A short grammar of Alorese (Austronesian)

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Acknowledgements

List of abbreviations

AL	alienable
EXCL	exclusive
FOC	focus
I/M	Indonesian/Malay
INAL	inalienable
INCL	inclusive
LOC	locational preposition
LMH	Lamaholot
NEG	negation
PAN	Proto Austronesian
PL	plural
PMP	Proto Malayo-Polynesian
POSS	possessive
REL	relative
RDP	reduplication
SG	singular
SEQ	sequential

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Alorese and its speakers

Alorese (also refered to as *Bahasa Alor, Alor,* or *Coastal Alorese,* Barnes 2001: 275) is an Austronesian language in eastern Indonesia. It is spoken by 25,000 speakers living in pockets along the coasts of western Pantar and the Bird's Head of Alor island, as well as on the islands Ternate and Buaya (Stokhof 1975:8-9, Grimes et.al. 1997, Lewis 2009). Alor and Pantar are located north of Timor, and east of the islands of Flores, Solor, Adonara and Lembata, see Map.
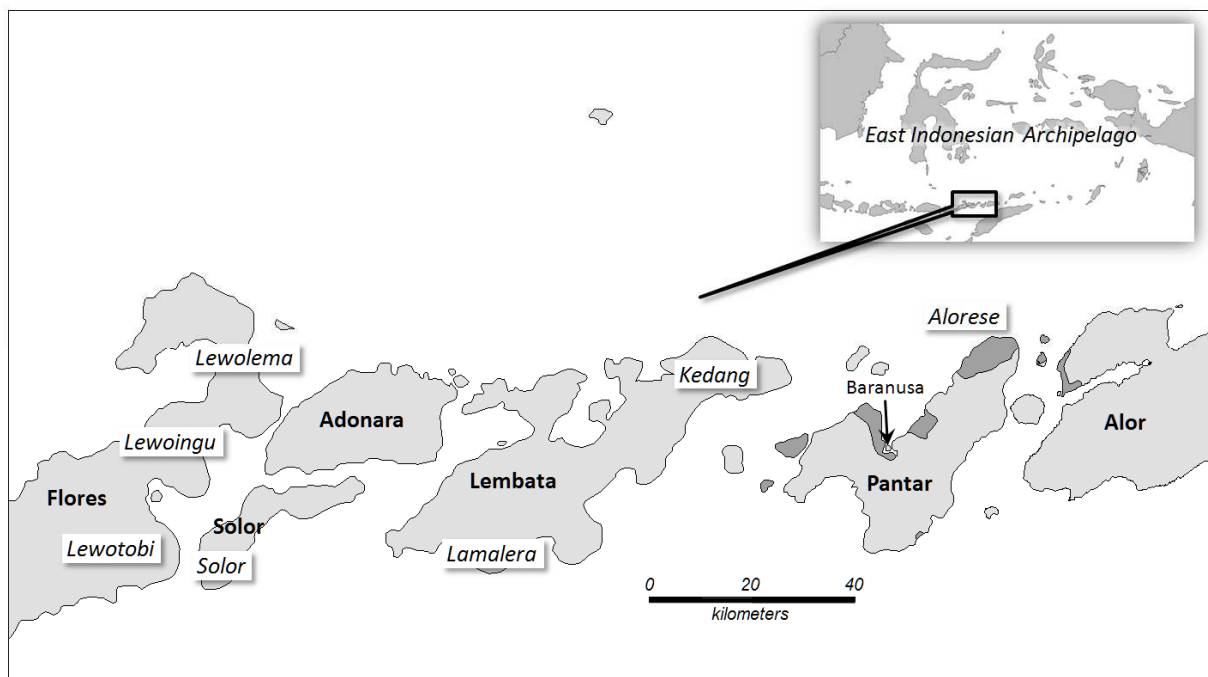
Map 1: Alorese on Pantar and Alor, in its regional context

Considering the geographical dispersal of the Alorese communities as seen on Map 1, we expect to find differences between various local Alorese dialects. Some lexical differences between the dialects of Baranusa spoken on Pantar, and Alor Kecil on Alor are discussed in § 1.4.

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Alorese is still acquired by many children. There are reports that it was used as the language of wider communication in the Alor-Pantar region till at least the mid 1970's (see Stokhof 1975:8), but as such it did not make inroads into the mountainous areas, away from the coastal Alorese settlements. Over the last decades, Alorese has lost its lingua franca function to Indonesian which took over as the language of inter-ethnic communication (see § 1.2).

Alorese communities are sea-oriented, live at the coast, rely on fishing (men) and weaving (women) for subsistence and adhere to the Islam religion. In contrast, speakers of the neighboring Papuan[1] languages on Alor and Pantar are inland-oriented, have their traditional villages up in the mountains, are either Christians or adhere to the traditional animist religion, and are farmers – main food crops are dry field rice, corn, cassava, and sweet potato.

Traditionally, the Alorese clans exchanged fish and woven cloth for food crops with the inland populations (cf. Anonymous 1914:76, 81-82).[2] Given that the Alorese clans were relatively small (for example, Anonymous (1914:89-90) mentions settlements of 200-300 people), they probably exchanged women with the exagomous Papuan populations around them, or bought them as slaves.[3]

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[1] The term 'Papuan' is generally used as a cover term for the perhaps 800 languages spoken in New Guinea and its vicinity that are not Austronesian. It says nothing about the genealogical ties between languages. In this work the term 'Papuan' is used as synonym of 'non-Austronesian': 'not a member of the Austronesian language family and spoken in the area of New Guinea (excluding Australia)'.

[2] Anonymous 1914 was written by one or more unknown editors of the journal it was published in. A footnote explains that the two major sources for the article were (i) the "Militaire Memories" written to report on military expeditions on the islands in 1910 and 1911, and an earlier report of a geological expedition by R.D.M. Verbeek in 1899, which was published as "Molukken Verslag" in the *Jaarboek van het Mijnwezen in Ned. Oost-Indie*, 1908.

[3] There is evidence that clans not only exchanged women but also sold, or gave away, people to other clans. Working on Teiwa (spoken on West Pantar, geographically close to Baranusa, where Alorese is spoken) the Teiwa word *yu'al*, was translated as 'to give away [people]', and speakers noted that it refers to the "old custom" of "sending or giving away people that are useless to the clan", and that formerly, *yu'al* referred to "selling people as slaves to the Baranusa" (Klamer 2010a: 41, footnote 2).

Alorese is most closely related to Lamaholot the language spoken on east Flores, Solor, and south Lembata. On Map 1, the locations of the Lamaholot dialects of Lamalera, Lewotobi, Lewoingu, and Lewolema are indicated. The language Kedang (spoken in north Lembata) is much less closely related to Alorese than Lamaholot (Doyle 2010).

The literature reports a local Alorese legend about the founding of Pandai in north Pantar, see Map 2 (overleaf). Anonymous (1914) mentions that a "colony of Javanese" or *orang djawa* settled there "5 to 600 years ago" [in 1914] (Anonymous 1914:77).
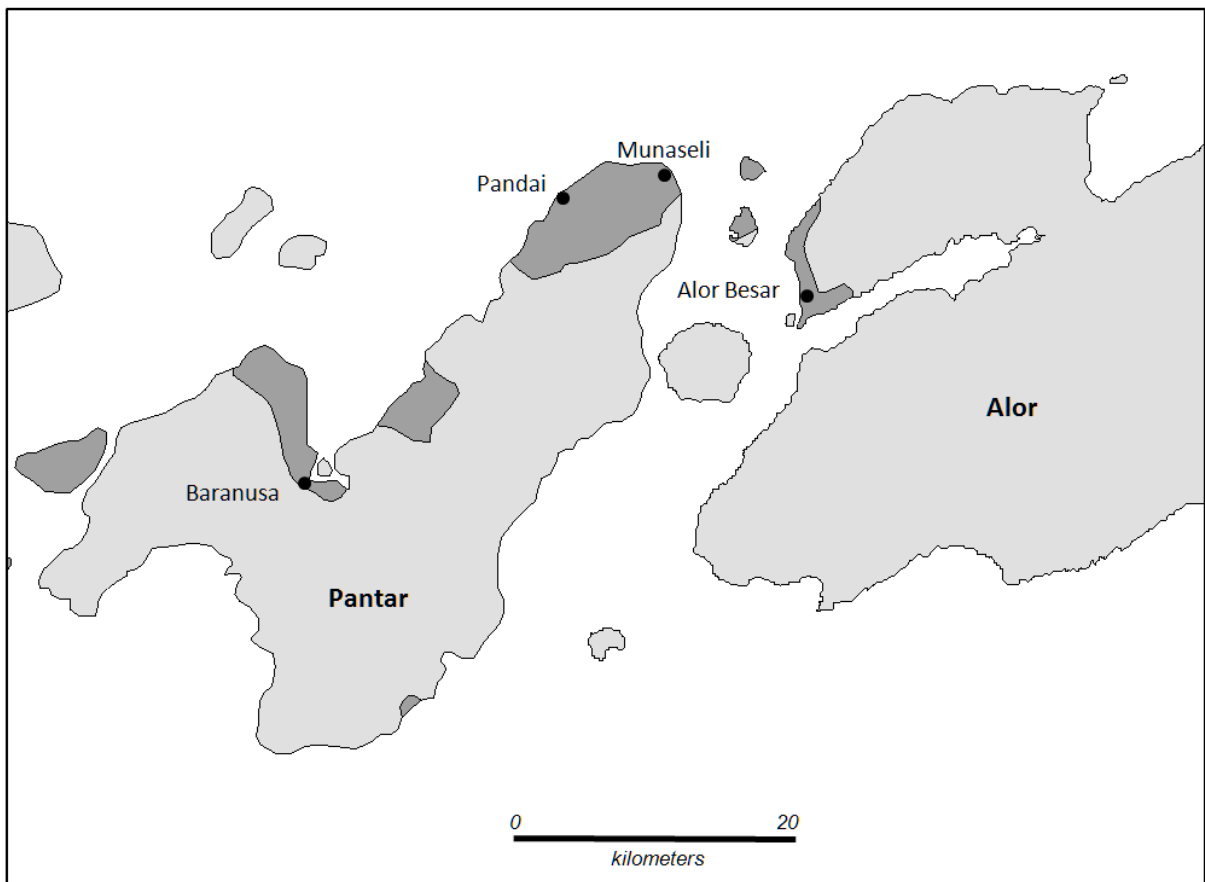
Map 2: Pantar and Alor with Alorese kingdoms

Note however that in regional Malay the notion *orang djawa* can also refer to immigrants from elsewhere in the archipelago, not necessarily Javanese.[4] In other words, the coastal settlers mentioned in the legend were foreign colonisers, but need not have come from Java. The close linguistic and cultural ties between today's Alorese and Lamaholot speakers suggests that it is more likely that the immigrants were Lamaholot speakers from Flores and/or Solor.

The legend referred to by Anonymous (1914) is the first of two legends also reported in Lemoine (1969) and cited in later sources like Barnes (1973: 86, 2001: 280) and Rodemeier (2006). This legend recounts that two Javanese brothers, Aki Ai and his younger brother Mojopahit, sailed to Pantar, where Aki Ai treacherously abandoned Mojopahit. Mojopahit's descendants eventually colonised Pandai, Baranusa, and Alor Besar.

The second legend recounts that 'Javanese' immigrants, that were allied to the kingdom of Pandai killed the king of Munaseli, another kingdom on Pantar located more eastwards on the north coast (see Map 2), and destroyed this kingdom, after which the defeated Munaseli population fled to Alor island.

Other sources confirm that around 1,300-1,400 AD the influence of the Hindu-Javanese kingdom Majapahit extended to Pantar (cf. Rodemeier 2006: 340). The Javanese Nagarakertagama chronicles (1365 AD) contain a list of places in the east that were in the Majapahit realm: "Taking them island by island: Makasar, Butun and Banggawi, Kunir, Galiyahu and Salaya, Sumba, Solot and Muwar, as well as Wandan, Ambwan, Maloko and Wwanin, Seran and Timur as the main ones among the various islands that remembered their duty" (Robson 1995: 34). The term Galiyahu or Galiyao occurs in a number of 16th and 17th century maps and descriptions by Europeans, and general consensus exists that it refers to Pantar. Moreover, recent linguistic research on Pantar has shown that Galiyao is used in various local Papuan languages as the indigenous name for

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[4] Cf. the footnote in Anonymous (1914: 89); compare Kambera (Sumba) *tau Jawa* (liit. 'Javanese') 'stranger, outsider, someone not from Suma', *tau Jawa bara* (lit. 'white Javanese') 'white person' (Onvlee 1984:115).

the island of Pantar and that the name originates from Western Pantar *Gale Awa*, literally 'living body' (Holton 2010).[5] In sum, Galiyahu refers to Pantar, and it was in the Majapahit realm in the 14th century. This latter fact may explain why the name Mojopahit is used in the legend. It may be that the second legend in Lemoine (1969) indicates that Majapahit soldiers defeated the Munaseli kingdom. Perhaps these 'Javanese' were identical to, or accompanied by, the 'Javanese' settlers mentioned in the first legend, perhaps they were different. What is clear however, is that the kingdoms of Pandai and Munaseli were in place around 1,300 AD in northern Pantar, that they were established by non-indigenous colonizers who came from the west, and that the same groups also colonised Baranusa and Alor Besar (see Rodemeier 2006 for more discussion). As Baranusa, Alor Besar, Pandai and Munaseli are Alorese speaking today, I assume that the immigrants referred to as 'Javanese' in the legends are the ancestors of today's Alorese.

In other words, oral history and ethnographic observations report local traditions on Pantar about non-indigenous Austronesian groups being present in the northern coastal parts of Pantar around 1,300 AD, and that their descendants colonised Pandai, Baranusa, and coastal parts of Alor Besar, the locations were Alorese is spoken today.[6]

What can we say about the ethnic origin of the Alorese speakers? Barnes (1973: 86, following Anonymous 1914: 77, 89) mentions that "the Coastal Alorese speaking coast-dwellers of Alor and Pantar [...] have slowly formed from a mixture of Selayarese (Macassarese-Buginese); Solorese and Javanese and people of the former Muna (on the northern tip of Pantar) and, on Pantar, also from people from Ternate." Ethnic mixing is expected for coastal groups as much involved in trade as the Alorese. Already from the

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[5] "The appropriateness of this name is evidenced by the presence of an active volcano which dominates southern Pantar. This volcano regularly erupts, often raining ash and pyroclastic flows onto villages of the region. Even when it is not erupting, the volcano ominously vents sulfur gas and smoke from its crater. In a very real sense, the volcano is a living body." (Holton 2010). For discussions of how the term Galiyao refers to (parts of) Pantar, see Le Roux 1929:47, Barnes 1982:407, Dietrich 1984, Rodemeier 1995, Barnes 2001:277, Rodemeier 2006, Hägerdal 2010.

[6] *Tanjung Muna* ('Cape Muna') in north Pantar is still considered the location of the mythical kingdom Munaseli. The language spoken there is referred to as *Bahasa Muna* 'the Muna language' or *Kadire Senaing* 'Speech We Understand' (Rodemeier 2006:49), and is one of the Alorese dialects.

12th century onwards, there were busy trading routes between the Moluccas, Java, Sulawesi, Vietnam, northern India, and possibly China. Given their geographical location, Pantar and Alor must have been part of these pre-colonial trading routes. We know that in colonial times, Portuguese ships sailed the narrow but extremely deep strait between Pantar and Alor on their way from the Moluccas and Makassar in the north, to the islands of Timor and Sumba in the south to buy wax and sandalwood. Additionally, Portuguese traders and soldiers must have frequented the islands in the 16th century when they travelled between the Portuguese settlements in Larantuka (east Flores) and Dili (north central Timor), as Alor and Pantar are located right in between them.[7] Some overseas traders may have settled on the coast and married Alorese women, as suggested by Anonymous (1914: 77). But this contact did not result in significant lexical borrowing: Alorese basic vocabulary shows no influence from Javanese, Makassarese, Buginese, or (Halmaheran) Ternate.[8] At the same time, as was mentioned above, intensive barter trade relations existed between the Alorese and the Papuan populations around them. This contact did result in some lexical diffusion: 5% of the Alorese basic word list are identified as loans from Papuan languages across Pantar island: Teiwa and Sar in the north-west, West Pantar in the west and south, and Kaera and Blagar in the east (see section 8.3 and Klamer, forthcoming b).

Anonymous (1914:78) asserts that Islam was introduced to the Alorese by the Makassarese, but no further evidence is given. Local historical narratives however suggest that it is more likely to have been introduced by the sultanate of Ternate, who had adopted the Islam faith by 1550 AD (cf. Cribb 2000:44). Historical narratives from Helangdohi (north Pantar) suggest that Islam came to Pantar 13-17 generations ago (Rodemeier 2006), and counting back some 15 generations brings us to sometime before

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[7] More specific historical details and reference are provided in Rodemeier (2006) and Hägerdal (2010). For a discussion of the history and presence of Austronesian / Papuan languages in eastern Indonesia, see Klamer, Reesink & Van Staden (2008) and Klamer & Ewing (2010).

[8] Thanks to Sander Adelaar, Tom Hoogervorst, Anthony Jukes, and Uri Tadmor who kindly examined the Alorese lexical data in the appendix for possible loans from Javanese, Makassarese, Buginese and Ternate (Halmahera).

1600 AD. During that era, the Ternate sultanate had adopted Islam, and had power over 72 islands in the eastern part of the archipelago, probably including Pantar.

Portuguese activities in Alor began in 1561. Some fifty black Portuguese soldiers (originally from Africa) travelled from Larantuka in East Flores, landed in Pandari (north Pantar) in 1717 and built a church and a settlement there (Coolhaas 1979:297, Rodemeier 2006:78). While the Portuguese made some 'treaties'[9] with local rulers, their influence remained limited to some coastal regions in north Pantar and west Alor.

In the 19th century, Alor was still part of the trade network with Buton, Kupang, and Makassar, among others. For example, in 1851, every year more than 100 vessels came to the island to buy rice, corn and wax (Van Lynden 1851:333). In a treaty negotiated in 1854 and ratified in 1859, Portugal ceded all its historical claims on Alor and Pantar (as well as Flores and Solor) to the Dutch, in exchange for the Dutch Pulau Kambing (Ataúru) north of Dili, Timor.

The Dutch established a military post ("Posthouder") at the mouth of the Kabola bay around 1860 and basically left it at that for half a century.

In 1910, under Governor-General Van Heutz, the Dutch started a military campaign to put local rulers in Alor under Dutch control.[10] The population was disarmed, and on campaign, the Dutch army also carried out a census. The figures of this census were used to levy taxes in the form of unpaid labor (*heerendiensten*) by the population (Dietrich 1984:279). Using these taxes, the capital Kalabahi and the roads radiating from it were built in 1906 (Nieuwenkamp 1922:71). In 1906, the Dutch opened two schools in Alor Kecil and Dulolong in west Alor and in the 1920's the Dutch Missionary Society (*Nederlands Zendingsgenootschap* (NZG)) also opened some schools on Pantar. In these Dutch schools, the language of education was Malay, as elsewhere in the Dutch East Indies. On Pantar in the 1920's, tax was also paid by labor, and many roads were built.

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[9] The Portuguese influence was limited to "handing out Portuguese flags to some coastal rulers, among others those of Koei, Mataroe, Batoelolong, Kolana" (Van Gaalen 1945: 2).

[10] The "Militaire Memories" written as reports of these military expeditions are one of the two sources for Anonymous (1914).

The labourers were supervised by *kneko* (<Dutch *knecht* 'servant') or *opas* (<Dutch *oppasser* 'caretaker') from other regions. Today, many of these roads are still in use, in more or less the same shape. Being too narrow for cars, most function as hiking and motorbike tracks.

The Japanese occupation of Alor and Pantar lasted from 1942-1945. Until 1945, there were regular revolts from local rulers (see the reports in Van Gaalen 1945: 2-9); and only after World War II was the presence of Dutch law generally accepted. With the declaration of independence in 1945, Alor and Pantar became part of the *Republik Indonesia*.

In conclusion, Alorese speakers have been present in north Pantar at least since 1,300-1,400 AD. Although local myths refer to them as 'Javanese' immigrants, there is no evidence to say that they were indeed Javanese. To the contrary, the linguistic similarities between Alorese and Lamaholot, in all its varieties spoken in Lembata, Solor and east Flores, suggest that both languages have a shared ancestor. Culturally, the groups are also connected through an alliance which began in the 17th century and continues to this day, as reported by Barnes (2001:278). After settling on the western and northern coast of Pantar, some Alorese groups migrated further east to the coast of the Kabola bay on Alor. It was the Alorese coastal populations who were in touch with foreign traders and the Portuguese and Dutch colonial powers. In contrast, the indigenous Papuan populations remained largely unexposed to the world outside their islands until after World War II.

