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

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CHAPTER 10

Innovations in the clause

10.1   Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss two clausal structural features of the Flores-Lemba-
ta languages that are considered atypical for Austronesian languages. These
features are (i) clause-final deictic motion verbs (DMV) and (ii) clause-final
negations (NEG). In Table 10.1, the Flores-Lembata languages and other lan-
guages of Nusa Tenggara Timur and Timor-Leste are evaluated for these fea-
tures.

For each language, the features found in this language are marked with
a plus (+) and the features not found in this language are marked with a
minus (-). When a feature is only found incidentally or in some varieties of
a language group, it is marked with minus/plus (-/+). In this table, Sumba
also includes the island of Sabu, Flores refers to western and central Flores,
and Timor also includes the island of Rote. The languages Sika (SK), Kedang
(KD), Western Lamaholot (WL), Central Lamaholot (CL) and Eastern Lama-
holot (EL) are subgroups of the Flores-Lembata language family (cf. §5.3).
For Eastern Lamaholot (EL) no data is available on deictic motion verbs,
hence it is marked with a question mark. The only non-Austronesian (non-
AN) languages in the area are the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages (TAP).

Table 10.1: The spread of clause-final deictic motion verbs and negators

Feature	Sumba	Flores	AUSTRONESIAN					Timor	NON-AN TAP
			SK	KD	WL	CL	EL		
Fin. DMV	-	-	+	+	+	+	?	-/+	+
Fin. NEG	-	-	-/+	-	+	+	+	-/+	+

DMV=deictic motion verbs, NEG=negation

In the Austronesian languages, the two features are only attested in languages of the eastern part of the area studied in this dissertation, namely in the Flores-Lembata languages and in the Austronesian languages of Timor. In these Austronesian languages, final NEG and DMV arose out of contact with non-Austronesian languages, possibly with TAP languages as they also have these features and are the only non-Austronesian languages attested in immediate proximity.

Clause-final DMV are found in all Flores-Lembata languages, but not at all, or only occasionally, in their closest Austronesian neighbours on Timor and Flores. This suggest a shared innovation of clause-final DMV at the level of Proto-Flores-Lembata (PFL). In contrast, clause-final negation is found in all varieties of Lamaholot but not in Kedang (KD) and only incidentally in Sika (SK), namely in the variety of Hewa. This suggests innovation of clause-final NEG at the levels of the Lamaholot subgroups.

This chapter follows the methodology laid out in §7.2 to demonstrate that these two features are innovations that is likely to have arisen due to contact with non-Austronesian languages. In §10.2, I discuss the semantics and the development of clause-final deictic motion verbs. In §10.3, I discuss the development of clause-final negation in the Lamaholot varieties. In Section 10.4, I summarise the findings and draw conclusions.

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.

10.2   Clause-final deictic motion verbs

10.2.1   Overview

Deictic motion verbs (DMV) are verbs denoting a movement into a direction, either away from the deictic centre ('go') or towards the deictic centre ('come'). The deictic center is most of the time the speaker. In most of the Flores-Lembata languages, DMV do not only encode deictic direction but also elevation, i. e. upward or downward direction. In §10.2, I discuss the clausal position of DMV, their semantics and their etymology in the languages of Flores-Lembata and the languages surrounding this language family.

In Austronesian languages, the basic word order is predominantly verb-medial and also frequently verb-initial (Blust 2013:461). However, in contact areas of Austronesian and Papuan languages, there are cases of Austronesian languages with a verb-final word order (Blust 2013:470). These typological observations are supported by philogenetic evidence from Reesink and Dunn (2018:950) who reconstructed verb-initial order as a very likely ancestral states for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian. Verb-final order could not be reconstructed for any node in the Austronesian language family (Reesink and Dunn 2018:950).
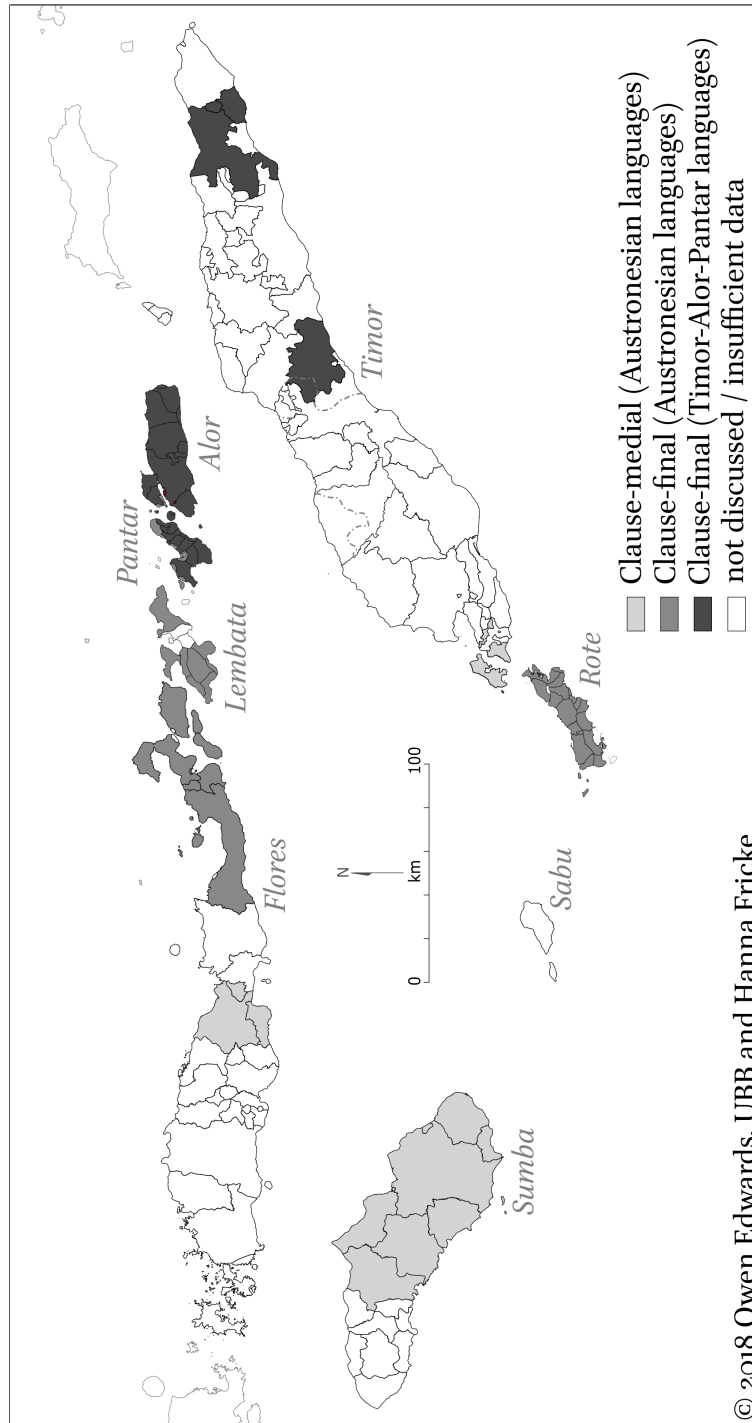
Generally, the Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara Timur and Timor-Leste show verb-medial word order (Klamer 2002:374) and thus are typical Austronesian in respect to this feature. However, there are Austronesian languages of the area where clauses with deictic motion verbs (DMV) have verb-final word order. I propose that these verbs changed their position due to influence from non-Austronesian languages.[1]

The map in Figure 10.1 shows the distribution of medial and final DMV in the AN and non-AN languages of Nusa Tenggara Timur and Timor-Leste. Clause-final DMV are found in all Flores-Lembata languages and incidentally in the AN languages of Timor, namely in the Rote languages. Clause-final DMV are attested throughout all Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) languages. TAP languages generally have verb-final order (Klamer 2017:15). Therefore, in the TAP languages final DMV are not an exception.

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[1]   For WL-Lewotobi, Nagaya (2011:46) has suggested that deictic motion verbs appearing in SOV order are possibly a Papuan feature.

Figure 10.1: Position of deictic motion verbs

Clause-medial (Austronesian languages)
Clause-final (Austronesian languages)
Clause-final (Timor-Alor-Pantar languages)
not discussed / insufficient data

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The following sections are structured as follows. In §10.2.2, I show that in the closest Austronesian relatives of Flores-Lembata, the AN languages of Flores and of Timor, DMV are clause-medial as any other verbs in these languages. These languages do not show any change in this feature in respect to the typical Austronesian word order pattern. The languages of Rote are the only exception, as clause-final DMV are attested here. In §10.2.3, I show that different to their closest relatives in the west, the Flores-Lembata languages all have clause-final DMV, while other verbs in these languages are in medial position of the clause. In this section, I also illustrate the patterns of clause-final DMV in the languages of Flores-Lembata. In §10.2.4, I present DMV in the Alor-Pantar languages, the non-Austronesian neighbours of Flores-Lembata to the east. I stress the similarities in the DMV system of Alor-Pantar and Flores-Lembata. In §10.2.5, I discuss the possible etymologies of the Flores-Lembata DMV. In §10.2.6, I propose contact-induced change for the emergence of clause-final DMV in Flores-Lembata due to contact with AP languages.

