⁰ A *moko* is a metal drum, which is a traditional form of wealth. *Mokos* are used as the main type of bride-price throughout the Alor archipelago.

nang bo ini ga hahal yong, ini go- ma.
 NEG SEQ 3NSG 3ACT moko this 3NSG 3UND₂- come
 then they came with this *moko*.
 RHAM024

- (11.30) *Bunga ong ting mde, mu g- tan mrei mi,*
 flower this jump climb immediately 3POSS₁- arm palm be.at
 A flower immediately jumped up into the palm of her hand,

hok ga et nang ho, Pransina waa,
 IRR 3ACT pull.out NEG SIM Pransina go
 she didn't pull. Pransina went

bo go- mrung, yo gen ami tong,
 SEQ 3SG.UND₂- hit that until CLF three
 and hit her three times,

nang bo man leer ge go- bu~ buuk non go- hoi,
 NEG SEQ father ruler 3POSS_F 3UND₂- RED~ guard PL 3UND₂- order
 so the ruler he ordered his guards

waa Pransina g- puin, iwi kkrang mi- gtain.
 go Pransina 3UND₁- hold house jail APPL- release
 to catch Pransina and let her go in jail.

Koh bo man leer awa Keterina go- hoi, awa et.
 finish SEQ father ruler again Keterina 3UND₂- order again pull.out
 Then, the ruler ordered Keterina to pull another one out.
 KKTo022-023

- (11.32) *Yap Umemenem u- g- awar: 'Yo gan yo oyon,*
 Yap Umemenem VI- 3UND₁- return that 3ACT that thus Yap Umemenem
 answered: 'Its like that,

bo igin agai koor'.
 SEQ 2NSG.ACT go huntingso you go hunting'.

Nok bo gi- odoin orok, ini ge kuur g- oj,
 good SEQ 3POSS₂- brother two 3NSG 3POSS_F dog 3UND₁- call.dog
 So her two brothers called their dogs

bo ini a lam agai koor.
 SEQ 3NSG 3RES walk go hunting
 then they went hunting.
 YUA006-007

Appendix A: Text metadata

The following table presents a catalogue of the texts collected and used in the preparation of this grammar.¹ Unless otherwise stated in the table, all texts were transcribed from oral recordings. In the case of some texts both a transcription of the oral recording and a paraphrased written version of the text exists. In such a case the oral version is marked with a small ‘o’ in the text code (in the first column), and the written version is marked with a small ‘w’. Examples in the body of the grammar are referenced using the text code plus the utterance number within the text.

Text names, presented in the second column, are in Klon, Malay or English. The Klon and Malay names were provided by either the speaker or, in the case that the speaker did not give a name, were made up by the person assisting with the transcription. I made up the English names. English translations have been provided where appropriate.

The initials of the speakers are provided in the third column. Sociolinguistic information about each of the speakers is presented in Appendix B. The location (fourth column) indicates where the text was recorded or written. In most cases this location is also where the speaker resides, however there are some exceptions, which can be seen when viewing the speaker profiles in Appendix B. The length of the texts has been provided in the fifth column, in minutes and seconds.

In the sixth column the texts have been classified based on the text type. Unfortunately, due to lack of data, these text types are impressionistic rather than representing indigenously-determined Klon speech genres. The elicited texts were texts recorded or written in response to some stimulus, such as Mercer Mayer’s (1969) children’s book *Frog where are you?*, the video *The pear story* or short video clips developed by linguistic researchers at the Max Plank Institute for Psycholinguistics.

¹ Additional recordings were made that were not used in the preparation of this grammar. These include amongst other things: footage from Independence Day speeches, sporting events, poetry readings, songs, and dances; footage of (other) songs and dances; footage from the celebrations surrounding the roofing of a church; footage from funerals; footage from election day; footage in gardens; footage from the local market; and texts that speakers decided they did not want to be used by myself or viewed by others.

Text code	Text name	Speaker	Location	Length	Type
AKPV	<i>Anak Kerja Pagar</i> (Children build a fence)	various children	Mataraben	04:27	conversation
ADLA	<i>As Dayah Lakbungblor</i> (Ancestor Lakbungblor)	AP	Aluben	30:56	historical
AKOB	<i>Awal dari Kelahiran Olor</i> (Beginnings of the Olor clan)	BB	Mataraben	45:00	historical
BBTw	<i>Berburu</i> (Hunting)	TD	Mataraben	N/A	biographical written version
BBTo	<i>Berburu</i> (Hunting)	TD	Mataraben	05:34	biographical oral version
DWM2	<i>Dukun Wanita 2</i> (Midwife 2)	MB	Mataraben	16:44	biographical
GLW	<i>Gadis Limon</i> (Lemon Girl)	WK	Mataraben	11:40	folk story
GWKM	Garden Walk	KL & ML	Mataraben	38:35	descriptive
HAI	<i>Hingkam Gebum Geang gneq Nmui Aram</i> (Hingkam's flowers and seeds called Nmui Aram)	JK	Wormanem	08:35	genealogy
KKP	<i>Kerja Kebun</i> (Working the garden)	P	Mataraben	06:41	written procedural text
KKTW	<i>Kisah Keterina</i> (The story of Keterina)	TD	Mataraben	N/A	folk story written version
KKTo	<i>Kisah Keterina</i> (The story of Keterina)	TD	Mataraben	11:50	folk story oral version
KFBB	Klon Frog Story	BB	Kalabahi	25:03	elicited
KIV	Klon Idioms	various	various	N/A	various
LMV	<i>Lagu 'Mama'</i> (The song 'Mother')	various	Mataraben	unavailable	song
LSDU	<i>Lagu 'Selamat Datang'</i> (The song 'Welcome')	unknown	Aluben	unavailable	song
LBH	<i>Lakbungblor</i> Lakbungblor	BH	Mataraben	15:31	historical
LKMG	<i>Pak Lukas Ge Kur IpnuK Ma IpnuK</i> (Pak Lukas, his one dog and one cat)	G	Mataraben	01:34	story
MPKD	<i>Moko Pusaka</i> (Heirloom metal drums)	KD/TL	Mataraben	01:33	description
MCM	Monkey and Crocodile	MS	Kalabahi	08:44	folk story (Paneia)

Text code	Text name	Speaker	Location	Length	Type
MLJ	MPI Motion Land	JK	Wormanem	N/A	elicited written
PMKY	MPI Photo Matching Game	KL & YL	Mataraben	43:04	elicited
NKPP	<i>Nama Kampung Probur</i> (Hamlet Probur's name)	PH	Wormanem	06:17	historical
OTPV	<i>Omong di Tempat Pesta</i> (Conversation at a Party)	various	Mataraben	unavailable	conversation
PLV	<i>Pantun Lego-Lego 1</i> (Verse for a circle dance 1)	various	Mataraben	unavailable	song
PLAV	<i>Pantun Lego-Lego 2</i> (Verse for a circle dance 2)	various	Aluben	unavailable	song
PTPV	<i>Pantun Tumbuk Padi</i> (Verse for pounding rice)	various	Mataraben	unavailable	song
PSTw	Pear Story 1	TD	Mataraben	N/A	elicited written version
PSTo	Pear Story 1	TD	Mataraben	04:05	elicited oral version
PBTw	<i>Pemain Bola Pikul Kayu</i> (Football players carry wood)	TD	Mataraben	N/A	biographical written version
PBTo	<i>Kegiatan Pikul Kayu</i> (The activity of carrying wood)	TD	Mataraben	06:54	biographical oral version
PABHw	<i>Perang Bukit Alauta</i> (The war of Alauta Hill)	BH	Mataraben	N/A	historical written version
PABHo	<i>Perang Bukit Alauta</i> (The war of Alauta Hill)	BH	Mataraben	12:42	historical oral version
PHKTw	<i>Perayaan Hari Kemerdekaan</i> (Independence Day Celebrations)	TD	Mataraben	N/A	biographical written version
PHKTo	<i>Perayaan Hari Kemerdekaan</i> (Independence Day Celebrations)	TD	Mataraben	04:22	biographical oral version
PKPM/ PKML	<i>Peristiwa Kejatuhan Dari Pohon Tuak</i> (The incident of the fall from a palm tree)	ML	Mataraben	07:50	historical
PTL	<i>Pidato Bapak Thomas Loban Dalam Kedukaan</i> (Mr Thomas Loban's speech in mourning)	TL	Mataraben	06:08	ritual speech

Text code	Text name	Speaker	Location	Length	Type
PBB	<i>Pidato Bai B Dalam Kedukaan</i> (Grandfather B's speech in mourning)	BB	Mataraben	07:38	ritual speech
PUMP	<i>Putri Air</i> (Water Girl)	MP	Aluben	09:41	historical
RHAMw	<i>Riwayat Hidup Adat</i> (Tale of a traditional life)	MK	Mataraben	N/A	historical/ biographical written version
RHAMo	<i>Riwayat Hidup Adat</i> (Tale of a traditional life)	MK	Mataraben	04:18	historical/ biographical oral version
SCJ	MPI Short Clips	JK	Wormanem	N/A	elicited written
SKBC	<i>Sejarah Kampung Bakan</i> (History of Bakan hamlet)	BC	Bakan	08:43	historical
SNMAw	<i>Sejarah Perang Nenek Moyang</i> (History of ancestor wars)	AD	Mataraben	N/A	historical written version
SNMAo	<i>Sejarah Perang Nenek Moyang</i> (History of ancestor wars)	AD	Mataraben	12:57	historical oral version
SKPG	<i>Sejarah Kampung Peteben</i> (History of Peteben hamlet)	GH	Wormanem	04:22	historical
SPGS	<i>Sejarah Piring</i> (History of the plates)	GS	Dulel	01:56	narrative
THKV	<i>Tangisan Pada Hari Kedukaan</i> (Crying on a day of mourning)	various	Mataraben	03:04	ritual speech/song
TBM	<i>Tuli dan Buta</i> (Deaf and Mute)	MK	Mataraben	02:33	folk story
TCJ	Two Clauses	JK	Wormanem	unavailable	elicited
UKV	<i>Ul Kukui</i> (Children playing)	various	Mataraben	03:55	conversation
UAV	<i>Urus Adat</i> (Brideprice negotiations)	various	Dulel	25:35	ritual speech
YEJ	<i>Yangs</i> (relative clauses)	JK	Wormanem	N/A	elicited
YUAW	<i>Yap Umemenem</i> (Yap Umemenem)	AD	Mataraben	N/A	folk story written version
YUAo	<i>Yap Umemenem</i> (Yap Umemenem)	AD	Mataraben	22:51	folk story oral version

Appendix B: Speaker metadata

The metadata presented in the table below was obtained from Klon speakers who contributed textual data. The first column provides the initials of the speaker. The second column provides either the age of the speaker at September 2004, their year of birth or rough estimate of their age. The third column indicates whether the speaker is male (M) or female (F). The fourth column presents information about the languages used by the speaker. Unless otherwise indicated, the speaker is fluent in the listed languages. The fifth column indicates the level of education that the speaker had up until September 2004. The sixth column shows where the speaker has lived. Note that Moru is the local capital, Kalabahi is the regional capital (both located on Alor) and Kupang is the provincial capital, located in West Timor. Column seven provides details of the language spoken by the speaker's parents, where M denotes 'mother' and F denotes 'father'. Language names provided are not necessarily those that a speech community uses to refer to their language. For example, speaker MK says that his mother speaks 'Pura' and 'Pantar', which are the names of two nearby islands in the Alor archipelago. Like Alor multiple languages are spoken on these islands. In this data no differentiation has been made between Malay and standard Indonesian — here it is all referred to as 'Indonesian' following speaker responses. Unfortunately no data is available for some columns for some speakers.

Initials	Age	Sex	Languages spoken	Education	Places lived	Parents' languages
MS	42	M	Klon, Indonesian, Hindi, Kui	5th grade primary	Bilbagor in Tribur village; Malaysia; Kalabahi.	<i>M & F:</i> Klon, Kui <i>F:</i> Indonesian
BB	73	M	<i>fluent:</i> Klon (Bring and Paneia), Indonesian. <i>partial knowledge:</i> English, Dutch, Abui, Kolana, Adang	completed senior high school	Mataraben in Probur village; Moru; Talamana in East Alor; Kalabahi; Takalelang; Pailelang; Lawahing; Halerman.	<i>M & F:</i> Klon

Initials	Age	Sex	Languages spoken	Education	Places lived	Parents' languages
DB	43	M	<i>fluent:</i> Klon, Indonesian, English. <i>comprehends:</i> Hamap, Abui, Kabola	Bachelors degree in English	Mataraben in Probur village; Moru; Talamana in East Alor; Kalabahi; Takalelang; Pailelang; Lawahing; Halerman; Kupang	<i>M & F:</i> Klon (Bring and Paneia), Indonesian. <i>partial knowledge:</i> English, Dutch, Abui, Kolana, Adang
TD	20	M	<i>fluent:</i> Klon, Indonesian. <i>partial knowledge:</i> Kabola, Kafoa, English	Completed senior high school	Mataraben, Moru, Kalabahi.	<i>M & F:</i> Klon, Indonesian
BH	62	M	Klon, Indonesian, Kafoa	6th grade primary school plus lower and upper teacher's school.	Mataraben, Kalabahi, Habolat	<i>M & F:</i> Klon
MK	43	M	<i>fluent:</i> Klon, Indonesian, Abui. <i>partial knowledge:</i> Pura, Tetun	no school	Mataraben, Moru, Dili	<i>M & F:</i> Klon, Indonesian. <i>M:</i> Pura, Pantar
MB	44	F	Klon, Indonesian	5th grade primary	Mataraben	<i>M & F:</i> Klon <i>F:</i> Indonesian
WK	30	F	Klon, Pura, Indonesian	4th grade primary	Mataraben	<i>M & F:</i> Klon, Indonesian. <i>M:</i> Pura
BC	73	M	<i>fluent:</i> Klon. <i>partial knowledge:</i> Indonesian	no school	Bakan in Probur village.	<i>M & F:</i> Klon
P	teens	M	Klon, Indonesian	junior high school student	Mataraben	no data
KD/TL	82	M	Klon, Indonesian, Dutch	no data	Mataraben	no data
AD	40s	M	Klon	no school	Mataraben	no data
G	teens	M	Klon, Indonesian	senior high school student	Mataraben	no data
TL2	23	M	Klon, Indonesian, Bahasa Kupang	completed senior high school	Mataraben, Kupang	<i>M & F:</i> Klon and Indonesian

Initials	Age	Sex	Languages spoken	Education	Places lived	Parents' languages
KL	20	M	<i>fluent</i> : Klon, Indonesian. <i>partial knowledge</i> : English	junior high school class 2	Mataraben	<i>M & F</i> : Klon and Indonesian
JK	19	M	<i>fluent</i> : Klon, Indonesian. <i>partial knowledge</i> : English	completed senior high school	Wormanem, Kalabahi	<i>M & F</i> : Klon, Indonesian
YL	16	M	Klon, Indonesian	junior high school class 2 student	Mataraben	<i>M & F</i> : Klon, Indonesian, Bahasa Alor Kecil
PH	80	M	Klon, Indonesian	grade 3 primary school	Old Probur, Wormanem	<i>M & F</i> : Klon
AP	36	M	<i>fluent</i> : Klon, Indonesian. <i>partial knowledge</i> Sasak, Bima	SETR	Worbein, Aluben, Lombok	<i>M</i> : Klon. <i>F</i> : Klon, Indonesian, Dutch
MP	48	M	Klon, Indonesian	class 5 primary school	Worbein, Aluben	<i>M</i> : Klon. <i>F</i> : Klon, Indonesian, Dutch
ML	40s	M	Klon, Indonesian	no data	Mataraben	no data
GS	40s	M	Klon, Indonesian	no data	Dulel	no data
GH	1939	M	Klon, Indonesian	class 6 primary school	Petaben, Wormanem	<i>M</i> : Klon. <i>F</i> : <i>fluent</i> : Klon. <i>partial knowledge</i> : Indonesian

Appendix C: *Klon texts*

Two short *Klon* texts are presented in this appendix from different speech genres: *Tuli dan Buta* ('Deaf and Blind') and *Perang Bukit Alauta* ('The war of Alauta hill'). *Tuli dan Buta* is a humorous folktale, while *Perang Bukit Alauta* is a historical narrative. Further information about the texts and the storytellers can be found in Appendix A and Appendix B respectively.

