Traces of language contact: The Flores-Lembata languages in eastern Indonesia
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Citation
Fricke, H. L. A. (2019, November 13). *Traces of language contact: The Flores-Lembata languages in eastern Indonesia*. *LOT dissertation series*. LOT, Amsterdam. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/80399

Cover Page

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Title: Traces of language contact: The Flores-Lembata languages in eastern Indonesia
Issue Date: 2019-11-13

Innovations in the nominal domain

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss three morpho-syntactic features of nouns that have been innovated in the languages of Flores-Lembata or in a subset of these languages. These features are (i) a formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possession attested in Western Lamaholot and Central Lamaholot, (ii) properties (adjectival concepts) expressed by nouns in all Flores-Lembata languages, and (iii) general plural marking on nouns by means of suffixes or plural words attested in Central Lamaholot and Alorese.

Table 8.1 lists each of these features and provides information on their spread in Nusa Tenggara Timur and Timor-Leste (cf. map in §7.1). A minus (-) means that the feature is not attested. A plus (+) means that the feature is attested in all or nearly all languages of this group. A minus/plus (-/+) means that the feature is attested in at least one language or up to half of the languages of the group but not in all. In this table, Flores, Sumba and Timor are geographical labels referring to the Austronesian languages spoken on these islands. Flores refers to western and central Flores, Sumba also includes the island of Sabu, and Timor also includes the island of Rote. Sika (SK), Kedang (KD), Western Lamaholot (WL) and Central Lamaholot (CL) are sub-

groups of the Flores-Lembata language family (cf. §4.1). The Flores-Lembata subgroup of Eastern Lamaholot (EL) had to be excluded because virtually no data on the morpho-syntax of this language group is available. The only non-Austronesian (non-AN) language family in the area are the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages (TAP).

Table 8.1: The spread of innovations in the nominal domain

| Feature | Austronesian | | | | | | | Non-AN |
	Sumba	Flores	SK	KD	WL	CL	Timor	TAP
Alienability	-	-	-	-	+	+	-/+	+
Property n.	-	-	+	+	+	+	-/+	-/+
Plural	-	-	-	-	-/+	+	-/+	+

The three innovations listed in the table are possibly the result of contact-induced change. They have in common that they are attested in the eastern part of the area of study but not in the west, roughly distinguishing east and west by drawing a line between the island of Timor in the east and the island of Sumba in the west. In the east, these features occur in the Austronesian as well as in the non-Austronesian languages.

None of the features discussed here is attested on Sumba and in western and central Flores. The only exception is a minor alienability distinction in the Central Flores language Keo (cf. §8.2.2). When looking at the Flores-Lembata family, property nouns are the only feature shared by all of its members. The other features are only attested in WL and CL. In the Austronesian languages of Timor, a scattered distribution of the three features emerges. For the TAP languages, an alienability distinction and plural marking on nouns is attested throughout the family, while property nouns are only attested in some of the TAP languages.

This chapter follows the methodology explained in §7.2 to demonstrate that each of the three features is an innovation in Flores-Lembata that is likely to have arisen due to contact with non-Austronesian languages. The alienability distinction is discussed in §8.2. Property nouns are examined in §8.3 and plural marking on nouns is taken up in §8.4. In §8.5, I summarise the findings and conclude that property nouns are an areal feature which developed due to the pre-posed possessor word order (cf. §9.2), while the

alienability distinction and plural marking on nouns are new categories that were innovated in the Flores-Lembata languages and the AN languages of Timor due to contact with non-Austronesian languages.

Glosses and transcriptions from other sources are adapted to the conventions of this dissertation (cf. §7.3). A list of adapted glosses and re-transcribed sounds with their original representations is found in Appendix C.

8.2 Alienability

8.2.1 Overview

In the context of this thesis, I define alienability as a semantic property of a possessive construction. According to Payne (1997:105), an alienable possessive construction expresses a relation between two entities that is not permanent, thus can be resolved. An inalienable possessive construction expresses a relation between two entities that are inherently connected and cannot normally be separated. Typical nouns that are used in inalienable possessive constructions are body part nouns, kinship terms or parts of wholes. I refer to these nouns as inalienable nouns, while nouns that are found in alienable possessive constructions are referred to as alienable nouns (Payne 1997:105; Shopen 2007:185). In the languages discussed here, a typical alienable possessive construction could be a more analytical construction with free pronouns, while an inalienable construction may use a bound pronoun or no linking element between the two nouns. On a symbolic level, the grammar represents the semantic nature of these possessive constructions, an alienable possessive relation being more detached and less fixed, while an inalienable possessive relationship is closer and less easy to resolve. This is parallel to the relation between free possessor pronoun and possessed noun which can be separated, thus occur on their own, and bound pronoun and possessed noun which cannot be detached so easily. In some languages, inalienable nouns take an obligatory bound pronoun, which means that the noun and the pronoun cannot be separated at all.
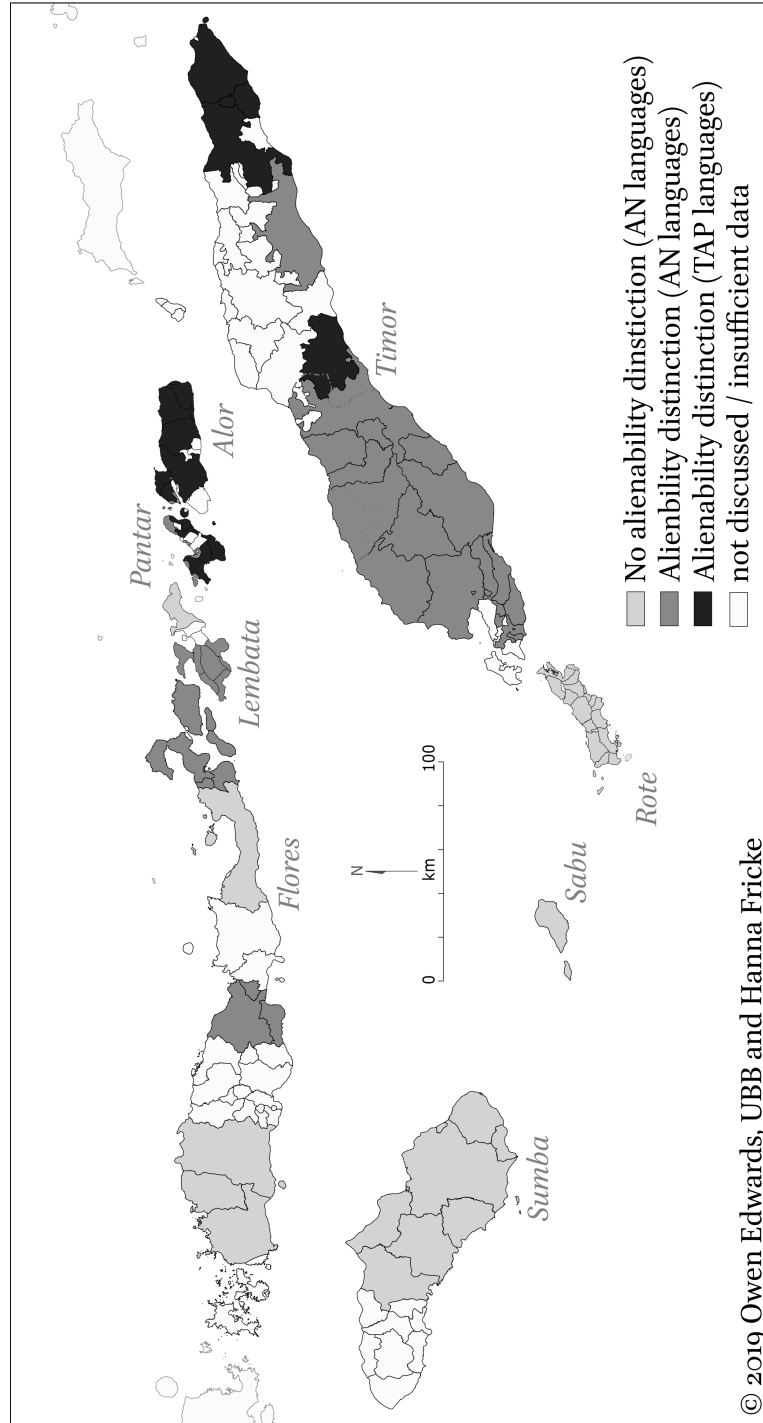
The distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is an innovation in the Austronesian languages, as it is not inherited from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP). Klamer (2002:373) lists the alienability distinction as a typical feature of eastern Indonesian languages distinguishing them

from those further west. Blust (2013:482) states that possessive constructions in the Austronesian languages of Taiwan, the Philippines and western Indonesia tend to be simple, while further east different constructions are used to express alienable or inalienable possessive relations. The details in how these Austronesian languages distinguish the two constructions vary (Himmelmann 2005:165). An overview of different strategies in languages of eastern Indonesia is given in Klamer et al. (2008:116-122). The fact that an alienability distinction is neither attested in all major subgroups of Austronesian nor of Malayo-Polynesian, but only in its eastern branches, makes it unlikely to reconstruct this feature to PMP. This is in line with the result of Reesink and Dunn's study using phylogenetic methods to reconstruct ancestral states for PMP. Reesink and Dunn (2018:946) reconstruct no alienability distinction for PMP with a high degree of confidence. Thus, this feature is very unlikely to be inherited. Klamer et al. (2008:116, 122) have listed the alienability distinction as a non-Austronesian feature in many of the Austronesian language of East Nusantara that arose as a result of contact with non-Austronesian languages.

In East Nusa Tenggara and Timor-Leste, there are languages that just have one type of possessive construction. All nouns can be used in this construction with no morpho-syntactic distinction between alienable and inalienable. But there are also languages that have two different types of constructions, one for inalienable nouns and another one for alienable nouns. The map in Figure 8.1 displays the distribution of languages that grammatically distinguish alienability and those that do not. Alienability is grammaticalised in Lamaholot, in the Austronesian languages of Timor and in the non-Austronesian Timor-Alor-Pantar languages. Further west, in the Austronesian languages of Sabu, of Sumba, in Central and Western Flores, as well as in Kedang and Sika, this distinction is not relevant in the choice of the possessive construction.

In this section on alienability, I argue that Western Lamaholot and Central Lamaholot have innovated an alienability distinction and not inherited this feature from any common ancestor. After having proposed that the alienability distinction is not inherited from PMP above, I provide evidence in §8.2.2 that this feature is neither inherited from a more recent ancestor of the Flores-Lembata family, such as Proto-Bima-Lembata or Proto-Flores-Lembata. To do so, I demonstrate the absence of the feature in the languages of Sumba, in Western and Central Flores, and in Kedang as well as Sika.

Figure 8.1: The alienability distinction in possessive constructions

No alienability dinstiction (AN languages)
Alienbility distinction (AN languages)
Alienability distinction (TAP languages)
not discussed / insufficient data

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In §8.2.3, I provide evidence for the presence of the alienability distinction in Western Lamaholot, Central Lamaholot and in the Austronesian languages of Timor as well as the TAP languages. Finally, §8.2.4 provides a discussion of the emergence of the alienability distinction in the Austronesian languages of the area suggesting that Western Lamaholot and Central Lamaholot acquired the alienability distinction due to contact with non-Austronesian languages, possibly belonging to the TAP family or at least being typologically similar to the TAP languages.

