Demonstrative prepositions in Lamaholot

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This paper presents a description and analysis of demonstratives in the Lewotobi dialect of Lamaholot. There are two major findings in this paper. First, demonstratives in Lamaholot have basic, nominalized, and adverbial forms. These three forms have different functions in different syntactic environments: locative adverbial, prepositional, prenominal, verbal, referential, noun-modifying, and manner adverbial. Second and more importantly, demonstratives in this language can serve as prepositions. In this function, they can be used to mark NPs as adjuncts and add deictic spatial meanings to them. This use of demonstratives is rarely found in other languages and is an important characteristic of this Austronesian language of eastern Indonesia.

1. Introduction[1]

In this paper, demonstratives are understood as those deictic expressions that form a closed grammatical word class and one of whose functions is to point to persons, objects, or locations on the basis of relative distance from the speaker (Diessel 1999a, b). They are deictic expressions in the sense that their "interpretation in simple sentences makes essential reference to properties of the extralinguistic context of the utterance in which they occur" (Anderson and Keenan 1985:259). [2] Although the term 'demonstrative' is sometimes interpreted to stand primarily for pronouns rather than for locative adverbs, demonstratives in this sense include not only demonstrative pronouns (e.g., *this* and t*hat* in English) but also locative adverbs (e.g., *here* and *there* in English). This is also the case with Dixon's (2003:61) definition of demonstratives: "[a] demonstrative is here defined as a grammatical word (or, occasionally, a clitic or affix) which can have pointing (or deictic) reference; for example *This is my favourite chair* (pointing at an object) or *Put it there!* (pointing at a place)."

Lamaholot, an Austronesian language of eastern Indonesia, has three demonstratives: *te* 'here', *pi* 'here', and *pe* 'there'. They form a grammatical class of words with only three members, and one of their functions is to point to persons, objects, or locations on the basis of relative distance from the speaker. In this paper, I present a description and analysis of these three demonstratives, in particular, focusing on a typologically uncommon use of them as prepositions. This is illustrated in (1).

(1)   *Ika turu pe   laŋoʔ.*
      Ika   sleep DEM.DIS   house
      'Ika sleeps there (in) the house.'

[2] Other deictic expressions include, but are not limited to, first and second person pronouns and some temporal adverbs such as *yesterday*, *today*, and *tomorrow*.

The example in (1) is an intransitive clause headed by the verb *turu* 'sleep'. The noun phrase *laŋoʔ* 'house' is introduced by means of the demonstrative *pe* 'there', without which the sentence in question is ungrammatical, as in (2).

(2)   *Ika turu laŋoʔ.*
         Ika sleep house
         Intended for 'Ika sleeps in the house.'

In other words, in example (1), *pe* is a demonstrative in the sense that it signals that the house is located far from the speaker, while it is also a preposition because it marks the noun phrase *laŋoʔ* as an adjunct.

The aim of this paper is to offer a description and analysis of demonstratives in Lamaholot with special reference to demonstrative prepositions such as the one observed in (1). This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, I provide a preliminary description of the Lamaholot language and its typological characteristics. Section 3 looks into the forms of demonstratives: these are basic, nominalized, and adverbial. In Section 4, it is demonstrated that demonstratives are used for different functions in different syntactic contexts, with emphasis being given to the observation that demonstratives in this language can serve as prepositions. In Section 5, I present a more detailed analyses of demonstrative prepositions. Lastly, I provide a conclusion in Section 6.

2. Lamaholot: A typological profile

Lamaholot belongs to the Central Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Blust 1993). It is spoken in the eastern part of Flores Island and neighboring islands of eastern Indonesia and used to serve as the lingua franca for the region (Grimes et al. 1997). See the dotted circle in Map 1.
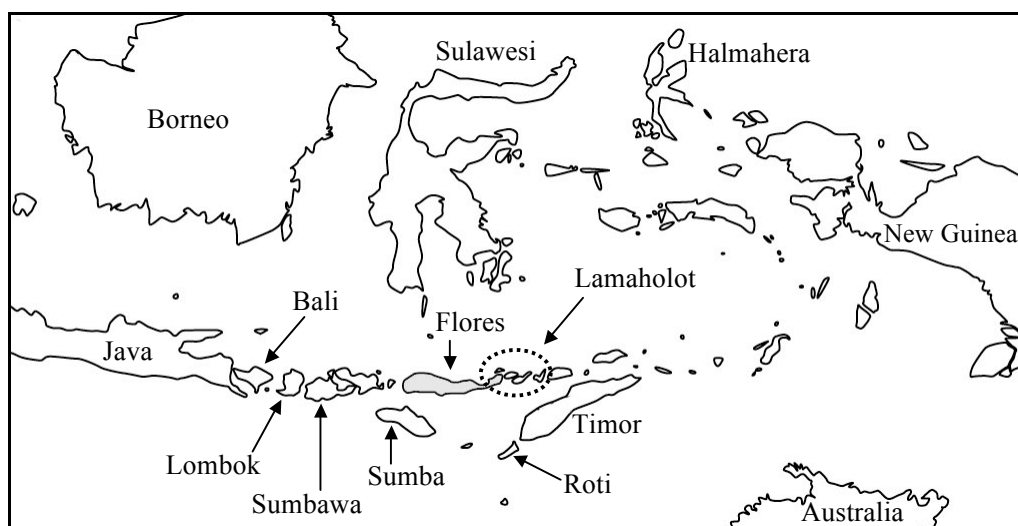
Map 1. Flores Island and the islands of Indonesia

