

The Legend of Inggü Fufuk, or the Beetle Village: A Folktale of Lole, a Language Spoken on Rote Island

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Lole is an Austronesian language spoken on Rote Island in eastern Indonesia. This article presents a Lole folktale titled “The Legend of Inggü Fufuk, or the Beetle Village.” This tale recounts an episode from long ago, when the moon was close to the earth, and people could easily travel back and forth between the two. This article also includes a short grammatical sketch of Lole.

Keywords: Lole, Rote, eastern Indonesia, folktale

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1. Introduction

Lole is an indigenous Austronesian language spoken on Rote Island, Indonesia. Edwards (2018) argues that Lole belongs to the Nuclear Rote subgroup together with other 12 languages spoken in the eastern part of Rote Island. Figure 1 shows the region in which Lole and other languages are spoken on Rote. Among the languages shown there, Termanu, Dela, and Ndao each have a full grammar—Jonker (1915), Tamelan (2021), and Balukh (2020), respectively. The other languages, including Lole, are in general understudied and underdocumented.

This article provides a Lole folktale titled “The origin of Inggü Fufuk village,” which is well known among the Lole people. This text will function as a sample of the Lole narrative, showing language usage and its culture.

The narrator is the third author, a native speaker of Lole, who was born in 1970 in

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Noandale Village in the region. Before presenting the text in Section 5, we provide Lole phonology in Section 2, morphology in Section 3, and morphosyntax in Section 4.

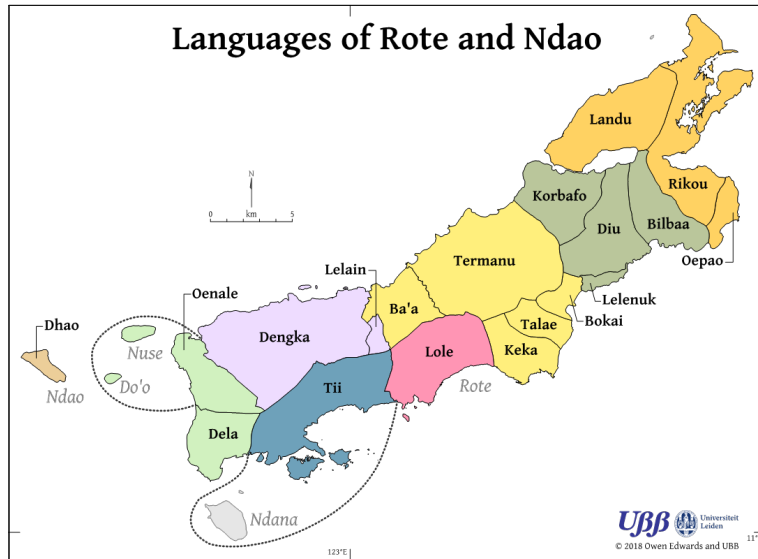


Fig.1 The language of Lole

2. Phonology

2.1. Vowels

Lole has five basic vowels, which are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Lole vowel phonemes

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e [e~ɛ]	o [o~ɔ]
Low	a	

Mid vowels are realized as mid-high (i.e., [e] and [o]) when a syllable with a high or low vowel (i.e., /i/, /u/, and /a/) follows it, but as mid-low (i.e., [ɛ] and [ɔ]) in other positions. Examples include [delu] ‘to knock’, contrasted with [dɛlɔ] ‘lemon’ or [lɛ] ‘river’, and [losa] ‘to reach’, contrasted with [lɔsɛ] ‘to rub’ or [lɔ] ‘pass on’.

2.2. Consonants

Lole has 15 consonants, as presented in Table 2. Consonants in parentheses () are loan phonemes that occur in loans from Indonesian or Kupang Malay. The orthography

used for each phoneme is presented in angle brackets < > where it differs from IPA.¹ This orthography is employed in the text presented in Section 5.

Table 2 Lole consonant phonemes

	Bilabial		Alveolar		Velar		Glottal
	Non-voiced	Voiced	Non-voiced	Voiced	Non-voiced	Voiced	
Stops	p	b	t	d	k		ʔ <'>
Prenasalized stops		^m b <mb>		ⁿ d <nd>	^ŋ g <ngg>		
Nasals		m		n			
Trills				(r)			
Fricatives	f		s				h
Laterals				l			
Approximants	(w)		(j)				

The voiced stops /b/ and /d/ are typically preglottalized as [ʔb] and [ʔd] intervocalically. Examples illustrating the contrast between/among the consonants are presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3 Consonant contrast

Contrasted consonants	Words	Meaning
/p/ ~ /b/	/palu/	'to hit, to grate'
	/balu/	'to cover'
/ ^m b/ ~ /b/	/ ^m bae/	'swollen'
	/bae/	'to pay'
/t/ ~ /d/ ~ /nd/	/tai/	'depend on'
	/dai/	'enough'
	/ ⁿ dai/	'small fishing net'
/m/ ~ /n/ ~ /l/	/moe/	'to urinate'
	/noe/	'to melt'
	/loe/	'to go downhill'
/k/ ~ / ^ŋ g/	/kadi/	'to explode'
	/ ^ŋ gadi/	'elephant'
/k/ ~ /h/	/kaʔi/	'to admonish'
	/haʔi/	'fire'
/h/ ~ /ʔ/	/hata/	'what'
	/ata/	'servant'

¹ The orthography of Lole is regulated by UBB GMIT (Unit Bahasa dan Budaya Gereja Masehi Injili Timor), an ecclesiastical institute located in Kupang that conducts various activities for promoting local languages and cultures.

A glottal stop is phonemic in intervocalic positions; minimal pairs showing the contrast include *too* ‘border’ and *toʔo* ‘uncle’. In contrast, it always occurs in a word-initial position and therefore is not phonemic (e.g., [ʔutek] ‘brain’). It drops within a compound noun, as in *bafi utek* ‘a pig’s brain’. Its occurrence is optional in the word derivational process with a prefix; the glottal stop in [ʔutek] may or may not drop when attached to the prefix *ka-* that derives a verb meaning ‘possess a referent of the stem’; thus, both *ka-ʔutek* and *kautek* ‘have a brain’ are observed.

