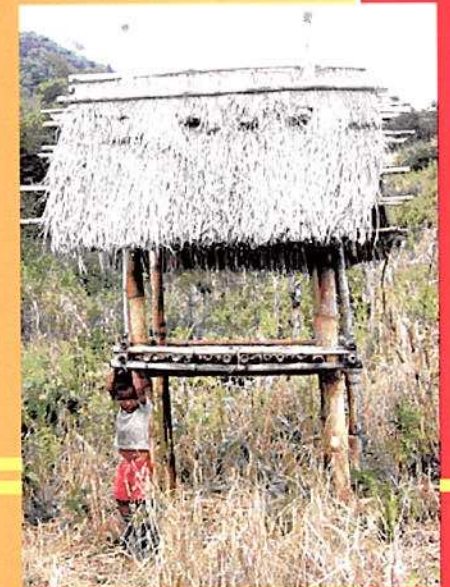


A Grammar of Lamaholot, Eastern Indonesia

The Morphology and Syntax
of the Lewoingu Dialect

**Kunio Nishiyama
& Herman Kelen**



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The Morphology and Syntax of the Lewoingu Dialect**

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Ibaraki University and University of Hawaii**

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Note on Paragraphing

Most of the discussion in this book has a basic template. For instance, when examples A and B are discussed separately in that order, paragraphs are structured as follows:

Introduction to example A

example A

Discussion of example A

Introduction to example B

example B

Discussion of example B

However, it often happens that discussion of example A and introduction to example B are too short to be independent paragraphs. In such cases, the two are lumped together into one paragraph.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Overview of the Language and Dialects

The objective of this book is to describe a grammar (mainly morphology and syntax) of the Lewoingu/Lewolaga dialect of Lamaholot. Lamaholot is an Austronesian language in the Central-Malayo-Polynesian subgroup (cf. Blust 1993). It is spoken by 150,000 ~ 200,000 people (Grimes et al. 1997, Pampus 1999) on the eastern tip of Flores, on all of Solor, Adonara, Lembata (except the Kedang area) and in enclaves on the northern coast of Pantar, northwest Alor, and surrounding islands (cf. Ethnologue, Wurm and Hattori 1981-3). Administratively, the area is East Flores Regency and Lembata Regency, Indonesia. The western neighboring language is Sika in Flores, and the eastern neighboring language is Kedang on the eastern tip of Lembata. The alternative name of Lamaholot is Solor (or Solorese), but this term now refers to the administrative unit, and Lamaholot is the usual term for the language. *Lama* originally means 'place, area', and *holot* 'resin, stick together'. *Holot* is also related to *Solor*, due to alternations /s/ ~ /h/ and /r/ ~ /l/ (Keraf 1978: 6f).

According to Keraf (1978), Lamaholot has 33 dialects, and the current study is on the Lewoingu dialect (alternatively called Lewolaga), of which Kelen is a native speaker. Using Swadesh's classification method, Keraf divides the Lamaholot dialects into three (i.e., Western, Central, and Eastern), and Lewoingu/Lewolaga belongs to Western Lamaholot. See also Fernandez (1996) for historical relations of languages in Flores. As is always the case, the demarcation between language and dialect is hard to draw in Lamaholot. Keraf argues that the 33 dialects of Lamaholot are grouped into 15 distinct languages according to Swadesh's threshold of 80% of cognate/similarity in the basic words. Although the dialect of Lamalera was once used in church on the entire Lamalera (Keraf 1978: 2), Keraf (p. 7f) suggests that each dialect has equal degree of prestige and influence and there is no standard language of Lamaholot. Grimes et al. (1997: 81) suggests that Lamaholot is best thought of as a lingua franca, spoken in an area encompassing a number of closely related and poorly documented languages, each with its internal variations.

As for the language use, although the expansion and intrusion of Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia) is substantial, it is not yet so threatening as to make Lamaholot an endangered language. It is true that instructions at school and written materials are in Indonesian, and in daily conversations in Lamaholot as well, many Indonesian words (and sometimes phrases) appear. Still, in most unofficial contexts Lamaholot is used, and children are learning Lamaholot and using the language to their families and friends (see text 3 for illustration). Most speakers of the Lewoingu/Lewolaga dialect are engaged in farming, and they are almost all Catholic. See Pampus 1999 and Bowden and Ross 2003 for a similar description for the neighboring dialect of Lewolema.

1.2. Previous Works

There are three major published works on Lamaholot:

Arndt (1937) describes grammatical features from several dialects of Lamaholot, namely Ile Maidiri (western edge of Lamaholot), Tandjung Tenga Dei, Tandjung Walang (both at the tip of Flores), Riang Wulu, Lewo Tobli (east Flores), Lewo Lein, Rita Ebang (south Solor), Pama Kajo, Wulu Belolong, (north Solor), Witi Homa, Hinga (east Adonara), Lite (central Adonara), Wajong One (west Adonara). Most of the above terminologies are archaic and not used in Keraf's classification of dialects. Keraf classifies Ile Maidiri as a mother language of dialects including Lewoingu/Lewolaga.

Keraf (1978) gives descriptions and some analyses of morphology in Lamalera (south Lembata) with sentence examples. As mentioned above, it also contains discussions of historical relations of all Lamaholot dialects.

Pampus (1999) is a trilingual dictionary of the Lewolema dialect of Lamaholot, German, and Indonesian and contains a sketch grammar of the dialect. This work is reviewed by Bowden and Ross (2003). According to Keraf, Lewoingu/Lewolaga and Lewolema are daughter languages of Ile Mandiri and belong to Western Lamaholot. Lamalera also belongs to this group, although it is in a different branch.

Another work on Lamaholot, although unpublished, is Fernandez (1977) on the Ile Mandiri dialect (which Keraf classifies as a mother language). Works on other neighboring languages include Arndt (1931) and Lewis and Grimes (1995) for Sika, Samely (1991) for Kedang, and Stokhof (1975) for Alor and Pantar languages.

1.3. Some Features of This Grammar

The data in this grammar book are first collected in elicitation sessions between Nishiyama and Kelen from November 2004 to May 2005. The entire data was then confirmed or modified/corrected by other speakers with various backgrounds (age, sex, and education) in the speech community (the village of Leworook, the county (kecamatan) of Tite Hena, the regency (kabupaten) of Flores-Timur) in summer of 2005. The data are supplemented with examples from naturally occurring texts, which are presented in Part IV.

Our prime goal in this book is descriptions of the morphology and syntax of Lewoingu/Lewolaga. Basic phonetic and phonological information is confined to chapter 2 in the Preliminaries part. Part II is on morphology, and Part III on syntax. At the end, some texts and basic vocabulary lists are given.

There are several new features of this grammar book. First and foremost, it is the first documentation of the Lewoingu/Lewolaga dialect. It is also one of the few works on Lamaholot written in English. One leading motto in organizing the grammar description in this book is to show what is possible and what is impossible in this dialect. This is a perspective derived from

modern theoretical linguistics. To implement this, many elicited sentences, either grammatical or ungrammatical, are included. (But we emphasize that examples from naturally occurring texts are also included.)

We have in mind several types of audiences for this book. This work will be of interest to descriptive linguists and Austronesian specialists, in particular because languages of eastern Indonesia in general are poorly documented and relations of several dialects of Lamaholot are poorly understood. Typologists and theoretical linguists would be interested in unique agreement in Lamaholot, where agreement emerges not only on verbs and adjectives, but also on adverbs, numerals, a preposition, and even on the conjunction ('and'). Theoreticians will also be interested in the chapter on resumptive pronouns, which is a rare description of the phenomena in Austronesian languages and shows that Lamaholot basically shares general properties of resumptive pronouns found in Irish and Semitic languages.

Aside from professional linguists, we wrote this book for speakers of Lamaholot, and our next plan is to translate this work into Indonesian for much larger audiences from the Lamaholot-speaking community. We hope that this work can contribute to the general understanding and awareness of the language, hence the healthy inheritance and survival of the language.

Although this work is intended to be descriptive, it is true that any description requires an analysis to some extent, for example the identification of words and parts of speech. In this grammar, beyond for the sake of description, we try to keep (theoretical) analyses to a minimum, and when an analysis is given, we try to keep it as simple, concise, theory-neutral and jargon-free as possible.

Chapter 2 Sounds and Spelling

The following tables are phonemic inventories of Lamaholot.

Vowels

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə (v)	o
low		a	

Consonants

	bilabial	apical	palatal	velar	glottal
stops					
voiceless	p	t		k	ʔ (')
voiced	b	d		g	
fricatives					
voiceless		s			h
nasals	m	n		ŋ (ng)	
laterals		l			
trills		r			
semivowels	w		j (y)		

The letters in bracket indicate the orthography used in this grammar. There is no established orthography in Lamaholot, and the above system is just for this book and is not meant to be practical spelling. For loan words from Indonesian, we maintain the original spelling.

The above charts are impressionistic, and detailed phonetic experiments would give different results. In particular, the status of the word-final nasals is controversial. In Pampus' (1999) description of the Lawolama dialect of Lamaholot, all the above six oral vowels have nasal counterparts (which are confined to the word-final position). In Keraf's (1978) list of the Lewoingu/Lewolaga words as well, nasal notations are also used. In the Lowolaga data we are concerned with, it is true that in some cases, in particular after a glottal stop, a nasal vowel is conceived, as in [no'ɔ] 'and'. However, in many cases it is not clear if this analysis holds and the word-final nasals are often conceived as velar and the preceding vowel is oral, as in [bəriŋ] 'hit'. We do not settle the issue in this book and spell both cases as a vowel followed by *-n*; thus, 'and' is *no'on* and 'hit' is *bvrin*. The controversy between a nasal vowel and a sequence of an oral vowel and a nasal is reminiscent of the situation in Portuguese (cf. Parkinson 1987).

Some minimal pairs:

bura 'white, boil' : *pura* 'since'; *tvka* 'touching, fitting' : *dvka* 'fall down'; *kvne* 'small' : *gvne* 'change'; *nanga* 'gawk' : *manga* 'forked stick'; *tvnga* 'middle aunt or uncle' : *tvna* 'canoe'; *rodo*

'put' : *lodo* 'go under'; *kuma* 'yellow' : *kima* 'snail'; *opu* 'son-in-law' : *apu* 'lime (calcium oxide)'; *tena* 'boat' : *tana* 'soil'; *lewo* 'village' : *liwo* 'pour'; *peko* 'turn' : *pvko* 'stink', *eka* '(should) not' : *ekan* 'general environment'.

Apart from the controversial nasal, four consonants can occur word-finally: [t, k, r, '], as in *pat* 'four', *ruik* 'bone', *gvkvr* 'be surprised', and *hala* 'not'. Consonant clusters are limited to the following cases:

(i) loan words from Indonesian (e.g., *pintar* 'smart') or Portuguese (*kantar* 'sing'),

(ii) word-initial positions where a schwa is putatively deleted (e.g., *p(v)la'e* 'run', *p(v)lenga* 'naked', and *b(v)lola* 'tall'),

(iii) morpheme boundary (e.g., *hupuk-nvn* 'arrow-his', *puas-nun* 'whale-his').

(i) is limited to homorganic nasal-stop sequences, and (ii) between stops and *l/r* (i.e., *bl-*, *br-*, *gl-*, *gr-*, *kl-*, *kr-*, *pr-* and *-pr-*: see Pampus (1999: 27)).

When identical consonants become adjacent at a morpheme boundary, one of them is deleted (i.e., anti-gemination):

pak 'four' + *-ke* '2pl' → *pake*, **pakke*
hupvk 'arrow' + *-kvn* '1sg' → *hupvkvn*, **hupvkkvn*

oto mo'e no'on 'Do you have a car?'
 car your exist

The first and second examples show that geminates *-tt-* and *-kk-* are not allowed. In the third, 'your' is usually *mo'en*, but it is reduced to *mo'e*. This is because *mo'en* would produce a geminate of *-nn-* with the following *no'on*.

A similar situation holds for vowels. Although a sequence of vowels themselves are permitted within a word (e.g., *mio* '2pl'), when a sequence of vowels occurs at a morpheme boundary, a glotta stop is inserted:

tv- 'comparative' + *okin* 'old' → *tv'okin*
tv- 'comparative' + *vre* 'good' → *tv'vre*

There is a morphological process to nasalize (or add a nasal to) the word-final vowel. This nasalization occurs in several contexts with variable functions. The processes are divided into two types, depending on whether the process affects the vowel-length or not.

As will be discussed in chapters 3 and 4, a nasal is added to an inalienable noun when it has no

possessive suffix, and to a modifying adjective as a free variant:

<i>mata-kvn</i> ~ <i>mata-n</i>	<i>ana' belv</i> ~ <i>ana' belvn</i>
'eye-my' 'eye'	'child big' 'child big'

Whether there is nasal or not, the length of the last vowel of *mata* and *belv* remains the same. In contrast, in the following nasalization of demonstratives, the vowel becomes long and a glottal stop is inserted:

pi ~ pi'in 'this' pe ~ pe'en 'that'

The two forms are free variants. See section 3.4 for more allomorphs of demonstratives. The relation between nasals and vowel length is noted in Arndt (1937: 38). The difference between the two types of nasalization is best illustrated in the following minimal pair in genitives:

<i>mio</i> ~ <i>mion</i>	<i>kame</i> ~ <i>kame'en</i>
you.pl your.pl	we.ex our.ex

For the second plural, the vowel length remains the same, but for the first plural exclusive, the last vowel becomes long with a glottal stop inserted. (However, the glottal in *kame'en* is not so conspicuously conceived as in *pe'en*, probably because the relevant vowel in the former is in the second syllable. The paradigm in the singular pronoun (e.g., *go* ~ *go'en* 'I ~ my') might suggest that the genitive marker is *-en*. Yet, as will be discussed in section 3.2, the corresponding forms in other dialects suggest that *-e-* is part of the pronoun root and *-n* is the genitive suffix.)

The vowel-affecting nasalization also affects stress. As common in Austronesian, stress in Lamaholot is on the penultimate (i.e., second from the last) syllable. Although this might not be very clear in bisyllabic words, the stress-shift is obvious when a suffix attaches:

méha' ~ mehá'-kvn
 alone alone-1sg

In the genitive examples above, while the stress remains the same for *mio* and *mion*, the stress positions are different between *kame* and *kame'en*. Consider also the following free (triplet) variants:

kūlu ~ kúluk ~ kulú'un 'grain'

In this triplet, *-k* does not change the stress position, but nasal does, along with the vowel length. Another thing to note regarding stress shift is that not only suffixes but also direct objects induce stress shift:

go hvbo 'I bathe.'

go hvbó-kvn 'I bathe'
 go hvbó na 'I bathe him'
 go hvbó ana' me'en 'I bathe the child'

Since schwa usually does not attract stress, *hvbó* 'bathe' sounds flat in stress. The verb optionally takes a subject agreement marker, and when it attaches, the stress is on the second syllable. The last two sentences show that when the verb is used as a transitive verb and takes an object, the stress shift occurs, whether the object is a pronoun or a full noun phrase. This suggests that stress in Lamaholot is not just "penultimate" within a word, but the sentence prosody is also relevant.

Chapter 3 Nouns and Noun Phrases

This chapter discusses nouns and noun phrases. Nouns are classified into three major types: common nouns, proper nouns, and pronouns. We will discuss common nouns and pronouns, along with phrasal expressions involving demonstratives and possessives.

3.1. Common Nouns

Common nouns are divided into two types: alienable nouns and inalienable nouns. Alienable nouns, such as houses and cars, are separable from the possessor. Inalienable nouns, typically body parts such as eyes, are parts of the possessor and are not separable. Many inalienable nouns have nasal ending (see Appendix II), but this final nasal appears or disappears in an unpredictable way. For example, 'hair' is *ratán*, as in *ratán go'en* 'my hair', but 'whose hair' is *hege rata*, without the final nasal. *wvwa* 'mouth' behaves in the same way. For *ipv* 'tooth', 'my tooth' has optional nasal, as in *ipv(vn) go'en*. Note that the final vowel is lengthened. This nasal is obligatory in 'whose tooth' *hege ipv'vn*. 'eye' is *mata*, as in *mata go'en* 'my eye', but as a classifier, it becomes *matan* (see section 3.6). 'whose eye' would be *hege matahan(vn)*. It seems that *hege* 'whose' requires special endings for some inalienable nouns. Thus, 'neck' is *wuli*, and 'whose neck' is *hege wulinvn* or *hege wulihin*.

The distinction between alienable and inalienable noun is important in many nominal expressions in other dialects (cf. Keraf 1978), but in the Lewoingu dialect, there seems to be little relevant distinction, apart from the (unpredictable) behavior of final nasal in inalienable nouns.

3.2. Personal Pronouns

The pronominal system of this dialect is as follows:

Table 1

	nominative/accusative	genitive	prefix	suffix
1sg	go	go'en	k-	-kvn
2sg	mo	mo'en	m-	-ko/-no
3sg	(ro)na	na'en	n-	V-na/N-nvn
1pl.ex	kame	kame'en	m-	-kvn
1pl.in	tite	tite'en	t-	-te
2pl	mio	mion	m-	-ke/-ne
3pl	ra	ra'en	r-	-ka

Unlike Indonesian pronouns, pronouns in Lamaholot are usually not dropped, and addressing the hearer with *mo* is quite common and is not rude at all. There is no distinction between nominative and accusative. This means that the same pronoun appears in subjects and objects. *rona* and *na* are free variants for the third singular and used for human and animals (animates). (But some

speakers use *rona* for inanimates as well.) They appear as either a subject or an object. The same animate restriction applies to the third plural *ra*. (This is similar to the Indonesian third person pronouns *dia* and *mereka*.) The suffixes for the second person (both singular and plural) have variation between *-ko* ~ *-no* and *-ke* ~ *-ne*. For the third singular, *-na* is suffix for verbs, and *-nvn* is for nouns. For elder speakers, *-han* is used instead of *-na*.

There is one more pronominal element for the third singular: *ro*. This is used for both animates and inanimates, and appear only in objects.

na/rona X 'He/she is X.' Not 'It is X.'
 *ro X 'He/she/it is X.'

go pehen na/rona 'I touch him/her.'
 go pehen-ro 'I touch him/her/it.'

Since the distribution of *ro* is limited to the object position, it might be regarded as an "object clitic", and indeed in Arndt (1937) and Keraf (1978), *ro* is described as incorporated into the verb, as *pehenro*. This insight is confirmed by the following contrast:

go nein na/ro/rona buku 'I gave him/her a book.'
 go nein buku pe na/*ro/rona 'I gave a book to him/her'

(Glosses are word-by-word. We will discuss ditransitive verbs in section 9.2.) As the (indirect) object, *ro* is possible, but as the object of a preposition (*pe*), *ro* is impossible and one must use *na* or *rona*. This is accounted for by assuming that *ro* is a clitic and can be hosted only by a verb. But there is an exception. *nein* 'for' can host *ro*, as in *go biho wata nein-ro* 'I cook rice for-him'. Since *nein* can also be used a verb 'give' and its prepositional usage is due to grammaticalization, it might be that *nein* 'for' still retains some verbal features and can host the clitic *ro*. We will return to the special nature of *nein* in the discussion of resumptive pronoun in section 15.1.

There is another piece of evidence that *ro* is incorporated to the verb. The verb for 'know' is *-oi* or *-oiro*. Although the latter verb seems to contain the object clitic, an independent object can occur with *-oiro*.

go k-oiro Bala 'I know Bala.'
 I 1sg-know B.

Thus, at least in *-oiro*, *ro* has lost its function of the object clitic. This in turn means that *ro* is part of the verb. The host of *ro* is restricted to verbs. Thus, it cannot incorporate to auxiliaries.

go hi'in bvrin-ro 'I want to hit him.'
 I want hit-him

*go hi'in-ro bvrin

We will discuss auxiliaries in section 8.2. As for *na*, although it is restricted to animates, the genitive form *na'en* can be used for inanimates in possessive constructions, which are discussed in section 3.5. Also, when *na* is used as a resumptive pronoun, it can also be used for inanimates. This is discussed in section 15.1.

Since *ro* is the only pronoun for inanimates and it cannot be used as a subject, no pronoun can show up in an inanimate subject:

na gute uwe 'He took a potato/potatos'
 he take potato

uwe pe'en mae 'It was/They were tasty.'
 potato the tasty

In the second sentence the subject is old information and most likely to be expressed with a pronoun. However, since the subject is inanimate, neither *na*, *rona* (3sg), nor *ra* (3pl) can be used. *ro* cannot be used either, since it is limited to the object position. The only way is to make the noun definite 'the potato'. (By the way, the subject is not easily dropped in this case. See the following paragraph.)

Although a pronoun can be dropped when the subject is known to the hearer, (cf. Keraf 1978: 60), it is considered informal or rude (ibid: 124). Thus, unlike in Indonesian, it is common to retain the pronoun even in a context where its reference can be established in discourse.

At this point, let us compare the pronouns in our description of the Lewoingu dialect and those in Pampus's (1999) description of the Lewolema dialect.

Table 2

	Lewoingu		Lewolema	
	nom/acc	genitive	nom/acc	genitive
1sg	go	go'en	go'e	go'en
2sg	mo	mo'en	mo'e	mo'en
3sg	na	na'en	na'e	na'en
1pl.ex	kame	kame'en	kame	kamen
1pl.in	tite	tite'en	tite	titen
2pl	mio	mion	mio	mion
3pl	ra	ra'en	ra'e	ra'en

The comparison of the two dialect reveals the nature of genitives in Lamaholot. In Lewoingu, the genitive marker is predominantly *-en*. Thus, one might analyze that *-en* is the genitive marker and the second plural (*mio* ~ *mion*) is an exception. But the Lewolema paradigm suggests that the

opposite is true: the second plural (*mio* ~ *mion*) is not exceptional and the rule is that the genitive marker is *-n*, not *-en*. In the Lewolema columns, the forms different from the corresponding forms in Lewoingu is bold-faced. Note that in Lewolema, first singular is *go'e*, and the genitive form is derived by adding just *-n*. In fact, all the genitive forms are obtained by adding *-n* to the nom/acc form. This suggests that in the Lewoingu *go'en* as well, the genitive ending is *-n*, and *-e-* is part of the pronoun. Perhaps in Lewoingu as well, the first singular pronoun was originally *go'e*, and due to historical or synchronic process, *-e-* is dropped and we have *go*. But *-e-* survives in the genitive form, yielding *go'en*. The same applies to *mo*, *na*, and *ra*.

There seems to be discrepancies in the genitive of first plural (both exclusive and inclusive) between the two dialects, but we believe *kamen* and *kame'en* are notational variants and denote the same pronunciation. As discussed in chapter 2, there are two kinds of nasalization, and for *kame*, the nasalization makes the last vowel long with a glottal stop. As long as this nature is recognized, the notation *kamen* is actually identical to the notation *kame'en*. But with second plural, the nasalization does not change the vowel length. Since the difference is not predictable from independent factors and seems to be lexically specified, to be concrete we use the notation of *kame'en* in this grammar. The same applies with *tite'en*.

Next we discuss prefixes and suffixes. Prefixes are exclusively used as agreement markers, and suffixes are either agreement markers on a verb or possessive markers on a noun. Here are samples of agreeing verbs:

Table 3

	prefixing <i>-emun</i> 'drink'	suffixing <i>ia-</i> 'live'	prefix and suffix <i>-a'i-</i> 'go'	irregular 'eat'
1sg	kenun	ia'kvn	ka'ikvn	kan
2sg	menun	ia'ko	ma'iko	gon
3sg	nemun	ia'na	na'ina	gan
1pl.ex	menun	ia'kvn	ma'ikvn	mvkan
1pl.in	tenun	ia'te	ta'ite	tvkan
2pl	menun	ia'ke	ma'ike	gen
3pl	renun	ia'ka	ra'ika	rvkan

Agreement and possessive constructions are discussed in detail later in chapter 11 and section 3.5. Below we note two things regarding the realization and status of these pronominal affixes.

It seems that the prefixes are copy of the last consonant in the corresponding nom/acc pronoun, and Keraf (1978: 53) refers to this as *consonant harmony*. In the first singular, the consonant in the pronoun is devoiced in the prefix (*g* → *k*). Although [*g*] and [*k*] are often unstable across dialects ('work' is *kvrin* in the Lewoingu dialect, but *gvrian* in the Lewolema dialect), *k-* as the first singular suffix is the same in all dialects. This change may be given a historical account. Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Malayo-Polynesian first singular contains [*k*] (**i-aku*, cf. Blust 1977). Thus it is plausible that the 1sg prefix *k-* in Lamaholot is established when Lamaholot still

had the proto form containing [*k*], and later [*k*] is voiced and resulted in *go*. This hypothesis is confirmed by the neighboring language Sikka. According to Lewis and Grimes (1995: 605), the first singular pronoun is *a'u* and the first singular prefix is *-* (glotta). That is, where Lamaholot uses [*k*] and [*g*], Sikka uses a glottal stop for both. This suggests that the first singular pronoun in Lamaholot once contained [*k*].

Whatever the origin of the prefix forms are, the relation between the prefix form and the independent pronoun is only historical and not synchronic; the same prefix emerges when there is no pronoun in the sentence (e.g., when the subject pronoun is dropped or when a common or proper noun is the subject) (cf. Keraf 1978: 60). Consonant harmony is also violated with a conjoined subject.

go k-o'on mo t-enun 'I and you drink.'
I 1sg-and you 1pl.in-drink.

Here the subject 'I and you' is semantically equivalent to *tite*. Even though the subject contains no [*t*] sound, the agreement form is *t-*. (See section 11.7.5 for more variations of agreement with a conjoined subject.) This shows that the historical phonological basis for the agreement marker is obscured in synchronic grammar. In this sense, Keraf's analogy of this Lamaholot phenomenon to vowel harmony in Turkish is somewhat misleading, since the latter is a synchronic phonological process.

There are two forms for the third singular suffix; *-na* is a verbal suffix and *-nvn* a nominal suffix. Only the third person singular makes this distinction. Verbal suffixes are used as an agreement marker, and nominal suffixes as a possessive marker:

hvbo-kvn 'I bathe.'
hvbo-na 'He bathes'

oto-kvn 'my car'
oto-nvn 'his car'

(Agreement and possessive constructions are discussed in chapter 11 and section 3.5, respectively.) Although verbal suffixes typically attach to a verb, in limited contexts they can also attach to a noun, yielding a kind of verbal meaning.

oto-na 'He went to his car.'
oto-kvn 'I went to my car.'

This construction is discussed in section 3.5.2. Note that *oto-kvn* has two meanings: 'my car' and 'I went to my car.' This is because no personal pronouns other than the third singular distinguishes between verbal and nominal suffixes.

As a mirror image, a nominal suffix can attach to a verb or an adjective.

pana-nvn 'his walk'
bvlola-nvn 'his height'
tall-3sg

That is, when a nominal suffix attaches to a verb or an adjective, the verb or the adjective is nominalized in a sense. This is common in comparative constructions and will be discussed in section 4.2.2. For the present purposes it is sufficient to note that verbal suffixes can attach to a noun as well as to a verb, and nominal suffixes can attach to a verb as well as to a noun. This seems to suggest that words in Lamaholot are categorically neutral (i.e., they are neither a verb or a noun in and of themselves), and that verbal and nominal meanings are derived by other elements, for example by a suffix. Thus, "verbal/ nominal suffix" does not mean "it attaches to a verb/ noun." Rather, it means "it *creates* a verb/ noun."

As for the status of the suffixes, we assume they are not clitics. It is true that they induce stress shift, but we have just seen that stress shift is not enough to show the clitic status. Besides, as we will see in the discussion on agreement in chapter 11, the suffixes can appear several times in a sentence. This is typical of agreement markers, not of clitics.

3.3. Indefinite Pronouns

This section discusses indefinite expressions like 'something', 'someone' etc. Indefinite expressions are derived with *to'u* 'one' and/or a wh-word.

ana to'u nyanyi 'Someone is singing.'
man one sing

hege to'u nyanyi 'Someone is singing.'
who one sing

na hope a to'u 'He bought something.'
he buy what one

With a rising intonation, the last two sentences become a question 'Who is singing?' and 'What did he buy?' We will discuss wh-questions in chapter 14. Temporal and locative indefinite expressions are as follows.

go k-odi noto mo muan to'u 'I will visit you sometime.'
I 1sg-will visit you time one

na n-a'i uli to'u 'He went somewhere.'
he 3sg-go place one

Here is another example where *to'u* 'one' and *a* 'what' co-occur.

na bain a to'u alan pe kotvn na'en
she hear what one sound at head her
'She heard a sound at her head.'

In addition, *lvron to'u* 'day one' means 'some day'. (It also means 'one day'.) More expressions for 'something' and 'someone':

'something'
a/a'a, a/a'a ha'e, barang-barang to'u, ha'e

'someone'
ha'e, atadikvn ha'e, atadikvn to'u, ana' to'u,

For 'something,' *ha'e*, *a* or *a'a*, and the combination of the two are used. *barang-barang* 'things' is from Indonesian. *ha'e* also means 'someone.' *atadikvn* or *ana'* 'man' is also used for 'someone.' Examples:

kame atadikvn ha'e 'some of us'
mio pe'en ha'e 'some of you'

a kvnilunvn 'something sour'
a'a kvnilunvn 'any sour things'

hege-hege yang svga pi n-olo ai a to'u
who-Red that come here 3sg-first receive what one
'Whoever comes here first will receive something.'

When an adjective follows, *a* means 'something', and *a'a* means 'anything you can think of' (i.e., free choice *any*). In a similar way, reduplication of *hege* 'who' means 'whoever,' but a similar meaning is obtained without reduplication. More examples:

a susa, susa a 'something to worry about'

na mesen dore a'a bapa ono-nvn
he must obey what father inside-3sg
'He must obey to everything father wants.'

hege also means 'those who'

hege tane n-oi hala' 'those who cannot weave'

who weave 3sg-know not

The above example can also be a question 'Who cannot weave?' The relative clause marker *yang* can be used as in *hege yang noi tane hala* 'those who cannot weave.' Note the change on word order (see section 8.2 for details). The sentence can also be a question. Without *yang*, *hege noi tane hala* 'is only a question. The following is an indefinite expression in a negative context.

go kan a to'u di hala 'I ate nothing.'
I eat what one emph not

Negative expressions are discussed more in detail in section 8.1. Instead of *a*, *a'a* can also be used. *di* is an emphatic particle and is preferred in this sentence. It cannot be used in an affirmative sentence.

go kan a to'u 'I ate something.'
I eat what one

But *di* can be used in an affirmative sentence in other dialects. Sometimes *niu* 'little' can also be used.

go bu'a wata niu to'u di hala 'I did not eat any rice.'
I eat rice little one emph not

go bu'a wata niu to'u 'I ate a little rice.'

Other expression of 'a little' are *vsi*, *bua*, and *bvrua*.

nein go bua 'Give me a little.'

'another, more' is expressed as *(ata) ha'e muri*, or *ha'e-ha'e*. *ata* is a classifier for human, and *muri* itself means 'add.' Example:

go lvta wata ha'e muri 'I ask for more rice.'
I ask rice

'other' is expressed as *ikvrvn*, *geha*, or *wa'ikvn*.

ata lewo ikvrvn 'man from the other village'
man village other

When *wa'ikvn* and *to'u* are combined, there is a subtle difference depending on the order.

ono go'en wa'ikvn (to'u) 'I want the other one.'

inside my

ono go'en to'u wa'ikvn 'I want the distinctive one.'

In the first sentence, *wa'ikvn* comes first, and the sentence means 'I want the other one.' *to'u* in the first sentence can be omitted. In the second, the order is reversed and the meaning is 'I want the distinctive one.' For example, there are three things and two of them are identical. I want neither of the identical ones, but I want the distinctive one.

The general circumstance is expressed by *ekan*.

ekan uranvn 'It rains.'

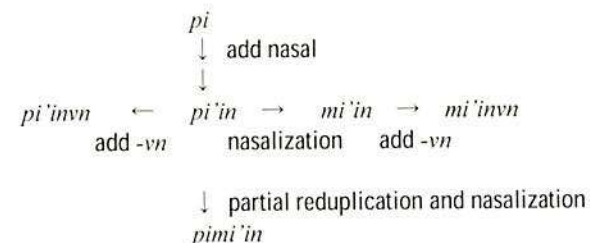
ekan originally means belongings around.

3.4. Demonstratives

There are two sets of demonstratives.

'this'	'that, the'
pi	pe
pi'in	pe'en
mi'in	me'en
pimi'in	peme'en
pi'invn	pe'envn
mi'invn	me'envn
pimi'invn	peme'envn

There are seven allomorphs of 'this' and 'that, the'. The basic form *pi* also means 'here' and *pe* 'at.' *pi'in* and *pe'en* are derived by adding a nasal to *pi* and *pe* and making the vowel long with a glottal. *mi'in* and *me'en* are derived by nasalizing [p] into [m], and *pimi'in* and *peme'en* are derived by repeating the first syllable and nasalizing the original first consonant. Each of the three variants can have *-vn* at the end, giving seven variants in total. Here is the derivational process.



↓ add -*vn*
pimi'invn

Demonstratives can be used as a modifier or as an independent pronoun.

buku pi'in 'this book'

organisasi mudika pi lewo mi'in sulit
 organization youth organization this village this difficult
 'It's hard to organize this youth organization.'

lango-ka me'envn 'the/that house of theirs'
 house-3pl

pi'in buku go'en 'This is my book.'
 pi'in sulit 'This is difficult.'

Equative sentences are discussed in section 7.2. For some speakers, when the predicates is an indefinite noun, the allomorphs with *-vn* must be used as a demonstrative pronoun. Thus, for 'this is a book,' *pi'in buku* is ungrammatical and it should be *pi'invn buku*. However, most speakers do not recognize a difference between the two sentences. Such a distinction, if it ever exists, is peculiar; as we will see in section 5.2., *-vn* attached on a modifying adjective indicates definiteness.

Demonstratives are often repeated with different allomorphs.

keadaan pi lvwo tana pimi'in mi'in tvngv hama lvwo
 circumstance this village land this this see same village
 mete mvko
 become more bad
 'It looks like the situation in this village is getting worse.'

penghasilan keme'en me'en me wulan to'u me'en mungkin ribu ratu
 income 1pl.ex.poss that that month one that maybe thousand hundred
 lema hvwo hala'
 five reach not
 'Our monthly income is probably below Rp.500,000.'

Personal pronouns can be modified with a demonstrative.

go pi'in 'I this'
 na pe'en 'he that'

3.5. Possessive constructions

According to Klamer (2002: 372), contrary to what is often believed for languages of Eastern Indonesia, it is not always the case that the possessor precedes the possessee, and even within a single language (e.g., Fehan Tetun), the order may be variable. Actually, this observation goes back at least to Arndt (1937: 20) for some dialects of Lamaholot, and the possessive construction of the Lewoingu dialect also shows this pattern. Thus, 'teacher's house' is either *guru lango-nvn* 'teacher house-3sg' or *lango guru na'en* 'house teacher his'. Below we present this construction in detail, by classifying them into four types.

Possessors are marked either by a genitive pronoun or a suffix. They are in complementary distribution. That is, whenever one appears, the other cannot. Thus, depending on which is used to indicate the possessor, and also depending on whether a full nominal possessor is present or not, there are four types of possessive constructions:

possessor	full NP possessor absent	full NP possessor present
genitive pronoun	Type A	Type C
suffix	Type B	Type D

3.5.1. Type A: possessor is genitive pronoun, the full NP possessor is absent.

In this type, the possessed is followed by a genitive pronoun:

lango go'en 'my house'
 oto mo'en 'your car.'

go'en and *mo'en* can also mean 'mine' and 'yours' when the possessed noun is understood and is thus dropped.

3.5.2. Type B: possessor is suffix, the full NP possessor is absent.

In this type, a possessive suffix is attached to the possessed:

lango-ke 'your (pl) house'
 bapa'-kvn 'my father'
 bapa'-ko 'your (sg) father'
 bapa'-nvn 'his/her father'
 mata-kvn 'my eye'
 mata-ko 'your eye'

For some speakers, the usage of nominal suffixes is restricted. Thus, genitive pronouns must be used instead for some nouns. The nouns which cannot occur with suffixes for such speakers are less familiar nouns (like *oto* 'car') or respectful kinship terms (like *bapa* 'father').

As noted in section 3.2, verbal suffix can attach to a noun to yield a verbal meaning. Since most suffixes are ambiguous between verbal suffix and nominal suffix, we can have non-possessive (verbal) constructions as follows:

lango-ke 'Are you (pl) going to your house?'
 lango-ko 'Are you (sg) going to your house?'

Depending on the context, the above sentences can mean the past 'Did you go to your house?' or a statement 'You went to your house.' It can also mean 'This is your house.' The exact meaning heavily depends on the context, but the point is that in many cases the expression "noun-suffix" is ambiguous between a noun phrase and a sentence. On the other hand, the genitive pronouns in Type A never induce a sentential meaning.

Interesting cases are the third singular:

lango-nvn 'his house'
 lango-na 'He went to his house.'

Recall that only the third singular shows the division of labor between a nominal suffix and a verbal suffix: *-nvn* is a nominal suffix and *-na* is a verbal suffix. Thus, *lango-nvn* means 'his house' and *lango-na* means 'He went to his house' (or whatever sentential meaning is appropriate contextually), and not vice versa. Consider also the following:

buku-nvn 'his book'
 ??buku-na '#He went to his book.'

buku-nvn is fine and only means 'his book'. *??buku-na*, on the other hand, is quite odd, since it make no sense to say '#He went to his book.' It might mean 'This is his book,' but somehow this meaning seems to be unavaiable.