Lamaholot is best understood as a dialect chain consisting of more than 30 dialects. There are enough substantial differences between some dialects to make them mutually incomprehensible (Keraf 1978; Bowden 2008; Grangé 2015). This paper is concerned

with Lewotobi, the most westerly dialect in the chain. It is spoken by approximately 6,000 speakers in Kecamatan Ile Bura (Nagaya 2011).

Typologically speaking, Lamaholot is a strongly isolating language. Languages of Flores are known for having little morphology (Himmelmann 2005), and Lamaholot is no exception. The grammatical formatives of Lamaholot include S/A-agreement prefixes (Table 1), S-agreement enclitics (Table 2), the possessive/nominalization markers -*N* and =*kə̃*, and several others. S/A-agreement prefixes obligatorily occur with certain verbs, either transitive or intransitive, while S-agreement enclitics are optionally used with intransitive verbs only.

Table 1. S/A-agreement prefixes

	SG	PL
1	*k-*	*m-* (EXC)
		t- (INC)
2	*m-*	*m-*
3	*n-*	*r-*

Table 2. S-agreement enclitics

	SG	PL
1	=*əʔ*	=*kə* (EXC)
		=*kə* (INC)
2	=*ko*	=*kə*
3	=*aʔ*	=*ka*

Now consider word order in Lamaholot. The basic word order of Lamaholot is AVP, as in (3), while the negator and other TAM markers occur in clause-final position. For instance, the negator *həlaʔ* and the imperfective marker *morə̃* appear clause-finally in (4) and (5), respectively.

(3)　*go　tutuʔ knaweʔ.*
　　　1SG　close door
　　　'I closed the door.

(4)　*go　k-enũ　　kopi　　həlaʔ.*
　　　1SG　1SG-drink　coffee　　NEG
　　　'I don't drink coffee'

(5)　*na　kriə̃ morə̃.*
　　　3SG　work IPFV
　　　'(S)he is still working.'

The argument-adjunct distinction is clearly made in Lamaholot: if an NP appears without a preposition-like element, an NP is an argument.[3] To illustrate, consider (6) and (7).

(6)　*Ika　tobo ia　　kursi.*
　　　Ika　sit　LOC　chair
　　　'Ika sits on the chair.'
　　　cf. **Ika tobo kursi.*

(7)　*Ika　sepa kursi.*
　　　Ika　kick chair
　　　'Ika kicked the chair.'

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[3] The opposite does not apply. See 4.1.2.

There are two NPs in (6): *Ika* and *kursi* 'chair'. The former is employed in this clause without a preposition-like element and therefore is analyzed as an argument; in contrast, the latter is an adjunct because it appears with the locative *ia*, which is obligatory. Example (7) has two argument NPs, *Ika* and *kursi* 'chair', as neither of them occur with a preposition-like element.

In (6), the verb *tobo* 'sit'[4] is intransitive, while in (7) *sepa* 'kick' is transitive. This analysis is borne out by the availability of S-agreement enclitics in Table 2. The S-agreement enclitic *=aʔ* can appear after *tobo* 'sit', as in (8), but not after *sepa* 'kick', as in (9). The distribution of S-agreement enclitics shows that the two verbs are different in terms of the number of arguments they can take.

(8)   *Ika   tobo   =aʔ   ia   kursi.* (cf. (6))
      Ika   sit   =3SG LOC   chair
      'Ika sits on the chair.'
(9)   **Ika   sepa   =aʔ   kursi.*   (cf. (7))
      Ika   kick   =3SG chair
      Intended for 'Ika kicked the chair.'

3. Forms of demonstratives in Lamaholot

In this section, I discuss forms of demonstratives in Lamaholot, a summary of which is presented in Table 3.[5] They constitute a speaker-based two-term system with three formal categories, namely, basic, nominalized, and adverbial. Nominalized forms are morphologically derived from basic forms by adding a nominalizing suffix,[6] while adverbial forms lack a point-areal distinction and appear in a very limited syntactic context (see Section 4.3).

