A BRIEF GRAMMAR OF THE EASTERN ATADEI LANGUAGE OF
LEMBATA, INDONESIA

Daniel Krauße*
Goethe University Frankfurt
krausse.daniel@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper aims to briefly describe the grammar of Atadei, or more precisely Eastern Atadei, an under-described Flores-Lembata language spoken by about 8,000 people in Atadei District of Lembata, East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. Atadei is an agglutinative language with fusional elements and SVO word order. Adjectives follow the noun they modify and are inflected in attributive position, but are not inflected when used as a predicative. Atadei verbs may agree with the subject, depending on the verb class. This is similar to Lamaholot, but the verb classes in these two languages are different. Some verbs exhibit inflection for all persons, while others do not inflect at all. Pronouns follow a complex system in Atadei, depending on their syntactic function. It is noteworthy that the Alor-Pantar languages of the neighboring islands Alor and Pantar do not belong to the Austronesian language family, and may have contributed to a Papuan substratum in Atadei, such as inalienable possession and clause-final negation (Klamer et al., 2008, p. 136).

Keywords: Atadei, grammar, Lembata, Lamaholot

Abstrak


Kata kunci: Atadei, tata bahasa, Lembata, Lamaholot
INTRODUCTION

Eastern Atadei,2 also called South Lembata3 and in this paper referred to as ‘Atadei’, is an Austronesian language spoken by about 8,0004 people in Atadei District (Kecamatan Atadei) in the southern part of Lembata Island (Pulau Lembata), formerly called Lomblen. The Atadei district extends over about 150 square kilometers where the majority of the population work as farmers and declare themselves as Catholic. Politically, Lembata Island forms the Lembata Regency (Kabupaten Lembata) of East Nusa Tenggara Province of Indonesia.

On the map in Figure 1 above, the Atadei District is roughly situated between the villages Wolopado and Oedek and covers everything south of these two villages. All linguistic data in this essay are from people born and raised in Atalojo (East Atadei district) but living in Lewoleba, the capital of Lembata Regency. Currently, there is only one rugged and rocky way connecting the capital of the regency with Atadei district, so that many people live in rural circumstances and have no written records on their language. Therefore, all linguistic data that I have collected so far comes from personal communication when I spent some time living with an Atadei family in Lewoleba in July 2015, as well as from contact to the same family thereafter.5 I noted down all sentences they gave me to learn their language with the translation into Indonesian, however they were often not able to explain the grammar and rules for their language, since all Atadei speakers only learn their language at home, as it is never studied in any educational institution.

The borders of the Atadei district, its capital Kalikasa (also spelled Kalikassa), and the neighboring districts Lebatukan, Wulandoni, Nagawutung, and Nubatukan are illustrated on the map in Figure 2 below. Atadei district is known for traditional whale hunting near Tanjung Atadei and for its natural gas well near Watuwawer, locally called ‘natural kitchen’ (dapur alam), which can be used for boiling water and cooking food.
So far, there has not yet been any description of the language of Atadei district. In Grime’s ‘A Guide to the people and languages of Nusa Tenggara’ (1997), no literature has been listed for the South Lembata language, which is also the name used in Ethnologue’s language list for Indonesia. However, I prefer to use the name Atadei language (Bahasa Atadei) because this is how its speakers refer to their own language.

According to Grime (1997, p. 83), Atadei or South Lembata is a Flores-Lembata language of the Timorese subgroup of the Central Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian, whereas the latest Ethnologue report classifies it as a Bima-Lembata language of the Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Lewis, 2015). This discrepancy is due to a newer classification of the languages of the Lesser Sunda Islands. Keraf (1978, pp. 449-452), on the other hand, subdivides the languages of the Atadei district into Painara, Kalikasa, Lewuka, and Lewokukun, all of them belonging to the Central Lamaholotic branch of the Flores-Lembata languages. By lexical comparison of Keraf’s basic vocabulary lists (1978, pp. 406-447) and my own data, it is obvious that his Painara list exactly corresponds to my Atadei list. The language spoken in the Atalojo village may therefore be called South Lembata (in a regional sense), Atadei (according to the district’s name), or Painara (as used by Keraf).

Some Atadei people also classify their language as a strong dialect of Lamaholot, which is the lingua franca on the islands between Eastern Flores and Alor. Nagaya (2010, p. 158) describes Lamaholot as a dialect chain, of which the individual dialects may not be mutually comprehensible. The following sentence clearly illustrates the difference between Lamaholot...
(1a) spoken in Lewoingu, Titihena, East Flores (Nishiyama & Kelen, 2007) and Eastern Atadei (1b):

(1) a.  *Go kan a to’u di hala’*

   1SG eat what one EMPH not

   ‘I eat/ate nothing’
   (Nishiyama & Kelen 2007:20)

b.  *Gò têk ka nó anam-anam wêi hi*

   1SG.PROCL NEG eat.1SG there.is thing(?)–RED some(?) NEG

   ‘I eat/ate nothing’

As can be seen from the example, Lamaholot and Atad ei differ greatly from each other, not only lexically but also syntactically.

