

Western Lamaholot

A cross-dialectal grammar sketch

Marc Michels



Thesis for the Research MA Linguistics
Faculty of Humanities, Universiteit Leiden

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Marian Klamer

Second reader: Dr. Mily Crevels

2017

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a cross-dialectal grammar-sketch of the Western dialect group of Lamaholot, an Austronesian language spoken in Eastern Indonesia. It is a synthesis of the author's own fieldwork data with the existing literature on the various dialects that belong to this group. Western Lamaholot has a little over 20 distinct phonemes, a strong tendency towards CV-syllables, and penultimate stress. It has SV and AVP word order but frequently shows fronting of non-focused elements. It makes use of serial verbs and a lot of the function words that are used are grammaticallized serial verbs. Nouns show a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession in possessive constructions. Some verbs are inflected for person and number through prefixes, and intransitive verbs sometimes get subject agreement suffixes. Adjectives, pronouns, and in some dialects demonstratives and numerals get a suffix *-n*, historically derived from genitive markers, when they are used as noun modifiers. This thesis discusses controversial topics in the Lamaholot literature such as the phonemic status of long vowels, the existence of adjectives as a separate class from verbs, and the exact function of *-n*. It also lists elements that vary between dialects such as object marking on verbs, word-final consonants, and possessive constructions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof. Marian Klamer, for the great interest, wisdom, and patience with which she has supervised this thesis, and for always giving me exactly the advice I needed. I am also thankful to Hanna Fricke and Marcel Akoli for sharing their knowledge and experience and helping me realize my first field research. But perhaps most importantly, I am very grateful to the people from Pamakayo-Lewonama and Horowura for receiving me with a greater kindness and helpfulness than I could ever have expected. This thesis is only possible because they so generously allowed me to live with them for a while and learn from them. There are too many people there that I need to thank to list here, but I would like to thank in particular bapa Kebaku and his family, bapa Thomas and his family, bapa Yos and his family, mama Eti and Frenki (may he rest in peace), Arkian, Eman, bapa Anton and his family, Rinny, and Reynold. Terima kasih untuk semuanya, goe peten mio!

CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION	7
1.1	The Lamaholot language	7
1.2	Dialectal variation	10
1.3	Earlier research	14
1.4	Additional fieldwork	16
1.5	This thesis	16
2	PHONOLOGY	18
2.1	Phoneme inventory and phonotactics	18
2.1.1	Nasal vowels	22
2.1.2	Glottal stops	22
2.1.3	Loan phonemes	23
2.2	Word structure	24
2.2.1	Stress	25
2.3	Summary	25
3	LEXICON	27
3.1	Parts of Speech	27
3.1.1	Verbs	27
3.1.2	Nouns	28
3.1.3	Adjectives	29

3.1.4	Argument modifiers: demonstratives, quantifiers, and numerals	30
3.1.5	Predicate modifiers	31
3.1.6	Meta-clausal markers: conjunctions, sentence-final particles, and interjections	33
3.2	Derivational affixes	34
3.2.1	Prefix <i>be-</i>	34
3.2.2	Prefix <i>ke-</i>	35
3.2.3	Prefix <i>pe(N)-</i>	35
3.2.4	Prefix <i>meN-</i>	36
3.2.5	Prefix <i>N-</i>	36
3.2.6	Infix <i>-en-</i>	36
3.2.7	Suffix <i>-n</i>	37
3.3	Reduplication, compounds, and parallelism	37
3.3.1	Reduplication	37
3.3.2	Compounds	38
3.3.3	Parallelism	39
3.4	Summary	40
4	ARGUMENTS	41
4.1	Pronouns and agreement	41
4.2	Argument modifiers and the attributive suffix	43
4.3	Attributive possession and alienability	45
4.4	Summary	46
5	PREDICATES	48
5.1	Types of predicates	48
5.1.1	Verbal predicates	48
5.1.2	Non-verbal predicates	49
5.2	Serialization and verb modification	51
5.2.1	Negation	52
5.2.2	Tense, aspect, and modality	53
5.2.3	Manner	54
5.2.4	Location and direction	55
5.2.5	Instrumental and comitative	58
5.2.6	Sequence, purpose and recipients	59
5.3	Summary	60
6	SENTENCE STRUCTURE	61
6.1	Basic clause structure	61
6.2	Topicalisation and focus fronting	64
6.3	Interrogative and imperative sentences	65
6.3.1	Content questions	65
6.3.2	Polar questions	66

CONTENTS

6.3.3	Imperatives	67
6.4	Clause combining	67
6.5	Clause-final particles and interjections	70
6.6	Summary	71
7	CONCLUSION	73

LIST OF GLOSSES

1SG	First person singular
2PL	Second person plural
2SG	Second person singular
3PL	Third person plural
3SG	Third person singular
1PLE	First person plural exclusive
1PLI	First person plural inclusive
ATTR	Attributive suffix
COAST	Along the direction of the coast
COMPAR	Comparative
COMPL	Complementizer
DIST	Distal
FOC	Focus marker
IMP	Imperative
INT	Interjection
LOC	Locative
MOUNT	In the direction of the mountain
NEG	Negation
PERF	Perfect
POSS	Possession
PROG	Progressive
PROX	Proximal
RED	Reduplication
SEA	In the direction of the sea

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides some background information about this thesis and its subject, the Lamaholot language. Section 1.1 is a short introduction to the language, and is followed by a discussion of its subdivision in dialects in section 1.2. In section 1.3 an overview is given of the research that has already been devoted to Lamaholot. Section 1.4 then talks about the fieldwork that has been undertaken for the purpose of writing this thesis. Finally, in section 1.5 the aims of this thesis as well as its structure and the conventions followed are discussed.

1.1 THE LAMAHOLOTT LANGUAGE

Eastern Indonesia is home to hundreds of languages, which are used alongside the national language Indonesian. One of these local languages is Lamaholot, belonging to the Austronesian language family. This language is spoken in the province East Nusa Tenggara, on the eastern tip of the island Flores as well as on a few smaller islands to the east, shown in Figure 1. Opinions differ on how far the east the language extends; the maximal possible extent seems to include all Austronesian varieties in Eastern Flores, Solor, Adonara, Lembata (except Kedang), Pantar and Alor, as was done by Blust (2013). Keraf (1978) took a slightly narrower definition, excluding the Alorese varieties found in Alor and Pantar. Others such as Doyle (2010) and Moro (2010) went even further and also excluded the varieties of Lembata and possibly Adonara, leaving only the varieties of Solor and Eastern Flores under the name ‘Lamaholot’. Little evidence is cited by any of these authors to support why they did or did not include some of these varieties. This thesis subsumes all of the varieties mentioned above under the name Lamaholot since at this point in time there is simply not enough data to decide if and where we should consider there to be one or more internal splits between languages in the area under consideration.¹

Lamaholot is an Austronesian language of the Malayo-Polynesian branch, unlike the neighbouring non-Austronesian languages of Pantar and Alor. It is placed in the

¹ A related issue is the distinction that both Blust and Doyle seem to make between ‘Lamaholot’ and ‘Southwest-Lamaholot’. It is not entirely clear why these need to be distinguished and where the border between the two is supposed to be. Given the evidence for the internal classification of Lamaholot currently available this is probably not a useful distinction to maintain.



Figure 1: A part of Eastern Indonesia. Lamaholot can be found on the eastern tip of Flores and on the smaller islands marked with the numbers 1 to 5.

putative Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup (Blust 2013, 84). It is closely related to the neighbouring languages Sikka to the west on Flores and Kedang to the east on Lembata (Keraf 1978).

Estimates of the amount of speakers range upwards from 150,000, but the number is probably over 200,000 (Akoli 2010, 13). Amongst those people a great diversity in cultural practises can be found, making it difficult to generalize. Nonetheless, some aspects of life in the various Lamaholot-speaking communities seem to be widespread. Early anthropological works include the monographs by Vatter (1932) and Arndt (1940; 1951). More recently the most important work is by Barnes (1996). Here I present a short overview of Lamaholot culture based on those four works as well as accounts I have heard from Lamaholot people on Solor and Adonara. However, it is probably not completely accurate for all Lamaholot communities, especially those on Alor, Pantar, and Lembata outside of Lamalera.

Traditionally most Lamaholot people lived in rural communities inland. There they used to grow crops such as maize, rice, cassava, yams, and several kinds of palm trees from which they harvested coconuts, betel, and palm wine. In addition they kept chickens, pigs, and goats, which were kept primarily to be slaughtered in large numbers on special occasions. Nowadays many people also grow cash crops such as coffee or cacao wherever the soil and climate allow it. This allows them to earn money and buy products from outside the area. Other common sources of income include government employment and paid work in other parts of Indonesia or Malaysia.

These rural communities used to be located mostly in inaccessible locations on mountains and hills as a safety measure, as the area was raided regularly by slave traders and warfare between villages or larger alliances was frequent well into the twentieth century. Nowadays many villages have moved down towards roads and coasts, although the original location of the village is often still remembered and of importance for ceremonial purposes. A few larger communities have already been located on the coasts for a long time, and have traditionally specialized in trade and fishery. These also used to be the strongholds of local rulers and have been important centres for the spread of Catholicism and Islam, which by now have spread through the entire area. The local religion that existed before the arrival of those two foreign religions mostly involved the worship of the creator god Lera-Wulan (literally: Sun-Moon), the earth goddess Tana-Ékan (literally: Earth-Area), and ancestor spirits. Some traditional beliefs and practices still exist alongside the new religions and have in part been made compatible with them, at least in the Catholic areas.

Social life revolves largely around patrilineal clans, which have a certain status and role in the villages they live in. Each clan has their own origin story and often their own taboos related to this origin. One's clan often also influences the choice of marriage partners, and in many communities clans even have a fixed status towards one another as wife takers or wife givers. This status determines social obligations and address forms. Besides obligations within the own clan a special position of respect

1.2 DIALECTAL VARIATION

is reserved for the wife givers. Marriage is seen as an important connection between clans and is accompanied by a large bride price.

As I witnessed on Solor and Adonara, Lamaholot is still used frequently in everyday life and transmitted to children born in the area. It is strongly connected to local culture, of which the people are proud. This positive attitude combined with the relatively large number of speakers means that the language is not immediately threatened. It is in retreat, however; nowadays almost all speakers of Lamaholot are also fluent in Indonesian or the local Malay variety from a young age, and in many formal domains Indonesian has already replaced Lamaholot. Indonesian is the language used in schools and is associated with education and economic opportunities. People who have lived outside of the region, such as students and migrant workers who have returned home, sometimes feel more comfortable speaking Indonesian than Lamaholot. In everyday Lamaholot numerous Indonesian and Malay loans are employed, and code switching and code mixing occur regularly. The use of Lamaholot is visibly decreasing, as younger generations tend to have much smaller Lamaholot vocabularies than older speakers. More attention to Lamaholot in schools and other formal contexts is probably necessary to secure its long-term survival.

1.2 DIALECTAL VARIATION

Given that Lamaholot is spoken by a relatively large amount of speakers spread out over an area that until the last century was difficult to travel through, it should come as no surprise that there is quite some dialectal variation. Often salient differences can already be found between neighbouring villages. However, these differences between neighbouring villages tend to be minor and Lamaholot is sometimes considered a dialect continuum (Nagaya 2011, 9; Barnes 1996, 247). This is not to say that only arbitrary boundaries can be found between dialects.²

The first and last to attempt to describe the Lamaholot language as a whole was Arndt (1937), who in his grammar made a point of writing down dialectal differences wherever he found them in the language. He covered about a dozen dialects spread out over Flores, Solor, and Adonara, but his definition of Lamaholot³ did not include any of the dialects of Lembata or the Alorese varieties. No comparative grammatical description of Lamaholot dialects has been published since. Instead, every grammat-

² One example of a non-arbitrary dialect border that is quite visible can be found on Solor. In the area along the northeastern coast, from Lohayong to Lamakera, the dialects are quite different from those used in the other parts of the island. In fact, they seem to be closer to the dialects found across the sea on Adonara (Kroon 2016, 4).

³ Arndt (1937), did not use the word "Lamaholot" because the term was not yet known in the literature at the time. Instead he used the German terms "Solor-Sprache" and "Soloresisch" which can be translated in English as "language of Solor" and "Solorese" respectively. With these names he did not refer to just the dialects of the island of Solor, but all dialects of the language of the area sometimes referred to as the 'Solor islands'. In his definition this area comprised Solor, Adonara, and Eastern Flores.

ical description that has appeared afterwards has focused on a single dialect. While this approach allows a much more precise description and requires much less time, it has a downside: because each author develops his own analyses of the data, it is often not clear whether two different descriptions really reflect dialectal differences in the data, or if it is the same pattern analysed in different ways. As a result it is only through a very careful comparison of these works that we can get an image of dialectal variation in Lamaholot.

The exception is the work by Keraf (1978). Although Keraf focused his morphological description solely on the dialect spoken in Lamalera, he also included a lexicostatistical comparison of 33 Lamaholot dialects as well as one neighbouring dialect each from both Kedang and Sikka. He calculated percentages of cognate basic vocabulary from the Swadesh 200-list for each of these 35 dialects. From this he deduced that Sikka and Kedang are separate languages from Lamaholot and not simply the ends of the continuum. He also divided the Lamaholot dialects into three groups: the Western, Central, and Eastern Lamaholot dialects, shown in Figure 2. The Central and Eastern dialects are both found only on Lembata, while the Western group comprises some dialects of Lembata as well as all the dialects found on the other three islands. This result, combined with the fact that Kedang is also found on Lembata, shows that this island is linguistically much more diverse than Solor and Adonara, or Eastern Flores. This is also often remarked by the Lamaholot people themselves, several of whom told me that on Lembata "every village has its own language". Four possible scenarios might explain this variation in the geographic density of dialectal differences:

1. The dialects of Lembata evolved more quickly because of the natural variation in the speed of language change.
2. The dialects of Lembata are more diverse because substantial substrate from earlier languages is involved here and not on the other islands.
3. The dialects of Lembata had more time to diversify, because this island is the site of Proto-Lamaholot and the Western dialects of the other islands split off at a later time.
4. The dialects of Lembata are the remnants of a much greater diversity in Lamaholot that was levelled by a secondary spread of the Western dialects.

At the moment it is hard to say which scenario is true. Grangé (2015) advocated against the third option, instead placing the location of Proto-Lamaholot on Adonara on account of the dialects there being more conservative⁴, but as he noted himself his

⁴ Grangé argued that dialects from Adonara (including some dialects on Eastern Solor and Flores as well) are more conservative in their phonology and lexicon than dialects from Lembata and dialects from the other parts of Flores and Solor; those two groups share innovations with Adonara but not with each other. He also argued that the dialects of Eastern Adonara in particular are more conservative because they have

analysis is marred by a lack of data of (non-Western) dialects of Lembata. Furthermore, the most conservative dialects are not always spoken in the original homeland. Although sometimes the varieties spoken outside of it have been simplified because of substrate-influences or other contact-phenomena, this is not necessarily always the case; see for example Icelandic versus other North-Germanic languages.

A surprising result from Keraf's comparison is that even within each of the three dialect groups there is significant variation. Percentages of shared basic vocabulary between two dialects of the same dialect group may be as low as 57% (Keraf 1978, 14). Even in the more homogeneous Eastern dialect group, the lowest percentage is 74% (Keraf 1978, 16), well below the 85% that is sometimes mentioned as a cut-off point for good mutual intelligibility (Grimes 1995, 22). If that conclusion is followed consistently Lamaholot should be treated not as a single language but rather as a group of over a dozen mutually unintelligible languages. This observation however, clashes heavily with both my personal experiences and the opinions of Lamaholot people I spoke to about this matter. It seems that at least outside of Lembata there are no problems of mutual intelligibility between the different dialects. Barnes reports that on Lembata too all dialects are mutually intelligible, and even that Alorese can be understood by other Lamaholot speakers (Barnes 1996, 3), although Marian Klamer's Alorese informants reported otherwise (personal communication). A few explanations may be able to shed some light on the discrepancy between Keraf's percentages and the good mutual intelligibility. Firstly, Keraf's low percentages might turn out to be much higher if synonyms are taken into account. In Lamaholot there is a strong tendency to use several synonyms for a single concept, so while recording the vocabulary lists Keraf may have been given one word in dialect A and another in dialect B, even if both dialects use both words. This would have resulted in a lower percentage of shared vocabulary despite the actual lexicons of the two dialects being very similar. Secondly, the tendency to frequently mix Lamaholot with Malay may considerably help communication between dialects, as words not shared between the dialects can easily be replaced by Malay words if communication breaks down. Thirdly, mutual intelligibility normally increases if speakers of two different dialects have been exposed more to the other dialect. Since there is no prestige variety of Lamaholot that is used for interdialectal communication, everyone uses their own dialect. As a result Lamaholot people may have had enough exposure to other dialects to enable them to communicate despite significant dialectal differences. The increased mobility and decreased hostility of the last century will certainly have helped increase exposure, and may even have caused some degree of dialectal convergence. This is all speculative, however, and more research on the topic of mutual intelligibility in Lamaholot is needed.

retained a more complex pattern of verbal suffix use (see section 4.1 for details). I agree with the second argument, but the first argument seems to reflect mostly that Adonara is geographically central in the dialect continuum and not necessarily that it is more conservative.

