

Searching for insubordination: An analysis of *ləbo* in Lamaholot¹

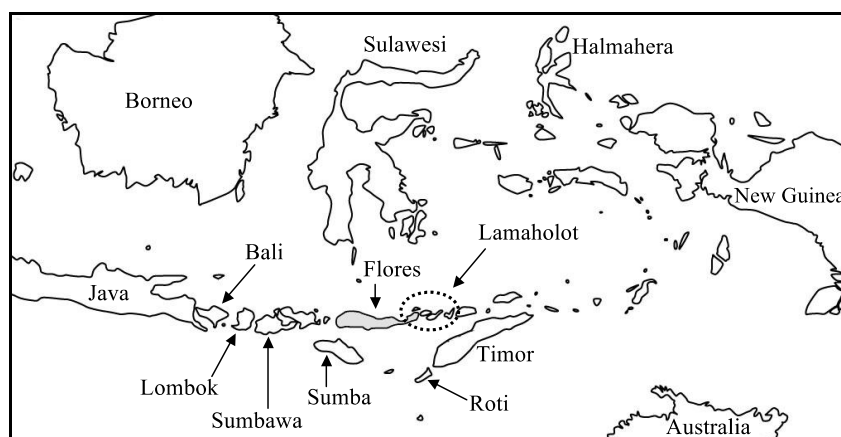
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In this paper, we present a description and analysis of *ləbo* ‘although’ in Lamaholot of eastern Indonesia, which is a subordinating conjunction that expresses a concessive relation between main and subordinate clauses. Although clause-initial conjunctions are predominant in this SVO language, the conjunction *ləbo* appears in clause-final position. Interestingly, subordinate clauses headed by *ləbo* can stand alone without a main clause, conveying the speaker’s irritation or blame toward the hearer or an undesirable event. By providing synchronic evidence of different kinds, this paper proposes that this construction involves insubordination, the independent use of constructions exhibiting prima facie characteristics of subordinate clauses (Evans 2007).

1. Lamaholot, an eastern Indonesian language

Lamaholot is an Austronesian language of eastern Indonesia. It is a Central Malayo-Polynesian language of the Austronesian language family and is spoken in the eastern part of Flores Island and neighboring islands of eastern Indonesia (Map 1). Before the arrival of Malay/Indonesian, this language served as the lingua franca of the region (Grimes et al. 1997, Klamer 2012). As is often the case with languages of eastern Indonesia, Lamaholot constitutes a dialect chain with enough substantial differences between some of the dialects to make them mutually incomprehensible (Keraf 1978, Bowden 2008, Grangé 2015). At present, almost all speakers of this language are bilingual with Indonesian and local varieties of Malay (e.g., Larantuka Malay). In this paper, we present data from the Lewotobi dialect, the most westerly dialect in the chain, which is spoken by approximately 6,000 speakers in Kecamatan Ile Bura.



Map 1. Flores Island and the islands of Indonesia

¹ I am thankful to Asako Shiohara, Anthony Jukes, Yanti, and two anonymous reviewers for the valuable comments and criticism that have helped in improving the manuscript. My thanks also go to Honoré Watanabe, who provided useful information regarding the literature on insubordination. Of course, any errors that remain are my responsibility. This work was supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Grant-in-Aid #15K16734, #25244017, and #15H03206).

Lamaholot displays two typological features that characterize this language as a typical eastern Indonesian language (Nagaya 2013). First, Lamaholot is a strongly isolating language. Flores languages are known for having little morphology (Himmelman 2005), and Lamaholot is no exception to this tendency. It has few grammatical affixes, except for agreement markers and possessive markers. Information about tense, aspect, and mood is expressed by separate words (see (2) and (3)).

Second, Lamaholot and other Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia display word order features that are not found in Austronesian languages of the Philippines and western Indonesia (Klamer 2002, Himmelman 2005, Donohue 2007). As summarized by Himmelman (2005:141ff), eastern Indonesian languages tend to have an SVO word order, clause-final negator and auxiliaries, a possessor-possesum order, and a noun-numeral order. To illustrate, consider examples from Lamaholot. The basic word order of this language at the clause level is SVO, as in (1).

- (1) *go buka knawe?* [SVO]
 1SG open door
 ‘I opened the door.’