Table 3. Demonstratives in Lamaholot

		BASIC		NOMINALIZED		ADVERBIAL	
PROXIMAL	POINT	*te/tehe*	'here'	*teʔẽ*	'this'	*teʔ*	'this way'
	AREAL	*pi/pihi*	'here'	*piʔĩ*	'this'	---	---
DISTAL		*pe/pehe*	'there'	*peʔẽ*	'that'	*peʔ*	'that way'

Semantically, the Lamaholot demonstratives constitute a speaker-based two-term system. The major semantic division is drawn between proximal and distal in terms of relative distance from the speaker: the proximal demonstratives are used to call attention to persons, objects, and locations close to the speaker, and the distal ones to those far from the speaker. The proximal category is further divided into the point and the areal proximal demonstratives: the former refers to a relatively small location like a

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[4] The verb *tobo* does not have a causative meaning, namely, 'to make someone sit.'

[5] The description of demonstratives presented here is an expanded and revised version of my dissertation (Nagaya 2011).

[6] It is realized as nasalization of the last vowel and insertion of a glottal stop.

room or a house, and the latter, to a larger area or region such as a village or a play
ground.

The semantic contrast between proximal and distal is illustrated by examples (10) and
(11), where a demonstrative is used as a preposition to introduce the noun phrase *laŋoʔ*
'house' to the clause (see the following section for this use of demonstratives).

(10) *Sius tei   te   laŋoʔ.*
      Sius live   DEM.PROX house
      'Sius lives here (in) the house.'

(11) *Sius tei   pe   laŋoʔ.*
      Sius live   DEM.DIS   house
      'Sius lives there (in) the house.'

Both (10) and (11) mean that Sius lives in the house that the speaker is pointing to, but
they are different in the perceived distance from the speaker to the house. On the one
hand, in (10) the house is conceptualized to be located close to the speaker. Most
probably, the speaker made this utterance while located in the house that he or she is
referring to. On the other hand, in (11), the house is construed far from the speaker.

Interestingly, the contrast between proximal and distal in Lamaholot is only concerned
with relative distance from the speaker to an object being pointed to, and no reference to
the hearer is necessary. For example, (10) and (11) can be pragmatically felicitous
regardless of the position of the hearer.

Turning to a point-area contrast among proximal demonstratives, examples (12) and
(13) clearly illustrate the difference between the point proximal *te* and the area proximal
pi. The former points to a smaller place, but the latter to a larger area.

(12) *mo   tobo te   kursi lolõ.*
      2SG   sit   DEM.PROX chair top
      'Sit down here (on) the top of the chair.'

(13) *ile   tobo pi   Nurabelen.*
      mountain sit   DEM.PROX.AR   Nurabelen
      'Mt. Lewotobi[7] lies here (in) Nurabelen.'

The demonstratives in both examples mark the following NP as the location where the
action designated by the verb *tobo* 'sit' is carried out. But when that location is
conceptualized as a point or smaller area, it is indicated by the point proximal
demonstrative *te* as in (12); when as a larger area or region, it is headed by the areal
proximal demonstrative *pi* as in (13).

For the sake of completeness, compare examples in (14) and (15), in both of which *pe*
'there' is employed. These examples show that the point-areal distinction does not
apply to distal entities.

(14) *mo   tobo pe   kursi lolõ.*
      2SG   sit   DEM.DIS   chair top
      'Sit down there (on) the top of the chair.'

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[7] Nurabelen is the name of the village where the Lewotobi dialect is spoken, and Mt. Lewotobi is a
mountain adjacent to the village.

(15) *ile   tobo pe   Nurabelen.*
     mountain sit   DEM.DIS   Nurabelen
     'Mt. Lewotobi lies there (in) Nurabelen.' (Talking over the phone)

4. Syntactic functions of demonstratives

This section examines the functions of demonstratives in more depth. In particular, it will be shown that different forms of demonstratives occur in different syntactic contexts with different functions. Basic forms have locative adverbial, prepositional, prenominal, and verbal uses, while nominalized (derived) forms have NP and modifier uses. Adverbial forms are employed only as manner adverbs.

The syntactic contexts where demonstratives are found and the functions associated with them are summarized in advance in Table 4.

Table 4. Uses of demonstratives

Form	Use	Syntactic context	Meaning (e.g. *pe*)
Basic form	Locative adverbial use	DEM	'there'
	Prepositional use	DEM NP	'there in/at/on NP'
	Prenominal use	DEM NP	'NP there'
	Verbal use	DEM=S-AGR.	'S remains there'
Nominalized form	NP use	DEM.NMLZ	'that'
	Modifier use	NP DEM.NMLZ	'that NP'
Adverbial form	Manner adverbial use	*nɔ̃ʔɔ̃* DEM.ADV	'(do) that way'

4.1 Syntactic functions of basic forms of demonstratives

4.1.1 Locative adverbial and prepositional uses

The basic form of demonstratives is used as a locative adverb or as a preposition. See examples in (16) and (17), respectively.

