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

Submitted by
Yosep Bisara Kroon

Endangered Languages Studies
Department of Linguistics
School of Humanities – The Faculty of Arts
The University of Adelaide, Australia
June 2016
# Table of Contents

Table of Contents .................................................................................................................. iii  
List of Maps ............................................................................................................................ x  
List of Tables ........................................................................................................................... xi  
List of Figures .......................................................................................................................... xii  
List of Abbreviations .............................................................................................................. xiii  
Conventions ............................................................................................................................. xvi  
Abstract .................................................................................................................................. xix  
Statement of Authorship .......................................................................................................... xxi  
Acknowledgements .................................................................................................................. xxii  

1 Introduction ........................................................................................................................... 1  
  1.1 Introduction to the study ...................................................................................................... 1  
  1.2 Lamaholot language, people and culture ........................................................................... 2  
  1.3 Solor dialect; its geography, people and history ............................................................... 5  
  1.4 General theoretical framework ......................................................................................... 7  
  1.5 Methodology ..................................................................................................................... 8  
  1.6 Limitations of the study .................................................................................................... 9  
  1.7 Outline of the thesis .......................................................................................................... 10  

2 Previous studies on Lamaholot ............................................................................................ 15  
  2.1 Genetic affiliation .............................................................................................................. 15  
  2.2 Typological overview ....................................................................................................... 20  
    2.2.1 Phonological typology ................................................................................................. 21  
    2.2.2 Morpho-syntactic typology ......................................................................................... 21  
    2.2.3 Lexical-semantic typology ......................................................................................... 24  
  2.3 Studies on Lamaholot language ....................................................................................... 25  
    2.3.1 Keraf (1978): The morphology of Lamalera dialect .................................................. 26  
    2.3.2 Nishiyama & Kelen (2007): Morphology and syntax of Lewoingu dialect .............. 30  
    2.3.1 Nagaya (2011): The Grammar of Lewotobi dialect .................................................. 31  

3 Phonetics and Phonology ..................................................................................................... 35  
  3.1 Introduction ....................................................................................................................... 35  
  3.2 Phonemic Inventory ......................................................................................................... 36  
    3.2.1 Consonant Phonemes ............................................................................................... 36
3.2.1.1 Native consonants ............................................................. 37
3.2.1.2 Consonant Minimal Pairs .................................................. 40
3.2.1.3 Borrowed Consonants ...................................................... 40
3.2.2 Vowel phonemes .................................................................. 41
  3.2.2.1 Oral vowels ...................................................................... 42
  3.2.2.2 Nasal vowels ................................................................... 42
  3.2.2.3 Vowel minimal pairs ...................................................... 43
3.3 Phonotactics ............................................................................ 47
  3.3.1 Syllable Structures .............................................................. 47
  3.3.2 Consonant clusters .............................................................. 50
  3.3.3 Vowel sequences ............................................................... 51
3.4 Stress patterns ......................................................................... 52
3.5. Morpho-phonological processes ............................................. 52
  3.5.1 Vowel nasalization .............................................................. 53
  3.5.2 Vowel raising ...................................................................... 53
  3.5.3 Nasal substitution ............................................................... 54
4 Morphology .................................................................................. 55
  4.1 Morphemic forms ................................................................. 55
    4.1.1 Roots .............................................................................. 55
    4.1.2 Clitics ............................................................................. 57
      4.1.2.1 Proclitics .................................................................... 58
      4.1.2.2 Enclitics .................................................................... 61
    4.1.3 Affixes ............................................................................ 71
      4.1.3.1 Nominalization affixes ............................................... 71
      4.1.3.2 Possessive and attributive nasalization ....................... 76
      4.1.3.3 Detransitivizer prefix pe- ............................................ 81
    4.1.4 Particles ........................................................................... 81
      4.1.4.1 The particle ge/go ...................................................... 82
      4.1.4.2 The particle dé ............................................................ 82
      4.1.4.3 The particle di ............................................................. 82
      4.1.4.4 The particle lé ............................................................. 83
      4.1.4.5 The particle kia ........................................................... 83
  4.2 Other morphological processes ................................................. 83
    4.2.1 Reduplication ................................................................. 83
      4.2.1.1 Reduplication indicating semantic degradation ............ 84
      4.2.1.2 Reduplication indicating repeated or continuous even ..... 84
      4.2.1.3 Reduplication indicating quality intensification ............ 84
      4.2.1.4 Reduplication indicating distributive meaning ............ 85
4.2.2 Compounding ............................. 85
   4.2.2.1 Endocentric compounds ............... 86
   4.2.2.2 Exocentric compounds .................. 87
   4.2.2.3 Copulative compounds .................. 88

5 Lexical Categories ................................................................. 91
   5.1 Introduction ................................................................. 91
   5.2 Nouns ............................................................................. 92
      5.2.1 Proper nouns ......................................................... 93
      5.2.2 Common nouns ....................................................... 94
         5.2.2.1 Alienable and inalienable nouns ................. 94
         5.2.2.2 Countable and mass nouns ................. 95
      5.2.3 Derived nouns ....................................................... 95
      5.2.4 Compound nouns ............................................... 95
      5.2.5 Locative nouns ................................................... 96
      5.2.6 Kinship nouns ................................................... 96
   5.3 Verbs ........................................................................... 97
      5.3.1 Verb Valency ............................................................ 97
         5.3.1.1 Intransitive verbs ...................................... 97
         5.3.1.2 Transitive verbs .......................................... 98
         5.3.1.3 Ambitransitive verbs ............................. 98
         5.3.1.4 Ditransitive verbs ...................................... 99
      5.3.2 Verb semantics ..................................................... 100
         5.3.2.1 Motion verbs ............................................... 100
         5.3.2.2 Locomotion verbs .................................... 102
         5.3.2.3 Affect verbs ............................................... 102
         5.3.2.4 Posture verbs ............................................ 103
         5.3.2.5 Utterance verbs ......................................... 103
         5.3.2.6 Human mental process and activity verbs ... 104
         5.3.2.7 Transaction and service verbs .................. 107
         5.3.2.8 Bodily process and activity verbs .............. 108
      5.3.3 Derived verbs ......................................................... 108
      5.3.4 Prepositional verbs .............................................. 112
         5.3.4.1 Prepositional verbs indicating Instrument .... 112
         5.3.4.2 Prepositional verbs indicating Manner ......... 113
         5.3.4.3 Prepositional verbs indicating Recipient ...... 113
         5.3.4.4 Prepositional verbs indicating Comitative .... 114
         5.3.4.5 Prepositional verbs indicating Direction ...... 115
5.4 Adjectives .................................................................................................................. 115
  5.4.1 Semantic types of SL adjectives ........................................................................... 118
  5.4.2 Grammatical functions of SL adjectives ......................................................... 120
    5.4.2.1 Adjectives functioning as clause predicate .............................................. 120
    5.4.2.2 Adjectives functioning as attribution ..................................................... 121
    5.4.2.3 Adjectives used for comparison ............................................................. 123
    5.4.2.4 Adjective reduplication to express intensification .................................. 123
    5.4.2.5 Adjectives reduplication as adverb of manner ...................................... 124

5.5 Pronouns and other pro-forms .................................................................................. 124
  5.5.1 Subject, object and genitive pronouns ............................................................. 124
  5.5.2 Interrogative pronouns ....................................................................................... 126
  5.5.3 Other nominal pro-forms .................................................................................. 127
    5.5.3.1 Numerals used as a nominal pro-form .................................................... 127
    5.5.3.2 +wéki used as a nominal pro-form ......................................................... 127

5.6 Adverbs .................................................................................................................... 128
  5.6.1 Aspectual adverbs ............................................................................................. 129
  5.6.2 Modal adverbs ................................................................................................... 129
    5.6.2.1 +abé ........................................................................................................... 131
    5.6.2.2 +odi ............................................................................................................ 133
    5.6.2.3 +awa .......................................................................................................... 134
    5.6.2.4 ha’è ............................................................................................................. 134
  5.6.3 Temporal adverbs ............................................................................................. 135

5.7 Demonstratives ....................................................................................................... 136
  5.7.1 Nominal demonstratives ................................................................................... 136
    5.7.1.1 The demonstrative pi and wi ................................................................. 137
    5.7.1.2 The demonstrative pé and wé ............................................................... 138
  5.7.2 Verbal demonstratives ....................................................................................... 139

5.8 Spatial deictics ........................................................................................................ 139
  5.8.1 Sea – mountain axis: lau and raé ................................................................. 144
  5.8.2 East – west / sky – ground / high - low axis: téti and lali ...... 145
  5.8.3 The directional expression wéli ................................................................. 148
  5.8.4 Locational deictics ......................................................................................... 149

5.9 Numerals ................................................................................................................ 150
  5.9.1 The grammatical use of numerals ................................................................... 151
    5.9.1.1 Numerals used as attribution ............................................................... 151
    5.9.1.2 Numerals used as pro-nominal ............................................................ 151
  5.9.2 Numeral classifiers ......................................................................................... 152
  5.9.3 Indefinite quantifiers ....................................................................................... 153
5.10 Conjunctions............................................................................................................. 153
  5.10.1 Coordinators .............................................................. 153
  5.10.2 Subordinators .......................................................... 155
5.11 Question words.................................................................................................... 156
5.12 Miscellaneous items............................................................................................ 157
  5.12.1 Yes/No responses ..................................................... 157
  5.12.2 Interjection................................................................. 158
  5.12.3 Negation ................................................................. 158

6 Simple Clause Structures ..................................................................................... 161
  6.1 Introduction ............................................................................. 161
  6.2 Phrasal structures ................................................................... 162
    6.2.1 Noun phrases ............................................................ 162
    6.2.2 Verb phrases ............................................................. 168
    6.2.3 Adjective phrases ....................................................... 170
    6.2.4 Adverb phrases .......................................................... 170
  6.3 Verbless clauses ..................................................................... 170
    6.3.1 Identity verbless clauses .............................................. 171
    6.3.2 Attributive verbless clauses ........................................ 172
    6.3.3 Possessive verbless clauses ........................................ 172
    6.3.4 Locative verbless clauses ............................................. 173
  6.4 Existential clauses ..................................................................... 174
  6.5 Verbal Clauses ......................................................................... 174
    6.5.1 Intransitive clauses ..................................................... 176
    6.5.2 Transitive clauses ....................................................... 179
    6.5.3 Ditransitive clauses ...................................................... 183
  6.6 Interrogative clauses .................................................................. 186
    6.6.1 Polar questions .......................................................... 186
    6.6.2 Content questions ....................................................... 187
  6.7 Comparative clauses .................................................................. 187
  6.8 Imperative clauses ..................................................................... 191

7 Complex Clause Structures .............................................................................. 193
  7.1 Introduction ............................................................................. 193
  7.2 Compound clauses ..................................................................... 193
    7.2.1 Compound clauses with nê ......................................... 194
    7.2.2 Compound clauses with lé ......................................... 195
    7.2.3 Compound clauses with nekù / kù .............................. 195
    7.2.4 Compound clauses with ge ......................................... 195
7.3 Complex sentences .......................................................................................... 196
  7.3.1 Relative clauses ....................................................................................... 196
  7.3.2 Complement clauses ............................................................................... 200
  7.3.3 Adverbial clauses .................................................................................. 202
    7.3.3.1 Adverbial clause of time .................................................................. 202
    7.3.3.2 Adverb clause of cause and reason ............................................... 205
    7.3.3.3 Adverb clause of circumstance ...................................................... 205
    7.3.3.4 Adverb clause of purpose ................................................................ 206

8 Serial verb constructions .................................................................................. 209
  8.1 Introduction .................................................................................................. 209
  8.2 Serial verb constructions in SL ................................................................. 211
  8.3 SVCs with prepositional verbs ..................................................................... 213
    8.3.1 SVCs expressing an Instrument relation ............................................. 213
    8.3.2 SVCs expressing a Comitative relation .............................................. 214
    8.3.3 SVCs expressing a Recipient relation ............................................... 215
    8.3.4 SVCs expressing a Directional relation .............................................. 217
    8.3.5 SVCs expressing a Manner adverb ..................................................... 218
    8.3.6 SVCs with ‘emotion’ verbs ................................................................... 219
  8.4 SVCs with secondary verbs ......................................................................... 220
    8.4.1 SL SVCs with +oi and +ewâ ............................................................... 220
    8.4.2 SL SVCs with one .............................................................................. 222
    8.4.3 SL SVCs with merĩ ............................................................................ 222
  8.5 SVCs with aspecual verbs .......................................................................... 223
  8.6 SVCs expressing causatives ....................................................................... 223
  8.7 The syntax of SL SVCs .............................................................................. 224

9 Grammatical relations and valence changes .................................................. 227
  9.1 Introduction .................................................................................................. 227
  9.2 Grammatical relations in SL ...................................................................... 229
    9.2.1 Subject .................................................................................................. 229
      9.2.1.1 Word order ................................................................................... 229
      9.2.1.2 Bound pronominal clitics .............................................................. 230
      9.2.1.3 Control of Reflexivization ............................................................ 231
      9.2.1.4 Control of zero anaphor ............................................................... 232
    9.2.2 Object ................................................................................................... 232
      9.2.2.1 The primary object ...................................................................... 233
      9.2.2.2 The secondary object .................................................................. 235
    9.2.3 Grammatical relations in SVCs ........................................................... 236
9.2.3.1 SVC Subjects ................................................................. 236
9.2.3.2 SVC Objects ................................................................. 237
9.3 Topic arguments ................................................................. 239
9.4. Voices and valency change operations ......................... 241
  9.4.1 Middle voice ................................................................. 242
  9.4.2 Reflexive and reciprocal ............................................ 243
  9.4.3 Inverse ................................................................. 244
  9.4.4 Applicative ........................................................ 245
  9.4.5 Causative ........................................................ 246
9.5 Is there a passive in SL? .................................................. 246

10 Concluding remarks ......................................................... 251

Appendices ........................................................................... 257
  Appendix 1 ........................................................................ 259
  Appendix 2 ........................................................................ 267
  Appendix 3 ........................................................................ 273
  Appendix 4 ........................................................................ 285
  Appendix 5 ........................................................................ 299

References ................................................................................ 341
List of Maps

Map 1.1 - The Lamaholot speaking region in eastern Indonesia ......................... 3
Map 1.2 - Dialect division of Lamaholot after Keraf (1978) .............................. 5
Map 1.3 - Solor Dialect speaking area and its accent clusters ............................ 6
Map 2.1 - Areal distribution of Austronesian languages .................................... 16
Map 5.1 - Different directions of lau and raé in SL speaking community .......... 142
Map 5.2 - Lamaholot speaking area and surrounding islands ............................ 143
Map 5.3 - Lamaholot speaking area relative to national and wider area ............. 147
# List of Tables

Table 2.1 - Adopted Features to distinguish Symmetrical Voice and Preposed Possessor Languages after Musgrave (2007) based on Himmelmann (2005) ........................................................................................................................................... 23  
Table 2.2 - Verb Class paradigm in Lamalera Dialect of Lamaholot after Keraf (1978: 61) .................................................................................................................................................. 28  
Table 3.1 - Consonant phoneme inventory of SL ................................................................. 36  
Table 3.2 - Substitution of /w/ with /v/ in Lewotobi and /l/ in Lamalera ....................... 40  
Table 3.3 - The distribution of SL consonant phonemes .................................................... 41  
Table 3.4 - Vowel phoneme inventory of SL ...................................................................... 42  
Table 3.5 - Vowel nasalization of Proto Malayo Polynesian and loan words ................. 47  
Table 3.6 - The distribution of SL syllable structures ....................................................... 49  
Table 3.7 - Various syllable structures of SL words ......................................................... 49  
Table 3.8 - Various combinations of SL consonant clusters ........................................... 51  
Table 3.9 - Various combinations of vowel sequences ..................................................... 52  
Table 4.1 - SL pronominal proclitic forms ........................................................................ 58  
Table 4.2 - Irregular alteration of the bound root ‘to eat’ .................................................. 60  
Table 4.3 - The S agreement enclitic form of SL .............................................................. 61  
Table 4.4 - SL inalienable possessive enclitic forms .......................................................... 67  
Table 4.5 - Nasalization of the subject pronouns, turning them into genitive .............. 77  
Table 5.1 - Human proper names in SL ........................................................................... 93  
Table 5.2 - Subject, Object and Genitive pronouns in SL ............................................... 125  
Table 5.3 - Summary of meanings of SL modal verbs ....................................................... 135  
Table 5.4 - Summary of the meaning and the use of SL Demonstratives ..................... 139  
Table 5.5 - SL spatial deictics ........................................................................................... 140  
Table 5.6 - List of related directional deictics and directional verbs ............................... 143  
Table 6.1 - Verbless clauses in SL .................................................................................... 171  
Table 7.1 - Summary features of RCIs in SL .................................................................. 200  
Table 8.1 - Summary of SVC patterns in SL .................................................................. 225  
Table X.1 - List of data gathered and analysed for this study ........................................ 285  
Table X.2 - List of language consultants and participants .............................................. 286
List of Figures

Figure 2.1 - Lamaholot affiliation in the Austronesian language family tree (Blust 2013: 30-31) ................................................................. 16
Figure 2.2 - Early Austronesian language division after Reid (1982) ................. 17
Figure 2.3 - Subgrouping of Extra-Formosan language after Ross (1994) based on Reid (1982) ................................................................. 18
Figure 2.4 - Early Austronesian sub-grouping by Blust (1982: 233) .................... 18
Figure 3.1 - Waveforms distinguishing /a/ vs. /ä/: gawa ‘hug’ vs. gawä ‘store’ .... 44
Figure 3.2 - Waveforms distinguishing /o/ vs. /ö/: lodo ‘descend’ vs. lodö ‘insert’ ......................................................................................... 45
Figure 3.3 - Waveforms distinguishing /ɛ/ vs. /ē/: gere ‘call chicken’ vs. gerê ‘empty handed’ ................................................................. 45
Figure 3.4 - Waveforms showing of the length of isolated /ə/ in økã ‘bush’ vs. /ɔ/ with a preceding consonant in løya ‘fall’ ......................... 48
Figure 3.5 - SL vowel raising and nasalization diagram .................................... 53
Figure 5.1 - Schematic orientation of directional expressions in SL ................. 144
Figure 5.2 - Schematic orientation of directional and locational concepts in SL ... 145
Figure 6.1 - Syntactic tree representation of examples (10) and (14) ............... 166
Figure 6.2 - Syntactic trees representing the difference between examples (16) and (17) ................................................................. 168
Figure 7.1 - Syntactic trees comparing the complex clause in example (14) with the simple clause in example (15) ..................................... 203
Figure 8.1 - Typical syntactic trees of SVCs after Givón (1997) ....................... 209
Figure 9.1 - A syntactic tree representing SVC in example (20a) ..................... 238
List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1st-person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2nd-person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3rd-person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>the agent argument of a transitive and ditransitive clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxiliary (verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACI</td>
<td>adverb clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adv/adv</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj/adj</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AdjP</td>
<td>adjective phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AdvP</td>
<td>adverb phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>agent (the causer or doer of an event)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ant</td>
<td>antonym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>beneficiary (entity (usually animate) for whose benefit an action is performed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>the first occurring consonant in a consonant cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>the second consonant occurring in a consonant cluster.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>common argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPAR</td>
<td>comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPAR</td>
<td>comparison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CON</td>
<td>concomitant (entity which accompanies or is associated with the performance of an action)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEICP</td>
<td>deictic phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>direction (entity that indicates the direction of an event)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR.DOWN</td>
<td>downward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR.EAST</td>
<td>eastward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR.LAND</td>
<td>landward / mountainward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR.NEAR</td>
<td>direction other than sea-ward or land-ward within view</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR.SEA</td>
<td>seaward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR.UP</td>
<td>upward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR.WEST</td>
<td>westward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>direct object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTRANS</td>
<td>detransitivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVID</td>
<td>evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXC/exc</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FO</td>
<td>force (the inanimate cause of an action, which does not act by will or volition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen-N</td>
<td>genitive - noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GO</td>
<td>goal (the destination or end-point of a motion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM</td>
<td>impression (entity that attracts attention)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
RCI : 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syn</td>
<td>synonym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>tense, aspect and mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH</td>
<td>theme (entity which undergoes a change of location or possession)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>undergoer (the animate being affected inwardly by a state or action)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V/v</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.dem</td>
<td>verbal demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V₁</td>
<td>the first occurring vowel in a vowel sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V₂</td>
<td>the second occurring vowel in a vowel sequence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V₁</td>
<td>the first verb of a serial verb construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V₂</td>
<td>the second verb of a serial verb construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCC</td>
<td>verbless clause complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCS</td>
<td>verbless clause subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCl</td>
<td>verbless clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>verb phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 1st-person 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'ë 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'ë (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, activities 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 morpho-syntactically 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

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in any submission in my name for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint award of this degree.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

I also give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University’s digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

Name : Yosep Bisara Kroon

Signature :

Date : 20 June 2016
Acknowledgements

This thesis could not have been completed without the support and assistance of many people. I, therefore, would like to express my gratitude to the following people.

Firstly, I would like to address my sincere gratitude to the speakers of the Solor dialect of the Lamaholot language, particularly those in Karawatung village who kindly shared precious knowledge concerning their language and culture. In particular, I would like to thank Bapak Kuna Tukan, Nong Kroon, Amat Kroon, Lius Kolin and Simon Werang as my language consultants for having patiently spent their time catering to my curiosity. I also thank my brother Tias Kroon for being a loyal companion and riding his motorbike with me from one village to another around the entire Solor Island. I would also like to extend my thanks to pak Kanis Lamen in Podor, Mikel Huler in Bubu Atagamu, Nelis Herin in Kelike Ai Matan, Sipri Kolin in Lemanu, Stef Sogen in Kalelu, Martinus Kein in Nusa Dani, Nimus Niron in Retaebang, Goris Lein in Tanah Lein and Ignas Herin in Ongalereng for having distributed my questionnaire probing Solor Dialect speakers’ views concerning the importance of preserving and revitalizing their local language and culture.

Secondly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors Professor Ghil'ad Zuckermann and Dr Rob Amery for their continuous support, motivation, and immense knowledge. Their guidance and knowledge sharing enormously helped me undertake this research and write this thesis. I also want to express my thanks to Dr John Walsh (postgraduate coordinator) and all the staff members at the Department of Linguistics and the School of Humanities in the Faculty of Arts, The University of Adelaide, for having provided me with administrative assistance since my very first day at the University of Adelaide. I wish to extend my gratitude to the University of Adelaide for providing me with the opportunity to experience a wonderful study environment during my PhD study. I also extend my thanks to Sage Hall (sage.proofreading@gmail.com) for having read my draft and pinpointing typos, grammar mistakes and misspellings in my thesis. I also thank Elise Lopez (elise@imaginepress.com.au) for her keen eyes in editing and proofreading the mini dictionary of my thesis appendix and the final draft of my entire thesis.

Thirdly, I wish to thank the Directorate General of Higher Education (DIKTI) of The Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education of The Republic of
Indonesia for the Overseas Postgraduate Scholarship that supported and enabled me to pursue my PhD at the University of Adelaide, Australia. I also acknowledge the support from the University of Adelaide through the PW Rice Scholarship for Research Project Award and Overseas Travel Award, which had made my second fieldwork from 8 June to 22 August 2014 possible, and which had also allowed me to attend and experience the wonderful Language Documentation and Linguistic Diversity Summer School, held at the Department of Linguistics, Stockholm University in Stockholm, Sweden, from 23 June to 4 July 2014.

Finally, I want to thank my extended family and relatives in Karawatung who have always supported me during my studies. I would also like to express my love and great thanks to my wife Adel and our three children Dian, Cindy and Sandi. I am quite sure that this thesis is part of my life work, which must have been influenced by them in a subtle and essential way.

And last but not least, I want to thank the Lord for strengthening me for the task, enabling me to grow with it. If any praise and honor comes through this work, may it all go to His glory.
1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the study

This study investigates the grammar of a dialect of the Lamaholot language, a language of eastern Indonesia spoken on the easternmost part of Flores Island and the nearby small islands of Solor, Adonara and Lembata. The dialect is called Solor dialect and is spoken on the entire Solor Island. It is in serious threat of endangerment and therefore calls for an urgent study. This study is an attempt, indeed the first extensive attempt to describe the grammar of this dialect.

Lamaholot is endangered. The rapid and massive expansion of Indonesian as a national and unifying language is having a serious impact on the language. The compulsory teaching of Indonesian at schools and the ban of using local languages by school children during school hours until the early 1990’s (Steinhauer 1993: 1471) has given rise to linguicide (language killing) and glottophagy (language eating) - see Zuckermann & Monaghan (2012). Crucially, language attitudes of recent Lamaholot speakers do not seem to preserve their local language. To their view, Lamaholot is just a traditional language and is only functional for traditional affairs whereas Indonesian is associated with prestige and economic benefits – see e.g. Nagaya (2011). Lamaholot is obviously at risk. It can be one of the languages predicted to die out after a few more generations because it is no longer learnt and used by children as their first language (Austin & Sallabank 2011a). Therefore, this language deserves the attention of linguists.

This study presents a detailed linguistic description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Solor dialect of Lamaholot (or Solor Lamaholot, SL hereafter). It does not attempt to prove or test any specific grammatical theory, but rather provides an empirically based and theoretically informed description and analysis of SL grammar. This grammatical description brings SL to the attention of the wider linguistic community. In the paucity of linguistic information about the languages in eastern Indonesia, this study forms another volume to add to the body of linguistic knowledge of the languages in the area.
Being presented in a general linguistic framework and in the light of a typological study, this grammatical description is of importance for general linguistics and for Austronesian studies. Some questions of theoretical interest that this study sheds light on are, to mention a few, the existence of distinctive nasal versus oral vowels, the morpho-syntactic distinction between verbs, nouns and adjectives, serial verb constructions and the grammatical relations of their arguments, the semantics of spatial deixes based on the natural terrain, and peculiar syntactic configuration of complement clauses. By delineating these linguistic features, this study attempts to widen our knowledge of general linguistics, and in particular of Austronesian linguistics and typology.

Working on a previously undescribed dialect, this study brings out more linguistic features characterizing eastern Indonesian languages. For example, Chapter 8 delineates in detail SVCs in the dialect. This area of grammar has been overlooked in previous studies on Lamaholot. Chapter 9 is another interesting part of this description as it provides valence change phenomena which can shed light on today’s most controversial issue in the discussion of eastern Indonesian languages: whether or not there is passive voice – see e.g. Klamer (2002) and Nagaya (2011) versus Donohue (2005) and Arka & Wouk (2014).

1.2 Lamaholot language, people and culture

Lamaholot (ISO code slp, Lewis, Simons, & Fennig (2014)) is spoken by approximately 150,000 – 200,000 people (Grimes, Therik, Grimes, & Jacob 1997; Klamer 2012b) on the easternmost part of Flores and some nearby small islands known as the Solor archipelago (Blust 1993) as shown in Map 1.1.

The term Lamaholot used to refer this language and its people is recently made popular by Keraf (1978), who noticed that people all over Lamaholot speaking region who spoke this language identified themselves, their customs and cultures as being Lamaholot (Keraf 1978: 6-7) – see also Barnes (1993: 155-157). This term most likely originated from ‘solot’1 found in the ancient Javanese text Nagara-kertagama, Canto 14, verse 5 (Pigeaud 1960:16-17). It is believed to refer to Solor islands, one of

---

1 The /s/ and /h/ sound change is frequently found in the Lamaholot language. In Solor - Lamaholot, there are a few words where /s/ and /h/ are interchangeable without altering the word meaning, as in biho – biso ‘cook’, goho – goso ‘rub’ and tahi – tasi ‘sea’.
the places in eastern Indonesia supposedly under the suzerainty of the Javanese empire of Majapahit (Hägerdal, 2012: 21-22).

**Map 1.1**
The Lamaholot speaking region in eastern Indonesia

Lamaholot thus consists of two words: *lama* and *holot*. * Lama* means ‘place’ or ‘region’. This word is very frequently used in names of places and villages, such as Lamalera, Lamakéra, Lamawalang, and Lamahala, and clans, such as Lamakêi, Lamakoli, and Lamalêwa. The word *holot* has two meanings. First, *holot* or *holo*² means ‘connect’ or ‘join two ends’. Second, *holot* refers to ‘sorghum’, known as *wataholot*, where *wata* means ‘corn’, thus ‘sorghum corn’ – see also Keraf (1978: 7). Some scholars speculate that sorghum might have been a chief agricultural crop in the region in old time, thus giving name Lamaholot to the region, but I do not see any connection between the term Lamaholot and ‘sorghum’. The reason is simply because first, as far as I can tell, ‘sorghum’ is only a complementary crop in the area; the chief agricultural crop has been corn and rice. Second, ‘sorghum’ is always referred to as *wataholot*, and I have never come across with the use of the word *holot* alone to refer to ‘sorghum’. If the term Lamaholot has something to do with ‘sorghum’, people should have used Lamawataholot, rather than Lamaholot.

---

² The word holot has developed into an open syllable word by dropping its final consonant and became holo used in the present day Lamaholot. As discussed further in this paper, Lamaholot has developed to an open syllabic language. There are many instances where one can still find words with a final open and closed syllable are used interchangeably, such as kewokot → kewoko ‘the soul of a dead person’, hipet → hipe ‘being pinned down between two objects’, lengat → lenga ‘fall down’, kemékot → keméko ‘scorpion’, ri’uk → ri’u ‘bone’, etc.
I would suggest that the word holot refers to ‘connect’ or ‘being connected’, thus Lamaholot means ‘a region where its people and cultures are connected one with another or where smaller regional areas, different clans and communities are connected one with another’ because they share the same language, culture and tradition. Hägerdal (2012: 22), however, describes the term Lamaholot as ‘the region of men’ where he interprets holot as ‘man’. This is erroneous because no where in Lamaholot area where one can find the word holot meaning ‘man’.

Culturally, Lamaholot people have much in common. For example in their marriage traditions, Lamaholot is known to have unique prestations or dowries, locally known as welî bala ‘the price for elephant tusks’ – see Barnes (1988). The Lamaholot people were formerly known as Ata Kiwan (Vatter 1932) and embraced traditional faiths, including ancestor cults and a monotheistic faith. Today they are Roman Catholic followers and Muslims.

Lamaholot speakers are mainly farmers. Corn, cassava, and rice are their main agricultural products. In some coastal villages, there are traditional fishermen. Those in Lamalera and Lamakera are popularly known as traditional whale hunters who catch sperm whales with harpoons and small wooden boats – see Barnes (1995, 1996). The Lamaholot live in extended families, often including grandparents, younger brothers, cousins, sons or daughter-in-laws, grand-children and other dependents. Inheritance usually follows a patrilineal pattern, but the close relatives of the mother, especially her parents and brothers, may take control of the well-being of her children. The mother’s brothers, in Lamaholot known as Opu Lake ‘wife-giver’, have a crucial role, particularly relating to marriage negotiation.

The Lamaholot language is better regarded as a chain of dialects. It has 33 dialects (Keraf 1978) as presented in Map 1.2. Of these dialects, only five have been extensively studied. Adjacent dialects show little differences, but the further a dialect is from another dialect, the more substantial the dialectical differences between them appear. For example, people from Solor dialect in the west Lamaholot dialect cluster hardly understand dialects from the eastern Lamaholot cluster, such as the Lewoeleng dialect. Grimes et al. (1997) noted that people of adjacent dialects can successfully communicate through the same language, but this, most of the time, does not apply to those of non-adjacent dialects.
1.3 Solor dialect; its geography, people and history

The Solor dialect of Lamaholot is spoken by approximately 20,000 people (Pemerintahan Kabupaten Flores Timur 2009) in 33 villages, spreading almost across the entire Solor Island. The dialect has a few slightly different accents, but the most significantly distinctive one is the accent spoken in 7 villages on the eastern north coast of the island, identified by Keraf (1978) as the Lamakera dialect, and by Grimes et al. (1997) as the Adonara dialect.

The location indicated for the Lamakera dialect as shown in Keraf (1978) in Map 1.2, however, does not really represent the actual geographical spread of this dialect. Observing only some language communities on the north east coast of the island and not going further to some inland villages and southern coastal villages on the other side, he drew the dialect boundary dividing Solor Island into two halves, East and West Solor, as seen in Map 1.2. Coincidentally, this was the same as the official administrative division at the time. These inland villages, however, use an

---

3 The term ‘solor’ is believed to have a relationship with ‘solot’, but how ‘solot’ changed into ‘solor’ is unclear and linguistically unexplainable.
accent which is different from that used in the north coastal villages, and is very much similar to that used by the rest of the villages on the island. For the current study, this erroneous information will be corrected, and for this reason I have proposed a new map for the dialect boundary on the island, shown in Map 1.3. In this map, I also include the names of villages where the SL and the Lamaker dialect are spoken, and areal boundaries of accent clusters of the Solor dialect.

Map 1.3
Solor Dialect speaking area and its accent clusters

The Solor dialect referred to in the current study was introduced in Keraf (1978) as the Ritaebang dialect. ‘Ritaebang’ is the name of the capital village of the West Solor district, and to avoid misunderstanding regarding the actual speaking area of the dialect being investigated, the term Ritaebang is not used in this study to refer to this dialect, but the term ‘Solor’ is used instead.

Solor Island is small and most part of the island is dry. It is only 226.34 km² (Pemerintahan Kabupaten Flores Timur 2009) and is largely infertile. A small section in the western part of the island is more fortunate as it is more fertile with an abundance of water, supplied as drinking water through pipelines to villages in the West Solor district. Like Lamaholot people in general, Solor speakers are mostly farmers who mainly grow corn, cassava, rice and cashew nuts. A few fishermen live
in some southern coastal villages, and there are carpenters and bricklayers in almost every village. There are also civil servants working as teachers, nurses and district officers.

Solor is historically more famous than other islands. Many accounts including Barnes’ (1987, 2009, 2013) regarding the very first arrival of westerners reported that Solor was the first site where Portuguese traders anchored their ship in 1515, a few years after d’Albuquerque’s conquest of Malacca. Fort Henricus in Lohayong village is one of the historical remains left by the Portuguese traders.

1.4 General theoretical framework

The general theoretical framework used in this study belongs to descriptive linguistics; it describes the grammar of a language synchronically. Within a descriptive linguistics framework, it is assumed that linguistic structures and categories are language specific (Payne 1997, Rice 2006, Dixon 2010a), and therefore when these linguistic features are described, the description should be in terms of its language-specific properties; that is based on primary data collected and gathered from native speakers in the area where the language is spoken. In the current description, I adopt what Dixon (1997: 128-138) and Dryer (2006a: 210-212) refer to as Basic Linguistic Theory.

In addition to the general linguistic framework, typological perspectives within the Austronesian language family are also used. When analyzing and describing SL grammatical features, typological features of Austronesian languages, particularly of eastern Indonesian languages, are taken into account to argue against or for the features being described. In addition, the functional-typological perspectives, such as Comrie’s (1989), Croft’s (1990), Foley & Van Valin Jr’s (1984), Givón’s (2001a, 2001b) and Sophen’s (2007a, 2007b, 2007c), to mention a few, have influenced much of the discussion and analysis during the course of this study.

In writing a grammatical description, the present author realizes that a comprehensive coverage of all linguistic aspects would be an enormous task. Reviewing every aspect of the language and other related necessary concepts would obviously take up an enormous amount of space in this thesis, and therefore are not included here. However, it is imperative for the author to acknowledge some literature
whose perspectives are adopted as underlying ideas and concepts that affect much of
the analysis and discussion in the current study. Just to name a few, these include
Ladefoged (2005), and Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996) for phonological analyses;
Booij (2005) and Lieber (2009) for morphological analyses; Foley & Van Valin Jr
(1984) and Givón (2001a, 2001b) for syntactic analyses; Kroeger (2005) and Payne
(1997) for morphosyntactic analyses; Comrie (1989), Croft (1990) and Shopen
(2007a, 2007b, 2007c) for typological analyses; Wierzbicka (1992, 1997), Goddard
Zuckermann & Monaghan (2012), Zuckermann & Walsh (2014), and Zuckermann,
Shakuto-Neoh, & Quer (2014) for language endangerment studies; and Austin &
Sallabank (2011b), Florey (2010), Gippert, Himmelmann, & Mosel (2006), and
Grenoble & Whaley (1998) for language documentary studies.

1.5 Methodology

The data for this study were obtained through three periods of field research; the first
was conducted from 6 December 2013 until 24 February 2014; the second from 8 July
2014 to 22 August 2014; and the third from 3 December 2014 to 1 February 2015.
The field research took place mainly in Karawatung Village.

The data was mostly collected by two methods: recording and elicitation. The
recording technique came up with audio-video and audio recordings, whereas the
elicitation was carried out to collect such data as elicited phrases, clauses and
sentences, and sound elicitation for phoneme distinction. In addition, elicitation was
also done for translation, lexical gathering, sentence reconstruction and consultation
with a language consultant.

In addition, a few bits of data were also gathered through participant
observation and introspection. In the participant observation, I involved myself
directly in language activities while observing language communication and
exchanges that occurred among speakers. In the introspection technique, I made use of
my own knowledge about this language as complementary data, as I am also a native
speaker of this dialect. Yet, I am fully aware that this technique has some flaws
(Meyer & Nelson 2006); and therefore I have made use of this technique intermittently in case the given data for certain linguistic features is not found in the corpus, or in case a critical evaluation should be made concerning whether a construction is grammatical or ungrammatical when a language consultant is not possible to contact.

The collected data were treated in different ways. The digital audio data were selected based on clarity and the topic covered in the recordings. Some of the selected audios needed further treatment, such as cutting into segments. These audio recordings were either transcribed only or were put into a Praat (Boersma & Weenink 1992) analysis. Lexical data was put into a Toolbox database format (Buseman & Buseman 2013). This lexical database can be used in various ways including to interlinearize a Lamaholot text either into English or Indonesian, and to generate a diglot or triglot dictionary into a word-processing format. The corpus of data used for this study is detailed in Appendix 4.

1.6 Limitations of the study

A language grammar covers a wide range of linguistic aspects including phonology and phonetics, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, even socio-cultural features. However to cover all these aspects in the current study with a limitation of space would not be possible, and therefore I would like to limit the scope of this description to the basic phonology, morphology, and syntax which covers simple and complex clauses, serial verb constructions, and grammatical relations and valence change structures.

Even within the linguistic frame of the Lamaholot language, this description will not cover some issues that might have been expected by the reader. The first is the similarities and differences of linguistic varieties among the dialects of the Lamaholot language. In addition to the limitation of space, the primary focus of this study is to describe the grammar of the Solor dialect, and therefore the dialectical variations are excluded. Yet, if there are any, the inclusion is simply to prove or disprove a given grammatical feature currently described. Linguistic description of other dialects of the language is accessible through Keraf (1978), Fernandez (1977), Nagaya (2011), Nishiyama & Kellen (2007) and Pampus (1999).
The second is diachronic linguistic information of the language. Ideally, it would be interesting to include such historical linguistics background knowledge, but this is not done for the current study. If any diachronic information is included, it simply covers that relevant aspect being described. Information regarding past linguistic contact of Lamaholot is available from Klamer’s (2012a, b) study, and information regarding affiliation of the Lamaholot language with its neighboring languages, and languages of eastern Indonesia can be referred to Fernandez (1996), Doyle (2010) and Wurm & Hattori (1983).

The third is the degree of exhaustiveness of the description. It is generally admitted that every grammatical description of an individual language is not entirely exhaustive. Given this nature, this description may not cover every single sub-aspect of a grammatical feature being described and therefore may end up at certain points leading to a certain degree of shallowness in the description and analysis. This needs further investigation with a wider range of data and in-depth discussion.

1.7 Outline of the thesis

This thesis consists of ten chapters and is organized as follows. The current chapter is an introductory chapter that briefly describes the current study, the language and the dialect whose grammar is described, and the methodology used in the study. To provide background information about the genetic affiliation and the typology of the language being described, Chapter Two will present reviews of some relevant literature. This includes reviewing three major previous studies carried out on Lamaholot dialects namely Keraf (1978), Nishiyama & Kellen (2007) and Nagaya (2011). The review of typological studies covers languages of Central Malayo-Polynesian, and this includes phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical-semantic typology.

Chapter Three gives a description of the dialect phonological system. It suggests that SL has a straightforward consonant system. It has 13 native and 3 loan consonants. Interestingly, SL displays a peculiarity in the vowel system that is not considered typical of Malayo-Polynesian languages. It has 12 vowels consisting of 6 oral and 6 corresponding nasal vowels. These nasal vowels, as I will argue, are products of a diachronic process of regressive assimilation. More importantly, these
nasal vowels play a significant part in the morpho-phonological workings of the language. Other interesting phonological features shown this chapter include phonotactics and morpho-phonological processes.

Chapter Four addresses the morphological system. It reveals that morphemic analysis in this dialect is rather laborious. One form can stand for two distinct morphemes or meanings. For example, morphemic forms, resulting from a morpho-phonological process that I call ‘nasalization’, denote various meanings depending on what lexical category of the stem they are attached to. Some derivations even have to go through a series of phases in order to be linguistically functional. The most influential morphemes are the pronominal enclitics which encode various grammatical and pragmatic meanings. Some other morphological processes, including reduplication and compounding, are also discussed.

Chapter Five discusses lexical categories. Nouns, verbs and adjectives in SL share some properties. This linguistic fact was overlooked in some previous studies, and had led some scholars to conclude that Lamaholot lacks adjectives. I will demonstrate in this chapter that there are adjectives in SL. Some adjectives expressing human emotions, such as ‘angry’, are realized in a particular pattern identified to be a typical lexical feature of the languages of eastern Indonesia. Minor word classes, such as pronouns, adverbs, demonstratives, numerals and conjunctions, are also delineated. Deictic words are particularly interesting because they are mandatory elements in expressing SL spatial concepts. They are used to express three different locative systems covering a fixed orientation in geographic space (eastward-westward), a rotatable orientation (landward-seaward) and a definite location based on the inherent parts of an object (front-back, inside-outside, on surface-underneath, etc.). No relative directions, such as left and right, are identified in SL.

Chapter Six presents simple clause structures. It describes in detail SL phrasal structures, verbless clauses, and verbal clauses. SL phrases are left-headed. Noun phrases with a genitive noun show two possessive patterns: N-Gen, which reflects the typology of western Indonesian languages, and Gen-N, which is typical of eastern Indonesian languages. SL has verbless clauses with a core predicative constituent of a noun, an adjective, a deictic, and a possessive. Simple clauses of intransitive,
transitive and ditransitive verbal clauses, as well as existential, interrogative, comparative and imperative clauses are described here.

Chapter Seven addresses the syntax of complex sentences. It describes compound, relative, complement and adverbial clauses. Relative clauses in SL are post-nominal, have a modified – modifier pattern and are embedded within the NP whose head is being modified. Interestingly, SL relative clauses are, in most cases, not marked, but indicated by position and intonation. This chapter demonstrates that almost all NPs in the Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977) are relativizable, except the object of comparison. Complement clauses simply occur at a clause final position and involve complement-taking verbs such as human mental process and activity verbs, utterance verbs, and affect verbs. Other complement taking verbs express complementation through a way Dixon (2006a) called complementation strategy. Adverbial clauses consist of adverbial clauses of time, cause and reason, circumstance and purpose. SL lacks adverbial clauses of place and manner since these two adverbs are morpho-syntactically expressed in a different way.

Chapter Eight discusses serial verb constructions (SVCs). This grammar area has been overlooked in some previous descriptions of Lamaholot, and therefore, this chapter will be a breakthrough in the documentation of this language. This chapter will demonstrate that SVCs in SL have an asymmetrical serial construction where a verb of an unrestricted class is combined with another from a semantically restricted type. In most constructions, both verbs share a subject argument, but each possibly with its own additional argument. Four types of SVCs are delineated in this chapter. Of these, the most interesting construction is the one that expresses the secondary concept ‘be able to’.

Chapter Nine presents grammatical relations and some valence changing operations. The most interesting grammatical relation discussed in this chapter is the relation that I call ‘primary object’. In a double-object construction, a primary object is more prominent; it is the one that occurs immediately after the clause predicate regardless of whether it is a direct or indirect object. The object relation of a second verb in a SVC is particularly interesting because it does not embrace the properties identified with either a primary or a secondary object. Some valence changing constructions are also illustrated in this chapter. Basing my perspective on the
discussion of this chapter, I conclude this chapter by addressing the most controversial issue at present in the discussion of languages of eastern Indonesia regarding whether or not languages spoken on Flores and neighboring islands have passive voice.

Chapter Ten concludes the entire study by restating interesting features identified throughout the course of this description and sets forth some recommendations for future studies on the dialect or on other dialects of the Lamaholot language.
2 Previous Studies on Lamaholot

This chapter reviews studies previously carried out on Lamaholot. It is discussed in a wider perspective relative to the typology and genetic relationship with neighboring languages in eastern Indonesia. In §2.1 the genetic affiliation of Lamaholot language is discussed based on some resources. A typological overview of the language family with which Lamaholot affiliates is presented in §2.2. This chapter concludes by briefly reviewing three major studies on Lamaholot including Keraf (1978), Nishiyama & Kelen (2007), and Nagaya (2011).

2.1 Genetic affiliation

Lamaholot is a member of the Austronesian (AN, hereafter) language family, which descended from a distant ancestor that was probably spoken in Taiwan between 5500 and 6000 years ago (Blust 2011). Having a wide-spread area (see Map 2.1), the internal structure of AN languages is complex. AN languages show many similarities and are closely tied to one another, to the extent that many are members of dialect chains. This makes it difficult to identify boundaries between branches, which is why the subgrouping of this language family has been considered controversial (Blust 1982). For efficiency, the discussion on Lamaholot affiliation in the Austronesian languages subgrouping will start from Blust (1982) onward. Subgrouping prior to this period can be credited to, among others, Stresemann (1927), Dempwolff (1934-8), Haudricourt (1965), and Dyen (1965).

Blust has been working consistently on Austronesian languages, over many years culminating in Blust (2013). According to him (2013: 30-31), AN languages are grouped into ten primary subfamilies; nine of which are in Taiwan. The nine subfamilies in Taiwan are called Formosan languages. The remaining subfamily outside Taiwan is called Malayo-Polynesian (MP, hereafter), to which Lamaholot belongs. The MP subfamily is further divided into Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP, hereafter) and Central Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (CEMP, hereafter). CEMP is further split into Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP, hereafter) and Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (EMP, hereafter). Lamaholot is included in the CMP subgroup, which
covers all languages spoken in the Cape of Sumbawa Island in the west, stretching to the east through East Nusa Tenggara and East Timor. Languages of south and central Maluku are also included in this subgroup. This grouping has been frequently referred to and is simplified in Figure 2.1, where red lines show Lamaholot linkage. The areal distribution of AN languages is shown in Map 2.1.

![Figure 2.1](http://ecai.org/austronesiaweb/Maps/All-austronesia-area/All-austronesia-area.jpg)

**Figure 2.1**
Lamaholot affiliation in the Austronesian language family tree (Blust 2013: 30-31)

Many scholars, including Ross (1994) and Tryon (2006), agree that AN languages spoken in Taiwan are the “stay-at-home” language groups. These languages evolved by gradually undergoing dialect differentiation, thus forming different groups. The

---

4 The term ‘stay-at-home’ is adopted from Ross (1994).
other group migrated away from Taiwan and evolved into a distinct group by separation, and eventually formed a proto language known as MP. This is seen by the fact that those groups spoken in Taiwan do not share a single ancestor, but rather belong to an ancestor at the top node along with the language of the departed migrants (Ross 1994).

Further grouping of those languages under the MP node, or those considered to have migrated away from their homeland, however, has resulted in varied opinions (Blust 1982); see e.g. Reid (1982), Ross (1994), Dyen (1990) and Blust (1978). Dyen (1990), for example, employed what he called ‘homomeric lexical classification’ and came up with a conclusion stating that Philippine languages show closest similarities to Formosan languages, thus they would be grouped under a distinct subfamily parallel to other Formosan languages and apart from MP.

Based on a speculation assuming that the departure point of Extra-Formosan language is from the Amis language area on the southeast coast of Taiwan, Reid (1982) proposes a language tree containing Amis-Extra-Formosan subfamily immediately after Austronesia, as shown in Figure 2.2, which is then split into Amis and Extra-Formosan subgroups. MP branches down from the Extra-Formosan subgroup.

**Figure 2.2**
Early Austronesian language division after Reid (1982)

Ross (1994) agrees with Reid (1982) and suggests a possible scenario of further division of the Extra-Formosan languages as shown in Figure 2.3.
Blust (1982) proposes a different tree. Using the Comparative Method, he reconstructed Proto-Austronesian (PAN, hereafter) lexical items, including PAN pronouns (Blust 1977) and cognate terms for placental mammals and marsupial mammals, he came up with a tentative grouping with a family tree as shown in Figure 2.4 below.

This grouping was then revised in his subsequent publications, such as Blust (1978) and Blust (1983/1984). Based on some innovations shared exclusively by languages believed to be descendants from an immediate common ancestor, he suggests a revisited Austronesian languages family tree, in which CMP and EMP branch down from a Proto-CEMP which is parallel to WMP and under the mother node MP. This
division is reproduced in his most recent publication in Blust (2013) adopted in Figure 2.1 above.

While the sub-grouping of Oceanic languages is now quite well understood and widely accepted, see e.g. Blust (1993, 1995, 2009) and Ross (1988, 2008), the grouping of languages spoken in eastern Indonesia (those under CMP in Figure 2.1) is not yet fully attested. I would like to draw particular attention to these languages. Klamer and Ewing (2010: 1) referred to these languages as “languages of east Nusantara”, and Blust (1983/1984) as “languages of eastern Indonesia”. These languages are worth noting here not only because their grouping is still debatable, see e.g. Blust (1993, 2009) and Donohue & Grimes (2008), but also because this is the language group of which Lamaholot is a member.

CMP languages are well-known for their linguistic diversity. Being so diverse, scholars have not yet had solid bases for grouping these languages. The most recent proposal is Blust’s (2009) which divides these languages into two groups based on linguistic innovations identified within these languages. On one side, there are languages whose linguistic innovations are shared exclusively by the group members. These languages are said to be defined by a proto-language, or following Ross’ (1988) term ‘innovation-defined language group’; that is they descended from the same protolanguage and they all reflect some accumulated innovations derived from their reconstructed protolanguage forms. These languages are those inclusive to the CEMP node.

On the other side, there are languages whose innovations are shared by some, but not all group members. These languages are grouped based on linkage, and therefore are called the ‘innovation-linked’ language group (Ross 1988). Within this group of languages, (i) there are no linguistic innovations shared exclusively among the entire members; (ii) there are innovations shared by some members, but not all, and not by languages outside the group; and (iii) the shared innovations are not found neatly throughout the entire length of the area, but rather overlapping and networking over the members of the putative group. These are the languages considered to be in the CMP group. Details regarding this grouping can be found in Blust (1982, 1983/1984, 1993, 2009).
After a careful re-examination of the innovations that Blust (1993) proposes to be features for the linkage grouping of the languages of eastern Indonesia, Donohue and Grimes (2008) found that these linguistic innovations are not exclusively shared by the group members. While they accept that a linkage explains the patched spreading of the innovations, they suggest that this linkage appears to be wider than that proposed in Blust (1993). The innovations that Blust claims to be exclusive of CEMP languages, for example, are also found in a large number of Austronesian languages in the WMP and Formosan areas. With this evidence in mind, they concluded that the linguistic macro-history of languages spoken in the border area between WMP and CEMP need more detailed investigation.

Reacting to these different opinions, Klamer and Ewing (2010) remark that any further discussion on the grouping status of the languages of eastern Indonesia, particularly those regarded to be in CMP and CEMP groups, may not be possible until more detailed bottom up sub-groupings have been proposed, using the detailed materials on the putative languages of the area. These materials have become available during recent years and will be more abundant in years to come because more and more research has been and will be carried out on the eastern Indonesian languages. See for example the list of some recent research on eastern Indonesian languages in Klamer and Ewing (2010: 5).

2.2 Typological overview

This section reviews some typological features reported for CMP languages. This language group includes those spoken on the Lesser Sunda Islands and those of south and central Moluccas. It also covers several poorly identified languages scattered along the southern coast of west New Guinea (Blust 1993, 2013).

2.2.1 Phonological typology

CMP languages have a relatively small phoneme inventory, ranging from 16 to 36 phonemes. The largest segment inventory is that of Waima’a language of Timor, with 31 consonants and 5 vowels (Blust 2013: 194). The smallest one is reported to belong to the Nuaulu language of the Moluccas with 11 consonants and 5 vowels (Blust 2013: 197). Languages on the Lesser Sunda Islands have phoneme inventories ranging from 28 to 32. One thing most of these languages have in common is that
they lack alveo-palatal affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, and nasal /n/. These phonemes are common in languages of the Western Malayo-Polynesian group in western Indonesia.

Klamer (2002) noted the presence of prenasalized and/or implosive consonants as being a typological feature of CMP languages. Although, this feature is also seen in a few western Indonesian languages, such as Javanese, Madurese and Rejang (Donohue 2004), it is found in most languages of the Lesser Sunda Islands, among others Rongga (Arka, Kosmas, & Suparsa 2007), Nga'da (Djawanai 1977), Ende (McDonnell 2009), Keo (Baird 2002) on Flores, Sawu (Walker 1983) on Sawu island, Rotinese (Rote), Kambera (Sumba) as well as Muna and Tukang Besi (Sulawesi).

Another feature reported to be typical of the phonology of CMP languages is the preference for a simple syllabic structure CVCV with a strong preference for open syllables at the end of roots (Klamer 2002). This is in contrast to most languages of western Indonesia which generally have rather complex root forms with consonant clusters and closed syllables. Yet, it does not mean that CMP languages do not have closed syllabic roots at all. In fact, a fair number of languages have root-final consonants, such as Kambera (Sumba), Tetun (Timor), Rotinese (Rote), Kedang (Lembata), Sika (Flores) and Rongga (Flores), but those final closed-syllable roots comprise only a small number of members with a restricted range of consonants. As a consequence of open syllabic preference, as Klamer (2002: 368) remarks, some languages of the CMP group employ paragogic vowel addition technique to repair final closed-syllable roots by inserting a default vowel at the root end, as seen in Kambera (Klamer 1998a). Alternatively, some CMP languages prefer to drop of root-final consonant to arrive at a structure with open syllables. This phenomenon exists in Sawu (Walker 1983) and Tukang Besi (Donohue 1999).

2.2.2 Morpho-syntactic typology

Most languages of eastern Indonesia are verb-medial languages. Their basic sentence word order is characterized by a Subject-Verb-Object pattern. In terms of voice, Blust (2013: 436) states “AN languages are perhaps best known to the general linguist for their incorrigible theoretically of voice marking, or, as it is often called ‘focus marking’ in so-called ‘Philippine-type’ languages”. This linguistic feature, however,
is allegedly absent in languages of Central Malayo-Polynesian descent (Klamer 2002), a fact which obviously indicates that the absence of voice marking has been a typological feature which distinguishes eastern Indonesian languages from those toward the west. With this typological feature, Arka, Wouk, Shibatani, and Artawa (2007) remark that the languages of Flores do not have morphologically voice marking systems, but they have “constructionally coded voice distinctions” to indicate AN verbal voice morphology that is considered to have been lost in these descendant languages. In Arka & Jeladu (2005), this phenomenon is said to be ‘voice without voice morphology’.

Person marking is reported to be a typological feature of CMP languages. Many scholars agree that almost all Austronesian languages make a distinction between 1st-person inclusive (+addressee) and exclusive (-addressee) pronouns. This distinction is common in all pronoun paradigms regardless of their form (full, clitic, affixed) or function (subject, object, possessive, etc.) (Himmelmann 2005). What distinguishes eastern Indonesian languages from their counterparts towards the west are pronominal clitics; that is many eastern Indonesian languages develop a system to mark S/A arguments by means of clitics being coreferential with the S or A argument. These markers have two common characteristics; firstly, they are attached or cliticized to the predicate (or occur in a special clitic position); and secondly, they occur with or without a coreferential argument, generally as S or A in the same nuclear clause (Himmelmann 2005: 48).

Another distinct feature reported to be a morphosyntactic typological feature of CMP languages is (in)alienable noun distinction. In WMP languages, possessive constructions are generally simple and uninteresting (Blust 2013), but in the languages of eastern Indonesia, also Oceanic languages with even more complex of inalienable possession systems, nouns are typically distinguished into two subclasses: inalienably (obligatorily) and alienably possessed (Klamer 2002). Obligatoriness possession of nouns is indicated morphologically by the attachment of some possessive affixes, the result of which might have become lexicalized diachronically. For example, in some languages of the Lesser Sunda Island, such as Kedang (Ursula 1990) and Lamalera dielect of Lamaholot (Keraf 1978), the inalienable possessive affixes that attach to body part nouns have become lexicalized, and this makes the
lexicalized forms difficult to analyse, which is root and which is affix. Even if the affix is identifiable, the root would be meaningless on its own.

Himmelmann (2005) grouped eastern Indonesian languages as “preposed possessor languages” based on possessive constructions he compared between those of western Indonesia and those of eastern Indonesia. He proposes that languages of eastern Indonesia regularly have Genitive - Noun (Gen-N) or Possessors – Possessed order, in contrast to that of western Indonesian languages. Interestingly, he notes that preposed possessor languages all have asymmetrical or no voice system, and that these languages tend to have negators in the clause final position. These features, however, are not new finding features of eastern Indonesian languages. As early as 1877, Van Hoëvell (1877:15f) found the occurrence of preposed possessors as a major feature of Moluccan languages.

Musgrave (2007: 2) summarized Himmelmann’s (2005) typological characteristics of western and eastern Indonesian languages in a table. Some features that are relevant for this study are adopted in the following table.

Table 2.1
Adopted Features to distinguish Symmetrical Voice and Preposed Possessor Languages
after Musgrave (2007) based on Himmelmann (2005)\(^5\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Symmetrical Voice Language</th>
<th>Preposed Possessor Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voice system</td>
<td>Symmetrical</td>
<td>Asymmetrical or none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S/A marking</td>
<td>Sporadic</td>
<td>S/A clitic agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inalienable nouns</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive construction</td>
<td>N-Gen (Possessed-Possessor)</td>
<td>Gen-N (Possessor-Possessed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of N, Num</td>
<td>Num - N</td>
<td>N - Num</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position of negator</td>
<td>Pre-predicate</td>
<td>Clause-final</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While SL conforms with three other features, the language slightly deviates in two respects. Firstly, in terms of possessive structure, SL embraces both N-Gen and Gen-N constructions (see §6.2.1). This is due to the fact that SL has two types of

\(^5\) Following Himmelmann’s (2005) terms: Symmetrical Voice Language refers to languages of western Austronesian; those traditionally known as Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar (including Palauan and Chamorro), whereas Preposed Possessor Language refers to non-Oceanic Austronesian languages of Timor, Moluccas, West Papua, and Pidgin-Derived Malay varieties.
possessive constructions, namely alienable possession, which follows N-Gen, and inalienable possession, which takes Gen-N pattern. Secondly, SL has no voice system, yet it has a construction, called topic structure, that may pragmatically be considered as passive because the topic argument behaves like a subject argument in an unmarked clauses in some respects (see § 9.3).

2.2.3 Lexical-semantic typology

The use of body parts for metaphorical extension to conceptualize ourselves, events, and everyday activities has been regarded as a universal of human language (Andersen 1978), but combining verbs and body-part nouns to express emotion predicates is considered a typological feature of Austronesian languages, particularly of CMP languages (Klamer 2001, 2002). It is reported that some of these languages derive intransitive emotion verbs such as ‘be sad’ by combining verb + body-part terms. In such a construction, the undergoer of the emotion is put as the possessor of the body part, as shown in (1) (after Klamer (2002: 369)).

(1). Tetun (Timor)
  Oan ne'e n-alo sau navan mohu liu
  child this 3SG-make is breath finished further
  This child makes me furious (Lit: This child makes my breath finished)

(2). Kambera (Sumba)
  Mbaha-nanya-ka na eti-na na maramba.
  be.wet-3SG.SUBJ-PERF ART liver-3SG.POSS ART king
  The king is pleased (Lit: The king's liver is wet)

Reacting to this claim, Donohue (2004: 223) remarks that numerous grammars of Malaysian and western Indonesian languages conform to this construction and claims that the use of such a construction is normal all around the world, and therefore this cannot be considered as a defining typological feature. Musgrave (2006), in addition, rules out contact as an explanation but is close to Donohue on the spread of such constructions, in that this feature is not purely typical of AN.

Parallelism is another lexical-semantic typology belonging to the languages of eastern Indonesia. Parallelism can be described as a structure of a verbal art form functioning as a stylistic tool in the traditional artistic language. This art form is used in religious performances, prayers, speeches, poetries and songs. Klamer (2002: 370) states that many CMP languages use verbal art form of parallelism in narratives,
sayings, poems and songs. In Rotinese, for instance, pairs in ritual language are described as comprising dyadic sets which are highly determined. These sets are structured in formulaic phrases and are generally presented in the composition of parallel verses (Fox 2014). In addition to the languages of the Lesser Sunda Islands, parallelisms have also been observed in Moluccas languages, such as Leti, Kisar, Wetan, Taba, Alune, and Buru (Klamer 2002).

2.3 Studies on the Lamaholot language

As far as I can tell, study on Lamaholot began in 1893 or earlier. H. H. O. Leemker is known to be the first scholar who published a Solorese - Dutch dictionary: *Woordenlijstje van de Soloreesche Taal: (Soloreesch-Hollandsch)* in Leemker (1893). A few decades afterwards, Paul Arndt, a Catholic priest, arrived on Solor Island. While promoting Christianity on Solor and Flores, he also learnt the local culture and languages, and published some anthropological publications on local traditions, including Arndt (1937, 1951a, 1951b). His work on the Lamaholot language was published in 1937: *Grammatik der Solor-sprache* in Arndt (1937). Almost all recent studies, such as Pampus (1999), Nishiyama and Kellen (2007), Nagaya (2011) and Klamer (2012b) regard this publication as a grammatical description of the Solor dialect spoken on Solor Island, but it was not. It is a description of the entire Lamaholot language, as seen in the selection of villages representing different parts of the Lamaholot speaking area, except Lembata (Arndt 1937: 6) (see Map 1.2 for Lembata). Arndt used the term ‘Solor’ for this language because the term “Lamaholot” was nonexistent at the time.

Ernest Vatter, a German anthropologist, started his study on the social lives of people in Leloba village (probably now Lewoloba) from November 1929 until July 1930 and published his work in Vatter (1932). In this book, he told about his journey from Java to the area he described as ‘an unknown place’ and brought to the world’s eyes the lives, social organizations, traditions and view of the world and universe of the people he called ‘Ata Kiwan’ (literarily ‘wild people’ or ‘primitive people’) residing in some villages behind the Mandiri mountain on the easternmost part of Flores island.

After a few decades without any linguistic attention, study on this language
resumed in 1978 by Gregorius Keraf, who described the morphology of Lamalera dialect in Keraf (1978). Since then, more studies and publications on Lamaholot emerged. They, among others, are Lutz (1986) on the discourse in language and ideology in (east) Adonara, Barnes (1993, 1996) on the traditional whale hunting and weaving of Lamalera - Lembata, and Rappoport (2010) on the traditional music of Adonara island. In addition, there are also a small number of unpublished studies carried out by local scholars, such as Fernandez (1977) on the structure of the Ile Mandiri dialect, Kroon (1991) on basic sentence patterns of the Solor dialect, and (2000) on syntax and grammatical relations of the language (preliminary), Mandaru (1997) on some linguistic aspects of Nusa Tadon (Duhli) dialect, and Sanga (1994) on oral literature of Lamaholot (focused on Adonara dialects). The most recent linguistic studies on Lamaholot are Nishiyama and Kellen (2007), and Nagaya (2011).

In the following, I will briefly review three major linguistic studies on Lamaholot. They are Keraf (1978), Nishiyama and Kellen (2007) and Nagaya (2011). This review, however, does not cover all topics they described, but rather picks up some interesting and important findings and analyses.

2.3.1 Keraf (1978): Morphology of the Lamalera dialect

Keraf carried out a morphological study on the Lamalera dialect (see Map 1.2). This study has had a significant influence on subsequent studies on Lamaholot in terms of the following. First, the term ‘Lamaholot’ was first introduced in this publication. He explained that previous western scholars did not use, or probably were not aware of this term, yet he observed that people who speak this language generally regard themselves as being Lamaholot people, and therefore claim that the traditions, culture and language they speak is also Lamaholot. The term “Solor” was very popular during the westerners’ rule on this island, because Solor was the headquarters of the Portuguese army and the center of the Catholic mission – see also Barnes (1987, 2009). All colonial government reports or publications on this area used the term ‘Solor’, and therefore this term was more popular and widely known then.

Second, based on a lexico-statistic study, the Lamaholot language was divided into 33 dialects (see Map 1.2 for details), grouped into three main clusters: (i) the Eastern dialect cluster, spoken on mid-east of Lembata; (ii) the Central dialect cluster
spoken on mid-south of Lembata; and (iii) the West dialect cluster spoken in the remaining Lamaholot area, covering the north part of Lembata, the entire Adonara and Solor island and the eastern part of Flores. This division has been widely referred to by scholars working on Lamaholot because no up-to-date study has been carried out to redefine and regroup the dialect division of this language since then.

The phonology of the dialect, as he described, is simple with 13 vowels and 15 consonants. Vowels are grouped into two groups (following the representation he used): (i) short vowels /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /ɛ/, and /ã/; and (ii) long vowels /ā/, /ī/, /ū/, /ē/, /ō/, and /ãː/. The /ɛ/ is the front-mid vowel, whereas /e/ is the central mid one. He found it problematic to establish the phonemic status of a nasal vowel in the dialect, because the nasal sound is like a central-mid vowel /e/. Since he noticed that most of the time an oral /a/ may become nasalized into /ã/, he represented the nasal vowel(s) with /ã/. This nasal vowel has a very limited distribution; that is it only occurs before a nasal consonant. He also noted that long vowels are only found in a word-initial and medial position, and that the long nasal vowel /ãː/ is hardly found in any position, except in a word-medial position followed by a nasal-onset syllable. The 15 consonants are /m/, /b/, /p/, /f/, /n/, /t/, /s/, /r/, /d/, /l/, /j/, /ŋ/, /g/, /k/, and /h/.

The most striking finding he describes in his report is his classification of verbs and nouns of the dialect. Verbs are grouped into three classes based on whether or not their roots change, either at the beginning or at the end, a phenomenon he called ‘conjugation’. The classes are: (i) Class I verbs, those verbs that alter at the beginning of their root; (ii) Class II verbs, those that inconsistently alter at the root end; and (iii) Class III verbs, those that never change either at the beginning or at the end of their root.

Nouns are also divided into three classes with respect to their possessors: (i) Class I nouns are those that require possessive affixes; this class is also called inalienable possessive nouns; (ii) Class II nouns are those nouns that may or may not change at the root end with respect to their possessor. Those that may change are of two types: (a) those that are final closed-syllable words; and (b) those that are final open-syllable words; and (iii) Class III nouns are those that take different morphological possessive forms. The latter class includes kinship terms.
The verbal grouping that he proposes is, however, unfortunate and confusing. First, the usage of the term ‘conjugation’ to refer to the different forms of verbs in relation to their subject is rather conflicting. As a matter of fact, as he also remarks that most of the prefixes attached to the verb roots are similar to a consonant in the full form of Lamaholot pronouns, as shown in the following paradigm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Verb paradigm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg : 1</td>
<td>go'è</td>
<td>k -</td>
<td>(Go'è) k-ënu ‘I drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mo'è</td>
<td>m -</td>
<td>(Mo'è) m-ënu ‘you drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>na'è</td>
<td>n -</td>
<td>(Na'è) n-ënu ‘he/she drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl : 1(inc)</td>
<td>titè</td>
<td>t -</td>
<td>(Titè) t-ënu ‘we (inc) drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(exc)</td>
<td>kamé</td>
<td>m -</td>
<td>(Kamè) m-ënu ‘we (exc) drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mi'o</td>
<td>m -</td>
<td>(Mi'o) m-ënu ‘you drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ra'è</td>
<td>r -</td>
<td>(Ra'è) r-ënu ‘they drink’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems that the prefix is a grammaticalized reduced form of the full pronoun, which develops into a form known as a clitic – see e.g. Anderson (2005). This is proven by at least two phenomena: (i) the form such as kënu above can stand alone without the pronoun, and still convey the same meaning ‘I drink’; and (ii) the prefix can also attach to words other than verbs, including a modal word as in (3), a noun and an adjective. Keraf himself was doubtful whether the forms that the clitics attach to are all verbs or not. Example (3) clearly shows that the root –odè is a modal as it occurs with the main verb jaga ‘wait for’.

(3). Mo'è m=odè jaga=ro di pi. (p. 63)
You 2SG=AUX wait.for=3SG LOC here.
You just wait for him/her here.

Moreover, the word class that Keraf claims to have undergone the process of ‘conjugation’ is of a small minority group, consisting of 8 ordinary verbs and 11 modal verbs (p. 61-62). When talking about ‘conjugation’, one would expect to find such systematic paradigmatic changes in the language such as those found in

---

6 Most clitics have syntactic characteristics of a word, but show evidence of being phonologically bound to another word (Crystal 2008, Dixon 2010b). It means that although it is phonologically bound to another form, it may have its own independent form. According to Zwicky and Pullum (1983), clitics are characterized by their low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, among other properties.
inflecting languages such as Latin. The situation found in Lamalera contradicts our general knowledge of conjugation phenomena.

Second, the grouping of the verbs in the dialect becomes problematic with a few roots which are capable of taking both pronominal prefixes and suffixes. The form such as *kai* ‘I go’ is classified as a Class I verb. The root of this form is considered *-ai*; pronominal prefixes are attached to this root and the results are, for example, *mai* ‘you (SG) go’ and *nai* ‘he/she goes’ (p. 61). The same root, however, is also included in Class II verbs because it is also capable of taking a pronominal suffix, such as *kaika* (1SG=go=1SG) ‘I go’ and *maiko* (2SG=go=2SG) ‘you go’ (p. 74).

Another issue that needs clarification is the base that Keraf used to classify word classes in the dialect. Although he did not explicitly elaborate which property he used to classify them, we can infer from his description that universal semantic and morphological properties had been his underlying consideration. With the verb word class, for example, he might have assumed that words which universally denote actions, processes, and the like are classified as verbs. Further, based on the morphological processes he called ‘conjugation’, he then sub-grouped verbs into some sub-classes as described previously. The downside of this approach is that he might have overlooked some essential phenomena which also occur with other types of words. For example, he remarks on a process he called ‘denominal’ (p. 214); a process of deriving a noun into a verb by adding pronominal suffixes as those that occur with Class II verbs (p. 59-82). In another part, he demonstrated another category he called ‘deadjctival verb’, which again uses the same pronominal suffixes to derive a verb from an adjective (p. 215-219). The attachment of the suffix to all three categories of words is illustrated in (4) through (6) below. Compare (4) where the pronominal suffix –*fa* (3SG) attaches to the verb *pana* ‘walk’, with (5) where the same pronominal suffix attaches to the noun *fato* ‘stone’ and (6) where the same pronominal suffix attaches to an adjective *belina* ‘calm’.

(4). Na’e *pana=*fa *taku* n=ala *pratā* titē *hala*  
3SG walk=3SG in.fact 3SG=? permit 1PL(inc) not  
He/she left without asking our permission.

(5). Lēla-lēla *kajo* na’e pé *fato=*fa  
Long-RED log it that stone=3SG  
In the long run, that log will become a stone.

(6). *Belina=*fa *takā*  
Adjective=3SG talk=3SG  
May not say anything.
(6). Ojo belina=fa lépēka bau kamé m-ai léfa (p. 219)
   wave calm=3SG already tomorrow 1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=go sea
   The sea is already calm, tomorrow we will go to the sea (go fishing).

With this illustration in mind, one might wonder, if the same affix can attach to
different word classes to denote different functions; i.e. with verbs to indicate
conjugation, with nouns to derive a verb, and with adjectives to a verb, then what
makes the three word class different?

2.3.2 Nishiyama & Kelen (2007): The morphology and syntax of the
Lewoingu dialect

Nishiyama and Kelen (NK, hereafter) worked on the Lewoingu dialect, or Lewolaga
dialect of Keraf’s (1978) division (see Map 1.2). As the title implies, NK focused
their study on morphology and syntax, but they also included a chapter devoted to
phonology. Their phoneme inventory covers 6 vowels (/i/, /e/, /a/, /u/ and /o/) and
16 consonants (/p/, /b/, /m/, /w/, /t/, /d/, /s/, /l/, /n/, /r/, /j/, /k/, /g/, /ŋ/, /ʔ/ and /h/). Like
Keraf (1978), NK also faced some problems in establishing the phonemic status of
nasal vowels in the dialect. They found that it is not clear as to whether nasal vowels
occurring in word-final positions are really nasal vowels or nasalized oral vowels
influenced by a nasal consonant coda. For simplicity of presentation, NK decided to
use “–n” after a suspicious nasal vowel, such as no’o → no’on ‘and’, and berĩ → berin
‘hit’.

To prove distinctions among major word classes, NK employed an approach
different from that used by Keraf (1978). To distinguish a verb from an adjective, for
example, NK used two tests. First, the comparison; a verb cannot be made into
comparative structure, whereas an adjective can, with an exception of non-
degradable adjectives (p. 33). Strategies such as this are necessary. Since Lamaholot lacks linking
verbs or copulas, clauses with a verb predicate and an adjective predicate are hardly
distinguished syntactically. Compare (7) where the predicate is a verb with (8) where
the predicate is an adjective.

(7). Bala sega (p.33)
    Bala arrive
    Bala arrived

(8). Bala béle' (p.33)
    Bala big
    Bala is big.
Whereas *sega* ‘arrive’ cannot be made into a comparative, *bèle* can, by adding the comparative prefix *te-*, thus *tesega* is nonexistent but *tebèle* ‘bigger than’ is possible.

Second, the position relative to a noun; an adjective can modify a noun by being placed directly after a noun, whereas a verb can modify a noun only if it is preceded by *yang*, the loan relativizer from Indonesian. Thus, Lewoingu dialect can have either *oto wu'ũ* ‘new car’ or *oto yang wu’ũ* ‘new car’, it cannot have *inamelaké pana* ‘walking man’ but *inamelaké yang pana* ‘a man who is walking’ (p. 33). This test is intriguing because *yang* is borrowed from Indonesia and must have only recently become used in Lewoingu. One might wonder how Lewoingu distinguished a verb from an adjective in this kind of structure before it borrowed the Indonesian relativizer *yang?* – see also Bowden (2008a).

Discussion on syntax of the dialect is well presented with various types of clauses and constructions. These include complex clauses, relative clauses, focus constructions, question formations and structures with resumptive pronouns. In some parts, however, examples used to prove or test a syntactic structure in question appear to be in Indonesian structure, rather than original Lamaholot structure. This is made clear by the use of the borrowed relativizer *yang*. The grammatical adoption from Indonesian is clearly seen in sentences where Lamaholot concepts are transferred into Indonesian structures expressed in Lamaholot words. Sentence examples showing dislocation, for example, are rarely found in daily Lamaholot conversation. The sentence in (9) below seems to deliberately follow Indonesian structure in order to correspond grammatically to those in English.

(9a). Hégé yang mo bain cerita néĩ bung₃ to'u pé inawaé mé’énen? (p.142)
Who that you hear story give flower one to girl the
Who did you hear the story ___ gave a flower to the girl?

In SL, this concept would be naturally expressed as in (9b).

(9b). Mo bai hégré tutu merⁱ(Bala/na'ě) néĩ bung₃ to'u ia inawaé wé?
2SG hear who tell that (Bala/3SG) give flower one PREP woman that?
Who told you that (Bala/3SG) gave a flower to that woman?

2.3.3 Nagaya (2011): The Grammar of Lewotobi dialect

Naonori Nagaya, a Japanese scholar, recently worked on the Lewotobi dialect of Lamaholot (LL, henceforth) spoken on the west border between Lamaholot and Sikka (see Map 1.2). Basing himself on the functional – typological and the usage - based
approaches to language, Nagaya described the grammar of LL and produced the newest linguistic information about Lamaholot.

As with phonology, Nagaya noted that the dialect has 16 consonants (/p/, /b/, /m/, /v/, /t/, /d/, /n/, /s/, /l/, /r/, /dʒ/, /k/, /g/, /ŋ/, /ʔ/, and /h/) and 11 vowels, consisting of 6 oral and 5 nasal vowels (/i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/, /ĩ/, /ẽ/, /ə̃/, /õ/, and /ũ/). Unlike other dialects, such as Ile Mandiri (Fernandez 1977), Nusa Tadon (Mandaru 1997), and Lewolema (Pampus 1999), Lewotobi dialect lacks the semi vowel /w/, but possesses a consonant that other dialects do not share, i.e. the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/. This phoneme possession is contrastive to that of Lamalera (Keraf 1978), where it has the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/, but lacks the the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/.

Nagaya’s classification of parts-of-speech was surprising because he came up with a conclusion that was completely different from Nishiyama and Kelen (2007). He established two major word classes; nouns and verbs, and no adjectives. Instead of ‘adjectives’, he used ‘adjectival noun’ and ‘adjectival verb’ to refer to word-forms denoting property of an entity. Adjectival nouns are defined as “those property words that denote an entity and can appear as NP”, 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” (p. 175).

Adjectival verbs are of two classes. (i) Class I includes those that can be nominalized with the suffix (-N), such as bèlé ‘big’ and krè ‘small’. The members of this class are semantically said to be individual level adjectives designating a more or less permanent nature of an object. (ii) Class II covers those that take the suffix (=kə̃) for nominalization, such as knipu ‘narrow’ and milê ‘dirty’. This sub-class is considered to be stage-level adjectives, expressing a temporary property of an object. This classification seems problematic, because the members of class II, such as knipu ‘narrow’ also semantically express a somewhat permanent property.

Interestingly, as the name implies, an adjectival noun can be used as a NP as in (10) and as a modifier as in (11) in addition to functioning as a nominal clause predicate as in (12). Adjectival verbs may function as a predicate with or without a nominalizer affix, as in (13) and (14), with no different grammatical context. They can be used as a NP only if they are nominalized with -N or =k₃ as in (15) and (16).
The same nominalization process must also be applied when these adjectival verbs are employed as a modifier as in (17) and (18).7

(10). Go hope wu'ũ
1SG buy new
I bought a/the new one.

(11). Go hope honda wu'ũ
1SG buy motorbike new
I bought a/the new motorbike.

(12). Honda go'ẽ wu'ũ morũ
Motorbike 1SG.NMZ new IPFV.
My motorbike is still new.

(13). Pao go'ẽ belũ(-N) kae
Mango 1SG.NMZ big(-NMZ) PFV
My mango tree is already big.

(14). Pao goʔẽ blega(=kũ) kaeʔ
Mango 1SG.NMZ wide(=NMZ) PFV
My mango tree is already wide.

(15). Go hope belũ*(-N)
1SG buy big (-NMZ)
I bought a/the big one.

(16). Go hope blega *(=kũ).
1SG buy wide (=NMZ)
I bought a/the wide one.

(17). Go hope pao belũ(-N)
ISG buy mango big (-NMZ)
I bought a/the big mango.

(18). Go hope pao blega(=kũ).
ISG buy mango wide (=NMZ)
I bought a/the wide mango.

With these examples, one might wonder why should there be nominalization for property words in order to function as an attributive modifier as in (17) and (18). This might be an erroneous analysis, and I will demonstrative in this study in §4.1.3.1 that the nasalization is not a nominlatization process but rather an attributive one.

Syntax is adequately described in Nagaya’s research. His description includes clause structures, voice and grammatical relations, clauses and sentential modifiers, complex sentences and verb serializations. He noted two things regarding voice and grammatical relations. First, LL is believed to have voice phenomena which are

---

7 Some abbreviations and symbols quoted from Nagaya (2011): N = nasalization, NMZ = nominalization, IPFV = imperfective, PFV = perfective.
expressed without voice morphology. It uses mechanism and constructional alternations to display such functions as antipassive, middle, anticausative, causative, conative, topicalization, antidative, and benefactive. Yet, he noted that LL does not have a morphological mechanism to encode passive.

Second, the alternation between Subject-Topic and Object-Topic constructions should not be considered as an active – passive alternation as that found in the Palu'ê language of Sikka (Donohue 2005). There is no morpho-syntactic difference between the two constructions and the alternation does not affect the alignment of the semantic-syntactic grammatical relations. Instead, the grammatical relations in these two constructions are not distinct and therefore they should be analysed with the approach he called the semantico-syntactic and pragmatico-syntactic approach.
3 Phonetics and Phonology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of SL phonetics and phonology. It is organized as follows. §3.2 discusses the SL phoneme inventory, consonants in §3.2.1 and vowels in §3.2.2. This section has established twelve vowels, interestingly having an equal number of corresponding oral and nasal ones. This is a surprising phenomenon that is considered rare in Austronesian languages. §3.3 delineates SL phonotactics, which includes syllable structures in §3.3.1, consonant clusters in §3.3.2 and vowel sequences in §3.3.3. Stress patterns are discussed in §3.4. This chapter concludes by presenting three morpho-phonological processes in § 3.5. These processes have crucial roles in SL morphology.

Customary notation conventions are used, including slashes (/…/) to indicate phonemic representations, and square brackets ([…]) to indicate phonetic representations. The phonetic transcription used here is not a broad one in a proper sense as exemplified in Katamba (1996: 70) or Hayes (2009: 26), but rather customised for the purpose of this study. Some symbols used in this study that need explanation are:

1. The close-mid central vowel /ə/, as in the English word ‘her’, is written ‘e’, whereas the open-mid front one /ɛ/, as in the English word ‘get’, is written ‘é’. These two phonemes need to be clearly distinguished in this thesis because they are phonemic and have high functional loads. Most existing written documents in SL at present do not distinguish between the two, and both are written ‘e’. The distinction is only seen in Arndt’s publications (Arndt 1937, 1951a, 1951b).


4. Allophones are found in vowel phonemes only. They are distinguished based on the vowel length and are phonetically represented with a triangular colon (⋮), as in lo [loː] ‘let down’ and gâ [gâː] ‘he/she/it eats’ (see §3.2.2).

5. Stress is indicated by ‘¨’ placed before the syllable being stressed and a full stop (.) is used to indicate syllabic boundaries, as in muko [‘mu.ko] ‘banana’. They are only used in a phonetic transcription.

3.2 Phonemic Inventory

SL employs twenty-eight native phonemes: sixteen consonants and twelve vowels, in addition to five loan consonants. As Lamaholot in general has much the same phonological system among its dialects, I will refer the readers to some previous studies when I come to describe a certain feature which is identical to that already described. To save space, I also refer readers to Appendix 1 of this thesis where I list more examples of minimal pairs, consonant clusters and vowel sequences.

3.2.1 Consonant Phonemes

SL has sixteen indigenous and five loan consonant phonemes shown in Table 3.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveo-palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stop</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>? (ʔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{tf}</td>
<td>{dʒ}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>(j)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{f}</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{v}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>{n}</td>
<td>{ny}</td>
<td>ŋ (ng)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trill</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Semi vowel</strong></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j (y)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these consonants are fairly constant in their realization, and there is almost no significant articulatory variation, thus no allophones and no specific phonetic

---

8 In rows where two phonemes appear under a subtype, such as ‘p’ and ‘b’ under bilabial, the one that appears above is voiceless, whereas the other underneath is voiced. Loan consonants are in curly brackets {...} and if the orthographic representation is different from the consonant symbol, the orthography representation is given in parentheses (…).
elaboration is given on a particular phoneme. The loan consonants are only found in borrowings from Indonesian and neighboring languages such as Kedang, Sikka and Larantuka Malay.

3.2.1.1 Native consonants

3.2.1.1.1 Stop Consonants

SL has seven stop consonants with a two way distinction: voiceless /p, t, k, ʔ/, and voiced /b, d, g/. They are all unaspirated. The consonants /p/, /k/ and /t/ can appear in a word-initial and word-medial position, but only /k/ and /t/ can occur in a word-final position, although they are only found in a limited number of instances. The glottal stop /ʔ/ only occurs in the word-medial position, which, in most cases, occurs as an onset of a final syllable. The distribution of these phonemes can be seen in the following examples.

/p/: voiceless bilabial stop
polo [ˈpolo] ‘roll’
lapa [ˈlapa] ‘block’

/t/: voiceless apico-dental stop
tarã [ˈtarã] ‘horn’
lota [ˈlo̞ta] ‘pile up’
alat [ˈalat]10 ‘owner’

/k/: voiceless dorso-velar stop
kelopo [kəˈlopo] ‘dull’
lekã [ləˈkã] ‘arrow’
riˈuk [ˈriʔuk] ‘bone’

/b/: voiced bilabial stop
bata [ˈba̞t̪a] ‘unearth’
seba [səˈba] ‘search’

/d/: voiced apico-alveolar stop
denã [ˈdenã] ‘boil’
hada [ˈhada] ‘stretch’

/g/: voiced dorso-velar stop
getã [ɡəˈjã] ‘even’
lega [ləˈga] ‘split’

---

9 The first line shows a word-initial occurrence, the second line illustrates a word-medial occurrence, and the third line, if any, shows a word-final occurrence.

10 The articulation of lexical items beginning with a vowel is always preceded by a glottal closure, which is considered to be a prothetic consonant. In written form, this prothetic consonant is not indicated, and in the phonetic description in this writing, it is indicated by [ʔ] (superscripted glottal segment) (see §3.3).
A particular note should be given to /t/ and /d/. Unlike those in neighboring languages, in which both phonemes are alveolar – see e.g. Sikka (Rosen 1986), Ende (McDonnell 2009) and Rongga (Arka, Kosmas, et al. 2007) – /t/ and /d/ in this dialect, and in other dialects of Lamaholot, have different places of articulation; that is /t/ is a dental stop whereas /d/ is an alveolar stop. For a visual different position of the tongue tip against the teeth in the mouth, the readers may refer to Nagaya’s picture (2010: 162).

3.2.1.1.2 Fricative

SL has only two fricatives /s/ and /h/, both being voiceless. Although both phonemes are reportedly interchangeable in the Lamalera dialect as in biso [ˈbiso] → biho [ˈbiho] ‘cook’ (Keraf 1978), they are phonemic in SL. This is evident from the fact that the distributions of these two phonemes are not complementary; that is both can occur contrastively in word-initial and word-medial positions. Only /s/ can occur in a word-final position, found in some minority words. The distribution of these two fricatives is shown below.

/s/: voiceless alveolar fricative
sorō [ˈsorō] ‘give’
bosu [ˈbosu] ‘aunt’
oras [ˈɔras] ‘season, situation’

/h/: voiceless glottal fricative
hogo [ˈhoγo] ‘wake up’
baha [ˈbaγa] ‘wash’

3.2.1.1.3 Nasal

There are three native nasals in SL: /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/. The nasals /m/ and /n/ can occur at a word-initial and word-medial position, whereas /ŋ/ is only found in a word-medial position, which is usually as an onset of a final syllable. A few onomatopoeias, however, exemplify the occurrence of /ŋ/ word initially, such as ngao [ˈŋaʊ] ‘the sound of a cat’ and ngangar [ˈŋaŋgar] ‘a loud cry of a baby’.

The distribution of nasal phonemes is shown below.

/m/: voiced bilabial nasal stop
muko [ˈmʊko] ‘banana’
lomā [ˈlomā] ‘insert’
3.2.1.1.4 Liquids

SL has two liquids: lateral /l/ and trill /ɾ/. They can productively appear in both a word-initial and a word-medial position, but rarely occur in a word-final position.

/l/: voiced alveolar lateral
lomã [ˈlomã] ‘insert’
gala [ˈgala] ‘spear’
wèwèl [ˈwewel] ‘tongue’

/ɾ/: voiced alveolar trill
rawũ [ˈrawũ] ‘skin/animal hair’
béro [ˈbɛro] ‘canoe’
wolor [ˈwolor] ‘hill’

3.2.1.1.5 Semi Vowel

SL has two semi vowels: a voiced bilabial rounded continuant /w/, and a voiced palatal continuant /j/. The semi vowel /w/ occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions, whereas /j/ is found mostly in a word-medial position, and rarely in a word-initial position. The word-medial occurrences are found in native lexical items, whereas the word-initial occurrence is found in a handful of loan words, such as yaga [jaga] ‘wait for’ borrowed from Indonesian jaga /dʒaga/ ‘wait for’, and yarâ [jarâ] ‘horse’, a loan word from Sikka jarâ [dʒarâ] ‘horse’.

