Papuan-Austronesian language contact: Alorese from an areal perspective

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This paper compares the grammar and lexicon of Alorese, an Austronesian language spoken in eastern Indonesia, with its closest genealogical relative, Lamaholot, spoken on east Flores, as well as with its geographical neighbours, the Papuan languages of Pantar. It focusses on the question how Alorese came to have the grammar and lexicon it has today. It is shown that Alorese and Lamaholot share a number of syntactic features which signal Papuan influences that must have been part of Proto-Lamaholot, suggesting (prehistoric) Papuan presence in the Lamaholot homeland in east Flores/Solor/ Adonara/ Lembata. The data indicate that Proto-Lamaholot had a rich morphology, which was completely shed by Alorese after it split from Lamaholot. At the same time, lexical congruence between Alorese and its current Papuan neighbours is limited, and syntactic congruence virtually absent. Combining the comparative linguistic data with what little is known about the history of the Alorese, I propose a scenario whereby Lamaholot was acquired as non-native language by spouses from different Papuan clans who were brought into the Lamaholot communities that settled on the coast of Pantar at least 600 years ago. Their morphologically simplified language was transferred to their children. The history of Alorese as reconstructed here suggests that at different time depths, different language contact situations had different outcomes: prehistoric contact between Papuan and Proto-Lamaholot in the Flores area resulted in a complexification of Proto-Lamaholot, while post-migration contact resulted in simplification. In both cases, the contact was intense, but the prehistoric contact with Papuan in the Flores area must have been long-term and involve pre-adolescents, while the post-migration contact was probably of shorter duration and involved post-adolescent learners.

1. Introduction. This article is about Alorese (Alor), an Austronesian language in eastern Indonesia.[1] It focusses on the question how Alorese came to have the grammar and lexicon it has today. By comparing Alorese with its closest relative, Lamaholot, as well as with its non-Austronesian neighbouring languages, we reconstruct some of its history and structural features.

Alorese (also refered to as *Bahasa Alor, Alor, Coastal Alorese,* Barnes 2001: 275) is spoken by 25,000 speakers 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), see figure 1. Klamer (2011) is a sketch grammar of the language. Alorese is the only indigenous Austronesian language spoken in the Alor Pantar archipelago. It shows significant dialectal variation; for example, lexical differences exists between the dialect of Baranusa (Pantar island) and the dialect spoken on Alor. The data discussed in this paper is mainly from the Baranusa dialect. All data are primary data collected during fieldwork in 2003.
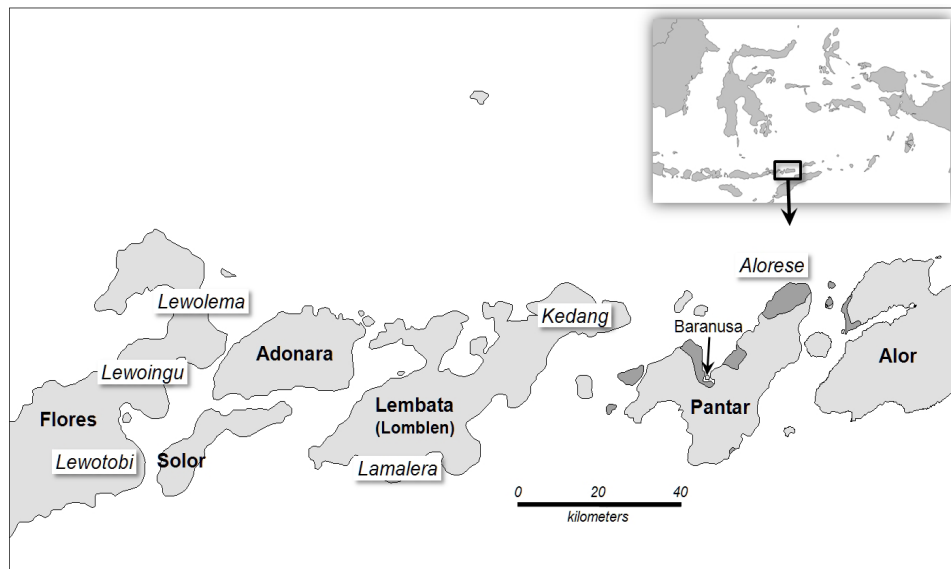

FIGURE 1. Alorese as spoken Alor, Pantar, Buaya and Ternate (dark grey areas); Lamaholot varieties as spoken on Flores, Solor, Lembata.

In earlier sources, it has been suggested that Alorese is a dialect of Lamaholot (Stokhof 1975:9, Keraf 1978:9, Steinhauer 1993:645), and likewise, the map in Blust (2009a:82)

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indicates that Lamaholot is spoken on Alor and Pantar. A recent historical comparison by Doyle (2010) suggests that genealogically Alorese is indeed closely related to Lamaholot.

Lamaholot (abbreviated as LMH) is spoken on the eastern part of Flores, and on the islands of Solor and Lembata. Lamaholot has 150,000-200,000 speakers. Although it is usually referred to as a single language, it is better thought of as a dialect chain. Known varieties include the following (see figure 1):[2]

(i)   LMH-Lewotobi, spoken in Wulunggitang and Ile Bura, in the western-most part of the Lamaholot speaking region on Flores (Nagaya 2009a,b).

(ii)   LMH-Lewolema, spoken in the village Belogili-Balukhering, north of the town Larantuka on east Flores. Pampus (1999, 2001) are word lists of this variety.

(iii)   LMH-Lewoingu (Lewolaga), spoken in the village Leworook, south of Larantuka and described in Nishiyama and Kelen (2007).

(iv)   LMH-Solor, spoken on Solor island and described by Arndt (1937) and Bouman (1943), lexical survey data collected by Klamer (2002).

(v)   LMH-Lamalera, spoken on south Lembata. Keraf (1978) is a description of the morphology of this variety.

To the west, the Lamaholot speaking area is bordered by the language Sika (Lewis & Grimes 1995). A neighboring language in the east is Kedang (Samely 1991), spoken on north Lembata. While Kedang is geographically close to both Lamalera (south Lembata) and Alorese (north-west Pantar), it is genealogically only remotely related to either variety (Doyle 2010).

A comparison of 200+ basic word lists of LMH-Lewoingu, LMH-Solor and LMH-Lamalera with Alorese renders lexical similarity percentages of Alorese versus these three other varieties that range between 52.6 % and 58.8 % (Klamer 2011:18-19). This suggests that Alorese is lexically distinct enough to be qualified as a language of its own. In addition, significant morphological differences exist between Lamaholot and Alorese (see section 3.3 below, and Klamer 2011). For these reasons, the current paper considers Alorese a language on its own, and different from Lamaholot in any of its varieties listed above.

In this paper, I first compare the syntax, morphology and basic vocabulary of Alorese with Lamaholot in sections 2 and 3, followed by a comparison with its non-Austronesian neighbours in section 4. For the syntactic comparison, Alorese will be contrasted mostly with the LMH-Lewoingu variety, as Nishiyama & Kelen (2007) (henceforth N&K 2007) is to date the only published source on a Lamaholot variety that contains syntactic details. (When possessive structures are compared I also refer to LMH- Lamalera, as Keraf 1978

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[2]   Abbreviations: AL=alienable, DIST=distal, FIN=final, FOC=focus, INAL=inalienable, IND=Indonesian, LOC=location, NEG=negation, OBL=oblique, PL=plural, POSS=possessor, PRF=perfective, RDP=reduplication, REAL=realis, SEQ=sequential, SG=singular.

contains information on this topic.) For the morphological comparison, Alorese will be contrasted with both LMH-Lewoingu (N&K 2007) and LMH-Lamalera (Keraf 1978). For the comparison of the Alorese lexicon and syntax with its non-Austronesian Alor-Pantar neighbours, I refer to the Alor Pantar Lexical Database (listed as such in the references) and for the grammatical constructions I present published and unpublished field data collected by colleagues and myself as indicated in the text.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I identify a number of 'Papuan' features found in both Alorese and Lamaholot, and investigate what these suggest about the shared history of the two languages. In section 3, I investigate to what extent Alorese and Lamaholot are syntactically or morphologically different, and what these differences suggest about the history of Alorese, after it split from Lamaholot. In section 4, I investigate some lexical and syntactic changes that occurred after its speakers settled on Pantar and Alor, by comparing the Alorese lexicon and grammar with the lexicon and grammar of its non-Austronesian neighbours. In section 5, I present some notes on the history and ethnography of the Alorese speakers and in section 6, I summarize the reconstruction of the history of the Alorese language and its speakers, and suggest a scenario how it developed into the language it is today.

2. Papuan features in Alorese and Lamaholot

2.1. Introduction. The term 'Papuan' is often used to refer to the perhaps 800 languages spoken in New Guinea and its vicinity that do not belong to the Austronesian language family.[3] In this paper I use 'Papuan' to refer to languages that are not Austronesian and are spoken in eastern Indonesia. The Papuan languages spoken in the Alor archipelago just north of Timor are geographically closest to the Lamaholot speaking region, and will therefore be focussed on in the discussion of 'Papuan' features in this section. The Alor-Pantar languages form a closeknit family (Holton et al. 2012), and are in turn related to the non-Austronesian languages of Timor and Kisar, with whom they form the Timor-Alor-Pantar family (Schapper et. al. 2012). A higher order affiliation of the Timor-Alor-Pantar family to another Papuan group cannot be established (Holton et al. 2012, Robinson & Holton 2012), although a long-standing assumption, beginning with Wurm et al. (1975), has it that the Timor Alor Pantar languages belong to the Trans-New Guinea family.

The non-Austronesian populations in eastern Indonesia must have predated the arrival of the Austronesian speakers (cf. Pawley 2005:102, Ross 2005:18), but there is no reason to assume that Papuan languages spoken in eastern Indonesia today descend from a single prehistoric group. It is far more plausible that they derive from a complex mix of prehistoric populations and various waves of immigrants.