The negator and other TAM markers occur in clause-final position. For instance, the negator *həla?* and the imperfective marker *morə* appear clause-finally in (2) and (3), respectively.

- (2) *go k-enũ kopi həla?* [V-Neg]
 1SG 1SG-drink coffee NEG
 ‘I don’t drink coffee.’
- (3) *na turu morə.* [V-Aspect]
 3SG sleep IPFV
 ‘(S)he is still sleeping.’

Turning to the structure of noun phrases, a possessor precedes its possessum when it is realized as a lexical noun, as in (4), and a numeral follows the head noun, as in (5).

- (4) *Hugo laŋo? =kə* [Possessor-Possessed]
 Hugo house =POSS
 ‘Hugo’s house’
- (5) *ata rua* [Noun-Numeral]
 person two
 ‘two persons’

These word order features contrast sharply with those in western Indonesian languages, where the opposite tendencies are observed except they follow an SVO pattern in addition to a VXS one.² Compare Indonesian examples in (6) through (9) with Lamaholot examples in (1) through (4), respectively.

² The term “VXS” is employed by Himmelman (2005:141) to refer to a predicate-initial word order, with a tendency to be also subject-final.

- (6) *saya mem-buka pintu.* [SVO]
 1SG ACT-open door
 ‘I opened the door.’
- (7) *saya tidak minum kopi.* [Neg-V]
 1SG NEG drink coffee
 ‘I don’t drink coffee.’
- (8) *dia sedang tidur.* [Aspect-V]
 3SG IPFV sleep
 ‘(S)he is still sleeping.’
- (9) *rumah Hugo* [Possessed-Possessor]
 house Hugo
 ‘Hugo’s house’
- (10) *dua orang* [Numeral-Noun]
 two person
 ‘two persons’

The fact that Lamaholot and other eastern Indonesian languages show different word order tendencies from other Indonesian languages is understood as the result of their long-term and extensive interactions with Papuan languages (Klamer 2002, 2012; Himmelmann 2005, Donohue 2007). Speakers of Papuan languages were in this region even before the arrival of Austronesian speakers, and the two groups coexisted there for thousands of years. As a result, Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia have obtained these word order features, among others, under the influence of Papuan languages. Indeed, the influence of Papuan languages in Lamaholot is so intensive that such influences can be recognized even in the basic vocabulary. For example, the word for ‘banana’ is *muku* in Lamaholot, which was obviously borrowed from a Papuan language (**muku* ‘banana’; Denham & Donohue 2009).³

It is in this context that Lamaholot subordinate constructions become interesting. This language has both clause-initial and clause-final subordinate conjunctions: although clause-initial conjunctions are predominant among subordinate constructions in Lamaholot, there is one exceptional subordinate conjunction *l̥bo* that unexpectedly appears in clause-final position. For instance, consider (11).

- (11) *go turu mor̥ l̥bo, mo ãũ go.*
 1SG sleep IPFV although 2SG wake.up 1SG
 ‘Although I am still sleeping, you woke me up.’

The sentence in (11) consists of a subordinate clause and a main clause that follows it. The subordinate clause is headed by the conjunction *l̥bo* ‘although’ in the clause-final position, followed by a pause. It indicates a concessive relationship between the main clause and the subordinate clause.

Even more interestingly and importantly, main clauses in this subordinate construction can often be absent, resulting in what Evans (2007) refers to as insubordination, namely,

³ One of the reviewers noted that this statement should be nuanced with some precautions, because Papuan influences upon Lamaholot are more eminent in morphosyntax than in lexicon. See also Klamer (2012).

“the conventionalised main-clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses” (Evans 2007:367). Look at (12) for an illustration.

- (12) *go turu morã lãbo↑.*
 1SG sleep IPFV although
 ‘I am still sleeping.’

The example in (12) is a stand-alone grammatical sentence by itself. Literally, it simply means that the speaker is sleeping, but it also has an interactional meaning conventionally associated with it: it conveys the speaker’s irritation towards the hearer, who, for example, is trying to wake up the speaker. Note that the symbol “↑” refers to rising intonation (see Section 3.2).