10.2.2　Medial DMV on Flores, Sumba and Timor

In the Austronesian languages of Central and Western Flores, deictic motion verbs (DMV) expressing 'come' and 'go' are found clause-medially, in the same position as other verbs in those languages. There are no clause-final verbs in these languages. A clause-medial DMV in a locational clause is exemplified below in (1) for Keo, a Central Flores language. The deictic verb *kai* 'go' may be cognate with the deictic verbs for 'go' found in Flores-Lembata languages reconstructed to LH-SK #-ai 'go' (cf. §10.2.3). However, in contrast to the majority pattern in Flores-Lembata languages, in Keo, this decitic verb meaning 'go' is clause-medial.

(1)　Keo
　　　*'Imu **kai** mbana pasa　rédé So'a.*
　　　3SG go　walk　market east NAME
　　　'She went to the market in So'a.'　　　　　(Baird 2002:301)

In the Austronesian languages on Sumba, such as Kambera, DMV are also clause-medial. An example is the verb *laku* 'go' in (2).

(2) Kambera
     *... na-**laku** la   Umalulu.*
       3SG-go LOC Melolo
     ' ... he went to Melolo.'   (Klamer 1998:345)

In locational clauses from the Austronesian language Helong (3), DMV are also clause-medial, as here the verb *maa* 'come' (< PMP *ma(R)i 'come').

(3) Helong
     *Un pait **maa** lui la lo.*
     3SG return come boat DIST NEG
     'He did not return to the boat.'   (Jacob and Grimes 2011:355)

An exception to the languages just discussed are the Austronesian languages on the island of Rote. In these languages, clause-final DMV are found, as in example (4) from Lole.

(4) Lole
     *Boé ma Yohanis kalua némé uma   dalé   **mai**.*
     then   NAME   exit   from house inside come
     'Then John came out of the house.'   (Jacob and Grimes 2011:359)

The structure of the Lole locational clause with a clause-final DMV is very similar to the structures found in locational clauses in the Flores-Lembata languages which are discussed in §10.2.3 below. However, as the languages of Rote are the only Austronesian languages of Timor known to have clause-final DMV and they are in other respects more closely related to the languages of Timor than to the Flores-Lembata languages, this is the result of an independent innovation in those languages.

In sum, virtually all the Austronesian languages of Sumba, Flores and Timor have medial DMV, and thus retain the typical Austronesian word order for their DMV.

10.2.3   Final DMV in the Flores-Lembata languages

10.2.3.1   Overview

In the Flores-Lembata languages, DMV in locational clauses appear in clause-medial or clause-final position, with clause-final position being the most

frequent choice. Other verbs always appear in clause-medial position. The clause-final DMV in the Flores-Lembata languages does not occur in the typical Austronesian position but appear to be moved to the end of the clause, the typical position for verbs in the non-Austronesian Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) languages.

Table 10.2 provides an overview of clause-final DMV in the Flores-Lembata languages. The use of these forms is illustrated in the subsequent sections 10.2.3.2, 10.2.3.3 and 10.2.3.4. A more detailed discussion on the etymology of the Flores-Lembata DMV is §10.2.5.

DMV do not only encode deictic direction but also elevation. There are three categories: LEVEL denoting a movement unspecified for elevation, HIGH denoting a movement towards or away from a higher place than the location of the deictic centre, and LOW denoting a movement towards or away from a lower place than the location of the deictic centre. The words in the category LEVEL often denote a movement from or towards a place with the same height as the position of the deictic centre, thus no change in elevation. Therefore, the category is labelled LEVEL. However, when combined with locationals meaning 'upwards' or 'downwards' in a clause, an upward or downward movement can be expressed. For this reason, I gloss the LEVEL DMV with plain 'come' and 'go', while DMV in the categories HIGH and LOW are glosses as 'go.up' / 'come.up' and 'go.down' / 'come.down' respectively.

For each elevation category, LEVEL, HIGH and LOW, there are usually two motion verbs, one which expresses the 'go' direction and one that expresses the 'come' direction. Stem-final consonants in Central Lamaholot, given in brackets in the table, are only realised when a suffix is added. Variants are separated by a slash. The words given for one concept are not always all cognates. The forms (most likely) not relating to the reconstructions provided above are given in square brackets. The shared Flores-Lembata lexemes LH-SK #-ai 'go' and LH-KD #gedi 'go.up' are not reconstructible to PFL at the current stage of knowledge because for #-ai no cognate is found in Kedang and for #gedi no cognate is found in Sika. For the concept 'come.down' no PFL reconstruction is possible with the data available.

Table 10.2: Deictic motion verbs in the Flores-Lembata languages

	LEVEL		HIGH		LOW	
	'go'	'come'	'go.up'	'come.up'	'go.down'	'come.down'
PMP	-	*ma(R)i	-	*sakay	-	-
PFL	#-ai	*mai	#gedi	*hakay	*lodoŋ	?

Clause-final position

	'go'	'come'	'go.up'	'come.up'	'go.down'	'come.down'
SK	-a	mai	-	-	-	-
KD	-	ma	kéu/[dau]	a̱'	do'/[bunu']	nè
CL	-ai	méné(k)	géji/géwi	aka(j)	lodo	nau(n)
WL (SL)	-ai	pai	géré/[dopa]	haka/[dai]	lodo	hau
WL (LTB)	-ai	dai	-	haka	-	hau
WL (AL)	-éi	méné	géré	-	lodo	-

Cognates in clause-medial position

	'go'	'come'	'go.up'	'come.up'	'go.down'	'come.down'
SK	-	-	-	-	lodong	-
WL (LTB)	-	-	géré	-	lodo	-
CL	-	-	-	-	[bunu]	-

LTB=Lewotobi, SL=Solor, AL=Alorese

In Sika and in WL-Lewotobi, the concept of 'return' is also expressed by clause-final verbs, namely Sika *balér* and WL-Lewotobi *gwali*. The concept of 'return' is a specific kind of 'come', as it means to come towards the deictic centre but with the additional component that the person who is coming had been at that place before. In addition CL-Central Lembata has a small additional set of non-motion verbs that can optionally appear clause-finally in combination with locational phrases that precede the verb (cf. §3.7.2.2).

The verbs listed in Table 10.2 can all appear in clause-final position. This does not exclude their use in medial position. For WL-Lewotobi, Nagaya (2011:336) states that deictic motion verbs can appear clause-medially, but in this position they do not carry their deictic meaning but are pure motion verbs. How far this semantic difference related to the position of the verb also holds for the other varieties of Flores-Lembata is not clear from the sources available.

For the clause-final verbs in Kedang listed as 'go' verbs in Table 10.2, it ap-

pears that the semantics do not include a clear deictic component. They can be used for a movement towards the speakers ('come'), as well as away from the speaker ('go') (Samely 1991a:130), thus I refer to them as "non-deictic" (cf. §10.2.3.3). However, in the table, these Kedang verbs are listed with the 'go' paradigm for the sake of symmetry, as Kedang also has a separate set of 'come' verbs (cf. §10.2.3.3). An additional reason to group them with the 'go' verbs is that some of the non-deictic Kedang verbs are cognate with 'go' verbs in other Flores-Lembata varieties.

In the following, I first describe the system in the Lamaholot varieties in §10.2.3.2 as it appears to be most complete and eleborate. Clause-final DMV are attested with all three levels of elevation and their semantics all convey a clear deictic component. In Kedang (§10.2.3.3) also all levels of elevation are attested in the set of clause-final verbs, however not all clause-final verbs appear to differentiate between 'come' and 'go'. In Sika only LEVEL DMV verbs are attested (§10.2.3.4).

10.2.3.2   The Lamaholot varieties

Throughout all known varieties of the three Lamaholot subgroups, clause-final DMV are found that encode elevation and direction in relation to the position of the deictic centre. A complete set of DMV in Lamaholot contains three verbs for 'go' and three verbs for 'come'. These sets of three verbs each have one verb that is unspecified for elevation (LEVEL), one verb that encodes a higher location (HIGH) and one verb that encodes a lower location relative to the deictic centre (LOW).

The Central Lamaholot variety of Central Lembata has a complete set of clause-final DMV with three 'go' verbs: *-ai* 'go', *géji/géwi* 'go.up' and *lodo* 'go.down', and three 'come' verbs: *méné(k-)* 'come', *aka(j-)* 'come.up' and *nau(n-)* 'come.down'. Their use is is discussed in detail in the Central Lembata grammar sketch in §3.7.2.2.