2.3. Vowel sequences

All types of sequences of two vowels have been attested in Lole, with two types of exceptions, namely, from the front high vowel /i/ to the mid vowel /e/ and from the back high vowel /u/ to the mid vowel /o/. Examples of possible sequences are shown in Table 4, where not-attested sequences are marked in black.

Table 4 Possible vowel sequences and examples

	a	i	u	e	o
a	aa <i>a-taa</i> ‘1sg.answer’	ai <i>lain</i> ‘above’	au <i>sauk</i> ‘comb’	ae <i>^mbae</i> ‘swell’	ao <i>aok</i> ‘body’
i	ia <i>^mbia</i> ‘to throw’	ii <i>a-lii</i> ‘1sg-ring’	iu <i>makiuk</i> ‘dark’	ie	io <i>sio</i> ‘nine’
u	ua <i>tua</i> ‘lontar palm’	ui <i>fuiik</i> ‘wild’	uu <i>tutuun</i> ‘the base’	ue <i>sue</i> ‘to love’	uo
e	ea <i>matea</i> ‘strong’	ei <i>makeis</i> ‘sour’	eu <i>beuk</i> ‘new’	ee <i>kakeek</i> ‘mark, a way of cutting’	eo <i>leo</i> ‘live, stay, be alike’
o	oa <i>maloa</i> ‘wide’	oi <i>doik</i> ‘money’	ou <i>touk</i> ‘man’	oe <i>loe</i> ‘to go downhill’	oo <i>too</i> ‘border’

The glide [j] regularly occurs between front vowels and other vowels (i.e., /ia/, /iu/, /io/, /ea/, and /eo/), and [w] occurs between back vowels and other vowels (i.e., /ua/, /ui/, /ue/, /oa/, /oi/, and /oe/), both of which are phonetic realizations and should be distinguished from the phonemic *w* and *j* in Table 2 that are observed in loan words.

Assimilation may occur in vowel sequences in rapid speech in a sequence of a mid vowel followed by a high vowel, both in front and back series, in most of which cases the second vowel is assimilated to the first, as in the examples shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Assimilation

ei → ee	[ma.'ke.is]	[ma.'ke.es]	‘sour’
ou → oo	[ʔo.uk]	[took]	‘man’
oe → o	[bɔ.'ɛ.ma]	[bɔ.ma]	‘then’
eo → o	[ʔɛ.ɔ]	[lɔ]	‘be like’

Notwithstanding the vowel changes mentioned above, vowel sequences in Lole form two separate syllables instead of long vowels or diphthongs constituting one syllable. There are two reasons for this analysis. First, only the first vowel of the sequence is doubled in partial reduplication (e.g., *lai-n* ‘above’ → *la~lai* ‘sky’, and *kai* ‘to pick with a stick’ → *ka~kai* ‘to pick intensively’). Second, the stress, which usually occurs penultimately (e.g., [‘bu.sa] ‘dog’ and [‘pɛ.kək] ‘bent’, with “ ’ ” indicating the stress), occurs on the first vowel of the sequence (e.g., [‘da.ɛ] ‘ground’, [‘bɔ.ɔk] ‘smell’, [ka.li.‘kɛ.ɛ] ‘belt’, and [ʔa.ka.‘nda.a] ‘1sg-doubt’).

2.4. Syllables

The basic syllable template of Lole is (C)V(C). Among the 15 consonants, only /k/, /s/, and /n/ occur in the coda. Closed syllables (i.e., VC and CVC) occur only in root-final position. Thus, consonant clusters may not occur within a root.² Examples of attested monosyllabic and disyllabic structures are shown in Table 6.

Table 6 Possible syllable structures for mono-syllabic and disyllabic words

Syllable pattern	Example	Meaning
V	/u/	‘1sg.go’
VC	/uk/	‘husk’
CV	/do/	‘or’
CVC	/les/	‘to read’
V.V	/o.e/	‘water’
V.VC	/e.ik/	‘leg, foot’
V.CV	/i.ta/	‘1PL.INCL’
V.CVC	/i.nak/	‘woman’
CV.V	/da.i/	‘enough’
CV.VC	/bo.ak/	‘fruit’
CV.CV	/hi.ᵝga/	‘to count’
CV.CVC	/ba.fak/	‘mouth’

The presence of the non-syllabic genitive clitic for 1sg =*ŋ* and for 2pl =*m* allows the phonemes /ŋ/ and /m/ to occur word finally (e.g., *uma=ŋ* ‘my house’, *uma=m* ‘your (sg.) house’), in addition to the three default root coda consonants /k/, /s/, and /n/. The root coda drops when the genitive clitic attaches to avoid a consonant cluster (e.g., *ei=ŋ* ‘my foot’, *ei=n* ‘his/ her/ their foot’ < *eik* ‘leg, foot’). Among the root coda consonants, /n/ occurs much less frequently in the coda position than the other two. Most of the *n*-final items have a counterpart with a different coda or without a coda (e.g., *lai-n* ‘above’ → *la~lai* ‘sky’), which implies a derived nature. The presence of the genitive and objective clitic =*n* also

² Reduced forms in rapid speech may create a consonant cluster, such as [ma.na.ma.ik] > [man.ma.ik] ‘the one who is coming’. [mana-] is a relative marker (REL) in which the nucleus [a] of the second syllable is dropped and leaves [n] as the coda of the first syllable. Another example is [a.ma.he.le] > [am.he.le] ‘1sg.believe’, where the nucleus [a] of the second syllable is dropped.

supports this view; at least some items with *n* coda may be forms with clitic =*n* as their origin.

3. Morphology

3.1. Roots and affixes

In Lole, roots are classified as free or bound roots. The former can be used as independent words, while the latter cannot. In this study, bound roots are indicated with a hyphen (-) without including their meaning. Lole has the following five prefixes that are involved in word formation.

- (1) Reciprocal *ba-*, with *be-* as a free variant (e.g., *ba-kola* ‘talk to each other’, *ba-numbu* ‘whisper to each other’)
- (2) Stative *ma-* (e.g., *ma-loa* ‘be wide’, *ma-dema* ‘be tall/ high’)
- (3) Relational *ka-* (e.g., *ka-edak* ‘equipped with a ladder’ < *edak* ‘ladder’, *ka-busa-k* ‘keeping a dog’ < *busa* ‘dog’)
- (4) Anti-causative *nana* (e.g., *nana-soi-k* ‘open (vi)’)
- (5) Verb-deriving prefix *Ca-* (the consonants *k, s, m, l, ʎg* may appear as *C*.)