C.1 *Tuli dan Buta* 'Deaf and Blind'

Ele ool om yeh ong,
3DU woman man exist this
Those two there were husband and wife,

minuk mi ele lam mteh, gen o tun karnuk.
one.moment be.at 3DU walk stand until that year ten
once they lived (lit. walk and stood), it was like that for ten years.

Gen o tun karnuk ong, gen i koh okne ong kaklok,
until that year ten this until DUR finish woman this give.birth
It was like that for ten years, until finished then the woman gave birth,

ini om maang orok
3NSG man same two
they were both boys.

Ge g- neq hok yeh nang gen ma bah ebeen.
3POSS_F 3POSS₁- name IRR exist NEG until come grow adult
They didn't have names until they grew into adults.

Il ge- mod ebeen ge- mod, nok bo ele t- dar.
thing 3UND₄- climb adult 3UND₄- climb good SEQ 3DU RECP invite
(They could) climb things (as) adults they climbed it, right, so they invited each other
(to go climbing).

Wro ong hok ini wro nang, ini ebeng ge wro.
orchard this IRR 3NSG orchard NEG 3NSG other 3POSS_F orchard
This orchard wasn't their orchard, it was someone else's orchard.

Ininok ebeng ge wro, bo ini agai mi lam mi mteh.
person other 3POSS_F orchard SEQ 3NSG go be.at walk be at stand
Someone else's orchard, and they went walking there.

Nok bo, ini g- bet éléng g- men tkat, ini ponah ge- lam.
 good SEQ 3NSG 3POSS₁- stomach hungry 3POSS_F- throat dry 3NSG far 3UND₄- walk
 Alright, they were hungry and thirsty, they had walked a long way.

Ponah ge- lam ong =we, ele ik òm ong
 far 3UND₄- walk this =DIS 3DU younger.sibling older.sibling this
 (They) walked a long way, those two brothers

ele ga u- huh: 'En yaah a ge- mod,
 3DU 3ACT VI- say eyes unable 2SG.ACT 3UND₄- climb
 they said 'Blind eyes will you climb it,

de n- wér kukui na ge- mod?'
 CONJ 1SG.POSS₁- ear play 1SG.ACT 3UND₄- climb
 or me deaf ears (lit. my playing ears) will I climb it?'

Nang bo ini u- t- tang waa ma, bo ata ong ini ge- mod.
 NEG SEQ 3NSG VI- RECP- ask go come SEQ coconut this 3NSG 3UND₄- climb
 So they asked each other back and forth, so they climbed a coconut (tree).

Ge- mod, koh bo agai kol mi.
 3UND₄- climb finish NEG go tree-top be.at
 Climbed it, finished (he) reached the tree-top.

Ngan o ini u- huh, t- en yaah t- wér
 thing that 3NSG VI- say 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- eyes unable 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- ear
 The thing they discussed, blindy and deafy,

bo, go- tot, bo her.
 SEQ 2UND₂- cut SEQ descend
 cut it and descend.

Ho nuk ga u- huh: 'Ho nok yo, obei nang yo'.
 SIM one 3ACT VI- say SIM good that many NEG that
 And one he said: 'And that's good, not a lot'. (=that's enough, don't take a lot)

Ho gan ga awa u- huh: 'Bo iih nuk orok,
 now 3ACT 3ACT again VI- say SEQ fruit one two
 And he further said: 'So one or two fruits is good,

ho nok, t- bet kekein,
 SIM good 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- stomach small
 we have small stomachs,

bo pi kde ga koh nang yo,
 SEQ 1NSG.INCL.ACT eat 3ACT finish NEG that
 and we couldn't finish eating it,

bo ga i hos bo ga mu ge- yeh'.
 SEQ 3ACT DUR place SEQ 3ACT just 3UND₄- leave.behind
 so he'd place (it) and he'd just leave it behind'.

'Awa mu go =we,' mlung nang ho eneem tbak kringiri agai.
 again just increase =DIS long.time NEG SIM master angry shrill PRF
 'Just more again,' it wasn't long and the owner was extremely angry.

'E abe nuk ne ata yo go- gmai go- glip ge- mih?
 2SG.POSS_F who one 1SG.POSS_F coconut that 3UND₂- lift.ban 3UND₂- lift.ban 3UND₄- sit
 'Who's that lifting the ban and sitting in my coconut?'

Ne ata yo a= nok, méd nang.'
 1SG.POSS_F coconut that INTS= good take NEG
 My coconuts are very good, don't take (them).'

'Ah eneem atal te- tbak qad yeh, nok agai, bo her ah.'
 ah master top INSG.INCL.UND₄- angry come CONT good PRF SEQ descend ah
 'Ah the owner is coming (and is) very angry with us, that's good, so come down.'

'Awa go di.'
 again increase first
 'More first.'

'Bo tion awa go =we?!'
 SEQ how again increase =DIS
 'What do you mean more?!'

'Ah eneem tbak yeh bo her pa agai!'
 ah master angry CONT SEQ descend INSG.INCL.HOR go
 'The owner is angry, so come down and let's go!'

Bo g- en yaah g- wér kukui u- huh,
 SEQ 3POSS₁- eye unable 3POSS₁- ear play VI- say
 So blindy and deafy talked,

bo g- en yaah, g- wér i tlaak, amai mi mih.
 SEQ 3POSS₁- eye unable 3POSS₁- ear DUR normal below be.at sit
 and blindy, his ears were still normal, sat below.

G- wér kukui yo ge atal ta mih bo u- huh 'Awa go di'.
 3POSS₁- ear play that 3POSS_F top above sit SEQ VI- say again increase first
 Deafy sat above, saying 'More first'.

Go ong gneh gneh ong, godal, eneem qad ini gin= tahbak.
 increase this continually continually this make master come 3NSG 3UND₃= catch
 More like this on and on, and so the owner came and caught them.

Ini gin= tahbak ongo =we, ini maang a to- huh:
 3NSG 3UND₃= catch this =DIS 3NSG same 3RES RECP- say
 They were caught, they said to each other

'Wed o na u- huh 'Eyeh!' u- huh yo =we,
 just.now that 1SG.ACT VI- say don't VI- say that =DIS
 'Just now I said 'don't!', said like that,

aan =e méd, bo yo'.
 2SG.ACT =FOC take SEQ that
 you took (them), so that's that.'

I to- taan waa to- taan ma.
 3NSG RECP accuse go RECP accuse come
 They accused each other back and forth.

Bo ngan t- en yaah t- wér kukui maang,
 SEQ thing 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- eye unable 1NSG.INCL.POSS₁- ear play all
 The thing is they were blind and deaf,

inok inok bo a gin= ghal.
 able able SEQ 3RES 3UND₃= wrong
 able (people can say) he wronged him.

Ininok g- en yaah g- wér kukui.
 person 3POSS₁- eye unable 3POSS₁- ear play
 Blind and deaf people.

Bo koh gan yo mi, hok ini kob yo di nang,
 SEQ finish 3ACT that be.at IRR 3NSG hit that also NEG
 So then that's were it was, they weren't hit,

ini gin= kla gin= pres yo nang.
 3NSG 3UND₃= case 3UND₃= examine that no
 they didn't bring a case against them, they didn't examine them.

Bo i gan o uwa angkol. I koh.
 SEQ DUR 3ACT that here alone DUR finish
 So that's all there is. Finished.

C.2 *Perang Bukit Alauta* 'The war of Alauta hill'

As ehék i ogol egebeen non huh
 time area DUR past(remote) elders PL say
 A long time ago elders say

lale o Alauta yo u- orok gan o mi.
 below that Alauta that VI- two 3ACT that be.at
 below at Alauta there were two people there.

Nuk ge g- neq Kalok nuk Koimo yo,
 one 3POSS_F 3POSS₁- name Kalok one Koimo that
 One was called Kalok, one Koimo,

ele yo pahlawan, ele yo te~ tej t~ tbui.
 3DU that hero 3DU that RED~ fight RED~ defend
 they were heroes, they were warriors.

As opo ininok qada eben yeh nang, tej tbui yo ge kreyang.
 time that people IPFV village exist NEG fight defend that 3POSS_F work
 At that time people didn't have villages yet, their work was war.

Minuk mi ini a weer agai, ini gi- tbur elel gi- ahkol elel.
 one.moment be.at 3NSG 3RES river go 3NSG 3POSS₂- crab search 3POSS₂- shrimp search
 One time they went to a river, they searched for their crabs and shrimp.

Mlir nuk ini gel bo ini g- ebeer ma wòr ta meq,
 eel one 3NSG obtain SEQ 3NSG 3UND₁- die come rock above place
 They caught an eel and they killed it putting a rock on top (of it),

ini weer g- et agai gi- tbur elel gi- ahkol elel.
 3NSG river 3POSS₁- bottom go 3POSS₂- crab search 3POSS₂- shrimp search
 they went to the bottom of the river looking for their crabs and shrimp

Ip mde, ho mlir yo awa inok agai, her araa ol mi.
 descend climb SIM eel that again able PRF descend water pool be.at
 Time went by, and the eel was alive again and went down to the pool of water.

La~ lam ahkol g- lobei a agai a qad.
 RED~ walk shrimp 3UND₁- chase 3RES go 3RES come
 Walking about chasing shrimp here and there.

Nang bo Koimo gele awa g- tap, g- tap
 NEG SEQ Koimo 3D.TOP again 3UND₁- shoot 3UND₁- shoot
 Then Koimo he shot again, shot it,

bo ini wòr ta meq gen i koh, bo ini waa weer pom le
 SEQ 3NSG rock above place until DUR finish SEQ 3NSG go river river.source at
 then they put it on top of the rock until done, then they went to the source of the river

a mid ini gi- tbur gi- ahkol elel.
 3RES climb 3NSG 3POSS₂- crab 3POSS₂- shrimp search
 to look for their crabs and shrimp.

Ele awa awar ma, ho mlir yo awa inok, bo awa her araa ol mi.
 3DU again return come SIM eel that again able SEQ again descended water pool be.at
 They again came and returned, and the eel was alive again, and descended back into the
 pool of water.

Mlir yo wed ini gbok hik go- orok.
 eel that earlier 3NSG cut break 3UND₂- two
 They had earlier cut the eel into two.

Ho awa ies awa mu ies,
 SIM again live again just live
 And (it) lived again, just lived again,

nang bo Kalok gele awa g- tap g- ebeer ma wòr ta meq.
 NEG SEQ Kalok 3D.TOP again 3UND₁- shoot 3UND₁- die place stone above place
 then Kalok shot it dead again and placed a rock on top (of it).

Wed ongo mlir yo ini gbok go- orok, nang bo u- huh:
 earlier this eel that 3NSG cut 3UND₂- two NEG SEQ VI- say
 Earlier they had cut the eel in two, and then said

'Nang bo Koimo e- lam, na mlir ong yo u- el~ el'.
 NEG SEQ Koimo 2SG.UND₄- walk 1SG.ACT eel this that VI- RED~ see
 'Then Koimo you go I will watch the eel'.

Nabe nuk gten mlir ong awa ies, nang bo lega wòr mi abon,
 what one do eel this again live NEG SEQ 3S.TOP rock be.at hide
 Something made the eel come alive again, so he hid behind a rock,

bo a i mih
 SEQ 3RES DUR sit
 then he sat.

Mlir gan ebeer taa ongo, gan agai,
 eel 3ACT die lie.down this 3ACT go
 The eel it had died, it went

bo eteq wei de weer g- ad tang ongo hik,
 SEQ tree leaf REL river 3UND₁- mouth above this break
 and picked some leaves from the edge of the river,

ma ge tbod keb ak ge gòr ga u- hmong,
 come 3POSS_F end CLF piece 3POSS_F tail 3ACT VI- connect
 came and it connected its head piece and tail,

bo eteq wei gele ma u- ooi, ho inok agai,
 SEQ tree leaf 3D.TOP come VI- rub SIM able PRF
 then it rubbed on the leaves, then came back to life

bo ghel ma araa ol le a her.
 SEQ lift come water pool at 3RES descend
 and came descending into the pool of water.

Kalok lega òm om go- kar 'Koimo wo Koimo wo ma di!'
 Kalok 3s.TOP older.sibling man 3UND₂- call Koimo that Koimo that come first
 Kalok called his older brother: 'Koimo, Koimo, come here!'

Nang bo Koimo tkin qad: 'Bo tion?'
 NEG SEQ Koimo run come SEQ how
 So Koimo came running: 'What's up?'

'Bo eteq wei de ole weer g- ad tang go- méd moi
 SEQ tree leaf REL over.there river 3POSS₁- mouth above 3UND₂- take help
 'That leaf at the edge of the river, it was taken to help

ge abad u- ooi, koh inok, bo tkin ma araa ol le her.'
 3POSS_F wound VI- rub finish able SEQ run come water pool at descend
 rub into his wounds, that done (it was) alive, and went back down to the pool of water.'

Nang bo ga huh: 'Eh yo ngan mu nok, bo ple di tion?'
 NEG SEQ 3ACT say hey that thing just good SEQ 1DU.INCL also how
 So he said: 'Oh this is good stuff, what should we do?'

'Ple nuk pi g- ebeer de pi gan u- ooi.'
 1DU.INCL one 1NSG.INCL 3UND₁- die CONJ 1NSG.INCL 3ACT VI- rub
 'We should kill one of us and then we rub him (with the leaves).'

'Nang ogol ple qada ge- uur ongo kuur, bo ple ada hol.'
 NEG beginning 1DU.INCL IPFV 3UND₄- see this dog SEQ 1DU.INCL IPFV split
 'Before that we shall see this dog, and we won't yet be split.'

Nang bo kuur ole hol, hol koh, bo ma mi meq.
 NEG SEQ dog over.there split split finish SEQ come be.at place
 So the dog was cut, finished cutting, then it was placed.

Koh bo ini ga eteq wei yo ini go- ma,
 finish SEQ 3NSG 3ACT tree leaf that 3ACT 3UND₂- come
 So they brought the leaves,

koh bo ini ghel ma ge abad u- ooi,
 finish SEQ 3NSG lift come 3POSS_F wound VI- rub
 after that they lifted them and rubbed them in its wounds,

u- ooi ge kdek mi gen ge prok g- nar a gel,
 VI- rub 3POSS_F head be.at until 3POSS_F between.thighs 3UND₁-between 3RES obtain
 rubbed it in its head until reaching between its thighs,

bo i ele ghel ma weer pom le a mid
 SEQ 3NSG 3DU lift come river beginning.of.river at 3RES climb
 so they went to the source of the river,

gi- ahkol tbur elel, koh bo kuur ongo ini g- oj,
 3POSS₂- shrimp crab search finish SEQ dog this 3NSG 3UND₁- call.dog
 they climbed searching for shrimp and crabs, after that they called the dog,

g- oj ho lale ini g- mang bo lod.
 3UND₁- call.dog SIM below 3NSG 3POSS₁- voice SEQ cry.of.dog
 called it and below they were answered, and there was the cry of a dog.

Nang bo ip agai kuur inok agai 'Ah daqan ongo adob yaah,
 NEG SEQ descend go dog able PRF ah medicine this true very
 So in time the dog lived, 'Ah this medicine is true,

tion ple ongo ne n- ik aan
 how 1DU.INCL this 1SG.ACT 1SG.POSS₁- younger.sibling 2SG.ACT
 how about, us two, you're my younger sibling

bo na ebeer pi ininok di gan yo oyon.
 SEQ 1SG.ACT die 1NSG.INCL.ACT people also 3ACT that thus
 so I'll kill you (to see if) us people are also like that.'

'*Ne nang!*'
 1SG.POSS_F NEG
 'Not me!'