In the Western Lamaholot variety Solor, as documented by Kroon (2016), the set of DMV is also complete. There are 'go' verbs for all three elevation levels: *-ai* 'go', *dopa/géré* 'go.up' and *lodo* 'go.down', illustrated in (5), and also 'come' verbs for all three elevation levels *pai* 'come', *haka/dai* 'come.up' and *hau* 'come.down'. However, Kroon (2016) only provides an example of *dai* 'come.down', given in (6).[2]

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[2]   Glosses in the examples from Kroon (2016:Appendix 5) are added, as the source does not

(5)   WL-Solor: 'go' verbs

    a. *Ra'é lua   wata   r=ai.*
       3PL descend beach 3PL-go
       'They went (descended) down to the beach.'   (Kroon 2016:217)

    b. *Tite   t=eté   wa'a   ilé   dopa.*
       1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL=bring burden mountain go.up
       'We bring these goods up to the mountain.'   (Kroon 2016:217)

    c. *... ula   wé gelora   téti   wato lolo-n   lodo.*
       snake DIST glide.down upwards stone top-3SG.POSS go.down
       '... a snake gliding down from above the stone.'   (Kroon
       2016:Appendix5)

(6)   WL-Solor: 'come'-verbs
    Na'é lau   watã   dai.
    3SG seawards beach come.up
    'He is coming from the beach.'   (Kroon 2016:Appendix5)

In some WL varieties, the set of clause-final DMV is not entirely complete. WL-Lewotobi possesses one clause-final 'go' verb *-ai* 'go', but three 'come' verbs: *dai* 'come', *hau* 'come.down' and *haka* 'come.up' (Nagaya 2011:330-331). There are the WL-Lewotobi verbs *géré* 'go.up' or *lodo* 'go.down' but they are not clause-final.

    In Alorese, an offspring of WL, the following clause-final DMV are attested in Klamer (2011:64-65): *méné* 'come', *-éi* 'go', *lodo* 'go.down' and *géré* 'go.up'. It remains to be investigated if Alorese also has clause-final DMV meaning 'come.down' and 'come.up'.

    For WL-Lewoingu, a list of DMV is given but their use is not sufficiently described to deduce which of them are clause-final (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:91,116-117). Nevertheless from the examples in Nishiyama and Kelen (2007:116-117), it becomes clear that at least *-a'i-* 1 go' can be clause-final.

    To sum up, all Lamaholot varieties have clause-final DMV. The exact number of DMV varies across varieties. A complete set of clause-final DMV, with three 'go' verbs and three 'come' verbs, is documented for CL-Central Lembata and for Alorese. In WL-Lewotobi an incomplete set, three clause-final 'come' verbs and only one 'go' verb, is attested. For other WL varieties,

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    provide glossing.

such as Solor or Lewoingu, the documentation of the DMV in use is not suf-
ficient to decide whether the full set of DMV is can appear in clause-final
position.

10.2.3.3 Kedang

Kedang has two sets of clause-final motion verbs, as documented by Samely
(1991a:129-131). Table 10.3 shows that one set is non-deictic, glossed with
'move', only encoding elevation. The second set is deictic, encoding eleva-
tion and the direction towards the speaker, glossed with 'come'. A set that
solely encodes direction away from the speaker 'go' does not exist. To ex-
press this meaning, a non-deictic motion verb is used and the deictic direc-
tion away from the speaker is interpreted from the context.

Table 10.3: Clause-final motion verbs in Kedang

Non-deictic	
'move.up'	*dau*
'move.up' (vertically)	*kéu*
'move.down'	*bunu'*
'move.down' (vertically)	*do'*
Deictic	
'come.sidewards'	*ma*
'come.seawards'	*nè*
'come.hillwards'	*ạ'*

The non-deictic set is based on the up-down axis, whereas the deictic set is
based on the sea-land axis. A non-deictic motion verb such as *dau* 'move.up'
can be preceded by the prepositions *ọté* 'upwards', as in (7a), or *ọlé* 'down-
wards'. A deictic motion verb such as *ạ'* 'come.hillwards', which is based on
the sea-land axis, can be preceded by the prepositions *ọjo* 'sidewards', *ọli*
'hillwards' and *ọwé* 'seawards', as in (7b).

(7)   KD-Leuwayang

    a.   *Nuo ọté   wéla **dau.***
        3sg upwards inland move.upwards
        'He goes up into the interior.'   (Samely 1991a:130)

    b.   *Wèng pitu   wati' ko'   a'é   ạna' ạbé **ọwé***
        CLF   seven again 1sg.poss older.sibling child male seawards
        ạ'.
        come.hillwards
        'In seven days, my older brother comes here.'   (Samely
        1991a:131)

With the non-deictic motion verbs, nevertheless, it is possible to express deixis, thus a 'come' or 'go' movement. The combination of the preposition *ọté* 'upwards' and the non-deictic motion verb *dau* 'move.upwards' (7a) yields a reading of 'go'. The use of the opposite preposition *ọlé* 'downwards' with the same deictic motion verb leads to a reading of 'come', such as in the phrase *ọlé dau* 'to come upwards from a lower position' (Samely 1991a:131). Thus, when using non-deictic motion verbs, 'go' and 'come' can be differentiated by the choice of the preceding preposition.

In contrast, for the deictic motion verbs meaning 'come', the prepositions on the sea-land axis have to be used in semantic accordance to the DMV, so *ọwé* 'seawards' can only be combined with *ạ'* 'come.hillwards'. In (7b), the preposition *ọwé* which encode the origin of the movement does not add any semantic value to the phrase, as the verb *ạ'* 'come.hillwards' already encodes the origin of the movement as being a location at sea level or overseas.

To sum up, Kedang possesses a set of clause-final 'come' verbs and a set of clause-final non-deictic motion verbs, 'move' verbs, which, in combination with prepositions, can express the deictic component of 'go' or 'come'.

10.2.3.4   Sika

Sika has only two main clause-final deictic motion verbs: *-a* 'go' and *mai* 'come'. In addition, the verb *balér* 'return' is also clause-final. In Sika, elevation is not encoded in deictic motion verbs. The verb *-a* 'go' is mainly found in expressions such as 'Where are we going to?' or 'She walks there', as shown in examples (8a) and (8b). An example of the verb *mai* 'come' is given in (8c).

(8) a. SK-Hewokloang

   Ita *épai̯* ***t-a-t?***
   1PL.INCL where 1PL.INCL-go-1PL.INCL

   'Where are we going to?'   (Rosen 1986:62)

  b. SK-Nita

   *Nimu gawi lau **n-a?***
   3SG walk to 3SG-go

   'She walks there.'   (Rosen 1986:59)

  c. SK-Hewa

   A'u 'ia *Weri* ***mai.***
   1SG LOC NAME come

   'I'm coming from Weri.'   (Fricke 2014a:61)

Both verbs *-a* 'go' and *mai* 'come' can be inflected by pronominal affixes. In many varieties, these affixes have been eroded completely or generalised to a default nasal /n/ or /ŋ/. The prefixes are retained with more stability than the suffixes. The most conservative variety in this respect is spoken in the Hewokloang area located in the inland towards the east of the regency capital Maumere (Rosen 1986:62). In this variety, a full paradigm of pronominal prefixes and suffixes is retained.The erosion of the inflection suggests that the verb *-a* 'go' is losing its verbal qualities and is on the way to grammaticalise into a clause-final directional particle (Rosen 1986:59-62; Fricke 2014a:35).

10.2.4 Final DMV in the Alor-Pantar languages

In Table 10.4, the forms of deictic motion verbs (DMV) in four present-day Alor-Pantar languages and in Proto-Alor-Pantar (PAP) are reproduced from Schapper (2017:274). The four languages are chosen to represent a wide geographic as well as genealogical distance. They belong to different subbranches of the Alor-Pantar (AP) languages and Western Pantar is the westernmost AP languages, while Wersing is one of the easternmost AP languages of Alor. The DMV are grouped according to the same three levels of elevation

and the deictic categories of 'go' and 'come' as in the Flores-Lembata languages (§10.2.3.1). The Wersing verb *a* is cognate with the set of 'come.down' but underwent a semantic change and now means 'go.down'.

Table 10.4: Cognate sets of deictic motion verbs in the AP languages

	LEVEL		HIGH		LOW	
	'go'	'come'	'go'	'come'	'go'	'come'
PAP	*wai	*mai	*mid(a)	*medai(ŋ)	*pia	*ya(ŋ)
Western Pantar	*wa*	*ma*	*mia*	*middaŋ*	*pia*	*yaŋ*
Teiwa	*wa*	*ma*	*mir*	*daa*	-	*yaa*
Blagar	*va*	*ma*	*mida*	*da*	*ʔipa*	*ya*
Wersing	*wai*	*mai*	*mid*	*dai*	-	*a* 'go'

All Timor-Alor-Pantar languages are verb-final (Klamer 2017:15), and motion verbs occur in clause-final position, as in the Teiwa example in (9). Here the DMV *mir* appears clause-finally after the subject pronoun and the location.

