Traces of language contact: The Flores-Lembata languages in eastern Indonesia

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CHAPTER 3

A grammar of Central Lembata

3.1 Structure of this grammar

In this grammar, I describe the phonology of Central Lembata (§3.2), nouns and noun phrases (§3.3), pronouns (§3.4), verbs (§3.5) and basic clausal syntax (§3.6). §3.7 is a description on location as this is a prominent feature in the language that interacts with several parts of the grammar. §3.8 is a summary of the chapter.

3.2 Phonology

3.2.1 Phoneme inventory

Central Lembata has 14 phonemic consonants displayed in Table 3.1 and 6 phonemic vowels listed in Table 3.2. Minimal pairs that demonstrate the phonemic status of the Central Lembata consonants and vowels are given in Appendix A. In the phoneme tables of §3.2.1, orthographic representations diverging from IPA symbols are given in angle brackets.

Table 3.1: Consonant inventory of Central Lembata

	Labial	Coronal	Dorsal
Voiceless plosive	p	t [t̪]	k
Voiced plosive	b	d	g
Nasal	m	n	ŋ <ng>
Trill		r	
Fricative	v <w>	s	
Affricate		dʒ <j>	
Lateral		l	

Central Lembata has 6 plosives that appear in voiceless-voiced pairs. These are bilabial /p b/, coronal /t d/ and dorsal /k g/. The voiceless plosive /t/ of the coronal pair is articulated dentally as [t̪], whereas /d/ is alveolar. The 3 nasals in the consonant inventory of Central Lembata occur in the same places of articulation as the stops. The two fricatives, voiceless coronal /s/ and voiced labiodental /v/, and the voiced coronal affricate /dʒ/ form a natural class. They all appear in all positions of the word and lack a voicing contrast. In the phonology of Central Lembata, the affricate /dʒ/ could also be analysed as a fricative, the voiced counterpart of /s/. This becomes evident from morpho-phonological devoicing of /dʒ/ to /s/ when following a plosive. This is the case when the plural suffix /dʒa/ is added to a plosive-final root, such as /ra.mut/ 'root'. The affricate /dʒ/ is transformed into /s/ and the plosive is deleted which leads to the word /ra.mu.sa/ 'root-PL' (cf. §3.3.2). The labiodental fricative /v/ can also be realised as a labiodental approximate [ʋ] with lower lip and upper teeth slightly more apart. Finally, Central Lembata has two phonemic liquids, the voiced lateral /l/ and the voiced coronal trill /r/.

Table 3.2: Vowel inventory of Central Lembata

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e <é>	ə <e>	o
Low		a	

Central Lembata has two high vowels, the unrounded front vowel /i/ and the rounded back vowel /u/, three mid vowels, the unrounded front vowel /e/, the central vowel /ə/ and the rounded back vowel /o/, and finally one low vowel, the central vowel /a/. The phonemes /e/ and /o/ can have more open variants [ɛ] and [ɔ], especially in closed syllables. This alternation is free variation rather than based on a strict allophonic rule.

3.2.2 Phonotactics

3.2.2.1 Distribution of single phonemes

In Table 3.3 and 3.4, I indicate all permitted positions for single consonants and vowels. A plus sign marks permitted positions for phonemes and a minus marks disallowed positions. Consonants and vowels in Central Lembata have a wide distribution, only a few distribution constraints apply, summarised in (1).

(1) Distribution constraints of Central Lembata phonemes

a) The voiced plosives /b, d, g/ cannot appear in the coda.
b) The nasal /ŋ/ cannot appear in the root-initial onset.
c) A schwa /ə/ cannot appear root-finally.

Table 3.3: Distribution constraints of consonants

Position	p	b	t	d	k	g	m	n	ŋ	v	s	dʒ	r	l
syllable level														
onset	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
coda	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
root level														
initial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
medial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
final	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 3.4: Distribution constraints of vowels

Position	i	u	e	ə	o	a
syllable level						
initial	+	+	+	+	+	+
medial	+	+	+	+	+	+
final	+	+	+	+	+	+
root level						
initial	+	+	+	+	+	+
medial	+	+	+	+	+	+
final	+	+	+	-	+	+

Although being allowed in all positions, the phoneme /dʒ/ is marginal in initial position. In my corpus, it only occurs in four native words, which are /dʒəma/ 'night; time period', /dʒua/ 'two', /dʒene/ 'upwards' and /dʒune/ 'downwards'.

Schwa cannot appear root-finally but it can be found in non-final open syllables or in final syllables of derived words. The latter is rare but found in derivatives that result from consonant deletion, such as /iməŋ/ > /imə/ 'place' or /kudʒəŋ/ > /kudʒə/ 'cooking pot'. More about consonant insertion and deletion in alienable nouns is found in §3.3.1.2 later on. In the phonetic realisation of consonant-final words, schwa can be epethetically added at the end of the word. Those schwas are not phonemic.

3.2.2.2 Consonant clusters

Central Lembata has several clusters of two consonants. Clusters of more than two consonants do not occur. In careful speech, consonant clusters can be broken up by the insertion of a non-phonemic schwa. Table 3.5 provides an overview of the consonant clusters found in onset position in my corpus of Central Lembata. A dash represents a cluster that is not attested.

Table 3.5: Onset consonant clusters in Central Lembata

C1→ C2↓	/p/	/b/	/t/	/k/	/g/	/s/
/p/	-	-	-	/kp/	-	/sp/
/b/	-	-	-	/kb/	-	/sb/
/t/	/pt/	-	-	/kt/	-	-
/d/	-	/bd/	-	/kd/	-	-
/k/	/pk/	-	-	-	-	/sk/
/g/	-	-	-	-	-	/sg/
/v/	/pv/	/bv/	-	/kv/	/gv/	/sv/
/s/	/ps/	-	-	/ks/	-	-
/dʒ/	-	/bdʒ/	-	-	-	-
/m/	-	-	/tm/	/km/	/gm/	/sm/
/n/	/pn/	/bn/	/tn/	/kn/	/gn/	/sn/
/l/	/pl/	/bl/	/tl/	/kl/	/gl/	/sl/
/r/	/pr/	/br/	/tr/	/kr/	/gr/	/sr/

Several of these non-attested clusters can be explained by the regular constraints listed in (2) below, while some of the gaps cannot be explained by the same restrictive rules. These gaps may be due to a lack of data.

(2) Combination constraints of consonants in word-initial clusters.

a) The first consonant of a cluster has to be a plosive or the voiceless fricative /s/.
b) If the first consonant is voiced, the second consonant cannot be voiceless.
c) Two consonants only distinguished by voice or by nasality cannot be combined.
d) The plosive /d/ cannot be the first consonant of a cluster.
e) The affricate /dʒ/ is only combined with preceding /b/.

Universally, syllables are often built according to a sonority hierarchy which means that sonority increases rather than decreases towards the nucleus of the syllable (Blevins 1995; Parker 2002:8). However, the Constraints (2a) and (2b) can only be explained partially by this universal tendency. Plosives tend to precede other consonant in a cluster (Constraint 2a), and voiceless

elements precede voiced phonemes in the onset of a syllable (Constraint 2b). But not all clusters appear to be sonority based. Clusters such as /kp/, /sp/, /sb/ or /sg/ violate the sonority hierarchy.

Further, Constraint (2c) could arise due to the articulatory similarity of the the two consonants involved. At first glance, the cluster /tn/ appears to be an exception to this. However, this cluster is also distinguished in place of articulation, as the phoneme /t/ is articulated as dental [t̪] and /n/ is alveolar. For Constraint (2d) and (2e) no explanation could yet be found.

Table 3.6 lists an example of each consonant cluster and the number of lexical items that contain this cluster in my corpus.

Table 3.6: Consonant clusters with frequencies and examples

Cluster	Number of lexemes	Example	Gloss
/k/-initial			
/kn/	36	/kna.ver/	'door'
/kl/	25	/klo.rer/	'morinda tree'
/kv/	19	/kva.lek/	'shoulder'
/kr/	18	/kro.kor/	'tree sp.'
/kb/	15	/kbe.kek/	'strong'
/km/	13	/kmi.ker/	'flying fox'
/ks/	11	/ksi.lap/	'lightening'
/kd/	7	/kdu.uk/	'spin'
/kp/	7	/kpa.e/	'be silent'
/kt/	4	/ktu.mav/	'cloth louse'
TOTAL	155		
/s/-initial			
/sn/	29	/snə.gur/	'smoke'
/sl/	7	/sla.e/	'be clean'
/sb/	6	/sbu.ur/	'scatter'
/sv/	5	/sve.gir/	'uneven'
/sr/	4	/sru.dəm/	'kneel'
/sp/	3	/spa.a.ti/	'four of them'
/sm/	2	/sme.i/	'blood'
TOTAL	56		

Cluster	Number of lexemes	Example	Gloss
/g/-initial			
/gr/	15	/gri.di/	'be angry'
/gl/	13	/gla.sa/	'play'
/gm/	6	/gma.di/	'call'
/gn/	6	/gne.tem/	'pass on'
/gv/	4	/gve.sa/	'pull'
TOTAL	44		
/b/-initial			
/bl/	28	/blə.bət/	'cage'
/bn/	16	/bni.sak/	'broken'
/br/	6	/bra.koŋ/	'lush'
/bdʒ/	3	/bdʒa.e/	'hillwards'
/bd/	3	/bdo.riŋ/	'follower'
/bv/	1	/bva.rak/	'hot'
TOTAL	37		
/p/-initial			
/pl/	11	/pli.rar/	'k. o. basket'
/pr/	9	/prə.vak/	'thick'
/pn/	7	/pna.it/	'bitter'
/pt/	2	/pto.de/	'pound'
/ps/	2	/psa.at/	'curse'
/pv/	1	/pvə.li/	'pay (ceremonial)'
TOTAL	32		
/t/-initial			
/tn/	11	/tni.saŋ/	'hole'
/tm/	7	/tmə.lar/	'flea'
/tl/	1	/tlu.por/	'aubergine'
/tr/	1	/trə.kət/	'stick'
TOTAL	20		

In contrast to the complex onsets listed above, a complex coda is not possible in Central Lembata. Word-medially, sequences of consonants can oc-

cur but they are different from onset clusters for two reasons. Word-medial sequences are always divided by a syllable boundary, or even a morpheme boundary, where the first consonant is the coda of the preceding syllable and the second consonant is the onset of the next syllable. Thus, word-medial sequences only occur at a synchronic morpheme boundary or in loan words.

In the examples in Table 3.6, it can be seen that there is a tendency for /n/, /l/ and /r/ to be the most frequent second consonant. Taking the sonority hierarchy into account, it is not surprising that /l/ and /r/ are frequently attested as the second member of a cluster. This is because liquids are higher in sonority than plosives for example and thus usually found closer to the nucleus of the syllable (Blevins 1995).

Many of the other clusters may be the results of historic derivational processes. The nasal /n/ as a second consonant is highly frequent. For most cases, there is evidence that the word is a derivative using the infix *-n-* (cf. §3.3.6.1). Another striking observation is the high frequency of /k/-initial clusters. This may have been caused by a fossilised prefix *k-*. This could be a reflex of PAN *ka-...-an 'formative for abstract nouns (often deverbal)' or PAN *ka- 'formative for abstract nouns of quality (Blust and Trussel 2010).[1] Due to the high frequency of /p/ and /t/ as initial consonants in clusters with another non-liquid consonant, I suggest that these plosives might also be historic derivational prefixes. Possible sources are PMP *pa- 'causative prefix' and PMP *ta- 'prefix marking spontaneous or involuntary action' (Blust and Trussel 2010). A more systematic analysis of the words with /p/- and /t/-initial consonant cluster is needed to confirm this putative connection.

Another possible origin of initial consonant clusters is the loss of an unstressed antepenultimate vowel, such as in /tməlar/ 'flea' (< PFL *təməla < PMP *qatiməla 'flea'). This could explain why consonant clusters only appear word-initially (cf. (3a) in §3.2.3).

[1] Reflexes of PAN *ka- are attested in Austronesian languages of the region. Examples of reflexes are the nominalising affix *k*(*a*)- ... (-*k*) in Tetun (van Klinken 1999:81), the nominalising prefix *ka-* in Kambera (Klamer 1998:259-260) and the nominalising circumfix *ʔ-...-ʔ* in Amarasi (Edwards 2016a:121). Edwards (2016b:68) also reconstructs *ka-...-t for Pre-Uab Meto.

3.2.3 Stems

Stems are canonically disyllabic with a template of (C)(C)V.(C)V(C). From this template, I derive the distribution constraints for syllable types in Central Lembata in (3).

(3) Distribution constraints of syllables types in a stem

a) Consonant clusters are only allowed stem-initially.
b) Only root-final syllables can have a coda.

Table 3.7 provides a list of possible stem types including examples. Examples of identical vowel sequences are given in addition to non-identical vowel sequences whenever attested. The stem types V.V and CCV.V are not attested with identical vowel sequences.

Table 3.7: Stem types in Central Lembata

Stem type	Example	Gloss
V.V	/o.i/	'correct'
V.VC	/u.ak/	'stream'
	/a.an/	'what'
V.CV	/o.pi/	'buy'
V.CVC	/e.vel/	'tongue'
CV.V	/pa.i/	'tooth'
	/li.i/	'leg; foot'
CV.CV	/pi.ra/	'how many'
CV.VC	/ba.en/	'morning'
	/pu.ur/	'blow'
CV. CVC	/pa.dʒuk/	'stick'
CCV.V	/sme.i/	'blood'
CCV.CV	/pli.ra/	'k. o. basket'
CCV.VC	/klu.ok/	'cooked rice'
	/kdu.uk/	'spindle'
CCV.CVC	/bni.sak/	'broken'

There are no phonemic diphthongs in Central Lembata. The nucleus of a syllable can only contain one vowel. However, sequences of two identical vow-

els can occur, such as in /pu.ur/ [puːr] 'blow'. Phonetically, these sequences are realised as long vowels, no glottal stop can be inserted in between them.

The general rule of disyllabic stems can have two exceptions. First, function words, such as shortened forms as *la* 'LOC' from *lané* 'LOC' and discourse marker, such as *bo* 'DISC' or *ro* 'FIN', can have an exceptional monosyllabic CV structure. But no word consisting of only a single vowel is attested.

Second, words with a final sequence of two identical vowels, such as /tu.ˈlu.u/ 'repair', realised as [tu.ˈluː], are underlyingly trisyllabic but only have two syllables on the surface. The underlying trisyllabic structure leads to ultimate stress in the phonetic realisation of these words (cf. §3.2.5). However, there are also a few words in my corpus (listed in Table 3.8) that, synchronically, have to be regarded as trisyllabic stems but cannot be explained by a structure with two identical vowels.

Table 3.8: Trisyllabic stems in Central Lembata

Trisyllabic stem	Gloss	
Loanwords		Origin
/ker.ba.or/	'buffalo'	< Malay *kerbau* 'buffalo'
/ke.de.ra/	'chair'	< Portuguese *cadeira* 'chair'
/i.dʒo.ni/	'green'	< Malay *hijau* 'green'
/re.ka.do/	'invite guest'	< Portuguese *recado* 'message'
/sər.vu.e/	'struggle' (v.)	? < Portuguese *serviço* 'service, work, labour'
/ta.ba.kor/	'tabacco'	< Portuguese *tabaco* 'tabacco'
Plant or animal names		
/kal.ve.or/	'balam tree'	
/mak.dʒa.va/	'bean sp.'	
/səl.va.lak/	'earthworm'	
/tak.be.ser/	'pumpkin sp.'	
/le.ŋa.rar/	'sea weed'	
/lak.bo.rit/	'spider'	
/səl.ga.er/	'tomato'	
/kal.ka.sar/	'tree sp.'	

Trisyllabic stem	Gloss
Others	
/nər.mo.i/	'correct'
/lak.va.e/	'couple'
/sbu.a.i/	'eat' (archaic)
/pə.vu.ʤa/	'foam'
/tok.ba.ʤu/	'rainbow'
/səl.da.e/	'randomly'
/na.ke.te/	'recently'
/kra.po.sa/	'tinea' (disease)
/nə.gə.ro/	'yesterday'

Many of the trisyllabic stems in Table 3.8 are either loanwords (as indicated) or can be analysed as historic compounds. There are two pieces of evidence for this. Firstly, in many of these words, the first syllable does not conform to the phonotactical rule which disallows closed syllables in non-final position of the word (cf. rules in (3)). Thus, the first syllable is probably historically an independent prosodic word. Secondly, many of the trisyallbic words denote plant or animal names which often are compounds due to the representation of taxonomies, where the name specifies to which subcategory a certain animal or plant belongs. For the two tree names /kal.ka.sar/ and /kal.ve.or/, even the first syllable matches which could point to a word for tree or a certain tree category.

For those trisyllabic stems that currently can neither be explained by their foreign origin nor their status as animal or plant name, I suspect that they either are historic compounds with synchronically non-analysable components or that they have incorporated morphology that is not discoverable anymore. Although the history of most historic compounds or morphologically complex words remains opaque, a few can be explained as follows. The word /lak.va.e/ 'couple' has two components, the first part going back to /la.ki/ 'male' (< PMP *laki 'man') and the second one to /va.e/ 'female' (< PMP *bahi 'woman'). In Central Lembata /la.ki/ 'male' is only used for animals but in other varieties of Lamaholot is can also be used for humans. The word /va.e/ 'female' is still found in Central Lembata but it is considered archaic. The word /kra.po.sa/ 'tinea' could be a stem with a plural suffix *-ja* realised a /sa/ (cf. §3.3.1.2). The word /pə.vu.ʤa/ 'foam' appears to have an

unknown prefix /p/ as it etymologically comes from Proto-Flores-Lembata (PFL) *vuda 'foam' (< PMP *bujəq 'foam').

3.2.4 Complex words

In Central Lembata, morphologically complex words can have more than two syllables. For words with more than two syllables, the last syllable is usually a suffix, as for instance in (4).

(4) /ko.po.ŋu/
kopong-u
child-SPEC
'the child'

For the suffixes *-u* 'SPEC' and *-ja* 'PL' that attach to alienable nouns, morphophonological rules apply to avoid a vowel sequence or to resolve consonant clusters. When the suffix *-u* 'SPEC' is attached to a vowel-final noun stem, the liquid [r] is inserted between the stem-final vowel and the suffix, such as in *snaé*-[*r*]-*u* 'shawl-SPEC'. When the suffix *-ja* 'PL' is attached to a consonant-final noun stem, different rules apply to solve the consonant cluster, such as the deletion of *j* in *kopong* + *-ja* → *kopong-a* 'child-PL' (cf. §3.3.2).

In contrast to these two suffixes that attach to alienable nouns, the use of pronominal suffixes on verbs can result in a word-medial cluster at the morpheme boundary, such as in *panaw-ga* 'walk-1SG'. But vowel sequences at the morpheme boundary are not possible with pronominal suffixes. In those cases a nasal is inserted, such as in *grati*-[*ng*]-*a* 'call-3SG' (cf. §3.4.2.4). Also the use of possessor suffixes that attach to inalienable nouns can lead to word-medial clusters, such as in *najan-ga* 'name-1SG.POSS' (cf. §3.4.3).

There are also some words that have four and five syllables but cannot be analysed further into morphemes, listed in (5).

(5) Words with more than three syllables
/te.de.ra.kum/ 'chitter'
/se.ge.re.ge.te/ 'walk drunk'
/sə.pə.rə.pu.tə/ 'wince because of an ant bite'

These words refer to repetitive movements of the body. This suggests that the high amount of syllables is iconic for these movements.

3.2.5 Stress

Stress in Central Lembata is marked by increased vowel length and higher pitch. In unstressed syllables, vowels can be reduced to schwa. In Central Lembata, the penultimate syllable of the word is stressed, unless the penultimate contains the vowel schwa. This becomes clear in suffixed nouns, such as *kopong* /ˈko.poŋ/ 'child' → *kopong-u* /ko.ˈpo.ŋu/ 'child-SPEC', which are both stressed on the penultimate syllable.

In most words, the underlying penultimate stress corresponds to the penultimate vowel on the surface level, as /ko.ˈpo.ŋu/ 'child' is realised as [ko.ˈpo.ŋu] on the surface. In both representations, the stress falls on the penultimate vowel. However, in trisyllabic stems with final sequences of two identical vowels, the surface realisation shows ultimate stress, as in /tu.ˈlu.u/ 'repair' which is realised as [tuˈluː]. A list of minimal pairs that are, on the surface, distinguished by stress and vowel length are given in (6). Underlyingly, the pairs are distinguished by the number of syllables in the word.

(6) Surface minimal pairs by vowel length

	Phonemic	Phonetic	Gloss
a.	/tu.lu/	[ˈtu.lu]	'frog (edible)'
	/tu.ˈlu.u/	[tu.ˈluː]	'repair'
b.	/bo.ti/	[ˈbo.ti]	'carry (a person)'
	/bo.ˈti.i/	[bo.ˈtiː]	'make a small hill of sand or rice grains'
c.	/do.ri/	[ˈdo.ri]	'follow (tr.)'
	/do.ˈri.i/	[do.ˈriː]	'follow (intr.)'
d.	/ta.li/	[ˈta.li]	'again'
	/ta.ˈli.i/	[ta.ˈliː]	'add'
e.	/nu.bu/	[ˈnu.bu]	'grow'
	/nu.ˈbu.u/	[nu.ˈbuː]	'shoot (n.)'
f.	/ba.tu/	[ˈba.tu]	'throw'
	/ba.ˈtu.u/	[ba.ˈtuː]	'pull something out of the soil'

Schwa is the only penultimate vowel that cannot be stressed. Words with penultimate schwa are stressed at the ultimate syllable, such as /bə.ˈka/ 'to fly'. This even applies when all vowels in the word are schwa, such as in /(ˈkva.ru) ə.ˈbət/ 'bunch (of maize plants)' or /rə.ˈkət/ 'sharp' where the stress falls on the ultimate schwa.

However, for consonant-final words apparent free variation between penultimate and ultimate stress is found. One example is /ke.dak/ 'big' which is sometimes realised as [ˈke.dak] and sometimes as [ke.ˈdak]. This variation can be explained by two competing rules. The general rule of penultimate stress leads to the realisation of [ˈke.dak]. But there appears to be a tendency to stress heavy final syllables with CVC structure which leads to the realisation of [ke.ˈdak]. To repair the non-penultimate stress in the second realisation, an epenthetic schwa can be added to a consonant-final word, such as in /ke.dak/ [ke.ˈda.kə] 'big'. This results again in regular penultimate stress.

3.2.6 Summary

Central Lembata has 14 consonant /p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, ŋ, r, v, s, dʒ, l/ and 6 vowel /i, u, e, ə, o, a/ phonemes. Voiced plosives cannot appear in coda position, the nasal /ŋ/ cannot appear initially and phonemic schwa is not allowed root-finally. A wide range of consonant clusters is found in word-initial position. Many of them are a result of fossilised morphology. The template of a stem is (C)(C)V.(C)V(C). Stems are generally disyllabic, while the morpho-syntactic word can also be trisyllabic due to affixation. Central Lembata words have penultimate stress, unless the penultimate is a schwa.

3.3 Nouns and noun phrases

3.3.1 Noun types

Central Lembata distinguishes between two main types of nouns: inalienable nouns and alienable nouns. This semantic division is reflected in the grammatical properties of the nouns, summarised in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10: Noun types in Central Lembata

	Inalienable	Alienable
Semantics	Body parts Kinship terms Parts of wholes Property concepts	All others
Suffixes	Possessor	Plurality Specificity None
Subtypes	None	Simple (40%) Coda alternating (60%)

In semantic terms, inalienable nouns refer to entities that are in a possessive relationship with another entity that cannot be resolved (Payne 1997:105). These nouns have referents that do not exist without the entity by which they are possessed or of which they are part. The two entities cannot be separated under normal circumstances. Most alienable nouns can also be possessed but, if they are, the connection between possessor and possessum can be dissolved. Inalienable nouns are typically body part nouns, kinship terms and parts of wholes. From a cross-linguistic perspective, these are expected categories for inalienable possession (Payne 1997:105; Shopen 2007:185). In Central Lembata, in addition to these three categories, property concepts are also expressed by inalienable nouns.[2] There are also some Central Lembata nouns that might be considered inalienable from a semantic point of view but which are grammatically alienable. Examples include the body part nouns *latar* 'head hair' and *tusor* / *tusu* 'breast'.