(16) *go   tei   te.*
     1SG live DEM.PROX
     'I live <u>here</u>.'

(17) *go   tei   te   laŋoʔ.*
     1SG live DEM.PROX house
     'I live <u>here (in) the house</u>.'[8]

In (16), the demonstrative *te* functions in isolation as a locative adverbial so as to specify the region where the action of living takes place. In (17), it functions as a preposition, introducing the following NP *laŋoʔ* 'house' as an adjunct.

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[8] As discussed later in Section 5.1, demonstrative prepositions only indicate whether the location introduced by them is far from, or close to, the position of the speaker, but do not have any implications about topology or vector. In the free translation of (17), *in* is inserted only for making it sound grammatical in English: it could be *on*, *at*, or *around*.

The analysis of *te* 'here' in (17) as a preposition calls for further clarification. In this paper, prepositions refer to "words that combine with noun phrases and that indicate the semantic relationship of that noun phrase to the verb" (Dryer 2007:81–82). In (17), the demonstrative *te* combines with the NP *laŋoʔ* 'house', forming a prepositional phrase. It is obligatorily used to introduce the NP into this sentence, and the sentence is ungrammatical without it. Compare (17) and (18).

(18) **go   tei   laŋoʔ.*
        1SG   live   house
        Intended for 'I live <u>in the house</u>.'

Semantically, this demonstrative indicates that the NP in question has a locative semantic role to the verb *tei* 'live'. In addition, as a deictic expression, it also conveys deictic information on the position of the referent of the NP relative to the speaker. It is therefore a preposition with deictic spatial information.

The difference between locative adverbial *te* in (16) and prepositional *te* in (17) lies in the existence or absence of an NP identifying the actual place. On the one hand, in (16), the region to which the Ground[9] belongs is pointed to by the demonstrative, the name of the Ground being left unspecified. On the other hand, in (17), the Ground is clearly specified by the NP *laŋoʔ* 'house'. In either case, the Ground being pointed to is perceived to be close to the speaker.

The contrast between the locative adverbial use of *te* 'here' in (16) and its prepositional use in (17) becomes clearer when *te* 'here' is compared with English locative adverbial *down* in (19) and prepositional *down* in (20).

(19) *The ball rolled <u>down</u>.*
(20) *The ball rolled <u>down the hill</u>.*

In (19), *down* only indicates the direction of Figure's[10] (=the ball) movement, leaving Ground unidentified. The place along which the ball rolled down could be a mountain or a slope. In (20), *down the hill* not only designates the direction of the ball's movement, but it also identifies the place where the ball rolled. In either case, *down* is the head of the underlined phrases. In this sense, the function of *te* in (16) and (17) is parallel with that of *down* in (19) and (20). The only difference between Lamaholot *te* and English *down* lies in the nature of spatial meanings expressed by them: the former is concerned with spatial deixis, while the latter pertains to path of motion (see Section 5.1 for more on spatial meanings of demonstratives).

Interestingly, as Lamaholot lacks a copular predicate, demonstratives (and their complement NPs) can serve as predicative elements by themselves. See (21) and (22). Example (22) has a pragmatically awkward interpretation that the person named 'Hugo' is a school building when the demonstrative *pe* 'there' is removed.

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[9] The Ground is a reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure's path, site, or orientation is characterized (Talmy 2000a:312). See also footnote 10.

[10] The Figure is a moving or conceptually movable entity whose path, site, or orientation is conceived as a variable, the particular value of which is the relevant issue (Talmy 2000a:312).

(21) *Hugo pe.*
      1SG   DEM.DIS
      'Hugo is there.'
(22) *Hugo pe   skola.*
      1SG   DEM.DIS   school
      'Hugo is there (in) the school.'

Lastly, it is important to mention that demonstrative prepositions can be used to mark a recipient NP for ditransitive verbs (see Nagaya 2014 for ditransitive constructions in Lamaholot) in the same way as English *to*. Consider (23) and (24).

(23) *mo   neĩ   doi   pe   Ika* 2SG   give money   DEM.DIS   Ika
      'Give money to that Ika.' (lit. 'You give money there Ika.')
(24) *mo   sepa bal   pe   Ika.*
      2SG   kick ball DEM.DIS   Ika
      'Kick the ball to that Ika.' (lit. 'You kick the ball there Ika.')

In (23), the ditransitive verb *neĩ* 'give' is used, and the demonstrative preposition *pe* 'there' is employed for introducing *Ika* as a recipient of the action of giving. Likewise, in (24), the same demonstrative preposition appears so as to mark the adjunct NP *Ika*. In either case, *pe* is syntactically obligatory and cannot be deleted, and semantically it indicates that Ika is far from the speaker. It is a demonstrative preposition.