Over the past decade a body of literature has appeared which argued for the relevance of certain particular structural features in the typological characterization of the languages of eastern Indonesia (see also Reesink & Dunn, this volume). In the Austronesian languages of this area, certain features are considered to represent a 'Papuan' influence (e.g. the existence of a post-predicate negator, Reesink 2002; see Florey 2010 for a modification),

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[3] As in Tryon (1995:3): "The term 'Papuan' is a convenient term for the non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea and eastern Indonesia, not all of which are demonstrably related."

while other features found in Papuan languages are suggestive of Austronesian influence (e.g. verb-object order correlating with the typical head-initial phrase structure found in Austronesian languages (Clark 1990, Tryon 1995). Works discussing Austronesian-Papuan contact in eastern Indonesia proposing features that diffused as the result of this contact include Grimes (1991), Reesink (2002), Klamer (2002), Donohue (2004), Himmelmann (2005), Klamer, Reesink & Van Staden (2008) and Klamer & Ewing (2010).

The current section identifies a number of features that are part of the Austronesian languages Alorese and Lamaholot, but at the same time are generally recognized as features that are typical for a 'Papuan' language, not an Austronesian one (in the general sense of 'Papuan' in the sources just mentioned). I investigate what the presence of these features suggest about the history of these languages. Highlighted features are: post-predicate negation (section 2.2); the marking of possessors (section 2.3); the noun-locational order in locative constructions (section 2.4); the presence of a focus particle (section 2.5); and the absence of a passive verb form and construction (section 2.6). The results are summarised and discussed in section 2.7. The Papuan languages closest to Lamaholot are the Alor-Pantar languages spoken on west Pantar, see figure 1. The Papuan features discussed in the following sections will therefore be illustrated with examples from languages spoken on Pantar: Teiwa, Blagar, Adang, Sar and Kaera. It is however important to bear in mind that in the Lamaholot-speaking region itself no Papuan language is currently spoken.

2.2. POST-PREDICATE NEGATION. The canonical Austronesian position for negations is to precede the predicate, but in the Papuan languages in the Alor Pantar region it follows the predicate, as illustrated for Teiwa in (1).

(1)	*Na*	*iman*	*ga-pak-an*	*iman*	*suk-an*		*maan.*
TEI	1SG	they	3SG -call- REAL	3PL	exit.come.down- REAL		NEG
	'I called them [but] they didn't come out' (Klamer 2010:25)						

Both Alorese (Alor) and Lamaholot (LMH) also have a final, 'post-predicate', negation, as shown in (2) and (3).

(2)	*Akhirnya,*	*kujo*	*ha*	*no*	*nele*	*n-ei*	*tobo*	*kaha*	*lang*
Alor	finally(IND)	crab	this	3SG	crawl	3SG-go	sit	coconut.shell	under
	'Finally, this crawled to sit underneath a coconut shell								

	mu	*no*	*pana*	*ha*	*n-ei*	*tahi*	*lahe.*
	SEQ	3SG	walk	this	3SG-go	sea	NEG
	then he did not go to the sea [again].'						

(3)	*Go*	*bərin*	*na*	*hala'.*
LMH	I	hit	him	NEG
	'I don't hit him.' (N&K 2007: 69)			

The Alorese negator *lahe* is a metathetised form of the Lamaholot negator *hala'* found in

LMH-Lewoingu, LMH-Lewolema, and LMH-Solor.[4,5]

2.3. POSSESSIVE MARKING. In the nominal domain, three Papuan features relating to possessive structures are relevant: (i) the replacement of possessive suffixes by possessor pronouns that precede the possessed noun, (ii) the marking of distinct classes of alienable and inalienable nouns and (iii) the relative order of possessor and possessee.

2.3.1. Replacing possessive suffixes by prenominal possessor pronouns. In Papuan languages, possessors typically precede the possessed, and the person and number features of a possessor are encoded as a prefix on the noun, as illustrated for Teiwa in (4):

(4)   *Rai   ga-yaf*
TEI   king   3SG-house
        'The king's house'

The possessor pronouns of Alorese and LMH-Lewoingu and LMH-Lamalera are given in (5). In LMH-Lewoingu and LMH-Lamalera possessors are encoded as suffixes or as free pronouns following the possessee, as illustrated in (6). Alorese has no possessive suffixes and uses a free possessor pronoun, which precedes the possessee, as illustrated in (7). (See also section 2.3.3.)

(5) Pronouns and affixes to encode possessors

	Alorese	LMH-Lewoingu (N&K 2007:13, 23-30)		LMH-Lamalera (Keraf 1978:85-95)	
1SG	go	go'en	-kən	goe	-k, -ka
2SG	mo	mo'en	-ko	moe	-m, ma
3SG.AL	ni[6]	na'en	-nən	nae	non-segmental[7]
3SG.INAL	no	na'en	-nən	nae	no suffix (C-final stem)/ non-segmental (V-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

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[4] Identical metathesis patterns occur in other words; compare Alorese *mareng* 'night' with LMH-Lewolema *remã,* LMH-Lewoingu *rəman*; and Alorese *kamore* 'rat' with LMH-Lewolema *kərome,* LMH-Lewoingu *kərome*.

[5] The LMH-Lamalera negation listed in Keraf (1978) is *take.* This word functions in LMH-Lewoingu as negative answer 'no'.

[6] Alternative pronunciation *ne*.

[7] 3rd person possessor suffixes differ for stems ending in a consonant or in a vowel. Inalienable nouns ending in a consonant have no suffix. For all the other stems, 3rd person singular possessor features are expressed as lengthening of the stem vowel and/or consonant, and/or vowel

(6)   a.   *Lango-kən*
LMH   house-1SG
             'My house' (N&K 2007:23)

        b.   *Lango*   *go'en*
              house   1SG
              'My house' (N&K 2007:23)

(7)   *Mato*   *kete*   *ni*   *ning*   *anang*   *labi.*
Alor   frog   that   3SG   POSS   child   many
             'That frog has many children' or 'That frog's children are many'

2.3.2. Marked distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns. Both Lamaholot and Alorese have a marked distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns. This distinction is not a typical feature of the Austronesian family as a whole, although it is found in some Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia (see Klamer 2002 for examples). The Papuan languages of Alor Pantar all mark the distinction. In Blagar, for instance, inalienables have an (obligatory) possessor prefix (a), while alienables have a free possessor pronoun (b):

(8)   a.   *N-amal*   b.   *Ne*   *quu*
Blagar   1SG.INAL-voice   1SG.AL   tuber
              'My voice'   'My tuber'   (Steinhauer 1993:150-151)

   In LMH-Lamalera, the distinction is also marked, this time by the obligatory vs. optional use of a possessor morpheme: inalienable nouns must always have a possessor suffix, while alienable nouns can occur without a possessor. Both inalienable and alienable possession are expressed by the same morphemes, except for the 3rd person singular possessor, as shown in the rightmost column of (5) above.
   In Alorese and in LMH-Lewoingu, inalienable possession is expressed by a dedicated suffix that attaches to body part nouns. In Alorese, the fossilized suffix is a root-final consonant *–ng* [ŋ]. In LMH-Lewoingu, it is *–('V)n* [ʔVn].[8] Examples are given in (9); most of the forms in Alor and Lamaholot are cognates. Reconstructed Proto-Central Malayo Polynesian (PCMP) and Proto-Malayo Polynesian forms are included for comparison.[9]

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   nasalization, and/or stress shift (see Keraf 1978: 84-93 for details).
[8]   The V stands for any vowel: depending on the open/closeness of the final root syllable, the final vowel of the root is copied as suffix vowel.
[9]   Central Malayo Polynesian (CMP) and Eastern Malayo Polynesian (EMP) languages together form the Central Eastern Malayo Polynesian (CEMP) subgroup, a daughter node of Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP), which in turn is a daughter node of Proto Austronesian (PAN). PMP includes all the languages of Indonesia. The CMP node (or 'linkage') was proposed by Blust (1993), and Lamaholot is assumed to be affiliated to it. The existence of the CMP node is the topic of a debate (Donohue & Grimes 2008, Blust 2009b), which I will not go into here. The proto-forms cited here are taken from the online Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database (Greenhill, Blust & Gray

Many modern Alor and Lamaholot words do not reflect these proto forms, but those that do (such as 'hand/arm', 'mouth' and 'eye') contain a non-etymological final nasal. However, the body part nouns in (9d) do contain an etymological final nasal. In LMH, the suffix is optional (9a), obligatory (9b), or absent (9c). This suggests that in LMH the suffix did not lexicalize regularly. In Alorese, the suffix has been completely lexicalised.

(9)   Body part nouns with (fossilized) possessive suffixes in Alor and LMH-Lewoingu

	Alor	LMH-Lewoingu (N&K 2007: 174)	PCMP	PMP	Meaning
a.	lima**ng**	lima(**n**)	*lima	*[qa]lima	'hand/arm'
	fofa**ng**	wəwa(**n**)	*babaq	*baqbaq	'mouth'
	rata**ng**	rata(**n**)	*buq, *qulu	*buhek	'hair'
	fuli**ng**	wuli(**n**)	(no data)	*liqeR	'neck'
b.	kotu**ng**	kotə**n**	*qulu	*qulu	'head'
	ale**ng**	kola**'an**	*mudi	*likud	'back'
	lei**ng**	lei**n**	*wai	*qaqay	'foot, leg'
c.	mata**ng**	mata	*mata	*mata	'eye'
	fefele**ng**	wewel	*l(ə/a)ma	*dilaq	'tongue'
d.	tilu**ng**	tilu**n**		*tali**ng**a	'ear'
	niru**ng**	iru**n**		*(i/u)ju**ng**	'nose'
	ulo**ng**	ipə(**'ən**)	*nipə**n**	*(n)ipe**n**	'tooth'

   The modern LMH-Lewoingu possessor suffix (listed in (5) above) is in complementary distribution with the fossilized suffix (inalienable) suffix *–n* in (9a). This is shown by the pair (10a-b) (adapted from N&K 2007:11). It is not possible to combine both suffixes, (10c). Note also that the fossilized nasal suffix has not been integrated completely into the nominal root form: it can attach to the adjective and have scope over the nominal phrase, compare (10d-e).