1.2. The linguistic situation on Alor and Pantar

Two varieties of Malay are spoken on Alor and Pantar: Alor Malay (Baird et. al., 2004), which is a Malay variety derived from trade Malay (also referred to as Pidgin or Bazaar Malay (cf. Adelaar and Prentice 1996), and standard Indonesian, the national language of Indonesia. Standard Indonesian is taught in schools and used in the media and during

official occasions, Alor Malay is used in informal contexts. For most speakers, the two varieties are not different languages, but different registers: Alor Malay is the low informal register, Indonesian the high and formal one.

Apart from Indonesian/Malay, Alorese is the only Austronesian language spoken on Alor and Pantar. The other languages of the Alor Pantar region are all Papuan.[11] The exact number of Papuan languages spoken on Alor and Pantar remains elusive. Estimates in earlier sources vary widely, and the languages names listed in older reference works such as Vatter (1932:275) and Bouman (1943) show little overlap. The more recent reference works Stokhof (1975) and Grimes et. al. (1997) do not agree either. One reason for the confusion is that on Alor and Pantar, languages do not have a single generally accepted logonym. A language is referred to either by using the name of the major clan that speaks it, or by the name of the (ancestor) village(s) where it is (or used to be) spoken. As a result, many residents of Alor and Pantar would claim that each village and/or each clan has its own separate language. Bearing in mind the elusive nature of any language counts on Alor and Pantar, recent linguistic research suggests that some 16-20 languages are spoken on Alor and Pantar and surrounding islets (see Klamer 2010: 8-13, Holton et. al. 2009, 2010).

1.3. Alorese and Lamaholot: dialects, or different languages?

1.3.1. Introduction

The vocabulary of Alorese is clearly Austronesian and the language has been classified as belonging to the Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) subgroup (Blust 1993), although it is not mentioned among the CMP languages listed in that paper. Stokhof (1975:9) and Steinhauer (1993:645) suggest that Alorese is a dialect of Lamaholot. Barnes (2001:275)

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[11] These numbers do not include the languages of recent immigrants from elsewhere in Indonesia who speak an Austronesian language, for example the Bajau on west Pantar.

and Blust (2009:82, Map 8) follow this tradition and assume that Lamaholot is spoken on Alor and Pantar. On the other hand, Grimes et.al. (1997:57) state that Alorese has often been thought to be a dialect of Lamaholot because in the past speakers of Alorese used to be bilingual in Lamaholot, the trade language used in the east Flores and Solor region.

While both languages are indeed very closely related and share a common ancestor (Doyle 2010), closer inspection indicates that they are lexically and morphologically quite different, and are distinct enough to qualify as different languages. The evidence is summarised in the following sections (additional details are presented in Klamer, Forthcoming a, b).

1.3.2. Lexical evidence

In order to get an indication of the amount of lexical similarity between Lamaholot dialects and Alorese, I compiled a Swadesh list of the dialect of Lamalera with data from Keraf (1978:262-267), one from the Lewoingu dialect reported in Nishiyama and Kelen (henceforth N&K) (2007:6) and one with my own field data from the Solor dialect collected in 2002. See Map 1.

These lists were compared with the Alorese word list I collected in 2003, of the Baranusa dialect spoken on west Pantar. This Alorese dialect is geographically closest to the Lamaholot speaking area. In Appendix 1 the word lists are given and the lexical similarity of each pair of words is marked with 'yes (y)' or 'no (n)'. The figures in (1.1) are based on the comparative data provided in the Appendix. The lexical similarity percentages between Alorese and the Lamaholot dialects range between 52.6% (Solor dialect, (1.1a)) and 58.6% (Lewoingu dialect, (1.1b)).

(1.1) a.   Lamaholot-Solor (Klamer, field notes 2002):

N = 213: 112 yes, 101 no: 52.6% lexical similarity

  b. Lamaholot-Lewoingu (Nishiyama & Kelen 2007:173-177)

     N = 186: 109 yes, 77 no: 58.6 % lexical similarity

  c. Lamaholot-Lamalera (Keraf 1978:262-267):

     N = 197: 113 yes, 84 no: 57.4 % lexical similarity with Alorese

There is general agreement that speech varieties with less than 70% lexical similarity are too distinct to qualify as the same language.[12] The lexical evidence thus indicates that the Alorese dialect of Baranusa is a language of its own.

1.3.3. Morphological evidence

Apart from the lexical differences, Alorese and Lamaholot also use different pronoun forms: compare the free pronouns of Alorese with the Lamaholot dialects Lewoingu and Lamalera in (1.2). In addition, the Lamaholot dialects have possessor suffixes which are lacking entirely in Alorese.

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[12] Varieties with more than 85% lexical similarity qualify as dialects, while those with 70%-85% are marginally intelligible: with some communication being satisfactory and some not (cf. Grimes 1995:22).

(1.2) Free pronouns and possessor affixes

	Alorese	Lamaholot Lewoingu (N&K 2007: 13, 23-30)		Lamaholot Lamalera (Keraf 1978:85-95)	
1SG	go	go'en	-kən	goe	-k, -ka
2SG	mo	mo'en	-ko	moe	-m, -ma
3SG.AL	ni/ne	na'en	-nən	nae	non-segmental[13]
3SG.INAL	no	na'en	-nən	nae	non-segmental (V-final stem), no suffix (C-final stem)
1PL.EXCL	kame	kame'en	-kən	kame	-kem
1PL.INCL	ite	tete'en	-te	tite	-te
2PL	mi	mion	-ke	mio	-kre, -re
3PL	fe/fereng	ra'en	-ka	rae	-ri

Lamaholot also has affixes to mark subject agreement on verbs and adverbs, while adjectives and numerals agree with the nominal they modify. Lamaholot marks a distinction between transitive (A) and intransitive (S) subjects: (i) a set of consonantal prefixes marks A on vowel-initial transitive verbs, (ii) a set of suffixes marks S on

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[13] 3rd person possessor suffixes differ for stems ending in a consonant or in a vowel. Inalienable nouns ending in consonant have no suffix. For all the other stems, 3rd person sg possessor features are expressed as lenghthening of stem vowel and/or consonant, and/or vowel nasalization, and/or stress shift (cf. Keraf 1978: 84-93 for details).

intransitives. The paradigms are given in (1.3). Lamaholot-Lewoingu and Lamaholot-Lamalera have identical A prefixes, but different S suffixes.

(1.3)   Subject affixes in Lamaholot

	A prefix	S suffix	
		Lamaholot-Lewoingu (N&K 2007:13)	Lamaholot-Lamalera (Keraf 1978:73,76)
1SG	*k-*	*-kən*	*-ka*
2SG	*m-*	*-ko, -no*[14]	*-ko, -o*
3SG	*n-*	*-na, -nən*	*-fa/-ra, -a*
1PL.EXCL	*m-*	*-kən*	*-kem*
1PL.INCL	*t-*	*-te*	*-te*
2PL	*m-*	*-ke/-ne*	*-kre, -re*
3PL	*r-*	*-ka*	*-ri, -i*

Except for a few verbs with a fossilised A prefix (e.g. go **kenung** 'I 1SG.drink', see § 4.1), nothing of the productive inflectional morphology of Lamaholot presented in (1.2) and (1.3) has been retained in Alorese: Alorese has shed all its nominal and verbal inflections.

A comparison of the derivational morphology of Alorese and Lamaholot leads to similar observations. Lamaholot-Lewoingu has seven derivational affixes, as illustrated in

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[14] N&K 2007 list both forms on p. 13, but only –*ko* on p. 31.

(1.4), and Lamaholot-Lamalera has six derivational prefeixes, as illustrated in (1.5).[15] None of these affixes has been retained in Alorese.[16] Some of the Lamaholot derivational affixes are regular and productive, others are lexicalised, and often, a prefix has developed more than one meaning. In all cases however, the semantic relation between the base and the derived form is transparent enough to establish at least one (core) meaning of the derivational morpheme.

(1.4) Morphological derivations in Lamaholot-Lewoingu

Prefix *be(C)-*,[17] e.g. *rawuk* 'hair' > *be-rawuk* 'have hair'

< PMP *maR- 'intransitive verb' (Blust 2009: 359, 366);

Prefix *pə-*, e.g. *tua* 'palm wine' > *pə-tuak* 'taste like palm wine' (N&K 2007: 51)

< PMP *pa-ka- 'treat like X' (Blust 2009: 359);

Prefix *pə-*, e.g. *tutu'* 'speak', *pə-nutu'* (N&K 2007: 51)

< PMP *paR 'deverbal noun' (Blust 2009: 359)

Prefix *kə-*, e.g. *pasa* 'swear' > *kə-pasa* 'oath' (N&K 2007: 52-53)

<PMP *ka- 'formative for abstract nouns' (Blust 2009: 359, 362)

Infix *-ən-*, e.g. *tali* 'add' > *t-ən-ali* 'added thing' (N&K: 53-54)

< PAN *-um- 'Actor voice' (Blust 2009: 370)

Prefix *mən-*,[18] e.g. *ba'at* 'heavy' > *mən-a'at* 'something heavy' (N&K 2007: 54)

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[15] Anticipating a reconstruction of Proto-Lamaholot morphology, possible PAN / PMP affixes are provided alongside their modern Lamaholot reflexes as an hypothesis about their likely etymological relation.

[16] The morphological data are more complex than the illustrations might suggest; see the primary sources for additional details.

[17] N&K 2007: 50-51 refer to this prefix as *beN-*, but the nasal does not feature in all derivations.

< PAN *ma 'stative' (Blust 2009: 363-364)

Prefix *gəN-*,[19] e.g. *balik* 'to return' > *gə-walik* 'return (N)' (N&K 2007: 49)

< PMP *ka 'abstract noun formative' (Blust 2009: 362)

Consonant replacement, e.g. *pet* 'bind' > *met* 'belt' (N&K 2007: 48-49)

< PAN *ma 'stative' (Blust 2009: 363-364)

(1.5) Morphological derivations in Lamaholot-Lamalera

Prefix *b-/be-:* *udur* 'push' > *b-udur* 'pusher' (Keraf 1978:188), *doru* 'rub' > *be-doru* 'someone rubbing' (Keraf 1978:193); *fai* 'water' > *be-fai* 'have water' (Keraf 1978: 212) < PMP *paR 'deverbal noun' (Blust 2009: 359)

Prefix *n-:* *hau* 'sew' > *nau* 'something sewn' (Keraf 1978:192) (unclear etymology)

Prefix *pə-,* e.g. *tua* 'palm wine' > *pe-tuak* 'taste like palm wine' (Keraf 1978:210)

< PMP *pa-ka- 'treat like X' (Blust 2009: 359)

Infix *-en-*, e.g. *tika* 'divide' > *t-en-ika* 'instrument to divide' (Keraf 1978:196)

< PAN *-um- 'Actor voice' (Blust 2009: 370)

Prefix *me-*, e.g. *nange* 'swim' > *me-nange* 'swimmer' (Keraf 1978:197)

< PAN *ma 'stative' (Blust 2009: 363-364)

Consonant replacement, e.g. *pota* 'add' > *mota* 'addition' (Keraf 1978:190)

< PAN *ma 'stative' (ibid.)

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[18] With non-homorganic nasalization of initial root consonant; the process may involve an extra final nasal or syllable (see N&K 2007: 54).
[19] The nasal in the prefix changes p/b>m, b>w, h>n, and is unrealized before r/l.

In sharp contrast to this, there are no derivational morphemes attested in Alorese. The only productive word formation process in Alorese is reduplication: verbs and adverbs undergo full reduplication to indicate iterative or intensive activity, as in (1.6), while nominal reduplications denote plural diversity. Similar reduplication takes place in Lamaholot.

(1.6) *No   geki-geki   sampai   no   neing   aling   bola.*

3SG   RDP-laugh   until (I/M)   3SG   POSS   back   break

'He laughed and laughed till his back broke' (AJ)

Since morphemes are more easily lost than gained, I assume that the shared ancestor of Alorese and Lamaholot ('Proto-Lamaholot') had at least the morphology found in today's Lamaholot varieties. This implies that Proto-Lamaholot (i) had subject and possessor affixes, (ii) distinguished agreement of A (prefix) and S (suffix), and (iii) had at least seven different derivational prefixes. After the Lamaholot-Alorese split, Alorese lost all of this morphology. Such massive reduction of morphology is often taken to suggest that a language has gone through a stage of imperfect or second language learning.

To conclude: 40-50% of the basic vocabulary in Alorese and Lamaholot is different, the languages have a different set of pronouns, and Alorese has lost all the inflectional and derivational morphology that is still present in Lamaholot. For these reasons I conclude that Alorese is a language in its own right, and not a dialect of Lamaholot.

1.4. The Alorese data used in this study

This grammatical sketch is based on a limited corpus of Alorese collected in Kalabahi, Alor, in June-July 2003. It is limited because at the time, my research focussed on Teiwa, and the Alorese data reported here were collected to fill in periods when Teiwa consultants were not available. The corpus consists of the lexical items and texts listed in Table 1. While the corpus is small, it contains data from two different dialects: Baranusa and Alor Kecil. Speaker A and B are female, speaker C is male. All three speakers were were 30-35 years of age in 2003, and all of them used many Indonesian/Malay words when they were speaking Alorese. Following each illustration in this book, the source code of the sentence is indicated between brackets.

Text type/Genre	Length	Dialect	Speaker	Code
Narrative *Frog Story*[20]	27 utterances	Baranusa	A	AFS
Fable *Monkey and Crab*	20 utterances	Alor Kecil	C	AMC
Joke *Pointed Head and Slender Back*	8 utterances	Alor Kecil	B	AJ
Survey elicited sentences	26 sentences	Baranusa	A	AS
Additional elicited sentences	25 sentences	Alor Kecil	B, C	AAS
Survey basic word list	260+ words	Baranusa	A	
Additional lexicon	270 words	Baranusa, Alor Kecil	A, B, C	

Table 1: The Alorese corpus used in this study

The word list in the Appendix is the Baranusa dialect (in west Pantar), and was provided by speaker A; speakers B and C speak the dialect of Alor Kecil (West Alor) (see Map 2). Alor Kecil and Baranusa have considerable lexical differences. Some illustrations are given in (1-7).

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[20] Elicited with the picture book *Frog where are you?* by Mercer Mayer, 1969. New York: Dial Books for Young Readers.

(1-7)   Some lexical differences between the Alor Kecil and Baranusa dialects of Alorese[21]

Baranusa	Alor Kecil	Meaning
ape nahing	*ape penuhung*	'smoke' (*ape* 'fire')
danga	*dangga*	'hear'
fefel	*fefeleng*	'tongue'[22]
wiwing	*fifing*	'lips'
wuluk	*fulo*	'feather(s), body hair'
hanjafa	*hanjofa*	'here'
tamo	*rongge*	'dance'
kaluang	*koluokong*	'cold'
kari	*kariking*	'small'
kate	*te*	'that'
leing kudul	*leing kadulung*	'knee' (*leing* 'foot, leg')
lulung	*lolong*	'on, on top'
malong	*molo*	'correct'
tanaleng	*ramuk*	'root'
tuho	*tuhung*	'breast'
anang	*kae*	'small'
utang	*bana*	'forest, jungle'
lodo	*dodoe*	'descend'
tare nahing	*tare nihing*	'breathe' (lit. 'pull breath')

The total time of working sessions I had with consultants was about 25 hours; each session lasted a couple of hours and the sessions took place in the course of 5weeks. Given the limited amount of time spent with Alorese speakers, the analysis presented in

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[21] Orthographical conventions: ŋ = ng, ɛ = e, ɔ = o, ʤ = j, ʔ =', j = y, see also Chapter 2.
[22] The word final nasal in certain body part nouns is a remnant of a third person possessive suffix *–ng* that occurs with inalienable nouns (§ 3.5).

the current work must be seen as preliminary. Many details of the language as well as its dialectal variations remain to be investigated.

1.5. Overview of the grammar of Alorese and this book

Alorese is an Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian language. It is closely related to Lamaholot. The parent language of Alorese and Lamaholot was probably spoken in east Flores, Solor and/or Lembata, before the Alorese moved to Pantar before or around 1,300-1,400 AD. Alorese is lexically as well as morphologically distinct from Lamaholot in any of its varieties (chapter 1).

With 18 consonants and 5 vowels, the Alorese segment inventory is relatively simple. Most roots are disyllabic. The only consonant clusters are homorganic [nasal + stop] clusters. The language shows a dispreference for closed syllables (chapter 2).

Alorese nouns do not inflect for number, gender or case. No dedicated morphology to derive nominals exists. NPs are head-initial: nominal heads precede demonstrative, numeral, quantifying, nominal, adjectival, or verbal modifiers. In nominal possessive constructions, free possessor pronouns precede the possessee. A productive alienability distinction is marked by the choice of a distinct pronoun (*no* for inalienables, *ni* for alienables). Apart from the relative clauses introduced by the Indonesian/Malay relative clause marker *yang*, Alorese also has a focus marker *ru*. *Ru* marks contrastive focus of one participant of the clause (chapter 3).

With respect to its morphological profile, Alorese is isolating: it has lost all the inflectional and derivational morphology that is still present in its closest sister Lamaholot (§ 1.3.3). Alorese has no morphology marking tense, aspect or modality, and although some words contain reflexes of proto Malayo-Polynesian prefixes and possessive suffixes,

no productive affixes have been attested. Serial verb constructions, especially directional ones, are often used (chapter 4).

Alorese clauses have SV and AVP constituent order. Contrasting with this head-initial order are the post-predicate negation *lahe*, the clause-final sequential conjunction *mu* and the post-nominal position of locational nouns. Alorese has accusative alignment, so that S and A are treated alike, as opposed to P. The grammatical relations subject and object are expressed by constituent order. The subject and object pronouns are identical in form (chapter 5).

Alorese non-declarative sentence types are structurally very similar to declarative ones (Chapter 6). Clauses are linked to each by conjunctive linking words or by complementation. The clause-final conjunction *mu* 'Sequential' links two subsequent events, *ka* 'or' links clauses as disjunctive or alternative events and *ba* 'and' links clauses marking simultaneous or successive events. Complementation is by juxtaposition; complement clauses are not formally marked as embedded: they have no special word order, no special morphology or lack thereof, and no complementiser. Words that function to connect clauses and sentences to discourse are *sa* 'after that' and *teka* 'then', but more often, discourse connectors are borrowed from Malay/Indonesian (chapter 7).

Alorese has a number of Papuan characteristics. Most of these are also found in Lamaholot and therefore were probably part of their shared ancestor, 'proto-Lamaholot'. This suggests prehistoric Papuan presence in the Lamaholot homeland in east Flores/Solor/Adonara/Lembata. Post-migration contact between Alorese and its Papuan neighbors on Pantar resulted in a massive loss of morphology and lexical borrowing from all over Pantar island, but little syntactic convergence (chapter 8).

Chapter 2. Phonology

2.1. Phoneme inventory

Alorese has 5 cardinal vowels (Table 2) and 18 consonants (Table 3). When the orthographical representation of a sound differs from its phonemic respresentation, it is given in brackets.

	Front	**Central**	**Back**
High / Close	i		u
Mid	ɛ (e)		ɔ (o)
Low / Open		a	

Table 2: Alorese vowel segments

	Labial	**Coronal**	**Velar**	**Glottal**
Stops	p,b	t,d	k, g	ʔ (')
Nasals	m	n	ŋ (ng)	
Fricatives	f	s		h
Affricate		ʤ (j)		
Approximants	w	j (y)		
Trill, liquid		r,l		

Table 3: Alorese consonant segments

When words are uttered in isolation, as in a word list, consonants in intervocalic position are lengthened. The long consonant is the coda of the first syllable, and the onset of the second one. Examples are presented in (2-1) (full stop = syllable boundary):

(2-1)   Phonetic geminates in words uttered in isolation

kipe	['kip.pɛ]	'narrow'
habo	['hab.bɔ]	'bathe'
bata	['bat.ta]	'split, break'
ladung	['lad.duŋ]	'grass'
maku	['mak.ku]	'short'
tuno	['tun.nɔ]	'roast'
fifing	['fif.fiŋ]	'lips'
usu	['us.su]	'few, a little'
aho	['ah.hɔ]	'dog'
ula	['ul.la]	'snake'
turu	['tur.ru]	'lie down, sleep'

No lengthening of approximants * [w:], *[j:], voiced velar stop *[g:], glottal stop [*ʔ:] or the affricate *[ʤ:] has been attested. Many words in the corpus were pronounced differently on different occasions – in one recording, with a geminate consonant, in another, with a short consonant. Even after considerable probing, no (near) minimal pair was found as evidence for a phonemic length contrast in consonants. For these reasons I consider consonant lengthening not phonemic, but analyse it as a phonetic effect of word stress in a list context.