To conclude, demonstratives in Lamaholot have a prepositional use as one of their syntactic functions. This may sound uncommon or even odd from the perspective of typological studies on demonstratives. In his typology of demonstratives, for example, Diessel (1999a, b) argues that demonstratives occur in four different syntactic contexts, namely, (i) pronominal demonstratives: these are used as independent pronouns in argument position of verbs and adpositions (e.g., *this* and *that* in English), (ii) adnominal demonstratives: these co-occur with a noun in a noun phrase (e.g., <u>*this*</u> *dog* and <u>*that*</u> *dog* in English), (iii) adverbial demonstratives: these function as verb modifiers (e.g., *here* and *there* in English), and (iv) identificational *demonstratives*: these occur in copular and nonverbal clauses. Dixon (2003) also provides a classification of demonstratives: nominal, locative adverbial, and verbal demonstratives. None of these extensive detailed studies points out the existence of demonstrative prepositions like the one found in Lamaholot, making this case stand out among the literature on demonstratives.

4.1.2 Prenominal use

Demonstratives can also serve as prenominal modifiers, specifying the location of the referent of the NP as either far from or near the speaker. To illustrate, consider (25) and (26).

(25) *pe   watə̃   sɘna.*
      DEM.DIS   beach   beautiful
      'The beach there is beautiful.' (lit. 'There the beach is beautiful.')
(26) *Hugo plaʔe tama pe   laŋoʔ.*
      Hugo run   enter DEM.DIS   house
      'Hugo ran into the house there.' (lit. 'Hugo ran enter there the house.')

In (25), the NP *pe watə̃* 'there the beach' serves as an argument of the adjectival predicate *səna* 'beautiful'. In (26), the NP *pe laŋoʔ* 'there the house' occupies the object position of the serialized verb *tama* 'enter'.

Crucially, unlike prepositional demonstratives, prenominal demonstratives are optional. Thus, (25) and (26) are still grammatical even when the prenominal demonstratives are left out, as in (27) and (28).

(27) *watə̃   səna.*
      beach   beautiful
      'The beach is beautiful.'

(28) *Hugo plaʔe tama laŋoʔ.*
      Hugo run   enter house
      'Hugo ran into the house.' (lit. 'Hugo ran enter the house.')

4.1.3 Verbal use

When followed by an S-agreement enclitic (Table 2), demonstratives function as verbal predicates. Consider (29).

(29) *go   te   =əʔ.*
      1SG   DEM.PROX   =1SG
      'I will remain here.'

In the example above, the demonstrative *te* functions as a derived verb meaning 'remain here' and is followed by the S-agreement enclitic *=əʔ*. In this case, S-agreement enclitics are obligatory (cf. (6) and (8)).

4.2 Syntactic functions of nominalized demonstratives

In Lamaholot, nominalized forms across word classes can serve not only as referential expressions but also as noun modifiers (Nagaya 2015). Consider the adjectival verb *blega* 'be wide', for instance. Its nominalized form is used in (30) and (31).

(30) *na   hope blega=kə̃.*
      3SG   buy   wide=NMLZ
      '(S)he bought a wide one.'

(31) *na   hope kursi blega=kə̃.*
      3SG   buy   chair wide=NMLZ
      '(S)he bought a wide chair.'

In (30), the nominalized adjectival verb *blega=kə̃* 'a wide one' is employed as a referential expression. But the same nominalized expression functions as a noun modifier in (31). Although it may sound typologically odd, nominalized forms in this language have both referential and attributive functions.

Likewise, nominalized demonstratives are used either as referential expressions or as post-nominal modifiers. They are functional equivalents of English *this* and *that*. Consider (32) and (33).

(32) *teʔẽ   belə̃.*
      DEM.PROX.NMLZ   big.NMLZ
      'This is big.'

(33) *laŋoʔ teʔẽ   belɔ̃.*
     houseDEM.PROX.NMLZ big.NMLZ
     'This house (not that house) is big.'

In (32), the nominalized form of the proximal demonstrative *teʔẽ* is used as a referential expression, pointing to an object close to the speaker. In (33), in contrast, it serves as the modifier of the noun *laŋoʔ* 'house'. It narrows down the possible referents of the noun by contrasting the house close to the speaker with the one that is not.

Nominalized demonstratives often convey a contrastive meaning, which basic forms do not necessarily have. For example, compare (34) and (35).

(34) *Ika   tedɔ̃ pe   laŋoʔ.*
     Ika   wait DEM.DIS   house
     'Ika is waiting there (in) the house.'
(35) *Ika   tedɔ̃ ia   laŋoʔ   peʔẽ.*
     Ika   wait LOC house   DEM.DIS.NMLZ
     'Ika lives in that house (not this house).'

In (34), the demonstrative *pe* 'there' is used as a preposition, meaning that the location of the house is far from the speaker. It does not imply that there is another house. In (35), however, the nominalized demonstrative *peʔẽ* 'that' serves as a noun modifier, and it does entail that there is another house with which the house in question is in contrast.