In this paper, we look into this insubordinated *lãbo*-construction. It will be shown that this construction type is not a mere elliptical utterance but has its own place in Lamaholot grammar. We also address how it is distinguished from other similar elements/phenomena, such as sentence-final particles.

This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we present a general description of subordination and coordination constructions in Lamaholot. Section 3 looks into the insubordinated *lãbo*-construction in detail, paying attention to both formal and semantic characteristics. Lastly, this paper concludes in Section 4.

2. Subordination and coordination in Lamaholot

This section presents an overview of clause linking in Lamaholot, to be more specific, subordination (Section 2.1), coordination (Section 2.2), and complementation (Section 2.3). It is shown that, reflecting its isolating nature, this language does not have rich morphology for indicating clause linking. In addition, it is emphasized that certain conjunctions were borrowed from Malay/Indonesian.

2.1 Subordination

Subordinate clauses in Lamaholot are indicated simply by means of subordinating conjunctions, as shown in (13), (14), (15), and (16) below.

- (13) *waktu go sãga pi, ra kriã morã.*
 when 1SG arrive here 3PL work IPFV
 ‘When I arrived here, they were still working.’
- (14) *kalo mo pana, go di dore.*
 if 2SG walk 1SG also follow
 ‘If you leave, I will follow (you).’
- (15) *go tedã ia laŋo?, sape ra sãga.*
 1SG wait PREP house until 3PL arrive
 ‘I will wait in the house until they arrive.’
- (16) *go sãga pi muri, nã?ã pe: go libur.*
 1SG arrive here again when 1SG vacation
 ‘I will visit here again when I am on vacation.’

There are three important characteristics of Lamaholot subordinated clauses. First, the subordinating status of subordinated clauses is only indicated by the existence of subordinating conjunctions. Verbs in subordinated clauses can take the same set of morphosyntactic properties as those in main clauses. There are no morphological devices that indicate finiteness, unlike Indo-European languages. There is no syntactic difference, either. The word order is the same between main and subordinate clauses. The subordinated clauses in (13), (14), (15), and (16) can be used as main clauses when subordinating conjunctions are left out.

Second, borrowing conjunctions from other languages is quite common in Lamaholot. Indeed, *waktu* ‘when’ in (13), *kalo* ‘if’ in (14), and *sape* ‘until’ (15) were borrowed from Malay/Indonesian *waktu* ‘when’, *kalau* ‘if’, and *sampai* ‘until’, respectively. This is easily understood when the fact that this language is spoken in contact with Malay/Indonesian is taken into account.⁴

Lastly, it is possible to change the order of main and subordinate clauses without change in meaning. For example, consider (17), where the main clause and the subordinate clause appear in the reverse order from (13). Still, the sentence remains grammatical and conveys the same meaning as (13).

- (17) *ra kriã morã, waktu go sãga pi.*
 3PL work IPFV when 1SG arrive here
 ‘They were still working when I arrived here.’

Another example with a reversed subordinated clause is given in (18). Compare (16) and (18). The subordinate clause headed by the complex subordinator *nã?ã pe:* ‘when’ occurs after the main clause in (16) but before it in (18).

- (18) *nã?ã pe: go libur, go sãga pi muri.*
 when 1SG vacation 1SG arrive here again
 ‘When I am on vacation, I will visit here again.’

2.2 Coordination

By clausal coordination, we refer to structures where two clauses are semantically and syntactically independent of each other but combined to express a single integrated conceptual unit as a whole. For this purpose, linking adverbs are often employed in Lamaholot.⁵ Consider *kũ* ‘but’ in (19), *kãdi?* ‘so’ in (20), and *kia gã* ‘and then’ in (21).

- (19) *go majã mo, kũ mo m-oi hãla?*
 1SG call 2SG but 2SG 2SG-know NEG
 ‘I called you, but you didn’t notice.’

⁴ It seems that borrowing conjunctions is not an exceptional phenomenon in Indonesian languages. For example, Malay/Indonesian *waktu* ‘when’ and *kalau* ‘if’ by themselves were borrowed into this language from Arabic (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009).