2008), which lists the source author as Blust (1993).

(10)   a.   *mata-n*   'eye'
LMH   eye-POSS

            b.   *mata-kən*   'my eye'
                     eye-1SG.POSS

            c.   **mata-n-kən*
                     eye-POSS-1SG.POSS

            d.   *mata belə*   'big eye'
                     eye big

            e.   *mata belə-n*   'big eye'
                     eye big-POSS

In sum, Alorese and LMH-Lewoingu both distinguish inalienable body part nouns from alienable nouns by the presence of a final velar nasal suffix. In LMH-Lewoingu the nature of this element varies between a suffix and a clitic, and it may be replaced by a modern possessor suffix. In Alorese, however, it is a completely and regularly fossilized final root consonant.[10] In LMH-Lamalera, inalienable nouns lack a possessor suffix entirely, or have a non-segmental possessor.

Unlike any of the LMH varieties, an additional strategy has been innovated in Alorese to mark the alienable-inalienable distinction by choice of free pronoun: alienable nouns take *ni* as 3SG possessor, while inalienable nouns take *no*. This is illustrated in (11).

(11) a.   *ni*   *uma*   b.   *no*   *amang*
Alor   3SG. AL   house   3SG.INAL   father
           'his house'   'his father'

I consider *ni* as cognate with LMH 3rd singular possessor pronouns *na'en / nae*, while *no* is an innovation (possibly harmonizing the vowel with the vowels in 1st singular *go* and 2nd singular *mo*) as a dedicated form to mark a 3SG inalienable possessor.

2.3.3. Possessor-possessed order. The third non-Austronesian feature in the nominal domain is the relative order of possessor and possessed in Alorese and Lamaholot. The Papuan order [possessor-possessed] (see (4) above) is the reverse of the [possessed-possessor] order typically found in Austronesian languages, for instance Indonesian *rumah-ku* 'house-1SG' 'my house'.

In LMH-Lamalera, a possessor may be expressed as a free pronoun and replace the possessor suffix (Keraf 1978:95). A free possessor pronoun follows the possessed, rendering the order [possessed-possessor], as in *lango goe* 'house 1SG' 'my house' (Keraf 1978:95). In other words, LMH-Lamalera consistently displays the Austronesian order.

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10   This analysis also implies that not all inalienables end in a velar nasal, as only those inalienable nouns whose historical root ends in a vowel could take the *ng* as suffix.

By contrast, Alorese only allows the reversed [possessor-possessed] order, as illustrated in (12). If the possessor is expressed as a proper name, as in (13), it must be accompanied by a pronoun, and both name and possessor pronoun precede the possessed. The Alorese order thus mirrors the possessor-possessed order of Papuan languages, as exemplified by Teiwa in (14).

(12) a.   *Ni*   *uma*
Alor   3SG.AL   house
            'his house'

      b.   **uma   ni;*   **uma-ni;*   **uma=ni*
            house   3SG.POSS

(13)   [*Bapa John   ni   uma*]   *being.*
Alor   Mr John   3SG. AL   house   big
            'Mr John's house [is] big.'

(14)   [*Kri John   ga-yaf*]   *uwaad.*
TEI   Mr John   3SG-house   big
            'Mr John's house [is] big' (Klamer, n.d.)

The position between LMH-Lamalera and Alorese is taken up by LMH-Lewoingu, which allows either order of possessor and possessee, and employs free possessor pronouns as well as possessor affixes. The Austronesian [possessed-possessor] order is the unmarked order in LMH-Lewoingu (cf. N&K 2007: 27) and is illustrated in (15). Various kinds of possessors may follow the possessed noun: free possessor pronouns (15a), possessor suffixes (15b), or lexical possessors (15c). A suffix and free possessor cannot co-occur, as shown in (15d), which suggests that they have the same referential function. On the other hand, a nominal and a pronominal possessor can co-occur, as shown in (15e).

(15) a.   *Lango   go'en*
LMH   house   1SG
            'My house.' (N&K 2007: 23)

      b.   *Lango-kən*
            house-1SG.POSS
            'My house.' (N&K 2007: 23)

      c.   *Lango   guru*
            house   teacher
            'A teacher's house.' (N&K 2007: 24)

      d.   ** Lango-kən   go'en*
            house-1SG.POSS   1SG.POSS

e.   *Lango*   *guru*   *na'en*
        house   teacher   3SG
        'The teacher's house.' (N&K 2007: 24)

In addition to the [possessed-possessor] order, LMH-Lewoingu also exhibits the 'reversed' [possessor-possessed] order. This order is used when the possessor is encoded as a suffix and the NP contains a coreferential noun. In that case, the noun is preposed, as illustrated in (16):

(16)   a.   *Guru*   *lango-nən*
LMH   teacher   house-3SG.POSS
            'A teacher's house.' (N&K 2007: 23)

        b.   *Guru*   *lango-ka*
            teacher   house-3PL.POSS
            'The teachers' (PL) house(s)/faculty residence.' (N&K 2007: 25)

Of the two possessor marking strategies, the free possessor pronoun is more regular and productive in LMH-Lewoingu than the possessor suffix. For example, N&K (2007:23) note that some Lamaholot speakers cannot use possessor suffixes with words like *oto* 'car' and *bapa* 'father'. Loan words (like *oto*) and frequently used words (like *bapa*) thus appear to prefer free possessors to bound ones.[11] This suggest a development where the possessor suffixing strategy is losing ground to the free pronoun strategy in LMH-Lewoingu.

In conclusion, the Lamaholot varieties and Alorese share some Papuan structural features in the possessive domain. First, in LMH-Lewoingu, a *pre*nominal possessor pronoun strategy is replacing possessive suffixing. This change has been finalised in Alorese, which has only free possessor pronouns left. Both languages mark inalienable body part nouns as a distinct class by means of a fossilized nasal suffix (and Alorese innovated an additional dedicated 3rd person singular inalienable possessor pronoun *no*). Both Alorese and LMH-Lewoingu (but not LMH-Lamalera) show the [possessor-possessed] order that is typical for Papuan languages. In LMH-Lewoingu this is a marked order, while in Alorese it is the only order allowed. The Papuan features which are present in the Lamaholot varieties and in Alorese have thus developed to a further stage in Alorese.

2.4. [NOUN-LOCATIONAL] ORDER IN LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS. In Alorese and LMH-Lewoingu, locative expressions are constructed of a noun, followed by a locational lexeme of nominal origin (which may function as postposition in certain contexts). An example are the locational nouns *unung* 'inside' (Alor), illustrated in (17), and *ono'on* 'inside' (LMH),

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[11]   This explanation differs from the one suggested by N&K (2007:23), who refer to *oto* as a "less familiar" word, and *bapa* as a "respectful kinship term". To characterise these words as such does not seem to be true to fact: *oto* is a loan from Indonesian (which borrowed it from Dutch *auto* < French 1897 *auto* 'car') and is known to everyone. *Bapa* 'father; Mr' is not only a kinship term but also used frequently as the polite term of address for male adults (cf. Indonesian *Bapak* 'Mr').

illustrated in (18).

(17)   *Pa*   *ru*   *oro*   *uma*   *unung?*
Alor   what   FOC   LOC   house   inside
         'What is in(side) the house?'

(18)   *Busan*   *to'u*   *pe*   *dos*   *ono'on.*
LMH   cat   one   at   box   inside
         'There is a cat in the box.' (N&K 2007: 90)

Both *unung* and *ono'on* are cognate to *'oné* in Keo, spoken in Central Flores (Baird 2002: 141). In Keo, this lexeme is synchronically a preposition. In Indonesian, too, locational nouns occur in prenominal position (cf. Indonesian *di dalam rumah* 'LOC inside house' versus **di rumah dalam* 'LOC house inside'). In line with these observations, I assume that the position of the lexeme *unung/ono'on* in the Austronesian languages of Flores was originally prenominal, and that it moved to postnominal position in Lamaholot and Alorese because of Papuan influence. A Teiwa example of a Papuan noun-locational noun order is given in (19), where the locational noun *gom* 'its inside' follows the noun *yaf*:

(19)   *Na*   [*yaf*   *g-om*]   *ma*   *gi.*
TEI   1SG   house   3SG-inside   LOC   go
         'I go inside the house.' Lit. 'I go into [the house's inside]'   (Klamer, n.d.)

2.5. FOCUS PARTICLE.   Alorese and LMH-Lewoingu both have an information structure particle, *ru* and *ke* respectively. This particle functions to mark contrastive focus. The contrast between an unfocused constituent and a focused one in Alorese is illustrated in (20a-b), another illustration is (21).

(20)   a.   *No*   *lelang*   *batang.*
Alor   3SG   make   break
               'He broke [them].'

         b.   *No*   *ru*   *lelang*   *batang.*
               3SG   FOC   make   break
               'HE broke [them] (not me).'

(21)   *No*   *maring*   *aleng*   *keleng*   *maring*   *mo*   *ru*   *hela.*
Alor   3SG   say   back   slender   say   2SG   FOC   climb
         'He said to Slender Back: "YOU climb it" [not I].'

The particle *ke* marks contrastive focus in Lamaholot, as illustrated in (22):

(22)   a.   *Go-ke*   *hope   buku   pi'in.*
LMH   1SG-FOC   buy   book   this
                 'It's me who bought this book.' (N&K 2007: 129)

          b.   *Go*   *hope-ke*   *buku*   *pi'in.*
                 1SG   buy-FOC   book   this
                 'I BOUGHT this book.' (N&K 2007: 129)

          c.   *Go*   *hope*   *buku*   *pi'in-ke.*
                 I   buy   book   this-FOC
                 'I bought THIS BOOK.' (N&K 2007: 129)

Many Papuan languages have particles marking contrastive focus; an illustration from a Pantar language is Teiwa *la* 'FOC', illustrated in (23):

(23)   a.   *Rai   na-soi   ga-kamadal   ga-buxun   tas.*
TEI   king   1SG-order   3SG-belt   3SG-guard   stand
                 'The king ordered me to guard his belt.' (Klamer 2010:409)

          b.   *Rai   la   na-soi   ga-kamadal   ga-buxun   tas.*
                 king   FOC   1SG-order   3SG-belt   3SG-guard   stand
                 'The KING ordered me to guard his belt.'

          c.   *Rai   [na   la]   soi   ga-kamadal   ga-buxun   tas.*
                 king   1SG   FOC   order 3SG-belt   3SG-guard   stand
                 'I was ordered by the king to guard his belt.'