3.5.3. Type C: possessor is genitive pronoun, the full NP possessor is present.

Type C is different from Type A in that the possessor is fully specified. The possessor can be a common noun as in 'teacher's house' or a proper noun as in 'Bala's house.' Let us first look at common noun possessors.

lango guru na'en 'the teacher's house'
 house teacher his

*lango na'en guru
 lango guru

As the first two examples show, the order is 'possessed possessor genitive' and cannot be reversed. The third example shows that the genitive can be omitted. (This contrasts with the proper noun possessor, as we will see below.) When the possessed noun is understood, the noun can be dropped and *guru na'en* itself can mean 'the teachers' (something).' If the possessor is plural, *ra'en* is used:

lango guru ra'en 'the teachers' (pl) house(s)/faculty resident'
 house teacher their

labu inamvlake ra'en '(the) men's shirt'
 shirt man their

In these examples, the possessor is either specific ('the teachers' (pl) house' or 'the men's shirt') or generic ('faculty resident' or 'men's shirt'). With either of the meaning, the genitive *ra'en* can be dropped. (This is due to the influence of Indonesian. Still, having *ra'en* is preferred to dropping it.) To make the specificity of the possessor cleaer, the definite marker is used:

labu inamvlake pe'en na'en 'the man's shirt'
 shirt man the his

Proper noun possession is as follows:

oto Lado na'en 'Lado's car'
 car L. his

lima Bala na'en 'Bala's hand'
 hand B. his

Unlike in the case of the common noun possessor, the genitive is obligatory, and the order is fixed. There is a case which might be regarded as a hybrid of Type A and Type C. Recall that the third person singular pronoun has free variants of *na* and *rona*. But as the genitive form, only *na'en* is possible, and **rona'en* is ungrammatical. So 'his house' is *lango na'en*. But in the following conversation, an expression emerges with *rona na'en*:

pe'en lango hege na'en? 'Whose house is that?'
 that house who his

na'en/rona na'en 'His.'
 his / he his

As an answer to 'Whose house is that?', *rona na'en* is possible, in addition to just *na'en*.

3.5.4. Type D: possessor is suffix, the full NP possessor is present.

In this type, the order is "possessor noun-suffix":

guru oto-nvn 'teacher's (sg) car'
teacher car-3sg

guru oto-ka 'teachers' (pl) car'
teacher car-3pl

What is noticeable is that the number of the possessor is specified not by the possessor (*guru*) itself, but by the suffix: *-nvn* is for singular and *-ka* is for plural. The verbal suffix *-na* is strictly prohibited in possessive construction: **guru oto-na* 'teacher car-3sg' is ungrammatical. The same distinction can be made by the genitive pronoun in Type C possessive construction:

oto guru na'en 'teacher's (sg) car'
oto guru ra'en 'teachers' (pl) car'

To express a generic possessor, the third plural *-ka* is used:

guru lango-ka 'faculty resident'
teacher house-3pl

This also means 'teachers' (pl) house' with a specific possessor. Proper noun possessor is as follows:

Bala lango-nvn 'Bala's house'
B. house-3sg

Recall that the same meaning is expressed with Type C construction as *lango Bala na'en* 'house Bala his', and, and the order is fixed for both *Bala lango-nvn* and *lango Bala na'en*. Note also the following contrast:

Bala oto-nvn 'Bala's car (sole owner)'
B. car-3sg

Bala oto-ka 'the Bala family's car'
B. car-3pl

When the suffix is third singular, the possessor is the sole owner. When the suffix is plural, the possessor is the whole family. Note also:

Bala no'on Lelang lango-ka 'Bala and Lelang's house'
B. and L. house-3pl

*Bala no'on Lelang lango-nvn
B. and L. house-3sg

When the possessor is plural, the suffix must also be plural. The choice of Type C and Type D seems to be a matter of focus. That is, of the two orders of possessor-possessed and possessed-possessor, whichever comes first gets focus.

go tvngv Bala lango-nvn hala'. go tvngv Lado lango-nvn.
I see B. house-3sg not I see L. house-3sg
'I didn't see Bala's house. I saw Lado's house.'

go tvngv Bala lango-nvn hala'. go niko tvngv oto (?Bala) na'en
I see B. house-3sg not I only see car B his
I didn't see Bala's house. I only saw Bala's car.

In the first example, the possessor is focused in the latter half, and it precedes the possessed. In the second example, on the other hand, the possessed is focused and it precedes the possessor. (Since *Bala* is established in the discourse, repeating it is not natural.) Note also that in the introducing part in both examples, the order is *Bala lango-nvn*. This might indicate that the possessor-possessed order (Type D) is an unmarked order.

Finally, double possessive is expressed as follows.

kvwae na'e lora bvsuk-nvn 'his wife's birthday'
wife his day birth-her

Nominal suffixes show some interesting behaviors when modifying adjectives are involved.

inamvlake me'envn tvma-nvn wu'un 'that man's new friend'
man that friend-3sg new

inamvlake me'envn aho mitv-nvn belv 'that man's big black dog'
man that dog black-3 sg big

inamvlake me'envn aho kvnen mila-nvn 'that man's small dirty dog'
man that dog small dirty-3 sg

inamvlake me'envn buku mitv-nvn nimipi-nvn 'that man's thin black book'
man that book black-3 sg thin-3 sg

In the first example, the suffix is attached to the head noun, but in the rest of the examples the suffix is attached to an adjective. The last three examples show that when there are two adjectives,

the suffix can be attached to either of them, or both of them. The suffix cannot appear on both adjectives *and* on the head noun at the same time. Modification will be discussed in section 5.2.

3.5.5. Part-whole relation

We have seen cases where the possessor is human. But the possessor can be inanimate, the typical of which is a part-whole relation:

kvnawe' lango na'en 'the door of the house'
door house its

lango kvnawe'-nvn 'the door of the house'
house door-3sg

The notion 'the door of the house' can be expressed either with a post-nominal possessive as the whole or with a pre-nominal genitive as the whole. Note that while the pronoun *na* (3sg) is limited to animates (see section 3.2), *na'en* can be used for inanimates.

Some (more or less) fixed expressions:

wai' matan 'spring of water'
water eye

uran kulu 'rain drop'
wata kulu 'grain of rice'

manu tvlu(n) 'chicken egg'
chicken egg

lango wato 'house of stone'
lango sen 'house with a metal roof'

irun tain 'nose wax'
matan tain 'eye wax, mucus in the eye'
tilun tain 'ear wax'

kulu 'grain' has alternative forms of *kulu'un* and *kuluk*. It is interesting to compare the last set of expressions with the Indonesian equivalents. For example, 'mucus of the eye' in Indonesian is *tahi mata* 'feces eye', as opposed to the Lamaholot counterpart *matan tain*. Since the two expressions contain two cognate words, the only difference is the word order. Note also that the inalienable nouns in the last set of expressions have their last vowel nasalized. This contrasts with the ordinary usage like *mata go'e* 'my eye'. As we will see in the next subsection, *mata* is nasalized when used as a classifier.

Another thing worth noting is that the possessed (part) does not have a suffix. Recall from the discussion on Type D that when the possessor (whole) precedes the possessed (part), the latter must have a suffix, as in *lango kvnawe'-nvn* 'the door of the house'. Actually, *matan tain* can contain a suffix, yielding *matan tain-nvn* 'eye feces-3sg'. But this optionality of the suffix is limited to certain expressions. Thus, 'the door of the house' must be *lango kvnawe'-nvn* and cannot be **lango kvnawe'*. It seems that the optionality of the suffix depends on the degree of fixedness of the expression. Thus, 'eye wax' is more fixed (idiomatic) than 'the door of the house', and the former can drop the suffix. But even if this expression is fixed, it has an alternative form with a genitive: *tain matan na'en* 'wax eye its'.

3.6. Classifiers

The use of classifier is not robust in this dialect and a classifier is generally optional when no ambiguity arises. The following examples are based on Arndt (1937: 19) with some modifications. In the following examples, numerals always come last.

ata for person; *kvbarvk ata rua* 'two girls'

pukvn for trees and plants; *bao pukvn rua* 'two bao trees', *tapu pukvn tvlo* 'three coconut trees'

kulu(k) for rice and maize; *tahan kulu(k) to'u* 'one grain of (peeled) rice' Compare this with *tahan pukvn to'u* 'one stick plant of rice'.

lepa for boxes and containers; *tahan lepa to'u* 'a boxful of rice'

lvpa for leaves and sheets; *kvnewan lvpa pak* 'four leaves of palm tree', *kartas lvpa to'u* 'one sheet of paper', *doi lvpa'an rua* 'two bills (paper money)' As the last example shows, *lvpa* is sometimes nasalized.

lohon for maize; *wata lohon tvlo* 'three grains of maize'

wika for parts; *au wika rua* 'two split parts of the au bamboo'

wua and *punan* for fruits and general foods; *muko wua tvlo* 'three bananas', *tvluk punan wua rua* 'two eggs.' The second example involve the two classifiers, but one (or both) of them can be omitted.

There is one more classifier *matan*. It comes from *mata* 'eye' and can be used for counting general nouns; *wulan matan to'u* 'one month (in the lunar system)'. But it is not used for 'week'; *minggu rua* 'two weeks'. It is also used for collective nouns; *lango matan wahan kae* 'all the houses'

There are words to indicate a small set. *ekvk* means "a pair of", and *liwu* 'a four set of'; *tapo ekvk rua* 'four coconuts', *tapo liwu rua* 'eight coconuts'.

Chapter 4 Verbs and Adjectives

This chapter discusses two main sources of predicates: verbs and adjectives. The discussion extends to verb phrases and adjective phrases.

4.1. Verbs and Verb Phrases

Verbs are primarily classified into three types: intransitives, transitives, and ditransitives. Intransitives occur with only the subject and examples are *svga* 'come', *pana* 'walk', and *nange* 'swim'. Transitives occur with the subject and the object, and examples are *bu'a* 'eat', *biho* 'cook', and *bvrin* 'hit'. Ditransitives occur with the subject, the direct object, and the indirect object (or the dative phrase), and examples are *nein* 'give', *marin* 'tell, and *gvnato* 'send'. The behavior of each class of verbs at the sentence level is discussed in chapters in part III. In this chapter we focus on the form of the verb and extended phrases.

4.1.1. Agreement

In the last chapter we saw that pronominal prefixes and suffixes are as follows, along with samples of agreement of verbs:

Table 1

	Nom/Acc	prefix	suffix
1sg	go	k-	-kvn
2sg	mo	m-	-ko
3sg	(ro)na	n-	-na/-nvn
1pl.ex	kame	m-	-kvn
1pl.in	tite	t-	-te
2pl	mio	m-	-ke
3pl	ra	r-	-ka

Table 2

	prefixing - <i>enun</i> 'drink'	suffixing <i>ia</i> '-' 'live'	prefix and suffix - <i>a</i> 'i-' 'go'	irregular 'eat'
1sg	kenun	ia'kvn	ka'ikvn	kan
2sg	menun	ia'ko	ma'iko	gon
3sg	nenun	ia'na	na'ina	gan
1pl.ex	menun	ia'kvn	ma'ikvn	mvkan
1pl.in	tenun	ia'te	ta'ite	tvkan
2pl	menun	ia'ke	ma'ike	gen
3pl	renun	ia'ka	ra'ika	rvkan

When a word can have prefixing agreement, the prefix is obligatory. On the other hand, suffixes

are often optional, and they become preferred or obligatory depending on the verb, the pronoun in the subject, or contexts. The irregular verb 'eat' also can have a suffix optionally, as *kan-kvn* 'I eat' and *gon-ko* 'You (sg) eat.' There are cases where otherwise optional suffix is prohibited. This happens when a verb which can be used either intransitively or transitively (e.g., *hvbo* 'bathe') is used transitively. We will discuss this in section 11.7.1.

Other prefixing verbs and auxiliaries are: *-a'an* 'make', *-anan* 'plait', *-ahu wai* 'get water', *-ala* 'pass', *-awa* 'stay', *-awan* 'wait', *-vlv* 'pass', *-vie* 'carry', *-vwan* 'can, harvest, pick up', *-ian* 'wait', *-itv* 'sleep with', *-iu* 'hunt', *-odi* 'will', *-oi(ro)* 'know, can', *-olin* 'improve', *-urvn* 'dream'.

Other suffixing verbs are: *balik* 'return', *bu'a* 'eat', irregular verbs of 'eat', *buka* 'open', *bvsuk* 'be born', *de'in* 'stand' *deka* 'sink', *gehi* 'not want', *gelu* 'change', *(gv)redo* 'shake', *gvta* 'take', *haga* 'copulate', *hvbo* 'bathe', *hitun* 'count', *hode* 'burn, angry', *horon* 'hide', *kantar* 'sing', *kirin* 'talk', *kvdoko* 'be surprised', *kvrian* 'work', *koda* 'talk', *lvba wvkin* 'bend down', *lodo* 'go down', *louk* 'get out', *mia* 'be ashamed', *mori* 'live', *nyanyi* 'sing', *ola* 'farm', *peko* 'turn', *peun* 'return', *pvla'e* 'run', *pupu* 'gather', *svga* 'come', *taku* 'fear', *tanin* 'cry', *tei* 'live', *tobo* 'lie down', *tor* 'agree', *туру* 'sleep', *tutu* 'talk'.

In addition, virtually all adjectives can have a suffix, whether used predicatively or attributively. Most of the above suffixing verbs can be used intransitively, and this nature will be discussed in detail in section 11.7.1.

In addition to *-a'i-* 'go', *-vwa rehi-* 'cannot' and *-ala ga'e-* 'where is one going?' also have both prefix and suffix. See section 8.2 for *-vwa rehi-*. *ga'e* in the latter expression means 'where', but *-ala ga'e-* as a whole means 'where is one going?' A related expression is *-vvnv ga'e* 'how'. This sometimes shows agreement, as *t-vvnv ga'e* '1pl.in-how'. However, it often fails to show agreement, emerging as *nvvnv ga'e*. See section 14.2.3 for examples.

4.1.2. Tense and Aspect

Apart from agreement, verbs do not inflect with tense or aspect. They do not have transitivity markers, either. Thus, when uttered out of contexts, it is not clear whether the sentence refers to the present or past. To specify tense or aspect, auxiliary or adverbs are utilized. For example, auxiliaries *hi'in* and *-odi* indicate the future tense. Adverbs *kae* and *wati* indicate perfective and imperfective, respectively (analogous to Indonesian *sudah* and *belum*). Auxiliary and adverbs are discussed in chapters 8 and 10.

4.2. Adjectives and Adjective Phrases

4.2.1. Distinction from Verbs

Let us move to adjectives and adjective phrases. How are adjectives different from verbs? Since there is no copula in Lamaholot (as in most Austronesian languages), both verbs and adjectives

can be a predicate without the copula:

Bala svga	'Bala came.'
Bala belv'	'Bala is big.'

(Equative sentences are discussed in chapter 7). Thus, unlike in English, the presence/ absence of the copula does not differentiate between verbs and adjectives. Intuitively, verbs denote actions, and adjectives denote properties. In most cases this definition works, but there are several predicates which are plausibly verbs but still denote properties, like *noi* 'know'. Below we present two other ways to differentiate verbs and adjectives.

Adjectives can have the comparative prefix *tv-*; e.g., *tvbelv'* 'bigger'. This prefix cannot be attached to verbs like *svga* 'come' and *noi* 'know'. (Comparatives are discussed in section 4.2.2 below.) Thus, when a predicate can have the comparative prefix, it is an adjective. (However, not all adjectives can have the comparative prefix. This is because the comparative is limited to adjectives with a degree. Thus, adjectives like *mata* 'dead' has no degree and therefore cannot have the comparative suffix.)

Still another way to differentiate verbs and adjectives is modification: adjectives can modify a noun directly, but verbs must be put in a relative clause to modify a noun:

oto wu'un	'new car'
oto yang wu'un	'car which is new'

Here the adjective *wu'un* can modify a noun with or without the relative marker *yang*. (Modification and relative clauses are discussed in sections 5.2 and 13.1.) With verbs, on the other hand, there must be the relative marker *yang*:

*inamvlake pana	'walking man'
inamvlake yang pana	'a man who is walking'

However, again there are exceptions: some adjectives must be accompanied by *yang* to modify a noun. For example, 'fast car' is *oto yang bera*, and *yang* cannot be dropped.

To sum up, although there is no absolute criterion for adjectives, they are characterized by one (or more) of the following features: they denote properties, can have the comparative prefix, and can modify nouns directly.

The rest of this chapter focuses on degree and comparatives. The two main functions of adjectives, namely modification and predication, are discussed in sections 5.2 and 7.2. Agreement in adjectives are discussed in sections 5.2 and 7.2 and chapter 11.

4.2.2. Degree and Comparatives

When an adjective is gradable, it can be modified by *tvgvn* 'very'. This word follows the modified adjective.

Lado belv tvgvn 'Lado is very big.'
L. big very

When two things are compared, we have a comparative construction. The adjectives has a prefix *tv-*, and the standard of comparison is preceded by *dari* 'than, from'.

pimi'invn tv-sulit dari peme'envn 'This is more difficult than that'
this difficult than that

The prefix *tv-* can be dropped.

pimi'invn sulit dari peme'envn 'This is more difficult than that'
this difficult than that

To emphasize the difference, *aya'ka* or *loke'ka* 'much, too' is used. It follows the comparative adjective.

Pimi'in tvsulit aya'ka dari peme'en 'This is much more difficult than that.'
this difficult much than that.

We will see in chapter 11 that *aya'ka* and *loke'ka* have alternate forms of *aya'ko/aya'* and *loke'ko/loke'*. The same grade is expressed with *hama no'on* 'same with'.

Pi'in susa hama no'on pe'en 'This is as difficult as that.'
this difficult same with that

go pi'in bvlola hama no'on na 'I am as tall as he.'
I this tall same with he

The same degree comparison is expressed in another way.

bvlola-kvn hama no'on na'en 'I am as tall as he.'
tall-1sg same with his

bvlola go'en hama no'on na'en 'I am as tall as he.'
tall my same with his

We saw earlier in section 3.2 that a nominal suffix can attach to a predicate and then nominalizes the predicate. The second sentence shows that a genitive pronoun has the same function. The

above two sentences literally mean 'my height is the same with his'. Some speakers prefer *na* 'he' instead of *na'en* 'his' in the above examples. For such speakers, the structure would be like the English translation given and the possessor does not necessarily nominalize *bvlola* in the subject.

Recall that the third singular has distinctive forms of suffix: *-na* is a verbal suffix and *-nvn* is a nominal suffix. It is *-nvn* which is used in the construction under discussion.

bvlola-nvn/*-na hama no'on ra'en 'He is as tall as they.'
tall-3sg/3sg same with their

When a verbal suffix attaches to an adjective, it means 'too...'

pe'en bvlola-na 'That's too tall.'
that tall-3sg

This meaning becomes clearer in the following.

na pe'en mvlu-na opvnlv bisa hala' maso pe kvnawe
he that fat-3sg so.that can not enter to door
'He is so fat that he cannot enter the door.'

Some speakers accept the nominal suffix *-nvn* instead of the verbal suffix *-na*, but the latter is generally preferred. With *-nvn*, the structure would be 'His fatness is such that he cannot enter the door.' For some pronouns (e.g., *go* '1sg' and *kame* '1pl.ex'), the suffix does not usually appear on the adjective. In such cases, an adverb *aya'ka* 'too' is used to emphasize the meaning.

go pi'in belv aya'ka opvnlv bisa hala' maso pe kvnawe
I this big too so.that can not enter to door
'I am so big that I cannot enter the door.'

aya'ka can be reduced to an affix *-ya* or *-ka*, as in *belv-ya* or *belv-ka*. A personal pronoun can attach to *aya'*:

go pi'in tua aya'-kvn kae untu' kvrian 'I am too old to work.'
I this old too-1sg already for work

topi pi'in kvne-na untu' go 'This hat is too small for me.'
hat this small-3sg for me

In the first sentence, *-ka* (3pl or default) can be used instead of *-kvn*. We will discuss adverbs and agreement in chapters 10 and 11. In the second sentence as well, *-ka* can be used. With *-ka*, the subject is either plural or singular. But when *-na* is used, the subject is singular.

Another word for 'too' is *tvgvra*.

susah na'en mungkin dari vtvdiken na'en aya' tvgvra
difficult its maybe because people its many too
'The difficulty may be due to too many people.'

The same degree of adverbs is expressed as follows:

na pana bera hama no'on kame 'He walks as fast as we.'
he walk fast same with us

pana-nvn bera hama no'on kame'en 'He walks as fast as we.'
walk-3sg fast same with ours

The second sentence is an example of a nominal suffix attached to a verb. The suffix can be replaced by the genitive pronoun *na'en* 'his'. (For some speakers, the pronoun is preferred.) The sentence can also be approximately paraphrased as *bera-nvn hama no'on kame'en* 'fast-3sg same with our', literally 'his speed is the same as ours' (but no action is specified).

Comparison of adverbs is as follows:

na kvrian tv-bera dari ra 'He works faster than they'
he work fast than they

na pana tv-lela dari ra 'He walks slower than they'
he walk slow than they

Here, the prefix *tv-* is obligatory. This contrasts with comparison of adjectives, where the prefix can be dropped.

pimi' invn (tv-)sulit dari peme'envn 'This is more difficult than that'
this difficult than that

Another case where *tv-* cannot be dropped is when the adjective is used attributively.

kame mvkan uwe tv-aya' dari na 'We ate more potato than he.'
we.ex eat potato more than he

In short, *tv-* can be dropped only if the adjective is used as a predicate, and not when the adjective is used as a modifier or an adverb. One more example:

ra gvta tv-aya' dari tite 'They harvested more (rice) than we.'

they harvest more than we

Although no object is mentioned, *gvta* means 'to harvest rice'. Thus, *aya'* above can be either a modifier or an adverb. Either way, *tv-* is obligatory. There are cases where *tv-* is optional even with an adverb:

mio svga (tv-)molo dari kame 'You came earlier than we.'
you.pl came earlier than we.ex

This might be related to the fact that *molo* is already prefixed without *tv-*: *-olo* is an agreeing adverb and *m-* is an agreement marker for the second plural. There might be a tendency to avoid "double affixation". This holds even if the adverb has suffix agreement. Thus, if *molo* 'earlier' is replaced by *urin* 'later' in the above sentence, the adverb would be either *tv-urin* (with the comparative prefix), or *urin-ke* (with the suffix agreement), and the combined form *??tv-uring-ke* (double affixation) is marginal.

In addition to comparative, *tv-* is used for superlative. That is, there is no clear distinction between comparative and superlatives forms. The distinction is often made by word order.

na pe'en tv-lere dari ra tvlo-ka
he the short than they three-3pl
'He is shorter than the three. (There are four people in all.)'

dari ra tvlo-ka me'envn, na pe'en tv-lere
of they three-3sg the he the short
'Of the three, he is the shortest. (There are three people in all.)'

The above two sentences are minimally different in terms of word order. The first sentence compares 'he' and 'they three', and there are four people in all. The second sentences states the supremacy of 'he' among 'they three', and there are three people in all.

Chapter 5
Numerals and Modification

This chapter discusses the two related notions of numerals and modification. The first part of the chapter overviews the usage of numerals and related expressions like quantifiers. The latter part is concerned with how nouns are modified by adjectives, numerals, genitive, and/or demonstratives.

5.1. Numerals

This section look at expressions using numerals. The following are cardinal numerals in the Lewoingu dialect. It is based on the list in Pampus (1999: 24) with dialectal adjustments.

- 1 to'u
- 2 rua
- 3 tvlo
- 4 pak
- 5 lema
- 6 nvmvn
- 7 pito
- 8 buto
- 9 hiwa
- 10 pulo
- 11 pulo no'on to'u
- 12 pulo no'on rua
- 13 pulo no'on tvlo
- 20 pulu rua
- 21 pulu rua no'on to'u
- 22 pulu rua no'on rua
- 30 pulu tvlo
- 100 ratu to'u, tvratu
- 101 tvratu (no'on) to'u
- 102 tvratu (no'on) rua
- 110 tvratu (no'on) pulo
- 111 tvratu pulo no'on to'u
- 120 tvratu (no'on) pulu rua
- 200 ratu rua
- 999 ratu hiwa (no'on) pulu hiwa no'on hiwa
- 1000 ribu to'u

Ordinal numbers partially utilize Indonesian. 'first' is *nolo* (or alternatively *nolon* or *nolohon*). Indonesian words *permata* 'first' and *kedua* 'second' are also used. For 'third' and later, *kv-* is added to Lamaholot numerals: *kvtvlo* 'third', *kvpak* 'fourth', etc; see Text 1. There are special

expressions for the order of children. The eldest child is *ana' nolo* or *ana' wvru'in*. The youngest child is *ana' urin* (lit. 'late child') or *tuho wutun* (lit. 'breast last').

Lamaholot has the phenomenon of numeral agreement, in which modifying numerals agree with the modified noun with respect to the person and number.

ra tvlo-ka svga 'They three came.'
they three-3pl come.

ra rua-ka bvrin tite tvlo-te 'They two hit us three.'
they two-3pl hit us three-1pl.in

In the above examples the agreement suffixes are almost obligatory. (But the agreement marker on the subject-modifying numeral is easier to drop.) The interpretation of the number is either partitive ('three (part) of them') or exhaustive ('(all) three of them'). In this type of sentences, numerals are behaving like modifiers or adverbs, and this can be a topic in other sections on modification or adverbs. However, since numerals constitute a distinguished category by themselves, we will discuss this usage of numerals here. (The sentence patterns in the subsequent discussion are simple enough to follow without the knowledge of detailed explanation of sentences in part III.)

When the modified noun is a lexical (non-pronominal) noun, the suffixes on the numerals can optionally emerge only when the modified NP is definite.

inawae tvlo-ka me'envn bvrin inamvlake rua-ka me'envn
woman three-3pl the hit man two-3pl the
'The three women hit the two men.'

inawae tvlo me'envn bvrin inamvlake rua me'envn
woman three the hit man two the
'The three women hit the two men.'

*inawae tvlo-ka bvrin inamvlake rua-ka
woman three-3pl hit man two-3pl
'Three women hit two men.'

The last sentence is ungrammatical because the NP is indefinite but causing agreement. The sentence becomes grammatical if the agreement markers are dropped. The numeral does not have to immediately follow the modified noun. When a numeral is detached from the associated noun, we say that the numeral is floating.

ra tvlo-ka svga 'They three came.'
they three-3pl come

ra svga tvlo-ka 'They three came.'

The second sentence involves numeral floating. The same numeral floating is possible with an agentive intransitive verb like *kantar* 'sing'. The agreement marker is marginally droppable in the first sentence, but not in the second. Actually, the pronoun itself is easier to drop.

tvlo-ka svga 'They three came.'
svga tvlo-ka 'They three came.'

Although the above sentences might be regarded as incomplete, they are basically possible. Here the agreement suffix is obligatory. The numeral modifying the transitive subject cannot float to be located between the verb and the object, but it can marginally float to appear after the object.

ra tvlo-ka bvrin inamvlake me'envn 'They three hit the men.'
they three-3pl hit man the

*ra bvrin tvlo-ka inamvlake me'envn 'They three hit the men.'
?ra bvrin inamvlake me'envn tvlo-ka 'They three hit the men.'

The numeral modifying the transitive object also cannot float to be located after an adjunct phrase.

*go bvrin inamvlake belv pe lango rua 'I hit two big men in the house.'
I hit man big in house two

The above sentence cannot mean 'I hit two big men in the house' (as the numeral dislocated); it can only mean 'I hit big men in two house' (with no numeral floating). In addition to numerals, a quantifier *wvka kaen* 'all' can also have agreement.

ra wvkv kaen-ka svga 'They all came.'
they all-3pl came

ra svga wvkv ka'en-ka 'They all came.'

(Some speakers reject the suffix on the quantifier.) As the second example shows, quantifier floating is possible, and the agreement marker is optional in both of the above sentences. There are certain restrictions on floating quantifiers.

tite bvrin ra wvkv kaen 'We hit them all.'
1pl.in hit 3pl all

*tite bvrin wvkv kaen ra
tite wvkv kaen bvrin ra 'We all hit them.'

In the translations above, the noun modified by the quantifier is underlined. As the first sentence shows, when *wvkv kaen* comes after the object, it modifies the object, not the subject. The second sentence shows that it cannot appear between the verb and the object. (But some speakers accept the second sentence.) This contrasts with the intransitive sentence we saw above, where the subject-modifying quantifier comes after the verb. The third sentence shows that the quantifier must come right after the subject to modify it.

Another quantifying element is *ha'e* 'some.' Agreement does not happen on this word.

tite ha'e svga 'Some of us are coming.'
we.in some come

ha'e above cannot have *-te* (1pl.in). When a numeral and *wvkv kae* 'all' co-occur, the agreement is optional on the numeral.

go bvrin ra tvlo-ka wvkv kaen 'I hit all three of them.'
I hit them three-3pl all

wvkv kae cannot have agreement in the above sentence. The numeral generally cannot precede the modified pronoun.

*tvlo-ka ra bvrin rua-ke mio 'They three hit you two.'
three-3pl they hit two-2pl you.pl

But with focus on the numeral, such an order is possible.

tvlo-ka, ra svga 'In three, they came.'

A numeral can precede a pronoun in genitives for some speakers in the following situation. The genitive of *ra* is *ra'en*. But the genitive marker *-en* can attach only to a pronoun. Thus, **[ra tvlo]-'en* '[they three]'s' is impossible, and the numeral precedes the pronoun, as in the following.

?tvlo ra'en lango-ka 'three of them's house'
three their house-3pl

But there are also speakers who reject this example. A more natural way is to put the head noun at the beginning.

lango tvlo-ka ra'en 'three of them's house'
lango ra tvlo-ka ra'en 'three of them's house'

Note that *ra* emerges twice in the second example. Probably the second *ra* is a kind of a resumptive pronoun which is necessary to host (or support) the genitive marker *-'en*. We will return to numeral agreement in chapter 11 in the context of the discussion on agreement in general. Resumptive pronouns are discussed in detail in chapter 15.

As mentioned above, attributive numerals in general have either partitive or exhaustive meaning. But when the predicate is accompanied by *yang*, it only has partitive meaning.

tite pa-te yang pana 'Four of us are going.'
we.in four-1pl.in that go

The above sentence presupposes that there are more than four of us (the partitive meaning). According to Wolff et al (1992: 167), *yang* in Indonesian relative clause indicates that there is a presupposed set (i.e., the partitive meaning). We will see in chapter 13 that this does not hold in Lamaholot relative clauses, but at least for attributive numerals, *yang* seems to have the partitive meaning.

The followings are sentences with common nouns modified by a quantifier.

inamvlake wvkv n kae svga 'All the men are coming.'
man all come

inamvlake ha'e svga 'Some of the men are coming.'
man some come

inawae amu'un svga 'No woman is coming.'
woman none come

wvkv n kae can optionally take the third plural agreement marker *-ka*, but neither *ha'e* nor *amu'un* can agree with the subject. *yang* can optionally appear before *svga* in the first and second sentences, with the exhaustive meaning ('only'). *amu'un* originally means 'not exist,' and will be discussed in section 7.4. The last sentence can be paraphrased with *to'u di hala* 'not a single.'

inawae to'u di hala' svga 'Not a single woman is coming.'
woman one emph not come

amu'un usually cannot modify a pronoun. To modify a pronoun, *to'u di hala* is used.

*mio amu'un svga 'None of you are coming.'

mio pe'en to'u di hala' svga 'None of you are coming.'
you the one emph not come

(But some speakers accept the first sentence.) There is the plural marker *-we*. It attaches to a proper noun to mean 'X and other people,' or attaches to a common noun to make it plural.

Lado-we 'Lado and the folks'
guru-we 'teachers'

Since *guru* can also refer to a specific teacher, *guru-we* can also mean 'the teacher and the family.'

5.2. Modification

This section discusses how nouns are modified. Strictly speaking, this could have been included in the chapter on noun phrases. But that was when we did not discuss adjectives in detail. Since adjectives are major modifiers of nouns, we discuss nominal modification at this point in this chapter. Modification of verbs or sentences by means of adverbs is discussed in chapter 10.

Modifying adjectives follow a noun, and the adjectives are optionally nasalized.

oto me'a/me'an 'red car'
buku besi/besi'in 'thick book'
buku mitvn 'black book'
labu dvmen 'wet shirt'

The first and second examples show that the modifying adjectives can be optionally nasalized. In the first example, where the original word contains a glottal, the last vowel is nasalized. In the second, with no glottal in the original adjective, the last vowel becomes long and a glottal is inserted. In the last two examples, the last nasal is part of the adjective and thus cannot be dropped. Some speakers prefer nasalized adjectives, but for other speakers, both unnasalized and nasalized adjectives are equally acceptable for the first two examples. When the nasalized form would have a different meaning, nasalization is prohibited. For example, *ba'a* is 'heavy', but *ba'an* means 'carry something on one's shoulder'.

In addition to nasals, modifying adjectives can have the third singular suffix *-na*. Thus, 'big man' can be expressed in three ways:

inamvlake belv
inamvlake belvn
inamvlake belv-na 'big man'

Of the three, only the second example with nasalization has another meaning of 'the eldest son'. Numerals cannot have nasal.

buku lema/*leman 'five books'

When the modified noun is definite or specific, the adjective has the suffix *-vn*, as *me'avn* 'red'. This form can also be used predicatively. For *-vn* to be attached, the adjective must be nasalized first. Thus, **me'avn* is ill-formed. When an adjective cannot be nasalized, as *ba'a* 'heavy' we saw above, a special prefix and suffix is attached, as *mvna'akvn* 'heavy (definite)'.

Since nouns in general are either singular or plural, the above examples can refer to plural nouns as well. When a noun becomes explicitly plural, for example by reduplication, the personal suffix cannot be used.

*inamvlake-inamvlake belv-na 'man-man big-3sg'
 *inamvlake-inamvlake belv-ka 'man-man big-3pl'

The appropriate form in the above case is either the bare *belv* or nasal *belvn*. When the noun is modified by an adjective and a demonstrative, the demonstrative follows the adjective.

buku besi pi'in 'this thick book'
 oto me'a pe'en 'that/the red car'

Modifying numerals are ordered like adjectives: they follow the modified noun but precede the demonstrative.

hepe tvlo 'three knives'
 *tvlo hepe 'three knives'
 hepe tvlo mi'in 'these three knives'

Although the second example is occasionally observed, it might be due to the influence of Indonesian. If the demonstrative comes in the middle, we will have a sentence.

buku me'en lema 'Those books are five.'
 lema me'en buku 'Those five things are books.'

The examples are sentences because *me'en* 'those' indicates the end of the subject and the words that follow are predicates. For the second example, some speakers prefer to repeat *pe* as: *pe lema pe'en buku*. When adjective, numeral, and demonstrative are all used, the order is as follows.

buku lema mitvvnv pe'en 'those black five books'
 book five black those

buku mitvvnv lema pe'en 'those black five books'

The demonstrative must come at the end of the noun phrase, but the order of the numeral and the adjectives are free. The order of numerals and genitive pronouns is also free, but again the

definite marker, if any, must be at the end.

oto kame'en pak 'four of our cars' or 'Our cars are four.'
 car our.ex four

oto pak kame'en 'four of our cars'
 car four our.ex

oto kame'en pak me'envn 'our four cars'
 car our.ex four the

oto pak kame'en me'envn 'our four cars'
 car four our.ex the

The first example is either a noun phrase or a sentence. The second example might mean 'Four cars are ours,' but such a meaning requires the definite marker for the subject and the example is not a sentence. Apart from the relative order, another important thing is the function of the definite marker at the end. Without it, the phrase refers to part of the whole set (partitive), like 'four of our cars'. In this construction, we have more than four cars. With the definite marker at the end, the meaning is "that is all we have (exhaustive)," like 'our four cars.' In this construction, we have only four cars and no more. Since the definite marker indicates the right edge of a noun phrase, the third and fourth examples cannot be sentences.

In some cases the direct modification by an adjective is impossible. Thus, although the following are good,

oto mitvn 'a black car'
 oto wu'un 'a new car'
 ata bvlola 'a tall man'

the following are bad.

*oto bera 'a fast car'
 *ana' bvlola 'a tall man'
 *ata dikvn bvlola 'a tall man'

That is, for modifying *oto* 'car', *mitvn* 'black' or *wu'un* 'new' is possible, but *bera* 'fast' is impossible. The possibility of modification also depends on the modified noun. To express 'tall man' using *bvlola* 'tall', *ata* is possible but *ana'* and *ata dikvn* are impossible. (However, there are speakers who accept the examples, especially when the possessed noun has a suffix.)

When direct modification is impossible, a relative clause is used.

oto yang bera 'a car which is fast'
ana' yang bvlola 'a man who is tall'

yang indicates a relative clause. We will discuss relative clauses in chapter 13. Modification by a relative clause is always possible, and when direct modification is possible as well, the meaning difference is hard to detect. Thus, in the following pair,

oto wu'un 'a new car'
oto yang wu'un 'a car which is new'

at least there seems to be no difference in the presupposed set. That is, both can be used in a situation where (i) a new car is mentioned as opposed to say, an old car, or (ii) there is no implication that there are other cars. Thus, the situation of the *yang*-relative clauses for Indonesian described in Wolff et al (1992: 167) does not seem to hold in Lamaholot.

