

RICE UNIVERSITY

The Lamaholot Language of Eastern Indonesia

by

Naonori Nagaya

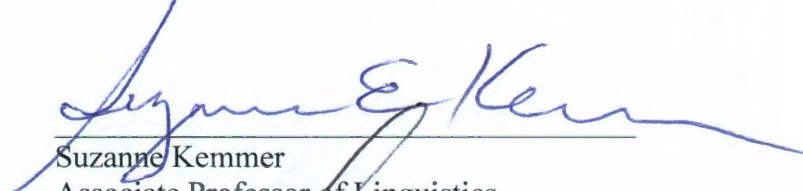
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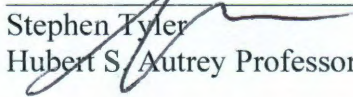
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The data presented here have been collected through fieldwork conducted at the Nurri village of Kabupaten Flores Timur, Indonesia, over three different periods: 2008 (four months), 2009 (two months), and 2010 (two months), for a total of eight months. I would

Abstract

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This study presents the grammar of the Lewotobi dialect of Lamaholot, an Austronesian language spoken in the eastern part of Flores Island and neighboring islands of Indonesia. Lamaholot belongs to the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian, within which it is in a subgroup with the languages of Timor and Roti. The number of speakers of the Lewotobi dialect is approximately 6,000. Despite its importance in the history and typology of Austronesian languages, this dialect of Lamaholot has not been fully described yet. This study is the first thorough grammar of this dialect. In the absence of available description of the language, the data presented here have been collected through fieldwork conducted at the Nurri village of Kabupaten Flores Timur for a total of eight months.

The purpose of this study is two-fold. The first goal is to provide an empirically-based description and analysis of the entire range of the Lamaholot grammar from phonology through morphology to syntax and semantics. It begins with the discussion of phonetics and phonology, proceeds to examine morphological processes and parts of speech and then turns to the form and function of each part of speech: nouns, pronouns, numerals, measure words, verbs, adjectival nouns, adjectival verbs, demonstratives,

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directionals, the locative, TAM markers and other minor parts of speech. Building upon these foundations, subsequent chapters offer a detailed analysis and discussion of the following syntactic phenomena: (i) agreement, (ii) clause structure, (iii) voice and grammatical relations, (iv) verb serialization, and (v) spatial language. A mini dictionary and texts are provided as appendices to a grammatical description.

The second and equally important purpose of this study is to shed new light on issues surrounding the history and typology of Austronesian languages from a perspective of Lamaholot data. Attention is drawn particularly to two grammatical phenomena: (i) the position of Lamaholot in a typology of voice and grammatical relations in western Austronesian languages and (ii) spatial language and frames of reference. It is hoped that this study will help advance both research in Austronesian linguistics and our knowledge of human language in general.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Figures	xx
List of Tables	xxiii
Abbreviations and conventions	xxv
Maps	xxiii
1 Introduction	1
1.0 On this study	1
1.1 The Lamaholot language	2
1.1.1 Flores Island	
1.1.2 Central Malayo-Polynesian	
1.1.3 Surrounding languages and sociolinguistic situations	
1.1.4 Lamaholot dialect chain	
1.1.5 Alternative names	
1.1.6 Previous studies on Lamaholot	
1.2 The Lewotobi dialect	11
1.2.1 Location and ecology	
1.2.2 Economy and culture	
1.2.3 Number of speakers and degree of endangerment	
1.2.4 Lewotobi language or Lewotobi dialect?	
1.3 Lamaholot: its characteristics and problems	15
1.3.1 History	
1.3.2 Phonology	

1.3.3 Morphology	
1.3.3.1 Agreement morphology	
1.3.3.2 Nominalization	
1.3.3.3 Absence of precategorial roots	
1.3.4 Syntax and semantics	
1.3.4.1 Word order typology	
1.3.4.2 Parts of speech	
1.3.4.3 Voice and grammatical relations	
1.3.4.4 Verb serialization	
1.3.4.5 Alienable and inalienable possession	
1.3.4.6 Directionals	
1.3.4.7 Satellite-frame language	
1.3.4.8 Frames of reference	
1.3.4.9 Grammaticalization	
1.4 Typological classification of Lamaholot	38
1.4.1 Symmetrical voice languages and preposed possessor languages	
1.4.2 Lamaholot as a preposed possessor language	
1.4.3 Lamaholot as a “Papuan” language	
1.5 Sources and data-gathering procedures	46
1.5.1 Language-specific data-driven description	
1.5.2 Theoretically informed analysis	
1.6 Goals and contributions of this study	49
1.6.1 Broad goals for this study	
1.6.2 Limitations of this study	
1.7 Organization	50
2 Phonetics and phonology	53

2.0 Introduction	53
2.1 Phoneme inventory	54
2.1.1 Phonetic descriptions: Consonants	
2.1.2 Phonetic descriptions: Vowels	
2.2 Phonotactics	71
2.2.1 Syllable structures	
2.2.2 Vowel sequences	
2.2.3 Consonant clusters	
2.3 Stress placement	79
2.4 Morphophonological processes	80
2.5 Historical phonology	81
2.5.1 Lamaholot and Proto Malayo-Polynesian	
2.5.2 Lewotobi and other dialects	
2.6 Loan phonology	89
2.7 Spelling conventions	91
3 Morphology	92
3.0 Introduction	92
3.1 Morphological units	94
3.1.1 Words and their precategoricity	
3.1.2 Clitics and affixes	
3.1.3 Morphological processes	
3.2 S-agreement enclitics	97
3.2.1 Forms of S-agreement enclitics	
3.2.2 Nasal assimilation	
3.2.3 Functions of S-agreement enclitics	
3.3 S/A-agreement prefixes	103

3.3.1	Forms of S/A-agreement prefixes	
3.3.2	Irregular inflecting verb ‘eat’	
3.3.3	Functions of S/A-agreement markers	
3.4	Pronominal enclitic = <i>roʔ</i>	107
3.4.1	= <i>roʔ</i> and primary object relation	
3.4.2	Syntactic position available to = <i>roʔ</i>	
3.4.3	Bound pronoun = <i>roʔ</i> and free pronoun <i>na</i>	
3.5	Possessive/nominalizing suffix - <i>N</i> and enclitic = <i>kã</i>	111
3.5.1	Morphophonology of - <i>N</i>	
3.5.2	Morphophonology of = <i>kã</i>	
3.6	Deictic nominalizer - <i>ẽʔ</i>	117
3.6.1	Morphophonology of - <i>ẽʔ</i>	
3.6.2	Functions of - <i>ẽʔ</i>	
3.7	Fossilized prefixes	122
3.7.1	Stative <i>k-</i>	
3.7.2	Non-volitional <i>k-</i>	
3.7.3	Diminutive <i>k-</i>	
3.7.4	Causative <i>b-</i>	
3.7.5	Lexical nominalization <i>b-</i>	
3.8	Morphological processes	125
3.8.1	Nasal substitution	
3.8.2	Compounding	
3.8.3	Reduplication	
4	Parts of speech	130
4.0	Introduction	130
4.1	Foundations for recognizing parts of speech	136

4.2 Nouns	145
4.2.1 Body part nouns	
4.2.2 Locative nouns	
4.2.3 Kinship terms	
4.2.4 Temporal nouns	
4.3 Pronouns	155
4.4 Numerals	159
4.4.1 Cardinal numbers	
4.4.2 Ordinal numbers	
4.5 Measure words	167
4.6 Verbs	173
4.7 Adjectival nouns and verbs	175
4.7.1 Adjectival nouns	
4.7.2 Adjectival verbs	
4.7.3 Do adjectival nouns and verbs form a single category?	
4.7.3.1 <i>bo</i> : comparative	
4.7.3.2 <i>-aʔ</i> superlative	
4.7.3.3 Adverbial use	
4.7.3.4 Exclamative formation	
4.7.3.5 No single adjective category in Lamaholot	
4.8 Nominalization	191
4.8.1 Nominalization of adjectival verbs	
4.8.2 Nominalization of verbs	
4.8.3 Nominalization of nouns	
4.8.4 Non-nominalization uses of nominalization morphology	
4.9 Minor parts of speech	202
4.9.1 TAM particles	

4.9.2 Sentence-final particles	
4.9.3 Conjunctions	
4.9.4 Interjections	
4.9.5 Deverbal prepositions	
4.9.6 Loan prepositions	
4.9.7 Adverbs	
4.9.8 Epistememes	
4.9.8.1 Epistememes in interrogative constructions	
4.9.8.2 Epistememes in indefinite pronoun constructions	
4.10 Transitional parts of speech	213
4.10.1 Demonstratives, directionals, and the locative	
4.10.2 Nominal and non-nominal properties of locationals	
4.10.3 Grammaticalization account of the distribution of the locationals	
4.10.4 Evidence for the grammaticalization account	
4.11 Summary	225
5 Noun phrases	227
5.0 Introduction	227
5.1 Pre-nominal modifiers: Inalienable and alienable possession	231
5.1.1 Kinds of possessive constructions	
5.1.2 More on alienability	
5.2 Post-nominal modifiers	238
5.3 Pre-nominal possessor and post-nominal modifier	243
6 Locationals	247
6.0 Introduction	247

6.1 Demonstratives	247
6.1.1 Forms of demonstratives	
6.1.2 Uses of demonstratives	
6.1.3 Semantics of demonstratives	
6.1.3.1 Temporal deixis	
6.1.3.2 Discourse deixis	
6.2 Directionals	260
6.2.1 Forms of demonstratives	
6.2.2 Uses of demonstratives	
6.3 Demonstratives and directionals	267
6.4 Locative <i>ia</i>	270
6.4.1 Form and function of the locative <i>ia</i>	
6.4.2 Functions of <i>ia</i> compared to demonstratives and directionals	
6.5 Locational phrases	275
6.6 More on the prepositional use	285
7 Agreement	290
7.0 Introduction	290
7.1 What can agree?	291
7.2 Types of agreement patterns	293
7.2.1 Grammatical agreement	
7.2.2 Semantic agreement	
7.2.3 Default agreement	
7.3 Complex structures and types of agreement	297
7.3.1 Grammatical and default agreement	
7.3.2 Agreement patterns of \emptyset - <i>ai</i> ‘go’	
7.3.3 Agreement patterns of \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ ‘do’	

8 Clause structure	305
8.0 Introduction	305
8.1 Verbal and non-verbal predicates	305
8.2 Clause types	307
8.2.1 Intransitive clauses	
8.2.2 Transitive clauses	
8.2.3 Ditransitive clauses	
8.3 More on verb predicate clauses: Major semantic classes of verbs	324
8.3.1 Verbs of manner of motion	
8.3.2 Verbs of path of motion	
8.3.3 Verbs of deictic motion	
8.3.4 Psych verbs	
8.3.5 Verbs of transferring ownership	
8.3.6 Verbs of transaction and service	
8.3.7 Verbs of existence and possession	
8.3.8 Verb \emptyset - $\tilde{a}^2\tilde{a}$	
9 Voice and grammatical relations	352
9.0 Introduction	352
9.1 Voice and valence-changing operations	353
9.1.1 Antipassive	
9.1.2 Middle	
9.1.3 Causative	
9.1.4 Conative	
9.1.5 Subject-Topic and Object-Topic constructions	
9.1.6 Ditransitive	

9.1.7 Benefactive	
9.1.8 Generic agent	
9.1.9 Summary	
9.2 Grammatical relations	365
9.2.1 Subjects {S, A}	
9.2.2 Primary object {P, L} and secondary object {T}	
9.2.2.1 The ditransitive alternation	
9.2.2.2 The benefactive alternation	
9.2.2.3 Conclusion	
9.2.3 Summary	
9.3 Subject and topic	384
9.3.1 Pragmatics of the ST and the OT constructions	
9.3.2 Establishing the topic relation	
9.3.3 Subject and topic	
9.4 Lamaholot as a ‘symmetrical voice language’?	402
10 Clausal and sentential modifiers	404
10.0 Introduction	404
10.1 Tense	405
10.1.1 Absolute temporal reference	
10.1.2 Relative (deictic) temporal reference	
10.2 Aspect	410
10.2.1 Prefective <i>kae?</i>	
10.2.2 Imperfective <i>morā</i>	
10.2.3 Prospective <i>kia</i>	
10.2.4 Inceptive <i>te?</i>	
10.3 Mood	420

10.3.1	Negators	
10.3.2	Other modal expressions	
10.3.3	Word order among TAM markers	
10.4	Illocutionary force	425
10.4.1	Declarative sentence	
10.4.2	Interrogative sentence	
10.4.3	Imperative sentence	
10.5	Sentence-final particles	431
10.5.1	Sentence-final particle <i>di</i>	
10.5.2	Sentence-final particle <i>ne</i>	
10.5.3	Sentence-final particle <i>ro</i>	
10.5.4	Sentence-final particle <i>ta</i>	
10.5.5	Sentence-final particle <i>hae</i>	
10.5.6	Sentence-final particle <i>ka</i>	
11	Complex sentences	441
11.0	Introduction	441
11.1	Complement clauses	442
11.1.1	Verbs of manipulation	
11.1.2	Verbs of speech-act	
11.1.3	Verbs of saying	
11.1.4	Verbs of cognition	
11.1.5	Verbs of perception	
11.1.6	Psych verbs	
11.2	Coordinate clauses	446
11.2.1	Juxtaposition	
11.2.2	<i>kadi?</i> ‘so’	

11.2.3	<i>kia gə</i> ‘and then’	
11.2.4	<i>kũ</i> ‘but’	
11.2.5	<i>waha neku pe:</i> ‘and then’	
11.2.6	<i>ləbo kə?</i> ‘even, further, on top of that’	
11.2.7	<i>A həla? kũ B</i> ‘not A but B’	
11.2.8	<i>bəi neku? A həla? kũ B</i> ‘not only A but B’	
11.3	Adverbial clauses	459
11.3.1	Temporal nouns	
11.3.2	<i>nə?ə</i> ‘when’	
11.3.3	<i>kalo</i> ‘if’	
11.3.4	<i>ə-ə</i> ‘so that’	
11.3.5	<i>pukə</i> ‘because’	
11.3.6	<i>pura</i> ‘since’ and <i>sape</i> ‘until’	
11.3.7	<i>məsi? kə?</i> ‘even if’	
11.3.8	<i>nə</i> ‘whereas’	
11.3.9	<i>ə-ə?ə</i> ‘while’	
11.3.10	<i>ake nə</i> ‘not only’	
11.3.11	<i>hama nə?ə</i> ‘in the same way, as if’	
11.3.12	<i>daripada</i> ‘than’	
12	Verb serialization	459
12.0	Introduction	459
12.1	Kinds of verb serialization	460
12.1.1	V1 = Action; V2 = Manipulation	
12.1.2	V1 = Action; V2 = Manipulation	
12.1.3	V1 = Manner of motion; V2 = Path of motion	
12.1.4	V1 = Action/Motion; V2 = Deictic motion	

12.1.5 V1 = Action; V2 = Giving	
12.1.6 V1 = Action; V2 = Following	
12.1.7 V1 = Action; V2 = Path of motion	
12.1.8 V1 = Action; V2 = Aspect	
12.1.9 V1 = Action; V2 = Modality	
12.2 Lexical autonomy of V2s	479
12.3.1 Serialized verbs and prepositional use of locationals	
12.3.2 Quasi-verb serialization	
12.3 Remaining problems	495
12.3.1 The nature of the syntactic head	
12.3.2 Constructional conditions and grammaticalization	
13 Spatial language	498
13.0 Introduction	498
13.1 Elements of spatial semantics	500
13.1.1 Figure and Ground	
13.1.2 Location with a contiguous relation between Figure and Ground	
13.1.3 Location with a projective relation between Figure and Ground	
13.1.4 Motion	
13.1.5 Summary	
13.2 Elements of spatial language	507
13.3 Locative nouns and topology	511
13.4 Semantics of directionals	519
13.4.1 More on the mountain-sea axis	
13.4.2 Deictic function (i): Intra-village orientation	
13.4.3 Deictic function (ii): Inter-village orientation	
13.4.4 Directionals as deictic expressions	

13.4.5	Coordinate systems for an absolute frame of reference	
13.4.5.1	Angular phrases	
13.4.5.2	How the directional-based coordinate system works	
13.4.5.3	Non-deictic and abstract nature of the FoR function of directionals	
13.4.5.4	Lamaholot coordinate system vs. European cardinal directions	
13.4.6	Spatial concepts defined by the directional-based coordinate system	
13.4.7	Grammaticalization of directionals	
13.5	Location: Coincidence	555
13.5.1	Regions	
13.5.2	Places	
13.5.3	Posture	
13.6	Location: Coordinate systems	560
13.6.1	Absolute frame of reference	
13.6.2	Intrinsic frame of reference	
13.6.3	Relative frame of reference	
13.6.4	Another frame of reference: <i>ia</i> ‘hither’ and <i>wali</i> ‘thither’	
13.7	Motion	578
13.7.1	Motion	
13.7.2	Caused motion	
13.7.3	Abstract emanation	
13.7	Implications	588
14	Conclusions	591
	Appendices	597

Appendix A Texts

Appendix B Swadesh 200 word list

Appendix C Lamaholot-English mini dictionary

References

655

List of Figures

- Figure 1.1: Subgroups of Austronesian languages (Blust 1978)
- Figure 1.2: Possible Austronesian subgrouping
- Figure 1.3: The *keliling* Lewotobi are
-
- Figure 2.1: The position of the tongue during [t] in [tane] ‘weave’ (left) and [d] in [dai] ‘come’ (right)
- Figure 2.2: [vave] ‘pig’ (left) and [luvu] ‘stomach’ (right)
- Figure 2.3: The position of lips during the initial consonant [v] in [vave] ‘pig’
- Figure 2.4: /baʔa/ in careful speech (left) and casual speech (right)
- Figure 2.5: /aʔa/ [ʔaʔa] ‘gum’
- Figure 2.6: /baʔa/ [ba.ʔa] ‘heavy’
-
- Figure 4.1: Nominalization
- Figure 4.2: From noun to adposition
-
- Figure 6.1: Demonstratives
- Figure 6.2: Mountain-sea axis
- Figure 6.3: Sky-earth axis
- Figure 6.4: Demonstratives and directionals
- Figure 6.5: Syntactic trees for examples in (46) (left) and (47) (right)
-
- Figure 9.1: Semantico-syntactic grammatical relations
- Figure 9.2: Semantico-syntactic grammatical relations
-
- Figure 13.1: Locative nouns

- Figure 13.2: Syntactic tree for (18)
- Figure 13.3: Spatial configuration in (25)
- Figure 13.4: Mountain-sea axis
- Figure 13.5: Sky-earth axis
- Figure 13.6: Deictic nature of directionals
- Figure 13.7: Coordinate system formed by directionals
- Figure 13.8: Spatial configuration expressed in (46)
- Figure 13.9: Spatial configuration expressed in (47)
- Figure 13.10: Spatial configuration expressed in (52)
- Figure 13.11: Spatial configuration expressed in (53)
- Figure 13.12: Spatial configuration expressed in (54)
- Figure 13.13: Intermediate directions
- Figure 13.14: Names of the winds
- Figure 13.15: Motion along the cardinal directions
- Figure 13.16: Clockwise motion
- Figure 13.17: Counterclockwise motion, a.k.a. *murəṣ̃ wənə*
- Figure 13.18: Bohnemeyer's Motion-Land films (version 2), Clip 1
- Figure 13.19: Building a house following *murəṣ̃ wənə*
- Figure 13.20: From noun to adposition
- Figure 13.21: Coordinate system formed by directionals
- Figure 13.22: Tree on the mountain (85)
- Figure 13.23: Cloud over the mountain (86)
- Figure 13.24: Intrinsic frame of reference (body part nouns)
- Figure 13.25: Ball and chair (Behnemeyer et. al 2008)
- Figure 13.26: Man and fire
- Figure 13.27: Coordinate system formed by *ia* and *wəli*
- Figure 13.28: (104) and (105)

- Figure 13.29: (106) and (107)
Figure 13.30: Ball and chair
Figure 13.31: Ball and chair
Figure 13.32: A scene from a frog story

List of Tables

Table 1.1:	Symmetrical voice languages vs. Preposed possessor languages
Table 2.1:	Consonant phonemes
Table 2.2:	Vowel phonemes
Table 2.3:	Distribution of consonants
Table 2.4:	Vowel sequences
Table 2.5:	Word-final consonants across Lamaholot dialects (in IPA)
Table 2.6:	Reflexes of PMP *b and *w
Table 2.7:	Consonant phonemes
Table 2.8:	Vowel phonemes
Table 3.1:	S-agreement enclitics
Table 3.2:	S-agreement suffixes in Lewoingu Lamaholot (adopted from Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:13)
Table 3.3:	S-agreement enclitics (after a nasalized vowel)
Table 3.4:	S/A-agreement prefixes
Table 3.5:	Verb for ‘eat’
Table 3.6:	Personal pronouns
Table 3.7:	Demonstratives
Table 3.8:	Directionals
Table 4.1:	Subclasses of the nominal class
Table 4.2:	Subclasses of the verbal class
Table 4.3:	Personal pronouns
Table 4.4:	Adjectival nouns/verbs and possessive/nominalization markers

Table 4.5:	Prepositions borrowed from Malay
Table 4.6:	Epistememes
Table 4.7:	Verbal prepositions
Table 6.1:	Demonstratives
Table 6.2:	Uses of demonstratives
Table 6.3:	Directionals
Table 6.4:	Uses of directionals
Table 6.5:	Differences between demonstratives and directionals
Table 6.6:	Use of the locative <i>ia</i>
Table 9.1:	Semantically-based voice constructions in Lamaholot
Table 9.2:	Pragmatically-motivated alternations in Lamaholot
Table 10.1:	Speech acts and sentence-final particles
Table 11.1:	\emptyset - ∂ 'so that'
Table 13.1:	Major semantic subfields in spatial language
Table 13.2:	Domain-free functions
Table 13.3:	Domain-specific functions

Abbreviations and conventions

Lamaholot examples are represented according to the working orthography presented in Section 2.7, except for proper names and place names, which are spelled complying with the Indonesian orthography. Data from other languages are cited in the way they appear in the original sources or in the orthography of each language. Interlinear glossing by and large follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

Two notes on the free translation are in order. First, Lamaholot verbs are not marked for tense. To express tense-related meanings, it is necessary to use adverbial temporal expressions. However, such elements are not always present in examples. In this case, such examples are translated following two principles. [A] When they are collected from original recordings or everyday conversations in the village, the situations are used to translate them; [B] an appropriate tense form is chosen for elicited examples.

The second note is on the translation on the coordinate system formed by directionals. In this language, four directionals, namely, *lau* ‘the direction of the sea’, *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’, *teti* ‘the direction of the sky’ and *lali* ‘the direction of the ground’ achieve the same spatial referential functions that European cardinal directions, *East*, *West*, *North*, and *South*, do. This function is called an **absolute frame of reference**. In this and only this case, we translate *lau*, *rae*, *teti*, and *lali* as ‘east’, ‘west’, ‘north’, and ‘south’, respectively.

Abbreviations used in examples are:

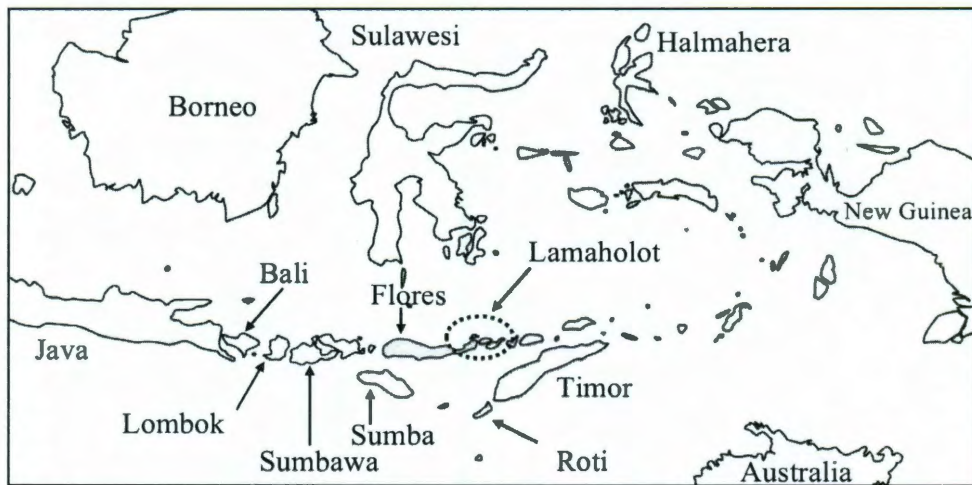
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
CONJ	conjunction
DEM	demonstrative

DEM.PROX	proximal demonstrative (point)
DEM.PROX.AR	proximal demonstrative (areal)
DEM.DIS	distal demonstrative
DIR	directional
DIR.MT	directional; the direction of the mountain
DIR.SEA	directional; the direction of the sea
DIR.COAST	directional; the direction parallel with the coast
DIR.UP	directional; the direction of the sky
DIR.DOWN	directional; the direction of the ground
EXC	exclusive
EXCS	excuse
INC	inclusive
INCP	inceptive
IPFV	imperfective
NEG	negator
NMZ	nominalization
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PREP	preposition
PROS	prospective
Q	question
SG	singular
SOFT	softening marker
TAG	tag question marker

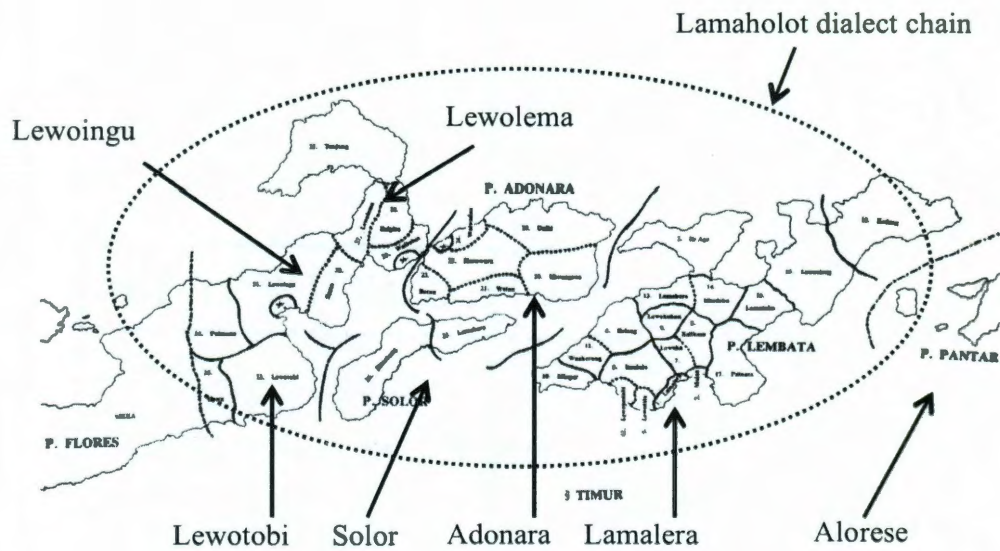
The following abbreviations are employed for proto-roles and grammatical relations.

S	intransitive subject	
E	non-S argument of a semitransitive clause	
A	transitive subject	
P	transitive object	
L	recipient or source in a ditransitive clause	
T	theme in a ditransitive clause	
SUBJ	subject function	{S, A}
OBJ	object function	
PO	primary object function	{P, L}
SO	secondary object function	{T}
OBL	oblique	
TOP	topic function	{SUBJ, OBJ}
ARG	argument	
ADJUNCT	adjunct	
PRED	predicate	

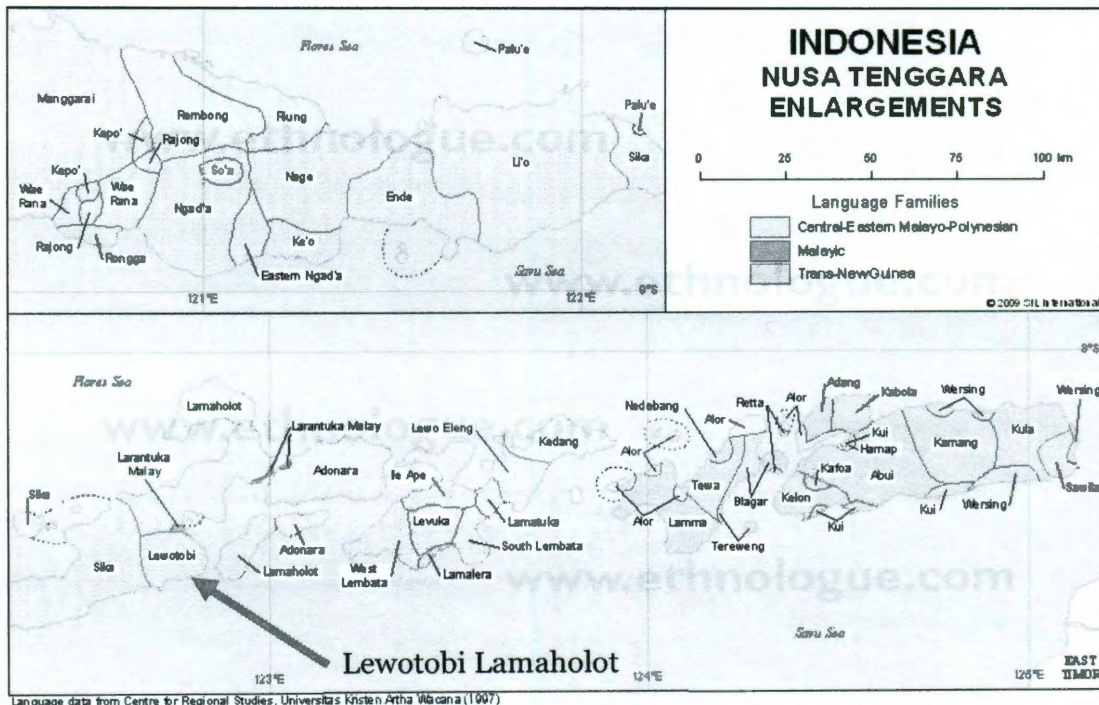
Maps



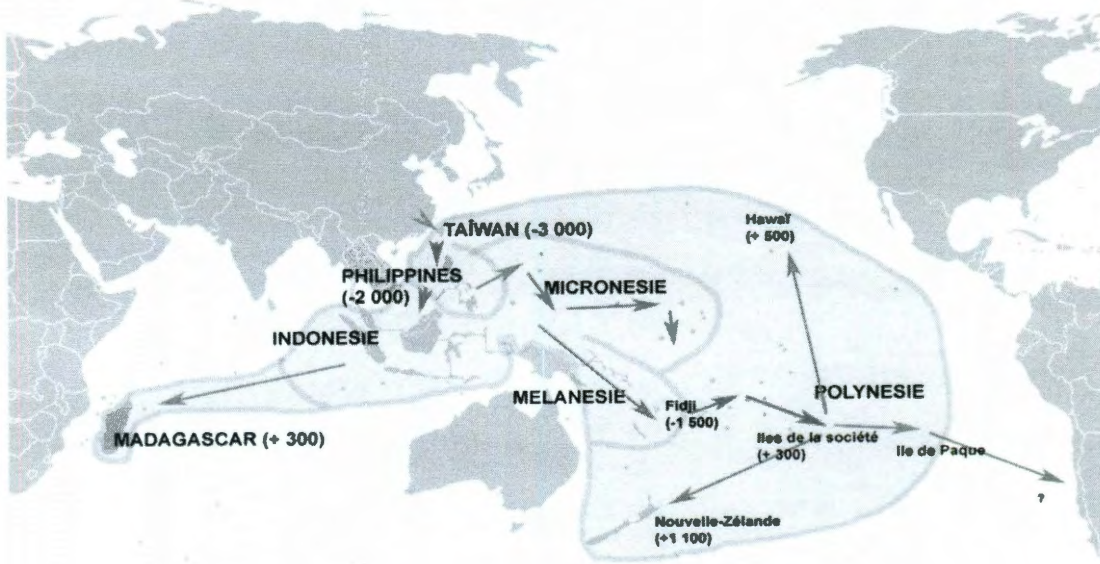
Map 1: Flores Island and the islands of Indonesia



Map 2: Lamaholot dialects (adapted from Keraf 1978)

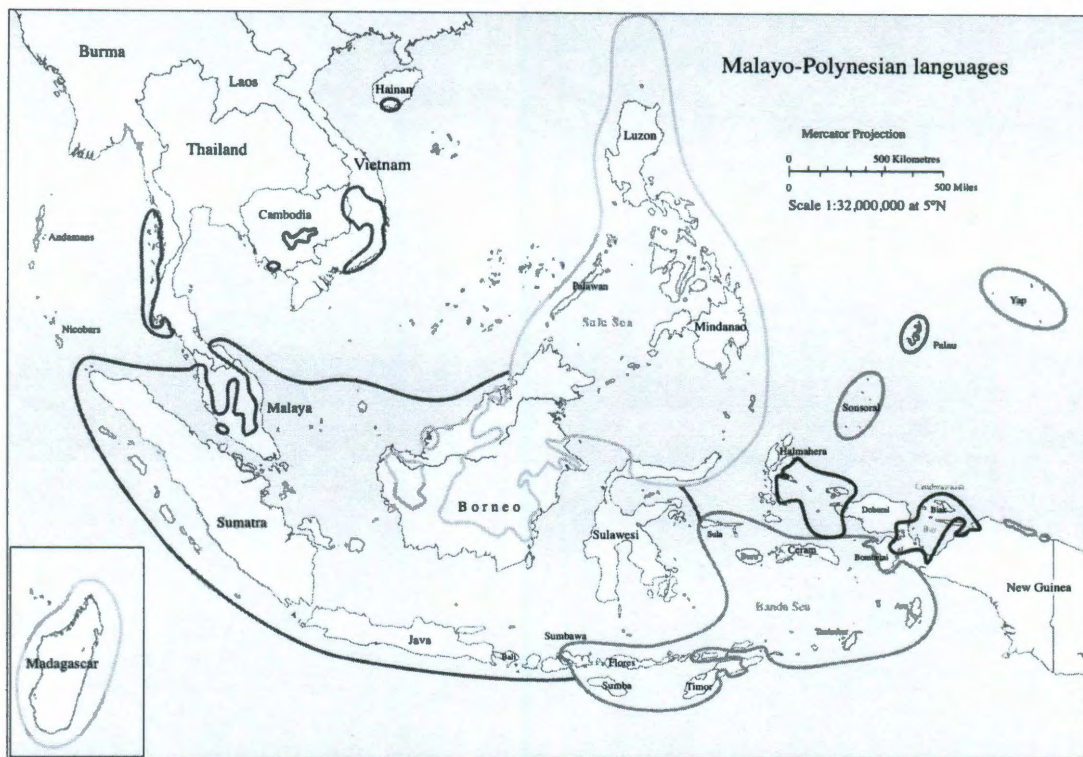


Map 3: "Indonesia: Nusa Tenggara Enlargements" (Lewis 2009)



Map 4: Expansion of Austronesian-speaking areas¹

¹ <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a7/Migrations-austronesiennes.png>



Map 5: Malayo-Polynesian languages²

² <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/03/Malayo-Polynesian.svg>

1 Introduction

1.0 On this study

This study investigates the grammar of the Lewotobi dialect of the Lamaholot language of eastern Indonesia. Lamaholot is a Central Malayo-Polynesian language of the Austronesian language family (Blust 1993, 2009b; cf. Donohue and Grimes 2008) and is spoken in the eastern part of Flores Island and neighboring islands in the Lesser Sunda Islands of Indonesia, serving as the lingua franca of the region (Grimes et al. 1997; Lewis 2009). Despite its importance in the history and typology of Austronesian languages, this dialect of Lamaholot has not been fully described yet. This study is the first thorough grammar of this dialect.

The major goal of this study lies in providing an empirically based and theoretically informed description and analysis of the grammar of Lamaholot. In the absence of available description of the languages in the region, this study is based almost entirely on field trips carried out over the years. The data presented here have been collected through fieldwork conducted at the Nurri village of Kabupaten Flores Timur, Indonesia, over three different periods: 2008 (four months), 2009 (two months), and 2010 (two months), for a total of eight months.

The analysis presented is also made in light of typologies and the history of Austronesian languages. This language raises several questions of theoretical interest: to name a few, the existence of contrastive nasalized vowels and the contrast between dental [t] and alveolar [d], non-precategorial lexical roots, spatial semantics, geocentric spatial terms called directionals and their grammaticalization, the existence of an absolute frame

of reference, the lack of a relative frame of reference, the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, nominalization phenomena observed across construction types, and voice phenomena without voice morphology. By posing and answering these questions, this study attempts to advance our knowledge of general Austronesian linguistics and linguistic universal and typology research.

In this chapter, background facts and relevant works on Lamaholot and related languages are presented as a preliminary to the body of our analysis. This chapter is not just intended to provide background information on this study but also to frame it in a larger context of Austronesian languages and eastern Indonesia, discussing issues concerning the typological and historical importance of Lamaholot. The theoretical framework and organization of the study are also laid out.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 1.1 introduces the Lamaholot language, describing geographical and demographic settings of the Lamaholot-speaking region and related linguistic and non-linguistic works. In Section 1.2, attention is drawn to the Lewotobi dialect and the communities where this dialect is spoken. In Section 1.3, the grammatical characteristics of Lamaholot are presented so as to situate this language in a larger context of theoretical research. Section 1.4 discusses the position of Lamaholot in the existing typologies of Austronesian languages. Section 1.5 touches upon several issues about sources and theoretical framework employed for this study. Based on these discussions, the goals of this study are more clearly addressed in Section 1.6. This chapter concludes with a brief description of the organization of the thesis in Section 1.7.

1.1 The Lamaholot language

This section provides a basic description of Lamaholot and its genetic relationship to other languages and describes the geographical environments and sociolinguistic contexts in which this language is spoken.

The discussion of this section proceeds in the following way. Section 1.1.1 introduces Flores Island, where Lamaholot is spoken. In Section 1.1.2, we review the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, of which Lamaholot is a member. Section 1.1.3 offers a description of other languages spoken adjacent to Lamaholot, highlighting genetic relationships and language contact. In Section 1.1.4, we see that Lamaholot forms a dialect chain. Section 1.1.5 mentions some alternative names of Lamaholot. Lastly, Section 1.1.6 summarizes the previous works on this language briefly.

1.1.1 Flores Island

Flores Island, where Lamaholot is spoken, is one of the Lesser Sunda Islands in *Nusa Tenggara Timur provinsi* (East Nusa Tenggara province). It is located east of Sumbawa and Komodo and west of Lembata and the Alor Archipelago. To the southeast is Timor. To the south, across the Sumba strait, is Sumba and to the north, beyond the Flores Sea, is Sulawesi. The position of Flores Island relative to the other islands of Indonesia is shown in Map 1, where the Lamaholot speaking region is indicated by a dotted circle.

The island of Flores is long and narrow, 5,500 square miles (14,250 square km) in area, and has numerous inlets and bays. Flores is largely mountainous, especially in the west, where Mandasawu Peak reaches 7,900 feet (2,400 meters). Several active volcanoes are in the center and east. Because of this geographical condition, most Lamaholot-speaking villages are surrounded by mountains and the sea, which has a huge impact on the spatial reference system in Lamaholot (Chapter 13).

The island's name "Flores" is derived from the Portuguese designation for the island's eastern Cape Kopondai, Cabo de Flores ("Cape of Flowers"), named for the flamboyant flowering shrubs (*Poinciana regia*) found in profusion there (Flores 2010). Flores is also known as the place where *Homo floresiensis* was found in 2004.

Flores is split into seven regencies (*kabupaten*, local government districts); from west to east these are: West Manggarai, Central Manggarai, Ngada, Nagekeo, Ende, Sikka and Flores Timur. The population is estimated to be around 1.5 million, and the largest town is Maumere. Most of the population are Roman Catholic and this island represents one of the religious borders created by the Catholic expansion in the Pacific and the spread of Islam from the west across Indonesia.

1.1.2 Central Malayo-Polynesian

Lamaholot belongs to the **Central Malayo-Polynesian** subgroup of Austronesian languages. Within Central Malayo-Polynesian languages, it is considered to be in a subgroup with the languages of Timor and Roti rather than with those of central and western Flores (Wurm and Hattori 1983; Lewis 2009; cf. Fernandes 1996).

Geographically speaking, it is a member of so called **eastern Indonesian languages** (Klamer 2002; Donohue 2007a, b).

The Austronesian language family, to which Lamaholot belongs, is one of the largest language families in the world and includes more than 1,200 languages, which are roughly 20% of all the languages spoken in the world. The region currently inhabited by speakers of Austronesian languages ranges from Madagascar in the west to Easter island in the Eastern Pacific, including the islands in between such as the Philippines islands, the Greater and Lesser Sunda islands, and the Solomon islands except for the inter area of Papua New Guinea. Austronesian languages are also spoken in the coastal areas of the mainland South East Asia, namely, in much of Malaysia and scattered area of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. The geographical distribution of Austronesian and of its subgroups can be seen in Maps 3 and 4.

The estimated number of Austronesian speaking people amounts to around 270 million (Tryon 1995). Before the European colonial expansions of the past five centuries,

Austronesian languages were more widely distributed than any others, extending from Madagascar just off the southeast coast of Africa to Easter Island.

A widely accepted higher-order branching from original Proto-Austronesian, following a number of publications by Blust (e.g. Blust 1984), is shown in Figure 1.1. The Malayo-Polynesian subgroup was proposed by Dahl (1973) and underpinned more explicitly by Blust (1977). The Central/Eastern and Eastern Malayo-Polynesian subgroups were inferred by Blust (1978, 1984, 1993), and Oceanic by Dempwolff (1937).

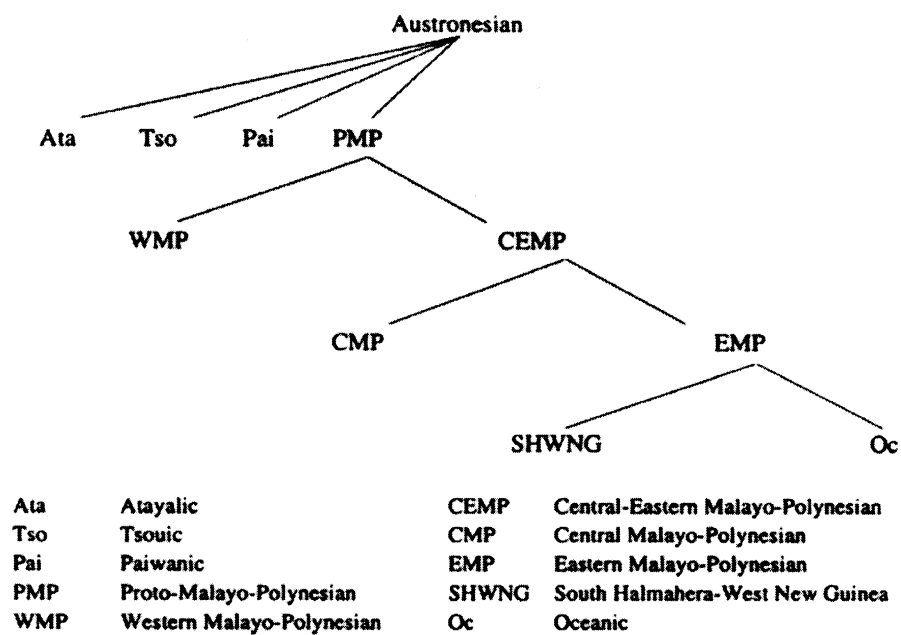


Figure 1.1: Subgroups of Austronesian languages (Blust 1978)

Geographically speaking, Western Malayo-Polynesian languages are spoken in the Philippines and western Indonesia. Central Malayo-Polynesian languages are spoken in eastern Indonesia. Eastern Malayo-Polynesian languages cover a huge area of the Pacific Ocean, including Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia.

The Lamaholot language is usually considered to be a member of the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of the Austronesian language family (Blust 1993). The

prior descriptions of Lamaholot also follow this genetic classification (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, for example). However, the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup is not well attested in terms of the comparative method, and the existence of a Proto-Central Malayo-Polynesian language is highly questionable. Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:56) provide a family tree of Austronesian in a different format, as in (1) below, where each indented set of entries represents the branches into which the protolanguage above is differentiated. Importantly, Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:92) make a distinction between protolanguage and linkage, namely, between an innovation-defined subgroup and an innovation-linked subgroup. When a subgroup is defined by protolanguage, it means that there was once a language from which all modern languages are derived, and (ii) that all its modern languages reflect a certain set of innovations relative to a reconstructed protolanguage. In contrast, when a subgroup is based on a linkage, it follows (i) that there is no set of innovations that are shared by all members of the subgroup (and by no language outside it), but (ii) that members of the subgroup are linked by innovations overlapping and networking over them.

(1) The likely family tree of Austronesian (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:92):

Proto Austronesian

Formosan **linkage**

Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP)

Western Malayo-Polynesian **linkage**

Proto Central/Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (PCEMP)

Central Malayo-Polynesian **linkage**

Proto Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (PEMP)

Proto South Halmahera/Irian Jaya

Proto Oceanic (POc)

The language linkage relevant to our discussion is the Central Malayo-Polynesian linkage, to which Lamaholot belongs. These languages are found throughout much of eastern Indonesia, including the Lesser Sunda Islands from Sumbawa through Timor, and most of the Moluccas (Map 4). Although Blust (1993) provides a variety of evidence for it, “the Central/Eastern Malayo-Polynesian is the least well supported by the comparative method” (Ross (1995:81), because there are no innovations in the Proto-Central/Eastern Malayo-Polynesian phoneme system relative to that of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian.

The idea that Central Malayo-Polynesian languages are only innovation-linked rather than innovation-defined is put further forward by Donohue and Grimes (2008). They perform a conscientious examination of the putative phonological and semantic innovations that define the CEMP and CMP subgroups, and conclude “(a) the Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP)–area languages do not convincingly meet the criteria commonly accepted for a subgroup or even a linkage, (b) some of the WMP-area languages exhibit more of the same features found in at least some of the CMP-area languages than do others, and (c) many of the traits ascribed to the CMP- or CEMP-area languages can be found in more conservative WMP-area or Formosan languages as well” (Donohue and Grimes 2008:114). They even go on to suggest that further research over time may yield a structure like that in Figure 1.2, combining their data with Ross (1995)’s suggestion that there is no single Proto Western Malayo-Polynesian node (see (1) again).

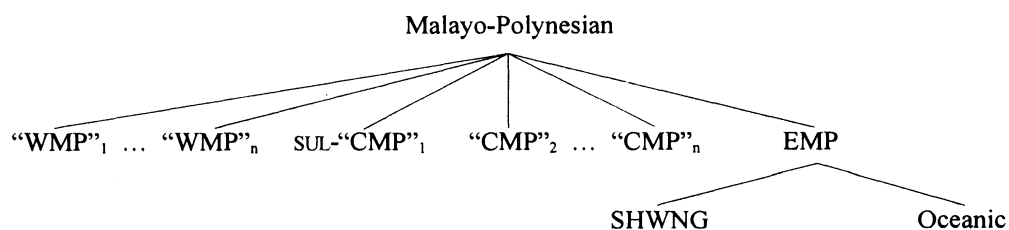


Figure 1.2: Possible Austronesian subgrouping

Reacting to the findings of Donohue and Grimes (2008), Klamer and Ewing (2011) state that any further discussion of the status of CMP or CEMP may be unproductive until more detailed bottom-up subgroupings have been proposed, using the detailed materials on the (putative) CMP and EMP-languages that have become available in recent years and will be available in the future.

1.1.3 Surrounding languages and sociolinguistic situations

The Lamaholot-speaking region is sandwiched between Austronesian languages to the west and non-Austronesian languages to the east. To the west, Lamaholot is spoken adjacent to Sikka. To the east, it is in contact with Alorese (Klamer 2011), Kedang (Samely 1991), Larantuka Malay (Paauw 2009), and non-Austronesian languages. Among them, Larantuka Malay is a Western Malayo-Polynesian language, while Sikka, Alorese and Kedang are Central Malayo-Polynesian and are considered as forming a single genetically-defined language group, **Flores-Lembata**, with Lamaholot (Lewis 2009; Doyle 2010). Non-Austronesian languages of this region, also known as **Papuan languages**, include Abui (Kratochvíl 2007), Adang (Haan 2001), Klon (Baird 2008), and Teiwa (Klamer 2010). See Stokhof (1975) for general discussion of Papuan languages of the region.

Interestingly, the Flores-Lembata group does not belong to the **Bima-Sumba** subgroup of Central Malayo-Polynesian which all other languages in Flores (e.g., Manggarai and Keo) do except for Sikka. But rather Lamaholot is in the **Timor** subgroup of Central Malayo-Polynesian with the languages of Timor and Roti, such as Tetun, Helong, Waima'a, and Rinngou (Wurm and Hattori 1983; Lewis 2009; cf. Fernandes 1996). In other words, Lamaholot forms a geographically defined group with the languages of Central and Western Flores, but is not strongly genetically close to them.

The fact that Lamaholot is spoken in contact with Papuan languages is also of great importance. It is known that speakers of Papuan (or non-Austronesian) languages had

been in this region when ancestors of Austronesian speaking people first arrived, as intensively discussed in Arka (2007) Donohue and Grimes (2008), Klamer and Ewing (2010), and Donohue (to appear), among others. Papuan languages are considered to have had a great influence on Austronesian languages in this region ranging from phonology to syntax. For example, Lamaholot words like *muko* ‘banana’ have their origin in Papuan languages (cf. Donohue to appear). Some argue that CMP languages’ morphosyntactic features like verb serialization and preposed possessor (Section 1.4.5; Klamer 2002, 2009, 2011, in press) are the consequence of the long lasting contact with Papuan languages; others suggest that languages in Flores are sort of creole languages due to the intense contact between Austronesian and non-Austronesian populations on this island (McWhorter 2007).

1.1.4 Lamaholot dialect chain

The Lamaholot language is not a single unified homogeneous language in any sense, as is also the case with other Indonesian languages in the Lesser Sunda Islands. As Bowden (2008:247) puts it, “[a]lthough Lamaholot is usually referred to as a single language, it is better thought of as a dialect chain with substantial enough differences between some of the dialects as to make them mutually incomprehensible.”

On the basis of lexico-statistic evidence, Keraf (1978) argues that there are 33 dialects in Lamaholot. In contrast, Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) has a slightly different way of grouping these dialects. It splits the Lamaholot language in Keraf’s definition into several distinct languages: Lewotobi, Lamaholot, Adonara, West Lembata, Lavuka, Lamalera, Ie Ape, South Lembata, Lamatuka, Lewo Eleng, and Kedang. See Maps 2 and 3.

Following Keraf (1978), in this study, Lamaholot is considered as a chain of different dialects rather than composed of different languages. There are two major reasons for this. First, according to the reconstruction of pre-Lamaholot by Doyle (2010),

all the Lamaholot dialects can be assumed to be the descendants of a single proto language. Second, speakers of these languages as well as other Flores residents believe that different dialects of the same language are spoken from eastern Flores to Adonara. For the same reasons, we consider Lewotobi as one of the dialects of Lamaholot rather than a separate language (Section 1.2.4).

1.1.5 Alternative names

Lamaholot is also known as *Solorese*, *Lewotobi*, *Koda Kiwan*, or *Koda Tite*. *Koda Kiwan*, pronounced [koda kivã] in the Lewotobi dialect, means ‘the language of Forest’ as opposed to Malay, the language of settlers along the coast.

In the Nurri village, where the fieldwork for this study was carried out, people call their own language Lamaholot, *Koda Kiwan* (or simply *Kiwan*), or *Koda Tite* ‘our (inclusive) language’. They do not refer to their language as Solorese or Lewotobi, which shows that this language variety is perceived as part of the larger Lamaholot dialect chain.

1.1.6 Previous studies on Lamaholot

The dialects that have been studied with at least some detail include the Solor dialect (Arndt 1937), the Lamalera dialect (Keraf 1978), the Lewolema dialect (Pampus 1999, 2001), the Lewoingu dialect (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007), and the Adonara dialect (Grangé 2009). See Map 2.

Concerning the internal relationships among Lamaholot dialects, Keraf (1978) provides a language tree by calculating lexicostatistic percentages based on Swadesh 200-word lists across dialects, although it mainly discusses the morphosyntax of the Lamalera dialect. Doyle (2010) is a comparative study of the historical relationships between Lamaholot dialects and other languages in the Flores-Lembata subgroup.

Klamer (2011, in preparation) explores morphosyntactic similarities and differences between Lamaholot and its closest relative, Alorese.

The Lamaholot language and its speakers have received some attention from researchers working in other disciplines, too. Vatter (1932), Barnes (1996, 2000) and Kohl (1989) are anthropological studies of Lamaholot people. See Rapaport (2009) and reference therein for descriptions of the traditional music in this region.

To conclude, although most languages of eastern Indonesia are underdescribed (Klamer and Ewing 2010), Lamaholot is perhaps “the most thoroughly documented of all the CMP languages” (Bowden and Ross 2003:143).

1.2 The Lewotobi dialect

This study focuses on the Lewotobi dialect of Lamaholot, which is the most westerly dialect of the Lamaholot dialect chain and is spoken by approximately 6,000 speakers in Kecamatan Ile Bura. Despite the relatively rich literature of Lamaholot, no work has focused on this dialect of Lamaholot so far. A short list of Swadesh 200 words is available in Keraf (1978), but there is no substantial work beyond that, and grammatical details remain to be described.

This section offers a description of geographical environments and socio-economic situations of Lewotobi Lamaholot and its speakers. Sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 discuss the location, ecology, economy and culture of Lewotobi Lamaholot. In Section 1.2.3, we present an estimated number of speakers of this dialect and examine the degree of endangerment. Lastly, Section 1.2.4 make some notes on the reason why we assume that Lewotobi Lamaholot is one of the dialects of Lamaholot rather than a single language.

1.2.1 Location and ecology

Lewotobi Lamaholot is spoken in Kecamatan Ile Bura and Kecamatan Wulunggitang of Kabupaten Flores Timur. Geographically, this region is located around

Mt. Lewotobi, which is an active twin volcano composed of Lewotobi Laki-laki and Lewotobi Perempuan. The word *lewotobi* literally means *lewo tobi* ‘the village of tamarind trees’ in Lamaholot, where *lewo* means ‘village’ and *tobi*, ‘tamarind tree’.

Lewotobi is also the name of the capital city (a.k.a. *ibu kota* ‘mother city’) of Kecamatan Ile Bura. *Wulunggitang* means ‘crescent moon’. The kecamatan is so named, as it is located in the most westerly position of Kabupaten Flores Timur: the crescent moon shines in the western sky. On the other hand, *ile bura* means ‘exploding mountain’ in Lamaholot, which metaphorically refers to Mt. Lewotobi.

People speaking this dialect perceive Kecamatan Ile Bura and Kecamatan Wulunggitang as a single region called *keliling lewotobi* ‘around Mt Lewotobi’. Indeed, the two kecamatans were once a single kecamatan and only recently they got their own political autonomy. The *keliling Lewotobi* roughly corresponds to the Lewotobi Lamaholot speaking area.

As can be seen in Figure 1.3, most villages in the *keliling Lewotobi* area are somewhere between Mt Lewotobi and Solor Sea. This ecological environment has a huge impact on the spatial reference systems of Lewotobi Lamaholot. To be more precise, it allows Lewotobi Lamaholot speakers to refer to space in terms of directionals, a set of geographically-defined spatial terms such as *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’ and *lau* ‘the direction of the sea’ (Chapters 6 and 13).

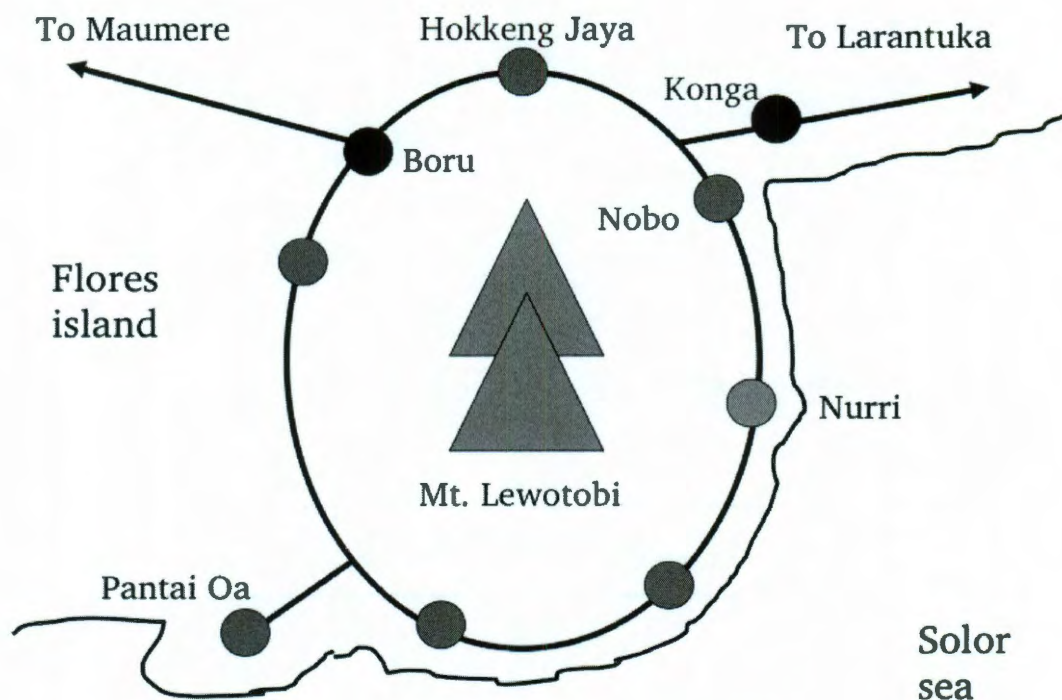


Figure 1.3: The *keliling Lewotobi* area

1.2.2 Economy and culture

Approximately 1,000 people live in Desa Nurri, where the fieldwork for this study was carried out. Most of the Nurri villagers are engaged in farming or fishing for living. As mentioned in Section 1.2.1, the Lewotobi Lamaholot speaking regions are sandwiched by Mt Lewotobi and Solor Sea. According to villagers, the soil of this region is too dry because of the volcano and it is difficult to produce decent rice and vegetables in this village.

Most of Lewotobi Lamaholot speakers are Catholic like speakers of other Lamaholot dialects, but also believe in their traditional religion. There is also a complicated clan system, on which kinship terms are defined. The clan system also imposes some constraints on a marriage between villagers (Arndt 1937, Barnes 1996, Kohl 1989). See Section 4.2.3 for kinship terms in this language.

1.2.3 Number of speakers and degree of endangerment

The number of speakers of this dialect is estimated to be approximately 6,000, as 6,318 people live in Kecamatan Ile Bura according to local authorities. As is often the case with other languages in Indonesia, almost all speakers are bilingual with Indonesian as the second language. Especially younger generations tend to shift their primary language to Indonesian, which is used at school and church and is thus more associated with prestige and economic benefits. Taking this situation into consideration, Lewotobi Lamaholot will risk extinction soon, if not now.

Treating the Lewotobi dialect as a separate language *Lewotobi*, the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) estimates that the number of its speakers is 289,000, which is highly questionable in the light of the number of residents of the area, which is only 6,318.

In everyday life, the locals communicate in Lamaholot, but they speak (a variety of) Bahasa Indonesia as well in school and church, or when they need to talk to outsiders. Switching between Lamaholot and Bahasa Indonesia in a single conversation is quite common and there are a lot of borrowings from Bahasa Indonesia to Lamaholot; in particular, words and phrases concerning Christianity are borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia. Some of them are fluent in Larantuka Malay, Sikka, and Hewan, too, which are spoken in regions surrounding the village.

1.2.4 Lewotobi language or Lewotobi dialect?

The current study focuses on the Lewotobi dialect of the Lamaholot language in Keraf (1978)'s sense. However, in Grimes et al. (1997) and Lewis (2009), the Lewotobi dialect is distinguished from Lamaholot and treated as a separate language named "the Lewotobi language."

As discussed in Section 1.1.4, in this study, Lamaholot is considered as a chain of various dialects and Lewotobi as one of them, rejecting the position taken in the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009). This is mainly because speakers of this language, including

our consultants, call their language *Lamaholot*. Speakers of Lewotobi Lamaholot also insist Lewotobi Lamaholot and other Lamaholot dialects are mutually intelligible: they can understand other dialects of Lamaholot, for example, the one in Adonara Island, and that people in Adonara can also understand Lewotobi Lamaholot.

There is also some linguistic evidence that Lamaholot dialects are descendants of a single Pre-Lamaholot. This is clear in Keraf (1978)'s family tree of Lamaholot dialects based on the lexical statistic analysis of the Lamaholot lexicon across dialects. This is also supported by Doyle's (2010) attempt to reconstruct Proto Flores Lembata. In contrast, there is no linguistic evidence offered in Grimes et al. (1997) and Lewis (2009) in support of the treatment of Lewotobi as a single language. Through personal communications, the present author contacted the authors of the above-mentioned references, hoping to know their evidence, but no substantial piece of evidence was provided. In Section 2.5.2, we propose several sound changes that may possibly distinguish Lewotobi Lamaholot from other dialects of Lamaholot. But it remains to be seen how these sound changes can argue for treating Lewotobi as a separate language.

Henceforth, the word Lamaholot simply refers to the Lewotobi dialect of the Lamaholot language, and it is not meant that the descriptions and accounts to follow are applicable to other dialects.

1.3 Lamaholot: its characteristics and problems

This section offers a bird's eye view of the basic grammatical characteristics of Lamaholot. It is also intended to address how important investigating the grammar of this language is to both general linguistics and Austronesian linguistics. The issues that we raise in this chapter will be explored later through this study.

Attention is also drawn to the importance of linguistic inquiry into Austronesian languages. In the history of modern linguistics, the Austronesian language family has been challenging the postulated language universals and raising questions regarding the

theoretical constructs that were established only based on the analysis of more familiar languages, such as Eastern Asia and European languages. Here, we review some of such issues briefly and discuss how relevant these issues are to our investigation into Lamaholot.

This section is organized as follows. The following sections examine the typological characteristics of Lamaholot in history (Section 1.4.1), phonology (Section 1.4.2), morphology (Section 1.4.3), and syntax and semantics (Section 1.4.4).

1.3.1 History

The Austronesian language family is composed of more than 1,200 languages all over the world and is one of the largest language families on the earth. Although the history of its expansion and development is relatively well studied and understood (Section 1.1.2), there are a lot of understudied Austronesian languages that can contribute to a better understanding of the entire family. Also, many of Austronesian languages with a small population of speakers risk endangerment. For these reasons, describing and documenting Austronesian languages is of great importance in linguistics.

Lamaholot belongs to the Timor subgroup of Central Malayo-Polynesian and is spoken in the eastern tip of Flores Island and neighboring islands of eastern Indonesia. This genetic and geographic position of this language makes Lamaholot one of the interesting cases for examining the history of languages of this region with regards to three points. First, Lamaholot provides additional resource for (dis)proving the existence of the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, proposed by Blust (1993). As discussed in Section 1.1.2, the validity of this subgroup remains highly controversial and it is necessary to collect more and more data from languages of eastern Indonesia in order to examine this hypothesis. For this reason, any revealing facts about Lamaholot will become important to know more about the genetic relationships among these languages.

Second, looking at Lamaholot allows us to understand how Austronesian languages were influenced by Papuan (i.e., non-Austronesian) ones in eastern Indonesia. Lamaholot is sandwiched by Austronesian languages to the west and Papuan ones to the east. The long lasting (and partially on-going) language contact between the two languages groups should have influenced the grammar of Lamaholot in one form or another (Klamer 2011, in preparation). By comparing Lamaholot with Papuan languages of the region, we can see what linguistic features were affected and how.

Lastly, Lamaholot data might have implications for the relationship between genetic and geographic features in the development of languages, because this language is in the Timor subgroup but spoken in Flores (Section 1.1.3). On the one hand, Lamaholot is spoken in Flores Island, where most of languages belong to the Bima-Sumba subgroup of Central Malayo-Polynesian. On the other hand, it is in the Timor subgroup, which is mainly spoken in Timor Island and neighboring islands. If Lamaholot has more Bima-Sumba features than Timor ones, we can safely say that it has obtained geographic features, rejecting genetic features; if Lamaholot displays more Timor features than Bima-Sumba ones, it can be concluded that this language still retains the linguistic features inherited from its ancestral language(s).

To conclude, Lamaholot can be an interesting playground for historical linguists. Unfortunately, this dissertation, which focuses on the morphosyntax of Lamaholot, cannot directly address those issues. But for sure the data to be revealed through this study will help the present author and other colleagues with solving the above-mentioned issues in the future.

1.3.2 Phonology

Lamaholot has 27 native phonemes, namely, 16 consonants and 11 consonants. There are several typologically interesting characteristics in the phonological system of this language. First, the Lewotobi dialect of Lamaholot has contrastive vowel

nasalization, which is highly rare across Austronesian languages (Blust 2009a). Second, /t/ is realized as a dental stop, while its voiced counterpart /d/ appears as an alveolar stop. This contrast is well attested across western Austronesian languages (Blust 1990; Donohue 2009).

Third, Lamaholot displays a strong preference for open syllables. The phonotactics of this language does not allow any word-internal or word-final codas except for the glottal stop, which can appear as a word-final coda. Although open syllables are widely preferred in languages of eastern Indonesia (Klamer 2002), the strong preference that Lamaholot displays is an exceptional one.

Lastly, this language does not have a tone system or prenasalized stops, although they are found in some languages of eastern Indonesia (Klamer 2002). It only partially displays nasal substitution and reduplication, which are often considered as characteristic of Austronesian languages of the Philippines and Indonesia (Himmelman 2005a).

In a nutshell, Lamaholot does not show some of the phonological features that Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia are expected to display.

1.3.3 Morphology

A large number of western Austronesian languages have a moderate inventory of affixes, mostly prefixes and a few suffixes. Languages in the northwest (Taiwan, Philippines and northern Borneo and Sulawesi) display productive infixation, too (Himmelman 2005a). Oceanic languages are agglutinative languages to some extent; some morphology is reconstructed for Proto Oceanic (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002: Chapter 4).

Languages in the Flores-Timor region are known as major exceptions to this generalization, as a number of (nearly) isolating languages occur in this region. For example, Baird (2002: Chapter 6) concludes that there is no inflectional or derivational

affixation in Keo of central Flores. See also Arka (2007), Donohue (2007a) and McWhorter (2007).

As discussed in Chapter 3, this generalization is also true of Lamaholot. It is a nearly isolating language: almost all lexical roots can appear as free words. Nonetheless, there are two interesting morphological features in this language: agreement (Section 1.3.3.1) and nominalization (Section 1.3.3.2).

The morphology of Lamaholot can also be characterized by the absence of precategorial roots (Section 1.3.3.3). Almost all lexical words can be used as free words, and all lexical roots can be classified into any one of parts of speech.

1.3.3.1 Agreement morphology

There are two types of verb agreement morphology in Lamaholot, namely, S-agreement enclitics and S/A-agreement prefixes. The former is a set of enclitics that agree with an intransitive subject (S) of verb predicate constructions. They are not just agreement markers but also obtain verbalization and some voice and valence-related functions. The latter is a group of prefixes that are obligatorily used with some verbs and mark on them the person and number of either an intransitive or transitive subject (S or A). These prefixes play an important role in identifying grammatical relations (Chapter 9) and distinguishing different degrees of the strength of clause linkage in complex sentences (Chapter 7) and verb serialization (Chapter 12). See Chapter 7 for agreement phenomena of this language in general.

1.3.3.2 Nominalization

Lamaholot has different kinds of nominalizers for different parts of speech. Nominalization is used to derive a nominal element from a non-nominal or another nominal element with different functions such as reference, modification, possession, and so on. See (2) for a list of nominalization-related morphology.

- (2) Nominalization related morphology in Lamaholot:
- a. Possessive/nominalization suffix *-N* (Section 3.5):
 - (i) Marking inalienable possession on nouns (Possessor = 3SG)
 - (ii) Nominalizing Class I adjectival verbs (and rarely verbs)
 - b. Possessive/nominalization enclitic *=kã* (Section 3.5):
 - (i) Marking alienable possession on nouns (Possessor = 3SG)
 - (ii) Nominalizing Class II adjectival verbs (and rarely verbs)
 - (iii) Marking exclusiveness/definiteness on nouns
 - (iv) Marking exclamation on adjectival nouns and Class I adjectival verbs
 - c. Deictic nominalization suffix *-ẽʔ* (Section 3.6):
 - (i) Nominalizing pronouns (e.g., *go* 'I' → *goʔẽ* 'my, mine')
 - (ii) Nominalizing demonstratives (e.g., *te* 'here' → *teʔẽ* 'this')
 - (iii) Nominalizing directionals (e.g., *lau* 'direction of the sea'
→ *lãũʔ* 'the one located in the direction of the sea')
 - d. Indonesian *yang*:
 - (i) Nominalizing verbs

Note that the native nominalization-related morphology (i.e., those in (2) except for *yang*) shows the syncretism of possessive marking and nominalization. This is because these morphemes were once possessive markers for third person singular and came to marking nominalization as a result of grammaticalization in the same way the Indonesian *nya* was grammaticalized. Syntactically speaking, those words marked by these morphemes can work either as noun modifiers or as referential expressions.

1.3.3.3 Absence of precatatorial roots

Austronesian languages of the Philippines and Indonesia are often said to have **precategorial roots**. The term **precategorial** has been used in several different ways (Himmelmann 2005a:126, for example). In one sense, precategorial roots refer to those bound roots, i.e., “lexical bases which do not occur without further affixation or outside a compound in any syntactic function and from which items belonging to different morphological or syntactic categories (nouns and verbs, for example) can be derived, without there being clear evidence that one of the possible derivations from a given root is more basic than the other one(s)” (Himmelmann 2005a:129; cf. Verhaar 1984:2). It is known that a lot of Malayic varieties have precategorial roots in this sense (Adelaar 1992: 145f). In Taba, an eastern Indonesian language, there are a number of examples of precategorial roots (Bowden 2001:113ff).

This is not true of Lamaholot, however. When the observation that Lamaholot has few morphological formatives (see above) is combined with the analysis that lexical roots can be divided into any one of parts of speech (Sections 1.3.4.2 and 3.1 and Chapter 4), the conclusion to follow is that Lamaholot lexicon does not contain precategorial roots. This conclusion is in contrast with the morphological features we can find in Philippine and Indonesian languages.

1.3.4 Syntax and semantics

There are nine syntactic and semantic features to be noted in this section: word order typology (Section 1.3.4.1), parts of speech (Section 1.3.4.2), voice and grammatical relations (Section 1.3.4.3), verb serialization (Section 1.3.4.4), alienable and inalienable possession (Section 1.3.4.5), directionals (1.3.4.6), verb-framed vs. satellite-framed languages (Section 1.3.4.7), frames of reference for spatial reference (Section 1.3.4.8), and grammaticalization (Section 1.3.4.9).

1.3.4.1 Word order typology

In terms of word order typology, Lamaholot is an **SVO** language with consistent **VO word order correlates**. The clause structure of verb-predicate constructions is quite simple and straightforward. The basic word order for transitive clauses is SVO. See (3)

(3) **SVO word order:**

Hugo bəŋo Besa.

Hugo hit Besa

‘Hugo hit Besa.’

Lamaholot is a **prepositional language**. Non-argument participants of a clause are always followed by one of the words with a prepositional use, such as the locative, demonstratives, and directionals. Look at (4), where a locative participant is introduced by the locative *ia*.

(4) **Prepositional language:**

Hugo bəŋo Besa ia laŋoʔ.

Hugo hit Besa LOC house

‘Hugo hit Besa in the house.’

Contrary to what is expected from Lamaholot’s VO word order correlates, elements related to mood and aspect appear in clause-final, not clause-medial, positions. This unexpected word order feature is ascribed by Klamer (2002) to one of the typical features of eastern Indonesian languages and the result of their language contact with Papuan languages which display OV word order correlates. Consider (5) and (6).

(5) **Negator:**

Hugo bəŋo Besa həla?

Hugo hit Besa NEG

‘Hugo didn’t hit Besa.’

(6) **Perfective marker:**

Hugo bəŋo Besa kae?

Hugo hit Besa PFV

‘Hugo has already hit Besa.’

The structure of noun phrases is simple. Property words (“adjectives”), numerals, and relative clauses appear in a post-nominal position. Consider examples in (7) through (9).

(7) **Noun + Adjective:**

laŋo? belā?

house big.NMZ

‘a big house.’

(8) **Noun + Numeral:**

laŋo? rua

house two

‘two houses’

(9) **Noun + Relative clause:**

laŋo? yang = go kriā

house NMZ = 1SG work

‘the house on which I worked (i.e. ‘the house I built)’

Importantly, in an attributive possessive construction, a non-pronominal possessor appears in the pre-nominal position. See (10).

(10) **Possessor + Possessum:**

Hugo larjo? = *kā*

Hugo house =NMZ

‘Hugo’s house’

The fact that the possessor appears in a pre-nominal position has a significant meaning in typologies of Austronesian languages in Indonesia. As early as the 19th century, Brandes (1884) noted a division between the Austronesian languages in the east of the Indonesian archipelago and those in the west, based on the ordering of possessor and possessum in nominal possession. This division was also noted by other scholars in the past, including van Hoëvell (1877), who noted the feature for central Moluccan languages, and Capell (1944), who talks of the “reversed genitive” construction in Timor (Musgrave 2008).

1.3.4.2 Parts of speech

Austronesian languages have been problematic to a theory of **parts of speech**; in particular, the data in these languages have been casting doubt on the universality of noun-verb distinction, which is often cited as one of the few attested cases of language universals (Schachter 1985). It has been claimed in one form or another that there is no part of speech distinction between noun and verb and that a syntactic category of a word is identifiable only from the syntactic environment in which the word occurs and that there is no formal distinction of major categories (Foley 1998, among others). This nature of Austronesian parts of speech is sometimes termed as **precategory** (see Section 1.3.3.4 for another sense of this term). For instance, in Tagalog, a Western Malayo-

Polynesian language of Central Luzon, words for ‘action’ can be used either as predicates or as referential expressions without any additional morphological modification. To illustrate, consider how the action word *tumatakbo* ‘(the one who) is running’ is used in (11) and (12).

(11) *T<um>a~takbo* *ang= lalaki.*

AF:IPFV:run NOM= man

‘The man is running.’

(12) *Lalaki ang= t<um>a~takbo.*

man NOM= AF:IPFV:run

‘The one who is running is a man.’

The word *tumatakbo* is used as a predicate, meaning ‘is running’, in (11). We can tell this by the fact that it occupies the clause-initial position. However, it appears as a referential expression standing for the person who is running in (12). In this example, instead of appearing in the clause-initial position, it occurs in a non-clause-initial position and is marked by the marker *ang*. Thus, this word for the action of running is neutral to the predicative and the referential functions and such a functional difference is only indicated by the particular syntactic environment in which the word *tumatakbo* is used. Indeed, this neutrality is also the case with words for things, because the word for a thing *lalaki* ‘man’ serves as a referential expression in (11) and as a predicate in (12).

As the examples above show, in Tagalog, the word-level distinction between ‘action’ and ‘thing’ has nothing to do with the clause-level functional contrast between reference and predication. The predication-reference contrast is made only in terms of the syntactic contexts where a word appears, not by parts of speech. For this reason, it is said that there is no morphosyntactic ground for motivating the noun-verb distinction here, and Tagalog lacks the distinction between nouns and verbs (Gil 2001).

In contrast, Lamaholot has a clear distinction between nouns and verbs (Chapter 4). Words for actions can be employed only as predicates; they need to be nominalized when used as referential expressions. Compare (13) and (14).

- (13) *gblakī* *plaʔe*.
 man run
 ‘The man is running/ran.’
- (14) *mo* *majã* *yang = plaʔe*.
 2SG call NMZ= run
 ‘(You) call the one who is running!’

In (13), the action word *plaʔe* ‘run’ serves as a predicate. When it is used as a referential expression, referring to the one who is running, it is necessary to use the particle *yang* to nominalize it, as in (14).

The second issue of theoretical interest in Austronesian parts of speech is the validity of positing an adjective category. It has long been controversial if one can posit an adjective category separately from nouns and verbs in these languages. Himmelmann (2005a:128) observes that “[i]t would appear that in most western Austronesian languages putative adjectives have the same kind of syntactic distribution as intransitive (particularly stative) verbs”. For example, in Kambara, a Central Malayo-Polynesian language spoken in the eastern region of the island of Sumba, “there are no structural arguments to distinguish a separate lexical category of adjectives” (Klamer 2005: 713); “Kaimbera adjectival notions are expressed by stative intransitive verbs” (*ibid.*). The same conclusion was drawn by Bowden (2001: 103ff) with regard to adjectives in Taba. He concluded that Taba lexical roots expressing property concepts are a subtype of verbs rather than ‘adjectives’.

What is interesting about Lamaholot property words is that property words are split into either nominal or verbal categories: **adjectival nouns** and **adjectival verbs** (Chapter 4). On the one hand, adjectival nouns can be used for both reference and predication without overt morphological modification. Compare (15) and (16).

(15) *laŋoʔ goʔẽ okĩ kaeʔ.*
 house 1SG.NMZ old PFV
 ‘My house is already old.’

(16) *go hope okĩ.*
 1SG buy old
 ‘I bought an old one.’

On the other hand, adjectival verbs need to be nominalized so as to appear as modifiers and predicates. See (17) and (18).

(17) *laŋoʔ goʔẽ belãʔ.*
 laŋoʔ goʔẽ beləʔ -N
 house 1SG.NMZ big -NMZ
 ‘My house is already big.’

(18) *go hope belãʔ.*
 go hope beləʔ -N
 1SG buy big -NMZ
 ‘I bought a big one.’

In Chapter 4, we look into parts of speech in Lamaholot in greater detail and address the following questions. What kinds of parts of speech can be posited in Lamaholot? How can we distinguish nouns and verbs? Do adjectives form a single category?

1.3.4.3 Voice and grammatical relations

Austronesian languages of Taiwan, Philippines, and western Indonesia are famous for their complex voice/valence-marking verbal morphology, often referred to as the **focus system**. In this system, a given participant is singled out as primary focal participant and receives special marking in two ways. For example, in the case of Tagalog, such a focal participant is marked by the topic marker *ang* if it is a lexical noun or is realized in the nominative case if it is a pronoun; in contrast, a verb of which the focal participant is predicated takes different verbal markings depending on its semantic role. To illustrate, consider examples in Tagalog below.

(19) Tagalog (Nagaya 2009e:160):

a. Actor Focus (Antipassive)

K <um > ain = *ako* *nang = mansanas.*

eat<AF> =1SG.NOM GEN= apple

'I ate an apple/apples.'

b. Patient Focus (Active):

K <in > ain-∅ = *ko* *ang = mansanas.*

eat<RL>-PF =1SG.GEN NOM= apple

'I ate the apple.'

c. Locative Focus (Locative applicative):

K <in > ain-an = *ko* *ang = pinggan* *ni = John Rey.*

eat<RL>-LF =1SG.GEN NOM= plate P.GEN=J.R.

'I ate off of John Rey's plate.'

d. Circumstantial Focus (Benefactive applicative):

I-k <in > ain = *ko* *si = Fiona.*

CF-eat<RL> =1SG.GEN P.NOM= Fiona

'I ate for Fiona (because she could not eat for some reason).'

These so-called Philippine-type voice systems have raised two questions of theoretical interest. First, how can we characterize this verbal morphology in terms of the existing typologies of voice phenomena? Active? Passive? Antipassive? Does this even constitute a voice system for the first place? Second, how should we analyze the grammatical relation of the primary focal participant in these examples? Subject? Topic? Absolutive? Or what else? See Schachter (1976, 1977), Payne (1982), De Guzman (1988), Shibatani (1988, 1991), Kroeger (1993), Foley (1998, 2008), Ross (2002), Himmelmann (2002, 2005a, b), Nolasco (2003, 2006), Liao (2004) and Nagaya (2009) among others.

In contrast, Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia, including Lamaholot, do not retain the voice morphology that their ancestors entertained. As a result, these languages are believed to have no voice alternation or asymmetric one if any (Himmelmann 2005a). It is in this context that the Lamaholot voice system comes into play. In Lamaholot, there are two constructions for transitive clauses differentiated by word order: the subject-topic and the object-topic construction. To illustrate, look at a subject-topic construction in (20) and an object-topic construction in (21).

(20) **Subject-Topic construction:**

go kã muko.
 1sg eat.1sg banana
 'I ate a/the banana.'

(21) **Object-Topic construction:**

muko go kã.
 banana 1sg eat.1sg
 'As for a/the banana, I ate (it).'

The subject-topic construction (20) is an unmarked construction with an SVO word order, while the object-topic construction (21) is a pragmatically marked construction with an OSV word order.

The constructional contrast between the subject-topic and the object topic constructions in Lamaholot looks different from that between different types of focus constructions in Tagalog, because focus morphology is not observed in the former but in the latter. In Chapter 9, however, we will see that both constructional contrasts can be analyzed as symmetrical and that the analysis of both requires distinguishing two different sets of grammatical relations: semantico-syntactic and pragmatico-syntactic grammatical relations (SUBJ, PRIMARY OBJECT, SECONDARY OBJECT, OBLIQUE vs. TOPIC).

1.3.4.4 Verb serialization

Verb serialization is one of the most important syntactic operations in Lamaholot (Chapter 12). A verb is serialized into another verb so as to add a periphrastic semantic role into the clause or to modify the aspectual or modal property of the proposition designated by the clause. On the one hand, verbs of some semantic types can be employed as sort of prepositions. Verbs in this function are called **verbal prepositions** in the literature of Oceanic linguistics (Pawley 1973; Durie 1988). Examples of such verb serialization are given in (22), (23), and (24).

(22) *pake* ‘use’ → ‘instrumental’:

Tanti gā =na? pake lima.

Tanti eat.3SG=3SG use hand

‘Tanti ate with hands.’

(23) *ø-ai* ‘go’ → ‘goal’:

mo m-ate kursi te?ē lau skola m-ai!

2SG 2SG-hold chair DEM.PROX.NMZ DIR.SEA school 2SG-go

‘You bring this chair to the school located in the direction of the sea.’

(24) *neĩ* ‘give’ → ‘beneficiary’:

go k-ahu wai? neĩ Lina.

1SG 1SG-get.water water give Lina

‘I got some water (from the well) for Lina.’

In (22), the verb *pake* ‘use’ is employed as sort of preposition to introduce an instrumental participant into the discourse. The resulting phrase serves as an adjunct of the clause. The serialized verb in (23) is *ø-ai* ‘go’, which exceptionally takes a preverbal object. For this reason, the deictic motion verb *ø-ai* ‘go’ forms a phrase with the

preverbally appearing locational phrase *lau skola* ‘the school located in the direction of the sea’, incorporating a goal participant into the discourse. Lastly, in (24), the ditransitive verb *neĩ* ‘give’ is used as a preposition introducing a beneficiary participant.

On the other hand, verbs can also be serialized to articulate the aspectual or modal nature of a main predicate. Consider the verb *həkə* ‘stop’ in (25) and (26).

(25) *Hugo həkə oto.*

Hugo stop car

‘Hugo stopped a car.’

(26) *Hugo gā həkə.*

Hugo eat.3SGstop

‘Hugo stopped eating.’

In (25), the verb *həkə* ‘stop’ is used as a main verb to mean Hugo stopped the car from moving. In (26), in contrast, the same verb appears in a non-predicate position to mark the action designated by the main verb as an abandoned event.

Another example is given in (27), where the verb *ø-warō* ‘be capable of’ is serialized to add a modal meaning to the sentence.

(27) *go naŋe k-warō.*

1SG swim 1SG-can

‘I can swim.’

In (27), the verb *ø-warō* ‘be capable of’ appears in an adjunct position to elaborate the modal property of the event described by the main verb *naŋe* ‘swim’. This verb is rarely used as a main verb.

1.3.4.5 Alienable and inalienable possession

Inalienable possession refers to the possessive relationship where a possessum is inherent part of, or necessarily possessed by, its possessor, **alienable possession** designating a non-inalienable one. This semantic contrast plays an important role in Austronesian languages. For example, in Tagalog, possessor relativization and possessor raising are only allowed for inalienably possessed nouns (Cena 1977; Kroeger 1993), although this distinction itself is not overtly coded.

Lamaholot shows a formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possessions. Different constructions with different possessive markers are used for different types of possession. To illustrate, consider (28) and (29).

- (28) *Ika lei*
Ika lei -N
 Ika foot -NMZ
 ‘Ika’s foot’
- (29) *Ika doi =kã*
 Ika money =NMZ
 ‘Ika’s money’

In (28), the possessor *Ika* appears before the possessum *lei* ‘foot’ (Section 1.3.4.1). The possessive relation between the two is an inalienable one, because the foot is an integral body part of human beings. This semantic relation is marked on the possessum noun by the possessive/nominalization suffix *-N*. In (29), in contrast, the semantic relation between the possessor *Ika* and the possessum *doi* ‘money’ is an alienable one. Now this possessive construction is indicated by the possessive/nominalization enclitic *=kã* rather than *-N*.

1.3.4.6 Directionals

Austronesian languages are known for spatial terms that make reference to objects and places relative to geographical landmarks such as the mountain and the sea (e.g., see Senft 1997 and references therein).

Lamaholot is no exception to this feature. It has five geocentric spatial terms: *rae* ‘the direction of a mountain’, *lau* ‘the direction of the sea’, *wəli* ‘the direction parallel with the coast’, *tei* ‘the direction of the sky’, and *lali* ‘the direction of the sea’. What is interesting about the geocentric spatial terms in Lamaholot is that they show a higher degree of grammaticalization. They form a single closed class with special syntax and semantics. On the syntactic pole, the geocentric spatial terms in Lamaholot are not locational nouns any longer but work as either adverbs or prepositions. Consider (30) and (31).

(30) **Locative adverb use:**

Ika tei lau.

Ika live DIR.SEA

‘Ika lives in the direction of the sea.’

(31) **Prepositional use:**

Ika tei lau laŋo?

Ika live DIR.SEA house

‘Ika lives in the direction of the sea, specifically the house.’

On the semantic pole, the concrete meanings of these geocentric terms were bleached out: they do not refer to concrete geographic landmarks such as a mountain but only designate an abstract direction that can be defined relative to such landmarks. On top of that, they constitute a coordinate system of the absolute type for spatial reference

(see Levinson 1996, 2003; Levinson and Wilkins 2006 for frames of reference for space).

Consider (32).

- (32) *Ika tobo lau kajo? teti papa hau.*
 Ika sit DIR.SEA tree DIR.UP side come

‘Ika is standing to north of the tree located in the direction of the sea.’

(lit. ‘Ika is standing in the upper side of the direction of the sea, specially, the tree.’)

For these syntactic and semantic reasons, we will call the Lamaholot geocentric spatial terms **directionals**. Chapter 6 presents a basic description and analysis of the form and function of these directionals, and then in Chapter 13, we examine them again from a perspective of the entire spatial semantics of Lamaholot.

1.3.4.7 Verb-framed vs. satellite-framed languages

Lamaholot is a **satellite-framed language** in terms of the typology of event integration (Talmy 1985, 1991, 2001). In motion event constructions, verbs of manner of motion occupy the main predicate position, verbs of path of motion being realized as non-main predicates, as in (33) and (34). See Chapters 12 and 13.

- (33) *bote bao lou wəli gua onə? dai.*
 bottle float exit DIR.COAST cave inside come

‘The bottle floated out of the cave.’

- (34) *go sepa bal tama wəli laŋo? onə? k-ai.*
 1SG kick ball enter DIR.COAST house inside 1SG-go

‘I kicked the ball into the house.’

1.3.4.8 Spatial frames of reference

Frames of reference for spatial reference are required for describing the position of an object in question (**Figure**) relative to another reference object (**Ground**) when Figure and Ground are separated from each other in space (Levinson 1996, 2003; Levinson and Wilkins 2006). Levinson (1996, 2003) distinguishes three different types of frames of reference across languages: **absolute**, **relative** and **intrinsic** frames of reference. See (35).

(35) Spatial frames of reference:

a. **Absolute frame of reference:**

The ball is east of the chair.

b. **Relative frame of reference:**

The ball is to the right of the chair.

c. **Intrinsic frame of reference:**

The ball is in front of the chair.

The frame of reference that takes the biggest place in Lamaholot is an absolute one. Directions (Section 1.3.4.6; Chapter 6), i.e., *rae*, *lau*, *teti*, and *lali*, form a coordinate system in the same way *north*, *south*, *east*, and *west* do so in English. Based on this absolute coordinate system, Lamaholot speakers can make a description of Figure relative to Ground. To illustrate, consider (36), where the directional *lau* ‘the direction of the sea’ indicates that Tanti (Figure) is located east of that house (Ground).

(36) Absolute frame of reference:

Tanti tobo pe: laŋo? lau papa dai.
 Tanti sit DEM.DIS house DIR.SEA side come
 ‘Tanti is sitting to east of that house.’

An intrinsic frame of reference is also available in Lamaholot. In (37), the locational noun *lolō* ‘top’ tells us that searching domain for the cloud (Figure) is projected from the mountain (Ground) to the direction of the top of the mountain.

(37) Intrinsic frame of reference:

kowa? pe: ile teti lolō hau.
 cloud DEM.DIS mountain DIR.UP top come
 ‘The cloud is over that mountain.’

Crucially, Lamaholot cannot appeal to a relative frame of reference. In other words, it is not possible to make spatial reference using terms such as ‘right’ and ‘left’ in this language. For instance, an expression like (38) is not allowed in this language.

(38) **Tanti tobo pe: laŋo? meki.*
 Tanti sit DEM.DIS house left(.hand)
 ‘Tanti is sitting to the left of that house.’

To summarize, Lamaholot can use absolute and intrinsic frames of references, but not a relative one. In Chapter 13, it is pointed out that this pattern of frames of reference seems rare in languages of the Philippines and Indonesia.

1.3.4.9 Grammaticalization

Yet another reason for the importance of Lamaholot is that it shows several interesting cases of **grammaticalization**, through which lexical items are developed into grammatical items (Hopper and Traugott 1993; Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer 1991; Heine and Kuteva 2002, 2007). There are two cases of grammaticalization from noun to adverb/preposition. For one thing, PMP nouns for geographical landmarks such as **daReq* ‘soil’ or ‘ground’ were grammaticalized into directionals, i.e., geocentric spatial adverbs/prepositions (Section 4.10). In addition, it appears that pre-Lamaholot demonstrative pronouns **pe* ‘that’ and **te* ‘this’ were grammaticalized into demonstrative adverbs and prepositions in the Lewotobi dialect of Lamaholot. These two cases of grammaticalization from noun to adverb/preposition are important especially because the fact of grammaticalization takes account of (i) their special status in parts of speech and (ii) the argument-adjunct ambiguity of the phrases headed by these elements.

1.4 Typological classification of Lamaholot

In this section, Lamaholot is situated in the existing typologies of Austronesian languages. To be more precise, it is examined in terms of the parameters pointed out by Himmelmann (2005) and Klamer (2002, 2009). This becomes informative when researchers of other eastern Indonesian languages compare their language(s) with Lamaholot. The purpose of this section is to review the Lamaholot features that are relevant to their typologies so as to make it easier to compare Lamaholot with other languages and also to give more introductory discussions of the Lamaholot morphosyntax.

The discussion of this section goes as follows: after introducing Himmelmann’s typology of western Austronesian languages in Section 1.4.1, we demonstrate that Lamaholot is a typical example of preposed possessor languages in Section 1.4.2. Lastly,

Section 1.4.3 shows some features of Lamaholot that may be due to the language contact with Papuan languages.

1.4.1 Symmetrical voice languages and preposed possessor languages

Reflecting their large number of languages, complex patterns of distribution, long-lasting contact with other languages presented in Section 1.3, Austronesian languages display a huge diversity in linguistic typology. Especially, western Austronesian languages, or non-Oceanic Austronesian languages, of which Lamaholot is a member, “are typologically much more variegated than the Oceanic languages (and many other language groups and families)” (Himmelman 2005a:111).

However, it is not impossible to make some generalizations. As introduced in Section 2.3.1, the western and the eastern Indonesian languages are distinguished on the basis of the ordering of possessor and possessum in nominal possession (Klamer 2002; Donohue 2007b; Musgrave 2008).

A more widely accepted typology of western Austronesian languages is proposed by Himmelman (2005a). In a 2005 paper, he proposes a typological distinction between symmetrical voice languages and preposed possessor languages for western Austronesian languages (see also Klamer 2002, Musgrave 2008). The defining characteristic of **symmetrical voice languages** is “the presence of at least two voice alternations marked on the verb, neither of which is clearly the basic form” (Himmelman 2005a:112). These languages include “the Austronesian languages of Taiwan, the Philippines, Malaysia, Madagascar, western Indonesia (with the exception of Acehnese and the Barrier Island languages) and the northern half of Sulawesi (Saluan (but not Banggai), Kaili-Pamona, Tomini-Tolitoli, Gorontalo-Mongondow, Minahasan, Sangiric)” (Himmelman 2005a:113).

To illustrate, Tagalog, a Western Malayo-Polynesian language of Luzon Island, shows a symmetrical voice alternation as in (39). The two voice constructions in (39) are

symmetrical with regard to voice morphology and transitivity. On the one hand, both constructions are morphologically marked: the verb in (39)a is with *mag-*, and the one in (39)b with *-an*. It is not appropriate to say that one voice construction is more basic than, or derived from, the other, as both of them are morphologically marked. As for syntactic transitivity, both voice constructions have two nominal arguments, although the pattern of case marking is reversed between the two constructions: nominative agent and genitive patient in (39)a but genitive agent and nominative patient in (39)b. The only semantic difference pertains to the fact that the patient *damit* ‘clothes’ has to be interpreted as indefinite or generic in (39)a but as definite in (39)b. These symmetrical properties will not be expected in voice systems of other languages, for example, in the active-passive distinction in English.

- (39) a. *Mag-la~laba* *ang= anak =ko* *nang= damit.*
 AF-ASP~wash NOM= son =1SG.GEN GEN= clothes
 ‘My son will wash clothes.’
- b. *La~labah-an* *nang= anak =ko* *ang= damit.*
 ASP~wash-LF GEN= son =1SG.GEN NOM= clothes
 ‘My son will wash the clothes.’

In **preposed possessor languages**, in contrast, a (non-pronominal) possessor precedes its possessum in a possessive construction. Himmelmann (2005) includes in this typological type the non-Oceanic Austronesian languages of Timor, the Moluccas and West Papua as well as the Pidgin-Derived Malay varieties. See an inalienable possessive construction from Buru of central Moluccas (Grimes 1991), for example, as in (40).

- (40) *fafu olo =n*
 pig head =3SG.POSS
 ‘pig’s head’

The distinction between symmetrical voice languages and preposed possessor languages is of typological importance and come in handy for at least two reasons. First, geographically speaking, symmetrical voice languages tend to be located in western Indonesia, while preposed possessor languages often find themselves in eastern Indonesia. Thus, this division gives a clue of great help to understand typological differences between eastern and western Indonesia.

Second, the two parameters, namely, preposed possessor and symmetrical voice alternation, are likely to correlate with other features. The two language types and their correlated features are summarized in Table 1.1, which is adopted from Himmelmann (2005:175).

Table 1.1: Symmetrical voice languages vs. Preposed possessor languages

	Symmetrical voice languages	Preposed possessor languages
Voice	Symmetrical voice alternations	No or asymmetrical voice alternations
Possessor	Postposed possessor	Preposed possessor
Inalienability	No alienable/inalienable distinction	Alienable/inalienable distinction
Clause type	Few or no differences between narrative and equational clauses	Clear-cut differences between narrative and equational clauses
Person-marking	Person marking only sporadically attested	Person marking prefixes or proclitics for S/A arguments

Numeral	Numerals/quantifiers precede head	Numerals/quantifiers follow head
Negation	Negators in pre-predicate position	Clause-final negators
Basic word order	V-initial or SVX	V-second or V-final

Interestingly, the two parameters tend to correlate negatively with each other in that languages with symmetrical voice alternations generally show postposed possessors and languages with preposed possessors either do not show any grammaticalized voice alternations at all or the voice alternations are clearly asymmetrical. Thus, this distinction is quite useful when one looks into languages in Indonesia.

Two notes are in order with regard to Himmelmann's typology. First, the distinction between symmetrical voice languages and preposed possessor languages is a typological distinction and should not be taken to involve any implication on their genetic affiliation or subgrouping.

Second, this typology allows **transitional languages**, namely, languages that are neither a preposed possessor language nor a symmetrical voice language. Such languages are found in the southern half of Sulawesi (e.g. Bugis, Makassar, Banggai, Mori Bawah, Muna, Tukang Besi), in northwest Sumatra (Barrier Island languages and Acehese), and in the Lesser Sunda islands (e.g. Keo, Kambera) including Flores languages. This catchall category is called 'transitional' partially because they show characteristics changing from symmetrical voice languages to preposed possessor languages. This is also because these languages are geographically located in between the symmetrical voice and the preposed possessor languages, namely in central Indonesia. According to Himmelmann (2005), roughly 60% of the ca. 800 western Austronesian languages are symmetrical voice languages, 25% are preposed possessor languages, and the remaining 15% are transitional.

1.4.2 Lamaholot as a preposed possessor language

From the perspective of Himmelmann (2005)'s typology of western Austronesian languages, Lamaholot is a typical example of the preposed possessor language.

Lamaholot meets all the criteria that he proposes as defining features of the preposed possessor language.

First, a possessor precedes its possessum. In the attributive possessive construction with non-pronominal possessors, a possessor must precede its possessum, the possessum being marked either by the nominalizing suffix *-N* or by the nominalizing enclitic *=kã*. Consider (41) and (42).

(41) *Besa tilũ* (cf. *tilu* 'ear')

Besa tilu -N

Besa ear -NMZ

'Besa's ear'

(42) *Besa laŋo? =kã*

Besa house =NMZ

'Besa's house'

Second, inalienable possession is marked differently from alienable possession. The nominalizing suffix *-N* is used in inalienable possession (41), while the nominalizing enclitic *=kã* is used in alienable possession (42). See Section 3.5 for these nominalizers.

Third, the distinction between narrative and equational clauses is clear, as the lexical distinction between nouns and verbs is very clear unlike symmetrical voice languages. See Chapter 4 for parts of speech in Lamaholot. Look at (43) and (44).

(43) **Narrative:**

Hugo n-aʔi =aʔ lali Maumere n-ai.
 Hugo 3SG-leave =3SG DIR.DOWN Maumere 3SG-go
 ‘Hugo went (down) to Maumere.’

(44) **Equational:**

Hugo ata Nipō.
 Hugo person Japan
 ‘Hugo is a Japanese.’

The main predicate in (43) is the verb *n-aʔi=aʔ* ‘leave’, while that in (44) is *ata Nipō* ‘a Japanese’. The former takes two kinds of agreement markers that the latter does not.

Fourth, there is person making for S/A arguments. To illustrate, look at examples (45) and (46).

(45) *go k-aʔi =aʔ.*
 1SG 1SG-go=1SG
 ‘I will go.’

(46) *go k-ahu waiʔ kia.*
 1SG 1SG-collect water PROS
 ‘I will collect some water.’

In both (45) and (46), the main predicate agrees with the subject *go* ‘1SG’ by means of S/A agreement prefix *k-*. Agreement prefixes such as *k-* are discussed in Section 3.3. Note that there is another agreement element *=aʔ* in (45), which is called an S-agreement enclitic. This is discussed in Section 3.2.

Fifth, as discussed in Section 1.3.4.1, nouns precede numerals, the negator and other TAM markers occur clause-finally, and the basic word order is SVO. These are typical features of preposed possessor languages.

Lastly, there is no morphologically marked voice system. However, this does not mean that there is no voice alternation in this language. In Chapter 9 it is shown that this language displays voice phenomena without voice morphology.

1.4.3 Lamaholot as a “Papuan” language

Klamer (2002, 2009, 2011 in press) repeatedly insisted that Austronesian languages in eastern Indonesia show some “Papuan” features because of the long lasting language contact with Papuan languages. Klamer (2011), for example, suggests that the serial verb constructions of Alorese, a closest relative of Lamaholot, are a Papuan substrate influence rather than inherited feature, because in Austronesian languages outside the Oceanic subgroup, serial verb constructions are rare (cf. Crowley 2002: 125, Himmelmann 2005a: 160, Blust 2005a: 552), whereas serial verb constructions are common in Papuan languages (Foley 1986: 113ff.) and the Papuan languages of Alor and Pantar also make extensive use of them. Although in light of recent studies on Formosan languages (see Shibatani 2009c and reference thereof) it is not certain how valid the statement is that verb serialization is not common outside Oceanic languages, it is worth emphasizing that Lamaholot makes extensive use of verb serialization. For example, consider (47).

- (47) *bote bao lou wəli gua onə? dai.*
 bottle float exit DIR.COAST cave inside come
 ‘The bottle floated out of the cave.’

In (47), three verbs, namely, *bao* ‘float’, *lou* ‘exit’, and *dai* ‘come’ are combined without morphological markers to express a single event that the bottle floated out of the cave.

Another possibly “Papuan” feature in Lamaholot is that, as discussed in 1.3.4.1, linguistic expressions for tense, mood and aspect appear in the clause-final position, which is more like a Papuan OV word order than an Austronesian VO word order. On top of those TAM markers, verbs of deictic motion take an SOV word order as in (48).

- (48) *go skola k-ai.*
 1SG school 1SG-go
 ‘I went to school.’

1.5 Sources and data-gathering procedures

There are two important principles this study emphasizes in an analysis and description of Lamaholot: (i) language-specific description and (ii) theoretically informed analysis. The two theoretical orientations are addressed in Sections 1.5.1 and 1.5.2.

1.5.1 Language-specific description

A working hypothesis adopted in this study is that language structures and categories are language-specific and need to be posited on the basis of language-specific data only when required for a description and analysis for a particular language (Dryer 1997; Croft 2001; Haspelmath 2010). The manifestations of this hypothesis will be found in various parts of this grammar. For example, Chapter 9 demonstrates that it is reasonable based on Lamaholot data to posit a pragmatico-syntactic grammatical relation (TOPIC) as well as semantico-syntactic grammatical relations (SUBJECT, PRIMARY OBJECT, SECONDARY OBJECT, and OBLIQUE) on the basis of Lamaholot morphosyntactic phenomena. In Chapter 6, it is also argued that it is necessary to propose a syntactic unit

called *locational phrase*, which might not be needed in other languages. In contrast, we do not assume that there is a *verb phrase* in Lamaholot, simply because there is no evidence available for positing such a syntactic category in this language.

As a corollary, it is necessary to refer to a lot of data throughout this study. The data presented here have been collected through fieldwork conducted at the Nurri village of Kabupaten Flores Timur, Indonesia, over three years. During the fieldwork in the Nurri village, the present author stayed with the house of his primary consultant, Hugo Hura Puka, in Nurabelen, who is also the Kepala Desa (village head) of the Nurri village. In his house, the present author tried to use Lamaholot only and asked other family members to talk to me in this language. Although he had to rely on Indonesian as means of communication at the beginning of fieldwork, he is now able to conduct elicitation and recording sessions using only Lamaholot.

The data examined in this description include those utterances the present author picked up through daily life at Hugo's house and its neighborhood. Elicitation sessions were carried out approximately 90 minutes a day on a daily basis. Besides, the present author made audio- and video-recordings of naturally occurring conversations and other local cultural and family events.

In the social system of the village, the present author was adopted as a younger brother of Hugo Hura Puka and was given the Lamaholot name *Nori Uli Lolō Puka*, where *Nori* is his nickname. *Puka* is the name of the clan of which Hugo is a member. The present author was informally adopted into this clan. *Uli Lolō* literally means '(on) top of a bed'. The present author was so called because he usually worked on the Lamaholot data there. As a member of the Puka clan, he was expected to join social and religious activities of the village. For example, members of the Puka clan often serve as a host of religious ceremonies, and so does he.

In data collection, a holistic approach was taken to a grammar of the language, situating it in the entire set of human activities of its speakers. This study deals with not

just elicited sentences but also audio- and video-recorded narratives and conversations, oral literature, religious scripts, traditional songs and dances, architectural artifacts, and so on for a description and analysis of a grammar. This study also tried to incorporate some aspects of Lamaholot cultural and ecological settings into this description of grammatical structures. For example, Chapters 6 and 13 discuss directionals, the analysis of which would be almost meaningless without a proper understanding of the ecological system surrounding Lamaholot-speaking communities.

1.5.2 Theoretically informed analysis

This study aims to present not only a language-specific description but also a theoretically informed analysis. By “theoretically-informed”, we mean two things. First, we have tried to make this study relevant to issues in the history and typology of Austronesian languages. Lamaholot has several grammatical phenomena that will possibly provide clues for understanding equivalent phenomena in other Austronesian languages. While describing the facts of Lamaholot, this study takes into account the facts in other Austronesian languages.

Second, this study also builds upon insights from the functional-typological and the usage-based approaches to language, whose influences are throughout this study. In particular, we refer to Foley and Van Valin (1984), Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) and Van Valin (2005) for clause structures, Dixon (1979, 2004, 2010a, b) and Dryer (1986, 2007) for grammatical relations, Shibatani (1976, 1985, 1988, 1991, 2006, 2008a, 2009a) for voice phenomena, grammatical relations, verb serialization and nominalization, Matsumoto (in preparation) for motion events, and Levinson (1996, 2003) and his MPI group’s works for spatial semantics.

Unfortunately, however, the limitation of time did not allow me to incorporate most of the naturally-occurring data that were recorded and transcribed in Flores. Frequency data of grammatical elements, which would effectively take account of the distribution of

optional elements such as S-agreement enclitics, are only minimally touched upon. We leave these for later work.

1.6 Goals and contributions of this study

This section outlines broad goals and expected contributions of this study (Section 1.6.1). It also touches upon some of its limitations (Section 1.6.2).

1.6.1 Broad goals for this study

Lamaholot, with which this dissertation is concerned, is classified as a member of putative Central Malayo-Polynesian languages. Typologically, it is a clear case of a preposed possessor language, although it is spoken in Flores Island, whose languages are treated as transitional languages by Himmelmann (2005). Most probably due to its contact with Papuan languages, it came to display non-Austronesian features, too, like serial verb constructions. The focus system, which characterizes other western Austronesian languages, seems to have vanished here. Indeed, it is in Lamaholot that the typological and historical issues discussed above intersect.

The historical and typological backgrounds specific to Lamaholot impose theoretical burdens on our inquiry into the Lamaholot language and shape and mold our research goals. First, we need to provide more detailed data on Lamaholot. It should be clear by now that Central Malayo-Polynesian languages need more descriptive studies. There are even more unknown things than known things about these languages. We would like to make a contribution to the literature by producing a grammar of the Lamaholot language. Although other dialects have been partially or sketchily described, there has been no complete description and analysis of the entire dialect.

Second, we must pin down typological characteristics of Lamaholot in a more sophisticated way and frame Lamaholot in typologies of (western) Austronesian languages. Lamaholot is worthy of attention as it is a preposed possessor language in

Flores Island, which is full of transitional languages. Analyzing this language will enable a more comprehensive understanding of a typology of western Austronesian languages.

1.6.2 Limits of this study

There are some issues that we cannot explore in this research. First, we have to leave open the question of relationships between Lamaholot and Papuan languages. It seems obvious that there has been long-lasting contact between ancestors of Lamaholot speakers and those of Papuan languages, and we might expect some remnant substratum of these languages to have influenced Lamaholot. However, dealing with Papuan languages is beyond what can be done with the present author's ability, knowledge and data at this stage.

Second, for the same reason, we cannot answer the question of the subgrouping of the Lamaholot language with another language (see Doyle 2010 instead). Third, we do not focus on the similarities and differences among varieties in the dialectal chain of the Lamaholot languages. We have opted to concentrate on describing a single dialect in depth rather than gathering more data with less detail. Fortunately, several colleagues are working on different dialects of the Lamaholot language and its related languages (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007; Grange 2009; Doyle 2010; Klamer 2011). It is to be hoped that the contribution of others along with my own will offer a satisfactory answer to this issue.

Lastly, this study is an attempt to provide a comprehensive view of the structure of Lamaholot from phonology through morphology to syntax. The nature of this study may have ended up leading to a certain degree of shallowness of analysis in some areas.

1.7 Organization

This study is composed of 14 chapters including this one, and proceeds by and large from phonetics and phonology to morphosyntax and from form to function. The first

three chapters investigate the basic issues in grammatical features of Lamaholot. This chapter is an introductory chapter discussing geographical, cultural, and historical aspects of the Lamaholot language. Chapter 2 provides a description of Lamaholot phonetics and phonology. Chapter 3 presents an inventory of morphological elements available in the language. Based on the discussions in Chapters 2 and 3, parts of speech in Lamaholot are proposed for Lamaholot in Chapter 4. This chapter also provides a basic description of each part of speech, characterizing them in terms of syntax and semantics.

In Chapters 5 through 8, we look more into building blocks for the Lamaholot clause structure. Chapter 5 examines the structure of noun phrases, paying special attention to adnominal possession. In Chapter 6, those words that have a prepositional use are discussed with special reference to their similarities and differences. Chapter 7 offers a description and analysis of agreement.

Chapters 8 through 10 examine clausal syntax. In Chapter 8, we discuss clause structure in Lamaholot. Chapter 9, then, investigates voice and grammatical relations. Despite the predictions made by the previous studies on languages of eastern Indonesia, Lamaholot has voice alternations without voice morphology and a system of grammatical relations that can be found in Philippine-type languages. Chapter 10 provides an inventory of clausal and sentential modifiers: tense, aspect, mood, and illocutionary force.

In Chapters 11 and 12, we look at structures beyond simple clauses: complex sentences and verb serialization. Various types of complex sentences are examined in Chapter 11: complement clauses, coordinate clauses, and adverbial clauses. In Chapter 12, we introduce two types of verb serialization, namely, participant-introducing and event-elaborating verb serialization, and demonstrate the similarities and differences between complex sentences and verb serialization.

Lastly, Chapter 13 investigates spatial expressions in Lamaholot. Spatial semantics occupies the most important position in the grammar of this language, because all of the

grammatical devices available are employed together in one way or another to express location and motion. Attention is drawn particularly to frames of reference. Finally, this study concludes with some implications for studies on language universals and Austronesian languages in Chapter 14.

In a series of Appendices, some word lists, sample texts, and a mini-dictionary are provided for the sake of reference.

2 *Phonetics and phonology*

2.0 Introduction¹

This chapter presents an analysis of the phonology of the Lewotobi dialect of Lamaholot. Various issues on Lewotobi Lamaholot phonology are addressed, including segmental phonemes, their phonetic descriptions, phonotactics, stress assignment, and morphophonological processes. We also present the finding that Lewotobi Lamaholot has three phonological innovations that may possibly differentiate it from other dialects. The phonological database examined is composed of approximately 1,000 words of elicitation material.

The chapter is organized as follows. In Section 2.1, we present the phoneme inventory and phonetic descriptions of each consonant and vowel phoneme. We go on to discuss phonotactics ranging from syllable structures to consonant clusters in Section 2.2. In Section 2.3, we briefly provide an analysis of stress assignment. Section 2.4 touches upon morphophonological processes such as nasalization and assimilation. The subject of discussion in Section 2.5 is historical phonology, where an attempt is made to propose some sound changes that occurred in the development of Lamaholot from Proto Malayo-Polynesian. Section 2.6 investigates loan phonology. Lastly, the orthographic conventions for this study are presented in Section 2.7.

¹ An earlier version of this chapter was presented as Nagaya (2010c).

2.1 Phoneme inventory

Lamaholot has 27 indigenous phonemes, specifically, 16 consonants and 11 vowels (Tables 2.1 and 2.2). In addition, there are three loan phonemes shown in parentheses, /tʃ/, ɲ, j/, which only appear in loan words borrowed from Indonesian and other Malay varieties in the region. This section discusses only the native phonemes; the three loan phonemes are excluded from the following discussions.