Focus particles encode new information, and are typically followed by propositions that are pragmatically presupposed. In many languages, relative clauses are instrumental in coding presupposed propositions. The focus marker thus functions in a way that is similar to a relative clause marker. It is plausible that because they have a focus marker, Alorese and Lamaholot lack a dedicated, indigenous relative clause construction. Under influence of Indonesian, however, both languages have borrowed a relative clause construction that is marked with Indonesian *yang* 'relative marker'. Borrowed *yang* is used optionally, in addition to the focus marker (see N&K 2007:126-127).

2.6. ABSENCE OF A PASSIVE VOICE VERB AND CONSTRUCTION. 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.

While the languages of Taiwan and the Philippines have fully developed systems with more than two voices, the western Malayo-Polynesian languages of Indonesia usually

have two (Ross 2002: 52). In eastern Indonesia this voice system is reduced,[12] and many languages lack both passive morphology and a dedicated passive construction. Examples include Taba, Alune, Leti, Roti, Tetun Fehan, Bima, Kambera and Keo (cf. Klamer 1996, 2002: 374).

In the Papuan languages of Alor and Pantar a passive is also generally lacking; examples include Klon (Baird 2008), Abui (Kratochvíl 2007) and Teiwa (Klamer 2010a). In Teiwa, the functional equivalent of a passive is a clause with a fronted P followed by a generic noun *hala* 'someone, unknown person' expressing the (backgrounded) Agent; compare (24), with basic A-P-V constituent order, with (25), with P-A-V order and Agent *hala*:

(24)   P   A   V
TEI   *Uy   ga'an   yivar   ga-far.*
           person   that   dog   3sg-kill
           'That person killed a dog / dogs.'

(25)   P   A   V
TEI   *Uy   ga'an   hala   ga-far.*
           person   that   someone   3sg-kill
           'That person was killed.' (lit. 'That person someone killed.'

Alorese and Lamaholot, too, lack a passive (N&K 2007:126, Nagaya 2009). Both languages have basic Agent-Verb-Patient (AVP) constituent order, as in (26) and (28). A functional equivalent to a dedicated passive is the fronting of P, as in (27) and (29).

(26)   A   V   P
Alor   *Ama   kali   g-ang   fata.*
           father   that   3sg-eat   rice
           'That man eats rice.'

(27)   P   A   V
Alor   *Ume   ape   g-ang   mungga.*
           house   fire   3sg-eat   while
           'The house is on fire.'

(28)   A   V   P
LMH   *Na   həbo   ana'   pe'en.*
           3sg   bathe   child   the
           'She bathes the child.' (N&K:79-80)

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[12]   Note that the west and centre of Indonesia are more variegated (in particular Borneo and Sulawesi).

(29)
			P	A	V	
LMH	*Nolo*	*pe'en*	*tahan*	*tite*	*gəta*	*hala'*
	past	that	rice	we	harvest	NEG

'In the past rice wasn't a crop.' (lit. 'we didn't harvest rice' (N&K:127)

In neither of the languages does the fronting of P involve a change in the verbal morphology; nor does the original A become part of an oblique constituent and all the nominal constituents retain their original shape. In sum, Lamaholot and Alorese lack the passive constructions and voice morphology found in most of the western Austronesian languages, which are similarly lacking in the Papuan languages of Alor and Pantar.

2.7. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION. Lamaholot and Alorese share a number of features that are atypical for Austronesian languages in general, but do exist in Papuan languages of the region: they lack a passive, place the negation in post-predicate position, have [possessor-possessed] order, a formal distinction between alienable and inalienable (body part) nouns, a [noun-locational noun] order in locative expressions, and a focus particle.

The hypothesis I submit is that these features arose in Lamaholot and Alorese as a result of intensive contact with one or more Papuan languages. As similar structural features arose in both Lamaholot and Alorese, I assume that they did not arise independently, but were part of their shared ancestor language, Proto-Lamaholot. This implies that most of the Papuan features found in today's Alorese are not due to contact with its current Papuan neighbors on Pantar and Alor, but rather entered the language before it split from Lamaholot.

No written or oral records exist of a history of contact between Lamaholot speakers and speakers of (a) Papuan language(s). Neither do (written or oral) records exist of Papuan languages spoken in east Flores, where Lamaholot is spoken today .[13] However, there is general consensus among linguists that Papuan (non-Austronesian) populations predated the Austronesians, who arrived in the eastern Indonesian region some 3,500 years ago (Pawley 2005, Ross 2005, Donohue & Grimes 2008, Ewing & Klamer 2010). The Papuan structural features I have reconstructed here for Proto-Lamaholot constitute further evidence that Austronesian and Papuan speakers were once in contact in the Lamaholot homeland. This homeland may have been any location west of Pantar; it could have been Solor, Lembata and/or east Flores, but also another location (see section 5).[14]

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[13] Although Donohue (2007) argues that extinct Tambora was a Papuan language spoken on Sumbawa, west of Flores island.

[14] While the Lamaholot speakers currently live in east Flores, Solor and Lembata, the homeland of Proto-Lamaholot could also have been somewhere else. As one reviewer remarked, the oral traditions of most communities in East Flores record that they originally came from elsewhere, although it remains unclear from where exactly.

3. Contrasting Lamaholot and Alorese

3.1. Introduction.   This section investigates to what extent Alorese and Lamaholot are different syntactically (section 3.2) or morphologically (section 3.3) and what these differences suggest about the history of the Alorese (section 3.4).

3.2. Syntactic differences.   The syntactic differences between Alorese and Lamaholot are minimal. Firstly, the order of [possessor-possessed] is a marked order in Lamaholot, while it is the fixed order in Alorese; this was discussed in section 2.3. Secondly, Lamaholot has only clause-initial conjunctions, e.g. *kədin* in (30), while Alorese has at least one conjunction-like element that is clause final, the sequential marker *mu* in (31).

(30)	*Na*	*səba*	*laran*	*nənən ga'e*		*nələ*	*bisa*	*ai*	*topi*	*pe'en.*
LMH	3sg	search	way	how		so	can	get	hat	the

'She wondered how to get that hat.'

	kədin	*Mince*		*mari*	*hi*	*topi*	*pe'en*	*məko*	*pe.*
	then	Mince		say	ah	hat	that	ugly	that

'Then Mince said, "Ah that hat is ugly"' (N&K 2007:170)

(31)	*Tiba-tiba*		*aho*	*ning*	*kotung*	*maso*	*toples*	*unung*	*mu,*
Alor	suddenly (ind)		dog	poss	head	enter	jar	inside	seq

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

	no	*goka*	*oro*	*tana*	*lulung.*
	3sg	fall	loc	earth	on

'he fell on the ground.'

Thirdly, time expressions follow the predicate in Lamaholot, and precede it in Alorese. This is illustrated with the cognate forms *wia/fiang* 'yesterday' in (32)-(33). The Indonesian example in (34) illustrates the typical head-initial order that is typical for an Austronesian language. This is the order found in Lamaholot (32).

(32)	*Ra*	*səga*	*wia.*
LMH	they	come	yesterday

'They came yesterday.' (N&K2007:86)

(33)	*Ama*	*kali*	*fiang*	*ho.*
Alor	father	that	yesterday	come

'That man came yesterday.'

(34)	*Mereka*	*datang*	*kemarin.*
IND	they	come	yesterday

'They came yesterday tomorrow.'

In sum, I have not found evidence that the syntactic differences between Lamaholot and

Alorese relate to more than just a few small differences in word order.

3.3. MORPHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

3.3.1. Introduction.   Most Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia and the Pacific have morphological systems that are less elaborate than the Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan, the Phillipines or western Indonesia (cf. Blust 2009a:343, 347). Some extreme morphological empoverishment is found in languages spoken in central and eastern Flores, including Manggarai, Ngada, Lio, and Keo (Baird 2002). However, not all the Flores languages underwent such massive morphological loss, Lamaholot being a case in point.

The morphological system of Lamaholot has productive reflexes of a significant number of Proto Austronesian / Proto Malayo Polynesian morphemes. In this section, I present a summary of Lamaholot inflectional morphology, compared to Alorese (section 3.3.2); Lamaholot derivational morphology compared to Alorese (section 3.3.3), followed by a summary and discussion (section 3.3.4).

3.3.2. Inflectional morphology.   Lamaholot has quite a lot of agreement morphology: subject (A and S) agreement is marked on verbs, adverbs as well as on the conjunctive element *o'on* 'and, with',[15] while adjectives agree in person and number with the (pro)noun they modify (N&K 2007).

There are two different subject paradigms, one is a set of consonantal prefixes, the other a set of suffixes, as given in (35). LMH-Lewoingu and LMH-Lamalera use the same A prefixes, but different S suffixes. Below I discuss subject marking in LMH-Lewoingu; similar (though not identical) observations can be made for LMH-Lamalera, which is not discussed here for reasons of space (see Keraf 1978).

(35)   Subject affixes in Lamaholot

	A prefix	S Suffix LMH- Lewoingu (N&K 2007:13)	LMH-Lamalera (Keraf 1978:73,76)
1SG	k-	-kən	-ka
2SG	m-	-ko, -no[16]	-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

In LMH-Lewoingu, the A prefix obligatorily marks the agent (A) of vowel-initial transitive verbs (N&K 2007: 98). Examples include *-a'an* 'make', *-itə* 'sleep with', *-olin* 'improve' (N&K 2007: 32). However, there are also vowel-initial verbs which cannot take an

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[15]   This suggests that this element may be analyzed as a verb rather than a conjunction.

