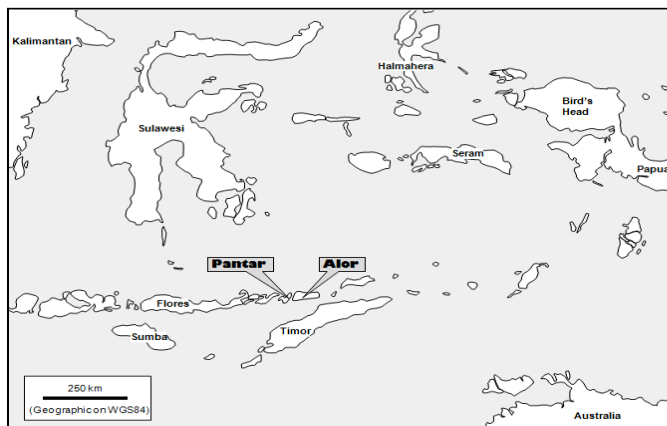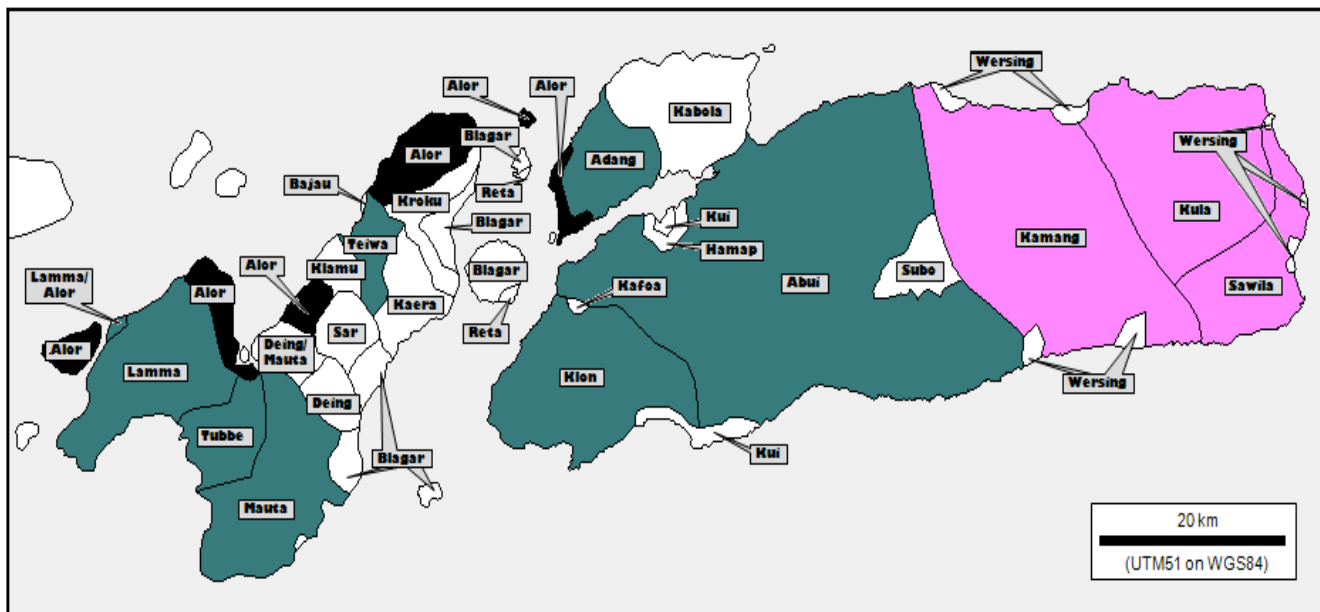# Pronominal marking in the Alor-Pantar languages[1]

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1 Introduction

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

Map 1. The islands Alor and Pantar in eastern Indonesia

Map 2. The Alor-Pantar languages

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

Variety of constraints, similar to those noted for:
- Differential Object Marking (DOM): animacy and definiteness (Bossong 1991, Aissen 2003), specificity (von Heusinger & Kaiser 2005) and affectedness (von Heusinger & Kaiser, to appear)
- Differential Subject Marking: volitionality (Mohanan 1990).