Nang bo g- ik om gele g- beer hol go- orok,
 NEG SEQ 3POSS₁- younger.sibling man 3D.TOP 3UND₁- die split 3UND₂- two
 So he killed his younger brother cutting him in two,

bo ghel ma meq, daqan o go- ma, méd ma u- ooi
 SEQ lift come place medicine that 3UND₂- come take come VI- rub
 then lifted and placed him, brought the medicine, brought and rubbed

gi- to mi gen ge prok g- nar a gel.
 3POSS₂- head be.at until 3POSS_F between.thighs 3UND₁- between 3RES obtain
 his head until reaching between his thighs.

Koh bo, bo gan ga a lam weer g- et le a ip,
 finish SEQ SEQ 3ACT 3ACT 3RES walk river 3POSS₁- bottom at 3RES descend
 Finished, then he went descending to the tail of the river,

koh bo mteh lega awa krui.
 finish SEQ stand 3S.TOP again scream
 then he stood and called again.

'*Kalok Kalok Kalok o!*'
 Kalok Kalok Kalok hey
 'Kalok..Kalok...Kalok, hey!'

Tale mang 'Ya ya ya'.
 above voice yes yes yes
 Kalok answered 'Yes...yes...yes'.

Adob lale mang? Nang bo ga ip, adob ge =we wo nang?
 true below voice NEG SEQ 3ACT descend true 3POSS_F =FOC that no
 Truly a voice below? So he descended, true or not it's him?

Nang bo ga ip agai, adob inok agai, daqan ongo adob yaah.
 NEG SEQ 3ACT descend go true able PRF medicine this true unable
 So he descended, true (he) was alive, this medicine was amazing.

'*Daqan pi ple ge- uur di,*
 medicine 1NSG.INCL.ACT 1DU 3UND₄- see first
 We both have to see this medicine,

bo ni- òm ole na awa in= hod',
 SEQ 1SG.POSS₂- older.sibling over.there 1SG.ACT again 2SG.UND₃= cut
 so my older brother over there, I will cut you up,

nang bo Kalok gele hol, hol go- orok ma
 NEG SEQ Kalok 3D.TOP split split 3UND₂- two come

to- g- dak,
 RECP 3UND₁- caught.between.two.things
 so Kalok split (him), split him in two brought and caught him between two things,

koh lega eteq wei awa méd ma, bo méd ge- abad u- ooi,
 finish 3S.TOP tree leaf again take come SEQ take 3UND₄- wound VI- rub
 then he brought the leaves, and took and rubbed them on his wounds,

koh daqan yo ga awa go- ma u- ooi gi- to kdeh mi u- ooi
 finish medicine that 3ACT again 3UND₂- come VI- rub 3POSS₂- head head be.at VI- rub
 then he took the medicine again and rubbed (from) his head

gen agai ge prok g- nar.
 until go 3POSS_F between.thighs 3UND₁- between
 to between his thighs.

Ik om gele awa tale weer pom le mteh,
 younger.sibling man 3D.TOP again above river beginning.of.river be.at stand
 Then the younger brother went and stood at the beginning of the river,

bo go- kar~ kar ho lale mang.
 SEQ 3UND₂- RED~ call SIM below voice
 then he called and called, there was an answer below.

Nang gele aap agai adob =e nang? Noke ini ebeng =e hook ongo.
 NEG 3D.TOP step go true =DIS NEG lest 3NSG other =FOC arrive this
 So he went stepping, true or not? What if someone else had arrived.

'Daqan ya ho le, bo ple pa wiit pa agai',
 medicine yes SIM friend SEQ 1DU.INCL 1NSG.INCL.HOR carry 1NSG.INCL.HOR go
 'The medicine, yes, friend, let's carry it, let's go',

ini go- ip, bo ini wiit, bo ini a agai kuur go,
 3NSG 3UND₂- descend SEQ 3NSG carry SEQ 3NSG 3RES go dog increase
 they went down with it (the medicine), and they carried (it), and they went with the dog,

bo eben ini a agai, ini agai.
 SEQ village 3NSG 3RES go 3NSG go
 and they went to the village, they went.

Agai, ge eben mi ongo, 'Ple iwi nok nuk gten di,
 go 3POSS_F village be.at this 1DU.INCL house warehouse one do first
 Going, in their hamlet, 'We have to build a warehouse,

bo ple her weer agai mtar aal nuk elel de ple gbok'.
 SEQ 1DU.INCL descend river go red.wood big one search CONJ 1DU.INCL cut
 so we have to go down to the river to look for a big redwood so that we can cut it'.

Nang bo adob ele a weer agai mtar aal nuk ini gel.
 NEG SEQ true 3DU 3RES river go red.wood big one 3NSG obtain
 So true, they went to the river, they found a big redwood.

Bo ini gbok, koh bo ini hol go- tijorok,
 SEQ 3NSG cut finish SEQ 3NSG split 3UND₂- eight
 So they cut (it), then they split it into eight,

koh bo ini go- mi ini wòr mi kdok
 finish SEQ 3NSG 3UND₂- place 3NSG rock place arrange
 then they placed them, they arranged rocks inside,

ge- tak nuk ini wòr mi kdok i ut, koh bo ini eteq wei yo
 3UND₄- leg one 3NSG rock place arrange DUR four finish SEQ 3NSG tree leaf that
 in one leg they arrange four rocks, then they went and rubbed the whole leaf

ele wa u- ooi qiqip agai i ut, ele gan o oyon gten, ele agai ongo,
 3DU go VI- rub whole go DUR four 3DU 3ACT that thus do 3DU go this
 on the four, it's what they did, they went,

'Ple eek ho ple aan yaah,
 1DU.INCL self SIM 1DU.INCL carry unable
 'We're alone and we can't carry (them),

bo ple ininok opo ple ge to- kar.
 SEQ 1DU.INCL people that 1DU.INCL 3POSS_F RECP- call
 so those people, we should call each other's friends.

Nang bo idil ele lam~ lam, bo ininok opo ele ge- huh,
 NEG SEQ tomorrow 3DU RED~ walk SEQ people that 3DU 3UND₄- say
 So the next day they went out and about, and told people about it,

ini ongo ana= kareweh goham qad, bo ini her agai,
 3NSG this CLF= fifty perhaps come SEQ 3NSG descend go
 they were perhaps fifty people who came and they went down,

bo g- ab eteq de hos ongo bo ini gtal.
 SEQ 3UND₁- close tree REL place this SEQ 3NSG lift
 so they approached the wood that had been placed and they lifted.

Gtal ho godal yaah. Nab ge- aan? Krui pak~ pak,
 lift SIM make unable what 3UND₄- carry scream RED~ scream

ho il pnen yayo,
 SIM song sing sing

Lifted, but couldn't do it. What was being carried? They yelled and screamed and sang songs,

bo godal ho yej nang, bo ini hui ho yo ho 'U- g- dud,
 SEQ make SIM able NEG SEQ 3NSG spit SIM that SIM VI- 3UND₁- move
 and (they) did, but weren't able, so they spat, and that and 'Move out of the way,

u- g- dud de nle =we ghol',
 VI- 3UND₁- move CONJ 1DU.EXCL =FOC move
 move out of the way and we'll move (it)',

nang bo ini aan g- ab a i mih.
 NEG SEQ 3NSG carry 3UND₁- close 3RES DUR sit
 so those who carried approached and they sat down.

Koh bo òm om nuk ma gi- kbél ta meq,
 finish SEQ older.sibling man one come 3POSS₂- shoulder above place
 That done, the older brother brought one and put it on top of his shoulder,

koh bo nuk doob gnok go- u- tek.
 finish SEQ one stick do 3UND₂- VI- plant
 that done one was used as a stick planting it (using it as a walking stick).

Ik om di nuk méd ma gi- kbél ta meq,
 younger.sibling man also one take come 3POSS₂- shoulder above place
 The younger brother also took one and put it on top of his shoulder,

koh bo nuk doob gnok bo u- tek
 finish SEQ one stick do SEQ VI- plant
 that done used one as a stick planting it (used it as a walking stick).

Bo ini mid, bo ini a lam ininok o mteh
 SEQ 3NSG climb SEQ 3NSG 3RES walk people that stand
 So they climbed, and as they walked people stood

bo mu g- tan mi g- eh.
 SEQ just 3POSS₁- arm be.at 3UND₁- bite
 and just bit their hands.

Ini krui pak~ pak bo gen agai eben.
 3NSG scream RED~ scream SEQ until go village
 They screamed and screamed until the village.

Koh, karnuk tijorok koh kenap, iwi ini mtén, akan ini myer tkoor,
 finish ten eight finish complete house 3NSG build night 3NSG circle.dance ritual.fight
 Finished, the eight were complete, they built the warehouse, at night they danced,

idil ini wei heb, idil ini a twai.
 tomorrow 3NSG leaf young tomorrow 3NSG 3RES part.company
 the next day they put the roof on (lit. used young leaves), the next day they parted.

Ini a twai bo ele ongo lam hlong ongo gen minggu orok.
 3NSG 3RES part.company SEQ 3DU this walk slither this until week two
 They parted company, and those two went walkabout (= walked and slithered) for two weeks.

Ge- agai nuk mi heng-heng go- qad, ado as ge- pnen
 3UND₄- go one be.at rushed 3UND₂- come oh past.time 3UND₄- copy
 Some came to them in a hurry, copying the old ways,

bo ini mu go ei taang qad, ni ong ngan hok nang
 SEQ 3NSG just increase canoe carry.passengers come 1NSG.EXCL.ACT this thing IRR NEG
 so they just went by canoe, we here had no problem,

ole ongo i tlek tbul ho godal.
 over.there this DUR fight war SIM make
 but over there they were fighting and warring.

Yaah bo ehek tu?
 unable SEQ area where
 It was unbearable, so where could they go?

'Pantar Tontoli bo na ma ongo igin= o de pi tek di,
 Pantar Tontoli SEQ 1SG.ACT come this 2NSG.UND₃= that REL 1NSG.INCL.ACT stab also
bo na ege- ma ongo.'
 SEQ 1SG.ACT 2NSG.UND₄- come this
 'Pantar Tontoli, so it is you that I come to join together with in war (lit. I come and it is
 you we stab), so I come to you.'

Yo nang bo Koimo Kalok ele ini ge har kbak go- méd,
 that NEG SEQ Koimo Kalok 3DU 3NSG 3POSS_F sabre spear 3UND₂- take
 That, so Koimo and Kalok those two took their sabres and spears

koh bo ini a lam, ini gen agai ot o, ei qad lod,
 finish SEQ 3NSG 3RES walk 3NSG until go coast that canoe come hang
 then they went, they went until they reached the coast, canoes were at anchor,

wed =e nuk ini hil o idim, nuk ini hil o idim.
 now =DIS one 3NSG ascend that sink one 3NSG ascend that sink
 just as they climbed aboard one it sank, they climbed aboard (another) one it sank.

Yo o ho de ini l~ liik te~ tej t~ tkoor
 that that SIM CONJ 3NSG RED~ evil RED~ fight RED~ heavy
 That's what happened, but they had heavy heroes,

bo wed ini gi- ih ini wòr mi anaa,
 SEQ earlier 3NSG 3POSS₂- body 3NSG rock be.at arrange
 earlier they had arranged rocks inside their bodies,

ini di gi- bok wed ini wòr mi anaa.
 3NSG also 3POSS₂- trunk earlier 3NSG rock be.at arrange
 they had arranged rocks inside their trunks.

Entah ini tion ghen ei ini taang waa bo gen agai bui waa.
 who.knows 3NSG how work canoe 3NSG carry.passengers go SEQ until go sit go
 Who knows how they were able to travel with passengers in the canoe, and until they sat
 and went.

Ei ini taang waa bo ini tlek olor eben agai,
 canoe 3NSG carry.passengers go SEQ 3NSG fight yard village go
 They went the canoe carrying them, they went to the place of war,

'Ni ge- uur adob yaah' ho ininok waa hos ma hos,
 INSG.EXCL.ACT 3UND₄- see right unable SIM person go sleep come sleep
 'We really see it's terrible', with people lying dead (lit. sleeping) here and lying dead there,

nang bo ini huh abang yo ho 'Ngi ng- etur,
 NEG SEQ 3NSG say say that SIM 1NSG.EXCL.ACT 1NSG.EXCL.UND₁- first
 so they said 'We'll go first,

bo igi ng- lul de pi tlek ge- agai'.
 SEQ 2NSG.ACT 1NSG.EXCL.UND₁- follow CONJ 1NSG.INCL.ACT fight 3UND₄- go
 and you follow us and we'll go to the fight'.

Nang bo ini g- etur, bo ini g- et le ini a g- lul,
 NEG SEQ 3NSG 3UND₁- first SEQ 3NSG 3POSS₁- bottom at 3NSG 3RES 3UND₁- follow
 So they went ahead, and those at the bottom they followed them,

bo ini ge de go- t~ tlek, bo ge ongo ini ge- uur,
 SEQ 3NSG 3POSS_F REL 3UND₂- RED~ war SEQ 3POSS_F this 3NSG 3UND₄- see
 and they, the ones they were at war with, and they (the enemy) saw them (Koimo and Kalok),

ho ininok g- en ebeng g- muin ebeng.
 SIM people 3POSS₁- eye other 3POSS₁- nose other
 people with different eyes, and different noses.

Nang bo ini huh 'E yo g- ebeer di',
 NEG SEQ 3NSG say oh that 3UND₁- die first
 So they said 'Hey those, kill them first',

nang bo ini to- ar agai ta~ t- ab go, wed ini go- tlek,
 no SEQ 3NSG RECP- go.close go RED~ RECP- close increase earlier 3NSG 3UND₂-war
 so they went and approached each other, got closer to each other, they had just been
 warring against them,

bo aram ole tlek ma po, ini har ongo ini méd,
 SEQ clan over.there war come that 3NSG sabre this 3NSG take
 the clan over there had come warring, they (Koimo and Kalok) took their sabres

bo hod, hod ho mdek lalat taqebek.
 SEQ cut cut SIM lightening like ray
 and cut, when they cut there were rays like lightening.

Ge- uur wòr mi- hod yo oyon.
 3UND₄- see rock APPL- cut that thus
 It looked like (when you) strike a rock.

Nang bo ini huh
 NEG SEQ 3NSG say
 Then they said

'Igin= ege i koh =e yo pi tion gten?'
 2NSG.UND₃= 2NSG.POSS_F DUR finish =DIS that 1NSG.INCL.ACT how do
 'Should we finish you off or what should we do?'

Ele gele ini go- ar ma waa, waa bo hod dob,
 3DU 3D.TOP 3NSG 3UND₂- go.close come go go SEQ cut true
 Those two went in close to them, they went and cut straight,

tuk pdeng tuk pdeng, bo agai ge de li~ liik te~ tej
 break break break break SEQ go 3POSS_F REL RED~ evil RED~ fight
 cut and cut until their heroes

ini g- puin a koh, hok tkin ma tu le agai.
 3NSG 3UND₁- hold 3RES finish some run come where at go
 were all caught, some ran to who knows where.

Hok ini g- puin, bo tlek ho ini mibet bo ini awar.
 some 3NSG 3UND₁- hold SEQ war SIM 3NSG win SEQ 3NSG return
 Some they captured, and war, they won, and they returned.

Awar ini ge eben qad, qad muram gten o,
 return 3NSG 3POSS_F village come come many.people do that
 Returning to their hamlet they did what many people do (entertained themselves)

qad eben ge adat, ul om eqeben ong mop yaah, kding yaah.
 come village 3POSS_F customary.law child man elder this sleep unable small unable
 until the customary law makers and elders couldn't sleep, not even a little bit.

'Ongo nanab bo nuk pi orok ele ongo g- en
 this what SEQ one 1NSG.INCL.ACT two 3DU this 3UND₁- give
 'What do we have to give those two people

de ini ongo agai, nang ini qad de to de pi tlek
 CONJ 3NSG this go NEG 3NSG come CONJ TAG CONJ 1NSG.INCL.ACT war
 so they go, they come and we war

de pi menang agai ongo, nabo u- g- awar
 CONJ 1NSG.INCL.ACT win PRF this with.what VI- 3UND₁- return
 and we won, with what do we repay them,

pi ini g- en?'
 1NSG.INCL.ACT 3NSG 3UND₁- give
 (what) do we give them?'