2.2. Stress and syllable structure

Stress is always on the penultimate syllable of a root. Syllables are open (CV) or closed (CVC). More than half of the inherited vocabulary in my lexicon ends in an open syllable – the most frequent final vowel being /a/, see Table 4.

Final vowel	...u	...i	...a	...e	...o	Total
No. of words	45	54	109	72	63	343

Table 4: Number of words ending in an open syllable

Of the words in the lexicon that end in a closed syllable, more than 90% have a velar nasal /ŋ/ as final consonant, see Table 5.

Final consonant	..k	..n	..ŋ	..r	..l	Total
No. of words	8	5	160	3	3	179

Table 5: Number of words ending in a closed syllable

Some of these final velar nasals are fossilised remnants of an earlier possessive suffix (see § 3.5.1). The other possible word-final consonants that are not found as word-final coda's are /j, w, d, ʤ, f, g, ʔ /. The consonants /p, t, b, m, s, h/ only occur at the end of loan words from Indonesian/Malay, Arabic or Dutch, and not on indigenous Alorese words. All consonants can be used as word-initial onset, except for the velar nasal and the affricate /ʤ/ (orthographically represented as *j*). The glottal stop is used word-initially but is not phonemic in that position. It is only phonemic in intervocalic position, see the near minimal pairs in (2-2).

(2-2)   Phonemic glottal stop in intervocalic position

si'a   'salt'   *ru'ing* 'bone'

fiang   'yesterday' *kuing* 'dark'

Identical vowel sequences must be separated by a glottal stop (e.g. *ha'ang* 'this'). Non-identical vowel sequences are found in most of the logically possible combinations, as shown in Table 6. (Frequencies are given in brackets.)

V1\V2	u	i	a	e	o
u	-	ui (3)	ua (10)	ue (1)	uo (2)
i	iu *not attested*	-	ia (5)	ie (1)	io (2)
a	au (7)	ai (7)	-	ae (5)	ao (5)
e	eu *not attested*	ei (17)[23]	ea (2)	-	eo (1)
o	ou (3)	oi (3)	oa *not attested*	oe (1)	-

Table 6: Alorese vowel sequences attested in the corpus for this study

On the basis of the small corpus used for this study it is not possible to say whether the three unattested sequences are accidental or systematic gaps. Phonemic diphthongs have not been attested. All 17 vowel sequences are found in open (CVV) syllables and most of them also occur in CVVC syllables: only the sequences *ue, ie, oe, ao, eo* have not been attested in CVVC syllables. This may be due to the limited number of words in my list.

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[23] In some words, the vowel sequence /ei/ shows free variation with /e/ or /i/.

2.3. The structure of phonological words

A few content words consist of just a single CV syllable. Examples include *ba* 'heavy', *be* 'child', *ho* 'come', *me* 'go', *ke* 'new', *pa* 'four', and *ra* 'blood'. I have no examples of words consisting of just a single vowel (that is, there are no words like **i, *a, *u,...*).

The word list contains few CVC words. Examples include *tung* 'year', *lang* 'under', *bing* 'big' (alternative form *being*) and loans such as *seng* 'money' (*sen* 'cent' (I/M) < *cent* 'cent' (Du), and *buk* 'book' (< *buku* 'book' (I/M) < *boek* (Du). Some verb stems end in a consonant, which is always a velar nasal /ŋ/. Examples include *ning/neng* 'give' (alternative form *neing*) and *kang* '1SG.eat', a verb with a fossilised subject prefix (see § 4.1).

The majority of Alorese underived words are disyllabic. There are three types. One type is (C)V.(C)V. Examples include *ba.fu* 'drum', *a.ho* 'dog', *ka.e* 'small', *fa.i* [faj] 'not yet'. The word list contains V.CV and CV.V words, but no V.V roots, that is, no words like **ai, *eo, *iu, *ua,...*).

The second type of disyllabic root ends in closed syllable (C)V.(C)VC. Examples include *pi.ngang* 'plate', *e.bang* 'make, do', *mi.ang* 'wait' [mi.jaŋ], *ba.ung* 'wake up' [bauŋ], *i.ong* 'green' [i.jɔŋ].

The third type of disyllabic root has an initial closed syllable which ends in a nasal. The nasal must be followed by a stop as the onset of the second syllable: (C)VC$_{[nas]}$.C$_{[stop]}$V. The nasal and stop share their place of articulation.[24] Examples are given in (2-3). Other than those containing a homorganic nasal, Alorese has no word internal coda's, only word final ones. The only word with /nd/ in the corpus is *sendal* 'flip-flop', a loan from Indonesian. It may be that the sequence /nd/ is absent in Alorese,

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[24] This is a common restriction on coda consonants in Austronesian: for example, in Lamaholot, word internal consonant clusters are restricted to homorganic nasal-stop sequences (N&K 2007:10).

because it changed into [nʤ] in Alorese *konjo* [ˈkon.ʤo] 'shirt'; compare Makassarese *kondo* [kon.do] 'shirt'.

(2-3)   *sambo*   [ˈsam.bɔ]   'help'

        gambe   [ˈgam.bɛ]   'grandpa'

        tangge   [ˈtaŋ.gɛ]   'sweet'

        mungga   [ˈmuŋ.ga]   'while'

        konjo   [ˈkɔn.ʤɔ]   'shirt, clothes'

        kunja   [ˈkun.ʤa]   'bread fruit'

        sendal   [ˈsɛn.dal]   'flip-flop' (<I/M)

An alternative analysis of the [nasal + stop] clusters is to consider them as a complex segment; a prenasalised stop that becomes the onset of the second syllable (i.e. [sa.mbo] 'help', [ˈta.ŋgɛ] 'sweet'. This would account for the fact that, apart from the nasal + stop, the language has no other phonemic consonant clusters. Furthermore, phonemic prenalised stops are found in many other languages of eastern Indonesia, including Flores, Sumbawa, Bima and Sumba (but excluding Maluku and Halmahera). However, in these languages, the prenasalised stops also appear as word initial onsets, which is not the case in Alorese. Further, the syllabification patterns in (2-3) where the nasal and the stop belong to two different syllables do not support a complex segment analysis. Finally, Lamaholot also lacks prenasalised stops (Keraf 1978, Nishiyama and Kelen 2007). For these reasons, I analyze the nasal + stop combinations as consonant clusters rather than prenasalised stops.

The word list contains a limited number of tri-syllabic (C)V.CV.CV(C) words; they are given in (2-4). The question is whether or not these words are mono-morphemic.

Except for reduplication, Alorese has no productive morphological process (see § 1.3.3), so they are not synchronically derived forms. However it is possible that some of them contain a fossilised affix. I investigated this possibility by comparing the words with semantically equivalent forms in related Indonesian languages as listed in the Comparative Austronesian Dictionary (Tryon 1995), adding my own observations from Kambera and Indonesian. For the words words in (2-4a) I found no similar forms in other languages, but the words in (2-4b) have similar forms in other languages as indicated. On the basis of this comparative evidence, the Alorese words in (2-4b) may thus be analyzed as diachronically complex, although the exact nature and origin of their affix is unclear. The comparative evidence further suggests that the words in (2-4c) clearly contain a fossilised prefix. The trisyllabic words in(2-4d) are probably loans.

(2-4)   Trisyllabic words in an Alorese lexicon of ~530 words

	Alorese	Meaning	Similar forms in languages listed in Tryon (1995) or Kambera (Onvlee 1984) or Indonesian?
a.	*ga.lo.ko*	'round'	no
	ba.la.pang	'blue'	no
	ka.lu.ang	'cold'	no
	ka.na.ku	'play'	no
	mo.ro.kong	'true'	no
	ma.na.pa	'rock'	no
	ka.mo.re	'rat'	no

b. *ma.ra.-kang* 'dry' Dobel *maray,* Uma *mara bangi*,

Konjo *mara rangko,* Sika *mara,*

Kambera *mara, kamara,* PMP *maRaŋaw[25]

ba-la.ra 'sick' Ngada *bəti, lazi*; Sika *blara*

c. *pa-la.e* 'run' Minangkabau *lari,* Indonesian *ber-lari*,

Sika *plari,* Roti *na-lai-k,* Kambera *pa-lai*

ka-la.ke 'man, husband' PMP *laki

ka-fa.e 'wife' PMP *bahi

ka-pu.hor 'navel' Aceh *pusat,* Manggarai *putəs,* Ngada *puse*,

Sika *puhər,* PMP *pusVr/t

d. *ka.la.ing* 'fight' Indonesian *berkelahi* 'fight'

ka.bu.rung 'grave' Indonesian *kubur* 'grave'

ba.lo.ne 'pillow, cushion' < Portuguese *balão* 'balloon'

In sum, all tri-syllabic words in Alorese are synchronically underived. Some are historically mono-morphemic, while others contain an etymological root with some additional material. There are also tri-syllabic loan words.

Mono-morphemic indigenous Alorese words with four or five syllables do not occur in my corpus, except for names (*Baololong, Demaloli, Baranusa, Mojopahit, Tikalaisi*) and loan words (*garagaji* 'saw' < Indonesian *gergaji*).[26]

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[25] The Austronesian (AN) and Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) forms cited in this paper are from the online Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database (http://language.psy.auckland.ac.nz/austronesian/) (Greenhill, S.J., Blust. R, & Gray, R.D. 2008), which lists the source author as Blust (1993).

2.4. Summary

With 18 consonants and 5 vowels, Alorese has a relatively simple segment inventory (cf. Hajek 2010). While the majority of Alorese roots is disyllabic there are also trisyllabic roots. The only consonant clusters are intervocalic homorganic [nasal + stop] clusters. The language shows a preference for open syllables: 68% of the lexical items have a final open syllable. Only five consonants can be used as coda: /ŋ, k, n, r, l/; in 90% of the cases, the coda is a velar nasal.

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[26] Alor Kecil *ko.lu.o.kong* 'cold (of water etc.)' (compare Baranusa *ka.lu.ang*) is a 4-syllable word that is neither a name nor an identified loan.

Chapter 3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

3.1. Nouns and noun phrase structure

Alorese nouns do not inflect for number, gender or case. There is no dedicated morphology to derive nominals.

Nominal reduplications denote plural diversity, as in (3-1). Of the reduplicative forms in (3-2) only reduplications exist; their root forms cannot be used as independent words.

(3-1)   *Gambe-gambe,*   *ina-ina*

       RDP-grandfather   RDP-mother

       'Grandfathers', 'mothers' (AS)

(3-2)   *Kapu-kapu*   (**kapu*),   *uli-uli*   (**uli*)

       'firefly'   'fable'

The structure of the NP is head initial: the nominal head precedes its modifier, whether it is a demonstrative, numeral, quantifier, noun, or verb (§ 3.2-3.4). In nominal possessive constructions, the possessor precedes the possessee (§ 3.5.1). An alienability distinction is made by the choice of possessive pronoun (§ 3.5.2).

3.2. Demonstratives

Alorese has the three demonstratives given in (3-3), and illustrated in (3-4)-(3-7).

(3-3) *ha'ang,   ha'a,   ha*   'this'   (Proximal)

 kali   'that'   (Medial?, to be determined)

 kate,   kete,   te   'that'   (Distal)

(3-4) *kujo   ha   /   ha'ang*

 crab   this   this

 'this crab' (AMC)

(3-5) *Gute   buk   ha'a!   Ha'a?   Kete.*

 take   book   this   this   that

 'Take this book.' 'This one?' 'That one'. (AS)

(3-6) *tapo   te   /   kete   /   kate*

 cocunut   that   that   that

 'that coconut' (AS)

(3-7)   *beka*   *kali*

child   that

'that child' (AFS)

The semantic difference between *kate/kete/te* on the one hand and *kali* on the other is still unclear; speakers translate both with Indonesian *itu* 'that'. If the demonstratives follow the common pattern to mark three degrees of distance Proximal – Medial – Distal, then *kali*, which has the lowest text frequency, might be the Medial form, but this remains to be investigated.

3.3. Numerals and number marking

Alorese numerals are presented in (3-8).

(3-8)   Alorese (Alor Kecil dialect)

1   *tou*

2   *rua*

3   *telo*

4   *pa*

5   *lema*

6   *namu*

7	*pito*
8	*buto*
9	*hifa*
10	*kartou*
11	*kartou ilaka tou*
12	*kartou ilaka rua*
13	*kartou ilaka talau*
15	*kartou ilaka lema*
20	*karua*
100	*ratu, ratu tou*
102	*ratu tou rua*
1000	*ribu, tou ribu*
2000	*ribu rua*
3000	*ribu talau*
50000	*ribu kar lema*
100,000	*ribu ratu*

The form *buto* 'eight' deserves comment because it it is not cognate with Proto-Austronesian (or Proto-Oceanic) *walu 'eight'. In Lamaholot, 'eight' is also *buto*. The word is probably related *wutu* 'four' in Ende, Ngado and Keo (all spoken on Flores). Keo dialects express 'four' as *wutu* and 'eight' as *rua/ru/zua/yua butu* 'two [times] four' (Baird 2002:151, 539). The morpheme *kar* 'ten, -teen' is borrowed from Papuan neighbour languages (proto-Alor Pantar *qar) (Holton et. al. 2009, 2010).[27]

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[27] Lamaholot 'ten' is *pulo* (Austronesian) (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007: 38).

The numeral *tou* (also pronounced as *to*) 'one' is also used as an indefinite marker, as in (3-9):

(3-9)   *...tiba-tiba*   *kaluar*   *kolong*   *to...*

          suddenly (I/M)   go.out(I/M)   bird   one

          ' ...suddenly a bird got out...' (AFS)

The word *rua* 'two' is used in *tarua* 'be (with) two' . This word can combine with a pronoun to refer to a dual referent; an illustration is *kame tarua* 'the two of us' in (3-10):

(3-10)   *Kame*   *tarua*   *onong*   *to*

          1PL.EXCL   be.two   inside   one

          'We two are one heart' (i.e., 'we two agree') (AS)

In the Frog Story, the complex form *fe tarua* 'they two' is used. Consultants described this as deriving from three words: *fe ata rua* '3PL person two', shortened to *fe tarua* 'the two of them, they two'.[28]

Numerals follow the head noun, as do quantifiers (and demonstratives, discussed above). This is illustrated in (3-11)-(3-14).

(3-11)   *Lara*   *tou*

          day   one

          'one day' (AFS)

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[28] This could be an incipient innovative dual pronoun which developed under influence of neighboring Papuan languages like Teiwa and Blagar which have dual pronouns (Klamer 2010, Stokhof 1975:16). Dual pronouns are not found in Lamaholot.

(3-12)   *Mareng   pito*

        night   seven

        'seven nights' (AS)

(3-13)   *Ni   ning   aho   rua*

        3SG   POSS   dog   two

        'his two dogs' (AS)

(3-14)   *Mato   labi*

        frog   many

        'many frogs' (AFS)

3.4. Adnominal modifiers

Nouns can be modified by nominals, including names, as illustrated in (3-15)-(3-18). Both (stative) verbs and words that translate as adjectives can be used as adnominal modifiers. This is illustrated in (3-19)-(3-21).

(3-15)   *Mato   kafae   /   kalake*

        frog   female   male

        'female / male frog' (AS)

(3-16) *Tapo   uking*

coconut   waste/pulp

'coconut pulp' (AS)

(3-17) *Kasi   lolong / odong / kamang*

papaya leaf   tree   skin

'papaya leaf / tree / skin' (AS)

(3-18) *Muku   Ambon / Baranga*

banana   Ambon   Baranga

'Ambon / baranga banana' (AS)

(3-19) *Tapo   marakang / meang / mureng*

coconut   dry   red   young

'dry / red / young coconut' (AS)

(3-20) *Kasi   tahakang / kubang / kae   / be(i)ng / date   / tangge*

papaya ripe   unripe   small   large   rotten   sweet

'ripe / unripe / small / large / rotten / sweet papaya' (AS)

(3-21) *Muku   tangi / dakang / tuno   / sanggar*

banana unripe   cooked   roasted   fried

'unripe / cooked / roasted / fried banana' (AS)

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Verbs and words that translate as adjectives can be used as predicates without a copula (see § 5.3) and neither type of word has any dedicated morphology in adnominal or predicative function, so I assume that there is no formal category of adjectives that is distinct from the class of (stative) verbs.

Body part nouns combine with both to form 'experiencer' predicates, as illustrated in (3-22), where *unung/onong* 'inside' functions as body part noun.

(3-22) a. *onong/unung*   *mara*

           inside   dry

           'be thirsty'

     b. *onong/unung*   *sanang*

           inside   happy

           'be happy'

     c. *tukang*   *malu*

           stomach   hungry

           'be hungry'

When such predicates are used in a clause, the experiencer subject is the possessor of the body part noun, as illustrated in (3-23)-(3-24):

(3-23)   *Ni   ning   unung   sanang*

       3SG   POSS[29]   inside   happy

       'He is happy' (Lit. 'His inside is happy') (AAS)

(3-24)   *Fe   gena   kehe   kalau   fe   bale   fe   pana   rei*

       3PL   search   snail   if (I/M)   3PL   return   3PL   walk   3PL.go

       'After they searched snails, they walked back home

       sampai   laran   tuka   fe   onong   mara,...

       until(I/M)   road   half   3PL   inside   dry

       until halfway they got thirsty...' (AJ)

   Part-whole constructions follow the regular [noun-modifier] structure of NPs. An illustration is)(3-25), where the possessee (*suara* 'voice') precedes the possessor noun. (Compare also (3-16)-(3-17) above).

(3-25)   *suara   mato*

       voice(I/M)   frog

       'sound of a frog' (AFS)

---

[29] *Ning* is a linking element used in possessive constructions, see § 3.5.1.

3.5. Possession

Two issues relating to possessive structures in Alorese are particularly relevant: the order of possessor and possessee (§ 3.5.1), and the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession (§ 3.5.2).

3.5.1. The order of possessor and possessee

Synchronically, possessors (both pronouns and nouns) precede the possessed, as in *ni uma* 'his/her house'. However, Alorese also has a fossilised possessive suffix, the velar nasal /-ŋ/ (written as *–ng*) in (3-26). It is suffixed to body part nouns and kinship terms and marks inalienable possession. It is no longer productive.

(3-26) a. Body part nouns

fofang	'mouth'
limang	'hand, arm'
ratang	'hair'
fuling	'neck'
kotung	'head'
aleng	'back'
leing	'foot, leg'
matang	'eye'
fifing	'lips'
ulong	'teeth'
tuhung	'breast'

b. Kinship nouns

*ina**ng***	'mother'
*bapa**ng***	'father'
*ana**ng***	'child'
*ari**ng***	'younger sibling'
*kaka**ng***	'older sibling'

Body part nouns ending in /r, l/ do not take the suffix; for example *kapuhor* 'navel', *tanunggul* 'nail'. The word for 'tongue' in (3-27) suggests dialectal differences between Baranusa (no nasal) and Alor Kecil (nasal preceded by an epenthetic vowel).

(3-27)　Baranusa　Alor Kecil　Lamaholot-Lewoingu (N&K 2007: 174)

　　　　fefel　　*fefeleng*　　*wewel*　'tongue'

Not all the final nasals on Alorese body part nouns are fossilised possessive suffixes. For example, the nasal in *tilung* 'ear' and *irung/nirung* 'nose' in (3-28) is etymologically part of the root. Also, some alienable words have a lexical final nasal, as illustrated in (3-29).

(3-28)　*tilung*　　PMP *talinga　'ear'

　　　　(n)irung　PMP *(i/u)juŋ　'nose'

(3-29)　*ikang*　　PMP *hikan　'fish'

　　　　fulang　　PMP *bulan　'month'

50

The final nasal is part of the citation form of inalienable words. In compounds based on body part nouns it is treated as a root consonant, see *limang* in (3-30), but the nasal can also be omitted in such contexts, as illustrated by *niru* (from *nirung*) in (3-31).