The inventory of consonantal phonemes for Lamaholot is set out in Table 2.1. It has a relatively simple set of consonantal contrasts and displays two characteristics of note compared to other languages in Flores. First, Lamaholot lacks a bilabial approximant /w/ (see 2.1.1). Second, it makes only a two-way contrast between stops, namely, voiceless and voiced stops, which does not seem typical of Flores languages. Some other Flores languages have a three- or four-way distinction. For example, the Udiworowatu Kéo phonemic inventory makes a four-way distinction between stops: voiceless, voiced, preglottalized and prenasalized (Baird 2002). Furthermore, the existence of prenasalized stop consonants is considered one of the typical features of languages in eastern Indonesia (Klamer 2002). However, Lamaholot does not contain them in its consonant phoneme inventory.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	ALVEO-PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
Stop	p b		t̚	d		k g	ʔ
Nasal		m		n	(ɲ)	ŋ	
Fricative		v		s			h
Affricate					(tʃ) dʒ		
Lateral				l			
Trill				r			
Glide					(j)		

The inventory of vowel phonemes is laid out in Table 2.2. Its most noteworthy feature is the existence of contrastive vowel nasalization, which Lamaholot speakers characterize as *sengau* (Indonesian word for ‘talk through the nose’). Although “[p]honemically nasalized vowels are rare in AN [NN—Austronesian] languages” (Blust 2009a:654), the Lewotobi dialect has five nasalized vowels /ẽ, ĩ, ẽ̃, õ, ã/ in addition to its six oral vowels /e, i, a, ə, o, u/. The difference in number between oral and nasalized vowels is found quite widely among languages with contrastive nasalized vowels. In his typological survey on nasalized vowels, Hajek (2008) notes that “[t]he number of contrastive nasal vowels in a language is often less than that of oral vowels.”

Table 2.2: Vowel phonemes

	FRONT	CENTER	BACK
High	i ĩ		u ũ
Mid	e ẽ	ə ẽ̃	o õ
Low		a	

2.1.1 Phonetic descriptions: Consonants

This section provides a phonetic description of the consonantal phonemes by listing each one and its major allophonic variants, if any, with examples of the phonemes in words. As will be discussed in Section 2.3, stress regularly falls on the penultimate syllable and is not phonemic. For this reason, penultimate stress is not marked in any of the phonetic transcriptions, unless it is relevant to a particular point being discussed. Consonant clusters will be discussed separately in Section 2.2.3.

First, let us consider stops. Lamaholot has seven stops: three voiceless stops /p, t, k/ and three voiced stops /b, d, g/ in addition to the glottal stop /ʔ/ (see later discussion in this section). All stops are unaspirated. The phonemes /p, t, k, b, d, g/ can appear in word-initial and word-medial positions. As discussed in Section 2.2.1, Lamaholot does

not allow either word-internal or word-final codas except for the glottal stop, which can appear in the word-final coda. For this reason, here, we only present examples of words with a relevant consonant in word-initial and word-medial onsets.

/p/	[p]	voiceless bilabial stop
		[pana] ‘walk, leave’
		[lapā] ‘rope’
/b/	[b]	voiced bilabial stop
		[belo] ‘cut’
		[səba] ‘look for, search’
/t̪/	[t̪]	voiceless apico-dental stop
		[t̪o:] ‘hope’
		[t̪it̪oʔ] ‘touch’
/d/	[d]	voiced apico-alveolar or inter-dental stop
		[dai] ‘come (from the direction of the sea, etc.)’
		[lodo] ‘go down, move down’
/k/	[k]	voiceless dorso-velar stop
		[kavo] ‘whisper’
		[soka] ‘dance’
/g/	[g]	voiced dorso-velar stop
		[gaka] ‘cry’
		[sogaʔ] ‘lift’

Note that /t̪/ is realized as a dental stop [t̪], whereas its voiced counterpart, /d/, is pronounced as an alveolar stop [d]. The difference in place of articulation between /t̪/ and /d/ is evident from Figure 2.1, in which photographs of a male speaker are shown. The left-hand photograph illustrates the position of the tongue during the consonant [t̪] in

[tane] ‘weave.’ It is obvious that the tongue is against the teeth. In contrast, the right-hand photograph shows that the consonant [d] in [dai] ‘come’ is articulated with the tongue against the alveolar ridge, not the teeth.



Figure 2.1: The position of the tongue during [t] in [tane] ‘weave’ (left) and [d] in [dai] ‘come’ (right)

This asymmetry in place of articulation is not uncommon in Austronesian languages of Indonesia. Blust (1990:233) observes “[a] number of Western Malayo-Polynesian languages and perhaps some others contrast a dental /t/ with an alveolar /d/ and /n/.” Ross (1992) reconstructs the contrast between a dental /t/ and an alveolar /d/ to Proto Austronesian. See also another line of investigation suggested by Donohue (2009).

There are one voiced fricative /v/ and two voiceless fricatives /s/ and /h/. They can appear either word-initially or word-medially.

/v/	[v]	voiced labiodental approximant
		/#_V or /(a)_(a)
		[vae] ‘aunt’
		[kova] ‘cloud’
		[vave] ‘pig’
		[veve] ‘mouth’
	[v]	voiced labiodental fricative

		elsewhere
		[vreʈo] 'throw off, shake off'
		[kvue] 'crazy'
		[luvu] 'stomach'
/s/	[s]	voiceless alveolar fricative
		[siʔa] 'salt'
		[kəsəʔ] 'a little'
/h/	[h]	voiceless glottal fricative
		[hama] 'same'
		[mehaʔ] 'alone'

The phoneme /v/ needs more description. It is realized as [v] either when it occurs in the word-initial position and is directly followed by a vowel or when it appears before or after the low central vowel /a/; it is pronounced as [ʋ] elsewhere. The waveforms and spectrograms of [vaue] 'pig' (left) and [luvu] 'stomach' (right) are given in Figure 2.2. On the one hand, it is clear from the spectrogram of [vaue] that there are no noticeable fricative noises that are characteristic of fricatives. On the other hand, fricative noises caused by a turbulent airstream are observed in the middle of the spectrogram of [luvu]. In both spectrograms, the relevant areas are indicated by arrows.

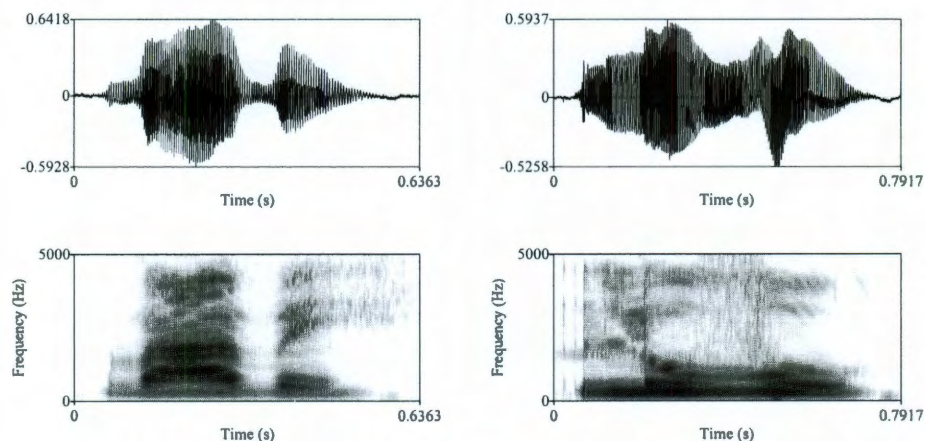


Figure 2.2: [vave] 'pig' (left) and [luvu] 'stomach' (right)

Positing the fricative phoneme /v/ with an approximant allophone is chosen over the approximant phoneme /v/ with a fricative allophone for two reasons (Mark Donohue, pers. comm.). First, the phonotactics of /v/ in consonant clusters indicates that /v/ behaves like a fricative (see Section 2.2.3). The fact that /v/ allows /vr/ and /vl/ clusters parallels /sr/ and /sl/; it behaves like a fricative and more like an obstruent. Second, the lower lip touches the upper front teeth even in the environments where [v] appears. The photographs of two male speakers in Figure 2.3 illustrate the position of the lips during the word-initial consonant [v] in [vave] 'pig.' The lower lip touches the upper front teeth slightly, although the vocal tract is not constricted to such an extent that a noisy airstream is produced.

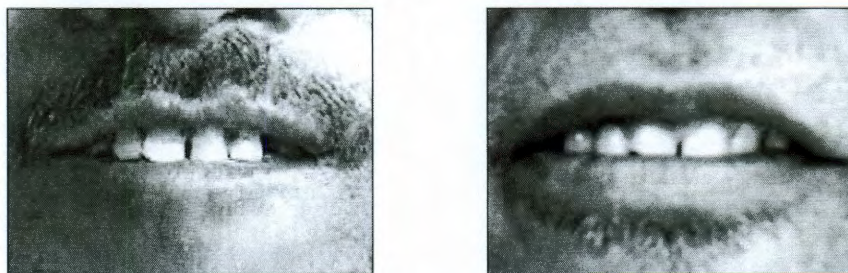


Figure 2.3: The position of lips during the initial consonant [v] in [vave] 'pig'

The phoneme /dʒ/ is the only affricate in Lamaholot, although its voiceless counterpart /tʃ/ appears in loan words from Malay (e.g., *baca* [batʃa] ‘read’). /dʒ/ can appear either word-initially or word-medially.

/dʒ/	[dʒ]	voiced alveo-palatal affricate
	[dʒəku]	‘dead’
	[kadʒoʔ]	‘tree’

The liquids /l/ and /r/ appear in either word-initial or word-medial position.

/r/	[r]	voiced alveolar trill
	[raʔaʔ]	‘hair’
	[pira]	‘how many’
/l/	[l]	voiced alveolar lateral
	[loʔi]	‘cold’
	[həlaʔ]	‘not’

Lamaholot has three nasals, namely, /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/, which are realized as voiced bilabial, alveolar, and velar nasals respectively. The distribution of /ŋ/ is limited: it only occurs as a word-medial syllable onset. Other nasals can appear either word-initially or word-medially.

/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal stop
	[maʔa]	‘eye’
	[kame]	1PL.EXC
/n/	[n]	voiced alveolar nasal stop

		[naŋe]	‘swim’
		[pana]	‘walk’
/ŋ/	[ŋ]		voiced dorso-velar nasal stop
		[ʊəŋə]	‘rice’

The glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs either as a word-medial onset or a word-final coda. It does not occur phonologically in the word-initial position. As will be discussed in Section 2.2.1, Lamaholot displays a strong preference for open syllables, but the glottal stop is an exception to this generalization.

/ʔ/	[ʔ]	voiceless glottal stop
	[Y]	creaky voice
		[baʔa] ‘heavy’
		[kotəʔ] ‘head’

The glottal stop phoneme may also manifest itself as creaky voice or laryngealization, in which “the vocal folds are held more tightly together than in regular voicing” (Ladefoged 2005:143). Figure 2.4 shows the waveforms and spectrograms of /baʔa/ ‘heavy’ pronounced by a female speaker in careful speech (left) and in casual speech (right). Those on the left side highlight that when pronounced carefully, the phoneme /ʔ/ is realized as a complete stop. The vocal folds do not vibrate due to complete closure of the glottis. In contrast, as seen in the waveform and spectrogram on the right, the casually pronounced /ʔ/ is realized as laryngealization of two adjacent vowels. Observe the irregular pulses in the middle.

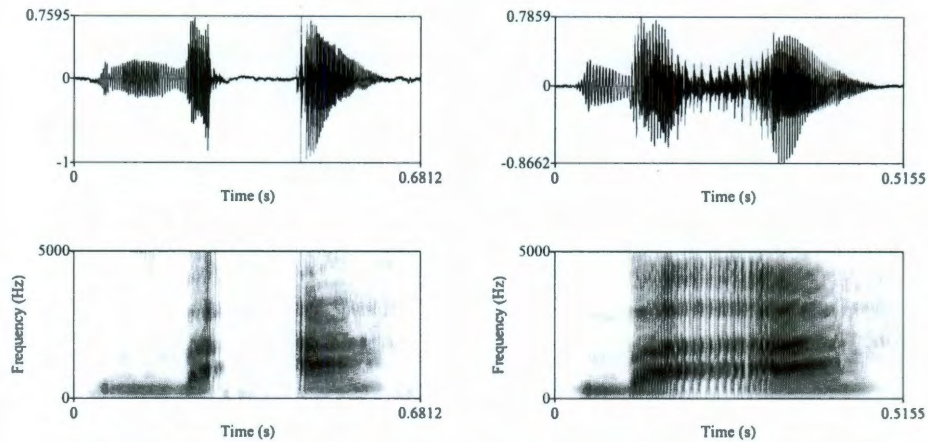


Figure 2.4: /baʔa/ in careful speech (left) and casual speech (right)

From a crosslinguistic perspective, this is not uncommon. “Creaky voice often occurs as the phonetic realization of a phonological glottal stop” (Ladefoged 2003:175); “[i]n the great majority of languages we have heard, glottal stops are apt to fall short of complete closure, especially in intervocalic positions. In place of a true stop, a very compressed form of creaky voice or some less extreme form of stiff phonation may be superimposed on the vocalic stream” (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:75).

The glottal stop may appear phonetically to indicate the beginning of a word when no other consonant is present. For example, /aʔa/ ‘gum’ can be pronounced as [ʔaʔa] with a glottal stop added to the word-initial onset. The waveform and spectrogram of [ʔaʔa] in Figure 2.5 indicate that the same kind of burst is observed in both the word-initial and the word-medial positions. However, the glottal stop in this position is not phonemic: its existence or absence does not constitute a difference in meaning. Native speakers of Lamaholot do not recognize any phoneme in the onset of a vowel-initial word.

When it appears in word-medial positions, the glottal stop is treated as the onset of the following syllable rather than the coda of the preceding syllable. There are two reasons for this analysis. First, consonant clusters of the /ʔ.C/ type do not appear in any positions of words in our database. If the glottal stop could appear as the coda of a word-

medial syllable, /ʔ.C/ consonant clusters would be possible. Second, when asked to slowly pronounce words with a word-medial glottal stop, speakers syllabify a glottal stop as the onset of a syllable. See Figure 2.6, which illustrates the waveform and spectrogram of /baʔa/ ‘heavy’ pronounced slowly by a male speaker. Observe that the vowel of the first syllable does not show any sign of laryngealization or burst, while that of the second syllable does.

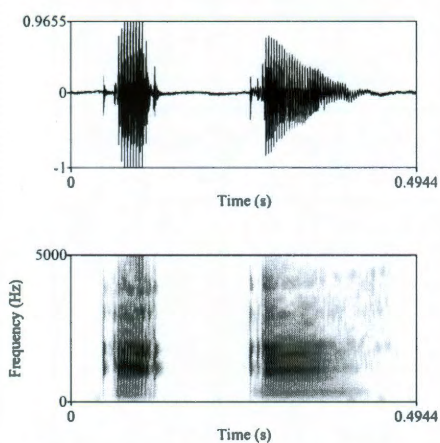


Figure 2.5: /aʔa/ [ʔaʔa] ‘gum’

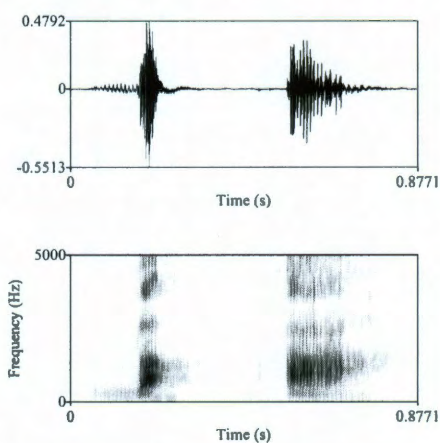


Figure 2.6: /baʔa/ [ba.ʔa] ‘heavy’

Contrast between various pairs of phonetically similar consonants can be established by means of the following minimal pairs. In a few cases in which no minimal pairs exist in the corpus, near-minimal pairs are shown.

/p/	vs /b/	[pao]	‘mango’
		[bao]	‘float’
	/m/	[pao]	‘mango’
		[mao]	‘recover’
/t/	vs /d/	[tai]	‘(we) go’
		[dai]	‘come’

	/n/	[ʈai]	‘(we) go’
		[nai]	‘(he or she) goes’
/k/	vs /g/	[həkəʔ]	‘stop’
		[həgəʔ]	‘numb’
	/ŋ/	[məkə̃]	‘(you pl.) eat’
		[məgə̃]	‘a handful of’
		[məŋə̃]	‘play’ (verb)
/v/	vs /s/	[vũ]	‘forbidden by taboo’
		[sũ]	‘year’
	/m/	[vae]	‘aunt’
		[mae]	‘good’
	/b/	[vaha]	‘paddle’ (noun)
		[baha]	‘paddle’ (verb)
/s/	vs /t/	[sũ]	‘year’
		[tũ]	‘store (corn or rice)’
	/d/	[soʔo]	‘be afraid’
		[doʔo]	‘clean (bamboo)’
	/k/	[soso]	‘shuffle’
		[soko]	‘jump’
	/h/	[siʔi]	‘clean (corn)’
		[hiʔi]	‘be angry’
/dʒ/	vs /t/	[odʒo]	‘wave’
		[oʔo]	‘car’
	/d/	[odʒo]	‘wave’
		[odoʔ]	‘push’
/r/	vs /t/	[rae]	‘landward’
		[t̪ae]	‘excrement’

	/d/	[roʔ]	3SG.Primary Object
		[doʔ]	‘scoop (soup)’
	/l/	[rua]	‘two’
		[lua]	‘go seawards’
/h/	vs /k/	[nahuʔ]	‘(he or she) gets water’
		[naku]	‘borrow’
	/ʔ/	[mehaʔ]	‘alone’
		[meʔa]	‘red’
	∅	[paho]	‘fart’
		[pao]	‘mango’
/ʔ/	vs ∅	[boʔã]	‘when’
		[boã]	‘bark’
		[bauʔ]	‘pour’
		[bau]	‘tomorrow’

2.1.2. Phonetic descriptions: Vowels

Lamaholot has an inventory of six oral vowels and five nasalized vowels, as shown in Table 2.2. Only the high and mid vowels have corresponding nasalized variants, the low central vowel having only an oral variant. Phonetically long vowels are found only in certain monosyllabic words, but they are not phonemic (see also Section 2.2.1). There is only one exception to this statement in the database: [nã:nã] ‘ask, request’ vs [nã:nã] ‘(he or she) weaves’ (*n-* is an S/A-agreement prefix for third person singular).

First, consider oral vowels. They can appear in any position of a word.

/i/	[i]	high front unrounded vowel
		[ipəʔ] ‘tooth’
		[tʰiʔoʔ] ‘touch’

		[loʔi]	‘cold’
/e/	[e]	mid front unrounded vowel	
		[ekã]	‘weather’
		[ʔedã]	‘wait’
		[pohe]	‘help’
/ə/	[ə]	mid central unrounded vowel	
		[əmə]	‘don’t exist’
		[pəro]	‘salty’
		[kmogə]	‘feel lazy’
/a/	[a]	low central unrounded vowel	
		[ane]	‘feed chicken’
		[bali]	‘turn over’
		[koda]	‘talk; language’
/o/	[o]	mid back rounded vowel	
		[onəʔ]	‘inside’
		[plohe]	‘deadly hungry’
		[piʔo]	‘seven’
/u/	[u]	high back rounded vowel	
		[ue]	‘taro; potato’
		[ʔuba]	‘stab’
		[riʔu]	‘bone’

Contrasts between the six oral vowels in Lamaholot are illustrated by the following minimal and near-minimal pairs.

/i/	vs	/e/	[giʔi]	‘itchy’	[giʔe]	‘clean animal skin’
		/ə/	[viʔi]	‘goat’	[vəʔi]	‘later’

	/a/	[gehi] ‘hate’	[gehaʔ] ‘pull’
	/o/	[loʔi] ‘cold’	[loʔo] ‘go fishing’
	/u/	[giʔi] ‘itchy’	[guʔi] ‘scoop’
/e/ vs /ə/		[gəle] ‘roar with laughter’	[gələ] ‘tired’
	/a/	[geka] ‘laugh’	[gaka] ‘cry’
	/o/	[gile] ‘glance’	[gilo] ‘sour’
	/u/	[kaheʔ] ‘shout’	[kahuʔ] ‘(I) get water’
/ə/ vs /a/		[məna] ‘vagina’	[mana] ‘kind of fish’
	/o/	[pəro] ‘salty’	[poro] ‘cut’
	/u/	[məkoʔ] ‘bad’	[muko] ‘banana’
/a/ vs /o/		[mia] ‘be ashamed’	[mio] 2SG
	/u/	[haka] ‘come’	[haku] ‘mix’
/o/ vs /u/		[mo] 2SG	[muʔ] ‘always’

Now consider contrastive nasalized vowels. The distribution of phonemic nasal vowels is limited to word-final positions (but see discussion below).

/ĩ/	[ĩ]	nasalized high front unrounded vowel [deʔĩ] ‘stand’
/ē/	[ē]	nasalized mid front unrounded vowel [hapē] ‘hang’
/ã/	[ã]	nasalized mid central unrounded vowel [ikã] ‘fish’
/õ/	[õ]	nasalized mid back rounded vowel [siõ] ‘kiss’
/ũ/	[ũ]	nasalized high back rounded vowel [vuʔũ] ‘new’

Minimal and near-minimal pairs that show a contrast between the oral and the nasalized vowels are given below.

/i/	vs	/ĩ/	[miʔi]	‘urologic disease’
			[miʔĩ]	‘taboo in food’
/e/	vs	/ẽ/	[lereʔ]	‘short; not tall’
			[lerẽ]	‘dry in the sun by hanging’
/ə/	vs	/ã/	[gə]	‘and then’
			[gã]	‘(he or she) eats’
/o/	vs	/õ/	[go]	1SG
			[gõ]	‘(you (SG)) eat’
/u/	vs /	/ũ/	[bohuʔ]	‘full, satisfied’
			[bohũ]	‘wind, breeze’

The fact that contrastive nasalization only appears in word-final positions sounds mysterious. Mark Donohue (pers. comm.) commented that he is not convinced about the nasalized vowels being phonemic for this reason. Another possible analysis of nasalized vowels in Lamaholot is to posit an archiphoneme /N/, which is realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel, as done for Larantuka Malay (Paauw 2009). This possibility should be examined in our future research. Paauw (2009) reports that the same kind of word-final contrastive nasalization also occurs in Larantuka Malay, which is spoken in contact with Lamaholot dialects.

Most probably, distinctive nasalization in Lamaholot has developed as a result of the typologically common sound change $VN > \tilde{V}N > \tilde{V}$ in word-final positions, which is composed of two connected steps, (a) nasalization and (b) final N-deletion (cf. Hajek 1997). In some cases, deleted word-final Ns can be easily detected: (i) word-final nasals

that historically existed in Proto Malayo-Polynesian and (ii) word-final nasals of loan words.

However, in many other cases, nasalized vowels are fully lexicalized, and it is not possible to tell what the phonetic value of deleted Ns was. (Note: The symbol “ø-” means that the designated verb inflects for person and number of subject (an intransitive subject S or a transitive subject A), which are marked on the verb by means of S/A-agreement prefixes. See Section 2.2 for the details of S/A-agreement prefixes.

(i) **PMP words (Blust 1993):**

<u>Lamaholot</u>	<u>PMP</u>	<u>English</u>
miṭḥ	*ma-qitem	‘black’
ø-enū	*inum	‘drink’
vulḥ	*bulan	‘moon’
urḥ	*quzan	‘rain’
larḥ	*zalan	‘road, path’

(ii) **Nativization of loan words:**

<u>Lamaholot</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>English (Source)</u>
dagī	dagiṅ	‘meat’ (Indonesian)
blakḥ	bəlakəṅ	‘back’ (Indonesian)
noṭḥ	nonton	‘watch’ (Indonesian)
nipḥ	nippon	‘Japan’ (Japanese)

Nasalization in this language has a few important grammatical functions, which will be discussed in depth in Chapters 3 and 4 and in particular in the context of the nominalizing suffix *-N* in Section 2.4. One of its functions is to form the inalienable possessive construction, which indicates that someone owns something considered

permanently or necessarily possessed. Observe below that inalienable possession is expressed by means of nasalization of a word-final vowel of inalienably possessed nouns.

Inalienable possessive construction:

Plain form			Possessed form
[koʔəʔ]	‘head’	→	[koʔə̃ʔ] ‘his or her head’
[lei]	‘leg’	→	[leĩ] ‘his or her leg’
[ʔæ]	‘excrement’	→	[ʔə̃] ‘his or her excrement’

Although contrastive nasalization only occurs in a word-final position, phonetic nasalization may spread regressively from the word-final nasalized vowel to its preceding vowel(s) either when there is no consonant between them or when a nasal, /h/, or /ʔ/ is in between. In other words, the nasal spreading passes through these “transparent” consonants without affecting them (see Borroff 2005, 2007 for the transparency of glottal stop to nasality spreading). Note in passing that there is no nasal spreading from a nasal consonant to a vowel on its right.

Nasality spread rule:

$$V \rightarrow \tilde{V} / _ (nasal/h/ʔ) \tilde{V}$$

Examples:	[mĩ̃ə̃] ‘wait’	[km̃ə̃mũ̃]	‘young’
	[ñə̃ñə̃] ‘ask, request’	[kmũ̃hũ̃]	‘baby’
	[ñə̃ʔ̃ə̃] ‘and’	[ṽə̃ʔ̃ĩ̃]	‘soup’

However, nasalization in non-word final positions is not phonemic and does not result in meaningful contrasts. Further, the spreading of nasality does not apply to all words and is optional in some. It remains to be investigated when this rule applies and when it does not.

Words that do not undergo nasality spread

[riã]	‘village’	[loĩ]	‘untie’
[əmə]	‘not exist’	[kenũ]	‘(I) drink’
[briŋĩ]	‘sick’	[bəhĩ]	‘just now’
[deʔĩ]	‘stand’	[duʔũ]	‘sell’

Words that optionally undergo nasality spread

[vãũ]	~	[vəũ]	‘bad smell’
[ãmã]	~	[əmã]	‘mother’

2.2 Phonotactics

In this section, the phonotactics of Lamaholot is discussed. Phenomena to be described are syllable structures (Section 2.2.1), vowel sequences (Section 2.2.2), and consonant clusters (Section 2.2.3).

2.2.1 Syllable structures

The syllable structures available in Lamaholot are V, CV, and CCV, but CCV only appears in the word-initial syllable. The language does not allow any word-internal or word-final codas except the glottal stop /ʔ/ can appear as a word-final coda. In word-final syllables, therefore, Vʔ and CVʔ are also possible. Thus, the following syllable structures are found in the different positions of a word:

<u>Word-initial</u> σ	<u>Word-medial</u> σ	<u>Word-final</u> σ
V	V	V
CV	CV	Vʔ
CCV		CV
		CVʔ

Most indigenous words are disyllabic, and only a handful of words are monosyllabic. Many of the latter are grammatical words or enclitics such as pronouns and agreement markers. Monosyllabic words are often, but not always, pronounced with the nucleus vowel lengthened. Below is a list of all the attested syllable structures with examples of each.

Monosyllabic words:	V	[a:]	‘what’
	V?	[əʔ]	1SG (enclitic)
		[aʔ]	3SG (enclitic)
	CV	[dʒõ]	‘ship’
		[da:]	‘broken’
	CV?	[buʔ]	‘blow’
		[tɛʔ]	‘be about to; almost’
	CCV	[pro]	‘get permission to drink/eat’
		[kpõ]	‘whistle’
	CCV?	[kreʔ]	‘small’
[kluʔ]		‘far’	
Disyllabic words:	V.V	[ue]	‘taro; potato’
		[ĩũ]	‘wake up someone’
	V.V?	[auʔ]	‘(small) bamboo’
		[eoʔ]	‘meteor’
	V.CV	[aho]	‘dog’
		[ile]	‘mountain’
	V.CV?	[aloʔ]	‘mullet’
		[anaʔ]	‘child; person’
CV.V	[lei]	‘leg’	

	[hoa]	‘disappear’
CV.V?	[pueʔ]	‘screw’
	[meiʔ]	‘blood’
CV.CV	[pana]	‘walk’
	[manu]	‘chicken’
CV.CV?	[bahaʔ]	‘wash’
	[ʋohoʔ]	‘outside’
CCV.V	[brea]	‘happy’
	[kvue]	‘crazy’
CCV.V?	[kʔaoʔ]	‘full; cannot eat any more’
	[kleaʔ]	‘light; not heavy’
CCV.CV	[kʔəgə]	‘strong’
	[knavə]	‘sprout’
CCV.CV?	[kləkəʔ]	‘upper arm’
	[kʔəsʋəʔ]	‘short; not long’

Phonetically speaking, CCCV syllables exist in two contracted words, [brvəĩ] ‘woman’ and [gblakĩ] ‘man,’ which are abbreviated from the compounds [kbarə ʋəĩ] ‘woman’ and [kbaɪ lakĩ] ‘man’ respectively.

CCCV.V	[brvəĩ]	‘woman’
CCCV.CV	[gblakĩ]	‘man’

There are no words of more than four syllables in our database, and words of more than two syllables are quite rare except for compounds and reduplicated words. Only two three-syllable and four four-syllable words have been attested. All the attested words are listed here.

Interestingly, since codas other than the glottal stop are prohibited, the name of this language, [lamaholot], is phonologically ungrammatical in Lamaholot. Instead of [lamaholot], therefore, speakers of this dialect pronounce the name of the language without the word-final coda, as in [lamaholo], or more often simply use other names, such as Koda Kiwan [koda kiuḁ] (or simply [kiuḁ]) ‘the language of the forest’ and [koda titēʔ] ‘our language.’

2.2.2 Vowel sequences

All the attested vowel sequences in the corpus are given in Table 2.4. There are two important constraints to note regarding the combinations of vowels. First, geminate vowels are prohibited. Vowel sequences cannot be composed of two of the same vowel (e.g., */aa/). Second, /ə/ cannot constitute a vowel sequence. There is only one word exceptional to this generalization: [uə] ‘buttocks.’ Interestingly, these two generalizations are also observed in Kéo (Baird 2002): in Kéo, “there are no geminate vowels, and only five of the six vowels occur in adjacent pairs—all vowels [NN—/i, e, a, o, u/] other than the mid-central schwa /ə/.”

Table 2.4: Vowel sequences

Second V		/i/	/e/	/ə/	/a/	/o/	/u/
First V	/i/		+	*	+	+	+
	/e/	+		*	+	+	+
	/ə/	*	*		*	*	*
	/a/	+	+	*		+	+
	/o/	+	+	*	+		+
	/u/	+	+	(+)	+	+	

ie	/hie/	[hie]	‘open’ (curtain, etc.)
ia	/via/	[via]	‘yesterday’
io	/krio/	[krio]	‘clothing’

iu	/niu/	[niu]	‘bark, woof’ (dog, etc.)
ei	/ei/	[ei]	‘cut something while holding it’
ea	/t̥ea/	[tea]	‘where’
eo	/reo/	[reo]	‘kind of tree’
eu	/geu/	[geu]	‘mix using feet’
ai	/ai/	[ai]	‘get’
ae	/kvae/	[kvae]	‘wife’
ao	/sao/	[sao]	‘anchor’
au	/hau/	[hau]	‘sew’
oi	/doi/	[doi]	‘money’
oe	/groe/	[groe]	‘fast’
oa	/boa/	[boa]	‘throw away’
ou	/t̥ou/	[t̥ou]	‘pull’
ui	/gui/	[gui]	‘chip away’
ue	/gue/	[gue]	‘turn around’
uə	/uə/	[uə]	‘buttocks’
ua	/rua/	[rua]	‘two’
uo	/guo/	[guo]	‘shout’

Importantly, Lamaholot does not have diphthongs. The vowel sequences listed above are not diphthongs but belong to separate syllables. Evidence comes from stress placement patterns discussed in Section 2.3.

2.2.3 Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are strictly limited to word-initial positions and can be either homorganic or heterorganic. Here, a complete listing of all the word-initial consonant clusters found among the words in our database and examples of each are provided. The patterns of consonant clusters found in Lamaholot words are largely consistent with the sonority hierarchy.

Stop + stop

kp	/kpəsuʔ/	[kpəsuʔ]	‘short; not long’
kt	/kʔəgə/	[kʔəgə]	‘strong’
kb	/kbora/	[kbora]	‘burp’
kd	/kdaso/	[kdaso]	‘slip’
gb	/gbula/	[gbula]	‘open one’s eyes wide’
gd	/gdə/	[gdə]	Used in the compound [gdə: gba:] ‘jobless’

Stop + fricative

ks	/ksi/	[ksi:]	‘fart without making a sound’
kv	/kvaŋaʔ/	[kvaŋaʔ]	‘listen’
gv	/gvali/	[gvali]	‘return’

Stop + nasal

pn	/pnoa/	[pnoa]	‘yawn’
km	/kmihe/	[kmihe]	‘ant’
kn	/knave/	[knave]	‘door’
gm	/gmesuʔ/	[gmesuʔ]	‘play around with something with one’s toe’
gn	/gnato/	[gnato]	‘deliver’ (verb)

Stop + liquid

pr	/pro/	[pro]	‘get a permission to eat/drink’
pl	/plaʔe/	[plaʔe]	‘run’
tr	/ʔrilī/	[ʔrilī]	‘intestine’
kr	/kreʔ/	[kreʔ]	‘small’
kl	/klami/	[klami]	‘sweet, delicious’
br	/brea/	[brea]	‘be happy’
bl	/blahaʔ/	[blahaʔ]	‘long’
gr	/groe/	[groe]	‘fast, quick’
gl	/glərə/	[glərə]	‘tickle’

Fricative + fricative

sv	/sva/	[sva]	‘almost dry’
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Fricative + nasal

sm	/sməkoʔ/	[sməkoʔ]	‘(sexually) promiscuous man or woman’
sn	/snəpə/	[snəpə]	‘fisher’

Fricative + liquid

sr	/sri/	[sri]	‘droplet’
sl	/sli/	[sli]	‘spread wings’
vr	/vreʔo/	[vreʔo]	‘throw off, shake off’
vl	/vlelō/	[vlelō]	‘throw away, dump’

Nasal + nasal

mn	/mnera/	[mnera]	‘delicious’
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Two notes on consonant clusters are in order. First, the initial consonant of some clusters is a fossilized affix (Section 3.7). For example, there are many consonant clusters that begin with /k/, which is the fossilized prefix for (i) a stative event (e.g., *kpəsuʔ* ‘short’), (ii) a non-volitional action (e.g., *kdaso* ‘slip’), (iii) insects (e.g., *kmihe* ‘aunt’), and (iv) furniture (e.g., *knave* ‘door’). Second, the morphological process called “nasal substitution” (Blust 2004) may produce a morphologically complex onset. Compare *giʔa* ‘to scratch’ and *kniʔa* ‘match.’ Neither these affixes nor the morphological process are synchronically productive, and therefore these words containing the consonant clusters are best analyzed as monomorphemic. They are discussed in Chapter 4.

2.3 Stress placement

Stress in Lamaholot regularly falls on the penultimate syllable of a word, unless the word is monosyllabic, in which case it falls on the only syllable of the word. Vowels in stressed syllables seem to have higher pitch, longer duration, and greater intensity than those in unstressed syllables, but this has not been measured acoustically. The Lamaholot stress rule can be written as follows, with the assumption that the long version with a penult should be tried before the short one without (Hayes 2009:271).

$$\sigma \rightarrow \quad [+stress] / _ (\sigma)_{\text{word}}$$

Stress assignment patterns can be affected when a word is followed by an enclitic. Lamaholot has two sets of enclitics: (i) the nominalization enclitic =*kə̃* and (ii) S-agreement enclitics. These enclitics form a phonological word together with the word to which they are attached and attract the position of stress from the penultimate syllable to the ultimate syllable of each word (i.e., the penultimate syllable of a phonological word). Thus, the following shift of stress assignment is observed. See Chapter 3 for details of the nominalization and S-agreement enclitics.

(i) Nominalization enclitic:

[^l knipu]	‘narrow’	→	[kni ^l pu kã]	‘that narrow one’
[^l belãʔ]	‘big’	→	[be ^l lãʔ nã]	‘that big one’

(ii) S-agreement enclitics:

[^l koda]	‘talk’	→	[ko ^l da əʔ]	‘I talk’
[^l kenũ]	‘I drink’	→	[ke ^l nũ nəʔ]	‘I drink’

Stress placement patterns provide evidence that vowel sequences discussed in Section 2.2.2 are not diphthongs but rather two vowels that belong to different syllables. Words with vowel sequences behave like disyllabic words above in terms of stress assignment: the second vowel is counted as a separate syllable.

S-agreement enclitics and verbs with vowel sequences:

[^l niu]	‘bark’	→	[ni ^l u aʔ]	‘(a dog) barks’
[^l gei]	‘shave’	→	[ge ^l i əʔ]	‘I shave’

2.4 Morphophonological processes

There are a few morphophonological processes that need to be mentioned: (i) /a/ to [ə] vowel raising, (ii) nasal substitution, and (iii) assimilation. The raising of /a/ to [ə] occurs in the presence of the nominalizing suffix -N: /a/ is realized as [ə], when either nasalized or followed by a syllable containing a nasalized vowel. Nasal substitution is a fossilized morphological process to derive nouns by replacing a base-initial obstruent with the homorganic nasal. Lastly, nasal assimilation is observed when S-agreement enclitics and the nominalization enclitic =kã are preceded by a syllable including a nasalized vowel.

These morphophonological processes will be examined when these morphemes are accounted for in Chapter 3.

2.5 Historical phonology

This section proposes the sound changes that are considered to have derived Lamaholot from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian. Although Lamaholot has been considered to belong to the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of the Austronesian language family, it is compared with Proto-Malayo-Polynesian instead of Proto-Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian or Proto-Central Malayo-Polynesian proposed by Blust (1993). This is because, as mentioned earlier, there is quite a bit of controversy over the validity of positing any proto languages between Proto-Malayo-Polynesian and Lamaholot (Donohue and Grimes 2008).

In Appendix B, the database on which the analysis presented here is based is provided, where PCEMP and PCMP words proposed by Blust (1993) are also presented just for reference.

2.5.1 Lamaholot and Proto Malayo-Polynesian

Here, (some of) the sound changes that have taken place in the evolution of Lamaholot from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP). PMP words are cited from Blust (1993), unless otherwise noted. See also Doyle (2010).

Word-final vowel nasalization PMP nasals that appeared in the word-final position nasalized the preceding vowel and then were deleted (cf. Hajek 1997).

PMP	Lamaholot		
*ka-wanan	/vanaN/	[vənã]	‘right’
*ma-qitem	/mitəN/	[mitã]	‘dark’

*kaen	/kaN/	[kã]	‘eat’ in <i>rəkã</i> , where <i>r(ə)</i> - is 3PL.
*inum	/enuN/	[enũ]	‘drink’
*bulan	/vulaN/	[vulõ]	‘moon’
*qazan	/uraN/	[urõ]	‘rain’
*zalan	/laraN/	[larõ]	‘road’
*haŋin	/aŋiN/	[əŋĩ]	‘wind’
*V + ña	/V + N/	[Ṽ]	3SG.NMZ

Coda deletion PMP codas were eliminated in Lamaholot.

PMP	Lamaholot	
*kulit	kuli	‘skin’
*ma-takut	taku	‘to fear’
*utaq	muta	‘to vomit’
*ma-huab	pnoa	‘yawn’
*tiduR	turu	‘sleep’
*turur	tutu	‘say, talk’
*ma-qucip	mori	‘to live, be alive’
*baReq	baʔa	‘to swell’
*qateluR	telu	‘egg’
*tanaq	tana	‘earth; soil’
*tasik	tahi	‘sea’
*laud	lau	‘sea; seaward’
*ma-beReqat	baʔa	‘heavy’
*ma-nipis	mnipi	‘thin’
*ma-hiaq	mia	‘shy, ashamed’
*epat	pa	‘four’

*habaRat	v̥ara	‘west monsoon’
*timuR	timu	‘east monsoon’

***R > ʔ** The Lamaholot reflex of PMP *R is generally ʔ, but not always.

PMP	Lamaholot	
*diRi	deʔi	‘stand’
*baReq	baʔa	‘swell’
*qasiRa	siʔa	‘salt’
*ma-iRaʔ	meʔa	‘red’
*ma-baqeRu	vuʔũ	‘new’

The word-final PMP *R was retained as the glottal stop in some words, but not in others. All the words that are known to have lost the word-final PMP *R end with the high back vowel /u/ in the word-final position.

PMP	Lamaholot	
*ikuR	kikuʔ	‘tail’
*hulaR	ulaʔ	‘snake’
*wahiR	vaiʔ	‘water’
*tiduR	turu	‘sleep’
*qateluR	telu	‘egg’
*timuR	timu	‘east monsoon’

Diphthong truncation The diphthongs *aw, *ay and *uy in PMP became /o/, /e/, and /e/ respectively.

PMP	Lamaholot	
*laŋuy	naŋe	‘swim’
*qatay	atē	‘liver’
*ma-qudip	mori	‘live’
*qalejaw	lərō	‘day’
*hapuy	ape	‘fire’

***q > ø** PMP *q was lost in Lamaholot.

PMP	Lamaholot	
*qatay	atē	‘liver’
*tinaqi	tai	<i>tai knalū</i> ‘intestines’
*taqu	to	‘know, want’
*ma-qudip	mori	‘alive’
*qateluR	telu	‘egg’
*qasiRa	siʔa	‘salt’

***s > h** PMP *s became /h/ in some cases.

*asu	aho	‘dog’
*tasik	tahi	‘sea’
samaʔ	hama	‘same’

***h > ø** PMP *h was lost.

PMP	Lamaholot	
*hikan	ikō	‘fish’

*duha	rua	‘two’
*haŋin	əŋĩ	‘wind’
*ma-hiaq	mia	‘ashamed’

*y > dʒ PMP *y became dʒ.

PMP	Lamaholot	
*kayu (PCMP)	kadʒoʔ	‘tree’
*bayu	badʒo	‘to pound, beat’
*ma-Raya	adʒaʔ	‘large’ (PM) ‘many’ (Lamaholot)

*j/*d > r PMP *j and *d became r in some contexts.

PMP	Lamaholot	
*ŋajan	narõ	‘name’
*qalejaw	lərõ	‘day’
*duha	rua	‘two’
*kedi	kreʔ	‘small’

*ŋ > n/#__ The phonotactics of Lamaholot does not allow a velar nasal to appear in the word-initial position. Such a nasal in PMP became an alveolar nasal.

PMP	Lamaholot
*ŋajan	narõ

Related to this change is that, in nasal assimilation of the S-agreement and nominalization enclitics, the clitic-initial velar stop *k* is replaced with an alveolar nasal

[n], assimilating to the preceding nasalized vowel, because a velar nasal [ŋ] is prohibited in the word-initial position. See Section 3.2.

Blust (2003) demonstrates that many Austronesian languages show a far greater than chance correlation between morphemes that begin with a velar nasal and the general semantic domain ‘mouth/nose’. Although there is no evidence that these words contain the reflex of the prefix *ŋ-*, possibly relevant Lamaholot words are given below.

<i>geka</i>	‘laugh’	<i>gaka</i>	‘cry’
<i>gəle</i>	‘smile’	<i>gigə</i>	‘stare with anger’
<i>gie</i>	‘laugh scornfully’	<i>gile</i>	‘glance sideways’
<i>goko</i>	‘doodledoo’	<i>guo</i>	‘shout’
<i>kaheʔ</i>	‘shout’	<i>kavoʔ</i>	‘whisper’
<i>kəŋəŋəŋə</i>	‘talk in sleep’	<i>koda</i>	‘story’
<i>kpō</i>	‘whistle’	<i>ksirō-kbərō</i>	‘hana susuru’
<i>niu</i>	‘bark’		

2.5.2 *Lewotobi and other dialects*

Here, three sound changes (or phonological characteristics) that may possibly differentiate the Lewotobi dialect from the other dialects are presented: (i) prohibition of codas, (ii) the existence of a labiodental approximant [ʋ], and (iii) /a/ to [ə] raising.

Prohibition of codas

In Lewotobi Lamaholot, neither word-medial nor word-final codas are prohibited, except for the glottal stop /ʔ/, which can occur in the word-final coda. The lack of codas is also characteristic of Larantuka Malay (Paauw 2009), and a preference for open

syllables is a general tendency that can be found in languages of eastern Indonesia.

Indeed, Klamer (2002) counts it as one of the typical features of languages of this region.

However, the preference for open syllables in Lewotobi Lamaholot is exceptionally strong even compared with other Lamaholot dialects. Other dialects allow word-final codas other than the glottal stop (see Table 2.5, for example). Assuming Proto Malayo-Polynesian allows word-final codas (e.g., **ijun* ‘nose’, **ŋajan* ‘name’, and **pereq* ‘squeeze;’ Blust 1993), the preference for open syllables in the Lewotobi dialect can be considered an innovation.

Table 2.5: Word-final consonants across Lamaholot dialects (in IPA)

	Lewotobi	Lewoingu	Lewolema	Solor	Lamalera	Alorese
‘bone’	riʔu	riʔuk	riʔuk	riʔuk	riuk	ruʔiŋ
‘nose’	iru	irun	iru	irū	niruŋ	ʔiruŋ
‘tongue’	ueve	wewel	veve(r)	wewel	efel	ʔefel
‘name’	narə̃	naran	naran	narā	naraŋ	ʔnaraŋ
‘squeeze’	piʔu	peʔuk	piʔuk	N/A	piuk	N/A
‘other’	gehə̃	geha	gehak	ikər	geak	ʔhama laʔhe

There are two major ways for codas to be eliminated in Lewotobi Lamaholot. First, codas were simply dropped. Second, word-final codas were nasalized. In this connection, attention should be drawn to the fact that the phoneme /ʔ/ is the Lamaholot reflex of PMP *R in most cases. As can be seen below, *R was often retained as the word-final glottal stop, while the other consonants were simply lost.

PMP	Lamaholot
*wahiR	waiʔ

Labiodental approximant [ʋ]

In Lewotobi, /v/ can appear as a labiodental approximant [ʋ]. In the neighboring Lamaholot dialects, however, its counterpart is realized as [w], [v], or [f] and is often spelled as “w” in the informal orthography commonly used among Lamaholot speakers. Compare relevant words across dialects in Table 2.6, which shows that reflexes of PMP *b and *w are realized as [w], [v], or [f] in other dialects but as [ʋ] in the Lewotobi dialect.

Table 2.6: Reflexes of PMP *b and *w

PMP	Lewotobi	Lewoingu	Lewolema	Solor	Lamalera	Alorese
*bulan ‘moon’	ʋulã	wulan	vulã	'wula	fulâ	'fulaŋ
*batu ‘stone’	ʋaɽo	wato	vato	'wato	fato	'fato
*buaq ‘fruit’	ʋuãʔ	wua	vuã	'uã	fuã	'kulaŋ
*ka-wanan ‘right’	ʋənã	wanan	vanã	'wana	fana	di'kĕ:
*wahiR ‘water’	ʋaiʔ	waiʔ	vaiʔ	N/A	fai	fei

Sources are as follows: Lewoingu (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007), Lewolema (Pampus 1999 cited in Doyle 2010), Solor (Klamer’s field notes included in Klamer 2011), Lamalera (Keraf 1978), Alorese (Klamer 2011), and Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) (Blust 1993:280–284).

/a/ to [ə] raising

As will be discussed in Section 2.4.1, /a/ is raised to [ə] when either nasalized or followed by a nasalized vowel because of the addition of the nominalization suffix -N. This morphophonological rule has not been reported in other dialects.

2.6 Loan phonology

As is often the case in other areas of Indonesia, Lamaholot speakers also speak Indonesian or Malay, because Indonesian is the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, it is not uncommon for Lamaholot speakers to switch from Lamaholot to Indonesian, or vice versa, in their speech.

As a result of this bilingualism, there are many loan words from Indonesian/Malay in Lamaholot, many of which are related to Christianity, government, science, and technologies. Such loan words have added three phonemes to the inventory of phonemes in Lamaholot.

/ɲ/	[ɲ]	Voiced alveo-palatal nasal stop <i>nyani</i> [ɲani] ‘sing’ <i>punya</i> [puɲa] ‘have’; POSS
/tʃ/	[tʃ]	Voiceless alveo-palatal affricate <i>baca</i> [batʃa] ‘read’
/j/	[j]	Voiced alveo-palatal approximant <i>yang</i> [jaŋ]

When Indonesian or Malay words are incorporated into Lamaholot, they are often nativized so as to fit well into the Lamaholot phonological system. There are three nativization processes that need to be mentioned here: /w/ to [v], nasalization of a final vowel, and breaking down of consonant clusters in favor of the Lamaholot syllable structures.

Word-final vowel nasalization

In general, when they speak Indonesian/Malay, Lamaholot speakers do pronounce codas (i.e., without deleting them). However, when a coda of a loan word is a nasal, it is

realized as nasalization of the preceding vowel. This word-final nasalization is usually found among older speakers.

Indonesian		Lamaholot	
<i>kurang</i>	[kuraŋ]	[kurã]	‘lack’
<i>sembayan</i>	[səmbajan]	[sãbayã]	‘prayer meeting’
<i>depan</i>	[dəpaŋ]	[dəpã]	‘front’
<i>nonton</i>	[nonton]	[notõ]	‘watch’

Loss of an antepenultimate vowel

There are some cases where the vowel of antepenultimate syllable is deleted to conform with the Lamaholot phonotactics rule that more than two syllable words are prohibited, resulting in word-initial consonant clusters.

Indonesian		Lamaholot	
<i>belakang</i>	[bəlaŋaŋ]	[blakã]	‘behind’
<i>sekolah</i>	[səkola]	[skola]	‘school’
<i>Maria</i>	[maria]	[mria]	‘Maria (personal name)’

Labiodental approximant [v]

Lewotobi Lamaholot speakers use a labiodental approximant [v] rather than a bilabial approximant [w], even when they pronounce Indonesian words with /w/.

Indonesian		Lamaholot	
<i>waktu</i>	[waktu]	[vaktu]	‘time’
<i>warna</i>	[warna]	[varna]	‘color’

2.7 Spelling conventions

The following spelling conventions are adopted for this study. Most of them are the same as IPA characters except for those in square brackets.

Table 2.7: Consonant phonemes

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	ALVEO-PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
Stop	p b		[t]	d		k g	ʔ
Nasal		m		n	[ny]	ŋ	
Fricative		[w]		s			h
Affricate					[c] [j]		
Lateral				l			
Trill				r			
Glide					[y]		

Table 2.8: Vowel phonemes

	FRONT	CENTER	BACK
High	i ĩ		u ũ
Mid	e ě	ə ẽ	o õ
Low		a	

For the vowel phonemes, all the IPA characters are employed with the designated phonetic values. For the consonant phonemes, *w* is used for labio-dental fricative /v/, following the spelling conventions often used among Lamaholot speakers across dialects. The diacritic for dental consonants is not indicated in dental stop /t/ for the sake of typographical simplicity. Alveo-palatal nasal, voiceless affricate, voiced affricate and glide are represented by *ny*, *c*, *j*, and *y*, respectively. Using *ny*, *c*, *j*, and *y* is based on the Indonesian orthography and this convention is commonly used in the Lamaholot speaking communities.

3 Morphology

3.0 Introduction

The subject of discussion in this chapter is morphology, or the structure of words, in Lamaholot. In prior studies on Austronesian languages, Flores languages, including Lamaholot, have been often considered to have lost much of the Austronesian morphology inherited from their proto languages (see Section 2.2; Donohue 2007a, b; McWhorter 2007). In most of these languages, lexical roots often correspond to free morphemes and can be used on their own in a sentence, there being only a limited set of morphological inflection and derivation available. The extreme end of this tendency is found in Kéo, where no morphological complicity exists (Baird 2002).

This tendency is generally true of Lamaholot. Lexical roots coincide with words in most cases. This is illustrated by (1).

- (1) *na tobo ia kursi.*
 3SG sit PREP chair
 ‘S/he was seated on the chair.’

A sentence in (1) is composed of four words, and each word corresponds to a single lexical root. The lexical roots *na* ‘3SG’, *tobo* ‘sit’, *ia* ‘locative’, and *kursi* ‘chair’ constitute a single full word on their own right and are used in the sentence without taking any other morphemes.

In some other cases, however, lexical roots are expanded by means of additional morphological elements, such as affixes and enclitics, forming morphologically complex words. Let us look at (2) for illustration.

(2) *kaka* *goʔē* *n-aʔi* = *aʔ*
 elder.brother 1SG.NMZ 3SG-leave =3SG

rae *Hugo* *laŋoʔ* = *kā* *n-ai*.
 DIR.MT Hugo house =NMZ 3SG-go

‘My elder brother went in the direction of the mountain (to) Hugo’s house.’

Several morphologically complex words are used in (2): *goʔē* ‘my’ (*go* + *-ēʔ*), *n-aʔi* = *aʔ* ‘leave (3SG)’, *laŋoʔ* = *kā* ‘a house possessed by someone’, and *n-ai* ‘go (3SG)’. The purpose of this chapter is to examine each of such morphological elements and the morphophonological rules related to them, where they exist.

The discussion of this chapter proceeds as follows. After reviewing morphological units in Section 3.1, we start with S-agreement enclitics in Section 3.2 and go on to discuss S/A-agreement prefixes in Section 3.3 and the pronominal enclitic =*roʔ* in Section 3.4. Section 3.5 investigates the possessive and nominalizing suffix *-N* and enclitic =*kā*. This is in contrast with the suffix *-ēʔ*, which is described in Section 3.6, with regard to the parts of speech of the words to which they can attach. In Section 3.7, the fossilized affixes are examined briefly. Lastly, Section 3.8 looks into morphological processes.

3.1 Morphological units

This section lays out morphological units and operations observed in Lamaholot: words (Section 3.1.1), clitics and affixes (Section 3.1.2), and morphological operations (Section 3.1.3).

3.1.1 Words and their precategoryality

Words are those morphological elements that can be used in a sentence by themselves. Three characteristics of note are pointed out for Lamaholot words. First, all Lamaholot lexical roots can be used as free words, except for those lexical roots listed in (3), which need to take any of the designated affixes before appearing in a sentence.

- (3) List of non-autonomous lexical roots in Lamaholot:
- a. Verbs that take an S/A-agreement affix (Section 3.3.1)
 - b. Verbs that take the five fossilized prefixes listed in (5)d-g (Section 3.7)
 - c. Verbs that show nasal substitution (Section 3.8.1)

Second, all lexical roots can be classified into one of parts of speech such as nouns and verbs, which are fully examined in Chapter 4. Although the lexical roots listed in (3) are morphologically dependent, they can all function as verbs when fully derived.

Lastly, a combination of the two observations above means that **precategoryality** is not found in the Lamaholot lexicon. As pointed out in Section 1.3.3.4, there are two major meanings in the term *precategoryality*. On the one hand, precategoryal roots refer to those “lexical bases which do not occur without further affixation or outside a compound in any syntactic function and from which items belonging to different morphological or syntactic categories (nouns and verbs, for example) can be derived, without there being clear evidence that one of the possible derivations from a given root is more basic than the other one(s)” (Himmelman 2005a:129; cf. Verhaar 1984:2). This is not the case in

Lamaholot: most Lamaholot lexical roots appear in a sentence without further affixation, while non-autonomous lexical roots listed in (3) all serve as verbs when fully derived.

On the other hand, the other meaning of precategoriality is that there is no distinction between noun and verb in the lexicon. This is not true of Lamaholot, either: it shows a clear contrast between the two major parts of speech. We return to the issue of parts of speech in Chapter 4.

3.1.2 Clitics and affixes

Although it is an almost isolating language, Lamaholot has a few clitics and affixes. The inventory of the Lamaholot clitics and affixes is given in (4) and (5).

(4) **Clitics:**

- a. S-agreement enclitics
- b. Third person singular primary object pronoun =*roʔ*
- c. Possessive/nominalization enclitic =*kã*

(5) **Affixes:**

- a. S/A-agreement prefixes
- b. Possessive/nominalization suffix -*N*
- c. Deictic nominalization suffix -*ẽʔ*
- d. Stative prefix *k-*
- e. Non-volitional prefix *k-*
- f. Diminutive *k-*
- g. Causative prefix *b-*
- h. Lexical nominalizer *b-*

As in (4), there are three enclitics: S-agreement enclitics, enclitic pronoun =*roʔ*, and enclitic =*kã*. S-agreement enclitics indicate person and number of an intransitive subject

(S) on the verb. The enclitic pronoun =roʔ replaces with a third person singular primary object. Lastly, the enclitic =kã either marks a possessive relationship on possessed nouns in adnominal possessive constructions or nominalizes non-nominal words. All these words are phonologically independent in the sense that they form their own syllable and can attract the position of stress (Section 2.4).

Lamaholot has only eight affixes as in (5). S/A-agreement prefixes mark person and number of either an intransitive or a transitive subject on the verb (S or A). The suffix -N either marks a possessive relationship on possessed nouns in adnominal possessive constructions or nominalizes non-nominal words. The deictic nominalizing suffix -ẽʔ nominalizes pronouns, demonstratives, and directionals. The last five prefixes are only found in several verbs as fossilized morphemes. All these affixes are phonologically dependent and always part of a syllable of another word.

Among these clitics and affixes, only morphological items relevant to agreement and nominalization are productive and can be observed across the grammar of Lamaholot: S-agreement enclitics, S/A-agreement prefixes, the enclitic pronoun, the possessive/nominalization enclitic and suffix, and the deictic nominalization suffix.

3.1.3 Morphological processes

There are three morphological processes available in Lamaholot, none of which are productive: nasal substitution, compounding, and reduplication. See (6). We discuss each of these morphological processes in Section 3.8.

(6) Morphological processes in Lamaholot:

- a. Nasal substitution
- b. Compounding
- c. Reduplication

3.2 S-agreement enclitics

In Lamaholot, there are two types of agreement markers: S/A-agreement prefixes and S-agreement enclitics. On the one hand, S/A-agreement prefixes are obligatorily used with certain verbs to indicate person and number of either an intransitive or a transitive subject (S or A). On the other hand, S-agreement enclitics mark person and number of an intransitive subject (S) on the verb. Following the conventions proposed in Dixon (1979, 1994), the symbols “S” and “A” refer to an intransitive subject and a transitive subject, respectively. See Chapters 8 and 9 for how these proto-roles can be justified in the Lamaholot grammar.

This section is organized as follows. Section 3.2.1 presents the paradigm of S-agreement enclitics and examples of each. In Section 3.2.2, it is shown that these enclitics show nasal assimilation if there is a nasalized vowel in the final vowel of the preceding verb. Lastly, Section 3.2.3 investigates their function.

3.2.1 Forms of S-agreement enclitics

The complete paradigm of S-agreement enclitics is given in Table 3.1. There are a total of five S-agreement enclitics.

Table 3.1: S-agreement enclitics

	SG	PL
1	=əʔ	=kə
2	=ko	
3	=aʔ	=ka

Observe that two grammatical distinctions that are made by S/A-agreement prefixes (Section 3.3) and pronouns (Section 4.3) are neutralized in S-agreement enclitics. First, S-agreement enclitics do not contrast inclusive and exclusive plural. Both categories are

indicated by the same enclitic =*kə*. Second, first and second persons collapse into a single category in plural form. The reason for the neutralization of these categories in Lewotobi is unknown. In other dialects of Lamaholot, these grammatical categories are clearly distinguished. See Nishiyama and Kelen (2007) and Keraf (1978), among others. For example, in Lewoingu Lamaholot, they have the following paradigm as in Table 3.2 (cited from Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:13), where these agreement markers are analyzed as suffixes and the character *v* represents a schwa.

Table 3.2: S-agreement suffixes in Lewoingu Lamaholot
(adopted from Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:13)

	SG	PL
1	-kvn	-te (INC) -kvn (EXC)
2	-ko/-no	-ke/-ne
3	V-na/N-nvn	-ka

Examples for each S-agreement enclitic are given below. Although the enclitic =*kə* does not distinguish first person inclusive plural, first person exclusive plural, and second person plural, it is so glossed according to the person and number of a subject argument for the sake of convenience.

(7) *lega* ‘walk, hang around’

- a. *go* *lega* = ə?
 1SG walk = 1SG
 ‘I walk.’

- b. *mo* *lega* = *ko*.
 2SG walk =2SG
 ‘You (SG) walk.’
- c. *na* *lega* = *aʔ*.
 3SG walk = 3SG
 ‘S/he walks.’
- d. *tite* *lega* = *kə*.
 1PL.INC walk =1 PL
 ‘We (INC) walk.’
- e. *kame* *lega* = *kə*.
 1PL.EXC walk =1 PL
 ‘we (EXC) walk’
- f. *mio* *lega* = *kə*.
 2PL walk =2PL
 ‘You (PL) walk.’
- g. *ra* *lega* = *ka*.
 3PL walk =3PL
 ‘They walk.’

(8) *ləŋa* ‘fall’

- a. *go* *ləŋa* = *aʔ*.
 1SG fall = 1SG
 ‘I fall.’
- b. *mo* *ləŋa* = *ko*.
 2SG fall =2SG
 ‘You (SG) fall.’

- c. *na* *ləŋa* = *aʔ*.
 3SG fall = 3SG
 ‘S/he falls.’
- d. *tite* *ləŋa* = *kə*.
 1PL.INC fall =1PL
 ‘We (INC) fall.’
- e. *kame* *ləŋa* = *kə*.
 1PL.EXC fall =1PL
 ‘we (EXC) fall.’
- f. *mio* *ləŋa* = *kə*.
 2PL fall =2PL
 ‘You (PL) fall.’
- g. *ra* *ləŋa* = *ka*.
 3PL fall =3PL
 ‘They fall.’

These elements are best analyzed as enclitics rather than suffixes for several reasons. First, S-agreement enclitics can go with word classes other than verbs. They can be used to create derived verbs from some types of adjectives, demonstratives and directionals (Sections 3.2.3 and 4.8). This is not the case with S/A-agreement prefixes. Second, non-linguist Lamaholot speakers can readily detach these elements from verbs. This is not true of S/A-agreement prefixes, either.

3.2.2 Nasal assimilation

When they follow verbs ending with a nasalized vowel, S-agreement enclitics change their form, assimilating to the preceding nasalized vowel: for those S-agreement

enclitics that begin with the velar stop /k/, /k/ becomes /n/; for those that begin with a vowel, /n/ is added to the onset. See Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: S-agreement enclitics (after a nasalized vowel)

	SG	PL
1	=nəʔ	=nə
2	=no	
3	=naʔ	=na

Note that the velar stop /k/ becomes the alveolar nasal /n/ rather than the velar nasal /ŋ/. This may be because the morpheme-initial /ŋ/ is not allowed in this language (Kazuya Inagaki pers. comm.; Laura Robinson pers. comm.). See 2.3.1 again.

Examples of nasalized S-agreement enclitics in Table 3.3 with the verb *duʔũ* ‘sell’ are given below. Note that the verb *duʔũ* ‘sell’ can be used either intransitively or transitively and that it is used as an intransitive verb in the examples below. When used as a transitive verb, this verb does not take S-agreement enclitics (see Section 9.1.1).

(9) *duʔũ* ‘sell’

- a. *go* *duʔũ* = *nəʔ*.
 1SG sell = 1SG
 ‘I sell.’
- b. *mo* *duʔũ* = *no*.
 2SG sell =2SG
 ‘You (SG) sell.’
- c. *na* *duʔũ* = *naʔ*.
 3SG sell = 3SG
 ‘S/he sells.’

- d. *tite* *duʔũ* = *nə*.
 1PL.INC sell =1PL
 ‘We (INC) sell.’
- e. *kame* *duʔũ* = *nə*.
 1PL.EXC sell =1PL
 ‘we (EXC) sell’
- f. *mio* *duʔũ* = *nə*.
 2PL sell =2PL
 ‘You (PL) sell.’
- g. *ra* *duʔũ* = *na*.
 3PL sell =3PL
 ‘They sell.’

3.2.3 Functions of S-agreement enclitics

The primary function of S-agreement enclitics is to indicate person and number of an intransitive subject, in which case they are optional. The use or non-use of these enclitics is determined by several different factors, including tense, aspect, and mood. It appears that they tend to appear when verbs they attach to mean an intentional or volitional action, but this observation is not measured against a corpus data. Examples of the enclitics in this use were presented in (7), (8), and (9) in Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2.

In a description of agreement markers for an intransitive subject in Lamaholot dialects and other eastern Indonesian languages, this optionality is ascribed to split intransitivity (Grangé 2009; Klamer 2008a, b; Holton 2009). Nishiyama and Kelen (2007) speculate that these markers were historically object markers or reflexive pronouns. But no evidence for these hypotheses is available in the Lewotobi dialect.

In addition to, and with the help of, the agreement function, S-agreement enclitics can be indirectly involved in two grammatical phenomena: (i) intransitive-related voice

categories and (ii) verbalization. On the one hand, since they convey agreement information of S arguments, i.e., intransitive subject arguments, S-agreement enclitics can explicitly indicate that the designated clause is an intransitive clause and represents an intransitive-related voice category such as antipassive and middle. See Section 9.1 for more on this indirect effect of S-agreement enclitics.

On the other hand, since only verbs can display agreement phenomena in Lamaholot, S-agreement enclitics show that the clause in question has a verb predicate. For this reason, they are always used with derived verbs that are formed from adjectival nouns, adjectival verbs, directionals, and demonstratives. This function is explored in Section 4.8.

3.3 S/A-agreement prefixes

S/A-agreement prefixes mark person and number of either an intransitive or a transitive subject (S or A) on the verb. Only a handful of verbs can take S/A-agreement prefixes.

This section provides a description of the form and function of S/A-agreement prefixes and proceeds in the following way. In Section 3.3.1, the paradigm of S/A-agreement prefixes is presented along with a list of verbs that can take them. Section 3.3.2 introduces the verb for ‘eat’, which inflects for person and number in an irregular way. Lastly, the functions of S/A-agreement prefixes are discussed in Section 3.3.3.

3.3.1 Forms of S/A-agreement prefixes

The paradigm of S/A-agreement prefixes is presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: S/A-agreement prefixes

	SG	PL
1	k-	t- (INC)

		m- (EXC)
2	m-	m-
3	n-	r-

Historically speaking, these prefixes were derived from pronouns in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian and have the same origin as the corresponding personal pronouns (Bowden and Ross 2003): namely, *go* '1SG', *mo* '2SG', *na* '3SG', *tite* '1PL.INC', *kame* '1PL.EXC', *mio* '2PL', and *ra* '3PL'. They must have been contracted and then have been reanalyzed as prefixes.

Paradigmatic examples of S/A-agreement prefixes are given in (10) through (16). Note that S/A-agreement prefixes and S-agreement enclitics occupy different positions of a verb, and it is possible that both occur within a single intransitive verb.

- (10) *go* *k-enū* = *na?*
 1SG 1SG-drink =1SG
 'I drink.'
- (11) *mo* *m-enū* = *no*.
 2SG 2SG-drink =2SG
 'You drink.'
- (12) *na* *n-enū* = *na?*
 3SG 3SG-drink =3SG
 'S/he drinks'
- (13) *tite* *t-enū* = *na*.
 1PL.INC 1PL.INC-drink =1PL.INC
 'We (INC) drink.'

- (14) *kame* *m-enū* = *nə*.
 1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC-drink = 1PL.EXC
 ‘We (EXC) drink.’
- (15) *mio* *m-enū* = *nə*.
 2PL 2PL-drink = 2PL
 ‘You (PL) drink’
- (16) *ra* *r-enū* = *na*.
 3PL 3PL-drink = 3PL
 ‘They drink.’

These agreement prefixes are obligatorily used with a certain number of verbs: some countable number of verbs must take them, but many others do not. In this study, the symbol “ \emptyset -” is used to indicate that a designated verb inflects for person and number by means of S/A-agreement prefixes. The list of such verbs is given in (17).

(17) **Verbs that take S/A-agreement prefixes:**

\emptyset - <i>ai</i>	‘go’	\emptyset - <i>aʔi</i>	‘leave, go’	\emptyset - <i>ala</i>	‘follow’
\emptyset - <i>ala</i>	‘mistake’	\emptyset - <i>enū</i>	‘drink’	\emptyset - <i>āhī</i>	‘want’
\emptyset - <i>ate</i>	‘hold’	\emptyset - <i>ānā</i>	‘waive’	\emptyset - <i>āʔā</i>	‘do, make; with; and’
\emptyset - <i>oi</i>	‘know, see’	\emptyset - <i>ahuʔ</i>	‘get water’	\emptyset - <i>varo</i>	‘be capable of’

In their description of the Lewoingu dialect, Nishiyama and Kelen (2007) speculate that the condition for the use (or non-use) of the agreement prefixes is phonological: agreement prefixes can be attached only to verbs that begin with a vowel. However, there are two cases of counterexamples against this hypothesis in the Lewotobi dialect. First, there are inflecting verbs that begin with a consonant, such as \emptyset -*varo* ‘be capable of’. Second, there are a number of vowel-beginning verbs that do not take these agreement

prefixes: for example, *ai* ‘get’, *alā* ‘ring’, *ane* ‘feed (chicken)’, *ei* ‘cut something while holding it with hand’, *eruʔ* ‘sharpen’, *āũ* ‘look after (a baby)’, *isə* ‘such’, *ĩũ* ‘wake up’, *oga* ‘spill’, and *opā* ‘cheat’.

3.3.2 Irregular inflecting verb ‘eat’

For some historical reason, the verb for ‘eat’ (PMP **kaen*) inflects for person and number of a subject argument in an irregular way. See Table 3.5. This is the only verb that shows this characteristic in the entire lexicon of Lamaholot.

Table 3.5: Verb for ‘eat’

	SG	PL
1	kā	məkā (EXC)
		təkā (INC)
2	gō	gē
3	gā	rəkā

3.3.3 Functions of S/A-agreement markers

Similarly to S-agreement enclitics, the function of S/A-agreement prefixes is to mark person and number of either an intransitive or a transitive subject on the verb. The obligatory marking of agreement works as a good syntactic test for complex clause structures, as discussed in Chapter 7. For example, in (18), the verb *ø-ai* ‘go’ at the end of the sentence still agrees with the subject argument *go* ‘1SG’ at the beginning, showing that this long complex structure actually serves as a single clause.

- (18) *go* *sepa* *bal* *lewaʔ* *pe* *jendera* *rae* *wohoʔ k-ai*
 1SG kick ball go.through DEM.DIS window DIR.MT outside 1SG-go
 ‘I kicked the ball out through the window toward the direction of the mountain.’

The same verb does not agree with the subject argument when it functions as an adverbial expression as in (19). In this case, third person singular form is used as the default form (Section 7.3.2).

(19) *mo tobo rae n-ai muri.*

2SG sit DIR.MT 3SG-go again

‘You take a seat in a position even more closely to the mountain.’

3.4 Pronominal enclitic =*roʔ*

The pronominal enclitic =*roʔ* displays idiosyncratic features, both syntactic and semantic, and plays an important role in justifying grammatical relations in Lamaholot: this pronominal enclitic marks a third person singular primary object. There are no pronominal enclitics for other person or number in Lamaholot.

The etymology of =*roʔ* is mysterious. In most eastern Indonesian languages, the prefix *r-* indicates third person plural, not singular (Donohue and Grimes 2008). This is also the case with S/A-agreement prefixes in Lamaholot, as indicated in Table 3.4. However, the pronominal enclitic =*roʔ* begins with a *r-* but refers to third person singular.

In this section, we discuss the relationship between =*roʔ* and primary object relation in Section 3.4.1, the syntactic positions of =*roʔ* in Section 3.4.2, and the comparison of =*roʔ* to *na* in Section 3.4.3.

3.4.1 =*roʔ* and primary object relation

The enclitic =*roʔ* is a bound pronoun and used to refer back to an entity already mentioned in the discourse. Let us examine what =*roʔ* can refer to by looking at an

intransitive clause in (20), a transitive clause in (21), and a ditransitive clause in (22). See Chapter 8 for details of what the symbols S, A, P, R, and T stand for.

(20) **Intransitive clause:**

**Hugo pana =ro?*

Hugo walk =3SG

S V

Intended for 'Hugo walked.'

(21) **Transitive clause:**

Hugo bəŋo =ro?

Hugo hit =3SG

A V P

'Hugo hit him/her (P).'

(22) **Ditransitive clause:**

Hugo sorō =ro? gula.

Hugo give =3SG candy

A V R T

'Hugo gave him/her (R) a candy (T).'

In (20), *=ro?* is used in an intransitive clause, resulting in an ungrammatical sentence. In contrast, a transitive clause with *=ro?* in (21) is grammatical, and *=ro?* refers to the patient of the action of hitting (P). In ditransitive clause (22), it expresses the recipient of the action of giving (R).

To summarize, *=ro?* can refer to a transitive object (P) and a ditransitive recipient (R). As discussed in Section 9.2, this means that *=ro?* is used to make reference to arguments bearing the primary object relation, which is a grouping of P and R arguments.

3.4.2 Syntactic position available to =ro?

Another important syntactic feature of =ro? is that it can be only used for referring to the object argument of a main verb. Observe that the use of =ro? will result in an ungrammatical sentence in (23) through (26), where =ro? is employed to replace for the complement NP of what is not a main verb.

(23) **Prepositional use of a demonstrative:**

Siku tei pe: laŋo?

Siku live DEM.DIS house

‘Siku lives there (in) the house.’

→ **Siku tei pe: =ro?*

(24) **Prepositional use of a directional:**

Siku tei rae laŋo?

Siku live DIR.MT house

‘Siku lives in the direction of the mountain (in) the house.’

→ **Siku tei rae =ro?*

(25) **Prepositional use of the locative:**

Siku tei ia laŋo?

Siku live LOC house

‘Siku lives in the house.’

→ **Siku tei ia =ro?*

(26) **Path verb serialization:**

Siku pana tama laŋo?

Siku walk enter house

‘Siku walked into the house.’

→ **Siku pana tama =ro?*

The pronominal enclitic =*roʔ* is used to be replaced with the complement NP of a demonstrative in (23), that of a directional in (24), that of the locative in (25), and that of a serialized verb in (26), but the use of =*roʔ* is not allowed in any of these examples. This means that =*roʔ* can be used with a main verb only. As seen in later discussion, this syntactic fact comes into play in examining the nature of verb serialization in Lamaholot. See Sections 12.1 and 12.4.

Lastly, it is important to emphasize that =*roʔ* is not an agreement marker, although it always occurs with a main verb. It is not allowed to appear when a lexical noun for primary object is already in a clause. See (27).

- (27) **Hugo bəŋo =roʔ gblakĩ.*
 Hugo hit =3SG man
 Intended for ‘Hugo hit the man.’

3.4.3 Bound pronoun =*roʔ* and free pronoun *na*

Interestingly, =*roʔ* may co-occur with *na*, a free personal pronoun for third person singular, without resulting in a noticeable difference in meaning. See (28) and (29).

- (28) *Hugo bəŋo =roʔ na.* cf. (21)
 Hugo hit =3SG 3SG
 ‘Hugo hit him/her.’
- (29) *Hugo sorō =roʔ na gula.* cf. (22)
 Hugo give =3SG 3SG candy
 ‘Hugo gave him/her a candy.’

In either case, *=roʔ* appears between the main verb and the free pronoun *na*. The existence or absence of *=roʔ* does not affect the meaning of the sentences. It just reconfirms that a P or R argument refers to third person singular.

Syntactically speaking, however, *=roʔ* and *na* behave differently. For one thing, *na* does not have the syntactic constraints that *=roʔ* has: *na* can express arguments bearing any kind of grammatical relation, not just the primary object grammatical relation, and be used with non-main predicates.

In addition, *=roʔ* can only appear in a limited position due to its morphological boundedness: *=roʔ* always occurs in the position directly following the main verb, whereas *na* can be dislocated in the sentence-initial position. Compare (30) and (31).

(30) *na Hugo bəŋo (=roʔ).*

3SG Hugo hit (=3SG)

‘He/she, Hugo hit (him/her).’

(31) **roʔ Hugo bəŋo (na).*

3SG Hugo hit (3SG)

Intended for ‘Hugo hit him/her.’

See Section 4.3 for more on pronouns.

3.5 Possessive/nominalizing suffix *-N* and enclitic *=kã*

This section provides a detailed description of the forms and functions of the suffix *-N* and enclitic *=kã*. Formally speaking, *-N* is phonologically and historically a suffix but phonetically realized as nasalization of the preceding vowel, while the enclitic *=kã* is cliticized to a word.

The suffix *-N* and the enclitic *=kã* are called “possessive markers” in descriptions of other dialects (see Nishiyama and Kelen 2007, for instance). This name sounds decent,

especially because the suffix *-N* most likely derives from the PMP **ñā* ‘3SG.GEN’ (Ross 1998; Adelaar 2005; Donohue and Grimes 2008). From a functional perspective, however, these suffix and enclitic have different functions with different parts of speech, including possession, definiteness, modification, nominalization, and exclamation, as in (32) and (33). See Chapter 4 for nouns, adjectival nouns, and adjectival verbs.

(32) Functions of the possessive/nominalization suffix *-N*:

- a. Marking inalienable possession on nouns (Possessor = 3SG)
- b. Nominalizing Class I adjectival verbs (and rarely verbs)

(33) Functions of the possessive/nominalization enclitic *=kã*:

- a. Marking alienable possession on nouns (Possessor = 3SG)
- b. Nominalizing Class II adjectival verbs (and rarely verbs)
- c. Marking exclusiveness/definiteness on nouns
- d. Marking exclamation on adjectival nouns and Class I adjectival verbs

On the one hand, the possessive/nominalization suffix *-N* has two major functions: a possessive marker and a nominalizer. On the other hand, the possessive/nominalization enclitic *=kã* has not only possessive-marking and nominalization functions, but also can mark exclusiveness/definiteness and exclamation. There are two differences between the two morphemes. First, they are attached to different parts of speech. Second, the latter has some additional functions like exclamation marking. In the rest of this study, we will always gloss these morphemes as NMZ without always meaning that they work as nominalizers.

The fact that the single morphemes mark both possession and nominalization is not surprising at all when we take into account the process of grammaticalization that these morphemes were once pronouns for a third person singular possessor but came to nominalize verbs and mean other meanings as well (thanks to Matt Shibatani pers.

comm.). To be more precise, most probably, *-N* and *=kã* must have been nominalized third person pronouns ‘his/hers’, which in turn cliticized to the noun to the point that *-N* became to be phonetically realized as nasalization of the preceding vowel and *=kã* got to show nasal assimilation with the preceding nasalized vowel. They also got non-possessive meanings, as well. Indeed, the Indonesian nominalizer *-nya* is considered to have developed following this very path from possessive marker to nominalizer (Yap 2011).

The possessive-marker origin of these possessive/nominalization markers also explains the syntactic behaviors of (resulting) nominalizations. Those nominalizations that are created with *-N* and *=kã* can work not just as referential expressions but also as noun modifiers.

This section is organized as follows. The formal issues in *-N* and *=kã* are discussed in Sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2, respectively. Their functions in (32) and (33) are examined throughout this section.

3.5.1 Morphophonology of the possessive/nominalization suffix *-N*

The suffix *-N* is attached to nouns, Class I adjectival verbs, and verbs. It is realized as nasalization of the preceding vowel. Observe that the suffix *-N* is attached to nouns in (34), to Class I adjectival verbs in (35), and to verbs in (36).

(34) Possessor of inalienably-possessed nouns:

[lei]	‘leg’	→	[leĩ]	‘his/her leg’
[t̚æ]	‘excrement’	→	[t̚æẽ]	‘his/her excrement’
[uə]	‘buttocks’	→	[uã]	‘his/her buttocks’
[luvu]	‘stomach’	→	[luvũ]	‘his/her stomach’
[keko]	‘back’	→	[kekõ]	‘his/her back’

(35) **Nominalization of Class I adjectival verbs:**

[kvaʔi]	‘wet’	→	[kvaʔĩ]	‘a wet one’
[lereʔ]	‘short’	→	[lerēʔ]	‘a short one’
[beləʔ]	‘big’	→	[belǎʔ]	‘a big one’
[məkoʔ]	‘bad’	→	[məkōʔ]	‘a bad one’
[kpəsuʔ]	‘short’	→	[kpəsūʔ]	‘a short one’

(36) **Nominalization of verbs:**

[tobo]	‘sit’	→	[tobō]	‘the one who sits’
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/a/ to [ə] vowel raising The suffix *-N* conditions /a/ to [ə] vowel raising, where the low central vowel /a/ is raised to [ə]. See (37).

(37) **/a/ to [ə] vowel raising:**

/a + N/ → [ǎ]

In Section 2.1, it was demonstrated that the number of contrastive nasalized vowels is fewer than that of oral vowels in Lamaholot. The reason for this is the /a/ to [ə] vowel raising.

To illustrate this raising rule, let us consider some examples: the suffix *-N* goes with nouns in (38), with Class I adjectival verbs in (39), and with verbs in (40).

(38) **Possessor of inalienably-possessed nouns:**

[lima]	‘hand’	→	[limǎ]	‘his/her hand’
[məna]	‘vagina’	→	[mənǎ]	‘her vagina’

(39) **Nominalization of Class I adjectival verbs:**

[blahaʔ]	‘long’	→	[bləhəʔ]	‘a long one’
[kleaʔ]	‘light’	→	[kleəʔ]	‘a light one’
[mara]	‘dry’	→	[marə]	‘a dry one’
[buraʔ]	‘white’	→	[burəʔ]	‘a white one’
[meʔa]	‘red’	→	[meʔə]	‘a red one’

(40) **Nominalization of verbs:**

[baka]	‘fly’	→	[bakə]	‘the one who flies’
[bloka]	‘cheat’	→	[blokə]	‘the one who cheats’

In addition, /a/ may be raised to [ə] when it precedes a nasalized vowel, although this does not happen to all words. As in the spreading of nasality discussed in Section 2.1.2, nasals, /h/, and /ʔ/ are transparent to this raising (cf. Borroff 2005, 2007).

(41) **Spreading of the /a/ to [ə] vowel raising:**

/a/ → [ə] / __ (nasal/h/ʔ) \tilde{V}

(42) Examples of words to which rule (41) applies:

[t̪ae]	‘excrement’	→	[t̪əē]	‘his/her excrement’
[manu]	‘chicken’	→	[aʔ mənũʔ]	‘bird’ (compound)
[blahaʔ]	‘long’	→	[bləhəʔ]	‘long’ (nominalized)

(43) Examples of words to which rule (41) does not apply:

[baʔa]	‘heavy’	→	[baʔə]	‘a heavy one’
[t̪aʔa]	‘hard’	→	[t̪aʔə]	‘a hard one’
[kvaʔi]	‘wet’	→	[kvaʔi]	‘a wet one’

3.5.2 Morphophonology of the possessive/nominalization enclitic =kǎ

The enclitic =kǎ is used with nouns, Class II adjectival verbs, and verbs. Let us look at examples in (44) and (45) for illustration.

(44) **Possessor of alienably-possessed nouns:**

[laŋoʔ]	‘house’	→	[laŋoʔ kǎ]	‘his/her house’
[oto]	‘car’	→	[oto kǎ]	‘his/her car’

(45) **Nominalization of Class II adjectival verbs:**

[blega]	‘wide’	→	[blega kǎ]	‘a wide one’
[krubu]	‘dull’	→	[krubu kǎ]	‘a dull one’

Nasal assimilation The enclitic =kǎ becomes =nǎ after a nasalized vowel. Importantly, the word-final glottal stop of the preceding word is transparent relative to this assimilation process. Nasality spreads progressively whether or not a glottal stop is in between. See (46) and (47).

(46) **Possessor of alienably-possessed nouns:**

[tǎmǎ]	‘friend’	→	[tǎmǎ nǎ]	‘his/her friend’
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(47) **Nominalization of Class II adjectival verbs:**

[gǎ]	‘sharp’	→	[gǎ nǎ]	‘a sharp one’
[milǎ]	‘dirty’	→	[milǎ nǎ]	‘a dirty one’
[sǎnǎ]	‘beautiful’	→	[sǎnǎ nǎ]	‘a beautiful one’
[brinjǎ]	‘sick’	→	[brinjǎ nǎ]	‘a sick one’
[belǎʔ]	‘big’	→	[belǎʔ nǎ]	‘a big one’

3.6 Deictic nominalizer $-ē?$

Pronouns, demonstratives, and directionals have deictic meanings in common and all display parallel syntactic distributions (Section 4.10; Chapter 6). The suffix $-ē?$ is used to nominalize these.

The discussion of this section proceeds as follows. In Section 3.6.1, the morphophonology of the deictic nominalizer $-ē?$ is presented along with an inventory of the nominalized forms of pronouns, demonstratives, and directionals. Section 3.6.2 investigates its functions.

3.6.1 Morphophonology of $-ē?$

The paradigms of pronouns, demonstratives, and directionals with and without the suffix $-ē?$ are presented in Tables 3.6, 3.7, and 3.8, respectively. A fuller analysis of these forms is given in Chapter 6.

Table 3.6: Personal pronouns

	PLAIN		NOMINALIZED	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	go	kame (EXC)	goʔē ‘my, mine’	kəmēʔ (EXC) ‘our, ours’
		tite (INC)		titēʔ (INC) ‘our, ours’
2	mo	mio	moʔē ‘your, yours’	miōʔ ‘your, yours’
3	na	ra	nəʔē ‘his, her, hers’	rəʔē ‘their, theirs’

Table 3.7: Demonstratives

		PLAIN		NOMINALIZED	
PROXIMAL	POINT	te:/tehe	‘here’	teʔē	‘this’
	AREAL	pi:/pihi	‘here’	piʔi	‘this’

DISTAL	pe:/pehe	'there'	peʔẽ	'that'
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Table 3.8: Directionals

AXIS	PLAIN	NOMINALIZED	MEANING (Intra-village context)
MOUNTAIN-SEA	rae	rəẽʔ	'direction of the mountain'
	lau	ləũʔ	'direction of the sea'
	wəli	wəlĩʔ	'direction parallel with the coast'
SKY-EARTH	teti	letĩʔ	'direction of the sky'
	lali	lalĩʔ	'direction of the earth'

When the nominalizing suffix *-ẽʔ* is attached to a plain form of pronouns, demonstratives, and directionals, there are several morphophonological changes to follow.

Excessive /e/ deletion The Lamaholot phonotactics rarely allows words to be more than two syllables (Section 2.2.1). Complying with this, when *-ẽʔ* is affixed to disyllabic words, the vowel *e* is deleted, leaving other phonological features behind. See (48).

(48) **Deletion of the extra vowel *e*:**

/mio + -ẽʔ/ → [miõʔ] '2PL.NMZ'

In (48), the nominalizing suffix goes with the disyllabic personal pronoun *mio* '2PL'. The extra vowel *e* is deleted, and the other phonological features, namely, the glottal stop and nasalization, move to the preceding vowel *o*.

In contrast, when it is attached to monosyllable words, the vowel *e* is retained. Consider (49), for instance, where *-ẽʔ* is attached to the monosyllabic word *mo* '2SG,' *e* remains intact.

(49) **No deletion of the vowel e:**

/mo + -ēʔ/ → [moʔē] ‘2SG.NMZ’

Avoidance of a coda Another phonotactic feature of Lamaholot is a preference for open syllables (Section 2.2.1). Most likely reflecting this preference, the glottal stop moves to the onset of -ēʔ, if possible, to avoid being a coda. Thus:

(50) /go + -ēʔ/ → [goʔē] ‘1SG.NMZ’

/na + -ēʔ/ → [nəʔē] ‘3SG.NMZ’

Faithfulness constraints A constraint related to the avoidance of a coda is that the final output must be faithful to the lexical input. Thus, the glottal stop does not proceed to the onset of the preceding vowel in the following case, where the advancement of the glottal stop can break the lexical input.

(51) /rae + -ēʔ/ → [rəēʔ] ‘DIR.MT.NMZ’ (cf. *[rəʔē])

/a/ to [ə] vowel raising As has been mentioned several times in this section, the low central vowel /a/ is raised to [ə] when the vowel of the following syllable is a nasalized vowel. As in the spreading of nasality, nasals, /h/, and /ʔ/ are transparent to this raising. Thus:

(52) /kame + -ēʔ/ → [kəməʔ] ‘1PL.EXC.NMZ’

/na + -ēʔ/ → [nəʔē] ‘3SG.NMZ’

/ra + -ēʔ/ → [rəʔē] ‘3PL.NMZ’

3.6.2 Functions of the deictic nominalizer *-ē?*

The nominalized forms created with the deictic nominalizer *-ē?* have two major uses with different functions, (i) NP-use; they head an NP and serve a referential function, and (ii) modifier-use; they form an NP together with a head nominal and carry out a modifying/restricting function. Let us use the nominalized form of *go* ‘1SG’ as an illustration. See (53) and (54).

(53) **NP-use of *go?ē*:**

na gute go?ē.
na gute go -ē?
 3SG take 1SG -NMZ
 ‘S/he took mine.’

(54) **Modifier-use of *go?ē*:**

na gute buku go?ē.
na gute buku go -ē?
 3SG take book 1SG -NMZ
 ‘S/he took my book.’

In (53), *go?ē*, which is the nominalized form of *go* ‘1SG’, serves as a referential expression referring to an entity associated with speaker; in (54), it follows the noun *buku* ‘book’, restricting the range of reference of the head nominal *buku* ‘book’.

The nominalized form of *pe* ‘there’ displays exactly the same distributions as *go?ē* with the same functions. See (54) for its NP-use and (55) for its modifier-use.

(55) NP-use of *peʔē*:

na gute peʔē.

na gute pe: _____ -ēʔ.

3SG take DEM.DIS -NMZ

‘S/he took that (one, or the one that is there).’

(56) Modifier-use of *peʔē*:

na gute buku peʔē.

na gute buku pe: _____ -ēʔ.

3SG take book DEM.DIS -NMZ

‘S/he took that book.’

The same is true of *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’, too. See (57) and (58).

(57) NP-use of *raʔē*:

na gute raʔē.

na gute rae _____ -ēʔ.

3SG take DIR.MT -NMZ

‘S/he took the one located in the direction of the mountain.’

(58) Modifier-use of *raʔē*:

na gute buku raʔē.

na gute buku rae _____ -ēʔ.

3SG take book DIR.MT -NMZ

‘S/he took the book located in the direction of the mountain.’

Most probably, *-ēʔ* is related to a possessive or genitive marker in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (Reid 1978, 2002; Ross 2002; Blust 2005), and because of this in some

dialects of Lamaholot, the suffix in question is analyzed as a possessive suffix (for example, see Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:15).

However, although this observation is diachronically correct, it is not synchronically plausible to call it a possessive suffix in the Lewotobi dialect. This suffix expresses a possessive meaning only with pronouns. Instead, we name the suffix *-ē?* the deictic nominalizer, because the deictic expressions marked by this suffix are all nominal.

3.7 Fossilized prefixes

The affixes that we have looked at so far are synchronically more or less productive. Those prefixes discussed below are fossilized and not productive: stative *k-* (Section 3.7.1), unintentional *k-* (Section 3.7.2), diminutive *k-* (Section 3.7.3), causative *b-* (Section 3.7.4), and lexical nominalization *b-* (Section 3.7.5).

3.7.1 Stative *k-*

The prefix *k-* indicates a property concept. Most likely, it is the reflex of PMP **ka-*, which also marks a stative event (Blust 2003), and the vowel of **ka-* was dropped because Lamaholot phonotactics prefers disyllabic to trisyllabic words.

Examples of verbs containing this prefix are given below.

<i>k-beke</i>	'deaf'	<i>k-lai</i>	'fast'
<i>k-lami</i>	'sweet'	<i>k-lapo</i>	'skin headed'
<i>k-lea?</i>	'light'	<i>k-lisi</i>	'accurate'
<i>k-lo<u>su</u></i>	'bald headed'	<i>k-lue</i>	'round'
<i>k-lu?</i>	'very far'	<i>k-mama</i>	'tasteless'
<i>k-m<u>elu</u></i>	'clean'	<i>k-m<u>āmū</u></i>	'young'
<i>k-mi<u>ā</u></i>	'addicted'	<i>k-milo</i>	'shine'
<i>k-nipu</i>	'narrow'	<i>k-nu<u>ā</u></i>	'ripe'

<i>k-pəsu?</i>	‘short; not long’	<i>k-re?</i>	‘small’
<i>k-rogi</i>	‘tangled’	<i>k-rubu</i>	‘dull’
<i>k-teko?</i>	‘bent’	<i>k-təgə</i>	‘strong’
<i>k-tao?</i>	‘full; cannot eat more’	<i>k-waʔi</i>	‘wet’
<i>k-wasa</i>	‘empty’	<i>k-wue</i>	‘crazy’

The function of the prefix *k-* is synchronically opaque and each verb containing this prefix is stored in the lexicon as it is. It is not possible to use these verbs without the prefix *k-*. This description is also true of the unintentional prefix *k-* (Section 3.7.2).

3.7.2 Unintentional *k-*

The prefix *k-* is used with verbal roots that express an unintentional action. Most probably, this is a fossilized form of the PMP prefix **ka-* for unintentional or spontaneous actions.

<i>k-ba:</i>	‘clear the throat’	<i>k-bora</i>	‘yawn’
<i>k-beka?</i>	‘shout in anger’	<i>k-biwə</i>	‘sob’
<i>k-daso</i>	‘slip’	<i>k-dapu</i>	‘sneeze’
<i>k-lou</i>	‘vomit’	<i>k-mawā</i>	‘(children) growing’
<i>k-mogə</i>	‘feel tired’	<i>k-pərə</i>	‘be silent’
<i>k-waŋa?</i>	‘hear’	<i>k-weto</i>	‘be surprised’
<i>k-woa</i>	‘forget an appointment’		

3.7.3 Diminutive *k-*

Many words beginning with *k-* show a far greater than chance correlation with a diminutive meaning. Especially, nouns for insects usually begin with *k-*. This may suggest that *k-* can be analyzed as a diminutive marker.

<i>kduʔo</i>	‘grasshopper’	<i>klei</i>	‘ethnic dress for women’
<i>klə:</i>	‘liquid inside a coconut’	<i>kmeko</i>	‘scorpion’
<i>kmərə</i>	‘coconut ant’	<i>kmoko</i>	‘big ant’
<i>kmiheʔ</i>	‘ant’	<i>kmūhū</i>	‘baby’
<i>kmiʔe</i>	‘walnut’	<i>knasa</i>	‘pain relieving cream’
<i>knami</i>	‘fly’	<i>knawã</i>	‘sprout’
<i>knaʔe</i>	‘ethnic dress for men’	<i>krio</i>	‘clothes’
<i>krupū</i>	‘small crab’	<i>kragaʔ</i>	‘spider’
<i>krome</i>	‘mouse’	<i>kretu</i>	‘octopus’
<i>ktoko</i>	‘mantis’ (insect)	<i>kwoko</i>	‘ghost’
<i>ktoro</i>	‘eggplant’	<i>krujō</i>	‘(large) crab’

Needless to say, the function of the diminutive can be illusionary: it can accidentally happen that a certain number of words for small things begin with *k-*, and there are a number of words standing for such things that do not contain the word-initial *k-*. We need to collect more data on this.

3.7.4 Causative *b-*

There is only one attested example of the causative prefix *-b-*. It seems that it was used to mark a causative member of causative-inchoative verb pairs.

<i>loi</i>	‘untie’ (inchoative)	<i>b-loi</i>	‘untie’ (causative)
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3.7.5 Lexical nominalization *b-*

The prefix *b-* is found in the following three pairs of expressions. Most probably, it was used for lexical nominalization before.

<i>ruda?</i>	‘order’	<i>b-ruda?</i>	‘servant’
<i>lawa</i>	‘carry (a baby)’	<i>b-lawa</i>	‘clothes for carrying a baby’
<i>lema</i>	‘scoop’ (verb)	<i>b-lema</i>	‘scoop’ (noun)

3.8 Morphological processes

There are three morphological processes available in Lamaholot, none of which are productive: nasal substitution (Section 3.8.1), compounding (Section 3.8.2), and reduplication (Section 3.8.3).

3.8.1 Nasal substitution

Nasal substitution “replaces a base-initial obstruent with the homorganic nasal under prefixation” (Blust 2004:73). It is known as “arguably the most prominent morphonological process seen in Austronesian languages” (ibid.). Pampus (1999:30ff) points out that the Lamalera dialect of Lamaholot has nasal substitution, which is, however, considered as “a historically independent development” by Blust (2004:81), as it has different functions from the types found in other Austronesian languages. Nishiyama and Kelen (2007:48-55) report that Lewoingu Lamaholot also shows a similar type of nasal substitution.

The Lewotobi dialect, too, has nasal substitution of the kind found in Lamalera Lamaholot and Lewoingu Lamaholot. However, nasal substitution in this language is highly fixed, and only a few words display the alternation. Its function is limited to **argument lexical nominalization**.

Here, we only show all the attested examples according to the functions of nasal substitution, leaving a detailed analysis for future investigation. We can only safely say that nasal substitution was once used to derive lexical nominalizations from verbs.

(i) Action verb (oral) vs. instrument noun (nasal):

<i>pəʔə</i>	'cut'	<i>məʔə</i>	'cutting board'
<i>pəʔtuʔ</i>	'hit with mətuʔ'	<i>məʔtuʔ</i>	'short wood to hit someone'
<i>piku</i>	'clip tuak tree'	<i>mniku</i>	'tool for clipping tuak tree'
<i>polē</i>	'go across'	<i>kmolē</i>	'long wood'
<i>biʔtu</i>	'do fishing with a rod'	<i>mnitu</i>	'fishing rod'
<i>boge</i>	'wrap with cloth'	<i>mnoge</i>	'bandage'
<i>ʔobo</i>	'sit down'	<i>noboʔ</i>	'seat'
<i>ʔuhu</i>	'spear'	<i>knuhu</i>	'spear to bundle straw'
<i>ʔugoʔ</i>	'skew'	<i>nugoʔ</i>	'skewer'
<i>dira</i>	'use a fan'	<i>mnira</i>	'fan'
<i>gaha</i>	'grind'	<i>mnaħa</i>	'sharp stick for grinding'
<i>gurū</i>	'comb to remove lice'	<i>knurū</i>	'louse-removing comb'
<i>giʔa</i>	'scratch'	<i>kniʔa</i>	'match' (noun)
<i>sakoʔ</i>	'hoe' (verb)	<i>nakoʔ</i>	'hoe' (noun)
<i>valē</i>	'throw a long wood'	<i>mnalē</i>	'long wood to throw'
<i>ħareʔ</i>	'slice (tuak tree)'	<i>məreʔ</i>	'knife for slicing tuak tree'
<i>ħuro</i>	'spoon' (verb)	<i>nuro</i>	'spoon' (instrumental noun)
<i>hoʔe</i>	'ladle, scoop' (verb)	<i>noʔe</i>	'dipper, ladle'
<i>ħapē</i>	'hang' (verb)	<i>ħapē</i>	'hook'
<i>ħamo</i>	'sweep'	<i>mħamoʔ</i>	'broom'

(ii) Action verb (oral) vs. result noun (nasal):

<i>ħakā</i>	'name'	<i>ħakā</i>	'name'
<i>ħakə</i>	'build a ceiling'	<i>ħakə</i>	'ceiling'
<i>ħau</i>	'sew'	<i>ħau</i>	'seam'

(iii) Action verb (oral) vs. measure word (nasal):

<i>bəwĩ</i>	‘bundle (wood)’	<i>mnəwĩ</i>	‘bundle’ (classifier)
<i>pala</i>	‘cut, slice’	<i>mala</i>	‘slice’ (classifier)
<i>pəgã</i>	‘grasp’	<i>məgã</i>	‘handful’ (classifier)

(iv) Action verb (oral) vs. profession noun (nasal):

<i>həre?</i>	‘slice (tuak tree)’	<i>nəre?</i>	‘person who slices tuak tree’
<i>səko</i>	‘have sex’	<i>sməkõ?</i>	‘promiscuous person’
<i>səpã</i>	‘go fishing’	<i>snəpã</i>	‘fisher’

Observe that nasal substitution is sometimes followed by another irregular phonological change: for example, *mniku* ‘a tool for clipping the flower of the *tuak* tree (a species of palm tree) to extract the sap to produce palm wine’ is derived from *piku* ‘to clip the flower of the *tuak* tree’ by means of nasal substitution of /p/ with /m/, but it is also accompanied by n-insertion. At this stage, it is not possible to present a full phonological analysis of these irregularities due to the paucity of relevant historical and dialectological data.

3.8.2 Compounding

It appears that compounding is a marginal phenomenon in Lamaholot, and we can only point out two types of compounding here: verbal compounds and place names. First, in verb compounds, two verbs are juxtaposed to express another meaning in a non-compositional way. The two verbs of verb compounds always go together and no element can be inserted between them. Examples of verb compounds are found in (59). See Section 13.3.3 for details of verbal compounds.

(59) **Verb compounds:**

<i>biho</i>	<i>brisa</i>	‘cook’	<i>huka</i>	<i>teka</i>	‘serve (food)’
<i>tubo</i>	<i>geha</i>	‘pull’	<i>neka?</i>	<i>soga</i>	‘store (rice or cereal)’
<i>gere</i>	<i>lodo</i>	‘be panic’	<i>sapī</i>	<i>sira</i>	‘clean (rice or cereal)’
<i>ksirō</i>	<i>kbārō</i>	‘sniff’	<i>gopa</i>	<i>lewa</i>	‘do not work’
<i>soka</i>	<i>sele</i>	‘dance’	<i>suru</i>	<i>gue</i>	‘do very hard’

Verbal compounds are highly lexicalized and in many cases the meaning of each component is not clear or unknown. For this reason, only the meaning of the compounds is presented here.

Second, a number of native Lamaholot place names are compounds. To illustrate, look at (60) and (61).

(60) *lewo-tobi*

village-tamarind

‘the Lewotobi village’ (lit. ‘tamarind village’)

(61) *nura-belā?*

forest-big.NMZ

‘the Nurabelen village’ (lit. ‘a big forest’)

3.8.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is not a productive morphophonological process in Lamaholot: only a small number of words are formed with reduplication. Full reduplication is the only type of reduplication observed in our data. Examples are given in (62):

(62) **Full reduplication:**

adza? adza? ‘many’

cf. *adza?* ‘many’

<i>dahe dahe</i>	'very near'	cf. <i>dahe</i>	'near'
<i>kəsə? kəsə?</i>	'little by little'	cf. <i>kəsə?</i>	'a little'
<i>nak̄ nak̄</i>	'eat/drink little by little'	cf. * <i>nak̄</i>	
<i>pāī pāī</i>	'eat/drink little by little'	cf. * <i>pāī</i>	
<i>pāū pāū</i>	'slowly'	cf. * <i>pāū</i>	

4 *Parts of speech*

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with **parts of speech**, such as nouns and verbs, which are considered here as one of the kinds of classification of words. In principle, words can be classified into different classes from different criteria for different purposes (Haspelmath 2001); **word classes**, the products of word classification, can vary depending on what kind of criterion is adopted for a specific classification, and one classification of words may or may not overlap or coincide with another.

There are several major ways of grouping words in linguistic analysis: phonological, morphological, semantic, morphosyntactic, and sociolinguistic criteria, among others. Phonologically speaking, most Lamahlot words can be divided into either monosyllabic or disyllabic word class with regard to the number of a syllable that a given word contains (Section 2.2.1). We already know from Section 2.3 that these **phonological word classes** come into play when we discuss the stress assignment patterns: the stress is assigned to either the single syllable of monosyllabic words or on the penultimate syllable of disyllabic words.

Words can be classified on morphological grounds, too: **free morphemes**, **clitics**, and **affixes** (Section 3.1). Most Lamahlot words are free morphemes, which can be used in a sentence without any other morphological elements. But this language also contains a certain number of clitics such as S-agreement enclitics and a small set of affixes like the possessive/nominalization suffix *-N* and S/A-agreement prefixes. These clitics and affixes are bound morphemes and need to go with another word in order to function

syntactically. This distinction is posited for various purposes. For instance, this can be useful in describing the stress assignment patterns: only free morphemes and clitics count as stress-bearing units in Lamaholot (Section 2.3). In the context of agreement, only clitics and affixes will become important, because only these two classes can indicate agreement (See Sections 3.2 and 3.3).

Semantic criteria for word classes play a significant role in analyzing the morphosyntax of Lamaholot. For instance, there are several semantically distinct subclasses in verbs (see Section 4.1.2 for the discussion of verbs): for example, **verbs of giving**, **verbs of path of motion**, **verbs of manner of motion**, etc. Verbs with different types of meanings display peculiar syntactic behaviors. For example, only verbs of giving can be involved in the **antidative alternation**, while verbs of transaction and service show the **benefactive alternation**. See Section 8.6 for semantic classes of verbs.

Another semantic contrast is drawn between the **alienably possessed** and the **inalienably possessed** entities. On the one hand, entities like body parts are necessarily owned by, or part of, another entity. Such entities are referred to as inalienably possessed. On the other hand, entities such as a house and shoes are alienably possessed. This semantic contrast between alienable and inalienable possession must be taken into account in examining the grammar of Lamaholot and other eastern Indonesian languages: different possessive relationships are realized in different attributive possessive constructions (Section 5.1).

The semantic word classes that are particularly relevant to the discussion of parts of speech are **action words**, **property words**, and **entity/thing words**. In a traditional understanding of parts of speech, verbs are those words that profile an action or change of state, adjectives are those words that express a property concept, and nouns are equivalent to those that name a thing or an entity (Lyons 1969, for example). The use of these semantic word classes as the only criteria for parts of speech is often considered as

inappropriate, because, among others, there are expressions that express an action yet function as thing-like words (see nominalization in later discussion).

On top of phonological, morphological, and semantic word classifications, words can be distinguished from sociolinguistic perspectives. For one thing, the Lamaholot lexicon is not just composed of **native or indigenous words** but also of **loan words**, namely, those words that were borrowed from other languages spoken adjacent to Lamaholot. This classification is of linguistic import, because loan words are unlikely to comply with the phonological rules that regularly apply to native words (Section 2.6).

Another sociolinguistic classification of words lies between **bahasa biasa** ‘everyday language’ and **bahasa adat** ‘ritual language’ (*bahasa biasa* and *bahasa adat* are the Indonesian words for ‘everyday language’ and ‘ritual language’). The latter is only used in culturally and religiously particular contexts and is often characterized by parallelism and opaque meanings. Lastly, Lamaholot speakers recognize a set of taboo words *maki* ‘taboo’, which are those words with sexual and other connotations.

Yet another way of classifying words is based on the nature of membership of classes: the **open** and the **closed** classes. Cross-linguistically, it is common that major parts of speech such as nouns and verbs are open classes, while pronouns, demonstratives and adpositions are closed (Schachter 1985). This classification is often invoked in the context of parts of speech, because open word classes at least superficially tend to have lexical meanings while closed ones are likely to have grammatical functions.

Lastly, morphosyntactic behaviors of words, whether through structural coding or behavior potential, allow us to posit morphosyntactic word classes in a language: one part of speech is defined by one set of morphosyntactic tests and another part of speech by another set (Schachter 1985, for instance). Such morphosyntactically defined word classes are commonly referred to as **parts of speech**, **syntactic categories**, **lexical categories**, or simply **word classes**, and the names of such word classes include **nouns**, **adjectives**, and **verbs**. In this study, too, we adopt this way of identifying parts of speech.

To illustrate, nouns are often defined as those words that can have affixes indicating number, case, possessor person/number, and definiteness and that can work as arguments of a predicate; adjectives are those words that can appear in comparative and superlative constructions and that are used to modify nouns; and verbs can be characterized by means of morphology indicating agreement, tense, aspect, mood, polarity, and valence-changing operations as well as the function of serving as predicates (Schachter 1985; Haspelmath 2001, among others). In this popular approach, all one has to do to determine parts of speech in his/her language is to apply these morphosyntactic tests against words and classify the words according to the results of the tests.

However, applying morphosyntactic tests for word classification does not always work out as described above. There is a known difficulty in defining parts of speech by simply employing syntactic behaviors as tests: different morphosyntactic phenomena provide different ways of classification, and the resulting classification may vary depending on which phenomena to use (Croft 2010). For instance, consider agreement phenomena and comparative/superlative constructions in Lamaholot, which can possibly serve as the tests for identifying parts of speech in this language. On the one hand, agreement phenomena (Sections 3.2 and 3.3) seem to offer decent evidence that verbs are distinguished from nouns and adjectives, because only some action verbs can agree for the person and number of a subject argument, as in (1).

- (1) *go* *k-aʔi* = *aʔ*.
 1SG 1SG-leave =1SG
 ‘I will leave.’

In (1), the action word *aʔi* ‘leave’ agrees with the subject argument by means of the S/A-agreement prefix *k-* and the S-agreement enclitic =*aʔ*. However, this kind of agreement phenomena cannot be sufficient evidence for positing a verb category in this

language, because not all action words agree with subject arguments. S/A-agreement prefixes are only for a certain set of action words (Section 3.3), while S-agreement enclitics can go only with intransitive verbs (Section 3.2). Thus, adopting agreement as a morphosyntactic test for the verb category will result in neglecting the similarity between action words with and without agreement.

On the other hand, comparative and superlative constructions in Lamaholot appear to provide a basis for identifying an adjectival category: most property words can form a comparative construction with the particle *bo:* and a superlative construction with the particle *=a?* (see Sections 4.7.3.1 and 4.7.3.2, respectively). Observe a comparative construction in (2) and a superlative construction in (3).

- (2) *laŋo?* *go?**ē* *bo:* *belə?* *dari* *mo?**ē*.
 house 1SG.NMZ more big than 2SG.NMZ
 ‘My house is bigger than yours.’

- (3) *laŋo?* *rə?**ē* *belə?* *=a?*.
 house 3PL.NMZ big =too
 ‘Their house is too big/the biggest.’

However, these comparative and superlative constructions cannot constitute good evidence for justifying parts of speech. There are two reasons for this. First, not all property words can be part of these constructions. For example, the property word for ‘raw’ cannot appear in the two constructions, as in (4) and (5).

- (4) *??ikā* *te?**ē* *bo:* *tāŋā*.
 fish DEM.PROX.NMZ more raw
 Intended for ‘This fish is rawer (than others).’

- (5) *ʔʔikā teʔē tāḡā =aʔ.*
 fish DEM.PROX.NMZ raw =too
 Intended for ‘This fish is the rawest (?).’

Second, even non-property words can be involved in the two constructions. In (6), for instance, the word for a deictic motion is used with the particle *=aʔ*.

- (6) *Hugo rae n-ai =aʔ.*
 Hugo DIR.MT 3SG-go =too
 ‘Hugo is in a position too close to the mountain.’

For these two reasons, comparative and superlative constructions do not allow us to safely recognize parts of speech; rather, as discussed in Sections 4.7.3.1 and 4.7.3.2, it is more plausible to say that only words with some degree concept can appear in comparative and superlative constructions in Lamaholot. If these constructions can be taken account of only on semantic grounds, there is no need to appeal to additional theoretical constructs such as parts of speech to account for the phenomena.

Of course, one might argue that in Lamaholot adjectives are those words that can be involved in comparative and superlative constructions and that for that reason the verb *ø-ai* ‘go’ in (6) should be considered as an adjective. However, this analysis brings about another and more serious problem: this deictic motion verb *ø-ai* ‘go’ can agree with a subject argument, which can be also taken as evidence that it is a verb (see above). Here different morphosyntactic tests provide different results: the existence of agreement morphology tells us that the word *ø-ai* ‘go’ is a verb; while the compatibility with comparative and superlative constructions indicates that it is an adjective.

This contradiction may be solved by choosing one of the two morphosyntactic tests over another, but it appears that it is difficult to find the reason(s) why agreement patterns

should be given more priority to than comparative and superlative constructions in the identification of parts of speech. Agreement patterns and comparative/superlative constructions are two mutually independent phenomena of the Lamaholot grammar and there is no subordinate-superior relation between them.

In a nutshell, different morphosyntactic tests offer different and often inconsistent results. Even a single morphosyntactic phenomenon does not return a satisfactory result in recognizing parts of speech and in most cases can be accountable in terms of morphological or semantic reasons without using the concept of parts of speech. On top of that, when combined together, different morphosyntactic phenomena may result in a contradictory classification of words. A good theory of parts of speech needs to address these issues.

The purpose of this chapter is to propose an empirically well-grounded approach to parts of speech in Lamaholot and offer the description and analysis of each part of speech. This chapter is organized as follows. Section 4.1 proposes a reference-and-predication approach in recognizing parts of speech in Lamaholot. In this section, we also present an inventory of Lamaholot parts of speech, too. In Sections 4.2 through 4.7, we examine major parts of speech, namely, those words that form a larger unit playing a referential or predication function. In Section 4.8, we look at nominalization, a process of creating a new nominal. In Section 4.9, minor parts of speech are examined in greater depth. Section 4.10 introduces an intermediate class of parts of speech between major and minor parts of speech and investigates each class relative to grammaticalization phenomena. Lastly, this chapter concludes in Section 4.11.