Languages:
- Teiwa (Pantar; Klamer 2010)[2]
- Adang (Bird's Head-Western Alor; Haan 2001)[3]
- Klon (Western Alor; Baird 2005, Baird 2008; Baird, in press)[4]
- Abui (Central-Western Alor; Kratochvíl 2007)[5]
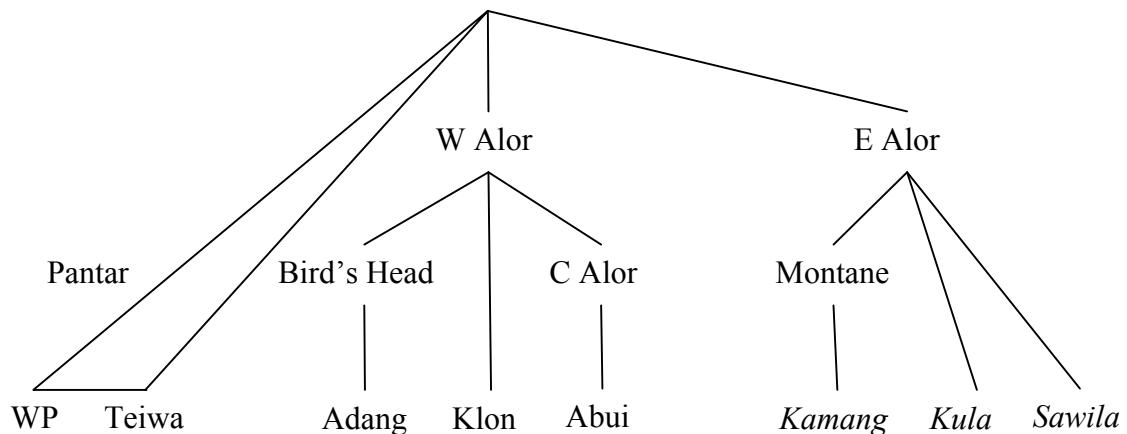- Western Pantar (Pantar; Holton, in press)[6]

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

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

Number of prefix sets:
- Several in Alor languages (Adang, Klon and Abui; and also Kamang − A. Schapper, pers. comm.).
- A single set in the Pantar languages (Western Pantar and Teiwa).

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

Alignments:
- Nominative-accusative[7], i.e. always S=A (Teiwa and Adang)

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[2] All Teiwa examples are from Klamer (2010).
[3] All Adang examples are from Haan (2001).
[4] All Klon examples are from Baird (2008).
[5] All Abui examples are from Kratochvíl (2007).
[6] All Western Pantar examples are from Holton (in press).
[7] In the discussion of alignment, we use the following primitives for core participants (cf. Comrie 1981): A (more agent-like argument of a transitive clause), S (single argument of an intransitive clause), and P (more patient-like argument of a transitive clause).

- Semantic (Mithun 1991, Donohue and Wichmann 2008): Abui, Western Pantar, and Klon.
- Term "semantic alignment" suggests that indexation patterns are directly determined by verbal or participant semantics (e.g., Loma, a South Western Mande language from Liberia with a strict active/stative distinction [Arkadiev 2008: 105]).
- More typical is a semantic alignment systems which is semantically motivated, yet partly determined on lexical grounds.

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

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

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

(1)   *a   her*
TEI 3SG climb
      'He climbs up.' (p. 169)

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

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

(3)   *a   pi-liin*
TEI 3SG 1PL.INCL-invite
      'He invited us.' (p. 167)

	Prefix
1SG	*n(a)-*
2SG	*h(a)-*
3SG	*g(a)-, gə-*
1PL.EXCL	*n(i)-*
1PL.INCL	*p(i)-*
2PL	*y(i)-*
3PL	*g(i)-, ga-*
3PL.ELSEWH.	*g(i)-*
DISTRIB.	*t(a)-*

Table 1. Teiwa prefixes

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

Examples are *-ayas* 'throw at', *-bun* 'answer', *-fin* 'catch', *-lal* 'show to', *-liin* 'invite', *-mian* 'put at (animate goal)', *-pak* 'call', *-panaat* 'send to', *-regan* 'ask', *-rian* 'look after', *-sas* 'feed', *-soi* 'order', *-tiar* 'chase', *-ua'* 'hit', *-'uam* 'teach', *-uyan* 'search for', *-wei* 'bathe'

Class 2 encode the (inanimate) object as a separate noun phrase. This NP is not indexed with a prefix.