This prefix derives a bound verb. The resultant verbs show various types of semantic correspondence with the base, which may be a noun, adjective, intransitive verb, or bound root. Within the present range of research, the correlation between the form (i.e., *C* in *Ca-*) and meaning of the resultant verb, or the semantic or syntactic change brought about by the derivation process, has not been determined. Therefore, for the present analysis, we consider all these forms as a single prefix labeled *Ca-*.

Table 7 Verb stems derived by *Ca-* prefixes³

Form	Base	Meaning	Derived form	Meaning
ka-	<i>bubuak</i> (n)	‘group’	-ka-bubua	‘gather’
	<i>beuk</i> (vi/ adj)	‘new’	-ka-bebeu(k)	‘renew’
sa-	<i>pekok</i> (vi/ adj)	‘bent’	-sa-(pe)peko	‘tell a lie’
	<i>fali</i> (vi)	‘return’	-sa-fali	‘change position’
ma-	<i>tani</i> (n)	‘cry’	-ma-tani	‘cry’
	<i>su’i</i> (n)	‘wealth’	-ma-su’i	‘be rich (of)’
la-	<i>me’is</i> (n)	‘dream’	-la-me’i	‘dream’
fa-	<i>-duli</i>	-	-fa-duli	‘care for’
^ʎ ga-	<i>-tuuk</i> (cf. <i>tutuuk</i> a place to sit)	-	-^ʎga-tuuk	‘sit’
^m ba-	<i>-dei</i>	-	-^mba-dei(k)	‘stand’
	<i>-lani</i>	-	-^mba-lani	‘be brave’

³ The forms *ka-* and *ma-* in Table 5 should be distinguished from the relational prefix *ka-* in (3) above and stative prefix *ma-* in (2) above, respectively, because the former derives bound verbs, as do all other CV- forms in Table 7, while the latter derives free verb stems.

3.2. Reduplication

Lole has two kinds of reduplication: partial reduplication and full reduplication. Partial reduplication copies the first syllable of the root (Table 8).

Table 8 Partial (CV~) reduplication

Base	Word class	Meaning	Reduplicated form	Word class	Meaning
<i>biak</i>	N	'part'	<i>bi~biak</i>	N	'pieces'
<i>bae</i>	V	'pay'	<i>ba~baek</i>	N	'payment'
<i>mate</i>	V	'die'	<i>ma~mate</i>	N	'dead body'
<i>lees</i>	V	'read'	<i>le~lees</i>	N	'a way of reading'
<i>kee</i>	V	'cut (with a knife)'	<i>ke~kee-k</i>	N	'a way of cutting'
<i>ina-huuk</i>	ADJ	'big'	<i>ina-hu~huu</i>	V	'to make it bigger'
<i>deak</i>	N	'outside'	<i>-ka-de~deak</i>	V	'turn back'

A compound noun can be a semantic base for reduplication, in which case the second element of the compound is reduplicated. The compound *ina-huuk* 'big', which literally means 'main trunk', exemplifies this. As shown in *-ka-de~deak*, partial reduplication may accompany other affix attachments, in this case the verb-deriving prefix *ka-*. Full reduplication copies the entire base except the coda, if any, as shown in Table 9.

Table 9 Full reduplication

Base	Meaning	Reduplicated form	Meaning
<i>faa</i>	'a little'	<i>faa-faa</i>	'little by little'
<i>huu</i>	'because'	<i>huu-huu</i>	'because of'
<i>la'o</i>	'to leave'	<i>la'o-la'o</i>	'to leave repeatedly'
<i>dua</i>	'two'	<i>dua-dua-k</i>	'two in each group'
<i>basan</i>	'all'	<i>basa-basan</i>	'altogether'
<i>matak</i>	'kind'	<i>mata-matak</i>	'various'
<i>laʔi esa</i>	'one time'	<i>laʔi esa-laʔi esa</i>	'sometimes'

Some full reduplicated verbs have a bound root as a host, as shown in Table 10 below.

Table 10 Full reduplication with bound roots

Reduplicated form	Meaning	Base
<i>lai-lai</i>	‘quickly’	* <i>lai</i>
<i>koe-koe</i>	‘slowly’	* <i>koe</i>
<i>^mbea-^mbea</i>	‘continuously’	* <i>mbea</i>
<i>kola-kola</i>	‘to speak repeatedly’	* <i>kola</i>
<i>doto-doto</i>	‘be boiling’	* <i>doto</i>
<i>le^ŋga-le^ŋga</i>	‘supine’	* <i>lengga</i>

3.3. Plural enclitics

Lole has two types of plural enclitics: the unmarked plural markers =*ala* (after a consonant; e.g. *busa=la* ‘dogs’ < *busa* ‘dog’) and =*la* (after a vowel; e.g. *mbelak=ala* ‘corn (PL)’ < *mbelak* ‘corn’), and the associative plural markers =*asa* (after a consonant, *Mesak=asa* ‘Mesak and his associates’) and =*sala* (after a vowel, *Musa=sala* ‘Musa and his associates’). These enclitics can be attached to a noun phrase with a modifier, as in Example (1).

- (1) *Hatoli seluk=ala*
 person other=PL
 ‘Other people.’

Lole also has two types of pronominal enclitics. We show their forms in Section 4.1.

3.4. Final consonants

In word-deriving processes, coda *-k* appears in various circumstances. First, it may derive a noun from a bound root, as in *loak* ‘width’ (< *-loa*) or *demak* ‘height’ (< *-dema*). Second, it may accompany the derivation process, as in (i)–(ii).

- (i) with other prefixes; *ka-busa-k* ‘keeping a dog’ (< the relational *ka-* + *busa* ‘dog’).
 (ii) with reduplication; *ba~bae-k* ‘payment’ < *bae* ‘pay’, *ke~kee-k* ‘the way of cutting’ < *kee* ‘cut’

4. Morphosyntax

4.1. Pronominal prefixes and enclitics

Table 11 shows the free forms of personal pronouns, while Table 12 shows the pronominal prefixes and clitics.