8.2.2   No alienability distinction

I show in this section that there is no alienability distinction attested in the closest relatives of Central Lamaholot and Western Lamaholot, i. e. Sika and Kedang, neither in the Austronesian languages of Flores and Sumba which are the languages closest related to the Flores-Lembata family (cf. §5.5). Therefore, I propose that Central Lamaholot and Western Lamaholot innovated the alienability distinction.

For the Flores-Lembata languages Sika and Kedang, no grammatical distinction between alienable and inalienable possessive construction is known (Arndt 1931; Fricke 2014a; Samely 1991a). In Sika, possessive constructions are formed by juxtaposing the possessor NP and the possessed noun without any inserted element regardless of the alienability status of the possessive relation. The same construction is used for an inalienable possessive relations (1a), where the possessed noun *kikir* 'finger' is a body part, as well as for an alienable possessive construction (1b), where the possessed noun *labur* 'shirt' is an object that may easily switch its possessor.

(1)   SK-Hewa

   a. *bi'an   kikir*
      human finger
      'someone's finger'   (Fricke 2014a:40)

   b. *bi'an   labur*
      human shirt
      'somebody's shirt'   (Fricke 2014a:40)

In Sika, vowel-final possessed nouns take a possessive suffix in alienable and inalienable adnominal possession (Lewis and Grimes 1995:607; Fricke

2014a:38-39). In contrast to pre-posed nominal possessors, all pronominal possessors in Sika are postposed to the possessed noun. The same pronouns are used for inalienable (2a), as well as alienable possessive relations (2b).

(2) SK-Hewa

    a. *mé   nimu-n*
       child 3SG-POSS
       'her/his children' (Fricke 2014a:39)

    b. *lepo   nimu-n*
       house 3SG-POSS
       'his/her house' (Fricke 2014a:42)

Kedang has preposed possessors, both pronominal and nominal. The same construction is used for inalienable, shown in (3a) and (4a), as well as alienable possessive relations, illustrated in (3b) and (4b). The pronominal as well as the adnominal possessive construction are analytical: free possessor pronouns are used, and no morphology.

(3) a. KD-Leuwayang
       sétang né'   ning
       satan 3SG.POSS nose
       'the devil's nose'   (Samely 1991a:157)

    b. Kedang
       bapa né'é   méi'
       father 3SG.POSS knife
       'father's knife'   (Kedang speaker in Malang, pers. comm.)

(4) KD-Leuwayang

    a. *mo'   ạna'*
       2SG.POSS child
       'your children'   (Samely 1991a:76)

    b. *ko'   lumar*
       1SG.POSS field
       'my field'   (Samely 1991a:75)

In contrast, for Keo spoken in central Flores, a minor distinction between alienable and inalienable constructions has been described (Baird 2002:208).

In Keo, a possessive construction by means of juxtaposition is more frequently used for inalienable possessive relations (5a), and a construction with the particle *ko'o* is used more often for possessive relations that are alienable (5b).

(5)   Keo

    a. *'udu wawi*
        head pig
        'pig's head'   (Baird 2002:210)

    b. *'aé   ko'o kami*
        water POSS 1PL.EXCL
        'our water'   (Baird 2002:204)

However in Keo, also the nature of the possessor in terms of animacy and humanness plays a role in the choice of construction. While inanimate objects or animals are more likely to appear in a juxtaposed possessive construction, possessors expressed by kinship terms or proper names are preferably used in a possessive construction with particle.

For Kambera on the island of Sumba, for Hawu on Sabu and for Manggarai in western Flores, no distinction between an alienable and an inalienable possessive construction is reported (Klamer 1998; Semiun 1993; Walker 1982).

8.2.3   Alienability distinction

8.2.3.1   Lamaholot

In the varieties of Lamaholot, the distinction between inalienable and alienable possessive construction is grammaticalised, while in the other Flores-Lembata subgroups Kedang and Sika it is not (cf. §8.2.2). All known varieties of Lamaholot make a grammatical distinction between inalienable and alienable possession, though there is variation in formal details. In this section, I lay out these details for varieties of Central Lamaholot (CL) and of Western Lamaholot (WL) varieties.

In the majority of cases described here, which are CL-Central Lembata, WL-Solor and WL-Adonara, the distinction is in construction type: morphological with a suffix for inalienable constructions and analytical with free

pronoun for alienable constructions. However, in the WL varieties, the alienability distinction is losing ground to varying degrees. Both the analytical as well as the morphological construction can be employed for alienable and inalienable nouns. In WL-Lewoingu, one construction is used for inalienable and alienable, while in WL-Solor and WL-Adonara, there is a tendency for free possessor pronouns to occur with alienable nouns and bound possessor pronouns with inalienable nouns. In fewer varieties, which are WL-Lewotobi and WL-Alorese, the distinction lays in the pronominal suffixes or free pronouns of which two variants exist, one for inalienable nouns and one for alienable nouns.

First, I discuss varieties where the construction type differs. In Central Lamaholot this distinction is intact, while in the Western Lamaholot varieties it appears to be disappearing. In a strict sense, it is unknown whether the distinction is disappearing or whether it has never been completely implemented in some of the WL varieties. CL-Central Lembata has two sets of possessor pronouns, one set of bound pronouns that are suffixed to the possessed noun in an inalienable possessive construction, such as *-ga* '1SG.POSS' in (6a), and one set of free pronouns that is obligatory and only found in alienable possessive constructions, such as *goé* '1SG.POSS' in (6b). In the inalienable construction, there is an optional free pronoun, here *go* '1SG.POSS', indexing the possessor and preceding the possessed noun. The full sets of CL-Central Lembata possessive pronouns are listed in §3.4.3.

(6) CL-Central Lembata

    a. (*go*)   *najan-ga*
        1SG.POSS name-1SG.POSS
        'my name'   (C1:105)

    b. *goé*   *kajor*
        1SG.POSS wood
        'my wood'   (C5:161)

Both possessive constructions can have a nominal possessor in addition to the possessor pronoun. The nominal possessor always precedes the possessed noun. In an inalienable possessive construction, the possessor noun immediately precedes the possessed (7a). In an alienable possessive construction with a nominal possessor (7b), the possessor pronoun, here *da=* '3PL', is obligatorily placed in between the nominal possessor and the possessed noun.

(7) CL-Central Lembata

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

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

No free possessor pronoun can be inserted in between inalienable possessor and possessed noun and the possessor noun *witi* 'goat\s' must appear in its short form, marked with \s in the gloss, while the possessed noun is marked with a possessor suffix (cf. §3.3.1.2). In sum, CL-Central Lembata expresses inalienable possession through morphological means, whereas alienable possession is expressed by an analytic construction.

In WL-Solor, a clear distinction between inalienable and alienable possessive constructions is attested (Kroon 2016:67,94,125). There is a full set of inalienable possessor enclitics, one of them being used in (8a), and postposed free possessive pronouns used with alienable nouns, as shown in example (8b).

(8) WL-Solor

    a. *bapa   kote='ẽ*
        father head=3SG.POSS
        'father's head'   (Kroon 2016:166)

    b. *labu bapa na'ẽ̃*
        shirt father 3SG.POSS
        'father's shirt'   (Kroon 2016:166)

Not only the pronoun but also the word order differs in the two constructions. In the inalienable construction, the possessor noun is preposed, while in the alienable construction, the possessor is postposed. Kroon (2016:68,166) states that the there is a tendency to generalise the inalienable construction to all nouns. Thus, the alienability distinction appear to be losing ground.

WL-Adonara also has a set of postposed free possessor pronouns and a set of enclitics. Both can be used with inalienable and alienable nouns. However, for inalienable nouns, the enclitic construction is generally preferred and it is even obligatory (Grangé 2015a:40).

WL-Lewoingu has a set of post-nominal possessor pronouns which are derived from core argument pronouns (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:15,23,31) and a full set of suffixes which can index the possessor on the possessed noun. Both constructions, the one with free pronouns and the one with suffixes, can be used with inalienable as well as alienable nouns. There is no alienability distinction. In the data presented by Nishiyama and Kelen (2007:23-27), repeated in (9) and (10), no distinction between inalienable and alienable possessive construction is observed, as body part nouns, kinship terms and nouns referring to transferable objects are all used in the same two constructions.

(9) WL-Lewoingu: Free possessor pronoun

    a. *lima Bala na'én*
        hand NAME 3SG.POSS
        'Bala's hand'   (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:25)

    b. *oto Lado na'én*
        car NAME 3SG.POSS
        'Lado's car'   (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:25)

(10) WL-Lewoingu: Possessor suffix

    a. *bapa'-nen*
        father-3SG.POSS
        'his father'   (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:23)

    b. *lango-nen*
        house-3SG.POSS
        'his house'   (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:24)

In WL-Lewotobi and in the WL offspring Alorese, not the construction type but the shape of the pronominal denoting the possessor determines the alienability status. The alienability distinction is in these cases only found in the third person. In WL-Lewotobi, inalienably possesed nouns are marked by the suffix *-N*, meaning nasalisation of the preceding vowel, whereas alienably possessed nouns are marked by an enclitic *-kẽ*, such as shown in (11). Both suffixes are analysed as nominalisers.[1]

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[1] In WL-Lewotobi, the distinction is in the construction, not in the properties of the noun itself. This is suggested because a noun can, according to context, take the alienable or inalienable marker (Nagaya 2011:237-238).

(11) WL-Lewotobi

    a. *Ika   lei-N*
       NAME foot-NMLZ
       'Ika's foot'   (Nagaya 2011:33)

    b. *Ika   doi-kẽ*
       NAME money-NMLZ
       'Ika's money'   (Nagaya 2011:33)

The nominalising suffixes above can only be used as possessive marker for possessed nouns with a third person singular possessor. For other persons, a nominalised person pronoun has to be used. The use of such a free pronoun neutralises the alienability distinction. Thus, alienability can only be distinguished for third person singular possessors (Nagaya 2011:117,233).

In Alorese, there is an alienability distinction in the third person singular possessor pronoun. There are two variants of this pronoun, *no* for inalienable nouns and *ni* or *né* for alienable nouns (Klamer 2011:54). Historically, this seems to be the same system as found in Central Lamaholot. The preposed free possessor pronoun for inalienble nouns is identical with the core argument pronoun. This is *no* in Alorese and *na* in Central Lamaholot. The preposed free possessor pronoun for alienable nouns is different from the core argument pronoun, in Alorese it is *ni* or *né* and in Central Lamaholot it is *naé*.

In sum, in most Lamaholot varieties, including Central as well as Western Lamaholot, the distinction is in construction type: morphological with a suffix for inalienable constructions and analytical with free pronoun for alienable constructions. Different to the distinction in construction, in WL-Lewotobi, the distinction lays in the suffixes of which two variants exist: *-N* for inalienable nouns and *-kẽ* for alienable nouns. In Alorese, the distinction is made in preposed free pronoun of which two variants exist: *no* for inalienable nouns and *ni/né* for alienable nouns.