Examples are *bali* 'see', *bangan* 'ask for', *boqai* 'cut up', *dumar* 'push away', *hela* 'pull', *mat* 'take', *me'* 'be in', *moxod* 'drop', *na* 'eat', *ol* 'buy', *pin* 'hold', *qas* 'split', *taxar* 'cut in two', *tian* 'carry on head or shoulder'.

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

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

(5) *… kotan   u   dumar   moxod-an   si   a   wa*
TEI spin.top DIST   push   drop-REAL   SIM   3SG go
     '… [her brother] pushed away [and] dropped that spin top, while [it]

     yaqai   ewar   trunan   yix   ta   gi gula'   a   wa: …
     down.below   return   roll   descend   TOP   go finish   3SG say
     went back down, rolled, she [the girl] said: …'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(9) *ha   gi   ya'   siis   nuk   ga-uyan   pin   aria'*
TEI 2SG go   small_bamboo_sp   dry   one   3SG-look_for   hold   arrive
     'look for dry bamboo to bring here' (p. 340)

Other class 3 verbs are: *-sar* 'notice, find (water)'[8], *-laman* 'quarrel with sth, negotiate sth (road)', *-miar* 'play with sth (embers)', *-tane'* 'kick sth (coconut).

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

(10) *ga-manak   waal   ta   yaa   yivar bali   si*
TEI 3SG-master that_mentioned TOP descend dog   see   SIM
     'His master goes down and sees [the] dog, …' (p. 428)

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

2.2 Adang
- Nominative-accusative
- Only P's are indexed with a prefix.

Examples of intransitive verbs are: *aɛr* 'pause', *aʔai* 'exist', *asal* 'laugh', *bit* 'say', *bɔnɛ* 'stink', *den* '(be) how many?', *fai* 'burn', *falɛŋ* 'say, tell', *hɔʔ* 'arrive, come', *ip* 'go down', *kak* 'itch', *karɛsang* 'work', *ladɔ* 'bounce up and down', *lamɛ* 'walk', *leu* 'blue', *ma* 'come', *maʔar* 'hurt', *mih* 'sit', *min* 'die', *poʔ* 'break', *ʔɔl* 'fall over', *suhuɲ* 'disappear', *tar* 'lie down'.

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

(11) *bel   min*
ADG dog   die
     'Dogs die.' (p. 212)

(12) *bel   n-eh*
ADG dog   1SG.I-bite
     'A dog bit me.' (p. 230)

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

(13) *John   na-hou   mih*
ADG PN   1SG.I-tell   sit
     'John told me (to) sit down.' (p. 250)

Typically, the prefix indexes animate P's.
Examples are: *-ad* 'release', *-ah* 'feed', *-baʔang* 'divide', *-bung* 'close to', *-bunɛ* 'admire', *-danang* 'wait for', *-od* 'stone', *-dodo* 'push', *-eh* 'bite', *-hol* 'know, find', *-hou* 'ask, command', *-tan* 'ask', *-taɲ* 'let'.

- Exceptions, prefix but inanimate object: *-bɔʔɔi* 'cut', *-dɛ* 'eat', *-lalung* 'loosen', *-nai* 'between', *-tɛl* 'lift up', *-ten* 'make'.
- There are more of these in Adang than there are in Teiwa.

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[8] *-Sar* 'see, notice somebody/something' can appear with or without prefix regardless of whether the object is animate or inanimate.

Class 2 of transitive verbs do not have prefixes and (with a very few exceptions) only occur with inanimate objects.