⁵ The term “linking adverb” is adopted from Haspelmath (2007), by which he refers to those linking devices (e.g., *then* and *however* in English) that are less grammaticalized than coordinators (e.g., *and*). In our description of Lamaholot, we employ this term to distinguish *kũ* ‘but’, *kãdi?* ‘so’, and *kia gã* ‘and then’ from the genuine coordinator *ã?ã* ‘and’. Unlike *kũ*, *kãdi?*, and *kia gã*, *ã?ã* cannot constitute a single utterance by itself.

(20) *go krið waha, kadi? go gwali.*
 1SG work finish so 1SG go.home
 ‘I finished working, so I went home.’

(21) *mo habo, kia gə go habo.*
 2SG bathe later then 1SG bathe
 ‘You take a bath, and then I will take a bath.’

There are two important characteristics in Lamaholot coordinated clauses. First, an intonation break is regularly placed right before a linking adverb, as in the examples above. Second, unlike subordinate clauses, changing the order of two coordinated clauses results in change in meaning. For example, when the order of the two clauses connected by *kia gə* ‘and then’ in (21) is reversed, a sentence with a different meaning is obtained. See (22).⁶

(22) *go habo, kia gə mo habo.*
 1SG bathe later then 2SG bathe
 ‘I will take a bath, and then you take a bath.’

2.3 Complementation

In addition to subordination and coordination, there is another kind of clause linkage, namely, complementation. Complementation refers to the syntactic configuration in which a clause serves as an argument of a predicate. For this purpose, Lamaholot does not have any special marker (i.e., complementizer) or need any overt morphological modification. Complement clauses simply appear where an argument is supposed to occur. Consider (23) and (24) for an illustration.

(23) *Ika tutu koda te?ē.*
 Ika tell story this
 ‘Ika told this story.’

(24) *Ika tutu Nia gwali kae?*
 Ika tell Nia return PFV
 ‘Ika told that Nia already returned.’

In (23), the noun phrase *koda te?ē* ‘this story’ appears as an argument of the verb predicate *tutu* ‘tell’. In contrast, in (24), this position is occupied by the full clause *Nia gwali kae?* ‘Nia already returned’.

3. Insubordination with *labo*

In this section, we look into the concessive conjunction *labo*. In Section 3.1, a basic description of this conjunction is presented. In Section 3.2, we present an analysis of insubordination with *labo*. Then, attention is paid to sentence-final particles in Section 3.3. They look similar to, but are different from, *labo* insubordination.

⁶ As one of the reviewers suggested, there is another way of word order change for (21): *kia gə mo habo, mo habo*. But this sentence is ungrammatical. In any event, word order change behaves differently in coordination and subordination.

3.1 Subordination with *lābo*

As mentioned in Section 1, *lābo* is a concessive conjunction that appears in the clause-final position. In (25), for instance, *lābo* leads the subordinate clause *kame koda kə morā* ‘we are still talking’.

- (25) *kame* *koda* =*kə* *morā* *lābo*, *dama mata kae?*
 1PL.EXC talk =1PL.EXC IPFV although candle die PFV
 ‘Although we are still talking, the candle burned out.’

The analysis that the conjunction *lābo* is attached to the preceding clause rather than the following one is borne out by the fact that an intonation break falls right after *lābo*. This fact becomes clearer when *lābo* is compared with linking adverbs mentioned in Section 2.2. For instance, the intellectual content conveyed in (25) can also be expressed by means of the linking adverb *kū* ‘but’; however, as in (26), an intonation break falls before it, not after it.

- (26) *kame* *koda* =*kə* *morā, kū* *dama mata kae?*
 1PL.EXC talk =1PL.EXC IPFV but candle die PFV
 ‘We are still talking, but the candle burned out (i.e., we cannot talk any longer).’

According to Lamaholot speakers’ description, the sentences in (25) and (26) have the same truth-conditional meaning in spite of the fact that different kinds of conjunctions are employed. They also provide the Indonesian conjunction *tetapi* ‘but’ as a translation equivalent of both conjunctions and even report that there is no noticeable difference in meaning between them. But the position of an intonation break relative to *lābo* and *kū* indicates that the former is a subordinating conjunction, while the latter is a linking adverb. Putting an intonation break in (25) and (26) in a wrong place makes these sentences sound unnatural.

Another piece of evidence for the analysis of *lābo* as a subordinating conjunction is reversibility. According to native speakers of Lamaholot, the word order where the subordinate clause precedes the main clause is favorable. But the reverse word order is also possible, as in (27).