Nang bo ini gan mih bo u- buser, ho akan nuk ge- buser
 NEG SEQ 3NSG 3ACT sit SEQ VI- talk SIM night one 3UND₁- speak
 So they sat and talked about it, for one night talked about it

gen idil kukun, bo ini uur
 until tomorrow early.morning SEQ 3NSG see
 until the next morning, and they saw,

ho bo ini ge eben adaq ta mteh, ho lale,
 SIM SEQ 3NSG 3POSS_F village fire above stand SIM below
 and their hamlet was burning, below,

ho Alauta ini ge eben adaq ta mteh yaah.
 SIM Alauta 3NSG 3POSS_F village fire above stand unable
 Alauta their village was burning terribly.

Bo ininok, bo 'Nin= nga agai!'
 SEQ people SEQ 1SG.UND₃= 1NSG.EXCL.HOR go
 (They were) people so 'Let's go!'

Nuk ma tan duin ale, nuk ma tang ale.
 one come sea inside part one come above part
 One came by sea, one came from above.

Yong, nang bo nuk ma eben kwa ale har hbur a her,
 this no SEQ one come village top.part.of.hamlet part sabre sweep 3RES descend
 This, so one descended from the top part of the hamlet sweeping with (his) sabre,

nuk lale mde.
 one below climb
 one climbed up from below.

Ininok de wed eben pe~ peeq yo, ini g- mui a koh.
 people REL earlier village RED~ burn that 3NSG 3UND₁- murder 3RES finish
 The people that just burnt the village, they were all killed.

Ge ool non ongo mih, bo g- bet erem yongo
 3POSS_F woman PL this sit SEQ 3POSS₁- stomach grumble that
 Their women sat and thought to themselves

oyon 'Gten gneh yo, bo ininok ga te- edan,
 thus do continually that SEQ people 3ACT 1NSG.INCL.UND₄- scared
 'They keep doing this, and people are scared of us,

ong, bo pi lelol-lahwain di yaah'.
 this SEQ 1NSG.INCL.ACT go.out.and.about also unable
 this, so we can't even go out and about'.

Yaah bo ini ge om Koimo Kalok ele ongo
 unable SEQ 3NSG 3POSS_F man Koimo Kalok 3DU this
 It was too much, so they asked their men Koimo and Kalok

'In= ongo nab daqan yaah, bo igi wiit,
 2SG.UND₃= this what medicine unable SEQ 2NSG.ACT carry
 what unbelievable medicine have you, so you carry,

bo lam t- mui tlek, mop yaah, kding yaah,
 SEQ walk 1NSG.EXCL.UND₁- murder war sleep unable small unable
 so you go off murdering and warring, can't sleep, not even a little bit,

bo nab daqan yaah bo i wiit?
 SEQ what medicine unable SEQ 2NSG.ACT carry
 so what is the unbelievable medicine so you carry?'

Bo 'Nang =e!'
 SEQ NEG DIS
 Then 'None!'

Minuk mi ongo ele ong tra ho mop yaah,
 one.moment be.at this 3DU this say SIM sleep unable
 One time they said they couldn't sleep,

bo wed ong ini a mop de ini gi- to mi elel di.
 SEQ now this 3NSG 3RES sleepy CONJ 3NSG 3POSS₂- head be.at search first
 so now they were sleepy, but they had their heads searched first (for lice).

'Igi lam tlek ininok ong g- mui glek ongo,'
 2NSG.ACT walk war people this 3UND₁- murder clean this
 'You go to war killing people like that',

Nang bo ini ge ool ini g- tang:
 NEG SEQ 3NSG 3POSS_F wife 3NSG 3UND₁- ask
 so their wives asked

'Bo ege bet yar ongo tubomi?'
 SEQ 2POSS_F strength secret this where
 'So where is this secret strength of yours?'

Nang bo ini huh 'Bo nin= nge bet yar o',
 NEG SEQ 3NSG say SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.UND₃= 1NSG.EXCL.POSS_F strength secret that
 So they said 'Our strength is secret',

Nang bo ini huh 'Bo nge bet yar o wo
 NEG SEQ 3NSG say SEQ 1NSG.EXCL.POSS_F strength secret that that
 and then they said 'Our secret strength is located

amai nge ewen kuh yo mi yo'.
 under 1NSG.EXCL.POSS_F thumb nail that be.at that
 under our thumbnails'.

Nang okoin elel~ elel taa mi mop, bo do- om orok ge
 NEG louse RED~ search sleep be.at sleepy SEQ TTL man two 3POSS_F

tak ge ewen ongo
 leg 3POSS_F thumb this
 Searching for headlice they were sleepy,

ini wòr g- ooi ge- g- min,
 3NSG rock 3POSS₁- mother 3UND₄- 3UND₁- put.s.t.under.s.t
 so their mothers put (big) rocks under the two men's big toes,

koh bo wòrkat ma ta g- mung ho ele a ebeer, hok ihih nang.
 finish SEQ small.rock come above 3UND₁- fall SIM 3DU 3RES die IRR get.up NEG
 that done (they) brought small rocks and dropped them from above, and those two they
 died, didn't get up.

Ho as tlek tbul na u- huh, gan o uwa.
 SIM past.time fight war 1SG.ACT VI- say 3ACT that here
 And I've been talking about a war from long ago, that's it.

I koh.
 DUR finish
 Finished.

Appendix D: Word lists

This appendix contains three word lists compiled during the course of research into Klon. The word lists were compiled in Toolbox for the purposes of glossing interlinear texts. The first list contains indigenous Klon words, any alternate forms they may have, an Indonesian/Malay gloss¹ and an English gloss. The second list contains lexical items found only in the Paneia dialect of Klon.² The third word list contains words used in the Klon corpus of texts that are not indigenous to Klon. These words mainly come from Indonesian/Malay, but there are also words of Dutch origin, English origin, or other local languages spoken in the Alor archipelago.³ The non-indigenous Klon word, an Indonesian/Malay gloss and an English gloss are provided.

D.1 Klon — Indonesian/Malay — English word list

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
a		dia	3RES
a		lu	2SG.ACT
ab		dekat	close
abad		luka	wound
abaham	abham	di.udara	in.the.air
abang		luar	outside
abang	ubang	bilang	say
abang		bersih	clean
abar		ari-ari	placenta
abaar		tarik	pull
abe	abo	siapa	who
	aqab		
abon		terpele	block
abon		busuk	rotten
ad		mulut	mouth
adagen		tungku.api	fireplace

¹ No differentiation has been made between standardised Indonesian and Alor Malay for the word lists in this appendix.

² The lexical items in the first Klon word list are a mixture of Klon Bring lexemes, and lexical items common to both dialects. It remains for future research to compile comprehensive word lists/dictionaries for the distinctive dialects.

³ Some of the words attributed to coming from Malay originate from a different language, such as Dutch, English or Arabic, but it is assumed that the word was used by a Klon speaker based on their knowledge of Malay.

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
adakoq		kayu.api	firewood
adang		telur	egg
adapu		memasak	cook
adaq		api	fire
adawél		kayu.api	firewood
ade		aduh	oh
aderpil		taruh.di.dada	place.on.chest
ag-		kamu	2NSG.UND-
agai		pergi	go
agai		sampai	until
		sudah	PRF
agam		sebut	mention
		omong.omong	chat
agam		bekas	leftover
agap		ujung	tip
agar		tertawa	laugh
ah		oh	ah
ahal		merambak	spread
ahan		cuci	wash
ahkol		udang	shrimp
ai		ai	ay
ak		kawan	friend
ak		sebelah	across
ak		sebagian	part
ak		omong.kosong	lie
akah		robek	tear
akal		anak	child
akal		keluar	leave
akan		malam	night
		hitam	black
akol		tumpah	spill
akul		tombol	knob
al		Islam	Muslim
ala		putar	spin
alah		rumah	house
alai		ganggu	irritate
alak		aduk	stir
alal-eheb		berpakian.rapi	neatly.dressed
ale		sebentar	moment
		sebagian	part
alol		pelabuhan	harbour
am		belis	bride.price
		beli	buy
amai		di.bawah	under
ampi		ikut.dulu	just.follow

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
amul	anah na-	tunas	sprout
an		bakar	roast
ana		nenas	pineapple
ana-		jumlah	CLF (amount)
anat		sembarang	random
anaa		susun	arrange
		kasih.penuh	fill
ang		bibit	seeds
ang		keringat	sweat
angkol		sendiri	oneself
ap		terlepas	released
ap		berjalan	travel
apa		sebagian	part
aqab		siapa	who
aqar		kasih.dekat	move.close
aqi		masih	still
aqughib		paling.terakhir	last
ar		mendekat	go.close
ara		perkara	issue
arahal		pencoran	casting
arak		beras	uncooked.rice
arak klon		padi	rice.plant
arak mai		nasi	cooked.rice
aram		suku	clan
aran		tebas	cut.low.lying.vegetation
arap		simpan	store
araq		sejenis.burung.kecil	k.o. small.bird
araa		air	water
araa get ip		danau	lake
araam		ujung	end
as		masa.dulu	past.time
as		buka	open
at		runcing	bamboo.spikes
ata		kelapa	coconut
ata akul		tombol.kelapa.kering	dry.coconut.fruit
ata amul		kelapa.sudah.bertunas	sprouting.coconut
ata barai		kelapa.muda.pas.pas	young.coconut
ata bok		pohon.kelapa	coconut.tree
ata tkat		kelapa.tua	old.coconut
atain		pakai	wear
atak	agak.besar	rather.large	
atal	atas	top	
awa	lagi	again	
awan	jolok	pick.with.cloth.in.hand. above	

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
awar	aqayaal	kembali	return
awaal		membesar	enlarge
ayaal		putih	white
a=		sangat	INTS=
aa		pagar	fence
aak		daun.lontar.utk.obat	palmyra.palm.leaves. for.medicine
aal		besar	big
aan		lu	2SG
aan		pikul	carry
aap		langkah	step
aar		pergi	go
aat		puki	vagina
bab		gadis	girl
bad		kalung	necklace
bah		baju	top
bah		tumbuh	grow
bah		jarum	needle
bak		buka	open
bak		nyiru	rice.cleaning.basket
bak		sarung	cover
bal	sama.sama	together	
bal	pakai.kain.di.pinggang	wear.cloth.around.waist	
bal	puhnama	full	
bam	pamit	take.leave	
bam	menyesal	regret	
bang	minta	request	
bang	buka	open	
bantel	menyanyi	sing	
bar	tali.pusat	umbilical.cord	
bar	banyak	many	
barah	selamat.jalan	have.a.good.trip	
barai	hati.hati	be.careful	
barai	muda	young	
bat	jagung	corn	
bat mai	makanan	food	
baak	bersihkan	clean	
baang	jurang	ravine	
baang	lobang	hole	
béq	babi	pig	
bét	kekuatan	strength	
beh	kuat	strong	
bei	dahan	branch	
bei	kapak	axe	
bein	bebein	jatuh	fall

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
bek		goyang	wobble
bel		goyang	shake
ben		larangan	taboo
		melarang	forbid
ben		kapok	kapok
beng		putus	break
bengkik		berbunga	to.flower
bet		perut	stomach
bet		liang	hole.in.ground
beyah		hukum.adat	traditional.law.taboo
		pemali	
bee		berteriak	scream
beel		keladi	taro
bgai		buaya	crocodile
bgib		gementar	shake
bgor		kuning	yellow
bgorwaak		kunyit	tumeric
bgur		muda	young
bhin		bersin	sneeze
bik		kupas	to.skin
bit		kotoran	rubbish
biir		sakit	sick
blek		seng	corrugated.iron
bleel		lalat	fly
blin		tarik	pull
blok		terang	bright
		cahaya	light
bo		jadi	SEQ
boge		mungkin	maybe
bogen		hantam	strike
boi		hutan	jungle
boi		kurang	less
bok	book	badan	body
bok		pohon	tree
bok		tidak.sampai	not.reach
bon		bau	smell
bon		asap	smoke
bong		pemuda	youth
bong		tumbuh	grow
bontui		kabut	fog
borbak		bohong	lie
borkak		rakus	greedy
boob		ombak	wave
brai		pelan	slow
		lembek	soft

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English	
bras	breih	buang	throw	
breh		robek	tear	
breih		tali.dari.bambu	rope.from.bamboo	
brob		buang	throw.away	
bubut		puting.beliung	cyclone	
bui		pinang	betel.nut	
bui bak		tempat.sirih	betel.nut.container	
buikul		gobek	chisel	
buin		ada	exist	
		taruh	place	
		duduk	sit	
bulgen		langit	sky	
bulya		bumi	earth	
bung		tempat.tinggi	high.place	
bur		jantung	heart	
bur		ambil	take	
buser		berbicara	speak	
buseser		bercakap.cakap	chat	
but		hancur	destroyed	
buuk		menjaga	guard	
buum		bunga	flower	
buur		rata	flat	
cek		ek ok	marah	angry
cok			marah	angry
da			anak.mantu	child.in.law
	mama.bapak.mantu		parent.in.law	
dak	terjepit		caught.between.two.things	
dak	perangkap.tikus		mouse.trap	
dal	keras		hard	
dale	dekat		close	
daleq	jemput		pick.up	
dan	dekat		close	
dan	bagian		part	
daqan	obat		medicine	
dar	ajak		invite	
dar	pantun		recite.poetry	
dat	anak.cucu		grandchild	
	cece		great.grandchild	
datyah	cece		great.grandchild	
dayah	nenek.moyang		ancestors	
daa	mantu		parent.in.law	
daaldaal	gambus		ukelele	
daap	isap		smoke	
daar	pantun		verse	
daar	ajak		invite	

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
de			CONJ
de		yang	REL
ded		pukul	hit
deden		berapa	how.many
dek		celana	trousers
dek		ceret	kettle
den		samping	beside
deng		menanam	plant
deng		bunyi.orang.dipukul	sound.hitting.so
der		di.belakang	at.the.back
der-gen		dada	chest
dgaar		goreng	fry
dger		perbatasan.antara. pantai.dan.padang	border.between.coast. and.farm.land
dget		tulang.rusuk	ribs
dgim		kuat	strong
dgir		keras	hard
dgur		ribut	noisy
di	di geh	juga	also
di	di ga	dulu	first
ding		mencaci.maki	swear
diqiri		pikir	think
		bilang	say
		setuju	agree
dir		retak	tear
diing		pinggir	edge
diir		keram	cramp
dlikwei		cacing.tanah	earth.worm
dlong		batang.leher	neck
do		saudara	title
dob	adobdob	benar	true
	adob	jujur	honest
dob		kasih.bangun	stand.up
dob		lurus	straight
dobyah		banyak.sekali	very.much
dod		pucuk	shoot
dohla		tenggorakan	throat
doi		uang	money
doi		kerumun	assemble
dok		lubang	hole
dok		angkat	lift
dol		gunung	mountain
dolongbok		pesisir	edge
dong		dewasa	adult

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
dong		bunyi	chop
dong		air.bambu	water.bamboo
doqol	dol	nenek	grandmother
doqom	dom	kakek	grandfather
dor		mesbah	altar
dot		istirahat	rest
doob		tongkat	stick
door		pukul	hit
dre	drei	manis	sweet
drong		bunyi.keras	dong
dub		kasih.bangun	wake.someone build.something
dud		dorong	push
dud		merayap	crawl
dud		pindah	move
duil		licin	slipery
duil		rata	flat
duin		dalam	inside
dul		asli	original
dumar		bambu.licin	slippery.bamboo
dung		dung	dong
dup		isap	suck
dur		tikus	mouse
dur		cucu	grandchild
duul		licin	slippery
duur		pisau	knife
duut		susu	milk
éléng		lapar	hungry
e		lu.punya	2SG.POSS
e	-e	oh	oh
e		kaki	leg
e		bagian	part
=e	=we		=DIS
e		a	um
e-		lu	2SG.UND-
eben		kampung	village
eben ei		perkampungan	community
ebeng		lain	other
ebeng		kawan	friend
ebeen		dewasa	adult
ebeen		benar	correct
ebeer	beer	mati	die
edan		takut	scared