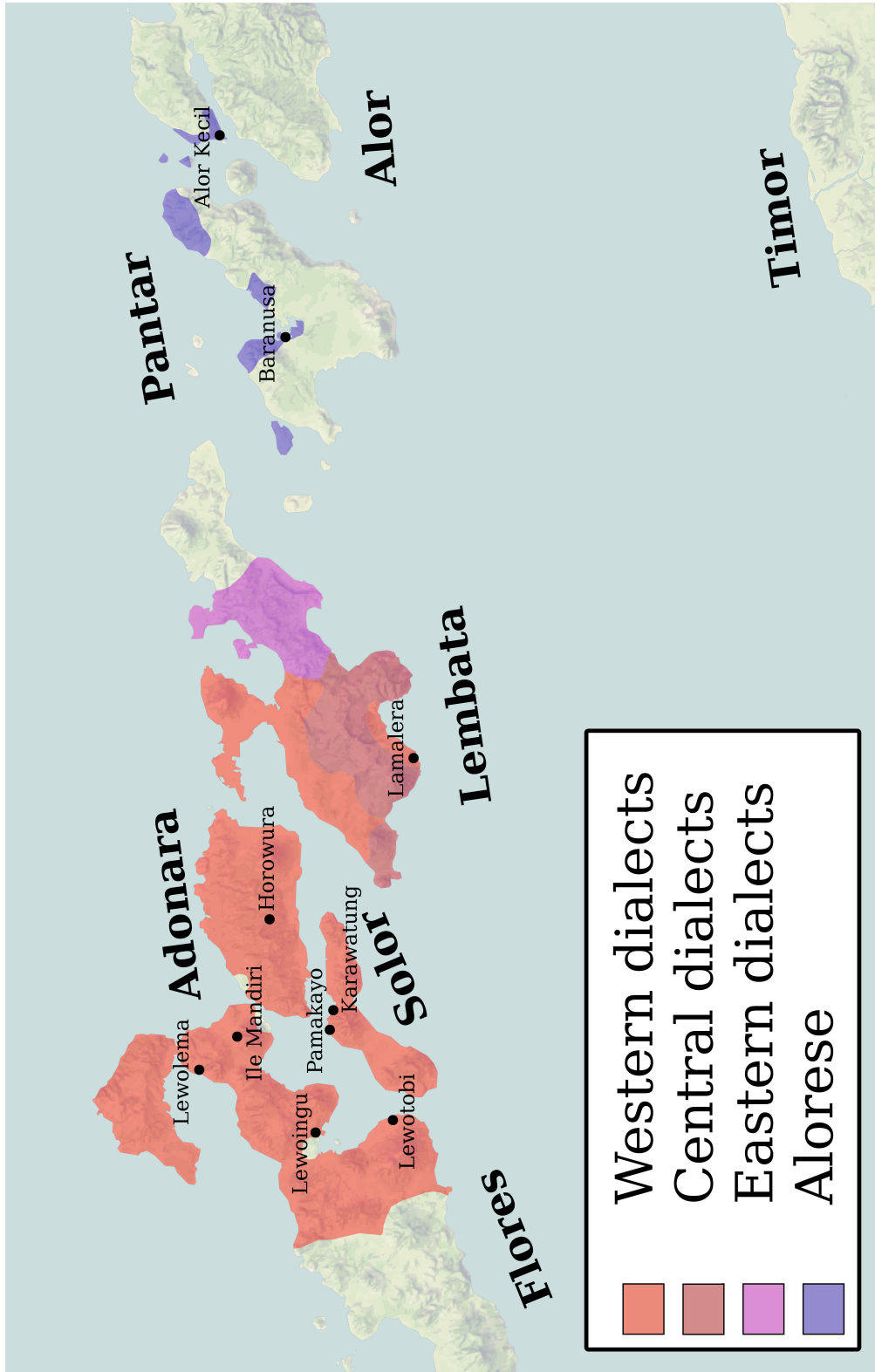


Figure 2: The three dialect groups found by Keraf (1978) along with the Alorese areas as shown by Klammer (2011). The locations that have been marked are those from which at least a moderate amount of data was available for the writing of this thesis.

1.3 EARLIER RESEARCH

Another division in three groups is the one used by Grangé (2015), which he proposed on the basis of shared lexicon and sound changes. The first group includes all dialects of Adonara, the dialects on the North-Eastern coast of Solor, and the dialects on the most North-Eastern part of Flores (Lewolema, Ile Mandiri, and Tanjung Bunga). The second group consists of all the other Lamaholot dialects of Flores and Solor, and the third includes all Lamaholot dialects of Lembata. This division seems quite incompatible with Keraf's analysis at first, but in fact it is not. Grangé used only data from dialects that in Keraf's analysis belong to the Western dialect group. Therefore his division should not be seen as competing with Keraf's division but complementing it by creating a sub-division within Keraf's Western dialect group. As such it certainly is a useful division as a number of variable features seem to more or less follow it.

Some controversy exists about the status of Alorese, the language spoken in a few coastal areas of Pantar and Alor, east of Lembata. Some authors have considered this a dialect of Lamaholot, e.g. (Blust 2013, 87). This is disputed by Klamer (2011; 2012; forthcoming) who presents low percentages of shared core vocabulary and the loss of morphology in Alorese as arguments for recognizing Alorese as a separate language. While these are valid arguments, they are perhaps not more valid for Alorese than they are for other Lamaholot dialects.⁵

1.3 EARLIER RESEARCH

The first known description of Lamaholot, written by the German missionary Paul Arndt (1937), is a grammar that was intended to cover a large part of the language area. Although it is a valuable source of information, by modern standards it is a rather short grammar that fails to accurately represent many important topics. It also does not cover Alorese or any of the dialects of Lembata. Still it is the only grammatical description to date that is not limited to a single dialect.

Arndt's work remained the only research done about Lamaholot until the 70's. In this decade two dissertations appeared in Indonesian: the description of the dialect of the Ile Mandiri area on Flores by Fernandez (1977) and the description of the morphology of the dialect of Lamalera on Lembata by Keraf (1978). The first dictionary

⁵ Klamer compared a word list of Alorese basic vocabulary with lists from Solor, Lewoingu, and Lamalera, and found that the percentages of shared basic vocabulary varied from 52.6% to 57.8%. While this is far below the 70-85% that is sometimes used as cut-off point, it is not lower than the 57% found by Keraf even within a single dialect group. As was mentioned, low percentages of shared vocabulary in Lamaholot do not exclude the possibility of mutual intelligibility, perhaps that is the case for Alorese as well. One might also argue that, since the three Lamaholot dialects used in the comparison all belong to the Western dialect group, dialects from the Central and Eastern groups might have higher percentages of shared basic vocabulary with Alorese. The other argument provided by Klamer is that Alorese has lost most of the morphology that still exists in Lamaholot varieties. It should be noted however, that extensive loss and fossilization of morphology is also present in several other Lamaholot varieties, e.g. Lewotobi (Nagaya 2011).

of Lamaholot appeared (Pampus 1999) was a trilingual dictionary of the Lewolema dialect of Flores along with Indonesian and German. A newer, bilingual Lamaholot-Indonesian version appeared two years later (Pampus 2001), and was later updated for the next edition (Pampus 2008). Around the same time another short dictionary appeared, relying on a range of dialects of Adonara and Flores, written by Sanga (2002).

Nishiyama and Kelen (2007) wrote a grammar sketch about the dialect of Lewoingu on Flores. Nishiyama went on to publish an article about person agreement in conjunctions, based on the same dialect (Nishiyama 2011). A grammar sketch of Alorese was written by Klamer (2011), followed by two more articles about the origins of this variety (Klamer 2012; Klamer forthcoming). The dialect of Lewotobi on Flores became the first dialect to receive description in the form of a full-length grammar, in the form of a dissertation by Nagaya (2011), who later published two articles about verbal morphosyntax (Nagaya 2013; Nagaya 2014). A dissertation by Kroon (2016) has recently appeared, describing the dialects of Solor and in particular of the village of Karawutung. It is the second full-length grammar of Lamaholot.

Since Arndt and Keraf some minor research has been done to compare the different Lamaholot dialects. The master's thesis by Akoli (2010) compared the lexicon and selected parts of the morphosyntax of four dialects spread over Flores, Adonara and Lembata. The master's thesis by Doyle (2010) and the paper by Moro (2010) are attempts at reconstructing vocabulary items and the phonology of Proto-Lamaholot (including Alorese) and the common ancestor language of Lamaholot, Sikka and Kedang. An article by Grangé (2015) compares lexical and phonological innovations as well as variation in the use of person suffixes across Lamaholot dialects in an attempt to find the location of Proto-Lamaholot. What has hampered all of these studies is a lack of data especially for non-Western dialects. Only Akoli included a dialect of the Central group and none included any Eastern dialects.

This highlights the main issue with the research that has been published so far: there is a very strong bias towards dialects from Flores. Dialects from Adonara and Lembata are not documented very well, and those works that are available contain almost exclusively data from Western dialects. No works with a primary focus on Central or Eastern dialects have been written and only one grammar sketch of Alorese. Given this bias our knowledge of Lamaholot is still severely lacking, and more research will be needed to correct this. For this reason this thesis will limit itself to the Western dialects, as there is not yet enough data to make broad statements about the grammar of 'Lamaholot'. Whenever this thesis mentions 'Lamaholot', the reader should be aware that only the Western dialects are intended. Central and Eastern dialects and Alorese may very well behave differently.

1.4 ADDITIONAL FIELDWORK

1.4 ADDITIONAL FIELDWORK

As shown in the last section, much work still remains to be done in describing the Lamaholot language. To supplement the sources already available, I gathered more data during my own fieldwork in the summer of 2015. The fieldwork took place in two locations: in the neighbouring villages of Pamakayo and Lewonama (hereafter called Pamakayo⁶) on Solor and in the village of Horowura in Central Adonara. In the first location I stayed for two months, followed by one month in the second.

The main focus of the fieldwork was to gather a small corpus of naturally occurring Lamaholot in both dialects. This resulted of a total of around 115 minutes of transcribed and translated recordings, of which around 70 minutes in the Pamakayo dialect and around 45 minutes in the Horowura dialect. The recordings contain Lamaholot in a few different genres: day-to-day conversations between friends, children's stories, explanations of local customs and crafts, and accounts of past experiences. More literary genres were avoided as they seem to utilize a very different register which may not reflect local dialects well. About 20 different speakers figure in the recordings, ranging from youths to elderly, from different social backgrounds, both women and men.

Less attention was given to elicitation. While elicitation can be a quick and precise way of obtaining information about a language, it often leads to data that misrepresent the way people actually use the language. In eliciting Lamaholot especially the risk of getting not normal Lamaholot but Malay calques is always present. During my fieldwork elicitation was mostly used to translate a vocabulary list which was prepared by Marian Klamer.

1.5 THIS THESIS

As described in section 1.3 the literature on Lamaholot consists of a variety of publications by many different authors about a wide range of dialects. Because of this there is now an opportunity to better understand the structure of the language and its internal variation. However, comparison is not always as easy as it may seem; it can be difficult to distinguish between difference in analysis and dialectal variation. This thesis is an attempt to synthesize the existing literature, as well as incorporate my own fieldwork data in the comparison. It has three main goals.

Firstly, this thesis is a grammar sketch of Western Lamaholot as a whole, not just of a single dialect. This is something that has not been attempted since Arndt (1937). It would be useful to many people, both as an introduction to Lamaholot research, and

⁶ Pamakayo and Lewonama are as their inhabitants call them 'sister villages'. They are geographically adjacent to one another, only separated by a small dry stream. For most social activities they are considered one village and their dialect is almost the same. I will refer to them together simply as Pamakayo, as this was their official name in the time when they were still one administrative unit.

as a summary for those people who want to know the basics of Lamaholot grammar without having to read all of the available literature.

Secondly, the aim is to not only describe the grammar of Western Lamaholot, but also to point out those aspects in which there is dialectal variation. While describing the language, it directs attention to those aspects and explains the ways in which dialects differ. This could be useful information to future historical and typological research involving Lamaholot.

Thirdly, there is an emphasis on those aspects of the language that have been analysed in different ways by different researchers. This should make it clear which current issues in Western Lamaholot grammar need to be solved. This can help guide further descriptive research in order to improve our overall understanding of Lamaholot.

This thesis is organized in the following way: chapter 2 covers the phonology, including the phoneme inventory, phonotactics, and syllable and word structure. Chapter 3 concerns the lexicon, including derivational morphology as well as reduplication and parallelisms, and the lexical variation between dialects. In chapter 4 the different kinds of arguments and their modifiers are discussed, followed by the various predicates and their modifiers in chapter 5. Finally chapter 6 describes how those arguments and predicates can be combined into clauses and sentences.

All example sentences in this thesis are glossed following the Leipzig glossing rules. Lamaholot does not have a standardized orthography, so Indonesian orthography conventions will be used similar to the way that Lamaholot people would write their own language. This means that most graphemes are the same as in IPA except for <ng>, which represents /ŋ/, <e> for /ə/, <é> for /e/, <y> for /j/, and <j> for /dʒ/. This orthography is mostly phonetic, except for nasal vowels which are written according to their underlying phonology (i.e. preceding a word-final nasal consonant). Vowel length and glottal stops are not represented. For further discussion on these three features, see section 2.1.⁷

⁷ The orthography described here is not too different from the orthographies used by other authors. The differences between orthographies mostly concern the issues of representing the contrast between /e/ and /ə/, the representation of phonetic glottal stops, and the representation of nasal vowels.

 PHONOLOGY

This chapter is divided in two main parts; section 2.1 is a description of the phonology at a micro-level, discussing the phoneme inventory of Lamaholot as well as the phonetic realization of those phonemes in different contexts and the phonotactic processes involved. Section 2.2 analyses Lamaholot phonology from a broader perspective, discussing the structure of words. This involves mostly syllable structure and stress patterns.

2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY AND PHONOTACTICS

Lamaholot has the following vowel phoneme inventory:

i	u
e	ə
	o
a	

The realization of the phonemes /e/ and /o/ can vary between [e] and [o] and [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively. The phoneme /a/ when nasalized raises to [ã] in the dialects of Lewotobi in Southeastern Flores and in the neighbouring part of Southern Solor. Compare for example the word *wulan* [ʋulã] ‘moon’ from Pamakayo with its cognate from Lewotobi *wulen* [ʋulɔ̃] (Nagaya 2011, 88).

Phonetic nasalization sometimes occurs on word-final vowels, but the phonological status of these vowels is disputed. See Section 2.1.1 for further discussion. Some authors report contrastive vowel length, but only in very few lexemes (Fernandez 1977, 26)(Keraf 1978, 60). Other authors do not recognize the existence of phonemically long vowels (Pampus 2008, XV) (Nagaya 2011, 65). Phonetic lengthening of vowel does seem to be triggered at least by nasalization on vowels and in monosyllabic words. Future research will need to see whether length is also phonemic. Three options seem possible:

1. In a few words phonemically long vowels exist that not all authors have recognized.

2. Purely phonetic lengthening caused by other features has been perceived as phonemic by some authors.
3. Contrastive vowel length has recently developed in some dialects but not in others.

Keraf includes minimal pairs with contrasting vowel length such as *tité* '1PLI' and its possessive form *ti:té*, with a long /i/. The possessive pronouns are in many dialects, for example in Pamakayo, derived by suffixation of an /n/ (often realized as nasalization on the vowel). That the Lamalera dialect seems to use lengthening instead of this suffix suggests that either option 3 is true and this is an innovation in Lamalera that was caused by the former suffix before it disappeared, or 2 is true and the phonemic difference between the two forms in Lamalera is not length but another feature that was not transcribed that causes phonetic length, such as nasalization.

There is some confusion about the existence of diphthongs. Arndt (1937, 4) and Fernandez (1977, 25) both gave lists of supposed diphthongs, but also touched upon a rather atypical characteristic of these 'diphthongs': in careful speech they sound more like a sequence of vowels interrupted by a glottal stop or glide and split into two syllables. I would argue that a diphthong by definition cannot be interrupted and are contained in a single syllable, and that the phenomenon in question is vowel sequences, not diphthongs. Nagaya (Nagaya 2011, 76) and Kroon (Kroon 2016, 51) have expressed similar opinions and stated that there are no diphthongs in Lamaholot. I suspect that there might still be true diphthongs that are never interrupted or split in two syllables, although I have not yet been able to prove it. There is one suspected minimal pair: *raé* '3PL' which is often pronounced [raʔe], and *raé* 'there (towards the mountain)' which I have only ever heard pronounced [raē]. The phonological value of these two kinds of 'diphthongs' is another matter. In my analysis the true diphthongs are phonologically diphthongs as well, that is vowel phonemes that change their position in the mouth during articulation. The other kind I analyse as sequences of two separate vowel phonemes that may phonetically either be merged into a single syllable or split up by an epenthetic glottal stop or glide. It is also possible to analyse those glottal stops as phonemical however, in which case the 'true diphthongs' could phonemically also be regarded as vowel sequences that are merged during realization. This analysis has the advantage that it explains that the 'true diphthongs' seem to occur mainly if not exclusively in monosyllabic words, and therefore differ in distribution from normal vowels. If syllable weight is assumed to play a role in Lamaholot though, this could be explained by ascribing diphthongs a greater vowel weight than monophthongs, meaning a single syllable already contains all the morae required to give the root the ideal weight.

2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY AND PHONOTACTICS

The following consonant phonemes are present in Lamaholot:

	Labial	Coronal	Dorsal
Stop	p, b	t, d	k, g
Fricative		s	h
Nasal	m	n	ŋ
Liquid		l, r	
Glide	w	j	

Two phonemes in this table have a different phonetic value in some dialects. Firstly the palatal glide /j/ is a postalveolar affricate [dʒ] in some dialects, and has in one dialect become an alveolar trill [r]. Compare for example Pamakayo *kayo* [kajo] ‘tree’ with its cognate in Lewotobi *kajo* [kadʒoʔ] (Nagaya 2011, 60). Figure 2.1 shows the spread of these two: [dʒ] is prevalent in Southern Lembata and most of the Flores dialects, while [j] is more prominent on Solor and Adonara. Northern Adonara is alone in having developed this phoneme into [r], and the Eastern dialects a different root is used for this concept. The spread of the forms has little to do with the dialectal division shown earlier in Figure 2, rather it seems to have gone across dialect boundaries at a later time, and is therefore evidence for Lamaholot as a dialect continuum.

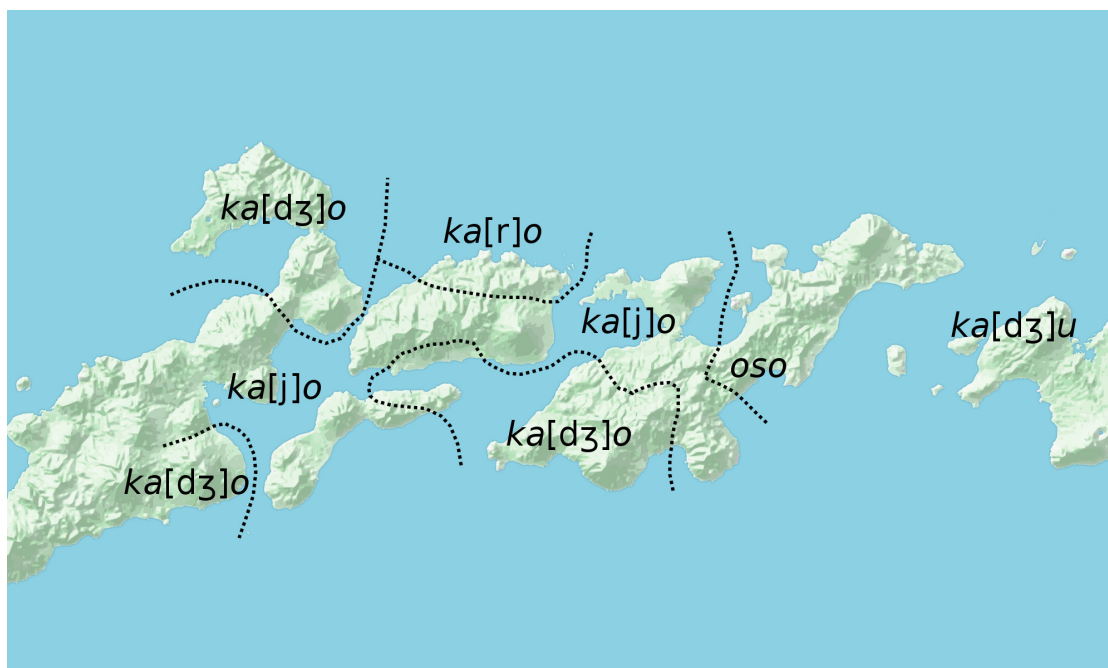


Figure 3: The spread of *y* [j] versus *j* [dʒ] and *r* [r] in *kayo* ‘tree’ throughout the Lamaholot area. Based on the lists gathered by Keraf (1978) and the Alorese list by Klammer (2011).