- (27) *dama mata kae?, kame koda=kə morā lābo.*

However, this is not the case with the linking adverb *kū*. Changing the order of the two clauses combined by it also changes the meaning of the sentence, as in (28).

- (28) *dama mata kae?, kū kame koda =kə morā.*
 candle die PFV but 1PL.EXC talk =1PL.EXC IPFV
 ‘The candle burned out, but we are still talking.’

A last piece of evidence for our analysis of *lābo* as a clause-final subordinator comes from deletion test. See (29), (30), and (31).

- (29) *~~*kame koda=kə morā lābo, dama mata kae?*~~
 Intended for ‘~~Although we are still talking,~~ the candle burned out.’
- (30) ^{ok}~~*kame koda=kə morā lābo, dama mata kae?*~~
 ‘~~Although we are still talking,~~ the candle burned out.’
- (31) ^{ok}~~*kame koda=kə morā lābo,*~~ *dama mata kae?*
 ‘~~Although we are still talking,~~ the candle burned out.’

When we leave out the clause that precedes *lābo* from (25), it is ungrammatical, as in (29). The particle *lābo* never appears clause-initially. On the contrary, it is possible to delete the clause that follows *lābo*, as in (30).⁷ In addition, omitting both *lābo* and the preceding clause is fine, as in (31). These facts show that *lābo* and the preceding clause form a single constituent of subordinate clause.

To summarize, clause-final *lābo* demonstrates the same syntactic behaviors as those subordinating conjunctions discussed in Section 2.1 in terms of the position of an intonation break, reversibility, and deletion test. These three pieces of evidence show that *lābo* is a subordinating conjunction that appears in clause-final position. This characterization of *lābo* makes it stand out among subordinating conjunctions in Lamaholot: only *lābo* appears in clause-final position, while the other subordinating conjunctions in this language occur in clause-initial position.

3.2 Insubordination with *lābo*

The most important feature of the above-mentioned subordinating conjunction *lābo* ‘although’ is that it can be used without a main clause. In other words, it can introduce an insubordinated clause in the sense of the independent use of constructions exhibiting prima facie characteristics of subordinate clauses. There are two significant features characteristic of this insubordinated use of *lābo*. First, the insubordinated *lābo* clause conveys an interactional meaning. To be more specific, it expresses the speaker’s irritation toward the hearer or an undesirable event in the context of the current situation described by the *lābo* clause. Second, an acute rise in pitch is observed on *lābo*, which is not necessarily observed when it is used as a subordinating conjunction. Let us take (32) for an illustration.

- (32) *kame* *koda* =*kə* *morā* *lābo*↑.
 1PL.EXC talk =1PL.EXC IPFV although
 ‘We are still talking.’

The example in (32) consists of a single clause followed by the subordinator *lābo* with an acute rise in pitch on it. It literally means ‘we are still talking’, but when situated in the actual speech environment, it also indicates that some event that will potentially prevent the speakers from continuing to talk is happening at the time of utterance. It was produced by one of my language consultants when the candle burned out during our elicitation session. With this specific sentence, the language consultant expressed his irritation toward the fact that we could not continue to work because there was no light available.⁸

The insubordinated *lābo*-construction is a conventionalized and well-established construction type in Lamaholot. Indeed, this use of *lābo* is far frequent than the subordination use of it on the basis of the present author’s observation of naturally-occurring conversation.⁹ Let us observe more examples from conversations. See

⁷ *Lābo*-subordinate clauses without the main clause, as in (30), will be discussed in Section 3.2.

⁸ Of course, it does not mean that this is the only situation where the example in (32) can be felicitously uttered. According to the very language consultant who produced (32), it can be employed, for example, when someone asked speakers to leave as soon as possible and it made them stop talking.

⁹ Native speakers of Lamaholot agree with this description, but we cannot show how frequent the insubordinated *lābo*-clauses are by means of text counts at this stage.

examples in (33) through (37). Note that the present author has collected the following examples while overhearing conversations among Lamaholot speakers during his stay in the Nurri village of Kecamatan Ile Bura. All of them have subsequently been checked with the speakers. The contexts that are not overtly encoded in the sentences are given in parentheses.