(14) *Manu aru   tarɔp tatɔʔ eham*
ADG PN deer bone cut INC
       'Manu is about to cut deer bones.' (p. 226)

Other examples are: *arung* 'dig', *dou* 'cook', *far* '(be) under', *fel* 'buy', *fiʔ* 'spin', *fit* 'carry', *hul* 'write', *huʔ* 'measure', *lap* 'seek', *mang* 'put on (clothing)', *med* 'take', *meng* 'put', *mi* '(be) in', *mɔta* '(be) above', *na* 'drink', *panɛn* 'do, make', *ʔuhuɲ* 'pour', *sapu* 'clean', *taʔoɲ* 'cut', *taʔu* 'steal', *tarɔp* 'drop', *tɛfang* 'carry on shoulder'.

- Exceptions to this are *bɛh* 'hit', *hɔr* 'injure', *luh* 'hunt'[9], *masang* 'shoot', *nod* 'to tie (animals)', and *tu* 'scratch', which can (or have to) occur with animate objects.

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

	PI	PII	PIII
1SG	*n(a)-*	*nɔ-*	*nɛ-*
2SG	*a-*	*ɔ-*	*ɛ-*
3SG OBV	*ʔ(a)-*	*ʔɔ-*	*ʔɛ-*
3SG PROX	*s(a)-*	*sɔ-*	*sɛ-*
2PL	*i-*	*iɔ-*	*iɛ-*
1PL EXCL	*ni-*	*niɔ-*	*niɛ-*
1PL INCL	*pi-*	*piɔ-*	*piɛ-*
3PL OBV	*ʔ(a)-*	*ʔɔ-*	*ʔɛ-*
3PL PROX	*s(a)-*	*sɔ-*	*sɛ-*

Table 2. Adang prefixes

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

(15) *Bain sapad puɲ nɛ–hɔʔ*
       PN sword hold 1SG.III-arrive
       'Bain came to me holding a sword.' (from INTR *hɔʔ* 'arrive') (p. 373)

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

(16) *Bain mang karɛsang sɛng lap   biʔ*
ADG PN only work   money look_for a lot
       'Bain works too hard making money.' (p. 357)

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[9] This verb normally takes the object *na* 'thing'. There is a traditional belief that names of animals should not be used lest the hunters have bad luck (Haan 2001: 226).

(17)   *Rudy   ʔɔ–lap–am?*
ADG   PN   3SG.II-look_for-PFV
        'Rudy has gone to him/her.' (p. 286)

Summary

	Teiwa	**Adang**
Alignment	NOM-ACC	NOM-ACC
High correlation between presence of prefix and animacy of the referent	yes	yes
Number of verbs with obligatory prefix	more	fewer
Prefix sets	1	3

Table 3. Main similarities and differences between Teiwa and Adang

3 Semantically aligned languages: Klon, Abui, and WP
- Key parameter for intransitives: Volitionality
- A non-volitional or less volitional S is encoded with a prefix, while a volitional S is encoded with a free pronoun.

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

	PI	*PII*	*PIII*
1SG	*n-*	*no-*	*ne-*
2SG	*V-/Ø-*	*o-*	*e-*
3SG	*g-*	*go-*	*ge-*
1PL.EXCL	*ng-*	*ngo-*	*nge-*
1PL.INCL	*t-*	*to-*	*te-*
2PL	*Vg-*	*ogo-*	*ege-*
3PL	*ini g-*	*ini go-*	*ini ge-*

Table 4. Klon prefixes

Klon has three lexical classes of intransitive verbs:

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

Class 1 of intransitive verbs (no prefix):
- Large class.
- Contains verbs of various semantic types, e.g., *diqiri* 'think', *hler* 'cut grass', *liir* 'fly', but also stative ones like *mkuun* 'fat' (Baird 2005: 6).