4.1 Foundations for recognizing parts of speech

The problems raised in the previous section urge us to have some good grounds when using morphosyntactic tests for the purpose of identifying parts of speech. Our suggestion in this study is that parts of speech are recognized on the basis of the

following two criteria: (i) the existence or absence of a denotation of entities in a given word and (ii) the function of a larger unit that it forms (**reference** or **predication**). By examining Lamaholot words with regard to these criteria, we can identify the nominal and the verbal classes.

On the one hand, there is a group of words that denote entities or thing-like concepts in the Lamaholot lexicon, which we tentatively call Group A. This group includes various kinds of subgroups that are differentiated with regard to what kinds of entities they denote. See (7).

(7) Group A:

a. Those words that represent the name of a person, a thing, and other entities:

ata ‘person’, *lei* ‘leg’, *aho* ‘dog’, *laŋo?* ‘house’, *ile* ‘mountain’, etc.

b. Those words that point to persons in a deictic way:

go ‘1SG’, *mo* ‘2SG’, *na* ‘3SG’, etc.

c. Those words that express numbers:

to?u ‘one’, *rua* ‘two’, *talo* ‘three’, *pa* ‘four’, etc.

d. Those words that specify the unit of counting/measuring:

mata? ‘slice’, *kara?* ‘bunch’, *motĩ* ‘chunk’, *mnawĩ?* ‘bundle’, etc.

e. Those words that designate entities characterized by a specific property:

okĩ ‘an old one’, *wu?ũ* ‘a new one’, *blara* ‘an injured one’, etc.

These words above do not just have a denotation but also can head a larger nominal expression, i.e., NP, and can refer to an entity in discourse, that is, they play a **referential function**. See examples in (8) through (12).

(8) **NP use of Group A (a):***aho plaʔe.*

dog run

‘The dog ran.’(9) **NP use of Group A (b):***ra plaʔe.*

3PL run

‘They ran.’(10) **NP use of Group A (c):***go gute toʔu.*

1SG take one

‘I will take one (of those understood from the context).’(11) **NP use of Group A (d):***go gute mnuta rua.*

1SG take package two

‘I will get two packages.’(12) **NP use of Group A (e):***go gute okĩ.*

1SG take old

‘I will take the old one.’

To summarize, those words listed in (7) denote entities and form a larger syntactic unit with referential function. Since such a group of words is generally called noun or nominal crosslinguistically, let us refer to the group of words listed in (7) **nominal** as a cover term, reserving the term **noun** for words in (7)a specifically. Accordingly, we refer to each subgroup of the nominal class in (7) in the following way. See (13).

(13) **Nominal class:**a. **Nouns** (Section 4.2)

Nominal words that represent the name of a person, a thing, and other entities

b. **Pronouns** (Section 4.3)

Nominal words that point to persons in a deictic way

c. **Numerals** (Section 4.4.)

Nominal words that express numbers

d. **Measure words** (Section 4.5)

Nominal words that specify the unit of counting/measuring

e. **Adjectival nouns** (Section 4.7)

Nominal words that designate entities characterized by a specific property

As opposed to the nominal class that we have just established, there is a group of words that do not denote entities in the Lamaholot lexicon, which is tentatively referred to as Group B. There are two subgroups in Group B. See (14).

(14) Group B:

a. Those words that profile an action:

plaʔe 'run', *tobo* 'sit', *gere* 'go up', *pana* 'walk', etc.

b. Those words that express a property concept:

beləʔ 'big', *kreʔ* 'small', *blega* 'wide', *knipu* 'narrow', etc.

Unlike the nominal class, these words do not have a denotation or constitute a larger unit to refer to an entity in discourse. In other words, they do not play a referential function. Consider (15) and (16).

(15) **NP use of Group B (a):**

**pla?e ata Lewotobi.*

run person Lewotobi

Intended for ‘The one who is running is a Lewotobi villager.’

(16) **NP use of Group B (b):**

**belā? ata Lewotobi.*

big person Lewotobi

Intended for ‘The big one is a Lewotobi villager.’

Instead, words in Group B (14) form a larger unit different from an NP and are usable in ascribing properties to a referent of an NP, i.e., they perform a **predication** function. See (17) and (18).

(17) **Predicative use of Group B (a):**

ata Lewotobi pla?e.

person Lewotobi run

‘The Lewotobi villager ran.’

(18) **Predicative use of Group B (b):**

ata Lewotobi belā?/belā?.

person Lewotobi big/big.NMZ

‘The Lewotobi villager is big.’

To summarize, those words listed in (14) do not denote entities or form a noun phrase but constitute a larger unit with a predication function. Cross-linguistically, such a group of words is generally referred to as verb or verbal. In this study, let us use the term **verb** for those words that profile an action and **adjectival verb** for those conveying a

property concept, employing the term **verbal** as a cover term for verbs and adjectival verbs. See (19).

(19) **Verbal class:**

a. Verbs (Section 4.6):

Verbal words that profile an action

b. Adjectival verbs (Section 4.7)

Verbal words that convey a property concept

Three important notes on the nominal and the verbal classes in Lamaholot are in order. First, the noun phrase can be used as a predicate in Lamaholot, because there is no copulative verb (cf. English *be*) in this language. To illustrate, consider (20) and (21).

(20) *kmi?e* 'walnut' as a noun phrase:

mo gute kmi?e.

2SG take walnut

'You take the walnut.'

(21) *kmi?e* 'walnut' as a predicate:

te?ē kmi?e.

DEM.PROX.NMZ walnut

'This is a walnut.'

In (20), *kmi?e* denotes an entity 'walnut' and the noun phrase it heads refers to the specific walnut in discourse. Thus, *kmi?e* is a noun. However, the same word can also be used as a predicate as in (21). This fact means that the ability to function as a predicate is only a necessary condition for a verbal class: both nominal and verbal words can function as predicates. Therefore, in order to recognize parts of speech in a proper way, it is

necessary to examine not just the function of a larger unit that a word forms (reference or predication) but also the existence or absence of a denotation in it.

Second, there is yet another nominal class: nominalization. Nominalization refers to (the product of) the syntactic process that creates syntactic units “that are associated with a denotation comprised of entity concepts characterized in terms of a state-of-affairs in which the relevant concept has crucial relevance” (Shibatani 2008b, 2009b; Shibatani and Bin Makhshen 2009). One of its important roles in the Lamaholot syntax is to create a nominal from a verbal. In (17), for example, we observed that the word *plaʔe* ‘run’ does not denote entities or form a noun phrase with referential function. For this reason, it was analyzed as a verb. However, it is possible to nominalize this verb, and this verb-based nominalization does denote an entity and thus can be used as a noun phrase to refer to something in discourse. Consider (22).

(22) **Nominalization of the verb *plaʔe* ‘run’ working as an NP:**

yang = plaʔe ata Lewotobi.

NMZ= run person I ewotobi

‘The one who is running is a Lewotobi villager.’

In (22), the verb *plaʔe* ‘run’ is preceded by the nominalizer *yang*, yielding the nominalization *yang plaʔe* ‘the one who is running’. The latter denotes an entity-like concept and can form a noun phrase with referential function, while the former does not. In addition to nominalizations of verbs above, Lamaholot has nominalizations of adjectival verbs, nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, and directionals. We return to various kinds of nominalization in Section 4.8.

Lastly, the nominal and the verbal classes are collectively referred to as **major parts of speech**, both of which can form a larger unit with either reference or predication function. In addition to major parts of speech, Lamaholot also has groups of words that

do not constitute such a unit. These groups of words are collectively called **minor parts of speech**. A list of minor parts of speech is listed in (23).

(23) **Minor parts of speech in Lamaholot:**

- a. TAM particles
- b. Sentence-final particles
- c. Adverbial particles
- d. Conjunctions
- e. Interjections
- f. Prepositions
- g. Loan prepositions
- h. Epistememes

Words that go into this category convey grammatical or meta-propositional meanings that modify the proposition constructed by major parts of speech. Non-propositional meanings borne by such minor parts of speech include tense, aspect, mood, illocutionary force, and types of clause linkage among others. In Section 4.9, we provide an inventory of minor parts of speech.

There is yet another type of parts of speech in this language, **transitional parts of speech**, which lie between the major and the minor parts of speech due to grammaticalization. See (24). These are introduced in Section 4.10.

(24) **Transitional parts of speech in Lamaholot:**

Grammaticalization of nominals to minor parts of speech:

- (i) Demonstratives
- (ii) Directionals
- (iii) Locative

Having established the basis for recognizing parts of speech in this section, beginning in Section 4.2, we examine the nominal and the verbal classes and subclasses of each. The primary goal of the discussion is to demonstrate how each part of speech can be recognized in the way described in this section. It also shows how the subclasses of each class can be distinguished, in which three syntactic and semantic criteria come into play. First, the subclasses of the nominal and the verbal classes can be identified with regard to the restriction on the membership of each class: **open** (25) vs. **closed** (26).

(25) **Characteristics of open classes:**

- a. Have more concrete and less grammatical meanings;
- b. Can freely acquire new members;
- c. Have a number of members in each class; and
- d. Do not form a paradigm.

(26) **Characteristics of closed classes:**

- a. Have less concrete and more grammatical meanings;
- b. Reluctant to acquire new members;
- c. Have only a limited number of words in each class; and
- d. Often form a paradigm.

Second, when nominal words or nominalizations of verbals are used as noun modifiers, different subclasses appear in different positions relative to a head noun: **pre-nominal** vs. **post-nominal**. Lastly, the subclasses can be distinguished in terms of the existence or absence and type of possessive/nominalization markers (none, $-\tilde{e}?$, $-N$, $=k\tilde{a}$, or $=yang$). The summary of the results of these tests against each subclass is presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 in advance for ease of reference.

Table 4.1: Subclasses of the nominal class

CLASS NAME	MEMBERSHIP	MODIFYING POSITION	POSS
Nouns	Open	Pre-nominal	- <i>N</i> or = <i>kã</i>
Pronouns	Closed	Post-nominal	- <i>ẽʔ</i>
Numerals	Closed	Post-nominal	∅
Measure words	Open	Post-nominal	∅
Adjectival nouns	Open	Post-nominal	∅

Table 4.2: Subclasses of the verbal class

CLASS NAME	MEMBERSHIP	MODIFYING POSITION	NMZ
Verbs	Open	Post-nominal	= <i>yang</i>
Adjectival verbs	Open	Post-nominal	- <i>N</i> or = <i>kã</i>

4.2 Nouns

The noun is a kind of nominal words that represent the name of a person, a thing, or an entity and includes a number of words and subcategories, such as names of persons, animals, objects, locations, and so on. This class is an open word class. By definition, all nouns can appear as NPs with referential function by themselves. To illustrate, look at (27) and (28), where nouns are underlined.

(27) ba *neĩ* lama *ia* aho.

father give rice LOC dog

‘Father gave rice to the dog.’

(28) Ika *tei* *rae* laŋoʔ.

Ika live DIR.MT house

‘Ika lives in the direction of the mountain (in) the house.’

Noun-headed NPs can also be used for expressing a possessor in attributive possessive constructions, in which case a possessor NP precedes a possessee NP, the latter being attached by a possessive marker (Section 3.5; see Section 5.1 for attributive possession and alienability). Among nominal classes, only noun-headed NPs occur as pre-nominal modifiers.

(29) *Ika leĩ blara.*

Ika lei -N blara

Ika leg -NMZ hurt

‘Ika’s leg hurts.’

(30) *Ika laŋo? =kã belã?.*

Ika laŋo? =kã belə? -N

Ika =NMZ big -NMZ

‘Ika’s house is big.’

Lastly, nouns can also be predicative as in (31).

(31) *te?ẽ hepe.*

DEM.PROX.NMZ knife

‘This is a knife.’

There are four major subclasses of nouns that need special attention. The rest of this section looks into each subclass: body part nouns (Section 4.2.1), locative nouns (Section 4.2.2), kinship terms (Section 4.2.3), and temporal nouns (Section 4.2.4). These noun classes have some functions that other ordinary nouns do not.

4.2.1 *Body part nouns*

Body part nouns denote parts of the body. They can designate body parts of human beings and animals and may also be metaphorically expanded to parts of inanimate objects such as a pitcher, church and so on. Body part nouns in Lamaholot are listed in (32) through (36). In most cases, body part nouns occur in an inalienable possessive construction.

(32) **Body part nouns:**

<i>kotəʔ</i>	'head'	<i>rata</i>	'hair'
<i>keko</i>	'back'	<i>māĩ</i>	'face'
<i>kləkə</i>	'arm'	<i>keli</i>	'armpit'
<i>keli rawū</i>	'armpit hair'	<i>kroge</i>	'nape'
<i>wuli</i>	'neck'	<i>hənə</i>	'shoulder'
<i>loto</i>	'knee'	<i>koro</i>	'chest'
<i>luwu</i>	'stomach'	<i>tuho</i>	'breast'
<i>leka</i>	'thigh'	<i>hiku</i>	'elbow'
<i>kpuhə</i>	'nave'	<i>uə</i>	'hip, buttock, lower back'
<i>uti</i>	'penis'	<i>laha</i>	'penis'
<i>məna</i>	'vagina'	<i>momo</i>	'vagina'
<i>kləgo</i>	'calf'	<i>lei</i>	'foot'
<i>udo</i>	'heel'	<i>lei ənə</i>	'foot finger'
<i>apa</i>	'dorsum of foot'		

(33) **Face-related body part nouns:**

<i>mata</i>	‘eye’	<i>tilu</i>	‘ear’
<i>iru</i>	‘nose’	<i>rawu</i>	‘eyebrow’
<i>umā</i>	‘nostril’	<i>ipə</i>	‘tooth’
<i>nuhə</i>	‘mouth’	<i>wewe</i>	‘lip’
<i>knito</i>	‘forehead’	<i>knugə</i>	‘back of the head’
<i>banə</i>	‘mustache’	<i>kumi rawū</i>	‘beard’

(34) **Hand-related body part nouns:**

<i>lima ənə</i>	‘finger’	<i>lima inə</i>	‘thumb; mother finger’
<i>lima ənə rua</i>	‘index finger’	<i>lima ənə təlo</i>	‘middle finger’
<i>lima ənə pa</i>	‘ring finger’	<i>lima ənə lema</i>	‘little finger’
<i>kmu?u</i>	‘nail’	<i>knubu</i>	‘fist’ (cf. <i>tubu</i> ‘punch’)
<i>wukū</i>	‘knuckle’		

(35) **Secretion-related body part nouns:**

<i>tae</i>	‘excrement’	<i>meke</i>	‘urine’
<i>tuho</i>	‘breast milk’		

(36) **Orientation-related body part nouns:**

<i>wāhā</i>	‘front’	<i>pure?</i>	‘back’
<i>dəpā</i>	‘front’	<i>blakā</i>	‘back’
<i>mekī</i>	‘left hand’	<i>wənā</i>	‘right hand’

Body part nouns can be used independently as in (37), which is a common expression meaning ‘I am hungry’.

- (37) *tai* *malu kae?*
 stomach empty PFV
 ‘The stomach is already empty.’

But more commonly body part nouns appear in a sentence being followed by another noun phrase standing for a possessor. Consider (38) and (39).

(38) *rata* *nəʔē* *blaha?*
 hair 3SG.NMZ long
 ‘His/her hair is long.’

(39) *Arno* *leī* *blaha?*
Arno *lei* -N *blaha?*
 Arno leg -NMZ long
 ‘Arno’s legs are long.’

In (38), the body part noun *rata* ‘hair’ is followed by the third person singular pronoun in nominalized form, which stands for the possessor of the hair. In (39), in contrast, the body part noun *lei* ‘leg’ is preceded by another noun, *Arno*, who is the possessor of legs. As discussed in Section 5.1, the pronominal and lexical possessors appear in different positions in Lamaholot adnominal possessive constructions.

These body parts can be metaphorically expanded to refer to functional equivalents of inanimate objects. Consider examples in (40), (41), (42), and (43).

(40) *hape* *moʔē* *pe:* *kursi* *leī.*
 mobile.phone 2SG.NMZ DEM.DIS chair leg.NMZ
 ‘Your mobile phone is there around a leg of the chair.’

(41) *glas* *teʔē* *uā* *wika.*
 glass DEM.PROX.NMZ buttock.NMZ broken
 ‘The bottom of this glass is broken.’

(42) *mo pehẽ cerek limã.*
 2SG hold kettle hand.NMZ
 ‘You hold the handle of the kettle!’

(43) *cerek matã tea?*
 kettle eye.NMZ where
 ‘Where is the lid of the kettle?’

In (40), the body part noun *lei* ‘human beings’ leg’ is used to refer to legs of a chair. In (41), *uə* ‘buttock’ is employed to designate the bottom area of a glass, and in (42), *lima* ‘hand’ the handle of the kettle. These metaphorical extensions are done on the basis of the functional similarities between the body parts and the parts of the inanimate objects in question. In (43), *mata* ‘eye’ is expanded to mean the lid of a kettle, because the lid of a kettle looks like an eye according to Lamaholot speakers.

4.2.2 Locative nouns

Locative nouns do not just refer to locations but also are those inalienably possessed nouns that designate an intrinsic part of a house, building, container, etc. Lamaholot has ten locative nouns in a strict sense. See (44).

(44) Locative nouns in Lamaholot:

<i>lolõ</i>	‘top’	<i>wũ</i>	‘bottom’
<i>onə?</i>	‘inside’	<i>woho?</i>	‘outside’
<i>papa</i>	‘side’	<i>rekã</i>	‘nearby’
<i>gole?</i>	‘around’	<i>higũ</i>	‘corner’
<i>pa:</i>	‘left of-right half’	<i>lola</i>	‘upper or lower half’

In (45), for instance, the locative noun *lolō* ‘top’ is used as the head of an underlined noun phrase.

(45) *aho turu ia lolō.*

dog sleep LOC top

‘The dog is sleeping on the top (of something understood from the context)’

These locative nouns have an important function in spatial reference. This issue is addressed in Section 13.3.

4.2.3 Kinship terms

Kinship terms are those words that designate a family member who is connected to other family members by blood, marriage, adoption, or fostering. The analysis of kinship terms has been attracting the keenest and most sustained interest among anthropological linguistics (Foley 1997: Chapter 6). Within anthropological studies on Lamaholot, it has held one of the most important positions. See Barnes (1996), for example.

Lamaholot kinship terms are listed in (46).

(46) **Kinship terms in Lamaholot:**

<i>moʔa</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>oka</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>kaka-ari</i>	‘brothers and sisters’
<i>kaka</i>	‘elder sibling’
<i>ari</i>	‘younger sibling’
<i>ba</i>	‘father’
<i>əmə</i>	‘mother’
<i>anaʔ</i>	‘child (daughter or son)’
<i>mame</i>	‘mother’s brothers’
	‘men whose sister you can be married to’
<i>wae</i>	‘mother’s sisters you can married to’
	‘women to whom you can be married to’
<i>opu</i>	‘father’s brother’
	‘men whose sister you cannot be married to’
<i>bine</i>	‘father’s sisters’
	‘women to whom you cannot be married to’
<i>kwae</i>	‘wife’
<i>klake</i>	‘husband’

Kinship terms can form their own noun phrase, as can other regular nouns. In this case, the default interpretation is that speaker is the possessor of the person designated by such a bare kinship term. See (47).

- (47) *əmə majə go.*
 mother call 1SG
 ‘Mother called me.’

From a linguistic point of view, Lamaholot kinship terms are worth mentioning because most of them are *not* inalienably possessed nouns, although in other languages they often count as typical inalienable nouns. This may be because of the complex clan system found in the Lamaholot-speaking society: the concept of ‘family’ is expanded to the clan whose members share the same family name. So it is common that one person has more than one father and mother.

Thus, as in (48), *ba* ‘father’ is followed by the possessive enclitic =*kā* rather than the possessive suffix *-N* when appearing as a possessum in possessive constructions.

- (48) *Hugo ba =kā tobo pe:*
 Hugo father =NMZ sit DEM.DIS
 ‘Hugo’s father is sleeping there’

An eminent exception to this generalization is the kinship term *ana?* ‘child, son/daughter’, which can be nominalized by the nominalizing suffix *-N*. See (49).

- (49) *Hugo anā?*
Hugo ana? -N
 Hugo child -NMZ
 ‘Hugo’s son/daughter’

4.2.4 Temporal nouns

Temporal nouns include any nouns that express time-related concepts. A list of temporal nouns in Lamaholot is provided in (50) through (54).

(50) **Traditional names of months:**

<i>mapa</i>	'January'	<i>more</i>	'February'
<i>duru</i>	'March'	<i>brake</i>	'April'
<i>kwowo</i>	'May'	<i>baludatā</i>	'June'
<i>balusare</i>	'July'	<i>brebohewo</i>	'August'
<i>holohalā</i>	'September'	<i>klarakati</i>	'October'
<i>klara belā?</i>	'November'	<i>mulawua</i>	'December'

(51) **Parts of the day:**

<i>halā-wati</i>	'morning'	<i>lārō</i>	'noon'
<i>lāra-lere</i>	'afternoon'	<i>nokō?</i>	'night'

(52) **Units of time:**

<i>lārō</i>	'day'	<i>migu</i>	'week'
<i>wulā</i>	'month'	<i>sū</i>	'year'
<i>jā</i>	'hour'		

(53) **Deictic units of time:**

<i>pāli?</i>	'now'	<i>pāli? lārō</i>	'today'
<i>wia</i>	'yesterday'	<i>bau</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>nolō</i>	'long time ago'	<i>naku pe:</i>	'a while ago'
<i>kāsā-muri</i>	'later'		

(54) **Temporal noun modifiers:**

<i>neku</i>	'last'	<i>wia</i>	'past'
<i>wa?i</i>	'next'		

Temporal nouns can head a noun phrase with referential function as in (55).

(55) *lārō te?ē hari minggu.*

day DEM.PROX.NMZ day Sunday

‘This day (i.e., today) is Sunday.’ (*hari minggu* is an Indonesian word.)

But more importantly, temporal nouns appear at the end of a clause to indicate temporal information. In other words, they are used for expressing tense-related information (Section 10.1). See (56) and (57).

(56) *go kriā bau.*

1SG work tomorrow

‘I will work tomorrow.’

(57) *kame m-enū tua neku nokō?*

1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC-drink tuak last night

‘We had tuak last night.’

In (56), the temporal noun is used to indicate that the event described by the clause will take place one day after the time of utterance. In (57), the temporal noun *nokō?* ‘night’ is modified by the temporal noun modifier *neku* ‘last’ and means ‘last night’. As Matt Shibatani (pers. comm.) points out, it is necessary to compare these expressions with those for ‘next day’ and ‘the night before’, but there is no data available that allows us to do so at this point.

4.3 Pronouns

Pronouns are one of the closed subclasses of nominals. Semantically speaking, pronouns involve person deixis and are used to refer to persons or things that have already been mentioned before or what can be recovered from the context.

The inventory of the personal pronouns has already been presented in Chapter 3, repeated here as Table 4.3. Three persons (1/2/3) and two numbers (SG/PL) are distinguished; the contrast between inclusive and exclusive plural is only made in first person. The nominalized form of each pronoun is formed with the nominalizing suffix -*ẽ?*.

Table 4.3: Personal pronouns

	PLAIN		NOMINALIZED	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>go</i>	<i>kame</i> (EXC)	<i>go?ẽ</i>	<i>kamẽ?</i> (EXC)
		<i>tite</i> (INC)		<i>titẽ?</i> (INC)
2	<i>mo</i>	<i>mio</i>	<i>mo?ẽ</i>	<i>miõ?</i>
3	<i>na</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>na?ẽ</i>	<i>ra?ẽ</i>

Case is not distinguished: they do not change their forms in accordance with their grammatical functions or semantic roles in a clause. Remember from Section 3.4 that on top of free personal pronouns, there is *=ro?*, a pronominal enclitic for third person singular primary object.

In some Austronesian languages, a pronoun for second person plural can be used as an honorific pronoun referring to second person singular (cf. Brown and Gilman 1960). In Tagalog, for instance, the pronoun for second person plural in nominative case, *kayo*, can refer either to second person singular with an honorific meaning or to second person plural without such a meaning (Schachter and Otnes 1972:88-91). But pronouns in Lamaholot do not show this type of semantic extension.

Now consider the morphosyntax of pronouns. First, pronouns in plain form basically display the identical distribution to nouns. They appear as arguments of clauses,

as object arguments of adjunct phrases, and as predicates in non-verbal predicate constructions. See (58), (59), (60), and (61).

(58) *gō turu kia.*

1SG sleep now

‘I will sleep now.’

(59) *nā buŋo gō.*

3SG hit 1SG

‘S/he hit me.’

(60) *nā neĩ doi ia gō.*

3SG give money LOC 1SG

‘S/he gave money to me.’

(61) *teʔē gō.*

DEM.PROX.NMZ 1SG.NMZ

‘This is me.’

In contrast, the nominalized form is employed either as an NP or as a post-nominal modifier. When a pronoun modifies a noun, it means a possessive relationship, and follows the possessum. See (62) and (63) respectively.

(62) **NP use:**

gōʔē belāʔ.

1SG.NMZ big.NMZ

‘Mine is big.’

(63) **Modifier use:**

laŋo? goʔē *belāʔ.*
 house 1SG.NMZ big.NMZ
 ‘My house is big.’

There are two notes on the extended functions of pronouns. First, the third person plural pronouns *ra* and *raʔē* can be used to refer to someone non-specific or unknown. See (64) and (65).

(64) *ra* *bəŋo* *wəki = ka* *wia.*
 3PL hit body=3PL yesterday

‘They hit each other yesterday.’

(i.e., there was a quarrel yesterday)

(65) *ake* *koda* *n-āʔā* *peʔē,* *ra* *hiʔi* *mo* *wəti.*
 NEG.IMP talk 3SG-do DEM.DIS.NMZ 3PL mad 2SG later

‘Don’t talk like that, or they (= general public) will be mad at you later.’

Lamaholot speakers appeal to these pronouns when they are not sure about whom they are referring to or unwilling to mention the names of the persons referred to. The pronouns in this sense can be used interchangeably with the noun *ata dikā* ‘people, human beings’, which also refers to people in a non-specific sense.

Second, *=roʔ* always bears the primary object grammatical relation, which is a higher grouping of a transitive object and a ditransitive recipient (Chapters 8 and 9). This idiosyncratic nature allows it to play an important role in voice-related verb alternations. See Section 9.2.

4.4 Numerals

Numerals are those nominal words that designate numbers and are used for counting the number of entities. In Lamaholot, they form a closed class: only twenty or so words belong to this class, although it is possible to express an infinite number of combinations of numbers by combining them.

Numerals are nominal. They can be used as referential expressions as in (66). They also appear as post-nominal modifiers as in (67) and as predicates as in (68).

(66) **NP use:**

go hope rua.
 1SG buy two
 ‘I bought two (of something).’

(67) **Modifier use:**

go hope gula rua.
 1SG buy candy two
 ‘I bought two candies.’

(68) **Predicate use:**

ana? go?ē rua kae?.
 child 1SG.NMZ two PFV
 ‘I have already got two children.’ (lit. ‘My child(ren) is already two.’)

When numerals are used for noun-modification, there appears no possessive or nominalization marker on them, as in (69). Measure words (Section 4.5) may optionally appear between noun and numeral as in (70).

- (69) *go hārū ata pito lau.*
 1SG meet person seven DIR.SEA
 ‘I met seven persons in the direction of the sea.’
- (70) *mo gute ikā pirī rua peʔē!*
 2SG take fish dish two DEM.DIS.NMZ
 ‘You take two dishes of that fish.’

In (69), the numeral *pito* ‘seven’ follows the noun *ata* ‘person’; in (70), the numeral *rua* ‘two’ is preceded by the noun *ikā* ‘fish’, the measure word *pirī* ‘dish’ being in between and being followed by the demonstrative *peʔē* ‘that’. Observe that there is no nominalization in either the measure word or the numeral.

The rest of this section discusses two major kinds of numerals in Lamaholot. We introduce cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers in Sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2, respectively.

4.4.1 Cardinal numbers

Lamaholot has the following cardinal numbers as native words, which were inherited from Proto-Austronesian. See (71).

(71) **Cardinal numbers in Lamaholot:**

<i>toʔu</i>	'one'
<i>rua</i>	'two'
<i>təlo</i>	'three'
<i>pa</i>	'four'
<i>lema</i>	'five'
<i>namu</i>	'six'
<i>pito</i>	'seven'
<i>buto</i>	'eight'
<i>hiwa</i>	'nine'
<i>pulo</i>	'ten'
<i>ratu</i>	'hundred'
<i>ribu</i>	'thousand'

Two-digit numbers are formed by the numeral *pulu-* 'ten' and a one-digit cardinal number in this order. See (72).

(72) <i>pulo</i>	'ten'
<i>pulu rua</i>	'twenty'
<i>pulu təlo</i>	'thirty'
<i>pulu pa</i>	'forty'
<i>pulu lema</i>	'five'
<i>pulu namu</i>	'sixty'
<i>pulu pito</i>	'seventy'
<i>pulu buto</i>	'eighty'
<i>pulu hiwa</i>	'ninety'

Likewise, three-digit numbers are formed with *ratu* ‘hundred’ except when the prefix *tə-* ‘one’ is used to express ‘a hundred’ instead of the cardinal number *toʔu* ‘one’. Observe in (73).

- (73) *tə-ratu* ‘one hundred’
 ratu rua ‘two hundreds’
 ratu təlo ‘three hundreds’
 ratu pa ‘four hundreds’
 ratu lema ‘five hundreds’
 ratu namu ‘six hundreds’
 ratu pito ‘seven hundreds’
 ratu buto ‘eight hundreds’
 ratu hiwa ‘nine hundreds’

Other numbers are expressed by combining the numbers in (71), (72), and (73) by means of *nəʔəʔə* ‘and’, which occurs before the last numeral of a series of numerals.

- (74) *pulo* *nəʔəʔə* *toʔu*
 ten and one
 ‘eleven’
- (75) *pulo* *hiwa* *nəʔəʔə* *toʔu*
 ten nine and one
 ‘ninety one’
- (76) *tə-ratu* *nəʔəʔə* *pulo*
 one-hundred and ten
 ‘one hundred and ten’

- (77) *tə-ratu pulo nãʔã lema*
 one-hundred ten and five
 ‘one hundred fifteen’
- (78) *ratu namu pulo rua nãʔã pito*
 hundred six ten two and seven
 ‘Six hundred twenty seven’

The word \emptyset -ãʔã originally means ‘do’ or ‘make’ as a main verb, but ‘and’ or ‘with’ as a preposition (see Section 4.9.5). Note that the verb \emptyset -ãʔã ‘do, make’ is an inflecting verb. But it does not inflect in this function; instead, the third person singular form is used as a default form (see Section 7.3.3).

When they quantify a pronoun, cardinal numbers take an S-agreement enclitic as in (79). In this construction, an S-agreement enclitic agrees with the pronoun that is quantified by a numeral.

- (79) *ra rua =ka Maumere r-ai.*
 3PL two =3PL Maumere 3PL-go
 ‘Two of them went to Maumere.’

Observe that the S-agreement enclitic agrees with the pronoun *ra*. In this case, S-agreement enclitics are not optional and cannot be left out, which may suggest that the element *numeral + S-agreement enclitic* works as a derived verb, as is also the case with demonstratives and directionals used with an S-agreement enclitic (cf. Nishiyama and Kelen’s 2007 analysis of agreement of numerals in the Lewoingu dialect).

However, there is evidence that in this type of construction a pronoun and a numeral with an S-agreement enclitic form a single NP. Consider (80), where the pronoun *kami* ‘1PL.EXC’ is followed by the numeral *rua* ‘two’ with an S-agreement enclitic.

- (80) *Sisi hiʔi kami rua =kə.*
 Sisi be.mad.at 1PL.EXC two =1PL.EXC
 ‘Sisi is mad at two of us.’

Importantly, when the pronoun *kami* is topicalized in the Object-Topic construction (see Section 9.2.1), the numeral and S-agreement enclitic *rua=kə* must also move to the sentence-initial position, following the pronoun. Compare (81) and (82).

- (81) [_{NP} *kami rua =kə*] *Sisi hiʔi* [_{NP} ____].
 1PL.EXC two =1PL.EXC Sisi be.mad.at
 ‘As for two of us, Sisi is mad at (us).’
- (82) * [_{NP} *kami*] *Sisi hiʔi* [_{NP} ____ *rua =kə*].
 1PL.EXC Sisi be.mad.at two =1PL.EXC

In the light of the widely-accepted constraint that elements forming a single constituent must move together, the contrast in grammaticality between (81) and (82) suggests that a pronoun and a numeral with an S-agreement enclitic constitute a single NP.

It remains to be investigated why S-agreement enclitics are used when a numeral follows a personal pronoun. One of the possible analyses is, as pointed out by Matt Shibatani (pers. comm.), that the combination of a numeral and an S-agreement enclitic is working as a noun-modifying element of some sort in the way *kami rua kə* in (81) is interpreted as ‘us who are two’ rather than ‘two of us’. But we are not able to prove this analysis on the basis of the data available at this point.

Before closing the discussion on cardinal numerals, there is a note on *toʔu* ‘one’: the cardinal number *toʔu* ‘one’ is used as an indefinite marker to emphasize that speaker

thinks hearer has no idea who or what the noun marked by *toʔu* actually refers to. See (83).

- (83) *go notō ana? toʔu pana teti n-ai.*
 1SG watch person one walk DIR.UP 3SG-go
 ‘I watched someone (one person) walking upwards.’

Another possibly related meaning of *toʔu* is the one of emphasizing a gradable property concept expressed by (a nominalization of) an adjectival word. See (84).

- (84) *Maumere dahē? toʔu di.*
 Maumere near.NMZ one EXCS
 ‘Maumere is very near!’

In (84), *toʔu* follows the adjectival noun *dahe* ‘near’, the latter being further accompanied by the possessive/nominalization suffix *-N*. This function of the numeral *toʔu* ‘one’ is not fully analyzed yet.

4.4.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers refer to a position in a series. Ordinal numbers from one to ten are listed in (85). Basically, these are the nominalized forms of cardinal numbers.

(85) **Ordinal numbers in Lamaholot:**

<i>wāhā</i>	‘first’
<i>(kə-)ruā?</i>	‘second’
<i>(kə-)tālō?</i>	‘third’
<i>(kə-)pā?</i>	‘fourth’
<i>(kə-)lemā?</i>	‘fifth’
<i>(kə-)namu</i>	‘sixth’
<i>pitō?</i>	‘seventh’
<i>butō?</i>	‘eighth’
<i>hiwā?</i>	‘ninth’
<i>pulō?</i>	‘tenth’

There are five notes to make on the formation of ordinal numbers. First, ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal numbers by means of the nominalization suffix *-N* and the additional glottal stop /ʔ/. The reason for the addition of the glottal stop is unknown. Second, the ordinal number for ‘first’ is *wāhā*. It is a suppletive form for ‘first’ and is originally the locative noun meaning ‘front’. Third, number two through number six can additionally take the prefix *kə-* to form an ordinal number. Most probably, the prefix *kə-* was borrowed from the Malay prefix *kə-*, which is also used for forming ordinal numbers. See Sneddon (1996:57). Fourth, there is no nominalization observed in *namu* ‘six’ for unknown reason. Lastly, only numbers one through ten can be nominalized by the suffix *-N*. The nominalizing enclitic *=kā* is used for numbers more than ten.

Examples of ordinal numbers in sentences are given in (86), (87), and (88). At this point, we only have examples of ordinal numbers where they are used with the noun *ana?* ‘son, daughter’.

- (86) *Hugo ana? təlō?*
 Hugo child three.NMZ
 ‘Hugo is the third child.’
- (87) *na ana? pulo n-ā?ā to?u =kā.*
 3SG child ten 3SG-do one =NMZ
 ‘S/he is the eleventh child.’
- (88) *mo ana? pulo rua =kā.*
 2SG child ten two =NMZ
 ‘You are the twelfth child.’

4.5 Measure words

Measure words are those nominal words that appear between a noun and a numeral so as to specify what is a unit of counting in question. In a typical case measure words appear being sandwiched between noun and numeral, but they can also head their own noun phrase, specifying a unit of counting for numerals. Compare (89) and (90).

- (89) **Modifier use (Noun + Measure word + Numeral):**

go kā pao mala rua.

1SG eat.1SGmango slice two

‘I ate two slices of mango.’

- (90) **NP use (Measure word + Numeral):**

go kā mala rua.

1SG eat.1SGslice two

‘I ate two slices (of something understood from the context).’

In (89), *mala* ‘slice’ indicates that the unit of counting in question is a slice. Without it, it is not certain if *rua* ‘two’ means two trees of mango, two fruits of mango, or two

slices of mango. In some cases when an object quantified by a numeral is understood from the context, the measure word can work as an NP with a numeral. See (90).

More examples of measure words are listed below:

(91) *kniwi* ‘basket’

wəŋə kniwi təlɔ?

rice basket three

‘three baskets of rice’

(92) *wuli?* ‘ear’

təhə? wuli? toʔu

rice ear one

‘one ear of rice’ (The ears of a rice refer to the parts at the top of the stem, which contain the seeds or grains)

(93) *nūə* ‘cluster’

bliə nūə ruə

star cluster two

‘two clusters of star’

(94) *mətə?* ‘slice’

roti mətə? toʔu

bread slice one

‘one slice of bread’

(95) *lili* ‘comb’

muko lili ruə

banana comb two

‘two combs (row) of banana’

(96) *kara?* 'bunch'
muko kara? to?u
 banana bunch one
 'one bunch of banana'

(97) *wuli?* 'stick'
muko wuli? to?u
 banana stick one
 'one stick of banana'

(98) *kməti* 'drop'
mei? kməti to?u
 blood drop one
 'one drop of blood'

(99) *motĩ* 'chunk'
wəra motĩ lema
 sand chunk five
 'five chunks of sand'

(100) *mnəwĩ?* 'bundle'
kajo? mnəwĩ? to?u
 tree bundle one
 'one bundle of wood'

Importantly, measure words in Lamaholot should not be confused with classifiers such as those in Mandarin Chinese (Li and Thompson 1981), whose function is to classify entities in terms of their shape or function. Instead, measure words in Lamaholot simply indicate a unit of counting or measurement for numerals. See the measure word *nuro* 'spoon' in (101) and *wlokō?* 'chunk' in (102),

(101) *go tali gula nuro rua.*

1SG add sugar spoon two

'I added two spoons of sugar.'

(102) *go popo tana wlokō? to?u.*

1SG make mud chunk one

'I made a chunk (ball) of mud.'

In (101), the measure word *nuro* 'spoon' does not say anything about the shape of sugar but specifies that the unit of measuring sugar is one spoon in this context. Likewise, *wlokō?* in (102) does not classify the noun *mud* as long or round but is used to quantify the amount of mud.

Measure words are not required elements of a noun phrase. They are only employed either when nouns are difficult to measure without such a word or when speaker wants to emphasize what unit of measure is relevant in a specific noun phrase. Consider (103) and (104).

(103) *na isə kbako (kolo?) rua.*

3SG suck cigarette stick two

'S/he smoked two sticks of cigarette.'

(104) *na isə kbako mnutā rua.*

3SG suck cigarette package two

'S/he smoked two packs of cigarette.'

In (103), the measure word *kolo?* 'stick' is used to indicate that the unit of counting is a stick in this sentence. However, this measure word is optional because it is pragmatically plausible to assume people smoke cigarette stick by stick. In contrast, in

(104), the measure word *mnuta* ‘package’ is unlikely to be omitted because it is more marked to smoke cigarettes package by package.

Lastly, certain measure words appear in the *measure word=kã measure word=kã* construction, which works as an adverbial expression to mean ‘*measure word* by *measure word*’. See (105).

(105) *na mete ato muko kara? =kã kara? =kã nã du?ũ =na?*
 3SG PROG arrangebanana bundle =NMZ bundle =NMZ CONJ sell =3SG
 ‘S/he is arranging bananas bundle by bundle so as to sell.’

Other measure words that can be used in this construction are *mala* ‘slice’ (*mala=kã mala=kã* ‘slice by slice’) and *mopo* ‘chunk’ (*mopo=kã mopu=kã* ‘chunk by chunk’). There are only three attested measure words that can go with this construction. It is necessary to collect more data to give a sufficient analysis of this construction.

Before closing this section, it is necessary to mention the relationship between regular nouns and measure words. In some cases, measure words cannot be used as nouns. For example, *mnuta* ‘package’ in (104) cannot be employed as a noun for denoting a package as a physical object. There is another word for ‘package’ in this sense: *gnato* ‘package’. Instead, *mnuta* only appears as a measure word for counting things.

In other cases, however, measure words can also appear as regular nouns, in which case they do not display the syntactic behaviors that measure words are supposed to show. Consider *nuro* ‘spoon’ as a measure word (106) and as a regular noun (107).

(106) *nuro* as a measure word:

go pake nuro rua.

1SG use spoon two

‘I used two spoons (of something understood from the context).’

(107) *nuro* as a regular noun:

go pake Hugo nuro =kã.

1SG use Hugo spoon =NMZ

‘I used Hugo’s spoon.’

The word *nuro* appears by itself without any other element when appearing as a measure word as in (106), while it is followed by the possessive marker =*kã* when being used as a regular noun to refer to the spoon possessed by Hugo as in (107).

There are two differences between nouns and measure words. First, measure words cannot appear if not followed by a numeral, which is not the case with nouns. See (108), which shows that example (103) is ungrammatical without a numeral.

(108) ??*na isə kbako kolo?*

3SG suck cigarette stick

Intended for ‘S/he smoked a stick of cigarette.’

Second, when measure words modify nouns, a nominalizing element does not appear in either of them. In contrast, when a noun modifies another noun in possessive constructions, it is necessary to use either the possessive suffix -*N* or the possessive enclitic =*kã* on a possessum.

4.6 Verbs

Verbs are one of two subclasses of the verbal class. They do not have a denotation, but can form a syntactic unit that plays a predicative function as in (109).

(109) **Predicate use of a verb:**

Tanti *bəŋo* *Ika.*

Tanti hit Ika

‘Tanti hit Ika.’

In order to form a noun phrase with referential or noun-modifying function, verbs need to be nominalized. See (110) and (111).

(110) **NP use of a verb-based nominalization:**

Ika *əmə* = *kā* *hiʔi* *(*yang*=) *bəŋo* *Ika.*

Ika mother =NMZ be.mad NMZ= hit Ika

‘Ika’s mother is mad at the one who hit Ika.’

(111) **Modifier use of a verb-based nominalization:**

Ika *əmə* = *kā* *hiʔi* *ana?* *yang*= *bəŋo* *Ika.*

Ika mother =NMZ be.mad child NMZ= hit Ika

‘Ika’s mother is mad at the child who hit Ika.’

Example (110) shows that the action word *bəŋo* ‘hit’ cannot be used for reference without taking the nominalization particle *yang*. We can also know from (111) that nominalization is necessary for a verb to work as a noun modifier.

In some cases, verbs are morphologically complex. Some verbs can take fossilized verbal morphology discussed in Section 3.7. In other cases, verbs in the predicative

function take either S-agreement enclitics (Section 3.2), S/A-agreement prefixes (Section 3.3), or both. Consider examples (112) and (113).

(112) *Tanti ləŋa = aʔ.*

Tanti fall =3SG

‘Tanti fell down.’

(113) *mo m-əte hape goʔē.*

2SG 2SG-hold mobile.phone 1SG.NMZ

‘You hold my mobile phone!’

Verbs have a lot of subclasses posited for different reasons. For instance, verbs can be divided into syntactic subcategories: intransitive, semitransitive, transitive, and ditransitive. These syntactic classes of verbs will be introduced in relation to basic clause types in Chapter 8. They are examined in greater depth in the context of voice and grammatical relations in Chapter 9.

Section 8.3 introduces semantic classes of verbs. Semantic verb classes are based on the conceptual or eventual nature of verb meanings: for example, psych verbs, manner verbs and so on. Although this classification is semantic in nature, behavioral properties of verbs may also be taken into account, because it is often that event structural properties of a verb can determine its behavioral properties.

Lastly, verbs can be nominalized or serialized. On the one hand, verbs can be nominalized for reference and noun-modification. Verb-based nominalization is examined in Section 4.8. On the other hand, verbs with some limited range of meanings (e.g., giving, path of motion, etc.) are used for various functions via verb serialization (see Chapter 12).

4.7 Adjectival nouns and verbs

In Lamaholot, there are two classes of words for property concepts: adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs. **Adjectival nouns** are those property words that denote an entity and can appear as NPs, while **adjectival verbs** are those that do not denote an entity and cannot be used for reference without additional morphology but can be employed for predication. The purpose of this section is to describe the morphosyntactic properties of each adjectival subclass and is also intended to explain why property words are split into the two categories in the way they are.

This section is organized as follows: Sections 4.7.1 and 4.7.2 analyze adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs, respectively. In Section 4.7.3, we address the question of why the formal distinction is drawn between adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs.

4.7.1 Adjectival nouns

Adjectival nouns are those words with a denotation characterized in terms of property concepts and can form a noun phrase. A list of the words that go into this class is given in (114).

(114) **Adjectival nouns:**

okī ‘old’, *wuʔū* ‘new’, *lameʔ* ‘deep’, *gehā* ‘odd’, *knāʔā* ‘fixed’, *brinjī* ‘sick’, *blara* ‘injured’, *gəla* ‘tired’, *metā* ‘clever’, *krəkū* ‘cruel’, *pāū-pāū* ‘slow’, etc.

It is first shown below that these words are indeed nouns. Observe that the property-concept word *wuʔū* ‘new’, for example, appears as a referential expression, as in (115).

(115) **NP use:**

go hope wuʔũ.
 1SG buy new
 ‘I bought a/the new one.’

Similarly to nouns, adjectival nouns do not need a special morphology to serve as predicates. See (116), where the word *wuʔũ* ‘new’ is used to describe the subject argument *honda* ‘motor bike’.

(116) **Predicative use:**

honda goʔẽ wuʔũ morã.
 motorbike 1SG.NMZ new IPFV
 ‘My motorbike is still new.’

Lastly, adjectival nouns cannot just work as referential expressions, but also can be used to modify another noun, in which case they occur post-nominally. See (117).

(117) **Modifier use:**

go hope honda wuʔũ.
 1SG buy motorbike new
 ‘I bought a/the new motorbike.’

Observe in (117) that the property-concept word *wuʔũ* ‘new’ is used as a post-nominal modifier. In this regard, adjectival nouns are different from regular nouns, which appear pre-nominally in their modification function. See Section 4.3.

4.7.2 Adjectival verbs

Adjectival verbs are composed of two subclasses, which are tentatively referred to as **Classes I and II**. A list of representative adjectival verbs is provided in (118) and (119).

(118) **Class I adjectival verbs** (nominalized with *-N*):

belə? ‘big’, *kre?* ‘small’, *blaha?* ‘long’, *blolo?* ‘tall’, *kpəsu?* ‘short’, *lere?* ‘short’, *nure?* ‘young’, *mara* ‘dry’, *səna* ‘good’, *məko?* ‘bad’, *sare?* ‘proper’, *me?a* ‘red’, *bura?* ‘white’, *ta?a* ‘hard’, *bləma* ‘soft’, *ba?a* ‘heavy’, *klea* ‘light’, *kwa?i* ‘wet’, *koboroto* ‘rough’, *ktəgə* ‘strong’, *kmelu* ‘clean’, *gilo* ‘sour’, *plate* ‘hot’, *lo?i* ‘cold’, *mata* ‘dead’, *mneda* ‘aloof’, *bera* ‘fast’, etc.

(119) **Class II adjectival verbs** (nominalized with *=kə̃*):

blega ‘wide’, *knipu* ‘narrow’, *milā* ‘kotor’, *gə̃* ‘sharp’, *krubu* ‘dull’, *wə̃hə̃* ‘last’, *wa?i* ‘next’, *wə̃ū* ‘smell bad’, etc.

Adjectival verbs of Classes I and II are distinguished from each other, both syntactically and semantically. Syntactically, they are differentiated in terms of the choice of the nominalizing suffix *-N* or the nominalizing enclitic *=kə̃*. Class I adjectival verbs take *-N*, while Class II employs *=kə̃*. Semantically, by and large, Class I adjectives are individual-level adjectives, designating a more or less permanent nature of a referent over which they predicate, while Classes II adjectives are stage-level adjectives, expressing a temporal and transient property of a referent.

The correlation between *-N* and stage-level adjectival verbs and that between *=kə̃* and individual-level adjectival verbs are understandable and expected. Remember from Section 3.5 that when used in adnominal possessive constructions, *-N* indicates inalienable possession, which is a permanent possessive relation, whereas *=kə̃* marks alienable possession, which is a transient possessive relation. Therefore, it may be

concluded that *-N* marks an intrinsic and permanent semantic relation, and *=kã* an accidental and transient one.

Adjectival verbs are capable of functioning as predicates, either with or without a nominalization marker, as in (120) and (121). In the predicative use of adjectival verbs, they are optionally yet frequently marked by a nominalization marker without leading to any noticeable difference in meaning.

(120) **Predicative use (Class I):**

pao goʔẽ belãʔ kaeʔ.
pao goʔẽ beləʔ (-N) kaeʔ.
 mango 1SG.NMZ big -NMZ PFV
 ‘My mango tree is already big.’

(121) **Predicative use (Class II):**

pao goʔẽ blega (=kã) kaeʔ.
 mango 1SG.NMZ wide =NMZ PFV
 ‘My mango tree is already wide.’

Similarly to verbs, adjectival verbs cannot form a noun phrase with a referential or a noun-modifying function, but rather they need to be **nominalized** before being used for reference (Section 4.8.1). To illustrate, consider an NP use of a Class I adjectival verb-based nominalization (122) and of a Class I adjectival verb-based nominalization (123).

(122) **NP use of an adjectival verb-based nominalization (Class I):**

go hope belãʔ.
*go hope beləʔ *(-N).*
 1SG buy big -NMZ
 ‘I bought a/the big one.’

(123) NP use of an adjectival verb-based nominalization (Class II):

*go hope blega *(=kã).*

1SG buy wide =NMZ

‘I bought a/the wide one.’

Example (122) indicates that the property-concept word *belə?* ‘big’ needs to be nominalized by the nominalization suffix *-N* so as to be used as a referential expression; example (123) shows that the word *blega* ‘wide’ must be followed by the nominalizing enclitic *=kã* for this purpose.

Unlike adjectival nouns, adjectival verbs cannot be directly employed for noun-modification; rather they need to be nominalized before working as noun-modifiers (Section 4.8.1). But like adjectival nouns, adjectival verb-based nominalizations appear post-nominally as in (124) and (125).

(124) Modifier use of an adjectival verb-based nominalization (Class I):

go hope pao belə?

go hope pao belə? -N.

1SG buy mango big -NMZ

‘I bought a/the big mango.’

(125) Modifier use of an adjectival verb-based nominalization (Class II):

go hope pao blega =kã.

1SG buy mango wide =NMZ

‘I bought a/the wide mango.’

In either case, it is not allowed to leave out the nominalizing morphology, the existence of which tells that the two words are not nominal but verbal.

4.7.3 *Do adjectival nouns and verbs form a single category?*

It was shown through this section that Lamaholot has two categories of adjectives as subcategories of the nominal and the verbal class, namely, adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs. The observation that there are two kinds of adjectives, noun-like and verb-like ones, is not typologically uncommon (see Croft 1991:130; Dixon 2004, for example). However, one might argue that these two categories actually form a single category “the adjective”. The assumption behind this is that both adjectival nouns and verbs express property concepts and should be treated alike. The purpose of this section is to reject this analysis in favor of the analysis that the two adjectival categories do not form a single category, by examining property-related morphosyntactic phenomena that might possibly differentiate adjectival nouns and verbs from the other parts of speech.

Before turning to the body of the analysis, let us review the facts we have seen so far. First, adjectival nouns can form a unit with referential function, but adjectival verbs cannot. This is the primary reason for distinguishing the two categories in the Lamaholot parts of speech system. Second, adjectival verbs are almost always followed by a nominalizing morphology when used as predicates, but this is not the case with adjectival nouns. Third, it is true that both adjectival nouns and verbs occur as post-nominal modifiers, but their position relative to a head noun in a noun phrase does not support the analysis of lumping the two adjectival categories together, because all the words other than nouns actually occur as post-nominal modifiers. Thus, it will not count as evidence.

The rest of this section will show more pieces of morphosyntactic evidence that adjectival nouns and verbs do not form a single part of speech. At the same time, by examining constructions involving property-concept words, we also intend to look more into the morphosyntactic properties and constructions involving two adjectival categories. The morphosyntactic phenomena examined are the *bo*: comparative construction (Section 4.7.3.1), the *=aʔ* superlative construction (Section 4.7.3.2), an adverbial use (Section

4.7.3.3), and exclamative formation (Section 4.7.3.4). The conclusion is drawn in Section 4.7.3.5.

4.7.3.1 *bo:* comparative construction

The *bo:* comparative construction is that construction whose predicate is composed of the comparative proclitic *bo:* and a root of adjectival nouns and verbs. See (126), where the adjective predicate is composed of *bo:* ‘more’ and *mae* ‘good’.

(126) *goʔē* *bo:* *mae*.
 1SG.NMZ more good
 ‘Mine is better.’

There is no native word for expressing an object of comparison (such as English *than*) in Lamaholot. For this purpose, the Malay prepositions *dari* ‘from’ or *daripada* ‘than’ were borrowed. No semantic difference is observed between *dari* and *daripada*. See (127).

(127) *goʔē* *bo:* *mae* *dari(pada)* *moʔē*.
 1SG.NMZ more good than 2SG.NMZ
 ‘Mine is better than yours.’

In (127), the object of comparison *moʔē* ‘yours’ is introduced into the clause by means of the preposition *dari* or *daripada*. Note that an object of comparison is optional in the *bo:* comparative construction. Both (126) and (127) are grammatical.

Most adjectival nouns and verbs can be involved in the *bo:* comparative construction, in which case each word is used in its root form (i.e., without a

nominalizing morphology). See examples of an adjectival noun (128), a Class I adjectival verb (129), and a Class II adjectival verb (130).

(128) **bo: comparative construction + Adjectival noun:**

Christi bo: metā (dari(pada)) Isna).

Christi more smart than Isna

‘Christi is smarter (than Isna).’

(129) **bo: comparative construction + Adjectival verb (Class I):**

Christi bo: belə? (dari(pada)) Isna).

Christi more big than Isna

‘Christi is bigger (than Isna).’

(130) **bo: comparative construction + Adjectival verb (Class II):**

Christi bo: milā (dari(pada)) Isna).

Christi more dirty than Isna

‘Christi is dirtier (than Isna).’

However, the *bo: comparative construction* cannot constitute evidence that adjectival nouns and verbs form a single category for two reasons. First, not all of these words can be part of this construction. For instance, Class II adjectival verbs like *wāhā* ‘last’, and *wa?i* ‘next’ cannot go with this type of construction, because in their semantic structure they do not have a concept of degree, which is required by the notion of comparison. Second, certain nouns can appear in this construction, expressing the comparison of the degree of the typical property owned by the entity that nouns designate. To illustrate, consider (131).

- (131) *Martin bo: kaka daripada Hugo.*
 Martin more elder.brother than Hugo
 ‘Martin is an elder brother than Hugo.’

Note in passing that there is no special form for comparison of equality in Lamaholot, but it is expressed in a periphrastic way: an adjective word in a predicative function followed by *hama nãʔã* NP, where an NP refers to an object of comparison. See (132) and (133).

- (132) *Yos belãʔ hama nãʔã Nori*
 Yos big.NMZ same 3SG-do Nori
 ‘Yos is as big as Nori.’

- (133) *honda goʔẽ sãnã hama nãʔã moʔẽ.*
 motor.bike 1SG.NMZ beautiful.NMZ same 3SG-do 2SG.NMZ
 ‘My motor bike is as beautiful as yours.’

Examples (132) and (133) are adjective verb-predicate constructions. In each sentence, an object of comparison is introduced into the clause by means of *hama nãʔã* ‘same as’.

4.7.3.2 =aʔ superlative

The =aʔ superlative construction is that construction where the predicate is composed of an adjectival word in plain form and the superlative enclitic =aʔ ‘most; too’. For example, see (134), where the adjectival verb *blahaʔ* ‘long’ is followed by =aʔ.

- (134) *tale* *te?ē* *blaha?* = *a?*
 rope DEM.PROX.NMZ long =most
 ‘This rope is too long.’

The superlative =*a?* becomes =*na?* after a nasalized vowel by means of assimilation. To illustrate, consider (135).

- (135) *laŋo?* *rə?ē* *okī* = *na?*
 house 3PL.NMZ old =most
 ‘Their house is too old.’

The superlative =*a?* looks similar to the S-agreement enclitic for their person singular =*a?*. But they are different morphemes, because the superlative =*a?* can be used even when its subject is other than third person singular. See (136).

- (136) *mo* *ba?a* = *a?*
 2SG heavy =most
 ‘You are too heavy.’

Most adjectival nouns and verbs can be involved in the =*a?* superlative construction, in which case each word is used in its root form (i.e., without a nominalizing morphology). See examples of an adjectival noun (137), a Class I adjectival verb (138), and a Class II adjectival verb (139).

(137) =aʔ superlative constructions + Adjectival noun:

Christi metã =naʔ.

Christi smart =most

‘Christi is the smartest/too smart.’

(138) =aʔ superlative construction + Class I adjectival verb:

Christi beləʔ =aʔ.

Christi big =most

‘Christi is the biggest/too big.’

(139) =aʔ superlative constructions + Class II adjectival verb:

Christi milã =naʔ.

Christi dirty =most

‘Christi is the dirtiest/too dirty.’

However, as discussed in Section 4.0, the =aʔ superlative construction cannot support the analysis that adjectival nouns and verbs are under the same umbrella, because not all of these words can fit into this construction and even deictic verbs can appear in this construction. Refer back to (5) and (6), repeated here as (140) and (141).

(140) ??ikã teʔẽ tãŋã =aʔ.

fish DEM.PROX.NMZ raw =too

Intended for ‘This fish is the rawest (?)’.

(141) *Hugo rae n-ai* =aʔ.

Hugo DIR.MT 3SG-go =too

‘Hugo is in a position too close to the mountain.’

In (140), the adjectival noun *tāhā* appears with =aʔ, resulting in an ungrammatical sentence; in (141), =aʔ occurs with a deictic motion verb, expressing the degree of closeness to the mountain.

4.7.3.3 Adverbial use

Some adjectival verbs can appear in root form in a clause to express the manner of the action described by the clause or a resulting state. See (142) and (143).

(142) Adverbial use of a Class I adjectival verb:

go soka ktāgə.
 1SG dance strong
 ‘I dance very hard.’

(143) Adverbial use of a Class I adjectival verb:

go k-āʔā spatu goʔē kmelu.
 1SG 1SG-do shoes 1SG.NMZ clean
 ‘I made my shoes clean.’

In (142), the plain/root form of the adjectival verb *ktāgə* ‘strong’ functions as a manner adverb of the event expressed by the main verb. In (143), the adjectival verb *kmelu* ‘clean’ in plan form expresses the resulting state of the action designated by the main verb.

Similar examples are found below:

(144) Adverbial use of a Class I adjectival verb:

Arno n-enū tuaʔ ktāgə.
 Arno 3SG-drink tuak strong
 ‘Arno drinks tuak strongly (i.e. Arno is a heavy drinker).’

(145) Adverbial use of a Class II adjectival verb:

Christi paho wāũ.

Christi fart bad.smell

‘Christi farted and it smelled bad.’

The adverbial use of adjectival words is only available to those words that express (i) resultative states or (ii) manner, and not all adjectival words can be involved in this construction. Therefore, it cannot delineate adjectival words as a single category.

4.7.3.4 Exclamative-formation with =kā

Adjectival nouns and Class I adjective verbs can obtain an exclamative or exclusive meaning when they are further marked by the possessive/nominalization marker =kā. See (146), (147), and (148).

(146) Exclamative construction (+ adjectival noun):

Christi hape =kā wuʔũ =nā.

Christi mobile.phone =NMZ new =NMZ

‘Christi’s mobile phone is so new!’

(147) Exclamative construction (+ Class I adjectival verb):

Christi belāʔ =nā.

Christi big.NMZ =NMZ

‘Christi is so big!’

(148) Exclamative construction (+ Class I adjectival verb):

Nesta sənā =nā.

Nesta beautiful.NMZ =NMZ

‘Nesta is so beautiful!’

In (146), (147), and (148), the degree of the property indicated by adjectival nouns and verbs is highlighted by means of the existence of additional possessive/nominalization marker =*kã*. When Class I adjectival verbs are followed by =*kã*, they are nominalized by -*N* in advance. Note that =*kã* is realized as =*nã* after a nasalized vowel as in (148).

When this additional use of =*kã* is used within a noun phrase, it emphasizes the definiteness of a noun phrase or the exclusiveness of a noun modification function. See (149), (150) and (151).

(149) Definiteness/exclusiveness function (+ adjectival noun):

Christi hope hape okĩ =nã.

Christi buy mobile.phone old =NMZ

‘Christi bought the old (not any other or new) mobile phone.’

(150) Definiteness/exclusiveness function (+ Class I adjectival verb):

Christi hope gula belã? =nã.

Christi buy candy big.NMZ =NMZ

‘Christi bought the big (not any other) candy.’

(151) Definiteness/exclusiveness function (+ Class I adjectival verb):

Nesta brea =a? n-ã?ã sãnã =nã.

Nesta happy =3SG 3SG-do beautiful.NMZ =NMZ

‘Nesta is happy with the beautiful (not any other) one.’

In (149), the existence of an additional *kã* add an exclusive meaning to the adjectival noun *okĩ* ‘old’, leading to the interpretation that Christi bought the old rather than new mobile phone. In (150), =*kã* is attached to Class I adjectival verb *belã?* ‘big’ to mean that it is the big candy, not anything else, that Christi bought. In (151), the nominalization of

Class I adjectival verb *səna* ‘beautiful’ is used as a referential expression and the existence of *=kã* adds an emphasis on the beautifulness of the understood referent.

This use of *=kã* as an exclamatory/exclusive maker is found widely across adjectival nouns and Class I adjectival verbs. But it is not used with Class II adjectival verbs for a morphological reason: adjectival verbs of this class take *=kã* to be nominalized and cannot be attached to by another *=kã*. Again, this syntactic test cannot prove the grouping of adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs as a single category.

4.7.3.5 No single adjective category in Lamaholot

In the previous sections, we have looked at the four phenomena that may possibly show that adjectival nouns and verbs actually form a single part of speech, the adjective category, and argued that none of these phenomena count as evidence supporting the analysis of lumping the two together. All these phenomena refer to some adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs because they share the semantics involving the property concept. This similarity across the two subcategories in question is captured in our classification by the modifier **adjectival**.

The *bo:* comparative and the *=aʔ* superlative constructions and the adverbial use should be taken account of by means of semantic characteristics (Sections 4.7.3.1, 4.7.3.2, and 4.7.3.3). The use of *=kã* as an exclamative or exclusiveness marker is only found in adjectival nouns and Class I adjectival verbs, but not in Class II adjectival verbs for a morphological reason (Section 4.7.3.4). As for formal markings of these functions, different adjectival words take different markers for different purposes, as in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Adjectival nouns/verbs and possessive/nominalization markers

	Adjectival nouns	Class I adjectival verb	Class II adjectival verbs
(i) <i>bo</i> : comparative (ii) = <i>aʔ</i> superlative (iii) adverbial use	Root	Root	Root
(i) NP-use (ii) Modifier-use	Root	Root + -N	Root + = <i>kǎ</i>
(i) Exclamative (ii) Definite	Root + = <i>kǎ</i>	Root + -N + = <i>kǎ</i>	(Root + = <i>kǎ</i>)

Therefore, Lamaholot has two categories of property words, not a single category. The natural question to ask next is, why is it the way it is? Why are property words divided to adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs? What motivates this contrast? Our gut feeling is that the answer to these questions can be found in the predictability of entities that can be associated with a property concept designated by each subclass. On the one hand, the owner of properties indicated by adjectival nouns is always predictable: *wuʔũ* ‘new (thing)’, *okĩ* ‘old (thing)’, *krəkũ* ‘cruel (person)’, *brĩĩ* ‘sick (person)’, *blara* ‘injured (person)’, *lameʔ* ‘deep (sea)’, etc. When speaker uses adjectival nouns, he or she actually provides some information about the owner of a designated property as well. This nature of adjectival nouns is functionally close to nouns and probably for this reason adjectival nouns go into the nominal class.

On the other hand, no information about the owner of a property is available to adjectival verbs: *beləʔ* ‘big (one)’, *kreʔ* ‘small (one)’, *blahaʔ* ‘long (one)’, *bloloʔ* ‘tall (one)’, *kpaʔsuʔ* ‘short (one)’, *blega* ‘wide (one)’, *knipu* ‘narrow (one)’, and so on. It is not possible to tell from these words if the owner of each property is human, animate, or inanimate. Thus, these words are classified as non-nominal.

4.8 Nominalization

Nominalization is defined by Shibatani (2010) as “creation of constructions (Ns and NMZNs) that are associated with a denotation comprised of entity concepts characterized in terms of a state-of-affairs in which the relevant concept has crucial relevance. NMZNs are similar to nouns by virtue of their having an entity-concept denotation”. In this definition, two formal kinds of nominalization are distinguished: (i) lexical nominalization and (ii) grammatical nominalization. Only the latter is relevant to our discussion of parts of speech, but let us review the difference between them first.

Lexical nominalization is the process where a new lexical noun is added to the lexicon. In English, it refers to cases, for example, where the nouns *employ-er* and *employ-ee* are derived from the verb *employ*. Indonesian also shows a wide variety of lexical nominalizations. See agent nominalization with *peN-* in (152) and instrumental nominalization with *peN-* in (153).

(152) Agent nominalization with *peN-* (Sneddon 1996:27-28):

<i>menganut</i>	‘follow’	→	<i>penganut</i>	‘follower, adherent’
<i>menonton</i>	‘view’	→	<i>penonton</i>	‘spectator’
<i>menulis</i>	‘write’	→	<i>penulis</i>	‘writer’
<i>menumpang</i>	‘ride in’	→	<i>penumpang</i>	‘passenger’
<i>menduduki</i>	‘occupy’	→	<i>penduduk</i>	‘inhabitant’

(153) Instrumental nominalization with *peN-* (Sneddon 1996:28):

<i>mencetak</i>	‘print’	→	<i>pencetak</i>	‘printer’
<i>menggaris</i>	‘draw a line’	→	<i>penggaris</i>	‘ruler’
<i>merangsang</i>	‘stimulate’	→	<i>perangsang</i>	‘stimulant’

In the case of Lamaholot, it appears that lexical nominalization involves two morphological processes: remnant PMP focus affixes and nasal substitution (Blust 2004).

For example, look at agent lexical nominalizations by the infix <*n*> in (154) and instrumental lexical nominalization by the substitution of *p* with *m* in (155).

(154) **Agent lexical nominalization: Infix <*n*>** (cf. (152))

səpã 'go finishing' → *s<n>əpã* 'fisherman'

(155) **Instrumental lexical nominalization: *p* → *m*** (cf. (153))

pətə 'to cut' → *mətə* 'cutting board'

pətuʔ 'to hit' → *mətuʔ* 'a tool for hitting'

tobo 'to sit down' → *noboʔ* 'seat'

dira 'to use a fan' → *mnira* 'fan'

Neither of these processes is productive and the relevant forms are at most fossilized (see Section 3.8.1 for more examples of fossilized lexical nominalizations). For these reasons, the rest of this chapter concentrates on another type of nominalization, namely, grammatical nominalization.

Grammatical nominalization does not create a lexical noun but grammatical structures larger than lexical nouns. As products of this process, nominalizations can be, in turn, used for various functions, such as reference and modification. Although its lexical nominalization has almost vanished away from this language, Lamaholot still offers a variety of grammatical nominalization phenomena.

In Chapter 3, we introduced four nominalizers: *-N*, *=kã*, *-ẽʔ*, and *yang*. These are all nominalizers for grammatical nominalization. The suffix *-N* nominalizes Class I adjectival verbs and some verbs; the enclitic *=kã*, Class II adjectival verbs and some verbs; the suffix *-ẽʔ*, pronouns, demonstratives, and directionals; and the particle *yang*, verbs. See Figure 4.1.

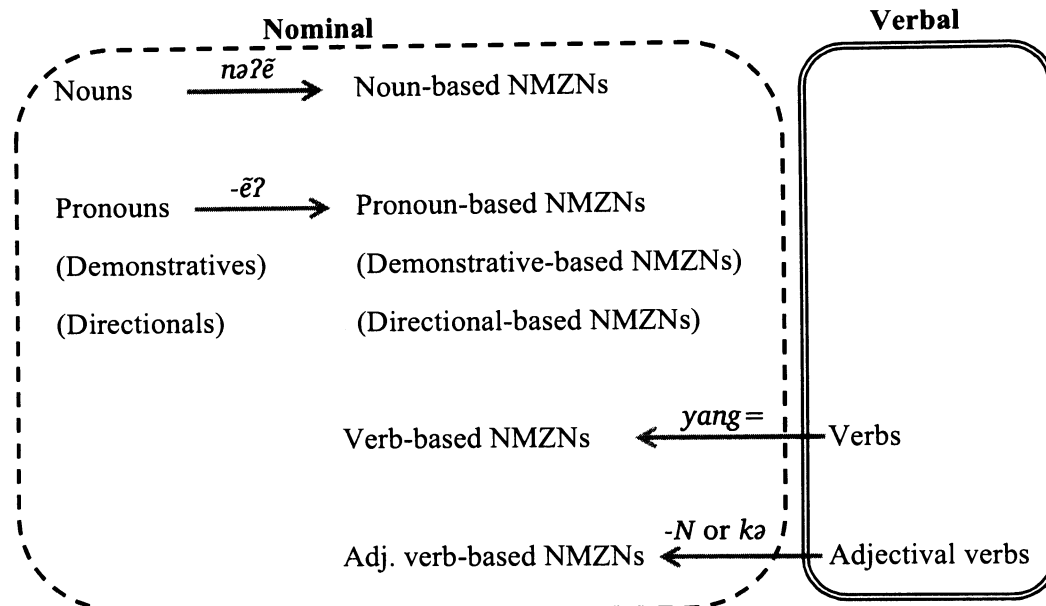


Figure 4.1: Nominalization

In the rest of this section, we demonstrate how Lamaholot words are nominalized with these elements: nominalization of adjectival verbs (Section 4.8.1), nominalization of verbs (Section 4.8.2), and nominalization of nouns (Section 4.8.3). In Section 4.8.4, it is also observed what nominalization morphology means when they go with those nominals that need not be nominalized. The deictic nominalizing suffix *-ēʔ* was discussed separately in Section 4.3.

4.8.1 Nominalization of adjectival verbs

Adjectival nouns are nominal and do not need to be nominalized before achieving reference and predication functions (Section 4.7.1). In contrast, adjectival verbs must be nominalized before being used as referential expressions and predicates (Section 4.7.2).

On the one hand, Class I adjectival verbs are nominalized with *-N*. The resulting nominalization can be used as a referential expression or as a post-nominal noun-

modifier. To illustrate, consider the Class I adjectival verb *meʔa* ‘red’ and its nominalization in (156).

(156) Nominalization of a Class I adjectival verb with -N:

<i>meʔa</i>	→	<i>meʔã</i>
<i>meʔa</i>		<i>meʔa</i> -N
red		red -NMZ
‘red’		‘a red one’

As in (156), the Class I adjectival verb is nominalized with the help of the nominalization suffix -N. The resulting nominalization *meʔã* can function as an NP or as a post-nominal modifier. See (157) and (158), respectively.

(157) NP use of (156):

go hope meʔã.
 1SG buy red.NMZ
 ‘I bought the red one.’

(158) Modifier use of (156):

go hope topi meʔã.
 1SG buy hat red.NMZ
 ‘I bought the red hat.’

On the other hand, Class II adjectival verbs are nominalized with =*kã*. The resulting nominalization can be used as a referential expression or as a post-nominal noun-modifier. See the Class II adjectival verb *knipu* ‘narrow’ and its nominalization in (159).

(159) Nominalization of a Class II adjectival verb with =*kã*:

<i>knipu</i>	→	<i>knipu =kã</i>
narrow		narrow =NMZ
‘narrow’		‘a narrow one’

As in (159), the Class II adjectival verb is nominalized by means of the nominalization enclitic =*kã*. Similarly to nominalizations of Class I adjectival verbs, the product of nominalization can be employed as an NP (160) and as a post-nominal modifier (161).

(160) NP use of (159):

<i>go</i>	<i>pile</i>	<u><i>knipu =kã</i></u> .
1SG	choose	narrow =NMZ
		‘I chose <u>the narrow one.</u> ’

(161) Modifier use of (159):

<i>go</i>	<i>pile</i>	<i>kursi</i>	<u><i>knipu =kã</i></u> .
1SG	choose	chair	narrow =NMZ
			‘I chose <u>the narrow chair.</u> ’

4.8.2 Nominalizations of verbs

Verbs cannot form a syntactic unit for reference or noun-modification by themselves and need to be nominalized for these purposes. Verbs and verb phrases are nominalized with the Indonesian nominalizer *yang*. The resulting nominalization can be used as an NP or as a post-nominal noun-modifier. See (163), (163), and (164).

(162) **Nominalization of a verb with *yang=*:**

<i>məla</i>	→	<i>yang = məla</i>
steal		NMZ steal
‘steal’		‘one who steals’

(163) **NP use of (162) (agent):**

<i>go</i>	<i>bəŋo</i>	<u><i>yang = məla</i></u>	<i>manu.</i>
1SG	hit	NMZ= steal	chicken
‘I hit the one who stole chicken.’			

(164) **Modifier use of (162) (agent):**

<i>go</i>	<i>bəŋo</i>	<i>ana?</i>	<u><i>yang = məla</i></u>	<i>manu.</i>
1SG	hit	child	NMZ= steal	chicken
‘I hit the kid who stole chicken.’				

In (163), the phrase *məla manu* ‘steal chicken’ is nominalized by the nominalizer *yang*, and the resulting nominalization works as an NP to refer to the person (or animal) who stole chicken. In (164), the same nominalized constituent occurs but as a post-nominal modifier, modifying the noun phrase it precedes. As their translations suggest, these nominalized elements do the same function as **relative clauses** in English and other languages (see Shibatani 2008b, 2009b, 2010 for another look at relative clauses; in his analysis, relative clauses are nothing but the modification use of nominalizations).

In (163) and (164), the verb phrase in question is nominalized to yield to an expression referring to the agent argument of the verb *məla* ‘steal’, but the resulting nominalization can have a denotation of the patient argument of the verb. See (165) and (166), where the verb *məla* ‘steal’ is nominalized for its patient argument.

(165) NP use (patient):

kame *m-əkā* *yang = ra* *māla*.

1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC-eat NMZ= 3PL steal

‘We ate what they stole.’

(166) Modifier use (patient):

kame *m-əkā* *manu* *yang = ra* *māla*.

1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC-eat chicken NMZ= 3PL steal

‘We ate the chicken they stole.’

Three notes on nominalization of verbs are in order. First, not all participants can be nominalized for this purpose. Only arguments bearing the topic relation to the clause can be nominalized (Section 9.3), which is one of the shared properties of Lamaholot and other western Austronesian languages.

Second, some verbs can be nominalized by native nominalizers, *-N* and *=kā*, but the nominalization with these nominalizers are not productive any longer and are only found in fixed expressions in Modern Lamaholot. For example, consider (167) and (168).

(167) *baka* ‘fly’ as a predicate:

jō *baka*.

ship fly

‘The ship flew.’

(168) *baka* ‘fly’-based nominalization as a modifier:

go *notō* *jō* *bakā*.

1SG watch ship fly.NMZ

‘I watched a flying ship (i.e. an airplane).’

Example (167) is an ordinary intransitive verb construction, where the verb *baka* ‘fly’ is used as a predicate. However, in (168), this verb is nominalized by *-N* and is used to modify the noun *jō* ‘ship’. The resulting form *jō bakā* refers to an aircraft.

Also, it is not impossible to use the nominalizer *=kā* for nominalizing verbs as in (169) and (170). Compare them with (165) and (166), respectively.

(169) **NP use (patient):**

<i>kame</i>	<i>m-ākā</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>māla</i>	<i>=kā</i> .
1PL.EXC	1PL.EXC-eat	3PL	steal	=NMZ

‘We ate what they stole.’

(170) **Modifier use (patient):**

<i>kame</i>	<i>m-ākā</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>māla</i>	<i>=kā</i> .
1PL.EXC	1PL.EXC-eat	chicken	3PL	steal	=NMZ

‘We ate the chicken they stole.’

As mentioned above, nominalizing verbs with the native nominalizers *-N* and *=kā* is not common in Modern Lamaholot, although it is not ungrammatical either. The Indonesian nominalizer *yang* is used more commonly than the native ones. Since nominalization of verbs with *-N* and *=kā* is not productive, it is difficult to determine what condition motivates choice of one nominalizer over another.

The third note on nominalization of verbs is that *yang* in the modifier use can be replaced by *pe:*, which seems a native Lamaholot word and looks related to the distal demonstrative *pe:* ‘there’. An example of *pe:* as a nominalizer in this function is given in (171).

(171) **Modifier use (patient):**

kame *m-əkā* *manu* *pe:* *ra* *māla.*

1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC chicken NMZ= 3PL steal

‘We ate the chicken they stole.’

Unlike the nominalization of verbs with *N-* and *=kā*, the use of *pe:* is readily grammatical among Lamaholot speakers. However, in the actual corpus data, it is rare to pick out examples with this *pe:*. The Indonesian nominalizer *yang* is found more frequently than *pe:*.

4.8.3 Nominalization of nouns

In Lamaholot, nouns can be nominalized to create an expression with a denotation to which they have crucial relevance. To be more specific, a nominal expression can be nominalized by means of the third person singular pronoun in nominalized form *nəʔē* ‘his/hers’ to create a nominal expression meaning ‘something possessed by the noun’. For example, look at (172).

(172) *Hugo nəʔē*

Hugo 3SG.NMZ

‘Hugo’s’

In (172), *Hugo* is the name of a person and this noun is further followed by *nəʔē* ‘his/her’, the third person singular pronoun in nominalized form (see Section 4.3). The resulting expression *Hugo nəʔē* is a nominalization denoting any entity possessed by *Hugo*.

The nominalization in (172) can in turn occur by itself as an NP or as a predicate. See (173) and (174), respectively. A construction type in (174) is one of the most commonly used predicative possessive constructions in Lamaholot (Section 8.6.7).

(173) Noun-based nominalization as an NP:

go gute Hugo nəʔē.
 1SG take Hugo 3SG.NMZ
 ‘I will take Hugo’s.’

(174) Noun-based nominalization as a predicate:

teʔē Hugo nəʔē.
 DEM.PROX.NMZ Hugo 3SG.NMZ
 ‘This is Hugo’s.’

Furthermore, the nominalization by *nəʔē* in (172) can be employed even as a pre-nominal modifier as (175).

(175) Noun-based nominalization as a modifier:

go gute Hugo nəʔē hepe.
 1SG take Hugo 3SG.NMZ knife
 ‘I will take Hugo’s knife.’

It appears that the prenominal modifier use of a noun-based nominalization is less commonly used than an adnominal construction with the possessive markers *-N* and *=kã*. For example, it more often happens that speaker choose to use an attributive possessive construction in (176) than (175). For this reason, we will not discuss the pre-nominal modifier use of a noun-based nominalization in the rest of this study.

(176) **Possessive construction with =kã:**

go gute Hugo hepe =kã.
 1SG take Hugo knife =NMZ
 ‘I will take Hugo’s knife.’

4.8.4 Non-nominalization uses of nominalization morphology

The possessive/nominalization markers *-N* and *=kã* are not only used for nominalizing adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs (Section 4.8.1) and verbs (Section 4.8.2), but also appear with nouns for marking other functions than nominalization. First, the suffix *-N* and the enclitic *=kã* mark a possessive relationship when used with nouns (Section 4.2). Possessive relationship is a type of relation that obtains between two nominals, e.g., *book* and *John’s*, where nominalization *John’s* denotes an entity to which “John” has crucial relevance. The pattern is similar to other modification patterns; for example, compare (177) and (178).

(177) **Modifier use of the adjectival verb-based nominalization:**

go hope topi meʔã.
 1SG buy hat red.NMZ
 ‘I bought the red hat.’

(178) **Modifier use of the pronoun-based nominalization:**

laŋoʔ goʔẽ belãʔ.
 house 1SG.NMZ big.NMZ
 ‘My house is big.’

Just as “red.NMZ” denotes entities characterized in terms of redness, “1SG.NMZ” denotes entities characterized in terms of their relevance to the speaker. In a modification construction, as above, both denote entities constituting subclasses of the denotation of

the head nouns. This is what a restricting function of nominalizations in an NP construction.

Second, the suffix *-N* derives ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers when used with numerals (Section 4.4). Third, the enclitic *=kã* can express exclamation or exclusiveness when used with adjectival nouns (and nominalizations of Class I adjectival verbs) (Section 4.7.3.4).

4.9 Minor parts of speech

Throughout this chapter it was shown that major parts of speech, either nominal or verbal, form a syntactic unit used for reference or/and predication. In contrast, **minor parts of speech** are not used for any of these two functions. Instead, they supplement these functions in one way or another. Such minor word classes are TAM particles (Section 4.9.1), sentence-final particles (Section 4.9.2), conjunctions (Section 4.9.3), interjections (Section 4.9.4), prepositions (Section 4.9.5), loan prepositions (Section 4.9.6), adverbs (Section 4.9.7), and epistememes (Section 4.9.8).

4.9.1 TAM particles

Lamaholot verbs do not inflect for tense, aspect, or mood. Instead, such information is indicated periphrastically. Aspectual and modal distinctions are marked by TAM particles. Viewpoint aspect (vs. situation aspects, Smith 1997) and negation are marked periphrastically by one of these markers in (179) and (180).

(179) Viewpoint aspect markers:

<i>kae?</i>	Perfective	'already'	(past)
<i>morã</i>	Imperfective	'still', 'not yet'	(present)
<i>kia</i>	Prospective	'now'	(future)
<i>te?</i>	Incipient	'is about to'	(immediate future)

(180) Modals:

<i>hala?</i>	Clause-final negator (used at the clause-final position)
<i>lae?</i>	Independent negator (used as a single sentence)
<i>nawa</i>	Negative imperative
<i>ake</i>	Negative imperative

There is no grammatical way of marking tense-related information: it is expressed by means of temporal expressions. See Chapter 10 for more on expressions for tense, aspect, and mood.

4.9.2 Sentence-final particles

As their name indicates, sentence-final particles occur at the end of a sentence. Their chief function is that of adding interpersonal meanings to utterances, such as asking for hearer's reaction or emphasizing what is said. There are only handful words that serve this function, as listed in (181).

(181) Sentence-final particles:

<i>hae</i>	tag question
<i>ta</i>	polar question
<i>di</i>	excuse
<i>ro</i>	confirmation
<i>ka</i>	emphasis
<i>ne</i>	softening
<i>mu?</i>	confirmation
<i>lewo</i>	calling attention

As for word order, sentence-final particles always follow TAM particles, if any. Observe in (182) and (183) that TAM particles precede sentence-final ones.

(182) *mo gō = no kia ka.*
 2SG eat.2SG=2SG now SFP
 ‘You eat now!’

(183) *lau kia ne.*
 DIR.SEA now SFP
 ‘(I will go) seawards now.’ (As a cliché to say goodbye to neighbors)

Typologically speaking, it often happens that elements with an interpersonal meaning appear in the most peripheral positions of a sentence and that they are in turn followed or preceded by elements with a modal and aspectual meaning (Bybee 1985).

4.9.3 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are those connecting words to be used for combining more than one simple clause into a complex clause structure. Lamaholot has only a small number of conjunctions as listed (184).

(184) Conjunctions:

<i>kia gə</i>	‘and then’	
<i>nə</i>	‘and’	
<i>kədi?</i>	‘so’	
<i>kū</i>	‘but’	
<i>kalo</i>	‘when, if’	(Indonesian)
<i>waktu</i>	‘when’	(Indonesian)

Note that the two conjunctions *kalo* ‘when if’ and *waktu* ‘when’ are borrowed from Indonesian and not native words of Lamaholot. But they are included here, because they are so frequently employed in natural Lamaholot conversations.

There are several reasons why there are few conjunctions in Lamaholot. First, complementation is realized as juxtaposition of two clauses rather than embedding. Second, subordinate and coordinate clause linkages are often expressed by either verb serialization or clause chain, in which case no formal marking is required. See Chapters 11 and 12 for more on complex sentences in Lamaholot.

4.9.4 Interjections

Interjections are those words that are used to express speaker’s intense feeling, emotion, surprise, hesitation, and so on. See (185).

(185) Interjections:

<i>ona</i>	‘wow’	
<i>adu</i>	‘hmmm’	(Bahasa Indonesia)
<i>da:</i>	‘bye’	(Bahasa Indonesia)
<i>=e</i>	‘hey’	(Catching hearer’s attention)
<i>hae</i>	‘I see’	
<i>bi:</i>	‘No idea’	

These interjections are often used at the beginning of sentences, the exception being that the interjection *=e* ‘hey’ is cliticized to another interjection or a (nick)name of hearer. Look at (186) and (187).

(186) *ona =e mo pi morā ta?*

wow hey 2SG DEM.PROX.AR still Q

‘Wow, hey, are you still here!?’

(187) *amā =e, mo tea?*

mother hey 2SG where

‘Hey, Mother, where are you?’

In (186), the speaker expresses his surprise with the interjection *ona* ‘wow’, while trying to call hearer’s attention by using the interjection *=e* ‘hey’. In (187), *=e* is attached to the kinship term rather than an interjection, but is still used to catch hearer’s attention.

4.9.5 Prepositions

There are two **deverbal prepositions** or simply **prepositions** in Lamaholot: *neĩ* ‘for’ and *ø-ā?ā* ‘with, and’. As the term “deverbal” suggests, these two prepositions have their origin in verbs, *neĩ* ‘give’ and *ø-ā?ā* ‘do’, respectively, but have been grammaticalized into prepositions via verb serialization to such an extent that they have lost their verbal properties and can be analyzed as prepositions. As Foley and Van Valin (1984:207-8) note, “[i]t is [...] a well-known fact about language change that serialized verbs like ‘give’ and ‘take’ are often gradually re-analyzed into adpositions or case markers”.

The semantic function of the two prepositions is to introduce a participant bearing a peripheral semantic role, while their syntactic function is to mark an NP as an adjunct (see Chapter 8 for adjuncts). On the one hand, the preposition *neĩ* ‘for’ indicates that the NP to follow is an adjunct and plays a benefactive role. See (188) and (189) for illustration.

(188) **Prepositional phrase as an adjunct:**

go hope gula neĩ ana? goʔẽ.
 1SG buy candy for child 1SG.NMZ
 ‘I bought some candies for my child.’

(189) **Prepositional phrase as a predicate:**

gula teʔẽ neĩ mo.
 candy DEM.PROX.NMZ for 2SG
 ‘These candies are for you.’

In (188), *neĩ* introduces a prepositional phrase *neĩ ana? goʔẽ* ‘for my child’, which syntactically works as an adjunct of the clause. In contrast, in (189), *neĩ* forms the prepositional phrase *neĩ mo* ‘for you’. This phrase in turn functions as a predicate.

On the other hand, the preposition *ø-ãʔã* ‘with, and’ introduces a commitative or instrumental role. To illustrate, consider (190) and (191).

(190) **Prepositional phrase as an adjunct:**

go k-aʔi =əʔ k-ãʔã mo.
 1SG 1SG-go=1SG 1SG-do 2SG
 ‘I will go with you.’

(191) **Prepositional phrase as a predicate:**

go k-ãʔã mo.
 1SG 1SG-do 2SG
 ‘I will be with you.’

In (190), *ø-ãʔã* ‘with’ introduces a prepositional phrase working as a commitative adjunct. In (191), *ø-ãʔã* ‘with’ forms the prepositional phrase *k-ãʔã mo* ‘with you’ and this prepositional phrase serves as a predicate.

4.9.6 Loan prepositions

Prepositions borrowed from Malay are often used in everyday Lamaholot conversations to such an extent that we have to include them in this grammar of Lamaholot. Such borrowed prepositions are listed in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Prepositions borrowed from Malay

Preposition	Meaning	Indonesian	Example
<i>daripada</i>	'from'	<i>daripada</i>	(192)
<i>dari</i>	'from'	<i>dari</i>	(193)
<i>untu?</i>	'on behalf of'	<i>untuk</i>	(194)
<i>tətã</i>	'about'	<i>tentang</i>	(195)
<i>antara</i>	'between'	<i>antara</i>	(196)

Examples of each are shown below. There is no significant difference in meaning between borrowed prepositions and their Indonesian originals.

(192) *Boru bo: mae dari(pada) Nurabelen.*

Boru more beautiful than Nurabelen

'Boru is more beautiful than Nurabelen.'

(193) *na sãga pi dari Maumere.*

3SG arrive DEM.PROX.AR from Maumere

'S/he arrived here from Maumere.'

(194) *te?ẽ untu? mo.*

DEM.pro.NMZ for 2SG

'This is for you.'

(195) *go tutu koda tətā lewo okĩ.*

1SG tell story about village old

‘I will tell a story about the old village.’

(196) *Nurabelen antara Boru n-ā?ā Lewotobi.*

Nurabelen between Boru 3SG-do Lewotobi

‘Nurabelen is between Boru and Lewotobi.’

4.9.7 Adverbs

The adverb category in Lamaholot is both formally and functionally a ‘garbage bin’ or ‘umbrella’ category, which includes a handful of different words with various meanings.

(197) Focus adverbs:

di ‘also’

bəi ‘negative’

(198) Comparative and superlative adverbs:

bo: ‘more’

= *a?* ‘most; too much’

(199) Degree adverbs:

mapā ‘very’

neku? ‘only’

səja ‘just’

muri ‘again’

(200) Frequency adverbs:

mə ‘time’

papē ‘time’

4.9.8 Epistememes

Epistememes refer to words that can function as interrogatives or indefinite pronouns (Mushin 1995). The list of epistememes in Lamaholot is given in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Epistememes

FORM	MEANING	SYNTAX	NOTE
<i>hege</i>	‘who’	noun	
<i>a:</i>	‘what’	noun	
<i>tea</i>	‘where’	adverb	
<i>teā</i>	‘which’	nominalization	<i>tea</i> ‘where’ + <i>-N</i>
<i>pīra</i>	‘how many/much’	numeral	
<i>boā</i>	‘when’	temporal noun	
<i>jā pīra</i>	‘what time’	temporal noun	<i>jā</i> ‘hour’
<i>pukā a</i>	‘why’	serialized verb	<i>pukā</i> ‘stem from’
<i>nā?ā a</i>	‘how’ ‘with what’	serialized verb	<i>ø-ā?ā</i> ‘do; with’

From a purely formal perspective, epistememes do not form a single morphosyntactic category but rather are a group of words that can function as interrogative or indefinite pronouns. For example, *hege* ‘who’ and *a* ‘what’ syntactically behave like nouns, while *pīra* is a numeral. We include them in minor parts of speech, because they are not involved in reference and predication in a usual sense. For example, *hege* ‘who’ can be used as an NP, but its referent is always unknown to speaker or non-specific at the time of utterance. This is not the case with ordinary nouns: the referent of a noun-headed NP may be specific or may not be non-specific.

There are two major contexts where epistememes are used: interrogative constructions (Section 4.9.8.1) and indefinite pronouns constructions (Section 4.9.8.2).

4.9.8.1 Epistememes in interrogative constructions

When epistememes are used in interrogative sentences they function as questions words. Examples of each are presented in (201) through (209).

- (201) *hege s̄aga pi?*
 who arrive DEM.PROX.AR
 ‘Who arrived here?’
- (202) *mo gō a?*
 2SG eat.2SG what
 ‘What did you eat?’
- (203) *mo tea m-ai?*
 2SG where 2SG-go
 ‘Where are you going?’
- (204) *mo m-aʔi =ko? boã?*
 2SG 2SG-leave =2SG when
 ‘When will you leave?’
- (205) *mo hope pira?*
 2SG buy how.many
 ‘How many did you buy?’
- (206) *mo hope teã?*
 2SG buy where.NMZ
 ‘Which will you buy?’
- (207) *pukã a mo gaka?*
 stem what 2SG cry
 ‘Why are you crying?’

(208) *mo soka n-ā?ā a?*
 2SG dance 3SG-do what
 ‘How did you dance?’

(209) *mo gwali jā pira?*
 2SG return hour how.many
 ‘What time will you return?’

4.9.8.2 Epistememes in indefinite pronoun constructions

There is no indefinite pronoun itself in Lamaholot. But the combination of an epistememe with the word *saja* ‘only’ gives a meaning similar to ‘any’ in English: for example, *hege saja* ‘anyone’. To illustrate the indefinite function of epistememes, consider examples in (210) through (212).

(210) *hege saja bisa dore.*
 who just can join
 ‘Anyone can join.’

(211) *go kā a saja.*
 1SG eat.1SG what just
 ‘I can eat anything.’

(212) *Siku bisa turu tea saja.*
 Siku can sleep where just
 ‘Siku can sleep anywhere.’

It is not uncommon that interrogatives are also used for indefinites in Austronesian languages. For example, Tagalog interrogatives have both interrogative and indefinite functions (Schachter and Otnes 1972). See Mushin (1995) and Gartner (2009), among others, for the affinity between indefinites and interrogatives.

4.10 Transitional parts of speech

In Section 4.1, it was suggested that in Lamaholot parts of speech can be recognized by the two criteria, namely, (i) the existence or absence of a denotation of entities in a given word and (ii) the function of a larger unit that it forms (reference or predication), and that this approach produces two super parts of speech: major parts of speech (the nominal and the verbal classes) and minor parts of speech. Major parts of speech can form a syntactic unit for reference or/and predication to convey a lexical meaning, while minor parts of speech are used to add some grammatical meanings to the lexical meaning borne by major parts of speech.

However, there is yet another factor that comes into play in the description and analysis of parts of speech in Lamaholot: grammaticalization. **Grammaticalization** is defined as “the development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms” (Heine and Kuteva 2002:2). In other words, grammaticalization is the process where minor parts of speech are derived from major parts of speech, yielding to various kinds of words of different degrees of grammaticalization.

Grammaticalization is usually accompanied by four parameters (Heine and Kuteva 2007:34): (a) **extension**, i.e. the rise of new grammatical meanings when linguistic expressions are extended to new contexts (context-induced reinterpretation); (b) **desemantization** (or “semantic bleaching”), i.e. loss (or generalization) in meaning content; (c) **deategorialization**, i.e. loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms; and (d) **erosion** (“phonetic reduction”), i.e. loss in phonetic substance.

What is central to our interest here is that grammaticalization leads to decategorization or the loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms. This means that the diachronic process of grammaticalization necessarily results in some classes of words that lie synchronically

between major (lexical) and minor (grammatical) parts of speech. We will refer to such intermediate parts of speech under the umbrella of **transitional parts of speech** (cf. Croft's 1991:142ff *transitory word classes*).

In Lamaholot, too, we can identify transitional parts of speech, as listed in (24), repeated here as (213).

(213) Transitional parts of speech in Lamaholot:

Grammaticalization of nominals to minor parts of speech:

- (i) Demonstratives
- (ii) Directionals
- (iii) Locative

The rest of this section looks into each of these transitional parts of speech in (213) and discusses in what sense they form a transitional category and how the grammaticalization analysis takes account of the syntactic distribution of these elements.

4.10.1 Demonstratives, directionals, and the locative

Demonstratives are grammatical elements that are used to point to a location of an entity or a direction of movement in terms of relative distance from the deictic center. A list of demonstratives is given in (214) with a list of demonstrative-based nominalizations in (215). See Section 6.1 for a fuller analysis of these elements.

(214) Demonstratives:

- a. *te*: 'here' (PROXIMAL, POINT)
- b. *pi*: 'here' (PROXIMAL, AREAL)
- c. *pe*: 'there' (DISTAL)

(215) Demonstratives-based nominalizations:

- a. *teʔē* ‘this (one)’, ‘the one that is located here’ (PROXIMAL, POINT)
- b. *piʔi* ‘this (one)’, ‘the one that is located here’ (PROXIMAL, AREAL)
- c. *peʔē* ‘that (one)’, ‘the one that is located there’ (DISTAL)

In contrast, **directionals** are those grammatical elements that are used to describe a location of an entity or a direction of movement relative to environmental landmarks such as the sea and the sky. See (216) for an inventory of directionals and (217) for directional-based nominalizations.

(216) Directionals:

- a. *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’
- b. *lau* ‘the direction of the sea’
- c. *wāli* ‘the direction parallel with the coast’
- d. *teti* ‘the direction of the sky’
- e. *lali* ‘the direction of the ground’

(217) Directional-based nominalizations:

- a. *rāēʔ* ‘the one that is located in the direction of the mountain’
- b. *lāūʔ* ‘the one that is located in the direction of the sea’
- c. *wālīʔ* ‘the one that is located in the direction parallel with the coast’
- d. *tētīʔ* ‘the one that is located in the direction of the sky’
- e. *lalīʔ* ‘the one that is located in the direction of the ground’

The locative *ia* in (218) functions either as a preposition or as a locative adverb to introduce a location into a clause. It is also used to introduce a recipient, goal, or source participant in the prepositional-object construction of three-place predicates. See Section 6.4 for more on the locative *ia*.

(218) Locative:*ia* ‘here’

As discussed in Chapter 6, demonstratives, directionals, and the locative are collectively referred to as **locationals**, because all of them are involved in expressing meanings related to spatial arrangement and location. In particular, demonstratives in (214) and directionals in (216) are analyzed as **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). Morphosyntactically, both of them have plain and nominalized forms, the latter being derived from the former by means of the nominalizer =*ẽʔ* (see Sections 3.6, 6.1, and 6.2).

4.10.2 Nominal and non-nominal properties of locationals

Before discussing grammaticalization phenomena observed in demonstratives, directionals, and the locative, let us consider their syntactic distribution. As discussed in Chapter 6 in greater detail, these three parts of speech display exactly the same distribution. First, demonstratives, directionals, and the locative can be employed as locative adverbials. Consider (219), (220), and (221).

(219) Locative adverbial use of a demonstrative:

<i>opu</i>	<i>goʔẽ</i>	<i>tobo</i>	<i>pe:</i>
uncle	1SG.NMZ	sit	DEM.DIS

‘My uncle is sitting there (far from speaker).’

(220) **Locative adverbial use of a directional:**

opu goʔē tobo rae.
 uncle 1SG.NMZ sit DIR.MT

‘My uncle is sitting in the direction of the mountain (from speaker).’

(221) **Locative adverbial use of the locative:**

opu goʔē tobo ia.
 uncle 1SG.NMZ sit LOC

‘My uncle is sitting here.’

In (219), (220), and (221), the demonstrative *pe*: ‘there’, *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’, and *ia* ‘here’ specify the location where the action designated by the main predicate took place. The verb *tobo* is an intransitive verb and thus demonstratives, directionals, and the preposition *ia* are analyzed as working as locative adverbs here.

Second, the locationals can be used as prepositions, being followed by a complement NP. Look at (222), (223), and (224).

(222) **Prepositional use of a demonstrative:**

opu goʔē tobo pe: _____ kursi.
 uncle 1SG.NMZ sit DEM.DIS chair

‘My uncle is sitting there (far from speaker) (on) the chair.’

(223) **Prepositional use of a directional:**

opu goʔē tobo rae _____ kursi.
 uncle 1SG.NMZ sit DIR.MT chair

‘My uncle is sitting in the direction of the mountain (from speaker) (on) the chair.’

(224) **Prepositional use of the locative:**

<i>opu</i>	<i>goʔē</i>	<i>tobo</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>kursi.</i>
uncle	1SG.NMZ	sit	LOC	chair

‘My uncle is sitting on the chair.’

In (222), (223), and (224), the demonstrative *pe*: ‘there’, *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’, and *ia* ‘at’ are employed for introducing the NP *kursi* ‘chair’ as a location of sitting into the clause, maintaining the semantic differences found in their locative adverbial uses.

The difference between the locative adverbial and the prepositional uses of the locationals is that the location of speaker’s uncle is only vaguely expressed (e.g., relative distance from speaker) in the former, but more specifically specified with the help of the complement NP *kursi* ‘the chair’ in the latter. The same contrast can be observed in English, too: e.g., *John went up* (locative adverbial *up*) vs. *John went up the mountain* (prepositional *up*).

The analysis that demonstratives, directionals, and the locative function as prepositions in (222), (223), and (224) is borne out by the fact that dropping these elements in (222), (223), and (224) results in an ungrammatical sentence, as in (225). The intransitive verb *tobo* does not take more than one NP as arguments.

(225) * <i>opu</i>	<i>goʔē</i>	<i>tobo</i>	\emptyset	<i>kursi.</i>
uncle	1SG.NMZ	sit		chair

Intended for ‘My uncle is sitting on the chair.’

Interestingly, however, the locative adverbial and the prepositional uses of these elements can form an NP when they refer to a place. In other words, demonstratives, directionals, and the locative can also form an NP, which is the defining feature of

nominals in this study. Before looking at the NP use of the locationals, observe a transitive construction in (226).

(226) Transitive construction:

opu goʔẽ tama laŋoʔ.
 uncle 1SG.NMZ enter house
 ‘My uncle entered the house.’

In (226), the transitive verb *tama* ‘enter’ is used and the place NP *laŋoʔ* ‘the house’ occupies the object position of *tama*. Now, observe in examples (227) through (232) that the phrases headed by demonstratives, directionals, and the locative appear as NPs in the object position of the transitive verb *tama* ‘enter’.

(227) NP use of a demonstrative:

opu goʔẽ tama pe.
 uncle 1SG.NMZ enter DEM.DIS
 ‘My uncle entered there (far from speaker).’

(228) NP use of a directional:

opu goʔẽ tama rae.
 uncle 1SG.NMZ enter DIR.MT
 ‘My uncle entered the direction of the mountain (from speaker).’

(229) NP use of the locative:

opu goʔẽ tama ia.
 uncle 1SG.NMZ enter LOC
 ‘My uncle entered here.’

(230) NP use of a prepositional demonstrative and its complement:

opu goʔẽ tama pe. _____ laŋoʔ.

uncle 1SG.NMZ enter DEM.DIS house

‘My uncle entered there (far from speaker) the house.’

(231) NP use of a prepositional directional and its complement:

opu goʔẽ tama rae _____ laŋoʔ.

uncle 1SG.NMZ enter DIR.MT house

‘My uncle entered the direction of the mountain (from speaker) the house.’

(232) NP use of a prepositional locative and its complement:

opu goʔẽ tama ia _____ laŋoʔ.

uncle 1SG.NMZ enter LOC house

‘My uncle entered the house.’

In (227), (228), and (229), the locational elements in their locative adverbial use appear as the object NP of the verb *tama* ‘enter’, referring to the particular place into which speaker’s uncle went. In the same vein, in (230), (231), and (232), the locational elements in their prepositional use with its complement NP forms a larger NP referring to the particular house speaker’s uncle entered.

Emphasis must be given again to the observation that demonstratives, directionals, and the locative can form an NP only when they refer to a place-like entity and cannot when they do not. For example, consider (233).

(233) **opu goʔẽ pake pe.*

uncle 1SG.NMZ use DEM.DIS

Intended for ‘My uncle used that.’

As in (233), the demonstrative *pe* ‘there’ cannot constitute an NP when it is supposed to refer to a non-place entity. For this purpose, the demonstrative-based nominalization *peʔẽ* ‘that’ is used (see Section 6.1). See (234).

(234) NP use of a demonstrative-based nominalization:

<i>opu</i>	<i>goʔẽ</i>	<i>pake</i>	<i>peʔẽ</i>
uncle	1SG.NMZ	use	DEM.DIS.NMZ

‘My uncle used that.’

4.10.3 Grammaticalization account of the distribution of the locationals

There are two important observations about the morphosyntactic properties of demonstratives, directionals, and the locative discussed above. First, these elements are considered to denote a thing-like concept only when they mean a place, as in examples (227) through (232); in other cases, they do not have a denotation but express spatial deictic meanings such as relative distance from speaker or the direction from speaker relative to environmental landmarks.

Second, demonstratives, directionals, and the locative can form an NP but only when they refer to a place. In examples (227) through (232), a syntactic unit headed by these elements has a place referent. But in most other cases, they do not head an NP with a referential function, but introduce spatial adverbial expressions.

These two facts about demonstratives, directionals, and the locative can be explained by assuming that these elements are being grammaticalized from noun to adverb/preposition. They were once mere nouns, but now they are becoming locative adverbs and prepositions while still retaining some nominal features. This grammaticalization path of nouns to adverbs/prepositions is one of the most attested one across languages of the world (e.g., Heine and Kuteva 2007). For instance, consider the

grammaticalization of the noun *inside* to prepositions/adverbs in English. First, observe that the noun *inside* is a noun with a place denotation as in (235).

(235) NP use of *inside*:

I looked at the inside of the house.

But this word can also be used as a locative adverb (236) or as a preposition (237). These two uses are parallel with the locative adverbial and the prepositional uses of demonstratives, directionals, and the locative above.

(236) Locative adverbial use of *inside* (cf. (219)(220)(221)):

I went inside.

(237) Prepositional use of *inside* (cf. (222)(223)(224)):

I went inside the house.

The phrase formed by *inside* can also be employed as an NP referring to a place as in (238), but this use is limited to cases where the resulting NP has a place referent. The word *inside* cannot form an NP when it does not mean a place. See (239).

(238) NP use of a prepositional *inside* (referring to a place) (cf. (230)(231)(232)):

I entered inside the house.

(239) NP use of a prepositional *inside* (referring to a non-place entity) (cf. (233)):

**I used inside the house.*

Our analysis is that demonstratives, directionals, and the locative are following the same path of grammaticalization: they can now function as adverbials and prepositions, yet keeping the nominal feature that they can form an NP referring to a place. Also,

demonstratives and directionals have lost their concrete locative meanings to such an extent that they need to be nominalized before being used for reference and noun modification ((215) and (217); Chapter 6).

In other words, different syntactic positions and uses of these locational elements are better analyzed as reflecting different stages of grammaticalization from demonstrative pronouns and geocentric place nouns to adpositions via adverbs, as represented in Figure 4.2, adopted from Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer (1991:132).

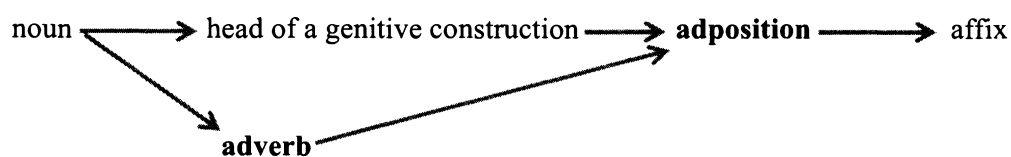


Figure 4.2: From noun to adposition

4.10.4 Evidence for the grammaticalization account

It is clear from the comparative data of Lamaholot dialects that demonstratives in Lewotobi Lamaholot, with which we are concerned in this study, were once nouns. Evidence comes from the comparison of demonstratives in Lewotobi Lamaholot with those in other dialects. Compare Lamalera (240), Ile Ape (241) and Botun (242) with Lewotobi (243).

(240) Demonstratives in Lamalera Lamaholot (Keraf 1978:267):

- a. *pi* 'this' (DEM)
- b. *pe* 'that' (DEM)
- c. *dipi* 'here' (LOC + DEM)
- d. *dipe* 'there' (LOC + DEM)

(241) Demonstratives in Ile Ape Lamaholot (Keraf 1978:267):

- a. *pi* ‘this’ (DEM)
- b. *pe* ‘that’ (DEM)
- c. *tapi* ‘here’ (LOC + DEM)
- d. *tape* ‘there’ (LOC + DEM)

(242) Demonstratives in Botun Lamaholot (Keraf 1978:285):

- a. *pi* ‘this’ (DEM)
- b. *pe* ‘that’ (DEM)
- c. *dapi* ‘here’ (LOC + DEM)
- d. *dape* ‘there’ (LOC + DEM)

(243) Demonstratives in Lewotobi Lamaholot:

- a. *te?ē* or *pi?i* ‘this’ (DEM + NMZ)
- b. *pe?ē* ‘that’ (DEM + NMZ)
- c. *te:* or *pi:* ‘here’ (DEM)
- d. *pe:* ‘there’ (DEM)

From data in Lamalera (240), in Ile Ape (241), in Botun (242) and in Lewotobi (243), we can point out three things. First, in Lamalera, Ile Ape, and Botun, PMP **di* ‘LOC’ (Blust 1993:283) is required so as for demonstrative pronouns to work as locative adverbials. Second, demonstratives *pi*, (*te*) and (*pe*) are demonstrative pronouns in Lamalera, Ile Ape, and Botun, but became demonstrative adverbs/prepositions in Lewotobi. Lastly, in Lewotobi, demonstrative-based nominalizations were invented to compensate for the category change of demonstratives from nouns to adverbs/prepositions.

There is also relatively decent evidence that directionals were originally nouns. For example, the directional *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’ in (220) and (223) is the reflex of Proto-Austronesian noun **daReq* ‘soil’ or ‘ground’. Our analysis is that this

noun was developed into adverb/preposition following the very path described in Figure 4.2. Although its reflexes are still used as place nouns in other Austronesian languages, the one in Lamaholot is not a noun any longer, but developed into an adverb or adposition (Section 13.4.7).

Unfortunately, there is no immediate evidence that *ia* was a noun. It is reported in Keraf (1978:297) that *ia* means ‘this’ or ‘here’ in Hewa Lamaholot, but this can be accidental. Another possibility is that it reflects PMP **i/di* ‘at’ (Blust 1993: 283).

4.11 Summary

In this chapter, we proposed a reference-and-predication based theory of parts of speech: parts of speech can be recognized by the two criteria, namely, (i) the existence or absence of a denotation of entities in a given word and (ii) the function of a larger unit that it forms (reference or predication). In this approach, the primary division is drawn between major and minor parts of speech. Words of the former class can be used for either reference or predication, whereas those of the latter class cannot.

Major parts of speech are composed of two classes: the nominal and the verbal classes. The nominals are those words that have a denotation and form a larger unit with a referential function, and the verbals are those that do not denote entities but form a unit with a predicative function. Each class has their own subcategories differentiated by means of the nature of the membership of a class, the position relative to a noun when used as a noun-modifier, and the existence or absence and type of a possessive/nominalization marker: nouns, pronouns, numerals, measure words, and adjectival nouns for nominals and verbs and adjectival verbs for verbals. One of the important characteristics of note in Lamaholot parts of speech is that property words are split into two categories, specifically, adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs, and do not form a single category.

Minor parts of speech are those words that cannot be used for reference or predication but can add some other grammatical meanings to the propositional meanings created by major parts of speech words. Here we mentioned TAM particles, sentence-final particles, adverbial particles, conjunctions, interjections, loan prepositions, and epistememes.

Lastly, we also pointed out that there are intermediate parts of speech between the major and the minor parts of speech: transitional parts of speech. Diachronically, they were developed from lexical to grammatical words, in other words, from major to minor parts of speech. Synchronically, they show features of both major and minor parts of speech.

5 *Noun phrases*

5.0 Introduction

This chapter investigates the structure of noun phrases. Noun phrases in Lamaholot can be divided into three types in terms of the type of their head: noun-headed, non-noun nominal-headed, and nominalization-headed NPs. See (1).

(1) **Types of noun phrases with regard to the category of a head:**

- a. Noun-headed NPs
- b. Non-noun nominal-headed NPs
 - (i) Pronoun
 - (ii) Numeral
 - (iii) Measure word (+ Numeral)
 - (iv) Adjectival noun
- c. Nominalization-headed NPs:
 - (i) Nominalization of a verb
 - (ii) Nominalization of an adjectival verb
 - (iii) Nominalization of a pronoun, a demonstrative, and a directional

The major division in the types of a head in (1) lies between the noun-headed type and the non-noun headed types of NPs. On the one hand, in non-noun nominal headed NPs in (1b) and nominalization headed NPs in (1c), the head of a noun phrase is the only word of the noun phrase. In other words, the head of such noun phrases does not take

either a pre-nominal or a post-nominal modifier and their internal structure is always simple. To illustrate, consider the underlined noun phrases in (2) through (10).