The following list shows some Atadei words that are very similar to neighboring dialects and languages along with their translations into Indonesian and English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atadei (Atalojo)</th>
<th>Lamaholot (Lewolema)</th>
<th>Lamaholot (Lewoingu)</th>
<th>Kedang (Omesuri)</th>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ama-</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>ame, &gt;amo</td>
<td>ayah</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ata</td>
<td>atadikñ</td>
<td>&gt;ata diqen</td>
<td>orang</td>
<td>man, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butó</td>
<td>buto</td>
<td>buturai</td>
<td>delapan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évèl(ê-)</td>
<td>wewe(r)</td>
<td>wewel</td>
<td>èbèl</td>
<td>lidah</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hê)pułò</td>
<td>pulo</td>
<td>pulu</td>
<td>(se)pułuh</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina-</td>
<td>ina</td>
<td>&gt;ino</td>
<td>ibu</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaₐ</td>
<td>kan</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>makan</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kèn₉ₙ₉₉₉</td>
<td>kenù₉ₙ₉₉₉</td>
<td>kenun₉ₙ₉₉₉</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>minum</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusing</td>
<td>kusi</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>kusing</td>
<td>kuching</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(mama)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>léma</td>
<td>lema</td>
<td>lema</td>
<td>leme</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li-</td>
<td>lei</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>lèi</td>
<td>kaki</td>
<td>foot, leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima-</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>lima(n)</td>
<td>ling</td>
<td>tangan</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manuk(ê-)</td>
<td>manuk</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>manuq (&gt;ai)</td>
<td>ayam</td>
<td>chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata-</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>mato</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nang</td>
<td>nange</td>
<td>nange</td>
<td>nangi</td>
<td>berenang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(&gt;oyang)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayan</td>
<td>narã</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>naya</td>
<td>nama</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuh(ê-)</td>
<td>nuhu, wọwa</td>
<td>wọwa(n)</td>
<td>nunu (wọwo)</td>
<td>mulut</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panau</td>
<td>pana (lei)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>pan</td>
<td>pergi</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat</td>
<td>pat</td>
<td>&gt;apaq</td>
<td>empat</td>
<td>four</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péhénèng</td>
<td>pehèn</td>
<td>pehen</td>
<td>pènè, tobol</td>
<td>memegang</td>
<td>hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitó</td>
<td>pito</td>
<td>pitu</td>
<td>tujuh</td>
<td>seven</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rai(-raï), lei</td>
<td>aja’, wɔrəkã</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>rai waran</td>
<td>banyak</td>
<td>many, much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ratu</td>
<td>ratu</td>
<td>ratuq</td>
<td>ratus</td>
<td>hundred</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tèl</td>
<td>təlo</td>
<td>tvlo</td>
<td>telu</td>
<td>tiga</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tènãr</td>
<td>tena</td>
<td>tene</td>
<td>perahu</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>una-</td>
<td>(lango’) uma</td>
<td>uma</td>
<td>huna</td>
<td>rumah</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RESEARCH ON THE LANGUAGES OF LEMBATA

SIL International provides a linguistic map for the Flores Sea (Figure 3) and lists eight languages for Lembata, these being from east to west: West Lembata, Ile Ape, Levuka, Lamalera, South Lembata, Lamatuka, Lewo Eleng, and Kedang. This corresponds exactly to what has been described by Grimes, but he adds that Lamaholot is also used in the area as a language of wider communication (Grimes, 1978, p. 79).

Linguistic research on the languages of Lembata is scarce, compared to the rich literature on Lamaholot and its dialects. The first publication on the linguistic situation of the East Flores region, including Lembata, is Paul Arndt’s study (1937) of the Solor language, spoken on Solor island. A more thorough outline and classification of the languages spoken on Lembata is Gregorius Keraf’s dissertation (1978) on the morphology of the Lamalera dialect, including studies on all languages and dialects of Lembata, i.e. the West Lembata dialects, Ile Ape, Lewo Eleng, Lamatuka, and Kedang, as well as on the languages of Adonara island, Solor island, and East Flores. Karl-Heinz Pampus (1999) has published a comprehensive dictionary on the Lewolema dialect, the morphology and syntax of the Lewoingu dialect has been studied by Kunio Nishiyama and Herman Kelen (2007), and the phonology of the Lewotobi dialect has been thoroughly described by Naonori Nagaya (2009). The best documented language of Lembata is Kedang with several publications by Ruth H. Barnes (1977, 1980, 1982) and Ursula Samely (1991).

Additionally, Indonesian as the national language is also spoken and understood by the majority of the people on Lembata Island. It is ‘used in a diglossic relationship with regional varieties of Malay which tend to be used in urban areas and for inter-ethnic communication, expressing regional solidarity’ (Grimes, 1978, p. 9).

It is noteworthy that the Alor-Pantar languages of the neighboring islands Pantar and Alor, east of Lembata, do not belong to the Austronesian language family, and may have contributed to a Papuan substratum in some Austronesian languages of the region with regard to their syntax, e.g. inalienable possession and clause-final negation (Klamer et al., 2008, p. 136).
PHONOLOGY

Atadei has a phoneme inventory of fifteen consonants, eight vowels, and probably seven diphthongs. These phonemes do not include /s/, which only occurs in loanwords, and the glottal stop /ʔ/, only occurring initially before consonants, and not being a distinctive phoneme of Atadei.

### Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosive</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-velar</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-v</td>
<td>+v</td>
<td>-v</td>
<td>+v</td>
<td>-v</td>
<td>+v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Diphthongs

It is not clear whether [o] and [ɔ] as well as [ɛ], [ɛ], and [ɔ] are distinctive vowel phonemes or allophones of the phonemes /o/ and /e/, respectively. The sounds /h/ does not occur in Atadei, and loanwords are usually pronounced with /p/ instead, e.g. *feri* ‘ferry’ may be pronounced as [peri]. Educated speakers, however, are aware of the sound /h/ in Indonesian and pronounce it as [feri].

Technically, all consonant sounds of Atadei can appear word-initially, however I have not come across any word starting with /ŋ/. Atadei seems to have word-initial /n/ in all cases where Lamaholot has /ŋ/. Word-finally, Lamaholot nasalizes final /n/ after vowels, e.g. *tena go’ẽ* ‘my boat’ (Pampus 1999:25), whereas Atadei keeps the /n/, e.g. *ténar gó* ‘id’.

Consonant sounds that appear word-finally are /m/, /w/, /l/, /ŋ/, /l/, /l/, /f/, /kl/, /gl/, and /ŋ/. Speakers of Atadei distinguish between /k/ and /g/ word-finally, e.g. *kẽik* ‘rice’ and *olig* ‘to come’, but they do not seem to form a minimal pair. The negative particle is spelled *tẽk* [tak] ‘not’ in chats, while the inflected suffix for the first singular is spelled -g, as in *nawakeg* [naʋakəg] ‘I have not yet’. The difference in pronunciation between /k/ and /g/ in final position is marginal, but neither represents a glottal stop unlike in other languages of Indonesia, e.g. Javanese.

The absence of /s/ may be the result of a sound change from /s/ to /h/, as this also occurs in languages of Sumba and in some dialects of Lamaholot (Pampus, 1999, p. 28). The following reconstructions for PAN give evidence for this sound change in Atadei:

- **At. nuh** ‘mouth’ < PAN *ŋusuq* ‘nasal area, snout’ (ACD, 7553)
- **At. hiwa** ‘nine’ < PAN *sɨwa* ‘id.’ (ACD, 9165)
- **At. hepułô** ‘ten’ < PAN *sə* ‘one (clitic)’ (ACD, 9545) + *puluq* ‘group of ten’ (ACD, 6902)
- **At. aor** ‘dog’ < *ah(o(r))10* < PAN *asu* (ACD, 320)

Vowels are not distinguished by length in Atadei. The vowels /a/, /e/, /ɛ/, and /i/ have no rounded counterpart, whereas the vowels /ɔ/, /o/, and /u/ have no unrounded counterpart. The schwa sound /ə/ can occur word-initially after the inherent glottal stop, in medial position between two consonants or between a vowel and consonant, as well as word-finally in proclitics, such as *nē ‘he, she, it*. It also occurs in medial position with monosyllabic unstressed words, like *tēk ‘not*. An epenthetic schwa is inserted between the root ending in a consonant and a suffix starting with a consonant, e.g. *wul-* ‘neck’ and *-g ‘my becomes wulēg ‘my neck’.

Syllables in Atadei are basically CV or CVC, and no word can start with a vowel, as the glottal stop precedes any word-initial vowel. Diphthongs are to be regarded as one vowel (V). The following list illustrates the syllable structure of basic Atadei words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td><em>tu</em></td>
<td>[tu]</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td><em>tel</em></td>
<td>[tel]</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>an</em></td>
<td>[ʔan]</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVC</td>
<td><em>mó’en</em></td>
<td>[mo.ʔan]</td>
<td>‘yours (sg.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV</td>
<td><em>léma</em></td>
<td>[le.ʔan]</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>én</em></td>
<td>[ʔe.ʔan]</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CVC</td>
<td><em>énam</em></td>
<td>[ʔa.ʔam]</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ténar</em></td>
<td>[ʔe.ʔan.ʔar]</td>
<td>‘boat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV</td>
<td><em>puljua</em></td>
<td>[pul.ʔua]</td>
<td>‘twelve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV.CV</td>
<td><em>hépulò</em></td>
<td>[hə.ʔu.ʔa]</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kikilai</em></td>
<td>[ki.ʔi.ʔa]</td>
<td>‘fingers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CVC</td>
<td><em>pulèl</em></td>
<td>[pul.ʔel]</td>
<td>‘thirteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kantar</em></td>
<td>[kə.ʔan.ʔar]</td>
<td>‘to sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV.CV</td>
<td><em>kélurak</em></td>
<td>[kə.ˈlu.ʔaʔ]</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV.CV</td>
<td><em>pulléma</em></td>
<td>[pul.ˈle.ʔaʔ]</td>
<td>‘fifteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV.CV.CV</td>
<td><em>kênhènèmata</em></td>
<td>[kə.ʔə.ʔnə.ˈma.ʔa]</td>
<td>‘in front of the door’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schwa /ə/ is often dropped, resulting in other syllable structures, such as CCVC for *kènik ‘rice’ > knik*. The latter is also used in casual writing, such as chats and SMS.