Intransitive clause in (18) vs. transitive clause in (19):

(18)   *nang ini   hok waa nang*
KLN   NEG 3PL IRR go   NEG
        'No, they didn't go.' (p. 31)

(19)   *koh   ini   awa   g-eh   nang*
KLN   finish   3PL   again   3I-feed   NEG
        'Then they didn't feed her anymore.' (p. 31)

Class 2 of intransitive verbs (prefix):
   • Small class.
   • Its members encode S with a PII-prefix. S's of these verbs are always non-volitional participants, e.g., *atak* 'rather large', *egel* 'tired', *hrak* 'hot':

(20)   *go-hrak*
KLN   3SG.II-hot
        's/he is hot' (p. 76)

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

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

(21)   *ga   kaak*
KLN   3SG   itchy
        's/he is itchy (but able to tolerate it)' (p. 55)

(22)   *ge-kaak*
KLN   3SG.III-itchy
        'S/he is (unbearably) itchy' (p. 55)

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

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

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

(23)   *nok bo, gi-odoin   orok ini   ge   kuur g-oj*
KLN   good SEQ 3POSS-brother   two 3PL 3POSS dog 3I-call_dog
      'so her two brothers called their dogs' (p. 162)

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

	PI	*PII*	*PIII*
1SG	*n(a)-*	*no-*	*ne-*
2SG	*a- (Ø- before V)*	*o-*	*e-*
3a[10]	*d(a)-*	*do-*	*de-*
3b	*h(a)-*	*ho-*	*he-*
1PL.EXCL	*ni-*	*nu-*	*ni-*
1PL.INCL	*pi-*	*po-/pu-*	*pi-*
2PL	*ri-*	*ro-/ru-*	*ri-*
DISTR	*t(a)-*	*to-*	*te-*

Table 5. Abui prefixes

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

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

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

(24)   *kalieta   loku kawai*
ABU   old_person PL   argue
      'Old people are arguing.' (p. 93)

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

[11] Kratochvíl calls the three sets Patient, Recipient, and Locative, respectively. As we do not want to assume too much about the semantics of the prefixes, we use the more non-committal number designations for the time being.

Intransitive verbs with a non-volitional participant encode S=P.
E.g., *-a* 'be at, stay', *-bui* 'short', *-dikdik* 'twitch (of face)', *-fing* 'oldest', *-foka* 'big', *-kai* 'drop', *-kang* 'good', *-kikd* 'blush', *-kilr* 'lonely, deserted', *-lil* 'hot', *-lunga* 'long', *-malaida* 'die by accident', *-yei* 'fall'.

(25)   *wata   ha-yei*
ABU   coconut 3I-fall
         'A coconut falls.' (p. 80)

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

(26)   *na   làk*
ABU   1SG leave_for
         'I go away.' (p. 15)

(27)   *no-làk*
ABU   1SG.II-leave_for
         'I retreat/disappear.' (p. 15)

Transitive clause in (28):

(28)   *Simon   di   kaai ha-loi*
ABU   PN   3SG dog 3I-chase
         'Simon chased the dog.' (p. 15)

Role of animacy in the indexing patterns of transitive verbs:
- one class of verbs which never have a prefix and which exclusively occur with inanimate Undergoers, e.g., *baai* 'grind', *bang* 'carry', *buuk* 'drink', *kadel* 'split', *mihi* 'set down', *tur* 'scoop', and *wit* 'carry in arms'.

3.3 Western Pantar

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

	Free pronouns		Prefix
	Actor	Undergoer	
1SG	*nang*	*naing*	*na-*
2SG	*hang*	*haing*	*ha-*
3SG	*gang*	*gaing*	*ga-*
4SG[12]	*ang*	*aing*	*a-*
1PL.INCL	*ping*	*pi'ing*	*pi-*
1PL.EXCL	*ning*	*ni'ing*	*ni-*
1PAUC	*taing*	*taing*	*ta-*
2PL	*hing*	*hi'ing*	*hi-*
3PL	*ging*	*gi'ing*	*gi-*

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

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

(29) *nang   birang*
WP   1SG.ACT   speak
       'I speak.'

(30) *naing   massa*
WP   1SG.UND   tired
       'I am tired.'

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

(31) *nang   muddi*
WP   1SG.ACT   strong
       'I should be strong.'

(32) *naing   muddi*
WP   1SG.UND   strong
       'I am strong.'

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

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[12] Fourth person pronouns are used in switch-reference to distinguish a distinct third person.

(33) *nang   gaing   lu'ung*
WP   1SG.ACT   3SG.UND   cut
         'I cut him.'