Let us next look at the combination of a possessive marker and an adjective.

lango belv ra'en 'their big (main) house'
lango ra'en belv 'Their house is big.'
lango ra'en yang belv 'their house that is big'

To mean 'their big house,' the order must be *lango belv ra'en* 'house big their'. With the order of *lango ra'en belv*, the meaning would be 'Their house is big.' But with the relative marker before the adjective, as in the third example, the interpretation is that of a noun phrase.

On the other hand, when a noun is modified by a genitive and a numeral, their order is free. (But some speakers don't accept the second sentence.)

go tvngv oto na'en rua kaen 'I saw his two cars.'
I see car his two all

?go tvngv oto rua kaen na'en 'I saw his two cars.'

The combination of genitive, adjective, and numeral is as follows.

ana' inawae maikvn moe'n tvlo 'your beautiful three daughters'
daughter beautiful your three

ana' inawae moe'n maikvn tvlo
ana' inawae moe'n tvlo maikvn

(Some speakers don't accept the second sentence, for *maikvn* also means 'face' and the sentence would mean 'Your daughter has three faces.')

Finally, when the noun is modified by an adjective,

numeral, and a demonstrative, the orders are as follows.

buku mvnipi lema pe'en (welin) 'those five thin books (are expensive)'
book thin five those

buku lema mvnipi pe'en (welin) 'those five thin books (are expensive)'

The demonstrative must be at the end, but the order of the adjective and the numeral is free. Demonstratives or definite markers must also follow a relative clause.

wata yang go biho me'en 'the rice I cooked'
rice that I cook the

wata me'en yang go biho cannot mean a noun phrase 'the rice I cooked', but it means a topicalized sentence 'that cook, (is what) I cooked.' In other words, since demonstratives or definite markers follow all the modifiers, it indicates the right edge of a noun phrase. This helps differentiate a sentence from a noun phrase, as follows.

buku pe'en mitvn 'The book is black.'
buku mitvn pe'en 'the black book'

If a nominal predicate is definite, the predicate can be fronted. Therefore, a string of words can be ambiguous between a noun phrase and a sentence.

buku go'en pi'invn 'this book of mine' or 'This is my book.'

When the last demonstrative modifies the noun, the meaning is 'this book of mine.' On the other hand, when the last demonstrative is the subject, the example is a variant of a sentence *pi'invn buku go'en* 'This is my book,' with focus on 'my book'. We will return to this ambiguity in section 7.2, along with intonation differences.

Chapter 6

Derivation, Compounding, and Reduplication

This chapter discusses morphological operations of derivation, compounding, and reduplication. Most of the examples of derivation and compounding are based on those in Keraf (1978) and Pampus (1999) with dialectal modification.

6.1. Derivation

6.1.1 Nasal replacing prefix *N-* and prefix *tvN-*

N- replaces word-initial [p, b] with [m] and [t, d, h] with [n]. For vowel-initial bases, it adds [n]. There is an example where the initial [g] is devoiced (i.e., *gynato* → *kvnato*). Although nasalization does not seem to be involved in this process, in the absence of any other initial devoicing in this dialect, we include this alternation in this nasalization group (cf. Pampus 1999: 30). *N-* is basically a nominalizing prefix, with only one example of verbalization (i.e., *ukut* 'path' → *nukut* 'follow the path'). The derived nouns denote a tool, result, actor, or related noun. With some *h-*initial bases, there are doublets of *N-* and *tvN-* counterparts, and in such a case the *N-* counterpart is a general term. Sometimes a nasal is added to the last vowel, and the last nasal yields doublets. For example for *pvtā*, there are *mvta* and *mvtan*, with slightly different meanings. *bayo* also has doublets, *mayon* and *mayun*; here both are last-nasalized and the meaning is the same.

<i>pet</i>	bind	<i>met</i>	belt
<i>poe</i>	redeem, get back	<i>moe</i>	things redeemed
<i>pota</i>	add	<i>mota</i>	things added
<i>pvtv(k)</i>	slice, v	<i>mvtan</i>	slice, n
<i>pohe</i>	weave	<i>molek</i>	tool for weaving
<i>payon</i>	build a shelter	<i>mayon</i>	shelter
<i>pvtā</i>	chop	<i>mvta</i>	chopped meat
		<i>mvtan</i>	each piece of chopped meat
<i>bitu</i>	catch animal and fish	<i>mitu</i>	trap
<i>boka</i>	force open	<i>moka</i>	things grabbed
<i>baon</i>	curve	<i>maon</i>	curving
<i>bayo</i>	crush	<i>mayon/mayun</i>	things crushed
<i>howak</i>	weave cloth	<i>mowak</i>	patterns of cloth
<i>takv</i>	cover roofs with thatch	<i>nakv</i>	thatch
<i>dira</i>	use a fan	<i>nira, mvnira</i>	fan
<i>ekvt</i>	tie, couple, v, n	<i>nekv</i>	couple, n
<i>ilu'</i>	saliva	<i>nilu'</i>	taste
<i>ukut</i>	path	<i>nukut</i>	follow the path
<i>gynato</i>	send a present	<i>kvnato</i>	gift

<i>hopen</i>	hang	<i>napen</i>	hanger
<i>hvkv(k)</i>	measure, v	<i>nukvk</i>	measure, n
<i>hau</i>	weave	<i>nau</i>	cloth
<i>holok</i>	continue after other's talk	<i>holok</i>	those who continue after other's talk
<i>hoyan</i>	invite, ask	<i>noyan</i>	those who are invited
<i>huro</i>	use a spoon (eat or serve), eat (not necessarily using a spoon)	<i>nuro</i>	spoon
<i>haman</i>	dance	<i>naman</i>	dancing place
<i>hvdik</i>	make upright	<i>tvndik</i>	something upright
		<i>nvdk</i>	things made upright (general)
<i>hupvn</i>	pick up	<i>tvnupvn</i>	those who pick up
		<i>nupvn</i>	those who pick up (general)
<i>hupvk</i>	cover the hole, close	<i>tvnupvk</i>	lid
		<i>nupvk</i>	something to cover up (general)
<i>hipvk</i>	nip	<i>tvnipvk</i>	clip
		<i>nipvk</i>	clips in general

6.1.2. Prefix *gvN-*

There are not many examples with prefix *gvN-*. The nasal part of *gvN-* changes [p] to [m], [b] to [w], [h] to [n], and it is unrealized before [r] or [l]. *gvN-* is basically a nominalizer, but it is sometimes added to a verb without changing its meaning and category. The derived nouns denote an action, actor, or result. In *pohe* → *gvpohin*, a nasal is added to the last vowel with change in the vowel.

<i>po'ok</i>	cut	<i>gymo'ok</i>	taking all
<i>papak</i>	protect	<i>gvmapak</i>	holding a child in arms
<i>pvpak</i>	split	<i>gvmpak</i>	slapping sound
<i>pohe</i>	help	<i>gvmohein</i>	helping each other
<i>balik</i>	return	<i>gvwalik</i>	return
<i>hiko</i>	go past	<i>gvniko</i>	going past
<i>hukv</i>	measure	<i>gvnukv</i>	measuring
<i>lile wvkin</i>	see oneself	<i>gvlike wvkin</i>	narcissist, those who boast
<i>lupa</i>	forget	<i>gvlupa</i>	forget
<i>redo'</i>	shake, v or n	<i>gvredok</i>	shaking

6.1.3. Prefix *bvN-*

Prefix *bvN-* is productive and is realized as [b], [bv'], [bvn], or [bvr] before a vowel, and as [bv]

before a consonant. It is basically a nominalizer, and the derived nouns denote an action, actor, tool, or patient. *bvN-* is also added to a noun and derives an adjective, verb, or adverb. Sometimes a nasal is added to the last vowel (*wala* -> *bvwalan*), with change in the vowel (*dore* -> *bvdorin*). In the case of *wai* 'water', there are doublets with *tvN-*, as *bvwaik* and *tvwair*, with the same meaning.

<i>agik</i>	sew	<i>bagik</i>	sewing
<i>ewik</i>	slice, v	<i>bewik</i>	slice, n
<i>vpuk</i>	gather	<i>bvpuk</i>	gathering
<i>owak</i>	make shades	<i>bowak</i>	having a shelter
<i>ipok</i>	finish	<i>bipok/bipuk</i>	the last thing
<i>odun</i>	alternate	<i>bv'odun</i>	person dispatched
<i>alvr</i>	crowing plant	<i>bv'alvr</i>	chat
<i>ote'</i>	lizard	<i>bv'ote'</i>	lazy man
<i>vduk</i>	bump, hit	<i>bv'vdok</i>	bumping sound
<i>ukvn</i>	shadow, v or n	<i>bv'ukvn</i>	shadow, v or n
<i>eran</i>	grind	<i>bvneran</i>	something ground
<i>adok</i>	encourage (children) to fight	<i>bvnadok</i>	those who encourage to fight, encouraging to fight
<i>odun</i>	ask, order	<i>bvnodun</i>	the asked people
<i>odo'</i>	push	<i>bvrodo</i>	pushing, stick to be inserted
<i>pasak</i>	shoot	<i>bvpasak</i>	shooter
<i>bu'</i>	blow	<i>bvdu'</i>	tool for blowing
<i>malu</i>	hungry	<i>bvmalu</i>	betel vine, a kind of fruit
<i>muri</i>	add, later	<i>bvmuri'</i>	later
<i>doru</i>	rub	<i>bvduru</i>	tool for rubbing, skin scraper
<i>dore</i>	follow	<i>bvdorin</i>	follower, copy cat
<i>doik</i>	lift with a lever	<i>bvdoik</i>	lever
<i>do'o</i>	clean the (coconut) container by scooping the fruit	<i>bvdo'o</i>	tool for scooping
<i>jaga</i>	protect	<i>bvjaga</i>	guard
<i>hode'</i>	accept	<i>bvhode'</i>	those who always accept
<i>liwo</i>	fill	<i>bvliwo</i>	container
<i>lolon</i>	top part	<i>bvlolon</i>	high
<i>lego</i>	turn	<i>bvlego</i>	those who avoids things
<i>lone</i>	put one's head on	<i>bvlone</i>	pillow
<i>linon</i>	reflect	<i>bvlinon</i>	mirror
<i>leba</i>	carry on one's shoulder	<i>bvleba</i>	stick for carrying on the shoulder
<i>lidun</i>	close	<i>bvlidun</i>	door
<i>rvwak</i>	interrupt (into other's speech)	<i>bvrvwak</i>	those who interrupts (into

<i>rvgu</i>	disturb	<i>bvrvgu</i>	other's speech)
<i>roso</i>	poke	<i>bvroso</i>	disturber
<i>rawuk</i>	hair	<i>bvrawuk</i>	tool for poking
<i>reu</i>	friend	<i>bvreu</i>	have hairs
<i>rvkvt/dvkvt</i>	weapon, blade	<i>bvrvkvt</i>	those who became friends
<i>wvda</i>	fish, v	<i>bvwvda</i>	sharp
		<i>bvwvdan</i>	fishing pole
<i>walok</i>	throw	<i>bvwalok</i>	fish caught
			tool for throwing (in kids' play)
<i>walek</i>	stumble	<i>bvwalek</i>	obstacle
<i>wai'</i>	water	<i>tvwair</i>	water
		<i>bvwelin</i>	watery
<i>welin</i>	how much	<i>bvwolan</i>	expensive
<i>wola</i>	fat, n		fat, a

6.1.4. Prefix *pv-*

Prefix *pv-* is added to bases with the initial consonant of [t], [n], [l], [k], or [w]. There is one example of an *h*-initial bases, where [h] is replaced by [n] (*hvgak* -> *pvmvgak*). Otherwise, there is no indication for a nasal in *pv-*. (In the Lewolema dialect (Pampus 1999: 34f), there are derivations *adan* -> *pvradan*, *hamu* -> *pvhamun*.) One function of *pv-* is verbalization, yielding a stative verb or an adjective. The other function is a nominalization yielding a tool, action, actor or noun with a related meaning.

<i>tua</i>	palm wine	<i>pvtuak</i>	taste like palm wine
<i>tana</i>	land	<i>pvtanak</i>	feel like soil
<i>tvlu</i>	egg	<i>pvtvlu</i>	expecting hens (for laying eggs)
<i>tutun</i>	wild pig	<i>pvtutun</i>	as large as a wind pig
<i>tutu'</i>	speak	<i>pvtutu'</i>	speaker, speaking
<i>nain</i>	breath, feeling	<i>pvnain</i>	take a rest
<i>lvta'</i>	ask	<i>pvlvta'</i>	asking, beggar
<i>lutan</i>	wild, barbarous	<i>pvlutan</i>	barbarian
<i>kawu</i>	dust	<i>pvkawuk</i>	grey
<i>kayo</i>	wood	<i>pvkayuk</i>	feel like wood
<i>kua</i>	dreg, waste	<i>pvkua</i>	feel like dreg
<i>kaka</i>	mucus	<i>pvkaka</i>	feel like mucus
<i>koda</i>	speech	<i>pvkoda</i>	breeze
<i>watan</i>	beach	<i>pvwatan</i>	things/people related to beach
<i>wua</i>	fruit	<i>pvwua</i>	trees about to bear fruit
<i>wuno</i>	mushroom	<i>pvwuno</i>	having a new branch and leaf
<i>hvgak</i>	replace	<i>pvmvgak</i>	replacement

6.1.5. *kv*-initial derivation

For *kv*-initial derivation, there are two possible analyses, depending on the initial consonant of the base. First, for a vowel-initial base or bases with the initial consonant of [p, b, m, l, s], prefix *kv(N)*- is involved. Although there is a derivation like *pati* -> *kvmati*, there is little indication for a nasal in *kv(N)*- in other derivations. The base-final glottal is replaced by [k] in this derivation, as *belv'* -> *kvbelvk*.

Second, for *k*-initial bases, the infix *-vn-* is involved, as in *kiyuk* -> *k-vn-iyuk*. In the next subsection we will see more examples of *-vn-* infixes for bases with other initial consonants, but due to the complications involved in *kv*-initial derivation, we discuss *k*-initial bases here. Sometimes a nasal is added to the last vowel (*kipo* -> *k-vn-ipun*), or further modifications are observed (e.g., *ko'waun* -> *kvnon*, *kvni* -> *kvreni/kvresi*).

The third and hard group is *g*-initial bases. In our sample, this *g*-initial group is the largest in number. For this group, either of the above mentioned analysis (i.e., prefix *kv(N)*- or infix *-vn-*) seems to be possible. In the prefix *kv(N)*- analysis, the initial [g] is replaced by [n], as in *galin* -> *kv-nalin*. In the infix analysis, we must postulate initial devoicing as in *galin* -> *k-vn-alin*. This devoicing may be parallel to the derivation *gvnato* -> *kvnato* in section 6.1.1, which we suggested might be a variant of initial nasalization (*baon* -> *maon*, *dira* -> *nira*). Then the devoicing in *galin* -> *k-vn-alin* might be regarded as a case of nasal spreading induced by *-vn-*. However, to the extent that the situation where an infix affects the preceding initial consonant is peculiar, the prefix analysis seems to be more plausible.

Now if the prefix analysis for *g*-initial bases (*galin* -> *kv-nalin*) is correct and replacing [g] with [n] is motivated, the same analysis can be extended to *k*-initial bases, as in *kiyuk* -> *kv-nituk*, with a similar replacement of [k] with [n], and we do not have to postulate an infix in these examples as well. We will encounter a similar dilemma with *mvn*-initial derivation in section 6.1.7.

The choice of the prefix analysis or the infix analysis aside, the function of *kv*-initial derivation is to derive nouns denoting a tool, result, people or things related to the base word.

<i>aya'</i>	much	<i>kayak(-aya')</i>	many people, large amount
<i>pati</i>	pile	<i>kvmati</i>	things piled
<i>pasa</i>	swear	<i>kvpasa</i>	oath
<i>paik</i>	bitter	<i>kvpaik</i>	sea snail (tastes bitter)
<i>bvtok</i>	emerge	<i>kvbvtok</i>	jump
<i>belv'</i>	big	<i>kvbelvk</i>	great man (age, rank)
<i>me'a</i>	red	<i>kvmea</i>	green snake (with red neck)
<i>lvpvt</i>	fold	<i>kvlpvt</i>	state of being folded
<i>sakok</i>	whisper	<i>kvsakok</i>	whisper, n
<i>kiyuk</i>	close (or narrow) eyes	<i>kvniyuk</i>	state of not being able to open

<i>ko'waun</i>	lie, n shrink (or intimidated) and	<i>kvnon</i>	eyes liar
<i>kipo</i>	be gone	<i>kvnipon</i>	residue
<i>kvmi</i>	sweet, a	<i>kvvmi</i>	sweets
<i>kvni</i>	small	<i>kvreni/kvresi</i>	small kids
<i>kvru</i>	short	<i>kvvrur</i>	short thing
<i>galin</i>	dig	<i>kvnalin</i>	shovel
<i>guik</i>	scoop coconuts fruit	<i>kvmi</i>	shell for scooping coconut fruit
<i>gate</i>	hook	<i>kvnate</i>	hooker
<i>gvrik</i>	saw (for wood), v	<i>kvvrrik</i>	saw, n
<i>gehe'</i>	saw v	<i>kvnehe'</i>	saw, n
<i>golo</i>	roll (cigarette)	<i>kvnolo</i>	rolled thing (cigarette)
<i>geha'/gape</i>	talk in a traditional speech	<i>kvneha'/kvnapa</i>	ritual speech
<i>gasik</i>	count	<i>kvnasik</i>	sum
<i>gvnan</i>	leave	<i>kvvnan</i>	remnant
<i>gipvk</i>	hold in between	<i>kvnipvk</i>	hair clip, nipper
<i>guk</i>	turn	<i>kvnuke</i>	propeller
			food or other provision to bring for journey
<i>gike</i>	bite	<i>kvnikin</i>	
<i>gvtan</i>	all	<i>kvvntan</i>	all

6.1.6. Infix *-vn-*

Although we showed reservation in the last subsection for postulating an infix *-vn-* for *k*-initial bases, there is little doubt that the infix is involved in bases with other initial consonants, namely [t], [s] or [n]. The infix yields derived nouns denoting a tool, result, actor, action or state. In some *t*-initial bases, the infix is *-vm-* rather than *-vn-*, as in *tanin* -> *t-vm-anin*. This might be a reflex of the Proto-Austronesian voice infix *-um-*. There are a few cases of further modification in the last part of the base, as in *tien* -> *tvnie'en* and *nawo* -> *nvnavun*.

<i>tule</i>	coil	<i>tvnule</i>	tool for coiling lace
<i>tali</i>	add	<i>tvnali</i>	added thing
<i>tika</i>	divide	<i>tvnika</i>	piece
<i>tabu</i>	hit	<i>tvnabu</i>	hitting tool
<i>teho</i>	wipe clean	<i>tvneho</i>	wiping cloth
<i>toa</i>	swing	<i>tvnoa</i>	swing (in a playground)
<i>tubak</i>	stab	<i>tvnubak</i>	stabbing tool
<i>tien</i>	open (action)	<i>tvnie'en</i>	open (state)
<i>tanin</i>	cry	<i>tvmanin</i>	cryer
<i>tvtik</i>	drip, v	<i>tvmtik</i>	drip, n
<i>toda'</i>	guide	<i>tvmoda'</i>	leader

<i>tuen</i>	share	<i>tvmuen</i>	shared thing
<i>saga</i>	drop (fruit) from above	<i>svnaga</i>	tool for receiving the falling thing
<i>svdo</i>	scoop	<i>svnvdo</i>	scooper
<i>siwok</i>	put grilled fish into water	<i>svnvwok</i>	grilled fish in the water
<i>sira</i>	blow away chaff from rice	<i>svnira</i>	tool for blowing chaff away
<i>seok</i>	fry	<i>svneok</i>	tool for frying, fried food
<i>sigan</i>	flavor, v	<i>svnigan</i>	flavored food
<i>svrok</i>	leak	<i>svnvrok</i>	leaking
<i>napa</i>	spread	<i>nvnapa</i>	things spread
<i>nawo</i>	accompany	<i>nvnawun</i>	company

6.1.7. *mvn*-initial derivation

For *mvn*-initial derivation, the prefix is literally *mvn*- rather than *mvN*-, for the initial consonant of the base is replaced by [n] regardless of point of the articulation of the consonant (i.e., [b], [d], or [w]), as in *ba'at* -> *mvna'at*. As usual, [n] is realized for a vowel-initial base (*ungar* -> *mvnungar*). For *n*-initial bases, the consonant replacement is vacuous and it looks like that a prefix *mv*- is involved, as in *napin* -> *mvnapin*.

Since the initial consonant of the base is always replaced by [n], one might postulate an infix *-vn-* for this group. However, the same problem as we saw in section 6.1.5 emerges: this infix affects the preceding initial consonant, as in *dorok* -> *m-vn-orok*. Another problem is that, if *-vn* is involved in both *kv*-initial derivation and *mvn*-initial derivation, we have to postulate two distinct entries for *-vn-*: devoicing *-vn-*, as in *gate* -> *k-vn-ate*, and nasalizing *-vn-*, as in *ba'at* -> *m-vn-a'at*. These considerations lead us to the prefix analysis for both examples, as *kv-nate* and *mv-napin*.

Whether we adopt the prefix analysis or the infix analysis, we have to posit non-homorganic nasalization (i.e., nasalization involving different points of articulation). Thus, the prefix analysis would have the following derivation: *gate* -> *kv-nate* and *ba'at* -> *mv-na'at*. On the other hand, the infix analysis would have the following: *dorok* -> *m-vn-orok*.

The function in this set of derivation is to derive a noun denoting a tool, action, state, actor or people with the property of the base, or result. In one example (*wuhu* 'bow' -> *mvnuhu* 'pull a string of a bow'), the derivation is verbalization.

In some examples, the last part of the base is often nasalized (*bvkv* -> *mvnkvvn*) or modified in other ways (*nolo* -> *mvnolur*). The word-final [n] is often syllabic and induces accent shift. Thus, the penultimate accent falls on the last vowel, making *mvnukan* (<- *buka*) sound like *mvnuka'an*.

<i>ba'at</i>	heavy	<i>mvna'at</i>	something heavy
<i>bvkv</i>	angry	<i>mvnkvvn</i>	angry man, being angry

<i>bvngo</i>	hit hard	<i>mvnngo</i>	stick for hitting
<i>bohu'</i>	full (stomach)	<i>mvnohun</i>	state of being full
<i>buka'</i>	open (either action or state)	<i>mvnuka'an</i>	open (only state)
<i>dorok</i>	drag	<i>mvnorok</i>	stick under the load for dragging
<i>doru'</i>	sweep, rub, brush	<i>mvnoru'</i>	tool for rubbing, file
<i>dira</i>	use a fan	<i>nira, mvnira</i>	fan
<i>wikak</i>	break in piece	<i>mvnika'</i>	piece, fraction
<i>wuhu'</i>	bow	<i>mvnuhu'</i>	pull a string of a bow
<i>ungar</i>	wound	<i>mvnungar</i>	wound
<i>napin</i>	search blindly	<i>mvnapin</i>	searching blindly, searcher
<i>nonin</i>	show, index	<i>mvnonin</i>	presenter, index
<i>nange</i>	swim	<i>mvnange</i>	swimmer
<i>niun</i>	save (money)	<i>mvniun</i>	things (money) saved
<i>mwuk</i>	swell, v	<i>mvnuwuk</i>	swell, n
<i>nolo</i>	first	<i>mvnolur</i>	ancient, old-fashioned man

6.2. Compounding

Lamaholot has a productive process of compounding, especially in ritual speech (Samely 1990: 101ff, Pampus 1999: 402f). In this section, compounds are divided into two major classes; coordinate compounds and subordinate compounds. Another class is compounds with non-existing subparts.

6.2.1. Coordinate compounds (dvandva)

There are three criteria for classifying coordinate compounds:

- (i) which category (noun, verb, or adjective) is involved,
- (ii) whether the relation of the two items is synonym, antonym, or related but different meanings,
- (iii) whether the meaning of the compound is predictable from the subpart (endocentric) or not (exocentric).

The following list of compounds is sorted out according to the category: noun-noun, verb-verb, and adjective-adjective.

Noun-Noun		
<i>lvron-rvman</i>	day-night	day and night
<i>rvman-lvron</i>	night-day	night and day

<i>vma'an-bapan(vn)</i>	mother-father	parents (the order fixed)
<i>opu-bvlake</i>	man-man	males of the wife's clan
<i>ana-opu</i>	man-man	males of the husband's clan
<i>na'an-bine</i>	brother-sister	brother and sisters
<i>kvropon-kvbarvk</i>	male.youth- female.youth	youth
<i>kaka-ari</i>	older.sibling- younger.sibling	all siblings of the same clan group
<i>tena-laya</i>	boat-mast	boat
<i>lango-uma</i>	house-house	house
<i>uli-ekan</i>	place-land	land
<i>lvwo-tana</i>	village-land	village, hometown
<i>kvniki-wai'</i>	food-water	food and water for trip
<i>lvra-wulan-tana-ekan</i>	sun-moon-land-land	gods of sun, moon and earth
<i>muko-hura</i>	banana-potato	all foods except rice and maize
<i>witi-bala</i>	goat-tusk.of.elephant	goat and tusk of elephant (used in exchange for bride)
<i>kvluba-kvloton</i>	pot-pot	cooking utensils
<i>kayo-wai'</i>	wood-water	all things necessary in cooking
<i>uran-angi</i>	rain-wind	rainy season
<i>uran-warak</i>	rain-big.wind	storm
<i>kvtilon-bvlaban</i>	stick-chisel	tools for building a house
<i>lei-lima</i>	arm-leg	whole body
<i>lola-rua</i>	half-two	half, carry something on shoulder using a stick with two loads in front and back

Verb-Verb		
<i>tobo-dein</i>	sit-stand	alive
<i>Liko-lapa</i>	cover-impede	impede, protect
<i>gere-lodo</i>	up-down	in and out (because houses are usually up above)
<i>tubak-mula</i>	dig-plant	agricultural activities during the rainy season
<i>belo-tuno</i>	cut-bake	activities of killing animal and preparing meat in a customary ceremony
<i>hode-gute</i>	receive-take	give and take
<i>lodo-pana:</i>	go.down-walk	go out (of the house or village)
<i>tutu-tvna</i>	speak-say	give advice
<i>tutu-marin</i>	speak-say	give advice
<i>turu-hogo</i>	sleep-wake.up	wake up
<i>tuno-biho</i>	bake-cook	bake and cook
<i>pana-pvlae</i>	walk-run	doing something in a hurry
<i>soron-nein</i>	give-give	give
<i>giri-hai</i>	comb-comb	comb
<i>tutu-gasik</i>	speak-count	say something

<i>hope-du'un</i>	buy-sell	buy and sell, merchandise
<i>heka-gelu</i>	change-change	change
<i>gelu-hekak</i>	change-change	change
<i>svru-papin</i>	burn-burn	burn
<i>pana-peun</i>	walk-return	go back and forth
<i>pana-hama</i>	walk-same	walk side by side
<i>kawen-gate</i>	married-hook.down	married
<i>tuba-gate</i>	stab-hook.down	stab and drag down

Adjective-Adjective

<i>susa-dudak</i>	hard-attacked	very hard
<i>bvlara-bvrihan</i>	hurt-tired	sick (chronically)
<i>malu-mara</i>	hungry-thirsty	poor, have nothing to eat
<i>bohu-bvrvn</i>	full.of.food- drunk	drunk
<i>tvka-ylvn</i>	right-wrong	try doing without knowing right or wrong
<i>kvne-belv</i>	small-big	whether big or small
<i>doan-dahe</i>	far-near	middle
<i>pvlate-bvringin</i>	hot-cool	have a fever

As for the criterion (ii), synonyms are *lango-uma* 'house-house', *soron-nein* 'give-give'. Antonyms are *lvron-ryman* 'day-night', *hope-du'un* 'buy-sell', and *tvka-ylvn* 'right-wrong'. Related but different meanings are *kvniki-wai'* 'food-water', *pana-pvlae* 'walk-run', and *bvlara-bvrihan* 'hurt-tired'.

The criterion (iii), the output meanings of the compounds, needs further classification. Depending on how the whole meaning of the compound is obtained, there are several types. Below we list several typical cases.

- (a) The whole meaning is the same as the parts (synonyms) or sum of the meanings of the two parts.

<i>uli-ekan</i>	place-land	'land'
<i>heka-gelu</i>	change-change	'change'
<i>vma'an-bapan(vn)</i>	mother-father	'parents'
<i>pana-peun</i>	walk-return	'go back and forth'

- (b) There is an additional or extended meaning in the compound.

<i>opu-bvlake</i>	man-man	'males of the wife's clan'
<i>kvluba-kvloton</i>	pot-pot	'cooking utensils'
<i>tutu-tvna</i>	speak-say	'give advice'
<i>tobo-dein</i>	sit-stand	'alive'

- (c) The meaning of the compound seems to be the same as that of one part.

<i>tena-laya</i>	boat-mast'	boat'
<i>tutu-gasik</i>	speak-count	'say something'
<i>kawen-gate</i>	married-hook.down	'married'
<i>lola-rua</i>	half-two	'half'
<i>туру-hogo</i>	sleep-wake.up	'wake up'

There are examples which have characteristics of both (b) and (c).

<i>uran-angi</i>	rain-wind	'rainy season'
<i>pvlate-bvringin</i>	hot-cool	'have a fever'

In (c), the first four examples have the first part as the head, but in the last example, it is the second part that is the head.

6.2.2. Subordinate compounds

In subordinate compounds, the relation of the two parts is either modification or complementation (e.g., verb-object). Below we list four types of subordinate compounds: noun-noun, noun-adjective, location-preposition, and verb-object. Of these, the first two are modification, and the last two are complementation.

Noun-Noun

<i>wato-watan</i>	stone-sea	sea stone
<i>lango-alakvn</i>	house-man	resident
<i>alate-langun</i>	man-house	resident
<i>kotvn-wato</i>	head-stone	hard head
<i>kvloba-inan</i>	octopus-mother	mother octopus, big octopus
<i>matan-tain</i>	eye-feces	mucus in the eye
<i>matan-tvnain</i>	eye-(feces?)	greedy
<i>ata-molan</i>	man-healer	shaman

In noun-noun subordinate compounds, the head is either the left part (e.g., *wato-watan* 'stone-sea') or the right part (e.g., *matan-tain* 'eye-feces'). Of particular interest is the doublets *lango-alakvn* 'house-man' and *alate-langun* 'man-house', where the same words (with some modification) are ordered reversely with the same meaning for the compound. *alakvn* combines with other words to denote a profession or owner: *wvda'-alakvn* 'fisherman', *man-alakvn* 'land-owner'. In *matan-tvnain*, where the second part involves *tvN-* prefixation, the meaning of the compound is idiomatic.

Noun-Adjective

<i>tilun-belv</i>	ear-big	big ear
<i>ata-bvrvkvkvn</i>	man-brave	brave man
<i>tapo-mvvnure'en</i>	coconut-immature	young coconut
<i>lolo<n>-laen</i>	leaf-clean	already clean

<i>tuho-wutun</i>	breast-last	youngest child
<i>irun-bvwaun</i>	nose-stinky	stingy
<i>lango-belv'vn</i>	house-big	center house of the clan
<i>muhun-bvwaun</i>	mouth-stinky	use a bad word

In the list of noun-adjective subordinate compounds above, the first three have transparent meaning (i.e., the meaning of the whole is the sum of the parts), but the rest of the example have opaque (i.e., idiomatic) meaning. (<n> indicates that [n] is originally present but unrealized in actual speech.)

Location-Preposition

<i>ale-lolon</i>	stomach-on	on the stomach
<i>uwuk-lolon</i>	roof-on	on the roof
<i>kayo-lolon</i>	tree-on	on the tree
<i>atu-lolon</i>	stone-on	on top of the constructed stone
<i>tena-lolon</i>	boat-on	on the boat
<i>kayo-ono'on</i>	tree-in	in the forest
<i>lango-ono'on</i>	house-in	in the house
<i>lango-onvn</i>	house-inside	inner people

Location-preposition compounds are mostly equivalent to preposition phrases. In the last example, *onvn* may be an adjective and the compound is of noun-adjective type.

Verb-Object

<i>gvlia/roi-bala</i>	see-ivory	see ivory (ceremony for engagement)
<i>baha'-rata</i>	wash-hair	wash hair (either daily activity or wedding ceremony for women)
<i>bole-padu</i>	coil-resin	make resin for torch

There are several examples of verb-object compounds, some of which are used in ceremonies related to marriage. Below are a few examples where the relation of the parts are not clear.

<i>opu-pain</i>	man-lie.down	males of the wife's clan
<i>opu-pain-kaka-ari</i>	man-lie.down-older.sibling-younger.sibling	all the extended clan members

6.2.3. Compounds with non-existing subparts

This subsection lists compounds where meanings of one or both parts are unclear. In many examples below, phonological shapes are similar between the two parts. Perhaps reduplication of obsolete words or onomatopoeia is involved in this type of compounds.

<i>lango-uma</i>	house-?	house
<i>tuka-hema</i>	make-?	make
<i>gelo-geok</i>	?-?	shake body uneasily
<i>svto-wvtok</i>	?-?	walk rapidly
<i>baga-ragak</i>	?-?	lose balance after slipping
<i>svgo-lvgok</i>	?-?	walk while shaking body
<i>kabi-rabik</i>	?-?	emotionally entangled
<i>kelo-weok</i>	?-?	not straight
<i>kanga-ranga</i>	?-?	clumsy
<i>kvlo-wvlok</i>	?-?	break promise
<i>kvloba-inan</i>	?-?	laying woods unorderedly (for bridge)
<i>wigi-wagak</i>	?-?	have branches with many directions

6.3. Reduplication

Although not very productive, reduplication is occasionally observed in Lamaholot. It seems that adjectives (or adverbs) are more apt to reduplicate than nouns. *vre-vre* 'good-good' intensifies the meaning, or extends the meaning to 'careful' (equivalent to Indonesian *baik-baik*), but for *paon-paon* 'slow-slow' and *bera-bera* 'fast-fast', the meaning seems to be the same with that of the non-reduplicated counterpart. *to'u-to'u* 'one-one' means 'each'. For some words, partial reduplication applies, as *bvrkv ~ bvrkvkv* 'sharp', with the same meaning. *vrvn* 'day' has a partial reduplicated form *vrvrn*, which is used in *vrvrn wia* 'the day before yesterday'. (*wia* means 'yesterday'.)

Chapter 7

Word Order and Intransitives

This chapter discusses word order in a sentence and intransitives. Intransitives include intransitive verbs, nominal or adjectival predicates, and existential or possessive constructions.

7.1. Basic Word Order

The basic word order of Lamaholot is Subject-Predicate, and the reversed Predicate-Subject order is possible under certain conditions. The order within a predicate is Verb-Object, giving the basic transitive order of Subject-Verb-Object (SVO). The object can be fronted to the sentence initial position for focus, and we will discuss this fronting (the so-called scrambling) in detail in section 13.3. The position of the adverb is flexible depending on the word and focus, and we will discuss adverbs and prepositions in chapter 10. Auxiliaries come either before or after the predicate. We will discuss auxiliaries in section 8.2.

7.2. Nominal and Adjectival Predicates

We first look at sentences with a nominal or an adjectival predicate.

go guru 'I am a teacher'

wato pi'in ba'a 'This stone is heavy.'
stone this heavy

The adjectival predicate can have a personal suffix, and when it does, it carries an additional meaning of excess 'too...'

na bvlola 'He is tall.'
na bvlola-na 'He is too tall.'

The second sentence has the agreement suffix, and means '(compared with others), he is too tall.' As we saw in section 5.2, agreement on attributive adjectives makes no semantic contribution. Thus, *inamvlake belvn* and *inamvlake belvn-na* both mean 'big man'. There are cases where the agreement suffix on the predicate adjective makes no semantic difference, as in the case of *mata* 'dead.'

na mata(na) 'He is dead.'

Since it makes little sense to say 'He is too dead,' *mata* above has same meaning with or without the suffix. When the predicate is a definite noun phrase, it can be fronted.

buku go'en pi'invn 'This is my book.' or 'this book of mine'

book my this

buku me'envn pi'invn 'This is the book.'
book the this

As noted in section 5.2 on modification, the first example as a whole can also be a noun phrase. When it is interpreted as a sentence, it is a variant of a sentence *pi'invn buku go'en* 'This is my book,' with focus on 'my book'. When interpreted as a noun phrase, as in:

buku go'en pi'invn, welin aya'ka 'This book of mine is very expensive.'
book my this expensive very

there is an intonation break with a rising intonation after the right edge of the subject *pi'invn*. The above example *buku me'envn pi'invn* 'book the this' cannot mean 'this book', showing that a demonstrative and the definite marker do not co-occur within a single noun phrase. If the possession is expressed by a suffix, the possessed noun can be fronted.

buku-kvn pi'invn 'This is my book.'
book-1sg this

(But some speakers don't accept this example.) This shows that *buku-kvn* is definite and there is no difference in definiteness between *buku-kvn* and *buku go'en*. Predicate fronting is impossible with an indefinite noun phrase.

buku pi'in 'this book' Not 'This is a book.'

Predicate fronting can (marginally) occur with a verbal predicate.

?svga urin, na 'Come late, he did.'
come late he

?bu'a wata, Bala 'Eat rice, Bala did.'
eat rice B.

The object of a transitive verb can also be fronted.

wata, Bala bu'a 'Rice, Bala ate.'

These types of fronting will be discussed in section 13.3.