8.2.3.2   The Austronesian languages of Timor

To place the Flores-Lembata languages into a larger regional context, I show that in many Austronesian languages of Timor the distinction between inalienable and alienable possession is grammatically expressed. In most cases, inalienable nouns take possessor suffixes and free pronouns, while alienable

nouns only take free pronouns, such as in the example (12) from Amarasi, a Meto language in western Timor.

(12)   Amarasi
    a. *au   fuuf-k=i*
       1SG fontanelle-1SG.POSS=1DET
       'my fontanelle'   (Edwards 2016a:258)
    b. *au   tas=i*
       1SG bag=1DET
       'my bag'   (Edwards 2016a:258)

Also in the east Timorese language Tetun, alienability plays a role in the choice of possessive constructions. Inalienable possessive constructions tend to be constructions with a preposed possessor and a possessor enclitic on the possessum, while alienable possessive constructions are constructions using a free pronoun and no enclitic with a pre- or postposed possessor (van Klinken 1999:144). The same is most likely true for many other Timorese languages but published descriptions are still insufficient.

In contrast, for the languages of Rote, which are subgrouped together with the Meto cluster on Timor (cf. Edwards 2018b), no alienability distinction has been documented (Jonker 1915). As can be seen in the examples in (13) from the language Termanu on Rote, inalienable referents such as a feet and alienable referents such as a buffaloes appear in the same possessive construction.

(13)   Termanu
    a. *au   ei=ng=ala*
       1SG foot-1SG.POSS-PL
       'my feet'   (Jonker 1908:152)
    b. *au   kapa=ng=ala*
       1SG buffalo-1SG.POSS-PL
       'my buffaloes'   (Jonker 1908:372)

8.2.3.3   The Timor-Alor-Pantar languages

In all known and described Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) languages, an alienability distinction is attested. The AN languages of Timor (§8.2.3.2) and the

Lamaholot varieties (§8.2.3.1) thus typologically pattern with the TAP languages and not with their closest Austronesian relatives (§8.2.2).

The alienability distinction strategy in the TAP languages varies. There are languages that encode inalienable possession with a prefix and alienable possession with a free pronoun, such as Western Pantar, Blagar (Klamer 2017:25-27) or Bunaq (Schapper 2009:311-312). Languages, such as Kaera, Abui or Kamang, have two distinct prefixes for this purpose (Klamer 2017:25-27). Again another strategy is attested in Teiwa and some languages of the Timor branch of TAP (Huber 2011:124; Klamer 2017:27), where possessor prefixes are obligatory in inalienable constructions while optional in alienable constructions.

Especially the strategy of using a free pronoun versus a prefix and the use of two different affixes to express an alienability distinction is structurally similar to what has been described for Lamaholot and the Austronesian languages of Timor (cf. §8.2.3.1 and 8.2.3.2). An example of free pronoun versus prefix strategy is the inalienable construction in Western Pantar which uses a possessor prefix and an optional free pronoun (14a), while the alienable possessive construction uses a free possessor pronoun (14b).

(14)   Western Pantar

    a. (*gai*)   *ga-wasing*
        3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS-tooth
        'its/his/her tooth'   (Holton 2014:62)

    b. *wénang gai*   *bla*
        man   3SG.POSS house
        'the man's house'   (Holton 2014:61)

These two constructions and their functioning in distinguishing alienability is very similar to what I have described for Lamaholot in §8.2.3.1, especially to the constructions of CL-Central Lembata that also have an optional alienable free possessor pronoun in the inalienable construction, such as *gai* '3SG.POSS' in the Western Pantar example (14a).

8.2.4   The emergence of the alienability distinction

In §8.2.3.1 and §8.2.3.2, I have shown that Lamaholot and the Austronesian languages of Timor grammaticalised the distinction between alienable

and inalienable possession. There are various ways in which this distinction is realised. In most varieties of Lamaholot, an analytical construction with a free pronoun is used for alienable possession, while a bound pronoun is found in constructions expressing inalienable possession. Central Lamaholot uses preposed free pronouns and suffixes, while among Western Lamaholot varieties two main strategies are found: postposed free pronouns and suffixes (WL-Solor and WL-Adonara) or two variants of the same pronoun, either a free element or a bound element, that distinguish alienable and inalienable only in the third person (WL-Lewotobi and Alorese). Similarly, in the Austronesian languages of mainland Timor, the presence of a bound pronoun on the possessed noun is associated with inalienable possession.[2]

As shown in §8.2.3.3, very similar patterns to distinguish alienable and inalienable possession are attested in the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages. First, the grammaticalisation of a semantic distinction, namely the alienability distinction, is shared between some of the Austronesian and all the non-Austronesian languages of this area. Second, for some languages, also the construction strategies are similar: free pronoun for alienable and bound pronoun for inalienable.

The main difference between the possessive constructions in the Austronesian languages and in the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages lays in the position of the possessive affix which is a prefix in the TAP languages and a suffix in the Austronesian languages. This difference can be explained when considering that, historically, possessor affixes are grammaticalised free possessor pronouns. As the word order in TAP languages is Poss-N, thus a possessor is preceding the noun, this naturally leads to possessor prefixes. In the Austronesian languages, which have an inherited N-Poss order, this leads to suffixes. In the modern Flores-Lembata languages, the possessor is not always postposed but also occurs preposed to the noun. The nominal possessor is constantly pre-posed, while for the pronominal possessor there is

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[2] It varies language by language whether the nouns themselves are classified into inalienable and alienable or whether it is rather the type of possessive relationship that is expressed by a particular construction. However, whether the alienability distinction is found on the construction level or on the word level is only of minor relevance for the topic discussed here which is concerned with the emergence of such a distinction in the Austronesian languages. One may suggest that the emergence of such an alienability distinction starts at the construction level and can lead to the formation of word classes based on alienability later.

cross-linguistic variation in position (cf. §9.2). However, possessor prefixes are not attested in the Flores-Lembata languages. This suggests that the possessor suffixes developed at a time when the pronominal possessor was still constantly postposed.

In the TAP languages, the alienability distinction can be reconstructed to Proto-TAP because it is a feature attested throughout the family without any known exception. In the Austronesian languages, the alienability distinction is an innovation. This is because there is no evidence that it is inherited from PMP as I have laid out in §8.2.1. I propose that the alienability distinction found in Western Lamaholot and Central Lamaholot is neither inherited from Proto-Flores-Lembata. This is because neither Sika and Kedang show this distinction. As I have shown in §8.2.2, the languages of Western and Central Flores, as well as of Sumba do not have a regular distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, such as attested in Lamaholot. Therefore, there is no evidence to reconstruct an alienability distinction to any level higher than Proto-Central Lamaholot (PCL) and Proto-Western Lamaholot (PWL).

The innovation of an alienability distinction in Lamaholot could be contact-induced or internally-driven. All evidence points to contact-induced change for this feature. The structural similarities of distinguishing alienable and inalienable possession in Timor-Alor-Pantar languages and in those Austronesian languages that distinguish these two types suggest structural diffusion. Alienability appears to be inherited in the TAP languages but innovated in Western Lamaholot and Central Lamaholot. Therefore, the TAP languages or languages typologically similar to TAP are a likely source of the feature that entered Western Lamaholot and Central Lamaholot. It is possible that there was contact with a now extinct branch of the TAP family that had been present in the Solor Archipelago or with a language that was typologically similar to TAP. There is considerable diversity of strategies to distinguish alienable and inalienable among Lamaholot varieties. Therefore, it is more likely that the varieties developed the pattern individually in the Central Lamaholot and in the Western Lamaholot varieties. There is also no phonological evidence that Central Lamaholot and Western Lamaholot share a common proto-language on a level below Proto-Flores-Lembata (cf. §5.3). There remains the possibility that the alienability distinction attested in the WL and CL subgroups was innovated through independent contact scenarios at the level of their respective proto-languages. However, for WL

even this hypothesis needs to be taken with precaution considering the diversity of this feature within the subgroup. It is very well possible that the alienability distinction developed after Proto-WL had split up into different varieties. For CL not enough is known about this feature in other varieties than Central Lembata to decide whether it goes back to PCL or not.
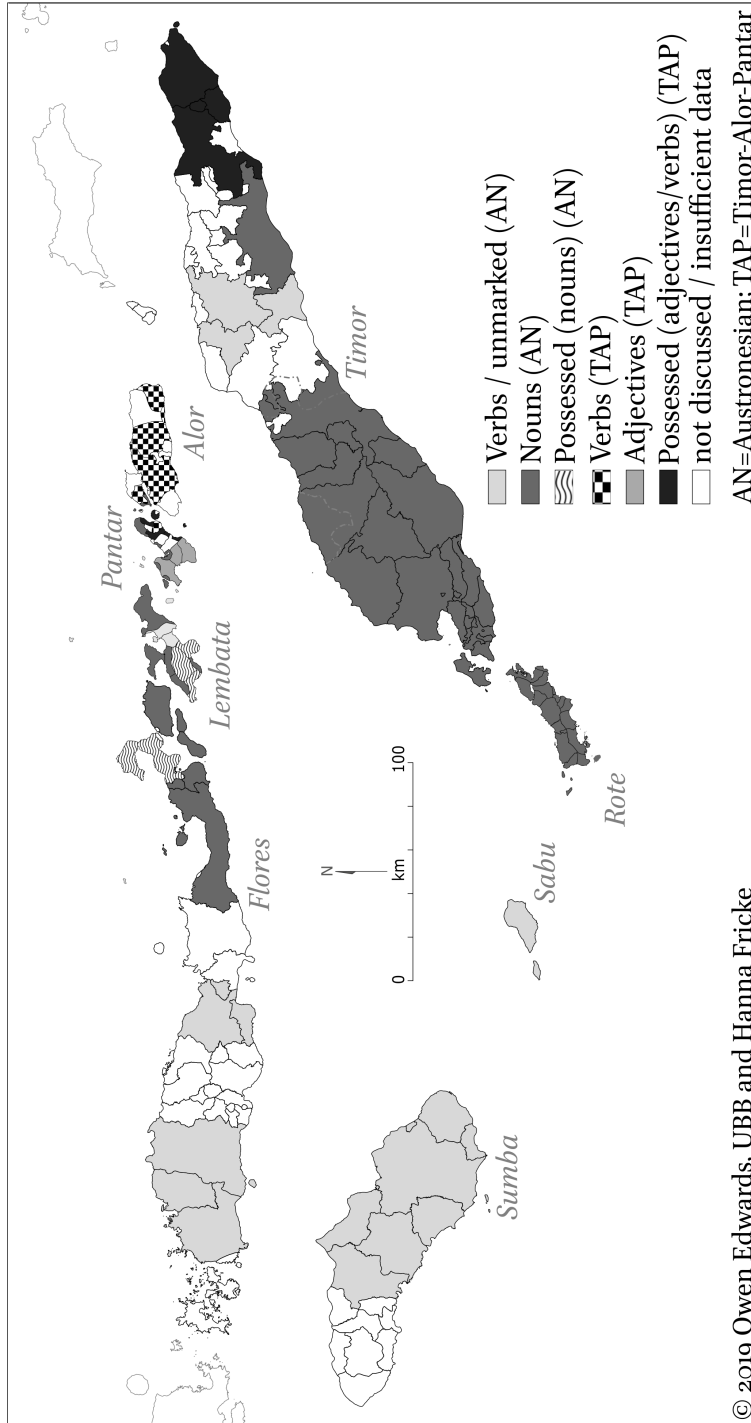
8.3   Property nouns

8.3.1   Overview

Cross-linguistically, properties of a nominal referent can be either expressed by adjectives, or they are expressed by words that fall into the category of nouns or of verbs (Dixon 1982). Many Austronesian languages do not have a morpho-syntactic class of adjectives. Words that express properties are usually expressed by stative verbs (Blust 2013:493). Property nouns are not considered an inherited feature in Austronesian languages. However, there are some Austronesian languages in which property words in attributive position behave morpho-syntactically in the same way as possessed nouns and these languages are spoken around New Guinea, an area where non-Austronesian languages are the majority (Blust 2013:493). Blust (2013:493) does not explicitly say that this phenomenon could be a result of contact. Nevertheless, it is striking that it is only found in the vicinity of non-Austronesian languages.