- (33) *gõ=no* *kia* *l̥bo*↑.
eat.2SG=2SG PROS although
'(You should) eat.'
'Although (you should) eat (e.g., you are still working).'
- (34) *na* *isə?* *kbako* *bisa* *həla* *morẽ* *l̥bo*↑.
3SG suck tobacco can NEG IPFV although
'He (or she) cannot smoke cigarettes.'
'Although he (or she) cannot smoke cigarettes (e.g., you offered him/her a cigarette).'
- (35) *gõ=no* *morẽ* *l̥bo*↑.
eat.2SG=2SG IPFV although
'You are still eating.'
'Although you are still eating (e.g., they asked you to leave).'
- (36) *mori* *pi* *məko* *n-ə?ə* *te?* *l̥bo*↑.
life here ugly 3SG-do this although
'Life here is ugly like this.'
'Although life here is ugly like this (e.g., you still came here).'
- (37) *go* *notõ* =*ro?* *l̥bo*↑.
1SG watch =3SG although
'I am watching it.'
'Although I am watching it (e.g., you turned off the TV).'

It is important to remark that *l̥bo* in the examples above cannot be analyzed (yet) as a sentence-final particle that conveys hearer-oriented meanings, although it might appear as such. In Section 3.3, we discuss syntactic properties that distinguish *l̥bo* from sentence-final particles.

As mentioned in Section 2.1, there is no formal distinction between main and subordinate clauses in Lamaholot, except for the presence of a conjunction in the latter. Thus, insubordinated *l̥bo*-constructions can remain grammatical even if the conjunction *l̥bo* is left out. But if *l̥bo* is not present, interactional meanings disappear, too. For example, when we delete *l̥bo* in (32), we will get the example in (38). This sentence is simply a statement of the fact that speakers were talking at the time of utterance, and it is not implied that something that prevented their conversation happened. No sense of irritation is conveyed, either.

- (38) *kame* *koda* =*kə* *morẽ*.
1PL.EXC talk =1PL.EXC IPFV
'We are still talking.'

As a final remark, in the literature on insubordination, it is not uncommon that concessive subordinators are used for expressing irritation. An example in (39), for example, shows that the concessive subordinating conjunction *noni* 'although' in Japanese has an

insubordination use of expressing speaker's irritation (cf. Ohori 1997). Observe the formal and semantic parallelism between Lamaholot (32) and Japanese (39).

- (39) *mada hanasi=o si-teiru =noni.*
 still talk=ACC do-IPFV =although
 'We are still talking.'
 'Although we are still talking (e.g., the candle burned out).'

According to one of the reviewers, the insubordination use of *lābo* in Lamaholot (as well as *=noni* in Japanese) looks similar to the sentence-final use of *padahal* 'although' in Indonesian. For example, *padahal* can mark a concessive subordinate clause, as in (40) (cf. Sneddon et al. 2010:354); it may also work as an indicator of speaker's attitude of some sort, as in (41).

- (40) *Mereka tidak mem-bantu, padahal mereka orang kaya.*
 3PL NEG ACT-help although 3PL person rich
 'They didn't help, although they are rich.' (Daniel Hariman Jacob, pers. comm.)
- (41) *Mereka kaya padahal.*
 3PL rich although
 'They are rich, though.' (provided by one of the reviewers)

But the resemblance is only superficial. In the case of *padahal*, it appears in different positions with different uses: the subordinator *padahal* appears in a clause-initial position, as in (40), while the discourse particle *padahal* occurs in a clause-final position, as in (41). Moreover, the latter use cannot be obtained simply by deleting the main clause in the former. There is no room for the insubordination analysis here.

In contrast, *lābo* does not change its position even in insubordinated clauses. Compare *lābo*-subordination in (42) and *lābo*-insubordination in (43). One can get the latter just by omitting the main clause from the former. The conjunction *lābo* remains in the same position with or without the main clause. This is a case of insubordination.

- (42) *ra doi adʒã lābo, ra bantu go hāla?*
 3PL money many although 3PL help 1SG NEG
 'Although they have a lot of money, they didn't help me.'
- (43) *ra doi adʒã lābo↑.*
 3PL money many although
 'They have a lot of money.'
 'Although they have a lot of money (e.g., they didn't help me).'