(3-30) *limang*   *tanunggul*

        hand   nail   'claw'

(3-31) *niru*   *fanggo*

        nose   hole   'nostril'

Example (3-31) is particularly interesting because the it treats the final nasal, which is historically part of the root (see (3-28)) as optional. Its omission in this compound suggests that it has been re-interpreted (by morphological back-formation) as a suffix.

A cognate of the Alorese possessive final nasal is found in Lamaholot, where body part nouns may also have a final nasal consonant, see Klamer (forthcoming b) for details.

Lamaholot posssessive suffixes and the final nasal are in complementary distribution, see (3-32b), and the nasal can attach to adnominal adjectives as a free variant, see (3-32c). The final nasal of inalienable nouns thus has a fossilised possessive function.

(3-32)   Lamaholot (N&K 2007: 11, adapted)

      a.   *mata-n*   'eye'

      b.   *mata-kən*   (*mata-n-kən*)   'my eye'

      c.   *mata belə* or: *mata belə-n*   'big eye'

           eye   big   eye   big-n

In sum, Alorese inalienable nouns can contain a fossilised suffix of inalienable possession in the shape of a final nasal consonant.

The productive strategy to mark possession in Alorese is to prepose a free possessive pronoun from the paradigm in (3-33). An optional possessive 'linker' *ning/neng* (the two forms appear to be used interchangably) may be used. Observe that there are different possessor forms in 3SG for alienable and inalienable nouns, and that 3PL has a short form *fe* as well as a long form *fereng*.[30]

(3-33)   Alorese possessive pronouns

1SG	*go*
2SG	*mo*
3SG.ALIENABLE	*ni / ne*
3SG.INALIENABLE	*no*
1PL.EXCLUSIVE	*kame*
1PL.INCLUSIVE	*ite*
2PL	*mi*
3PL	*fe / fereng*

Synchronically, a possessor pronoun must precede the possessed noun as shown in (3-34a,c). The constructions in (3-34b) are illformed because the possessor pronoun (free form, suffix or enclitic) follows the noun. Genealogically the possessor-possessed order found in Alorese is less expected (see § 8.2).

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[30] The pronoun *fereng* is probably a contraction of *fe reing* 'they 3PL.have' > 'their', as in *fereng* [*fe reing*] *fata* 'their rice', see (3-36)-(3-37) below.

(3-34)   a.   *ni*   *uma*

3SG   house

'his house'

b.   **uma   ni*

*uma-ni

*uma=ni

c.   *Bapa   John   ni   uma*

father   John   3SG   house

'Bapa John's house' (AS)

An alternative for (3-34c) is (3-35), with an optional additional linker *ning*:

(3-35)   *(Bapa   John)   ni   ning   Uma*

father   John   3SG   POSS   House

'(Bapa John)'s house' (AS)

This possessive linker is formally and semantically related to the possessive verb *–(e)ing* 'have', which in my corpus is attested in the 3rd person forms **n(e)ing** '3SG' and **reing** '3PL', see (3-36)-(3-37). The reanalysis of inflected *n-(e)ing* '3SG-have' as the default verb form for 'have' gave rise to *ning* 'have', which is used as the possessive linker in (3-35).

(3-36)   *Mato   kete   ni   n-(e)ing   anang   labi   kenang*

frog   that   3SG   3SG-have   child   many   already

'That frog has many children already' / 'That frog's children are many already' (AFS)

(3-37)   *Fe   r-eing   uma   nangga oro?*

3PL   3PL-have   house   where

'Where (do) they have a house?' or 'Where is their house?' (AAS)

While Lamaholot has possessive constructions in which possessors follow their possessees, Alorese possessors are consistently preposed. The Alorese order may be due to Papuan influences: in the possessive structures of the Papuan languages surrounding Alorese, possessors always precede the possessee (e.g., Teiwa *Kri John ga-yaf* 'Mr John 3SG-house', Klamer 2010). For additional discussion, see § 8.2.

3.5.2. Alienable-inalienable possession

In the Alor Kecil dialect of Alorese, 3SG possessors are marked differently depending on whether or not the possessive relation is alienable. Alienable nouns have *ni* as 3rd sg possessor, as in (3-34) and (3-34) above, while the possessor of inalienable nouns is *no*, as in (3-38a,b,c) below. With inalienable nouns, the possessor pronoun is obligatorily present; alienable nouns have an optional possessor. Inalienable possessive constructions may contain the linker *neng*, as in (3-38b,c).

(3-38)   a.   *no*   *amang*

3SG.Inalien   father

'his father'

b. *no*   *neng*   *amang*

   3SG.Inalien   POSS   father

   'his father'

c. *aho*   *no*   *neng/ning*   *kotong*

   dog   3SG.Inalien   POSS   head

   '(the/a) dog's head'

While the Alor Kecil speakers mark the alienability contrast consistently, the Baranusa speaker sometimes generalises alienable *ni* to also mark inalienable possessors. The sentences in (3-39) and (3-40) are from the same Baranusa speaker. In (3-39) *no* refers to the inalienable possessor of *kotung* 'head', in (3-40), *ni* has that function.

(3-39)   *Ruha*   [*no*   *ning*   *kotung*]_{POSSNP}

        deer   3SG   POSS   head

        'The deer's head' (AFS)

(3-40)   [*Beka*   *kali*]   [*ni*   *ning*   *kotung*]_{POSSNP}   *kae*

        child   that   3SG   POSS   head   small

        'That child's head (is) small' (AS)

It remains to be investigated whether the inconsistent marking of alienable/inalienable possessors is a feature of this individual's idiolect, or a more general feature of the

Baranusa dialect, signalling that the alienable/inalienable distinction is getting lost in that dialect.

Note that the inalienable possessive pronoun *no* is identical to the third person singular pronoun for subjects and objects (see § 1.3.3 and § 4.1). In contrast, the alienable pronoun *ni/ne* has only a possessive function. The possessor pronoun *ni/ne* is etymologically related to the possessive linker *ning* (also attested as *neng*), which in turn is related to the verb 'to have' (see (3-36) and (3-37) above). The linker *ning* might have developed into *ni*. This is illustrated in (3-41a-b); both constructions are equally acceptable.

(3-41)   a.   *No   ning   onong*

3SG   POSS (<3SG-have)   onong

'his inside'

b.   *No   ni   onong*

3SG   POSS   inside

'his inside'

3.5.3. Summary

Alorese has a fossilised possessive suffix on inalienable nouns, so that diachronically, the possessor follows the possessed. Synchronically, however, the possessor always precedes the possessee. In allowing only the possessor-possessed order, Alorese differs from Lamaholot, which has variable orders (N&K 2007: 13, 15 23-27; Klamer, forthcoming b). As the Papuan neighbors of Alorese all have possessor-possessed orders, I assume that Alorese construction is a Papuan influence (see § 8.2). Possessor nouns and pronouns are

optionally accompanied by a possessive linker *ning.* The linker is formally and semantically related to the (3SG inflected) possessive verb 'have' *n-(e)ing*.

In the Alor Kecil dialect, alienable and inalienable possession are formally distinguished: the original third pronoun *no* is for inalienables, and an innovative pronoun *ni* (possibly derived from the possessive verb and ligature *ning*) marks alienable possession. This pattern of pronoun choice is similar to that found in e.g. Papuan languages of the eastern Bird's Head, where 'inalienables typically take a prefix that derives from a paradigm (nearly) identical to the subject or object prefixes found on verbs [...] while alienable possession is expressed with the possessive prefix attached to a possessive ligature that is often of likely verbal origin.' (Klamer, Reesink, Van Staden 2008:118).

3.6. Focus particle and relative clauses

Alorese lacks a dedicated indigenous relative clause construction. Relative clauses are formed with the Indonesian/Malay relative marker *yang* which has been borrowed into Alorese. [31] In my corpus, relative clauses occur in sentences with many other Indonesian/Malay loan words. An example is (3-42). The Indonesian/Malay words in this sentence are underlined.

(3-42)   ...*karena*   *mungkin*   *salah*   *satu*   *mato*   *adalah*

            because   possibly   only   one   frog   be

            '...because possibly one of them was

---

[31] *Yang* is also used as relative clause marker in Lamaholot (N & K 2007: 126).

ni	*ning*	*mato*	<u>*yang*</u>	*kafeting.*
3SG	POSS	frog	Rel	disappear

his frog that disappeared.' (AFS)

Alorese also has a marker *ru* that I (provisionally) classify as 'focus particle'. *Ru* marks contrastive focus, as illustrated in (3-43)) and (3-44).

(3-43) a. *No lelang batang*

3SG	make	break

'He broke them.' (AAS)

b. *No* **ru** *lelang batang*

3SG	FOC	make	break

'HE broke them' (AAS)

(3-44) *Mo hela tapo te dodoe*

you	climb	coconut	that	come.down

"You climb that coconut and come down

ite tinung ne(i)ng feking,...

we	1PL.INCL.drink	POSS	water

so we drink its water, ..."

tapi	*Kotong*	*Dake*	*gehi,*
but(I/M)	head	sharp	not.want

but Pointed Head did not want to,

no	*maring*	*Aleng*	*Keleng*	*maring*	*"Mo*	*ru*	*hela".*
3SG	say	back	slender	say	2SG	FOC	climb

he said to Slender Back: "YOU climb it" (AJ)

Focus markers encode new information and are typically followed by pragmatically presupposed propositions. Restrictive relative clauses are also typically reserved for the coding of such presupposed propositions. Clauses following focus NPs therefore function in a similar way as relative clauses do.

Focus marker *ru* also marks content question words (see Chapter 6). This is to be expected as in such questions the focussed question word is followed by a presupposed proposition. Similar focus markers are used in other Papuan languages on Pantar, for example in Teiwa (Klamer 2010: 409-415). Note, however, that it is not obvious that it is the result of recent Papuan contact, because Lamahalot also has a focus particle (*ke;* Nishiyama and Kelen 2007: 129), and if that marker resulted from Papuan contact, then the contact took place in proto-Lamaholot, before the Alorese moved to Pantar (Klamer forthcoming b).

Chapter 4. Verbs

4.1. Verbal morphology

With respect to its morphological profile, Alorese is an isolating language. The language lacks nominal morphology as well as verbal morphology marking tense, aspect or modality; it has only a few traces of subject agreement. Almost all verbs have free subject pronouns. The subject (transitive (A), or intransitive (S)) and the object (P) pronouns of Alorese are given in the left hand column of (4-1). Some vowel-initial verb stems have the consonantal A prefix which is listed in the right hand column of (4-1).

(4-1)   Alorese subject and object pronouns

	S, A and P pronoun	A prefix
1SG	*go*	*k-*
2SG	*mo*	*m-*
3SG	*no*	*n-*
1PL.EXCL	*kame*	*m-*
1PL.INCL	*ite*	*t-*
2PL	*mi*	*m-*
3PL	*fe*	*r-*

Two verbs that take free subject pronouns are illustrated in (4-2).

(4-2)   Illustrations of verbal paradigms with independent subject pronouns

	palae 'run'	*akal* 'cheat'
1SG	*go palae*	*go akal*
2SG	*mo palae*	*mo akal*
3SG	*no palae*	*no akal*
1PL.EXCL	*kame palae*	*kame akal*
1PL.INCL	*ite palae*	*ite akal*
2PL	*mi palae*	*mi akal*
3PL	*fe palae*	*fe akal*

Two verbs with a subject prefix are illustrated in (4-3). Often, the subject of such verbs is expressed with an additional pronoun, which is given in brackets in (4-3).

(4-3)   Illustrations of verbs with a subject prefix

	–enung 'drink'	*-oing* 'know'
1SG	*(go) k-enung*	*(go) k-oing*
2SG	*(mo) m-enung*	*(mo) m-oing*
3SG	*(no) n-enung*	*(no) n-oing*
1PL.EXCL	*(kame) m-enung*	*(kame) m-oing*
1PL.INCL	*(ite) t-enung*	*(ite) t-oing*
2PL	*(mi) m-enung*	*(mi) m-oing*
3PL	*(fe) r-enung*	*(fe) r-oing*

Speakers refer to verbs like those in (4-3) as "irregular verbs that change their initial consonant". When the three consultants were asked to think of examples of such verbs, all of them mentioned the two verbs in (4-3). Another example is the deictic verb –*ei* 'go to' in e.g. (4-7) below. I expect that there are a few more such verbs, but not more than a handful.

One completely irregular verb is 'to eat' as given in (4-4). It employs two different root forms: (*g)Vng* and -*aka*.

(4-4)   Irregular verb 'to eat': (*g)Vng* and -*aka*

a.   *Go   kang   ufa   malu*

1SG   1SG.eat   betelnut   betelpepper

'I eat betelnut'

b.   *Mo   goung   ufa   malu*

2SG   2SG.eat   betelnut   betelpepper

'You eat betelnut'

c.   *No   gang   ufa   malu*

3SG   3SG.eat   betelnut   betelpepper

'S/he eats betelnut'

d. *Ite   t-aka   ufa   malu*

    1PL.INCL   1PL.INCL-eat   betelnut   betelpepper

    'We eat betelnut'

e. *Mi (sakali)   geing   ufa   malu*

    2PL.INCL   PL-eat   betelnut   betelpepper

    'You (pl) eat betel nut'

f. *Fe   geing   ufa   malu*

    3PL   PL-eat   betelnut   betelpepper

    'They eat betel nut'

g. *Fe   r-aka   ufa   malu*

    3PL   3PL-eat   betelnut   betelpepper

    'They eat betel nut'

Different root forms for 'to eat' are also found in Lamaholot, which has the roots *gaN* and *kan* (observe the formal similarity with the Alorese forms (*g)Vng* and *–aka*). Examples include *gang /gan* 'eat' (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:114, 115), *gen* '2PL.eat' (ibid, p. 152), *kan* '1s.eat' (ibid, p. 115), *təkan* '1PL.INCL-eat' (ibid., p. 113).

As discussed in § 3.1, Alorese has no productive derivational morphology, and I have found only one formally complex verb, *pa-lae* 'run' (Lamaholot *pe-la'e*, Pampus 2001). Cognates in Malayo-Polynesian languages (e.g. Minangkabau *lari*, Indonesian *ber-lari*, Sika *p-lari*, Kambera *pa-lai,* Tryon 1995, Onvlee 1984) suggest that the Alorese word contains the prefix *pa-* (see also § 2.3). However, this prefix is not productive.

The only productive morphological process in Alorese is reduplication. Verbs undergo full reduplication to indicate iterative and/or intensive activity, an illustration is (4-5).

(4-5)　*No*　　*geki-geki*　　*sampai*　　*no*　　*neing*　*aling*　*bola.*

　　　　3SG　　RDP-laugh　until (I/M)　3SG　POSS　back　break

　　　　'He laughed and laughed till his back broke' (AJ)

In sum, apart from subject prefixes on a few exceptional verbs, and verbal reduplication, Alorese lacks verbal morphology.

4.2. Serial verbs

Alorese makes extensive use of serial verb constructions. Most serial verb constructions in my corpus are directional. In directional constructions, the second verb marks the direction of the event expressed by the first verb. Examples of directional (or deictic) verbs in serial constructions are *mene* 'come (here)' in (4-6), *n-ei* '3SG-go to (someplace)' in (4-7), *lodo* 'go down' in (4-7), *gere* 'go up' in (4-8), and *bale* 'return' in (7-18)).

(4-6)　*Terus,*　　*kaju*　*fatang*　*nepi*　*mene.*

　　　　then(I/M)　wood　sea　　float　come

　　　　'Then a piece of wood came floating [towards us].' (AMC)

(4-7)   *Lele   lahe,   na,   no   goka   lodo,*

long   NEG   well   3SG   fall   go down

'Not long [afterwards], well, he fell down,

una tana lulung mu no palae nei.

on   earth   on   and 3SG   run   3SG.go.to

on the ground and he ran away.' (AFS)

(4-8)   *Beka   kae   kate   hela   kaju   lulung   gere,*

child   small   that   climb   wood   on   go up

'The child climbed on top of the log,

no   gena   mato   oro   kaju   unung, tapi   no   dapa   lahe.

3SG   search   frog   LOC   wood   inside   but(I/M)   3SG   find   NEG

he searched a frog inside it but did not find it.' (AFS)

There are also serial verb constructions where the second verb is not a directional verb. For example, *beo-beo* 'swing back and forth' in (4-9) is a manner of motion verb:

(4-9)   *...no   teleng   beo-beo.*

3SG   hang   swing.back.and.forth

'...he hangs swinging back and forth.' (AJ).

In (4-10), *pana-pana* 'walk' is followed by *nei gena* 'go search', which expresses a purpose:

(4-10) *Lara to ne Lekiraku tukang malu,*

      day one that monkey stomach hungry

      'One day Monkey was hungry,

      no   pana-pana   nei   gena   kujo.

      3SG   RDP-walk   3SG.go.to   search   crab

      he walked [out] searching for crab' (AMC).

Serial constructions can also be used to express causative notions with the verb *lelang* 'make', as illustrated in (4-11)-(4-12), or with the verb *neing* 'give', as in (4-13).[32]

(4-11) *Fe lelang hoba kajo pukong.*

      3PL make fall.down wood tree

      'They felled the tree.' (AAS)

(4-12) *Mo lelang bola meja ni leing.*

      2SG make break table Pos leg

      'You broke the table's leg.' (AAS)

---

[32] Observe that *neing/ning/neng* 'give' and the possessive linker *ning/neng* (related to '3SG-have') have the same form; a reflection of the historical relationship between the two items (see § 3.5.1).

(4-13) *No   neing goka   mo   tapo*

      3SG   give   fall   2SG   coconut

      'He dropped your coconut' (AS)

Analytical causatives can also be expressed by constructions where a verb takes a clausal complement (§ 7.2). But these are structurally different from serial verb constructions. In serial verb constructions, the two predicates are adjacent to each other and followed by their shared argument (the causee), so that the causative event is represented as a single event. In clause combinations, however, the event is expressed as two separate (sub-)events, and the causee occurs in between the two verbs. This is illustrated in (4-14); compare the serial verb causative in (4-11) above.

(4-14) *Fe   lelang   kajo   pukong   hoba*

      3PL   make   wood   tree   fall.down

      'They made the tree fall down.' (AAS)

In other words, (4-14) is analysed as containing a matrix verb and a complement clause since it retains the original constituent order, while in (4-11) the causee (the subject of 'fall') moved to a position following both verbs.

Similarly, sentence (4-13) above contains a serial verb construction rather than a complement clause because 'your coconut' follows both verbs. The contrasting example in (4-15) shows that 'your coconut' would precede *goka* 'fall' if it is not part of a serial verb:

(4-15)   *Mo   tapo   goka*

      2SG   coconut   fall

      'Your coconut fell' (AS)

Sentence (4-16) (the first part of example (4-8)) is analysed as a serial verb construction with *hela* and *gera* as follows: *hela* 'climb' is transitive and takes *kaju lulung* 'log's top' as its syntactic object; its subject is *beka kae kate* 'that small child', and this is the argument that is shared with *gere* 'go up'. Literally the sentence would read 'the small child went up & climbed the log's top'.

(4-16)   [*Beka   kae   kate*] ₛₕₐᵣₑ𝒹 ₛᵤᵦⱼₑ꜀ₜ [[*hela   kaju   lulung*] *gere*],...

      child   small   that   climb   wood   top   go up

      'The child climbed on top of the log,...

Sentences with complement clauses are discussed in § 7.2.

Chapter 5. Clause structure

5.1. Verbal clauses: Core arguments

Alorese has SV and AVP constituent order, as illustrated in (5-1)-(5-2). The grammatical relations subject and object are expressed by constituent order, as illustrated in (5-3a-b). There is no case marking.

(5-1)   S   V

         No   *balara*

         3s   ill

         'S/he is ill.'

(5-2)   A   V   P

         Ama   *kali* *g-ang*   *fata.*

         father   that 3SG-eat rice

         'That man eats rice.'

(5-3)   a.   *Aho*   *gaki* *be*   *kae*   *kali*

            dog   bite   child small   that

            A dog bit/bites that child (AAS)

b. *Be   kae   gaki aho   kali*

child   small   bite   dog   that

'A child bit/bites that dog.' (AAS)

A and P may be expressed as lexical NP, or as pronouns, as in (5-4).