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
eden		berapa	how.much
eden		kapan	how.many
eg-		kamu	when
ege		kamu.punya	2NSG.UND-
ege-		kamu	2NSG.POSS
egel		capek	2NSG.UND-
egem		tua	tired
egeq		jalan	old
egeel		asthma	road
egleq		kamu.dua	asthma
egleq igi ngan		kamu.dua.sendiri	2DU
eh		hei	2DU.EMPH
eh		gigit	hey
eh		usus	bite
eh		kasih.makan	guts
eh		pinggang	feed
ehek		daerah	waist
		tempat	area
		kampung	place
ehel		tebing	home
ei		kampung	cliff
ei		aduh	village
ei		perahu	oh
ei		ampas	canoe
eipek	eipak	katak	leftover
ek		saja	frog
eken		napas	only
ekoi		tuak	breath
el		melihat	palm.tree
el-am		belis	see
ele	hele	musuh	bridewealth
ele ini gi ngan		mereka.sendiri	enemy
eleb		kecil	3DU.EMPH
elei		dinding	small
elek		cantik	wall
		bagus	beautiful
elek		jelas	excellent
el el		mencari	clear
el el		kasih.tinggal	search
eleng		sayur	leave
elep		bubu	vegetables
eme		panggil.kambing	pour
emei		tunggu	call.for.goats
		sabar	wait
			patient

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
emei		sehat	healthy
emel		cawat	loin.cloth
emeng		tidak.mau	not.want
emeq	meq	tidak.mau	not.want
en		mata	eyes
en		kasih	give
en		bakul	basket
en		menghadap	to.face
endob		masa.betul?	really?
eneh		tenang	calm
enek		mete	stay.awake.at.night
enem		karang.laut.yg.kecil	small.sea.shells
enet		bodoh	stupid
eneem		tuan	master
eneem		alang.alang	tall.grass
eneet		lupa	forget
entamai		selamat.jalan	travel.carefully
ep		ramas.dgn.satu.barang	squeeze.with.s.t
eper		mimpi	dream
eqeben		sulung	eldest
eqeben-eqenek		satu.barang.tertentu	a.certain.thing
eqebeen		orang.tua	elders
eqeden		beberapa	some
		berapa.berapa	
eqerek		terhambur	scattered.about
eqeel		istirahat	rest
erek		sejenis.pohon	type.of.tree
erem		mengomel	grumble
esakanuk		seratus	one.hundred
eska	aska	ratus	hundred
et		cabut	pull.out
et		pantat	bottom
et kdok		matono	upside.down
eteko		ubi.kayu	cassava
eten		masak	ripe
eteq	qeteq	pohon	tree
		kayu	wood
eteqkui	qetekui	kulit.pohon	bark
etewak		kulit.pohon	bark
eteen		matang	ripe
		masak	
etur		duluan	first
eweh		lima	five
ewek		dari.belakang	from.behind
ewen		ibu.jari	thumb

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
eweq	weel	burung.malam	night.bird
ewer		kapur	chalk
eweel		mandi	bathe
eweeng		tangga	ladder
eyang		dayung	paddle
eyeh		jangan	don't
eyoho		maka	thus
eek		sendiri	self
eek		marah	go.crook
eel		berhenti	stop
eer		jurang	ravine
g-		dia.punya	3POSS-
g-		dia	3UND-
ga		dia	3ACT
gab		kasih.geser	move
galar		merantau	leave.home
gambal		sayap	wing
gan		dia	3ACT
gang		terjepit	pinched
ganomi		di.situ	there
gap		rampas	seize
gaqai		tanam	plant
gaya		bagian.bawah	underneath
gbak		bagi	distribute
gbar		bagian.belakang	back
gbik		tarik	pull
gbir		terbuka	open
gbirghol		terbanting.cungkir.balik	upside.down
gboi		goyang	shake
gbok		potong	cut
gbon		panggang	roast
gdan		dekat.matahari	close.to.sun
gdan		di.bagian	part
gdan		tahan	endure
gden		pinggir.barang	edge.of.objects
gdi		pinggir	edge
gdim	tendes	squash	
	lipat	fold	
gding	maki.orang	swear	
gdol	buang	throw.away	
gdong	sampai	arrive	
ge	dia.punya	3POSS	
ge-	dia	3UND-	
gedap	pinggir.air	river.edge	
		sea.edge	

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
gegodob		sebenarnya	actually
gei		bawa	carry
gel		tahu	know
		dapat	obtain
gel		coba	try
gele		dia	3D.TOP
gem		ketapang.hutan	k.o. almond.tree
gen		sampai	until
gen		rumpun	clump
gen		tutupan	lid
genbur		bagian.ujung.atap	edge.of.roof
genggnok	gen-gnok	banyak	many
genlaak		bubungan	top.of.roof
genyaah		buta	blind
geqada		hampir	almost
getip		tidak.mengalir	still
ghal		salah	wrong
gham		simpan	store
ghek		jemur	dry.in.sun
ghek		jepit.papat	clamp
ghel		angkat	lift
ghen grek		posisi.anak.panah.pada. pinggangnya	splay.arrows.at waist
gheng		ketawa.keras	laugh.hard
ghol		sorong	move
ghuk		timbang	weigh.s.t.up
		rasa	feel
gi-		dia.punya	3POSS-
gil		giring.giring	bells
gingan		dia.sendiri	3EMPH
gin=		dia	3UND=
glak		buka	open
glang		terus	continue
glar		berlayar	sail
glar		merantau	travel.away
glar		serobot	scramble.ahead
gle	ele	mereka.berdua	3DU
gleh		lebih	more
glei		putar	twist
glek		bersihkan	clear
glip		numpang	fill
		kasih.penuh	
glip		turunkan.larangan	lift.ban
gmai		lepas.larangan	lift.ban
gmai		tunduk	bow

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
gmal		kedip	blink
gmui-glap		kasih.habis	finish.off
gmul		antar	accompany
gnai		bersihkan	clean
gneh		sabar	patient
		kasih.tenang.dia	
gneh		terus	continually
gnohwer		kerja	work
gnok		bikin	do
gògòdoin		gong.gong	bark
gòr		kampung.bagian.ujung	end.of.hamlet
gòrkei		ekor.panjang.tajam	tail
go		tambah	increase
go		sama.sama	together
go-		dia	3UND-
godal		bikin	make
godol		buang	throw
godor		pukul	slap.hard
gogo		punya.banyak	own.many
gomi		di.dalam	inside
gon		gong	gong
gpal		memimpin	lead
grak		serobot.masuk	push.to.enter
grik		potong	cut
gtain		lepas	release
gtal		angkat.sesuatu	lift.s.t
gtan		ranting	branch
gtanpu		memberi.nama	give.a.name
gtaan		sorong.kasih	hand.over
gten		bikin	do
		kerja	work
gto		bikin	do
gtuk	agtuk	mencapai	reach
gwai		bagi.sama.rata	divide.evenly
gwak		petik	pick
gwaal		bubu.air	rattan.fish.trap
gwaat		jerat	trap
gwet		bakul	basket
gwil		bawa	carry
gwil-gwil		cepat.cepat	quickly
gyéng		menangis.keras	cry.hard
gyeh	giyeh	bikin.rusak	make.bad
gyeng		joged.sembarang	unordered.dance
ha		semacam.daun	type.of.leaf
ha-a		ha..a	uh..huh

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English	
hah	haih	jatuh	fallen	
haha		bisik	whisper	
hahal		moko	moko	
haham		tengah.tengah	middle	
		pas.pas	just.right	
hai		hai-hai	percuma	no.reason
hai			bunuh	murder
haib			bahaya	danger
hak			pinggang	back
ham			tengah	middle
	pas		exact	
ham	sanggup		capable	
hap	larang		forbid	
har	kelewang		sabre	
hawei	daun.ha		k.o. tree	
haal	pencoran	water.pipe		
haar	setan.laut	evil.sea.spirit		
hba	baru	new		
hbak	parut	grate		
	garuk	scratch		
hban	tebang	fell		
hbel	sembelih	slaughter		
hben	darat	land		
hboh	seluruh	all		
hbur	sapu	sweep		
hél	isi.tali	insert.rope		
he	ah	ah		
heb	muda	young		
he-eh	he-eh	ha.ha		
hehel	tempat.air	water.container		
heher	sore	afternoon		
hek	pintu	door		
hek	para.para	loft		
hek-hek	napas.sesak	last.breath		
hel	angkat	lift		
hel bak	sarung.anak.panah	arrow.sheath		
her	turun	descend		
heer	rombongan	group		
hhel	daging.tali	meat.on.a.rope		
hib	lepas	release		
hid	sesak	full		
hihik	sisia	left.over		
hihil	tidak.kuat	not.strong		
hik	putus	break		
hik	petik	pick		

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
hil		gantung	hang
hil		naik	ascend
hin		ingus	snot
hiq		ayam	chicken
		burung	bird
hiq odom		burung.hutan	wild.bird
hir		tidak.biasa	unusual
		tidak.suka	not.like
		pemali	taboo
		kurang	insufficient
hiid		sampai	reach
			arrive
hiik		siput.laut	sea.molluscs
hiir		sudut	corner
hkar		darurat	emergency
hkek		buka	open
hkok		berteriak	scream
hla		jantung	heart
hla		tali.usus	intestines
hla		tali	rope
hla kakat		tukang.pukul	fighter
hla kat		tukang.pukul	fighter
hla klik		sakit.hati	upset
hla yaah		jahat	quick.tempered
hlahiwrek		barang.pusaka	hierloom
hlar		pelat	flat.thin.rock
hlayaah		jahat	evil
hlep		dayung	paddle
hler		tebas	cut.grass
hlim		kain	cloth
hlin		gantung	hang
hlong		kulit.luar	skin
hlong		jalan.melata	slither
hmong		sambung	connect
hnan		anyam	weave
hnur		tusuk	skewer
			stake
hòl		membelah	split
ho		SIM	SIM
ho		panggil.anjing	call.dog
hod		potong	cut
hod		tapis	filter
hode		habis	so
hoi	hoih	suruh	order
hoi		hoi	hei

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
hok		tidak	IRR
hok		separuh	half
hok		saku	pocket
hok		bakul.kecil	small.basket
hol		masuk	enter
hol		belah	split
hol		merayap	crawl
hom		pohon.hong	k.o. tree
hon		kayu.busur	bow.tree
hos	hoos	taruh	place
hos		masak	cook
hos		tidur	sleep
hos	hoos	tumpah	spill
hook		tiba	arrive
		terbit	rise.(of.sun)
hrak		panas	hot
hrat		keras	loud
hrik		rintisan.jalan	shortcut
hrot	ilhrot	menjahit	sew
hrud		kasih.lurus	straighten
hrum-hram		bergerigi	jagged
hrus		petik	pick
hu		ya	yes
huh	huih	bilang	say
hu-hu		tertawa	laughter
hui	huhui	suling	flute
hui		sumbur	spit
hul		tali.rotan	rattan.vine
hum		intip	peer
hur		sifat	characteristic
hus		bunyi.usir.binatang	noise.to.chase.animals
hu-u		hu.u	uh.huh
huud		sendok	spoon
huuk		musyawarah	communal.meeting
huuk		mengukur	measure
huus		bersiul	whistle
huuwe	huue	huwe	call
hwai		tenda	tent
hwak		tertawa.bahak	laugh.hard
hwal		bayangan	image
i		mereka	3NSG
i			DUR
i		i	ee
i		kamu	2NSG.ACT
i-		lu	2SG.UND-

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
i-		lu.punya	2SG.POSS-
iaqan		seperti.semula	like.before
iat		lucu	amused
ibiq		ikan	fish
ibiq		betis	calf
idih		labu	pumpkin
idil		esok	tomorrow
idil		mengkilat	shine
idil-idil		tiap.hari	everyday
idim		tenggelam	drown
idob		banyak	much
igi	i	kalian	2NSG.ACT
igi ngan		kamu.sendiri	2NSG.EMPH
igin		pilih	pick
igin=		kamu	2NSG.UND=
ih		tubuh	body
ih		ah	ah
ih		buah	fruit
ihi		tahi	faeces
ihih	hih	bangun	get.up
ihin		meniup	blow
ihin	hin	hilang	lose
ihin		timba	fetch
ihir		garam	salt
ihir		iris	cut.finely
ik		sudah	COMP
ik		adik	younger.sibling
ik	ikib	ikat	tie
ikil		balik	return
ikin		nyamuk	mosquito
ikir		sudut	corner
iko		mentah	unripe
il		kebun	garden
il		hari	day
il		lagu	song
il		tempat	place
il		barang	thing
il han	han	makan.sirih	chew.betel
ilik		adat	customary.law
ilin		jilat	lick
iliik		jengkel	annoyed
iltuk		menghalang	hamper
imih		tinggal	stay
in ngan		lu.sendiri	2SG.EMPH
ing		muntah	vomit

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English	
ini	iniq	mereka	3NSG	
iniak		teman	friend	
ining arat		tanaman.untuk.tahun.depan	plants.for.next.year	
ininok		orang	person	
iniq gi ngan		mereka.sendiri	3PL.REFL	
inok		bisa	able	
in=		engkau	2SG.UND=	
ip		turun	descend	
ip		minyak.kelapa	coconut.oil	
ip		pergi	go	
ip-			CLF=	
ipi		ulat	caterpillar	
ipil-ipil		hati.hati	careful	
ipit		sedikit	a.little	
iqal		al	semua	all
iqemei			sehat	healthy
iqes			hidup	live
iqilin			orang.gila	crazy.person
iqilin			semut.halus	tiny.ant
iqiriip			diam.diam	quietly
iri			duga	suspect
iri			bunyi	sound
irik			akar	root
irin			iris	chop
iriip			diam	quiet
isbi			betul	serious
isen			esen ise	dulu
	kapan			when
itiwang			sama.besar	same.size
iwi		rumah	house	
iwil		ringan	light	
iwinok		gudang	warehouse	
iik		kiri	left	
kade	kde	untung	profit	
kah		robek	tear	
kah klut	ge kah ge klut	barang.tajam	sharp.object	
kai		batuk	cough	
kak		pecah	break	
kak		papan	board	
kaklok		melahirkan	give.birth	
kal		bekal	snack	
kal		halus	refined	
kal		hancur	destroy	
kalbat		kosambi	k.o. tree	
kam		hangus	burnt	

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
kamdol		pencong	limp
kamroin		sagu	sago
kandas		paksa	force
kangkur		siput	pipis
kap		bulu	feather
kar		puluh	ten
		banyak	many
kar		panggil	call
kar		kelapa.paling.muda	youngest.coconut
kar		kelewang	sabre
kareweh		lima.puluh	fifty
karnuk		sepuluh	ten
karorok		dua.puluh	twenty
kaak		gatal	itchy
kaal		alas	put.s.t under
kaat		kotor	dirty
kba		berisi	have.contents
kbak		tombak	spear
kbaak		rokok	tabacco
kbél		bahu	shoulder
kber		koreng	scabies
kbeer		menggaruk	scratch
kbeer		cakar	claw
kbit	kbitak	sedikit	a.few
kboi		semacam.rumput	k.o. grass
kbor		anak.panah	arrow
kbot		kulit.kelapa	coconut.husk
kbuk		dingin	cold
kdad		kaget	shocked
		cepat	fast
kdar		ranting	branch
kde		makan	eat
kdeh		kepala	head
kding		kecil	small
kdiir		setan	evil.spirit
kdok		simpan	keep
kdok-kdok		panggilan.ayam.yg. baru.menetes	sound.of.chicken. laying.egg
kdu		mayat	corpse
keb		lembar	piece
kebak		sebelah	over.there
keh		kacang.hijau	mung.beans
kekein		kecil	small
kenap		lengkap	complete
keng-keng		teriakan.anjing	yelp