/w/: voiced bilabial rounded continuant
wata [ˈwaʈa] ‘corn’
gawa [ˈgawa] ‘hug’

/j/: voiced palatal continuant
yaga [ˈjaga] ‘wait for’
bayo [ˈbajo] ‘pound’

It is interesting to note that /w/ is found in most Lamaholot dialects – see e.g. Fernandez (1977), Nishiyama and Kellen (2007) - except Lewotobi (Nagaya 2011) and Lamalera (Keraf 1978). In the Lewotobi and Lamalera dialects, /w/ is absent; instead the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ substitutes this consonant in the Lewotobi dialect (Nagaya 2011) and the voiceless labio-dental fricative /ɬ/ is used in the
Lamalera dialect (Kerf 1978). Consider the following list.

Table 3.2
Substitution of /w/ with /v/ in Lewotobi and /f/ in Lamalera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solor and other dialects</th>
<th>Lewotobi and Lamalera dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kowa [kova] ‘cloud’</td>
<td>kova [kova]’cloud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwué [kwue] ‘stubborn’</td>
<td>kvué [kvue]’crazy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wata [wata] ‘corn’</td>
<td>fata [fata] ‘corn’ (Kerf 1978)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawa [tawa] ‘grow’</td>
<td>tafa [tafa] ‘grow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wawé [wawe] ‘pig’</td>
<td>fafé [fafé] ‘pig’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.2 Consonant Minimal Pairs

Minimal pairs or near-minimal pairs are given for phonemes which are phonetically similar; having almost the same phonetic features. Thus, for example, minimal pairs will be given for the voiced - voiceless distinction in stops for the bilabial consonants /b/~/p/ or the velar consonants /k/~/g/, but not for /b/~/k/ or /p/~/g/. More minimal pairs for SL consonants are given in Appendix 1.1.

/b~/p/: bolo [bolo] ‘cake’ ~ polo [polo] ‘roll’
/d~/t/: mada [mada] ‘gate’ ~ mata [maʃa] ‘die’
/g~/k/: gola [gola] ‘lie’ ~ kola [kola] ‘back’
/k~/ʔ/: paka [paka] ‘split’ ~ pa’a [paʔa] ‘squeeze’
/ʔ~/ useRef: taũ [taʔũ] ‘set fire’ ~ taũ [taũ] ‘delouse’
/s~/ʃ/: sorõ [sorõ] ‘give’ ~ horõ [horõ] ‘hide’
/m~/ŋ/: mayã [mayã] ‘call’ ~ nayã [nayã] ‘hut’
/m~/ŋ/: lema [leʃa] ‘insert’ ~ lenga [leŋa] ‘fall’
/n~/ŋ/: tene [teŋa] ‘insert’ ~ tengę [teŋa] ‘sting’
/v~/r/: lewã [lewã] ‘asleep’ ~ rewã [rewã] ‘they harvest’
/w~/ useRef: tawã [tawã] ‘sprout’ ~ tayã [tayã] ‘destroy’

3.2.1.3 Borrowed Consonants

There are five non-native consonants in SL: /v/ and /f/ (both have the same spelling and phonemic representation), /ʃ/ spelled as ‘c’, /ʒ/ spelled as ‘j’ and /ŋ/ spelled as ‘ny’. All these phonemes are found in borrowed words from Indonesian.

The occurrence of /v/ is in a word-initial and medial position, whereas /f/ is in a word-initial, medial and final position as shown below.

---

11 Minimal pairs are also needed to show phonemic distinctions between forms which contain a glottal stop and those which do not contain a glottal stop, represented with ʔ.
/v/: voiced labio-dentals fricative
  video ['vide] ‘video’
  tivi ['tivi] ‘television’

/tʃ/: voiceless alveo-palatal affricate
  camat ['tʃamat] ‘head of sub-district’
  percaya [pər'tʃaja] ‘believe’

/dʒ/: voiced alveolar-palatal affricate;
  Jawa ['dʒawa] ‘java’
  sejarah [sə'dʒarah] ‘history’

/ɲ/: voiced alveolar-palatal nasal;
  nyanyi ['ɲaɲi] ‘song’

It can be succinctly expressed that most consonant phonemes of SL can appear in
word-initial and word-medial positions. Only the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/ and the
voiced velar nasal stop /ŋ/ occur at a word-final syllable onset. A few, including /t/,
/k/, /s/, /ʃ/ and /r/ are found in a word-final position in a handfull of examples. The
rarity of the occurrence of a consonant in a word-final position has been identified as
a typical feature of central eastern Indonesian languages (Klamer 2002).

Table 3.3 displays consonant distribution, where + =attested, and -
=unattested.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>/p/</th>
<th>/b/</th>
<th>/tʃ/</th>
<th>/dʒ/</th>
<th>/ʔ/</th>
<th>/s/</th>
<th>/h/</th>
<th>/m/</th>
<th>/n/</th>
<th>/ŋ/</th>
<th>/l/</th>
<th>/r/</th>
<th>/w/</th>
<th>/ʃ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>word-initial σ onset</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word-medial σ onset</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word-final σ onset</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word-final σ coda</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2 Vowel phonemes

SL has an inventory of twelve vowels: six oral vowels and six corresponding nasal
ones, shown in Table 3.4. Allophonic differences may be noticed in terms of length.
Long vowels occur in open monosyllabic words, such as [a:] in ba [ba:] ‘flow’ and
[u:] in lũ [lũ:] ‘wadi’ (see §3.3.1). Short vowels occur with a consonant onset in
multisyllabic words, such as [a] in bayã [bayã] ‘row’ and [u] in kemalu [kãmulu] ‘drum stick’. Nasal vowels are represented by nasal diacritic (∼) placed above the corresponding oral vowels as shown in Table 3.4. Distinctive orthography representations are given in parentheses.

Table 3.4
Vowel phoneme inventory of SL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>u ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td></td>
<td>ø (e)</td>
<td>o ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>ε (ē)</td>
<td>ĕ (ē)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2.1 Oral vowels

The six oral vowels are /i, ə, ɛ, a, o, u/. When combined with a consonant as a syllable onset, each of these vowels can occur in any position: initial, medial or final. However, when it stands alone as a nucleus forming its own syllable, each of these vowels can only occur word-initially and word-finally, never word-medially.

/ɪ/: high front unrounded vowel
ikã [ˈiːkã] ‘fish’
tobi [ˈtɔbi] ‘tamarind’

/e/: mid front unrounded vowel
ékã [ˈɛkã] ‘universe’
knubé [ˈknubɛ] ‘machete’

/ə/: mid central unrounded vowel
ema [ˈɛma] ‘mother’
gele [ˈɡɛlɛ] ‘tired’

/a/: low central unrounded vowel
ata [ˈata] ‘people’
gená [ˈɡəna] ‘found’

/o/: mid back rounded vowel
odō [ˈodɔ] ‘push’
kuto [ˈku̯tɔ] ‘louse’

/u/: high back rounded vowel
utã [ˈu̯tã] ‘bean’
labu [ˈlabu] ‘shirt’

3.2.2.2 Nasal vowels

SL has six nasal vowels: /i, ʊ, ɛ, a, o, ū/. Although cross-world language observation
has indicated that the number of contrastive nasal vowels is generally less than that of oral ones (Hajek 2005), SL has the same quantity of each. Interestingly, neighboring languages of Lamaholot including Sikka (Rosen 1986), Ende (McDonnell 2009), Nga’da (Djawananai 1977), Rongga (Arka, Kosmas, et al. 2007), Kedang (Samely 1991), Abui (Kratochvíl 2007) and Teiwa (Klamer 2010) do not have such contrastive nasal vowels. Inter-Lamaholot studies even have confirmed the presence of these nasal vowels: Lewolema has six (Pampus 1999) and Lewotobi five (Nagaya 2011).

The distribution of these nasal vowels in SL, however, is restricted to word-final positions only, as shown below.

\[
/ĩ/ : \text{nasal high front unrounded vowel}
\begin{align*}
\text{baĩ} & \quad [\text{`baĩ}] \quad \text{‘listen, hear’} \\
\text{wengĩ} & \quad [\text{wə`ŋĩ}] \quad \text{‘rumble’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
/ɛ̃/ : \text{nasal mid front unrounded vowel}
\begin{align*}
\text{éhẽ} & \quad [\text{`ɛhẽ}] \quad \text{‘umbrella’} \\
\text{dorẽ} & \quad [\text{`dorẽ}] \quad \text{‘pull upward’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
/ã̃/ : \text{nasal mid central unrounded vowel}
\begin{align*}
\text{épẽ} & \quad [\text{`ɛpẽ}] \quad \text{‘belonging’} \\
\text{hupẽ} & \quad [\text{`hupẽ}] \quad \text{‘fetch’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
/ə̃/ : \text{nasal mid back rounded vowel}
\begin{align*}
\text{alã} & \quad [\text{`alã}] \quad \text{‘sound’} \\
\text{tukã} & \quad [\text{t̪ukã}] \quad \text{‘center, middle’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
/õ/ : \text{nasal high back rounded vowel}
\begin{align*}
\text{paõ} & \quad [\text{paõ}] \quad \text{‘slow’} \\
\text{sabõ} & \quad [\text{sabõ}] \quad \text{‘soap’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
/ũ/ : \text{nasal high back rounded vowel}
\begin{align*}
\text{odũ} & \quad [\text{odũ}] \quad \text{‘count’} \\
\text{tagũ} & \quad [\text{t̪agũ}] \quad \text{‘close’}
\end{align*}
\]

### 3.2.2.3 Vowel minimal pairs

Phonemic contrast amongst oral vowels and amongst nasal vowels as well as between nasal vowels and their corresponding oral vowels are given below. More minimal pairs are given in Appendix 1.1.

\[
/ɪ/ \sim /ɛ/ : \quad \text{iḵa} \quad [\text{¨ikã}] \quad \text{‘fish’} \\
/ɪ/ \sim /o/ : \quad \text{heki} \quad [\text{hə`ki}] \quad \text{‘insert’} \\
/ɪ/ \sim /a/ : \quad \text{bika} \quad [\text{`bika}] \quad \text{‘break’} \\
/ɪ/ \sim /o/ : \quad \text{pái} \quad [\text{pái}] \quad \text{‘come here’} \\
/ɛ/ \sim /o/ : \quad \text{lali} \quad [\text{lali}] \quad \text{‘downward’} \\
/ɛ/ \sim /a/ : \quad \text{takɛ} \quad [\text{`takɛ}] \quad \text{‘no’}
\]

\[
/ɛ/ \sim /e/ : \quad \text{èkã} \quad [\text{`ɛkã}] \quad \text{‘universe’} \\
/ĩ/ \sim /ə/ : \quad \text{heke} \quad [\text{`hə`kə}] \quad \text{‘stop’} \\
/ã/ \sim /a/ : \quad \text{baka} \quad [\text{`baka}] \quad \text{‘bite’} \\
/ũ/ \sim /o/ : \quad \text{pao} \quad [\text{pao}] \quad \text{‘mango’} \\
/ɛ/ \sim /o/ : \quad \text{lalu} \quad [\text{lalu}] \quad \text{‘to iron’} \\
/ɛ/ \sim /e/ : \quad \text{takã} \quad [\text{`takã}] \quad \text{‘to roof’}
\]
The phonetic properties of some oral and nasal vowels, analysed using Praat (Boersma & Weenink 1992), are presented in the waveforms below.

**Figure 3.1**
Waveforms distinguishing /a/ vs /ã/: gawa ‘hug’ vs. gawã ‘store’
The nasal vowel phenomenon in SL needs in-depth discussion because phonemically distinct nasal vowels are considered rare in Austronesian languages (Blust 2013). Few Austronesian languages are known to possess phonetically nasal vowels. They include those languages spoken in Borneo (Blust 1997a), but nasal vowels in these languages occur as a result of three phonological phenomena, which Blust (1997a) referred to as nasal harmony, nasal preplosion, and nasal postplosion. For detailed elaboration on these three nasal terms, readers are referred to Blust (1997a).

None of these nasal phenomena, however, applies to nasal vowels in SL because first, the nasal phenomena in Borneo languages are phonetic, whereas those in SL are phonemic. The vowel nasalization in the languages of Borneo occurs in complementary environments which are phonologically definable in relation to oral vowels. In contrast, those in SL occur in a word-final position only, the position
where all oral vowels can also occur, which in turn makes it possible to make contrasts through minimal pairs between oral and nasal vowels as shown in the series of minimal pairs presented above.

Second, the occurrence of vowel nasalization found in the languages of Borneo occurs in marked (clearly defined) environments. For example, nasal harmony occurs in the environment where there is a segment possessing a [+ NASAL] feature, coming either before or after the nasalized vowel. Those in SL, on the contrary, occur in word-final position in a range of combination possibilities with any onset consonants.

The nasal vowel phenomenon in Lamaholot has been left unexplained in some previous studies such as Keraf (1978) and Nishiyama and Kellen (2007). Since it is not a typological feature of Austronesian, it may be explained in a wider perspective of linguistic analysis. It is reported that contrastive nasal vowels in the world’s languages are not uncommon, and out of a total sample of 243 languages in Hajek’s (2005) study, a quarter (64) have nasal-oral vowel contrasts. Geographically, contrastive nasal vowels are concentrated around the equatorial regions of South America and Africa, the northern part of the South Asian subcontinent, and throughout large parts of North America. Although in the distributional map of contrastive nasal vowels on the world’s languages (Hajek 2005: 48), no nasal vowels exist in Malayo-Polynesian languages, Durie (1985) reported that Acehnese, a WMP language spoken on the western most part of Sumatra (see Map 2.1), has contrastive nasal vowels.

Nasal vowels in most of these languages, as Bhat (1975: 33) put it, occur “generally and preferably before a tautosyllabic (preconsonantal or final) nasal consonant. That is, their occurrence is most common in a closed syllable, which later becomes open through the deletion of the syllable-closing nasal.” This phenomenon is, by Hombert (1986: 360) when analyzing nasal vowels in Teke, a language of Bantu, concluded as the most general diachronic process by which nasal vowels undergo a regressive assimilation; that is “an oral vowel becomes phonetically nasalized when it precedes a nasal consonant; [and] after the loss of the nasal consonant, nasalization of the vowel becomes distinctive”. This can be presented as VN > ŹN > Ź.
This phonological process may be used to explain nasal vowels in SL by tracing the historical background of some current SL words with nasal vowels – see also Nagaya (2011: 68) – as shown in Table 3.5. First, referring to Blust’s (1993) Swadesh 200-word list for Proto-Central Malayo Polynesian (PCMP), some roots containing nasal vowels in SL can be easily traced, and most of these forms originally ended in a phoneme having a [+ NASAL] feature in the proto forms. Second, some loan words containing nasal vowels are easily analysed as having undergone the same process, where in the source language, these words end in phonemes possessing a [+ NASAL] feature.

If the above explanation can be accepted, we can assume that SL originally had only oral vowels; the nasal ones are the allophone variants developed from these oral vowels by a nasalization process just described. After the nasalization process, the phonemes became lexicalized as they are now. These nasal vowels play important roles in SL morpho-syntactic processes, including the formation of inalienable possessive constructions for the 3rd-person singular discussed in §3.5.1.

### Table 3.5
Vowel nasalization of Proto Malayo Polynesian and loan words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lamaholot Words</th>
<th>Original Form</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Loan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>larã</td>
<td>zalan</td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikã</td>
<td>hikan</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urã</td>
<td>guzan</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angã</td>
<td>hangin</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tũ</td>
<td>taqun</td>
<td>year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sebayã</td>
<td>sembayang</td>
<td>pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dağĩ</td>
<td>daging</td>
<td>meat, flesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gedã</td>
<td>gendang</td>
<td>drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukã</td>
<td>tukang</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuã</td>
<td>tuan</td>
<td>mister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3 Phonotactics

#### 3.3.1 Syllable Structure

SL has four forms of syllables: V, CV, CCV, and CVC.

The first structure (V) is commonly available in word-initial and word-final positions, but is hardly found in word-medial positions, except in a few loan words.
The vowel quality of this syllable form is distinct from those occurring with a consonant, for example see Figure 3.4 for different quality of /ә/.

**Figure 3.4**
Waveforms showing the different length of isolated /ә/ in әčә ‘bush’
*Vs. /ә/ with a preceding consonant in ләә ‘fall’*

When this syllabic form appears in a word-initial position, it is always preceded by a glottal closure, considered to be a prothetic, which is similar to the pronunciation of most German words beginning with a vowel. In a phonetic transcription, this prothetic is indicated by a superscripted glottal stop (’). In word-final and word-medial positions, this single-vowel syllable is weakened by the insertion of the glides /w/ or /j/ (see §3.3.3). This syllable may also form a monosyllabic word, in which the vowel phonetically becomes longer, as in ә [‘ә:] ‘what’.

The second form (CV) is the most frequently found syllable in SL, probably up to 95 percent of the native vocabulary in SL - see also Klamer (2002: 367). It is available in any positions of SL lexemes. The third structure (CCV) has a limited distribution and is only found in a word-initial position. The fourth form (CVC) is very rare and is probably found in a tiny number of words only. It occurs only as a world-final syllable. Table 3.6 illustrates the distribution of SL syllable structures, and Table 3.7 presents various syllable structures of SL words.

Most native words in SL are disyllabic, and only a few are monosyllabic. Some other words are trisyllabic, and just a few have four syllables. Monosyllabic words are mostly grammatical ones, whereas trisyllabic words consist of some native SL roots and derived forms, and four-syllable words are mostly compound.
Table 3.6
The distribution of SL syllable structures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>σ</th>
<th>Word-initial</th>
<th>Word-medial</th>
<th>Word-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>à [ʔː] ‘what’</td>
<td>ku-ə-sǎ[ˌkʊ.wa.sǎ] ‘rich’</td>
<td>ba-u [ba.w] ‘pour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a-i [ʔa.i] ‘find’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>té-i [ʔr.i] ‘stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a-ho [ʔa.ho] ‘dog’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kpo-i [kpo.i] ‘mudskipper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ge-re-ngã [ɡə.ɾe.ɲã] ‘funny’</td>
<td>ke-na-wẽ [kə.na.wẽ] ‘door’</td>
<td>be-lo-né [be.lo.ne] ‘pillow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV</td>
<td>bro-mé [bro.mé] ‘side dish’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kré-tu [krे.ʔ] ‘octopus’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>o-yok [ʔo.jok] ‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ra-mut [ra.mut] ‘root’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7
Various syllable structures of SL words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Syllable structure</th>
<th>Lamaholot</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monosyllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>à [ʔː]</td>
<td>what</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>do [do]</td>
<td>eat as side dish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV</td>
<td>krõ [krõ]</td>
<td>twin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disyllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-V</td>
<td>au [ʔau]</td>
<td>bamboo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-CV</td>
<td>alo [ʔa.lo]</td>
<td>rice pestle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-CVC</td>
<td>alat [ʔa.lat]</td>
<td>owner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-V</td>
<td>saĩ [sə.jĩ]</td>
<td>arrive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-CV</td>
<td>soga [ˈso.ga]</td>
<td>lift</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-CVC</td>
<td>wěwěl [ˈwe.wɛl]</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV-V</td>
<td>brua [ˈbru.wa]</td>
<td>a few</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV-CV</td>
<td>proda [ˈpro.da]</td>
<td>offer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-syllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-CV-CV</td>
<td>ahihê [ʔa.ˈhi.kã]</td>
<td>party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-CV-V</td>
<td>senai [sə.ˈna.ji]</td>
<td>man sarong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-CV-CV</td>
<td>keluba [ka.ˈlu.ba]</td>
<td>cooking pot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV-CV-CV</td>
<td>krobanẽ [kɾo.ˈba.nã]</td>
<td>coward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-CV-CVC</td>
<td>tenonĝer [lə.ˈno.ŋã]</td>
<td>back part of head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four-syllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-CV-CV-CV</td>
<td>atadikẽ [ʔa.ta.ˈdi.kã]</td>
<td>human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-CV-CV-V</td>
<td>lerabau [la.ˈra.ˈba.wu]</td>
<td>afternoon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-V-CV-CV</td>
<td>taikama [tə.ˈje.ˈka.mã]</td>
<td>greedy for food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-CV-V-CV</td>
<td>tanaékã [tə.ˈna.ˈe.kã]</td>
<td>universe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-CV-CV-V</td>
<td>inawaé [ʔi.ˈna.ˈwa.jɛ]</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-CV-CV-CV</td>
<td>kagilagi [kã.ˈgi.ˈla.gi]</td>
<td>tangled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV-CV-CV-V</td>
<td>ksagala [kə.ˈga.ˈla.ji]</td>
<td>basil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV-CV-CV-CV</td>
<td>kbu.kulaka [kbu.ˈku.ˈla.kã]</td>
<td>butterfly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 This word is most likely borrowed from Indonesia kuasa ‘power, authority’. In my entire corpus, I only found this word which contains a single vowel forming its own syllable occurring in a word-medial position.
There are two interesting phenomena drawn from the analysis of the syllabic structures in SL. First, the initial syllable of most of the three and four syllabic words, excluding compounds, contain the mid central unrounded vowel /ə/ as a nucleus. Examining the available lexical corpus, I found that more than 90% of the three syllabic words show this interesting feature. Second, while Nagaya (2010: 176) has identified an exceptionally strong preference for open syllables in the Lewotobi dialect, movement towards an open syllabic structure is taking place in SL.

This innovation can be seen in the emergence of nasal vowels as demonstrated in Hombert (1986), described in §3.2.2.2. It is a process by which a coda nasal of a final syllable is deleted. The deletion results in a distinctive nasal vowel, which eventually becomes the nucleus of the syllable and makes the word open syllabic. This process is cross-linguistically considered a highly productive phenomenon.

In Austronesian languages, this is not only proven by the diachronic mutation of Proto-CMP vocabularies, but also in the adjustment of loan words from Indonesian, as shown in Table 3.5 above. The deletion of a final consonant does not only occur with those ending in [+NASAL] resulting in a nasalized vowel, but also with other consonants. When the deletion occurs with other consonantal segments, the final consonants are simply deleted or ignored in a bare form.

In further morphological processes, however, the final segment is retained. For example, the word ‘die’ was listed in Proto-CEMP (Blust & Trussel 2010) as matay ‘die’. In a bare use, such as in a slogan, mata is used, as in mata mori go kodi kai (dead alive I just go) ‘Dead or alive, I just don’t care’. Yet, when the same word is used in a clause, it takes matay ‘die’, as seen in the attachment of a pronominal enclitic (Table 4.3), and becomes, for example, go'ë mataye (I die-1SG) ‘I am dying’ or mo'ë matayo (you die-2SG) ‘you are dying’ (see §4.1.2.2a).

3.3.2 Consonant clusters

Possible combinations of the SL consonant clusters are presented in Table 3.8, where + = attested, ** = prohibited, - = unattested, C¹ = the first consonant, and C² = the second consonant.
Consonant clusters in SL have only the CCV form. This syllable form occurs only in word-initial positions. The combination of both consonant phonemes can be homorganic or heterorganic and in accordance with the sonority hierarchy (Selkirk 1984); i.e. a consonant which is less sonorous is external whereas the one which is more sonorous is internal. An example list is given in Appendix 1.3.

### 3.3.3 Vowel sequences

Vowel sequences in SL are unambiguously not diphthongs because each of the vowels constitutes a nucleus forming its own syllable. Nasal vowels always occur in a word-final position, and therefore are only found in the second vowel (V₂) position. Summary of the vowel sequences in SL are given in Table 3.9, where + =attested, ** =prohibited, - =unattested, C¹ = the first vowel, and C² = the second vowel. A list of examples displaying these vowel sequences is given in Appendix 1.4.
Table 3.9
Various combinations of vowel sequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(v^1)</th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/é/</th>
<th>/ε/</th>
<th>/a/</th>
<th>/o/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
<th>/ã/</th>
<th>/ẽ/</th>
<th>/ã/</th>
<th>/ũ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/é/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ε/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 3.9 shows, there are two necessary phonological characteristics of SL with regard to the vowel sequences. Firstly, SL does not allow two identical vowels to occur one after another in any position in a word (indicated by double asterisks). In other words, vowel gemination is not found in SL – see also Nagaya (2010). Secondly, the oral mid-central vowel /ə/ and its nasal counterpart /ə̃/ never combine with other vowels, except with the high back oral vowel /u/, where /u/ occurs first.

3.4 Stress patterns

SL has a fixed stress pattern. It is commonly assigned to a penultimate syllable, a characteristic which is typical of Austronesian languages – see e.g. Blust (2013: 251), Nishiyama and Kellen (2007: 11). However, when the penultimate syllable in a disyllabic word contains a schwa, such as gedã [gə.ˈdã] ‘drum’ and lenga [lə.ˈŋa] ‘fall’, stress falls on the ultimate syllable. For a monosyllabic word, stress falls on the full phonological word, in which the vowel tends to be phonologically longer. A stressed syllable is usually marked by a higher pitch, longer duration and greater intensity of the vowel in the syllable.

3.5. Morpho-phonological processes

SL has three prominent morpho-phonological processes that alter a root phonologically, and give rise to a new morphemic form embedded with a particular grammatical context. The grammatical contexts these three processes express are inalienable possession and nominalization.
3.5.1 Vowel nasalization

The process by which an oral vowel becomes nasalized occurs in the formation of the inalienable possession for the 3rd-person singular (see §4.1.2.2c) by altering an oral vowel of a final open-syllable nucleus into a nasal one. This happens with inherently possessed objects, such as body parts, ending in /i/, /a/ and /u/ as shown below.

\[
\begin{align*}
/i/ & \rightarrow /ĩ/: \text{léi} ‘foot’ \rightarrow \text{léĩ} ‘his/her/its foot’ \\
& \quad \text{weki} ‘trunk’ \rightarrow \text{wekĩ} ‘his/her/its trunk’ \\
/a/ & \rightarrow /ã/: \text{mata} ‘eye’ \rightarrow \text{matã} ‘his/her/its eye’ \\
& \quad \text{lima} ‘hand’ \rightarrow \text{lima} ‘his/her/its hand’ \\
/u/ & \rightarrow /ũ/: \text{iru} ‘nose’ \rightarrow \text{irũ} ‘his/her/its nose’ \\
& \quad \text{tilu} ‘ear’ \rightarrow \text{irũ} ‘his/her/its ear’
\end{align*}
\]

Note that the form such as léi alone is nonexistent in SL and meaningless on its own, unless it is attached with the inalienable possessive suffixes, as in léi-k (leg-1SGPOSS) ‘my legs’ (see §4.1.2.2c).

3.5.2 Vowel raising

Another way to express a 3rd-person singular inalienable possession is by raising a mid-front and mid-back vowel to a high one followed with a nasalization process. The mid-front vowel rises to a high-front and the mid-back to a high-back vowel. This morpho-phonological phenomenon occurs only with a few words listed below.

\[
\begin{align*}
/é/ & \rightarrow /ĩ/: \text{taé} ‘excrement’ \rightarrow \text{taĩ} ‘his/her excrement’ \\
& \quad \text{uté} ‘penis’ \rightarrow \text{utĩ} ‘his penis’ \\
& \quad \text{méké} ‘urine’ \rightarrow \text{měkĩ} ‘his/her urine’ \\
/o/ & \rightarrow /ũ/: \text{poho} ‘fart’ \rightarrow \text{pohũ} ‘his/her/its fart’ \\
& \quad \text{tuho} ‘breast’ \rightarrow \text{tuhũ} ‘his/her breast’
\end{align*}
\]

The vowel nasalization and raising processes can be presented in the following diagram.

**Figure 3.5**

SL vowel raising and nasalization diagram

![Diagram showing vowel changes and nasalization processes](image-url)
3.5.3 Nasal substitution

This nasal substitution is not a pure nasal substitution phenomenon in the sense defined by Blust (2004: 73), but rather a phonological mimicry of nasal substitution. While nasal substitution is characterized by replacing “a base initial obstruent with a homorganic nasal under prefixation” (Blust 2004: 73), as in Indonesian *pilih ‘choose’ >*memilih ‘choose (active)’, the phenomenon that happens in SL is indicated by a process of initial consonant replacement with a nasal consonant, such as *pete ‘chop’ >*mete ‘chopping base’ and *tena ‘pass on oral message’ >*nena ‘oral message’.

This process converts a verb into a noun (see §4.1.3.1d), simultaneously occurring with a phonological alteration of the initial consonant, by which non-nasal consonants are substituted with homorganic nasal ones. This process is a rather productive nominalization phenomenon in SL. Some examples are illustrated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Consonant</th>
<th>Example Verb</th>
<th>Nominalized Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/ → /m/</td>
<td>*pete ‘chop’</td>
<td>&gt;*mete ‘chopping base’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*polo ‘roll’</td>
<td>&gt;*molo ‘roller’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/ → /m/</td>
<td>*buta ‘wrap’</td>
<td>&gt;*muta ‘package’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*boti ‘pile up’</td>
<td>&gt;*moti ‘pile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ → /n/</td>
<td>*toko ‘to cover roof’</td>
<td>&gt;*nake ‘thatch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*tobo ‘sit’</td>
<td>&gt;*nobo ‘seat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/ → /n/</td>
<td>*doro ‘fix corner of house roof’</td>
<td>&gt;*noro ‘corner of house roof’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*depã ‘stretch one’s arms out’</td>
<td>&gt;*nepã ‘measurement unit in fathoms’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/ → /n/</td>
<td>*hamã ‘to dance’</td>
<td>&gt;*nama ‘place for dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*homê ‘to steam’</td>
<td>&gt;*nomê ‘steamer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This chapter discusses SL morphology. It starts with the discussion on the morphemic forms in §4.1, where four types of morphemic forms identified in SL are delineated. The most intriguing part would be the pronominal enclitics which attach to an intransitive predicate and code various grammatical and pragmatic contexts, from signaling an S argument and simple de-transitivization to pragmatically voice markings. In §4.2, I discuss other morphological processes including reduplication in §4.2.1 and compounding in §4.2.2.

4.1 Morphemic forms

Morphemes form segments of a word that are no longer capable of being divided into meaningful subparts (Booij 2005: 27). Four types of morphemes have been observed in SL: roots, clitics, affixes, and particles. These types of morphemes have been identified in most Austronesian languages and become fundamental for a general discussion of Austronesian morphological typology – see e.g. Klamer (1998b), Bowden (2001), Blust (2013: 360).

4.1.1 Roots

The term ‘root’ is used to refer to SL’s most basic vocabulary forms. These forms include two types: first, free roots to which derivational and inflectional affixes are attached. Blust (2013) referred to these forms as ‘base’ or ‘stem’. They may stand alone as free words in clauses. Second, bound roots to which bound morpheme proclitics must be attached. Blust (2013) described this unit as a submorphemic form which is identified by recurrent association, not by contrast with other forms as one commonly does with most free or independent roots. He called it a ‘root’. These two forms are included as roots because they serve as a base to which word-forms in SL are shaped. In most of the cases, they can undergo only a single morphological

---

13 Himmelmann (2005: 129) calls them ‘subcategorized bound roots’; that is “lexical bases which do not occur without further affixation in any syntactic function but which clearly belong to one particular morphological or syntactic category because of the affixations they occur with”. Nagaya (2011: 94) classifies this form as a non-autonomous lexical root.
process, be it inflectional, derivational or cliticization.

Like other CEMP languages which are identified as having the lowest index of synthesis (Blust 2013), SL has also been observed to have little morphological complexity. In many constructions, morphosyntactic words coincide with a lexeme or root, and therefore are easily identified morphologically as in (1). These readily identified forms, if no inflectional or derivational affixes are attached to them, are those of independent or free roots. In some others, however, a word-form is multi-morphemic, having a root which is difficult to identify lexically, except by recurrent association, as in (2a-b). As such, these roots are those of dependent or bound ones.

(1). Ra’ë ola mâ no’õ pā’u ēwā.  
3PL work farm and feed cattle.  
They are farming and raising cattle.

(2a). Ra’ë r=ai=ka ola=ka nē pere tua r=ēnū  
Two 3pl=go=3PL work=3PL and.(then) tap palm.wine 3PL=drink  
They set out to work (in the field) and then tapped palm wine to drink.

(2b). Mi’o m=ai=ke ola=ke nē pere tua m=ēnu.  
2PL 2PL=go=2PL work=2PL and.(then) tap palm.wine 2PL=drink  
You set out to work (in the field) and tap palm wine to drink.

In (1), a word-form represents a morph and a morpheme, and there is an obvious one to one relationship between the word-form and the morpheme. These forms represent the SL free or independent root type. They compose most of the SL vocabulary. In (2a), the form ‘raika’, for example, consists of proclitic r= indicating clause subject and the root +ai, which carries the meaning ‘go’, and the enclitic =ka referring to the intransitive subject S. The root +ai is never used in isolation; in order for the root to be fully meaningful, it must be attached with a proclitic, and optionally with an enclitic. To enable the identification of such roots as +ai above, one needs to compare it with other forms as in (2b) or a set of recurrent forms, like go’ē k=ai=ke (1SG 1SG=go=1SG) ‘I go’ and mo’ē m=ai=ko (2SG 2SG=go=2SG) ‘you go’. Such forms as +ai, and +ēnu in (2a-b) above are SL dependent or bound roots.

---

14 The term ‘lexeme’ in this sense follows Matthews’ (1991: 30): abstract vocabulary items of a language. He used this term to distinguish lexeme from those forms realized as words in sentences, which he called ‘word-form’. This term corresponds to Dixon’s (2010b: 13) term ‘grammatical word’ and Himmelmann’s (2005: 21) term ‘morphosyntactic word’. These three terms are used interchangeably throughout this description to refer to those forms of words used in SL sentences.

15 To distinguish dependent or bound roots from independent or free ones and suffixes, I will use a plus sign (+) placed right in front of a bound root.
The bound roots comprise only a few members; there are 20 main verbs listed in (3) and 3 modal verbs listed in (4). There are also nouns that have a whole-part relationship with their possessor, such as body parts. These nouns are inalienably possessed (§4.1.2.2c). These bound roots are characterized by being meaningless on their own, unless they are attached with pronominal clitics.

To conclude, roots in SL are of two types: (i) those that comprise independent or free roots and (ii) those that form a minor group called dependent or bound roots. Members of the former group can be used as a free word and be attached with affixes. They are readily classified into one of the lexical categories. Members of the latter group will never be used as a free word, unless they are attached with clitics to mark coreferential relationships with an argument or a head.

The bare nominal bound roots will seldom be used as a free word, but if they need to be written as a free word in this description, the one which takes the 3rd-person singular possessive form will be used. This is simply because this form is more frequently encountered as a modifier in phrasal forms and compounds. For example, in a nominal endocentric compound with a noun modifier, the modifier always takes the 3rd-person singular possessive form, as in *au limã* (*au ‘bamboo’, *lim(a)=ã ‘hand-3SGPOSS’) ‘bamboo branches’ (see §4.3.2.1a).

4.1.2 Clitics

Clitics in SL are characterized by their ability to syntactically function as a clause segment. With this characteristic, clitic elements in SL act like single-word syntactic constituents; that is they function as head, argument, or modifier within phrases. However, they are like affixes because they are dependent on adjacent words in some way or another. They are, therefore, morpho-syntactically independent, but phonologically dependent – see Bowden (2001: 85).

All clitic forms in SL are pronominal indicating S/A and O. S/A argument clitic markers are divided into two types: proclitics, being attached to verbal bound roots, both transitive and intransitive, marking either S or A arguments; and enclitics,

---

16 Clitics in SL conform to the generally accepted criteria on clitics, such as those maintained by Zwicky and Pullum (1983), Andersson (2005), Zwicky’s (1985), and Gerlach (2002).

17 S, A and O follow Dixon’s (2010b) clausal template, where S refers to the intransitive verb arguments, A to the agent of a typical transitive verbs, and O to the object of transitive verbs. They are referred to as clause core arguments (see Chapter 9).
being optionally attached to intransitive verbs, marking S arguments (see also Kroon 2012). Hence, when a verbal bound root is intrinsically intransitive, both proclitic and enclitic are attached simultaneously, as seen with *raika* in (2a). The object clitic takes only an enclitic form and is found for the 3rd-person singular only (see §4.1.2.2b).

Besides these, there are clitics manifesting a possessor. These clitics are attached to inalienably possessed nouns (see §4.1.2.2c).

### 4.1.2.1 Proclitics

Proclitics in SL are pronominal and are coreferential with S/A arguments. They attach to the verbal bound roots listed in (3). I will refer to these morphemes as S/A-argument marker proclitics or simply pronominal proclitics, listed in Table 4.1.

(3). +a’ã ‘make, do, use, play, hit’
     +ai ‘go, leave’
     +anã ‘plait’
     +ahu ‘fetch (water)’
     +ala/+ele ‘travel by, go by’
     +apũ ‘hug, embrace’
     +awã ‘spend overnight’
     +atã ‘fight against, compete with, challenge’
     +ewã ‘harvest, pick up, gain, be able’
     +etẽ ‘wear’
     +ewê ‘arrive’
     +ém ‘bring’
     +énu ‘drink’
     +iã ‘wait for’
     +o’t ‘take care of’
     +oi ‘know, understand’
     +o’õ ‘bring, accompany, be with, possess’
     +olé ‘stroll, walk around’
     +olĩ ‘clean, sort out’
     +olo ‘go first, leave in advance’

Listed in (4) are SL modal verbs. They will be discussed in detail in §5.6.2.

(4) +abé deontic (obligation), epistemic (indicative)
    +odi deontic (permission and desire)
    +awa evidential mood.

| Table 4.1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Singular** | **Pronouns** | **Proclitic** | **Plural** | **Pronouns** | **Proclitic** |
| 1 | go’ë | k= | l(inc) | titë | t= |
| 2 | mo’ë | m= | l(exc) | kímë | m= |
| 3 | na’ë | n= | 2 | mi’o | m= |
| | | | 3 | ra’ë | r= |
According to Gerlach (2002: 3), clitics are considered the weak forms of grammatical elements such as pronouns, determiners, auxiliaries, negation particles, and question particles. This holds true for SL clitics, where the forms attached to the verbal bound roots are defined phonologically as being the short forms of the subject personal pronouns by two processes.

First, the proclitic form is a homorganic phoneme of the consonant in the full pronoun form altered by the process of devoicing, that is /g/ in go'ê >k=; which is referred to by Keraf (1978: 53) as consonant harmonization. Second, reusing one of the consonants in the pronoun form, mostly of the first syllable onset: mo'ê >m=; na'ê >n=; mi'o >m=; ra'ê >r=; and perhaps titê >t=, and the second syllable onset which occurs with the 1st-person plural exclusive kamê >m=, and possibly titê >t=.

This phenomenon indicates that the proclitic forms in SL might have undergone grammaticalization from full pronouns to clitics. Keraf (1978: 66) has demonstrated this by providing some examples in Lamalera dialect such as mo'ê akê > makê ‘you would better not’, and na'ê akê > nakê ‘he/she would better not’. In the process of grammaticalization, the pronouns lost some of their phonological material and independent status (Givón 1991) and turned into prefixes bound to the following segment. The fact that some of the verbal bound roots in (3) have the same form as those of proto forms, such as inum (PMP) ‘drink’; asu (PMP) ‘fetch water’ and añam (PMP) ‘plait’ (Blust & Trussel 2010), convincingly indicates this grammaticalization process. Following the model for the development of agreement morphemes proposed by Donohue (2008: 6), the grammaticalization process of the pronominal proclitic in SL can be illustrated with the root +inum ‘drink’ for the 3rd-person singular as follows:

(5). I Ana wé inum tua
    child that drink lontar.wine
   ‘that boy is drinking lontar wine’

   II Ana wé na'ê inum tua
    child that he drink lontar.wine

---

Donohue (2008) proposed a model of grammaticalization of clitics by assuming that the presence of agreement in a language is the result of the cliticization, and later affixation, of once-free pronominal elements. He exemplifies this model in English sentences as follows:

(i). That man ate the apples
(ii). That man, he ate the apples
(iii). That man, he-ate the apples
(iv). That man i-ate the apples
In (I), Proto Lamaholot was probably a language with no pronominal proclitic agreement. This is what the language has retained to this day with most of its verbs. In (II), there occurred an optional appearance of a left-dislocated NP and a pronoun inside the clause; a phenomenon which is still observable in the present day Lamaholot, as illustrated in (6).

(6). Kréé ra'é r=ai=ka sekola kaé.
Children 3PL 3PL-leave=3PL school PERF.
The children, they already went to school.

In (III), the pronoun was shortened and bound to the verb. This happens in the present day use, where pronouns in SL tend to be shortened in a natural conversation. For example, the subject pronoun go'é > go and na'é > na (see Table 5.2). In (IV), two phonological processes occurred at once. First, that which Blust (1993: 264-265) referred to as “glide truncation”; that is the monophthongization of original diphthongs through truncation of the glide from Proto-CMP diphthong ay > é. Second, vowel nasalization in the final syllable of the form na'inum, where -um＞ ũm＞ ũ (see §3.2.2.2). This final phase shows that the pronominal is phonologically reduced and cannot be analysed as a pronoun anymore, but simply as an agreement clitic grammatically bound to the verbal bound root.

The only irregular verb alteration in accordance with the subject pronouns in SL is the one meaning ‘to eat’, as shown in the following paradigm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.2</th>
<th>Irregular alteration of the bound root ‘to eat’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>go'é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mo'é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>na'é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observing this irregularity, one might find it difficult to determine which form would be the underlying root, whether the one with the vowel /ā/, /ō/ or /ē/. But if the proto form kaen (PAN) ‘eat’ (Blust & Trussel 2010) is taken into account, it might not seem
that difficult. Assuming the same processes with the word ‘drink’ in (5) above, this seemingly irregular paradigm has undergone the same phenomenon. This is clearly seen in tekã, mekã and rekã. Extra explanation might be needed for the other forms; kã, gõ, gã and gê, which certainly require morpho-phonological scrutiny. This is recommended for further research.

4.1.2.2 Enclitics

Enclitics in SL indicate three syntactic elements; namely an S argument, a primary object and an inalienable possessor.

a. S argument marker enclitics

Marking an S argument, these clitic forms attach to intransitive predicates, but unlike proclitics which are mandatory and attach only to a few minority verbal bound roots, these enclitics are optional, yet attach to intransitive verbs across the board. I will refer to these morphemes as S-argument marker enclitics or simply pronominal enclitics. A list of enclitics is given along with their allomorphic forms in Table 4.3. Note that 'V in the row for the 3rd-person singular pronoun is read ‘glottal followed by the last vowel of the verb root’ (referred to hereafter as glottalization).

Table 4.3
The S agreement enclitic form of SL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Roots ending in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oral hebo ‘bathe’ nasal tanĩ ‘cry’ consonant dekat ‘fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG 1</td>
<td>goʹé</td>
<td>=ke hebo=ke =ne tanĩ=ne =e dekat=e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>moʹé</td>
<td>=ko hebo=ko =no tanĩ=no =o dekat=o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>naʹé</td>
<td>='V hebo='o =na tanĩ=na =a dekat=a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 1(inc)</td>
<td>tité</td>
<td>=te hebo=te =ne tanĩ=ne =e dekat=e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(exc)</td>
<td>kamé</td>
<td>=ke hebo=ke =ne tanĩ=ne =e dekat=e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>miʹo</td>
<td>=ké hebo=ké =né tanĩ=né =é dekat=é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>raʹé</td>
<td>=ka hebo=ka =na tanĩ=na =a dekat=a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 4.3, it appears problematic to determine which one would be the underlying morphemic form. As each set of pronouns shares the same vowel but different consonants, except the 3rd-person singular, one might think that the underlying enclitic form should be the vowel. If this is so, we would expect to be able
to define each environment suitably with the occurrence of each of the allomorphs in the enclitic form. This holds true for the \(=ne\) and \(=e\) groups. For example, the \(=ne\) group occurs because of the final nasal property of the root to which they attach, and the \(=e\) group occurs simply by the addition of the enclitic morphs. This, however, cannot be used to define the \(=ke\) group, because of the unexpected occurrence of the consonants /k/ and /t/. This strongly indicates that the previously stated assumption is not plausible.

Furthermore, an examination carried out on a long list of verbs has shown consistent forms as shown in the three groups of paradigms. Compared to \(=ne\) and \(=e\) groups, which are influenced by the consonantal properties of the environment in which they occur, the \(=ke\) group occurs in a neutral environment, where the final vowel of the verb root has nothing to do with the morphemic form to be taken. The ones taking this neutral phonological environment are considered the underlying form of the morpheme. Hence, when the morpheme occurs in the environment with a consonantal property, it drops its consonant and adopts the one of the environment which it enters into. With the roots ending in a nasal vowel, it adopts the nasal property and uses /n/. This generalization can simply be represented as in (7):

\[
CV \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
CV / V_1 \\ NV / \tilde{V}_1 \\ V / C_1 
\end{cases}
\]

The presence of ‘k’ and ‘t’ in the \(=ke\) group has nothing to do with the verb root, but is phonologically definable in relation to the pronoun forms of the clause argument. This might be related to PAN syntax which is reported to have a verb-initial pattern (Blust 1974, Donohue 2007). In grouping Austronesian languages based on word order, Blust (2013: 461) maintains that a few languages of the Lesser Sunda area have a verb-initial order. It could have been possible that proto Lamaholot was a verb-initial language, probably in its intransitive constructions. Over time, the intransitive construction underwent processes of grammaticalization resulting in the merging of pronominal pronouns into clitic affixes, which is more or less similar to that occurring with proclitics and verbal bound roots.
These enclitics can attach to different types of verb. When they attach to ambitransitive verbs, they denote different meanings including simple detransitivization as in (8b).

(8a). Kamé batĩ wawé utā.  
1PL(exc) hunt pig wild.  
We hunted wild pig.

(8b). Kamé batĩ=ne.  
1PL(exc) hunt=1PL(exc).  
We were hunting.

In contrast to (8a) which puts an emphasis on an object, thus explicitly expressing the argument, (8b) does not; it simply ignores the argument, thus expressing a generic event without any specific patients. This clause is a middle voice (§9.4.1), because it is neither active nor passive (Payne 2006), but to Nagaya (2011), it is an antipassive.

Attaching pronominal enclitics to transitive verbs, particularly verbs of grooming and body care, see e.g. Kemmer (1993: 15), also expresses a reflexive context as in (9b). This structure is also a middle voice.

(9a). Go'ē hebo aho go'ē.  
1SG bathe dog 1SGGEN  
I bathed my dog.

(9b). Go'ē hebo=ke.  
1SG bathe=1SG.  
I am taking a bath.

When they attach to an intransitive clause whose subject argument is an undergoer, they express a pragmatic passive because this construction can only be rendered as a passive, as in (10b).

(10a). Ola petué wawé go'ē  
Ola emasculate pig 1SGGEN  
Ola emasculated my pig.

(10b). Wawé go'ē petué=ê kaé  
pig 1SGGEN emasculate=3SG PERF  
My pig has been emasculated.

Interestingly, these enclitics can also attach to predicates other than verbs. They can attach to nouns, adjectives, deictic words, and numerals. The attachment to these predicates is obligatory and may denote different contexts. When they attach to adjective predicates, they denote a sense of experiencing or undergoing the quality being stated in the adjective, as in (11a).
(11a). Ra'ē ru'a=ka béle=ka / *∅ di kaē.
3PL two=3PL big=3PL also PERF.
Both of them are also grown up already.

When the enclitics attach to a noun predicate, they bear a sense of becoming or turning into the reference object referred to by the noun as in (11b).

(11b). Ana na'ē kemamũ=na /*∅ kaē
Child 3SGGEN young.man=3SG PERF.
His son has been a young man.

When the enclitics attach to a deictic predicate, they denote presence or existence of the clause subject as in (11c), whereas when they attach to a numeral predicate, they indicate a collective meaning as in (11d).

(11c). Na'ē pé=é /*=∅ kaē lé wati?
3SG there=3SG PERF or IMPERF
Is he already there or not yet?

(11d). Kamē ru'a=ke /*=∅ méha=ke.
1PL(exc) two=1PL(exc) only=1PL(exc).
Just the two of us are here.

However, it is not always clear-cut in defining the condition in which an S-argument marker enclitic may or may not attach to a verbal predicate. On the one hand, they are certainly optional with purely intransitive verbs as in (12a), but they are obligatory with ambitransitive verbs (see §5.2.1.3) as in (12b). Thus, the predicate in (12a) can be turu alone, but the one in (12b) cannot be batĩ alone.

(12a). Ra'ē turu=ka / =∅ ia mã
3PL sleep=3PL PREP field
They slept overnight in the field.

(12b). Bapa ra'ē mété batĩ=na /*=∅
Father 3PL PROG hunt=3PL
Father and others (they) are hunting.

On the other hand, the attachment of these enclitics to an intransitive predicate in some particular constructions is not acceptable. Two cases are presented in (13b) and (14d), where they have been deemed unacceptable by most SL speakers.

(13a). Ra'ē pla'ē=ka kaē
3PL run=3PL PERF.
They have already ran away.

(13b). *Ra'ē mété pla'ē=ka
3PL PROG run=3PL.
(Intended for: They are fleeing)
(14a). Go'é géka=ye lenge mo'é newi.
    1SG laugh=1SG see you like.this
    I laugh when I see you like this.
(14b). *Go'é géka=ye kia.
    1SG laugh=1SG PRT.
    (Intended for: I want to laugh).

The unacceptability of (13b) relates to the semantics of the verb *pla*ē*, which refers to
the action of running, not the process of running*¹⁹. In other words, *pla*ē* in (13a-b) is
not equivalent to the English word ‘run’ as in the activity of jogging, but more to
‘flee’. Given the meaning of aspectual marker *mété*, and with the meaning of the verb
‘flee’, it is reasonable that a progressive aspect cannot be used in this construction,
and therefore the attachment of enclitic =*ka* is prohibited.

With (14b), the unacceptability relates to voluntariness. Example (14a) is
acceptable because the context of géka in this construction is involuntary, perhaps
because of seeing something funny. Despite this, the use of the enclitic in (14b) is not
acceptable because of the particle kia used to express a request, which is voluntary in
nature. Hence, there is a contradiction between the semantic nature of the verb and the
pragmatic use of the particle kia.

Note that the analysis on constraints of enclitics S here is rather hypothetical.
A separate investigation with a wider range of data is required to scrutinize the
syntactic and pragmatic uses of the enclitic forms. Nevertheless, it seems convincing
that the grammatical function of the enclitic morphemes is primarily to mark S
arguments. This primary function conforms to some previous studies (Keraf 1978,
Nagaya 2011, and Nishiyama & Kellen 2007). Nagaya (2011) observed a tendency
that the occurrence of these enclitics indicates intentional or volitional action, but he
himself did not examine this in detail against a corpus data.

b. Object pronoun enclitic =*ro*

Most object pronouns in SL have the same form as those used as a subject (§5.5.1).
The only pronoun that has an alternative form for an object function is the 3rd-person
singular, which takes an enclitic form =*ro* as in (15a). This form can be used

¹⁹ This meaning is probably the one that is meant by Arka, Wouk, et al. (2007) by postulating that
active intransitive verbs in Lamaholot (without referring to a particular dialect), such as *pla*ē ‘run’,
do not take the enclitics listed in Table 4.3. This is true for some particular verbs of this kind only,
such as *pana* ‘to walk (the process of walking)’, but others like *géka* ‘laugh’, *kriã* ‘work’ and *kbetok*
‘jump’, etc. can take the enclitics.
simultaneously with na'ê (similar to the subject pronoun) immediately after the verb, where =ro comes first being attached to the verb and is followed by na'ê as a dependent word as in (15b). But note that =ro cannot occur with a proper name or a noun as in (15c).

(15a). Go'ê heru=ro kaé
     1SG meet=3SG PERF.
     I have met him/her.

(15b). Go'ê berĩ=ro na'ê
     1SG hit=3SG 3SG.
     I hit him/her.

(15c). *Go'ê berĩ=ro Kopõ / aho
     1SG hit=3SG Kopõ / dog

With a ditransitive verb, =ro can only be used to substitute either a direct or an indirect object given that the substituted argument occurs right after a clause predicate, as in (16a-b). However, when the indirect object appears as an oblique prepositional phrase, the use of =ro is prohibited as in the ungrammatical clause (16c), instead na'ê is used as in (16b). The use of =ro for a primary object is discussed in §9.2.2.1.

(16a). Kamé sorõ=ro labu to'u.
     1PL(exc) give=3SG shirt one.
     We gave him/her a shirt.

(16b). Kamé sorõ=ro ia na'ê.
     1PL(exc) give=3SG PREP 3SG.
     We gave it to him/her.

(16c). *Kamé soro labu to'u ia=ro.
     1PL(exc) give shirt one PREP=3SG

Interestingly, =ro and na'ê can be used interchangeably, provided that they function as a primary object and must come immediately after the clause verb as in (17).

(17). Kamé herũ=ro / na'ê
     1PL(exc) meet=3SG
     We met him/her.

Note that the object pronoun =ro may be used for both humans as in (17) and non-humans as in (18), but the use of na'ê and =ro na'ê is only for humans, as in (19a), or things that are metaphorically expressed as humans. The use of =na'ê or =ro na'ê for non-human arguments turns out to be unacceptable as in (19b), as opposed to (19c), where =na'ê or =ro na'ê is used to replace blat alat ‘head hunting person’.
(18). Wai wé ra'è dënâ=ro kaé.
Water that, 3PL boil=3SG PERF.
The water, we already boiled it.

(19a). Go'è herũ=ro / =ro na'è / na'è wia.
1SG meet 3SG yesterday.
I met him/her yesterday.

(19b). *Witi wé mo'è wido=ro na'è / na'è kaé lé wati?
Goat that 2SG tie=3SG 3SG / 3SG PERF or IMPERF
Intended for: The goat, have you tied it or not yet?

(19c). Temaka we ra'è wido=na'è / =ro na'è kaé.
The thief, they already tied him.
They already tied him.

### c. Inalienable possessive enclitics

Inalienable possessive enclitics in SL indicate a whole-part relationship between the possessor and the possessed\(^{20}\). This construction is used with body parts of humans and animals, and nouns that are usually regarded as a part of a whole, such as ‘door of house’, and location indicating part of an area, such as ‘back of house’. The full set of inalienable possessive enclitics in SL along with their allomorphic forms is presented in Table 4.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enclitic form for root ending in…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oral vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>=k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>=m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>='Ṽ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems problematic to identify the possessor for the allomorphs\(^{21}\) in the table under the roots ending in a nasal vowel and a consonant because they take almost identical

---

\(^{20}\) Dixon (2010b: 264) proposed three central semantic relationships identified across languages between a possessed noun and its possessor. They are (i) ownership, (ii) whole-part relationship, and (iii) kinship relationship. He also maintained that the term ‘inalienability’ is used to include the relationship in which a possessed noun is intimately associated with the possessor, shown in the inalienable relationship between the possessed noun and its possessor.

\(^{21}\) As most inalienable noun roots end in oral vowels (i.e. open syllable), the forms set under oral vowel columns in the table are the most frequently found forms in the daily conversations of SL speakers. The two other sets are used with a few roots only, including keradũ ‘throat’, korē ‘chin’,
forms. In daily conversation, however, this issue is readily resolved by the contextual use of the allomorphic forms.

Some examples showing inalienable possessive constructions are given below.

(20). **Ending in an oral vowel:**
   a. léi=k
      leg=1SGPOSS
      my leg
   b. léi=te
      leg=1PL(inc)POSS
      our legs

(21). **Ending in a nasal vowel:**
   a. keradũ=nem
      throat=2SGPOSS
      your throat
   b. keradũ=nẽ
      hroat=3SGPOSS
      his/her throat

(22). **Ending in a consonant:**
   a. wéwél=em
      tongue=2SGPOSS
      your tongue
   b. wéwél=a
      tongue=3PLPOSS
      their tongues

It is important to note that the paradigm in the table above is used mostly, but not exclusively, with body parts, except the 3rd-person singular which may be used with common nouns. However, as the language evolves, the use of inalienable forms with general nouns may be found in contemporary use of SL, and the meanings of these forms are no longer purely inalienable (see also §6.2.1).

One clear distinction between inalienable and alienable meanings of possessive constructions is on the dependency status of the root. When the root cannot stand as a free word, it is inalienable, and therefore the possessive meaning is also alienable. For example, lima=m (hand=2SGPOSS) ‘your hand’ and labu-m (shirt-2SGPOSS) ‘your shirt. SL speakers readily identify that there is such a root as labu ‘shirt’ in SL, but not lima because this root is nonexistent in SL. Furthermore, for the 3rd-person singular, one can have limã (hand=3SGPOSS) ‘his/her hand’ or bapa limã

---

koã ‘thigh’ (for those ending in a nasal vowel), and lotor ‘knee’, tenonger ‘back part of the head’, wéwél ‘tongue’, temuir ‘nail’, and udet ‘heel’ (for those ending in a consonant).
(father hand=3SGPOSS) ‘father’s hand’, but no *līma bapa načē in comparison with, for example labu bapa načē (shirt father 3SGGEN) ‘father’s shirt’ (see also §4.1.3.2a-b).

Inalienable possession of general nouns in SL involves only the 3rd-person singular. Note that the allomorphic form ‘V in the row for the 3rd-person singular in Table 4.4 is read ‘glottal + nasalized final vowel of the root’. For consistency, this morphemic process is referred to here as possessive nasalization (see §4.1.3.2b and §3.3). This form is assumed here as the default form and is used to represent the 3rd-person singular inalienable possessive constructions throughout this study. It is used with most of the inalienably possessed general nouns, whose relationship with the possessor indicates part of a whole as in (23).

(23a). wata rata=ṅ
   corn hair=3SGPOSS
   corn silk
(23b). lango wolar=ẽ
   house rooftop=3SGPOSS
   house rooftop

When used with body parts and certain locative nouns (see §5.2.5), the 3rd-person singular allomorph (‘V = possessive nasalization) undergoes some alterations as a result of the morpho-phonological processes called vowel nasalization and raising described in §3.5. These alterations are re-summarized in (24).

(24). Nouns of body parts that end in:
   (i) /i/, /u/ and /a/, the vowel is nasalized, as in (25).
   (ii) /é/ and /o/, the vowel is raised and then nasalized, as in (26).
   (iii) /e/, add glottal stop /ʔ/ and nasalized mid central vowel /ẽ/, as the default form, as in (27).

   (25a). wek(i)=ĩ
   body=3SGPOSS
   his/her body

---

22 An orientation or location expressed in the form of a possessive construction – see, e.g. Dixon (2010b) - is also identified in SL. The location or the specified part (such as in English ‘the front of’) is marked morphologically in SL in the same way as an inalienably possessed noun. The semantic relationship between the specified part and the whole object which the part belongs to is a whole-part relationship. Interestingly, SL uses names of body parts such as ‘face’ and ‘back’ to refer to the specified location of a particular object.

23 The use of the brackets (...) with a phoneme inside indicates that the phoneme disappears and is replaced with the one following it. For example, wek(i)=ť becomes wekī ‘his/her body’. In most cases, this phenomenon occurs in inalienable possessive constructions and nasalization indicating possession and attribution (see §4.1.3.2).
(25b). til(u)=ũ
ear=3SGPOSS
his/her ears

(26a). mêk(é)=î
urine=3SGPOSS
his/her urine

(26b). poh(o)=û
fart=3SGPOSS
his/her fart

(27a). ipe='ẽ
tooth=3SGPOSS
his/her tooth

(27b). kote='ẽ
head=3SGPOSS
his/her head

Examples of inalienable possessive constructions indicating spatial relationships are provided in (28) below.

(28a). lango a(é)=ē
house face=3SGPOSS
in front of a house

(28b). geré lol(o)=õ
bed surface=3SGPOSS
on a bed

Some constraints need to be noted here. A few body part nouns do not conform to the alteration rules in (24). The body parts rata ‘hair’ and ilu ‘saliva’, for example, follow the default possessive nasalization given in Table 4.4. In contrast, a few general nouns do not follow the default allomorphic regulations in Table 4.4, but rather conform to the alteration conditions stated in (24).

(29a). rata='ã >not *ratã
hair=3SGPOSS
his/her hair

(29b). kayo ep(a)=ā >not *kayo epa'ā
tree trunk=3SGPOSS
tree trunk

(29b). witi tal(é)=ĩ >not *talé'ē
goat rope=3SGPOSS
goat’s rope

It appears that the singular 3rd-person allomorphic selection of the inalienable possessive enclitics, whether to follow the default forms Table 4.4 or to conform to alteration rules in (24), depends on the detachability relationships between the possessor and the possessed. Those that are detachable from their possessor tend to
follow the default generalization in Table 4.4. For example, although mata ‘eye’ and rata ‘hair’ are body parts, mata cannot be separated from one’s head (in a common circumstance), hence it follows the rules in (24), but rata can, thus it follows the default generalization in Table 4.4. The same also goes with tilu ‘ear’ and ilu ‘saliva’.

Extra explanation is needed for epã ‘trunk’ and talé ‘rope’. The trunk of a tree is always inherently there with the object called tree, and therefore the relationship is non-separable. With talé ‘rope’, the explanation is different. There is indeed a form such as talêẽ as in bapa talêẽ (father rope=3SGPOSS) ‘father’s rope’. The relationship between ‘father’ and the ‘rope’ is undeniably separable, and therefore it follows the allomorphic choice in Table 4.4. But the relationship between a ‘goat’ and a ‘rope’ in witi talĩ is different, it is inseparable. The bond must be culturally understood because SL speakers usually keep their goats by tying them. Every single adult goat must have a rope to prevent them from escaping. A rope for a goat is obligatory in SL culture. It is inseparable from a goat, and therefore its possessive status follows as in (24).

### 4.1.3 Affixes

Having little morphological complexity, SL has only a handful of affixes only, yet they overlap each other. A single morphological process has several functions and thus may be applied to different grammatical contexts. For this reason, affixes in SL are discussed based on the morphological processes involving the morphemes under consideration. These affixes are broadly grouped into two: those that function to derive a nominal, and those that involve a morpho-phonological phenomenon known as nasalization.

#### 4.1.3.1 Nominalization affixes

Nominalization in SL is realized through four processes: (a) with prefix be-, attached to verbs beginning with alveolar /l/, /r/, /d/ and vowels; (b) with prefix keN-, attached to verbs beginning with bilabial /b/, /p/ and velar /k/, /g/; (c) with infix <en>, inserted right after the first syllable onset of verbs beginning with dental /t/ and velar /s/; and (d) nasal substitution. This grouping might be potentially controversial, but this is the only available plausible explanation I can provide to establish criteria for the selection
of one nominalization process over the other. Analysis of semantics or other verbal properties has not provided a satisfying answer to this issue.

To save space, more examples for nominalization affixes are given in Appendix 2.1-4.

a. Nominalizer prefix be-

The prefix be- attaches to verbs beginning with alveolar /l/, /r/, /d/ and vowels to derive a noun. The noun resulting from this affixation is an instrument (30a); an actor (30b); a result (30c); or nouns that are closely associated with the verb root (30d).

(30a). Instrument:

-  roi ‘to lever’ >beroi ‘crowbar’
-  doro ‘rub’ >bedoro ‘rubbing stone’
-  lema ‘to scoop up water’ >beléma ‘water dipper’
-  ahi ‘to bewitch’ >be’ahi ‘objects used in witchcraft’

(30b). Actor:

-  likõ ‘to block’ >belikõ ‘protector’
-  doré ‘to follow’ >bedorĩ ‘follower’
-  gori ‘to bite’ >begori ‘a species of spider’
-  rékũ ‘to make friends’ >berékũ ‘friend’

(30c). Result:

-  loto ‘to prune’ >beloto ‘pruned twigs’
-  lébo ‘to flood’ >belébo ‘flooding, lake’

(30d). Associative noun:

-  lodõ ‘to insert a stick into a hole’ >belodõ ‘bed crossbar’
-  epu ‘to gather’ >be’epu ‘place to gather to drink’
-  rega ‘to step on grass’ >berega ‘field full of dense bush’

b. Nominalizer prefix keN-

This prefix also functions to derive nouns but it attaches to verb bases beginning with bilabial /p/, /b/, and velar /g/, /k/. The meanings it conveys include instrument (30a), doer (30b), result (30c), and associative noun (30d).

(30a). Instrument:

-  garu ‘to grate’ >kenaru ‘grater’
-  petã ‘to put a bar across a wall’ >kemetã ‘flat bamboo bar’
-  ba’ã ‘to carry things on shoulder’ >kema’ã ‘bar to carry things on shoulder’

(30b). Doer:

-  géré ‘to climb up’ >kenéré ‘person who climbs’
-  pesi ‘to release magic power’ >kemesi ‘person spreading magic power’

(30c). Result:
geka ‘to chop repeatedly’  >keneka ‘flat bamboo plank’
kahâ ‘to bind long objects into a bundle by tying’  >kenahâ ‘bundle’

(30d). **Associative:**
gawé ‘to go through’  >kenawé ‘door’
balâ ‘to roll on mud’  >kemalâ ‘dirty and disgusting animals’

The morphological process of this nominalization is considered typical of Austronesian. The process undergoes base initial phoneme alteration, where /p/ and /b/ change to /m/, whereas /g/ and /k/ change to /n/. Assimilation of the bilabial and velar phonemes into nasal is very common in AN languages. In Indonesian, for example, attaching the inflectional prefix meN- to verbs beginning with voiceless phoneme /p/ and /k/ results in the substitution of the initial phonemes of the base with a homorganic nasal /m/ and /ŋ/ respectively, as in pukul >memukul ‘hit’ and kumpul > mengumpul ‘gather’. But with bases beginning with voiced /b/ and /g/, there occurs nasal assimilation, where with initial /b/ bases, the nasal in the prefix assimilates and results in bilabial nasal /m/ as in buka >membuka ‘open’ and with initial /g/ bases, the nasal assimilates and results in velar nasal /ŋ/, as in goreng >menggoreng ‘fry’ - see e.g. Sneddon (1996: 9-10). The same morpho-phonological process also occurs in SL. If in Indonesian the process sets voiced phonemes apart from voiceless ones, in SL it sets bilabial phonemes apart from velar ones. Those bases beginning with bilabial phonemes undergo assimilation and alteration, where /b/ and /p/ alter into their homorganic counterpart, the bilabial nasal /m/. Those bases beginning with velar phonemes undergo assimilation and alteration, where /k/ and /g/ change into a non-homorganic phoneme; the alveolar nasal /n/. Yet, this still has nasal feature. This is what we expect, because SL lacks a velar nasal /ŋ/ in a word initial and medial position.

Interestingly, this prefix is also attached to adjectives to derive abstract nouns, as in (31a) below. This process is no longer productive so there are only a handful of examples. The forms resulting from the process come with an additional phoneme -k placed as a coda of the final syllable. It is unclear what this additional phoneme indicates.

This prefix is also used to form abstract nouns, particularly those related to humans such as young man, young woman, etc., as in (31b). The meaning this prefix implies is unclear. Some of the derived forms are still analyzable, where the base is
still found in SL today, but some others are not, because the bases are not
recognizable and no longer exist in the present Lamaholot, as indicated with a
question mark (?). This prefix might be different from that used to derive nouns from
verbs described above and is likely the remnant of the fossilized PMP affix ke- (Blust
2003: 473) functioning as ‘formative for abstract nouns’.

(31a). béle ‘big’ >kewélek ‘bigness’
   belaha ‘long’ >kelahak ‘length’
   (?) >kelemu ‘beauty’
   belolo (adj) ‘high’ >kelolok ‘height’

(31b). mamũ ‘young (male)’ >kemamũ ‘young man’
   barek ‘young (female)’ >kebarek ‘young woman’
   lake ‘husband’ >kelake ‘married man’
   waé ‘wife’ >kewaé ‘married woman’
   (?) >keré ‘children’
   (?) >keropõ ‘young man’
   (?) >kenuka’a ‘adopted child’

c. Nominalizer infix <en>

This derivational infix is inserted into the first syllable of a verb, right after the
syllable onset. It is only used with verbs beginning with /s/ and /t/. Similar to prefix
be- and keN-, the results of this derivational process are also nouns indicating
instrument (32a); actor (32b); result (32c); and associative nouns (32d).

(32a). Instrument:
   sega ‘to stab’ >senega ‘sharp instrument used to stab’
   toho ‘to rub clean’ >tenoho ‘napkin’

(32b). Actor/Doer:
   tewu ‘to redeem’ >tenewu ‘savior’
   sora ‘to shout’ >senora ‘person who shouts’

(32c). Result:
   tawã ‘to grow’ >tenawã ‘sprout, shoot’
   sépa ‘to kick’ >senépa ‘a kick’

(32d). Associative nouns:
   tobo ‘to sit down’ >tenobo ‘seat’
   saru ‘to ask quiz’ >senaru ‘puzzle’

A few bases beginning with /b/ and /d/ are also considered to have undergone the
same infixation with <en>. Members of these bases number only a few, as listed in
(33). This group includes some derived forms in which /n/ in the affix morpheme
alters to /m/ for some unknown reason, as in (34).
bilo ‘to make an opening on the wall’ >menilo ‘window’ (result)
balo ‘to roll’ >menalo ‘cotton roller’ (instrument)
buta ‘to wrap’ >menuta ‘package’ (result)
bawat ‘to bed wet’ >menawat ‘person who bedwets’ (doer)
ba'at ‘to weigh’ >mena'at ‘heavy’
dira ‘to flutter’ >menira ‘hand-held fan’

taka ‘to steal’ >temaka ‘thief’
tutu ‘to tell’ >temutu ‘gossip, news’
tuhu ‘to breast feed’ >temuhũ ‘infant’

d. Nasal substitution

The term ‘nasal substitution’ (NS, hereafter) here follows Blust (2004: 81). He described the processes regarded as NS observed in Lamaholot as distinct from the ordinary one found in most WMP languages. The typology of Austronesian NS involves the proto prefix maŋ- ‘active verb’ or paŋ- ‘agent or instrument’. The prefixation triggers a deletion of a base-initial obstruent, followed by assimilation of the nasal in the prefix to a generally homorganic one, as in Indonesian pukul ‘hit’ > memukul ‘to hit (active). The one in Lamaholot, however, is characterized by initial consonant replacement, by which non-nasal /t/, /d/ and /h/ are substituted by /n/ as in (35a), /b/ and /p/ are replaced by their homorganic counterpart nasal /m/ as in (35b), and the voiced velar /g/ is replaced with its voiceless counterpart /k/ as in (35c). The meanings they denote are instrument, doer, result and associative.

(35a). /t/, /d/, /h/→/n/
tobo ‘to sit’ >nobo ‘seat’ (instrument) > (=tenobo)
take ‘to roof’ >nake ‘thatch’ (associative)
doro ‘to fix the roof corner’ >noro ‘the roof corner ’ (associative)
duē ‘to set fire on a fire-wood’ >nuē ‘burning fire-wood’ (associative)
homé ‘to steam’ >nomé ‘steamer’ (instrument)
holo ‘to joint two ends’ >nolo ‘knot’ (result)

(35b). /b/, /p/→/m/
buta ‘to wrap’ >muta ‘package’ (result)
botĩ ‘to pile up’ >motĩ ‘pile’ (result)
pé ‘to wrap around one’s belly’ >mé ‘belt’ (instrument)
polo ‘to roll’ >molo ‘roll’ (result) > (=kemolo)

(35c). /g/→/k/
gahã ‘to tie into a bundle’ >kahã ‘bundle’ (result) > (=kenahã)

genekeu ‘to play’ >keneku ‘toy’ (instrument)
gala ‘to slice’ >kala ‘slice’ (result) > (=kenala)
A further question arises. If both affix <en> and NS allow selection over those roots beginning with /t/, /b/ and /g/, how can one distinguish which roots or bases go with the nominalizer affix <en> and which with NS? Observing the alternative forms some roots have shown above, I would propose that NS with roots beginning with /t/, /b/ and /g/ is more likely a recent innovation in Lamaholot development, where the result of the nominalizer with <en> is contracted by deleting the first syllable of the word-form, as in nobo ‘seat’, kahã ‘bundle’ and kala ‘slice’. The results eventually became lexicalized as they are used today.

4.1.3.2 Possessive and attributive nasalization

Nasalization in SL is a morpho-phonological process in which the final oral vowel of a base is nasalized with or without a glottal stop inserted before it. This process is similar to what I call ‘possessive nasalization’ described in §4.1.2.2c. It is an important grammatical device and involves as much as three lexical categories: pronouns, nouns (common and derived) and adjectives. Previous studies on Lamaholot have identified some functions out of this process, including possession (Keraf 1978, Nagaya 2011, Nishiyama & Kellen 2007) and nominalization of class I adjectival verbs (Nagaya 2011).

The possessive meaning identified from this nasalization process may be traced diachronically to PMP languages. According to Blust (2005), PMP has three genitive markings; they are ni (for singular personal pronouns), na (for plural personal pronouns) and nu (for common nouns). The proto forms ni and na probably merged diachronically into personal pronouns, resulting in the genitive forms described in (a); and nu into possessive construction with common nouns as discussed in (b) below. The attributive meaning resulting from the same process occurs with a derived nominal, described in (c) and with a base adjective described in (d).

a. Possessive nasalization of pronominal pronouns

Nasalization of the nominative or subject forms of SL pronouns (see Table 5.2 in §5.5.1) changes the grammatical functions of the pronouns into genitive. As most bases originally have a glottal before the final vowel, the process occurs immediately with nasalization, in which the final oral vowels are nasalized. Only the 1st-person plural, both inclusive and exclusive, undergoes both glottal insertion and nasalization.
These genitive forms are used with alienably possessed nouns. The combination follows typical nominal phrases of CEMP languages (Klamer 2002): head-initial or the possessed nominal precedes the possessor. They can function in two ways roughly comparable to English possessive pronouns, such as ‘mine’ and ‘ours’ in (36), and possessive adjectives, such as ‘my’ and ‘our’ in (37). To distinguish the genitive forms in Table 4.5 from inalienable possessive enclitics in Table 4.4, I will gloss these genitive forms by adding GEN to the intended person, as illustrated in (36-37).

Table 4.5
Nasalization of the subject pronouns, turning them into genitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subject Pronoun</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th></th>
<th>Subject Pronoun</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Short</td>
<td></td>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>go'ē</td>
<td>go'ē</td>
<td>‘my, mine’</td>
<td>1(inc)</td>
<td>titē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mo'ē</td>
<td>mo'ē</td>
<td>‘your, yours’</td>
<td>1(exc)</td>
<td>kamē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>na'ē</td>
<td>na'ē</td>
<td>‘his/her, hers’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>mi’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>ra’ē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(36a). Labu wē go'ē  
shirt that 1SGGEN  
That shirt is mine  

(36b). Ikā wē titē'ē  
fish that 1PL(inc)GEN  
That fish are ours.

(37a). Labu go'ē  
Shirt 1SGGEN new  
My shirt is new.

(37b). Lango titē'ē  
house 1PL(inc)GEN far  still  
Our house is still far away.

b. Possessive nasalization of nouns

The nasalization process that occurs with common nouns indicates possession. This process is morphologically similar to that of the inalienable possessive shown in Table 4.4, yet they differ in the semantic relationship between the possessed and the possessor. Example (38a) takes the morphological process similar to that occurring with the inalienable enclitic of the 3rd-person singular indicated by =ʻV. Example (38b) uses the allomorph of the 3rd-person singular inalienable enclitic attached to a
root ending in a consonant, and the other one in (38c) uses the allomorphic form of the 3rd-person plural enclitic attached to a root ending in a vowel. The constituent structure of these possessive constructions follows modifier – modified pattern, the pattern which is typical of CEMP languages (Donohue 2007: 361-362).

(38a) bapa labu=ũ
father shirt=3SGPOSS
father’s shirt

(38b) kepala motor=ẽ
chief boat=3SGPOSS
chief’s boat

(38c) guru lango=ka
teacher house=3PLPOSS
teachers’ houses

c. Attributive nasalization of derived nouns

Nasalization also occurs with derived nouns produced by using nominalization processes described in §4.1.3.1. The derived nouns that are allowed to undergo this process are, with exceptions, only those that indicate result and associative meaning. The base verbs are most probably those of achievement and accomplishment - see e.g. Dowty (1979). Some derived nouns having resultative and associative meaning as illustrated in (30) through (35) may be nasalized, but some others cannot. In this nasalization process, a verb root necessarily undergoes two phases: (i) the verb is nominalized by using either be-, keN-, <en> or nasal substitution; and (ii) the result of the nominalization undergoes nasalization with or without glottal insertion (see Table 4.4 for allomorphic alternatives). The results from phase one, however, are not always ready for linguistic use; therefore one never finds such a form in daily use of SL.

For example, those illustrated in (39) below undergo the two phases (indicated with (i) and (ii)), and the outcomes of each phase form a linguistic unit that is capable of being used in utterances. For those in (40), on the other hand, only the outcomes from phase (ii) are linguistically usable. The outcomes from phase (i), although they have undertaken the required morphological process, are not ready for linguistic use as is indicated with a question mark. In other words, the outcomes from phase (i) in (40) are not possible in SL.
Unlike the nasalization of common nouns where the relationship between the head and the nasalized noun is possessor-possessed as (38) has illustrated, the nasalization process with derived nouns implies an attributive relationship; in that the nasalized derived nouns provide additional information about their head. The notion they imply corresponds to either English past participle, such as ‘baked’ in ‘baked potato’ or present participle, such as ‘boiling’ in ‘boiling water’.

This attributive nasalization of the deverbal nominals with the two phases described above occurs also with a few bases that have pure adjectival meaning. But with these bases, only the outcomes of the second phase (ii) are linguistically usable, but not those of the first phase (i), which are nonexistent as in (41).

The difference between the roots and the results from phase (ii) lies in their syntactic function. The roots, such as gele, are used predicatively as in (42a) and (42b), whereas the result forms, such as kenele’ẽ, are used attributively as in (42c), not predicatively as the ungrammaticality of (42d) shows.

(41).

Root
(i) (ii)
gilo ‘sour’ kenilu (?) kenil(u)-ũ, >pao kenilũ ‘sour taste mango’
mia ‘shy’ bemia (?) bemi(a)-ã > ana bemį ‘a shy kid’
gele ‘tired’ kenele (?) kenele-’ẽ > larā kenele’ẽ ‘a tiring journey’

(42a). Ana wé gele=’ẽ kaé.
Child that tired=3SG PERF.
That child is already tired.
Adjectives in SL behave in three different ways in accordance with the syntactic function they take. One distinct behavior is when they function as a modifier, in which case an adjective undergoes a nasalization process turning it into a possessed-noun-like form similar to those nouns undergoing nasalization described in §4.1.3.2b. I will refer to this process as an attributive nasalization of adjectives. When the nasalized adjectives are used in phrases to modify a noun head, they form a constituent similar to the possessive nasalized nouns. Along with their head, they form phrasal structures following a head (possessor) – modifier (possessed) pattern. As an example, the construction 'a big house' is one whose morpho-syntax appears to be possessive. Following the typical word-order of eastern Indonesian languages, where a genitive precedes a possessed noun (Donohue 2007), the noun occupies the possessor (modifier) slot and the attribute, the possessed (head) slot. So ‘a big house’ would literally be translated to something like ‘the bigness of the house’. Compare (43) where the head is a nasalized adjective with (44) where the head is a possessed noun. For convenience, I will not gloss anything to a nasalized adjective, but 3SGPOSS to a nasalized possessed noun.

As these examples show, the adjective béle and noun déko function syntactically in a similar way and they too take the same morpheme. The relation with respect to their counterparts, however, differs; béle provides attributive information about the size of the house, whereas déko indicates a relation of being possessed by ‘father’. The
process of nasalizing an adjective is to convert it to function attributively.

It becomes obvious that the two nasalization processes are distinct because they attach to different lexical categories, and therefore express different grammatical functions; the nasalization that occurs with nouns is to indicate possession, whereas that with adjectives is to indicate attribution. I will discuss in detail the nasalization of adjectives for attributive function in §5.4.2.2.

4.1.3.3 Detransitivizer prefix pe-

In addition to S-argument marker enclitics (Table 4.3) which can detransitivize a transitive verb, SL also has a distinct inflectional prefix that is used for the same function. The result of this prefixation is an intransitive clause predicate which requires pronominal enclitics marking S arguments. The meaning of this prefix is rather fuzzy, but it roughly expresses the notion of doing the action related to the verb root. This prefix, however, is restricted to a few verb roots only, two of which are given as examples in (45) and example sentences using these inflectional forms are illustrated in (46), where this prefix is glossed DTRANS (detransitivizer). A list of this kind of verbs is given in Appendix 2.5.

(45). du'ũ ‘to sell something’ >pedu'ũ ‘to engage in selling goods’
baha ‘to wash clothes’ >pemahak ‘to engage in washing something’

(46a). Ra'ẽ du'ũ utā lau Larantuka.
   3PL sell bean DIR.SEA Larantuka.
They sold bean in Larantuka.

(46b). Ra'ẽ métẽ pe-du'ũ=na.
   3PL PROG DTRANS-sell=3PL.
They are selling (goods).

4.1.4 Particles

The term ‘particle’ is used to refer to invariable linguistic units with a grammatical function that do not readily fit into a well-accepted criterion for word classes, and which have idiosyncratic distributions and meanings (Crystal 2008, Zwicky 1985). Particles are cross-linguistically found to express various grammatical meanings, and although in some languages, they are reportedly realized in different forms such as affixes and clitics, they are widely seen as independent words (Zwicky 1985). In Taba, an Austronesian language of central Sulawesi for example, a particle is
characterized as being morpho-syntactically dependent but also phonologically independent (Bowden 2001).

All particles in SL are independent words and they are all monosyllabic. Being problematic to include in any part of speech, they need to be discussed here as a separate group of SL morphemes. On the surface structure, they are morpho-syntactically and phonologically independent, but they are pragmatically dependent. They always occur phrase-finally, the characteristic of which has been considered typical of particles (Zwicky 1985). There are five particles in SL discussed below.

4.1.4.1 The particle ge or go

This particle is used to seek agreement or confirmation. It is commonly followed with a question expressing wonder and expectation of confirmation from an interlocutor, as in (47).

(47). He'ẽ ge/go, ete mo'ẽ moi hala ge/go?  
   Yes PRT, indeed you know not PRT?  
   Really, you don’t know it?

This particle is also used in yes/no questions to express curiosity, as in (48).

(48). Mo'ẽ m-ai wulẽ ge/go?  
   2SG 2SG-go market PRT  
   Are you going to the market?

4.1.4.2 The particle dé

The particle dé is used to express curiosity, either because the speaker is eager to know the information he/she is seeking or the speaker is just pretending. It commonly occurs in questions in a clause final position, as in (49).

(49a). Hégé ata dé?  
     Who person PRT?  
     Who is it?

(49b). Hége yaga lango dé?  
     who keep house PRT?  
     Who will take care of the house?

4.1.4.3 The particle di

This particle is used to express a strong agreement or disagreement in denying something as in (50a) or showing emphasis as in (50b).
(50a). Go'e hala di.
1SG not PRT.
It is not me.

(50b). Ra'é meri r=a'ã na'é mata='a di.
3PL plan 3SG=make 3SG die=3SG PRT.
They did plan to kill him.

4.1.4.4 The particle lé

The particle lé is used in questions to ask for confirmation, which corresponds to a tag question in English.

(51a). Mo'é wata m=ai hela lé?
2SG beach 2SG=go not PRT?
You don’t go to the beach, do you?

(51b). Kursi wé sorõ go'ë lé?
Chair that give 1SG PRT?
That chair for is me, right?

4.1.4.5 The particle kia

This particle is used in commands (52a), requests (52b), and in asking permission (52c). It characterizes these three kinds of clauses and might be comparable to ‘please’ in English.

(52a). Mo pai kia!
2SG come.here PRT.
Come here, will you!

(52b). Guté kursi wé sorõ go'ë kia.
Take chair that give 1SG PRT.
Take that chair for me, please?

(52c). Go'ë k=ai turu=ke kia.
1SG SG=go sleep=1SG PRT.
I’ll go to bed, ok?

4.2 Other morphological processes

4.2.1 Reduplication

Although reduplication is a prominent and productive linguistic device in most Austronesian languages (Blust 2013), it is marginal and not considered productive in Lamaholot – see also Keraf (1978) and Nagaya (2011). Reduplication in SL takes only a full reduplication pattern.
Full reduplication is a complete copying of a base morpheme. This reduplication has been reported to be productive in many Austronesian languages with a variety of functions. The full reduplication in SL can be applied to some particular nouns, verbs, adjectives and numerals. The most frequently utilized reduplication would probably be adjective reduplication to mark intensification. The discussion of the full reduplication in SL is based on the meaning it implies presented below.

4.2.1.1 Reduplication indicating semantic degradation

Full reduplication implying semantic degradation in SL is used with nouns only. It expresses a meaning of underestimating or down-grading the value of the noun mentioned. This is different from the typical meaning of the same phenomenon found in most Malayo-Polynesian languages, which according to Kiyomi (1995) indicates plurality. Example (53a) considers kromé ‘rat’ be less important than a baby pig, whereas (53b) regards klowo ‘monitor’ as being harmless.

(53a). Kromé-kromé nẽ merĩ ete wawé ana’ã wé.
Rat-RED then say in.fact pig child that.
It is just a rat, we thought it is a baby pig.

(53b). Ete klowo-klowo kũ na'ẽ gia= kè di epayẽ.
In.fact monitor-RED but she scream=3SG like be.caught
It was just a monitor, but she was screaming as if she was being caught.

4.2.1.2 Reduplication indicating repeated or continuous events

Reduplication indicating repeated or continuous events is applied to verbs only. When certain verbs are reduplicated, they imply repetitious events as in (54) or continuous activities as in (55).

(54). Koda éha’ã teke wé kũ na'ẽ tutu-tutu waha la.
Story single only that but 3SG tell-RED finish not.
That is only the same story, but he keeps on telling it again and again.

(55). Hogo ola=ka, ake turu-turu m=awa newé.
Wake.up work=3PL, do not sleep=RED 2SG=DESIR like.that
Wake up and go to work, don’t keep on sleeping like that.

4.2.1.3 Reduplication indicating quality intensification

Reduplication to denote intensification is used with adjectives. Repeating a base adjective to intensify the quality or property of an object is an important linguistic
device in SL, and in the entire Lamaholot, in addition to the use of indefinite quantifying words, such as aya ‘much’. The meaning of this reduplication is comparable to the intensifier ‘very’ in English. All the semantic types of adjectives in SL (see §5.4.1), excluding age such as ulū ‘old’ and wu'ū ‘new’, can be reduplicated to express intensification, as illustrated below.

(56). Ra'ē r=ewā wawē uta bèle-bèle to'u.  
3PL 3PL=catch pig wild big-RED one.  
They caught a very big wild pig.

4.2.1.4 Reduplication indicating distributive meaning

Reduplication implying a distributive meaning is used with numerals as in (57) and with indefinite quantity words such as brua ‘a little, few’ and aya ‘a lot of, many, much’, as in (58).

(57). Au wé ba'a-ba'a, m=etē m=a'ā rua-rua.  
Bamboo that heavy-RED, 2SG=bring 2SG-make two-RED.  
That bamboo is very heavy, bring them two by two.

(58). M=etē muā wé m=a'ā aya-aya mihi.  
2SG-bring one that 2SG-make many-RED at.once  
Bring them as many as possible every time.

4.2.2 Compounding

A compound is a linguistic unit usually consisting of two elements that can function independently in other circumstances. In simple cases, the combination forms a complex word within which one word modifies the meaning of the other. The formation rules and the semantic relation between the two parts vary widely among languages. However, the general semantic pattern of a compound is compositional (Fabb 2001); that is the meaning of the entire compound can be determined from the meaning of the individual unit that composes the compound. Following Booij’s (2005: 75) formula for compounds consisting of XY, the semantic relation between the two units denotes “a Y that has something to do with X, or vice versa, depending on the language”.

Compounding in SL is not very productive, yet it is also used to express certain grammatical meanings (§4.2.2.3), in addition to creating new lexemes. The compounds expressing some particular grammatical meanings fall between compounds and imitative reduplication, and therefore are problematic to classify – see
e.g. Blust (2013: 421) and Sneddon (1996: 22). Based on their referential properties, – see e.g. Booij (2005: 76-82) - compounds in SL may be classified into endocentric, exocentric and copulative compounds, each is discussed below. To save space, more examples are given in Appendix 2.6.

4.2.2.1 Endocentric compounds

Endocentric compounds are those combinations in which the category of the entire structure is similar to that of the head. Compounds of this type are all left-headed. The heads are all nouns and are modified by other nouns, verbs or adjectives. The semantic relationship between the components can be of a genitive as in (59-60), modified – modifying as in (61) or argument – predicate as in (62).

a. Noun + noun

The combination of noun + noun in endocentric compounds yields a new lexical meaning which is related to the head. The modifier noun necessarily takes the possessive nasalization form (see §4.1.3.2b). The meanings of those in (59) are easily predicted based on the semantic relationship between the two units because the metaphorical use of the second expression is obvious, but the meaning of those in (60) cannot be predicted from the meaning of the individual units, as the meaning they imply is culturally symbolic.