It can be assumed that [r] on Northern Adonara is an innovation, for economical reasons if nothing else. Between [j] and [dʒ], the former has a more contiguous distribution, so an hypothesis could be that [j] is an innovation which spread from the centre outwards, leaving the original form only at the edges of the continuum. However, upon closer inspection we can see that [dʒ] is the form prevalent in all the politically and economically important coastal settlements: Lohayong and Lamakera on Solor, Lamahala and Waiwerang on Adonara, Lamalera and Lewoleba on Lembata, and the area around Larantuka on Flores. In a dialect continuum innovations usually spread from important population to the hinterlands rather than the other way around, so it is more likely that [j] is the original value and [dʒ] the innovation. Doyle also postulates [j] as the original value (Doyle 2010, 27).

The other phoneme that may vary between dialects is /w/. This bilabial glide is in many dialects realized as another kind of labial continuant such as [f], [v], or [ʋ]. Compare Lewoingu *wai* [waʔi] ‘water’ (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 174) with its cognates *fai* [faʔi] in Lamalera (Keraf 1978, 410) or *wai* [vaiʔ] in Lewotobi (Nagaya 2011, 640). Pampus (Pampus 2008, XIII) likewise reports the value [v]. The value [f] is found in several Western and Central dialects on Lembata, as well as in Alorese. All the other dialects seem to have other realizations, but unfortunately it is not possible to be more specific since not all authors distinguish between [w], [ʋ], and [v] in their work.

Another salient variation between dialect is the occurrence of /l/ in the syllable onset where the next syllable starts with /r/, such as *laran* ‘road’ or *lera* ‘sun’. In the dialects of Adonara and the dialects of Flores and Solor that are placed in the same group by Grangé (2015) this /l/ has become /r/: *raran* and *vera*.

All consonant phonemes occur intervocally. /ŋ/ does not occur word-initially, and /j/ seems to occur rarely in word-initial position. In word-final positions only restricted sets of consonants occur. Lewotobi allows none of the consonants mentioned above in word-final positions⁸ (Nagaya 2011, 86). In Horowura word-final liquids, /t/, and /k/ are occasionally allowed. The same goes for Karawutung, and this dialect also has some words ending with /s/ (Kroon 2016, 37, 38). In Pamakayo there is a dialectal split; in Pamakayo proper the word-final /k/ is often dropped as it is in Lewotobi, but in the neighbouring Lewonama it is retained. In Lewoingu /t/, /k/, and /r/ are allowed but not /l/ (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 10). For word final nasals see Section 2.1.1 and for word-final glottal stops see Section 2.1.2.

Like many other languages of the area, Lamaholot has seen a change from /s/ to /h/. For Lewolema it has been reported that several words still alternate between [s] and [h] in words where other dialects have completely shifted to only [h], for example in *dahé* ‘near’ which is sometimes still pronounced *dasé*. Even in those other dialects however, there are still words using [s], such as in Pamakayo *seba* ‘to search’. The

⁸ The one exception noted by Nagaya is the glottal stop, which he analysed as phonemic. For discussion, see Section 2.1.2.

dialect of Lamalera seems to be the least affected by this change; in this dialect the phoneme /h/ occurs only word-initially (Keraf 1978, 70).

2.1.1 *Nasal vowels*

Many Western Lamaholot dialects make abundant use of nasal vowels. These occur only word-finally and clearly stem from a merger with word-final nasal consonants. Arndt (1937, 4) already remarked that in some areas the word-final /n/, as in *watan* 'beach' was pronounced as nasality on the vowel, while in others it was pronounced as [ŋ]. Nasal vowels are prominent throughout Flores, Solor and Adonara. In the East of the Lamaholot area nasalization of vowels has not occurred as much; in Lamalera it is only found on the /a/ (Keraf 1978, 79).

The main question regarding nasal vowels is whether their existence is the result of a now completed historical change or of a phonological rule that is still active synchronically. If the former is the case, the nasal vowels present phonemes on their own, as was argued by Pampus (2008), Nagaya (2011), and Kroon (2016), while in the latter analysis they are the result of phonological rules. Some good evidence that the rule is in fact still active is that free variation sometimes occurs: words that usually end in a nasal vowel may sometimes be pronounced with a word-final nasal vowel.⁹ This was described by Fernandez (1977, 28) and by Nishiyama and Kelen (2007, 28) for dialects of Flores, and found in my data from Adonara and Solor as well. Therefore in this work I will adhere to the hypothesis that nasal vowels are not phonemic but the phonetic result of synchronically deleted word-final nasals that are still present phonemically.

Nagaya (2011, 70) reports that nasality on vowels spreads regressively past nasal and glottal consonants in the Lewotobi dialect. This has not yet been reported for other dialects.

2.1.2 *Glottal stops*

A difficult question in Lamaholot phonology is whether or not there is a phoneme /ʔ/. Most authors have described the glottal stop as a phoneme in Western Lamaholot (Fernandez 1977) (Pampus 2008) (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007) (Nagaya 2011), but a few others did not (Arndt 1937) (Keraf 1978) and the evidence is still somewhat unclear. In this thesis glottal stops are not written in order to keep a consistent orthography.

It is clear that the sound [ʔ] occurs at least word-initially before vowels, e.g. in *ilé* [ʔile] 'mountain' and word-medially between vowels, e.g. in *heen* [həʔə] 'yes'. These occurrences could be regarded as manifestations of the proposed phoneme /ʔ/, but a simple alternative explanation not assuming that phoneme is also possible: glottal

⁹ However, even when the nasal is retained in such instances, its place of articulation is normally no longer distinctive and may vary between [n] and [ŋ], with a preference towards the latter.

stops are implemented phonetically whenever a consonantal onset is lacking in a syllable, be it word-initially or as an epenthetic consonant. In order to prove the existence of /ʔ/ then, it is necessary to give either examples of glottal stops in other positions, or examples of syllables without a glottal stop or any other consonant as an onset. Whether the latter category exists is dependent on the analysis of diphthongs, as was discussed earlier in this chapter. If diphthong phonemes are accepted, no examples of syllables without onset exist.

The problem with finding glottal stops in a position that is not a syllable onset is that Lamaholot has a strong preference for CV-syllable structure (see section 2.2). That means that the only other position for consonants is word-finally. While indeed some authors report word-final glottal stops in some dialects, e.g. Lewotobi *ula* [ulaʔ] 'snake'¹⁰ (Nagaya 2011, 640), even some authors who recognise the glottal stop as a phoneme claim that it does not occur word-finally, e.g. on Solor (Kroon 2016, 37). Since word-final consonants are restricted and vary between dialects, it is possible that word-final glottal stops can be found in some dialects but not in others. I have not found any word-final glottal stops in my own research, but I cannot exclude the possibility that they still exist in those dialects. For now the issue remains unsolved.

2.1.3 *Loan phonemes*

Lamaholot has for a long time been influenced by its neighbour, Larantuka Malay, and nowadays more and more also by another Malay variety, Standard Indonesian. This has led to the adoption of many loan words, many with phonemes not natively encountered in Lamaholot. Sometimes these phonemes have been changed in the most closely related Lamaholot phoneme. For example, Malay *baca* 'read', with the <c> representing the /tʃ/ which does not occur natively in Lamaholot, is sometimes borrowed into Lamaholot as *basa*, with the native phoneme /s/. However, the original Malay pronunciation has over time become more and more prevalent in Lamaholot, especially now that all Lamaholot speakers learn Standard Indonesian in school from a young age. This has led to many loan phonemes in Lamaholot. These phonemes have not been included in the phoneme tables in this chapter for the reason that it is nowadays no longer possible to distinguish Malay loan words from code mixing; Malay is so prevalent in modern Lamaholot society that all conversations occur somewhere on a scale from the point where all Malay loans are adapted to Lamaholot phonology, to the point where Lamaholot speech is barely distinct from Malay speech. Any division on this scale would be arbitrary; one either has to include all non-Lamaholot Malay phonemes as loans or none at all. The following loan phonemes could be added from Larantuka Malay: /tʃ/ and /n/, as well as a split between /dʒ/ and /j/, and between

¹⁰ Nagaya even provides a minimal pair of this kind: *bau* [bau] 'tomorrow' and *bau* [bauʔ] 'to pour'. I remember encountering this pair myself in Pamakayo, where I was told that they are pronounced exactly the same.

/f/ and /w/ (Steinhauer 1991). Similarly, phonological structures foreign to Lamaholot, such as consonant clusters, could either be adapted or retained. For example Malay *kandang* ‘cage’ is sometimes pronounced as *kadan* [kadā], with the first nasal deleted to avoid a consonant cluster and the second changed into nasalization on the last /a/ as is usual for native words.

2.2 WORD STRUCTURE

Lamaholot has a strong preference for CV-syllables, as is typical for Austronesian languages of the region (Klamer 2002). This preference can be seen in the way word-final consonants are treated in most dialects; often either the consonant gets deleted or an epenthetic schwa is added, a known strategy in the region. This is most clearly visible with word-final nasal consonants, such as the /n/ in *noon*¹¹ ‘3SG.with’. This form is rarely if ever pronounced *[noʔɔn], either a schwa has to be added to give [noʔɔnə] or the nasal has to be deleted to leave only nasalization on the vowel: [noʔɔ̃]. The schwas in the first syllable of trisyllabic lexemes are possibly also the result of a process to create CV-syllables (see below).

By far the most prevalent root structure in Lamaholot is CVCV. This pattern can be found in such diverse words as *wera* ‘sand’, *noni* ‘to show’, and *pito* ‘seven’. The C-slots may also be filled by glottal stops which may or may not be phonemic as in *elo* [ʔəlo] ‘to promise’ and *mae* [maʔe] ‘tasting good’. A variation on this pattern is CVCVC, Lamaholot does not allow codas word-internally. Examples of this pattern are *eret* ‘face’, *manuk* ‘chicken’, and *wéwél* ‘tongue’. Words with this structure are often pronounced with an epenthetic schwa at the end to restore CV-syllable structure as described above, e.g. [əɾətə].

Monosyllabic words do exist, such as *man* ‘garden’, *noi* ‘he knows’, and *bu* ‘to blow’. Many dialects have reduced some function words to monosyllabic words. In Pamakayo the demonstratives *pi* ‘this, here’ and *pé* ‘that, there’ and the question word *a* ‘what’ are ultimately derived from *pihi*, *péhé*, and *aku* respectively. On Adonara words such as *wati* ‘not yet’ and *také* ‘NEG.exist’ are frequently reduced to *wa* and *ta* respectively.

Quite some lexemes are trisyllabic of the type CəCVCV(C). However, the first syllable in such words is in most cases a (fossilized) derivational prefix of the kind described in Section 3.2. The schwa is considered by many authors, e.g. (Nagaya 2011), to be purely phonetical and may indeed disappear in rapid speech, especially when the prefix is an obstruent and the following root starts with a sonorant. This leads to CCV-syllables, the only example of consonant clusters in native Lamaholot words for many dialects. However it is also possible to posit a rule deleting schwas in the first syllable in rapid speech. It is at this point impossible to prove or disprove the phonemic status of these schwas, or to distinguish phonetically inserted schwas from

¹¹ All examples in this section are taken from the Pamakayo dialect unless otherwise specified.

2.3 SUMMARY

phonemic schwas if both exist. For this reason schwas in word-initial syllables will here all be written out.

On Adonara, word-medial clusters sometimes occur in emphatic speech. A word ending in a nasalized vowel, usually the realization of a suffix *-n*, is pronounced in such circumstances with an added glottal, either [ʔ] or [h], between the vowel and the preceding consonant. Examples are *nolon* ‘in earlier times’ being pronounced as [nolhõ] or *buran* ‘white’ as [burʔã]. The origin of this feature is unclear. It has given the dialects of Adonara word-medial codas that do not exist in other dialects. The same dialects also tend to add fewer schwas after word-final consonants, indicating that the preference for CV-syllables may be strongest on Flores and Solor.

2.2.1 Stress

Stress in Lamaholot is not usually contrastive. The general rule is that stress is on the penultimate syllable, but even neighbouring dialects may vary in the details. On Flores we find that the dialects vary in whether they count stress on the word or on the root, and whether schwas can bear stress. For Lewotobi stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the word (Nagaya 2011, 79) and the same is true for Lewoingu, but schwas cannot bear stress there (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 11). In Lewolema stress is always penultimate, also if that means a schwa bears the stress, but stress is determined not by the word but by the root, suffixes do not influence it (Pampus 2008, XVI). Fernandez (1977, 49) gives minimal pairs of contrastive stress placement in Ile Mandiri, such as *béto* [ˈbeto] ‘to come’ and *béto* [beˈto] ‘to touch’. Perhaps in some dialects deletion of word-final syllables has created words with lexical stress on the last syllable, causing stress to become unpredictable.

Rather less is known about stress in most dialects outside of Flores. Kroon (2016, 52) reports a stress pattern on Solor similar to that of Lewoingu, with penultimate word stress avoiding schwas. I can confirm this pattern for both Pamakayo on Solor and Horowura on Adonara.

Stress patterns can sometimes be obscured by sentence intonation. Especially in Pamakayo a strong emphasis on the last syllable of a sentence can overrule the penultimate word stress.

2.3 SUMMARY

The phoneme inventory of Lamaholot does not contain any unusual phonemes. Discussion exists about the phonemic status of a few phonetically occurring sounds, especially glottal stops, long vowels, diphthongs, nasal vowels, and many schwas in the first syllable of trisyllabic words. Other important points of attention are the dialectal differences regarding the realization of the phonemes /w/ and /j/ and the influence from Malay phonology.

2.3 SUMMARY

A tendency towards having only CV-syllables is very prominent in some dialects but more data from Adonara and Lembata would be useful as those dialects seem to differ in this aspect. More information about stress in those dialects would also be welcome as there seems to be some interdialectal variation on the basic pattern of having penultimate stress. The existence of words bearing unpredictable stress patterns as reported for Ile Mandiri also requires further investigation.

LEXICON

This chapter discusses the kinds of lexemes found in Lamaholot. Section 3.1 discusses the word classes and their subdivisions. Section 3.2 gives an overview of the derivational affixes found on many words throughout the dialects. Finally Section 3.3 describes the use of reduplication and parallelisms.

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

A word class or part of speech is here defined as a group of lexemes that typically share a number of semantic, functional, and morphosyntactic properties. Not every lexeme shares all of those properties and lexemes sometimes have properties of more than one word class. This means that different authors have not always recognized the same classes and subclasses in Lamaholot and may have classified some lexemes differently; several analyses are possible depending on the particular definitions adopted.

Open categories are major word classes that readily accept new members, whereas closed categories are minor word classes that include a small and limited number of lexemes. There are definitely two independent open categories in Lamaholot: verbs and nouns. Their properties and subdivisions are discussed in Sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 respectively. Section 3.1.3 is about the question whether adjectives should be recognized as a third category or as part of another class. There are also a number of closed categories, which are listed in the last three sections.

3.1.1 *Verbs*

Verbs are those lexemes that refer to states and actions and are primarily used as predicates in a clause. In Lamaholot they may or may not take pronominal pre- and/or suffixes. Since the prefixes are always obligatory for the verbs that have them, such verbs are bound forms and will be cited with a hyphen indicating the place of the prefix, e.g. *-aan* 'do, make'. Verbs can be further divided into subgroups based on their valency: intransitive, monotransitive, or ditransitive. Intransitive verbs, such as *turu* 'sleep', only have a subject. Monotransitive verbs, such as *-énum* 'drink', have a subject and an object. Ditransitive verbs, such as *-eté* 'bring', have a subject and two

objects. Within the group of ditransitive verbs I distinguish between true ditransitive verbs and so-called benefactive verbs, whose behaviour lies somewhere between that of monotransitive and ditransitive verbs (Nagaya 2011, 380). For a further discussion of subjects and objects and benefactive verbs, see section 6.1.

Many verbs alternate between valencies without any grammatical marking. Often the exact valency of a verb in a certain utterance is obscure because arguments that are clear from context may be freely omitted. However, if an argument is a (direct or indirect) object in one clause, but oblique, i.e. accompanied by a preposition, in another clause with the same verb, this is clear evidence of the variable valency of that verb. In example (1) below an alternation between intransitive and transitive is shown with the verb *hema* 'make'. The theme of the action of making can be oblique as in (1a), in which case the verb can be said to be intransitive, or it can be an object as in (1b), which means the verb is by definition transitive. All ditransitive verbs (including benefactive verbs) can also be used monotransitively, as is shown for the verb *soron* 'give' in the elicited sentences in (2).

- (1) a. R-aan **hema nen ténda**.
3PL-do make with tent
'They erect a tent.' (Pamakayo)
- b. Kun **hema pé**, yang terakir.
but make DIST REL last
'But you're doing that one last.' (Pamakayo)
- (2) a. Goé **soron bapa** pana.
1SG give father pan
'I give father a pan.' (Pamakayo)
- b. Goé **soron pana di bapa**.
1SG give pan LOC father
'I give a pan to father.' (Pamakayo)

3.1.2 Nouns

Nouns are those lexemes that prototypically refer to things and people, and function primarily as arguments of verbs and prepositions. This category includes the subclasses of pronouns and proper names. Most nouns can be modified by demonstratives, bound or free possessive pronouns, numerals and adjectives.

Lamaholot makes a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, with the choice of possession type depending on the possessed noun. Nouns that are inalienably possessed always require a possessor suffix, e.g. *aé-k* (face-1SG.POSS) 'my face'. For this reason inalienably possessed nouns can be considered bound forms and are cited here with a hyphen in the position of the suffix. This category includes mostly body part terms and locative nouns but not kinship terms. Other nouns are

possessed alienably, which means that it is optional to indicate their possessor. For more on possession, see Section 4.3.

3.1.3 Adjectives

In many Austronesian languages adjectives are grammatically indistinguishable from stative verbs (Blust 2013, 493), including Alorese (Klamer 2011, 46). In Western Lamaholot dialects the situation is more complicated. Many of the earlier studies treated adjectives as a distinct class without trying to define which semantic and structural properties separate adjectives from nouns and verbs. Later authors (e.g. Nishiyama and Kelen 2007; Nagaya 2011), however, showed that problems arise if one does try to give a definition for adjectives in Western Lamaholot. Semantically, it is difficult to define what separates an adjective from a stative verb. If nouns and verbs are defined functionally, that is as typical arguments and predicates respectively, adjectives should probably be defined as typical argument modifiers. The problem there is that adjectives in Western Lamaholot need to be morphologically marked to perform this function, whereas they do not need marking for their supposed secondary predicative function. Consider examples (3a) and (3b) for the attributive and predicative use respectively of the adjective *dahé* 'near'.