7.3. Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs are classified into three types:

intransitive verbs that cannot be used as a transitive verb (Type A)

intransitive verbs that can also be used as a transitive verb

The subject of the intransitive corresponds to the subject of the transitive.
(Type B)

The subject of the intransitive corresponds to the object of the transitive.
(Type C)

The first criterion is whether the intransitive verb can also be used as a transitive verb or not, and the second is whether the subject of the intransitive corresponds to the subject or the object of the transitive. Here are examples.

Type A

ra svga urin 'They came late.'
they come late

go pana pe lango 'I pass by (or through) the house.'
I pass at house

Type B

intransitive usage

na hvbo 'She bathes.'

tite bu'a pe lango 'We eat in the house.'
we.in eat in house

transitive usage

na hvbo ana' pe'en 'She bathes the child.'
she bathe child the

tite bu'a wata pe lango 'We eat rice in the house.'
we.in eat rice in house

Type C

intransitive usage

kvnawe buka' 'The door opens.'
door open

atadikv'vn wvkv ka'en pupu 'All the people gathered.'
 man all gather

transitive usage

go buka' kvnawe 'I open the door.'
 I open door

ra pupu atadikv'vn wvkv ka'en 'They gathered all the people.'
 they gather man all

Alternation of transitive and intransitive is discussed in chapter 9, along with causatives. Usually intransitive verbs and adjectives do not require complements. But there are some intransitive verbs and adjectives whose meaning is incomplete without a complement.

go tor-kvn no'on mo 'I agree with you.'
 I agree-1sg with you

tite taku-te no'on na 'We are afraid of him.'
 we.in afraid-1pl.in with him

Here the preposition *no'on* 'with' is used. This preposition has a potential of agreement, but in the above sentences it does not agree. This restriction is discussed in detail in section 11.7.3. The same word *no'on* is used in existential and possessive sentences, to which we now turn.

7.4. Existential and Possessive Sentences

no'on denotes existence at a location, and it can be omitted.

go (no'on) pe pesta wia rvman 'I was in the party last night.'
 I be in party yesterday night

go (no'on) pe bilik go'en 'I am in my room.'
 I in room my

There are several ways to express location of an object. The following sentences all mean 'There is a potato on the table.'

ue pe meja wutun 'There is a potato on the table.'
 potato on table above

ue no'on pe meja wutun

ue ha'e no'on pe meja wutun
 ue ha'e pe meja wutun
 ue no'on hae pe meja wutun 'There is a potato on the table.'

pe indicates the surrounding area ('at'), and *wutun* means 'above'. We will see more about expressions of location in section 10.3. *ha'e* means indefinite 'some' (see section 3.3), and it is optional. After *ue* 'potato', *to'u* can optionally be added. It means 'one', but can also mean 'certain amount'. The last sentence tends to mean a question 'I wonder if there is a potato on the table'.

The locative phrase can come first.

pe meja (wutun) ue ha'e
 ?pe meja (wutun) pe ue ha'e

The preposition *pe* can be repeated after the locative phrase, although the sentence becomes a little unnatural. Unlike the English *be* or Indonesian *ada(lah)*, *no'on* cannot be used with a predicate.

*go no'on guru 'I am a teacher.'
 I teacher

If *no'on* is dropped, the sentence is grammatical. The form of the existential usage of *no'on* is fixed regardless of the subject, unlike *no'on* as the comitative preposition or the conjunction. There are several ways to express possession by a human by using *no'on*.

oto go'en no'on 'car my no'on'
 go'en no'on oto 'my no'on car.'
 go no'on oto-kvn 'I no'on car-1sg'

The above three sentences all mean 'I have a car.' It is not clear whether *no'on* takes the possessor as the subject (corresponding to English *have*) or the possessed as the subject (corresponding to English *exist*). The first sentence seems to indicate that *no'on* means 'exist' and takes *oto go'en* 'car my' as the subject. This is consistent with the examples we saw earlier where *no'on* indicates the existence of 'a potato'. But the word order in the second sentence seems to indicate that *no'on* means 'have' and takes the possessor (genitive pronoun) as the subject. The possibility of *no'on* meaning 'have' becomes more plausible in the third sentence, where *no'on* takes a nominative possessor noun as the subject, meaning 'I have my car.' When the suffix is deleted from the third sentence, the meaning is not possession.

go no'on oto 'I went/came by car.'

That is, the above sentence is derived by omitting a verb 'go' or 'come', and *no'on* is not a verb

but a comitative preposition. This is confirmed by the fact that *no'on* can agree with the subject, deriving *k-o'on* '1sg-with'. As we will see in section 11.4, the prepositional *no'on* can agree, but the verbal *no'on* cannot.

By the way, *go no'on oto-kvn* 'I no'on car-1sg' also means 'I went/came by my car,' as well as 'I have a car,' as we saw above. On the other hand, *go no'on oto go'en* 'I no'on car my' does not mean 'I have a car,' and only means 'I went/came my car.' That is, although possession by suffixing and possession by genitive pronoun are usually interchangeable, in this case the two expressions have different meanings.

When the possessor is a proper noun, the sentences are as follows.

Bala no'on oto-nvn 'Bala has a car.'
 B. has? car-3sg

Bala na'en no'on oto 'Bala has a car.'
 B. his has? car

oto Bala na'en no'on 'Bala has a car.'
 car B. his exist?

Note again the ambivalent meaning of *no'on* between 'have' and 'exist.' Another interesting thing about this construction is the relative order of numerals. One can add *to'u* to emphasize the number, and there are three possible positions.

?oto go'en no'on to'u
 oto go'en to'u no'on
 ?oto to'u go'en no'on 'I have a car.'

Although the first and last sentences are a little unnatural, all three positions are basically allowed. To negate existence or possession, *amu'un* is used.

ue amu'un pe meja wutun 'There is no potato on the table.'
 potato not on table above

oto go'en amu'un 'I have no car.'
 car my not
 go'en amu'un oto

ha'e cannot be used in above sentences. *hala'* 'not' can also be used to negate the existence. When *hala'* is used after the location, it negates the location.

ue no'on hala' pe meja 'There is no potato on the table.'

ue no'on pe meja hala' 'There are potatoes (somewhere), but not on the table.'

Negation will be discussed in details in section 8.1. Some more examples:

lango belvn go'en to'u 'I have a big house.'
 house big my one

lango belvn to'u pe kota 'There is a big house in the town.'
 house big one in town

?lango belvn to'u pe go 'I have a big house.'
 house big one in me

The first sentence contains no verb, but it is a sentence. The last two sentences are minimally different with respect to the location or possessor. The last sentence literally means 'There is a big house to me,' and implies I recently got a house. The similarity of the two sentences indicates that possessor is sometimes equal to location. But there are cases where the possessor and location are distinct.

lango belvn to'u no'on pe kota 'There is a big house in the town.'
 house big one exist in town

lango belvn go'en to'u no'on pe kota 'I have a big house in the town.'
 house big my one exist in town

go'en no'on lango belvn to'u pe kota 'I have a big house in the town.'
 my have house big one in town

In the last two sentences, the location and the possessor are expressed separately. Some more remarks on *no'on* are in order.

go no'on pe kamar go'en 'I am in my room'
 I be in room my

??go no'on pe Ende 'I am in Ende.'

?go pe Ende 'I am in Ende.'

When a town (like Ende) is mentioned as a location of a human, *no'on* is not usually used and a verbless sentence is preferred. Verbless sentence is also observed in the following.

go dari Ende 'I am from Ende.' or 'I arrived from Ende.'
 I from E.

The sentence indicates either speaker's origin (hometown) or from which town the speaker has arrived. 'I am from Ende' can also be *go ata/viv Ende* 'I am an Ende man'. When the verb *svga* 'come' is added, only the second meaning is available.

go svga dari Ende 'I arrived from Ende.' Not 'I am from Ende.'

Chapter 8 Negation, Auxiliaries, and Imperatives

8.1. Negation and Related Expressions

The basic word for negation is *hala'*, and it usually follows the predicate.

na guru hala' 'He is not a teacher.'
he teacher not

go bvrin na hala' 'I don't hit him.'
I hit him not

nolo pe tite pi'in tvkan wata t-enun wai' hala'
past that 1pl.in this 1.pl.in.eat rice 1pl.in-drink water not
'In the past time we didn't eat rice and drink water.'

To negate only a part of the sentence, *hala'* can come immediately after the intended negated part.

go hala' bvrin na 'It's not me who hit him.'

go bvrin hala' na 'I didn't *hit* him. (I just touched him.)'

go bvrin na pe langonvn hala' 'I hit him, but not in his house.'
I hit na in house-his not

go tvngv Bala, Lado hala' 'I saw Bala, not Lado.'
I see B. L. not

There is a construction where two (or more) verbs appear in a sentence without any conjunctive marker. This is called serial verb construction and will be discussed in section 12.2. Here we only note that when a serial verb sentence is negated, *hala'* comes after the first verb.

go lerin hala' k-a'i-kvn pe kota 'I didn't walk to the town.'
I walk not 1sg-go-1sg to town

As we saw earlier, when *hala'* comes at the end, we have partial negation. Thus, the above sentence would mean 'I walked to somewhere, but not to the town,' if *hala'* comes at the end.

Another word for negation is *take'*. It is not used to negate (a part of) a sentence but functions more independently, as in '... or not' and 'No!'

na hope a to'u le take'/hala' 'Did he buy anything or not?'
 he buy something or not

go k-o'i hala' na bu'a-na le take'/hala' 'I don't know whether he ate or not.'
 I 1sg-know not he ate-3sg or not

As shown above, *take*' is often interchangeable with *hala*'. But when a verb is negated, as the first *hala*' in the second sentence, *take*' cannot be used. (Embedded questions will be discussed in section 14.3.) This distinction holds in the following as well.

mo svga? 'Are you coming?'

hala'/take'/svga hala'/*svga take' 'No.'

As an answer to a yes-no question, one word answer can use either *hala*' or *take*', but when a verb is added, only *hala*' can be used. (By the way, 'Yes' is *hv'vn*; see below.)

To express the incompleteness of an event or a state, *wati* 'not yet' is used. The opposite of *wati* is *kae* 'already'.

go kawen kae 'I am already married.'
 go kawen hala' 'I am not married.'
 go kawen wati 'I am not married yet.'

The second sentence with *hala*' means simple negation. The third sentence with *wati* indicates that I intend to marry in the future. The order is fixed in above sentences. *kae* and *wati* are also discussed in the section 10.2 on temporal adverbs. These words are also used in questions.

mo bua'ko kae? 'You already ate, right?'
 you eat-2sg already

mo bua'ko hala'? 'You don't eat, right?'

mo bua'ko wati? 'You haven't eaten, right?'

kae and *wati* can also be answers to yes-no questions. Thus, to a question *mo kawen kae?* 'Are you married?', *kae* is 'Yes, already' and *wati* means 'Not yet.' For a question asking about the possession or existence, a different set of words is used.

oto mo'e no'on 'Do you have car?'
 car your exist

(*mo'en* changes to *mo'e* due to the following nasal in *no'on*.)

amu'un /??hala' 'No (None).'
 hv'vn / no'on 'Yes.'

As a negative answer, *hala*' is marginal and *amu'un* is used instead. As we saw in section 7.4, *amu'un* is used to negate existence or possession. We will return to questions in chapter 14.

8.2. Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries provide the sentence with additional meanings, such as ability, future, plausibility, and duty. Examples are: *-vwan-* 'can', *-oiro* 'know, can', *-vwa hala* 'cannot', *-vwa rehi-* 'cannot', *gehi-* 'not want', *mvse* 'must', *bisa* 'can', *mesti* 'must' *hi'in* 'will, want', *-odi* 'will'. Many of them agree with the subject. -X indicates that it has a prefix, and X- indicates that it has a suffix. Although suffixes on verbs are generally optional, suffixes on auxiliaries are not droppable. Two of them (*bisa* and *mesti*) are from Indonesian. Some of them can also be regarded as a verb taking a sentential complement, and will be discussed in section 12.3 again.

We discuss *bisa* 'can' first. It appears either before or after the predicate.

go bisa biho wata 'I can cook rice.'
 I can cook rice

go biho wata bisa

go bisa nange pe tahi 'I can swim in the sea.'
 I can swim in sea

go nange pe tahi bisa
 ??go nange bisa pe tahi

When the verb is transitive, *bisa* appears either before the verb or after the object. When the verb is intransitive with a locative phrase, *bisa* appears either before the verb or after the locative phrase, but usually not immediately after the verb, as shown in the fourth sentence. In a serial verb construction, *bisa* can appear before the first verb, or after the first verb, or after the second verb.

go bisa lerin pe kota kai 'I can walk to town'
 I can walk to town go

go lerin bisa pe kota kai
 go lerin pe kota kai bisa

Let us next look at *-oiro* 'can'. *-oiro* comes from *-oi* 'know' and the object clitic *ro*. It means 'to know how to do something,' and is thus close to 'can'. *-oiro* appears in a sentence which seems

to contain no object, or in a sentence where the object is expressed separately. Therefore, the function of *ro* is bleached. *ro* is droppable and *-oi* can be used by itself.

The distribution of *-oiro* is more restricted than that of *bisa*. With a transitive verb, it can either precede or follow the verb phrase. But with serial verbs, it can only precede the verbs.

go k-oiro biho wata 'I know how to cook rice.'
I 1-sg-know cook rice

go biho wata k-oiro

go k-oiro lerin pe kota kai 'I know the walking way to the town.'
I 1sg-know walk to town go

*go lerin koiro pe kota
*go lerin pe kota koiro

The position of *mvse* 'must' is still more limited; it appears only after the subject.

go mvse biho wata 'I must cook rice.'
*go biho wata mvse

go mvse lerin pe kota kai 'I must walk to the town.'
*go lerin mvse pe kota kai
*go lerin pe kota kai mvse

go mvse nange pe tahi 'I must swim in the sea.'
*go nange pe tahi mvse

The position of *hi'in* 'will, want' is also after the subject.

go hi'in hope labu wu'un 'I will/want to buy a new shirt.'
I will buy shirt new

Like Indonesian *mau*, *hi'in* indicates future 'will' or desire 'want'. Another way to express desire is *ono* 'inside' plus the genitive.

ono go'en hope labu wu'un 'I want to buy a new shirt.'
inside my buy shirt new

Unlike the sentence with *hi'in*, the above sentence only describes desire. *hi'in* and *ono* can co-occur.

tamat lali Ende kvdin, ono go'en hi'in hubun sekolah
graduate below Ende then, inside my want continue school
'After graduating from high school in Ende, I wanted to continue my study.'

When *hi'in* is negated, one word *gehi'* is used.

go gehi'-kvn hope labu wu'un 'I will not/don't want to buy a new shirt.'

This sentence describes the lack of future plan or desire. One cannot use *hi'in hala'* to negate *hi'in*. Since *hi'in* also means 'angry', *hi'in hala'* would mean 'not angry.', and one must use *gehi'* to negate *hi'in*. The position of *gehi'* is either before or after the predicate.

go gehi'-kvn bvlola 'I don't want to be tall.'
I not.want-1sg tall

go bvlola gehi'-kvn 'I don't want to be tall.'

-odi indicates future tense.

kia go k-odi gahin svru 'Later I will ask you to burn them.'
later I 1.sg-will ask burn

To negate a sentence with *bisa*, *hala'* is used. *bisa* and *hala'* jointly appear either before or after the predicate.

mo bisa hala' biho wata You can't cook rice.
mo biho wata bisa hala' You can't cook rice.

-oiro can appear in the same position as *bisa* above. *bisa* and *hala'* can be replaced by *-vwa rehi'* 'cannot'.

mo m-vwa rehi'-ko biho wata You can't cook rice.
you 2sg-can not-2sg cook rice

mo biho wata m-vwa rehi'-ko

Note that the auxiliary requires both prefix and suffix. For some speakers, *-vwa rehi'* is limited to the inability to carry something (on one's shoulder) and such speakers prefer *-oi(ro) hala'* for the inability of general actions. *-vwa rehi'* seems to consist of two words 'can' and 'not'. Thus, *rehi'* can be replaced by *hala'*.

na nange n-vwa hala' 'He cannot swim'
he swim 3sg-can not

?na n-vwa hala' nange 'He cannot swim'

However, *rehi*'- must be used with *-vwa* and thus cannot be used with *bisa*.

mo bisa hala' biho wata You can't cook rice.
you can not cook rice

*mo bisa rehi' biho wata You can't cook rice.

This shows that *-vwa rehi*'- is a fixed phrase in a sense. Accordingly, *-vwa* cannot be used independently

*na n-vwa nange 'He can swim.'
*na nange n-vwa

Only in a limited case, nasalized *-vwan-* can be used to mean 'can'.

go lerin k-vwan-kvn k-a'ik-vn pe kota 'I can walk to the town.'
I walk 1sg-can-1sg 1sg-go-1sg to town

?go k-vwan-kvn lerin k-a'i-kvn pe kota 'I can walk to the town.'

The suffix *-kvn* is dropped or replaced by *-ro* for some speakers. The order of the auxiliary is either before or after the first verb, and the latter is preferred. Note that *k-vwan-kvn* unusually has a prefix and a suffix, just like the following *k-a'i-kvn* 'go'. It is not clear whether the possibility of using *-vwan-* as an independent word is related to verb serialization in the above sentence. The negation of *-vwan-* is as follows.

ra lerin r-vwan-ka hala' r-a'i-ka pe kota 'They cannot walk to the town.'
they walk 3pl-can-3pl not 3pl-go-3pl to town

*ra r-vwan-ka hala' lerin r-a'i-ka pe kota 'They cannot walk to the town.'
ra r-vwa rehi'-ka lerin r-a'i-ka pe kota 'They cannot walk to the town.'

When *-vwan-* is negated by *hala*', they must follow the first verb. But with *-vwa rehi-*, they appear before the first verb, as in the third sentence. When *bisa* is used, the order is *ra bisa hala' lerin r-a'i-ka pe kota*. When the sentence with *mvse* 'must' is negated, the meaning is the lack of obligation.

go mvse nange hala' 'I don't have to swim.'
I must swim not

To express prohibition like 'I must not swim,' *eka* is used. This will be discussed in the next section. There is another expression which has the function of auxiliary. That is *tvngv hama* 'seem' (lit. 'see same').

Bala pe'en tvngv-na hama gvmbira 'Bala seems to be happy.'
B. that see-3sg same happy

The suffix on the verb is optional. Although *tvngv* originally means 'see', its meaning in this construction is bleached, for the subject can be inanimate.

dos pe'en tvngv-na hama ba'a 'The box looks/seems to be heavy.'
box the see-3sg same heavy

These constructions have properties which suggest that there is a sentence within a sentence (sentence embedding.) We will return to this in section 12.3.

8.3. Imperatives and Prohibition

There is no special form for imperatives. The effect of command is obtained either with a bare verb with a strong intonation, or an auxiliary like *mvse* or *mesti* 'must' (cf. Arndt 1937: 83). When the pronominal suffix is attached to a verb, the target of command or suggestion becomes clear.

m-a'i-ko 'Go!'
2sg-go-2sg

pvla'e-te 'Let's run.'
run-1pl

gvta-te 'Let's go harvesting.'
harvest-1pl

Even the third person can be the target of command.

r-a'i-ka 'Let them go, they should go.'
3pl-go-3pl

Adjectives can also be a command.

kvprv-ko 'Be quiet.'
quiet-2sg

Prohibition is expressed with *eka* at the beginning.

eka gon a wua'an pe'en 'Don't eat the fruit.'
 eka eat.2sg what fruit the

eka pvlenga 'Don't be naked.'
 eka naked

The first sentence uses *gon*, the second person singular form of the irregular verb 'eat.' In addition to the fact that the agreement suffix can attach to the verb of command, this shows that inflected verb can be used in imperatives. The second sentence involves an adjective. *eka* is also used as a statement.

go eka nange pi lvron I must not swim today.
 I eka swim at day

Here, *eka* corresponds to 'must not' or 'be prohibited from.' The position is fixed and *eka* cannot be anywhere else in the sentence. As in the case of command, the personal suffix indicates the target of prohibition.

eka m-a'i-ko wvli 'Don't you (sg) go there.'
 eka 2-go-2sg there

eka m-a'i-ke wvli 'Don't you (pl) go there.'
 eka 2-go-2pl there

eka r-a'i-ka wvli 'Don't let them go there, they should not go there.'
 eka 3pl-go-3pl there

Since the prefix for second singular and second plural is both *m-*, the number of the target is differentiated by the suffix, as in the first and second sentences.

Chapter 9

Transitives, Ditransitives, and Causatives

In chapter 7 we discussed intransitives, including equative and existential/ possessive sentences. This chapter discusses the rest of the sentence types, namely transitive, ditransitives, and causatives. Transitives are verb that take a subject and an object, and ditransitives take a subject, a direct object, and an indirect object (or a dative argument). Causatives in this grammar refer to the so-called the periphrastic causatives, namely a sentence which involves a special verb for causation (like English *cause* and *make*).

9.1. Transitives

Lamaholot has no marker which indicates that the verb is transitive, and there are many verbs which are used both transitively and intransitively with the same form. One remarkable thing about transitivity in Lamaholot is that the emergence of verbal suffixes is restricted depending on the transitivity of the verb. First, recall the list of verbs which take a suffix.

balik 'return', *bu'a* 'eat', irregular verbs of 'eat', *buka* 'open', *bvsuk* 'be born', *de'in* 'stand', *deka* 'sink', *gehi* 'not want', *gelu* 'change', *(gv)redo* 'shake', *gvta* 'take', *haga* 'copulate', *hvbo* 'bathe', *hitun* 'count', *hode* 'burn, angry', *horon* 'hide', *kantar* 'sing', *kirin* 'talk', *kvdoko* 'be surprised', *kvrian* 'work', *koda* 'talk', *lvba wvkin* 'bend down', *lodo* 'go down', *louk* 'get out', *mia* 'be ashamed', *mori* 'live', *nyanyi* 'sing', *ola* 'farm', *peko* 'turn', *peun* 'return', *pvla'e* 'run', *pupu* 'gather', *svga* 'come', *taku* 'fear', *tanin* 'cry', *tei* 'live', *tobo* 'lie down', *tor* 'agree', *turu* 'sleep', *tutu* 'talk'

Note that few of the above verbs are used only transitively. That is, most of them have intransitive usage. When a verb has a choice of transitivity, it is often the case that the suffix (optionally) emerges only if the verb is intransitive, and it cannot appear if the verb is transitive. This holds for *hvbo* 'bathe' and *gasik* 'count'.

go hvbo 'I bathe.'
 go hvbo-kvn 'I bathe.'
 go hvbo na 'I bathe her.'
 *go hvbo-kvn na 'I bathe her.'

mio gasik 'You (pl) are counting.'
 ?mio gasik-ke 'You (pl) are counting.'
 mio gasik kartas 'You (pl) are counting papers.'
 *mio gasik-ke kartas 'You (pl) are counting papers.'

Although the judgments are sometimes shaky, the same paradigm basically holds for *pupu* 'gather', *buka* 'open', *gelu* 'change', *(gv)redo* 'shake', *haga* 'copulate', and *horon* 'hide'.

Kalmer (2002: 378) posits a generalization of languages of Central and Eastern Indonesia that the subject is indexed as prefix/proclitic and object as suffix/enclitic. Although there are dialectal variations in the usage of suffixes in Lamaholot (Arndt 1937: 67), this generalization does not hold at least in the Lewoingu dialect. On the contrary, the above paradigm shows that this dialect has in fact *anti-suffixing effects* with objects.

Why can't a suffix appear when the verb is transitive? One key to the answer is the fact that most suffixing verbs can be used intransitively. There are two (related) accounts for this restriction, one semantic, and the other morphological.

The semantic account is based on the assumption that suffixes are historically related to object clitics. Thus, although *go hvbo* 'I bathe' is purely intransitive, its suffixed variant *go hvbo-kvn* can be historically analyzed as transitive 'I bathe myself', with the suffix functioning as the object. If this is correct, it is not surprising that **go hvbo-kvn na* is ungrammatical, for it has two objects. I mentioned in the paragraph before the last that languages of Central and Eastern Indonesia generally indexes the object as suffix/enclitic. Although this does not hold in Lamaholot, it is likely that Lamaholot once had this property, and that the object-clitic status of the suffixes is reflected in its mutual exclusiveness with objects.

Another account is based on the morphological template of verbs in Lamaholot and its interaction with the object clitic *ro*. We saw in section 3.2 that *ro* is an object clitic. If this is correct, the restriction of suffixes on transitive verbs is accounted for by assuming that the post-verbal position is reserved for the object clitic in transitive verbs and that the agreement suffix cannot occupy the position. That is, even if *ro* does not appear and the ordinary pronoun *na* is used for the object instead, the post-verbal position must be reserved for the clitic, and the agreement suffix cannot occupy this reserved position. This excludes **go hvbo-kvn na* 'I bathe-1sg her'. Unlike the semantic account, which takes the suffixes as (a historical reflex of) object clitics, this morphological account assumes that the suffixes are agreement features of the subject.

Let us return to the statement that there are few verbs in the list of suffixing verbs which can be exclusively used transitively. It is true that purely transitive verb like *bvrin* 'hit' can also omit the object when the object is understood contextually. But in the case of *bu'a* 'eat' or *nyanyi* 'sing', the object can be omitted even if it is not understood contextually. This is because these verbs take only a specific type of objects: food for 'eat' and songs for 'sing'. The same is true for *gasik* 'count' as exemplified above. When used intransitively, the understood object is numbers. A similar account holds for *hvbo* 'bathe' and *horon* 'hide'. In these cases, the understood object in intransitive usage is the reflexive object; 'I bathe (myself)', and 'I hide (myself).'

The difference in object omission between 'hit' and 'bathe' is shown in the following.

go benci Lado. opvnlv go bvrin. 'I hate Lado. So I hit (him).'

I hate L. so I hit

na milan. opvnlv go hvbo 'She is dirty. So I bathe (myself).'

she dirty so I bathe

In the first set of sentences, the object is contextually established in the first sentence and can be omitted in the second sentence. But in the second set, even though the situation is parallel, for some speakers the object cannot be omitted in the second sentence to mean 'So I bathe her.' If the object is omitted, the sentence would mean 'So I bathe (myself).' This is because the meaning of 'bathe' demands that the absence of the object means 'to bathe oneself', and this prohibits the omission of the object even if the object is contextually established. (But there are also speakers who interprets the second sentence as 'So I bathe her.')

Some exceptions to the above account include *loge* 'dress', which can optionally take a suffix whether used intransitively or transitively.

go loge 'I dress (myself).'

go loge-kvn 'I dress (myself).'

go loge mo 'I dress you.'

go loge-kvn mo 'I dress you.'

peko 'turn around (one's head)' also patterns with *loge*, with speaker variations. *gehi* 'not want' is exceptional in several respects. It is purely transitive but takes a suffix, and the suffix is obligatory, in contrast to suffixes of other verbs, which are optional.

?go gehi'-kvn-ro 'I don't want him.'

Note that the agreement suffix *-kvn* and the object clitic *ro* co-occur here. (But some speakers prefers a pronoun (*ro*)*na* to the clitic *ro*.) Therefore the mutual exclusiveness of the suffix and the clitic does not hold for *gehi*'. The obligatoriness of the suffix for *gehi*' is related to the fact that it can also be used as an auxiliary, as mentioned in section 8.2. One example is as follows.

go gehi'-kvn bvrin-ro 'I don't want to hit him.'

I not.want-1sg hit-him

The sentence might also be analyzed as involving sentence embedding, and we will come back to this in section 12.3.

In the discussion of intransitives in chapter 7, we noted that there are two types of intransitive/transitive alternation:

na hvbo 'She bathes.'

na hvbo ana' pe'en 'She bathes the child.'

she bathe child the

kvnawe buka' 'The door opens. / The door is open.'
door open

go buka' kvnawe 'I open the door.'
I open door

For *lvbo* 'bathe', the subject of the intransitive corresponds to the subject of the transitive. For *buka* 'open', the subject of the intransitive corresponds to the object of the transitive. The latter type is closely related to causatives, and will be discussed in detail in section 9.3. In the context of the current discussion on the relation between the suffix and transitivity, it is worth noting that the majority of the transitive/intransitive alternating verbs in the above list of suffixing verb is of 'bathe' type, and *buka* 'open' seems to be the only verb of the latter type that can take a suffix. It shows the pattern of having optional suffix only when used intransitively.

kvnawe buka' 'The door opens. / The door is open.'
kvnawe buka'-na 'The door opens. / The door is open.'
go buka' kvnawe 'I open the door.'
*go buka'-kvn kvnawe 'I open the door.'

9.2. Ditransitives

There are basically three sentence patterns with a ditransitive verb. The following examples use a verb *nein* 'give'.

go nein bunga to'u pe inawae to'u 'I gave a flower to a girl.'
I give flower one to girl one

go nein inawae to'u bunga to'u 'I gave a girl a flower.'
go nein pe nawae to'u bunga to'u 'I gave to a girl a flower.'
??go nein bunga to'u nawae to'u '*I gave a flower a girl.'

In the first sentence, the theme (the present) comes right after the verb, and the goal (the recipient), which is underlined, is accompanied by the preposition *pe* 'to'. It corresponds to English 'I gave a flower to a girl.' In the second sentence, the goal comes after the verb without a preposition, analogous to English 'I gave a girl a flower.' (The goal is underlined.) In the third sentence, the goal is right after the verb but has a preposition, literally corresponding to English 'I gave to a girl a flower.' The fourth sentence, where the goal follows the theme without a preposition, is unacceptable for most speakers. This is to be contrasted with the following.

go ka' ikvn (pe) Ende 'I went to Ende.'
I go to E.

Note that the preposition *pe* is droppable here. But the same preposition in ditransitive sentence is undroppable. Perhaps there is a rule to the effect that when two NPs follow a verb without any prepositions, the first NP is the goal and the second the theme. So *go nein bunga to'u nawae to'u* is ungrammatical for the same reason as English **I gave a flower a girl* is ungrammatical. Those who accept the sentence might be recovering the dropped preposition. We will have more discussion on locative prepositions in section 10.3.

peun 'return' can also appear with *nein*.

go nein peun wawe 'I returned the pig.'
I give return pig

go nein wawe peun 'I returned the pig.'

Some speakers prefer to put *peun* at the end, as in the second example. The above sentences might be a serial verb construction discussed in section 12.2. *nein* can also be used as a benefactive preposition 'for'.

na biho nein mo 'He cooks for you.'
he cook for you

kame hope ue nein mio 'We buy potatoes for you.'
1pl.ex buy potato for you.pl

kame hope nein mio ue 'We buy potatoes for you.'

In some cases, either (or both) of *pe* and *nein* can be used.

mo agar Lamaholot pe go 'You teach Lamaholot to me.'
you teach L. to me

mo agar Lamaholot nein go 'You teach Lamaholot to me.'
mo agar Lamaholot nein pe go 'You teach Lamaholot to me.'
mo agar go Lamaholot 'You teach me Lamaholot.'

With *gvnato* 'send', both *pe* and *nein* are possible, with meaning differences.

ra gvnato wawe nein go 'They send a pig to me. (I am the recipient.)'
they send pig for me

ra gvnato wawe pe go 'They send a pig to me (via me to someone else).'
they send pig to me

When both *pe* and *nein* are used, or when the goal is positioned after the verb, the meaning is that of recipient.

ra gvnato wawe nein pe go 'They send a pig to me. (I am the recipient.)'

As seen above, the goal can come before the theme with or without a preposition.

ra gvnato nein go wawe 'They send to me a pig.'
ra gvnato go wawe 'They send me a pig.'

Some verbs take a sentential argument as the theme.

go marin mo pimi 'invn buku go'en 'I told you this is my book.'
I tell you this book my

Sentence embedding is discussed in detail in chapter 12.3. Another noteworthy thing regarding ditransitives is their behavior in connection to resumptive pronouns. This will be discussed in section 15.1.

9.3. Causatives

By causatives we mean the so-called the periphrastic causatives, namely sentences that involve a special verb for causation (like English *cause* and *make*). The basic two verbs of causative are -*a'an* 'make' and *lo'ok* 'let'.

go k-a'an mo svga 'I made you come.'
I 1sg-make you come

go lo'ok mo svga 'I let you come.'
I let you come

The difference between the two verbs is roughly the same as English *make* and *let*: -*a'an* is 'to force someone, regardless of his wish,' and *lo'ok* is 'to allow someone to do what he wants to do.' -*a'an* requires a prefix, and it also means 'to create', just like English *make*. There is one more causative verb: *nein* 'give, help.' We will discuss this verb in section 12.2.5. In some cases one can also use a simple transitive verb instead of a causative construction, and the causative construction has some flexibility in word order.

go louk dari lango 'I got out of the house.'
I get.out from house

go louk kvre'en me'envn dari lango. 'I expelled the child from the house.'

I get.out child the from house

go k-a'an kvre'en me'envn louk dari lango 'I made the child get out of the house.'
go k-a'an louk kvre'en me'envn dari lango 'I made the child get out of the house.'

The first sentence is a basic intransitive sentence, and the second shows that the same verb can be used in a transitive sentence. The third sentence is a causation of an intransitive sentence, where the causee (i.e. the one who is made to do something) precedes the second verb. The fourth sentence shows that the order can be reversed. The three patterns are schematized as follows.

Subject $V_{\text{transitive}}$ Object
Causer $V_{\text{causative}}$ Causee $V_{\text{intransitive}}$
Causer $V_{\text{causative}}$ $V_{\text{intransitive}}$ Causee

Not all verbs allow the three patterns, and most verbs have a preference between the first pattern and the second. The third pattern is even more restricted. There are also variations among speakers. When a verb ever allows the three patterns, the first pattern implies direct causation, and the second indirect causation. The third pattern is actually closer to the first in terms of directness of causation, probably because the sequence of $V_{\text{causative}}$ $V_{\text{intransitive}}$ makes the combination more like a simple transitive verb.

de'in 'stand up' shows one typical pattern.

mo de'in-ko 'You stand up.'
2sg stand-2sg

*go de'in-kvn mo 'I stand you up.'
I stand-1sg you

go k-a'an mo de'in-ko 'I make you stand up.'
*go ka'an de'in-ko mo 'I make you stand up.'

The verb is intransitive and cannot be used transitively. It does not allow the causee to come at the end. *tuno* 'burn' shows a different pattern.

*kartas tuno 'Paper burns.'
go tuno kartas 'I burn paper.'
??go ka'an kartas tuno 'I make paper burn.'
??go ka'an tuno kartas 'I make paper burn.'

tuno does not have intransitive usage but only transitive usage. The periphrastic causative is possible but marginal for both orders. Some verbs use different forms depending on transitivity.

tana redo-na 'The earth is shaking.'
earth shake-3sg

go reso wua payan 'I shake the papaya tree.'
I shake tree papaya

?go ka'an wua payan redo-na 'I make the papaya tree shake.'
?go ka'an redo wua payan 'I make the papaya tree shake.'

As the first and the second sentences show, *redo* is used as an intransitive with agreement, and *reso* as a transitive without agreement. The third and fourth sentences show that *redo* allows a periphrastic causative as well, with both orders. When the intransitive verb appears in a causative sentence, agreement is possible only when the causee precedes the second verb. Again this might be due to the fact that the string *ka'an redo* in the fourth sentence is perceived as one transitive verb and thus prohibits the suffix, as in the second sentence.

Consider also the two variant verbs for 'roll'.

go goli/golo' bola 'I roll a ball'
bola goli/golo' 'A ball rolls.'
go ka'an bola golo'/goli 'I cause the ball to roll.'
go ka'an golo'/*goli bola 'I cause the ball to roll.'

Both *golo'* and *goli* can also be used either transitively or intransitively. But in causatives, for many speakers only the former allows the second order. This might be related to the fact that *goli* can be an adjective while *golo'* cannot.

wato goli/*golo' 'rolling stone'

Let us next discuss the behavior of the object clitic *ro* in causatives. *ro* has a choice of attaching either to the causative verb or to the second verb.

buka-ro 'Open it.'
ma'an-ro buka 'Make it open.'
?ma'an buka-ro 'Make it open.'

buka in the first sentence is transitive, and *ro* attaches to it. But in causatives it can attach to the causative verb *ma'an*, and some speakers even prefers the second sentence to the third. A similar paradigm holds with *gvltv* 'cool'.

ma'an wata pe'en gvlvtv (kia) 'Make the rice cool.'
make rice the cool emph

ma'an gvlvtv wata pe'en (kia) 'Make the rice cool.'
?gvlvtv-ro 'Cool it.'
ma'an-ro gvlvtv 'Make it cool.'
?ma'an gvlvtv-ro 'Make it cool.'

buka 'open', *gvltv* 'cool' are words which are used either as a transitive verb, intransitive verb, or an adjective, just like the English counterparts. We saw above that in causatives, both orders of the causee preceding the second predicate and the causee following it are possible. For adjectives in general, such free orders are possible or impossible depending on the lexical item. Thus, *mata* 'dead' allows both orders, but *hi'in* 'angry' allows only one order.

go k-a'an wawe pe'en mata 'I killed the pig.'
I 1sg-make pig the dead

go k-a'an mata wawe pe'en 'I killed the pig.'

go ka'an na hi'in 'I made him angry.'
*go ka'an hi'in na 'I made him angry.'

Chapter 10
Adverbs and Prepositions

10.1. Manner Adverbs

Adjectives function as the so-called manner adverbs and modify a verb or the whole event. Like in the case of predicative adjectives we saw in section 4.2.2, agreement markers in adverbs are optional, and agreement often adds the excessive meaning.

go pana bera 'I walk fast.'
I walk fast

mo pana lela-ko 'You walk too slowly.'
you walk slow-2sg

Again like in the case of predicative adjectives, *lela-ko* can be replaced (preferably for some speakers) by *lela-ya* or *lela-ka*, short forms of *lela aya'ka* 'slow too'.