(5-4) *Jadi   kujo maring: "Mo miang ki,   go ajar   mo."*

so(I/M)   crab says   you   wait   first I   teach   you

So crab says: "You wait first, I'll teach you". (AMC)

The derived order PAV is used for focus or emphasis, as in (5-5). It functions to foreground the P. Alorese has no dedicated passive construction, nor passive morphology.[33]

(5-5) P   A   V

Ume   ape   g-ang   mungga

house   fire   3SG-eat   while

'The house is on fire' Lit. 'The house, fire eats it' (AAS)

Subject and object pronouns are identical in form. Alorese has accusative alignment, so that S and A are treated alike, as opposed to P.[34]

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[33] A passive construction is defined here as a clause where the verb carries special morphology to mark the promotion of the verb's underlying patient argument to become the grammatical subject, while demoting the original agent subject into an oblique phrase.

Examples (5-6)-(5-8) illustrate that intransitive clauses have the order SV and that the encoding of active, controlling subjects (5-6) is identical to the encoding of non-active subjects (5-7)-(5-8). In both cases, S precedes the verb and it is expressed by identical pronominal forms.

(5-6) *Mato / no palae nei*

      frog   3SG run   go

      'The frog / he ran away' (AFS)

(5-7) *Aho / no balara*

      dog   3SG sick

      'The dog / it is sick' (AS)

(5-8) *Pingang batang neka*

      plate   break   already

      'The plates are already broken' (AAS)

The reversed VS order may be used for stylistic effect, as in (5-9):

(5-9) *....tiba-tiba   kaluar kolong to, karena   no kagu*

      suddenly (I/M) go.out bird   one because (I/M) 3SG startle

      ' ...suddenly out came a bird, [and] because he [i.e. the boy] startled

---

[34] In this respect, Alorese differs from other languages in Alor/Pantar that show semantic alignment (Klamer 2008), such as Abui (Kratochvíl 2007), Klon (Baird 2008) and Western Pantar (Holton 2008).

maka		*no*	*goka*	*oro*	*una*	*tana*	*lulung*
so.that (I/M)		3SG	fall	LOC	on	ground	on

he [i.e. the boy] fell on the ground' (AFS)

A verbal clause in Alorese has maximally three core participants: (i) an agent-subject, (ii) an object that is semantically a patient or a location, and (iii) a recipient or benefactive object. The verb *neing/ning/neng* 'give (to)' is an example of a verb with three arguments. (It has the same form as the possessive verb, without inflectional prefix.) Both the recipient and the patient are 'bare' NPs; that is, neither of them is 'flagged' with an additional marker such as an adposition. Recipients canonically precede patients, as illustrated in (5-10a-b) and (5-11).

(5-10) a. *Ama kali ning   go   bapa   seng.*

man   that   give (to)   1SG   father   money

'That person gave my father money' (AS)

  b. *Ama kali ning no   seng.*

man   that   give   3SG   money

'That person gave him money' (AS)

(5-11) *Mi   neng   go   foto   go   seru.*

2PL   give   1SG   photograph   1SG   see

'You show me (some) pictures' (Lit. 'You give me pictures I see') (AAS)

The verb *neng* 'give' is also used in causative constructions, see § 4.2.

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Aspect and modality are expressed by predicate adverbs in post-predicate position — the position may even be clause final since the adverb follows the verb plus patient object (5-13), or verb plus location (5-14). Illustrations are *neka* 'already' in (5-12), *fai* 'not yet' in (5-13), and *mungga* 'continuative' in (5-5) above. The adverb *ki* 'first' in (5-14) (and (6-7), (7-5)) expresses jussive/imperative mood.

(5-12) *Kame   fata   amu   neka.*

       1PL.EXCL   cooked.rice   empty   already

       'Our rice is finished already (i.e. the pot is empty)' (AAS)

(5-13) *...no gute   tapo   fai...*

       3SG   take   coconut   not.yet

       '...he did not pick a coconut yet...' (AJ)

(5-14) *...ba no   gute   ni   lahakang*

       and   3SG   take   POSS   ball

       '...and he took his balls

       tau   kaha   lolong ki   ba   no   bape   kujo hang.

       put   coconut.shell   on   first   and   3SG   drop.on   crab   Excl

       put [them] on top of the coconut shell first and dropped on the crab, hey.' (AMC)

In sum, aspect and mood are expressed lexically by adverbs that follow the predicate. Tense is not marked. Temporal adverbs like *fiang* 'yesterday', *larahang* 'today' or *nihi* 'now' are used to locate an event in time. They have scope over the clause and occur in clause-initial position, before the the subject. Illustrations are *fiang* 'yesterday' and *nihi*

larahang 'now today' in (5-15). Temporal expressions may also follow the subject as long as they precede the predicate, (5-16).

(5-15) *Fiang   te   kakang   jaga   aring,*

       yesterday   that elder.sibling look.after   younger.sibling

       'Yesterday the elder sibling looked after his younger sibling,

       nihi   larahang   no   bole   kanake.

       now   today   3SG   may   play

       now today he may play.' (AAS)

(5-16) *Ama   kali fiang   / bo   ho*

       father   that yesterday   tomorrow   come

       'That father came yesterday / comes tomorrow' (AS)

5.2. Verbal clauses: Peripheral arguments

Some verbs select a direct (bare) locational object, for example the deictic verb *-ei* 'go to' in (5-17) has *lafo* 'village' as its (bare) object NP.

(5-17) *Ama   kali nei   lafo*

       father   that 3SG.go.to   village

       'That man went to the village' (AS)

In general, however, non-core arguments such as locations and instruments are expressed as part of a prepositional phrase. Alorese has two prepositions: *oro* and *una*. *Oro* expresses a generic location, 'on, at, in', *una* has a directional reading, 'into, onto'. *Oro* is illustrated in (5-18), (5-19) and (5-20). *Una* is a directional preposition and is illustrated in (5-21) and (5-22). Adpositional phrases follow the verb and object; this is illustrated in (5-19) and (5-20).

(5-18) *Kame   uma   oro   Falanja.*

       1PL.EXCL house LOC Holland

       'Our house is in Holland.' (AAS)

(5-19) *Be   kae   te   gute   seing   oro   neing   kakang, ...*

       child small that take   money LOC POSS   older.sibling

       'That child took money from his elder brother,...' (AAS)

(5-20) *Kame   mei   gena   ikang   oro   tahi   unung.*

       1PL.EXCL 1PL.go.to seek   fish   LOC sea   inside

       'We went to search for fish in the sea.' (AS)

(5-21) *...no goka lodo,   una   tana   lulung   mu...*

       3SG fall   descend on   earth on.top SEQ

       '...he fell down, on(to) the ground then...' (AFS)

(5-22)   *...no   goka   oro   una   tana   lulung.*

      3SG   fall   LOC   on   ground   on.top

      '...he fell on(to) the ground.' (AFS)

Example (5-22) shows that *ora* and *una* can co-occur, in that order. More often, however, *oro* combines with postnominal locative expressions like such as *unung* 'inside', and *lulung* 'on, on top'. I analyse these as locational nouns. Locative expressions are constructed of a noun, followed by a locational noun. They are illustrated in (5-23) and (5-24).

(5-23)   *oro*   [*toples   unung*]~NP~,   *oro*   [*tana   lulung*]~NP~

      LOC   jar   inside   LOC   ground   on.top

      'in a jar', 'on the ground' (AFS)

(5-24)   *Fe   gena   mato   oro*   [*sepatu   unung*]~NP~,

      they   search   frog   LOC   shoe (I/M)   inside

      'They search for the frog inside the shoe,

      oro   deki   lang,   oro   [*kadera   lang*]~NP~,

      LOC   bed   under   LOC   chair   under

      under the bed, under the chair,

oro	[*toples*	*unung*]ₙₚ	*tapi*	*fe*	*dapa*	*lahe.*
LOC	jar	inside	but(I/M)	they	find	NEG

inside the jar but they don't find him.' (AFS)

The locational nouns have nominal properties. First, they can be possessed. For example, the word *unung* is marked as a possessed noun in the experiencer construction in (5-25).[35]

(5-25) *Ni   ning   unung   sanang*

3SG POSS inside   happy

'He is happy' (lit. 'His inside is happy') (AAS)

Second, the NP of of which they are a part is within the scope of a demonstrative: *fato punung* 'rock's behind' in (5-26) is a part-whole construction: *punung* 'behind' modifies the head *fato* 'rock' and is followed by the demonstrative *ha* (compare (3-16), (3-17), and (3-25)).

(5-26) [[*Fato   punung*]   *ha*]   *ada*   *ruha*

rock   behind   this   be(I/M)   deer

'Behind this rock is a deer' (lit. '(at) [this [rock's behind]])(AFS)

---

[35] Locational nouns like 'inside' are also used in the experiencer constructions of the Papuan languages of Alor and Pantar, cf. *n-om qau* '1SG.POSS-inside good' > 'I am happy' (Klamer 2010: 94), or Blagar *ʔ-omi sanang* '3SG.POSS-inside happy' > 'He is happy' (Hein Steinhauer, p.c. 2009). Locational nouns are also found in (Austronesian) Oceanic languages: the Motu example in (i) has *lalo* as (possessed) locational noun:
(i) [[*ruma lalo-na*]ₙₚ   =*i*] ₚₚ
    house inside-3SG.POSS=Postposition 'inside his house' (Lynch, Ross & Crowley 2002: 51).

The locational nouns often co-occur with the general locative preposition *oro*, but they can also occur on their own, as illustrated in (5-27) and (5-28).

(5-27) *Pa   ru   limang   unung?   Go   limang   unung   ada   jam.*

what   FOC   arm   inside   1SG   arm   inside   be(I/M)   watch(I/M)

'What is around your arm? A watch' (Lit. (What) my arm (is) in is a watch')
(AAS)

(5-28) *Beka   kari   kanoku   palae   fatang   lulung*

child   small   play   run   beach   on

'Children play running on the beach' (AS)

Alorese *unung* 'inside' is cognate with *ono'on* 'inside' in Lamaholot,[36] where it also occurs postnominally. Both *unung* and *ono'on* are cognate with *'oné* 'inside' in Kéo (a language of central Flores, Baird 2002: 141). However, in Kéo *'oné* is prenominal rather than postnominal. If the original Austronesian position was prenominal, which I assume (compare Indonesian *di <u>dalam</u> rumah* 'LOC inside house' (*di rumah <u>dalam</u>)), then the postnominal location of *ono'on/unung* in Lamaholot and Alorese reflects an innovative order.

Since the order [noun-locational noun] is generally found in Papuan languages around Alorese (compare Teiwa *yaf g-om* 'house 3s-inside, Klamer 2010), I propose that the postnominal position of locative nouns probably reflects Papuan syntax.

The preposition *oro* is typically used in locative expressions, not in directional ones. The semantic contrast between the presence and absence of *oro* is illustrated in (5-29).

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[36] N&K (2007:89-90) refer to this nominal item as a 'locative adverbial'.

When *utang unung* is selected as the directional object of (transitive) *r-ei* '3PL go to (some place)', *oro* is not used, (5-29a), when *utang unung* expresses the location of *gena* 'search', *oro* is used, (5-29b).

(5-29) a. *Fe   kaluar uma, fe   rei   utang   unung,*

        they leave house they 3PL.go.to woods inside

        'They leave the house, they go into the woods,

    b. *gena   fe   reing   mato, oro   utang   unung.*

       search   they 3PL-have frog LOC   woods inside

       search their frog inside the woods.' (AFS)

Instruments and comitatives are marked as oblique constituents using *nong* 'with, and', as in (5-30) and (5-31). *Nong* functions as a nominal conjunction 'and' in (5-32), and in (5-36) below (Stassen 2000).[37]

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[37] Lamaholot has a cognate word *-o'on* 'and, (be) with' which is variously referred to as 'conjunction', 'preposition' or 'comitative' in N&K (2007:105-108). The agreement patterns of this item suggest that it has a verbal origin: it has a prefix crossreferencing the subject when it is used as a comitative predicate, as in (ia) — although such contexts also allow the use of a (default) 3SG singular prefix *n-*, as in (ib). When *–o'on* functions as conjunction, as in (ii), the default 3SG prefix is obligatory (N&K 2007:105-112). In Alorese *nong* 'and, with' the 3SG prefix has been fossilised as initial consonant, and the word has lost its verbal properties.

(i) a. *Go   səga   k-o'on   mo*
      1SG come 1SG-with you
      'I came with you' (N&K 2007:105)

    b. *Go   səga   n-o'on   mo*
      1SG come 3SG-with you
      'I came with you' (N&K 2007:105)

(5-30) *Ama   to   tari   kaju   nong   peda*

father   one   cut.down   wood   with/and   machete

'Someone cut the wood with a machete' (AS)

(5-31) *Ama   kali   nei   nong   ni   kafae.*

father   that   3SG.go.to   with/and   POSS   wife

'That person went (there) with his wife' (AS)

(5-32) *Kotong   dake   nong   aleng   keleng.*

head   sharp   with/and   back   slender

'Pointed Head and Slender Back' (AJ)

In conclusion, peripheral arguments such as locations, goals, instruments and comitative are generally expressed as part of a prepositional phrase with locative *oro,* directional *una,* or instrumental/comitative *nong.* Transitive directional verbs like *–ei* 'go to' take a direct (bare) locational object. The generic locational preposition *oro* combines with locational nouns. Locational nouns follow the noun they modify, and they can be possessed.

(ii)   *Mo   belə   n-o'on   ba'a*
2SG   big   3SG-with   heavy
'You're big and heavy' (N&K2007:103)

5.3. Verbless clauses

In non-verbal equational clauses, subjects precede their predicate. No copula is used.

(5-33) [*No te*]_{Subject} [*go leing*]_{Predicate} *lahe*.

      3SG that   1SG leg   NEG

      'That is not my leg.' (AMC)

(5-34) *Yang   kaju go ebang   dodoe   [no ha ru*]_{Subj} [*go leing*]_{Pred}

      Rel (I/M) wood 1s make/do come.down 3s this FOC   1s   leg

      'The stick I put down, that's my leg.'

Locational clauses occur with and without a verbal predicate or copula. In the question of (5-35a) no copula is used, (5-35b) contains the copula *ada* 'to be' (a loan from Indonesian/Malay), while (5-35c) again lacks a copula.

(5-35) a. *Terus   no   geke: "Kujo   mo   nangga   oro?!"*

          then(I/M) 3SG yell   crab   2SG where   LOC

          Then he yelled: "Crab where [are] you?!" (lit. 'you at where')

     b. *Teka Kujo taling kaha   ohong:*

          then crab answer coconut.shell inside

          Then Crab answered inside the coconut shell:

"Go ba ada   hanjofa ka",[38]

1SG   and   be(I/M)   here   or

"I'm here, no?" (lit. 'or')

c. *Lekiraku pana gena   seru hanjofa ka lahe.*

Monkey   walk   search   see   here   or   NEG

Monkey went searching to see [if he was] there or not.' (AMC)

Clauses expressing a location can have a non-verbal predicate (as (5-35c)) or a verbal one. An illustration of the verb *tobo* 'stay' in a locational clause is contained in (5-36):

(5-36) *Mareng   to   tobo beka kae   nong   ni   ning   aho   to*

night   one   stay   child   small   with/and   3SG   POSS   dog   one

'One night, a child and his dog are (lit. stay)

ning   kamar   unung   hiki   ni   ning   mato   oro   toples   unung,

POSS   room   inside   see   3SG   POSS   frog   LOC   jar   inside

in his room, [we] see his frog inside a jar' (AFS)

While equational clauses never use a copula, locational clauses can use the loan copula *ada* 'be', or a locational verb like *tobo* 'stay'.

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[38] For a discussion of *ba* 'and' and *ka* 'or' see § 7.1.

Chapter 6. Sentence types

This section presents non-declarative sentence types according to their semantic properties. I discuss interrogatives, imperatives, prohibitives, negations and exclamations. There are few syntactic differences and no morphological differences between declaratives and non-declaratives.

Alorese yes-no questions are identical to declaratives, even in intonation, but they may contain the disjunction *ka* 'or', as illustrated in (6-1):

(6-1) *Kujo, mo brani   ka dei?*

crab   2SG   dare (I/M) or   come here

Crab, do you dare to come here? (AMC)

Content questions use the interrogative words and expressions given in (6-2). My corpus contains alternative expressions for 'who', 'what' and 'when'. These may be dialectal differences: the A forms are from a speaker of the Alor Kecil (A) dialect, and the B forms from a speaker of the Baranusa (B) dialect.

(6-2) *pa* (A) / *pei* (B)   'what'

   fia (A) / *hafa* (B)/   'who'

   nangga oro (A)   'where' (lit. 'where LOC')[39]

   er pira (A) / *er pehele* (B)   'when'

---

[39] Note that *oro* appears to be a postposition here because the question word *nangga* which refers to the complement of *oro* has a derived initial position: *nangga*_j [*oro* ---_j]_PP.

pei nang (B)	'why'
pira (B)	'how many' / 'how much'
namo nangga (A)	'how' (lit. 'how where')

Question words occur in clause-initial position, and if they have a nominal referent, they are typically followed by the Focus marker *ru*. The question words *pa* 'what' and *fia* 'who' are illustrated in (6-3) and (6-4). *Nangga oro* 'where' is illustrated in (3-37) and (7-18).

(6-3) *Pa   ru   mo   hiki?*

what   FOC   2s   see

What do you see? (constructed sentence)

(6-4) *Fia   ru   tutu?*

who   FOC   talk

Who is talking? (AAS)

Imperatives have no special morphosyntactic properties, except, of course, that they lack a syntactic subject, as in (6-5).

(6-5) *Gute   buk   ha'a!*

take   book (I/M)   this

Take this book! (AAS)

The adverb *ki* 'just' can express a jussive modality, as illustrated in (6-6):

(6-6) *Jadi   Kujo maring: "Mo miang ki,   go ajar   mo."*
       so(I/M) crab says   you wait   just I   teach you

       So Crab says: "You just wait, I'll teach you" (AMC)

Prohibitives are expressed with the negative verb *haki* 'don't' which precedes the main verb, as in (6-7):

(6-7) *Sa   no   maring ni   aho: Aho mo   haki lelang ego   ki...*
       after.that 3SG say   Pos dog   dog 2SG don't make   noise just...

       'Then he told his dog: "Dog, just don't make any noise..."' (AFS)

    Predicates are negated with *lahe* 'NEG'. The negator follows the predicate and its object, as illustrated in (5-33) above, and in (6-8):[40]

(6-8) *Akhirnya,   kujo ha   no   nele nei   tobo kaha   lang   mu*
       finally(I/M) crab this 3SG crawl 3SG.go.to sit   coconut.shell under SEQ

       'Finally, the crab crawled to sit underneath a coconut shell and

---

[40] The Lamaholot negation *hala'* (cognate of Alorese lahe) also follows the predicate.

no   pana   ha   nei   tahi   lahe.

3SG   walk   this 3SG.go.to   sea   NEG

he did not go to the sea.' (AMC)

A negation combined with the aspectual adverb *neka* 'already' renders the meaning 'not anymore':

(6-9)   *"Kujo!   Go   kei   tahi   lolong   lahe   neka,*

crab   1SG   1SG.go.to   sea   on   NEG   already

'"Crab! I won't go on sea anymore,

mo   pokari   ka   mo   dei."

2SG   challenge   or   2SG   come here

challenge [me] by coming here"' (lit. you challenge or you come here) (AMC)

Clauses can also contain the negative modality verb *gehi* 'not want', as in (6-10):

(6-10)   *...tapi   Kotong   Dake   gehi...*

but(I/M)   head   sharp   not.want

'...but Pointed Head did not want to...'

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Finally, illustrations of exclamations are the insult in (6-11), and the warning in (6-12).

(6-11)　*"Woi　Kujo,　mo　bodo　numba　fiti..."*

　　　　Hey　crab　2SG　stupid　sheep　goat

　　　　'"Hey Crab, you stupid, you sheep, you goat..."' (AMC)

(6-12)　*Ekan!*　　　　*Tale*　*te*　　*gato.*

　　　　watch.out　　rope　that　snap

　　　　'Watch out! That rope [will] snap.' (AAS)

Woi 'hey' is used to call someone, while *ekan* 'watch out' is used to warn someone.

Chapter 7. Clause combinations

This chapter describes how Alorese clauses are combined with each other and connected in discourse; as well as the words that are used to do this. As the amount of available data is limited, the description will have to remain sketchy. In § 7.1 I discuss clause coordination, § 7.2 describes complement clauses, and § 7.3 describes words that connect sentences in discourse. Relative clauses will not be discussed, as Alorese lacks a dedicated indigenous relative clause construction, see § 3.6.

