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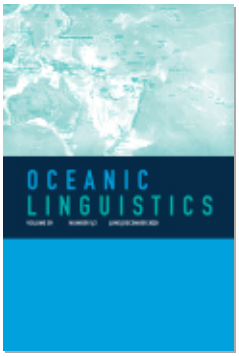

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This article describes and compares *give*-constructions in three languages of eastern Indonesia, Lamaholot (Austronesian), Alorese (Austronesian), and Adang (Papuan), with the aim of detecting structural convergence in Alorese. Lamaholot and Alorese are closely related, while Alorese has undergone contact-induced change due to contact with Papuan languages spoken in close proximity, such as Adang. To investigate structural convergence, we systematically compare the types and frequencies of *give*-constructions in these three languages. The data were obtained by using a common set of eight visual stimuli. The results show that Alorese and Adang share a preference for encoding 'give' events in serial verb constructions, while Lamaholot uses prepositional object constructions or multiverb constructions. We conclude that, in the domain of *give*-constructions, there is a higher degree of structural isomorphism between Alorese and Adang than there is between Alorese and its sister language Lamaholot. Such structural isomorphism is the outcome of contact-induced convergence; more specifically, we propose that convergence took place by a process of grammatical calquing carried out by children and preadolescents who were bilingual in Alorese and one or more Papuan languages.

1. INTRODUCTION. In this article, we describe and compare *give*-constructions in three languages of eastern Indonesia: Lamaholot (Austronesian), Alorese (Austronesian), and Adang (Papuan, Alor–Pantar).[1] Lamaholot and Alorese are closely related languages; however, Alorese has undergone contact-induced structural change since it split from Lamaholot about 600 years ago. The main cause of this change is that since then, Alorese has been in contact with the Papuan[2] languages spoken on the islands of Alor and Pantar, such as Adang. This long-term contact has profoundly affected the Alorese grammar, resulting in morphological simplification and structural convergence. Compared to Lamaholot, Alorese lost almost all its derivational and inflectional

1. Abbreviations and conventions: AL: alienable, LOW: lower than deictic center, MLY: Malay loan, RDP: reduplication, SEQ: sequential, |: intonational break.
2. The term "Papuan" is used here as a synonym of "non-Austronesian," indicating that Alorese (Austronesian) and the neighboring Alor–Pantar languages (Papuan) are not genealogically related. In the literature "Papuan" is used to refer to a group of over 700 non-Austronesian languages spoken on Timor, Halmahera, and New Guinea, not all of which are demonstrably related to each other (Foley 1986).

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morphology (Klamer 2011, 2012, to appear), and there is evidence that the subject agreement system still present in the language is also eroding (Moro 2019a). Furthermore, the contact with Alor–Pantar (AP) languages has resulted in structural convergence: Alorese has borrowed the function of the plural word, as well as the pattern of forming the numeral for ten (Moro 2018).

The general aim of this paper is to discuss yet another case of structural convergence in Alorese, in the domain of *give*-constructions. Here, we adopt a semantic definition of *give*-constructions: a *give*-construction is a grammatical construction that expresses a 'give' event, namely a three-participant event in which an Agent (A) hands over an object or a Theme (T) to a Recipient (R) (Dryer 2007; Haspelmath 2011).[3] There are languages in which the R and T arguments may be ordered in various ways, and receive different encodings, a variation commonly referred to in English as the "dative alternation/shift" (Bresnan et al. 2007; Broekhuis, Corver, and Vos 2015). In this alternation, there are two constructions: the 'Double Object (DO) construction', where R and T occur in a fixed order, and are not distinguished by any overt marking (e.g., *John gave Mary a book*), and the 'Prepositional Object (PrepO) construction' where R is differentiated from T by being part of a prepositional phrase (e.g., *John gave a book to Mary*). Some Papuan languages (Sulka and Mali in New Britain) employ *give*-constructions with secundative alignment, whereby the R is a direct object and T is an oblique constituent (e.g., literally *John gives Mary with a book*) (Reesink 2013). In other Papuan languages, such as the AP languages, yet another type is attested. These languages also allow a *give* 'serial verb construction' (*give*-SVC), where the first verb has T as its object, while the second verb has R as its object (e.g., literally *John takes a book gives Mary*).