- (3) a. Pé warung-warung **dahé-n** pé, kamé hopé, m-ekan te pé.
 DIST stall-RED nearby-ATTR DIST 1PLE buy 1PLE-eat LOC DIST
 'There we bought something at nearby foodstalls and we ate it there.' (Horowura)
- b. Mio **dahé** te pé kamé tobo pé ki baru m-aan alarm.
 2PL near LOC DIST, 1PLE sit DIST first then 1PLE-do alarm
 'When you are near the place where we are sitting you raise the alarm.'
 (Horowura)

The suffix *-n* used to mark this¹² is a multifunctional and hard to define suffix, further discussed in section 4.2. What is relevant in this case is whether on adjectives this suffix is seen as simply a marker of attributive function, or as either a class-changing derivational or a relativizing suffix. If the former analysis is followed, adjectives in Western Lamaholot can be defined as the independent class of lexical words denoting properties that can occur either as predicates or as argument modifiers, but need to

¹² Nagaya (2011, 176) recognizes a second, smaller group of adjectives that are marked not by *-n* but by *ken* in Lewotobi, including *beléga* 'wide', *wai* 'next', and *weun* 'smelling bad'. This behaviour has not been reported for any dialects other than Lewotobi, but there are indications that it exists there as well. I can with certainty remember that the form *waiken* 'next' (attributive) exists in Pamakayo and Horowura. Nagaya hypothesized that the opposition between adjectives using *-n* and those using *-ken* reflects permanent versus temporary properties and is related to the opposition between alienable and inalienable possession, which in Lewotobi is marked by the same two suffixes. Another possibility is that the suffix *-ken* has arisen historically out of a combination of *-n* with a word-final /k/, which has been deleted in Lewotobi.

be marked with the suffix *-n* in the latter function. If the second analysis is preferred, adjectives can be seen as the subclass of verbs that is defined by its ability to be derived or relativized by the suffix *-n*. At this point there is no way of telling which analysis is correct.

Finally it should be noted that a small class of ‘adjectives’ that do not need a suffix to modify was reported by Nagaya (Nagaya 2011, 175). One of these words is *wuun* ‘new’, which is shown in (4) to be able to function attributively and predicatively without suffix. It is not clear to me how Nagaya got to the analysis that there is no suffix in these examples; *wuun* already has a stem ending in /n/, making it impossible to see whether a suffix is added or not. In fact, most of the ‘adjectives’ he lists as belonging to this group have a stem ending in /n/. The only ones in his list that do not end in /n/ are *lemé* ‘deep’, *belara* ‘hurt’, and *gele* ‘tired’.

- (4) a. Goé hopé honda **wuun**.
 1SG buy motorbike new
 ‘I bought a new motorbike.’ (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 176)
- b. Honda goé-n **wuun** moren.
 motorbike 1SG-ATTR new still
 ‘My motorbike is still new.’ (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 176)

Nagaya argued that these are a subclass of nouns, since nouns too can function as predicates and modify other nouns without suffix. This argument is flawed though; the construction in which nouns can modify other nouns without suffix is the nominal possessive construction (see Section 4.3), which is quite different from the construction of suffix-less attribution shown above. In nominal possessive constructions in Lewotobi, a suffix is required on the modified noun and the word order is modifier-modified, rather than modified-modifier as is the case in adjective constructions. The distributional properties of nouns and suffix-less adjectives are therefore not the same. Perhaps this class should then be seen as true independent adjectives. It is not yet clear whether suffix-less adjectives exist in other dialects as well. If they do, either they do not in all dialects or the contents of the class are different since at least one of the adjectives of this type mentioned by Nagaya (*belara* ‘hurting’) was reported with suffix in another dialect (Arndt 1937, 38).

3.1.4 *Argument modifiers: demonstratives, quantifiers, and numerals*

Besides adjectives, three closed classes of noun modifiers can be found: demonstratives, quantifiers, and numerals. Demonstratives are the smallest class: there are two members, the proximal *pi* and the distal *pé*. On Flores a third one is used as well, *té*, also a proximal. In these dialects *té* refers to a point and *pi* to an area (Nagaya 2011, 214). *Pi* and *pé* can sometimes be replaced by their allomorphs *wi* and *wé* respectively, especially when referring to more abstract referents (Kroon 2016, 137, 138).

In many dialects the demonstratives can be used as clause-final adverbs and prepositions similar to locationals. At least in Lewotobi the reverse has happened as well, where locationals can now be used as demonstratives (Nagaya 2011). For examples see Section 3.1.5.

Demonstratives always occur as the last word in the phrase, after the argument itself and all other modifiers. Because of this position they are good phrase boundary markers, and as such have been grammaticalized into markers of adverbial and relative phrases, shown in Section 6.4.

Indefinite quantifiers are words such as *aya* 'a lot' and *berua* 'a little'. Although semantically related to numerals, morphosyntactically they behave as if they were adjectives; they have the same predicative and attributive functions and share both the prenominal position and the use of *-n* when used attributively.

The last class of argument modifiers is that of numerals. Lamaholot uses a typical Austronesian decimal system. Here the system used in Horowura is presented, but all dialects seem to use variations of the same system using cognates of the same basic numerals.

The basic numerals in Horowura are *tou* 'one', *rua* 'two', *telo* 'three', *pat* 'four', *léma* 'five', *nemu* 'six', *pito* 'seven', *buto* 'eight', and *pulo* 'ten'. Numerals from eleven to nineteen are formed by juxtaposing first *pulo* 'ten' with a suffix *-k* and then the numeral that is added to ten: *pulok rua* 'twelve'. Tens are formed by taking *pulo* 'ten' with the attributive suffix *-n* and then the amount of tens needed to make the intended numeral: *pulon rua* 'twenty'. Numbers such as twenty-two are made by mentioning first the tens and then the units, connected with the comitative preposition *noon* or its reduced form *nen*: *pulon rua noon rua* 'twenty-two'. Hundreds and thousands are formed in the same way as tens but with *ratu* 'hundred' and *ribu* 'thousand' instead of *pulo* 'ten': *ratun rua* 'two hundred'. A prefix *te-* is used only for one hundred: *teratu* 'one hundred'. Large numbers are formed by mentioning first thousands (if applicable), then hundreds, then tens, and then units: *teratu pulon rua noon telo* 'one hundred twenty-three'.

Ordinal numerals are derived from the cardinals by using the Malay prefix *ke-*, the attributive suffix *-n*, or a combination of the two, depending on the dialect.

3.1.5 Predicate modifiers

Predicate modifiers¹³ cannot be divided into subgroups as easily as argument modifiers. Syntactically, there are to be three major subgroups, which do not correlate with semantic subgroups. Firstly there are adverbs that occur clause-finally, such as the negation *hala* or the aspectual marker *muri* 'again'. Then there are adverbs that occur preverbally, such as the modal *mau* 'want' and the progressive aspect marker

¹³ The term predicate modifier here is taken to also include what might be called clause modifiers. Morphosyntactically there is no difference between adverbs modifying a predicate and those modifying a clause, and even semantically the difference is not always clear.

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

mété. And finally there are prepositions, which also occur clause-finally¹⁴ but differ from clause-final adverbs in that they have a nominal complement. Examples are the locative *te* or the comitative *-oon* ‘with’. Not coincidentally, these are also the three positions in which one can find serial verbs; many adverbs and prepositions are grammaticalized versions of verbs. There is no single way to tell proper verbs apart from that grammaticalized ones, although sometimes clues are present, such as a more functional rather than lexical meaning or a predominance of use as a modifier over the use as a main verb of a clause. For this reason, authors vary widely in which lexemes they call adverbs and prepositions, and which ones they call verbs.

A very specific group of forms, whose members can be used both as clause-final adverbs and as prepositions, are the locationals. There are five locationals, each pointing to a cardinal direction based on landscape features. They are presented in Table 1.

Form	Gloss	Meaning
<i>raé</i>	MOUNT	in the direction of the mountain
<i>lau</i>	SEA	in the direction of the sea
<i>weli</i>	COAST	in either direction along the coast
<i>téti</i>	up	up; east
<i>lali</i>	down	down; west; far away

Table 1: Locationals in Lamaholot.

The pair *lau* and *raé* point towards the sea and the mountains in the interior respectively. These are the two ends on one axis of the ground plan of the village. The two directions on the other axis, the one parallel to the coast, are both referred to with a third adverb *weli*. So for example, in Lewonama, which is located on the Western coast of Solor, *lau* means West, *raé* means east, and *weli* points North and South. In addition there is the vertical axis, the ends of which are called *téti* ‘up’ and *lali* ‘down’. In (5) the adverbial and prepositional uses of *weli* are illustrated.

- (5) a. Raé **weli** minta maaf naé.
 3PL COAST ask forgiveness 3SG
 ‘They’ve gone there to ask for his forgiveness.’ (Pamakayo)
- b. Tega **weli** tana pé.
 hack COAST earth DIST
 ‘They are hacking at the earth over there.’ (Pamakayo)

On a larger geographical scale these terms are no longer practical. The three horizontal directions mentioned are not used in such situations, and the two vertical ones get a different meaning: *lali* is no longer ‘down’ but ‘West’ and *téti* instead of ‘up’ becomes

¹⁴ Although both clause-final adverbs and prepositional phrases can be fronted, as shown in Section 6.2.

'East'. Once the geographical scale gets large enough (say bigger than the national level) everything that is far away is *lali*.

In many dialects demonstratives have gained the ability to be used as clause-final adverbs and prepositions in the same way as locationals. Example (6) shows how the distal demonstrative *pé* is used first as a clause-final adverb and then as a preposition, and then finally as a clause-final (temporal) adverb again.

- (6) M-ai téti **pé**, **pé** puncak naé-n wa ulin **pé**.
 1PLE-go up DIST DIST top 3SG-ATTR not.yet still DIST
 'We went up there, we weren't at the top yet then.' (Horowura)

If the direction and approximate distance both need to be specified the two can be combined as in (7) where an adverbially used distal demonstrative *pé* is used in combination with the locationals *raé* and *lau*.

- (7) Mio **pé** **raé** mura, raé **pé** **lau** gelin pé a?
 2PL DIST MOUNT calm 3PL DIST SEA dig DIST INT
 'You are sitting calmly over there while they are out there digging it?' (Pamakayo)

Because predicate modifiers are so closely connected to one another and to serial verbs, they will all be discussed together in Section 5.2.

3.1.6 Meta-clausal markers: conjunctions, sentence-final particles, and interjections

Three more parts of speech exist that do not operate as part of a clause:

- Conjunctions. These items connect two clauses and say something about the relation between them. In Lamaholot this is a relatively small class, by far the most frequent member being *kedi/pati* 'and then', which expresses chronological order. See Section 6.4 for further discussion.
- Sentence-final particles. These are short words that occur at the end of a sentence which give information about the pragmatic context such as emphasising it, asking for confirmation, or marking it as a polar question.
- Interjections. These are words that are marginal to language, often violating phonological constraints and not having any proper place in the syntactic structure. They express speaker attitudes. Interjections and sentence-final particles are both discussed in Section 6.5.

3.2 DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

Many Western Lamaholot words contain derivational affixes of some kind. Most of them are no longer productive. This makes it often difficult to establish exactly which affixes there are and what their semantics are. Semantic change, the disappearance of base words and phonological reduction obscure the traces of earlier productive morphology. Homonymous affixes and combinations of more than one derivational affix further increase the problem. It is therefore impossible to give a comprehensive overview of Lamaholot derivational affixes without extensive further research. Here only a short list is given of the most frequent affixes. All homonymous affixes are taken together because it is often not clear how many separate affixes should be distinguished.

Although these affixes recur in many different dialects, not every dialect shows them all. This is presumably because those dialects have lost all words using a particular affix, as affixed words are less basic and therefore not as stable across dialects as monomorphemic words.

3.2.1 *Prefix be-*

This is one of the most frequent prefixes. It was probably a nominalizer, though it is unclear what kind of noun the result was. There are many examples where the result is an agent (as in example a) or instrument (b, c), but in quite a few cases it is a process or its result (d). Some unrelated, verbalizing uses have been found as well. For Lewotobi an example was found where this suffix made a causative counterpart from an inchoative verb (e), and for Lamalera some examples where it made denominal stative verbs with the meaning 'having X' (f). The latter was perhaps influenced by the similar Malay prefix *ber-*.

- a. *pasak* 'shoot' > *bepasak* 'shooter' (Lewoingu, Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 50)
- b. *léba* 'carry (with a stick)' > *beléba* 'carrying stick' (Pamakayo)
- c. *lawa* 'carry (a baby)' > *belawa* 'clothes for carrying a baby' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 125)
- d. *éfit* 'cut' (verb) > *béfit* 'cut' (noun) (Lamalera, Keraf 1978, 299)
- e. *loi* 'untie' (inchoative) > *beloi* 'untie' (causative) (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 122)
- f. *rafuk* 'fur' > *berafuk* 'furry' (Lamalera, Keraf 1978, 337)

3.2.2 Prefix *ke-*

This is another major prefix, and its semantics are even more difficult to determine. Nagaya reported three homonymous prefixes, one creating stative verbs (*kebeke* 'deaf'), one creating diminutives (*kemihé* 'ant'), and the third one creating verbs of unintentional action (*kebora* 'yawn') in Lewotobi (Nagaya 2011, 122). Other sources make it likely that some kind of nominalizing meaning is also involved.

- a. *pasa* 'swear' > *kepasa* 'oath' (Lewoingu, Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 52)
- b. *béle* 'big' > *kebéle* 'the oldest, the first' (Tanjung Tenga Dei, Arndt 1937, 8)
- c. *lepén* 'dam' (verb) > *kelepén* 'dam' (noun) (Ile Mandiri, Fernandez 1977, 79)

3.2.3 Prefix *pe(N)-*

This prefix sometimes changes the first consonant of the base into a nasal consonant (a, b).¹⁵ In that form it seems to be another nominalizer. There are different meanings without nasalization. With a verb it can express an intensity, duration or reciprocity, and has a detransitivizing function (c, d, e). It can also make a denominal stative verb expressing similarity or affinity (f, g).

- a. *hegak* 'replace' > *penegak* 'replacement' (Lewoingu, Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 51)
- b. *nékét* 'ensnare' > *penékét* 'trapper' (Ile Mandiri, Fernandez 1977, 78)
- c. *tutuk* 'tell, talk' > *petutuk* 'speak with one another' (Pamakayo)
- d. *niku* 'look around' > *peniku* 'look at all sides' (Lewolein, Arndt 1937, 75)
- e. *duun* 'sell' > *peduun* 'engage in selling goods' (Solor, Kroon 2016, 81)
- f. *kajo* 'wood' > *pekajuk* 'feel like wood' (Lamalera, Keraf 1978, 335)
- g. *tutun* 'wild pig' > *petutun* 'as large as a wild pig' (Lewoingu, Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 51)

¹⁵ With the prefixes *peN-*, *meN-*, and *N-*, i.e. those that nasalize the first consonant in the root, the nasalization is not completely predictable. Sometimes the nasalization keeps the place of articulation of the original consonant, but sometimes it becomes an /n/ regardless of the original place of articulation.

3.2.4 Prefix *meN-*

While *pe(N)-* sometimes nasalises the following consonant, this is almost always the case for *meN-*. It most prominently seems derive deverbal instrument nouns.

- a. *bengo* 'hit' > *menengo* 'something to hit with' (Ile Mandiri, Fernandez 1977, 82)
- b. *wato* 'stone, build a wall' > *menatu* 'wall' (Ritaebang, Arndt 1937, 11)
- c. *baat* 'heavy' > *menaat* 'something heavy' (Lewoingu, Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 54)

3.2.5 Prefix *N-*

This is synchronically not a proper affix but a stem-changing morphological process that nasalises the first consonant of the stem. It seems to be primarily a deverbal instrument nominalizer, similar to *meN-*, which suggests they might once have been allomorphs of the same prefix.

- a. *potan* 'add' > *motan* 'addition' (Lamalera, Keraf 1978, 302)
- b. *tobo* 'sit' > *nobo* 'seat' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 126)
- c. *batin* 'hunt' (verb) > *matin* 'hunt' (noun) (Witihama, Arndt 1937, 14)

3.2.6 Infix *-en-*

The infix *-en-* is the only infix known in Lamaholot and is yet another agent/instrument nominalizer. It follows the first consonant of the root. If the initial consonant is /g/ it becomes [k] when followed by this infix (b). It is not clear what causes this change, since Lamaholot does not restrict word-initial [g]s anywhere else, nor is there any voiceless element in the infix.¹⁶

- a. *semu* 'poison' (verb) > *senemu* 'poison' (noun) (Witihama, Arndt 1937, 12)
- b. *géré* 'climb' > *kenéré* 'doorstep' (Horowura)
- c. *kemi* 'sweet' > *kenemi* 'candy' (Lewoingu, Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 53)

¹⁶ However, the same alternation between word-initial /g/ and /k/ can also be found in the first person singular pronoun: the free pronoun *goé* starts with /g/, but the corresponding verbal subject agreement prefix is a voiceless *k-*. See section 4.1.

3.2.7 *Suffix -n*

This is the only clearly identifiable suffix, and unique among the derivational affixes in that it is still completely regular and productive on numerals, pronouns and adjectives, as will be explained further in Section 4.2. It is also often combined with the less productive affixes. In Adonara this suffix triggers the addition of an [h] or [ʔ] right before the nucleus of the last syllable of the stem, e.g. *béle* [belə] ‘big’ > *béle-n* [belʔə̃] ‘big’ (attributive). It shares this property with the (in those dialects homonymous) suffix for a third person possessor, to which it may be related.

3.3 REDUPLICATION, COMPOUNDS, AND PARALLELISM

In addition to affixes, Lamaholot also expands its vocabulary through the use of reduplication and compounding, as well as parallelism. These three phenomena are discussed in this section.

3.3.1 *Reduplication*

Several patterns of reduplication are found in Lamaholot. It is hard to distinguish which uses of reduplication are native and which have been copied from Malay.

Full reduplication of nouns may indicate plurality, as it does in Malay (Sneddon et al. 2010, 21). This was already mentioned by Arndt (1937, 18) who gave examples such as *ilé* ‘mountain’, *iléilé* ‘mountains’. However, his examples, as well as my own corpus, reveal that this is not a popular strategy. Usually a parallelism with a synonym is preferred for such a meaning. Noun reduplication is used more often when used to express the meaning ‘X filled with Y’ where Y is the reduplicated form, as can be seen in the examples in (8):

- (8) a. watan wato-wato
beach stone-RED
‘a stony beach’ (Pamakayo)
- b. ékan kayo-kayo
area wood-RED
‘a wooded area’ (Horowura)

Reduplicated verbs have a repetitive or iterative meaning, such as *léga* ‘walk’, *légaléga* ‘walk around’, *seba* ‘search’, *sebaseba* ‘search everywhere’. The same repetitive meaning is found with numerals, which get the meaning ‘in groups of X’ when reduplicated.