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English		
kes	kekes	koreng	scabies		
kesél		ubi.jalar	sweet.potato		
ket		berak	defecate		
keek		jantan	male.animal		
ki		pusat	navel		
		jantung.pisang	banana.heart		
kib		kambing	goat		
kik		gigit	bite		
kikil		bisul	ulcer		
		koreng.parah	severe.skin.infection		
kikir		sabut	fibrous.husk		
kil		lingkar	surround		
kila		kalung	necklace		
kin		kenyang	full		
kiqi		cungkil	lever		
kir		sisir	comb		
kir		baris	line		
kir		pen	makeshift.step.in.tree		
kirkir		pikir	think		
		pikiran	thought		
kiik		merah	red		
kiir		burung.nefri	k.o. bird		
		fluit	whistle		
kkaak		betung	k.o. bamboo		
kkde		makanan	food		
kkrang		penjara	jail		
kkub		bulat	round		
kla		perkara	case		
klaim		iris.iris	cut.finely		
klakak		kala	belahan.bambu	piece.of.bamboo	
klat			lipat	fold	
klaa			elang	eagle	
kled			melubangkan	make.hole	
klem			capek	tired	
			malas	lazy	
klep			gumpalan	lump	
klik			klik-mkal	sakit	sick
klik				keteak	armpit
klòk				hantu	owl
klok		subur		fertile	
klok		mentah		unripe	
klol		membuktikan		prove	
klur		muda.kecil		young.small	
kmut		bunyi.kunyah		crunch.sound	
knai		kenari		kenari.nut	

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
knang	kning-knang	meruang	howl
kning		meraung	howl
knis		kecil	small
knit		kecil	small
knoh		pemalas	lazy.person
kòng-kòng		gong.gong	woof.woof
kòs		mencangkul	to.hoe
kob		pukul	hit
koh		habis	finish
kok		sejenis.ular	type.of.snake
kok		bungkus	wrap
kol		sendiri	self
kol		atas.pohon	treetop
kol		atap	roof
kol		tempat.kasih. hancur. sirih.pinang	tube.for.crushing. betelnut
koqol	koyek koyeyek	dewasa	adult
koyak		jalan.doka.doka	limp
kook		pencong	break
kool		patah	rolled
koor		terguling	rolled
krang		buru	hunt
krat		gelap	dark
krat		senjata	weapon
krat		senapan	gun
kratiri		bunyi.senapan	bang
kre		bunyi.besi	striking.metal.sound
kreyang		tidak.berkulit	no.skin
krid		bekerja	work
krik		rambut	hair
krik		jari	digits
krik ttub	yatim.piatu	orphan	
kringiri	jari.tunjuk	index.finger	
krod	garing	shrill	
krui	tidak.mau.bergabung	not.want.to.mix	
kub	teriak	scream	
kud hbak	muda	young	
kuh	alat.parut	grater	
kui	kuku	nail	
kui	kulit	skin	
kui	dapat	obtain	
	berhasil	sucessful	
	bisa	able	
	jadi	can	
		happen	

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
kuk	kun-kun	kerja	work
kukrek		berkokok	crow
kukui		bermain	play
kukun		pagi.pagi	early.morning
kul		legung	k.o. tree
kulbin		tua	old
kum		tumpul	blunt
kumba		tambah.banyak	increase
kur		kelapa.kosong	empty.coconut
kurwak		mencret	diarrhoea
kuur		anjing	dog
kwa		bagian.atas. kampung	top.part.of.hamlet
		lindungi	protect
kwai		konde	hair.bun
kwai		bengkak	swollen
kwar		peluk	hug
kwél		rumput	grass
kwet		bakul	basket
kweek		teriakan.binatang	animal.scream
lab		pahat	chisel
lah		gelang	bracelet
Lahtal		Tuhan	God
lain		rayu	seduce
		bujuk	encourage
lak		tidak.mengantuk	not.sleepy
lal		hiasan	adornment
lalak		kakatua	cockatoo
lalak		merpati	dove
lale		di.bawah	below
lam		berjalan	walk
lan		goyang	shake
lang		panjang	long
		tinggi	tall
lanme		kasih.jatuh.sesuatu	make.s.t.fall
léh		anak.panah	arrow
lék		hitung	count
lél		tunggu	wait
le		di	at
le		dapat	obtain
le		panggilan.utk.kawan	friend!
leb		lidah	tongue
lega		dia	3S.TOP
leh		tagih.di	in.debt.to
lei		lewat	pass
lek		ikat	tie

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
lel		larangan	prohibition
lel		hambur	scatter
		siram	spray
lel		obat	medicine
lel		terima	accept
lel		tunggu	wait
lelol	lelol-lahwain	jalan.pesiar	go.out.and.about
lem		goyang	shake
leng		lemak	fat
		santan.kelapa	coconut.cream
		kental	thick
leq		ikut.di	follow
ler		bawa	carry
let		jauh	far
leweh		kawan	friend
lewo		kawan	friend
lee		keladi	taro
leek		bunuh	murder
leer		raja	ruler
lid		rangkai	bunch
lil		pedis	sting
ling		tebing	cliff
liik		jahat	evil
liip		bale.bale	bench
liir		terbang	fly
llik		meloj	look.through.hole
lobei		kejar	chase
lobei		periuk.tanah.besar	large.clay.cooking.pot
lod	loid	gantung	hang
lok		setan	evil.spirit
lolor		longgar	loose
lom		mendaki	ascend
lood		menangis.utk.anjing	cry.of.dog
loop		lubung	big.woven.basket
lui		lombok	chilli
luk		tunduk	bow
lul		tusuk	stab
lul		ikut	follow
lului	Lu Lui	dongeng	fable
lur		menyeka	wipe
ma		datang	come
magen		tumbuk	pound
mah		tembak	shoot
mai		masak	cooked
mai		taruh	place

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
makna		tadi	earlier
		tempo.dulu	past (unspecified)
makoi		selimut	blanket
mamang		berduri	have.thorns
mamnak		anak.anak	Children
mamnaak		kecil.kecil	small
man	iman	bapak	father
mandoor		penjaga	guard
mang		tajam	sharp
mang		suara	voice
manggrik		berpikir.lama	think.long.time
manlak		berbuah	to.fruit
mar		marah	angry
maten		berdiri	upright
maa		kucing	cat
maang		pakai.baju	wear.top
maang	memaang	sama	same
maang		semua	all
mbol		menangis	cry
mdal		siang	middle.of.day
mde		naik	climb
mdek		petir	lightening
mdek		tidak.tembus	not.enter
mdel		kelelawar	bat
mdin		tanam	plant
mdiq		matahari	sun
		hari	day
mdol		lapar	hungry
mdui		mengisap.buah-buahan	suck.fruit
méd		ambil	take
méh		sirih	betel.vine
mél		enak	yummy
		manis	sweet
me		belakang.leher	nape
meh		belakang	back
meh		kotoran.daun.daun	leaf.litter
mein	tmein	lahir	born
mel		getah	sap
mem		biji	seed
men		kerongkongan	throat
meng		tukang	person
mentok		dulu	in.the.past (medium-term)
meq		taruh	place
meyang		bayi	baby
mgad		tanam	plant

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
mgih		dengar	hear
mgil		panen	harvest
mgol		pisang	banana
mhak		makan	eat
mhel		daging	meat
mhi		sulu	torch
mhing		dingin	cold
mhiing		lesung	small.mortar
mhol		lap	wipe
		bersih	to.clean
mi		tinggal	stay
mi		waktu	when
mi		ada	exist
mi		taruh	place
mi		kali	time
mi		di	be.at
mi		isi	fill
mi-			APPL-
mi-		lebih	CPV-
		paling	most
mial		tempat.jaga.berburu	hunting.hide
miap		jalan.di	walk.at
mibang		terang	bright
mibet	mibed	menang	win
mid		naik	climb
miglang		langsung	immediately
mih		duduk	sit
mihing		lesung	mortar
mihok		jadi	become
mihook		menjelma	to.change.form
mimtek		mencekik	choke
min		alas	put.s.t.under.s.t
		kasih.duduk	place.s.t
minuk		satu.saar	one.moment
mipapas	mipas	sebentar	moment
miras		setengah.mati	half.dead
mitokodar		tergesa.gesa	hurried
mittnet		tergesa.gesa	hurried
miya		pakai	use
miyeng		bekal	snack
mkal		pahit	bitter
		asin	salty
mkei	mkeq	tanah	ground
			earth
mkln		basi	rotten

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
mkuun	mlad-mloi	gemuk	fat
mlad		lemah	weak
mlah		lemah	weak
mlap		basah	wet
mlei		budak	slave
		pesuruh	servant
mlei		tanah	earth
mleng		kemarin	yesterday
mlik		pohon.arah	k.o. tree
mlir		belut	eel
mlot		lama	old
mluk		berteriak	scream
mlung		lama	long.time
mnang		tukar	exchange
mnaak		kecil	small
mneh		rakus	greedy
mnem		wangi	perfumed
mod		panjat	climb
moi		tolong	help
moluk		kera	monkey
momlot		lama	old
		bekas	
mong		telan	swallow
mop		mengantuk	sleepy
mot		gomotdan	belakang
moon	ular		snake
moot	kurus		thin
mra	depan		front
mran	injak		trample
mraa	tumbuhan.laut		type.of.edible.coral
mreh	pohon.hamajang		k.o.tree
mrei	talapak		palm
mro	abu.abu		grey
mrung	pukul		hit
mruung	jalan.cepat		walk.fast
mtar	kayu.merah		red.wood
mtén	bangun		build
	berdiri		stand
mteh	berdiri		stand
mtei	padang		paddock
mtek	makanan.yg.kurang.air		food.without.enough.water
mtip	pahit		bitter
mtok	tercekik		choke
mtuk	cicak		gecko
mu	saja		only

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
mugeyayah		sangat.rakus	very.greedy
muginok		pas	just.right
mugo-wago		tambah.lagi	take.more
mui		bunuh	murder
		musnah	annihilate
muin		hidung	nose
muin		busuk	rotten
muin		mencium	kiss
muinpuin		piara	care.for
		bertanggungjawab	responsible
muk		tanduk	horn
muk	tumuk	RT	neighbour.organisation
mul		lumpur	mud
mun	muin	harum	perfumed
mung		jatuh	fall
munok		asik	great
		bagus	excellent
		indah	beautiful
muram		terlalu.ramai	very.busy
mutna		sembarang	random
muud		limon	lemon
muuk		kotor	dirty
muur		ramai	many.people
muur ram	muur raram	merayakan	celebrate
myaar		paman	uncle
myer	myar	lego.lego	circle.dance
myer		senang	happy
n-		saya	1SG.UND-
n-		saya.punya	1SG.POSS-
na	nan	saya	1SG.ACT
nab		apa	what?
nabe		apa.itu	what.is.that?
nabo		dengan.apa	what.with?
nagana		tidak.tentu	not.definite
nah		bunyi	sound
nah		sekali	very
nai		bersih	clean
naj		kunyadu	brother.in.law
nal		bohong	lie
nal		mengamati	observe
nan		saya	1SG.ACT
nana		totok	peck
nanab		apa-apa	what
nang		tidak	NEG

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
nar		celah	between
naaq		antara	drink
nbong		minum	dizzy
nbur		pusing	liver
nbut		hati	ant
nbuur		semut	ant
ndang		sejenis.serangga.terbang	type.of.insect
ne		gubuk	hut
neq		saya.punya	1SG.POSS
net huh		nama	name
ng-		omong.kosong	rubbish.talk
ng-		kami	1NSG.EXCL.UND-
nga		kami	1NSG.EXCL.POSS-
ngan		kami	1NSG.EXCL.HOR
ngan mai		barang	thing
nge		makanan	food
nge-		kami.punya	1NSG.EXCL.POSS
nger		kami	1NSG.EXCL.UND-
ngi-	ni-	kemiri	candle.nut
ngingan		kami	1NSG.EXCL.UND-
ngin=		kami.sendiri	1NSG.EXCL.EMPH
ngleq	nle	kami	1NSG.EXCL.UND=
ngleq ngi ngan		kami.dua	1DU.EXCL
ngo-		kami.dua.sendiri	1DU.EXCL.EMPH
ngor		kami	1NSG.EXCL.UND-
ni		pimpin.dari.ekor	lead.from.behind
ni-		kami	1NSG.EXCL.ACT
ningan		saya.punya	1SG.POSS-
nin=		saya.sendiri	1SG.EMPH
nkab		saya	1SG.UND=
nlang		semut.merah.terbesar	biggest.red.ant
nlik		mau.siang	approaching.day
nmér		tangga	ladder
nmei	nmai	angin	wind
nmud		tempat	place
nmui		lurus	straight
no-		galak	fierce
nobai		saya	1SG.UND-
nok		selendang	shawl
nok		baik	good
nok agai		sudah	already
noke		sudah.selesai	finished
non	onon	jangan.sampai	lest
nonok		bagus	PL excellent

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
noq		selimut	blanket
npa		panggil.dgn.tangan	call.by.waving
nrai		hancur	destroy
nrik		semut.terkecil	smallest.ant
nuk		satu	one
nuk		teman	friend
nunuk		satu.satu	one.each
nwak		laba.laba	spider
nwar		tali	rope
òkoin		kutu	louse
òm		kakak	older.sibling
òr		ekor	tail
o		oh	oh
o	wo	itu	that
obod		terputar	turned
obon		terpeleh	blocked
odal		bikin	do
odi		nanti	later
odiq		sebentar	moment
		nanti	later
		dulu	first
odo		masak	cook
odoin		saudara	brother
odoj		melenting	bouncy
odok		hampir.jatuh.dari. posisi.duduk	almost.fall.from. sitting.position
odok		dapat.lihat.yg.jarang.lihat	able.to.see.things.rarely.seen
odok		muncul	appear
odol		tinggi	tall
		panjang	long
odom		liar	wild
odomai		masak	cook
odopu		masak	cook
odoq		memasak	cook
		rebus	boil
odot		irus	serve
odool		saudari	sister
oglor		bungkus	wrap
ogol		awal	beginning
ogol		dulu	past (remote)
ogon		seperti	like
ogot		ranjo	spikes
oh		oh	oh
ohok		bergembira	have.fun
ohok		sombong	arrogant

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
ohpal		barang.pusaka	heirloom
oin		kayu	wood
oj		panggil.anjing	call.dog
okdok		matono	upside.down
okneq		perempuan	woman
okook		patah	break
ol		kolam	pool
ol		alu	pounder
ol		barang	thing
ole		sebelah	over.there
olod		kayu.keras	hard.wood
oloi		gabung	join
oloin		tulis	write
oloin		bakar	roast
olok		kolong.rumah	under.house
olol	lol	kumpul	gather
olon		kehidupan	life
oloq		panggil	call
		gong.gong	bark
olor		halaman	yard
olor		asam	sour
olor		suku	clan
om		suami	husband
		laki.laki	man
omad		poligami	polygamous
omi		sayang	love
omimi	omi	ingat	remember
omkne		laki-laki	man
omon		jinak	tame
omooi		ipar	sibling.in.law
omuku		membeku	freeze
ong		ini	this
ongo		ini	this
op		itu	that
opah		di.sana.itu	over.there
opas		pesuruh	messenger
opo		itu	that
opoh		menjelma	assume.a.form
oqimih		selamat.tinggal	good.stay (leave-taking)
oqogon		seperti	like
oqomon		sore	late.afternoon
or		kutu	louse
orok	rok	dua	two
oros		seret	crash
orooh		menghirup	suck