To summarize, nominalized demonstratives are employed as referential expressions or noun modifiers. It might appear unusual that derived forms achieve such functions, but, as Dixon (2003:74ff.) points out, the direction of derivation of demonstratives shows variation across languages. In Lamaholot, referential and attributive demonstratives (e.g., *teʔẽ* 'this') are derived from locative adverbial and prepositional demonstratives (e.g., *te* 'here'). This is also the case in Mupun (Chadic; Frajzyngier 1993: 84–9, cited in Dixon 2003). But the direction is the reverse in other languages. In Tagalog, for example, the locative adverb *d-ito* 'here' is derived from the demonstrative pronoun *ito* 'this'. English has one form for referential use and another for locative adverbial use (*this/that* vs. *here/there*).

4.3 Syntactic function of adverbial demonstratives

When the adverbial form of a demonstrative is used with the verb *ø-ɔ̃ʔɔ̃* 'do', the entire phrase can be analyzed as a demonstrative adverb, meaning 'this way/like this' or 'that way/like that'. This is the only syntactic context where the adverbial forms can appear. An example is given in (36).

(36) *mo   soka   n-ɔ̃ʔɔ̃   teʔ.*
     2SG dance   3SG-do   DEM.PRO.ADV
     'Dance this way/like this!'

In (36), the adverbial demonstrative *teʔ* is employed with the verb *ø-ɔ̃ʔɔ̃* 'do', which, when serialized, has the function of introducing an instrumental or comitative NP. Note that the verb *ø-ɔ̃ʔɔ̃* with this function does not agree with a subject NP and takes the third person singular prefix.

4.4 Summary

To summarize, in Lamaholot, different forms of demonstratives occur in different syntactic contexts with different functions, as summarized in Table 4 at the beginning of this section. On the one hand, demonstratives in basic form are used as locative adverbials, prepositions, or prenominal modifiers. When they are followed by an S-agreement enclitic, demonstratives function as derived predicative verbs, meaning 'remain to here (or there)'. On the other hand, nominalized demonstratives can be used as referential expressions or as modifiers. And finally, when used with the serialized verb *ø-ə̃ʔə̃* 'do, make', the adverbial form serves as a manner adverb '(do) this/that way'.

5. More on demonstrative prepositions

In this section, I look more into demonstrative prepositions and spell out two questions to ask with regard to their status in the Lamaholot grammar. The first question pertains to the relation of demonstrative prepositions to spatial concepts with which prepositions cross-linguistically tend to be associated. It is shown in Section 5.1 that in Lamaholot such spatial meanings are not directly encoded by demonstrative prepositions but by other means. The second question is, are there any other grammatical elements that serve as prepositions? In Section 5.2, I present other preposition-like elements in this language. A summary of this section is given in Section 5.3.

5.1 Demonstrative prepositions and spatial meanings

The analysis of demonstrative pronouns is mainly based on the fact that they are required for an NP to appear as an adjunct in a clause and that removing them results in an ungrammatical sentence. Semantically, demonstratives not only indicate that the NP they precede has a locative semantic relationship to the main verb, but they also signal the relative distance of the referent of the NP from the speaker. See (37), for example.

(37) *Ika   biho lama pe   laŋoʔ.*
     Ika   cook rice DEM.DIS   house
     'Ika cooked rice there (in) the house.'

In the case of (37), *pe* 'there' is required for the NP *laŋoʔ* 'the house' to appear in the sentence. It also indicates that the NP *laŋoʔ* 'the house' obtains a locative semantic role to the main predicate *biho* 'cook' and that the house is located far from the speaker. Thus, Lamaholot has demonstrative prepositions, namely, adjunct markers with deictic information.

However, prepositions in other languages express a variety of spatial concepts such as conformation and vector. For example, the English preposition *in* indicates that its complement NP has a meaning of a container of some sort, as in *The ring is in the box*. Likewise, *from* conveys the meaning that some motion is carried away from the referent of its complement NP, as in *We walked from the hotel*. The question that arises is, then, how are such spatial meanings encoded in Lamaholot? In the rest of this subsection, I will demonstrate that both conformation and vector are expressed by other means, namely, locative nouns and deictic verbs, respectively. Importantly, neither of them is qualified as a preposition.

5.1.1 Conformation/topology

Demonstrative prepositions are unspecified with regard to the conformational portion of spatio-directional notions. Conformational concepts, also known as topological concepts (Levinson 2003), refer to geometric complexes such as 'inside', 'surface', or 'point' (Talmy 2000b:54ff.). To illustrate, consider the English prepositions *in* and *on*.

(38) *Your cigarette is <u>in</u> the box.*
(39) *Your cigarette is <u>on</u> the box.*

In both cases, the prepositions *in* and *on* not only introduce the Ground object *box* into the clause, but they also convey the conformational notions 'the inside of' and 'the surface of' respectively.