The central research questions addressed in this paper are: (1) Which constructions are used to express 'give' events in Lamaholot, Alorese, and Adang? (2) Is there evidence of structural convergence in the domain of *give*-constructions between Alorese and Adang? Adang here is taken as a representative of the AP languages, which all display a strong preference to encode 'give' events in an SVC (see section 2). Adang was selected as the sample contact language because Adang speakers have been and still are in contact with Alorese speakers (Moro 2019a). In addition, the Adang villages are located in geographical proximity to the Alorese field sites and therefore easily accessible (see section 3.3). To answer the research questions, we carried out a systematic comparison of *give*-constructions in Lamaholot, Alorese, and Adang by using quantitative and qualitative data. Such comparison was possible due to the fact that *give*-constructions are relatively easy to elicit with visual stimuli, and this allowed us to collect comparable data across the three languages under investigation. We collected data from a total of twenty-four speakers, by means of a set

3. We did not investigate constructions that formally contain the verb 'give' but express different events, such as benefactive or causative events.

of eight video clips displaying different kinds of 'give' events (see section 4). These data provide information on the types and frequency of *give*-constructions in Lamaholot, Alorese, and Adang.

The results show that, in the domain of *give*-constructions, there is a higher degree of structural isomorphism between Alorese and Adang than there is between Alorese and its sister language Lamaholot. With this body of evidence, we propose that *give*-constructions in Alorese are the result of convergence. This claim is based on the methodological criteria for contact-induced change proposed by Thomason (2009:322), namely (1) prove the existence of contact between language A (here Adang as a representative of AP languages in general) and language B (here Alorese), (2) identify shared features in language A and language B, (3) prove that the shared features were present in language A before language A came into contact with language B, and (4) prove that the shared features were *not* present in language B before it came into contact with language A. In this paper, we show that Alorese satisfies these requisites; thus the Alorese *give*-constructions changed under the influence of one (or more) AP languages, of which Adang is an example.

This paper contributes to the study of contact-induced language change in small-scale communities, and to the documentation of languages in eastern Indonesia. First, by systematically investigating contact-induced change in Alorese, this paper enhances our knowledge and understanding of small-scale multilingualism in eastern Indonesia. Since these languages lack historical records, one way to reconstruct their social history is to investigate the traces of contact in their grammars. This idea has been modeled by Ross (2013), who proposed that linguistic effects of contact-induced change can be used as a diagnostic for the type of contact setting involved. Applying models of language change (Muysken 2013; Ross 2013) to the structural convergence in Alorese, we reconstruct a possible contact scenario that led to the change in *give*-constructions. The structural convergence between the Alorese and the AP *give*-constructions points to grammatical calquing, which is the result of bilingually induced change. We propose that the innovation in the domain of *give*-constructions arose in the early history of Alorese, when this language was spoken in small Alorese-AP bilingual communities. In addition, we provide new descriptive data on three relatively underdescribed languages in eastern Indonesia, in particular on their *give*-constructions. Finally, our data show that, in the case of *give*-constructions, elicitation methods using video stimuli yield different results than elicitation by translation that was used in previous publications on the same languages.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides the background to this study, while section 3 gives information on Lamaholot, Alorese, Adang, and the AP languages. The methodology and the data set employed in the present study are illustrated in section 4. Section 5 illustrates the types and frequency of *give*-constructions in Lamaholot (section 5.1), Alorese (section 5.2), and Adang (section 5.3), with a brief summary (section 5.4). In section 6, we discuss

the results in light of the requisites of contact-induced change and give concluding remarks.

2. BACKGROUND. *Give*-constructions in Alorese are a suitable domain to investigate contact-induced change for three reasons. First, a number of studies in the field of bilingualism and heritage languages have shown that *give*-constructions are vulnerable to contact (Irizarri van Suchtelen 2014; Moro and Klamer 2015; Kootstra and Şahin 2018; Villerius, Moro, and Klamer 2019). Their vulnerability is due to the fact that *give*-constructions allow variable syntactic encodings, and such syntactic variation has been proven to be the locus of cross-linguistic influence (Silva-Corvalán 1994, 2008; Johanson 2002; Backus 2004; Muysken 2013). In other words, when a language has an alternation between two (or more) constructions, bilingual speakers tend to select more frequently the construction that is shared by both languages, thereby increasing the structural similarity between their two languages. For instance, in a study of the dative alternation among Ambon Malay–Dutch bilinguals in the Netherlands, Moro and Klamer (2015) observed an increase in the frequency of DO constructions as a result of cross-linguistic influence from Dutch. A similar increase in frequency of DO constructions was reported by Villerius, Moro, and Klamer (2019) for Surinamese Javanese, due to the influence of Sranantongo. Thus, we know that, even in contact situations that involve shallow time (50–60 years, as for heritage languages, such as Ambon Malay in the Netherlands), *give*-constructions are vulnerable. Most likely, structural converge also occurs in languages, such as Alorese, where contact has been going on for several centuries.