There is no standardized spelling for Atadei, neither is there any for Lamaholot. Therefore, I will make use of my own spelling for Atadei, which only slightly differs from the orthography used in other articles on neighboring languages. Virtually all consonants are written as they would be in IPA, except <<j>> being used for [j], <<ng>> for [ŋ], and <<w>> for [v]. The glottal stop [ʔ] is not represented in Atadei orthography. The vowels <a>, <i>, and <u> in Atadei spelling are the same as their pronunciation in IPA, but <ɛ> is used for [e], <ɛ> for [ɛ] and <ɛ> for [æ], and <ɔ> is used for [o], while <o> represents [ɔ]. The same spelling is used for diphthongs.

**MORPHOLOGY**

Atadei is an agglutinative language with fusional elements. Adjectives follow the noun they modify and are usually inflected when they occur in attributive sense, but are not inflected when used as a predicative, similar to German and unlike French.11 The following illustration explains this contrast:

\[(2) \text{ a. Méja}^{12} \text{ kélurak-Ø} \quad \text{b. méja kélurèk-ên} \]

\[\text{table small-Ø} \quad \text{table small-3SG.POSS} \]

‘The table is small’ \quad ‘the small table’
When an adjective agrees with the noun it modifies, the enclitic form of the third person possessive pronoun is used, i.e. -(ê)n, which will be discussed further later in this chapter.

Atadei verbs may agree with the subject, depending on the verb class, depending on the conjugation for the second and third singular pronoun. Some verbs show complete inflection (e.g. kën_këh ‘to drink’), some are partially inflected (e.g. òlig_ëng ‘to come’), while others have no inflection at all (e.g. buaiØ ‘to eat’). In this paper, I will, if necessary, indicate the verb class with a subscript morpheme for the 2SG and 3SG. The dictionary form is usually the 1SG.

(3) a. (Gò) k-ën têh ké 1SG.PROCL 1SG-drink tea already ‘I have already drunk some tea’
   b. (Nē) n-ën têh ké 3SG.PROCL 3SG-drink tea already ‘He/She has already drunk some tea’

(4) a. Gò òlig-Ø 1SG.PROCL come-1SG ‘I come’
   b. Nē òli-ng (?< òli-g-Ø) 3SG.PROCL come-3SG ‘He/She drinks tea’

(5) a. Gò buai kënik 1SG.PROCL eat rice ‘I eat rice’
   b. Nē buai kënik 3SG.PROCL eat rice ‘He/She eats rice’

Further rincis on the verbal inflection are explained later in this chapter.

Nouns
Atadei nouns are not inflected for case, number, or gender. To express plurality, some nouns may be reduplicated, but is not necessary after numerals or quantifiers. Attributes are usually postpositive, and adjectival attributes agree with their head noun by adding the possessive marker for the third person, i.e. -(ê)n. The same method is used to make nominal compounds.

Pronouns appear in different forms, depending on their syntactical function: The 3SG disjunctive form (e.g. nané ‘he, him’) is used in isolation, for emphasis, and in object position; the postpositive pronoun (e.g. naën ‘his’) indicates the possessor of alienable nouns; its procliticized form (e.g. nê ‘he’) in subject position precedes verbal expressions; the prefixed pronoun (e.g. kër- ‘he is’) is attached to adjectives and some verbs in subject position; and the suffixed pronoun (e.g. -n ‘his (own)’) is added to inalienable nouns as a possessive marker. Pronominal agreement is discussed in further rinci later in this chapter.

Attributive Agreement
As shown in example (2b) above, attributive agreement indicates that an adjective is used as an attribute that modifies a noun, while the unmarked adjective, as shown in example (2a) above, may be compared to a copula phrase in English. Two different inflections are possible: In example (6b), the adjective simply receives the suffix of the third person singular, while some adjectives, as in example (7b), change their root when suffixed for attributive agreement.

(6) a. Kër-golôk 1SG-tall ‘I am tall’
   b. méja gólôk-ën table tall-3SG.POSS ‘a tall table’

(7) a. Dër-këda 3PL-big ‘They are big’
   b. méja kédëk-ën table big-3SG.POSS ‘a big table’

The same agreement between the modified noun and the attributive modifier allows for nominal composition in Atadei:
The three examples above could be literally translated with a possessive construction, i.e. ‘the water’s eye’ (8), ‘the chicken’s egg’ (9), and ‘three trees of coconut’ (10), respectively. However, true possessive constructions are formed by adding a proclitic pronoun between the possessor and the object:

(11) Daniel ně una-n
    Daniel 3SG.PROCL house-3SG.POSS
    ‘Daniel’s house’

(12) Nēbē bô gur≈gur dē una-i
    this EMPH(?) teacher~RED 3PL.PROCL house-3PL.POSS
    ‘This is the teachers’ house’