(59)  wai ‘water’ + mat(a)=ã ‘eye=3SGPOSS’ >wai matã ‘spring’
     ilé ‘mountain’ + al(é)=ē ‘belly=3SGPOSS’ >ilé alē ‘slope’

(60)  wulē ‘market’ + mat(a)=ã ‘eye=3SGPOSS’ >wulē matã ‘market day’
     au ‘bamboo’ + mat(a)=ã‘eye=3SGPOSS’ > au matã ‘bamboo knot’

This type of compound looks syntactically similar to ordinary noun phrases with a possessor – possessed relationship (§4.1.3.2.b), in that both structures share the same features morphologically – see e.g. Aikhenvald (2007). They also syntactically have a binary structure – see e.g. Booij (2005). However, they are distinct in their semantic properties. Compounds resemble lexical expressions in that the combination results in a new lexical meaning and reference – see e.g. Bybee (1985). With endocentric nominal compounds in SL, the new meaning is mostly predictable from a summation of the meaning of its parts by association or connotation. A few might be rather idiomatic, and this has been marked upon by Aikhenvald (2007: 28) who claims that
idiomaticity of the meaning of the entire unit can also be a semantic criterion for compounds.

b. Noun + adjective

Endocentric compounds comprising a noun (head) and an adjective (modifier) look similar to ordinary noun phrases. The primary difference between the two is that the combination in the ordinary noun phrases results in a grammatical or syntactic meaning, whereas in compounds it results in new lexical or referential meaning. For example, *matā datē ‘blind’ is a compound, but *matā blara'ā ‘sore eyes’ is an ordinary phrasal form, even though both have exactly the same structure.

\[(61). \text{mat(a)=ā ‘eye=3SGPOSS + datē ‘ugly, bad’ > mata datē ‘blind’ one=’ẽ ‘heart=3SGPOSS + blara ‘ill, sick’ > one'ẽ blara ‘sad, disappointed’}\]

c. Noun + verb

Combination of a noun and a verb forming an endocentric compound is similar to an intransitive clause, in which the head (noun) is like a subject argument and the modifier (verb) a clause predicate, as in (62). The main feature that distinguishes this type of compound from intransitive clauses is the possibility of being attached with S-agreement enclitics (§4.1.2.2a). Thus we can have, for example *lera géré ‘morning’ but not *lera géré, compared to *bapa géré'kaé ‘father has already entered’.

\[(62). \text{lera ‘sun’ + géré ‘ascend’ > lera géré ‘morning’}
\text{lima ‘hand’ + teka ‘hit’ > lima teka ‘sniper’}\]

4.2.2.2 Exocentric compounds

Exocentric, or *bahuvrīhi, compounds refer to an entity which is not expressed by one of the constituents forming the compounds, and therefore their meaning often cannot be transparently guessed from its constituent parts (Aikhenvald 2007, Booij 2005). Compounds of this type in SL commonly refer to things such as places, plants and animals. They may be composed of a noun + an adjective (63a), a noun + a noun (63b), a noun + a verb (63c), a verb + a noun (63d), and a verb + a verb (63e).

\[(63a). \text{lewo ‘village’ + glara'ā ‘forbidden’ > Lewoglara'ā =village name’.
\text{wato ‘stone’ + pito ‘seven’ > Watopito =a personal name’}\]

\[(63b). \text{watā ‘beach’ + hura ‘a kind of potato’ > Watāhura =a village name
\text{wai ‘water’ + atā ‘person, owner’ > Waiatā ‘dragonfly’}\]

Copulative compounds have no semantic head, and the relation between the constituents is a relation of coordination (Booij 2005). They are sometimes called coordinate or dvandva compounds (Aikhenvald 2007). In SL, compounds of this type have a semantic relation between the parts that involves notion of the same kind or group, or a pair of opposition. The two component parts are usually of the same word class. These compounds are not productive. The two parts forming these expressions are commonly fixed; therefore they cannot change places and cannot be replaced by others. These forms are frequently found in ritual language, where speaking in pairs (Fox 2014) or parallelism (Klamer 2002) is virtually required. The meanings they imply are also various as illustrated in the examples below, grouped based on the word class of the component parts.

a. Noun + noun

A combination of noun + noun involves those of the same category, for example an animal word with another animal word, or a weather-related expression with another-weather related expression. These pairing-words can be hyponymy, such as animal and live stock (64a), parallel such as corn and rice (64b), or opposition, such as father and mother (64c), and related in some or other ways such as water and firewood (64d). The meanings they denote are either compositional or idiomatic. Compositional meanings include a collective group of various objects of the same kind, and a collection of identical objects. Idiomatic meanings are culturally related.

(64a). éhé ‘animals’ + ewâ ‘live stock’ >éhé ewâ ‘all entire live stocks’
ulî ‘place to sleep’ + ékâ ‘universe’ >ulî ékâ ‘one’s own place’
(64b). aho ‘dog’ + manu ‘chicken’ >aho manu ‘all domesticated animals’
ina ‘mother’ + bine ‘sister’ >ina bine ‘all female relatives’
(64c). ina ‘mother’ + ama ‘father’ >ina ama ‘wife-giver clans’
kaka ‘older sibling’ + ari ‘younger sibling’ >kaka ari ‘all relatives’
(64d). léra ‘sun’ + wulà ‘moon’ >léra wulà ‘Male God’
urà ‘rain’ + angī ‘wind’ >urà angī ‘storm’

b. Verb + verb

Combinations of two verbs commonly involve those which are either synonymous, as in (65a), where the combination expresses a progressive or continuous event, or antonymous, as in (65b), where the unification implies a repetitious event.

(65a). biho ‘cook’ + béhĩ ‘serve’ >biho bēhĩ ‘on progress of preparing meals’
sema ‘touch’ + sa’ī ‘hold’ >sema sa’ī ‘keep on touching something’
(65b). géré ‘in’ + lodo ‘out’ >géré lodo ‘get in and out repeatedly’
tepa ‘slap’ + tobã ‘push to fall’ >tepa tobã ‘slap furiously’

c. Adjective + adjective

Unification of two adjectives usually involves those which are either antonymous or synonymous. The combination of two antonymous adjectives implies a collection or group, as in (66a), whereas the combination of two synonymous adjectives denotes intensification as in (66b).

(66a). bélé ‘big’ + kré ‘small’ >bèle kré ‘a group of objects of all size’
kesu ‘short’ + bla ha ‘long’ >kesu bla ha ‘objects of various length’
(66b). krué ‘curly’ + krude ‘tangled’ >krué krude ‘very curly, kinky’
mitẽ ‘black’ + pruhē ‘dark’ >mitẽ pruhē ‘extremely black/dark’
5 Lexical Categories

5.1 Introduction

The term ‘lexical category’, traditionally known as ‘parts-of-speech’ or ‘word class’, is a grammatical term used to discuss classes of words of a given language distinguished by language-specific morpho-syntactic criteria (Wierzbicka 2000). Lexical categories are either open or closed. Open (major) categories have virtually an unlimited number of members, whereas closed (minor) categories have the opposite. The most widely agreed open class categories are nouns and verbs – see e.g. Schachter & Shopen (2007: 5), Wierzbicka (2000: 287), and these two categories are generally believed to exist in all natural languages.

In some languages, however, the distinctions between nouns and verbs are rather subtle. The best-known case is that of Nootka (Swadesh 1939: 78) where all sorts of ideas are expressed in the same general type of word, which can be used either predicatively or non-predicatively. The same situation has also been reported in Tagalog (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 12-13), and in Murrinh-Patha, an aboriginal language of northern Australia (Walsh 1996). Adjectives have long been considered a difficult word class to identify, yet, as Dixon (2010b: 62) has stated “when all relevant facts are taken into account an adjective class can be (and should be) recognized for every language, distinct from noun and verb classes”.

Adjectives are considered an open category in some languages but a closed one in others. In some languages, they make clear cut distinctions with nouns and verbs, and form an open class with a large membership. In others, however, they form a small closed class, with only a few members (Dixon 2010b: 63). Adverbs are attested to be an open category in certain languages, such as English, yet they are a closed class in others (Givón 2001a, Schachter & Shopen 2007). The remaining word classes are closed categories. The closed categories found in most languages include conjunctions, particles, and adpositions.

Nevertheless, whatever lexical category a word may belong to, the inclusion of a particular lexical item in a given word class should generally be based on
language specific criteria; that is, based on the grammatical properties of the language being investigated. Grammatical properties that are taken to be criteria for lexical classification include distributional, functional and semantic properties (Schachter & Shopen 2007).

The ‘distributional properties’ refer to two things. First, the word-internal structure; i.e. the morphological properties of the words, such as affixes that the words take and the categorizations of the words which include such features as number, definiteness, case, tense, aspect and mood. Second, the word-external factors; i.e. the syntactic properties of the words which concern the status of items in syntactic units, such as phrases and clauses, and syntactic information such as word order, word distribution and collocations. Functional properties refer to the syntactic functions the words play in the structures in which they occur. Each word in a syntactic structure can play various grammatical functions such as subject, predicate, object, modifier, and adverb. Finally, semantic properties refer to the concept of universal semantic grounds, such as the use of universal exemplars in Wierzbicka (2000).

In SL, open lexical categories are nouns (§5.2), verbs (§5.3) and adjectives (§5.4), whereas closed categories include pronouns and other pro-nominal forms (§5.5), adverbs (aspectual, modal and temporal) (§5.6), demonstratives (§5.7), spatial deictics (§5.8), numerals (numeral, numeral classifiers, and quantifiers) (§5.9), conjunctions (§5.10), and question words (§5.11).

Many lexical items in SL appear to be ambiguous. For example, the word meaning ‘big’ in SL is béle. Semantically, it denotes the state of a property of an object (see e.g. Dixon (2010b: 70)), hence, it is considered an adjective, but in terms of distributional property, it cannot be distinguished from nouns and verbs, because it also embraces properties which are associated with nouns and verbs. These shared properties will be discussed in detail in §5.4.

5.2 Nouns

The term ‘noun’ is traditionally assigned to the category in which the names of most persons, places, and things occur. This category contains items that refer to time-stable concepts; i.e. concepts that characteristically do not vary appreciably over time (Payne 1997, Schachter & Shopen 2007).
Nouns in SL are characterized by (i) semantically being members of the category in which names of most persons, places and things occur; (ii) syntactically having the ability to take the role as head of a noun phrase (NP, hereafter), occupy the syntactic slot of an argument, occur with attributive and demonstrative article pé/wé ‘that’ and pi/wi ‘this’; and (iii) being morpho-syntactically coreferential with the S/A-argument marker proclitic and S-argument marker enclitics. They do not have morphological cases or number, class or gender, or definiteness markings.

Two classes of nouns in SL can be distinguished based on their distributional properties: proper nouns and common nouns

5.2.1 Proper nouns

Proper nouns, including proper names and place names, cannot be modified, and therefore are distinct from common nouns. Human proper names in SL usually consist of three words. Following the order they are usually written in official documents, first comes a Christian name, and then a given or middle name, and finally a family or clan name. A middle name is commonly given by re-using the names of a baby’s grandparents or great-grandparents, but often it is given as a kind of social attribute, such as Nirō-opū (Nirō is a clan name, and opū is wife taker) ‘the wife taker of Nirō clan’. The nickname is either the Christian name or the middle name. Two examples of human proper names in SL are given in (1).

(1). Human proper names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Clan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yohanes</td>
<td>Ola</td>
<td>Tukan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaudensius</td>
<td>Bainraya</td>
<td>Kroon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Clan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Ose</td>
<td>Niron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magdalena</td>
<td>Kolibine</td>
<td>Lewar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Names of geographic locations or places are often phrasal, describing some aspect or characteristic of the location. For example, Ongẽlérē (officially written Ongalèreng), consists of two words: ongẽ ‘a piece of land containing coconut and lontar trees’ and lérēː ‘low land’, hence Ongẽlérē is a low land area with coconuts and lontar trees. Place names in SL may also have a legendary origin. For example, Bélobota consists
of bélo ‘kill’ and Bota ‘a female human name’, thus Bélobota is a place where Bota was killed. Some examples of place names in SL are given in (2).

(2). Place names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Villages</td>
<td>Karawatũ, Lemanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaches</td>
<td>Ailera, Liko.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadies (dry rivers)</td>
<td>Waiparak, Liwo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm areas</td>
<td>Otã, Petola Pukẽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market places</td>
<td>Podor, Ena.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountains</td>
<td>Napo, Watoreka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hills</td>
<td>Blopo, Menala kawak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springs</td>
<td>Wai Bele'ẽ, Wai Wao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.2 Common nouns

5.2.2.1 Alienable and inalienable nouns

Common nouns may be grouped based on the possessive construction they take: alienable and inalienable nouns. Alienable nouns have detachable possessive markers from the noun being possessed, whereas inalienable ones are the opposite (§4.1.2.2c). Inalienable nouns include body parts, nouns considered as part of a whole and location indicating a part of an area. They have obligatory suffixes (see Table 4.4). In contrast, alienable nouns can occur without these possessor suffixes. Possessive markings are indicated by genitive pronouns (see Table 5.2).

(3). Inalienable nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Body parts</td>
<td>- kot(e)=k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>head=1SGPOSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>my head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- lim(a)=ã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hand=3SGPOSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his/her hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of a whole</td>
<td>- kayo lepa=ã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tree leaf=3SGPOSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tree leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- witi tal(é)=ĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goat rope=3SGPOSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rope of a goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>- largo kol(a)=ã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>house back=3SGPOSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>behind the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- oto one=ẽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>car heart=3SGPOSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inside the car</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4). Alienable nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- largo go'ẽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>house 1SGGEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>my house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- béro ra'ẽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>canoe 3SGGEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>their canoe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locative nouns discussed later in §5.2.5 also take similar forms of enclitics as those used with inalienable nouns. These nouns are usually metaphorical expressions extended from terms of body and plant parts as in (5).
(5). lolō → lol(o)=’ô (surface=3SGPOSS) ‘on, above’
    Na'è tobo raè  wato  lolō  
    3SG sit  DIR.LAND stone  on
    He sat on the stone.

5.2.2.2 Countable and mass nouns

In terms of countability, SL common nouns may be grouped into count and mass
nouns, yet both groups cannot be distinguished morphologically; instead they can
only be distinguished by the use of numerals, as shown in (6). The use of quantity
expressions also does not distinguish both groups as in (7). The quantity of the mass
nouns in SL is indicated by a medium in which they are contained or measured, called
measure words (§5.9.2) as in (8).

(6).  lango rua  but not: *wai rua
       house two  water two
       two houses

(7)  lango aya'ã  also: wai aya'ã
       house a.lot.of  water a.lot.of
       a lot of houses  a lot of water

(8).  wai  gelas lema
       water glass five
       five glasses of water

5.2.3 Derived nouns

Derived nouns in SL are formed from verbs and adjectives by affixation of be-
(§4.1.3.1a), keN- (§4.1.3.1b), <en> (§4.1.3.1c), and nasal substitution (§4.1.3.1d).
Derived nouns from adjectives undergo a morphological process by taking the prefix
keN- (§4.1.3.1b, see example (31a-b)).

5.2.4 Compound nouns

Compound nouns in SL form a combination which looks similar to ordinary noun
phrases, yet they differ in semantic property. The combination in compounds is
morphologically motivated and results in a new lexical meaning and reference or in
an idiomatic expression (see §4.2.2). The combination in ordinary noun phrases is
syntactically motivated and expresses a modified – modifying relationship.
5.2.5 Locative nouns

Locative nouns in SL play crucial roles in SL morphosyntactic systems for the following reasons. First, they convey concepts which in other languages such as English, are expressed by prepositions. Second, they specify the projection of the directional and spatial system in SL (see §5.8). Without these nouns, the semantics of a directional or spatial concept is unspecified. Two examples of locative nouns are given in (9)\(^{24}\), and a complete list is given in Appendix 3.1. An example illustrating the use of a locative noun is given in (10). Another discussion related to the use of locative nouns is presented in §5.8.

(9). \(\text{lolõ} \quad \text{‘on’} \rightarrow (\text{lol(ø)}=\hat{o} <\text{surface}=3\text{SGPOSS})\)\(^{25}\)  
    \(\text{kolã} \quad \text{‘behind’} \rightarrow (\text{kol(a)}=\hat{a} <\text{back}=3\text{SGPOSS})\)

(10). Labu=ũ goé ta’o pé geré lolõ wé.  
    Shirt=3SGPOSS 1SG put there bed on that.  
    Your shirt, I put it on your bed.

5.2.6 Kinship nouns

Kinship words in SL are put aside as a distinct group of nouns simply because they are semantically different from ordinary nouns. They have no referential entities, but relate to abstract genealogical relationships of an individual, and are used to designate a relationship of an individual with other individuals within a community connected by blood, marriage, adoption or a fostering relationship.

Barnes (1979) noted that the structures of the genealogical relationship system in Lamaholot are the same in each district or dialect. The system is ordered by an asymmetric marriage prescription and a rule of patrilineal descent. Although having a patrilineal system, the idea of ideological distinctions between the clan as a wife-taker and that as a wife-giver is an important concept, not only in the daily encounters among the language speakers but also in the role-taking turns in various traditional affairs. In this ideology, wife-givers are superior to wife-takers. This inequality is clearly seen in the ceremonial and spiritual supremacy of the wife-giver clans over the

\(^{24}\) Note that most of the morphological processes that occur with these locative nouns follow the allomorphic form of the 3rd-person singular listed in Table 4.4, marked with ‘V, which I refer to as a ‘possessive nasalization’ (§4.1.2.2c and §4.1.3.2b).

\(^{25}\) Just to make it simple, I do not gloss these locative nouns with the morphemic component composing the word, but rather with the locative meaning they denote. Therefore, \text{lolõ}, for example, will be glossed ‘on’ and \text{kolã} will be glossed ‘behind’.
wife-taker ones. It is also observed in the obligations of services and deference which the wife-takers are obliged to accomplish to the wife-givers (Barnes 1979: 19). A complete list of SL kinship nouns is given in Appendix 3.2.

5.3 Verbs

Cross-linguistic studies have identified verbs as a lexical category in which most of the words that express actions, processes, and the like occur. These words are the least time-stable concepts – see e.g. Schachter and Shopen (2007) and Payne (1997).

The distributional properties of verbs in SL include (i) to serve as a head of a verb phrase (VP, hereafter) and as a predicate of clauses, and (ii) to code events. They are easily identified morphologically because they do not possess bound morpheme markings for tense, aspect and mood (TAM). TAM are indicated by independent expressions (see §5.6). SL verbs may simply be characterized by obligatorily taking S/A-argument marking proclitics (Table 4.1), but this property applies only to a handful of roots identified as verbal bound roots (listed in (3), Chapter 4). Verbs in SL may also be conjoined in larger multi-verb constructions such as complex predicates or SVCs. SL verbs may be grouped based on the following.

5.3.1 Verb Valency

Verb valency relates to the number of arguments licensed by a verb. In SL, four major classes of verbs may be established; they include intransitive, transitive, ditransitive and ambitransitive.

5.3.1.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs select one argument as the clause subject. Those of bound roots require pronominal proclitics (Table 4.1), and may optionally be attached with S-argument agreement marker enclitics (Table 4.3), as in (11), but those of independent ones optionally take the S-argument agreement marker enclitics only, as in (12).

(11). Kamé m-ai=ke bau.
1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=go=1PL(exc) tomorrow.
We will leave tomorrow.

(12). Ra'é ru'a=ka ola=ka
3PL two=3PL farm=3PL
Both them are farming.
In addition to inherent property, intransitivity of verbs in SL is also marked by the use of pronominal enclitics (Table 4.3) and the prefix pe- (§4.1.3.3). These two linguistic devices change verb valency from transitive to intransitive, as in (13) and (14) respectively.

(13). Bapa ra‘é mété batĩ=na.
Father they PROG hunt=3PL
Father and other people (they) are hunting.

(14). Ema pe-maha=’a waha kaé.
Mother DTRANS-wash=3SG finish PERF.
Mother already finished washing.

5.3.1.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs select two arguments as a clause subject and object respectively. Dependent transitive verb roots obligatorily take pronominal proclitics, as in (15). These proclitic morphemes are always coreferential with the clause subject.

(15). Ra‘é r=ewã wata.
3PL 3PL=harvest corn.
They harvested corn.

Independent transitive verbs have a simple morphology as in (16). The forms of personal pronouns used as an object are the same as those used as a subject (see Table 5.2), except the 3rd-person singular which uses =ro attached to the clause predicate as in (17) (see §4.1.2.2b)

(16). Bapa geto kayo.
Father fell tree.
Father fell a tree.

(17). Ema berĩ =ro
Mother hit=3SG
Mother hit him/her.

5.3.1.3 Ambitransitive verbs

Transitive verbs in SL may be grouped into pure transitive and ambitransitive. Pure transitive verbs are typical transitive verbs; they require a canonical object (patient). Ambitransitive verbs are those that can be used transitively or intransitively. Interestingly, this class of verbs includes some of those which are considered typical transitive in most of the world’s languages, such as ‘kill’ bélo and ‘call’ mayã. Compare (18) which uses a pure transitive verb and (19a and 19b) which use an
ambitransitive verb. When the verb in (18) is attached with the pronominal enclitic =na (3SG), the clause turns out to be ungrammatical, which is contrary to the one in (19b). A list of SL ambitransitive verbs is given in Appendix 3.3.

(18). Ra'ê berĩ aho → *Ra'ê berĩ=na.
3PL hit dog 3PL hit=3PL.
They hit a dog.

(19a). Ra'ê bélo Bota
3PL kill Bota
They killed Bota.

(19b). Ra'ê métė belo=ka.
3PL PROG kill=3PL.
They were fighting (somebody).

5.3.1.4 Three-place verbs

Three-place verbs select three arguments: a subject, a direct object and an indirect object. The direct object is the one that is being acted upon, whereas the indirect one is indirectly affected by the action and is usually a recipient of the direct object.

Clauses in SL with a three-place verb can take two constructions. First, a double object construction, where an indirect object comes immediately after the verb and is followed by a direct object, as in (20). Second, an oblique dative construction, where a direct object comes immediately after the verb and the indirect object is expressed as an oblique with the preposition ia (the only preposition in SL, see §5.8.4) as in (21a), or as an object of a second verb, usually sorõ or néĩ ‘give’ (§5.3.4.3) in a SVC, as in (21b). If pronouns are used as a direct or an indirect object, they take the same forms as those used for subject, except the 3rd-person singular which takes =ro. Description regarding the use of this object clitic has been presented in §4.1.2.2b, but note that only the object that comes immediately after the verb may be substituted with =ro (see § 9.2.2.1).

(20). Go'ê hopë bapa labu to'u.
1SG buy mother shirt one.
I bought father a shirt.

(21a). Ra'ê sorõ labu to'u ia bapa.
3PL give shirt one PREP father
They gave a shirt to father.

(21b). Ra'ê hopë labu to'u sorõ bapa.
3PL buy shirt one give father.
They bought a shirt for father.
5.3.2 Verb semantics

Verbs are universally considered to be the core of clauses. Their semantic properties strongly influence their syntactic behavior in terms of the interpretation of the semantic roles of their arguments and the number of arguments they require (Dixon 2005). The fact that the syntactic behavior of a verb is semantically determined has provided possibility as a powerful technique for the investigation of verb groups. Verbs admittedly have different grammatical properties from language to language but there are usually some major groups, which according to Dixon (2005: 9) includes such classes of verbs as motion, rest, affect, attention, giving and speaking.

Levin (1993) identified thirty-two verb classes in English based on an approach known as diathesis alternations. It is an approach in which a close syntactic and semantic evaluation is carried out on the same verb that can appear in a variety of sub-categorization frames related to one another through valency alternations. It is believed that the manner in which verbs undergo diathesis alternation can be used to identify the semantic class they belong to.

This section tries to roughly classify verbs in SL based on their semantic properties and syntactic behavior. This classification is admittedly not detailed and neat, and perhaps not consistent either, because one part overlaps with the other and therefore further careful examination with a large verb corpus is recommended. Some verbal semantic concepts referred to in this classification are adopted from various schemas, including those of Dowty (1979), Levin (1993), Fillmore (1970) and Dixon (2005). Referring to these concepts, SL verbs are grouped into the following, yet due to the limitation of space, a list of respective verb groups discussed below is provided in Appendix 3.4-15.

5.3.2.1 Motion verbs

Motion verbs express a kind of motion such as go, walk, run, etc.. They refer to events in which the participant, called ‘Moving’ (Dixon 2005), moves through space. Motion verbs can be further grouped into manner-of-motion and motion-path verbs.

a. Manner-of-motion verbs

Manner-of-motion verbs encode information about the physical modality of motion but, in contrast to the so-called motion-path verbs, they do not provide information
about a specific direction of motion. There are two types of manner-of-motion verbs in SL: (1) those that go with agent arguments, and (2) those that go with undergoer arguments.

1. Manner-of-motion verbs with an agent argument

This group of motion verb describes voluntary activities. In Levin & Hovav’s (1992) classification, these verbs are included in run-class verbs because the movement of the thing moved is internally instigated. In other words, their movement is caused by an internal force, as opposed to manner-of-motion verbs that come with undergoer arguments. These verbs are used in intransitive constructions as shown by pana ‘walk’ in (22). The intended verb is in bold.

(22). Na'ë pana=a kaé 3SG walk=3SG already
He already walked away.

2. Manner-of-motion verbs with an undergoer argument

Motion verbs of this type are the opposite of the type just described. They are usually involuntary and grouped into roll-class verbs of Levin and Hovav’s (1992) grouping because they involve external force; that is their motion is attributed to an external instigation, such as a push or gravity as illustrated with dekat ‘fall’ in (23).

(23). Adé dekat=a lali watã. Younger.sibling fall=3SG DIR.DOWN beach
My younger sibling fell on the beach.

b. Motion-path verbs

Motion-path verbs cover all verbs which incorporate the direction of the movement. Because directionality represents a primary feature of this category, motion-path verbs are sometimes called directional verbs. In Levin and Hovav’s (1992) classification, this class is labeled arrive-class verbs. In SL, this verb class includes those of deictic motions (Table 5.6), and is intimately related to the concepts of spatial expressions, called directional or spatial deictic expressions discussed in §5.8.

(24). Ra'ë lua lali watã r=ai. 3PL descend DIR.DOWN beach 3PL=go.
They went down to the beach.
5.3.2.2 Locomotion verbs

Locomotion verbs refer to those events during which one participant, usually an agent argument, moves another participant through space along a certain trajectory. These verbs represent a borderline category between manner-of-motion and motion-path verbs. Manner-of-motion verbs lack information about any specific direction of motion, whereas motion-path verbs do not provide any specific manner in which the movement is carried out - see e.g. Levin (1993) and Levin and Hovav (1992).

Dixon (2005: 106) grouped this type of verb as take verbs; that is, those activities that cause something to be in motion with respect to a Locus (the place of rest, or place where the motion occurs). In SL, these verbs are all transitive with an agent argument playing as Causer (normally human) of the movement from point A to point B, as illustrated by +eté ‘bring’ in (25).

(25). Na'ẽ n=eté ule wé welu raẽ duli one'ẽ.  
3SG 3SG-bring caterpillar that throw DIR.LAND valley inside.  
She brought the caterpillar into the valley and threw it there.

5.3.2.3 Affect verbs

Affect or impact verbs are generally transitive. They describe events during which an Agent participant moves in such a way that it comes into contact with a Target or Patient participant. Often, the Agent participant manipulates another participant referred to as Manip (after Dixon (2005)) towards the Target participant. The motion or manipulation results in a kind of impact experienced, in most of the cases, by the Patient, the participant to which the motion is aimed.

In cases where an Agent manipulates a Manip, the impact is experienced by the Agent, or the Patient or both – see e.g. Dixon (2005: 110). In SL, clauses using a Manip are always in the form of SVCs, containing two verbs with the same Agent argument. The verb occurring first is the clause primary predicate, and the second is the type referred to in this study as prepositional verb (§5.3.4), which expresses a Manip role. (26a) illustrates the use of this class of verbs without a Manip, and (26b) with a Manip where na'ã is the second verb encoding a Manip role.

(26a). Bapa data kenawẽ.  
Father destroy door.  
Father destroyed the door.
5.3.2.4 Posture verbs

Posture verbs refer to postures or body positions taken by a participant. These verbs are basically intransitive, and therefore they require a single core argument playing the role as a clause subject. An example illustrating a posture verb is given below.

(27a). Selayu \texttt{tur}u='u \texttt{plaha} \texttt{mopa}-mopa
Selayu sleep=3SG stretch.leg straight=RED
Selayu slept while stretching his legs straight.

A few of these verbs, however, can be used transitively. In this case, the meaning of the verb is extended to denote the bodily posture of a thing, as shown in (27b).

(27b). Pu'u waha, \texttt{hobé} mako pé \texttt{geré} wé.
Wash finish, lie.face.down bowl there divan that.
After you finish washing, lie the bowl face down on that divan.

Interestingly, some posture verbs can also be extended to express adverbial meaning, especially the adverb of manner as illustrated in (27c). This extended meaning is used in SVCs only, where there are two verbs that are used simultaneously with a single clause argument subject. The first verb is the clause main predicate, whereas the second verb denotes the manner describing the body position of the subject.

(27c). Na'ē \texttt{nawo} ana n=abe \texttt{geliki}.
3SG put baby 3SG=EVID lie.sideways
She put the baby sideways.

5.3.2.5 Utterance verbs

Utterance verbs refer to acts of different ways of communication among language speakers. They usually involve such participants as the Speaker and the Addressee, both of which are realized as NPs, as well as the Message, which can be a NP, as in (28a) or a complement clause as in (28b) or direct speech as in (28c). In the clauses with a Message, \texttt{marï} ‘say’ is used as a complementizer (glossed ‘THAT’) (§7.3.2). This word has likely undergone lexicalization, turning it into a complementizer, usually spelled and pronounced as \texttt{merï}. When the main verb is also \texttt{marï} ‘say’, two \texttt{mari} words appear in the clause, as in (28d).
He told us a story.

They announced that tomorrow we will have a working bee.

What did she say?

She said “you are very pretty”.

She said that she does not like you.

Verbs of human mental processes and activities refer to verbs of perception, cognition and experience. This type of verb can also be used for animals and things which have metaphorically been regarded as human beings. They can be roughly grouped into verbs of perception, cognition, and experience.

**a. Verbs of perception**

Verbs of perception in SL involve the five channels of human senses; (1) ears for sound, (2) tongue for taste, (3) skin for feeling, (4) nose for smelling, and (5) eyes for seeing. Perception involving sense 1 to 4 is expressed with a single verb *baĩ*, which literally means ‘listen’ or ‘hear’. The same verb *baĩ* is also used to express emotional feeling such as ‘happy’, ‘sad’, etc. The use of *baĩ* to express perception of sense (1) is often combined with the complementizer *merĩ* to indicate a complement clause. Examples using the verb *baĩ* for sense (1) to (4) are illustrated in (29a-d) respectively. The use of the verb *baĩ* with an emotional expression is given in (29e). The hearing sense with a complement clause is presented in (29f) and the viewing sense is expressed with *hulẽ* ‘see’ and *lenge* ‘look at’ as shown in (29g).

(29a). Na'ẽ *baĩ* aho geni.
3SG hear dog fight.
He heard dog fighting.
(29b). Go baĩ wulũ pi pero-pero.
1SG hear vegetable this salty-RED.
To my taste, this soup is very salty.

(29c). Goʻe baĩ ekã platé-platé wé aké tobo dahé-dahé.
1SG hear environment hot-RED that do.not sit near-RED.
I am feeling hot, don’t sit too close to me.

Who fart=3SG this? 1SG hear fart odor.
Who farted? I smelled a fart.

(29e). Goʻe baĩ one=ke kemu-kemu wi.
1SG hear heart=1SGPOSS lazy-RED now
I am feeling very lazy at the moment.

(29f). Goʻe baĩ merĩ m=ai=ke bali bau go?
1SG hear THAT you(PL) 2PL=go=2PL return tomorrow PRT?
I heard that you are leaving tomorrow, is that right?

(29g). Ema hulẽ ula toʻu pé raé.
Mother see snake one there DIR.LAND.
Mother saw a snake over there.

b. Verbs of cognition

SL lacks expressions that refer to cognition. The only verb that has semantic proximity to the cognitive domain is the bound root +oi ‘know, see, be able to’. This verb shares other verbal semantic domains including verbs used to express viewing perception meaning ‘see, look at’, and to express secondary concept ‘can, be able to’, known as secondary verbs (Dixon 2010b: 399). When +oi is used for a perception sense, it requires an object argument expressed in a noun phrase as in (30a), but when it is utilized for a cognitive sense, this verb requires an object argument in the form of a complement clause (see §7.4), as in (30b).

(30a). Naʻe n=oi Honda tou.
3SG 3SG=see Honda one.
He saw a Honda motorbike.

(30b). Kamé m=oi merĩ moʻe temaka=yo di
1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=know THAT 2SG steal=2SG PRT
Indeed, we knew that you stole (something).

As seen in these examples, the use of +oi with a viewing sense in (30a) is simply followed by a noun phrase, but the use of the same root with a cognitive sense in (30b) requires a complement clause as a core argument. The existence of the complement clause which takes over the slot of a core argument is evident from the
fact that the complement clause can be substituted with the object pronoun \(=ro\). For example, a response to the statement in (30b) would be that in (30c) below. The use of \(=ro\) is anaphoric, which refers back to the clause \(mo'ë temakayo\) ‘you stole (something)’.

(30c). He'ë, ra'ë ike=rë di \(r=oi=ro\).
Yes, 3PL other=3PL also 3PL=know=3SG.
That is true, other people also know it.

The fact that the verb with a cognitive sense ‘know’ requires a complement clause rather than a noun (phrase) has been observed across the world’s languages – see e.g. Dixon (2006a: 1, 2010a: 129, 2010b: 405). Verbs of this kind are called complement-taking verbs.

Interestingly, when the same root is used to express a secondary concept such as ‘can, be able to’ (Dixon 2010b: 399-405), it takes a form of construction completely different from those of the previous meanings described above. The concept is expressed through a SVC (§8.4.1 and §9.2.3.2), as in (30d); a linguistic procedure introduced in Dixon (2006a: 33) as complementation strategies.

(30d). Na'ë géré Honda \(n=oi=ro\)
3SG ride Honda 3SG=know=3SG.
He knows how to ride a Honda motorbike.
(Lit: He rides Honda motorbike, he knows how to do it / is able to do it).

This construction expresses a single proposition as is expressed in the free translation. The object pronoun \(=ro\) in noiro refers back to the previous clause \(na'ë géré Honda\).

The verb \(+oi\) with this sense in SL cannot be used in isolation as a clause primary predicate; we therefore cannot have (30e).

(30e). *Na'e \(n=oi\) géré Honda
3SG 3SG=be.able ride Honda
One may find a structure like \(na'ë noiro\) ‘he/she knows it’ uttered in isolation, but the referent of the object pronoun \(=ro\) must be understood contextually as it should refer to a proposition which is known by the interlocutors, as illustrated in (30c).

The different syntactic behaviors of the root \(+oi\) are obviously connected to the meaning it denotes. The meaning selects the type and structure of the argument that should go with it. The meaning ‘see’ selects a real object being seen or captured directly by the eyes. The object argument is therefore a concrete object in the form of noun phrases. The meaning ‘know’, on the other hand, selects an abstract object.
which, within the context in (30b) for example, is the knowledge of someone doing the stealing. The knowledge embodies a proposition, and therefore is expressed in the form of a clause.

The secondary concept meaning ‘be able to’ requires a different structure expressed in a serializing structure. Unlike English where secondary concepts are expressed in lexical forms, in SL the same concepts are expressed through SVCs. This conforms to what Dixon (2010b: 399) maintains “a secondary concept will always modify the meaning of a primary verb to which it is linked” through three different ways, one of which is by complementation strategies. One of the complementation strategies is serialization discussed in Chapter 8.

c. Verbs of experience

Verbs that describe what we experience are referred to as experience verbs. Verbs of this type usually have two roles: an Experiencer (human or a higher animal) who gets a certain feeling about the situation being experienced called a Stimulus (Dixon 2005). The meaning of the verb expresses the nature of the feeling. A few SL verbs, such as menerek ‘like’ can also be used intransitively in a serializing construction where it functions as the clause main verb and is followed by the prepositional verb +o’ō denoting a recipient, as in (31b) (see §8.3.6).

(31a). Ra’ē menangẽ ana wé aya=ka nē sorô-ro doi.
3PL feel.pity child that much=3PL then give=3SG money.
They felt pity for the child very much, so they gave him some money,

(31b). Go’ē menere=k k=ô’ō kebare pé n=ele labu me’ã wé.
1SG like=1SG 1SG=be.with young.woman that 3SG=wear shirt red that.
I like the woman who is wearing a red shirt.

5.3.2.7 Transaction and service verbs

Verbs of transaction and service refer to those activities that express actions typically done for someone else. Some of these verbs are Giving-verbs, after Dixon (2005: 119). This type of verb involves three semantic roles. They are a Donor, which transfers possession of some Gift to a Recipient. These verbs are typically ditransitive. Some others are typically transitive verbs which occur with a single object.

There are three syntactic patterns that are possible with these verbs. First, the Recipient is expressed syntactically as an oblique constituent with the preposition ia,
as in (32a). Second, the Recipient is expressed as an object of a serial verb *sorõ* ‘give’
or *néĩ* ‘give’, as in (32b). Third, both Gift and Recipient function as objects in a
double object construction (see e.g. Larson (1988)), as in (32c).

(32a). Ema **taku** lala ia adé.
Mother feed porridge PREP little.sibling
Mother spoon-fed porridge to my little brother.

(32b). Bapa **hopé** labu sorõ ema.
Father buy shirt give mother.
Father bought a shirt for mother.

(32c). Na'ẽ **déna** bapa=ā wai.
3SG boil father=3SGPOSS water.
She boiled water for her father.

5.3.2.8 Bodily process and activity verbs

Bodily process and activity verbs refer to processes that occur to or involve bodies of
humans and other animate participants. In Dixon (2005), this type of verb is classified
as **corporeal** verbs. These verbs involve an animate subject, usually human, but may
be extended to animals. A second role is possible when some substance is taken into a
body, expressed by verbs such as ‘eat’ and ‘suck’, or expelled out, expressed by such
verbs as ‘spit’ and ‘vomit’. Examples illustrating this class of verbs are given in (33).

(33a). Ana **pemoa** wé mat(a)=ā odo.
Child yawn that eye=3SGPOSS sleepy.
That child is yawning, it means he feels sleepy.

(33b). Witi **nihi** uwe lol(o)=ō.
Goat eat cassava leave=3SGPOSS.
The goat ate the cassava leaves.

5.3.3 Derived verbs

Some predicates in SL can be considered derived verbs. These verbs are derived from
various word classes including adjective, nominal and deictic words by suffixing the
pronominal enclitic morphemes (Table 4.3). Consider the following example where
the predicate is derived from an adjective.

(34). Pao **tité** mula wé blolo=ō kaé
Mango 1PL(inc) plant that tall=3SG PERF.
The mango we planted is already tall.
The adjective base *blolo* ‘tall’ in (34) is attached with the enclitic =’o (3SG), and this formation functions as an intransitive clause predicate expressing an inchoative meaning. This predicate is said to have been derived from an adjective.

These predicative forms, however, were discussed under different terms in some previous studies on Lamaholot. Nagaya (2011: 177), for example, called these forms ‘adjectival verbs’ and Keraf (1978: 215) ‘*kata kerja deajektival*’ (deadjectival verbs). Similar forms are also discussed in some Austronesian studies. Blust (2013: 493), for instance, included a group of adjective-like words under the term ‘stative verbs’, and Ross (2015) used the term ‘state verbs’ to refer to verbs of some Austronesian languages, which he glossed in English with, for example, ‘be(come) big’ and ‘be(come) strong’.

Having different names, these predicative forms need a discussion at length in order to come to a conclusive perspective, because they can potentially lead to conflicting analyses of the adjective bases in §5.4. The current challenge with these forms is whether to consider them derived verbs or stative/state verbs following Blust (2013) and Ross (2015). To discuss this issue in detail, I first need to take a brief overview about stative verbs.

Stative verbs are those lexical verbs whose meanings express a state of being, rather than an event. Saeed (2004: 119), for instance, mentioned English verbs such as *be, have, know* and *love* as belonging to this type of verb. These verbs allow speakers to see a situation as a continuous state without internal phases or alteration. They are usually contrasted with dynamic verbs; in that stative verbs are static or unchanging along the span of their entire duration, whereas dynamic verbs denote events that change over time.

Stative verbs in Austronesian linguistics, however, seem different from those exemplified in English by Saeed (2004). Most studies on Austronesian languages use the term ‘stative or state verb’ to refer to a group of verbs whose meanings are identical to adjectives in other languages. Ross (2015: 291), for example, listed Puyuma verbs which he glossed with ‘know, understand’ in the subtype of mental verbs, but others, which he glossed, for instance, with ‘be(come) big’ and ‘be(come) strong’ in the subtype of state verbs. Blust (2013: 493) also had the same perspective;
he remarks that adjective-like words generally appear to be stative verbs in AN languages.

As discussed later in §5.4, adjectives in SL have properties that are also shared by verbs and nouns. On the one hand, adjective bases can be used as a clause predicate as in (34), in which case they share the verbal property in that they are capable of being attached with the pronominal enclitics like ordinary intransitive verbs. On the other hand, the same adjective bases can undergo attributive nasalization in order to function attributively, a function which inherently belongs to adjective words. The nasalization process for an attributive purpose is similar to possessive nasalization of nouns. This fact may trigger a conflict, as to whether these base forms are adjectives or verbs.

Dixon (2010b: 67) proposes two alternative analyses for adjectives with these properties. The first analysis posits adjectives as a subclass of the categories with which they share some properties. This is what Nagaya (2011) has adopted. He grouped adjectival lexical units into adjectival verbs and adjectival nouns. The second analysis makes adjectives into a separate class, but this statement should be granted with necessary notes stating that some of their grammatical properties are similar to those of the other class. The second analysis is adopted here. Although adjectives in SL share some grammatical properties with verbs, they have other properties that are clearly distinctive. These properties characterize the adjectives in SL (see §5.4.2.3–5).

Following this analysis, two assumptions may be taken into account concerning the status of the derived predicative forms. Firstly, it is assumed that these derived forms take lexical bases from adjectives. When the bases are used predicatively, they are derived by the attachment of S-argument enclitics. Affixing an adjective word in order to function predicatively is also found in Indonesian. This is a productive strategy by which an adjective is converted into a clause predicate by using the circumfix ‘me…kan’ as in besar ‘big’ > membesarkan ‘to enlarge’ and putih ‘white’ > memutihkan ‘to whiten’.

Secondly, it is assumed that these forms are derived from bases of a category which is distinct from adjectives. In other words, there are two distinct categories possessing identical members of lexical bases: one group may be considered stative verbs and the other, adjectives. However, as discussed in §5.4.1, all adjective bases
can be used predicatively and therefore to decide that the same entire lexical items are also listed as members in another different lexical category may sound unwise. This is simply because it is not linguistically plausible to argue that all members of a given category are also members of a subtype of another distinct lexical category.

Alternatively, we can consider these lexical bases as pre-categorical roots – see also Keraf (1978: 216). When they are used predicatively, they are considered verbs, but when they are used attributively, they are considered adjectives. This is what Aikhenvald (2015: 86) has suggested with the term 'polyfunctionality of roots'. She noted that this linguistic phenomenon is pervasive in numerous Austronesian languages, where a number of roots can act as verbs and as nouns depending on the morphological markers being attached to them, and syntactic environment in which they occur. This option is, however, ruled out by the fact that there are adjective bare roots which are capable of being utilized for some syntactic functions including comparison (§5.4.2.3), intensification (§5.4.2.4) and manner (§5.4.2.5) without any morphological adjustment. This means that the bases cannot be considered as pre-categorical roots since they are also ready for use in linguistic structures.

From this discussion, I would propose that the more plausible option to choose as a foundation for further analysis is the first assumption: i.e. the forms under consideration are derived verbs. This option is considered wise enough, because it can accommodate the same forms which are derived from lexical categories other than adjectives, such as nouns and deictic words. The same phenomenon with a nominal base is also observed in Indonesian, as in *batu* ‘stone (noun)’ > *membatu* 'become stone (verb)’. This choice goes with the claim I have made in the introduction stating that adjectives in SL have some grammatical properties that are shared with nouns and verbs.

More examples illustrating derived clause predicates are presented in (35a), which is derived from a noun, and (35b), which is derived from a deictic word.

(35a). Uwé mo'ë tuno wé arã=na  kaë.
Cassava you bake that charcoal=3SG PERF.
The cassava you baked has turned into charcoal.

(35b). Kré'ë ra'ë pé=ka  kaë lé wati?
Child 3PL there=3PL PERF or IMPERF
Are the children already there or not yet?
It is necessary to note that although stative verbs do not naturally occur in the progressive context - see e.g. Allerton (2006: 156) and Saeed (2004: 119) - like most stative verbs in English, the derived verbs in SL can take both progressive and perfective aspects, as shown in (35c). This might be related to the semantic nature of the derived verb used. The verbs derived from adjective bases in SL are utilized to describe a process of becoming or getting the state denoted by the base. Yet, those derived from a noun base and a deictic word can only occur with a perfective aspect, as in (35a-b).

(35c). Ana temuhũ turu=ka wé ra'ẽ métẽ bẽle=ka.
Child baby sleep=3PL that 3PL PROG big=3PL.
When babies are sleeping, they are growing up.

5.3.4 Prepositional verbs

SL has a marginal group of verbs which, on one hand, are similar to ordinary verbs because they share the same syntactic and morphological characteristics, but on the other hand, denote semantic and syntactic roles similar to those expressed by a preposition in a non-serializing language like English. This group of verbs has been identified in languages with structures known as serial verb constructions - see e.g. Aikhenvald (2006b); Sebba (1987); Osam (1997) - spoken in West Africa, Southeast Asia, Amazonia, Oceania, and New Guinea (Aikhenvald 2006b). Verbs of this type are alternatively known in literature as ‘prepositional verbs’ (Klinken 2000), ‘verbal prepositions’ (Durie 1988), or ‘co-verbs’ (Li & Thompson 1974).

Prepositional verbs in SL can be categorized into five subtypes based on the syntactic meaning they imply and the semantic role they encode to the argument that comes with them. They are +a'ã to indicate Instrument and Manner, sorõ to indicate Recipient, +o'õ to indicate Concomitant and +ai to indicate Direction.

5.3.4.1 Prepositional verbs indicating Instrument

Prepositional verbs used to indicate Instrument take the verbal bound root +a'ã. This root is also utilized to express a Manner adverb discussed in §5.3.4.2. This verb root also has other meanings including ‘play’, ‘hit’ or ‘beat’ and ‘make’ which are used as a mono-verbal clause predicate. When the root is used as a prepositional verb, it comes as a second verb (V₂, hereafter) after the object of the clause main predicate or
the first verb ($V_1$, hereafter) and literally means ‘use’ as in (36a). It comes with a mandatory argument that semantically plays the role of an Instrument.

(36a). Ra'ê horo serdaru lau Potu dai r=a'ã bero.  
3PL bring soldier DIR.SEA Potu come 3PL=use canoe.  
They brought soldiers from Potu by canoe.

The meaning ‘use’ can also be utilized as $V_1$ and then a second verb follows as in (36b). Although the semantic role it encodes is still an Instrument, this structure is not a SVC because both verbs can be conjoined with the coordinator $nê$ ‘and (then)’ (see §5.10.1 and 7.2.1) as is indicated with an arrow.

(36b). Kamé m=a'ã talé éwa wawé. → Kamé ma’ã talé nê éwa wawé.  
1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=use rope trap pig.  
We used a rope to trap the pig.

It is also possible that the clause main predicate takes the same root as the prepositional verb, but the $V_1$ must have different meaning than that of the prepositional verb, as in (36c).

(36c). Ra'ê r=a'ã temaka wé r=a'ã pa'ê iku='ũ.  
3PL 3PL=beat thief that 3PL=use stingray tail=3SGPOSS  
They beat the thief with the tail of a stingray.

5.3.4.2 Prepositional verbs indicating Manner

In addition to expressing an Instrument role, the root $+a'ã$ is also used to express a Manner adverb. In this structure, it comes as $V_2$ along with a fully-reduplicated adjective (see §5.4.2.5) after the clause main predicate. When this root is used to encode a manner adverb, it is glossed ‘make’ or ‘do’, as in (37a). Yet, unlike $+a'ã$ used to express Instrument, the use of this root to encode a Manner adverb cannot be used in a $V_1$ position, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (37b).

(37a). Kamé pana m=a'ã paõ-paõ.  
1PL(exc) walk 1PL(exc)=do slow-RED.  
We walked slowly.

(37b). *Na'ê n=a'ã ku'a-ku'a berĩ aho.  
3SG 3SG=do strong-RED.  
(Intended for: He struck the dong powerfully).

5.3.4.3 Prepositional verbs indicating Recipient

The prepositional verbs used to indicate a Recipient in SL SVCs are sorõ or nêi ‘give’ and $+o'õ$ ‘towards’. When sorõ is used as a prepositional verb, it always occurs as $V_2$
after the object argument of the clause primary predicate. The clause primary predicate is usually a ditransitive verb as in (38a). Unlike +a'ã which can simultaneously be used as V₁ and a prepositional verb as V₂ in the same clause, sorõ can only be used either as a main verb or a prepositional verb. When it is used as a main verb, the Recipient in the clause is indicated by using the preposition ia (see §5.8.4) as in (38b).

(38a). Na'ẽ n=etẽ  kuẽ Sorabé sorõ ema.
   3SG 3SG=bring cake Sorabé give mother.
   He brought a Sorabé cake for mother.

(38b). Na'ẽ soro kuẽ Sorabé ia ema.
   3SG give cake Sorabé PREP mother.
   He gave the Sorabé cake to mother.

The use of the prepositional verb +o'õ to express a Recipient is basically with verbs of experience as the clause primary verb (see §5.3.2.6c). In this context, the feeling experienced by the clause subject is expressed to the clause object as a recipient. In Indonesian, the same context also applies to verbs, such as cinta ‘love’, as expressed in Saya cinta kepadanya (I love towards her) ‘I love her’. An example utilizing +o'õ to indicate Recipient is given in (39).

(39). Na'ẽ klemu-klemu, go'ẽ suka k=o'õ=ro.
   3SG pretty-RED 1SG love 1SG=to=3SG
   She is very pretty, I love her.

5.3.4.4 Prepositional verbs indicating Comitative

The prepositional verb used to encode a Comitative role is the verbal bound root +o'õ ‘be with’. In addition to expressing a prepositional meaning, this verb root can also be used as a clause primary predicate with several meanings including ‘have’ or ‘possess’, ‘take care of’, and ‘bring’ or ‘take’. The use as a prepositional verb is illustrated in (40).

(40). Kamẽ batĩ wawẽ m=o'õ Belawa.
   1PL(exc) hunt pig 1PL(exc)=be.with Belawa.
   We hunted wild pig with Belawa.

Similar to +a'ã used to encode Instrument, this prepositional verb can also be moved to the position close to the clause subject as shown in (41a-b), yet the current structure differs in one way, that is it still has a SVC as both verbs cannot be conjoined with a coordinator. This structure has a fronted oblique relation; it is transformed from the
one indicated with an arrow.

(41a). Ra'ē r=o'ō krē'ē r=ewā tapo. ← Ra'ē r=ewā tapo r=o'ō krē'ē.
   3PL 3PL=be.with children 3PL=harvest coconut.
   With the children, they harvested the coconut.

(41b). R=o'ō krē'ē ra'ē r=ewā tapo.
   3PL=be.with children 3PL=harvest coconut.
   With the children, they harvested the coconut.

The use of this prepositional verb as in (41), however, often conflicts with the other meaning ‘bring/take’. This happens when the verb occurs with a motion verb and both verbs take the same pronominal enclitic as in (42). This is discussed in §5.10.1.

(42). Kamē m=o'ō krē'ē watā m-ai
   1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=be.w 1PL(exc)=go
   We went to the beach with the children <OR> We take the children to the beach.

5.3.4.5 Prepositional verbs indicating Direction

The most frequently used prepositional verb to indicate direction is the verbal root +ai ‘go’. This verb usually co-occurs as V₂ with a motion verb as V₁, as in (43a). Other verbs that are also used to express a directional relation are motion-path verbs or directional verbs described in §5.3.2.1b.

(43a). Doré dopa ilé n=ai.
   Doré ascend mountain 3SG=go.
   Doré climbed up to the mountain.

It is possible that this prepositional verb occurs with the same verb root +ai as a clause primary predicate, as in (43b). When the root +ai is used as a prepositional verb, it must not be attached with pronominal enclitic morphemes, even if there is no clause primary predicate, as in (43c). When it occurs alone without a clause primary predicate, the predicate of the entire structure implies ‘go’ or ‘leave’, as in (43c).

(43b). Kamē m-ai=ke Otā m=ai bau.
   1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=go=1PL(exc) Otā 1PL(exc)=go tomorrow.
   We will go to Otā tomorrow.

(43c). Ema wulē n=ai / *n=ai='i.
   Mother market 3SG=go / 3SG=go=3SG.
   Mother went to the market.

5.4 Adjectives

Adjective is a lexical category used to express properties. They are known as describing words that are syntactically used to qualify a noun by giving more
information about the thing signified. Although previous linguistic studies found that this particular word class is not always readily identifiable in certain languages, and therefore is considered absent in the language, see e.g. (Dixon 1982), most recent linguistic literature has maintained that all languages have a distinguishable adjective class, just as they have distinguishable noun and verb classes (Dixon 2004).

Adjectives in SL have moderate complexity. They are easily recognized semantically based on universal semantic equivalence, but are grammatically laborious to identify. This is why several previous studies on Lamaholot have uncovered different findings. For example, Nishiyama & Kellen (2007) noted that there is a word-class generally known as adjective in Lamaholot. They demonstrated that adjectives in SL are clearly distinguishable from other major word-classes because (i) they can undergo comparison, and (ii) they can modify a noun directly. However, Nagaya (2011) never discussed adjectives as a word-class distinct from noun and verb classes. Instead, he discussed adjectives as a sub-class under noun and verb classes, which he called adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs respectively.

In this study, I demonstrate that there is indeed a word-class called adjective in SL. Previous studies on Lamaholot have different opinions about this lexical category because the properties of this word class in this language fall into two sides; on the one hand, they behave morpho-syntactically like nouns; but on the other hand, they also embrace some grammatical properties that are distinctly associated with verbs. This makes adjectives in SL roughly similar to those in languages whose adjective properties are also shared with nouns and verbs – see e.g. Dixon (2010b: 89) and Ross (1998a: 85).

Grammatical properties of adjectives in SL that are shared with nouns can be seen in two phenomena (Kroon 2014); first, they undergo nasalization process to be attributive (§4.1.3.2d), a process similar to the process occurring with nouns to express possession (§4.1.3.2b), and second, they can stand alone in a syntactic slot where nouns occur. Compare (44a) which uses an adjective base to express intensification (see §5.4.2.4) with (44b) which contains an attributive form and (44c) which contains a stand-alone adjective as an argument.

(44a). Ika wé béle-bélé.
Fish that big-RED
That fish is very big.
(44b). Na’ẽ weda ikã béle’ẽ to’u.
3SG catch fish big one
He caught a big fish.

(44c). Béle’ẽ wé go’ẽ.
Big that 1SGGEN
The big one is mine.

The adjective base meaning ‘big’ is béle as in (44a). This base form can only be used for a comparison (§5.4.2.3), an intensification (being reduplicated) (§5.4.2.4), and a manner adverb (expressed through SVC) (§5.4.2.5). It cannot be used for an attributive function. In order to function attributively, this root must undergo nasalization which transforms the root into béle’ẽ (see §5.4.2.2), as in (44b), a process that is similar to that occurring with common nouns to indicate possession (§4.1.3.2b).

Having these similarities, Nagaya (2011: 112-115) included nasalization of adjectives into the same morphological process occurring with nouns, and called it ‘Possessive/Nominalization suffix –N’. He believed that the nasalization that occurs with adjectives, such as béle ‘big’ > béle’ẽ ‘a big one’ (p. 114), is a process of nominalization. This is why there is no distinct class as adjective in his grammatical description of the Lewotobi dialect of Lamaholot. I will demonstrate later in §5.4.2.2 that this is not a nominalization.

As seen in (44c), the subject position is filled by the adjective word béle’ẽ. Although no noun is present there, it is understood that ‘there is something big’. This can be seen in the alternative structure in which the loan Indonesian relativizer ‘yang’ is used as in Yang béle’ẽ wé go’ẽ ‘the big one is mine’. Interestingly, although there is no noun head and it is only semantically understood as having an implicit noun, the adjective taking the slot of a noun can undergo relativization, as in (44d). This fact seems to secure the idea that an adjective is used in place of a noun (phrase).

(44d). Béle’ẽ pé dahé le(i)=ĩ wé go’ẽ.
Big there near foot=2SGPOSS that 1SGGEN.
The one that is near your feet is mine.

However, the stand-alone adjective in the place where a noun occurs is not grammatically driven, but rather contextually driven. In other words, even if it occurs in the clause argument slot, the entity being the referent in the clause is something else. In example (44c), the entity being understood is not ‘the bigness’, but ‘something else which is big’. Therefore the presence of the adjective is purely contextual, not syntactic. The original argument of the clause is not mentioned,
because it is assumed that everybody who is involved in the conversation knows what
is being referred to. Such utterances as (44c-d) are a product of an on-going
circumstance which all parties involved have knowledge about. This is exactly the
situation which Dixon (2004: 23) has considered by stating (emphasis added):

The other variation on the prototypical pattern is for an adjective to make up a
complete NP. In some languages this can be described as the adjective becoming
head of the NP, but in most instances it is better treated as an NP whose head
noun has been omitted (under certain discourse conditions), which consists just of
a modifier.

Shared grammatical properties between adjectives and verbs in SL can be seen in the
way an adjective is used predicatively (Kroon 2014). When an adjective is used as a
clause predicate, it can be attached with the S-argument marker enclitics, and co-
occur with asp ectual modifiers such as kaé ‘PERF’, mété ‘PROG’ and wati ‘IMP ERP’
and negation la ‘not’, as in (45).

(45). Ana ra'é mété béle=ka, tité ortua béle=te la kaé.
Children they PROG big=3PL, 1PL(inc) parent big=1PL(inc) not PERF.
Our children are still growing up; we parents do not grow up any more.

It seems convincing that in SL, words which are semantically considered as adjectives
in most languages have behaviors similar to intransitive verbs. This is, however, not
the case. I will demonstrate later in § 5.4.2.1 that even though they look similar, they
indeed belong to distinct lexical categories.

5.4.1 Semantic types of SL adjectives

Having grammatical properties resembling those of nouns and verbs, adjectives in SL
turn out to be problematic to identify based solely on their grammatical properties.
Dixon (2010a: 53) has suggested that for languages having adjectives that share
grammatical properties with nouns and verbs, the approach by identifying semantic
types would be useful. With this approach, the major semantic types of adjectives
which are identifiable in SL are listed in the following. Two examples only are
provided for each semantic type, but a longer list is given in Appendix 3.16. All these
adjectives are in the base form; they are not yet modified for certain grammatical
function. Some others are derived forms with notes in parenthesis.

(46a). Dimension:
béle ‘big’
blaha ‘long’
Adjectives of human propensity, especially those used to express emotions such as *happy* and *sad*, require a structure which is different from those used for other common adjectives. The subject of clauses with common adjectives used predicatively can be a pronoun or a noun (phrase), as in (47a), but the subject of clauses with human propensity adjectives uses body part expressions such as *one*.
‘heart’ and alé ‘stomach’. The experiencer is always expressed as the possessor of these body part nouns which are attached with the inalienable possessive enclitics (Table 4.4). This constructions are considered typical of AN languages – see e.g. Klamer (2001) and Musgrave (2006). An example with this structure is given in (47b). A list of adjectives which use these body part nouns27 as the clause subject is given in Appendix 3.17.

(47a). Kayo mo'é geto wé belolo'ô.
    Tree you cut.down that high
    The tree you cut down was high.

(47b). Baba one='ẽ glagi kedi teke n=ai='ĩ.
    Baba heart=3SGPOSS tangled then stand.up 3SG=go=3SG.
    Baba was angry and then went away.

5.4.2 Grammatical functions of SL adjectives

Adjectives in SL can take different morphemic forms when they take a particular grammatical function. There are five different grammatical functions that adjectives in SL may take. They are described in turn as follows.

5.4.2.1 Adjectives functioning as clause predicate

As a clause predicate, adjectives are used intransitively. They embrace some grammatical properties that are also shared by intransitive verbs. These include (i) being attached with S-argument marker enclitics; and (ii) co-occurrence with verbal particles indicating aspect, mood and polarity, as in (48).

(48). Wai mo'é dénã wé plate='é kaé.
    Water 2SG boil that hot=3SG PERF
    The water you boiled is already hot.

As is seen in (48), the adjective platé ‘hot’ is attached with the 3rd-person singular pronominal enclitic ='è. The predicative use of this adjective is also modified by the perfective aspect marker kaé. Another example illustrating the predicative use of an adjective is (45). In this example, the adjective base béle is used twice. In the first clause, it is modified by the aspectual word mété indicating progressive, but it is not attached with a pronominal enclitic. This happens because, as described in §4.1.2.2a, the use of mété ‘PROG’ along with a pronominal enclitic in an involuntary predicate

27 The body part nouns are always inalienably possessed. In this list, the 3rd-person singular inalienable possessive forms are used.
is prohibited. The other use of béle in the second clause is modified by the negator la and perfective marker kaé. It is also attached with the first plural inclusive pronominal enclitic =te.

5.4.2.2 Adjectives functioning as attribution

When functioning as modifiers, adjectives in SL take a form that is different from those used for other grammatical functions. The adjective words must undergo what I refer to in §4.1.3.2d as attributive nasalization. Nagaya (2011) called the process nominalization, and considered the results as derived nouns.

The current analysis, however, does not regard this nasalization process as nominalization, and therefore the results are not nouns. I would claim that the process, though similar to the one occurring with nouns to denote possessive, is a distinct one, simply because it occurs with a different word-class and constitutes a different grammatical meaning – see e.g. Nida’s (1952: 55-58) 5th principle of a morpheme identification. A corresponding situation in English would be the morpheme -s that attaches to a verb (to indicate simple present with a 3rd-person singular subject), and to a noun (to indicate plurality).

There are two pieces of evidence I can argue for my claim stating that the products of adjective nasalization are not nouns. Firstly, similar to Indonesian, which uses an adjective in the form of relative clauses conjoined with the relativizer yang as in rumah yang besar ‘a house which is big’, SL can also express an attributive function of adjectives in the same way by using the loan Indonesian relativizer yang as in (49a). Compare this structure with its Indonesian equivalence indicated with an arrow. If the word under consideration such as béle'ẽ has been a noun as a result of the nominalization, we would hope to be able to replace it with a generic noun. The result, however, is ungrammatical, as illustrated in (49b). The ungrammaticality also occurs with its Indonesian equivalence indicated with an arrow.

(49a). Lango yang béle'ẽ. → rumah yang besar
House REL big
A house which is big

(49b) *Lango yang lu'o → *Rumah yang alang-alang
House REL reed
Intended for: a reed house
Secondly, when asking ‘how big is something’, SL uses a question, which would mean something like “what is X’s bigness like?” If the result of the nasalization is a noun, we would expect the form to be able to substitute the word ‘bigness’ in the interrogative structure. This is not true, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (50a); instead the base form as in (50b), or the derived form with keN- (see §4.1.3.1b) as in (50c) is used.

(50a). *Béle'ẽ na'ẽ hélo â?
    Big 3SGGEN like what?

(50b). Béle na'ẽ hélo â?
    Big 3SGGEN like what?
    How big is it?

(50c). Kewelek na'ẽ hélo â?
    Bigness 3SGGEN like what?
    How big is it?

The nasalized form of an adjective for attributive purposes can also be used as a verbless clause complement (VCC) with an attribution relation (§6.3). Unlike those used as a verbal predicate where an adjective is attached with a pronominal enclitic, the adjective used as a VCC utilizes the same form as those used as noun modifiers. Consider, for example, (51a), where béle is used attributively, and (51b), where the same base is used predicatively.

(51a). Kayo wé béle'ẽ
    Tree that big
    That tree is big.

(51b). Kayo wé béle’ẽ kaé.
    Tree that big=3SG PERF.
    That tree has grown up.

When an adjective is used as a VCC, it takes the same form as that used for attribution. It is not attached with pronominal enclitics, but rather undergoes attributive nasalization, and therefore both structures (VCC and attribution) look similar. The difference between them can be seen by the use of a demonstrative determiner (pè/wè ‘that’ or pi/wi ‘this’), which always signals a noun phrase boundary. Consider (51c) where blolo’õ ‘high’ is used as a modifier and (51d), where it is utilized as a VCC.

(51c). Kayo blolo’õ wé narã=nẽ Kepapa.
    Tree high that name=3SGPOSS Kepapa.
    The name of the tall tree is Kepapa.
(51d). Kayo Kepapa pé raé wé bloloʻo.
The Kepapa tree over there is tall.

5.4.2.3 Adjectives used for comparison

Comparison in SL is made with adjectives, and this is one of the grammatical properties that distinguishes adjectives from other major word classes in SL. In expressing comparison, only the base forms of adjective are used. Consider (52a), where base adjectives are used in comparison, and (52b), which is ungrammatical because it uses a nasalized adjective form. (52c) is also unacceptable because it uses verb in the comparison clause. SL lacks superlative degree. The only morpheme used to express comparison is *di ‘more’ (glossed COMPAR = comparative). Comparative clauses are discussed in § 6.7.

(52a). Kebare rua=ka wé, pé di blolo wé di klemu.
Young girl two=3PL that, that COMPAR tall that COMPAR pretty.
For the two girls, the taller one is more beautiful than the other.

(52b). *Kebare pé di bloloʻo wé bine goʻē.
Young girl that COMPAR tall that sister 1SGPOSS.
*Intended for: The taller girl (compared to another one) over there is my sister.

(52c). *Ana wé di turu=ʻu, ana waike turu=ʻu la.
Child that COMPAR sleep=3SG, child other sleep=3SG not.

5.4.2.4 Adjective reduplication to express intensification

Adjectives in SL can be used to intensify the quality or property of a noun by fully reduplicating the base form of the intended adjective word. A full reduplication of an adjective word can also be used to express an adverb of manner, as described in §5.3.2.5. The difference between the two functions lies in the syntactic head they modify. Full reduplication of an adjective indicating intensification modifies the adjective within itself, whereas full reduplication of an adjective denoting a manner adverb modifies a verbal predicate, and it may be preceded by the prepositional verb +*dʻa ‘make’ (§5.3.4.2).

The semantic types of adjective that can be reduplicated to indicate intensification include all those described in §5.3.1, except the semantic type expressing age such as ulu ‘old’ and wuʻu ‘new’. An example illustrating reduplicated adjectives to express intensification is given in (53a). For the adjectives that do not
allow full reduplication to express this grammatical context, they use the indefinite quantifiers (§5.9.3) as in (53b). These quantifiers are also used with other adjectives.

(53a). Ra'ė gena ula blah-blaha to'u.
  3PL saw snake long-RED one
  They saw a very long snake.

(53b). Bapa=a'ā tua aya=ka ké ne pana n=a'ā rehi=i.
  Father=3SGPOSS old much=3SG PERF then walk 3SG-make unable=3SG.
  His father has been very old, so he was not able to walk any more.

5.4.2.5 Adjectives reduplication as adverb of manner

Adjectives in SL can also be used to express an adverb of manner by fully reduplicating a base form. The reduplicated form may occur with or without the prepositional verb +a'ã (§ 5.3.4.2), as in (54). However, not all semantic types of SL adjectives discussed in §5.4.1 can be used to express an adverb of manner. Only the age semantic type is not applicable to express an adverb of manner. Compare (54a), which uses a reduplicated adjective word with (54b), which is ungrammatical because it uses non-reduplicated form. Also compare (54c) which uses a bare adjective word, with (54d), which is unacceptable because it uses a nasalized adjective form.

(54a). Ana wé kria=na (n=a'ã) kemugu-kemugu.
  Boy that work=3SG (3SG=make) diligent-RED.
  That boy worked diligently.

(54b). *Ana wé kria=na (n=a'ã) kemugu.
  Boy that work=3SG (3SG=make) diligent.

(54c). Na'ē tiē kenawé (n=a'ã) béle-béle.
  3SG open door (3SG=make) big-RED.
  He opened the door widely.

(54d). *Na'ē tiē kenawé (n=a'ã) béle'ē-béle'ē.
  3SG open door (3SG=make) big-RED.

5.5 Pronouns and other pro-forms

5.5.1 Subject, object and genitive pronouns

Table 5.2 summarizes SL pronoun forms28, where subject and genitive forms in Table 4.5 are repeated here. Subject and object pronouns are free forms used as NP heads.

---

28 The long and short forms of these pronouns are not related to grammatical issues, but rather to the practical use by SL speakers in their daily conversation. In a slow or normal conversation, they use the long form, but in rapid speech, they tend to utilize the short forms. Individual style also influences whether to use the long or the short forms.
SL does not make a distinction between subject and object pronouns\textsuperscript{29}, except the third-person singular, which optionally uses $=ro$ or $=ro$ na$é$ for clause primary object.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Subject pronoun</th>
<th>Object pronoun</th>
<th>Genitive pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>go$é$</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>go$é$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mo$é$</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>mo$é$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>na$é$</td>
<td>na$é$</td>
<td>=$ro$/na$é$/ =$ro$ na$é$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(incl)</td>
<td>tité</td>
<td>tité</td>
<td>=ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(excl)</td>
<td>kamé</td>
<td>kamé</td>
<td>=ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mi$’o$</td>
<td>mi$’o$</td>
<td>=ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ra$é$</td>
<td>ra$é$</td>
<td>=ro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The invariable use of SL pronouns in both subject and object functions is illustrated in (55a), where the interpretation of grammatical relations relies solely on the word order. The only distinction is on the 3rd-person singular, which uses $=ro$ in addition to the na$é$ or na utilized for both subject and object pronouns, as shown in (55b). The use of the object enclitic $=ro$ was presented in §4.1.2.2b.

The distinction in the SL pronoun system is seen only in number and inclusiveness. The inclusiveness applies to the 1st-person plural only and relates to whether or not the addressee or the audience is included. The genitive forms can be used as possessive pronouns as in (55c), and as possessive adjectives or modifiers in NPs, as in (55d).

(55a). Go$é$ hoy$á$ na$é$ k$ü$ na$é$ gehi=$i$ dor$é$ go$é$ hala.  
1SG ask 3SG but 3SG disagree=3SG follow 1SG not.  
I invited him/her, but he/she refused and did not follow me.

(55b). Go$é$ mari=$ro$ na$é$ ka$é$ mer$ï$ mo$é$ suka na$é$.  
1SG tell=3SG 3SG PERF say 2SG like 3SG.  
I have told her that you like her.

(55c). Labu wi go$é$ n$é$ waik$ë$ wë na$é$  
Shirt this 1SG GEN and other that 3SG GEN.  
This shirt is mine, and that one is his/hers.

(55d). Lango mo$é$ di kelemu, lango kamé$ë$ kelemu la.  
House 2SG GEN more beautiful, house 1PL(exc) GEN beautiful not.  
Your house is more beautiful than our house.

\textsuperscript{29} Object pronoun enclitics vary among dialects of Lamaholot language. See e.g. Mandaru (1997) and Arndt (1937: 44) for Nusatadon (Adonara) dialect.
5.5.2 Interrogative pronouns

SL has only two interrogative pronouns: hégé (ata) ‘who’ and ā or aku ‘what’. The word ata ‘person’ is optionally used. There is no difference whether hégé is used to inquire about a subject NP or an object NP. The only way to know what syntactic function is being probed by this interrogative pronoun is by finding out in what syntactic slot it occurs (see §5.11).

Example (56a) questions a subject, whereas (56b) an object. Example (56c) questions an indirect object. The interrogative pronoun hégé can be combined with na'ē to question the possessive status of a thing, as in (56d). The na'ē word is simply glossed ‘possess’ to distinguish it from another na'ē used for ‘3SGGEN’.

(56a). Hégé seba go'ē?
Who look.for 1SG
Who looked for me?

(56b). Mo'é gete hégé?
2SG ask who?
Who did you ask?

(56c). Guru sorō hégé doi?
Teacher give who money?
Who did the teacher give the money to?

(56d). Lango wi hégé na'ē?
House this who posess?
Whose house is this?

The use of ā or aku ‘what’ yields a picture very similar to that of hégé ‘who’, though it is a bit more complicated because it can also be used as a noun meaning ‘thing’ as in (57f). Sentences in (57a-b) illustrate the use of question word ā or aku as an interrogative question to ask after an object or a thing.

(57a). Ā/aku gikē=ro?
What bite=3SG
What bit him/her?

(57b). Ra'ē r=etē ā/aku?
They 3PL=bring what?
What did they bring?

This question word can also be combined with na'ā ‘3SG=make’, but simply glossed ‘make’, to question a reason, as in (57c). Alternatively, a reason can also be asked with the question ā or aku in combination with the pükē ‘source’ placed in front of the question word, as in (57d) (see §5.11).
(57c). Na'ë lé(i)=ĩ ã/aku na'ã?
   3SG foot=3SGPOSS what  make?
   What happened with her/his foot?
(57d). Pukë ã/aku ne ra'e bego la?
   Source what then 3PL arrive not
   Why did not they come?

The question word(445,42),(545,66) can also be combined with a noun to express a sense of
‘what, what kind of’ as in (57e).
(57e). Ra'ë r=ewã ã/aku ika=nẽ
   3PL 3PL=catch what fish=3SGPOSS.
   What kind of fish did they catch?

In addition to being used as an interrogative question, ã/aku is also used to refer to
undefined entity or thing, glossed with ‘thing’, as in (57f).
(57f). Na'ë n=eté ã ã to'u di la.
   3SG 3SG=bring thing thing one also not
   He even did not bring anything.

5.5.3 Other nominal pro-forms

SL also has a group of words that can be used to substitute nouns. This excludes the
contextual use of an adjective and a demonstrative in the slot of a NP. Words that can
be used as a nominal pro-form\(^{30}\) in SL include numerals and weki.

5.5.3.1 Numerals used as a nominal pro-form

When a numeral is used as a nominal pro-form, it is necessarily attached with the
pronominal enclitics (Table 4.3). The numeral system of SL is discussed in §5.9. An
example illustrating the use of numerals as a pro-form is given in (58).
(58). Ra'ë géré ge ru'a=ka r=a'ã plenga'ã, kedi ru'a=ka tobo di tanĩ.
   3PL enter CONJ two=3PL 3PL=make naked, then two=3PL sit  just cry.
   They entered and they found that both of them were naked, so they (both of
   them) just sat and cried.

5.5.3.2 weki used as a nominal pro-form

SL does not have reciprocal and reflexive pronouns (see §9.4.2). These two contexts
are expressed with the word weki ‘body’ as in (59a) for reciprocal and (59b) for

\(^{30}\) The term ‘pro-form’ is meant to be that defined by Crystal (2008: 390). It is used to refer to
expressions that stand for another clausal segment in a construction. These expressions are used to
substitute for other items whose relation with the expressions is recoverable from the context. From
this definition, there appear other terminologies such as pro-verb, pro-nominal, pro-locative, etc.
reflexive. In its usage for reciprocal and reflexive, the word weki must be attached with inalienable possessive morphemes (Table 4.4), depending on the clause subject with which they are coreferential. With a reflexive, another word nimo'o ‘one’s self’ can be used in combination with a nominal argument, as in (59c).

(59a). Ra'e ru'a=ka suka weki=ka
   3PL two=3PL love body=3PLPOSS
   They two love each other.

(59b). Na'ë gëwë wek(i)=ĩ.
   3SG hang body=3SGPOSS.
   He hanged himself (He committed a suicide by hanging himself).

(59c). Ra'ë nimo=ka tebaya weki=ka.
   3PL self=3PLPOSS put.in.danger body=3PLPOSS.
   They (themselves) put themselves in danger.

Utilizing the same expression for both reciprocal and reflexive, potential ambiguity may occur as in (59d).

(59d). Boli no'o Ola hebo=ka në dorë weki=ka r=a’ã wato31
   Boli and Ola bathe=3PL and rub body=3PLPOSS 3PL=use stone.
   Boli and Ola took a bath and rubbed each other’s bodies with a stone
   <OR>
   Boli and Ola took a bath and each of them rubbed his own body with a stone.

This ambiguity is not syntactic but rather semantic; that is, it depends on the clause predicate. Compare (59e) and (59f), both use different predicates without potential confusion.

(59e). Ana ru'a=ka wë pohë weki=ka
   Child two=3PL that help body=3PLPOSS.
   The two children helped each other.

(59f). Ra'ë bai gelete ayaka kedi towë weki=ka r=a’ã senai
   3PL feel cold much then cover body=3PLPOSS 3PL=use man.sarong
   They had been so cold that they covered themselves (their respective bodies) with a man sarong.

5.6 Adverbs

According to Payne (1997), an adverb is a lexical category consisting of words with semantic content that is not clearly a noun, a verb, or an adjective. They cover an extremely wide range of concepts and therefore are the most heterogeneous

31 Rubbing one’s own body with a small stone having a smooth flat surface to get rid of the dirt from one’s body was an old tradition SL people usually practiced when they took a bath before soap was introduced. Two or more people could help each other by rubbing other’s back, but each of them can also rub other parts of his/her own body.
semantically, morphologically and syntactically. This makes adverbs the least universal lexical category cross-linguistically (Givón 2001a), as is seen by the fact that the same adverbia1 meaning may be coded variously in different languages. In one language, it may be expressed as a bound grammatical morpheme, but in another language, it may be coded as an independent word, or possibly a whole syntactic construction (phrases or even clauses) (Givón 2001a: 87-88).

This is certainly the reason why adverbs in Lamaholot are almost unrecognizable. Keraf (1978) and Nishiyama and Kellen (2007), for example, never discuss adverbs in their description, however, Nagaya (2011: 209) remarks that adverb in Lamaholot is considered to be an ‘all in one’ category, because it covers only a handful of different words with various meanings, and is thus said to be an ‘umbrella’ category. Nevertheless by adopting the semantic classification proposed in Givón (2001a: 88-94), adverbs in SL can be identified as follows.

5.6.1 Aspectual adverbs

SL expresses aspectual contexts by means of independent lexical items. These adverbial words are listed in (60a-b). Those in (60a) occur before a clause predicate, and those in (60b) occur clause finally. Some examples are given in (60c-d).

(60a). mété =on progress/PROG
    behĩ =just now
    hiĩ =be about to

(60b). dor =always
    kaé =already/PERF
    wati =not … yet/IMPERF
    dera =still
    uliĩ =still
    morë =still

(60c). Kamé hiĩĩ m=ai=ke ge na'ẽ be go=1PL(exc) then 3SG arrive.
      1PL(exc) be about 1PL(exc)=go=1PL(exc) then 3SG arrive.
      When we were about to leave, she/he arrived.

(60d). Bapa no'õ ema sega kaé lé wati?
      Father and mother arrive PERF or IMPERF.
      Have father and mother already arrived or not yet?

5.6.2 Modal adverbs

Modal adverbs express speakers’ attitudes towards the proposition of the event being
described. They are considered linguistic devices which allow the speakers to express different degrees of commitment or belief regarding the proposition - see e.g. Saeed (2004). Modal context is admitted to be a subtle linguistic domain that is not as easily defined as tense and aspect. Recent cross-linguistic studies on modality, such as Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994: 176) even remark that modality notions do not only include speakers' attitudes and opinions towards a proposition, but rather extend far beyond this, and therefore they suggest that this domain is best viewed as a set of diachronically related functions.

A brief discussion on different classifications of modal contexts needs to be reviewed here because it will be useful to discuss the SL modality system. Palmer (2001: 8-10) described two broad types of modality. First is epistemic and evidential modality. This pair of modality systems is propositional. In the epistemic modality, speakers express their view about the true status of a proposition, whereas in the evidential modality, speakers express the evidence they have for the factual status of the proposition. Second is deontic and dynamic modality. This pair of modals is event modality. Deontic modality has something to do with obligation or permission which emerges from an external source, whereas dynamic modality relates to ability or willingness coming from an individual concern.

Bybee et al. (1994: 177-180) discussed different perspectives by proposing agent-oriented and subject-oriented modality. The former reports the existence of internal and external situations on an agent with respect to the accomplishments of the action mentioned in the clause predicate. It is thus propositional. Some basic notions this modal expresses include obligation, necessity, ability and desire. The latter, on the other hand, allows the speaker to impose directive information and utterances in which consent to the addressee is granted. Basic notions of this type of modality include imperative, prohibitive, optative, hortative, admonitive and permissive. In relation to Palmer’s division (2001) reviewed earlier, the former roughly corresponds to epistemic and evidential modality, whereas the latter to deontic and dynamic modality.

In a simpler fashion, Dixon (2012: 25) calls modality domains ‘secondary concepts’; i.e. those grammatical devices which are expressed grammatically in some languages but are encoded lexically in others. The lexical items utilized to express
these concepts are called ‘secondary verbs’, whose function is to provide semantic modification for a primary verb. They include modal verbs used to express prediction, obligation, necessity and ability.

Modal adverbs in SL attested in my corpus are discussed in turn below. They have rather subtle meanings and are potentially difficult to analyse. A careful examination carried out on the current corpus shows that the modality contexts the identified roots imply tend to be mixed up. For instance, adopting Dixon’s (2012) division on modal meanings, SL has the modal +abé and +odi. The modal +abé basically expresses obligation, whereas +odi, permission. In constructions implying command or request, the meaning of these two modals is readily identified. In constructions other than command or request, however, the meanings of these two modal expressions turn out to be mixed up. In such constructions, the modal +abé is not interpreted as obligation, but rather as evidential, whereas +odi does not express permission, but rather desire. Nevertheless, in a wider context following Palmer (2001), it is possible to include these two modal expressions under an umbrella term as being ‘deontic’. The mixing interpretation is likely caused by two different perspectives; agent-oriented and subject-oriented modal context, as described in Bybee et al. (1994). Detailed description regarding this is presented in the delineation of each of the modal expressions.

There are four modal verbs identified in SL including those listed in (4) in Chapter 4 and haé described in turn below. However, the modal context described in this current study is admittedly untidy, so detailed examination and careful observation over a greater range of corpus is recommended.

5.6.2.1 +abé

The modal +abé is utilized to express obligation. In (61a), for instance, the speaker implies that ‘the addressee is obliged to grill the fish’, perhaps because there are no other possibilities of processing the fish in different ways. The modal meaning in this utterance is deontic. It is not concerned with a proposition, but rather relates to imperative directive utterances.

(61a). Ikã we m=abé tuno.
Fish that 2SG=OBLIG bake.
The fish must be grilled.
In constructions other than commands or requests, as illustrated in (61b) below, the meaning of this modal is different. When SL speakers were confronted with these utterances, they responded differently, but most of them agreed that these utterances imply some sort of evidence informed by the speaker. Example (61b) is said to be more appropriate contextually as a report of an event (i.e. the speaker informs the real situation at the moment the event took place) rather than an obligation. However, from the clause agent point of view, this may mean that the agent preferred to speak standing, perhaps, because he/she felt it necessary to do it that way, for example, to attract audience attention.

(61b). Na'ë petutu='u n=abé dë'ĩ
       3SG talk =3SG 3SG =EVID stand.
       He chose to speak while standing.

The different meanings reflected from the use of this modal seems relevant to what Bybee et al. (1994) have distinguished: agent-oriented and subject-oriented modality. The modal +abê in SL likely reflects these two perspectives of analysis.

Let us take examples (61a) and (61b), for instance. Both clauses utilize the same modal verb and under deontic analysis we expect them to express the same modality context. As a matter of fact, they imply different meanings. Example (61a) is an imperative utterance and therefore has a speaker-oriented perspective, in that the speaker obliges the addressee to do it because of some reasons. The meaning of the modal denotes an obligation. Example (61b), on the other hand, is a report, and therefore can be interpreted under two perspectives. The first interpretation is based on the speaker’s perspective. Under this interpretation, the modal denotes evidentiality; that is, the speaker reported the fact seen in the way the clause subject behaved when he/she was talking. The second interpretation is based on the clause agent perspective. In this interpretation, the meaning of the modal is an obligation; that is, the clause subject felt it necessary to talk while standing due to certain reasons.

To sum up, the modal +abê denotes two different meanings based on the syntactic structure in which it is used. In commands and requests, +abê is used deontically to express OBLIG (Obligation), whereas in declarative, it is utilized epistemically to express EVID (Evidence).
5.6.2.2 +odi

Unlike +abê, +odi presents real difficulty. It basically expresses permission, as illustrated in (62a), which implies that ‘the speaker permits the addressee to come into the room where he/she is in’. This example is clearly directive in nature and therefore is deontic, and like +abe, the interpretation is speaker-oriented.

(62a). Kamé moko pia, m-odi pai.
1PL(exc) in.fac here, 2SG=PERMIS come here
We are here (in the other room), you may come here.

The use of the same modal in (62b), however, creates a problematic analysis. +odi in this example denotes a different meaning if interpreted under the same mode of analysis as applied above. When an utterance like this was tested with SL speakers, the judgments they provided varied enormously. Yet, as a native speaker, I would agree to some of the judgments which concluded that the use of +odi in this context is to express factual information or evidence. This modal interpretation is therefore epistemic. It relates to the truth of a proposition because it expresses the knowledge and belief of the speaker.

(62b). Na'ê tapâ la, kù kebare we n=odi gete geliê=ro
3SG answer not, but young.lady that 3SG=EVID ask stare.at=3SG.
He did not reply, but the young lady kept on insisting him to answer what she asked.

Alternative analysis with regard to agent-oriented modality is even more problematic. From the analysis of the available corpus, it can be concluded that the use of +odi in terms of agentive perspective implies ‘desire’, as in (62b). It can be interpreted from the context that ‘the young lady desired very much to get an answer from the man, although the man did not respond to her’. To make this clear, another example is presented in (62c) below. In this example, the clause subject or agent is the 1st-person singular, which is also the speaker. The interpretation of +odi in this example also expresses desire. This sentence implies that ‘I have a strong desire to watch him wherever he goes because I worried somebody might beat him’.

(62c). Goê taku ra'ê berë=ro, ne na'ê n=ai diga di goê k=odi
1SG afraid 3PL hit=3SG, so.(that) 3SG 3SG=go where also 1SG 1SG=EVID
dorë=ro.
follow=3SG.
I worried he would be beaten, so wherever he went, I kept on following him.
5.6.2.3 +awa

+awa is utilized to express epistemic modality in the context of desire, glossed with DESIR, as illustrated in (63a), which implies that ‘it was his desire to keep standing, even if someone had requested him to sit down’.

(63a). Na'ë dé'ĩ n=awa, huda=ro tobo géhi=’i.
3SG stand 3SG=DESIR, order=3SG sit disagree=3SG
He keeps on standing; he refused to sit down even if he was ordered to do so.

This modal can be combined with +odi as shown in (63b). The combination denotes evidential and desire simultaneously.

(63b). Mo'ë wë á ne m=odi turu=ko m=awa? Hogo!
2SG that what then 2SG=EVID sleep=2SG 2SG=DESIR. wake.up.
Wake up! Why do you keep on sleeping?

5.6.2.4 ha'ë

Unlike previously described modals, ha'ë is simple in its usage. It expresses probability context (PROB), as in (64a) and therefore is epistemic. This modal is utilized to express an opinion of the speaker based on information that the speaker has, and always occurs at a clause final position.

(64a). Ékã gemeki-gemeki wi, ra'ë pé one'ë takë ha'ë.
Environment quiet=RED this, 3PL there inside no PROB.
It is so quiet here, they might not be inside.

This modal is often combined with the particle di (§4.1.4.3) to express emphasis, as in (64b). The combination with the particle is generally placed initially in a clause, and is equivalently translated into English as ‘perhaps’.

(64b). Ha'ë di, na'ë one=ë glagi n=a'â mo'ë,
PROB PRT 3SG heart=3SGPOSS tangled 3SG=be.with 2SG,
mo'ë gete na'ë tapâ la wë.
2SG ask 3SG answer not that
Perhaps, she is mad with you. She did not respond when you asked her.