The semantic distinction between inalienable and alienable nouns is grammaticalised in the choice of suffixes available for the noun. Nouns in Central Lembata have only one slot for suffixes. Inalienable and alienable nouns each have their own set of suffixes that can be used in this slot. Inalienable nouns take possessor suffixes (cf. §3.4.3), whereas alienable nouns

[2] §3.6.6 and §3.3.4 provide further evidence for the word class of property nouns. In §8.3.5, I argue that the expression of property concepts by possessed nouns is an innovation in Lamaholot.

can take a specific suffix, a plural suffix or no suffix (cf. §3.3.1.2). Furthermore, inalienable nouns are formally coherent, whereas alienable nouns have two formal subtypes. Alienable nouns are subdivided into simple nouns and coda alternating nouns. Around 40% of alienable nouns are simple nouns which have only one form per lexeme, whereas around 60% of alienable nouns are coda alternating nouns, and have a long and a short form of each lexeme.

The association of a noun with the alienable or inalienable type is not entirely lexicalised. There are a few cases where a noun can behave as inalienable or alienable depending on the context in which it occurs. An example is *knawer* 'door'. This word can be either seen as an independent entity, in which case it will behave as alienable with all associated features, or as part of a whole, namely the door of a house or a hut, in which case it will behave inalienably.

3.3.1.1 Inalienable nouns

Examples of inalienable nouns from each of the four semantic fields are given in Table 3.11. For each field, one consonant-final and one vowel-final form is provided.

Table 3.11: Inalienable nouns

	Lexeme	Gloss
Body parts	*lotor*	'knee'
	mata	'eye'
Kinship terms	*anak*	'child'
	ina	'mother'
Parts of wholes	*wikil*	'branch'
	tawa	'stem'
Property concepts	*kédak*	'big.one'
	weru	'new.one'

Inalienable nouns take a possessor suffix to indicate the possessor (§3.4.3). For body parts and kinship terms, pronominal suffixes of all persons can be employed, such as in (7) and in (8). In these examples, the use of a third

person plural possessor suffix *-ja* is exemplified with the body part term *niju* 'nose', while the kinship term *awa* 'spouse' is marked for a first person singular possessor with the possessor suffix *-ga*.

(7) *niju-ja*
nose-3PL.POSS
'their noses' (C1:76)

(8) *awa-ga*
spouse-1SG.POSS
'my wife' (C1:189)

Unlike body parts and kinship terms, parts of wholes and property concepts can only be possessed by third person possessors and obligatorily appear in a phrasal construction with a dependent noun preceding them, such as *una* 'house' in (9). These construction are described further in §3.3.4.2 on noun phrases with inalienable head nouns.

(9) *una weru-ja*
house new.one-3PL.POSS
'new houses' (NB:34)

Property nouns are either inherently nominal, such as *letes* 'cold.one' or derived from an adjectival root, such as *kédak* 'big.one' < *kéda* 'big' (cf. §3.3.6). The first type of property nouns are analysed as nouns because they appear in the same syntactic slot as the nominalised adjectival roots, thus as modifiers of nouns or as predicates (cf. §3.3.4.2 and §3.6.6).

Table 3.12 contains property nouns that are inherently nominal and not derived from an adjectival root. Table 3.13 contains property nouns that are derived from an adjectival root with the same meaning as the derived property noun. Most of the derived property nouns in Table 3.13 are derived using the nominalising infix *-n-* or the suffix *-k*. The infix *-n-* is a frequent nominalising suffix which also appears in other contexts, e. g. deriving a tool or result from an action verb (cf. §3.3.6). The suffix *-k* only appears in connection with property concepts in Central Lembata.

The property nouns in the tables are sorted by their semantic properties following categories proposed by Dixon (1982:16).

Table 3.12: Underived property nouns

Property noun	Gloss	Property noun	Gloss
PHYSICAL PROPERTY		HUMAN PROPENSITIES	
gom	'deep'	*kruweng*	'ashamed'
kmoson	'dull'	*kruit*	'ashamed'
klemur	'fat'	*délong*	'bold'
mebur	'fresh'	*klébit*	'deaf; stupid'
brakong	'lush'	*geli*	'jealous'
groju	'many leaves'	*kmalas*	'lazy'
gai	'painful; strong, hard'	*bnogel*	'lazy'
reket	'sharp'	*kwasan*	'rich'
krogong	'skinny'	*knipék*	'blind'
klésar	'smooth; even, flat'	*kmiran*	'stingy'
gmelos	'smooth'	*blenger*	'stupid'
molur	'straight'	*klebéng*	'stupid'
kbékék	'strong'		
plekok	'weak'		
AGE		DIMENSION	
kbélek	'elder'	*klépar*	'narrow'
weru	'new'	*duang*	'big and old'
okim	'old (things)'		
nuja	'young, fresh (fruits)'		
COLOUR		OTHERS	
mitem	'black; dark'	*kpolot*	'round'
kberis	'blue, green bird sp.'	*klopor*	'round'
remak	'dark'	*blurek*	'round and tiny'
ijoni	'green'	*gésak*	'different'
méran	'red'	*blakun*	'naked'
kumas	'yellow'		
SPEED			
gnesik	'fast'		

Table 3.13: Derived property nouns

Adjectival root	Derived noun	Gloss
PHYSICAL PROPERTY		
pait	*pnait*	'bitter'
berat	*bnerat*	'heavy'
kati	*knating*	'hot'
gewa	*knewak*	'rotten'
peju	*pnejuk*	'salty'
gilu	*kniluk*	'sour'
seru	*sneruk*	'sweet'
seba	*snebar*	'wet'
slae	*slaek*	'clean'
manga	*mangak*	'hard; thick'
klea	*kleak*	'light (weight)'
mila	*milan*	'dirty'
meli	*meling*	'quiet; no people'
mipi	*mipiw*	'thin'
DIMENSION		
keda	*kedak*	'big'
dae	*daek*	'near'
koda	*kodak*	'long' (time)
doa	*doak*	'long; far'
mego	*megon/megok*	'short' (thing)
lere	*lerek*	'short (vertical); flat'
ana	*anak*	'small'
golo	*golok*	'tall; high'
COLOR		
buja	*bujak*	'white'
HUMAN PROPENSITIES		
susa	*snusan*	'poor; sad'

Adjectival root	Derived noun	Gloss
OTHERS		
sukar	*snukar*	'difficult'
rai	*raik*	'many'

From the tables, it becomes visible that the underived property nouns show a high diversity in semantic domains expressed and at the same time the category of DIMENSION is highly underrepresented, whereas the property concepts that have an adjectival root have a clear tendency to express properties of PHYSICAL PROPERTY and DIMENSION.

Property concepts expressed by nouns are an innovation in Central Lembata and the whole Flores-Lembata family. This innovation and its history is discussed in §8.3.

3.3.1.2 Alienable nouns

Alienable nouns, subdivided into simple and coda alternating nouns, cover various semantic fields. Simple nouns have one form for each lexeme, whereas coda alternating nouns have a long form and a short form for each lexical item. The division into simple and coda alternating nouns is lexically determined. However, historically the phonological structure of the stem plays an important role to determine whether a noun is simple or coda alternating. In this section, I focus on the synchronic forms and distributions of alienable nouns. The historic development of alienable nouns and their subdivision into simple nouns and coda alternating nouns is discussed in §3.3.3.

Table 3.14 provides examples of simple alienable nouns, which cover around 40% of the alienable nouns in the Central Lembata lexicon. Simple alienable nouns are mainly consonant-final but there are also a few vowel-final nouns that fall into this category, such as *snaé* 'shawl'.

Table 3.15 gives examples of coda alternating alienable nouns, which encompass around 60% of all alienable nouns in the lexicon. Coda alternating nouns have two synchronic realisations of the same lexeme. One form is consonant-final, such as for example *aor* 'dog' or *buser* 'cotton bow', and another form is shorter and vowel-final, such as *au* 'dog', or consonant-final

but with only one vowel which is phonetically long, such as *buus* [buːs] 'cotton bow'.[3] The short forms with long vowels are marginal. In glosses of this dissertation, the long form is marked with \L (long) and the short form is marked with \S (short) but only if the distinction is relevant for the context of discussion.

Table 3.14: Simple alienable nouns

Lexeme	Gloss
manuk	'chicken'
kébol	'sugar palm'
taum	'indigo plant'
gerep	'young woman'
apur	'lime'
emut	'dust'
snaé	'shawl'

Table 3.15: Coda alternating alienable nouns

Long form	Short form	Gloss
aor	*au*	'dog'
witér	*witi*	'goat'
lisor	*liso*	'rice plant'
buser	*buus*	'cotton bow'
piring	*piri*	'plate'
kopong	*kopo*	'young person; child'
ékén	*éké*	'bamboo stairs'
binén	*biné*	'woman, female'
unan	*una*	'house'
karaj	*kara*	'grain'

[3] In the case of *buser* / *buus* 'cotton bow', the long form is the historically underlying form as this word goes back to PMP *busuR. The short form is thus generated by deletion of the final consonant /r/ which leads to a schwa-final word. As final schwa is dispreferred in the syllable structure, this is possibly the reason why the schwa is dropped and the /u/ is lengthened instead.

The two shapes of a coda alternating noun are used in different syntactic contexts. Different distribution rules (10) apply for the two shapes of coda alternating nouns in a noun phrase (NP) and nouns as part of a verb phrase (VP).

(10) Distribution rules for the two forms of coda alternating nouns

a) Noun Phrase: In non-final position, coda alternating nouns occur as short forms, see examples in (11). In final position, coda alternating nouns occur as long forms, see examples in (12).

b) Verb phrase: object nouns (which are always in final position of the VP) occur as short forms, see examples in (13). Long forms cannot occur within the VP.

In the following, I illustrate the two rules with examples. Within the noun phrase, the choice of long or short form is only based on the 'core' part of the NP, including nouns and numerals (cf. Table 3.22 in §3.3.4). Non-final elements, such as *kopo* 'child\S' in (11a) and *biné* 'woman\S' in (11b) appear in the short form as they are followed by another element in the NP, i. e. the inalienable noun *anak* 'little.one' in (11a) and the numeral *tuné* 'one' in (11b).

(11) a. ***Kopo*** *anak wo ro kreka-nga.*
child\S little.one DIST FIN startle-3SG
'That little.one child got frightened.' (F1:26)

b. ***Biné*** *tuné na=soga kaén.*
female\S one 3SG=hold cloth
'A woman holds a piece of cloth.' (FH1:28)

NP-final nouns always appear in the long form, such as *kopong* 'child\L' in (12a) and in (12b) and also *lamén* 'male\L' in (12c). Demonstratives, such as *wo* 'DIST', and end of phrase particles, such as *ro* 'FIN', are outside of the 'core' NP. Therefore, the noun *kopong* 'child\L' in (12b) is the only element in the NP.

(12) a. ***Kopong*** *gelé-na.*
child\L lie.down-3SG
'The child sleeps.' (F2:4)

b. ***Kopong*** *wo ro kreka-nga.*
child\L DIST FIN startle-3SG
'That child is frightened.' (F2:25)

c. *Kopo* ***lamén*** *soro-nga woné kursi paap.*
child\S male\L hide-3SG DIST chair side
'A boy hides next to the chair.' (FH1:37)

In verb phrases, such as in (13), the object noun occurs in the short form, regardless of the presence of absence other elements in the NP, such as *tu* 'one' in (13c) or *wo* 'DIST' in (13d).

(13) a. *Kam=paraw* ***kopo****.*
1PL.EXCL=feed child\S
'We bring up (our) children.' (T3:290)

b. *Go durum* ***ika****.*
1SG see fish\S
'I sell fish.' (NT:3)

c. *Na=soga* ***kaju*** *tu.*
3SG=hold wood\S one
'She holds a wooden stick.' (FH1:7)

d. *Papi-nga* ***witi*** *wo, we ta=kaan-a kia wé.*
burn-3SG goat\S DIST so 1PL.INCL=eat-3SG INCEP PROX
'Let's grill that goat, so that we can eat it now.' (L3:191)

As soon as an object noun is fronted, such as *lisor* 'rice\L' in (14), it is not part of the VP any more and thus follows the rule for coda alternating nouns in the NP. The fronted object now appears in the long form because it is in NP-final position.

(14) *Bo* ***lisor*** *bo ro bo da=durum.*
DISC rice\L DISC FIN DISC 3PL=sell
'And the rice, they sell [it].' (M3:8)

The rules for the distribution of short and long forms of coda alternating nouns only apply to nouns that are not marked for specificity or plural number by means of suffixes (cf. §3.3.2). Coda alternating nouns with a suffix only have one form and it is the long form that takes the suffix (cf. §3.3.2).

3.3.2 Suffixes on alienable nouns

Simple nouns, such as *manuk* 'chicken', and the long forms of coda alternating nouns, such as *aor* 'dog', can be optionally marked with the suffixes *-ja* 'PL' for plurality or *-u* 'SPEC' for specificity. The specificity suffix *-u* is of unknown origin. It could be related to *tu* 'one' with an irregular loss of initial *t*. The plural suffix *-ja* has developed from the third person plural pronoun *da* (cf. §8.4.2.1). Nouns marked for specificity or plurality mainly occur as NP-final nouns and only rarely as object nouns. In the VP, plurality or specificity of the object noun is in most cases not overtly marked, compare example (13a).

The suffix *-u* 'SPEC' is the main means to mark an alienable noun as singular specific. A noun that is marked as specific indicates that the referent of the noun is a particular referent which is known to the speaker. Table 3.16 lists examples of nouns marked as specific using the suffix *-u* 'SPEC'. As most simple nouns and all coda alternating free forms are consonant-final, the suffix *-u* 'SPEC' simply attaches to the stem, such as for the words *kopong-u* 'child\L-SPEC', *aor-u* 'dog\L-SPEC', *manuk-u* 'chicken\L-SPEC'. When a simple noun is vowel-final, such as *snaé* 'shawl', the consonant [r] is inserted in between the final vowel of the stem and the suffix *-u* 'SPEC'. The etymological origin of the inserted [r] remains unclear (cf. §3.3.3.1).

Table 3.16: Specificity suffix *-u* on alienable nouns

Specific noun	Morphemes		Meaning
kopongu	*kopong*	*-u*	'the child'
aoru	*aor*	*-u*	'the dog'
manuku	*manuk*	*-u*	'the chicken'
snaéru	*snaé*	[*r*] *-u*	'the shawl'

The plural suffix *-ja* 'PL' can mark the noun for plural number, as exemplified in Table 3.17. The plural suffix is used when there is no other indication of plurality in the noun phrase, e. g. by numerals or quantifiers. It can be used for all kinds of alienable nouns, including animates and inanimates, but not for concepts that inherently cannot have a plural meaning, such as *kelem* 'sky' or *luwak* 'sun'.

Table 3.17: Plural suffix *-ja* on alienable nouns

Plural noun	Morphemes		Meaning
koponga	*kopong*	*-ja*	'children'
aoja	*aor*	*-ja*	'dogs'
manusa	*manuk*	*-ja*	'chickens'
snaéja	*snaé*	*-ja*	'shawls'

As most simple nouns and all coda alternating long forms are consonant-final, the use of the plural suffix *-ja* 'PL' results in an underlying consonant cluster which is resolved according to the morpho-phonological rules listed in (15) to (17), each with a number of examples.

According to the rule in (15), the final consonants *j, m, ng, l, w, s* of a noun taking a plural suffix are retained but they cause the initial *j* of the suffix to be dropped.

(15) Deletion of *j* in *-ja* 'PL' following *j, m, ng, l, w, s*

j → zero / *j, m, ng, l, w, s* _*a*

uaj -ja	→ *uaja*	'rattan-PL'
wetem -ja	→ *wetema*	'millet-PL'
kopong -ja	→ *koponga*	'child-PL'
kadal -ja	→ *kadala*	'fence-PL'
ktumaw -ja	→ *ktumawa*	'louse.cloth-PL'
temus -ja	→ *temusa*	'whale-PL'

According to the rule in (16) the *j* of the plural suffix is devoiced to *s* after voiceless stops *p, t, k* and subsequently these voiceless stops are deleted.

(16) Devoicing of *j* in *-ja* 'PL' after *p, t, k* and deletion of *p, t, k*

1. *j* → *s* / _{*p, t, k*}
2. *p, t, k* → zero

bepap -ja	→ *bepasa*	'lizard-PL'
ramut -ja	→ *ramusa*	'root-PL'
manuk -ja	→ *manusa*	'chicken-PL'

For nouns ending in *r* or *n*, the rule in (17) applies. This means that the consonant *j* of the suffix *-ja* is realised when the final consonant of the noun is either *n* or *r*. These coda consonants are dropped and *j* remains.

(17) Deletion of nominal coda *n, r* before *-ja* 'PL'

n, r → zero / _*ja*

liar -ja	→ *liaja*	'ginger-PL'
aor -ja	→ *aoja*	'dog-PL'
aper -ja	→ *apeja*	'fire-PL
utan -ja	→ *utaja*	'bean-PL'
angin -ja	→ *angija*	'wind-PL'

The fact that *r* is seemingly dropped here is probably related to the fact that final *r* is historically not part of the stem but inserted (cf. §3.3.3.1). In some cases, the final *n* could be a historic genitive suffix, and thus historically not be part of the stem. However, in both examples given above /n/ is historically part of the stem: *utan* < PMP *qutan 'small, wild herbaceous plants; scrubland, bush' and *angin* < PMP *haŋin 'wind'.

The liquids *l* and *r* do not always behave according to the general rules listed above. With 10 out of 12 occurrences in corpus, the final consonant *l* normally follows the rule in (15), thus causing deletion of *j* in the suffix. However, two *l*-final nouns in my corpus follow the rule in (17) which means that *l* is deleted and the initial *j* is kept.[4] With 116 out of 128 occurrences in my corpus, the final consonant *r* usually follows the rule in (17). However, in 12 cases in my corpus the final consonant *r* follows the rule in (15) and is retained.[5]

The fact that the suffixes *-ja* 'PL' and *-u* 'SPEC' are mutually exclusive and the observation that nouns with the specificity suffix *-u* are by default singular leads to the question whether the two suffixes are a plural variant and

[4] Examples of nouns that delete final *l* when pluralised and thus violate the rule in (15): *nukél* → *nukéja* 'a kind of weaving tool', *bnuél* → *bnuéja* 'thread winder'.

[5] Examples of nouns that retain final *r* when pluralised and thus violate the rule in (17): *naker* → *nakera* 'roof', *latar* → *latara* 'hair', *klobar* → *klobara* 'part of corn cob', *apur* → *apura* 'lime', *labur* → *labura* 'shirt', *kelir* → *kelira* 'part of banana plant', *lusir* → *lusira* 'needle' , *kebur* → *kebura* 'part of coconut', *kalar* → *kalara* 'traditional bracelet' , *kunur* → *kunura* 'breadfruit', *user* → *usera* 'flesh' , *snokar* → *snokara* 'digging stick'.

a singular variant of the same category. This could be e. g. number or specificity. Analyzing this category as number would suggest that a morphologically unmarked noun can be either read as singular or plural. However, it appears to be the case that unmarked nouns, at least as heads of a noun phrase, are always singular. Analyzing this category as specificity, with a singular and a plural morpheme, would require showing that marked head nouns are specific and that unmarked head nouns are non-specific, unless there is another element such as a demonstrative or a possessor present that yields a specific reading. However, this does not seem to be the case, as there are non-specific nouns marked with *-ja* 'PL', such as *laméja* in (18).

(18) *Bo kalau* ***lamé-ja*** *bo grati maa ama ...*
DISC if man-PL DISC call say father
'Concerning men, we call them *ama*.' (C1:130)

The plural noun *laméja* 'man.PL' has a clear non-specific meaning, as the meaning of the sentence concerns men in general and no specific group of men. So far, no evidence has been found to analyse both suffixes as a singular and a plural allomorph of the same category. A more systematic data collection is needed to ultimately answer this question.

Number marking is an innovation in Central Lembata and the whole Central Lamaholot subgroup. In particular, the marking of plurality on nouns appears to be an areal feature, possibly of non-Austronesian origin. This feature and its history is discussed in more detail in §8.4.

3.3.3 Coda alternation: origin and regional context

This section is a historic and comparative discursus on the emergence of coda alternation in Central Lembata. I first propose a diachronic explanation for coda alternation in Central Lembata in §3.3.3.1 which appears to be an innovation. It becomes evident that in Central Lembata coda alternation is connected to the innovation of the specificity suffix.

In the following, I examine how wide-spread the phenomenon of coda alternation is among the varieties of Lamaholot. In §3.3.3.2, I show that coda alternation, as well as number marking through suffixes, as described for Central Lembata in §3.3.2, is found in all varieties of Central Lamaholot. This suggests that these features developed in Proto-Central Lamaholot. In §3.3.3.3, I show that Western Lamaholot and Eastern Lamaholot do not

have these features but there is a slight possibility that these languages had coda alternation and/or number marking in the past but lost the features. In §3.3.3.4, I point out that coda alternation in Central Lembata shows striking similarities with morphological metathesis and cases of consonant insertion attested in Austronesian languages of Timor.

3.3.3.1 Central Lembata

In the following, I propose a hypothesis on the development of coda alternation which is attested in around 60% of the alienable nouns in Central Lembata. The remaining 40% of alienable nouns in this language do not show coda alternation, thus have only one form (cf. §3.3.1.2). There are three steps that led to the development of coda alternation in Central Lembata, as demonstrated in Table 3.18.

Table 3.18: The development of coda alternation in Central Lembata

r-insertion	*ili* 'mountain' + *-u* 'SPEC'	→ *ile-r-u* 'mountain-SPEC'
Reanalysis	*iler-u* 'mountain-SPEC'	→ *iler* 'mountain'
		→ 2 stems: *ili*/*iler* 'mountain'
Analogy	*ikan* 'fish'	→ *ika*/*ikan* 'fish'

First, the liquid *r* was inserted before the specificity suffix *-u* 'SPEC' when the suffix attached to a vowel-final stem, such as *ili* 'mountain' (< PMP *qilih 'mountain'), see also §3.3.2. The specific form of the word *ili* 'mountain' is then *iler-u* 'mountain-SPEC'. Generally, high vowels *i* and *u* are lowered to *e* and *o* in this process. Therefore, the final vowel *i* of *ili* 'mountain' is lowered to *e*.

The inserted *r* is of unknown origin.[6] Central Lembata does not allow a vowel-final stem to take a vowel-initial suffix. Sequences of two vowels are allowed stem-internally but not at a morpheme boundary (cf. 3.2.2). In the pronominal suffix paradigms (cf. §3.4.2.4), this is solved by the insertion of a nasal *ng* in between the verbal stem and the suffix *-a* '3SG' or *-i* '3PL', such

[6] A possible origin could be a previously lost stem-final consonant (Blevins 2008:93-97). However, as most of the nouns with inserted *r* go back to a historically vowel-final stem, this appears unlikely.

as in *tula* 'make' which becomes *tula-ng-a* 'make-3SG'. It is not clear why in the verbal case a nasal is inserted, while in the case of nominal stem and suffix *-u* 'SPEC' the liquid *r* is inserted.

As the second step, the inserted *r* is reanalysed as being part of the stem, which leads to a new additional longer form of the stem, here *iler* 'mountain', that exists in addition to the original short short form *ili* 'mountain'.