The Flores-Lembata languages are a parallel case to Blust (2013:493) for New Guinea. The Flores-Lembata languages are an Austronesian language group with properties expressed by nouns. In many cases these are clear nominalisations. Central and Western Lamaholot also use possessed nouns.

The map in Figure 8.2 shows how property words have been classified in the Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages of the area. It becomes clear that in both language families, the classification of property words as verbs and as nouns is wide-spread. Only in a few languages, property words form their own word class of adjectives. In some Austronesian, i.e. Central Lamaholot and Western Lamaholot, as well as some of the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages of Pantar and of Timor, property words can be possessed.

Figure 8.2: Classification of property words

Verbs / unmarked (AN)
Nouns (AN)
Possessed (nouns) (AN)
Verbs (TAP)
Adjectives (TAP)
Possessed (adjectives/verbs) (TAP)
not discussed / insufficient data

AN=Austronesian; TAP=Timor-Alor-Pantar

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In this section, I discuss property words, i. e. words that express adjectival concepts, and their classification as verbs or nouns. I show that property concepts are expressed by nominals in all Flores-Lembata languages, a feature which is also found in most Austronesian languages of Timor and in the TAP family but not in AN languages further west. This section is structured as follows. I have argued above that property nouns are not an inherited feature in Austronesian languages. Neither can the feature be reconstructed to a more recent ancestor, such as Proto-Bima-Lembata, as property nouns are not attested in the Austronesian languages of Sumba, Western Flores and Central Flores which are all part of this subgroup, as I demonstrate in §8.3.2. In §8.3.3 I provide evidence that in all Flores-Lembata languages property words can be classified as nouns. Based on the evidence presented before, this feature is an innovation in the Flores-Lembata languages. As it is found in all languages of the subgroup, it is likely to be an innovation of Proto-Flores-Lembata that was passed on to all modern FL languages. In §8.3.4, I show that many Austronesian languages of Timor also have property nouns. An additional feature of property nouns is found in Central Lamaholot and in WL-Lewoingu. In these languages, as I demonstrate in §8.3.5, property nouns can be possessed in attributive position and thus constitute a possessive construction with the noun that they modify semantically. Finally in §8.3.6, I examine the possibilities of language-internal development versus contact-induced innovation for the feature of property nouns in Flores-Lembata. I conclude that the nominal characteristics of property words in FL can be explained by an analogy between property attribute and possessed noun, as both occur following another noun in the NP. However, I also observe that similar structural features are attested in the TAP languages which makes (possessed) property nouns an areal feature that may have diffused either way.

8.3.2 No property nouns

In this section, I show that property words in the languages of Central Flores, Western Flores, Sumba and Sabu do not show any nominal properties, such as nominalising or possessive morphology. I also show that the structural parallel between possessed nouns and property words that is attested in the Flores-Lembata languages does not hold for the languages further west discussed in this section. This makes them structurally different from the

languages of Flores-Lembata that have property nouns. As the languages of Flores, Sumba and Sabu are the closest relatives of the Flores-Lembata family, the absence of property nouns in these languages supports the hypothesis that this feature is an innovation in the FL family.

The languages of Central Flores are largely isolating, therefore there is no morphological marking to distinguish word classes. According to Baird (2002:134), property words in Keo behave like verbs, not like nouns. Different to the Flores-Lembata languages, there is no morpho-syntactic parallel between an attributive property word and a possessed noun. In a Keo, the possessed noun, such as *iné* 'mother' (15a), precedes the other noun in the NP, while the property word, such as *petu* 'hot' (15b), follows the noun. In the Flores-Lembata languages, the possessed noun and the property word both follow the noun (cf. §8.3.6.3).

(15)   Keo

    a. *iné   dako*
       mother dog
       'dog's mother'   (Baird 2002:213)

    b. *kopi   petu*
       coffee hot
       'hot coffee'   (Baird 2002:134)

In Manggarai, a language of Western Flores, attributive property words, such as *mese* 'big' in (16), do not show any marking.

(16)   Manggarai
    mbaru mese
    house big
    'big house'   (Semiun 1993:30)

Attributive property words in Manggarai as in the example above are different from possessed nouns, such as *baju* 'shirt' in (17). Possessed nouns are noun phrase initial and connected to the possessor noun with the particle *de*. Attributive property words follow the noun they modify and no particle can be inserted in between the two words. Predicative property words are also unmarked, such as *mese* 'big' in (18).

(17) Manggarai
baju de   ame
shirt POSS father
'the shirt of the father' (Semiun 1993:41)

(18) Manggarai
Mbaru ho'o mese.
house this big
'This house is big. ' (Semiun 1993:30)

However, Manggarai is not completely isolating as is the case for the languages of Central Flores as it has person marking enclitics (Semiun 1993:17-18), which can be attached optionally to reduplicated property words in predicative position (19). Reduplicated property words yield an intensified meaning translated with 'very'.

(19) Manggarai
John   pintar-pintar(-n/-na).
NAME clever-clever-3SG
'John is very clever.' (Semiun 1993:31)

The person suffixes usually attach to nouns and index the possessor (Semiun 1993:20) or to verbs and index the actor (Semiun 1993:18-19). The suffixes never attach to a property word, unless it is reduplicated, thus semantically intensified, such as in (19) above.

In Kambera on Sumba, properties are expressed by intransitive verbs (Klamer 1998:115-118). Also in Hawu on Sabu, properties are expressed by verbs (Walker 1982:25).

8.3.3   Property nouns in the FL languages

8.3.3.1   Sika

Property words in Sika do not take any productive morphological marking (Arndt 1937:12). So there is no synchronic clear morphological basis to either group them with nouns or verbs. In this section, I show that, nevertheless, Sika property words can be classified as nominals based on the derivational strategies used to generate property attributes. Part of the Sika

property nouns are generated by nominalising morphology which uses possessive suffixes.

There are three possessive suffix variants in Sika: *-n, -ŋ* and *-t* (cf. Lewis and Grimes 1995:607; Fricke 2014a:39-40). These suffixes mark a vowel-final noun as possessed by a 3SG possessor (20a), but also have a nominalising function (20b). Consonant-final nouns do not receive any marking (Fricke 2014a:39-40). As the same suffixes also appear on derived attributes, such as in (20c), they can be analysed as nominalisations.

(20)   a.   SK-Krowe
            Rapa   mu'u-n
            NAME banana-POSS
            'Rapa's banana'   (Lewis and Grimes 1995:608)

       b.   SK-Hewa
            maté-n
            dead-POSS
            'corpse'   (Fricke 2014a:45)

       c.   SK-Krowe
            telo hena-n
            egg boil-POSS
            'a boiled egg'   (Lewis and Grimes 1995:608)

Variation between the alveolar nasal *n* and the velar nasal *ng* is regional. The southeastern varieties of Sika have *n*, while the varieties further west have a velar nasal *ng* (Lewis and Grimes 1995:603). Lewis and Grimes (1995:607) state that the functional difference between the nasal suffixes and the suffix *-t* remains unclear. I observe for SK-Hewa that the choice of the possessive suffix appears to be related to the semantics of the referent. The suffix *-n* is more frequent and mainly used for non-human referents, whereas the suffix *-t* shows a tendency towards human referents and is more marginal. In addition, the variant *-t* mainly occurs on nouns in attributive position in SK-Hewa (Fricke 2014a:46). It is unknown whether these restrictions also hold for other varieties of Sika. It could be that *-t* goes back to a first person plural inclusive suffix (Fricke 2014a:47), as the nasal suffix is clearly associated with the 3SG. Lewis and Grimes (1995:607) state that there is evidence for an older system of a complete person paradigm of possessor suffixes. However, nowadays only the third person singular forms are productive.

The target category for an attribute modifying a noun, such as *hena-n* 'boiled' (20c), thus appears to be nominal. This explains why there are fossilised nominalising suffixes *-n* and *-t* on some Sika property words such as those in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2: Derived property nouns in Sika

Root	Derivative	Source
blo 'CLASS.long'	*blo-n* 'long'	Fricke 2014a:46
du'a 'woman'	*du'a-t* 'female'	Fricke 2014a:46
da'a 'arrive'	*da'a-n* 'raw, green'	Fricke 2014a:46
mara 'thirsty'	*mara-k* 'dried up'	Arndt 1937:12

The suffix *-k*, in contrast to *-n* and *-t*, has not been explicitly stated as a possessive marker or nominaliser for Sika. However, it is found in examples such as *mara-k* 'dried up'. A suffix *-k* has been analysed as a nominaliser or adjectiviser for the neighbouring language WL-Lewolema (Pampus 1999:35). A suffix *-k* even appears to be more wide-spread regionally, as it is also attested as an adjectiviser in Tetun Fehan (van Klinken 1999:88-90).

The evidence presented points to a nominal character of property words. However, this is only clear when a property noun is derived from another word transparent through a nominalisation process. The majority of property words do not show any nominalisation morphology, such as SK-Hewa *gahar* 'tall' in (21), *geté'* 'big' or *gu* 'old'. These adjectives appear in attributive position without any derivation.

(21)   SK-Hewa
       tépi   *gahar*
       sitting.place high
       'high sitting place'   (Fricke 2014a:55)

Such non-derived property nouns are not clearly nominal, but as the process to gain new property words has been shown to be nominalisation, as *hena-n* 'boil-POSS > boiled' above, it can be assumed that in Sika the target category to express a property is nominal.

8.3.3.2   Lamaholot

In all varieties of Lamaholot that have been described, words that express
properties in attributive position can be classified as nouns. There are two
morpho-syntactic properties that point to their nominal character.

First, many property words in attributive position are obviously nomin-
alisations. This means that they are derived from a root by means of affixa-
tion, similar to what has been shown for Sika in the previous section. How-
ever, in Lamaholot these derivation processes are much more salient than
in Sika and the variety of nominalisation affixes is bigger. For the varieties
of Lamaholot, two subtypes of property words have been described. One
of them concerns words that are inherently nominal and the other subtype
contains words that are derived from an adjectival root using nominalising
affixes.[3]

I provide details on this for two varieties of Western Lamaholot (WL)
and one variety of Central Lamaholot (CL). No Eastern Lamaholot data is
available on this topic.