10.2. Temporal Adverbs and Prepositions

As discussed in section 4.1.2, since Lamaholot has no marker of tense and aspect on verbs, temporal relations are presumed by contexts or often expressed by adverbs. Below are some examples.

go kawen kae 'I am (already) married.'
I married already

go kawen wati 'I am not married yet.'
I married not.yet

go k-a'i-kvn neku 'I went in the past (not too long ago).'
I 1sg-go-1sg past

go k-a'i-kvn bvmuri' 'I will go later.'
I 1sg-go-1sg later

bvmuri' in the last example may be related to *muri'* 'add.' *-olo* is an agreeing adverb and has different meanings depending on agreement and position. When it agrees with the subject, it means 'earlier, be the first.'

mo svga m-olo 'You came earlier.'
you come 2sg-earlier

m-olo mo svga 'You came earlier.'

The position can be before or after the predicate, or before the subject. For some speakers, the sentence tends to be a question when the adverb is fronted. Agreement in the above sentence with the given meaning is obligatory, and when no agreement happens and the default form *n-olo* is used, the meaning is 'long time ago' and the position must be before the subject.

n-olo mo svga 'Long time ago you came.'
defl-long.ago you come

Some speakers do not have this meaning of *n-olo* and do not accept the above sentence. Since the default agreement and canonical agreement are indistinguishable for the third singular, the *n-olo* at the beginning with *na* as the subject is potentially ambiguous.

n-olo na svga 'Long time ago he came.'
defl-long.ago he come

But somehow the above sentence is not ambiguous and *n-olo* seems to mean only 'long time ago.' That is, the sentence cannot be interpreted parallel to *m-olo mo svga* 'You came earlier' noted above, with *n-olo* as the canonical agreement. To mean 'He came earlier,' *n-olo* must be either before or after the verb. We will have detailed discussion on agreement in chapter 11.

Specific time expressions in the past are as follows.

ra svga wia 'They came yesterday.'

ra svga (pe) vrvrv wia 'They came the day before yesterday.'
they come at day.Red yesterday

ra svga (pe) vrvn tvlo wia 'They came three days ago.'
they come at day three yesterday

Sometimes the preposition *pe* optionally appears, but *wia* 'yesterday' (and *bvta* 'tomorrow,' as we see below) cannot have *pe*. *vrvrv* in the second sentence is a fossilized partial reduplicated form of *vrvn* 'day,' and it does not have a nasal. Note that for 'three days ago' in the third sentence, the reduplicated form is not used. Another way to express 'three days ago' is *lvron tvlo kae pi* 'day three already now,' using a different word for 'day'. *wia* itself is 'yesterday,' but it also means 'last,' as in *su'un wia* 'last year.' Other expressions for 'last year' are *su'un wria*, *su'un wia waikvn*, *su'un vrvmpiaka*.

Future expressions are as follows.

ra svga bvta 'They will come tomorrow.'

ra svga vrvn rua muri 'They will come the day after tomorrow.'
they come day two add

tite herun bvta jam lema 'We will meet at five o'clock tomorrow.'
we.in meet tomorrow o'clock five

tite herun jam lema bvta. 'We will meet at five o'clock tomorrow.'

go kvrian a'a pi'in waha su'un wa'ikvn 'I will finish this work next year.'
I work thing this finish year other

vrvn rua muri means 'two days from now', corresponding to 'the day after tomorrow'. *vrvn* can be replaced by *lvron*. The last sentence is a serial verb construction, which will be discussed in section 12.2. Other temporal prepositions are as follows.

sun tvlo lalu kvdin, kvmie wua'-na
year three pass then candlenut fruit-3sg
'After three years, the candlenut tree had fruit.'

na kvrian pura gvhuulvn 'He has been working since morning.'
he work since morning

na kvrian sampe lera hvlu 'He works till sunset.'
he work until sun set

go kvrian a'a piin waha palin lela bvta 'I finish this work by tomorrow.'
I work thing this finish by tomorrw

na tanin ulin/dvra 'He is still crying.'
he cry still

kame kvne'en dvra di 'We are still kids.'
1pl.ex small still emphatic

palin lela in the last sentence jointly means 'by (the time of...)' *lela* itself is 'slow, for long time', and *pali* itself does not mean anything. Similar expressions with 'stop' are as follows.

na hvkv' tanin 'He stopped crying.'
he stop cry

na tanin hvkv' 'He stopped crying.'
na tanin na di hvkv' 'He stopped crying.'

As in the first two sentences, the order of 'stop' and 'cry' varies depending on the speaker. In the third sentence, the additional particle *di* is involved, the subject is repeated, and the word order is fixed. The notion of temporal sequence is expressed by *kvding* 'and then'

tite bu'a-te waha kvdin (tite) turu-te
we.in eat-1pl.in finish then we.in sleep.1pl.in
'We eat and then we sleep.'

There is no word corresponding 'before'. To express temporal precedence, the imperfective adverb *wati* 'not yet' or the Indonesian *sebelum* 'before' is used.

bu'a-te t-olo vtvn ra svga wati 'Let's eat before they come.'
eat.1pl.in 1pl.in-earlier while they come not.yet

bu'a-te t-olo sebelum ra svga 'Let's eat before they come.'
eat.1pl.in 1pl.in-earlier before they come

The first sentence literally means 'Let's eat while they haven't come yet.' Let us turn to adverbs of frequency. We saw earlier that *-odi* means 'later.' Although less common than 'later,' *-odi* also means 'always.' Other adverbs with the meaning of 'always' are *hodik* and *hena*. 'rarely' is *pvnukor*. Examples.

go k-odi svga gulvn gvtan 'I always come in the morning.'
I 1sg-always come morning all

go hogo jam lema hena 'I always wake up at 5.'
I wake o'clock five always

mo svga hodik nvkvn mo pvnukor ai a hala'
you come always, but you rarely get thing not
'You always come, but you rarely get a thing.'

10.3. Locative and Directional Adverbs and Prepositions

We have encountered the preposition *pe* in the discussion of existential sentences and ditransitives in sections 7.4 and 9.2.

ue pe meja wutun 'There is a potato on the table.'
potato on table above

ra gvnato wawe pe go 'They send a pig to me (via me to someone else).'
they send pig to me

For expository purposes we glossed *pe* above as 'on' or 'to,' but these are not entirely precise. In the first sentence, there is an additional word *wutun* 'above.' We noted that in the second sentence, I am not a recipient, and *nein* is necessary for me to become a recipient. These facts suggest that *pe* is just a locative preposition with a broad meaning like 'at' or 'around,' and that more precise meanings are conveyed by other words. Thus, *pe* and *wutun* in the first sentence jointly means 'on the upper surface of,' and 'under' is expressed by other words.

busan to'u pe meja wvwlvn 'There is a cat under the table.'
 cat one at table under

Without *wvwlvn*, the cat is somewhere near the table (on, under, or around). Another word *lali* means 'under' by itself, and *wvwlvn* is optional. The opposite of *lali* is *teti* 'above, on.'

busan to'u lali meja (wvwlvn) 'There is a cat under the table.'
 busan to'u teti meja (wutun) 'There is a cat on the table.'

'in(side)' is expressed by *ono'on*.

busan to'u pe dos ono'on 'There is a cat in the box.'
 cat one at box inside

ono'on is related to *ono* in the following expression of 'want.'

ono go'en k-a'i-kvn 'I want to go.'
 inside my 1sg-go-1sg

Note that while there is a nasal for the locative expression (*ono'on*), no nasal is found in the 'want' expression (*ono*). In the following, *pe* corresponds to 'in'.

go tvngv inamvlake rua pe lango 'I saw two men in the house.'
 I see man two in house

Here, the seeing event took place in the house, and the sentence does not necessarily mean that the two men were in the house. To mean "the man who were in the house," one must use a relative clause as *inamvlake rua yang pe lango*. (Relative clauses will be discussed in section 12.1.) 'here' and 'there' are as follows.

go tvpihin 'I am here.'
 na na'i (pe) wvli 'He went there (at the same level).'

wvli means the same sea level. When the direction is upward, *teti* is used, and when downward, *lali* is used. Like other Austronesian languages, in particular Oceanic languages, Lamaholot has a

set of directional expressions.

wvli	over there (at the same sea level)
teti	upward, top
lali	downward
lau	down (to the sea)
rae	up (to the mountain)
(lali) haka	up from the bottom (sea)
(teti) hau	down from top (mountain)
papa	side (cf. <i>papa wa'ikvn</i> 'on the other side')
pukvn	under
woho	outside
dahe	near
doan	far
nekin wanan	left and right, both sides
lvra lodo	west (lit. sunset)
lvra gere	east (lit. sunrise)
lodo	(go) down
gere	(go) up

Other ways of expressing 'west' and 'east' are *lvra hvluk* and *time matan*, respectively. *hvluk* refers to the descending of the sun and moon only. *matan* is 'eye' and the nasal cannot be left out. It is not clear what *time* means. *lodo* and *gere* can be used either as a verb or as an adverb.

go lodo/gere 'I go up/go down.'
 sogalima mo'en gere/lodo 'Put your hand up/down.'
 put hand your up/down

Here are examples from texts that contain directive adverbs.

svru wahak kvdin wvli wulan
 burn finish then horizontal direction month
 'After burning, the time for planting came.'

sel pon ke wvli 'That is a cell phone.'
 cell phone ? horizontal.direction

kvdin na gahin rae mio m-vwan no'on kukun to'u
 then she ask mountain.direction 2pl 2pl -pick with kukun one
 'Then she said, "Go to the field, cut a kukun tree."'

kvdin langsung go bvka pe amerika lau
 then direct I fly to amerika sea.direction

'Then I fly to America.'

dahe 'near' can be used with the meaning of 'almost, nearly.'

na svga dahe kae 'He almost came.'
he come near already

There is another expression *ekan*. It means 'everywhere,' but it also means 'something' or the general circumstance, as noted in section 3.3.

ra r-a'i-ka ekan gvtan 'They go everywhere.'
they 3pl-go-3pl everywhere all

na n-a'i-na hope ekan 'He is going shopping.'
he 3sg-go-3sg-buy something

ekan uranvn 'It rains.'

'from' is *dari*, borrowed from Indonesian.

mo svga dari ga'e?
you come from where
'Where have you been?' or 'Where are you (originally) from?'

For some speakers the second meaning is not available. Directional prepositions are often droppable.

go ka'ikvn (pe) Ende 'I went to Ende.'
I go to E.

go lo'ok kvre'en me'envn louk (dari) lango
I let child the get.out from house
'I let the child get out of the house.'

There are cases where the absence of *pe* implies a specific meaning.

na ola pe man 'He works in the field.'
na ola man 'He works in the rice field. He is a rice farmer.'

ola means 'work in the field,' and *man* is 'field' in general. Without *pe*, as in the second sentence, *man* means 'rice field,' or the sentence describes his occupation.

As noted in section 9.2, *pe* in a ditransitive construction cannot be dropped. Also, *pe* cannot be

dropped when it is part of the predicate or with a locative meaning.

go pe Ende 'I am in Ende.'
go ia'-kvn pe Ende. 'I live/stay in Ende.'

Similarly, *dari* with the meaning of 'because' (see section 10.8) cannot be dropped, either.

10.4. Sentential Adverbs

Some adverbs modify the whole sentence. One example is *utu* 'fortunately.'

utu tvgvn na svlamat dari tsumani 'Fortunately, he survived tsunami.'
fortunately very he survive from tsumani

na utu tvgvn svlamat dari tsumani
?na svlamat dari tsumani utu tvgvn

The adverb can be either at the beginning of the sentence or after the subject, but it marginally comes at the end. *utu* can also be an adjective meaning 'fortunate, happy.' Another sentential adverb is *ha'e* 'possibly.'

10.5. *meha* 'alone'

meha 'alone' is associated with several meanings depending on the position. First, consider the following.

Bala tvngv Lado meha'-na 'Bala saw Lado alone.'
B. see L. alone-3sg

Bala meha'-na tvngv Lado 'Bala alone saw Lado.'

The second sentence means that everyone saw someone, but Bala is the only one who saw Lado. There is no such presupposition in the first sentence; Bala made an action by himself and no one else was there. The following is another case where the meaning of *meha* varies according to the position.

go gehi'-kvn meha'-kvn 'I don't want to be alone.'
I not.want-1sg alone-1sg

go meha'-kvn gehi'-kvn 'I don't want to do it by myself.'

But for some speakers both meanings are available with either order. There is a case where the meanings are different depending on the presence of the agreement marker.

go k-vwa rehi-kvn k-enun meha'-kvn 'I cannot drink alone.'
I 1sg-can not-1sg 1sg-drink alone-1sg

go k-vwa rehi'-kvn k-enun meha' 'I cannot only drink.'

The second sentence does not have an agreeing suffix, and the meaning is that I must have something more (to eat) for my drink. Although *meha'* usually requires a suffix when it appears after the predicate, the second sentence is grammatical without a suffix. When the subject is plural, the agreement marker is *-ka* '3pl.'

Bala no'on Lado ia'ka meha'-ka Bala and Lado live alone (together).'
B. and L. live-3pl alone-3pl

The meaning is that they live together. To mean 'Bala and Lado live alone separately,' one cannot use the third singular marker *-na*.

*Bala no'on Lado ia'ka meha'-na Bala and Lado live alone (separately).'
B. and L. live-3pl alone-3sg

Bala no'on Lado ia'ka mue-mue Bala and Lado live alone (separately).'
B. and L. live-3pl set.Red

The second sentence is the correct one. *mue* means a set. So the sentence literally means they live as different sets.

10.6. (*no'on*): Comitative and Complement Preposition

(*no'on*) has several usages. It can be used as a comitative preposition 'with.'

go svga no'on mo 'I come with you.'

Here (*no'on*) can agree with the subject, resulting in *ko'on* (see section 11.4). (*no'on*) also has the conjunctive usage, which will be discussed in section 12.1. Another usage of (*no'on*) is the complement phrase of psychological predicates.

go tor-kvn no'on mo 'I agree with you.'
I agree-1sg with you

tite taku-te no'on na 'We are afraid of him.'
1pl.in afraid-1pl.in with him

mo opa no'on go 'You lie to me.'

you lie with me

In this usage, agreement with the subject is marginal, and the preposition itself is optional. With some predicates, another preposition can also be used. For example, *dari* can be used for the complement of *gvkvr* 'be surprised.'

go gvkvr-kvn no'on/dari a'a yang ra tutu me'en
I surprised-1sg with/from things that they say the
'I am surprised at what they say.'

Here again the preposition can be dropped and non-agreeing *no'on* is preferred over agreeing *ko'on*. (*no'on*) also appears optionally with verbs meaning 'get'.

ra r-vwan (no'on) mvnakvn 'They got meat.'
they 3pl-get meat

As in the complement of psychological predicates, *no'on* above usually does not agree. Another verb which optionally takes *no'on* is *gute* 'get.' We will return to the issue of agreement on (*no'on*) in chapter 11.

10.7. *antara*: 'among'

antara 'among' is from Indonesian, and is used as follows.

hege antara tite yang pana 'Which of us are going?'
who among we.in that go

hege yang pana antara tite 'Which of us are going?'
antara tite mi'invn, hege yang pana 'Which of us are going?'
this

antara ra pak-ka, Bala pana 'Among the four, Bala is going.'
among they four-3pl B. go

10.8. Prepositions of Reason/Cause

Reasons or causes are expressed by *dari* and/or *pukvn*.

na mata dari kanker
he die cancer
na mata pukvn kanker
na mata pukvn dari kanker 'He died of cancer.'

go sekolah hala', ola man pukvn dari doi sekolah amu'un
 I school not farm field because since money school nothing
 'I did not continue my study and I worked in the farm because I had not enough fund.'

dari also introduce a sentence indicating the reason, as we will see in section 12.4. It also means 'from,' as we saw earlier in section 10.3. *pukvn* originally means the main part of the tree, and is used for a reason (maybe analogous to English *root*). Incidentally, the above three sentences involving 'dying of cancer' are cases where the verb would have a transitivity maker in Oceanic languages (cf. Evans 2003). But there is no such marker in Lamaholot examples.

Chapter 11 Agreement

This chapter discusses cross-categorial agreement in Lamaholot. In addition to verbs and adjectives, agreement is observed on adverbs, numerals, a preposition ('with'), and even on the conjunction ('and'). Adverbial agreement is typologically uncommon but is observed sporadically. Agreement on numerals and prepositions is rare, and to our knowledge only some related languages (either genetically or geographically) have agreement on conjunction.

One might suspect that the above mentioned agreeing categories are actually verbs, and that Lamaholot agreement is nothing unusual. For example, *-o'on* in the following example is not a preposition but a verb, and the translation is more like 'I came, accompanying you.'

go svga k-o'on mo 'I came with you.'
 I come 1sg-with you

Although such an alternative is also possible, I maintain fine-grained categorial distinctions in Lamaholot agreement for several reasons. First, although agreeing words are predominantly verbs cross-linguistically, some languages show agreement on words that are unequivocally not verbs. For example, some dialects of Dutch have agreement on the complementizer (cf. Ackema and Neeleman 2005 and references therein). Thus, one cannot categorize *-o'on* above as a verb based solely on the fact that it shows agreement. This opens up the possibility to categorize it as a preposition.

The issue of categorization is closely connected to the process of grammaticalization. That is, it might well be the case that *-o'on* started out as a verb and the above sentence was originally a serial verb construction. But we are talking about the synchronic grammar of Lamaholot, and as long as there is synchronic evidence for the non-verbal status of *-o'on*, categorizing it as a preposition can be justified. For example, along with the above sentence, one can also say as follows.

k-o'on mo go svga 'With you, I came.'

Such 'preposing' is generally prohibited in serial verb constructions (cf. section 12.2). In each of the following section on non-verbal agreement, I briefly give arguments for the non-verbal status of the words in question. Some of the arguments might be tentative and inconclusive, and it is likely that, despite our claim, what we discuss is verbal agreement. In such a case, the essence of our presentation is that Lamaholot uses agreeing verbs in contexts where other languages might use non-verbal categories.

Before turning to each category, recall the pronominal forms and agreement markers.

Table 1

	Nom/Acc	prefix	suffix
1sg	go	k-	-kvn
2sg	mo	m-	-ko
3sg	(ro)na	n-	-na/-nvn
1pl.ex	kame	m-	-kvn
1pl.in	tite	t-	-te
2pl	mio	m-	-ke
3pl	ra	r-	-ka

Depending on the word and the word class, an agreeing word takes either a prefix or a suffix. (We saw in section 4.1.1 that there are three words which take both a prefix and a suffix. But these are exceptional.) The agreement markers are identical regardless of the word class of the agreement host.

11.1. Verbal Agreement

We have discussed verbal agreement in sections 4.1.1 and 9.1, and will not repeat the details here. Verbal agreement itself is nothing unusual. One thing that might be worth noting is the selective nature of verbal agreement. We saw in section 9.1 that suffixing verbs are by and large intransitive, and (with one exception) there is no verb that is purely transitive and takes a suffix. Prefixing verbs, on the other hand, are not characterized semantically but phonologically: their root is vowel-initial. But there are also vowel-initial verbs which do not take an agreement prefix, such as *ipu* 'sit with legs crossed' and *opvn* 'tell a lie'. The same situation holds in Tsez (North Caucasian), where prefixing agreement marker attaches only on some vowel-initial verbs (Polinsky and Comrie 1999: 111, Polinsky and Potsdam 2001: 586). The similarity between Lamaholot and Tsez becomes even more striking when we consider that in both languages, only some (not all) vowel-initial verbs can have a prefix.

11.2. Adjectival Agreement

We saw in sections 4.2 and 5.2 that adjectives can have suffix agreement when used attributively or predicatively.

inamvlake belv-na 'big man'
man big-3sg

na bvlola-na 'He is too tall.'
he tall-3sg

(See section 4.1.2 for the definition of adjectives as opposed to verbs.) Agreement markers are generally optional for adjectives. When they emerge, they make no semantic difference in attributive adjectives (as in the first example), but they add the excessive meaning in predicative

adjectives (as in the second example). Apart from this function in adjectival agreement, it should be noted that while only a subset of verbs shows agreement, virtually all adjectives show agreement. This might be typologically unusual.

11.3. Adverbial Agreement

The exact status of adverbs is controversial, and it is often claimed that adverbs are indistinguishable from adjectives (Radford 1997, Baker 2004). If this view is correct, the "adverbs" discussed in this subsection are considered as adjectives used adverbially, by which we mean adjectives modifying the matrix predicate or the whole event. (See section 4.1.2 for the definition of adjectives as opposed to verbs.) Like in the case of predicative adjectives, agreement markers in adverbs are optional, and add the excessive meaning when they emerge.

go pana bera-kvn 'I walk too fast.'
I walk fast-1sg

mo pana lela-ko 'You walk too slowly.'
you walk slow-2sg

In addition, adjectives can agree in the so-called depictive construction.

na pvla'e pvlenga-na 'He ran naked.'
he run naked-3sg

The agreement marker is optional here and its presence makes no semantic contribution. We will discuss depictive constructions in section 12.5. There are also words which are purely adverbs and have no adjectival usage. Such pure adverbs also agree.

go svga k-olo 'I came earlier/first.'
I come 1sg-earlier

mo svga m-olo 'You came earlier/first.'
you come 2sg-earlier

go svga meha'-kvn 'I came alone.'
I come alone-1sg

mo svga meha'-ko 'You came alone.'
you come alone-2sg

-olo 'earlier' requires a prefix, and *meha'* optionally has a suffix. Adverbial agreement and verbal agreement can co-occur.

ra r-enun r-olo 'They drink earlier.'
they 3pl-drink 3pl-earlier

ra hvbo-ka r-olo 'They bathe earlier.'
they bathe-3pl 3pl-earlier

ra r-enun meha'-ka 'They drink alone.'
they 3pl-drink alone-3pl

ra hvbo-ka meha'-ka 'They bathe alone.'
they bathe-3pl alone-3pl

The above four sentences show the combination of verbal prefix and adverbial prefix, verbal suffix and adverbial prefix, verbal prefix and adverbial suffix, and verbal suffix and adverbial suffix. As we saw in section 10.2, there is an adverb of frequency that shows agreement:

go k-odi svga gulvn gvtan 'I always come in the morning.'
I 1sg-always come morning all

Note that it is hard to imagine an appropriate meaning for *-odi* if this were a verb. Adverbial agreement is uncommon typologically, but it is observed sporadically, as in Quechua (Muysken 1994: 192), Swahili (Carstens 2001: 150) and Italian (Napoli 1975). Adverbial agreement is observed in other Austronesian languages: Muna (Muna Island off southeast Sulawesi, van den Berg 1989: 237), Tukang Besi (the Tukang Besi Islands of Southwest Sulawesi, Donohue 1999: 131), and Leti (off the eastern tip of East Timor, van Engelenhoven 2004: 308).

11.4. Numeral Agreement

As we saw in section 5.1, numerals show agreement.

ra tvlo-ka svga 'They three came.'
they three-3pl come.

ra rua-ka bvrin tite tvlo-te 'They two hit us three.'
they two-3pl hit us three-1pl.in

ra tvlo-ka 'They are three, there are three of them.'
they three-3pl

Again the categorial status of numeral is controversial. In the first two examples, the numerals are functioning like adverbs, and in the last, the numeral looks like a verb (cf. Klamer 2002). Alternatively, the above numerals are all adjectives, given that verbs and adjectives can be distinguished in Lamaholot (cf. section 4.2.1) but adjectives and adverbs are not (cf. the previous

subsection). The latter view seems more plausible. Recall from section 11.2 that adjectives show agreement with suffixes, and that all the members of adjectives can have agreement, in contrast to the selective nature of verbal agreement. Such properties are shared by numeral agreement described above. The reason for discussing numeral agreement in an independent subsection is that numerals are easy to identify and useful for the comparison with other languages.

The interpretation of the numeral in the above examples is either partitive ('three (part) of them') or exhaustive ('(all) three of them'). Numeral agreement is also described for the Lewolema dialect of Lamaholot in Pampus (1999: 25). Other closely-related Austronesian languages which have numeral agreement include Kedang (a neighboring language to the east of Lamaholot, Samely 1991: 100), Muna (van den Berg 1989: 236), Leti (off the eastern tip of East Timor, van Engelenhoven 2004: 163), and Kambera (Sumba, Klamer 2002: 370).

Klamer (2002: 369f) lists the ability of numerals to act like verbs as one of typical features of Austronesian languages in Eastern/Central Indonesia. This feature is not limited to this branch of Austronesian languages but also observed in Oceanic (e.g., Bali-Vitu, Siar, Gela, Paamese, Marquesan and Iaai, cf. Lynch et al. 2002: 72). Outside Austronesian languages, Greek and Latin are known to have declension in numerals. Numeral agreement is also reported for the Nakh-Daghestanian language Tsez (Northeast Caucasian) (Polinsky and Comrie 1999: 109).

11.5. Preposition Agreement

Lamaholot has one preposition which can agree; *-o'on* 'with'.

go svga k-o'on mo 'I came with you.'
I come 1sg-with you

ra svga r-o'on mo 'They came with you.'
they come 3pl-with you

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, there is synchronic evidence that *-o'on* is not a verb and the above sentences are not serial verb construction.

Typologically this type of preposition agreement is rare. It is true that preposition agreement with the object is often observed, as in Abkhaz (Northwest Caucasian, Corbett 1991: 113). However, the preposition agreement observed in Lamaholot is with the subject of the sentence. This kind of agreement is reported in Daghestanian languages (Northeast Caucasian, Haspelmath 1999: 133), where 'in front of' agrees with the subject. The only other languages we know of that has similar agreement on prepositions are some related languages of East Timor, which have agreement on 'with.' We will return to these languages in the next section on conjunctive agreement.

11.6. Conjunctive Agreement

Finally, Lamaholot has agreement on conjunction ('and').

go k-o'on mo bvrin Lado 'I and you hit Lado.'
I 1sg-and you hit L

go pehen mo m-o'on Bala 'I touched you and Bala.'
I touch you 2sg -and B

Since the conjoining word in the above sentence is identical the comitative word we saw in the last subsection, one might suspect that *-o'on* above is a comitative preposition. Actually, there are many languages, both within and outside Austronesian languages, where the words for 'and' and 'with' are identical. However, again we have to be careful about the distinction between diachronic shift and synchronic grammar. That is, although it is likely that there is a grammaticalization process from 'with' to 'and' (cf. Mithun 1988, Stassen 2000, 2001), there is evidence that the comitative usage of *-o'on* and the conjunctive usage of *-o'on* should be distinguished in the synchronic grammar of Lamaholot.

First, as we will see in section 12.1, *-o'on* can conjoin predicates:

mo pe'en belv no'on ba'a 'You are big and heavy.'
you the big and heavy

According to the proponents of grammaticalization from 'with' to 'and', the ability of a word to connect non-nominal words indicates that the word is not just a comitative but a full-fledged conjunction, for a comitative can conjoin only nouns. The above sentence shows that this is also the case with Lamaholot *-o'on*.

Second, agreement on the verb indicates that the subject is the union of the first and second conjuncts.

go k-o'on Bala m-enun 'I and Bala drink.'
I 1sg-o'on B. 1pl.ex-drink

-enun 'drink' agrees with the subject by a prefix, and this agreement marker is plural in the above sentence. This is unexpected if *-o'on* were a comitative preposition, for that would make only *go* 'I' as the head and agreement should be singular as *k-enun*. We will see in section 11.7.5 that such first conjunct agreement is possible. But crucially, the plural agreement is also possible. This is expected if *-o'on* is indeed a conjunction.

Third, if the conjunctive *-o'on* were a comitative preposition, the interpretation should be that the participant in the second part does not perform the activity. The following example shows that interpretation is wrong.

go k-o'on ana' go'en pana 'I and my child walk.'
I 1sg- and child my walk

The sentence has the conjunctive interpretation and implies that my child walks. Such an interpretation should be impossible if *-o'on* in the above sentence were a preposition and the *-o'on* phrase were an NP-adjunction.

The above three arguments show that Lamaholot indeed has conjunctive agreement. Outside Lamaholot, some related languages of East Timor (Galoli, Atauran, Idalaka and Tetun-Teruk) are reported to have conjunctive agreement (Hull 2001). The languages also have preposition ('with') agreement (ibid: 180). As in Lamaholot, the languages have the same word for 'and' and 'with.' Pampus (1999: 36f) also reports conjunctive agreement for the Lewolema dialect of Lamaholot. Brown and Dryer (2005) reports that in Walman, a Torricelli language of Papua New Guinea, there are verbs equivalent to 'and'.

11.7. Constraints on Agreement

We have seen agreement in Lamaholot in six domains. Each of the domains has restrictions on agreement, to which we turn in this section. Before that, we must establish the notion of "default agreement". Default agreement refers to a phenomenon where the agreement marker is *n-* (3sg) or *-ka* (3pl) but there is no third person argument in the sentence that is responsible for the agreement form. For example, as we saw above, when predicates are connected, the conjunction is *no'on*, even if the subject is the second singular.

mo belv no'on ba'a 'You are big and heavy.'
2sg big and heavy

(The conjunction cannot be *m-o'on* '2sg-and' in the sentence.) *no'on* emerges in numerals as well.

pulo no'on to'u 'ten and one, eleven'

The default agreement suffix *-ka* emerges on adverbs. Note that the default marker is identical to the third *singular* for the prefix (*n-*) but to the third *plural* for the suffix (*-ka*).

11.7.1. Constraints on Verbal Agreement

When a verb takes an agreement prefix, the prefix is always obligatory. Suffixes, on the other hand, are generally optional. As we saw in section 9.1, when a verb has a choice of transitivity, it is often the case that the suffix (optionally) emerges only if the verb is intransitive, and it cannot appear when the verb is transitive.

go hvbo 'I bathe.

go hvbo-kvn 'I bathe.
 go hvbo na 'I bathe her.'
 *go hvbo-kvn na 'I bathe her.'

We suggested that this is related to the fact that transitive verbs have a position for the object clitic and this position excludes the agreement suffix. Recall, however, the above paradigm is only a predominant pattern and there are verbs which take the suffix in transitive usage.

11.7.2. Constraints on Adjectival Agreement

Like suffixes on verbs, suffixes on adjectives are optional, whether the adjective is used predicatively, attributively, adverbially, or depictively. As noted in sections 4.2.2 and 10.1, when used predicatively or adverbially, additional excessive meaning is implied. We saw in the discussion of modification in section 5.2 that when a noun becomes explicitly plural, for example by reduplication, the modifying adjective cannot have the personal suffix.

*inamvlake-inamvlake belv-na 'man-man big-3sg'
 *inamvlake-inamvlake belv-ka 'man-man big-3pl'

The appropriate form in the above case is either the bare *belv* or nasal *belvn*. The lack of plural agreement in the third person is more widespread, and we will return to this in section 11.7.6.

The nature of constraints on adjectival agreement we saw in this section and on verbal agreement in the last section are as follows: in certain contexts, no agreement marker can emerge (i.e., total absence of agreement marker). In the next four sections we discuss constraints on agreement in other four domains. The nature of constraints in these domains can be different: in certain contexts, the agreement marker can or must be default. This difference is due to the nature of prefix and suffix: prefixes, whenever possible, are obligatory, but suffixes in general are optional. Since preposition and conjunctive agreement involves only a prefix, the choice is between canonical agreement or default agreement. For adverbial and numeral agreement, which involve a suffix, the choice is often among the three: to have canonical agreement, default agreement, or no agreement marker.

11.7.3. Constraints on Adverbial and Preposition Agreement

We discuss constraints on adverbial agreement and preposition agreement together, for they behave similarly in certain respects. First, in the following sentences agreement is obligatorily canonical.

go svga k-olo 'I came earlier.'
 I come 1sg-earlier
 mo svga meha'-ko 'You came alone.'

you come alone-2sg

In contrast, agreement can be default in the following examples.

go svga n-o'on mo 'I come with you.'
 I come defl-with you

mo pana bera aya'-ka 'You walk too fast.'
 you walk fast too-defl

In addition to the default agreement marker, the above sentence can have the canonical agreement marker (*k-o'on* '1sg-and' and *aya'-ko* 'too-2sg') as well. The situation is the same when the first sentence drops the predicate and the meaning is 'I am with you.' Thus, both *go n-o'on mo* or *go k-o'on mo* are possible. The optionality of agreement is observed when the prepositional phrase is fronted.

n-o'on/m-o'on ra, mo svga 'With them, you came.'
 defl-with/2sg-with them you came.

The difference between obligatory agreement and optional agreement is that the former involves one word ('earlier' and 'alone'), but the latter involves a phrase (i.e., more than one word, like 'with you' and 'too fast'). Thus, the rule seems to be that when the adverb is one word, agreement is obligatory, but when the adverb (or the preposition) is in a phrase, agreement is optional. But there is an exception to this analysis.

go svga k-olo tvgvn 'I come very early.'
 I come 1sg-early very

go svga urin-kvn tvgvn 'I come very late.'
 I come late-1sg very

Here the adverbs are modified by an intensifier *tvgvn* 'very', and they seem to form a phrase. However, only canonical agreement is possible, just like the behavior of these adverbs used without the intensifier as we saw earlier. If the agreement marker is the default *nolo* and *urin-ka* in the above sentences respectively, the sentences become ungrammatical.

Another constraint on adverbial agreement is that it agrees with the closest subject.

mo meha'-ko marin na svga 'Only you said he came.'
 you alone-2sg say he come

*mo marin na svga meha'-ko 'Only you said he came.'

go meha'-kvn biho wata 'I cooked rice alone.'
I alone-1sg cook rice

go biho wata meha'-kvn 'I cooked rice alone.'

In the second sentence, *meha'* cannot agree with the matrix subject *mo*, since there is an intervening subject *na*. Note that *meha'* itself is able to come at the end of the predicate, as the fourth sentence shows. Preposition agreement has some more constraints.

go tor-kvn n-o'on mo 'I agree with you.'
I agree-1sg defl-with you

tite taku-te n-o'on na 'We are afraid of him.'
1pl.in afraid-1pl.in defl-with him

Here preposition agreement is preferably a default, in contrast to the comitative phrase we saw above, which allows both canonical and default agreement equally. The difference between the two seems to be that the comitative phrase is an adjunct, while the preposition phrases in the above two sentences are more integrated into the core meaning of the verb and thus are complements. Thus, if *-o'on* is in the complement, it usually becomes *no'on*.

11.7.4. Constraints on Numeral Agreement

The first constraint on numeral agreement is that a lexical noun phrase must be definite to induce numeral agreement.

inawae tvlo-ka me'envn bvrin inamvlake rua-ka me'envn
woman three-3pl the hit man two-3pl the
'The three women hit the two men.'

Here the subjects and the object are marked with the definite marker, and numeral agreement is possible. When the definite marker is omitted, the numerals cannot have agreement; bare numerals without the agreement marker must be used instead, as follows.

inawae tvlo bvrin inamvlake rua 'Three women hit two men.'
woman three hit man two

Recall from section 11.4 that pronouns induce numeral agreement.

ra rua-ka bvrin tite tvlo-te 'They two hit us three.'
they two-3pl hit us three-1pl.in

Since pronouns are definite, the rule seems to be that numeral agreement is triggered by definite

nouns. Sensitivity to definiteness is observed in agreement of other languages, for example in Swahili (Croft 1988: 161).

u-me-leta kitabu 'Have you brought a book?'
2sg-Perf-bring book

u-me-ki-leta kitabu 'Have you brought the book?'
2sg-Perf-3sg-bring book

Another interesting thing about numeral agreement is that the agreement marker is not easily dropped. If anything, the pronoun itself is easier to drop.

ra rua-ka bvrin tite tvlo-te 'They two hit us three.'
they two-3pl hit us three-1pl.in

rua-ka bvrin tvlo-te 'They two hit us three.'

?ra rua bvrin tite tvlo 'They two hit us three.'

The first sentence is a full version, and the second lacks the pronouns, and the third lacks the agreement marker. The judgment is that the second sentence is better. Although pronoun drop is not impossible in Lamaholot, it is not so common, either. But the pronouns in the above sentences can be easily dropped.

11.7.5. Constraints on Conjunctive Agreement

One important constraint on conjunctive agreement is that canonical agreement is obligatory in the subject position but is optional in the object position.

go k-o'on mo bvrin Lado 'I and you hit Lado.'
I 1sg-and you hit L

go pehen mo n-o'on Bala 'I touched you and Bala.'
I touch you defl -and B

In the first sentence, the subject is a conjoined noun phrase, and canonical agreement is obligatory; *no'on* cannot be used in the first sentence. In the second sentence, on the other hand, the object is a conjoined phrase, and the default marker can emerge. (As we saw in section 11.6, canonical agreement with *mo'on* is also possible in the second sentence.) The same contrast holds for some speakers even when the sentence is clefted.

mo m/*n-o'on na yang bvrin go 'It is you and he that hit me.'
you 2sg/defl-and he that hit me

mo n/?m-o'on na yang go bvrin 'It is you and him that I hit.'
 you defl/2sg-and him that I hit

We will discuss cleft sentences in section 13.2. For the present purposes it is enough to recognize that focused part comes at the beginning of the sentence. The above sentences indicate that when the subject is focused, canonical agreement is obligatory, and when the object is focused, default agreement can emerge. This is parallel with the case of ordinary non-cleft sentences we saw above. The asymmetry in cleft sentences indicates that the constraint on conjunctive agreement is a matter of subject and object, and not due to information structure (topicality and focus) or linear string order.