7.1. Coordination

Alorese clauses are linked to each other by the conjunctive linking words *mu* 'Sequential', *ka* 'or' and *ba* 'and'. Of the three, the conjunction *mu* 'Sequential' is the one most clearly clause-final: it always occurs before an intonational break or a pause that marks the end of a clause. *Mu* connects clauses as two subsequent events. Illustrations are (7-1)-(7-2), and (6-8) above.

(7-1) *No   bape   ning   kulukung   mu,   Kujo   bale   mati.*

       3SG   drop.on   POSS   fruit   SEQ   crab   return   die

      'He dropped his balls[41] then/as a result Crab died.' (AMC)

---

[41] Male genitals are euphemistically referred to as *kulukung* 'fruit' here, or as *lahakang* 'balls' in (7-5); the context of (7-1) is discussed below.

(7-2) *Tiba-tiba   aho ning kotung maso toples unung mu,*

suddenly(I/M) dog POSS head enter jar inside SEQ

'Suddenly the dog's head got into the jar then so/then

no   goka   oro   tana   lulung.

3SG   fall   LOC   earth   on

he fell on(to) the ground.' (AFS)

The examples illustrate that if two subsequent events are expressed as clause X and clause Y which are linked with sequential *mu*, then Y may be interpreted as the result or consequence of X, or X may be interpreted as the reason for Y.

The disjunction *ka* 'or' connects disjunctive or adversative events: "X or Y". This is illustrated by the exchange between Monkey and Crab in (7-3). After Monkey asks the question in (7-3a), Crab responds as in (7-3c), using the disjunction *ka* in clause final position. This use of *ka* expresses that his location is different from what Monkey apparently expected, i.e., "I'm here, or what do you expect?". In (7-3d) *ka* marks two alternatives ("Crab is here or he is not here").

(7-3) a. *Terus   no   geke: "Kujo   mo   nangga oro!"*

then(I/M) 3SG yell   crab   2SG   where LOC

'Then he yelled: "Crab where are you!"'

b. *Teka Kujo taling kaha   ohong:*

then crab answer coconut.shell inside

Then Crab answered inside the coconut shell:

c. *"Go ba ada   hanjofa ka",*

1SG and be(I/M) here   or

"I'm here, no?",

d. *Lekiraku   pana   gena   seru hanjofa ka lahe.*

monkey   walk   search   see here   or NEG

Monkey walks [away] searchingly [to] see [if Crab is] here or not.'(AMC)

Ka also occurs between clauses, expressing that the first clause is conditional to the second, as illustrated in (7-4b). This conditional notion is not an uncommon functional extension of disjunctions (cf. Haiman 1978).

(7-4) a. *Terus   Lekiraku   maring:*

then(I/M)   monkey   say

'Then Monkey said to Crab:

"Kujo! Go kei tahi lolong lahe neka,

crab   2SG go sea above NEG already

"Crab! I won't go on sea anymore,

b. *mo   pokari   ka   mo   dei.*

2SG   challenge   or   you   come.here

you challenge [me] by coming here.'" (AMC)

The conjunction *ba* 'and' links clauses marking simultaneous or successive actions. In the corpus it always occurs between clauses -- there is no formal evidence that it belongs to the first clause or to the second. Illustrations of the use of *ba* are given in (7-5). Context: Monkey is searching for Crab, then sits down on a coconut shell without realising that Crab is hiding underneath. In (7-5a) *ba* marks the successive events of Monkey searching Crab and then grabbing his genitals (after all, Monkey is naked) before sitting down on the shell. In (7-5b) *ba* marks the simultaneous events of Monkey putting down his balls on the coconut shell whilst dropping down on Crab who is hiding underneath it.

(7-5)   a.   *Akhirnya,*   *no   gena-gena*   *dapat   lahe*

finally(I/M)   3SG   RDP-search   find   NEG

'Finally he searched and searched [but] did not find him

ba   no   gute   ni   lahakang

and   3SG   take   POSS   ball

and he took his balls

b.   *tau   kaha   lolong   ki   ba   no   bape   Kujo   hang.*

put   coconut.shell   on   just   and   3SG   drop.on   crab   Excl

just put [them] on top of the coconut shell and dropped down on Crab, hey.'(AMC)

In (7-6), *ba* is used to focus a constituent, here the subject *go* 'I':

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(7-6) *Teka kujo taling kaha ohong: "Go ba ada hanjofa ka",...*

then crab answer coconut.shell inside 1SG and be(I/M) here or

'Then crab answers inside the coconut shell: "Well I'm here",...'(AMC)

Another example of the focussing function of *ba* is (7-9), where *ba* separates preposed constituents from the rest of the clause. How this function of *ba* relates to its clause-linking property, as well as to the focus particle *ru* (§ 3.6), remains to be investigated.

A word that is connecting clauses to discourse is *sa* or *setelah kate* 'after that' (*setelah* is Indonesian). Other such linkers are borrowed from Indonesian/Malay: *karena* 'because' (see)), and *tapi* 'but' (see (7-7). They function in the same way as in Indonesian The conjunction *kalau* 'if' is also a loan from Indonesian, but in Alorese its position and function is similar to that of the sequential marker *mu*: an illustration is (3-24). I leave this for future research.

7.2. Complement clauses

A complement clause is a sentence or predication that functions as the argument (subject or object) of another predicate (Noonan 2007:52). This section discusses the complements of three semantic types of complement taking predicates: modal predicates, utterance predicates, and immediate perception predicates. Cross-linguistically, complement clauses may be marked by (i) a subordinating morpheme, (ii) a special verb form, (iii) word order, or a combination of these. In Alorese, none of these formal markings are used, so that there is no material evidence that clausal complements are structurally embedded. Semantically, however, they are the arguments of the complement taking predicate.

Modal complement taking predicates include the prohibitive verb *haki* 'don't', illustrated in (7-11) below and the negative modality verb *gehi* 'not want' in (6-10). Other complement taking verbs are *bisa* 'can', *bole* 'may' and *soba* 'try', all of which are Indonesian/Malay verbs. They are illustrated in (7-7))-(7-9). The complement clause is indicated with square brackets. The complements lack an overt subject as it is coreferent with the subject of the complement taking verb and can therefore be omitted.

(7-7) *Go   bapang   te   tutu   Malaju   n-oing   lahe*

      1SG   grandfather   that   speak   Malay   3SG-know   NEG

      'My grandfather does not speak Malay

      tapi   no   bisa   [liang   beku].

      but (I/M)   3SG   can (I/M)   sing   traditional.dance.lyrics

      but he can recite traditional dance lyrics.' (AAS)

(7-8) *Fiang   te   kakang   jaga   aring,*

      yesterday   that   elder.sibling   look.after (I/M)   younger.sibling

      'Yesterday the elder sibling looked after his younger sibling,

      nihi   larahang   no   bole   [kanaku].

      now   today   3SG   may (I/M)   play

      now today he may play.' (AAS)

(7-9)   *Beka te   go ba lupa   no   neing narang neka,*
         child that 1s and forget 3SG POSS name   already
         'I forgot the name of that child,

         jadi   mo soba [ulang ba lape ne   narang taling].
         So(I/M) you try   repeat and call 3SG name   answer
         so would you repeat [it] and say her name again.' (AAS)

The utterance verb *maring* 'say' reports direct and indirect speech by juxtaposition of the quote clause. Illustrations are (7-10) (indirect speech) and (7-11) (direct speech).

(7-10)   *No   inang   maring [mo lelang te   hala].*
         3SG mother   say   2SG make   that wrong
         'His mother said [that] you did something wrong.' (AAS)

(7-11)   *Sa   no maring ni aho: ["Aho mo haki lelang ego   ki..."]*
         after.that 3SG say   Pos dog   dog   2SG don't make   noise just
         'Then he told his dog: "Dog, just don't make any noise..."' (AFS)

Another example of direct speech with *maring* 'say' is (3-44). Examples (5-35) and (7-18) contain quotes with the utterance verb *geke* 'yell'.

   The immediate perception verb *hangge* 'hear' is illustrated in (7-12)) and (7-13). In (7-12) the complement is an NP ('an old man's advice'), in (7-13) it is a clause. (*Fa'a*

does not just want to hear his father — he wants to hear his father tell a fable.) The structure of the complement clause is identical to that of a main clause.

(7-12) *Kame* *hangge* [*orang tua* *ne* *nasihat*]$_{NP}$.

 1PL.EXCL hear person old (I/M) POSS advice(I/M)

 'We heard an old man's advice' (AAS)

(7-13) *Jadi* *Fa'a mo hangge* [*bapak* *tutu uli-uli*?]$_{Clause}$

 so(I/M) Fa'a 2SG hear father(I/M) tell fable

 'So Fa'a you [want to] hear father tell a fable?' (AMC)

(7-14) illustrates the perception verb *hiki* 'see' with a complement clause. Again, the structure of the complement clause is identical to that of a main clause.

(7-14) *... fe hiki* [*mato kafae* *nong* *kalake tobo*].

 3PL see frog female with/and male sit

 '...they see a female and male frog sitting [there].' (AFS)

Structurally similar clause combinations are found with the verb *lelang* 'make, do' or *neing/ning* 'give': they can be followed by another clause to function as an analytical causative. This is illustrated in (7-15)-(7-16). ((7-16) is the causative of (6-12) above). In Alor Kecil the verb *ebang* 'make, do' is used, see (5-34).

(7-15) *Go lelang tale te gato.*

1SG make rope that snap

'I made that rope snap.' (AAS)

(7-16) *Go ning go anang habo.*

1SG give 1SG child bathe

'I bathe my child' (AS)

In § 4.2 it was discussed how serial constructions express causatives, and how their constituent order differs from sentences with complement clauses. Serial verbs expressing causation that are comparable to (7-15) are illustrated in (4-11) and (4-12).

In sum, complement clauses in Alorese are not formally marked as embedded clauses: they have no special word order, no special morphology (or lack thereof), and no complementiser. The subject of a clausal complement can be omitted if it is coreferent to the subject of the matrix verb. In quotative complements, subjects are not omitted.

7.3. Words connecting sentences in discourse

The corpus contains two Alorese words that connect sentences in discourse. The connector *sa* 'after that' can be used clause-initially (as in (7-11) above) and in between clauses, as in (7-17):

(7-17) *...tiba-tiba   ruha te   gute no   ning kotung lulung sa   palae*

suddenly(I/M) deer that take 3SG POSS head   on   after.that run

'...suddenly the deer took him on its head, then ran (away)

nong   tifang   nong jurang   unung.

with/and   throw.away   and   ravine (IM) inside

and threw him into a ravine.' (AFS)

The connector *teka* 'so, then' typically occurs at the beginning of a sentence, connecting it to the preceding discourse, as illustrated in (7-18):

(7-18) *Teka no   holong   bale   geke: "Kuju   mo   nangga oro!"*

then 3SG come.back return yell   crab   you   where

'Then he comes back again yelling: "Crab where are you!"

Teka kujo holong   bale   taling ka no   holong   bale   gena.

then   crab come.back return answer or 3SG come.back return Search

So Crab answered once again and he came back to search again.' (AMC)

Most other words that are used to connect clauses and sentences in discourse are loans from Malay/Indonesian. Examples include *terus/trus* 'then', *jadi* 'so', *kemudian* 'after that', and *akhirnya* 'finally, so that'. The expression *setela kate* 'after that' is a calque from Malay/Indonesian *setelah itu* 'after that'. All of these expressions occur in the initial position of the clause or sentence, as they do in Malay/Indonesian, with similar functions.

Chapter 8. Alorese from an areal perspective

8.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters it was occasionally suggested that a particular feature of Alorese may be due to Papuan influence. In this respect Alorese is similar to other Austronesian languages in East Nusantara (see Kl

mer and Ewing 2010 for discussion and references). It is generally accepted that in languages of this area certain typologically unusual features (e.g. the existence of a post-predicate negator, Reesink 2002) reflect Papuan influence in Austronesian. Works discussing Austronesian-Papuan contact in East Nusantara and proposing diffusion of particular features include Grimes (1991), Reesink (2002), Klamer (2002a), Himmelmann (2005), Klamer et. al. (2008), and Klamer and Ewing (2010).

This chapter reconsiders the morphology, syntax and lexicon of Alorese from an areal perspective, addressing the question what the structure of the language tells us about the history of its speakers. A number of Papuan features as found in Alorese are identified in § 8.2. (For a motivation of their Papuan nature, see the sources cited above.) I argue that some of the Papuan features in Alorese are due to contact with its Papuan neighbors. However, most are signals of prehistorical Papuan influences in proto-Lamaholot. In § 8.3 I discuss the loan words found in the Alorese basic vocabulary. In § 8.4 I draw some conclusions and present a scenario how it developed into the language it is today.

8.2. Papuan grammatical features in Alorese

This section identifies a number of Papuan features found in Alorese. The features are listed in (8-1) and will be discussed in the order given.

(8-1)   a. Head-final configurations:

        (i) Post-predicate negation

        (ii) Clause-final conjunction *mu*

    b. Possession:

        (i) Replacing possessive suffixes by prenominal possessor pronouns

        (ii) Possessor-possessed order

        (iii) Marked distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns

    c. Noun-locational noun order

    d. Focus particle

    e. Serial verb constructions, especially directional ones

    f. Absence of a passive verb form and passive construction

The clause-final position of the Alorese negation *lahe* and the conjunction *mu* are unexpected in light of the general head-initial (verb-object) order of Alorese, in which it follows the order that is predominant in Austronesian. Changes in constituent orders are among the most common structural inferences found in language contact situations (Thomason 2001: 88). Final negators and negative verbs are found in many Papuan languages, including those of Alor and Pantar, and where they are found in Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia, they are hypothesised to derive from contact with Papuan languages (Reesink 2002, see Florey 2010 for a modification). Final conjunctions are

extremely rare in Austronesian languages, also in the Austronesian languages of Eastern Indonesia, while they are common in the Papuan languages of Pantar and Alor (e.g. in Adang (Haan 2001), Klon (Baird 2009), Teiwa (Klamer 2010), and Abui (Kratochvíl 2007). This suggests that the clause final position of the Alorese negation and conjunction is due to Papuan contact.

In the possessive domain, various Papuan influences can be recognised. Alorese has lost the possessive suffixes that are still being used in Lamaholot dialects (§ 1.3.3) and instead marks possession with a free possessor pronoun that precedes the possessee, in a rigid possessor-possessed order. Such a possessor-possessee or 'reversed Genitive' order in NPs has long been known as a feature characterising the languages of eastern Indonesia. [42] Indeed, the Papuan order [possessor-possessee] is the reverse of the [possessee-possessor] order typically found in Austronesian languages. Grimes (1991:287;495-506) suggests that this 'reversed Genitive' order is due to ancient contact with Papuan languages of the area: "Austronesian languages [calqued] on the order of the genitive construction of [Papuan] languages in the area prior to the arrival of the Austronesians." (Grimes 1991: 292).

Alorese has a marked distinction between alienably and inalienably possessed nouns. It is encoded in two ways: apart from a (fossilised) inalienable suffix *-ng*, the language uses the pronoun *no* for inalienable possessors, and *ni* for alienable possessors. Virtually all the Papuan languages of the larger East Nusantara region, and all the Papuan languages of Alor and Pantar mark the alienability distinction. For Austronesian languages with an alienability distinction, it has been claimed to be an innovation of the Central Eastern Malayo Polynesian (CEMP) subgroup (Blust 1993: 258), which includes all the Austronesian languages spoken in eastern Indonesia. It is plausible that this

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[42] Himmelmann (2005) uses the 'preposed possessor' order as a typological feature to characterise a group of Austronesian languages spoken in eastern Indonesia. An overview of how preposed possessor constructions are distributed across eastern Indonesia is given in Klamer, Reesink and Van Staden 2008.

innovation is due to contact with (ancient) Papuan languages spoken in the larger East Nusantara region.[43]

Another change that happened in Alorese is that locational nouns (such as *unung* 'inside') moved from the prenominal to postnominal position: while Lamaholot still puts them in the canonical prenominal Austronesian position, Alorese adopted the Papuan pattern where directions and locations are expressed by postnominal elements (locational nouns, postpositions or directional verbs). A further Papuan influence in Alorese is the use of the (contrastive) focus particle *ru* to encode new information – although there are also Austronesian languages with such particles, they are much more commonly attested in Papuan languages.

Serial verb constructions are rare in Austronesian languages outside the Oceanic subgroup (Crowley 2002: 125, Himmelmann 2005: 160, Blust 2005: 552). At the same time, serial verb constructions are common in Papuan languages (Foley 1986: 113ff.; 2000: 385), and the Papuan languages surrounding Alorese also make extensive use of them. The existence of serial constructions in Alorese, as an Austronesian language outside the Oceanic sub-branch is interesting, because it indicates that serialization has not necessarily developed in proto-Oceanic only (cf. Crowley 2002:167). Blust (2005) has argued that in Melanesia, serial constructions arose due to contact with Papuan languages. In the same way, Alorese serial constructions suggest Papuan contact in eastern Indonesia.

As serial verb constructions often function to express notions that other languages express by subordinate clauses (e.g. controlled clauses, nominal clauses, or adverbial clauses), the adoption of serial verb constructions may have caused the loss of formally marked embedded clauses in the language. However, simplification of clausal structure may also be an autonomous historical development, that is, not be due to contact (cf. Harris and Campbell 1995, chapter 7).

The absence of a passive verb form and a passive construction in Alorese is also interesting. Many Austronesian and Papuan languages in eastern Indonesia lack passive

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[43] See Klamer, Reesink, and Van Staden (2008) for references and discussion.

morphology and a dedicated passive construction. Examples of Austronesian languages without a passive include Taba, Alune, Leti, Roti, Tetun Fehan, Bima, Keo, Kambera, and Keo (Klamer 2002a: 374). In this respect they contrast with the languages spoken more westwards, such as Sundanese, Madurese, Malay, or Tagalog, which have richer voice systems. One hypothesis is that the simplified voice system is due to ancient or more recent contact with Papuan. However, it may also be the result of autonomous structural simplification that took place when Austronesians groups migrated eastwards.

Many of the Papuan features listed here for Alorese are also found in Lamaholot, as demonstrated in Klamer (forthcoming b). The features must therefore have been part of 'Proto-Lamaholot', the parent language of Alorese and Lamaholot that was spoken in East Flores, Solor and Lembata before Alorese split off. The data suggest Papuan influence strong enough to change some word orders, introduce an alienable/inalienable noun distinction, and a new functional item – the focus marker. There are no written or oral records of a history of contact between Lamaholot speakers and Papuan speakers. Neither are there any (written or oral) records of Papuan languages spoken as far west as Flores. However, there is general consensus among linguists that Papuan (or non-Austronesian) populations predated the Austronesians, who arrived in the East Nusantara region some 3,500 years ago (Pawley 2005, Ross 2005, Donohue and Grimes 2008, Ewing and Klamer 2010).

The syntactic changes that occurred after Alorese split off from Lamaholot appear to be limited: the possessor became fixed in its prenominal position, and a clause-final sequential conjunction was adopted.

In sum, many of the Papuan features in today's Alorese are not due to recent contact but go back to at Proto-Lamaholot. As such they point to more ancient contact between Austronesian and Papuan that took place in the region of east Flores.[44]

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[44] See Klamer (forthcoming b) for additional data and discussion of this point.

8.3. Loan words in Alorese

To estimate the amount of lexical borrowing in Alorese, the 270-item basic word list of Alorese was compared with lexical data from the Lamaholot dialects of Lamalera and Lewoingu, and with ProtoMalayo-Polynesian (PMP). I searched for words in Alorese that were formally not similar to their semantic equivalents in the Lamaholot varieties. Such words are unique for Alorese, and can be either lexical innovations or loans. The results are presented in Table

Number of words in the Alorese basic vocabulary (=N)	270	% of N
Words with no similar form in any of the 4 LMH varieties	57	21,1%
Words with identified Papuan source	14	5,2%
Words that are innovations or loans without identified source	34	12,6 %
Dissimilar words reflecting PMP	3	1,1 %
Malay/Indonesian loans	5	1,9 %

Table 7: Lexical dissimilarity in the Alorese basic lexicon

To identify the unique Alorese forms as loans, I compared them with the lexical data of 18 Papuan languages of Pantar and Alor.[45] The results are laid out in Table 8. Words of the source language(s), two Lamaholot dialects as well as the PMP forms are included for comparison.

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[45] The Lamalera and Lewoingu lists were compiled from published sources by Doyle (2010). The lexical data for the Pantar languages are from a database of 250- item word lists of 18 Alor Pantar varieties, created between 2003-2010 as joint work by Baird, Holton, Klamer, Kratochvíl, Robinson, and Schapper.