With adjectives and quantifiers reduplication denotes intensity *mela* ‘good’, *melamela* ‘very good’, *aya* ‘much’, *ayaaya* ‘very much’. Kroon (2016, 124) reports that adjectives can also be reduplicated to derive clause-final adverbs. The adverbial meaning can be

made more explicitly by adding a serial verb *-aan* 'do, make'. Although more research on this topic is needed, it seems that both kinds of reduplication can be used with the same words, as is shown in (9).

- (9) a. Naé tién kenawé (n-aan) **béle-béle**.
 3SG open door (3SG-do) big-RED
 'He opened the door widely.' (Solor, Kroon 2016, 124)
- b. *Naé tién kenawé (n-aan) **béle**.
 3SG open door (3SG-do) big
 'He opened the door widely.' (Solor, Kroon 2016, 124)
- c. 'Sampé raé ilé wé, wato **béle-béle** tou, wato.'
 arrive MOUNT mountain DIST stone big-RED one stone
 'When she arrived at the mountain, there was a stone that was very big, a stone.' (Pamakayo)

Furthermore, some question words can get an indefinite meaning when reduplicated: *aku* 'what', *akuaku* 'something', *pira* 'how many', *pirapira* 'a few'.

Partial reduplication is reported for some dialects on Flores. The word *eren* 'date' has its first syllable reduplicated in one expression in the Lewoingu dialect (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 60). For Ile Mandiri a large variety of partial reduplication strategies is reported, including reduplication of the first syllable, reduplication of the first consonant with inserted schwa, and various ways of altering the reduplicated forms (Fernandez 1977, 60-64). None of these seem very productive. Arndt (1937, 80) mentions a form of reduplication, in which a verb form is combined with a derived form of the same root with the infix *-en-* to create a reciprocal meaning. An example he mentions would be *soron senoron* 'exchange' (verb) from *soron* 'give' with an infix *-en-* in the derived second form. This process is not mentioned by other authors. A very similar process is found with the prefix *meN-* in Indonesian (Sneddon et al. 2010, 110) so this might be a calque from that construction.

3.3.2 Compounds

There are hardly any compounds in the phonological sense in Lamaholot. The only exception are place names, which usually consist of two roots that have fully merged into a single phonological word. However, there are quite some fixed combinations of two words from the same word class that act as one unit syntactically and semantically without phonological merging or any other marking of their relation. These will be called compounds here. Some are clear compounds in the European sense, with a head and a modifier. An example is *kolon kan* 'crow' (Pamakayo), which consists of *kolon* 'bird' and *kan*, an onomatopoeia for the sound a crow makes. A crow is then literally 'bird [that says] *kan*'. Another example is from Lamalera, *téna laja* 'sailboat'

consists of *téna* 'boat' and *laja* 'sail' (Keraf 1978, 254). These examples show that in such compounds the first word is the head.

Most compounds, however, consist of two equal words, not a head and a modifier. They usually belong to the two-headed constructions known as parallelisms, which are discussed in the next section.

3.3.3 *Parallelism*

A feature that Lamaholot shares with many other Austronesian languages (Blust 2013, 149) in particular in Eastern Indonesia (Klamer 2002, 370) is the use of parallelisms in ritual speech. A parallelism is a combination of two different words (of any word class) with synonymous or closely related meanings. An example of the first would be *lango uma* 'home', where both components mean 'house'. An example of the latter would be *bapa ema* 'parents', where the first word means 'father' and the second 'mother'. Parallelism plays a major role in Lamaholot. It is connected to formal registers, and using it is a sign of traditional knowledge of the speaker.¹⁷ This is in part because the meaning of these combinations is often not predictable, and refers to central concepts in traditional Lamaholot culture. For example, when talking about the clans of a village, they would be referred to with the parallelism *nuba nara*. These two words, *nuba* and *nara*, refer to two kinds of ritual stones, and thus to the clans that are connected to them.

Parallelisms often come in pairs. For example, a powerful phrase in Lamaholot is *Lera Wulan, Tana Ékan*, literally 'sun and moon, earth and land'. This refers to the powers that control our lives; *Lera Wulan* 'sun and moon' is the name that is used for God, and *Tana Ékan* is the name of the deity who controls the earth. Another pair is *pulo léma, ribu ratu* 'the people'. It literally means 'five ten, hundred thousand' and refers to the great number of all the people of a community together. Such pairs are typical of ritual speech.

A parallelism tends to have a meaning that goes beyond the sum of its parts; it tries to generalize, get to the essence of the two parts together. When one puts the ordinary words *lewo* 'village' and *tana* 'earth' together, one gets *lewo tana* 'home soil', the almost sacred term denoting a person's origins. And though *pana* 'go' and *doré* 'follow' are in themselves quite straightforward concepts, together they form the idea of *pana doré* 'travelling together as one', a much less neutral term. Even if the two terms are synonymous, their coupling is a sign that their meaning is not straightforward but has to be interpreted as a more abstract concept. For example, *tutu* means 'tell' and

¹⁷ This also means that a good description of this phenomenon requires extensive research into Lamaholot traditional knowledge and ritual speech. Since those topics were not the focus of my research or of any of the linguistic descriptions I use, this section should be seen as only a brief and simplified overview of the phenomenon. My limited understanding of the use of parallelisms as well as the specific examples listed here are my interpretations of explanations given to me by Lamaholot speakers on Solor and Adonara, and may contain errors.

3.4 SUMMARY

koda is similarly 'say'. Put together into *tutu koda* they mean something like 'tell the story of', elevating the importance of what is being told and the way it is done. In this sense parallelisms containing nouns can sometimes get a meaning of diverse plurality similar to reduplicated nouns, since two members of a group are taken to refer to all members of that group of whatever kind. The words *péda* 'machete' and *gala* 'spear' together become *péda gala* 'weapons (of any kind)'.

3.4 SUMMARY

The lexemes found in Lamaholot are diverse in form and use. They are divided into verbs, nouns, and a number of closed word classes: demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, pre-verbal and clause-final adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, sentence-final particles, and interjections. There is still much debate over the question whether adjectives are a third open class on their own or a subclass of verbs.

There are many derivational affixes to be found in Lamaholot, but their general lack of productivity combined with phonetic and semantic decay means that it is often hard to distinguish them and make generalizations about their semantics. In addition to affixation Lamaholot makes use of reduplication and compounding, including parallelisms.

 ARGUMENTS

Within a clause, arguments are those parts which refer to the entities that are part of the events expressed by predicates. Implicitly or explicitly almost every predicate has one, two, or three arguments. More participants may be added with prepositions and serial constructions, but all arguments can be omitted if they can be retrieved from the context. Prototypical arguments are nouns and pronouns, shown in (10a) and (10b) respectively. Pronouns and pronominal agreement are further discussed in section 4.1.

- (10) a. **Rera** géré kaé.
 sun climb PERF
 ‘The sun has risen.’ (Horowura)
- b. **Goé** lali man géré.
 1SG down field climb
 ‘I come up from the fields.’ (Horowura)

It is debatable whether any other word classes besides nouns and pronouns can be arguments. There are several word classes whose members can modify arguments, and all of them can occur without the accompanying argument as well. These argument modifiers and the discussion on their argument status can be found in section 4.2. The last section in this chapter, 4.3 discusses how nouns can be modified in possessive constructions, and how the difference between alienable and inalienable possession plays a role in these constructions.

4.1 PRONOUNS AND AGREEMENT

With three persons, a singular-plural distinction, and an inclusive-exclusive distinction for the first person plural, Lamaholot has a total of seven different pronouns. These pronouns are all bisyllabic though the second syllable may be omitted in fast speech. The same seven combinations of person and number are found in several affix paradigms. Table 2 shows the paradigms as found in Pamakayo. Other dialects sometimes have slightly different paradigms for the suffixes. Especially the third person singular subject agreement suffix takes on different forms. Kroon gives a suffix *-a* that

assimilates to the preceding vowel if the stem ends in one, e.g. *dekat-a* ‘fall-3SG’ but *hebo-o* ‘bathe-3SG’ (Kroon 2016, 61). Nagaya likewise reports *-a* [aʔ] in Lewotobi, and also a different suffix for the first person singular: *-e* [əʔ] (Nagaya 2011, 97). However, in general the pattern is the same for other dialects. Within most dialects the paradigms for the suffixes also vary between stems; stems ending in a consonant usually have a slightly different paradigm in which either an epenthetic schwa is inserted between the stem and the suffix or the first consonant of the suffix is omitted. The suffix can influence the form of the stem as well; on nouns a stem-final /o/ or /e/ are realised as [u] and [i] respectively if they are followed by a possessor suffix.

	Pronoun	S/A	S	P	Poss.
1SG	goé	k-	-k	-	-k
2SG	moé	m-	-ko	-	-n
3SG	naé	n-	-na	=ro	-n
1PLI	tité	t-	-t	-	-t
1PLE	kamé	m-	-ken	-	-ken
2PL	mio	m-	-ké	-	-ké
3PL	raé	r-	-ka	-	-ka

Table 2: Pronominal affix paradigms found in Pamakayo. S = subject of an intransitive verb, A = subject of a transitive verb, P = object, Poss. = possessor.

The prefixes are an obligatory form of subject agreement on certain verbs, both transitive and intransitive, such as *-oi* ‘know’, *-eté* ‘carry’, or *-olo* ‘go first’. A special case is *-ekan* ‘eat’, which is inflected irregularly with suppletive forms for some persons.

Furthermore, there are also subject agreement suffixes.¹⁸ Similar to the prefixes they occur with a fixed set of verbs¹⁹ (e.g. *turu* ‘sleep’), but there are two major differences: they are not obligatory and they only occur with intransitive verbs. They may occur

¹⁸ Nagaya (2011) and Kroon (2016) treats these as enclitics rather than suffixes. Kroon also treats the prefixes as proclitics. I think the forms of both paradigms are best considered affixes, since they cannot be separated from their host under any circumstances and can co-occur with free pronouns referring to the same argument. The latter is not true for the object marker =ro, that must therefore be seen not as a form of agreement but as a bound allomorph of a pronoun. For this reason I do analyze =ro as a clitic. A case could also be made for the subject suffixes as enclitics instead on the basis of their occurring with several word classes, see the next footnote.

¹⁹ These suffixes are not completely exclusive to verbs. Arndt (1937, 39) reports verbal suffixes used for some adjectives (e.g. *belara* ‘hurt’, *malu* ‘hungry’, *belopo* ‘round’), thus blurring the line between verbs and adjectives. Another use is with numerals to specify the exact number of people talked about, e.g. *ruate* ‘the two of us’ (inclusive) from *rua* ‘two’ with the suffix for first person plural inclusive, and *ruaken* ‘the two of us’ (exclusive), *ruaké* ‘the two of you’, *ruaka* ‘the two of them’, with the suffixes for first person exclusive, second person, and third person respectively. While versions with the numeral *rua* are the most frequent, combinations with other numerals are possible as well. Suffixed numerals can be used either as specifiers for plural pronouns or as pronouns themselves, in both argument and predicate position. Kroon (2016, 168) also reported nouns and locative elements bearing these suffixes, and that a suffix is obligatory for any non-verbal predicate. This has not been mentioned by any other author however, and

4.2 ARGUMENT MODIFIERS AND THE ATTRIBUTIVE SUFFIX

with verbs that can be either transitive or intransitive, but those verbs can only be used intransitively when accompanied by a person suffix, such as *hebo* 'bathe, wash (oneself or someone else)'. Some verbs can get both a prefix and a suffix, for example *-ai* 'go'.

As an illustration, Table 3 shows the paradigms for some of the prefixing and suffixing verbs mentioned above as they are used in Pamakayo.

	<i>-oi</i> 'know'	<i>-ekan</i> 'eat'	<i>туру</i> 'sleep'	<i>-ai</i> 'go'
1SG	k-oi	kan	туру(-k)	k-ai(-k)
2SG	m-oi	gon	туру(-ko)	m-ai(-ko)
3SG	n-oi	gan	туру(-na)	n-ai(-na)
1PLI	t-oi	t-ekan	туру(-t)	t-ai(-t)
1PLE	m-oi	m-ekan	туру(-ken)	m-ai(k-en)
2PL	m-oi	gén	туру(-ké)	m-ai(-ké)
3PL	r-oi	r-ekan	туру(-ka)	r-ai(-ka)

Table 3: Verbal paradigms as found in Pamakayo.

In Pamakayo only one object marker is in use: *=ro*, similarly for other dialects of Solor (Kroon 2016) and Flores (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007; Nagaya 2011). In Adonara there is a complete paradigm of object suffixes which seem to be the same as the subject suffixes in form. That would mean that there is only one paradigm and it has ergative alignment, the only structure with ergative alignment known in Lama-holot. Unfortunately little has been written about this phenomenon since it was first mentioned by Arndt (1937, 67).

The final paradigm concerns possessor suffixes. These are added obligatorily to inalienably possessed nouns, such as *mata-* 'eye'. These constructions are discussed further in Section 4.3.

4.2 ARGUMENT MODIFIERS AND THE ATTRIBUTIVE SUFFIX

Arguments can be modified by adjectives, demonstratives, cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals, possessive pronouns and other possessive constructions (see Section 4.3), and relative clauses (see Section 6.4). All these are used after the argument that is modified except for nominal possession, which involves elements at both sides of the possessee, as in (13).

All categories that can function as argument modifiers can also occur in argument position themselves, as shown in (11). The question is whether these should be seen as being nominalized, i.e. arguments on their own (Nagaya 2011) or modifiers with an omitted argument (Kroon 2016), which can also be stated explicitly as in (12).

I cannot find support for it in my own data either. More research on the use of subject agreement suffixes is definitely needed.

- (11) a. Go hopé **béle-n**.
1SG buy big-ATTR
'I bought a big one.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 178)
- b. Na guté **pée-n**.
3SG take DIST-ATTR
'He took that one.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 121)
- c. Na guté **goé-n**.
3SG take 1SG-ATTR
'He took mine.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 120)
- d. Go bengo **yang mela manu**.
1SG hit REL steal chicken
'I hit who stole chicken.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 196)
- (12) a. Go hopé **pao béle-n**.
1SG buy mango big-ATTR
'I bought a big mango.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 179)
- b. Na guté **buku pée-n**.
3SG take book DIST-ATTR
'He took that book.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 121)
- c. Na guté **buku goé-n**.
3SG take book 1SG-ATTR
'He took my book.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 120)
- d. Go bengo **ana yang mela manu**.
1SG hit child REL steal chicken
'I hit the child who stole chicken.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 196)

Another issue with noun modifiers is the attributive suffix *-n*²⁰ which is obligatorily present on many noun modifiers and can be seen in most of the sentences in 11 and 12. Historically it likely derives from the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian genitive markings **ni* and **na* (Kroon 2016, 76; Nagaya 2011, 112 and sources therein). From this suffix it has directly inherited the function of making personal pronouns possessive. However, in Lamaholot it has acquired other, quite different uses as well, meaning an analysis as genitive suffix is synchronically not appropriate. The suffix is used in all dialects to make adjectives attributive²¹, and in some dialects also to make cardinal numerals

²⁰ Nagaya (2011) and Kroon (2016) describe the shape of the suffix for all but adjectives to be /ʔẽ/ to better account for the glottalizing and lengthening effect of the suffix. An interesting topic for further research would be to see if there is truly more phonemic structure to the suffix than /n/, or if the glottalization and lengthening are purely phonetic effects of nasalization.

²¹ There is a slight phonological difference between this use of *-n* and the other ones; an /e/ or /o/ before this suffix is raised in the same way as before possessor agreement suffixes. One could speculate that this perhaps indicates that *-n* on adjectives has a different historical source, namely the third person singular possessor agreement suffix, which is in some dialects *-n* as well. However I would argue that even if

ordinal, or on demonstratives and locationals²² Cardinal numerals and relative clauses with *yang* always occur without *-n*. The suffix has been called a relativizer or nominalizer (Pampus 1999, 40, Nagaya 2011, 178). I prefer not to use either term since they imply that either it is normal for nouns to modify other nouns or to be relativized with *-n*, neither of which is true. Synchronically *-n* has no consistent meaning beyond marking a word as a noun modifier. For this reason most of the older descriptions did not even treat this suffix as a single morpheme, but rather as a group of homonymous suffixes. In this work I simply gloss all the uses of *-n* with the name ‘attributive suffix’ to show their relatedness.

4.3 ATTRIBUTIVE POSSESSION AND ALIENABILITY

Several possessive constructions exist in Lamaholot, depending on two factors: whether the possessor is a pronoun or a noun, and whether the possessee is alienably or inalienably possessed.

Inalienable possession obligatorily indicates the possessor through one of the possessor suffixes discussed in Section 4.1. Alienable possession indicates its possessor optionally, and can instead of a suffix also use postposed possessive pronouns, formed by adding the attributive suffix *-n* to a pronoun. So *léi-* ‘leg’ always has a suffixed possessor, *léik* ‘my leg’, *léin* ‘his leg’, but *lango* ‘house’ can occur without possessor, with a suffix *langok* ‘my house’, or with a possessive pronoun *lango goén* ‘my house’.

When the possessor is not a pronoun but a noun, it is placed in front of the possessee, but a suffix or possessive pronoun agreeing with the possessor has to be added as well. The phrases in (13) show such constructions. The possessors, *ana mion* ‘your child’ in the first sentence and *ilé* ‘mountain’ in the second, are placed in front of the possessee and then referred back to by the possessive pronoun *naén* and the possessor suffix *-n* respectively.

- (13) a. **Ana mion naran naén** hégé, dadi?
 child 2PL.POSS name 3SG.POSS who uncle
 ‘What is your daughter’s name, uncles?’ (Pamakayo)
- b. **Tité téti ilé wutu-n.**
 1PLI up mountain top-3SG.POSS
 ‘We were on top of the mountain.’ (Horowura)

that is the case, then *-n* on adjectives has merged with *-n* on pronouns, as they are homonymous and semantically extremely similar.

²² Demonstratives and locationals receive the suffix *-n* if they are used as argument modifiers rather than adverbs or prepositions in Lewotobi (Nagaya 2011). In other dialects of Flores and Solor demonstratives, but not locationals, can also be found with *-n* (Fernandez 1977; Nishiyama and Kelen 2007; Kroon 2016), but in those dialects the suffix is only used to emphasise the demonstrative and does not mark a grammatical distinction.

4.4 SUMMARY

Alternatively, several authors (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, Kroon 2016) reported another construction for nominal possession with a free possessive pronoun, in which the possessor noun follows the possessee rather than preceding it, as in (14). It is not entirely clear yet what the relation is between this construction and the version with possessor-possessee order, though possibly the former is an innovation inspired by the word order in Malay possessive constructions. Although it is certainly possible to use possessee-possessor order with native words, it is perhaps no coincidence that both *hari* and *akir* in (14) are borrowings.