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
ot		pesisir	coast
		pantai	beach
oton		nangka	jackfruit
owo		mengira	think
oyar	yar	induk	main
oyon		begitu	thus
oyor	yor	minggir	move.aside
ood		melempar	throw
ooi		gosok	rub
ooi		mama	mother
ooi yar	yar	tante	aunt
ool		isteri	wife
		perempuan	woman
ool wang		istri.kedua	second.wife
oomi		hati	liver
oot		kamar	room
p-		kita	1NSG.INCL.UND-
pa		kita	1NSG.HOR
pah		punya	have
pai		tarik	pull
pak		lobang.pada.batu	hole.in.rock
		lobang.pada.kayu	hole.in.tree
pak		teriak	scream
pal		lipat	fold
pal		pembelisan	give.bridewealth
pan		ipar	sibling.in.law
pang		kerja.kebun	work.in.garden
pap		rogo	feel, grope
pap		intip	peer
pat		ikat	tie
pat		lambat	slow
pdak		melekat	stick
pdeng		tambur	drum
pdeng		putus	break
pdok		getah	sap
pdung		bunyi.kena.anak.panah	sound.of.being.hit.by.arrow
péd		parang	machete
pe		kita.punya	1NSG.INCL.POSS
peh		busur	bow
pek		ada	exist
pel		batu.asa	grinding.stone
pet		fiti	flick
peeq		membakar	burn
peet		bambu	bamboo
phor		rantai	chain

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
pi		kita	1NSG.INCL.ACT
pi ngan		kita.sendiri	1NSG.INCL.EMPH
pih		tulang.rusuk	ribs
pikitan		kepala.desa	village.head
pin		kita	1NSG.INCL.ACT
ping		piring	plate
pkar		pakaian	clothes
pkas		panjat	climb
pkas		peluk	hug
pkit		lata	village.head
		kepala.desa	
plam		lemah	weak
ple		kita.dua	1DU
plek		batu	stone
pleq pi ngan		kita.dua.sendiri	1DU.INCL.EMPH
plir		mulut.panas	hot.mouth
pnei		pukul	hit
pnen		menyanyi	sing
pnen		tiru	copy
po		itu	that
poh		sayang	love
poh		mulai.jalan	begin.to.travel
pom		mata.kali	beginning.of.river
pom		ujung	edge
por		burung.dara	pigeon
pot		kubur	bury
pot		paha	thigh
powo		di.sana.di.bawah	there.below
prak		tempat.makan.babi	trough
prak		penimba	bailing.bucket
prik		jalan	travel
pro		piring.tanah	clay.plate
prok		lelak	between.thighs
pruin		meludah	spit
pu		tiup	blow
puh	puih	pusat	navel
puhgen		puser	navel
puin		pegang	hold
		pakai	use
		bawa	bring
pun		pinggang	waist
put		daging	flesh
puud		sedot	drop
qad		datang	come

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
qada		belum	IPFV
qakan		masih	
qami		hitam	black
qan		sangat	very
qat		membakar	roast
qeh		gurita	octopus
qeh		hutan	forest
qel		kulit	skin
qen		beli	buy
qet		bakul	basket
qetakoh		pantat	bottom
qgar		jalan.kosong	walk.without.carrying.s.t
qib		ketawa	laugh
qih		bintang	star
qiqip		buah	fruit
qon		anteru	whole
qot		periuk	pot
rang		pantai	beach
rap		garing	crunch
raak		pergi	go
rek		buka	open
rial		bunyi.kena	sound.of.being.hit
ringe		bunyi.kunyah.daun	sound.of.eating.vegies
riyang		rombongan	group
ruh		bunyi	sound
rung		piara	take.care.of
rup		urut	massage
ruum		rung	dong
sai		warna	colour
seh		dorong	push
seng		warna	colour
sus		menyesal	regret
t-		uang	money
ta		sedih	sad
ta		kita	INSG.INCL-
ta-		pamit	take.leave
ta-		atas	above
tabu		saling	RECP-
tahbak		kali	time
taher		siput.laut	pipi
tain		tangkap	catch
tain		sambar	swoop
tain		pesan	order
tain		suruh	
tain		tinggal	stay

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
tak		kaki	leg
tak		belahan	piece
tak		siang	middle.of.day
talemi		di.atas	above
tam		asam	tamarind
tan		tangan	arm
tan		laut	sea
tang		tertawa	laugh
tang		atas	above
tang		tanya	ask
tang		tambah	increase
tanggen		berkelahi	fight
tanto		jelas	clear
tap		panah	shoot
tapan		tusuk	stab
tapo		di.sana.di.bawah	there.below
taqebek		sinar	ray
taqeben		betulkan	correct
tar		masing.masing	respective
tas		tebas	cut.down
tat		samping	side
tat		kebas	brush.off
tatal		akal.akal	plan
tatang		orang.banyak	many.people
tataal		sengaja	deliberately
		bohong	lie
tatot		selamatkan	save
tawak		peluk	cuddle
tawaa		pergi	go
taya		kolong.tempat.tidur	under.the.bed
taa		berbaring	lie.down
		tidur	sleep
taab		mayat	corpse
taan		jual	sell
taan		tuduh	accuse
taan		sorong	move
taan		tarik	pull
taang		numpang	carry.passengers
tbak		marah	angry
tbal		runtuh	collapse
tber		pembunuhan	murder
tbet		uji	test
tbòr		bermain	play
tbod		ujung	end
		tanjung	point

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
tbod		bibir	lips
tboi		perang	war
tbok		patah	break
tbong		meledak	explode
tbood		terputar	turned
tbui		bela	defend
tbui		kerang.besar	conch.shell
		nafiri	trumpet
tbul		perang	war
tbur		ketam	crab
tdan		kena	hit
tden		serempet	brush.against
tden		sejajar	parallel
tding		sejajar	parallel
		dekat	close.by
tél		bertemu	meet
téng		kasih.bangun	wake.s.o.up
te		menjelang	approaching
te-		saling	RECP-
te-		kita	1NSG.INCL.UND-
ted		berlayar	sail
tein		bantah	disagree
tej	teij	berkelahi	fight
tek		tikam	stab
tek		tanam	plant
tel		tukar	exchange
teng		rusak	break
tengtang		takdir	fate
teq		pakai.celana	wear.pants
teq		minggir	move.aside
		bawa	carry
teqék		awan.awan	clouds
teqen		teman	friend
teqen		potong	cut
ter		kebun	garden
tet		urut	massage
teted		hampir.kering	almost.dry
teed		terapung	float
teeh		ampas	pulp
teer		peleh	in.front.of
			block
thook		bertemu	meet
thui	tthui	berleret	lined.up
tib		bakar	burn
tidorok	tijorok	delapan	eight

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
tin		tipu	trick
tin-		saling	RECP-
tin=		kita	1NSG.INCL.UND=
tinaak		bohong	lie
ting		lompat	jump
tinggen		berkelahi	fight
tinmi		sebagian	part
tinmimi		perbaiki	fix
tioyon	tion	bagaimana	how?
	oqoyon		
	tioqoyon		
titit		cepat	fast
tka	tka mleak	mencuri	steal
tkad		setiap	every
tkam		cabang	branch
tkat		kering	dry
		haus	thirsty
tkein		ulat.bulu	maggot
tkein		tanya.tanya	questioning
tkeet		belalang	grass.hopper
tkin		lari	run
tkoin		iris	cut.finely
tkos		tumbang	fell
tkoor		cakalele	ritual.fight
tkoor		berat	heavy
tkum		kepal	fist
tlak		selamat	safe
tlan		enam	six
tlaak		waras	normal
		sehat	healthy
tlek		perang	war
tler		miring	sideways
tlor		terbang	fly
tmad		lemak	fat
tmai	entmai	baik	good
tmap		runtuh	collapse
tmein		pesan	request
		janji	promise
tmen		rasa	feel
tmok		besar	big
tmuin		jabatan	position
tna		sembarang	random
tnar		menjelang	approaching
tne		kanan	right
tnet		omong.kosong	lie

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
tòr		keras	hard
tòt		mempertahankan	defend
to		kepala	head
to		periksa	examine
to		tolo	penis
to-		bersama	RECP-
to-		kita	INSG.INCL.UND-
to adang		biji.kemaluan	testicles
togdol		kumpul	gather
togham		bersatu	unite
togpak		himpun	group
togtek		perbaiki	fix
tohui		susun.berdiri	organise
toin		menari	dance
tok		sopi	palm.wine
		tuak	palm
tokoin		cincang	mince
tomi		saling.ingat	each.remember
tonal		bandingkan	compare
tong		tiga	three
topo		kepala	head
toqar		gabung.bersama	join.together
toqoh		tempurung	coconut.shell
toqoloi		kumpul	gather
tor		tulang	bone
tot		potong	cut
totkor		berat.berat	heavily
totuk		undur.takut	withdraw.from.fear
toot		jaga	guard
		berkelahi	fight
tpan		tumbuk	pound
		tusuk	stab
tpang		pelat	metal.sheet
tpeh		tebal	thick
tpeh		retak	cracked
tpok		bersuara	to.talk
tpuh	tpuih	sempit	narrow
tra	trah	bilang	say
		kira	think
		sangka	suspect
trab		rakitan.bale.bale	bamboo.platform
train		orang.asing	foreigner
tras		petik	pick
tring		kunci	to.lock
trop		tulang	bone

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
trop		biji	seed
tros		bunyi	scraping.sound
ttar		masing.masing	each
ttbul		lindung	protect
tteed		mengapung	float
tu		di.mana	where
tu oyon	tion	kenapa	why
tuang		sedikit	a.little
tuil		suluh	torch
tuk		putus	break
tuk		pendek	short
tuk		bambu	bamboo
tuk		terdepan	foremost
tukainuk	tukeinuk	sembilan	nine
tun		tahun	year
tup		tidak.tembus	not.enter
tuquin	guguin	sembunyi	hide
tut		panas	hot
tutu		saja	only
tuub		tunjuk	indicate
twai	twai theb	bubar	part.company
twak		ada	currently
tweel		mengalir	flow
tyok		gementar	shake
u-			APPL-
-u		bahaya.sendiri	own.fault
uap		hitung.pakai.depa	count.using.arm.lengths
uap		menyeberang	across
ubak		kena	strike
ubaak		banting	turn.over
ubei	obei	banyak	many
	obeibe		
ubuh		sore	evening
ud		las	join
udung		pipi	cheek
uduur		abu	dust
			ash
ughib		penghabisan	all.out
ugle		penuh.sesak	crammed.full
ugpoin		pimpin	lead
ugun		pintal	spin
ugun		pemantik	flintstone
uhap		larang	forbid
uhék		panggang	roast
uhid		kasih.sesak	fill.up

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
uhok		sudah.mendapat.cahaya. dari.matahari	sunlight.reached
uhul		rotan	rattan
uilik		pasarkan	sell
uk		lutut	knee
ukai		lap	wipe
ukpal		memimpin	lead
uktat		kebas	dust.off
ukuj		ujung	tip
ul		anak	child
ulu		batang.aur	k.o.thin.bamboo
uluk		alas.kepala	put.s.t under.head
umung		kena	hit
unanawai		semut.hitam.besar	big.black.ant
unok		bahagia	happy
unu		pasar	market
unuur		hujan	rain
up-			CLF-
upoh		bahagia	happy
upuur		jemur	dry.in.sun
uqetek		tumpuan	support
uqeweh		dendam	revenge
uqilik		dendam	revenge
uqur		pendek	short
ur		bulan	moon
			month
ur		pendek	short
uram		ramai	busy
uruk		garing	crispy
uruut		rusa	deer
us		sampai	until
usong		tujuh	seven
ut		empat	four
ut		kacang	beans
uter		tutup	close
uthang		sementara	momentarily
utub		tumpul	blunt
uwa		di.sini	here
uweel		mencuci	wash
uwrep		mendengar	listen
uyaih		sampai	until
uyaal		setuju	agree
uuh		omong	talk
uuh		gendong.di.pinggang	hold.on.hip
uur		melihat	see

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
uus		sejenis.rumput.alang.alang	grass
wain		lebah	bee
wain		bayar	pay
wak		kaget	shock
wak	gawak	luruh	drop
		petik	pick
wak		peluk	hug
wak		bahaya	danger
wak-malalai		balas	answer
wal		bolak.balik	back.to.front
walkul		danau	lake
walyah		sakit.hati	hurt
wang		sedang	middle.sized
		kecil	small
wangyah		sumpah	oath
war		balik	turn
war-hong	war	membengkak	swell
wat		leher	neck
wawal		ubun.ubun	forehead
		testa	
waa		pergi	go
waang		sumpah	oath
wéh		gigi	teeth
wéq		darah	blood
wér		telinga	ear
we		sebagai	as
we		ada	exist
we		kolong.bale.bale	space.under.bamboo. platform
we		ludah	spit
wed		sekarang	now
		tadi	Earlier (recent past)
weh		gigi	teeth
wei	etewei	daun	leaf
		atap	roof
wei		kain	cloth
wek		masa.depan	future (unspecified)
wekleh		halaman	yard
werkukui		tuli	deaf
werman		kepala	head
wet		kencing	urinate
weta		kolong.rumah	under.house
weer		sungai	river
wik		tikar	mat
wiing		banjir	flood

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
wiir		menangis	cry
wiirmeng		tukang.menangis	cry.baby
wiit		pikul	carry
		hamil	pregnant
wlang		muda	young
wleng	wwleng	hijau	green
		biru	blue
wlok		mengerti	understand
wòm		sejarah	history
wòr		batu	stone
wòrkaat		anak.batu	small.rock
wo		itu	that
wra		besok	tomorrow
wraip		periksa	examine
wréh		buaya.darat	komodo
wreh		pukul	hit
wrek		bulu	feather
wren		berenang	swim
wrentai wrentai		berenang.berenang	swimming
wrep		kasih.tinggal	leave
wrep	rep	tunggu	wait
wri		air.kencing	urine
wrin		menggali	dig
wrin		cabut.rumput.dgn.tangan	pull.weeds.by.hand
wro		mamar	orchard
ya		kasih.nama	give.name
ya		di.bawah	below
yah	yaih	soak	hoarse
yaj		lahir	born
yang		kerja	work
yaq		mulai	begin
yar		batang.pohon	tree
yayo		menyanyi	sing
yaah		jelek	bad
		tidak.bisa	unable
yaah		sekali	very
yaar		pohon	tree
yaar		awal	beginning
yeh		kasih.tinggal	leave.behind
yeh	oyeh	ada	exist
yeh		sedang	CONT
yej		bisa	able
yej		jadi	happen
yel		tempo	time
yel		basah	wet

Klon lexeme	Alternate form	Indonesian	English
yetera		kira	think
yo		itu	that
yol		tolak	push
yong		ini	this
		di.sini	here
yongo		itu	that
yop		itu	that
yopo		itu	that
yor		pesan	order
yorat		datang.semua	everyone.come
yook		goyang	shake

D.2 Klon Paneia — Indonesian/Malay — English word list

Paneia	Indonesian	English
ado	aduh	oh
alta	besar	big
at	melayani	serve
ato	bersama.kita	with.us
ayuih	uji	test
bam	omong	talk
baya	bawa	carry
ben	ganti	change
gi	hari	day
ging	dia.punya	3.POSS
her	membantu	help
hui	omong	say
ing	masih	still
ing	lu.punya	2SG.POSS
lai	habis	finish
manci	baik.hati	kind
	sangat.mengerti	understanding
mar	bersama	together
moil	membantu	help
mua	saja	only
ning	saya.punya	1SG.POSS
peng	kita	1NSG.INCL
po-	kita	1NSG.INCL.UND-
ponah	jauh	far
rial	banyak	many
ten	baku	RECP
ti	kita	1NSG.INCL
tomlir	semacam.pohon	type.of.tree
yaih	tidak.bisa	unable