(9) Teiwa
    *Iman ta hafan u ga-**mir**-an,   maan?*
    they TOP village DIST 3SG-go.up-REAL NEG
    'They didn't go up to that village, did they?'   (Klamer 2010:160)

The data from the Alor-Pantar languages show two similarities with the Flores-Lembata languages. First, the deictic motion verbs occur in 'go' and 'come' set with each three levels of elevation. Second, DMV appear clause-finally in both language groups. This word order is the norm in AP, while it is an exception to the general word order in Flores-Lembata, where other verbs occur in clause-medial position.

10.2.5 Etymology of the Flores-Lembata DMV

10.2.5.1 The Flores-Lembata 'go' verbs

The lexical items used in clause-final position as deictic motion verbs (DMV) in the Flores-Lembata languages are a mix of innovations and inherited

forms. The 'go' verbs are innovated, whereas some of the 'come' verbs appear to be inherited. This holds for those DMV that are unmarked for elevation and for those that are encoding elevation.

In Table 10.5, I list the forms of elevated and unelevated DMV meaning 'go' in the languages of Flores-Lembata including their reconstructions. No PMP sources are attested for these cognate sets. Only the verb 'go.down' can be reconstructed to Proto-Flores-Lembata (PFL) *lodoŋ 'go.down' with certainty. The other two forms #-ai 'go' and #gedi 'go.up' do not have cognates in all Flores-Lembata languages which makes the reconstruction to PFL not possible at the current stage.

Table 10.5: 'Go' verbs and their proto-forms

	'go'	'go.up'	'go.down'
PFL	#-ai	#gedi	*lodoŋ
Sika	-a	-	*lodong*
Kedang	-	*kéu*	*do'*
Central Lamaholot	*-ai*	*géji* (/ *géwi*)	*lodo*
Western Lamaholot	*-ai*	*géré*	*lodo*

For the DMV #'go', cognates are found in all varieties of Sika and Lamaholot. Kedang is missing a cognate and also any other unelevated clause-final motion verb to express a movement away from the speaker. In Sika, the *i* of #-ai is dropped and pronominal suffixes can be added.

LH-SK #-ai 'go' cannot be linked to any known Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) form with the meaning 'go' and cognates are largely absent in the related Austronesian languages of the area. The languages of Central Flores, such as Keo, have a form *kai* 'go' which is similar to the Flores-Lembata forms (Baird 2002:301). However, the apparent loss of initial *k* in Flores-Lembata cannot be explained as usually *k* is retained in these languages (cf. §5.2.1). Similarly, the language Welaun on Timor has *kai* 'go' (Edwards 2019:19). However, it is unclear how or if these forms are related as they are found in geographically disparate languages.

Another possible source for the innovation of #-ai 'go' in Sika and Lamaholot are the neighbouring non-Austronesian Alor-Pantar languages. The

innovated form #-ai 'go' could be related to Proto-Alor-Pantar (PAP) *wai 'go' (Schapper 2017:274). However, it remains unclear if PFL borrowed from PAP why the initial *w* has been lost in PFL as these languages usually preserve *w* (cf. §5.2.6).

For the LH-KD #gedi 'go.up', no cognate has been found in Sika. In Kedang, **g > k* and **d > y/Ø* are regular changes (cf. §5.2.2). However, the vowel change of **i > u* in final position appears irregular. The reflexes of CL *géji* and WL *géré* are regular, as PFL **-d- >* Western Lamaholot *-r-* and Central Lamaholot *-j-*. Final vowel lowering, as **i > e*, is frequently found in Western Lamaholot. The additional form *géwi* in Central Lamaholot remains unexplained.

For PFL **lodoŋ* 'go.down', there are cognates attested in all FL languages. The cognate in Sika is only found in clause-medial position (Pareira and Lewis 1998:122). The final consonant in the reconstructed form is probably *ŋ*, reduced to glottal stop in Kedang and zero in Lamaholot.

10.2.5.2 The Flores-Lembata 'come' verbs

In Table 10.6, I list the 'come' forms in the Flores-Lembata languages and their reconstructions. Most forms in the set of 'come' and 'come.up' go back to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) forms, whereas for the 'come.down' set no PMP form is attested.

Table 10.6: 'Come' verbs and their proto-forms

	'come'	'come.up'	'come.down'
PMP	*ma(R)i	*sakay	
PFL	*mai	*hakay	
Sika	*mai*	-	-
Kedang	*ma*	*a̧ʹ*	*nè*
Central Lamaholot	*méné(k-)*	*aka(j-)*	*nau(n-)*
WL-Solor	*pai*	*haka/dai*	*hau*
WL-Lewotobi	*dai*	*haka*	*hau*
WL-Alorese	*méné*	-	-

Sika *mai* 'come' and Kedang *ma* 'come' are cognate, and go back to PFL **mai*

and ultimately to PMP *ma(R)i 'come'. Cognates of this set are also found in the Austronesian languages of Flores and Timor (Blust and Trussel 2010). Strikingly, exactly the same proto-form *mai 'come' has also been reconstructed for PAP (Schapper 2017:274). This raises the question whether PAP has borrowed from its Austronesian neighbours or whether this similarity in form is due to coincidence. However, as no other DMV are borrowed from Austronesian languages into PAP, this appears rather to be a coincidence. This issues is also discussed by Klamer (2010:325-326).

Reflexes of PMP *sakay 'climb; ascend' are found in Kedang, Central Lamaholot and Western Lamaholot varieties. For Proto-Flores-Lembata, I reconstructed PFL *hakay based on the regular sound changes of PMP *s > PFL *h > PCL / PK *Ø, the sound change PMP *y > PCL *dʒ, and finally, PMP *k > PK *ʔ (cf. §5.2).

Central Lamaholot and Alorese appear to have innovated a new form *mene 'come' of unknown origin. The first syllable of *mene 'come' could be connected to PFL *mai 'come' but the evidence for this remains unclear. Reflexes *mene are attested in Central Lamaholot and Alorese. As *mene is only attested in these two languages, it cannot be reconstructed to PFL.

Western Lamaholot varieties have innovated *dai* or *pai* 'come' and *dai* 'come.up'. The verb *dai* appears related to Proto-Alor-Pantar (PAP) *medai(ŋ) 'come.up' (Schapper 2017:270). Also in some Alor-Pantar languages, the reflexes of this form show a loss of the initial syllable, such as Teiwa *daa* or Wersing *dai* (Schapper 2017:274). Possibly, Western Lamaholot varieties borrowed *dai from AP languages. In WL-Lewotobi, a semantic change from 'come.up' to general 'come' occured. Whether WL-Solor *pai* 'come' is connected to *dai 'come.up' or *mai 'come' remains unclear.

The etymology of the forms for 'come.down' is more difficult to reconstruct. It is not clear if all the Flores-Lembata forms for 'come.down' are cognate. As further evidence is missing, they have to be regarded as independent forms of unknown origin.

10.2.6 The rise of clause-final deictic motion verbs

I argue that the Flores-Lembata languages innovated clause-final verbs in locational clauses due to contact with non-Austronesian languages that had a canonical verb-final constituent order. DMV in clause-final position as in the Flores-Lembata languages are not found in their closest Austronesian

relatives, as shown in §10.2.2, nor are they inherited from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (cf. §10.2.1). Therefore, clause-final DMV must have been innovated at the level of Proto-Flores-Lembata. This innovation has probably started with the unelevated forms of LH-SK #-ai 'go' and PFL *mai 'come', as clause-final reflexes of these verbs are attested throughout virtually all Flores-Lembata languages, with the exception of Kedang, where no reflex of LH-SK #-ai 'go' is attested. The elevated clause-final forms might have developed later, as they are only attested in Kedang and Lamaholot and not in Sika.

For the innovation of clause-final DMV, a language-internal development is unlikely. Only a small subset of verbs, namely deictic motion verbs, became clause-final in the Flores-Lembata languages. All other verbs remain clause-medial. Therefore, it is unlikely to assume a universal principle, such as a tendency to converge towards a certain word order pattern, as the cause for the change.

I put forward three arguments to strengthen the hypothesis that the innovation of clause-final verbs in locational clauses arose due to contact with non-Austronesian languages. First, there is evidence from other studies that clause-final verbs in several Austronesian languages have evolved in contact zones with non-Austronesian languages. According to Blust (Blust 2013:461), New Guinea has many verb-final Austronesian languages and the Solomon Islands have a few. The hundreds of non-Austronesian languages found especially in New Guinea have verb-final word order (Blust 2013:470) which suggests that the verb-final order in many of the Austronesian languages of New Guinea developed due to contact with the non-Austronesian languages of that area (Blust 2013:471).