Table 11 Free forms of pronouns

	Free forms	
	Neutral	Subjective
1SG	<i>au</i>	-
1PL.INCL	<i>ita</i>	<i>ata</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>ai</i>	-
2SG	<i>o</i>	-
2PL	<i>ei</i>	<i>ama</i>
3SG	<i>ⁿdia</i>	<i>ana</i>
3PL	<i>sila</i>	<i>ala</i>

Table 12 Bound form of pronouns (prefixes and clitics)

	Prefixes		Enclitics	
	Subjective		Objective	Genitive
	Before vowel	Before consonant		
1SG	Ø	<i>a</i> ⁴	= ^ŋ <i>gau</i>	= <i>ŋ</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>t-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	= ^ŋ <i>gata</i>	= <i>n</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>m-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	= ^ŋ <i>gai</i>	= <i>n</i>
2SG	<i>m-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	= ^ŋ <i>go</i>	= <i>m</i>
2PL	<i>m-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	= ^ŋ <i>gei</i>	= <i>n</i>
3SG	<i>n-</i>	<i>na-</i>	= <i>n(ana)</i>	= <i>n</i>
3PL	<i>l-</i>	<i>la-</i>	= <i>sala</i>	= <i>n</i>

Lole verb stems are classified into free and bound stems. The former occur with subjective free pronouns, as in (2), whereas the latter occur with subjective prefixes, as in (3).

- (2) *ana humu nik*
 3SG.SBJ catch crab
 ‘S/he/it caught a crab.’

- (3) *n-a?a mba*
 3SG-eat meat
 ‘S/he/it eats meat.’

Third person neutral pronouns are homonymous with the medial demonstrative pronouns (see 4.2.1). Free neutral pronouns may co-occur with both subject pronouns and verbs with subject prefixes, as shown in Sentences (2)’ and (3)’.

⁴ The form *a-* has an allomorph *i-*, which only occurs when a full NP or pronoun co-occurs with the verb; the form *a-* may occur without full NP or pronoun.

(2) *dia ana humu nik*
3SG 3SG.SBJ catch crab

(3) *dia n-a?a mba*
3SG 3SG-eat meat

Lole exhibits split intransitivity. Objective clitics follow either transitive or patientive intransitive verbs. Examples include sentences (11) in Section 4.2.1 and sentence (16) in 4.2.2, respectively.

4.2. Basic clauses

4.2.1. NP structure

The structure of noun phrases is schematized as in (4).

(4) NP Template in Lole
(QNT/personal ART) N_{HEAD} (N) (ADJ) (AUG/DIM) (= Plural clitic) (DEM/NUM)

Basically, the head noun stands in the phrase-initial position, and the modifier(s) follow(s). The exceptions are the personal article (e.g., *to'o Jermy* 'Uncle Jermy') which always precedes the head noun, and the quantifier *basa* 'all', which may occur before the head noun (e.g., *basa hataholi=la* [all person=PL] and *hataholi basa=sala* [person all=PL], both of which mean 'all the people').⁵

The head noun (N_{HEAD}) is maximally followed by a noun (N) and adjectives or state verbs (ADJ). When the modifier includes a lexeme of size, the augmentative/diminutive marker (AUG/DIM) may follow. Furthermore, it is followed by a plural enclitic. Finally, either a demonstrative or a numeral, but not both, becomes the last element of the phrase series. Within an NP, the final consonants (see 3.4) drop when followed by a modifier other than a demonstrative or numeral. In (5), the first line shows the surface representation, while the second line shows the underlying forms of each constituent. The final consonants in *m^hbuik* 'bird' and *fulak* 'white' drop in the former, as they are followed by non-DEM/NUM modifiers.

(5) *m^hbui fula malasik dia*
m^hbuik fulak malasik dia
bird white big MED.SG
'That big white bird.'

The final consonant *-k* occurs in the modifier noun (e.g., *hada hataholi-k* 'human culture' < *hada* 'culture' + *hataholi* 'human').

Sentence (6) shows an NP with two adjectives, an augmentative, and a demonstrative/numeral, while (7) and (8)a–b show NPs with an ordinary plural marker and associative plural marker, which shows the presence of the associates. The form =*asa* follows a consonant-final base, whereas the form =*sala* follows a vowel-final base.

⁵ No significant semantic difference is observed among *basa hataholi=la* [all person=PL] and *hataholi basa=sala* [person all=PL].

- (6) *au leo nai [uma fula malasi ina ⁿdia/esa]_{NP}*
 au leo nai uma fulak malasik ina ⁿdia/esa
 1SG live LOC house white big AUG MED.SG/One
 ‘I am living in that/a too-big white house.’
- (7) *Mbelak=ala sila*
 corn=PL MED.PL
 ‘That corn (PL).’
- (8) a. *Petrus=asa*
 Petrus=ASS.PL
 ‘Petrus and his friends/associates.’
 b. *Meki=sala*
 Meki=ASS.PL
 ‘Meki and his friends/associates.’

Table 13 lists the Lole demonstratives. Lole exhibits a three-place distinction based on spatial distance from the speaker, and only the medial category includes the opposition between singular and plural.

Table 13 Lole demonstratives

Category	Form	Meaning
Proximal	<i>ia</i>	‘this/these’
Medial SG	<i>ⁿdia</i>	‘that’
Medial PL	<i>sila</i>	‘those’
Distal	<i>ele</i>	‘that/those over there.’

4.2.2. Transitive clauses

The constituent order of Lole transitive clauses is SVO. As mentioned in 4.1, Lole verb stems can be divided into free verb stems and bound verb stems, as mentioned in 4.1.

Tables 14 and 15 exemplify verb stems of each type; they include both transitive and intransitive verbs.

Free verb stems may co-occur with both subjective pronouns and neutral pronouns, among which subjective pronouns almost always occur. Thus, Sentence (9)b without the subjective pronoun is less acceptable.⁶

- (9) a. *(kakanak ⁿdia) ana humu nik*
 child MED.SG 3SG.SBJ catch crab
 ‘The child caught a crab.’
 b. *?kakanak ⁿdia humu nik*
 child MED.SG catch crab

⁶ The sentence exemplified by (10)b may be accepted as an informal utterance, but not as formal utterances.