For WL-Lewotobi, Nagaya (2011:175) differentiates adjectival nouns and
adjectival verbs. Adjectival nouns, such as *wu'ũ* 'new', are nominal, based on
their morpho-syntax. They can be used as NPs, as verbal objects or in predic-
ate position, and as attributes of other nouns without any formal changes
(Nagaya 2011:176). Adjectival verbs, such as *béle'* 'big', are nominalised op-
tionally in predicate function and obligatorily in attributive function using
the nominalisation suffix *-N* (nasalisation of the final vowel) or enclitic *=kẽ*
(Nagaya 2011:178-179). The suffixes *-N* and *=kẽ* are otherwise used to indicate
inalienable and alienable possession respectively (cf. §8.2.3.1). For property
nouns, the suffix *-N* is used for "stage-level adjectives" and the suffix *=kẽ* is
used for "individual-level adjectives" (Nagaya 2011:177).

For WL-Lamalera, Keraf (1978a:107-111) distinguishes adjectives that just
have one form regardless in which syntactic context they occur, such as *fu*
'new' or *alus* 'good', and adjectives that have a root form and a derived form,

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[3]   These adjectival roots are only used in particular morpho-syntactic contexts when the
property concept is modified. In these contexts the nominalised forms are not allowed.
This holds for all Lamaholot varieties and is described for CL-Central Lembata in §3.6.7.
In addition, in Western Lamaholot varieties, the roots can also optionally be used as
predicates (cf. Keraf (1978a:178-179) for WL-Lamalera and Nagaya (2011:178) for WL-
Lewotobi).

such as *muulu* / *mulur* 'straight'. There are several different derivation processes that group those adjectives that undergo derivation, such as nasalisation of the final vowel, infixation with *-n-*, or final consonant deletion or insertion. For those adjectives that have two forms, the derivatives and roots can both appear in predicate function in WL-Lamalera (Keraf 1978a:112-113), while only the derived forms are permitted in attributive function (Keraf 1978a:112). This is similar to the adjectival verbs in WL-Lewotobi, where only the nominalised adjectival verb can appear in attributive function.

In CL-Central Lembata, there are also two types of property nouns as in WL-Lamalera. Property nouns that are underived and inherently nominal, such as *weru* 'new' or *klemur* 'fat', and property nouns that became nominal through a historic derivation process, such as *knating* 'hot' that is derived from the root *kati* 'hot' by nominalisation using the infix *-n-* (cf. §3.3.6). In contrast to the Western Lamaholot varieties described above, in CL-Central Lembata, the nominalised form of property words with two froms is obligatory in predicate and attributive function (cf. §3.6.6). In addition, in Central Lamaholot varieties, property words in attributive position take possessor suffixes that otherwise only appear on possessed nouns (cf. §8.3.5).

8.3.3.3 Alorese

Although Alorese is part of the Western Lamaholot group, it has developed in its own way (cf. §1.2.4.2, §4.1.3). From a historical perspective, Alorese property words are roots, such as WL-Alorese (Baranusa) *bura* for 'white' (Klamer 2011:124) or fossilised nominalisation with suffix, such as in WL-Alorese (Alor Besar) *burakang* 'white' (Moro 2016a), which is a fossilised form of *bura-k-[a]ng* 'white-NMLZ-3SG.POSS'. The word *bura* 'white' goes back to Proto-Flores-Lembata (PFL) *buda? which again goes back to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *budaq 'white'. The presence of roots and fossilised derivatives without functional difference could mean that, at the time when Alorese split from Western Lamaholot, the nominalisation of property roots was still an active process which then was lost and the forms fossilised due to second language learning in the Alorese community, as has been proposed for all other Alorese morphology (Klamer 2011:24,26).

8.3.3.4   Kedang

In Kedang, property concepts are either expressed as verbs or as nouns. In predicate function, the property word takes a verbal suffix (22a). In attributive function, vowel-final property nouns are nominalised with suffix *-n* (22b).

(22)   KD-Leuwayang

 a. *Mo'   ạba   ạlu=né.*
    2SG.POSS necklace nice=3SG
    'Your necklace is nice.'   (Samely 1991a:84)

 b. *Mo'   ạba   **ạlu-n**   toi'=né.*
    2SG.POSS necklace nice-NMLZ missing=3SG
    'Your nice necklace is missing.'   (Samely 1991a:84)

The suffix *-n* used on property words in attributive position is a nominaliser (Samely 1991a:67). It can nominalise words from different classes, such as *déi* 'to follow' becoming *déin* 'offspring' or *maté* 'dead' becoming *matén* 'corpse'. But as in the example above, the same suffix also nominalises attributive property words.

8.3.3.5   Summary

All Flores-Lembata languages show active or fossilised nominalisation processes on all or part of their property words. In Sika and Kedang a suffix *-n* is used as a nominaliser for property words. In the varieties of Central Lamaholot a variety of nominalisation processes are attested for words expressing property concepts, which include the infix *-n-* and the suffix *-k*. In the varieties of Western Lamaholot a mix of both situations is found. There is variation in the extent to which the nominalised forms are used. In some varieties, they are only found in attributive position, such as in Kedang, whereas others also use them optionally or obligatorily in predicate position. However, nominalised forms of property words are never found in graded, intensified or negated contexts. There they always appear in the root form. In Sika, Lamaholot and Kedang, there are also property words which are not nominalised. In Kedang, these are all property words with consonant-final stems. In Lamaholot and Sika the distinction is not phonologically conditioned and seems irregular.

8.3.4 Property nouns in the AN languages of Timor

In this section, I show that there are structural similarities between property words in the Flores-Lembata languages and in some Austronesian languages of Timor.

Among the Austronesian languages of Timor, there are languages where property words have been analysed as nouns, such as in Amarasi (Edwards 2016a:233), in the Funai variety of Helong (Edwards 2018a), in the languages of Rote (Jonker 1915:457), and in Welaun (Edwards 2019). But there are also languages, such as Tetun, where property words have nominal and verbal properties (van Klinken 1999:52). In Welaun, property nouns are nominalised with affixes that are related to possessive morphology. There are also languages that have been described as having a distinct category of adjectives, such as South Mambae (Fogaça 2017:148-149) or Helong (Balle 2017) but this categorisation appears to be based on the semantics of these words and not on their formal properties.

In Amarasi there is no morpho-syntactic basis to distinguish nouns and adjectives (Edwards 2016a:233). A property word, such as *ko'u* 'big/U' in (23), is morpho-syntactically a noun.[4]

(23) Amarasi
faut   ko'u
stone/M big/U
'(a) big stone'   (Edwards 2016a:230,243)

Superficially this construction appears similar to a possessive construction in Amarasi as the one in (24). However, a possessor noun, such as *Smara'* 'Smara'/U' in (24), is unmetathesised, marked with U in the gloss, in contrast to a modified noun, such as *faut* 'stone/M' in (23) which is marked with M in the gloss.

(24) Amarasi
Smara'   tuna-n
Smara'/U top/U-3SG.GEN
'top of Smara''   (Edwards 2016a:261)

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4   The abbreviations 'M' and 'U' in the glosses mean meathesised (M) and unmetathesised (U). In Amarasi, synchronic metathesis is a salient feature of multiple parts of the grammar (Edwards 2016a). The modified noun, here *faut* 'stone/M' appears in the metathesised form whereas the property noun *ko'u* 'big/U' is unmetathesised.

In Welaun, a Central Timor language, modifiers take an optional suffix *-aan* that is historically related to a third person singular genetive suffix and also functions as a nominaliser Edwards (2019). Thus modifiers, and property words as kinds of modifiers, are structurally nominals, as they are derived using nominalisation morphology. This is similar to what is described for the languages of Flores-Lembata discussed in §8.3.3.

In Tetun, property words share certain features with intransitive verbs (van Klinken 1999:52). However, there are also properties shared with nouns, such as derivational morphology (van Klinken 1999:58). Synchronically, property words in Tetun can be derived using, among others, the circumfix *k-...-k* or the suffix *-k* (van Klinken 1999:87-89) but there are no records of possessive suffixes on these words. In attributive position, the property word appears in its derived form with final *k*, such as in (25). This suffix *-k* is probably ultimately related to the Lamaholot suffix *-k* used to derive property nouns (cf. §3.3.6.2).

(25)   Tetun
     tua   moruk
     wine bitter
     'bitter wine'   (van Klinken 1999:90)

There is also a connection to possessive suffixes, in a similar way as it has been found in Sika (cf. §8.3.3.1). Tetun resultatives in attributive position are derived from verbs using the suffix *-n* which is also a genitive suffix (cf. §9.3.3.2), such as *sona-n* 'fried' derived from *sona* 'fry' (van Klinken 1999:92).

8.3.5   Possessed property nouns

In the varieties of Central Lamaholot and in the Lewoingu variety of Western Lamaholot, an additional feature of property nouns is attested. Property nouns can be morphologically possessed in attributive position. Thus, in this position they are possessed nouns. This is parallel to what Blust (2013:493) has proposed for some Austronesian languages in the New Guinea area.

In CL-Central Lembata, the possessor suffixes *-n* '3sg.poss' and *-ja/-i* '3pl.poss' are used on vowel-final inalienable nouns as well as on property nouns that are vowel-final (cf. §3.4.3), such as *weru* 'new' in (26a) and (26b).

(26)   CL-Central Lembata

    a. *una   weru-n*
       house new-3SG.POSS
       'a new house'   (NB:34.3)

    b. *una   weru-ja*
       house new-3PL.POSS
       'new houses'   (NB:34.11)

For consonant-final stems, the third person singular possessor suffix is zero, such as on the noun *kédak* 'big' in (27a), and the third person plural suffix is *-i* '3PL.POSS', such as in (27b).

(27)   CL-Central Lembata

    a. *magu   kédak tu   wé*
       old.man big   one PROX
       'this big man'   (S5:33)

    b. *magu   kédak-i   spati*
       old.man big-3PL.POSS four
       'the four clan heads' Lit. 'the four big men'   (L3:283)

In the neighbouring variety of CL-Atadei, it appears possible to attach a third person singular suffix *-n* even to consonant-final stems (28). In this case, an epenthetic schwa <e> is inserted between the final consonant of the stem and the suffix *-n*.

(28)   CL-Atadei Painara
    méja golok-en
    table tall-3SG.POSS
    'a tall table'   (Krauße 2016:120)

For this language, no example of a plural noun with property attribute is available. However, a plural form *-i* '3PL.POSS' is given in a list of possessor suffixes (Krauße 2016:121).

    WL-Lewoingu also has suffixes on the property noun in attributive function, as shown in (29) where the property word *mite* 'black' has a possessor suffix, while the property word *béle* 'big' does not.

(29)   WL-Lewoingu
       inamelaké mé'énen aho mite-nen   béle
       man   that   dog black-3sg.poss big
       'that man's big black dog'   (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:27)

Nishiyama and Kelen (2007:27-28) state that there is variation is the presence or absence of the possessor suffixes on property words.