Second, the Flores-Lembata languages are far from being entirely verb-final. Only a certain set of verbs, mainly deicitc motion verbs, is used clause-finally when appearing with a locational phrase. The reason for the syntactic change only affecting DMV may lay in their semantic properties of encoding elevation which is a feature the Flores-Lembata DMV share with the non-AN Alor-Pantar languages. Therefore, I suggest that both the syntactic position and the semantics of these verbs have been calqued from non-Austronesian languages. Most likely from a language related or typologically similar to the neighbouring Alor-Pantar languages, as these languages have clear parallels to the semantic features of Flores-Lembata DMV discussed in §10.2.3 and 10.2.4. In the languages of Flores-Lembata, as well as the Alor-Pantar languages, DMV encode elevation on a HIGH-LOW axis

in addition to the pure deictic component of 'come' and 'go'. Finally, there is strong evidence that the form WL *dai* 'come.up' has been borrowed from AP languages and weaker evidence that LH-SK #-ai 'go' has also been borrowed (cf. §10.2.5). It could be that the semantic system of the DMV was calqued first and subsequently, this semantic conformance caused the change in position based on the clause-final position of the same types of verbs in the non-Austronesian contact language.

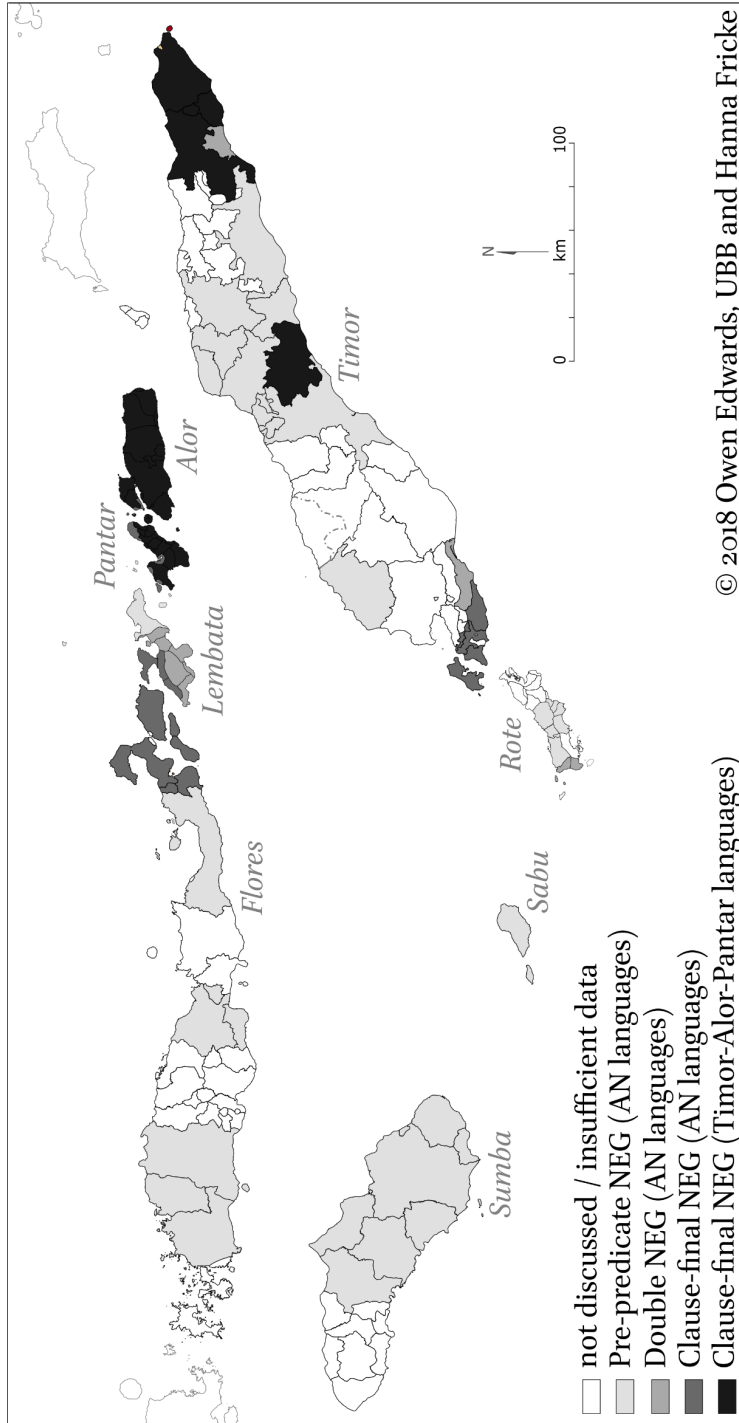## 10.3 Clause-final negation

10.3.1 Overview

Clause-final negation is defined as a negation pattern with a clause-final negator.[3] This also includes cases of double negation where one negator is in pre-predicate position and the second negator is clause-final. In Austronesian languages, clause-final negators are innovations. As with 70 % of the world's languages (Vossen 2016:4), Austronesian languages typically show pre-predicate negation marking. However, there is a considerable number of instances of clause-final negation among Austronesian languages located in areas where Austronesian and Papuan languages are close to each other (Klamer 2002:375; Vossen 2016:119-121,202; Reesink and Dunn 2018:936). This pattern of clause-final negation marking in Austronesian languages has been argued to be of Papuan origin (Reesink 2002:246). Clause-final negation has been identified as a Papuan feature of Lamaholot (Klamer 2012a:76).

The map in Figure 10.2 shows the distribution of pre-predicate negation, double negation and clause-final negation in the Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara Timur and Timor-Leste. While in the west, only pre-predicate negation is attested, some of the Austronesian languages towards the east have developed clause-final negators in single or double negation patterns. Among the Flores-Lembata languages, only the Lamaholot varieties and SK-Hewa have clause-final negators. On Timor a mixed picture of pre-predicate, double and clause-final single negation emerges. In the non-Austronesian Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) languages, only clause-final negation is attested.

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[3]   An earlier version of §10.3 has been published as Fricke (2017).

Figure 10.2: Negation patterns

not discussed / insufficient data
Pre-predicate NEG (AN languages)
Double NEG (AN languages)
Clause-final NEG (AN languages)
Clause-final NEG (Timor-Alor-Pantar languages)

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§10.3 discusses patterns of declarative sentence negation in the Flores-Lembata languages and is structured as follows. §10.3.2 provides the theoretical background on the model of a Jespersen Cycle to explain the diachronic development of negation in Flores-Lembata languages. §10.3.3 shows that in the closest Austronesian relatives of the Flores-Lembata languages, on Flores and Sumba, only pre-predicate negation is attested. These languages thus retain the typical Austronesian pattern for this feature. §10.3.4 presents different negation patterns in the languages of Flores-Lembata. It is shown that also some Flores-Lembata languages, i. e. Sika and Kedang, retain pre-predicate negation, but that in the Lamaholot varieties a new pattern of clause-final negation is innovated. §10.3.5 gives a brief overview of negation patterns found in the Austronesian languages of Timor. In these languages, similar to the Flores-Lembata group, all negation patterns are attested. §10.3.6 discusses etymologies of the negators used in the Flores-Lembata languages. §10.3.7 discusses the proposal of contact-induced change giving rise to clause-final negation.

10.3.2   Theoretical background: Jespersen Cycle

A Jespersen Cycle is a diachronic change from pre-predicate single negation, to double negation, to post-predicate single negation (van der Auwera and Du Mon 2015:412).[4] A well known example is the Romance language French which underwent all three stages of a Jespersen Cycle. Initially, French had a single pre-predicate negator *ne*, nowadays standard French uses double negation *ne ... pas* and colloquial varieties of French already reached the final stage of the Jespersen Cycle by only using the single post-predicate negator *pas*.

In many cases, a Jespersen Cycle starts with the need for emphatic negation (van der Auwera and Du Mon 2015:412). An element is added to the negated sentence to emphasise its negative meaning, over time this emphatic meaning is bleached and the new strategy becomes the neutral negation pattern (van der Auwera 2009:41). Then, in the following stage, the original negator is lost and the new element becomes the only negator in the clause.

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[4]   It has been shown that, cross-linguistically, there is not only one kind of Jespersen Cycle but several patterns that can be referred to as Jespersen Cycle. For the purpose of this chapter, I will not go into details of this cross-linguistic diversity. For further information see van der Auwera (2009) and Vossen (2016).

New negators can come from different sources. Cross-linguistically common sources are indefinites, like a word for 'nothing', negative main verbs, like 'refuse' or 'lack', (van Gelderen 2008:196) or negative existentials (Croft 1991:6) that grammaticalise into a negator. Other sources are partitives, like 'a little', nominalisers, possessives or a copy of the original negator (Vossen 2016:36-37).