To sum up, the meaning of SL modals are presented below. Following modal contexts division in Palmer (2001), Bybee et al. (1994) and Dixon (2012) the contextual use of modal verbs in SL is summarized in the following table, where + =attested, and - =unattested.
### Table 5.3
Summary of meanings of SL modal adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Epistemic / Speaker-oriented</th>
<th>Deontic / Agent-oriented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>evidentiality</td>
<td>probability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+abé</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+odi</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+awa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'è</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.6.3 Temporal adverbs

Adverbs may also code a point in time of an event. The semantic scope of these adverbs does not only cover the verb alone but also the entire proposition. This can clearly be seen in the ability of these adverbs to occur in different positions in a clause. *Yesterday, today, tomorrow,* etc., are examples of temporal adverbs in English – see e.g. Givón (2001a) and Payne (1997).

Temporal adverbs in SL are listed in (65a). The first three in the list generally occur at a clause final position, but can occasionally be placed at a clause initial and medial position, just like the use of their English equivalents. They can be combined with temporal nouns, such as *gulè* ‘morning’, *rema* ‘night’, and *lerabau* ‘afternoon’, as in (65c). The last in the list is used before a clause predicate, as in (65d).

(65a). wia = yesterday
      bau = tomorrow
      néku = just now, recently
      béhĩ = just

(65b). Tité tuba wata bau.
      1PL(inc) plant corn tomorrow.
      We will plant the corn tomorrow.

(65c). Na'è mata wia rema.
      3SG die yesterday night.
      He died last night.

(65d). Ra'è béhĩ bego
      3PL just arrive
      They just arrived.

A few temporal expressions are rather problematic to include in this group of adverbs because they seem to have properties similar to those of nouns. For example, expressions in SL meaning, *today or next year* can be used with the article *pi / wi*
'this’ and numerals, as in (66a).

(66a).  
pi lerõ (this day)  =today  
lerõ rua (day two)  =for two days  
tũ rua ia (year two past) =two years ago

An alternative analysis may be that these expressions are phrasal adverbs, just like those in English such as next Tuesday or the following week – see e.g. Givón (2001a: 92), which are syntactically adverbs. These expressions are used to answer the question when as illustrated in (66b).

(66b).  
Ra'e sega ere pira?  → Ra'e sega ere rua.  
3PL arrive day how.many? 3PL arrive day two.  
When will they arrive? They will arrive the day after tomorrow.

5.7 Demonstratives

The term ‘demonstrative’ refers to a class of words whose function is to point to an entity with regard to its spatial, temporal, or discourse location. The reference this word refers to or modifies is usually contextual and may be fixed by gestures, speaker knowledge, or discourse context (Crystal 2008: 135); which is why they are often considered deictic words. According to Dixon (2010b: 224), there are three well-defined types of demonstratives: (i) nominal demonstratives, those that can occur in a NP with a noun or pronoun; (ii) local adverbial demonstratives, those that occur either alone or with a noun taking local marking; and (iii) verbal demonstratives, those that imply such meanings as ‘do it like this’ or ‘do it like that’.

There are two types of demonstratives identified in SL: nominal and verbal demonstrative.

5.7.1 Nominal demonstratives

Nominal demonstratives commonly have two syntactic functions: those that modify a noun are called demonstrative adjectives or determiners, and those that are used to substitute a noun are called demonstrative pronouns (Crystal 2008).

SL only has demonstrative adjectives, which are all in a monosyllabic form. These demonstratives seem to conform to the characteristics of 'true' demonstratives (Himmelmann 1996: 210)\(^{32}\). They are of two pairs, made in a two-way distinction

\(^{32}\) Himmelmann (1996: 210-211) posits two characteristics of 'true' demonstratives. These characteristics are believed to be valid and applicable cross-linguistically. Firstly, the elements considered to be demonstrative ‘must be in a paradigmatic relation to elements which - when used
between proximal to indicate objects close to the speaker and distal to refer to objects further away from the speaker. The use of these demonstratives may be extended to a time referent as well (see §5.6.3). SL demonstratives are discussed in turn below.

5.7.1.1 The demonstrative pi and wi

Pi and wi are used for a proximal context, and glossed with ‘this’. In most cases, these two determiners are used interchangeably, but the tendency is that pi is used with concrete objects, as in (67a), and wi with abstract or imaginative entities as in (67b).

(67a). Labu pi bi’a=’a kaē.
   shirt this tear=3SG PERF.
   This shirt is already torn.

(67b). Go’e baĩ koda wi belélé’ē kaē.
   1SG hear word this long PERF
   I already heard this news long time ago.

Often, the demonstrative pi may be seen alone in a syntactic position of a noun phrase, as illustrated in (67c), but it is not a demonstrative pronoun. The occurrence of this demonstrative is best understood contextually, in which the noun head is dropped because it is assumed that all interlocutors have had knowledge about it. This circumstance is similar to the occurrence of an adjective in the slot of an argument as discussed in §5.4.

(67c). Pi ema naē, mo’e pi’ĩ
   This mother 3SGGEN, 2SGGEN this.
   This (one) belongs to mother, yours is this (one).

Their forms may be slightly altered to express stress or emphasis, as pi’ĩ in (67c). In SL, the altered forms such as pi’ĩ or pé’ě do not carry any new grammatical meanings at all, but in the Lewotobi dialect, they are considered derivational nouns which are derived from the demonstrative words pi and pé (Nagaya 2011: 215). In addition, stress or emphasis in SL may also be expressed by combining the two demonstrative words together, where pi comes first and wi comes last as in (67d).

(67d). Yaga, ikã pi wi n=abē gikē.
   Be.aware fish this this 3SG=EVID bite.
   Be careful, this particular fish can bite.

exophorically - locate the entity referred to on a distance scale: as proximal, distal, etc.’. Secondly, the element considered to be demonstrative ‘should not be amenable to two uses which are characteristic for definite articles’. The two uses are (i) ‘larger situation use, where demonstratives are generally not usable for first mention of entities that are considered to be unique in a given speech community’, and (ii) associative-anaphoric.
Being a modifying demonstrative for abstract entities, *wi* usually occurs at a phrasal final position, even if it modifies a noun head with an embedded or relative clause as in (67e) (see also §7.3.1 for a detailed discussion of relative clauses).

(67e). Ana (pi) mo'ê tutu go'ê wi behê bego wia.
Child (REL) 2SG tell 1SG this just arrive yesterday.
The boy you told me just arrived yesterday.

*Pi* can also be used deictically to refer to the proximal location ‘here’ (see § 5.8). For a spatial use, *pi* always occurs before the locative noun, as illustrated in (67f).

(67f). Ra'ê sega pi lango pi meri heru tité.
3PL come here house this plan meet 1PL(inc)
They come here, to this house, to see us.

### 5.7.1.2 The demonstrative *pé* and *wé*

These demonstratives are used to express distal context, and glossed with ‘that’. Their usage is very much similar to *pi* and *wi*; in that *pé* corresponds to *pi* and *wé* to *wi*.

(68a). *pé* as determiner of factual noun:
Kemamù rua=ka pé di bèle=ka kae.
Young.boy two=3PL that also big=3PL PERF.
The two young boys are also grown up already.

(68b). *wé* as determiner of imaginative/abstract noun:
Na'ê n=eté ule bèle wé/ *bele='e hour one'ê menù.
3SG 3SG=bring caterpillar that be.big=3SG basket inside full.
The caterpillar he brought home grew up and filled the entire basket.

(68c). *pé*/wé/ used to express emphasis:
Guté ikã di bèle wé'ê tuno.
Take fish COMPAR big that grill.
Take the bigger fish and grill it.

(68d). *pé* is combined with *wé* to express emphasis:
Ikã pé wé go'ê.
Fish there that 1SGGEN.
That fish is mine.

(68e). *wé*, not *pé*, is used as determiner of NP with an adjective clause:
Ulë (pé) na'ê n=eté sega wé / *pe bèle='e hora one'ê menù.
Worm (REL) 3SG 3SG-bring arrive that be.big=3SG basket inside full.
The caterpillar he brought home grew up and filled the entire basket.

*Pé* is particularly important because it is also used as a relativizer (REL) linking the head noun and its relative clause. It is used interchangeably with loan Indonesian relativizer *yang*. Detailed discussion of relative clauses is given in §7.3.1.
The meanings and uses of SL nominal demonstratives are summarized in the following table, where + = applicable and - = not applicable.

**Table 5.4**
Summary of the meaning and use of SL demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Use with/for</th>
<th>concrete noun</th>
<th>abstract noun</th>
<th>noun phrase</th>
<th>noun head + rel. clause</th>
<th>clause linker (relativizer)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wi</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>pé</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wé</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.7.2 Verbal demonstratives

Similar to nominal demonstratives, verbal demonstratives in SL also exhibit a two-way distinction between proximal *newi* ‘(do) like this’ and distal *newé* ‘(do) like that’. These demonstratives occur with a verb as their head and follow a modified – modifier pattern. In spoken usage, an utterance with these verbal demonstratives is often accompanied with a mimicking action, showing how the action described by the verb should be accomplished. Consider the following examples.

(69a). Doro péda wé newi (*accompanied with an action of grinding a machete*).  
Grind machete that like this  
To grind a machete is like this.

(69b). Mo’è berĩ aho newé wé, aho bisa mata='a.  
2SG hit dog like that that, dog can die=3SG.  
If you hit a dog like that, the dog can die.

### 5.8 Spatial deictics

Spatial deictics in SL serve as a minor word-class, yet they play key roles in the cognitive system of the spatial perception of the language speakers. There are two types of spatial deixes in SL. The first type expresses directions, centering at the speaker’s position and projecting out to different directions by utilizing geographical landmarks; sea – land/mountain and east – west, for horizontal axis, and the sky or higher position and the ground or lower position for vertical axis. Blust (1997b) refers to these spatial deixes as ‘macro-orientation’. With this system of orientation, SL is said to have an absolute spatial system, where the orientation is not associated with egocentric systems, but rather with non-egocentric ones (Levinson 2003), including...
geographical landmarks. The second type expresses locations (§5.4.8). The members of this type distinguishes proximal from distal. They also include locative nominals which use the inherent parts of an object such as front-back and inside-outside to express a location (see §5.2.5). Blust (1997b) refers to the latter type as ‘micro-orientation’. Spatial deictics in SL are listed in Table 5.5 below.

**Table 5.5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Directional</td>
<td>raé</td>
<td>DIR.LAND</td>
<td>landward/mountainward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lau</td>
<td>DIR.SEA</td>
<td>seaward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>téti</td>
<td>DIR.EAST</td>
<td>eastward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lali</td>
<td>DIR.UP</td>
<td>upward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wéli</td>
<td>DIR.WEST</td>
<td>westward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIR.DOWN</td>
<td>downward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locational</td>
<td>pia/depí/kedepí</td>
<td>PROX.SPEK</td>
<td>proximal to the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pé/depé/kedepé</td>
<td>PROX.ADD</td>
<td>distal to speaker; proximal to the addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>neutral locational meaning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spatial deictics expressing direction with sea and land as a referent point have been reported typical to Austronesian languages. Adelaar (1997), for example, points out that Austronesian ancestors, which are believed to be great seafarers (Barnes 1996), made use of the inland and the sea as their fundamental axis of orientations. This is proved by the existence of the proto Austronesian expressions *daya* ‘towards the interior’ and *lahud* ‘towards the sea’ (Blust & Trussel 2010), which now have reflexes in a considerable number of daughter languages. Some languages of western Indonesia, such as Madura, Bali, Sasak and Malay, have developed this ancient orientation into a system following the cardinal system with fixed orientations, including north, east, south and west (Adelaar 1997). In Lamaholot, this proto orientation is still maintained as seen in the seaward - landward orientation, as well as developed into absolute directions as seen in the expressions referring to the east called *timu* ‘east’ and to the west called *wara* ‘west’. The words *timu* and *wara* are likely borrowed from Malay, ‘timur’ and ‘barat’.

Directionals in SL are indeed worth discussing, not only because they play a crucial role in the morpho-syntax, where the use of these expressions is intimately
related to the choice of directional verbs, but also because they are important for the understanding of the encyclopedic knowledge of Lamaholot speaking people interwoven in their culture and language. Such knowledge, according to Levinson and Wilkins (2006a: 1), promises ‘an interesting insight into the possible cultural variability of spatial thinking’.

The directional expressions are utilized to indicate the semantic roles which are expressed by means of adpositions in other languages. They compulsorily occur with a common noun comparable to an object of adposition in most languages. The spatial context this combination expresses is rather unspecified. Consider the following example.

(70a). Kopô déĩ lau lango.
Kopô stand DIR.SEA house.
Kopô is standing (at) the house in the seaward direction.

The use of a directional expression can only indicate an approximate location or general spatial context. It fails to pinpoint the exact position of a Figure with respect to a Ground. Example (70a) does not explain whether the Figure, Kopô, is standing ‘inside’, ‘above’, ‘behind’, etc. of the Ground, the house, but rather tells us the direction where the Ground may be seen.

Referring to (70a), a schematic projection of this spatial concept from a speaker point of view can be presented into a model shown in Figure 5.1.

**Figure 5.1**
Schematic orientation of directional expressions in SL

![Diagram](image)

From point A, as the center where the speaker is located, the space is projected out in a seaward direction toward the house without specifying an exact part of Y (the

---

33 The term ‘Figure’ follows Levinson & Wilkins (2006a: 3). It refers to an object (also called theme or trajector) being talked about. It is generally located with respect to something else, called Ground (Landmark).
Ground), Kopõ (the Figure) may be located. Up to this point, the orientation of a Figure in relation to a Ground is unspecified, yet it provides enough information about the existence of the object being described.

To specify the exact position of a Figure in relation to a Ground, SL utilizes a locative noun (see §5.2.5) along with a directional expression. The directional expression is obligatory, whereas the locative noun is optional. Hence, the structure like (70c) is ungrammatical. A locative noun can only be used to pinpoint a particular part of a Ground where a Figure may be located, as in (70b).

(70b). Kopõ déĩ lau lango one'ẽ.
Kopõ stand DIR.SEA house inside.
Kopõ is standing inside the house, in the seaward direction.

(70c). *Kopõ déĩ lango one'ẽ.
Kopõ stand house inside

The addition of a locative noun to a directional expression to express a spatial context in SL may be represented in Figure 5.2. This figure is extended from Figure 5.1 with an additional spatial projection to indicate a specified part of the Ground. From Y, the spatial projection narrows down to a particular end point of space in X, and this specification is expressed by a locative noun.

**Figure 5.2**
Schematic orientation of directional and locational concepts in SL

As we can understand from Figure 5.1, the spatial information it provides is enough for a general description of an approximate location. It informs us that ‘Kopõ is standing at the vicinity of the house’ without specifying which part of the house. Yet, this is not specific enough to exactly pinpoint the location of Kopõ (Figure) with respect to the house (Ground). The use of a locative noun such as one'eẽ in (70b), illustrated in Figure 5.2, helps to specify the specific part of the house (Ground) where Kopõ (the Figure) can exactly be pinpointed by narrowing the directional projection
to a specific part of the house. The locative noun one‘ẽ ‘inside’ does this task; thus the locative information becomes specific: ‘Kopõ is standing inside the house’.

Compared to a spatial concept in English for example, these two phases of SL spatial projection are simply encoded with a preposition. In this case, English can be said to have only a straight line of a spatial concept that is directly projected from A to X. Compared to that of SL, English lacks the other phase from A to Y. This phase is the directional concept in SL. English, therefore, never has a structure like ‘Kopo is standing in the house in the seaward direction’.

The use of motion verbs (§5.3.2.1b) is intimately related to the conceptual choice of a directional expression, as exemplified in (71a-b). For example, ‘come’ in English, is expressed with some different expressions in SL depending on from what direction the action of coming originates. Walking toward mountains is expressed with dopa and coming toward the sea is expressed with hau. Table 5.6 below lists related directional expressions and directional verbs. The only neutral motion verb which can be used for all directional expressions is the verbal bound root +ai ‘go’.

Table 5.6
List of related directional deictics and directional verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Directional Expressions</th>
<th>Directional Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>landward</td>
<td>raé Bai</td>
<td>dopa ‘ascend, climb up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘come toward a deictic center in a landward direction from a seaward direction’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seaward</td>
<td>lau Hau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘come toward a deictic center in a seaward direction from a landward direction’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eastward</td>
<td>téti Haka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>haka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘come toward a deictic center in an eastward direction from a westward direction’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>westward</td>
<td>lalí Hau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘come toward a deictic center in a westward direction from an eastward direction’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upward</td>
<td>téti Géré</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>haka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘come toward a deictic center at a higher position from a lower point in a vertical axis’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dopa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘ascend, climb up’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>downward</td>
<td>lalí Lodo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘come toward a deictic center in a lower position from a higher place in a vertical axis’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘descend, climb down’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vicinity</td>
<td>wéli Pat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pait</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘come toward a deictic center in a direction contrast to sea-mountain axis from a proximal location’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(71a). Kopō pana lau wata dai.
Kopō walk seaward beach come.
Kopong is coming from the beach.

(71b). Kromé rogo téti wola lodo.
Mouse run upward roof.top climb.down
The mouse was running down from the roof top.

5.8.1 Sea – mountain axis: *lau* and *raé*

The Lamaholot speaking area occupies three small islands (Solor, Adonara, Lembata) and the bird-head-like part of eastern Flores (Map 5.2). These islands are no more than 22 km in diameter, so the people living there can easily view the coast lines. Most mountains are small and better considered as big hills, and on each island there are only one or two mountains reaching over 1500 meters above the sea level. Within this geographical terrain, Lamaholot people always have access to a view of the sea and the mountains, the features which have likely influenced their perception of spatial recognition. Examples using ‘*lau*’ and ‘*raé*’ are given in (72a-b).

(72a). Bapa lau wata.
Father DIR.SEA beach.
Father is on the beach.

(72b). Raé raé mā.
3PL DIR.LAND field.
They are in the field.

Map 5.1
Different directions of ‘*lau*’ and ‘*raé*’ in SL speaking community
Interestingly, although this orientation system is considered absolute, the direction to which this axis is pointing differs from village to village depending on which coastal side of the island the village is situated. For example by referring to Map 5.1 above, for villages located on the north coast of the island, *lau* points to the north and *raé* to the south, but for villages on the opposite coastal side, *lau* points to the south and *raé* to the north. This different orientation also occurs in the eastern coastal and the western coastal villages, as is indicated in Map 5.1.

Beyond the straits surrounding the island, SL speakers have the same view in recognizing the direction. For example, by referring to Map 5.2, Larantuka is commonly viewed as *lau*, although for villages located on the south coast of the island, the place is considered *raé*. Kupang is unanimously agreed to be *lau*, although for villages situated on the north coast of the island, it is regarded *raé*.

**Map 5.2**
Lamaholot speaking area and surrounding islands

---

5.8.2 East – west / sky – ground / high - low axis: *těti* and *lali*

The pair *těti* and *lali* is used for two different orientations. Firstly, within a relative distance, approximately beyond two km in range, these two expressions are used to
refer to the east and west respectively. Secondly, these two words are also used to refer to places located higher or lower than that where the speaker is. This includes vertical positions, such as the sky and the ground, top of a tree and the ground under the tree, the sea surface and the sea bottom; and slanting positions, such as the top of a hill and the bottom of the hill.

With reference to Map 5.1, speakers in Karawatung, for example, recognize villages located to the east as being téti, and those situated to the west as being lali. This orientation, however, is different from village to village within the island. Hence, for speakers in Karawatung, Ongalereng is viewed as being lali, but for those in Pamakayo, it is recognized as being téti. The same orientation also applies to places located beyond the strait surrounding the island. By referring to Map 5.2, Lembata and Alor, for example, are téti whereas Maumere and Ende are lali.

By referring to Map 5.1, an example using téti and lali indicating east and west directions is given in (73a).

(73a). A speaker in Karawatung said:
Ra'ê géré motor téti Podor nẽ r=ai lali Ritaebang
3PL embark boat DIR.EAST Podor and 3PL=go DIR.WEST Ritaebang.
They are boarding the boat in Podor and depart for Ritaebang.

In a vertical position referring to the sky and the ground, the use of téti and lali is obvious, as shown in the following example.

(73b). Kolô wéka téi=i téti kayo wut(u)=ũ
Bird cockatoo stay=3SG DIR.UP tree top=3SG
nẽ kolo hike téi=i lali tana lolô.
and bird quail stay=3SG DIR.DOWN soil surface.

A cockatoo stays in the tree, and a quail stays on the ground.

However, the slanting orientation sometimes overlaps with lau and raê because landward/mountain-ward also characterizes a slanting condition. The distinction is rather subtle, but an overall observation shows that the degree of the sloping contributes to the choice as being téti or raê versus lali or lau. It is my estimation that raê is used with a slanting degree up to 20°, but above this, téti is used. The same condition also holds for lau and lali. Yet, I often come across a few expressions in SL which rule out this assumption, such as raê ilê (DIR.LAND mountain) and téti ilê (DIR.UP mountain), or lau watã (DIR.SEA beach) and lali watã (DIR.DOWN beach).

In the remote distance beyond the straits and sea surrounding the island, the
The use of tēti ‘eastward’ and lali ‘westward’ seems to be dependent on individual geographical knowledge. As described earlier, for islands close to the Lamaholot speaking area, all SL speakers identify them uniformly. However, beyond these islands, the interpretation becomes varied from one speaker to the other.

Based on my elicitation carried out in Karawatung, there were two basic groups who have different opinions. First, those who have knowledge of the world or national geography, and second, those who are just the opposite. The first group includes those who are notably educated, and therefore can project ‘tēti and lali within the wider scope correctly. With reference to Map 5.3, for example, they refer to islands, such as Ambon and Irian Jaya as being tēti, and Bali, Java, Sumatra and Kalimantan as being lali. But, for the second group, who are unfortunately less educated, even illiterate, refer uniformly to all these islands, either those located to the east or to the west, as being lali.

Map 5.3
Lamaholot speaking area relative to national and wider area

Interestingly, places beyond this national geography are uniformly referred to with lali. For example, when I told some of my language consultants about the place I am doing my PhD, they knowingly responded by referring to Australia as being lali and wondered if I might also travel to America, which is also referred to with lali. When I elicited other famous places such as Singapore and Hong Kong, they responded with the same direction as being lali. These apply to all consultants with whom I elicited
this data, regardless of their educational background. When asked why all these places are referred to with \textit{lali}, nearly all the consultants simply argued that these places are extremely far away from Lamahalot. However, there was one surprising answer I received from an elderly man who explained this by eliciting the following phrases, which sounded like ritual expressions.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Lamaholot tana timu, tana di kepayã dike; Lamaholot land east, land also mention safe \small
\item Holot nuha lera géré, nuha di kepahé saré Holot island sun rise, island also utter kind \small
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Lamaholot is the eastern land, a land when one mentions it, he/she feels secure. \small
\item Holot is the island of sun rise, the island when one utters it, he/she feels prospect. \small
\end{enumerate}

It is understood from these parallelisms that Lamaholot speakers likely consider their land as being in the east, and therefore regard other places which they are unfamiliar with as being in the west, and thus they refer to these unknown places as being \textit{lali}.

\subsection{5.8.3 The directional expression \textit{wéli}}

The deictic \textit{wéli} ‘there’ is used to express proximal directions which cannot be expressed with \textit{lau} and \textit{raé}. The range to which this expression may apply varies from speaker to speaker. Some consider the range to be within visibility only, but some others think it may be within a few km. For example, by referring to Map 5.1, speakers in Karawatung village use \textit{wéli} to refer to villages located on the south coast, such as Kelike and Lewogaran, which are approximately five km from Karawatung. Conversely, speakers in Kelike and Lewogaran also utilize the directional \textit{wéli} to refer to the villages on the north coast, such as Karawatung and Podor.

Some examples using these two expressions are given in (74a-b).

\begin{enumerate}
\item A speaker in Karawatung said:
\begin{verbatim}
Kamé m=ai wéli Kelike m=ai. 1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=go DIR.NEAR Kelike 1PL(exc)=mai
\end{verbatim}
We went to Kelike.

\item Two neighbors in Karawatung, whose houses are located parallel to the coastal line conversed:
\begin{verbatim}
Neighbor 1: Néku go'é hulẽ Bala gawé pi wéli. Just.now 1SG see Bala pass here DIR.NEAR.
I just saw Balla passing here to there (to listener’s house).
\end{verbatim}
\end{enumerate}
Na'ê séka wêli lango=’ô go?
3SG drop DIR.NEAR house=2SGPOSS PRT?
Did he drop at your house?

Neighbor 2: He'ê, na'ê wêli lango.
Yes, 3SG DIR.NEAR house.
Yes, he is there (at my house).

5.8.4 Locational deictics

Deictic expressions to indicate location in SL are pia/depi/kedepia ‘here’, pê/depê/kedepê there and ia ‘PREP’. The first is used to express a location proximal to the speaker. These expressions are used interchangeably. The second, pê/depê/kedepê, is used for a location proximal to the addressee and distal from the speaker. They are also used interchangeably. These two types of locational expressions are often used with demonstratives as discussed in §5.7. The third, ia, is the only preposition with a neutral and an unspecified locative meaning. It is neutral because it is not associated with any directional context, and is unspecified, because it does not indicate a specific orientation with respect to a Ground. The use of these deictics is illustrated in (75a-c).

(75a). Krê'ē ra'ê pê/depê/kedepê lé diga?
Child 3PL PROX.ADD or where?
Are the children there or elsewhere?

(75b). Meté ekã mo'ē pai tao pia/depi/kedepia
Bring belonging 2SGGEN come.here put PROX.SPEK
Bring your belongings and put them here.

(75c). Bapa ia mâ nẽ ema ia lango.
Father PREP field and mother PREP house.
Father is in the field, and mother is at home.

Note that the use of the locational deictic pê must not be confused with the demonstrative pê (§5.7.2). A deictic use of pê occurs before a noun as in (75d), but the demonstrative use of pê occurs after a noun as in (75e). A simultaneous occurrence of both is possible as in (75f).

(75d). Ta'o pê méja lolõ.
Put there table on.
Put it there, on the table.

(75e). Méja pê milã–milã.
Table that dirty-RED.
The table is very dirty.
(75f). M=odi ta’o pé méja lolõ pé.
2SG=PERMIS put there table on that.
Just put (it) there, on the table.

5.9 Numerals

Numerals in SL form a minor word-class. They are utilized to designate a quantity in the counting system of entities. SL only has cardinal numbers of a decimal system, it lacks ordinal numbers. The cardinal numbers consist of only thirteen basic words, listed in (76a). These words express the very basic numbers from one to ten, as well as a hundred, a thousand and a million. The other numbers are expressed by combining these basic words forming compound numeral expressions, as in (76b).

SL cardinal numbers seem to have undergone little development from those of proto Austronesian system. Adopting the proto forms reconstructed in (Dahl 1981)34, the difference between those of proto and current SL numerals can be seen as follows.

(76a). PAN SL Meaning
--- --- ---
t’a to’u =one
duva rua =two
telu telo =three
e(m)pat pa =four
lima léma =five
enem nemũ =six
pitu pito =seven
valu buto =eight
t’iva hiwa =nine
puluh pulo =ten
yatut teratu =hundred
libu ribu =thousand
(? ) yutã =million

By combining these basic numeral words, teens, twenties, thirties, etc., unlimited numbers may be achieved. Just like English, which adds ‘and’ above a hundred, such as ‘one hundred and one’, SL incorporates noõ ‘and’ to form numeral expressions above twenty. Some examples are shown in (76b), and a long list is in Appendix 3.18.

(76b). pulok to’u =eleven
pulok rua =twelve
teratu =a hundred

34 Some of the proto numeric forms introduced in this article originated from earlier reconstruction carried out by Dempwolff, which unfortunately is unavailable to me. My credit, hence, goes to this work as well, but as reference herein, I use (Dahl 1981), from which detailed reference of the earlier reconstruction may be traced.
teratu no'o to'u =a hundred and one
teratu puluh lema =a hundred and fifty.

Lacking ordinal numbers, SL adopts Indonesian system by prefixing *ke-* to SL numerals, as in (76c).

(76c). | Indonesian | SL     | Meaning |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pertama</td>
<td>noronékun</td>
<td>=first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kedua</td>
<td>kerua</td>
<td>=second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketiga</td>
<td>ketelo</td>
<td>=third</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keempat</td>
<td>kepa</td>
<td>=fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelima</td>
<td>keléma</td>
<td>=fifth, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.9.1 The grammatical use of numerals

Numerals in SL are utilized for several grammatical functions described below.

5.9.1.1 Numerals used as attribution

Numerals used as an attributive come after the noun head. This follows a typical phrasal word order of eastern Indonesian languages (Klamer 2002) with a head – modifier pattern. If there are more than two attributives modifying the same head noun, numerals usually come last before demonstrative determiners. Unlike adjectives, numerals do not require any morphological adjustments in order to function as an attributive, as in (77).

(77). Ra'é weda ikã brua.
    3PL catch fish two.
    They caught two fish.

5.9.1.2 Numerals used as pro-nominal

Numerals are also utilized as pronouns, as discussed in §5.5.3. When used as a pronoun, a numeral is suffixed with a pronominal enclitic (Table 4.3), as in (78).

(78). Rua=ka tobo di tanĩ
      two=3PL sit just cry.
      The two of them just sat down and cried.

In most cases, numerals that are used as pro-nominals are combined with pronouns, as in (79). No extra grammatical meaning emerges from this combination; the use of this numeral indicates the number of individuals included in the mentioned pronoun.

(79). Mi'o telo=ke turu=ke kedepe nê ra'é lema=ka turu=ka pia.
     2PL three=2PL sleep=2PL there and 3PL five=3PL sleep=3PL here.
     You three will sleep there, and they five will sleep here.
5.9.2 Numeral classifiers

According to Aikhenvald (2000: 90), numeral classifiers are distinct from noun classifiers. In the languages of Southeast Asia, noun classifiers are considered a subtype of numeral classifiers. Noun classifiers occur independently of the presence of other modifiers and may not be obligatory in a noun phrase, whereas numeral classifiers occur in numerical and quantifying expressions and are generally obligatory in a numerical NP. Lichtenberk (1983), following Lyons (1977), uses the term ‘sortal classifiers’ to refer to noun classifiers, and ‘mensural classifiers’ to refer to numeral classifiers.

SL does not have noun classifiers as those found in a few AN languages. Instead, it has a handful of numeral classifiers, which Nagaya (2011: 167) referred to as ‘measure words’. These words are included in this section simply because they are intimately associated with numerals. They are basically utilized in combinations with a numeral to indicate an amount of something represented by the associated noun, or to facilitate the measurement or calculation of the associated noun.

Some of these words are adopted from ordinary noun terms, and therefore the same words can also be found used as independent words to refer to an entity in other contexts. Some of these words are listed in (80a), and a longer list is given in Appendix 3.19. An example is given in (80b). Some others, however, are grammaticalized and therefore it can be rather difficult to define their meanings. They are used restrictedly for measuring context only, and are listed in (81a), and a longer list is given in Appendix 3.19. An example is presented in (81b).

(80a).  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wuā} & = \text{fruit, such as mango, coconut, watermelon} \\
\text{wulĩ} & = \text{a cluster of fruit, such as rice, banana.}
\end{align*}
\]

(80b).  
\[
\text{Bapa n=ewā payā wuā rua héna.}
\]
Father 3SG=harvest papaya fruit two only.
Father picked up only two papaya fruits.

(81a).  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uak} & = \text{finger of fruit, such as banana} \\
\text{lili} & = \text{comb of fruit, such as banana.}
\end{align*}
\]

---

35 Trask (1996: 44), however, does not distinguish between the two. He uses the term ‘classifiers’ to refer to this group of words, and described them as ‘a set of specialized grammatical words which, in certain languages, typically or obligatorily form constituents of certain types of noun phrases, especially those containing numerals’. The choice of the classifiers depends on the semantic characteristics of the head noun. In Indonesian, for example, a noun classifier always precedes a noun. The classifier groups the noun into a particular class, such as ekor ‘tail, for animals and buah ‘fruit’ for fruit (Sneddon 1996).
5.9.3 Indefinite quantifiers

Indefinite quantifiers in SL are listed in (82a). These words are used to express an
indefinite amount of entities both countable and uncountable, as illustrated in (82b).

(82a). berua =little/a little, few/a few
usi =little/a little, few/a few
aya’ã =some, a lot of
wahâkaé/wokokaé =all

(82b). Ra’ê weda ikã berua héna.
3PL catch fish few only.
They caught a few fish only.

These words are also used with adjectives to express quality intensification of
adjective words (see §5.4.3.4) as illustrated in (83).

(83). Kayo wé béle ayaka, kamé m=été m=éwâ la.
Log that big a.lot, 1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=bring 1PL(exc)=be.able not
The log was so heavy that we cannot bring it.

5.10 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are a minor word class that serves to connect words, phrases, or clauses.
Those that conjoin two or more equal elements are generally called coordinating
conjunctions or coordinators, whereas those that serve to join two or more elements of
unequal rank are called subordinating conjunctions or subordinators. The latter makes
one conjoined element subordinate to the other (Schachter & Shopen 2007), thus there
is a main or independent clause and a subordinate or dependent clause. SL
conjunctions are discussed in turn based on their types as follows.

5.10.1 Coordinators

Coordinators in SL are nê or no'o ‘and’, lè ‘or’, kû or nekû ‘but’ and ge ‘and (then)’.
The coordinators no'o and nê have the same meaning ‘and’, but are used differently;
no'o is utilized to conjoin clausal elements of the same kind and function, whereas nê
is used to conjoin two or more equal clauses. The use of no'o is described below,
whereas the use of nê is discussed later in §7.2.1. An example of no'o as a coordinator
is illustrated in (84).
Tonggana no'õ Kopõmau béle=ka no'õ kemanu=na di kaé. Tonggana and Kopõmau big=3PL and young.man=3PL also PERF. Tonggana and Kopõmau have grown up and have been young men as well.

The form no'õ is a homonymous word. In addition to function as a coordinator, this form also has other meanings including as a prepositional verb to code a comitative role for a 3rd-person singular form (§5.3.4.4), and as a verbal predicate meaning ‘bring, take’ for a 3rd-person singular form. Example (85a), for instance, has two readings.

(85a). Kopõ no'õ ana='ã bego. Kopõ and/bring child=3SGPOSS arrive. Kopõ and his child arrived <OR> Kopõ arrived with his child (Kopõ came; he brought his child with him).

There are two properties that one can use to distinguish between a coordinating use and a non-coordinating use of this form. First, the semantic property. Compare (85a) and (85b) below. Example (85a) has two readings, because the use of no'õ in this structure can mean ‘and’ and ‘bring’. The use of no'õ in (85b), on the other hand, denotes a coordinating use. This can contextually be concluded from the adverb hama-hama ‘together’; it is understood that both subjects undertook the event separately.

(85b). Kopõ no'õ ana='ã bego hama-hama. Kopõ and child=3SGPOSS arrive same=RED. Kopõ and his child arrive together (at the same time).

Second, the morphological property. Consider examples (86a) and (86b). No'õ in (86a) is used as a coordinator as seen morphologically by the presence of the proclitic r= being attached to +ai ‘go’. The proclitic r= represents a 3rd-person plural, which consists of Kopõ and ema (ra'é = they). The one in (86b), however, means ‘bring’, as shown by the morpheme n= in nai, which refers to a 3rd-person singular, which is Kopõ alone. Ema is excluded because it is the object of the verb no'õ ‘bring’.

(86a). Kopõ no'õ ema lali Otã r=ai Kopõ and mother DIR.WEST Otã 3PL=go. Kopõ and mother (they) went to Otã.


The coordinator lé ‘or’ is used to indicate an option or a choice. It can be used to conjoin two clauses to form a compound clause as discussed later in §7.2.2, and it can
also be used to conjoin two equal clausal elements to introduce another possibility, as illustrated in (87) below.

(87). Mo'é hebo=ko kaé lé wati?
2SG bathe=2SG PERF or IMPERF
Have you taken a bath or not yet?

The coordinator kũ or nekũ ‘but’ is used to conjoin two clauses which are in contrast to one another. The position of this coordinator is fixed between the two clauses being contrasted. The usage is described later in §7.2.3.

The coordinator ge ‘(and) then’ is used to conjoin two or more equal clauses to express a sequence of events. It usually occurs between the clauses being conjoined. A detailed discussion regarding the usage of this coordinator is presented later in §7.2.4.

5.10.2 Subordinators

Subordinators are used to conjoin a main clause and a dependent clause. They form subordinate structures. In SL, however, subordinate structures are mostly not marked with any use of subordinators. The relationship between a main and a dependent clause is understood based on the context, and in the spoken communication, the boundary is indicated by a pause. Subordinating clauses are discussed in §7.3, but this section discusses some subordinators in SL. They include pé or wé (for relative and conditional clauses), pukẽ or turũ (for cause and reason clauses), merĩ (for complement clauses), and nẽ (for purpose and cause and effect clauses).

The subordinator pé or wé is used to mark two types of dependent clauses. Firstly, it is used to link a main clause with a relative clause; thus it is a relativizer. In most constructions with a relative clause, this subordinator is optionally used, unless the head argument or common argument (Dixon 2010b: 314) being modified with the relative clause functions as a subject argument in the relative clause. A detailed discussion about relative clauses in SL is presented in §7.3.1. Secondly, pé or wé is also used to mark a conditional clause, as discussed in detail later in §7.3.3.3.

The subordinator pukẽ and turũ have exactly the same meaning and function. They are used to express a cause and reason clause. Details regarding the usage of these subordinators are presented later in §7.3.3.2. The subordinator merĩ ‘say, that’ is used to conjoin a complement clause with a main clause. It is used with
complement-taking verbs and its detailed usage is described later in §7.3.2. The conjunction *nē* can be both coordinating and subordinating. The coordinating use of *nē* is discussed in §7.2.1, whereas the subordinating use of the same form is described in §7.3.3.4.

5.11 Question words

A question word, or interrogative word, is a function word utilized in utterances which, in principle, at least require a linguistic response from the addressee. Question words in SL are listed in (88).

(88). hégé/héku ‘who’
    á/aku ‘what/which’
    ga/diga ‘where’
    erēpira ‘when’
    pira ‘how many/how much
    nengga’ē/nenggenai ‘how’
    pukē á/dari á/turũ ā ‘why’

In interrogative clauses, these words always remain ‘in situ’, that is they occur in the place of the constituent being asked by the question word. Unlike English, for example, where interrogatives alter the clause word order so intonation is not a crucial factor, in SL intonation has a crucial role in the interrogatives, both information and yes/no questions, to simply distinguish interrogatives from declaratives. A question has a raising intonation, whereas a statement has a falling intonation.

Examples illustrating the usage of these questions words are presented below, where a question word is in bold.

(89). hégé/héku ‘who’
    Hégé maya go’ē nēku wē?
    Who call 1SG just.now that?
    Who just called me?

(90). á/aku ‘what’
    - Mo’ē gō ā?
      2SG 2SG-eat what
      What did you eat?
    - ā ika=nē wē?
      What fish=3SGPOSS that
      What kind of fish is that?

(91). ga/diga ‘where’
    Mo m=ai ga/diga?
    2SG 2SG=go where
Where are you going?

(92). **nengga'ë/nenggenai** ‘how’
Keriã geré wé **nengga'ë/nenggenai**?
Make divan that how
How do we make a divan?

(93). **pira** ‘how many’
Ana mo'ë ata **pira**?
Child 2SGGEN person how many
How many kids do you have?

(94). **erēpira** ‘when’
Mo'ë bali **erēpira**?
2SG return when?
When will you return?

(95). **pukē å/dari å/turũ å** ‘why’
Na'ë tanī **pukē å/dari å/turũ å**?
3SG cry why?
Why is she/he crying?

5.12 Miscellaneous items

In this last section, I present some miscellaneous items, which are worth discussing in order to present a comprehensive grammatical description of SL. This includes yes/no responses, interjections and negation markers.

5.12.1 Yes/No responses

When responding to a yes/no question, SL speakers use **he'ë** for a positive response, and **také** or **tenaké'ë** and **...la** for a negative one. There is no difference between **take** or **tenaké’ë** and **...la**. The latter is used when the addressee wishes to repeat the event being asked. The repeated event ends with **...la** ‘not’. In most cases, a yes/no question ends with an option which is the opposite of what is being questioned.

Some examples of responses to yes/no questions (indicated with an arrow) along with the questions are given in (96).

(96a). Pi lerò mi'o m=ai sekolah go? → He'ë. / Také
This day 2PL 2PL=go school PRT Yes, we do. / No, we do not.
Do you go to school today?

(96b). Mo'ë guru ge? → He'ë /Go'ë guru / Také/Go'ë guru la.
2SG teacher PRT Yes, I am. / No, I am not
Are you a teacher?
5.12.2 Interjection

Some expressions considered to be interjections in SL are listed in (97). Some examples utilizing these expressions are illustrated in (98a-b). A = speaker A, B = speaker B.

(97). woé/é = call someone whose name is not known, catch someone’s attention
ha'e = yes, of course.
bi/bika = maybe, no idea
pana = goodbye
go'ë é = oh my god
ema'ã tilũ = damn you (Lit: your mother’s ears)
hai = expressing surprised
ai = expressing disappointment or disagreement
adu = expressing pain

(98a). Woé, pai kia.
Woé, come PRT!
Hey you there, come here please!

(98b). Go'é é, keluba bela'a kaë
Oh my god, pot break PERF.
Oh my god, the pot is broken.

5.12.3 Negation

Negation is an intrinsic notion in language, and therefore is not something that can be defined or even explained (Dixon 2012). Languages vary considerably in how they treat negation. Based on the scope a negation marker applies, Payne (1997: 828) distinguishes two types of negation: clausal negation and constituent negation. The former is used to negate an entire proposition, whereas the later is utilized to negate a particular constituent of clauses.

SL has only a clausal negation: la ‘not’ which is placed at a clause final position, thus is considered a right-edge clausal constituent. Consider the following examples, where a negation marker is shown in bold and glossed ‘not’.

(99a). Ema déna wata la.
Mother cook rice not.
Mother is not cooking rice.

(99b). Aho mo'ë behũ m=ete sega wë go'ë suka la.
Dog 2SG just 2SG=bring arrive that 1SG like not
I do not like the dog you just brought home.

Covering the entire clause, the negation la in SL may be confusing, although in its practical usage, it is always obvious for the interlocutors involved. Example (99a), for
instance, can mean (i) ‘it is not mother who is cooking, but somebody else’, (ii) ‘mother is not cooking, but she is doing something else’, and (iii) ‘mother is not cooking rice, but she is cooking something else’.

In addition to the clausal negation marker *la* ‘not’, SL also has *také* ‘no’ which is used as a response to a question, as illustrated in (96), and *nawa* ‘no’ which is used as prohibitive marker, as in (100). C = command, R = response.

(100). C: Loto kayo wé kia!
   Prune tree that PRT.
   Prune the tree!

   R: **Nawa**, go'ë ola kreme pé pukë kia.
   No, 1SG uproot grass there stem PRT.
   No, I would like to uproot the grass under the tree first.
6 Simple Clause Structures

6.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the structure of simple clauses. The term ‘clause’ refers to a minimal unit of complete thought which is equal to or smaller than sentences, but larger than phrases (Croft 1991, Crystal 2008). However, to say that a clause represents a complete thought is dubious, as it can only be deemed intuitively. To give a boundary to what is meant by a complete thought, Payne (1997) proposes what is known as a ‘proposition’. A proposition\(^{36}\) is considered the best model of a complete thought that a language speaker has (Delahunty & Garvey 2010); and is expressed linguistically through a basic clause which simply consists of entities as clause arguments and a single predicating element (Payne 1997).

Expressing the fundamental structure of linguistic meanings, clauses have been observed to be a universal linguistic property (Payne 1997), and are considered highly significant units of information organization (Croft 1991). Yet, no study has convinced a universal order in which the component segments of a proposition should be sequenced. Even when a proposition is realized into syntactic structures, the order in which the predicating element and related arguments occur in a clause differs considerably from language to language, and even within the same language. Nevertheless, no matter how a language arranges these clausal segments, linguists agree that the predicating element is central to every clause; it determines the type and number of nouns that should go with it. Following widely accepted linguistic terminology, for the current analysis, nouns are referred to as arguments and the predicating element as a predicate.

Describing SL syntax from the very basic clause structure helps extend elaboration on more complex structures in a sequential and comprehensive way. This is simply because a clause is the minimal complete information unit – see e.g. Croft (1991). This chapter focuses on simple sentences in SL. However, to avoid using

---

\(^{36}\) A proposition may be defined as “a description of a state of affairs whose truth may be asserted, questioned, or otherwise manipulated” (Delahunty & Garvey 2010: 321).
sloppy terminology, the term ‘clause’ has been used instead of ‘sentence’ as Dixon (2010a: 76) has suggested.

The coverage of this chapter is arranged as follows. It covers eight main headings: Introduction (§6.1), Phrasal Structures (§6.2), Verbless Clauses (§6.3), Existential Clauses (§6.4), Verbal Clauses (§6.5), Interrogative Clauses (§6.6), Comparative Clauses (§6.7) and Imperative Clauses (§6.8). This chapter reveals some interesting syntactic phenomena and provides more detailed description of simple clauses in SL. For example, verbless clauses and comparative clauses, the structures which were overlooked in some previous studies, are delineated comprehensively in the current study.

### 6.2 Phrasal structures

A phrase is considered a grouping of one or more words which focus around a headword element and perform a certain grammatical task. If a phrase is made up of only a single word, that word is the phrasal headword, but if a phrase consists of more than one word, the phrasal headword is the one which identifies the type and linguistic features of the phrase.

Following Phrase Structure Rules, see e.g. Brinton (2000) and Borsley (2003), a phrasal constituent may be represented as $XP \rightarrow \ldots X \ldots$; Where the arrow reads ‘consists of’ and $X$ in $XP$ represents the type of phrase which adopts the label of the lexical category of the phrase headword $X$. The dots on either side of the $X$ headword indicate constituent order of the phrasal elements as to whether the language has a left-headed (head-initial) phrase or right-headed (head-final) one.

#### 6.2.1 Noun phrases

A noun phrase (NP) is a syntactic constituent whose head is a noun. It expresses the argument of a clause predicate. NPs in SL are left-headed. They follow a modified-modifier pattern, – see e.g. Kroon (2000) and Nagaya (2011), except for in inalienable possessive constructions (§4.1.2.2c). In an inalienable possessive construction, the head noun follows its modifiers, as in $(bapa \ lêĩ \ (bapa \ le(i)=ĩ: father \ leg=3SGPOSS)$ ‘father’s legs’ (discussed later in the end of in this section), but in general a head noun occurs phrase initially and is followed by modifiers. The NP head (N$_{\text{head}}$) may combine with a number of adnominal modifiers including modifier nouns,
possessives, adjectives, numerals, locatives, relative clauses, and demonstratives.

Modifier nouns ($N_{Mod}$) specify some property of the head noun such as material, gender or origin. Adjectives (Adj) modify the head noun in terms of properties such as size, dimension, color, etc.. Possessives (POSS) provide extra information related to the possessiveness of the head noun. Numerals (NUM), both cardinal numbers and quantifiers are also utilized to modify the head noun with respect to its amount. In NPs, they usually come after an adjective and before a relative clause or a locative, and may or may not be attached with argument marking enclitics (Table 4.3). Locatives (LOC) provide information regarding the spatial position of the head noun. They come in two forms: prepositional phrases (PP) and deictic phrases (DEICP). Prepositional phrases commonly use the only preposition *ia ‘PREP’* which has various spatial meanings depending on the context in which it is used. Deictic phrases also provide spatial information of the head noun, but they use deictic expressions with or without a locative noun. Relative clauses (RCl) (discussed later in §7.3.2) restrict the head noun by giving additional information expressed in the form of clauses. Demonstratives (DEM), which are used to express something related to the identifiability and referentiality of a head noun in space or discourse, come last in SL NPs, if they are present.

In addition to consisting of a head noun plus all its adnominal modifiers just described, a NP in SL can also take a pronoun with or without a numeral. A numeral, if there is one, functions to indicate the quantity of the individuals involved within the group designated by the pronoun, and applies to plural pronouns only, which is reasonable, because singular pronouns consist of only an individual and therefore need no numeral modifiers.

SL NPs can be represented in Phrase Structure Rules (PSR) below, where curly brackets {…} indicate choices and parenthesis (…) options.

1. \[ NP \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{PRON (NUM)} \\ N_{Head} \ (N_{Mod}) \ (POSS) \ (AdjP) \ (NUM) \ (LOC) \ (RCI) \ (DEM) \end{cases} \]

In the first choice, a NP can be a PRON alone or a PRON + a numeral, as in (2) (NPs are bold). The presence of a numeral along with a pronoun requires an argument marking enclitic (Table 4.3) attached to the numeral word.
We (the three of us) chased them (the two of them) but we failed to catch them.

Examples that consist of a head noun with all the listed optional components occurring simultaneously at once in order to illustrate the second choice of NP structures would, of course, be difficult to find, and they might not exist, but various combination possibilities of a head noun plus different adnominal modifiers may be illustrated in examples (3) through (14) below.

It is important to note that the order of the component modifiers given above is not a fixed one. The sequence follows a tendency that I observed from the speakers’ daily usage. One might find differences from speaker to speaker. For example, the sequence of modifiers consisting of an adjective and a possessive is generally that a possessive comes first and then is followed by an adjective, but in some of my corpus, I noticed that an adjective comes first and is followed by a possessive. The same also goes with modifier adjectives coming with more than two members. The tendency is that a dimension adjective usually comes first and is followed by other types, but occasionally I found the order is reversed.

(3). \[ NP \rightarrow \text{NHead} \]
=\[ \text{lango} \]
=\[ \text{house} \]
=\[ \text{NHead} \]
=\[ \text{house} \]

(4). \[ NP \rightarrow \text{NHead} + (\text{NMod}) \]
=\[ \text{lango lu'o} \]
=\[ \text{house reed} \]
=\[ \text{NHead} \]
=\[ \text{NMod} \]
=\[ \text{a reed house} \]

(5). \[ NP \rightarrow \text{NHead} + (\text{NMod}) + (\text{NUM}) + (\text{DEM}) \]
=\[ \text{wawê lakî rua=(ka) wé} \]
=\[ \text{pig male two=(3PL) that} \]
=\[ \text{NHead} \]
=\[ \text{NMod} \]
=\[ \text{NUM} \]
=\[ \text{DEM} \]
=\[ \text{the two male pigs} \]

(6). \[ NP \rightarrow \text{NHead} + (\text{NMod}) + (\text{Adj}) + (\text{DEM}) \]
=\[ \text{witi ronê bura'ã pi} \]
=\[ \text{goat female white this} \]
=\[ \text{NHead} \]
=\[ \text{NMod} \]
=\[ \text{Adj} \]
=\[ \text{DEM} \]
=\[ \text{this white female goat} \]
(7) \[ NP \rightarrow N_{Head} + (N_{Mod}) + (Adj) + (NUM) + (DEM) \]
keluba tana menela'ã to'u wé
pot soil broken one that
\[ N_{Head} \] \[ N_{Mod} \] \[ Adj \] \[ NUM \] \[ DEM \]
the broken earthen pot

(8) \[ NP \rightarrow N_{Head} + (Adj) + (Adj) + (NUM) + (DEM) \]
aho béle'ẽ mitenẽ telo=ka wé
dog big black three=3PL that
\[ N_{Head} \] \[ Adj \] \[ Adj \] \[ NUM \] \[ DEM \]
the three big black dogs

(9) \[ NP \rightarrow N_{Head} + (POSS) + (Adj) + (Adj) + (DEM) \]
motor Blawa na'ẽ béle'ẽ wuũ wé
boat Blawa 3SGGEN large new that
\[ N_{Head} \] \[ POSS \] \[ Adj \] \[ Adj \] \[ DEM \]
that big new boat of Belawa

(10) \[ NP \rightarrow N_{Head} + (POSS) + (Adj) + (NUM) + (DEM) \]
labu go'ẽ bura'ã rua=ka wé
shirt 1SGGEN white two=3PL that
\[ N_{Head} \] \[ POSS \] \[ Adj \] \[ NUM \] \[ DEM \]
the two white shirts of mine

(11) \[ NP \rightarrow N_{Head} + (Adj) + (LOC) + (DEM) \]
wata menuré'ẽ [raẽ mà ] wé
corn green [DIR.LAND field] that
\[ N_{Head} \] \[ Adj \] \[ LOC \] \[ DEM \]
the green corn in the field

(12) \[ NP \rightarrow N_{Head} + (NUM) + (LOC) + (DEM) \]
wawé rua=ka [pe raẽ kenalé one'ẽ ] we
pig two=3PL [there DIR.LAND stall inside] that
\[ N_{Head} \] \[ NUM \] \[ LOC \] \[ DEM \]
the two pigs in the stall

(13) \[ NP \rightarrow N_{Head} + (Adj) + (NUM) + (RCl) + (DEM) \]
Witi bura'ã [(pé) bapa behi n=etẽ sega ] wé
goat white (REL) father just 3SG=bring arrive] that
\[ N_{Head} \] \[ Adj \] \[ RCl \] \[ DEM \]
the white goat that father just brought home

(14) \[ NP \rightarrow N_{Head} + (Adj) + (LOC) + (RCl) + (DEM) \]
wai platĩ [pé keluba one'ẽ ] [ema behĩ dẽnã ] wé
water hot [there pot inside] [mother just boil ] that
\[ N_{Head} \] \[ Adj \] \[ LOC \] \[ RCl \] \[ DEM \]
the hot water in the pot that mother just boiled

Having head-initial phrases, NPs in SL have a left-branching syntactic tree. The NP in (10) and (14), for example, can be represented into respective syntactic trees as in the following.
Another alternative NP structure in SL has a modifier – modified pattern. This is particularly identified with the possessive constructions having inalienable possessive enclitics (§4.1.2.2c). While in most cases possessive constructions in SL follow possessed–possessor or N-Gen order, those with inalienable possessive enclitics follow possessor–possessed or Gen-N patterns. Consider (15a) and (15b) below.

(15a). bapa kote=ě
father head=3SGPOSS
Gen N
father’s head

(15b). labu bapa na'ē
shirt father his
N Gen
father’s shirt

As noted in §4.1.2.2c, the use of inalienable possessive enclitics, which was assumed to be used exclusively for things which are inherently inseparable from the possessor, is now utilized with generic nouns as well. This tendency might be related to parsimony uses of language. For example, instead of saying labu bapa na'ē (shirt father his) ‘father’s shirt, SL speakers would say bapa labu=ũ (father shirt=3SGPOSS) ‘father’s shirt’. The latter follows an inalienable possessive construction. With this alternative construction, one will find difficulty in distinguishing which nouns are alienably possessed and which are inalienably possessed. SL, therefore, has two types of possessive patterns: Gen-N (inalienable) and N-Gen (alienable).

This phenomenon follows Donohue’s (2007) observation. He claims that the order of genitives and nouns in the western Austronesian world is commonly N-Gen,
whereas the order of the same grammatical feature in eastern Indonesian Austronesian languages has a dominant Gen-N. The pattern in eastern Indonesian languages, as he maintains, is a result of an influence from Papuan languages. Interestingly, he noted that a small group of languages in central Flores and surrounding islands, such as Palu'e (Donohue 200: 355), show both pre-nominal and post-nominal genitive patterns. These languages are found right on the border between the N-Gen and Gen-N languages, and Lamaholot could be one of these languages. This may provide evidence for Klamer’s (2012b) hypothesis postulating that there was contact in the distant past between Papuan and Lamaholot languages.

To sum up, some notes regarding the phrasal structure of NPs in SL are worth describing here.

1. Unlike in English, where a RCl normally comes closest to the head noun it modifies, a RCl in SL may come further away after other modifiers. In (14a), for example, the RCl *ema behî dêna* appears after the adjective *platî* and the locative *pê keluba onêê*. One might think that these modifiers are juxtaposed and therefore can be linked by using the coordinator *noô ‘and’, but this is not true because inserting the coordinator, for example, between the locative modifier and the relative clause may cause ungrammaticality.

2. If there is a locative modifier and a RCl occurring together, the locative modifier usually comes first and then the RCl. This is to avoid confusion as to whether the locative modifies the head noun or one of the segments in the RCl. Consider (16), where a locative comes first, and (17) where a RCl comes first.

(16). *wata [pê méja lolô] [kusî behî g=û] wé* rice [there table on] [cat just 3SG-eat] that

*N Head [LOC] [RCl] DEM*

the rice on the table that a cat just ate

(17). *wata [kusî behî g=û pê méja lolô] wé* rice [cat just 3SG-eat there table on] that

*N Head [RCl] DEM*

the rice that a cat just ate on the table

< OR >

the rice on the table that a cat just ate

With (16), the first meaning is more likely to be understood by native speakers, and therefore the difference of these two structures can be represented by different syntactic trees as follows.
6.2.2 Verb phrases

Verb phrases (VP) in SL are rather simple. The core predicative elements in SL are attached with three types of bound morphemes. First, verbal bound roots, both transitive and intransitive, require pronominal clitics (Table 4.1) marking S/A arguments, as in (18a).

(18a). Kamé m=énu susu.
    1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=drink milk.
    We drink milk.

Second, intransitive verbs are optionally attached with pronominal enclitics (Table 4.3) indicating S arguments, as in (18b). When the predicate is an intransitive verbal bound root, both pronominal proclitics and enclitics are attached as in (18c).

(18b). Ra'é penai=ka.
    3PL rest=3PL.
    They are taking a rest.

(18c). Tité t=ai=te bau.
    1PL(inc) 1PL(inc)=leave=1PL(inc) tomorrow
    We will leave tomorrow.

Note that enclitic morphemes are obligatory for predicative elements of lexical categories other than verbs, such as a noun (18d), an adjective (18e), and a deictic expression (18f).

(18d). Na'é guru='u kaé
    3SG be.teacher=3SG PERF.
    He has been a teacher.

(18e). Na'é mia='a.
    3SG be.shy=3SG.
    She is shy.
(18f). Ra‘e raé=ka kaé.
3PL be.DIR.LAND=3PL PERF.
They have been there (landward direction).

Third, if the P argument of a transitive object is in a 3rd-person singular, the verb may be attached with the 3rd-person singular object form =ro ‘him/her/it’ as in (19).

(19). Kamé herũ=ro kaé.
1PL(exc) meet=3SG PERF.
We have already met him.

In addition to attaching with the clitics as described above, there are also modifiers that, along with the core predicate constituent, form verb phrases in SL clauses. These modifiers include aspectual adverbs (§5.6.1), modal verbs (§5.6.2) and temporal adverbs (§5.6.3), illustrated in (20a), (20b) and (20c) respectively.

(20a). Ra‘e bego=ka kaé
3PL arrive=3PL PERF
They have already arrived.

(20b). Go‘e gete=ro kũ na‘e n=abé tanĩ.
1SG ask=3SG but 3SG 3SG=EVID cry.
I asked her, but she just cried.

(20c). Kamé hika tahã bau
1PL(exc) plant rice tomorrow.
We are going to plant rice tomorrow.

Verb phrases in SL also occur in the form of SVCs, in which a main verb occurs with another verb. In these constructions, the verbs act together as a single predicate without any coordination and subordination markers, and the structure describes what is understood as a single event. SVCs in SL occur with two types of verb.

Firstly, they occur with prepositional verbs (§5.3.4); that is a group of verbs used to denote a syntactic function, which, in a non-serializing language such as English, is expressed with a preposition. Secondly, SVCs in SL also occur with another type of verb referred to by Dixon (2010b: 139) as ‘secondary verbs’. These verbs are used to express what he called ‘secondary concepts’, which, in English for example, are realized by such words as ‘can’, ‘try’, ‘want’, ‘hope’, ‘plan’, and ‘help’.

In SL, structures using these verbs are realized as SVCs, a linguistic phenomenon known as ‘complementation strategy’ (Dixon 2006a: 33). A detailed presentation regarding these constructions is given in Chapter 8.
6.2.3 Adjective phrases

Adjective phrases (AdjP) may consist of only an adjective head, as in (21), or an adjective head with a modifier as in (22). Adjective modifiers in SL are indefinite quantifiers (§5.9.3), which are utilized to express intensification, in addition to reduplication, to express the same grammar context, as in (23). The sequence of the phrase constituents is modified–modifier.

(21). Na'ē hope lango béle'ẽ tou.
   3SG buy house big one
   He bought a big house.

(22). Labu na'ē ana ayaka.
   Shirt 2SGGEN small much
   His shirt is too small.

(23). Lango na'ē béle-béle.
   House 3SGGEN big-RED
   His house is very big.

6.2.4 Adverb phrases

SL Adverb phrases (AdvP, henceforth) are simple. Aspectual and temporal adverbs usually follow the head to which they modify, thus conform to the modified – modifier pattern, as illustrated in (24a). Modal adverbs, however, come before the verb they modify, as shown in (24b). Manner adverbs are expressed with the prepositional verb +a'ã along with a reduplicated adjective base as in (24c).

(24a). Na'ē turu='u kaé.
   3SG sleep=3SG PERF
   He has gone to bed.

(24b). Na'ē pana n=abé rogo.
   3SG walk 3SG=EVID crawl.
   He is crawling.

(24c). Ana wé tobo n=a'ã merê-merê.
   Child that sit 3SG=make silent-RED.
   That child is sitting silently.

6.3 Verbless clauses

SL lacks copula verbs, so structures that imply a proposition with a core predicative constituent of a noun, an adjective, a deictic, and a possession are referred to here as verbless clauses (VlCl, henceforth), following Dixon (2010b). Unlike the predicate in verbal clauses which has a referential meaning, the predicate in VlCls has a relational
meaning, including identity, attribution, possession, and location – see, e.g., Dixon (2010b: 159). Clauses of this type require two main elements: they are a Verbless Clause Subject (VCS, hereafter), which is comparable to a Copula Subject in a copula clause, and a Verbless Clause Complement (VCC, hereafter), which is comparable to a Copula Complement in a copula clause (Dixon 2010b).

Table 6.1 illustrates VICls in SL, grouped based on the relational meaning denoted by the complement arguments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of VCC</th>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>VCS</th>
<th>VCC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>(25)</td>
<td>Ana wé child that</td>
<td>Menanga alat Menanga person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>That boy is a Menanga person.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Attribution</td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>Lango na'ē house 3SGGEN</td>
<td>bèlé'ẽ big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>His house is big.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive phrase</td>
<td>Possession</td>
<td>(27)</td>
<td>Lango wé house that</td>
<td>Kopõ na'ē Kopõ 3SGGEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>That house is Kopong’s.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP marked by a spatial deictic</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>Bapa='ã father=3SGPOSS</td>
<td>raé mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>His father is in the field.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.3.1 Identity verbless clauses

Example (25) illustrates a VICl used to express identity relation. In the structure, two juxtaposed arguments appear; a VCS and a VCC. Both arguments have the same reference. Possessing a structure with juxtaposed arguments, this clause may be confused with a NP in which there is a noun head modified by a noun apposition. Example (29a), for example, can mean ‘a male goat’ or ‘the goat is male’.

(29a). *witi lakī.*

*goat male*

*a male goat*  
*<OR>*

*the goat is a male*

Although this structure is easily understood on pragmatic grounds, in written form, it can be confusing. To solve this, the demonstrative *pi/wi* ‘this’ or *pè/wè* ‘that’ can be used to distinguish between the two as shown in (29b), which is a VICl, against (29c),
which is a noun phrase.

(29b). witi wé lakî.
goat that male
That goat is male.

(29c). witi lakî wé …
goat male that
That male goat …

An identity VClCl can also simply consist of a pronoun and a proper name, as in (29d) or a pronoun and a noun, as in (29e).

(29d). Go'ē Yosē
1SG Yosē
I am Joseph.

(29e). Ra'ē guru
3PL teacher
They are teachers.

6.3.2 Attributive verbless clauses

A VClCl used to express an attributive relation consists of a NP and an AdjP, as in (26). Similar to that expressing identity, this VClCl may be confused with a NP consisting of a noun modified by an adjective. To avoid confusion, the demonstrative pi/wi ‘this’ or pé/wé ‘that’ is normally used to distinguish between the two as in (30a), which is a VClCl, and (30b), which is a noun phrase.

(30a). Aho wé mitẽnẽ
Dog that black
That dog is black.

(30b). Aho mitẽnẽ wé …
Dog black that
That black dog …

6.3.3 Possessive verbless clauses

The VClCl in (27) expresses a possessive relation. It comprises a NP and a possessor. This possessor can be a pronoun, in which the genitive forms (Table 5.3) are used, as in (31a), or a proper name or a generic noun followed by na'ē ‘belong to’ as in (27). Note that the expression na'ē in (27) can only be used with a proper name or a generic noun, as in (31b), not with a pronoun.

(31a). Labu go'ē
Shirt 1SGGEN
This shirt is mine.
(31b). Labu bapa / Kopõ na'ē
     shirt father / Kopõ belong.to
     Father’s / Kopõ’s shirt.

The structure with a genitive pronoun as in (31a) may be confusing as to whether it is
a clause or a phrase. It has two readings: ‘the shirt is mine’ or ‘my shirt’. Again, by
using the demonstrative pi/wi ‘this’ or pé/wé ‘that’, one can distinguish between the
two in written form, as in (31c), which is a VICl, and (31d), which is a noun phrase.

(31c). Labu wé go'ē
       Shirt that 1SGGEN
       That shirt is mine

(31d). Labu go'ē wé...
       Shirt 1SGGEN that
       My shirt....

6.3.4 Locative verbless clauses

Example (28) in Table 6.1 expresses a locative relation. It consists of a NP as a
subject and a locative argument as a complement. A locative argument commonly
occurs with the preposition ia or a deictic expression (Table 5.6) with or without a
locative noun (§5.2.5). Although Dixon (2010b: 161) predicted that a VCC with a
locative relationship is unlikely to be found in VICls, SL shows otherwise. To his
observation, in some languages, including Yidiñ, a locative relation, as illustrated in
(28), is expressed with stance verbs, such as ‘sit’ or ‘stand’.

As illustrated in (28), mã ‘field’ shows a locative relationship to the VCS
bapa'à ‘his father’. The locative reading is clearly indicated by the directional
expression raé ‘landward’. This construction is certainly not a NP containing a
locative noun as its head, but rather a clause because it encodes a complete
proposition. The entity being the subject of the clause is bapa'à and the predicating
element is the phrase raé mã. To prove that the subject NP Bapa'à is separate from
the rest of the clause, or the rest of the clause does not belong to the subject NP, a
substitution test can be used for the subject NP, as in (32), where square brackets
indicate the subject NP boundary, and the demonstrative wé ‘that’ signals the end of
the NP subject.

       Dog 2SG just buy yesterday that DIR.LAND field.
       The dog you just bought yesterday is in the field.
6.4 Existential clauses

An existential clause in SL may be confused with a VlCl having a VCC with a locative relation, and a verbal clause expressing possession. This is because cross-language observations have indicated that existential clauses resemble three other different types of clauses: copular, possessive and locative clauses (McNally 2011).

According to McNally (2011), existential clauses are syntactically characterized by certain features: (i) they usually have an expletive subject, like English *there*; (ii) though they do not always contain a verb, if there is one, the verb is often homophonous with the one meaning ‘be’ or ‘have’, or with some other verbs related to possession; and (iii) there is a central argument which describes the entity whose existence is being discussed.

Consider the following examples.

(33). Pé raé no’õ ula.
There DIR.LAND have snake.
There is snake, in the landward direction.

(34). Pia no’õ kebako.
Here have tobacco.
There are cigarettes here.

Like many other Austronesian languages, SL has no expletive subject, thus existential clauses in SL do not meet McNally’s (2001) criterion (i). Example (33) utilizes a directional deictic as its expletive clause subject, and (34) uses a demonstrative deictic as a clause subject. Both clauses use the verb no’õ ‘possess’ or ‘have’ as clause predicate.

6.5 Verbal Clauses

Describing verbal clauses is tantamount to describing the various types of verbs utilized in the clauses. This is because a verbal predicate plays a crucial role in determining the number and semantic roles of the arguments that occur with the verb in a given clause – see e.g. Givón (2001a) and Foley & Van Valin Jr (1984). Each clause has one or more core arguments which must either be explicitly expressed or inferred from the context, and some optional peripheral arguments referred to as adjuncts (Dixon 2010a).

The roles of the arguments can be examined with two templates or frames, referred to by Givón (2001a: 105) as ‘defining frames’: a syntactic and a semantic
frame. The syntactic frame examines clause arguments with respect to the syntactic structure of the clause in which the arguments are used, and the results are recognized as grammatical functions or relations, such as subjects, direct objects and indirect objects – see e.g. Comrie (1989: 66), Farrell (2005: 14-16). The semantic frame examines clause arguments based on the semantic properties of the predicate types; resulting in so called thematic roles. There are two known types of thematic roles: macro thematic roles (macroroles) and microroles. Macroroles include Actor and Undergoer – see e.g. Farrell (2005). Lehmann (2006) added another macrorole, called Indirectus which is structurally parallel to a typical indirect object. Microroles include some thematic roles such as theme, locative, path, etc., which are not reviewed in detail here due to the limitation of space. Some relevant literature that may be referred to for this issue include Kroeger (2005), Dixon (1994, 2010a, 2010b), Farrell (2005), (Givón 1997), Payne (2006), and Müller-Gotama (1994).

In describing SL syntax, the approach by incorporating the two defining frames described above is used simply because the outcomes by using these two frames cannot be described separately. They overlap with one another. For example, when describing the syntactic function of a subject, one probably needs to specify the semantic nature of the relationship born through a verb to the argument, as to whether the argument is an Agent, for example when the verb is ‘run’, or an Experiencer, when the verb is ‘dream’, or a Patient, when the verb is in the passive voice.

Cross-language observation indicates that there are three core arguments identified to be the universal syntactic-semantic primitives. They are intransitive subjects, transitive subjects and transitive objects (Dixon 1994: 6). These three core argument relations are commonly represented with S, A and O respectively. In terms of marking systems to indicate these relations, languages are systematically distinguished into two main grammar systems: Nominative – Accusative and Ergative – Absolutive. In some languages, intransitive verbs are distinguished into two types, generally identified as active and stative intransitive verbs (Dixon 2010a). Languages possessing this property are referred to as split-intransitive languages (Farrell 2005),

---

37 Abbreviations of known thematic roles are included in the ‘List of Abbreviation’ page.

38 The letters S, A and O used to represent the three primitive grammatical relations were first used in Dixon 1968, and then Dixon 1972. They are the most commonly and widely used symbols for these three functions in the description of a language’s grammatical relations (Dixon 1994).
which either have Split-S or Fluid-S systems (Dixon 2010a).

I am not going into detail to discuss these grammar systems since there is a vast linguistic body of literature which explains this topic. For this study, I am referring to, among others, Dixon (1994, 2010a, 2010b), Farrell (2005), Givón (1997), Kroeger (2005), Payne (2006), and Müller-Gotama (1994). I will discuss SL grammatical relations later in Chapter 9, but here I only introduce SL verbal clauses.

6.5.1 Intransitive clauses

An intransitive clause has a single argument functioning as S. The verbal morphology of intransitive clauses is described in §5.3.1.1. SL is a rigid verb-medial language which, in most cases, is committed to an SV(O) word order. In clauses where there are pronominal clitics, the S arguments control the clitics and therefore are always coreferential with the clitics, as in (35-36). When there are clitics, the clause subject NP can be deleted without significantly altering the clause semantics.

(35). Mo’ë m-olo
   2SG 2SG=go.ahead.
   You go first.

(36). Ra’ë r=ai=ka   kaé.
   3PL 3PL=go=3PL PERF.
   They already left.

Intransitive clauses may be expanded by adding some adjuncts.

(37). Expanded intransitive clauses with adjuncts expressing temporal adverbials:
   Kamé      m=ai=ke                          ere rua.
   1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=go=1PL(exc) day two.
   We will leave the day after tomorrow.

(38). Expanded intransitive clauses with adjuncts expressing locational adverbials:
   Ra’ë sudu-ka raé               lango one’ẽ.
   3PL hide=3PL DIR.LAND house inside.
   They are hiding inside the house, in the landward direction.

As is seen in these examples, there are additional nouns, such as ere ‘day’ in (37), and lango ‘house’ in (38). These elements are adjuncts, which indicates ‘the place-at/in-which or the time-at-which an action occurs’- see, e.g. Brinton and Brinton (2010: 299). These nouns do not have any grammatical relation whatsoever to the verbal

---

39 The term ‘word order’ follows a generally understood concept which refers to ‘the linear sequence in which words occur in a constituent or in a sentence’ (Trask 1996: 306), discussed in detail, for example, in Dryer (1985).
predicate, instead they provide some sort of modification telling about the time and location of the event occurrence. This context may be proved, for example, by moving around the locative argument as in (39a), or by transforming the clause into an interrogative asking the intended argument as in (39b).

(39a). Ere rua, kamé m=ai=ke.
Day two, 1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=go=1PL(exc).
We will leave the day after tomorrow.

(39b). Ra'ê sudu=ka diga?
3PL hide=3PL where
Where are they hiding?

In addition, an intransitive clause can also be expanded with a serial verb to indicate a Manner (40a), a Concomitant40 (40b), and a Direction41 (40c). Detailed discussion on serial verb constructions is presented in Chapter 8.

(40a). Expanded intransitive clause with a prepositional verb indicating Manner:
Ra'ê pana r=a'ã paõ-RED.
3PL walk 3PL=do slow-RED.
They walked slowly.

(40b). Expanded intransitive clause with a prepositional verb indicating Concomitant:
Bapa n=ai lali Otã n=o'ô ema.
Father 3SG=go DIR.WEST Otã 3SG=be.with mother.
(My) father went to Otã with (my) mother.

(40c). Expanded intransitive clause with a prepositional verb indicating Direction:
Guru ra'ê géré lau Potu r=ai.
Teacher 3PL ascend DIR.SEA Potu 3PL=go.
The teachers are going to Potu.

In addition to utilizing strictly intransitive verbs, some intransitive clauses in SL also make use of ambitransitive verbs (§5.3.1.3). These ambitransitive verbs are used intransitively by simply attaching the pronominal enclitics (Table 4.3), as in (41a). Some other ambitransitive verbs, which are considered typical transitive verbs in other languages, such as ‘kill’ and ‘sell’, can also be used intransitively by attaching the pronominal enclitics, as in (41b), or by prefixing the detransitivizer affix pe- (§4.1.3.3) along with the pronominal proclitics as in (41c).

40 In Givón (2001a: 107), this semantic role is referred to as Associative, that is “an associate of the agent, patient or dative of the event, whose role in the event is similar, but who is not as important”.

41 This role is referred to as Goal in Brinton and Brinton (2010: 299): “the place-to-which or person-to-whom an action is directed, including indirect objects and directional adverbs”. In Givón (2001a: 107), it is called Locative (Motion).
The semantic role that an S argument has in intransitive clauses is different from clause to clause, depending on the predicate utilized in the clause. The semantic roles include Agent (AG) such as ra'ë in (41a), Patient (PA) such as na'ë in (41b), Undergoer\(^{42}\) (UN) such as kenawë in (42a), Force (FO)\(^{43}\) such as urã in (42b), and Theme (TH) such as béro in (42c).

The S arguments with an agentive role are commonly those that occur with strictly active intransitive verbs, as in (41a). But those having the role as an Undergoer occur

\(^{42}\) Some literature, such as Kroeger (2005), use the term ‘Experiencer’ as an alternative label for this semantic role. This thematic role receives sensory or emotional input. It differs from Patient (PA) in terms of the way that a Patient role undergoes the action and changes its state.

\(^{43}\) Brinton and Brinton (2010: 299) remarked that Force, along with Agent, is also known as Actor, but they are distinct with respect to animacy. An Agent is typically animate, whereas a Force is inanimate. Thus, the action denoted by the predicate with a Force as an S does not occur by will.
with different types of predicates, including predicates that belong to other lexical
categories other than verbs (see (16c, d, e) in §6.2.2), predicates of causative verbs, as
in (42a), and a few ambitransitive verbs derived from Affect verbs as illustrated in
(41c). Arguments with a Theme role occur with Motion verbs as in (42c), whereas
those having a Force role occur with Manner of motion verbs, as in (42b).

6.5.2 Transitive clauses

A few transitive verbal bound roots require a proclitic morpheme (Table 4.1) to be
coreferential with an A argument, as in (43a), but most transitive verbs are free
roots as in (43b). Unlike an intransitive predicate which is optionally attached with an
enclitic morpheme, a transitive predicate does not require one.

(43a). Tonggana n=ewã Kewuã wua.
     Tonggana 3SG=harvest Kewuã fruit.
     Tonggana picked up Kewuã fruit.
(43b). Ra'ê bélo Bota.
     3SG kill    Bota.
     They killed Bota

Lacking argument markings, the identification of an A and O in SL may be
problematic, and the only way would be by examining the clause word order (see e.g.
Dixon (2010a: 126). In SL, the argument that occurs immediately before a transitive
predicate is an A, whereas the one that comes right after the predicate is an O. Note
that only the argument that appears right before a transitive verb is the A argument.
There can be constituents other than an independent noun or noun phrase that may
interfere between the A argument and the transitive predicate, such as modal verbs or
a progressive aspect, as in (43c) below, but never an isolated noun phrase apart from
the A argument. However, one can often find two separate arguments occurring
before a transitive verb, as in (43d), which is referred to as a topic clause (see §9.3).

(43c). Ana sekola r=odi / métê r=ekã pao.
     Child school 3PL=EVID / PROG 3PL=eat mango.
     The school children are (in fact) eating mango.
(43d). Ikã wé kamé weda wia.
     Fish that 1PL(exc) catch yesterday.
     That fish, we caught it yesterday

Identifying an A argument is easy. It is the one with which a proclitic, if any, attached
to the clause predicate is coreferential, or the one which occurs right before the clause
predicate. An O argument is the one that comes immediately after the clause predicate. There are no morphological distinctions between the O argument and the A argument pronouns. The only distinction is seen with the 3rd-person singular, which alternatively uses the clitic =ro attached to a clause predicate (see §4.1.2.2b). Observe (43e), which uses pronouns other than the 3rd-person singular as an O argument, and (43f), which uses the 3rd-person singular for the same argument position.

(43e). Ra'ê tematã go'ê/kamé/mo'ê/mi'o
3PL chase 1SG/1PL(exc)/2SG/2PL.
They chased me/us/you(SG)/you(PL).

(43f). Kamé berĩ aho/Beda/na'ê →Kamé berĩ =ro
1PL(exc) hit dog/Bêda/3SG.
We hit the dog/Bêda/him/her
We hit him/her/it.

Like intransitive clauses, transitive clauses can also be expanded by adding adjuncts, as illustrated below.

(44). Expanded transitive clauses with adjuncts expressing temporal adverbials:
Ra'ê r=ewâ wulũ néku gulê.
3PL 3PL=harvest vegetable just.now morning
They collected the vegetables this morning.

(45). Expanded transitive clauses with adjuncts indicating locational adverbials:
Na'ê gena ule to'u raë mâ.
3SG find caterpillar one DIR.LAND field.
She found a caterpillar in the field.

In addition, a transitive clause can also be expanded to form a SVC by adding a prepositional verb to indicate the Instrument as in (46a), Manner (46b), Concomitant (46c) and Direction (46d).

(46a). Kolopohũ bi'ẽ=ro n=a'ã kayo lepa='ã.
Kolopohũ beat=3SG 3SG=use tree leaf=3SGPOSS.
Kolopohũ beat him with tree leaves.

(46b). Na'ê nawi ana n=a'ã paõ-paõ.
3SG put down baby 3SG make slow=RED.
She put down the baby carefully.

(46c). Kamé batũ wawé m=o'õ tentara alatẽ.
1PL(exc) hunt pig 3PL(exc)=be.with soldier person.
We hunted pigs with the soldiers.

(46d). Ema n=ete bapa wata='ã mâ n=ai.
Mother 3SG=bring father rice=3SGPOSS field 3SG=go.
Mother brought father’s meal to the field.

With typical transitive verbs, such as in (43b), an A is usually an Agent, and an O is a
Patient. However, it is not always the case that there is a one-to-one relationship between an A argument and an Agent, and an O argument and a Patient. Consider the following examples where A and P bear different semantic roles.

(47a). $A = \text{AG}, \ O = \text{TH}$
\[
\text{Na'ě} \ n=é\text{tē} \quad \text{keniki.}
\]
\[
3\text{SG} \ 3\text{SG}=\text{bring} \quad \text{food.}
\]
AG \ TH
He supplied food.

(47b). $A = \text{UN}, \ O = \text{IM}^{44}$
\[
\text{Kamě} \ \text{lilé} \ \text{turis} \ \text{alatē.}
\]
\[
1\text{PL}(\text{exc}) \ \text{watch} \ \text{tourist} \ \text{person.}
\]
UN \ IM
We watched the tourists.

(47c). $A = \text{UN}^{45}, \ O = \text{ST}$
\[
\text{Kopō} \ \text{su ka} \ \text{Bengā}
\]
\[
\text{Kopō} \ \text{love} \ \text{Bengā}
\]
UN \ ST
Kopō loves Bengā.

(47d). $A = \text{AG}, \ O = \text{PT}^{46}$
\[
\text{Laba} \ \text{mētē} \ \text{gērē} \ \text{pao.}
\]
\[
\text{AG} \ \text{PROG} \ \text{climb} \ \text{mango}
\]
Laba is climbing a mango tree.

(47e). $A = \text{AG}, \ O = \text{LOC}$
\[
\text{Kamě} \ \text{golē} \ \text{ema.}
\]
\[
\text{AG} \ \text{LOC} \ \text{surround} \ \text{mother.}
\]
We surrounded mother.

(47f). $A = \text{AG}, \ O = \text{RE}$
\[
\text{Na'ě} \ \text{tutu} \ \text{go'ē.}
\]
\[
3\text{PL} \ \text{tell} \ 1\text{SG}
\]
He told me.

(47g). $A = \text{PO}, \ O = \text{TH}$
\[
\text{Kępāla} \ \text{né} \ \text{n=ōō} \ \text{oto} \ \text{no'ō} \ \text{motor.}
\]
\[
\text{Village.} \ \text{head} \ \text{that} \ 3\text{SG}=\text{own} \ \text{car} \ \text{and} \ \text{boat.}
\]
PO \ TH \ TH
That village head has a car and a boat.

---

44 In Dixon (2010b: 127), an Impression is an O argument for verbs such as ‘see’ and ‘hear’.

45 Dixon (2010b: 127) calls this semantic role ‘Experiencer’ with such verbs as ‘like’, ‘love’ and ‘hate’, The O arguments of these verbs are called ‘Stimulus’.

46 Brinton and Brinton (2010: 299) describe Path as an argument considered to be a path “taken in moving from one place to another in the course of an action”.
Another transitive clause utilizes a different type of transitive verb known in English as a Complex Transitive Verb (Brinton & Brinton 2010). A clause with this verb combines a transitive and a verbless structure. The clause predicate is followed by two NPs; the first NP is a Direct Object; and the second one is an Object Complement. It is called an Object Complement because it refers back to the clause direct object, in a way similar to a Verbless Clause Complement (VCC) which refers back to its subject argument. Similar to those in English, transitive clauses in SL with a Complex Transitive verb may take another NP as an Object Complement as in (48a).

\[
\begin{align*}
(48a). & \quad \text{Kamé } \text{mayã}=\text{ro } /\text{na'ê/ana wé Béda.} \\
& \quad 1\text{PL(exc)} \text{call=3PL /3PL/child that Béda.} \\
& \quad \text{We called him / the baby Béda.}
\end{align*}
\]

An Object Complement can also be of different phrasal types, including an AdjP as in (48b) and a Locative Phrase as in (48c).

\[
\begin{align*}
(48b). & \quad \text{Mo'ê po'o kayo wé kesu muri.} \\
& \quad 2\text{SG cut wood that short more.} \\
& \quad (\text{You}) \text{cut the wood shorter.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(48c). & \quad \text{Bapa mau sendal wi weli } \text{kenewe.} \\
& \quad \text{Father want sandal that DIR.NEAR bed.underneath} \\
& \quad \text{Father wants these sandals under the bed.}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that with such context as in (48a-c), it is not possible to delete the object complement without radically changing the meaning of the clause. For example, if Béda in (48a) is deleted, the result is Kamé mayã=ro / na'ê / ana wé ‘We called him/her/the child’. The two structures have a completely different meaning. The first clause implies ‘we gave him/her/the baby a name, and the name was Béda’ but the second one implies a pure transitive clause, which means ‘we called (Béda) in order to come to us’.

These clauses can be transformed into SVCs, by using prepositional verbs (§5.3.4). Examples (48a) and (48b) can be expressed in another way by using the prepositional verb +a'ã ‘make’ as in (48d) and (48e) respectively. Example (48c) can use any verb of Locomotion (§ 5.3.2.2) placed between the direct object and the Locative object complement, as in (48f).

\[
\begin{align*}
(48d). & \quad \text{Kamé } \text{mayã}=\text{ro } /\text{na'ê/ana wé m=a'ã } \text{Béda.} \\
& \quad 1\text{PL(exc) call=3PL 3PL/child that 1PL(exc)=make Béda.} \\
& \quad \text{We called him/the baby Béda.}
\end{align*}
\]
(48e). Mo’ė po'o kayo wé m=a’ã kesu muri.
   2SG cut wood that 2SG=make short more.
   (You) cut the wood shorter.

(48f). Bapa mau sendal wi ta'o weli kenewe.
   Father want sandal that put DIR.NEAR bed.underneath
   Father wants these sandals under the bed.

6.5.3 Ditransitive clauses

A ditransitive clause has three core arguments: an A, a first object (typically a RE and a GO argument) and a second object (typically a TH) - see e.g. Farrell (2005). To avoid confusion and for consistency throughout this discussion, I will refer to the RE and GO argument as O₁ and the TH argument as O₂. This is simply because the term ‘indirect object’, according to Kroeger (2005: 61), is traditionally used to refer to the semantic role of recipient (also beneficiary), rather than to refer to a specific grammatical relation. With SL, I must make it clear that the typical role of an O₁ appears to be that of recipient in an act of giving, and other semantic roles such as beneficiary, goal, addressee and perceiver (see e.g. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000)).

Observe the following SL typical ditransitive clause in (49a), where bapa ‘father’ is an A, ema ‘mother’ is O₁ and labu to'u ‘a shirt’ is O₂. With this structure, a ditransitive clause in SL may also be considered ‘a double-object construction’, following Larson (1988).

(49a). Bapa sorō ema labu to'u.
   Father give mother shirt one.
   Father gave mother a shirt.

To distinguish O₁ from O₂ argument, a strategy by which the O₂ argument is moved to the position immediately after the verb clause may be used. This strategy is comparable to the dative shift⁴⁷ or ‘dative movement’ (Trask 1996). In doing so, the O₁ argument is transformed into a prepositional phrase, as in (49b), or into an object of serial verbs of sorō or nēʻi ‘give, present’, as in (49c). The O argument which is capable of undergoing a transformation from a NP to a PP or to a NP argument of the serial verb sorō or nēʻi is the underlying indirect object. After being transformed, the relation of the O₁ argument changes from a core argument to an oblique, or an object

---

⁴⁷ Dative shift is a linguistic strategy by which an underlying indirect object is realized as a secondary object of the clause predicate by placing it immediately after the verb, whereas the underlying direct object is realized as some kind of peripheral element. See e.g. Larson (1988).

183
of a prepositional verb (see those indicated with an arrow in (50 – 52)).

(49b). Bapa sorõ labu to'u ia ema.
Father give shirt one PREP mother.
Father gave a shirt to mother.

(49c). Bapa hopé labu to'u sorõ ema.
Father buy shirt one give mother.
Father bought a shirt for mother.

Ditransitive clauses in SL occur with several semantic types of verbs, including locomotion verbs (§5.3.2.2) as in (50), utterance verbs (§5.3.2.5) as in (51), and transaction and service verbs (§5.3.2.7) as in (52). The O₁ arguments in these clauses can undergo a dative shift, and the result can be seen in the clauses indicated with an arrow. The arguments undergoing a dative shift become the object of the preposition ia as in (51), or the argument of the prepositional verb sorõ as in (50) and (52).

(50). Na'é dorē Bengã wai kia.
3SG pull.up Bengã water PRT
He pulled up some water for Bengã.
→ Na'é dorē wai sorõ Bengã kia.
3SG pull.up water give Bengã PRT
He pulled up some water for Bengã.

(51). Na'é ksakot go'ē merĩ mo pe'ope=ko
3SG whisper 1SG say 2SG lie=2SG
He whispered to me that you were lying.
→ Na'é ksakot ia go'ē merĩ mo'ē pe'ope=ko
3SG whisper PREP 1SG say 2SG lie=2SG
He whispered to me that you were lying.

(52). Na'é behĩ bapa=ã tua muã rua
3SG pour father=3SGPOSS palm.wine time two
She served two glasses of palm wine for her father.
→ Na'é behĩ tua muã rua sorõ bapa=ã.
3SG serve palm.wine time two give father=3SGPOSS
She served two glasses of palm wine for her father.