As the last step, many consonant-final nouns, mainly those ending in nasals *n* or *ng*, drop their final consonant in analogy to gain an additional form, such as *ikan* 'fish' (< PMP *hikan 'fish') which has the two forms *ikan* and *ika*. However, this process appears to be only semi-productive and is not applied to all C-final nouns in Central Lembata. Only around 60% of the alienable nouns show coda alternation. There is a clear pattern towards certain consonants being dropped more easily than others. The majority of alienable nouns ending in the nasals *n* and *ng* have dropped their final consonants to gain a vowel-final form, with only very few exceptions for *ng* that were not dropped.[7] A few nouns that have final consonants other than *n* and *ng* also have dropped their final consonant to gain coda alternation. There are sporadic examples of dropped final *k*, *t*, *r*, *l* and *m* in my corpus.[8] The consonants *j* and *w* are rare in final position. My corpus of Central Lembata contains seven alienable nouns with final *j*, out of which four are coda alternating, and one alienable noun ending in *w* which is also coda alternating.[9]

Synchronically, both forms of the nouns, the original form and the new form, are still used. Within the NP, the short form appears in non-final pos-

[7] In my corpus, there are 4 out of 51 nouns ending in *ng* that do not show coda alternation, thus did not drop their final consonant to gain a second form. These are: *nileng* 'k.o. jewelery', *giwang* 'earring', *tuteng* 'frog sp.', *klewang* 'long machete' (loan from Malay).

[8] Coda alternating nouns with final *k, t, l, m*: *weka*/*wekak* 'bird sp.', *kapa*/*kapak* 'axe', *gaja*/*gajak* 'wound', *suri*/*surit* 'weaving sword', *bnue*/*bnuel* 'thread winder', *peri*/*perim* 'bamboo sp.'. To identify coda alternating nouns with final *r* that come from *r*-final nouns that dropped there final consonant is more difficult because, if no etymology is known, the same words could be vowel-final nouns with *r* insertion. Nevertheless, a few cases could be identified: *wuli*/*wulir* 'bunch' (In *wulir* the high vowel *i* before *r* is not lowered, this shows that the *r* is part of the stem and not inserted.), *ula*/*ular* 'snake'(PMP *hulaR 'snake').

[9] Alienable nouns with final *j*: *blawaj* 'stretching tool', *blebaj* 'k.o. basket', *punaj* 'snake sp.', *ena*/*enaj* 'soil', *kara*/*karaj* 'grain', *kresa*/*kresaj* 'tree sp.', *ua*/*uaj* 'rattan'. Alienable noun with final *w*: *ktuma*/*ktumaw* 'cloth louse'.

ition and within the VP, the short form appears in object position following the verb (cf. §3.3.1.2). In these positions, specificity marking on the noun with the suffix *-u* 'SPEC' is not allowed (non-final NP position), or strongly dispreferred (post-verbal object position). Assuming that the use of the specificity suffix initiated the additional C-final stems of V-final alienable nouns, as laid out above, it is logical that these new forms with inserted *r* appear in positions where specificity marking is allowed or frequently used.

I propose that the alternation started with vowel-final nouns. When the pattern of long forms and short forms in their specific syntactic positions was regularised, C-final nouns started to drop their final consonant in analogy to the system that had developed in V-final nouns and started to follow the same distribution pattern. This suggests that the language was in the process of regularising the system of coda alternation to all alienable nouns. However, at some point, this process ceased. Alternatively, it can be proposed that the process is only semi-productive with a tendency to apply to vowel-final and *n*/*ng*-final nouns and less to others. There are still a few rather recent Malay loans, such as *piring* 'plate', *kopi* 'coffee', *kerbau* 'buffalo' or *kusing* 'cat', which have coda alternation. Therefore, the fossilisation of the process must have occurred when Malay had already been in use as a lingua franca in the region, which means not longer than 400 years ago (cf. §1.2.4.4).

3.3.3.2 Central Lamaholot

In this section, I show that coda alternation, as well as number marking (cf. §3.3.2) is not only found in Central Lembata, the language described in this grammar sketch, but in all varieties of the Central Lamaholot subgroup (cf. §4.1.4). Although the Central Lamaholot varieties are only poorly documented, the 33 wordlists collected by Keraf (1978a:262-297) throughout the Lamaholot area provide evidence that traces of plural marking, specificity marking and coda alternation are found in all varieties of Central Lamaholot, as shown in Table 3.19. This suggests that both phenomena can be reconstructed to Proto-Central Lamaholot. To what extent the systems are active and how they differ in detail among the varieties of Central Lamaholot remains to be explored. Table 3.19 shows a selection of nouns in Central Lamaholot (CL) varieties and their corresponding PMP forms. Central Lembata long and short forms are added for comparison.

Table 3.19: Comparative data for C insertion in CL varieties (Keraf 1978)

Variety	'dog'	'snake'	'head louse'	'stone'	'mountain'
PMP	*asu	*hulaR	*kutu	*batu	*qilih
Central Lembata	*au/aor*	*ula/ular*	*kutu/kutor*	*watu/wator*	*ili/iler*
Lewotala	*aoru*	*ularu*	*kutoja*	*fatoja*	*ileru*
Imulolo	*aor*	*ular*	*kutor*	*fator*	*iler*
Lewopenutu	*aoru*	*ularu*	*kutoj*	*fatoru*	*ile*
Mingar	*aoru*	*ular*	*kutoru*	*wato*	*ileru*
Lewuka	*aor*	*ular*	*kutu*	*wator*	*iler*
Kalikasa	*au*	*ula*	*kutu*	*watu*	*ile*
Lewokukun	*aoru*	*ularu*	*kutoru*	*watoru*	*ileru*
Painara	*aho*	*ulay*	*kutoy*	*wator*	*iler*

C = consonant, CL = Central Lamaholot

The nouns in the table have diverse forms. There are vowel- and consonant-final forms, forms with the specificity suffix *-u*, as *iler-u* 'hill-SPEC' in Mingar, and plural forms with the suffix *-ja*, as *kuto-ja* 'louse-PL' in Lewotala.

Identifying the presence of morphology and coda alternation in the other Central Lamaholot varieties is only possible because the morphology of Central Lembata is known. There are no indications in the Keraf wordlists on these variety of forms. The sole occurrence of only one form per concept in the data provided by Keraf (1978a) suggests that the author was neither aware of the coda alternation nor the suffixes. The words must have been elicited without analysis of the morphology.

3.3.3.3 Western and Eastern Lamaholot

In this section, I address the question of whether the phenomenon of coda alternation was more wide-spread than Central Lamaholot. Based on inspection of the wordlists in Keraf (1978a) it appears that the phenomena of coda alternation as well as number marking (cf. §3.3.2) are exclusive to Central Lamaholot and not found in Western or Eastern Lamaholot varieties, as the Western and Eastern Lamaholot varieties, in Table 3.20 and Table 3.21, have very regular shapes of nouns. The nouns in the table, which are

cognates of the Central Lamaholot nouns shown in the previous section, all are vowel-final and do not show any suffixes or inserted final *r*.

Table 3.20: Comparative data for nouns in WL varieties (Keraf 1978)

Variety	'dog'	'snake'	'head louse'	'stone'	'mountain'
PMP	*asu	*hulaR	*kutu	*batu	*qilih
Pukaunu	*aho*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Lewolema	*aho*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Waibalun	*aho*	*ula'*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Baipito	*aho*	*ula'*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Bama	*aho*	*ula'*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Lewolaga	*aho*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Tanjung	*aho*	*ula'*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Ritaebang	*aho*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Lewotobi	*aho*	*ula'*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Kiwangona	*aho*	*ula'*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Dulhi	*aho*	*ula'*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Horowura	*aho*	*ula'*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Waiwadan	*aho*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Watan	*aho*	*ula'*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Lamakera	*aho*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Botun	*aho*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Ile Ape	*aho*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Lamalera	*ao*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Mulan	*aho*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Belang	*ao*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Wuakerong	*aho*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Lamahora	*aho*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Merdeka	*aho*	*ula*	*kuto*	*wato*	*ilé*

WL = Western Lamaholot

Table 3.21: Comparative data for nouns in EL varieties (Keraf 1978)

Variety	'dog'	'snake'	'head louse'	'stone'	'mountain'
PMP	*asu	*hulaR	*kutu	*batu	*qilih
Lamatuka	*aho*	*ula*	*uto*	*wato*	*ilé*
Lewoeleng	*aho*	*ula*	*uto*	*wato*	*ilé*

EL = Eastern Lamaholot

3.3.3.4 Languages of Timor

On Timor, several Austronesian languages are attested that have lexemes with two forms. Similar to the coda alternating nouns in Central Lembata (cf. §3.3.3.1), these two forms show phonological alternations in their coda and they are used in different morpho-syntactic environments. Therefore, they can be classified as cases of coda alternation. In the Timor cases, the second form is historically derived from its base by metathesis or by consonant insertion. Consonant insertion — the insertion of *r* before the suffix *-u* 'SPEC' — is also attested in Central Lembata, but metathesis is not (cf. §3.3.3.1).

Cases of metathesis that create additional forms of lexemes for specific morpho-syntactic contexts are summarised in Edwards (2016a:31-67). Based on current knowledge and documentation, the following languages in the Timor region are reported to have metathesised and unmetathesised forms with morphological function: Leti, Roma, Mambae, Helong and languages of the Meto cluster.[10] Although differing in details, in these languages there is a tendency for a final versus non-final distribution of the two forms on the phrase level. For example in Roma (Steven 1991), the unmetathesised form, such as *krahan* 'house', occurs when an attributive modifiers follows the noun in the phrase, such as in (19a), or in object position, such as *hiwit* 'machete' in (19b). Unmodified nouns occur in the metathesised form, such as *hiwti* 'machete' in (19c).

[10] Based on initial descriptions by Joseph Lovestrand (personal communication), it appears that the language Kodi spoken on Sumba shows very similar patterns of metathesis. Possibly, this pattern is more wide-spread in the region than currently documented.

(19) Roma

a. ***krahan*** *popotna*
house\UNMETATHESISED large
'large house' (Steven 1991:67)

b. *N-la n-dahal* ***hiwit****-a.*
3SG-go 3SG-search machete\UNMETATHESISED-EPN
'He searched for a machete.' (Steven 1991:67)

c. ***Hiwti*** *ta-walli.*
machete\METATHESISED NEG-exist
'There wasn't any machete.' (Steven 1991:67)

To some extent, this pattern is similar to Central Lembata. In the Roma examples above, the unmetathesised form would correspond to the short form in Central Lembata, while the metathesised form would correspond to the long form (cf. §3.3.1.2).

Cases of final consonant insertion that create an additional form of a lexeme are attested in Amfo'an, a variety of Meto, and in varieties closely related to Amfo'an (Culhane 2019). An interesting parallel between the consonant insertion in Amfo'an and consonant insertion in Central Lembata is the following. In addition to the insertion of regular *g* and *j* in Amfo'an, Culhane (2019:75, 77) finds the insertion of *l* in certain words unexplained. Historically, the inserted *l* comes from *r. Also Central Lembata inserts the liquid *r* which is of unknown origin. This putative connection remains to be examined further.

In the TAP family, coda alternating forms of a lexemes in different morphosyntactic distributions are not attested. Reduced nouns in Makalero have some similarities in distribution with the coda alternation cases described in this section. However, only three lexemes with reduced forms are attested in Makalero: *ara-* ← *arapau* 'buffallo', *oma-* ← *omar* 'stilt house' and *nu-* ← *nunu* 'lips' (Huber 2011:120). These reduced forms dropped their final consonant or final syllable. They are found in nominal compounds and as verbal complements.

3.3.3.5 Summary

Coda alternation is attested throughout Central Lamaholot as well as in some Austronesian languages of Timor. The similarities in function, i. e. two forms

for different morpho-syntactic environments, and, for some languages also in strategy, i.e. consonant insertion in Central Lembata and Amfo'an, are striking. Nevertheless, there is no evidence to assume a shared innovation for this phenomenon in Central Lembata and the languages of Timor. Thus, coda alternation may be seen as a "universal" strategy attested in the region to mark an opposition in syntactic position for certain word classes, mainly nouns.

3.3.4 Noun phrases

3.3.4.1 Basic noun phrases

A noun phrase (NP) in Central Lembata has the following slots.

Table 3.22: Noun phrase template

NP slots	Core		Subordinate	Final	
Elements	N (N) (N)	NUM	relative clause	DEM	DISC

This NP template shows all possible noun phrase slots and the elements that can be inserted in these slots. In a noun phrase, all elements apart from one noun (N) are optional.

The core slot contains up to three nouns. If no numeral (NUM) is present, the final noun in the core slot can take a suffix, whereas all preceding nouns cannot be marked morphologically. The suffixes available for inalienable nouns (possessor) and for alienable nouns (plural and specificity) have been discussed in §3.3.1. With a numeral in the final position of the core slot, no morphological marking of the preceding noun is allowed (cf. §3.3.4.4). The core slot of the NP can be followed by a relative clause which is semantically subordinated but structurally simply juxtaposed (cf. §3.3.4.5). Following the subordinate slot, there is a final slot which can contain a demonstrative (DEM) and one or both of the discourse particles (DISC) *ro* 'FIN' and *bo* 'DISC' or less frequently *di* 'DISC' (cf. §3.3.4.6).

The simplest noun phrase contains a noun alone, either inalienable (20) or alienable (21).

(20) ***Ina-ga*** *Lélu.*
mother-1SG.POSS NAME
'My mother is Lelu.' (M1:4)

(21) ***Kopong*** *gelé-na.*
child\L sleep-3SG
'The child sleeps.' (F2:4)

Inalienable head nouns are marked with a suffix, such as *-ga* '1SG.POSS' in (20). Alienable head nouns are optionally marked with *-u* 'SPEC', such as in (22) or *-ja* 'PL', such as in (23).

(22) ***Aor-u*** *gelé dori-nga.*
dog-SPEC sleep follow-3SG
'The dog also sleeps.' (F1:5)

(23) ***Kopong-a*** *da=maluw-i.*
child-PL 3PL=be.hungry-3PL
'The children are hungry.' (L3:189)

In general, most nouns preceding the main noun in the core NP are possessors of inalienable nouns and in that case the core NP is an inalienable possessive construction (cf. §3.3.4.2). Additional nouns preceding an alienable noun are more restricted. Only a hyponym-hypernym (kind-category) relation can be expressed between an alienable nouns and another noun preceding it. The alienable noun then expresses a kind and is preceded by another noun expressing a category. This is illustrated in (24) where the alienable head noun *granak* 'young male' expresses that the referent of *kopo granak* is 'a male kind' of the category 'child'.

(24) ***Kopo granak*** *kéda kéi.*
child\S young.male big PFV
'The boy is already grown up.' (C1:92)

As the head noun in this kind of construction is an alienable noun, it can be marked for plural, as in (25), or for specificity, as in (26).

(25) *Bo dané* ***kopo grana-sa*** *d-awa.*
DISC 3PL child\S young.male-PL 3PL-still
'They were still boys.' (M2:104)

(26) *... ta=dapat* ***manuk teluk-u.***
1PL.INCL=get chicken egg-SPEC
'... we will get eggs.' (C3:115)

The sentence in (27) is an example of a noun phrase which has three nouns and a numeral in the core NP.

(27) ***Kopo lamé anak*** ***tuné*** *na=diro duu anem tuné.*
child male small.one one 3SG=PROG see thing one
'A boy is looking at something.' (S3:27)

This complex NP includes an inalienable possessive construction with *kopo lamé* 'boy' as the possessor and *anak* 'small.one' as the inalienably possessed noun.

3.3.4.2 Inalienable possessive construction

An inalienable head noun and its preceding possessor noun can express various semantic relations. These are possessum-possessor, meronym-holonym (part-whole), hyponym-hypernym (kind-category) and property relations.

In an inalienable possessive construction, the inalienable noun expresses the possessum, e.g. *ulu* 'head', and is marked with a possessor suffix (cf. §3.4.3), while the preceding noun denotes the possessor, e.g. *witi* 'goat', such as in (28).

(28) ***witi ulu-n***
goat\s head-3SG.POSS
'the goat's head' (NT:2)

In this construction, it is possible to replace the possessor noun with proclitic, such as *mo=* '2SG' in (29) or *kam=* '1PL.EXCL' in (30).

(29) ***Mo=lima-m*** *nao ga re?*
2SG=hand-2SG.POSS kind where now
'How is your hand now?' (C6:177)

(30) ***kam=ina-mi***
1PL.EXCL=mother-1PL.EXCL.POSS
'our mothers' (M3:116)

When the possessor is expressed by a preceding nominal, free pronoun or clitic, the possessor suffix on the inalienable noun can be left unexpressed, as in (31).

(31) ***rusa ulu***
deer\S head
'the deer's head' (F1:42)

Part-whole relations are expressed by a construction that is parallel to an inalienable possessive construction. In addition to the pronominal possessor suffix, a nominal possessor obligatorily precedes the inalienable noun, as exemplified in (32). In (32), the inalienable head noun *lolo* 'leaf' refers to a meronym, a part of whole. Its holonym is expressed by *skajo* 'tuber\S'. The meronym *lolo* 'leaf' is marked by a possessor suffix, such as the possessed noun in a possessive construction, while the holonym *skajo* 'tuber' in the dependent slot remains unmarked, in the same way as the possessor in a possessive construction.

(32) ***skajo lolo-nu***
tuber\S leaf-3SG.POSS
'a tuber leaf' (C5:18)

Finally, an inalienable head noun can express a kind, such as *snipan* 'side', of a certain category, such as *éka* 'garden\S' in (33) where the use of the possessor suffix *-i* '3PL' on the head noun *snipan* 'side' yields a plural reading of the noun phrase.

(33) *Da=muul-i waak-i* ***éka snipan-i.***
3PL=plant-3PL finish-3PL garden side-3PL.POSS
'They finished planting the side gardens.' (T3:57)

In Central Lembata, property nouns, such as *kédak* 'big.one' in (34), are inalienable nouns from a structural perspective. This means that they can be marked with possessor suffixes, such as *-i* '3PL' in (34).

(34) ***naluk kédak-i***
vegetable big.one-3PL.POSS
'big vegetables' (C5:24)

Here, the inalienable noun *kédak* 'big.one' is preceded by the noun *naluk* 'vegetable' referring to a category 'vegetables', namely 'the big ones'. To represent this structure, this NP could be literally translated with 'the big ones of vegetables' meaning 'big vegetables'.

The singular suffix *-n* '3SG.POSS' can only attach to vowel-final stems. Therefore, consonant-final inalienable nouns, such as *anak* 'small.one' in (35), are not marked for third person singular.

(35) ***Kopo anak*** *kerka-nga.*
child small.one startle-3SG
'The little child gets frightened.' (F1:37)

Inalienable nouns ending in a vowel can be optionally marked with a possessor suffix, such as the 3SG.POSS suffix in (36).

(36) ***labur weru*(*-n*)**
shirt new.one-3SG.POSS
'new shirt' (NB:34)

For third person possessors in singular and in plural, the third person possessor suffix can be left out. This is observed especially in nouns expressing parts of wholes and property concepts where the possessor is also expressed in a preceding nominal. However, the pattern of this variation remains unclear and more research is needed.

3.3.4.3 Alienable possessive constructions

Nominal possessors of alienable nouns cannot be part of the core NP. Only free alienable possessor pronouns (cf. §3.4.3) can be found in the slot preceding an alienable noun. The NPs in (37) and (38) are examples of free possessor pronouns preceding the alienable noun within the core NP.

(37) ***go*=*kopong***
1SG.POSS=child
'my child' (L3:195)

(38) *Mo m-eti* ***moé*** ***tapo-ja?***
2SG 2SG-bring 2SG.POSS coconut-PL
'Did you bring your coconuts?' (C3:131)

In an alienably possessed noun phrase, a possessor pronoun is obligatory and cannot be replaced by a nominal possessor. However, a nominal possessor can optionally be added as an independent noun phrase which precedes the possessed noun phrase as in (39).

(39) ***Jon no Méri*** *da=unan-u*
NAME and NAME 3PL.POSS=house-SPEC
'John and Mary's house' (N1:2)

In this example, the possessor NP *Jon no Méri* precedes the alienably possessed NP. In the alienably possessed NP, the possessor clitic *da=* '3PL.POSS' precedes the alienable noun *unan-u* 'house-SPEC'.

3.3.4.4 The numeral slot

After the noun in the core NP, a numeral (cf. §3.5.2.2) can occur as shown in (40).

(40) *klié kora tuné*
bird\S owl\S one
'an owl' (F1:36)

In this core NP, there are two nouns followed by a numeral. The coda alternating noun *klié* 'bird\S' appears in the short form as it is modified by *kora* 'owl' and the *kora* 'owl' appears also in the short form as it is modified by the numeral *tuné* 'one' (cf. §3.3.1.2). The reason to analyse the numeral as part of the core NP is that it yields the short form of the preceding coda alternating noun. This is different from demonstratives which do not yield the short form of a preceding alternating noun and are thus considered to be outside of the core NP.

In noun phrases with inalienable nouns, the numeral slot can also be filled, such as in (41). However, the use of a numeral does not permit any possessor marking on the preceding inalienable noun, here *ulu* 'head'.

(41) *rusa ulu tuné*
deer\S head one
'a deer's head' (F1:14)

This omission of the possessor suffix on an inalienable nouns appears parallel to the observation that coda alternating alienable nouns followed by a numeral, as *kora* 'owl\s' in (40) followed by *tuné* 'one', have to appear in the short form which cannot take any suffixes.

Any numeral that is higher than one is obligatorily preceded by the general classifier *ua* 'CLF' as in (42).

(42) *Skajo ua telu da=taru jé méja lolo.*
tuber\S CLF three 3PL=place upwards table top
'Three cassava roots are placed on the table.' (FH3:25)

The combination of classifier and numeral behaves in the same way as the numeral 'one' by not allowing any morphological marking on the noun and yielding the short form of coda alternating nouns, such as *skajo* 'tuber\s'.

3.3.4.5 Relative clauses

Central Lembata does not have a native marker for relative clauses. Usually, juxtaposition of clauses (cf. §3.6.11) is used rather than embedding. However, under the influence of the national language Indonesian, the Indonesian relative marker *yang* has entered Central Lembata speech and is very productive.

A relative clause is placed in the REL slot following dependent, head, and numerals, while preceding the demonstrative and slot for discourse markers. A relative clause can be used to relativise subject noun phrases (43) as well as object noun phrases (44) but it can also function as a nominaliser (45).

(43) *Tité, yang soga una biasan-i di, tité*
1PL.INCL REL hold house normal-3PL.POSS DISC 1PL.INCL
kaa t-olu.
1PL.INCL.eat 1PL.INCL-precede
'Us, who have an ordinary house, we eat first.' (T3:265)

(44) *Buku, yang go opi wo ro, weli.*
book REL 1SG buy DIST FIN expensive
'The book that I bought was expensive.' (NB:84)

(45) *Kaju mekul bo yang klopor.*
wood part DISC REL round
'The piece of wood [is] the round one.' (S7:35)

The functions of the relativiser *yang* shown here in Central Lembata sentences are the same functions that the word *yang* has in Indonesian. Also the syntactic position of the relative clause before the demonstrative matches with the position of an Indonesian relative clause.

3.3.4.6 Phrase-final slots

The last two slots in an NP are the demonstrative slot and the slot for discourse particles. An example of a NP with demonstrative and the discourse particle *bo* in the final slots is given in (46).

(46) ***Magu tu ré bo*** *na tobé-nga woné una lerit.*
man one PROX DISC 3SG sit-3SG DIST house edge
'This man is sitting at the edge of the house.' (S5:42)

Here, the noun phrase is headed by the alienable noun *magu* 'man' followed by a numeral, and then the proximate demonstrative *ré* in the demonstrative slot and the discourse particle *bo* the slot for end particles. Demonstratives are discussed in more detail in §3.3.5 and §3.7.1. Discourse particles are are introduced in §3.6.10.

3.3.5 Demonstratives in noun phrases

Central Lembata demonstratives (cf. §3.7.1) can replace a noun or a noun phrase, as seen in (47) with *wé* 'PROX', but also appear adnominally to locate a noun phrase in space, as seen in (48) with *wo* 'DIST'. In example (47), the demonstrative *wé* 'PROX' is functioning as a subject NP, whereas in (48), the demonstrative *wo* 'DIST' locates the object NP *kaju tawa kédak* 'big tree' in space and follows the noun phrase.