   Among the Austronesian languages of the area, possessed property nouns appear to be unique to some varieties of Lamaholot. As shown in §8.3.3 and §8.3.4, in the other languages of Flores-Lembata, as well as in several Austronesian languages of Timor, some property nouns are derived from other words via nominalisation using genitive suffixes. However, none of these languages has synchronically possessed property nouns as a regular pattern. In Amarasi on Timor, there are some cases of property nominals that take genitive suffixes in predicate position (Edwards 2016a:258-259) but none are attested in attributive position. This is the opposite to Central Lamaholot and WL-Lewoingu where attributive property nouns take possessor suffixes, while property nouns in predicative position cannot take suffixes. Although, Amarasi property concepts are expressed by nominals as is also the case in the languages of Flores-Lembata, they cannot be possessed in attributive position.

8.3.6   The rise of property nouns in Flores-Lembata

8.3.6.1   Summary

Table 8.3 summarises the analysis of property words in the AN languages of the area. For the Flores-Lembata languages, as well as the AN languages of Timor, nominal properties are more salient, while in the languages of Central and Western Flores and of Sumba, no nominal properties are attested.

Table 8.3: Classification of property words in AN languages

Language	Property words are ...
Flores-Lembata	
Sika	nouns
Kedang	nouns

Language	Property words are ...
Central Lamaholot	(possessed) nouns
Western Lamaholot	(possessed) nouns
Central Flores, Western Flores and Sumba	
Keo	unmarked, analysed as verbs
Manggarai	unmarked
Kambera	intransitive verbs
Hawu	verbs
Timor	
Tetun	verbs / nouns
South Mambae	unmarked
Welaun	nouns
Amarasi	nouns
Helong (Funai)	nouns

In the domain of property words, the Flores-Lembata languages do not behave like their closest Austronesian relatives of the region, the languages of Central and Western Flores and Sumba that express properties by verbs. In the Flores-Lembata languages examined here, there are still remnants of verbal qualities in some of the words that express properties. However, especially in attributive position, property words have more nominal characteristics. The main features are (i) nominalising morphology on forms that express properties and (ii) possessed nominals in attributive position.

Also most Austronesian languages of Timor, such as Amarasi or Welaun, appear to be atypical for Austronesian languages as their property concepts are not expressed by verbs, but rather by nouns. Nominalisation morphology can be found on property words, such as for example in Welaun. However, possessive marking on attributive property nouns is not found in the Austronesian languages of Timor. This makes them different from those property nouns found in some of the Lamaholot varieties but still similar to the other languages of Flores-Lembata. The Austronesian languages in Central and Western Flores and on Sumba appear to be typical Austronesian as they express properties by verbs.

From these observations, it can be concluded that the languages of Flo-

res-Lembata, as well as the Austronesian languages of Timor innovated the way they express property concepts in morpho-syntactic terms. As innovations can be contact-induced or internally-driven, both possibilities will be investigated in the following.

8.3.6.2   Evidence for contact-induced change

In this section, I provide information on the expression of properties in the Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) languages and discuss the question whether these languages are possible donor languages for the structural innovation of property nouns in Flores-Lembata.

Based on what is known on the languages of the Timor-Alor-Pantar family, property words either fall into the class of verbs or they form their own class. However, most TAP languages lack a distinct class of adjectives (Schapper 2014b:14). In case there is a class of adjectives, this class usually shares some features with nouns. There is a strong tendency for languages of Alor to have property words patterning with verbs, whereas on Pantar and Timor the classification of property words as verbal is less frequent and more nominal properties are attested on words expressing properties.

For the languages Abui (Kratochvíl 2007:109-110), Adang (Robinson and Haan 2014:248), Kaera (Klamer 2014b:120), Kamang (Schapper 2014a:307), Wersing (Schapper and Hendery 2014:454) and Sawila (Kratochvíl 2014:381), it has been stated that there is no distinction between adjectives and verbs. For Abui, a small set of adjectives as a separate class has been described. However, the majority of property concepts is expressed by stative verbs in this language (Kratochvíl 2007:109-110).

Except for Kaera on the island of Pantar, all the currently known languages that do not distinguish verbs and adjectives are spoken on the island of Alor. In the other languages of Pantar that have been described, namely Teiwa, Western Pantar and Blagar, there is a distinctive class of adjectives. In addition, the adjectives in Teiwa and Blagar can be possessed under certain semantic circumstances.

Western Pantar has a separate class of adjectives lacking inflectional morphology. Adjectives can appear in attributive as well as predicative position. No person prefixes are permitted on adjectives (Holton 2014:55). There is no parallel between a possessive construction and a noun-attribute construction.

In Teiwa, adjectives form their own word class (Klamer 2010:116). Adjectives can take possessor prefixes which nominalise the adjective, such as in (30), where the adjective *bunar* 'drunk' is nominalised by a third person singular prefix *ga-* '3sg' which results in *ga-bunar* 'the drunk one'.

(30) Teiwa
      Ga-bunar   a'an!
      3sg-drunk 3sg
      'The drunk one [is] he!'   (Klamer 2010:119)

The possessed adjective refers to "a definite, specific entity out of a larger set" (Klamer 2010:119). To express an indefinite referent, the adjective has to be used in its bare form (31).

(31) Teiwa
      uy   bunar
      person drunk
      'a drunk person / drunk people'   (Klamer 2010:119)

In Blagar, adjectives also form a class on their own and they are different from intransitive verbs (Steinhauer 2014:166). However, they share two features with nouns, as they can be preceded by a third person singular possessor pronoun in attributive position (32), and they take the same causative prefix as nouns (33) (Steinhauer 2014:179,193). The use of the possessor pronoun in (32) makes the referent of the noun, here *bapa* 'crocodile', specific in a similar way as has been described for Teiwa above.

(32) Blagar
      bapa   'e   kuta
      crocodile 3sg.poss fat
      'the fat crocodile (among other crocodiles)'   (Steinhauer 2014:179)

The causative prefix in (33) is a combination of a person prefix and the infix *-a-*. The infix *-a-* is only found on non-verbal roots in Blagar. Verbal roots use the infix *-i-* instead (Steinhauer 2014:195).

(33) Blagar
      Na   zar   '-a-ɓara.
      1sg.sbj water 3sg-caus-hot
      'I made the water hot.'   (Steinhauer 2014:193)

The TAP languages of Timor optionally use a third person possessor pronoun with property words in attributive position. In Makasae and Makalero, a third person plural pronoun can precede the property word in attributive position and yield a contrastive or specific notion. This is very similar to what has been described for Teiwa and Blagar above. In (34), the Makasae noun *kareta-la* 'car-PL' and its attribute *supa* 'new' are connected by *gi* glossed as 'LINK' in the source. However, the linker *gi* is actually a third person possessor pronoun (Huber 2008:29) and therefore, this noun-attributive construction can be analysed as a possessive construction.

(34) Makasae
      asi   kareta-la gi   supa
      1SG.POSS car-PL   LINK new
      'my new cars'   (Huber 2008:29)

The attributive proclitic *ki=* in Makalero (35) occurs with nouns, verbs and adjectives (Huber 2011:286). It is homophonous with the third person possessor prefix *ki-* (Huber 2011:226). According to Huber (2011:222), the Makasae pronoun *gi* '3SG' and the Makalero possessor prefix *ki-* as well as the attributive proclitic *ki=* are cognate.

(35) Makalero
      nana ki=pere   uere
      snake ATTR=big.SG 2DEM
      'the big snake'   (Huber 2011:285)

In both languages, Makalero and Makasae, property words also have strong verbal qualities and in Makalero they are explicitly analysed as stative verbs (Huber 2011:151). For Makasae, the classification is not entirely clear yet (Huber 2011:28).

In Fataluku, another TAP language in Eastern Timor, adjectives can be nominalised and possessed in attributive position (36). Here the attribute *tahin* 'beautiful' is nominalised using the suffix *-u* 'NOM' and it is preceded by a third person pronoun which makes the construction parallel to a possessive construction.

(36) Fataluku
      lau   i   tahin-u
      cloth 3SG beautiful-NOM
      'beautiful cloth'   (van Engelenhoven 2009:347)

In sum, a variety of patterns is found in the TAP languages. The expression of properties by means of verbs appears to be most wide-spread, as it appears on Alor, on Timor and also in one language of Pantar. On the islands of Pantar and the island of Timor, there are cases of nominalised property words and possessed property words in a similar pattern that has been described for the languages of Flores-Lembata in §8.3.3. It could be that the nominal features of property words in the TAP languages goes back to Proto-Timor-Alor-Pantar because the pattern is found on Timor and on Pantar, the two most distinct branches of the family. But it could also be that the nominal features of property words in TAP are also innovations, as they are in the Flores-Lembata languages and the Austronesian languages of Timor. There are several possible ways to explain the development in the AN and non-AN languages of the area: independent developments, borrowing from TAP languages into Austronesian languages, borrowing from Austronesian languages into TAP languages or borrowing from a third source into TAP and AN languages.

The fact that, also in the AN languages of Timor, there is a tendency for property words to have nominal features (cf. §8.3.4), makes this an areal feature that is found scattered in Austronesian as well as non-Austronesian languages all over Timor, Alor, Pantar and the Solor Archipelago but not further west. This areal feature could have diffused through these languages.

8.3.6.3   Evidence for internally-driven change

In this section, I present evidence for an internally-driven development of nominalised and possessed property words in the Flores-Lembata languages. There is a conceptual overlap between the categories of nouns and adjectives and these two categories are semantically not always distinguishable (Dixon 1982; Wierzbicka 1988; Sassoon 2013). Members of both categories can be, for example, gradable or vague (Sassoon 2013:3-4). This semantic proximity between typical nominal and adjectival concepts makes it possible that property concepts are expressed by nouns in many languages of the world.

In the Flores-Lembata languages, a crucial syntactic change in the languages, namely the shift from postposed possessor nouns to preposed possessor nouns, could have triggered the reanalysis of adjectives as nouns, and in particular as possessed nouns. As I will discuss in §9.2, the languages of

Flores-Lembata have changed the order of possessor and possessed noun, probably due to contact with non-Austronesian languages. In a typical western Austronesian language, all modifiers follow the noun they modify. These post-nominal modifiers can express possessors, wholes of a part, or properties, such as in the examples from Indonesian given in (37), where the modified noun *buah* 'fruit', given in bold, is followed by the possessor noun *orang* 'person', the holonym (whole of a part) *kelapa* 'coconut tree' and the property word or attribute *busuk* 'rotten'.

(37)   Indonesian

    a. ***buah*** *orang*
        fruit person
        'a person's fruit'

    b. ***buah*** *kelapa*
        fruit coconut.tree
        'a coconut (fruit)'

    c. ***buah*** *busuk*
        fruit rotten
        'a rotten fruit'

In case of preposed possessor languages, such as the Flores-Lembata languages, nominal possessors as well as wholes of parts, which are a subtype of possessive constructions, are placed preceding the noun they modify. However, properties or attributes remain postnominal. This leads to the following structure in a language such as CL-Central Lembata in (38), where the noun *wua / wuak* 'fruit' is preceded by the possessor noun *ata* 'person', the holonym *tapu* 'coconut tree' but followed by the attributive property *knewak* 'rotten'. The modified noun is given in bold to highlight the inconsistency in position compared to the Indonesian example in (37) above.