Jespersen Cycles have been attested in many languages all over the world (van Gelderen 2008; Vossen 2016). According to Vossen (2016:202), Jespersen Cycles are common in the Austronesian language family, especially in those parts of the family which are in contact with Papuan languages. Papuan languages typically have clause-final negation in line with their verb-final word order. This observation suggests that the start of a Jespersen Cycle can be triggered by language contact. An example is provided by Vossen (2016:123). She proposes a Jespersen Cycle in the Austronesian Markham Valley languages in Papua New Guinea. This group has languages in all three stages of a Jespersen Cycle. Some of the Markham Valley languages have pre-predicate single negation, most have double negation and two of them have reached the final stage of post-predicate single negation. The fact that the same pre-predicate negator is shared by languages that have single pre-predicate negation and languages that have double negation is seen as a strong evidence for a Jespersen Cycle. The same holds for the shared post-predicate negator in varieties that have double and single negation (Vossen 2016:125).

To prove the existence of a Jespersen Cycle, one would, ideally, show the change using historical data of the language under study. However, this can only be done for languages with a long written tradition. Nevertheless, the case study of the Markham Valley languages mentioned above and other recent studies (van der Auwera and Vossen 2016; Vossen and van der Auwera 2014) have shown that it is equally possible to propose a Jespersen Cycle on the ground of synchronic data from several related languages. Here, I show this for the languages of Flores-Lembata.

10.3.3   Pre-predicate negation on Flores and Sumba

This section provides examples of pre-predicate negation attested throughout the Austronesian languages of Flores, Sumba and Sawu. These languages have retained the inherited Austronesian pattern for this feature. In the lan-

guages of Western and Central Flores, negators are in pre-predicate position, as Keo *mona* in (10) and Manggarai *toe* in (11).

(10) Keo
*'Imu **mona** nai nio.*
3SG NEG climb coconut
'He didn't climb the coconut tree.'   (Baird 2002:333)

(11) Manggarai
*Joni **toe** mo le sekola-e.*
NAME NEG go LOC school-3SG
'John does not go to school.'   (Semiun 1993:92)

Also in Kambera (12), on Sumba, pre-predicate negation is attested. In Hawu on the island of Sawu, the negation can be pre-verbal (13a) or post-verbal (13b) but not clause-final.

(12) Kambera
***Nda** ku-ngangu-a iyang.*
NEG 1SG.NOM-eat-MOD fish
'I don't eat fish.'   (Klamer 1998:108)

(13) Hawu
a. *Do peɗa Ø ɟaa, haku **do** ɟega lodo dé.*
STAT be.sick ABS 1SG result NEG work day PROX
'I'm sick, so I'm not working today.'   (Walker 1982:47)
b. *Pidé **do** ri Ubu Naba Ø né naléhu puné.*
pick.up NEG ERG NAME NAME ABS ART handkerchief PROX
'Ubu Naba did not pick up the handlerchief.'   (Walker 1982:47)

10.3.4   Negation in the Flores-Lembata languages

10.3.4.1   Overview of negation patterns

In the languages of Flores-Lembata all three stages of a Jespersen Cycle are attested: 1) pre-predicate single negation, 2) double negation and 3) clause-final single negation. These patterns and the varieties in which they occur are laid out in Table 10.7.

Table 10.7: Negation patterns in Flores-Lembata languages

Negation Pattern				Occurrence
Pre-predicate:	NEG	V		Kedang
				Sika
Double:	NEG	V	NEG	SK-Hewa
				EL-Lewoeleng
				CL-Central Lembata
				WL-Lamalera
Clause-final:		V	NEG	WL-Lewoingu
				WL-Lewotobi
				WL-Solor
				WL-Alorese

Pre-predicate single negation is found in the peripheral varieties of Flores-Lembata, in Sika and Kedang, whereas clause-final negation is clustered in the centre of the area, in the Western Lamaholot varieties. In between, there are varieties that show the intermediate state of double negation. These are SK-Hewa, in between other Sika varieties with pre-predicate negation and Western Lamaholot varieties with clause-final negation, and Central Lamaholot, Eastern Lamaholot and WL-Lamalera in between other Western Lamaholot varieties and Kedang.

10.3.4.2   Pre-predicate single negation

Pre-predicate single negation is the main negation pattern in Kedang (14) and in Sika (15).

(14)   KD-Leuwayang
       *Wèi   **oha'** in=u.*
       water NEG drink.1SG=1SG
       'I don't drink water.'   (Samely 1991a:74)

(15)   Sika
       *A'u **éné** ra'intang.*
       1SG NEG know
       'I don't know.'   (Arndt 1931:42)

This pattern presents the first stage of a Jespersen Cycle. The second stage, double negation, might be a minor pattern in Sika. Arndt (1931) gives one example of double negation (16), however he does not specify exactly in which context the sentence appears.

(16)　Sika
　　　*Nimu **éné** léta　ata　　natar　péhang **e'ong**.*
　　　3SG　NEG invite person village other　NEG
　　　'He did **not** invite the people from the other village.'　　　(Arndt 1931:42)

In the original translation of example (16), Arndt presents the negator *not* in bold but does not explain why he does so. The bold font may suggests that the double negation functions as an emphatic negation. If this interpretation is correct, this can be taken as evidence for the emphatic phase of double negation when this pattern is not yet semantically bleached to become the general pattern.

10.3.4.3　Double negation

Double negation uses a pre-predicate negator in combination with a clause-final negator. Double negation is the main pattern in SK-Hewa (17), CL-Central Lembata (18), EL-Lewoeleng (19) and WL-Lamalera (20). All these Lamaholot varieties are found on the island of Lembata.

(17)　SK-Hewa
　　　*Dedi' anak **e'on** puas　　**iwa**.*
　　　child little NEG satisfied NEG
　　　'The little child is not satisfied.'　　　　　(Fricke 2014a:9)

(18)　CL-Central Lembata
　　　Ta　*na=mojip* **si**.
　　　NEG 3SG=live　NEG
　　　'It does not live.'　　　　　(Fricke 2019)

(19)　EL-Lewoeleng
　　　*Go'e **ta**　hab'u **wa**.*
　　　1SG　NEG bathe NEG
　　　'I don't take a shower.'　　　　　(NB:81)

(20)   WL-Lamalera
        *T-ai   fulã   pe tana di **taku** tegel **hala**.*
        1PL.INCL-go market DIST land also NEG see   NEG
        'When we went to the market, we didn't see the island.'   (Keraf
        1978a:232)

Double negation in SK-Hewa and CL-Central Lembata is not obligatory, either of the negators can be left out. However, in my corpus data of these varieties, double negation is the most frequent negation pattern used. The data available in Keraf (1978a) for WL-Lamalera show consistent double negation as well. For EL-Lewoeleng only a few elicited sentences are available, they all show double negation.

10.3.4.4   Clause-final single negation

Clause-final single negation is the main negation pattern in all Lamaholot varieties documented outside of the island of Lembata. These varieties are in WL-Alorese (21), WL-Lewotobi (22), WL-Lewoingu (23) and WL-Solor (24).

(21)   WL-Alorese
        *No pana ha néi   tahi **lahé**.*
        3SG walk this 3SG.go.to sea NEG
        'He did not go to the sea.'   (Klamer 2011:87)

(22)   WL-Lewotobi
        *Go kẽ   ikẽ hua   **hela'**.*
        1SG 1SG.eat fish fish.sp NEG
        'I don't eat *hua* fish.'   (Nagaya 2011:392)

(23)   WL-Lewoingu
        *Go berin na **hala'**.*
        1SG hit   3SG NEG
        'I did not hit him.'   (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:69)

(24)   WL-Solor
        *Ema   déna wata **la**.*
        mother cook rice NEG
        'Mom is not cooking rice.'   (Kroon 2016:158)

In the WL varieties outside of Lembata, there are remnants of a minor pattern of double negation. In example (25), the pre-predicate negator *gara* is combined with the clause-final negator *hala*. Example (25) is taken from a grammar by Arndt (1937) on Lamaholot varieties outside of Lembata.

(25)   Lamaholot (outside Lembata)
       *Goe **gara** taka kan' **hala**.*
       1SG NEG steal eat NEG
       'I did not steal and eat it.'   (Arndt 1937:99)

Arndt (1937) notes that this double negation pattern is infrequent in Lamaholot. Taking the Jespersen Cycle into account, this infrequent pattern can be seen as evidence that these varieties previously went through a stage of double negation.

10.3.5   Negation in the AN languages of Timor

This section presents a brief overview of negation patterns found in the AN languages of Timor. Similar to the Flores-Lembata languages, all stages of a Jespersen Cycle can be observed in these languages. The pre-pedicate negator can be found as the only negator, as in (26), or it is combined with the clause-final negator to a double negation pattern, as in (27) and (28). In addition, cases of only clause-final negation without pre-predicate negator are attested, as illustrated in (29) and (30).

     In Tetun of Eastern Timor, there is a pre-predicate negator *la* and a post-predicate negator *ha'i* (van Klinken 1999:228) which can be combined or used separately, as in the example below where only *la* is used. According to van Klinken (1999:228), pre-predicate negation only as in (26) occurs in 75% of the cases in Tetun.