(47) *Wé da=lewor.*
PROX 3PL.POSS=village
'This is their village.' (NT:9)

(48) *... ké dekul-a, dekul-a kaju tawa kédak wo ...*
so crash-3SG crash-3SG tree stem big DIST
'... so he crashes, he crashes into that big tree ...' (S2:16)

The distal demonstratives, such as *wo* 'DIST' in (49), and the demonstrative *nakété*, such as in (50), can also be used anaphorically. In (49), the distal demonstrative *wo* 'DIST' specifies that the storage house had been mentioned before.

(49) *Wétak wo tité bérsi-nga kéi.*
storage.house DIST 1PL.INCL clean-3SG already
'We already cleaned that storage house.' (T3:170)

In (50), the use of the anaphoric demonstrative *nakété* indicates that the speaker is talking about the same child as he had already mentioned in the discourse.

(50) *Kopong-u nakété diré léda la ama-n.*
child-SPEC ANAPH stand lean LOC father-3SG.POSS
'That child stands leaning against his father.' (S2:2)

3.3.6 Nominalising morphology

Derivation by means of prefixes and infixes has been described for several Lamaholot varieties (Arndt 1937:6-16; Keraf 1978a:185-222; Pampus 1999:31-36). The most frequent nominalising affixes in Central Lembata are the general nominaliser *-n-* with its allomorph *b-* (§3.3.6.1) and the suffix *-k* (§3.3.6.2) which is only used to derive property nouns. These derivational processes appear to be fossilised nowadays. In some cases, only the derived form is still in use while its base has become obsolete. Most consonant clusters in Central Lembata probably go back to derived forms (cf. Table 3.6). In the following sections, I provide examples of each nominalisation affix.

3.3.6.1 The infix *-n-* and its allomorph *b-*

The infix *-n-* and the prefix *b-* are allomorphs of a nominalisation affix.[11] They typically nominalise a verb or an adjectival root. In a few cases, the

[11] As similar system of nominalisation morphology with even more allomorphs of the infix *-n-* has been described for Leti, an Austronesian language spoken to the east of Timor island (Blevins 1999).

base can also be a noun. The allomorphs are distributed according to the initial phoneme of the base, as laid out in Table 3.23. The prefix *b-* is preceding bases starting with *n*, *d*, *w* and *l*. In all other cases, the infix *-n-* is inserted directly after the word initial consonant. The choice of the allomorph appears to be related partially to the place of articulation of the initial consonant of the base. The prefix *b-* is used with stems starting with labial (*w*) or coronal (*n,d,l*) consonants, while the infix *-n-* is attested with consonants of labial, coronal and also dorsal places of articulation.

A nominalised vowel-final verb can take an additional final consonant, *k*, *r*, *ng* or *n*, during the derivation process, such as *k* in *wara* 'burn' → *bwarak* 'in burning condition'. In some cases, it is unclear whether the final consonant belongs to the verbal stem (but is not realised when the verb appears in its bare form) or if it is indeed suffixed during the derivation process.

Table 3.23: The nominalisation infix *-n-* and its allomorph *b-*

Allomorph	Initial C	Base	Derivative
b-	*n*	*néka* 'shine'	***b****néken* 'light'
	d	*dori* 'follow'	***b****dorin* 'the following (person)'
	w	*wara* 'burn'	***b****warak* 'in burning/ hot condition'
	l	*lawaj* 'stretch' (weaving process)	***b****lawaj* 'stretching tool'
-n-	any other	*tiba* 'ladle sth'	*t****n****iba* 'scoop'

Infixation with *-n-* leads to the morpho-phonological processes in Table 3.24. An initial *g* of the verb becomes voiceless when the infix is added. Initial bilabial *b* or *p* can lead to the merger of the nasal infix and the initial consonant into a single initial nasal *m*. The alveolar stop *t* followed by the infix can be deleted. However, this rule is only sporadically found. An example of an exception is *tungen* 'cover' → *tnungen* 'covered' where *t* is retained.

Table 3.24: Morpho-phonological processes following infixation

Process	Base	Derivative
g > *k* / _-*n*-	***g****orot* 'sweep'	***kn****orot* 'broom'
-*n*- > *m*- / #{*p*, *b*}_	***b****alok* 'mill sth.'	***m****alok* 'cotton mill'
	p*ujé* 'follow (object)'	***m****ujéng* 'new, following'
-*n*- > *n*- / #*t*_	***t****ukar* 'climb'	***n****ukar* 'steep condition'

There are several generalisations that can be drawn from the semantics of the bases and their nominal derivatives. When an action or action-process verb is nominalised, the derived noun will denote either the actor of the action, the tool to perform the action or the result of the process. In a few cases, the base is not an action verb but a noun. Examples of nominalised action verbs that express actions, tools or results are listed in Table 3.25.

Table 3.25: Nominalised action verbs

Base (v.)	Gloss	Derivative (n.)	Gloss
Action		Actor	
dori	'follow'	***b****dori****n***	'the following (person)'
kiok	'bleep'	*k****n****iok*	'chicks'
lalan	'way' (n.)	***b****lalan*	'walker'
n-olu	'3SG-precede'	***b****nolu****ng***	'ancestors'
téré	'fill up'	***t****n****é****r****é****ng***	'person that fills sth. up'
Action-Process		Tool	
balok	'mill' (v.)	***m****alok*	'cotton mill'
bosil	'crash candlenuts'	***m****osil*	'candlenut crasher'
géséng	'rub'	*k****n****éséng*	'a tool to make fire (by rubbing)'
gorot	'sweep'	*k****n****orot*	'broom'
lawaj	to stretch (weaving process)	***b****lawaj*	'stretching tool'
sapé	'hang'	***s****n****a****p****é****ng***	'hanger'

Base (v.)	Gloss	Derivative (n.)	Gloss
sawit	'break/cut'	*s**n**awit*	'kind of tool'
sigi	'prick'	*s**n**igi*	'toothpick'
sipat	'plant'	*s**n**ipat*	'dibble stick'
subat	'close' (v.)	*s**n**ubat*	'cap'
tiba	'ladle'	*t**n**iba*	'scoop'
Action-Process		Result/Property	
békén	'let ripe'	*b**n**ékén*	'stored to get ripe'
bisak	'break'	*b**n**isak*	'broken'
bitol	'open' (v.)	*b**n**itol*	'open' (adj.)
bukat	'open' (v.)	*b**n**ukat*	'open' (adj.)
diri	'stand'	***b**diri**ng***	'standing'
dori	'follow (human)'	***b**dori**ng***	'the following'
géngar	'fry'	*k**n**éngar*	'fried'
kuluk	'seed' (n.)	*k**n**uluk*	'round'
néka	'shine'	***b**néke**n***	'light'
n-olu	'3SG-precede'	**nolung**	'old, preceding'
paken	'name' (v.)	***m**aken*	'name'
pujé	'follow (object)'	***m**ujé**ng***	'new, following'
suda	'order; command' (v.)	*s**n**uda**ng***	'slave'
taki	'make a ladder'	*t**n**aki*	'tree stairs'
tejak	'break'	*t**n**ejak*	'broken'
tetuk	'crash'	***n**etuk*	'crashed'
tisa	'tier up'	*t**n**isa**ng***	'torn; broken'
tukar	'climb'	***n**ukar*	'steep'
tungen	'cover' (v.)	*t**n**ungen*	'covered'

When a verb denoting an involuntary process is nominalised, the derived noun will express the result of this process. Examples are given in Table 3.26.

Table 3.26: Nominalised verbs of involuntary processes

Base (v.)	Gloss	Derivative (n.)	Gloss
Involuntary process		Result	
belok	'appear'	***m**elok*	'hole'
diri	'stand'	***b**diri**ng***	'in standing condition'
mataj-	'die'	*maté**k***	'dead'
segu	'smoke' (fire)	*s**n**egu**r***	'smoke'
seman	'get rotten'	*s**n**eman*	'something that is rotten'
sobaj	'swell'	*s**n**obaj*	'in swollen condition'
wara	'burn'	***b**wara**k***	'in burning/hot condition'

Finally, adjectival roots can also be nominalised with the infix *-n-*. In this case, the semantic of the word does not change but it is rather the syntax of the phrase that determines whether the property concept has to be expressed as an adjective or a noun. More details on the grammar of property concepts can be found in §3.3.1.1 and §3.6.6.

Table 3.27: Nominalised adjectival roots

Base (adj.)	Derivative (n.)	Gloss
berat	*b**n**erat*	'heavy'
gewa	*k**n**ewa**k***	'rotten'
gilu	*k**n**ilu**k***	'sour'
kati	*k**n**ati**ng***	'hot'
koda	*k**n**oda**n***	'long' (time)
pait	*p**n**ait*	'bitter'
peju	*p**n**eju**k***	'salty'
seba	*s**n**eba**r***	'wet'
seru	*s**n**eru**k***	'sweet'
susa	*s**n**usa**n***	'poor'
sukar	*s**n**ukar*	'difficult'

3.3.6.2 The suffix *-k*

The suffix *-k* attaches mainly to adjectival roots, and in a few cases also to nouns, as exemplified in Table 3.28. The suffix *-k* yields the meaning of 'being like the object denoted' (for nominal bases) or 'being in the condition of the property denoted' (for adjectival bases). The nominalised adjectival roots are property nouns which are semantically not different from their roots but functionally distinct (cf. §3.3.1.1 and§3.6.6).

Table 3.28: Derived property nouns with the suffix -k

Basis		Derived property noun	
Nominal base			
rema	'night' (obsolete)	*rema**k***	'dark'
watu	'stone'	*watu**k***	'frozen (stone condition)'
Adjectival root			
ana	'small'	*ana**k***	'small (condition)'
buja	'white'	*buja**k***	'white (condition)'
daé	'close by'	*daé**k***	'close (condition)'
doa	'far away'	*doa**k***	'far (condition)'

3.3.7 Summary

Central Lembata has a grammatical distinction between inalienable and alienable nouns. Inalienbale nouns take obligatory possessor suffixes, while alienable nouns optionally take a plural or a specificity suffix. The class of alienable nouns can be subdivided into two formal classes: simple nouns that have only one form, and coda alternating nouns that have one long and one short form. The use of the two forms of coda alternating nouns is syntactically conditioned. Long forms appear in final position of a preverbal core NP, while short forms are used in non-final position of a core NP and in any position of a post-verbal object NP. A Central Lembata noun phrase has a core part with up to three nouns and a numeral. Following the core NP, there is a final slot for demonstratives and discourse markers. A relative clause can be inserted in between the core NP and the NP-final slot.

Only the noun in the final position of the core NP can be morphologically marked. Demonstratives differentiate distal and proximate distance. They can replace a noun phrase or locate a noun phrase in space or discourse. In Central Lembata two main nominalising affixes are attested: the infix *-n-* nominalises verbs and the suffix *-k* nominalises adjectival roots and, to a lesser extent, also nouns.

3.4 Pronominals

3.4.1 Overview

Free and bound pronominals can replace a noun or a noun phrase. Only bound pronominals can occur with a co-referential noun phrase. In this section on pronominals, I discuss free pronouns, pronominal clitics and pronominal affixes. The Central Lembata has pronominals are summarised in Table 3.29 and 3.30. Core argument pronouns, clitics and affixes denote a core argument of a clause, i. e. intransitive subject (S), transitive subject (A) or object (P). Possessor pronouns, clitics and suffixes denote the alienable or inalienable possessor of a possessed entity. In addition, pronominal proclitics and suffixes are relevant for mood and aspect marking as I show in the respective sections below (cf. §3.4.2.2 and §3.4.2.4). In the tables, free variants are separated by a slash, while conditioned allomorphs are separated by a semicolon. Several overlapping forms can be observed across the paradigms. In the sections hereafter, I discuss each pronoun set separately in more detail.

Table 3.29: Overview of Central Lembata core argument pronominals

	S/A/P Free	S/A Proclitics	S/A Prefixes	S/P Suffixes	
				G-set	K-set
1SG	*goné* / *go*	*ka=*	*k-*	*-ga*	*-ka*
2SG	*moné* / *mo*	*ma=*	*m-*	*-gu*; *-u*	*-ku*
3SG	*nané*	*na=*	*n-*	*-nga*; *-a*	*-na*
1PL.INCL	*tité*	*ta=*	*t-*	*-sa*	*-sa*
1PL.EXCL	*kamé*	*kam=*	*m-*	*-mi*	*-mi*
2PL	*mio*	*ma=*	*m-*	*-mi*	*-mi*
3PL	*dané*	*da=*	*d-*	*-ngi*; *-i*	*-Ø*

Table 3.30: Overview of Central Lembata possessor pronominals

	Alienable		Inalienable		
	Free	Proclitic	Free	Proclitic	Suffix
1SG	*goé*	*go=*	*goné*	*go=*	*-ga*
2SG	*moé*	*mo=*	*moné*	*mo=*	*-mu*
3SG	*naé*	*na=* / *né=*	*nané*	*na=*	*-nu*; *-V*; *-Ø*
1PL.INCL	*tité*		*tité*		*-sa*
1PL.EXCL	*kamé*	*kam=*	*kamé*	*kam=*	*-mi*
2PL	*mio*		*mio*		*-mi*
3PL	*daé*	*da=* / *dé=*	*dané*	*da=*	*-ja*; *-i*

When comparing the pronominal paradigms, several identical forms can be observed. The free pronouns for core arguments and for inalienable possessors are identical, with the exception that the core argument pronoun set includes two short forms for 1SG and 2SG. These cannot be analysed as proclitics because they also appear in post-verbal object position. The free pronouns denoting alienable possessors diverge in four out of seven forms from the other free pronoun sets.

The proclitics are in most cases abbreviations of the full free pronouns. Exceptions are the proclitics *ka=* '1SG', *ma=* '2SG', *ta=* '1PL.INCL' and *ma=* '2PL' which are only found in the proclitic set referring to core arguments and

not in the set referring to possessors. The initial consonants of the these proclitics are the same as in the free forms, except for *ka=* '1SG' which also diverges in the consonant, but the vowel is generalised to /a/ which is not found in the long form. Functionally, the subset of proclitics that are not directly derived from the free forms only appears in irrealis contexts.

In the suffix paradigms, the same forms occur for 1PL.INCL, 1PL.EXCL and 2PL across all paradigms, while the same form for 1SG is found in the inalienable possessor suffixes and in one of the S/P suffix sets.

The question must be asked whether the identical forms are homophones or syncretic, that is two different forms with the same phonological shape or one form with two meanings. In this grammar sketch, I treat them as homophones. In the glossing, I differentiate possessor pronouns from core argument pronouns, by glossing forms such as *go* either as '1SG' or '1SG.POSS' depending on their meaning in the context.

In the following sections, I first discuss core argument pronouns in §3.4.2, followed by a section on alignment of core arguments in 3.4.2.5. Possessor pronouns are introduced in 3.4.3.

3.4.2 Core argument pronominals

3.4.2.1 Free pronouns

In Table 3.31, I present the Central Lembata free pronouns. The set of full disyllabic pronouns is complete, whereas the set of monosyllabic free forms just contains pronouns for the first and second person singular.

Table 3.31: Free pronouns

	Full	Short
1SG	*goné*	*go*
2SG	*moné*	*mo*
3SG	*nané*	-
1PL.INCL	*tité*	-
1PL.EXCL	*kamé*	-
2PL	*mio*	-
3PL	*dané*	-

Historically, the ultimate syllable *né* found in all singular forms and in the third person plural is an addition, it cannot be reconstructed to a higher level than Proto-Lamaholot. This syllable appears to have been added to make the whole set of pronouns disyllabic. The same ultimate syllable is also found in locationals (cf. §3.7.1). The origin and meaning of *né* remains unknown.

Free pronouns have the same distribution as nouns, with the restriction that pronouns cannot be modified by other nouns or numerals. All full and short free pronouns can appear as S, A and P arguments, thus in both subject and object position. This makes them different from the proclitics discussed in 3.4.2.2 further below.

Free pronouns can also stand in isolation or be combined with other elements, such as a demonstrative, in a noun phrase as in (51) and (52). In these examples, the full pronouns *nané* '3SG' and *tité* '1PL.INCL' are combined with the proximate demonstratives *ré* and *wé* respectively in the same way as regular nouns are combined with demonstratives, as for example *aor wé* glossed as 'dog PROX' and translated as 'this dog'.

(51) ***Nané ré*** *surit.*
3SG PROX sword
'This is a weaving sword.' (I2:67)

(52) ***Tité*** ***wé*** *t-o* *ga* *t-ai?*
1PL.INCL PROX 1PL.INCL-to where 1PL.INCL-go
'Where are we going to?' (L3:92)

3.4.2.2 Pronominal clitics

The Central Lembata proclitics given in Table 3.32 denote S and A subject arguments. The proclitics can be optionally preceded by a co-referential free pronoun or a full NP. Central Lembata shows a full paradigm of proclitic pronouns. However functionally, the set is not homogeneous. A subset of proclitic pronouns can only appear in irrealis contexts.

Table 3.32: Pronominal S/A clitics

	Proclitic	Context
1SG	*ka=*	Irrealis
2SG	*ma=*	Irrealis
3SG	*na=*	Realis & Irrealis
1PL.INCL	*ta=*	Irrealis
1PL.EXCL	*kam=*	Realis & Irrealis
2PL	*ma=*	Irrealis
3PL	*da=*	Realis & Irrealis

Three pronouns, *na=* '3SG', *kam=* '1PL.EXCL' and *da=* '3PL', can appear in all contexts, i. e. in realis and irrealis sentences. An example is (53), where the proclitic *na=* '3SG' attaches to the instransitive verb *géji* 'enter', indexing an S argument on the verb.

(53) *Kopo biné tu* ***na****=géji wo una.*
child\S female\S one 3SG=enter DIST house\S
'A girl enters the house.' (FH1:15)

In (54), the proclitic *na=* '3SG' is the only element denoting the A argument of the first clause with the verb *pakit* 'peel'.

(54) ***na****=pakit-a pa na=gaa*
3SG=peel-3SG then 3SG=eat
'She peels it, then she eats.' (FH4:27)

The remaining pronouns, *ka=* '1SG', *ma=* '2SG', *ta=* '1PL.INCL and *ma=* '2PL, are only found in irrealis sentences. Irrealis mood is used to express that there is no evidence for an event or state having actually happened (Payne 1997:244). In Central Lembata, three irrealis contexts are attested: the expression of intentions or future events, negated sentences and imperatives. In the following examples, the speaker expresses the intention to do something, in (55) the time reference is immediate future and in (56) it is distant future.

(55) *Ma* ***ka****=tutu ré bo tentang Jon no Méri.*
want 1SG=tell now DISC about NAME and NAME
'I want to tell now about John and Mary.' (N1:1)

(56) *Sampé minggu jua kia, nepo **ka**=k-ai duur-a éka.*
until week two INCEP later 1SG=1SG-go look-3SG garden
'Only in two weeks from now, I will go to look after the garden.' (N3:117)

In addition to intentions or future events, proclitics are also used in negated sentences (57), and in imperatives (58). The 3PL suffix in (58) is unexpressed.

(57) *Ta **ka**=k-éten-a si.*
NEG 1SG=1SG-know-3SG NEG
'I don't know.' (UM:34)

(58) ***Ma**=guté-Ø wé ka=lou-ngi.*
2SG=take-3PL so.that 1SG=rinse-3PL
'Take them [washed cloths], so that I can rinse them.' (C3:93)

Since first and second person proclitics (except for 1PL.EXCL) can only be used in irrealis contexts, no first and second proclitics can be used when realis contexts are expressed, instead free pronouns are used in such contexts. The fact that the restriction for irrealis contexts only applies to first and second person might be related to the fact that first and second person are more often used in expressions of intention and in imperatives, which are two of the typical irrealis context in Central Lembata.

3.4.2.3 Pronominal prefixes

The pronominal prefixes listed in Table 3.33 attach to a fixed set of vowel-initial verb roots given in (59). The majority of synchronic vowel-initial verbs in Central Lembata do not take any prefix. In contrast to the productive S/P marking suffixes discussed in the following section, these prefixes index S/A arguments on the verb and they cannot be left out.

Table 3.33: Prefix pronouns for S/A core arguments

1SG	*k-*
2SG	*m-*
3SG	*n-*
1PL.INCL	*t-*
1PL.EXCL	*m-*
2PL	*m-*
3PL	*d-*

(59) Verbal roots which take person prefixes
-a∼*-a*[12] 'unintentionally', *-ai* 'go', *-al* 'wear', *-ao* 'be like', *-ar* 'do', *-ata* 'the one that ...', *-awa* 'still', *-énu* 'drink', *-era* 'become; use; wear', *-éten* 'know; understand', *-eti* 'bring', *-ewa* 'catch; reach', *-ia* 'stay', *-o* 'towards', *-olu* 'precede', *-ora* 'join; be with'.

For some of the roots listed in (59), a generalisation of the third person singular prefix *n-* to all persons can be observed. This affects the stems *-ao* 'be like' in collocations as *nao gané* 'how' or *nao wé* 'like this', the aspect marker *-awa* 'still', the destination marker *-o* 'towards' and the commitative marker *-ora* 'join; be with'. The first person plural inclusive prefix *t-* and the third person plural prefix *d-* are still found on these words but not in all contexts that would semantically demand them. Other person prefixes on these words are not found at all in my corpus.

3.4.2.4 Pronominal suffixes

Central Lembata has two functionally identical suffix sets given in 3.34. Both suffix sets mark S and P arguments. The two suffix sets are named after the initial consonants of their first and second person singular forms. For the 2SG, 3SG and 3PL suffixes in the set of G-suffixes, different allmorphs are used for vowel-final and consonant-final stems, as for example *-ngi* '3PL' for vowel-final stems and *-i* for consonant-final stems.

[12] This is a fully reduplicated form where both parts take the obligatory prefix. An example is *kaka* '1SG-unintentionally∼1SG-unintentionally'.

Table 3.34: Pronominal S/P suffixes

	G-suffixes	K-suffixes
1SG	*-ga*	*-ka*
2SG	*-gu* / *-u*	*-ku*
3SG	*-nga* / *-a*	*-na*
1PL.INCL	*-sa*	*-sa*
1PL.EXCL	*-mi*	*-mi*
2PL	*-mi*	*-mi*
3PL	*-ngi* / *-i*	*-Ø*

The G-suffixes are highly productive and are used with the majority of verbal stems in Central Lembata. In addition to verbal predicates, the G-suffixes also attach to nominal predicates. In (60), the suffix *-i* '3PL' marks the intransitive subject of the verb. The same argument is also marked by a proclitic, this leads to double marking which is frequently found in Central Lembata (cf. §3.6.1).

(60) *Pa da=panaw-**i**.*
then 3PL=walk-3PL
'Then they left.' (N4:37)

The G-suffixes are also found on recent loans from Indonesian as in (61), where the third singular suffix *-a* '3SG' marks the transitive object (P) of the verb *rékam* 'record' which is a loan from Indonesian.

(61) *Mo rékam-**a** wé.*
2SG record-3SG PROX
'You recorded this.' (C1:176)

The K-suffixes are a minor pattern which is less productive and only found on certain verbal predicates. The K-suffixes have the same functions as the G-suffixes, thus indexing S or P such as in (62) and (63). In (62), the intransitive verb *toba* 'fall' indexes the first person singular subject (S) argument using *-ka* '1SG'.

(62) *... ké toba-**ka**.*
thus fall-1SG
'... so, I fell down.' (N2:69)

In (63), the transitive verb *bélo* 'cut' takes the first person singular suffix *-ka* '1SG' to mark the object (P) argument.

(63) *Ma=bélo-**ka**.*
2SG=cut-1SG
'You will kill me.' (N4:74)

Unlike the G-suffixes, K-suffixes appear on a closed class of verbal stems. The presence of the phoneme *k* in the 1SG and 2SG suggests they are older forms as *k* occurs in the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) pronouns *aku '1SG' and *kahu '2SG' (Blust and Trussel 2010). This distinction between G- and K-suffixes is also relevant in §3.5.2 on verb classes, as the verb classes are named after the suffix paradigm they take, thus K-suffix verbs and G-suffix verbs.

The use of pronominal *suffixes* is determined by the inherent aspect of the predicate, i. e. event or state. Stative predicates are marked with a suffix, while dynamic predicates, expressing an event, do not take a suffix. This can be observed with intransitive verbs (64) as well as transitive verbs (65). Unlike for the suffixes, the presence or absence of a pronominal *proclitic* does not influence the interpretation of the predicate as a state or event.