- (14) **Hari akir naén** kamé weke pé lali m-enun wai raé-n.
day end 3SG.POSS 1PLE ? DIST down 1PLE-drink water 3PL-ATTR
'At the end of the day we'll all drink some of their water down there.' (Pamakayo)

The Lewotobi dialect has lost the use of pronominal possessor suffixes. That means that pronominal possessors always take the form of free possessive pronouns, even if the noun is inalienably possessed, as in (15). The distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is retained in the nominal possession construction; here the possessor precedes the possessee in the same way as in the other dialects, but after the possessee instead of a free or bound pronominal marking, another suffix is added to the possessee: *-n* for inalienably possessed nouns and *-ken* for alienably possessed ones, as in (16).

- (15) a. rata moén
hair 2SG.POSS
'your hair' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 233)
b. lango moén
house 2SG.POSS
'your house' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 233)
- (16) a. Hugo rata-n
Hugo hair-POSS
'Hugo's hair' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 232)
b. Hugo lango-ken
Hugo house-POSS
'Hugo's house' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 232)

4.4 SUMMARY

Nouns and pronouns trigger subject and object agreement affixes on some verbs and possessor suffixes on possessed nouns. These affixes are relatively consistent across dialects except for the object markers, which with the exception of the third person

4.4 SUMMARY

singular object marker are only used on Adonara and unfortunately remain understudied. Arguments can be modified by several kinds of words and phrases, almost all of which can also occur when the noun or pronoun is omitted. All argument modifiers except relative clauses, nominal possessors, and in most dialects demonstratives, take the attributive suffix *-n*. The semantics of this suffix are different for the different parts of speech, so no clear common function can be ascribed to it.

There are several distinct constructions for attributive possession: an obligatory person suffix for inalienably possessed nouns, an optional person suffix or a free possessive pronoun for alienably possessed nouns, and a combination of a pronominal possessor construction and a preposed possessor for nominal possession. The Lewotobi dialect has changed the system as a result of the loss of possessor suffixes, replacing the person marking for nominal possession by a general possession marker that changes form depending on the alienability of the possession.

 PREDICATES

Predicates are the an important and varied part of Lamaholot grammar. This chapter discusses what kind of phrases may constitute predicates in section 5.1, and how they can be serialized and modified in section 5.2.

5.1 TYPES OF PREDICATES

The prototypical predicate is a verb. The different kinds of verbal predicates are discussed in section 5.1.1. The various non-verbal predicates possible in Lamaholot are listed in section 5.1.2.

5.1.1 *Verbal predicates*

Clauses with a verbal predicate can be intransitive, monotransitive, or ditransitive. Examples of these three types are given in (17a), (17b), and (17c) respectively.

- (17) a. Ana **tani** terus.
 child cry continue
 'The child kept on crying.' (Pamakayo)
- b. Tité **péhén** kote-n.
 1PLI hold head-3SG.POSS
 'We hold its head.' (Pamakayo)
- c. **Néin** tiu Sama paro wé.
 give uncle Sama grater DIST
 'Give uncle Sama that grater.' (Pamakayo)

As can be seen, the valency is usually not marked overtly. It is possible however, for inflectional suffixes to betray the valency. The subject suffixes are only used in intransitive clauses, while the object clitic =*ro* by definition has to occur in a transitive clause. Both affixes are further discussed in Section 4.1. A normally transitive verb can also become semantically intransitive if it is reciprocal or reflexive. This is done by

filling the object slot in the sentence with the word *weki*- 'body', as illustrated in (18). Note that syntactically these constructions are still transitive.

- (18) a. Kamé hoyan **weki-ken** marin, t-ai tėti ilé wutuk-en.
 1PLE invited body-1PLE.POSS say 1PLI-go up mountain top-3SG.POSS
 'We invited each other and said 'Let's go up to the mountain top.''
 (Horowura)
- b. Hugo peléwen **weki naé-n**.
 Hugo praise body 3SG-ATTR
 'Hugo praised himself.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 372)

5.1.2 Non-verbal predicates

Many other types of words or word groups in Lamaholot can also be used as predicates. In this function they do not need to be accompanied by a copula or verbalizer. In (19) we see predicative nouns in (19a), adjectives in (19b) and (19c), and a relative phrase in (19d). In such phrases argument modifiers and predicate modifiers may co-exist, for example in (19a) the predicative noun *lewo* 'village' takes both a numeral and an adverb of aspect. Though pronouns and demonstratives may also be arguments, they are rarely predicates. This is presumably because the predicate is usually the focus i.e. new information in a clause, while pronouns and demonstratives by definition refer to old information.

- (19) a. Pi **lewo léma** kaé pé **Honé, Niwak, Lamaluo, Epubélen, Tulida**.
 PROX village five PERF DIST Hone Niwak Lamaluo Epubelen Tulida
 'These are the five villages already, Hone, Niwak, Lamaluo, Epubelen, and Tulida.' (Horowura)
- b. Tubak wata, pati pai esi **béle-n** kaé pati batun.
 sow maize then come bit big-ATTR PERF then weed
 'We sow the maize, and then when it has grown a bit already, then we weed.' (Horowura)
- c. Kedi, jam... lera **pelaté** kaé pé, dahu hiwa...
 then hour sun hot PERF DIST hour nine
 'Then at... the sun was hot already, about nine o'clock...' (Pamakayo)
- d. Raé **yang harus gelin**, ikere-n jadi hala.
 3SG REL must dig other-ATTR succeed NEG
 'They are the ones who must dig, other people are not allowed to do it.'
 (Pamakayo)

The difference between (19b) and (19c) is in the use of the suffix *-n* in the former example, which shows that the adjective in that sentence is in fact not a predicative adjective, but an attributive adjective modifying an omitted predicative noun. The latter exam-

ple does show a purely predicative adjective. The *-n* suffix and noun modifiers with omitted nouns are discussed in section 4.2.

Predicative adjectives can occur in constructions conveying intensifying, excessive, comparative, or equative meaning. These constructions differ between dialects. Intensity is usually expressed by either reduplication or parallelism (see Section 3.3), or through the use of postadjectival intensifiers. In Horowura the intensifiers *ipuk* and *tua* are used, as shown in (20a). In Lewoingu, people use *tegen* in the same way (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 34), as shown in (20b).

- (20) a. **Gelete tua, gelete ipuk!**
 cold very cold very
 'It was very cold, extremely cold!' (Horowura)
- b. **Lado béle tegen!**
 Lado big very
 'Lado is very big!' (Lewoingu, Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 34)

Two strategies have been reported for expressing an evaluation of a property as being excessive. These constructions are illustrated in (21). The first one, present in most if not all dialects, is to use a serial construction in which the first element is the adjective and the second is *aya* 'much'. It is often followed by a suffix such as *-ka* or a particle such as *bain*. If the quantity itself is the part that is deemed excessive the first adjective can also simply be omitted. The second way, used at least in Lewotobi and Lewoingu, is to add a suffix *-a* to the adjective, as in (21c).

- (21) a. **Doan aya-ka.**
 far much-too
 'It is too far.' (Pamakayo).
- b. **Muko aya bain.**
 banana much too
 'There's too much banana in it.' (Pamakayo)
- c. **Talé téé-n belaha-a.**
 rope PROX-ATTR long-too
 'This rope is too long.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 184)

As for comparative constructions, three possibilities have been reported so far. On Solor the word *di* 'also, too', can follow the argument that is being compared to become an index of comparison, as in (22a). On Adonara and in Lewotobi on the other hand, the word *bo*, which has no other function, is used instead, as in (22b). In Lewoingu no postnominal particle is used, but a prefix *te-*, although it is optional (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 34). In all dialects, the Malay preposition *dari(pada)* 'from' is mostly used if a second noun is added to compare the first one to.

5.2 SERIALIZATION AND VERB MODIFICATION

- (22) a. Sehingga, bisa jadi **di aya**.
so.that can become also much
'So that it can become more.' (Pamakayo)
- b. Nolon naé hasil **bo aya pé, tapo..**
earlier 3SG result COMPAR much DIST coconut
'The profits they made us used to be larger, coconuts.' (Horowura)
- c. Pimiinen (**te-**)sulit dari péméénen.
PROX (COMPAR-)difficult from DIST
'This one is more difficult than that one.' (Lewoingu, Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 34)

Unlike the previous constructions, the construction used to equate a property for two arguments seems stable across dialects. In this construction the adjective is serialized with the verb *hama* 'be together, be the same' and then the verb *-oon* 'be with' and the second noun. This is illustrated in (23).

- (23) Pii-n **susa hama n-oon pée-n**.
PROX-ATTR difficult same 3SG-with DIST-ATTR
'This one is as difficult as that one.' (Lewoingu, Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 34)

Other modifiers besides adjectives can also be predicates. Most importantly, clause-final adverbs and prepositions indicating locations can easily be predicates, as in the examples in (24).

- (24) a. Naé **téti, téti** wutuk-en, **téti** ilé wutuk.
3SG up up top-3SG.POSS up mountain top
'It was up there, on the top, on the top of the mountain' (Horowura)
- b. Tité **téti** puncak, tité hulén.
1PLI up top 1PLI look
'We arrived on the top, we looked around a bit.' (Horowura)

5.2 SERIALIZATION AND VERB MODIFICATION

Besides the use of subordinate clauses, which are discussed in section 6.4, Lamaholot makes use of three constructions to modify or add to the predicate: verb serialization, adverbs, and prepositional phrases. Since these three are often difficult if not impossible to distinguish, they are discussed together in this section. Unfortunately this part of the language has been neglected in the earlier descriptions. Especially serial constructions have only recently received some attention. Therefore this section cannot be exhaustive nor can it compare dialects in detail. Instead it only mentions the most important ways of predicate modification in Lamaholot and gives some examples.

5.2.1 *Negation*

The standard way to negate any kind of predicate or predicate modifier is through the clause-final adverb *hala*, which is shown in (25). Another adverb may follow it as in (25c). At least in Pamakayo it is sometimes combined with the preverbal adverb *gere* to create a double negation as in (25d).

- (25) a. Karena, kalau moé alat **hala**, moé tega bisa **hala**.
 because when 2SG chief NEG 2SG hack can NEG
 'Because if you are not one of the chiefs, you are not allowed to hack it.'
 (Pamakayo)
- b. Tité t-ekan cukup **hala**.
 1PLI 1PLI-eat enough NEG
 'We don't eat enough.' (Horowura)
- c. Moé ise roko lé také, ai goé ise **hala** di.
 2SG suck cigarette or exist-NEG INT 1SG suck NEG also
 'Do you smoke, well I don't smoke either.' (Pamakayo)
- d. Gelin pé, **gere** sembaran **hala**.
 dig DIST NEG whatever NEG
 'It isn't just anyone who can do that digging.' (Pamakayo)

Imperatives use different negators. The most common ones are the preverbal adverbs *aké* and *éka*, but a less commanding and therefore politer way to tell someone not to do something is by using the clause-final adverb *nawa*. These three prohibitives are shown in (26).

- (26) a. Nekun mio **aké** m-aan alarm.
 but 2PL NEG.IMP 2PL-do alarm
 'But don't raise the alarm.' (Horowura)
- b. Tutu nenen pé pé, ana **éka** melawan orangtua.
 tell manner DIST DIST child NEG.IMP resist parent
 'In this way we tell children to not disobey their parents.' (Pamakayo)
- c. Éh, také, poro **nawa** kia, m-ian jaga sen ai wai kia.
 INT exist.NEG cut NEG.IMP somet 2PL-wait wait only get water some
 'No, don't slaughter it yet, just wait until we reach water first.' (Pamakayo)

In addition, there are negative existential verbs *amu* and *také*²³, the latter of which is also the generic word for 'no', and the tense-aspectual clause-final adverb *wati* 'not yet'.

²³ Lewotobi also has the word *laé* with the same meaning (Nagaya 2011, 421)

5.2.2 *Tense, aspect, and modality*

For aspect there are the progressive preverbal adverb *mété* and the clause-final adverb expressing the perfect *kaé* (and its negative counterpart *wati*), seen in (27a) and (27b) respectively. These two are widespread and stable across dialects. In addition perfective aspect is widely expressed through a serial construction in which the second element is either a verb for 'to finish' such as *wahak* or *gohuk*, as in (27c), or a negative existential such as *amu*, as in (27d). The combination of *wahak* with *kaé* is frequent and has in many dialects grammaticalized to some degree from a perfective meaning towards a kind of universal quantifier, as can be seen in (27e). The adverb *ulin* 'still' is also used, and on Solor and Flores the adverb *moren* with the same meaning exists, which is shown in (27f). Other less frequent forms exist as well, for some examples see Kroon (2016, 129).

- (27) a. O, opu lewo tana one-n pé, tité **mété** hulen tede
 INT opu village earth inside-3SG.POSS DIST 1PLI PROG look look
 weki-te.
 body-1PLI.POSS
 'Well if opu remains in the village we will be looking out for each other.'
 (Pamakayo)
- b. Belakin pé haé kawén kaé le **wati**.
 man DIST maybe marry PERF OR PERF.NEG
 'If you have any sons, are they married already or not yet?' (Pamakayo)
- c. Kedi kawén **waha**, goé bain marin moé kote-n belara.
 then marry finish 1SG hear say 2SG head-2SG.POSS hurt
 'I heard that after the wedding you had a headache.' (Pamakayo)
- d. Kayo naé-n pi warna mite-n **amu**.
 tree 3SG-ATTR PROX colour black-ATTR exist.NEG
 'The trees over there were all completely black.' (Horowura)
- e. Kamé m-eté géré **waha kaé**.
 1PLE 1PLE-carry climb finish PERF
 'We have carried it all up there.' (Pamakayo)
- f. Ihik-en také **moren**.
 flesh-3SG.POSS exist.NEG still
 'It still doesn't have meat.' (Pamakayo)

Adverbs of modality are rarer, and are usually replaced by their Malay counterparts such as *mau* 'want', *suka* 'like', and *bisa* 'can'. One native modal verb that is widespread is *-oi* 'know', which can express someone's ability to do something. To obtain this modal function it has to occur as the second part of a serial construction and have an

object clitic =*ro*,²⁴ as in (28). Kroon reported that the verb *-ewan* ‘catch, harvest’ can be used in much the same way²⁵ (Kroon 2016, 220) and further mentions the preverbal modal verbs *-abé* ‘must’, *-odi* ‘be allowed to’, and *-awa* ‘want’ (Kroon 2016, 131).

- (28) Naé macam asli di pi, tutu bahasa daéra **n-oi=ro**.
 3SG like native LOC PROX speak language region 3SG-know=3SG.OBJ
 ‘He is like a native from here, he can speak the local language.’ (Pamakayo)

Although tense is not normally marked, it is of course still possible to explicitly refer to the time of events. This can be done by adverbs such as *néku* ‘a while ago’ or *mian* ‘in a moment’²⁶, or by specifying the exact moment or length of time, which can be used as an adverb without the use of any prepositions. The examples in (29) show some expressions of time.

- (29) a. Karena, hélo **néku** moé marin pé.
 because as just 2SG say DIST
 ‘Because it is as you just said.’ (Pamakayo)
- b. **M-ian** wauk mapen pé.
 2SG-wait stink very DIST
 ‘In a while it will stink terribly.’ (Pamakayo)
- c. **Leron tou**, munak n-ai nuhan nen kolon kan.
 day one monkey 3SG-go fish with bird crow
 ‘One day, the monkey went fishing with the crow.’ (Pamakayo)
- d. Kamé mulai pana pé **jam pito rema**.
 1PLE begin go DIST hour seven night
 ‘We started going there at 7 p.m.’ (Horowura)

5.2.3 Manner

Since the existence and properties of the category of adjectives are still under discussion, it should come as no surprise that it is not yet clear what exactly the boundary is between this category and the category of adverbs of manner, and if there are any adverbs of manner that do not count as adjectives. What is known, is that at least some adjectives can function as adverbs, as is shown in (30).

24 This is a fixed and somewhat abnormal construction. Normally =*ro* is always optional and cannot co-occur with an overt object, yet in this construction it is obligatory and it can co-occur with an over object, as can be seen from (28).

25 This combination of *-ewan* with =*ro* is probably the same thing as the verb *-waro* ‘can’ reported for Lewotobi (Nagaya 2011, 422).

26 This adverb is a grammaticalized version of the inflected verb *-ian* ‘wait’ with a second person subject prefix.

- (30) a. Péten **mela** ulin.
remember good still
'He still remembers it well.' (Horowura)
- b. Go soka **ketega**.
1SG dance strong
'I dance very hard.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 186)

In these sentences the adjective is used adverbially without any marking of its new syntactic function. Marking is possible, however, by reduplicating the adjective as shown in section 3.3. Often such reduplication involves using a serial construction with the verb *-aan* 'do, make' as the first part. The sentences in (31) illustrate this use of reduplicated adjectives.

- (31) a. Galak seru, seru **mela-mela** pati tubak wata.
collect_waste burn burn good-RED then sow maize
'We collect the waste and burn it, we burn it thoroughly, and then we sow the maize.' (Horowura)
- b. Naé pana **n-aan paon-paon**.
3SG walk 3SG-do slow-RED
'He walks slowly.' (Solor, Kroon 2016, 218)

5.2.4 Location and direction

The most neutral way of indicating the location where something is, happens, or moves to, is by adding a simple locative preposition *te* or *di*²⁷. Sometimes a grammaticalized form *ia* from the verb *ia-* 'live in' is used for this purpose. These forms simply point to a location related to the following noun, be it in, on, at, near, or whatever the exact spatial relation may be, as shown in (32). To further specify the spatial relation it is possible to use an inalienable possessive construction where a locative noun takes the role of the possessee, as is shown later in (36).

- (32) a. Pi yang gabung yang gabung **te** Horowura pé.
PROX REL gather LOC Horowura DIST
'These are the ones who came together in Horowura.' (Horowura)
- b. Baé wai **di ga?**
dig water LOC where
'Where are they digging for water?' (Pamakayo)

²⁷ These two forms are mutually exclusive and dependent on dialect. I found *te* in Horowura and *di* in Pamakayo, but cannot say much about other dialects.

- c. Adat kamé-n **di pi** pi musti sega **ia lewo** pé.
 tradition 1PLE-ATTR LOC PROX PROX necessary come live village DIST.
 'Our tradition over here is that they need to come to the village.' (Pamakayo)

It seems that sometimes the locative preposition can be left out, simply juxtaposing the location to the rest of the clause. This is especially the case if the semantics of the predicate already imply a location or direction, such as *tobo* 'sit'. In (33) this verb is shown with the location indicated both with and without a locative preposition respectively.