In Lamaholot, these topological features are not encoded by demonstratives, even when they serve as prepositions. Observe in (40) that the demonstrative *pe* 'there' is neutral to conformational features. It can be used either when the cigarette is on top of the table or under the table.

(40) *kbako   moʔẽ   pe   meja.*
      cigarette   2SG.NMLZ   DEM.DIS   table
      'Your cigarette is there (on/under/near) the table.'

To specifically mark such topological concepts, it is necessary to use locative nouns, such as *lolõ* 'top' and *wuĩ* 'bottom'. Consider (41) and (42).

(41) *kbako   moʔẽ   pe   meja **lolõ**.*
      cigarette   2SG.NMLZ   DEM.DIS   table **top**
      'Your cigarette is there **on** the table.'
(42) *kbako   moʔẽ   pe   meja **wuĩ**.*
      cigarette   2SG.NMLZ   DEM.DIS   table **bottom**
      'Your cigarette is there **under** the table.'

These locative nouns are, however, not prepositions or postpositions. Comparison between (40) and (41)/(42) shows that the locative nouns are optional in these examples and are not required to introduce an NP into these sentences.

5.1.2 Vector

Demonstrative prepositions do not indicate the vector notions 'to/from/at' by themselves (see Talmy 2000b:53ff. for vector). Instead, deictic motion verbs are employed to elaborate such vector concepts. Consider examples of demonstrative prepositions in (43), (44), and (45). The deictic verbs appear as part of serialized verbs in (44) and (45).

(43) *Hugo pana <u>pe   watã</u>.*   (location)
      Hugo walk DEM.DIS   beach
      'Hugo took a walk <u>there (on) the beach</u>.'
(44) *Hugo pana <u>pe   watã</u> **n-ai.***   (goal)
      Hugo walk DEM.DIS   beach 3SG-go
      'Hugo walked <u>to there (to) the beach</u>'
(45) *Hugo pana <u>pe   watã</u> **dai.***   (source)
      Hugo walk DEM.DIS   beach come
      'Hugo walked <u>from there (from) the beach</u> (to here).'

The same demonstrative prepositional phrase *pe watã* 'there the beach' is found in all the sentences in (43), (44), and (45). The difference among these examples boils down to the fact that no deictic motion verb is used in (43), whereas the deictic motion verb for 'go' is used in (44) and the one for 'come' in (45). The phrase *pe watã* 'there the

beach' is interpreted as location in the absence of a deictic motion verb, but as goal with an andative verb and as source with a venitive verb.

Quite obviously, these deictic verbs employed for conveying vector concepts cannot be analyzed as prepositions or postpositions. As in (43), they do not need to be used for introducing an adjunct NP. Rather, they are part of serial verb constructions.

5.2 Other preposition-like elements

Unlike English, Lamaholot does not have a single group of words that are employed exclusively for marking an adjunct NP. Instead, there are several word classes that can introduce an adjunct NP into a clause. Demonstratives are one such word class. The adjunct-marking function can also be achieved by the locative *ia*, directionals, and verbal prepositions. They all have a prepositional use, insofar as they mark an adjunct NP, but they also add non-deictic spatial meanings to the NP.

5.2.1 Locative *ia*

When it is used as a preposition, *ia* introduces an adjunct NP into a clause without deictic information. An NP introduced by *ia* can play the semantic role of location (46), recipient (47), or source (48), depending on the meaning of the verb that co-occurs with it.

(46) *Tanti tobo   ia   kursi.*
      Tanti sit.down   LOC   chair
      'Tanti is seated on the chair.'

(47) *Tanti sorõ doi   ia   go.*
      Tanti give money   LOC   1SG.
      'Tanti gave money to me.'

(48) *Tanti gute kopi   ia   go.*
      Tanti get   coffee   LOC   1SG
      'Tanti got a cup of coffee from me.'

The semantic function of the locative *ia* becomes clearer when it is compared to demonstratives. In its prepositional use, *ia* is a generic preposition, introducing an NP without distance-based deictic information. To illustrate, consider examples (49) and (50).

(49) *ba   goʔẽ   kriã pe   mã.*
      father1SG.NMLZ work DEM.DIS   field
      'My father is working there (in) the field (far from the speaker).'

(50) *ba   goʔẽ   kriã ia   mã.*
      father1SG.NMLZ work LOC   field
      'My father is working in the field.'

Examples (49) and (50) have truth-conditionally much the same meaning: the speaker's father is working in the field. But the adjunct NP *mã* 'field' is brought into the clause in different ways with different implications for its positioning. In (49), it is introduced by the distal demonstrative *pe*, yielding the interpretation that the field is far from the speaker. However, such deictic information is not available in (50), where the NP in question is marked by *ia*.