We have seen that *-o'on* can also be used as a comitative, as follows:

go pana k-o'on mo 'I walk with you.'
 I walk 1sg-and you

When the matrix verb is transitive with the object, *-o'on* cannot be comitative but must be conjunction:

*go bvrin mo k-o'on Bala
 I hit you 1sg- and/with B.

go bvrin mo n-o'on Bala
 I hit you defl-and/with B.
 'I hit you and Bala.'
 *'I, with Bala, hit you.'

The first sentence is simply ungrammatical; it means neither 'I, with Bala, hit you' nor 'I hit you and Bala'. It seems that the string order *NP -o'on* forces the conjunctive interpretation. Thus, the first sentence should mean 'I hit you and Bala' but agreement marker (*k-*) is wrong for this interpretation. The second sentence, where the agreement is default, might be potentially ambiguous between 'I hit you and Bala' and 'I, with Bala, hit you'. But the second meaning is impossible.

When agreeing numerals are conjoined, canonical agreement is impossible and default agreement is obligatory.

mio rua-ke n-o'on ra tvlo-ka bvrin go 'You two and they three hit me.'
 you.pl two-2pl defl-and they three-3pl hit me

go bvrin mio rua-ke n-o'on ra tvlo-ka 'I hit you two and they three.'
 I hit you.pl two-2pl defl-and they three-3pl

Whether the conjunction is in the subject or the object, the default *no'on* is used in the above sentence, and *m-o'on* '2pl-and' cannot be used.

So far we have seen agreement within conjoined noun phrases. But another interesting issue is what kind of agreement is triggered outside the conjoined noun phrase. A recurrent issue concerning coordination and agreement is what kind of agreement shows up on the verb with conjoined subjects. When agreement is only with one conjunct, the tendency seems to be that the verb agrees with the nearer conjunct (Corbett 1983, 1991: 265ff and Comrie 2003: 331). O'Grady and Yamashita (2002) corroborate this with a second-language acquisition experiment. Timmermans et al. (2004) discuss agreement on the verb when the subject is a conjunction of 2nd and 3rd person in German and Dutch. Aoun, Benmamoun, and Sportiche (1994, 1999) and Munn (1999) are a debate whether the first conjunct agreement in some variables of Arabic is due to clausal coordination or syntactically singular nature of the coordinated subject. Below I present the Lamaholot facts.

When the first singular and the second singular are conjoined, the agreement possibility is different between prefix and suffix.

go k-o'on mo k/*m/t-enun 'I and you drink.'
 I 1sg-and you 1sg/2/1pl.in-drink

mo m-o'on go k/*m/t-enun 'You and I drink.'

go k-o'on mo ia'-kvn /*ko/*ke/te 'I and you stay.'
 I 1sg-and you stay-1sg/2sg /2pl/1pl.in

mo m-o'on go ia'-*kvn/ko/*ke/te 'You and I stay.'

Naturally, all the above sentences allow agreement of the first plural inclusive. The first and second sentences involve the prefix-taking verb *-enun*, and agreement cannot be the second person (*m-* is for both singular and plural). On the other hand, the third and fourth sentences involve the suffix-taking verb *ia'*. Curiously, in addition to the first plural inclusive, agreement is with the first conjunct, regardless of the person. Thus, if the first conjunct is *go*, the suffix is the first person singular, and with *mo* as the first conjunct, the agreement is the second person singular. The situation is the same with the combination of the first singular and the third singular (either the pronoun *na* or a proper noun.) With the combination of the second singular and the third singular, the suffix is the second singular, regardless of the order.

mo m-o'on na ia'-ko/*ke/*na 'You and he stay.'
 you 2sg-and he stay-2sg/2pl/3sg

na n-o'on mo ia'-ko/*ke/*na 'He and you stay.'

he 3sg-and you stay-2sg/2pl/3sg

Some speakers accept *-na* in the second sentence. In addition, the first plural marker *-te* (inclusive) and *-ke* (exclusive) are possible in the above sentences, depending on whether the speaker is included or not. This usage of exclusive marker is peculiar; first plural exclusive usually denotes "we excluding you", but in the above case *-ke* denotes "you (pl) excluding me". In this sense, it is more appropriately labeled as the *second* plural exclusive.

When the agreement host is prefixing, agreement marker for the combination of the second singular and the third singular is *m-*. However, since both 2sg and 2pl are *m-*, one cannot tell whether the agreement is with a conjunct (you.sg) or with the whole conjoined pronouns (you.pl).

11.7.6. Defective Number Feature in Third Person

We have seen constraints on agreement in several domains. Each domain has constraints specific to the domain. There are also constraints which apply to agreement in several domains. One such constraint is concerned with the number feature of the third person. Basically, the plural number of the third person sometimes cannot trigger plural agreement, and the default third singular marker emerges instead. We saw in section 5.2 that when a noun becomes explicitly plural, the modifying adjective cannot have the personal suffix. Actually the lack of plural agreement in the third person is more widespread. For example this is observed in non-human subjects.

inamvlake-inamvlake svga-ka urin 'Men came late.'
man-Red come-3pl late

wawe-wawe svga-na urin 'Pigs came late.'
pig-Red come-3sg late

oto-oto me'envn weli<n>-na 'Those cars are expensive.'
car-Red that expensive-3sg

In all three examples above, the subject is plural. Only the first triggers plural agreement on the verb. The second, whose subject is animals, and the third, whose subject is inanimates, cannot trigger plural agreement, and the singular marker *-na* emerges instead. (Some speakers prefer no agreement marker in the second sentence.) This behavior contrasts with that of the pronoun *na*. As noted in section 3.2, the pronoun *na* cannot be used for inanimates. (<n> indicates that [n] is originally present but unrealized in actual speech.)

In the typological literature, the above situation is accounted for by using the hierarchy as follows:

pronoun > human > animal > inanimate (cf. Givón 1976, Croft 1988)

The higher in the scale the noun is, the easier it triggers agreement. The above three sentences suggest that the dividing line of inducing number agreement in Lamaholot is between human and animal. That is, pronouns and humans trigger number agreement, while animals and inanimates do not. There is also a case where the dividing line is between pronouns and everything else to its right. Conjunctive agreement is such a case.

inamvlake rua n-o'on inawae tov r-enun
man two defl-and woman a 3pl-drink
'Two men and a woman drank.'

inamvlake-inamvlake n-o'on inawae tov r-enun
man-reduplication defl-and woman a 3pl-drink
'Men and a woman drank.'

Recall that in the subject position, conjunctive agreement is obligatorily canonical when the first conjunct is a pronoun. But in the above sentences, the first conjunct is a lexical noun and conjunctive agreement is default. The canonical agreement *r-o'on* (3pl-and) cannot be used. Interestingly, the verbal agreement is canonical, and the default *n-enun* (default-drink) is ungrammatical. The paradigm is the same whether the plurality is marked with a numeral (as in the first sentence) or by reduplication (as in the second sentence). (The combination of numeral and reduplication is prohibited, by the way.) Since only pronouns trigger conjunctive plural agreement, the dividing line in the scale above for conjunctive agreement is between pronouns and everything else to its right.

Third plural pronoun *ra* also shows an anomaly:

ra r/n-o'on inawae to'u r-enun 'They and a woman drank.'
they 3pl/defl-and woman a 3pl-drink

Although canonical agreement is obligatory with other pronouns in the subject conjunction position, *ra* allows default agreement, in addition to the canonical one. The default agreement for plural does not emerge in the first person.

tite t-o'on inawae to'u t-enun 'We and a woman drank.'
we.in 1pl.in-and woman a 1pl.in-drink

Here the canonical agreement is obligatory, and *t-o'on* cannot be replaced by *k-o'on* (1sg-and) or by *n-o'on* (defl-and). The same situation holds for the first plural exclusive *kame*. (The second person agreement is *m-* for both singular and plural. So we cannot tell whether plural agreement is canonical or default.)

By the way, the lack of plural agreement is reminiscent of Hungarian:

a nök mond-ják/*ja...
the women say-3pl/3sg

a nök kalap-ja/*juk
the women hat-3sg/3pl (den Dikken 1999: 139)

That is, while the verb shows full agreement, there is no number agreement in possessive constructions. Turning to Lamaholot, possessive constructions show full agreement:

guru oto-nvn
teacher car-3sg 'teacher's (sg) car'

guru-guru oto-ka
teacher-red car-3pl 'teachers' (pl) car'

oto guru na'en
car teacher 3sg.Gen 'teacher's (sg) car'

oto guru-guru ra'en
car teacher-red 3pl.Gen 'teachers' (pl) car'

Whether the possessor is prenominal or postnominal, the number agreement is full, either on the nominal suffix or in the genitive pronoun. As a matter of fact, when we focus on the non-human animate, Lamaholot is just the opposite of Hungarian. Recall that a plural animal subject cannot trigger plural agreement on the verb. But it can trigger plural agreement on the possessed noun. Compare the Hungarian paradigm above with the following paradigm in Lamaholot.

wawe-wawe svga- ?na/??ka
pig-Red come-3sg/3pl 'Pigs came.'

wawe-wawe lawan-ka/?nvn
pig-Red stall-3pl/3sg 'hogs' stall

In Hungarian, plural agreement is possible on verbs but not on nouns. Although the judgments vary among speakers in Lamaholot, plural agreement with animal nouns is preferred on nouns but not on verbs.

Chapter 12 Complex Sentences

Complex sentences refer to situations where there is a sentence within a sentence. It is usually assumed that there are two types of relations in such cases: coordination and subordination. In coordination, the relation of the two sentences are basically symmetric, and meanings are 'and,' 'then,' 'but,' 'so that,' etc. In subordination, the relation is asymmetric. However in practice, the distinction is not very clear. One example is serialization. Serialization refers to a phenomenon where more than one verb appear without any overt connectors. In many cases serialization has the meaning close to coordination, but sometimes the meaning is instrumental or causative, which is more like subordination. Also, it is often the case that serialization is indistinguishable from constructions whose meaning is 'in order to.' This is called the purpose clauses, and they are also subordination in meaning. Therefore in this chapter, we discuss each construction in turn, often without considering whether the sentence is coordinate or subordinate in structure.

12.1. Connectives

The coordination marker with the most basic meaning of 'and' is *no'on*.

Bala no'on Lado svga
B. and L. come 'Bala and Lado came.'

go pi'in guru no'on tuan
I this teacher and priest 'I am a teacher and a priest.'

mo pe'en belv no'on ba'a
you the big and heavy 'You are big and heavy.'

tite tvkan wata no'on t-enun wai' lvron gytan
1pl.in eat.1pl.in rice and 1pl.in-drink water day all
'We eat rice and drink water every day.'

As the first and the second sentences show, *no'on* can connect nouns, whether they are arguments or predicates. See chapter 11 for agreement in conjoined noun phrases. Sometimes verb phrases are connected without any connective markers.

nolo pe tite pi'in tvkan wata t-enun wai' hala'
past that 1pl.in this 1.pl.in.eat rice 1pl.in -drink water not
'In the past time we didn't eat rice and drink water.'

When the relation of the two sentences (predicates) is more specific, other connectives (*nvkvn* 'but,' *kvdin* 'then,' *(opv)nvlv* 'so that') are used.

mo pe'en kvne'en dvra nvkvn pintar 'You are still young but smart.'
you the small still but smart

na kvrian kvdin turu 'He worked and then slept.'
he work then sleep

Na pe'en tvnuen kae opvnlv na noi a'a gvtan
he the old already so that he know things all
'He is old so that he knows all things.'

Bala gang wata nvkvn Lado gang uwe
B. eat rice but L. eat potato
'Bala ate rice but Lado ate potato.'

no'on cannot be used in the above four sentences. When *nvkvn* is replaced by *kvdin* in the last sentence, the meaning is that Bala's eating is sequentially followed by Lado's eating. In addition to *nvkvn* 'but', a similar notion is expressed by *masi* 'although'.

masi mo pe'en kvne'en dvra, mo pintar
although you the young still you smart
'Although you are still young, you are smart.'

An alternative form for *masi* is *mvsi*. Note that *masi* and *nvkvn* are in different positions. The following example is another sentence with *nlv* 'so that'.

mo m-a'i-ko m-a'an lango to'u nvlv go k-a'i-kvn lau ke
2sg 2sg-go-2sg 2s-make house one so.that 1s 1sg-go-1sg sea.direction emph
You go and build a house so that I can go there.

Note also that *m-a'i-ko* 'go' and *m-a'an* 'make' are connected without a connector. This is the case of serial verbs discussed in the next section.

When the first sentence is transitive and the subject is missing from the second sentence, the understood subject is the same as that in the first sentence.

inawvlake me'en tvngv inawae me'en kvdin peun
man the see woman the then return
'The man saw the woman and then (he) returned.'

The above sentence cannot mean '...and then she returned.' Disjunction 'or' is expressed by *le*. It conjoins nouns, predicates, and sentences.

Bala le Lado svga 'Bala or Lado came.'

go murvn le nalan 'I am right or wrong.'
mo svga le go ka'ikvn 'You come or I go.'

'when' or 'while' is expressed as follows.

na tutu go waktu na gan-na 'He spoke to me when he was eating.'
he speak me when he eat-3sg

na tutu go waktu na mvtv gan-na 'He spoke to me while he was eating.'
na tutu go mvtv na gan-na 'He spoke to me while he was eating.'

waktu 'when' is from Indonesian. *mvtv* is 'while' and the second and the third sentences express the simultaneousness of the his speaking and his eating. As the second sentence shows, *waktu* and *mvtv* both can appear.

12.2. Serial Verb Constructions

12.2.1. Sequence of Events and Purpose Clauses

One common meaning of serial verbs is sequence of events. When two verbs show up without any connectives, the sentence is potentially ambiguous between serial verb construction and purpose clauses.

go biho wata kan kvdin k-a'i-kvn skola
I cook rice, eat.1sg then 1sg-go-1sg school
I cooked rice, ate, and then went to school.'

go k-a'i-kvn pe pasar hope ue
I 1sg-go-1sg to market buy potato
I went to the market to buy potatoes.'

The first sentence is meant to contain serial verbs implying sequence of events, and the second is meant to contain a purpose clause. But the structures are actually ambiguous. Thus, the following sentence is not a contradiction.

go biho wata kan, nvkvn go kan hala'
I cook rice eat.1sg but I eat.1sg not
'I cooked rice to eat it, but did not eat it.'

The above sentence is not a contradiction because it contains a purpose clause 'in order to eat.' Since it does not necessarily mean I actually ate it, the purpose can be cancelled by the following negation. To express sequence of events unambiguously, *kvdin* 'then' is used.

go ka'ikvn pe pasar kvdin (go) hope ue
'I went to the market and then bought potatoes.'

When *kvdin* is used, the subject can be repeated. In the following example, two verb phrases are modified by distinct temporal expressions and there is no connector.

pali'in go k-a'i-kvn hvwo bvta 'I'll go today and arrive tomorrow.'
today 1s 1sg-go-1sg arrive tomorrow

12.2.2. Instrumentals

A second meaning of serial verbs is instrumental, which is expressed by *pake* 'use'.

go hvbo-kvn pake wai' pvlatin 'I bathe with hot water.'
I bathe.1sg use water hot

go bvrin Bala pake mvnngo mi'in 'I hit Bala with this stick.'
I hit B. use stick this

In the first sentence, a causative verb *ka'an* can be used for *pake*. The second sentence has alternative expressions as follows.

go pake mvnngo mi'invn bvrin Bala 'I used this stick (and) hit Bala.'
go bvrin mvnngo mi'in pe Bala '(lit.) I hit this stick on Bala.'

The first sentence cannot be a purpose clause; if one add a sentence like *...nvkvn go bisa hala' bvrin na* '...but I could not hit Bala,' it would be a contradiction. The second sentence is peculiar in that the instrument is the object. This is the context where an applicative morpheme is required in some other languages, but no such morpheme is added to the verb.

12.2.3. 'Go' Constructions

When a motion or manner verb is used, *-i'a-* 'go' is added to imply that the object reaches the destination.

go lerin pe kota k-a'i 'I walk to town.'
I walk to town 1sg-go

go lerin k-a'i-kvn pe kota 'I walk to town.'
I walk 1sg-go-1sg to twon

tite nange pe watan papa t-ai 'We swim to the next island.'
we.in swim to shore other side1pl.in-go

tite nange t-a'i-te pe watan papa 'We swim to the next island.'
we.in swim 1pl.in-go-1pl.in to shore other side

Even when the first verb is *-i'a-*, some speakers prefer to repeat the verb at the end.

go ka'ikvn pe Ende kai 'I went to Ende.'
I 1sg-go-1sg to E. go

bvta mo pana ke, m-a'i-ko amerika m-ai ke
tomorrow 2sg walk ? 2sg-go-2sg America 2sg-go emph
'Tomorrow you'll go to the America.'

The position of 'go' as the second verb can be either after or before the goal, and the suffix shows up in the latter case. Schematically it is represented as follows

Subject Verb Goal 'go' (no suffix)
Subject Verb 'go'-suffix Goal

The presence and the absence of the suffix cannot be reversed above. That is, the suffix cannot appear when 'go' is after the goal, and it must appear when 'go' is before the goal. As noted in section 8.2, auxiliaries can appear in various places in this construction.

go bisa lerin pe kota k-ai 'I can walk to town'
I can walk to town 1sg-go

go lerin bisa pe kota kai
go lerin pe kota kai bisa

-i'a- can also be used in expressions corresponding 'go -ing.'

go k-a'i-kvn ola 'I am going to work in the crop field.'
I 1sg-go-1sg work in the field

na n-a'i-na hope ekan 'He is going shopping.'
he 3sg-go-3sg-buy something

12.2.4. Simultaneousness

Serial verbs can also express situations where two events occur simultaneously.

na pvla'e tvrun aho 'He ran chasing the dog.'
he run chase dog

na svga nvte a wua'an aya'an 'He came bringing lots of fruits'
 he come bring what fruit much

go pana lalu-kvn pe lango 'I passed by the house walking.'
 I walk pass-1sg at house

kame pana dore watan lolon 'We walked along the shore.'
 we.in walk follow shore above

kame kvre'e yang lali haka mi'in bisa pana dore laran vrv'vn
 1pl.ex child that below up this can walk follow path good
 'We youth can walk on the right path.'

12.2.5. 'Give' Causatives

One can use *nein* 'give' for a causative construction. We saw in section 9.3 that there are two other causative verbs: *-a'an* 'make' means forceful causation, and *lo'ok* 'let' means permission. In contrast, *nein* causative means 'to help someone do something.' The situation of 'give' becoming a causative verb is common cross-linguistically, and is also observed a related language of Tetun Dili of East Timor (Williams-van Kilnken et al. 2002).

go nein ana go'en gan 'I feed my child.'
 I give child my eat.3sg

?go nein gan ana' go'en 'I feed my child.'

As the above sentences show, the second predicate can come either after or before the causee, and some speakers prefer it after the causee. When the second predicate has an object, more options are available.

go nein ana' go'en loge labu 'I helped my child dress a shirt.'
 I give child my dress shirt

?go nein loge labu ana' go'en 'I helped my child dress a shirt.'
 ?go nein loge ana' go'en labu 'I helped my child dress a shirt.'

The above sentences contrasts with *go loge-kvn ana' go'en labu* 'I dressed my child with a shirt.' In this example, my child is taking no initiative and I am the only one who is making an action. In the above sentence, my child is (clumsily) trying to dress a shirt and I am helping him/her with it. In some cases the order is not so flexible.

go nein mo m-oi cerita 'I let you know the story.'

I give you 2sg-know story

*go nein m-oi mo cerita

peun 'return' requires *nein* for the transitive usage.

go peun pe lango 'I return home.'
 go peun-kvn pe lango 'I return home.'
 go nein peun buku 'I return the book.'
 ?go nein peun-kvn buku 'I return the book'

Note also that like many transitive verbs discussed in section 9.1, for some speakers *peun* cannot have a suffix in a transitive (i.e., causative in this case) usage.

12.3. Sentence Embedding

When a verb takes a sentential complement, there is a sentence within a sentence. This is called sentence embedding and is illustrated as follows.

go pikir marin na hi'in svga 'I think that he will come.'
 I think that he will come

marin originally means 'say', but in the above sentence it functions as introducing the embedded sentence, and its appearance is optional. Other verbs which pattern like *pikir* are *persaya* 'believe,' *yakin* 'be sure,' *bain* 'hear.' *-oi* 'know' also takes an embedded clause, but without *marin* for some speakers. Some verbs take an additional phrase about the subject of the embedded clause, using *tentang* 'about' from Indonesian.

go tutu tentang Bala marin na nein bunga to'u pe inawae me'envn
 I say about B. that he give flower one to girl the
 'I say about Bala that he gave a flower to the girl.'

Another verb that can appear in the above pattern is *bain* 'hear.' On the other hand, *pikir* 'think' or *persaya* 'believe' cannot such a pattern for some speakers. Related expressions:

go tvngv na svga meha'-na 'I saw him come alone.'
 I see he come alone-3sg

go rasa lango pi'in redo'(na) 'I felt the house shake (itself).'
 I feel house the shake it

The first and second sentences express perception 'see' and 'feel.' If *na* appears in the second sentence, then *redo* 'shake' is functioning as a transitive verb. The embedded sentence can be a

question. We will discuss embedded questions in section 14.3. In section 8.2, we discussed sentences like the following as involving an auxiliary.

go gehi-kvn bvrin Lado 'I don't want to hit Lado.'
I not.want-1sg hit L.

Alternatively, we can regard *gehi-* as a verb and *bvrin Lado* as an embedded clause. This analysis becomes more plausible in the following sentence.

go gehi-kvn Bala bvrin Lado 'I don't want Bala to hit Lado.'
I not.want-1sg B. hit L.

Here *Bala bvrin Lado* as a whole is an embedded clause. For the affirmative counterpart, for some speakers *hi'in* 'want' cannot be used for such a construction and *ono* plus genitive is used instead.

?go hi'in Bala bvrin Lado 'I want Bala to hit Lado.'
I want B. hit L.

ono go'en Bala bvrin Lado 'I want Bala to hit Lado.'
inside my B. hit L.

marin 'that' can be appear after *gehi'-kvn*.

go gehi-kvn marin Bala bvrin Lado 'I don't want Bala to hit Lado.'
I not.want-1sg that B. hit L.

If, as we saw above, *marin* introduces an embedded sentence, then *Bala bvrin Lado* is an embedded sentence above. (But *marin* cannot appear with *ono*.)

There are related expressions, corresponding to English *I asked him to come* and *I promised him to come*. In the first sentence, the subject of *come* is *him*, but in the second sentence, it is *I*. This difference is maintained in Lamaholot, with an additional difference in agreement.

go lvta na svga meha'-na 'I asked him to come alone.'
I ask him come alone-3sg

go janji na svga meha'-kvn 'I promised him to come alone.'
I promise him come alone-1sg

Note that agreement on *meha'* 'alone' reflects the subject of *svga* 'come'. In the first sentence, the subject of 'come' is *na*, and thus *meha'* agrees with *na*. Other verbs which behave like *lvta* include *-a'an* 'make', *gahin* and *huya'* 'order', *papa* 'persuade', and *marin* 'tell'. The second

sentence can be paraphrased as *go janji na (marin) go svga meha'-kvn*. This sentence corresponds to English 'I promised him (that) I come alone.' Note the (optional) appearance of *marin* 'that', and that there are two occurrences of the subject *go*: the first functioning as the subject of *janji*, and the second as the subject of *svga*.

The indirect object is often dropped.

kia go k-odi gahin svru 'Later I will ask you to burn them.'
later I 1.sg-will ask burn

Another construction which involves sentence embedding is 'seem to.' The following sentence is repeated from section 8.2.

dos pe'en tvngv-na hama ba'a 'The box looks/seems to be heavy.'
box the see-3sg same heavy

This sentence in itself does not appear to involve embedding. But there is evidence for embedding. Although less preferred, there are two other ways to express the same meaning.

dos pe'en tvngv-na hama na ba'a 'The box looks/seems to be heavy.'
box the see-3sg same it heavy

tvngv-na hama dos pe'en ba'a 'The box looks/seems to be heavy.'
see-3sg same box the heavy

In the first sentence, the second predicate *ba'a* has an independent subject *na*. In the second sentence, *tvngv-na hama* does not have a subject, and *dos pe'en* is the subject of *ba'a* instead. Schematically, the three sentences corresponds to English sentences as follows:

dos pe'en tvngv-na hama ba'a 'The box seems heavy.'
dos pe'en tvngv-na hama na ba'a 'The box looks as if it is heavy.'
tvngv-na hama dos pe'en ba'a '(It) seems that the box is heavy.'

How are the three sentences related? The key to this question is the presence of *na*. Recall from section 3.2 that *na* cannot be used for inanimates. However, it is used for 'box' here. This puzzle is solved if we regard *na* as a *resumptive pronoun*. Resumptive pronouns are discussed in section 15.1. To anticipate it, resumptive pronouns emerge when an element is dislocated, either by focus or question. One important fact about resumptive pronouns relevant here is that the animacy requirement for *na* is suspended. This strongly suggests that the position for *na* is originally occupied by *dos pe'en* at first. That is, *tvngv-na hama dos pe'en ba'a* is a basic sentence, and when the subject is dislocated, we have *dos pe'en tvngv-na hama ba'a*. The original position of *dos pe'en* can optionally have the resumptive pronoun, and when it appears, we have *dos pe'en tvngv-na hama na ba'a*.

12.4. Adjunct clauses

Conditionals are expressed by *kalo/kalau*.

kalo uran hala', gvta-te mvko
if rain not harvest-1pl.in bad
'If it doesn't rain, we will have a bad harvest.'

kalo na svga, nein na a'a pi'in
when he comes, give him thing this
'When he comes, give this to him.'

In the second sentences, the occurrence of the event depicted by the adjunct clause is more or less taken for granted. In this case, *waktu* 'when' (from Indonesian) can replace *kalo*. The difference is that while *waktu* specifies exactly at the time he comes, *kalo* denotes a broader range of time. The reason can be expressed by *dari*

go gehi'k-vn hvbo dari wai' me'envn pvlate loke'-ka
I won't-1sg bathe because water the hot too-defl
'I won't bathe because the water is too hot.'

As noted in section 10.2, there is no word corresponding 'before' or 'after'. The sequence of event is expressed by *kvding* 'and then.'

12.5. Depictives

Depictives are predicates that describe the state of the subject or the object while it is engaging in some other action. The followings are examples of subject depictives.

na pvla'e pvlenga-na 'He was running naked.'
he run naked-3sg

na pvlenga-na pvla'e 'He was running naked.'

go pana simo-kvn 'I walked smiling.'
I walk smile-1sg

go simo-kvn pana 'I walked smiling.'

Both adjectives and verbs can be a depictive predicate. The position is either before or after the main predicate (*pvla'e* or *pana* in the above cases). The agreement suffix is obligatory for the first singular *-kvn*, but the third singular *-na* is optional in the above sentences. The followings

are depictives in transitive sentences.

go bvrin mo pvlenga-kvn 'I hit you (while I am) naked.'
I hit you naked-1sg

go pvlenga-kvn bvrin mo 'I hit you (while I am) naked.

go bvrin mo pvlenga-ko 'I hit you (while you are) naked.'
I hit you naked-2sg

*go pvlenga-ko bvrin mo 'I hit you (while you are) naked.'

The first two sentences show that subject depictives can be either after the subject or after the object. On the other hand, the last two sentences show that object depictives must be after the object and cannot be after the subject. The agreement suffixes are obligatory. An alternative meaning for the object depictive is that 'I hit you because you are naked.' For some speakers, the simultaneous meaning of 'while' is implied by *mvtv* (see below for example), and without it, the sentence means 'I hit you and (or until) I am/you are naked.'

When the subject and the object are proper nouns, the situation is a little different.

Bala plenga-na bvrin Lado 'Bala hit Lado when Bala was naked.'
Bala bvrin Lado plenga-na 'Bala hit Lado when Lado was naked.'

The above sentences show that the subject depictive must be after the subject. When a depictive predicate follows the object, it is interpreted only as the object depictive. The agreement suffixes *-na* is optional in both sentences. In a question, the default agreement marker *-ka* can substitute for *-na*.

A similar meaning is obtained by using a temporal clause as follows.

go bvrin mo mvtv go plenga-kvn 'I hit you while I am naked.'
I hit you while I naked-1sg

go bvrin mo mvtv mo plenga-ko 'I hit you while you are naked.'
I hit you while I naked-2sg

In the above sentences, the subjects after *mvtv* (*go* and *mo*) are droppable. Even without the subject, it is clear who is naked, due to the agreement suffixes. When *mvtv* is replaced by *waktu* 'when,' the simultaneous meaning is weakened and the sentence would have broader contemporariness. With *waktu*, omission of the second subject is not preferred.

When the depictive predicate appears with *mvtv* and both the subject and the agreement markers

are dropped, the sentence can be ambiguous.

go bvrin mo mvtv simo 'I hit you while smiling.'
I hit you while smiling

The sentence can mean either 'while I am smiling,' or 'while you are smiling.' The ambiguity of course disappears when either the subject or the agreement marker is used. When an object is a common noun with the definite marker, the difference between a modifying adjective and a depictive predicate becomes clear.

go bvrin inamvlake me'envn plenga-na 'I hit the man naked.'
I hit man the naked-3sg

go bvrin inamvlake plenga-na me'envn 'I hit the naked man.'
I hit man naked-3sg the

Since the definite marker indicates the right edge of a noun phrase (see section 5.2), when an adjective follows the definite marker as in the first sentence, it is a depictive predicate. If, on the other hand, an adjective precedes the definite marker, the adjective is within a noun phrase and modifies the noun.

12.6. Resultatives

Resultative constructions refer to sentences where an adjective indicates the extent to which an even lasted. In 'I painted the wall red,' I kept on painting until the wall became red. The followings are the Lamaholot counterparts.

go bvrin wawe pe'en mata 'I hit the pig dead.'
I hit pig the dead

go cet tembok pe'en me'an 'I painted the wall red.'
I paint wall the red

go cet me'an tembok pe'en 'I painted the wall red.'

The adjective can come after the object, or after the verb, as the last sentence shows. The order option is reminiscent of the causatives using *-a'an* 'make.'

bo ka'an tembok pe'en me'an 'I made the wall red.'
go ka'an me'an tembok pe'en 'I made the wall red.'

They are close in meaning, and the order flexibility is also the same. But when the resultative predicate is omitted, the meaning of *cet* remains the same, while that of *-a'an* is not a causative

any more but the transitive 'make (i.e., build, create)'.

go cet tembok pe'en 'I painted the wall.'
go ka'an tembok pe'en 'I built the wall.'

Chapter 13

Relative Clauses and Focus Sentences

Relative clauses refer to sentences that modify a noun phrase. Relative clauses look similar to cleft sentences, which is a kind of focus sentences. There are two other ways to focus a part of the sentence: by focus fronting and with the particle *-ke*. This chapter discusses such constructions in turn.

13.1. Relative Clauses

In relative clauses, *yang* 'that, which' is used.

aho yang gike go me'en belv 'The dog that bit me was big.'
dog that bite me the big

aho yang go bvrin me'eng kvnen 'The dog that I hit was small.'
dog that I hit the small

Note that, unlike languages in western Indonesia and the Philippines, there is no need to use passive (there is actually no passive in Lamaholot) when the object is relativized as in the second sentence. The possessor can be the head of a relative clause.

ana' yang nara-nvn Geru pe'en svga 'A man whose name is Geru came.'
man that name-3sg G. the came

atadikvn yang oto-ka ra tvmaka pe'en svga
man that car-3pl they steal the came
'The people whose cars were stolen came.'

The free translation of the second sentence uses passive. Since there is no passive in Lamaholot, the notion is expressed by the generic subject *ra* 'they', and the sentence is literally 'The people whose cars they have stolen came.' When the object is relativized, a resumptive pronoun can appear. This will be discussed in detail in section 15.1.

13.2. Clefts

yang can also be used in cleft sentences, where part of a sentence is fronted and focused.

go mi'invn yang k-oi jawaban na'en 'It is me who know the answer.'
I this that 1sg-know answer its

mo me'envn yang go persaya 'It is you that I trust.'
you the that I trust

Since there is no expletive subject or copula corresponding to English 'it is..', the sentence begins with the focused part. In the above sentences a pronoun is focused. In that case, a demonstrative or the definite marker often follows the pronoun. A genitive can also be clefted, as follows

Bala yang lango na'en go hone 'Bala, I built his house.'
B. that house his I build

?Bala na'en yang go hone lango
B. his that I build house

In the first sentence, *Bala* is focused, and in the second, *Bala na'en* is focused. In the first sentence, *lango na'en* can be replaced by *lango-nvn* 'house-3sg', and it cannot be after *go hone*. In the second sentence, *na'en* can be repeated at the end for some speakers.

?Bala yang go hone lango na'en
?Bala na'en yang go hone lango na'en

Clefting of sentences is also observed wh-questions, and there are some constraints on clefting as to which part of the sentence can be focused. We will discuss this issue in section 15.2.

13.3. Focus Fronting

In the last section we discussed clefting as a way to focus a part of the sentence. There are at least two other ways of focusing: fronting the part without *yang*, and attaching the particle *-ke*. This section discusses focus fronting.

Fronting typically happens to an object.

wata, go kan 'Rice, I ate.'

nolo pe'en tahan tite gvta hala' 'In the early time, we didn't harvest rice.'
past that rice 1pl.in harvest not

nvkvn a yang vrv'vn me ra akui hala'
but what that good that they acknowledge not
'But they never acknowledge good things.'

In addition to the object, adverbs and preposition phrases can also be fronted.

pe lango, go kan wata 'In the house, I ate rice.'
bera, go kan wata 'Quickly, I ate rice.'

Fronting must be to the position before the subject. Thus, **go wata kan* 'I rice eat' is ungrammatical. A similar focus meaning is obtained by clefting, as in the first two sentences below, but not with adverbs for some speakers, as in the third sentence.

wata yang go kan 'It is rice I ate.'
 pe lango yang go kan wata 'It is in the house that I ate rice.'
 ?bera yang go kang wata 'It is quickly that I ate rice.'

Focus fronting can happen from an embedded clause to the front of the matrix subject, as in the following. (*go persaya* means 'I believe'.)

pe lango, go persaya na gan wata 'In the house, I believe he ate rice.'
 ?bera, go persaya na gan wata 'Quickly, I believe he ate rice.'

Here, fronting of the adverb is a little marginal. We saw in section 7.1 that nominal predicates can be fronted if it is definite.

buku go'en pi'invn 'This is my book.'
 book my this

buku me'envn pi'invn 'This is the book.'
 book the this

Similarly, verbal predicates can be fronted. The following examples involve fronting of an intransitive verb and a transitive verb.

svgá urin, na 'Come late, he did.'
 come late he

nwan pao aya', na 'Get a lot of mangos, he did.'
 get mango many he

In chapter 11, we mentioned that one cannot front only the second verb in serial verb constructions. But if the fronted part is the whole verbal complex, fronting is possible.

pana pe lango na'en n-ai, Bala 'Walk to his house, Bala did.'
 walk to house his 3sg-go B.

When the fronting is from the embedded clause, an intransitive verb cannot be fronted for some speakers, but fronting is possible with a transitive verbs and serial verbs.

?svgá urin, go persaya na 'Come late, I think he did.'
 nwan pao aya', go persaya Bala 'Get a lot of mangos, I think Bala did.'

pana pe lango ne'en nai, go persaya na 'Walk to his house, I think he did.'

It must be noted, however, that unlike with nominal predicates, fronting of verbal predicates is not natural, if not impossible.

13.4. Focus Particle *-ke*

Let us finally look at the focus particle *-ke*. This particle attaches to the focused element, and no fronting is necessary. It can attach to a pronoun or a demonstrative accompanying a pronoun.

go-ke (yang) hope buku pi'in 'It is me who bought this book.'
 I-Foc that buy book this

go pi'in-ke (yang) hope buku pi'in 'It is me who bought this book.'
 I this-Foc that buy book this

yang can optionally appear in the above sentences. *-ke* can also focus the verb.

go hope-ke buku pi'in 'I BOUGHT this book.'

-ke also attaches to common nouns or common nouns with a demonstrative.

ono go'en buku-ke 'I want BOOK.'
 inside my book-foc

go hope buku pi'in-ke 'I bought THIS BOOK.'

In the first sentence, the stress is on *buku*. Since *-ke* also functions as the second person plural suffix, the sentence also means 'I want your book.' With this meaning, there is no stress on *buku*. In the second sentence, the common noun is accompanied by a demonstrative, and the focus particle *-ke* must attach to the demonstrative. *buku-ke pi'in* cannot be a focus and only means 'this book of yours.'

When a noun is modified by a relative clause, *-ke* can attach to either the head noun or the relative clause.

buku-ke yang go hope pe'envn welin 'The BOOK that I bought is expensive.'
 book-Foc that I buy the expensive

buku yang go hope pe'envn-ke welin 'The book that I BOUGHT is expensive.'

As shown in the translation above, the focused parts are different.

Chapter 14 Questions

There are several types of questions. First, questions are divided into matrix questions and embedded questions. In embedded questions, only the embedded sentence is a question, as in 'I know what he ate.' Matrix questions are further divided into yes-no questions and wh-questions. Yes-no questions can be answered with yes or no, as in 'Did he eat?' Wh-questions, also called content questions, ask for information, as in 'What did he eat?' In this chapter we first overview yes-no questions briefly. Then we look at wh-questions and embedded questions. There are certain constraints on wh- and embedded questions. They are closely related to resumptive pronouns and will be discussed in the next chapter.