Alorese	Meaning	Word in source language		LMH-Lamalera	LMH-Lewoingu	PMP
tor	'road'	tor	W Pantar	larã	laran	*zalan
baling	'axe'	bali	W Pantar, Sar	hepe	soru	no data
duri	'knife'	duir	Adang	hepe	hepe	no data
kondʒo	'shirt, clothes'	kondo	Blagar < Makassarese	alelolo	no data	no data
bi're ka'ri	'children'	biar kariman	Teiwa	ana	anaʔ	*anak
haʔã	'this'	ħaʔa	Teiwa	pi	pi, piʔn	*i ni
kar-to, kar-ua	'ten, twenty'	Proto-Alor Pantar *qar	Reflexes across AP	pulo	pulo, pulu rua	no data
ele	'wet'	qaloʔ	Sar	sə'nəbə	dəman	*ma-baseq
		kalok	Teiwa			
		xolo	Kaera			
kari	'thin'	kira	Blagar, Kaera, Teiwa	mə'nipi	mə'nipi	*ma-nipis
laming	'to wash'	laming	W Pantar	ba, pu	baha	no data
kalita	'dirty'	klitaʔ	Teiwa	milã	milan	*cemed
		klitak	Blagar			
tobang	'to push'	tobung	Kaera	uruk	gehan	no data
doho	'to rub'	dahok	Blagar	doru	dosuʔ	no data
lakong	'to turn'	kulang	W Pantar	no data	peku	*biling; *puter

Table 8: Alorese loans from Papuan languages compared to Lamaholot and PMP words

The Alorese 270 word list also contains several words that were borrowed from Indonesian or trade Malay, they are listed in Table 9.

Alorese	Meaning	Word in source language	LMH-Lamalera	LMH-Lewoingu	PMP
rekiŋ	'to count'	*reken* (Malay[46] < Dutch)	no data	*gasik*	*ihap
kali	'river'	*kali* (Malay/IND)	*suŋe*	no data	no data
danau	'lake'	*danau* (IND)	*lifi*	no data	*danaw
buŋa	'flower'	*buŋa* (IND)	*pu*	*puhun*	*buŋa
hati	'liver'	*hati* (IND)	*onã*	*aten*	*qatay

Table 9: Malay/Indonesian loan words in Alorese compared to Lamaholot and PMP

It must be kept in mind that the Alorese word list contains 34 more words that appear to be unrelated to Lamaholot or PMP. These may be loans or innovations. Only those loans for which a source language could be identified are listed in Table 8 and Table 9. It is however likely that some additional Papuan loan word are hiding among the 34 'words that are innovations or loans without identified source'.

From the data presented in Tables 7-9 three things can be inferred. Firstly, in a lexicon of around 270 words, at least 5% are loan words from Papuan languages across the island of Pantar (Teiwa and Sar are spoken in the north-west, Western Pantar is spoken in the west and south, and Blagar and Kaera in the east), see Map 3.

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[46] Compare Kupang Malay, *reken* 'to count' (Jacob and Grimes 2003).
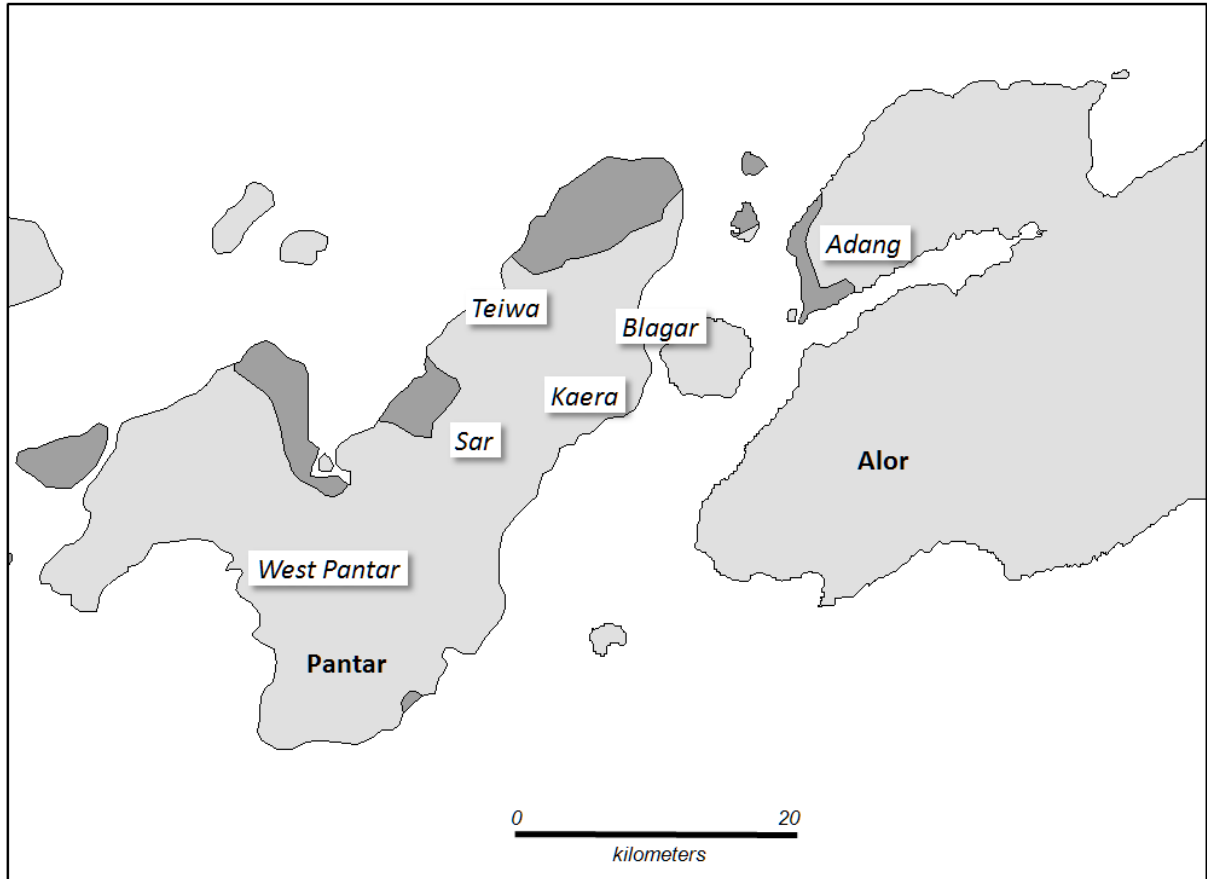
Map 3: The Papuan languages spoken around Alorese

It is no surprise that all the donor languages are spoken on Pantar, as the Alorese word list investigated here is from the Baranusa dialect, spoken in west Pantar.

Secondly, among the Papuan donor languages, not one is particularly dominant. This suggests that contacts of a similar kind existed with different speech communities rather than just one in particular.

Thirdly, of all the donor languages, Malay/Indonesian appears the most dominant one. This is expected of a national language that has been used in education and interethnic communication for several decades.

8.4. Conclusions and discussion

Alorese has a number of Papuan characteristics. As many of these are also found in Lamaholot (N & 2007, Klamer forthcoming b) they must have been part of 'Proto-Lamaholot', the parent language of Alorese and Lamaholot spoken in East Flores and surroundings, at a time before the 14th century, by which time the Alorese had moved to Pantar.

Since the split from Lamaholot, the changes in Alorese syntax and lexicon have been minimal. At the same time Alorese shed virtually all of its inflectional and derivational morphology (§ 1.3.3). Such total reduction of morphology suggest that the language went through a stage of second language learning.

More generally, the amount of contact between languages is also a factor in increase or decrease of a language's structural complexity. Thurston (1987) distinguishes between exoterogeny and esoterogeny in linguisic evolution. An esoteric language is one that functions solely as an ingroup language, and such languages tend to develop in the direction of greater complexity. An exoteric language, on the other hand, is one that functions as a contact language, and which, as a result, develops in the direction of structural simplicity. Trading relationships are contexts were structurally reduced contact languages often develop. Alorese is an exoteric language: it has been used as a regional trade language (Anonymous 1914, Stokhof 1975:8), and intensive trade relations existed between the coastal Alorese and the Papuan populations living in the Pantar mountains (see § 1.1). Its use as a trade language caused the loss of morphological complexity, and made it possible for some structural Papuan features to enter the language.

As the Alorese settlements on the coasts of Pantar and Alor were relatively small (for example, Anonymous (1914:89-90) mentions settlements of 200, 300, and 600 people) and geographically dispersed, they may have exchanged women with the exagomous Papuan groups living around them. As a result, women of different Papuan communities

were brought into a community that spoke a language similar to Proto-Lamaholot. Trying to learn this language as adults, they simplified its morphology, and their learner's omissions became part of a morphologically simplified variety that developed into the morphologically isolating Alorese language acquired by their children. Inflectional and derivational morphology is known to be seriously problematic for post-adolescent second language learners who have passed the 'critical threshold' (Lenneberg 1967) for language acquisition (Kusters 2003: 21, 48).

This scenario leaves open the question why the Papuan mothers did not introduce more of their native Papuan syntax and lexicon into the Alorese they used. And if they did, why didn't their children acquire this? Was there community pressure to speak Alorese in its lexically and syntactically most 'pure' form, while omission of morphology was allowed? Additional sociolinguistic research on the social position and language attitude of newcomers into Alorese speaking communities may help to shed some light on this.

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Appendix

1. Word lists

The word lists below were used for the lexical comparison of Alorese (Baranusa dialect) with the Solor, Lewoingu and Lamalera dialects of Lamaholot. The shaded rows mark similar forms across the four varieties.

Y: lexically similar, *n:* not lexically similar.

The Lamaholot-Solor and Alorese-Baranusa data are from my own fieldnotes (2002, 2003). The Lamaholot-Lewoingu data are from Nishiyama & Kelen (2007) and the Lamaholot-Lamalera data from Keraf (1978:262-267).

English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera	*Lexical similarity*		
					Alor-Solor	Alor-Lewoingu	Alor-Lamalera
1pl excl	'kame	'kamɛ	kame	'kame	y	y	y
1pl incl	,ʔi'tɛ	'tite	tite	'tite	y	y	y
1sg	go:	'goʔe	go	'goe	y	y	y
2pl	,mi sa'kali	'mio	mio	'mio	y	y	y
2sg (informal)	'mɔ:	'moʔe	mo	'moe, 'mio	y	y	y
2sg (polite)	'mɔ:	'moʔe			y		
3pl	'fe: sa'kali	'raʔɛ	ra	'rae	n	n	n
3sg	'nɔ:	'naʔɛ	na	'nae	y	y	y
a few	ʔata ʔusu	bə'rua		'usi	n		y
above	'lɔlɔŋ	tɛti, tɛti wutu			n		
all	'ʔata sa'kali	wɔkɔ'kai	wəkən kaen	fa'kahae	n	n	n
and	nɔ̃:	nə		'nã	y	y	y
arm	'limaŋ	ke'palik	lima(n)		n	y	
at	'ʔunuŋ	ʔia	pe	'lau, 'rae	n	n	n
axe	bali		soru			n	

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back	'ʔalɛŋ	'kolã	kola('an)		n	n	
English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera	*Lexical similarity*		
					Alor-Solor	Alor-Lewoingu	Alor-Lamalera
bark	'kadʒu 'kamaŋ	kajo *kama*		'kajo 'kãmã	y		y
because	'karɛna, sɛ'bab	lə'kũ	dari, pəkən	pu'kãŋ	n	n	n
below	'laːuŋ	lali; lali ... 'lɛreŋ			n		
betel əine	'malu	ma'luː			y		
betel nut	'ʔufa	'ʔuwa			y		
big	bĩː	'bɛlə̃ː	belə, bapan	'belã	y	y	n
bird	'koloŋ		kolon	'kolo		y	y
bite	'gaki	gi'ge, gi'ke	gike	'goki	y	y	y
black	'mitːɛŋ	mi'tə̃	mitən	mi'tãŋ	y	y	y
blood	'raː	mei	mei	'mei	n	n	n
blue	ba'lapã			pe'lɛŋ			n
blunt	'kumbu	bə'daːt		'moso	n		n
bone	ru'ʔiŋ	ri'ʔuk	ri'uk	'riuk	y	y	y
breast	tu'hɔː	'tuhũ	tuho		y	y	
burn	'tunːɔ	sə'rũ	tuno, buko	'papi	n	y	y
buy							
canoe	'tɛna	tena	tena		y	y	
cassava	'kurːa						
chew betel	geing/raka ufa malu	'ʔuwa, 'ʔua ma'lu			y		
child	'ʔanaŋ / bi're ka'riː	'ʔana	anaʔ	'ana	y	y	y
claw	'limaŋ ta'nuŋgul	tə'muʔi			n		
clothing	'kondʒo	'agopa'kei		ale'lolo	n		n

English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera	Lexical similarity Alor-Solor	Alor-Lewoingu	Alor-Lamalera
cold	ka'luaŋ	gə'lətə	gələtə	gə'lətã	n	n	n
comb	ki'ri						
correct	'mallɔŋ	'murɜ̃		'murã	n		n
dark	'kuiŋ	'mitɜ̃:			n		
day	la'ra:	la'rɔŋ		'lɛro	y		y
deaf	ka'muk:ɛ		kəbeke			y	
dirty	ka'lit:a	'milãn	milan	'milã	n	n	n
dog	a'ho	'aho	aho	'ao	y	y	y
dry	'mara	ma'rã	mara	'marã	y	y	y
dust	a'fo:		kəawuk			n	
ear	'til:uŋ	'tilũ	tilun	'tilu	y	y	y
earth	'tana	'tana	tana	'tana	y	y	y
egg	'taluk	tə'lɔŋ	təlu	tə'lu	y	y	y
eight	'but:ɔ	'wutu:	buto	'buto	y	y	y
eye	'mataŋ	'matã	mata	'matã	y	y	y
fall	'gɔka	dəkok, lɔrã	dəka	'goka	n	n	y
far	'dʒuaŋ	dɔ̃e		'doe	n		n
fat		wɔ'rã	məlu	'forã			
father	'ʔama	'ama	ama		y	y	
feather	wu'luk	'rawuk	rawun	ra'fʊk	n	n	n
fat	'lɛm:a	le'mɑ:	lema	'lema	y	y	y
fire	a'pe:	a'peʔ	ape	'ape	y	y	y
fish	'ikɑŋ	'ikã	ikan	'ikã	y	y	y
flat, smooth	'hama	kə'lehɔk	kəloho	'lere	n	n	n
flesh, meat	'ʔihik	dɑgĩ (B Kupɑng)	mənaken	'hik, 'elã	n	n	y
float	'nɛpi	'bau	bao		n	n	
flower	'buŋa	'buŋa	puhun	'pu	y	y	y

English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera	Lexical similarity Alor-Solor	Alor-Lewoingu	Alor-Lamalera
fly	'bak:aŋ	bə'ka(h)	kənəpun	bə'ka	y	y	n
foot	'leiŋ ka'lumak	lẽĩ: 'makat			n		
four	pa:	pɑ:	pak	'pa	y	y	y
fruit	'kuluŋ	'uã / 'uwã	a wuan	'fuã	n	n	n
full	'pan:ɔŋ	mə'nu:			n		
good	'dik:ɛ	mə'laŋ; kele'mur, senarɛ	əre	səna'rɛŋ	n	n	n
grass	la'duŋ		kərəmək	kərə'mɛt		n	n
green	lɔ̃:	ijɔ̃	bətən	'keor	y	y	n
guts	'teiŋ 'ɔnɔŋ	tãĩ	tahi onən	kə'boti	y	y	n
hair	'rata	'ratã	rata(n)	'rata	y	y	y
hand	'limaŋ ka'lumak	lima	lima(n)	'lima	y	y	y
head	'kɔtɔŋ	'kotõ	kotən	'kotã	y	y	y
heart		pu'hũ		'puo			
heavy	ba:	bɑ'ʔɑ	baʔa	'batã	y	y	y
here	'handʒa'fa	pia, pi	pi(a)	'dipi	n	n	n
horn	ru'ha:	ta'rã			n		
hot	pa'latiŋ	pə'ləte:		pə'late	y		y
house	'ʔuma	'laŋo		'laŋo	n		n
how much/ how many	pir:a		pira			y	
how?	na'mɔnaŋga		nənən gənai, nən gaʔe	ara'pira		n	n
husband	ka'lake	'lakẽ	lake	kə'lake	y	y	y
if	'kalau	kalau	kalo	'kalu	y	y	y
knee	ˌleiŋ 'kudul	lɔ'tɔr	lotor(ən)		n	n	

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English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera	Alor-Solor	Alor-Lewoingu	Alor-Lamalera
knife	du'ri		hepe			n	
lake	'danau			'lifo			n
leaf	'lɔlɔŋ	la'pã	ləpan	'lolo	n	n	n
left	'mekiŋ	nei'ki	nekin	'meki	y	y	y
leg	'leiŋ	lẽĩ:	lein	'lei	y	y	y
lime	'ʔapu	'ʔapu			y		
lips	'fifiŋ	nə'hũ		'nu	n		n
liver	'hati	a'tɛ̃	aten	'onã	y	y	y
long	ba'lah:a	bə'lahã	bəlola	'blã	y	y	y
louse	ku't:ɔ	kutɔ	kuto	kuto	y	y	y
man	ka'lake	bə'lakĩ	ianməlake	kəbae'lake	y	y	y
many	'ʔata la'bi:	'ajã	aja	'ajã	n	n	n
milk	'susu	'susu (Ind)			y		
moon	'fulaŋ	'wula	wulan		y	y	
mother	'ʔina	'əma; 'ina	inawae		y	y	
mountain	'foto	i'le:	ile	'ile	n	n	n
mouth	'fofaŋ	wə'wã	wəwa(n)	fə'fã	y	y	y
name	'naraŋ	'narã	naran	na'rɐŋ	y	y	y
narrow	ki'p:ɛ	kə'təkə		hi'pɛt	n		y
navel	ka'pu,hɔr	kə'puhər	(kə)puhurə, puhurən		y	y	
near	'dah:ɛ	dahɛ̃		'dae	y		y
neck	'fuliŋ	'wulĩ	wuli(n)	'fuli	y	y	y
new (house)	'funɔ, 'uma 'funɔ	'wũʔũ	wuʔun	'fu	y	y	y
night	ma'reŋ	'hɔkɔ̃	rəman	'remã	n	y	y
nine	'hif:a	hiwa	hiwa	'hifa	y	y	y
no	la'h:ɛ	'take; hala	take, halaʔ	'take	y	y	n
nose	'ir:uŋ	'irũ	irun	(n)i'rʊŋ	y	y	y

English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera			
old (house)	'nɔlɔ		okin			n	
old (people)	'gambɛ–'gambɛ, 'ina–'ina	ɔ'kĩ, ɔ'kɪn		'magu	n		n

English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera	*Lexical similarity*		
					Alor-Solor	Alor-Lewoingu	Alor-Lamalera
older sibling	'tataŋ	ʔɔa fem); nɔ̃ (male)		'tata	n		y
one	'tɔ:	tɔ'ʔu	toʔu	'tou	y	y	y
one hundred	'ratu	tɛ'ratu	ratu toʔu, təratu		y	y	
other	'hama la'hɛ	'ikər	ikərən	'geak	n	n	n
person	'ʔata	'ʔata		ata'dikã	y		y
rat	ka'more		kərome			y	
red	'mɛã	'meʔə̃	meʔan	'meã	y	y	y
right	di'kɛ̃:	'wana	wanan	'fana	n	n	n
ripe	'tah:a	tənə'hə		'tã	n		y
river	'kali	su'ŋe:		'suŋe	n		n
road	'tɔ:r	la'rã, la'raŋ	laran	'larã	n	n	n
root	'ramuk	'amut	ramuk, ramukən	ra'mʊt	y	y	y
rope	'tale	ta'le:	tale	'tale	y	y	y
rotten	'datɛ	'waũ	məko	'fãu	n	n	n
round	ga'lɔkɔ	bə'lopor		belo'pɔr	n		n
rub	dɔ'h:ɔ	do'rɔʔ	dosuʔ	'doru	y	y	y
run	pa'laɛ		pəlae			y	
salt	'siʔa	'siʔa	si'a	'sia		y	y
scared	'taku	ta'kuta		kə'ruit	y	n	n
scratch	'gaɔ	'ragu	ragu	'rago	n	n	n
search	'gɛna						