Table 14 Free verb stems

<i>ale</i>	‘chew’
<i>eki</i>	‘shout’
<i>inda</i>	‘spin (cotton)’
<i>ofe</i>	‘unload’
<i>bae</i>	‘pay’
<i>du’a</i>	‘think’
<i>hume</i>	‘smile’
<i>lees</i>	‘read’
<i>li’u</i>	‘beat, to ring’
<i>^mbeda</i>	‘put’
<i>nasak</i>	‘get angry’
<i>pode</i>	‘twist’
<i>tui</i>	‘tell’

Table 15 Regular subcategorized bound verbs

<i>-adiu</i>	‘take a bath’
<i>-ae</i>	‘say’
<i>-afada</i>	‘tell’
<i>-ahele</i>	‘keep’
<i>-ala</i>	‘get’
<i>-alai</i>	‘run’
<i>-amoa</i>	‘seize’
<i>-asale</i>	‘face’
<i>-ataa</i>	‘answer’
<i>-atane</i>	‘ask’
<i>-inu</i>	‘drink’
<i>-ita</i>	‘see’
<i>-oke</i>	‘call someone’

The bound verb may also occur with the subjective pronoun and the neutral pronoun, both of which are optional, as shown in (10)a–c.

- (10) a. (*busa*) (*ta*) (*ana*) *n-aʔa* *^mba*
 dog NEG 3SG.SBJ 3SG-eat meat
 ‘The dog (doesn’t) eat(s) meat.’
- b. *n-aʔa* *^mba*
 3SG-eat meat
 ‘S/he/it eats meat.’

- c. *n-aʔa=n*
 3SG-eat=3SG.OBJ
 ‘S/he/it eats it (meat).’

The objective enclitic may occur with the verb, as in (11).

- (11) *ʰdia n-oke=ʰgo*
 3SG 3SG-call=2SG
 ‘He calls you.’

The neutral pronoun may also occur in this position, as shown in (12).

- (12) *ʰdia n-oke o*
 3SG 3SG-call 2SG
 ‘He calls you.’

4.2.3. Intransitive clauses

Lole exhibits split intransitivity (Palmer 1994: 66) with agentive and patientive verbs. Sentences (13) and (14) show examples of agentive verbs; the verb *hume* ‘run’ in (13) is a free verb stem that takes the subjective free pronoun, while the verb *-alai* in (14) is a bound verb stem that takes the subjective prefix.

- (13) *ʰdia ana hume*
 3SG 3SG.SBJ run
 ‘He runs away.’
- (14) *ʰdia n-alai*
 3SG 3SG-run
 ‘He runs away.’

Sentences (15) and (16) are examples of patientive verbs, which take objective arguments; in (15), the object NP follows the verb, while in (16), the objective enclitic is attached to the verb.

- (15) *baʔe piʰgak ʰdia*
 break plate MED.SG
 ‘The plate broke.’
- (16) *baʔe=n*
 break=3SG.OBJ
 ‘It broke.’

4.2.4. Non-verb clauses

Lole does not have a copula; rather, an NP and the non-verb constituent are juxtaposed to form a non-verb clause in which the subject NP precedes the non-verb predicate.

The nominal predicate in (17) indicates a proper inclusion, and (18) indicates equation (Payne, 1997: 114). Sentence (19) has a quantifier as the predicate. In (20), the PP with *nai* ‘3SG.LOC’ stands as the predicate.

- (17) [*"dia ama-n*]_{NP/S} [*tou Lole*]_{NP/PRED}
 3SG father-GEN man Lole
 ‘His father is a man of Lole.’
- (18) [*kakanak "dia*]_{NP/S} [*au ana-ŋ "dia*]_{NP/PRED}
 child MED.SG 1SG child-1SG.GEN MED.SG
 ‘The child is my son.’
- (19) [*au meko-ŋ*]_{NP/S} [*no'un seli*]_{QTF/PRED}
 1SG gong-1SG.GEN many exceed
 ‘I have so many gongs (lit. My gongs are many).’
- (20) [*oematak ina=n esa*]_{NP/S} [*nai Oelolok*]_{PP/PRED}
 Springs mother=GEN one 3SG.LOC Oelolok
 ‘One main water spring is in Oelolok.’

5. Lole text: A story of Inggü Fufuk

5.1. Explanatory note

In this section, a folktale titled “Inggü Fufuk” or ‘the Beatle Village’ is presented. This text is based on the recording made on March 24, 2017, in the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. A synopsis of the story is as follows:

It is a story about the Moon and Earth. It was said that in old times, the moon and the earth were at a close distance. Because the moon and the earth were connected with a ladder, the people living on the earth were able to visit the moon, and the people living on the moon were able to visit the earth easily, too. There was an old woman living with her grandchild on Earth. This old woman was called Bei Seuk. One day, the old lady went to the moon to take fire to cook meals. Once she arrived on the moon, the ladder was damaged by black beetles, so she was unable to return home. Her grandchild was left alone. Her grandchild was looking for her all the time, but never found her. The grandchild shouted her name “Bei Seuk, Bei Seuk.” Her grandchild is the dove today, who usually shouts her name. Even today, when there is a moonlight, people on earth can see her image sitting with her dog while she is weaving.

Each sentence is presented with five lines: (a) Transcribed texts in Lole orthography; (b) The same texts transcribed with IPA symbols in which the morpheme boundaries are broken down; (c) glosses; (d) English translation; and (e) Indonesian translation. Constituents produced by false starts are placed in angle brackets (< >) in (a) and not considered in the following lines.

5.2. Text of the Legend of Inggü Fufuk, or the Beetle Village

- (1) *au tuik ia na au tui Inggü Fufuk dadadin*
 au tui-k ia na au tui I⁹gu Fufuk da~dadi=n
 1SG tell-FC PROX PART 1SG tell land kind.of.beetle (k.o.beetle) origin⁷=3SG.GEN
a
a
 PART

Eng: 'What I would like to tell is...I will talk about the origin of Inggü Fufuk.'

Ind: 'Apa yang saya ceritakan ini adalah mengenai terjadinya Inggü Fufuk.'

- (2) *atau kalo basa Indonesia na lae legenda Inggü Fufuk*
 atau kalo basa Indonesia na lae legenda I⁹gu Fufuk
 or if language Indonesia PART 3PL.say legend land k.o.beetle

Eng: 'or in Indonesian, people would call the legend of Inggü Fufuk.'