(26)   Tetun
       *... nia **la**   karian.*
        3SG NEG work
       '..., he doesn't work.'   (van Klinken 1999:228)

Also in most languages of Rote pre-predicate negation is the only option, such as in Termanu, Lole and Dengka (Jonker 1915:587).

     However, in Dela on Rote, and in Amarasi in western Timor, double negation is the norm, as in the examples below. In the Kotos variety of Amarasi,

the clause-final negator =*fa* is occasionally left out in free speech. However, speakers of Kotos Amarasi consider the double negation with both negators as the only correct form (Edwards 2016a:133).

(27) Dela
      *Ne-nori'   naa **nda** matetu' **sa.***
      NMLZ-teaching that NEG straight NEG
      'That teaching is not good.'   (Tamelan 2007:8)

(28) Amarasi-Kotos
      ... ***ka**=na-sai=**fa.***
        NEG=3-flow=NEG
      '... it didn't flow.'   (Edwards 2016a:132)

Clause-final negation without pre-predicate negator is attested in the Ro'is variety of Amarasi (29) and in Helong (30).

(29) Amarasi-Ro'is
      *Au k-oka   **maé'.***
      1SG 1SG-with NEG
      'I won't come along.'   (Owen Edwards, pers. comm.)

(30) Helong
      *Kaim   laok **lo.***
      1PL.EXCL walk NEG
      'We are not going.'   (Balle 2017:15)

From this very brief overview, it can be suggested that also in the Austronesian languages of Timor a Jespersen Cycle appears to be starting. Pre-predicate as well as double negation are found. Clause-final negation may occur optionally and in some languages, clause-final negation is the main pattern. According to current knowledge, clause-final negators, in double or single negation, are only found in languages of the Timor-Babar subgroup. Central Timor languages have pre-predicate negation. See §1.3.1 for more information on the Timor subgroups.

   Despite the similarities of the Timor case and the Lamaholot case, I assume that both developments are independent because the rise of clause-final negation cannot be reconstructed to any proto-language that would encompass Lamaholot and languages of Timor with clause-final negators, but

exclude those languages that remain with pre-predicate negation only, such as Kedang, most Sika varieties, and some languages of Rote and Timor. In addition, the Flores-Lembata languages are more closely related to the AN languages of Flores and Sumba than to the AN languages of Timor (cf. §5.5) and the AN languages of Flores and Sumba do not show any case of clause-final negation. Therefore it is very unlikely that the Flores-Lembata languages have inherited clause-final negation from a common ancestor with the Timor languages.

10.3.6 Etymology of the Flores-Lembata negators

10.3.6.1 Overview of negators

§10.3.6 examines the etymology of pre-predicate and clause-final negators in the Flores-Lembata languages. Table 10.8 gives an overview of the negators grouped according to their negation pattern. Only negators appearing in major patterns are discussed.

Table 10.8: Negators in the Flores-Lembata languages

Variety	Pre-predicate		Clause-final
KD-Leuwayang	*oha'*	...	
SK	*éné*	...	
SK-Hewa	*é'o(n)*	...	*iwa*
EL-Lewoeleng	*ta*	...	*wa*
CL-Central Lembata	*ta* / *tak*	...	*si(né)*
WL-Lamalera	*taku*	...	*hala*
WL-Lewotobi		...	*hela'*
WL-Lewoingu		...	*hala'*
WL-Solor		...	*la*
WL-Alorese		...	*lahé*

[a] The form *tak* is used for negation of nominals or other non-verbal elements.

10.3.6.2 Pre-predicate negators

For the pre-predicate negators, Kedang *oha'*, Sika *éné* and SK-Hewa *é'o(n)*, no Austronesian proto-form can be found.

For Sika *éné* several possibly related forms are found in languages of the area. Possibly related to the Sika negator *éné* are Kedang *anung* 'reject, refuse, decline' (Samely 1991a:162) or the post-verbal negator *néné* in the Timor-Alor-Pantar language Adang (Robinson and Haan 2014). For the Kedang pre-predicate negator *oha'* no convincing cognates ore related forms are found.

For the SK-Hewa negator *é'o(n)*, the homophonous negative existential is a language-internal source. Negative existentials have been shown to be a cross-linguistically common source of verbal negators by Croft (1991:6).

Among the pre-predicate negators in Table 10.8, only the negators *tak/ta* in CL-Central Lembata, *ta* in EL-Lewoeleng, and *taku* in WL-Lamalera can be clearly traced back to an Austronesian form. Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *ta 'no, not' has been reconstructed as a negative marker (Blust and Trussel 2010). Reflexes of PMP *ta 'no, not' are found all over Austronesian languages and even, as a result of diffusion, in several non-Austronesian languages (Reesink 2002:246; Vossen 2016:161). The origin of the second part of the pre-predicate negators, *k* in CL-Central Lembata and *ku* in WL-Lamalera, remains unclear. This element is also present in the negative existential *take* which could be the direct source for the verbal negator in CL-Central Lembata and WL-Lamalera.

10.3.6.3   Clause-final negators

Assuming that the ancestral pattern of the Flores-Lembata languages was to have a pre-predicate negator (cf. §10.3.7), it is the origin of the clause-final negator that we are most interested in. There are four possibilities to explain the origin of the clause-final negator, (i) a loan, (ii) a spontaneous innovation of unknown origin, (iii) a pre-predicate negator that is copied and used in clause-final position, or (iv) an inherited word that became a negator due to grammaticalisation. In this section, I show that the clause-final negators in the Central and Western Lamaholot varieties are inherited words that grammaticalised, whereas the clause-final negators in SK-Hewa and EL-Lewoeleng are most likely innovations.

The SK-Hewa negator *iwa* and the EL-Lewoeleng negator *wa* are most likely cognate. This is important because these languages are not very closely related and their closest relatives do not have a cognate of this negator. When looking for possible sources of SK-Hewa *iwa* and EL-Lewoeleng *wa* several

possibilities come up. These negators could be related to #ba/#βa/#(u)wa, a cognate set of negators which has been argued to be of Papuan origin and is attested all over Austronesian and Papuan languages (Reesink 2002:246; Vossen 2016:158).[5] Possibly also related to these could be the pre-predicate negators *mbiwa* (Antonius and Ruskhan 1997:25) in Rongga and *'iwa* in Ende (Aoki and Nakagawa 1993), both Austronesian languages of central Flores. The Lamaholot prohibitive *nawa* found in WL-Lewotobi and WL-Solor may also be connected to this cognate set, as well as finally, the post-predicate particle *fa* 'a little' in some varieties of Rote (Jonker 1908:117). The Rote particle *fa* is also found in negations. The final negator *fa* is also found in several varieties of Meto (Edwards 2016b:56).

The CL-Central Lembata post-predicate negator *si(né)* is homophonous with the CL-Central Lembata word *si(né)* 'a little'. Thus, I proposed that *si(né)* 'a little' grammaticalised into a negator in CL-Central Lembata. The same grammaticalisation path from 'a little' to a negator can be proposed for the Rote-Meto particle *fa* above.

All WL varieties have clause-final negators that are cognates of *hala* and go back to PMP *salaq 'wrong, mistake' (Blust and Trussel 2010). In the languages concerned, *s > h is a regular sound change (cf. §5.2.3). Apart from this regular sound change, in some varieties, *a* is weakend to schwa and final *q became glottal stop or is lost. In WL-Solor the syllable *ha* is lost leading to the negator *la*, and in WL-Alorese, syllable metathesis and vowel rising of *a* to *e* word-finally leads to *lahé*. Most of the varieties discussed still have a cognate of this word with the original meaning 'mistake'.

In sum, CL-Central Lembata grammaticalised a word for 'a little' into a clause-final negator, whereas all WL varieties grammaticalised a word for 'wrong, mistake' into a clause-final negator. In contrast to grammaticalising language-internal material, the SK-Hewa and the EL-Lewoeleng clause-final negator have to be regarded as an innovation of unknown origin.

10.3.7   The rise of clause-final negation

In the languages of Flores-Lembata, a Jespersen Cycle has been documented. The varieties of Lamaholot added a second negator to their pre-predicate

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[5]   The geographically closest non-Austronesian language that has a negator possibly related to this set is the Timor-Alor-Pantar language Western Pantar with *kauwa* 'NEG' (Holton 2014:51).

negation, gained double negation, and most Western Lamaholot varieties eventually lost the pre-predicate negator and were left with clause-final single negation. Section 10.3.6 has shown which Flores-Lembata negators are inherited Austronesian words and which are innovations of unknown origin.

The strongest evidence for contact induced grammaticalisation is provided by Vossen's (2016) typological study on Jespersen Cycles in Austronesian languages. Vossen (2016:88,120) only finds evidence of double negation and clause-final single negation in areas which are located eastwards to the islands of Borneo and Java.[6] Reesink and Dunn (2018) equally note that clause-final negation is only found in eastern Indonesia and in Oceania. Further west, no instances of double or clause-final negation are found. This strongly indicates a connection between the existence of clause-final negation and the location of Papuan languages.