(2) **Pronoun head:**

go brea =əʔ k-əʔəʔ mo.

1SG happy =1SG 1SG-do 2SG

'I am happy with you.'

(3) **Numeral head:**

go gute toʔu.

1SG get one

'I will get one.'

(4) **Measure word (+ Numeral) head:**

go gute pirĩ toʔu.

1SG get dish one

'I will get one dish (of something recoverable from the context).'

(5) **Adjectival noun head:**

go gute wuʔũ.

1SG get new

'I will get a/the new one.'

(6) **Verb-based nominalization head:**

go gute yang = mo biho.

1SG get NMZ= 2SG cook

'I will get the one you cooked.'

(7) **Adjectival verb-based nominalization head:**

go gute krẽʔ.

1SG get small.NMZ

'I will get a/the new one.'

(8) **Pronoun-based nominalization head:***go gute rəʔě.*

1SG get 3PL.NMZ

'I will get theirs.'

(9) **Demonstrative-based nominalization head:***go gute teʔě.*

1SG get DEM.DIS.NMZ

'I will get that (or the one that is there).'

(10) **Directional-based nominalization head:***go gute ləũʔ.*

1SG get DIR.SEA.NMZ

'I will get the one that is in the direction of the sea.'

On the other hand, noun-headed noun phrases can have pre-nominal and/or post-nominal modifiers and the internal structure of such noun phrases can be complex. In Section 4.1.5, we already observed what part of speech can appear as a modifier in what position, as summarized in (11) and (12).

(11) **Pre-nominal modifier:**

a. Noun → Lexical possessor

(12) **Post-nominal modifier:**

- a. Numeral (and measure words)
- b. Adjectival noun
- c. Nominalization of an adjectival verb
- d. Nominalization of a verb
- e. Nominalization of a pronoun → Pronominal possessor
- f. Nominalization of a demonstrative
- g. Nominalization of a directional

The purpose of this chapter is to show how these pre- and post-nominal modifiers are arranged within a single noun-headed noun phrase. For ease of reference, our analysis is presented as in (13) in advance, where PN designates a possessor noun; HN, a head noun; PRO, a pronoun; ADJ, adjectival nouns and verbs; (MW-)NUM, a numeral or a combination of a measure word and a numeral; DEM, a demonstrative; and DIR, a directional.

(13) **Structure of Lamahlot noun phrases:**

PN + HN + *PRO* + AN/AV/(MW-)NUM + *DEM/DIR*

When used as post-nominal modifiers, pronouns, adjectival verbs, demonstratives, and directionals need to be nominalized, while adjectival nouns, measure words, and numerals do not. In (13), the former is indicated by italicized characters and the latter by underlined characters. The head noun is marked by a possessive marker, either *-N* or *=kã*, when its possessor appears as a lexical noun or is understood from the context. PN and PRO do not occur simultaneously in a single noun phrase.

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section 5.1, we discuss pre-nominal modifiers (i.e., lexical possessors) in relation to inalienable and alienable possession.

Section 5.2 examines the structure and order of post-nominal modifiers. Lastly, the structural parallelism between adnominal possession and post-nominal modification is highlighted with special reference to Oceanic equivalents of these constructions (Ross 1998a, b).

5.1 Pre-nominal modifiers: Inalienable and alienable possession

In this section, we examine pre-nominal modifiers, namely, lexical noun possessors. Before turning to the body of analysis, let us confirm the terms **inalienable** and **alienable**. In this study, **inalienable possession** is defined as the one that holds between two objects, a possessor and a possessum, where a possessum is necessarily owned by, or is an inherent part of, a possessor. **Inalienable nouns** are those nouns whose referent tends to go into such a relationship. In contrast, **alienable possession** designates all other possessive relationships than inalienable possession, and **alienable nouns** are likely to appear in such a possessive relationship.

This section is organized as follows: Section 5.2.1 provides a general pattern of possessive constructions, and Section 5.2.2 looks more into these constructions.

5.1.1 *Kinds of possessive constructions*

Nouns in Lamaholot do not inflect for case, number or any other grammatical category, but need to take either the possessive suffix *-N* or enclitic *=kã* when they appear in adnominal possessive constructions and a possessor is not pronominal. In this case, an inalienable possessive relationship is marked by the suffix *-N* as in (14); an alienable one is indicated by the enclitic *=kã* as in (15).

(14) **PN + HN:***Hugo ratã**Hugo rata -N*

Hugo hair -NMZ

'Hugo's hair'

(15) **PN + HN:***Hugo laŋo? =kã*

Hugo house =NMZ

'Hugo's house'

When the referent of a non-pronominal possessor is third person singular and can be recoverable from the context, it is common to omit a possessor NP, as in (16) and (17). This is the reflection of the fact that *-N* and *=kã* were derived from third person singular possessive pronoun (Section 3.5).

(16) **HN:***ratã**rata -N*

hair -NMZ

'his/her hair'

(17) **HN:***laŋo? =kã*

house =NMZ

'his/her house'

In contrast, when a possessor is a pronominal, it appears as a nominalized form of a pronoun. Also, the contrast between alienable and inalienable possession is neutralized

without there being any formal difference between the two types of possessive relationship. Consider (18) and (19), which correspond to (14) and (15) respectively.

(18) **HN + PRO:**

<i>rata</i>	<i>moʔẽ</i>
hair	2SG.NMZ
‘your hair’	

(19) **HN + PRO:**

<i>larjoʔ</i>	<i>moʔẽ</i>
house	2SG.NMZ
‘your house’	

To summarize, in possessive constructions, different possessor types choose different possessive constructions. This can be summarized as in (20).

(20) **Possessive constructions in Lamaholot:**

a. **Non-pronominal possessor:**

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|---|------------------------------|
| (i) Inalienable possession: | <i>(Possessor)</i> | + | <u>possessum</u> - <i>N</i> |
| (ii) Alienable possession: | <i>(Possessor)</i> | + | <u>possessum</u> = <i>kã</i> |

b. **Pronominal possessor:**

<u>Possessum</u>	+	<i>possessor</i> -NMZ
------------------	---	-----------------------

When a possessor is non-pronominal, a possessum is marked differently depending on whether it has either an inalienable or an alienable possessive relationship with a possessor. In contrast, when a possessor is pronominal, the nominalization of a pronoun is used as a post-nominal modifier.

There are two major subclasses of nouns that tend to go into an inalienable possessive relationship. Notable members of inalienable nouns are **body part nouns**

(Section 4.2.1) and **locative nouns** (Section 4.2.2). Body part nouns refer to a body part inherently owned by someone. Locative nouns designate an essential part of a building or container.

5.1.2 More on alienability

Three notes on the possessive constructions are in order. First, as in mentioned in Section 5.1.1, when a non-pronominal possessor is understood from the context or situation, it is omitted as in (21) and (22).

(21) **HN:**

leĩ

lei -N

leg -NMZ

‘his/her leg’

(22) **HN:**

tua = *kā*

tuak =NMZ

‘his/her tuak’

The semantic content expressed in (21) and (22) can also be expressed by a pronominal possessor construction, in which case, as pointed out in Section 5.1.1, alienably and inalienably possessed nouns are marked in the same way. See (23) and (24), respectively

(23) **HN + PRO:***lei nəʔẽ*

leg 3SG.NMZ

‘his/her leg’

(24) **HN + PRO:***tua nəʔẽ*

tuak 3SG.NMZ

‘his/her tuak’

In other words, there are two ways of expressing the ownership of a third person singular participant: the non-pronominal and the pronominal possessive constructions. In most cases, the difference between $-N/=k\tilde{a}$ and $nəʔ\tilde{e}$ does not bring a semantic contrast. See (25).

(25) *Tanti boa gula =k\tilde{a}/nəʔ\tilde{e}*

Tanti throw.away candy =NMZ/3SG.NMZ

‘Tanti threw away her candy.’

In (25), either the possessive enclitic $=k\tilde{a}$ or the third person singular nominalized pronoun $nəʔ\tilde{e}$ is used without a semantic difference. Native speakers note that they are interchangeable in this position.

But in complex clauses, where there are more than one possible antecedent for an anaphoric expression in a sentence, $=k\tilde{a}$ and $nəʔ\tilde{e}$ may refer to different antecedents. In general, $=k\tilde{a}$ is bound by a local antecedent and $nəʔ\tilde{e}$ by a long-distance antecedent. Compare (26) and (27).

(26) =*kā* → **local antecedent:**

Siku ruda Dani n-enū tua =kā.

Siku order Dani 3SG-drink tuak =NMZ

‘Siku ordered Dani to drink his (Dani’s) tuak.’

(27) =*kā* → **long-distance antecedent:**

Siku ruda Dani n-enū tua nā?ē.

Siku order Dani 3SG-drink tuak 3SG.NMZ

‘Siku order Dani to drink his (Siku’s) tuak.’

(26) and (27) have the same clause structure except that =*kā* is used in (26) but *nā?ē* in (27). In (26), the *tuak* is owned by Dani, the object argument of the main predicate, whereas it is possessed by Siku, the subject argument of the main predicate in (27).

Second, a pronominal possessor construction can be further followed by the enclitic =*kā*, in which case it highlights the exclusiveness of possession or emphasizes definiteness of an NP (Sections 3.5 and 4.7.3.4). See (28).

(28) A: *te?ē* *hege?*

DEM.PROX.NMZ who

‘Who is this?’

B: *pe?ē* *tāmā go?ē* =*nā* *tāmā* =*nā*.

DEM.DIS.NMZ friend 1SG.NMZ =NMZ friend =NMZ

‘That is a friend of my friend.’

In (28), the existence of =*kā* after *go?ē* ‘my’ emphasizes that the person speaker is pointing to is a friend of his/her friend, not one of any other. Remember from Section 4.7.3.4 that the enclitic =*kā* also has the function of marking exclusiveness/definiteness on adjectival nouns and Class I adjectival verbs.

Lastly, technically speaking, in this study the contrast between inalienable and alienable is drawn not in nouns but in possessive relationships. To be more precise, the choice of the possessive suffix *-N* and the possessive enclitic *-kã* is determined not by the membership of a possessum noun but by the construal of a possessive relationship that a possessor and a possessum bear.

Two pieces of evidence for this generalization are presented here. First, body part nouns, which are typical inalienable nouns, can be marked by *=kã* when they are detached from the body they are supposed to belong to. To begin with, observe that a ray fish owns a tail as its body part and that the two objects are in an inalienable possessive relationship. Thus, *kiku* ‘tail’ is marked by the suffix *-N* as in (29).

(29) **PN + HN:**

<i>pae</i>	<i>kikũ</i>	
<i>pae</i>	<i>kiku</i>	<i>-N</i>
ray.fish	tail	<i>-NMZ</i>
‘a ray fish’s tail’		

However, when Lamaholot people cook a ray fish, they usually cut its tail off the body. In this case, the tail that was detached from the body is referred to by (30) with the enclitic *=kã*.

(30) **PN + HN:**

<i>pae</i>	<i>kiku</i>	<i>=kã</i>
ray.fish	tail	<i>=NMZ</i>
‘a ray fish’s (detached) tail’		

Another piece of evidence is that alienable nouns can be marked by *-N* in some special cases. For example, compare (31) and (32).

(31) **PN + HN:**

Ditu wai? = *kā*

Ditu water =NMZ

‘Ditu’s water’

(32) **PN + HN:**

tuho wāi?

tuho wai? -N

breast water -NMZ

‘breast milk’

Since it is not a body part, *wai?* ‘water’ is usually used as an alienable noun, as in (31), its possessive relation being marked by =*kā*. However, in (32), it is marked by *-N*, because it is construed as something inherently possessed by *tuho* ‘breast’.

5.2 Post-nominal modifiers

This section examines the structure of noun phrases with special reference to post-nominal modifiers. A summary of the discussion in this section was represented in advance in (13), repeated here as (33).

(33) **Structure of Lamaholot noun phrases:**

PN + HN + *PRO* + AN/AV/(MW-)NUM + *DEM/DIR*

Let us illustrate the structure of noun phrases in (33). First, a noun is preceded by a lexical possessor and followed by a pronominal possessor. As discussed in Section 5.1, a

lexical possessor and a pronominal possessor do not occur simultaneously in a single noun phrase. Compare (34) and (35).

(34) **PN + HN:**

Hugo ba = kã

Hugo father =NMZ

‘Hugo’s father’

(35) **HN + PRO:**

ba na?ẽ

father 3SG.NMZ

‘his/her father’

Note that a lexical possessor can be also complex. See the underlined complex possessor phrases in (36) and (37).

(36) **Complex PN + HN:**

na [guru kãmã? (=nã)]_{POSSESSOR} [ana? =kã]_{POSSESSUM}

3SG teacher 1PL.EXC.NMZ =NMZ child =NMZ

‘S/he is our teacher’s child.’

(37) **Complex PN + HN:**

[kajo? te?ẽ]_{POSSESSOR} [wuã?]_{POSSESSUM} klami.

tree DEM.PROX.NMZ fruit.NMZ sweet

‘Fruits of this tree are sweet.’

In (36), the lexical possessor *guru* ‘teacher’ is modified by the pronominal possessor *kãmã?* ‘our’ and then the entire lexical possessor phrase modifies the head noun *ana? kã* ‘(his/her) child’; in (37), the lexical possessor *kajo?* ‘tree’ is modified by the nominalized

demonstrative *teʔē* ‘this’ and then the resulting lexical possessor phrase modifies the head noun *wuāʔ* ‘(his/her) fruit’. The nominal structure in (37) should not be confused with that in (38).

(38) **PN + Complex HN:**

<i>[aho]</i> _{POSSESSOR}	<i>[kikū]</i>	<i>teʔē</i> _{POSSESSUM}	<i>blahāʔ</i>
dog	tail.NMZ	DEM.PROX.NMZ	long.NMZ
‘This tail of the dog is long.’			

In (37), a nominalized demonstrative is attached to, and specifies, the lexical possessor. But in (38), the same nominalized demonstrative modifies the head noun *kikū*, not the lexical possessor *aho* ‘dog’.

Second, an adjective noun/verb can appear either before or after a measure word-numeral. Compare (39) and (40).

(39) **N + Num + AV:**

<i>go</i>	<i>hərū</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>jawa</i>	<i>talo</i>	<i>lerēʔ</i> .
1SG	meet	person	Java	three	short.NMZ
‘I met three short Javanese people.’					

(40) **N + AV + Num:**

<i>go</i>	<i>hərū</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>jawa</i>	<i>lerēʔ</i>	<i>talo</i> .
1SG	meet	person	Java	short.NMZ	three
(as above)					

In (39), the compound noun *ata jawa* ‘Javanese people’ is followed by the numeral *talo* ‘three’ and the adjectival verb *lerēʔ* ‘short’ in this order, but in (40), it is accompanied by them in a reverse order. There is no noticeable difference in meaning

between them. In any event, neither of an adjectival verb nor a numeral can occur before a pronominal possessor (see below).

Third, it is possible that more than one adjectival word appears in a single noun phrase, in which case adjectives and a numeral are connected by *gə* ‘and’. Consider (41) and (42).

(41) **N + Num + AV + and + AV:**

go harū ata jawa t̄alo lerē? gə kwas̄.
 1SG meet person Java three short.NMZ and rich.NMZ
 ‘I met three short rich Javanese persons.’

(42) **N + AV + AV + and + Num:**

go harū ata jawa lerē? kwas̄ gə t̄alo.
 1SG meet person Java short.NMZ rich.NMZ and three
 (as above)

In (41), the compound noun *ata jawa* ‘Javanese people’ is followed by the numeral *t̄alo* ‘three’ and the two adjectives *lerē?* ‘short’ and *kwas̄* ‘rich’. In (42), it is accompanied by them in a different order. Notice that the last modifying element is attached to the previous one by means of *gə* ‘and’. This *gə* also appears in complex clauses (Section 11.2.3).

Similar examples are given in (43), (44), and (45).

(43) **N + PRO + Num + AV + and + AV:**

go hope pao mo?ē rua belā? gə batā?
 1SG buy mango 2SG.NMZ two big.NMZ and ripe.NMZ
 ‘I will buy your two big ripe mangos.’

(44) N + PRO + Num + AV + AV:

go brea =əʔ k-əʔə laŋoʔ rəʔē t̄alo
 1SG happy =1SG 1SG-do house 3PL.NMZ three
bel̄əʔ w̄arna meʔə.
 big.NMZ color red.NMZ
 ‘I like their three big red houses.’

(45) N + Num + AV + AV + and + AV:

ari nəʔē kmon̄əʔ t̄alo s̄an̄ə =n̄ə
 younger.sibling 3SG.NMZ girl three beautiful =NMZ
bl̄ol̄əʔ gə krud̄əʔ.
 tall.NMZ and curly.hair.NMZ
 ‘His/her younger sisters are three beautiful tall girls with curly hair.’

Lastly, a demonstrative or directional in nominalized form comes at the end of a noun phrase, following all other modifiers. See (46), for example.

(46) N + PRO + AV + Num + and + AV + DEM:

go hope pao moʔē bel̄əʔ rua
 1SG buy mango 2SG.NMZ big.NMZ two
gə b̄at̄əʔ teʔē =n̄ə.
 and ripe.NMZ DEM.PROX.NMZ =NMZ
 ‘I will buy these your two big and ripe mangos.’

In (46), the noun *pao* ‘mango’ is modified by the two adjectives *bel̄əʔ* ‘big’ and *b̄at̄əʔ* ‘ripe’ and the numeral *rua* ‘two’ and then followed by the nominalized demonstrative *teʔē* ‘this’. Note that the nominalized demonstrative is further modified by

the enclitic =*kā̃*, which has an effect of emphasizing exclusiveness (i.e. ‘not those mangos but these mangos’) (Section 4.7.3.3).

5.3 Pre-nominal possessor and post-nominal modifier

Through this chapter, we discussed pre-nominal and post-nominal modifiers separately, but at this point, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that in both pre-nominal and post-nominal modification constructions, what is marked by *-N* or =*kā̃* is a noun that follows. Remember again that the markers *-N* and =*kā̃* display syncretism of possessive marking and nominalization in Lamaholot.

To illustrate, compare (47) and (48).

(47) **Adnominal possession:**

<i>Hugo</i>	<i>matā̃</i>		(Possessor + Possessum-NMZ)
Hugo	<i>mata</i>	<i>-N</i>	
Hugo	eye	<i>-NMZ</i>	
‘Hugo’s eye’			

(48) **Noun modification:**

<i>mata</i>	<i>meā̃</i>		(Head + Modifier-NMZ)
<i>mata</i>	<i>mea</i>	<i>-N</i>	
eye	red	<i>-NMZ</i>	
‘a red eye’			

In (47), the possessor noun *Hugo* precedes the possessum noun *mata* ‘eye’, only the latter being marked by *-N*. In contrast, in (48), the head noun *mata* ‘eye’ is followed by the post-nominal modifier *mea* ‘red’, only the latter being marked by *-N*. In this sense, the adnominal possessive and the noun modification constructions have a parallel structure: X + Y-*N*.

In this connection, it becomes important to highlight “a rare phenomenon worldwide” observed in Oceanic languages in northwest Melanesia, which Malcolm Ross pointed out in his 1998 papers. “In many Oceanic languages in northwest Melanesia the default attribute construction (‘a big house’) is one whose morphosyntax looks like that of a possession construction: the attribute occupies the (possessed) head slot, the noun the (possessor) modifier slot (‘a big one of a house’), that is, the opposite of the cross-linguistic norm and a rare phenomenon worldwide” (Ross 1998b: 234). To illustrate, consider examples in (49) and (50) from Mangap-Mbula (SVO, PrepP; WOc, NNG) (adapted from Ross 1998b: 242). Observe the structural similarities between (49) and (50).

(49) **Adnominal possession:**

<i>ke</i>	<i>pakaa</i>	<i>-na</i>		(Possessor + Possessum=POSS)
tree	piece	-3SG.POSS		
	‘a piece of wood’			

(50) **Noun modification (attribution):**

<i>ŋge</i>	<i>ambai</i>	<i>-ŋa</i>	<i>-na</i>	(Head + Modifier=POSS)
pig	be.good	-NMZ	-3SG.POSS	
	‘a good pig’ (‘a good one of a pig’)			

However, in light of the discussion in this chapter, this does not look either “the opposite of the cross-linguistic norm” or “a rare phenomenon worldwide” (Ross 1998b: *ibid.*). Let us look at parallel examples from Lamaholot, spoken just across the island of New Guinea from the island where Mangap-Mbula is spoken.

(51) **Adnominal possession:**

Hugo laŋoʔ =kã (Possessor + Possessum=NMZ)

Hugo house =NMZ

‘Hugo’s house’

(52) **Noun modification (attribution):**

laŋoʔ beləʔ -N (Head + Modifier-NMZ)

house big -NMZ

‘a big house’ (‘a big one of a house’)

Observe that Ross’s (1998b) description of Oceanic attributive constructions can be directly applied to the Lamaholot examples above: “[...] the default attribute construction (e.g., ‘a big house’) is constructed with the morphosyntax of possession, such that the noun denoting the class of referent (e.g., ‘house’) behaves as if it were the possessor (R), the attribute (e.g., ‘big’) as if it were the possessed (D), giving a construction that looks as if it should be translated ‘a big one of a house’. Such a possessive-like attribute construction (PLAC) appears to reverse the typologically usual arrangement of attribute-as-modifier and noun-as-head and to replace it with attribute-as-head and noun-as-modifier.” (Ross 1998b:235). Ross’s description of adnominal possession and noun modification in Mangap-Mbula can be directly applied to Lamaholot counterparts in (51) and (52), the only surface difference being that Ross glosses *na* as possessive marker, while we refer to *-N* and *=kã* as nominalizers.

This fact suggests that the noun phrase structure in Lamaholot may have some relationship to the rare patterns observed in some Oceanic languages. In future studies, we need to review Lamaholot noun phrases not only from typological facts of west Austronesian languages, but also from Oceanic linguistics (e.g., Pawley 1973; Lynch 1973, 1983; Lichtenberk 1985; Ross 1998a,b; among others).

6 *Locationals*

6.0 Introduction

This chapter investigates the form and function of demonstratives, directionals, and the locative *ia*. In this study, these three parts of speech are lumped together under the umbrella of **locationals** because of the functional similarities to be explored in this chapter as well as being transitory parts of speech (Section 4.10.1). All the three word classes form their own closed category and express location-related meanings in a clause, heading a **locational phrase**. Locationals and locational phrases are one of the basic syntactic units of clause structure in Lamaholot like noun phrases (Section 8.2).

The discussion of this chapter goes in the following order. Sections 6.1 and 6.2 examine the form and function of demonstratives and directionals, respectively. Both are deictic expressions that must make essential reference to the position of speaker and display exactly the same distributions. In Section 6.3, we look at semantic and syntactic differences between the two deictic expressions. Another locational element, namely, the locative *ia*, is introduced in Section 6.4, where its syntax and semantics are analyzed in relation to demonstratives and directionals. Section 6.5 offers an analysis of the structure locational phrases. Lastly, some additional semantic issues of the prepositional use of these locationals are explored in Section 6.6.

6.1 Demonstratives

This section is concerned with **demonstratives**, which can be defined in Lamaholot 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 speaker (cf. Diessel 1999a, b; Dixon 2003; Himmelmann 1996).

Demonstratives are counted as **deictic expressions** together with pronouns and directionals 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). But demonstratives are distinguished from pronouns and directionals in terms of the type of deixis to which they are relevant. Demonstratives do not involve person deixis, which pronouns do. In contrast, demonstratives encode not just spatial deixis but also temporal and discourse deixis, which is not the case with directionals.

This section examines the form and function of demonstratives. The section is organized as follows. Section 6.1.1 discusses the inventory of Lamaholot demonstratives. Their syntactic distributions and semantic/discourse functions are examined in Sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.3, respectively.

6.1.1 Forms of demonstratives

The Lamaholot demonstrative constitutes a speaker-based two-term system (see Table 6.1). The major semantic division is drawn between **proximal** and **distal** in terms of relative distance from speaker: the proximal demonstratives are used to call attention to persons, objects, and locations close to speaker, and the distal ones to those far from 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 room and a house, and the latter, a larger area or region such as a village and a playing ground. The semantic difference among the three demonstrative can be represented as in Figure 6.1.

As in other deictic expressions, demonstratives have two forms, the plain and the nominalized forms, the latter being formed with the nominalizing suffix *-ē?* (see Section 3.5). Different forms has different uses with different functions (see Section 6.1.2).

Table 6.1: Demonstratives

		PLAIN	NOMINALIZED
PROXIMAL	POINT	<i>te:/tehe</i> ‘here’	<i>te?ē</i> ‘this’
	AREAL	<i>pü:/pihi</i> ‘here’	<i>pi?i</i> ‘this’
DISTAL		<i>pe:/pehe</i> ‘there’	<i>pe?ē</i> ‘that’

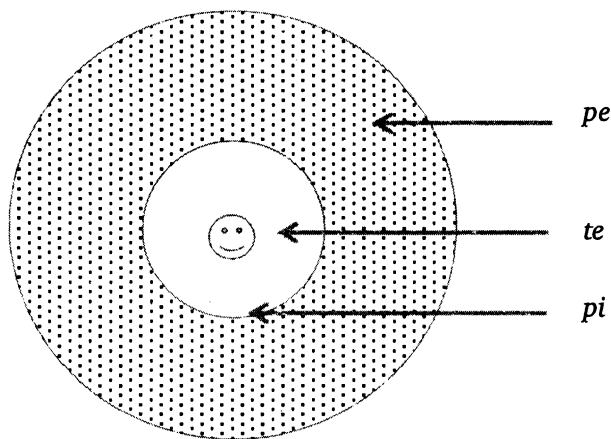


Figure 6.1: Demonstratives

The semantic contrast between proximal and distal is illustrated by examples (1) and (2), where a demonstrative is used as a preposition to introduce the noun *laŋo?* ‘house’ to the clause (see the following section for this use of demonstratives).

(1) *Sius tei te: laŋo?*

Sius live DEM.PROX house

‘Sius lives here (in) the house.’ (The house is close to speaker.)

(2) *Sius tei pe: laŋo?*

Sius live DEM.DIS house

‘Sius lives there (in) the house.’ (The house is far from speaker.)

Both (1) and (2) mean that Sius lives in the house that the speaker is pointing to, but they differ in the perceived distance from speaker to the house. On the one hand, in (1) the house is conceptualized to be located close to speaker. Most probably, the speaker made this utterance in the very house that he or she is referring to. On the other hand, in (2), the house is construed far from speaker. There is no other semantic or morphosyntactic difference between *te:* and *pe:* beyond this.

Interestingly, the contrast between proximal and distal in Lamaholot is only concerned with relative distance from speaker to an object being pointed to, and no reference to hearer is necessary. For example, (1) and (2) can be pragmatically felicitous regardless of the position of hearer. It appears that this speaker-based two-term system is rare among western Austronesian languages. As Keenan and Anderson (1985) demonstrate, those languages show a bit finer three-term system, also taking the position of hearer into account. For example, Tagalog, an Austronesian language in Central Luzon, makes a three-way distinction of demonstratives: *ito* (close to speaker), *iyon* (close to hearer), and *iyon* (far from both) (Schachter and Otnes 1972:91 ff; Foley 1997).

Turning to a point-area contrast among proximal demonstratives, examples (3) and (4) clearly illustrate a 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.

(3) *mo tobo te: kursi lolō.*

2SG sit DEM.PROX chair top

‘Sit down here (on (the top of)) the chair.’

(4) *ile tobo pi: Nurabelen.*

mountain sit DEM.PROX.AR Nurabelen

‘Mt. Lewotobi lies here (in) Nurabelen.’

(*Nurabelen* is the name of the village where the dialect examined is spoken, and Mt. Lewotobi is the only mountain located adjacent to the village.)

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 (3); when as a larger area or region, it is headed by the areal proximal demonstrative *pi:* as in (4).

In this study, the point proximal demonstrative is glossed simply as ‘DEM.PROX’, while the areal one is indicated as ‘DEM.PROX.AR’ with the additional label AR(EAL). This is partially for the sake of simplicity, but also because the former is more basic than the latter for two reasons. First, the point demonstrative appears more frequently than the areal one in the actual usage. Second, only the point proximal one (as well as the distal one) can be metaphorically extended to cover temporal and discourse deixis (see Section 6.1.3).

Lastly, it is important to emphasize that functionally speaking, the plain forms of demonstratives in Lamaholot are equivalent to **demonstrative adverbs** and **prepositions**, and their nominalized forms, to **demonstrative pronouns** and **demonstrative determiners** in other languages (Diessel 1999a, b). In other words, in Lamaholot, demonstratives in plain form cannot form an NP by themselves, unlike *this* or *that* in English, but work as locative adverbials like *here* and *there* (but see Section 6.5). Lamaholot demonstratives need to be nominalized before functioning as the head of an NP similarly to verbs. In Section 4.10.1, it was argued that this syntactic distribution was due to grammaticalization from noun to adverb/preposition.

6.1.2 Uses of demonstratives

This section examines the functions of demonstratives in depth. Different forms of demonstratives occur in different syntactic contexts with different functions. For ease of reference, the syntactic contexts where demonstratives are found and the functions associated with them are summarized in advance in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Uses of demonstratives

FORM	USE	CONSTRUCTION	(e.g.) <i>pe:</i>
Plain	Locative adverbial	DEM	‘there’
	Preposition	DEM NP	‘there in/at/on NP’
Plain + S-agr.	Verbalization	DEM=S-agr.	‘S remains there’
Nominalized	NP	DEM-ẽ?	‘that’
	Modifier	NP DEM-ẽ?	‘that NP’
Nominalized + <i>nã?ã</i>	Manner adverbial	<i>nã?ã</i> DEM-ẽ?	‘(do) that way’

As in Table 6.2, demonstratives in plain form are used as locative adverbials by themselves and as prepositions that head a locational phrase being followed by an NP. When they are followed by an S-agreement enclitic, demonstratives work as derived predicative verbs, meaning ‘remain to here (or there)’ (see Section 4.8.2 for verbalization). In contrast, nominalized demonstratives can be used as referential expressions and as determiners specifying a type of reference of the NP that follows it. Lastly, when used with the serialized verb *nã?ã* ‘do, make’, it serves as a manner adverbial ‘(do) this/that way’.

The plain form of demonstratives is used as a locative adverb as in (5) or as a preposition as in (6). In either case, the demonstrative *te:* ‘here’ is the head of each locational phrase.

(5) **Locative adverbial use:**

go tei te:
1SG live DEM.PROX

'I live here.'

(6) **Prepositional use:**

go tei te: laŋo?
1SG live DEM.PROX house

'I live here in the house.' (lit. 'I live here the house.'

In (5), the demonstrative *te:* forms a locative phrase by itself so as to specify the region where the action of living takes place. In (6), it functions as a preposition, forming the locative adverbial phrase with the following NP *laŋo?* 'house'. The place of living is pointed to by the demonstrative as a region and then further specified by the NP, which designates the name of the place of living.

The difference between a locative adverbial use in (5) and a prepositional use in (6) lies in the existence or absence of an NP representing the name of the actual place. On the one hand, in (5), the region to which a Ground belongs is pointed to by the demonstrative, the name of the Ground being left unspecified. On the other hand, in (6), the Ground is clearly specified by the NP *laŋo?* 'house'. In either case, the Ground being pointed to is considered to be close to speaker.

The contrast between the locative adverbial use of *te:* 'here' in (5) and its prepositional use as in (6) is better understood by comparing *te:* 'here' with the English word *down* in locative adverbial use (7) and in prepositional use (8).

(7) **Locative adverbial use of *down*:**

The ball rolled down.

(8) **Prepositional use of *down*:**

The ball rolled down the hill.

In (7), *down* only indicates the direction of Figure's (=the ball) movement, leaving the name of Ground unspecified. The place along which the ball rolled down could be a mountain or a slope. In (8), *down* does not only designate the direction of the ball's movement, but also specifies the name of 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 (5) and (6) is parallel with that of *down* in (7) and in (8). The only difference between *te:* and *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.

As discussed in depth in Section 6.6, demonstratives in prepositional use only indicate whether the location introduced by them is far from, or close to, the position of speaker, but do not have any implications about topological relations (for example, 'in the house' or 'on the house'). In the free translation of (6), *in* is inserted only for making it sound grammatical in English: it could be *on*, *at*, or *around*.

In spite of this difference between Lamaholot demonstratives and English prepositions, demonstratives in Lamaholot should be analyzed as working like prepositions in English in the sense that removing a demonstrative in prepositional use results in an ungrammatical sentence. Compare (6) and (9).

(9) The demonstrative is deleted from (6):

**go tei lano?*

1SG live house

Intended for 'I live in the house.' (lit. 'I live the house.')

When followed by an S-agreement enclitic (see Section 3.2), demonstratives function as a predicate. It is one of the cases of verbalization (Section 4.8.2). Consider (10).

(10) **Predicative use:**

<i>go</i>	<i>te:</i>	= <i>əʔ</i> .
1SG	DEM.PROX	=1SG

‘I will remain here.’

In the example above, the demonstrative *te:* functions as a derived verb to mean ‘remain here’, being followed by the S-agreement enclitic =*əʔ*. In this function, S-agreement enclitics are obligatory, which otherwise would be optional (see Section 3.2.3).

Demonstratives in nominalized form are used either as referential expressions or as post-nominal modifiers. Consider (11) and (12).

(11) **NP use:**

<i>teʔẽ</i>	<i>belã.</i>
DEM.PROX.NMZ	big.NMZ

‘This is big.’

(12) **Modifier use:**

<i>laŋoʔ</i>	<i>teʔẽ</i>	<i>belã.</i>
house	DEM.PROX.NMZ	big.NMZ

‘This house (not that house) is big.’

In (11), the nominalized form of the proximal demonstrative *teʔẽ* is used as a referential expression, pointing to an object close to speaker. In (12), in contrast, it serves

as the modifier of the noun *laŋo?* ‘house’. It narrows down possible referents of the noun by contrasting the house close to speaker with the one that is not.

When the nominalized form of a demonstrative is used as an object of the verbal preposition *ø-ãʔã* ‘do’, the entire phrase can be analyzed as a demonstrative adverb, meaning ‘this way/like this’ or ‘that way/like that’. Consider an example given in (13).

(13) **Manner adverbial:**

mo soka n-ãʔã teʔẽ.

2SG dance 3SG-do DEM.PRO.NMZ

‘Dance this way/like this!’

Before proceeding to the discussion of the semantics of demonstratives, it is worth emphasizing again that demonstratives in Lamaholot have prepositional and predicative uses, both of which seem cross-linguistically uncommon as uses of demonstratives. In his typology of demonstratives based on their syntactic features, Diessel (1999a, b) argues that “demonstratives occur in four different syntactic contexts” (Diessel 1999a: 2), 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., *this dog* and *that 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. Diessel’s typology covers locative adverbial, referential, and modifier uses of demonstratives listed in Table 6.2, but fail to predict the existence of demonstratives with prepositional, predicative, and manner adverbial uses that are found in Lamaholot.

Dixon (2003, 2010b) provides much the same, yet less elaborate, classification of demonstratives: **nominal**, **locative adverbial**, and **verbal** demonstratives. Dixon’s

classification does include a manner adverbial use that Diessel's does not (i.e., Dixon's *verbal* demonstratives), but again misses prepositional and predicative uses.

To summarize, neither Diessel's nor Dixon's typology of demonstratives accommodates the existence of demonstratives with prepositional and predicative uses, which Lamaholot does have. As discussed in Section 6.2, directionals show exactly the same distribution as demonstratives. This parallelism should be emphasized as a typological characteristic of importance of Lamaholot deictic expressions as well as evidence supporting an analysis of both demonstratives and directionals as deictic expressions.

6.1.3 Semantics of demonstratives

There are three major semantic and discourse functions that are achieved by demonstratives: **spatial deixis**, **temporal deixis**, and **discourse deixis**. Examples of demonstratives with spatial deixis have been presented throughout this chapter, and will be more thoroughly examined in Chapter 13, along with other space-related grammatical elements.

In this section, the other two categories, temporal and spatial deixis, are analyzed. Although it is reasonable to assume that spatial deixis is the most important major semantic domain expressed by demonstratives, they are also extended to function as temporal and discourse deictic expressions.

Interestingly, only the point proximal and the distal demonstratives (i.e., not the areal proximal demonstrative) are used in those domain, providing another piece of evidence that the point proximal is less marked than the areal proximal (see Section 6.1). Furthermore, only demonstratives in nominalized form (not in plain form) are used in these domains, possibly showing that the nominalized forms are more grammaticalized than the plain forms.

6.1.3.1 Temporal deixis

When they are used in temporal domains, demonstratives express relative temporal distance of the speech time to the time when a designated event takes place. Temporal nouns with a proximal demonstrative point to a particular point or duration of time when the speaker exists, while those with a distal demonstrative refer to a specific point or duration of time in the past. See (14) for temporal expressions with *teʔē* ‘this’ and (15) for those with *peʔē* ‘that’.

(14) Temporal expressions with *teʔē* ‘this’:

<i>hərā-wəti teʔē</i>	‘this morning’
<i>lərō teʔē</i>	‘this noon’
<i>ləra-lere teʔē</i>	‘this afternoon’
<i>nokōʔ teʔē</i>	‘this night’
<i>wulā teʔē</i>	‘this month’
<i>sū teʔē</i>	‘this year’

(15) Temporal expressions with *peʔē* ‘that’:

<i>hərā-wəti peʔē</i>	‘that morning’
<i>lərō peʔē</i>	‘that noon’
<i>ləra-lere peʔē</i>	‘that afternoon’
<i>nokōʔ peʔē</i>	‘that night’
<i>wulā peʔē</i>	‘that month’
<i>sū peʔē</i>	‘that year’

These temporal expressions are used as **temporal phrases** (Sections 8.2 and 10.2.7) as in (16) and (17).

- (16) *ana? mo?ē māṅā ia skola hārā-wāti te?ē.*
 child 2SG.NMZ play LOC school morning DEM.PROX.NMZ
 ‘Your child was playing in the school this morning.’
- (17) *ana? mo?ē māṅā ia skola hārā-wāti pe?ē.*
 child 2SG.NMZ play LOC school morning DEM.DIS.NMZ
 ‘Your child was playing in the school that morning.’

Examples in (16) and (17) have the same structure. Their only difference is that the proximal demonstrative is used in the former but the distal one in the latter. This single contrast expresses differently the temporal distance from speaker to the event described.

6.1.3.2 Discourse deixis

The last and equally important deictic domain expressed by demonstratives is discourse deixis. The distal demonstrative refers to a discourse participant that the speaker has already mentioned, while the proximal demonstrative points to a discourse entity that the speaker has just introduced or is about to introduce.

To illustrate, consider the passage cited from one of the frog stories produced by a Lamaholot speaker in (18) through (21), where the speaker describes the scene that while looking for the frog, the dog ended up cramming his head into the bottle.

- (18) *aho di logo kotā? nā?ē ia boti onā?.*
 dog also crawl head 3SG.NMZ LOC bottle inside
 ‘The dog also crawled his head into the bottle.’
- (19) *aho bodō,*
 dog stupid.NMZ
 ‘The dog is stupid.’

- (20) *aho kwā di,*
 dog crazy.NMZ EXC
 ‘(What happened was because) the dog is crazy.’
- (21) *boti peʔē tite notō ploʔu.*
 bottle DEM.DIS.NMZ 1PL.INC watch empty
 ‘As for that bottle, we have already seen it was empty.’

Observe the demonstrative *boti peʔē* ‘that bottle’ in (21) is employed to emphasize that the bottle was already mentioned in (18).

6.2 Directionals

Another yet equally important deictic word class in Lamaholot is what is called **directional**: *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’, *lau* ‘the direction of the sea’, *wəli* ‘the direction parallel with the coast’, *teʔi* ‘the direction of the sky’, and *lali* ‘the direction of the earth’. Directionals are those deictic expressions that constitute a closed grammatical word class and one of whose functions is to specify the direction of persons, objects, and locations from the speaker’s position with regard to geographical landmarks such as a mountain and the sea. To illustrate, observe (22).

- (22) ***rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’:**
- go tei rae.*
 1SG live DIR.MT
 ‘I live in the direction of the mountain (from speaker).’

In (22), the directional *rae* ‘in the direction of the mountain’ is used as a locative adverbial to indicate that the location of the speaker’s living is in the direction of the mountain from the speaker’s position.

The semantic natures and morphosyntactic behaviors of directionals display considerable parallelism with demonstratives: both of them form a closed word class that is used for describing the position of an object from a speaker's viewpoint. But they differ in that directionals make reference to a location of the object in question by accessing extra-linguistic geographical information embedded in the place of utterance, demonstratives appealing to relative distance from speaker. In other words, directionals are concerned with the spatial configuration of speaker, Figure, and geographical landmarks, while demonstratives are based on relative distance of speaker to Figure.

The description and analysis of directionals are highlighted in this study of a grammar of Lamaholot for several reasons. First, directionals do not just designate a class of geocentric spatial terms, but form a closed part of speech (Section 4.10). Second, directionals play an important role in clause structure: directionals (as well as demonstratives) do the function that is achieved typically by "adpositions" in other languages. Third, directionals are an important portion of the encyclopedic knowledge interwoven with culture and religion of Lamaholot-speaking communities. Remember from the discussion in Chapter 1 and Section 13.4 that it is necessary to access to the folk knowledge stored as directionals in order to understand religions and social norms for behaviors in the community speaking Lamaholot. Such knowledge is often lexicalized: for example, different verbs for 'come' are associated with different directions. Lastly and more importantly, directionals are employed to form a coordinate system, through which Lamaholot speakers make spatial reference (Sections 13.4 and 13.6).

This section provides a description and analysis of the Lamaholot directionals. It is organized as follows. In Section 6.2.1, formal aspects of directionals are described. As in pronouns and demonstratives, they have the plain and the nominalized forms. Section 6.2.2 analyzes their uses. Directionals obtain exactly the same uses with demonstratives.

There are two issues that are quite relevant to directionals but that will be left for later discussion. First, as mentioned before, demonstratives and directionals are found in

exactly the same syntactic contexts. On top of that, their prepositional use overlaps that of the locative *ia*. These similarities and differences among the three word classes will be discussed in the next section, where an analysis of the locative *ia* is given. Second, the function of directionals to be employed for a coordinate system will be examined later in Sections 13.4 and 13.6; some other grammatical devices and concepts need to be introduced before turning to the spatial coordinate systems.

A terminological note is in order before proceeding to the body of the analysis. In this study, the term **directional** refers to those geocentric spatial terms that form a closed grammatical word class. This terminology was also employed by Bowden (1997, 2001) to refer to geocentric spatial terms in Austronesian languages. Note that in Austronesian linguistics, the term directional may refer to different kinds of geocentric spatial terms in different languages. This is partially because different researchers adopt different criteria to identify a directional in their language, but a more important thing behind this is the fact directionals in different languages stand at different stages of grammaticalization (Section 4.10).

In English and other Indo-European languages, the term **directional** is contrasted with the other term **locative** to refer to two different readings of prepositional phrases: the former indicates either goal or source, and the latter location. For example, the sentence *John walked in the room* means either the locative reading ‘John walked inside the room’ or the directional reading ‘John walked into the room’. This is not what is meant by the term directional in Austronesian linguistics. Spatial contrasts of this sort go under the name of **vector** in this study. As mentioned in Sections 6.6, demonstratives and directionals do not indicate information about vector. Instead, deictic motion verbs are used for this purpose.

6.2.1 Forms of directionals

Lamaholot have five directionals, and each directional has the plain and the nominalized forms. The five directionals can be divided into two groups depending on which geographical axis they are based on: the **mountain-sea axis** (*rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’, *lau* ‘the direction of the sea’, and *wəli* ‘the direction along the coast’) and the **sky-earth axis** (*teti* ‘the direction of the sky’ and *lali* ‘the direction of the earth’). See Table 6.3. Note that the actual meaning of the directionals varies with the syntactic context where they occur. Here we provide the meaning of directional in the **intra-village** context. See Section 13.4 for this and other types of contexts where directionals are employed.

Table 6.3: Directionals

AXIS	PLAIN	NOMINALIZED	MEANING (Intra-village context)
MOUNTAIN-SEA	<i>rae</i>	<i>rəē?</i>	‘direction of the mountain’
	<i>lau</i>	<i>ləū?</i>	‘direction of the sea’
	<i>wəli</i>	<i>wəli?</i>	‘direction parallel with the coast’
SKY-EARTH	<i>teti</i>	<i>letī?</i>	‘direction of the sky’
	<i>lali</i>	<i>lalī?</i>	‘direction of the earth’

The mountain-sea axis defines three directionals: *rae* ‘direction of the mountain’, *lau* ‘direction of the sea’, and *wəli* ‘direction parallel with the coast’ (i.e., neither the direction of the mountain nor of the sea). See Figure 6.2. These three directionals are motivated by the ecological situations of Lamaholot speakers. The mountain-sea axis in Figure 6.3 represents the very ecological environment in which Lamaholot speakers find themselves. Villages of speakers of the Lewotobi dialect of Lamaholot are located somewhere between Mt. Lewotobi and Solor Sea.

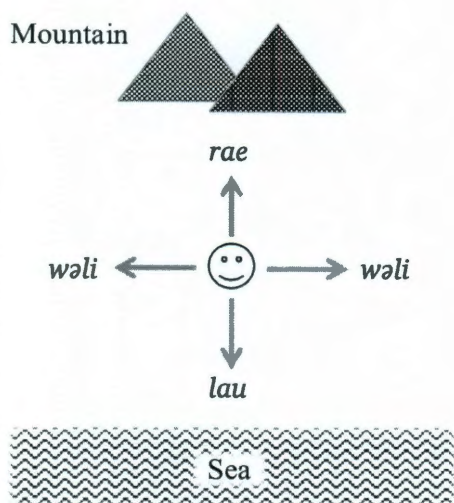


Figure 6.2: Mountain-sea axis

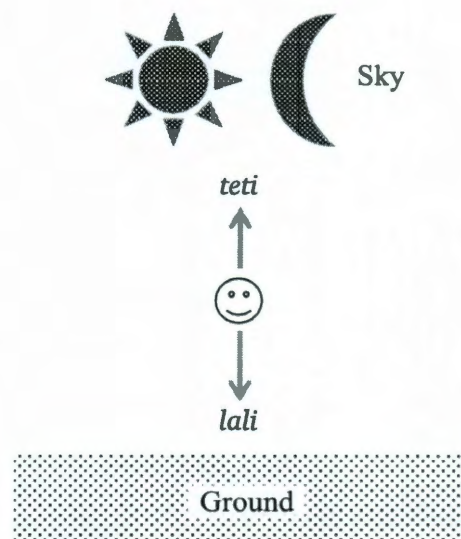


Figure 6.3: Sky-earth axis

The mountain-sea axis also structures the way people live in this culture. When one sleeps, s/he has to be in the posture of *kotə? rae lei lau* ‘head mountainward, legs seaward’: his or her head should be mountainward, his or her legs being seaward. This is also the way of burying a body in a tomb and of holding a sacrificial animal (often a goat) in religious ceremonies (see Section 13.4).

It is not uncommon across Austronesian languages to employ the mountain-sea axis for spatial reference systems (see Senft 1997; Palmer 2002; François 2004). Indeed, the contrast between the land and the sea is the most fundamental spatial distinction in Austronesian societies: “[t]he fundamental axis of orientation in Austronesian societies is the inland versus the sea” (Adelaar 1997:53).

In contrast, *teti* ‘the direction of the sky’ and *lali* ‘the direction of the earth’ are defined relative to the sky-earth axis. See Figure 6.3. These two directionals are relevant to the Lamaholot speakers’ traditional way of understanding the world; the sky-earth axis corresponds to the cosmology of Lamaholot speakers. According to the Lamaholot myths, the Lamaholot world is structured and governed by the two gods, the father god

lāra-wulā ‘sun-moon’ and the mother goddess *tana-ekā* ‘earth-ground’, human beings *ata dikā* ‘right people’ living being sandwiched between the two divine worlds. The sky-earth axis plays an important role in, and is interwoven with, the Lamaholot culture and religion. Since it is part of cosmology of traditional Lamaholot religion, the opposition between the sky and the earth is often mentioned in the religious (oral) scripts.

6.2.2 Uses of directionals

In this section, the functions of directionals are examined in details. Directionals occur in different syntactic contexts with different functions. For ease of reference, the syntactic contexts where directionals are found and the functions associated with them are summarized in advance in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Uses of directionals

FORM	USE	CONSTRUCTION	(e.g.) <i>lau</i> ‘direction of the sea’
Plain	Locative adverbial	DIR	‘in the direction of the sea’
	Preposition	DIR NP	‘in the direction of the sea defined by an NP’
Nominalized	NP	DIR-ē?	‘one in the direction of the sea’
	Modifier	NP DIR-ē?	‘NP in the direction of the sea’
Plain + S-agr.	Verbalization	DIR=S-agr.	‘S remains seaward’

The plain forms of directionals have locative adverbial and prepositional uses. See (5) and (6), respectively. In either case, the directional *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’ is the head of each locational phrase.

(23) **Locative adverbial use:**

go tei rae.

1SG live DIR.MT

‘I live in the direction of the mountain.’

(24) **Prepositional use:**

go tei rae laŋoʔ.

1SG live DIR.MT house

‘I live in/around the house located in the direction of the mountain.’

(lit. ‘I live in the direction of the mountain the house.’)

In (23), the directional *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’ is used as a locative adverb expressing the location of the action of living. It indicates that the speaker’s place is in the direction of the mountain from the position of the speaker at the time of utterance. In contrast, in (24), the same directional is used as a preposition to introduce the NP *laŋoʔ* ‘house’ into the clause. Semantically, the place of living is indicated by the directional *rae* as a region and then further specified by the NP *laŋoʔ* ‘house’ representing the name of the place of living. This is in parallel with the contrast between locative adverbial and prepositional uses of demonstratives.

The nominalized form of directionals has two functions: NP and modifier uses. In the former function, directionals in nominalized form are used to refer to objects located in a designated direction; in the latter function, they specify the direction of objects they modify from a speaker’s perspective. To illustrate, see (25) and (26), respectively.

(25) **NP use:**

rəēʔ belāʔ.

DIR.MT.NMZ big.NMZ

‘The one located in the direction of the mountain is big.’

(26) **Modifier use:**

laŋoʔ ræẽʔ belãʔ.

house DIR.MT.NMZ big.NMZ

‘The house located in the direction of the mountain (not in the direction of the sea) is big.’

In (25), the nominalized form of the directional *rae* refers to the object that is located in the direction of the mountain. In most cases, its referent is understood from the context or situation of utterance. In (26), in contrast, the same directional in nominalized form *ræẽʔ* specifies the direction of the NP *laŋoʔ* ‘house’ from speaker.

When they are followed by an S-agreement enclitic, directionals are used as predicative elements meaning “remain in the direction of <<directional>>” (see Section 4.8.2 for verbalization). For example, consider (27).

(27) *Hugo rae =aʔ.*

Hugo DIR.MT =3SG

‘Hugo remained in the direction of the mountain.’

In the example above, the derived verb *rae=aʔ* indicates that Hugo decided to remain in the direction of the mountain.

6.3 Demonstratives and directionals

In Sections 6.1 and 6.2, it was demonstrated that both demonstratives and directionals are deictic expressions and appear in much the same distribution. Building upon these discussions, we are now in a position to examine differences between them. The discussion of this section is summarized as in Table 6.5 in advance for ease of reference. See Chapter 13 for the frame of reference (FoR) function of directionals.

Table 6.5: Differences between demonstratives and directionals

	DEMONSTRATIVES	DIRECTIONALS (DEICTIC)	DIRECTIONALS (FOR)
DEIXIS	Relative distance from speaker	Direction from the speaker's position	N/A
VISIBILITY	Visible/Pointable	Visible or invisible	Visible or invisible
TABLETOP SCALE	OK	*	OK

There are three major semantic differences between demonstratives and directionals. First, directionals are deictic only in a locational phrase but not so in an angular phrase (see Section 13.6 for angular phrases). Second, demonstratives can point to only visible or pointable area. For instance, they cannot refer to objects outside a village when they are involved in spatial deixis. This constraint is not true of directionals. Third, directionals in a deictic function cannot be used within a table-top scale. In other words, they are employed only for objects that are somewhat far from speaker. This property is not found either in demonstratives or in directionals with a FoR function.

Both demonstrative and directional with the deictic function can appear in a single locational phrase (Section 6.5), in which case a demonstrative always precedes a directional. For instance, look at (28) and (29).

(28) *ba goʔē pe lau.*
 father 1SG.NMZ DEM.DIS DIR.SEA

‘My father is there in the direction of the sea (far from speaker).’

(29) *ba goʔē pe rae laŋoʔ.*

father 1SG.NMZ DEM.DIS DIR.MT house

‘My father is there in the direction of the mountain (in) the house (far from speaker).’

In these examples, the combination of a demonstrative and a directional enables speaker to make a finer description of the position of the Figure and Ground. In both (28) and (29), the demonstrative *pe:* indicates that the Ground is far from speaker (yet enough close to be visible and pointable); the directional *rae* means that the direction of the Ground from speaker is that of the mountain.

Taken together, the combination of a demonstrative and a directional offers a more elaborated segmentation of space around speaker, as represented in Figure 6.4.

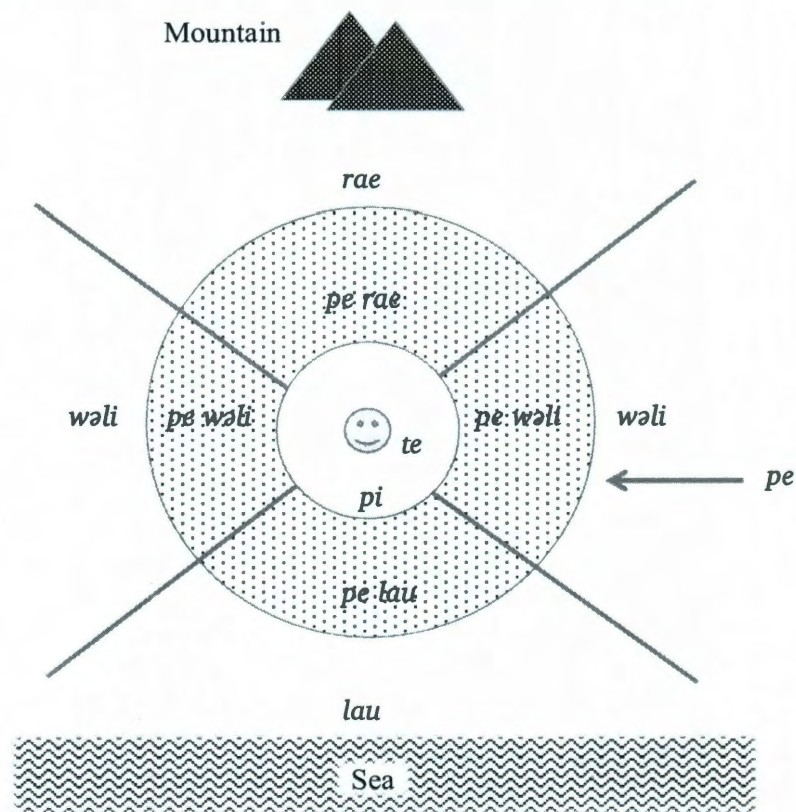


Figure 6.4: Demonstratives and directionals

6.4 Locative *ia*

This section is concerned with **the locative *ia***, which has both deictic and non-deictic functions. On the one hand, it is a deictic locative adverb meaning ‘here’, when used as a locative adverbial and there is no difference between *ia* and *te*: with this regard. On the other hand, it is a non-deictic preposition when used as a preposition. In the preceding three sections, it was pointed out that demonstratives and directionals have a prepositional use: namely, they can serve to introduce an NP into the clause but with some deictic information (relative distance for demonstratives and geocentric configuration from a speaker’s viewpoint for directionals). The main function of the locative *ia* is to do the same syntactic function without such deictic information.

In this section, the form and function of the locative *ia* are explored relative to demonstratives and directionals. The section is organized as follows. Section 6.4.1 discusses the form and function of the locative *ia*. In Section 6.4.2, its semantic and discourse functions are examined in comparison with demonstratives and directionals. It is shown that *ia* is used when deictic information of the referent is not available or relevant.

6.4.1 Form and function of the locative *ia*

This section presents a description of the form and function of the locative *ia*. Formally speaking, *ia* does not display a morphological derivation: unlike demonstratives and directionals, the locative *ia* does not have a nominalized form.

There are two hypotheses on the etymology of *ia*: [1] *ia* is considered to be derived from the combination of the PMP oblique marker **i-* and some sort of demonstrative **a* (Lawrence Reid to appear, pers. comm.); and [2] *ia* was a proximal demonstrative pronoun. It remains to be investigated whether any of these two hypotheses is correct.

There are two major functions associated with the locative *ia*: locative adverbial and prepositional uses. See Table 6.6. Observe that this pattern of form and function is closely aligned with that of demonstratives and directionals in plain form (see Tables 6.2 and 6.4 again).

Table 6.6: Uses of the locative *ia*

Form	Use	Construction	Meaning
Plain	Locative adverbial	<i>ia</i>	'here'
	Preposition	<i>ia</i> NP	'in/at/on NP'
Plain + S-agr.	Verbalization	<i>ia</i> =S-agr.	'remain to be here'

When it is used as a preposition, *ia* introduces an adjunct NP into the clause without deictic information. The semantic role of an *ia*-marked NP can be a locative (30), a recipient (31), or a source (32), depending on the meaning of the verb subcategorizing the locational phrase in question.

(30) Prepositional use (location):

Tanti tobo ia kursi.

Tanti sit.down LOC chair

'Tanti is seated on the chair.'

(31) Prepositional use (recipient):

Tanti sorō doi ia go.

Tanti give money LOC 1SG.

'Tanti gave money to me.'

(32) **Prepositional use (source):**

Tanti gute kopi ia go.

Tanti get coffee LOC 1SG

‘Tanti got a cup of coffee from me.’

Somewhat mysteriously, the locative *ia* can be used as a locative adverbial, meaning ‘here’. In this function, there is no semantic difference between *ia* and the proximal demonstrative *te*: See (33) and (34).

(33) **Locative adverbial use:**

Tanti tobo ia.

Tanti sit.down here

‘Tanti is seated down here.’

(34) **Locative adverbial use:**

ia dai.

here come

‘Come here!’

This could be reflecting an earlier stage of grammaticalization of the locative *ia*, but it remains to be investigated how it came to express two different deictic and non-deictic functions in modern Lamaholot.

Lastly, when followed by an S-agreement enclitic, the locative *ia* becomes the derived verb meaning ‘decide to remain here’ (see Section 4.8.2 for verbalization). See (35).

(35) **Predicative use:**

na ia = a?

3SG LOC 3SG

‘S/he decided to remain here.’

6.4.2 Functions of *ia* compared to demonstratives and directionals

The semantic function of the locative *ia* becomes clearer when it is compared to demonstratives and directionals. In its prepositional use, *ia* is a generic preposition, introducing an NP without distance-based or geographical deictic information. To illustrate, consider the following set of examples in (36), (37), and (38).

(36) **Prepositional use of a demonstrative:**

ba goʔē kriā pe: mā.

father 1SG.NMZ work DEM.DIS field

‘My father is working there (in) the field (far from speaker).’

(37) **Prepositional use of a directional:**

ba goʔē kriā rae mā.

father 1SG.NMZ work DIR.MT field

‘My father is working in the direction of the mountain (in) the field (from speaker).’

(38) **Prepositional use of the locative *ia*:**

ba goʔē kriā ia mā.

father 1SG.NMZ work LOC field

‘My father is working in the field.’

All the three examples have truth-conditionally much the same meaning: the speaker’s father is working in the field. But the adjunct NP *mā* ‘field’ is brought into the

clause in different ways with different implications on the position of it. In (36), it is introduced by the distal demonstrative *pe:*, yielding the interpretation that the field is far from speaker yet still in a visible area. In (37), in contrast, the same NP 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. However, neither of such deictic information is available in (38), 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 very point being discussed. There are three typical discourse contexts where the locative *ia* is chosen over demonstratives and directionals. First, *ia* is the only option when the actual position of an adjunct NP is unknown. For instance, the speaker needs to use (38) rather than (36) or (37) when s/he is not sure in which field his/her father is working. Without such extralinguistic knowledge, it is not possible to felicitously pick out a right demonstrative or directional.

Second, *ia* is also used when it is not necessary to specify the physical position of an adjunct NP. This happens when Lamaholot speakers talk about imaginary or unknown places in storytelling or recollect their memory.

Third, in the prepositional-recipient constructions of trivalent predicates, *ia* marks the recipient of such events. See (39) as well as (31) and (32). Demonstratives and directionals are not commonly used for this type of construction.

- (39) *Ika neĩ gula ia Nia.*
 Ika give candy LOC Nia
 ‘Ika gave a candy to Nia.’

This semantic emptiness of the locative *ia* can be one of the reasons why its nominalized form is absent. The function of nominalized forms of demonstratives and directionals lies in referring to a specific entity that obtains specific deictic features.

Given that *ia* lacks such deictic meanings in prepositional use, it is reasonable that *ia* is not used to carry out the same function that the nominalized form of demonstratives and directionals does and therefore that it does not have a nominalized counterpart.

Of course, this account does not work when we take into consideration the mysterious fact that the independently used *ia* conveys a deictic meaning. When used as a locative adverbial, the locative *ia* is interchangeable with the proximal demonstrative *te:* with a locative adverbial use. See (40). Semantic and syntactic differences between them, if any, are unknown.

- (40) *neku pe: ana? mo?ē məŋã ia/te:*
 last DEM.DIS child 2SG.NMZ play here/DEM.PROX

‘A while ago your child was playing here.’

6.5 Locational phrases

A demonstrative, a directional, and the locative *ia* can head a **locational phrase (LocP)** as a locative adverb or as a preposition with another noun. The syntactic uses of the locational phrase in clause structure are to serve as a predicate and to modify a predicate as an adjunct. They can also occupy an argument position in rare cases (see Section 4.10 and below).

What is called locational phrase in this study carries out the functions often covered by **prepositional phrases (PPs)** in other languages. But the term locational is chosen over prepositional for two reasons. First, locational phrases can be made only of a single demonstrative, directional or locative in locative adverbial use. This is not the case with prepositional phrases. Second, the function of introducing an adjunct that prepositions do in other languages is also covered by **verbal prepositional phrases** in Lamaholot (see Section 12.1). There is no reason for calling only locational phrases prepositional phrases.

The structure of locational phrases can be represented as in (41), where curly brackets show the choice of “LOC” or “*((DEM)(DIR))” and parentheses indicate that the existence of an NP is optional.

(41) **Locational phrase (LocP):**

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{LOC} \\ *((\text{DEM})(\text{DIR})) \end{array} \right\} (+ \text{ NP})$$

[Locational = LOC, DEM, or DIR]

The structure of locational phrases calls for three qualifications. First, there are several possible heads of locational phrases, (i) the locative *ia*, (ii) a demonstrative, (iii) a directional, or (iv) the combination of a demonstrative and a directional. Examples of all patterns of the realization of locational phrases are presented in the following examples: the locative (42), the locative and a noun phrase (43), a demonstrative (44), a demonstrative and a noun phrase (45), a directional (46), a directional and a noun phrase (47), a demonstrative and a directional (48), and a demonstrative, a directional and a noun phrase (49).

(42) **Locative adverbial use of the locative:**

Ika tobo ia.

Ika sit LOC

‘Ika is seated here.’

(43) **Prepositional use of the locative + NP:**

Ika tobo ia kursi.

Ika sit LOC chair

‘Ika is seated on the chair.’

(44) **Locative adverbial use of a demonstrative:***Ika tobo pe:*

Ika sit DEM.DIS

'Ika is seated there.'

(45) **Prepositional use of a demonstrative + NP:***Ika tobo pe: kursi.*

Ika sit DEM.DIS chair

'Ika is seated there on the chair.'

(46) **Locative adverbial use of a directional:***Ika tobo rae.*

Ika sit DIR.MT

'Ika is seated in the direction of the mountain.'

(47) **Prepositional use of a directional + NP:***Ika tobo rae kursi.*

Ika sit DIR.MT chair

'Ika is seated on the chair in the direction of the mountain.'

(48) **Locative adverbial use of a demonstrative + directional:***Ika tobo pe: rae.*

Ika sit DEM.DIS DIR.MT

'Ika is seated there in the direction of the mountain.'

(49) **Prepositional use of a demonstrative + directional + NP:***Ika tobo pe: rae kursi.*

Ika sit DEM.DIS DIR.MT chair

'Ika is seated there on the chair in the direction of the mountain.'

Second, locational phrases may or may not include an NP. This contrast is similar to the one that the English preposition *in* makes between (50) and (51).

(50) *Carlos stepped in.*

(51) *Carlos stepped in the room.*

When there exists an NP as in (51), the underlined phrase becomes a locative phrase with a specific location or reference object; if not, it designates a region or area relevant to the event described by a clause like (50). In either case, the head of the underlined phrase is *in*.

Syntactically speaking, the head of a location phrase is always the locative, a demonstrative, or a directional. There are formal and functional reasons for this analysis (see Zwicky 1993:298 for a list of the head and dependent features). First, in the locational phrase structure (41), a locational is category-determinant, which an NP is not: the distribution of a locative phrase is the same as that of a locative, not that of a noun. See details for later discussion.

Second, in a locational phrase structure, a locational is required, while an NP is optional. In all the examples (42) through (49), locationals cannot be omitted, while the NPs following them can be readily deleted, ending up losing the specification over the name of the place of action.

Third, the function of an NP following a locational is only to provide further specification to the region designated by a locational as the place of action. In a sense, an NP in the locational phrase structure (41) modifies the head of a locational phrase.

To illustrate, let us consider the syntactic trees for (46) and (47) in Figure 6.5. In (46), the locative phrase is composed of only the directional *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’. In the locative phrase in (47), in contrast, the same directional takes an NP as its complement so that this NP gives further specification to the locative phrase.

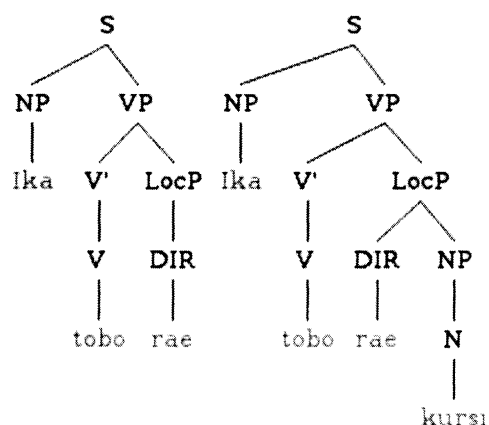


Figure 6.5: Syntactic trees for examples in (46) (left) and (47) (right)

As discussed through this chapter, the syntactic function of locational phrases can be either a predicate or an adjunct. To illustrate, consider (52) and (53).

(52) Locational phrase as a predicate:

Nesta *pe: lau watã.*

Nesta DEM.DIS DIR.SEA beach

‘*Nesta* is there in the direction of the sea (on) the beach.’

(53) Locative phrase as an adjunct:

Nesta naje *pe: lau watã.*

Nesta swim DEM.DIS DIR.SEA beach

‘*Nesta* is swimming there in the direction of the sea (on) the beach.’

In (52), the locational phrase *pe: lau watã* ‘there in the direction of the sea (on) the beach’ works as a predicate describing the position of the subject argument *Nesta*. In (53), in contrast, the same locational phrase serves as an adjunct, giving additional locational information to the proposition described by the predicate *naje* ‘swim’.

However, as touched upon in Section 4.10, there is one exceptional case where locational phrases can take a position for a place NP, which is most probably due to the remnant feature they had when they were still nouns. To illustrate, consider (54) and (55).

(54) **Locative phrase as an argument:**

pe: *lau* *watã* *səna.*
 DEM.DIS DIR.SEA beach beautiful

‘There the beach located in the direction of the sea is beautiful.’

(55) **Locative phrase as an argument:**

Hugo pla?e tama lau laŋo?
 Hugo run enter DIR.SEA house

‘Hugo ran into the house located in the direction of the sea.’

(lit. ‘Hugo ran into the direction of the sea (to) the house.’)

In (54), the locative phrase *pe: lau watã* ‘there on the beach located in the direction of the sea’ serves as an argument of the adjectival noun *səna* ‘beautiful’ in predicative use. In (55), the locative phrase *lau laŋo?* ‘the house located in the direction of the sea’ (lit. ‘in the direction of the sea, the house’) occupies the object position of the serialized verb *tama* ‘enter’.

Consider more examples in (56), (57), (58), and (59).

(56) **Locative phrase as an argument:**

Tanti lou pe: kamar.
 Tanti exit DEM.DIS room

‘Tanti exited there the room.’

(57) **Locative phrase as an argument:**

mo gute lau kursi!

2SG take DIR.SEA chair

‘You take the chair located in the direction of the sea.’

(58) **Locative phrase as an argument:**

Ika rae skola n-ai.

Ika DIR.MT school 3SG-go

‘Ika went to the direction of the mountain (to) the school.’

(59) **Locative phrase as an argument:**

rae Boru bo: mae daripada teti Larantuka.

DIR.MT Boru more good than DIR.UP Larantuka

‘The direction of the mountain, Boru, is better than the direction of the sky, Larantuka.’

In (56), the locational phrase *pe: laŋo?* ‘there in the room’ works as an argument of the predicate *lou* ‘exit’, referring to the room from which Tanti went out. Importantly, the demonstrative *pe:* ‘there’ in this locational phrase does not mean anything about the direction of Tanti’s motion, but it just indicates that the room in question is far from speaker. Likewise, in (57), the directional *lau* in the locational phrase just specifies the position of the car. It does not provide any description over the location of calling the car. The locational phrase *rae skola* ‘the school in the direction of the mountain’ in (58) simply means that the goal of motion is located in the direction of the mountain. It remains unspecified to which direction Ika moved. Lastly, example (59) is a comparative construction, which compares Boru and Larantuka in terms of the degree of being *mae* ‘good, beautiful’. The functions of *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’ and *teti* ‘the direction of the sky’ lie in pointing to the directions of the two cities and have nothing to do with the predicate *mae* ‘good’.

Now, let us consider how locational phrases appearing as arguments are differentiated from those appearing as adjuncts, by comparing (60) and (61). They look like having the identical structure except for the main verb, which is the intransitive verb *pana* ‘walk’ in (60) and the transitive verb *tama* ‘enter’ in (61).

(60) **Locational phrase as an adjunct:**

Lin *pana* *rae* *skola*.

Lin walk DEM.MT school

‘Lin walked in the direction of the mountain (inside) the school.’

(61) **Locational phrase as an argument:**

Lin *tama* *rae* *skola*.

Lin enter DEM.MT school

‘Lin entered the school located in the direction of the mountain.’

(lit. ‘Lin entered the direction of the mountain (inside) the school.’)

There are three formal and functional differences between them. First, an adjunct locational phrase describes the location of an action designated by the main predicate, while an argument locational phrase does not. In (60), the locational phrase *rae skola* ‘in the direction of the mountain (inside) the school’ does not only give directional information to the noun *skola* ‘school’ but also describes the location of the action of walking. In (61), in contrast, the same locational phrase works as an argument of the verb *tama* ‘enter’. Although it does provide some locational information with the noun *skola* as in (60), this locational phrase does not say anything about the location or direction of the action of entering. The action of entering happened somewhere at the boundary between the inside and outside of the school and the motion of entering could have been toward any direction.

Second, an argument locational phrase is an obligatory element of the clause, while an adjunct locational phrase is not (Section 8.1 for arguments and adjuncts). Observe that only (61) is grammatical even after the entire locational phrase is deleted. See (62) and (63).

(62) **Locational phrase as an adjunct (cf. (60)):**

Lin pana.

Lin walk

‘Lin walked.’

(63) **Locational phrase as an argument (cf. (61)):**

**Lin tama.*

Lin enter

Intended for ‘Lin entered (somewhere)’

(62) is still a complete proposition even without a locational phrase, while (63) lacks an argument that make it a full-fledged proposition.

Third, in each locational phrase, the locational head is optional in an argument locational phrase but is obligatory in an adjunct locational phrase. See (64) and (65).

(64) **Locational phrase as an adjunct (cf. (60)):**

**Lin pana skola.*

Lin walk school

Intended for ‘Lin walked in the school.’

(65) **Locational phrase as an argument (cf. (61)):**

Lin tama skola.

Lin enter school

‘Lin entered the school’

(64) is ungrammatical, but (65) is grammatical. This is because when a locational element is dropped from a locational phrase, the resulting phrase is a noun phrase, and noun phrases can serve as arguments, but not as adjuncts (Section 8.2).

Lastly, there is a note on the two criteria for distinguishing arguments and adjuncts. There are some verbs that can be used either intransitively or transitively, in which case a locational phrase may be interpreted either as an adjunct or as an argument. For example, *notō* ‘watch’ has two uses. When used intransitively, it conveys the meaning ‘watch TV’ as in (66); when used transitively, it means that a subject argument watches an object argument as in (67).

(66) *Ika notō neku notō.*
 Ika watch last night
 ARG PRED ADJUNCT
 ‘Ika watched TV last night.’

(67) *Ika notō go.*
 Ika watch 1SG
 ARG PRED ARG
 ‘Ika watched me.’

Now, observe in (68) that the locational phrase *lau laŋo?* ‘in the direction of the sea (in) the house’ can be interpreted either as an adjunct or as an argument.

(68) *Ika notō lau _____ laŋo?*

Ika watch DIR.SEA house

ARG PRED ADJUNCT

‘Ika watached TV in the direction of the sea (in) the house.’ (Intransitive reading)

ARG PRED ARG

‘Ika watched the direction of the sea, the house.’ (Transitive reading)

In the intransitive reading, the locational phrase is interpreted as a location of the action of watching TV. In contrast, in the transitive reading, it is analyzed as an object participant of the action of watching. This sentence is structurally ambiguous between the two readings. Of course, when the directional *lau* is omitted in the locational phrase in question, the resulting noun phrase only has an interpretation of being an argument. See (69).

(69) *Ika notō laŋo?*

Ika watch house

*‘Ika watached TV in the house.’ (Intransitive reading)

‘Ika watched the house.’ (Transitive reading)

6.6 More on the prepositional use

Two notes on a prepositional use of demonstratives, directional, and the locative *ia* are in order. First, locationals in prepositional use are unspecified with regard to the **conformational** portion of spatiodirectional notions. Conformational concepts, also known as **topological** concepts (Levinson 1996, 2003), refer to geometric complexes such as ‘inside’, ‘surface’, or ‘point’ (Talmy 2000b:54ff). To illustrate, consider the English prepositions *in* and *on*.

(70) *Your cigarette is in the box.*

(71) *Your cigarette is on the box.*

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

In Lamaholot, these topological features are not encoded by locationals themselves, even when they serve as prepositions. Observe in (72) 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.

(72)	<i>kbako</i>	<i>moʔē</i>	<i>pe:</i>	<i>meja.</i>
	cigarette	2SG.NMZ	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 (Section 4.2.2), such as *lolō* ‘top’ and *wuĩ* ‘bottom’. Consider (11) and (12).

(73)	<i>kbako</i>	<i>moʔē</i>	<i>pe:</i>	<i>meja</i>	<i>lolō.</i>
	cigarette	2SG.NMZ	DEM.DIS	table	top

‘Your cigarette is there **on** the table.’

(74)	<i>kbako</i>	<i>moʔē</i>	<i>pe:</i>	<i>meja</i>	<i>wuĩ.</i>
	cigarette	2SG.NMZ	DEM.DIS	table	bottom

‘Your cigarette is there **under** the table.’

The same is true of directionals and the locative. Compare examples of the directional *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’ without a locative noun (75) and with

locative nouns (76) and (77) and examples of the locative only (78) and the locative with locative nouns (79) and (80).

- (75) *kbako moʔē rae meja.*
 cigarette 2SG.NMZ DIR.MT table
 ‘Your cigarette is in the direction of the mountain (on/under/near) the table.’
- (76) *kbako moʔē rae meja lolō.*
 cigarette 2SG.NMZ DIR.MT table **top**
 ‘Your cigarette is in the direction of the mountain **on** the table.’
- (77) *kbako moʔē rae meja wuĩ.*
 cigarette 2SG.NMZ DIR.MT table **bottom**
 ‘Your cigarette is in the direction of the mountain **under** the table.’
- (78) *kbako moʔē ia meja.*
 cigarette 2SG.NMZ LOC table
 ‘Your cigarette is on/under/near the table.’
- (79) *kbako moʔē ia meja lolō.*
 cigarette 2SG.NMZ LOC table **top**
 ‘Your cigarette is **on** the table.’
- (80) *kbako moʔē ia meja wuĩ.*
 cigarette 2SG.NMZ LOC table **bottom**
 ‘Your cigarette is **under** the table.’

Second, locationals in prepositional use do not indicate the **vector notions** ‘to/from/at’ by themselves. Instead, the deictic motion verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ are employed to elaborate such vector concepts. Consider examples of the prepositional use of demonstratives in (81), (82), and (83).

(81) **Locational phrase as a location:**

Hugo pana pe: _____ watã.

Hugo walk DEM.DIS beach

‘Hugo took a walk there (on) the beach.’

(82) **Locational phrase as a goal:**

Hugo pana pe: _____ watã n-ai.

Hugo walk DEM.DIS beach 3SG-go

‘Hugo walked to there (to) the beach’

(83) **Locational phrase as a source:**

Hugo pana pe: _____ watã dai.

Hugo walk DEM.DIS beach come

‘Hugo walked from there (from) the beach (to here).’

The same locational phrase *pe: watã* ‘there the beach’ is found in all the sentences in (81), (82), and (83). The difference among these examples boils down to the fact that no deictic motion verb is used in (81), whereas the deictic motion verb for ‘go’ is used in (82) and the one for ‘come’ in (83). The locational phrase is interpreted as location in the absence of a deictic motion verb, but as goal with a GO verb and as source with a COME verb. The use of deictic motion verbs as vector indicators, exemplified in (81), (82), and (83) is also discussed with other types of verb serialization in Section 12.1.

The same is true of directionals. Observe that in the following examples the vector information of locational phrases is determined by deictic motion verbs.

(84) **Locational phrase as a location:**

Hugo pana lau _____ watã.

Hugo walk DIR.SEA beach

‘Hugo took a walk in the direction of the sea (on) the beach.’

(85) **Locational phrase as a goal:**

Hugo pana lau _____ watã n-ai.

Hugo walk DIR.SEA beach 3SG-go

‘Hugo walked to the direction of the sea (to) the beach.’

(86) **Locational phrase as a source:**

Hugo pana lau _____ watã dai.

Hugo walk DIR.SEA beach come

‘Hugo walked from the direction of the sea (from) the beach (to here).’

7 *Agreement*

7.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to offer a comprehensive summary and detailed analysis of agreement patterns in Lamaholot. Since agreement morphology was introduced in Chapter 3, examples of agreement phenomena have been presented across different parts of this grammar. However, the agreement pattern described so far only represents grammatical agreement, one of the three agreement patterns available in this language. Other two agreement patterns are semantic agreement and default agreement. See (1).

(1) Types of agreement in Lamaholot:

a. **Grammatical agreement:**

Verbs agree with person and number of a *grammatical* subject.

b. **Semantic agreement:**

Verbs agree with person and number of a *semantic* subject.

c. **Default agreement:**

Verbs appear in their *default* form (i.e., 3SG).

This chapter takes account of the three agreement patterns listed in (1) and explores implications of the agreement patterns in the organization of clauses. The discussion of this chapter is organized in the following way. We begin our discussion by reviewing forms that can show agreement in Section 7.1. Section 7.2 examines each of three agreement patterns and discusses similarities and differences among them. In Section 7.3,

in turn, we investigate what these agreement patterns tell us about the organization of clause structures in this language.

7.1 What can agree?

In Sections 3.2 and 3.3, two kinds of agreement morphology were introduced: S-agreement enclitics and S/A-agreement prefixes. These agreement markers can co-occur only with verbs, from which it follows that only verbs and verb-related forms such as verbal prepositions and verb-based nominalizations can show agreement. Exceptionally, the conjunction \emptyset - ∂ ‘so that’ also shows agreement (see Table 11.1 in Section 11.3.4).

S-agreement enclitics optionally indicate agreement between intransitive verbs and their single argument. In other words, they only appear in intransitive verbs. Since intransitive verbs cannot be serialized in Lamaholot (Section 4.10.2), S-agreement enclitics can go with intransitive verbs in main verbs and in nominalizations, as in (2).

- (2) S-agreement enclitics can appear with:
- a. Main verbs; and
 - b. Verb-based nominalizations

In contrast, S/A-agreement prefixes can go with either intransitive or transitive verbs, but only a few verbs can take these prefixes. See again the list given in Section 3.3.1, repeated here as (3).

- (3) Verbs that take an S/A-agreement prefix:

\emptyset - <i>ai</i>	‘go’	\emptyset - <i>aʔi</i>	‘leave, go’	\emptyset - <i>ala</i>	‘follow’
\emptyset - <i>ala</i>	‘mistake’	\emptyset - <i>enū</i>	‘drink’	\emptyset - <i>āhī</i>	‘want’
\emptyset - <i>ate</i>	‘hold’	\emptyset - <i>ānā</i>	‘waive’	\emptyset - <i>āʔā</i>	‘do, make; with; and’
\emptyset - <i>oi</i>	‘know, see’	\emptyset - <i>ahuʔ</i>	‘get water’	\emptyset - <i>varo</i>	‘be capable of’

All verbs listed in (3) display agreement when they are used as main verbs in predicative use and as nominalized verbs in NP- and modifier-uses. However, only three out of the twelve verbs in (3) can appear as **verbal prepositions** in participant-introducing verb serialization, and only two verbs can be employed as **auxiliary verbs** for event-elaborating verb serialization (see Chapter 12 for the two types of verb serialization). Thus, a list of verbs and verb-related elements that take S/A-agreement prefixes is given in (4).

(4) S/A-agreement prefixes must appear in:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| a. Main verbs: | All verbs listed in (3) |
| b. Verb-based nominalizations: | All verbs listed in (3) |
| c. Verbal prepositions: | \emptyset - <i>ā?ā</i> 'do, make; with, and' |
| | \emptyset - <i>ai</i> 'go; toward' |
| | \emptyset - <i>ala</i> 'follow; along' |
| d. Auxiliary verbs: | \emptyset - <i>waro</i> 'can' |
| | \emptyset - <i>ala</i> 'mistakenly do ...' |

In Section 7.3, it is demonstrated that verbs in different syntactic positions show different agreement patterns.

Before proceeding to discuss types of agreement patterns realized by S-agreement enclitics and S/A-agreement prefixes, it is important to emphasize that the fact that only verbs and verb-related elements can agree does not mean that the reverse is also true; rather, not all verbs can display agreement. On the one hand, transitive and ditransitive verbs do not take an S-agreement enclitic. On the other hand, verbs other than those listed in (3), whether transitive or intransitive, do not appear with an S/A-agreement prefix. In

this sense, agreement in Lamaholot is a marginal phenomenon, although it plays an important role in analyzing its morphosyntax.

7.2 Types of agreement patterns

This section discusses the similarities and differences among three types of agreement in Lamaholot: grammatical, semantic, and default agreement patterns (Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.2, and 7.2.3, respectively).

7.2.1 Grammatical agreement

In **grammatical agreement**, agreement morphology indexes person and number of the *grammatical* subject argument of a main predicate. This pattern of agreement is what we have been presenting in examples so far in this study. Look at (5), for instance.

- (5) *go k-aʔi = əʔ skola k-ai k-əʔəʔ Nia.*
 1SG 1SG-leave = 1SG school 1SG-go 1SG-do Nia
 ‘I went to school with Nia.’

In (5), all the verbs, serialized or not, agree with the subject argument of the main predicate, *go* ‘1SG’. Observe the S/A-agreement affix *k-* on the main verb *ə-aʔi* ‘leave, walk’ and the two serialized verbs *ə-ai* ‘go’ and *ə-əʔəʔ* ‘make; with’.

This pattern of agreement is referred to as grammatical agreement, because verbs agree with the grammatical subject argument of a main predicate regardless of the meanings they convey. To illustrate this point, consider (6).

- (6) *go sepa bal rae k-ai.*
 1SG kick ball DIR.MT 1SG-go
 ‘I kicked the ball to the direction of the mountain.’

In (6), which is a goal serial verb construction (Section 12.1), the serialized verb \emptyset -*ai* ‘go’ agrees with the subject argument of the main predicate *sepa* ‘kick’ rather than its object argument *bal* ‘ball’, despite the fact that it is the ball rather than speaker that actually underwent the movement described by the sentence (see also Section 7.3.2).

7.2.2 Semantic agreement

What is called **semantic agreement** is that agreement morphology indicates person and number of the *semantic* subject agreement of a main predicate (the present author thanks David Gil (pers. comm.) for drawing his attention to this phenomenon). To illustrate, consider (7).

- (7) *Srinu r-enū tua neku nokō?*
 Srinu 3PL-drink tuak last night
 ‘Srinu and his friends drank tuak last night.’

The subject argument in (7) is *Srinu*, which is grammatically third person singular. However, semantically, this sentence means that *Srinu* and his friends did the action of drinking together. For this reason, the main verb \emptyset -*enū* agrees with the number of the semantic subject argument.

This is contrasted with grammatical agreement observed in (8).

- (8) *Srinu n-enū tua n-ā?ā ra neku nokō?*
 Srinu 3SG-drink tuak 3SG-do 3PL last night
 ‘Srinu drank tuak with them last night.’

In (8), the main verb *ø-enũ* ‘drink’ agrees with the person and number of the grammatical subject argument.

Another example of semantic agreement is given in (9), where the main verb *ø-aʔi* ‘leave’ and the serialized verb *ø-ai* ‘go’ agree with the number and person of the semantic subject argument.

- (9) *Hugo r-aʔi = ka skola r-ai.*
 Hugo 3PL-leave = 3PL school 3PL-go
 ‘Hugo and his friends went to school.’

Unfortunately, there are not many data available for the analysis of semantic agreement at this stage, partially because this pattern rarely occurs and partially because some speakers do not accept this kind of agreement in favor of grammatical agreement. At this point, we can only safely say that semantic agreement can be used in place of grammatical agreement.

7.2.3 Default agreement

Default agreement is the pattern of agreement that is observed in complex clause structures where serialized verbs do not agree with any argument but appear in their *default* third person singular form. Compare (10) and (11).

- (10) **Grammatical agreement of *ø-ãʔã* ‘and’:**

go pana k-ãʔã Hugo.
 1SG walk 1SG-do Hugo
 ‘I walked with Hugo.’

(11) **Default agreement of \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ ‘and’:**

go pana n- $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ Hugo.

1SG walk 3SG-do Hugo

‘I walked with Hugo.’

In (10), the verb \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ ‘do, make; with; and’ shows an ordinary grammatical agreement: it agrees with the subject argument of the clause. In (11), the same verb appears in third person singular form. This is what we call default agreement. As discussed in Section 7.3.1, both grammatical and default agreement patterns are acceptable in these sentences.

There are two qualifications for the use of the term “default agreement”. First, what actually happens in default *agreement* is that verbs do not agree with S/A-agreement prefixes. For this reason it may sound inappropriate to refer to this phenomena as agreement. But in this study it is still counted as sort of agreement to capture the parallelisms among the grammatical, semantic and default patterns. Second, it is called *default*, because this pattern occurs as a last resort when verbs are too detached from the main predicate to agree with its subject, either semantically or syntactically.

To close this section, let us consider illustrating examples where grammatical agreement, semantic agreement, and default agreement are all possible. Compare (12), (13), and (14), where the verb \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ is used as a nominal coordinator ‘and’.

(12) **Grammatical agreement of \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ ‘and’:**

go k- $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ mo pana hama-hama.

1SG 1SG-do 2SG walk together

‘I and you will walk together.’

(13) **Semantic agreement of \emptyset - $\tilde{\alpha}ʔ\tilde{\alpha}$ ‘and’:**

go *t- $\tilde{\alpha}ʔ\tilde{\alpha}$* *mo* *pana* *hama-hama.*

1SG 1PL.INC-do 2SG walk together

(as above)

(14) **Default agreement of \emptyset - $\tilde{\alpha}ʔ\tilde{\alpha}$ ‘and’:**

go *n- $\tilde{\alpha}ʔ\tilde{\alpha}$* *mo* *pana* *hama-hama.*

1SG 3SG-do 2SG walk together

(as above)

In (12), the serialized verb \emptyset - $\tilde{\alpha}ʔ\tilde{\alpha}$ ‘do, make; with; and’ displays grammatical agreement: it agrees with the person and number of the S argument *go* ‘1SG’. In (13), in contrast, semantic agreement is shown: the same verb agrees with the person and number of the semantic subject of the sentence. The S/A-prefix *t-* ‘1PL.INC’ indicates that speaker and hearer are involved in the action described by the clause. Lastly, (14) shows default agreement. There is no discernable semantic difference observed among these three sentences.

7.3 Complex structures and types of agreement

This section addresses the question of which agreement pattern is used when, with special reference to the contrast between grammatical and default agreement patterns.

This section is organized as follows. In Section 7.3.1, the general guideline for using grammatical and default agreement is laid out. Default agreement is only possible when the verb in question is not a main predicate and is not directly involved in the action represented by the clause. Sections 7.3.2 and 7.3.3 take a closer look at agreement patterns of \emptyset -*ai* ‘go’ and \emptyset - $\tilde{\alpha}ʔ\tilde{\alpha}$ ‘do, make; with; and’ respectively.

7.3.1 Grammatical and default agreement

The distinction between grammatical and default agreement patterns is correlated with the use of verbs. First, verbs in predicative function always display grammatical agreement. Consider (15) and (16).

(15) *go k-aʔi = aʔ.*
 1SG 1SG-leave =1SG
 ‘I will leave.’

(16) **go n-aʔi = aʔ.*
 1SG 3SG-leave =3SG
 Intended for ‘I will leave.’

The verb of path of motion \emptyset -*aʔi* ‘leave, go’ is used as a main verb for predicative function in (15) and (16), in which case only grammatical agreement is possible.

Second, verbs in the event-elaborating type of verb serialization always show grammatical agreement (see Section 12.2). Compare (17) and (18).

(17) *go naʔe k-waro.*
 1SG swim 1SG-can
 ‘I can swim.’

(18) **go naʔe n-waro.*
 1SG swim 3SG-can
 ‘I can swim.’

In (17) and (18), the verb \emptyset -*waro* ‘can’ is used as a serialized verb for event-elaboration. In this case, this verb shows grammatical agreement as in (17) and cannot display default agreement as in (18).

Third, verbs in the participant-introducing type of verb serialization (Section 12.1) display either grammatical or default agreement. Observe (19) and (20).

(19) *go* *k-aʔi* = *aʔ* *k-əʔə* *mo*.
 1SG 1SG-go=1SG 1SG-do 2SG
 ‘I will go with you.’

(20) *go* *k-aʔi* = *aʔ* *n-əʔə* *mo*.
 1SG 1SG-go=1SG 3SG-do 2SG
 ‘I will go with you.’

In both (19) and (20), the verb \emptyset -əʔə ‘do, make; with; and’ is used as a verbal preposition to introduce a commitative participant. It shows grammatical agreement in (19) and default agreement in (20), both of which are grammatical and do not result in a meaning difference.

What is presented in this section is the basic guideline for agreement in Lamaholot. However, the verbs, \emptyset -ai ‘go’ and \emptyset -əʔə, display quite a different agreement pattern, which need a separate treatment. They are discussed in Sections 7.3.2 and 7.3.3, respectively.

7.3.2 Agreement patterns of \emptyset -ai ‘go’

The verb \emptyset -ai ‘go’ is a deictic motion verb for motion away from speaker. It is a syntactically transitive verb, but transitive clauses with this verb do not count as ordinary transitive clauses in terms of behavior potential. See Section 8.6.3 for more on this and other deictic motion verbs.

There are three features to note with respect to the agreement patterns of \emptyset -ai. First, \emptyset -ai always shows grammatical agreement, when it is used as a main verb or as a serialized verb in autonomous motion constructions (Section 13.7.1). Look at (21) and

(22). In these examples, grammatical agreement is obligatory, default agreement being prohibited.

(21) *ø-ai* 'go' as a main verb:

*go skola k-ai/*n-ai.*

1SG school 1SG-go/3SG-go

'I will go to school.'

(22) *ø-ai* 'go' in an autonomous motion SVC:

*go pana skola k-ai/*n-ai.*

1SG walk school 1SG-go/3SG-go

'I will walk to school.'

Second, *ø-ai* displays either grammatical or default agreement, when it is used as a serialized verb in either caused motion or abstract emanation constructions (Sections 13.7.2 and 13.7.3). See (23) and (24), where both grammatical and default agreement patterns are grammatical.

(23) *ø-ai* 'go' in a caused motion SVC:

go sepa bal lou laŋo? k-ai/n-ai.

1SG kick ball exit house 1SG-go/3SG-go

'I kicked the ball out of the house.'

(24) *ø-ai* 'go' as an abstract emanation SVC:

go notō rae k-ai/n-ai.

1SG look DIR.MT 1SG-go/3SG-go

'I looked toward the direction of the mountain.'

Third, \emptyset -*ai* always shows default agreement when it occurs as a serialized verb to refer to a static position. Consider (25) and (26), in which only default agreement is allowed.

- (25) *go tobo rae *k-ai/n-ai muri kia.*
 1SG sit DIR.MT 1SG-go/3SG-go again PROS

‘I will take a seat in a position closer to the mountain (than I do now).’

- (26) *mo pehē alo? teti *m-ai/n-ai = a?*
 2SG hold stick DIR.UP 2SG-go/3SG-go=too

‘You are holding the stick too high.’

To summarize, two parameters play a role in the selection of an agreement pattern for the verb \emptyset -*ai* ‘go’: (i) whether or not it is used for expressing the movement of the grammatical subject argument, and (ii) whether it is employed for expressing physical concrete motion or fictive/abstract motion. When it is used as a main predicate or as a non-main predicate expressing the motion of its own subject, this verb always displays grammatical agreement. When it appears as a non-main verb but still indicates a physical motion, either grammatical or default agreement is allowed. Lastly, when \emptyset -*ai* ‘go’ is used as a non-main verb of a non-motion sentence, default agreement is the only option.

7.3.3 Agreement patterns of \emptyset - $\tilde{a}?\tilde{a}$ ‘do’

The agreement pattern of the verb \emptyset - $\tilde{a}?\tilde{a}$ ‘do, make; and; with’ is quite complicated, but similarly to the verb \emptyset -*ai* ‘go’, two parameters are involved in the choice of an agreement pattern: (i) whether or not it pertains to the action of the grammatical subject argument, and (ii) whether or not it indicates a concrete individual action. First, the verb \emptyset - $\tilde{a}?\tilde{a}$ always displays grammatical agreement when used as a main verb. See (27) and (28).

(27) *ø-ǎʔǎ* ‘do, make’ as a main verb:

*go k-ǎʔǎ/*n-ǎʔǎ suraʔ.*

1SG 1SG-do/3SG-doletter

‘I made (i.e. wrote) a letter.’

(28) *ø-ǎʔǎ* ‘do, make’ as a main verb:

*go k-ǎʔǎ/*n-ǎʔǎ bote wika.*

1SG 1SG-do/3SG-dobottle broken

‘I made the bottle broken’

In (27) and (28), the verb *ø-ǎʔǎ* ‘do, make’ is used for describing the specific individuated action that the grammatical subject *go* ‘speaker’ carried out, in which case this verb only displays grammatical agreement.

Second, this verb shows either grammatical or default agreement when it is used as a serialized verb for either an instrumental or a commitative participant. See (29) and (30). This is also the case when it means a nominal coordinator ‘and’ as in (31).

(29) *ø-ǎʔǎ* ‘do, make’ as an instrument SVC:

go bəŋo Ika k-ǎʔǎ/n-ǎʔǎ lima.

1SG hit Ika 1SG-do/3SG-do hand

‘I hit Ika with my hands.’

(30) *ø-ǎʔǎ* ‘do, make’ as a commitative SVC:

go lega k-ǎʔǎ/n-ǎʔǎ Sema.

1SG hang.around 1SG-do/3SG-do Sema

‘I hung around with Sema’

(31) *ø-ãʔã* ‘do, make’ as a nominal coordinator:

go *k-ãʔã/n-ãʔã* *Sema biho.*
 1SG 1SG-do/3SG-do Sema cook
 ‘I and Sema cooked.’

In (29), (30), and (31), the verb *ø-ãʔã* still indicates an action of the grammatical subject argument, although it does not express a concrete individual action. In these cases, either grammatical or default agreement is used.

Somewhat exceptionally, the verb *ø-ãʔã* always shows grammatical agreement when it appears for marking an E argument of semitransitive clauses. See (32).

(32) *ø-ãʔã* ‘do, make’ as a marker of an E argument:

go *mia* = *aʔ* *k-ãʔã/*n-ãʔã* *mo.*
 1SG be.ashamed =1SG 1SG-do/3SG-do 2SG
 ‘I am ashamed to see you.’

In (32), the verb *ø-ãʔã* works like that in (29), (30), and (31). But in this case, only grammatical argument is allowed. This may show that when used as an E argument marker, this verb is reanalyzed as forming a complex verb with the main verb.

Lastly, *ø-ãʔã* only allows default agreement when used for introducing a verbal preposition phrase expressing a manner adjunct (33), an existential marker (34), an adverb marker (35), a temporal adverbial clause (36), and a connector of numerals (37).

(33) *ø-ãʔã* ‘do, make’ as a manner marker:

mo *soka* **m-ãʔã/n-ãʔã* *aʔ*
 2SG dance 2SG-do/3SG-do what
 ‘How did you dance?’ (lit. ‘With what did you dance?’)

(34) *ø-āʔā* ‘do, make’ as an existential marker:

goʔē **k-āʔā/n-āʔā* *aho* *rua*.

1SG.NMZ 1SG-do/3SG-do dog two

‘I have two dogs.’ (lit. ‘Mine is with two dogs.’)

(35) *ø-āʔā* ‘do, make’ as a manner marker:

go *k-oi* = *roʔ* **k-āʔā/n-āʔā* *dikā*.

1SG 1SG-know =3SG 1SG-do/3SG-do true

‘I knew it really.’ (lit. ‘I knew it with true.’)

(36) *ø-āʔā* ‘do, make’ as an conjunction:

go *brea* = *əʔ* **k-āʔā/n-āʔā* *nā* *na* *səga*.

1SG happy =1SG 1SG-do/3SG/doCONJ 3SG arrive

‘I will be happy when s/he arrives.’

(37) *ø-āʔā* ‘do, make’ as a connector of numerals:

anaʔ *rəʔē* *pulo* **r-āʔā/n-āʔē* *rua*.

child 3PL.NMZ ten 3PL-do/3SG-do two

‘They have twelve children.’ (lit. ‘Their children are ten and two.’)

In (33) through (37), the verb *ø-āʔā* does not express the grammatical subject’s action or a concrete action to the point that it serves almost as a preposition standing for ‘and’ or ‘with’. In this case, the verb *ø-āʔā* only allows for default agreement.

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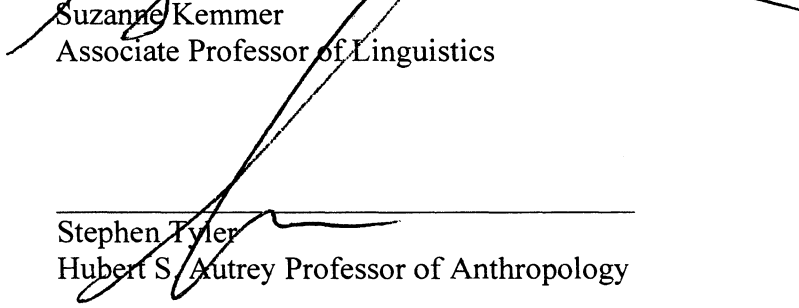


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8 *Clause structure*

8.0 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with clause structure and clause types in Lamaholot. In Section 8.1, we introduce the distinction between verbal and non-verbal predicates. Section 8.2 highlights verbal predicates, introducing basic clause types, which are differentiated by the number of arguments contained in a single clause. This process requires the introduction of two theoretical constructs: the contrast between argument and semantic roles. Lastly, those semantic verb classes that play a significant role in the Lamaholot morphosyntax are examined in greater depth in Section 8.3. This chapter forms the basis of the discussion on grammatical relations to follow in Chapter 9.

8.1 Verbal and non-verbal predicates

Lamaholot has two major types of predicates: **verbal** and **non-verbal predicates**. On the one hand, verbal predicates pertain to those verbs serving as predicates, ascribing some property or action to their subject; on the other hand, non-verbal predicates refer to those non-verbal words that serve as such. An example of verbal predicates is found in (1).

(1) **Verbal predicate:**

amã *kriã*.

mother work

‘Mother is working.’

There are four different kinds of non-verbal predicates: noun phrase, adjectival noun, adjectival verb, locational phrase, and preposition predicates. See (2). Remember from Chapter 6 that we use “locational” as a cover term for demonstratives, directionals, and the locative.

(2) **Non-verbal predicate types in Lamaholot:**

- a. Noun phrase predicate
- b. Adjectival noun predicate
- c. Adjectival verb predicate
- d. Locational predicate
- e. Preposition predicate

To illustrate, look at a noun phrase predicate (3), an adjective noun predicate (4), locational predicates (5) and (6), and a prepositional predicate (7).

(3) **Noun phrase predicate:**

na ata nurabelen.

3SG person Nurabelen

‘S/he is a Nurabelen villager.’

(4) **Adjectival noun predicate:**

ikā te?ē klami.

fish DEM.PRO.NMZ delicious

‘This fish is delicious.’

(5) **Locational predicate:***Sisi pe.*

Sisi DEM.DIS

‘Sisi is there (far from speaker).’

(6) **Locational predicate:***ba goʔē ia laŋoʔ.*

father 1SG.NMZ LOC house

‘My father is in the house.’

(7) **Prepositional predicate:***teʔē neĩ mo.*

DEM.DIS.NMZ for 2SG

‘This is for you.’

The predicate position is occupied by a noun phrase in (3) and an adjectival noun predicate in (4). What is a predicate in (5) is the distal demonstrative *pe* ‘there’. In (6), the phrase headed by the locative in a prepositional use serves a predicate, expressing the location of the speaker’s father. The predicate in (7) is the preposition phrase *neĩ mo* ‘for you’.

In the rest of this chapter, we are primarily concerned with verbal predicates. This is because verbal predicates involve several morphosyntactic phenomena of theoretical interest such as clause types, grammatical relations, voice, and constructional alternations.

8.2 Clause types

This section proposes three basic clause types with verbal predicates in Lamaholot. Distinguishing basic clause types necessarily requires introducing two theoretical constructs: semantic roles and the argument-adjunct distinction. These two theoretical

constructs are used in the description of clause types in Lamaholot in different ways; these are defined and verified in different ways, albeit one construct may overlap with another in some cases.

Semantic roles refer to those roles played by referents of participants of the event described by a given clause and are assigned to each participant of the event on semantic grounds. A list of common semantic roles is listed in (8).

(8) **(Micro) semantic roles:**

- a. agent: a doer of the action
- b. patient: an entity that undergoes change of state described by an event
- c. theme: an entity that changes its location due to an event
- d. recipient: a person that receives something due to an event
- e. goal: an entity to which a theme moves
- f. source: an entity from which a theme moves
- g. location: an entity in which a theme is located
- h. experiencer: an entity which feels a certain emotion from a stimulus
- i. stimulus: an entity which makes an experiencer feel a certain emotion
- j. beneficiary: an entity which get benefited from an event

Arguments and **adjuncts** designate different syntactic statuses that clausal elements play in a given clause. The distinction between arguments and adjuncts is made on syntactic grounds. **Arguments** are those clausal elements that meet the criterion listed in (9); **adjuncts** refer to those that are not arguments. It is on the basis of the number of arguments per clause that basic clause types in (10) are identified.

- (9) **Syntactic arguments** in Lamaholot are those that:
- a. are bare NPs (structural coding); and
 - b. Can occur in the topic position in either the Subject-Topic or the Object-Topic constructions and thus can be involved in the topic-related morphosyntactic phenomena (behavioral potential).

On the one hand, in terms of structural coding, arguments appear as bare NPs, which is one of the grammatical manifestations of the contrast between reference and predication, to which we also refer in the discussion of parts of speech (Section 4.1). On the other hand, the fact that arguments can occur in the topic position in either the Subject-Topic or the Object-Topic construction is of considerable import in Lamaholot and Austronesian languages, because there are a set of morphosyntactic phenomena in which only arguments bearing the topic relation can be involved, such as some type of coordination and “relativization” (see Section 9.3).

Having established these two theoretical constructions, we are now in a position to discuss basic clause types in Lamaholot. There are three basic clause types with verbal predicates in this language: intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses. These are differentiated with regard to the number of arguments that they contain. **Intransitive clauses** have only one argument, while **transitive clauses** contain two arguments. Lastly, **ditransitive clauses** obtain three arguments. See (10).

- (10) **Basic clause types in Lamaholot:**
- a. Intransitive clause: Clause with one argument
 - b. Transitive clause: Clauses with two arguments
 - c. Ditransitive clause: Clauses with three arguments

In the rest of this section, we examine each of these clause types: intransitive clauses (Section 8.2.1), transitive clauses (Section 8.2.2), and ditransitive clauses (Section 8.2.3). But before proceeding to the body of the analysis, let us introduce argument-type labels, which come in handy in our description of clause types. **Argument-type labels** are those labels that are assigned to each argument in the sense defined above for the purpose of referring to different arguments in different clause types with different names. The list of argument-type labels are given in (11).

(11) **Argument-type labels:**

- S Single argument in an intransitive clause
- A More agent-like argument in a transitive or ditransitive clause
- P More patient-like argument in a transitive clause
- T Theme argument in a ditransitive clause
- L Location (either recipient or source) argument in a ditransitive clause

Observe that argument-type labels are automatically assigned to an argument according to in which basic clause type it appears and what semantic role it plays in that clause. For example, “A” refers to nothing but the abbreviation of the verbatim definition “more agent-like argument in a transitive or ditransitive clause”, where “agent” is a semantic role and “transitive or ditransitive” pertains to the number of arguments per clause. This means that, unlike semantic roles and arguments/adjuncts, these argument-type labels are not theoretical constructs.

Two important notes on argument-type labels are in order. First, the labels “S”, “A”, “P”, “T”, and “L” are chosen only for mnemonic reasons (cf. Comrie 1978; Dixon 1979, 1994; Dryer 1986, 2007). As illustrated in this section, there is no biunique correspondence between argument-type labels and semantic roles.

Second, introducing argument-type labels into a description of Lamaholot has some benefits in ease of description: with these labels we can refer to different arguments of a single clause type with different names. For example, describing S/A-agreement prefixes and S-agreement enclitics, we can simply say S/A-agreement prefixes only agree with an S or A argument, while S-agreement enclitics are only for an S argument. Without such labels we have to provide a wordy statement like “one set of agreement markers only agree with a single argument in an intransitive clause or a more agent-like argument in a transitive or ditransitive clause, while another set of agreement markers is only for a single argument in an intransitive”.

In the rest of this section, we look into these basic clause types: intransitive clauses (Section 8.2.1), transitive clauses (Section 8.2.2), and ditransitive clauses (Section 8.2.3).

8.2.1 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses have an intransitive verb as their predicate and contain only one argument, which we refer to as an S argument. To illustrate, consider an intransitive clause in (12).

(12) **Intransitive clause:**

Ika *tei* *ia* *laŋo?*

Ika live LOC house

S.ARG ADJUNCT

‘Ika lives in the house.’

In (12), *Ika* is analyzed as an argument but *ia laŋo?* ‘in the house’ as an adjunct. Evidence comes from the structural coding and morphosyntactic behavior of these elements. On the one hand, *Ika* is coded as an NF without further overt morphological modification and its semantic role is given directly from the intransitive predicate. It also

appears in the clause-initial topic position of the Subject-Topic construction and can undergo the morphosyntactic phenomena associated with the topic relation (see Chapter 9 for details of the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions).

On the other hand, *laŋo?* ‘the house’ appears with a prepositional use of the locative *ia* and its interpretation as a location is assigned by *ia* rather than the predicate. Furthermore, this element cannot appear in the topic position in either the Subject-Topic or the Object-Topic construction. See (13).

(13) **Intransitive clause + Topicalization:**

<i>*laŋo?</i>	<i>Ika</i>	<i>tei</i>	<i>(ia).</i>
house	Ika	live	LOC

Intended for ‘As for the house, Ika lives in (it).’

Thus, the locational phrase *ia laŋo?* ‘in the house’ in (13) should be analyzed as an adjunct. Note that this data does not mean that an adjunct cannot appear sentence-initially. An adjunct can (yet rarely does) occur in the sentence-initial position, as in (14). Prepositional stranding is highly prohibited in this language.

(14) **Intransitive clause + Preposed adjunct:**

<i>ia</i>	<i>laŋo?</i> ,	<i>Ika</i>	<i>tei.</i>
LOC	house	Ika	live

‘In the house, Ika lives.’

Another example of intransitive clauses is found in (15).

(15) **Intransitive clause + temporal adjunct:**

Hugo n-aʔi = *aʔ wia*.
 Hugo 3SG-leave 3SG yesterday
 S.ARG ADJUNCT
 ‘Hugo left yesterday.’

The predicate in (15) is *ø-aʔi* ‘leave’ and the only argument is *Hugo*. The temporal noun *wia* is analyzed as an adjunct rather than an argument, although it is realized by a bare NP. This is because the temporal noun *wia* ‘yesterday’ cannot bear the topic relation or undergo the topic-related morphosyntactic phenomena. See (16).

(16) **Intransitive clause + temporal adjunct:**

?*wia*, *Hugo n-aʔi* = *aʔ*.
 yesterday Hugo 3SG-leave 3SG
 ‘yesterday Hugo left.’

In (16), the temporal noun *wia* ‘yesterday’ appears in the sentence-initial position being followed by an intonational break. (16) may not be a grammatically perfect sentence, because some native speakers of Lamaholot found (16) strange. Importantly, the temporal noun *wia* ‘yesterday’ appears in the sentence-initial position but does not function as a topic unlike other arguments. It cannot be involved in the topic-related phenomena discussed in Chapter 9. For this reason, it is analyzed as an adjunct.

Importantly, the semantic role of an S argument (i.e., a single argument of intransitive clauses) varies from one intransitive clause to another. It can be either an agent (17) or a patient (18), among others. The contrast between an agent S argument in (17) and a patient S argument in (18) highlights that argument-type labels and semantic roles are two different concepts.

(17) **S argument = agent:***Ika plaʔe.*

Ika run

'Ika ran.'

(18) **S argument = patient:***bote goʔē wika.*

bottle 1SG.NMZ break

'My bottle broke.'

As discussed in Section 3.3, Lamaholot has a set of agreement enclitics that indicate agreement between S-argument and its predicate. Consider (19) and (20).

(19) **S argument = agent:***Ika plaʔe =aʔ.*

Ika run =3SG

'Ika ran.'

(20) **S argument = patient:***bote goʔē wika =aʔ.*

bottle 1SG.NMZ break =3SG

'My bottle broke.'

In (19), the verb *plaʔe* 'run' agrees with its S argument *Ika* by means of the S-agreement enclitic *=aʔ*. The same is also true of (20). Notice that the same agreement enclitic *=aʔ* is employed both for an agent S argument (19) and for a patient S argument (20).

Agreement phenomena also provide some evidence that argument-type labels should be distinguished from semantico-syntactic grammatical relations such as subject and object. As discussed in Section 9.2, S/A agreement prefixes mark person and number of arguments bearing the subject grammatical relation, namely, S and A arguments. Consider (21) and (22).

(21) **S argument = Subject = agent:**

gɔ k-aʔi = aʔ.

1SG 1SG-go=1SG

'I left.'

(22) **A argument = Subject = experiencer:**

gɔ k-oi Tenga.

1SG 1SG-know Tenga

'I saw Tenga.'

Both the S argument in (21) and the A argument in (22) receive the same agreement prefix *k-*, although the referent of the former plays an agent role and that of the latter, an experiencer role. This means that agreement patterns of S/A-agreement prefixes can be described properly only in terms of semantico-syntactic grammatical relations, in this case, the subject relation.