D.3 Non-indigenous — Indonesian/Malay — English word list

Non-indigenous lexeme	Source language	Indonesian	English
abis	Malay	habis	finish
ABRI	Malay	ABRI	army
ada	Malay	ada	exist
adat	Malay	adat	customary.law
aduh	Malay	aduh	oh
Agustus	Malay	Agustus	August
ajar	Malay	ajar	teach
akhir	Malay	akhir	end
alat	Malay	alat	equipment
alat-alat	Malay	alat.alat	instruments
aman	Malay	aman	safe
anggota	Malay	anggota	member
antar	Malay	antar	between
aparatus	Malay	aparatus	civil.servant
April	Malay	April	April
asal	Malay	asal	as.long.as
atau	Malay	atau	or
atmadi	Pura language	bawa.pergi	take.away
aturan	Malay	aturan	regulation
awal	Malay	awal	beginning
awut	Malay (< English?)	awut	out
ba	Pura language	pergi	go
ba	Pura language	bengkak	swollen
bad	Malay	baju	clothes
badan	Malay	badan	body
bagasi	Malay (< Dutch/English?)	bagasi	baggage
bahan	Malay	bahan	material
bahasa	Malay	bahasa	language
bak	Malay	bak	container
balok	Malay	balok	beam
bantal	Malay	bantal	pillow
bantu	Malay	bantu	help
bapa	Malay	bapak	father
bapak	Malay	bapak	father
baqi	Malay	kakek	grandfather
barang	Malay	barang	thing
baru	Malay	baru	then
bas	Malay	baca	read
batas	Malay	perbatasan	border
bawa	Malay	bawa	carry
belas	Malay	belas	teen
beleak	Malay	beleak	tin.can

Non-indigenous lexeme	Source language	Indonesian	English
berita	Malay	berita	news
bersatu	Malay	bersatu	unite
bertanding	Malay	bertanding	compete
besar	Malay	besar	big
biar	Malay	biar	even.though
biasa	Malay	biasa	usual
bidan	Malay	bidan	midwife
bisa	Malay	bisa	able
blakang	Malay	belakang	back
bokor	Malay	bokor	bowl
bola	Malay	bola	ball
bor	Malay (< Dutch/English?)	bor	bore
buang	Malay	buang	throw.away
buk	Malay	bukit	hill
buk		pulau	island
bukan	Malay	bukan	NEG
bukti	Malay	bukti	evidence
buku	Malay	buku	book
bulan	Malay	bulan	month
bunga	Malay	bunga	flower
cara	Malay	cara	way
ceret	Malay	ceret	kettle
cet	Malay	cat	paint
coba	Malay	coba	try
da	Pura language	lari	run
daerah	Malay	daerah	region
daftar	Malay	daftar	list
dan	Malay	dan	and
dana	Malay	dana	funds
dantonu	Pura language	mata.saya	my.eyes
dapat	Malay	dapat	obtain
dari	Malay	dari	from
dasi	Alorese	nanti	later
daya	Pura language	usaha	strive
delapan	Malay	delapan	eight
dengan	Malay	dengan	with
desa	Malay	desa	village
di	Malay	di	in.at.on
dia	Malay	dia	he/she/it
Dinas	Malay	Dinas	governmental
dis	Malay	dinas	work
disingkatkan	Malay	disingkatkan	in.short
doa	Malay	doa	pray
dola	Pura language	limon	lemon

Non-indigenous lexeme	Source language	Indonesian	English
dua	Malay	dua	two
duduk	Malay	duduk	sit
dukun	Malay	dukun	traditional.healer
dukung	Malay	dukung	support
enta	Malay	entah	who.knows
entah	Malay	entah	who.knows
es	Malay	es	es
foto	Malay	foto	photo
gambar	Malay	gambar	picture
gampang	Malay	gampang	easy
gelar	Malay	gelar	degree
gerej	Malay	gereja	church
giliran	Malay	giliran	turn
glap	Malay	gelap	dark
glas	Malay (< Dutch/English?)	gelas	glass
gol	Malay (< Dutch/English?)	gol	goal
gudang	Malay	gudang	storehouse
gugur	Malay	guru.guru	teachers
gula	Malay	gula	sugar
guna	Malay	guna	use
gunting	Malay	gunting	scissors
gunung	Malay	gunung	mountain
gur	Malay	guru	teacher
habis	Malay	habis	finished
halangan	Malay	halangan	problem
hamar	Dutch	palu	hammer
hanya	Malay	hanya	only
hari	Malay	hari	day
hidup	Malay	hidup	life
HKM	Malay	HKM	?
hobi	Malay (< English)	hobi	hobby
hutan	Malay	hutan	jungle
ibu	Malay	ibu	mother
ini	Malay	ini	this
insinyur	Malay	insinyur	engineer
itu	Malay	itu	that
jadi	Malay	jadi	so
jadwal	Malay	jadwal	agenda
jam	Malay	jam	time
Januari	Malay	Januari	January
jemaat	Malay	jemaat	parish
jiwa	Malay	jiwa	soul
juara	Malay	juara	champion
kabupaten	Malay	kabupaten	regency

Non-indigenous lexeme	Source language	Indonesian	English
kakak	Malay	kakak	older.sibling
kaki	Malay	kaki	leg
kaku	Pura language	saya	1SG
kalau	Malay	kalau	if
kalo	Malay	kalau	if
kamar	Malay	kamar	room
Kamis	Malay	Kamis	Thursday
kampung	Malay	kampung	hamlet
kanan	Malay	kanan	right
kantor	Malay	kantor	office
kap	Malay	kapal	ship
karna	Malay	karena	because
kasar	Malay	kasar	rough
kasian	Malay	kasihan	poor.thing
kasih	Malay	kasih	give
kawan	Malay	kawan	friend
kayu	Malay	kayu	wood
kedua	Malay	kedua	second
kekurangan	Malay	kekurangan	shortage
keliling	Malay	keliling	surround
kemampuan	Malay	kemampuan	ability
kemerdekaan	Malay	kemerdekaan	independence
kepal	Malay	kepala	head
keputusan	Malay	keputusan	decision
keranjang	Malay	keranjang	basket
kere	Alorese	sudah	already
kering	Malay	kering	dry
kesenian	Malay	kesenian	arts
ketapang	Malay	ketapang	k.o. almond.tree
ketua	Malay	ketua	chair
kilo	Malay (< Dutch/English?)	kilo	kilograms
kiper	Malay/English	kiper	goal.keeper
kipitan	Dutch	kapitan	capitan
kiri	Malay	kiri	left
kita	Malay	kita	1PL.INCL
KK	Malay	kepala.keluarga	family.head
klas	Malay	kelas	kelas
klub	Malay/English	klub	club
ko	Malay	ko	EMP
kocar-kacir	Malay	kucar-kacir	disorganised
kopi	Malay	kopi	coffee
korong	Malay	karung	sack
kos	Malay	kaos	t-shirt
kos tangan	Malay	kaos.tangan	gloves

Non-indigenous lexeme	Source language	Indonesian	English
kostum	Malay (< Dutch/English?)	kostum	uniform
kot	Malay	kota	city
kpal	Malay	ketua	leader
kranjang	Malay	keranjang	basket
kris	Malay	kris	kris
krong	Malay	karung	sack
kubik	Malay	kubik	cubic
kud	Malay	kuda	horse
kie	Malay	kie	cake
kumpul	Malay	kumpul	gather
kuning	Malay	kuning	yellow
kursus	Malay	kursus	course
la	Malay	lah	EMP
lalole	Pura language	saya.menangis	I.cry
lama	Alorese	jalan	walk
lampu	Malay	lampu	light
lancar	Malay	lancar	smooth
langsung	Malay	langsung	immediately
lansung	Malay	langsung	immediately
lapang	Malay	lapangan	field
lapur	Malay	lapor	report
lawan	Malay	lawan	against
lengkap	Malay	lengkap	complete
leti	Pura language	bawa.pergi	carry.away
lingkar	Malay	lingkar	surround
lokasi	Malay	lokasi	location
lole	Pura language	bawa	carry
lomba	Malay	lomba	competition
lu	Malay	lu	2SG
main	Malay	bermain	play
makan	Malay	makan	eat
makanan	Malay	makanan	food
maksud	Malay	maksud	purpose
malah	Malay	malahan	moreover
malaikat	Malay	malaikat	angel
mama	Malay	mama	mother
mamar	Malay	mamar	bush
mandor	Malay	mandur	foreman
mangkok	Malay	mangkok	mug
mantri	Malay	mantri	official
Maret	Malay	Maret	March
mas	Malay	emas	gold
masuk	Malay	masuk	enter
mej	Malay	meja	table

Non-indigenous lexeme	Source language	Indonesian	English
memang	Malay	memang	indeed
menang	Malay	menang	win
mencari	Malay	mencari	search
menderita	Malay	menderita	suffer
mengaku	Malay	mengaku	confess
mengerti	Malay	mengerti	understand
menyongsong	Malay	menyongsong	celebrate
merayakan	Malay	merayakan	celebrate
mesin	Malay	mesin	machine
meter	Malay	meter	metre
meting	Malay (< English?)	meting	meeting
minggu	Malay	minggu	week
minta	Malay	minta	request
minyak	Malay	minyak	oil
misalnya	Malay	misalnya	for.example
malaikat	Malay	malaikat	angel
molo	Alorese	duluan	first
motor	Malay	motor.laut	motor.boat
muka	Malay	muka	front
mulai	Malay	mulai	begin
mulai	Malay	baru	new
musti	Malay	musti	should
naik	Malay	naik	ascend
nama	Malay	nama	name
nanti	Malay	nanti	later
natzar	Malay	natzar	offering
nenek	Malay	nenek	grandmother
ning	Pura language	pohon	tree
no	Pura language	atau	or
nomer	Malay	nomor	number
nona	Malay	nona	miss
nonton	Malay	nonton	watch
-nya	Malay	-nya	3POSS
ok	Malay (< English)	ok	ok
Oktober	Malay	Oktober	October
olah raga	Malay	olah.raga	sport
omong	Malay	omong	talk
onung	Pura language	saya.punya	mine
opesial	Malay (< English)	opesial	manager
orang	Malay	masyarakat	the.people
orang	Malay	orang	person
oto	Malay	oto	motorised.vehicle
otonung	Pura language	angin	wind
oom	Malay (< Dutch)	om	uncle

Non-indigenous lexeme	Source language	Indonesian	English
padahal	Malay	padahal	whereas
pahlawan	Malay	pahlawan	hero
Pak	Malay	Pak	Mr
pak	Malay	memaku	to.nail
pake	Malay	pakai	wear
paksa	Malay	paksa	force
paku	Malay	paku	nail
panderen	Malay (< Dutch/English?)	fanderen	foundations
papan	Malay	papan	board
pas	Malay	pas	exact
pegawai	Malay	pegawai	civil.servant
pemain	Malay	pemain	players
pemali	Malay	pemali	forbidden
pembangunan	Malay	pembangunan	development
pembukaan	Malay	pembukaan	opening
pemerintah	Malay	pemerintah	government
pemrenta	Malay	pemerintah	government
pemrentah	Malay	pemerintah	government
pen	Malay	pen	makeshift.step.in.tree
pengurus	Malay	pengurus	organiser
penjara	Malay	penjara	prison
penutupan	Malay	penutupan	closing
perak	Malay	perak	silver
perayaan	Malay	perayaan	celebration
perlu	Malay	perlu	need
permisi	Malay	permisi	excuse
perna	Malay	pernah	ever
perpisahan	Malay	perpisahan	parting
persiapan	Malay	persiapan	preparations
pertama	Malay	pertama	first
pertandingan	Malay	pertandingan	competition
pertanian	Malay	pertanian	farming
pimpinan	Malay	pimpinan	leader
pinda	Malay	pindah	move
piring	Malay	piring	plate
pito	Pura language	darah	blood
prenta	Malay	pemerintah	government
pres	Malay	periksa	examine
program	Malay	program	program
proyek	Malay	proyek	project
pti	Malay	peti	coffin
puisi	Malay	puisi	poetry
pulang	Malay	pulang	go.home
pulu	Malay	puluh	ten

Non-indigenous lexeme	Source language	Indonesian	English
puluh	Malay	puluh	ten
punya	Malay	punya	have
pusaka	Malay	pusaka	heirloom
puskesmas	Malay	puskesmas	health.centre
raja	Malay	raja	ruler
ram	Malay	ramai	many.people
rantai	Malay	rantai	chain
rante	Malay	rantai	chain
rayakan	Malay	rayakan	celebrate
rencana	Malay	rencana	plan
rib	Malay	ribu	thousand
ribu	Malay	ribu	thousand
rusak	Malay	rusak	rotten
RW	Malay	rukun.warga	citizen's.group
Sabtu	Malay	Sabtu	Saturday
sadar	Malay	sadar	aware
saku	Malay	saku	pocket
salom	Malay	salom	greetings
sampai	Malay	sampai	until
sana	Malay	sana	there
sapi	Malay	sapi	cow
sapu	Malay	sapu	broom
sapu tangan	Malay	sapu.tangan	handkerchief
satu	Malay	satu	one
sayang	Malay	sayang	love
SD	Malay	sekolah.dasar	primary.school
sebut	Malay	sebut	mention
sedikit	Malay	sedikit	a.little
sehingga	Malay	sehingga	so.that
sejarah	Malay	sejarah	history
sekitar	Malay	sekitar	approximately
selama	Malay	selama	during
selamat jalan	Malay	selamat jalan	farewell
selamat tinggal	Malay	selamat tinggal	farewell
semangat	Malay	semangat	enthusiastic
sembayang	Malay	sembayang	pray
sengaja	Malay	sengaja	deliberately
sengsor	Malay (< English)	sensor	chainsaw
sepak	Malay	sepak	kick
sepatu	Malay	sepatu	shoes
sepeda	Malay	sepeda	bike
September	Malay	September	September
silet	Malay	silet	razor
skol	Malay	sekola	school

Non-indigenous lexeme	Source language	Indonesian	English
SMP	Malay	SMP	junior.high.school
snang	Malay	senang	happy
soldai	Dutch	tentara	soldier
sopan	Malay	sopan	polite
suda	Malay	sudah	IMP
sudah	Malay	sudah	already
suku	Malay	suku	clan
sulap	Malay	sulap	conjuring
sumbangan	Malay	sumbangan	contribution
supaya	Malay	supaya	so.that
supermi	Malay	supermi	instant.noodles
suting	Malay (< English)	suting	filming
tahun	Malay	tahun	year
taikat	Malay	terikat	tied
tambur	Malay	tambur	drum
tan	Pura language	bawa	carry
tanding	Malay	bertanding	compete
tangan	Malay	tangan	arm
tange	Pura language	pohon	tree
tanggal	Malay	tanggal	date
tanggung	Malay	tanggung	take.care.of
tapi	Malay	tapi	but
taqakir	Malay	terakhir	finally
taru	Malay	taruh	place
tas	Malay	tas	bag
tatinggi	Malay	tertinggi	tallest
tembok	Malay	tembok	wall
tempat	Malay	tempat	place
tenaga	Malay	tenaga	labour
tendang	Malay	tendang	kick
terakhir	Malay	terakhir	finally
terbentuk	Malay	terbentuk	formed
terima kasih	Malay	terima.kasih	thank you
termasuk	Malay	termasuk	include
terus	Malay	terus	continue
tetap	Malay	tetap	continue
tetapi	Malay	tetapi	but
tiap	Malay	tiap	every
tiga	Malay	tiga	three
timbang	Malay	timbang	weigh
timbangan	Malay	timbangan	scales
tinggal	Malay	tinggal	stay
to	Malay (< Dutch)	toh	TAG
toko	Malay	toko	shop

Non-indigenous lexeme	Source language	Indonesian	English
tolak	Malay	tolak	reject
tolong	Malay	tolong	help
ton	Pura language	berenang	swim
tonu	Pura language	badai	cyclone
topi	Malay	topi	hat
toples	Malay	toples	container
trim	Malay	terima	receive
trima kasi	Malay	terimakasih	thankyou
trus	Malay	terus	continue
tua	Malay	tua	old
tuju	Malay	tujuh	seven
tujuh	Malay	tujuh	seven
tuntut	Malay	tuntut	demand
ucapan	Malay	ucapan	pronunciation
ulang	Malay	ulang	repeat
umum	Malay	umum	general
umur	Malay	umur	age
urus	Malay	urus	organise
usaha	Malay	usaha	strive
usanang	Malay	senang	happy
voly	Malay (< English)	volly	volly
waktu	Malay	waktu	when
waktu	Malay	waktu	time
walaupun	Malay	walaupun	although
warga	Malay	warga	citizen
ya	Malay	ya	yes
ya	Malay	yang	which
yaitu	Malay	yaitu	that.is
yang	Malay	yang	which

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