3.3 *lābo* and sentence-final particles

Lamaholot has several sentence-final particles that express discourse-manipulating or inter-subjective meanings, such as asking questions and making excuses. For example, consider examples in (44), (45), and (46).

- (44) *mo gō =no kae? ta?*
 2SG eat.2SG=2SG PFV Q
 'Have you eaten yet?'

- (45) *go kã morã di.*
 1SG eat.1SG IPFV EX
 ‘I am still eating (so don’t bother me).’
- (46) *tedã kəsə ka.*
 wait little EMP
 ‘Wait a little!’

In (44), the sentence-final particle *ta* is used to indicate that the sentence in question is an interrogative sentence. In (45), another sentence-final particle *di* is employed to tell the hearer that the speaker is making an excuse. For example, (45) can be used when the speaker is telling the hearer to stop bothering him or her because he or she is still eating. In a similar way, *ka* in (46) adds an emphasis to the imperative sentence.

Importantly, no two of these sentence-final particles can occur together. For instance, examples in (47) are ungrammatical: the two particles *ta* and *di* cannot be employed in the same sentence. Examples in (48) illustrate that *ka* and *ta* cannot appear in the single sentence.

- (47) a. **mo gõ =no kae? ta di?*
 2SG eat.2SG =2SG PFV Q EX
 Intended for ‘Have you eaten yet?’
- b. **mo gõ =nokae? di ta?*
- (48) a. **mo gõ =no kae? ta ka?*
 2SG eat.2SG =2SG PFV Q EMP
 Intended for ‘Have you eaten yet?’
- b. **mo gõ =nokae? ta ka?*

This characteristic of sentence-final particles becomes another piece of evidence for our analysis of *lãbo* in subordinated clauses as a subordinating conjunction, rather than a sentence-final particle. If we analyze *lãbo* as a sentence-final particle, we would expect it not to occur with another sentence-final particle. But *lãbo* can co-occur with some sentence-final particles, as in (49).

- (49) *go turu morã lãbo di.*
 1SG sleep IPFV although EX
 ‘I am still sleeping.’

The example in (49) clearly shows that *lãbo* is not a sentence-final particle in terms of its position in the clause. Indeed, *lãbo* is the only word that can be employed between aspect/mood particles and sentence-final particles in the entire Lamaholot lexicon. According to our hypothesis, this idiosyncratic property of *lãbo* is a result of insubordination.

4. Conclusions

This paper presents a description and analysis of *lãbo* in Lamaholot, an Austronesian language of eastern Indonesia. In our analysis, it is a clause-final subordinate conjunction that expresses a concessive relation between main and subordinate clauses. The most significant characteristic of this conjunction is that it also heads insubordinated clauses: subordinate clauses headed by *lãbo* can stand alone without a main clause, conveying the speaker’s irritation or blame toward the hearer or an undesirable event. The fact that

Lamaholot is a typical eastern Indonesian language makes *labo*-insubordination an interesting but difficult object of inquiry, as *labo* is the only clause-final subordinating conjunction in this SVO language that involves little formal marking of finiteness.

Needless to say, even if our hypothesis is correct, the question remains as to how Lamaholot has got the subordinating conjunction *labo*, which unexpectedly appears in the clause-final position. At this stage, we simply do not know the answer.¹⁰ But if we take into account the fact that Lamaholot has been heavily influenced by Papuan languages (Section 1), we might be able to speculate that *labo* might have been borrowed from a Papuan language in this region. As a matter of fact, in contact with Papuan languages, this Austronesian language has acquired the possessor-possesum word order, clause-final aspect/mood markers, and some basic vocabulary (e.g., *muko* ‘banana’), among others. It seems not unrealistic that old Lamaholot may have borrowed *labo* from a certain Papuan language in exactly the way modern Lamaholot borrowed conjunctions from Malay/Indonesian.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	ACC	accusative
ACT	active	EMP	emphatic
EX	excuse	EXC	exclusive
IMP	imperative	IPFV	imperfective
NEG	negator	PFV	perfective
PL	plural	POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition	PROS	prospective
SG	singular	Q	question

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¹⁰ We cannot find *labo* and phonologically similar words in dictionaries of other Lamaholot dialects, either (e.g., Pampus 1999).

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