Attention should also be paid to the fact that only the S argument in (21) takes an S-agreement enclitic, while the A argument in (22) cannot. It follows that the behaviors of S-agreement enclitics can be captured by means of grammatical relations and that they are easily described with argument-type labels.

8.2.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses have a transitive verb as their own head and contain two arguments, A and P arguments. Various verbs can head a transitive clause, and this clause type in addition to intransitive clauses forms the most basic clause types in Lamaholot.

Let us use a transitive clause (23) for illustration.

(23) **Transitive: A + V + P**

<i>go</i>	<i>poro</i>	<i>ikā</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>laŋo?</i>
1SG	cut	fish	LOC	house
A.ARG		P.ARG	ADJUNCT	

‘I cut the fish in the house.’

A transitive clause in (23) includes two arguments, *go* ‘1sg’ and *ikā* ‘fish’. The analysis that these two function as arguments can be verified by two pieces of evidence. On the one hand, they are realized as bare NPs. On the other hand, they can appear in the topic position of the Subject-Topic or the Object-Topic construction. The sentence in (23) itself shows that the NP *go* ‘1sg’ can occupy this position. In contrast, it is demonstrated in (24) that the NP *ikā* ‘fish’ can also be in the topic position.

(24) **Transitive: A + V + P**

<i>ikā</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>poro</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>laŋo?</i>
fish	1SG	cut	LOC	house
P.ARG	A.ARG		ADJUNCT	

‘As for the fish, I cut (it) in the house.’

In typical cases, the semantic role of an A argument is an agent, while that of a P argument is a patient. However, there is no one-to-one correspondence between A/P

arguments and their semantic roles, as we have already seen for S arguments. Indeed, A and P arguments can bear various semantic roles in transitive clauses. To illustrate, consider examples in (25) through (28).

(25) **A argument = agent; P argument = patient:**

go buka knawe?

1SG open door

'I opened the door.'

(26) **A argument = experiencer; P argument = stimulus:**

Ika notō aho.

Ika see dog

'Ika saw the dog.'

(27) **A argument = experiencer; P argument = stimulus:**

Nia hiʔi Arno.

Nia be.mad.at Arno

'Nia is mad at Arno.'

(28) **A argument = recipient; P argument = theme:**

Besa gute doi ia go.

Besa get money LOC 1SG

'Besa got some money from me.'

Despite all the difference in semantic roles, S/A-agreement affixes (Section 3.4) consistently mark the person and number of A arguments of transitive clauses (as well as S arguments of intransitive clauses; see Section 8.2.1). Consider examples in (29) through (31).

(29) **A argument = agent; P argument = patient:**

go k-ate kbako.
 1SG 1SG-hold tobacco
 'I hold tobacco.'

(30) **A argument = cognizer; P argument = cognizee:**

go k-oi =ro?
 1SG 1SG-know 3SG
 'I knew it.'

(31) **A argument = recipient; P argument = theme:**

go k-ahu? wai?
 1SG 1SG-collect water
 'I got some water.'

These examples show S/A-agreement prefixes work across different semantic roles, from which it follows that a good generalization for S/A-agreement prefixes is obtained only by assuming grammatical relations separately from semantic roles.

8.2.3 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses contain three arguments, namely, A, T, and L arguments. Only **verbs of transferring ownership** (see below) can project this type of clause. Consider (32).

(32) **Ditransitive clause construction (= double-object construction):**

<i>Sius</i>	<i>neĩ</i>	<i>Ditu</i>	<i>tua.</i>
Sius	give	Ditu	palm.wine
A.ARG		L.ARG	T.ARG

'Sius gave Ditu palm wine.'

In (32), *Sius* is an A argument, because it is a more-agent like argument, while *tua* is a T argument, expressing the theme of the action of giving from Suis to Ditu. The remaining argument, *Ditu*, is an L argument, to which the ownership of the theme participant was transferred. Since two object arguments appear in a post verbal position, ditransitive clauses are also called **double-object constructions** (see Chapter 9 for the definition of object in Lamaholot).

The analysis that (32) contains three arguments is supported by two pieces of evidence. First, all the three clausal elements other than the main predicate are realized as NPs. Second, all the three can appear in the topic position. Look at (33) and (34), where L and T arguments, respectively, appear in the topic position.

(33) **Ditransitive clause construction + topicalization of an L:**

Ditu Sius neĩ tua.

Ditu Sius give palm.wine

‘As for Ditu, Sius gave (him) palm wine.’

(34) **Ditransitive clause construction + topicalization of a T:**

tua Sius neĩ Ditu.

palm.wine Sius give Ditu

‘As for palm wine, Sius gave Ditu.’

Similarly to S, A, and P arguments, A and L arguments of ditransitive clauses may play various kinds of semantic roles, while a T argument consistently designates the theme of the action of transferring ownership. To illustrate, look at examples in (35) through (37).

(35) **A argument = agent; L argument = recipient:**

go sorō Ika doi.
 1SG give Ika money
 'I gave Ika money.'

(36) **A argument = agent; L argument = experiencer:**

Arno noni Ika doi.
 Arno show Ika money
 'Arno showed Ika money.'

(37) **A argument = recipient; L argument = source:**

ra m̄ala Hugo doi.
 3PL steal Hugo doi
 'They stole money from Hugo (lit. 'They stole Hugo money').'

There are two characteristics of note in ditransitive clauses. First, ditransitive clauses can be projected by **verbs of transferring ownership**, which literally or metaphorically express situations where an agent gives (or takes) the ownership of a theme to a recipient (or from a source). So far ten verbs in (38) have been attested as such verbs. Most of them are **verbs of giving**.

(38) **Verbs of transferring ownership:**

<i>neĩ</i>	'give'	<i>sorō</i>	'give'
<i>noni</i>	'show'	<i>m̄ala</i>	'steal'
<i>taku?</i>	'feed (child)'	<i>n̄n̄n̄</i>	'ask for'
<i>odũ</i>	'offer'	<i>rodu</i>	'push'
<i>kirĩ</i>	'send'	<i>soga</i>	'lift a glass (of tuak) to' (transfer of respect)

Second, verbs of transferring ownership can also project **prepositional-recipient constructions**, which are semantically close to ditransitive clauses (also referred to as double-object constructions) but are syntactically distinct from them. Consider a prepositional-recipient construction in (39).

(39) **Transitive clause (= prepositional-recipient construction):**

<i>go</i>	<i>neĩ</i>	<i>lama</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>Siku</i>
1SG	give	rice	LOC	Siku
A.ARG		P.ARG	ADJUNCT	
agent		theme	recipient	
'I gave rice to Siku.'				

In (39), *go* '1SG' is an A argument referring to the agent of an action of giving, while *lama* 'rice' is a P argument designating the theme of an action of giving. Unlike double object constructions, the recipient participant *Siku* is marked by the locative *ia* instead of appearing as a bare NP.

More examples are presented in (40) through (47). See (40) and (41) for examples of *sorõ* 'give', (42) and (43) for *noni* 'show', (44) and (45) for *taku?* 'feed', and (46) and (47) for *m̄ala* 'steal'.

(40) **Double-object construction with *sorõ* 'give':**

<i>go</i>	<i>sorõ</i>	<i>Ika</i>	<i>doi</i>
1SG	give	Ika	money
'I gave Ika money.'			

(41) **Prepositional recipient construction with *sorō* ‘give’:**

go sorō doi ia Ika.

1SG give money LOC Ika

‘I gave money to Ika.’

(42) **Double-object construction with *noni* ‘show’:**

go noni Ika foto nā?ē.

1SG show Ika photo 3SG.NMZ

‘I showed Ika her photo.’

(The possessor of the photo is either contextually bound or linguistically by Ika.)

(43) **Prepositional recipient construction with *noni* ‘show’:**

go noni foto nā?ē ia Ika.

1SG show phone 3SG.NMZ LOC Ika

‘I showed his/her picture to Ika.’

(44) **Double-object construction with *taku?* ‘feed’:**

go taku? Batos lama.

1SG feed Batos rice

‘I fed Batos rice.’

(45) **Prepositional recipient construction with *taku?* ‘feed’:**

go taku? lama ia Batos.

1SG feed rice LOC Batos

‘I fed rice to Batos.’

(46) **Double-object construction with *māla* ‘steal’:**

go māla Ika doi.

1SG steal Ika money

‘I stole Ika money.’

(47) **Prepositional recipient construction with *māla* ‘steal’:**

go māla doi ia Ika.

1SG steal money LOC Ika

‘I stole money from Ika.’

In Section 9.2.2, we discuss the similarities and differences between the double-object and the prepositional-recipient constructions with special reference to semantic-syntactic grammatical relations. Before closing this section, two final remarks are due concerning the ditransitive alternation. First, **verbs of transaction and service** may head **benefactive constructions**, which look like, but behave differently from, ditransitive constructions. See Sections 8.3.6 and 9.2 for details.

Second, not all verbs that appear in a prepositional recipient construction can also occur in a double-object construction. For instance, the verb *soko* ‘throw’ cannot appear in a double-object construction as in (48), but can be used in a prepositional recipient construction as in (49). This is also the case with other verbs such as *naku* ‘borrow’ and *sepa* ‘kick’.

(48) **Ungrammatical double-object construction with *soko* ‘throw’:**

**Nia soko go bal.*

Nia throw 1SG ball

Intended for ‘Nia threw me a ball.’

(49) **Prepositional recipient construction with *soko* ‘throw’:**

Nia soko bal ia go.

Nia throw ball LOC 1SG

‘Nia threw a ball to me.’

The reason for this can most likely be that events described by verbs such as *naku* ‘borrow’, *soko* ‘throw’, and *sepa* ‘kick’ are not involved in the transfer of ownership.

8.3 More on verbal predicate clauses: Major semantic classes of verbs

This section introduces several major semantic classes of verbs in Lamaholot: verbs of manner of motion (Section 8.3.1), verbs of path of motion (Section 8.3.2), verbs of deictic motion (Section 8.3.3), psych verbs (Section 8.3.4), verbs of transferring ownership (8.3.5), verbs of transaction and service (Section 8.3.6), verbs of existence and possession (Section 8.3.7), and the verb *o-ãʔã* ‘do, make’ (Section 8.3.8).

These verb classes are worth mentioning because they are involved in syntactically important constructions: motion constructions and the ditransitive and the benefactive constructions. In each subsection, we examine semantic and syntactic properties of members, membership, and related constructions.

There are two purposes for this section. First, by introducing these subclasses of verbs, we can observe a variety of verbal predicate constructions and their morphosyntax. Verbs with different meanings have different constructional patterns. Second, this subsection also constitutes a basis of the discussion in the following chapter, voice and grammatical relations.

Needless to say, this section is not intended to cover all verb classes that can be posited in Lamaholot. For example, in Section 11.1, we introduce classes of verbs that can take a complement clause. Some of them are mentioned here; others are not.

8.3.1 Verbs of manner of motion

Manner of motion is one of the co-events that constitute a motion event and is concerned with the way Figure moves relative to Ground (Section 13.1). A list of intransitive verbs of motion is given in (50).

(50) **Verbs of manner of motion (intransitive):**

<i>ø-aʔi</i>	'leave, go, walk'	<i>bua</i>	'blow off'
<i>bao</i>	'float'	<i>goli</i>	'roll'
<i>rogo</i>	'crawl'	<i>plaʔe</i>	'run'
<i>pana</i>	'walk'	<i>naje</i>	'swim' etc.

Verbs of manner of motion play an important role in motion constructions. When verbs of manner of motion and of path of motion are used in a single clause together, a verb of manner of motion always precedes one of path of motion (Section 8.3.2). See (51).

- (51) *go* *k-aʔi* _____ =*əʔ* *gere* *ile* _____ *k-ai* *kia*.
 1SG 1SG-leave =1SG go.up mountain 1SG-go now
 'I will walk up the mountain now.'

Observe in (51) that the verb of manner of motion *ø-aʔi* 'go, leave, walk' is followed by the verb of path of motion *gere* 'go up'.

Note that the deictic motion verb *ø-ai* 'go' looks related to the verb of manner of motion *ø-aʔi* 'go, leave'. However, the two verbs should be distinguished for at least three reasons. First, *ø-aʔi* 'go, leave' can take an S-agreement enclitic, but *ø-ai* 'go' cannot. In (51), the verb *ø-aʔi* 'go' takes the S-agreement enclitic for first person singular =*əʔ*, which the deictic motion verb *ø-ai* 'go' does not. Note that *k-* on *ø-aʔi* 'go' is an S/A-agreement marker. Second, the former occupies the clause-medial position like other verbs of manner of motion, while the latter appears in the clause-final position. Third, the former is used only for horizontal movement, while the latter means either horizontal or vertical movement.

In addition to intransitive verbs of manner of motion listed in (50), there are transitive verbs of manner of motion, as in (52).

(52) **Verbs of manner of motion (transitive):**

baha tena 'go by boat'

gere NP 'go by NP', where an NP refers to a means of transportation

(*gere* means 'ride'.)

Although verbs listed in (52) are not verbs but verb phrases in a strict sense, they behave like intransitive verbs of manner of motion in motion constructions. For example, consider (53).

(53) *go baha tena tama gua onə? k-ai kia.*

1SG row boat enter cave inside 1SG-go now

'I will row a boat into the cave.'

In (53), the transitive verb of manner of motion, *baha tena* 'row a boat', appears in the main predicate position, followed by the verb of path of motion *tama* 'enter'.

Importantly, verbs of manner of motion do not express a **translational** motion event by themselves: namely, when used alone, they do not mean that Figure changes its position relative to Ground (**translational motion**), but rather Figure changes its position within a given Ground (**non-translational motion**) (Matsumoto 1997). For instance, the verb of manner of motion *pana* 'walk' in (54) means that Figure (Lia) moved inside Ground (the school) by walking with Figure remaining in Ground.

(54) *Lia pana ia skola.*

Lia walk LOC school

‘Lia walked in the school.’

In order to express a translational motion, verbs of manner of motion have to be used with a verb of path of motion, a deictic motion verb, or their combination. With the help of one of these verbs, they can be interpreted as expressing a motion event where Figure changes its position relative to Ground. To illustrate, compare (55), (56), and (57).

(55) *bote bao wəli gua onəʔ.*

bottle float DIR.COAST cave inside

‘The bottle floated **inside** the cave.’

(56) *bote bao wəli gua onəʔ n-ai.*

bottle float DIR.COAST cave inside 3SG-go

‘The bottle floated **into** the cave.’

(57) *bote bao wəli gua onəʔ dai.*

bottle float DIR.COAST cave inside come

‘The bottle floated **out of** the cave.’

Example (55) is a simple intransitive verb construction, where the verb of manner of motion *bao* ‘float’ is preceded by the subject argument *bote* ‘bottle’ and followed by the locational phrase *wəli gua onəʔ* ‘in the direction parallel with the coast inside the cave’. The verb of manner of motion *bao* ‘float’ describes the non-translational motion event in which the bottle is floating on the sea surface in the cave. In contrast, in (56), the same structure as (55) is followed by an additional GO verb. This sentence expresses the translational motion where the bottle moved into the cave away from speaker while

floating. In (57), the COME verb *dai* ‘come’ is used instead of the GO-verb. It means that the bottle came out of the cave while floating.

8.3.2 Verbs of path of motion

Path of motion refers to the trajectory along which a Figure object moves along in space, and verbs of path of motion are those that convey such path information in their form. A list of verbs of path of motion is provided in (58). They are either transitive or intransitive.

(58) Verbs of path of motion:

<i>tama</i>	‘move in’	<i>lou</i>	‘move out’
<i>lua</i>	‘move seaward’	<i>həbã</i>	‘move mountainward’
<i>gere</i>	‘move upward’	<i>lodo</i>	‘move downward’
<i>səga</i>	‘arrive’	<i>gwali</i>	‘return’
<i>dore</i>	‘follow’	<i>ø-ala</i>	‘follow. go along’
<i>lewa?</i>	‘go across’	etc.	

In motion constructions, verbs of path of motion appear in the position immediately following verbs of manner of motion. Consider (59) and (60).

- (59) *wato goli lodo teti ile hau.*
 rock roll go.down DIR.UP mountain come
 ‘The rock rolled down the mountain (toward speaker).’

- (60) *ba go?ẽ pana lua rae ile hau.*
 father 1SG.NMZ walk go.seaward DIR.MT mountain come
 ‘My father walked down the mountain (seaward and toward speaker).’

(59) and (60) are grammatical without verbs of manner of motion, as in (61) and (62), respectively.

(61) *wato lodo teti ile hau.*
 rock go.down DIR.UP mountain come
 ‘The rock went down the mountain (toward speaker).’

(62) *ba goʔē lua rae ile hau.*
 father 1SG.NMZ go.seaward DIR.MT mountain come
 ‘My father went down the mountain (seaward and toward speaker).’

(61) and (62) are grammatical even when verbs of deictic motion are deleted, as in (63) and (64), respectively.

(63) *wato lodo.*
 rock go.down
 ‘The rock went down.’

(64) *ba goʔē lua.*
 father 1SG.NMZ go.seaward
 ‘My father went seaward.’

Similarly to verbs of manner of motion, the motion expressed by verbs of path of motion can be either toward speaker or away from speaker. Different deictic natures of motion can be expressed by different types of deictic motion verbs (Chapter 12). See (65) and (66).

- (65) *aho tama laŋo? (n-ai).*
 dog enter house (3SG-go)
 'The dog entered the house.' (Speaker is outside the house.)
- (66) *aho tama laŋo? dai.*
 dog enter house come
 'The dog entered the house.' (Speaker is inside the house.)

In (65), the verb of path of motion, *tama* 'enter', is followed optionally by the GO-verb, expressing the motion of entering away from speaker. In (66), the same verb is accompanied by a COME-verb, yielding the interpretation that the motion of entering took place toward speaker. As in (65), the GO-verb is optional when the motion described is away from speaker. This may suggest that at a pragmatic level, the default interpretation of path-of-motion verbs is away from speaker (Wilkins and Hill 1995).

8.3.3 Verbs of deictic motion

Verbs of deictic motion express a motion whose interpretation makes essential reference to the deictic center, which is often speaker. There are two major types of deictic motion: GO-verbs and COME-verbs. GO-verbs express a motion away from speaker or the deictic center, while COME verbs designate a motion toward speaker or the deictic center. A list of deictic motion verbs is given in (67) and (68).

- (67) **GO-verb:**
∅-ai 'move away from the deictic center (vertically or horizontally)'

(68) **COME-verb:**

hau 'move toward the deictic center from the direction of the mountain
(*rae*) or the sky (*teti*)'

haka 'move toward the deictic center from the direction of the ground (*lali*)'

dai 'move toward the deictic center from the other directions (*lau* or *wəli*)'

There are several COME-verbs: one COME-verb is chosen over another depending on the direction from which Figure moves. It is not common that there are several verbs for 'come' in a single language even in Austronesian languages. In other languages of Flores, the reflex of Proto-Central-Malayo-Polynesian **mai* 'come' is used and it is the only verb for 'come'. Most probably, *dai* in (68) is the reflex of PCMP **mai*. The etymology of the other COME-verbs is unknown.

Deictic motion verbs have several important uses: (i) predicative use, (ii) goal and source serial verb constructions (Section 12.1.3), and (iii) the marker of projective spatial relationships between Figure and Ground in an angular phrase (see Section 13.6).

Verbs of deictic motion are analyzed as intransitive, but in their appearance, they can take two NPs, yielding a superficially OV word order. This characteristic seems uncommon in Lamaholot dialects (cf. Nishiyama and Kelen 2007) and in other Austronesian languages of this region (Klamer 2002; Himmelmann 2005a; Donohue 2007a). See (69) and (70).

(69) *go skola k-ai.*
1SG school 1SG-go now
'I went to (the) school.'

(70) *go skola dai.*
1SG school come
'I came from school.'

The preverbal NP of the GO-verb always bears a goal role as in (69), while that of the COME-verbs can bear either a goal or a source role. If it is marked by either the locative *ia* or a proximal demonstrative, it means a goal location (see below); otherwise it is interpreted as a source location as in (70). Consider examples in (71), (72), (73), and (74), where the COME-verbs take a preverbal NP holding a goal role. Let us assume speaker is in Nurabelen in all these examples.

(71) **Locative *ia* as a locative adverbial:**

Hugo ia hau.

Hugo LOC come

‘Hugo came from the direction of the mountain or sky to here.’

(72) **Locative *ia* as a preposition:**

Hugo ia Nurabelen hau.

Hugo LOC Nurabelen come

‘Hugo came from the direction of the mountain or sky to here Nurabelen.’

(73) **Proximal demonstrative as a locative adverbial:**

Hugo te:/pi: hau.

Hugo DEM.PROX/DEM.PROX.AR come

‘Hugo came from the direction of the mountain or sky to here.’

(74) **Proximal demonstrative as a preposition:**

Hugo te:/pi: Nurabelen hau.

Hugo DEM.PROX/DEM.PROX.AR Nurabelen come

‘Hugo came from the direction of the mountain or sky to here Nurabelen.’

In connection with (71), note that the prepositional use of the locative *ia* does not always mark the deictic center. The locational phrase *ia Nurabelen* refers to the deictic center in (71), but the goal of motion away from speaker in (75)

- (75) *Hugo ia Boru n-ai.*
 Hugo LOC Boru 3SG-go
 ‘Hugo went to Boru.’

A preverbal NP of deictic motion verbs is often realized by a locational phrase (see Section 6.5 for locational phrases). Observe in (76) and (77) that the locational phrase *wəli skola* ‘the school located in the direction parallel with the coast’ occupies the preverbal position.

- (76) *go wəli skola k-ai.*
 1SG DIR.COAST school 1SG-go
 ‘I went in the direction parallel with the coast (to) the school.’
- (77) *go wəli skola dai.*
 1SG DIR.COAST school come
 ‘I came from the direction parallel with the coast (from) the school.’

The preverbal NP of deictic motion verbs are not analyzed as arguments but as adjuncts, because it does not show properties that are associated with the primary object relation in this language (Section 9.3.1). First, the preverbal NP of deictic motion cannot be involved in topicalization. Consider examples in (78) through (81).

(78) Subject-Topic construction:

go bəŋo Ika.

1SG hit Ika

'I hit Ika.'

(79) Object-Topic construction:

Ika go bəŋo.

Ika 1SG hit

'Ika, I hit.'

(80) Object-Topic construction of (69):

**skola go k-ai.*

school 1SG 1SG-go

Intended for 'I went to (the) school.'

(81) Object-Topic construction of (70):

**skola go dai.*

school 1SG come

Intended for 'I came from school.'

While an ordinary transitive construction can show an alternation between (78) and (79), the same alternation is not observed in deictic motion verbs, as in (80) and (81). Example (80) is an Object-Topic construction of (69), and (81) is one of (70). Both are ungrammatical.

Another difference between the object argument of an ordinary transitive verb and the preverbal NP of deictic motion verbs is the use of the pronominal enclitic =*ro?*. Consider examples in (82) through (85).

(82) **Intransitive verb + =roʔ:**

*na tei =roʔ.

3SG live =3SGʔ

Intended for 'S/he lives.'

(83) **Transitive verb + =roʔ:**

go hu: =roʔ.

1SG miss =3SG

'I miss him or her.'

(84) **GO-verb + =roʔ:**

*na n-ai =roʔ.

3SG 3SG-go =3SG

Intended for 'S/he went.'

(85) **COME-verb + =roʔ:**

*na dai =roʔ.

3SG come =3SG

Intended for 'S/he came.'

The pronominal enclitic =roʔ cannot be used with an intransitive verb as in (82) but with a transitive verb as in (83). Although deictic motion verbs looks like transitive verbs, this enclitic cannot be used with them. See (84) and (85).

To summarize, the preverbal NP of deictic motion verbs is best analyzed as an adjunct rather than an argument, although it appears that they take two NPs. This may mean that deictic motion verbs in Lamaholot are losing their function as the main predicate and becoming more like propositions for goal and source roles. Indeed, Lichtenberk (1991: Sections 2 and 3) reports that GO- and COME-verbs, among others, were grammaticalized into andative and venitive markers and beyond in Oceanic languages.

A final remark is due regarding the use of COME-verbs. Different COME-verbs are used for directional source directions, but there are some cases where speaker is not sure from which direction Figure comes. In this case, the verbs of path of motion *gwali* ‘return’ and *səga* ‘arrive’ can be used instead as generic COME-verbs. To illustrate, look at (86).

(86) *gwali* as a deictic motion verb:

mo tea gwali?
 2SG where return
 ‘Where are you from?’

Sentence (86) is a frequently used expression to ask where hearer comes from. It could be about his or her hometown or about his or her daily itinerary. The important thing is that the verb *gwali* appears in the clause-final position, which is usually for deictic motion verbs.

Note that when it is used as a path-of-motion verb, *gwali* appears in the ordinary predicate position, as in (87). In this sentence, *gwali* does not have a deictic meaning, but represents path of motion.

(87) *gwali* as a path-of-motion verb:

mo gwali tea?
 2SG return where
 ‘Where will you return?’

8.3.4 Psych verbs

Psych verbs refer to those verbs that express a mental event in which an experiencer participant feels some feelings incurred by a stimulus participant. A list of psych verbs is given in (88).

(88) **Psych verbs:**

<i>brea</i>	'be happy'	<i>gehĩ</i>	'dislike, hate'
<i>taku</i>	'be afraid'	<i>gə̀lə</i>	'be tired'
<i>to:</i>	'want'	<i>hə̀pə</i>	'be mad'
<i>pruna</i>	'don't like (person)'	<i>mia</i>	'be ashamed'
<i>neo</i>	'be jealous'	<i>sə̀nə</i>	'be happy' etc.

Psych verbs are used in intransitive clauses, where verbs of psych verbs take an experiencer as their single argument. See (89).

(89) *go gə̀lə =ə?*
 1SG tired =1SG
 'I am tired.'

But more often they are accompanied by a stimulus participant marked by the preposition \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ 'do, make, with'. Consider (90).

(90) *go brea =ə? k- $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ mo.*
 1SG happy 1SG 1SG-do 2SG
 'I like you.' or 'I am happy with you.'

In (90), the psych verb *brea* ‘happy’ takes two participants, an experiencer and a stimulus. The experiencer argument is realized by the pronoun *go* ‘I’; the stimulus participant is introduced by the preposition *k-ā?ā* ‘do; with’.

Another important fact about this construction type is that \emptyset -*ā?ā* always agrees with an S argument when it marks the stimulus participant of psych-verbs but does not have to do so when it introduces an adjunct as a deverbal preposition. See (91) and (92), respectively.

(91) **Psych verb:**

*go gehī = a? k-/ *n-ā?ā Nesta.*
 1SG hate =1SG 1SG-/3SG-do Nesta
 ‘I hate Nesta.’

(92) **Posture verb:**

go tobo = a? k-/n-ā?ā Nesta.
 1SG sit =1SG 1SG-/3SG-do Nesta
 ‘I sat with Nesta.’

Examples (91) and (92) are only differentiated in terms of the kind of verbs: the psych verb is used in the former but an ordinary intransitive verb in the latter. Observe in (91) that \emptyset -*ā?ā* needs to agree with its subject argument *go* ‘1SG’. This constraint does not always apply when it introduces adjuncts. As in (92), the adjunct-marking \emptyset -*ā?ā* only optionally agrees with its subject argument.

This prepositional marking of a stimulus is not observed when the stimulus takes the form of a complement clause. Observe that there is no marking on the propositional stimulus in (93).

- (93) *go taku =ə? Ika hi?i go.*
 1SG afraid 1SG Ika be.mad 1SG
 'I am afraid that Ika is mad at me.'

In either case, the psych verbs *brea* 'be happy' in (90) and *taku* 'be afraid of' in (93) take an S-agreement enclitic. This fact clearly indicates that these verbs are not transitive but intransitive verbs. Indeed, it is not possible that this verb has two arguments, deleting \emptyset - $\tilde{a}?\tilde{a}$ 'do'. See (94).

- (94) **go brea (=ə?) mo.*
 1SG happy 1SG 1SG-do 2SG
 Intended for 'I like you.' or 'I am happy with you.'

All these observations of the psych verb-related morphosyntactic phenomena point to the analysis that psych verbs are intransitive. Despite all these, however, there is an interesting fact about psych verbs: a stimulus element, either a participant or a proposition, can appear in the topic position of the Object-Topic construction. For example, consider (95) and (96).

- (95) *mo go brea =ə?*
 2SG 1SG happy =1SG
 'I like you.' or 'I am happy with you.'
- (96) *Ika hi?i go, go taku =ə?*
 Ika be.mad 1SG 1SG afraid 1SG
 'I am afraid that Ika is mad at me.'

Examples in (95) and (96) indicate that both the stimulus participant in (90) and the stimulus proposition in (93) can appear in the topic position of the Object-Topic construction as if they were to be arguments bearing the object relation, although the verbs are still marked by S-agreement enclitics.

Emphasis must be given again to the fact that in Lamaholot, adjuncts, including preposition-marked ones, cannot bear the topic relation. See (97), where an intransitive verb construction appears in the Object-Topic construction, resulting in an ungrammatical sentence.

(97) Intransitive (S + V + Adjunct) + Topicalization:

**Nesta go tobo = a?*

Nesta 1SG sit =1SG

Intended for 'As for Nesta, I sat with Nesta.'

Thus, the stimulus element of psych verbs behave like object arguments, while it is introduced by the preposition \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ 'with, and' in the Subject-Topic construction and the verb is consistently marked as intransitive. According to Matt Shibatani (pers. comm.), this discrepancy between the structural coding and the behavioral potential of the stimulus element may be attributed to the postulated loss of applicative morphology. The Object-Topic construction of psych verbs such as in (95) and (96) could have once been applicative constructions where the stimulus participant is raised to the object position and then topicalized to the topic position. Most probably the current surface structure was obtained due to the loss of the postulated applicative morphology, the applied stimulus participant remaining in the topic position. Of course, we need more data from other Flores languages in order to verify this hypothesis.

This peculiarity of psych verbs, however, is not cross-linguistically uncommon. Croft (2001:161ff) shows some evidence showing that verbs with this type of meaning

often behave in a different way, being somewhere between intransitive and transitive clauses. On top of that, it has been repeatedly reported in Indonesian linguistics that psych verbs can take an adjunct behaving like an argument. See Musgrave (2008) for Indonesian, Donohue (2005) for Palu'e, and Arka (2008) for Manggarai.

8.3.5 Verbs of transferring ownership

Verbs of transferring ownership are syntactically defined here as those that can be involved in the ditransitive alternation (Sections 8.2.4 and 9.2.2). They are listed in (98).

(98) **Verbs of transferring ownership:**

<i>neĩ</i>	'give'	<i>sorõ</i>	'give'
<i>noni</i>	'show'	<i>mala</i>	'steal'
<i>taku?</i>	'feed (child)'	<i>nãñã</i>	'ask for'
<i>odũ</i>	'offer'	<i>rodu</i>	'push'
<i>kirĩ</i>	'send'	<i>soga</i>	'lift a glass (of tuak) to'

Verbs of transferring ownership in (98) mean situation types where an agent transfers the ownership of a theme participant either from a source participant or to a goal/recipient participant. As discussed in Section 8.2.4, these verbs can appear in both the double-object (ditransitive) and the prepositional recipient (transitive) constructions.

8.3.6 Verbs of transaction and service

Verbs of transaction and service refer to those that express an action typically done for someone else. Syntactically they can appear in the benefactive alternation (see below and Section 9.2.3). A list of verbs of transaction and service is provided in (99).

(99) **Verbs of transaction and service**

<i>hope</i>	‘buy’	<i>biho</i>	‘cook’
<i>gute</i>	‘get’	<i>paʔu</i>	‘feed (animal)’
<i>segu</i>	‘mix’	<i>bao</i>	‘pour’
<i>siap</i>	‘prepare’	<i>gnato</i>	‘send’
<i>∅-ate</i>	‘hold’	<i>pro</i>	‘get permission to drink/eat’
<i>behī</i>	‘pour (tuak)’		

The **benefactive alternation** refers to that constructional relationship that is held between **benefactive serial verb constructions** and **benefactive constructions**. The former is a verb-predicate clause with the preposition *neĩ* ‘for’ introducing a beneficiary participant, while the latter is a superficially double-object construction, where the main predicate is followed by a beneficiary NP and a theme NP in this order. Examples of the benefactive alternation are given in (100) through (103): see (100) and (101) for the verb *segu* ‘mix, make coffee’ and (102) and (103) for the verb *pro* ‘get a permission to drink/eat’.

(100) **Benefactive SVC with *segu* ‘mix, make coffee’:**

əmā segu waiʔ neĩ go.
 mother mix water give 1SG

‘My mother made a cup of coffee for me.’ (*waiʔ* ‘water’ means coffee here)

(101) **Benefactive construction with *segu* ‘mix, make coffee’:**

əmā segu go waiʔ.
 mother mix 1SG water

‘My mother made me a cup of coffee.’ (*waiʔ* ‘water’ means coffee here)

(102) **Benefactive SVC with *pro* ‘get a permission to eat/drink’:**

go pro tua neĩ mo.

1SG permit tuak give 2SG

‘I will drink tuak for you!’

(lit. ‘I get a permission to drink tuak in behalf of you.’)

(103) **Benefactive construction with *pro* ‘get a permission to eat/drink’:**

go pro mo tua.

1SG permit 2SG tuak

‘I will drink tuak for you!’

(lit. ‘I get a permission to drink tuak in behalf of you.’)

Note that the verb *pro* ‘get a permission to drink/eat’ in (102) and (103) is often used before having a meal or having a drinking party. It is part of the social norm to get a permission to eat or drink from people in the same house. Although the notion of benefit may not look obvious in (102) and (103), it makes sense in the Lamaholot culture.

In Section 9.2.2, we examine the benefactive alternation in greater depth with special reference to semantico-syntactic grammatical relations and the ditransitive alternation. Before closing this section, it is important to add that not all verbs that mean service of some sort can be involved in this alternation. For example, the verb *baha?* ‘wash clothes’ can be used with a beneficiary participant being realized by a serialized verb as in (104), but cannot appear in the benefactive construction as in (105).

(104) **Benefactive SVC with *baha?* ‘wash’:**

go baha? krio neĩ ra.

1SG wash clothes give 3PL

‘I washed clothes for them.’

(105) **Ungrammatical benefactive construction with *baha?* ‘wash’:**

**go baha? ra krio.*

1SG wash 3PL clothes

Intended for ‘I washed them clothes.’

A list of the verbs of transaction and service that do not show the benefactive alternation is provided in (106).

(106) **Verbs of transaction and service that do not show the benefactive alternation:**

baha? ‘wash’ *buka* ‘open’

lato ‘close’ *baca* ‘read’

prisa ‘prescribe’

At this point, no satisfactory account is available as to why some verbs of service can be involved in the benefactive alternation but others cannot. But we can safely confirm from the comparison of (99) and (106) that an alternation of this type is allowed when an action of service or transaction is done for producing food or drink for a beneficiary participant to consume.

8.3.7 Verbs of existence and possession

Verbs of existence are *no?o* ‘be, exist’ and *ãmũ* ‘does not exist’. They appear in intransitive constructions, as in (107) and (108).

(107) *ba go?ẽ no?o ia laŋo?*

father 1SG.NMZ exit LOC house

‘My father is in the house.’

- (108) *ba goʔē āmū ia laŋoʔ.*
 father 1SG.NMZ not.exist LOC house
 ‘My father is not in the house.’

Lamaholot does not use verbs to express the concept of possession; instead it employs three types of **predicative possessive constructions**. First, verbs of existence or absence can be used to express possessive relations, as in (109) and (110).

(109) **Possessive construction with verbs of existence:**

- doi goʔē noʔo.*
 money 1SG.NMZ exist
 ‘I have money.’ (lit. ‘My money exists.’)

(110) **Possessive construction with verbs of absence:**

- doi goʔē āmū.*
 money 1SG.NMZ not.exist
 ‘I don’t have money.’ (lit. ‘My money doesn't exist.’)

Another way of expressing the concept of possession is to use the serialized verb \emptyset -*āʔā* ‘do, make; with’. The constructional pattern of a possessive construction with this verb can be represented as in (111). In this construction type, the nominalization of possessor nouns is obligatory, and the verb *n-āʔā* ‘do, make; with’ always displays default agreement (Section 7.3.3).

(111) **Possessive construction with *n-āʔā* ‘do, make; with’:**

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|--------------|---|-----------------|
| Nominalized form of nouns | + | <i>n-āʔā</i> | + | NP (indefinite) |
| | | | | |
| Possessor | | Possession | | Possessum |

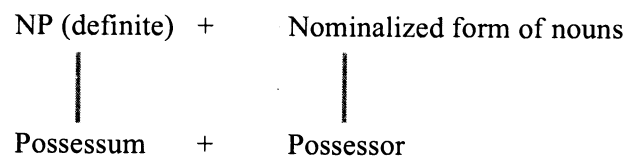
Examples of the possessive construction with *n-āʔā* ‘do, make; with’ can be found in (112), (113), and (114).

- (112) *goʔē* *n-āʔā* *aho* *rua*.
 1SG.NMZ 3SG-do dog two
 ‘I have two dogs.’ (lit. ‘Mine is with two dogs.’)
- (113) *Ika* *nāʔē* *n-āʔā* *aho* *rua*.
Ika 3SG.NMZ 3SG-do dog two
 ‘Ika has two dogs.’ (lit. ‘Ika’s is with two dogs.’)
- (114) *hege* *nāʔē* *n-āʔā* *aho* *rua?*
 who 3SG.NMZ 3SG-do dog two
 ‘Who has two dogs.’ (lit. ‘Whose is with two dogs.’)

Importantly, a possessum in this construction always has an indefinite reference. For example, adding a demonstrative to the possessum NP in (112) results in an ungrammatical sentence in (115).

- (115) **goʔē* *n-āʔā* *aho* *rua* *teʔē*.
 1SG.NMZ 3SG-do dog two DEM.PROX.NMZ
 Intended for ‘I have these two dogs.’ (lit. ‘Mine is with these two dogs.’)

To express possessive relations where a possessum has a definite reference, it is necessary to use the predicative possessive construction in (116). This construction is a non-verbal predicate construction where the predicate is a nominalized form of nouns. A nominalized form of a noun refers to something possessed by the noun.

(116) **Predicative possessive construction:**

Examples of the predicative possessive construction in (116) are found in (117), (118), and (119).

(117) *aho teʔẽ goʔẽ.*
 dog DEM.PROX.NMZ 1SG.NMZ
 ‘This dog is mine.’

(118) *aho teʔẽ Ika nəʔẽ.*
 dog DEM.PROX.NMZ Ika 3SG.NMZ
 ‘This dog is Ika’s.’

(119) *aho teʔẽ hege nəʔẽ?*
 dog DEM.PROX.NMZ who 3SG.NMZ
 ‘Who owns this dog?’ (lit. ‘Is this dog whose?’)

The predicate of the predicative possessive construction is the nominalized form of the first person singular pronoun *go* ‘1SG’ in (117), that of the proper noun *Ika* in (118), and that of the interrogative *hege* ‘who’ in (119). In all these examples, nominalization is obligatory. Notice that across all the examples, the possessum noun *aho* ‘dog’ is marked by the demonstrative *teʔẽ* ‘this’, which means that the possessum NP has a definite reference.

8.3.8 Verb \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$

Perhaps the most polysemous verb among Lamaholot verbs is the verb \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$. It has a variety of meanings in different syntactic contexts. First, confirm that when used as a main predicate, this verb means ‘make’. See (120).

(120) \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ ‘do, make’ as a main verb:

<i>go</i>	<i>k-$\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$</i>	<i>uli.</i>
1SG	1SG-do	bed

‘I made a bed.’

The verb \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ can also serve as a main predicate for direct and indirect causative constructions. See (121) and (122), respectively.

(121) \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ ‘do, make’ as a main verb:

<i>go</i>	<i>k-$\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$</i>	<i>knawe?</i>	<i>buka.</i>
1SG	1SG-do	door	open

‘I made the door open.’

(122) \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ ‘do, make’ as a main verb:

<i>go</i>	<i>k-$\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$</i>	<i>Hugo, baha?</i>	<i>krio.</i>
1SG	1SG-do	Hugo wash	clothes

‘I made Hugo wash clothes.’

Another use of the verb \emptyset - $\tilde{a}ʔ\tilde{a}$ is to mark a P argument in less prototypical transitive clauses, such as \emptyset -*oi* ‘know, see’, which do not imply the change of state of a referent of the P argument. See (123).

(123) *ø-ãʔã* ‘do, make’ as a marker of a P argument in less prototypical transitive

clauses:

<i>go</i>	<i>k-oi</i>	<i>(k-ãʔã)</i>	<i>wato.</i>
1SG	1SG-know	1SG-do	stone

‘I saw a stone.’

As indicated in (123), the P argument of the transitive verb *ø-oi* ‘know, see’ can be optionally marked by the verb *ø-ãʔã*. The function of this marking is not well understood at this point: according to Lamaholot speakers, the existence or absence of this verb before the P argument does not result in a meaning difference in (123). We need more data to draw a satisfactory conclusion on this function of the verb *ø-ãʔã*.

When grammaticalized through verb serialization, *ø-ãʔã* can express a wide variety of meanings from instrumental to manner marker. See examples in (124) and (127).

(124) *ø-ãʔã* ‘do, make’ as an instrument SVC:

<i>go</i>	<i>bəŋo</i>	<i>Ika</i>	<i>k-ãʔã</i>	<i>lima.</i>
1SG	hit	Ika	1SG-do	hand

‘I hit Ika with my hands.’

(125) *ø-ãʔã* ‘do, make’ as a commitative SVC:

<i>go</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>lei</i>	<i>k-ãʔã</i>	<i>Sema.</i>
1SG	walk	foot	1SG-do	Sema

‘I walked with Sema’

(126) *ø-ãʔã* ‘do, make’ as a manner marker:

<i>go</i>	<i>k-oi</i>	<i>=ro?</i>	<i>n-ãʔã</i>	<i>dikã.</i>
1SG	1SG-know	=3SG	3SG-do	right

‘I knew it really.’

(127) *o-āʔā* ‘do, make’ as an existential marker (Section 8.3.7):

goʔē *n-āʔā* *aho* *rua*.
 1SG.NMZ 1SG-do/3SG-do dog two
 ‘I have two dogs.’ (lit. ‘Mine is with two dogs.’)

Note that the verb *o-āʔā* shows either grammatical or default agreement when appearing in instrumental and comitative serial verb constructions but only displays only default agreement when used as either a manner or an existential marker. See Section 7.3.3 for more on the agreement patterns of the verb *o-āʔā*.

Lastly, in some cases, the meaning of the verb *o-āʔā* was extended to the point that it almost serves as coordinator or conjunction ‘and’. See examples in (128) through (130).

(128) *o-āʔā* ‘do, make’ as a nominal coordinator:

go *k-āʔā* *Sema* *plaʔe*.
 1SG 1SG-do Sema run
 ‘I and Sema ran.’

(129) *o-āʔā* ‘do, make’ as a conjunction:

go *breā* = *əʔ* *n-āʔā* *nā* *na* *səga*.
 1SG happy =1SG 3SG-do CONJ 3SG arrive
 ‘I will be happy when s/he arrives.’

(130) *o-āʔā* ‘do, make’ as a connector of numerals (see Section 4.4):

anaʔ *rəʔē* *pulo* *n-āʔē* *rua*.
 child 3PL.NMZ ten 3SG-do two
 ‘They have twelve children.’

It is shown in Section 11.3 that a lot of connective expressions in Lamaholot include $\emptyset\text{-}\tilde{a}?\tilde{a}$, which shows how far the function of this verb is stretched in this language.

9 *Voice and grammatical relations*

9.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a description and analysis of voice and grammatical relations in Lamaholot. It also aims to situate the voice systems of this language relative to the typologies of voice systems in western Austronesian languages. In prior research of voice systems in western Austronesian languages, languages of eastern Indonesia are considered not to display voice contrasts or, if any, to show an asymmetrical voice alternation (Arka and Ross 2005; Himmelmann 2005a; but see Arka and Kosmas 2005). However, in this chapter, our closer look at Lamaholot reveals that this typology does not take account of Lamaholot voice systems. This language displays a relatively sophisticated system of voice alternations. On the one hand, Lamaholot does still display various conceptual voice contrasts, such as antipassive, anticausative, and middle, by means of the transitivity verb alternation, the locative, and other periphrastic strategies.

On the other hand, there are also construction types differentiated by word order for different pragmatic requirements. It is demonstrated that the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions, the ditransitive alternation, and the benefactive alternation are used to express the same conceptual content with different arguments highlighted for pragmatic purposes. Crucially, these alternations perform the same pragmatic function in nature, as does the focus system in Philippine languages. Therefore, the data and analyses presented here as well as the diversity being revealed through the growing literature on eastern Indonesian languages (Donohue 2005, Arka 2005; Shibatani 2008a, b, 2009a, among others) urge us to abandon the existing frameworks on eastern Indonesian voice

systems and to explore a new one that is both more comprehensive and systematic. At least, it is too early to conclude that there is no voice alternation in these languages.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 9.1 introduces voice and valence-changing operations available in Lamaholot. Building upon this observation, we examine semantico-syntactic grammatical relations in Section 9.2 and the pragmatico-syntactic grammatical relation with special reference to the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions in Section 9.3. Lastly, this chapter concludes with some implications for a typology of voice systems in Austronesian languages in Section 9.4.

9.1 Voice and valence-changing operations

Lamaholot does not have any morphological means dedicated for voice and valence-changing operations themselves. However, it utilizes other morphological and syntactic means such as the transitivity verb alternation (i.e., using a single verb interchangeably either as intransitive or transitive), agreement enclitics, and verb serialization for these purposes (Nagaya 2009b, c, 2010a). In this section, it is demonstrated how voice and valence-changing operations are expressed in Lamaholot.

Following Shibatani's (2006) conceptual framework for voice phenomena, voice and transitivity-related phenomena are divided into two types: **semantically-based** and **pragmatically-motivated** voice phenomena (see also "semantic and pragmatic de-transitive voice constructions" in Givón 2001).

Semantically-based voice alternations are those in which different voice forms represent different conceptual contents in terms of parameters pertaining to the evolution of an action (Shibatani 2006): for instance, does the action extend beyond the agent's personal sphere or is it confined to it (**active** vs. **middle**), does the action achieve the intended effect in a distinct patient (**active/ergative** vs. **antipassive**), does the action originate with an agent heading the action chain that is distinct from the agent or patient of the main action (**causative** vs. **non-causative**), and so on.

In Lamaholot, voice contrasts of this kind are expressed by the transitivity verb alternation, (indirectly) S-agreement enclitics, the verb $\emptyset\text{-}\tilde{a}?\tilde{a}$ and the locative *ia*. See Table 9.1.

Table 9.1: Semantically-based voice constructions in Lamaholot

VOICE CATEGORY	FORM	FUNCTION	SECTION
Active	Transitive clause	Two-place event	N/A
Antipassive	Intransitive clauses (+ S-agreement enclitics)	Incomplete achievement	9.1.1
Middle		Reflexive event Change of state	9.1.2
Causative	+ Verb $\emptyset\text{-}\tilde{a}?\tilde{a}$	Addition of causer	9.1.3
Conative/antipassive	+ Locative <i>ia</i>	Unsuccessful impact	9.1.4

Pragmatically-motivated voice alternations are those in which different voice constructions are contrasted in terms of topicality and other discourse factors. For example, the English passive construction represents such a voice contrast. Its pragmatic function is to indicate that a patient is more topical than an agent by bringing a patient into the subject position.

For pragmatically-motivated voice alternations, Lamaholot also uses periphrastic strategies: word order, verb serialization, the locative *ia*, and the third person plural pronoun *ra*. See Table 9.2.

Table 9.2: Pragmatically-motivated alternations in Lamaholot

VOICE CATEGORY	FORM	TOPICALITY	SECTION
Subject- vs. Object-Topic	Word order	Subject/object	9.1.5
Ditransitive	Word order + LOC	Recipient/Source	9.1.6

Benefactive	Word order + SVC	Beneficiary	9.1.7
Passive(-like) (Generic agent)	<i>ra</i> '3PL'	Agent	9.1.8

These alternations change the grammatical relation of an argument from one relation to another, bringing about different interpretations in reference-tracking. The Subject- and Object-Topic constructions are concerned with the topicality of arguments bearing the object relation. The ditransitive alternation and the benefactive alternation pertain to participants playing recipient/source and beneficiary roles, respectively. The terms “ditransitive” and “benefactive” may not be always used as terms for voice categories, but they are included here because their function is similar to that of applicatives, where the action develops further than its normal course, such that an entity other than the direct event-participants becomes a new terminal point registering an effect of the action (Shibatani 2006:241). The generic agent construction manipulates participants playing an agent role, resulting in a passive-like agent-defocusing effect.

Two final remarks are due regarding the distinction between semantically-based and pragmatically-motivated voice oppositions in Tables 9.1 and 9.2. First, this distinction may not be always so clear-cut as represented in the tables: some semantically-based voice oppositions have pragmatic functions, too, and other pragmatically-motivated ones may bring about conceptual differences, as discussed by Shibatani (2006). Especially, the ditransitive and benefactive alternations in Table 9.2 are expected to result in some noticeable difference in meaning, although at this point we do not have any data supporting for it.

Second, it remains to be seen whether or not the contrast between the Subject- and the Object-Topic constructions constitutes a voice alternation. In Section 9.3, it is demonstrated that this contrast does not affect semantico-syntactic grammatical relations, such as subject and object, while other pragmatically-motivated ones do. Thus, Section

9.4 raises the question of whether the Subject- and Object-Topic alternation really counts as voice phenomena.

In the rest of section, we offer a description of each voice category in the order listed in Tables 9.1 and 9.2.

9.1.1 Antipassive

Syntactic transitivity of Lamaholot verbs is lexically determined. Some verbs are strictly transitive or intransitive; others are **ambitransitive**, involving the **transitivity verb alternation** between the intransitive and the transitive uses. Although there is no transitivity marker per se in this language, the syntactic transitivity of an ambitransitive verb can be explicitly indicated by the existence or absence of S-agreement enclitics: since they are used to index the person and number of an intransitive subject, S-agreement enclitics can function practically as markers of syntactic transitivity.

Taken together, the transitivity verb alternation between the intransitive and the transitive uses of ambitransitive verbs is correlated with the voice oppositions between intransitive-related voice categories (antipassive and middle) and transitive-related one (active), being explicitly marked by S-agreement enclitics in most cases.

The first voice category expressed by the transitivity verb alternation or its combination with S-agreement enclitics is **antipassive**. In the conceptual framework for voice phenomena (Shibatani 2006), **the active voice** is defined as that in which an action extends beyond the agent's personal sphere and achieves its effect on a distinct patient. In **the antipassive voice**, in contrast, an action extends beyond the agent's personal sphere, but does not develop to its full extent and fails to achieve its intended effect on a patient (see also Heath 1976, Comrie 1978, Hopper and Thompson 1980, Cooreman 1994, Dixon 1994, and Polinsky 2008).

Consider an active-antipassive alternation between (1) and (2).

(1) **Active:**

go kã pao peʔẽ.
 1SG eat.1SG mango DEM.DIS.NMZ

‘I ate that mango.’

(2) **Antipassive/indefinite object deletion:**

go kã =nəʔ.
 1SG eat.1SG =1SG

‘I ate (a meal or something one typically eats).’

The transitive clause in (1) expresses an active situation type where the agent achieved its intended action of eating, and the patient *pao* ‘apple’ was affected by that action. In (2), in contrast, the verb *kã* ‘eat’ is followed by an S-agreement enclitic, showing that it works as an intransitive verb. As a result, the antipassive reading is obtained that the object of the action of eating remains unspecified.

Note that what brings about an antipassive effect is not the existence of S-agreement enclitics itself but the transitivity verb alternation (or indefinite object deletion). S-agreement marking is simply a consequence of this deletion process rather than by itself is achieving the antipassive effect. Thus, when an S-agreement is not available in a sentence, the resulting sentence is ambiguous between active and antipassive readings, as in (3).

(3) *go kã kaeʔ.*
 1SG eat.1SG PFV

Active reading: ‘I already ate (the one recoverable from the context).’

Antipassive reading: ‘I already ate (a meal).’

The sentence in (3) has an active reading when it is construed to have an understood object argument or a so-called phonologically null pronoun; it has an antipassive reading when it is construed to have its object argument deleted and the verb *kā* ‘eat’ is used intransitively.

9.1.2 Middle

Another voice alternation distinguished by the transitivity verb alternation or its combination with S-agreement enclitics is **middle**, where the development of an action is confined within the agent’s personal sphere so that the action’s effect accrues back on the agent itself.

Consider an active-middle alternation between (4) and (5).

(4) **Active:**

go hābo ana? go?ē.
 1sg bathe child 1sg.nmz
 ‘I bathed my child.’

(5) **Middle/reflexive:**

go hābo =ə?
 1sg bathe =1sg
 ‘I took a bath.’

The same verb *hābo* ‘bathe’ is used in (4) and in (5). In (4), it does not take an S-agreement enclitic and expresses an active meaning, where the agent did action of bathing toward his or her child. In (5), the verb is used intransitively and thus followed by an S-agreement enclitic, resulting in the middle reading that the agent bathed him- or herself.

In terms of argument-type labels, the transitivity alternation above is that of an S-A type, where the S argument of an intransitive clause corresponds to the A argument of a transitive clause. As is often the case in other languages, there is another kind of transitivity alternation in Lamaholot: an S-O type, where the S argument of an intransitive clause is on par with the A argument of a transitive clause. Compare (6) and (7).

(6) **Active:**

go ləŋa wato.

1SG fall stone

'I dropped the stone down.'

(7) **Middle:**

go ləŋa =əʔ.

1SG fall =1SG

'I fell down.'

The same verb *ləŋa* 'fall' is used in (6) and (7). In (6), it is used transitively, meaning that the agent carries out some action towards the patient. But the verb in (7) takes an S-agreement enclitic and is used intransitively. As a result, it means a change-of-state event instead of a causative event.

Another example of such an alternation is found between (8) and (9) with the verb *buka* 'open'. The causative meaning observed in (8) is not obtained in (9).

(8) **Active/Causative.**

go buka knaweʔ.

1SG open door

'I opened the door.'

(9) **Non-causative:**

knawe? *buka* = *a?*.

door open =3SG

'The door opened.'

9.1.3 Causative

Causative valence-changing operation forms a causative sentence from a change-of-state one. The verb *ø-ã?ã* 'make; do' and adjectival nouns/verbs in root form are used for this alternation. Compare (10) and (11).

(10) **Adjectival verb predicate clause:**

laŋo? *go?ẽ* *belã?*.

house 1SG.NMZ big.NMZ

'My house is big.'

(11) **Causative:**

go *k-ã?ã* *laŋo?* *go?ẽ* *belã?*

1SG 1SG-do house 1SG.NMZ big

'I will make my house bigger (by renovating it).'

Example (10) expresses that the non-verbal predicate subject of the sentence has a property of being big; example (11) indicates that the speaker brings about such a state.

Another pair of examples is found in (12) and (13).

(12) **Intransitive verb sentence:**

boti *go?ẽ* *wika*.

bottle 1SG.NMZ break

'My bottle broke.'

(13) **Causative sentence:**

go k-əʔə boti goʔə wika.

1SG 1SG-do bottle 1SG.NMZ break

‘I made my bottle break.’

Importantly, Lamaholot does not have a lexical causative form for ‘make bigger’ and ‘break’. Thus, causative constructions with the verb *ə-əʔə* ‘make; do’ are the only construction type that allows for expressing causative situations.

9.1.4 Conative

One of the functions of the locative *ia* is to introduce an adjunct participant. When it is used with verbs of contact, it indicates an incomplete or unintended contact, which corresponds to an antipassive voice category, expressing **conative** situations in particular. Compare an active sentence in (14) and a conative sentence in (15).

(14) **Active:**

go tədu knəbi.

1SG collide wall

‘I collided with the wall (intentionally).’

(15) **Conative:**

go tədu =əʔ ia knəbi.

1SG collide =1SG LOC wall

‘I (almost) collided with the wall’ or ‘I collided with the wall (accidentally).’

9.1.5 Subject-Topic and Object-Topic constructions

Lamaholot has two competing (mono- and di-) transitive constructions, the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions (Nagaya 2009a, c, 2010a). The term “topic”

refers to the pragmatico-syntactic grammatical relation that this constructional alternation involves, as explored in later discussion, while “subject” and “object” are used in the sense defined in this chapter.

The Subject-Topic construction is a transitive clause with Subject-Verb-Object word order, a subject argument being in the sentence-initial position. In the Object-Topic construction, in contrast, a non-subject argument occupies the sentence-initial position, yielding Object-Subject-Verb word order. Consider (16) and (17).

(16) **Subject-Topic construction:**

go loge spatu te?ẽ.

1SG wear shoes DEM.PROX.NMZ

‘I will wear this pair of shoes.’

(17) **Object-Topic construction:**

spatu te?ẽ go loge.

shoes DEM.PROX.NMZ 1SG wear

‘This pair of shoes I will wear.’

In terms of surface structure, the OT construction uses the same PAV word order as inverse in Standard Indonesian (Donohue 2007b, 2008) and passive in Palu’e (Donohue 2005). In Section 9.3, we return to this contrast and demonstrate that neither of the two analyses is applicable to the contrast between the ST and the OT constructions.

9.1.6 Ditransitive

The ditransitive alternation is the constructional correspondence that is held in verbs of transferring ownership between the prepositional-recipient construction and the double-object construction. In the former, the theme of the action of transferring ownership appears in the primary object relation; in the latter, the position in question is

occupied by the recipient/source. See Sections 8.2.4, 8.3.5 and 9.2.2 for more on this alternation. Compare (18) and (19).

(18) **Prepositional-recipient construction:**

go sorō gula ia Ika.

1SG give candy LOC Ika

‘I gave candies to Ika.’

(19) **Double-object construction:**

go sorō Ika gula.

1SG give Ika candies

‘I gave Ika candies.’

Section 9.2.2 examines the grammatical relations involved in this alternation. In Section 9.2.3, it is demonstrated that L and T arguments in the double object construction and P arguments in the prepositional-recipient construction can bear the topic relation and be involved in various topic-related reference-tracking phenomena.

9.1.7 Benefactive

The benefactive alternation refers to a verb alternation concerning a beneficiary participant of high topicality and found between the benefactive serial verb and the benefactive constructions, as in (20) and (21), respectively. See also Section 8.3.6.

(20) **Benefactive SVC:**

go bao kopi neĩ Ika.

1SG pour coffee give Ika

‘I poured coffee for Ika.’

(21) **Benefactive:**

go bao Ika kopi.
 1SG pour Ika coffee

‘I poured Ika coffee.’

[It is not clear from the data available this point that if these sentences also allow an “on Ika’s behalf” reading.]

In Section 9.2.2, we analyze the grammatical relations relevant to this alternation. In Section 9.2.3, it is demonstrated that only a beneficiary in the benefactive construction as well as a P argument in the benefactive SVC can bear the topic relation and be involved in various topic-related reference-tracking phenomena.

9.1.8 Generic agent

Lamaholot does not have a morphological passive, but expresses a low degree of agent’s topicality by means of the third person plural pronoun *ra*. Generic agent constructions in (22) and (23) indicate that someone non-specific or unknown did something to the speaker. This construction may be interpreted as an incipient stage of passive in the sense of “agent-defocusing” (Shibatani 1985).

(22) *ra bəŋo go.*
 3PL hit 1SG

Reading I: ‘They hit me.’

Reading II: ‘Someone hit me’ or ‘I was hit.’ (Generic agent)

(23) *ra broka go.*
 3PL cheat 1SG

Reading I: ‘They cheated me.’

Reading II: ‘Someone cheated me’ or ‘I was cheated.’ (Generic agent)

9.1.9 Summary

Flores languages are said to be isolating languages, and Lamaholot does lack any morphological means for voice oppositions. This Flores language, however, uses periphrastic strategies like the locative and word order for distinguishing voice categories. In this sense, Lamaholot has voice alternations without voice morphology (Donohue 2004, 2005; Arka and Kosmas 2005; Shibatani 2008a, 2009a, to name a few). Building upon these observations, we examine the grammatical relations of this language in the next section.

9.2 Grammatical relations

Grammatical relations are defined as those higher-order groupings of arguments that are required in the analysis of grammatical phenomena of an individual language (cf. Dixon 1979, 1994; Dryer 1986, 2007). This definition calls for two qualifications. First, in this definition, different languages can have different grammatical relations (Dryer 1997; Croft 2001). For instance, it is necessary to posit the absolutive grammatical relation for a description of the syntax of Dyirbal, but not in English (Dixon 1979, 1994). Second, even within a single language, different grammatical relations may need to be recognized for different grammatical phenomena. For example, in Dyirbal, constructions such as coordination constructions are governed by the absolutive relation, while others such as imperative constructions make it necessary to posit the subject relation as well (Dixon 1979, 1994).

In this study, it is proposed that two kinds of grammatical relations must be distinguished in order to fully understand Lamaholot morphosyntax: the semantico-syntactic grammatical relations (subject, primary object, secondary object, and oblique) and the pragmatico-syntactic grammatical relations (topic and non-topic) (cf. Shibatani 2008a, b, 2009a). See (24).

(24) **Grammatical relations in Lamaholot:**a. **Semantico-syntactic grammatical relations:**

Subject, primary object, secondary object, and oblique

b. **Pragmatico-syntactic grammatical relations:**

Topic, Non-topic

The former set of grammatical relations is a semantically-motivated syntactic category, while the latter is a grammaticalized pragmatic category. A similar distinction is also made in a Lexical-Functional Grammar framework (“argument functions” vs. “non-argument functions,” and “(grammaticalized) discourse functions” vs. “non-discourse functions”; Bresnan 2001:97-98). The A-position and A’-position in a Government and Binding framework is similar to the distinction in question, too. The contrast between the agent-like and the topic-like subjects has also been a point of contention in Japanese linguistics for centuries (Shibatani 1991) and has long been known as the distinction between **role-related** and **reference-related** properties of subjects in Philippine linguistics (Schachter 1976).

To define these grammatical relations, we refer to of argument-type labels, which were introduced in Section 8.2, repeated here as (25).

(25) **Argument-type labels:**

- S Single argument in an intransitive clause
- A More agent-like argument in a transitive or ditransitive clause
- P More patient-like argument in a transitive clause
- T Theme argument in a ditransitive clause
- L Location (either recipient or source) argument in a ditransitive clause

In Lamaholot, the semantico-syntactic grammatical relations listed in (26) are relevant to certain morphosyntactic phenomena and need to be postulated for a description of them.

(26) **Semantico-syntactic grammatical relations:**

a. Subject	SUBJ	{S, A}
b. Primary object	PO	{P, L}
c. Secondary object	SO	{T}
d. Oblique	OBL	Others

Alignment patterns of grammatical relations listed in (26) can be represented as in Figure 9.1, where those arguments that behave alike are indicated by a circle. As in the left of Figure 9.1, S and A are treated alike as opposed to P, forming the subject relation as opposed to the (primary) object relation. This is an instantiation of the **nominative-accusative** alignment pattern.

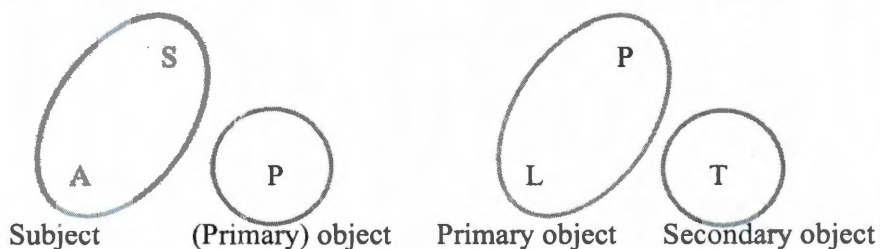


Figure 9.1: Semantico-syntactic grammatical relations

In contrast, the right of Figure 9.1 shows that P behaves like L and differently from T, bearing the primary object relation relative to the secondary object relation. In this sense, Lamaholot ditransitive constructions represent a **secundative** alignment type in the typology of alignment patterns for ditransitive clauses (Haspelmath 2005; Siewierska 2003).

Figure 9.1 can be also represented as in Figure 9.2, where each semantico-syntactic grammatical relation is indicated relative to clause types: intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses (Section 8.2). Intransitive constructions have only one S argument, which automatically counts as subject. Transitive arguments have A and P arguments, which bear the subject and the primary object relations, respectively. Ditransitive clauses have three arguments: an A argument is in the subject relation, an L argument in the primary subject relation, and a T argument in the secondary object relation.

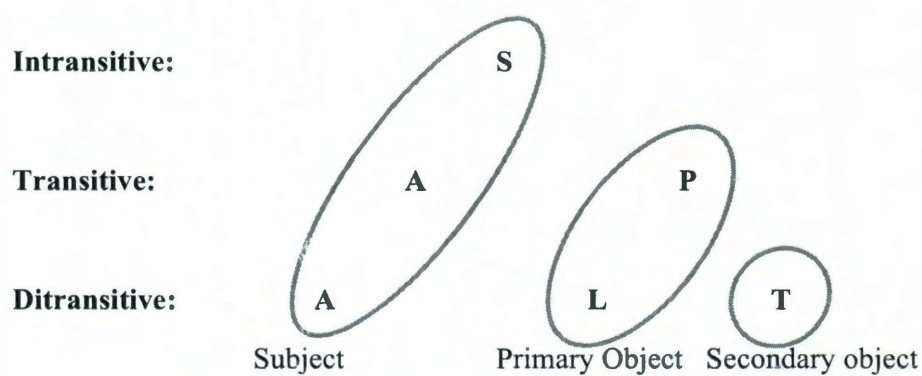


Figure 9.2: Semantico-syntactic grammatical relations

In addition, the pragmatico-syntactic grammatical relation can be posited for a description of some other grammatical phenomena in Lamaholot. In Section 8.2, we introduced some topic-related phenomena as one of the tests for argumenthood. See (27).

(27) Pragmatico-syntactic grammatical relation:

Topic	TOP	{Subject, Object}
		(i.e., {{S, A}, {P, L, T}})

Now let us consider how these grammatical relations are justified in Lamaholot. As has been demonstrated by a number of recent typological works (Dryer 1997; Croft 2001; Haspelmath 2009), grammatical relations are construction-specific and thus language-

specific concepts. To illustrate, as discussed in the rest of this chapter, the subject relation in Lamaholot can be justified by means of the grammatical phenomena listed in (28), where S and A arguments are coded in the same way and behave alike. We refer to a grouping of S and A as subject.

(28) Grammatical phenomena justifying the subject relation {S, A}

- a. [__ V (ARG)]
- b. Agreement
- c. Reflexivization
- d. *Kədiʔ*-coordination
- e. Imperative construction

The other grammatical relations are grouped relative to the following grammatical phenomena. See (29) for the primary object relation, (30) for the secondary object relation, and (31) for the topic relation.

(29) Grammatical phenomena justifying the primary object relation {P, L}

- a. [ARG V __ (ARG)]
- b. Enclitic pronoun =*roʔ*
- c. Ditransitive alternation
- d. Benefactive alternation
- e. Object-Topic construction

(30) Grammatical phenomena justifying the secondary object relation {T}

- a. [ARG V ARG ____]
- b. Ditransitive alternation
- c. Object-Topic construction

(31) Grammatical phenomena justifying the topic relation {Subject, Object}

- a. Sentence-initial position
- b. Pragmatically special status
- c. Relativization
- d. *Kia gə*-coordination

In Section 9.2.1, we present a series of phenomena (28) where S and A arguments are coded in the same way and behave alike, which in turn justifies the subject relation. Section 9.2.2 discusses a set of morphosyntactic phenomena (29) and (30), so as to posit the primary object relation and the secondary object relation respectively.

9.2.1 Subjects {S, A}

There are several morphosyntactic phenomena that constitute evidence that S and A arguments behave alike in Lamaholot. Evidence comes from both the structural coding and behavioral potential of S and A arguments (see Keenan 1976 and Croft 2001 for structural coding and behavioral potential).

Two structural coding phenomena are relevant to S and A arguments. First, only S and A arguments can appear directly to the left of the verb without any adjunct marking such as demonstratives and directionals in a prepositional use.

Second, only S and A arguments can agree with verbs in terms of person and number. Observe that S/A-agreement prefixes agree with S and A but not P. Compare examples in (32), (33), and (34).

(32) Agreement with S:

go k-aʔi skola k-ai k-əʔə Hugo.
 1SG 1SG-leave school 1SG-go 1SG-do Hugo
 ‘I went to school with Hugo.’

(33) **Agreement with A:**

go k-ate kursi k-ai k-ã?ã Hugo.

1SG 1SG-bring chair 1SG-go 1SG-do Hugo

'I brought the chair with Hugo.'

(34) **Agreement with P:**

**na k-ala go k-ai k-ã?ã Hugo.*

3SG 1SG-follow 1SG 1SG-go 1SG-do Hugo

Intended for 'S/he followed me with Hugo.'

In (32), the S argument is *go* '1sg'. It agrees with the main verb \emptyset -*a?i* 'leave', the deictic motion verb \emptyset -*ai* 'go', and the preposition \emptyset -*ã?ã* 'with; and'. In (33), all these verbs agree with the A argument *na* '3sg'. However, in (34), the main verb \emptyset -*ala* 'follow', the deictic motion verb \emptyset -*ai* 'go', and \emptyset -*ã?ã* 'do, make' agree with the P argument *go* '1sg', not the A argument *na* '3sg', leading to an ungrammatical sentence.

Note that S arguments can agree with verbs in not only agentive intransitive constructions like (32) but also patientive ones. Consider (35).

(35) **Agreement with S:**

bal goli n-ala larã te?ẽ lali n-ai.

ball roll 3SG-follow road DEM.PROX.NMZ DIR.DOWN 3SG-go

'The ball rolled down following this road.'

In (35), the S argument of the main predicate *goli* 'roll' agrees with the verb of path of motion \emptyset -*ala* 'follow' and the deictic motion verb \emptyset -*ai* 'go'.

Turning to behavioral potential, only S and A arguments can bind the reflexive expression *wãki* 'self.' See (36).

(36) **Reflexive *wəki* ‘self’ construction:**a. **S = antecedent, OBL = reflexive:**

Hugo brea = a? n-əʔə wəki nəʔē.

Hugo happy =3SG 3SG-do self 3SG.NMZ

‘Hugo is happy with himself.’

b. **A = antecedent, P = reflexive:**

Hugo plewā wəki nəʔē.

Hugo praise self 3SG.NMZ

‘Hugo praised himself.’

c. ***A = reflexive, P = antecedent:**

**wəki nəʔē plewā Hugo.*

self 3SG.NMZ praise Hugo

In the *kədiʔ*-coordination construction, only S and A arguments can control a gap in the second clause. Consider (37) and (38).

(37) **S → S:**

na gaka, kədiʔ _ gwali.

3SG cry then return

‘S/he cried, and (s/he) returned.’

(38) **A → S, but not P → S:**

na bəŋo go, kədiʔ _ gwali.

3SG hit 1SG then return

‘S/he hit me, and (s/he) returned.’

Lastly, the addressee of an imperative must be S or A, but not P. To illustrate, look at (39), (40), and (41).

(39) **S addressee:**

mo gō =no kia ka!
 2SG eat.2SG=2SG PROS EMP
 ‘You eat!’

(40) **A addressee:**

mo gō ikā kia ka!
 2SG eat.2SG fish PROS EMP
 ‘You eat (the) fish!’

(41) **P addressee:**

**ra bəŋo mo kia ka!*
 3PL hit 2SG PROS EMP
 Intended for ‘Be hit by them!’

The addressee of an imperative construction is the S argument in (39), the A argument in (40), and the P argument in (41). Only (41) is not appropriate as an imperative construction.

9.2.2 Primary object {P, L} and secondary object {T}

Lamaholot also provides an array of evidence for the primary object relation and the secondary object relation. In this section, we make an analysis of the primary object relation with special reference to the ditransitive alternation (Section 9.2.2.1) and the benefactive alternation (Section 9.2.2.2).

To begin with, let us look at structural coding for P and L arguments. First, in terms of word order, P and L arguments appear directly to the right of the verb. Consider (42) and (43).

(42) *ra raga wata klipī.*

3PL grasp corn crush.NMZ

A PRED P

‘They grasped crushed corn.’

(43) *ra sorō Tanti wata klipī.*

3PL give Tanti corn crush.NMZ

A PRED L T

‘They gave Tanti crushed corn.’

Second, the third person singular pronoun =*roʔ* can be coreferential with only P and L arguments (see Section 3.4). Observe that in transitive construction (44), =*roʔ* refers to the P argument, while the same pronoun designates the L argument in ditransitive construction (45).

(44) **Transitive construction:**

go kã =roʔ ia Ika.

1SG 1SG.eat=3SG LOC Ika

A V P Location

‘I ate it in Ika’s house.’

(45) Ditransitive/Double-object construction:

- a. *go sorō Ika doi.*
 1SG give Ika money
 A V L T
 ‘I gave Ika money.’
- b. *go sorō =ro? doi.*
 1SG give =3SG money
 A V L T
 ‘I gave him/her money.’

Turning to behavioral potential, P, L, and T arguments are involved in two syntactic alternations, the ditransitive and the benefactive alternations (Sections 9.1.7 and 9.1.8). The ditransitive alternation is held between the prepositional recipient and the double-object constructions. In the former, a theme argument bears the primary object relation; in the latter, a recipient/source argument does so. In contrast, the benefactive alternation is concerned with the benefactive and the benefactive serial verb constructions. In the former, a beneficiary argument appears in the primary object relation, but in the latter, it is only in the oblique relation. Our analysis of the two alternations is presented in advance in (46) and (47) for ease of reference.

(46) **Ditransitive alternation (← Topicality of a recipient/source)**a. **Prepositional recipient construction:**

Agent	Verb	Theme	<i>ia</i>	Recipient
A.ARG		P.ARG	ADJUNCT	
SUBJ	PRED	PO	LOC	OBL

b. **Double-object construction:**

Agent	Verb	Recipient	Theme
A.ARG		L.ARG	T.ARG
SUBJ	PRED	PO	SO

(47) **Benefactive alternation (← Topicality of a beneficiary)**a. **Benefactive serial verb construction (with a bivalent predicate):**

Agent	Verb	Patient	<i>neĩ/sorõ</i>	Beneficiary
A.ARG		P.ARG		
SUBJ	PRED	PO	give	OBL

b. **Benefactive construction:**

Agent	Predicate	Beneficiary	Patient
A.ARG		P.ARG	Adjunct
SUBJ	PRED	PO	

9.2.2.1 **The ditransitive alternation**

The ditransitive alternation is one where the double-object construction is contrasted with the prepositional recipient construction in terms of the topicality of a recipient/source. Compare (48) and (49).

(48) **Ditransitive/Double-object construction:**

go sorō Ika doi.
 1SG give Ika money
 A V L T
 ‘I gave Ika money.’

(49) **Prepositional recipient construction:**

go sorō doi ia Ika.
 1SG give money LOC Ika
 A V P Adjunct/Recipient
 ‘I gave money to Ika.’

The recipient *Ika* is foregrounded in (48), while the theme *doi* ‘money’ is highlighted in (49). As discussed in Section 9.3, this difference in topicality results in different behaviors of a recipient participant in topic-related grammatical phenomena.

Crucially, what is referred to by =*ro?* is the recipient in double-object construction (48) but the theme in prepositional recipient construction (49). Consider (50) and (51).

(50) **Ditransitive/Double-object construction (48) + *ro?*:**

go sorō =ro? doi.
 1SG give =3SG money
 A V L T
 ‘I gave him/her money.’

(51) **Prepositional recipient construction (49) + *ro?*:**

go sorō =ro? ia Ika.
 1SG give =3SG LOC Ika
 A V P Adjunct/Recipient
 ‘I gave it to Ika.’

It is not clear from the data available at this stage if there is any conceptual difference between the double-object and the prepositional recipient constructions. In English, for example, there is some conceptual difference involved in this type of alternation, so that *Jean taught Mary French* implies *that Mary learned at least a little French*, while there is no such implication in *Jean taught French to Mary* (Matt Shibatani pers. comm.). We need to collect more data to examine this hypothesis.

In typological studies on three-place predicates (Haspelmath 2005; Margetts and Austin 2007, to name a few), prepositional-recipient constructions above are also often counted as “ditransitive”, but in our analysis, the preposition-marked recipient/source element is an adjunct and the prepositional recipient construction is a mere transitive construction. There are several language-internal reasons to choose our analysis over the prevalent analysis. First, the prepositional recipient above is not realized as a bare NP. Indeed, (49) is ungrammatical when the locative is omitted. See (52).

- (52) **go sorō doi Ika.*
 1SG give money Ika
 Intended for ‘I gave money Ika.’

Second, it is not possible that the prepositional recipient appears in the topic position. To begin with, observe that the OT construction distinguishes arguments from adjuncts: unlike arguments, oblique participants such as a companion and an instrument headed by serialized verbs cannot be in the sentence-initial topic position of the OT construction (Section 12.4). See (53) and (54).

(53) **Companion SVC:**

- a. *go* *pana* *k-ā?ā Ika.* [ST: Topic = Agent]
 1SG walk 1SG-do Ika
 SUBJ PRED OBL
 ‘I walked with Ika.’
- b. **Ika* *go* *pana* *k-ā?ā.* *[OT: Topic = Companion]
 **Ika* *go* *pana.*

(54) **Instrument SVC:**

- a. *go* *poro?* *ikā* *pake* *hepe te?ē.* [ST: Topic = Agent]
 1SG cut fish use knife DEM.PROX.NMZ
 SUBJ PRED PO OBL
 ‘I cut the fish with this knife.’
- b. **hepe* *te?ē,* *go* *poro?* *ikā* *pake.* *[OT: Topic = Instrument]
 **hepe* *te?ē,* *go* *poro?* *ikā.*

Consider next the combination of the OT construction with the double-object and the prepositional recipient constructions. Both the recipient and the theme can occupy the topic position in the double-object construction as in (55), while only the theme can be in the topic in the prepositional recipient construction as in (56).

(55) **OT construction + Double-object construction (48):**

- a. *Ika,* *go* *sorō* *gula.* [Topic = PO (L.ARG) = Recipient]
 Ika 1SG give candy
- b. *gula,* *go* *sorō* *Ika.* [Topic = SO (T.ARG) = Theme]
 candy 1SG give Ika

(56) **OT construction + Prepositional recipient construction (49):**

- a. *doi,* *go* *sorō* *ia* *Ika.* [Topic = PO (T.ARG) = Theme]

	money	1SG	give	LOC	Ika	
b. *Ika,	go	sorō	doi	ia.		*[Topic = OBL = Recipient]
	Ika	1SG	give	money	LOC	

This strengthens the case that the recipient participant is in the oblique relation in the prepositional recipient construction, whereas the theme is still a core argument in the double-object construction.

To summarize, the double-object construction is a syntactically ditransitive construction, taking a recipient as primary object and a theme as secondary object. The primary object status of a recipient is guaranteed by co-reference with the pronominal enclitic =roʔ. Moreover, the core-argument status of primary and secondary object is supported by the fact that both can be realized as the topic of OT constructions. On the other hand, the prepositional recipient construction is a syntactically transitive construction that takes a theme as primary object with a recipient being in the oblique relation.

Taken together, the function of a ditransitive alternation lies in the manipulation of the topicality of a recipient/source. A recipient/source is foregrounded in the double-object construction but backgrounded in the prepositional recipient construction.

9.2.2.2 The benefactive alternation

The ditransitive alternation is similar to, but functionally different from, the benefactive alternation, in which benefactive serial verb constructions are opposed with the benefactive construction in terms of the topicality of a beneficiary (see also Sections 8.3.6, 9.1.8, and 12.1.2). On the one hand, Lamaholot introduces a beneficiary into a clause by serializing the verb of giving (either *neĩ* or *sorō* 'give'). See benefactive serial verb constructions with an intransitive verb in (57) and with a transitive verb in (58).

(60) **Benefactive serial verb construction (58) + =roʔ:**

go hope =roʔ neĩ Ika.
 1SG buy =3SG give Ika
 A V P Adjunct/Beneficiary
 ‘I bought it for Ika.’ (P = theme)

(61) **Benefactive construction (59) + =roʔ:**

go hope =roʔ gula.
 1SG buy =3SG candy
 A V P Adjunct/Theme
 ‘I bought him/her candies.’ (P = Beneficiary)

These two facts show that in the benefactive construction a participant bearing a beneficiary role is in the primary object relation, while in benefactive serial verb constructions it is only an adjunct.

Unlike the theme participant of the double object construction, that of the benefactive construction should be analyzed as oblique rather than secondary object. The oblique status of the theme in (59) is again confirmed by means of the OT construction. Consider (62).

(62) **OT construction + Benefactive construction (59):**

- a. *Ika, go hope gula.* [Topic = PO = Beneficiary]
 Ika 1SG buy candy
 ‘I bought Ika a candy.’
- b. **gula, go hope Ika.* *[Topic = OBL = Theme]
 candy 1SG buy Ika

The contrast in (62) demonstrates that when the benefactive construction in (59) is combined with an OT construction, the beneficiary can be in the sentence-initial topic position, but not the theme. Paul Kroeger (p.c.) suggested that the ungrammaticality of (62) might be due to the indefinite interpretation of the topic *gula* ‘candy’. But the theme of BUY-verbs cannot be raised to the topic position, even if it is forced by a demonstrative to have a definite reference. See (63).

(63) **OT construction + Benefactive construction:**

**gula te?ē, go hope Ika.* *[Topic = OBL = Theme]
 candy DEM.DIS.NMZ 1SG buy Ika
 Intended for ‘This candy, I bought Ika.’

In summary, in the benefactive construction, the theme is an adjunct and in the oblique relation. It also means it cannot be involved in the topic-related morphosyntactic phenomena discussed in Section 9.3.

9.2.2.3 Conclusion

To conclude, the ditransitive and the benefactive alternations look superficially similar but work in a different way (Dryer 1986; cf. Goldberg 2002) and can be understood only by positing the grammatical relations PO, SO and OBL. The primary object in Lamaholot can be defined by its position in a clause or by its possibility of being replaced by the enclitic pronoun =*ro?*. It is also involved in the ditransitive and the benefactive alternations. In these two alternations, the division between PO/SO and OBL is highlighted. The former can be in the sentence-initial topic position in OT constructions, but the latter cannot.

9.2.3 Summary

In this section I have discussed the semantico-syntactic grammatical relations in Lamaholot, and argued that subject, primary object, and secondary object relations can be distinguished in terms of the morphosyntactic phenomena summarized in (28), (29), and (30).

9.3 Subject and topic

In the current typologies of western Austronesian languages, languages of eastern Indonesia are believed to be in contrast with those of the Philippines and western Indonesia with regard to the nature of voice systems (Arka and Ross 2002; Himmelmann 2002, 2005a, b).

On the one hand, voice systems in languages of the Philippines and western Indonesia can be characterized by two major features. The first feature is the existence of multiple voice constructions: there are more than one morphologically distinguished voice alternations. Another equally important feature lies in the symmetrical feature of voice systems. Voice alternations are marked by the morphology of equal complexity, making it difficult to determine if one voice construction is basic, or unmarked, vis-à-vis another. For example, consider Balinese examples in (64).

(64) Balinese (Wechsler and Arka 1998:388)

a. **Agentive Voice**

<i>Tiang</i>	<i>numbas</i>	<i>bawi-ne</i>	<i>punika.</i> (high register)
I	AV-buy	pig-DEF	that
'I bought the pig.'			

b. **Objective Voice**

<i>Bawi-ne</i>	<i>punika</i>	<i>tumbas</i>	<i>tiang.</i> (high register)
pig-DEF	that	OV.buy	I
'I bought the pig.'			

As in (64), Balinese has a two-way voice contrast between agentive and objective voice. The verb appears in its nasal form *numbas* in example (a) of (64), but in oral form *tumbas* in (b) of (64). (In Balinese, it is generally the N/Ø morphological opposition, where the PF form has a zero morphological realization, while the AF counterpart has a nasal prefix.) Another characteristic is that an agent occurs in the clause-initial preverbal position in the former but a patient in that position in the latter. This voice alternation is considered as morphologically symmetrical in that different voice forms are marked by different forms of a verb and appear in different word orders. See Arka (2003a, b).

Standard Indonesian displays a more elaborated three-way system as in (65): active, inverse, and passive. Again, we can see that there are multiple voice constructions in this language and that each voice form is marked in one way or another.

(65) Standard Indonesian (Donohue 2008:1475)

a. **Active:**

Dia me-[n]onton gadis cantik itu.

3SG ACT-watch girl beautiful that

‘He watched that beautiful girl.’

b. **Inverse:**

Gadis cantik itu di-tonton-nya.

girl beautiful that NON.ACT-watch-3SG.GEN

‘He watched that beautiful girl.’

c. **Passive:**

Gadis cantik itu di-tonton (oleh dia).

girl beautiful that NON-ACT-watch by 3SG

‘That beautiful girl was watched (by him).’

A four-way voice contrast is found in Tagalog as in (66), where different voice constructions with different pivots are distinguished by different verbal morphology.

(66) Tagalog (Nagaya 2009e:160)

a. **Actor Focus (Antipassive)**

K < um > ain = *ako* *nang* = *mansanas*.
eat<AF> = 1SG.NOM GEN= apple

‘I ate an apple/apples.’

b. **Patient Focus (Active):**

K < in > ain-∅ = *ko* *ang* = *mansanas*.
eat<RL>-PF = 1SG.GEN NOM= apple

‘I ate the apple.’

c. **Locative Focus (Locative applicative):**

K < in > ain-an = *ko* *ang* = *pinggan* *ni* = *John Rey*.
eat<RL>-LF = 1SG.GEN NOM= plate P.GEN=J.R.

‘I ate off of John Rey’s plate.’

d. **Circumstantial Focus (Benefactive applicative):**

I-k < in > ain = *ko* *si* = *Fiona*.
CF-eat<RL> = 1SG.GEN P.NOM= Fiona

‘I ate for Fiona (because she could not eat for some reason).’

In a nutshell, languages of the Philippines and western Indonesia are believed to show two characteristics: (i) multiple voice constructions and (ii) symmetricity of voice alternations. In contrast, in existing typologies of voice systems in western Austronesian, languages of eastern Indonesia, specifically, languages of Flores, Timor, and Papua are said to be “either do not show any grammaticized voice alternations at all or the voice alternations are clearly asymmetrical” (Himmelmann 2005a:114). In other words, languages of eastern Indonesia are believed to not display the two features mentioned above.

(57) **Benefactive serial verb construction + intransitive verb:**

go soka sorō Ika.
 1SG dance give Ika
 S V Adjunct/Beneficiary
 'I dance for Ika.'

(58) **Benefactive serial verb construction + transitive verb:**

go hope gula neĩ Ika.
 1SG buy candy give Ika
 A V P Adjunct/Beneficiary
 'I bought candies for Ika.' (P = theme)

On the other hand, a relatively large number of transitive verbs of transaction and creation (BUY-verbs, COOK-verbs, etc; see 8.3.6) can promote a beneficiary participant of high topicality into the primary object position. Thus, the conceptual content in (58) can also be expressed as in benefactive construction (59).

(59) **Benefactive construction:**

go hope Ika gula.
 1SG buy Ika candy
 A V P Adjunct/Theme
 'I bought Ika candies.' (P = Beneficiary)

There are two important differences in structural coding between benefactive verb serialization (58) and benefactive construction (59). First, what occupies the primary object position is a theme in (58) but a beneficiary in (59). Second, what the enclitic pronoun =roʔ can refer to is a theme in (58) but a beneficiary in (59). Compare (60) and (61).

It is in this context that the contrast between Subject-Topic and Object-Topic constructions becomes important. As mentioned in Section 9.1, Lamaholot has two competing transitive constructions, the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions. The Subject-Topic construction is a transitive clause with AVP word order, a subject argument being in the sentence-initial topic position. In the Object-Topic construction, in contrast, a non-subject core argument (either PO or SO) occupies the topic position, yielding PAV word order.

To illustrate, compare examples in (67) and (68). Note that arguments bearing the non-topic relation is not so indicated in the rest of this section.

(67) **ST construction:**

Tanti bəŋo Ika. A(=TOP)-V-P

Tanti hit Ika

‘Tanti hit Ika.’

(68) **OT construction:**

Ika Tanti bəŋo. P(=TOP)-A-V

Ika Tanti hit

‘Ika, Tanti hit (her).’

In this section, we examine the nature of the ST-OT contrast in detail and make the following arguments. First, the OT constructions are pragmatically marked constructions (Section 9.3.1). Second, the topic relation needs to be posited for a better understanding of the contrast between the ST and the OT constructions (Section 9.3.2). Third and more crucially, this alternation does not change the semantico-syntactic grammatical relations posited in Section 9.2 (Section 9.3.3).

Our analysis of the two constructions is presented in advance in (69).

(69) **Subject-Topic and Object-Topic constructions****(← Topicality of an Object)****a. Subject-Topic construction:**

Argument structure:	Agent	Verb	Patient
Semantico-syntactic GRs:	SUBJ	PRED	OBJ
Pragmatico-syntactic GR:	TOP		

b. Object-Topic construction:

Argument structure:	Patient	Agent	Verb
Semantico-syntactic GRs:	OBJ	SUBJ	PRED
Pragmatico-syntactic GR:	TOP		

9.3.1 Pragmatics of the ST and the OT constructions

According to Lamaholot speakers' intuition, there is no doubt that ST constructions is more basic than OT constructions. When they were asked, my consultants clearly stated that an ST construction is more *biasa* 'usual' than its OT counterpart. In elicitation sessions, they usually used an ST construction to answer the present author's questions. This observation is also borne out by text frequency. OT constructions occur less frequently than ST ones in the text data available at this point.

If ST constructions are basic and unmarked, then what is the best analysis of OT constructions? Analyzing the same constructional contrast in another Flores language, Palu'e, Donohue (2005) concludes that the OT construction in Palu'e is passive, via which an Object is promoted into the clause initial subject position (see also Arka and Kosmas 2005 for Manggarai passive). Is this analysis also applicable to Lamaholot? Or cannot it be applied to the Lamaholot voice system, as argued by Shibatani (2009a) for Sikka, another Flores language? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to examine OT constructions in more detail first.

The most prominent characteristic of Lamaholot OT constructions is that they show certain properties often associated with topicalization or marked topic constructions in other languages in the broadest sense of the word (see “Y-movement” and “L-dislocation” in Givón 2001: Chapters 15 and 16). First, intonationally distinct contour is usually found on the Object of OT constructions. It is pronounced with emphasis. Second, intonational break (i.e., pause) is optionally placed after the object of OT constructions. These characteristics are also found in topicalization of obliques as in (70), as well as the regular OT constructions.

- (70) *go pana k-ã?ã Hugo.*
 1SG walk 1SG-do Hugo
 ‘I walked with Hugo.’
 → *kã?ã Hugo, go pana.*

Third, OT constructions can be used only in main clauses. This is reminiscent of topicalization in topic-prominent languages such as Chinese and Japanese (Li and Thompson 1981 and Kuno 1973).

These formal characteristics suggest that OT constructions share some features with topicalization. Needless to say, this fact raises a question about the pragmatic status of the object argument of OT constructions. Interestingly, there exist pragmatic constraints on it. First, the object argument of OT constructions cannot be the focus of answer in question-and-answer pairs. The portion of a sentence that corresponds to the answer of question is considered as focus (Halliday 1967). A object argument can be the focus in an ST construction, but cannot in an OT construction, although a subject argument can be so in either construction. Compare (71) and (72).

(71) **Agent is the focus of answer:**

Q: *hege gã ikã peʔẽ?*
 who eat.3SG fish DEM.DIS.NMZ

‘Who ate that fish?’

A1: **ST construction:**

Hugo gã ikã peʔẽ.
 Hugo eat.3SG fish DEM.DIS.NMZ

‘Hugo ate that fish.’

A2: **OT construction:**

ikã peʔẽ, Hugo gã.

‘That fish, Hugo ate.’

(72) **Patient is the focus of answer:**

Q: *Hugo gã a?*
 Hugo eat.3SG what

‘What did Hugo eat?’

A1: **ST construction:**

Hugo gã ikã.
 Hugo eat.3SG fish

‘Hugo ate fish.’

A2: **OT construction:**

?? ikã, Hugo gã.

fish Hugo eat.3SG

Intended for ‘Fish, Hugo ate.’

Second, the object argument of OT constructions cannot be the focus of negation. In (73), the fish *hua* is the focus of negation, being contrasted with the fish *kowi*. It cannot be in the sentence-initial topic position.

(73) a. **ST construction:**

go kã ikã hua hãlaʔ, kũ ikã kowiʔ.

1SG eat.1SG fish tuna NEG but fish kowi

‘I don’t eat hua, but kowi.’

b. **OT construction:**

**ikã hua, go kã hãlaʔ, kũ ikã kowiʔ.*

fish tuna 1SG eat.1SG NEG but fish kowi

Intended for ‘I don’t eat hua, but kowi.’

The data above show that the object argument of OT constructions cannot be narrowly focused. In other words, it conveys topical/presupposed information rather than focal information.

In contrast, there is some evidence that the object argument of OT constructions can be on focus. On the one hand, an interrogative word in content interrogative questions can occur in the topic position of OT constructions. See (74). Unlike “topic” in Philippine-type languages (Schachter 1976, 1977), the object argument does not have to be definite in OT constructions.

(74) **Content interrogative questions:**

a mo gõʔ

what 2SG eat

‘What did you eat?’

On the other hand, the additive particle *di* ‘also’ ‘too’ is often used in combination with OT constructions as in (75), where the noun phrases focused with this article appear in the topic position of OT constructions.

(75) *di-focus constructions:*

go k-enū a saja.
 1SG 1SG-drink what only

tuho = di go k-enū, tua = di go k-enū.
 milk also 1SG 1SG-drink tuak also 1SG 1SG-drink

‘I drink anything. I drink milk, too; I drink tuak too.’

Therefore, it seems difficult to characterize the object argument of the OT construction in terms of its pragmatic status. We can only safely say that it is a pragmatically marked position for either topic or focus.

9.3.2 Establishing the topic relation

The discussions in Section 9.3.2 might give the impression that the topic relation in Lamaholot is only defined in terms of left-dislocation and special pragmatic status and that it does not have a syntactic function of changing any kind of grammatical relations, like the English topicalization. However, that is not the case. In this section, it is claimed that the topic relation in Lamaholot does display several behavioral properties that cannot be reduced to any simple semantic role or information structure and must be treated as another type of grammatical relation.

As has been revealed through the examination of the ditransitive and the benefactive alternations, only arguments can bear the topic relation (Section 9.3.1). In other words, only subject arguments {S, A} and object arguments {P, L, T} can bear the topic relation.

In terms of structural coding, the topic relation appears in the sentence-initial position. As for behavioral potential, only topics can control a gap in the second clause in

the *kia gə* coordination (Section 11.2.3). The ST-OT contrast results in different interpretations. See (76) and (77).

(76) **TOP** → **S**

a. **ST construction:**

Besa n-oi Hugo kia gə _ pla?e.

Besa 3SG-see Hugo PROS CONJ run

‘Besa saw Hugo and then (Besa) ran away.’

b. **OT construction:**

Hugo, Besa n-oi kia gə _ pla?e.

Hugo Besa 3SG-see PROS CONJ run

‘Hugo, Besa saw (him) and then (Hugo) ran away.’

(77) **TOP** → **S**

a. **ST construction:**

Ika bəŋo Nia kia gə _ pla?e.

Ika hit Nia PROS CONJ run

‘Ika hit Nia and then (Ika) ran away.’

b. **OT construction:**

Nia, Ika bəŋo kia gə _ pla?e.

Nia Ika hit PROS CONJ run

‘Nia, Ika hit (her) and then (Nia) ran away.’

Another topic-related construction is “relativization”. Only nominals bearing the topic relation (and a possessor of such nominals) can be relativized, regardless of their semantico-syntactic grammatical relation (cf. Kuno 1973 ; Schachter 1973, 1976). Note that relativization is reduced to one of the uses of verb-based nominalizations in this

study (Section 4.8). But for the sake of argument, we continue to use the traditional treatment of relativization.

See examples in (78) through (87).

(78) **SUBJ (S)**

ana? yang = [_ n-a?i = a? Larantuka n-ai] səna.
 person NMZ= 3SG-go=3SG Larantuka 3SG-go cool
 ‘The person who went to Larantuka is cool.’

(79) **SUBJ (A)**

ana? yang = [_ kriã laŋo? te?ẽ] səna.
 person NMZ= work house DEM.PROX.NMZ cool
 ‘The person who built this house is cool.’

(80) **PO (P)**

ana? yang = [_ go bəŋo] səna.
 person NMZ= 1SG hit cool
 ‘The person who I hit is cool.’

(81) **Recipient:**

a. **PO (L = Recipient) in the double-object construction:**

Ika ana? yang = [_ go neĩ gula].
 Ika person NMZ= 1SG give candy
 ‘Ika is the one whom I gave a candy.’

b. **OBL (Recipient) in the prepositional recipient construction:**

**Ika ana? yang [go neĩ gula ia _].*
 Ika person NMZ 1SG give Ika LOC
 Intended for ‘Ika is the one who I gave a candy to.’

(82) **Theme:**a. **SO (T = Theme) in the double-object construction:**

te?ẽ gula yang = [_ go neĩ Ika].
 DEM.PROX.NMZ candy NMZ= 1SG give Ika

‘This is the candy I gave Ika.’

b. **PO (P = Theme) in the prepositional recipient construction:**

te?ẽ gula yang = [_ go neĩ ia Ika].
 DEM.PROX.NMZ candy NMZ= 1SG give LOC Ika

‘This is the candy I gave to Ika.’

(83) **Theme:**a. **PO (P = Theme) in the benefactive SVC:**

te?ẽ gula yang = [_ go hope neĩ Ika].
 DEM.PROX.NMZ candy NMZ= 1SG buy give Ika

‘This is the candy I bought for Ika.’

b. **OBL (Theme) in the benefactive construction:**

**te?ẽ gula yang = [go hope Ika _].*
 DEM.PROX.NMZ candy NMZ= 1SG buy Ika

Intended for ‘This is the candy I bought Ika.’

(84) **Beneficiary:**a. **OBL (Beneficiary) in the benefactive SVC:**

**Ika ana? yang = [go hope gula neĩ _]*
 Ika person NMZ= 1SG buy candy give

Intended for ‘Ika is the person who I bought a candy for.’

b. **PO (Beneficiary) in the benefactive construction:**

Ika ana? yang = [_ go hope gula]
 Ika person NMZ= 1SG buy candy

‘Ika is the person who I bought a candy.’

(85) **OBL (Companion):**

*Ika ana? yang = [go pana k-ā?ā _].

Ika person NMZ= 1SG walk 1SG-do

Intended for 'Ika is the person with whom I walked.'

(86) **OBL (Instrument):**

*te?ē hepe yang = [go poro? ikā pake _].

DEM.PROX.NMZ knife NMZ= 1SG cut fish use

Intended for 'This is the knife with which I cut the fish.'

(87) **POSS of TOP:**

ra māla ata dikā oto = kā.

3PL steal person car =NMZ

'They stole the person's car.'

→ **OT construction:**

ata dikā oto = kā, ra māla.

'The person's car, they stole.'

→ **Relativization:**

ata dikā yang = [_ oto = kā ra māla] sēna.

'The person whose car they stole is cool.'

As Kunio Nishiyama (p.c.) points out, the constraint that only topics can be relativized on may be explained in terms of a syntactic constraint on A-bar movement. In Lamaholot *wh*-questions, however, *wh*-words occur *in situ*, not triggering *wh*-movement. Moreover, a *wh*-word can appear in a position that is not relativizable. See (88), for instance.

- (88) *mo hope gula neĩ hege?*
 2SG buy candy give who
 ‘Who did you buy a candy for?’

In (88), the *wh*-word *hege* ‘who’ follows the serialized verb *neĩ* ‘give’ but the sentence is grammatical. Remember that the object of a serialized verb cannot be topicalized and thus is not relativizable as in (84)a (also see Section 12.4). Therefore, it is difficult to postulate a single A-bar constraint on both relativization and *wh*-question formation in this language.

To summarize, the Object-Topic construction is not a mere pragmatically-marked construction but involves inter-clausal reference-tracking phenomena. In order to make a full description of the phenomena, it is necessary to posit the topic relation independently of the semantico-syntactic grammatical relations. The difference between topic and subject/object is that the former is a grammaticalized pragmatic function, while the latter is a grammaticalized semantic function.

9.3.3 *Subject and topic*

At the beginning of this section, it was mentioned that transitive clauses with an PAV word order in other Indonesian languages have been analyzed differently by different researchers. To name a few, the Palu’e PAV construction is analyzed as passive [P = SUBJ, A = OBL] (Donohue 2005), while the Standard Indonesian PAV construction is considered inverse [P = SUBJ, A = OBJ] (Donohue 2007b, 2008).

The Lamaholot OT or PAV construction, however, rejects these analyses, because S and A arguments work as subject relative to the subject-related phenomena examined in Section 9.2.1, in either the ST or OT construction (see also Shibatani 2009a, where he made similar arguments based on Sikka). First, the ST-OT contrast does not change

agreement patterns. As in (89), A arguments agree with the verb in both the ST and the OT constructions.

(89) **Agreement:**

a. **ST; A agreement:**

go k-enu tua teʔẽ k-warɔ.
 1SG 1SG-drink tuak DEM.PROX.NMZ 1SG-can
 ‘I can drink this tuak.’

b. **OT; A agreement:**

tua teʔẽ, go k-enu k-warɔ.
 tuak DEM.PROX.NMZ 1SG 1SG-drink 1SG-can

Even in the reflexivization of the OT construction, A arguments still control a reflexive expression. See (90).

(90) **Reflexivization + OT construction:**

a. **SUB = antecedent, OBJ = reflexive:**

wəki nəʔẽ, Hugo plewã.
 self 3SG.NMZ Hugo praise
 ‘Himself, Hugo praised.’

b. ***SUB = reflexive, OBJ = antecedent:**

**Hugo, wəki nəʔẽ plewã.*
 Hugo self 3SG.NMZ praise

In the *kədiʔ* coordination, again, the ST-OT contrast does not change the interpretation of the sentences. Only A arguments can control a gap in the second clause. See (91).

(91) *Kadi?* coordination:

a. ST; A → S:

na bəŋo go, kadi? _ gwali.

3SG hit 1SG then return

‘S/he hit me, and (s/he) returned.’

b. OT; A → S:

go, na bəŋo, kadi? _ gwali.

1SG 3SG hit then return

‘Me, s/he hit, and (s/he) returned.’

Lastly, the addressee of an imperative must be an A argument even in OT constructions as in (92).

(92) Imperative constructions + OT construction:

a. A addressee:

ikã, mo gō kia ka!

fish 2SG eat.2SG PROS EMP

‘You eat (the) fish!’

b. P addressee:

**mo, ra bəŋo kia ka!*

2SG 3PL hit PROS EMP

Intended for ‘Be hit by them!’

Turning to the primary object relation, the ST and OT constructions do not change the interpretation of *=ro?*. Compare (93) and (94).

(93) **ST construction + =roʔ:**

go neĩ =roʔ na gula.
 1SG give =3SG 3SG candy
 ‘I gave him/her candies.’

(94) **OT construction + =roʔ:**

na go neĩ =roʔ gula.
 3SG 1SG give =3SG candy
 ‘As for him/her, I gave him/her candies.’

The pronominal enclitic =roʔ refers to the recipient argument of the verb *neĩ* ‘give’ not only when the recipient argument appears post-verbally in ST construction (93) but also when it appears pre-verbally in OT construction (94).

The data examined above clearly show that the alternation between ST and OT does not change semantico-syntactic grammatical relations like subject and object. Whether in the ST or the OT constructions, a grouping of S and A arguments consistently appears directly to the left of the main predicate, is involved in agreement phenomena, controls reflexivization and *kədiʔ*-coordination, and can be the addressee of an imperative construction. In contrast, whether it bears the subject relation or not, the topic always occurs in the sentence-initial position, has some pragmatic particularity, and controls relativization and *kia gə*-coordination.

Therefore, it is not appropriate to analyze the alternation between ST and OT as passive, which necessarily changes such grammatical relations. Instead, it is necessary to postulate the topic relation independently of subject and object. In other words, the function of this alternation lies in aligning one argument or another with the topic for pragmatic purposes.

9.4 Lamaholot as a ‘symmetrical voice language’?

This chapter demonstrated that Lamaholot displays voice phenomena with periphrastic strategies. It was also shown how these voice phenomena change and interact with grammatical relations. The conclusion was that two different sets of grammatical relations are required for a better understanding of these voice phenomena.

By way of conclusion, let us consider the question posed at the beginning of Section 9.3, namely, the symmetry of Lamaholot voice systems. On the one hand, voice contrasts made by the transitivity verb alternation, agreement markers, verb serialization, and the locative *ia* are asymmetrical voice alternations in that one construction is syntactically more complex than another.

On the other hand, the alternation between ST and OT is a symmetrical one; there is no surface difference between the two constructions, either on the verb or on the nominals, except in word order. Importantly, this alternation does not affect the alignment of the semantico-syntactic grammatical relations. Therefore, this eastern Indonesian language displays a symmetrical non-demotional/non-promotional voice alternation, which is characteristic of symmetrical voice languages in the Philippines and western Indonesia (Donohue 2007a).

As pointed out by Matt Shibatani (pers. comm.), this second conclusion in turn casts doubt on the traditional understanding that Austronesian constructional alternations represent voice phenomena similar to familiar voice oppositions like active/passive and active/antipassive. From Shibatani’s (2008a, b, 2009a) perspective, what is known as voice in general, though not always, involve change in semantico-syntactic grammatical relations, whereas Philippine-type focus systems and Lamaholot-type ST-OT constructional alternations are fundamentally different from this kind of relation-changing phenomenon and is much similar to the topic/non-topic opposition in Japanese and Korean, which nobody characterizes as a voice opposition. In this section, we at least

showed that the ST-OT alternation and the other constructional alternations in Lamaholot should not be both analyzed as the same kind of “voice” phenomena.

10 Modifications of clauses

10.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we provide a description and analysis of expressions for tense, aspect and mood. Since it is almost an isolating language, Lamaholot does not have verbal morphology for these functional domains and needs to appeal to periphrastic ways of marking these kinds of information. In this chapter, we introduce linguistic elements and constructions for each semantic domain and make an analysis of them.

It is not accidental, but necessary, that expressions for tense, aspect, and mood are treated in this single chapter: these TAM elements form a single group, both semantically and syntactically. Semantically speaking, tense, aspect and mood markers are employed to elaborate non-lexical aspects of a proposition by grounding the sentence to the context of utterance. Tense is all about anchoring an event to a particular point of time (past, present, and future), while aspect pertains to the way to look at an event either as a complete or incomplete one (perfective or imperfective). Mood concerns speaker's attitude toward a proposition. From a syntactic perspective, all native TAM markers in Lamaholot appear in peripheries of a clause, namely in either the beginning or the end of a clause.

Based on the discussion of tense, aspect, and mood, this chapter also examines types of illocutionary force that are available in Lamaholot and sentence-final particles that are used for clearly specifying a type of illocutionary force of a sentence. These elements play an important role in manipulating interpersonal aspects of the sentence grounding it to the actual speech situations.

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section 10.1, we discuss various means for expressing tense information. There are two major ways to introduce tense information in Lamaholot: relative and absolute. Section 10.2 investigates viewpoint aspectual markers that are employed for spelling out the aspectual information of an event. In Section 10.3, mood markers are the subjects of discussion with special reference to negators. In Section 10.4 we discuss different kinds of illocutionary force and in Section 10.5 it is demonstrated how different types of illocutionary force are interacted with sentence-final particles.

10.1 Tense

Tense has to do with the temporal location of a linguistically expressed event with respect to the speech event. Well-attested categories of tense include present, future, and past. In Lamaholot, there is no verbal or other morphology that can be used exclusively for expressing this type of semantic concept. Instead, tense and tense-related meanings are encoded periphrastically in this language.

In this section, we introduce two kinds of temporal reference systems in Lamaholot: (i) absolute temporal reference (Section 10.1.1) and (ii) relative (deictic) temporal reference (Section 10.1.2).

10.1.1 *Absolute temporal reference*

In **absolute temporal reference**, the exact date, month or year of an event described by the main predicate is expressed in a temporal phrase. The particular time in the past or future is expressed by means of numerals (Section 4.4) and temporal nouns (Section 4.2.3). It is called *absolute* because this type of temporal reference can be interpreted without making any reference to the time of utterance and is not affected when the utterance is made, either. Look at (1) and (2), for example.

- (1) *Hugo jadi larō rua wulā juli.*
 Hugo born day two month July
 ‘Hugo was born on July 2.’
- (2) *Hugo jadi Kepala Desa sū ribu rua n-ā?ā pito.*
 Hugo become village.chief year thousand two and seven
 ‘Hugo became the village chief in the year 2007.’

In (1) and (2), the birthday and the specific year are indicated by means of a combination of temporal nouns and numerals. Unlike relative temporal reference (Section 10.1.2), it is possible to correctly interpret the underlined temporal phrases in (1) and (2) without knowing when the utterance is made.

10.1.2 Relative (deictic) temporal reference

Another and more important way of expressing tense-related meanings in Lamaholot is what is called **relative (deictic) temporal reference**. In this type of temporal reference, the time of an event is specified relative to the time of utterance, specifically, *now* and *today*. It is also called *deictic* because the time of utterance works as the deictic center, against which temporal terms are used.

There are several linguistic expressions for relative temporal reference. First, deictic temporal expressions with demonstratives can be used to point to a particular time or duration of time (Section 6.1.3). See examples in (3), (4), and (5).

- (3) *Tanti māṅā n-ā?ā Lia nokō? pe?ě.*
 Tanti play 3SG-dḡ Lia night DEM.DIS.NMZ
 ‘Tanti was playing with Lia that night.’

- (4) *kame ai wulū bisa hāla? wulā teʔē.*
 1PL.EXC get vegetable can NEG month DEM.PROX.NMZ
 ‘We won’t be able to get vegetables this month.’
- (5) *go sū pulu talo sū teʔē.*
 1SG year ten three year DEM.PROX.NMZ
 ‘I am 30 years old this year.’

In (3), a combination of the temporal noun *nokōʔ* ‘night’ and the nominalized demonstrative *peʔē* ‘that’ indicates that the event of Tanti’s playing with Lia happened in the specific month pointed to by the demonstrative in the past. In (4) and (5), *teʔē* ‘this’ rather than *peʔē* ‘that’ appears to mean the present month and year, respectively.

The temporal modifier *neku* ‘last’ can be used with temporal nouns for parts of the day (Section 4.2.3) to derive a temporal expression referring to duration of time within the past 24 hours. See a list of such temporal expressions in (6).

(6) **Temporal expressions with *neku* ‘last’:**

<i>neku hālā-wāti</i>	‘last morning’	<i>neku lārō</i>	‘last noon’
<i>neku lāra-lere</i>	‘last afternoon’	<i>neku nokōʔ</i>	‘last night’
<i>neku pe:</i>	‘a while ago’		

An example with *neku nokōʔ* ‘last night’ is given in (7), where this temporal expression is used to specify the time of event relative to the time of utterance.

- (7) *go k-enū tua aja? = a? neku nokōʔ.*
 1SG 1SG-drink tuak much =most last night
 ‘I drunk tauk too much last night.’

The opposite of *neku* ‘last’ is *bau* ‘tomorrow’ or ‘next’. The temporal modifier *bau* ‘next’ is used with temporal nouns for parts of the day (Section 4.2.3) to form a temporal expression referring to duration of time within the future 24 hours.

(8) **Temporal expressions with *bau* ‘tomorrow, next’:**

<i>bau həlã-wəti</i>	‘tomorrow morning’	<i>bau lərõ</i>	‘tomorrow noon’
<i>bau ləra-lerε</i>	‘tomorrow afternoon’	<i>bau nokõ?</i>	‘tomorrow night’

An example with a temporal expression with *bau* ‘tomorrow’ is given in (9).

- (9) *bau* _____ *nokõ?* *tite* *soka ktəgə rae pesta*.
 tomorrow night 1PL.INC dance strong DIR.MT festival
 ‘Tomorrow night, let’s dance a lot in the direction of the mountain (in) the party.’

Relative temporal expressions for a particular time and duration of time beyond 24 hours can be formed as in (11) through (17).