As can be seen from these examples, there are two resulting structures in which an O₁ NP may be transformed in order to show that it is the underlying indirect object. The first structure utilizes the PREP ia and the resulting grammatical relation is an oblique, as in (51). The second is expressed with the serial verb sorõ or néĩ, resulting in an object relation of a prepositional verb, (50) and (52).

Example (51) utilizes utterance verbs, and therefore the O₂ argument is the messages being transferred. The message is usually in the form of indirect utterances.
(speech) and form complement clauses. When a construction with such a complement clause undergoes a dative shift, the clause constituent remains in the same position; the alteration occurs simply by the addition of the PREP ia before the O₁ argument. This happens because complement clauses in SL usually occur at a clause final position (see §7.3.2). A corresponding situation is also found in English, where a clause like ‘*they asked what my name was to me’ is not grammatical, but rather ‘they asked me what my name was’ is acceptable.

Similar to intransitive and transitive clauses, ditransitive clauses can also be extended by adding a temporal adverb as in (53a), and locational adverb, as in (53b).

(53a). Kamé meté dadi wawé ulë tou wia.
1PL(exc) bring uncle pig big one yesterday.
We brought uncle a big pig yesterday.

(53b). Na'é déna bapa=â wata raé mâ.
3SG cook father=3SGPOSS rice DIR.LAND field.
She cooked some rice for her father in the field.

Ditransitive clauses can also be expanded by adding serial verbs to indicate Manner as in (53c), Instrument as in (53d) and Concomitant as in (53e), but not Direction.

(53c). Na'é déna bapa=â wata n=a'â béra-béra.
3SG cook father=3SGPOSS rice 3SG=do quick-RED.
Quickly, she cooked some rice for her father.

(53d). Kamé m=ahu ema wai m=a'â doga.
1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=fetch mother water 1PL(exc)=use bamboo. tube
We fetched some water for mother in a bamboo tube.

(53e). Kamé m=ahu ema wai m=o'ô kre'ê ra'ê.
1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=fetch mother water 1PL(exc)=be.with children 3PL.
We and the children fetched some water for mother.

The semantic roles of the arguments borne by a ditransitive verb can also differ from clause to clause based on the semantic type of verb, as illustrated below.

(54a). A = AG. O₁ = RE, O₂ = TH
Kopô sorô Léma kila tou
Kopô give Léma ring one.
AG RE TH
Kopô gave Léma a ring.

(54b). A = AG. O₁ = BE. O₂ = PA
Na'ë déna bapa=â wata berua
3SG cook father=3SGPOSS rice a.few
AG RE PA
She cooked some rice for her father.
(54c).  \(A = AG, O_1 = GO, O_2 = TH\)
Bapa genato go'è doi berua.
Father sent 1SG money few
AG GO TH
Father sent me some money.

(54d).  \(A = AG, O_1 = RE, O_2 = ST\)
Na'è ksakot go'è merī mo pe'ope=ko
3SG whisper 1SG say 2SG lie=2SG
AG RE ST
He whispered to me that you were lying.

In (54a), \(O_1\) is a Recipient and \(O_2\) is a Theme; the \(O_2\) argument undergoes a change of location, in which it is given by the \(A\) argument and is accepted by the \(O_1\) argument, which is a Recipient. In (54b), the \(O_1\) argument is a Beneficiary; it is the entity that benefits from the action performed by the \(A\) argument, whereas the \(O_2\) argument is a Patient because it suffers the action of \(dēnā\) ‘cook’. Although the \(O_2\) in (54c) is a Theme, which is the same as that in (54a), the \(O_1\) argument in this clause is a Goal; it is the target argument to which the \(O_2\) argument is sent. The \(O_2\) changes location, thus it is a Theme. In (54d), the \(O_1\) argument is a Recipient; it is the argument that receives the message uttered by the \(A\) argument, but unlike the \(O_2\) argument in (54a) which undergoes a change of location, the \(O_2\) argument in this clause is something that is heard, and is therefore a Stimulus.

6.6 Interrogative clauses

SL employs the two widely known interrogative structures: polar questions (yes/no question) and content questions (wh-questions).

6.6.1 Polar questions

This interrogative clause exhibits the expectation an answer, either with ‘yes’ or ‘no’. In SL, these kinds of clauses have no distinctive word order; they have identical constituent structures as those of declarative ones, but they often use several particles (§4.1.4) placed at the right edge of the clause and distinctively have a final rising pitch, which is comparable to that in English. Example (55a) uses the particle go/ge to express curiosity, and (55b) utilizes le to ask for a confirmation, thus it is similar to a tag question in English. Responses to a polar question are usually either ha'e/le'è ‘yes’ or také ‘no’ (§5.12.1).
In addition to the ordinary polar questions, SL also has another polar question type known as alternative questions - see e.g. (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik 1985: 823) and (Sadock & Zwicky 1985: 179). This question provides two or more possible answers and presupposes that only one is true, as illustrated in (55c). The response to this question is either one of the alternatives being proposed.

(55c). Q : Mo'ë g=ô=no    kaë lé wati? 
        2SG 2SG-eat=2SG PERF or IMPERF.
        Have you had your lunch or not yet?

A : Kaë,   k=ã=ne    kaë  
    PERF, 1SG=eat=1SG PERF
   Already, I have had my lunch already  
<OR> 
   Wati,   k=ã=ne    wati.    
   IMPERF, 1SG=eat=1SG IMPERF
   Not yet, I have not had my lunch yet.

6.6.2 Content questions

A content question expects specific information. It contains a question word that asks for the information being expected. Similar to polar questions, content questions in SL also have a structure similar to a declarative clause, with the exception that the constituent being questioned is substituted with a question word (§5.11). With this structure, a question word in SL always remains ‘in situ’; that is it stays in the syntactic slot where the questioned constituent occurs. Intonation, therefore, plays an important role to simply distinguish interrogatives from declaratives. Content questions always have a rising intonation at the clause end. Examples of content questions with various question words in SL are presented in §5.11.

6.7 Comparative clauses

A comparative clause is used to express a comparison between two or more entities, or groups of entities, in terms of the degree of some gradable property relating to
them. There are three fundamental components in a prototypical comparative clause: the two participants being contrasted, and the property in terms of which the participants are compared (Dixon 2012).

To easily describe comparative clauses in SL, some terms are used after Dixon (2012: 344). The terms are (i) ‘COMPAREE’, referring to one of the participants being compared, (ii) ‘STANDARD of comparison’, referring to the other participant which is being compared against the comparee, (iii) ‘PARAMETER of comparison’, referring to the property being compared, (iv) ‘INDEX of comparison’, referring to the grammar operators which, for example in English, are expressed with the dependent word ‘more’ or the bound morpheme such as ‘-er’ attached to an adjective being compared, and (v) ‘MARK of the grammatical function of the standard’, referring to function words such as ‘than’ in English. These terms can be applied to clausal components of an English comparative clause as in (56).

(56). Gold is more expensive than silver.

| COMPAREE               | : gold. |
| STANDARD of comparison | : silver |
| PARAMETER of comparison | : expensive |
| INDEX of comparison    | : more |
| MARK of the grammatical function of the Standard | : than |

Comparative clauses in SL are expressed in a pair of basic clauses. Both clauses are syntactically independent. The first clause is mandatory, but the second one is optional. They may be conjoined with the coordinator nē ‘and’, if the second clause needs to be explicit. The first clause expresses the essence of the comparison. It contains a COMPAREE argument, an INDEX and a PARAMETER of comparison. An INDEX of comparison in SL is expressed with *di* (glossed COMPAR), which is comparable to ‘more’ or the comparison bound morpheme ‘-er’ in English. With this INDEX, comparative clauses in SL can be interpreted as ‘X exceeds (Y) in property’, where X is the COMPAREE and Y is the STANDARD of comparison. The second clause contains a STANDARD of comparison along with the PARAMETER of comparison expressed in the opposite way to the one used in the first clause. There is no MARK of grammatical function of the STANDARD of comparison in SL, because the STANDARD of comparison is not mandatorily expressed or is expressed in a separate clause. Consider the following example.
In (57a), the participants are *mã Kopõ na'ẽ* as the COMPAREE, and *mã go'ẽ* as the STANDARD of comparison. Both participants are VCSs (Verbless Clause Subjects) in the two clauses. The property being compared as a PARAMETER of comparison is the width of the field. It functions as a VCC (Verbless Clause Complement) in both clauses, but it is expressed differently in the respective clauses. In the first clause, it is expressed in a positive way, but contrastively in the second one.

Often, a PARAMATER of comparison in the second clause is expressed in a negative form, as in (57b), and frequently the second clause is not explicitly expressed as in (57c).

Example (57c) is rendered as ‘his house is bigger than someone else’s house’. The STANDARD of comparison is not expressed, but it is obvious from the context that it must be ‘house’ that the speaker is comparing.

Sometimes, the participants to be compared are introduced earlier in the clause as a topic, as in (57d), where *oto* is the COMPAREE, *motor* is the STANDARD of comparison, and *kléa* is the PARAMETER of comparison. Occasionally, there also occurs a second clause introducing the STANDARD of comparison, although both participants of comparison have been introduced in the clause topic, as in (57e).

Interestingly, in addition to adjectives, deictic expressions and directional verbs can also be used as a PARAMETER of comparison in SL. This phenomenon may obscure the actual categorization of the deictic expressions and the directional verbs, as they can also display a characteristic that is commonly associated with adjectives.
Deictic expressions used as a PARAMETER of comparison include lau ‘seaward’, raé ‘landward, mountainward’, têti ‘eastward, upward’ and lali ‘westward, downward’ (§5.8). The use of these expressions in comparison clauses is usually coupled with directional verbs (§5.3.2.1d). These verbs include dai ‘come from a seaward direction’, hau ‘come from a landward, or eastward direction’, haka ‘come from a westward direction, or from a lower place’, lodo ‘come from a higher place’ and géré ‘come from a lower place’ (Table 5.6). The use of the deictic expressions and the directional verbs complement each other; in that if a deictic is stated in the first clause, the directional verb is stated in the second one, and vice versa. Consider (58a) where the deictic expression raé is stated in the first clause and the directional verb hau in the second clause, and (58b) where the directional verb géré is mentioned in the first clause and the deictic word lali in the second one.

(58a). When two individuals were wondering whether the cloud or the mountain they saw in the distance was closer to them. They said:

Ilé no'o kowa pê raé wê, ilé di raé,
Mountain and cloud there DIR.LAND that mountain COMPAR DIR.LAND
nê kowa di hau.
and cloud COMPAR come.from.landward

As for the mountain and the cloud over there, the mountain is further away than the cloud, the cloud is closer toward us.

(58b). Two persons are looking down into a well, one of them said:

Pê lali wê, wai lol(o)=ô di géré,
There downward that, water surface=3SGPOSS COMPAR go.up
nê wato di lali
and stone COMPAR DIR.DOWN.

Down there, the water surface is higher than the stone.

Note that unlike adjectives, the use of either a deictic expression or a directional verb as a PARAMETER of comparison in the first clause cannot be coupled with a negative PARAMETER in the second clause. Compare (57b) which uses an adjective, thus it may be coupled with a negative PARAMETER, with (58c), which uses a directional expression, thus cannot be coupled with a negative PARAMETER, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (58c).

(58c). *Lamakéra di têti, nê Menanga di têti la.
Lamakéra COMPAR DIR.EAST and Menanga COMPAR DIR.EAST not
(Intended for: Lamakera is further to the east, Menanga is not, it is closer toward us).
Instead, it should use a form antonymous to the PARAMATER word as in (58d).

(58d). Lamakéra di téti, nē Menanga di lali.
Lamakéra COMPAR DIR.EAST and Menanga COMPAR DIR.WEST
Lamakera is more eastwardly than Menanga.

6.8 Imperative clauses

This section describes imperative clauses, covering command and request, hortative and prohibitive clauses.

Command and request clauses in SL do not have any particular word order or morphological markings, except they use the particle kia (§4.1.4.5). They have a structure similar to a declarative construction with a second person as a clause subject. The subject NP is optionally expressed, whereas the clause predicate takes an argument marking morpheme: the proclitic $m=$ (Table 4.1) for both the 2nd-person singular and plural with a verbal bound root as in (59a), and the enclitic morpheme (Table 4.3) $=ko/no/o$ for a 2nd-person singular, and $=kɛ/nɛ/ɛ$ for a 2nd-person plural with an intransitive verb as in (59b).

(59a). (Mo) pai nē $m=$ewã tapo.
(2SG) come.here and 2SG=harvest coconut.
Come here and harvest the coconut fruit.

(59b). G=$d= no$ bali.
2SG=eat=2SG again.
Eat again!

Command and request clauses do not use aspectual markers, such as $mɛ`tɛ$ (PROG), $kæ$ (PERF) and $wati$ (IMPERF), but they can be used with modal expressions such as $+odi$ in (60a), and $+abe$ in (60b). Note that SL does not have polite expressions, such as ‘please’ in English.

(60a). M=$odi$ g=$d= no$.
2SG=PERMISS 2SG=eat=2SG.
Have your meal!

(60b). $m= abe$ pana.
2SG=OBLIG walk.
Just walk!

Hortatives also do not have a special structure; but unlike command and request which use a 2nd-person singular and plural, hortative clauses use a 1st-person plural inclusive pronoun as a clause subject, as in (61a-b). The clause subject is commonly not overtly expressed.
Prohibitive clauses are negative imperatives. They are used to express prohibition. In SL, prohibition is marked with *aké* ‘do not’ as illustrated in (62). Similar to commands and requests, the subject of prohibitive clauses is usually a second person, which is not necessarily mentioned.

(61). Pai t=eka=ne kia!
Come 1PL(inc)=eat=1PL(inc) PRT.
Let us eat / have the meal.

(62). Aké dore=ro !
Do.not follow=3SG.
Don’t follow him/her!
7 Complex Clause Structures

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses complex clause structures. The term ‘complex clause structure’ refers to those structures in which more than one predicative element is merged to form a single sentence in one way or another. Each predicative element in the united structure forms its own single clause; this is the structure already discussed in the previous chapter. With this notion of the term ‘complex clause structure’, this chapter covers compound clauses (§7.2) and complex clauses including relative clauses (§7.3.1), complement clauses (§7.3.2), and adverbial clauses (§7.3.3).

This chapter uncovers some interesting phenomena concerning the syntax of complex clauses in SL which previous studies failed to display. First, it provides detailed features of various syntactic functions that a ‘Common Argument’ may serve both in a main clause and in a relative clause, and concludes by establishing which NP in the Accessibility Hierarchy established by Keenan & Comrie (1977) are relativizeable. Second, it interestingly demonstrates two distinct strategies utilized in SL to code complementation with complement-taking-verbs. Third, this chapter clearly demonstrates different types of adverb clauses and explains why certain adverb clauses are not found in SL.

7.2 Compound clauses

Compound clauses consist of two or more equal clauses conjoined by coordinators. Haspelmath (2007) classified four semantic types of coordination by which coordinators are used; they are conjunctive coordination (and), disjunctive coordinator (or), adversative coordination (but) and causal coordination (for).

SL coordinators are: nè ‘and’ (conjunctive coordination); lé ‘or’ (disjunctive coordination); nekù / kù ‘but’ (adversative coordination); and ge ‘(and) then’ used to link consecutive events (§5.10.1). These coordinators are prepositional, that is they form a structural unity with the clause they precede. This is evident in spoken forms where there usually occurs a short pause between the final element of the first clause and the coordinator used to conjoin it with the second clause. Compound clauses in
SL are discussed in turn below based on the coordinator used.

7.2.1 Compound clauses with \textit{nẽ}

Compound clauses conjoined by the coordinator \textit{nẽ} are illustrated in (1). The coordinator \textit{nẽ} is in bold.

(1a). Bapa sega \textit{nẽ} n=ewã tapo.  
Father arrive and 3SG=harvest coconut.  
Father arrived and harvested coconut fruit.

(1b). Kepala mayã Kopô \textit{nẽ} gewahé=ro  
Chief call Kopô and scold=3SG.  
The chief called Kopô and scolded him.

(1c). Bapa de’ĩ \textit{nẽ} tapo deka teka=ro.  
Father stand and coconut fall hit=3SG.  
Father stood and the coconut fruit fell down and hit him.

As seen in (1), in the compound clauses with a shared subject argument, the argument is realized as a zero anaphora in the second clause. This happens with a subject argument of both transitive and intransitive verbs. This, however, does not apply to a shared O argument. Although the O arguments in both clauses refer to an identical entity, both arguments must be explicitly expressed, as in (1b), where the O argument Kopô in the first clause is substituted with an anaphoric clitic =ro in the second clause. The absence of the object pronoun clitic =ro renders the clause ungrammatical.

The use of \textit{nẽ} in compound clauses can also mean ‘so (that)’. The different interpretation of this coordinator whether it means ‘and’ or ‘so (that)’ depends very much on the semantics of the clauses. In compound clauses with \textit{nẽ} meaning ‘and’, the two conjoined clauses do not have a semantic relation with the other. In contrast, in the compound clauses with \textit{nẽ} meaning ‘so (that)’, the two clauses have a cause and effect relationship. Below, (2a) has ‘so (that)’ while (2b) has ‘and’.

(2a). Bapa hiĩ ema \textit{nẽ} ema tanĩ.  
Father scold mother so (that) mother cry.  
Father scolded mother so she cried.

(2b). Bapa pa’u aho \textit{nẽ} ema pa’u kusĩ.  
Father feed dog and mother feed cat.  
Father fed the dog and mother fed the cat.

The interpretation of \textit{nẽ} in (2a) as ‘so (that)’ is plausible because there is a cause and effect relationship between the first and second clause. In (2b), on the other hand,
both events do not have any semantic relationship at all; they just occur separately one from the other.

7.2.2 Compound clauses with lé

The coordinator lé is used to ask for a choice or a confirmation on either one of two alternative events. This is why this coordinator is usually found in questions, and never in declaratives. When two clauses sharing an A argument are conjoined with lé, the identical A argument in the second clause may be realized as zero anaphora, as illustrated in (3a). Yet, if the identical argument functions as an O argument, the same argument in the second clause must be explicitly presented, as in (3b).

(3a). Ra'è r=ewå wulû lé r=ai diga?
   3PL 3PL=harvest vegetable or 3PL=go where
   Are they harvesting vegetable or are they going somewhere?

(3b). Ra'è bote ana lé gumi=ro nê na'è n=odi tanî wê?
   3PL  hold baby or pinch=3SG so (that) 3SG 3SG=EVID cry that?
   Are they holding the baby or are they pinching him, so that he keeps on crying?

7.2.3 Compound clauses with nekû/kû

Compound clauses conjoined with the coordinator nekû/kû express two contradictive statements. In daily use, this coordinator is frequently replaced with the Indonesian word tapi/tetapi ‘but, however, yet’.

(4a). Ema papu=ro kaé kû n=odi tani n=awa.
   Mother persuade=3SG PERF but 3SG=EVID cry 3SG=stay.
   Mother has persuaded him, but he keeps on crying.

(4b). Na'è meri n=ewå tapo kû gérè n=a'â rehi=i.
   3SG will 3SG=harvest coconut but climb 3SG=do unable=3SG.
   He wanted to pick up the coconut fruit but he could not climb the coconut tree.

7.2.4 Compound clauses with ge

Compound clauses combined with ge ‘and then’ in SL express consecutive events, in which one event occurs after another. Consider (5a-b).

(5a). Mo'è m=ahu wai kia ge dena wata.
   2SG 2SG=fetch water PRT and.then cook rice.
   You fetch some water first, and then cook the rice.

(5b). Na'è gete ge mo'è tapå.
   3SG ask and.then 2SG answer.
   He asks and then you answer.
7.3 Complex sentences

A complex sentence contains two or more clauses, at least one of which is subordinate or dependent. As briefly introduced in §5.10.2, some subordinate clauses in SL are not marked with any subordinator, and therefore a main and a dependent clause seem to be juxtaposed forming a complex clause. This may pose a difficulty in pinpointing which one is the main clause and which is the dependent clause.

In the following, I describe complex sentences in SL, in which three kinds of subordinate clauses including relative, complement and adverbial clauses are described in detail. I will also demonstrate how a dependent clause in SL may be distinguished from a main clause.

7.3.1 Relative clauses

A relative clause, often called an adjective clause, is a dependent clause functioning in the same way as an adjective; that is to modify a noun (phrase). It delimits the reference of a NP in a main clause (MCl, hereafter) by defining the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause (RCl, hereafter). There is, therefore, an argument shared by both main and relative clauses, referred to here as Common Argument (CA, hereafter), following (Dixon 2010b).

RCls in SL are post-nominal. They follow a modified – modifier pattern, and are embedded within the NP whose head is being described by the RCl. In addition to a noun, the head in SL can also be a pronoun. In most cases, RCls in SL are not marked, but are indicated by position, i.e. occurring after a NP, and by intonation, i.e. a pause between the NP and the initial element of the RCl – see e.g. Dixon (2010b: 366). The subordinator pé (§5.10.2.1), glossed REL (Relativizer) is optionally used, except when a CA functions as an A or S argument in the RCl which comes immediately after the NP as a CA in the MCl. To mark its boundary, a NP with a RCl is ended with the demonstrative wé ‘that’.

Consider the following examples with various functions of CA in both MCls and RCls. In these examples, a CA is in bold, and a RCl and its NP head are indicated with square brackets ([…]). A zero anaphora of a CA in a RCl is indicated by ø. Optional use of the relativizer pé is indicated with parentheses.
(6a). CA as S in MCI and O in RCI:

\[ \text{Geré } ((\text{pé}) \text{ mó'è běhĩ krĩa̱ ø } \text{ wé })_\text{NP} \text{ data'=a } \text{ kaē.} \]

Bed (REL) 2SG just make that break=3SG PERF

The bed you just made is already broken.

(6b). CA as A in MCI and IO in RCI:

\[ \text{Ana } ((\text{pé}) \text{ mó'è sorõ }=\text{ro} \text{ doi wia } \text{ wé })_\text{NP} \text{ métẽ déna wata.} \]

Boy (REL) 2SG give /=3SG money yesterday that PROG cook rice

The boy you brought here yesterday is cooking rice.

(6c). CA as O in MCI and S in RCI:

\[ \text{Ra'ẽ métẽ seba } [\text{aho } ((\text{pé}) \text{ turu='u } \text{ pé } \text{ raé } \text{ neku} ) \text{ wé })_\text{NP} \text{.} \]

3PL PROG search dog REL sleep=3SG there DIR.LAND recent that

They are searching for the dog that slept over there just now.

(6d). CA as O in MCI and A in RCI:

\[ \text{Bapa } \text{ sórõ } \text{ go'ẽ } [\text{labu } ((\text{pé}) \text{ mo'è běhĩ } \text{ sórõ'=ro } \text{ ø } \text{ wé })_\text{NP} \text{.} \]

Father give 1SG shirt (REL) 2SG recently give=3SG that

Father gave me the shirt that you just gave him.

(6e). CA as DO in MCI and DO in RCI:

\[ \text{Na'ẽ } \text{ sórõ } [\text{ana } ((\text{pé}) \text{ mó'è m=ao'õ } \text{ o } \text{ =ro } \text{ sega } \text{ wia } \text{ wé })_\text{NP} \text{ doi ayã̱.} \]

3SG give boy (REL) 2SG 2SG=bri ng/3SG arrive yesterday that money much

He gave the boy you brought here yesterday a lot of money.

(6f). CA as VCS in MCI and INS in RCI:

\[ \text{Hépé } ((\text{pé}) \text{ na'ẽ } \text{ n=a'ã } \text{ poro ikã } \text{ wé })_\text{NP} \text{ wu'ũ uli'ũ.} \]

Knife (REL) 3SG 3SG=use cut fish that new still.

The knife with which he cut the fish is still new.

(6g). CA is an INS in MCI and O in RCI:

\[ \text{Ema } \text{ po'o ikã } \text{ n=a'ã } [\text{hépé } ((\text{pé}) \text{ mo'è behĩ hopé } \text{ ø } \text{ wé })_\text{NP} \text{.} \]

Mother cut fish 3SG=use knife (REL) 2SG just buy that

Mother cut the fish with the knife you just bought.

(6i). CA is a CON in MCI and S in RCI:

\[ \text{Guru } \text{ ra'ẽ } \text{ r=ai } \text{ Potu } \text{ r=o'õ } [\text{kré'ẽ } ((\text{pé} \text{ behĩ bego wia }) \text{ wé })_\text{NP} \text{.} \]

Teacher 3PL 3PL=go Potu 3PL=be.with child REL just arrive yesterday that

Those teachers went to Potu with the children who just arrived yesterday.

(6j). CA is a LOC in MCI and S in RCI:

\[ \text{Na'ẽ } \text{ tao } \text{ piĩ́ } \text{ ia } [\text{méja } ((\text{pé} \text{ dahẽ kenawé }) \text{ wé })_\text{NP} \text{.} \]

3SG put dish PREP table REL close door that.

She put the dish on the table (which is) next to the door.

(6k). CA as S in MCI and CON in RCI:

\[ \text{Ana } ((\text{pé}) \text{ mì'o m=ai } \text{ Potu } \text{ m=o'õ'=ro } \text{ wia } \text{ wé })_\text{NP} \text{ mata='a } \text{ kaē.} \]

Boy (REL) 2PL 2PL=go Potu 2PL=be.with=3SG yesterday that die=3SG PERF

The boy with whom you went to Potu yesterday already died.
As is seen in these examples, we can note that:

1. A CA in SL can either be a noun phrase as most examples show, or a pronoun as example (6l) illustrates. The use of the pronoun head is always in definite because it does not refer to any specific person. The use of na'ē in (6l), for example, refers to anybody who did not fetch water.

2. The relativizer pé is mandatorily used in a RCl if the CA used in the RCl is an S or A argument. For example, in (6d) the CA functions as an A argument, and in (6i) the CA is an S argument. Thus, structures like (7) below have been judged as
ungrammatical or nonexistent in SL.

(7). *Kamé tematā temaka taka witi mo'ē wé kū ai la.
1PL(exc) chase thief steal goat 2SGGEN that but catch not.

3. A CA functioning as an S or A argument in a RCl is not always expressed. This is probably because the argument functioning as S or A in the structure is obvious from the pragmatic use of the RCl. Thus, (8) below is understood but considered unusual by speakers of SL.

(8). *Guru r=ai Potu r=o'ō kré'ē pé ra'é behi bego wia wé.
Teacher 3PL=go Potu 3PL=be.with child REL3PL just arrive yesterday that
The mandatory presence of the relativizer pé as noted in 2 above has two roles; first, it sets a boundary marking between the NP head and the RCl, otherwise the structure would be confusing; and second, it functions simultaneously as a demonstrative. Because a CA is always definite for interlocutors, the use of the word pé is line with the meaning of the demonstrative word (see §5.7.1), that is it expresses the definiteness of the CA argument.

4. A CA functioning as an O argument in a RCl is distinguished into two types: first, those of inanimate things, which are commonly not expressed, and second, those of animate things, which may or may not be explicitly expressed. The overtly expressed inanimate CA functioning as an O argument in a RCl is judged to be unacceptable as in (9) - a copy of (6a).

(9). *Gerē (pé) mo'ē béhī krīā=ro wé data='a kaē.
Bed (REL) 2SG just make=3SG that break=3SG PERF
But, an overtly expressed animate CA functioning as an O argument in a RCl is deemed acceptable. Therefore, whether or not the CA is overtly expressed in a RCl does not make any semantic difference. Hence, example (6f) is acceptable with or without =ro.

5. RCls in SL are restrictive, as most examples illustrate, but a few can be non-restrictive, as illustrated in (6n).

6. SL allows a possessor either of inalienable or alienable possessive construction to be relativized, as in (6p) and (6q). To some SL speakers, example (6p) is acceptable but rarely found in daily communication, whereas that in (6q) is common to most speakers.

7. With respect to the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977), SL allows
NPs to be relativized in almost all positions in the hierarchy, except the NP as an object of comparison, as shown in (10) below, where S = Subject, DO = Direct Object, IO = Indirect Object, OBL = Oblique, and POSS = Possessor.

(10). \( S > DO > IO > OBL > POSS \)

8. The summary features of RCls in SL are presented in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Possible function of CA in MCl</td>
<td>S/A, O, DO, IO, OBL (INS, CON, LOC), POSS (N-Gen, Gen-N), VCS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6a/6b, 6c, 6e, 6f, 6h, 6i, 6j, 6p, 6q, 6m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Possible function of CA in RCl</td>
<td>S/A, O, DO, IO, OBL (INS, CON, LOC), POSS, VCS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6c/6d, 6f, 6e, 6b, 6g, 6k, 6m, 6s, 6r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The use of relativizer ( pé )</td>
<td>mandatory if:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- CA in RCl functions as S or A, as in 6c, 6d, 6i, 6j, 6l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- CA in RCl is a Possessor as in 6s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Resumptive pronoun</td>
<td>- is omitted if it functions as S or A in RCl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- other than S/A in RCLS:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>if an inanimate thing, it is not expressed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>if an animate thing, it is optionally overtly expressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Boundary of a RCl</td>
<td>- in spoken, if no relativizer, a short pause marks the beginning of a RCl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- if necessary, the relativizer ( pé ), or Indonesian relativizer ( yang ), is used to introduce a RCl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- a RCl is ended with the demonstrative ( wé ).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- a RCl is embedded within the NP whose head is being described by the RCl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.3.2 Complement clauses

A complement clause is a type of subordinating clause that functions in the same way as a clause argument. It fills an argument slot in the structure of a main clause, and therefore functions as an argument. Cross-language observation has suggested that certain verbs, including ‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘know’, ‘believe’, ‘like’, ‘tell’ and ‘want’, can take a complement clause, instead of a noun phrase, as a core argument (Dixon 2006a, 2010b). These verbs are known as complement-taking verbs.
These complement-taking verbs, according to Dixon (2006a: 33), form a restricted set of verbs in a language, but the way these verbs are utilized in clausal structures may vary from language to language. In some languages, all the complement-taking verbs require a complement clause that utilizes a verb from unrestricted groups; in others only some of them do; and in others none of the verbs do. Interestingly, for a complement-taking verb which cannot take a complement clause, it will relate itself to a verb of an unrestricted set, through some other grammatical constructions called complementation strategies.

SL has both processes; i.e. some restricted verbs express their complement-taking characteristic by taking a complement clause, and others realize it by a complementation strategy. Verbs of the former type include human mental process and activity verbs (§5.3.2.6a), verbs of cognition (§5.3.2.6b), and verbs of experience (§5.3.2.6c), as well as utterance verbs (§5.3.2.5), and affect verbs (§5.3.2.3). The latter, on the other hand, involves verbs of a secondary concept - see e.g. Dixon (2010b: 399) - such as +oi ‘be able to, can’, onek ‘want, hope, wish’, and merĩ ‘plan’. These verbs are referred to in Dixon (2010b) as ‘secondary verbs’. Secondary verbs link themselves with unrestricted verbs and prepositional verbs to form SVCs. This will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Complement clauses (CCI, hereafter) in SL do not have any particular morphological characteristics or modifications, and display a single constructional type. They simply occur in the place of an argument of the main clause they take over, with or without the subordinator merĩ ‘that’. They can only occur in an O function, but unlike arguments expressed with noun phrases, CCI in SL cannot be fronted to a clause initial position to express topic (§9.3). They express various meanings including fact, as in (11), activity as in (12) and potential as in (13). Optional use of the complementizer merĩ is indicated in brackets. CCI are in square brackets and a complementizer is in bold.

(11). Ra'ẽ baĩ [ (merĩ) adé=’ẽ bali=i kaẽ ].
3PL hear (that) younger.sibling=2SGPOSS return=3SG PERF.
They heard that your younger brother has returned home.

(12). Kamẽ lenge [ ana wẽ mete tanĩ ].
1PL(exc) see child that PROG cry.
We saw the child crying.
Na'e taku [(merĩ) go'ẽ gewahẽ=ro ].
3SG afraid that 1SG scold=3SG
He is afraid I will scold him.

7.3.3. Adverbial clauses

An adverbial clause (ACl, henceforth) is a type of subordinating clause that functions in an identical way to an adverb. It is utilized to modify a verb, an adjective, or another adverb. In English, an adverbial clause is commonly, but not always, indicated by a subordinator, selected in accordance with the clause meaning. For example, the subordinators such as when and after are used to introduce an adverbial clause of time, and anywhere and where, an adverbial clause of place.

ACls in SL are commonly, but not always, unmarked. There are a few subordinators that are used to link an adverb clause to its main clause, such as nuã ‘when’ for ACl of time, pukẽ/turũ for ACl of cause and reason, pẽ/wẽ for ACl of condition, and nẽ for ACl of purpose. There are also a few loan Indonesian subordinators that have been lexicalized into SL, such as waktu ‘when’, kalo ‘if’ and supaya ‘so that’ (see §5.10.2). When no subordinator is used, the main and the dependent clauses are juxtaposed, so this makes it rather difficult to pinpoint which is the main clause and which is the dependent clause. To interpret them, one needs to consider semantic, syntactic and morphological features, as I will demonstrate below.

Note that SL lacks ACls of manner, because manner in SL is expressed through serial verb constructions (§5.3.5). The language also lacks ACls of place, since place in SL is manifested in conjunction with directional expressions. Being mandatorily expressed with directional expressions, SL lacks flexibility in manifesting an adverb of place in one way or the other.

7.3.3.1 Adverbial clause of time

An ACl of time expresses some notion of temporal context. This dependent clause expresses when something happens by referring to a period or point of time, or to another event. ACls of time in SL, in most cases, do not use a subordinator as illustrated in (14). An ACl is shown in square brackets below.

(14). Na'ẽ bego [ kamẽ métẽ m=ekẽ=ne ]
3SG arrive 1PL(exc) PROG 1PL(exc)=eat=1PL(exc).
He arrived when we were having dinner.
As seen in (14), the two clauses are juxtaposed and this might cause difficulty in identifying which clause is the main clause and which is the dependent one. One may render (14) either as ‘when he arrived, we were having dinner’ or as ‘he arrived when we were having dinner’. A consideration with the semantic analysis does not seem helpful for the above case. In terms of morpho-syntactic analysis, one can decide that the second clause should be an ACls of time. This can be seen in two things.

First, taking the fact that SL has a fixed word order, in which adverbs commonly occur at a clause final position, the second clause is undoubtedly an ACI. This can be proved by substituting it with an AdvP of time, and when we do this, it works. Thus, we can have a clause like (15) below.

(15). Na’e bego bau
3SG arrive tomorrow
He will arrive tomorrow.

Syntactic trees comparing the simple clause with an AdvP (15) and the complex clause with an ACI (14) is presented in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1
Syntactic trees comparing the complex clause in example (14) with the simple clause in (15)

Second, the possibility of misunderstanding this clause as a clause type other than an adverb clause is unlikely, because the clause in question occurs right after an intransitive verb. It is obviously not a RCI, because there is no noun phrase occurring before the intended clause to be its head argument, neither is it a complement clause because the predicate bego ‘arrive’ does not require any complement.

When marked with a subordinator, ACIs of time in SL are often introduced with some subordinators described in the following.
1. *nũān* ‘when’ and *miā* ‘when (future)’

*Nũān*, which literally means ‘season’, is used to refer to a considerably long period of time either in the distant past or in the present time. The period is considered as a season. When a temporal subordinator is used, the ACl can either be placed clause initially or clause finally. The subordinators are in bold.

(16a). *Nũān kame kre'ē wē, Honda tenakē=wē ulītē.*
when 1PL(exc) child that Honda not.exist=3SG still
When we were children, there were no Honda motorcycles

(16b). Kamē pohē orātua ola mà *nũān kame liburē.*
1PL(exc) help parent work field when 1PL(exc) holiday.
We help our parents work in the field when we have holidays.

*Miā*, literally meaning ‘later, next time’, is used to express an adverbial time expected for the future. Similar to *nũān*, *miā* is also used to introduce an ACl, but unlike *nũān*, it always occurs at a clause initial position, as in (17a). Example (17b) is deemed unusual, because the ACl with *miā* comes after its main clause.

(17a). *Miā bapa bali, go'ē leta doi.*
when father return, 1SG ask.for money.
When father arrives, I will ask him for money.

(17b). *Go'ē hopē oto *miā* go'ē pupu doi aya kaē.*
1SG buy car when 1SG collect money much PERF
*Intended for*: I will buy a car when I have saved enough money).

2. *pura* ‘since’ and *saĩ* ‘till, until’

In addition to functioning as verbs, these two words can also be used as subordinators. *Pura* literally means ‘begin’ and is used to introduce an ACl of time that expresses a starting point of an event, whereas *saĩ* literally means ‘arrive’ and is used for the opposite context. Consider the following.

(18a). *Pura tana tawa, suku titē'ē paē tētī Krokopukē.*
Since land grow clan 1PL(inc)GEN occupy DIR.EAST Krokopukē
Since the creation of the universe, our clan had occupied Krokopukē.

(18b). Turu=ko pi, *saĩ Bapa=ā pētē mo'ē nē hau hodē mo'ē.*
Sleep=2SG here till father=2SGPOSS feel.pity 2SG then come take 2SG.
Stay here until your father takes pity on you and takes you home.

3. *waktu* ‘when, time’

An example using the subordinator *waktu* is given in (19).

(19). *Waktu ra'ē sega, kamē ola=ke waha kaē.*
When 3PL(arrive) 1PL(exc) work=1PL(exc) finish PERF.
When they arrived, I had already finished working.

204
7.3.3.2 Adverb clause of cause and reason

An ACl of cause and reason in SL is marked by the use of the subordinator pukē or turū ‘because’. The former literally means ‘stem’ and the latter ‘goal, target’. These two subordinators are used interchangeably and occur either before or after a main clause as shown below.

(20a). Kopõ hi’ĩ=ro pukē/turū na’ê kebeke ayaka.
Kopõ get.angry=3SG because 3SG naughty much
Kopõ felt angry with him because he was too naughty.

(20b). Pukē/Turū ra’ê bego la, go’ê k=ai=ke k=olo.
Because 3PL arrive not, 1SG=leave=1SG 1SG=ahead.
Because they did not arrive, I left in advance.

The ACl of cause and reason with pukē or turū ‘because’ can be expressed in another way with nê ‘so (that)’ (see also §7.3.3.4). For example, (20a) above can be expressed as (20c) below. In the construction with nê, the cause clause always comes first and is followed by the effect clause.

(20c). Na’ê kebeke ayaka nê Kopõ hi’ĩ=ro
3SG naughty much so (that) Kopõ get.angry=3SG
He was so naughty that Kopõ felt angry with him.

7.3.3.3 Adverb clause of circumstance

An ACl of circumstance, or a conditional clause, expresses conditions. A prototypical conditional sentence contains a main clause called apodosis or consequent, and a dependent clause, called protasis, antecedent or, simply, if-clause, that expresses a proposition whose fulfillment or non-fulfillment depends on the degree of reality assigned to the proposition expressed by the main clause (Trask 1996).

An ACl of condition in SL utilizes pé/wé to link to a main clause. Since the subordinator pé/wé is also used to mark other dependent clauses, the one used for a conditional clause is glossed with ‘if’. SL conditional sentences usually begin with an if-clause, which uses pé/wé to mark the end of the clause, and then the main clause follows. Consider examples in the following.

(21a). Mî’o n=o’õ doi pé, (mî’o) m=ala oto.
2PL 2PL=possess money if, 2PL 2PL=go.by car.
If you have money, you can go by a car.

Notice that the second use of the pronoun mî’o in the main clause is optional. It may or may not be explicitly stated because it is a subject argument in the clause and is
coreferential with the subject argument in the if-clause. Consider (21b) where the subject argument of the second clause has a different referent.

Very often, conditional sentences in SL are expressed in a pair of clauses forming a compound construction. In such a construction, the first part expresses the expected circumstance, whereas the second part negates the proposition expressed in the first part, as in (21b), or expresses an idea which is just the opposite to the one in the first part, as in (21c).

(21b). Ana méte=nẽ wé, ra'é sorõ hadiah,
Pupil smart=3SG if 3PL give present
nẽ ana méte=nẽ la wé, ra'é sorõ hadia la.
and pupil smart=3SG not if, 3PL give present not.
If the pupil was smart, they gave him a present, and if the pupil was not smart, they did not give him one

(21c). Ra'é kemugut wé, doi=ka aya'ã,
3PL strong if, money=3PLPOSS much
nẽ tité keréhĩ=nẽ wé, doi=te také.
and 1PL(inc) weak=1PL(inc)POSS absent.
If they are strong, they will earn a lot of money, and if we are weak, we do not earn any money.

In daily usage today, SL speakers commonly use the Indonesian subordinator kalo (kalau) ‘if’ to introduce a conditional clause. When kalo is used, the use of pé/wé to mark the boundary of a conditional clause is optional, as in (21d). In the structure, the dependent clause may occur before or after the main clause.

(21d). Kalo na'é hoyã (wé), go'é doré
if 3SG invite (if), 1SG follow
If he invites me, I will come.

7.3.3.4 Adverb clause of purpose

An ACl of purpose expresses the purpose of an action. In SL, this clause is introduced with the subordinator nẽ ‘so that’, expressing the purpose of the event mentioned in the main clause. The purpose clause always comes after the main clause, as in (22a).

(22a). Mayã bapa='ã sega, nẽ n=ewã tapo.
Call father=2SGPOSS arrive so that 3SG-harvest coconut.
Call your father here, so that he will climb and harvest the coconut.

Often, the loan Indonesian subordinator supaya ‘so that’ is used instead of nẽ, as in (22b).
They burn bush so that they can freely hunt wild pigs.

A rather complicated structure of purpose clause is the one indicated with +a’ā as in (23a). To prove it is a purpose clause, one, for instance, can ask the part under consideration with a purpose question, as in (23b), which is comparable to the one in English using ‘what….for’.

(23a). Ra’ė du’ũ ikã r=a’ã hopé wata.
3PL sell fish 3PL=do buy corn.
They sell fish in order to buy food.
(Lit: They sell fish, they do (it) to buy corn).
(23b). Ra’ė du’ũ ikã r=a’ã ã?
3PL sell fish 3PL=do what.
What do they sell the fish for?

At a first glance, the construction in (23a) seems like a SVC, but this is not so, because they violate some characteristics typical of SVCs in SL (see §8.2). For example; (i) one can absolutely insert the coordinator nē ‘and’ to conjoin both verbs, as in (23c), (ii) both verbs can have an aspectual modifier of their own respectively, as in (23d), and (iii), in spoken language, there is a clear short pause between the object argument of the first verb, and the second verb.

(23c). Bapa hoyã seba seni’é nē n=a’ã berĩ Ola.
Father ask search stick and 3SG=use beat Ola.
Father wanted a stick and he used it to beat Ola.
(23d). Bapa ai seni’é kaé nē hi’ĩ n=a’ã berĩ Ola.
Father find stick PERF and FUT 3SG=do beat Ola.
Father already found a stick and he will use it to beat Ola.

These constructions do not contain a complement clause either, since the remainder of the clause marked with +a’ā does not bear any grammatical relations whatsoever to the verb occurring previously. If it is a complement clause, we may expect the clause to be substituted with a pronoun. This is not true; thus (23a) cannot be expressed in another way in which the part suspected to be a complement clause is substituted with the object enclitic =ro, as in the ungrammatical construction of (23e).

(23e). *Ra’ė du’ũ ikã r=a’ã =ro.
3PL sell fish 3PL=do=3SG.
8 Serial Verb Constructions

8.1 Introduction

This chapter delineates SL serial verb constructions. This area of grammar was overlooked in some previous descriptions of the grammar of Lamaholot, and therefore is indeed interesting to discuss. But first, I would like to discuss cursorily the syntax of serial verbs and their distribution across the world’s languages.

A serial verb construction (SVC) is thought of as containing two or more verbal elements that are strung together under a single clausal node without any overt marker of coordination or subordination. These verbs behave as a single predicate similar to that in a mono-verb clause with respect to grammatical operators such as negation or aspectual inflection (Aikhenvald 2006a, Givón 1997, Trask 1996). The most recent definition that is claimed to be very explicit and narrow is Haspelmath’s (2015: 6) based on a comparative concept. He defines a SVC as “a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between the verbs”.

Givón (1997: 45) suggests three typical clausal configurations that illustrate the surface structure of SVCs found in serializing languages. Following the common belief that single clauses do not always have a unified set of grammatical relations, he proposes a formal multiple-VP, in which each lower VP node dominates a verb and a (possible) object argument as shown below.

Figure 8.1
Typical syntactic trees of SVCs after Givón (1997)

With an almost identical concept, Sebba (1987: 87) maintains that in typical SVC configurations ‘the semantic subject of \( V_i \) is the subject of \( V_{i+1} \)’, which is similar to
Givón’s (1997) trees in (i) and (iii), or ‘the object of Vi is the semantic subject of Vi + 1’, which is illustrated by (ii).

Durie (1988) believed that SVCs are likely to appear with particular recurring types of verb combinations. Some of the verbs are found to be diachronically unstable, and of these verbs, some may further develop into adpositions. When these unstable verbs are utilized in SVCs, they can be re-analysed into two possible categories; as a verbal affix or formative, or as an adposition, depending upon the context in which the verbs occur.

The former category is thought of as having undergone grammaticalization in which the unstable verb is pulled towards another clause element and becomes bound to the element, typically turning the verb into an affix encoding different constituent functions such as cause, result, manner, instrument and direction. As for the latter category, the unstable verb is considered to undergo lexicalization in which the verb is pulled away and appears with a more peripheral constituent in the clause and becomes an adposition. This occurs when one verb in the SVC independently contributes an argument role which has oblique status for the whole proposition, such as instrument, beneficiary or goal (Durie 1988, Li & Thompson 1974, Thompson 1973). Due to the semantic bleaching from a verb to a preposition, verbs that are used in the SVC to express clausal functions, which, in non-serializing languages such as English, are expressed by prepositions, are called verbal prepositions or prepositional verbs (see §5.3.4).

In addition to occurring with prepositional verbs, SVCs are also found to occur with secondary verbs such as ‘begin’, ‘try’, ‘want’, ‘hope’, ‘plan’, ‘make’, and ‘help’ in some languages. Secondary verbs are used to modify the meaning of a primary verb to which it is linked, through a linguistic phenomenon known as a complementation strategy (Dixon 2010b: 399).

SVCs occur to some extent in around thirty percent of the world’s languages (Dixon 2006b). They are widespread in Creole languages, in the languages of West Africa, Southeast Asia, Amazonia, Oceania, and New Guinea (Aikhenvald 2006a) as well as Australia (Nordlinger 2014). In Central Malayo-Polynesian languages of eastern Indonesia, SVCs are reportedly widespread and found in a number of languages, including Taba in Maluku (Bowden 2008b), Teiwa in Sumba (Klamer
Lamaholot also has SVCs, yet some previous studies on the language including Keraf (1978), Fernandez (1977), and Pampus (1999) did not cover them in their discussion at all. This grammatical feature is only discussed briefly in Kroon (2000; 2003), Nishiyama and Kellen (2007), and Nagaya (2011). Nagaya (2011) described the SVCs of the Lewotobi dialect in a separate chapter labeled Verb Serialization. However, due to insufficient data available to him, he ended the chapter with a number of unsolved issues surrounding the nature of the syntactic heads in SL SVCs and the distinction between constructional condition and grammaticalization.

This chapter will be another attempt to bring into discussion the SVCs in Lamaholot by providing a thorough description of the SVCs in SL, along with as much information as possible about this linguistic phenomenon. Of course, this attempt will not be the solution to Nagaya’s (2011) questions he had reserved for further investigation, but rather an effort to bring to the attention of the linguistic community the phenomenon within a different dialect of the language with a different analysis.

8.2 Serial verb constructions in SL

SVCs in SL look syntactically similar to complex clauses. This is because certain subordinate clauses in SL do not require a subordinator, and this makes them look alike. Yet SVCs differ from complex clauses in some respects:

(i) there is no conjunction or inflection to mark coordination or subordination; the insertion of a conjunction in between the verbs causes ungrammaticality.

(ii) the verbs act together as a single predicate and thus are conceived as describing a single action. A grammatical operator such as aspect, mood or tense, and negation, if any, applies to the entire construction, not to a single verb per se. A SVC in SL is, therefore, translated into, for example English, as a single clause.

(iii) there is a shared argument, mostly functioning as the subject argument of both verbs, but each of the verbs possibly has its own additional arguments.

(iv) a SVC in SL has the intonational properties of a monoverbal clause, and not of a sequence of clauses. This is obviously seen in the contrast between a complex
clause without a conjunction and a SVC. In a complex clause with no conjunction, there is a short pause between the clausal segments, whereas in a SVC, such a pause is absent.

Consider the following example.

(1a). Ema poro ikâ n=a’ã hépé.  
Mother cut fish 3SG=use knife.  
Mother cut the fish with a knife.

As seen in (1a), there are two verbs in the construction; *poro* and *na’ã*. The first verb (*V₁*, hereafter) *poro* is transitive, and so is the second verb (*V₂*, hereafter) *na’ã*. Both verbs share the same subject argument *ema* ‘mother’, but each of them has its own object argument *ikâ* and *hépé* respectively.

Example (1a) is a typical SVC in SL. To find out whether this structure is a SVC or a complex clause, the following may be applied. Firstly, inserting a conjunction, such as *nẽ* ‘and’ between *poro* and *na’ã* causes ungrammaticality as (1b), as long as the intended similar to (1a) is concerned.

(1b). *Ema poro ikâ nẽ n=a’ã hépé.*  
Mother cut fish and 3SG=use knife.  
*Intended for:* Mother cut the fish with a knife.

Secondly, the result of the free translation of (1a) in English is obviously a single clause, and the addition of a tense, aspect or mood component or a negation marker will apply to the entire structure as in (1c). An aspectual marker such as *mété* ‘PROG’ whose modifying scope covers a verb phrase only, cannot be used to modify the second verb, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (1d).

(1c). Ema mété poro ikâ n=a’ã hépé  
Mother PROG cut fish 3SG=use knife  
Mother is cutting the fish with a knife.  
<OR>  
Ema poro ikâ n=a’ã hépé la.  
Mother cut fish 3SG=use knife NOT  
Mother did not cut the fish with a knife.

(1d). *Ema poro ikâ mété n=a’ã hépé*  
Mother cut fish PROG 3SG=use knife

SVCs in SL are grouped into two types based on the type of verb used as *V₂* or as *V₁*. They are: (i) those that utilize prepositional verbs (§5.3.4), and (ii) those that use secondary verbs (Dixon 2010b), which are expressed by +*oi* ‘be able to’, *one* ‘want, hope, wish’, and *merĩ* ‘plan’ in SL. Nagaya (2011) identified nine patterns of SVCs in
the Lewotobi dialect of Lamaholot. All the patterns use action verbs as $V_1$, and various verbs including manipulation, deictic motion, path of motion, aspectual and modal verbs as $V_2$, but he did not group these patterns based on the context they imply.

8.3 SVCs with prepositional verbs

SL has five prepositional verbs that are employed to express four different oblique relations and an adverbial concept. These verbs are $+a'\ddot{a}$ for Instrument relations, $+o'\tilde{o}$ for Concomitant relations, $sor\ddot{\iota}$ for Recipient relations, and $+ai$ and directional verbs for Directional relations, as well as $+a'\ddot{a}$ for manner adverbs (see §5.3.4 and §5.3.2.1b). These verbs always occur as $V_2$. SVCs denoting the first three oblique relations are also found in a number of serializing languages, and are referred to by Aikhenvald (2006a) as Instrumental, Comitative, and Benefactive SVCs respectively.

8.3.1 SVCs expressing an Instrument relation

SL expresses an Instrument relation by using the verb root $+a'\ddot{a}$ ‘use’. This verb occurs as $V_2$ along with an action verb, usually an Affect verb (§5.3.2.3), as $V_1$. The verb $+a'\ddot{a}$ requires a pronominal proclitic which is coreferential with the subject argument of $V_1$, thus they share the same subject argument.

In addition to its usage as $V_2$ to express an Instrument role, the verb can also be used as a predicate in a single verb clause with several meanings including ‘make’, ‘build’, ‘play’, ‘wear’, ‘behave’, ‘cause’, ‘do’, ‘hit (furiously)’, ‘sing’ and ‘make use of’, and to avoid confusion with these meanings, the one as $V_2$ to express an Instrument role in an SCV is glossed with ‘use’ as in (2a).

(2a). Kopõ horo witi $n=a'\ddot{a}$ béro.
    Kopõ transport goat 3SG=use canoe.
    Kopõ transported the goat with a canoe.

The use of $+a'\ddot{a}$ to express an Instrument role cannot be shifted to the position of $V_1$, neither is it used as a main verb. Yet, it can be combined with the same root denoting other different meanings, such as ‘hit (furiously)’ as $V_1$, as illustrated in (2b). It might be possible that both roots in this construction are homonymy.

(2b). Bapa=$\ddot{\alpha}$ $n=a'\ddot{a}$ Kopõ $n=a'\ddot{a}$ kelepa.
    Father=3SGPOSS 3SG=hit Kopõ 3SG=use lontar.leaf.frond
    Her father hit Kopõ with a lontar leaf frond.
It is important to note that although both verbs na'ã in (2b) behave syntactically in a similar way, in that each has its own object argument, only the first na'ã can turn its object argument into the enclitic object form =ro as in (2c). Substituting the object argument of the second na'ã causes ungrammaticality as in (2d). This proves that V\textsubscript{1} is the clause main predicate, whereas V\textsubscript{2} is peripheral. The unacceptability of (2e) does not relate to the animacy of the enclitic object =ro. Even if the argument following the second +a'ã is animate as in (2f), substituting the argument with the enclitic =ro remains ungrammatical as in (2g), which is.

(2d). Bapa=’ã n=a’ã=ro n=a’ã kelepa.
Father=3SGPOSS 3SG=hit=3SG 3SG=use lontar.leaf.frond
Her father hit him/her with a lontar leaf frond.

(2e). *Bapa=’ã n=a’ã Kopõ n=a’ã=ro.
Father=3SGPOSS 3SG=hit Kopõ 3SG=use=3SG

(2f). Ra’e serâ=ro wé, na’e likô wek(i)=ĩ n=a’ã kewâe=ę.
They attack=3SG that, 3SG shield body=3SGPOSS 3SG=use wife=3SGPOSS.
When he was attacked, he shielded himself with his wife.

(2g). *Ra’e serâ=ro wé, na’e likô wek(i)=ĩ n=a’ã=ro.
They attack=3SG that, 3SG shield body=3SGPOSS 3SG=use wife=3SGPOSS.

The root +a’ã meaning ‘use’ can also be used as V\textsubscript{1} and an affect verb as V\textsubscript{2} as illustrated in (3a), but this structure is not a SVC, because the coordinator nê ‘and’ can be inserted between the two verbs, and verbal modifiers such as aspectual markers can be used to modify each verb respectively, as illustrated in (3b).

(3a). Ema n=a’ã hépé poro ikã
Mother 3SG=use knife cut fish
Mother used the knife to cut the fish.

(3b). Ema n=a’ã hépé nê poro ikã
Mother 3SG=use knife and cut fish
Mother used the knife and cut the fish.

8.3.2 SVCs expressing a Comitative relation

SL SVCs expressing a Comitative relation use the prepositional verb root +o’ō ‘be with, together, accompany’. This verb always occurs as V\textsubscript{2} and shares the same subject argument belonging to V\textsubscript{1}, but with its own object argument, as in (4a-b).

(4a). Guru r=ai=ka watâ r=ai r-o’ō ana sekola
Teacher 3PL=go=3PL beach 3PL=go 3PL= accompany child school.
The teachers went to the beach with the school children.
(4b). Ema ola='a n=o'õ bapa raé mā.
Mother work=3SG 3SG=accompany father DIR.LAND field.
Mother is working in the field with father.

Besides expressing the prepositional context for a comitative role, the verb root +o'õ is also utilized as a clause main verb with some different meanings including ‘bring’ and ‘take care’ (§5.10.1). The distinct feature of this verbal root between that expresses a prepositional verb and the one which is a real verb lies in its ability to take the third-singular person enclitic form =ro, as shown in the following contrast.

(4c). Kolôpohũ n=ai nuha=na n=o'õ Lakolété.
Kolôpohũ 3SG=go fish=3SG 3SG=be.with Lakolété.
Kolôpohũ went fishing with Lakolété.

(4d). *Kolôpohũ n=ai nuha=na n=o'õ=ro
Kolôpohũ 3SG=go fish=3SG 3SG=be.with=3SG.

8.3.3 SVCs expressing a Recipient relation

A Recipient relation in SL is expressed by using the prepositional verb sorõ ‘give’, with verbs of transaction and service as V1. Consider example (5a-b) below.

(5a). Bapa hope labu to'u sorõ ema.
Father buy blouse one give mother.
Father bought a blouse for mother.

(5b). Na'ê genato doi sorõ ana='ã raé lau Kupang.
3SG send money give child=3SGPOSS 3PL DIR.SEA Kupang.
He sent some money to his children in Kupang.

However, unlike other prepositional verbs described previously, sorõ seems to still reserve some of its verbal properties. This can be seen in two things. First, when the coordinator nê ‘and’ is inserted between the verbs, the result is still grammatically acceptable, as a compound clause in (5c). With such a structure, as in (5c), verbal modifiers such as an aspectual marker may be added to the respective verb as in (5d).

(5c). Bapa hope labu to'u nê sorõ ema.
Father buy blouse one and give mother.
Father bought a blouse and gave it to mother.

(5d). Bapa hope labu to'u kaé nê mété sorõ ema.
Father buy blouse one PERF and PROG give mother.
Father has just bought a blouse and is now giving it to mother.

Second, the object argument of the verb sorõ can be substituted with the object enclitic form =ro as in (5e).
(5e). Bapa hope labu to'u sorō=ro.
Father buy shirt one give=3SG
Father bought a shirt for her.

Yet, if (5c) is kept without the coordinator nẽ, adding an aspectual marker to both verbs causes ungrammaticality as in (5f), except if the aspectual marker is used to modify V₁ only as in (5g).

(5f). *Bapa hope labu to'u kaé mété sorō ema.
Father buy blouse one PERF PROG give mother.

(5g). Bapa mété hope labu to'u sorō ema
Father PROG buy blouse one give mother
Father is buying a blouse for mother.
<OR>
Bapa hope labu to'u sorō ema kaé
Father buy blouse one give mother PERF
Father has bought a blouse for mother.

This suggests that the verb sorō should be considered as having two semantic properties; on one side, it is a Giving ditransitive verb, and on the other side, it is a prepositional verb. Both meanings often overlap with each other at some point. This might be related to the verb’s nature as a ditransitive verb that requires two objects expressed in two syntactically distinct ways.

In the first way, both objects are the core arguments, and therefore they can be treated in the same way as a primary object, being allowable to be substituted with the enclitic form =ro. Consider the following examples, where the verb sorō is used as a clause main verb, so that the argument that comes immediately after the verb can be substituted with the enclitic =ro.

(6a). Ola sorō Kopō aho ana'ã to'u
Ola give Kopō dog baby one.
Ola gave Kopō a baby dog.

(6b). Ola sorō=ro aho ana'ã tou → ro = Kopō
Ola give=3SG dog baby one.
Ola gave him a baby dog.

(6c). Ola sorō=ro ia Kopō → ro = aho ana'ã tou
Ola give=3SG PREP Kopō
Ola gave it to Kopō.

In the second way, the verb sorō, like other verbs of transaction and service, is semantically associated with a Recipient role; i.e. the argument that receives the object being given. This role can only be expressed with two lexical items in SL: the preposition ia and the verb sorō. The preposition ia is only used if the clause main
verb is sorõ, as in (6d), verbs of transaction and service other than sorõ cannot use this preposition, they use sorõ instead, as in (6e-f). The use of ia with these verbs is unacceptable for the intended context as shown in the constructions indicated with an arrow.\(^{48}\)

(6d). Na'ê sorõ labu to'u ia goé.  
3SG give shirt one PREP 1SG  
He gave a shirt to me.

(6e). Na'ê hope labu to'u sorõ goé.  
3SG buy shirt one give 1SG  
He bought a shirt for me.  
→ *Na'ê hope labu to'u ia goé.

(6f). Kopõ genato sura to'u sorõ Kéwa.  
Kopõ send letter one give Kéwa.  
→ *Kopõ genato sura to'u ia Kéwa.

It appears that when a verb of transaction and service is used with sorõ, the two verbs form a SVC that seemingly expresses consecutive events; that is V₁ happens first and then V₂ follows. Being consecutive events, conjoining the two events with a coordinator is allowable, and this is what Givón (1991: 141) has argued by maintaining that speakers of serial-verb languages view some unitary events in non-serializing languages, such as English, as a concatenation of fragmented sub-events.

8.3.4 SVCs expressing a Directional relation

A directional relation in SL is expressed by using the verbal bound root +ai and the directional (Motion-path) verbs (§5.3.2.1b). These verbs are coupled and used in accordance with the directional deictic words (Table 5.6). Consider the examples below.

(7a). Ola n-ai Otã n=ai kaé.  
Ola 3SG=go Otã 3SG=go PERF  
Ola has already gone to Otã.

(7b). Ra'ê lua wata r=ai.  
3PL descend beach 3PL=go.  
They went (descended) down to the beach.

(7c). Tite t=eté wa'a ilé dopa.  
1PL(inc) 1PL=bring burden mountain ascend  
We brought these goods up to the mountain.

\(^{48}\)There are such clauses as Na'ê hope labu to'u ia goé and Kopõ genato sura to'u ia Kéwa in SL, but these two clauses must be rendered differently because the arguments following the preposition ia are no longer holding a Recipient role, but rather a Locative relation. The former must be rendered ‘He bought a shirt from me’, and the latter, ‘Kopõ sent a letter through / via Kéwa’. 
Example (7a) contains two instances of the verb nai; the first one is the clause main verb, and the second is a prepositional verb expressing direction. In the daily usage, either one may be omitted, so one can say Ola nai Otã or Ola Otã nai. The verb root +ai is the most frequently used prepositional verb to express a Directional relation. The directional verbs dopa in (7c) and géré in (7d) can be substituted with t=ai ‘1PL(inc)=go’ and n=ai ‘3SG=go’ respectively, without altering the clause semantics. The underlying subject of the directional verb is the subject argument of V. If V1 is a transitive verb, the argument that immediately follows V1 is the object argument, whereas the one that follows the object is a location, but if the V1 is an intransitive verb, the argument occurring between V1 and V2 is a location.

Similar to other prepositional verbs, except +o'õ, the insertion of the coordinator nẽ ‘and’ between the two verbs causes ungrammaticality, as in (7e), taken from (7d).

(7e). *Kerome seraki n=ala wola nẽ géré.
Mouse climb 3SG=by rooftop and ascend

8.3.5 SVCs expressing a Manner adverb

Unlike non-serializing languages, such as English which expresses manner adverb through morphological processes, SL indicates the same grammatical concept by means of a syntactic device. It uses the prepositional verb +a'ã ‘make, do’ in a SVC as V2 followed by a fully-reduplicated adjective word. The semantic subject of the verb is the syntactic subject of V1. The V1 is usually an action verb, as in (8).

(8a). Na'ê pana n=a'ã paõ-paõ.
3SG walk 3SG=do slow-RED.
He walked slowly

(8b). Ra'ê denã wata r=a'ã béra-béra.
3PL cook rice 3PL=do quick-RED.
They cooked the rice quickly.

Often, the prepositional verb is omitted, thus examples (8a) can alternatively be expressed as in (8c).

(8c). Na'ê pana paõ-paõ.
3SG walk slow-RED.
He walked slowly.
8.3.6 SVCs with ‘emotion’ verbs

Other verbs in SL that co-occur with a prepositional verb are a group of combinations between those of cognition and experience verbs, which I refer to in this section as ‘emotion’ verbs. These verbs are among others menere ‘love’, brëa ‘like’, perohõ ‘feel sorry/pity’, taku ‘scare, afraid of’, géhi ‘dislike, disagree’, tor ‘agree’ and the loan Indonesian word suka ‘like, love’ and kasihã ‘feel pity’. In SVCs, these verbs occur as V₁ and take the bound root +o’õ as V₂. In mono-verbal clauses, some of these verbs (perohõ, suka, kasihã) can behave transitively, as in (9a), and some others (taku, gehi, tor) behave in transitively, as in (9b).

(9a). Kamé prohõro ayaka.
1PL(exc) feel.sorry=3SG much.
We felt sorry for him very much.

(9b). Na'ê gehi=i.
3SG disagree=3SG
He disagreed.

In Indonesian, there are verbs having exactly the same syntactic behavior, such as suka ‘love’. These verbs are categorized as pseudo-transitive verbs by Stevens (1970). Musgrave (2001a: 143), however, rejects this grouping because he argues that there are verbs which have the same semantic type as those identified by Stevens (1970), but these verbs cannot occur in pseudo-transitive construction, instead mandatorily occurring with a prepositional construction. In SL, menere ‘love, like’ and brëa ‘fond of’ only occur in SVCs with +o’õ as V₂.

To distinguish the meaning of +o’õ utilized in the current structure with that used to express a Concomitant role (§5.3.4.4), the one used in the current SVC construction is glossed ‘toward’. This is the closest estimated meaning for the use of this root in this SVC construction. Consider the following examples.

(9c). Go’ê menere=ke k=o’õ kebare pé raé wé.
1SG like=1SG 1SG=toward girl there DIR.LAND that.
I like the girl over there.

(9d). Ana wé géhi=i n=o’õ mo’ê.
Child that dislike=3SG 3SG=toward 2SG.
That child dislikes you.

Unlike comitative arguments in SVCs with +o’õ where they cannot be substituted with the 3rd-person singular object enclitic =ro (see (4.d) §8.3.2), the arguments following V₂ +o’õ in this SVC can be substituted with the object enclitic form. This
suggests that the argument of the $V_2$ bears an object relation. Compare (9e) which uses menere ‘love, like’ and where a prepositional verb is obligatory, with (9f) which uses prohô ‘feel sorry’ and where a prepositional verb is optional. And note that (9e) is ungrammatical without the prepositional verb +oô, yet (9f) is still grammatical without a prepositional verb. Both are interchangeably used with no difference in meaning.

(9e). Go’é menere=ke k=o o=ro/na’ê/=ro na’ê. →*Go’e menere=ke =ro/na’ê/=ro na’ê.
1SG love=1SG 1SG=toward=3SG
I love her.

(9f). Go’é prohô k=o′ô=ro/na’ê /=ro na’ê. → Go’é prohô=ro/na’ê=/=ro na’ê.
1SG feel.sorry toward=3SG
I felt sorry for her.

As we can see from (9c-d), both verbs share the same subject argument. $V_1$ is intransitive and $V_2$ is syntactically transitive as it requires an object argument, though the verb itself denotes a prepositional meaning. This phenomenon suggests that such a construction as (9c) above does not contain a complement clause. It is not a compound clause either, because one cannot insert the coordinator nê ‘and’ between the two verbs. The only plausible grouping of such a construction as this is as a SVC.

8.4 SVCs with secondary verbs

In addition to taking a complement clause, some complement-taking verbs, grouped by Dixon (2006a) as secondary verbs, undergo what he called complementation strategies, one of which is by verb serialization. Aikhenvald (2006a: 23-24) subdivided this group of verbs into secondary-A and secondary-B concepts. The former does not provide any additional semantic roles associated with the verb with which they are connected, and include such concepts as obligation, probability and negators. The latter includes such verbs as ‘want’ and ‘intend’ and may add an argument to the verb which they are related to.

In SL, the former is realized with such verbs as +oi and +ewã ‘manage to, be able to, can’ and the latter with one ‘want, hope, wish’ and merĩ ‘plan, intend’.

8.4.1 SL SVCs with +oi and +ewã

As discussed in §5.3.2.6, the verb root +oi has several meanings, one of which is ‘be able to’. When this verb root is used to express this meaning, it takes a structure
which is completely different from those used to express other meanings such as ‘see, find’, which is a mono-transitive construction, or ‘know’, which occurs with a complement clause. The root +ewā also has several meanings including ‘harvest, catch’ and ‘manage to, be able to, can’. The former meaning is expressed through a mono-transitive clause, whereas the latter by a SVC. Consider (10a-d).

10a. Go'ē k=etē oto k=oi=ro
    1SG 1SG=bring car 1SG=be.able.to=3SG
    I can drive a car.

10b. Ana kre'ē to'u wē géré tapo n=ewā=ro.
    Child small one that climb coconut 3SG=be.able.to=3SG.
    That little boy is able to climb a coconut tree.

10c. Na'ē nangé n=oi la.
    3SG swim 3SG=be.able.to not
    He cannot swim.

10d. Bapa kebetok n=ewā la.
    Father jump 3SG=be.able.to not.
    Father cannot jump.

As seen in these examples, V₁ are dynamic verbs, either transitive or intransitive. V₂, which is limited to these two verbal bound roots, shares the same subject argument of V₁, and is always attached either with the object enclitic =ro for affirmative, or with la for negative. The enclitic =ro refers back to the whole proposition expressed by the clause with V₁ as its predicate.

Why the enclitic =ro is absent in the negative construction is unknown, yet it probably relates to the inability of the subject argument to accomplish the action stated in V₁. When asked to judge whether the enclitic =ro is allowed in the negative clause with la as in (10e), some SL speakers found the clause unusual, but some others considered it acceptable.

10e. (?) Go'ē k=etē oto k=oi(=ro) la.
    1SG 1SG=bring car 1SG=be.able.to(=3SG) not
    I cannot drive a car

Yet, although =ro has a precedent in the form of a clause, it cannot be substituted with the clause, as in the ungrammatical construction in (10f).

10f. *Go'ē k=oi k=etē oto
    1SG 1SG=be.able.to 1SG=bring car

---

49 The presence of =ro in this example is obligatory. It refers back to the whole proposition whose predicate is the V₁. This example is literally rendered as ‘I drive a car, I know it’ (it = the driving of a car).
Furthermore, although there is an object enclitic =ro attached to \( V_2 \), and therefore it may be considered an object argument of the verb, the two verbs (\( V_1 \) and \( V_2 \)) are not two distinct verbal components, because each of them cannot form their own clause. This is evident from the fact that the coordinator \( nê \) ‘and’ cannot be inserted between them, as the ungrammaticality of (10g) shows.

(10g). *Go'ê k=etê oto nê k=oi=ro.
1SG 1SG=bring car AND 1SG=be.able.to=3SG

It can be concluded that the occurrence of the verb root +oi and +ewä in such clauses as those illustrated above strongly suggests that the constructions are SVCs. The grammatical relations of these seemingly peculiar constructions are laborious to analyse, and for this I will propose a novel syntactic configuration in §9.2.3.2.

8.4.2 SL SVCs with one

The verb one, literally meaning ‘wish’, occurs in a verb-serializing structure. It occurs as \( V_1 \) along with any dynamic verbs as \( V_2 \), as illustrated below.

(11a). Go'ê one=ke k=a pao.
1SG wish=1SG 1SG=eat mango.
I want to eat mango.

(11b). Na'ê one='ê herũ ana='ã
3SG wish=3SG meet child=3SGPOSS.
She wants to meet her soon.

The \( V_1 \) one is undoubtedly intransitive, as it can optionally be attached with the S argument marking enclitics. The subsequent verb is either transitive or intransitive. Both verbs share the same subject argument. If \( V_2 \) is transitive, it treats the argument following it as an object. For example, when the object argument is in a 3rd-person singular, it can be replaced with the object enclitic form =ro, as in (11c).

(11c). Bapa one='ê herũ=ro nê gete pukê ã nê na'ê bego la.
Father wish=3SG meet=3SG AND ask source what then 3SG arrive not.
Father wanted to meet him, and asked him why he did not come.

This construction is certainly a serializing clause; it does not contain a complement clause, neither is it a compound clause for the same reasons suggested for SVCs with menere above.

8.4.3 SL SVCs with merî

The verb merî ‘plan’ is used in serializing clauses as \( V_1 \) and is coupled with any
dynamic verbs as \( V_2 \). Both verbs share the same subject argument. The \( V_1 \) is most likely transitive as it cannot be attached with an argument marking enclitic, yet the segment that occurs after this verb is not considered its argument, and therefore it is not a complement, as proven in (12b), indicated with an arrow. The \( V_2 \) can either be a transitive or intransitive one.

(12a). Bapa merĩ n=ai Otã n=ai.
Father plan 3SG=go Otã 3SG=go.
Father plans to go to Otã.

(12b). Na'ẽ merĩ géré tapo → *Na'ẽ meri=ro.
3SG plan climb coconut.
He plans to climb the coconut tree.

8.5 SVCs with aspectual verbs

Aspectual verbs in SL that occur in SVCs include \textit{waha} ‘finish’, \textit{pura} ‘begin’, \textit{edã} ‘dismiss’, \textit{genewa} ‘conclude, end’, \textit{holo} ‘continue’ and \textit{heke} ‘stop’. In SVCs, these verbs occur as \( V_2 \) along with an Action verb as \( V_1 \), as illustrated below.

(13a). Ra'ẽ keriã lango waha=ʻa kaé.
3PL make house finish=3SG PERF.
They have finished building the house.

(13b). Kamé ola=ke genewa=ʻa wati.
1PL(exc) work=1PL(exc) end=1SG IMPERF.
We have not finished working yet.

Unlike verbs in SVCs described previously, both verbs in this construction do not share the same surface subject argument. The second verb appears to have a subject argument of the whole proposition expressed with \( V_1 \), as seen in the 3rd-person singular argument marking enclitic =ʻa attached to the verb \textit{waha} and \textit{genewa}. If the verbs share the subject argument of \( V_1 \), we would expect a 3rd-person plural enclitic marking =\( ka \) to be attached to \textit{waha} in (13a), and a 1st-person plural exclusive enclitic =\( ke \) to be attached to \textit{genewa} in (13b). Yet, this does not occur there.

While \( V_1 \) has its own object argument, if it is a transitive verb, \( V_2 \) does not require one, as it is always intransitive. The second verb modifies \( V_1 \) in terms of aspectual context denoting finishing, progressive or continuative meanings.

8.6 SVCs expressing causatives

Causatives in SL are expressed with the verb root +\textit{a'ā} ‘make, cause’. This verb
occurs as $V_1$ and is followed by an object argument along with another verb of an unrestricted group, as $V_2$. The second verb may have its own argument as an object, depending on the verb, whether it is transitive or intransitive. The semantic subject of $V_2$ is the object of $V_1$. Consider the following examples.

(14a). Aho wé n=a'ā wai oga
Dog that 3SG=make water spill
The dog caused the water to spill.

(14b). Kré'ë ra'ë r=a'ā aho temate kamé.
Child 3PL=make dog chase us.
The children made the dog chase us.

In (14a) for instance, the subject argument of $V_1$ is *aho* as seen in the agreement marker $n=$ attached to the verb *na'ā* being coreferential with the argument *aho*. The object of the verb is *wai* as it can be substituted with the object enclitic form =ro. The subject of $V_2$ is the object of $V_1$, so the thing which spilt is *wai* ‘water’. When $V_2$ is transitive, it has its own object as *kame* ‘us’ in (14b).

### 8.7 The syntax of SL SVCs

To discuss the syntax of SVCs in SL, I first present a summary of SL SVCs in Table 8.1 below.

As shown in the Table, all verbs share the same subject argument, except (#10) which shares nothing with $V_1$, and (#11) which shares the object argument of $V_1$. Although both $V_1$ and $V_2$ behave morpho-syntactically similar in the same way as verbs in mono-verb clauses do, including being attached with pronominal clitics, $V_2$ in (#1-7,#10) lack lexical autonomy of an independent verb - see also Nagaya (2011) - thus it cannot have its own independent subject. The same also holds true for $V_1$ in (#8, #9, #11). Moreover, having a semantic relation of a Patient to the argument following $V_2$ as (#1), for example, does not guarantee that the argument is syntactically an object, as it cannot be substituted with the object enclitic form =ro. On the contrary, even if $V_2$ appears with the object enclitic =ro as (#7), the object form =ro cannot be replaced with a NP.
### Table 8.1
Summary of SVC patterns in SL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>V₁</th>
<th>V₂</th>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>Shared argument</th>
<th>Semantic relation of V₂ to its other argument</th>
<th>Meaning denoted by V₂ in relation to the entire construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Affect v.</td>
<td>Prepositional v.</td>
<td>+aˈ footer</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>Instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Dynamic v.</td>
<td>Prepositional v.</td>
<td>+oaˈ footer</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Concomitant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>transaction-service v</td>
<td>Prepositional v.</td>
<td>sorõ footer</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Recipient</td>
<td>Recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Motion-path v.</td>
<td>Prepositional v.</td>
<td>+ai directional v.</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Location/Direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Dynamic v.</td>
<td>+aˈ footer</td>
<td>(8a)</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>‘emotion’ v.</td>
<td>+aˈ footer</td>
<td>(9c)</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Impression</td>
<td>Goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>Dynamic v.</td>
<td>+oi</td>
<td>(10a)</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>secondary concept ‘can’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ewã footer</td>
<td>(10b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>Dynamic v</td>
<td>(11a)</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>depends on V₂</td>
<td>secondary concept ‘want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>merĩ</td>
<td>Dynamic v</td>
<td>(12a)</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>depends on V₂</td>
<td>secondary concept ‘plan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>Dynamic v</td>
<td>Aspectual v</td>
<td>(13a)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>aspectual context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>+aˈ footer</td>
<td>Dynamic v</td>
<td>(14a)</td>
<td>V₁ object</td>
<td>depends on V₂</td>
<td>causative meaning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Obviously, SVCs in SL form ‘asymmetrical serial constructions’ (Aikhenvald 2006a) in which a verb of a relatively large group or of an unrestricted class is combined with another from a semantically or grammatically restricted type. The former group of verbs occur as V₁ in (#1-7, #10) and as V₂ in (#8, #9, #11), and the latter occur as V₂ in (#1-7, #10) and as V₁ in (#8, #9, #11). These SVC constructions denote a ‘mono-clausal context’ (Haspelmath 2016) described by the verb from a non-restricted class. The verb from the restricted group gives modifying information to the unrestricted group, by indicating various grammatical meanings as listed under the rightmost column of Table 8.1 above. It is then obvious that the syntactic head of the predicative element in SL SVCs is the verb of unrestricted groups.

Referring to Givón’s (1997) typical SVC syntactic configurations presented in

---

50 Haspelmath (2016: 306) avoids using the criterial term ‘single event’ as he argues that the criterion is not necessary, because there are no serial verb constructions in the sense of his definition that can be said not to express a single event. He believes that “whenever a clear contrast between a single event and multiple events has been noted, it makes the same distinction as the grammatical criteria, in particular monoclusality and biclausality”.

225
§8.1 above, it shows that the most common SVC syntactic tree in SL is the third model (iii). In this syntactic tree, both verbs share the same subject argument, and possibly an additional argument for each of the verbs, depending on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. This syntactic configuration model applies to (#1-9). The pattern in (#11) resembles the second model (ii) as it shows that the object argument of V₁ becomes the subject of V₂. It forms an interlocking chain of clauses in which the rightmost argument of the first clause becomes the subject argument of the second clause.
This chapter discusses grammatical relations and valency change operations in SL. The description of grammatical relation (GR, hereafter) is presented in §9.2. It discusses in detail the grammatical properties of the arguments of ordinary clauses and of SVCs. The analysis of GR in SVCs comes up with a novel syntactic configuration illustrating SL peculiarity in expressing a secondary concept ‘be able to’ in a topicalized complement clause. To distinguish a subject from a topic argument, section §9.3 presents topical clauses. In these clauses, an object argument is fronted to the clause initial position to express the topic. It results in a structure whose clause-initial argument might be confused with a subject argument of an SVO clause structure. Section §9.4 discusses voice and valency change phenomena in SL, whilst the chapter concludes with a discussion on whether or not there is passivization in SL in §9.5.

9.1 Introduction

The term ‘grammatical relation’ is a cover term used to refer to the syntactic relation of an argument born through its interaction with the clause predicate with which it occurs in a given structure. Many linguists used this term interchangeably with ‘grammatical function’ which includes such functions as ‘subject’, ‘object’ and ‘direct object’ (Bhat 1991, Farrell 2005). Clause arguments bearing these functions are those located higher in the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977).

GRs are not manifested uniformly across languages. Dryer (1997), for example, argues that GRs, similar to word classes and phonemes, are internal language-specific. Therefore examining grammatical functions of a language should be carried out in terms of language specific properties. Nevertheless, there are formal properties with which a GR may be identified. They are (i) argument markings which are realized in various forms including case affixes and clitics, (ii) bound pronominal markers generally attached to a verb or a verbal auxiliary; and (iii) constituent order of clausal components (Dixon 2010a, Keenan 1975, Payne 2006).
Possessing a fixed SV(O) clause pattern, GRs in SL seem to be simple enough to identify. The general view that considers typical A and S arguments as a clause subject is reflected in SL. However, when one comes to a structure in which a typical patient argument occurs in the syntactic slot allocated for a clause subject without any morphological processes indicating such processes as passivization, for instance, analysis becomes even more complicated. What is more, a topicalization process in which an argument is fronted to a clause initial position makes the identification of a grammatical subject in SL even more laborious.

I will illustrate this later, but first let me introduce the SL grammar system. SL has a Nominative–Accusative grammar system where S is treated in the same way as A, but O is treated differently. Consider the following clauses. Note that =ro, na'é and =ro na'é in (1c) are interchangeable without altering the meaning of the clause (see §4.1.2.2).

(1a). Na'é turu='u kaé.
   3SG sleep=3SG PERF
   He/she has already gone to bed.
(1b). Na'é doré kamé
   3SG follow 1PL(exc)
   He/she followed us.
(1c). Kamé doré=ro <OR> Kamé doré na'é <OR> Kamé doré=ro na'é.
   1PL(exc) follow=3SG
   We followed him/her/it.
(1d). Kamé gehi=ke
   1PL(exc) disagree=1PL(exc)
   We disagreed.
(1e). Kamé m=o'õ=ro ia kepala kaé.
   1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=bring=3SG PREP chief PERF.
   We have taken him/her/it to the chief.

As seen in these examples, na'é, the S argument of the intransitive clause in (1a) has the same form as that used as the A argument of the transitive clause in (1b). The same pronoun, when it is used as an O argument as in (1c), can take a different form; there are three alternatives: =ro, na'é or a combination of these two =ro na'é, all mean ‘him/her/it’. =ro is used both for human and non-human or animate and inanimate arguments, whereas na'é and the combination =ro na'é are generally used for human or other non-human arguments used metaphorically as human (see §4.1.2.2 b).
In addition, the grouping of S and A arguments on the one hand, and O arguments on the other hand in SL can be seen in the cross-referencing affixes attached to a clause main verb. In clauses with a verbal bound root, either transitive or intransitive, and with an intransitive root, both S and A arguments are marked by coreferential clitics attached to the clause main verb. In (1a) and (1d), for example, the intransitive verb turu and géhi take the pronominal enclitics =’u ‘3SG’ and =ke ‘1PL(exc)’ respectively; both refer to the S argument na’élé and kamé in each respective clause. The transitive bound root +o’ò in (1d) takes the proclitic m= ‘1PL(exc)’ which is coreferential with the A argument kamé ‘we’. An O argument such as kamé ‘us’ in (1b), on the contrary, does not have any coreferential affixes.

SL has no case marking. Noun phrases used in the core argument positions get no particular markings. The only distinctive form of an O argument in SL is found in the 3rd-person singular; the other pronouns take the same form as those used for S or A arguments (see Table 5.2). In the following, the SL GRs including those in SVCs are described. This covers ‘subject’ and ‘object’. These relations are examined by using empirical criteria comprising grammatical coding and behavior-and-control properties – see e.g. (Givón 1997, Keenan 1976).

9.2 Grammatical relations in SL

Adopting the terms used in Dryer (1986), I distinguish an Object relation in SL into ‘Primary Object’ and ‘Secondary Object’ -(see also Nagaya (2011))- but with a different notion discussed later in §9.2.2. GRs of SL SVCs are described in §9.2.3.

9.2.1 Subject

The GR ‘subject’ in SL can be identified as encompassing the single argument of an intransitive verb (S) and the most Actor-like participant of a transitive verb (A). This relation also includes the VCS (Verbless Clause Subject) of VICls. Some properties of subjecthood in SL are presented below. The first two are the grammatical coding properties and the rest are behavioral-and-control properties.

9.2.1.1 Word order

A subject relation in SL is the NPs that immediately precede the main predicate. It includes the S argument as in (2), the A argument as in (3-4), and in verbless clauses,
the arguments that occur first or the arguments to which other relations such as an
identity, attributive, possessive and locative relation refers back in the clause as in (5).

Subject NPs in the following examples are in bold.

(2). **Ema no’ō bapa** / **Ra’ē ola=ka.**
Mother and father / 3PL farm=3PL
Mother and father / they are farming (working in the field).

(3). **Béda / Na’ē mētē n=ewā tapo.**
Béda / 3SG PROG 3SG=harvest coconut
Béda / he is picking up the coconut fruits.

(4). **Osé / Na’ē n=ahu ema wai.**
Osé / 3SG fetch mother water.
Osé / she fetched some water for mother.

(5). **Pa Pétu no’ō Pa Mi / Ra’ē guru.**
Sir Pétu and sir Mi / 3PL teacher.
Pétu and Mi / they are teachers.

Note that only the NPs that occur immediately before a clause predicate are the
subject. A subject argument needs to be distinguished from a topic argument
(discussed in §9.3) because SL, and Lamaholot in general, usually expresses a topic
by fronting a focused argument to the clause initial position, as in (6). In (6a), *wawé* is
the topic, whereas *ra’ē* is the subject, and in (6b), *ikā* is the topic, whereas *ema* is the
subject.

(6a). **Wawé wé ra’ē pa’u=ro kaé.**
Pig that 3PL feed=3SG PERF.
The pigs, they already fed them.

(6b). **Ikā ema tuno.**
Fish mother grill
The fish, mother grilled it.

### 9.2.1.2 Bound pronominal clitics

A subject relation in SL is also marked by bound pronominal clitics which are
attached to a clause predicate and which are always coreferential with the subject
argument. There are two types of bound pronominal clitics: proclitics (Table 4.1),
which are mandatorily attached to verbal bound roots listed in example (3) of Chapter
4, and enclitics (Table 4.3), which are optionally bound to intransitive verbs, but
compulsory to non-verbal intransitive predicates. Consider the following examples.
The argument and the coreferential pronominal clitics are in bold.
(7a).  **Bapa** n=ewā pao.
Father 3SG=harvest mango
Father harvested the mango fruit.

(7b).  **Ra’ê** r=olo kaé.
3PL 3PL=go.first PERF.
They have already left.

(7c).  **Kamé** géhi=ke.
1PL(exc) disagree=1PL(exc)
We disagree.

(7d).  **Ra’ê** r=ai=ka kaé
3PL 3PL=go PERF
They have already left.

(7e).  **Ola** kemamũ=na kaé
Ola be.young.man=3SG PERF.
Ola has become a young man.

(7f).  **Kré’ē** pe=ka kaé go?
Child be.there=3PL PERF ART?
Have the children been there?

Examples (7a-b) illustrate the presence of bound pronominal proclitics attached to verbal bound roots. Both *n* and *r* are coreferential with the clause subject *bapa* and *ra’ê* respectively. The bound pronominal enclitic =*ke* in the verb *géhi* in (7c) and =*ka* in the bound root +*ai* in (7d) are coreferential with the subject argument *kamé* and *ra’ê* respectively. In examples (7e-f), the enclitic =*na* is attached to the denominal verb *kemamũ* and =*ka* to the deictic predicate *pê*. Both enclitics refer back to the subject argument *Ola* and *kré’ē* respectively.

9.2.1.3 Control of Reflexivization

Reflexives in SL are expressed by using *weki* ‘body’ as in (8a-b) (see § 5.5.3). According to Givón (1997: 24) the true reflexive is controlled by a subject. This holds true for SL where the reflexive expression *weki* refers back to the A argument of the clause. This coreference is obviously seen in the fact that the expression *weki* is mandatorily attached with inalienable possessive enclitics (Table 4.4) being coreferential with the subject argument. The nasalized vowel =*ĩ* in (8a) below, for example, refers back to Bengã, and =*ke* in (8b) to *go’ê*.

(8a).  Bengã sebelé wek(i)=ĩ wia baũ.
Bengã slaughter body=3SGPOSS yesterday night.
Bengã killed herself last night.
(8b). Go'ë nimo=ke pilé weki=ke
1SG self=1SGPOSS choose body=1SGPOSS.
I voted for myself.

9.2.1.4 Control of zero anaphor

A subject relation in SL controls a zero anaphor (marked with ø) under coreference, either in conjoined clauses, as in (9a), or in SVCs, as in (9b). An object relation, in contrast, requires an explicit pronoun, unless the precedent argument is a non-human entity, as in (9e). Compare (9a), where the subject relation controls the coreference and zero anaphora, with (9c) which is ungrammatical because the zero anaphora is forced to be coreferential with the object relation. Example (9d) illustrates the use of a human argument in an object relation, and therefore may explicitly express the anaphor, and (9e) illustrates the use of a non-human argument in the object relation, and thus it optionally has an overt coreferential anaphor in the following clause.