(64) Intransitive verb: state vs. event

a. *Na=géwé-**na** la watu lolo.*
3SG=rise-3SG LOC stone top
'He has climbed onto the rock.' (NT:5)

b. *Na=géwi la watu lolo.*
3SG=rise LOC stone top
'He is climbing onto the rock.' (NT:5)

(65) Transitive verb: state vs. event

a. *Ema-n rio-**na** na=kopo.*
mother-3SG.POSS wake.up-3SG 3SG.POSS=child\S
'The mother has woken up her child.' (NB:7)

b. *Ema-n rio na=kopo.*
mother-3SG.POSS wake.up 3SG.POSS=child\S
'The mother wakes up her child.' (NB:7)

The two sentences in (64) and (65) are only differentiated by the presence or absence of the person suffix *-na* '3SG' on the verb. The verb *géwi* 'ascend' undergoes vowel lowering of the final vowel when a suffix is added. This is a regular pattern for final high vowels in K-suffix verbs (cf. §3.5.2.2).

The use of the person suffix *-na* '3SG' in (64a) yields a stative interpretation of the clause, whereby the person has completed the process of climbing onto the rock. Without the suffix, as in (64b), the sentence means that the person is in the process of climbing up, thus expressing a dynamic event. Parallel to this, the suffix *-na* '3SG' in (65a) yields a stative meaning, thus the action of waking up the child is completed and the child is awake now. Whereas in (65b), the event of waking up the child is ongoing.

Stative predicates, marked by S/P suffixes, can be combined with a the perfective aspect marker *kéi*, such as in (66a), and dynamic predicates, without suffixes, can occur with the imperfective marker *nawa* 'still', such as in (66b). Although the main verb *lebo* 'bathe' cannot take a suffix in the imperfective context, the verb *nawa* 'still' itself has a pronominal suffix. The predicate as a whole is clearly expressing a dynamic event but the verb *nawa* 'still' as such is non-dynamic. This explains the use of the suffix on this verb.

(66) a. *Go lebo-**ka** waak **kéi**.*
1SG bathe-1SG finish PFV
'I already took a shower.' (NT:15)

b. *Go nawa-ka lebo.*
1SG still-1SG bathe
'I'm still showering.' (NB:25)

Stative predicates do not necessarily refer to a past context. In example (63) above, a future state of being killed is expressed. Also in example (67), an immediate future state is expressed with the suffixed verb *lebo-ka* 'bathe-1SG'. This event is not taking place at the moment of the utterance, therefore the suffix can be used.

(67) *Go ka=lebo-**ka** kia.*
1SG 1SG=bathe-1SG INCEP
'I will take a shower now.' (NT:14)

Under specific circumstances, S/A suffixes may also mark nominal predicates, which are similar to states in being non-dynamic. In (68), I provide an

example of the noun *user* 'content' which takes the verbal person suffix *-a* '3SG' to express the meaning of 'having content'.

(68) *Lisor-u* *mulai* *na=user-**a**.*
rice.plant-SPEC start 3SG=content-3SG
'The rice plants start to have grains.' (T3:109)

Nominal predicates with property nouns, such as in (69), can also be marked with S/P suffixes. In Central Lembata, property concepts are in most contexts expressed by inalienable nouns (cf. §3.6.6 and §3.3.1.1), and these nouns can function predicatively.

(69) a. *Buku mipiw-**a**.*
book thin.one-3SG
'The book gets thin(ner).' (NB:19)

b. *Go golok-**ga**.*
1SG tall.one-1SG
'I am tall. / I get taller.' (NB:65)

In most cases, the use of S/P suffixes on the nominal predicate leads to a procedural reading or a change of state, such as for *mipiw* 'thin.one' in (69a), where the book becomes thinner. In some cases the semantics of the suffixed predicate are more vague, such as in (69b). The translation of (69b), containing the nominal predicate *golok* 'tall.one' with a first person suffix, can either be 'I am tall' or 'I get taller'. Possibly, the suffixes are generally favoured in a third person context, as they are related to uncontrolled, non-dynamic states rather than events, and these are more likely to occur with third persons than with first and second person. This might be a reason why the interpretation of (69b) remains vague. When modified with *bé* 'rather', as in (70a), the nominal predicate is obligatorily suffixed. The same sentence without a suffix, such as in (70b) is ungrammatical.

(70) a. *Da=duu éka* *si* *bé* *lérék-**a**.*
3PL=see condition a.bit rather flat.one-3SG
'They saw that the land was rather flat.' (L2:23)

b. * *Da=duu éka* *si* *bé* *lérék.*
3PL=see condition a.bit rather flat.one
Intended: 'They saw that the land was rather flat.' (NB:88)

In addition, S/P suffixes occur in imperatives, such as in (71).

(71) *Mo boté-**na** kopo wo nau, wé go boti.*
2SG carry-3SG child DIST descend so.that 1SG carry
'Bring that child down here, so that I can carry it.' (NT:5)

Without the S/P suffix *-na* '3SG', the sentence has a declarative reading, as shown in (72), where the verb *boti* 'carry' appears without suffix.

(72) *Mo boti kopo wo nau.*
2SG carry child DIST descend
'You are carrying the child down here.' (NB:87)

The pattern of stative predicates with suffixes and event predicates without suffixes could be a remnant of a semantic alignment system that marks S like P (with a suffix) in stative predicates, and S like A (without a suffix) in event predicates. This is a common pattern in the region (Klamer 2008). However, in Central Lembata not only the marking of S appears to be affected by the dynamics of the predicate but also the marking of P. Thus, P is not always suffixed but this is done only in non-dynamic contexts. In all other contexts P is not marked on the verb.

In addition to the general free pronouns introduced in §3.4.2.1, Central Lembata has complex plural pronouns formed from numerals and pronominal suffixes. Examples of this are given in Table 3.35.

Table 3.35: Complex pronouns based on numerals

	Suffix	*jua* 'two'	*telu* 'three'	*paat* 'four'
1PL.INCL	*-ta* / *-sa*	*jua-ta*	*telo-sa*	*s-paat-i-sa*
1PL.EXCL	*-m(i)*	*jua-mi*	*telo-mi*	*s-paat-i-mi*
2PL	*-m(i)*	*jua-mi*	*telo-mi*	*s-paat-i-mi*
3PL	*-Ø*	*jua-Ø*	*telo-Ø*	*s-paat-i-Ø*

The complex pronouns can appear in all core argument positions, as *juata* in subject position in (73) and *juam* in object position in (74). The 1PL.EXCL and 2PL suffixes can be reduced to *-m*.

(73) *Bambé bo **jua-ta** t-ai lau éka.*
tomorrow DISC two-1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-go seawards garden
'Tomorrow, the two of us will go to the garden.' (N3:72)

(74) *Mo tutu mio **jua-m** néné Kara ro wé.*
2SG tell 2PL two-2PL grandfather NAME FIN PROX
'Tell about the two of you and grandfather Kara!' (C6:178)

The person suffixes, except for *-ta* '1PL.INCL', used in the complex pronouns above are the same as the verbal K-suffixes (cf. Table 3.34). The suffix *-ta* '1PL.INCL' which only appears with numeral *jua* 'two' could be an older form of the first person plural inclusive suffix with the plosive *t* not being fricativised to *s*. For numerals higher than three, the circumfix *s-...-i* is added for all persons. Basically, all one-word-numerals can become complex pronouns by affixation. However, the higher the numeral, the less natural such affixation is.

As numerals share their morpho-syntactic properties with K-suffix verbs, numerals are analysed as a subclass of verbs (cf. §3.5.2.2). Thus the complex numeral pronouns are structurally intransitive verbal predicates.

3.4.2.5 Alignment of core arguments

Free pronouns can be used for all three main argument types, S, A and P. Central Lembata does not have case marking on nouns or pronouns.

However, Central Lembata has a head-marking structure which is manifested in bound pronouns that mark arguments on the verb. As shown in the previous sections, there is one proclitic set (cf. §3.4.2.2), one prefix set (cf. 3.4.2.3) and two suffix sets (cf. §3.4.2.4). When considering grammatical alignment patterns, proclitics and prefixes show nominative-accusative alignment by indexing S and A arguments with the same clitc or prefix on the verb, whereas P arguments remain unmarked. On the other hand, the suffixes follow a ergative-absolutive pattern by marking S and P with the same suffixes on the verb, whereas A remains unmarked.

The great majority of verbs are found in clauses where both alignment patterns operate at the same time. This is shown in the following examples. In (75) and (76), the accusative alignment is visible in the proclitics, as the same proclitic *na=* '3SG' is used in (75) to mark S and in (76), it is used to mark A.

(75) *Na=gelé-na.*
3SG=lie-3SG
'She is lying down.' (N4:21)

(76) *Nepo na=supeng-u.*
later 3SG=pick.up-2SG
'Then she will pick you up.' (C1:240)

In (76) and (77), the ergative alignment is visible in the suffixes, as the same suffix *-u;-gu* '2SG' is used in (76) to mark P, and in (77) to mark S.

(77) *Nepo mo tué-gu.*
later 2SG return-2SG
'The you will return home.' (C1:229)

Obviously, for the class of suffixless verbs (cf. §3.5.2), only nominative-accusative marking is available. As most of the suffixless verbs are intransitive, they only have an S argument and cannot take a suffix. This pattern suggests a split-S alignment system, where, for some verbs, such as the suffixless verbs described here, S is marked in the same way as A, namely without a suffix, and for other verbs, S is marked in the same way as P, namely with a suffix. Further investigation of this is needed to clearly show that this apparent split-S alignment is based on semantic properties of the S argument.[13]

3.4.3 Possessor pronouns and suffixes

Central Lembata has different sets of possessor pronominals for alienable and for inalienable nouns listed in Table 3.36. For alienable nouns, a prenominal free possessor pronoun or a proclitic refers to the possessor, while for inalienable nouns a bound possessor suffix is obligatory and a free pronoun or a proclitic can be added optionally preceding the noun.

[13] Grangé (2015b:43) describes semantic alignment for Eastern Adonara, a variety of Western Lamaholot.

Table 3.36: Possessor prononominals

	Alienable		Inalienable		
	Free	Proclitic	Free	Proclitic	Suffix
1SG	*goé*	*go=*	*goné*	*go=*	*-ga*
2SG	*moé*	*mo=*	*moné*	*mo=*	*-m(u)*
3SG	*naé*	*na=* / *né=*	*nané*	*na=*	*-n(u)*; *-V*; *-Ø*
1PL.INCL	*tité*		*tité*		*-sa*
1PL.EXCL	*kamé*	*kam=*	*kamé*	*kam=*	*-mi*
2PL	*mio*		*mio*		*-mi*
3PL	*daé*	*da=* / *dé=*	*dané*	*da=*	*-ja*; *-i*

Alienable possessor pronouns precede the possessed noun as in (78).

(78) *Naé teman oli.*
3SG.POSS friend arrive
'Her/her friend is coming.' (FH2:15)

In this example, the pronoun *naé* '3SG.POSS' marks the noun *teman* 'friend' as possessed by a third person singular possessor. The free possessor pronouns either appear in their full form as *naé* '3SG.POSS' such as in (78) above or as a proclitic as *go=* '1SG.POSS' in (79).

(79) *go=unan*
1SG.POSS=house
'my house' (C1:187)

Full forms and proclitics are free variants. Note that most proclitics overlap with core argument pronouns or proclitics (cf. §3.4.2.1 and 3.4.2.2). However, as for most persons the full forms are divergent, it is possible to identify whether a proclitic is a possessor or a core argument pronoun by testing the possibility of replacement with the long forms. In example (79) above, the proclitic *go=* '1SG.POSS' can be replaced by *goé* '1SG.POSS' but a replacement with *goné* '1SG' would be ungrammatical.

The bound possessor pronouns in Table 3.36 are attached to inalienable nouns such as in (80), where the inalienable kinship term *ema* 'mother' is marked for its first person singular inalienable possessor using the suffix *-ga* '1SG.POSS'.

(80) *Ema-ga noto kérjan ré rai∼rai.*
mother-1SG.POSS give work PROX many∼many
'My mother gave me a lot of work.' (N2:37)

The allomorphs *-ja* and *-i* for the third person plural in Table 3.36 are used for vowel-final stems and consonant-final stems respectively. However, the three possessor suffix variants *-nu*, *-V* and *-Ø* for the third person singular cannot be merely explained by the phontactics of the stem to which they attach. There appears to be a tendency for *-nu* to be used with kinship terms. Vowel lengthening (doubling of the final vowel) and the zero suffix occur with vowel-final and consonant-final body part terms respectively. This variation is illustrated with the inalienable nouns *ina* 'mother', *lotor* 'knee' and *lima* 'hand' in Table 3.37. The inalienable nouns in the table can be optionally preceded by an inalienable possessor pronoun. An example is *goné ina-ga* with a free pronoun or *go=ina-ga* 'my mother' with a proclitic. Alternatively, it is also possible to express the possessor by a preposed full noun, such as in *witi ulu-n* 'goat head-3SG.POSS' = 'goat's head'. The preposed inalienable possessor noun is part of the core NP with the possessed noun and cannot co-occur with a free possessor pronoun or clitic (cf. §3.3.4).

Table 3.37: Inalienably possessed nouns

	'mother'	'knee'	'hand'
1SG.POSS	*ina-ga*	*lotor-ga*	*lima-ga*
2SG.POSS	*ina-mu*	*lotor-mu*	*lima-mu*
3SG.POSS	*ina-**nu***	*lotor-**Ø***	*lim**aa***
1PL.INCL.POSS	*ina-sa*	*lotor-sa*	*lima-sa*
1PL.EXCL.POSS	*ina-mi*	*lotor-mi*	*lima-mi*
2PL.POSS	*ina-mi*	*lotor-mi*	*lima-mi*
3PL.POSS	*ina-ja*	*lotor-i*	*lima-ja*

A special type of possessive pronouns are pronouns that replace an entire possessive construction in the same way as the English pronoun *mine* can refer to *my house*. These pronouns are listed in Table 3.38. They can appear in all NP positions, for example in subject position such as in (81) and as a nominal predicate of an equative clause as in (82).

Table 3.38: Possessive pronouns referring to possessed items

Gloss	Singular	Plural
'mine'	*goénu*	*goésa*
'yours (sg.)'	*moénu*	*moésa*
'his, hers, its'	*naénu*	*naésa*
'ours (incl.)'	*titénu*	*titésa*
'ours (excl.)'	*kaménu*	*kamésa*
'yours (pl.)'	*mionu*	*miosa*
'theirs'	*daénu*	*daésa*

(81) *Bo naésa bo také.*
DISC 3SG.POSS.PL DISC not.exist
'He does not have any [children].' Lit. 'His do not exist.' (C6:265)

(82) *Una-ja wo ro titésa.*
house-PL DIST FIN 1PL.INCL.POSS.PL
'Those houses belong to us.' Lit. 'These houses are ours.' (NB:46)

These possessive pronouns are composed of a free possessor pronoun and the inalienable possessor suffix *-nu* (< PMP *nu 'genitive case marker for common nouns') for singular possessed items and *-sa* for plural possessed items. These inalienable possessor suffixes are homophonous with the possessor suffixes *-nu* '3SG.POSS' and *-sa* '1PL.INCL.POSS'. However, in these constructions their semantics is reduced to singular and plural and the person value is lost.

3.4.4 Summary

Central Lembata has five sets of pronominals encoding core arguments: a set of free pronouns, a set of proclitics, a set of prefixes and two sets of suffixes. Free pronouns can refer to all three core argument types of a clause, i. e. S, A and P. The proclitics and the prefixes can only index S and A arguments, while the suffixes only index S and P arguments. A subset of the proclitics only occurs in irrealis contexts. The prefixes are obligatory for a fixed set of vowel-initial verbs. The suffixes are associated with non-dynamic and

uncontrolled predicates. To express a possessor, for inalienable and for alienable nouns different sets of pronominals are used. Alienable nouns are obligatorily marked with a preposed free possessor pronoun or a possessor proclitic from a set specific to alienable nouns. Inalienable nouns are obligatorily marked with a possessor suffix and can be preceded optionally by a free pronoun or proclitic from a set specific to inalienable nouns.

3.5 Verbs

3.5.1 Overview

In this section, I introduce three morpho-syntactic verb classes: G-suffix verbs, K-suffix verbs, and suffixless verbs. In Central Lembata, numerals and locationals are subclasses of verbs. Numerals fall into the class of K-suffix verbs and locationals are suffixless verbs. In §3.5.3, I present two cases of verbs that grammaticalised in several functional directions. These are the verb *-ora* 'be with; join' and the verb *maa* 'say'.

3.5.2 Verb classes

Verbs can be divided into three different classes based on their eligibility to take person suffixes (cf. §3.4.2.4).

1. G-suffix verbs (open)
2. K-suffix verbs (closed)
3. Suffixless verbs (open)

The distribution of verbs over these classes is lexicalised and not determined semantically. The class of G-suffix verbs is an open class that contains the majority of the verbs. Verbs in this class can take suffixes from the G-suffix set. The class of K-suffix verbs is a small closed class of verbs that takes suffixes from the K-suffix set. There are about 30 K-suffix verbs in my corpus out of 360 verbs in total. This class is a relic of an older inflection pattern which is only used with the small set of K-suffix verbs. The class of suffixless verbs contains those verbs that cannot take any suffix, including locationals which synchronically have clear verbal properties. Suffixless verbs are an open class of roughly equal size with the class of K-suffix verbs.

3.5.2.1 G-suffix verbs

G-suffix verbs are verbs that can take the suffixes of the G-set given in Table 3.39 (cf. §3.4.2.4).

Table 3.39: G-Suffixes

1SG	*-ga*
2SG	*-gu* / *-u*
3SG	*-nga* / *-a*
1PL.INCL	*-sa*
1PL.EXCL	*-mi*
2PL	*-mi*
3PL	*-ngi* / *-i*

With over 300 lexical entries, G-suffix verbs constitute the great majority of verbs in my corpus. Table 3.40 lists a few examples of G-suffix verbs grouped according to their stem type.

Table 3.40: G-suffix verbal stems and their stem types

	V-final	C-final	Coda alternating
C-initial	*tula* 'make'	*bekat* 'fly'	*duu* / *duur* 'see'
V-initial	*odo* 'give'	*élaj* 'cut'	*era* / *eraw* 'cry'
Prefixed	*-era* 'become'	*-éten* 'know'	*-énu* / *-énum* 'drink'

G-suffix verb stems are either vowel-final as *tula* 'make', consonant-final as *bekat* 'fly' or have two stem forms, that alternate between vowel-final and consonant-final form such as it is found for *duu* / *duur* 'see'. In this case of alternating coda, the consonant-final form is always employed when the verb has a suffix as in (83). If it appears without a suffix, the vowel-final form is used as in (84). It is different to nominal coda alternation which is based on the syntactic position of the noun (cf. §3.3.1.2).

(83) *Nepo ka=k-ai duur-**a** éka.*
then 1SG=1SG-go see-3SG garden\s
'Then, I will go to have a look at the garden.' (N3:117)

(84) *Ka=duu ewa.*
1SG=see animal\S
'I will have a look at the animals.' (C1:195)

G-suffix verb stems are disyllabic with a (C)(C)V.(C)V(C) pattern. Inflected G-suffix verbs can allow a sequence of two consonants in word medial position when a consonant-final stem takes a consonant-initial suffix as in (85). These consonant sequences are only found at morpheme boundaries within a morpho-syntactic word but not within a stem (cf. §3.2.2.2 and 3.2.4). In this example, the verb *duler* 'visit' takes the suffix *-ga* '1SG'. This results in a word-medial sequence of /r.g/ at a syllable and morpheme boundary.

(85) *Da=duler-ga.*
3PL=visit-1SG
'They visited me.' (C6:80)

This contrasts with the phontactics of nouns, where consonant clusters are resolved when suffixes are added according to specific rules discussed in §3.3.1.2. This could point to a loser connection between verbal stems and pronominal suffixes than between nominal stems and plural and specificity suffixes.

3.5.2.2 K-suffix verbs

K-suffix verbs are verbs that can take the suffixes of the K-set given in Table 3.41 (cf. §3.4.2.4). With around 30 intransitive and transitive content verbs (86) and twelve basic numerals (87), K-suffix verbs are a small closed class.

Table 3.41: K-suffixes

1SG	*-ka*
2SG	*-ku*
3SG	*-na*
1PL.INCL	*-sa*
1PL.EXCL	*-mi*
2PL	*-mi*
3PL	*-Ø*

(86) Intransitive K-suffix verbs
biti 'execute a certain weaving process', *bura* 'be full (of food)', *diri* 'stand', *gelé* 'lie down; sleep', *geto* 'be broken', *gewa* 'be rotten', *géwi* 'ascend; enter', *iré* 'visit; play; walk about', *kari* 'run', *lebo* 'take a shower; take a bath', *mea* 'be on one's own', *modo* 'fall', *nebu* 'not be thirsty', *nubu* 'grow', *wara* 'burn'

Transitive K-suffix verbs
baju 'pound', *bari* 'pick', *batu* 'throw', *boti* 'carry; hold', *-eti* 'bring', *giki* 'bite', *gliku* 'hold; place a holder', *guti* 'take', *liwu* 'fill in', *rio* 'wake someone up', *sodi* 'catch', *tota* 'burn down', *tuno* 'grill', *widu* 'pull'

(87) Monomorphemic numerals
tune / *tu* 'one', *jua* 'two', *telu* 'three', *paat* 'four', *léém* 'five', *enem* 'six', *pito* 'seven', *buto* 'eight', *siwa* 'nine', *spulo* 'ten', *ratu* 'hundred', *ribu* 'thousand'

The K-suffixes probably represent an older inflection pattern which has been retained with several intransitive as well as transitive verbs (cf. §3.4.2.4). Most of the verbs in (86) are part of the basic vocabulary. Possibly, the older suffix pattern is retained on these verbs because they are frequently used.

The stems taking K-suffixes start with a consonant and end in a vowel. With the K-suffixes which all start with a consonant, these verbs show a very regular C(C)V.(C)V.CV structure when inflected.

Another feature only found with K-suffixes is vowel lowering of the stem-final vowel. A suffix attached to a stem ending in /i/ or /u/ causes this final vowel to be lowered to /e/ and /o/ respectively, such as in *guté-na* 'take-3SG' from *guti* 'take', *karé-na* 'run-3SG' from *kari* 'run' or *wido-ka* 'pull-1SG' from *widu* 'pull'. The suffix can be left unexpressed, while the vowel lowering is retained and therewith the stative meaning of the phrase (cf. §3.4.2.4), such as contrasted in (88).

(88) a. *Go guti mok.*
1SG take mug
'I take the mug.' (NT:5)

b. *Go guté-na mok kéi.*
1SG take-3SG mug PFV
'I already took the mug.' (NT:5)

c. *Go guté-Ø mok kéi.*
'1SG take-3SG mug PFV
'I already took the mug.' (NT:5)

In the set of K-suffix verbs there are a few base forms with final mid-vowels, such as *gelé* 'lie down; sleep', *geto* 'be broken', *rio* 'wake s.o. up', *tuno* 'grill' (< PMP *tunu), *pito* 'seven' (< PMP *pitu), *spulo* (<PMP *sa-ŋa-puluq) and *buto* 'eight' (< PFL *butu 'eight; bunch; group'). As none of these final mid-vowels traces back to a historic mid-vowel (see proto-forms given in brackets if available), it can be hypothesised that for all or at least some of these verbs, the mid-vowels were initially caused by suffixation but then generalised to all forms of these verbs.

Numerals with suffixes are predicates but they are not fully verbal anymore as they cannot function as the predicate of a full independent clause. These numeral predicates rather fill the slot of free pronouns (cf. §3.4.2.1), as for example *telo-mi* 'three-1PL.EXCL' in (89).

