

The rise of clause-final negation in Flores-Lembata, Eastern Indonesia

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The Austronesian languages of Flores-Lembata in eastern Indonesia show all three stages of a Jespersen Cycle: some have a negator in pre-predicate position, others in clause-final position, and yet others have embracing double negation. In this article the various negation patterns in the Flores-Lembata languages are described using a sample of nine closely related languages of the region. It examines not only the negative constructions but also the etymology of the negators used, showing historical connections between some of the languages, as well as independent developments in others. On the basis of cross-linguistic evidence, and taking into account the non-Austronesian (Papuan) structures found in these Flores-Lembata languages, it is argued that the clause-final negation in several of these languages was caused by contact with speakers of Papuan languages during an earlier stage.

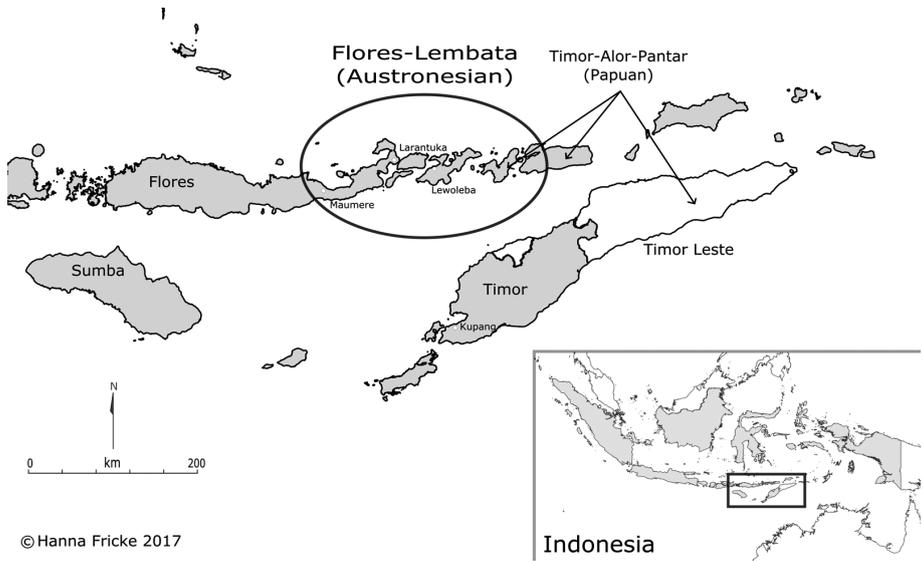
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1. Introduction

This article discusses patterns of declarative sentence negation in Flores-Lembata languages, a group of Austronesian languages in Indonesia. The Flores-Lembata languages are located on the island of Flores and in the adjacent Solor archipelago in the province Nusa Tenggara Timur displayed in Figure 1.

Flores-Lembata languages belong to the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of the Austronesian family. Towards the east of the Flores-Lembata languages, on the islands of Alor and Pantar, Papuan languages of the Timor-Alor-Pantar family are spoken (Klamer 2014; Schapper 2014). The term ‘Papuan’ refers to numerous language families found on and around the island New Guinea.

As with 70% of the world’s languages (Vossen 2016: 4), Austronesian languages typically show pre-predicate negation marking. However, there is also a



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Figure 1. The locations of Flores-Lembata languages and Timor-Alor-Pantar languages in the Indonesian province Nusa Tenggara Timur

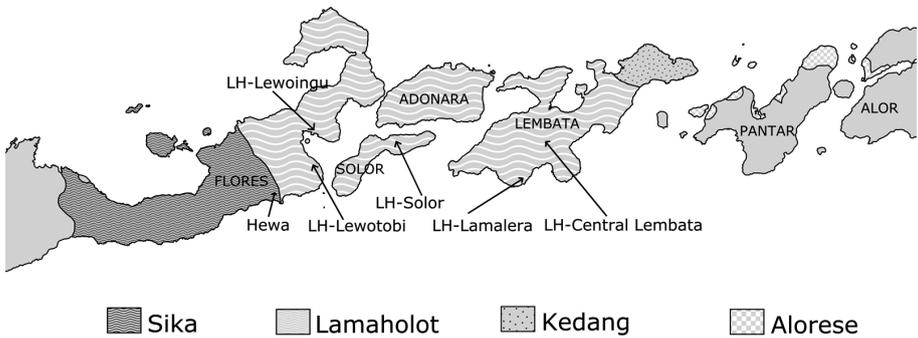
considerable number of instances of clause-final negation among Austronesian languages that are located in areas where Austronesian and Papuan languages are close to each other (Vossen 2016: 119–121,202). The Flores-Lembata area is one of them. The pattern of clause-final negation marking in Austronesian languages has been claimed to be of Papuan origin and to have diffused to several Austronesian languages (Reesink 2002: 246). This article proposes that several languages of the Austronesian Flores-Lembata group have introduced a pattern of clause-final negation, possibly due to contact with an unknown Papuan language. Clause-final negation has already been identified as a Papuan feature of Lamaholot, a dialect chain within Flores-Lembata (Klamer 2012: 76). However, the rise of this pattern has not been examined in detail before.