Ind: 'atau dalam bahasa Indonesia orang sebut legenda Inggü Fufuk.'

- (3) *letek esa nai Lole nade Inggü Fufuk*
 letek esa nai Lole nade I⁹gu Fufuk
 mountain one 3SG.LOC Lole to.name land k.o.beetle

Eng: 'There is a mountain named 'Inggü Fufuk' in Lole.'

Ind: 'Ada sebuah gunung di Lole bernama Inggü Fufuk.'

- (4) *makahulun ndia na ta nade kada Inggü Fufuk*
 makahulun ⁿdia na taa nade kada I⁹gu Fufuk
 early MED.SG PART NEG to.name only land k.o.beetle

Eng: 'In the past its name was not Inggü Fufuk.'

Ind: 'Dahulu kala bukan bernama Inggü Fufuk.'

- (5) *te dadadin ndia na katutuik ndia*
 te da~dadi=n ⁿdia na ka-tu~tui⁸-k ⁿdia
 but origin=3SG.GEN MED.SG PART GEN-tell~NMZ-FC MED.SG

Eng: 'But the origin of the mountain has a story.'

Ind: 'Tapi ada ceritanya tentang gunung itu.'

- (6) *fo tutuik ia na kahubungan atau kahatak no bulak*
 fo tu~tui-k ia na ka-hubungan atau ka-hata-k noo bulak
 so.that tell~NMZ-FC PROX PART GEN-relation or GEN-what-FC 3SG.with moon

Eng: 'The story has a relation or something (lit. what) with the moon.'

Ind: 'Cerita ini memiliki hubungan dengan bulan'

⁷ The root *dadi* is a bound root appearing in the verb *dadik* 'become'.

⁸ The root *tui* is used as a verb meaning 'tell'.

- (7) *lae lele makahuluk na Inggü Fufuk ia na e hubungan e*
lae lelek makahuluk na I⁹gu Fufuk ia na e hubungan e
 3PL.say time early PART land k.o.beetle PROX PART INTJ have.relation INTJ
ndia hubungan no bulak ndia na ta dook a
ⁿdia hubungan noo bulak ⁿdia na taa dook a
 MED.SG relation 3SG.with MOON MED.SG PART NEG far PART

Eng: ‘It was said that in the past the Inggü Fufuk, it has a relation to the moon, which was not far.’

Ind: ‘Pada zaman dahulu, Inggü Fufuk ini, ada hubungannya, berhubungan dengan bulan yang tidak jauh dari bulan.’

- (8) *bulak ndia na makahulun na bei deka-deka ia bei ta nai dook*
bulak ⁿdia na makahulun na bei deka~deka ia bei taa nai dook
 MOON MED.SG PART early PART still DUP~near PROX still NEG 3SG.LOC far
a
a
 PART

Eng: ‘In the past, the moon was very close, (it is) not far.’

Ind: ‘Dahulu kala bulan masih dekat di sini, tidak jauh.’

- (9) *faik esa boema <boem> hatoli manai bulakala boe o bisa leu*
faik esa boema hataholi mana-nai bulak-ala boe o bisa leu
 day one then person REL-3SG.LOC MOON-PL also PART can 3PL.go
mai
mai
 come

Eng: ‘One day, people on the moon could come and go.’

Ind: ‘Suatu hari, orang-orang di bulan bisa pergi pulang.’

- (10) *leni bulak leu ndia tungga faik⁹*
leni bulak leu ⁿdia tu⁹ga faik
 3PL.to moon 3PL.go MED.SG follow day
 Eng: ‘They went to the moon every day.’
 Ind: ‘Mereka pergi ke bulan setiap hari.’

- (11) *fo ala <hi> lahiik bek na bisa leni bulak leu boema*
fo ala la-hii-k bek na bisa leni bulak leu boema
 so.that 3PL.SBJ 3PL-like-FC what PART can 3PL.to moon 3PL.go then
 Eng: ‘When they need something, they could go to the moon.’
 Ind: ‘Jika ada yang mereka inginkan maka mereka pergi ke bulan.’

⁹ *tungga fufuk* literally means ‘following a day’ but it is used as an idiom meaning ‘every day’

- (12) *leo-leo ndia manai bulakala boe o bisa neu mai*
 leo~leo ⁿdia mana-nai bulak-ala boe o bisa neu mai
 DUP~be.like MED.SG REL-3SG.LOC MOON-PL ALSO PART can 3SG.go come
 Eng: 'It was always like that so those on the moon also could come and go.'
 Ind: 'Seterusnya begitu jadi mereka yang di bulan juga bisa pulang pergi.'
- (13) *la'i esa boe ma inalasik esa nai daebafok ia*
 la'i esa boe ma ina-lasik esa nai daebafok ia
 at (time) one also and old.lady one 3SG.LOC earth PROX
 Eng: 'One day, an old lady on the earth.'
 Ind: 'Suatu hari seorang nenek di bumi ini.'
- (14) *na tungga faik no umbun*
 na tu^gga faik noo umbuk=ⁿ
 PART follow day 3SG.with grandchild=3SG.GEN
 Eng: 'She used to live with her grandchild every day.'
 Ind: 'Setiap hari dia hidup dengan cucunya.'
- (15) *umbun¹⁰ ia na ndia i be ia lunda*
 umbuk=ⁿ ia na ⁿdia i be ia lunda
 grandchild=3SG.GEN PROX PART MED.SG INTJ where PROX dove
 Eng: 'Her grandchild is the dove.'¹¹
 Ind: 'Cucunya adalah burung merpati.'
- (16) *faik esa boe ma ana du'a neu nggai ha'i nai bulak*
 faik esa boe ma ana du'a neu ^ggai ha'i nai bulak
 day one also and 3SG.SBJ think 3SG.go take.fire fire 3SG.LOC moon
 Eng: 'One day, she thought of going to take fire on the moon.'
 Ind: 'Suatu hari dia ingin pergi mengambil api di bulan.'
- (17) *ana helu umbun nae "au uni bulak u"*
 ana helu u^mbuk=ⁿ nae au uni bulak u
 3SG.SBJ leave.a.message grandchild=3SG.GEN 3SG.say 1SG 1SG.to moon 1SG.go
 Eng: 'She told her grandchild, "I am going to the moon."
 Ind: 'Dia berpesan kepada cucunya, "saya mau ke bulan.'
- (18) *"au u nggai ha'i fo"*
 au u ^ggai ha'i fo
 1SG 1SG.go take.fire fire so.that
 Eng: "'I am going to take fire so that,'"
 Ind: "'Saya pergi mengambil api supaya,'"

¹⁰ The coda *k* in the word *umbuk* 'grandchild' drops with the attachment of the 3SG genitive enclitic =*n*. (see 2.4)

¹¹ In the end of this story, the child becomes a dove. The speaker mentions that in this sentence.