(89) *Telo-mi m-énu wai.*
three-1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-drink water
'The three of us were having drinks.' (C1:182)

As for other K-suffix verbs, stem-final high vowels in numerals are lowered to mid vowels when a suffix is attached, such as *telu* 'three' becomes *telo-mi* 'three-1PL.EXCL' or *telo-Ø* 'three-3PL'. In the latter example of the third person plural suffix *-Ø*, the vowel lowering on the stem is evidence for the presence of a zero suffix.

In addition to their ability to take person suffixes, numerals often appear with a core argument clitics preceding them, such as in (90).

(90) *Da=telo-Ø wo d-ai ...*
3PL=three-3PL DIST 3PL-go
'The three of them went there ...' (M2:73)

The ability of numerals to be preceded by core argument clitics is additional evidence for their verbal status.

3.5.2.3 Suffixless verbs

Suffixless verbs are a set of mainly intransitive verbs that cannot occur with a pronominal suffix. These verbs represent a small class with currently about 30 content words in my corpus listed in (91) and a set of 9 locationals with several variants discussed in §3.7.1.

(91) Intransitive suffixless verbs
-ai 'go', *belo*(*k*) 'appear', *blélot* 'look back', *blonget* 'look down', *boko* 'stand up', *bowo* 'bark', *denger* 'hear', *édo* 'shake', *géji* 'ascend; to enter', *géka* 'laugh', *glasa* 'play', *gulur* 'snore', *gwajo* 'visit', *iwol* 'move the mouth because of food which is too hot', *jadi* 'give birth', *ksemil* 'smile', *maa* 'say; to think', *péko* 'turn', *péngos* 'turn away', *sidol* 'walk/stand on tiptoe', *suduk* 'bend', *swedok* 'limp', *tukar* 'climb', *wosuk* 'move backwards'

Transitive suffixless verbs
-aar 'do', *mawar* 'share', *nanam* 'plait', *sigi* 'prick'

Suffixless verbs can begin and end in either a vowel or a consonant. Their template corresponds to what is generally found in Central Lembata disyllabic stems, namely (C)(C)V.(C)V(C).

Most suffixless verbs are intransitive. As suffixes mark S and P arguments on verbs but not A, intransitive verbs that do not take suffixes treat their S argument like A, namely unmarked or marked by a free pronoun or proclitic. This supports analysing Central Lembata as having a split-S system (cf. §3.4.2.5).

3.5.3 Grammaticalised verbs

In this section, I discuss two verbs that have grammaticalised in several directions. These are the verb *-ora* 'join; be with' belonging to the class of G-suffix verbs and the verb *maa* 'say' which is a suffixless verb. The verb *maa* 'say' probably goes back to Proto-Flores-Lembata (PFL) *ma 'tongue' (possibly connected with PMP *həma 'tongue') or PFL *madi 'say'.

3.5.3.1 The verb *-ora* 'join; be with'

Although not frequent, the verb *-ora* 'join; be with' is still found as a fully inflected verb, such as in (92) or (93).

(92) *Go k-**ora** k-ai weli éka.*
1SG 1SG-join 1SG-go sidewards garden
'I join in going to the garden.' (NB:8)

(93) *Kam=m-**ora**-gu pnua.*
1PL.EXCL=1PL.EXCL-be.with-2SG talk
'We are talking with you.' (C1:133)

In both examples, the verb *-ora* 'join; be with' appears as the first verb in a serial verb construction. It is inflected for subject person and in example (93), the object is also indexed on the verb using the bound pronoun *-gu* '2SG' which shows that this verb is transitive and follows the G-suffix pattern.

Next to this verbal use, we find the verb *-ora* grammaticalised into an existential (cf. §3.6.8), prepositions (94a), (94b) and (94c), and a coordinating conjunction (95).

As a preposition, the word *nora* can introduce different kinds of objects, such as a comitative argument as in (94a) and (94b), or a P argument as in (94c). The preposition *nora* or its short form *no* always appears with the default agreement prefix *n-* '3SG'. It does not agree with the S/A argument of the clause. An example is given in (94a) in which the subject is first person plural exclusive and in (94c) in which the subject is third person plural.

(94) a. *Kam=mojip tali **nora** liso **nora** kwaru.*
1PL.EXCL=live again COM rice COM corn
'We live again of rice and corn.' (M3:63)

b. *Ta=minum **no** tata nona kia, ina.*
1PL.INCL=drink COM older.sibling young.woman INCEP girl
'Let's drink with your older sister now, my dear.' (C1:38)

c. *Da=bara-nga **nora** bala.*
3PL=carry-3SG COM ivory.tusk
'They are carrying an ivory tusk.' (T1:123)

As a coordinating conjunction, *nora* or *no* is translated with 'and', as in (95).

(95) *Bapa tuné* ***nora*** *na=kopo ...*
father one COM 3SG.POSS=child
'A father and his child ...' (S2:12)

In contrast to the prepositional use of *nora*, as a coordinator the long form *nora* appears less grammaticalised. The use of the default agreement prefix *n-* '3SG' is not possible for non-3SG NPs as the ungrammatical phrase in (96a) demonstrates. A construction such as in (96b) which is inflected for 1SG must be used instead. Different to the long form *nora*, the coordinator in its short form *no* can be used to coordinate a first person pronoun with another nominal element as can be seen in (96c). In this example, the conjunction *no* does not agree with the preceding first person singular pronoun which leads to the conclusion that *no* is completely grammaticalised into a conjunction here and has lost its verbal properties.

(96) a. * *go* ***nora*** *bapa-ga*
1SG and father-1SG
Intended: 'me and my father' (NB:8)

b. *Go k-****ora*** *kopong-u wé ...*
1SG 1SG-COM child-SPEC PROX
'Me and this child ...' (NB:8)

c. *go* ***no*** *bapa-ga*
1SG and father-1SG
'me and my father' (NB:8)

The bound verbal stem *-o* 'towards' may come from the verb *-ora* 'join' as well, such as in (97). The fact that this element is inflected clearly points to a verbal origin, however the word is so short that it is difficult to determine where it came from and the connection between *-o* 'towards' and *-ora* 'join' has to remain tentative.

(97) a. *Biné tuné diro géji* ***n-o*** *ju una*
female one PROG ascend 3SG-towards downwards house
or n-ai.
inside 3SG-go.
'A girl is climbing into the house.' (FH5:5)

b. *Pindah* ***t-o*** *lau lewu weru t-ai.*
move 1PL.INCL-towards seawards village new.one 1PL.INCL-go.
'Let's move to the new village (down there in seaward direction).' (L2:138)

In sum, the verb *-ora* 'join; be with' has grammaticalised into comitative prepositions, a coordinator and, perhaps, a destination marker. As a comitative and as a coordinator in the short form *no*, only the 3SG prefix is used. In other uses of *-ora* 'join; be with', the inflectional paradigm is still intact.

3.5.3.2 The verb *maa* 'say'

The suffixless verb *maa* 'say' has grammaticalised into several directions as well. As a main verb, the verb *maa* 'say' is frequently used in stories to introduce direct speech as in (98).

(98) *Da=maa: kamé Ata Wuwur.*
3PL=say 1PL.EXCL NAME
'They said: We are Ata Wuwur (clan members).' (L3:367)

Further, the verb *maa* grammaticalised into a speech verb complementiser, a marker of future, intention, volition or ability and finally into a conditional conjunction.

As a complementiser, the verb *maa* 'say' appears as the second verb in a multi-verb sequence together with another speech verb as in (99), where the verb *kai* 'say' is the main verb and the verb *maa* functions as a complementiser.

(99) *Kai-nga* ***maa*** *na=n-eti tange-ja.*
say-3SG say 3SG=3SG-bring raw-PL
'Tell her that she should bring the raw ones.' (C3:20)

As a marker of volition, future, intention or ability the verb *maa* also appears in a multi-verb sequence, but this time as the first element. An example

is given in (100), where the verb *maa* 'say' precedes the locational verb *ju* 'downwards' and the motion verb *-ai* 'go'.

(100) *Go* ***maa*** *ka=ju wosu k-ai.*
1SG say 1SG=downwards outside 1SG-go
'I want to go outside.' (FH7:10)

As a conditional conjunction, *maa* appears clause-initially and optionally, it can be combined with the Indonesian conditional conjunction *kalau* 'if'. Two examples are given in (101). See also §3.6.11 for more details on conditional clauses.

(101) a. *Ara* ***maa*** *balar také, bo da=ganti d-era witi.*
but say ivory.tusk not.exist DISC 3PL=replace 3PL-use goat
'But if there is no ivory tusk, they replace it with a goat.' (T1:124)

b. *Kalau* ***maa*** *da=jua suka nermoi ...*
if say 3PL=two like really
'If they really like each other, ... (T1:4)

The grammaticalisation pathway of words meaning 'say' to quotation markers and complementisers is cross-linguistically and also regionally common (Klamer 2000).

3.5.4 The verbalising prefix *g-*

Central Lembata has a fossilised verbalising prefix *g-*. This prefix is only found on three verbs in my corpus which are listed in Table 3.42.

Table 3.42: Verbalisation with the prefix g-

Noun	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
bliko	'wooden protector'	***g****liku*	'place a wooden protector'
mekul	'part'	***g****mekul*	'split'
mata	'eye'	***g****mata*	'speak face to face'

When the prefix is added to a consonant cluster initial word, the initial consonant is dropped and replaced by the prefix, such as in *bliko* 'wooden protector' → *gliku* 'place a wooden protector'.

3.5.5 Summary

Central Lembata verbs can be divided into three subclasses based on their morpho-syntactic properties. G-suffix verbs can take pronominal suffixes of the G-suffix set which is a full set of pronominal suffixes that mark S and P arguments. K-suffix verbs are inflected with pronominal suffixes from the K-suffix set which is a more archaic set to mark S and P arguments. It is only found with a minority of frequently used verbal stems. Lastly, there is the class of suffixless verbs which cannot take any suffix. Most of the suffixless verbs are intransitive. This means that they mark their S argument in the same way as an A argument, namely using free pronouns or proclitics. The verb *-ora* 'join; be with' and the verb *maa* 'say' both show typical grammaticalisation pathways in Central Lembata. The bound stem *-ora* 'join; be with' can still be used as inflected for person as a predicate but in other contexts, its meaning has become more generic and is used as an existential, a comitative preposition or a coordinating conjunction. In those cases, the third person singular inflection is used as a default. The verb *maa* 'say' is used as a complementiser with other speech verbs, but also as a marker of intentions and conditions. Central Lembata shows a few examples of verbalisation using the prefix *g-*.

3.6 Basic clausal syntax

3.6.1 Simple verbal clauses

Central Lembata verbal clauses show SV order in intransitive clauses and AVP order in transitive clauses. S stands for an intransitive subject, A for a transitive subject, V stands for a verb and P stands for the most object-like argument of a transitive verb. Example (102) shows an intransitive clause.

(102) *Kopo lamé tuné na=tobé-nga.*
child\S male\S one 3SG=sit-3SG
'A boy sits.' (S2:23)

In (102), the intransitive verb *tobé* 'sit' is marked twice for the third person singular subject (S). First with a third person singular S/A proclitic *na=*, then with a third singular S/P suffix *-nga*. This double marking appears frequently

in the corpus. However, it is not obligatory. Either the proclitic, the suffix, or both, can be left out, as shown in (103), where the intransitive verb *tobé* 'sit' is only marked with the third singular proclitic *na=*.

(103) *Grapu tu na=tobé.*
woman\s one 3SG=sit
'A woman sits.' (S6:7)

The use of the S/P suffix is most likely related to the aspectual properties of the predicate, i. e. state (suffix) versus event (no suffix), as discussed in §3.4.2.4.

In both examples of intransitive clauses given in (102) and (103) above, a full subject NP is present. This is not obligatory, a full subject NP can be either replaced by a full pronoun or can be left out completely.

The examples in (104) show transitive clauses. In (104a), the verb *tula* 'make' is marked for first person singular subject (A) employing the free pronoun *go* '1SG'. In (104a), the object (P) is not marked on the verb but rather appears as a bare noun. It is also possible to mark the object on the verb as in (104b) or to express it by a bound pronoun on the verb alone as in (104c). Here neither A or P are expressed in a noun or noun phrase, both are expressed by pronouns. The bound pronoun in (104b) and (104c) yields a stative meaning, thus here meaning completed.

(104) a. *Go tula nowi.*
1SG make sarong.male\s
'I make a sarong (for males)' (I2:4)

b. *Go tula-nga nowi kéi.*
1SG make-3SG sarong.male\s PFV
'I made the sarong already.' (NB:88)

c. *Go tula-nga kéi.*
1SG make-3SG PFV
'I made it.' (NB:88)

Objects can also be optionally introduced by the comitative preposition *no* 'COM', such as in (105).

(105) a. *Na=soga no kaju majak.*
3SG=hold COM wood\s dry.one
'She holds a dried wooden stick.' (FH3:7)

b. *Na=soga kaju mekul.*
3SG=hold wood\s part.
'She holds a piece of wood.' (FH2:35)

The following verbs are examples of verbs that typically introduce their object with a comitative: *bawat* 'bring', *-eti* 'bring', *galew* 'ask', *-énu* 'drink', *béé* 'give', *tula* 'make', *perak* 'see', *soga* 'hold', *guti* 'take', *pusaj* 'step rice (husk)', *pékat* 'exchange', *témuk* 'receive', *pata* 'boil', *muul* 'plant', *-ewa* 'catch', *pétén* 'miss; think of'.

Although semantically, some of these verbs, such as *béé* 'give' or *galew* 'ask', are typical two object verbs, it is not obligatory to overtly express the theme (T) and the recipient (R) in the same clause; it is possible that one of the objects is omitted and is interpreted from the context. Most of the time, the only object is T and it can optionally be preceded by *no*(*ra*), such as illustrated in the two examples with the verb *galew* 'ask' in (106).

(106) a. *Mo galew no né=ke'ada'an lau siné, Bosu.*
2SG ask COM 3SG.POSS=condition seawards a.bit
'Ask a bit about their conditions there overseas, Bosu.' (C1:104)

b. *Mo tutu galew ke'ada'an tak jelas si.*
2SG speak ask condition NEG clearly NEG
'You are asking not clearly about the conditions.' (C1:104)

Although not frequently found, it is possible to express two objects, denoting a recipient (R) and a theme (T). These constructions are found with the verbs *béé* and *noto* both meaning 'give'. R is expressed by a bound pronoun (107a), a free pronoun (107b), by a prepositional phrase using *lane /la* 'LOC' as in (107c) or by full NPs as in (107d). The latter construction with a direct full NP without preposition is less frequent. The constituent order of T and R depends on the formal properties of R. If R is expressed by a pronoun, it precedes T such as in (107a) and (107b), however if R is expressed by a prepositional phrase or a full NP it follows T, as in (107c) and (107d).

(107) a. *Mo noto-ga glas kédak.*
2SG give-1SG glass big
'You gave me a huge glass' (C1:15)

b. *Go noto nané na=muku tuné.*
1SG give 3SG 3SG.POSS=banana\s one
'I give him a banana.' (UM:12)

c. *Na=béé buku la kopo lamé tu.*
3SG=give book LOC child\S male\S one
'She gives a book to a boy.' (FH1:6)

d. *Na=noto apél réné né=teman.*
3SG=give apple PROX 3SG.POSS=friend
'He gives this apple to his friend.' (FH3:42)

In the theme NP in (107b) the 3SG.POSS proclitic is used although the translation of the NP is 'a banana' and not 'his banana'. This is because the banana given to R is not his banana from the start. The possessor pronoun is used because it becomes his banana due to the process of giving. In Central Lembata theme NPs with a transfer verb such as *béé* 'give' frequently contain a possessor pronoun.

T is usually expressed by a simple NP as in the previous examples. It is also possible to express T with a prepositional phrase using the preposition *no* 'COM', while R is expressed by a bound pronoun on the verb, as illustrated in (108).

(108) *Da=langsung béé-nga no bala.*
3PL=immediately give-3SG COM tusk\S
'The immediately hand over the ivory tusk.' (T1:141)

In sum, all arguments can be expressed by full NPs or pronouns with the possibility of omission when an argument is deductible from the context. Objects of monotransitive verbs, as well as T arguments of ditransitives, can be optionally preceded by the preposition *no*(*ra*) 'COM'. R arguments are introduced by locationals, such as *la*(*ne*) 'LOC' or *réné* 'PROX', when they follow the T argument.

3.6.2 Temporal adverbs

Central Lembata neither marks tense on the verb nor uses any other kind of morphology for this purpose. Instead, the language possesses a set of adverbs to place an event in time. An overview of the temporal adverbs is given in Table 3.43. They are discussed in detail below.

Table 3.43: Temporal adverbs

Time frame	Temporal adverb	Translation
Past	*negero jema jua* (*bé*(*né*))	Lit. yesterday night two PROX Fr. 'in the past'
	jema bé(*né*)	Lit. night PROX Fr. 'in the past'
	jema jua bé(*né*)	Lit. night two PROX Fr. 'two days ago'
Immediate past	*negero*	'yesterday'
	nakété	'just now'
Present	*wé*(*né*) / *ré*(*né*)	Lit. PROX Fr. 'now'
Non-present	*nepo*	'later; just now'
Immediate future	*béné*	'later today'
	bambé	'tomorrow'
Future	*bambé jema jua*	Lit. tomorrow night two Fr. 'in the future'
	wé jaé n-ai	Lit. PROX hillwards 3SG-go Fr. 'in the future'
	jema jua	Lit. night two Fr. 'in two days'

Fr. = free translation, Lit. = literal translation

Without the use of any temporal adverb, a sentence in Central Lembata is unspecified concerning temporal information. To express the notion 'now', and thus convey present, it is possible to use one of the proximate demonstratives *wé*(*né*) or *ré*(*né*) (cf. §3.3.5), as shown in (109).

(109) *Maa ka=tutu ré bo tentang Jon no Méri.*
want 1SG=tell PROX DISC about John and Mary
'I would like to tell now about John and Mary.' (N1:1)

As the form of the temporal expressions for 'now' and the proximate demonstratives are the same, it is not always clear if the speaker intends a tem-

poral or a deictic sense. It may also be questioned whether these two senses should be distinguished at all. The proximate demonstratives *wé*(*né*) and *ré*(*né*) can also be followed by words expressing parts of a day, such as *baén* 'morning', *lejo* 'day time' and *buuk* 'night'. This leads to the following collocations: *wé baén* 'now (morning)', *wé*(*né*) *lejo* 'now (midday)' and *wé*(*né*) *buuk* 'now (evening)'. The words expressing parts of the day, such as *baén* 'morning', are the only nouns in Central Lembata that can be preceded by a demonstrative. In all other cases, demonstratives follow the noun (cf. §3.3.4). In addition to proximate demonstratives, such as *wé*(*né*), distal demonstratives can also be combined with parts of the day, such as in *wo*(*né*) *lejo* 'DIST day' meaning 'that day'.

Adverbs to express immediate past and immediate future are found in two pairs: *béné* / *nakété* and *bambé* / *negero*. The adverb *béné* 'later today' expresses a point in time which is in the future but still on the same day and the adverb *nakété* 'earlier; just now' expresses a point in time which is in the past but still on the same day or the evening before. The adverb *béné* is also a proximate locational but cannot be a demonstrative. These two immediate non-present expressions can be combined with the parts of the day in the same way as shown for the proximate demonstratives above. This leads to expressions like *nakété lejo* 'earlier at noon', *nakété buuk* 'earlier at night', *béné buuk* 'in the coming evening', *béné baén* 'in the coming morning' or 'tomorrow morning'. In these collocations of *nakété* / *béné* and parts of the day, *nakété* and *béné* can be shortend to *nak* and *bé*, thus for example *bé baén* for 'tomorrow morning' or *nak buuk* 'lat night'.

The other immediate non-present pair is *negero* 'yesterday' and *bambé* 'tomorrow'. The word *bambé* 'tomorrow' can also be combined with the parts of the day as in *bambé baén* 'tomorrow morning' (sometimes contracted to *bangbén*) or *bambé buuk* 'tomorrow evening'.

The remaining future and past expressions are all collocations composed of multiple words. The word *jema* historically means 'night' but synchronically only appears in these fixed expressions. The use of *bé*(*né*) 'PROX' in these collocations is surprising. As has been shown above, this word is also used as the immediate future adverb denoting 'in a bit; later today' but in collocations, it only appears in expressions pointing to past events. When referring to immediate future, *bé*(*né*) stands alone or precedes another word as in *béné buuk* 'later tonight', while in the collocations expressing a past point in time, it is the last element, such as in *jema jua bé* 'two days ago'.

The non-present marker *nepo* 'later; just now' either denotes a point in time in the immediate past as in (110) or in the future as in (111). There is a crucial syntactic difference between the past and the future reading of *nepo*. To obtain the past reading, the adverb *nepo* has to directly precede the main verb, such as given in (110), no pronoun can interfere.

(110) *Na=**nepo** oli.*
3SG=NON.PRES arrive
'He just arrived.' (C5:83)

For the future reading however, a pronoun appears between the adverb *nepo* and the main verb as is the case in (111) and (112).

(111) ***Nepo** na=supeng moné.*
NON.PRES 3SG=pick.up 2SG
'Then / Later she will pick you up.' (C1:249)

The future use of *nepo* leads to the use of a proclitic, such as *ka=* '1SG' in (112), typically found in irrealis contexts (cf. §3.4.2.2).

(112) *Na=panaw-a **nepo** ka=guté-Ø.*
3SG=walk-3SG NON.PRES 1SG=take-3PL
'When he has left, I will take it.' (C5:103)

In (112), *nepo* can be analysed as a sequential conjunction (cf. §3.6.11) as it connects two events in a sentence. It introduces a clause expressing an event that is going to take place after another event has happened, thus potentially in the future.

3.6.3 Aspectual adverbs

To specify the internal temporal properties of an event, Central Lembata mainly employs the aspectual adverbs given in Table 3.44. Two semantically opposing pairs can be found. First, the use of *kéi* 'PFV' or *nawa* 'still' defines whether something as taken place already or not yet. Second, the use of *naro* 'COMPL' or *kia* 'INCEP' defines whether something is beginning or terminating. The progressive marking *diro* 'PROG' does not have a clear counterpart.

Table 3.44: Aspectual adverbs

Adverb	Meaning	Aspect	Position
kéi	'already'	perfective (PFV)	clause-final
nawa	'still'	imperfective (still)	pre-predicate
naro	'finished'	completive (COMPL)	clause-final
kia	'first'	inceptive (INCEP)	clause-final
diro	'in progress'	progressive (PROG)	pre-verbal

The pre-verbal adverb *diro* 'PROG' is used to mark an event as progressive, as illustrated in (113).

(113) *Kopo biné jua da=**diro** tobé.*
child female two 3PL=PROG sit
'Two girls are sitting.' (FH2:11)

The progressive adverb *diro* is placed directly preceding the main verb and the proclitic pronoun is attached to this aspect marker.

The clause-final *kéi* 'PFV', as in (114a), and the pre-predicate *nawa* 'still', as in (114b), express perfective (PFV) and imperfective (still) aspect.

(114) a. *Go=kopo biné lodo **kéi.***
1SG.POSS=child female exit PFV
'My daughter left home already.' (=is married) (M3:157)

b. *Awa-ga **nawa** na=lau Ilé Apé.*
spouce-1SG.POSS still 3SG=seawards NAME
'My wife is still at Ile Ape.' (C1:189)

A clause containing *kéi* 'PFV' cannot be negated, as shown in (115a), whereas for a clause with *nawa* 'still', negation is possible and yields the meaning 'not yet' as in (115b).

(115) a. * *Go=kopo biné **ta** na=lodo **kéi.***
1SG=child female NEG 3SG=exit PFV
Intended: 'My daughter has not left home yet.' (=not yet married) (NB:87)

b. *Bapa* ***nawa ta*** *na=lebo* ***si.***
father still NEG 3SG=bathe NEG
'Father has not taken a shower yet.' (UM:33)

Usually, the imperfective marker *nawa* precedes the predicate and the perfective marker *kéi* follows it. However, in some cases, *nawa* 'still' can also appear clause-finally as in (116).