For this article, all published sources that provide data on negation patterns of a Flores-Lembata language are examined. A list of languages and sources is given in Table 1 and displayed in Figure 2. The language varieties marked with LH in Table 1 and Figure 2 are part of the Lamaholot dialect chain (Fricke forthcoming; Grange 2015; Keraf 1978). Hewa is a variety of Sika.

This article is structured as follows. Section 2 provides the theoretical background on the model of a Jespersen Cycle to explain the diachronic development of negation in Flores-Lembata. Section 3 presents different negation patterns in the languages of Flores-Lembata. Section 4 discusses etymologies of the negators used in these varieties. The last section discusses the proposal of contact induced change giving rise to clause-final negation.

Table 1. Languages and data sources

| Language | Source |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| Sika | Arndt (1931) |
| Hewa | Fricke (2014) |
| LH-Lewotobi | Nagaya (2011) |
| LH-Lewoingu | Nishiyama and Kelen (2007) |
| LH-Solor | Kroon (2016) |
| LH-Lamalera | Keraf (1978) |
| LH-Central Lembata | Fricke (2016) |
| Kedang | Samely (1991) |
| Alorese | Klamer (2011) |



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Figure 2. Flores-Lembata languages and locations of data origins

2. Theoretical background: Jespersen Cycle

A Jespersen Cycle is a diachronic change from pre-predicate single negation, to embracing double negation, to post-predicate single negation (van der Auwera and Du Mon 2015: 412).¹ A well known example is the Romance language French which has undergone all three stages of a Jespersen Cycle. Initially, French had a single pre-predicate negator *ne*, nowadays written French uses embracing negation

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

ne ... pas and spoken varieties of French already reached the final stage of the Jespersen Cycle by only using the single post-predicate negator *pas*.

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

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

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

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

In the following, I show that all three stages of a Jespersen Cycle, as well as shared negators, occur in the Flores-Lembata languages. For the post-predicate negators, we find a shared form between single and embracing negation patterns. However, for the pre-predicate negators, this cannot be shown clearly.

3. Negation patterns in Flores-Lembata languages

3.1 Overview of negation patterns

In the varieties of Flores-Lembata listed in the introduction, all three stages of a Jespersen Cycle are attested: pre-predicate single negation, embracing negation and clause-final single negation. These patterns and the varieties displaying them are laid out in Table 2 and displayed in Figure 3.

In Figure 3, it becomes clear that pre-predicate single negation is found in the peripheral varieties of Flores-Lembata, whereas clause-final negation is clustered in the center of the area. In between, there are varieties that show the intermediate state of embracing negation. Alorese in the east has clause-final negation, which is

Table 2. Negation patterns in Flores-Lembata languages. NEG=negator, V=verb

| Negation Pattern | | | | Variety |
|------------------|-----|---|-----|---|
| Pre-predicate: | NEG | V | | Kedang Sika |
| Embracing: | NEG | V | NEG | Hewa LH-Lamalera LH-Central Lembata |
| Clause-final: | | V | NEG | LH-Lewoingu LH-Lewotobi LH-Solor Alorese |