14.1. Yes-No Questions

Yes-no questions are indicated by rising intonation only, and no movement or additional particle is involved.

mo svga? 'Are you coming?'

hv'vn 'Yes.'

hala'/take' 'No.'

14.2. Wh-Questions

Below are wh-words in Lamaholot.

what	a/a'a
who	hege
where/which	ga'e
when (past)	vrvn pwwia
when (future)	vrvn pira/vrvn pia/vrvn pia wia/vrvn pria
what time	jam pira
whose N	hege N-nvn/ka or N hege na'en/ra'en
how	(nv)nvn ga'e/ nvnvn gvnai
how many/much	pira
why	dari a (lit. from what) / pukvn a (what stem)

We divide the above wh-words into several groups and discuss them in turn.

14.2.1. General Properties of Wh-Questions and Subject and Object Questions

First we discuss questions of subjects and objects. This subsection also presents general properties of wh-questions that basically applies to other types of wh-questions.

The most salient feature of wh-questions in Lamaholot is that there are three strategies in forming wh-questions. They are (i) wh-word in the original position, (ii) focus fronting, and (iii) clefting. Thus, 'What did he eat?' can be expressed as follows.

na gan a? 'He ate what?'

he eat what

a na gan? 'What, he ate?'

a yang na gan? 'What is it that he ate?'

what that he ate

These are object questions. In the first sentence, the wh-word is in the original object position. In the second, on the other hand, the wh-word is fronted. The third is similar to the second, except that the cleft marker *yang* appears additionally. Instead of *a*, *a'a* can also be used. Likewise, *hege* 'who' can be reduplicated. When the subject or the object is a human, the question is as follows.

hege (yang) biho pi rvma'an? 'Who will cook tonight?'

who that cook at night

Bala bvrin hege? 'Who did Bala hit?'

B. hit who

hege (yang) Bala bvrin 'Who did Bala hit?'

a/a'a and *hege* can be used to modify a noun, corresponding to English 'which'.

a wua'an mo gon? 'Which fruit did you eat?'

what fruit you eat

inamvlake hege yang mo bvrin 'Which man did you hit?'

man who that you hit

Fruits in general require *a* to indicate the general reference in non-interrogative sentences, but *a* denotes indefiniteness in the first sentence. For humans *a* cannot be used for 'which', but *ga'e* 'where' can be used instead of *hege* for this meaning. For inanimate objects, *ga'e* only means 'where'. So *a wua'an ga'e mo gon* means 'Where was the fruit that you ate?' It is often observed in languages with agreement (e.g., in Chamorro) that wh-questions have different sets of agreement. But this is not the case in Lamaholot.

ana' inamvlake ga'e yang n-enun?

child man which that 3sg-drink

'Which boy drank?'

Ana' inamvlake-inamvlake ga'e yang r-enun?
child man-Red which that 3sg-drink
'Which boys drank?'

ana' inamvlake ga'e yang mo marin (na) n-enun?
child man which that you say he 3sg-drink
'Which boy did you say drank?'

ana' inamvlake-inamvlake ga'e yang mo marin (ra) r-enun?
child man-Red which that you say they 3pl-drink
'Which boys did you say drank?'

Whether the *wh*-word is from the matrix sentence or the embedded sentence, it triggers ordinary agreement on the verb. The last two sentences contain a resumptive pronoun, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

14.2.2. Locative and Temporal Questions

The *wh*-word for the locative is *ga'e*.

ra r-a'i-ka ga'e? Where do they go?
they 3pl-go-3pl where

ga'e ra r-a'i-ka? Where do they go?

There are two *wh*-words for the temporal expressions. *vrvn pvwia* is used for the past, and *vrvn pira* for the future.

mo svga vrvn pvwia? When did you come?

ra svga vrvn pira? When will they come?

Although *wia* means 'yesterday' and *pira* means 'how many/much', *vrvn pvwia* and *vrvn pira* seem to be a fixed phrase and not to be decomposed further. To ask about the time of a habitual activity, *jam pira* 'what time' is used.

mo turu-ko jam pira 'What time/when do you go to bed?'
you sleep-2sg o'clock how.much

The answer to the above question can of course be *jam pulo* '10 o'clock,' but is not limited to a clock time but can be broader, as *rvma tukan* 'night middle (midnight).' Thus, the following

conversation is natural.

jam pira mo belajar 'When do you study?'

go belajar pe gvhlv'n 'I study in the morning.'
I study in morning

yang cannot be used for locative and temporal questions.

14.2.3. Manner, Degree, and Reason Questions

The manner question word 'how' is expressed by *nvvnv ga'e*. *ga'e* itself is 'where' but *nvvnv ga'e* jointly means 'how'.

nvvnv ga'e mo biho a'a pi'in 'How do you cook this food?'
how you cook thing this

An alternative expression for 'how' is *nvvnv gvmai*. Sometimes *nvvnv ga'e* shows agreement with the subject.

tite t-a'an t-vnv ga'e? 'What shoule we do?'
1pl.in 1pl.in-make 1pl.in-how

nvvnv ga'e can also be a greeting expression.

nvvnv ga'e? 'How are you?'
vre'en 'Fine.'

Indonesian *keadaan* 'situation' can also be used for 'How are you?', as *nvvnv ga'e keadaan?* The degree 'how (many/much)' is expressed by *pira*. There are several ways to express 'how old are you' and 'how much is this car'.

sun pira kae mo 'How old are you?'
year how.much already you

(mo) sun-ko pira kae 'How old are you?'
you year-2sg how.much already

sun mo'en pira kae 'How old are you?'
year your how.much already

hope pira oto pi'in 'How much is this car?'
price how.much car this

hope m-a'an pira oto pi'in 'How much is this car?
buy 2sg-make how.much car this

oto pi'in welin(-vn) pira 'How much is this car?
car this expensive-def how.much

mo hi'in ia'-ko tvpihin lvron pira
you will stay-2sg here day how.many
'How many days will you stay here?'

hope 'buy' in the fourth sentence is used as a noun, and it can be replaced by Indonesian *harga* 'price'. In the fifth sentence, the second singular marker refers to the purchaser.

The degree can be asked by nominalizing the adjective. Recall from section 3.2 that adjectives can be nominalized by adding a suffix or a genitive pronoun. When nominalization happens, *nvvn ga'e* is used for a degree question.

bvlola-nvn nvvn ga'e? 'How tall is he?'
tall-3sg how

man mo'en doan na'en nvvn ga'e dari tvpihin
field your far its how from here
'How far is your rice field from here? (lit. your field, its farness is how far from here?)'

In the second sentence, *dua* can replace *nvvn*. *dua ga'e* can also be used for asking locations. Reason question 'why' is as follows.

na tanin dari a? 'Why is he crying?'
he cry from what

dari a literally means 'from what'. *dari* can be replaced by *pukvn* 'reason, tree stem'. *dari a* can be fronted to yield *dari a na tanin*, or only *a* can be fronted, as in *a na tannin dari*. Another way of asking for a reason is using a causative.

a na'an na tani 'What made him cry?'
what make him cry

14.2.4. Possessive Questions

Recall that possessor can be expressed either by a suffix or by a genitive pronoun. Since they have singular/ plural distinction, there are four ways to express 'Whose house is this?'

lango hege na'en pi'in? 'Whose house is this?'
house who his this

hege lango-nvn pi'in? 'Whose house is this?'
who house-3sg this

lango' hege ra'en pi'in? 'Whose house is this?'
house who their this

hege lango-ka pi'in? 'Whose house is this?'
who house-3pl this

The first two sentences presupposes that the house belongs to a single person, and the last two that it belong to several people. Note that the English translation cannot make such a distinction. Related expressions are as follows.

hege na'en lango pi'in? 'Whose is this house?'
who his house this

lango pi'in Bala na'en 'This house is Bala's'

Here, the demonstrative *pi'in* is not a pronoun but modifies the noun *lango*.

14.3. Embedded Questions

Just like matrix questions we have seen so far, embedded questions have a choice of moving a wh-word or leaving it in the original position.

go k-o'i hala' a yang na gang 'I don't know what he ate.'
I 1sg-know not what that he eat

go k-o'i hala' na gang a 'I don't know what he ate.'

When *pikir* 'think' take an embedded sentence containing a wh-word, the meaning is either a matrix wh-question or a yes-no question with an indefinite pronoun.

mo pikir hege yang svga
you think who that come

'Who do you think will come?' (matrix wh-question, with a flat intonation)

'Are you thinking about someone who will come?' (yes-no question, with a rising intonation)

The second interpretation is due to the fact (noted in section 3.3) that *hege* 'who' can also

function as an indefinite pronoun. The sentence does not mean the statement 'You think someone will come.' The sentence usually does not have the embedded question meaning 'You wonder who came,' either, although this interpretation sometimes seems to be possible. The notion of 'wonder' is paraphrased by 'want to know,' as follows.

ono go'en (hi'in) k-oi hege yang svgá 'I want to know who came.'
 inside my want 1sg-know who that come

If the embedded question is a yes-no question 'whether', *le take* 'or not' is used.

ono tite'en hi'in t-oi na biho wata le take'
 inside our want 1pl.in-know he cook rice or not.'
 'We want to know whether he cooked rice or not.'

go pikir na gang le take 'I wonder whether they ate or not.'
 I think he eat or not

Note that in the last sentence, *pikir* can be used for an embedded question.

Chapter 15

Resumptive Pronouns and Constraints on Dislocated Sentences

We have seen several types of sentences where part of the sentence is dislocated from its ordinary position and there is a gap in the original position. Such sentences include relative clauses, clefts, focus fronting, wh-questions. Let us call these sentences "dislocated sentences." When the sentence contains certain kinds of embedded sentences, formation of dislocated sentences requires some complications. When there is a constraint on forming a dislocated sentence, it is often the case that a pronoun *na* or *ra* emerges in the position where the dislocated phrase originally occupied. Such pronouns are called resumptive pronouns. Depending on the structure of the sentence, resumptive pronouns are obligatory, optional, or prohibited. This chapter discusses the property of resumptive pronouns in relation to constraints on dislocated sentences. Following conventions are used in this chapter.

(X): X is optional (i.e., one can have X, but does not have to).

*(X): X is obligatory (i.e., one must have X).

(*X): X is prohibited (i.e., one cannot have X).

15.1. Resumptive Pronouns

We first overview the general properties of resumptive pronouns based on other unrelated languages, and then see how Lamaholot conforms to such properties.

The first property of resumptive pronouns is the *highest subject restriction* (McCloskey 1990: 210), which prohibits a resumptive pronoun in the matrix subject position but allows it in the object and the embedded subject positions. This is observed in Irish (McCloskey 1990), Hebrew and Northern Palestinian Arabic (Shlonsky 1992). The following sentences show that this also holds in Lamaholot resumptive pronouns.

Bala yang (*na) bvrin go 'It is Bala that hit me.'
 B. that he hit me

Bala yang go persaya (na) bvrin go 'It is Bala that I believe hit me.'
 B. that I believe he hit me

Bala, go bvrin (na) 'Bala, I hit (him).'
 B. I hit him

Bala yang go bvrin (na) 'It is Bala that I hit (him).'
 B. that I hit him

In the first sentence, the subject is dislocated from the matrix subject, and in the second it is from the embedded subject. Only in the second does the resumptive pronoun appear. The third and

fourth sentences involve focus fronting and clefting with dislocated object, and the resumptive pronoun is possible in both cases. Some speakers prefer the clitic *ro* to *na* in the last two sentences. When the matrix object is inanimate, resumptive pronouns are not possible.

wata, na biho (*na) 'Rice, he cooked (it).'
rice he cook it

wata yang na biho (*na) 'It is rice that he cooked (it).'
rice that he cook it

This is related to the fact that the pronoun *na* is usually limited to animates. We will see below that despite this restriction, a resumptive pronoun sometimes appears when an inanimate thing is dislocated from the embedded object position. The following is an exception to the highest subject restriction.

?Bala, na bvrin go 'Bala, he hit me.'
B. he hit me

This is a focus fronting sentence and the matrix subject is dislocated. Unlike what we saw above for a cleft sentence with a dislocated subject, resumptive pronoun emerges here. But for some speakers, the sentence is not a topicalization, and *Bala* is vocative (*Hey, Bala!*) and *na* does not refer to Bala.

It is often claimed (at least for Hebrew, but apparently not for Irish) that resumptive pronouns can appear in a *wh*-question only if the *wh*-word is 'which' (Sharvit (1999: 591)). This is the case in Lamaholot as well.

hege yang Bala bvrin (*na) 'Who did Bala hit?'
who that B. hit him

inamvlake ga'e yang Bala bvrin (na) 'Which man did Bala hit?'
man which that B. hit him

hege 'who' does not allow resumption, while *inamvlake ga'e* 'which man' does. (Some speakers can use *ro* for *na* in the first sentence.) When the resumptive pronoun appears in the second sentence, it is usually accompanied by a demonstrative *me'en* 'that'. When the 'which' word is the subject, a resumptive pronoun appears when it originates in the embedded sentence, but not in the matrix sentence.

ana' inamvlake ga'e yang (*na) n-enun? 'Which boy drank?'
child man which that he 3sg-drink

ana' inamvlake ga'e yang mo marin (na) n-enun? 'Which boy did you say (he) drank?'

child man which that you say he 3sg-drink

The first sentence is a simple sentence, and the second involves an embedded sentence. Only in the second sentence does a resumptive emerge. Resumptive pronouns can be sensitive to the plurality of the fronted element.

ana' inamvlake-inamvlake ga'e yang mo marin (ra) r-enun?
child man-Red which that you say they 3pl-drink
'Which boys did you say drank?'

Here, the 'which' word is plural, and the resumptive pronoun is *ra*, the third plural. The indirect object of a ditransitive verb can also have a resumptive pronoun.

inawae me'envn, go nein (na) bunga tov
woman the I give (her) flower a
'The girl, I give (her) a flower.'

inawae yang go nein (na) bunga me'envn bvlola
woman that I give (her) flower the tall
'The woman who I gave the flower (to) was tall.'

hege yang mio nein (na) bunga me'envn?
who that you give (her) flower the
'Who did you give the flower (to)?'

The indirect objects in the above sentences are recipients. When the indirect object is benefactive, resumption is obligatory.

inamvlake me'en, go biho *(ro) wata
man the I cook (him) rice
'The man, I cook (him) rice.'

In the above sentence, the object clitic *ro* must be used, rather than the pronominal *na*. When the indirect object is a preposition phrase, resumption is again obligatory.

inawae me'en, go nein bunga to'u [pe *(na)]
woman the I give flower a to (her)
'The woman, I give a flower to (her).'

inawae me'en, go nein [pe *(na)] bunga to'u

The above sentences use *pe* 'to', and the resumptive pronoun is obligatory, whether the preposition phrase (indicated by brackets) is before or after the direct object. A similar constraint

is observed in Hebrew (Sharvit 1999: 590). When the preposition is *nein* 'for', the situation is a little different.

inamvlake me'en, go biho wata [nein (na)]
 man the I cook rice for (him)
 'The man, I cook rice for him.'

inamvlake me'en, go biho [nein *(na)] wata

In the second sentence, the preposition phrase is before the direct object and resumption is obligatory, just like the case with *pe* 'to'. But in the first sentence, the preposition phrase is after the direct, and resumption is optional. This is related to the fact that *nein* also functions as a verb 'give' in other contexts. Probably in the first sentence, *biho wata nein* as a whole is functioning as a verb, making the sentence a simple transitive sentence and making the resumption optional.

We saw in section 12.3 that a complex sentence with 'seem' involve a resumptive pronoun.

dos pe'en tvngv-na hama na ba'a 'The box looks as if it is heavy.'
 box the see-3sg same it heavy

Also, as we saw in section 5.1, resumptive pronouns appear in some possessive constructions involving a numeral. Below is one more example of a resumptive pronoun in a possessive construction.

*lango mi'invn ra'en me'envn
 *lango mi'invn ra me'envn'en
 lango mi'invn ra me'envn ra'en 'this house of theirs who are over there'

The example describes a situation where the house (*lango*) is close by and should be modified by *mi'invn* 'this,' and the owner *ra* 'they' is over there and should be modified by *me'envn* 'that.' 'they over there' is *ra me'envn*, and the first and the second example shows that the genitive marker *-en* can attach neither to *ra* in the middle nor to *me'en* (i.e., *[*ra-en me'envn*], *[*ra me'envn-en*]). So *-en* has nothing to attach to ([*ra me'envn*] ??-*'en*). To rescue this unhosted genitive marker, a resumptive pronoun emerges, as in the third example.

15.2. Constraints on Wh-Questions and Dislocation

In this section we discuss constraints on wh-questions and dislocation on several complex sentences.

15.2.1. Dislocation from Complement Clauses

We first discuss what elements can be dislocated from an embedded clause. The following

illustrate dislocation of the embedded object for focus fronting and wh-questions.

bunga me'en, go bain marin Bala nein pe inawae me'envn
 flower the I hear that B. give to girl the
 'The flower, I heard that Bala gave to the girl.'

a kae ka yang mo bain marin Bala nein pe inawae me'envn
 what emphatic that you hear that B. give to girl the
 'What did you hear that Bala gave to the girl?'

In neither of the sentence can a resumptive pronoun be used, since the dislocated element is inanimate. When the animate indirect object is dislocated, the resumptive pronoun is optional.

hege kae ka yang mo bain Bala nein (na) bunga to'u
 who already emph that you hear B. give her flower one
 'Who did you hear that Bala gave (her) a flower to?'

The recipient can be dislocated with a preposition.

pe hege yang mo bain Bala nein bunga to'u?
 to who that you hear B. give flower one
 'To whom did you hear Bala gave a flower?'

15.2.2. Dislocation from Appositive Clauses

It has long been observed that in English, dislocation of a wh-word from a complement clause is possible, but not from a relative clause or an appositive clause (as in *the story that...*).

Who did you hear [that he gave a flower to__]?
 *Who did you hear the story [that he gave a flower to __]?

The original position of the wh-word is indicated by underlining. In the first sentence, the embedded clause (indicated by brackets) is a complement and dislocation is possible. In the second sentence, on the other hand, the embedded sentence is an appositive and dislocation is prohibited. Let us see how or whether such a difference is obtained in Lamaholot. The following sentences show that when the wh-word is not dislocated, embedded question in the appositive clause is possible.

mo bain cerita (marin) hege nein bunga to'u pe inawae me'envn?
 you hear story that who give flower one to girl the
 'You heard the story that who gave a flower to the girl?'

mo bain cerita (marin) Bala nein a'a pe inawae me'envn?

you hear story that B. give what to girl the
'You heard the story that Bala gave what to the girl?'

mo bain cerita (marin) Bala nein bunga to'u pe hege?
you hear story that B. give flower a to who
'You heard the story that Bala gave a flower to who?'

mo bain cerita (marin) Bala nein hege bunga to'u?
you hear story that B. give who flower a
'You heard the story that Bala gave who a flower?'

In the above sentences, either the subject, the direct object, or the indirect object is questioned in its ordinary (non-dislocated) position, and the sentences are grammatical. The following show that dislocation of the *wh*-word is more restricted for some speakers.

hege yang mo bain cerita nein bunga to'u pe inawae me'envn?
who that you hear story give flower one to girl the
'Who did you hear the story __ gave a flower to the girl?'

?hege yang mo bain cerita marin nein bunga to'u pe inawae me'envn?
who that you hear story that give flower one to girl the
'Who did you hear the story that __ gave a flower to the girl?'

?a'a yang mo bain cerita Bala nein pe inawae me'envn?
what that you hear story B. give to girl the
'What did you hear the story that Bala gave __ to the girl?'

The first sentence shows that dislocation of the subject *wh*-word is possible. The second sentence is minimally different from the first in that it contains *marin* 'that', and the sentence is degraded for some speakers. The third sentence shows that dislocation of the direct object *wh*-word is marginal for some speakers. The contrast between the first and the third sentence is reminiscent of Keenan and Comrie's (1977) Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy, which says that (in Western Malayo-Polynesian languages like Indonesian) subjects are easier than object to dislocate. Probably the contrast is a reflex of the syntax of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (or Proto-Austronesian). Another possibility is that the contrast is due to the influence of Indonesian.

The dislocation of the recipient *wh*-word is also restricted.

*hege yang mo bain cerita Bala nein bunga to'u pe?
who that you hear story B. give flower one to
'Who did you hear the story that Bala gave a flower to __?'

?hege yang mo bain cerita Bala nein bunga to'u?

who that you hear story B. give flower one
'Who did you hear the story that Bala gave __ a flower?'

Whether the recipient is accompanied by the preposition *pe* or not, the sentence is less than perfect. (Some speakers accept the second sentence.) There are two ways out.

pe hege yang mo bain cerita Bala nein bunga to'u?
to who that you hear story B. give flower one
'To whom did you hear the story that Bala gave a flower?'

hege yang mo bain cerita Bala nein na bunga to'u?
who that you hear story B. give her flower one
'Who did you hear the story that Bala gave her a flower?'

In the first sentence, the preposition *pe* is also moved along with the *wh*-word. In the second sentence, a resumptive pronoun appears in the original position of the *wh*-word. Both sentences are grammatical.

15.2.3. Interpretation of 'why'

'why' often induces ambiguity in meaning. Consider the following English conversation.

Why do you think he is crying?

Because I hear his voice. (matrix interpretation)
Because Bala hit him. (embedded interpretation)

The first answer is the reason for my thinking, and the second is the reason for his crying. That is, the first is matrix interpretation and the second embedded interpretation. The followings are the Lamaholot counterparts.

mo pikir na tanin dari a? 'Why do you think he is crying?'
you think he cry from what

(dari) Bala bvrin na 'Because Bala hit him.'
because B. hit him (embedded interpretation)

*(dari) go bain ran na'en 'Because I hear his voice.'
because I hear voice his (matrix interpretation)

The first answer, the embedded interpretation, is possible, while the second answer, the matrix interpretation, is impossible. In the question (the first sentence), *dari a* 'why' is at the end. There are two other possible positions for *dari a*.

mo pikir dari a na tanin? 'Why do you think he is crying?'
(only the embedded interpretation)

dari a mo pikir na tanin? 'Why do you think he is crying?'
(both matrix and embedded interpretations possible)

The first sentence contains *dari a* after the matrix verb *pikir* 'think', and the second has it at the beginning. While the first sentence allows only the embedded interpretation, the second sentence allows both the matrix and embedded interpretations. Thus, *dari go bain ran na'en* 'Because I hear his voice' can be an answer to the second question but not to the first.

15.2.4. Matrix/Embedded Ambiguity

The following sentence has two interpretations.

mo m-oi hege yang svga?
you 2sg-know who that come

'Do you know who came?' (embedded question)
'Who do you know came?' (matrix question)

The first interpretation 'Do you know who came?' is an embedded question and is obtained with stress on *svga*. The answer can be *hv 'vn* 'Yes.' The second interpretation 'Who do you know (or think) came?' is a matrix question and is obtained with stress on *hege*. The answer can be *Bala*. When *yang* is dropped, only the matrix question is possible for some speakers.

mo moi hege svga? 'Who do you think came?'
'??Do you know who came?'

Such speakers cannot answer *hv 'vn* 'Yes' to the question above. In the following as well, only the matrix question is available for some speakers.

mo bain hege yang nein bunga to'u pe inawae me'en?
you hear who that give flower one to girl the

'Who did you hear gave a flower to the girl?'
'??Did you hear who gave a flower to the girl?'

Again there are speaker variations and some speakers accept the second interpretation as well. The situation with *pikir* 'think' is a little different.

mo pikir hege yang svga

'Who do you think will come?' (matrix question)
'You think some one will come.' (statement)

Since *hege* can also be an indefinite pronoun (cf. section 3.3), the sentence can be a statement as well as the matrix question. This statement meaning is not possible for sentence with *moi* 'know' as we saw above. The above sentence cannot be an embedded question. The meanings remain the same if *yang* is dropped.

15.2.5. Wh-Words in Reason Clause and Conjunction

It is often observed in the literature of syntax that a wh-word cannot stay in a clause expressing a reason. But this restriction does not apply in Lamaholot.

mo persaya Bala ale-nvn bvlara dari na bu'a a?
you believe B. belly-3sg pain because he ate what
'You believe Bala has a stomachache because he ate what?'

The answer to this question can be as follows.

go persaya Bala ale-nvn bvlala dari na bu'a wata kvluo'on.
'I believe Bala has a stomachache because he ate old rice.'

a can move neither to the beginning of the embedded sentence nor to the beginning of the matrix sentence.

*mo persaya a (yang) Bala alenvn bvlara dari na bu'a?
*a (yang) mo persaya Bala ale-nvn bvlara dari na bu'a?

It has also been long observed that one cannot ask only one conjunct out of conjoined noun phrases, as in English **What did you buy a book and ___*?. The following is the Lamaholot counterpart.

Bala hope buku no'on a 'Bala bought book and what?'
B. buy book and what

Buku no'on a (yang) Bala hope 'Book and what, Bala bought?'

As long as the wh-word stays in the original position, as in the first sentence, or the whole conjunct is fronted, as in the second, the sentence is grammatical.

Chapter 16
Reflexives and Coreferentiality

When two nouns or pronouns refer to the same entity, they are said to be coreferential. In particular, when the subject and the object refer to the same thing, the object is called a reflexive, expressed by *-self* in English. This section discusses reflexives and coreferentiality. One expression for reflexive in Lamaholot is *wvki(n)(vn)*.

na bvrin wvkin na'en 'He hit himself.'
he hit self his

go suka wvki-kvn 'I like myself.' or 'I like my body.'
I like self-1sg

wvki originally means 'body', and appears either with a suffix or with nasal *n* (and sometimes plus *-vn*). It required the nasal when used as an independent word (e.g., followed by a genitive pronoun, as in the first sentence). When the verb denotes a physical activity like 'hit', 'to hit one's body' is equivalent to a reflexive meaning of 'to hit oneself,' hence the translation of the first sentence. *wvki* cannot be a reflexive pronoun and can only mean body when it is followed by a genitive. Thus, while 'hit' the first sentence above can take either *wvkin na'en* or *wvki-na*, 'like' in the second sentence can take only *wvki-kvn* as a reflexive pronoun. *go suka wvkin go'en* only means 'I like my body.'

Some verbs require *wvki* as the object. For example, *lvba* takes *wvkin* plus genitive to mean 'to bend down (oneself)' (intransitive) or 'to bend down someone' (transitive). The reflexive meaning can also be expressed by *nimo*.

na nimo-na bvrin 'He hit himself.' or 'He himself hit someone.'
he self-3sg hit

*na bvrin nimo-na

The suffix on *nimo* can be left out and *nimo* should be placed before the verb. *nimo* also has an adverbial (emphatic) meaning, as the second translation of the first sentence shows. Another adverbial meaning is observed as follows.

nimo-ka r-odi gere orin puna'an
alone-3pl 3pl-will up granary full/whole
'(paddy) will fill the granary by itself.'

The distinction between *wvki* and *nimo* is roughly that *wvki* is for physical activities and *nimo* requires something more abstract. So with 'hit', *wvki* is preferred and *nimo* is sometimes rejected. But the distinction is not absolute and *nimo* can sometimes be used with a physical activity, and

wvki can also be used for a mental state.

When the subject is plural, *nimo* cannot be used and *wvki* is required for a reflexive meaning, even if the verb is a mental state.

ra bvrin wvki-ka 'They hate each other/themselves.'
they hate self-3pl

ra nimo-ka benci 'They themselves hate something.'

We saw above that with *na* 'he', *nimo* can be used either reflexively or emphatically. But the second sentence cannot mean 'They hate themselves.' This is because a plural subject requires *wvki* for a reflexive meaning. As mentioned above, *ra benci wvkin ra'en* (with a genitive) cannot mean 'They hate each other/themselves,' but only means 'They hate their bodies.' Below are sentences with a verb which has a reflexive interpretation even without a reflexive word.

go nimo-kvn loge-kvn 'I dress myself.'
I self-1sg dress-1sg

?go loge-kvn nimo-kvn 'I dress myself.'

Due to its inherent reflexive meaning of *loge* 'dress', the above sentence can have the same meaning without *nimo*. Unlike with *bvrin* 'hit' we saw above, *nimo* can follow the verb in the above sentence (for some speakers). The sentences cannot mean 'I myself dressed someone.' This is because of the inherent reflexive meaning of *loge*, which requires an overt object for the transitive usage. The same point was discussed in section 9.1. Depending on the verb, *nimo* sometimes carries a meaning not easily predictable.

go suka nimo-kvn 'I like to be alone.' or 'I like to do it by myself.'
I like self-1sg

go nimo-kvn suka 'I myself like it.'
I self-1sg like

'I like myself' would be *go suka go* 'I like me.' When *nimo*, *wvki*, and pronouns are in the embedded clause, the interpretations are different.

Bala persaya Lado nimo-na bvrin 'Bala believes Lado hit himself.'
B. believe L. self-3sg hit (Lado hit Lado.)

Bala persaya Lado bvrin wvki-nvn 'Bala believes Lado hit himself.'
B. believe L. hit body-3sg (Lado hit Lado.)

Bala persaya Lado bvrin wvkin na'en 'Bala believes Lado hit his body.'
 B. believe L. hit body his (Lado hit Bala, Lado, or someone else.)

Bala persaya Lado bvrin na 'Bala believes Lado hit him.'
 B. believe L. hit him (Lado hit Bala or someone else.)

nimo and *wvki*-suffix require the closest subject (*Lado*) as the antecedent (associate). *wvkin* plus a genitive is more liberal and can take either of the subject (or someone else understood in the discourse) as the antecedent. This contrast indicates that *wvki* is more likely to function as a reflexive with a suffix, and more likely to mean 'body' with a genitive. In the fourth sentence, the pronoun *na* cannot have *Lado* as the antecedent.

nimo can be used in possessive constructions. 'his own picture' is *gambar nomo-nvn* 'picture self-3sg' or *gambar nimo na'en* 'picture self his'. Note also the meaning difference as in the following examples.

Bala persaya Lado suka gambar nimo na'en
 B. believe L. like picture self his
 'Bala believes Lado likes his own picture/a picture of himself.'

Bala persaya Lado suka gambar na'en
 B. believe L. like picture his
 'Bala believes Lado likes his picture/a picture of him.'

The two sentences are minimally different in that the first sentence contains *nimo*. In the first sentence, the picture is only Lado's. The interpretation is the same with *nimo-nvn*. In the second sentence, on the other hand, the picture can be Lado's, Bala's, or someone else's. In both sentences, the picture can be the one in which he appears, or the one which he owns, took, or drew. The two sentences also mean 'like to draw/take picture of him(self)'. Another difference between sentences with *nimo* and those without it is as follows.

Bala persaya na svnan tvgvn 'Bala believes he is very happy.'
 B. believe he happy very

Bala persaya na nimo-na svnan tvgvn 'Bala believes he himself is very happy.'

In the first sentence, *na* refers to Bala or someone else, and for some speakers only someone else. In the second, *na* only refers to Bala. *nimo-na* cannot be replaced by *wvkin-nun* 'body-3sg'. Coreferentiality sometimes gives a clue to the structure of the sentence. Consider the following contrast.

Bala persaya Lado kvrian pe lango na'en
 B. believe L. work in house his

'Bala believes Lado works in his (Bala's or Lado's) house.'

Bala Ivta Lado kvrian pe lango na'en
 B. ask L. work in house his
 'Bala asked Lado to work in his (Bala's) house.'

The first sentence uses *persaya* 'believe' as the matrix verb, and the house is Bala's or Lado's (or someone else's). The second sentence uses *lvta* 'ask' as the matrix verb, and the house is Bala's (or someone else's), but crucially not Lado's. The difference can be accounted for by assuming that *Lado* is the subject of *kvruan* in the first sentence but the object of *lvta* in the second sentence. Perhaps *na'en* can have only the subject as its antecedent (associate). (If there is an invisible subject for *kvrian* in the second sentence, it cannot be the antecedent, either.) Another verb which behaves like *persaya* above is *tvngv* 'see'. Other verbs which behave like *lvta* include *-a'an* 'make', *gahin* and *huya* 'order', *papa* 'persuade', and *marin* 'tell'. If *na'en* is replaced by *nimo na'en*, the house is only Lado's, regardless the choice of the matrix verb. The following sentence brings some complication.

Bala gehi'-na marin Lado kvrian pe lango na'en
 B. not.want.-3sg that L. work in house his
 'Bala does not want Lado to work in his (Bala's) house.'

Here, the house is Bala's, not Lado's. This interpretation is like *lvta* 'ask' above, and one might say that *Lado* is the object. But the presence of *marin* 'that' suggests that *Lado* is the subject. Still, *Lado* cannot be the antecedent of *na'en*. Thus it seems that not all subjects can be the antecedent of *na'en*. As a mirror image, there are cases where *na'en* can have the antecedent in the object.

Bala tvngv Lado pe lango na'en 'Bala saw Lado in his (Bala's or Lado's) house.'
 B. see L. in house his

Bala tvngv Lado pe lango na'en nimo 'Bala saw Lado in his (Lado's) house.'

In the first sentence, *na'en* can have *Lado* as its antecedent. When *nimo* is added as in the second sentence, only *Lado* can be the antecedent. It seems that *nimo* requires the closest element (regardless of whether it is a subject or not) as its antecedent. *nimo* can be fronted for focus, but cannot be clefted.

nimo-na, Bala bvrin 'Himself, Bala hit.'
 *nimo-na yang Bala bvrin 'It is himself that Bala hit.'

There is a case where *na'en* and *nimo na'en* have the same interpretation.

Bala tutu Lado cerita na'en 'Bala told his (B's) story.'
 B. tell L. story his

Bala tutu Lado cerita nimo na'en 'Bala told his (B's) story.'

Regardless of the presence of *nimo*, the story is Bala's (the subject). This might be related to the fact that *cerita* is an argument of the verb *tutu*.

Part IV Texts

There is an audio file for each text. The third text involves children, an indication that Lamaholot will be inherited to the next generation.