(9a). Na'ë berĩ go'ë kedi (ø) pla'ë sudu='u
3SG hit 1SG then (3SG) run hide=3SG
He hit me and then ran away to hide.

(9b). Ra'ë one=ka (ø) r-ekã pao.
3PL wish=3PL (3PL) 3PL=eat mango
They want to eat mango.

(9c). *Na'ë berĩ go'ë kedi (ø) tematã=ro.
3SG hit 1SG then (1SG) chase=3SG.
Intended for: He hit me, and then I chased him.

(9d). Na'ë hodë ana go'ë kedi nawi =ro / =ro na'ë ia gerë lolô.
3SG take child 1SGGEN then put =3SG =3SG 3SG PREP bed LOC.
He took my baby and then put him/her on the bed.

(9e). Na'ë gutë labu go'ë kedi tepa (ø) /=ro ia gerë lolô.
3SG take shirt 1SGGEN then spread (3SG) =3SG PREP bed LOC.
He took my shirts and then spread them over the bed.

9.2.2 Object

Although I pick up the same terms ‘Primary Object’ and ‘Secondary Object’ as that in Dryer (1986)\(^{51}\), their conceptualization within the current study is distinct. The terms selected in this respect relate very much to the prominence of the arguments under

\(^{51}\) In Dryer (1986), the term Primary Object covers the Indirect Object of a ditransitive clause and the Direct Object of a mono-transitive clause, whereas Secondary Object is a Direct Object of a ditransitive clause.
consideration in the GR hierarchy where the primary object is more prominent than a secondary one (Keenan and Comrie 1977). The argument prominence in a language GR hierarchy has been claimed to be a universal property by, for example, Keenan & Comrie (1977). The different degree of the prominent roles of object relations in SL is evident from the distinct syntactic behaviors of the two objects in a ditransitive clause, as described below.

9.2.2.1 The primary object

a. Word order

A primary object is one that comes immediately after a clause verb. The single O argument of a transitive verb, as in (10a) is a primary object. A ditransitive verb has two objects; the one that occurs first after the verb is the primary object, regardless of whether it is a Recipient or a Theme. The other argument is a secondary object, again regardless of it being a Recipient or a Theme. Consider (10b), where ema is semantically a recipient but has a primary object relation. A primary object also includes the object of a V₁ in SVCs, such as wawé as in (10c). I reserve the object of V₂ in a SVC to be discussed later in §9.2.3

(10a). Ra'ẽ herũ kepala bau.
    3PL meet chief tomorrow.
    They will meet the chief tomorrow.

(10b). Kamẽ m=ahu ema wai.
    1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=fetch mother water.
    We fetched mother some water.

(10c). Ema berĩ wawé n=a'ã kelepa.
    Mother beat pig 3SG=use palm.leaf.stem
    Mother beat the pig with a palm leaf stem.

b. Substitution with =ro

For the 3rd-person singular, only the primary object argument can be substituted with the object enclitic form =ro, as in (11a-b). Substituting a secondary object argument causes ungrammaticality as in (11c).

(11a). Ra'ẽ herũ=ro bau.
    3PL mett=3SG tomorrow.
    They will meet him tomorrow.
(11b). Kamé m=ahu=ro wai.
1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=fetch=3SG water.
We fetched her some water.

(11c). *Kamé m=ahu ema =ro.
1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=fetch mother 3SG.

This also applies to a primary object in a SVC. Thus for (10c), only the object argument of V₁ can be substituted with the object enclitic =ro as in (12a), but not the object of V₂ as ungrammaticality of (12b) shows, but see §8.3.3.

(12a). Ema berĩ=ro na’a kelepa.
Mother beat=3SG 3SG=use palm.leaf.stem
Mother beat it with a palm leaf stem.

(12b). *Ema berĩ wawé wé n=a’ã=ro.
Mother beat pig that 3SG=use=3SG
Nagaya (2011: 367) also used the term ‘Primary Object’ for a PATient, RECipient and SOURce argument that occurs right after a verb, and therefore possesses this primary object property. But I suggest that not only can these three semantic roles hold a Primary Object relation, but also a LOCation as in (13a) and a THeme as in (13b). The arrow indicates the substitution of a NP primary object with the object form =ro.

(13a). Ra’e mula mâ wu’ũ wé r=a’ã utã. → Ra’e mula=ro r=a’ã utã.
3PL plant field new that 3PL=use bean.
We planted the new field with beans.

(13b). Na’e sorõ ana wé ia Ola. → Na’e soro=ro ia Ola.
3SG give baby that PREP Ola
She gave the baby to Ola.

c. Pronominal copy in topicalization

Another property that distinguishes a primary object from a secondary one is its ability to leave a pronominal copy in the place from which a NP is fronted to express topicality. The pronominal copy is optional for a non-human entity, but necessary for a human entity argument. Consider (14a) where a primary object of a non-human entity is fronted for a topic, and (14b), where a primary object of a human entity is fronted. Example (14c) illustrates a topicalized primary object of a SVC, and (14d) a topicalized object of a V₂ in a SVC, which is ungrammatical.

---

52 Arka, et al. (2007) are doubtful as to whether or not the presence of pronominal co-indexation is obligatory in such a structure due to the paucity of Lamaholot data relative to this issue that was available to them. This description therefore hopes to reveal this grammatical feature.
Aho wé, ema pa'u=ro /ø kaé.  
The dog, mother feed=3SG / ø PERF.

(14b). Guru ra'ë mi'o marĩ=ro kaé lé wati?  
Teacher 3PL 2PL invite=3PL PERF or IMPERF.

The teachers, have you invited them?

Aho wé, ema berĩ=ro / ø n=a'ã kayo.  
The dog, mother beat=3SG / ø 3SG=use stick.

(14c). *Kayo wé, ema berĩ aho n=a'ã=ro / ø.
Stick that mother beat dog 3SG=use =3SG / ø.

9.2.2.2 The secondary object

The grammatical properties of a secondary object are the opposite of those belonging to the primary object. First, a secondary object occurs after a primary object, such as lala in (15a). Second, a secondary object cannot be substituted with the bound pronoun object =ro as in (15b). Third, a secondary object does not allow a pronominal copy on its source location from which it is fronted to express clause topic as in (15c).

(15a). Ra'ë taku ana wé lala.  
3PL feed baby that porridge.

They fed the baby porridge.

(15b). *Ra'ë taku ana wé =ro.  
3PL feed baby that =3SG.

(15c). *Lala, ra'ë taku ana wé =ro.  
Porridge, 3PL feed baby that =3SG.

But note that when a dative shift is applied to a double object construction such as (15a), the secondary object lala becomes a primary object and the previous primary object ana wé changes to an oblique as in (15d). The primary object in this construction can now be substituted with =ro as is indicated with an arrow. But since it is a non-human entity, the object enclitic is optional as marked with the ø.

(15d). Ra'ë taku lala ia ana wé → Ra'ë taku=ro / ø ia ana wé .
3PL feed porridge PREP baby that.

They fed porridge to the baby.

Even if the topicalized secondary object argument is a human, it never leaves a pronominal copy in its source slot, as illustrated in (15f).

(15e). Kamé nawo suku Kolĩ kebare to'u.  
1PL(exc) give clan Kolĩ young girl one
We gave the Kolĩ clan a young girl.
(15f). Kebare to'u, kamé nawo suku Kolin ø / *=ro
Young girl one 1PL(exc) give clan Kolin
A young girl, we gave to the Kolin clan.

Note that shifting around the two objects of a ditransitive clause by using a dative shift does not help to distinguish a primary object from a secondary one, and this is what Nagaya (2011: 378) has failed to distinguish between the two by using a dative shift operation. Consider the following examples.

(16a). Ola sorõ Osé lénsu. →Ola sorõ=ro lénsu / *Ola sorõ Osé ro
Ola give Osé handkerchief.
Ola gave Osé a handkerchief.

(16b). Ola sorõ lénsu ia Osé. →Ola sorõ=ro ia Osé / *Ola sorõ lénsu ia ro
Ola give handkerchief PREP Osé.
Ola gave a handkerchief to Osé.

In (16a), the Recipient Osé comes immediately after the verb, thus it can be substituted with =ro, but the Theme lénsu cannot, because it occurs further away from the clause predicate. The construction in (16b) is the opposite, the Theme lénsu can be replaced with =ro, but the Recipient Osé cannot. The ability of being substituted with =ro does not depend on the semantic role the argument plays, but rather on the degree of prominence the argument has; the closer an argument to the clause predicate, the more topical it is, and thus the more prominent it becomes.

9.2.3 Grammatical relations in SVCs

GRs identified in SL SVCs are a subject and an object argument of V₂.

9.2.3.1 SVC Subjects

SVC subjects are less controversial in the discussion of grammatical relations (Givón 1997). The majority of SVCs in SL share the same S/A argument belonging to V₁ (see Table 8.1). This is evident in there being coreferentiality between the argument and the clitics bound to V₂. Observe examples (17), where the clitics in bold are coreferential with the subject argument of the entire structure.

(17a). Ra’e poro ikã r=a’ã hépé.
3PL cut fish 3PL=use knife.
They cut the fish with the knife.

(17b). Kamé one=ke m-ekã dagĩ.
1PL(exc) wish=1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=eat meat
We want to eat some meat.
In SVCs expressing causative, $V_2$ takes the O argument of $V_1$ as the subject. In (18a), the subject of $V_2$ bela is keluba which is the object of $V_1$ na’a. There seems to be a switching of relation happening with the argument keluba; to the left, it holds an object relation, but to the right it holds a subject relation.

(18a). Na’è n=æ keluba bela 3SG 3SG=make cooking.pot break.
He broke the cooking pot.

Although keluba is not syntactically apparent as the subject of $V_2$, some subject properties described above are applicable to this argument. First, it takes a coreferential clitic as is illustrated in (18b), where $r=\text{in} V_2$ is coreferential with kré’é ra’é; and second it controls a zero anaphor, as in (18c), as opposed to (18d), which is ungrammatical because the O argument of $V_2$ berê is forced to control the zero anaphor in the following clause.

(18b). Na’è ruga kré’é ra’é $r=eka$ béra-béra 3SG push child 3PL 3PL=eat quick-RED
He pushed the children to eat quickly.

(18c). Na’è ruga kré’è ra’é $r=eka$ béra-béra nê $r=ai=ka$ 3SG push child 3PL 3PL=eat quick-RED so.(that) 3PL=go=3PL
mâ $r=ai$
field 3PL=go.
He pushed the children to eat quickly so that they go to the field.

(18d). Na’è oyok kamé beri aho wê nê n=æ / *$r$ plaé n=ai 3SG persuade 1PL(exc) hit dog that so.(that) 3SG run 3SG=go.
He persuaded us to hit the dog so that the dog would run away.

9.2.3.2 SVC Objects

While most $V_2$ in SL SVCs share the S/A argument of $V_1$, the $V_2$ may have its own O argument. The argument that comes with a prepositional verb is seemingly like a primary object, yet it does not exhibit the object properties identified above, except those with the prepositional verb sorô (see §8.3.3 for a justification). Nevertheless, objects of ‘emotion’ verbs (§8.3.6) and of verbs of a secondary concept such as ‘be able to’ (§8.4.1) deserve particular attention.

First, the object of ‘emotion’ verbs. Consider (19a) below.

(19a). Ra’é géhi=ka $r=ôô$ kepala wê pukê n=æ kebesa-kebesa. 3PL dislike =3PL 3PL=toward chief that because 3SG rude-RED.
They disliked the chief because he was so rude.
The argument *kepala wé* can be substituted with the object enclitic =ro as in (19b), and when it is fronted for topicalization, it leaves a trace anaphor =ro in its original slot, as in (19c). This is evidence that they are primary objects.

(19b). Ra'ë géhi=ka r=o‘õ=ro pukë na’ë kebesa-kebesa.
3PL dislike =3PL 3PL=toward=3SG because 3SG rude-RED.
They disliked him because he was so rude.

(19c). Kepala wé, ra'ë géhi=ka r=o‘õ=ro pukë na’ë kebesa-kebesa.
Chief that 3PL dislike=3PL 3PL=toward=3SG because 3SG rude-RED
The chief, they disliked him because he was so rude.

Second, the object of secondary verbs. Consider (20a) below.

(20a). Go’ë k=eté oto k=oi=ro.
1SG 1SG=bring car 1SG=know=3SG.
I can drive a car.

It is obvious from (20a) that *oto* is the primary object of V₁ *keté*, and the proclitic k= attached to V₂ +oi is coreferential with go’ë, thus go’ë is the subject of V₂. The bound pronoun =ro attached to V₂ is understood as being the object of the verb, yet it does not refer to any nominal referent. It semantically refers to the whole proposition predicated by V₁. Example (20a) is literally corresponding to ‘I drive a car, I know it (it=the driving of the car)’. Though =ro refers to the proposition, one cannot replace it with a clause expressing the proposition, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (20b).

This construction is nonexistent in SL.

(20b). *Go’ë k=oi k=eté oto*  
1SG 1SG=know 1SG=bring car

**Figure 9.1**
A syntactic tree representing SVC in (20a)
The structure in (20a) is rather difficult to represent in a syntactic tree diagram, as it consists of two consecutive clauses; the first of which is the object of the second one. Yet I would propose the most plausible diagram I can think of as in Figure 9.1 above. I would suggest that this construction has grammaticalized from a topic structure, in which the clause object is fronted for a topic and leaves an pronominal copy in the source slot.

### 9.3 Topic arguments

Unlike English, where topic arguments are commonly S/A arguments – see e.g. (Dixon 2012), SL distinguishes a topic from a subject, thus there is a distinction on participant prominence based on cognitive prominence (event-focused) or communicative prominence (discourse-focused) (Givón 2001a). Adopting Li & Thompson’s (1976) perspective, the former is comparable to subject – predicate relation, whereas the latter to topic – comment relation. According to their study, languages may be typologically distinguished into four, based on the grammatical relation between the argument and its predicative constituent (Li & Thompson 1976: 459) including (i) subject-prominent, (ii) topic-prominent, (iii) neither subject nor topic-prominent, and (iv) both subject and topic-prominent.

SL falls into the fourth type; it possesses both subject and topic prominent grammatical relation. In subject-prominent constructions, an agentive role is considered more important, and since SL has a fixed word order of SVO, a typical agentive argument is a subject. These constructions are Agent focused, where Agent = Subject = Topic. In topic-prominent constructions, a non-agentive argument becomes prominent. The focused argument is expressed by being fronted to the clause initial position. These constructions are Non-Agentive focused, where Non-Agent = Non-subject = Topic. The former constructions are grammatically motivated. They are unmarked structures and are typical basic clauses as illustrated in (21a). The latter ones are pragmatically motivated and are derived structures as illustrated in (21b-f).

(21a). Topic =Agent =Subject:

Ema pa'u aho kaé.
Mother feed dog PERF.
Mother has already fed the dog.
(21b). **Topic = Patient = Object:**

Wawé wé, Ola sebelé (=ro) kaé.
Pig that, Ola slaughtered (=3SG) PERF.
The pig, Ola has slaughtered it.

(21c). **Topic = Recipient = Object:**

Ana wé, ema taktu=ro lala.
Baby that, mother feed=3SG porridge.
The baby, mother fed him/her porridge.

(21d). **Topic = Theme = Object:**

Ortua wé, ra'é r=o'ô=ro kaé.
Old.man that, 3PL 3PL=bring=3PL PERF
The old man, they took him already.

(21e). **Topic = Instrument = Object:**

Péda wé, Subã n=a’ã sebele wawé.
Machete that, Subã 3SG=use slaughter pig
That machete, Subã used it to slaughter the pig.

(21f). **Topic = concomitant = Object:**

Krë’ë ra’ë wé, kamé m=o’ô ra’ë m=ewä tapo.
Child 3SG that, 1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=be.with 3PL 1PL(exc)=harvest coconut.
The children, we harvested the coconut with them.

Example (21b) is transformed from a typical transitive clause by which the primary object argument is brought to the clause initial position, but the fronted argument leaves an optional object pronoun being coreferential with the argument. The object pronoun in (21b) is optional because its referent is a non-human entity (see also §9.2.2.1c), but the one in (21c) is mandatory because it is a human entity. The arguments that can be topicalized include object arguments of mono-verb clauses and of prepositional verbs as in (21e-f).

Arka and Wouk (2014) identify the constructions in SL like (21b) as ‘atypical passive’ or ‘undergoer voice’. A structure quite similar to (21b) is also found in Palue language spoken on Palue, a small island north of Maumere on Flores. The structure is identified as passive by Donohue (2005) 53. These pragmatically driven constructions are common in Austronesian languages, but they frequently bring about controversies. In Indonesian, there are structures such as Anjing itu saya (ku=) pukul

---

53 Donohue (2005: 60) identified structure such as (b) below as a passive in Palue. Consider:

(a). Ia cube vavi vaʔa.

(b). Vavi vaʔa ia cube.

3SG shoot pig that

pig that 3SG shoot

‘He shot that pig’

That pig, he shot (it) ~ That pig was shot by him.
(dog that I (1SG=)hit) ‘that dog, I hit it’. This construction might be originated from the unmarked clause \textit{Saya pukul anjing itu} (I hit dog that) ‘I hit the dog’, yet it is analysed differently and attractively under different perspectives – see e.g. Musgrave (2001b: 44-52), thus becoming an interesting topic.

However, adopting Li & Thompson’s (1976) properties of a topic argument, the constructions in (21b-f) may be analysed as topic clauses because they conform to the following properties. First, topic arguments are always definite. In SL, a topic argument always occurs with the demonstrative \textit{wé} ‘that’. Even if the demonstrative is absent, the definiteness of a topicalized argument may be recovered from the context. Second, if there is any bound pronominal clitic on the verb, the clitic is never coreferential with the topic argument, but with the subject argument. In (21d), for instance, the pronominal clitic \textit{r=} is coreferential with the subject \textit{ra’}=, not the topic \textit{ortua wé}. Third, topic arguments always occur at a sentence initial position, as examples (21b-f) have illustrated; and finally, topic arguments are never involved in such grammatical processes as reflexivization (see examples in §9.4.2) and verb serialization (see examples in §8.3).

It is, however, important to note that SL also has constructions similar to topic clauses. In these constructions, a clause constituent is singled out and placed at the clause initial position. But unlike topic clauses which contain an pronominal copy of the fronted argument, these constructions, which I prefer to call focus fronting constructions, can front any clausal constituents without leaving any pronominal copy in the original slot. Example (22) illustrates a fronting of a prepositional phrase.

(22). \textit{Ia lango one’ẽ, na’= sudu’=u.}
\textit{ PREP house inside, 3SG  hide=3SG}
Inside the house, he hid.

\textbf{9.4. Voices and valency change operations}

SL lacks any morphological devices to code voice and related constructions. Unlike other Austronesian languages of western Indonesia which have symmetric voice alternations, SL, and other languages of eastern Indonesia, displays the converse (Himmelmann 2005). These languages use an analytic strategy to code voices and other related phenomena (Arka 2003). Recent observation by Arka and Wouk (2014) reveals an interesting pattern of a gradual attrition of the voice system, starting from
Balinese to the east to languages on Flores and Timor islands. Detailed examples of the gradual weakening of this language feature are shown in a number of languages along the line in Arka (2009).

Arka and Wouk (2014) believe that the loss of Austronesian voice morphology in these languages does not mean that they had also lost their voice features. Instead, different kinds of voice without voice morphology are attested in these languages, but they are mainly constructionally coded. However, while admitting the paucity of data regarding voice and related constructions from languages spoken on Flores island, they are wondering whether the ‘non-active’ constructions found in the languages are best analysed as passive, as inverse, as undergoer voice, or as undergoer focus.

In the section below, I describe some constructions related to valency change phenomena. As the presence of passive voice in eastern Indonesian languages currently still brings controversies (see e.g. Klamer (2002) and Nagaya (2011) versus Donohue (2005) and Arka & Wouk (2014)), this presentation will be a useful and relevant source for further investigation on the voice system of eastern Indonesian languages in general, and of languages on Flores and nearby islands in particular.

9.4.1 Middle voice

The middle voice is a valence-decreasing operation; it is neither passive nor active (Payne 2006). As voice is considered as an emphasis or a focus of attention on a particular argument (Crystal 2008), there could be two possibilities: first, focus is on agent, and second, focus is on the patient. In SL, the first focus includes those constructions which place emphasis on the clause agent, thus retain it, and abandon the patient argument. This operation results in such constructions as (23b), which expresses a generic event without any specific patients, and (24b), which denotes a reflexive event - see e.g. Kemmer (1993: 15). A middle voice expressing a generic event is also expressed by the detransitivizer prefix pe- (see §4.1.3.3) as in (25b). All these middle voice verbs take the pronominal enclitics (Table 4.3), thus these constructions appear to be intransitive.

(23a). Ema mété koda Bengã
Mother PROG scold Bengã
Mother is scolding Bengã.
(23b). Ema mété koda=’a
Mother PROG scold=3SG.
Mother is scolding (someone).

(24a). Bengã mété giri ana=’ã rata=’ã
Bengã PROG comb child=3SGPOSS hair=3SGPOSS
Bengã is combing her daughter’s hair.

(24b). Bengã mété giri=’i
Bengã PROG comb=3SG
Bengã is combing (herself).

(25a). Ema baha labu lali wai.
Mother wash shirt DIR.DOWN water
Mother is washing some clothes in the river

(25b). Ema pe=maha=’a lali wai.
Mother DTRANS=wash=3SG DIR.DOWN water
Mother is washing in the river.

The second type is those constructions that emphasize the patient argument, thus making it a clause subject. This results in structures known as anti-causative because they are the logical opposite of causative constructions (Payne 2006). I should note that although a patient argument is promoted to be the clause subject, these constructions are distinct from those I call ‘inverse’ described in §9.4.3.

(26a). Ema bela keluba
Mother break cooking.pot
Mother broke the cooking pot.

(26b). Keluba wé bela=’a kaé
Cooking.pot that break=3SG PERF
The cooking pot already broke.

Note that the opposite meaning between (a) and (b) clauses in (26) has something to do with the volitionality; while (a) are volitional, (b) are unvolitional.

9.4.2 Reflexive and reciprocal

In a reflexive and reciprocal construction, the clause subject and object, regardless of their semantic roles, are coreferential. In that case the subject acts upon (or relates to) itself (Givón 2001b). In SL, these two concepts are expressed with weki ‘body’ (see §5.5.3.2). Example (27) illustrates a reflexive construction and (28) a reciprocal construction. Note that using the same lexical item weki for two distinct grammatical concepts is potentially ambiguous, but this is already described in §5.5.3.2.
9.4.3 Inverse

The term ‘inverse’ follows Givón (2001b); i.e. those constructions whose patientive argument is more topical than the agentive one. In SL, this construction is morphosyntactically similar to an active intransitive clause, but the difference is that it has an undergoer or patient subject, and therefore may pragmatically be rendered as passive voice in English. Consider the following clauses: (a) are agentive topic, and (b) are patientive topic, thus having an inverse structure.

(29a). Polisi hukũ ra'ẽ tũ telo
   Police jail 3PL year three
   The police punished them for three years in jail

(29b). Ra'ẽ hukũ=na tũ telo.
   3PL jail=3PL year three.
   They were jailed for three years.

(30a). Na'ẽ petué witi lakĩ wé kaẽ.
   3SG emasculate go female that PERF
   He already emasculated the male goat.

(30b). Witi lakĩ wé petué=ẽ kaẽ.
   goat female that emasculate=3SG PERF
   The male goat is already emasculated.

Note that when an active transitive verb is used in an inverse construction, the verb appears to be similar to the past participle form of English verbs such as ‘broken’ in ‘it is a broken chair’ and ‘I have broken the chair’. In SL, this meaning can also be expressed with an affixation process (see §4.1.3.2c). Compare (31a), a phrase and (32), a clause. Then compare (32) which is an inverse with (26b) which is a middle voice. And note (31b) which is ungrammatical because it uses an anti-causative verb, as opposed to (31a) which uses a derived adjective (§4.1.3.2c).

(31a). Keluba menela'ã wé …
   Cooking.pot broken that
   The broken cooking pot ….

(31b). *Keluba bela'ã wé
   Cooking.pot break that
9.4.4 Applicative

The applicative voice promotes an oblique argument to the core position, usually an object argument. Dixon (2012: 295-296) suggests two canonical applicative derivations. First, when the applicative voice is applied to an intransitive verb, the clause argument structure will be: $S \rightarrow A$, Oblique $\rightarrow O$; and second, when this voice is applied to a transitive verb, the argument structure should look like: $A = A$, Oblique $\rightarrow O$, and $O \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{Oblique} / O2$ ($\emptyset =$ omitted).

In SL, when an applicative voice is applied to an intransitive verb, the structure takes a different form which is similar to a topic clause. Lacking verbal morphology to code the promoted Oblique argument into a core status, SL expresses it by putting a focus on the promoted argument, and therefore brings it to the clause initial position, as illustrated in (33b). The evidence used to prove that the oblique argument has been promoted to an object relation, which is further expressed in the form of a topic argument is seen in the pronominal copy $=ro$ bound to the clause predicate. The bound clitic is coreferential with the topicalized argument. Example (33b) is an applicative construction derived from (33a), which is an intransitive clause with an oblique relation marked by a preposition. Note that deleting the preposition in (33a) causes ungrammaticality, as shown in the structure indicated with an arrow.

(33a). Aho turu=’u ia geré wu’ũ. →*Aho turu’u geré wu’ũ
Dog sleep=3SG PREP bed new
The dog slept on the new bed.

(33b). Geré wu’ũ wé, aho turu=ro kaé bed new that dog sleep=3SG PERF
The new bed had been slept on by the dog.

When an applicative voice is applied to a transitive verb, it promotes an oblique to an object position and demotes an object argument to an object of a second verb in a SVC as in (34b), or simply deletes the object argument as in (34c).

(34a). Ra'ẽ tuba utã ia mā wu'ũ wé
3PL plant bean PREP field new that
They planted beans in the new field.
(34b). Ra'ë tuba mă wuũ wé r=aũa uta  
3PL plant field new that 3PL=use bean  
They planted the new field with bean.

(34c). Ra'ë tuba mă wuũ wé kaé.  
3PL plant field new that PERF.  
They have planted the new field.

Note, however, that there is a pragmatic difference between (34a) and (34b). Example (34a) means ‘they planted the beans at a particular area in the field’, but (34b) means ‘they planted the beans over the entire field’. The same semantic alteration also happens with the applicative in Rongga (Arka, et al. 2007).

9.4.5 Causative

A causative derives an intransitive clause into a new construction by changing an underlying S argument into an O function, and then brings in a new argument and places it as an A argument (Dixon 2012). This structure implies that the A argument causes someone or something else to do or to be something, or causes a change in state of a non-volitional event.

In SL, causatives are expressed with a serial verb construction (§8.6), and with an ordinary transitive causative construction as in (35), where (b) is a causative derived from the intransitive construction in (a).

(35a). Kenawé data=a kaé.  
Door damage=3SG PERF.  
The door is already damaged.

(35b). Bapa data kenawé  
Father destroy door.  
Father destroyed the door.

9.5 Is there a passive in SL?

Adopting Dixon’s (2012: 206) proposal of the four basic characteristics of a canonical passive derivation, which are heavily syntactic, SL can be said to lack passive constructions. None of the valency change constructions described above fits these passive characteristics. Let us take some constructions that are most similar to a passive construction.

First are inverse constructions. Consider (36) which is derived from (29a).
(36). Ra'ē hukũ=na tũ telo.
3PL jail=3PL year three.
They were jailed for three years.

While it is true that all processes occurring in deriving (29a) to (36) conform to the canonical passive derivation characteristics of Dixon’s (2012), the morphological process of the attachment of the pronominal enclitic =na is clearly identical to that used in intransitive clauses, simply because: first, although the only possible rendering of (36) in English is passive, this construction most likely uses an ambitransitive verb, which is similar to that illustrated in (23b) and (24b), which are middle voice. Second, based on the data available in my corpus, constructions identified as inverse illustrated in (36) in SL are minority and unproductive. A few examples are even identified to be rather idiomatic as illustrated in (37).

(37). Ema maya=na.
Mother call=3SG.
Mother was possessed (by an ancestor spirit).

Second are topic clauses. Consider the following example derived from (21a).

(38a). Aho wē, ema pa'u=(ro) kaē.
Dog that, mother feed=(3SG) PERF.
The dog, mother has already fed him.

Although the O argument aho is moved to the clause initial position, it does not become a subject. The clause subject is the argument that occurs right before the predicate, as it displays the subject properties described in §9.2.1, yet with a few anomalies. The fronted argument gets pragmatic emphasis only. It retains its property as an Object by leaving the pronominal copy =ro in the object slot. The object enclitic is optional in (38a), but is mandatory when its referent is a human as in (38b).

(38b). Adé go'ē polisi r=o'o=ro kaē.
Younger.sibling 1SGGEN police 3PL=bring=3SG PERF.
My little brother, the police have arrested him.

In addition to retaining its object property by leaving an pronominal copy, in spoken language, a construction with a patient topic is also characterized by a pause which separates the fronted argument from the rest of the clause – see e.g. Givón (2001b). Moreover, the presentation of the properties of a topic argument in §9.3 has also suggested that these constructions are better analysed as topic clauses.

With such constructions as (38a-b), we may assure that the clause subject is the argument occurring right before the clause predicate. In a clause using a verbal
bound root, as in (38b), the subject property is clearly seen in the pronominal proclitic being attached to the verb and being coreferential with the clause subject. However, the fronted topicalized argument may also exhibit properties associated with a subject, and these are what I would describe as anomalies. Consider example (39b) below.

(39a). Bapa n=o'õ ema sega kedi (ø) géré turu='u.
Father 3SG=bring mother arrive and.then enter sleep=3SG
Father took mother home and then (he) went to sleep.
*Father took mother home and then (she) went to sleep.

(39b). Ema bapa n=o'õ=ro sega kedi (ø) géré turu='u.
Mother father 3SG=bring=3SG arrive and.then enter sleep=3SG
Mother, father took her home and then she went to sleep.
*Mother, father took her home and then he went to sleep.

Example (39a) is a subject-prominent construction. The argument bapa is the subject and controls the equi-NP deletion in the next clause, thus the second reading is ungrammatical. Example (39b) is a topic-prominent construction, but it is morphosyntactically dubious. On the one hand the pronominal proclitic n= is coreferential with bapa and thus telling us that bapa is the clause subject, but on the other hand, the equi-NP deletion is controlled by the topicalized noun ema. The argument bapa no longer has this control privilege as seen in the ungrammatical rendering of the second translation.

The same situation where a fronted topical argument controls an equi-NP deletion is observed in Palu'e (Donohue 2005). But unlike SL where there is a coreferential pronominal clitic, Palu'e does not have one. Consider a Palu'e example in (40) (Donohue 2005: 72).

(40). Aku ia balu lka ø palu lae nua-n.
1SG 3SG hit and.then return PREP house-3GEN
He hit me, and then I returned to his house.
*He hit me, and then he returned to his house.

Another anomaly noted in the topic construction is the pronominal copy =ro. This form is not only used with a 3rd-person singular object enclitic, but also with a 3rd-person plural, as illustrated in (41).

(41). Guru ra'ë mo'ë mari=ro kaé lé wati?
Teacher 3PL 2SG invite=3SG PERF or IMPERF
Have you invited the teachers, or not yet?

As seen in (41), the fronted argument is guru ra'ë which is in the 3rd-person plural, but the pronominal copy left by this fronted argument is =ro which is the object clitic.
form of a 3rd-person singular. It is possible that ra'é may be used instead of =ro in (41), thus we may have Guru ra'é, mo'é marî ra'é kaë lé wati?, but =ro is more frequently used. In any unmarked clauses, however, replacing other pronouns with the 3rd-person singular object enclitic =ro is definitely ungrammatical. Consider (42a) and (42b), where (42b) is clearly ungrammatical because of the use of =ro to refer to the O argument ana sekola ata aya'ã, which is a 3rd-person plural.

(42a). Go'é herũ Béda wia. →Go'é herũ=ro wia.
   1SG meet Béda yesterday.
   I met Béda yesterday.
(42b). Go'é herũ ana sekolah ata aya'ã →Go'é herũ ra'é /*=ro
   1SG meet kid school person many.
   I met a lot of school children.

Interestingly, all topicalized arguments are primary object arguments in the source clauses. If the source clause is a SVC as in (43a), the object of the V cannot be topicalized as it is ungrammatical. The construction needs to be altered in such a way that the topicalized argument is the object in the structure, as in (43b).

(43a). Bapa éwa lako n-a'ã talé. →*Talé wé, bapa éwa lako na'ã ø.
   Father trap civet 3SG-use rope.
   Father trapped a civet with a rope.
(43b). Bapa n-a'ã talé éwa lako →Talé wé, bapa na'ã ø éwa lako.
   Father 3SG-use rope trap civet.
   Father used a rope to trap a civet,

To conclude this section, I would like to draw attention to two facts related to topic clauses. First, a subject and a topic share some subject properties described in §9.2.1. While the grammatical coding properties may only characterize a subject argument, one of the behavioural-and-control properties is shared by both, thus signaling that there is something in common between a subject and a topic argument. Second, although both topicalization and focus fronting may bring a clausal constituent to a clause initial position, topicalization is distinct, in that it is restricted to primary object arguments and leaves an pronominal copy in the source slot. Yet, the anomaly use of the pronominal copy =ro that a topic argument leaves needs to be reanalysed in a different perspective with a wider range of data.

Considering these facts and adopting Shibatani’s (2006) approach in defining voice systems of a language, as well as relating this SL topic clause phenomenon to Arka’s (2009) conclusion regarding the gradual attrition of the voice system in the
languages of Lesser Sunda Islands, we may need to reconsider the linguistic status of SL topic clauses. This needs intensive research with a wider range of data, yet for now it might be plausible to assume that SL topic clauses are comparable to the passivization in most languages. They are morpho-syntactically topic clauses, but are pragmatically passive. This goes in line with what Arka (2009), Arka & Jeladu (2005), and Arka & Wouk (2014) refer to as ‘passive without passive morphology’ in the languages of Flores.
Concluding Remarks

This is a grammatical description of an endangered language of eastern Indonesia called Lamaholot. Given the paucity of data on the languages of eastern Indonesia, this description contributes significantly to the studies of general linguistics and of Austronesian languages and their typology. To fit into the frame for further studies on this language, on the languages of eastern Indonesia, and on Austronesian languages in general, this grammatical description has been made comprehensive and accessible. The description is based on language specific data analysed under a functional typology approach. The description covers almost all formal domains of the language grammar, starting from phonetics and phonology, through morphology, word structures, classes and categories, to syntax of phrasal structures, and of simple clause and complex clause structures. SVCs which characterize this language are also described, along with grammatical relations and valance-changing operations. This is the first fully-fledged grammar of a previously undescribed dialect of Lamaholot, and therefore contributes substantially to building a better comprehensive dialect comparison within Lamaholot alongside already described dialects including Lamalera (Keraf 1978), Lewolema (Pampus 1999), Lewoingu (Nishiyama & Kellen 2007), and Lewotobi (Nagaya 2011). This also adds to the body of linguistic literature on the languages of eastern Indonesia.

To conclude this description, I am not going to provide a summary of this entire study (see the Abstract instead), but rather to draw attention to a list of some substantial notes that are interesting for further discussion on typology and diachronic analysis on CMP languages. They are put in order following the chapter sequence.

1. Although SL has a relatively simple phonological system compared to other AN languages on Flores island, two phenomena are worth paying attention to. First, there are 6 basic vowel qualities, where every oral vowel has a corresponding nasal vowel, thus making 12 vowel contrasts in total. These nasal vowels display a peculiarity that is not considered typical of Malayo-Polynesian languages. They occur only in a final open syllable word, as a product of a diachronic process of
regressive assimilation, reflected in VN > ŹN > Ź. Second, these nasal vowels play a crucial role in the morpho-phonological operation of the language, including raising and nasal substitution to denote various grammar contexts, such as inalienable possession and attributive modifier.

2. The morphological system is rather laborious in terms of morpheme identification, because some identical forms may denote several different morphemes. Some derivational processes can also go through a series of steps in order to achieve the intended form for a particular function. Among the SL bound morphemes, the most influential ones are the pronominal clitics attached to clause predicates to signal S or A arguments. Particularly crucial clitics are the pronominal enclitics attached to intransitive clause predicates. These enclitics encode various grammatical and pragmatic meanings, ranging from signaling an S argument, simple de-transitivization to pragmatically marking voice. This constitutes findings presented in this thesis for the first time in the grammatical description of Lamaholot.

3. The discussion of the SL lexical categories reveals:
   a. SL has three major word classes - nouns, verbs, adjectives – which all share some properties, thus giving rise to different analyses in some previous studies. This is why Keraf (1978) did not discuss adjectives in his study, and Nagaya (2011) used the terms ‘adjectival verb’ and ‘adjectival noun’ instead of ‘adjective’. I have argued here that there is such a word class cross-linguistically known as adjective in SL, characterized by the ability to (i) undergo reduplication to express manner adverbs by utilizing the prepositional verb root +a'ã in a SVC, and (ii) undergo full-reduplication to denote an intensifying context, and (iii) express comparison, in addition to inherently expressing an adjectival context describing the property of a noun.

   b. The spatial deictics in SL are particularly interesting. They are used to express three different coordinate systems: a fixed direction in geographic space (eastward-westward), rotatable directions (landward-seaward) and locational nouns on the inherent parts of an object (front-back, inside-outside). These systems indicate respectively an absolute, a relative and an intrinsic frame of
spatial reference. The fixed and rotatable directions form SL speakers’ knowledge of the spatial cognitive system, yet this may differ from one speaker to the other depending on the background knowledge on the national or international geography and on the regional terrain.

4. Syntactic analyses of simple clauses reveal some interesting phenomena. First, while phrasal structures are left-headed, and the majority of possessive nominal phrases take N-Gen order, those with inalienable possessive forms follow Gen-N pattern, see e.g. Himmelmann (2005) and Musgrave (2007), - the pattern emblematic for Papuan languages. With this fact in mind, we might need to pay serious attention to Klamer’s (2012b) proposal postulating that there was contact in the distant past between Papuan languages and Lamaholot, and this might be a linguistic remnant of that contact. Second, there are four patterns of VlCl in SL, one of which has a locative relation. Although Dixon (2010b) predicted that a VCC with a locative relationship is unlikely to be found in VlCls, SL proves otherwise, but this is common to CMP languages – see e.g. Arka, et al. (2007) and Klamer (2010). Third, the constructions that I call intransitive clauses have predicate elements of various lexical categories including verbs, nominals, adjectives and deictic words. Interestingly, only verbal predicates may optionally be attached with the pronominal enclitics, but for others, the enclitics are mandatory. Intensive analysis with a wider range of data is required to scrutinize the syntactic and pragmatic uses of the enclitic forms. Comparative constructions are the other interesting phenomena that need attention because those in SL display peculiar patterns. In SL comparisons, not only adjectives that are compared, but also deictic words coupled with directional verbs are also put into comparison.

5. In the discussion of complex clause, particular attention is drawn to relative and complement clauses. Relative clauses are post-nominal. They follow modified – modifier pattern, and are embedded within the NP whose head is being described by the relative clause. In most cases, relative clauses in SL are not marked, but indicated by position and intonation. In SL, almost all NPs in the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977) are relativizable, except the object of comparison. Complement clauses occur in a clause final position and involve
complement-taking verbs such as human mental process and activity verbs, utterance verbs, and affect verbs. Other complement taking verbs express complementation in the form of SVCs.

6. SVCs in SL have an asymmetrical serial construction, in which a verb of a relatively large group or unrestricted class is combined with another from a semantically or grammatically restricted type. In most SVCs, the large or unrestricted group occurs as V₁ and the restricted group as V₂. Both verbs in most cases share a subject argument, but each verb possibly with its own additional argument. Three types of SVC are identified in SL: (i) those that are used to express oblique relations, which in non-serializing languages like English, are expressed with prepositions, (ii) those that express secondary verbal concepts, such as modals and aspectual modifiers in English, (iii) those that express causatives.

7. Discussion of SL GRs and valence change phenomena has highlighted the most prominent areas relating to controversy as to whether or not languages on Flores island have a passive voice. Some substantial notes on the discussion are restated below.

a. The most interesting grammatical relation is the object of a SVC used to express a secondary concept ‘be able to’. The construction seems to have moved a complement clause to the clause initial position, and leaves an pronominal copy =ro in the object position. This structure is very much similar to a topic clause, yet the difference is that it is a permanent structure, and putting back the complement clause to the position where it leaves its pronominal copy is not possible, as it causes ungrammaticality.

b. Topic and subject are distinctly viewed in SL. On the one hand, grammatically prominent arguments, usually S or A, are placed pre-verbally, and these arguments are identified as Subjects. On the other hand, pragmatically prominent arguments, usually core arguments other than S/A, are moved from their original slot, and placed at a clause initial position, resulting in two independent arguments juxtaposed pre-verbally. Yet, the moved arguments may leave an pronominal copy, telling us their real syntactic status in the
clause. These arguments are topics. To some studies, the later constructions are considered passive – see e.g. Donohue (2005) -, or atypical passive – see e.g. Arka & Wouk (2014) - in the languages of Flores. However, if we compare this topical structure with that of the SVC expressing the secondary concept ‘be able to’ restated in (a) above, we would not be in agreement that this is a passive voice in SL, as far as morpho-syntactic properties of passive constructions are concerned.

c. SL has some constructions related to voice concepts and valence change operations. These constructions need further intensive investigation to see how they can contribute to the discussion on voice and grammatical relations of CMP languages in particular, and of Austronesian languages in general. From the perspective of this thesis, the term ‘passive without passive morphology’ (Arka 2009, Arka & Jeladu 2005, Arka & Wouk 2014) might be a plausible concept used to describe the passive voice in SL. There are structures, referred to as inverse, which are morpho-syntactically not passive, but are semantically passive thus can only be rendered as being passive. Yet, there are also constructions that are syntactically not passive but are pragmatically equivalent to passive. Could these constructions be passive voice without passive morphology in SL?

To end this description, I would like to draw attention to a wider perspective by relating Lamaholot with the languages to the west and those to the east. Having typological characteristics similar to these languages, Lamaholot could be considered a transitional language where languages mix, and probably language transfer, could have taken place.

When comparing with the western counterparts, Lamaholot still displays some features typical of western Austronesian languages. These include phrasal constituent order following a modified-modifier pattern, using absolute spatial deictics east and west, and a rigid word order SV(O). However, Lamaholot differs dramatically in terms of lexicon, even within those reconstructed lexical items for proto-Austronesian (Klamer 2015).

When comparing SL with languages to the east, Lamaholot has some features typical of Papuan languages – see also Klamer (2012b, 2015) - and even with those of
the most easterly descendants of Austronesian, the Oceanic languages - see also Nagaya (2011). These similar features include serializing verbs, Gen-N pattern of nominal phrases with inalienable possession, and the phrase structure similarity between those with inalienable possessions and those with attributive words.

Last but not least, I would like to encourage more investigation on other dialects of Lamaholot. For example, the dialect spoken on Adonara Island, known as Nusatadon dialect, is particularly interesting because it has the fullest array of object enclitic forms. This dialect uses in mundane activities some lexical items that in other dialects are only used for traditional ceremonies and performances. Another interesting dialect is the one spoken on Lembata Island, known as Lewuka dialect (see Map 1.2). This dialect still retains much of the vocabulary similar to those reconstructed for Proto-Malayo Polynesian in Blust & Trussel (2010). Future research ought to analyse these dialects using this thesis as a point of comparison.
Appendices

Due to a maximum word count limitation, examples provided in the description of this thesis are limited. Appendix 1 through 3 provides more examples to the description in the body of this thesis. Appendix 1 presents more examples for Chapter 3 (Phonetics and Phonology), Appendix 2 for Chapter 4 (Morphology) and Appendix 3 for Chapter 5 (Lexical Categories).

Appendix 4 presents a brief description about the corpus that is used for this study. It is followed by presenting example of three texts in SL. The texts are presented in the following fashion:

1). The first line is SL text. The text is given in a morphemic break analysis. Ordinary morpheme breaks are marked with a hyphen (-) and clitic morphemes with an equal (=).

2). The second line is the gloss of the morphemes in English. Lexical glosses are written in lower cases whereas grammatical glosses are written in all capital cases.

3). A free translation in English is in italics. To present a comprehensive equivalent, several lines of SL text are translated into a small paragraph of English sentences.

Appendix 5 presents a mini diglot dictionary of SL – English. This dictionary is generated from the lexical items stored in the Toolbox database. This database forms a lexical corpus for this study. However, it requires further development, as there are still many more SL lexical items that have not been entered into the database, including some used in this thesis. Most paradigms of bound roots, both nominal and verbal, are listed in the dictionary, but a few are not. Abbreviations used in this mini dictionary are listed in the ‘List of Abbreviations’ page. Entries beginning with a plus sign (+) are bound roots. They are meaningless on their own, unless they are attached with pronominal proclitics, as shown in the paradigms of the respective entry.
Appendix 1

This appendix provides more examples to Chapter 3 (Phonetics and phonology).

1.1. List for more consonant minimal pairs

/b/ ~ /p/:  bata ['ba:tʰa] ‘unearth’ ~ pata ['pa:ta] ‘try’
          laba ['la:bə] ‘chisel’ ~ lapa ['la:pə] ‘block’
          habä ['ha:bə] ‘accompany’ ~ hapä ['ha:pə] ‘equip’
          leba ['la:ba] ‘release’ ~ lepa ['la:pə] ‘slap’

/d/ ~ /t/:  darã ['darã] ‘sunny’ ~ tarã ['ta:ɾã] ‘horn’
          danĩ ['danĩ] ‘make sound’ ~ tanĩ ['ta:ɾɛ] ‘cry’
          dolo ['dolo] ‘caress’ ~ toler ['to:ɾɛ] ‘fall (a pile)’
          gedã ['ɡədã] ‘drum’ ~ getã ['ɡə:ta] ‘even’
          adã ['ˀadã] ‘plant’ ~ atã ['ˀa:ɾɛ] ‘owner, people’

/g/ ~ /k/:  golë ['ɡo:ˈlə] ‘around’ ~ kolë ['ko:ˈlɛ] ‘stem’
          tage ['tæɡɛ] ‘attach’ ~ take ['ta:ˈkɛ] ‘to roof’
          hagu ['hagə] ‘collect’ ~ hakə ['hakə] ‘mix’
          héké ['hɛkɛ] ‘put in row’

/m/ ~ /ŋ/:  peme ['pəme] ‘squeeze’ ~ penge ['pəŋə] ‘tie (verb)’
          leme ['ləme] ‘sink’ ~ lenge ['ləŋə] ‘see, look at’

This symbol φ is used to represent the zero presence of a glottal stop in these minimal pair contrasts.
1.2. List for more vowel minimal pairs

/i/ ~ /ɛ/: kai [ˈkai] ‘I leave’ ~ kaɛ [ˈkaɛ] ‘already’
	
tibā [ˈtibã] ‘balance, weigh’ ~ tēbā [ˈtəbã] ‘sardine’
		lalī [ˈlaːli] ‘downward’ ~ lalɛ [ˈlaːlɛ] ‘hang down loosely’
/i/ ~ /ɑ/: ilē [ˈɪle] ‘mountain’ ~ elē [ˈəle] ‘debt’
		piṯē [ˈpiŋə] ‘overlap’ ~ petē [ˈpəŋə] ‘build (storm)’
	
gika [ˈgika] ‘spilt (bamboo)’ ~ geka [ˈgəka] ‘chop randomly’
/i/ ~ /a/: ina [ˈina] ‘mother’ ~ ana [ˈana] ‘child, kid’
		baˈi [ˈbaʔi] ‘rotten’ ~ baˈa [ˈbaʔa] ‘swell’
	
tali [ˈtali] ‘add’ ~ Tala [ˈtaːla] ‘Tala (place)’
/i/ ~ /o/: bika [ˈbika] ‘break’ ~ boka [ˈboka] ‘corn seed container’
	
gilo [ˈgilɔ] ‘sour’ ~ golo [ˈgolo] ‘roll’
	
baki [ˈbaki] ‘wild banana’ ~ bako [ˈbako] ‘detach’
/i/ ~ /u/: ikā [ˈikə] ‘fish’ ~ ukā [ˈuːkə] ‘wound’
		pai [ˈpai] ‘come here’ ~ pau [ˈpau] ‘chop randomly’
		miā [ˈmiə] ‘later’ ~ muā [ˈmuə] ‘once’
/e/ ~ /ə/: ēkā [ˈekə] ‘universe’ ~ ekā [ˈɛkə] ‘napkin’
		epē [ˈepe] ‘bend to hide’ ~ epe [ˈepe] ‘catch chicken’
	
gēkā [ˈgəkə] ‘laugh’ ~ geka [ˈgəka] ‘chop repeatedly’
/e/ ~ /æ/: alē [ˈaːle] ‘clothes’ ~ ala [ˈaːla] ‘fishing net’
	
béro [ˈbɛro] ‘canoe’ ~ baro [ˈbəro] ‘apply medicine to a wound’
	
tanē [ˈtənə] ‘weave’ ~ tana [ˈtənana] ‘soil’
/e/ ~ /e/: élē [ˈɛle] ‘outrigger’ ~ olē [ˈolə] ‘current’
	
paē [ˈpəe] ‘underlayer’ ~ pao [ˈpəo] ‘mango’

lema [laˈma] ‘insert’ ~ lenga [laˈŋa] ‘fall’

teme [təˈma] ‘soak’ ~ tenge [təˈŋə] ‘sting’

peme [poˈmo] ‘squeeze’ ~ penge [poˈŋə] ‘tie around’

/ə̃/ ~ /ŋ/:

dena [laˈna] ‘put down’ ~ lena [laˈŋa] ‘fall’

manã [mana] ‘swordfish’ ~ manga [mana] ‘open mouth’

buna [ˈbuna] ‘yank out’ ~ Bunga [ˈBuŋa] ‘a person name’

wana [ˈwana] ‘white ant’ ~ wanga [ˈwaŋa] ‘flood’

gene [goˈnə] ‘insert forcefully’ ~ genge [goˈŋə] ‘bite’

liã [ˈliːŋə] ‘cave’ ~ riã [ˈriːŋə] ‘small village’

bélo [ˈbeːlə] ‘kill, cut down’ ~ béro [ˈbɛro] ‘canoe’

golo [ˈgolo] ‘roll’ ~ goro [ˈgoro] ‘bump’

balo [ˈbalo] ‘swing, turn’ ~ baro [ˈbəro] ‘apply to a wound’

lewã [laˈwã] ‘sleep soundly’ ~ rewã [ɾəˈwã] ‘they harvest’

bawã [ˈbawã] ‘fall down’ ~ bayã [ˈbaya] ‘deal’

bawo [ˈbawo] ‘yellow tail fish’ ~ bayo [ˈbayo] ‘pound’

_bayo_
bело ['bɛlo] ‘cut down, kill’ ~ bolo ['bolo] ‘cake’

/pə/ ~ /u/: pê'u ['pɛʔu] ‘squeeze’ ~ pu'u ['puʔu] ‘wash’

béra ['bɛra] ‘hurry’ ~ bura ['bura] ‘boil’

také ['takɛ] ‘no’ ~ taku ['taku] ‘feed’

/a/ ~ /a/: ema ['ˀama] ‘mother’ ~ ama ['ˀama] ‘father’

pace ['paka] ‘chop trunk tree’ ~ paka ['paka] ‘split a fruit into two’

lege [lɔ'ga] ‘press’ ~ lega [lɔ'ga] ‘split (e.g. log)’

/a/ ~ /ɔ/: bela [bo'la] ‘break (round object)’ ~ bola [bolo] ‘break (long object)’

tape ['təpə] ‘cover, stick’ ~ tapo ['təpo] ‘coconut’

beke [bo'ka] ‘sulk’ ~ boke ['boks] ‘join’

/a/ ~ /u/: etã ['ˀə̃] ‘land for farming’ ~ utã ['ˀutã] ‘bean’

epe ['ˀə̃pə] ‘catch chicken’ ~ epu ['ˀə̃pu] ‘combine, mix’

heke [hə'ka] ‘halt, stop’ ~ heku [hə'ku] ‘collide, bump’

/a/ ~ /ɔ/: alo ['ˀalo] ‘pounder’ ~ olo ['ˀolo] ‘abacus’

ela ['ˀə̃lə] ‘front yard’ ~ elo ['ˀə̃lo] ‘schedule (verb)’

bala ['ˀala] ‘ivory’ ~ bola ['bola] ‘break (long object)’

/a/ ~ /ã/: atã ['ˀatã] ‘owner’ ~ utã ['ˀutã] ‘bean’

bara [bə'ra] ‘spread’ ~ bara [bora] ‘boil’

tuta [tə'uta] ‘metal plate’ ~ tutu [tə'utu] ‘tell’

/a/ ~ /u/: ola ['ˀo'la] ‘work in farm’ ~ ula ['ˀula] ‘snake’

wolo ['wolo] ‘hill’ ~ wulo [wulo] ‘a kind of bamboo’

kobo [kə'bo] ‘maize weevil’ ~ kobo [kobo] ‘crocodile’

/ũ/ ~ /ẽ/: ekĩ [ˀə̃kĩ] ‘fill in’ ~ ekẽ [ˀe'kẽ] ‘Ekẽ’ (name)

pe̩ĩ [ˀə̃pe̩ĩ] ‘spy’ ~ pe̩ẽ [ˀe'pe̩ẽ] ‘that one (stressed)’

maĨ [ˀə̃mĨ] ‘taste’ ~ maĨ [ˀmaĨ] ‘delicious’

/ũ/ ~ /ã/: ekĩ [ˀə̃kĩ] ‘fill in’ ~ ekẽ [ˀə̃kẽ] ‘bush’

gelĩ [gə'lĩ] ‘dig’ ~ gelẽ [gə'lẽ] ‘sink, drown’

berĩ [bo'ɾĩ] ‘hit, beat’ ~ berẽ [bo'ɾẽ] ‘cramp’

/ũ/ ~ /ã/: tarĩ [ˀtɑ̌rĩ] ‘collect repeatedly’ ~ tarã [ˀtârã] ‘horn’

tahĩ [ˀtahĩ] ‘prune’ ~ tahã [ˀtahã] ‘rice paddy’

gahĩ [ˀgahĩ] ‘plan, forecast’ ~ gahã [ˀgahã] ‘tie to be a bundle’

/ũ/ ~ /õ/: orĩ [ˀo'ɾĩ] ‘hut’ ~ orõ [ˀo'ɾõ] ‘a traditional dance’

pawĩ [ˀpawĩ] ‘dry under the sun’ ~ pawõ [ˀpawõ] ‘spread salt’

paĨ [ˀpãĨ] ‘a card game’ ~ paĨ [ˀpaĨ] ‘slow’

/ũ/ ~ /õ/: galĩ [ˀgalĩ] ‘dig’ ~ galõ [ˀgalõ] ‘roll’

tahi [ˀtahi] ‘its feces’ ~ taĨ [ˀtaĨ] ‘delouse’

gali [ˀgãlĩ] ‘dig’ ~ galã [ˀgãlã] ‘roll’ ‘scroll’

/ẽ/ ~ /õ/: gerẽ [ˀgẽrẽ] ‘cut a bamboo’ ~ gerẽ [ˀgẽrẽ] ‘empty handed’

temẽ [tã'mẽ] ‘tame’ ~ temẽ [tã'mẽ] ‘sink, soak’

Ekẽ [ˀe'kẽ] ‘name (person)’ ~ ekẽ [ˀe'kẽ] ‘grass’

/ẽ/ ~ /õ/: lakẽ [ˀlakẽ] ‘husband’ ~ lakã [ˀlakã] ‘disallow, prohibit’

gerẽ [ˀgẽrẽ] ‘cut a bamboo’ ~ gerẽ [ˀgẽrẽ] ‘paw’

pe̩ẽ [ˀpe̩ẽ] ‘hold’ ~ Peẽ [ˀpeẽ] ‘name (person)’

/ẽ/ ~ /õ/: dorẽ [ˀdorẽ] ‘pull upward’ ~ dorẽ [ˀdorẽ] ‘push’
warē [warē] ‘swing a machete’ ~ warō [warō] ‘small restaurant’
lołē [lołē] ‘hang loosely’ ~ lołō [lołō] ‘leaf, on (PREP)’
ɓulę [ɓulę] ‘bundle corn’ ~ ɓulũ [ɓulũ] ‘mark possession’
tulę [tulę] ‘spin’ ~ tulũ [tulũ] ‘help, assist’
wulę [wulę] ‘bundle’ ~ wulũ [wulũ] ‘vegetable’
غاز [gawã] ‘control a canoe’ ~ گغاز [gawã] ‘store (verb)’
lăng [lanũ] ‘walk slowly’ ~ langu [lawũ] ‘tiptoe’
elë [əlĩ] ‘miss (fail to hit)’ ~ elã [əlã] ‘schedule’
ɡɛrɛ [ɡoˈr̥ɛ] ‘empty handed’ ~ lerō [loˈr̥o] ‘day’
lokë [lokã] ‘pour’ ~ lok ô [lok ô] ‘exaggerate’
tię [tię] ‘open (door)’ ~ tiö [tiö] ‘collect debt’
wulũ [wulũ] ‘market’ ~ wulũ [wulũ] ‘vegetable’
gulũ [gulũ] ‘morning’ ~ gulũ [gulũ] ‘roll, scroll’
bara [barã] ‘young tree’ ~ barô [barô] ‘bailer’
tebã [təbã] ‘cut down’ ~ tebô [təbô] ‘throw away’
kola [kolã] ‘his/her/its back’ ~ kolô [kolô] ‘bird’
Dawa [ˈdawã] ‘Dawa (name)’ ~ dawû [ˈdawũ] ‘hold’
duũ [ˈduũ] ‘message’ ~ duũ [ˈduũ] ‘sell’
kurũ [ˈkurũ] ‘shrimp’ ~ kurũ [ˈkurũ] ‘encaga, imprison’
galũ [gaˈlã] ‘water container’ ~ galũ [ˈgalũ] ‘roll’
duũ [ˈduũ] ‘fly away’ ~ duũ [ˈduũ] ‘sell’
loũ [loũ] ‘on, leaf’ ~ loũ [ˈloũ] ‘put food into a cooking pot when cooking’
ˈtali [ˈtali] ‘add’ ~ talĩ [ˈtalĩ] ‘rope of something, lace’
sai [ˈsai] ‘tear a sarong’ ~ saĩ [ˈsaĩ] ‘arrive’
tai [ˈtai] ‘strain’ ~ taĩ [ˈtaĩ] ‘its faeces’
ɡɛrɛ [ˈɡɛrɛ] ‘ascend’ ~ gɛrɛ [ˈɡɛrɛ] ‘hang (curtain)’
peɛ [ˈpeɛ] ‘open widely’ ~ peɛ [ˈpeɛ] ‘that one (stressed)’
ɡɛhɛ [ˈɡɛhɛ] ‘rub’ ~ ɡɛhɛ [ˈɡɛhɛ] ‘cut (with a saw)’
ɡɛrɛ [ˈɡɛrɛ] ‘call chicken’ ~ ɡɛrɛ [ɡoˈr̥ɛ] ‘empty handed’
pere [pəˈrã] ‘tap palm wine’ ~ perẽ [pəˈrã] ‘ripen’
pake [ˈpake] ‘chop a machete to a tree trunk’
ɡawã [ˈɡawã] ‘hug’ ~ ɡawã [ˈɡawã] ‘to store’
tawa [ˈtawã] ‘grow’ ~ tawã [ˈtawã] ‘shoot, sprout’
lawa [ˈlawa] ‘hide something inside a sarong’
Liko [ˈliko] ‘Liko (name)’ ~ likõ [ˈlikõ] ‘protect’
pao [ˈpao] ‘mango’ ~ paõ [ˈpaõ] ‘slow’
hau [ˈhau] ‘come (seaward)’ ~ hau [ˈhau] ‘sew’
turu [ˈturu] ‘sleep’ ~ turũ [ˈturu] ‘aim at’
apû [ˈapû] ‘lime, chalk’ ~ apû [ˈapû] ‘dew’
1.3. Examples for various SL consonant clusters

C\(^1\) = the external segment, C\(^2\) = the internal one.

**C\(^1\)stop + C\(^2\)stop:**

\( /pt/ \)  ptona  ['pto\(l\)a]  ‘sponge gourd (luffa aegyptiaca) ’
ptona  ['pto\(k\)a]  ‘try hard’
\( /pk/ \)  pkedh  ['pka\(d\)a]  ‘striped (color)’
pkedh  ['pku\(d\)al]  ‘being very old’
\( /bd/ \)  bdogcê  ['bdo\(ge\)\(\varepsilon\)]  ‘being tied’
bdogcê  ['bd\(u\)ruk\(\varepsilon\)]  ‘falling down’
\( /bg/ \)  bga  ['b\(ga\)]  ‘eagle’
bgori  ['bgori]  ‘big spider’
\( /kp/ \)  kpuno  ['kpun\(\varepsilon\)]  ‘cobra’
kpuno  ['kp\(v\)oi]  ‘mudskipper’
\( /kb/ \)  kbaku  ['kbaku]  ‘young lontar tree’
kbaku  ['kb\(e\)t\(\varepsilon\)]  ‘jump, leap’
\( /kt/ \)  ktoko  ['ktoko]  ‘humped’
ktoko  ['kt\(u\)ma]  ‘louse’
\( /kd/ \)  kdro  ['k\(d\)oro]  ‘slip’
kdro  ['kd\(o\)to]  ‘big belly, tubby’

**C\(^1\)stop + C\(^2\)fricative:**

\( /ps/ \)  pseke  ['ps\(k\)a]  ‘attemp’
pseke  ['ps\(k\)it]  ‘make small noise’
\( /ph/ \)  pholana  ['pholana]  ‘keep teasing’
pholana  ['ph\(a\)\(b\)ona]  ‘strolling at nights’
\( /ks/ \)  ksui  ['k\(s\)\(u\)j]  ‘thrush’
ksui  ['ks\(e\)ga]  ‘scraping for food’

**C\(^1\)stop + C\(^2\)nasal:**

\( /pn/ \)  pnutok  ['p\(n\)ut\(\varepsilon\)]  ‘complain’
pnutok  ['p\(n\)aw\(\varepsilon\)]  ‘mention one’s name’
\( /tm/ \)  tmaï  ['t\(m\)aj\(\i\)]  ‘dangerous’
tmaï  ['t\(m\)e\(j\)n\(\i\)n\(\varepsilon\)]  ‘day off’
\( /tn/ \)  tnanë  ['t\(n\)ane]  ‘weaving’
tnanë  ['t\(n\)u\(b\)a]  ‘sticky seeds to catch bird’
\( /km/ \)  kmi\(\i\)í  ['k\(m\)i\(\i\)\(\i\)]  ‘stingy’
kmi\(\i\)í  ['k\(m\)e\(k\)o]  ‘scorpion’
\( /kn/ \)  knato  ['kn\(a\)to]  ‘package’
knato  ['kn\(u\)\(b\)e]  ‘short machete’
\( /gm/ \)  gmadi  ['gm\(a\)di]  ‘call repeatedly’
gmadi  ['gm\(i\)da]  ‘try’
\( /gn/ \)  gnato  ['gn\(a\)to]  ‘send’
gnato  ['gn\(i\)ko]  ‘hurry’

**C\(^1\)stop + C\(^2\)lateral:**

\( /pl/ \)  pla\(\epsilon\)  ['pla\(\epsilon\)]  ‘run’
pla\(\epsilon\)  ['ple\(\varepsilon\)w\(\varepsilon\)]  ‘to give a compliment’
/bl/  blara  ['blara] ‘hurt’
      blaha  ['blaha] ‘long’
/kl/  kloba  ['kloba] ‘big octopus’
      kluba  ['kluba] ‘earthenware cooking pot’
/gl/  glora  ['glora] ‘slip away (snake)’
      glere  ['glərə] ‘feel tickling’

\textbf{C\textsuperscript{1}}\textsuperscript{stop} + C\textsuperscript{2}trill:
/pr/  progoˈo  [proˈgoʔo] ‘sneaking for girls at night’
      proda  ['proda] ‘regret’
/br/  bromé  ['brome] ‘side dish’
      brakinē  [braˈkínə] ‘worn’
/tr/  traha  ['traha] ‘hit rigorously’
      trahā  ['trahā] ‘to give birth, deliver a baby (rude)’
/kg/  krētu  ['kretu] ‘small octopus’
      krō  ['krōʔ] ‘twin’
/gr/  groē  ['growə] ‘to hurry’
      gruhuk  ['gruhuk] ‘painful’

\textbf{C\textsuperscript{1}}\textsuperscript{stop} + C\textsuperscript{2}semi vowel:
/kw/  kwaέ  ['kwae] ‘wife’
      kwanga  ['kwæŋa] ‘kind of tree’
/gw/  gwoli  ['gwoli] ‘turn upside down’
      gwihi  ['gwihi] ‘asymmetric’
/by/  byaganẽ  [byaˈgâŋə] ‘guarded’
      byorẽ  ['byoɾə] ‘pretend to agree rudely’

\textbf{C\textsuperscript{1}}fricative + C\textsuperscript{2}nasal:
/sn/  snai  ['snaɪ] ‘woven sarong’
      snuru  ['snuru] ‘spoon made of coconut green coconut fiber’

\textbf{C\textsuperscript{1}}fricative + C\textsuperscript{2}lateral:
/sl/  slia  ['slia] ‘awake with eyes open’
      slagē  ['slagɛ] ‘put one’s leg over another’s body’

\textbf{C\textsuperscript{1}}fricative + C\textsuperscript{2}trill:
/sr/  sroka  ['sroka] ‘enter suddenly’
      sraki  ['sraki] ‘climb up hurriedly’

\textbf{C\textsuperscript{1}nasal} + \textbf{C\textsuperscript{2}nasal:
/mn/  mnange  ['mnaŋə] ‘feel pity’
      mnura  ['mnura] ‘young, green’

\textbf{C\textsuperscript{1}semi vowel} + \textbf{C\textsuperscript{2}lateral:
/wl/  wlélo  ['wlɛlo] ‘idiot’
      wladā  ['wladâ] ‘very high posture’

\textbf{C\textsuperscript{1}semi vowel} + \textbf{C\textsuperscript{2}trill:
/wr/  wreɡaʔã  ['wɾægəʔã] ‘dense bush’
      wroba  ['wɾoba] ‘a kind of fish’
1.4. Examples for various SL vowel sequence

\[/i-ɛ/\] smié ['smi.jɛ] ‘wild, untamed’
liέ ['li.jɛ] ‘flying in sky, airborne’

\[/i-a/\] piά ['pi.ja] ‘here’
kıa ['ki.ja] ‘at once’

\[/i-o/\] sbıo ['sbı.jo] ‘a kind of bird’
krıo ['krı.jo] ‘women’s woven sarong’

\[/i-u/\] tiu ['ti.ju] ‘aunt’s husband’
nıu ['ni.ju] ‘persistent bark’

\[/i-ɛ/\] iě ['ˀi.jɛ] ‘call dog’
tıě ['ti.jɛ] ‘open door slightly’

\[/i-ã/\] miã ['mi.jã] ‘later’
gıa ['gi.ja] ‘loosely woven’

\[/i-õ/\] tiõ ['ti.jõ] ‘to repay debt’
sıõ ['si.jo] ‘kiss’

\[/i-ẽ/\] üi ['ˀi.jũ] ‘sound of deer’
tiu ['ti.ju] ‘uncle’

\[/ɛ-i/\] lěi ['lɛ.ji] ‘times’
pěi ['pɛ.ji] ‘use a flat stone as base’

\[/ɛ-a/\] lěa ['lɛ.ja] ‘to say hello’
pěa ['pɛ.ja] ‘break’

\[/ɛ-o/\] sěo ['se.jo] ‘dry fry’
čo ['cɛ.jo] ‘stir (liquid mix)’

\[/ɛ-u/\] děu ['dɛ.w] ‘suck’
rěu ['rɛ.w] ‘friend, colleague’

\[/ɛ-ĩ/\] něĩ ['nɛ.jĩ] ‘give’
hěĩ ['hɛ.jĩ] ‘get worse (wound).’

\[/ɛ-ã/\] béã ['bɛ.jã] ‘Béã (name)’
leã ['lɛ.jã] ‘disease caused by black magic’

\[/ɛ-õ/\] béõ ['bɛ.jõ] ‘open (door)’
sěõ ['sɛ.jõ] ‘drive flies away’

\[/ɛ-ũ/\] kbéũ ['kbɛ.ũ] ‘idiot’
bréũ ['bɾɛ.ũ] ‘friend, acquaintance’

\[/a-ü/\] pai ['pa.ji] ‘come here’
snai ['sna.ji] ‘man’s woven sarong’

\[/a-ɛ/\] baę ['ba.jɛ] ‘awake’
paę ['pa.jɛ] ‘sit down firmly’

\[/a-õ/\] pao ['pa.o] ‘mango’
mao ['ma.o] ‘pityriasis (a kind of skin rash)’

\[/a-ũ/\] au ['a.w] ‘a kind of bamboo’
pau ['pa.w] ‘chop repeatedly’

\[/a-ţi/\] paţi ['pa.ji] ‘a card game’
baţi ['ba.ji] ‘listen, hear’

\[/a-ɛ/\] maę ['ma.ɛ] ‘delicious’
læ ['la.ɛ] ‘healed (wound)’
/a-ɔ/ aõ [ʔa.ɔ] ‘lullaby’
  paõ [ʔa.ɔ] ‘slow, slowly’
/a-ʊ/ haû [hɑ.ʊ] ‘sew’
  taû [tɑ.ʊ] ‘louse (verb)’
/o-i/ òi [tɔ.ji] ‘examine’
  kpoi [kpo.ji] ‘mudskipper’
/o-ɛ/ hoɛ [ho.ɛ] ‘get stuck’
  boɛ [bo.ɛ] ‘peeled off (skin)’
/o-a/ oа [ʔo.wa] ‘mistress’
  hoа [ho.wa] ‘take off’
/o-u/ bou [bo.w] ‘flatulent’
  lou [lo.w] ‘rinse’
/o-ʊ/ hoʊ [ho.ji] ‘claim to be one’s’
  toʊ [tɔ.ji] ‘visit’
/o-ɛ/ toɛ [tɔ.wɛ] ‘swinging’
  goɛ [go.wɛ] ‘circle (verb)’
/o-ɑ/ oɑ [ʔo.wɑ] ‘call pig’
  doɑ [do.wɑ] ‘far, distance’
/o-ʊ/ loʊ [lo.wʊ] ‘straight (hair)’
  boʊ [bo.wʊ] ‘turtledove’
/u-i/ sui [su.yi] ‘gouge out’
  tuи [tui.ji] ‘hurt under foot steep’
/u-e/ uɛ [ʔu.wɛ] ‘batata (an edible tuber)’
  huɛ [hu.wɛ] ‘wash (plate)’
/u-e/ guе [gu.wə] ‘dig soil with toe’
  tue [tu.wə] ‘painfully hurt’
/u-a/ ua [ʔu.wa] ‘betel nut’
  hua [hu.wa] ‘tuna’
/u-o/ tuo [tu.wo] ‘blame’
  nuо [nu.wo] ‘grave’
/u-ĩ/ puĩ [pu.ji] ‘tie up’
  uĩ [ʔu.ji] ‘a tied bundle’
/u-ɛ/ tuɛ [tu.wɛ] ‘turn around’
  buɛ [bu.wɛ] ‘surrounded by insects such as bees and flies’
/u-ɛ/ duɛ [du.wɔ] ‘set fire’
  mnuɛ [mnu.wə] ‘big fire wood’
/u-ɑ/ uа [ʔu.wɑ] ‘fruit’
  muа [mu.wɑ] ‘once’
/u-ɔ/ дuо [du.wɔ] ‘crawl underneath something’
  tuо [tu.wɔ] ‘blame’
Appendix 2

This appendix provides more examples to Chapter 4 (Morphology)

2.1. More examples with the nominalizer prefix be-

a. Indicating instrument:
   letu ‘to cover’ ➔ beletu ‘hat, cap, lid’
   lone ‘to rest one’s head on something’ ➔ beloné ‘pillow’
   lidû ‘to put a crossbar’ ➔ belidû ‘door crossbar’
   roho ‘to push something vigorously’ ➔ beroho ‘stick used to push something’
   lo ‘to let down with a rope’ ➔ belo ‘a set of rope and basket used to pick up fruits such as mango’

b. Indicating actor/doer:
   lokã ‘to exaggerate’ ➔ belokã ‘person who exaggerates’
   latu ‘to seduce’ ➔ belatu ‘person who seduces’
   adok ‘to pit’ ➔ beadok ‘person who pits’
   upe ‘to snatch’ ➔ beupe ‘person or animals that snatches’

c. Indicating result:
   laba ‘to chisel’ ➔ belaba ‘hole as a result of chiseling’
   loma ‘to cook with bamboo as a container’ ➔ beloma ‘something cooked with bamboo as a container’
   leli ‘to slice lontar leaves into a desired size’ ➔ beleli ‘sliced lontar leaves ready to be plaited’

d. Indicating associative nouns:
   lébo ‘to flood’ ➔ belébo ‘flooding’
   léro ‘to shake’ ➔ beléro ‘earthquake’

2.2. More examples with the nominalizer prefix keN-

a. Indicating instrument:
   golo ‘to roll an object such as wheel’ ➔ kenolo ‘wheel’
   gola ‘to put a long object over something to prevent it from moving away’ ➔ kenola ‘stick used to supress’
   pahã ‘to erect’ ➔ kemahã ‘post’
   gaha ‘to shed corn kernels’ ➔ kenaha ‘a mortar-like instrument used to shed corn kernels’

b. Indicating doer or actor:
   gepa ‘to shout’ ➔ kenepa ‘person who shouts’
   golē ‘to surround’ ➔ kenolē ‘person or animals surrounding something’
c. Indicating result or product:
   gebi ‘to construct wall’ > kenebi ‘wall’
   géka ‘to laugh’ > kenéka ‘laughter’
   polo ‘to roll something’ > kemolo ‘the result of rolling’
   gaha ‘to narrate something in a cry to a dead person’ > kenaha ‘narration in a cry to a dead person’

d. Indicating association:
   genã ‘to inherit’ > kenenã ‘legacy’
   gire ‘to draw’ > kenire ‘motif or pattern’
   pete ‘to chop down’ > kemete ‘base on which something is chopped’

2.3. More examples with the nominalizer infix <en>

a. Indicating instrument:
   sekú ‘to pump’ > senekú ‘a toy gun operated by pumping’
   séyo ‘to wave’ > senéyo ‘thing, such as cloth, used to wave’
   tahé ‘to erase’ > tenahé ‘erraser’
   toho ‘to rub’ > tenoho ‘napkin, rubber’
   saké ‘to poke’ > senaké ‘a long rod used to poke’

b. Indicating actor/doer:
   sélé ‘to dance’ > senélé ‘dancer’
   tupa ‘to do wrongdoing’ > tenupa ‘man who makes a girl pregnant before marriage’

c. Indicating result:
   tané ‘to weave’ > tenané ‘clothes resulted from weaving’
   tewo ‘to pay for a sin’ > tenewo ‘object used in paying for sins’

d. Indicating associative nouns:
   sai ‘to tear a cloth or fabric’ > senai ‘woven sarong for men’
   tepa ‘to slap’ > senepa ‘a slap’
   sépa ‘to kick’ > senépa ‘a kick’
   tawa ‘to grow’ > tenawa ‘sprout’

2.4. More examples for nasal substitution

a. /t/, /d/, /h/ → /n/
   tena ‘to send message (usually oral)’ > nena ‘message’
   turê ‘to dream’ > nurê ‘dream’
   tuba ‘to plant’ > nuba ‘pointed stick used to plant’
   depa ‘to stretch one’s arms out’ > nepa ‘measurement unit in fathoms’
   dayã ‘to cure headache with leaves’ > nayã ‘leaves used to cure headache’
   hêto ‘to push aside’ > nêto ‘one who pushes something aside’
   hupê ‘to pick up someone’ > nupê ‘person who goes to pick up someone else’
   hamã ‘name of traditional dance’ > namã ‘specific place for this performance’
b. /b/, /p/ → /m/
   buhu ‘to provide clothes to a corpse’  >  muhu ‘dead person’s clothes’
   boho ‘to rub a surface to clean’   >  moho ‘napkin’
   paka ‘to slice into two’   >  maka ‘slice’
   piku ‘to squish’   >  miku ‘squisher’ (tool used in tapping lontar juice)
   polo ‘to roll’   >  molo ‘things resulted from polo’
   botĩ ‘to pile up’   >  motĩ ‘pile’
   po‘o ‘to cut’   >  mo‘o ‘pieces; cuts’
   pahã ‘to erect’   >  mahã ‘post’

   b. /g/ → /k/
   gola ‘to lay down one’s back on st’   >  kola ‘one’s back’
   golo ‘to wrap something with a lontar leaf’   >  kolo ‘lontar leaf wrapper’
   gora ‘to remove coconut fiber’   >  kora ‘coconut shell’

2.5. More examples with the detransitivizer prefix pe-

   rogo ‘to meet a girl secretly at night’   >  perogo ‘to engage in meeting a girl secretly at night’
   pawõ ‘to mention someone’s name’   >  penawõ ‘to involve in mentioning somebody’s name’
   tumã ‘to abuse someone verbally’   >  petuma ‘to engage in verbal abuse to someone’
   seko ‘to have sexual intercourse with someone’   >  peseko ‘to engage in a sexual affair’
   tutu ‘to tell something to someone’   >  petutu ‘to speak’
   denã ‘to prepare meal’   >  pedenã ‘to engage in a cooking event’
   nagã ‘to grope something’   >  penagã ‘to engage in groping of something’
   habõ ‘to pray for something superstitiously’   >  pehabõ ‘to engage in a superstitious pray’
   biho ‘to cook something’   >  pemihõ ‘to involve in cooking’
   têrê ‘to hold hands with the palm facing up to beg for something’   >  penêrê ‘to involve in begging for something’
   aka ‘to trick, lie to somebody’   >  peaka ‘to involve in tricking someone’
   opê ‘to lie to somebody’   >  pe’ope ‘to involve in a fraud’
   koda ‘to scold someone’   >  pekoda ‘to speak’
   holã ‘to tease somebody’   >  peholã ‘to involve in teasing someone’

2.6. More examples for compounds

2.6.1. Endocentric compounds

a. Noun + noun
   metĩ ‘tide’ + wéwék=ẽ ‘edge=3SGPOSS’   >  metĩ wewekẽ ‘shoreline’
   riã ‘village’ + le(i)=ĩ ‘leg=3SGPOSS’   >  riã leĩ ‘the seawards-side of a village’
mâ ‘farm’ + wer(a)=ā ‘upper.edge=3SGPOSS’ > mâ werā ‘mountainward-edge of a farm’

kenawé ‘door’ + mat(a)=ā ‘eye=3SGPOSS’ > kenawé matā ‘entrance’
ilé ‘mountain’ + mat(a)=ā ‘eye=3SGPOSS’ > îl matā ‘mountain top’
lera ‘sun’ + mat(a)=ā ‘eye=3SGPOSS’ > lera mata ‘directly expose to sunshine’
wanga ‘flood’ + larā=nē ‘way=3SGPOSS’ > wanga laranē ‘cannal, gutter’
au ‘bamboo’ + lim(a)=ã ‘arm=3SGPOSS’ > au limā ‘bamboo branches’
tapo ‘coconut’ + mat(a)=ā ‘eye=3SGPOSS’ > tapo mata ‘soft pores on the coconut shell’
larā ‘street’ + mat(a)=ā ‘eye=3SGPOSS’ > larā mata ‘facing straight towards a street’

b. Noun + adjective

one =’è ‘heart=3SGPOSS + bréa ‘like, fond of’ > one’è bréa ‘happy, excited’
ekā ‘universe’ + mitē ‘black’ > ekā mitē ‘dark, night’
ekā ‘universe’ + nē’è ‘bright, light’ > ekā nē’è ‘day light’
lim(a)=ă ‘hand=3SGPOSS’ + kenate’ẽ ‘itchy’ > limā kenate’ẽ ‘naughty’
le(i)=ĩ ‘leg=3SGPOSS’ + kélé ‘slender’ > leĩ kélé ‘fond of travelling’
rema ‘night’ + doā ‘far’ > rema doā ‘late/mid night’
ekā ‘universe’ + blina ‘transparent’ > ekā blina ‘calm (sea)’
ana ‘child’ + kré’ē ‘small’ > ana kré’ē ‘children’
kote=’ẽ ‘head=3SGPOSS + kenepõ ‘extinct’ > kote’ẽ kenepõ ‘no generation’

2.6.2. Exocentric compounds

a. Noun + adjective

bala ‘ivory’ + wélĩ ‘expensive’ > Balawélĩ (a village name).
wulu (wulo) ‘bamboo’ + blolo’ô ‘high’ > Wulublolo’ô (a village name)
wato ‘stone’ + béle’ẽ ‘big’ > Watobéle’ẽ (a place name)

b. Noun + noun

bewalẽ ‘thrower’ + pao ‘mango’ > Bewalēpao ‘flying snake’
kenéré ‘ladder’ + wolo ‘hill’ > Kenéréwolo (a village name)
ai ‘beach’ + mat(a)=ā ‘eye=3SGPOSS’ > aimatā ‘main beach’
c. Noun + verb

nusa ‘small island’ + danĩ ‘to produce sound’ > Nusadani (a village name)
lewó ‘village’ + gěka ‘laugh’ > lewo gěka (a village name)
tana ‘land’ + bawa ‘fall down’ > tana bawa (a place name)

d. Verb + noun

dani ‘to produce sound’ + wato ‘stone’ > Daniwato (a village name)
leba ‘detach’ + lekã ‘arrow’ > Leba lekã (a mountain name)
demu ‘taste’ + ué ‘tuber’ > demu ué (an annual traditional ritual of a clan to celebrate new crop harvest)

e. Verb + verb

bélo ‘kill’ + gili ‘tickle’ > Belogili (a village name)
tula ‘create; make’ + tika ‘slice into two halves’ > Tulatika (a place name)

2.6.3. Copulative compounds

a. Noun + noun

lango ‘house’ + uma ‘hut’ > lango uma ‘home’
wuku ‘shoot’ + wulũ ‘vegetable’ > wuku wulũ ‘various vegetables’
pìri ‘plate, dish’ + lama ‘utensil’ > pìri lama ‘eating/cooking utensils’
larã ‘road’ + ékã ‘universe’ > larã ékã ‘environment’
ikã ‘any fish’ + krétu ‘small octopus’ > ikã krétu ‘sea food’
tapo ‘coconut’ + kabo ‘green coconut’ > tapo kabo ‘coconut trees one possesses’
wata ‘corn’ + tahã ‘rice’ > wata tahã ‘all entire crop in a farm’
nura ‘land’ + néwa ‘inherited land’ > nura néwa ‘pieces of land one inherited’
n’a’a ‘brother’ + ama ‘father’ > n’a’a ama ‘all male relatives’
witi ‘goat’ + wawé ‘pig’ > witi wawé ‘entire livestock’
opu ‘brother-in-law’ + lake ‘husband’ > opu lake ‘wife-taker clans’
kebelaki ‘man’ + keberewaĩ ‘woman’ > all villagers

wai ‘water’ + kayo ‘firewood’ > wai kayo ‘things needed for cooking’
tana ‘land’ + ékã ‘universe’ > tana ékã ‘the earth’
witi ‘goat’ + bala ‘ivory’ > witi bala ‘dowry’

b. Verb + verb

kawē ‘wed’ + gaté ‘propose’ > kawē gaté ‘continuous party of a wedding’
sroka ‘climb up’ + sraki ‘climb up’ > sroka sraki ‘keep on climbing up quickly’
likì ‘lift up’ + lota ‘pile up’ > likì lota ‘piling one on top of the other’
plaé ‘run’ + plarĩ ‘flee’ > plaé plarĩ ‘run away in random directions’
leba ‘release’ + lenga ‘drop’ > leba - lenga ‘pay off, let free’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb 1</th>
<th>Verb 2</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tobo ‘sit’</td>
<td>dé‘ĩ ‘stand’</td>
<td>tobo dé‘ĩ ‘sit down and stand up repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turu ‘sleep’</td>
<td>hogo ‘get up’</td>
<td>turu hogo ‘sleep and wake up repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koda ‘talk’</td>
<td>géka ‘laugh’</td>
<td>koda géka ‘chat happily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutu ‘tell’</td>
<td>tapã ‘answer’</td>
<td>tutu tapã ‘talk lots of things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tega ‘stab’</td>
<td>ta‘i ‘stab’</td>
<td>tega ta‘i ‘stab repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**c. Adjective + adjective**

- tenu‘ẽ ‘old’ + menuré‘ẽ ‘young’ > tenu‘ẽ menuré‘ẽ ‘a group of individuals of all ages’
- datẽ ‘ugle’ + klemur ‘pretty’ > datẽ klemur ‘all things regardless of physical appearance’
- tangẽ ‘unripe’ + tenaha‘ã ‘ripe’ > tangẽ - tenaha‘ã ‘all fruits both ripe and unripe ones’
- klemu ‘pretty’ + kloho ‘smooth’ > klemu kloho ‘very pretty’
- bura‘ã ‘white’ + kwérok ‘clean’ > bura‘ã kwérok ‘very white, icy white’
- blolo ‘tall’ + petayu‘ũ ‘high’ > blolo petayu‘ũ ‘unusually tall’
Appendix 3

This appendix provides more examples to Chapter 5 (Lexical categories)

3.1. List of SL locative nouns (excluding literal meaning):

- aē ‘in front of’
- géré ‘above, over’
- golé ‘around’
- ha'akē ‘next to, beside’
- hikũ ‘corner of’
- kewelē ‘under’
- kolā ‘behind’
- langū ‘under, underneath’
- leĩ ‘sea-ward edge of a field’
- lodo ‘below, under’
- lolaâ ‘other side of’
- naē ‘left or right side of a field’
- one‘ē ‘inside’
- papa‘ā ‘behind, beside’
- rékânē ‘next to, nearby’
- werā ‘mountain-ward edge of a field’
- wohō ‘outside’
- wu’tě ‘underneath’
- wutũ ‘top of’

3.2. List of kinship nouns in SL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bapa</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ema</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakē</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwaē</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>child (male and female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bine</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'a</td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaka</td>
<td>older sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adé</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totu/bosu</td>
<td>father’s male sibling; mother’s female sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alma</td>
<td>father’s female sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadi</td>
<td>mother’s male sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waē</td>
<td>mother’s brother’s wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaka</td>
<td>father’s sister’s husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nene</td>
<td>parents’ (both father and mother) parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nana</td>
<td>mother’s brother’s son; also generally refers to wife-giver clans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murewana</td>
<td>mother’s brother’s daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opu</td>
<td>father’s sister’s son; also generally refers to wife-taker clans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3. More examples of SL ambitransitive verbs

In (a), they are made intransitive by being attached with the pronominal enclitics, and in (b) with the prefix pe-

(a). - +ã/+ekã ‘eat’
- +emũ ‘drink’
- bêlo ‘kill’
- hebo ‘bathe’
- mayã ‘call’
- ola ‘work (in the field)’
- bãtĩ ‘hunt’
- geka ‘chop’
- geto ‘cut down, fell’
- koda ‘reprimand’
- nuhã ‘to fish’
- seko ‘sexual intercourse’
- seru ‘fire, set fire’
- tuno ‘bake, grill’

(b). - biho ‘cook’
- déna ‘cook, boil’
- duũ ‘sell’
- nagã ‘grop’
- tumã ‘abuse verbally’
- tutu ‘tell’
- bãha ‘wash’
- deki ‘insert’
- dokã ‘bring in’
- doré ‘follow’
- opẽ ‘lie, cheat’
- regã ‘step on’
- rogo ‘grop’
- soga ‘lift up’

3.4. More examples of manner-of-motion verbs with an agent argument

- +ai ‘go, leave’
- pana ‘walk’
- lagé ‘step’
- uhũ ‘step back’
- nangé ‘swim’
- rogo ‘crawl’
- kbetok ‘jump, hop’
- ksugal ‘run away in a sudden’
- gwetok ‘jump, jerk’
- beka ‘fly’
- heto ‘jump, leap’
- gléra ‘sneak away’
- langă ‘tiptoe’
- plaé ‘run’