The ancestor of all Flores-Lembata languages had pre-predicate single negation, because pre-predicate single negation is the most common negation pattern in Austronesian languages (Vossen and van der Auwera 2014:61) and it is also the most common pattern universally (van der Auwera and Du Mon 2015:411). In addition, the Lamaholot varieties retain reflexes of the Austronesian pre-predicate negator PMP *ta in pre-predicate position. As there are still Flores-Lembata varieties, namely Sika and Kedang, for which pre-predicate single negation is the only negation pattern (cf. §10.3.4.2), it is very unlikely that the Jespersen Cycle already started in an ancestor language including all the languages of Flores-Lembata. It must have started on a lower level, namely independently in SK-Hewa and the three Lamaholot subgroups.

The origin of the clause-final negators in Lamaholot can be explained by contact-induced grammaticalisation (Heine and Kuteva 2003; Heine and Kuteva 2005). Language internal material is used to generate a new grammatical word, a clause-final negator. An additional argument for independent developments in each Lamaholot subgroup is that each of the subgroups uses a different clause-final negator. All WL varieties have a cognate of *hala* going back to PMP *salaq 'wrong'. CL-Central Lembata has *si(né)* as the clause-final part of its double negation. And EL-Lewoeleng has *wa* which is cognate

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[6] There are two exceptions to this. Chamic and Moken languages, which are Austronesian minority languages in Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand, show double and post-predicate negation (van der Auwera and Vossen 2015; Vossen 2016:92,117,118).

with the clause-final negator *iwa* attested in SK-Hewa.

In contrast to the separate developments of clause-final negators in the three Lamaholot subgroups, all traces of pre-predicate negators found in the Lamaholot subgroups are cognates and reflexes of the PMP negator *ta 'no, not'. Thus, I propose that Proto-Flores-Lembata had a pre-predicate negator PFL *ta(kV) 'no, not' which is lost in most of the WL varieties by now but it survives in EL, CL and the WL varieties on Lembata.

Potential contact languages for Lamaholot are the languages of the Alor-Pantar (AP) family. In the AP languages, negators are clause-final, such as in the Western Pantar example in (31).

(31) Western Pantar
*Anaga was arugga **kauwa**.*
today sun hot   NEG
'It's not hot today.'   (Holton 2014:51)

Table 10.9 provides a selection of negators in languages of the AP family taken from the grammar sketches in Schapper (2014b). These negators, except for possibly Western Pantar *kauwa* are not cognate with any of the Flores-Lembata negators. However, the clause-final position of the AP negators is parallel to the position of several negators in Lamaholot and one of the negators in SK-Hewa. Thus, it remains unknown whether the contact language was an Alor-Pantar language, as no actual language material was borrowed. The contact language could also have been another unknown language that became extinct.

Table 10.9: Negators in the Alor-Pantar languages

Language	Negator
Western Pantar	*kauwa*
Kaera	*bino*
Blagar	*niaŋ*
Adang	*nanɛ*
Kamang	*naa*
Sawila	*naanu*
Wersing	*nanu*

I have shown that there is evidence to posit contact-induced grammaticalisation as the cause for clause-final negation in the Lamaholot varieties and in SK-Hewa. The absence of Jespersen Cycles in Austronesian languages of Borneo, Java and further west supports this hypothesis. In addition, the presence of several other potential Papuan features in Lamaholot as discussed in this dissertation strengthens the proposal that contact-induced change led to double and clause-final negation.

An open question is why the Hewa, Sika and Kedang pre-predicate negators are so diverse and why do they show innovations and no reflexes of PMP *ta 'no, not' as attested in Lamaholot. While we do not know the answer to these questions, this fact at least suggests that Hewa, Sika and Kedang have distinct histories from the Lamaholot varieties.

10.4   Conclusions

In this chapter, I discussed two clause-final structural elements in the languages of Flores-Lembata: deictic motion verbs (§10.2) and negation (§10.3). Both features are innovations as the inherited position for verbs is clause-medial following the subject, and for negation, the inherited position is pre-predicate. These two clausal innovations are very likely attributed to contact with non-Austronesian languages.

In Figure 10.3, the innovation of each feature is indicated with a different symbol. The symbol is placed below the name of a subgroup in which all languages show the respective feature. Consequently, the feature can be reconstructed to the proto-language of the subgroup. 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 respective sections of this chapter on the AN languages of Timor provide more details. The tree structure is based on the current knowledge on the languages investigated (cf. §1.3.1).

Clause-final deictic motion verbs were innovated in Proto-Flores-Lembata (PFL) due to contact with a language possibly related or typologically similar to the Alor-Pantar languages. At the level of PFL, only the unelevated deicitic motion verbs 'go' and 'come' where introduced. These verbs have cognates in all Flores-Lembata languages today, with the exception of Kedang missing a cognate for the verb #-ai 'go'.

Figure 10.3: The innovation of clause-final DMV and negation
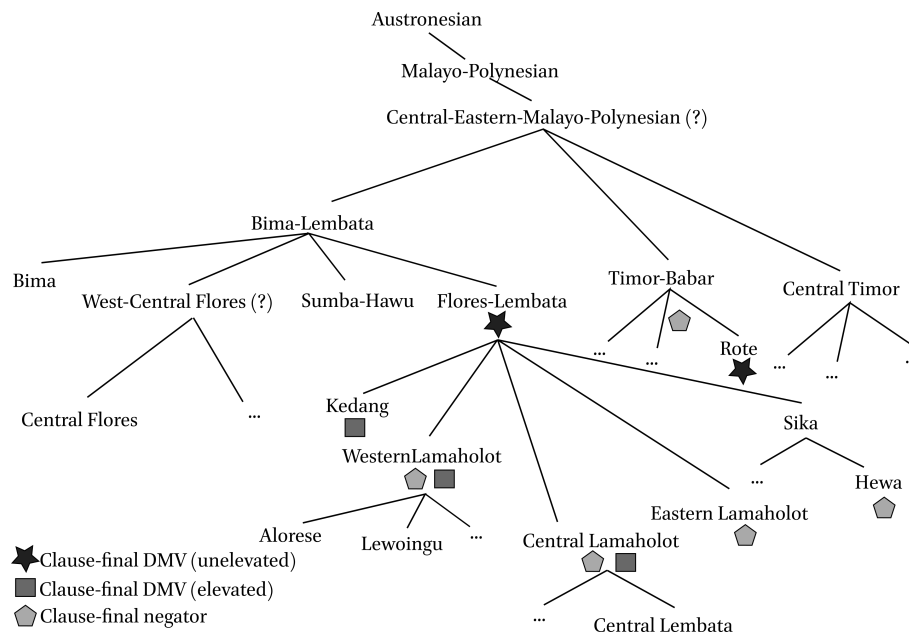
Further, in Lamaholot and Kedang, elevated forms encoding higher and lower places were added to the system. This further development could also have been reinforced by continuous contact with an Alor-Pantar language, as these languages also encode elevation in their deictic motion verbs, or at least with a language that has a typologically similar profile to the AP languages.

The reasons for proposing AP languages or typologically similar languages as donors for the innovations above are the following. (i) AP languages also have clause-final verbs. (ii) AP languages have a set of DMV encoding elevation (cf. §10.2.4) similar to what has been described for the Flores-Lembata languages (§10.2.3). (iii) Both features are found in all AP languages, thus are likely to be inherited features from Proto-Alor-Pantar. (iv) There are two potential lexical borrowings from AP languages, Western Lamaholot *dai* 'come; come.up' from PAP *medaiŋ 'come.up', and LH-SK #-ai 'go' from PAP *wai 'go' (cf. §10.2.5). However, especially the second potential borrowing remains controversial as in case of borrowing from PAP or one of its descendants, the loss of the initial glide would require an additional step which remains unexplained.

Clause-final negation is exclusively found in the Lamaholot varieties

and in SK-Hewa (cf. §10.3.4). To gain a second, clause-final negator, WL varieties grammaticalised a word meaning 'wrong; mistake', CL varieties grammaticalised a word meaning 'a little' and EL varieties and SK-Hewa innovated a word or unknown origin. There is some evidence that also this word in EL and SK-Hewa goes back to a word meaning 'a little'. Assuming that EL *wa* and SK-Hewa *iwa* are cognate with *fa* 'a little; NEG' in the Rote languages and Meto varieties, this word originally could have also meant 'a little' (cf. §10.3.6.3). In §10.3.7, it has been shown that contact with non-Austronesian languages is a very likely cause for clause-final negation in the Lamaholot varieties and in SK-Hewa. Whether these non-Austronesian languages were related to the Alor-Pantar languages is difficult to prove for this case. It is not implied that every single speech variety was in contact with the donor languages directly but the feature could also have diffused among the Lamaholot varieties and SK-Hewa.