(38)   CL-Central Lembata

    a. *ata*   ***wuak***
       person fruit
       'a person's fruit'

    b. *tapu*   ***wuak***
       coconut.tree fruit
       'a coconut (fruit)'

    c. ***wua*** *knewak*
       fruit rotten
       'a rotten fruit'

After this syntactic change of preposing the possessor and the holonym in a noun phrase but not property words, property words have the same syntactic position as possessed nouns, and not the same as possessors, as would be in the case of a typical Austronesian language. This realignment could have caused the reanalysis of a property words as a possessed noun or part of whole, which are typically nominals. In Central Lamaholot, the construction has been made into a full possessive construction by allowing possessor suffixes on the property noun under certain conditions (cf. 3.3.4.2).

8.3.6.4   Conclusions

In the two preceding sections, evidence for a contact-induced as well as an independent development of the nominal character of property words in the Flores-Lembata languages was presented.

    I argue that nominalised and possessed property words in the languages of Flores-Lembata are a result of the preceding contact-induced word order change in the adnominal possessive construction (cf. §9.2). The preposing of the possessor led to the reanalysis of the property word as a possessed noun in attributive position. Only in Central and Western Lamaholot, these nouns are morphologically marked for possession but in all Flores-Lembata languages, they are nominal. This internally-driven process of reanalysis could have been reinforced by contact with languages that had or have nominal property words, such as the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages, as shown in §8.3.6.2. Property nouns could have been a feature of Proto-Timor-Alor-Pantar because it is attested in the TAP languages of Timor as well as in the TAP languages of Pantar. These languages belong to two very distant

branches of the TAP family. Therefore, it could be that the feature of property nouns is inherited from Proto-TAP, a proto-language with which the Flores-Lembata languages or rather their ancestor PFL could have been in contact.

Also in the Austronesian languages of Timor the attributive property aligns with the possessed noun and the part of whole in a noun phrase and is nominal in most languages. Thus, in the Austronesian languages of Timor, the same reanalysis of property words as (possessed) nouns can be proposed. These languages also have undergone a syntactic change from postposed to preposed nominal possessors.

I conclude, that property nouns are an areal feature which possibly has diffused between Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages but it is not always possible to determine the direction of diffusion. However, there is some evidence that the feature is an old feature in TAP (going back to PTAP) rather than an innovation.

8.4   Plural marking on nouns

8.4.1   Overview

In East Nusa Tenggara and Timor-Leste, most Austronesian languages do not mark number on nouns in a formal way. However, there are several languages in the eastern part of the area that have developed plural words or plural morphemes to mark nouns, as indicated on the map in Figure 8.3. For the languages indicated as having plural marking, this marking can be either by plural words or plural suffixes. In the following section, the strategies are explained in more detail per language.

In Austronesian languages in general, plurality marking on nouns is not a wide-spread phenomenon. Nevertheless, a putative plural infix *-ar- has been reconstructed for PAN (Blust 2013:389). However, the cases of plural marking described for the area studied here cannot be explained as reflexes of this affix. They must be considered innovations.

In this section, morpho-syntactic strategies for plural marking on nouns are discussed. Plural marking by means of suffixes or plural words is a feature of all TAP languages and some Austronesian languages of Timor and some of the Flores-Lembata group.

Figure 8.3: The spread of plural marking

Plural marker only for animates (AN)

General plural marker (AN)

Plural marker only for animates (TAP)

General plural marker (TAP)

no plural marker attested / insufficient data

AN=Austronesian; TAP=Timor-Alor-Pantar
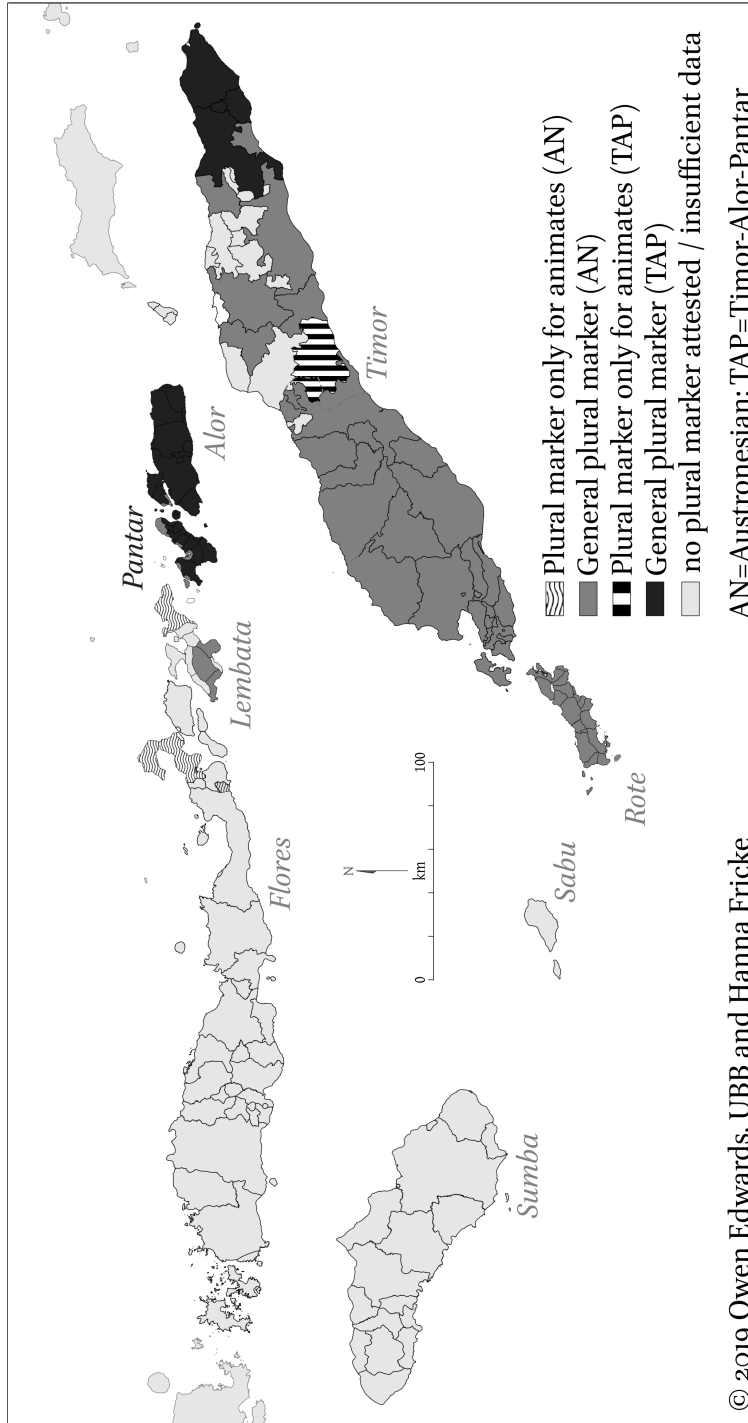
I have argued above that, although plural marking of nouns does occur in several Austronesian languages of all branches, the phenomenon is not an inherited feature for the Austronesian languages of the Flores-Lembata family as well as those on Timor where it also occurs in many languages.

In §8.4.2, I show that plural marking on nouns is rare in the Flores-Lembata languages in general but there are clear cases of it. I introduce the emergence of a plural suffix in CL-Central Lembata which has developed parallel to a specificity suffix which is only used in singular contexts. Then I discuss the cases in Western Lamaholot, the plural word *hiré* in WL-Alorese and the associative plural suffix *-wé* in WL-Lewoingu. Finally, there are non-obligatory plural words in SK-Hewa and in Kedang for human or animate referents. In §8.4.3, I demonstrate that in the Austronesian languages of Timor several instances of nominal plural marking are attested. In §8.4.4, I show that plural marking on nouns appears to be a feature of all Timor-Alor-Pantar languages. In §8.4.5, I suggest that the concept of plural marking on nouns was borrowed from TAP languages or from languages typologically similar to TAP into some Austronesian languages of the area. But instead of also borrowing actual forms, universal strategies were applied, such as the grammaticalisation of third person plural pronoun.

8.4.2 Plural in the Flores-Lembata languages

8.4.2.1 Central Lembata

Central Lembata, a variety of Central Lamaholot, has innovated a pair of number marking suffixes on alienable nouns: *-u* for singular specific and *-ja* for plural. The two suffixes behave morpho-syntactically in the same way and they are mutually exclusive. At the end of §3.3.2, I discussed the question of whether these two suffixes belong to the category of number and concluded that, synchronically, there is no evidence for that. It appears that *-u* 'SPEC' encodes specificity while *-ja* 'PL' encodes plural number. Whether these two suffixes have been historically one category is difficult to decide. However, I suggest that they emerged within a common development for the following reasons: they attach to the same subset of nouns, namely alienable nouns, they cannot be combined with each other, and they both yield morpho-phonological processes when attaching to the nominal stem.

The plural suffix *-ja* and the pronoun *da* '3PL' trace back to Proto-Central

Lamaholot (PCL) *da '3PL'. When PCL *da '3PL' attached to vowel-final nouns to mark them for plurality, the regular sound change of PCL *d > *j* [dʒ] in intervocalic position applied (cf. §5.2.2) and the suffix became *-ja*, such as in *ao-ja* 'dog-PL' from vowel-final *au* 'dog' (< PMP *asu 'dog'). This process caused the preceding vowel to be lowered from high vowel to mid vowel, thus here from *u* to *o*. When PCL *da '3PL' attached to a consonant-final stem two developments are attested. First, the final consonant was deleted and the same sound change of PCL *d > *j* in intervocalic position applied, such as in *angin* 'wind' (< PMP *haŋin 'wind') which becomes *angi-ja* 'wind-PL'. Or second, the final consonant of the stem is retained and the initial consonant of the suffix is lost, such as in *wetem* 'millet' (< PMP *bətəm 'millet sp.') which becomes *wetem-a* 'millet-PL'.

The specificity and the plural suffix do not appear on inalienable nouns, for two reasons. First, the suffix slot is already occupied by a possessor suffix and second, number as a category is less relevant for inalienable nouns (cf. §3.3.1 and 3.3.2).

Number marking with suffixes as described here for Central Lembata appears to spread over all varieties of Central Lamaholot but not over Western and Eastern Lamaholot. Evidence for this is given in §3.3.3 about coda alternation because these two phenomena are connected in Central Lamaholot.

8.4.2.2   Western Lamaholot

Two unrelated instances of plural marking are attested in WL-Alorese and in WL-Lewoingu.

The WL language Alorese has a plural word *hiré* which is placed after a noun to mark it as plural, such as in *mato anang hiré* 'frog small PL' = '(the) small frogs' (Moro 2018:178). The word *hiré* is a grammaticalisation of the third person plural pronoun inherited from PWL *hira '3PL' (< PMP *si ida 'they'). This grammaticalisation process has been shown to be a result of contact with Alor-Pantar languages (Moro 2018).

WL-Lewoingu has a plural suffix *-wé* which attaches to personal names and nouns (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:43). The origin of this suffix is unknown. However, this suffix does not to appear very frequent as it is only found on two examples in the grammar of Nishiyama and Kelen (2007:43): *Lado-wé* 'Lado and the folks' and *guru-wé* 'teachers'. Also in both examples

the referents are human, thus this is probably rather a case of associative plural, meaning 'X and its people', than a general plural.