Pronouns

Pronouns follow a rather complex system in Atadei. They appear in five different forms depending on their syntactical and pragmatic function. The following table shows all possibilities for the pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disjunctive</th>
<th>Postpositive</th>
<th>Suffixed</th>
<th>Procliticized</th>
<th>Prefixed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>function</td>
<td>isolation,</td>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>possessive for</td>
<td>subject position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>emphasis,</td>
<td>for alienable</td>
<td>inalienable</td>
<td>before a verb,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>object position</td>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>gōên</td>
<td>gōên</td>
<td>-(ē)g</td>
<td>gō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>móên</td>
<td>móên</td>
<td>-(ē)m</td>
<td>mō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>nanē</td>
<td>naên</td>
<td>-(ē)n</td>
<td>nē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL INCL</td>
<td>titē</td>
<td>titē</td>
<td>-(ē)hē, -ha, -hu</td>
<td>titē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL EXCL</td>
<td>kamē</td>
<td>kamē</td>
<td>-(ē)hē, -ha, -hu</td>
<td>kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>miò</td>
<td>miòn</td>
<td>-(ē)jī, -ya</td>
<td>miō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>danē</td>
<td>daēn</td>
<td>-(ē)jī, -ya</td>
<td>dē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffixed pronoun of the first person plural has three allomorphs. This may be due to harmony with the preceding vowel. While in Austronesian languages final vowels often change their quality (being raised or lowered) when the word they appear in is affixed, vowel harmony is not a very typical phenomenon in Austronesian, usually only found in some Oceanic languages (Alderete & Finley, 2016). The vowel harmony for the suffixed 1PL INCL/EXCL pronoun may be described in phonological rules as follows:

/-
ha/ → /-
ha/ / i#_ or a#_  
-\ha/ → /-hu / u#_  
elsewhere /-(ē)ha/

This is exemplified with the following phrases:

(13) a. lima-ha
    hand-1PL.POSS 'our hands'

d. latar-ēhē
    hair-1PL.POSS 'our hair'

c. ulu-hu
    head-1PL.POSS 'our heads'

e. kom-ēhē
    thigh-1PL.POSS 'our thighs'

f. riaw-ēhē
    hairs-1PL.POSS 'our hairs'
The allomorphs for the suffixed 2PL and 3PL pronoun depend on the final sound of the noun to which the pronoun is attached. If the noun ends in /i/, the suffix -i changes to -ya:

(14)  a. lima-i  b. li-ya
    hand-2PL/3PL.POSS    foot-2PL/3PL.POSS
    ‘your (pl.)/their hands’ ‘your (pl.)/their feet’

Disjunctive Pronouns

Disjunctive pronouns are used in isolation or for emphasis as well as in object position. This means that whenever the procliticized pronoun would be used but the pronoun is emphasized, it is changed to its disjunctive counterpart. Consider the following example:

(15)  a. Nĕ n-èn téh  b. Nané n-èn téh
    3SG.PROCL 3SG-drink tea 3SG 3SG-drink tea
    ‘He/She drinks tea’ ‘It is him/her who drinks tea’

(16)  Gò lèbu nané
    1SG.PROCL bathe 3SG
    ‘I bathe him’

Postpositive and Suffixied Pronouns

In general, possessive pronouns appear in postpositive form, directly following the noun to which they belong. However, even though this postpositive pronoun is reserved for alienable nouns, it may also be used with inalienable nouns for emphasis. Suffixied pronouns only appear with inalienable nouns; inalienable possession in Atadei include body parts, kinship terms, attributes such as age and name, and things around humans such as one’s own house. The following possessive constructions are possible in Atadei:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>hand</th>
<th>foot</th>
<th>head</th>
<th>house</th>
<th>chicken</th>
<th>cat</th>
<th>boat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atadei root</td>
<td>lima-</td>
<td>li-</td>
<td>ulu-</td>
<td>una-</td>
<td>manuk</td>
<td>kuhing</td>
<td>ténar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>liga</td>
<td>ulug</td>
<td>unag</td>
<td>manuk góen</td>
<td>kuhing góen</td>
<td>ténar góen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>liman</td>
<td>lim</td>
<td>ulun</td>
<td>unan</td>
<td>manuk móen</td>
<td>kuhing móen</td>
<td>ténar móen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>liman</td>
<td>lin</td>
<td>ulun</td>
<td>unan</td>
<td>manuk naen</td>
<td>kuhing naen</td>
<td>ténar naen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL INCL</td>
<td>limaha</td>
<td>liha</td>
<td>uluhu</td>
<td>unaha</td>
<td>manuk titë</td>
<td>kuhing titë</td>
<td>ténar titë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL EXCL</td>
<td>limaha</td>
<td>liha</td>
<td>uluhu</td>
<td>unaha</td>
<td>manuk kamé</td>
<td>kuhing kamé</td>
<td>ténar kamé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>limai</td>
<td>liya</td>
<td>ului</td>
<td>unai</td>
<td>manuk miön</td>
<td>kuhing miön</td>
<td>ténar miön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>limai</td>
<td>liya</td>
<td>ului</td>
<td>unai</td>
<td>manuk daën</td>
<td>kuhing daën</td>
<td>ténar daën</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When I was in Lembata, my informant told me that it is possible to say manukénm ‘your chicken’ but later, when I asked him again, he revoked his opinion and opted for gò manuk ‘id.’ and manuk góen ‘id.’