3.5. More examples of manner-of-motion verbs with an undergoer argument

- deka ‘fall, drop (by an internal force), e.g. a fruit falls down from a tree’
- lenga ‘fall, drop (by an external force), e.g. a child falls because of being pushed’
- kdoro ‘slide’
- golo ‘roll’
- goli ‘roll down (on a slope surface)’
- lesa ‘detach’
- glehar ‘slip’
- wetot ‘eject’
- lie ‘float in the air, airborne’
- gelě ‘sink’
- baò ‘float’
- ba ‘flow’
- kbesu ‘release suddenly’
- lorâ ‘fall down (vertically)’
- tobâ ‘fall down (horizontally)’
- glora ‘roll down by either side of an object’

3.6. More examples of motion-path verbs

- géré ‘enter, climb up, ascend’
- lodo ‘get out, climb down, descend’
- dopa ‘ascend’
- lua ‘descend’
- sega ‘arrive (at a particular point in a journey)’
- bèto ‘arrive (dialectal variation from Adonara, synonymous to ‘bego’)’
- bego ‘arrive (at a destination)’
- bali ‘return’
- doré ‘follow’
- tematâ ‘chase, run after an animate thing’
- +ala ‘go along, follow, go by’
- unê ‘chase, run encircle an animate thing’
- +ai ‘go away from deictic center’
- pai ‘come toward deictic center’
- hau ‘come toward deictic center from a mountain-ward direction, or from the east’
- dai ‘come toward deictic center from a sea-ward direction’
- haka ‘come toward deictic center from a lower place, or from the west’
- lodo ‘come toward deictic center from a higher place’
3.7. More examples of locomotion verbs

- soga ‘lift up’
- ta’o ‘put, lay down’
- +eté ‘bring, take’
- géhã ‘drag’
- tubô ‘pull’
- hapé ‘hang’
- géba ‘pelt’
- we’a ‘throw’
- guté ‘take, grab’
- taka ‘steal’
- dokâ ‘store, put in a safe place’
- nawo ‘put (a baby)’
- sékë ‘lift and bring away’
- neka ‘keep, store (in a container, such as a box, cardboard box, etc)’
- bogô ‘push to move’
- toyô ‘push to fall down’
- dorê ‘pull up’
- lo ‘let down’
- hungê ‘bring on one’s head’
- dongo ‘bring on one’s back’
- ba’â ‘bring on one’s shoulder’
- lêké ‘bring a child on one’s shoulder’
- slagé ‘bring on one side’
- dikî ‘bring something by two or more people’
- lêba ‘bring on one’s shoulder with the help of a pole where burdens hang on both ends of the pole (‘memikul’ in Indonesian)’
- horo ‘transport (with a vehicle)’
- ole ‘collect something in a large amount repeatedly’
- tiwi ‘tote’

3.8. More examples of affect verbs

- +a’â ‘make, cause, hit’
- tula ‘make, build, construct’
- bélo ‘kill, cut down’
- berî ‘hit’
- tuba ‘spear’
- tega ‘stab’
- tekû ‘kick’
- sedâ ‘step on’
- dékâ ‘cut a vertical object’
- gero ‘stab, make a hole on something’
- geto ‘break (a flexible object, such as a rope)’
- leko ‘break (a solid object, such as a stick)’
- bi’a ‘tear’
- bola ‘break (a solid long object, such as a pipe)’
- gmama ‘step on something fiercely, stamp on’
- tengo ‘hit on one’s head’
- bela ‘break (a square/round solid object)’
- geka ‘mince’
- tuno ‘burn, bake’
- biho ‘cook something to eat’
- seo ‘roast’
- déné ‘cook, boil, heat’
- po’o ‘cut, slice’
- pâT ‘dry in the sun’
- sirè ‘pour, water (verb)’
- seru ‘burn, set fire’
- data ‘destroy’

3.9. More examples of posture verbs

- tobo ‘sit’
- dëT ‘stand up’
- turu ‘lie down, sleep’
- lugu ‘look down’
- danga ‘look up’
- waga’a ‘straddle’
- gebè ‘sleep (animal)’
- hobé ‘lie with face down’
- héri ‘lie with face up’
- gliki ‘lie on one’s side’
- ktoko ‘bend one’s body down’
- ktogé ‘protrude one’s buttock’
- gola ‘lie something down on something else’
- bitù ‘straighten up one’s body after bending’
- telengà ‘lie face up with hands and legs spread out to either side’
- ktuku ‘bend one’s body, e.g. while sleeping because of being frozen’
- gluku ‘bend one’s body while sitting because of being frightened’
- lèdà ‘lean on something’
- niku ‘look/see backward’
- legô ‘kneel’
- teke ‘stand up (from a sitting position)’

3.10. More examples of utterance verbs

- gepa ‘call someone loudly’
- gete ‘ask’
- golè ‘shout, announce’
- hanè ‘mention (dialectal variation from Adonara)’
- huda ‘order, instruct’
- kdeka’ä ‘speak loudly to express anger’
- koda ‘speak’
- kpahé ‘mention’
- kpasa ‘swear in a traditional way, usually carried out in a local ritual’
- ksakot ‘whisper’
- marĩ ‘say, utter’
- tapā ‘answer’
- tutu ‘tell’

3.11. More examples of verbs of perception

- baĩ ‘listen, hear, smell, feel, taste (used for five channels of senses)’
- kwéngé ‘listen’
- lenge ‘look at, notice’
- gliõ ‘peep’
- rasa ‘feel (such as feel cold)’
- pnu ‘sniff’
- napĩ ‘touch’
- siõ ‘smell, kiss’
- denge ‘hear’
- hulẽ ‘see, look at, examine’

3.12. More examples of verbs of cognition

- pétẽ ‘remember, recall’
- mengerti ‘understand (borrowing from Indonesian ‘mengerti’)’
- pâhã ‘understand (borrowing from Indonesian ‘faham’)’

3.13. More examples of verbs of experience

- pétẽ ‘feel pity/sorry, remember, longing’
- rasa ‘feel (emotion), (borrowed from Indonesian ‘rasa’)’
- menange ‘feel pity, hope, sympathy’
- menere ‘like, be found of’
- prohõ ‘feel pity/sorry’
- suka ‘like, love (borrowed from Indonesian ‘suka’)’
- suka la ‘not like’
- besi ‘hate (borrowed from Indonesian ‘benci’)’
- hu ‘remember, feel pity’
- taku ‘fear, be afraid of’

3.14. More examples of transaction and service verbs

- hopê ‘buy’
- sorõ ‘give, hand to’
- taku ‘feed (human)’
- nei ‘give’
- pa’u ‘feed (animal)’
- guté ‘get, take’
- nawo ‘usher, escort’
- déna ‘cook, boil (such as water, egg)’
- biso ‘cook (such as rice, vegetable)’
- genato ‘send’
- hupê ‘pick up, shuttle’
- du’ũ ‘sell’
- gelekê ‘serve (especially related to house works, as as provide meals)’
- gewayâ ‘serve, accompany’
- pohê ‘help’
- béhĩ ‘pour’
- genâ ‘pass down’

3.15. More examples of bodily process and activity verbs

- +ã/+ekã ‘eat’
- +énũ ‘drink’
- pemoa ‘yawn’
- dapu ‘sneeze’
- méke ‘cough’
- erok ‘snore’
- taé ‘defecate’
- méké ‘urinate’
- pino ‘spit’
- telê ‘swallow’
- dorâ ‘swallow wholly’
- baha ‘chew’
- nihi ‘eat leaves (animal)’
- mama ‘eat fruit (animal)’
- tero ‘drink (animal)’
- ewũ ‘sweat, perspire’
- tanĩ ‘cry, weep’
- manga ‘open one’s mouth’
- muta ‘vomit’
- bu'a ‘eat, have a meal’

3.16. More examples of respective semantic type of SL adjectives

(a). Dimension:
- bèle ‘big’
- ana ‘small (animate things)’
- kré ‘small (inanimate things)’
- blaha ‘long’
- kesu ‘short (rigid object)’
- keru ‘short (flexible object, such as rope)’
- blolo ‘high, tall’
- lere ‘low, short’
- blome ‘deep’
- kdesek ‘unusually short
- wéda ‘shallow’
- ptayu ‘unsually tall’
- pewerã ‘thick’
- menipi ‘thin’

(b). Age:
- tua ‘old (used in comparison and as a clause predicate)’
- wu’ù ‘new’
- ulù ‘old, worn, used’
- barâ ‘young (plant, animal)’
- tenu’ê ‘old (derived from ‘tua’ by nasalization and infixed ‘–en–’, and used as a modifier only)’
- menura ‘young (derived from ‘bura’ by infixed ‘<en>’)’

(c). Value:
- klemur ‘good, beautiful’
- date ‘bad, ugly (used in comparison and as a clause predicate)’
- éré ‘good’
- medo ‘bad’
- saré ‘kind’
- senaré’ê ‘good (derived from ‘saré’ by nazalisation and infixed ‘<en>’)’
- bedatê ‘bad (derived from ‘date’ by nazalisation and prefixing ‘be-’, and used as a modifier only)’

(d). Color:
- mitê ‘black’
- bura ‘white’
- kuma ‘yellow’
- me’a ‘red’
- iyo ‘green, blue’
- pekedâ ‘dark, black’
- kilo-kalok ‘striped’
- kwêrok ‘icy white’

(e). Physical properties:
- ta’a ‘hard (used in comparison and as a clause predicate)’
- blemas ‘soft’
- ba’at ‘heavy (used in comparison and as a clause predicate)’
- demâ ‘wet’
- mara ‘dry’
- kloho ‘clean’
- milâ ‘dirty’
- plate ‘hot’
- glete ‘cold’
- blara ‘sick, hurt’
- matê ‘dead’
- mori ‘alive’
- kediê ‘light’
- kmelu ‘smooth’
- ksege ‘tense’
- tena’â ‘hard, solid (derived from ‘ta’a’ by nazalisation and infixed ‘<en>’, and used as a modifier only)’
- mena’at ‘heavy (derived from ‘ba’at’ by infixed ‘<en>’, and used as a...
modifier only)

(f). Human propensity:
- mētē ‘smart, clever’
- klēle ‘stupid, dumb’
- welēlo ‘stupid, dumb (ruder than ‘klēle’)’
- glagi ‘angry’
- brēa ‘happy’
- lokō ‘proud, imperious’
- snera ‘kind, gorgeous’
- kbesa ‘cruel, bad tempered’
- bewail ‘calm, friendly’
- breket ‘brave’
- krobanẽ ‘afraid, scared’
- takut ‘afraid, fear (used in comparison and as a clause precicate)’
- kbēkē ‘naughty’
- khere ‘naughty (ruder than ‘kbēkē’).
- mia ‘shy, embarrassed, ashamed (used in comparison and as a clause precicate)’
- merē ‘quiet (used in comparison and as a clause precicate)’
- gemerē’ ‘quiet (used as a modifier only)’
- bemiā ‘shy (derived from ‘mia’ by nazalisation and prefixing ‘be-‘, and used as a modifier only)’
- tenakut ‘afraid (derived from ‘takut’ by infixing ‘<en>‘, and used as a modifier only)

(g). Speed:
- bēra ‘quick, fast’
- klēa ‘fast’
- pao ‘slow’

(h). Difficulty:
- plohũ ‘easy, clear’
- glagit ‘difficult, hard’

(i). Similarity:
- hama ‘similar’
- wahã ‘different’

(j). Qualification:
- mure'ẽ ‘right’
- nemure'ẽ ‘true’
- nalã ‘false’

(k). Quantification:
- aya ‘a lot of’
- brua ‘(a) little, (a) few’

(l). Position:
- do’e ‘far’
- dahé’ẽ ‘near’
3.17. More examples of adjectives of human propensity in SL:

- one'ẽ bréa (heart=3SGPOSS like) ‘happy’
- one'ẽ blara (heart=3SGPOSS hurt) ‘sad, disappointed’
- one'ẽ susa (heart=3SGPOSS sad) ‘sad’
- one'ẽ hade (heart=3SGPOSS reluctant) ‘reluctant’
- one'ẽ kemu (heart=3SGPOSS lazy) ‘lazy’
- one'ẽ hoda (heart=3SGPOSS bore) ‘bored’
- one'ẽ ta'a (heart=3SGPOSS solid) ‘confident’
- one'ẽ taha-tange (heart=3SGPOSS ripe-unripe) ‘half-hearted’
- one'ẽ kloho (heart=3SGPOSS clean) ‘have good intention’
- one'ẽ date (heart=3SGPOSS bad) ‘bad intention’
- one'ẽ platé (heart=3SGPOSS hot) ‘sick’
- one'ẽ glagi (heart=3SGPOSS tangled) ‘angry’
- one'ẽ mege (heart=3SGPOSS entire) ‘wholeheartedly’
- one'ẽ grénga (heart=3SGPOSS tickle) ‘funny’
- one'ẽ blolo (heart=3SGPOSS high) ‘arrogant’
- one'ẽ léré (heart=3SGPOSS low) ‘humble’
- one'ẽ kteke (heart=3SGPOSS crowded) ‘annoyed’
- one'ẽ blemá (heart=3SGPOSS soft) ‘calm’
- one'ẽ buka (heart=3SGPOSS open) ‘conscious’
- one'ẽ puna (heart=3SGPOSS blocked) ‘sorrow’
- alèmalu (stomach=3SGPOSS empty) ‘hungry’
- alèbohu (stomach=3SGPOSS full) ‘full’
- alèblara (stomach=3SGPOSS hurt) ‘stomachache’
- alègle (stomach=3SGPOSS tired) ‘have the need to defecate’
- wewâmaru (mouth=3SGPOSS dry) ‘thirsty’
- wewâseba (mouth=3SGPOSS satisfied) ‘satisfied’
- matâodo (eye=3SGPOSS asleep) ‘sleepy’
- matâlewa (eye=3SGPOSS close) ‘fall asleep’
- kote'ẽ blara (head=3SGPOSS hurt) ‘headache’
- ereté kewué (face=3SGPOSS spin) ‘dizzy’

3.18. More examples of numeral expressions

- pulok to’u = eleven
- pulok rua = twelve
- pulok telo = thirteen
- pulok pa = fourteen
- pulok léma = fifteen
- pulu rua = twenty
- pulu rua no’õ to’u = twenty one
- pulu rua no’õ rua = twenty two
- pulu rua no’õ telo = twenty three
- pulu rua no’õ pa = twenty four
- pulu telo = thirty
- pulu telo no’õ to’u = thirty one
- pulu telo no’õ rua = thirty two
- pulu telo no'õ telo = thirty three
- teratu = a hundred
- teratu no'õ to'u = a hundred and one
- teratu no'õ rua = a hundred and two
- teratu no'õ pulo = a hundred and ten
- teratu pulu rua = a hundred and twenty
- teratu pulu telo = a hundred and thirty
- ratu rua = two hundred
- ratu telo = three hundred
- ratu pa = four hundred
- ribũ = one thousand
- ibũ to'u no'õ to'u = a thousand and one
- ribũ to'u no'õ pulo = a thousand and ten
- ribũ to'u no'õ teratu = a thousand and a hundred
- ribũ to'u no'õ ratu rya = a thousand and two hundred.
- ribũ pulok rua no'õ ratu lema pulu lema no'õ telo = twelve thousand five hundred and fifty three.
- yutã lema no'õ ribũ pulu telo no'õ ratu rua no'õ pulu lema no'õ rya = five million, thirty two thousand and fifty two.

3.19. More examples of numeral classifiers

(a). Numeral classifiers that can also be used as an independent nominal
- kolo = stick (tobacco), package (meat wrapped in a lontar palm leaf).
- muta = package (things wrapped in a piece of cloth).
- kolẽ = bunch
- lolõ = leaf
- ongẽ = grove (of coconut trees, or lontar palm trees)
- ata = people
- wěla = bundle (of fish or meat)
- botĩ = bottle
- lima = a handful of
- néa = cup (made of coconut shell).
- nawĩ = palm wine container made of a bamboo tube
- nuro = spoon
- sedo = big spoon used in cooking to stir soup or rice

(b). Numeral classifiers that cannot be used as an independent nominal
- monga = times (of action), serve (of offering such as betelnut and cigarette)
- muã = times (of action)
- mala = slice
- uak = finger of fruit, such as banana
- lili = comb of fruit, such as banana.
- mo'o = chunk
- uwĩ = bundle (of firewood or log)
- motĩ = pile (of soil, stone, sand)
- wika = piece (of broken things, such as pottery, dishes, glass)
- ebe = grove (of bamboo, banana)
- kahă = tie (of dry leaves: of coconut for a torch; of reed for roof)
- opa = tie (of long sticks or wood; such firewood, logs for house frames)
- kere = chop (of meat)
- mego = piece (of log, of chopped body parts)
- nai = piece (of cloth, such as sarong)
- kuku = small amount of things such as salt, hold among finger tips
- nelẽ = gulp (of food or drink)
- neti = drop (of liquid)
Appendix 4

The corpus of data used for this study consists of audio-video recordings, audio recordings, elicited texts, and existing written document. Details regarding this corpus of data are presented in Table X.1 below. Following this table, is Table X.2 which lists some information about the SL speakers who I have worked with to gather this data.

Table X.1
List of data gathered and analysed for this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Audio-video</td>
<td>Berauk</td>
<td>A traditional annual festival called Berauk held in 2006</td>
<td>Festival</td>
<td>01:17:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Village</td>
<td>A description about the order of traditional houses in the Karawatung traditional village</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>00:29:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio</td>
<td>Pari Star</td>
<td>A folklore about a group of star called ‘pari’ or south cross. This group of star is always visible during the nights when the sky is clear.</td>
<td>Folklore</td>
<td>00:25:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uta Soka Boka</td>
<td>Funny story about Lamaholot speakers who were recklessly selling their mung beans to a nearby city, even though they were unable to speak Indonesian.</td>
<td>Folklore</td>
<td>00:03:29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two friends disputed</td>
<td>Two close friend, called Kolôpohũ and Lakolété disputed over a piece of land.</td>
<td>Frog story</td>
<td>00:02:39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two friends set traps.</td>
<td>Two close friend, called Kolôpohũ and Lakolété went to set traps in the forest.</td>
<td>Frog story</td>
<td>00:02:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two friends went fishing.</td>
<td>Two close friend, Kolôpohũ and Lakolété went fishing.</td>
<td>Frog story</td>
<td>00:03:45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Selayu Kobi</td>
<td>A story about the origin of Kroon clan. It was retold by a young member of Kroon clan who admitted as having been given privilege by Kroon ancehstors to mediate between Kroon clan members and their ancehstors</td>
<td>Folklore</td>
<td>00:40:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family conflict</td>
<td>Discussion among some Kroon elderly men about how to solve conflict between two Kroon families.</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>00:13:31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Burial ceremony</td>
<td>Discussion among some Kroon clan members about the hardship they experienced during the burial ceremony of a Kroon elderly who passed away in Batam Island (west Indonesia) and was brought to Solor Island by plane and boats.</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>00:20:08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The role of Kroon clan</td>
<td>Discussion among some Kroon clan members about the role that the Kroon clan plays in the annual traditional festival. This role has not been acknowledge by the landlord in Karawatung traditional village.</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>00:13:32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Grave renovation: Discussion among some Kroon clan members about the proper moment (when) and the proper way (how) to renovate my parents’ graves according to the local tradition and belief.

Marriage arrangement: Discussion among some Kroon clan members about the proposal and marriage arrangement of a Kroon young man with a girl from Timor.

Minimal pairs: An elicited list of recorded minimal pairs or nearly minimal pairs.

Discussion 00:17:52

Mariage

Marriage arrangement: Discussion among some Kroon clan members about the proposal and marriage arrangement of a Kroon young man with a girl from Timor.

Discussion 00:17:49

Minimal pairs: An elicited list of recorded minimal pairs or nearly minimal pairs.

Discussion 00:09:39

Text

The passion of the Christ: A prayer book written in SL used to commemorate the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.


Elicitation recording

Elicited text

List of sentences and expression: A result note of elicitation of various phrase and sentence length and topics. This elicitated data were gathered from the language consultants.

Notes

List of vocabulary: A toolbox database consisting of SL vocabularies of 1,197 entries. These vocabularies were obtained from elicitation and transcription and translation of audio texts and existing documents.

Lexicon database

Table X.2
List of language consultants and participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role55</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yohanes Kuna Tukan</td>
<td>Main Consultant</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Solor Lamaholot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Petrus Nong Kroon</td>
<td>Main Consultant</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Solor Lamaholot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Yulius Kolin</td>
<td>Main Consultant</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Solor Lamaholot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Simon Torabine Werang</td>
<td>Main Consultant</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Solor Lamaholot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Amatus Kroon</td>
<td>Main Consultant</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Solor Lamaholot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Nimo Gamur</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Solor Lamaholot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55 Main consultants are the speakers who I have constantly worked with in obtaining needed data for this study, whereas participants are the speakers who temporarily involved in the discussions recorded for this study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nikolaus Kroon</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Solor Lamaholot Indonesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ero Sogen</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Solor Lamaholot Indonesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Yati Buang</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Solor Lamaholot Indonesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Yohanes M. Kroon</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Solor Lamaholot Indonesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Matias H. Kroon</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Solor Lamaholot Indonesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lomi Sogen</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Solor Lamaholot Indonesian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kolõpohũ and Lakolété were young men, they stayed in a village. Both of them were friends. They had different personality. Kolõpohũ usually lied to people, he was a big liar, but Lakolété had a different personality. He always told everything honestly, he did not lie to people.

One day, both of them went to set up traps. Kolõpohũ set up his trap in the tree intending to catch a cockatoo. Lakolété set up his trap on the ground intending to catch a wild pig. After setting up their traps, both of them went home. Kolõpohũ said that they needed to wait until tomorrow afternoon in order that they may come to inspect the trap.

But tomorrow 3SGGEN morning still Kolõpohũ come check trap 3SGGEN that 3SG=ahead. 3SG come check then trap 3SGGEN that two=3PL catch PERF.

Witu na'ě nekë kolo wéka, nē witu Lakolété na'ě nē Trap 3SGGEN catch bird cockatoo, and trap Lakolété 3SGGEN catch...
wawé utã ulẽ to'u.
pig wild big one

However, Kolõpohũ came and inspected the trap alone early in the morning by in the next day. When he arrived there, he found that their traps had a catch in each. His trap caught a cockatoo, and Lakolété’s trap caught a big wild pig.

Wé kedi na'ë gêlu witu ra'ë ru'a=ka ra'ë pé. Na'ë séké wawé That then 3SG exchange trap 3PL two=3PL 3PLGEN that. 3SG bring pig

pè nêku nêke ia witu Lakolété na'ë pè gérë kedi wido têti REL recently catch PREP trap Lakolété 3SGGEN that climb then tie upward

witu na'ë, nê n=etë kolô wêka pè nêke ia witu na'ë trap 3SGGEN, then 3SG=bring bird cockatoo REL catch PREP trap 3SGGEN

lodo wido lali Lakolété witu=ũ. Gêlu witu ra'ë pé down tie downward Lakolété trap=3SGPOSS. Exchange trap 3PLGEN that

waha kedi n=ai bali lango'=õ n=ai. finish then 3SG=go return home=3SGPOSS 3SG=go.

Then he exchanged the trapped animals. He brought the pig that was caught in Lakolété’s trap up and tied it in his trap, and brought the cockatoo that was caught in his trap down and tied it in Lakolété’s trap. After he finished exchanging the trapped animals, he went home.

Lerabau ru'a=ka pai to witu ra'ë pé hama-hama. Lakolété Afternoon two=3PL come check trap 3PLGEN that same=RED. Lakolété

geker=a, helage witu na'ë lali tana lolô nêke nele kolô surprised=3SG, because trap 3SGGEN downward ground on catch in.fact bird

wêka, nê witu Kolõpohũ na'ë téti kayo wutũ nêke nele wawé. cockatoo, and trap Kolõpohũ 3SGGEN upward tree top catch in.fact pig

In the afternoon, both of them came to inspect their traps together. Lakolété was surprised (socked) because his trap on the ground caught a cockatoo whereas Kolopohũ’s trap in the tree caught a wild pig.

Kedi na'ë gete merî “ã nê witu go'ë lali tana lolô nêke Then 3SG ask that what then trap 1SGGEN downward ground on catch nele kolô wêka, nê witu mo'ë téti kayo wutũ nêke nele wawé?” in.fact brid cockatoo, and trap 2SGGEN upward tree top catch in.fact pig
Then he asked: “why did my trap on the ground catch a cockatoo but your trap in the tree catch a pig?”

Kolopohu tapa meri wawé pi ra'ë marí wawé kenére kayo, në wéka wë Kolopohu answer say pig this 3PL tell pig climber tree and cockatoo that ra'ë marí wëka keséga tana. Wëka keséga tana wë ihik=ë 3PL tell cockatoo scratch soil. Cockatoo scratch soil that flesh=3SGPOSS maë-maë, në wawé kenére kayo pi maë la. Mo meri gehik=ö delicious-RED and pig climber tree this delicious not. 2SG say disagree=2SG wë ru'a=te gélu, mo'ë wawé pi në go'ë wëka wë. that two=1PL(icl) exchange, 2SGGEN pig this and 1SGGEN cockatoo that.

Kolopohu answered by saying: “that pig is well known as a tree climber pig, and the cockatoo is widely known as a ground scratching bird. The flesh of a ground scratching cockatoo is very delicious, but the flesh of the pig climber tree is not delicious. If you do not like it, we can exchange them, you take this pig and I take that cockatoo.

Lakolète wë kedi n=a'ã merë-merë helage kalo na'ë gélu, na'ë ai Lakolété that then 3SG=make quiet-RED in.fact if 3SG exchange, 3SG get wawé wë maë hela wë. Wë kedi ru'a=ka bali. Kolopohu n=etë pig REL delicious not that. That then two=3PL return. Kolopohu 3SG=bring na'ë wawé në Lakolété n=etë na'ë wëka. 3SGGEN pig and Lakolété 3SG=bring 3SGGEN cockatoo.

Lakolété just kept quiet because if he agreed to exchange them, he would get the pig which is not delicious. Then both of them returned home. Kolopohu brought the pig and Lakolété brought the cockatoo.

Waha=a kaé bapa. Finish=3SG PERF father. That is all my son.
Kolõpohũ and Lakolété went to the beach to fish. Upon arrival on the beach, they dragged their canoe to the sea water and rowed to the middle of the sea to fish. Kolõpohũ controlled the canoe and Lakolété sat at the bow.

Arriving at the middle of the sea, they dropped the anchor and began to fish. They let down the bait, and Lakolété’s bait first caught a fish. He was the first person who caught a fish.

He pulled the fishing line up and when he just about to put the fish in the canoe, Kolõpohũ said “that one is for me, I will take it for my wife’. Then Lakolété let down another bait and caught another fish. When he pulled it up and put it in the canoe, Kolõpohũ said, “that is for me, I will bring it for my child”. Lakolété just kept quiet.
After landing on the beach, they both dragged their canoe to the shore line. All the fish that Lakolété caught were all taken by Kolõpohũ, as he had said on the sea. Having no fish to take home, Lakolété began to search for snails. It was low tide at that moment. While searching for clams, Lakolété saw a big one which was opening
its shells. He said, “Eh Kolõpohũ, I see a huge clam here”. Kolõpohũ answered: “that clam is mine, I had seen it before you saw it”.

Kedi Lakolété marĩ, “merĩ mo’ē pē pai guté. Go’ē di guté hala”. Then Lakolété said, “say 2SGGEN that come.here take. 1SG also take not”.

Kolõpohũ pai merĩ guté, ge na’ē guté nalã. Na’ē tuē sorō lim(a)=ā pē Kolõpohũ come plan take, but 3SG take wrong. 3SG turn give hand=3SGPOSS that kedéna one’ẽ lodo wē, kedi kedéna wē letu, nē gipe Kolõpohũ clam inside down that, then clam that close, then clamp Kolõpohũ

lim(a)=ā. Lim(a)=ā wahākaē ia kedéna one’ẽ hēna. Na’ē merĩ hand=3SGPOSS. Hand=3SGPOSS all PREP clam inside entire. 3SG plan
deru géré n=ewâ hala, kedéna wē gipe lim(a)=ā mété ku’a. drag upward 3SG=able not, snail that clamp hand=3SGPOSS PROG strong
Lim(a)=ā wē n=odi newê kaē wē, seme gipe ia kima kedéna.
Hand=3SGPOSS that 3SG=just like.that PERF that, PROG clamp PREP clam clam.

Then Lakolété said, “if it is yours then come and pick it up. I don’t need it”. Kolõpohũ then came to pick up the clam but he picked up it wrongly. Instead of picking up the clam, he put his hand down into the clam mouth, and suddenly the clam closed its shells and clamped his hands. All his entire hands were in the clam mouth. He tried to drag his hand up, but the more he tried, the stronger the clam clamped. His hands remained in the clam mouth.

k=ewâ hala. Kedéna gipe wi.” Lakolété tapã marĩ, “kedéna wē ete 1SG=able not. Clam clamp this” Lakolété answer say, “clam that in.fact mo’ē, m=odi guté m=ête. Go’ē géhik=e k=ête hala.” Tapã 2SGGEN 2SG=just take 2SG=bring. 1SG reject=1SG 1SG=bring not”. Answer
newê waha kedi n=ai bali raē langō’ō nai. Nē like.that finish then 3SG=go return landward home=3SGPOSS 3SG=go. And

Kolõpohũ lau wē, lim(a)=ā ia kedéna one’ẽ uli’ĩ. Metĩ géré Kolõpohũ seaward that, hand=3SGPOSS PREP snail inside still. Tide come.up
kaē. Metĩ mété géré mété géré kedi na’ē kipo=’o kaē, kedi na’ē PERF. Tide PROG come.up PROG come.up then 3SG drown=3SG PERF then 3SG
He said “Lakolété, come here and help me. My hands cannot be pulled out of the clam. It is gripping my hands”. Lakolété replied, “That clam is yours, just take it home. I don’t need it”. After replying, Lakolété went home. While Kolôpohũ’s hands were still gripped by the clam, the tide came up. The tide came up till Kolôpohũ drowned and died in the sea water.
There was a boy, two girls and their father and mother. They were five. They usually sold mung beans. They wanted to sell the beans in Potu, and therefore they came to take a canoe in Podor to go Potu. Their parents stayed in Podor, and only the girls and the boy went to Potu to sell the mung beans. Before they left, they asked their parents that if somebody asked the price of the bean in Indonesian, how they would answer the question. Then their father taught them Indonesian. He said, “if you sell the bean and someone asks you the

56 This story tells about a family who wanted to sell their mung beans to a nearby town on the other island. The son and the daughters would like to go and sell the beans, but they could not speak Indonesian, so they asked their father to teach them Indonesian. Unfortunately, what their father taught them was not really Indonesian expressions, but rather mix expressions of Indonesian and Solor Lamaholot. Of course, no body would understand these expressions. They failed to sell the beans because when some body asked them how much the beans were, the answer the boy and the daughters gave could not be understood at all.
price, you just reply utã soka boka mo boli peda parã, wata koda'ã klikã. 
This is Indonesian (expressions).

Ra'ë néku dorë. “Utã soka boka, mo boli péda parã, wata koda'ã klikã”. 
3PL recently follow. “Utã soka boka, mo boli peda parã, wata koda'ã klikã”.

Kedi telo=ka bayã mu lau Potu. Bayã pé lau n=ai, Then three=3PL row direct seaward Potu. Row that seaward 3SG=go,

na(a)=’ã marĩ bin(e)=ê ru'a=ka meri “pëtë wë, brother=3SGPOSS say sister=3SGPOSS two=3PL that “remember that,

ema bapa tena néku wë. Melayũ néku wë. mother father tell recently that Indonesian recently that.

Akë=te gelupa=te. Pé ra'ë métë bayã métë kepahë “utã soka No=1PL(inc) forget=1PL(inc).That 3PL PROG row PROG mention “utã soka

boka, mo boli péda parã, wata koda'ã klikã”, ra'ë métë hapal wë. boka, mo boli peda parã, wata koda'ã klikã”, 3PL PROG memorize that.

Sega lau wotã papa'ã bin(e)=ê rua=ka gelupa=ka kaë. Arrive seaward cape behind sister=3SGPOSS two=3PL forget=3PL PERF

“Rua=ka marĩ meri kamë gelupa=ke kaë dë. Kedi “two=3PL say that 1PL(exc) forget=1PL(exc) PERF PRT. Then

na(a)=’ã marĩ meri “e go'ë pëte=ro uli’t”. brother=3SGPOSS say that “e 1SG remember=3SG still”.

They just followed what their father had taught them. Then they began to sail to Potu. While rowing, the boy reminded his sisters not to forget what their father had taught them. He said: “Remember what father has taught us. The Indonesian expressions. Don’t forget them”. While they were rowing they memorized “utã soka boka, mo boli peda parã, wata koda'ã klikã”. When they sailed and passed a cape, the sisters forgot the Indonesian expressions. They said: “We have forgotten them”. But their brother said: “Don’t worry, I still remember the expressions”.

Ra'ë ada béro kedi r=etë utã wëwë wë raë toko 3PL land canoe then 3PL=bring bean mung.bean 3PLGEN that landward shop

r=ai. Baba to'u dahã meri “kamu punya kacãng ijo ini, 3PL=go. Chinese.merchant one ask that “2PL own bean green this,
satu kaleng berapa?”, në ra'ë tapã meri “utã soka boka, mo boli one can how.much”, then 3PL answer say “utã soka boka, mo boli
They landed their canoe then brought their beans to a shop. A Chinese person came and asked the price of the beans per can\(^{57}\). They answered: “utã soka boka, mo boli peda parã, wata koda’ã klika”. The Chinese said: ”What. I just want to buy your mung beans. How much are the mung beans for a can?” They answered the same. The Chinese person got annoyed and went away.

Pé nẽ utã wéwé ata bo to'u di hopé la nẽ r=eté
That then bean mung.bean person only one also buy not then 3PL=bring

Utã wé r=eté balï, r=eté balï lerã lau béro, back. Bean that 3PL=bring return, 3PL=bring return load seaward canoe,
bayã balï dai sega téti Podor. Géhã bero dai hérĩ row return come.from.seaward arrive eastward Podor. Drag canoe come lay

kedi, ra'e marĩ “bapa ema kũ, utã wéwé kamé m=eté then, 3PL say “father mother PRT,bean mung.bean 1PL(exc) 1PL(exc)=bring

bal'i”. Kedi bapa=â gete: “Ai, å nẽ m=eté bal'i!”
back. then father=3SGPOSS ask : “Ai, what then 2PL=bring back?”

Baba gete nẽ kamé tapâ merĩ “utã soka boka, mo boli
Chinese.merchant ask then 1PL(exc) answer that “utã soka boka, mo boli

---

\(^{57}\) It is usually a can of condensed milk, popularly used at the time as a measurement unit when selling grains such as corn, beans, paddy (rice), etc.
They brought the beans home. They loaded the beans onto their canoe and began to row back to Podor. When they landed on Podor beach, they dragged their canoe to the shoreline and laid it there. They said to their parents: “Father and mother, we brought the beans back”. Their father asked: “Why do you bring them back home?” They replied: “A Chinese man asked the price and we told him ‘utǎ soka boka, mo boli peda parã, wata koda’ā klika’, but what he told us next, we did not understand”. This is why, we brought the beans back. Then they, the whole family, brought the beans back home on foot to their village.
Appendix 5
A mini diglot dictionary Solor Lamahlot – English

| a1 | /a/ | Syn: aku. Variant: a. pron (qword). Used to substitute thing(s) in questions. Mo’ê gô a? What do you eat? |
| a2 | /ã/ | Syn: aku. Variant: a. n. thing. Na’ê neté a a to’u di hala? He does not bring anything? |
| aã | /ã/ | Syn: a. v. wrap a rope around an opening of a flexible container, so that things inside the container do not fall out. Aba karô vé ma’ã ku’ã ku’ã. Wrap that sack tightly with the rope. |
| abu | /ã/ | v. pack. Na’ mété abu epené. She is packing up her belongings. |
| adû | /ã/ | v. anchor; beach; ashore. Téna adû lau watã kaé. The ship has anchored on the beach. |
| adê | /ã/ | Syn: ari. n. younger sibling; little brother; little sister. Adê go’ê na’ekola kaé. My little brother has already gone to school. [Note: This is a loan word from Indonesian: ‘adik’]. |
| adi | /ã/ | Syn: eko. n. cliff; stone wall. Adi pé raé wé belolo - belolo. The cliff over there is very tall. |
| adok | /ã/ | Variant: adök. v. bring someone into conflict. Na’ê adokê ana ru’aka vé nê ra’ê pewunoka. He brought the two boys into conflict so that they may fight each other. |
| aду | /ã/ | Syn: tadu. v. collide. Ra’ ru’aka adu koteka. Their heads collided. |
| aã | /ã/ | v. move burning fire woods deeper into a stove to get a better flame. Apé bi’i mata wé, aã kia. The flame is dimming, please move the fire deeper into the stove. |
| aé | /ã/ | n. in front of; front. Go’ tobo ia lango aé. I sat in front of the house. |
| aë | /ã/ | n. face. Aém milã - milã wé. Your face is very dirty. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun which requires possessive clitics. See the paradigm below]. |
| aék | /ã/ | my face. |
| aé̃ | /ã/ | your (sg) face. |
| aë | /ã/ | his/her/its face. |
| aéké | /ã/ | our (exc) faces. |
| aète | /ã/ | our (inc) faces. |
| aéké | /ã/ | your (pl) faces. |
| aé̃ka | /ã/ | their faces. |

aga | /ã/ | v. block; prevent. Ra’ aga larã kaé. They have already blocked the road. |
age1 | /ã/ | v. defraud; take everything for one’s own possession. Kenenã wahã kaé na’ê meha’ã age. He took all the inheritance for his own possession. |
age2 | /ã/ | n. geometric caterpillar. Na’ so’ota no’õ age. He is afraid of the geometrid caterpillar. |
agé | /ã/ | n. caterpillar. Pé kereme one’ẽ, agé aya-aya. There are a lot of caterpillars in the grass. |
agì | /ã/ | v. sew roughly. Ema mété agì ohã meni’ã. My mother is mending a torn mat. |
agô | /ã/ | v. decorate; put on make up; beautify; dress up. Na’ agô lango’ô na’ê kelemu – kelemu. He decorated his house beautifully. |
agû | /ã/ | v. close. Agû kenawé wé kia! Close the door, please! |
aha | /ã/ | n. coral reef. Ra’ê géba’ã dé’ĩ ia aha lolô. They are fishing while standing on the coral reef. |
ahé | /ã/ | v. weave bamboo incisions to make a fish trap. Na’ê abê bulutu noiro. He can weave a ‘belutu’ (a traditional fish trap). |
ahi | /ã/ | v. bewitch somebody so that he/she follows what one wants him/her to do. Kalo na’ suka go’ hala, miã go’ kabé ahiro. If she does not love me, I will bewitch her. |
ahik | /ã/ | Variant: ahikê. n. traditional feast. Ra’ mété ra’ã ahikê raë koke
one'ẽ. They are having a feast in the 'koke'.

ahik, /ˀahik/ Variant: ahikẽ, n. celebration of a success. Ra'ẽ métẽ ra'ã lango ahikẽ. They are celebrating the success of building the house.

aho /ˀaho/ n. dog.
ahō lakĩ /ˀaho lakĩ/ male dog.
ahō ronẽ /ˀaho ronẽ/ female dog.
ahō manu /ˀaho manu/ all domesticated animals.
ahō me'ã /ˀaho me'ã/ vicious dog.

ai, /ˀai/ Variant: ait. v. find; see. Go'airo ia kenatã kewelẽ. I found it under the bed.
ai, /ˀai/ n. beach (one that is usually used as a port where fishermen beach their canoes). Kamé miã bapa nuhõna bali lali ai. We waited on the beach for father to come back from fishing.

aka /ˀaka/ Syn: opẽ; pe'akal. Variant: akal. v. lie; tell a lie; manipulate; cheat. Ana wé tutu nabé aka di aya'. That boy usually lies when he tells something.

aké /ˀake/ adv. no; do not. Aké tanĩ! Don't cry!

aku /ˀaku/ Syn: ā. pron. what. Aku/ā wé? What is that?

ala /ˀala/ n. casting net. Ala na'ẽ bi'a nẽ na' métẽ agi. His casting net is torn, so he is mending it at the moment.
alã /ˀalã/ n. house yard; one's original house site. Alã go'ẽ go' du'ũro ka'é. I have sold my home yard.
alã /ˀalã/ n. sound. Go'ẽ bai oto alã pé lali haka. I heard a car coming up.
alãmã /ˀalãmã/ n. seaweed. Alamã ta'ã belawar wé ma'ẽ-maẽ. Salad made of seaweed is delicious.

alat /ˀalat/ Variant: alatẽ. n. owner; people. Lango alat. house owner. Lamakéra alat. people from Lamakera.
alẽ /ˀalẽ/ n. clothes. Na'ẽ métẽ nelẽ alẽ She is putting on her clothes.
alẽ /ˀalẽ/ n. stomach. Na' alẽ béle-béle. He has a big belly. [Note: This form is an inalienably possessed noun which requires possessive clitics. See the paradigm below].
alék my stomach.
além your (sg) stomach.
power.
amu'ũ /'amu'ũ/ adv. entire. Labu'ũ méi amu'ũ. His/her entire shirt is covered with blood.
amut /'amut/ n. root.

Kayo amutek /kajɔ 'amutɔ/ tree root.

Ana1 /'ana/ n. child. Ana'ã pira kaé?

How many children does she/he already have? [Note: This form is an inalienably possessed noun which requires possessive clitics. See the paradigm below].
anak my child.
aman your (sg) child.
anan his/her child.
anate our (inc) child.
anake our (exc) child.
anaké your (pl) child.
anaka their child.

Ana2 /'ana/ Ant: béle. adj. small; little; tiny. Lango wé ana-aná. That is a very small house.

Aná /'ana/ Lango aná'ã wé kenawéč di ana-aná. That small house has a door which is also very small. [Note: The variant form ‘ana’ã is used as a modifier only].

+anää /'anä/ Syn: ahé. v. plait; weave. Ra’é ranää ohä. They are plaiting a mat [Note: This is a verbal bound root which requires pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].

Kanä I plaited...
manää you (sg) plaited...
nanää he/she plaited...
tanää we (inc) plaited...
manäng we (exc) plaited...
manän you (pl) plaited...
ranää they plaited...

ánë /'ane/ n. bait.
ánë kumää /'ane kumä/ bait from a hermit crab.

ánh /'anä/ n. wind.
ánhä warat /'anä warat/ monsoon.
ánhä timu /'anä timu/ eastward wind.

Aní1 /'aní/ n. craw. [Note: This noun is an inalienably possessed one. The nasal vowel at the end indicates the 3rd-person singular possessive].

Manu aní /manu 'aní/ chicken craw.

Aní2 /'aní/ Syn: letu. Ant: tië. v. close; cover. Aní kenawé wé kia! Close the door, will you?

Aõ /'aõ/ Syn: apõ. v. sing a lullaby. Aõ

ana wé, na'ẽ matã odo. Sing a lullaby to that baby. He is sleepy.
apé /'ape/ n. fire.
apé wa'ã /'ape wa'ã/ ember.
apé nuhũ /'ape nuhũ/ smoke.
apo /'apo/ Syn: aõ. v. put a baby to sleep with or without singing a lullaby.
apu /'apu/ n. lime. Ra’é rekã wua malu wé se no'õ apu. There must be lime when chewing betelnut.
apû /'apû/ n. dew. Pana hegulẽ wati wé apû menû. When you walk (along the path) early in the morning, there will be a lot of dew (on the grass).

Arã1 /'arã/ n. beam (of wood) used for sitting. Ema mété tobo ia arã lolô. Mother is sitting on the small wooden seat.

Arã2 /'arã/ n. plank. Na'ẽ poro ikâ paï ia arã lolô. She is cutting the fish on a wooden plank.

Arã3 /'arã/ n. charcoal. Na'ẽ tulu na'ã apé arãň. He wrote with charcoal.

Arak /'arak/ n. arrack. Re’é wé kerïa ra’ẽ dënã arak du’ũ. They produce and sell arrack as their livelihood.

Ari /'ari/ Syn: adé. n. younger sibling; younger brother; younger sister. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. It is obligatorily attached with possessive suffixes. See the paradigm below].

Arik my younger sibling.

Arim your (sg) younger sibling.

Arí his/her younger sibling.

Aríte our (inc) younger sibling.

Aríke our (exc) younger sibling.

Aríké your (pl) younger sibling.

Aríka their younger sibling.

Asa /'asa/ v. sharpen. Go asa hépé pi dapur one’ẽ. I was sharpening the knife in the kitchen.

Ata1 /'ata/ n. people. Ata lémé tobo lau watã. Five people sat on the beach.

Ata2 /'ata/ Variant: ata nonã. n. sugar-apple.

Ata belanda /ata belanda/ soursop.

Atã /'atã/ Syn: alat. n. guard; owner. Kayo atã the guard of a tree wai atã dragonfly.

Atadikeẽ /'atadikeẽ/ n. human being. [Note: It is a compound word, consisting of ‘ata’ (people) and ‘dike’ (kind, peaceful, wise)].
atē /'atē/ v. liver. manu atē chicken liver
[Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. The nasal vowel at the end of this word indicates the 3rd-person singular possessive].

atu /'atu/ n. stone arranged potruding into the sea water to trap fish; stone fish trap. Atu na'ē tamâ ikâ aya'ã. His "atu" traps a lot of fish.

au /'au/ n. bamboo.
au limâ /'au limâ/ bamboo branch.
awo /'awo/ n. ash. Pawo taê wê ma'â awo! Cover the poo with some ash!

awu /'awu/ v. grab. Aké marî muri, také go' awu wato ka'â géba mo'ê. Don't say that again, otherwise I will grab a stone and pelt you with it.

aya /'aya/ Variant: aya'ã. adj. a lot of; a plenty of; a number of; many, much.
Doi na'ē aya - aya. He has a lot of money [Note: The base form 'aya' is used only in reduplication to express intensification and in comparison, whereas 'aya'ã is used as a modifier only].

aya'ã /'aya'ã/ adj. a lot of; a plenty of; a number of; many, much. Na' bali netô doi aya'ã. He returned home and brought a lot of money.

+a'ã1 /'a'ã/ v. make; build. Na'ê mété na'ã lango'ô. He is building a house.
[Note: This is a verbal bound root which requires pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].
ka'â I make...
ma'â you (sg) make...
na'â he/she makes...
ta'â we (inc) make...
ma'â we (exc) make...
ma'â you (pl) make...
ra'â they make...

+a'ã2 /'a'ã/ v. beat; hit. Turû â né mo' ma'â adê go'ê? Why did you beat my little brother? [Note: This is a verbal bound root which requires pronominal proclitics. See +a'ã1]

+a'ã3 /'a'ã/ v. play. Kamé ma'â ba! bau.
We will play football tomorrow.
[Note: This is a verbal bound root which requires pronominal proclitics. See +a'ã1]

+a'ã4 /'a'ã/ v. use; with. Na'ê berî aho na'â alo. He hit a dog with a rice pestle. [Note: This is a bound root which requires pronominal proclitics. See +a'ã. It is a prepositional verb. This meaning is only used in serial verb constructions to express an instrumental role].

+a'âã /'a'ã/ v. do; carry out. Na'ê pana na'ã paô - paô. He walks slowly [Note: This is a verbal bound root which requires pronominal proclitics. See +a'ã. This meaning is used only in serial verb constructions to express a manner adverb].

+ahu /'ahu/ v. fetch water. Kéwa mété nahu wai Kewa is fetching water. [Note: This is a verbal bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].
kahu wai I fetched water.
mahu wai you (sg) fetched water.
nahu wai He/she fetched water.
tahu wai we (inc) fetched water.
mahu wai we (exc) fetched water.
mahu wai you (pl) fetched water.
rahu wai they fetched water.

+ai /'ai/ v. go; leave. Ra'é raika kaé. They have already left. [Note: This is a verbal bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].
kai I go.
mai you (sg) go.
nai he/she goes.
tai we (inc) go.
mai we (exc) go.
mai you (pl) go.
rai they go.

+ala /'ala/ Variant: +ele v. go by; go along. Ra'ê rala bero né kamâ mala motorô. They went by canoe, and we went by boat. [Note: This is a verbal bound root which requires pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].
kala I go by...
mala you (sg) go by...
nala he/she goes by...
tala we (inc) go by...
mala we (exc) go by...
mala you (pl) go by...
rała they go by...

+apû /'apû/ v. embrace, hug. Na napû ana'ã na'â ku'a-ku'a. She is
hugging her child tightly [Note: This is a verbal bound root which obligatorily requires pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pronominal proclitics</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapu</td>
<td>hug</td>
<td>hug</td>
<td>hug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapu</td>
<td>you (sg) hug</td>
<td>you (pl) hug</td>
<td>they hug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napu</td>
<td>he/she hugs</td>
<td>he/she hugs</td>
<td>he/she hugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapu</td>
<td>we (inc) hug</td>
<td>we (exc) hug</td>
<td>we (exc) hug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapu</td>
<td>they hug</td>
<td>they hug</td>
<td>they hug</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| +awa | adv | repeatedly; countinuously. Ana wé taní nawa. That child is crying continuously. [Note: This is a bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. The whole array of the paradigmatic forms are the same as those of other bound roots indicated with a plus sign (+) placed right in front of the root]. |

**B - b**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ba</th>
<th>/ba/</th>
<th>v. flow. Wai ba hewo lau tahi. Water flows to the sea.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba'a</td>
<td>/baʔa/</td>
<td>v. swell (be swollen), puff up. Léi ba'a puké ula toto. His/her leg is swollen because it was bitten by a snake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba'a</td>
<td>/baʔa/</td>
<td>Ant: kedié'ẽ. Variant: ba'at. adj. heavy. Wato wé ba'a - ba'a. The stone is very heavy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mena'at</td>
<td>/manaʔat/</td>
<td>heavy. Yaga, wato mena'at wé akéné golo. Keep that heavy stone in order that it does not roll down. [Note: The base form ‘ba’a’ is used only in reduplication to express intensification and in comparison, whereas ‘mena’at’ is used as a modifier only. The latter is derived by an infix &lt;en&gt;].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba'ã</td>
<td>/ba'ã/</td>
<td>v. melt. Sī'a teka wai wé di ba'ã. When salt is mix with water, it will melt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba'ã</td>
<td>/ba'ã/</td>
<td>v. bring on one's shoulder. Ra'é ba'ã kayo lali watã haka. They brought the log from the beach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba</td>
<td>/baba/</td>
<td>n. Chinese merchant. Ra'é reté ută du'ũ ia baba. They brought the beans and sold them to a Chinese merchant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba</td>
<td>/baba/</td>
<td>v. collide with something, such as a rope, stretching from one side of a path to the other side. Na'ê pla'ê baba talé nē dekata. He collided with a stretching rope while running, so he fell down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baé</td>
<td>/bae/</td>
<td>v. move one's body when sleeping; to be awaken when sleeping. Go'ê baé ge na'ê mété taní. When I awoke, I found her crying.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| bagé | /bage/ | Syn: wékã. v. divide; distribute; share. Bagé doi wé ma'ã hama – hama! Share the money fairly (among you)! |
| baahá | /baħa/ | v. wash. Baha labu wé si. Could you wash that shirt, please. |
| baahá | /baħa/ | v. row. Gére nê go' baaha. Come on board the canoe, and I will row for you. |
| ba'ai | /baʔi/ | adj. rotten. Pao wé ba'i'i kaç. The mango fruit is already rotten. |
| ba'ã | /ba'ã/ | v. hear; listen. Go' mayã ema nekû na' baĩ hela. I called mother but she did not hear me. |
| ba'ã | /ba'ã/ | adj. rotten. Pao wé ba'i'i kaç. The mango fruit is already rotten. |
| ba'ã | /ba'ã/ | v. bite. Adé'ē bakaro nê na tanî. His little brother bit him so he cried. |
| baka | /baka/ | v. stab a machete into a tree trunk so that it remains there. Baka pêda pé kayo wé ku'a akéné deka. Stab the machete deeply into the tree, so that it may not fall down. |
| bakã | /bakã/ | v. compensate (such as in a traditional marriage). When a man marries a woman, he would pay a dowry, such as an ivory, to the woman’s parents. Often a dowry is not available for a man, and as a compensate, he would let one of his sisters go and stay with his wife’s parents. If the man does not have a female sibling, the whole clan of the
man would make an agreement to choose one girl from the clan. Na'ẽ baké kewa'ẽ na'a biné na'ẽ. He compensates his wife with his own sister.

bake /bak/ v. peel. Bapa mété baké wata bete'ẽ. Father is peeling the green corn.

baki /baki/ Syn: haré. Variant: baké. v. remove peel (of fruit) with hand. Mo' baki muda wé kia. Peel the lemon for me, please.

bali /bali/ v. return? erepira? faeces. The baby is sleeping (urine or faeces) something (usually liquid such as urine or faeces)

balã /balã/ a piece of tusk used as dowry. Kewaé na'ẽ wé leri béh. He provided five pieces of ivory to his wife's family as a dowry.

balo /balo/ n. ball. Wia kamé ma'ã bal. We played football yesterday. We played football yesterday.

balo /bala/ Syn: olaké. n. ivory; elephant tusk used as a dowry. Kewaé na'ẽ wé wéfĩ bala léma. He provided five pieces of ivory to his wife's family as a dowry.

bali /bali/ Variant: pidã. v. sleep on something (usually liquid such as urine or faeces). Ana wé balã tãi. The baby is sleeping on his own faeces.

bam /bam/ n. glass and give it to your father.

bango /banga/ n. eagle. [Note: Lamaholot people usually combine the species name of a bird with 'kol' meaning bird, such as 'kolõ bega'.]

begé /begé/ n. a kind of lizard.

ula begé /ula bege/ snake and lizard.

bega /bega/ v. pour. Ema nai bayo tahã. Mother went to pound the rice.

bayo /bayo/ v. pound. Ema nai bayo tahã. Mother went to pound the rice.

bayo /bajo/ v. pound. Ema nai bayo tahã. Mother went to pound the rice.

bedi /bedi/ n. rifle; gun. Pelisi pasa kobu to'u na'ã bedi. The police shot a crocodile with a gun. [Note: This word is a borrowing from Malay 'bedi'].

bega /bega/ n. eagle. [Note: Lamaholot people usually combine the species name of a bird with 'kol' meaning bird, such as 'kolõ bega'].

bégé /begé/ n. a kind of lizard.

ula begé /ula bege/ snake and lizard.

bego /bego/ v. arrive; come (from a place). Ema' bego'õ kaé lé wati? Has mother already arrived or not yet?

bêhĩ /bêhĩ/ v. pour. Bêhi wai wé ia gelas sorõ bapa'ã. Pour the water into the glass and give it to your father.

bêhĩ /bêhĩ/ adv. just; recently. Na' behĩ nai sekola He just left for school

beka /beka/ Syn: lié. v. fly. Kolõ beka léré - léré. The bird is flying low above the ground.

beku /beku/ Syn: berota. v. uproot (small plants); pull out. Na'ẽ mété beku kreme. He is uprooting the grasses.

bela /bela/ v. split; crack; cause to crack; break. Kamé beka wato ma'ã wika
rua. We cracked the stone into two pieces.

**belagané** /bolaganõ/  Variant:  balagan.  
adj. a house without wall. Lango wé **belagané uli'ĩ**, ra'ẽ gebi wati. That house still has no wall, because they have not built them yet.

**belaha** /bolaha/  Variant:  belaha'ã.  adj. long. Ula belaha'ã wé iku'ũ belaha-belaha. The long snake has a very long tail. [Note: The variant form is used as a modifier only].

**belakĩ** /balakĩ/  Syn:  amalakę;  kébelakĩ.  Variant:  blakĩ.  n. man; boy; gentleman

**belã** /bəlã/  n. a kind of thin bamboo. **Belutu wé ra'é ranã ra'ã belã.** 'Belutu' is woven from 'bel'.

**belaha** /bəlaha/  adj. easily; lightly; easily. **Lénk ku'ẽ baĩ, belaha berge.** Don't lean heavily on the support, it is almost broken.

**belapé** /bəlapé/  n. dyke or embankment made of stones (usually made in the farm) to protect soil from erosion.

**beleu** /bolawu/  Variant:  belawu'ũ.  adj. hard (work). Na keriã belewu-belewu puke keriã na'ẽ wé belawu'ũ. He works hard because the job he is doing is difficult. [Note: The variant form is used as a modifier only].

**belewaí** /bolaweĩ/  n. controller; captain. Mo'ẽ tobo raé waha nẽ go'ẽ belewaí. You go and sit at the bow, and let me be your captain (to control this canoe).

**belewu** /bolawu/  Variant:  belewu'ũ.  adj. long. Ula belewu'ũ wé iku'ũ belewai-belaweĩ. The long snake has a very long tail. [Note: The variant form is used as a modifier only].

**belie** /bəlia/  n. star. Ekã kowa menu, belie bo to'ũ di géré toĩ la. It is cloudy to night, so we cannot see even a single star.

**belie** /bəlia/  n. a water storage place. Leĩ belia'ã go? I heard that his father is seriously ill, is that true?

**belia** /bəlia/  v. smoke an object. Muko wé bæle usu nẽ béra nẽ taha. Smoke the banana so that it can be ripe soon.

**beli** /bəli/  Variant:  bæle'ẽ.  adj. big; large. Lango wé bæle-bæle. That house is very big. Na'ẽ hopẽ lango bæle'ẽ to'ũ. He bought a big house. [Note: The variant form is used as a modifier only].

**beli** /bəli/  v. grow. Béra bæle nẽ mai sekolah. Grow up quickly so that you can go to school.

**beló** /bəlo/  n. fish trap made of bamboo incisions. It is usually put at the end of 'atu' See atu. Na'ẽ bæle peri na'ã nanã belutu. He cut down the bamboo to plait 'belutu'.

**bengé** /bəŋə/  Syn:  berĩ.  v. strike; hit. Na'ẽ bengé aho na'ã alo. He struck the dog with a rice pestle.

**benu** /bənu/  v. smoke. Mo seru tapo kearikẽ wé ta'ã benu klu kia. Burn the coconut fibre to drive away the mosquitoes.

**béra** /bəra/  Variant:  bérã.  adj. hurry;
quick. Pana béra si. Walk fast, will you?.

bérä /bërä/ Variant: béra. adj. hurry; quick. Pana béra si. Walk fast, will you?.

berawukê /berawukê/ adj. hairy. tê bëberawukê, his leg is hairy.

berékê /berékê/ n. barbed arrow head. Na’ë métë tula berekê ta’ë le’ë kerêtu. He is making barbed arrows for us to shoot octopus.

berewaĩ /berewaĩ/ Syn: keberewaĩ; inawàe. n. woman; girl.

berihã /berihã/ v. cook; prepare meal. Berihã wata tekã kia. Please prepare our meal.

bëro /bëro/ n. canoe. Nuhã waha, géhã bëro ta’ë raë mara’ë wë. After fishing, drag the canoe ashore and put it inland away from the seashore.

bëro élë’ë /bëro élë’ë/ outriggers.

bëro wahã /bëro wahã/ bow.

bëro urï /bëro ʔurï/ stern.

beta /beta/ v. hit an object with something either held by the hand or let go forcefully by hand. Go’ë betaro ka’ë bal kedi pla’ë ka’ike. I hit him with the ball and then ran away.

beta /beta/ n. indication telling that a fruit such as sugar-apple, or cassava yam is ready to harvest. For a sugar-apple, the fruit surface is no longer rough, and for cassava, the soil around the stem has some cracks. Mo ba’ë uwë kayo dorë pé beta kaë wë. If you want to dig up the cassava, choose those which are already ready to harvest.


bëto /bëto/ v. come (from). arrive. Erepira ge na’ë bëto? When will he/she arrive?

bího /bího/ Variant: biso. v. cook. Kewaë go’ë métë bího wata. My wife is cooking rice.

bëlo /bëlo/ v. make an opening in awall for peeping. Ra’ë bílo kenebi ra’ë gelô temaka. They are making a hole in the wall to peep at the thieves.

binë /bine/ Variant: binë. n. sister; woman. Binë kamë takë. We have no sisters.

bo /bo/ adv. mere. Go ia ike bo lema ka hëna I merely caught five fish.

boka /boka/ n. basket plaited from lontar leaves used to keep corn seeds.

boko’ô /boko’ô/ v. squat; turn one’s buttock. Akë boko’ô, dë’ë ma’ë mopapa-mopa! Stand upright!

bolo /bolo/ n. cake. Kamë makë bolo kenorëne. We ate fried cake.

botê /botê/ v. carry something or someone like a baby. Na’ë no’ô ema’ë lali ruma sakit nabe bote. He took his mother to the hospital by carrying her like a baby.


boti /boti/ v. pile up, heap up, accumulate. Ra’ë métë boti atu lali watë. They are piling up the stone (’atu’) on the beach.


brëü /brëü/ n. friend. Ru’aka berëü Both of them are friends.

brëũ /brëũ/ Syn: brefi. v. throw down forcefully. Bri’ë krëtu wë né ma’ë mata’a. Throw the octopus down forcefully to kill it.

bua /bua/ v. sail. Tëna bua mara-marà. The ship sailed along the shoreline.

bu’â /bu’â/ v. eat; have a meal. Pai bu’ate kia. Come over here and let’s have a meal.

bu’â tamû /bu’â tamû/ serve quests.

bu’â ata kebële’ë /bu’â ata këbële’ë/ serve the government officials or land lords.

bura /bura/ v. boil. Wai bura’ë kaë. The water is already boiling.

bura /bura/ Variant: bura’ë. adj. white. Labu wë bura-bura. That shirt is really white. Na’ë nelë labu bura’ë. He is wearing a white shirt. [Note: The variant form is used as a modifier only].

bura’ä /bura’ä/ Ant: mitenë. Variant: bura. adj. white. Na’ë nelë labu bura’ë. He is wearing a white shirt.

bura’â kwërok /bura’â kwërok/ icy white.

burë /burë/ v. break (of grass) Kereme wë mabe ola, akë burë. The grasses must be uprooted, don’t just break
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buta mété wallä mara  /bута мэтэ вала мара/</td>
<td>early days during the creation of the earth, when lands separated from water.</td>
<td>buta  /бута/</td>
<td>n. button. Ema haũ buta labu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### D - d

**dahā** /dahā/  | Syn: gete. v. ask; inquire. Dahāro kia, na balí erepíra. Ask him, when he will be back. | **deke** /деке/  | Variant: deketē. adj. sharp. Yaga, hēpē wē deke-deke Be careful, the knife is very sharp. Na'ė gena hēpē deketē to'u. He found a sharp knife. [Note: The variant form is used as a modifier only]. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dahé  /dahē/</td>
<td>Ant: doā. Variant: dahé'ē. adj. near. Kamē iake dahé wulē. We live near the market. Wulē wē pi dahé'ē. The market is close by. [Note: The variant form is used as a modifier only].</td>
<td><strong>déké</strong> /декé/</td>
<td>v. sharpen. Go' déké au wika'ã to'u ka'ã roba wawé'. I sharpened a bamboo blade to stab the pig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dai  /dai/</td>
<td>v. come from a seaward direction. Na'ė lau watā dai. He is coming from the beach.</td>
<td><strong>déki</strong> /дёки/</td>
<td>v. insert. Na' newã utã kedi déki ia nake. He collected a bean fruit then inserted it into the roof.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danã  /danã/</td>
<td>v. do something without eyes open or without seeing. Na'ė wē lé'ō wawé nabē danã di teka. For him, shooting a wild pig with his eyes closed is always fortunate.</td>
<td><strong>dé'ti</strong> /дёти/</td>
<td>v. stand up. Aké dé'ti miã mo hīpa go'ē. Don't stand up; you block my sight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danĩ  /danĩ/</td>
<td>v. play; strike. Béda mété danĩ gedã. Bēda is striking the drum.</td>
<td><strong>deko</strong> /дёко/</td>
<td>v. insert something under something or into a hollow to hide it. Na'ė deko deko'õ penekũ ia ohã wuitã. He hid his urine-smelling pants under the mat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dara  /dara/</td>
<td>v. warm oneself by sitting or standing near a fire. Ema Uto tobo dara'ã ia apé rēkānã. Ms. Uto sat to warm herself near the fire.</td>
<td><strong>déko</strong> /дёко/</td>
<td>n. pants; trousers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darã  /darã/</td>
<td>Ant: knorē. adj. sunny. Eka darãna kaē wi, pa'i alē lolo demē'ē wē kia. It is sunny at the moment. Bring those wet clothes and dry them in the sun.</td>
<td><strong>déko kesu'ũ</strong> /дёко кесу'ũ/</td>
<td>short.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dé  /dē/</td>
<td>v. stretch a rope. Kréak ra' genekuka dē tale nele pé raē larã. The children are playing by stretching the rope along the street.</td>
<td><strong>déko belaha'ã</strong> /дёко бэлаха'ã/</td>
<td>trousers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>déka  /déka/</td>
<td>Syn: lenga; goka. v. fall down; drop. Ana wē bēhī ladē deka. That child is just learning to walk, so he walks and falls repeatedly.</td>
<td>déko alas /дёко алас/</td>
<td>underpants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>déka  /déka/</td>
<td>Syn: gēba; wē'a. v. pelt. Na'ė kebēkē ayaka nē go' dekarō ka'ã wato. He is too naughty, so I pelted him with a stone.</td>
<td><strong>deku</strong> /дёку/</td>
<td>v. collide. Ra'ē ru'aka deku koteka. Their heads collided.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dékā  /dekā/</td>
<td>v. swing a machete to cut something. Ra'ē ru'aka geni nē guē péda gahĩ ra'ā dékā wekika. They both had a quarrel, and then each of them took a machetes intending to kill each other.</td>
<td><strong>demã</strong> /дема/</td>
<td>Ant: mara'ã. Variant: demē'ē. adj. wet. Labu na'ē demã-demã. His shirt is very wet. Na'ē nelē labu demē'ē. He wears a wet shirt. [Note: The base form 'demã' is used only in reduplication to express intensification and in comparison, whereas the variant form 'demē'ē is used as a modifier only].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demu  /дему/</td>
<td>Syn: dila; velo. v. lick. Gā demu no'õ limā. He eats while licking his fingers.</td>
<td><strong>Variant:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Note:**
- *Syn:* synonym
- *Ant:* antonym
- *Note:* note on the meaning or usage of the word.

---
demu/ /damu/ v. eat newly harvested crop for the first time. Suku kamē'e demu wetē vulā waiķ. Our clan will have a feast for the newly harvested millet next month.

dėnā /dėnā/ Syn: biho. v. cook, boil. Dėnā wai nē tula kopi tēnū. Boil the water and then make some cups of coffee for us to drink.

denge /dėnɡe/ Syn: bai. v. hear; listen. Denge! Go oneke tutu mē'o koda to'u. Listen, I want to tell you a story.

dėra /dēra/ v. boil eggs. Ema dėra manu teluũ sori'go'ė. Mother boiled some eggs for me.

deru /dēru/ v. pull out. Na' deru' newā hala. She/he cannot pull (it) out

detā1 /dētā/ Syn: ipo. v. finish something up. Gō, detā wata wē ma'ā wahā. Have it, eat up the rice.

detā2 /dētā/ v. knock; smash lightly; pat. Detā gerē wē nē ketenē deka. Pat the divan lightly so that the spilled food may fall down.

deto /dēto/ v. knock an object with another object or hand to make a sound. Guru gete merē hēgē nēku deto mēja wē. The teacher asked who had just knocked the table.

dėwa /dēwa/ Syn: wēkā. v. divide; share. Na'ē dėwa bolo na'ā hama - hama. He distributed the cakes fairly.

di1 /dī/ adv. more. Doi na'ē di aya. He has more money. [Note: This sense is used in comparative clauses only].

di2 /dī/ adv. also. Na'ē di noiro. He also knew it.

di3 /dī/ PRT. indicate actuality. Kamē haka mabē lērī di. It is true that we came on foot.

diga /diɡa/ Variant: ga. adv (qword), where. Bapa'a dāga? Where is your father?

dimū /dimū/ Syn: sasi. n. water melon. Dimū Solor wē kelemi-kelemi. The water melon from Solor is so sweet.

dira /dīra/ v. fan. Dira apē kia, mata'a kaē wē. Fan the fire, it is going to go out.

menira /manira/ n. hand-held fan woven from lontar tree leaves.

do /dō/ v. eat with. Ra'ē rekā wata do ikā. They are eating rice with fish.

doā /doā/ Syn: dahē. Variant: do'ē. adj. far. Akē légā doā ba'i. Don't take a walk too far. Larā doē. It is a long road. [Note: The variant form is used as a modifier only].

doi /doi/ n. money. Go'ē doi takē. I don't have any money. [Note: This word is a loan from Indonesian 'doj']

dokā /dokā/ v. store; bring into the storehouse. Ra'ē dokā wata raē orī one'ē. They stored the corn in the hut.

do'i /dō'i/ Syn: ido. Variant: do'it. v. pry up, gouge out. Na' do'it wato bēle'ē to'u na'ā kayo. He pried a big rock with a piece of wood.

doko /doko/ n. type of traditional umbrella made of pandan leaves. Kamē nolo'o mai sekolah wē kalo ekā urā ma'ā doko. In my time, when it was raining while we were going to school, we used 'doko'.

do'o /do'o/ Syn: pu'u. v. clean. Na'ē do'o keluba na'ā awo. She cleaned the pot with some kitchen ash. [Note: This word is used to denote a very serious cleaning process until the object being cleaned gets really clean, especially by using substances such as ash or sand to rub around the cleaned object].

dolā /dolā/ v. spin; twine (a flexible object). Go mētē dolā tale. I am spinning the rope.

dolē /dolē/ v. spin; twine (a long solid object, such as a stick). Na'ē lē'ō kretu teka, kedi dolē gerē. He shot an octopus, and then spun the arrow while lifting it up.

dolo /dolo/ n. a kind of Lamaholot traditional song and dance. It is a round dance, performed by a group of people (both male and female), holding hands and forming a circle, while singing a 'dolo' song and walking antclowise in a rhythmic way following the song. Ra'ē ra'ā dolo hewo hegulē. They performed the 'dolo' the whole night.

dopa /dopa/ v. ascend; climb up. Kamē dopa ilē mai seba kayo au. We
climbed up the mountain in search for building wood.

dor /dor/ adv. always. Na’ė opě go’ė dorė. He always told a lie to me.

dorā /dorā/ v. swallow. Ana wē dorā kepurė. That cild swallowed a piece of gravel.

dorē /dorē/ v. pull up.

dorē wai /dorē wai/ pulling up water from a well with a basket.

dorē /dorē/ v. follow. Na’ė dorē ana sekolah alatē. He followed the students.

dota /dota/ Syn: beri. n. bang; slam; punch. Na’ė one’ė gelagi ayaka kedi dota kenebi dī tobā. He got so angry

that he banged the wall and the wall collapsed.

duan /duan/ Variant: duanē. n. jungle; forest. Kamē pana mele duanē one’ē. We walked through the middle of the jungle.

du’ū 1 /du’ū/ Ant: hopė. v. sell. Ra du’ū lango ra’ē kaē. They already sold their house.


duli /duli/ n. valley. Kamē seba kayo apē lali duli. We searched for firewood in the valley.

---

E - e

eba /eba/ Variant: eba’ā. adj. flat; plain. Eka ra’ē eba-eba Their terrain here is really flat. Titē keriā lango wē se ia ekā eba’ā When we want to build a house, it should be on flat ground. [Note: This expression is used to name the God in Lamaholot in traditional beliefs].

epa /epa/ v. catch. Golo bal pai nē go epa. Roll the ball here and I will catch it.

epā /epā/ n. trunk.

kayo epā /kajo epā/ tree trunk.

epē /epē/ n. a kind of container made of lontar leaves and used to store rice, corn, etc.. Ema nanā epē to’u. Mother already plaited a lontar container.

epě /epě/ n. a package of one’s own belongings. Na’ métē abu epenē. She is packing up her belongings.

epu /epu/ Syn: gelawe. v. gather; unify; mix. Pao tangē ta’ō na’ē waha. Akē epu tenaha’ā wē. The green mango must be put aside. Don’t mix them with those already ripe.

epuboi /epuboi/ v. gather and make an agreement or give approval. Kamē epuboi raē lango bēle’ē. We gathered and made an agreement in the main house. [Note: This word is usually used in association with a traditional ceremony].

era /era/ n. seed; seedling. Tahā pi hora wi neka ta’ā era. The paddy grain in the box is kept for seed.

erā /erā/ v. perch; alight; land. Kolō to’u erā pé raē wato lolo. A bird
ere  /ərə/  v. heat; burn unrepurposely.
Mo'è tuno ikà nengenai nè ere mele lima? How did you burn your own finger when baking the fish?
eret  /ərət/  n. face. Eret hélo bapa'á. His face is just like his father’s.
ete  /ətə/  v. tighten. Ete talé wé ku'á muri. Tighten the rope a little bit more.
ete  /ətə/  adv. in fact. Go ete talé ka'á geto'o kaé. I have already cut off the rope.
ewǔ /əwũ/  n. sweat; perspiration. Ewǔ na'ê labu go'ê demá demá. Sweat makes my shirt wet.
newǔ /əwü/  v. perspire. Na'ê ewũna kaé. He has already perspired.
+elé /ələ/  Variant: +abé. mod. Na'ê nebe deî, gere nebe tobo hala. He stood up, not sat down [Note: This is a modal verb used to indicate 'deonticity'. It is a bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. The whole array of the paradigmatic forms are the same as those of other bound roots indicated with a plus sign (+) placed right in front of the root].
+elé /ələ/  v. wear. Na'ê nelé labu mé'ã. She is wearing a red shirt. [Note: This is a verbal bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].
kelé I am wearing ....
melé you (sg) are wearing ....
nelé he/she is wearing ....
telé we (inc) are wearing ....
melé we (exc) are wearing ....
relé you (pl) are wearing ....
relé they are wearing ....
+elé /ələ/  v. borrow. Na'ê nelé doi go'ê. He borrowed my money. [Note: This is a verbal bound root which obligatorily requires pronominal proclitics. See +elé].
+eté /ətə/  v. bring; carry. Mo' sega meté à? What did you bring? [Note: This is a verbal bound root which requires pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].
keté I bring....
etté he/she/it brings....
teté we (inc) bring.
keté we (exc) bring....
meté you (pl) bring....
reté they bring....
+ewã /əwã/  v. harvest. Kamé mewã tapo. We picked up coconut fruit. [Note: This form is a verbal bound root. It requires pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].
kewå I harvested....
mewã you (sg) harvested....
newã he/she harvested....
tewã we (inc) harvested....
mewã we (exc) harvested....
mewã you (pl) harvested....
rewã they harvested....
+ewã /əwã/  v. can; be able to. Na'ê géré tape newõro. He can climb a coconut tree. [Note: This form is a bound root. It requires pronominal proclitics. See +ewã]. It is always used as a second verb in serial verb constructions].
+ewé /əwe/  v. arrive. Kamé mewé rema'ã kaé. We arrived at night. [Note: This is a verbal bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].
kewé I arrived.
mewé you (sg) arrived.
newé he/she arrived.
tewé we (inc) arrived.
mewé we (exc) arrived.
mewé you (pl) arrived.
rewé they arrived.
É - é

éba /ˈeba/ n. a kind of snail.

kima éba /ˈima ˈeba/ éba snail.

éhê /ˈehê/ n. ambarella (spondias dulcis).

éhé wuá /ˈehê wuá/ ambarella fruit.

éhí /ˈehí/ n. yield; crops. Mâ na’ê pi tû éhí také. His farm had no crops this year.

ékã /ˈekã/ n. environment; situation.

ékã valanê /ˈekã ˈalanã/ muddy environment.

ékã gemeki-gemeki /ˈekã ˈgəməki-ˈgəməki/ a quiet situation.

tana ékã /ˈtana ˈekã/ universe.

éké /ˈeké/ v. touch physically. Aké éké ro, na’ê one’ê métê gelagi wé. Don’t touch him, he is still angry.

ékê /ˈekê/ n. one leg bamboo ladder. Ra’é géré tapo ra’ã ékê. They climbed up the coconut tree using a one leg bamboo ladder.

élu /ˈelu/ n. grindstone. Guté elu pâi go’ doro péda kia. Take that grindstone for me, so I can sharpen the machette.

éwa, /ˈewa/ n. path of wild animal (usually found in the bush, wood or jungle). Kamé pana doré éwa ruha na’ê. We followed the path of the deer.

éwa2 /ˈewa2/ v. trap animal using a rope.

Na’ê éwa wawé utã to’u. He trapped a wild pig.

+énũ1 /ˈenũ/ v. drink. Ra’ê métê rénũ kopi. They are drinking coffee. [Note: This form is a verbal bound root which requires pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].

kénũ I am drinking.

ménũ you (sg) are drinking.

nénũ he/she/it is drinking.

ténũ we (inc) are drinking.

ménũ we (exc) are drinking.

ménu you (pl) are drinking.

rénu they are drinking.

+énũ2 /ˈenũ/ v. smoke. Sékâ pai tênu kebakò kíà? Come here and let us smoke. [Note: This form is a verbal bound root which requires pronominal proclitics. See +énũ1 for paradigmatic changes].

G - g

gâ /ˈgá/ v. he/she/it eats. [Note: This is the irregular form of the bound root meaning ‘to eat’ with a 3rd-person singular. It has a complete clausal meaning: ‘he/she/it eats’. See +kã].

gabu /ˈgaba/ v. wrap. Na’ê métê gabu ékâñe. She is wrapping her belongings.

gaha /ˈgaha/ v. cry for a dead person while saying something about his/her good deeds. Kwaa’ê tani gaha gêp tabé pêtê. His wife’s crying over his dead body was really touching.

gaha /ˈgaha/ v. stone. Ra’ê gaha ula ra’ã mata’a. They stoned the snake to death.

gala /ˈgala/ v. build house with concrete (cement). Na’ê gala langu’dõ waha’a kaé. He has already built a house.

gala /ˈgala/ n. spear. Na’ê na’â gala tuba wawé to’u. He used a spear to stab a pig.

galû /ˈgalû/ Variant: galuk. v. roll. Galû klain wé ta’ã pâc keluba. Roll that dirty cloth, so we can use it as a pad to put the cooking pot on.

gasí /ˈgasí/ v. count; calculate. Toi mo’ê gasî atadike’ê wahâ kaé pé raé ata pîra. Try to count how many people are there.

gatâ /ˈgatã/ v. spread; expose. Tobó wé aké seme gatâ ata bâi. Don’t expose someone’s secret life.

gawa /ˈgawa/ v. hug; embrace.

gawé /ˈgawe/ v. jump; pass by; go through. Lû wé títê gawé bisa hala, wai bêle - bêle. We cannot go through that river, as the current is too strong.

ge /ˈge/ conj. then. Yaga ra’ê sega kîa ge mo’ê pài. Wait until they arrive, then you may come here.

gê /ˈge/ v. you (plural) eat. [Note: This is
the irregular form of the bound root meaning 'to eat' with a plural second person. It has a complete clausal meaning: 'you (pl) eat'. See +kã.

géba /gëba/ Syn: wë'ã. v. pelt. Na'ë géba aho moõ naõ wato. He pelted your dog with a stone.

gebe /gëbo/ v. catch something, usually animal, such as a chicken by using a container such as a bucket, to immediately cover the object being caught. Na'ë mété gebe manu. He is catching a chicken.

gebi /gëbi/ v. construct a wall. Ra'ë mété gebi lango raõ. They are constructing the wall of their house.

gedâ /gëdå/ n. drum. Mai dani gedâ kia. Go and play the drum.

géhã /gëghã/ v. pull; drag. Na'ë nûhâna waha kedi géhã béro raõ mara'ã nai. After he finished fishing, he dragged the canoe toward the dry land.

géhi /gëhi/ v. disagree; disallow; refuse. Na'ë géhi'i doré goõ la. He refused to follow me.

géké /gëke/ v. put in row; queue. Ra'ë géké wato doré larã. They arranged the stones in a row along the path.

giker /gëker/ adj. shocked; surprised. Go'ë kebekaro di gekera. I shouted at him, and he was shocked.

gela1 /gëla/ v. show things by spreading them everywhere; display. Na'ë mété gela ekane wëh wulê. He is displaying his goods in the market.

gela2 /gëla/ v. mix; combine; intercede. Tobô rabé gela kemamû noõ kebare. Sit and mix among the young men and young women.

gelagi /gëlagî/ Variant: glagi. adj. angry; tangled. Na'ë oneõ gelagi. He is angry. [Note: Literal translation would be 'his heart is tangled'.]

gelalâ /gëlalâ/ v. examine something to choose or select. Gelalâ ma'ã mela-mela kia ge guté. Examine those things carefully before you choose one.

gele /gëla/ adj. tired; exhausted. Go'ë geleke kaõ. I am tired already.

geleka /gëlakâ/ v. serve; dedicate. Pai titê tobo taõ geleka lewo tana. Let's stay to dedicate ourselves to our motherland.

glekû /gëlkû/ v. fold one's hands or legs when sitting or sleeping. Kenatã kesuka, turukõ mabe gelekû. The bed is too short, so fold your legs when sleeping.

gelile /gëlîlê/ v. show off. Na'ë pana mété gelile'ê. She showed off while she was walking.

gelô /gëlô/ n. a kind of container made of clay used to store water. Gelô bela'â kaõ. That water container is broken.

gelora /gëlorâ/ v. gliding down; roll down. Pas goõ lenge raõ, ula wê gelora têtì wato lolon lodo. At the moment I looked at that direction, I saw a snake gliding down from above the stone.

gélo /gëlu/ v. exchange; substitute. Na'ë gélu labu goõ. He exchanged my shirt for his shirt.

gelupa /gëlupâ/ v. forget. Akê gelupa hopê ikã. Don't forget to buy some fish.

gemama /gëmama/ v. put a log across a gutter or ditch. Moõ'ë gemama kayo wë nê goõ kaõã gawé. Put the log across the ditch so I can walk on it.

gememur /gëmemur/ v. rinse one's mouth; gargle. Hegulõ hogo wê gememur usi. Upon waking up in the morning, don't forget to brush your teeth.

gemetuk /gëmetuk/ v. make a sound like the sound of house lizard (gecko) to express refusal or disagreement. Na'ë gemetuk nuã go marî naõ doré pohê'ê ola mâ. He refused by 'gemetuk' when I asked him to go to work in the garden.

gemi /gëmi/ Variant: gumi. v. pinch; take a piece out of something with fingers. Go'ë gemiro tilû pûkû na kebêkê ayaka. I pinched his ear because he was too naughty.

gemohi /gëmohî/ v. working bee; work together in a group for one member and then take turns to work for other members until every member gets his/her turn. Kamê kebêkê mâ mahê gemohi. We work on our farm by 'gemohi'.

genâ /gëna/ Syn: ai. v. find out. Na'ë gena doi ài larã. He found some money on
the street.
genā, /gənā/ v. inherit; pass down; legacy. Na'ē mata genā doi aya'a. When he died, he inherited a lot of money.
genāː /gənāː/ v. leave out; give something as a reminder. Kamē maïke kaē wi, kū kamē genā mi'o ā wi? We are leaving now; we don't have anything that we can leave for you as a reminder.
genato /gənato/ v. send. Na'ē genato ana'ā doi na'ā patē sekolah. He sent his son some money for his school fee.
geneku /gənēku/ v. play with something. Ana wē métē geneku'u no'ō aho. That boy is playing with a dog.
gepa, /gəpə/ v. shout. Mo'ē akē gepa, tutu ma'ā paō - paō di go'ē bai ro. You don't have to shout, I can hear what you are saying.
 gere1, /gərə/ adv. indeed. Go'ē gere koi hala. I don't know about it, indeed.
 gere2, /gərə/ v. call chickens. Mo'ē gere manu wē né pa'ū raē'ā kia. Call the chickens and feed them.
gérē /gərɛ/ v. hang an object such as a curtain as a screen. Na gérē tapo lepa'ā na'ā kenebi. He hung coconut tree leaves as a temporary wall.
gérē1 /gərɛ/ v. enter; climb up. Gérē mewā tape kia. Climp up the coconut tree and pick its fruits.
gérē2 /gərɛ/ prep. upward; up. Na'ē turu'ū aē gérē. He is sleeping with his face upward.
gérēpa /gərɛpa/ v. starve. Urā wai takē newi, tū wēle kē tērēpa. Without rain, we will starve next year.
geruha /gərũhə/ v. do something in a hurry. Mi'o geruha biso wata nē tekane. Quickly prepare our meal so that we can have dinner soon.
getā /gətə/ adj. even; complete. Kerē'ē raē sega getā kaē go? Have all the children arrived?
gete /gətə/ Syn: dahā. v. ask; enquire. Mo'ē gete ā? What did you ask?
geto1 /gəto/ v. cut off; fell. Kayo wē tua'ā kaē, titē getoro. That tree is old, we must fell it.
geto2 /gətɔ/ v. break; disjoin. Talē geto'ā kaē. The rope broke.
 génō /gətô/ v. move one's hip back and forth. Na'ē soka nabē génō. He is dancing by moving his hip back and forth.

gewāyā /gəwājā/ v. accompany; serve. Na'ē gewāyā kamē bali lau langō mai. He accompanied us returning home.
gewē /gəwe/ v. lid; close. Gewē keluba wē ma'ā mako. Cover the cooking pot with a bowl.
gewētē /gəwēte/ Syn: hoga. v. lost; vanish; disappear. Doi go'ē gewētē'ē kaē. I lost my money.
gewi /gəwî/ Syn: gēmi. v. pinch a bit of (cake). Akē gēmi muri, di gūtē gō. Don't pinch anymore, just take the whole of it and eat it.
giā /giyā/ adj. worn. Labũ'ū giā-giā. His shirt is already worn out.
gilo /gīlō/ adj. sour. Tōbi wē gilo-gilo. The tamarin is very sour.
giok /gijok/ v. chirp; sound of baby chick. Manu ana'ā giokē. The baby chicks are chirping.
gipe /gīpə/ v. clip. Na gipe aho wulĩ no'ō leī. He clipped the dog's head with his legs.
kenipe /kənīpə/ n. clipper; clamp. Gutē kenipe pai go gipe ratake kia. Take a clipper for me to clip my hair. [Note: 'Kenipe' is derived from verb 'gipe' by infixing '<en>' right after the onset of the first syllable].
giri /girī/ v. comb. Na'ē giri rata'ā hala. He did not comb his hair.

goho /ɡohō/ v. rub. Mo'ē goho mējā wē ma'ā keloho - keloho. (You) rub the table as clean as possible.
goka /ɡo'ka/ Syn: deka; lenga. v. fall down; slip. Pana ia alēnē tebe gokare. Walking on a slope may cause one to slip.
gō'ē /ɡō'ē/ pron. my; mine. Labu go'ē wu'ū. My shirt is new. Labu wē go'ē. That shirt is mine.
gō'ē /ɡō'ē/ Variant: go'; go. pron. I; me. Go'ē Lamaholot alatē. I am a Lamaholot person.
golo /ɡolo/ v. roll. Golo bal pai ne go'epa. Roll the ball here and I will

gō2 /gō/ v. you (sg) eat. This is the predicative form of the irregular verb meaning 'to eat' for the 2nd-person singular. Gō wata wé. Eat the meal. [Note: This is the only irregular form of the verb in Lamaholot. See +kã].

guē /guē/ v. draw a circle. Mo'é guē kia ge laba. You need to draw a circle as a mark and then chisel it.