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

agreement prefix (e.g. *opən* 'lie to someone', N&K 2007: 98), so that the use of the A prefix is not purely phonologically conditioned, but also lexically stipulated.

Many Lamahalot verbs can be used both transitively and intransitively with no difference in verb form (N&K 2007:77). When they are used in a transitive construction, A and P are expressed as free noun phrases; when they occur in an intransitive construction, S is encoded as a verbal suffix (N&K 2007: 75-76, 77-78).[17] An S-suffix is also found on adjectives in predicative or adverbial function, in which case the adjective gets an excessive interpretation (N&K 2007: 98-99).

In sum, Lamaholot S and A are often expressed as pronominal affixes on verbs. In contrast to this, verbal arguments in Alorese are almost universally expressed as free pronouns. Exceptions are a few frequent verbs with a fossilised A prefix that are used in combination with an (obligatory) free subject pronoun. Examples pointed out to me by speakers are *-oing* 'to know' and *-enung* 'to drink', as in *go g-oing* 'I 1SG-know' and *mo m-enung* 'you 2SG-drink'.

3.3.3. Derivational morphology. LMH-Lewoingu has seven derivational affix forms, as listed in (36). LMH-Lamalara has six derivational affixes, as listed in (37). The lists summarize the derivations and their semantics presented in N&K 2007.

Some of the LMH derivational affixes are regular and productive, while others are lexicalised to a small or large extent. Often, a single prefix has developed more than one meaning. In all cases, the semantic relation between the base and the derived form is transparent enough to establish at least a generic core meaning of the derivational morpheme. Note that the many nominalizing prefixes derive different semantic types of nominals, and I refer to the original sources for additional descriptive details about individual derivations. Anticipating a reconstruction of Proto-Lamaholot morphology, I provide the possible PAN /PMP affixes alongside their modern Lamaholot reflexes as a hypothesis about the likely etymological relation between them.

(36) Derivational morphology in LMH-Lewoingu

- Prefix *be(C)-* 'nominalizer',[18] *e.g. linon* 'reflect' > *be-linon* 'mirror' (N&K 2007:49-51) < PMP *paŋ 'instrumental noun' or *paR 'deverbal noun' (Blust 2009a: 359, 366)
- Prefix *pə-* 'verbalizer', e.g. *tua* 'palm wine' > *pə-tuak* 'taste like palm wine' (N&K 2007:51) < PMP *pa-ka- 'treat like X' (Blust 2009a:359);
- Prefix pə- 'nominalizer', e.g. *tutu'* 'speak', *pə-nutu'* 'speaker, speaking' (N&K 2007:51) < PMP *paR 'deverbal noun' (Blust 2009a:359)
- Prefix *kə-*, e.g. *pasa* 'swear' > *kə-pasa* 'oath' 'nominalizer' (N&K 2007: 52-53) < PMP *ka- 'formative for abstract nouns' (Blust 2009a:359, 362)
- Infix *-ən-* 'nominalizer', e.g. *tali* 'add' > *t-ən-ali* 'added thing' (N&K: 53-54) < PAN *-um- 'Actor voice' (Blust 2009a:370)

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17   There are also intransitive verbs that cannot be used as transitives, and they express S as a free noun phrase (N&K 2007:63).

18   N&K 2007: 50-51 refer to this prefix as *beN-* which is realised as *b-, be'-*, *ben-* or *ber-*.

- Prefix *mən-* 'nominalizer',[19] e.g. *ba'at* 'heavy' > *mən-a'at* 'something heavy' (N&K 2007:54) < PAN *ma 'stative' (Blust 2009a:363-364)
- Prefix *gəN-* 'nominalizer',[20] e.g. *balik* 'to return' > *gə-walik* 'return (N)' (N&K 2007:49) < PMP *ka- 'abstract noun formative' (Blust 2009a: 362)
- Consonant replacement, e.g. *pet* 'bind' > *met* 'belt' 'result nominalizer' (N&K 2007: 48-49) < PAN *ma- 'stative' (Blust 2009a: 363-364)

(37) Derivational morphology in LMH-Lamalera

- Prefix *b-/be-* 'deverbal nominalizer', e.g. *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 *paŋ 'instrumental noun' or *paR 'deverbal noun' (Blust 2009a: 359, 366)
- Prefix *n-* 'deverbal nominalizer', e.g. *hau* 'sew' > *nau* 'something sewn' (Keraf 1978:192) < unclear etymology
- Circumfix *pə-k,* e.g. *tana* 'earth' > *pe-tana-k* 'taste like earth' (Keraf 1978:210) < PMP *pa-ka-* 'treat like X' (Blust 2009a: 359)
- Infix *-en-* 'instrumental nominalizer', e.g. *tika* 'divide' > *t-en-ika* 'instrument to divide' (Keraf 1978:195-196) < PAN *-um- 'Actor voice' (Blust 2009a: 370)
- Prefix *me-* 'nominalizer', e.g. *nange* 'swim' > *me-nange* 'swimmer' (Keraf 1978:197) < PAN *ma 'stative' (Blust 2009a: 363-364)
- Consonant replacement, e.g. *pota* 'add' > *mota* 'addition' 'result nominalizer' (Keraf 1978:190) < PAN *ma 'stative' (ibid.)

In contrast to Lamaholot, Alorese has no derivational morphology at all. The only productive word formation process in Alorese is reduplication: verbs and adverbs undergo full reduplication to indicate iterative or intensive activity, as in (38); while nominal reduplications denote plural diversity, 'all sorts of N'. Similar reduplication takes place in Lamaholot.

(38)	*No*	*geki-geki*	*sampai*	*no*	*neing*	*aleng*	*bola.*
Alor	3SG	RDP-laugh	until (IND)	3SG	POSS	back	break
			'He laughed and laughed till his back broke.'				

The loss of derivational morphological categories in Alorese can be seen as a kind of formal simplification or regularization: affixes that do not show a regular and transparent form-meaning relationship are lost.

3.4. CONCLUSIONS.   While modern reflexes of PAN / PMP morphology appear in abundance in the Lamaholot varieties, and the Lamaholot varieties do not show a gradual decline of morphology that is related to a geographical West-East spread, Alorese has lost all of its morphology. As morphemes are more easily lost than gained, I assume that

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[19] With non-homorganic nasalization of initial root consonant; the process may involve extra final nasal or syllable (see N&K 2007:54).

[20] The nasal in the prefix changes p/b>m, b>w, h>n, and is unrealized before r/l.

Proto-Lamaholot, the shared ancestor of Alorese and Lamaholot, had at least the amount of morphology of 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.

4. ALORESE AND ITS PAPUAN NEIGHBORS

4.1. INTRODUCTION. This section investigates the lexical and syntactic change that occurred in Alorese after it split from Lamaholot, by comparing the Alorese lexicon and grammar with the lexicon and grammar of the Papuan languages in the neighborhood. Lexical borrowing is investigated in section 4.2, followed by a syntactic comparison, focussing on the expression of three types of predicate-argument relations in section 4.3.

4.2. LEXICAL COMPARISON. In order to estimate the amount of lexical borrowing in Alorese I compared a 270-item basic word lists of Alorese with published lexical data from LMH-Lamalera, LMH-Lewoingu, LMH-Solor, LMH-Lewolema.[21] I focussed on the Alorese words that are formally dissimilar to their semantic equivalent in all four of the Lamaholot varieties. Fifty-five such words were found. Three of these are reflexes of an Austronesian or Proto Malayo-Polynesian word (which has not been retained in the Lamaholot varieties). The remaining 52 words in which Alorese differs from any Lamaholot variety could be lexical innovations or loan words. Of these, 14 words were identified as loans from an Alor Pantar language (see (39)), 5 are Malay/Indonesian loans (see (40)), and 33 have an unknown etymology or source. The donor language of the 14 identifiable loans was found through the Alor Pantar Lexical Database, which contains (220+) basic lexical data from 18 Papuan varieties of the Alor Pantar family (Holton et al. 2012). For comparison, words of the source language(s), LMH-Lamalera, LMH-Lewoingu and PMP are included in (39).[22]

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[21] As the focus of this article is on the changes that took place in Alorese, I do not investigate lexical borrowing in the Lamaholot varieties. Doyle (2010) presents an initial compilation and analysis of comparative lexical data of the Lamaholot varieties.

[22] The items for Proto-Malayo Polynesian (PMP) are from the online Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database (Greenhill, S.J., R. Blust & R.D. Gray 2008), which lists the source author as Blust (1993).

(39) Alorese words with identified Alor-Pantar donor language(s)

Alorese	Meaning	——— Source ———		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	'clothing'	kondo	Blagar	alelolo	no data	no data
bire kari	'children'	biar kariman	Teiwa	ana	anaʔ	*anak
haʔã	'this'	ħaʔa	Teiwa	pi	pi, piʔn	*i ni
kar-to	'ten'	Proto AP	Reflexes across	pulo	pulo,	no data
kar-ua	'twenty'	*qar	AP[23]		pulu rua	
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

(40) Alorese words borrowed from Indonesian/Malay

Alorese	Meaning	———— Source ————	
rekiŋ	'to count'	reken	Malay[24] < Dutch
kali	'river'	kali	Malay/Indonesian
danau	'lake'	danau	Indonesian
buŋa	'flower'	buŋa	Indonesian
hati	'liver'	hati	Indonesian

The data in (39) suggest three things. First, Alorese borrowed words from Alor-Pantar languages from right across the island of Pantar: Teiwa and Sar are spoken in the northwest, Western Pantar is spoken in the west and south, and Blagar and Kaera in the east, see figure 2. That all these donor languages are spoken on Pantar is no surprise given that the Alorese word list investigated here is from the Baranusa dialect, spoken in west Pantar.

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[23] See Schapper & Klamer (ms.).