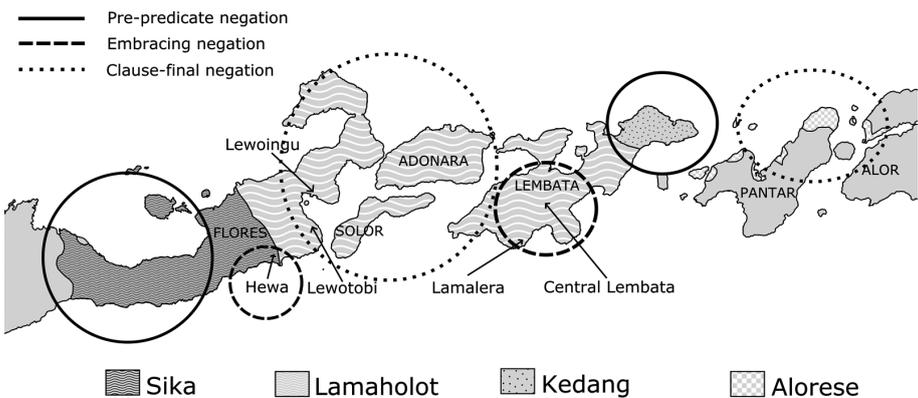


Figure 3. Negation patterns in Flores-Lembata languages

otherwise only found in the central area. According to historical and ethnographic sources, the speakers of Alorese emigrated from the Lamaholot area to Pantar around 1,300 AD, and later spread further to Alor (Klamer 2011: 16). Taking this historical event into account, the ancestors of the Alorese probably brought clause-final negation with them when moving from the Lamaholot area to Pantar. This is supported by the fact that the Alorese clause-final negator is cognate with the clause-final negators found in the western Lamaholot varieties (cf. Section 4).

3.2 Pre-predicate single negation

Pre-predicate single negation is the main negation pattern in Kedang (1) and in Sika (2).

- (1) Kedang
 Wæi **oha?** in=u.
 water NEG drink.1SG=1SG²
 ‘I don’t drink water.’ (Samely 1991: 74)

- (2) Sika
 Aʔu **ene** raʔintəŋ.
 1SG NEG know
 ‘I don t know.’ (Arndt 1931: 42)

This pattern presents the first stage of a Jespersen Cycle. Notably, the second stage, embracing negation, might be a minor pattern in Sika. Arndt (1931) gives one example of embracing negation (3), however he does not specify exactly in which context the sentence appears.

- (3) Sika
 Nimu **ene** leta ata natar pehaŋ **eʔəŋ**.
 3SG NEG invite person village other NEG
 ‘He did **not** invite the people from the other village.’ (Arndt 1931: 42)

In the original translation of example (3), Arndt presented the negator in bold but does not explain why he does so. The bold font may suggest that the embracing negation functions as an emphatic negation. If this interpretation is correct, this can even be taken as evidence for the emphatic phase of embracing negation where this pattern is not yet semantically bleached to become the general pattern.

2. Glosses used in this article: NEG: negator, 1SG: 1st person singular, 3SG: 3rd person singular, 1IN: 1st person inclusive, DIST: distal demonstrative

3.3 Embracing negation

Embracing negation uses a pre-predicate negator in combination with a clause-final negator. Embracing negation is the main pattern in Hewa (4), LH-Central Lembata (5) and LH-Lamalera (6).

- (4) Hewa
 Dedi? anak eʔon puas iva.
 child little NEG satisfied NEG
 ‘The little child is not satisfied.’ (Fricke 2014: 9)
- (5) LH-Central Lembata
 Ta na modʒip si.
 NEG 3SG live NEG
 ‘It does not live.’ (Fricke 2016)
- (6) LH-Lamalera
 T-ai fulâ³ pé tana di taku tegel hala.
 1IN-go market DIST land also NEG see NEG
 ‘When we went to the market, we didn’t see the island.’ (Keraf 1978: 232)

Embracing negation in Hewa and LH-Central Lembata is not obligatory, either of the negators can be left out. However, in my corpus data of these varieties, embracing negation is the most frequent negation pattern used. The data available in Keraf (1978) for LH-Lamalera also show consistent embracing negation.

3.4 Clause-final single negation

Clause-final single negation is the main negation pattern in Alorese (7) as well as in all Lamaholot varieties documented outside of the island of Lembata. These varieties are LH-Lewotobi (8), LH-Lewoingu (9) and LH-Solor (10).

- (7) Alorese
 No pana ha nei tahi lahe.
 3SG walk this 3SG.go.to sea NEG
 ‘He did not go to the sea.’ (Klamer 2011: 87)
- (8) LH-Lewotobi
 Go kã ikã hua hõlaʔ.
 1SG 1SG.eat fish fish.sp NEG
 ‘I don t eat hua fish.’ (Nagaya 2011: 392)

3. The vowels with diacritics in this transcription cannot be clearly transferred to IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet). The original transcription from Keraf (1978) is kept.

- (9) LH-Lewoingu
 Go bərin na **halaz**.
 1SG hit 3SG NEG
 'I did not hit him.'