It is not possible to say *kuhingénm ‘your cat’ or *ténaréng ‘my boat’, as these nouns are not considered inalienable and therefore are always used with the postpositive pronoun. Postpositive pronouns always directly follow the noun even if another modifier is included in the same nominal phrase. The syntactical structure in Atadei (1) is different from English (2), and also differs from Indonesian (3), which has been added here for comparison:
This sentence in Atadei is not to be confused with ‘my table is small’ (Indonesian: mejaku kecil), which would be méja góen këlurak. Another option to express possession is shown in the next chapter.

**Procliticized Pronouns**

This kind of pronoun has two functions: It is the subject when used with a verb (examples 16-18 below) or the possessor when used before a noun (examples 19 and 20 below). However, inalienable nouns require the addition of the suffixed pronoun, too (example 20 below). Consider the following examples showing the different uses of procliticized pronouns:

(17) (Dé) d-ën téh
3PL.PROCL 3PL-drink tea
‘They drink tea’

(18) Gò ka kënìk
1SG.PROCL eat.1SG rice
‘I eat rice’

(19) (Kam) těk m-ia rèbè hi
1PL.EXCL.PROCL NEG 1PL.EXCL-live here NEG
‘We (excl.) do not live here’

(20) Gò ina-g na wèl una òra
1SG.PROCL mother-1SG there.is inside.CIRC house inside.CIRC
‘My mother is inside the house’

(21) Éna ně oto?
who 3SG.PROCL car
‘Whose car is it?’

Subject pronouns may be dropped when the verb is inflected for person. These procliticized pronouns are also optionally used before prefixed pronouns as explained in the following chapter.

**Prefixed Pronouns**

Generally, Atadei adjectives require the subject pronoun to be directly prefixed to the adjectival root, however some adjectives seem to behave differently. There is at least one verbal adjective that also requires a prefixed pronoun for conjugation. Procliticized pronouns as explained earlier in this paper are optional before prefixed pronouns, but are usually necessary whenever ambiguity arises. For 3SG and 3PL, the disjunctive pronouns nané and dané, respectively, are also possible. The following scheme should suffice as a general overview of how prefixed pronouns are used in Atadei:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>gôlôk</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>òga</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>(gô) kêrgôlôk</td>
<td>I am tall</td>
<td>(gô) kêrôga?</td>
<td>what am I doing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>(mô) mêrgôlôk</td>
<td>you are tall</td>
<td>(mô) mêrôga?</td>
<td>what are you doing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>(nê) nêrgôlôk</td>
<td>he/she is tall</td>
<td>(nê) nêrôga?</td>
<td>what is he/she doing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL INCL</td>
<td>(tité) têrgôlôk</td>
<td>we and you are tall</td>
<td>(tité) têrôga?</td>
<td>what are we and you doing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL EXCL</td>
<td>(kam) mêrgôlôk</td>
<td>we not you are tall</td>
<td>(kam) mêrôga?</td>
<td>what are we not you doing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>(miô) mêrgôlôk</td>
<td>you all are tall</td>
<td>(miô) mêrôga?</td>
<td>what are you all doing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>(dê) dêrgôlôk</td>
<td>they are tall</td>
<td>(dê) dêrôga?</td>
<td>what are they doing?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I have observed some adjectives used differently from the scheme above, e.g. *kam kédar ‘we are big’ from kéda ‘big’, where one would expect *kam mérkéd, but I cannot offer any explanation for this discrepancy at the moment. Apart from this, it is also possible to simply use the disjunctive pronoun with an adjective, e.g. góén kélurak ‘I am small; it is me who is small’, which seems to put more stress on the pronoun than (gó) kérkélurak ‘I am small’.

Verbs

Many Atadei verbs are inflected in agreement with the subject, but do not indicate tense or aspect. The verbal inflection follows different patterns, which means that the personal marker may be prefixed, suffixed or absent, depending on the verb. In this paper, I indicate the verb class by subscript morphemes for the second and third person. This inflection is similar but not identical to the system used in Lamaholot. It is very different, though, from verbal derivation in Indonesian. I have found at least five verb classes, i.e. full prefixed conjugation, prefixed defective, suffixed defective, irregular, and absent conjugation. The following conjugation scheme shows all five groups exemplified by kia ‘to live’, ka ‘to eat’, òlig ‘to come’, lĕbò ‘to take a bath’ and nang ‘to swim’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>root group</th>
<th>kia</th>
<th>ka</th>
<th>òlig-</th>
<th>lĕbò-</th>
<th>nang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>gó</td>
<td>kia</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>òlig</td>
<td>lĕbökég</td>
<td>nang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>mò</td>
<td>mia</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>òlig</td>
<td>lĕbök</td>
<td>nang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>nè</td>
<td>nia</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>òling</td>
<td>lĕbökém</td>
<td>nang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL INCL</td>
<td>tité</td>
<td>fia</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>òligëhè</td>
<td>lĕbho</td>
<td>nang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL EXCL</td>
<td>kam</td>
<td>mia</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>òligëm</td>
<td>lĕbökém</td>
<td>nang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>miò</td>
<td>mia</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>òligëm</td>
<td>lĕböm</td>
<td>nang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>dè</td>
<td>dia</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>òling</td>
<td>lĕbho</td>
<td>nang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs belonging to the m/n group that I have encountered during my stay in Lembata are kèi ‘to go’, kèn ‘to drink’, kétèn ‘to know’, kia ‘to live’, and probably *kèk ‘to say’, of which I have only come across mèk ‘we (excl.) say’. For the g group only ka ‘to eat’, for the g/ng group only òlig ‘to come’, and for the irregular group only lĕbò- ‘to take a bath’ can be offered for the time being. By far, most verbs seem not to conjugate at all: bĕngolèng ‘to hit’, buai ‘to eat’, dor dĕngé ‘to follow, to obey’, gĕpar ‘to tell(?)’, kantar15 ‘to sing’, lĕbu ‘to bathe (someone)’, nang ‘to swim’, panau ‘to go’, pĕhĕnĕng ‘to hold’, rupa ‘to see’, tĕdëk ‘to say’, tôbë ‘to sit’, and tui ‘to want’.