Both participants may be coded with Undergoer pronouns, if neither is sufficiently controlling (not absence of control, but less control):

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

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

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

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

Summary

	Klon	**Abui**	**WP**
Alignment	Semantic	Semantic	Semantic
Fluidity of semantic alignment	low	high	?
Parameters relevant for indexation	Volitionality/ affectedness	Volitionality/ animacy/ affectedness	Volitionality (control)/ affectedness
Prefix sets	3	3	1
Choice of prefix set	rarely possible	often possible	n/a

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

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

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

(37) *adaq   ne-hrak*
KLN   fire   1SG.III-hot
         'The fire makes me (unbearably) hot.' (p. 76)

-12-

(38) *mdi   no-hrak*
KLN   sun   1SG.II-hot
      'The sun heats me up.' (p. 76)
- In Abui, many verbs can appear with more than one prefix set, e.g.:

(39) *ha-dik* [3I-prick] 'pierce through it'
     ho-dik [3II-prick] 'poke/tickle him/her'
     he-dik [3III-prick] 'stab (at) it'

     ha-fanga [3I-say] 'order him'
     ho-fanga [3II-say] 'scold him'
     he-fanga [3III-say] 'say it (i.e. an utterance)'

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

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

5 Prefixes in the nominal domain (Possession)
5.1 Possession in Teiwa (NOM-ACC)
- Prefixes on nouns are used to indicate alienable and inalienable possession.
- Forms are very similar, though not identical, to the object prefix set found on verbs[13]. Inalienably possessed nouns have an obligatory prefix.
- Alienably possessed nouns can occur without a prefix, thus:

(41)   POSS-Inalien_N   *na-tan*   'my-hand'   **tan*
(42)   (POSS-)Alien_N   *(na-)qavif*   '(my-)goat'   *qavif*

Inalienably possessed nouns are either:
- Body parts: *-aa'* 'mouth', *-au* 'jaw', *-dexen* 'horns', *-et* 'eye', *-tof* 'egg'.
- Kin ship terms: *-oma'* 'father', *-xala'* 'mother', *-xaler* 'aunt', *-misi* 'husband'.

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

5.2 Possession in Abui (Semantic alignment)
- Inalienable possession is marked by PI prefixes (highly affected prefix series), mainly with body parts.

(43)   *na-loku*   **loku*
ABU   3SG.INALIEN(I)-arm
     'my arm'

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[13] The only differences are that (i) there is no form for 3PL_elsewhere and (ii) *a-* (which is homophonous to the short SBJ pronoun, but a bound form) can also be used in 3rd person singular and plural.

- Inalienable marking also with a few non-body part nouns, e.g., *-ne* 'name' and *-mol* 'enemy':

(44)   ABU *ha-ne* 'his/her name' (p. 143)   **ne*

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

(45)   *ne-fala*   *fala/*na-fala*
ABU   1SG.AL(III)-house
          'my house' (p. 139)

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

(46)   **no-loku* 'my arm'   BUT *na-loku*
ABU   **no-kuta* 'my grandparent'   BUT *ne-kuta*
          *no-fala 'my house'   BUT *ne-fala*

- Rather than animacy, the relevant factor seems to be control/affectedness.
- Formal parallel between verbal and nominal prefixes based on the semantic parallel between inalienable possession and highly affected patients.
- Agent and possessor have full control over patients and inalienably possessed items, respectively.

6 Additional local properties
- Teiwa: focus
- Abui: specificity
- Western Pantar: modality

6.1 Focus in Teiwa
- Pragmatics impinge on indexing patterns in Teiwa.
- No (expected) prefix in object-focus constructions, for example, when the object is focused with *la*:

(47) *rai* [*na la*] *soi ga-kamadal ga-boxan tas*
TEI   king 1SG FOC order 3SG-belt   3SG-guard stand
          'I was ordered by the king to guard his belt.' (p. 28)

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

(48) *miag   yivar   ga'an   sii.*
TEI   yesterday dog   him   bite
          'Yesterday a dog bit him [not me].' (p. 407)