- (19) *“au ana’a ha’i fo au dode fo ita t-a’a”*
 au Ø-ana’a ha’i fo au dode fo ita ta’a
 1SG 1SG-make.fire fire so.that 1SG cook so.that 1PL.INCL.NEU 1PL.INCL-eat
 Eng: “‘I would be making fire to cook so we can eat.’”
 Ind: “‘Saya akan membuat api dan memasak lalu kita makan.’”
- (20) *mahani ia*
 mahani ia
 2SG.wait PROX
 Eng: “‘Wait here, please.’”
 Ind: “‘Tunggu di sini.’”
- (21) *boema ana la’o neni bulak neu leo*
 boema ana la’o neni bulak neu leo
 then 3SG.SBJ leave 3SG.to moon 3SG.go right.away
 Eng: ‘Then, she went to the moon right away.’
 Ind: ‘Lalu dia langsung pergi ke bulan.’
- (22) *na makahulun bulak ndia na kaedak*
 na makahulun bulak ⁿdia na ka-edak
 PART early MOON MED.SG PART GEN-ladder
 Eng: ‘In old times, the moon had a ladder.’
 Ind: ‘Dahulu kala, terdapat tangga ke bulan.’
- (23) *fo ana hene lain neu*
 fo ana hene lain neu
 so.that 3SG.SBJ climb above 3SG.go
 Eng: ‘So she went up there.’
 Ind: ‘Jadi dia naik ke atas.’
- (24) *de ana hene losa bulak*
 de ana hene losa bulak
 PART 3SG.SBJ climb until moon
 Eng: ‘So she went up to the moon.’
 Ind: ‘Dia naik hingga ke bulan.’
- (25) *fo neu ha’i ha’i <ha’i> boema*
 fo neu ha’i ha’i boema
 so.that 3SG.go to.take fire then
 Eng: ‘In order to take fire.’
 Ind: ‘Agar mengambil api.’
- (26) *bei losa bulak te*
 bei losa bulak te
 still arrive moon but
 Eng: ‘Once she arrived on the moon.’
 Ind: ‘Saat dia sampai di bulan.’

- (27) *Fufuk la'a heni edak fo manabulak neu*
 Fufuk la'a heni edak fo mana-bulak neu
 k.o.beetle 3PL.eat away ladder so.that REL-moon 3SG.go
 Eng: 'The beetles damaged the ladder that goes to the moon.'
 Ind: 'Kutu bubuk memakan habis tangga yang pergi ke bulan.'
- (28) *boema ketu heni edak ndia leo de*
 boema ketu heni edak ndia leo de
 then broken.off away ladder MED.SG right.away PART
 Eng: 'Then the ladder was broken right away.'
 Ind: 'Lalu tangga itu langsung putus.'
- (29) *ina lasik ia ana kada bulak leo*
 inak lasik ia ana kada bulak leo
 woman old PROX 3SG.SBJ only moon right.away
 Eng: 'The old lady remained on the moon.'
 Ind: 'Nenek ini tertinggal di bulan.'
- (30) *ina lasik ia naden nade bei Seuk*
 inak lasik ia nade=n nade bei Seuk
 woman old PROX name=3SG.GEN to.name grandmother PN
 Eng: 'The old lady's name is Bei Seuk.'
 Ind: 'Nenek ini bermama Bei Seuk.'
- (31) *boema ela kada umbun neme kada daebafok*
 boema ela kada u^mbuk=n neme kada daebafok
 then remain only grandchild=3SG.GEN 3SG.from only earth
 Eng: 'Then her grandchild was left on the earth.'
 Ind: 'Lalu cucunya tertinggal di bumi.'
- (32) *de umbun neu-mai neu-mai sangga te*
 de u^mbuk=n neu-mai neu-mai sa^gga te
 PART grandchild=3SG.GEN 3SG.go-come 3SG.go-come search but
bein taakana
 bei=n taa-k=ana
 grandmother=3SG.GEN NEG-FC=3SG.OBJ
 Eng: 'So, her grandchild was seeking her all the time but did not find her.'
 Ind: 'Cucunya mencari-carinya tapi nenek tidak ada lagi.'
- (33) *boema ana bobouk sangga bein leo nae*
 boema ana bobouk sa^gga bei=n leo n-ae
 then 3SG.SBJ shout search grandmother=3SG.GEN right.away 3SG.say
 Eng: 'Then he shouted to his grandmother, said,'
 Ind: 'Lalu dia berteriak mencari neneknya, katanya,'