SYNTACTIC FEATURES

The syntax of the languages on Lembata Island and around is still understudied, but I shall at least mention how negation, interrogation, and some deictic expressions work in Atadei. There is still a lot more to say about the syntax of Atadei, but sufficient data is missing.

Negation

Negation in Atadei is formed by the particle tèk, placed directly before the verb, and the particle hi at the end of the sentence. However, the final hi is optional in some cases:

(22) (Dé) tèk d-ia rĕbë hi
     3PL.PROCL NEG 3PL-live here NEG
 ‘They do not live here’
To express an action that has not yet taken place, Atadei makes use of the particle nawa- ‘(not) yet’, which is inflected for person and number and placed before the negation particle tĕk ‘not’. The sentence-final particle hi is obligatory. The inflection of nawa- can be seen from the following sample sentences:

(25) a. (Gò) nawa-k-ĕg tĕk k-ĕn téh hi
   1SG.PROCL not.yet-SG-1SG NEG 1SG-drink tea NEG
   ‘I have not drunk tea yet’

b. (Mò) nawa-k-ĕm tĕk m-ĕn téh hi
   2SG.PROCL not.yet-SG-2SG NEG 2SG-drink tea NEG
   ‘You have not drunk tea yet’

c. (Nĕ) nawa-.resume tĕk n-ĕn téh hi
   3SG.PROCL not.yet-SG-3SG NEG 3SG-drink tea NEG
   ‘He/She has not drunk tea yet’

d. (Kam) nawa-.resume-m tĕk m-ĕn téh hi
   1PL.EXCL.PROCL not.yet-PL-1PL.EXCL NEG 1PL.EXCL-drink tea NEG
   ‘We (excl.) have not drunk tea yet’

e. (Tité) nawa-.resume-ha tĕk t-ĕn téh hi
   1PL.INCL.PROCL not.yet-PL-1PL.INCL NEG 1PL.INCL-drink tea NEG
   ‘We (incl.) have not drunk tea yet’

f. (Miò) nawa-.resume-m tĕk m-ĕn téh hi
   2PL.PROCL not.yet-PL-2PL NEG 2PL-drink tea NEG
   ‘We (incl.) have not drunk tea yet’

g. (Dĕ) nawa-.resume-i tĕk d-ĕn téh hi
   3PL.PROCL not.yet-PL-3PL NEG 3PL-drink tea NEG
   ‘They have not drunk tea yet’

For the time being, I can say that nawa- is the only particle that must be inflected for person. It may also be an auxiliary verb with suffixed conjugation.

**Interrogation**

Simple yes–no questions in Atadei have the same syntactic structure as declarative clauses with altered intonation. An optional interrogative particle bò may be used at the beginning of the sentence.

(26) (Bò) (mò) m-ĕn téh ké?
   Q 2SG.PROCL 2SG-drink tea already
   ‘Have you (sg.) drunk tea already?’

As already explained earlier in this paper there is a special verb for the question ‘what … doing?’, i.e. -ŏga (27). This is similar to the colloquial Indonesian construction ngapain (27′). The difference between Atadei and Indonesian is that -ŏga is morphologically not overt, while ngapain does contain the word apa ‘what’.
Interrogative adverbs may be placed at the beginning or at the end of a sentence:

(27) \( \text{Miò} \) mèr-òga? \( \text{Kalian} \) ng-apa-in?

‘What are you (pl.) doing?’ ‘What are you (pl.) doing?’