(Nishiyama and Kelen 2007: 69)

- (10) LH-Solor
 Ema dēna wata **la**.
 mother cook rice NEG
 'Mom is not cooking rice.'

(Kroon 2016: 158)

In these LH-varieties, there are remnants of a minor pattern of embracing negation. Example (11) is taken from a grammar by Arndt (1937) on Lamaholot varieties outside of Lembata.

- (11) Lamaholot (outside Lembata)
 Goe **gara** taka kan? **hala**.
 1SG NEG steal eat NEG
 'I did not steal and eat it.'

(Arndt 1937: 99)

In Example (11), the pre-predicate negator *gara* is combined with the clause-final negator *hala*. However, Arndt (1937) notes that this pattern is infrequent. Taking the Jespersen Cycle into account, this infrequent pattern can be seen as evidence that these varieties previously went through a stage of embracing negation.

4. Etymology of Flores-Lembata negators

4.1 Overview of negators

This section examines the etymology of pre-predicate and clause-final negators in the Flores-Lembata languages. Table 3 gives an overview of the negators grouped according to their negation pattern. Only negators appearing in major patterns are discussed.

Table 3. Negators in Flores-Lembata

| Negation pattern | Variety | Pre-predicate | Clause-final |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| Pre-predicate: | Kedang | <i>ohaʔ</i> ... | |
| | Sika | <i>ene</i> ... | |
| Embracing: | Hewa | <i>eʔo(n)</i> ... | <i>iva</i> |
| | LH-Central Lembata | <i>ta / tak</i> ⁴ ... | <i>si(ne)</i> |
| | LH-Lamalera | <i>taku</i> ... | <i>hala</i> |
| Clause-final: | LH-Lewotobi | ... | <i>həlaʔ</i> |
| | LH-Lewoingu | ... | <i>halaʔ</i> |
| | LH-Solor | ... | <i>la</i> |
| | Alorese | ... | <i>lahe</i> |

4.2 Pre-predicate negators

For the pre-predicate negators, Kedang *ohaʔ*, Sika *ene* and Hewa *eʔo(n)*, no reconstructed Austronesian proto-form can be found.

For Sika *ene* and Kedang *ohaʔ* several possibly related forms are found in languages of the area. Possible cognates of the Sika negator *ene* are Kedang *anun* ‘reject, refuse, decline’ (Samely 1991: 162) or the post-verbal negator *nene* in the Timor-Alor-Pantar language Adang (Robinson and Haan 2014). Possible cognates of the Kedang pre-predicate negator *ohaʔ* are Tetun Fehan’s post-verbal negator *haʔi* (van Klinken 1999: 228), the Alorese pre-verbal prohibitive *haki* (Klamer and Kaiping 2017) and Lamaholot’s pre-verbal prohibitives *ake* and *eka* (Klamer and Kaiping 2017). The possible links between the Sika and Kedang negators and prohibitives or negative verbs in other languages are telling because these kind of words are cross-linguistically common grammaticalization sources of negators (cf. Section 2). However, none of these putative links is strong enough to assume a direct relation of shared inheritance or borrowing. More knowledge about the histories of the languages involved is needed.

For the Hewa negator *eʔo(n)*, the homophonous negative existential is a language-internal source. Negative existentials have been shown to be a cross-linguistically common source of verbal negators by Croft (1991).⁵

Among the pre-predicate negators in Table 3, only the negators *tak / ta* in LH-Central Lembata and *taku* in LH-Lamalera can be clearly traced back to

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

5. According to Croft’s typology of negative existentials and verbal negators, Hewa belongs to Type C where the verbal negator has the same form as the negative existential (Croft 1991: 6).

an Austronesian form. For Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP), which covers all Austronesian languages outside of Taiwan, *ta ‘no, not’ has been reconstructed as a negative marker (Blust and Trussel 2010b). Reflexes of PMP *ta ‘no, not’ are found all over Austronesian languages and even, as a result of diffusion, in several non-Austronesian languages (Klamer, Reesink, and van Staden 2008: 133, Vossen 2016: 161). The origin of the second part of the pre-predicate negators, /k/ in LH-Central Lembata and /ku/ in LH-Lamalera, remains unclear. However, this element is also present in the negative existential *take* which is the direct source for the verbal negator in LH-Central Lembata and LH-Lamalera.

