A GRAMMAR OF SOLOR – LAMAHOLOT A Language of Flores, Eastern Indonesia

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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List of Abbreviations

1 : 1st-person 2 : 2nd-person 3 : 3rd-person

A : the agent argument of a transitive and ditransitive clause

AUX : auxiliary (verb) ACl : adverb clause

Adv/adv : adverb Adj/adj : adjective

AdjP : adjective phrase AdvP : adverb phrase

AG : agent (the causer or doer of an event)

Ant : antonym

BE : beneficiary (entity (usually animate) for whose benefit an action is

performed)

C¹ : the first occurring consonant in a consonant cluster

 C^2 : the second consonant occurring in a consonant cluster.

CA : common argument

COMPAR : comparative COMPAR : comparison

CON : concomitant (entity which accompanies or is associated with the

performance of an action)

DEICP : deictic phrase DEM : demonstrative

DIR : direction (entity that indicates the direction of an event)

DIR.DOWN: downward DIR.EAST: eastward

DIR.LAND : landward / mountainward

DIR.NEAR : direction other than sea-ward or land-ward within view

DIR.SEA : seaward
DIR.UP : upward
DIR.WEST : westward
DO : direct object
DTRANS : detransitivizer
EVID : evidence
EXC/exc : exclusive

FO : force (the inanimate cause of an action, which does not act by will or

volition)

GEN : genitive

Gen-N : genitive - noun

GO : goal (the destination or end-point of a motion)
IM : impression (entity that attracts attention)

IMPERF : imperfect INC/inc : inclusive

INS : instrument (inanimate entity used by an agent to perform an action)

IO : indirect object

LL : Lewotobi dialect of Lamaholot

LOC : location (spatial reference point of the event)

MCl : main clause

N/n : noun

N-Gen : noun – genitive

NK : Nishiyama and Kelen (2007)

NP : noun phrase NUM/num : numeral

O : the patient argument of a transitive clause

OBJ : object
OBL : oblique
OBLIG : obligation

PA : patient (the person or thing affected by an action, or the entity

undergoing a change)

PAN : proto Austronesian

PERF : perfect
PERMIS : permission
PL : plural

PO : possessor (the possessor of a thing)

POSS : possessive

PP : prepositional phrase

PREP/prep : preposition (neutral locational meaning)

PROG : progressive PRON/pron : pronoun

PROX.ADD : distal to speaker; proximal to the addressee

PROX.SPEK: proximal to the speaker

PRT : particle

PT : path (the trajectory or pathway of a motion)

Qword/qword: question word RCl: relative clause

RE : recipient (animate entity which receives or acquires something)

RED : reduplication REL : relativizer

S : sentence (used restrictedly in a syntactic tree diagram only).

S : the single core argument of an intransitive clause

SG : singular

SL : Solor Lamaholot

SO : source (the origin or beginning point of a motion)

ST : stimulus (entity which is seen, heard, known, remembered, loved,

hated, etc.)

SUBJ : subject

SVC : serial verb construction SVO : subject verb object Syn : synonym

TAM : tense, aspect and mood

TH : theme (entity which undergoes a change of location or possession)
UN : undergoer (the animate being affected inwardly by a state or action)

V/v : verb

v.dem : verbal demonstrative

V¹ : the first occurring vowel in a vowel sequence
 V² : the second occurring vowel in a vowel sequence.

V₁ : the first verb of a serial verb construction
 V₂ : the second verb of a serial verb construction

VCC : verbless clause complementVCS : verbless clause subject

VIC1 : verbless clause VP : verb phrase

Conventions

Lamaholot does not have its own distinctive script, and so far everyday speakers of the language have used the widely accepted Latin alphabet adopted from the Indonesian spelling system. I also adopt this spelling system in this thesis, but with additional diacritics and a glottal stop, as is explained in §3.1. Lamaholot examples are presented according to this spelling system, except for proper names and place names which follow common practices used by Lamaholot speakers. If there are any examples or data from Lamaholot or from other languages cited from other sources, they will be presented in the way they appear in the original sources or in the orthography of the language.

In presenting interlinear glossing, I have mostly followed The Leipzig Glossing Rules (https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php), updated May 2015, with some customized adjustments, as described in the following:

- 1) a hyphen (-) indicates a morpheme break, including reduplication. In the Leipzig Glossing Rules, a reduplication is represented with a tilde (~), but I do not follow this notation in this thesis; I have used a hyphen (-) instead. This follows common practice used by the language speakers, who have adopted this practice from the Indonesian spelling system.
- 2) an equal sign (=) represents clitic morphemes.
- 3) an infix is enclosed in angle brackets (<...>).
- 4) when one word in Solor-Lamaholot requires glossing with two elements in English, these are separated by a full stop. For example *wéwé* is glossed 'mung.bean'.
- 5) person and number labels are not separated by fullstops. For example, the 1stperson singular is represented as 1SG, not 1.SG. Since Solor-Lamaholot does not have case-marking morphology, only the grammatical function indicating possessive is added to a person and number. For this addition, there are two abbreviations I have used in this thesis, they are:
 - a) POSS, as in 1SGPOSS (the 1st-person singular possessive clitic), used to gloss enclitic possessive forms.
 - b) GEN, as in 1SGGEN (the 1st-person singular genitive pronoun), used to gloss possessive pronouns or possessive adjectives.