8.4.2.3   Sika and Kedang

Plural words are attested in the Sika variety of Hewa and in Kedang. However, these plural words are not obligatory and their use is restricted to human or animate referents. SK-Hewa has a plural word *'ahan* only used for human referents, such as in *dédi' anak 'ahan* 'child small PL' = 'the small children' (Fricke 2014a:14). The word *'ahan* originally means 'all; entire' (Pareira and Lewis 1998:2). In Kedang, there is the word *ata* which can follow animate nouns to mark them as plural, such as in *au ata oyo* 'dog PL sidewards' = 'those dogs' (Samely and Barnes 2013:73). The use of these plural words is very restricted and thus different from plural words attested in WL-Alorese or from the plural suffix attested in CL-Central Lembata.

8.4.3   Plural in the AN languages of Timor

In the Austronesian languages of Timor, several cases of plurality and specificity marking are attested but it is not a feature that is found in all Austronesian languages of Timor. There are cases of plural words, as well as plural suffixes or enclitics.

In Tetun, spoken in the eastern part of Timor, the plural word *sia* '3PL' is attested, in addition to a singular specific article *ida* 'one' which is homophonous with the numeral 'one' (van Klinken 1999:123-124). The sources for the Tetun plural word and the specificity marker exactly match with the sources for the CL-Central Lembata plural and specificity suffixes: the plural marker is grammaticalised from the third person plural pronoun and the specificity marker comes from the numeral 'one'. Further cases of plural words are attested in Welaun, Mambae, Naueti and Waima'a. Welaun has *hira* 'PL' derived from PMP *pija 'how many' (Owen Edwards, pers. comm.). South Mambae (Fogaça 2017:159), Naueti (Veloso 2016) and Waima'a (Himmelmann et al. 2006) all use the language-internal 3PL pronoun as a plural word. Also the Malay variety used in Kupang, the biggest city in western Timor, has calqued the structure of the local languages and developed a plural word *dong* from its third person plural pronoun.

The language Amarasi in western Timor has a plural enclitic *=n* and a set of determiner enclitics that mark specificity (Edwards 2016a:214,237,239). Helong has a plural suffix *-s* (Edwards 2018a). The Rote languages have plural enclitics that are related to the the 3PL pronoun *ala/ara* (Jonker 1908:260; Jonker 1915:297).

8.4.4   Plural in the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages

All known Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) languages mark plurality on nouns, except for Bunaq on Timor where nouns are unmarked for number (Schapper 2009:197). The languages of the Alor-Pantar branch of the TAP family have plural words following nouns. Several of them go back to Proto-Alor-Pantar (PAP) *non 'PL', which functions as a plural word (Klamer et al. 2017:376-377).

In the Timor branch of the family, plural suffixes or enclitics are attested. Makasae has a nominal plural suffix *-la* (Huber 2008:14), such as in *asukai-la* 'man-PL'. In Makalero, two optional plural suffixes are attested for nouns: *-raa* for kinship terms and *-laa* for others (Huber 2011:236-237). Fataluku has a plurality enclitic *=éré* to mark nouns, such as in *olo=éré* 'bird=PL' meaning 'birds' (Heston 2015:21). Although in Bunaq nouns are generally unmarked for number, there is a plural marker for human referents which derives from the third person plural pronoun *hala'i*. It is mainly used in its full form but can also be reduced to *=i* 'HUM.PL' (Schapper 2009:197-199).

8.4.5   The emergence of plural marking

Plural marking on nouns is attested in scattered subset of the languages of Timor, in the Solor Archipelago and the Alor archipelago but not further west (cf. map in Figure 8.3). All TAP languages have plural marking, most AN languages of Timor also mark plurality on nouns. Among the Flores-Lembata languages, plural marking is less wide-spread.

Plural marking is more common in the non-AN Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) languages of the area than in the Austronesian languages. However, plural marking in the TAP languages goes back to two unrelated developments. The Alor-Pantar branch developed plural words deriving from PAP *non 'PL', while the Timor branch developed plural morphemes that attach to nouns as suffixes or enclitics and are unrelated to PAP *non 'PL'.

In the Austronesian languages that have plural marking, this sometimes goes hand in hand with specificity marking which could be interpreted as the singular counterpart of the plural marker. However, synchronically it is not always clear if these two types of marking belong to the same category (cf. §3.3.2). Plural marking is an innovation in the Austronesian languages of the region. The different cases of plural marking cannot be reconstructed to a common ancestor.

The development of a third person plural pronoun into a plural marker is a common process in Austronesian languages as well as world-wide (Holm 2000:215-217; Michaelis 2008:205; Wu 2017:61). The CL-Central Lembata suffix *-ja* goes back to the third person plural pronoun PCL *da. On Timor, there are several cases of 3PL pronouns as sources for plural markers (cf. §8.4.3). In Tetun, for example, the plural word *sia* is still identical in form with the synchronic 3PL pronoun of the language but has broadened its function.

The plural morphemes in the TAP languages Makalero *-raa/-laa*, Makasae *-la* and Fataluku *=éré* are of unknown origin. However, taking the very common pathway of 3PL pronoun to plural marker into account, a possible relation to Austronesian forms of surrounding languages, such as Lakalei, Idate or Tetun Dili, emerges, as these languages all have *sira* (< PMP *sida '3PL') as their third person plural pronoun. The second syllable *ra* could have developed into the plural marker of the non-Austronesian languages of the area. The language-internal 3PL pronoun, such as *kilooraa* in Makalero, is not a possible source. It is derived from the 3SG pronoun *kiloo* by adding the plural suffix *-raa* (Huber 2011:221).

Two main conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, all TAP languages have plural marking on nouns, while in the Austronesian languages, especially in the eastern part of the area, there is a tendency towards plural marking. Secondly, plural marking emerges independently in most Austronesian languages and the plural words or morphemes cannot be reconstructed to higher levels. In contrast, in the AP languages, a plural word can be reconstructed to Proto-Alor-Pantar. The more ancient plural marking in the AP languages and the more recent developments in the Austronesian languages suggest that the Austronesian languages innovated plural marking. It cannot be proven that this happened due to contact with AP languages as the forms, reflexes of PAP *non 'PL' for AP languages and reflexes of PMP *sida '3PL' for Austronesian languages of the area, are different. However, there is the possibility

that only the concept was borrowed but not the form. Moro (2018) describes the case of Alorese where the concept of marking plurality, by means of a plural word, was borrowed from neighbouring AP languages, but not the form. Alorese grammaticalised a 3PL pronoun going back to Proto-Western Lamaholot (PWL) *hira '3PL' into a plural word. The same scenario could be imagined for Central Lembata and several languages of Timor. However, in the cases of Central Lembata and Timor, the potential donor language which uses a plural marker is not spoken in the direct vicinity any more but could have been there in the past.

8.5   Conclusions

In this chapter, I discussed three morpho-syntactic innovations in the nominal domain that are attested in the Flores-Lembata family and also among the Austronesian languages of Timor. One of these innovations, property nouns, can be reconstructed to Proto-Flores-Lembata (PFL). The other two features, an alienability distinction and plural marking on nouns, cannot be reconstructed to PFL but they are rather innovated in some of the FL subgroups.

In Figure 8.4, I illustrate in which languages or language groups the innovations occur. For the AN languages of Timor, the symbols are placed below the subgroup because the features are not found in all languages of these groups and most likely do not go back to the proto-languages but rather developed on lower levels. As the scope of this dissertation does not include Timor languages in detail, in this figure, I do not provide further details in which languages of Timor the features occur. The tree structure is based on the current knowledge on the languages investigated (cf. §1.3.1).

Each of these three features in the Flores-Lembata languages appears to have a slightly different history. A formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is most likely a non-Austronesian feature that diffused into Western Lamaholot and Central Lamaholot (§8.2). Similarly, the concept of plural marking on nouns possibly diffused from non-Austronesian languages into several Flores-Lembata languages (cf. §8.4). WL-Alorese and Central Lamaholot have general plural marker. In SK-Hewa, Kedang and WL-Lewoingu, the plural markers attested are restricted to animates or humans.

Figure 8.4: Innovations in the nominal domain
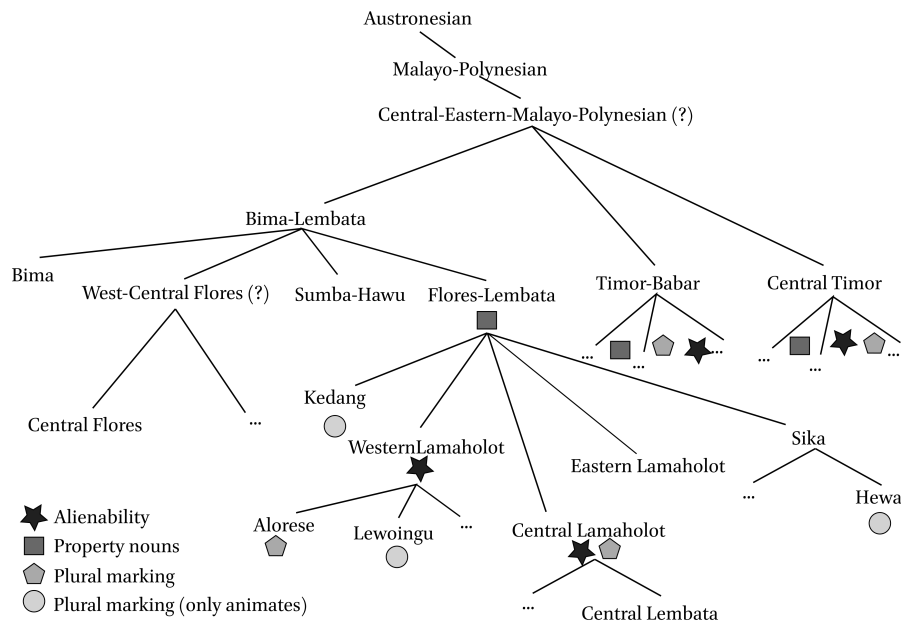
An alienability distinction and plural marking are both also attested in the Alor-Pantar (AP) languages which are located in geographic proximity to Flores-Lembata. The features are found in all AP languages and can be reconstructed as features of Proto-Alor-Pantar (PAP). The fact that alienability and plural marking are old features in AP but new features in some of the FL languages suggests possible structural borrowing from AP languages into some of the FL languages. However, the donor languages could also have been languages that are typologically similar to the TAP languages. As no lexical material is borrowed, there is no clear proof that TAP languages were involved in the development of these morpho-syntactic features in the Flores-Lembata languages.

Also in some of the AN languages of Timor, the same two features of plural marking and an alienability distinction are attested. These feature may very well also have emerged due to contact with non-Austronesian languages but in a process distinct and independent from the developments in Flores-Lembata.

The PFL feature of property nouns is different, as it is less clear whether

it is an old AP features (cf. §8.3.6.4). Property nouns have been innovated in PFL as a consequence of the preposing of the possessor in the noun phrase that happened earlier in the language's history (cf. §8.3). As the preposing of the nominal possessor happened due to non-Austronesian influence (cf. §9.2), nominalised and possessed property words can be seen as an indirect consequence of contact. Although this cannot be attributed directly to contact, it must be noted that property nouns appear to be an areal feature only found in Flores-Lembata, partly on Timor and in TAP, but not on Sumba and Flores, which corresponds exactly to the distribution of the other two nominal features: alienability distinction and plural marking.