4.3 Clause-final negators

Assuming that the ancestral pattern of these languages was to have a pre-predicate negator (cf. discussion in Section 5), it is the origin of the clause-final negator that interests us the most. There are four possibilities to explain the origin of the clause-final negator; a loan, a spontaneous innovation of unknown origin, a pre-predicate negator that is copied and used in clause-final position, or an inherited word that became a negator due to grammaticalization.

When looking for possible sources of Hewa *va* several possibilities arise but none of them can be proven at the current stage. The Hewa negator *va* could be related to *ba/*βa/*(u)wa, a cognate set of negators that has been claimed to be of Papuan origin and found all over Austronesian and Papuan languages (Klamer 2004: 133, Vossen 2016: 158).⁶ Other possible sources could be the pre-predicate negator *mbiwa* (Antonius and Ruskhan 1997: 25) in the Austronesian language Rongga in central Flores, the Lamaholot prohibitive *nawa* found in LH-Lewotobi and LH-Solor or the post-predicate particle *fa* ‘a little’ in some varieties of Roti, an Austronesian language spoken on the island of Rote close to Timor (Jonker 1908: 117). The Roti particle *fa* is also found in negations.

The LH-Central Lembata post-predicate negator *si(ne)* is homophonous with the LH-Central Lembata word *si(ne)* ‘a little’. It is, thus, proposed that *si(ne)* ‘a little’ grammaticalized into a negator in LH-Central Lembata.

Alorese and all other Lamaholot varieties, except for LH-Central Lembata, have clause-final negators that are cognates of *hala* and go back to PMP *salaq ‘wrong, mistake’ (Blust and Trussel 2010a). In the languages concerned, /s/ to /h/ is a regular sound change. Apart from this regular sound change, in some varieties, /a/ is weakend to /ə/ and final /q/ became /ʔ/ or is lost, in LH-Solor the syllable /ha/ is lost leading to the negator *la*, and in Alorese, syllable metathesis and vowel

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

rising of /a/ to /e/ word-finally leads to *lahe*. Most of the varieties discussed still have a cognate of this word with the original meaning ‘mistake’.

In sum, LH-Central Lembata grammaticalized a word for ‘a little’ into a clause-final negator, whereas all other LH-varieties and Alorrese grammaticalized a word for ‘wrong, mistake’ into a clause-final negator. In contrast, the Hewa clause-final negator has to be regarded as an independent innovation for now.

5. Discussion

In the previous sections, a Jespersen Cycle in Flores-Lembata has been proposed. Several varieties have added a second negator to their pre-predicate negation, gained embracing negation, and some of them have eventually lost the pre-predicate negator and are left with clause-final single negation. Section 4 has shown that pre-predicate as well as clause-final negators in Flores-Lembata are either inherited Austronesian words or innovations of unknown origin.

As mentioned in the introduction, clause-final negation patterns in Austronesian languages have been claimed to be caused by contact with Papuan languages (Reesink 2002: 246). This also has been suggested to be the case for Lamaholot in particular (Klamer 2012: 76). In this section, I discuss this proposal of contact induced change for Flores-Lembata negation patterns.

To place the discussion of contact induced clause-final negation in Flores-Lembata into context, it is important to know that eastern Indonesia is an area characterized by contact between Austronesian and Papuan languages. This contact is not only a recent phenomenon and linguistic features have diffused between languages regardless of their genetic affiliation (Ewing and Klamer 2010; Klamer et al. 2008: 10;136). Therefore, it is not surprising that clause-final negation is not the only structural feature of Flores-Lembata languages that may point to contact. For Lamaholot in particular, several grammatical features have been suggested to be of non-Austronesian origin (Klamer 2012: 76–86). The fact that there is a whole set of these potential substrate features, strengthens the hypothesis that clause-final negation is also caused by contact.

The strongest evidence for contact induced grammaticalization is provided by Vossen’s (2016) typological study on Jespersen Cycles in Austronesian languages. Vossen (2016: 88,120) only finds evidence of embracing negation and clause-final single negation in areas which are located east of the islands of Borneo and Java.⁷

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

Further west, no instances of embracing or clause-final negation are found. This strongly indicates a connection between clause-final negation and the location of Papuan languages.

Thus I consider clause-final negation in Flores-Lembata languages as a case of structural borrowing. Structural borrowing is exactly the kind of trace that would be expected to be left in a situation of language shift (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 50). The following elaborates on possible scenarios that could have led to the situation today.