In other words, *ia* is used when deictic information is not available or relevant to the particular point being discussed. There are two typical discourse contexts where the locative *ia* is chosen over demonstratives. First, *ia* is the only option when the actual

position of an adjunct NP is unknown. For instance, the speaker needs to use (50) rather than (49) when s/he is not sure in which field his/her father is working. Second, *ia* is also used when Lamaholot speakers talk about imaginary or unknown places in storytelling.

The discussions so far may seem to point to an analysis that the locative *ia* is a genuine preposition in this language. This is not necessarily the case, however. It can be used as a locative adverbial, in which case, somewhat mysteriously, it means 'here', as in (51). Thus, there is no semantic difference between *ia* and the proximal demonstrative *te* in this case.

(51) *Tanti tobo   ia.*
      Tanti sit.down   LOC
      'Tanti is seated down here.'

In addition, it is not possible to use both the locative *ia* and a demonstrative for a single NP, as in (52). One cannot deny the existence of demonstrative prepositions, just because Lamaholot has the locative *ia*.

(52) **ba   goʔẽ   kriã ia   pe   mã.*
       father   1SG.NMLZ   work LOC   DEM.DIS   field
       Intended for 'My father is working in that field.'

5.2.2 Directionals

Directionals are those grammatical elements that are used to describe the location of an entity or the direction of movement relative to environmental landmarks such as the sea and the sky. Lamaholot has five directionals in this sense: *rae* 'the direction of the mountain', *lau* 'the direction of the sea', *wəli* 'the direction parallel with the coast', *teti* 'the direction of the sky', and *lali* 'the direction of the ground'.

One of their syntactic functions is as a preposition to introduce an adjunct NP into the discourse. For example, see (53).

(53) *ba   goʔẽ   kriã rae   mã.*
      father 1SG.NMLZ   work DIR.MT   field
      'My father is working in the direction of the mountain (in) the field (from the speaker).'

In (53), the NP *mã* 'field' is headed by the directional *rae* 'the direction of the mountain', which means that the field is located in the direction of the mountain from the speaker's perspective. Compare (53) with (49). In the former, the position of the Ground object *mã* 'field' is specified by means of environmental landmarks, but, in the latter, on the basis of relative distance from the speaker.

5.2.3 Verbal prepositions

Verb serialization is one of the most productive syntactic operations available in Lamaholot, as observed in (54), (55), and (56).

(54) *Ika   plaʔe lou   n-ai.*
      Ika   run   exit   3SG-go
      'Ika ran out.'

(55) *Nia gɔ̃ həkə.*
Nia eat.3SG stop
'Nia stopped eating.'

(56) *go k-enũ bensin k-ala.*
1SG 1SG-drink gasoline 1SG-mistake
'I drunk gasoline by mistake.'

Interestingly, a small number of verbs behave like prepositions when they are serialized. For example, consider *pake* 'use/with' in (57) and *neĩ* 'give/for' in (58).

(57) *go poro ikɔ̃ pake hepe.*
1SG cut fish use knife
'I cut the fish with a knife.'

(58) *Nia hope bolo neĩ Ika*
Ika buy cake give Ika
'Ika bought a cake for Ika.'

In the literature on Oceanic linguistics, these verb-based prepositions are called "verbal prepositions", which refer to "a small word class or classes which in their syntactic and morphological characteristics fall somewhere between verbs and prepositions" (Durie 1988:1). Serialized verbs such as *pake* 'use/with' in (57) and *neĩ* 'give/for' in (58) are best analyzed as verbal prepositions in this sense.

5.3 Summary

One of the most typologically important characteristics of Lamaholot demonstratives is that they can serve as prepositions. In this section, additional detailed analyses were presented for demonstrative prepositions. First, demonstrative prepositions are not relevant to conformation. Second, they similarly do not express meanings about vector. Lastly, Lamaholot also has other preposition-like elements, such as the locative *ia*, directionals, and verbal prepositions. In summary, Lamaholot does not have a single morphosyntactic category of prepositions, but it has several grammatical mechanisms for marking NPs as adjuncts.

6. Conclusions

This paper offered a description and analysis of demonstratives in Lamaholot. They constitute a speaker-based two-term system with three formal categories, namely, basic, nominalized, and adverbial. The different forms are used in different syntactic environments with different functions: locative adverbial, prepositional, prenominal, verbal, referential, noun-modifying, and manner adverbial. The main conclusion in this paper is that, in Lamaholot, demonstratives can be used as prepositions, marking an NP as an adjunct. This use of demonstratives seems cross-linguistically rare, and it is one of the most salient characteristics of this Austronesian language of eastern Indonesia.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	A	subject of transitive clause
ADV	adverbial	AR	areal
DEM	demonstrative	DIS	distal
DIR	directional	EXC	exclusive
INC	inclusive	IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative	MT	mountainward
NEG	negator	NMLZ	nominalization
PL	plural	PROX	proximal
S	subject of intransitive clause	SG	singular

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