- (33) a. Gene tobo **di wato lolo-n**.
 ? sit LOC stone top-ATTR
 'Then she sat down on top of the stone.' (Pamakayo)
 b. Naé tobo **lango béle-n pi**.
 3SG sit house big-ATTR PROX
 'He is sitting in front of the big house here.' (Pamakayo)

In order to more specifically indicate a location or direction one can make use of locative adverbs, most of which can also be used as prepositions. There are two kinds of locative adverbs: the five locationals, which were shown earlier in Table 1, and those that are derived from demonstratives.

Many dialects allow the underived demonstratives to function as adverbs or prepositions. There are also various derivations from demonstratives, such as *pia* 'here' from the proximal demonstrative *pi*, and dialects do not always use the same forms. This means that there are three competing constructions with seemingly the same meanings: underived forms, underived forms with a locative prepositions, and derived forms, illustrated in (34a), (34b), and (34c) respectively.

- (34) a. Naé pi tobo **pi**.
 3SG PROX sit PROX
 'He is the one sitting over here.' (Pamakayo)
 b. Istila kamé-n **di pi** marin, déko tou.
 saying 1PLE-ATTR LOC PROX say pants one
 'Here we call that 'one pair of pants'.' (Pamakayo)
 c. Ina Éta pé, mayan hau tité t-énun hama-hama **pia** kaé.
 mother Éta DIST call come 1PLI 1PLI-drink together-RED here PERF
 'Éta over there, call her, we've already started drinking together here.' (Pamakayo)

Dialects vary which of these strategies is used the most. For example in Pamakayo the bare underived forms are the most popular construction while in Horowura the

combination with a locative preposition is preferred. In both dialects the derived adverbs are used much less, perhaps because they cannot be adapted to form prepositional phrases as well; when an argument needs to be added to further specify the location or direction, the bare form can simply take the argument as if it were a preposition, as in (35a). The construction with a locative preposition can be adapted to make the demonstrative a modifier of the argument rather than the argument itself, as in (35b).

- (35) a. Sega tugas **pi** **Solor**.
 come job PROX Solor
 'He came to Solor for his job.' (Pamakayo)
- b. Pi yang gabung **te** **Horowura pé**.
 PROX REL gather LOC Horowura DIST
 'These are those who joined together in Horowura then.' (Horowura)

Locative prepositions are not used to indicate spatial relations, which may be done by combining them with a locative noun. These are a small group of nouns, many of which double as body part words, that can be used to refer to a specific side of a referent, such as *kola-* 'back' or *one-* 'inside'. They are used as the possessee in an inalienable possessive construction, as shown in (36). Constructions with a locative noun can be used with a general locative such as *di* in (36a), with a prepositionally used locative adverb such as *pi* in (36b), or simply as an argument, as in (36c). The last example also illustrates how this construction with *one* 'inside' is frequently used to express emotions.

- (36) a. Ema **di wato one-n** kaé.
 mother LOC stone inside-3SG.POSS PERF
 'The mother was already inside the stone.' (Pamakayo)
- b. Tapi ternyata bawa, **pi tana one-n** pi, wai aya-n
 but turns_out COMPL PROX earth inside-3SG.POSS PROX water much-ATTR
 béya, untu kamé.
 flow for 1PLE
 'But, as it turns out, under the ground here a lot of water flows for us.'
 (Pamakayo)
- c. Kolon ka mulai **one-n** wereke-n.
 bird ka begin inside-3SG.POSS angry-ATTR
 'The crow began to get angry.' (Pamakayo)

Verbs of movement are very frequently used in serial constructions. Two kinds exist. In both kinds, the last predicate is a verb that indicates the direction of the movement, but they differ in the function of the first predicate.

In the first kind of construction, the first predicate is a verb that says something about the manner of movement, in a very broad sense. This position can be filled by a variety of verbs including *lodo* 'descend', *dorén* 'gather', and *pelaé* 'run' in (37).

- (37) a. Kamé **lodo** **m-ai** te tempat kéma-nen.
 1PLE descend 1PLE-go LOC place camp-1PLE.POSS
 'We went down to our camp.' (Horowura)
- b. Munak **dorén** **géré**.
 monkey gather climb
 'The monkey pulled it up.' (Pamakayo)
- c. Ika **pelaé** **lou** lango.
 Ika run exit house
 'Ika ran out of the house.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 463)

For a few verbs, such as *doré* 'follow' and *-eté* 'carry', this pattern seems to occur in the reversed order as well: in (38) the verb of direction comes first and the verb of manner second.

- (38) Moé **pana** **doré**, pé raé n-ai.
 2SG go follow DIST MOUNT 3SG-go
 'Go follow her there, she went that way.' (Pamakayo)

In the other construction the first predicate is usually a prepositional phrase or a locative adverb, such as the locational *lau* in (39a). It can also be a noun or verb, such as *kiman* 'seafood' and *metin* 'cliff' in (39b). It indicates the starting location of the movement. The verb of movement is usually a word for 'come'.

- (39) a. **Lau téna** **lodo** **dai**.
 SEA boat descend come
 'They come from outside.' (Horowura)
- b. Terus moé **kiman** **dai**, moé metin dai, soron ema naé-n usi,
 then 2SG seafood come 2SG cliff come give mother 3SG-ATTR bit
 moé usi.
 2SG bit
 'And when you come back looking for seafood, when you come back from the cliffs, give your mother some and yourself some.' (Pamakayo)

5.2.5 Instrumental and comitative

Serial verbs are also frequently used to indicate instruments or comitatives. For instruments usually a construction with the Malay verb *paké* 'use' is employed, as in (40a). A native instrumental construction with the verb *-aan* 'do, make' was reported by Kroon

(2016, 112), with examples such as (40b). To express a comitative the native verb or preposition *-oon* is preferred (although it is also possible to use the Malay preposition *dengan* 'with'). The verb *-oon* can be used as an existential, as in (41a), but also as a verb with the meaning 'be with, accompany'. This meaning, illustrated in (41b), can express the comitative through a serial construction, as in (41c).

- (40) a. Haé na terun **paké kuda** na géré kuda baru terun.
 maybe 3SG chase use horse 3SG climb horse then chase
 'If there were any he chased them with his horse, he climbed on his horse and gave chase.' (Pamakayo)
- b. Raé horo serdaru lau Potu dai **r-aan bero**.
 3PL bring soldier SEA Larantuka come 3PL-do canoe
 'They brought soldiers from Larantuka by canoe.' (Solor, Kroon 2016, 113)
- (41) a. Orangtua néin, jadi mungkin **n-oon kekuatan**.
 parent give so maybe 3SG-with force
 'Our parents gave it, so maybe it has strength.' (Horowura)
- b. Naé **n-oon pasangan naé-n amu**.
 3SG 3SG-with pair 3SG-ATTR exist.NEG
 'It is used with the whole phrase.' (Horowura)
- c. Paken lewo kaé pé, pati musti harus paken **n-oon lewo tana**.
 mention village PERF DIST then necessary must mention 3SG-with village earth
 'Now that we have mentioned that about the village, we should also mention something about the village ground.' (Horowura)

In some dialects this verb seems to be grammaticalizing into a preposition 'with'. This process is accompanied by a loss of agreement and a phonetical reduction towards *nen*.

5.2.6 Sequence, purpose and recipients

A relatively heterogenous group of serial constructions exists to express several kinds of sequences of events. It is often impossible to distinguish serialization from simple juxtaposition of clauses, as is discussed in section 6.4. The presence of conjunctions or intonational pauses can betray a multiclausal structure, but these are not always present. The two predicates in these constructions do not need to share a subject, the object of the first predicate may also be the subject of the second one. Sometimes these constructions should be interpreted not so much as sequences of events but rather as the second event being the purpose of the first event. Some examples are shown in (42).

5.3 SUMMARY

- (42) a. **Guté lodo t-ekan.**
 take descend 1PLI-eat
 'Take some down so we can eat.' (Pamakayo)
- b. Mau géré ilé, liburan **m-ai géré** ilé.
 want climb mountain holidays 1PLE-go climb mountain
 'We wanted to climb a mountain, during the holidays we went to climb a mountain.' (Horowura)
- c. Go **k-ai-ken** pé pasar **hopé** ue.
 1SG 1SG-go-1SG DIST market buy tuber
 'I went to the market to buy tubers.' (Lewoingu, Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 115)
- d. Nia **gen waha.**
 Nia eat.3SG finish
 'Nia finished eating.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 476)

Because in these serializations both predicate slots are more or less open to any predicate, they are an easy path towards grammaticalization. For example the perfective constructions mentioned in section 5.2.2 can easily be derived from sentences such as (42d). Another kind of construction that has gone this way are constructions with verbs with the meaning 'give', in particular *néin*. These verbs tend to lose their lexical meaning in the second slot of a serial construction. They become a preposition 'for' that can even be used in sentences where no actual giving is taking place, as in (43). However, it was pointed out by Kroon (Kroon 2016, 114) that unlike some other verbs, *néin* and *soron* have not yet been grammaticalized to the point of being able to function as a preposition in a clause where they are also the main verb. In such cases a ditransitive construction or a general locative preposition is used instead.

- (43) Go biho **néin Bésa.**
 1SG cook give Bésa
 'I cook for Besa.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 474)

5.3 SUMMARY

A large variety of possible predicates exists in Lamaholot; besides verbs any element that can be an argument can also be a predicate, as can adjectives and locations. Predicates can be modified by a large variety of adverbs and prepositional phrases, or strung together in serializations. The semantics expressed in this way include negation, the marking of aspect and modality, time and place, linking of clauses, and the introduction of additional participants such as instruments and recipients.

 SENTENCE STRUCTURE

This chapter will describe the syntactic structure of Lamaholot sentences. First section 6.1 considers the properties of typical clauses in Lamaholot. In section 6.2 topicalisation and fronting are discussed. With the basic properties of clauses laid out in those two sections, section 6.3 looks at the way interrogative and imperative sentences are formed, and section 6.4 shows how clauses may be combined into complex sentences. Lastly, section 6.5 considers those words that marginal to the syntactic structure, sentence-final particles and interjections.

6.1 BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Within a clause, words or groups of words can function either as arguments, as predicates over arguments, or as modifiers of other elements in the clause. This section describes how they are combined to form clauses.

There is not much variation in the constituent order of Lamaholot clauses. Lamaholot clauses usually have SV or AVP²⁸ constituent order. I.e., most intransitive clauses the sole argument precedes the predicate, while in a typical transitive clause the predicate is preceded by the more agent-like argument and followed by the more patient-like one. PAV sentences do exist (as discussed in section 6.2) but are more marked because of their relatively low frequency and their intonation pattern. Lamaholot therefore behaves like a typical language from Eastern Indonesia in not exhibiting a system with two or more symmetrical voices of the kind that is found in Western Austronesian languages (Klamer 2002; Blust 2013). The aforementioned word orders are illustrated in examples (44a) and (44b), which are a typical intransitive and transitive sentence respectively:

- (44) a. Kolon kan maren-maren.
 bird crow silent-RED
 ‘The crow remained silent.’ (Pamakayo)

²⁸ Here V stands for the predicate of the clause. For an explanation of the labels S, A, and P see Comrie (1978).

- b. Raé r-eté téna.
 3PL 3PL-bring boat
 'They brought a boat.' (Pamakayo)

Given these data, Lamaholot can be said to have accusative alignment in its word order. It is unproblematic for Lamaholot to call the S/A-argument 'subject' and the P-argument '(direct) object'. Apart from a direct object, ditransitive clauses also have an unmarked indirect object. In a ditransitive clause the recipient argument is the direct object and the theme argument the indirect object. It is also possible to get an almost equivalent transitive clause with the theme as direct object by coupling the recipient argument with a locative preposition. Example (45a) illustrates the ditransitive option and (45b) the monotransitive one:

- (45) a. Go soron Ika gula.
 1SG give Ika candy
 'I give Ika candy.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 363)
- b. Go soron gula ia Ika.
 1SG give candy LOC Ika
 'I give candy to Ika.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 363)

Nagaya argues for a distinction between ditransitive verbs, such as *soron* 'give' and benefactive verbs, such as *bao* 'pour'. Similarly to ditransitive verbs such as *soron*, benefactive verbs can take either two or three arguments, as is shown in 46. However, the theme argument of a benefactive verb is different from the theme argument of a ditransitive verb. Benefactive verbs do not show the same alteration as ditransitive verbs; if ditransitive verbs are used in a monotransitive clause, the recipient argument can still be added through a prepositional phrase with a general locative as in (45b). A benefactive verb cannot occur in that kind of sentence, and instead use a serialization with a true ditransitive verb as in (46b). Moreover, the examples in 47 and 48 show that unlike the theme argument of a ditransitive verb, the theme argument of a benefactive verb cannot be topicalized, nor can it be the relativised element in a relative clause. For these reasons Nagaya argued that the theme argument of a benefactive verb should not be seen as an indirect object but as an oblique argument. I do not agree with this analysis as oblique arguments are normally marked by prepositions, but I do think that a distinction should be made between theme objects of ditransitive verbs and theme objects of benefactive verbs. More research is needed to further clarify this phenomenon.

- (46) a. Go bao Ika kopi.
 1SG poured Ika coffee
 'I pour Ika coffee.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 364)

6.1 BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE

- b. Go bao kopi néin Ika.
 1SG pour coffee give Ika
 'I poured coffee for Ika.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 363)
- (47) a. Gula, go soron Ika.
 candy 1SG give Ika
 'Candy, I gave Ika.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 379)
- b. Ika, go soron gula.
 Ika 1SG give candy
 'Ika, I gave candy.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 379)
- c. *Gula, go hopé Ika.
 candy 1SG buy Ika
 'Candy, I bought Ika.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 382)
- d. Ika, go hopé gula.
 Ika 1SG buy candy
 'Ika, I bought candy.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 382)
- (48) a. Téé-n gula yang go néin Ika.
 PROX-ATTR candy REL 1SG give Ika
 'This is the candy that I gave Ika.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 396)
- b. *Téé-n gula yang go hopé Ika.
 PROX-ATTR candy REL 1SG buy Ika
 'This is the candy that I bought Ika.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 396)
- c. Téé-n gula yang go hopé néin Ika.
 PROX-ATTR candy REL 1SG buy give Ika
 'This is the candy that I bought Ika.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 396)

Arguments may be omitted as long as they are clear from the context or not relevant to the discourse. An example is (49), where the subject is omitted from the first clause because it is completely clear from the preceding sentences.

- (49) Hawo di tahi tuka-n, raé nuha-na.
 arrive LOC sea middle-3SG.POSS 3PL fish-3PL
 'They arrived on the open sea, and fished.' (Pamakayo)

Clause modifiers generally occur clause-finally, as can be seen in example (50). Here we see three clause modifiers, *hari Senin rema* in the first clause, *te kampus* and *ki* in the second, all of them clause-final.

- (50) Pana hari Senin rema, kame pupu weki-ken te kampus ki.
 go day Monday night 1PLE gather body-1PLE.POSS LOC campus first
 'We went Monday night, we gathered on the campus first.' (Horowura)

6.2 TOPICALISATION AND FOCUS FRONTING

Alternative constituent orders are used to better suit the pragmatics of clauses; a constituent can sometimes be placed in front of the clause rather than its normal position. A distinction was made by Kroon (2016, 241) between what he calls focus fronting and topicalization. Focus fronting, shown in (51), is about setting the stage for the event that will follow. Thus, it is often an expression of place, time, or condition that is put in front. Nishiyama and Kelen also gave examples such as (52) of fronted predicates, but perhaps in those cases it is not so much the predicate that is being fronted but rather the subject being added as an afterthought.

- (51) a. **Léla hala**, weda ikan tou.
 long NEG catch fish one
 'Not long after, they caught a fish.' (Pamakayo)
- b. **Pi Pamakayo** mayan tana alate-n, mayan sembaran hala
 PROX Pamakayo call earth chief-3SG.POSS call whatever NEG
 mayan, ya.
 call yes
 'Here in Pamakayo, when it comes to calling people chiefs of the earth, we don't just call anybody that, yes.' (Pamakayo)
- (52) **Sega urin**, na.
 come late 3SG
 'Arrived late, he did.' (Lewoingu, Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, 128)

Topicalization, as Kroon presents it, is a different process restricted to objects. The topic is the information in a clause that is already known to the listener, often but not always the subject, about which some new information is being given. If not the subject but the object is the topic of the clause, it can be put in front. The object slot in the clause is then supposed to be filled with a bound or free pronoun referring back to the fronted object if the topic is human, as in (53a). However, the requirement that topicalized human objects need to be referred back to is problematic, as Nagaya (2011) mentioned no such requirement and gave sentences such as (53b). This is actually what would be expected given the ease with which pronouns in Lamaholot can be omitted. Looking at my own corpus, another issue is that there are many sentences such as (53c), which seem like perfect examples of topicalization except that it is the subject and not the object which is fronted.

- (53) a. **Ana wé**, ema taku=**ro** lala.
 child DIST mother feed=3SG.OBJ porridge
 'Mother fed that baby porridge.' (Solor, Kroon 2016, 239)

6.3 INTERROGATIVE AND IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

- b. **Ika**, Tanti bengo.
Ika Tanti hit
'Tanti hit Ika.' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 388)
- c. **Ana goé-n pi, naé** menuntute goé harus paté kerétuk néku pé.
child 1SG-ATTR PROX 3SG demand 1SG must pay octopus just DIST
'My child demands of me that I give him that octopus.' (Pamakayo)

If these points are accepted and both the obligatory pronouns and the restriction to objects are omitted from the definition of topicalization, there is little left to distinguish it from focus fronting. I would argue that they are both reflections of the same mechanism: introducing or reactivating some information in front of the clause in order for it not to distract from the focused information in the main clause. But before this can be said with any certainty more research is needed.

6.3 INTERROGATIVE AND IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

Thus far only declarative sentences have been discussed. Interrogative and imperative sentences work mostly along the same principles, as is shown in this section. Three kinds of non-declarative sentences are looked at: content questions in 6.3.1, polar questions in 6.3.2, and orders in 6.3.3.

6.3.1 Content questions

Lamaholot has the following basic question words:

<i>a(ku)/pa</i>	'what'
<i>hégé/héku</i>	'who'
<i>ga(ku)</i>	'where'
<i>pira</i>	'how many'

There is quite some dialectal variation in the exact forms of the words on this list, which only shows some of the variation that exists. In addition to these, Lewotobi also has the basic question words *téa* 'where' and *boen* 'when' (Nagaya 2011, 427).

The basic question words can be combined with other words to make complex question words. The word *ga(ku)* even requires another word to precede it, usually the locative preposition *di/te*. Some of the possible combinations are listed here:

Some combinations have been grammaticalized to the point where they start to suffer from phonological attrition, so that the two words are no longer as easy to analyse. Frequent examples are *nenggenai*²⁹ for 'how' and *erempria* for 'when'. Note

²⁹ This form possibly derives from the combination of *nen* 'with' and *ga* 'where' with the word *nai* 'it goes'.