- (34) *“Bei Seuk o Bei Seuk o o nai be”*
 Bei Seuk o Bei Seuk o o nai be
 PN PART PN PART 2SG 3SG.LOC where
 Eng: “Bei Seuk, where are you?”
 Ind: “Bei Seuk, di manakah engkau?”
- (35) *fo losa hatematak ia na*
 fo losa hatematak ia na
 so.that until now PROX PART
 Eng: ‘So until now.’
 Ind: ‘Jadi hingga sekarang.’
- (36) *<a> lunda ana sangga bein nakandoo*
 lunda ana sa^ŋga bei=n na-kaⁿdoo
 dove 3SG.SBJ search grandmother=3SG.GEN 3SG-continue
 Eng: ‘The dove keeps seeking his grandmother.’
 Ind: ‘Burung merpati terus mencari neneknya.’
- (37) *loken na lae “Bei Seuk”*
 loke=n na lae Bei Seuk
 3PL.call=3SG.OBJ PART 3PL.say PN
 Eng: ‘She is called “Bei Seuk.”’
 Ind: ‘Disebut “Bei Seuk.”’
- (38) *boema ela kada bein nai kada bulak fo*
 boema ela kada bei=n nai kada bulak fo
 then remain only grandmother=3SG.GEN 3SG.LOC only moon so.that
 Eng: ‘And then his grandmother remained living on the moon.’
 Ind: ‘Lalu neneknya tertinggal di bulan.’
- (39) *faik be ma maku ma bulak ndia manggaledok*
 faik be ma maku ma bulak ⁿdia ma^ŋgaledok
 day where and if PART MOON MED.SG bright
 Eng: ‘Whenever the moon is shining.’
 Ind: ‘Pada saat bulan bercahaya.’
- (40) *na ita manai daebafok ita bisa tita*
 na ita mana- nai daebafok ita bisa tita
 PART 1PL.INCL.NEU REL 3SG.LOC earth 1PL.INCL.NEU can 1PL.INCL.see
Bei Seuk nai <bulan> bulak
 Bei Seuk nai bulak
 PN 3SG.LOC moon
 Eng: ‘We on the earth can see Bei Seuk on the moon.’
 Ind: ‘Kita yang berada di bumi dapat melihat Bei Seuk di bulan.’

- (41) <ana> *nanggatuk boema ana tenu*
 ana n-a^ggatuuk boema ana tenu
 3SG.SBJ 3SG-sit then 3SG.SBJ weave
 Eng: 'She is sitting and weaving.'
 Ind: 'Dia sedang duduk dan menenun.'
- (42) *sementara nai bulan <no> ana no busan*
 sementara nai bulan ana noo busa=n
 meanwhile 3SG.LOC moon 3SG.SBJ 3SG.with dog=3SG.GEN
 Eng: 'She is on the moon with her dog.'
 Ind: 'Dia berada di bulan bersama anjingnya.'
- (43) *faik ndia neu nggai ha'i na nonoo busan de*
 faik ⁿdia neu ^ggai ha'i na no~noo busa=n de
 day MED.SG 3SG.go take.fire fire PART DUP~3SG.with dog=3SG.GEN PART
 Eng: 'At the time when she went to take fire, she went with her dog.'
 Ind: 'Waktu itu, dia pergi mengambil api dengan membawa serta anjingnya.'
- (44) <ita> *neu bula manggaledok deifo ita bisa tita Bei Seuk*
 neu bulak ma^gga-ledo-k deifo ita bisa tita Bei Seuk
 3SG.go moon STAT-SUN-FC just 1PL.INCL.NEU can 1PL.INCL.SEE PN
nai <k> bulak
 nai bulak
 3SG.LOC moon
 Eng: 'Only when the moon is shining can we see Bei Seuk on the moon.'
 Ind: 'Hanya saat bulan bercahaya baru kita dapat melihat Bei Seuk di bulan.'
- (45) *boema losa hatematak ia na umbun fo manai*
 boema losa hatematak ia na u^mbuk=n fo mana-nai
 then arrive now PROX PART grandchild=3SG.GEN so.that REL-3SG.LOC
daebafok fo i
 daebafok fo i
 earth so.that INTJ
 Eng: 'And until now, her grandchild who remained living on earth.'
 Ind: 'Lalu hingga sekarang, cucunya yang berada di bumi.'
- (46) *lunda ia ana bobouk nahele bein losa hatematak*
 lunda ia ana bobouk nahele bei=n losa hatematak
 dove PROX 3SG.SBJ shout 3SG.keep grandmother=3SG.GEN until now
ia nae
 ia nae
 PROX 3SG.say
 Eng: 'The dove keeps shouting to his grandmother until now.'
 Ind: 'Burung merpati terus memanggil neneknya hingga sekarang.'

- (47) *“Bei Seuk Bei Seuk” losa hatematak ia*
 Bei Seuk Bei Seuk losa hatematak ia
 PN PN until now PROX
 Eng: ‘“Bei Seuk, Bei Seuk” until now.’
 Ind: ‘“Bei Seuk, Bei Seuk” hingga sekarang.’
- (48) *mungkin <e> kada ndia tutuik tentang Inggu Fufuk*
 mungkin e kada ⁿdia tu~tui-k tentang I^ggu Fufuk
 maybe INTJ only MED.SG DUP~tell-FC about land k.o.beetle
dadadin dei
 da~dadi=n dei
 DUP~origin=3SG.GEN INTJ
 Eng: ‘That is all the story of Inggu Fufuk.’
 Ind: ‘Hanya itu cerita tentang adanya Inggu Fufuk.’
- (49) *boema Inggu Fufuk ia na nai nusa Lole Lote*
 boema I^ggu Fufuk ia na nai nusak Lole Lote
 then land k.o.beetle PROX PART 3SG.LOC kingdom Lole Rote
 Eng: ‘The story of Inggu Fufuk is told in the Lole region in Rote’.
 Ind: ‘Cerita Inggu Fufuk ini diceritakan di Lole, pulau Rote.’
- (50) *makasi no’uk*
 makasi no’uk
 thanks many
 Eng: ‘Thank you very much.’
 Ind: ‘Terima kasih banyak.’
- (51) *untuk <e> tutuik tentang legenda Inggu Fufuk*
 untuk tu~tui-k tentang legenda i^ggu Fufuk
 for DUP~tell-FC about legend land k.o.beetle
 Eng: ‘That is the story of Inggu Fufuk.’
 Ind: ‘Itulah cerita tentang Inggu Fufuk.’
- (52) *kada ndia*
 kada ⁿdia
 only MED.SG
 Eng: ‘That is all (lit. (It is) only that).’
 Ind: ‘Selesai (lit. hanya itu).’

Abbreviations

-	affix / root boundary	LOC	locative
=	clitic boundary	MED	medial
1	first person	NEG	negative
2	second person	NEU	neutral
3	third person	NMZ	nominalization
ART	article	OBJ	objective
ASS	associates	PART	particle
AUG	augmentative	PL	plural
DEM	demonstrative	PN	person name
DET	determiner	PP	prepositional phrase
DIM	diminutive	PRED	predicate
DUP	duplication	PROX	proximal
EXCL	exclusive	QTF	quantifier
FC	final consonants	REL	relative
GEN	genitive	REM	distal
INCL	inclusive	SBJ	subjective
INTJ	interjection	STAT	stative

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