

Modality and Evidentiality in Lamaholot, with reference to Muna
Kunio Nishiyama (Ibaraki University)

This paper offers description and basic structural analysis of modality and evidentiality in Lamaholot (east Flores, CMP), with some reference to Muna (off southeast Sulawesi, WMP). The description of modality largely consists of the word order of modal auxiliaries. The analytical part intends to answer one of the questions of this workshop: Can morphological devices contribute to the expression of TAM? I show that a resumptive pronoun illuminates the bi-clausal structure of evidential sentences ('seem') in Lamaholot. The bi-clausal structure is also observed in Muna in sentences involving what van den Berg calls subject complementation. In this language, it is agreement that illuminates the bi-clausal structure.

The word order of auxiliaries in Lamaholot shows a kind of hierarchy regarding the freedom of the occurring position. The most liberal type, *bisa* 'can' from Indonesian, can either precede or follow the predicate. It can also follow the second verb in a serial verb construction (SVC). The next type, *-oiro* 'know, can' also either precedes or follows the predicate, but in a SVC, it can only precede the main predicate. The most restrictive type is *mvse* 'must', which can only precede the main predicate, whether in a SVC or not.

As for evidentiality, Lamaholot uses *tvngv hama* 'see same' to express circumstantial evidentiality:

- (1) dos pe'en tvngv-na hama ba'a
box the see-3sg same heavy 'The box seems to be heavy.'

But there are two other ways to express the similar meaning:

- (2) tvngv-na hama dos pe'en ba'a
(3) dos pe'en tvngv-na hama **na** ba'a

In (2), the subject follows the evidential expression. In (3), there is a pronoun *na* in the position where the subject is found in (2). Given that *na* in its basic usage cannot be used for inanimates, its existence in (3) indicates that it is a resumptive pronoun. (*-na* on *tvngv* is an agreement marker.) That is, the basic structure of evidentiality is biclausal: Evidentiality [Subject Predicate], as in (2). In (1), the subject is displaced from the original position. When displacement happens, a resumptive pronoun optionally appears in the original position, as in (1) and (3).

In contrast to the resumptive pronoun device of Lamaholot, Muna utilizes agreement to illuminate the biclausal nature. According to van den Berg, there are three types of modal expressions (in a broad sense) in terms of whether it agrees with the subject or not: (i) obligatory agreement, (ii) optional agreement, (iii) no agreement. In type (i), the main predicate also agrees with the subject, resulting in multiple agreement. This is because the subject is active in both embedded position and the matrix position, inducing agreement twice. In (iii), in contrast, the subject is stuck in the embedded position, and thus it can only agree with the predicate. (ii) is a hybrid of (i) and (iii). Semantically, modal words of the type (i) are aspectual like 'begin', those in (iii) are words that are insensitive to animacy like 'happen to'. The type (ii) seems various: 'usually', 'tired', 'fast' etc.

Nishiyama, Kunio and Herman Kelen. 2007. *A grammar of Lamaholot, eastern Indonesia: the morphology and syntax of the Lewoingu dialect*. Munich: Lincom.

van den Berg, René. 1989. *A grammar of the Muna Language*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leiden. [Published by Mouton.]