English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera	Alor-Solor	Alor-Lewoingu	Alor-Lamalera
seed	'kuluŋ	ə'raʔ	əra	'upu	n	n	n
seəen	'pit:ɔ	'pitu, pito	pito	'pito	y	y	y
sharp	'dak:ɛ	də'kət	bərəkə	bərə'kət	y	n	n
shoot	'pasa	'leʔɔ̃, 'pasak		'pasa	y		y
short	'mak:u	kə'rõ	kəsuʔ	kə'ru	n	n	n
sit	'tɔbɔ	'tobo(h)	tobo	'tobo	y	y	y

English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera	*Lexical similarity*		
					Alor-Solor	Alor-Lewoingu	Alor-Lamalera
six	'nam:u	nə'mũ	nəmən	'nemu	y	y	y
skin	'kamaŋ	'kama	kuli'	'kãmã	y	n	y
sky	'laŋi	'kələ̃	kələn	'kelã	n	n	n
small	'an:aŋ	a'nə̃:	kəne	'keni	y	n	n
smoke	ˌape 'nahiŋ	nuhũ	nuhun	sənə'gʊr	y	y	y
snake	ʔu'la	'ula	ula	'ula		y	y
some		bə'ruɑ	bua	bo'pira			
stab	'sik:a	'rɔhɔk	robo	'tuba	n	n	n
stand	'tid:ɛ	'de'ʔĩ	deʔin	'dei	n	n	n
star	ta'mala	pə'tala	pətala	'tona	n	n	n
stomach	'teiŋ	'alɛ̃		'lufu	n		n
stone	'fato	'wato	wato	'fato	y	y	y
straight	'mal:ɔŋ	mo'pã	mopaʔ	'mūlu	n	n	n
sun	la'ra	'lə'ra	ləra	lə'ra	y	y	y
sweet potato	ˌkur:a: 'ʔutaŋ	'ʔuwe			n		
swell	'baɔ	bə'ʔah		kəba'ras	y		n
swim	'naŋgɛ	'naŋe	nange	'naŋe	y	y	y
tail	'ikuk	'ikũ	ikun	'iku	y	y	y
teeth	'ʔulɔŋ	'ipẽ		'ipã	n		n
ten	'kartɔ	puloʔ; pulok¬	pulo	'pulo	n	n	n
that	ˌka'te	pe	pe, peʔen	'pe	n	n	n

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English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera		
there	'alika'le:	pə'rɑi, rɑi, pe:	pe	'depe	n	n	n
thick	'gapa	təbɑl (Ind)	bəsiʔ	pə'fəre	n	n	n
thin	'kar:i	tipis (Ind)	kərogon, mənipi	mə'nipi	n	y	n
this	ˌha'ʔã	pi	pi, piʔin	'pi	n	n	n
three	'tal:au	tə'lo:	təlo	'telo	y	y	y
to bathe	'hab:ɔ			'hebo			y

English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera	*Lexical similarity*		
					Alor-Solor	Alor-Lewoingu	Alor-Lamalera
to blow	'pui	bu:	bu	'die	n	y	y
to breathe	'tar:ɛ 'nah:ĩ:	'napɑs	nahin	ə'rã 'nãi	y	y	y
to come	'bɛta, 'nɔu	be'go, se'gɑ	səga	bə'so	n	n	n
to cook	'dakaŋ	'biho			n		
to count	'rɛkiŋ	gɑ'sik	gasik		n	n	
to cry	'tanĩ	'tɑni	tanin	'tani	y	y	y
to cut	'pak:u	pɔ'ʔɔk		'belo	y		n
to dance	'tam:ɔ	'sɔkɑ; sɔkɑ 'selɛŋ		'soka	n	n	n
to die	'matɛ	'mata(h)	mata	'mata	y	y	y
to dig	'gali	'gũʔĩ	gali	'gui	y	y	y
to fight	ka'laĩ 'fak:ĩ	gə'ni	gənin	'uno	n	n	n
to flow	'pana	ba:ʔ	ba	'bã	n	y	y
to give	'nɛĩ	'sɔrɔ̃	nein	'soro	n	y	y
to hear	'daŋ:a	bɑĩ	bain	də'ŋa	n	n	n
to hit	'bɛh:ɛ	bə'rĩ	bərin	'teka	n	n	n
to hold	pa'ha:	'pehɛ̃	pehen	'pe	y	y	y
to hunt	'tut:ɛ	ba'tin	pəreha	'bati	n	n	n
to kill	'bun:ɔ	'bɛlo	maan mata	təba'jɐk	n	n	n
to know	–ɔiŋ	'moiro	koiro, moiro	'toi	y	y	y
to laugh	'gɛki	'gɛka	geka	'geka	y	y	y

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English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera	Lexical similarity		
					Alor-Solor	Alor-Lewoingu	Alor-Lamalera
to lie down	'tur:u	'turu	tobo		y	n	
to live	'mɔri	'mori	iʔa	'mori	y	n	n
to play	ka'nɔku	mə'ŋər	gənəku	gə'la	n	y	y
to pull	'tar:ɛ	ge'hɛ̃; rə'dɔk	odoʔ		n	n	
to push	'tɔbaŋ	bo'gɔ̃	gehan	'odo, 'uruk	n	n	n
to say	ma'rĩ:	'marĩ	marin	'mari	y	y	y
to see	'hik:i, 'sɛru		təngə	tə'gəl		n	n
to sew	'haur	hau	agiʔ	'hau	y	n	n
to sing	'pantɔ, 'bɔtɛ 'liaŋ	kantar	kanta	kantar	n	y	n
to sleep	'tur:u	'turu	turu	'turu	y	y	y
to smell	'siɔ̃:	'siɔ̃	sion		y	y	
to speak	'tut:u	pə'tutuk, pə'kɔdak	koda, tutu		y	y	
to spit	'buh:u 'ill:u	'pino	bage	tə'miro	n	n	n
to split	'bat:a	'gikaʔ	bia	lə'ka	n	n	n
to think	'pikir	pikir (Ind)	pikir	'petã	y	y	y
to throw	dɛĩ:	ge'baʔ	geba		n	n	n
to tie	pɔ'hi:	wi'do:ʔ	puin	'hoŋã	n	n	n
to turn	'lakɔŋ	'balik	peko		n	n	
to vomit	'mut:a	mu'ta	muta	'muta	y	y	y
to walk	'pana	'pana(h)	pana	'pana	y	y	y
to wash	'huɛ, 'bɛmɛ, 'lamiŋ	ba'hak	baha	'ba, 'pu	n	n	n
to work	ka'radʒaŋ	'kriã	kərian	kəri'ã		y	y
tongue	'fɛfɛl	wɛwɛl	wewel	e'fɛl	y	y	y
tree	'kadʒu 'lɔlɔŋ	kajo	kajo, pukən	'kajo	y	y	y
twenty	ka:'rua	pulu 'rua	pulu rua		n	n	

English	Alorese (Baranusa)	Lamaholot Solor	Lamaholot Lewoingu	Lamaholot Lamalera	Lexical similarity		
					Alor-Solor	Alor-Lewoingu	Alor-Lamalera
two	'rua	'rua	rua	'rua	y	y	y
uncooked rice	'apa	bə'ras			n		
water (fresh)			wai	'fai			
wet	'ɛlɛ	də'mɛ̃	dəman	sə'nəbe	n	n	n
what?	pei	a:	a, aʔa	a'laka	n	n	n
when?	ɛrpɛ'hɛlɛ	ərən 'pira	ərən pəwia, ərən pira, pia	ara'pira	n		n
where?	na'ŋga 'ɔrɔ		gaʔe	'diga		n	n
white	'bur:a	bu'rã	bura	'burã	y	y	y
who?	'haf:a	hɛ'gei	hege	'heku	n	n	n
why	'peinã:		dari a, pukən a			y	
wide	'bɛa	lɛbar (Ind)		pela'fɐt	n		n
wife	ka'fae	kə'wai	kəwae	kə'fae	y	y	y
wind	'aŋi	aŋĩ	aŋi	'aŋi	y	y	y
wing	'kapik	ka'pĩ	kəpi	kə'pɪk	y	y	y
wipe	'hapɔ	'soʔo	təru		n	n	
with	nɔ̃:	mã	noʔon	'nã	n	y	y
woman	ka'fae	barɛ' kuaĩ; bər 'waĩ	inawae	kəba'rafae	n	y	y
worm	,ʔula 'fale	kə'bɛŋə; mə'neo		salafalã	n		y
year	'tu:ŋ	tũ:	ləron	'tʊŋ	y	n	y
yellow	'kumɔ̃:	'kumã	kuman	'kũmã	y	y	y
younger sibling	'ʔarĩ	ʔɔa (fem); nɔ̃ (male)		a'riɪk	n		y

2. Texts

Kotong Dake nong Aleng Keleng 'Pointed Head and Slender Back'

Alor Kecil dialect of Alorese. Text recorded 12 July 2003 in Kalabahi, Alor, Indonesia. Speaker: female, born 1969. Place: home of speaker in Kalabahi, no audience present. False starts, hesitations or repetitions have not been removed. Indonesian/Malay loan words are in normal font (not italic). Intonation units are defined by falling tone at the end of an intonation unit and a longer pause, and are indicated by a full stop. Intonation units are numbered. Comma's represent minor intonation breaks.

(1)   *Kotong Dake nong   Aleng Keleng.*
           head   sharp with/and   back slender
           Pointed head and Slender back.

(2)   *Lara tou Kotong Dake no Aleng Keleng pana rei   kapima gena kehe.*
           day one head   sharp s/he back slender walk   3PL.go.to search search snail
           One day, Pointed Head and Slender Back went walking looking for snails.

(3)   *Fe   gena kehe*   kalau   *fe   bale*
           they   search snail   if   they   return
           After they searched snails, they went home

            fe   pana rei   sampai   *laran tuka kang,*
           they   walk 3PL.go until   trip   half 1SG.eat
           they walked till halfway

            fe   onong mara, terus   *AlengKeleng   maring Kotong Dake:*
           they   inside dry   then   back slender say   head   sharp
           they got thirsty, so Slender Back said to Pointed Head:

(4)   *Mo hela tapo   te dodoe   ite tenung   neing feking,*
           you climb coconut that come.down   we 1PL.EXCL.drink POSS water
           "You climb that coconut and come down so we drink water,"

tapi *KotongDake gehi no maring*
but head sharp not.want s/he say
but Pointed Head did not want [to] and said

Aleng Keleng maring "mo ru hela".
back slender say you FOC climb
to Slender Back: "you climb it".

(5) Tapi *Aleng Keleng gehi,* jadi *Kotong Dake maring*
but back slender not.want so head sharp say

teka go ru hela.
then I FOC climb
But Slender Back didn't want so Pointed Head said: OK I'll climb (it)."

(6) Terus *no hela gere no gute tapo fai*
then s/he climb go.up s/he take coconut not.yet
He climbed up, but before he could pick the coconut,

no neing Kotong nu nolo sikka tapo neka.
s/he POSS head s/he old stab coconut already
his pointed head got stuck in the coconut.

(7) Akhirnya *no teleng beo-beo,*
finally s/he hang swing.back.and.forth
In the end he was hanging swinging back and forth,

jadi *Aleng Keleng no seru gere ka,*
so back slender s/he see go.up or
so slender Back looked up,

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Kotong Dake no teleng beo-beo mung,
head sharp s/he hang swing.back.and.forth see
saw slender Back swinging back and forth,

no geki-geki sampai no neing aling bola.
s/he RDP-laugh until s/he POSS back break
he laughed and laughed until his back broke.

(8) *Feta rua mati hama-hama.*
they two die together
They died together.

Matobeka ka nong ning aho 'A frog, a child and his dog'

Baranusa dialect of Alorese. Speaker: female, born 1972, in Kalabahi. Text recorded on 13 June 2003, at speaker's home in Kalabahi, Alor, without audience present. False starts, hesitations or repetitions have not been removed. Indonesian/Malay loan words are in normal font (not italic). Intonation units are defined by falling tone at the end of an intonation unit and a longer pause, and are indicated by a full stop. Intonation units are numbered. Comma's represent minor intonation breaks.

(1)   *Matobeka kae   nong   ning   aho.*
        frog child small   with/and   POSS   dog
        A frog, a child and his dog.

(2)   *Mareng to tobo beka kae   nong*
        night   one stay   child small with/and

        ni   ning   aho to   ning   kamar   unung,
        s/he   POSS   dog one   POSS   room   inside

        hiki ni   ning   mato   oro toples *unung.*
        see s/he POSS   frog   LOC jar   inside
        One night, a child and his dog are in his room, (we) see his frog in a bottle.

(3)   *Mareng   lele neka,   fe   gere   turu   uling hiki   turu.*
        night   long   already   they   go.up sleep place see   sleep
        In the middle of the night they get into bed to sleep.

(4)   *Ela   lahe,* keluar   *mato palae nei*   keluar *uma.*
        long   NEG   go.out   frog run   3SG.go.to go.out house
        Not long after that, the frog gets out and runs out of the house.

(5)   Waktu   *fe   tide*, waktu *fe   sadar,   fe hiki   toples unung,*
        when   they   stand when they   wake.up   they see   jar   inside

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mato ada lahe neka.
frog be NEG already

When they get up, when they wake up, they see that the frog is no longer in the bottle.

(6) *Kemudian, fe gena mato oro sepatu unung,*
after.that they search frog LOC shoe inside

Then they looked for the frog inside the shoes,

oro deki lang, oro kadera lang,
LOC bed under LOC chair under

under the bed, under the chair,

oro toples *unung* tapi *fe dapa lahe.*
LOC jar inside but they find NEG

in the jar, but they didn't find it.

(7) *Fe rei* jenela, *fe guo mato* tapi *mato fe* sadar *lahe.*
they 3PL.go.to window they call frog but frog they realize NEG

They went to the window and called the frog but the frog they didn't see.

(8) Tiba-tiba *aho ning kotung maso* toples *unung mu,*
suddenly dog POSS head enter bottle inside SEQ

no goka oro tana lulung,
s/he fall LOC earth on

Suddenly the dog's head got into the jar and he fell on(to) the ground,

karena *kagu,* beka kae kado lodo tana lulung gute ni ning aho.
because startled child small jump go.down earth on take s/he POSS dog

because he startled, the child jumped down on the ground taking his dog along.

(9) *Fe* kaluar *uma, fe rei* utang unung.
they go.out house they 3PL.go.to forest inside

They left the house and went to the woods.

Gena fe reing mato, oro utang unung.
search they 3PL.have frog LOC forest inside
To seek their frog in the woods.

(10)   *Fe guo-guo, mato oro utang unung* tapi *fe* dapa *lahe.*
they RDP-call frog LOC forest inside but they find NEG
They called and called the frog in the woods but they didn't find it.

(11)   Tapi *fe* putus asa *lahe, fe gena kaju lulung*
but they give.up NEG they search wood on
But they did not give up, the searched on the wood,

gena ladung unung tapi tetap *fe* dapa *lahe.*
search grass.field inside but still they find NEG
in the grass field but still they didn't find it.

(12)   *Ni ning aho di sambo no gena,*
s/he POSS dog also help s/he search
His dog also helped him searching,

no geri kaju lulung tapi *no* dapa *lahe*.
s/he climb wood on but s/he find NEG
he climbed the tree but he did not find it.

(13)   *No* dapa *tabuang oro kaju lulung.*
s/he find bee LOC wood on
He found bees up in the tree.

(14)   *Lele lahe, na, no goka lodo,*
long NEG well s/he fall go.down
Not long afterwards, well, he fell down,

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una   tana   lulung   mu   no palae   nei.
on   earth   above   SEQ   s/he run   3SG.go.to
on the ground and he ran away.

(15)   *Beka kae   kate   hela kaju   lulung   gere,*
       child small that   climb wood   above   go.up
       The child climbed up the tree,

       no   gena   mato oro kaju   unung, tapi *no   dapa   lahe.*
       s/he   search frog   LOC wood   inside   but   s/he find   NEG
       he searched for the frog inside the tree but he didn't find it.

(16)   Tiba-tiba   kaluar *kolong   to,*
       suddenly   go.out bird   one
       Suddenly a bird got out,

       karena *no   kagu   maka *no   goka oro una   tana   lulung.*
       because s/he   startled   so.that s/he   fall LOC   on   earth   above
       because he startled [the dog] fell on the ground.

(17)   Sedangkan *aho*   karena *no*   ganggu   *tabuang* maka   *tabuang*
       while   dog   because s/he   disturb   bee   so.that   bee
       Because the dog disturbed the bees,

       tute   no   maso utang   unung.
       memburu   s/he   enter forest   inside
       the bees hunted him down into the forest.

(18)   Setelah   *kate,   fe   rei   uling to*   yang...
       after   that   they   3PL.go.to place one   REL

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uling te ada *fato being.*
place that be rock big
After that, they went to a place where there was a big rock.

(19) *Fe* sadar *lahe* kalau *fato punung ha* ada *ruha.*
they realize NEG if rock back this be deer
They did not realise that behind the rock there was a deer.

(20) *No gena-gena mato,* tapi *no* dapa *lahe.*
s/he RDP-search frog but s/he find NEG
They searched and searched for the frog but didn't find it.

(21) Tiba-tiba *ruha te gute no ning kotung lulung sa palae nong*
suddenly deer that take s/he POSS head above after.that run with/and

tifang nong jurang *unung.*
throw.away with/and ravine inside
Suddenly the deer took him on its head, then ran [away] with him threw him into a ravine.

(22) Karena *tifang no* jurang *unung* maka
because throw.away s/he ravine inside so.that

no maso fei unung nong ni ning aho hama-hama.
s/he enter water inside with/and s/he POSS dog together
Because he was thrown into the ravine he went into it together with his dog.

(23) Tapi untung, *wei te lamang lahe,* sehingga
but fortunately water that inside NEG so.that

aho nong beka lake te selamat.
dog with/and child male that survive
But fortunately the water was not deep so that the dog and the boy survived.

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(24)   Setelah   *kate, fe paha-paha,   gere   oro kaju lulung,*
       after   that   they RDP-slowly   climb.up LOC wood above
       After that, they slowly climbed on the tree trunk,

       tapi *fe   gere fe   rei*   tiba-tiba *fe   danga* ada suara *mato...*
       but   they go.up they 3PL.go.to suddenly they   hear   be   voice frog
       but when they climbed up they suddenly heard a frog's voice...

(25)   *Sa   no   maring ni   aho:*
       after.that s/he say   s/he dog
       Then he told his dog:

       "*Aho   mo haki lelang ego   ki   ti   danga* ada   suara *mato.*"
       dog   you   don't make   noise   first 1pl.incl hear   be   voice frog
       "Dog, don't you make noise, we hear a frog's voice."

(26)   *Fe   geri kaju lulung   fe   maka   fe   gena-gena   mato,*
       they   climb wood above   they   so.that they   RDP-search   frog

       lele lahe, na,   fe   hiki mato kafae   nong   kalake   tobo.
       long   NEG   well   they   see   frog woman with/and man   sit
       They climbed on top of the tree trunk, they didn't [have to] look for the frog
       very long, well, [then] they saw a female frog with a male frog sitting [there].

(27)   *Ni   ning   unung sanang,*
       s/he   POSS   inside happy
       He felt happy,

       no   guo ni   ning aho untuk *fe   tarua   hiki   mato.*
       s/he   call s/he POSS dog   for   they two.of.them see   frog
       he called his dog to look at the frogs together.

(28) Kemudian *fe   gere   kaju lulung fe   tarua   hiki,*
     after.that   they   climb.up wood above   they   two.of.them   see
     Then they climbed on the trunk and the two of them looked,

     ternyata   *na   mato   kete ni   ning   anang labi   kenang.*
     apparently   well   frog   that s/he   POSS   child   many   already
     apparently the frog had many children already.

(29) *No*   yakin   bahwa   *mato* yang *labi   ha'ang*   berasal   dari
     s/he   be.sure   that   frog REL   many   this   originate   from

     ni   ning   mato yang *kafeting.*
     s/he POSS   frog   REL   disappeared
     He was sure that those many frogs were decendants of his frog that disappeared.

(30) Setelah *kate no   maring mato ni   ning inang*
     after   that s/he   say   frog s/he POSS mother
     After that, he asked the frog's mother

     agar   *mato   to   nate   bale,*   karena   mungkin
     in.order.that frog   one 3s.bring   return   because   possible
     if he could have a frog, because maybe

     salah satu   *mato* adalah *ni   ning   mato* yang *kafeting.*
     only.one   frog   is   s/he POSS   frog   REL   disappeared
     one of them was his frog that disappeared.