At some point, an ancestor of all Flores-Lembata languages probably had pre-predicate single negation. This is because pre-predicate single negation is the most common negation pattern in Austronesian languages (Vossen and van der Auwera 2014: 61) and it is also the most common pattern universally (van der Auwera and Du Mon 2015: 411). As there are still Flores-Lembata varieties for which pre-predicate single negation is the only possible negation pattern (cf. Section 3.2), it is very unlikely that the Jespersen Cycle started in an ancestor language including all the languages of Flores-Lembata. It must have started on a lower level, namely in the ancestors of those languages that now have either embracing or clause-final negation. This counts for Hewa and all Lamaholot varieties. It is very unlikely that Hewa and Lamaholot had a common ancestor that excluded other varieties of Sika because Hewa is clearly a variety of Sika (Fricke 2014; Keraf 1978: 1,8). Therefore, the embracing negation patterns found in Hewa and Lamaholot must have arisen independently and cannot be inherited from a common ancestor. The question we must now ask ourselves is: How did Lamaholot and Hewa gain their clause-final negators?

For Lamaholot, one possible scenario is one in which non-AN speakers shifted to Lamaholot, but imposed their native structures on their new language. For this to happen, the speakers must have gone through a long period of bilingualism before finally completely shifting to the new language. The origin of the clause-final negators in Lamaholot can be explained by contact induced grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2003, 2005). Language internal material is used to generate a new grammatical word, a clause-final negator. It remains to be explained why we have two different clause-final negators in the varieties of Lamaholot. LH-Lewotobi, LH-Lewoingu, LH-Solor and LH-Lamalera, all have a cognate of *hala* going back to PMP *salaq ‘wrong’. As LH-Lamalera still has embracing negation *taku ... hala*, combining a reflex of the PMP negator *ta ‘no, not’ with a grammaticalized word as a second negator, it could be the case that this pattern was initially also present in the other Lamaholot varieties. However, most of them have lost the pre-predicate negator by now. On the other hand, LH-Central Lembata has its own clause-final negator. For the pre-predicate negator, LH-Central Lembata also has a reflex of *ta ‘no, not’ but the clause-final part of its embracing negation is

si(ne). Probably, several options were competing when clause-final negators were introduced into Lamaholot. Several competing options are also attested for the development of a post-predicate negator in French with *point* 'point', *mie* 'crumb' and *pas* 'step' competing for the clause-final position. In the end one of them, *pas*, was kept as the basic negator (van der Auwera 2009: 44). For Lamaholot, two forms have survived, *hala* and *si(ne)*.

For Hewa, most likely an independent development occurred. There are two possibilities for the development of the clause-final negator in Hewa. Either the variety also experienced multilingualism by shifting speakers of non-Austronesian languages or it copied the clause-final negation pattern from its neighboring Austronesian language Lamaholot. Hewa is located directly adjacent to LH-Lewotobi. But if this is the case, why would Hewa invent a new word and not copy *həlaʔ* from LH-Lewotobi as Hewa has borrowed other lexical material from Lamaholot? At the current stage, it cannot be decided if there is Papuan substrate in Hewa. For this, other features of the language need to be examined as well.

I have shown that there is evidence to assume contact induced grammaticalization as the cause of clause-final negation in the Lamaholot varieties of Flores-Lembata. Especially the absence of Jespersen Cycles in Austronesian languages on Borneo, Java and further west and the presence of several potential Papuan features in Lamaholot support the hypothesis that contact induced change led to embracing and clause-final negation. However, independent innovation as a cause cannot be ruled out completely. The further examination of other possible contact induced features could shed light on the plausibility of a contact scenario in the Lamaholot-Hewa area. Another question remains open. Why are the Hewa, Sika and Kedang pre-predicate negators so diverse? Why do they show innovations and no reflexes of PMP *ta 'no, not' as varieties of Lamaholot do? While we do not know the answer to these questions, this fact at least suggests that Hewa, Sika and Kedang have distinct histories from the Lamaholot varieties.

In sum, the modern-day varieties of Flores-Lembata provide evidence for all three stages of the Jespersen Cycle. This article has argued that Lamaholot varieties developed negation patterns with clause-final negators due to Papuan influence. For Hewa, this assumption still needs to be examined in further detail. As the copied material is structural and not lexical, language shift preceded by long-term bilingualism of a Papuan speaking population living in the area probably occurred. Speakers of Papuan languages shifted to Lamaholot and introduced a clause-final negator to the language.

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