1. Tonu Wuyo (The Origin of Paddy)

nolo pe tite pi'in tvkan wata t-enun wai hala'
past that 1pl.in this 1pl.in.eat rice 1pl.in-drink water not
In the past time we didn't eat rice and drink water.

v'vkv bine to'u na'an vtv pito, ola man
well sister one brother people seven farm field
One day, a girl with seven brothers decided to cultivate.

ola man kvdin, na hoyan tine
farm field then, she ask slash
She asked her brother to cut down trees.

tine kvdin ra marin "ke svru t-a'an a
slash then they say well burn 1pl.in.made what
After cutting all the trees they said, "How can we burn them?"

vre'en kia go k-odi gahin svru
good later I 1.sg-will ask burn
"OK. Later I'll ask you to burn them."

ola tine waha kvdin, a wulan vkv pito kvdin ra marin vkv
farm slash finish then, what month what seven then they say what
tite kae pi svru papin
1pl.in already this burn burn
When the trees were ready seven months later, they said, "It's time for us to burn them."

pe kvdin pana hope kvloba, kewo, kvnehe', nvlv pana svru papin, pau pota
that then go buy octopus eel scraper so go burn burn, feed fill
Then they bought octopus, eel and a scraper for burning.

ke kvnehe t-a'an a?
well scraper 1pl.in.-make what
"What is the scraper for?" They asked.

kvnehe peme'en lvka au, muan rona lvka kvdin gui mae

scraper that split bamboo, once 3sg split then scrape fibre
 kvdin tekilen kvdin rae mio gui waha kvdin svru
 then insert then mountain.direction 2pl scrape finish then burn
 na mori kvdin svru
 3sg live/flare then burn
 She said, "The scraper is for splitting bamboo. It can cut once. After that, scrape bamboo's
 fiber and burn it."

gen wua malu kia no'on uwe
 eat.2pl betel vine later and potato
 However, eat betel vine and sweet potato first."

kvdin svru
 then burn
 Then they burnt.

svru wahak kvdin wvli wulan tite hi'in hikak taruk kvdin
 burn finish then horizontal.direction month 1pl.in want plant ? then
 ra marin wulan gitan kae, hikak kae pi
 they say moon sickle already plant already this
 After burning, the time for planting came. They said, "We want to plant. The time is ripe for
 planting."

tite t-a'an t-vnvn ga'e? t-a'an a hikak pi'in?
 1pl.in 1pl.in-make 1pl.in-how 1pl.in-make what plant this
 However, what should we do? What should we plant?"

kvdin na gahin rae mio m-vwan no'on kukun to'u
 then she ask mountain.direction 2pl 2pl-pick with kukun one
 kvdin no'on wato
 then with stone
 Then she said, "Go to the field, cut a kukun tree and collect some stones (for the altar)."

kvdin mio m-vwan kebo uman kobo tvti kotvn kvdin mula kayo kukun peme'en
 then 2pl 2pl-pick palm hole cover up head then plant wood kukun the
 Then get kebo uman to cover top of the kukun."

kvdin t-a'ang t-vnvn ga'e?
 then 1pl.in-make 1pl.in-how
 "Then what should we do?" They asked her.

t-a'i-te rae go di t-a'i-te rae
 1pl.in-go-1pl.in mountain.direction I also 1pl.in-go-1pl.in mountain.direction

kia rae go gahin mio
 later mountain.direction I ask 2pl
 "I'll go with you and ask you." She replied.

nolo me'en kvnume di t-a'an wato
 past that chopper also 1pl-make stone
 At that time they used stones as a tool for everything, such as a chopper.

hewo rae kvdin ra tobo
 arrive mountain.direction then they sit
 After arriving in the field, they took some rest.

na giri hvbo abo waha kia hoyan na'an gere tapo, gui, pa'a
 she comb bathe bathe finish later ask brother climb coconut scrape filter
 waha kvdin ohon n-a'an waha,
 finish then shampoo 3sg-make finish
 After bathing, she asked one of his brothers to pick up a coconut, take its milk for her to
 shampoo her hair.

giri hai waha kvdin loge ekan labu, loge liman kala,
 comb ? finish then wear sarong shirt, wear hand bracelet
 antin n-a'an waha
 earring 3sg-make finish
 After bathing, she wore sarong, bracelet and earring.

kvdin na gahin, kia go rae tobo rae herin vra
 then she ask later I mountain.direction sit mountain.direction put seed
 kvdin mio belo go
 then 2pl kill me
 Then she said, "I'll sit on the altar and you kill me."

v'v pi'in a nvlv belo tele mo
 gee this what so.that kill ? 2sg
 "Why should we kill you?" They asked.

belo go nvlv jadi t-a'an tahan wata
 kill me so.that become 1pl.in-make rice maize
 "To get rice as you want." She replied.

pe kvdin tobo
 that then sit
 She went to the altar and sat on it.

na'an pertama odi hi'in belo oh gehi belo hala'
brother first will want kill but not.want kill not
The first brother came and took a chopper and tried to kill her but he couldn't.

v'v pi'in bine-te ge belo
gee this sister-1pl.in ? kill
This is our sister. Why kill her?

na'an kedua hi'in gute kvnume hi'in belo take, bisa hala', gehi
brother second will take chopper want kill no can not not.want
The second brother took a chopper and tried to kill her but he couldn't.

na'an kvtvlo gute kvnume hi'in belo, take hena. kvpak di take
broter third take chopper want kill, no also fourth also not
na'an kvlema take na'an kv nvmun di take
brother fifth no brother sixth also not
The third brother couldn't, either. The fourth couldn't, either. The fifth couldn't, either. The sixth couldn't, either.

kvdin kvpito. tuho wutun bvsin belo
then seventh, breast last just kill
Then the seventh brother, the youngest, killed her.

rona gahin kia, mvta go'en mio pvtv m-a'an waha kvdin
she ask will, meat my 2pl slice 2pl-make finish then
wvrehak man golek
spread field circle
(Before he took the chopper,) she said, "My meat should be sliced and spread all over the field.

tahi go'en kia jadi tvbu lolon, dela
intestine my will become slice.leave above ?
My intestines will become tvbu lolon (sprout?) and dela.

ipv'vng go'en kia jadi wata. rata go'en me'en kia jadi wvtvn
teeth my will become maize hair my that will become millet
mvta go'en jadi tahan
meat my become paddy
My teeth will become maize and my hair will become millet. My meats will become rice (paddy).

nvlv, bvta nvlv wekan mio na'an vtv pito gagu no'on
so tomorrow then divide 2pl brother people seven mix with
ama vtv lema

father people five
So, all of you (seven brothers (and five fathers, no meaning)) can eat from them.

nvkvn n-ian noko pito bvsin mio rae notok
but 3sg-wait night seven just 2pl mountain.direction see
However, you should come here seven days later.

pe kvdin ra pvtv waha kvdin wvrehak man golek
that then they slice finish then spread field circle
Then, they sliced her meat and spread out all over the field.

noko pito dai notok, dai ge tahan gere waha kae, wata di gere,
night seven come look come ? rice up finish already maize also up
wvtvn di gere, dela di gere wata blolon di gere
millet also up, ? also up maize ? also up
Seven days later, they came and saw paddy, maize, millet, dela, and wata blolon had growth all over the field.

nolo pe'en tahan tite gvta hala'. nimo-ka gere
past that rice 1pl.in harvest not alone-3pl up
In the early time, we didn't harvest rice because paddy would fill the granary by itself.

nvkvn dari dela peme'en lein tvnupikvn, gere dan n-ewan hala',
but since Dela that foot pain, up stairway 3sg-can not
opvnlv jadi gvta pe
so.that become harvest that
But since Dela's leg ached, he couldn't climb the ladder, so we had to harvest by ourselves.

nvkvn dela di eka marin lein-vn menesolen, tahan tite gvta hala'
but Dela also not say foot-3sg cripple rice 1pl.in harvest not
nimo-ka r-odi gere orin puna'an
alone-3pl 3pl-will up granary full/whole
If Dela's leg was fine, we would not harvest and the paddy will fill the granary by itself.

2. An autobiography of a native speaker of Lamaholot

naran go'en belaha'an, petrus L. M.
name my long Petrus LM
My full name Petrus L. M. (anonymous).

naran kiwanen L., nvkvn pi lewo ra mayan go piter
name village L. but this village they call me Piter

My given name is L., but here, in this village, they call me Piter.

go sekolah TK sampe SD pi lewo
I school kindergarten till elementary school this village
maso sun 1987 kelas satu tamat tahun 1994
enter year 1987 class one graduate year 1994

I finished my kindergarten and elementary school in this village, entering in 1987 and graduating in 1994.

1994 SMP pe maurole, kabupaten ende
1994 junior.high.school in Maurole regency Ende
In 1994 I went to junior high school in Maurole, Ende Regency.

kvdin tahun 97-98 go sekolah hala', ola man pukvn dari
then year 97-98 I school not farm field because since
doi sekolah amu'un
money school nothing

After graduating, in 1997-1998, I did not continue my study and I worked in the farm because I did not have enough money.

tahun 1999 maso SMEA lali ende kvdin tamat tahun 2001
year 1999 enter senior.high.school below ende then graduate year 2001
In 1999, I went to senior high school in Ende and graduated in 2001.

tamat lali Ende kvdin, ono go'en hi'in hubun sekolah
graduate below Ende then, inside my want continue school
After graduating from high school in Ende, I wanted to continue my study.

nvkvn dari doi amu'un no'on orang tua di tua kae
but since money nothing and people old also old already
kvdin kaka-kaka di no'on keluarga kae
then elder.sibling also have family already
But there was no money, my parents got older, and my older siblings married,

jadi harapan orang tua ra'en pi lango pi'in nvkvn go
so hope people old theirs this house this only I
so my parents' hope was that I stay in their house.

go sun to'u lega pe woho
I year one hanging.out at outside
I was in this village doing nothing for a year.

kvdin kebetulan ra buka kesempatan bua svba vtvdiken kvrian,

then by.chance they open chance little look.for people work
kvdin go di dore k-a'i-kvn lali ruteng k-a'i
then I also follow lsg-go-lsg below Ruteng lsg-go

Then there was an employer looking for employees. I joined them going to Ruteng.

kvdin perusahaan pe'en gvleke pi maumere pe maumere nvkvn sung to'u
then corporate that move at Maumere at Maumere only year one
hena kvdin perusahaan pe'en gvleke muri lau ambon
only then corporate that move again sea.direction Ambon

That corporate then moved to Maumere for a year before moving again to Ambon.

waktu peme'envn go hi'in dore nvkvn dari lau no'on kaco
time that I want follow but since sea.direction have chaos
kvdin go di ia'-kvn.
then I also stay-lsg

I also wanted to move there, but since there was a conflict (between Muslim and Christian) out there, I decided to stay.

kvdin pi pai pi go pi lewo kvrian sebagai pvtani
then this come this I this village work as farmer
ola man mula ekan
farm field plant things
Now, I'm here as a farmer, planting things.

nvkvn selama pi lewo mi'in pikiran go'en hama pasti wati
but during this village this mind my same certain not.yet
dari ono go'en lebih aya' hi'in k-a'i-kvn sekolah muri
since inside my more plenty want lsg-go-lsg school again
However, my mind was not yet (satisfied), since I still wanted to go to school again.

pi pai pi go mete svba laran nvnvn ga'e supaya go bisa
this come this I still look.for way how so I can
k-a'i-kvn sekolah muri atau bisa ai doi
lsg-go-lsg school again or can get money
I'm still looking for a way to continue my study or earn some money (for school).

sekarang mi'in pi lewo go sebagai pvtani kvdin no'on ketua
now this this village I as farmer then and leader
mudika
Catholic.youth.organization
Besides being a farmer, I'm also the leader of a Catholic youth organization in this village.

nvkvn organisasi mudika pi lewo mi'in sulit

but organization youth.organization this village this difficult
But it's hard to organize this youth organization.

susah na'en mungkin dari vtvdiken na'en aya' tvgyra
difficult its maybe because people its many too
The difficulty may be due to too many members.

kvdin no'on masalah pendidikan, karena pendidikan kame'en pi
then and problem education, because education 1pl.ex.poss this
lewo pi'in terbatas tv-aya' peme'en tamatan SD
village this limit more-many that graduate elementary.school
atau DO SD
or drop.out elementary.school
Another problem is education: many of the members are only elementary school graduates or dropouts.

kvdin tentang keadaan kame'en pia lvwo tana
then about circumstance 1pl.ex.poss this village land
About the situation in this village.

keadaan pi lvwo tana pimi'in mi'in tvngv hama lvwo
circumstance this village land this this see same village
mete mvko
become more bad
It looks like the situation in this village is getting worse.

lvwo mete mvko dari kerjasama antara pemerintah desa no'on
village become.more bad since cooperation between government village and
kvropon kvbarvk pe'en amu'un.
male.youth female.youth that nothing
This is because there is no cooperation between the local government and the youth.

yang n-a'an antara pemerintah desa no'on kvropon kvbarvk
that 3sg-make between government village and male.youth female.youth
agak renggang peme'en hanya karena penilaian ortu atau
bit apart that only because judgment parents or
penilaian pemerintah desa terhadap kvropon kvbarvk hanya yang
judgment government village for male.youth female.youth only that
mvko-mvko hena, bohu bvrvn, kvbako, atau tvmaka'
bad-bad only full of food drunk, smoking or stealing
I guess it's because the elder or the local government always blame the youth for committing bad things such as drinking, smoking, and stealing.

nvkvn a yang vrv'vn me ra akui hala'
but what that good that they acknowledge not
But they never acknowledge good things (done by the youth).

harapan kame'en vtv belv'vn hae bisa nein laran nvlv kame
hope 1pl.ex.poss people big some can give path so 1pl.ex
kvre'e yang lali haka mi'in bisa pana dore laran vrv'vn
child that below up this can walk follow path good
I hope the elder can show us good attitudes to follow, so we can walk on the right path.

kvdin mengenai kehidupan ekonomi pi lewo
then about life economic this village
And now, about the economic situation of this village.

kehidupan kame'en pi lewo pi'in pas-pasan
life 1pl.ex.poss this village this just.enough
Our life is so so.

arti na'en kvrian kame'en niko kerian untuk mvkan
mean its work 1pl.ex.poss only work for eat.1pl.ex
That means we only work for food.

untuk marin pupu doi biaya kvre'en sekolah atau rekreasi
for say collect money cost child school or recreation
peme'en kia susah
that will difficult
It might be hard to save money for education or recreation.

penghasilan keme'en me'en me wulan to'u me'en mungkin ribu ratu
income 1pl.ex.poss that that month one that maybe thousand hundred
lema hvwo hala'
five reach not
Our monthly income is probably below Rp.500,000.

penghasilan pokok kame'en pi leworook me'en me kia niko
income main 1pl.ex.poss this Leworook that that will only
ola mang untuk ai taha'an
farm field for get rice
Our main income in Leworook is dry rice from our field.

tahan peme'en me kia kame mvkan niko wulan pak atau lema
rice that that later 1pl.ex eat.1pl.ex only month four or five
However, we only can eat that rice for 4 or 5 months.

setelah peme'en kvdin kame terpaksa mvnv hope, jadi svba doi mungkin
after that then 1pl.ex force by buy so look.for money maybe
 mvkan gaji atau kvmie kopi yang buah-buah me'en kame tiban
eat.1pl.ex salary or kemlandingan coffee that few that 1pl.ex weigh
 untuk ai doi hope tahan
for get money buy rice

For the rest of the year, we have to make money by working for salary or selling our commodity such as kemlandingan coffee so that we could buy rice.

yang jadi kendala kame'en me dari lahan kame'en terbatas
that so obstacle 1pl.ex.poss that since land 1pl.ex.poss limit
The main reason is that we do not have enough land for farming.

kvdin pola pikiran keme'en me'en n-a'an kola n-ai dvra
then model thought 1pl.ex.poss that 3sg-make back 3sg-go still
Moreover, our mind is still past-oriented.

kvdin to'u muri kame pemi'in mori dari adat
then one add 1pl.ex this life from custom
Additionally, we still hold on our custom.

kame pe'en betul-betul terikat no'on adat
1pl.ex that really bound with custom
We are really bound to our custom.

jadi hama kawen-te tvngv hama kawen-te peme'en me'en bebas hala'
so same marriage-1pl.in see same marriage/1pl.in that that free not
For instance, the marriage system. It looks like we have no freedom in marriage.

bebas hala' me'en dari no'on batas na'en
free not that because have limit its
It is not free because it has boundaries.

karena biarpun jodoh hvwo pe kae nvkvn dari adat
since although match arrive that already but since custom
 larane kvdin jadi hala'
path then become not
So, even if we love each other, it won't go through because it could break the custom law.

kalo tite hi'in dore mau tite'en kvdin tite dikuculkan
if 1pl.in want follow desire 1pl.in.poss then 1pl.in expelled
 pe lewo tana

at village land.

If we follow our desire (and thus break law), we could be expelled from the society.

3. Conversation

Among three people (two children Riki and Leki and one adult Nuho)

A. mo m-a'i-ko lau kvdin, mo nange bisa le hala'
you 2sg-go-2sg sea.direction then you swim can or not
You go there and can you swim?

B. bisa pali ke
can ? foc
Yes I can.

A. mo m-a'i-ko berenan lau tahi
you 2sg-go-2sg swim sea.direction sea
You go swimming in the sea.

B. go berenan bisa Leki
I swim can Leki
I can swim, Leki.

C. bisa hala'
can not
You can't.

A. pe tahi lolon di bisa hala' marin
at sea above emphatic can not say
I guess you can't swim in the sea.

B. go nange bisa. go jadi k-a'an burung rvma'an dvra
I swim can I become 1sg-make bird night still
 lau tahi kvdin bvka lau tahi dai
sea.direction sea then fly sea.direction sea come
I can swim. I become a bird in the night at the sea, then fly back.

A. mo nange bisa hala' kae di
you swim can not already emphatic
You can't swim.

B. kae, bisa dvra di

already can still emphatic
I still can swim.

A. mo nange bisa hala'. mo peun kvdin lati wvli
you swim can not you return then practice horizontal.direction
kolam ono'on, wvli wai' ono'on
pool inside horizontal.direction water inside
You can't swim. Go back and practice in the pool, in the water.

B. hala'
no
No.

A. bak belv'vn ono'n me kvdin mo maso wvli
? big inside that then you enter horizontal.direction
kvdin mo nange
then you swim
Get into that big water container and swim.

B. ga'e kvdin louk t-vlv ga'e kvdin
where then get.out 1pl.in-pass where then
How can we get out, then?

A. vv'vn ke, nange kia. nange pe wai' ono me'en kia
yes foc swim first swim at water inside that first
Swim first. Swim in that fresh water first.

B. nange pe tahi kia mesti
swim at sea first must
I must swim in the sea first.

C. nange pe tvla'an kia hi
swim at ford first ?
Swim in the ford sea area first.

B. go bisa, go bisa k-a'i-kvn nange
I can, I can 1sg-go-1sg swim
I can. I can swim

C. eh ga'e keme lvmvk
? where ? sink
You can sink.

A. keme lvmvk weli wai' ono'on a
? sink horizontal.direction water inside what
Sink in the water.

B. lvmvk kvdin lau ikan paus baka, go boan bom lau
sink then sea.direction fish whale bite I throw bomb sea.direction
kvdin go pvlae pe sampan ono'on k-a'i
then I run at boat inside 1sg-go
Sink then whale bite you/me. I bomb it and run into the boat.

kvdin langsung go jadi k-a'an tvmihe, kvdin go bvka pe teti
then directly I become 1sg-make ant then I fly at above
Then I become an ant and fly.

mio m-oi hala' kvdin go gike lima mi'on kvdin
2pl 2pl-know not then I bite hand your then
You don't notice me then I bite your hand.

mio no'on pesawat meha' pvlae kvdin, mio ragu ro kvdin,
2pl and airplane alone run then, 2pl paw it then
You and the airplane fly. Then you paw your hand, then...

C. kvdin a i
then what ?
Then what?

B. kvdin langsung go bvka pe amerika lau
then direct I fly to amerika sea.direction
Then I fly to America.

A. lau kvdin mo i'a-ko lau he, i'a-ko pe amerika muan
sea.direction then 2sg stay-2sg sea.direction ? stay-2sg at amerika once
Then you will stay there, stay in America once.

B. eh nuho men
? Nuho ?
Hi, Nuho.

A. m-a'i-ko sekolah lau. tor-ko le take sekolah lau
2sg-go-2sg school sea.direction agree-2sg or not school sea.direction
Go to school there. Do you agree or not on going to school there?

C. tor-kvn sekolah lau

agree-1sg school sea.direction
I agree on going to school there.

B. go gvtv mo
I ask 2sg
I ask you.

A. lau nvlv mo koda m-a'an bahasa amerika
sea.direction so 2sg speak 2sg-make language American
Go there so that you speak the American language.

B. hv'vn, bvta go k-a'i-kvn, eh pali'in go k-a'i-kvn hvwo bvta
yes tomorrow I 1sg-go-1sg ? today 1s 1sg-go-1sg arrive tomorrow
OK, I'll go tomorrow. Oh no, I'll go today and arrive tomorrow.

eh bvmuri rua-te pe teti go hvwo bvta, go peun pe dai
? later two-1pl.in at above I arrive tomorrow, I return at come
go gvtv mo
I ask 2sg
Oh no, two of us will go later and I'll arrive tomorrow. I'll be back and ask you.

A. hv'vn ke, bvta mo pana ke, m-a'i-ko amerika m-ai ke
yes foc tomorrow 2s walk foc 2sg-go-2sg America 2sg-go foc
Yes, tomorrow you'll to the America.

B. mo'en nvnvn gynai, kame kvne'en dvra di m-a'i-kvn mo'en
2sg.poss how 1pl.ex small still emphatic 1pl.ex-go-1pl.ex 2sg.poss
Hey you, we are still kids, how can we go?

A. bisa ke
can foc
Of course we can.

C. kame meha'-kvn lega ra vpa tite
1pl.ex alone-1pl.ex hang.out they catch 1pl.in
If we hang out alone, they catch us.

A. hala'
no
No

C. lega t-vlv ga'e?
hang.out 1pl.in-pass where

Where can we hang out?

B. lega kvdin turu-te ga'e rvma'an?
hang.out then sleep-1pl.in where night
After hanging out, where would we sleep in the night?

A. turu pe lango
sleep at house
Sleep in a house.

B. lango hege na'en?
house who 3sg.poss
Whose house?

C. lango mo'en lau no'on?
house 2sg.poss sea.direction have
Do you have a house there?

B. mo m-a'i-ko m-a'an lango to'u nvlv go k-a'i-kvn lau ke
2sg 2sg-go-2sg 2s-make house one so.that 1s 1sg-go-1sg sea.direction foc
You go and build a house so that I can go there.

C. lau kvdin ra gvtv mo, mo tapan ma'ang bahasa Indonesia?
sea.direction then they ask 2sg 2sg reply 2sg-make language Indonesia
You go there, and if they ask you, will you reply in Indonesian?

A. marin mio m-a'i-ke lau gehi
say 2pl 2pl-go-2pl sea.direction, not.want
I ask you to go there, (but) you don't want to.

B. lango-ke no'on lau pe
house-2.pl have sea.direction that
Do you have a house there?

A. pali ke
vicinity foc
Yes, around there.

B. go jadi k-a'an tvmihe kvdin, maso tana ono'on kvdin kae pe
I become 1sg-make ant then enter land inside then already at
lau a
sea.direction what
I become an ant, enter into ground, then I am there.

gvhulvn hogo kan wata, k-a'i-kvn lega. lau kae
morning wake eat.1sg rice, 1sg-go-1sg hang.out sea.direction already
After waking up in the morning, I eat rice and hang out.

ra vpa go go kan k-a'i-kvn maso uman ono'on
they catch me I eat 1sg 1sg-go-1sg enter hole inside
If they try to catch me I enter into a hole.

C. pe'en a huho? lango?
that what Nuho house
What is that, Nuho? A house?

A. mo m-a'an lango kia, bera
2sg 2sg-make house later fast
Built a house, fast.

B. dai. orin di vre'en he
come hat emphatic good ?
Hey, a hat is also good, isn't it?

A. tobo lali
sit below
Sit down.

B. ai go k-a'an dein
(refuse) I 1sg-make stand
No, I want to stand up.

A. tobo lali ke
sit below foc
Sit down, I said.

B. mo lio lima go'en ke. mo lio
2sg release hand my foc 2sg release
Release my hand please. Release my hand

A. mo m-a'an bera. bera, bera
2sg 2sg-make fast. fast fast
Make it faster. Faster, faster.

B. a mo mo pehen lima go'en kvdin go ka'an ka'an nvnvn gvna? *what 2sg 2sg hold hand my then I 1sg-make 1sg-make how*

Oh, how can I make it if you hold my hand?

A. ma'an lango bera
2sg-make house fast
Make the house fast.

C. go nvkv ro kae. go nvkev ro kae. eh riki go nvkv ro kae
I trap him already I trap him already ? Riki I trap him already
wawe
pig
I have trapped him. I have trapped him. I have trapped him, Riki. A pig.

A. ma'an bera.
2sg-make fast
Make it faster.

C. nuho e tvngv nuho
Nuho ? see Nuho
Nuho, have a look.

B. go k-a'i-kvn malasia k-a'i kae pi
I 1sg-go-1sg Malaysia 1sg-go already this
I'm going to Malaysia now.

B. nuho, go k-a'i-kvn malasia k-a'i di vre'en he?
Nuho, I 1sg-go-1sg Malaysia 1sg-go ? good ?
Nuho, is it better for me to go to Malaysia?

A. m-a'an bera
2sg-make fast
Make it fuster.

B. go k-a'i-kvn kae pali lau lvron to'u kedin go peun
I 1sg-go-1sg already vicinity sea.direction day one then 1s return
pe dai kae pi
at come already this
I'm leaving now. I was there for a day and now I'm back.

C. kame gvtv ro
1plex ask him
We ask him.

A. hege riki?

Who Riki
Who is that, Riki?

B. lau soba mo'en?
sea.direction match 2sg.poss
??

A. teman mo'en hege riki?
friend 2sg.poss who Riki
Who is your friend, Riki?

B. gvtv go?
ask me
Are you asking me?

A. teman mo'en sekolah ha'e di?
friend 2sg.poss. school some ?
Those are your school friends, aren't they?

B. hala'
no
No

C. riki, go dvton a mi'in alan
Riki, I hit what this sound
Riki, I hit this thing to make a sound.

A. riki
Riki
Riki.

ma'an alan riki kia
2sg-make sound Riki later
Make a sound, Riki.

telpon kia. pe'en telpon.
phone later that phone
Make a phone. That's a phone.

C. pe'en telpon?
that phone
Is that a phone?

A. hv'vn ke, HP wvli
yes foc hand.phone horizontal.direction.
Yes, it's a hand phone.

B. hala'
no
No.

C. sel pon
cell phone
Cell phone

A. sel pon ke wvli
cell phone foc horizontal.direction
That is a cell phone.

B. hala'
no
No.

A. mo tvngv wvli
2sg see horizontal.direction
Look over there.

4. Bird Story

muan to'u kvpuran ronen to'u naran-vn nency pana lega-lega
times one bird female one name-3sg Nancy walk hang.out
Once upon a time, Nancy, a female bird, hang out alone.

kvdin na n-oi topi to'u ma'ikvn tvgvn
then she 3sg-know hat one beautiful very
She saw a beautiful hat.

ono na'en hi'in gute topi pe'en
inside her want take hat that
She wanted to take that hat.

rona pikir, topi pe'en kia na'an na mvtv ma'ikvn
she think hat that later 3sg-make her more beautiful
She thought that hat could make her look more beautiful.

na gute topi pe'en kvdin tao pe kotvn na'en
she take hat that then put at head her
She took that hat and put it on her head.

ono na'en svnan tvgnv
inside her happy very
She was very happy.

lvla hala' kvdin na hvrn teman na'en mince
long not then she meet friend her Mince
And then she met her friend Mince.

nvkvn mince pi'in vrvkvn na'en mvko tvgnv
but Mince this face her bad very
But Mince had a very bad expression on her face.

ra rua-ka biasa na'en hvrn hala'
they two-3pl usually her meet not
The two of them are usually unfriendly when they meet.

waktu mince tvngv Nancy loge topi pe'en ono na'en kvra'ik tvgnv
when Mince see Nancy wear hat that inside her angry very
When Mince saw Nancy wearing that hat, she was very angry and jealous.

nvkvn dari na taku-na kia Nancy n-oi ono na'en, na geka
but since she afraid-3sg later Nancy 3sg-know inside her she laugh
Because she was afraid that Nancy would read her mind, she laughed.

na svba laran nvnv ga'e nvlv bisa ai topi pe'en
she search way how so can get hat the
She wondered how to get that hat.

kvdin mince marin hi topi pe'en mvko pe
then Mince say ah hat that ugly that
Then she said, "Ah, that hat is extremely ugly."

bain marin topi pe'en mvko nancy pe kvdin ta'o topi pe'en pe tana
hear say hat that ugly Nancy that then put hat that at land
kvdin pana na'en
then walk her
On hearing that the hat was ugly, Nancy put the hat on the ground and left.

n-oi nancy pana lo'ok topi pe tana mince pe kvdin pana

3sg-know Nancy walk let hat at land Mince that then walk
wvli gute topi pe'en
horizontal.direction take hat the
Knowing that Nancy put the hat on the ground, Mince went to take it.

nvkvn na loge-na hala'
but she wear-3sg not
But she did not wear the hat.

na tao topi pe'en pe uv'vn na'en
she put hat the at butt her
She put it under her butt.

lvla hala' kvdin na tvlu na pe topi pe'en
long not then she egg she at hat that
Soon after, she laid an egg in the hat.

dari nancy ono na'en hi'in loge topi pe'en
since Nancy inside her want wear hat the
na pana peun pe uli neku me'en
she walk return at place past that
Since Nancy really wanted to wear the hat, she returned to the place.

ono na'en kvra'ikvn tvgnv tvngv mince tao uv'vn na'en pe topi
inside her angry very see Mince put butt her at hat
She was very angry when she saw that Mince had put the hat under her butt.

na pana dahe wvli kvdin gute topi pe'en loge-na
she walk closer horizontal.direction then take hat the wear-3sg
She came closer to Mince, grabbed the hat, and put it on her head.

lvla hala' gv na bain a to'u alan pe kotvn na'en
long not ? she hear what one sound at head her
Suddenly, she heard a sound at her head.

na buka topi pe'en na tvngv kvpuran ana'an to'u
she open hat that she see bird child one
She took off the hat and saw a baby bird.

tvlu mince na'en me lvto kae pe kotvn na'en
egg Mince her that hatch already at head her
The egg that Mince laid hatched on Nancy's head.

nency ono-nvn mvtv kvra'ik dari tvlu kama'an kvpuran ana'an me'envn
Nency inside-3sg more angry since egg shell bird child the
 n-a'an kotvn na'en milan
3sg-make head her dirty
Nency become even more angry because the baby bird's eggshell made her head dirty.

mince wvli di ono na'en susa
Mince horizontal.direction emphatic inside her worried
 dari ana nae'n vra pe nency kotvn
since child her hatch on Nency head
Mince was very worried because her baby bird hatched on Nency's head.

na takuka kia nency n-vte' na pvlæ
she afraid later Nency 3sg-bring it run
 opvnlv na lodo bera-bera kvdin gute ana na'en me'envn
so she go.down fast-fast then take child her the
She was afraid that Nency would steal it, so she went down in hurry to save her child.

Part V Basic Vocabularies

For a comprehensive dictionary of the neighbouring Lewolema Dialect, see Pampus (1999). Keraf (1978) contains a comparative glossary of basic words of all Lamaholot dialects.

Nouns (General Terms)

ant	tvmihe	grasshopper	kvtoke
arrow	hupvk	hole	uman
ashes	kvawuk	hook	kawik
axe	soru	ivory	bala
banana	nvnas	knife	hepe
bird	kolon	leaf	lvpan
bow	wuhu	lightning	kila
butterfly	bukalakan	louse	kuto
canoe	tena	meat	mvnaken
cloud	kowa	moon	wulan
coconut	tapo	mosquito	kvnamu
digging stick	nuan, linggis	mountain	ile
dog	aho	mud	walan
door	kvnawe	paddle	waha
dust	kvawuk	pig	wawe
earth	tana ekan	rain	uran
earthquake	bvlero	rat	kvrome
egg	tvlu	road	laran
feather	rawun	root	ramuk/ramukvn
fire	ape	rope	tale
firewood	kayo ape	salt	si'a
fish	ikan	sand	wvra
flower	puhun	scorpion	kvmeke
fly	kvnpun	sea	tahi
foam	bura	seed	vra
fog	tun/meto	shark	hiu
fruit	a wuan	sky	kvlvn
grass	kvrvmk	smoke	nuhun
		snail	kima

snake	ula	excrement	tae/tain
spear	gala	eye	mata
star	pvtala	face	vrkvvn
stick	kayo	fat	mvlu
stone	wato	guts	tahi onvn
story	tutu, koda	hair	rata(n)
sugar cane	tvwo	hand	lima(n)
sun	lvra	head	kotvn
tail	ikun		
thunder	pvlvdv	heart	aten
tree	kayo/pukvn	knee	lotor(vn)
turtle	kima	left (hand)	nekin
water	wai	leg	lein
wave	oyok	lungs	korok(vn)
whale	paus	mouth	vwwa(n)
wind	angi	navel	(kv)puhurv/puhurvn
wing	kvpi	neck	wuli(n)
woods	kayo	nose	irun
yam	uwe jawa	penis	kolon

Nouns (Body Parts)

ankle	wukun	right (hand)	wanan
arm	lima(n)	shoulder	hanan
back	kola('an)	skin	kuli'
beard	kumi	sore	bvlara'an
belly	ale	sweat	vwun
blood	mei	tears	loun
body hair	rawun	thigh	kowan
bone	ri'uk	thumb	inan
breasts	tuho	tongue	wewel
butt	uv'vn	tooth	ipv('vn)
chin	nuhun	vein	alin
ear	tilun		

Other Terms (Kinships, Numbers, etc.)

father	ama
--------	-----

mother	ina	at	pe
child	ana'	because	dari/pukvn
man	inamvlake	far	doan
woman	inawae	near	dahe
husband	lake	here	pi(a)
wife	kvwae	there	pe
name	naran	if	kalo
person	atadikvn	in	ono'on
uncle (paternal)	bosu	out	woho
uncle (maternal)	nana	not	take
aunt	se (maternal)	yes	hv'vn
	uli (paternal)	no	take/hala'

one

two

three

four

five

six

seven

eight

nine

ten

few

other

some

many

all

yesterday

tomorrow

night

year

day

mother	ina
child	ana'
man	inamvlake
woman	inawae
husband	lake
wife	kvwae
name	naran
person	atadikvn
uncle (paternal)	bosu
uncle (maternal)	nana
aunt	se (maternal)
	uli (paternal)
one	to'u
two	rua
three	tvlo
four	pak
five	lema
six	nvmun
seven	pito
eight	buto
nine	hiwa
ten	pulo
few	niu to'u
other	ikvrvn
some	bua
many	aya
all	wvkvvn kaen

yesterday	wia
tomorrow	bvta
night	rvman
year	sun
day	lvron

Verbs

bark	bowo
bite	gike
blow	bu
breathe	nahin
burn	tuno/buko
call out	mayan
come	svga
count	gasik
cry	tanin
die	mata
dig	gali
fall	dvka
fear	taku
fight	gvnin
float	bao
flow	ba
fly	bvka
give	nein
hear	bain

hit	bvrin	vomit	muta
hold	pehen	walk	pana
hunt	pvreha	wash	baha
kill	maan mata	wipe	tvru
know	koiro, moiro,	work	kvrian
laugh	geka		
lie	opa		
lie (down)	tobo		
live	i'a		
play	gvnvku		
pull	odo'		
push	gehan		
rub	dosu'		
run	pvlae		
say	marin/tutu/koda		
scratch	ragu		
see	tvngv		
sew	agi'		
sing	kanta/nyanyi		
sit	tobo		
sleep	туру		
smell	sion		
speak	koda/tutu/marin		
spit	bage		
split	bia		
squeeze	pe'uk		
stab	robo		
stand	de'in		
suck	isvk		
swim	nange		
think	pikir		
throw	geba		
tie	puin		
turn	peko		

Adjectives

bad	mvko
big	belv / bapan
big/wide	belv
black	mitvn
blind	matan buta
clean	laen
cold	gvlvvtv
cooked	taha
dead	maten/mata
deaf	kvbeke
dirty	milan
dry	mara
good	vre
green	bvtvn
heavy	ba'a
lazy	kvmogo
light	kvlea
long	bvlola
new	wu'un
old	okin
red	me'an
right	nvndiken / muren
rotten	mvko
sharp	bvrkvk
short	kvsu'
sick	bvlara

small	kvne	warm	mu'u
small/narrow	leren	wet	dvman
smooth	kvloho	white	bura
straight	mopa'	wrong	nalan
thick	bvsi'	yellow	kuman
thin	kvrogon, mvnipi		

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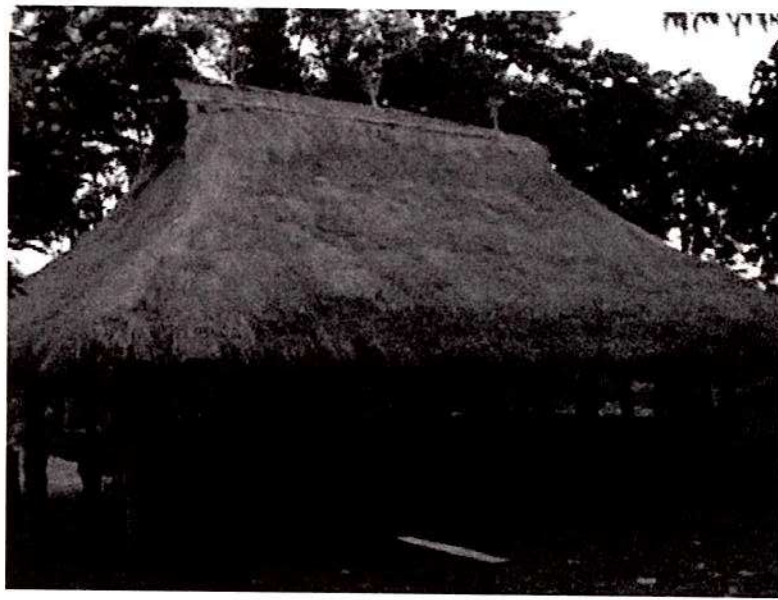
Weaving



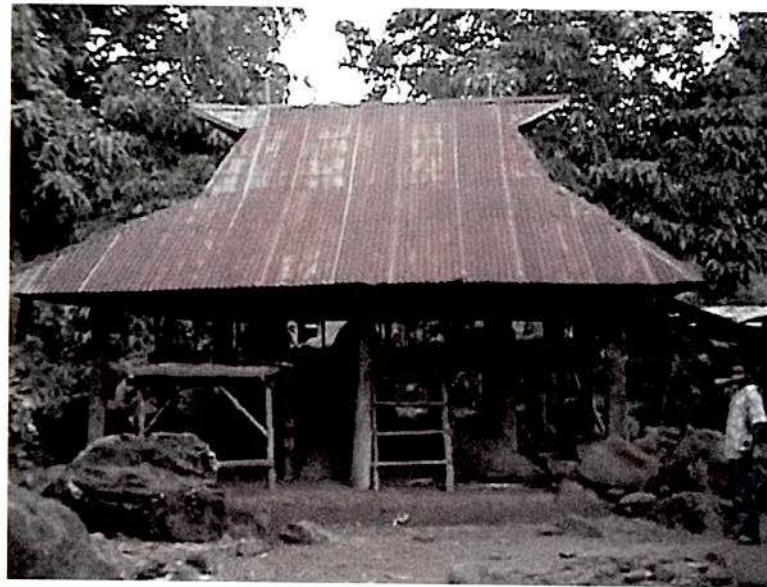
Altar (cf. Text 1, The Origin of Paddy)



Harvesting



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This book describes a grammar (mainly morphology and syntax) of the Lewoingu dialect of Lamaholot, an Austronesian language (Central-Malayo-Polynesian subgroup) spoken by 150,000 ~ 200,000 people on the eastern tip of Flores and the surrounding area in eastern Indonesia. Lamaholot has 35 dialects, and although there are some descriptions and dictionaries for other dialects, the Lewoingu dialect has never been described before. The description in this book is basically theory-neutral, and analyses are kept to a minimum.

This work will be of interest to descriptive linguists and Austronesian specialists, in particular because languages of eastern Indonesia in general are poorly documented and relations of several dialects of Lamaholot are poorly understood. Typologists and theoretical linguists would be interested in unique agreement in Lamaholot, where agreement emerges not only on verbs and adjectives, but also on adverbs, numerals, a preposition, and even on the conjunction ('and'). Theoreticians will also be interested in the chapter on resumptive pronouns, which is a rare description of the phenomena in Austronesian languages and shows that Lamaholot basically shares general properties of resumptive pronouns found in Irish and Semitic languages. Also of interest are possessive constructions, where the possessor can be either pronominal or postnominal, and each other has peculiar constraints.

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