**H - h**

habā /habā/ v. stay with someone. Na'é habā kaka'ã lau Kupang. He is staying with his brother in Kupang.

hada /hada/ v. put a log across two sides. Hada kayo wé ne go'é gawé. Cross that log so that I can go through.

hadū /hadū/ v. mark a plant to indicate one's possession. Tapo pé raé wé ra'é hadū ro kaé. The coconut tree over there has been marked.

hagu /hagu/ Syn: ragu. v. grab; collect. Ra'é mété hagu wera. They are collecting sand.

haka /haka/ Syn: dopa. v. move from a lower place to a higher place. Ra'é lali watā haka. They are coming up from the beach.

haku /haku/ v. mix. Garu tapo wé ra'ã haku wulũ. Grate the coconut meat to mix with the vegetables.

hala /hala/ adv. not; no. Go'é koi hala. I don't know about it.

hama /hama/ adj. the same as; similar. Déko mo'é hopé wé hama hêna. The shorts you bought are all the same.

hama; /hama/ adv. together. Ra'é ra'ika sekola hama-hama. They go to school together.

hamā /hamā/ n. a traditional dance in which a group of men hold hands together, form a circle and walk in a rhythmic way around the circle anticlockwise while singing. Hamā wia ba'ũ wé golo-golo. The 'haman' you performed last night was so loud.

hamâ; /hamâ/ v. perform 'hamâ'. Ra'é mété hamâ lau namâ. They are performing 'hamâ' in the 'hamâ court.

hamā /hamā/ Syn: peregã. v. stamp on the ground repeatedly. Na'é tani sampe hamâna. She was crying while stamping her feet repeatedly.

hamo /hamo/ Syn: so'o; hamũ. v. sweep. Hamo ékã ma'ã keloho-keloho. Clean the room as thoroughly as possible.

hamũ /hamũ/ Syn: hamo. v. clean; sweep. Hamũ milã wé kia. Clean this rubbish.

hapal /hapal/ v. memorize. [Note: This is a loan word from Indonesian].

harē /harē/ Syn: baki. v. peel something such as fruit with a knife. Harē uwê wē nē biho. Peel the sweet potato and cook it.

haru /haru/ v. prune; cut small twigs of a tree. Pao wi aké haru, miã na mata'a. Don't cut the branches of the mango tree, it can die.

hebo /hebo/ v. bathe; shower. Na'é hebo'o wati. He hasn't taken a bath yet.

hedo /hedo/ v. kick away. Kenawé pé buka bisa hala ne kabê hedo. The door could not be opened so I kicked it.

hégé /hegé/ pron (qword). who. Néku mo'ē petutuko mo'ō hégé? Who did you talk with?

hegule /hegule/ Variant: hogogule; guê. n. morning. Na'é hogo hegule wati. He wakes up early in the morning.

héka /héka/ v. change; substitute. Na'é hopé labu to'u kũ ketekela ne na'é naí héka. He bought a shirt but it did not fit him so he went to change it.
hekā /hakā/ v. promise. Go’ē hekā soro ro do. I promised to give him some money.

heku /haku/ v. accidentally bump. Na’ē heku leh i a wato di mē. He accidentally bumped his foot on a stone and it is now bleeding.

ehela /hala/ v. insert between two or more things. Wata tawa dō-doā nē ra’ hela muri. The corn germinated irregularly so they have to insert (plant) more of it.

helage /halago/ Variant: halage. conj. because. Na’ē nai seba moē helage na’ē yaga-yaga moē bego la. He went to see you because he had been waiting for you a long time, but you did not show up.

helā1 /hālā/ n. oil.

helā tapo /hālā tapo/ coconut oil.

helā tanā /hālā tanā/ kerosene.

helā kenorenē /hālā kōnorenē/ cooking oil.

helā2 /hālā/ v. stack; pile; put thing one above the other. Ta’o piirī akē helā miā nabá bela. Don’t stack the plates, otherwise they will break.

helō1 /hēlō/ v. insert. Na’ē helo utā wuā ia nake. He inserted a bean fruit in the thatched roof.

helō2 /hēlō/ v. repair a roof. Ra’ē mētē helo lango ra’ē. They are repairing the roof of their house.

hēlo /hēlo/ adv. like. Ana wē hēlo bapa’ā. That kid looks like his father.

helu1 /hēlu/ v. disappear. Na’ lērā kepurē heluta. If he throws a pebble up to the sky, it disappears.


hema /hēma/ Syn: tula. v. make; construct; build. Kamē mētē hema lango. We are building a house.

hēnā1 /hēnā/ adv. all; entire. Manu matē hēnā. All the chickens are dead.

hēnā2 /hēnā/ adv. only; always. Pao wuā teto hēnā. There are only three mango fruits.

hepā /hepā/ Syn: benge. v. hit; beat. Na’ē kebēkē ayaka nē go hepā ro muā. He was so naughty that I punched him.

hēpē /hēpe/ n. knife. Yaga, hēpē wē deke-deke. Be careful, that knife is extremely sharp.

hērī /hērī/ v. lay down; place. Hērī lama pe gerē lolō wē. Place the dishes on the divan.

hēto /hēto/ Syn: kebetok. v. jump. Na’ē hēto nalā nē lēi leko. He jumped improperly so he broke his leg.

hētō1 /hētō/ v. dig with snout like a pig.. Wawē hēto uwē gā waha. The pig dug and ate all the cassava.

hētō2 /hētō/ v. remove something by using one’s body. Na’ē turu’u nē hēto belonē deka waha. He slept restlessly, removing all the pillows from the bed, so they fell to the floor.

hīfī1 /hīfī/ v. get angry with; reprimand. Go’ē hīfī ro sapē na’ē tanī. I reprimanded him until he cried.

hīfī2 /hīfī/ adv. be about to. Go’ē hīfī kaike ge na’ē sega. He arrived when I was about to leave.

hīkū1 /hīkū/ n. corner. Na’ē sudu’u ia lango hīkū. He was hiding at the corner of the house.

hīkū2 /hīkū/ n. elbow. Na’ē dekata nē regu hīkū di mēi. She fell and hurt her elbow to blood. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. The nasal vowel at the end of the entry indicates the 3rd-person singular possessive form].

hipa /hipa/ v. block someone’s sight. Akē de’ē miā mo’ hipa go’ē. Don’t stand up; you block my sight.

hītō /hītō/ v. throw. Hītō wato wē pai. Throw the stone here.

hīwa /hīwa/ num. nine. Ana go’ē hiwa. I have nine children.

hoba /hoba/ v. lay down. Na’ē bēhī hoba kū lewana mihi. He just laid down
but is already sleeping now.

hobé /hobe/ v. turn up side down. Hobé piri vé, aké nē milā. Turn the plate upside down, so it doesn't get dusty.

hobè /hobe/ adj. upside down. Piri wé nabi hobé. The plate is upside down.

hodā /hōdā/ v. collect lontar juice. Bapa'ā mété hodā tuak. His father is collecting lontar juice.

hodé /hode/ v. accept; receive. Hodé ma'ā limā wana. Receive it with your right hand.

hoga /hoga/ v. be lost; vanish; disappear. Doi go'ē hoga aya'ã. He lost a lot of money.

hogo /hogo/ v. wake up. Na'ē hogo rema'ā ulī. He woke up early in the morning.

hoko /hoko/ v. pry up. Ra'ē mété hoko tapo. They are prying up the coconut meat.

holā /holā/ v. tease. Akē holā adē'e. Don't tease you little brother.

holo /holo/ v. connect. Holo talē kenetū wē kia. Join the broken rope.

homé /home/ v. steam. Uwē rabé homé wē mæ-mæ. Steamed cassave is very delicious.

honi /honi/ v. answer one's call or shout. Ema'ā mayā wē, honi kia. Your mother is calling you, answer her.


hora /hora/ n. container plaited from lontar tree leaves. Titē tanā hora aya ta'ā tao wata. We plaited some 'hora' for us to keep corn.

horé /hore/ Syn: bau. v. pour down. Horé paō - paō, aké nē oga. Pour it down slowly so that it doesn't split.

horó /horó/ v. transport; load. Tena oto nē horó we ra. Call a car and transport this sand.

hoyā /hoyā/ v. ask; order; invite; urge; suggest. Kamē hoyāro sekola kū na'ē gēhi'i. We urged him to continue his study, but he refused.

huda /huda/ v. order; instruct; ask for. Akē huda ro, na‘one'ē kem useMemo. Don't ask him to do anything, he is very lazy.

hulē /hulē/ v. see; watch. Go' hulē na' mété temakaya. I saw him stealing something.

hulū /hulū/ v. plagiarize; cheat; copy. Krēak ra'ē ujan rabé hulē wekika. The pupils were cheating in the test.

hungē /hungē/ v. bring on head. Ema hungē wata lali mā haka. Mother brought the corn on her head from the field.

hura /hura/ n. a kind of potato.

uwé hura /uw'ē hura/ hura cassava.

hurā /hurā/ v. turn into. Ula hurā na'ā kéwo. Snakes turn into eels.

---

ia1 /i'ja/ prep. at; in. Na'ē te'i ia mā. He stays at his a farm.

ia2 /i'ia/ v. stay; live in. Bapa ia'a lali wata, go'e méhake bali. Father stayed on the beach, only I retuned home alone.

iba /i'ba/ v. scoop water with a water scoop. Na'ē mété iba wai lali lū. She is scooping the water in the river.

ide /i'da/ v. make bigger; enlarge (for elastic things). Na'ē ide déko'ō leí. He enlarged the leg opening of his short.

ido /i'do/ Syn: do'i. Variant: idok. v. prise with a lever. Na'ē ido wato wē nē wato pitāro limā. He prised the stone carelessly so the stone pressed his fingers.

ihik /i'hik/ n. meat; flesh. Dagī wē pépā ihik na'ē wahā. For the meat, separate the flesh from the bone.

ikā /i'kā/ n. fish. Kamē mekā do ikā kenorēnē. We ate with fried fish.

iker /i'kat/ n. other; else. Go'ē kepē kia, huda ata ikerē muā. I have had enough, ask someone else to do it.

iki /i'ki/ Syn: soga. v. lift. Iki keluba wē ma'ā paō-paō, yaga akēnē bela. Lift that pot carefully, so it does not break.

ikō /i'kō/ Syn: hipa. v. block; prevent (one's view). Akē ikō, go'ē hi'i lilé ra'ē ra'ā bal. Don't block my view, I want to watch the children playing.
iku /ˈiku/ n. tail. Aho wé ikuˈu belaraˈa. The tail of the dog has a wound on it. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. In most cases, ikuˈu is used. This form contains the 3rd-person singular possessive clitic indicated by the nasalized vowel attached at the end, as shown in the example].

ilé /ˈile/ n. mountain. Lewo kaméč rač ilé papaˈa. Our village is behind the mountain.

ilok /ˈilok/ v. open on'e eyes. Hogo, ilok ā muri? Why don’t you just open your eyes and wake up?

ilu /ˈilu/ n. saliva. Aké pino ilu kedepe. Don’t spit your saliva there.

ina /ˈina/ n. mother. Naˈe tanì peté iná. She is weeping because she is longing for her mother.

inawaɛ /ˈinawɛ/ Syn: keberewaˈi; kewaˈi. n. woman; lady; girl; female. Kamé wulé bali něku wé, kamé herů inawaɛ toˈu měté tanì. On the way back from the market this morning, we met a woman who was crying.

ipa /ˈipa/ n. a kind of bean. Noloˈo wata také wé, kamé kebanga ipa meká. When there was a famine, we eat 'ipa'.

ipe /ˈipe/ n. tooth. Ipek belara wiˈi. I have got a toothache. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. Consider the following paradigm].

ipek my teeth.
ipem your (sg) teeth.
ipeˈɛ his/her/its teeth.
ipeˈte our (inc) teeth.
ipeˈke our (exc) teeth.
ipeˈkɛ you (pl) teeth.
ipeˈka their teeth.

ipo1 /ˈipo/ Syn: detá. v. eat something up. Ipo wata wé maˈa waha. Eat up the rice.

ipo2 /ˈipo/ v. finalize; finish. Miã, goˈ ipo keriá wi kia Wait! I will just finish this work first.

ipo3 /ˈipo/ v. clean up. Ipo kereme wé maˈa waha. Root up all the grasses, leave nothing.

ipo4 /ˈipo/ Variant: ipok. n. poison. Ula

irā /ˈirã/ Syn: gep. v. shout at someone. Raˈe irá temaka toˈu. They are shouting at a thief.

ire /ˈirã/ adj. jealous. Naˈe ire go logé labu wuˈun. He is jealous because I am wearing a new shirt.

iru /ˈiru/ n. nose. Naˈe irú běle - běle. His nose is big. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. Consider the following paradigm].

iruk my nose.
irum your (sg) nose.
irũ his/her/its nose.
irute our (inc) noses.
iruke our (exc) noses.
iruké your (pl) noses.
iruka their noses.


ise /ˈisa/ Variant: isek. v. suck. Ana temuˈu wé ise tuho noi wati. That newly born baby does not know yet how to suck at the mother's breast.

ito /ˈito/ v. prune. Paˈi tobi wé ně ito lohó welu. Dry the tamarin and then prise off the seeds.


iyě /ˈiyẽ/ v. call a dog. Iyě ahoˈo kia, goˈe takute akéne giké goˈe. Call your dog; I am afraid it will bite me.

iyó /ˈiyɔ/ n. shark. Raˈe weda iká iyo toˈu. They caught a shark.

iyô /ˈiyɔ/ adj. green. Mā kaméč pě lau wé kreme di iyô. Look at our farm, the grass looks so green.

+iã /ˈiä/ v. expect; wait for. Goˈ kĩa moˈe pi, běra bali. I will wait for you here, come back as soon as possible. [Note: This is a bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].

kiã I am expecting ...
miã you (sg) are expecting ...
niã he/she is expecting ...
tiã we (inc) are expecting ...
mĩã we (exc) are expecting ...
mĩã you (pl) are expecting ...
riã they are expecting ...
ka /ka/ PRT. particle used to express polite request. Pai kia ka. Come here, will you?

kâ /kâ/ n. crow.

kae /kae/ adv. already. Na’ê hebo’o kaé. He has already taken a bath.

kaka /kaka/ n. elder sibling; elder brother/sister. Kaka go’ê ata telo. I have three elder siblings.

kalo /kalo/ conj. if. Kalo mo’ê gehiko wé, ruate gêù, mo’ê mété wawé nê go’ê keté wêkâ. If you disagree (with what we have decided), we can exchange (it), you bring the pig and I bring the cockatoo. [Note: This is a loan word from Indonesian ‘kalau’].

kama /kama/ n. un eaten food, leaves, fruit provided as pig’s food. Metê kama wé pa’u wawé kia. Bring that pig’s food to for the pigs.

kama’ã /kama’ã/ n. skin. Ra’ê taba gedâ ra’ã witi kama’ã. They made the drum from goat skin.

kamé /kamé/ pron. we (excluding addressee); us (excluding addressee). Kamé Karawatû alatê. We are from Karawan. [Note: This pronoun is used as subject and object].

kantar /kantar/ n. song. Ra’ê ra’ã kantar to’u. They sang a song. [Note: This word is adopted from Latin 'cantare' used in Catholic tradition meaning to sing].

kantar’ /kantar’/ v. to sing. Ra’ê kantar kelemu-kelemu. They sang beautifully. [Note: This word is adopted from Latin 'cantare' used in Catholic tradition meaning to sing].

kaya /kaja/ adj. crowded; a lot of people. Ata kayak bego wia. A lot of people arrived yesterday.

kayo /kajo/ n. tree; log; wood. Na’ê geto kayo na’ã tobê lango’ô. He felled the tree to build his house.

kbéké /kbekte/ Syn: kehere. adj. naughty. Aké kebekê, miâ go hedo mo wati. Don’t be naughty, otherwise I’ll kick you.

kbetok /kbetok/ Syn: heto. v. jump; hop. Aké kebetok baî, lêla la mo dekato wati. Don’t do too much jumping, you will soon fall.

kbukulaka /kbukulaka/ Variant: bukulaka. n. butterfly.

kèbau /kèbâu/ n. a small hut used as food storage.

kebâ /kèbâ/ Variant: kebarek. n. young girl; female teenager. Ana na’ê kebare ata telo. He has three female teenagers.

kebelâkì /kebelakì/ Syn: amalakè; belakì. n. man; gentleman.

keberawaì /keberawaì/ Syn: barawaì; inawaì. n. woman; girl.

kedâ /kdâ/ n. ladder. Hada kedâ wé ne go géré. Install that ladder, so that I can climb up.

kedéna /kdéna/ n. clan.

kedi /kdã/ conj. then; afterward. Na’ê sega kedi dêna wata. She arrived and then cooked rice.

ké’a /ké’a/ n. turtle.

ke’ari /kè’ari/ n. coconut fruit fiber. Na’ê do’o keluba na’ã ke’ari She washed the pot with coconut fruit fiber.

kelema /kèlêma/ Variant: kelemurê. adj. good looking; pretty; beautiful. Ana’ã kelemu-kelemu. His daughter is pretty. Na’ê suka kebare kelemurê to’u. He falls in love with a pretty girl. [Note: The variant form is used as a modifier only].

kelema /kèlêma/ n. the stem of lontar leaf.

Kamé geriâ witi kenalé’ê ma’ã kelema. We made the goat stall with lontar leaf stems.

kelipi /kalipi/ n. cheek. Go’ê onek gelagi nê leparo ia kelipi’t. I got mad at him and slapped him on his cheek. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. See the paradigm below].

kelipik my cheek.

kelipim your (sg) cheek.

kelipit his/her cheek.

kelipite our (inc) cheeks.

kelipike our (exc) cheeks.

kelipikè your (pl) cheeks.

kelipika their cheeks.

kelotô /kèlôtô/ n. small earthen cooking
pot. Na‘e se o wata na‘a kelotó menela‘a. She fried the corn with a broken pot.

kemalu₁ /kəməlu/ n. a kind of fish. Na‘e weda nele kemalu. He caught a 'kemalu' fish.

kemalu₂ /kəməlu/ n. drum stick. Daní gedá wé ma‘a kemalu, akè ma‘a kayo ikerẽ. To play the drum, you must use a drum stick, do not use other kinds of stick. [Note: This word is derived from the verb 'palu' with the prefix ‘keN’].

kemamũ /kəmamũ/ n. young man; youth, teenager. Kemamũ kebare ra‘é gati wekika wé biaśa. It is usual for a young man to tease a young girl.

kemu /kəmu/ adj. lazy. Oné kemu-kemu. He is very lazy (Lit: his liver is very lazy).

kenabu /kənabu/ n. package. Na‘e sega neté no‘o kenabu to‘u. He arrived with a package. [Note: This word is derived from the verb 'gabu' with the prefix 'keN'].

kenamũ /kənamũ/ n. fly. Ekã urã newi kenamũ aya-aya. In the rainy season like this, there are a lot of flies.

kenatã /kənata/ n. bamboo divan. Tobo pi kenatã lołô wi. Just sit on this bamboo divan. [Note: This word is derived from the verb 'gatã' with the prefix 'keN'].

kenavé /kənave/ n. door; gateway. Na‘e na‘i gelupa’a letu kenavé ia. He forgot to close the door when he left. [Note: This word is derived from the verb 'gawé' with the prefix 'keN'].

kenebi /kənəbi/ n. wall. Na deki peda‘a ia kenebi. He inserted his machete into the wall. [Note: This word is derived from the verb 'gebi' with the prefix 'keN'].

kenebi nuki /kənəbi nuki/ wall made of bind and sewed lontar leaves on a lath of bamboo.

kenebi keneka /kənəbi kənəka/ wall made of unevenly chopped bamboo all around the surface, with one side cut off so it can be flattened to form a plank of chopped bamboo.

kenebi təmbok /kənəbi tembo̓ / concrete wall.

kenená /kənəná/ n. inheritance. Kenená wahã kaé na‘e age héna. He took all the heritance for his own possession. [Note: This word is derived from the verb 'genã' with the prefix 'keN'].

kenepû /kənepũ/ n. sandfly. Ekã urã nei wi kenepû aya-aya. In the rainy season, there are many sandflies.

kenérè /kənērã/ n. climber. [Note: This word is derived from the verb 'gérè' with the prefix 'keN'].

kenewe /kənewe/ Variant: kenevel. n. the underneath part of a bed, table or chair. Go’ airo ia kenatã kenevel. I found it under the bed.

kenewé /kənewe/ n. half coconut shell, (usually the half-part where young sprout pops up), used as a lid of a cooking pot. Mo seba kenevé ma‘a letu keluba wé kia Find a 'kenevé' for the lid of that cooking pot. [Note: This word is derived from the verb 'gewé' with the prefix 'keN'].

kenito /kənito/ n. forehead. Kenito‘o lera teka di kedile. His forehead is glittering when sun shines on it. [Note: This form is an inalienably possessed noun. See the paradigm below].

kenitok my forehead.

kenitom (your) sg. forehead.

kenito‘ô his/her/its forehead.

kenitote our (inc) forehead.

kenitke our (exc) forehead.

kenitké your (pl) forehead.

kenitka their forehead.

kepahé /kəpahe/ v. mention; utter. Na‘é kepahé nara mo‘ē. She mentioned your name.

kepelolô₁ /kəpelolô/ n. squid; cuttle fish. Ra‘é weda kapelelo aya‘a. They caught a lot of squids.

kepelolô₂ /kəpelolô/ n. row cotton harvested from a cotton tree. Ema mêté balo kapelelo. My mother is processing the cotton to separate the seeds from the cotton.

keségã /kesegã/ v. scratch. Manu keségã mila. A hen is scratching the rubbish.

keta /keta/ n. a kind of snake (Trimeresurus albolabris). Na‘é lenge ula kete to‘u prač kereme one‘e. He saw a snake in the grass.
wata, so - - - -.

The process starts by frying corn grains in a clay pan. When the corn grains become half-roasted, they are taken out with a bare hand several grains at once and flattened between two flat stones, one stone serving a hitter and the other as a base.

Na'ë wekë ketege-ketege, titë tubu limate belara waha. His body is so stiff that when we punch him, our hands hurt.

Na'ë hopë labu to'u kë ketekela ne na'ë nai hëka. He bought a shirt but it did not fit him so he changed it.

Neka kewi wë kia, go ketanë wata la kaë. Keep the 'kewi', I don't 'ketanë' corn any more. See ketanë.

The water was too deep, so he was submerged under the water.

There is a red comb on his head.

Don't talk too much, come here and start working.
dialect speakers regard crocodile as
sacred animal, and therefore it is
regarded improper to mention the
word 'koubu'. When they see one, they
would call it 'néné' (grand
father/mother). They will never
disturb a crocodile, because they
believe, once it has been disturbed or
annoyed, it will seek revenge on the
person who has disturbed it, and
when the person goes to sea, the
crocodile may catch him/her].

koda, /koda/ n. message; word; utterance;
story. *Koda mo'ē wē ata gere paké*
halã. No body will follow what
you said.

koda /koda/ n. language. *Mi'ro ru'ake*
petutuke ma'ã koda ã nêku wê? What
language did you both speak
just now?

koda’ã /kodaʔã/ n. thatch; straw.
wata koda’ã dry corn stalks.
tahã koda’ã paddy straws.

koke /koka/ n. main traditional house where
traditional ceremonies are held. *Ra'ê
tao gô gedã is koke one'ẽ.* They
song the gong and drum in the
'koke'.

kola /kola/ n. behind. *Go'ê yaga pia*
wooho. I am expecting you outside
(this room).

kola /kola/ n. back (body part). *kolā*
his/her/its back [Note: This is an
inalienably possessed noun. It must
be attached with pronominal
possessive enclitics. See the
paradigm below].

kolak my back.
kolam your (sg) back.
kolā his/her/its back.
kolate our (inc) back.
kolake our (exc) back.
kolakē your (pl) back.
kolaka their back.

kolō /kolō/ n. bird.
kolō inā /kolō inā/ mother bird.
kolō ana'ã /kolō anaʔã/ baby bird.
tobo kolō /tobo kolō/ hiding in a
hidden place, usually covered with
leaves and bushes, near a spring or
water hole to catch a bird with a trap.

kolot /kolot/ [Variant: kolo. n. simple
package made of lontar leaf. *Na'ê
neté umê kolo tō'u.* He brought a
package of meat.

kopī /kopī/ n. coffee. *Pai tēnũ kopī kia.*
Call in and we'll have a coffee.

korē /korē/ n. chin. *Na'ê tubu go'ẽ teka
ia korēne* He punched me on my
chin. [Note: This is an inalienably
possessed noun. See the paradigm
below].
korēne my chin.
korēnem your (sg) chin.
korēne his/her/its chin.
korēne our (inc) chins.
korêne our (exc) chins.
korēne your (pl) chins.
korēna their chins.

kote /kota/ n. head. *Na kote'ẽ blara.* He
has a headache. [Note: This is an
inalienably possessed noun. It must
be attached with pronominal
possessive enclitics. See the
paradigm below].
kotek my head.
kotem your (sg) head.
kote'ẽ his/her/its head.
kotete our (inc) heads.
kotēke our (exc) heads.
kotēkē your (pl) heads.
koteka their heads.

kotē /kote/ n. spinning top; whirligig.
*Krē'ê ra'ẽ métě ra'ã kote.* The kids
are playing with a spinning top.

kowa /kowa/ n. cloud. *Ekä kowa menũ
wi.* It is very cloudy.

kowā /kowā/ [Variant: kowanẽ. n. thigh.
*Go kowāne blara-blara.* My thigh
hurts very much. [Note: This is an
inalienably possessed noun. It must
be attached with pronominal
possessive enclitics. See the
paradigm below].
kowāne my thigh.
kowanem your (sg) thigh.
kowā his/her/its thigh.
kowanē our (inc) thigh.
kowaně our (exc) thigh.
kowanē your (pl) thigh.
kowanā their thigh.

kpu'ũ /kpu'ũ/ Syn: kpurē. n. gravel;
pebble. *Go'ẽ gebaro ka'ẽ kpu'ũ.* I
pelted him with a piece of pebble.

kpuțo /kpuțo/ n. cobra. *Ula kepupu
totoro leï.* A cobra snake bit her leg.
kpurē /kpurē/ Syn: kpu'ũ. n. gravel;
pebble. *Ana wē dorā kepurē.* That
child swallowed a piece of gravel.

kragã /kragã/ n. spider. Na’e pana lène la nè baba karagã kawakë. Walking carelessly, he run into a spider web.

kramaã /kramaã/ n. thorn. Kramaã gã leã. He got a thorn on his leg.

krete /krête/ Variant: kretek. n. cicada. Kerete alã na’a tilute kebeke waha. The sound of cicada is very noisy.

krêtu /krêtu/ n. small octopus. Tula kloho ta’a le’o krêtu. Make some 'kloho' for us to catch octopus.

kromé /krome/ n. mouse.

kâ /kujo/ conj. but. Go' wulen kai kũ mo’ yaga lango. I am going to the market, but you watch the house.

ku’a /ku’a/ adj. strong; loud. Na’e berî aho ku’a-ku’a. He hit the dog strongly. Ra’e petutuka ku’a-ku’a. They talked loudly.

kuma /kuma/ n. turmeric.

kumã /kumã/ adj. yellow. Labu’ũ kumã. His shirt is yellow.

kumã /kumã/ n. hermit crab (koenobita variabilis).

kumĩ /kumĩ/ n. beard; moustache. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. See the paradigm below].

l - l

la /la/ PRT. not. Go’è bréa mo’ê la. I do not like you.

laba /laba/ n. chisel.

laba /laba/ v. chisel. Na’e métê laba kenawé. He is chiseling the door.

labu /labu/ n. shirt. Na’e hopé labu to’u kũ na’e ketekela ne na’e nai héka. He bought a shirt but it did not fit him so he changed it.

lahak /lahak/ n. scrotum.

lakã /lakã/ v. forbid. Bapa lakã go’ Kupang kai. My father forbade me to go to Kupang.

lakã /lakã/ v. walk in the water. Wanga péli lũ wè bêle-bêle nekũ ra’ê rôdi lakã welí rai. The current of the river is strong but they kept on walking through the river.

lakã /lakã/ Variant: lakã. n. husband. Lakêm naraõê hégê? What is your husband’s name? [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. The nasal vowel at the end of the entry indicates the 3rd-person singular possession].


lako /lako/ n. civet.

lali /lali/ adv. downward; westward. Go’ lali watã kai nubahê. I went down to the beach to fish.

lambo /lambo/ v. to kick ball high to the air. Na’ lambo bal belolo - belolo. He kicked the ball high up to the sky.

lango /lango/ n. house. Go’ wulen kai kũ mo’ yaga lango. I am going to the market, but you watch the house.

lapa /lapa/ Variant: lapak. v. block; prevent. Kamê lapa ra’ê pewunoka. We prevent them from fighting each other.

lapu /lapu/ n. lamp; light.

larã /larã/ Syn: rarã. n. road; street; pathway.

lau /lau/ adv. seaward. Têna adã lau watan kaé. The ship has anchored on the beach.

lawa /lawa/ v. hide something inside a
Sarong. Ekā urā nē na'ė lawa ana'ā ia senai one'ē. It was raining so she hid her baby in a sarong.

lawē /lawē/ v. make someone or something fall down forcefully. Mo lawē wīt wē ne go belo ro. Hold the goat down, so I can slaughter it.

laya /laʃa/ n. sail. Tēna laya'ā bi'a'ā kaē. The ship sail torn.

leba /laɓa/ Syn: lesa. v. release; detach. Mo' leba tenuke wē kia. Release the support (of the window).

lebu /laɓu/ v. block. Akē lebu kenawē. Don’t block the doorway.

lega /laɡa/ v. crack or slice something into pieces. Go' lega kayo nē péda gā limak. I cracked the wood and cut my finger.

léga /laɡa/ v. stroll; go for a walk. Na' nodi léga nawa He/she keeps on strolling.

legō /laɡō/ v. kneel. Kamē bego lat nē guru siksa kamē legō ia lera pelatī. We arrived late, so the teacher punished us by making us kneel under the hot sun.

léi /lei/ n. time. Mo' herū ro léi pira kaē? How many times have you met him?

léi /lei/ his/her/its leg; his/her/its foot. Lēi ba'ā. His/her leg is swollen. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. See the paradigm below].

léik my leg.

léim your (sg) leg.

léi his/her/its leg.

léite our (inc) legs.

léike our (exc) legs.

léikē your (pl) legs.

léika their legs.

leko /laˈko/ v. break. Leko kayo wē ta'ā dēna wata. Break the firewood to cook rice.

lé'ô /le'ô/ v. shoot with a bow and arrow.

léla /lela/ adj. long; far. Larā léla-lēla. A very long road.

lema /laˈma/ v. insert something into a hole. Lema ri'ē pé kēle wē. Insert the post into the hole.

léma /lêma/ num. five.

lena /ləna/ v. sit down. Lena uwe'ē ma'ā pa-o-pa'o, kursi we hi'ĩ leko. Sit down slowly, the chair is nearly broken.

lepa /ləpa/ Syn: tepa. v. slap. Guru tepa ana sekola belara-belara. The teacher slapped the students painfully.

lepa'ā /ləpa'â/ Syn: loi. n. leaf; its leaf. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun].

lepo /ləpo/ n. a container made of lontar leaf to keep corn or rice.

lera /lēra/ Variant: rera. n. sun.

lerā /lərâ/ v. pile up; load. Akē lerā aya bāi. Don't pile up too many.

lērā /lərā/ v. throw far away. Na'ē lērā kepurē heluta. If he throws a pebble up to the sky, it will disappear.

lerabau /lərəbaʊ/ Variant: rera. n. afternoon.

lērē /lərē/ Syn: gērē. v. hang (such as a curtain).

lerī /lērī/ v. go on foot; walk along a beach. Ra'ē lērī seba kima. They walked along the beach in search of snails.

lerō /lərō/ Variant: rerō. n. day; day light.

lesa /lasa/ v. detach; untie. Mo' lesa peniti pé déko wē. Detach the pin on the trousers.

leta /ləta/ v. ask for; beg; require. Go' leta mo' begoko. I beg you to come.

letu /lətə/ v. close; cover. Na'ē letu eterē na'ā labara. He covered his face with a shirt.

lewē /ləwē/ v. fall asleep. Na'ē lewē kaē. He already fell asleep.

lēwa₁ /ləwə/ n. sea; ocean.

lēwa₂ /ləwə/ n. barn; shed.

lewé /lewa/ Syn: gemi. v. pinch.

lewo /ləwo/ n. village.

lewō léi the seaward-side of a village.

lewō wera the landward-side of a village.

likō /liˈko/ Syn: lapa. v. block; prevent. Kamē likō ra'ě peweunoka. We prevent them from fighting each other.

lima₁ /lima/ n. hand; arm. limā his hand; her hand

limā inā thumb.

limā ana'ā finger.

limā ketepa'ā palm.

limā nulē wrist. [Note: This is an inalienably
mā /mā/ n. farm. Na‘ē iyā’a ia mānē He stays at his farm.

maē /maē/ adj. delicious; tasty. Ikā títe tekā néku wé maē–maē. The fish we just are is tasty. Variant: maē. Biso na‘ē maē. His cooking is delicious. [Note: The variant form is used as a modifier only].

ma'ak /ma’ak/ n. bunch; stem of fruit. muko ma’ak tou, a bunch of banana.

malu1 /malu/ adj. hungry. Alek malu. I am hungry

malu2 /malu/ n. areca nut.

mana /mana/ n. sawfish.

manu /manu/ n. hen; cock; chicken.

manu anā chik.

manu lalu cock.

manu ronē hen.

manu inā mother chicken.

mara /mara/ adj. thirsty. Go‘ē wewak

lo'o /lo'ō/ v. let down. Ra‘ē lo'o niwā lodo kedi nhuana. They let down the anchor and began to fish.

lolō1 /lolō/ n. on; above; over; surface. Ta‘o buku pé mēja lolō wē. Put the book on the table.

lolō2 /lolō/ n. leaf.

uē lolō cassava leaves.

payā lolō papaya leaves

kayo lolō tree leaves.

lota /lota/ v. pile up. Lota aya bai, takē na bawa’a. Don’t pile up too many, otherwise it will fall down.

loto /loto/ v. prune. Mo‘ē tolō loto kayo wē kia. Please help me prune the tree.

lotor /lotor/ n. knee. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. See the paradigm below].

lotore my knee.

lotorem your (sg) knee.

lotoreh his/her knee.

lotore our (inc) knees.

lotore our (exc) knees.

lotore your (pl) knees.

lotora their knees.

luhi /luhi/ n. needle.

lurā /lurā/ Variant: rurā. n. stove.

M - m

mā /mā/ n. farm. Na‘ē iyā’a ia mānē He stays at his farm.

maē /maē/ adj. delicious; tasty. Ikā títe tekā néku wé maē–maē. The fish we just are is tasty. Variant: maē. Biso na‘ē maē. His cooking is delicious. [Note: The variant form is used as a modifier only].

ma'ak /ma’ak/ n. bunch; stem of fruit. muko ma’ak tou, a bunch of banana.

malu1 /malu/ adj. hungry. Alek malu. I am hungry

malu2 /malu/ n. areca nut.

mana /mana/ n. sawfish.

manu /manu/ n. hen; cock; chicken.

manu anā chik.

manu lalu cock.

manu ronē hen.

manu inā mother chicken.

mara /mara/ adj. thirsty. Go‘ē wewak

mara. I am thirsty. [Note: This word is always used with 'mouth' as in the example].

mara'ā /mara’ā/ adj. dry.

mara'ā2 /mara’ā/ n. beach; shore; land.

marī /marī/ v. tell; say. Na‘ marī merī mo‘ē one’ē beréa hala. He told me that you are sick.

maro /maro/ n. grater.

marō /marō/ Variant: mayō. n. umbrella.

mata /mata/ v. die.

matā /matā/ n. eye.

matā rawuk eyelash.

matā koko’ō eyebrow.

matā lohō eyeball.

[Note: This is an alienably possessed noun. The root is likely 'mata'. The entry word-form contains the 3rd-person singular possessive enclitic, indicated by the nasal vowel. See the

matē /matē/ adj. dead. ata matē a dead body; corpse.

mayā /maya/ v. call. Go'ē mayā - mayā ro nekũ na'ē honi hala. I kept calling him, but he did not respond.

medo /medo/ adj. bad; ugly. Huruf na'ē medo-medo. His hand writing looks very ugly. Variant: medō. Atadike'ẽ medō. A bad person. [Note: The variant form is used as a modifier only].

méha /mēhā/ adv. alone. Go'ē pia méhake. I am alone here.

méi /mēi/ n. blood. Labuũ méi amu'ũ. His/her entire shirt is covered with blood.

méi /mēi/ v. bleed. Na'ē heku léĩ ia wato di méi. He accidentally bumped his foot on a stone and it is now bleeding.

mekā /mekā/ n. a kind of grass.

kreme meka /krāma /maka/ 'meka' grass.

mé′ā /me′ā/ adj. red. Na' logē labu mé′ā. She is wearing a red shirt.

mékē /mekē/ v. urinate; piss.

mela /mela/ adj. good; beautiful; nice; good looking. Na'ē agō langō'ũ na'ũna'ũ mela - mela. He decorated his house beautifully. Na'ē yaga gerīā adē'ẽ na'ũna'ũ mela - mela. He takes care of his little siblings very well.

mela′ã /mela′ĩ/ adj. all right; no problem. Mela′ã, ma'iko molo. It is all right, you may go ahead.

Melayū /melayu/ n. Indonesian.

mena /mena/ n. vagina.

menā tarā /menā tarā/ clitoris.

menala /menala/ Syn: bega. n. eagle.

menala kawakē /menala kawakē/ eagle nest.

menalo /menalo/ v. a traditional tool used to separate cotton from its seeds. Kepelolō wē ra'ē balo ra'ã menalo ne ai lélu. Raw cotton was made by using 'menalo' into 'cotton'.

meni'ã /meni'ã/ adj. torn. Labun meni'ã. His shirt is torn.

menira /menira/ n. a hand-held fan made of lontar leaf used to make a flame bigger. Guté menira pai go dira apē kia. Pass me that fan to fan, so I can light the fire. [Note: This word is derived from 'dira' meaning to fan].

menū /menũ/ adj. full. Wai keluba menũ. The pot is full of water.

merā /merā/ n. small fish.

merē /merē/ adj. silent; quiet. Na'ē tobo na'ã merē-merē. He sat quietly.

merī₁ /merī/ Variant: merī. conj. that. Na'ē tutu merī bapa'ã bego'o kaē. He told us that his father already arrived.

merī₂ /merī/ v. plan. Na'ē někũ meri pai kũ bego' ô hala. She planned to come but did not show.

mētē /mētē/ adv. PROG; being in progress. Guru mētē ajar kerēak ra'ẽ. The teacher is teaching the children.

meti /matī/ n. tide.

meti gērē /matī gēre/ high tide.

meti lodo /matī lodo/ low tide. Meti gērē kaē. The tide is already high.

meti /meti/ v. search for snails. Meti mara wi, taite meti ne. She planed to come but did not show.

meto /meto/ n. tadpole.

mia /miā/ adj. shy; embarrassed; ashamed. Na'ē mia'ã na'ã mo'ė. She is shy around you.

mīa /miā/ adv. later; next. Mīa na'ẽ haka ge go'ẽ mariro. I will tell him, when he come next time.

mī'o /mī'ō/ Variant: mi. pron. you (plural). Mi'o mai diga? Where are you going?

mī'ō /mī'ō/ pron. your (plural); yours (plural). Tana wi mī'ō. This piece of land is yours.

mitē /mitē/ adj. black; dark. Ekā mitē-mitē. It is very dark.

mo'ẽ /mo'ẽ/ pron. your (singular); yours (singular). Aho mo'ẽ wi mētē-mētē. Your dog is smart.

mo'ẽ /mo'ẽ/ Variant: mo'; mo. pron. you
Mo' été keriā? What are you doing?

moko /moko/ adv. since; in fact. Ra'é sega moko neku gulé. In fact, they had been here since this morning.

molâ /molâ/ n. indigenous medical practitioner.

molo /molo/ adj. fat. Wawé na'ẽ molo-molo. His pig is very fat.

mopa /mopa/ adj. straight. Pana larah mopa-mopa. Go straight, do not turn.

mori /mori/ Variant: morit. adj. alive. Ula wé mori'i uli'i. The snake is still alive.

motô /motô/ n. moringa.

mu /mu/ adv. towards. Ra'é pana mopa-mopa mu raé ilé. They walked directly toward the mountain.

muã/muâ/ n. time. Na'ẽ kebéké ayaka nê go'ẽ teparo muã telo. He was too naughty so I slapped him three times.

muda /muda/ n. citrus fruit; orange.

mukó /mukó/ n. banana.

mula /mula/ Syn: tuba. v. plant. Ra'é mété mula tahâ. They are planting rice paddy.

munak /munak/ n. monkey.

muri /muri/ adv. again; more. Tali wata berua muri. Take some more rice, please.

muri /muri/ adj. young.

kebare murinê /kebarô murinô/ young girl.

kemamû murinê /kemamû murinô/ young boy.

muta /muta/ n. package wrapped in a clothe.

N - n

nā /nā/ Syn: élù. n. sharpening stone. Nâ na'ẽ kmélu-kmélu His sharpening stone is very smooth.

nadô /nadô/ v. node. Na'ẽ pana kote'ẽ nodi nadô. When he is walking, he keep nodding his head.

nagã /nagã/ v. feel; search; touch with sexual intention. Aké nagã ata binêka. Do not touch one’s sisters (with sexual intention).

naha /naha/ v. stab. Aké géka, také wé go'añaha mo'ẽ ka'ã pensil. Don’t laugh, otherwise I’ll stab you with a pencil.


naľä /naľã/ n. brother. Somi naľä telo. Somi has three brothers.

nake /nako/ n. roof.

nake lu'o roof made of reed.

nake séng roof made of iron sheet.

nake génténg roof made of tile.

naké /naké/ v. eat with. Na' gâ wata naké ikâ. He ate rice with fish.

na'ẽ /na'ẽ/ pron. his; her; hers; its. Lango na'ẽ beléê. His house is big.

na'ẽ /na'ẽ/ Variant: na'; na. pron. he; she; it. Na'ẽ newâ wata. He harvested corn.

nalâ /nalâ/ adj. wrong; fault; incorrect. Pé mo'ẽ marĩ we nalâ. What you said is wrong.

nalâ /nalâ/ n. mistakes; fault; sins. Na' mataya turũ nalâ na'ẽ. He/she died because of his/her sin/fault.

nalé /nale/ n. sea worm.

nema /nema/ n. traditional trap used to catch fish.

namâ /namâ/ n. yard in front of ‘koke’ usually used for traditional ceremony and dance. See koke.

namo /namo/ n. broom. Mo' sorõ go'ẽ nami wé kia. Please give me the broom.

nana /nana/ n. uncle (mother’s brother).

nangê /nange/ v. swim.

nara /nara/ n. friends; comrade; supporters. [Note: restricted to use during war].

nara /nara/ n. name. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun].

nawa /nawa/ adv. no, do not. Nawa, aké dorêro. No. Don’t follow him.

nawî /nawî/ n. bamboo tube used as a palm
wine container.

dawo /dawo/ v. see off, take to a certain place. Kamé daworo na’ē gére oto ge kamé bali. We accompanied him until he got a bus, and then we went home.

nē /nē/ conj. so that; then; and. Mo’ pai pia né go’ tumo’ koda to’u. Come here so that I can tell you something.

déa /nēa/ n. cup made of coconut shell.

dēa /nēda/ v. pay fine. Na’ nēda bala to’u. He paid an ivory for the fine.

nēi /nēi/ Syn: sorō, v. give; hand; submit. Nēi limā pai. Please give me your hand.

dēka /nēka/ v. keep; put in; save. Nēka buku’ū né ta’ite. He left his book.

neke /nēke/ n. measuring device made of a rope or a stick. Nēi neke mo’ē kia. Could you please lend your ‘neke’?

néke /nēke/ v. caught in a trap. Nitu Kolōpohũ na’ē neke wawé ulē to’u. Kolōpohũ’s trap caught a wild pig.

nék’ē /nék’ē/ adj. bright; light. Ekā pe lali woho nék’ē-nék’ē. It is so bright outside.

nék’i /nék’i/ adj. left. Lēi nék’i leko’o. His left foot broke.

nekū /nēkū/ Variant: kū, conj. but.

néku /nēku/ adv. recently; just now. Ra’ē sega néku. They just arrived.

nele /nēle/ adv. in fact; only. Na’ē nagā-nagā, na’ē mete kéwō, na’ē epa ge ete nele ula. When he was groping in the water, he touched something and he thought it was an eel, but when he caught it, it was, in fact, a snake.

néle /nēle/ n. hip. [Note: This is an alienably possessed noun. See the paradigm below].

nélek my hip.

nélem your (sg) hip.

néle’ē his/her/its hip.

nélete our (inc) hips.

néleke our (exc) hips.

néleke your (pl) hips.

nélek’a their hips.

nélo /nélo/ adj. shining. Rera nélo’o kaé. The sun is shining.

nemū /nemū/ num. six.

nenā /nenā/ n. message. Go’ marī na’ē nena na’ē kia. I would like to tell him a mesage.

nengga’ē /nengga’ē/ Syn: nenggenai. adv (qword). how. Keriā gére wē negga’ē? How a divan is made?


newe /newe/ v.deg. like that. Gora tapo wē newe. Removing coconut fiber should be like that (the speaker may be pointing to someone who is removing coconut fibers).

newi /newi/ v.deg. like this. Tula gére wē newi. Making a divan should be done like this (the speaker may be making a divan).

ni’du /ni’du/ Syn: orin. n. hut. Pi rema’ā na’ē turu’u raé ni’du. He will be sleeping in the hut tonight.

niha /niha/ n. fence. Niha wawé utā heto data waha’a kaé. The fence had been destroyed by wild pigs.

niku /niku/ v. turn back; look back. Akē niku. Don’t turn back.

nili’ /nili’/ n. necklace.

nili’ emas golden necklace.

nili’ kontas rosary necklace.

nitū /nitū/ n. evil spirit, genie. Nitū halāro. He/she was under the control of an evil spirit.

niwā /niwā/ n. anchor. Ra’ē lo niwā lodo kedi nuhana. They let down the anchor and then started fishing.

no’ō /no’ō/ conj. and. Bapa no’ō ema Otā rai. Father and mother went to Otā.

noko’ō /noko’ō/ n. night. Ekā noko’ō akē lega lali woho. Do not go out at night.

noni /noni/ v. show; display. Na’ē noni goe foto maha na’ē. He showed me his fiancée’s photograph.

norō /norō/ n. corner of a house. Na’ē sudu’u pé raé norō. He is hiding in the corner.

norōnēkū /norōnēkū/ adv. initially. Na’ē norōnēkū tobo kia, kedi turu’u. He initially sat down, and then lay down to sleep.

nowi /nowi/ n. men’s sarong; traditional blanket. Na’ē nelé nowi. He is wearing a sarong.

nuā1 /nuā1/ n. era; period. Pi nuā malu mara. Now is a period of fasting.

nuā2 /nuā2/ v. teach. Guru nuā go’ē senaru to’u. The teacher taught me a
null
nolo'ô. His machete is made of old steel.

olé, /'ole/ n. sea current. Ekâ waratê olé kenuatê. The sea current is strong when the west monsoon comes.

ol₂ /'ole/ v. collect repeatedly. Kayo apé wé moko aya'ã, gute mabê olé. The are a lot of firewoods, and you need to collect them repeatedly.

olo /'olo/ n. abacus. Kamé nolo'ô ía SD wé gasi ma'ã kalkulator la, kamé ma'ã olo. When I was in primary school, we did not use a calculator to do maths, instead we used an abacus.

one'ẽ /'onəʔ/ n. heart. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. See the following paradigm].

onek my heart.
onem your (sg) heart.
one'ẽ his/heart heart.
onete our (inc) heart.
onek our (exc) heart.
oneké your (pl) heart.
oneka their heart.

This word is the base expression form, which may be expanded with adjectives expressing human propensities as listed below.

one'ẽ bréa happy.
one'ẽ blara sad, disappointed.
one'ẽ susa sad.
one'ẽ hade reluctant.
one'ẽ kemu lazy.
one'ẽ hoda bored.
one'ẽ ta'a confident.
one'ẽ taha-tange half-hearted.
one'ẽ kloho good intention.
one'ẽ date bad intention.
one'ẽ platé sick.
one'ẽ glagi angry.
one'ẽ mege whole-hearted.
one'ẽ grénga funny.
one'ẽ blolo arrogant.
one'ẽ léré humble.
one'ẽ kteke annoyed.
one'ẽ blema calm.
one'ẽ buka conscious.
one'ẽ puna sorrow.
one'ẽ /'onəʔ/ prep. in; inside; within. Bapa yaga mo'ẽ raé lango one'ẽ. Father is expecting you inside the house.

one'ẽ /'onəʔ/ n. intestines; liver. Pu'u wawé one'ẽ wé nê bisa tekâ. Wash the pig intestines, and cook them for our lunch.

ongê /'onɡe/ n. field of coconut, banana and the like. Bapa'ã genaro tape ongê to'u. His father inherited a field of coconut.

opê /'op̪e/ Syn: opê aka. v. lie. Na'ẽ nabê opê héna. He/she usually tells a lie.

opu /'op̪u/ n. mother's brother; wife-giver clan.

ora /'oro/ v. cheer; applause. Kamé oraro kedi na'ẽ plaé nai. We cheered him, and then he ran away.

oras /'oras/ n. time; moment. Oras oto take uli't we, kamé Otã mai mabê léri. When there were no cars yet, we went to Otã on foot.

orõ /'orõ/ v. shout in chorus during a the traditional dance called ‘hamâ’. See hamâ

oto /'oto/ n. car. Na'ẽ nêtê oto uli't. He still drives a car.

oyok /'oyok/ n. wave. Aké mai lewo kia, oyok béle-béle. It would be better not to go to the home village now, the waves are still high.

osõ /'osõ/ Syn: odõ v. push. Na'ẽ osõ goe nê goe dekate. He pushed me and I fell down.

otã /'otã/ Variant: etã. n. a flat low land area where there are fields for farming.

oté /'ote/ n. monitor lizard; iguana. Wia rema' kamé mewã oté to'u. Last night we caught a lizard.

+odi /'odi/ adv. just. Na'ẽ so'ota kedi na'ẽ nodi dore. He was so scared that he just followed (what he was told to do). [Note: This is a bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. The whole array of the paradigmatic forms are the same as those of other bound roots indicated with a plus sign (+) placed right in front of the root].

+oi /'oi/ v. know. Mo'ẽ tutu wé Kêwa noi hala. Kewa did not know what you are talking about. [Note: This word is a verbal bound root. It must
be attached with pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].
ko'i I know.....
moi you know .....
noi he/she knows.....
toi we know .....
moi we (exc) know ..... 
moi you (pl) know ..... 
roi they know ..... 
\text{+\text{o'õ}_1} /\text{o'õ}/ v. take care of. \text{Mo'õ kréak wé ma'ã mela-mela.} Take good care of the children. \text{[Note: This is a verbal bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].}
ko'õ I took care of...
mo'õ you (sg) took care of...
no'õ he/she took care of...
to'õ we (inc) took care of...
mo'õ we (exc) took care of...
mo'õ you (pl) took care of...
ro'õ they took care of...
\text{+\text{o'õ}_2} /\text{o'õ}/ v. bring; take. \text{Go'ë ko'õ ema Kupang kai.} Take my mother to Kupang. \text{[Note: This is a verbal bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. See \text{+\text{o'õ}_1}].}
ko'õ I go ahead.
molo you (sg) go ahead.
nolo he/she goes ahead.
tolo we (inc) go ahead.
molo we (exc) go ahead.
molo you (pl) go ahead.
rolo they go ahead.
\text{+\text{o'õ}_3} /\text{o'õ}/ v. be with; accompany. \text{Kamé mo'õ polisi ia.} Here, we are with some police officers. \text{[Note: This is a verbal bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. See \text{+\text{o'õ}_2}.]}
ko'si I hit...
mosi you (sg) hit...
nosi he/she hit...
tosi we (inc) hit...
mosi we (exc) hit...
mosi you (pl) hit...
rosi they hit...
\text{+\text{osĩ}} /\text{osĩ}/ v. beat, hit. \text{Go kosĩro muā rua.} I hit him twice. \text{[Note: This is a verbal bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].}
kosi I cleaned ..... 
motĩ you (sg) cleaned ..... 
noti he/she cleaned ..... 
toti we (inc) cleaned ..... 
moti we (exc) cleaned ..... 
moti you (pl) cleaned ..... 
rofĩ they cleaned ..... 
\text{+\text{otĩ}} /\text{otĩ}/ v. take care; raise; breed. \text{Na'é temeĩ notĩ ana.} She stays home to take care of the kids. \text{[Note: This is a verbal bound root which is obligatorily attached with pronominal proclitics. See the paradigm below].}
kofĩ I took care of ...... 
moťĩ you (sg) took care of ......
nofĩ he/she took care of ......
tofĩ we (inc) took care of ...... 
moťĩ we (exc) took care of ......
moťĩ you (pl) took care of ......
rofĩ they took care of ......

\text{P - p}

\text{pa} /\text{pa}/ Variant: \text{pat. num. four.} \text{Kamé tēike lali Jakarta lerō pa.} We stayed in Jakarta for four days.
\text{padā} /\text{padā}/ v. respect; show respect. \text{Ra'ė padā kamé hala.} They do not show us any respect.
\text{paē} /\text{payɛ}/ v. hatch; brood. \text{Manu péli wē paē' lerō pulu rua kaē.} That
chicken has been hatching for twenty days.

**pahã** /pahã/ v. erect. Ra'ë métë pahã rî'ë. They are erecting posts.

**pai** /pai/ v. come here. Mo'ë pai kia. Come here, please.

**pali** /pali/ adj. bitter. Payã lolô wé pai-pai di. The pepaya leaf is very bitter.

**pa'a** /pa'a/ adj. astringent to the taste. Muko wé pa'a ulî'i. This banana is still astringent to the taste.

**pa'lî** /pa'lî/ v. dry in the sun. Lipat métë pa'lî alë. Lipat is drying the clothes in the sun.

**pa'u** /pa'u/ v. feed; keep. Aké gelopako pa'u aho. Don't forget to feed the dog.

**palu** /palu/ v. hit; smash (with something on one's head). Na'ë tapã noî le ne guru paluro muá na'ë mislar. He could not answer the teacher's question, so the teacher hit him once on his head with a ruler.

**pana** /pana/ v. walk. Na'ë pana na'ë réhî kaë. He cannot walk any longer.

**pao** /pao/ n. mango. Pao mo'ë mula wé blolo'ô kaë. The mango you planted has grown tall.

**paô** /paô/ adj. slow. Pana paô - paô. Walk slowly.

**papa'à** /papa'à/ adv. behind; beyond. Pana tobo peli papa'à. Go to the other side and sit there.

**papê** /papê/ v. persuade. Papêro ma'â maô - maô sampe na pî'ë. Persuade her gently until she stops crying.

**parã** /parã/ Variant: payã. n. papaya.

**parî** /parî/ n. rayfish.

**parî** /parî/ n. pari; name of a group of star. Beîa pari wë noronêkun newî. The legend about Pari star was initially like this.

**pasa** /pasa/ v. shoot; fire. Ra'ë métë pasa wawé utã. They are shooting wild pigs.

**pata** /pata/ v. try; test. Aké pataro na noi wâha. Don't test him, he knows everything.

**patê** /patê/ Variant: pati. v. pay. Elè mo'ë go'é patêro kaë. I have paid your debt.

**pawo** /pawo/ v. pour dust or ash over something. Na'ë pawo léi blara'â na'ë tana. He covered the wound on his leg with dirt.

**payã** /payã/ Variant: parã. n. papaya.

**pế1** /pê/ dem. that. Labu pé go'ë. That shirt is mine.

**pế2** /pê/ adv. there. Wata mo'ë pé méja lolô wé. Your meal is there, on the table.

**pêďa** /pêďa/ Syn: kenuhê. n. machete.

**pego** /pego/ v. chop; cut. Kamé pego kayo tenobânê wé kaë. We have already chopped down the falling tree.

**pêhê** /pêhê/ Syn: pegê. v. keep; hold. Pêhê talë wé ku'ã'ku'a. Hold the rope tightly.

**pe'akala** /pe'akala/ Variant: opêaka; opê. v. lie.

**peki** /peki/ v. remove shell of bean or peanut. Peki utå wi ta'ë do tua. Peel this bean for us to eat while we are drinking tuak (palm wine).

**peko** /peko/ adj. rancid; urine-smelling. Déko wi waũ peko. These pants smell like urine.

**pere** /pere/ v. tap lontar juice. Na'ë pere tua du'ũ. He taps lontar juice to sell.

**perî** /perî/ n. type of bamboo (dendrocalamus).

**perû** /perû/ n. bile. Manu perû wi pai - pai. This chicken's bile is very bitter.

**pête** /pêtë/ v. recall; remember. Na' pêtë narâ go'ë ulî'i. He still remembers my name.

**petu** /petu/ v. hit something with something else. Na' petu aho na'ë wato. He hit the dog with a stone.

**petû** /petû/ n. type of bamboo (the one which is bigger and longer) (dendrocalamus giganteus).

**pewuno** /pewuno/ v. have a quarrel; dispute; fight. Na'ë adok ana ruaka wé nê pewunoka. He brought the two boys into conflict so that they may fight each other.

**pi** /pi/ dem. this. Ikã pi go'ë, nê pé mo'ë. This fish is mine, and that one is yours.

**pia** /pia/ adv. here. Pai métë no'o wata nê tekane pia. Bring along your meal and let's have it here.

pî'ë /pî'ë/ adj. silent; quiet. Pî'ë usî', ata mété sembayû ulü'ï. Be silent please, other people are still praying.

pîră /pîră/ qword. how many. Ana mo'ē pîră? How many children do you have?

pîta /pîta/ n. door. Letu pîta wé. Close the door, please.

pită /pită/ Syn: pită. v. press; be placed on top of something. Na'ê ido wato nê wato pitâro limâ. He prised the stone carelessly so the stone pressed his fingers.

pîto /pîto/ num. seven.

pla'ë /pla'ë/ v. run. Pla'ë béra usî'. Run a bit quicker


pléa /plejâ/ n. a name of plant from which a stupefying drug is obtained. Pla'ë béra usî'. Run a bit quicker. Pla'ë bera'â.

plênga'â /plênga'â/ adj. naked. Na'ê loë déko'õ nê na'â plênga'â. He pull off his shorts so that he was naked.

pînaha /pînaha/ adj. quiet; silent; calm. Tobô ma'â penaha - penaha. Sit quietly.

pînikâ /pînike/ n. bat. Mo' hélo penikâ, rema'â turuko hala. You are like a bat, you don't sleep at night.

pohă /pohă/ v. help; assist. Pâi pohă go'ë sëké mëjâ wì kia. Please help me remove this table.

poho /pohô/ v. fart. Hégé poho'ô wì? Who farted?

po'ô /po'ô/ Syn: poro. v. cut; slice; chop (usually with the intention to split into two halves). Na'ê po'ô ikâ na'â hôpé. He cut the fish with a knife.

poro /poro/ Syn: po'o. v. cut; slice (not necessarily split into two halves). Go'ê hure uvë kayo klêhô nê poro limake. I cut my finger when I was peeling the cassava.

pota /pota/ Syn: tali. v. add. Pota wai pé embër berua muri. Add more water to the bucket.

puhû1 /puhû/ v. deny; hide. Go'ê rasa mo' puhû a hâç. I think you are hiding something (I think you are dishonest).

puhû2 /puhû/ n. flower. Mewâ payâ puhû wé ta'â wulû plë lerô na'ê. Collect the flowers of the papaya and put them on today's vegetable on the menu.

pukê1 /pukê/ n. base. Bapa wido witì mo'ë pê ra'ë kayo pukê. Father tied your goat to a tree base over there.

pukê2 /pukê/ conj. because. Na'ê dorë la pukê bapa'â platé. He did not join us because his father was ill.

pu'û /pu'tû/ v. wash (other things, except clothes). Gono waha pu'û keluba wé usî? After eating, you must wash the cooking pot.

pulo /pulo/ num. ten. Ana na'ê ata pulo. He has ten children.

pupu /pupu/ v. gather; compile; collect. Bapa mété pupu wato. My father is collecting stones.

purê /purê/ adv. late. Na bego purê'. He arrived late.

---

R - r

raé /raé/ adv. landward. Bapa raé mà. Father is in the field, in a landward direction.

ragu1 /ragu/ v. scratch. Munak wë métë ragu kote'ë. The monkey is scratching its head.

ragu2 /ragu/ v. grab; pickup. Ragú milâ we ma'â waha. Collect all the rubish.

rahâ /raha/ n. container made of plaited lontar leaf to keep corn grains.

raî /raî/ n. leftovers; remains. Ra'ê déna wata ayaka nê kamë mekâ rainë aya'â. They cooked too much rice so when we finished dinner, there were still a lot of leftovers.

ra'ê /ra'ê/ pron. their; theirs. Manuk pêli wë ra'ê lé titë'ê? Are the chickens over there heirs or ours?

ra'ë /ra'ë/ Variant: ra'; ra. pron. they; them. Ra'ë lali wohô ulû'ï. They are still outside.

rarâ /rarâ/ Variant: larâ. n. road; street.
Ra'ë pé lali rarã mété yaga mo'ë. They waiting for you in the street
rata /rata/ n. hair. Kebarek pé raë wë rata'ë belaha-belaha. The girl over there has a very long hair.
regã /regã/ v. step on. Na'ë regã krama'ë. He stepped on a thorn.
rego /rego/ v. push. Rego kayo wë pai muri. Push that timber closer to me.
rehî /rehî/ n. remnant; leftovers from a meal. Kalo gô no'ô rehî, ma'ë mété ana'ë. If you cannot eat it, bring the leftovers for your children.
ré'hui /ré'hui/ adv. not able; not capable. Na'ë pana na'ë ré'hui kaé. He is not able to walk any more.
ré'éi /ré'éi/ Syn: deke. adj. sharp. Hépê mo'ë wë ré'éi hala. Your knife is not sharp.
reyé /reyé/ adj. sweet. Tua na'ë nété ré'é-reyé. The palm wine he brought was very sweet.
rema /rema/ Variant: rema'ë n. night; evening. Ekä rema'ë kaé. It is getting dark.
rera /rera/ Variant: lera. n. sun. Rera geré kaé. The sun has risen.
rera geré sun rise.
rera helu sun set.

S - s

sagalai /sagalai/ Syn: kemati. n. tomato.
saï /saï/ v. arrive. Bapa saï ere telo ia. Father arrived three days ago.
sala /sala/ Syn: otë. n. monitor lizard. Na'ë gena sala, në na'ë mété kobu. He saw a monitor lizard, but he thought it was a crocodile.
sampan /sampan/ n. canoe; small boat; dugout. [Note: This word is a borrowing from Indonesian].
sapé /sapé/ adv. until. Na'ë turu'ë sapé rema'ë. He slept from morning until afternoon.
sasi /sasi/ Syn: dimû. n. water melon.
sawa /sawa/ Syn: seba. v. look for; find; search. Mo'ë sawa hégë? who are you looking for?
sawala /sawala/ n. rice field. [Note: This word is borrowed from Indonesian].
sawilada /sawilada/ n. praying mantis.
seba /seba/ v. search; seek. Ra'ë mété seba kima. They are searching for snails.
sedâ /sedâ/ Syn: rehû. v. tread; step on. Mo'ë sedâ go'ë léik wë. You are treading my foot.
sedo /sedo/ n. spoon (the one used when cooking to street soup or rice).
sedô /sedô/ v. spoon. Sedo wata wë tekâ. Spoon the rice so we can have lunch/dinner.
sega /sega/ Syn: saï. v. arrive (at a destination). Go ba'ë meri bapa'ë lali Malaysia haka wë sega'ë kaë go? I heard that his father is coming back from Malaysia, has he arrived?
seke /seko/ adv. only. Kamë weda ikâ seke telo hëna. We only caught three fish.
sékë /sékë/ v. lift; take. Sekë wato wë në ta'o pé raë papa'ë. Lift that stone and put it over there.
seko /sako/ n. sexual intercourse.

sema /sama/ n. touch. Na’ sema keluba pelat. He touched a hot cooking pot.

semié /somije/ adj. wild. Manu go’ë wakahaké semié hala. None of my chickens are wild.

senaré /sonarë/ adj. kind; generous. Ana wé senaréë. That boy is kind.

sépa1 /sepa/ v. give way; move aside. Kalo na sépa béra hala go’ tararo. If he doesn’t move aside quickly, I will bump him.

sépa2 Syn: tekú. v. kick. Sépa bal pai né go epa. Kick the ball to me and I will catch it.

sepé /sepë/ v. filter. Ema mété sepé waha. My mother is filtering the rice.

seré /sere/ n. lemon grass (cymbopogon).

séré /sere/ n. kettle. Mo’ goté séré wé sorō go’ë kia. Could you please take that kettle for me. [Note: This word is likely a loan from Indonesian ‘cerek’].

seru /suru/ v. fire; burn; lit a fire. Kemungerë nimo’ seru’ lango’o [sere]. The mad man burnt his own house.

sikā /sikā/ v. chase away; expel. Sikā aho pé lau dapu wé kia. Could you please chase away the dog in the kitchen?

sī’a /si’a/ n. salt. Sī’a waha’a kaé. Mai wulẽ hopé no’õ sia. We are running out of salt. If you go to the market, please buy us some salt.

sili /sili/ n. chili. Belawar wé sēgũ sili aya bai. Don’t mix too much chili into the salad.

sirē /sirë/ v. water. Mo’ë musi sirē bunga wé hegulë lerabau. You must water the flowers every morning and afternoon.

sobō /sobō/ adj. snobbish; proud. Na’ë wé go’ë bréa la, etedike’ë sobō-sobō. I do not like him, he is a snobbish person.


soka /soka/ v. dance. Soka doré gö gedā. Dance in accordance with the rhythm of the drum and gong.

so’o /so’o/ Syn: hamo. v. sweep; clean; broom. So’o kayo lepa’ā wé welu kia. Sweep the dry leaves and throw them away.

so’ot /so’ot/ adj. frightened, afraid. Aké so’oto, go’ yaga pia. Don’t be afraid, I am waiting for you here.

sorō /sorō/ v. give; hand; submit. Ra’ë sorō go’ë labu tou. They gave me a shirt.

soru /soru/ n. axe. Na’ë lega kayo na’ë soru. He chopped the wood with an axe.

suka /suka/ Syn: bréa. v. like. Go’ë sukaro / Go’ë suká ko’o. I love her [Note: This lexeme is a loan word from Indonesians].

T - t

tabé /tabë/ adj. difficult, complicated.

Ujian nêku wé taga-tagá di. The examination we just had was very difficult.

tage /tage/ v. attach; stick. Kenawé péa né go’ë leta na’ë tage. The door came off, so I asked his assistance to fix it.

taha /taha/ adj. ripe; cooked. Muko taha’ë kaé. The banana is ripe.

tahā /tahā/ n. rice; paddy. Ra’ë reká tahā lerō getá. They eat rice every day.

tahē /tahë/ adj. clean; wipe off; erase. Go’ë tahē nalá wé nekú lodo hala. I tried to erase the mistake, but it did not wipe off.

tahi /tahi/ n. sea; ocean
taĩ /tajɪ/ n. his/her/its feces. [Note: This is an inalienable possessive noun].
taĩ /tajɪ/ Syn: alė. n. stomach; belly. Taĩ bèle-bèle. He has a big belly. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun].
taka /taka/ v. steal. Naêu taka doi go'ẽ He stole my money.
take /taka/ v. roof. Akė bekero go'ẽ kai hala, kamė take Kopong lango'ũ pi lerũ. I am sorry I cannot come, we are going to roof Kopong's house today.
takė /take/ Variant: tenake'ẽ. n. none; nothing. Go'ẽ doi takė. I have no money.
tako /tako/ v. detach. Gambar na'ẽ tape wē tako'ẽ kaẽ. The picture he struck (on the wall) has already come off.

tu'o /tu'o/ v. put. Ta'o buku pé méja lolo wē. Put the book on the table.
taku /taku/ v. feed; eat with hand. Na'ẽ tuku ana'ã lala. She fed her child porridge.
talė /tale/ n. rope. Tohu talė pé kayo wē. Untie the rope from the tree.
tali /tali/ v. add. Tali wata muri Add more rice.
tali /tali/ n. rope (of something); lace.
tana /tana/ n. land; soil; ground.
tanė /tane/ v. weave. Ema mėte tanė tenanė. My mother is weaving a sarong.
tanĩ /tanĩ/ v. cry. Akė tanĩ muri, miã titė seba hopẽ wu'ũ. Don't cry any more, we will find and buy a new one.
tapă /tapă/ v. answer. Na'ẽ gete mo'ẽ, tapă ro kia. He is asking you (a question), answer him.
tapi /tapi/ v. wave (hand). Mayā na'ẽ bāi la, ma'bė tapi. He did not hear you calling, just wave to him.
tapo /tapo/ n. coconut. Hėgė mula tapo wi? Who planted this coconut?
tapo ari /tapo 'ari/ green coconut.
tapo korakė /tapo korakė/ coconut shell.
tapo ke'arikė /tapo ke'arikė/ coconut fiber.
tarā /tarā/ n. horn. Witi tarā Goat horn. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. The nasal vowel at the end of the word indicates the 3rd-person singular possession].
tebā /tebā/ v. cut down. Mo'ẽ tebā kayo wē mo'ẽ leta hēgě? Whom did you ask permission from to cut down that tree?
tede /tede/ Syn: lenqe; hulė. v. see; watch. Akė tede ro bāi, miã na'ẽ mia'a. Don't look at her too long, she will get embarrassed.
tega /tega/ v. stab vertically. Na'ẽ tenurũ kedi ra'ẽ gėrẽ tegaro. He was sleeping when they came in and stabbed him.
tego /tego/ v. bend. Ra'ẽ mėtė tego besi ra'ã kerĩ langoka. They are bending the iron rod to build up their house.
tegu /tegu/ v. stab horizontally. Go'ẽ dė't olunẽ kedi na'ẽ pai tegu go'ẽ. I just stood there doing nothing, and then he came and stabbed me.
tei /tei/=i/ v. live; stay. Na'ẽ tê'i lau Kupang. He lives in Kupang.
teka /taka/ v. hit, not miss. Go'ẽ wē'aro teka limã. I pelted him and hit him on his arm.
tekė /take/ n. gecko.
tekũ /tekũ/ v. kick. Tekũ bal. Kick a ball.
telo /telo/ adj. three.
teluũ /teluũ/ Variant: telu. n. egg. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. The nasal vowel at the end of the word indicates the 3rd-person singular possession].
temakã /temaka/ n. thief.
temakã /temaka/ v. steal. Na'ẽ temaka wata kamẽ'ẽ. He stole our corn.
tematã /tematã/ v. chase; run after. Kamẽ tematã wawẽ ulẽ tu'ũ. We chased a big pig.
temihè /temihẽ/ Variant: temisẽ. n. ant.
temikã /temikã/ adj. very dirty; very ugly. Langoõ temikã ayaka. His house is very dirty.
temuir /temuir/ n. nail.
lei temuir toe nail.
limã temuir finger nail.
temutu /temutu/ n. teller.
temutuũ /temutuũ/ n. story. Na'ẽ mėtẽ tutu temutũ tu'ũ. He is telling a story.

Note:

- Temutuũ /temutuũ/ n. story. Na'ẽ mėtẽ tutu temutũ tu'ũ. He is telling a story.

- Temisẽ /temisẽ/ n. ant. Temisẽ is a type of insect that is very common in the area.

- Temakã /temakã/ n. thief. Temakã is a type of criminal who steals from others.

- Tematã /tematã/ v. chase; run after. Tematã is a verb that means to chase or run after someone.

- Temuir /temuir/ n. nail. Temuir is a type of nail that is used for various purposes.

- Temutu /temutu/ n. teller. Temutu is a type of person who tells stories or shares information.

- Temutuũ /temutuũ/ n. story. Temutuũ is a type of narrative that is told by someone.

- Temihè /temihẽ/ n. ant. Temihè is a type of ant that is very common in the area.

- Temikã /temikã/ adj. very dirty; very ugly. Temikã is an adjective that describes something as very dirty or ugly.

- Temuir /temuir/ n. nail. Temuir is a type of nail that is used for various purposes.

- Temutu /temutu/ n. teller. Temutu is a type of person who tells stories or shares information.

- Temutuũ /temutuũ/ n. story. Temutuũ is a type of narrative that is told by someone.

- Temihè /temihẽ/ n. ant. Temihè is a type of ant that is very common in the area.

- Temikã /temikã/ adj. very dirty; very ugly. Temikã is an adjective that describes something as very dirty or ugly.

- Temuir /temuir/ n. nail. Temuir is a type of nail that is used for various purposes.

- Temutu /temutu/ n. teller. Temutu is a type of person who tells stories or shares information.

- Temutuũ /temutuũ/ n. story. Temutuũ is a type of narrative that is told by someone.

- Temihè /temihẽ/ n. ant. Temihè is a type of ant that is very common in the area.

- Temikã /temikã/ adj. very dirty; very ugly. Temikã is an adjective that describes something as very dirty or ugly.

- Temuir /temuir/ n. nail. Temuir is a type of nail that is used for various purposes.

- Temutu /temutu/ n. teller. Temutu is a type of person who tells stories or shares information.

- Temutuũ /temutuũ/ n. story. Temutuũ is a type of narrative that is told by someone.
Leĩ todo wato kemira. His foot bumped against a rock.

tohu /tohu/ v. untie. Tohu talé pé kayo wé. Untie the rope on the tree.

toi /tojì/ v. try; examine. Toi mo'ë gasì atadike'ë wahâka wé ata pira. Try to count how many people are there.

toko /tokø/ n. shop. [Note: This is a loan word from Indonesian].

to'u /tořu/ num. one. Go'ë soròro labu to'u. I gave him a shirt.

toto /toto/ v. treat; apply medicine. Na'ë toto leĩ belara'ë na'ë penisilìn. He treated his injured foot with penicillin.

to2 /toto/ v. peck; bite. Ula totoro leĩ. A snake bit his foot.

tū /tū/ n. year; age. Tū pira mo balì? In what year will you come back?

tua1 /tuwa/ n. lontar tree. Na'ë géré tua. He is climbing a lontar tree.

tua2 /tuwa/ n. lontar juice/wine. Ra'ë métë rénu tua. They are drinking lontar wine.

tubą1 /tuba/ v. plant seed. Ra'ë métë tuba tahā. They are planting paddy.

tubą2 /tuba/ v. spear. Na'ë tuba wawé to'u kũ elẽ. He tried to spear a wild pig, but missed it.

tubu /tubu/ v. box; punch. Ra'ë ru'aka geni nè tubu wekika. They both fought and punched each other.

tuda /tuda/ adj. get stuck. Temaka ra'ë métë tematā wé tuda'ë no'o niha kedi ra'ë eparo. The thief being chased got stuck at a high fence, so he was easily caught.

Tohö /toho/ n. breast. Tuho'ë blara'ë në na'ë tuho ana bìsa la. She has a wound on her breast, so she cannot breast-feed her baby.

tuhö /tuho/ v. breast-feed. Ana alë malu ka'o, tuhoro kia. The baby is already hungry, please breast-feed him immediately.

tukā /tukā/ adv. middle; center. Na'ë tobo ia tukā, kamé goléro. He sat in the middle; we surrounded him.

tuke /tuka/ v. support. Ma'ë kayo wé tuke jendela wé. Use that stick to support the window so it stays open.
tula /tula/ v. make; build. Na’ė tula géré to’u moko wia di waha wâti. He has been making a divan since yesterday, but it is not finished yet.

tumâ /tumâ/ v. use abusive language. Aké tumâ kewa’i pi lewo wi, kalo take ra’ẽ leta denda. Don’t use abusive language to women in this village; otherwise you will be fined.

tunu /tuno/ v. bake; burn; grill. Tuno ikâ tekâ. Grill this fish for dinner.

tupâ /tupâ/ v. make a girl pregnant before marriage. Na’ tupâ kebare to’u. He made a girl pregnant.

turũ /turũ/ v. sleep; go to bed. Na’ê turu’u kaê. He has gone to bed.

turû /turû/ Syn: pükê. conj. because. Go’ oneke hola ko’oro turũ wia na’ nai sekola hala. I am angry with him because he didn’t go to school yesterday.

turû /turû/ v. aim at. Kalo le’o wawâ wê turũ ia kèlekê. When you are shooting a pig, you had better aim for its armpit.

tutu /tutu/ v. tell; inform. Tutû kamë kia, mi’o lali Amerika wê gê a hena? Please tell us, what else did you eat during your stay in America?

tutû /tutû/ v. light; set fire. Miã, go’ tutû roko kia. Wait a moment, I just want to light my cigarette.

tuwo /tuwo/ v. blame. Na’ê nalâ takê, akê tuworo. It is not his fault, don’t blame him.

---

uak, /’uwak/ n. valley.
uak, /’uwak/ n. finger. Límâ uak pa hêna. He has four fingers only.

ubû’ /’ubû’/ n. sprout; tip of a leaf.

udet /’udet/ n. heel. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun].

uh /’uh/ Syn: aha. n. coral reef.

uhû /’uhû/ v. walk backward; retreat. Aké uhû, miâ mo’ê dekato. Don’t walk backwards, otherwise you will fall.

uhuk /’uhuk/ n. back part (of human or animal).

uũ /’uũ/ n. bundle; bunch.


ukê /’ukê/ n. shadow. Mo’ê de’ê dahé lampu ukênê bêlé-bêlé. When you stand close to that light, your shadow is big.

ula /’ula/ n. snake.

ula kopupo cobra.

ula krame green snake.

ula bedora python.

ula wetê blindsnake.

ula harî’i sea snake.

ule /’ule/ n. caterpillar; worm. Na’ê ule sega nê ta’o ia rou one’ê. She brought a caterpillar home and put it in a betel nut box.

ulê /’ulê/ adj. big (usually for pig).

Kamé mewâ wawâ ulê to’u. We caught a big wild pig.

uli /’uli/ n. place; seat. Pê wê uli go’ê. That is my seat.

uli’i /’uli’i/ Syn: morê. adv. still. Na’ê mêtê ola’a uli’i. He is still working in the field.


uma /’uma/ n. home. Ma’iko kû akê më gelupa largo uma. Go (to another land/country), but don’t forget your homeland.

umâ /’umâ/ n. hole. Déko mo’ê no’ô uma. There is a hole in your pants.

umë /’umë/ Syn: lama. n. one’s portion/share. Aké guté umë go’ê. Don’t take my share.


upe /’upe/ v. rob; take one’s possessions by force.

urâ /’urâ/ n. rain. Uran bêlé’ê. It rains very heavily.

urê /’urê/ v. mock. Akê urê ata. Don’t mock other people.

urî /’urî/ n. stern. Kamé ru’ake nûhâne mala bêrô, go’ê tobo ia urî. We both went fishing in a canoe, and I sat at the stern of the canoe.

urî /’urî/ adj. late. Na’ê bего urînê. He came late.

usi /’usi/ Variant: esi. adj. little; few. Sorô kamê helâ tanã usi. Please lend us a little kerosene.
utā /utā/ adj. wild. Ra'ë mété batĩ 

wawé utā. They are hunting wild pigs.

utā /utā/ n. bean.

utā tanã groundnut.

utā wewë mung bean.

utī /utī/ Variant: utī. 
n. penis. [Note: 
This is an inalienably possessed noun. See the paradigm below].

utik my penis.

utim your (sg) penis.

utī his/its penis.

utike our (exc) penises.

utite our (inc) penises.

utikë your (pl) penises.

utika their penises.

utū /utū/ n. a pile of dry grass to be burnt; the remnant of something

burnt. Ra'ë seru utū nē tuba wata.

W - w

waé /waé/ n. aunt (uncle's wife).

waga'ā /waga'ā/ v. spread one's legs.

Tobo aké waga'ā. When you sit, don't spread your legs.

waha /waha/ v. row.

waha /waha/ adv. finish. Ra' rekana waha wati. They haven't finished eating.

wahā, /wahā/ adj. different. Seragam sekola na'e wahā. He has a different school uniform.

wahā, /wahā/ n. bow. Kamé ru'ake nubâne mala béro, go'é tobo ia wahā. We both went fishing in a canoe, and I sat at the bow of the canoe.

wahākaē /wahākaē/ adv. all; entire. Penyaké nē manu wahākaē mata waha. Due to a chicken disease outbreak, all of my chickens died.

wai /wai/ n. water.

wa'i /wa'i/ n. curry; soup. Tali go'ē ikā wa'i muri. Add some more fish soup for me.

walā /walā/ Syn: buta. n. mud. Akē pana mala walā one'ē. Don't walk into the mud.

wanā /wanā/ n. right side. Oto aya-aya, akē pana ia wanā. There are lots of cars, don't walk on the right side.

wané /wané/ n. bee. Wané tengero. He was stung by bees.

wanga /waŋa/ n. flood; stream.

warā /warā/ n. mackerel.


wari /wari/ v. clean away bushes. Na'ē mète wari alânē meri kriā lango'ō. He was cleaning his yard to build his house.

wata, /wata/ n. corn.

wata ketanī traditional delicacy made from corn by the process called ketanē. See ketanē.

wata; /wata/ n. main meal. Pai tekā wata kia. Let us have our meal.

watah, /watah/ n. beach.

watā; /watā/ n. muslim.

watā alat /watā alat/ muslim person.

watā; /watā/ n. beach; shore. Lango ra'ē lau watā lolô. Their house is on the beach.

wati /wati/ Ant: kaē. adv. not yet. Kamē mekane wati. We have not eaten yet.

wato /wato/ n. stone.

kote'ē wato-wato /kotesē wato-wato/ very stubborn.

wau /wau/ v. put fresh leaves around one's farm to prevent wild animals such as wild pigs from entering the farm to eat corn or rice.

wau; /wau/ adj. smelly. Ekā wau-wau. It is smelly around here.

wau; /wau/ n. smell. Ikā wé wau date-
The smell of the fish is not good.

wawé /wawé/ n. pig. Wawé mo'ē molo-molo. Your pig is very fat

waya /waya/ v. offer cigarette or betel nut. Mete kebako pai nē wayaro kia. Bring some cigarettes here to offer him.

wayā /wayā/ n. row.


wé₁ /we/ dem. that. Labu wé go'ē. That shirt is mine.

wé₂ /we/ pron. that; which; whom; who. Aho mo'ē temata wé ete Kopō na'ē. The dog that you chased was Kopong's.

weda /weda/ v. catch (fish). Ra'ē weda ikä aya'ä. They caught a lot of fish.

wégo /wégo/ v. stir; mix. Wégo wata lala'ä ma'ä sedo. Stir the porridge with a spoon.

wéka /wéka/ n. cockatoo.

wékä /wékä/ v. divide; distribute; share. Mo'ē wékä ikä we ma'ä hama-hama. Share the fish evenly.

wé'a /wé'a/ v. pelt. Go'ē wé'aro ka'ä wato. I pelted him with a stone.

weki /weki/ n. body. Keriä lerō wahākaę weki belara ayaka. I worked every day and my whole body was sore. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. See the paradigm below].

wekik my body.

wekim your (sg) body.

wekĩ his/her/its body.

wekke our (exc) bodies.

wekite our (inc) bodies.

wekkē your (pl) bodies.

wekkika their bodies.

wėli /welī/ adv. there. Wia rema'ä na'ë turu'u wēli Kopong lango'ō. Last night he slept (there) in Kopong’s house

wėli /welī/ n. cost; price. Motor wėli pira? What is the price of this motorcycle?

welu /welu/ v. throw. Akē welu milā kedepi. Don't throw the rubbish here.

welutu'ū /welutu'ū/ adj. pregnant. Kewaē na'ē welutu'ū kaę. His wife is already pregnant.

wengi /wengi/ n. loud sound of (rain, strong wind, car, etc.) coming from a distance.

wera /wera/ n. sand. Ra'ē gutē wera ra'ä kriä sekola. They collected sand to construct a school.

werā /werā/ n. side of a farm or yard facing toward a hill or mountain.

weru'ī /weru'ī/ n. first born child.

wehā /wehā/ n. mouth. Subā wehā blara'ä. Subā has a wound in his mouth. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. See the paradigm below].

wewak my mouth.

wewam your (sg) mouth.

wehā his/her/its mouth.

wewake our (exc) mouths.

wewate our (inc) mouths.

wewakē your (pl) mouths.

wewaka their mouths.

wewē /wewē/ n. mung bean.

wewēl /wewēl/ n. tongue. wewēle belaha-belaha. Your tongue is long. [Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. See the paradigm below].

wewele my tongue.

wewēlem your (sg) tongue.

wewēlē his/her/its tongue.

wewēle our (exc) tongues.

wewēle our (inc) tongues.

wewēlē your (pl) tongues.

wewēla their tongues.

wi /wi/ demons. this. Buku wi mo'ē lé? This is your book, isn’t it?


wido /wido/ v. tie. Wido witi wē. Tie up that goat.

widū /widū/ v. pull someone by his/her clothes forcefully. Na'ē widū labu goē di dekate. He pulled me by the shirt so that I fell down.

wika'ā /wika'ā/ n. pieces of broken pottery.

witi /witi/ n. goat. Witi hégé na'ē pē raę wē? Whose goats are there?

witu /witu/ n. trap.

woga /woga/ n. a divan-like structure built in a high tree to watch surrounding area, like a control tower.

woho₁ /woho/ adv. outside. Bego puréko,
You came late, so you must sit outside.

*woho* /woho/ v. defecate. *Na’e mété woho*. He is defecating.

*woha* /woha/ n. mountain.


*woła* /woła/ n. the highest part of a house’s roof; roof top.

*woło* /woło/ n. hill.

*wo’a* /wo’a/ adj. fat. *Witi wi wora’ã ayaka*. This goat is very fat.

*wo’a* /wo’a/ Variant: *wo’a’ã*. n. animal fat.

*wo’ta* /wo’ta/ n. cape.

*wo’a* /wo’a/ n. areca nut. *Inawaé rekã wua, amalaké rénu kebako*. Women eat areca nut, men smoke cigarettes.

*wo’a* /wo’a/ n. fruit. *Pao wi wua take*. This mango tree does not have any fruit.

*wugé* /wugé/ v. put (the hair) up in a bun; *hair bun*. *Lipat mété wugé rata’ã*. Lipat is putting her hair up in a bun.

*wu’hu* /wu’hu/ n. bow. *Wu hu mo’e kelemu-kelemu, hé gé kerá wi? Your bow is very good, who made it?*


*wu’ła* /wu’ła/ n. month. *Mo’e téiko lali Jakarta wu’ła pira? How many months did you stay in Jakarta?*

*wulé* /wulé/ n. market. *Mo’e aké bekeno, go’ kai wulé kia*. Sorry, I get to go to the market.

*wuli* /wuli/ n. neck. *Kebare to’u pé raé wé wuli kelemu ayaka*. The girl over there has a very beautiful neck. [*Note: This is an inalienably possessed noun. See the paradigm below].

*wulik* my neck.

*wulim* your (sg) neck.

*wulí* his/her/its neck.

*wulike* our (exc) necks.

*wulike* our (inc) necks.

*wuliké* your (pl) necks.

*wulika* their necks.

*wuli* /wuli/ n. the stem of fruit such as banana or coconut. *Muko wuli to’u wé pira? How much does a stem of banana cost?*

*wulú* /wulú/ n. vegetable. *Mo’e mai hopé wulú lali wulẽ kia*. Could you please go to the market to buy some vegetables?

*wuno* /wuno/ n. comet.

*wutú* /wutú/ n. tip; point; top; end; edge. *Kamé mia mo’e lali larã wutú*. We will wait for you at the end of the street.

---

**Y - y**

*yaga* /jaga/ v. wait. *Yaga go’è; go’è léla la*. Wait for me, I will be right back. [*Note: This word is likely borrowed from Indonesian ‘jaga’].

*yara* /jara/ n. horse. [*Note: This word is likely a loan from a neighbouring language, called Sikka language].

*yonor* /yoror/ n. soul. [*Note: This form is usually used in an artistic way in the form of parallelism].

*yutú* /jutú/ num. million. [*Note: This word is borrowed from Indonesian ‘juta’*]
References


Australian Government. 2007. Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research Canberra: The National Health and Medical Research Council, the Australian Research Council and Universities Australia


Barnes, Robert H. 1979. Lord, ancestor and affine: An Austronesian Relationship Name. NUSA - Miscellaneous Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia Part VI, 7, 19-34.


Blust, Robert. 2009. The position of the Languages of eastern Indonesia; A reply to Donohue and Grimes. *Oceanic Linguistics, 48*(1), 36-77.

Danesi, Marcel. 2004. *A basic course in anthropological linguistics*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc.


Fishman, Joshua A. 1972. The sociology of language; An interdisciplinary social science approach to language in society Rowley, Massachusetts Newbury House.


Heim, Irene, & Kratzer, Angelika. 2000. *Semantics in generative grammar*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publisher Ltd.


Klamer, Marian, & Ewing, Michael. 2010. The languages of East Nusantara: an introduction In M. Ewing & M. Klamer (Eds.), *East Nusantara: Typology and Areal Analysis* (pp. 1-25). Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Australian National University, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies.


Ross, Malcolm. 2008. The integrity of the Austronesian language family. In A. Mazas-Sanchez, R. Blench, M. Ross, I. Peiros & M. Lin (Eds.), *Past Human


Weinreich, Uriel. 1979. Languages in contact; findings and problems (9th ed.). New York: Mouton Publisher.


Wierzbicka, Anna. 1997. *Understanding Cultures through Their Key Words; English, Russian, Polish, German, and Japanese*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wierzbicka, Anna. 2000. Lexical prototypes as a universal basis for cross-linguistic identification of “parts of speech”. In P. M. Vogel & B. Comrie (Eds.), *Approaches to the typology of word classes* (pp. 285-320). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.


Wurm, Stephen, & Hattori, Shiro (Eds.). 1983. *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area, Part 2: Japan Area, Taiwan (Formosa), Philippines, Mainland and Insular*