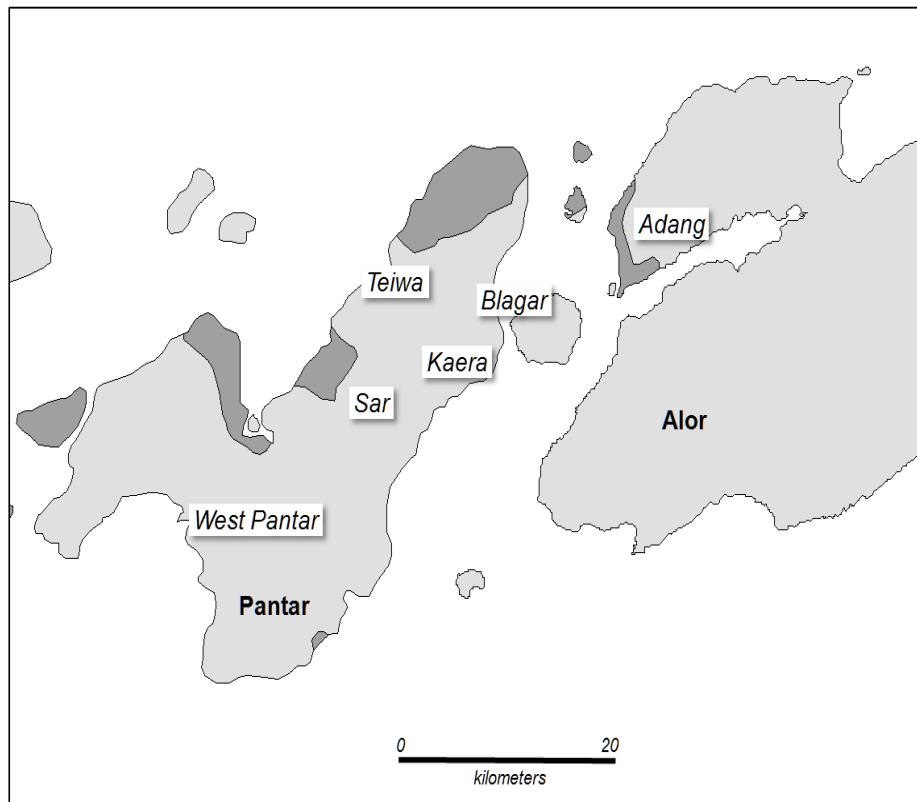[24] Compare Kupang Malay *reken* 'to count' (Jacob & Grimes 2003).

FIGURE 2. Languages from the Alor-Pantar family that are discussed in the text.

Second, among the Alor-Pantar donor languages, there is not one that is particularly dominant. This suggests that contacts of a similar kind existed with different speech communities rather than with one in particular.

Third, of all the donor languages, Malay/Indonesian appears the most dominant one. This is expected of a national language used in education and interethnic communication.

4.3. SYNTACTIC COMPARISON. Alorese and its Alor-Pantar neighbours have a different constituent order: in Alorese the verb precedes the object, as in (41), while the AP languages are all verb final, as illustrated for Teiwa in (42).

(41)   *Aho*   *gaki*   *be*   *kae*   *kali.*
Alor   dog   bite   child   small   that
       'A dog bit that child.'

(42)   *Yivar*   *bif*   *waal*   *ga-sii.*
TEI   dog   child   that.mentioned   3SG-bite
       'A dog bit that child.'

The expression of predicate-argument relations is an area where Papuan and Austronesian languages often show grammatical contrasts. In the AP languages, serial verb constructions are pervasive, and do much of the work that is done in (western) Austronesian languages either by causative, applicative, or recipient affixes on verbs (cf. Himmelmann 2005: 170), or by adpositional phrases.

In this section, I compare a small part of the syntax of Alorese with its AP neighbors, to see if there is evidence of syntactic convergence with local Papuan languages after Alorese split from Lamaholot. As a preliminary investigation, I consider three types of predicate-argument relations: 'give' events with an agent (A), recipient (R), and a displaced theme (T) (section 4.3.1); instrumental constructions with an A, patient (P) and instrument (I) (section 4.3.2); and causative constructions where an original S becomes the causee (P) and a new causer (A) is introduced (section 4.3.3).

Alorese is compared with languages spoken in its vicinity: Teiwa (west Pantar), Kaera (east Pantar), Sar (central-west Pantar), Blagar (east Pantar, Pura, Tereweng), and Adang (spoken north of Kalabahi on the Alor peninsula),[25] see figure 2. Contact between Alorese and the Papuan languages spoken in south, central or east Alor is much less plausible, so these languages will not be considered here.

4.3.1. 'Give' constructions. In the Papuan languages investigated here, the verb 'give' is a mono-transitive verb which has the Recipient (R) as its single object, while T is introduced with its own predicate: a verb or a (deverbal) oblique particle. The constituent order is 'A T R-give', and the pronominal prefix on 'give' encodes person and number of R. Examples are (43)-(47) (data are my own fieldnotes unless indicated otherwise).[26]

(43) *Uy*   *ga'an*   *u*   *sen*   *ma*   *n-oma'*   *g-an.*
TEI   person   3SG   DIST   money   OBL   1SG-father   3SG-give
      'That person gave money to my father.'

(44) *Ui*   *fo*   *seng*   *ma*   *na-manak*   *g-an.*
Sar   person   that   money   OBL   1SG-father   3SG-give
      'That person gave money to my father.' (Baird, survey data 2003)

(45) *Ui*   *gu*   *gang*   *doi*   *mi*   *na-mam*   *g-eng.*
Kaera person   that   3SG   money   OBL   1SG-father 3SG-give
      'That person gave money to my father.'

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25 Sar data are from a survey carried out by Louise Baird in 2003; Blagar data are from Hein Steinhauer, p.c. 2010, Teiwa and Kaera data are my own fieldnotes (2003, 2007); Adang data are from Haan (2001) unless indicated otherwise.

26 For further data and discussion of the typology and history of the 'give' construction in Timor Alor Pantar, see Klamer & Schapper (2012).

(46)   *Na*   *vet*   *nu*   *metma*   *n-oʔal*   *ʔ-nang.*
Blagar   1SG   coconut   one   OBL   1SG-child   3SG-give
          'I give a coconut to my child.' (Steinhauer p.c. 2010)

(47)   *Ella*   *seng*   *med*   *ʔ-omang*   *ʔ-en.*
Adang   Ella   money   take   3-father   3-give
          'Ella gave money to her father.' (Haan 2001: 377, 139)

In contrast to these, an Alorese 'give' construction employs a ditransitive verb with two bare object NPs, with constituent order 'A give R T' , as illustrated in (48).

(48)   *Ama*   *kali*   *ning*   *go*   *bapa*   *seng.*
Alor   man   that   give.(to)   1SG   father   money
          'That man gave my father money.'

In most Austronesian languages, 'give' events involve just a single verb which may be a morphologically simple or derived form, and both objects follow the verb. If one of the objects is part of an oblique constituent, it is R. This is also the pattern attested in Lamaholot, where a bare double object construction like (49) is possible, as well as a construction where R is an oblique constituent (*pe inawae to'u* 'to a girl', N&K 2007:80).

(49)   *Go*   *nein*   *inawae*   *to'u*   *bunga*   *to'u.*
LMH   1SG   give   girl   one   flower   one
          'I gave a girl a flower.' (N&K 2007: 80)

4.3.2. Instrumental constructions.   Instrumental expresssions involve an agent (A), patient (P) and instrument (I). In the Papuan languages compared here, instruments are either introduced in a serial verb construction with the verb 'take' or hold', or with a deverbal oblique particle. Instruments always precede the main verb.

(50)   *Na*   *ped*   *mat*   *ma*   *man*   *taxar.*
TEI   1SG   machete   take   OBL   grass   cut
          'I cut the grass with a machete.'

(51)   *Ui*   *nuk*   *peed*   *ma*   *tai*   *gor.*
Sar   person   one   machete   OBL   tree   cut
          'Someone cut wood with a machete.' (Baird, survey data 2003)

(52)   *Ui*   *gu*   *gang*   *ped*   *mi*   *tei*   *patak-o*
Kaera   person   that   he   machete   OBL   wood/tree   cut- FIN
          'That person cut wood with a machete.'

(53)   *Na   hemering   medi-t   sal   ʔ-u-tukang.*
Blagar   1SG   knife   take-t   rope   3SG-CAU-[27]short
            'I shorten the rope with a knife.'

(54)   *Name   nu   sapad   puin   tiboʔ   tatoʔ.*
Adang   person   one   machete   hold   wood   cut
            'Someone cut wood with a machete.' (Baird, survey data 2003)

Alorese, in contrast, marks instruments with the preposition *nong* 'and, with', in a prepositional phrase following the main verb, as in (55).

(55)   *Ama   to   tari   kaju   nong   peda.*
Alor   father   one   cut.down   wood   with   machete
            'A man cut the wood with a machete.'

Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Malayo Polynesian derived instrumental verbs with an instrumental infix. There are also many Austronesian languages where instruments are encoded by an instrumental prepositional phrase, or as complement of the verb 'use'. Lamaholot employs the latter strategy (56).

(56)   *Go   bərin   Bala   pake   mənəngo   mi'in.*
LMH-   1SG   hit   Bala   use   stick   this
Lewoingu   'I hit Bala using this stick.' (N&K 2007: 116)

4.3.3. Causative constructions.   Highlighted here are causative constructions based on a non-active intransitive verb, whose original subject (S) becomes the causee (P) of the causative construction, while a new causer agent (A) is introduced.
    Two languages of Pantar (Teiwa, Sar) employ lexical causatives, as illustrated in (57) and (59).