(49) *miag   yivar   ga-sii.*
TEI   yesterday dog   3SG-bite
          'Yesterday a dog bit him.' (p. 407)

- Absence of prefix on the verbs *soi* 'order' and *sii* 'bite' does not reflect change in argument structure or animacy of the object, rather function of the focus construction.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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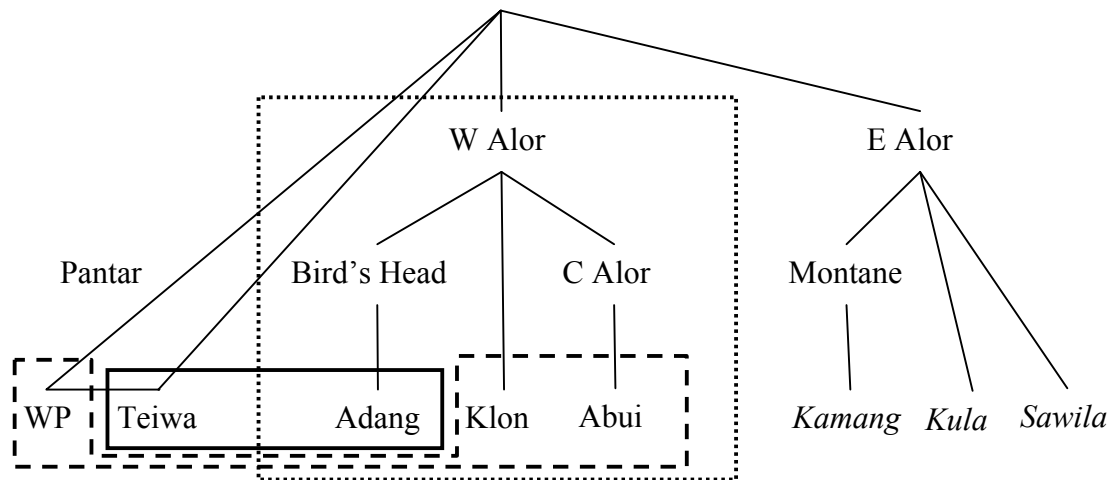
7 Mappings of properties onto the tree

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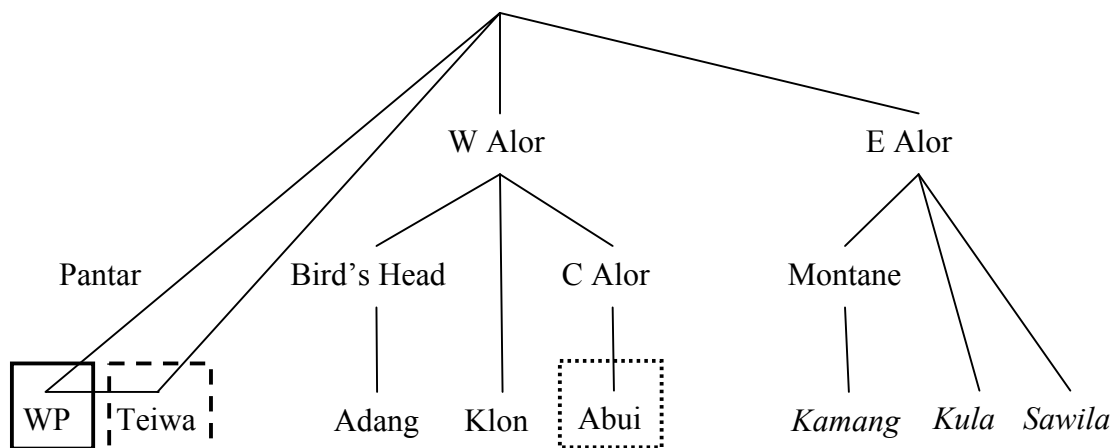
Figure 3. Additional local properties (Solid line - Modality, Dashed line - Focus, Dotted line - Specificity)