(10) **Days in the future: *arã* ‘day in the future’:**

<i>bau</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>arã rua</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
<i>arã talo</i>	‘three days from today’
<i>arã pa</i>	‘four days from today’
<i>arã Num</i>	‘NUM days from today’

(11) **Days in the past: *iā* ‘past’:**

<i>wia</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>rua iā?</i>	‘day before yesterday’
<i>talo iā?</i>	‘three days ago’
<i>pa iā?</i>	‘four days ago’
NUM <i>iā?</i>	‘NUM days ago’

(12) **Weeks in the future: *muri* ‘again’ and *waʔi* ‘next’:**

<i>migu waʔi = kā</i>	‘next week’
<i>migu rua muri</i>	‘two weeks from today’
<i>migu talo muri</i>	‘three weeks from today’
<i>migu NUM muri</i>	‘NUM weeks from today’

(13) **Weeks in the past:**

<i>wia migu waʔi = kā</i>	‘last week’
<i>migu rua iā?</i>	‘two weeks ago’
<i>migu talo iā?</i>	‘three weeks ago’
<i>migu NUM iā?</i>	‘NUM weeks ago’

(14) **Months in the future:**

<i>wulā waʔi = kā</i>	‘next month’
<i>wulā rua muri</i>	‘two months from today’
<i>wulā talo muri</i>	‘three months from today’
<i>wulā NUM muri</i>	‘NUM months from today’

(15) **Months in the past:**

<i>wia wulā waʔi = kā</i>	‘last month’
<i>wulā rua iā?</i>	‘two months ago’
<i>wulā talo iā?</i>	‘three months ago’
<i>wulā NUM iā?</i>	‘NUM months ago’

(16) **Years in the future:**

<i>sū waʔi = kã</i>	‘next year’
<i>sū rua muri</i>	‘two years from today’
<i>sū t̄alo muri</i>	‘three years from today’
<i>sū NUM muri</i>	‘NUM years from today’

(17) **Years in the past:**

<i>wia sū</i>	‘last year’
<i>wia sū waʔi = kã</i>	‘last year’
<i>sū rua iã?</i>	‘two years ago’
<i>sū t̄alo iã?</i>	‘three years ago’
<i>sū NUM iã?</i>	‘NUM years ago’

These temporal expressions can be used, for example, as in (18).

(18)	<i>sū</i>	<i>waʔi</i>	<i>= kã</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>dai</i>	<i>muri.</i>
	year	next	=NMZ	1SG	come	again

‘Next year I will come here again (from the direction of the sea).’

In (18), the temporal phrase *sū waʔi kã* ‘next year (from today)’ appears at the beginning of a clause to indicate that the designated event is going to happen next year from the time of utterance. As mentioned in Section 8.3.3, temporal phrases can appear at either the beginning or the end of a clause.

10.2 Aspect

Aspect is concerned with the internal temporal constituency of an event, the two major categories of which are **perfective** and **imperfective** (Smith 1997). In Lamaholot, aspectual concepts are expressed by the aspect markers in (19).

(19) **Viewpoint aspect markers:**

<i>kae?</i>	Perfective	'already'	(past)
<i>morã</i>	Imperfective	'still', 'not yet'	(present)
<i>kia</i>	Prospective	'now'	(future)
<i>te?</i>	Incipient	'is about to'	(immediate future)

These markers are for **viewpoint aspects** rather than **situation aspects** (Smith 1997:61). The former concerns presenting situations with a particular perspective or focus: **perfective** viewpoints “focus a situation in its entirety, including both initial and final endpoints”, while **imperfective** viewpoints “focus part of a situation, including neither initial nor final endpoints” (Smith 1997:2ff). In contrast, situation aspects pertain to the classification of the event or state in question according to its temporal properties. Representative situation types include: states, activity, accomplishment, semelfactives, and achievement (Smith 1997:3). Here, we are concerned only with viewpoint aspects.

The perfective marker *kae?* marks an event expressed by the main verb as being viewed as a complete event, while the imperfective marker *morã* frames such an event as an on-going or incomplete event. The prospective marker *kia* is for those events that are viewed as going to happen in the near future, and the incipient marker *te?* is employed for an event that is about to take place.

In the rest of this chapter, we look into the aspectual markers in (19) one by one: perfective *kae?* (Section 10.2.1), imperfective *morã* (Section 10.2.2), prospective *kia* (Section 10.2.3), and incipient *te?* (Section 10.2.4).

10.2.1 Perfective *kae?*

The perfective aspect marker *kae?* is used to mark a designated event as a complete and whole one. An event whose aspectual property is elaborated by this marker can be

either verbal or non-verbal. First consider examples of verbal clauses with *kaeʔ* in (20) and (21).

(20) **Verb + *kaeʔ*:**

<i>ba</i>	<i>goʔē</i>	<i>knurū</i>	<i>kaeʔ.</i>
father	1SG.NMZ	go.to.bed	PFV

‘My father already went to bed.’

(21) **Verb + *kaeʔ*:**

<i>tite</i>	<i>pro</i>	<i>kaeʔ,</i>
1PL.INC	get.permission	PFV

<i>kədiʔ</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>soga</i>	<i>moʔē</i>	<i>kia.</i>
so	2SG	lift	2SG.NMZ	PROS

‘We have already gotten a permission to drink (tuak). So you can lift and drink your (glass of tuak) now.’

In (20), *kaeʔ* indicates the speaker’s father’s action of going to bed as a completed event. Likewise, in (21), it marks the action of getting permission before drinking as a finished event.

When non-verbal clauses are followed by the viewpoint aspect marker *kaeʔ*, it means that a designated state of affairs has been realized already at the time of utterance. To illustrate, consider adjectival predicate clauses in (22) and (23), a noun predicate clause in (24), a pronoun predicate clause in (25), and a locative adverbial predicate clause in (26).

(22) **Adjectival verb + *kae?*:**

sū waʔi =kã mo sãga pi, Batos belã? kae?

year next =NMZ 2SG arrive DEM.PROX.AR Batos big.NMZ PFV

‘When you arrive here next year, Batos (the name of a baby) will have become big.’

(23) **Adjectival verb + *kae?*:**

kopi moʔẽ loʔĩ kae?

coffee 2SG.NMZ cold.NMZ PFV

‘Your coffee is already cold.’

(24) **Noun + *kae?*:**

lerõ teʔẽ sambut baru kae?

day DEM.PROX.NMZ First communion PFV

‘It’s already the First Communion today.’

(25) **Pronoun + *kae?*:**

teʔẽ goʔẽ kae?

DEM.PROX.NMZ 1SG.NMZ PFV

‘This is already mine.’

(26) **Demonstrative + *kae?*:**

na te: kae?

3SG DEM.PROX PFV

‘S/he is already here.’

In (22), *kae?* means that the event described by the clause, namely, the event that Batos is big will be achieved by the time the addressee visits the village again. In (23), *kae?* indicates that the event that the coffee is cold has already taken place at the time of utterance. The same account is also true of (24), (25), and (26).

10.2.2 Imperfective *morã*

There are two functions in the imperfective marker *morã*. First, it marks a designated event as being in progress when used with atelic predicates, either verbal or non-verbal. Atelic predicates designate those events that do not have a fixed endpoint of action, although they may have an arbitrary endpoint of action (Smith 1997:19). There is no outcome; they can stop at any time. In this case, *morã* can be translated as ‘still’ or by the progressive in English. See examples in an activity verb (27), an adjectival verb (28), and a noun predicate (29).

(27) **Activity verb + *morã*:**

na hãbo morã.

3SG take.bath IPFV

‘S/he is still taking a bath.’

(28) **Adjectival verb + *morã*:**

wai? platẽ morã.

water hot.NMZ IPFV

‘The water is still hot’

(29) **Noun + *morã*:**

go mahasiswa morã.

1SG student IPFV

‘I am still a student.’

In (27), the activity verb *hãbo* ‘take a bath’ is followed by the imperfective marker *morã*. The sentence means that the S argument is still in the process of taking a bath. In (28), *morã* is attached to the adjectival verb *plate* ‘hot’, indicating that the water is in middle being hot. Lastly, in (29), the same marker is used to indicate that the CS

argument is still a student. In any event, *morã* marks the event expressed by each predicate as an on-going event.

The second function of *morã* is that of marking a designated event as incomplete when it is used with telic events. Telic events “have a change of state which constitutes the outcome, or goal, of the event. When the goal is reached, a change of state occurs and the event is complete” (Smith 1997:19). In this case, *morã* indicates that a designated change of state has not taken place yet and can be translated as ‘not yet’ in English. To illustrate, consider examples in (30), (31), and (32), where telic verb predicates are employed.

(30) *go kriã waha morã.*

1SG work finish IPFV

‘I haven’t finished working yet.’

(31) *go k-oi =ro? morã.*

1SG 1SG-know =3SG IPFV

‘I don’t know it yet.’

(32) *Ale hãkã oto morã.*

Ale stop car IPFV

‘Ale hasn’t stopped the car yet.’

To summarize, *morã* has two functions: it marks an atelic event as progressive and a telic event as incomplete. However, in most other cases, the distinction between telic and atelic events is not clear, and the same sentence can be interpreted in either way, giving rise to ambiguity between the ‘progressive’ and the ‘incomplete’ readings. Consider (33) and (34).

(33) *go kã morã.*

1SG eat.1SGIPFV

Progressive: 'I am still eating.'

Incomplete: 'I haven't eaten yet.'

(34) *go kwukã morã.*

1SG drunk IPFV

Progressive: 'I am still drunk.' (The speaker has a hangover.)

Incomplete: 'I am not drunk yet.' (The speaker wants to drink more.)

In (33), the verb *kã* 'eat' is followed by *morã*. This verb has one atelic and one telic meanings. In an atelic reading, it is an activity verb with only an arbitrary end-point. Accordingly, *morã* is interpreted as marking a progressive aspect: 'I am still eating'. The verb *kã* 'eat' also has a telic meaning 'to have a single meal', in which case *morã* means that the goal of having a single meal is not complete yet. It is the incomplete reading that the speaker has not had a meal yet. Example (34) is also ambiguous between the progressive and the incomplete readings. In the former reading, the adjectival noun *kwukã* is perceived as an atelic state; in the latter, the same verb is interpreted as a change of state, which speaker can achieve by drinking. Therefore, the interpretation of *morã* differs from one context to another.

Our analysis of the imperfective marker *morã* is based on the situational difference between telic and atelic events. But it may be also taken account of by means of another situational difference between punctual and durative ones, as suggested by Matt Shibatani (pers. comm.). With this analysis we can have a more general analysis for *morã*: it schematically means 'not completed'. If the verb is interpreted as durative, it focuses the speaker's attention in the middle of the event, and if punctual at the point prior to the point. The problem we have with this analysis is that in (33) the verb *kã* '(I) eat' has two readings, progressive and incomplete, even though the action of eating is durative in

either reading. Therefore, the contrast between punctual and durative may not matter in describing the ambiguity of the meaning of *kae?*.

10.2.3 Prospective *kia*

The function of the prospective marker *kia* is to mark a given event as something going to happen in the near future. There are several manifestations of this prospective meaning, but the most basic one is intention. When speaker says he or she expects him- or herself to do something in the near future, this is the statement of intention. Consider (35) and (36).

(35) **Intention:**

go turu kia, mata tua kae? di.
 1SG sleep PROS eye sleepy PFV EXCS

‘I will sleep, because I am sleepy (lit. (my) eyes are sleepy).’

(36) **Intention:**

go pana kia, ba go?ē tedā go.
 1SG leave PROS father 1SG.NMZ wait 1SG

‘I will leave/go home, my father is waiting for me.’

In (35), speaker declares his or her intention to sleep, by attaching *kia* to the verb *туру* ‘sleep’; in (36), again, *kia* follows the verb *pana* ‘leave’ so as to indicate that he or she intends to leave.

Kia is also used when giving a gift to someone. See (37).

(37) (Giving something to hearer)

<i>teʔē</i>	<i>moʔē</i>	<i>kia.</i>
DEM.PROX.NMZ	2SG.NMZ	PROS

‘This will be yours.’

Kia in (37) indicates that speaker thinks the event ‘this is yours’ will happen in the near future. So, this sentence is an appropriate phrase when one gives a gift to someone.

When speaker says he or she expects others to do something in the future, his or her statement pragmatically corresponds to imperative and cohortative sentence types. See an imperative sentence in (38) and a hortative sentence in (39).

(38) **Imperative:**

<i>mo</i>	<i>tobo</i>	<i>kia</i>	<i>ka!</i>
2SG	sit	PROS	EMP

‘You take a seat!’

(39) **Cohortative:**

<i>tite</i>	<i>tobo</i>	<i>kia!</i>
1PL.INC	sit	PROS

‘Let’s take a seat!’

In (38), speaker says he or she expects hearer to take a seat in the near future, which is pragmatically an imperative sentence ordering him or her to sit down; (39) is a cohortative sentence with *kia*, meaning that speaker declares he or she expects the speaker and hearer to sit down in the near future.

Lastly, *kia* is used with *gə* ‘and’ to form the *kia-gə* coordination, which presents two different events in a single temporal sequence. See (40).

- (40) *Srinu saga pi kia gə tite təkã.*
 Srinu arrive DEM.PROX.AR PROS and 1PL.INC eat.1PL.INC
 ‘When Srinu arrives here, we will eat.’
 (Lit. ‘Srinu will arrive here, and we will eat.’)

In (40), the prospective marker *kia* indicates that the event in the first clause happens before the one in the second clause. As a result, the reading is obtained that the first and the second sentences form a single complex sentence. See Section 11.2.3 for this kind of coordination construction.

10.2.4 Inceptive *te?*

The function of the inceptive aspect marker *te?* ‘is about to’ is to indicate that a designated event is about to happen. It is always used with the perfective marker *kae?*. To illustrate, look at examples in (41), (42), and (43).

- (41) *Hugo saga te? kae?*
 Hugo arrive INCP PFV
 ‘Hugo is about to arrive.’
- (42) *urã te? kae?*
 rain INCP PFV
 ‘It is about to rain.’
- (43) *urã həkə te? kae?*
 rain stop INCP PFV
 ‘It is about to stop raining.’

In (41), the inceptive aspect marker *teʔ* appears immediately before the perfective marker *kaeʔ*, indicating that the event of Hugo's arriving is about to take place. The same description also goes for (42) and (43).

10.3 Mood

In this section we look at mood markers and mood-related expressions in Lamaholot: negator (Section 10.3.1) and other modal expressions (Section 10.3.2). Like tense information and unlike aspectual information, mood information in Lamaholot is expressed in a periphrastic way, except for a set of negators that regularly appear at the end of a clause or before an aspect marker, if any. The word order among TAM markers is also discussed in Section 10.3.3.

10.3.1 Negators

Lamaholot has only two mood markers that appear in the clause-final position. On top of that, all of them are negation-related markers. These markers are listed in (44).

(44) Modal particles:

<i>həlaʔ</i>	Clause-final negator
<i>laeʔ</i>	Independent negator

The negator *həlaʔ* is used at the end of the clause. This word order rule is one of the common features shared by eastern Indonesian languages (Klamer 2002). See (45) and (46).

- (45) *Hugo brea = aʔ n-əʔə mo həlaʔ.*
 Hugo happy = 3SG 3SG-do 2SG NEG
 'Hugo is not happy with you.'

- (46) *Hugo kriā h̄ala?*
 Hugo work NEG
 ‘Hugo is not working.’

Both in (45) and (46), the negator *h̄ala?* ‘not’ occur at the end of a clause to indicate the proposition expressed by the clause is not true.

The negator *lae?* has two functions. First, it can be used on its own as an answer to a question as in (47). Second, it also works as an existential predicate for absence as in (48).

- (47) Q: *mo di dore kame ta?*
 2SG also join 1PLEX Q
 ‘Are you joining us?’

A: *lae?*
 NEG
 ‘No, I’m not.’

- (48) *doi go?ē lae?*
 money 1SG.NMZ NEG
 ‘I don’t have money.’ (lit. ‘My money does not exist’)

10.3.2 Other modal expressions

Other mood-related meanings are expressed in a periphrastic way by various constructions. For one thing, modal serial verb constructions (Section 12.2.2) can add an epistemic modal meaning to the clause.

- (49) *mo gō bisa kae?*
 2SG sleep can PFV
 ‘You can eat now.’ (e.g., because the prayer is over.)
- (50) *na gere tapo n-waro.*
 3SG climb palm.tree 3SG-can
 ‘S/he can climb a palm tree.’

The verb *bisa* ‘can’ in (49) and *ø-waro* ‘can’ in (50) appear as serialized verbs to express that speaker thinks that the agent is capable of carrying out the action designated by each main event.

Another way of expressing an epistemic attitude toward a proposition is the use of periphrastic means with modal related meanings: noun phrases, adjuncts and adverbial clauses in the sentence-initial position. See examples in (51) through (55).

- (51) *doko?, na gwali kəsə-muri.*
 perhaps 3SG return later
 ‘Perhaps s/he will return later.’
- (52) *n-ā?ā dikā na gwali kəsə-muri.*
 3SG-do true 3SG return later
 ‘For sure, s/he will return later.’
- (53) *yang = go k-oi, na yang = m̄la.*
 NMZ= 1SG 1SG-know 3SG NMZ= steal
 ‘What I know is, s/he was the one who stole.’
- (54) *pikirā go?ē, na yang = m̄la.*
 opinion 1SG.NMZ 3SG NMZ= steal
 ‘In my opinion, s/he was the one who stole.’

- (55) *n-ãʔã pe: go hala həlaʔ, na yang məla.*
 3SG-do CONJ 1SG wrong NEG 3SG NMZ= steal
 ‘If I am not wrong, s/he was the one who stole.’

In (51), the epistemic adverb *dokoʔ* ‘perhaps’ appears at the beginning of the sentence, expressing that speaker believes the event described by the following clause might take place. In (52), the verb *ø-ãʔã* ‘do, make; with; and’ forms a preposition phrase with *dikã* ‘right’ and the resulting phrase serves as an adjunct of sentential adverb. In this use of *ø-ãʔã*, it does not show agreement (Section 7.3.3). In (53), the nominalized phrase *yang go koi* ‘what I know’ expresses an epistemic attitude towards the utterance to follow. In (54), instead of the nominalized phrase, the lexical NP is used for the same function. Sentence (55) includes an adverbial clause headed by *n-ãʔã pe:* ‘if, when’ (see Section 11.3.2). This adverbial clause functions as a disclaimer for the main clause. Again, the verb *ø-ãʔã* does not inflect in this use (Section 7.3.3).

The sentential adverb *moga-moga* ‘hopefully’ was borrowed from a local Malay variety. It indicates an epistemic attitude towards the event to follow. See (56).

- (56) *moga-moga na ai = roʔ.*
 hopefully 3SG get =3SG
 ‘Hopefully, s/he got it.’

To express deontic modality, it is necessary to use *harus* ‘must’ and *mese* ‘must’, both of which were borrowed from Indonesian or Malay. There is no native word for this kind of modality in Lamaholot. See (57) and (58).

- (57) *mo harus hābo bera.*
 2SG must take.bath quick
 ‘You must take a bath quickly.’
- (58) *go mese pana tanggal rua kū jadi həla?*
 1SG must leave day two but become NEG
 ‘I must have left on the 2nd, but it didn’t happen.’

In (57), *harus* indicates that hearer needs to take a bath quickly; *mese* in (58) means that speaker was bound to leave on a specific day. Note that these elements expressing deontic modality appear in the preverbal position, where modal elements appear in Indonesian or Malay.

10.3.3 Word order among TAM markers

There are two notes on word order among linguistic expressions for tense, aspect, and mood in Lamaholot. First, aspect markers and negators appear at the end of the clause. They sometime occur together, in which case a negator always precedes an aspect marker. Thus, (59) is grammatical, but (60) is not.

- (59) *Hugo gwali pāli? həla? kae?*
 Hugo go.home today NEG PFV
 ‘Hugo won’t be back today.’
- (60) **Hugo gwali pāli? kae? həla?*
 Hugo go.home today PFV NEG
 Intended for ‘Hugo won’t be back today.’

Another example is given in (61), where the negator *həla?* appears prior to the imperfective marker *morā*.

- (61) *na s̥aga h̥ala? mor̥, go molo kae?*
 3SG arrive NEG IPFV 1SG go.first PFV
 ‘S/he hadn’t arrived yet, (so) I went first.’

Second, linguistic expressions for tense-related meanings can appear in various places of a clause, and there is not fixed position for them. This may be the reflection of the fact that there is no single set of markers for tense.

10.4 Illocutionary force

Throughout this study we have been discussing the grammar of Lamaholot taking examples mainly from declarative sentences. However, the declarative sentence is only one of three distinguished types of **illocutionary force** in this language. The three types of illocutionary force are declarative, interrogative, and imperative.

This chapter examines the three types of illocutionary force and discusses how these categories are distinguished with respect to both semantics and morphosyntax. In Section 10.4.1, the declarative sentence is introduced as an unmarked one. Sections 10.4.2 and 10.4.3 deal with the interrogative and the imperative sentences, respectively. There are some formal characteristics associated with each of them.

10.4.1 Declarative sentences

There is no particular defining feature of **declarative sentences**, as they represent an unmarked sentence type. For this very reason, the declarative sentence does not have any formal correlates to note here.

10.4.2 Interrogative sentences

There are two major types of the interrogative sentence in general: **the polar and the content questions**. The former is a type of questions that does not contain a **question word**, also known as a *wh*-word, and can be answered by either “yes” or “no”; the latter always contains a question word and has a relatively large set of possible answers. Typical examples of the polar and the content questions in Lamaholot are, for instance, found in (62) and (63).

(62) **Polar question:**

mo gō = no kae? ta?
 2SG eat.2SG=2SG PFV Q

‘Have you eaten yet?’

(63) **Content question:**

mo gō a:?
 2SG eat.2SG what

‘What did you eat?’

Unlike the declarative sentences, there are several ways to mark interrogative sentences. In the case of polar questions, they are accompanied by the rising intonation alone or by its combination with the sentence-final particle for questions *ta:*.

(64) *əmā mo?ē pi ta?*
 mother 2SG.NMZ DEM.PROX.AR Q

‘Is your mom here?’

Content questions are easy to tell, because they always contain a question word as in (65). It is not possible to use the particle *ta:* with this type of question.

- (65) *amā moʔē tea?*
 mother 2SG.NMZ where
 ‘Where is your mom?’

Remember from Section 4.9.8 that what can serve as question words are referred to as **epistememes** in Lamaholot. A list of epistememes is provided again in (66).

(66) **Question words (i.e., epistememes) in Lamaholot:**

<i>hege</i>	‘who’
<i>a:</i>	‘what’
<i>tea</i>	‘where’
<i>boā</i>	‘when’
<i>pira</i>	‘how many; how much’
<i>pukā a:</i>	‘why’ (literally ‘stem from what’)
<i>nāʔā a:</i>	‘how’ (literally ‘with what’)
<i>teā</i>	‘which’ (the nominalized form of <i>tea</i> ‘where’)

Examples of each are given in (67) through (78).

- (67) *mo hope gula neī hege?*
 2SG buy candy give who
 ‘For whom did you buy the candy?’
- (68) *mo hope a: neī Siku?*
 2SG buy what give Siku
 ‘What did you buy for Siku?’

- (69) *mo gō tea?*
 2SG eat.2SG where
 ‘Where did you eat?’
- (70) *mo tea m-ai?*
 2SG where 2SG-go
 ‘Where are you going?’
- (71) *mo gwali boā?*
 2SG return when
 ‘When will you return?’
- (72) *mo hope pira?*
 2SG buy how.many
 ‘How many did you buy?’
- (73) *te?ē pira?*
 DEM.PROX.NMZ how.much
 ‘How much is this?’
- (74) *jā pira kae??*
 time how.many PFV
 ‘What time is it now?’
- (75) *mo ai ikā pira?*
 2SG get fish how.many
 ‘How many fish did you get?’
- (76) *mo gaka pukā a:?*
 2SG cry stem.from what
 ‘Why are you crying?’
- (77) *mo soka n-ā?ā a:?*
 2SG dance 3SG-do what
 ‘How did you dance?’

- (78) *mo pili teã?*
 2SG choose where.NMZ
 ‘Which did you choose?’

It is crucial to note that in Lamaholot question words always appear **in-situ**: there is no *wh*-movement or the like specific to this sentence type. Observe that all the question words occur sentence-finally in (67) through (78). There are two exceptions to this generalization. First, question words that always correspond to adjuncts, namely, *boã* ‘when’, *pukã a:* ‘why’, and *nãʔã a:* ‘how’ may optionally appear in the clause-initial position, without a noticeable difference in meaning. For example, compare (71) and (79).

- (79) *boã mo gwali?*
 when 2SG return
 ‘When did you return?’

The second exception is that question words in an argument position can be topicalized to the sentence-initial position (Section 9.5.1). See (80).

- (80) *hege mo bəŋo?*
 who 2SG hit
 ‘Who did you hit?’

10.4.3 Imperative sentences

The **imperative sentence** is used for a command, the defining property of which is that the hearer is being to do something. Thus, it is almost always characterized by the obligatory second person subject (Kroeger 2005:199). In Lamaholot, a typical

affirmative imperative sentence takes the second person subject, often followed by the prospective marker *kia* and the emphatic sentence-final particle *ka*. See (81).

- (81) *mo gō = no kia ka.*
 2SG eat.2SG=2SG PROS EMP
 ‘You eat now!’

In contrast, **negative imperative sentences** are characterized by the existence of negators particular to this sentence type, *ake* and *nawa*. Both appear immediately before the verb they negate, unlike non-imperative negators (Section 10.3.1). Look at (82), where *ake* and *nawa* can be used interchangeably.

- (82) *mo ake/nawa pana ka.*
 2SG NEG.IMP leave EMP
 ‘Don’t leave!’

There is no noticeable difference in meaning observed between *ake* and *nawa*. But syntactically speaking, only *nawa* can be used independently to mean ‘don’t do that!’ or ‘stop it!’ Compare (83) and (84).

- (83) **ake!*
 NEG.IMP

- (84) *nawa (ka)!*
 NEG.IMP EMP
 ‘Stop it!’

10.5 Sentence-final particles

This section introduces sentence-final particles, which specifically indicate additional discourse-manipulating and inter-subjective meanings, such as making excuse, softening one's statement, and emphasizing one's statement. Interestingly, different sentence-final particles are correlated with different types of illocutionary force that were discussed in Section 10.4. Attention is drawn to this correlation as well in this section.

For ease of reference, the correlation between illocutionary force types and sentence-final particles are listed in advance as in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1: Speech acts and sentence-final particles

ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE	SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLE	SECTION
Declarative	<i>di</i> 'excuse'	10.5.1
	<i>ne</i> 'soften'	10.5.2
	<i>ro</i> 'ask for confirmation'	10.5.3
Interrogative	<i>ta</i> 'polar question'	10.5.4
	<i>hae</i> 'tag question'	10.5.5
Imperative	<i>ka</i> 'emphasis'	10.5.6

10.5.1 Sentence-final particle *di*

The sentence-final particle *di* is used to indicate that the sentence is intended to be an excuse or to take account of utterances in the previous contexts or situations understood from cultural contexts. For example, consider (85).

(85) A: *mo tari muri ka!*
 2SG serve again EMP
 ‘You should serve your food again.’

B: *go bohu? kae? di.*
 1SG full PFV EXCS
 ‘I am already full (and I cannot eat more).’

In (85)B, Speaker B is saying that he or she cannot comply with Speaker A’s command because he or she is already full. The particle *di* is employed to emphasize that Speaker B is making an excuse.

Similar examples are found in (86) and (87).

(86) (Person A is looking for Person B’s father)

A: *ba mo?ē tea?*
 father 2SG.NMZ where
 ‘Where is your father?’

B: *na teti Larantuka di.*
 3SG DIR.UP Larantuka EXCS
 ‘He is in Larantuka (that’s why he is not here).’

(87) (Person A is suggesting Person B to drink tuak in a party)

A: *mo soja kia.*
 2SG lift PROS
 ‘You lift (a glass of tuak) now.’

B: *go k-enū bisa hela? di.*
 1SG 1SG-drink can NEG EXCS
 ‘I cannot drink (*tuak*) (and so I cannot lift a glass to drink it).’

In (86), Speaker B uses the *di*-marked sentence to explain why he or she cannot answer the question of where his or her father is, implying that he is not with Speaker B. In (87), Speaker B refuses to drink *tuak* by describing his situations with *di*. In both cases, the sentence-final particle *di* indicates that the statements it marks serve as excuses for not being able to accommodate hearer's inquiries or requests.

From a functional perspective, the sentence-final particle *di* is similar to subordinate constructions of some sort in the sense that it clarifies the discourse relationship between two utterances or situations. The formal difference between an adverbial clause and a *di*-marked sentence is that a sentence attached by *di* forms a single declarative sentence by itself, while an adverbial clause is a subordinate clause and does not constitute a single sentence on its own right.

Sometimes situations against which an excuse is made with *di* may not be overt linguistic expressions but understood from the context or cultural conventions. For example, in the Lamaholot-speaking communities, it is a polite way of welcoming a (male) guest to give him a cigarette. That is why a lot of people often offer a cigarette to the present author, who does not smoke, when he visits their house. To turn down their offer politely, the present author was advised by his host family to say the following in (88).

(88) *maaf, go isə həla? di.*
 sorry 1SG suck NEG EXCS

'Sorry, I don't smoke (so I don't take the cigarette you are offering to me).'

The utterance in (88) does not just mean the truth-conditional fact that the speaker does not smoke, but, due to the existence of *di*, it also works as an excuse for saying "no" to the kind offer in a polite manner.

Another example is presented in (89). In this society, there are several things students are not culturally supposed to do, which includes getting married and growing beards (for male). Thus, the present author was advised by the local people to say (89) when asked about his marital status.

- (89) *go mahasiswa morā di.*
 1SG student IPFV EXC
 ‘I am still a student (so I am not married).’

Although there is no logical connection between being married and being a student, (89) works as an excuse effectively with the help of the cultural knowledge shared by Lamaholot speakers.

Lastly, it should be noted that the sentence-final particle *di* is different from the additive adverb *di*, which appears in the position immediately following a focused element in the Object-Topic construction (see Chapter 9). For example, the additive adverb *di* is used as in (90).

- (90) *kopi di go k-enū, tua di go k-enū.*
 coffee also 1SG 1SG-drink tuak also 1SG 1SG-drink
 ‘I drink both coffee and tuak.’

Example (90) is an instance of Object-Topic constructions, where a pragmatically prominent element occupies the sentence-initial position. Notice that the two focused nouns *kopi* ‘coffee’ and *tua* ‘tuak’ are accompanied by the additive adverb *di*, which means ‘too’ or ‘also’.

Since the two *di* are different, it is possible that they appear in the same utterance, as in (91), where one additive *di* and two sentence-final particle *di*’s are used.

(91) A: *go kã muri bisa həla?*

1SG eat. 1SGagain can NEG

‘I cannot eat more.’

go bohu? kae? di.

1SG full PFV EXCS

‘(This is because) I am already full.’

kalo mo?

if 2SG

‘How about you?’

B: *go di hama di.*

1SG also same EXCS

‘Me, too (so I cannot eat more).’

In the second sentence of the utterance by Person A in (91), Person A uses *di* to indicate that the fact that he or she is full takes account for his statement that he or she cannot eat more. In the utterance by Person B in (91), in contrast, the *di* immediate after *go* means ‘also’, while the *di* at the end of the sentence shows that Person B’s statement is an excuse for not being able to eat more.

10.5.2 Sentence-final particle *ne*

The function of the sentence-final particle *ne* is to soften one’s statement or utterance. It is often associated with speech acts such as getting permission, requesting and greeting. First, consider (92), which Lamaholot speakers often use before sleeping to

tell their family members and neighbors that he or she is going to sleep, which is one of the social norms in the Lamaholot-speaking communities.

- (92) *go turu kia ne.*
 1SG sleep PROS SOFT
 ‘I will go to bed now.’ (= ‘Goodnight’)

In (92), the sentence-final particle *ne* softens the speaker’s utterance and makes it sound polite. This sentence without *ne* is also grammatical as in (93), but may sound less polite than (92).

- (93) *go turu kia.*
 1SG sleep PROS
 ‘I will go to bed now.’

This particle is also often employed when speakers want to make a request in a polite manner. See (94) and (95).

- (94) *go pake kamera mo?ē ne.*
 1SG use camera 2SG.NMZ SOFT
 ‘I will use your camera.’

- (95) *go tedā ia.*
 1SG wait LOC

mo bera-bera ne.
 2SG quick-quick SOFT

‘I will wait here. (So) you (go back here) very quickly.’

In (94), speaker asks if he or she can use hearer's camera by declaring his intension to use it with the sentence-final particle *ne*. In (95), speaker orders hearer to go back to speaker quickly. In both cases, the existence of *ne* makes these requests sound polite.

Another typical context where *ne* is found is in greeting: *ne* is used with various greeting expressions as in (96), (97), (98), and (99).

(96) *slamat ne*.

bye SOFT

'Goodbye.'

(97) *malam bai? ne*.

night good SOFT

'Goodnight.' (Borrowed from *malam baik* 'good night' in Malay)

(98) *go k-ai kia ne*.

1SG 1SG-leave PROS SOFT

'I will go now.' (= 'Goodbye')

(99) *go lau kia ne*.

1SG DIR.SEA PROS SOFT

'I will go seawards.' (= 'Goodbye')

A cultural note on (98) and (99) is in order. In the village where fieldwork was done, it is common to say expressions like (98) and (99) when they need to say goodbye to hearer(s) after they visit someone in their house or run into someone on the street. Note that in (99), *lau* 'the direction of the sea' is just used as an illustration. Speaker needs to use an appropriate directional depending on to which direction he or she actually goes.

10.5.3 Sentence-final particle *ro*

The sentence-final particle *ro* is added to the end of the sentence when speaker asks for agreement or confirmation from hearer. It is not directly associated with special speech acts such as requesting or greeting, but hearer is just expected to confirm a statement described by the declarative sentence marked by *ro*. See (100) and (101).

(100) (Speaker A talks to Speaker B when he or she passes by Speaker B's house)

A: *plate ro.*

hot CONF

'It's hot, isn't it?'

B: *hãʔã.*

yes

'Yes.'

(101) (Speaker A thinks someone is inside a bathroom but not sure.)

A: *no, mo hãbo =ko ro.*

boy 2SG bath =2SG CONF

'Hey, you're taking a bath, right?'

B: *O.*

yes

'Yes.'

In (100), Speaker A calls Speaker B's attention describing the weather of the day. In (101), Speaker A is trying to confirm that the *ro*-marked declarative sentence is a correct observation by talking to Speaker B.

Note that the sentence-final particle *ro* is distinct from the third person clitic pronoun *=roʔ* (Section 3.4). They are formally different with regard to the existence or absence of the glottal stop at the end of the word.

10.5.4 Sentence-final particle *ta*

As discussed in Section 10.4.2, the sentence-final particle *ta* is optionally used to indicate that the sentence it follows is a content question. According to Lamaholot speakers, this *ta* has its origin in the Malay coordination marker *atau* ‘or’, which is also used to clearly mark a polar question as in (102). See Sneddon (1996).

- (102) *percaya* *atau* *tidak?*
 believe or not
 ‘Do you believe (or not)?’

Although there is no Lamaholot-internal evidence for this hypothesis and the sound similarity could be accidental or folk etymology, it takes account of the question why this particle is only used for polar questions. Most probably, it should have been borrowed from Larantuka Malay to Lamaholot.

10.5.5 Sentence-final particle *hae*

The sentence-final particle *hae* is added to the end of a sentence to mark it as a tag question, which is understood here as a special type of polar question. Sentences with this particle express a request for confirmation. Consider (103) and (104).

- (103) *mo* *lau* *jəp̄* *dai* *hae?*
 2SG DIR.SEA Japan come TAG
 ‘You came from Japan, didn’t you?’

- (104) *klami* *hae?*
 sweet TAG
 ‘It’s sweet, isn’t it?’

In (103), speaker remembers that hearer (=the present author) came from Japan, but he was not sure about it. So, he used *hae* to ask for confirmation from the present author. In (104), speaker is trying to confirm with hearer that the thing they are eating is sweet.

10.5.6 Sentence-final particle *ka*

The function of the sentence-final particle *ka* is to emphasize one's statement so that hearer will make sure to obey his or her command. As discussed in Section 10.4.3, this sentence-final particle is often used with both affirmative and negative imperative sentences.

Because of the close correlation between *ka* and a command meaning, this emphatic particle has the effect of making a usual sentence serve functionally like an imperative. See (105).

- (105) *te?ē* *go?ē* *kia* *ka*.
 DEM.PROX.NMZ 1SG.NMZ PROS EMP
 ‘Give this to me!’ (lit. ‘This is mine!’)

In (105), speaker says that the thing he or she points to belongs to him or her. With the help of the existence of the particle *kia*, this sentence pragmatically functions as an imperative sentence for asking the addressee to give it to speaker. Compare this sentence with (37), which is a common expression used for giving something to someone.

11 Complex sentences

11.0 Introduction

In this and the next chapters, we discuss sentence patterns that include more than one predicative element per sentence: complex sentences and verb serialization. On the one hand, **complex sentences** refer to construction types where more than one predicative element is combined into a single sentence in one way or another, each predicate forming their own clause. On the other hand, **verb serialization** pertains to the syntactic process by which more than one predicative element/verb is packed into a single clause without overt morphological modification. The similarities and differences between two types of complex structures are spelled out in Chapter 12.

This chapter investigates three kinds of complex sentences available in Lamaholot, as listed in (1).

- (1) **Complex sentences in Lamaholot:**
 - a. Complement clauses
 - b. Coordinate clauses
 - c. Adverbial clauses

In this chapter, we discuss these three types of complex clauses and examples of each: complement clauses (Section 11.1); coordinate clauses (Section 11.2); and adverbial clauses (Section 11.3). Remember that in our analysis so called **relative clauses** are reduced to nominalization of verbs. Lamaholot equivalents of relative clauses are

nothing but nominalized verbs. For this reason, they are not counted here as part of complex sentences. See Section 4.8 for nominalizations of verbs.

As a disclaimer, we have to admit that, unfortunately, parts of descriptions of complex sentences in this chapter are sketchy and not fully developed for three reasons. First, at this point, there are not enough data on complex sentences that allow the present author to make an analysis of the whole range of complex sentences. Second, most of the linkage patterns described below are not productive, which made it even difficult to collect data. Third, some of the morphemes used for liking clauses only occur in this context and there is no way to examine them separately from complex sentences.

11.1 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are those that work as arguments of a predicate. In Lamaholot, they do not require any overt morphological modification and simply appear where an argument is supposed to occur, except for psych-verbs, for which a complement clause argument is not marked by \emptyset - $\tilde{\alpha}ʔ\tilde{\alpha}$ ‘make, do; with’, while a noun phrase object is (Section 11.1.6). Also, it often happens that an intonation break is posed in between.

In this section, we have six major verb classes that can take a complement clause as its argument: verbs of manipulation (Section 11.1), verbs of speech-act (Section 11.1.2), verbs of saying (Section 11.3), verbs of cognition (Section 11.4), verbs of perception (Section 11.5), and psych-verbs (Section 11.6).

11.1.1 Verbs of manipulation

Verbs of manipulation such as \emptyset - $\tilde{\alpha}ʔ\tilde{\alpha}$ ‘do, make’ and *ruda* ‘order’ can have a complement clause, as in (2) and (3). In the rest of this section, complement clauses are put in square brackets.

- (2) *əmā goʔē n-āʔā go, [belajar ia laŋoʔ].*
 mother 1SG.NMZ 3SG-do 1SG study LOC house
 ‘My mother made me study in the house.’
- (3) *ba goʔē ruda go, [k-ahuʔ waiʔ].*
 father 1SG.NMZ order 1SG 1SG-get water
 ‘My father order me to get some water (from the well).’

In (2), the bracketed complement clause indicates the action that speaker’s mother ordered speaker to do. There is no overt marker between the main and the complement clause. Likewise, the complement clause in (3) expresses the content of speaker’s father’s order. In both cases, the semantic subject of the predicate of the complement clauses is understood from the syntactic environment and is always the object argument of the main verb.

Chapter 12 examines the structure of these constructions in depth, paying special attention to the formal difference between complementation and verb serialization.

11.1.2 Verbs of speech-act

Speech-act verbs such as *janji* ‘promise’ (a loan word from Indonesian) can also take a complement clause, as in (4), where the bracketed complement clause indicates the content of speaker’s promise.

- (4) *go janji Ika, [go hope =roʔ na gula].*
 1SG promise Ika 1SG buy =3SG 3SG candy
 ‘I promised Ika that I would buy her candies.’

The structure of this type of complement clause is discussed in Chapter 12 in comparison with verb serialization.

11.1.3 Verbs of saying

Verbs of saying such as *marĩ* ‘say’ and *tutu* ‘tell’ often have a complement clause. To illustrate, consider (5) and (6).

- (5) *ata marĩ, [mo bera kawē].*
 people say 2SG soon get.married.
 ‘They say you (should) get married soon.’
- (6) *əmā tutu ia go,*
 mother tell LOC 1SG
[go ake k-enū tua nokō? te?ē].
 1SG NEG.IMP 1SG-drink tuak night DEM.PROX.NMZ
 ‘My mother told me that I shouldn’t drink tuak tonight.’

In (5) and (6), a complement clause appears in an object position, expressing the content of utterance. The complement clauses take the form of full clause.

11.1.4 Verbs of cognition

Verbs of cognition such as *hu*: ‘think, miss’ and *ø-oi* ‘know’ can take a complement clause as their object argument. For example, look at (7).

- (7) *go k-oi [Siku lau Solor pəli?].*
 1SG 1SG-know Siku DIR.SEA Solor today
 ‘I know Siku is in the direction of the sea (in) Solor today.’

In (7), the clause *Siku lau Solor pəli?* ‘Siku is in the direction of the sea (in) Solor today’ is embedded in the main clause *go k-oi* ‘I know’. The former clause works as an object argument of the latter.

11.1.5 Verbs of perception

Verbs of perception such as *ø-oi* ‘see, hear’ can take a complement clause as their object argument. Indeed, the verb *ø-oi* is used both as a verb of cognition (Section 11.1.4) and as a verb of perception. See (8).

- (8) *go k-oi [ana? mo?ẽ mãŋã lau watã].*
 1SG 1SG-see child 2SG.NMZ play DIR.SEA beach
 ‘I saw your child was playing in the direction of the sea (on) the beach.’

11.1.6 Psych verbs

When psych verbs (Section 8.3.4) take a stimulus participant as an NP, such an NP is introduced by the preposition *ø-ã?ã* ‘with’. See (9).

- (9) *go taku = ə? k-ã?ã na.*
 1SG afraid =1SG 1SG-do 3SG
 ‘I am afraid of him/her.’

However, when they take a complement clause as a stimulus participant, such a participant is not marked by the preposition *ø-ã?ã* ‘with’ but appears without any marker. Compare (10) with (9).

- (10) *go taku = ə?, [na hi?i go].*
 1SG afraid =1SG 3SG be.angry 1SG
 ‘I am afraid of his/her being angry at me.’

In (10), the complement clause *na hi?i go* ‘s/he is mad at me’ appears immediately after the verbal predicate *taku* ‘be afraid’ without *ø-ã?ã*. Whether it is realized as noun

phrase (9) or as complement clause (10), the post-verbal element refers to the stimulus that made speaker feel afraid.

Lastly, note that even though a stimulus element appears as a complement clause and is not marked by the verb $\emptyset\text{-}\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\alpha}$, it can still be in the topic relation in Object-Topic constructions. See (11).

- (11) *[na hiʔi go], go taku =əʔ.*
 3SG be.angry 1SG 1SG afraid =1SG
 ‘His/her being angry at me, I am afraid of (it).’

11.2 Coordinate clauses

In this section, we offer an overview of coordinate structures in Lamaholot, where two clauses are combined in the way two clauses are semantically and syntactically independent of each other but still express a single conceptual content as a whole.

11.2.1 Juxtaposition

The simplest and the most common way of connecting clauses in Lamaholot is juxtaposition. For example, it relates one clause to another in terms of logical relation in (12) and temporal order in (13).

- (12) *na leĩ blara, na pana =aʔ susa.*
 3SG leg.NMZ hurt 3SG walk =3SG difficult
 ‘His legs ached, (therefore) it was difficult for him to walk.’
- (13) *na səga pi, go səga həlaʔ morã.*
 3SG arrive DEM.PROX.AR 1SG arrive NEG IPFV
 ‘S/he arrived here, (while) I hadn’t arrived yet.’
 (→ ‘S/he arrived here before I arrived.’)

These examples superficially may not look like forming a single sentence, but there are two reasons for treating these juxtaposed clauses as a single sentence. First, they are pronounced in a single intonation contour. Second, they express a single coherent conceptual content as a whole.

11.2.2 *kədi?* ‘so’

The conjunction *kədi?* ‘so, therefore’ connects two events to mean that the event described by the first clause results in the one designated by the second clause. See (14) and (15), for instance.

(14) *go kə =nə? morā, kədi? tai go?ē malu kae?*

1SG eat.1SG=1SG IPFV so stomach 1SG.NMZ hungry PFV

‘I haven’t eaten yet. So, I am hungry.’

(15) *go kriā waha morā, kədi? turu bisa hāla?*

1SG work finish IPFV so sleep can NEG

‘I haven’t finished my work yet. So I cannot sleep.’

In Section 9.2.1, coreferential patterns of this coordination construction are employed to support the subject relation in Lamaholot.

11.2.3 *kia gə* ‘and then’

The prospective aspect marker *kia* and the connective marker *gə* are combined to create a connecting expression, *kia gə*, ‘and then’. This connecting expression indicates that it is not until the event expressed by the preceding clause takes place that the one by the following clause occurs. See (16) and (17).

- (16) *kriā* *kia* *gə* *t-aʔi* = *kə* *gwali*.
 work PROS CONJ 1PL.INC-go =1PL.INC return
 ‘Let’s work and then go home.’

- (17) *ekā* *nokōʔ* *kia* *gə* *go* *k-aʔi* *wəli* *k-ai*.
 weather night PROS CONJ 1SG 1SG-leave DIR.COAST 1SG-go
 ‘After the day became night, I will go to the direction parallel with the coast.’

In Section 9.3.2, we use the coreferential patterns surrounding the connecting expressions *kia gə* as evidence supporting the topic relation.

11.2.4 *kū* ‘but’

The conjunction *kū* ‘but’ is used to combine two clauses when one clause is in a logically opposite relation to another. See (18).

- (18) *murid* *peʔē* *metā*, *kū* *kmogə* = *aʔ*.
 student DEM.DIS.NMZ smart but lazy =3SG
 ‘That student is smart but lazy.’

11.2.5 *waha neku pe:* ‘and then’

A combination of the verb *waha* ‘finish’, the temporal modifier *neku* ‘last’, and the conjunction *pe:* is employed to link two clauses, indicating that the event described by one clause happens prior to the one described by another. Look at (19).

- (19) *go* *туру* *hogo*, *waha neku pe:* *həbo* = *aʔ*.
 1SG sleep wake.up finish last CONJ take.bath =1SG
 ‘I took a nap and then took a bath.’

11.2.6 *lābo kə?* ‘even, further, on top of that’

The connective expression *lābo kə?* connects two events in the way that the first event takes place logically in addition to the second event. See examples in (20) through (23).

- (20) *aho ra paʔu həlaʔ, lābo kə? ra geba =ro?*
 dog 3PL feed NEG even CONJ 3PL throw =3SG
 ‘The dog, they don’t feed (it) and even throw (stones) to it.’

- (21) *ra kriā həlaʔ, lābo kə? ra māṅṅ kartu.*
 3PL work NEG even CONJ 3PL play card
 ‘They didn’t work. On top of that, they played cards.’

- (22) *na gehi =aʔ tama skola,*
 3SG hate =3SG enter school
lābo kə? na gehi =aʔ belajar ia laṅoʔ.
 even CONJ 3SG hate =3SG study LOC house
 ‘S/he didn’t go to school. On top of that, s/he didn’t study in the house.’

- (23) *na gehi =aʔ, lābo kə? mo marī tərū.*
 3SG hate =3SG even CONJ 2SG say straight
 ‘S/he doesn’t like (it). (But) on top of that, you keep saying (it).’

11.2.7 *A həlaʔ kū B* ‘not A but B’

- (24) *na bodo həlaʔ, kū na kmogə =aʔ.*
 3SG stupid NEG but 3SG lazy =3SG
 ‘S/he is not stupid but lazy.’

- (25) *kami Solor m-ai həlaʔ, kū Yogya m-ai.*
 1PL.EXC Solor 1PL.EXC NEG but Yogya 1PL.EXC-go
 ‘We didn’t go to Solor but Yogya.’

11.2.8 *bəi neku? A həla? kũ B ‘not only A but B’*

- (26) *go k-enũ bəi neku? tua həla? kũ n-əʔə ara.*
 1SG 1SG-drink NEG only tuak NEG but 3SG-do liquor
 ‘I didn’t only drink tuak but also distilled spirit.’
- (27) *go bəi neku? skola həla?, kũ n-əʔə kriã.*
 1SG NEG only school NEG but 3SG-do work
 ‘I do not just go to school but also is working.’

11.3 Adverbial clauses

This section provides a list of conjunctions for adverbial clauses in Lamaholot. In adverbial clauses, conjunctions introduce an adverbial clause to modify an event expressed by the main clause in terms of temporal settings, logical order, and so on. Adverbial clauses are both semantically and syntactically dependent on their main clauses. Any adverbial clause cannot be interpreted properly without the main clause to which it is anchored.

11.3.1 *Temporal nouns*

Temporal nouns such as *waktu* ‘time’, *neku* ‘a while ago’, *bau* ‘tomorrow’ and *sũ* ‘year’ can function as conjunctions for temporal adverbial clauses. In this use, temporal nouns appear only at the beginning of a clause.

- (28) *waktu go səga pi, mo turu morã.*
 time 1SG arrive DEM.PROX.AR 2SG sleep IPFV
 ‘The time I arrived here, you were still sleeping.’
- (29) *neku go səga pi, ra kriã morã.*
 ago 1SG arrive DEM.PROX.AR 3PL work IPFV
 ‘When I arrived here a while ago, they were still working.’

- (30) *bau go s̥aga pi, mio di pi kae?*
 tomorrow 1SG arrive DEM.PROX.AR 2PL also DEM.PROX.AR PFV
 ‘When I arrive here tomorrow, you will have already arrived here.’
- (31) *sū waʔi =k̄ go s̥aga pi, Ika Sambut Baru.*
 year next =NMZ 1SG arrive DEM.PROX.AR Ika First communion
 ‘Next year I arrive here, Ika will celebrate the First Communion.’

11.3.2 *n-āʔā* ‘when’

The verb *ə-āʔā* ‘do, make; with; and’ is used with *pe:* as a complex conjunction for time clauses. As discussed in Section 7.3.3, this verb does not agree with any subject in this use. The word *pe:* only occurs in this position. It may or may not be related to the demonstrative *pe:* ‘there’ or the relativizer *pe:*, without there being evidence for or against this hypothesis.

- (32) *n-āʔā pe: go libur, go s̥aga pi muri.*
 3SG-do CONJ 1SG vacation 1SG arrive DEM.PROX.AR again
 ‘When I am on vacation, I will arrive here again.’
- (33) *n-āʔā pe: mio kawē, tutu n-āʔā go.*
 3SG-do CONJ 2PL marry talk 3SG-do 1SG
 ‘When you guys get married, talk to me.’
- (34) *n-āʔā pe: mio gwali, majā n-āʔā go.*
 3SG-do CONJ 2PL return call 3SG-do 1SG
 ‘When you guys go home, please call me.’

When the same verb is used with *nā*, it functions as a conjunction for past time clauses.

- (35) *n-ãʔã nã go sãga pi, hugo teti Larantuka.*
 3SG-do CONJ 1SG arrive DEM.PROX.AR Hugo DIR.UP Larantuka
 ‘When I arrived here, Hugo was in the direction of the sky, Larantuka.’

11.3.3 *kalo* ‘if’

The Indonesian conjunction *kalau* ‘if, when’ is borrowed into Lamahlot as *kalo* ‘if’.

- (36) *kalo mo pana, go di dore.*
 if 2SG walk 1SG also follow
 ‘If you leave, I will follow (you).’

11.3.4 \emptyset -ə ‘so that’

The conjunction \emptyset -ə ‘so that’ is used for forming a purpose clause. The most important feature of this conjunction is that it inflects for person and number of the subject argument of the main clause. See Table 11.1. From the fact that this conjunction can inflect, we can speculate that it could have been once a verb of some kind.

Table 11.1: \emptyset -ə ‘so that’

	SG	PL
1	kə	mã (EXC)
		tə (INC)
2	mã	mã
3	nã	rə

There is nasalization in *nã* and *mã*, but not in *kə*, *tə*, or *rə*. Most probably this is related to the fact that *n-* and *m-* are nasals but the others are not. It is not clear from the

data available if this conjunction allows not just grammatical agreement but also default agreement (see Section 7.3).

See examples in (37), (38), and (39) for how purpose clauses are formed by means of \emptyset - \emptyset and how it agrees with subject.

(37) *go k-aʔi =əʔ pasar k-ə hope obat.*
 1SG 1SG-leave =1SG market 1SG-CONJ buy medicine

‘I will leave for market so that (I) will buy some medicine.’

(38) *mo m-aʔi =ko pasar m-ə̃ hope buku.*
 2SG 2SG-leave =2SG market 2SG-CONJ buy book

‘You go to market so as to buy a book.’

(39) *na kriə̃ n-ə̃ hope hape.*
 3SG work 3SG-CONJ buy mobile.phone

‘S/he worked so that (he) would buy a mobile phone.’

The purpose clause headed by \emptyset - \emptyset can take its own subject argument, which may be different from that of the main clause. See (40) and (41).

(40) *Nia bəŋo Ika n-ə̃ Ika ake nakal.*
 Nia hit Ika 3SG-CONJ Ika NEG.IMP naughty

‘Nia hit Ika so that Ika won’t be naughty.’

(41) *Nia bəŋo go n-ə̃ go kpərə.*
 Nia hit 1SG 3SG-CONJ 1SG quiet

‘Nia hit me so that I would become quiet.’

11.3.5 *pukə̃* ‘because’

The verb *pukə̃* ‘stem from’ can be used as a conjunction for reason clauses.

- (42) *go k-aʔi = aʔ gwali, pukā mio sibuk.*
 1SG 1SG-leave =1SG return because 2PL busy
 ‘I will go back home because you guys are busy.’

11.3.6 *pura* ‘since’ and *sape* ‘until’

The verb *pura* ‘begin’ can work as a conjunction for adverbial expressions, indicating that the clause it introduces has taken place before the main clause.

- (43) *go tedā na, pura na n-aʔi = aʔ.*
 1SG wait 3SG begin 3SG 3SG-leave =3SG
 ‘I have been waiting for him/her since s/he left.’

In contrast, the verb *sape* ‘reach’ is used as not only verbal preposition ‘until’ but also conjunction ‘until’.

- (44) *go tedā na, sape na sāga.*
 1SG wait 3SG reach 3SG arrive
 ‘I will wait for him/her until s/he arrives.’
- (45) *Rina notō māĩ goʔē, sape go mia = aʔ.*
 Rina watch face 1SG.NMZ reach 1SG be.embarrassed =1SG
 ‘Rina stared at my face until I was embarrassed.’
- (46) *anaʔ peʔē nakal,*
 child DEM.DIS.NMZ naughty
sape ama nāʔē di perna na bloka.
 until mother 3SG.NMZ also ever 3SG cheat
 ‘That child is so naughty that even his/her mother, s/he has ever cheated.’

11.3.7 *məsi? kə?* ‘even if’

The expression *məsi? kə?* means ‘even if’ and introduces a concessive clause. The word *məsi?* could be related to the Indonesian *maski* ‘whether’. The conjunction *kə?* only appears as a conjunction and is also used in *ləbo kə?* (Section 11.2.6).

- (47) *məsi? kə?* *mo gehi =ko, di go k-a?i gwali.*
 even CONJ 2SG hate =2SG also 1SG 1SG-leave return
 ‘Even if you don’t want, I will still go home.’

- (48) *məsi? kə?* *sawa =kã ajã, kũ mori =kã susa.*
 even CONJ field =NMZ many.NMZ but life =NMZ difficult
 ‘Even if (s/he) has many rice fields, his/her life is still difficult.’

11.3.8 *nã* ‘whereas’

The word *nã* can be used as a conjunction for ‘whereas’. It is unknown if it is related to *ə-ə* ‘so that’ in Section 11.3.3. Unlike *ə-ə* ‘so that’, *nã* ‘whereas’ does not agree with any subject argument.

- (49) *go k-a?i =ə?, nã na pihi =a?*
 1SG 1SG-leave =1SG whereas 3SG DEM.PROX.AR =3SG
 ‘I will leave, whereas s/he stays here.’

- (50) *kame məkã, nã mete lile TV.*
 1PL.EXC eat.1PL.EXC whereas PROG watch TV
 ‘We ate while watching TV.’

- (51) *Sema jaga ana?*
 Sema look.after child

nã go *k-a?i* = *a?* *du?ũ-hope* = *a?*.
 whereas 1SG 1SG-leave =1SG sell-buy =1SG
 ‘Seman will look after kids, whereas I go for shopping.’

11.3.9 *ø-ã?ã* ‘while’

The verb *ø-ã?ã* ‘do, make; with; and’ can also mean ‘while’. In this case, again, it displays default agreement.

- (52) *na neku? tobo n-ã?ã gaka mu?*
 3SG only sit 3SG-do cry just
 ‘S/he was just sitting down while crying.’

- (53) *tahi blina n-ã?ã mæli.*
 sea.water clear 3SG-do calm
 ‘The sea water is clear and calm.’

- (54) *Ika pana pura rae Boru n-ã?ã Lewotobi n-ai.*
 Ika walk begin DIR.MT Boru 3SG-do Lewotobi 3SG-go
 ‘Ika left at the direction of the mountain, Boru, with going to Lewotobi.’

11.3.10 *ake nã* ‘not only’

The connective expression *ake nã* means ‘not only’.

(55) *ake* _____ *nā* *ata* *dikā* *gehā?*,
 NEG.IMP CONJ person right.NMZ other.NMZ

ama-ba *nā?ē* *di* *na* *horma hāla?*
 parents 3SG.NMZ also 3SG respect NEG

‘Let alone other people, s/he didn’t even respect his/her parents.’

(56) *ake* _____ *nā* *laŋo?*, *kamar di* *lae* *morā*.
 NEG.IMP CONJ house room also NEG IPFV

‘Let alone a house, (s/he) does not even have a room.’

11.3.11 *hama nā?ā* ‘in the same way, as if’

The verb *ø-ā?ā* ‘do, make; with; and’ can be used with *hama* ‘same’ to introduce an adverbial clause. In this function, this verb displays default agreement.

(57) *na* *pana* *hama* *n-ā?ā* *na* *kwukā*.
 3SG walk same 3SG-do 3SG drunk.NMZ

‘S/he walked in the same way s/he was drunk.’

(58) *na* *pana* *hama* *n-ā?ā* (*na* *pe?*) *manu*.
 3SG walk same 3SG-do 3SG be.like chicken

‘S/he walked as if s/he were chicken.’

(59) *na* *lega* = *a?* *hama* *nā?ā* *na* *pe?* *kmamū* = *nā*.
 3SG hang.around = 3SG same 3SG-do 3SG be.like single = NMZ

‘S/he hangs around as if s/he were single’

11.3.12 *daripada* ‘than’

The Indonesian preposition *daripada* ‘than’ was borrowed as a conjunction for comparison.

(60) *bo: mae go turu =ə? daripada go lega =ə?*
 more good 1SG sleep =1SG than 1SG hang.around =1SG

'It is better for me to sleep than hang around.'

(61) *go pile oto Nurri Indah daripada oto Pantai Waiotan.*
 1SG choose car Nurri Indah than car Pantai Waiotan

'I will chose Nurri Indah than Pantai Waiotan.'

(“Nurri Indah” and “Pantai Waiotan” are the names of the taxi companies.)

12 *Verb serialization*

12.0 Introduction

This chapter investigates **verb serialization**, which refers to the type of structures where more than one verb appear in a fixed order within a single clause, there being no marker of coordination, subordination, or nominalization between them. Let us use (1) for illustration.

- (1) **V1 = Manner of motion; V2 = Path of motion:**

go pana tama laŋo?

1SG walk enter house

'I walked entering the house'

'I entered the house by walking.'

'I walked into the house.'

In (1), there are two verbs, namely, the manner of motion verb *pana* 'walk' and the path of motion verb *tama* 'enter'. Semantically speaking, this construction expresses a single integrated event that happened to the subject argument *go* '1SG'. Both the two verbs contribute to the meaning of the sentence yet from a different perspective. The literal translation of (1) should be something like 'I walk enter the house', but what is the most appropriate translation hinges upon which verb one identifies as the head of the relevant construction (see Section 12.3.1).

From a syntactic perspective, this construction type has two formal characteristics. First, these two verbs occur in a single clause without any marker of coordination,

subordination or nominalization. They are merely serialized, i.e., juxtaposed to each other. Second, when serialized, the manner of motion and the path of motion verbs appear only in this order and the reversed order results in an ungrammatical sentence. For this reason, we refer to the two verbs in serial verb constructions as V1 and V2, respectively.

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the patterns of verb serialization in Lamaholot and to explore their syntactic and semantic nature. As discussed in Section 12.3, our description and analysis of Lamaholot verb serialization are not satisfactory or convincing at this point because of the lack of the data available. For this reason, here we only try to present our material in a neutral way without committing ourselves to a specific analysis of verb serialization.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 12.1 provides the kinds of verb serialization in Lamaholot. Serial verb constructions include different kinds of constructions with different characteristics. In Section 12.2, we argue that V2s in these constructions do not have the lexical autonomy of independent verbs by comparing them with locationals in prepositional use and quasi-verb serialization constructions. Lastly, in Section 12.3, we discuss two remaining problems that have to be left unsolved at this point and need more research in the future.

12.1 Kinds of verb serialization

In this section, we offer an overview of kinds of verb serialization in Lamaholot by listing possible combinations of verbs allowed in Lamaholot. The list of the combinations of verbs discussed here is listed in (2).

- (2) **Verb serialization in Lamaholot:**
- a. V1 = Action; V2 = Manipulation (Section 12.1.1)
 - b. V1 = Action; V2 = Manipulation (Section 12.1.2)
 - c. V1 = Manner of motion; V2 = Path of motion (Section 12.1.3)
 - d. V1 = Action/Motion; V2 = Deictic motion (Section 12.1.4)
 - e. V1 = Action; V2 = Giving (Section 12.1.5)
 - f. V1 = Action; V2 = Following (Section 12.1.6)
 - g. V1 = Action; V2 = Path of motion (Section 12.1.7)
 - h. V1 = Action; V2 = Aspect (Section 12.1.8)
 - i. V1 = Action; V2 = Modality (Section 12.1.9)

In the rest of this section, we examine these combinations of verbs in verb serialization one by one.

12.1.1 V1 = Action; V2 = Manipulation

When verbs of action and of manipulation are serialized, the resulting serial verb construction means that the subject participant carries out the action designated by V1 by using V2, as in (3) and (4).

- (3) *go poro ikā k-ā?ā hepe.*
 1SG cut fish 1SG-do knife
 ‘I cut fish manipulating a knife.’
- (4) *go hābo pake wai? mu?u = kā.*
 1SG take.bath use water warm =NMZ
 ‘I took a bath using warm water.’

12.1.2 V1 = Action; V2 = Manipulation

In Section 12.1.1, we have already seen the type of verb serialization of which the verb of manipulation *θ-āʔā* ‘do, make’ is part. This verb also appears in another type of serialized constructions that indicates that the subject participant carries out the action designated by V1 together with the object argument of V2. See (5) and (6).

- (5) *go pana k-āʔā Hugo.*
 1SG walk 1SG-do Hugo
 ‘I walked with Hugo.’

- (6) *Srinu bəŋo go n-āʔā bine = kā.*
 Srinu hit 1SG 3SG-do sister =NMZ
 ‘Srinu hit me with his sister.’

It remains unclear why verb serialization with this verb of manipulation covers such meanings, but it also expresses the situation that the subject participant carries out the action V1 in the manner specified by V2 as in (7) and the one that the subject participant feels the emotion expressed by V1 because of the stimulus introduced by V2, as in (8).

- (7) *Hugo soka n-āʔā teʔē.*
 Hugo dance 3SG-do DEM.PROX.NMZ
 ‘Hugo danced in this way.’
- (8) *go gehĩ k-āʔā mo.*
 1SG hate 1SG-do 2SG
 ‘I hate you.’

In Indonesian, these semantic domains such as instrumental, comitative, manner, and stimulus are covered by the single preposition *dengan*. So this semantic extension might be widespread among Indonesian languages.

12.1.3 V1 = Manner of motion; V2 = Path of motion

When verbs of manner of motion and path of motion are serialized in this order, the resulting serial verb constructions express that the subject participant undergoes the change of location in the manner specified by V1 and following the path designated by V2 (cf. agentive and caused motion constructions in Section 13.7). For example, look at examples in (9) through (12).

- (9) *Ika pla?e lou laŋo?*
 Ika run exit house
 ‘Ika ran out of the house.’
- (10) *Hugo pana gere ile.*
 Hugo walk go.up mountain
 ‘Hugo walked up the mountain.’
- (11) *Lin baha? tena tama gua.*
 Lin row boat enter cave
 ‘Lin rowed a boat into the cave.’
- (12) *Nia gere speda lewa? wəra.*
 Nia go.up/ride bicyclecross sand
 ‘Nia went across the beach by bicycle.’
 (lit. ‘Nia rode a bicycle across the beach.’)

12.1.4 V1 = Action/Motion; V2 = Deictic motion

When used in verb serialization, deictic motion verbs express a vector property of spatiodirectional concepts as well as the deictic nature of a designated motion (i.e., either ‘toward speaker’ or ‘away from speaker’). Vector means the trajectory along which Figure moves in space. Three types of trajectory, LOCATION, GOAL, and SOURCE are contrasted here. GOAL is a trajectory through which Figure moves to Ground, while SOURCE is one through which Figure goes away from Ground. LOCATION represents a situation through which Figure stands still in Ground. In English, for example, such vector features of spatial relationships are indicated by prepositions. See (13), (14), and (15).

- (13) John is waiting **in** the station. LOCATION
 (14) John walked **to** the station. GOAL
 (15) John walked back **from** the station. SOURCE

As pointed out in Section 6.6, unlike English prepositions, the grammatical devices with a prepositional use (i.e., demonstratives, directionals, and the locative) are neutral to this kind of spatial information. They can go with any of these vector concepts; instead, vector information is determined by deictic motion verbs.

In this section, we present the description and analysis of serial verb constructions involving deictic motion verbs. In Section 12.1.4.1, we look at serial verb constructions with *θ-ai* ‘go’, and in Section 12.1.4.2, we examine serial verb construction with COME-verbs. These two types of serial verb constructions do not only indicate the deictic nature of a motion but also specify the name of a goal or source location by means of an NP or LocP. In contrast, Section 12.1.4.3 examines goal and source serial verb constructions without such an NP or LocP.

12.1.4.1 V2 = GO

When the deictic motion verb *ø-ai* 'go' is serialized with another verb, the resulting serial verb constructions indicate that the subject participant changes its location to a specific direction away from speaker. For example, consider examples in (16), (17), (18), and (19).

(16) *Ika lou laŋo? rae woho? n-ai.*

Ika exit house DIR.MT outside 3SG-go

'Ika went out of the house to the direction of the mountain (to) the outside.'

(17) *Hugo gere ile mā n-ai.*

Hugo go.up mountain garden 3SG-go

'Hugo went up the mountain to the garden.'

(18) *Lin tama laŋo? kamar onə? n-ai.*

Lin enter house room inside 3SG-go

'Lin went into the house to the inside of the room.'

(19) *Nia lewa? wəra wəli skola n-ai.*

Nia go.across sand DIR.COAST school 3SG-go

'Nia went across the beach in the direction parallel with the coast (to) the school.'

This type of verb serialization can also be used in caused motion constructions, where V1 is a causative verb and V2 is a deictic motion verb. In this case the semantic subject of *ø-ai* 'go' is the object argument of V1s. Look at (20) and (21).

(20) *Ika sepa bal rae woho? n-ai.*

Ika kick ball DIR.MT outside 3SG-go

'Ika kicked the ball in the direction of the mountain (to) the outside.'

- (21) *Hugo soko bal teti n-ai.*
 Hugo toss ball DIR.UP 3SG-go
 ‘Hugo toss the ball to the direction of the sky.’

12.1.4.2 V2 = COME

Deictic motion verbs for ‘come’ are serialized with another verb, yielding the interpretation that the subject argument changes its location in a specific direction designated by a deictic motion verb. Consider (22), (23), (24), and (25).

- (22) *Ika lou laŋo? kamar onə? hau.*
 Ika exit house room inside come
 ‘Ika went out of the house from the inside of the house (to here).’
- (23) *Hugo gere ile lali lewo haka.*
 Hugo go.up mountain DIR.DOWN village come
 ‘Hugo climbed the mountain from the village (to here).’
- (24) *Lin tama laŋo? woho? dai.*
 Lin enter house outside come
 ‘Lin entered the house from the outside (to here).’
- (25) *Nia lewa? wəra wəli skola dai.*
 Nia go.across sand DIR.COAST school come
 ‘Nia went across the beach from the direction parallel with the coast (from) the school (to here).’

The source verb serialization can also be employed in caused motion constructions, where V1 is a causative motion verb and V2 is a deictic motion verb. See (26) and (27).

- (26) *Ika sepa bal rae woho? hau.*
 Ika kick ball DIR.MT outside come
 ‘Ika kicked the ball from the direction of the mountain (from) the outside (to here)’
- (27) *Hugo soko bal teti hau.*
 Hugo toss ball DIR.UP come
 ‘Hugo tossed the ball from the direction of the sky (to here).’

A note on the deictic nature of goal and source serial verb constructions is in order. As indicated in the translations of examples, serialized deictic motion verbs still maintain deictic meanings: *NP/LocP* *ø-ai* ‘go’ means ‘(away from speaker) to NP/LocP’ and COME verbs mean ‘from NP (toward speaker)’.

In order to express goal and source participants in a clause without deictic meanings, it is necessary to use the path-of-motion verbs *pura* ‘begin’ and *sape* ‘reach’ as V2s. See (28) and (29), respectively.

- (28) *Ika pana pura rae Boru.*
 Ika walk begin DIR.MT Boru
 ‘Ika walked from the direction of the mountain (from) Boru.’
- (29) *Ika pana sape rae Boru.*
 Ika walk reach DIR.MT Boru
 ‘Ika walked to the direction of the mountain (from) Boru.’

12.1.4.3 V2 = Deictic motion without a goal/source NP/LocP

In the preceding subsections, we observed that serial verb constructions with V2 = GO verbs (Section 12.1.4.1) and with V2 = COME verbs (Section 12.1.4.2) convey two kinds of path information: (i) the name of a goal or source location by means of an

NP/LocP and (ii) deictic information by means of deictic motion verbs. In those examples examined in Sections 12.1.4.1 and 12.1.4.2, both types of path information are indicated.

In this subsection, in contrast, we investigate those serial verb constructions of the V2 = deictic motion type without an overt NP/LocP for specifically expressing the name of a goal or source location. This can be easily achieved by dropping a preverbal NP/LocP of deictic motion verbs. To illustrate, consider examples in (30) and (31).

(30) *Hugo pana n-ai.*

Hugo walk 3SG-go

‘Hugo walked away (from speaker).’

(31) *Hugo pana hau.*

Hugo walk come

‘Hugo walked (from the direction of the mountain/sky) (to speaker).’

In (30) and (31), the deictic verbs for ‘go’ and ‘come’ appear at the clause-final position and specify the deictic property of an event denoted by V1. (30) and (31) form minimal pairs with ‘go’ and ‘come’: the deictic verb *ø-ai* ‘go’ in (30) indicates that the action of walking was carried away from speaker to somewhere, but the deictic verb *hau* ‘come’ in (31) states that the same action was done in an opposite direction from somewhere to speaker. In these sentences, deictic verbs are still used to indicate path information but only deictically. Unlike those observed in Sections 12.1.3.1 and 12.1.3.2, the names of the goal and source locations remain unspecified.

The same contrast can be observed in caused motion events, too. See (32), (33), (34), and (35).

- (32) *mo m-əte kursi m-ai.*
 2SG 2SG-hold chair 2SG-go
 ‘Take the chair (to somewhere)!’
- (33) *mo m-əte kursi dai.*
 2SG 2SG-hold chair come
 ‘Bring the chair (to here)!’
- (34) *mo sepa bola m-ai.*
 2SG kick ball 2SG-go
 ‘Kick the ball away!’
- (35) *mo sepa bola dai.*
 2SG kick ball come
 ‘Kick the ball (to here)!’

Examples in (32) and (33) contain minimal pairs with ‘go’ and ‘come’. (32) means that hearer is asked to hold the chair while moving away from speaker, whereas (33) indicates that he or she is requested to keep the chair while moving toward speaker. Likewise, examples in (34) and (35) form a minimal pair in the same way. Both sentences are used to ask the addressee to kick the ball, but the direction of the ball’s movement is different between (34) and (35): ‘away (from speaker)’ in (34) and ‘toward speaker’ in (35).

When the deictic motion verbs are removed from (30), (31), (32), (33), (34), and (35), the resulting sentences do not mean a translational motion event (i.e., the movement of Figure relative to Ground; Section 8.3.1) any longer, but an action or manner of motion. See (36), (37), and (38).

- (36) *Hugo pana.*
 Hugo walk
 ‘Hugo walked.’
- (37) *mo m-əte kursi.*
 2SG 2SG-hold chair
 ‘Hold the chair!’
- (38) *mo sepa bal.*
 2SG kick ball
 ‘Kick the ball!’ or ‘Play the soccer!’

In (36), the manner-of-motion verb *pana* ‘walk’ now only expresses a non-translational motion. In (37), the causative verb *ə-ətə* ‘hold’ simply indicates an action of holding the chair without involving any motion. Lastly, in (38), the causative verb *sepa* ‘kick’ means the action of kicking itself. (38) may be used to ask the addressee to juggle a soccer ball or play the soccer.

Three notes on goal and source serial verb constructions are in order. First, dropping an NP/LocP for a goal or source location is obligatory when the entire sentence includes a path-of-motion verb. To illustrate, consider examples in (39) and (40).

- (39) *Sius tama laŋo?*
 Sius enter house
 ‘Sius entered the house.’
- (40) *Besa pana gere ile.*
 Besa walk climb mountain
 ‘Besa walked up the mountain.’

An example sentence in (39) includes the path-of-motion verb *tama* ‘enter’, and one in (40), *gere* ‘climb, go up’. Importantly, both sentences are fully qualified as motion expressions without deictic motion verbs, because path information is clearly indicated in each sentence.

Now, when deictic motion verbs are serialized in (39) and (40), they do not take an NP/LocP for specifying the name of a goal or source location, as in (41), (42), (43), and (44). In these examples, the deictic motion verbs are only used to distinguish between motion away from speaker and toward speaker. Remember from Section 8.3.3 that the preverbal NP/LocP of a deictic motion verb should be best analyzed as an adjunct rather than an argument.

(41) *Sius tama laŋo? n-ai.*

Sius enter house 3SG-go

‘Sius entered the house away from speaker.’

(→ Speaker is outside the house.)

(42) *Besa pana gere ile n-ai.*

Besa walk go.up mountain 3SG-go

‘Besa walked up the mountain away from speaker.’

(→ Speaker is down in the mountain.)

(43) *Sius tama laŋo? dai.*

Sius enter house come

‘Sius entered the house toward speaker.’

(→ Speaker is inside the house.)

(44) *Besa pana gere ile hau.*

Besa walk climb mountain come

‘Besa walked up the mountain toward speaker.’

(→ Speaker is up in the mountain.)

The semantic difference between motion constructions (39) and (40) without deictic motion verbs and (41), (42), (43), and (44) with is that it is only in the latter that the deictic information about speaker is encoded. To be more specific, in the former, it is impossible to tell where speaker is. In the latter, on the contrary, deictic motion verbs indicate the position of speaker relative to Figure. There is no semantic difference between them beyond this.

On the contrary, when the entire sentence does not have a path-of-motion verb, a goal or source location can be optionally dropped from deictic motion verbs. See (45) and (46).

- (45) *Sius naje (lau Solor) n-ai.*
 Sius swim DIR.SEA Solor 3SG-go
 ‘Sius will swim away from speaker (to Solor Island).’
- (46) *Sius naje (lau Solor) dai.*
 Sius swim DIR.SEA Solor come
 ‘Sius will swim (from Solor Island) toward speaker.’

In (45) and (46), the expression for the goal and source locations *lau Solor* ‘in the direction of the sea, Solor’ can be optionally omitted. When it is omitted, (45) means Sius will swim away from speaker with the goal location (= Solor) unmentioned, and (46) indicates that Sius will swim toward speaker, without referring to the source location (= Solor).

In passing, it should be noted that if the deictic motion verbs are deleted in (45) and (46), we get example (47), which does not imply a translational motion of Figure relative to Ground, but Figure’s (non-translational) activity in Ground.

(47) *Sius naje lau Solor.*

Sius swim DIR.SEA Solor

‘Sius swam in the direction of the sea (in) Solor (e.g., on the beach).’

The second note on goal and source serial verb constructions is that the deictic serial verb construction can be used for an abstract deictic motion, too. See (48), where *dai* ‘come from the direction of the sea’ specifies the direction of gaze of the people (see also Section 13.7.3).

(48) *ra notō ia go dai.*

3PL watch LOC 1SG come

‘They watched me from the direction of the sea!’

Lastly, deictic motion verbs can be used as V2s in imperative sentences so as to intensify the meaning of request. Consider (49) and (50).

(49) *neī go gula hau.*

give 1SG candy come

‘Give me candies!’ (The addressee is in the direction of the mountain or the sky.)

(50) *hope go gula dai ka.*

buy 1SG candy come EMP

‘Buy me candies!’ (The addressee is in the direction of the sea.)

In (49), the deictic motion verb *hau* ‘come from the direction of the mountain or the sky’ adds two meanings to the clause: (i) speaker puts emphasis on the meaning of a request, and (ii) the position of candies is in the direction of the mountain or the sky (from speaker). In (50), *dai* ‘come from the direction of the sea’ does the same function.

Note that the use of deictic motion verbs with imperative sentences is not a polite way of making a request.

12.1.5 V1 = Action; V2 = Giving

When verbs of action and of giving are serialized, the resulting serial verb construction means that the subject participant carries out the action designated by V1 so as to provide some benefit to the object argument of V2. There are two verbs of giving that can be involved in this type of verb serialization: *neĩ* and *sorō* ‘give’. See (51) and (52).

(51) *go hope gula sorō na.*
 1SG buy candy give 3SG
 ‘I bought a candy for him/her.’

(52) *go biho neĩ Besa.*
 1SG cook give Besa
 ‘I cooked for Besa.’

12.1.6 V1 = Action; V2 = Following

When verbs of action and of following appear in a single clause, the resulting serial verb constructions mean that the subject argument carries out the action specified by V1 in accordance with the object participant of V2. Consider (53).

(53) *dore* ‘follow’ → ‘according to (accordance)’:
Hugo tutu koda dore gambar.
 Hugo tell story accord.to picture
 ‘Hugo told a story according to the picture.’
 (Hugo tried to relate the frog story.)

12.1.7 V1 = Action; V2 = Path of motion

The path-of-motion verbs *pura* ‘begin’ and *sape* ‘reach’ can be involved in expressing the starting point and the end point of a specific duration of time, respectively, when they are serialized with verbs of action. Consider examples in (54) and (55).

(54) *pura* ‘begin’ → ‘from (beginning of time)’:

go kriā pura neku nokō.

1SG work begin last night

‘I worked from last night.’

(55) *sape* ‘reach’ → ‘until (end of time)’:

tite t-enū sape hārā-wāti.

1PL.INC drink reach morning

‘Let’s drink until the morning (comes)!’

12.1.8 V1 = Action; V2 = Aspectual verbs

When they are used as V2s of serial verb constructions, the aspectual verbs *pura?* ‘begin’, *hākā* ‘stop’, *tāru* ‘keep, continue’ and *waha* ‘finish’ specify an aspectual property of another event expressed by V1. See (56), (57), (58) and (59), respectively.

(56) *pura?* ‘begin’ → ‘incipient stage of an action’:

Nia gā pura?

Nia eat.3SG begin

‘Nia began to eat.’

(57) *hākā* ‘stop’ → ‘termination of an action in the middle’:

Nia gā hākā.

Nia eat.3SG stop

‘Nia stopped eating.’

(58) *təru* ‘continue’ → ‘continuation of an action’:

Nia gā tərū.

Nia eat.3SG keep

‘Nia kept eating.’

(59) *waha* ‘finish’ → ‘completion of an action’:

Nia gā waha.

Nia eat.3SG finish

‘Nia finished eating.’

In (56), the serialized verb *pura?* ‘begin’ indicates that the event of eating denoted by the main verb is in its incipient stage. In (57), the serialized verb *həkə* ‘stop’ means that Nia stopped eating in the middle. In (58), the serialized verb *təru* ‘continue, keep’ indicates that Nia continued to eat or kept eating. Lastly, in (59), *waha* ‘finish’ elaborates the event of eating as a complete event.

Note that there are syntactic and semantic differences between aspectual verbs as main verbs and as serialized verbs. On the one hand, the aspectual verb *təru* ‘keep’ is not used as a main verb, but only as a serialized verb. On the other hand, the verbs *pura* ‘begin’, *həkə* ‘stop’, and *waha* ‘finish’ can appear as main verbs, but with a non-aspectual meaning. See (60), (61), and (62).

(60) *pura* ‘begin’ as a main verb:

tana kəmē? pura tehe.

land 1PL.EXC.NMZ begin DEM.PROX

‘Our land begins here.’

(61) *həkə* ‘stop’ as a main verb:

Nia *həkə* *speda*.

Nia stop bicycle

‘Nia stopped the bicycle.’

(62) *waha* ‘finish’ as a main verb:

doi *goʔē* *waha* *kaeʔ*.

money 1SG.NMZ finish PFV

‘My money ran out.’

Notice that in (60) *pura* ‘begin’ has a non-temporal but physical meaning being used as a main verb. Likewise, as in (61), when used as a main verb, *həkə* is a transitive verb meaning ‘stop (the motion of something)’. It does not have any temporal meaning. Lastly, as in (62), when appearing as a main verb, *waha* ‘finish’ is an intransitive verb meaning ‘finish’ or ‘run out’. Again, there is no temporal meaning observed here. Therefore, we can conclude that these verbs have a non-temporal meaning when used as main verbs but can be metaphorically extended to indicate an aspectual meaning when used as serialized verbs.

12.1.9 V1 = Action verbs; V2 = Modal verbs

Two modal verbs, *ø-warō* ‘can’ and *ø-ala* ‘by mistake’, are serialized as V2s with another verb, resulting in the interpretation that V2s express an epistemic attitude to the event described by V1s. The two modal verbs agree with the subject argument of a V1 by means of S/A-agreement prefixes and neither of them can be used as main verbs. The verb *ø-warō* ‘can, be capable’ is used at the clause-final position to express an epistemic modal meaning as in (63).

(63) *ø-warō* ‘can, be capable of’:

<i>go</i>	<i>k-enũ</i>	<i>tua</i>	<i>te?ẽ</i>	<i>k-warō.</i>
1SG	1SG-drink	tuak	DEM.PROX.NMZ	1SG-can

‘I can drink this tuak.’

In (63), the verb *ø-warō*, appearing at the end of the clause, indicates that the referent of the subject argument of the main verb *ø-enũ* ‘drink’ has the ability to perform the action designated by the V1. Note that (63), the verb *ø-warō* agrees with the subject argument of the V1.

The verb *ø-ala* ‘make mistake’ means that the event described by the V1 is done by mistake. Here, the V2 expresses an epistemic attitude to the main verb event. See (64).

(64) *ø-ala* ‘by mistake’:

<i>go</i>	<i>k-enu</i>	<i>bensin</i>	<i>k-ala.</i>
1SG	1SG-drink	gasoline	1SG-mistake

‘I drunk gasoline by mistake.’

In (64), the V2 *ø-ala* ‘make mistake’ indicates that the situation designated by the V1 happened accidentally or by mistake. In other words, this V2 highlights that the referent of the subject argument of the V1 did not have the intention to perform the action designated. Note that the V2 *ø-ala* ‘make mistake’ always agrees with the subject argument of the V1.

It seems obvious that *ø-warō* ‘can’ and *ø-ala* ‘by mistake’ in these serial verb constructions were reanalyzed as auxiliary verbs. For one thing, these two verbs are only used in serial verb constructions, but show grammatical agreement, which is characteristic of verbs. In addition, these verbs express modal meanings, which are often associated with auxiliaries (Kuteva 2001).

12.3 Lexical autonomy of V2s

This section investigates the nature of verb serialization by examining the morphosyntax and semantics of V1s and V2s and argues that V2s lack the lexical autonomy of independent verbs (Shibatani 2009c; Shibatani and Huang to appear). By doing so, we show that V2s have the properties listed in (65).

(65) **Characteristics of V2s in Lamaholot:**

- a. Do not have an independent subject;
- b. Do not appear in the main predicate position
(i.e., immediately after a subject argument);
- c. Do not have the same concrete meaning their corresponding verbs have;
- d. Do not have an independent TAM property; and
- e. Do not assign a primary object grammatical relation.

We examine the criteria listed (65) in relation to prepositional use of locationals in Section 12.3.1 and quasi-verb serialization in Section 12.3.2.

12.3.1 Serialized verbs and prepositional use of locationals

In this section, we demonstrate that V2s in serial verb constructions do not have the lexical autonomy of independent verbs, examining the properties listed in (65) against prepositional use of locationals. To illustrate this point, let us use the serialized verb (i.e., V2) *pake* ‘use’ in (66) and the predicative main verb *pake* ‘use’ in (67).

(66) **V2 *pake* ‘use’:**

<i>go</i>	<i>poro</i>	<i>ikā</i>	<i>pake</i>	<i>hepe.</i>
1SG	cut	fish	use	knife

‘I cut fish with a knife.’

(67) **Main verb *pake* ‘use’:***go pake hepe.*

1SG use knife

‘I used the knife.’

First, *pake* appears in the position immediately after a subject argument in (67), but in (66), this main verb position is taken by the V1 *poro* ‘cut’. Instead, *pake* appears after the V1.

Second, *pake* can take its own subject in (67). However, in (66), *pake* does not have its own overt subject argument in the clause. The agent of using a knife is only understood from the subject argument of V2. In this sense, the interpretation of V1 *pake* in (66) is dependent on that of V2.

Third, the serialized verb V2 *pake* cannot take its own negator, while the main verb *pake* can. To illustrate, consider (68) and (69).

(68) **V2 *pake* ‘use’:****go poro ikā hāla? pake hepe hāla?.*

1SG cut fish NEG use knife NEG

(69) **Main verb *pake* ‘use’:***go pake hepe hāla?.*

1SG use knife NEG

‘I didn’t use the knife.’

In (68), V1 *poro* ‘cut’ has its own negator *hāla?* after *ikā* ‘fish’ and V2 *pake* also takes one, which results in an ungrammatical sentence. But as in (69), when used as a main verb, *pake* can take its own negator.

Lastly and more crucially, V2 *pake* ‘use’ has lost the function of assigning the primary object grammatical relation to its argument, while any other transitive verbs have (see Section 9.2.2 for primary object). This can be confirmed in two ways. For one thing, the pronominal enclitic =*roʔ* can refer to the object argument of the main verb, but not to the complement of V2. Compare (70) and (71).

(70) **Serialized verb *pake* ‘use’ → ‘with (instrumental)’:**

**go poro ikã pake =roʔ.*

1SG cut fish use =3SG

Intended for ‘I cut fish with it.’

(71) **Main verb *pake* ‘use’:**

go pake =roʔ.

1SG use =3SG

‘I used the knife.’

As in (70), the instrumental argument of the V2 *pake* cannot take the pronominal enclitic =*roʔ*; (71) shows that the main verb *pake* can take it. This means that the V2 *pake* lost the function of assigning the primary object relation. Remember from Section 9.2.2 that this pronominal enclitic only replaces for an argument bearing the primary object grammatical relation.

In addition, the argument of the V2 *pake* cannot appear in the topic position of Object-Topic constructions, as in (72), while that of the main verb *pake* can, as in (73).

(72) **V2 *pake* ‘use’:**

**hepe, go poro ikã pake.*

knife 1SG cut fish use

‘The knife, I cut fish with (it).’

(73) **Main verb *pake* ‘use’:***hepe go pake.*

1SG use knife

‘The knife, I used (it).’

Section 9.3.2 shows that only arguments bearing the subject and primary/secondary object grammatical relations can also bear the topic relation. Therefore, the fact that the V2 cannot appear in the topic position means that the V2 cannot assign either subject or object grammatical relation to its argument.

To summarize, when serialized, the V2 *pake* cannot appear in the main predicate position, have its own subject or negator independently, or assign an object relation to its argument. Importantly, these properties are exactly the same as demonstratives, directionals, and the locative in prepositional use (Chapter 6). First, remember that the demonstrative *pe*: ‘there’, for example, appears in the main predicate position when used as a locative predicate, but after the main predicate when used as a preposition introducing an adjunct phrase. See (74) and (75).

(74) **Prepositional use of *pe*: ‘there’ as a predicate:***Hugo pe: _____ laŋo?*

Hugo DEM.DIS house

‘Hugo is there (in) the house.’

(75) **Prepositional use of *pe*: ‘there’ as an adjunct:***Hugo turu pe: _____ laŋo?*

Hugo sleep DEM.DIS house

‘Hugo is sleeping there (in) the house.’

Second, the interpretation of the prepositional use of *pe:* ‘there’ depends on the subject argument of the main predicate as in (75). When used as an adjunct, it cannot have its own subject. Third, the prepositional use of *pe:* ‘there’ cannot take its own negator, as in (76).

(76) **Prepositional use of *pe:* ‘there’ as an adjunct:**

*Hugo *туру* *həla?* *pe:* _____ *laŋo?* *həla?*.

Hugo sleep NEG DEM.DIS house NEG

Lastly, the prepositional use of *pe:* does not assign a primary object relation to the NP to follow. On the one hand, the pronominal enclitic =*ro?* cannot replace for the NP following *pe:* as in (77). On the other hand, the NP following *pe:* cannot bear the topic relation, appearing in the sentence-initial position, as in (78).

(77) **Prepositional use of *pe:* ‘there’ as an adjunct:**

*Hugo *туру* *pe:* _____ =*ro?*.

Hugo sleep DEM.DIS =3SG

Intended for ‘Hugo is sleeping there (in) it.’

(78) **Prepositional use of *pe:* ‘there’ as an adjunct:**

**laŋo?* *Hugo* *туру* *pe:*.

house Hugo sleep DEM.DIS

Intended for ‘The house, Hugo is sleeping there (in) (it).’

To conclude, V2 *pake* ‘use’ lacks the lexical autonomy of independent verbs in the same sense demonstratives, directionals, and the locative do, because they show exactly the same syntactic patterns as above.

The same type of evidence is also available for serial verb constructions where V1 is a verb of manner of motion and V2 is a verb of path of motion (Section 12.1.3). There are several reasons why path-of-motion verbs should be analyzed as not having the lexical autonomy when used as serial verb constructions. First, path-of-motion verbs serialized as V2s cannot take their own subject or negator. For example, observe in (79) that the serialized *lou* ‘exit’ does not have its own negator in addition to the one for a main predicate.

- (79) **Ika pla?e hela? lou laŋo? həla?*
 Ika run NEG exit house NEG

Second, in all cases, the verbs of path of motion that were mentioned so far do not appear in the position for predicative verbs. In (agentive) motion constructions such as in (9), (10), (11), and (12), the semantic subject of a V2 is the same as that of a V1; in caused motion constructions as in (80) and (81), it is the object argument of a V1. In either case, the semantic subject of path-of-motion verbs is an argument referring to the entity that actually undergoes the movement expressed by each sentence.

- (80) *go sepa bal tama laŋo?*
 1SG kick ball enter house

‘I kicked the ball into the house.’

- (81) *go sepa bal təkə ba go?ẽ pure? =kã.*
 1SG kick ball hit father 1SG.NMZ back =NMZ

‘I kicked the ball to my father’s back.’

Third, there is a slight semantic difference between path-of-motion verbs as predicative verbs and ones as serialized verbs. The semantic subject of serialized path-of-

motion verbs can be inanimate, but that of predicative counterparts must be animate.

Compare (81) and (82).

- (82) #*bal go?ē* *tama laŋo?*
 ball 1SG.NMZ enter house
 ‘My ball entered the house (by its own will).’

In (81), the V2 *tama* designates the motion of the ball, an inanimate entity. But this is not possible when it is used as a main verb, as in (82). The main verb *tama* does not allow an inanimate subject. This means that when serialized as a V2, the verb *tama* loses the requirement of its subject to be animate.

Fourth, like demonstratives, directionals, and the locative, path-of-motion verbs do not have the function of assigning a primary object relation to its argument when serialized as V2s. Let us use (83) for illustration.

- (83) *go gere speda te?ē* *tama laŋo? pe?ē*
 1SG ride bicycle DEM.PROX.NMZ enter house DEM.DIS.NMZ
 ‘I entered that house by riding this bike.’
 (lit. ‘I rode this bicycle into that house.’)

In (83), the main verb *gere* ‘go up, ride’ is followed by its object *speda* ‘bicycle’ and a combination of *gere* and *speda* forms a complex verb of manner of motion (Section 8.3.1). Then, the phrase *tama laŋo? pe?ē* ‘enter that house, into that house’ is introduced so as to specify path of motion for the motion described by the entire sentence.

Now, let us examine how the V1 *gere* ‘ride’ and the V2 *tama* ‘enter, into’ behave relative to the primary object-related phenomena (Section 9.2.2). On the one hand, the

object argument of the V1 *gere* can be replaced by the pronominal enclitic *=ro?* as in (84), while that of the V2 *tama* cannot as in (85).

(84) **V1 *gere* ‘ride’ + *=ro?*:**

go gere =ro? tama laŋo? pe?ẽ.
 1SG ride =3SG enter house DEM.DIS.NMZ
 ‘I rode it into that house.’

(85) **V2 *tama* ‘enter’ + *=ro?*:**

**go gere speda te?ẽ tama =ro?*
 1SG ride bicycle DEM.PROX.NMZ enter =3SG
 Intended for ‘I rode this bicycle into it.’

Note that the object argument of *tama* ‘enter’ can be referred to by *=ro?*, when this verb is used as a main verb rather than as a serialized verb. See (86).

(86) ***tama* ‘enter’ as a main predicate + *=ro?*:**

go tama =ro?
 1SG enter =3SG
 ‘I entered (it).’

On the other hand, the object argument of the V1 *gere* can appear in the topic position of Object-Topic constructions as in (87); that of the V2 *tama* cannot as in (88).

(87) **V1 *gere* ‘ride’ + topicalization:**

speda te?ẽ, go gere tama laŋo? pe?ẽ.
 bicycle DEM.PROX.NMZ 1SG ride enter house DEM.DIS.NMZ
 ‘This bike, I rode (it) into that house.’

(88) **V2 *tama* ‘enter’ + topicalization:**

*laŋo? peʔẽ, go gere speda teʔẽ tama.
 house DEM.DIS.NMZ 1SG ride bicycleDEM.PROX.NMZ enter

Intended for ‘That house, I rode this bicycle into (it).’

Note that the object argument of *tama* ‘enter’ can bear the topic relation in Object-Topic constructions, when this verb is used as a main verb rather than as a serialized verb. See (89)

(89) ***tama* ‘enter’ as a main predicate + topicalization:**

laŋo? peʔẽ, go tama.
 house DEM.DIS.NMZ 1SG enter

‘That house, I entered (it).’

To summarize, when serialized as V2s, path-of-motion verbs cannot have their own subject or negator and do not appear in the main predicate position. Also, they allow an inanimate entity to be their semantic subject, which is not the case in predicative path-of-motion verbs. Lastly, serialized path-of-motion verbs cannot assign a primary object grammatical relation to its argument. These properties are all shared by demonstratives, directionals and the locative in prepositional use. Therefore, all these facts prove that when serialized as V2s, path-of-motion verbs should be considered as not having the lexical autonomy of independent verbs.

This conclusion has a huge impact on the position of Lamaholot in a typology of motion events (Talmy 1985, 1991): our conclusion means that motion constructions above represent a **satellite-framed** pattern of motion events (Talmy 1991) or a non-head pattern (Matsumoto 2000): manner of motion is expressed by a main verb, while path of motion is represented by a satellite element like a serialized verb. Unlike Slobin (2004)’s

and Zlatev and Yangklang's (2004) analysis of motion serial verb constructions in other languages, we do not call this type **equipollently-framed**, because, as shown throughout this section, we have several pieces of evidence that verbs of path of motion do not have the equal status as those of manner of motion.

12.3.2 *Quasi-verb serialization*

In this section, we reintroduce three construction types, which look similar to, but behave differently from, verb serialization: (i) juxtaposed clauses, (ii) indirect causative constructions and pivotal constructions, and (iii) verbal compounds. These constructions were already touched upon in Sections 11.2.1, 11.1.1-2, and 3.8.2, respectively. The reason for discussing these three construction types in this chapter is to make clearer what verb serialization is in Lamaholot by examining the similarities and differences between these construction types and verb serialization.

Juxtaposed clauses are those that are connected in a sequential relation to express a series of action, as in (90) and (91). There is no purposive reading in these examples.

(90) *go k-aʔi =əʔ pasar k-ai hope jas.*
 1SG 1SG-go=1SG market 1SG-go buy jacket

'I went to the market and (I) bought a jacket.'

(91) *go sepa knaweʔ, k-əʔə buka.*
 1SG kick door 1SG-make open

'I kicked the door, and (I) made (it) open.'

This construction is similar to verb serialization in that there is no marker of subordination or coordination and that they show apparent argument sharing.

Indirect causative constructions and pivotal constructions (either subject-control or object-control) superficially seem to be involved in verb serialization. Consider (92), (93), and (94).

(92) **Indirect causative construction:**

Dami n-əʔə Srinu, n-enū tua? nəʔē.
 Dami 3SG-make Srinu 3SG-drink tuak 3SG.NMZ
 ‘Dami made Srinu drink his tuak.’

(93) **Pivotal construction (Subject control):**

Dami jənji Srinu, nenū tua nəʔē.
 Dami promise Srinu 3SG-drink tuak 3SG.NMZ
 ‘Dami promised Srinu to drink his tuak.’

(94) **Pivotal construction (Object control):**

Dami ruda Srinu, nenū tua nəʔē.
 Dami order Srinu 3SG-drink tuak 3SG.NMZ
 ‘Dami ordered Srinu to drink his tuak.’

In all the examples, there is no marker of complementation or subordination. Apparent argument sharing is also observed. In (92) and (94), the object of the first verb is the semantic subject of the second verb; in (93), the subject of the first verb is the subject of the second one (cf. pivotal constructions in Mandarin Chinese, Li and Thompson 1981:607ff).

In **verb compounds**, two verbs are juxtaposed to have another meaning in a non-compositional way. The two verbs of verb compounds always go together and no element can go between them. Examples of verb compounds are found in (95).

(95) **Verb compounds:**

<i>biho</i>	<i>brisa</i>	‘cook’	<i>huka</i>	<i>teka</i>	‘serve (food)’
<i>tubo</i>	<i>geha</i>	‘pull’	<i>neka?</i>	<i>soga</i>	‘store (rice or cereal)’
<i>gere</i>	<i>lodo</i>	‘be panic’	<i>səpī</i>	<i>sira</i>	‘clean (rice or cereal)’
<i>ksirō</i>	<i>kbərō</i>	‘sniff’	<i>gopa</i>	<i>lewa</i>	‘do not work’
<i>soka</i>	<i>sele</i>	‘dance’	<i>suru</i>	<i>gue</i>	‘do very hard’

Word-by-word glossing is not available, because some components of verb compounds are rarely used in other contexts than verb compounds, and the meaning of each component is opaque. But other compounds have transparent meanings, as in (96) and (97).

- (96) *kame* *soka-sele*.
 1PL.EXC dance-go.around
 ‘We dance around (to congratulate someone).’

- (97) *na* *gere-lodo* *taru*.
 3SG go.up-go.down all.the.time
 ‘S/he was panic all the time.’

In (96), the verb *soka* ‘dance’ and the verb *sele* ‘go around’ are allocated to each other, resulting in the verb compound meaning ‘to dance around (to congratulate someone)’. Another example is given in (97), where the verbs *gere* ‘go up’ and *lodo* ‘go down’ are combined together to mean ‘be panic’.

Now let us consider the morphosyntax of quasi-verb serialization constructions above in relation to the criteria listed in (65). First, V2s do not have an independent subject: their subject is determined depending on the construction in which they appear and V1s with which they occur.

This is not the case with autonomous lexical verbs, juxtaposed clauses, pivotal constructions, or verb compounds. Observe that verbs in juxtaposed clauses (98), in an indirect causative construction (99), in a subject-control pivotal construction (100), in an object-control pivotal construction (101), and a verb compound (102) can have their own subject.

(98) **Juxtaposed clauses:**

kame m-aʔi pasar m-ai, na hope jas.
 1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC-go market 1PL.EXC-go 3SG buy jacket
 ‘I went to the market and s/he bought a jacket.’

(99) **Indirect causative construction:**

Dami n-əʔə Srinu, na n-enū tua? nəʔē.
 Dami 3SG-make Srinu 3SG 3SG-drink tuak 3SG.NMZ
 ‘Dami made Srinu drink his tuak.’ (lit. ‘Dami made Srinu he drink his tuak.’)

(100) **Pivotal construction (Subject control):**

Dami janji Srinu, na nenū tua? nəʔē.
 Dami promise Srinu 3SG 3SG-drink tuak 3SG.NMZ
 ‘Dami promised Srinu that he (=Dami) would drink his tuak.’

(101) **Pivotal construction (Object control):**

Dami ruda Srinu, na nenū tua? nəʔē.
 Dami order Srinu 3SG 3SG-drink tuak 3SG.NMZ
 ‘Dami ordered Srinu that he (=Srinu) would drink his tuak.’

(102) **Verb compound:**

na gopa-lewa = aʔ.
 3SG do.nothing =3SG
 ‘S/he does nothing.’

Second, V2s do not appear in the main predicate position: namely, they do not appear in the position immediately following the subject argument. Instead, they appear in other positions. This is not true of autonomous verbs. Observe that in (98), (99), (100), (101), and (102) all verbs in juxtaposed clauses and pivotal constructions appear in the main predicate position. In verbal compounds, two verbs are combined together to form a single verb, and both of them appear in the main predicate position altogether. Notice that in (102), the verbal compound *gopa-lewa* ‘do nothing’ is followed by the S-agreement enclitic =*a?*, which shows that the entire verb compound works as a single predicate.

Third, V2s do not have an independent TAM property. Their aspectual and modal features are dependent on the verb with which they go together. Observe in (103) and (104) that taking an independent negator ends up in an ungrammatical sentence in verb serialization.

(103) **V1 = action; V2 = manipulation:**

go poro ikā pake hepe hāla?

1SG cut fish use knife NEG

‘I didn’t cut fish with a knife.’

→ **go poro hāla? ikā hepe hāla?*

(104) **V1 = action; V2 = aspectual verb:**

go kā həkə hāla?

1SG eat.1SGstop NEG

‘I didn’t stop eating.’

→ **go kā hāla? həkə hāla?*

In contrast, as in (105) and (106), verbs of juxtaposed clauses and indirect causative constructions can take their own negator, resulting in the occurrence of more than one negator per sentence.

(105) **Juxtaposed clauses:**

go k-aʔi pasar k-ai həlaʔ, hope ikā həlaʔ.
 1SG 1SG-leave market 1SG-go NEG buy fish NEG
 ‘I didn’t go to the market, and (I) didn’t buy fish.’

(106) **Indirect causative construction:**

go ruda Ika həlaʔ, hope ikā həlaʔ.
 1SG order Ika NEG buy fish NEG
 ‘I didn’t order Ika not to buy fish.’

As in (107), verb compounds can take only one negator. This is just because no element can appear between components of a compound.

(107) **Verb compounds:**

**kame soka həlaʔ sele həlaʔ.*
 1PL.EXC dance NEG go.around NEG
 Intended for ‘We didn’t dance around (to congratulate someone).’

Fifth, V2s cannot assign a primary object grammatical relation that any predicative transitive verbs can but preposition-like elements cannot (see Section 12.2.1). In contrast, the second verb of juxtaposed clauses (108), an indirect causative construction (109), and a verb compound (110) can take =*roʔ*.

(108) **Juxtaposed clauses:**

go k-aʔi pasar k-ai, hope =roʔ.
 1SG 1SG-leave market 1SG-go buy =3SG
 ‘I went to the market, and (I) bought it.’

(109) **Indirect causative constructions:**

go ruda Ika, hope =ro?

1SG order Ika buy =3SG

‘I ordered Ika to buy it.’

(110) **Verb compounds:**

kame səpī-sira =ro?

1PL.EXC clean =3SG

‘We cleaned it (rice).’

The contrast in the availability of *=ro?* between verb serialization and other clause linkage shows that V2s do not work as main verb predicates, which are supposed to have an argument bearing the primary object relation.

Lastly, the object argument of a V2 does not undergo topicalization. As shown in Section 12.2.1, the object of a V2 cannot appear in the topic position of the Object-Topic construction. This statement is not the case in juxtaposed clauses, indirect causative constructions, or verb compounds. They can be involved in topicalization. Consider (111), (112), and (113).

(111) **Juxtaposed clauses:**

go k-a?i pasar k-ai, hepe te?ē go hope.

1SG 1SG-leave market 1SG-go knife DEM.PROX.NMZ 1SG buy

‘I went to the market, and, as for this knife, I bought (it).’

(112) **Indirect causative constructions:**

ikā te?ē go ruda Ika, hope.

fish DEM.PROX.NMZ 1SG order Ika buy

‘As for this fish, I ordered Ika to buy (it).’

(113) **Verb compounds:**

<i>tāhā</i>	<i>te?ē</i>	<i>kame</i>	<i>sapī-sira.</i>
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rice	DEM.PROX.NMZ	1PL.EXC	clean
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‘As for this rice, we cleaned (it).’

As discussed in Section 9.3, any argument of main verbs can appear in the topic position of Object-Topic constructions; as indicated in Section 12.1, a complement NP of a demonstrative, a directional and the locative cannot take the topic position. The fact that an NP following a V2 cannot go through this syntactic operation means that V2s syntactically behave like prepositional uses of locationals rather than like verbs.

To conclude, V2s in Lamaholot verb serialization do not have the lexical autonomy of independent verbs, because they do not have the properties that main verbs do, while verbs that appear in juxtaposed clauses, indirect causative constructions, and verb compounds are all independent verbs.

12.4 Remaining problems

In this chapter, we discussed constructions involving verb serialization, where two verbs, V1 and V2, are juxtaposed to each other in a fixed order within a single clause without any marker of coordination, subordination or nominalization. Serial verb constructions in this sense are divided into several subtypes that have different syntactic and semantic properties. It was also shown that V2s do not have the lexical autonomy of independent verbs. V2s do not appear right after a subject argument, do not take their own subject argument or negator, and cannot assign a primary object relation to their complement NP.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, however, our discussion in this chapter is far from a complete or satisfactory analysis of verb serialization in Lamaholot, because it leaves more substantial problems in verb serialization unanswered. In this

section, we introduce two unsolved issues, namely, the nature of the syntactic head in serial verb constructions (Section 12.3.1) and the distinction between constructional conditions and grammaticalization (Section 12.3.2). By pointing out these limitations, we hope to show that we are aware of these problems and that more research is needed to solve these problems.

12.3.1 The nature of the syntactic head

The first remaining problem pertains to the nature of the syntactic head in Lamaholot serial verb constructions. To illustrate this issue, let us consider (114).

(114) *go pana tama lajo? k-ai.*

1SG walk enter house 1SG-go

‘I walked into the house.’ or ‘I walked entering the house (away from speaker).’

Three verbs are used in (114): the manner-of-motion verb *pana* ‘walk’, the path-of-motion verb *tama* ‘enter’, and the deictic motion verb *ø-ai* ‘go’. All these three verbs are used for describing the single action carried out by speaker yet from different perspectives.

The question to ask here is, what is the syntactic head of the serial verb construction in (114)? There are three possible answers to this question. The first possible answer to this question is that the V1 is the head. The second is that the V2 or the V3 is the head, and the third is that these verbs form a complex predicate, where neither of the constituting members is uniquely a head but where the relevant verbs form a complex head.

In Section 12.2, we observed that V2s do not have the lexical autonomy of independent verbs, while V1s do. This might look like supporting the analysis that V1s are the head in the relevant constructions. However, this evidence may not be enough.

This is because this argumentation is based on another unwarranted assumption that verbs and verb phrases in complex constructions behave the same way as independent verbs in simplex constructions. Therefore, in future investigation, it is necessary to address all the three possibilities above and arrive at a conclusion upon the detailed analysis of the relevant constructions.

12.3.2 Constructional conditions and grammaticalization

The second question is concerned with the properties of V2s. In Section 12.3, it was observed that V2s lack some of the properties that independent verbs have. In this connection, it is necessary to determine whether this is due to the constructional conditions or due to grammaticalization. These are two separate questions.

On the one hand, we may be able to assume that V2s started being grammaticalized in the relevant constructions. The V2s examined in this chapter look like functioning as if they were prepositions in some cases and are functionally equivalent to auxiliary verbs in others. Indeed, in the literature of Oceanic linguistics, verb-based prepositions are often called **verbal prepositions** (Codrington 1885; Pawley 1973; Durie 1988, 1997), 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). On the other hand, however, those characteristics of V2s may be entirely due to the fact that they form a construction with another VP, without involving grammaticalization.

In order to address this issue, we must solve the issue regarding the nature of the head in serial verb constructions that we mentioned in Section 12.3.1. The nature of the head in serial verb constructions is tightly related to the distinction between constructional conditions and grammaticalization. Unfortunately, since the former issue is left unanswered, the latter also remains unresolved at this time awaiting further work.

13 *Spatial language*

13.0 Introduction

Of all the morphosyntactic phenomena in Lamaholot, the one that holds the biggest place in the grammar of this language is spatial language. There are four major reasons for this. First, from a language-internal viewpoint, spatial concepts are involved in almost all grammatical devices and constructions in Lamaholot: demonstratives, directionals, the locative, nominalization, verb serialization, parts of speech, grammaticalization, agreement, noun classes, verb classes, prepositions, valence-changing operations, and the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, among others. Different constructions contribute to spatial semantics in different ways. Therefore, it is not an overstatement to say that analyzing spatial semantics of Lamaholot is almost equivalent to analyzing the entire morphosyntactic phenomena of this language. For this reason, spatial semantics-related concepts and expressions appeared in different parts of this study. One of the purposes of this chapter is to provide a holistic view of the entire spatial grammar of this language, building upon the analysis and description we have made throughout this study.

Second, the Lamaholot spatial language also plays an important role in non-linguistic aspects of Lamaholot-speaking people, because it is interwoven with traditional rituals, songs, dances, architecture, agriculture, and possibly the way they think and behave. In the Nurri village, for example, one must sleep in a *kotəʔ rae lei lau* position, namely, ‘the head in the direction of the mountain; the legs in the direction of the sea’ position (Section 6.2). Thus, one cannot fully understand Lamaholot culture without

knowing how spatial language works in this language. In this sense, Lamaholot spatial language is where the Lamaholot language and culture cross. More examples where linguistic spatial concepts are embodied in the actual physical environments are given later in this chapter.

Third, Lamaholot spatial language becomes considerably important in the context of Austronesian linguistics, too, particularly because of the existence of directionals. Syntactically speaking, Lamaholot directionals are grammaticalized from the nouns for environmental landmarks in Proto-Austronesian to locative adverbials and prepositions (Section 4.10; Section 6.2). Semantically speaking, unlike their cognates in languages of the Philippines and western Indonesia, they are not simple nouns standing for environmental landmarks; rather they are used not just as deictic spatial expressions but also as the basis of a coordinate system for an absolute frame of reference. For these reasons, Lamaholot does not just provide an interesting case of grammaticalization of geographical spatial terms (see also Svorou 1986, 1994; Heine 1997; Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991), but also occupies an important position in the development of Austronesian spatial terms (Senft 1997; Bennardo 2002; François 2004).