(57)   a.   *Wat   nuk   ba'-an   suk.*
 TEI   coconut   one   fall-REAL   come.down
                   'A coconut fell down.'

            b.   *A   wat   u   pua-n   moxod-an   gula'.*
                   3SG   coconut   DIST   snap-REAL   drop-REAL   finish
                   'He picked and dropped that coconut.' (i.e., he had climbed the coconut tree)

    Teiwa also analytical causative constructions where the verb *er* 'make' takes P as its argument, as in (58). The referent of P is identical to the referent of the S of the following

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[27]   The Blagar causative prefix is either a copy of the first stem vowel, or it is the vowel a-. For example: the causative of tia 'sleep' is i-tia in north Blagar and a-tia in south Blagar.

verb.

(58)	*Na*	*motor*	*er-an*	**(a)*	*sig.*
TEI	1SG	motorbike (IND)	make- REAL	3SG	live

'I switch on the motorbike.' (lit. 'I make the motorbike live')

The lexical causative of Sar is illustrated in (59). The P is introduced as argument of the verb *ma* 'come', which is part of a serial verb construction. Whether Sar also has an analytical causative like Teiwa remains to be investigated.

(59)	a.	*Wat*	*fo*	*baak.*
Sar		coconut	that	fall

'That coconut fell.' (Baird, survey data 2003)

	b.	*A*	*wat*	*ma*	*hod.*
		3SG	coconut	come	drop

'He drops coconuts'

In Kaera, a causative verb is derived by suffixing the intransitive verb with a causative suffix *-ng*. The causee is prefixed to the derived verb, as in (60b):

(60)	a.	*Wat*	*nuk*	*ba*	*sero.*
Kaera		coconut	one	fall	descend

'A coconut fell down.'

	b.	*Gang*	*e-wat*	*ga-ba-ng.*
		3SG	2SG-coconut	3SG-fall-CAU

'He drops your coconut.'

Blagar and Adang also employ a causative suffix (*-ng* in Blagar (61b), *-ing* in Adang (63)), while they also have a causative prefix. The causative prefix consists of a single vowel (*a-*). The causative verb may be preceded by an object prefix encoding the causee, as illustrated for Blagar in (61b), and for Adang in (63). While all Adang causatives have a prefix, not all have suffixes, as illustrated in (62b) (for more discussion, see Haan 2001).

(61)	a.	*Vet*	*ʔangu*	*ba-t*	*hera.*
Blagar		coconut	that	fall-t	down

'A coconut fell down.' (Hein Steinhauer, p.c. 2010)

	b.	*ʔana*	*vet*	*ʔ-a-ba-ng.*
		3SG	coconut	3SG-CAU-fall-CAU

'He drops (a) coconut.' (Hein Steinhauer, p.c. 2010)

(62)   a.   *John   ʔol.*
Adang   John   fall.over
                  'John falls over.'

          b.   *John   na-ri   a-ʔol.*
                  John   1SG-ACC   CAU-fall.over
                  'John made me fall over.' (Haan 2001: 253)

(63)   *Ella   Ani   ʔ-a-mih-ing-am*
Adang   Ella   Ani   3-CAU-sit-CAU- PRF
                  'Ella has made Ani sit down.' (Haan 2001: 257)

   In contrast to the lexical and morphological causatives found in the AP languages
discussed above, Alorese employs analytical causatives: one with the verb *n(e)ing* 'give'
(64), and one with the verb *lelang* 'make' (65).

(64)   a.   *Tapo   goka.*
Alor   coconut   fall
                  'A coconut fell.'

          b.   *No   neing   goka   mo   tapo.*
                  3SG   give   fall   2SG   coconut
                  'He drops your coconut.'

(65)   *Mo   lelang   bola   meja   ni   leing.*
Alor   2SG   make   break   table   POSS   leg
                  'You broke the table's leg.'

   In Proto-Austronesian, a causative of dynamic verbs was marked with *pa-* and
a causative of stative verbs with the prefixes *pa-ka-* (Blust 2009a: 359). Many modern
Austronesian languages still use reflexes of *pa-(ka-)* (sometimes along with other affixes)
to derive causative verbs. However, many modern languages also use lexical causatives, or
periphrastic constructions with 'give', for example in spoken Indonesian and many Malay
varieties. In Lamaholot, causatives are expressed by analytical constructions with *nein*
'give' (N&K 2007: 118) or *–a'an* 'make' (N&K 2007: 82) in patterns identical to those
found in Alorese.

4.3.4. Summary of syntactic comparison.   The structural contrasts discussed above are
represented in (66). (A = agent, T = displaced theme, R = recipient, I = instrument, P =
patient).

(66)   a.   Give construction 'A gives T to R'

Teiwa	A	T	OBL	R	give
Sar	A	T	OBL	R	give

	A	T		R	give		
Kaera	A	T	OBL	R	give		
Blagar	A	T	OBL	R	give		
Adang	A	T	TAKE	R	give		
Alorese	A				give	R	T
Lamaholot	A				give	R	T

b. Instrument 'A cuts/shortens P with I'

	A	I		P		P		I
Teiwa	A	I	OBL	P	cut			
Sar	A	I	OBL	P	cut			
Kaera	A	I	OBL	P	cut			
Blagar	A	I	take	P	shorten			
Adang	A	I	hold	P	cut			
Alorese	A				cut	P	with	I
Lamaholot	A				cut	P	use	I

c. Causative 'A causes P to V'

	Lexical	Morphological	Analytical
Teiwa	yes		[A P make] [S V]
Sar	yes		
Kaera	yes?	Suffix	
Blagar	yes?	Prefix & suffix	
Adang	yes?	Prefix & suffix; prefix	
Alorese			[A give V P]
			[A make V P]
Lamaholot			[A give V P]
			[A make V P]

While the AP languages compared here all express 'give' and instrument constructions in a similar way, Alorese employs different constructions. In the expression of causatives, the AP languages show much internal variation, but the pattern used in Alorese does not appear to be related to any of the constructions found in the AP languages. (Note that both Teiwa and Alorese have an analytic causative with 'make', but the word orders are different.) In general, Alorese does not diverge from the patterns found in Lamaholot.

In sum, the data presented here provide no evidence that Alorese borrowed grammatical constructions from its Papuan neighbors (and neither did the neighbors borrow from Alorese). At the same time, we find that the Alorese constructions are virtually identical with Lamaholot, suggesting that Alorese retained the syntax of Lamaholot.

4.4. CONCLUSIONS. A comparison of the Alorese lexicon and grammar with the lexicon and grammar of neighbouring Papuan languages suggests: (i) Alorese borrowed a small set of words from the basic vocabulary of different AP Papuan languages across Pantar island, no language being more dominant the others; (ii) Alorese did not borrow any of the grammatical constructions to express 'give' events, instrumentals or causatives (and neither did the neighbours borrow from Alorese). Instead, Alorese has retained the syntax of Lamaholot.

5. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES. In this section I summarize the historical and ethnographic evidence from which we may infer (i) that the speakers of Alorese moved away from the area where Lamaholot is spoken today (and not the other way around), and (ii) the date before which the split must have occurred.[28]

In Anonymous (1914:75-78)[29] a distinction is made between the mountain populations of Alor and Pantar and the populations on the coast. The coastal people are considered 'niet inheemsch' ('non-indigenous', p. 77). The paper also reports the local legend that Pandai, in north west Pantar, was the first coast to be populated by these non-indigenous coastal people.
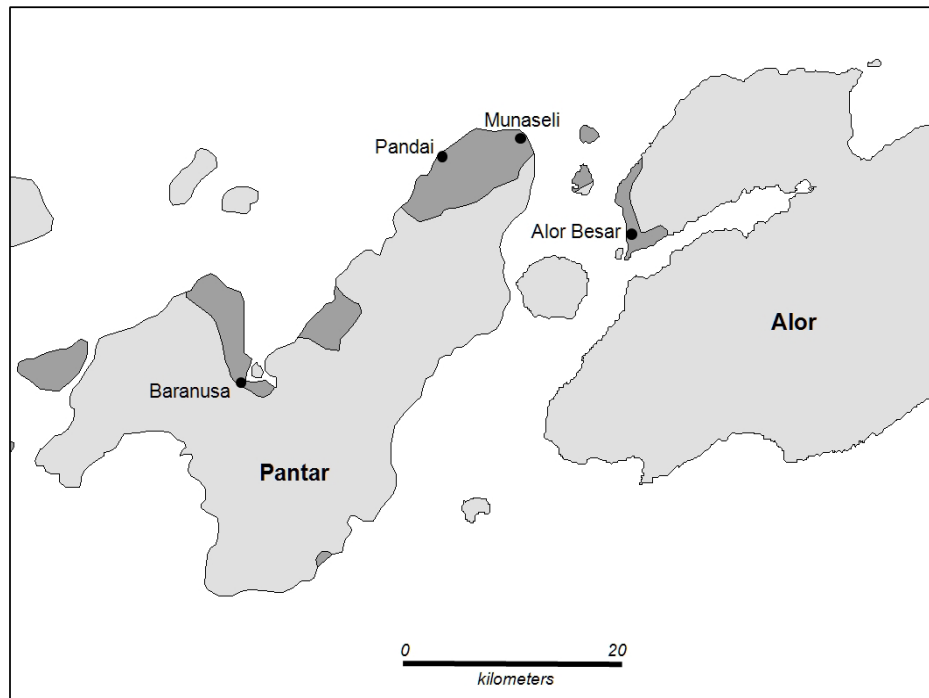
FIGURE 3. Pantar island with the location of Baranusa, Pandai, Munaseli and Alor Island with the town Alor Besar

Today, Alorese speaking communities are only found in coastal areas of Alor and

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[28] The proposed date is not an absolute date but a 'terminus ante quem': the split may have occurred any time before this date.

[29] Major sources of this article were (i) the 'Militaire Memories' (reports on military expeditions that took place on the islands in 1910 and 1911, and (ii) a report of a geological expedition by R.D.M. Verbeek in 1899, published 1908 as 'Molukken Verslag' in J*aarboek van het Mijnwezen in Ned. Oost-Indie.*

Pantar. They are sea-oriented, and for subsistence they traditionally rely on fishing (the men) and weaving (the women). They currently adhere to the Islam religion.