Deictic Expressions

In Atadei, pronominal and adnominal demonstratives are morphologically identical. The adnominal demonstratives follow the noun they modify, for example:

(33) \( \text{Gò} \) lèbu anakèn nèbò

1SG.PROCL bathe child that

‘I bathe that child’

Atadei distinguishes at least four locative adverbs, i.e. rèbè ‘here’, rëwal ‘there’, rëlau ‘down there’, rëjè ‘up there, atop’. The interrogative adverb for location is rëga ‘where’. Deictic adpositions appear after, before or around the noun they refer to. The following five examples should suffice to show the syntactical features of Atadei adpositions:

(34) \( \text{Una} \) kënèmata nó lalan

house in.front.of.door there.is street

‘There is a street in front of the house’

(35) \( \text{Tité} \) tóbé rëbé bélakang una

1PL.INCL sit here behind house

‘We are sitting here behind the house’

(36) \( \text{Gò} \) motor na bèyé una papa

1SG.PROCL motorbike there.is next.to.CIRC house next.to.CIRC

‘My motorbike is next to the house’

(37) \( \text{Gò} \) ina-g na wèl una òra

1SG.PROCL mother-1SG.POSS there.is inside.CIRC house inside.CIRC

‘My mother is inside the house’

(38) \( \text{Kam} \) manuk na yè una uwung

1PL.EXCL.PROCL chicken there.is on.top.CIRC house on.top.CIRC

‘My chicken is on the house’

The origin of the Atadei adpositions above are not known to me. Circumpositions do appear in various languages around the world, but are a relatively rare phenomenon. It is not clear why both
Atadei and Lamaholot (Nishiyama & Kelen, 2007, pp. 89-90) use circumpositions, as it does not seem to be an areal feature. The closely related Sika language only has prepositions. Tetum, however, is the best-known language in the area to employ quasi-circumpositions with *iha* (usually called locative marker) and a deictic postposition (Williams-van Klinken et al., 2002, pp. 29-30).

CONCLUSION

This paper has briefly shown how the Eastern Atadei language works and has given an overview of its phonology, morphology, and basic syntactic features. So far, this paper has been the first description about the Atadei language, and I would argue that it may safely be called a language on its own, having at least two mutually intelligible dialects: Eastern Atadei (previously called Painara) and Western Atadei (may be called Kalikas dialect). The feature of inalienability possession and clause-final negation are a clear indicator of a Papuan substratum in Atadei, probably due to language contact with the neighboring Alor-Pantar languages.

NOTES

* I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for very helpful comments on the earlier drafts.


2 The designation is a compound of *ata* ‘man, human being’ and *dēi*, a dialectal variant of *dir* ‘to stand’, both of them being Austronesian root words: PAN *gaR(R)(CtT)a* ‘alien people’ with PMP *gaRta* (Blust, 1972) and PAN *diSr* ‘to stand’ (Wolff, 2010, p. 822) or PAN *diRi* (ACD, 7386).

3 SIL International ([http://www.ethnologue.com/language/lmf](http://www.ethnologue.com/language/lmf)), but this categorization seems to represent several dialects that are told apart by the people of the Atadei district. The specific isolec of the Atadei district is called Bahasa Atadei in Indonesian, and this is also the language described in this paper, more precisely the eastern variant of it.

4 No official information is available for the number of people speaking the Atadei language. The most recent and accurate census (Sensus Penduduk 2010) does not list individual groups of Lembata Island. The number is, therefore, taken from what has been stated by the SIL Internation on the South Lembata language, supported by the Hanna Fricke’s (Leiden University, personal communication) estimation of Western Atadei (3,000 inhabitants) and Eastern Atadei (between 3,000 and 5,000 inhabitants).

5 My main informants were the son of the family, Chanz Tukas, and his parents Philipus Gego Tukan and Yuliana Pega Within. I would like to take this opportunity to thank them very much for all the information they gave me and for their hospitality during my stay in their house in Lewoleba.

6 This is my own data collected during my stay in Lewoleba with a family from Atalojo.

7 Data taken from Pampus (1999).

8 Data taken from Nishiyama & Kelen (2007).


10 The final -r in Atadei is probably an old remnant of a nominative marker still found in neighboring dialects (Hanna Fricke, personal conversation). Some other dialects also have the final -r without marking the nominative, e.g. Lewotolaka: *aor*, Imulolo: *aor*, Lewokukun: *aor*, Mingar: *aor*, Lewopenutu: *aor* (data taken from Keraf, 1978, pp. 409-423). Keraf (1978, p. 423) also lists *aor* ‘dog’ for Painara, being the same language as Atadei, however according to my observation it is *aor*.

11 In Standard German, the adjective *klein* ‘small’ is not inflected in predicate position, e.g. *Der Tisch ist klein* ‘The table is small’, however it is inflected by case, number, and gender in attributive position, e.g. *der kleine Tisch* ‘the small table’. In French, the modifier *petit* ‘small’ agrees with the head noun *table* ‘table’ in any position, e.g. *La table est petite* ‘The table is small’, and *la petite table* ‘the small table’. The Atadei adjective works similar to German.

12 This word is probably a direct loan from Portuguese, although it also exists in Indonesian.

13 Compare French *moi* ‘I’, *me*, *toi* ‘you’ etc.
There seem to be exceptions to this rule, e.g. 1PL EXCL: kam limam ‘our (excl.) hands’, not *kam lim(a)ha, whereas limaha ‘our (excl.) hands’ is said to be correct. The construction mò unan ‘your house’ is more frequently used than the correct mò unam, whereas it is normal to say nò lim ‘your foot’, but not *nò lin.

This word is a loanword from Portuguese cantar ‘to sing’, also found in several dialects of Lamaholot, but not in Kedang, which uses lali, and Indonesian, which has bernyanyi.

REFERENCES