6.3 INTERROGATIVE AND IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

<i>puken a(ku)</i>	'why' (lit. 'what reason')
<i>dari a(ku)</i>	'why' (lit. 'from what')
<i>nenen ga(ku)</i>	'how' (lit. 'manner where')
<i>eren pira</i>	'when' (lit. 'date how many')
<i>jam pira</i>	'what time' (lit. 'hour how many')

however that in both these cases the word-medial codas still betray their composite nature.

Question words in Western Lamaholot typically occur in-situ, though they may be fronted through topicalization as they would in a declarative sentence. Example (54a) and (54b) show question words in-situ while in (54c) it is fronted:

- (54) a. Mo hopé **pira**?
 2SG buy how_many
 'How many did you buy?' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 428)
- b. Mo hopé **a** néin Siku?
 2SG buy what give Siku
 'What did you buy for Siku?' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 428)
- c. **Hégé** mo bengo?
 who 2SG hit
 'Whom did you hit?' (Lewotobi, Nagaya 2011, 429)

This in contrast to Alorese, where the question words are always fronted (Klamer 2011, 84).

6.3.2 Polar questions

There is no uniform way in which all Lamaholot dialects mark polar questions as distinct from declarative sentences. Western Lamaholot dialects have rising question intonation. Most dialects have optional sentence-final question particles, most frequently the conjunction *lé* 'or', or a synonym thereof. It is often combined with the negations *ta(ké)* or *wa(ti)* to give *lé ta(ké)* 'or not' and *lé wa(ti)* 'or not yet'. These are illustrated in examples (55a) and (55b) respectively.

- (55) a. Waktu pé moé m-enun tua **lé také**, pi?
 time DIST 2SG 2SG-drink tuak or not PROX
 'Did you drink tuak here or not then?' (Pamakayo)
- b. Adu, tata Hudi n-oi kaé **lé wati**?
 oh older_sibling Hudi 3SG-know PERF or not_yet
 'Oh, does Hudi know already or not yet?' (Pamakayo)

6.4 CLAUSE COMBINING

As can be seen from the example these are genuine polar questions that can be answered either way. Sometimes the Malay particle *to* 'right?' is used to ask for confirmation, in a question where a negation is not really expected, as in (56).

- (56) Bau, moé péhen arak, **to**?
tomorrow 2SG hold arak right
'Tomorrow you will hold the arak, right?' (Pamakayo)

6.3.3 Imperatives

Lamaholot imperatives do not show morphosyntactic differences with declarative sentences. The subject of an imperative may or may not be elided, just as in declaratives where the subject is clear from the context. The clause-final adverb *ki(a)* 'some, a bit, for a while' is often used as a politeness strategy in imperatives or hortatives, as in example (57).

- (57) Tité t-énun **kia** kaé!
1PLI 1PLI-drink some PERF
'Let's drink now!' (Pamakayo)

6.4 CLAUSE COMBINING

Clause combining plays a relatively small role in Lamaholot; verb serialization is a more frequently used strategy for combining series of events, and usually it is preferred to use deictics to refer back to the last sentence rather than using conjunctions to explain their relation. For example, instead of using a sentence with the structure 'X because of Y' to express a causative relation, it is preferred to say 'X. Because of that, Y' using *puken pé* 'because of that' (lit. 'that is the reason').

That is not to say that clause combining is not used at all. Especially temporal sequence is frequently expressed using a conjunction with the meaning 'then'. The form of this conjunction can differ, *kedí* is found on parts of Flores and Solor and *páti* on Adonara. An example of this is (58).

- (58) Rera géré kaé, **páti**, tité t-oi bapa gawé.
sun climb PERF then 1PLI 1PLI-know father pass
'The sun has risen already and then we notice a man pass by.' (Horowura)

Less frequent are forms for a contrast 'but' such as *(né)kun*. This is illustrated in (59).

6.4 CLAUSE COMBINING

- (59) Mémang naé pé program paling pertama, **kun** hema pé, yang terakhir.
 really 3SG DIST program most first but do DIST REL last
 'That's really the most important program, but we do that as the last one.'
 (Pamakayo)

The conjunction 'and' in Western dialects is *noon* or *nen*, a grammaticalized form of the verb *-oon* 'to be with' *-oon* with a third person singular agreement prefix. It can be used to connect clauses, although it usually connects phrases. The disjunction 'or' can also connect clauses, although in some dialects it gets a conditional meaning 'if' in that position. For other dialects there are only examples where the disjunction connects phrases, although it is possible that it can also connect clauses. The disjunction seems to be widespread in two forms, *lé* and *ka*. They are often used with or without a negation to form a tag question. The conjunction is illustrated in (60) and the disjunction in (61). They are both shown connecting two phrases first and then two clauses.

- (60) a. Goé **nen** ana Marc pi, géré léga di pi, pi lango.
 1SG with child Marc PROX climb walk LOC PROX PROX house
 'I and young Marc here came up here to this house.' (Pamakayo)
 b. Lera pelaté aya-ka **nen** nimo terlepas.
 sun hot much-too and self loose
 'The sun is too hot and they crack spontaneously.' (Pamakayo)
- (61) a. Pé gelin pé, Lamaléwar **lé**, sen dadi mio, Lamakein yang gelin?
 DIST dig DIST Lamalewar or only uncle 1PLE Lamakein REL dig
 'Those who dig, can they be Lamalewar, or only you uncles, the Lamakeins who dig?' (Pamakayo)
 b. Tité marin lé také, **lé** tité néku tité méha-te.
 1PLI say or not or 1PLI just 1PLI alone-1PLI
 'We say it or not, or we do it on our own like I just said.' (Pamakayo)

Other conjunctions may occur as well, but this seems to be dialectally quite limited. In addition, it is nowadays rather common to employ Malay conjunctions even when most of the rest of the words in the sentence are in Lamaholot. Conjunctions such as *karena* 'because', *tapi* 'but' and *sehingga* 'so that' are used more frequently than many of the native conjunctions.

Juxtaposition is also frequently used to indicate subsequent events, as in (62a). Because arguments may be freely omitted, it can sometimes be hard to distinguish juxtaposition from serialization. However, sometimes a subordinate clause is clearly marked by a distal demonstrative *pé* or *wé* at the end of the clause, as in (62b). In this case it is no longer truly a demonstrative or an adverb, but more a subordinator.

6.4 CLAUSE COMBINING

- (62) a. Hawo di wato béle-n, naé n-oi rata.
arrive LOC stone big-ATTR 3SG 3SG-know hair
'He arrived at the big stone, and then he recognized the hair.' (Pamakayo)
- b. Raé sidang look pé naé balik turu.
3PL meeting disperse DIST 3SG return sleep
'After they had dispersed from their meeting he went back home to sleep.'
(Horowura)

Juxtaposition is also the strategy used to introduce complement clauses, for example in the sentences in 63. There is no true complementizer except when the Malay complementizer *ba(h)wa* is inserted through code-mixing. The verb *marin* 'say' has grammaticalized into a quotative that is put in front of quotes, and may function similarly to a complementizer with verbs of speech or hearing.

- (63) a. Na pé pé é, hulen **melan, ékan melan!**
well DIST DIST INT look good area good
'Well up there, we saw it was beautiful, a beautiful landscape!' (Horowura)
- b. Moé m-oi **naé hema a?**
2SG 2SG-know 3SG do what
'Do you know what he does?' (Pamakayo)
- c. Sehingga, raé marin, **marin, busi jadi aya.**
so.that 3PL say say bit become much
'So that, as they say, they say, a little bit becomes a lot.' (Pamakayo)

Relative clauses in Lamaholot are often formed with the Malay relativizer *yang*, as in (64a). There is no specific native relative pronoun, and native relative clause structures have therefore received little attention until the recent description by Kroon (2016, 196). He showed that in Lamaholot it is possible to make relative clauses following an argument in the main clause. This is done by optionally starting the relative clause with a distal demonstrative functioning as relative pronoun, and then adding another obligatory one to mark the end of the relative clause, as in (64b). The head noun can occupy several functions in the relative clause.

- (64) a. Bapa-bapa **yang kewai rua**, raé pelaé.
father-RED REL wife two 3PL run
'The men who had two wives fled.' (Pamakayo)
- b. Geré (**pé**) **moé béhin kerian wé** data-a kaé.
bed (DIST 2SG recently DIST work bad-3SG PERF
'The bed that you just made is already broken.' (Solor, Kroon 2016, 197)

6.5 CLAUSE-FINAL PARTICLES AND INTERJECTIONS

Sentence-final particles and interjections are short words that do not add to the semantic content of the clause, instead expressing pragmatic meanings and speaker attitudes. For this reason they have often been overlooked in descriptions of Lamaholot dialects, making a systematic comparison difficult. The list of sentence-final particles in Table 4 is from Nagaya's description of Lewotobi Lamaholot, but little comment can be made to their generalizability.

Particle	Meaning
haé	tag question
ta	polar question
di	excuse
ro	confirmation
ka	emphasis
né	softening
mu	confirmation
léwo	calling attention

Table 4: Sentence-final particles in Lewotobi (Nagaya 2011, 233).

Table 5 contains three different lists of interjections from three different authors, suggesting a great deal of dialectal variation in interjections.

These words, and interjections in particular, seem very sensitive to the Lamaholot-Malay bilingualism. For example, *adu* and *da* from Table 5 are both from Malay. The particle *to* from Section 6.3.2 was an example of a borrowed sentence-final particle.

6.6 SUMMARY

Particle	Arndt	Nagaya	Kroon
a	'oh'		
ai	'oh dear'		disappointment or disagreement
ata	'really'		
(wo)é	'hey', 'well'	'hey'	catch someone's attention
égé	'hi', 'hey'		
ehe	'yes'		
he(en)	'yes'		
héléka	'good job'		
ho	'hello'		
o (élé)	'oh dear'		
ogo	'have mercy'		
mai(n)	emphasis		
menange	sorrow		
néhi	'attention please'		
aé	'go away'		
isa	'great'		
ona		'wow'	
adu		'hmmm'	pain
da	'bye'		
haé		'I see'	'yes, of course'
bi(ka)		'no idea'	'maybe, no idea'
pana			'goodbye' (lit. 'walk')
goé é			'oh my god'
eman tilun			'damn you' (lit. 'your mother's ears')
hai			expressing surprise

Table 5: Interjections as given by Arndt (1937, 118), Nagaya (2011, 205), and Kroon (2016, 158).

6.6 SUMMARY

Lamaholot clauses are normally SV and AVP, but it is possible to front topics or other non-focused information. Two kinds of verbs can occur in ditransitive constructions. In those constructions, the recipient argument comes before the theme argument, although the theme argument is the object in monotransitive paraphrases. Questions and imperatives have the same structure as declarative sentences: subjects of imperatives may or may not be elided as in declarative sentences, question words may or may not be topicalized in the same way as their declarative counterparts, and polar questions are formed by adding a tag question with a disjunction. It is difficult to generalize about conjunctions, sentence-final particles, and interjections, as these cate-

6.6 SUMMARY

gories are very variable between dialects, heavily influenced by Malay, and often not described in great detail.

CONCLUSION

Compared to other languages in Eastern Indonesia, Lamaholot, and Western Lamaholot in particular, is quite well-documented. Since Arndt published the first grammar, over a dozen different authors have contributed to our understanding of the different dialects that can be found. This thesis is the result of my (rather ambitious) attempt to not only add my own findings to the list, but also make a synthesis of all the preceding work: a comparative dialect sketch. I have done this with three goals in mind: to give an overview of the grammar of Western Lamaholot, to describe the differences between the dialects, and to discuss the topics about which different analyses have been put forward.

Lamaholot phonology has six distinct vowels, which are sometimes long or nasal, and fifteen or sixteen consonants, in addition to loan phonemes from Malay. It has a strong tendency to CV-syllables and employs processes such as epenthetic schwas and coda deletion to that end. Nonetheless, some codas exist word-finally. There are around ten functional parts of speech in addition to the lexical classes of nouns, verbs, and possibly adjectives. Nouns are divided into alienably and inalienably possessed categories, a distinction that determines whether the presence of a possessor is obligatory and what the possessive construction looks like. Possessive constructions are also notable for being different depending on whether the possessor is a noun or a pronoun and for often being marked on both sides of the possessed noun, whereas all other noun modifiers occur only after the head noun. The other categories of noun modifiers, with the exception of relative clauses, are also marked by a suffix *-n* that historically derives from a genitive marker. Some verbs receive obligatory subject agreement prefixes, and some optionally take subject agreement suffixes if they have an intransitive reading. Most verbs are intransitive or monotransitive, but there are two categories that can occur in ditransitive clauses. Verbs frequently combine into serial verb constructions for various purposes, and many adverbs and prepositions can be shown to have grammaticalized from serial verb constructions. Clauses generally have SV or AVP word order, but non-focussed elements are frequently fronted. Clauses can be combined by borrowed or native conjunctions or through juxtaposition, but fronting and serialization are used more frequently to add extra information to the main clause.

CONCLUSION

Dialectal differences are obviously visible in the lexicon, and even frequently used function words such as 'or' or 'still' can have different forms depending on the dialect. Differences are also visible in the phonology, in particular in the realization of the phonemes /j/ and /w/ and /l/ in syllables preceding a syllable starting with /r/. There are also differences in stress patterns and in the choice of possible word-final consonants. Dialects of Adonara are remarkable in breaking the CV-syllable trend by adding glottal consonants to the start of syllables ending in /n/. Another particularity of the same dialects is that they also seem to use the intransitive subject agreement suffixes as object agreement suffixes on transitive verbs, whereas other dialects only have one object marking clitic. The forms of the intransitive subject suffix paradigm also vary a bit between dialects. The dialect of Lewotobi is notable for having possessive constructions that are quite different from other dialects and for making the use of *-n* on demonstratives obligatory in some contexts. It also uses less derivational affixes than other dialects.

Authors have very different analyses about a few questions. These questions include whether or not the glottal stops is a phoneme, whether or not vowel length and nasality on vowels are phonemic, whether or not adjectives should be a separate part of speech from verbs, how to synchronically classify the suffix *-n*, which particular lexemes are still verbs and which have been grammaticalized, and what kinds of fronting exist.

And finally, in addition to the aforementioned goals, I also found numerous topics which have not been much debated yet but nonetheless still need further investigation. These include the exact realization of /w/, stress patterns outside of Flores and in particular unpredictable ones, intonation patterns trisyllabic roots, derivational affixes in general, the possible existence of adjectives that do not use *-n*, the possible existence of adjectives that use *-ken* instead of *-n*, the use of derived determiners, benefactive verbs, the use of demonstratives as subordinators and relativizers, conjunctions, sentence-final particles, interjections, serial verb patterns, the use of subject agreement suffixes on adjectives, and of course everything related to Central and Eastern Lamaholot dialects and the relation to Aloré. It is my hope that this thesis can in some way or another contribute to further research into those and other subjects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akoli, M. Y. F. (2010). *Lamaholot dialect variations* (Master's thesis, Monash University).
- Arndt, P. (1937). *Grammatik der Solor-Sprache*. Ende: Arnoldus-Drukkerij.
- Arndt, P. (1940). *Soziale Verhältnisse auf Ost-Flores, Adonare und Solor*. Münster: Aschen-dorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Arndt, P. (1951). *Religion auf Ost-Flores, Adonare und Solor*. Vienna: Missiondrückerei St. Gabriel.
- Barnes, R. H. (1996). *Sea hunters of Indonesia: fishers and weavers of Lamalera*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blust, R. (2013). *The Austronesian languages*. Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics.
- Comrie, B. (1978). Ergativity. In W. P. Lehmann (Ed.), *Syntactic typology: studies in the phenomenology of language* (pp. 329–394). Austin: University Press.
- Doyle, M. (2010). *Internal divisions in the Flores-Lembata subgroup of Central Malayo-Polynesian* (Master's thesis, Universiteit Leiden).
- Fernandez, I. Y. (1977). *Bahasa Lamaholot Ile Mandiri* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Gadjah Mada).
- Grangé, P. (2015). The Lamaholot dialect chain (East Flores, Indonesia). In M. D. Ross & I. W. Arka (Eds.), *Language change in Austronesian languages: papers from 12-ICAL* (Vol. 3). Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics.
- Grimes, J. E. (1995). *Language survey reference guide*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Keraf, G. (1978). *Morfologi dialek Lamalera* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Indonesia).
- Klamer, M. (2002). Typical features of Austronesian languages in Central/Eastern Indonesia. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 41(2), 363–383.
- Klamer, M. (2011). *A short grammar of Alorese (Austronesian)*. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.
- Klamer, M. (2012). Papuan-austronesian language contact: Alorese from an areal perspective. *Language documentation and conservation, Special Issue 5*, 72–108.
- Klamer, M. (forthcoming). From Lamaholot to Alorese: simplification without shift. In D. Gil & J. McWorther (Eds.), *Austronesian undressed: how and why languages become isolating*.
- Kroon, Y. B. (2016). *A grammar of Solor-Lamaholot: a language of Flores, Eastern Indonesia* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Adelaide).
- Moro, F. (2010). *Reconstruction of Proto-Alor-Lamaholot-Lamalera*.
- Nagaya, N. (2011). *The Lamaholot language of Eastern Indonesia* (Doctoral dissertation, Rice University).

Bibliography

- Nagaya, N. (2013). Voice and grammatical relations in Lamaholot of Eastern Indonesia. *NUSA: Linguistic studies of languages in and around Indonesia*, 54, 84–119.
- Nagaya, N. (2014). Ditransitives and benefactives in Lamaholot. In I. W. Arka & N. L. K. M. Indrawati (Eds.), *Argument realisations and related constructions in Austronesian languages: papers from 12-ICAL* (Vol. 2). Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics.
- Nishiyama, K. (2011). Conjunctive agreement in Lamaholot. *Journal of Linguistics*, 47, 381–405.
- Nishiyama, K. & Kelen, H. (2007). *A grammar of Lamaholot, Eastern Indonesia*. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.
- Pampus, K.-H. (1999). *Koda Kiwā: dreisprachiges Wörterbuch des Lamaholot (Dialekt von Lewolema)*. Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Pampus, K.-H. (2001). *Mue Moten Koda Kiwan: kamus bahasa Lamaholot, dialek Lewolema, Flores Timur*. Frobenius-Institut Frankfurt am Main.
- Pampus, K.-H. (2008). *Koda Kiwan: kamus bahasa Lamaholot, dialek Lewolema, Flores Timur (NTT)*. Frobenius-Institut Frankfurt am Main.
- Sanga, F. (2002). *Kamus dwibahasa lengkap Lamaholot-Indonesia: tatabahasa singkat, kosa kata umum, bentuk idiom, antonim, sinonim*. Airlangga University Press.
- Sneddon, J., Adelaar, A., Djenar, D., & Ewing, M. (2010). *Indonesian reference grammar*. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin.
- Steinhauer, H. (1991). Malay in east Indonesia: the case of Larantuka (Flores). *Pacific Linguistics. Series A. Occasional Papers*, 81, 177–195.
- Vatter, E. (1932). *Ata Kiwan*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut AG.