Lastly, investigating Lamaholot spatial language has broader implications for typological research on spatial semantics. On the one hand, we can observe how geocentric spatial terms such as directionals came to form a coordinate system for an absolute frame of reference (Section 6.2; this chapter). On the other hand, we can find some evidence in Lamaholot that there was a historical change over a typology of spatial frames of reference by which Lamaholot has lost a relative frame of reference, which is possible in many of its related languages in the Philippines and western Indonesia. Thus, Lamaholot spatial language does not only display examples of typologically uncommon patterns of spatial expressions, but also offer some historical evidence how such typologically rare phenomena came into birth in this language.

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section 13.1, we discuss several basic concepts in spatial semantics as a preliminary discussion. This section also introduces subdivisions of spatial semantics, each of which is explored in the following sections. Section 13.2 offers an inventory of grammatical devices for spatial semantics. In particular, we look into locative nouns and directionals in Sections 13.3 and 13.4, respectively. On the basis of these discussions, Section 13.5 investigates the way of expressing the relationship between Figure and Ground when they are adjacent to each other; in contrast, Section 13.6 examines patterns of representing spatial relationships between them when they are separated from each other in space. Different types of motion events are analyzed in Section 13.7. Lastly, this chapter is concluded in Section 13.8 with implications of these findings for the studies of spatial semantics.

13.1 Elements of spatial semantics

Spatial language is concerned with how speakers of a language conceptualize and express spatial relations in location and motion situation types, answering questions like “Where is Figure located relative to Ground?” and “How does Figure move relative to Ground?”

Based on Levinson (2003) and Levinson and Wilkins (2006), this section provides an overview of several important concepts in spatial semantics as a preliminary discussion to the body of the analysis in this chapter. Section 13.1.1 discusses two fundamental concepts in spatial semantics: Figure and Ground. It also introduces three major spatial event types: (i) location situation types with a contiguous relationship between Figure and Ground; (ii) location situation types with a projective relationship between Figure and Ground; and motion events of Figure relative to Ground. Each of event type is examined in more depth in Sections 13.1.2, 13.1.3, and 13.1.4, respectively. Section 13.1.5 offers a summary of this section.

13.1.1 *Figure and Ground*

The major division in spatial language is drawn between location and motion situation types. **Location** refers to situation types where an object in question is located relative to a reference object; **motion** pertains to ones where an object changes its position in space against a reference object.

In either case, two entities are involved in spatial expressions: Figure and Ground. In the simplest terms, **Figure** is an object located or moving with respect to another object. **Ground** refers to such a reference object. Talmy (2000a:312) defines Figure and Ground as follows: “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. 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.”

For example, consider English examples in (1) and (2), where Figure (F) and Ground (G) are indicated.

- (1) *The pencil (F) lay on the table (G).*
- (2) *The pencil (F) rolled off the table (G)*

Example (1) expresses a location event, where the Figure *pencil* is located on the top of the Ground *table*. Example (2) designates a motion event, where the Figure *pencil* changed its position going away from the Ground *table*.

Location situation types can be further divided into two subclasses depending on whether Figure coincides with, or is separated in space from, Ground. Thus, we have three important major types of events: (i) location situation types with a contiguous relationship between Figure and Ground; (ii) location situation types with a projective

relationship between Figure and Object; and (iii) motion situation types (Levinson 2003:66; Levinson and Wilkins 2006:3). See (3).

(3) **Three situation types of spatial language**

a. Location (I, contiguous relationship):

Figure *coincides with* Ground.

b. Location (II, projective relationship):

Figure and Ground are *separated in space*.

c. Motion:

Figure moves relative to Ground.

It is crucial to distinguish these three situation types in describing and analyzing the spatial language of Lamaholot for three reasons. First, different grammatical devices are employed for different spatial situation types. For example, deictic motion verbs can be involved in expressing location (II) and motion, but not location (I) (Section 8.3.3). Demonstratives can be employed for location (I) and motion, but not location (II) (Section 6.3). In contrast, directionals appear in constructions for all the three situation types (Section 6.3; Section 13.4).

Second, a single grammatical device may have different functions in different situation types. For instance, directionals introduce Ground in location (I) and motion situation types, but expresses angles from Ground to look for Figure in location (II) (Section 13.4). Thus, recognizing three different spatial situation types allow us to provide a finer description of grammatical devices for spatial language.

Lastly, the above-mentioned three subclasses of spatial situation types offer three distinguished typological characterizations of Lamaholot spatial expressions. Location (I) is related to a typology of topological relations (e.g., Bowerman 1996), location (II) concerns one of spatial frames of reference (Levinson 1996, 2003; Levinson and Wilkins

2006, among others), and motion is associated with one of motion events (Talmy 1985, 1991; Slobin 2004). Thus, identifying three situation types in the Lamaholot spatial semantics enables us to make a better understanding of Lamaholot spatial language within typologies of spatial semantics.

In the rest of the section, each situation type and related spatial concepts are described as a preliminary to the description and analysis of the Lamaholot spatial language.

13.1.2 Location with a contiguous relationship between Figure and Ground

This section investigates location situation types with a contiguous relationship between Figure and Ground. Examples of this situation type are provided below. The linguistic expressions characteristics of each type are indicated by underlines.

- (4) *Your coffee is on the table.*
- (5) *The shoes are under the table.*
- (6) *John is here.*
- (7) *I live in Houston.*

There are several ways of expressing spatial configurations of Figure and Ground in this type of location event. There are three spatio-directional concepts that come into play. The first semantic concept that plays an important role here is **topology** (Levinson 1996, 2003), also known as **conformation** (Talmy 200b:54ff). They refer to geometric complexes such as ‘inside’, ‘surface’, or ‘point’, covering a spatial coincidence, propinquity, contact, and containment of Figure and Ground. In English, these concepts are expressed by the prepositions like *on*, *in*, *at*, and *under*. Consider English examples in (4) and (5), where the prepositions *on* and *under* are used to indicate the Figure is on the surface of the Ground in (4) and the Figure is beneath the Ground (5). In Section 10.6, it

is demonstrated that in Lamaholot these spatiodirectional concepts are expressed by locational nouns.

Another concept related to a location event with a contiguous relationship between Figure and Ground is **deixis**, which refers to properties of linguistic expressions that make essential reference to the extralinguistic context in which utterances are made. For example, in (7), the deictic expression *here* designates the Ground region where the Figure is. In Chapter 6, it was shown that Lamaholot has two major ways of referring to space in a deictic way, namely, demonstratives and directionals.

Lastly, it is also common to employ **place terms**, or names of places, to specify Ground. Consider (6), for example, where the location of the Figure (= the speaker) is pointed to by the place name, *Houston*, which expresses Ground.

13.1.3 Location with a projective relation between Figure and Ground

When Figure and Ground are separated in space, the spatiodirectional concepts discussed in Section 13.1.2 are not of much use. It is necessary to specify in which direction from a Ground to search to find the Figure. It is in this context that some kind of **coordinate system** comes into play.

Levinson (1996, 2003) argues that three **frames of reference** (FoR; **intrinsic**, **relative**, and **absolute**) are attested across languages and these three types exhaust the major types used in natural languages. “Languages use [...] just three frames of reference: absolute, intrinsic and relative” (Levinson 1996: 148).

To illustrate what is meant by absolute, relative and intrinsic frames of reference, let us consider English examples in (8), (9), and (10) (Levinson and Wilkins 2006:4).

(8) **Intrinsic frame of reference:**

The statue is in front of the cathedral.

(9) **Relative frame of reference:**

The squirrel is to the left of the tree.

(10) **Absolute frame of reference:**

The coast is north of the mountain ridge.

Sentence (8), which illustrates an intrinsic frame of reference, specifies the angle of the Figure from the Ground by means of inherent parts or facets of the Ground. In sentence (9), the viewer's own bodily coordinates are projected to the Ground, and the projected coordinates are used to define the search domain for the Figure. This is called a relative frame of reference. Lastly, in (10), where an absolute frame of reference is used, the European cardinal coordinate system is imposed by the landscape or the cosmology surrounding the Figure-Ground scene.

13.1.4 Motion

In motion situation types, Figure changes its position in space relative to Ground. Motion events are necessarily complex events. They do not just contain an event of Figure's movement per se, but also several additional events that occur together with the event of movement. These additional events, also known as **co-events**, include those listed in (11).

(11) **Elements of motion:**

- a. Manner of motion (e.g.) *walk, swim, run, roll*, etc.
- b. Path of motion (e.g.) *out of, into*, etc.
- c. Cause of motion: (e.g.) *throw, kick*, etc.
- d. Deixis: 'Toward speaker' vs. 'Away from speaker'

Manner of motion is the way Figure changes its position in space. **Path of motion** refers to the trajectory along which Figure moves relative to Ground. **Cause of motion** is concerned with someone's action that causes Figure to move. Motion can be characterized in terms of **deixis**, too, which distinguishes a motion toward and away from speaker/deictic center. To illustrate, see examples in (12), (13), and (14).

(12) *The bottle floated out of the cave.*

(13) *Lin ran into the room.*

(14) *John came out of the house.*

In (12), the verb *float* expresses not just the Figure's movement but also the manner of motion; the preposition *out of* indicates the path of motion followed by the Figure. Similarly, in (13), the verb *run* designates the manner of motion as well as the fact of Figure's movement, while the preposition *into* expresses path of motion. In (14), the verb *come* indicates Figure's movement was done toward speaker. Again, path of motion is expressed by the preposition *out of*, but manner of motion is not expressed by any linguistic element.

Motion events are further divided into three types depending on the way Figure is syntactically realized in a clause (Matsumoto in preparation): (agentive) motion, caused motion, and abstract emanation constructions. In Section 13.7, this classification is used to demonstrate that Lamaholot displays a satellite-framed pattern of motion event constructions consistently across different types of motion constructions.

13.1.5 Summary

The discussion in this section can be summarized as in Table 13.1. The rest of this chapter investigates spatial language of Lamaholot on the basis of the classification given in Table 13.1.

Table 13.1: Major semantic subfields in spatial language

Location	Coincidence	Regions	§13.5.1	
		Places	§13.5.2	
	Coordinate systems (Projective)	Horizontal	Absolute	§13.6.1
			Intrinsic	§13.6.2
Relative			§13.6.3	
Direct			§13.6.4	
Motion	Agentive motion		§13.7.1	
	Caused motion		§13.7.2	
	Abstract emanation		§13.7.3	

13.2 Elements of spatial language

This section provides an overview of grammatical devices that play an important role in spatial semantics in Lamaholot. The inventory of the devices discussed in this chapter is given in (15).

(15) Elements of spatial language:

- a. Place terms
- b. Locative nouns
- c. Body part nouns
- d. Demonstratives
- e. Directionals
- f. Locative
- g. Manner-of-motion verbs
- h. Path-of-motion verbs
- i. Deictic motion verbs
- j. Positional verbs

The place term is a cover term for various kinds of nouns that refer to place or location in a broad sense. Kinds of place terms include (i) proper nouns of places such as *nurabelen* ‘the Nurabelen village’ and *lewotobi* ‘the Lewotobi village’, (ii) common nouns of places such as *laŋo?* ‘house’ and *watā* ‘beach’, and (iii) personal names (e.g., *ia Ika* ‘in Ika’s place’).

These place terms should be distinguished from locative nouns (Section 4.2.2; Section 13.3). **Locative nouns** are those inalienably possessed nouns that designate an inherent part of a container, structure, building, or object. In other words, locative nouns are those in the part-whole relation to another object. They form a special subclass of inalienable nouns. Another type of inalienable nouns that are relevant to spatial expressions is a body part noun. **Body part nouns** are inalienably-possessed nouns that refer to a part of the body of human beings or animals (Section 4.2.1).

As discussed in Chapter 6, demonstratives and directionals are deictic expressions used for introducing Ground into the discourse with some deictic meanings.

Demonstratives are concerned with relative distance from speaker and mark a

designated Ground as close or far from speaker. In contrast, **directionals** are involved in angular specifications of Ground from speaker with regard to environmental landmarks surrounding the Figure-Ground scene. Both of them have locative adverb and prepositional uses for leading a locational phrase. When nominalized, they are used for reference and noun-modification. **The locative *ia*** behaves like demonstratives and directionals except for the fact that it does not convey any deictic meanings in a prepositional use and it does not have a nominalized form.

Various kinds of verbs are used in spatial language. **Manner-of-motion verbs** express the way Figure changes its position (Section 8.3.1), typical examples including *pana* ‘walk’ and *plaʔe* ‘run’. **Path-of-motion verbs** designate the path or trajectory along which Figure moves: for example, *lou* ‘exit’ and *tama* ‘enter’ (Section 8.3.2). **Deictic motion verbs** express a motion either away from speaker (GO; *ø-ai*) or toward speaker (COME; *dai*, *hau*, and *haka*) (Section 8.3.3). Lastly, **verbs of posture** represent what posture Figure takes. For example, the verb *deʔi* ‘stand’ indicates that Figure is in an upright position; *ø-awa* ‘lie’ means that Figure lies in a vertically position.

As mentioned in Section 13.1, some spatial expressions are used for the same designated function across different spatial situation types as in Table 13.2, while others only appear in a specific domain of spatial semantics, as summarized in Table 13.3.

Table 13.2: Domain-free functions

FORM	FUNCTION
Place terms	Ground object
Locative nouns	Topological relations
Demonstratives & Directionals	(i) Preposition [+deictic] (ii) Locative adverb [+deictic]
Locative	(i) Preposition [-deictic] (ii) Locative adverb [+deictic]
Positional verbs	Posture of Figure

Table 13.3: Domain-specific functions

FORM	SUBDOMAIN	FUNCTION
Locative nouns	Coordinate systems	Intrinsic FoR
Body part nouns	Coordinate systems	Intrinsic FoR
Directionals	Coordinate systems	Absolute FoR
Locative <i>ia</i> and directional <i>wali</i>	Coordinate systems	Direct FoR
Path-of-motion verbs	Motion	Path of motion
Manner-of-motion verbs	Motion	Manner of motion
Deictic motion verbs	Coordinate systems	Projective relation
	Motion	Vector relations

Among these linguistic expressions for space, locative nouns and directionals deserve further attention, because their meaning and function are quite complex and have not been fully described yet in this study. In Section 13.3, we provide a fuller analysis of locative nouns, taking account of the relationship between locative nouns and topological concepts. In Section 13.4, the semantics of directionals is examined in greater detail.

13.3 Locative nouns and topology

Locative nouns in Lamaholot do not only refer to locations but also are those inalienably possessed nouns that refer to an intrinsic part of a house, building, container, etc. They are defined as being in the part-whole relation to another larger object. Syntactically speaking, they are not followed by a possessive/nominalization marker even when they are modified by another noun. There are ten locative nouns that meet these formal and functional criteria. See (16).

(16) **Locative nouns in Lamaholot:**

<i>lolō</i>	‘top’	<i>wuĩ</i>	‘bottom’
<i>onəʔ</i>	‘inside’	<i>wohoʔ</i>	‘outside’
<i>papa</i>	‘side’	<i>rekā</i>	‘nearby’
<i>goleʔ</i>	‘around’	<i>higū</i>	‘corner’
<i>paː</i>	‘left of right half’	<i>lola</i>	‘upper or lower half’

Locative nouns in (16) can be metaphorically represented relative to a container as in Figure 13.1.

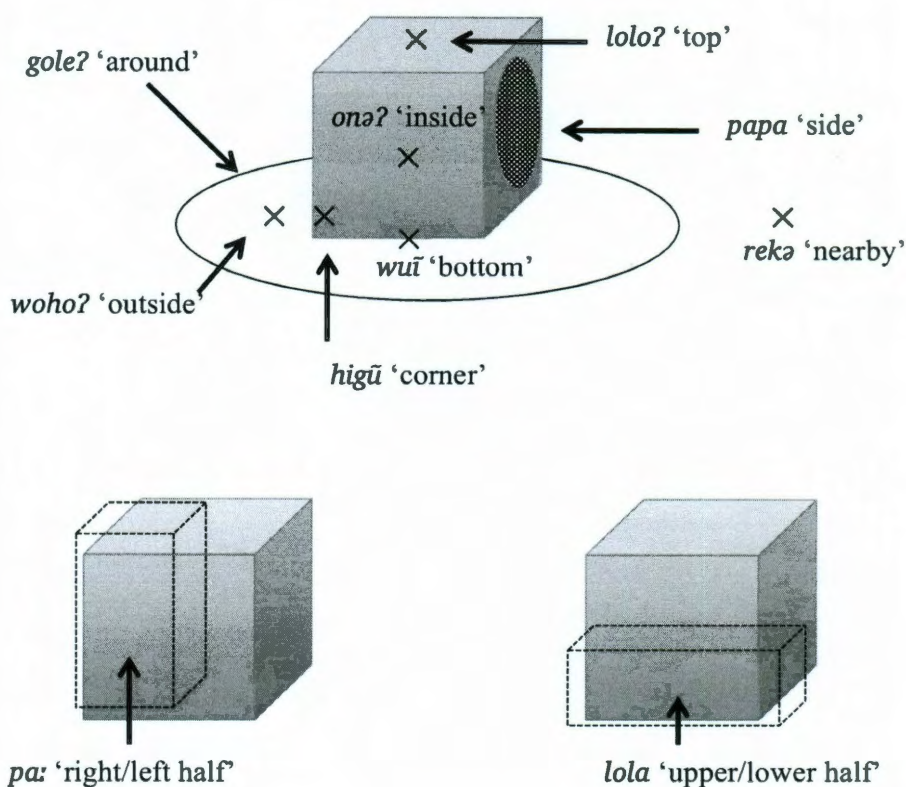


Figure 13.1: Locative nouns

There are two main functions in the Lamaholot locative nouns. First, they express topological concepts in a locational phrase. Remember from Section 6.6 that the head of a locational phrase, specifically, a demonstrative, a directional, and the locative do not convey topology-related meanings and that it is necessary to use locative nouns in order to specifically mark such concepts. To illustrate, consider the locational phrase *pe: meja* ‘there in the table’ in (17).

- (17) *kbako* *mo?ē* *pe* *meja.*
 cigarette 2SG.NMZ DEM.DIS table

‘Your cigarette is there (on/in/at) the table.’

In (17) the locational phrase *pe: meja* ‘there (on/in/at) the table’ just means that Figure *your cigarette* coincides with Ground *there the table*, the specific topological relation of Figure to Ground remaining unspecified. Figure may be in contact with and on top of Ground but may also be located inside (a drawer of) the table. Note that in free translations English prepositions are given only to make an English sentence grammatical.

To express topological concepts specifically, it is necessary to use locative nouns as in (18) and (19).

(18) *lolō* ‘top’ used for expressing ‘on’:

<i>kbako</i>	<i>mo?ē</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>medza</i>	<i>lolō</i> .
tobacco	2SG.NMZ	DEM.DIS	table	top

‘Your tobacco is there on (top of) the table.’

(19) *wuĩ* ‘bottom’ used for expressing ‘under’:

<i>kbako</i>	<i>mo?ē</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>medza</i>	<i>wuĩ</i> .
tobacco	2SG.NMZ	DEM.DIS	table	bottom

‘Your tobacco is there under the table.’

In our analysis, the nouns and the locative nouns in (18) and (19) are in a possessive relationship in the way that the former possesses the latter. Therefore, for example, the (tentative) syntactic structure of (18) is given in Figure 13.2.

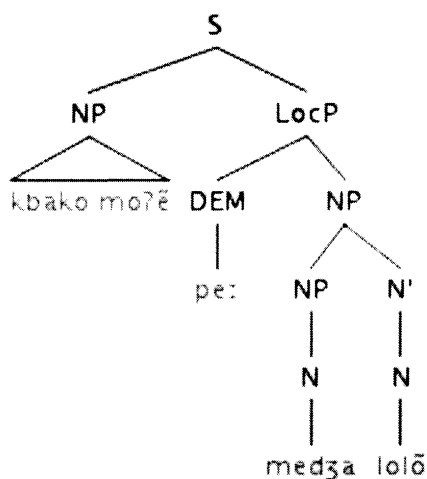


Figure 13.2: Syntactic tree for (18)

Similar examples of locational nouns expressing a typological relation are given in (20) and (21).

(20) *onəʔ* ‘inside’ used for expressing ‘in’:

<i>kbako</i>	<i>moʔē</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>medʒa</i>	<i>onəʔ.</i>
tobacco	2SG.NMZ	DEM.DIS	table	inside

‘Your tobacco is there in the table.’

(21) *gole* ‘round’ used for expressing ‘around’:

<i>kbako</i>	<i>moʔē</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>medʒa</i>	<i>gole.</i>
tobacco	2SG.NMZ	DEM.DIS	table	round

‘Your tobacco is there around the table.’

Another function of locational nouns is to offer an intrinsic frame of reference. We return to this function in Section 13.6.3.

Four notes on locative nouns are in order. First, there are ten and only ten locative nouns in Lamaholot. There are many other nouns that have a location-related meaning,

but they do not count as locative nouns, because they do not show the morphosyntactic characteristics discussed here. For instance, consider (22).

- (22) *kbako* *mo?ē* *pe* *Ika* *laŋo?* = *kā*.
 tobacco 2SG.NMZ DEM.DIS Ika house -NMZ
 ‘Your tobacco is there (in) Ika’s house.’

The place noun *laŋo?* ‘house’ is used in (22). This noun is not a locative noun, although it refers to a place or location where hearer’s tobacco exists. Unlike locative nouns listed in (16), semantically, it is not in the part-whole relation to another object; syntactically, it is marked by a nominalization/possessive marker.

Second, body part nouns can be metaphorically used for offering a detailed description of spatial relationships (see Section 4.2.1), but still do not count as locative nouns in that they need to be marked by a possessive marker in adnominal possessive constructions. Observe (23).

- (23) *kbako* *mo?ē* *pe* *medza* *leĩ*.
kbako *mo?ē* *pe* *medza* *lei* -N
 tobacco 2SG.NMZ DEM.DIS table foot -NMZ
 ‘Your tobacco is there (around) a leg of the table.’

In (23), the body part noun *lei* ‘foot, leg’ is used to indicate that Figure is around the part of the table that functionally corresponds to legs of human beings and animals. However, it is followed by a possessive marker, which is not the case with locative nouns.

Third, unlike other nouns, ten locative nouns listed in (16) do not take possessive/nominalization morphology, even when they are modified by another noun. See

the locative nouns in (18) through (21) again. This may be because locative nouns in Lamaholot have started being grammaticalized into postpositions, following one of the most attested grammaticalization paths from locative nouns to spatial adpositions (Heine 1989; Heine, Claudi, Hünemeyer 1991:132; Svorou 1996). It is known that more or less grammaticalized nouns tend to lose morphology characteristics of nouns (Heine, Claudi, Hünemeyer 1991; Heine and Kuteva 2008). For example, English *inside* and *outside* were once locative nouns but can now serve as prepositions, in which case they do not take a determiner. The loss of a possessive/nominalization morphology in locative nouns can also be understood as manifestation of the incipient stage of grammaticalization.

However, Lamaholot locative nouns have not been grammaticalized so far yet: they can work as nouns, heading a full-functioning NP, but not as adpositions (Section 4.2.2). This may look different from the situations we can find for their cognates in languages of eastern Indonesia and Oceania, where the grammaticalization of locative nouns to adpositions is widely found. In Alor, the closest relative of Lamaholot, locative nouns such as *unung* ‘inside’ (cf. Lamaholot *onəʔ* ‘inside’) and *lulung* ‘top’ (cf. Lamaholot *lolō*) serve as postpositions (Klamer 2011). Bowden (1992) illustrate how locative nouns such as ‘top’ came to serve as adpositions in Oceanic languages.

Lastly, when locational phrases are stacked for a finer description of spatial configuration, locative nouns are often used in such a series of locational phrases. Let us use (24) for illustration.

(24) *kunci rae meja lali wuĩ.*

key DIR.MT table DIR.DOWN bottom

‘The key is in the direction of the mountain (from speaker) (around) the table, in the direction of the ground (from the table) (around) its bottom.’

Two locational phrases appear in (24): *rae meja* ‘in the direction of the mountain (around) the table’ and *lali wuī* ‘in the direction of the ground (around) the bottom’. The directional *lali* ‘in the direction of the ground’ is used in the second locational phrase to clearly indicate the spatial relationship between the table and its bottom.

Note that **relativized deixis** (Anderson & Keenan 1985:301ff) is often observed in stacked locational phrases. For instance, the directional *rae* in the first locational phrase is construed against the position of speaker (Section 6.2), but *lali* in the second locational phrase is interpreted relative to the position of the desk, not the position of speaker. This sentence remains correct, whether the bottom of the desk is above or beyond the position of speaker.

An even longer version of stacked locational phrases is found in (25), whose spatial configuration can be represented as in Figure 13.3.

(25) *kamar go?ē* *lau* *laŋo?* *teti* *pa:* *rae* *papa.*
 room 1SG.NMZ DIR.SEA house DIR.UP half DIR.MT side

‘My room is in the direction of the sea (from speaker) (in) the house, in the direction of the sky (from the center of the house) (in) the half (of the house), in the mountainside (from the center of the half of the house).’

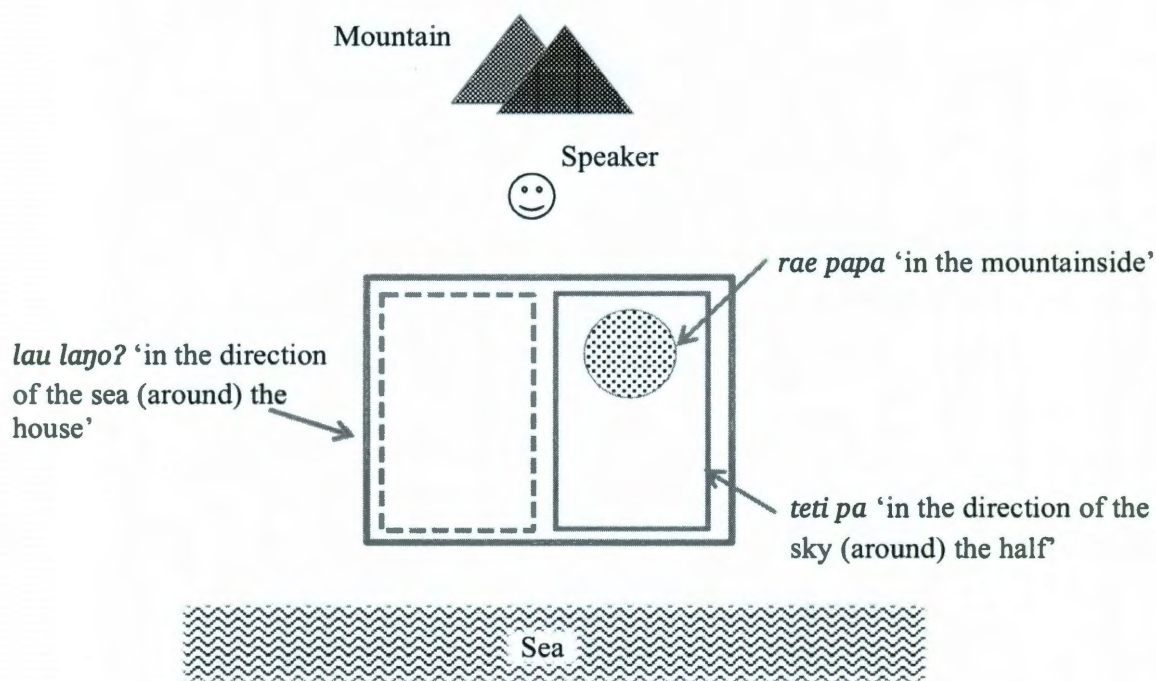


Figure 13.3: Spatial configuration in (25)

In (25), where three locational phrases are used: *lau laŋo?* ‘in the direction of the sea (around) the house’, *teti pa*: ‘in the direction of the sky (around) the right or left half’, and *rae papa* ‘in the direction of the mountain (in) the side (i.e., in the mountainside)’. Taken together, a combination of the three locational phrases offer a detailed description of the position of speaker’s room.

Note again that the interpretation of the directional in the first locational phrase is relative to the position of speaker, while that of the second and the third directionals is based on the position of the object designated by the preceding locational phrase. For example, *lau* in the first locational phrase means the direction of the sea *from speaker*, while *rae* in the third locational phrase designates the direction of the mountain *from the center of the half of the house*, not *from speaker*.

13.4 Semantics of directionals

Directionals have two major semantic functions in spatial expressions of Lamaholot: deictic and FoR functions. On the one hand, in location (I) and motion situational types (Section 13.1.1), as demonstrated in Section 6.2, directionals are used to introduce Ground either as a locative adverb without a place NP or as a preposition with a place NP, specifying the direction of Ground from the speaker's position with regard to geographical landmarks. This function of directionals is called **the deictic function** in this study because choice of an appropriate directional is determined by the position of speaker (see Section 13.4.4 for more on this).

On the other hand, in location (II) situation types, directionals serve to form a coordinate system or frame of reference through which Lamaholot speakers indicate in which direction from a Ground to seek a Figure. This function is referred to as **the FoR (Frames of Reference) function**.

In this section, we examine each of these functions. Before turning to the body of analysis, a short note on the mountain-sea axis is added in Section 13.4.1. Sections 13.4.2 and 13.4.3 investigate two main contexts where directionals are used deictically: intra-village and inter-village orientations (Section 13.4.2 and 13.4.3, respectively). The deictic nature of directionals is taken account of more carefully in Section 13.4.4. Section 13.4.5 provides an overview of the FoR function. Some other spatial concepts that make essential reference to directionals are discussed in Section 13.4.6. Lastly, we discuss grammaticalization of directionals in Section 13.4.7.

13.4.1 More on the mountain-sea axis

Before turning to any serious analysis of the semantics of directionals, it is important to note what kinds of geographical landmarks are encoded by directionals. As represented in Figures 13.3 and 13.4, *rae* points to 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. However, the actual physical environment of the Lamaholot speaking villages may not be so simple as that represented in Figures 13.4 and 13.5.

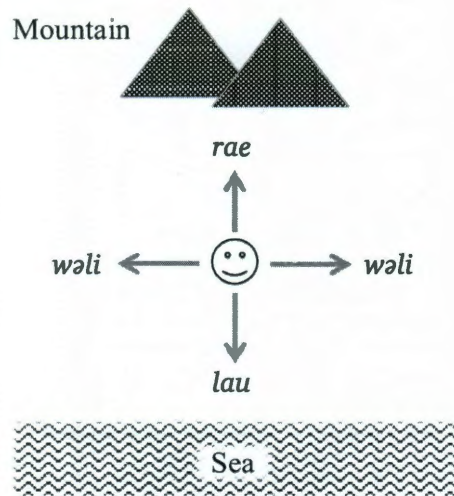


Figure 13.4: Mountain-sea axis

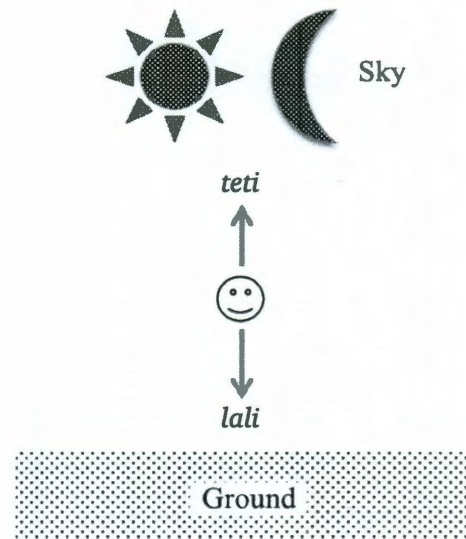


Figure 13.5: Sky-earth axis

On the one hand, being supported by the gravity imposed on the earth, *teti* ‘the direction of the sky’ and *lali* ‘the direction of the earth’ do not change their meanings wherever they might be used. The former consistently points to the opposite direction of the gravity, while the latter follows the gravity.

On the other hand, in the case of *rae* ‘the direction of a mountain’ and *lau* ‘the direction of the sea’, they can possibly refer to different geographical landmarks in different villages. In the Nurabelen village, which is sandwiched by Mt. Lewotobi and Solor Sea, the directional *rae* points to the direction of Mt. Lewotibi, the one and only twin volcanic mountain in the village. This geographical configuration is often true of other villages in the Lamaholot-speaking region (see Figure 1.3 in Section 1.2.1).

However, there are three cases which do not meet the above-mentioned geographical profile: (i) there are more than one mountain in a village, (ii) more than one

side of a village is adjacent to the sea, and (iii) a village does not contact the sea. Note that the scenario where there is no mountain in a village is not possible in volcanic islands like Flores.

In villages where there are more than one mountain, *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’ points to the mountain that plays the most essential role in the relevant communities, for example, in farming and forestry. The important thing is that there is agreement over the landmark mountain in the community.

In the other two cases, namely, when more than one side of a village are adjacent to the sea or when there is no sea in proximity of a village, *lau* simply refers to the opposite direction of the mountain defined as above. In this sense, Figure 13.3 is an idealized, or abstracted, model of geographical configurations of Lamaholot-speaking villages, and more accurate translations of *rae* and *lau* would be ‘the direction of the most important mountain of a village’ and ‘the opposite direction of the *rae* direction.’

13.4.2 Deictic function (i): intra-village orientation

There are two major contexts where directionals are used in the deictic function: (i) intra-village orientation and (ii) inter-village orientation. In the former, directionals are used to refer to objects within a village; in the latter, they are employed to point to objects outside a village or across villages.

Distinguishing these kinds of orientation in an analysis of directionals is useful because it allows for a finer description of the meanings of directionals, as shown in this and next sections. Note that setting up different contexts for a description of directionals is not a new idea: Bowden (1997, 2001), for example, differentiates small-scale, intermediate-scale, and worldwide orientations in his description of Taba, a South Halmahera language of Indonesia.

The intra-village orientation is the context where directionals are used to refer to objects inside a village. This orientation is the most basic one in terms of conceptual

simplicity and frequency. See (26) for the meanings of directionals in intra-village orientation.

(26) **Intra-village orientation.**

a. **Mountain-sea axis (conceived of vertically at the same level):**

<i>rae</i>	‘the direction of a mountain’
<i>lau</i>	‘the direction of the sea’
<i>wəli</i>	‘in a direction parallel with the coast’

b. **Sky-earth axis (conceived of vertically at a different level):**

<i>teti</i>	‘the direction of the sky’
<i>lali</i>	‘the direction of the earth’

The three directionals based on the mountain-sea axis, namely, *rae*, *lau*, and *wəli* are used for pointing to places that are conceived of vertically at the same level as the place of utterance, while those defined by the sky-earth axis, *teti* and *lali*, are for referring to places that are considered vertically at a higher or lower level than the eye level of speaker.

Examples of each directional in this orientation are given in (27) through (31).

- (27) *go tei rae laŋo?*
 1SG live DIR.MT house
 ‘I live in the direction of the mountain (in) the house.’
- (28) *ra lau morã.*
 3PL DIR.SEA IPFV
 ‘They are still in the direction of the sea.’

- (29) *Hugo pana wəli laŋo? n-ai kae?*
 Hugo walk DIR.COAST house 3SG-go PFV

‘Hugo has already walked to the direction parallel with the coast (to) the house.’

- (30) *Tanti ləŋa teti kadgo? hau.*
 Tanti fall DIR.UP tree come

‘Tanti fell from the direction of the sky (from) the tree’

- (31) *pa? Herman turu lali tana.*
 Mr Herman sleep DIR.DOWN ground

‘Mr. Herman is sleeping in the direction of the ground (on) the ground.’

In (27), the directional *rae* functions as a preposition to introduce the noun *laŋo?* ‘house’ as a location of living. It refers to the direction of the mountain. In (28), the directional *lau* is employed as a locative adverbial, pointing to the direction of the sea. The directional *wəli* in (29) refers to the direction in a parallel with the coast, leading a locational phrase with a goal role. The directional *teti* in (30) indicates that the tree from which Tanti fell is located in a higher place. The directional *lali* in (31) introduces the noun phrase *tana* ‘the ground’, where Mr. Herman is sleeping.

Two notes regarding the intra-village orientation of directionals are in order. First, it is crucial to note that the directionals in intra-village orientation are defined independently by the two different criteria: the mountain-sea axis is motivated by the existence of the mountain and the sky-earth axis by the direction of gravity. For this reason, the same physical location may be referred to by two distinct directionals depending on speaker’s construal of a scene. Consider (32), for instance.

- (32) *ra kriã rae/teti mã.*
 3PL work DIR.MT/DIR.UP garden

‘They work in the direction of the mountain/sky (in) the garden.’

In (32), *mā* ‘garden’ in the middle of the mountain can appear either with *rae* or with *teti*. This is because *ile* ‘mountain’ (i.e. Mt. Lewotobi) can be conceived either as *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’ by definition or as *teti* ‘the direction of the sky’ as it is located vertically higher than the village.

Second, as indicated in Section 6.3, in the intra-village orientation, directionals cannot be employed for describing the position of an entity at a table-top scale. For example, one cannot use (33) for referring to a table, when it is located in speaker’s vicinity.

- (33) *mo taʔo tas moʔe rae medza.*
 2SG put bag 2SG.NMZ DIR.MT table
 ‘Put your bag in the direction of the mountain (on) the table!’

The use of the directional *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’ in (33) implies that the table is located far from speaker to some extent. To avoid such an implication, one needs to employ a demonstrative instead of a directional, as in (34).

- (34) *mo taʔo tas moʔe te: medza.*
 2SG put bag 2SG.NMZ DEM.PROX table
 ‘Put your bag here (on) the table!’

Note that this constraint on the use of directionals is not applied when they are used for an absolute frame of reference (Section 13.4.5).

13.4.3 Deictic function (II): Inter-village orientation

Inter-village orientation is the context for directionals where they are used for referring to objects outside a village or across villages. The meanings of directionals in inter-village orientation are given in (35).

(35) **Inter-village orientation:**

a. **Mountain-sea axis:**

rae ‘villages in a mountain’

lau ‘villages overseas’

b. **Sky-earth axis:**

teti ‘toward the eastern tip of the island’

lali ‘toward the western tip of the island’

There are two notes on (35). First, the directional *wəli* ‘the direction along the coast’ is not used in this context. Second, the mountain-sea and the sky-earth axes behave differently similarly to the intra-village orientation. The mountain-sea axis is still used based on the physical geomorphic characteristics of the land, whereas the sky-earth axis is mapped to the east-west axis.

The reason why *teti* ‘the direction of the sky’ and *lali* ‘the direction of the earth’ correspond to ‘east’ and ‘west’ respectively is unknown at this stage. But there are several possible hypotheses on it (François 2004): (i) the sun rises in the east, (ii) the monsoon blows from west to east, and (iii) most probably Austronesian people immigrated from west to east.

Examples of each directional in this orientation are given in (36), (37), (38), and (39). Let us assume that speaker is in the Nurri village when he or she utters these examples.

- (36) *bau mo m-ai =ko rae pasar ta?*
 tomorrow 2SG 2SG-leave =2SG DIR.MT market Q
 ‘Tomorrow, are you going to the direction of the mountain (to) the market?’
- (37) *ba? go?ē lau Bali.*
 father 1SG.NMZ DIR.SEA Bali
 ‘My father is in the direction of the sea (in) Bali.’
- (38) *ra teti Larantuka hau.*
 3PL DIR.UP Larantuka come
 ‘They came from the direction of the sky (from) Larantuka.’
- (39) *Chris lali Labuanbajo morã.*
 Chris DIR.DOWN Labuanbajo IPFV
 ‘Chris is still in the direction of the ground (in) Labuanbajo.’

In (36), *pasar* ‘market’ is introduced by the directional *rae*, because the market is in Boru, which is in the direction of the mountain from the Nurri village, where the speaker is. The directional *lau* in (37) heads a locational phrase for specifying the location of speaker’s father. Since Bali is overseas (i.e. in the place one can reach only by boat), *lau* is used. In (38) and (39), two cities on Flores are mentioned: Larantuka is the biggest city in eastern Flores and located at the eastern tip of Flores, while Labuanbajo is a tourist spot at the western tip of Flores. Therefore, *teti* is used in (38) and *lali* in (39).

13.4.4 Directionals as deictic expressions

In the literature of spatial semantics, Austronesian geological spatial terms like the ones we have in Lamaholot are often considered as non-deictic, being contrasted with egocentric spatial terms such as demonstratives. For example, look at papers included in Senft (1997) and Bennardo (2002). See also Wassmann and Dasen’s (1998) understanding of Balinese spatial terms.

It is true that directionals are used non-deictically when used for offering a fixed bearing for an absolute frame of reference (Section 13.4.4); but this study analyzes directionals as deictic when used as the head of a locational phrase in either intra-village or inter-village orientation (i.e., those discussed in Sections 13.4.2 and 13.4.3). There are several pieces of language-internal evidence supporting this analysis. First, the meaning of directionals makes inherent reference to the notion of speaker and speech situation. As discussed above, directionals indicate in which direction from speaker's position to seek a Figure. Directionals in intra-village and inter-village orientation always point to directions from a speaker's viewpoint. Therefore, the interpretation of directionals is only possible when one takes into account the position of speaker.

The importance of deictic information for the interpretation of utterances is perhaps best illustrated by what happens when such information is lacking (Fillmore 1975:38-9). The directional *lau* 'the direction of the sea', for instance, cannot be interpreted in a proper way without knowing in which direction the sea is at the time of utterance.

Second, the contrasts made by directionals are lexicalized in deictic motion verbs for 'come'. See Section 8.3.3. This lexicalization pattern should be analyzed as the reflection of the fact that both deictic motion verbs and directionals are deictic.

Third, demonstratives and directionals (and pronouns) show morphosyntactic parallelisms (Chapter 6). This formal parallelism reflects the fact they have deictic meanings in common.

Lastly and more importantly, different directionals are chosen depending on different positions of speaker. When speaker changes his or her position, choice of a directional may also change. To illustrate this point, consider Figure 13.6.

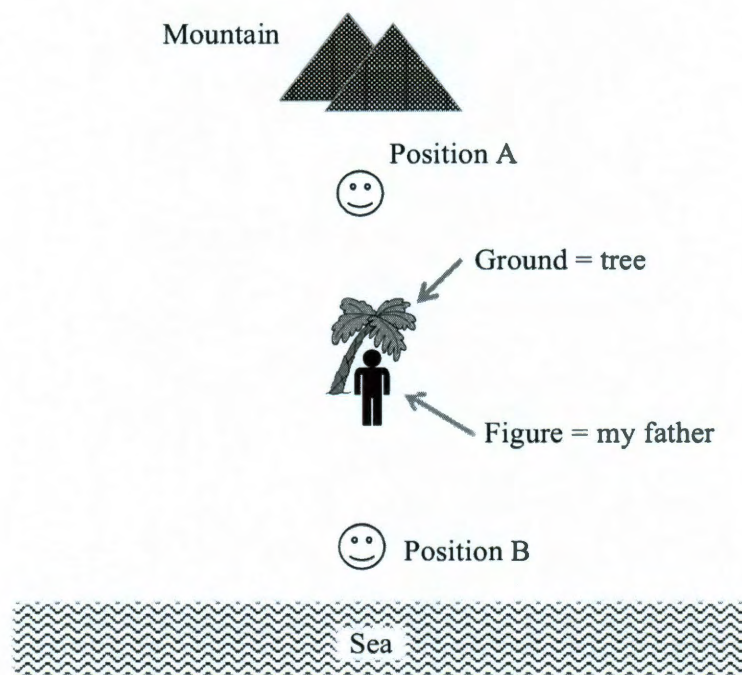


Figure 13.6: Deictic nature of directionals

When speaker is at Position A in Figure 13.6, he or she can describe the position of his or her father as in (40). In the case of Position B, (41) is used. Observe that different directionals are used depending on the position of speaker.

(40) *ba goʔē lau kajoʔ.*

father 1SG.NMZ DIR.SEA tree

‘My father is in the direction of the sea (around) the tree (from speaker in Position A).’

(41) *ba goʔē rae kajoʔ.*

father 1SG.NMZ DIR.MT tree

‘My father is in the direction of the mountain (around) the tree (from speaker in Position B).’

In (40), *lau* is chosen because speaker's father is in the direction of the sea from Position A. In (41), *rae* is employed instead of *lau*. Speaker's father is in the direction of the mountain from Position B. The contrast between (40) and (41) clearly shows that the use of directionals depends on the position of speaker and therefore directionals in this function are deictic.

As Levinson (1983:54) claims, “[e]ssentially deixis concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event, and thus also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance.” It is impossible to interpret (40) and (41) without knowing the context of utterance, represented in Figure 13.6, such as the position of speaker.

Before closing this section, two notes on the deictic nature of directionals are in order. First, the claim that directionals are deictic only applies when they are used in a locational phrase to introduce Ground, either in intra-village or inter-village orientation. In contrast, when directionals are used in an angular phrase, they are not deictic but extended to form a coordinate system for an absolute frame of reference. See Section 13.4.5.

Second, from a typological perspective, it is quite common that demonstratives and related deictic expressions encode other information than relative distance from speaker. For example, Diessel (1999a: Chapter 3) demonstrates that the semantic contrasts made by demonstratives across languages include visibility (*visible* vs. *invisible*), elevation (*up* vs. *down*), and geography (*uphill*, *downhill*, *upriver*, and *downriver*). Indeed, even in Austronesian linguistics, there are some studies that have correctly pointed out that Austronesian geocentric spatial terms can be deictic. See Yoshida (1977, 1980, 1981a, b) and references thereof.

13.4.5 Coordinate system for an absolute frame of reference

The other of the two major functions of Lamaholot directionals is to constitute a coordinate system, as that represented in Figure 13.7, where two axes, the *rae-lau* and the *teti-lali* axes, bisect at right angles at the point of interaction marked by the symbol “X”. This point of interaction serves as an **anchor** of this coordinate system. This coordinate system is used for offering bearings for an absolute frame of reference.

Historically speaking, this coordinate system can be assumed to have evolved out of the type of the directional system portrayed in Figures 13.4 and 13.5 by way of abstraction, a type of metaphorical semantic/conceptual transfer; to be more precise, by means of applying the sky-earth axis to the horizontal dimension perpendicular to the land-sea axis.

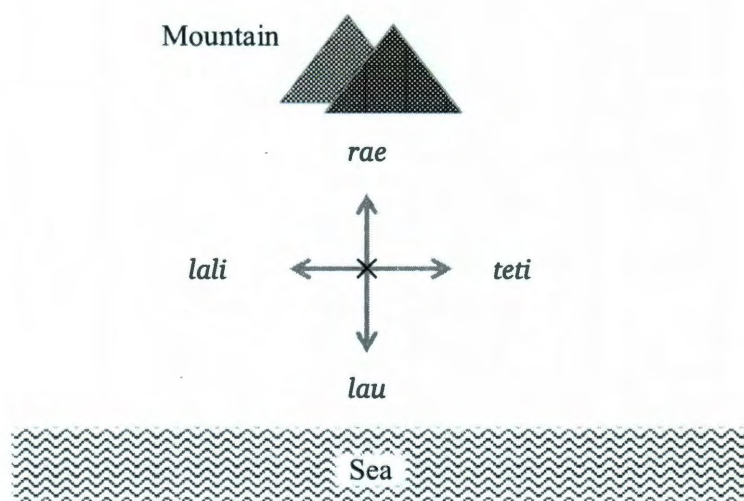


Figure 13.7: Coordinate system formed by directionals

The directionals *rae* and *lau* in the FoR function refer to the same directions as in intra-village orientation, namely, ‘the direction of the mountain’ and ‘the direction of the sea’. In contrast, the axis that was used for the sky-earth contrast now refers to a direction perpendicular to the mountain-sea axis in the way *teti* comes in a 90 degree from the *rae*

direction and *lali* in a 270 degree. In other words, the sky-earth axis is mapped onto the coastal dimension or in lateral perpendicular direction. Here, the contrast between the mountain-sea and the sky-earth axes disappears: the two distinct axes are mapped into a single flat ground plane, being at right angles to each other. Similar to inter-village orientation, *wali* is not used in this function.

In the Nurri village, where Mt. Lewotobi is to the west and Solor Sea to the east, the Lamaholot directionals correspond to the European cardinal directions in the way represented as in (42). In spatial semantics, the Lamaholot system in Figure 13.7 serves the same spatial function as the European system does.

(42) **Coordinate system formed by directionals (Nurri village):**

<i>rae</i>	‘west’	<i>lau</i>	‘east’
<i>teti</i>	‘north’	<i>lali</i>	‘south’

In this section, we look into how this directional-based coordinate system is used in Lamaholot, explicating its syntax and semantics. In Section 13.4.5.1, we introduce angular phrases, where this coordinate system is used. Section 13.4.5.2 analyzes how the directional-based coordinate system is used in this language. The non-deictic and abstract nature of this coordinate system is examined in more depth in Section 13.4.5.3. Lastly, we spells out differences between the Lamaholot and the European coordinate systems in Section 13.4.5.4.

13.4.5.1 Angular phrases

Directionals in the FoR function are used in what we call an **angular phrase** (**AngP**), which always appears immediately after a locational phrase and specifies angles of Figure from Ground relative to the coordinate system formed by directionals. The structure of an angular phrase is schematically presented as in (43).

(43) **Angular phrase (AngP):**

[_{ANGP} [_{LOCP} DIR/LOC (+ *papa* 'side')] + COME]

Syntactically, an angular phrase can be analyzed as a verbal prepositional phrase headed by a COME-verb with a locational phrase appearing as its source argument. There are three characteristics of note in the structure of an angular phrase. First, demonstratives do not appear in an angular phrase (Section 6.3). Second, the locative noun *papa* 'side' is optional but appears in most angular phrases we have collected in our database. Third, different COME-verbs are chosen for different directionals as in (44) (Section 8.3.3).

(44) **COME-verbs in Lamaholot:**

<i>hau</i>	'come from <i>rae</i> or <i>teti</i> '
<i>haka</i>	'come from <i>lali</i> '
<i>dai</i>	'come from the other direction'

In angular phrases, it is necessary to choose an appropriate COME-verb that fits into the directional used in a locative phrase. For instance, *hau* must be chosen when *rae* is employed in an angular phrase as in (45).

(45) *rae papa hau*
 DIR.MT side come
 'coming from the mountainside'

Semantically, an angular phrase literally means 'coming from the DIR- or LOC-side'. For example, the angular phrase in (45) means 'coming from the mountainside' or

‘coming from the direction of the mountain, the side’. When combined with a locative phrase, this angular phrase carries out the function of angle specification (see Section 13.4.5.2).

The angular phrase is used after the locational phrase only when Figure and Ground are far from each other and it is necessary to specify the search domain from Ground to Figure by means of the above-mentioned coordinate system. The only syntactic position allowed for angular phrases is immediately after a locational phrase. It does not move its position by means of topicalization or other syntactic operation. A combination of a locative phrase and an angular phrase is not interrupted by any other element such as temporal phrases. According to Lamaholot speakers’ intuition, an angular phrase with the structure above works as if it is *satu kata* ‘one word’. For these reasons, unfortunately, it is not possible to offer an analysis of an angular phrase beyond its syntactic position and internal structure.

13.4.5.2 How the directional-based coordinate system works

This section investigates how the directional-based coordinate system in Figure 13.7 actually works. Let us first consider an ordinary locational phrase construction without an angular phrase in (46).

(46) **NP (Figure) + LocP (Ground):**

<i>ba</i>	<i>goʔẽ</i>	<i>pe:</i>	<i>kajoʔ.</i>
father	1SG.NMZ	DEM.DIS	tree

‘My father is there (around) the tree.’

Example (46) means that the speaker’s father, *ba goʔẽ*, is around the Ground specified by the locational phrase *pe: kajoʔ* ‘there around the tree’. This spatial configuration can be represented as in Figure 13.8 below. In this setting, the Figure and

the Ground are located contiguous. Therefore, there is no need to narrow the search space from the Ground to the Figure.

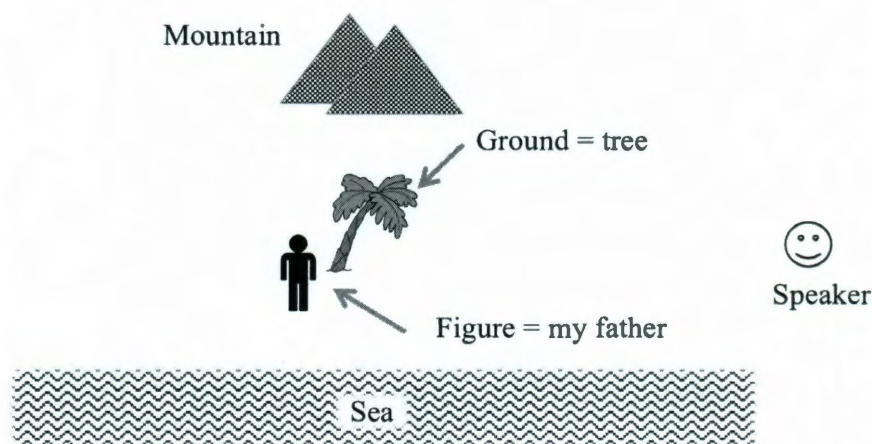


Figure 13.8: Spatial configuration expressed in (46)

Now, compare (46) with (47), where the angular phrase *lau papa dai* ‘east of’ or ‘coming from its seaside’ is used in addition to the locative phrase *pe: laŋo?* ‘there around the tree’.

(47) NP (Figure) + LocP (Ground) + AngP (Angular specification):

ba go?ẽ pe: kajo? lau papa dai.
 father 1SG.NMZ DEM.DIS tree DIR.SEA side come

‘My father is east (in the seaside) of that tree.’

(lit. ‘My father is there (around) the tree, coming from its seaside.’)

Locative description (47) means that the Figure ‘my father’ is in the direction of the sea from the Ground ‘the tree’. There are several differences between (46) and (47). First, in (46), the Figure and the Ground are located adjacent to each other. In (47), in contrast, they are separated from each other in space, which makes it necessary to project the

search domain from the Ground to the Figure. It is for this reason that the angular phrase *lau papa dai* ‘coming from the seaside’ comes into play. Second, the locational phrase in (46) is used not just to express the Ground ‘tree’ into the clause but also indicate the position of the Figure. However, the one in (47) is employed only to indicate the location of the Ground. The spatial relation of the Figure to the Ground is expressed by means of the angular phrase *lau papa dai*.

Attention should be drawn to two semantic properties that the directional *lau* and the deictic motion verb *dai* display in (47). On the one hand, *lau* in (47) points to the direction of the sea from the Ground, not from speaker, from which it follows that this use of directionals is non-deictic (Section 13.4.5.3). On the other hand, the deictic motion verb *dai* does not mean a physical motion of any entity.

The spatial configuration encoded by (47) can be represented as in Figure 13.9.

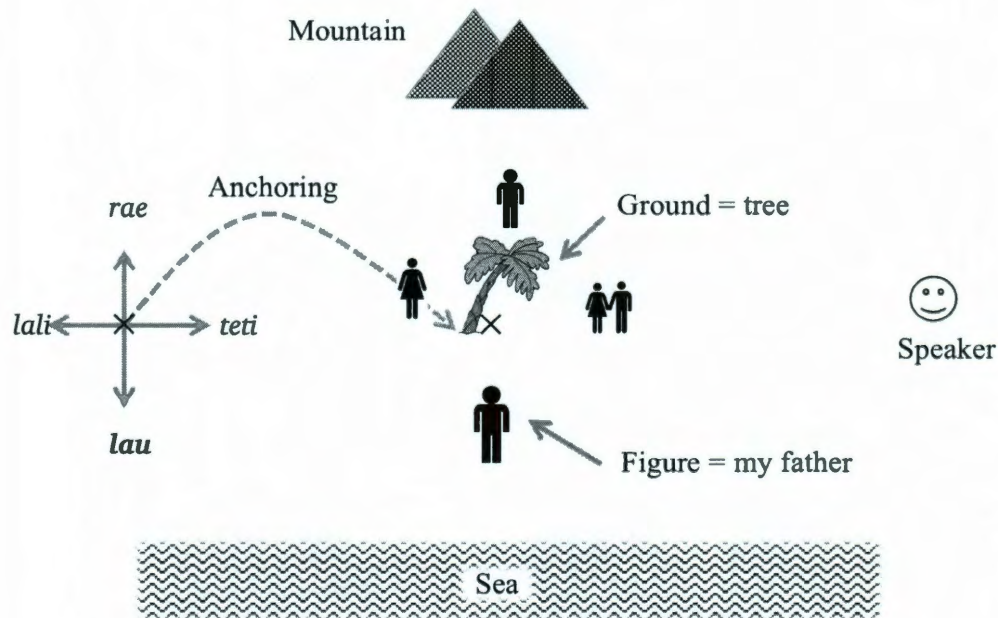


Figure 13.9: Spatial configuration expressed in (47)

Comparing Figures 13.8 and 13.9 tells what semantic contents the directional in FoR function brings into the meaning of the clause. First, the existence of an angular phrase in a clause indicates that Figure and Ground are distant from each other. Second, it also indicates that the coordinate system represented in Figure 13.7 is anchored to the Ground ‘tree’ designated by a locational phrase. Lastly, a directional in an angular phrase specifies in which angle from the Ground to look for the Figure. In (47), the directional *lau* ‘the direction of the sea’ of the angular phrase *lau papa dai* shows that the speaker’s father is on the seaside/eastern side of the Ground.

Similar examples are found in (48) and (49), where the relevant angular phrases are underlined.

(48) **NP (Figure) + LocP (Ground) + AngP (Angular specification):**

Sius laŋo? =kã pe: Siku laŋo? =kã rae papa hau.

Sius house =NMZ DEM.DIS Siku house =NMZ DIR.MT side come

‘Sius’s house is west (in the mountain side) of that Siku’s house.’

(lit. ‘Sius’s house is there (around) Siku’s house, coming from its mountainside.’)

(49) **NP (Figure) + LocP (Ground) + AngP (Angular specification):**

(Looking at a photo of speaker’s daughter and her classmates)

ana? go?ẽ ia guru lali papa haka.

child 1SG.NMZ LOC teacher DIR.DOWN side come

‘My daughter is south (in the downside) of the teacher.’

(lit. ‘My daughter is around/in the teacher, coming from his/her downside.’)

In either case, the angular phrase is used to specify angles from the Ground designated by the locational phrase to search the Figure.

Another example is given in (50).

(50) NP (Figure) + LocP (Ground) + AngP (Angular specification):

laŋoʔ goʔẽ pe: Srinu laŋoʔ =kã teti papa hau.
 house 1SG.NMZ DEM.DIS Srinu house =NMZ DIR.UP side come

‘My house is north of (in the upper side of) that Srinu’s house (far from speaker).’

(lit. ‘My house is there (around) Srinu’s house, coming from its upper side.’)

In (50), the locational phrase *pe: Srinu laŋoʔ kã* ‘that Srinu’s house’ introduces the Ground, and then the angle of the Figure *laŋoʔ goʔẽ* ‘my house’ from the Ground is specified by the angle phrase *teti papa hau* ‘north of’ or ‘in the northern side of’.

It is also possible that one directional is used in a locational phrase with a deictic function and another in an angular phrase with a FoR function, resulting in a sentence where more than one directional occur in a single clause. See (51).

(51) NP (Figure) + LocP (Ground) + AngP (Angular specification):

Tanti tobo rae laŋoʔ lau papa dai.
 Tanti sit DIR.MT house DIR.SEA side come

‘Tanti is seated east of the house located in the direction of the mountain.’

(lit. ‘Tanti is seated in the direction of the mountain (around) the house, coming from its seaside.’)

In (51), two directionals are used: *rae* and *lau*. The former is the head of the locational phrase *rae laŋoʔ* ‘the house located in the direction of the mountain’ and the latter is that of the angular phrase *lau papa dai* ‘east of’.

13.4.5.3 Non-deictic and abstract nature of the FoR function of directionals

Two important remarks are due regarding the FoR function of directionals. First, directionals with this function are non-deictic, unlike those discussed in Sections 13.4.2

and 13.4.3. This is because this coordinate system is imposed on the Figure-Ground scene by the geological environments surrounding speaker and hearer regardless of speaker's position. Observe that the existence of speaker is not represented in Figure 13.7.

This is also borne out by the interpretation of (52).

(52) **NP (Figure) + LocP (Ground) + AngP (Angular specification):**

Hugo deĩ pe: kajo? lau papa dai.

Hugo stand DEM.DIS tree DIR.SEA side come

‘Hugo is standing east of that tree.’

(lit. ‘Hugo is standing there (around) the tree, coming from its seaside.’)

In (52), the locational phrase *pe: kajo?* ‘there (around) the tree’ introduces the Ground, and the angular phrase *lau papa dai* ‘east of’ indicates the angle of the Figure from the Ground.

Importantly, the interpretation of the angular phrase *lau papa dai* ‘east of’ does not make reference to the position of speaker, because it is only the spatial relationship between Figure and Ground with which the angular phrase in (52) is concerned. Therefore, the validity of spatial description in (52) remains intact wherever the position of speaker is, as in Figure 13.10.

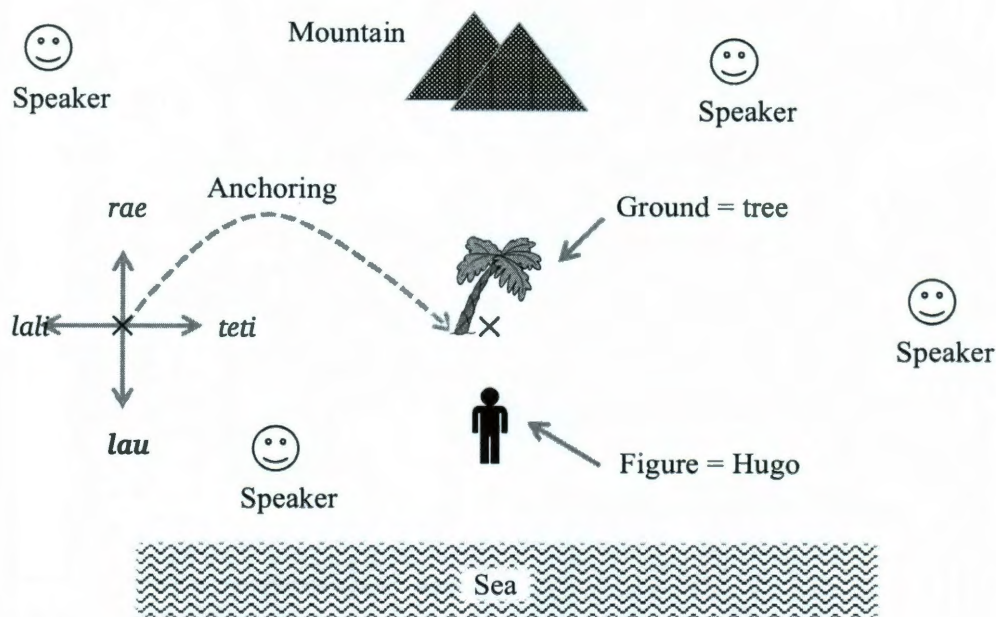


Figure 13.10: Spatial configuration expressed in (52)

Second, the coordinate system formed by directionals is sufficiently abstracted from the geographic environments to qualify as a genuine coordinate system. In other words, it is not a mere set of landmark-based or geomorphic terms any more, although most probably the former was metaphorically derived from the latter. Here we offer two pieces of linguistic evidence for this claim. Consider (53) first, which describes the position of the Watubuku village. This village is located across the mountain from Nurri, where speaker is.

(53) NP (Figure) + LocP (Ground) + AngP (Angular specification):

Watubuku rae ile rae papa hau.

Watubuku DIR.MT mountain DIR.MT side come

‘Watubuku is west of the mountain in the direction of the mountain.’

(lit. ‘Watubuku is in the direction of the mountain (around) the mountain, coming from its mountainside.’)

In (53), the locational phrase *rae ile* ‘in the direction of the mountain (in) the mountain’ and the angular phrase *rae papa hau* ‘west of’ describe the angle from the Ground *mountain* with respect to which one needs to look for the Figure *the Watubuku village*. This situation is represented in Figure 13.11.

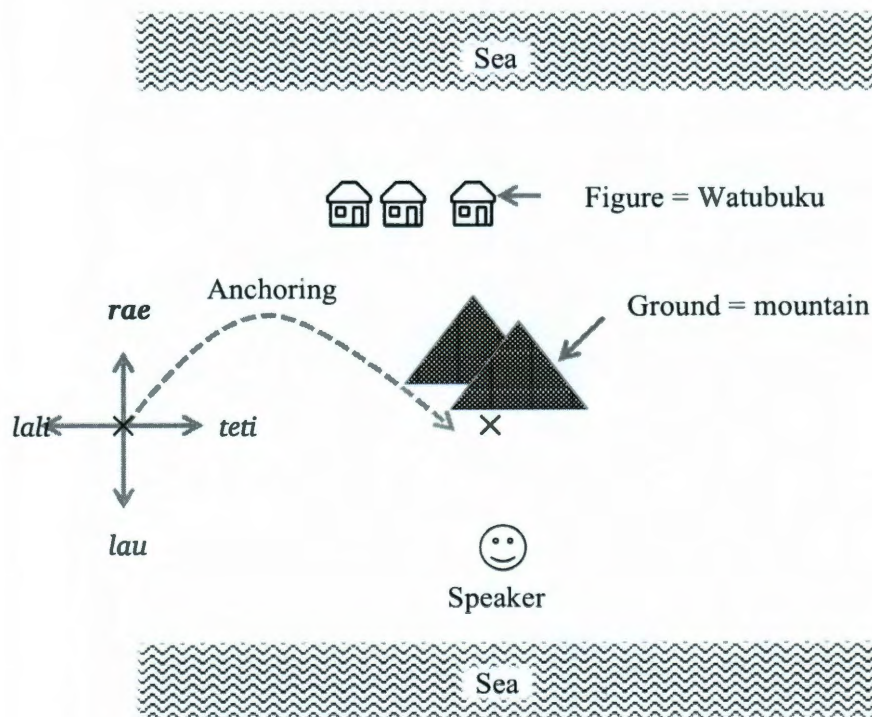


Figure 13.11: Spatial configuration expressed in (53)

Now, pay attention to the fact that the angle of Watubuku from the mountain is specified as *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’ or ‘west’, even though from a purely geographical perspective, Watubuku should be *lau* ‘the direction of the sea’ from the mountain (because in the opposite direction of a mountain the sea always exists in volcanic islands like Flores). The use of *rae* in (53) shows that the directional-based coordinate system in Lamaholot is abstracted from the actual geomorphic features to such an extent that the conceptual coordinate system overrides the physical spatial configurations.

Another piece of evidence comes from the use of the coordinate system on the sea. See (54).

(54) **NP (Figure) + LocP (Ground) + AngP (Angular specification):**

Hugo tena =kã rae Srinu nə?ẽ lau dai.

Hugo boat =NMZ DIR.MT Srinu 3SG.NMZ DIR.SEA come

‘Hugo’s boat is east of Srinu’s (boat) located in the direction of the mountain.’

(lit. ‘Hugo’s boat is in the direction of the mountain (around) Srinu’s (boat), coming from the direction of the sea (from Srinu’s boat).’)

In (54), all the participants of the clause and speaker are on their own boat. The locational phrase *rae Srinu nə?ẽ* ‘Srinu’s boat located in the direction of the mountain from speaker’ points to the Ground in a deictic manner. The angular phrase *lau dai* ‘east of’ expresses the angular spatial relationship between the Figure and the Ground. This situation can be represented as in Figure 13.12.

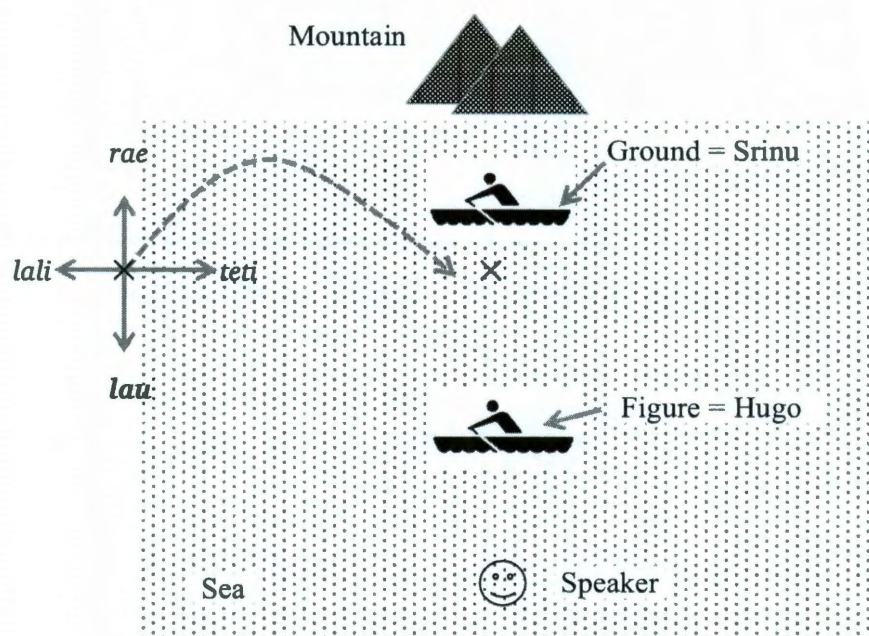


Figure 13.12: Spatial configuration expressed in (54)

Now notice that even if the Ground (Srinu's boat) is surrounded by the sea in all directions, *lau* 'the direction of the sea' or 'east' is used in the angular phrase. This means that the directional-based coordinate system in Figure 13.7 is given more priority to than the geomorphic facts. In other words, the directional-based coordinate system is applied to the Figure-Ground scene in an abstract way.

In conclusion, the coordinate system formed by directionals is sufficiently abstracted from the geographic environments to qualify as a genuine coordinate system. When the directional-based coordinate system in Figure 13.7 does not match the actual physical environments, the former overrides the latter.

13.4.5.4 Lamaholot coordinate system vs. European cardinal directions

The conclusion drawn in the preceding section is that the Lamaholot directional-based coordinate system is qualified as a genuine coordinate system. However, this does not mean that this system is exactly the same as the European coordinate system, also

known as cardinal directions (*east, west, north, and south*). They differ in two ways. First, since the coordinate system in Figure 13.7 refers to a mountain as a pivot of the system, the correspondence between the Lamaholot and the European coordinate systems in one village may change in another village. In (42), repeated here as (55), it was shown that in the Nurri village, where Mt Lewotobi is in west and the sea in east, the Lamaholot directionals correspond to the following European cardinal directions.

(55) Coordinate system formed by directionals (Nurri village):

<i>rae</i>	‘west’	<i>lau</i>	‘east’
<i>teti</i>	‘north’	<i>lali</i>	‘south’

However, in Lewoawang, which is located south of Mt. Lewotobi, the Lamaholot system corresponds to the European one in a different way, as in (56). The Lamaholot directionals in the FoR function correspond to different European cardinal directions in this village.

(56) Coordinate system formed by directionals (Lewoawang village):

<i>rae</i>	‘north’	<i>lau</i>	‘south’
<i>teti</i>	‘east’	<i>lali</i>	‘west’

The second difference between the Lamaholot and the European coordinate systems is that the region covered by the Lamaholot system is limited to the daily living area of Lamaholot speakers, namely, a Lamaholot village and surrounding areas including the sea. A large region beyond their daily living area cannot be dealt with by the Lamaholot system. For example, as in (57), Lamaholot speakers cannot express the spatial relation of Lombok Island to Bali Island within this system. (Note in passing that (57) will be grammatical if speaker is pointing to the two islands on a map.)

- (57) **Lombok* *lau* *Bali* *teti* *papa* *hau*.
 Lombok DIR.SEA Bali DIR.UP side come

Intended for ‘Lombok is east of the direction of the sea, Bali.’

In contrast, the European system can cover the entire globe. For instance, within the European system, one can readily describe the position of Lombok Island relative to Bali Island as in (58). This type of global-scale spatial reference is not achieved by the Lamaholot system.

- (58) *Lombok is east of Bali.*

To summarize, the Lamaholot coordinate system is different from the European coordinate system, although it is enough abstract to count as a genuine coordinate system. Its correspondence to the European cardinal direction may vary in different villages; it cannot be applied to a larger area than their daily living area. The two differences pointed out here should not be understood as disqualifying the Lamaholot system as a coordinate system. Instead, we might better assume they mirror the way Lamaholot speakers conceptualize and interact with the world by means of directionals. They just do not express those spatial relationships or concepts that they do not need.

13.4.6 Spatial concepts defined by the directional-based coordinate system

Several space-related concepts are defined on the basis of the coordinate system formed by directionals. First, the intermediate directions are one of such concepts. Based on the coordinate system in Figure 13.7, the intermediate directions in Figure 13.13 can be defined. Note that the locative noun *papa* means ‘side’.

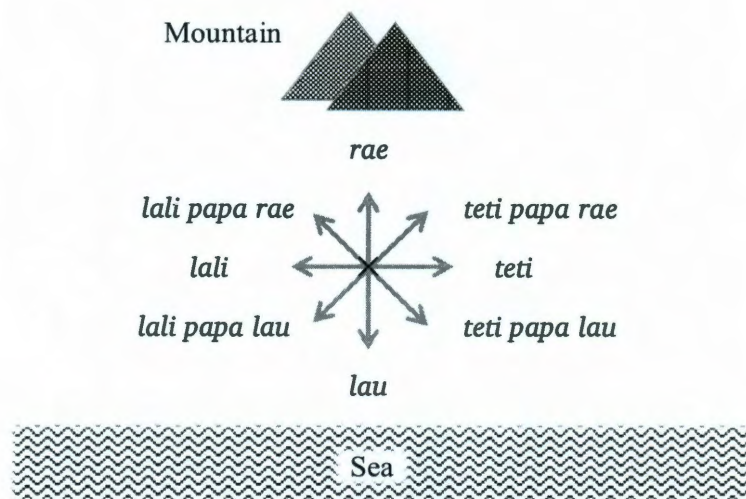


Figure 13.13: Intermediate directions

These intermediate directions are often used when people go fishing. For example, the complex directional expression *teti papa rae* means ‘an upper side of the mountain side’ and corresponds to the European cardinal direction ‘northwest’ in the Nurri village, as in (59).

(59) (Speaker and hearer are on a boat)

<i>t-aʔi</i>	= <i>kə</i>	<u><i>teti</i></u>	<u><i>papa</i></u>	<u><i>rae</i></u>	<i>t-ai</i>	<i>kia.</i>
1PL.INC-go	=1PL.INC	DIR.UP	side	DIR.MT	1PL.INC-go	PROS

‘Let’s go northwest now.’

Second, the names of the winds *aŋi* ‘wind’ that blow in the Nurri village are characterized by means of the coordinate system, as in Figure 13.14.

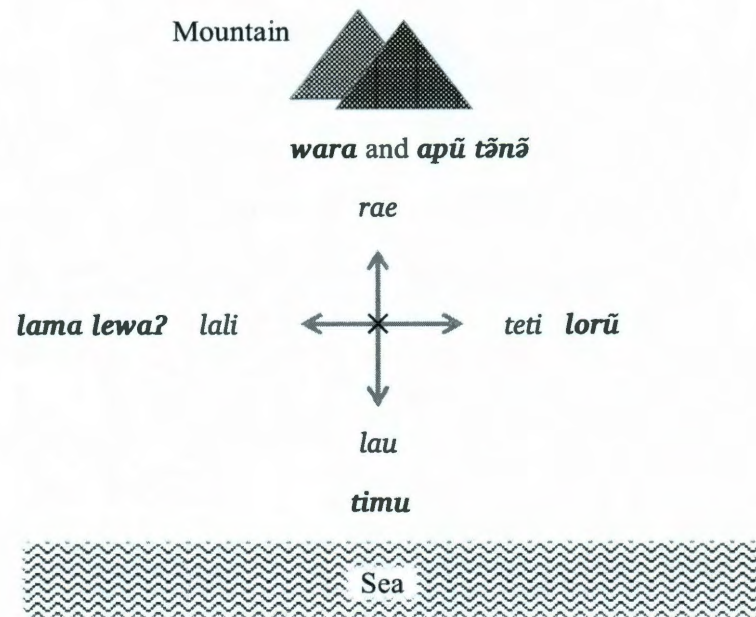


Figure 13.14: Names of the winds

Note that *wara* ‘wind from west’ and *timu* ‘wind from east’ are the reflexes of PMP **habaRat* ‘north-west monsoon and **timuR* ‘south-east monsoon’ (Adelaar 1997:54). In some other western Austronesian languages like Indonesian, the names of monsoon are used as cardinal direction terms for ‘east’ and ‘west’. This is not the case in Lamaholot.

Third, as discussed in Section 13.7, both agentive and causative motion can be described relative to the cardinal directions defined by directionals. To illustrate, consider Figure 13.15, where one can see motion towards and away from environmental landmarks is illustrated by means of a combination of a directional and a deictic motion verb (either *ø-ai* ‘go’ and COME-verbs). Examples of these motion expressions are given in Section 13.7.

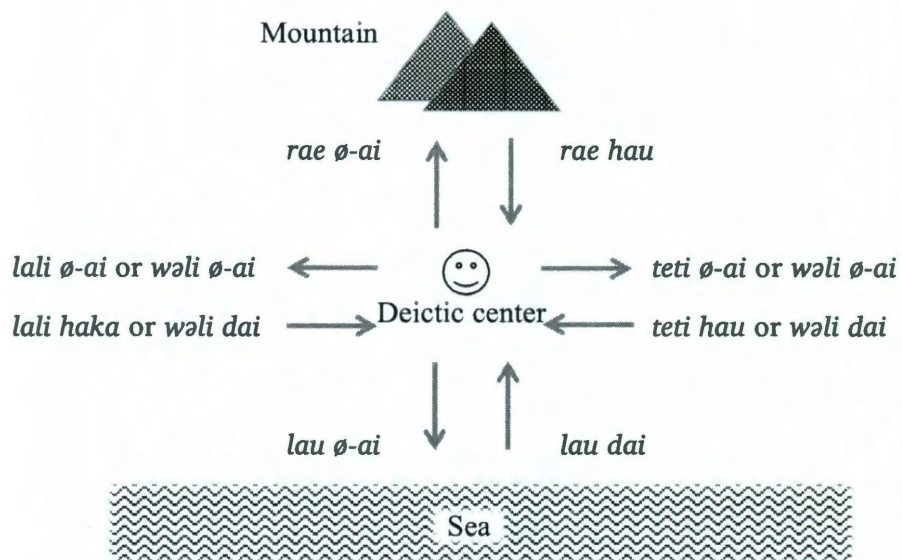


Figure 13.15: Motion along the cardinal directions

Lastly, circular motion is also expressed by means of the cardinal directions formed by directionals. Figures 13.16 and 13.17 represent the way of expressing clockwise and counterclockwise motion, respectively, using directionals.

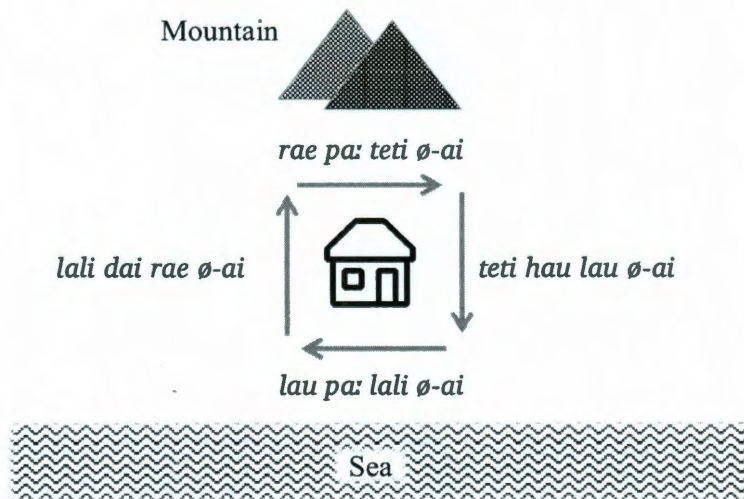


Figure 13.16: Clockwise motion

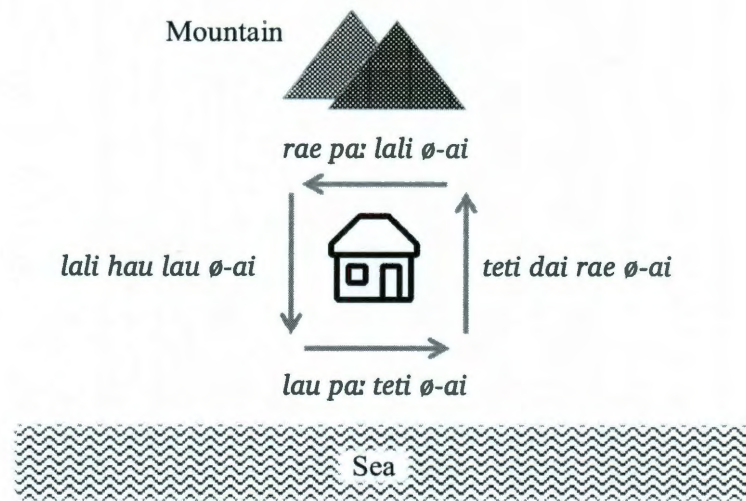


Figure 13.17: Counterclockwise motion, a.k.a. *murã? wənã*

Note that in these expressions for circular motion, a deictic motion verb is combined with a directional in the way that is not used in deictic motion verb-predicate constructions (Section 8.3.3) or in angular phrases (Section 13.4.5). For example, in Figure 13.16, *dai* is used with *lali*, while it is associated with *wəli* or *lau* in the other cases. The reason for this unusual combination of a directional and a deictic motion remains to be investigated.

To illustrate how circular motion is expressed in Lamaholot, consider a snippet from Text V of Appendix A. In this text, speaker is trying to describe the counterclockwise motion of a ball in a 3D animation created by Bohnemeyer (2001), as represented in Figure 13.18, where the motion in question is represented by arrows. Speaker produced examples in (60) through (63) to express each arrow in Figure 13.18. Note that while producing these sentences, speaker was facing in the direction of the ground *lali*, with Mt. Lewotobi on his right and Solor Sea on his left.

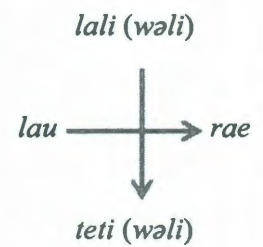
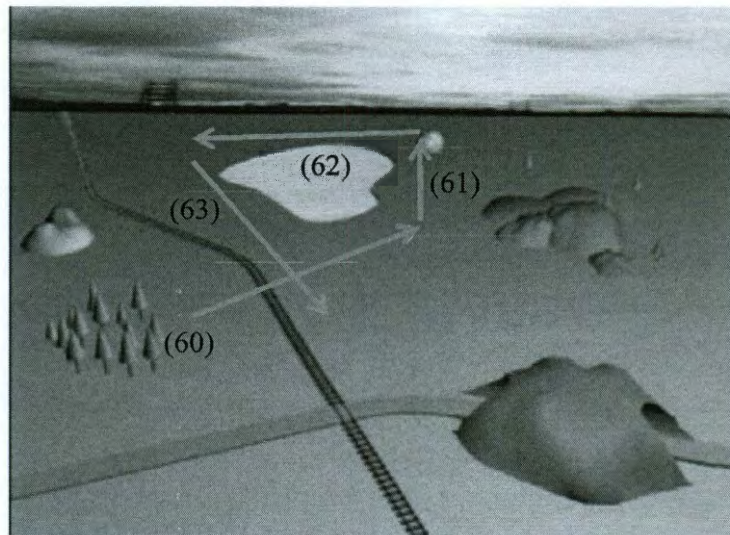


Figure 13.18: Bohnemeyer's Motion-Land films (version 2), Clip 1

(60) *bal goli? rae n-ai,*
 ball roll DIR.MT 3SG-go

'The ball rolled to the direction of the mountain.'

(61) *rae pa: lali n-ai,*
 DIR.MT side DIR.DOWN 3SG-go

'It went across the direction of the mountain to the direction of the ground.'

(62) *lali hau lau n-ai,*
 DIR.DOWN come DIR.SEA 3SG-go

'It went across the direction of the ground to the direction of the sea.'

(63) *lau pa: ia dai.*
 DIR.SEA side LOC come

'It came across the direction of the sea toward here.'

(60) is a simple goal serial verb construction with the verb of manner of motion *goli?* 'roll' being the main predicate. It indicates that the ball rolled in the direction of the mountain. The rest of the utterance, to be more specific, (61), (62), and (63) express the

ball making a counterclockwise motion around the pond. Note that in (63) speaker used *lau pa ia dai* instead of *lau pa teti nai* (Figure 13.17) because the ball moves towards speaker, not away from speaker.

The distinction between clockwise and counterclockwise circular motion plays an important role in the Lamaholot culture: only the counterclockwise motion represented in Figure 13.17 is considered as *wənã* ‘right (hand)’ or ‘right, sacred’. For this reason, circular motion of the type represented in 13.17 is specifically referred to as *murã? wənã* ‘right direction’, without there being a particular name for the clockwise circular motion in Figure 13.16. For example, counterclockwise motion is found in rituals for celebrating a newly built house. In such rituals, people in charge of rituals kill a sacrifice animal (often a goat) at the entrance of a new building, by cutting off its head with a huge knife after prayers. Then, the owner of the house takes its head around the house *counterclockwise* and drops the blood of the goat at every corner of the new house. After this ritual, people in charge of rituals eat the head of the sacrifice animal, and other guests take care of the rest of the body.

Another context where counterclockwise motion is of cultural significance is architecture and woodworking. To be more precise, when they build a house or produce wooden furniture (e.g., a bed) by using lumber, Lamaholot speakers use woods in the way that the top of lumber is fixed in the directions specified in Figure 13.17 in every part of a house or furniture, as in Figure 13.19. The top of lumber refers to part of a lumber that corresponds to the upper part of a tree from which the lumber was produced. For this reason, in this region, lumber for sale is always supplied with some indicator, often a cut, at the bottom to show which end of lumber is the bottom.

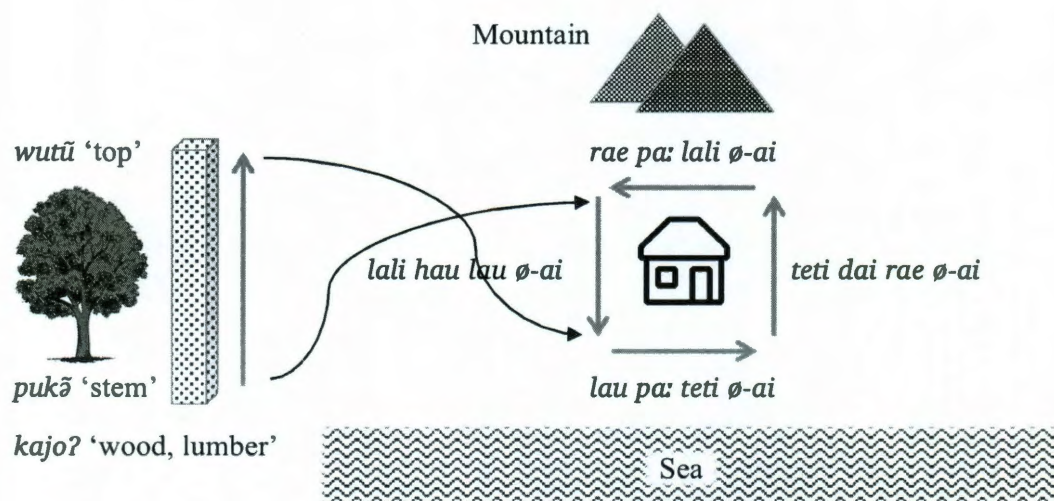


Figure 13.19: Building a house following *murā? wānā*

To conclude, the coordinate system formed by directionals is interwoven with various linguistic and extralinguistic aspects of Lamaholot, showing how deeply this system is embedded in the Lamaholot society (and possibly in the cognitive patterns of the speakers).

13.4.7 Grammaticalization of directionals

As shown in Section 6.2 and this section, directionals display both formally and functionally complex characteristics. From a structural viewpoint, directionals appear in different constructions with different functions. In plain form, they can be used as locative adverbs or prepositions heading a locative phrase. When followed by an S-agreement enclitic, they are derived verbs. When nominalized, they can serve as referential expressions and noun modifiers. In some special cases, locational phrases headed by directionals may appear as arguments of a predicate.

From a functional viewpoint, directionals can express either deictic or non-deictic meanings. On the one hand, as the head of a locational phrase, a directional can point to Ground by means of the direction of the Ground from the position of speaker relative to

environmental landmarks. On the other hand, when it appears with a COME-verb in an angular phrase, a directional indicates angles from Ground to look for Figure. This use is non-deictic.

As suggested in Section 4.10, the above observations point to the fact that directionals are being grammaticalized from nouns to adverbs/prepositions. Their different structures and meanings belong to different stages of the process of grammaticalization. The Lamaholot directionals *rae* ‘the direction of the mountain’ and *lau* ‘the direction of the sea’ are the reflexes of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian **daya* ‘downriver, toward the interior’ and **lahud* ‘downriver, toward the sea’ (Blust 1997:39). Although Blust (1997) was not clear about the parts of speech of these directional terms, most probably they were nouns in PMP because their reflexes in some modern languages are nouns (e.g., Tagalog *laut* ‘ocean’, Indonesian *laut* ‘ocean’; Buru *rahe* ‘soil, ground’, etc). Most probably, *teti* ‘the direction of the sky’ and *lali* ‘the direction of the earth’ were once nouns for ‘upper part’ and ‘lower part’, but there is no immediate evidence for this available at this point.

Taken together, we can speculate the path of grammaticalization of *rae* and *lau* in Lamaholot as in Figure 13.20. The directionals *rae* and *lau* were once nouns for ‘earth, land’ and ‘sea’, but became adverbs for referring to the directions of the environmental landmarks and then prepositions to introduce a Ground object into the clause. Since they are not nouns any longer, they need to be nominalized to function as referential expressions and noun modifiers. Keeping in step with this syntactic change, they also came to have both deictic and non-deictic (frame of reference) meanings.

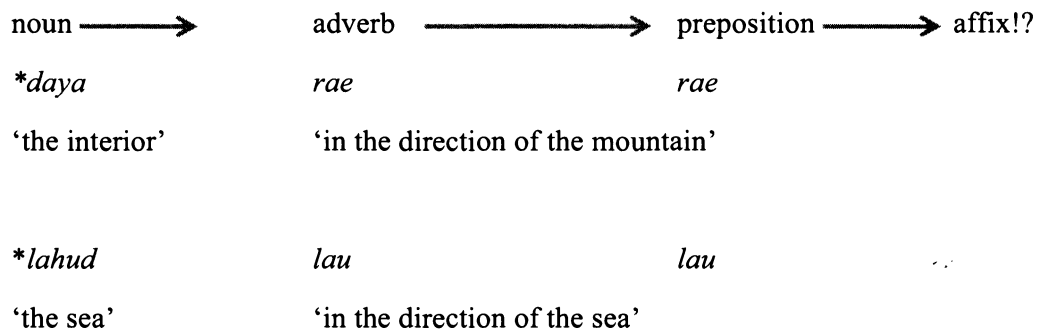


Figure 13.20: From noun to adposition

Of course, more detailed analysis of directionals in Lamaholot and more systematic data from other languages are necessary to verify this hypothesis. For example, as pointed out by Matt Shibatani (pers. comm.), there is no evidence available that adverbs gave rise to prepositions rather than both adverbs and prepositions deriving directly from nouns, although the former scenario seems more plausible than the latter.

A higher degree of grammaticalization of directionals is one of the important grammatical characteristics of Lamaholot, because western Austronesian equivalents of Lamaholot directionals have not yet been grammaticalized to such an extent. To illustrate this point, let us use PMP word **lahud* ‘downriver, toward the sea’ (Blust 1997:39) and its reflexes in Tagalog (*laot*), Indonesian (*laut*), Balinese (*lod*), and Taba (*la*). On the one hand, Tagalog *laot* and Indonesian *laut* still refer to the sea/ocean itself and do not designate the abstract direction of the sea/ocean. Consider (64) and (65), respectively.

(64) **Tagalog *laot* ‘sea, ocean’:**

Nasa laot ang = kaibigan = namin.
 be.at sea NOM= friend =1PL.EXC.GEN

‘Our friend is on the sea (because he or she works on the ship).’

(65) **Indonesian *laut* ‘sea, ocean’:**

Teman saya ada di laut.

friend 1SG be LOC sea

‘Our friend is on the sea (because he or she works on the ship).’

Syntactically, Tagalog *laot* and Indonesian *laut* are still nouns, requiring a preposition to appear in a clause. Notice that in (64) *laot* is preceded by the particle *nasa* ‘be at’ and in (65) *laut* is marked by the locative marker *di*. These elements cannot be dropped.

On the other hand, in Balinese (Western Malayo-Polynesian; Bali) and Taba (South Halmahera-West New Guinea; north Maluku), the reflex of **lahud* designates not the sea itself but the direction of the sea. See (66) and (67) for Balinese *lod* and Taba *la*, respectively.

(66) **Balinese *lod* (adapted from Aryawibawa 2010:218):**

botol-e de= lod kursi-e.

bottle-DEF LOC= sea chair-DEF

‘The bottle is south (in the seaside) of the chair.’

(67) **Taba *la* (adapted from Bowden 2001:280):**

Tabako adia kurusi ni lawe lama li

tabako a-dia kurusi ni la-we la-ma li.

cigarette LOC-DIST chair 3SG.POSS sea-ESS sea-VEN LOC

‘The cigarettes are in front of the chair.’

However, from a syntactic perspective, Balinese *lod* and Taba *la* are still nouns or nominal roots, because they are accompanied by a prepositional element so as to appear in a clause. As in (66), the Balinese geographical landmark-based directional terms are

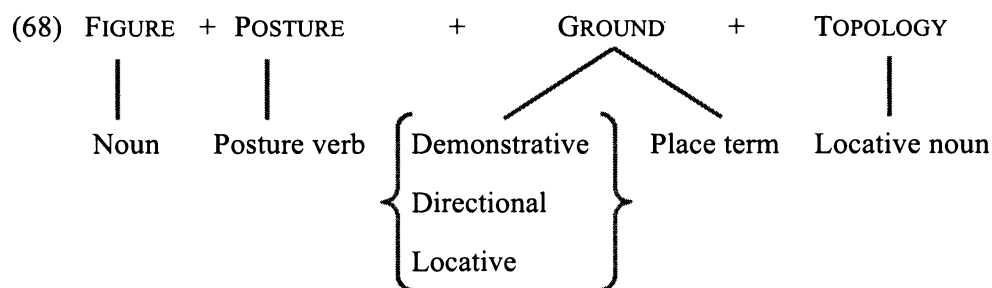
always cliticized with *d(i)*- ‘at’ or *k(ə)*- ‘towards’ (Adelaar 1997:56). One can observe in (67) that *la* in Taba needs to be marked by an essive or venitive affix (see Bowden 1997; 2001:277). Therefore, these directional terms have not been grammaticalized so far as those in Lamaholot.

To conclude, Lamaholot directionals show an interesting case of grammaticalization. They developed syntactically from nouns for environmental landmarks to directional adverbs/prepositions and semantically from a set of deictic spatial terms to a non-deictic coordinate system. Understanding this grammaticalization process does not only allow us to make sense of the syntactic peculiarity of directionals (Section 4.10; Section 6.2), but also make Lamaholot directionals stand out from directional terms of western Austronesian languages. In other western Austronesian languages, the reflexes of the Proto-Austronesian words for environmental landmarks still designate the physical concrete landmarks in Tagalog and Indonesia but came to point to an abstract direction defined by these landmark terms. However, in either case, they still work as nouns and cannot serve as prepositions or locative adverbs by themselves, unlike Lamaholot directionals.

13.5 Location: Coincidence

Starting this section, we analyze spatial language of Lamaholot in different subfields of spatial semantics (Table 13.1), summarizing the spatial expressions from function to form. This section examines locative spatial relations of coincidence, leaving projective locative relations for Section 13.6 and motion events for Section 13.7.

For ease of reference, the form-function correspondence patterns in location situation types with a contiguous relation of Figure to Ground can be represented as in (68) in advance.



The coincidence subdomain of location spatial situation types can be further divided into two cases, the regions and the places. In the former, the location of Figure is only specified by means of a region to which Ground belongs but the Ground object per se remaining unmentioned. In the latter, the Ground is clearly identified by a place name. The former is examined in Section 13.5.1, and the latter in Section 13.5.2. Section 13.5.3 discusses how posture of Figure is expressed via posture verbs.

13.5.1 Regions

Demonstratives, directionals, and the locative are used as locative adverbials to specify a region of which an unexpressed Ground object is part. Consider examples in (69) through (72).

(69) **Demonstrative as a locative adverb:**

Ika pe.

Ika DEM.DIS

‘Ika is there (far from speaker).’

(70) **Directional as a locative adverb:**

Ika rae.

Ika DIR.MT

‘Ika is in the direction of the mountain (from speaker).’

(71) **Demonstrative + directional as locative adverbs:**

Ika pe rae.

Ika DEM.DIS DIR.MT

‘Ika is there (far from speaker) in the direction of the mountain (from speaker).’

(72) **Locative as a locative adverb:**

Ika ia.

Ika LOC

‘Ika is here.’

The distal demonstrative *pe:* appears to point to the Ground region where Ika exists in (69), and so does the directional *rae* in (70). In (71), both the demonstrative *pe:* and the directional *rae* are used for the same purpose. The locative *ia* can also be used for this type of construction, as in (72), in which case the proximal deictic reading is obtained. See Chapter 6 for more on the form and function of these elements.

13.5.2 Places

Another way of expressing spatial relations of the coincidence type is to mention a Ground object itself. In order to introduce a Ground object into the clause, it is necessary to choose one of elements with a prepositional use. Observe that a Ground object is introduced by a demonstrative in (73), a directional in (74), the combination of a demonstrative and a directional in (75), and the locative in (76).

(73) **Demonstrative as a preposition:**

Ika pe: laŋo?

Ika DEM.DIST house

‘Ika is there (in) the house (from speaker).’

(74) **Directional as a preposition:**

Ika rae laŋo?

Ika DIR.MT house

‘Ika is in the direction of mountain (around) the house.’

(75) **Demonstrative + directional as prepositions:**

Ika pe: rae laŋo?

Ika DEM.DIS DIR.MT house

‘Ika is there in the direction of the mountain (around) the house.’

(76) **Locative as a preposition:**

Ika ia laŋo?

Ika LOC house

‘Ika is in the house.’

In these examples, the locationals do not only indicate a Ground region by themselves, but also introduce a Ground NP for further specification. Detailed information about Ground is given by means of a combination of a demonstrative/directional/locative and an NP standing for a place.

Remember from Section 6.3.2 that different elements with the prepositional use convey different deictic meanings with regard to Ground. In (73), the demonstrative *pe:* ‘there’ indicates that the Ground object *laŋo?* ‘house’ is located far from speaker’s position; in (74) the directional *rae* ‘in the direction of the mountain’ means that the Ground is in the direction of the mountain from speaker. In (75), both demonstrative and directional are used so as to provide a finer description of the position of the Ground object. Lastly, the locative *ia* is used in (76). The locative does not have any deictic meanings such as relative distance from speaker or angles from speaker with regard to geographic landmarks.

Importantly, these elements with prepositional use do not include any topological meanings in their semantic structure. To specifically mark topological relations, it is necessary to use locative nouns, such as *lolō* ‘top’ and *wuĩ* ‘under’. See Sections 6.5 and 13.3 for details of locative nouns and examples.

13.5.3 Posture

Another concept relative to the locational spatial relationship of the coincidence type is **posture** of Figure, which pertains to the manner in which Figure is located in Ground (see Newman 2002 and Bohnemeyer and Brown 2007 for the importance of posture verbs).

In Lamaholot, to express this type of spatial concept, verbs of posture such as *tobo* ‘sit’, *deʔĩ* ‘stand’, and *ø-awa* ‘lie’ come into play. To illustrate, look at examples in (77), (78), and (79).

(77) *Ika tobo rae kursi lolō.*

Ika sit DIR.MT chair top

‘Ika is seated in the direction of the mountain on the chair.’

(78) *Ika deʔĩ rae kursi lolō.*

Ika stand DIR.MT chair top

‘Ika is standing in the direction of the mountain on the chair.’

(79) *Ika n-awa rae kursi lolō.*

Ika 3SG-lie DIR.MT chair top

‘Ika is lying in the direction of the mountain on the chair.’

In (77), the verb of posture *tobo* ‘sit down’ indicates that Ika rests with the torso vertical and the body supported on the buttocks. In (78), the verb *deʔĩ* ‘stand’ expresses the fact that Ika maintains an upright position on the feet on top of the Ground object

(chair). Lastly, the posture verb \emptyset -*awa* ‘lie’ in (79) means that Ika is at rest in a flat, horizontal, or recumbent position on the top of the Ground object.

The three verbs of posture introduced here are not only for human beings but also can be metaphorically used for describing the posture of inanimate objects. See (80), (81), and (82).

(80) *kbia* *tobo* *pe:* *uli?* *lolō.*

basket sit DEM.DIS bed top

‘The (round) basket sits there on the bed.’

(81) *kajo?* *deŋi* *rae* *laŋo?*

tree stand DIR.MT house

‘The tree stands in the direction of the mountain (around) the house.’

(82) *kajo?* *n-awa* *pe:* *lali* *tana.*

tree 3SG-lie DEM.DIST DIR.DOWN ground

‘The tree is lying there on the ground.’

As in (80), *tobo* is used for an object of neither vertically nor horizontally a long shape. (81) and (82) show that *deŋi* ‘stand’ and \emptyset -*awa* ‘lie’ express that Figure is a vertically long object and a horizontally long one, respectively.

13.6 Location: Coordinate systems

This section investigates spatial expressions for projective locational relationships, where Figure and Ground are separated in space and therefore it is necessary to specify in which angle from a Ground to look for the Figure. For this purpose, a coordinate system of some sort or a spatial frame of reference is required (Section 13.1.3).

In his typology of spatial frames of reference for projective spatial relationships, Levinson (1996, 2003) proposes that there are only three frames of references attested

across languages of the world: absolute, relative, and intrinsic. In this section, we look into each of these types: an absolute frame of reference (Section 13.6.1), an intrinsic frame of reference (Section 13.6.2), and a relative frame of reference (Section 13.6.3). In Section 13.6.4, it is also pointed out that another type of frame of reference can be posited in this language.

13.6.1 Absolute frame of reference

As already mentioned in Section 13.4.5, directionals in Lamaholot form a coordinate system of the kind expressed in Figure 13.7, repeated here as Figure 13.21.

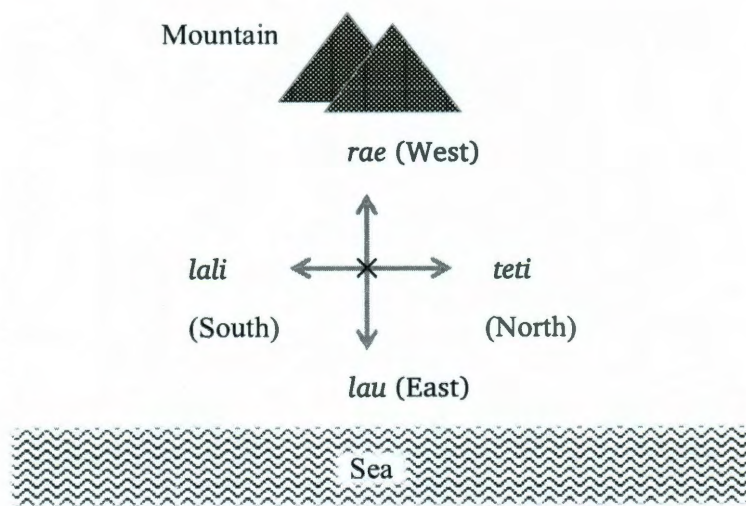


Figure 13.21: Coordinate system formed by directionals

Employing this coordinate system, Lamaholot speakers can refer to space within an absolute frame of reference. See (83) and (84).

- (83) *kamar kecil rae laŋo? go?ē lali papa haka.*
 restroom DIR house my DIR.DOWN side come

‘The restroom is south of my house located in the direction of the mountain.’

(lit. ‘The restroom is in the direction of the mountain (around) my house, coming from its downside.’)

- (84) *mi taru pe: daŋĩ teti papa hau.*
 noodle place DEM.DIS meat DIR.UP side come

‘The noodle is placed north of that meat dish.’

(lit. ‘The noodle is placed there (around) the meat dish, coming from its upper side.’)

In (83), the Figure is *kamar kecil* ‘restroom’ and the Ground *laŋo? go?ē* ‘my house’. The angle from the Ground to the Figure is expressed by the angular phrase *lali papa haka* ‘south of’ or ‘coming from its downside’. In (84), the Figure is *mi*: ‘noodle’ and the Ground is *pe: daŋĩ* ‘there in the meat dish’. Again, the spatial relation between the Figure and the Ground is expressed by the angular phrase *teti papa hau* ‘north of’ or ‘coming from its upper side’.

There is nothing surprising about the existence of geocentric spatial reference and an absolute frame of reference in Lamaholot; rather it is something expected from the literature of spatial reference in Austronesian languages. For example, Adelaar (1997) and other works compiled in Senft (1997) suggest that geocentric spatial reference is very common in Austronesian languages in Indonesia and Pacific regions. Reid (p.c.) points out that the land-sea axis is often employed for spatial reference in Northern Philippine languages, too, such as Ilokano. Jiang (2006) also observes that Kavalan, an indigenous language of Taiwan, uses an absolute frame of reference in their conceptualizations of space. See also Palmer (2002) and François (2004), which illustrate that an absolute frame of reference is quite prevalent across Oceanic languages.

13.6.2 Intrinsic frame of reference

In the intrinsic frame of reference, the coordinate system for a spatial description is projected from intrinsic features of Ground. Lamaholot can employ this frame of reference, too, but only in a marginal way. There are two ways of projecting a coordinate system for an intrinsic frame of reference: (i) locative nouns and (ii) body part nouns.

On the one hand, locative nouns *lolō* ‘top’ and *wuĩ* ‘bottom’ can establish a fixed bearing for angular specification. For instance, a combination of the locative noun *lolō* and a deictic motion verb for ‘come’ is used for expressing the situation in Figure 13.22 and that in Figure 13.23 in a different way (Figures 13.22 and 13.23 are cited from Melissa Bowerman’s Topological Relations Picture Series). See (85) and (86).

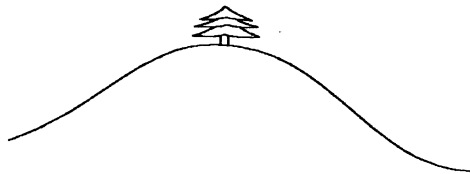


Figure 13.22: Tree on the mountain (85)

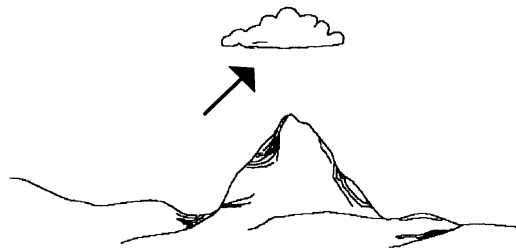


Figure 13.23: Cloud over the mountain (86)

(85) *kajo? teti ile lolō.*
 tree DIR.UP mountain top

‘The tree is in the direction of the sky **on** the mountain.’

(86) *kowa teti ile lolō hau.*
 cloud DIR.UP mountain top come

‘The cloud is in the direction of the sky **over** the mountain.’

A sentence in (85) is a simple locative descriptive construction, expressing the contiguous spatial relation of Figure (tree) to Ground (mountain), with the topological relation specified by the locative noun *lolō* ‘top’. In contrast, (86) involves a projective

spatial relationship like the one expressed by the English preposition *over*. This spatial relationship is expressed by the combination of the locative noun *lolō* ‘top’ and the deictic motion verb *hau* ‘come’ in (86). The only surface difference between (85) and (86) is the existence or absence of a deictic motion verb at the end of the clause. It appears that the existence of a deictic motion verb differentiates a projective spatial relationship from a contiguous spatial relationship.

At this point, we have only a limited number of examples of this construction type, although there are many things to be clarified about this construction type. For instance, a combination of a locative noun and a deictic motion verb looks similar to the structure of angular phrases (Section 13.4). It remains to be seen how the two structures are related to each other and why COME-verbs are used in both cases. We have to leave this question for further investigation.

On the other hand, body part nouns listed in (87) can project a fixed bearing for an intrinsic frame of reference, as presented in Figure 13.24.

(87) Body part nouns used within an intrinsic frame of reference

<i>wāhā</i>	‘front’	<i>pure?</i>	‘back’
<i>dəpā</i>	‘front’ (building)	<i>blakā</i>	‘back’ (building)
<i>mekī</i>	‘left’	<i>wənā</i>	‘right’

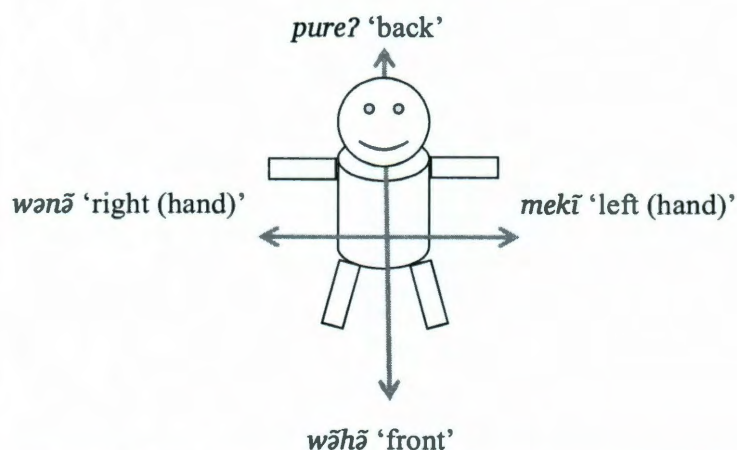


Figure 13.24: Intrinsic frame of reference (body part nouns)

See (88) and (89) for illustration.

- (88) *tapo deī pe: greja wāhā =nə.*
 palm.tree stand DEM.DIS church front =NMZ
 ‘The palm tree stands there in front of the church.’
- (89) *mo tobo pe: Tanti mekī.*
 2SG sit DEM.DIS Tanti left
 ‘Sit down there to the left of Tanti!’

In (88), the body part noun *wāhā* ‘front’ indicates that the search domain for Figure is projected from the front part (i.e., entrance) of the church. Likewise, in (89), *mekī* ‘left (hand)’ shows that Figure exists in the region projected from Ground to the direction of the left hand of Ground.

Three notes on the intrinsic frame of reference use of body parts are in order. First, only human beings, animals, vehicles, and buildings with an explicit orientation (e.g., an entrance) can be Ground within this type of intrinsic frame of reference. This is because this spatial frame is based on body parts, which only refer to an intrinsic part of above-

mentioned objects. In particular, *mekĩ* ‘left’ and *wənã* ‘right’ are only used with human beings. See (90) and (91).

(90) **mo tobo pe: kajo? wãhã.*

2SG sit DEM.DIS tree left

Intended for ‘Sit down there to the left of tree!’

(91) **tapo deĩ pe: greja mekĩ.*

palm.tree stand DEM.DIS church left

Intended for ‘The palm tree stands there to the left of the church.’

(90) is ungrammatical because the body part noun *wãhẽ* ‘front’ cannot be used with inanimate objects such as trees. Buildings with an explicit orientation may be used with *wãhã* ‘front’ as in (88), but cannot co-occur with *mekĩ* ‘left (hand)’, as in (91). Only human beings have *mekĩ* ‘left (hand)’ and *wənã* ‘right (hand)’ in Lamaholot.

Second, an intrinsic frame of reference by means of body part nouns is only available when Figure and Ground are separated in space but still can be construed as close to each other. This is not the case with an absolute frame of reference (Section 13.6.1).

Lastly, an intrinsic frame of reference is only a marginal phenomenon in comparison to an absolute frame of reference. The latter is far more frequently found in everyday conversation than the former.

13.6.3 Relative frame of reference

According to Levinson and Wilkins (2006:21), the relative frame of reference “involves a mapping from the observer’s own axes (front, back, left, right) onto the Ground, so that, for example, one can say [(92)] by deriving a front for a tree from the observer’s front – in this case, clearly, by assigning a front to the tree as if the tree was a

confronting interlocutor.” This involves triangulation of Figure, Ground and viewer. The location of the Figure cat in (92) is thus given from the position of the viewer as well as that of the Ground tree.