In contrast, speakers of the Papuan languages on Alor and Pantar are inland-oriented, have their traditional villages up in the mountains rather than the coast,[30] adhere to the traditional animist religion, or are Christians. They are farmers and do not rely on fishing or weaving for subsistence.

Traditionally, the coastal Alorese clans exchanged fish and woven cloth for food crops with the Papuan inland populations (cf. Anonymous 1914:76, 81-82). The Alorese clans were, at least initially, quite small. As an example, Anonymous (1914:89-90) mentions clans of 200-300 people. As newcoming clans inhabiting coastal locations geographically remote from each other, many Alorese clans must have been outnumbered by their Papuan neighbors, and it is plausible that they acquired their spouses from the exagamous Papuan clans in their immediate vicinity, rather than from the Alorese clans that were more remote.[31]

According to a legend reported in Anonymous (1914:77), a "colony of Javanese" settled on Pandai, in north west Pantar, some "500 to 600 years ago" [as the article appeared in 1914, this would now be 600 to 700 years ago, i.e. the colony settled on Pandai around 1300-1400 AD]. However, the same source includes a footnote (p. 89) which explains that the notion *orang djawa* (lit. 'Javanese people') applies to everyone who comes from other parts of the archipelago.[32] In other words, the "Javanese" coastal settlers mentioned in the legend were people from "overseas", but not necessarily from Java. Instead, I propose that the close linguistic and cultural ties between today's Alorese and Lamaholot speakers suggest that the colony of *orang djawa* that settled on Pandai according to the legend were in fact Lamaholot speakers from Flores, Solor, and/or south Lembata.

The legend of the founding of Pandai in north Pantar referred to in Anonymous (1914) is also reported in Lemoine (1969) and cited in later sources such as Barnes (1973:86, 2001:280) and Rodemeier (2006). It 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 colonized Pandai, Baranusa, and Alor Besar. A second legend in Lemoine (1969) recounts of another kingdom on Pantar, the kingdom of Munaseli, located more eastwards on the northern coast. In the legend, Javanese

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[30] Although many have now moved to villages on the coast for practical purposes.

[31] Clans exchanged wives, but people were also sold or given away as slaves. For example, Teiwa (north-west Pantar) has a word *yu'al* which is translated as 'to give away (people)' (cf. Teiwa *'an* 'to sell'), and it refers to an "old custom" of "sending or giving away people that are useless to the clan". Speakers noted that formerly, yu'al was also used to refer to selling people (including women) to the Baranusa people (Klamer 2010a:41, fn. 2.). Baranusa is an Alorese speaking area.

[32] Compare Kambera (Sumba) *tau Jawa* 'stranger' (lit. 'Javanese person') and *tau Jawa bara* 'westerner' (lit. 'white Javanese') where *Jawa* also denotes 'stranger' (Onvlee 1984: 115).

immigrants who are allied to the kingdom of Pandai, kill the king of Munaseli and destroy his kingdom sometime between 1300-1400 AD. The defeated Munaseli population fled to Alor Besar, on the Alor peninsula (see figure 2).

Other sources confirm that around 1300-1400 AD the influence of the Hindu-Javanese kingdom Majapahit indeed extended to Pantar: the Javanese Nagarakertagama chronicles (1365) contain a list of places in the east that were in the Majapahit realm, including 'Galiyaho' (Hägerdal 2010).[33] The name Galiyahu or Galiyao occurs in a number of 16th and 17th century maps and descriptions by Europeans, and general consensus exists that Galiyahu/Galiyao refers to Pantar (see Le Roux 1929:47, Barnes 1982:407, Dietrich 1984, Rodemeier 1995, Barnes 2001:277, Rodemeier 2006, Hägerdal 2010). Recent linguistic research by Gary Holton and myself on Pantar island revealed that Galiyao is used in various local languages as the indigenous name to refer to the island of Pantar; the name originates from Western Pantar language *Gale Awa*, literally 'living body' (Holton 2010).[34]

Today, Pandai and Munaseli are Alorese speaking areas in northern Pantar. *Tanjung Muna* ('Cape Muna') in North Pantar is still considered the location of the mythical kingdom Munaseli. The language spoken there is referred to in Indonesian as *Bahasa Muna* 'the Muna language', an abbreviation of *Munaseli*. Speakers refer to their own language as *Kadire Senaing* 'Speech we Understand' (Rodemeier 2006:49), and the *Bahasa Muna* or *Kadire Senaing* reported in Rodemeier 2006 is (a dialect of) Alorese.

Alorese is currently also spoken along the coast of the Alor Bird's Head peninsula, and the ancestors of these speakers are probably related to the Muna(seli) population that fled to Alor after their defeat in Pantar by early 1400.

In sum, from historical, ethnographic and linguistic observations we can infer that Galiyahu was Pantar, that Pantar was under the influence of the Majapahit kingdom in 1300-1400 AD which is evidence that the island was known far beyond its immediate neighboring territories. Both the Pandai and Munaseli kingdom in Pantar were in place around 1300-1400 AD in North-Northeastern Pantar, having been established by immigrants speaking an Austronesian language. In the early 15th century, at least one group fled from Pantar to Alor to settle in Alor Besar, on the Alor peninsula. Today the settlements Pandai, Munaseli, Alor Besar and Baranusa still exist, and all of them coincide with locations where Alorese is spoken, so we can safely assume that today's Alorese populations are descendants from clans that settled on Pantar.

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[33] The influence of Majapahit in the Lesser Sunda Islands did not imply actual political or cultural involvement, as no Majapahit archeological remains have been found in the area.

[34] "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).

Given the close linguistic and cultural ties between Alorese and Lamaholot, I conclude that the ancestors of the Alorese were Lamaholot speakers from Solor, Lembata, Adonara and/or east Flores. They arrived at the coasts of Pantar before or around 1300-1400 AD.

6. Summary and discussion. A number of shared syntactic features which signal Papuan influences are found in both Lamaholot and Alorese, and must have been part of Proto-Lamaholot. This suggests (prehistoric) Papuan presence in the Lamaholot homeland, which may have been located in east Flores and/or the islands Solor, Lembata and Adonara. The Papuan influence on Proto-Lamaholot was strong enough to increase the complexity of Proto-Lamaholot: an increase in word order patterns, the introduction of an inalienable noun distinction and variable possessor marking structures, as well as a new functional item, the focus marker. Where language contact leads to an increased linguistic complexity with additive features, the language is likely to have been spoken in a community with high degrees of outside contacts (Trudgill 2010: 304). The contact must have been long-term, and have involved language acquisition of pre-adolescents ('pre-critical threshold contact situations', Trudgill 2010: 304, 315).

Proto-Lamaholot had a fairly rich morphology, including possessor suffixes, distinct pronominal affixes for A and S, and at least seven derivational prefixes. After it split from Lamaholot, Alorese underwent a process of simplification: it lost all of the Proto-Lamaholot derivational and inflectional morphology, including the marked distinction between A and S; the variable possessor marking structures were regularized, and the final nasal morpheme on inalienable nouns was reinterpreted as a root-final consonant segment.

After they arrived on Pantar island, either before or during the 14th century, the Alorese did not borrow much vocabulary from their Alor-Pantar neighbours. The limited number of identified loans come from different AP languages across Pantar, none of which appears to have been dominant. Alorese retained the syntax of Lamaholot, simplifying and regularizing some of its irregularities, and the influence of local AP syntax on Alorese appears to have been minimal: Alorese moved its time adverb to postverbal position, and adopted a clause final conjunction-like element.

The limited lexical congruence and virtual absence of syntactic influences suggests a contact scenario that neither involved prolonged stable bilingualism, nor Papuan speaking communities shifting to Alorese. However, the morphological and syntactic simplification of Alorese suggests that the language went through a stage of second language learning. This combination of facts is indeed puzzling.

There is evidence that Alorese was spoken as non-native language: it was 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, exchanging e.g. woven cloth for food (cf. Anonymous 1914:76, 81-82).

As the Alorese settlements on the coasts of Pantar and Alor were initially quite small, and geographically remote from each other, it is likely that, initially, the Alorese men acquired their spouses from one of the various exogamous communities in their vicinity where an AP language was spoken. As a result, women speaking AP languages were brought into a community that spoke a language similar to Proto-Lamaholot. Trying to learn this language as adults, the women simplified its morphology, and their learner's omissions became part

of a morphologically simplified variety that developed into the morphologically isolating Alorese language as acquired by their children. Inflectional 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, citing Clahsen and Muysken 1996, Meisel 1997). And derivational morphology, being partly lexicalised, irregular and semantically opaque, represents arbitrary grammatical patterns which must be learned without any generalization possible, which is equally difficult for post-threshold language learners.

The loss of inflectional and derivational morphological categories in Alorese can thus be seen as an instance of simplification that occurred as a result of non-native adult language learning (Trudgill 2010: 310-313). In general, simplification is most likely to occur in intense contact situations that are short-term and post-critical threshold (Trudgill 2010: 310-315).

The questions that are not answered by this scenario include the following. Did the Papuan mothers introduce more of their Papuan words and syntax into the Alorese they spoke as second language? If they did, why did their children not aquire this along with their morphologically simplified Alorese? Or was there community pressure to speak Alorese in its lexically and syntactically 'pure' form, while omitting its morphology was allowed? Additional sociolinguistic research on the social position and language attitude as well as studies of actual speech of newcomers into Alorese communities may help to shed some light on this.

In the history of Alorese reconstructed here, we see that at different time depths, different language contact situations had different consequences for the structure of the language. Prehistoric, deep time contact between a Papuan substrate and Proto-Lamaholot resulted in a complexification of Proto-Lamaholot, while later, post-migration contact resulted in a simplification. While both outcomes suggest that the contact was intense, the sociolinguistic situations were presumably different: prehistoric contact with Papuan languages in the Flores area was long-term and involved pre-adolescents, while the post-migration contact that took place after settlement on Pantar was short-term, and involved post-adolescent learners. There is no evidence that since that period, linguistic contacts between Alorese and the speakers of AP languages around them have been any more than superficial.

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