(116) *Reno anak* ***nawa.***
NAME little still
'Reno is still little.' (M3:181)

The adverb *nawa* is of verbal origin. It seems to originate from a vowel-initial verb that is inflected for S/A person as the third person plural form *d-awa* '3PL-still' is still frequently found. However, all other persons appear to have generalised to *nawa* which contains a fossilised 3SG prefix. S/P person suffixes of the more archaic K-suffix set (cf. §3.4.2.4) can be added to the stem *nawa* 'still', such as *-ku* '2SG' in (117).

(117) *Mo gerep* ***nawa-ku.***
2SG young.woman still-2SG
'Are you still single?" (UM:98)

It is not entirely clear what the meaning of a verb *-awa* would have been. Possible meanings are 'be incomplete' or 'be ongoing'. Verbal traces such as these cannot be found for *kéi* 'PFV' which always appears clause-finally, which is not a typical position for verbs in Central Lembata.

Compared to the aspectual adverbs *kéi* and *nawa*, the clause-final adverb *naro* 'COMPL' is less frequent but it also occurs in contexts that express an event that is completed or has terminated, such as in (118).

(118) *Tité ékan we bo slaén-a* ***naro.***
1PL.INCL.POSS garden\L PROX DISC clean-3SG COMPL
'Our garden is now cleared.' (N3:62)

The adverb *naro* has a similar function to the perfective adverb *kéi* discussed above. Both express a terminated action.

The adverb *kia* 'INCEP' expresses an event which has to be done or happen first before another event can start as in example (119). This adverb is also often used in imperatives as in (120). I analyse the adverb *kia* as an inceptive (INCEP) as it is related to the starting of an event.

(119) *Mo bantu ema-m maa pus piri* ***kia.***
2SG help mother-2SG.POSS want wash dish INCEP
'Help your mother first to wash the dishes.' (N2:16)

(120) *Gaa uta* ***kia.***
eat peanuts INCEP
'Eat peanuts now.' (C1:202)

In discourse, the two aspectual adverbs *naro* 'finished' and *kia* 'INCEP' are often combined to the expression *naro kia* meaning 'that's enough for now', 'let's stop now' or the like.

3.6.4 Negation and prohibition

Central Lembata has six negating lexemes which are summarised in Table 3.45. The non-existential *také* 'not.exist' is a predicate, while the other negators negate a predicate.

Table 3.45: Negators in Central Lembata

Function	Subject		Predicate	
Non-existential	...		*také*	
Negation of N / V predicates	...	*tak* / *ta*	...	*si*(*né*)
Prohibition of predicates	...	*aké*	...	*baé*

The negator *také* 'not.exist' only appears in isolation as the answer "no" to a question or as a non-existential (cf. §3.6.8). The three negators *tak*, *ta* and *si*(*né*) express negation and the two negator *aké* and *baé* express prohibition. The negators *si*(*né*) and *baé* are clause-final, the others appear before the predicate. The clause-final negators *si* and *siné* are in free variation.

There are three double negation patterns in Central Lembata: 1) *ta ... si*(*né*) to negate a verbal predicate (121), 2) *tak ... si*(*né*) to negate a non-verbal predicate (122) and 3) *aké ... baé* to express prohibition (123).

(121) ***Ta*** *da=waak-i* ***si.***
NEG 3PL=finish-3PL NEG
'It (the food) will never be finished.' (T3:242)

(122) ***Tak*** *tulor-u* ***siné***.
NEG frog-SPEC NEG
'It's not the frog.' (F1:25)

(123) ***Aké*** *péten* ***baé***.
PROH think PROH
'Don't worry.' (N3:69)

Although most frequently found in a double pattern, it is possible to leave out one of the negators and thus have single pre-predicate or single clause-final negation.

As Austronesian languages generally show pre-predicate negation, the presence of a clause-final negator in Central Lembata is regarded as an innovation. This hypothesis is discussed in detail in §10.3.

3.6.5 Multi-verb sequences

Multi-verb sequences are verbal clauses that contain two or more verbs that share at least one argument. The verbs can be separated by pronouns or nominal objects but not by conjoining elements. Multi-verb sequences are frequently found in Central Lembata. A full analysis of these constructions that includes the question of which of the Central Lembata verbal sequences qualify formally as serial verb constructions in the sense of Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006) remains to be done.

Central Lembata has the types of multi-verb sequences listed below. V1 stands for the first verb in the sequence, while V2 stands for the second verb in the sequence. There are also sequences with more than three verbs but they are not discussed in detail here.

(124) Types of multi-verb sequences

1. V1 + V2 = Two events
   a) simultaneous
   b) sequential
2. V1 + V2 = One single event
   a) two aspects of the same event
   b) new meaning

c) two verbs with very similar meanings
d) V2 locational and deictic motion verb
e) V2 grammaticalised

Multiverb sequences are divided into two main classes, those that denote two events and those that denote one single event. A multi-verb sequence that expresses two events can express two or more events that are happening at the same time as in (125a) or shortly after each other as in (125b).

(125) a. *Nepo ta=**seli** **ptuto**-sa tali wi.*
later 1PL.INCL=meet talk-1PL.INCL again DISC
'Later we will meet and talk again.' (C1:247)

b. *Da=**ola**-nga **tube**-nga pa da=kaa.*
3PL=cut-3SG cook.in.bamboo-3SG then 3PL=eat:3PL
'They cut it, cooked it in bamboo and then they ate.' (L3:110)

Multiverb sequences that denote one single event make use of the two verbs in very different ways as listed above. In the following, I exemplify all five subtypes that express one single event.

Motion verbs can occur in multi-verb sequences to express different aspects of one event, such as the way of moving and the direction of the movement. An example is given in (126). There the first verb *ksopel* 'jump' expresses the way the dog moves and the second verb *lodor* 'descend' expresses the direction of movement.

(126) *Aor **ksopel lodor**-a.*
dog jump descend-3SG
'The dog jumps down.' (F2:49)

Locational verbs, such as *lau* 'seawards' that indicate a location in seaward direction (cf. §3.7.1), can also be part of multi-verb sequences, as illustrated in (127). The locational verb alone does not specify yet that any motion is involved. The first verb *pana* 'walk' indicates the way of movement and through that, it becomes clear that the sentence expresses motion. These constructions are discussed in more detail in §3.7.2 on locative expressions.

(127) *Da=jua **pana** da=**lau** éka keja.*
3PL=two walk 3PL=seawards garden middle
'The two of them went to the middle of the garden.' (N3:93)

Other aspects of the movement can also be expressed by the second verb in a multi-verb sequence. In the following two examples, the second verb indicates whether the agent of the movement is being followed (128a), or the agent of the movement is following another agent (128b). The first verb *kari* 'run' in (128a), expresses the way of motion, while the second verb *-olu* 'precede' specifies the semantic aspect of preceding another entity. Whereas in (128b), the first verb *beka* 'fly' specifies the way of movement, while the second verb *dori* 'follow' expresses that the agent of the multi-verb sequence, the owl, is following someone else, in this case the child.

(128) a. *Kopong nakété di* ***kari*** *n-**olu** kéi.*
child ANAPH also run 3SG-precede PFV
'That child is running ahead already.' (F2:27)

b. *Na=**beka** **dori**-nga kopo nakété.*
3SG=fly follow-nga child ANAPH
'It [the owl] flys following the child.' (F2:36)

In addition to motion events, there are also other events that can be expressed by a multi-verb sequence whose members specify different aspects or parts of the same event. These can be resultative constructions or constructions where the two verbs have related meanings but the second is more specific than the first. These cases are shown in (129) and (130). In the multi-verb sequence in (129), the first verb *pegu* 'cut' expresses the action, while the second verb *-era* 'become' introduces the result of the action. Both verbs have the same agent subject which is expressed by the free pronoun *go* '1SG' and by the inflection on the second verb which is a vowel-initial prefixing verb (cf. §3.4.2.3).

(129) *Go* ***pegu*** *k-**era** mekul jua.*
1SG cut 1SG-become part two
'I cut it into two pieces.' (FH7:16)

In (130), the speech verb *tutu* 'tell' expresses that the person is speaking, while the second verb *galew* 'ask' specifies that the person is not only speaking but asking about something.

(130) *Mo* ***tutu galew*** *keadaan.*
2SG tell ask condition
'You are asking about the circumstances.' (C1:104)

The next subtype of single event multi-verb sequences is the case where two verbs are combined to yield a new meaning. One could also analyse them as verbal compounds. Examples are *bélu bakat* glossed as 'cut cut' meaning 'murder', *kari pana* 'run walk' meaning 'flee' and *gelé tobé* 'lie sit' meaning 'live' or 'stay'.

A specific form of multi-verb sequences are those that combine verbs which are synonyms. Examples are *diki dongot* 'carry', *gawak kpulé* 'hug' and *tobé bau* 'sit'. In all three examples, the individual parts mean the same as both parts together, so no new meaning is generated. This is different from the case of verbal compounds, given in the preceding paragraph.

Finally, there are multi-verb sequences that have a second element which is highly grammaticalised and could be analysed as a preposition. In that case, it is questionable whether synchronically, these constructions should still be seen as multi-verb sequences. But historically they have their origin in multi-verb sequences. The second verb of a grammaticalised multi-verb sequences can be a grammaticalised form of *-ora* 'be with' or *maa* 'say' which are discussed in §3.5.3, a locational verb which are introduced in §3.7.1 or an aspectual markers of verbal origin, discussed in §3.6.3.

3.6.6 Nominal predicates

Nominal predicates usually contain a noun phrase with only a noun and no other elements. In case of coda alternating nouns, the free form is found (cf. §3.3.1.2). Nominal predicates occur mainly in equative clauses. A subtype of these are clauses containing a noun that expresses a property concept in predicate position. The subject NP in these clauses is usually more complex than the predicate NP. In some cases, the nominal predicate can be marked with a S/P suffix but most nominal predicates are unmarked. For examples and more details on predicative nouns with suffixes see §3.4.2.4.

Equative clauses are built by juxtaposing two NPs; there is no copula or other linking element. Two examples of equative clauses are given in (132) and (131). Noun phrase boundaries are marked with brackets. In both examples, two NPs are combined. The first NP is more complex, whereas the second NP is simply a noun. In (131), the first NP contains an inalienable possessed noun. In (132), the first NP contains the noun *magun* 'man', the demonstrative *wo* 'DIST' and the discourse marker *bo* 'DISC'.

(131) [*Bapa-m*] [*pegawén*].
father-2SG.POSS official
'Is your father a government official?' (C1:145)

(132) [*Magun wo bo*] [*molan*].
man DIST DISC healer
'That man is a healer.' (NT:12)

In predicate position, property concepts are expressed by unmarked nouns, as in (133), where the property noun *kédak* 'big.one' is not marked for number. Property nouns in predicate position cannot take any suffix, thus are never marked for number.

(133) [*Una-ja wo*] [*kédak*].
house-PL DIST big.one
'Those houses are big.' (NB:74)

Equative clauses are differentiated from attributive property nouns (§3.3.4.2) by the fact that the subject NP contains at least one second element next to the noun that marks the end of the phrase. Examples of eligible elements include a demonstrative, such as *wo* 'DIST', as in (133), or the end of phrase marker *ro* 'FIN'.

The subject of nominal predicates can also be expressed by a full pronoun, as in (134).

(134) [*Gone ro*] [*golok*].
1SG FIN tall.one
'I am tall.' (NB:80)

On the other hand, a short form of a pronoun *go* '1SG' cannot be the subject in this construction shown in (135).

(135) * [*go*] [*golok*].
1SG tall.one
Intended: 'I am tall.' (NB:65)

The short form is only possible if the nominal predicate takes a S/P marking suffix as discussed in §3.4.2.4. An example is (69b) in that section.

3.6.7 Adjectival root predicates

Central Lembata has a set of adjectival roots which can be derived into nouns, such as given in Table 3.46. For the derivational morphology involved see §3.3.6.

Table 3.46: Adjectival roots and their nominal derivatives

Gloss	Adjective	Noun
'big'	*kéda*	*kédak*
'long (time)'	*koda*	*kodak*
'dirty'	*mila*	*milan*
'quiet'	*meli*	*meling*
'bitter'	*pait*	*pnait*
'heavy'	*berat*	*bnerat*
'hot'	*kati*	*knating*
'rotten'	*gewa*	*knewak*
'salty'	*peju*	*pnejuk*
'sour'	*gilu*	*kniluk*

This section discusses the use of the adjectival roots. Their nominal derivatives are discussed as nominal predicates in §3.6.6 and as modifiers within NPs in §3.3.4. The only syntactic context where the adjectival roots are used is intensification or negation, using one of the modifying means listed in Table 3.47. An example of an adjectival root in use is *buja* 'white' in (136) which is modified by *kéda* 'big'.

(136) *Kumi* ***kéda buja.***
mustache big white
'The mustache was very white.' (L3:271)

Table 3.47: Modifiers for adjectival predicates

Modifying means	Meaning
ro	'very'
kéda	'big'
(*tu*)*ga*	'extremely'
di	'more'
diro	'PROG'
kéi	'PFV'
ta ... si(*né*)	'NEG'
full reduplication	'very very'

In all other contexts, property concepts are expressed as nouns, which are either nominalisations of their adjectival counterparts, such as the nouns in Table 3.13 or they are underived nouns, such as *letes* 'cold.one' which does does not have an adjectival root.

Property nouns that do not have an adjectival root can also be combined with the modifiers listed above in a nominal predicate, as for example *letes* 'cold' in (137).

(137) *Lau Kalikasa éka buuk* ***kéda letes.***
seawards NAME condition night very cold
'In Kalikasa, the nights are very cold.' (NT:1)

Adjectival root predicates are different from nominal predicates. The subject of a nominal predicate, such as *golok* in *goné ro golok* '1SG FIN tall.one' = 'I am tall.', always needs a phrase-final element, such as *wo* 'DIST' or *ro* 'FIN' (cf. §3.6.6). Otherwise, the predicative noun could not always be distinguished from a attributive property noun, such as in a noun phrase as *ata golok* 'person tall.one' = 'a tall person'.

This is not the case for adjectival root predicates, which are in contrast very similar to verbal predicates. They can take short pronouns or proclitics (138) to mark their subjects which is not possible for nominal predicates.

(138) *Mo* ***diro golo.***
2SG PROG tall
'You are getting taller.' (NB:76)

However, I do not analyse adjectival roots as verbs, because they obligatorily appear in intensified or negated contexts, while verbs are only optionally modified by the same modifiers, such as *diro* 'PROG' or *ta ... si*(*né*) 'tak'.

3.6.8 Existential clauses

Central Lembata has two ways to construct an existential clause, either with the intransitive verb *nong* 'exist' or with the existential *nora*/*no* that has grammaticalised from the verb *-ora* 'join; be with' (cf. §3.5.3). The intransitive existential verb *nong* 'exist' cannot be inflected. It can either be used with an intransitive subject as in (139) or in isolation as an answer to a question as in (140).

(139) *Kopi bo nong ara kopi pnait.*
coffee DISC exist but coffee bitter
'There was (or: they had) coffee but the coffee was bitter.' (M3:84)

The existential *nong* 'exist' also has a negative counterpart which is the intransitive verb *také* 'not exist' as in the question in example (140).

(140) Q: *No mo=kléréng také?*
exist 2SG.POSS marble not.exist
'Do you have marbles?'
A: *Nong.*
exist
'Yes, I do.' (C2:14-15)

The existential *nong* and its negative counterpart *také* are syntactically distributed in the same way. They can stand in isolation or they can be the intransitive predicate of a subject argument.

The transitive existential is attested in two forms, *nora* and *no*. The existential *nora* can appear with a transitive subject, as in (141). Any coda alternating noun, as in (142), appears in the short form as is the rule for post-verbal object.

(141) *Guru pegawén nora da=gula.*
teacher official exist 3PL.POSS=sugar
'The public teachers had their sugar.' (M3:88)

In (142), the coda alternating noun *rusa*/*rusar* 'deer' appears in the short form when following *nora* 'exist'. This provides evidence that this NP is an object.

(142) *Weli watu paap ro bo nora rusa.*
sidewards stone side FIN DISC exist deer\S
'On the other side of the stone, there is a deer.' (F2:39)

Although taking an object argument, the existential *nora* 'exist' is not completely verbal. When negated, it follows the pattern for non-verbal elements (cf. §3.6.4) by using *tak* 'NEG' as in (143). It might be that here the noun *wai* 'water\S' is negated rather than *nora* 'exist' and this is triggering the negation for non-verbal elements.

(143) *Tak nora wai si.*
NEG exist water\S NEG
'There is no water.' (NB:86)

The shorter form *no* has even fewer verbal properties. It cannot have a subject and for coda alternating nouns, the nominal element following the existential *no* does not appear in the vowel-final form as a verbal object would, but in the consonant-final form, as in *apér* 'fire\L' in (144) and *waér* 'water\L' in (145).

(144) *Tak no apér si.*
NEG exist fire\L NEG
'There was no fire.' (N3:16)

(145) *No waér na=weli.*
exist water\L 3SG=sidewards
'There is water there.' (L3:203)

3.6.9 Questions

Questions in Central Lembata have the same word order as declarative sentences. Polar questions are usually unmarked but they can be marked optionally by an interrogative particle such as those listed in Table 3.48.

Table 3.48: Interrogative particles

Type	Particle	Gloss
Native	*i*	'Q'
	bo	'DISC'
Loan (Indonesian)	*to*	'Q'
	ka	'Q'
Negator	*také*	'not.exist'

The particle *bo* is not glossed with 'Q' for question marker as it can also occur in declarative sentences (cf. §3.6.10). The interrogative particles listed in Table 3.48 appear clause-finally as in (146), except for *bo* 'DISC' which is mainly found clause-initially in questions, as in (147).

(146) *Buuk ua telu i?*
night CLF three Q
'That's for three nights, right?' (C6:22)

(147) *Bo Jérman né di gésak tali?*
DISC German 3SG.POSS also different again
'And in German, it is different again? (C1:35)

The interrogative particle *také* — originally a non-existential — is often combined with other interrogative markers such as *i* in (148).

(148) *No mo=klérénɡ i také?*
exist 2SG.POSS=marble Q not.exist
'Do you have marbles?' (C2:14)

Information questions in Central Lembata contain an interrogative word. An overview of the question words is provided in Table 3.49.

Table 3.49: Interrogative words

Simple	Gloss	Word class
ga(*né*)	'where'	locational verb
énak / *éna*	'who'	coda-alternating(?) noun
aan	'what; which'	inalienable(?) noun
pira	'how many'	numeral
Compound	**Gloss**	**Components**
nao ga(*né*)	'how'	'be like' + 'where'
jema pira	'when'	'time unit' + 'how many'
bo aan	'why'	'DISC' + 'what'
(*bo*) *puken aan*	'why'	('DISC') + reason + 'what'
bi aanenu	'why'	'not know' + 'what-3SG.POSS'

Question words in Central Lembata do not form a word class on their own. Simple question words belong to the word class of their expected answer. The word to ask for a place *ga*(*né*) 'where' is a locational verb. The word *énak/éna* 'who' to ask for a person and the word *aan* 'what' to ask for a thing are nouns. And the word *pira* 'how many' to ask for an amount is a numeral. This classification is based on the morpho-syntactic properties of the question words that match with those of the word classes they are assigned to.

In (149), the question word *ga* 'where' is placed between the pronoun *mo* '2SG' and the clause-final verb *oli* 'arrive'.

(149) *Weki-m snebar wo bo mo ga oli?*
body-2SG.POSS wet DIST DISC 2SG where arrive
'Your body is wet, where are you coming from?' (L3:202)

This position between pronoun and clause-final verb is the same position found for locationals such as *wé*(*né*) 'PROX' or *wo*(*né*) 'DIST'. Another property that the question word *ga*(*né*) 'where' has in common with locationals is the presence of a long and a short form which are synonyms created by the presence or absence of the final syllable *né* (cf. §3.7.1).

The question words *énak* 'who' and *aan* 'what' appear in core argument positions in the same way as nouns. In (150), the question word *enak* 'who'

appears in subject position, whereas *aan* 'what', in (151), appears in object position.

(150) *Énak era weli?*
who cry sidewards
'Who is crying over there?' (C2:70)

(151) *Mio tula aan tali?*
2PL do what again
'What else did you do?' (C6:207)

Apart from their placement in core argument positions, the question words *énak* 'who' and *aan* 'what' also show morphological properties of nouns. The question word *énak* 'who' can take a specificity suffix *-u* 'SPEC' (152) as is the case with alienable nouns (cf. §3.3.1.2).

(152) *Bo mo najan-mu énak-u?*
DISC 2SG name-2SG.POSS who-SPEC
'And what is your name?' (UM:57)

The question word *aan* 'what' can take an inalienable possessor suffix (153) as is the case with inalienable nouns (cf. §3.3.1.1).

(153) *Manuk aan(e)-n?*
chicken what-3SG.POSS
'What kind of chicken?' (NB:38)

Finally, the question word *pira* 'how many' behaves like a numeral as it can be used with a classifier as in (154) and it can take the ordinal number forming circumfix *kes...n* as shown in (155).

(154) *Go=kléré ua pira bla?*
1SG.POSS=marble CLF how.many PROX
'How many marbles do I have here?' (C2:64)

(155) *Kopo kes-pira-n?*
child ORD-how.many-ORD
'Which child is it? (first, second..?)' (C6:93)

3.6.10 Clause and phrase boundary markers

Central Lembata has three discourse particles that appear either at the end or beginning of a clause or at the end of a noun phrase (cf. §3.3.4). Their forms and possible positions are given in Table 3.50.

Table 3.50: Clause and phrase boundary markers

Form	Gloss	Clause-initial	Clause-final	NP-final
bo	'DISC'	yes	yes	yes
ro	'FIN'	no	yes	yes
di	'also'	no	yes	yes

From this table, it can be seen that the particle *bo* can appear in all three positions, whereas the other two particles *ro* and *di* are only found at the end of a clause or a NP. The origin of these particles is not entirely clear but the following are some possible language-internal sources. The particles *bo* and *ro* might go back to the distal locationals *wo*(*né*) and *ro*(*né*) (cf. §3.5.2.3). On the other hand, the particle *di* probably goes back to *di* meaning 'also; additional; more'.

For now, *ro* is glossed as 'FIN' meaning final marker because it marks the end of a clause or NP, and *bo* is glossed as 'DISC' meaning discourse marker as it has wider discourse functions. The phrase final particle *di* is glossed 'also' as this is the primary meaning of the word.

The particles *ro* and *bo* are extremely frequent. In final position of a NP or a clause, they can be combined as *ro bo*. The particle *di* is more marginal. In phrase initial position, *bo* very often appears in questions as in example (156). It is also part of the question word *bo aan* 'why' which is composed out of the particle *bo* and the question word *aan* 'what' (cf. §3.6.9).

(156) *Bo ta=muul aan?*
DISC 1PL.INCL=plant what
'What are we going to plant?' (N4:34)

In clause- or NP-final position, *bo* as well as *ro* seem to emphasise the phrase

boundary.[14] This can be between a subject and a non-verbal predicate as in (157) or a subject and a verbal predicated as in (158) and (159).

(157) *Maguja wo bo mola-ja.*
man.PL DIST DISC healer-PL
'Those men are healers.' (NT:12)

(158) *Kamé wé bo gaa kwaru netuk.*
1PL.EXCL PROX DISC eat:1PL.EXCL corn crushed
'We eat crushed corn here.' (C1:6)

(159) *Kopong ro géwé na=wo.*
child FIN ascend 3SG=DIST
'The child climbed up there.' (F2:29)

But both final markers, *bo* and *ro*, can also appear at the end of a clause, thus at the end of a VP, as in (160) and (161).

(160) *Kuun duang réné toba-nga ro.*
ficus.species big PROX fall-3SG FIN
'This big ficus tree fell down.' (C6:60)

(161) *Kreka bo na=oli bo.*
startle DISC 3SG=come DISC
'Suddenly, he came.' (C6:146)

In the case of clause-final *bo*, there is often a connotation of surprise or questioning in the sentence. However, *bo* as a non-final elements is much more frequent.

In final position, the combination of *ro* and a plain verb without pronoun or proclitic preceding it, as in (162), yields an imperative meaning.