6) an asterisk (*) before an example sentence or a sentence segment indicates that the sentence is ungrammatical or the presence of the indicated sentence segment causes ungrammaticality.

Solor-Lamaholot sentence or phrase examples are presented in the following fashion.

- (x) Na'é mété n=énũ kopi ----- (SL example)
 3SG PROG 3SG=drink coffee ----- (grammatical and lexical gloss)
 He/She is drinking coffee----- (free English translation)
- 1) SL examples are presented in small letters, except for proper and place names. These examples are presented in a morphemic break analysis.
- 2) Grammatical glosses are in all capital letters, whereas lexical glosses use lower case. A list of abbreviations used for grammatical glosses has been provided in a separate section in the 'List of Abbreviations' pages.
- 3) Each English translation employs a free translation. Two things on English free translation are worth noting.
 - First, Lamaholot verbs are not marked morphologically for tense. Tense-related meanings can be interpreted contextually and from the use of adverbial temporal and aspectual expressions. However, these expressions are not always present in the examples, and when this is the case, the examples are translated based on the contextual situation or common sense. These translations follow my linguistic command as a native speaker of the language.
 - Second, the 3rd-person singular pronoun is expressed with a single pronoun in Solor-Lamaholot, that is $na'\dot{e}$ (often shortened to be na' or na). Hence, this Solor-Lamaholot pronoun can mean 'he' or 'she' in English, and these two meanings may cause difficulties in interpreting a sentence without an insight into the context of the utterance. For this, I have used my cultural knowledge and experiences to interpret examples. For example, in sentences that related to weaving, child-caring, cooking or other house-hold activities, the pronoun was interpreted as being a 'she'. This is because, based on my cultural knowledge, acvitivies such as these, were predominantly carried out by women. On the contrary, with activities that related to farming and livestock management, for example, the pronoun was interpreted as being a 'he', because these activities are culturally known to be in the male working domain.
- 4) The numbering of the examples (x) is given on a per-chapter basis. That is for each chapter, the very first example in the chapter starts with number 1 and on, depending on how many examples are provided in that given chapter. Some

examples may be given with the same number but these examples are indexed in a way following an alphabetical order from (a) to (...). These examples are grouped in this way because they carry or exemplify a similar grammatical feature or they show a contrast between two contrasting grammatical aspects.

5) This marker 'ø' is used to indicate a zero or an absent item.

If a Solor-Lamaholot word, phrase or sentence is included in a paragraph of the description, it is written in italics and is followed with a morphemic break analysis in parentheses (...), if any. A translation follows and is indicated with single quotation marks on either side of the translation.

Abstract

This study is a grammatical description of an endangered language of eastern Indonesia called Lamaholot, spoken on the eastern part of Flores, and three neighboring small islands, Solor, Adonara and Lembata. The study focuses on the Solor dialect spoken over the entire Solor Island by about 20,000 people residing in 33 villages. The data for this study were collected from the native speakers in Karawatung village in three periods, each lasting for at least three months, through audio-video recording, elicitation and written document gathering.

The language has a relatively simple phonological system. It has 16 native and 3 loan consonants, and 6 basic vowel qualities, where every oral vowel has a corresponding nasal vowel. It is an analytic language yet has a quite laborious morphological system because one form may signal different meanings. In clausal structures, there are mostly one-to-one corresponding between words and morphemes. Most bound morphemes are derivational and a few are inflectional affixes. The most important verbal affixes are clitics marking S or A arguments.

Major word classes include nouns, verbs and adjectives. Adjectives share some identical properties with the other two classes; which is why some previous studies have hardly distinguished adjectives from nouns and verbs. The language has a Nominative-Accusative grammar system, with a fixed word order of SV(O). Phrases follow a modified-modifier pattern. Nearly all NPs in the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977) are relativizeable, except the object of comparison. The language has verbless and verbal clauses. It also has serial verb constructions used: (i) to encode oblique relations which, in non-serializing languages such as English, are expressed with prepositions; and (ii) to express secondary verbal concepts, which, for example in English, are modals and aspectual modifiers.

Two prominent grammatical relations were discovered: Subjects and Objects. Objects are distinguished into two: a Primary Object that is the argument that comes immediately after a clause verbal predicate regardless of whether it is a direct or an indirect object, and a Secondary Object, which occurs farther away from the clause verb. The verbs in a serial verb construction mostly share the same subject argument, but the second verb may have its own additional argument which seems morphosyntactically like an object but is pragmatically an oblique.

SL has some valence change operations including middle voice, reflexive and reciprocal, inverse, applicative and causative. Inverse constructions can only be translated into English as a passive clause, yet they are not passive in SL. Two distinct syntactic structures referred to here as subject prominent and topic prominent constructions may be considered as an active – passive counterpart in SL in an analysis following Shibatani (2006). With this perspective, SL can be assumed to have a passive system without passive morphology as is reported in some languages on Flores (Arka 2009).

Statement of Authorship

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: 20 June 2016

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