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

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Appendix

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

	Subject		Object	
	Long form	Short form	*Free form*	*Prefix*
1SG	*na'an*	*na*	*na'an*	*n(a)-*
2SG	*ha'an*	*ha*	*ha'an*	*h(a)-*
3SG	*a'an*	*a*	*ga'an*	*g(a)-, gə-*
1PL.EXCL	*ni'in*	*ni*	*ni'in*	*n(i)-*
1PL.INCL	*pi'in*	*pi*	*pi'in*	*p(i)-*
2PL	*yi'in*	*yi*	*yi'in*	*y(i)-*
3PL	*iman*	*i, a*	*iman*	*g(i)-, ga-*
3PL.ELSEWH.	*i'in*	*i, a*	*gi'in*	*g(i)-*
DISTRIB.	*ta'an*	*ta*	*ta'an*	*t(a)-*

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

	Free pronouns		Prefix
	Actor	Undergoer	
1SG	*nang*	*naing*	*na-*
2SG	*hang*	*haing*	*ha-*
3SG	*gang*	*gaing*	*ga-*
4SG[14]	*ang*	*aing*	*a-*
1PL.INCL	*ping*	*pi'ing*	*pi-*
1PL.EXCL	*ning*	*ni'ing*	*ni-*
1PL.PAUC	*taing*	*taing*	*ta-*
2PL	*hing*	*hi'ing*	*hi-*
3PL	*ging*	*gi'ing*	*gi-*

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

	Free pronouns			Prefixes		
	NOM	ACC	GEN	PI	PII	PIII
1SG	*na*	*na-ri*	*nɔ/ne*	*n(a)-*	*nɔ-*	*nɛ-*
2SG	*a*	*a-ri*	*ɔ/e*	*a-*	*ɔ-*	*ɛ-*
3SG OBV	*sa*	*ʔa-ri*	*ʔɔ/ʔe*	*ʔ(a)-*	*ʔɔ-*	*ʔɛ-*
3SG PROX		*sa-ri*	*sɔ/se*	*s(a)-*	*sɔ-*	*sɛ-*
2PL	*i*	*i-ri*	*i/i(e)*	*i-*	*iɔ-*	*iɛ-*
1PL EXCL	*ni*	*ni-ri*	*ni/ni(e)*	*ni-*	*niɔ-*	*niɛ-*
1PL INCL COLL	*pi*	*pi-ri*	*pi/pi(e)*	*pi-*	*piɔ-*	*piɛ-*
1PL INCL DISTR		*ta-ri*	*tɔ/te*			
3PL OBV	*supi*	*supi (ʔa-ri)*	*supi ʔɔ/ supi ʔe*	*ʔ(a)-*	*ʔɔ-*	*ʔɛ-*
3PL PROX		*sa-ri*	*sɔ/se*	*s(a)-*	*sɔ-*	*sɛ-*

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

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[14] Fourth person pronouns are used in switch-reference to distinguish a distinct third person.

	Free pronoun	Prefixes		
		PI	*PII*	*PIII*
1SG	*na*	*n(a)-*	*no-*	*ne-*
2SG	*a*	*a-* (Ø- before V)	*o-*	*e-*
3a[15]	*di*[16]	*d(a)-*	*do-*	*de-*
3b		*h(a)-*	*ho-*	*he-*
1PL.EXCL	*ni*	*ni-*	*nu-*	*ni-*
1PL.INCL	*pi*	*pi-*	*po-/pu-*	*pi-*
2PL	*ri*	*ri-*	*ro-/ru-*	*ri-*
DISTR		*t(a)-*	*to-*	*te-*

Table D. Abui free pronouns and prefixes (Kratochvíl 2007)

	Free pronoun		Prefixes		
	Full	Reduced	*I*	*II*	*IV*
1SG	*na(n)*	*na*	*n-*	*no-*	*ne-*
2SG	*a(n)*	*ha*	*V-/Ø-*	*o-*	*e-*
3SG	*ga(n)*	*a*	*g-*	*go-*	*ge-*
1PL.EXCL	*ngi*	*ni*	*ng-*	*ngo-*	*nge-*
1PL.INCL	*pi*	*pi*	*t-*	*to-*	*te-*
2PL	*igi*	*i*	*Vg-*	*ogo-*	*ege-*
3PL	*ini*	*i*	*ini g-*	*ini go-*	*ini ge-*

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

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

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