(162) *T-énu ro.*
1PL.INCL-drink FIN
'Let's drink.' (C1:11)

[14] At first glance, the particle *ro* appears to be similar to the Lewoingu Lamaholot particle *-ke* which Nishiyama and Kelen (2007:129) describe as a focus particle. However, when trying to reproduce the Lewoingu sentences containing *-ké* in the Lamaholot variety of Central Lembata, it can only be replaced by Central Lembata *ro* where Lewoingu *-ké* appears at the end of a determiner phrase.

3.6.11 Clause combining

In Central Lembata coordination is much more frequent than subordination. Subordination can be found for relative clauses using a non-native relative marker discussed in §3.3.4.5, or with the complementiser *ma* discussed in §3.5.3. Table 3.51 lists clause-initial conjunctions for clause coordination.

Table 3.51: Conjunctions

Type	Conjunction	Meaning
Sequential	*pa* / *waak pa*	'then'
Sequential	*nepo*	'then'
Contrasting	*ara*	'but'
Causal	*puken*	'because'
Consequential	*ké*	'so'
Purpose	*wé*	'so that'
Conditional / Temporal	*maa*	'if; when'

To combine two clauses that express a sequence of two events, the conjunction *pa*, *waak pa* or *nepo* can be used. The conjunction *nepo* 'then' is a grammaticalisation of the temporal adverb *nepo* that indicates a point in the immediate past (cf. §3.6.2).

Frequently used Indonesian conjunctions in Central Lembata are Indonesian *kalau* 'if' and Indonesian *karena* 'because'. The Indonesian conjunction *kalau* 'if' is often directly followed by the native conjunction *maa* 'if; when'. The conjunction *karena* 'because' is never combined with the native conjunction *puken* 'because'.

In Central Lembata conditional clauses can be expressed using the conjunction *maa* which is grammaticalised from the verb *maa* 'say'. The Indonesian conjunction *kalau* 'if' is also used in conditional clauses, either on its own or combined with *maa*. Table 3.52 shows the amount of instances of both markers, the native *maa* and the Indonesian *kalau*, in my corpus.

Table 3.52: Conditional markers in Central Lembata

Conditional marker	Occurrences in corpus
maa	49
kalau maa	21
kalau	12

From the table, it can be seen that the native construction using *maa* with 49 occurrences in my corpus, such as in (163), is more frequent than the use of the Indonesian conditional conjunction *kalau* which appears only in 12 instances on its own, such as in (164), and in 21 instances combined with *maa*, such as in (165). However, the usage of the Indonesian loan is high enough not to be neglected when discussing conditional constructions in Central Lembata.

(163) *Nakété* ***maa*** *ta ka=lega kaju si* ***bo,*** *ta ta=onik api si.*
ANAPH if NEG 1SG=split wood NEG DISC NEG 1PL.INCL=set fire NEG
'If, just now, I did not split wood, we would not make fire [now].' (N1:18)

(164) *Karena,* ***kalau*** *go mea-ka en* ***bo,*** *go sibuk ré bé lewu.*
because if 1SG self-1SG just DISC 1SG busy PROX PROX village
'Because, if I am on my own, I will be busy here in the village, ...' (C1:195)

(165) ***Kalau maa*** *da=bukut-i* ***bo*** *ro,* ***bo*** *kam=dapat no tapu mirek wai.*
if if 3PL=protect-3PL DISC FIN DISC 1PL.EXCL=get COM coconut candlenut some
'If they protected them [the young plants], they got some coconut and candlenut trees.' (M3:136)

Apart from the conditional conjunctions *kalau* and *maa*, the phrase boundary marker *bo* is an important part of conditional clauses. This marker is found in between the two parts of the sentence. It introduces the clause stating the consequence that results from the condition expressed in the first clause.

3.6.12 Summary

Central Lembata has SV order in intransitive sentences and SVP order in transitive sentences. Arguments can be expressed by NPs, pronominals or both. A recipient argument in a ditransitive can be expressed by a pronominal, a full direct object NP or a prepositional phrase. Central Lembata employs temporal and aspectual adverbs. Predicates are negated by double negation. A range of multi-verb sequences are attested in Central Lembata. Nominal predicates are juxtaposed to the subject NP. Adjectival roots can only be used in intensified or negated contexts. In all other cases, a (derived) property noun is employed. The existential *nong* and the non-existential *také* are predicates. *Nong* has grammaticalised into *no* and lost its verbal qualities. Polar questions are optionally marked by an interrogative particle. Information questions contain question words that belong to the word class of their expected answer. Central Lembata has a few discourse markers that occur at clause or phrase boundaries. A range of conjunctions is attested, of which some can be combined with Indonesian loans that have the same function.

3.7 Location

Location is an important feature in the grammar of Central Lembata. This section discusses locationals, their semantics and their functions. Locationals are a subtype of suffixless verbs (cf. §3.5.2.3) which specify features such as distance and direction from the deictic centre (§3.7.1). In the following sections, I use the terms 'locationals' or 'locational verbs' as synonyms. A subset of locationals also function as demonstratives. Locational verb phrases can contain a complex object NP, as well as a phrase-final deictic motion verb that specifies the direction of movement away or towards the deictic centre (§3.7.2).

3.7.1 Locationals

Syntactically, locationals or locational verbs appear in predicate position. They share their syntactic features with suffixless verbs as they usually appear with a pro-clitic pronoun but never take a suffix. They can be intransitive, as in (166), or take a nominal object, as in (167).

(166) *Kopongu na=bété.*
child.SPEC 3SG=DIST.VIS
'Is the child there?' (NB:2)

(167) *Watoru na=ju una.*
stone.SPEC 3SG=downwards house\S
'The stone is at the house (down there).' (NB:3)

In (167), the coda alternating noun *una* / *unan* 'house' appears in the short form. This is the form which is obligatorily used for object nouns in the VP (cf. §3.3.1.2).

Semantically, locational verbs in Central Lembata express distance, direction, elevation and, to a limited extent, visibility from the deictic centre. Table 3.53 gives an overview of locational terms in Central Lembata.

Table 3.53: Locational verbs in Central Lembata

Semantic distinctions	Gloss	Basic from	*b*-initial
Default	LOC	*la*(*né*)	
Distance	PROX		*bla*(*né*)
	DIST	*we*(*né*)	*bé*(*né*)
		re(*né*)	
		wo(*né*)	
		ro(*né*)[a]	
	DIST.VIS	*bété*	
Vertical direction	upwards	*jé*(*né*)	*bjé*(*né*)
	downwards	*ju*(*né*)	*bju*(*né*)
Horizontal direction	hillwards	*jaé*	*bjaé*
	seawards	*lau*	*blau*
	sidewards	*weli*	*beli*

[a] *Ro*(*né*) only appears in the dialect of Lewaji.

In Table 3.53, the locational verbs are listed according to their semantic properties. There is one default locational *la*(*né*) that is not semantically specified further.[15] There is a two way distinction in distance: proximate and

[15] The locational *la*(*né*) is probably etymologically related to a historical preposition. The

distal. In addition, there is one distal locational *bété* which can only be used for objects or places visible from the deictic centre. The other distal and proximal locationals are not specified for visibility. There is a two way distinction in elevation: high and low; and a three way distinction in horizontal direction: hillwards, seawards and sidewards. However, the horizontal directions are also partly vertical as hillwards naturally also means upwards and seawards is downwards.

Each locational has a basic disyllabic form. The second syllable *né* is optional and not inherited. It has been added to create disyllabic forms in the same way as has been described for free pronouns (cf. §3.4.2.1). In addition, most locationals have a second form with a prefix *b-* of unknown origin. Locationals with initial *w* drop their initial *w* when the prefix *b-* is added, such as *wéné* 'PROX' which becomes *béné* and *weli* 'sidewards' which becomes *beli*. This yields up to four variants for one locational. For example 'upwards' can be realised as *jé*, *jéné*, *bjé* or *bjéné*. These long and short forms occur in free variation, usually depending on speech rate and pragmatic features. The proximate locational *blané* 'PROX' appears to be historically derived from *lané* 'LOC' via prefixation. Synchronically, however, these two locationals have divergent semantics.

The default locational *la*(*né*) is the only locational verb that cannot be intransitive, as shown in the ungrammatical example in (168a). The locational *lané* 'LOC' is a transitive verb that must take an object, as in (168b).

(168) a. * *Da=d-ia da=lané.*
3PL=3PL-stay 3PL=LOC
Intended:'They are staying here.' (NB:2)

b. *Wator-u na=lané una.*
stone-SPEC 3SG=LOC house\S
'The stone is at the house.' (NB:3)

The locational *lané*, or short *la*, can be seen as a default locational that can only appear with a nominal object. This is explained by its origin as a locative preposition (cf. footnote 15). Therefore, it is suggested that *la*(*né*) is not

first syllable *la* is used as a locative preposition in several Austronesian languages of the region, as for example in Kambera spoken on Sumba (Klamer 1998:122) or in Roma, a language spoken on the island Roma eastwards of Timor (Steven 1991:67).

a verb that grammaticalised into a locative preposition but the locative preposition *la* that developed into a locational verb to adapt to the system of locational verbs found in the language.

Apart from a location, *la*(*né*) can also mark a benefactive as in (169). In this example, *lané* precedes the recipient argument *kopo lamé* 'a boy' of the main verb *béé* 'give'.

(169) *Na=béé-nga lané kopo lamé.*
3SG=give-3SG LOC child\S male\S
'She gives it to a boy.' (FH1:42)

A subset of the Central Lembata locationals discussed above can be used as demonstratives. Table 3.54 shows all demonstratives in Central Lembata, the subset of locationals and the temporal adverb *nakété* 'just now' (cf. §3.6.2) that can be used as an anaphoric demonstrative.

Table 3.54: Demonstratives

Gloss	Full	Short
PROX	*wéné*	*wé*
	réné	*ré*
DIST	*woné*	*wo*
	(*roné*)	(*ro*)[a]
ANAPH	*nakété*	*nak*

[a] *Ro*(*né*) only appears in the dialect of Lewaji.

Each demonstrative has a full form and a short form. There is no semantic difference between the full and the short form, they can freely replace each other. Pragmatically, the full form puts more emphasis on the demonstrative. The distal and the proximate demonstratives come in synonym pairs. The use of proximate /w/-initial or /r/-initial demonstratives is ideolectal or free variation. Compare §3.3.5 for the use of demonstratives in noun phrases.

3.7.2 Locational verb phrases

Locational verbs can be the only verb of a predicate, such as in (170) or the final verb in a multi-verb sequence, such as in (171). In (170), the distal locational verb *wo*(*né*) 'DIST' specifies the location of the object noun *bnelak* field' in terms of distance from the speaker. In the free English translation, the distance aspect is expressed with the demonstrative 'that'.

(170) *Na=woné bnelak.*
3SG=DIST field
'It [the stone] was on that open field.' (L3:259)

The sentence (171) shows the use of *la*(*né*) 'LOC' as the last verb in a multi-verb sequence.

(171) *Pa na=toko lané kaju wikil.*
then 3SG=hang LOC wood branch
'Then he hangs (it) on a tree branch.' (FH3:31)

Locational verb phrases can have complex complements that specify the relation of two elements in space, such as being on top of something else or moving towards a certain place. In (172), I present a template for Central Lembata locational phrase.

(172) Locational phrase template
[LOC.V + [N + (LOC.N)]$_{NP}$ + (DMV)]

The first two elements, the locational verb (LOC.V) and a noun (N) denoting a place are the only obligatory elements in this template. Locative nouns (LOC.N) and deictic motion verbs (DMV) are optional elements, discussed in the subsections hereafter. An example of a basic locational phrase is (173) with the locational verb *lau* 'seawards' and a nominal object *Watuwawer*, a place name.

(173) *D-ia lau Watuwawer.*
3PL-stay seawards NAME
'They stayed in Watuwawer (in seaward direction).' (L2:48)

In example (173), the locational *lau* 'seawards' specifies that Watuwawer is located in seaward direction from the speaker's position. This information

could only be incorporated into the free English translation by adding a relative clause such as 'which is located in seaward direction from here'.

The wide range of locationals in Central Lembata is used to specify several semantic aspects of the subject referent in relation to the deictic centre, which often is the speaker. Depending on the locational verb used, the distance, direction or elevation of the subject referent can be specified further from the deictic centre's point of view.

In example (174), the locational *jé* 'upwards' specifies the location of the garden *éka* as being located higher than the position of the speaker.

(174) *Go bolé muku luam jé éka.*
1SG pick banana heart upwards garden
'I'm picking banana hearts at the garden.' (NT:18)

In addition to the locational verb containing deictic information, there are two optional slots available in a locational phrase. The slot for locative nouns (LOC.N) is discussed in §3.7.2.1 and the slot for deictic motion verbs (DMV) is introduced in §3.7.2.2.

3.7.2.1 Locative nouns

The locative noun (LOC.N) slot can be filled with a locative noun that conveys information on the topological relation of the subject referent and another object or place. Table 3.55 gives an overview of the most frequent locative nouns in Central Lembata.

Table 3.55: Locative nouns

Locative noun	Gloss
oor	'inside'
wutu	'end'
lolo	'top'
leeng	'lower part'
keja	'middle'
weja	'side'

In both examples (175) and (176) the locational noun *oor* 'inside' indicates that the subject referent is located inside another object, which is in this

case a storage house. Through the context in which the sentences appear, it is known that the subject refers to harvested rice and maize from the fields.

(175) *Da=doka la wétak oor.*
3PL=store LOC storage inside
'They are storing it in the storage house.' (T3:167)

(176) *D-er waak-i doka-ngi d-ewa jé wétak oor.*
3PL-do finish-3PL lift-3PL 3PL-reach upwards storage inside
'They lifted all of it into the storage house.' (T3:183)

3.7.2.2 Deictic motion verbs

Whenever motion is involved and the locational phrase expresses a direction (goal) or an origin (source) of the subject referent, a deictic motion verb (DMV) is added in the final slot of the locational phrase. The deictic verbs listed in Table 3.56 semantically express the direction of the movement from the deictic centre's perspective.

Table 3.56: Phrase-final deictic verbs 'go' and 'come'

	Motion verb	Gloss
go	*-ai*	'go'
	géji / *géwi*	'go.up'
	lodo	'go.down'
come	*méné*(*k-*)	'come'
	aka(*j-*)	'come.up'
	nau(*n-*)	'come.down'

The phrase-final deictic verbs can be classified into 'come' and 'go' verbs. 'Come' verbs express a movement that goes towards the deictic centre, whereas 'go' verbs express a movement away from the deictic centre. In addition to the aspect of coming or going, the speaker can specify whether the movement is in upward or downward direction by using deictic verbs that incorporate elevation. The 'go' verbs *géji*/*géwi* 'go.up' and *lodo* 'go.down' can also be used as medial verbs with the meanings 'climb/ascend/enter' and 'descend/exit'. In medial position, they can be inflected using person suffixes

but the remain uninflected in final position. The 'go' verbs *géji* 'go.up' and *géwi* 'go.up' are free variants. The 'come' verbs only appear in final position and can be inflected in that position.

In the following, I illustrate the use of the DMV in come-go pairs according to the level of elevation. The first pair of DMV are the verbs *-ai* 'go' and *méné* 'come' which are unspecified for elevation. However, in combination with locational verbs (cf. Section 3.7.1), elevation can be expressed, as shown in the following examples. In (177a), the phrase with the verb *-ai* 'go' expresses a downward movement 'to the ground', as it is combined with the locational verb *juné* 'downwards', whereas in (177b), another phrase with the same verb expresses an upward movement 'up to your house' because it is used in a clause that contains the locational verb *jé* 'upwards'.

(177) a. *Kopo anak kerka-nga, pa péal-a no **juné** ena **n-ai**.*
child little startle-3SG then fall with downwards soil 3SG-go
'The little child is startled, then it falls to the ground.' (F1:37)

b. *... mo **jé** una **m-ai** ...*
2SG upwards house 2SG-go
'... you go up to your house, ...' (N3:111)

The same two options can be found with the verb *méné* 'come'. In (178a), the verb *méné* 'come' is preceded by the locational verb *jéné* 'upwards', expressing a downward movement from a higher place. Whereas in (178b), the verb *méné* 'come' expresses an upward movement from a lower place, as it is preceded by the locational verb *ju* 'downwards'.

(178) a. *Korar-u di na=beka-nga **jéné** **méné**.*
owl-SPEC also 3SG=fly-3SG upwards come
'The owl also flies (down) from above.' (F1:41)

b. *Da=**ju** lala **méné**.*
3PL=downwards road come
'They are approaching from the road (down there).' (NB:12)

The two DMV *aka* 'come.up' and *nau* 'come.down' both encode a movement in the direction towards the deictic centre, as well as information on elevation, as illustrated in (179) and (181a). In (179) the verb *aka* 'come.up' is expressing a movement towards the deictic centre which is located at a higher

place than the origin of the movement. The DMV is preceded by the locational verb *lau* 'seawards' with its object the placename *Ilé Apé*. The locational *lau* 'seawards' expresses that the place Ile Ape is located in seaward direction from the deictic centre, the speaker, thus located at a lower position than the speaker.

(179) *Na=tué* ***lau*** *Ilé Apé* ***aka,*** *hari Sabtu.*
3SG=return seawards Ile Ape come.up day Saturday
'She will return from Ile Ape on Saturday.' (C1:193)

The DMV *aka* 'come.up' is usually preceded by a locational verb that expresses a lower location and this location is then the place of origin of the movement, such as shown in (179) above. However, the verb *aka* 'come.up' can also be preceded by a locational unspecified for elevation, such as in (180). In this case, the locational *bé* preceding the deictic motion verb *aka* 'come.up' expresses the destination place of the movement, *Lewaji*, which is identical to the deictic centre and located higher than the origin of the movement.

(180) *Da=kari d-o* *bé* *Lewaji* ***aka.***
3PL=run 3PL-with PROX NAME come.up
'They fled up here to Lewaji.' (L2:75)

A similar pattern is found with the verb *nau* 'come.down'. This verb can be either preceded by a locational unspecified for elevation, and then expressing the destination of the movement, such as in (181a). Or it can be preceded by a locational expressing a higher place which encodes the origin of the movement, such as in (181b). In (181a), the verb *nau* 'come.up' is preceded by the proximate locational *bé* which denotes the destination of the movement expressed by the deictic motion verb. In (181b), the deictic motion verb *nau* 'come.down' is preceded by the locational *jé* 'upwards' which denotes a higher place than the deictic centre and thus the origin of the movement. A stem-final consonant *n* is added when the verb takes a suffix.

(181) a. *Wawi* [...] *tu* *na=bé* ***nau.***
pig one 3SG=PROX come.down
'a pig is coming down here' (L2:57)

b. *Da=****jé*** *lala* ***naun-i.***
3PL=upwards road come.down-3PL
'They are coming down from the road (up there).' (NB:11)

The third pair of motion verbs are *lodo* 'go.down' and *géji* or *géwi* 'go.up'. These verbs encode a a downward or and upward movement and they are placed clause-finally. In most cases, the motion verb *lodo* 'go.down' is preceded by a upwards locational verb, such as *jé* 'upwards' in (182a) and (182b).

(182) a. *Da=**jé** lala **lodo**.*
3PL=upwards road go.down
'They are going down from the road (up there).' (NB:12)

b. *Bo korar-u na=du **jé** kaju lolo **lodo**.*
DISC owl-SPEC 3SG=see upwards tree top go.down
'The owl looks down from the top of the tree.' (F1:44)

In parallel to this pattern, the synonymic motion verbs *géji* and *géwi*, both glossed as 'go.up', are often preceded by a downwards locational verb, such as in (183).

(183) *Da=belo **ju** ena **géji**.*
3PL=appear downwards soil go.up
'They appeared out of the ground.' (NT:19)

The DMV verbs *lodo* and *géji* / *géwi* can also express and outward versus inward movement. In that case, *lodo* 'go.up' corresponds to an outward movement and can also be read as meaning 'exit', while *géji* / *géwi* 'go.up' corresponds to an inward movement and can also be read as 'enter'. An example is given in the elicited sentence in (184).

(184) a. *Aor-u kari la kam=una **lodo**.*
dog-SPEC run LOC 1PL.EXCL.POSS=house exit
'The dog runs out of our house.' (NT:19)

b. *Aor-u kari la kam=una **géji**.*
dog-SPEC run LOC 1PL.EXCL.POSS=house enter
'The dog runs into our house.' (NT:19)

In addition to the clause-final deictic motion verbs just discussed, Central Lembata has adapted the clause-final position for an additional set of verbs appearing with locational phrases. These clause-final verbs are mainly posture verbs and a few other intransitive verbs, listed in 3.57.

Table 3.57: Additional clause-final verbs in Central Lembata

Posture verbs	
tobé	'sit'
diri	'stand'
gelé	'lie (human)'
pawa	'lie (thing)'
swakat	'crouch'
toko	'hang'
suduk	'bend'
Other verbs	
oli	'arrive'
géka	'laugh'
irak	'shout'
sédu	'dance'

In (185), the verb *diri* 'stand' is placed clause-finally. The clause also contains the locational verb *ju* 'to be at a lower place' glossed as 'downwards' which is placed clause-medially, directly after the subject. The two verbs are separated by the object NP *watu puk* 'foot of the stone'. The object NP is not obligatory, as a locational verb, such as *wo* 'DIST' in (186), can be directly followed by a clause-final verb.

(185) *Aoru na=ju watu puk* ***diri.***
dogSPEC 3SG=downwards stone stem stand
'The dog is standing at the foot of the stone.' (F1:47)

(186) *Ké ata dikeja, go denger, da=wo* ***irak.***
so person person.PL 1SG hear 3PL=DIST shout
'So, I hear people shouting there.' (S2:31)

Clause-final verbs are an innovation in Central Lembata. The canonical word order is verb-medial and only a small subset of verbs is phrase-final, i. e. the deicitic motion verbs and a couple of other verbs, for example posture verbs, as has been shown in this section. §10.2 investigates the emergence of these clause-final verbs in Central Lembata and other Flores-Lembata languages.

3.7.3 Summary

Central Lembata has a set of locational verbs that express distance and direction from the deictic centre. A subset of these locationals functions also as demonstratives. A locational verb phrase can contain the following elements: a locational verb, a noun denoting the location as a point of reference, and optionally a locative noun and a deictic motion verb. Locative nouns convey information on the topological relation between the subject and the location. Deictic verbs are used to indicated movement by differentiating between 'come' and 'go', as well as elevation.

3.8 Summary and conclusions

Central Lembata has an average-sized phoneme inventory with little distributional restrictions for phonemes. Syllables are open in medial position and open or closed in final position. All stems are generally disyllabic and stressed at the penultimate syllable, except for a penultimate syllable with a schwa which results in ultimate stress. Central Lembata is the only language in the Flores-Lembata family for which a plural suffix as well as a specificity suffix is attested for nouns. The phenomenon of coda alternating nouns is also unique to Central Lembata within the FL family. The noun phrase has a core part for nouns and numerals, while demonstratives and discourse markers occur on the right edge of the NP located outside of the core NP. In addition to free pronouns, Central Lembata has a set of S/A marking proclitics of which a subset only appears in irrealis contexts and two sets of S/P marking suffixes that are predominantly found in non-dynamic predicates. Free possessor pronouns are used for possessed alienable nouns, also if a possessor NP is present. Possessor suffixes are only allowed on inalienable nouns. Verbs can be divided into three morpho-syntactic classes based on which suffix set they take. The verb *-ora* 'join; be with' and the verb *maa* 'say' both show typical grammaticalisation pathways. These are from the verb meaning 'be with; join' to an existential, a comitative, a coordinator and maybe a destination marker; and from the verb meaning 'say' to a complementiser, a marker of future, intention, volition or ability and to a conditional conjunction. Central Lembata has SVP basic word order. Nominal predicates are juxtaposed to their subject NP and optionally marked with

S/P suffixes. Tense and aspect are expressed through adverbs. Double negation is the most common negation strategy for clauses. Location marking is a crucial aspect in the Central Lembata grammar. Locational verbs express direction or distance from the deicitic centre. In a locational phrase, detailed information on location and movement can be conveyed by locative nouns and clause-final deictic motion verbs.