(92) *The cat is in front of the tree.*

This frame of reference is not uncommon in western Austronesian languages. It is available in a number of languages of the Philippines and Indonesia as well as Formosan languages. To illustrate, the relation between the ball and the chair in Figure 13.25 can be expressed by means of the concept of ‘right’ in Tagalog (93), in Cebuano (94), in Malagasy (95), in Balinese (96), and in Indonesian (97).

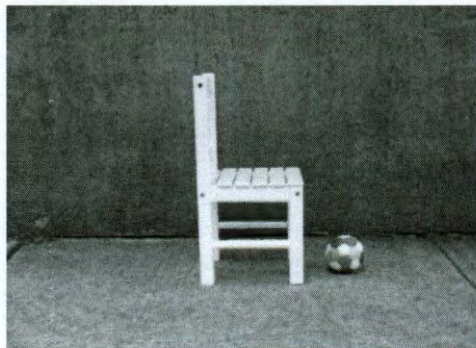


Figure 13.25: Ball and chair (Behnemeyer et. al 2008)

(93) **Tagalog (WMP; Central Philippines):**

Nasa kanan nang = upuan ang = bola.

be.at **right** GEN= chair NOM= ball

‘The ball is **to the right of** the chair.’

(94) **Cebuano (WMP; Central Philippines):**

Naa sa = tuo sa = lingkuranan ang = bola.

be.at LOC= **right** LOC= chair NOM= ball

‘The ball is **to the right of** the chair.’

(95) **Malagasy (WMP; Madagascar):**

Eo ankavanan’ ny = seza ny = baolina.

DEM **right** ART= chair ART= ball

‘The ball is **to the right of** the chair.’

(96) **Balinese (WMP; Bali):**

Bola-n-ne di tengawan kursi-n-ne.

ball-LIG-DEF LOC **right** chair-LIG-DEF

‘The ball is **to the right of** the chair.’

(97) **Indonesian (WMP; western Indonesia):**

Bola-nya ada di sebelah kanan kursi.

ball-DEF exist LOC side **right** chair

‘The ball is **to the right of** the chair.’

However, it is not possible to employ this frame of reference in Lamaholot, an eastern Indonesian language, to express the spatial configuration in Figure 13.25. Consider (98).

(98) **Lamaholot (CMP; eastern Indonesia):**

**bal pe: kursi wənã.*

ball DEM.DIS chair **right**

Intended for ‘The ball is **to the right of** the chair.’

In (98), the locative/body term noun *wənã* ‘right’ is used, resulting in an ungrammatical sentence. The intrinsic reading where *wənã* refers to the intrinsic part of the chair is not available, either, because there is no “right hand” in chairs, unlike human beings or animals (Section 13.6.2).

Instead, Lamaholot speakers must appeal to an absolute frame of reference (Section 13.6.1), as in (99) and (100), depending on which direction speaker is facing.

(99) **Lamaholot (CMP; eastern Indonesia):**

bal pe: kursi rae papa hau.
 ball dem.dis chair DIR.MT side come
 ‘The ball is west of the chair.’ (Speaker is facing south.)
 (lit. ‘The ball is there (around) the chair, coming from its mountainside.’)

(100) **Lamaholot (CMP; eastern Indonesia):**

bal pe: kursi lali papa haka.
 ball dem.dis chair DIR.DOWN side come
 ‘The ball is south of the chair.’ (Speaker is facing east.)
 (lit. ‘The ball is there (around) the chair, coming from its downside.’)

The difference between (99) and (100) is that speaker is facing south in (99) but east in (100). In an absolute frame reference, situations internal to a picture are interpreted and expressed by means of the coordinate system external to it. The direction-based compass system is imposed even on this small-scale spatial relationship.

Another example showing that a relative frame of reference is prohibited in this language is provided in (101).

(101) **mo tobo pe: kajo? mekĩ.*

2SG sit DEM.DIS tree left

Intended for ‘Sit down to the left of tree!’

(101) is not a grammatical sentence. On the one hand, *mekĩ* ‘left (hand)’ does not have an intrinsic frame of reference interpretation, because it can be used only with human beings. On the other hand, it does not have a relative frame of reference reading, either, because this frame of reference is not allowed in this language.

The fact that a relative frame of reference is prohibited in this language will become even clearer when Lamaholot speakers try to describe the spatial relation between the man and the fire in Figure 13.26, which is from Melissa Bowerman’s Topological Relations Picture Series.

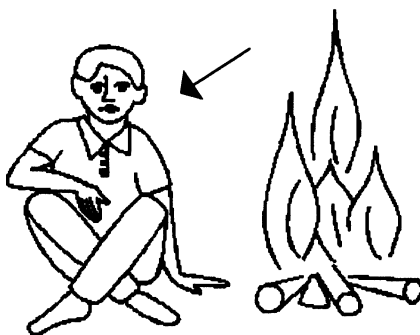


Figure 13.26: Man and fire

On the one hand, when the fire is construed as Figure and the man as Ground, one can express such a spatial configuration, using the locative noun *rekā* ‘nearby’ and the intrinsic frame of reference use of the body part noun *mekĩ* ‘left (hand)’, in addition to an absolute frame of reference, which we do not show here. In any event, the relative frame of reference reading is not available. See (102).

(102) **Figure = Fire; Ground = Man:**a. **Locative noun *rekā* ‘nearby’:**

ape *ia* *rekā* *nəʔē*.
 fire LOC nearby 3SG.NMZ

‘The fire is in his nearby.’

b. **Body part noun *mekī* ‘left (hand)’:**

ape *ia* *mekī* *nəʔē*.
 fire LOC left.hand 3SG.NMZ

‘The fire is to his left.’ (^{OK}intrinsic; *relative)

On the other hand, when the man is interpreted as Figure and the fire as Ground, one can only use the locative noun *rekā*. See (103).

(103) **Figure = Man; Ground = Fire:**a. **Locative noun *rekā* ‘nearby’:**

ata *dikā* *ia* *ape* *rekā*.
 person right LOC fire nearby

‘The right person (= human being) is in the nearby of the fire.’

b. **Body part noun *mekī* ‘left (hand)’:**

**ata* *dikā* *ia* *ape* *mekī*.
 person right LOC fire left.hand

Intended for ‘The right person (= human being) is to the left of the fire.’

In (103), the locative noun *rekā* ‘nearby’ can be readily used, but the use of the locative noun *mekī* ‘left(hand)’ is ungrammatical. On the one hand, the fire does not possess either right- or left- hand, which makes it impossible to employ an intrinsic frame of reference with the fire being the anchor. On the other hand, a relative frame of

reference is not allowed in Lamaholot: the locative noun *mekī* cannot have a relative reading.

Two final remarks are due regarding the lack of a relative frame of reference in Lamaholot. First, Lamaholot speakers sometimes use the words *dəpã* ‘front’ and *blakã* ‘back’, which are borrowed from *depan* ‘front’ and *belakang* ‘back’ in Indonesian. Although the original words in Indonesian can be used within a relative frame of reference, the borrowed words in Lamaholot are inalienably-possessed nouns that particularly refer to the front of a house (which typically has an entrance and a porch, facing the street) and its back (which usually has a kitchen), respectively, and thus only used within an intrinsic frame of reference.

Second and more importantly, the fact that a relative frame of reference is not available in Lamaholot is more important than the existence of an absolute frame of reference in the context of Austronesian languages. This is because, as indicated in (93), (94), (95), (96), and (97), a relative frame of reference can be used in other western Austronesian languages. In addition, Palmer (2002) and François (2004) report that a relative system is rarely found in Oceanic languages, although an absolute system is almost universal in these languages. Taking these into account, we can speculate that Austronesian languages have lost a relative frame of reference somewhere in eastern Indonesia while expanding from western Indonesia to Oceanic islands, and that Lamaholot is one of those languages that have stopped to use a relative system.

13.6.4 Another frame of reference: ia ‘hither’ vs. wəli ‘thither’

The locative *ia* and the directional *wəli* ‘the direction parallel with the coast’ form a coordinate system of the kind represented in Figure 13.27.

wəli ‘thither’*ia* ‘hither’

Speaker

Figure 13.27: Coordinate system formed by *ia* and *wəli*

For example, this system is used as in (104) and (105).

(104) *ba goʔē pe: laŋoʔ wəli papa dai*

father 1SG.NMZ DEM.DIS house DIR.COAST side come

‘My father is on the thither side of that house.’

(lit. ‘My father is there (around) the house, coming from its thither side.’)

(105) *amā goʔē pe: laŋoʔ ia papa dai*

mother 1SG.NMZ DEM.DIS house LOC side come

‘My mother is on the hither side of that house.’

(lit. ‘My mother is there (around) the house, coming from its hither side.’)

In (104), the Figure is introduced as the NP *ba goʔē* ‘my father’ and the Ground as the locational phrase *pe: laŋoʔ* ‘there in the house’. The spatial angular specification is done by the angular phrase *wəli papa dai* ‘on the thither side’ or ‘coming from its thither side’. Likewise, in (105), the Figure appears as the NP *amā goʔē* ‘my mother’ and the Ground as the locational phrase *pe: laŋoʔ* ‘there in the house’. Again, the spatial configuration is expressed by means of the angular phrase *ia papa dai* ‘on the hither side’ or ‘coming from its hither side’.

The spatial configuration for (104) and (105) can be represented as in Figure 13.28.

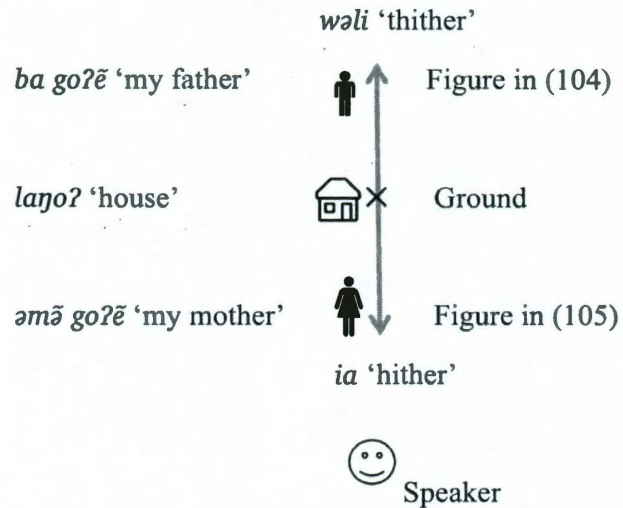


Figure 13.28: (104) and (105)

Importantly, in this hither-thither system, the position of speaker makes a difference in the validity of spatial expressions. To illustrate, let us consider the situation represented in Figure 13.29. The difference between the situations expressed in Figures 13.28 and 13.29 is that in Figure 13.29, speaker moves to the opposite side of the house, all other being equal.

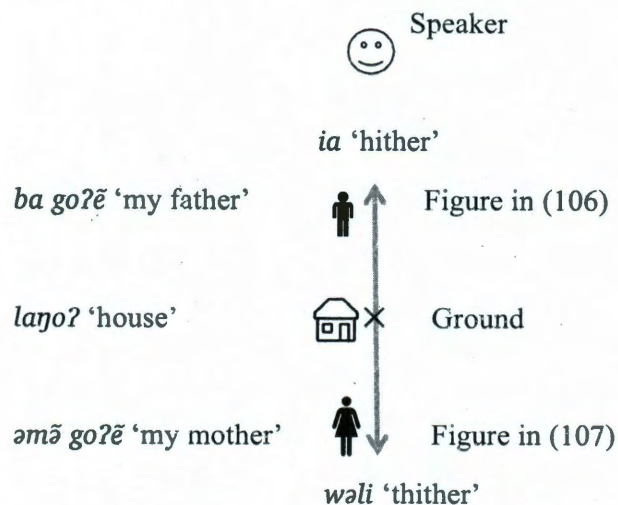


Figure 13.29: (106) and (107)

To express the position of speaker's father and mother in Figure 13.29, it is possible to use examples in (106) and (107).

(106) *ba goʔẽ pe: laŋoʔ ia papa dai.*
 father 1SG.NMZ DEM.DIS house LOC side come
 'My father is on the hither side of that house.'

(lit. 'My father is there (around) the house, coming from its hither side.')

(107) *əmã goʔẽ pe: laŋoʔ wãli papa dai.*
 mother 1SG.NMZ DEM.DIS house DIR.COAST side come
 'My mother is on the thither side of that house.'

(lit. 'My mother is there (around) the house, coming from its thither side.')

Notice that *ia* is used for the position of mother in (105) but for that of father in (106), while *wãli* is employed for the position of father in (104) but for that of mother in (107). This means that different positions of speaker result in different choice of *ia* or *wãli* in this coordinate system.

Another pair of examples is found in (108) and (109).

- (108) *bal pe: kursi ia papa dai.*
 ball DEM.DIS chair LOC side come

‘The ball is on the hither side of that chair.’

(lit. ‘The ball is there (around) the chair, coming from its hither side.’)

- (109) *bal pe: kursi wəli papa dai.*
 ball DEM.DIS chair DIR.COAST side come

‘The ball is on the thither side of that chair.’

(lit. ‘The ball is there (around) the chair, coming from its thither side.’)

Examples (108) and (109) express the relationship between Figure (ball) and Ground (chair) in Figures 13.30 and 13.31, respectively.



Figure 13.30



Figure 13.31

Now, when we assume that we are facing toward the mountain or the direction of *rae*, we can express Figures 13.30 and 13.31 in terms of the directional-based coordinate system instead of the hither-thither system, as in (110) and (111), respectively.

(110) *bal pe: kursi lau papa dai.*
 ball DEM.DIS chair DIR.SEA side come

‘The ball is east of that chair.’

(lit. ‘The ball is there (around) the chair, coming from its seaside.’)

(111) *bal pe: kursi rae papa hau.*
 ball DEM.DIS chair DIR.MT side come

‘The ball is west of that chair.’

(lit. ‘The ball is there (around) the chair, coming from its mountainside.’)

In the angular phrases of (110) and (111), the directional-based coordinate system, namely, the contrast between *rae* ‘west’ and *lau* ‘east’ is employed instead of the hither-thither contrast.

Comparing (108) and (109) with (110) and (111) demonstrates that the hither-thither system formed by *ia* and *wəli* carries out the functions that a frame of reference is supposed to do. First, this system is used for angular specification when Figure and Ground are separated in space. Second, the structure of the angular phrase for this system is exactly the same as that for an absolute frame of reference. This structural parallelism also supports the functional one.

Interestingly, even though the hither-thither system qualifies as a frame of reference, it does not fit well into Levinson’s three-way typology of frames of reference. First, this Lamahot system is not an absolute of frame of reference. This is because this system is not imposed by the landscape or the cosmology surrounding the Figure-Ground scene but makes essential reference to the position of speaker.

Second, this frame of reference is not a relative frame of reference, either, because the coordinate system is not projected from the speaker’s own orientation. Indeed, the descriptions based on the hither-thither frame of reference do not change the validity of a spatial description, whichever direction speaker might be facing.

Lastly, this hither-thither system is not an intrinsic frame of reference, because the orientation like ‘hither’ and ‘thither’ has nothing to do with intrinsic features of a Ground.

To conclude, it appears that the Lamaholot hither-thither system points to the existence of another type of frame of reference that has never been noticed in the literature (cf. Object-centered and direct frames of reference, proposed by Danziger 2010).

13.7 Motion

Another important branch of spatial semantics is **motion**, which pertains to how Figure changes its position relative to Ground. As overviewed in Section 13.1.4, several semantic components are involved in this type of event: Figure, Ground, Path, Manner, Cause, and Deixis. Path is the trajectory along which Figure moves (such as *enter*, *exit*, *go across*, etc.), and Manner is about the way Figure moves (*walk*, *run*, *swim*, etc.). The former is expressed by path-of-motion verbs (Section 8.3.2) and the latter by manner-of-motion verbs (Section 8.3.1). The Cause is evoked when a motion is brought about by an action of another participant (such as *throw*, *kick*, etc.). This is expressed by causative verbs. Lastly, the Deixis is concern with the direction of a motion relative to speaker. There are two directions: toward speaker and far from speaker. This concept is expressed by deictic motion verbs (Section 8.3.3).

In this section, we discuss three types of motion events, namely, motion, caused motion, and abstract emanation, according to the typology of motion events by Matsumoto (in preparation) in (112).

(112) **Typology of motion events (Matsumoto in preparation):**

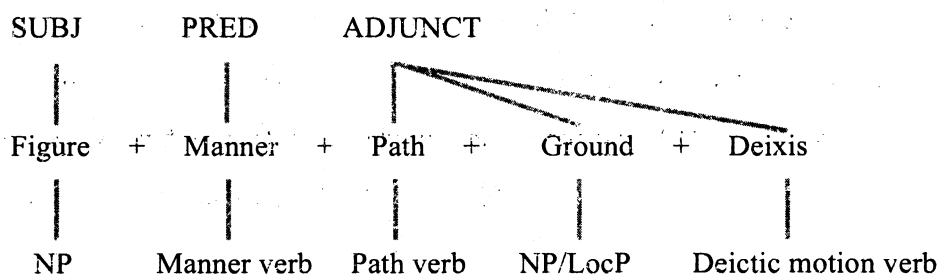
- a. Motion: Figure appears in the subject relation.
- b. Caused motion: Figure appears in either the primary or the secondary object relation.
- c. Abstract emanation: Figure does not appear in a clause.

This typology is designed to observe the similarities and differences in constructional patterns among different types of motion. As shown in this section, in Lamaholot complex motion constructions, path information is consistently expressed by verbal prepositions (Section 12.1) across the three different types above.

In the rest of this section, we provide a description and analysis of these three types of motion events and examples of each: motion (Section 13.7.1), caused motion (Section 13.7.2), and abstract emanation (Section 13.7.3).

13.7.1 Motion

A **motion construction** is the most simple and fundamental construction of motion events and expresses a change of location that Figure undergoes either on its own will or without an explicit external causer. The constructional template for (agentive) motion events is given in (113).

(113) **(Agentive) motion construction:**

Note that lines in (113) only indicate correspondences among grammatical functions, semantic components, and words, not indicating any syntactic constituency. In terms of syntactic structure, a verb for manner of motion is a main verb, while one for path of motion is a verbal preposition and forms a verbal prepositional phrase with a noun or locational phrase to follow. Lastly, a deictic motion verb works here to specify the deictic nature of the motion expressed by the entire clause (Section 12.1). This constructional pattern is of satellite-framed languages (Talmy 1985, 1991) because the Manner appears in the main predicate position and the Path in serialized form.

For example, consider examples in (114) and (115).

(114) *Nia pana gwali lali Lewotobi n-ai.*
 Nia walk return DIR.DOWN Lewotobi 3SG-go

‘Nia walked back to Lewotobi.’

(lit. ‘Nia walked back to the direction of the ground (to) Lewotobi.’)

(115) *bote bao lou wali gua onə? dai.*
 bottle float move.out DIR.COAST cave inside come

‘The bottle floated out of the cave.’

(lit. ‘The bottle floated out of the direction parallel with the coast, the cave’s inside.’)

Example (114) expresses the motion event where Figure *Nia* took the path of returning to Lewotobi. The Ground is the Lewotobi village and is introduced to the clause by means of the directional *lali* ‘the direction of the earth’ with the deictic meaning that Lewotobi is located in the direction of the earth from speaker. The deictic direction of the motion event is identified by the deictic motion verb *ə-ai* ‘go’. In (115), the Manner, the Path, and the Deixis are expressed by *bao* ‘float’, *lou* ‘move.out’, and *dai* ‘come’, respectively.

Note that the deictic motion verb for a motion away from speaker (i.e., GO-verbs) is optional when a path verb exists in a clause (Section 12.1.4.3). Thus, (116) can express the same event as (114).

- (116) *Nia pana gwali lali Lewotobi.*
 Nia walk return DIR.DOWN Lewotobi
 ‘Nia walked back to Lewotobi.’

Similar examples are given in (117), (118), (119), and (120).

- (117) *Tanti rogo tama wəli kamar onə? n-ai.*
 Tanti crawl enter DIR.COAST room inside 3SG-go
 ‘Tanti crawled into the room.’

(lit. ‘Tanti crawled into the direction parallel with the coast, the inside of the room away from speaker.’)

- (118) *Tanti rogo lou wəli kamar onə? dai.*
 Tanti crawl exit DIR.COAST room inside come
 ‘Tanti crawled out of the room.’

(lit. ‘Tanti crawled out of the direction parallel with the coast, the inside of the room toward speaker.’)

- (119) *na səgē tama rae laŋo? onə? n-ai.*
 3SG hop enter DIR.MT house inside 3SG-go
 ‘S/he hopped into the room.’

(lit. ‘S/he hopped into the direction of the mountain, the inside of the house, away from speaker.’)

(120) *na plaʔe tama ia laŋoʔ onəʔ hau.*

3SG run enter LOC house inside come

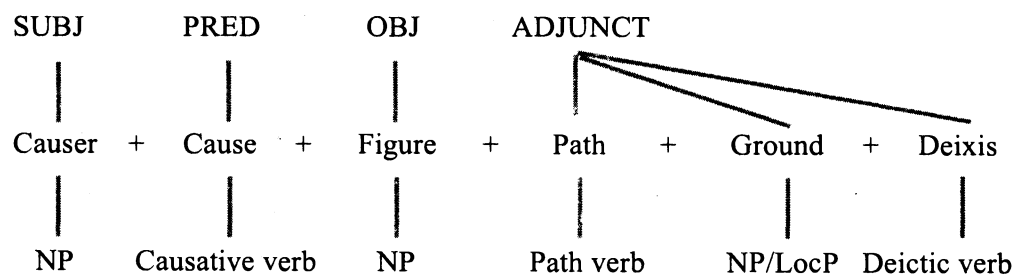
‘S/he ran into the house (from the direction of the mountain).’

(lit. ‘S/he ran into the inside of the house, coming from the direction of the mountain.’)

13.7.2 Caused motion

When motion is construed as being caused by an external causer, it takes a **caused motion construction**, in which the Figure of motion is realized as object, while what induces the motion appears as subject, as in (121).

(121) **Caused motion construction:**



To illustrate, examples of a caused motion construction are given in (122) and (123).

(122) *Hugo soko bal lou jendera n-ai.*

Hugo toss ball exit window 3SG-go

‘Hugo tossed the ball out of the window.’

(123) *Ika n-əte wai? lewa? Sius laŋoʔ =kā hau.*

Ika 3SG-hold water go.across Sius house =NMZ come

‘Ika brought the water across Sius’s house (toward speaker).’

The caused motion construction in (122) expresses that Figure *bal* ‘the ball’ moved out of the window due to Hugo’s action of throwing. The Figure *bal* ‘ball’ appears in the object relation. The serialized phrase *lou jendera* ‘out of the window’ indicates the Path. In (123), the Figure is *wai?* ‘water’ in the object position. Its motion is caused by Ika’s action of holding it. The Path of motion is expressed by other words of the clause: the verbal prepositional phrase *lewa? Sius laŋo? kã* ‘across Sius’s house’. The deictic nature of the motion is specified by *hau* ‘come from the direction of the mountain or the sky.’

In many cases, an adjunct verbal prepositional phrase for *Path* + *Ground* is not expressed in caused motion constructions. Instead, the Path information is indicated by the combination of the locational phrase and a COME-verb. See (124) and (125).

- (124) *Hugo n-əte kursi wəli kamar onə? n-ai.*
 Hugo 3SG-hold chair DIR.COAST room inside 3SG-go
 ‘Hugo brought the chair into the room.’

(lit. ‘Hugo held the chair, going to the direction parallel with the coast, to the inside of the house.’)

- (125) *Sius sepa bal wəli kajo? dai.*
 Sius kick ball DIR.COAST tree come
 ‘Sius kicked the ball from the tree (toward me).’

(lit. ‘Sius kicked the ball from the direction parallel with the coast, the tree.’)

There is no path-of-motion verb in (124) and (125). The Path information is expressed by the expression *wəli kamar onə? nai* ‘toward the direction parallel with the coast, the room’ in (124) and by *wəli kajo? dai* ‘from the direction parallel with the coast, the tree’ in (125).

In some other cases, the Path information is only expressed by a deictic motion verb. See (126).

- (126) *mo neĩ go kopi hau.*
 2SG give 1SG coffee come
 ‘You give me a cup of coffee.’
 (The coffee cup is in the direction of the mountain or the sky.)

The caused motion construction in (126) is the imperative sentence with which speaker asks hearer to take a cup of coffee and bring it to speaker. The cup of coffee is located in the direction of the mountain or sky, because *hau* is used in this sentence. The Path of the motion expressed by (126) is the trajectory from the position of the cup of coffee to the position of speaker.

A caused motion construction in (126) also shows that in ditransitive constructions, Figure appears as secondary object rather than as primary object, because in (126) the thing that moves is the cup of coffee, not the speaker.

The caused motion construction can express a motion event induced by a variety of causation types. In (124), the motion described was induced by **controlled causation**. On the other hand, the motion event in (127) results from **ballistic causation** (Shibatani 1976; Talmy’s onset causation vs. continuous causation).

- (127) *go sepa bal rae jendela woho? k-ai.*
 1SG kick ball DIR.MT window outside 1SG-go
 ‘I kicked the ball out of the window.’
 (lit. ‘I kicked the ball to the direction of the mountain, the outside of the window.’)

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that it is possible for a single caused motion construction to take more than one verbal preposition phrase to add more Path information to the clause. Consider (128).

(128) *go sepa bal lou laŋo? lewa? jendera*
 1SG kick ball exit house go.across window
rae woho? k-ai.
 DIR.MT outside 1SG-go

'I kicked the ball out of the house, through the window, to the direction of the mountain, the outside.'

In (128), the Path information is expressed by three verbal preposition phrases: *lou laŋo?* 'out of the house', *lewa? jendera* 'across the window', and *rae woho? kai* 'to the direction of the mountain, the outside'. Note also that the deictic motion verb *ø-ai* 'go' still agrees with the subject argument.

13.7.3 Abstract emanation

In **abstract emanation constructions**, Figure does not appear in a clause, but it is still interpreted that something abstract moves. Since Figure is not expressed in this type of motion event, it is not possible to make a generalization about the syntactic pattern for this construction. Find an example of the abstract emanation construction in (129).

(129) *go notō rae k-ai.*
 1SG look DIR.MT 1SG-go

'I looked toward the direction of the mountain.'

(Figure = gaze, vision)

The abstract emanation construction in (129) expresses the situation in which the gaze of speaker abstractly moves from speaker's position to the direction of the mountain. The word for 'gaze' itself is not expressed in this construction, but Lamaholot speakers can understand that something abstract moved. Evidence comes from the fact that (129) contains the verb for 'go' and it agrees with the subject argument.

Compare the abstract emanation construction (129) with an ordinary motion construction (130). They appear exactly in the same structure, the only difference being that the Figure is linguistically expressed in the latter but not in the former.

(130) *go pana rae k-ai.*
 1SG walk DIR.MT 1SG-go

'I walked toward the direction of the mountain.'

Similar examples are given in (131) and (132).

(131) *hape alā wəli kamar onə? dai.*
 mobile.phone ring DIR.COAST room inside come

'The mobile phone rang from inside the room.'

(lit. 'The mobile phone rang coming from the direction parallel with the coast, the inside of the room.')

(Figure = the ringing sound from the mobile phone)

(132) (Besa lives towards the western tip of Flores.)

go SMS Besa lali k-ai.
 1SG send.text.message Besa DIR.DOWN 1SG-go

'I sent a text message to Besa.'

(lit. 'I SMS'ed Besa, going to the direction of the ground.')

(Figure = a text message)

The abstract emanation construction in (131) means that the ringing sound emitted from the mobile phone moved from inside the room to speaker. The Figure is the ringing sound, but it does not appear in the clause. Nonetheless, the interpretation that this sentence indicates some sort of motion is borne out by the fact that the deictic motion verb *dai* ‘come’ is used in the clause. Likewise, in (132), the Figure is a text message, also known as a Short Message Service (SMS) in Indonesia, sent from speaker to Besa, but the word SMS does not overtly appear as an NP in the sentence. However, the entire sentence implies some kind of abstract motion. This is guaranteed by the fact that the deictic motion verb *ø-ai* ‘go’ is used at the end of the sentence.

Sometimes the existence or absence of a GO-verb in this type of motion construction makes a meaning difference. Compare (133) and (134).

(133) *mo bel tea?*
 2SG call where
 ‘Where did you make a phone call?’

(134) *mo bel tea m-ai?*
 2SG call where 2SG-go
 ‘Who did you call?’
 (lit. ‘Did you call going where?’)
 (Figure = phone call)

Example (133) is not a motion construction but an ordinary intransitive action construction. Speaker is asking hearer where the hearer made a phone call. In contrast, there is a GO-verb in (134). The existence of this GO-verb gets (134) to have the interpretation of abstract emanation: (134) means that speaker is asking hearer whom the

hearer called. The abstract motion of telephone call is observed, although there is no overt nominal expression for telephone call.

Lastly, let us look at another example of abstract emanation this time from a Frog story (see Appendix A-3). See (135), where speaker describes the scene depicted in Figure 13.32.

(135) *na majã pe: .. umã onã? lali _____ n-ai.*
 3SG shout DEM.DIS hole inside DIR.DOWN 3SG-go

‘He shouted there inside the hole downward.’

(lit. ‘He shouted there (into) the hole, going to the direction of the ground.’)



Figure 13.32: A scene from a frog story

In (135), no overt Figure is expressed, but still the directional *lali* and the deictic motion verb *ø-ai* ‘go’ are used so as to indicate that the voice of the boy moves downwards.

13.8 Implications

This chapter examined spatial expressions in Lamahlot. In this section, by way of conclusion, we address some implications of the findings we presented in this chapter for the studies of spatial semantics in general. First, it is not an overstatement to say that the Lamahlot grammar exists for expressing space and motion. It was demonstrated

throughout this chapter that different grammatical devices ranging from demonstratives and directionals to deictic motion verbs are involved in expressing spatial motion concepts in different ways.

Second, the most significant of all grammatical devices relevant to spatial semantics are directionals. Syntactically speaking, directionals are likely to have been nouns in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian but came to serve as adverbs and prepositions in Lamaholot. From a functional perspective, they are used not only for referring to object in a deictic manner based on environmental landmarks, but also for offering a coordinate system, by which Lamaholot speakers are allowed to make spatial reference within an absolute frame of reference. It was also emphasized that directionals are interwoven with the culture and religion of Lamaholot-speaking people.

Third, Lamaholot speakers utilize an absolute frame of reference in most cases and an intrinsic frame of reference in some rare cases. Crucially, Lamaholot cannot employ a relative frame of reference, despite the fact that this frame of reference is observed widely across Austronesian languages of the Philippines and western Indonesia, while it is disallowed in Oceanic languages. This suggests, we speculate, that in the history of Austronesian languages a relative frame of reference came not to be used in eastern Indonesian languages, which are historically and geographically between the Philippine/western Indonesian and the Oceanic languages, and that Lamaholot is one of those eastern Indonesian languages that have stopped using a relative frame of reference. Thus, we can see in Lamaholot evidence that a language can change its position in a typology of spatial frames of reference.

Most probably, the fact that a relative frame of reference is not available in Lamaholot is somehow related to the development of directionals in Lamaholot. Lamaholot might have abandoned a relative frame of reference because it came to obtain rich directional systems. Or this language might have developed complex directional systems to compensate for the loss of a relative frame of reference.

Lastly, Lamaholot is a satellite-framed language in terms of a typology of motion events (Talmy 1985, 1991). Since we analyze serialized verbs of path of motion as having been grammaticalized into prepositions (Sections 4.10 and 12.1), we do not commit to Slobin (2004)'s and Zlatev and Yangklang's (2004) analysis of motion serial verb constructions as "equipollently-framed". It was also demonstrated that this typological tendency is not affected by the event type of motion: path information is consistently expressed as a verbal preposition, whether in (agentive) motion or caused motion.

14 Conclusions

This study investigated the grammar of the Lewotobi dialect of Lamaholot, a Central Malayo-Polynesian language of eastern Indonesia. This dialect is spoken by approximately 6,000 people in the eastern tip of Flores Island of the Lesser Sunda Islands in the Republic of Indonesia. In the absence of available documentation of the language, the data examined have been collected entirely through the present author's fieldwork in one of the village where it is spoken. The grammatical description and analysis presented in this study constitute the first full-fledged grammar of this little-known language of considerable interest.

As laid out in Chapter 1, this study has two major goals. On the one hand, we aimed to provide an empirically-based analysis of the data collected, ranging from phonology through morphology to syntax. On the other hand, this study also attempted to address some issues of theoretical significance in studies on Austronesian languages and linguistic typology.

By way of conclusion, we summarize our findings and explore their further implications within Austronesian languages and beyond. In Chapter 2, it was pointed out that Lamaholot has several phonological characteristics that are rarely found in other eastern Indonesian languages: contrastive vowel nasalization, a strong preference for open syllables, and the lack of prenasalized stops. In particular, the existence of contrastive vowel nasalization is rare not only in languages of eastern Indonesia, but also across Austronesian languages in general. A phonological typology of Austronesian languages might need be reconsidered from a Lamaholot perspective.

Chapter 3 offered an inventory of Lamaholot morphological processes. Although Lamaholot and other Flores languages are known for the lack of morphological formatives, our closer look at the lexicon of this language revealed that Lamaholot has both productive and non-productive affixes and clitics. Special attention was drawn to two morphological phenomena: agreement and possessive/nominalization markers. These two phenomena show quite a complex system and occur with different words in different functions, penetrating through the Lamaholot morphosyntax.

In Chapter 4, an analysis of parts of speech was presented. Lamaholot words are divided into three large groups: the major, the transitional, and the minor parts of speech. In order to posit these categories in a typologically plausible way, we adopted the reference-and-predication approach towards parts of speech: nominals are those words that can be used for reference, while verbals are those words that can be used for predication. Nominals and verbals form a category of major parts of speech and provide lexical and concrete meanings to a sentence. In contrast, minor parts of speech, which are defined as words that cannot be employed for reference or predication, add grammatical and abstract meanings to a sentence. In addition, we proposed another kind of parts of speech, transitional parts of speech, where nominals and verbals are being grammaticalized into minor parts of speech. Thus, our reference-and-predication-based approach allows us to clearly recognize parts of speech in Lamaholot.

There are two important facts about the Lamaholot parts of speech system. First, nouns and verbs can be distinguished in a clear manner, unlike most languages of the Philippines and western Indonesia. Second, Lamaholot has “adjective” or property words, but they are split into two categories: adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs. In most western Austronesian languages, adjectives are analyzed as part of intransitive verbs; in Lamaholot, property words belong to either nouns or verbs. Lastly, Lamaholot does not have precatatorial roots, because, unlike Tagalog, for example, nouns and verbs can be

differentiated easily and there is no lexical root whose syntactic membership can be recognized only after full derivation.

Chapter 5 examined the structure of noun phrases with special reference to pre-nominal and post-nominal modifiers. In the description of pre-nominal modifiers, attention was drawn to the contrast between alienable and inalienable possession. In post-nominal modifiers, the order among post-nominal modifiers became important. It was also pointed out that the constructional affinity between possessive and attributive constructions is observed in the noun phrase structure of Lamaholot. Interestingly, this pattern was ascribed by Ross (1998a, b) to a small group of Oceanic languages. This means that Lamaholot noun phrases have the structure that only a limited number of Oceanic languages are considered to have.

The subjects of discussion in Chapter 6 were transitional parts of speech being grammaticalized from nouns to adverbs/prepositions: demonstratives, directionals, and the locative *ia*. In this study, demonstratives, directionals, and the locative were collectively referred to as locationals, because they work as the head of a locational phrase, either as locative adverbs or as prepositions. It was also emphasized that they are differentiated in the nature of deictic meanings: demonstratives pertain to relative distance of Figure from the deictic center and can cover temporal and discourse deixis as well as spatial deixis, while directionals are only concerned with spatial deixis and particularly express directions of Figure from the deictic center with regard to geographical landmarks. The locative *ia* is neutral to such deictic meanings.

Chapter 7 investigated agreement phenomena closely. Agreement in Lamaholot is worth mentioning because there are three distinct types of agreement: grammatical, semantic and default agreement.

In Chapter 8, we presented a bird's eye view of Lamaholot clause structure. After overviewing the general principles of clause structure, it was demonstrated that several basic clause types are distinguished and that each basic clause type has their own set of

arguments, which are in turn used in the next chapter for analyzing various constructions relevant to grammatical relations.

Chapter 9 investigated one of the most controversial issues in Austronesian linguistics, namely, voice and grammatical relations and made two counter arguments to the existing typologies of western Austronesian voice systems. First, Lamaholot and other eastern Indonesian languages are considered to show no voice alternation in the literature, but we argued that Lamaholot does display voice phenomena without voice morphology. Although it lacks morphological elements exclusively dedicated for voice and valence-changing operations, there are various mechanisms and constructional alternations that can be readily utilized for such functional domains: antipassive, middle, anticausative, causative, conative, topicalization, antidative, benefactive, and generic agent.

Second, in the existing typologies, voice and grammatical relations in eastern Indonesian languages are analyzed as completely different from those one can find in languages of western Indonesia and the Philippines. However, our careful and thorough examination of the Subject-Topic and the Object-Topic constructions revealed that it is necessary to posit two different kinds of grammatical relations, namely, the semantico-syntactic ones (SUBJECT, PRIMARY OBJECT, SECONDARY OBJECT, and OBLIQUE) and the pragmatico-syntactic one (TOPIC), for a proper understanding of this alternation. This means that the Lamaholot grammatical relations are functionally similar to the Philippine ones, contrary to the generalization made in the literature. At any rate, we should abandon the postulated typologies of voice systems in eastern Indonesia and look into them from a different perspective.

Our interest went beyond the simple clauses in Chapters 10, 11 and 12. In Chapter 10, we described various clausal and sentential modifiers: tense, aspect, mood, illocutionary force, and sentence-final particles. In Chapter 11, in contrast, different types of complex sentences are examined in a sketchy manner. Building upon these

discussions, Chapter 12 investigated verb serialization. An important theoretical argument made in this chapter was that serialized verbs in this language do not have the independent nature of lexical verbs. The same conclusion was arrived at by Shibatani and Huang (to appear).

Our investigation of the grammar of Lamaholot reached its climax when we analyzed spatial semantics in Chapter 13. Four observations of typological importance were made with respect to spatial language. First, the locative and preposition-like elements in this language do not encode topological meanings, which are instead expressed by locative nouns. Second, directionals can be employed either as deictic expressions for geographic landmarks or as the coordinate system for an absolute frame of reference. Third, Lamaholot makes intensive use of an absolute frame of reference, an intrinsic one being only supplementary. More crucially, a relative frame of reference is not available in this language. Lastly, three different types of motion events were recognized, in all of which path of motion is represented by a non-main verb element. Lamaholot is a typical case of satellite-framed languages.

In conclusion, this study, titled *The Lamaholot Language of Eastern Indonesia*, can be summarized in one sentence: **Lamaholot is an eastern Indonesian language.** Lamaholot has typological characteristics of both western Austronesian and Oceanic languages. On the one hand, Lamaholot can be typologically characterized as the most easterly languages of western Austronesian. It still retains some typological characteristics typical of western Austronesian languages. In particular, geocentric spatial terms are deictically used as in other western Indonesian languages; voice and grammatical relations in this language display an interesting parallelism with those in languages of the Philippines.

On the other hand, however, some of the typological features of Lamaholot are best analyzed as those of the most westerly language of Oceanic languages. The typological features that have been associated often exclusively with Oceanic languages (see Lynch,

Ross & Crowley 2002) are also recognized in Lamaholot, as pointed out in this study: versatile nominalization (Lichtenberk 2011), the constructional parallelism between possessive and attributive constructions (Ross 1998a, b), verbal prepositions and auxiliaries via verb serialization (Lichtenberk 1991; Crowley 2002), and the lack of a relative frame of reference (Palmer 2002; François 2004). In this sense, Lamaholot is a typological precursor of Oceanic languages. Thus, the western and eastern Austronesian worlds met in the Lamaholot language of eastern Indonesia.

Appendix A: Texts

This section provides seven texts listed in (1).

- (1) Text I: *Pesta Watubuku* ‘The Watubuku Festival’
 Text II: Bohnemeyer’s Motion-Land films (version 2), Clip 1
 Text III: Bohnemeyer’s Motion-Land films (version 2), Clip 2
 Text IV: Bohnemeyer’s Motion-Land films (version 2), Clip 3
 Text V: Bohnemeyer’s Motion-Land films (version 2), Clip 4
 Text VI: Bohnemeyer’s Motion-Land films (version 2), Clip 5
 Text VII: *Məto, mo tea?* ‘Frog where are you?’

Each recording was transcribed intonation unit by intonation unit, following the transcription conventions adapted from Du Bois et al. (1993). Each transcript line represents a single Intonation Unit.

- | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|
| . | Final intonation contour. |
| , | Continuing intonation contour. |
| ? | Appeal intonation contour. |
| -- | Truncated Intonation Unit. |
| - | Truncated word. |
| .. | Short pause. |
| ... | Long pause. |

XXX Poor recording

Text I: *Pesta Watubuku* ‘The Watubuku Festival’

In this text, speaker (female, mid-30s) is talking about the event of going to the festival held in the Watubuku village. This was recorded on August 12, 2009 in the Nurabelen village, from where Watubuku is in the direction of the ground (*lali*) and Boru is the direction of the mountain (*rae*).

(1) *Hmmmm.*

INTERJECTION

‘Hmmmm.’

(2) *em--*

em--

‘em--’

(3) *em--*

em--

‘em--’

(4) *kame* *m-aʔi* = *kə* *pesta* *Watubuku.*

1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC-leave =1PL.EXC festival Watubuku

‘We went to the Watubuku festival.’

(5) *kame* *dore* *oto bakā,*

1PL.EXC follow Oto Bakang

‘We followed (i.e., rode) Oto Bakang.’¹

¹ Oto Bakang is the name of a bus company.

- (6) *gere tehe,*
 go.up DEM.PROX
 ‘(we) got on (the bus) here.’
- (7) *sampe rae Boru,*
 reach DIR.MT Boru
 ‘until Boru (located in the direction of the mountain).’
- (8) *səga rae Boru waha,*
 arrive DIR.MT Boru finish
 ‘(We) already arrived Boru,’
- (9) *kame lodo oto bakā,*
 1PL.EXC go.down Oto Bakang
 ‘and we got down Oto Bakang.’
- (10) *m-aʔi =kə tedā oto Jurusan Watobuku*
 1PL.EXC-leave =1PL.EXC wait oto Jurusan Watobuku

wəli seberang wəli .. deker.
 DIR.COAST other.side DIR.COAST deker
 ‘We left and waited for Oto Jurusan Watobuku² around the other side... around Deker in the direction parallel with the coast.’
- (11) *sampe pe: deker,*
 arrive DEM.DIS deker
 ‘(We) arrived there in Deker.’
- (12) *kame mau nai? oto Gerita tapi,*
 1PL.EXC want get.on Oto Gerita but
 ‘We wanted to get on Oto Gerita,³ but’

² Oto Jurusan Watobuku is the name of a bus company.

³ Oto Gerita is the name of a bus company.

- (13) *terlambat.*
late
'It was late.'
- (14) *sudah sarat.*
PFV full
'(The bus) was already full.'
- (15) *jadi kame tedā oto yang lali Watubuku haka,*
so 1PL.EXC wait car NMZ DIR.DOWN Watubuku come
'So we waited for the car that will come from Watubuku (which is considered in the direction of the ground).'
- (16) *na hode pasien pergantian rae rumah sakit kadi?,*
3SG pick.up patient transfer DIR.MT hospital so
'The driver picked up the transferring patient in the direction of the mountain (in) the hospital. After that,'
- (17) *kame numpang gwali.*
1PL.EXC ride.in return
'We rode in (the bus) and returned (to Watubuku).'
- (18) *ehh larā Watubuku n-ai pe?ē jalek ηari.*
INTERJECTION road Watubuku 3SG-go DEM.DIS.NMZ bad bad
'Ehh, the road going to Watubuku was bad, very bad.'
- (19) *mako.*
bad
'bad.'⁴

⁴ *jalek* is an Indonesian word for 'bad', *ηari*, Larantuka Malay, and *mako* Lamaholot.

- (20) *kādi?* *kame* *dore* *oto Pentai Watobuku* *n-ā?ā* *pe?ē* = *nā*,
 so 1PL.EXC join Oto Pentai Watobuku 3SG-do DEM.DIS.NMZ =NMZ

‘So we got on Oto Pentai Watobuku,⁵ like that.’

- (21) *sāga* *lali* *Watubuku*,
 arrive DIR.DOWN Watubuku

‘(we) arrived in the direction of the ground (in) Watubuku.’

- (22) *antar* *kame* *pe:* *lodo* *pe:* *skola*,
 accompany 1PL.EXC DEM.DIS get.off DEM.DIS school

‘(The bus) dropped us there and (we) got off (the bus) there in the school.’

- (23) *sampe* *pe:* *skola* *kādi?*,
 reach DEM.DIS school so

‘(We) reached there in the school, so.’

- (24) *kame* *lodo* *waha*,
 1PL.EXC get.off finish

‘We finished getting off, so’

- (25) *kame* *pana* *lei* *sāga*
 1PL.EXC walk foot arrive

rae *Om* *Gus* *Mama Mantu* *nā?ē* *laŋo?* = *kā*,
 DIR.MT Uncle Gus Aunt Mantu 3SG.NMZ house =NMZ

‘We walked on foot and arrived in the direction of the mountain in the house of Om Gus and his aunt Mantu.’

- (26) *kame* *singgah* *pe:* *kia*,
 1PL.EXC stop.by DEM.DIS PROS

‘We stopped by there and then,’

⁵ Oto Pentai Watobuku is the name of a bus company.

- (27) *kame m-enū wai? pe:*
 1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC-drink water DEM.DIS
 ‘We drank water (= coffee)⁶ there.’
- (28) *kame m-enū wai? pe: kia gə,*
 1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC-drink water DEM.DIS PROS CONJ
 ‘After we drank water (= coffee) there,
- (29) *kame n-əʔə Om Gus n-əʔə .. kwae nəʔe*
 1PL.EXC 3SG-do Uncle Gus 3SG-do wife 3SG.NMZ
 ‘We and Om Gus and his wife,’
- (30) *kame m-aʔi =kə hama m-ai*
 1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC-leave =1PL.EXC together 1PL.EXC-go
eti laŋo? pesta m-ai.
 DIR.UP house festival 1PL.EXC-go
 ‘We left together and went in the direction of the sky (to) the festival of the house.’
- (31) *hanya sekian saja.*
 only as.much.as.this just
 ‘This is all for this time.’

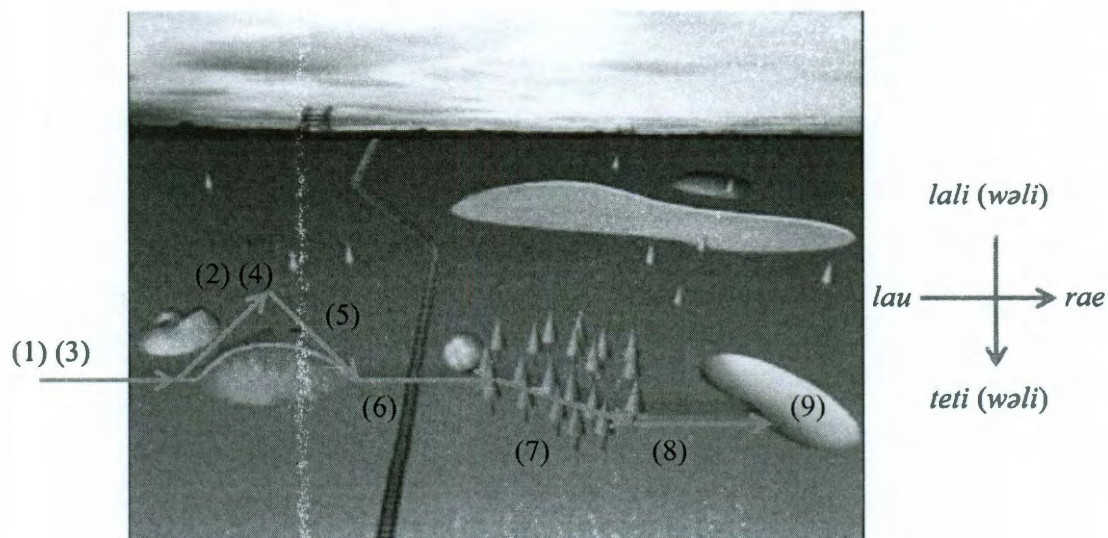
Text II: Bohnemeyer’s Motion-Land films (version 2), Clip 1

Texts II through VI are based on retelling of the Motion-Land films (version 2) developed by Jürgen Bohnemeyer (see Bohnemeyer 2001). The Motionland video stimuli consist of 5 very short (7-17 seconds) simple 3D animations that show a ball rolling through a landscape with hills, trees, rocks, a lake, a railroad track with a tunnel, etc.

⁶ In the Lamaholot villages, *ə-enū wai?* ‘drink water’ means ‘drink coffee’.

These video clips were originally intended to be used for a referential communication (“director-matcher”) task in which one participant describes the path of the ball in each clip to another participant whose task it is to trace the path with a pen in a 2D picture. However, the texts shown here were produced simply by means of a simple one-on-one elicitation task, where speaker retold the clips by himself.

All the five texts were produced by the same male speaker in his 30s on June 10, 2010. The recording was made in the Nurabelen village. Throughout the recording sessions, speaker was facing the direction parallel with the coast. The mountain is on his right side, and the sea on his left side.



Clip 1

- (1) *bal goli? wəli dai,*
 ball roll DIR.COAST come

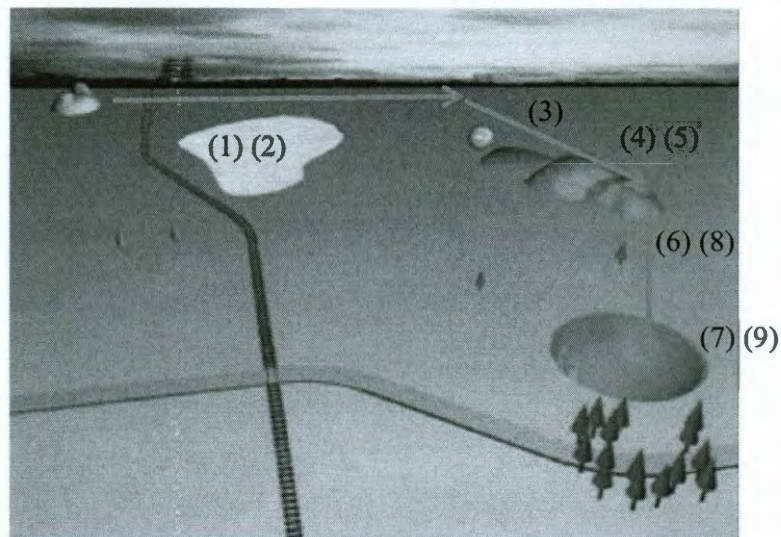
‘The ball rolled from the direction parallel with the coast.’

- (2) *gere pe: wolo? =kā kəsə,*
 climb DEM.DIS forest =NMZ little.bit

‘It climbed there the forest a little bit.’

- (3) *bal goli? wəli dai,*
 ball roll DIR.COAST come
 ‘The ball rolled from the direction parallel with the coast.’
- (4) *gere pe: wolo? = kə̄ kəsə,*
 climb DEM.DIST forest =NMZ little.bit
 ‘It climbed there up the forest a little bit.’
- (5) *lodo lali n-ai,*
 go.DOWN DIR.DOWN 3SG-go
 ‘It went down.’
- (6) *tama pe: kajo?,*
 enter DEM.DIS tree
 ‘It entered there the trees.’
- (7) *tama pe: kajo? onə? wəli n-ai,*
 enter DEM.DIS tree inside DIR.COAST 3SG-go
 ‘It entered there the inside the trees to the direction parallels with the coast.’
- (8) *goli? tərū wəli n-ai,*
 roll continue DIR.COAST 3SG-go
 ‘It kept rolling to the direction of the coast.’
- (9) *tama pe: umə̄ onə?.*
 enter DEM.DIS hole inside
 ‘It entered there the inside of the hole.’

Text III: Bohnemeyer’s Motion-Land films (version 2), Clip 2

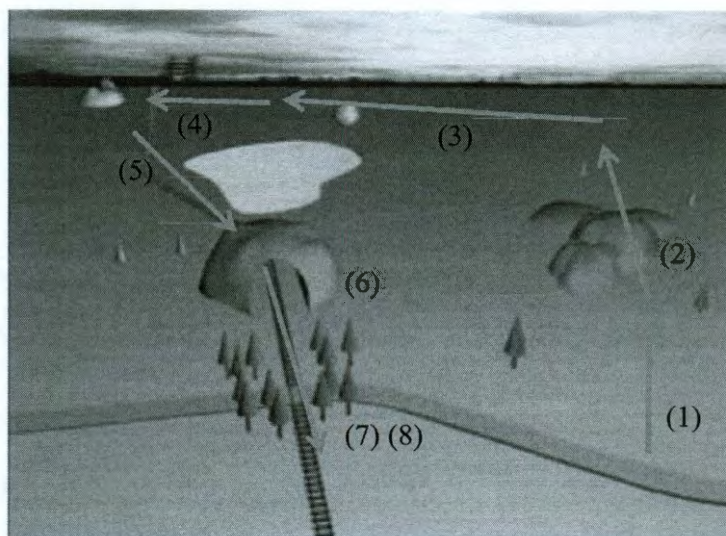


Clip 2

- (1) *bal goli rae pa,*
 ball roll DIR.MT side
 'The ball rolled along the direction of the mountain.'
- (2) *wali rae n-ai,*
 DIR.COAST DIR.MT 3SG-go
 'It went along the direction of the coast to the direction of the mountain.'
- (3) *dai,*
 come
 'It came,'
- (4) *gere wolo =kā t̄lo,*
 go.up forest =NMZ three
 'and climbed three forests.'
- (5) *toʔu rua t̄lo,*
 one two three
 'one, two, three.'

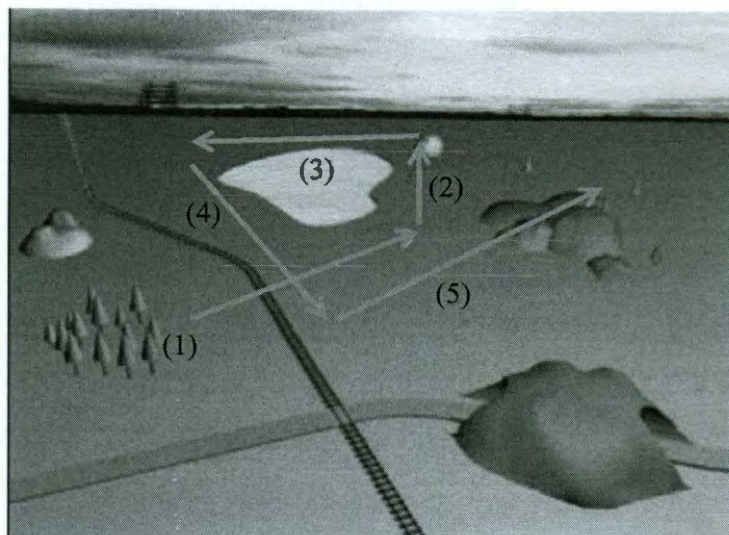
- (6) *goli ia hau,*
roll LOC come
'It rolled toward here.'
- (7) *tama pe: umā onā?*
enter DEM.DIS hole inside
'It entered there inside the hole.'
- (8) *gere ia hau,*
climb LOC come
'It climbed toward here.'
- (9) *mələ pe: kajo? onā?*
disappear DEM.DIS tree inside
'It disappeared there inside the trees.'

Text IV: Bohnemeyer's Motion-Land films (version 2), Clip 3



- (1) *bal .. goli? .. pe: wəli n-ai,*
 ball roll DEM.DIS DIR.COAST 3SG-go
 ‘The ball rolled there to the direction of the coast.’
- (2) *gere wolo? =kā təlo,*
 climb forest =NMZ three
 ‘It climbed up the three forests.’
- (3) *wəli pa: lau n-ai,*
 DIR.COAST side DIR.SEA 3SG-go
 ‘It went across the direction parallel with the coast to the direction of the sea.’
- (4) *səga lau larə,*
 arrive DIR.SEA street
 ‘It arrived in the direction of the sea (in) the street.’
- (5) *goli? dore larə dai,*
 roll follow street come
 ‘It rolled following the street toward here.’
- (6) *luwə? lali wuʔi haka,*
 pass.through DIR.DOWN bottom come
 ‘It passed through under the bottom of (a tunnel).’
- (7) *ia dai,*
 LOC come
 ‘It came here.’
- (8) *tama ia kajo? onə?.*
 enter LOC tree inside
 ‘It entered inside the trees.’

Text V: Bohnemeyer’s Motion-Land films (version 2), Clip 4



Clip 4

- (1) *bal goli? rae n-ai,*
 ball roll DIR.MT 3SG-go

'The ball rolled to the direction of the mountain.'

- (2) *rae pa: lali n-ai,*
 DIR.MT side DIR.DOWN 3SG-go

'It went across the direction of the mountain to the direction of the ground.'

- (3) *lali hau lau n-ai,*
 DIR.DOWN come DIR.SEA 3SG-go

'It went across the direction of the ground to the direction of the sea.'

- (4) *lau pa: ia dai.*
 DIR.SEA side LOC come

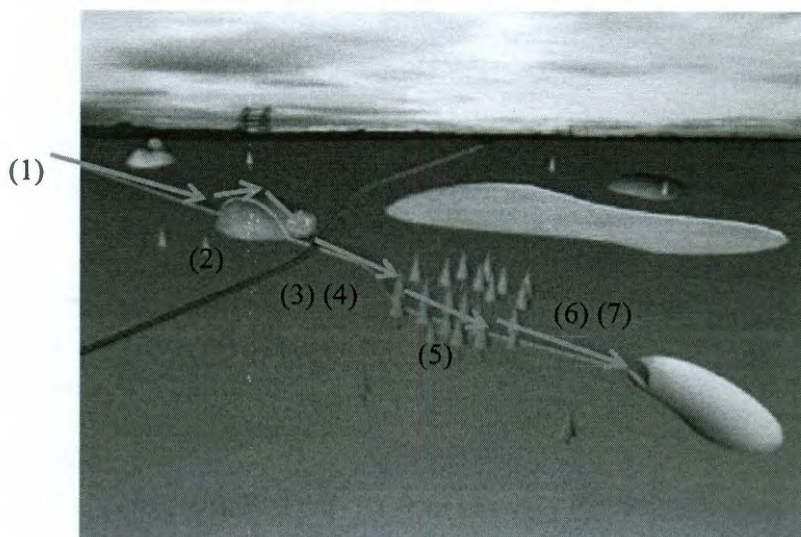
'It came across the direction of the sea toward here.'

- (5) *rae n-ai,*
 DIR.MT 3SG-go

'It went to the direction of the mountain.'

- (6) *gere ia wolo? =kã lolõ.*
 go.UP LOC forest =NMZ top
 'It climbed up to the forests.'

Text VI: Bohnemeyer's Motion-Land films (version 2), Clip 5



Clip 5

- (1) *bal goli? wəli dai,*
 ball roll DIR.COAST come
 'The ball rolled from the direction of the coast.'
- (2) *gere ia wolo? =kã lolõ,*
 climb LOC forest =NMZ top
 'It climbed up to the top of the forest.'
- (3) *lodo ia hau,*
 go.DOWN LOC come
 'It went down toward here.'

- (4) *lodo lali n-ai,*
 go.DOWN DIR.DOWN 3SG-go
 ‘It went down to the direction of the mountain.’
- (5) *tama ia kajo? onə?*
 enter LOC tree inside
 ‘It entered insided the trees.’
- (6) *lou wəli kajo? onə? dai,*
 exit DIR.COAST tree inside come
 ‘It came out of the inside of the trees located in the direction parallel with the coast.’
- (7) *tama ia umā onə?*
 enter LOC hole inside
 ‘It entered inside the hole.’

Text VII: Frog, where are you?

Speaker was asked to narrate about the 24-page wordless picture book *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer 1969). Speaker is a male in his thirties. The recording was made on August 19, 2011 in the Nurabelen village. Speaker named the protagonist boy Hugo.

- (1) *tutu koda.*
 tell story
 ‘(I will) tell a story,’
- (2) *tutu koda,*
 tell story
 ‘(I will) tell a story,’

- (3) *dore .. gambar.*
 follow picture
 ‘following the pictures (i.e. the picture book).’
- (4) *Hugo,*
 Hugo
 ‘Hugo’
- (5) *məto,*
 frog
 ‘a frog,’
- (6) *n-əʔə aho.*
 3SG-do dog
 ‘and a dog.’
- (7) *ra tei ia laŋoʔ toʔu.*
 3PL live LOC house one
 ‘They live in a single house.’
- (8) *laŋoʔ toʔu,*
 house one
 ‘one house’
- (9) *ahhhh,*
 INTERJECTION
 ‘ahhhh’
- (10) *uriʔ rəʔē di toʔu,*
 bed 3PL.NMZ also one
 ‘They share the same bed.’ (lit. ‘Their bed is also one.’)
- (11) *ra təlo =ka tei hama-hama.*
 3PL three =3PL live together
 ‘Three of them live together.’

- (12) *nokō? toʔu,*
 night one
 ‘One night,’
- (13) *Hugo n-āʔā aho turu =ka.*
 Hugo 3SG-do dog sleep =3PL
 ‘Hugo and the dog were sleeping.’
- (14) *Hugo n-āʔā aho turu ia uri? wutū.*
 Hugo 3SG-do dog sleep LOC bed top
 ‘Hugo and the dog were sleeping on the bed.’
- (15) *mato .. ia boti onəʔ.*
 frog LOC bottle inside
 ‘The frog was inside the bottle.’
- (16) *boti kaca.*
 bottle peanut
 ‘The bottle of peanuts.’
- (17) *Hugo n-āʔā aho knurū,*
 Hugo 3SG-do do go.to.bed
 ‘Hugo and the dog went to bed.’
- (18) *mato,*
 frog
 ‘As for the frog,’
- (19) *lou wəli boti onəʔ dai.*
 exit DIR.COAST bottle inside come
 ‘(it) went out of the bottle (located in the direction parallel with the coast).’
- (20) *lou lali boti onəʔ haka.*
 exit DIR.DOWN bottle inside come
 ‘(it) went out of the bottle (located in the direction of the ground).’

- (21) *lou lali boti onə? haka,*
 exit DIR.DOWN bottle inside come
 ‘(it) went out of the bottle (located in the direction of the ground).’
- (22) *pla?e n-a?i = a?*
 run 3SG-leave = 3SG
 ‘(it) ran away.’
- (23) *mələ.*
 disappear
 ‘(it) disappeared.’
- (24) *Hugo rəto = a? hogo.*
 Hugo be.surprised =3SG wake.up
 ‘Hugo was surprised and woke up.’
- (25) *aho di hogo.*
 dog also wake.up
 ‘The dog also woke up.’
- (26) *ra notō ia .. boti onə?,*
 3PL watch LOC bottle inside
 ‘They looked into the bottle.’
- (27) *məto əmū kae?*
 frog absent PFV
 ‘The frog was not there.’
- (28) *məto pla?e kae?*
 frog run PFV
 ‘The frog ran away already.’
- (29) *Hugo presa,*
 Hugo check
 ‘Hugo checked.’

- (30) *presa iti? spatu nə?ē = nā,*
 check lift shoes 3SG.NMZ =NMZ
 ‘(he) checked and lifted his own shoes.’
- (31) *na lokə spatu nə?ē wawā lali,*
 3SG turn shoes 3SG.NMZ mouth.NMZ DIR.DOWN
 ‘(he) turned his shoes upside down.’ (lit. ‘He turned the mouth of his shoes in the direction of the ground.’)
- (32) *məto əmū.*
 frog absent
 ‘The frog didn’t exist.’
- (33) *aho di logo kotə? nə?ē ia boti onə?.*
 dog also cram head 3SG.NMZ LOC bottle inside
 ‘The dog also crammed his head into the bottle.’
- (34) *aho bodō,*
 dog stupid.NMZ
 ‘The dog is stupid.’
- (35) *aho kwā di,*
 dog insane.NMZ EXCS
 ‘It’s because the dog is insane.’
- (36) *boti pe?ē tite notō plo?u.*
 bottle DEM.DIS.NMZ 1PL.INC watch empty
 ‘As for that bottle, we have already seen (it) was empty.’
- (37) *tite t-oi = ro? kae?,*
 1PL.INC 1PL.INC-know =3SG PFV
 ‘We have already known it.’

- (38) *mato āmū.*
 frog absent
 ‘The frog was not there.’
- (39) *kū aho bodō di,*
 but dog stupid.NMZ EXCS
 ‘But it was because the dog is stupid.’
- (40) *aho kwā di.*
 dog insane.NMZ EXCS
 ‘It was because the dog was insane.’
- (41) *kādi? aho logo kotā? ia ... boti onā?*
 so dog cram head.NMZ LOC bottle inside
 ‘So the dog crammed his head into the bottle.’
- (42) *aho logo kotā? ia boti onā?*
 dog cram head.NMZ LOC bottle inside
 ‘The dog crammed his head into the bottle.’
- (43) *boti lou bisa hāla?*
 bottle exit can NEG
 ‘The bottle, (the head of the dog) couldn’t go out of it.’
- (44) *boti lou bāi bisa hāla?*
 bottle exit NEG can NEG
 ‘The bottle, (the head of the dog) couldn’t go out of it.’
- (45) *kādi? aho pla?e lega n-āte n-ā?ā boti.*
 so dog run hang.around 3SG-hold 3SG-do bottle
 ‘So the dog ran and hang around, bringing the bottle with it.’
- (46) *boti knā?ā ia kotā?*
 bottle fix LOC head.NMZ
 ‘The bottle was fixed to its head.’

- (47) *Hugo buka jendera,*
 Hugo open window
 ‘Hugo opened the window.’
- (48) *nogo ia woho?.*
 overlook LOC outside
 ‘(and) overlooked the outside.’
- (49) *majā mato.*
 call frog
 ‘(and) called the frog.’
- (50) *o? aho =kā soʔa eti jendera hau,*
 INTERJECTION dog =NMZ jump DIR.UP window come
 ‘Well, his dog jumped from the window.’
- (51) *ləŋa lali tana.*
 fall DIR.DOWN ground
 ‘(it) fell down on the ground.’
- (52) *ləŋa lali tana.*
 fall DIR.DOWN ground
 ‘(it) fell down on the ground.’
- (53) *boti wika kadi?.*
 bottle break so
 ‘The bottle broke down. So.’
- (54) *aho kotā? boti āmū kae?.*
 dog head.NMZ bottle absent PFV
 ‘The head of the dog didn’t have the bottle any longer.’
- (55) *na .. na .. free kae?.*
 3SG 3SG free PFV
 ‘He is free now.’

- (56) *na bebas kae?*
 3SG free PFV
 ‘He is free now.’
- (57) *neku pe;*
 last DEM.DIS
 ‘A while ago,’
- (58) *māi nəʔē n-əʔə boti.*
 face 3SG.NMZ 3SG-do bottle
 ‘Its face was with the bottle.’
- (59) *kū te: boti wika kae? kədi?*
 but DEM.PROX bottle break PFV so
 ‘But now the bottle already broke down and so,’
- (60) *na bāi sənā = nā kae?*
 3SG hear good =NMZ PFV
 ‘He felt (lit. heard)⁷ good already.’
- (61) *aho bāi sənā = nā kae?*
 dog hear good =NMZ PFV
 ‘He felt (lit. heard) good already.’
- (62) *Hugo soʔa lodo,*
 Hugo jump go.DOWN
 ‘Hugo jumped down.’
- (63) *bote aho nəʔē,*
 hug dog 3SG.NMZ
 ‘(and) hugged his dog.’

⁷ In Lamaholot, the word *bāi* ‘hear’ can be used not only for auditory perception but also for other kinds of perception such as sense of taste.

- (64) *aho nəʔē di dira = roʔ.*
 dog 3SG.NMZ also lick =3SG
 ‘His dog also licked him.’
- (65) *ue,*
 onomatopoeia
 ‘ue,’
- (66) *aho dira = roʔ.*
 dog lick =3SG
 ‘The dog licked him.’
- (67) *Hugo n-əʔə aho r-aʔi = ka səbaʔ məto.*
 Hugo 3SG-do dog 3PL-leave =3PL look.for frog
 ‘Hugo and the dog went and looked for the frog.’
- (68) *məto mələ,*
 frog disappear
 ‘The frog disappeared.’
- (69) *plaʔe.*
 run.away
 ‘(It) ran away.’
- (70) *səbaʔ məto peʔē,*
 look.for frog DEM.DIS.NMZ
 ‘(They) looked for that frog.’
- (71) *sampe ia .. krawoʔonəʔ.*
 reach LOC forest inside
 ‘(and) reached the inside of the forest.’
- (72) *ra səga ia krawoʔonəʔ.*
 3PL arrive LOC forest inside
 ‘They arrived in the inside of the forest.’

- (73) *Hugo majã,*
 Hugo call
 ‘Hugo called,’
- (74) *məto mo tea?*
 frog 2SG where
 ‘Frog, where are you?’
- (75) *məto mo tea?*
 frog 2SG where
 ‘Frog, where are you?’
- (76) *Hugo n-oi n-ã?ã umə to?u.*
 Hugo 3SG-know 3SG-do hole one
 ‘Hugo found a hole.’
- (77) *n-oi n-ã?ã umə to?u,*
 3SG-know 3SG-do hole one
 ‘Hugo found a hole.’
- (78) *na majã pe: .. umə onə? lali n-ai.*
 3SG call DEM.DIS hole inside DIR.DOWN 3SG-go
 ‘He shouted there into the hole downwards.’
- (79) *majã məto.*
 called frog
 ‘(He) called the frog.’
- (80) *ake n-ã?ã məto lali umə onə?.*
 NEG.IMP 3SG-do frog DIR.DOWN hole inside
 ‘In case the frog was in the direction of the ground inside the hole.’
- (81) *horõ na.*
 be.worry 3SG
 ‘(Hugo) was worried about it.’

- (82) *kū*,
but
'but'
- (83) *Hugo majā pe: umə onə? lali n-ai.*
Hugo call DEM.DIS hole inside DIR.DOWN 3SG-go
'Hugo shouted there inside the hole downwards.'
- (84) *məto, məto.*
frog frog
'Frog, frog.'
- (85) *lou ka,*
exit EMP
'Go out!'
- (86) *ake n-ā?ā mo pe: onə?*
NEG.IMP 3SG-do 2SG DEM.DIS inside
'You shouldn't be inside the hole.'
- (87) *na lou wəli umā dai,*
3SG exit DIR.COAST hole.NMZ come
'Something went out of that hole.'
- (88) *məto həla? lou.*
frog NEG exit
'(But) it was not the frog that exited.'
- (89) *lou wəli umā dai pe?ē kū ... krome.*
exit DIR.COAST hole.NMZ come DEM.DIS.NMZ but rat
'The one who went out of the hole was a rat.'
- (90) *krome yang = lou,*
rat NMZ = exit
'It was a rat that exited.'

- (91) *ktktktktk*.
onomatopoeia
'ktktktkt!'
- (92) *krome peʔē mato həlaʔ*.
rat DEM.DIS.NMZ frog NEG
'That rat is not a frog.'
- (93) *Hugo rəto = aʔ*.
Hugo be.surprised =3SG
'Hugo was surprised.'
- (94) *n-əʔə aho*,
3SG-do dog
'While as for the dog.'
- (95) *na ia wəli kajoʔ pukā toʔu*,
3SG LOC DIR.COAST tree stem.NMZ one
'it was in the stem of the tree.'
- (96) *wəli kajoʔ pukā toʔu peʔē = nā kabu*.
DIR.COAST tree stem.NMZ one DEM.DIS.NMZ =NMZ beehive
'The one which is in the stem of the tree is a beehive.'
- (97) *kabu*.
beehive
'Beehive.'
- (98) *kabu pe: peʔē bahasa indonesia marī*,
beehive DEM.DIS DEM.DIS.NMZ Indonesian say
'That beehive, it is called in Indonesian,'
- (99) "*saranglebah*".
"Sarang lebah"
"Sarang lebah" (Indonesian word for a beehive)

(100) *"saranglebah"*.

“Sarang lebah”

“Sarang lebah” (Indonesian word for a beehive)

(101) *kabu pe?ē,*

beehive DEM.DIS.NMZ

‘That beehive.’

(102) *kabu pe?ē,*

beehive DEM.DIS.NMZ

‘That beehive.’

(103) *hapē,*

hang

‘(it) was hanging.’

(104) *blopo = kã,*

round =NMZ

‘(it) was round.’

(105) *kədi? aho wəli n-ai,*

so dog DIR.COAST 3SG-go

‘So the dog went to the direction parallel with the coast.’

(106) *redō kajo? pe?ē = nã.*

shake tree DEM.NMZ =NMZ

‘(and it) shaked that tree.’

(107) *aho wəli n-ai,*

dog DIR.COAST 3SG-go

‘The dog went to the direction parallel with the coast.’

(108) *gere kajo?,*

climb tree

‘and climbed the tree.’

- (109) *deʔi ia kajoʔ peʔẽ gə na redõ.*
 stand LOC tree DEM.DIS.NMZ and 3SG shake
 ‘(and) stood on that tree and (it) shook (it).’
- (110) *o kabu peʔẽ ləŋa.*
 INTERJECTION beehive DEM.DIS.NMZ fall
 ‘Oh, that beehive fell down.’
- (111) *kabu peʔẽ ləŋa.*
 beehive DEM.DIS.NMZ fall
 ‘That beehive fell down.’
- (112) *ləŋa lali tana,*
 fall DIR.DOWN ground
 ‘(The beehive) fell down on the ground.’
- (113) *sida kədiʔ,*
 shatter so
 ‘(and it) shattered, so.’
- (114) *wane lou.*
 bee exit
 ‘The bees came out.’
- (115) *wane lou.*
 bee exit
 ‘The bees came out.’
- (116) *təʔə aho.*
 chase dog
 ‘(and) chased the dog.’
- (117) *wane lou təʔə səpu aho.*
 bee exit chase sting dog
 ‘Bees went out and chased and stung the dog.’

- (118) *n-əʔə Hugo gere ia kajo? wutū.*
 3SG-do Hugo climb LOC tree top
 ‘and Hugo climbed up to the limb of the tree.’
- (119) *Hugo gere ia kajo? wutū,*
 Hugo climb LOC tree top
 ‘Hugo climbed up to the limb of the tree.’
- (120) *ia kajo? wutū,*
 LOC tree top
 ‘In the limb of the tree.’
- (121) *wutū di nəʔə umā.*
 top also 3SG-do hole
 ‘There was also a hole in the limb of the tree.’
- (122) *Hugo majā,*
 Hugo call
 ‘Hugo called (the frog).’
- (123) *mato,*
 frog
 ‘Frog.’
- (124) *ake n-əʔə mo pe: kajo? umā onə?,*
 NEG.IMP 3SG-do 2SG DEM.DIS tree hole inside
 ‘you shouldn’t be tere inside the hole of the tree.’
- (125) *lou ka.*
 exist EMP
 ‘Come out!’
- (126) *lou wəli onə? dai .. bəi mato həla?.*
 exit DIR.COAST inside come NEG frog NEG
 ‘(Something) came out of the inside, (but it) was not a frog.’

- (127) *lou peʔē .. nara koʔ.*
 exit DEM.DIST.NMZ name owl
 ‘That one that existed, (we) name it an owl.’
- (128) *koʔ peʔē bahasa indonesia marĩ “burung hantu”.*
 owl DEM.DIS.NMZ Indonesian say “burung hantu”
 ‘That owl is called in Indonesian *burung hantu*.’
- (129) *burung malam.*
 “burung malam”
 ‘*Burung malam*.’
- (130) *peʔē koda kiwā nəʔē mato.*
 DEM.DIS.NMZ language forest.NMZ 3SG.NMZ frog
 ‘That is called in Lamaholot *mato*.’ (lit. ‘The Forest Language of that is *mato*.’)
- (131) *ehhh.*
 INTERJECTION
 ‘Ehhhh,’
- (132) *hala.*
 wrong
 ‘(It’s) wrong.’
- (133) *koda kiwā nəʔē marĩ koʔ.*
 language forest.NMZ 3SG.NMZ say owl
 ‘That is called in Lamaholot *koʔ*.’ (lit. ‘The Forest Language of that is *koʔ*.’)
- (134) *wane dore tərũ,*
 bee follow continue
 ‘Bees kept following (the dog).’
- (135) *dore səpu aho tərũ,*
 follow sting dog continue
 ‘(Bees) kept following (the dog) and stinging (the dog).’

(136) *dore səpu aho tərū,*
 follow sting dog continue
 ‘(Bees) kept following (the dog) and stinging (the dog).’

(137) *koʔ di dore Hugo tərū.*
 owl also follow Hugo continue
 ‘The owl as well kept following Hugo.’

(138) *Hugo səga ia wato belāʔ toʔu.*
 Hugo arrive LOC rock big.NMZ one
 ‘Hugo arrived at one big rock.’

(139) *səga ia wato belāʔ toʔu,*
 arrive LOC rock big.NMZ one
 ‘(he) arrived at one big rock.’

(140) *na gere eti wato lolō,*
 3SG climb DIR.UP rock top
 ‘He climbed up to the top of the rock.’

(141) *na n-oi n-āʔā kajoʔ krage*
 3SG 3SG-know 3SG-do tree ??

pe: wato wəli papa dai.
 DEM.DIS rock DIR.COAST side come

‘He saw the *krage* tree on the thither side of that rock.’

(142) *na n-oi n-āʔā kajoʔ krage*
 3SG 3SG-know 3SG-do tree ??

pe: wato wəli papa dai kadiʔ,
 DEM.DIS rock DIR.COAST side come so

‘He saw the *krage* tree on the thither side of that rock, so’

- (143) *Hugo deŋi pe: wato lolō gə,*
 Hugo stand DEM.DIS rock top and
 ‘Hugo stood there on the rock, and’
- (144) *kahe majā,*
 shout call
 ‘shouted and called (the frog).’
- (145) *mato mo tea?*
 frog 2SG where
 ‘Frog, where are you?’
- (146) *na pehē n-ā?ā kajo? krage pe?ē,*
 3SG grasp 3SG-do tree ?? DEM.DIS.NMZ
 ‘He was grapsing that *krage* tree.’
- (147) *na majā,*
 3SG call
 ‘He called,’
- (148) *mato mo tea?*
 frog 2SG where
 ‘Frog, where are you?’
- (149) *ata kū pe?ē kajo? krage hāla?.*
 INTERJECTION but DEM.DIS.NMZ tree palm NEG
 ‘Oh, but it was not a *krage* tree.’
- (150) *na n-oi hama n-ā?ā kajo? krage,*
 3SG 3SG-know same 3SG-do tree ??
 ‘He saw it was like a *krage* tree.’
- (151) *pe?ē kū,*
 DEM.DIS.NMZ but
 ‘But it was’

- (152) *ruha tarã* = *nã*,
 deer horn.NMZ =NMZ
 ‘The horn of the deer.’
- (153) *ruha tarã*.
 deer horn.NMZ
 ‘The horn of the deer.’
- (154) *ruha deʔĩ plaʔe*,
 deer stand run
 ‘The deer stood up and ran.’
- (155) *n-əte nãʔã Hugo*,
 3SG-hold 3SG-do Hugo
 ‘(The deer) was with Hugo.’
- (156) *Hugo haga ia ruho- ruha tarã* = *nã*.
 Hugo hang.on LOC deer horn.NMZ =NMZ
 ‘Hugo was hanging on the horn of the deer.’
- (157) *n-əte n-ãʔã Hugo*,
 3SG-hold 3SG-do Hugo
 ‘(The deer) took with Hugo.’
- (158) *Hugo haga te: ruha tarã* = *nã*,
 Hugo hang.on DEM.PROX deer horn =NMZ
 ‘Hugo was hanging here on the horn of the deer.’
- (159) *n-əte plaʔe*,
 3SG-hold run
 ‘(The deer) took him and ran.’
- (160) *aho di dore*.
 dog also follow
 ‘The dog also followed (the deer).’

(161) *aho di plaʔe dore.*

dog also run follow

‘The dog also ran and followed (the deer).’

(162) *ruha .. ləŋa Hugo n-əʔə aho ia suŋē toʔu.*

deer fall Hugo 3SG.-do dog LOC river one

‘The deer dropped Hugo and the dog in a river.’

(163) *ia waiʔ bə,*

LOC water stream.NMZ

‘in the streaming water.’

(164) *ia suŋē,*

LOC river

‘in the river.’

(165) *kədiʔ,*

so

‘So,’

(166) *Hugo n-əʔə aho peʔē,*

Hugo 3SG.-do dog DEM.DIS.NMZ

‘Hugo and that dog,’

(167) *kəbu lali tahi onəʔ.*

fall.with.sound DIR.DOWN water inside

‘(they) fell into the water.’

(168) *kabu lali tahi onəʔ,*

fall.with.sound DIR.DOWN water inside

‘(They) fell into the water.’

(169) *Hugo deʔi,*

Hugo stand

‘Hugo stood up,

(170) *leke n-ā?ā aho,*

take 3SG-do dog

‘took along the dog.’

(171) *kadi?*,

so

‘So,’

(172) *r-a?i =ka wāli wolo papā r-ai.*

3PL-leave =3PL DIR.COAST forest side.NMZ 3PL-go

‘(they) went to the other side of the forest.’

(173) *hmm,*

INTERJECTION

‘Hmmm.’

(174) *brāka wāli wolo papā,*

reach DIR.COAST forest side.NMZ

‘reached the other side of the forest.’

(175) *Hugo n-oi n-ā?ā kajo? ... kletē.*

Hugo 3SG-know 3SG-do tree fallen.NMZ

‘Hugo found a fallen tree.’

(176) *kletē nawa =nā,*

fallen.NMZ lie =NMZ

‘The fallen one that is lying.’

(177) *kletē obā.*

fallen.NMZ rotten.NMZ

‘The fallen one that was burnt.’

(178) *umā =nā,*

hole =NMZ

‘Its hole,’

- (179) *ia onə? umā = nā.*
 LOC inside hole =NMZ
 ‘There was a hole inside.’
- (180) *Hugo n-ā?ā aho gere eti kletē pe?ē lolō,*
 Hugo 3SG-do dog climb DIR.UP fallen.NMZ DEM.DIS.NMZ top
 ‘Hugo and the dog climbed up the top of that fallen tree.’
- (181) *nogo wāli kletē wāli papa dai*
 overlook DIR.COAST fallen.NMZ DIR.COAST side come

n-ā,
 3SG-then
 ‘(they) overlooked the hither side of the fallen tree.’
- (182) *r-oi n-ā?ā mato rua.*
 3PL-know 3SG-do frog two
 ‘(and then they) found two frogs.’
- (183) *mato rua pe: XXX tobo,*
 frog two DEM.DIS sit
 ‘Two frogs were seated.’
- (184) *mato rua pe: kə,*
 frog two DEM.DIS ??
 ‘The two frogs there,’
- (185) *mato bo: belə? pe?ē ... wae.*
 frog more big DEM.DIS.NMZ wife
 ‘That bigger frog is a wife.’
- (186) *n-ā?ā mato bo: kre? pe?ē lake.*
 3SG-do frog more small DEM.DIS.NMZ husband
 ‘while the smaller frog is a husband.’

(187) *məto laki-wae pəli? kũ n-əʔə = nə pehe*
 frog husband-wife now but 3SG-do=NMZ DEM.DIS

gole? rəʔē lega.
 around 3PL.NMZ hang.around

‘But the couple of frogs is surrounded by their kids (?).’

(188) *noʔō.*

exist

‘(The frog) was there.’

(189) *ra horo na.*
 3PL be.worried 3SG

‘They were worried about it (=the frog).’

(190) *kədi? məto peʔē kədi? ənəʔ peʔē di səga.*
 so frog DEM.DIS.NMZ so child.NMZ DEM.DIS.NMZ also arrive

‘So that frog, the child also arrived.’

(191) *səga.*

arrive

‘(The frog) arrived.’

(192) *səga tobo pe: kədi?,*
 arrive sit DEM.DIS so

‘arrived and was seated there, so,’

(193) *Hugo bote ənəʔ neku plaʔe mələ peʔē,*
 Hugo hug child.NMZ while.ago run disappear DEM.DIS.NMZ

‘Hugo hugged the child (=the frog) that ran away and disappeared a while ago.’

(194) *bote məto neku na plaʔe pəl- mələ peʔē,*
 hug frog while.ago 3SG run disappear DEM.DIS.NMZ

‘(Hugo) hugged the frog that ran away and disappeared a while ago.’

- (195) *gute n-əte,*
 get 3SG-hold
 ‘(Hugo) got and held (the frog).’
- (196) *r-aʔi =ka gwali r-əʔə aho,*
 3PL-leave =3PL return 3PL-do dog
 ‘(Hugo and the frog) left and went home with the dog.’
- (197) *təlo =ka r-aʔi gwali,*
 three =3PL 3PL-leave return
 ‘Three of them went home.’
- (198) *kədiʔ məto,*
 so frog
 ‘So the frog,’
- (199) *lake n-əʔə wae .. peʔē ..*
 husband 3SG-do wife DEM.DIS.NMZ
- n-əʔə anaʔ nəʔē,*
 3SG-do child 3SG.NMZ
 ‘That husband and wife and his children,’
- (200) *tobo geke ia,*
 sit line.UP LOC
 ‘(they) were seated in a line here.’
- (201) *tobo geke ia kletē lolō,*
 sit lined.UP LOC fallen.NMZ top
 ‘(they) were seated in a line on top of the fallen tree.’
- (202) *kədiʔ Hugo n-əʔə aho peʔē,*
 so Hugo 3SG-do dog DEM.DIS.NMZ
 ‘So Hugo and that dog,’

- (203) *ra da:*
 3PL say.goodbye
 ‘They said goodbye.’
- (204) *da: sayonara,*
 say.goodbye goodbye
 ‘They said goodbye, sayonara.’ (*sayonara* is a Japanese word for ‘goodbye’.)
- (205) *da: ia mato.*
 say.goodbye LOC frog
 ‘(They) said goodbye to the frogs.’
- (206) *marĩ mato n-ã?ã pe?ẽ,*
 say frog 3SG-do DEM.DIS.NMZ
 ‘(They) told the frogs like that.’ (*like that* refers to the speaker’s gesture.)
- (207) *Sayonara.*
 goodbye
 ‘Goodbye.’
- (208) *Hugo marĩ ia mato,*
 Hugo say LOC frog
 ‘Hugo said (it) to the frogs.’
- (209) *aho di marĩ sayonara.*
 dog also say goodbye
 ‘The dog also said goodbye.’
- (210) *rua =ka Hugo n-ã?ã aho gwali,*
 two =3PL Hugo 3SG-do dog go.home
 ‘Two of them, Hugo and the dog went home.’
- (211) *r-ate n-ã?ã mato ana? to?u =nã,*
 3PL-hold 3SG-do frog son one =NMZ
 ‘(They) took the one son of frog.’

(212) *mato XXX pe?ě tobo kae?*

frog XXX DEM.DIS.NMZ sit PFV

‘Those XXX frogs were sitting there.’

(213) *hmmm,*

INTERJECTION

‘Hmmmm.’

(214) *sampe.*

reach

‘The end.’

Appendix B: Vocabularies

Appendix B-1: Swadesh 200-word list

Here, a sample wordlist of Lewotobi Lamaholot is provided. This list is based on the modified Swadesh 200-word list that appears in Keraf (1978:262–297). Keraf’s (ibid.) word list of the Lewotobi dialect is also presented for comparison with my list. The word number (#) and Indonesian words are cited from Keraf (1978) and are followed by English translations of the sample words. “Keraf (1978)” refers to his Lewotobi Lamaholot data, and “Nagaya (2008–2010),” to my own data.

There are three major differences between Keraf’s Lewotobi data and mine. First, his data contains [w] instead of [v]. Second, all the consonant clusters are broken by [ə] in his word list. No consonant cluster is found in his data. Third, /a/ to [ə] raising is not observed: [ã] also appears in his data.

There are several possible interpretations of the differences. One interpretation is that Keraf’s data reflect an earlier stage of the Lewotobi dialect. Another is that Keraf (1978) and Nagaya (2008–2010) deal with different dialects of Lewotobi Lamaholot. At this stage, it is not possible to decide which interpretation is correct because Keraf (1978) provides no information on his data gathering procedure. He only notes that the name of his consultant is Ignatius Puka (ibid. XIII), who obviously comes from the same clan as my consultant, Hugo Puka.

#	Indonesian	English	Keraf (1978)	Nagaya (2008–2010)
1	tangan	hand	lima	lima
2	kiri	left	makī	mekī
3	kanan	right	wana	vənō
4	kaki	foot	lei	lei

#	Indonesian	English	Keraf (1978)	Nagaya (2008–2010)
5	kaki	footprint	maka	maka
6	berjalan	walk	pana	pana
7	jalan	road	larā	larō
8	datang	come	səga	səga
9	balik	return	gəwali	guali
10	berenang	swim	naŋe	naŋe
11	mencuci	wash	baha	baha?
12	hapus	wipe	hamu	həmu
13	gosok	rub	doru	doru?
14	kotor	dirty	milā	milō
15	debu	dust	əwu	kəvu
16	kulit	skin	kuli	kuli
17	punggung	back	keko	keko
18	perut	belly	luwu	luvu
19	tulang	bone	ri?u	ri?u
20	isi perut	stomach	tāI kənaluj	tai knalū
21	hati	liver	atē	aṭē
22	jantung	heart	puhū	puhū
23	tahu	know	koi, moi	k-oi 'I know' m-oi 'you (SG) know' 'we (EXC) know' 'you (PL) know' n-oi 'he or she knows' ṭ-oi 'we (INC) know' r-oi 'they know'
24	pikir	think	hu	hu:
25	takut	scared	taku?	ṭaku
26	darah	blood	mei	mei?
27	kepala	head	kotə	koṭə?
28	leher	neck	wuli	uuli
29	rambut	hair	rata	rata
30	hidung	nose	irū	iru
31	bernapas	breathe	hari nāi	hari nāi
32	membraui	smell	siō	siō
33	mulut	mouth	wəwa	uəwa
34	gigi	tooth	ipə	ipə?
35	lidah	tongue	wewe	ueve
36	tertawa	laugh	geka	geka

#	Indonesian	English	Keraf (1978)	Nagaya (2008–2010)
37	menangis	cry	gaka	gaka
38	muntah	vomit	muta	muṭa
39	meludah	spit	pino	pino
40	makan	eat	təkā	kā 'I eat' gō 'you (SG) eat' gō 'he or she eats' ṭəkā 'we (INC) eat' məkā 'we (EXC) eat' gē 'you (PL) eat' rəkā 'they eat'
41	masak	cook	biho	biho
42	minum	drink	tenu	k-enū 'I drink' m-enū 'you (SG) drink' 'we (EXC) drink' 'you (SG) drink' n-enū 'he or she drinks' ṭ-enū 'we (INC) drink' r-enū 'they drink'
43	gigit	bite	gori	baka? 'bite' gori 'munch'
44	menetek	suck	tuho	ṭuho
45	telinga	ear	tilu	ṭilu
46	dengar	listen	bāi	bōi
47	mata	eye	mata	mata
48	melihat	see	notō	notō
49	tidur	sleep	turu	ṭuru
50	rebah	lie down	ledānə	hoba
51	duduk	sit	tobo	ṭobo
52	berdiri	stand	de?i	de?i
53	orang	person	atadikā	aṭadikā
54	laki-laki	man	bailaki	kbai lakī
55	wanita	woman	kəbarawāi	kbarə uōi
56	anak	child	ana?	ana?
57	suami	husband	kəlake	klake
58	isteri	wife	kəwae	kuae
59	ibu	mother	əma	əmə?
60	bapak	father	bapa	ba?
61	kakak	older sibling	kaka	kaka
62	adik	younger	ari	ari

#	Indonesian	English	Keraf (1978)	Nagaya (2008–2010)
		sibling		
63	nama	name	narā	narē
64	bilang	say	mari	marī
65	tali	rope	tale	ṭale?
66	mengikat	tie	pūi	pūī
67	menjahit	sew	hau	hau
68	pakaian	clothing	pakaian	krio
69	berburu	hunt	lərakə	ləra?
70	menembak	shoot	pasa	pasa
71	menikam	stab	tuba	ṭuba
72	bertinju	fist	tubuk	ṭubu, sado
73	berkelahi	fight	kəwuno	pluku 'fight physically' kvuno 'fight verbally'
74	membunuh	kill	belo	nə?ə mata 'make dead'
75	mati	dead	mata	maṭa
76	hidup	alive	mori	mori
77	menggaruk	scratch	ragu	ragu?
78	memotong	cut	belo	belo
79	batang	stem	pukā	pukā
80	membelah	split	ləga	laga?
81	tajam	sharp	gā	gā
82	tumpul	blunt	gəbohu	krubu, gbohu
83	bekerja	work	kəriā	kriā
84	bermain	play	məŋə	məŋə
85	menyanyi	sing	ŋaŋi	ŋaŋi (Indonesian)
86	menari	dance	soka	soka
87	bengkak	swollen	ba?a	ba?a
88	memeras	squeeze	pi?u	pi?u
89	memegang	hold	pehē	pehē
90	menggali	dig	gu?i	gu?i
91	memberi	give	sorō	sorō, neī
92	menarik	puil	geha?	geha?, ṭubo
93	mendorong	push	odo	odo?, sogō
94	melempar	throw	geba	geba?
95	jatuh	fall	goka	ləŋa, goka, gora
96	anjing	dog	aho	aho
97	burung	bird	kəpā	a? mənū?
98	telur	egg	təlū	ṭelu

#	Indonesian	English	Keraf (1978)	Nagaya (2008–2010)
99	bulu	feather	rawu	rauŭ?
100	sayap	wing	kəpi?	kəpī?
101	terbang	fly	bəka	bəka
102	binatang	animal	binatan	binatā (Indnesian)
103	daging	meat	mətā	dagī
104	lemak	fat	worā	uorō
105	ekor	tale	kiku	kuku?
106	ular	snake	ula?	ula?
107	cacing	worm	kəbeŋə	ulə
108	kutu	louse	kuto	kuŋo
109	ikan	fish	ikā	ikə
110	pohon	tree	kadzopukā	kadzɔ? pukə
111	busuk	rotten	wuhu	uōū
112	daun	leaf	ləpā	ləpə?
113	kulit kayu	bark	kadzokəloka	kadzɔ? kloka
114	akar	root	ramu	ramu
115	biji	seed	kulu	kulū?
116	bunga	flower	buŋa	puhū
117	buah	fruit	wuā	uuə?
118	rumput	grass	lu?o	krəmə cf. lu?o ‘rumput alang- alang’
119	tanah	earth	tana	ʔana
120	batu	stone	wato	uəto
121	pasir	sand	wəra	uəra
122	air	water	wai?	uai?
123	membeku	freeze	N/A	ʔa?a
124	es	ice	N/A	es (Indonesian)
125	mengalir	flow	ba	ba?
126	terapung	float	bao	bao
127	laut	sea	tahi	ʔahi
128	garam	salt	si?a	si?a
129	danau	lake	walā	N/A cf. valə ‘lumpur’
130	sungai	river	luŋu	suŋe
131	gunung	mountain	ile	ile
132	hutan	forest	kərawo	kravo?
133	langit	sky	kələ	kələ

#	Indonesian	English	Keraf (1978)	Nagaya (2008–2010)
134	matahari	sun	ləra	ləra
135	bintang	star	bəlia	bliɑ
136	awan	cloud	kowa	kova
137	embun	dew	apū	apū
138	hujan	rain	urā	urē
139	salju	snow	N/A	N/A
140	angin	wind	aŋi	əŋi
141	bertiup	blow	bu	buʔ
142	panas	hot	pəlate	pləte
143	dingin	cold	loʔi	loʔi
144	kering	dry	marā	mara, marē
145	basah	wet	kəwaʔi	kvaʔi
146	rata	flat, smooth	rata	raʔa
147	berat	heavy	baʔa	baʔa
148	api	fire	ape	ape
149	membakar	burn	tuno	ʔuno, ora
150	asap	smoke	rihū	rihū
151	abu	dust	kəwu	kəvu
152	hitam	black	mitā	miʔə
153	putih	white	burā	buraʔ, burēʔ
154	merah	red	meʔā	meʔa, meʔə
155	kuning	yellow	kumā	kumē
156	hijau	green	idʒo	idʒō
157	kecil	small	kərē	kreʔ, krēʔ
158	besar	big	belā	beləʔ, belēʔ
159	pendek	short	pəsu	kpəsuʔ, kpəsūʔ
160	panjang	long	bələhā	blahaʔ, bləhēʔ
161	tipis	thin	mənipi	mnipi
162	tebal	thick	kəwəra	kvərē, kvərēʔ
163	sempit	narrow	kətəkə	knipu
164	luas	wide	luas	blega
165	lurus	straight	kəlodo	klodo
166	tua	old	tua	okī, ʔua (Indonesian)
167	baru	new	wuʔū	vuʔū
168	baik	good	sarē	sareʔ, sarēʔ
169	jelek	bad	məko	məkoʔ, məkōʔ
170	betul	right, correct	nādikā	nəʔə dikəʔ

#	Indonesian	English	Keraf (1978)	Nagaya (2008–2010)
171	malam	night	nokō	nokōʔ
172	tahun	year	sū	sū
173	hari	day	lərō	lərō
174	bilamana	when	boʔā	boʔā
175	di	in	lau, rae	ia
176	dalam	inside	onā	onāʔ
177	di sini	here	pi	pi:, pihi ʔe:, ʔehe
178	di situ	there	pehe	pe:, pehe
179	ini	this	teʔē	piʔi, teʔē
180	itu	that	teʔē	peʔē
181	dekat	near	dāhe	dahe
182	jauh	far	dōe	doēʔ
183	di mana	where	tea	ʔea
184	saya	1SG	go	go
185	engkau/kamu	2SG; 2PL	mo/mio	mo/mio
186	dia	3SG	na	na
187	kita	1PL.INC	tite	ʔiʔe
188	kami	1PL.EXC	kame	kame
189	mereka	3PL	ra	ra
190	apa	what	a	a:
191	siapa	who	hege	hege
192	lain	other	gehā	gehā
193	beberapa	some	bopirā	pira
194	banyak	many	ajā	adʒaʔ, adʒāʔ
195	sedikit	few	kəsə	kəsəʔ
196	semua	all	waokāe	uaokoēʔ
197	dan	and	noʔō	nāʔā
198	dengan	with	noʔō	nāʔā
199	sebab	because	pukā	pukā
200	jikalau	if	kalu	nāʔā pe:

Appendix B-2: Historical phonology

In the following table, Lamaholot words are compared with each of the reconstructed word form in Proto Malayo-Polynesian and in Proto Central-Malayo-Polynesian.

#	English	PMP	PCMP	Lamaholot
1	hand	*[qa]lima	*lima	lima
2	left	*ka-wiri	*ka-wiri	mekĩ
3	right	*ka-wanan	*ka-wanan	vənẽ
4	leg/foot	*qaqay	*wai	lei
5	to walk	*lakaw	*lakaw	lega
5	to walk	*paNaw	*panaw	pana
6	road/path	*zalan	*zalan	larõ
7	to come	*mari	*mai	dai
8	to turn	*biliŋ	*putər	pue
8	to turn	*puter		
9	to swim	*lanjuy	*nanjuy	naje
9	to swim	*nanjuy		-
10	dirty	*cemed	*ma-qetəm	-
			*ma-qitəm	milõ
11	dust	*qabuk	*qabu	kəvu
11	dust	*qapuk		-
12	skin	*kulit	*kulit	kuli
13	back	*likud	*mudi	keko
14	belly	*tian	*tian	luvu
14	belly	*kempu_	*kampung	-
15	bone	*tuqelan	*zuri	riʔu

#	English	PMP	PCMP	Lamaholot
15	bone	*tuqela_		
16	intestines	*tinaqi	*taqi	trilī; tai knalū
17	liver	*qatay	*qatay	atē
18	breast	*susu	*susu	tuho
19	shoulder	*qabara	*qabara	hōnō
20	to know	*taqu		to
21	to think	*demdem		-
22	to fear	*ma-takut	*ma-takut	taku
23	blood	*daraq	*daraq	mei?
24	head	*qulu	*qulu	kotō
25	neck	*liqer		hanə
26	hair	*buhek	*buk	rata
			*qulu	-
			*daun ni qulu	
27	nose	*ijun	*ijun	ilu
27	nose	*ujun		
28	to breathe	*mañawa	*ñawa	
29	to sniff, smell	*hajek	*hajək	sið
30	mouth	*baqbaq	*babaq	veva
31	tooth	*ipen	*ipən	ipə
31	tooth	*nipen	*nipən	-
32	tongue	*dilaq	*ləma	veve
32	tongue	*hema	*lama	?
			*maya	?
33	to laugh	*tawa	*malip	geka

#	English	PMP	PCMP	Lamaholot
			*tawa	ʔ
34	to cry	*taŋis	*taŋis	gaka
35	to vomit	*utaq	*mutaq	muta; klou
36	to spit	*luzaq	*zulaq	pino
37	to eat	*kaen	*kan	kã
38	to chew	*mamaq	*mamaq	paha; mamaʔ; mãmãm
39	to cook	*tanek	*tanək	biho
39	to cook	*zakan	*zakan	
40	to drink	*inum	*inum	ø-enũ
41	to bite	*karat	*karat	baka
42	to suck	*sepsep	*susu	isə; kruho
43	ear	*taliŋa	*taliŋa	tilu
44	to hear	*deŋer	*dəŋər	bəĩ
45	eye	*mata	*mata	mata
46	to see	*kita	*kita	notõ
47	to yawn	*ma-huab	*mawap	-
			*moap	pnoa
48	to sleep	*tidur	*tudur	turu
48	to sleep	*tudur		-
49	to lie down	*qinep	*qenəp	hoba; nəĩ
			*qinəp	-
50	to dream	*hipi	*nipi	turã
51	to sit	*tudan	*todan	tobo
52	to stand	*diri	*diri	deʔĩ

#	English	PMP	PCMP	Lamaholot
52	to stand	*tuqud		
53	person/human being	*tau	*tau	-
			*taumataq	ata
54	man/male	*laki	*laki	kbai lakī
54	man/male	*ma-ruqanay	*ma-ruqanay	mame?
55	woman/female	*bahi	*bai	kbarə vōī
			*b-in-ay	bine?
56	child	*anak	*anak	ana?
57	husband	*bana	*qasawa	klake
57	husband	*qasawa		
58	wife	*qasawa	*qasawa	kvaē
59	mother	*t-ina	*ina	əmə
60	father	*t-ama	*ama	ba
61	house	*rumaq	*rumaq	laŋo?
61	house	*balay		
61	house	*banua		
62	thatch/roof	*qatep	*qatəp	blolo
63	name	*ŋajan	*ŋajan	narō
64	to say	*kari	*tutur	tutu
64	to say	*tutur		
65	rope	*talih	*tali	tale?
			*warəj	
66	to tie up, fasten	*hiket	*hikət	pūī
67	to sew	*tahiḡ	*zaqit	nau
67	to sew	*zaqit		

#	English	PMP	PCMP	Lamaholot
68	needle	*zarum	*zarum	
69	to hunt	*qanup		
70	to shoot	*panaq	*panaq	pasa
71	to stab, pierce	*suksuk	*susuk	tuhu; tuba; ploʔu
72	to hit	*palu	*palu	tubu; sado
73	to steal	*takaw	*takaw	mala
74	to kill	*bunuq	*bunuq	
75	to die, be dead	*m-atay	*matay	mata
76	to live, be alive	*ma-qucip	*maqudip	mori
77	to scratch	*karaw	*karaw	raguʔ
78	to cut, hack	*taraq	*taraq	belo
78	to cut, hack	*tektek	*tətək	təra
79	stick/wood	*kahiw	*kayu	kadzɔʔ
80	to split	*belaq	*bəlaq	lagaʔ
80	to split	*silaq		
81	sharp	*ma-tazem	*ma-tazim	gə
81	sharp	*tazim		
82	dull, blunt	*pundul	*dumpul	krubu; gbohu
82	dull, blunt	*dumpul		
83	to work	*quma		kriə
84	to plant	*mula	*tanəm	tane
85	to choose	*piliq	*piliq	ʔ
86	to grow	*tu[m]buq	*tumbuq	ʔ
87	to swell	*bareq	*barəq	bəʔa

#	English	PMP	PCMP	Lamaholot
88	to squeeze	*pereq	*pəRƏS	piʔu
88	to squeeze	*peres	*RəMƏS	pehē
89	to hold	*gemgem		
90	to dig	*kali	*kali	guʔi
			*keli	
91	to buy	*beli	*bəli	hope
92	to open, uncover	*buka	*buka	buka
93	to pound, beat	*bayu	*bayu	badʒo
93	to pound, beat	*tuktuk	*tutuk	
93	to pound, beat	*tutu		
94	to throw	*tudaq	*tudaq	gebaʔ
95	to fall	*nabuq	*ka-nabuq	ləŋa; goka; gora; toba
			*ma-nabuq	kn-XXX
96	dog	*asu	*asu	aho
97	bird	*manuk	*manuk	aʔ mənūʔ
97	bird	*qayam		
98	egg	*qatelur	*qatəlur	telu
98	egg	*qitelur		
99	feather	*bulu	*bulu	ravūʔ
100	wing	*kapak	*kapak	kəpīʔ
100	wing	*panid	*panij	-
101	to fly	*rebek		bəka
101	to fly	*layap		
102	rat	*labaw	*labaw	

#	English	PMP	PCMP	Lamaholot
			*kanzupay	
103	meat/flesh	*hesi	*isi	
103	meat/flesh	*isi		
104	fat/grease	*meñak	*miñak	vorǝ
104	fat/grease	*himar		
104	fat/grease	*miñak		
105	tail	*ikur	*ikur	kuku?
106	snake	*nipay	*nipay	-
106	snake	*hula_	*ular	ula?
107	worm (earthworm)	*kalati	*kalati	ulǝ
107	worm (earthworm)	*qali-wati		kl-XX?
108	louse	*kutu	*kutu	kuto
109	mosquito	*ñamuk	*ñamuk	knapū
110	spider	*lawaq	*lawaq	
111	fish	*hikan	*hikan	ikǝ
112	rotten	*ma-buruk	*buruk	vǝū
112	rotten	*ma-busuk	*busuk	
113	branch	*daqan	*daqan	
			*sajan	
114	leaf	*dahun	*daun	lǝpǝ
115	root	*urat	*wakar	pukǝ
115	root	*wakar		
116	flower	*buŋa	*buŋa	puhū
117	fruit	*buaq	*buaq	vuǝ?
118	grass	*baliji	*udu	krəmǝ

#	English	PMP	PCMP	Lamaholot
119	earth/soil	*tanaq	*tanaq	tana
119	earth/soil	*taneq		
120	stone	*batu	*batu	vato
121	sand	*qenay	*qənay	vəra
122	water	*danum	*wair	vai?
122	water	*wahir		-
123	to flow	*qalir	*salir	ba?
123	to flow	*qalur		
123	to flow	*salir		
124	sea	*tasik	*tasik	tahi
124	sea	*laud		lau
125	salt	*qasira	*qasira	si?a
125	salt	*timus	*tasik	-
126	lake	*danaw	*danaw	-
127	woods/forest	*alas	*halas	kravo?
127	woods/forest	*kahiw-kahiw- an		
128	sky	*lanjit	*lanjit	kəlō; other forms?
129	moon	*bulan	*bulan	vulō
130	star	*bituqen	*bituqən	bliā
131	cloud	*rabun	*taqe ni lanjit	kova
132	fog	*kabut	*kabut	apū
133	rain	*quzan	*quzan	urō
134	thunder	*gurgur	*gugur	

#	English	PMP	PCMP	Lamaholot
134	thunder	*kudug		
134	thunder	*derur		
135	lightning	*kilat	*kilat	
135	lightning	*qusilaq		
136	wind	*haŋin	*haŋin	əŋi
137	to blow	*hiup	*upi	bu?
138	warm	*ma-panas	*ma-panas	plate; mu
139	cold	*ma-dindin	*ma-dindin	lo?i
140	dry	*ma-raŋaw	*ma-raŋaw	mara
141	wet	*ma-baseq	*ma-basəq	kva?i
142	heavy	*ma-bereqat	*ma-bərat	ba?a
143	fire	*hapuy	*hapuy	ape
144	to burn	*tunu	*tunu	tuno
145	smoke	*qebel	*masu	rihū
145	smoke	*qasu		
146	ash	*qabu	*qabu	
147	black	*ma-qitem	*ma-qetəm	mitō
148	white	*ma-putiq	*ma-putiq	-
			*burak	bura?
149	red	*ma-iraq	*meraqa	me?a
150	yellow	*ma-kunij	*kunij	kumō
151	green	*mataq	*mataq	idzō
152	small	*dikiq	*dikiq	
152	small	*kedi	*kedi	kre?
153	big	*ma-raya	*raya	belə?; adza?

#	English	PMP	PCMP	Lamaholot
154	short	*ma-babaq	*babaq	kpəsu?
155	long	*anaduq	*anaduq	blaha?
156	thin	*ma-nipis	*ma-nipis	mnipi
157	thick	*ma-kapal	*kapal	kvərǝ
			*telu	
158	narrow	*kepit		knipu
159	wide	*ma-laber	*laber	blega
160	painful, sick	*ma-sakit	*sakit	blara
161	shy, ashamed	*ma-hiaq	*mayaq	mia
162	old	*ma-tuqah	*tuqa	okī
163	new	*ma-baqeru	*baqəru	vu?ū
			*bəqəru	-
164	good	*ma-pia	*ma-pia	mae
			*diaq	sare?
165	bad, evil	*zaqat	*zaqat	məko?
166	correct, true	*ma-bener		
167	night	*berŋi	*bəŋin	nokǝ
168	day	*qalejaw	*qaləjaw	lərǝ
169	year	*taqun	*taqun	sū
170	when?	*p-ijan	*p-ijan	bo?ǝ
171	to hide	*buni	*buni	horǝ
172	to climb	*pa-nahik	*panaik	gere
172	to climb	*dakih	*sakay	haka
173	at	*i	*di	ia
173	at	*di		

#	English	PMP	PCMP	Lamaholot
174	in, inside	*i-dalem	*daləm	onəʔ
175	above	*i-taqas	*atas	teti
175	above	*i-babaw		lolō
176	below	*i babaq	*babaq	vuĩ
177	this	*i ni	*-ni	teʔē
178	that	*i na	*-na	peʔē
179	near	*ma-azani	*hazani	dahe
			*raŋi	
180	far	*ma-zauq	*zauq	doēʔ; rau!ʔ
181	where?	*i nu	*be	tea
			*pae	
182	I	*i-aku	*i-aku	go
183	thou	*i-kahu	*i-kau	mo
184	he/she	*si-ia	*s-ia	na
185	we	*i-kita	*k-ita	tite
185	we	*kami	*k-ami	kəme
186	you	*i-kamu	*imi	mio
186	you	*kamiu	*miu	-
187	they	*si-ida	*sida	ra
188	what?	*apa	*apa	a
188	what?	*-anu	*sapa	nǎ
189	who?	*i-sai	*sai	hege
			*sei	-
190	other	*duma	*liqan	gehǎ
190	other	*laqin		-

#	English	PMP	PCMP	Lamaholot
191	all	*amin		vaokoʔʔ
192	and	*ka	*ma	gə
192	and	*ma		nə
193	if	*ka	*ma	kalo
193	if	*nu		-
194	how?	*kuja		nəʔə a
194	how?	*kua		-
195	no, not	*qazi	*diaq	həlaʔ
195	no, not	*diaq	*ta	take
			*ta-i	-
196	to count	*ihap	*iap	
197	One	*esa	*əsa	toʔu
197	One	*isa	*isa	N/A
198	Two	*duha	*dua	rua
199	Three	*telu	*təlu	təlo
200	Four	*epat	*[ə]pat	pa
			*pati	N/A
			*pani	N/A
201	Five	*lima		lema

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