Second, there is a clear typological contrast between *give*-constructions in Austronesian and Papuan languages with regard to the valency of the verb ‘give’. Austronesian languages typically have a ditransitive verb meaning ‘give’ followed by the T and R arguments. R can be either expressed as a direct object or as an oblique object in a prepositional phrase (Klamer 2012:95). Papuan languages, in contrast, only rarely encode R as an oblique, and prefer to either use biclausal constructions or SVCs, where R and T are flagged by different verbs (Foley 2000:377; Reesink 2013:245), or they employ a sort of DO construction (neutral alignment in Reesink 2013:222ff). Some Papuan languages even do not have any etymon meaning ‘give’ (Reesink 2013:247). Interestingly, *give*-SVCs are very common among the Papuan languages spoken in eastern Indonesia, and among the Austronesian languages spoken in the same area (Foley 2000:377; Reesink 2002:29). This suggests that Austronesian *give*-constructions can change under contact with Papuan languages. The opposite is also attested, “possibly, the secundative alignments in Papuan Sulka and Mali are due to areal diffusion from neighbouring Oceanic languages of the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain and New Ireland” (Reesink 2013:233).

Third, among Papuan languages, AP languages are particularly interesting with respect to the strategies they employ to express ‘give’ events and

the features that are relevant for the description of such events. Klamer and Schapper (2012) present a description and a comparative overview of *give*-constructions in AP languages and illustrate the development of modern AP *give*-constructions from the proto-AP construction. AP languages generally display a strong preference for encoding the T and the R arguments as direct objects of two different verbs in an SVC. SVCs are defined in Klamer and Schapper (2012:176–7) as "two or more verbs, which share minimally one argument, and whose shared argument(s) is (are) expressed maximally once. SVCs are thus analyzed as mono-clausal constructions, which are distinguished from bi-clausal constructions by the presence of a clause boundary marker in between the clauses in the latter. The boundary marker could be a conjunction-like element . . . , an intonational break, or a pause."

Most generally attested among AP languages is a *give*-SVC involving a verb 'take' encoding T, and a verb 'give' encoding R with an agreement prefix on the verb, as shown in example (1) from the AP language Western Pantar.

	T	TAKE	R-GIVE	WESTERN PANTAR
(1)	Na-iti	haggi	na-nia	
	1SG-glasses	take	1SG-give	

'Give me my eyeglasses.' (eyeglasses are right at hand, perhaps on the table) (Klamer and Schapper 2012:185)

The first interesting feature is that the verb 'take' is used as a T-flagging verb and does not necessarily refer to the actual act of taking, as illustrated in example (2). This indicates that, at least in some AP languages, the verb 'take' has lost part of its semantic content and it is becoming more grammaticalized (Klamer and Schapper 2012:199, 204).

	TAKE	R	R-GIVE		TAKE	R	R-GIVE	WESTERN PANTAR
(2)	Haggi	naing	n-nia	palliba	Ø	tuang	ga-nia?	
	take	1SG.PAT	1SG-give	why		official	3SG-give	

'(The harvest) gave me (this), why (should I) give (it) to the official?' (Klamer and Schapper 2012:185)

The second interesting feature is that, in a number of AP languages (Klon, Western Pantar, Blagar, Teiwa), the *give*-SVC also involves an additional verb 'come', which follows 'take'. The verb 'come' implies movement of the person taking T, as shown by the semantic contrast between (1) above and (3) here. The *give*-SVC with the verb 'come', as in (3), is attested in contexts that involve distance between T and R.

	T		TAKE	COME	R-GIVE	WESTERN PANTAR
(3)	Potol	saina	haggi	ama	na-nia	
	pen	DEM	take	come	1SG-give	

'Take that pen and give it to me.' (pen brought from a distance) (Klamer and Schapper 2012:185)

Klamer and Schapper (2012:185) observe that in AP languages like Western Pantar and Klon, the verb *(a)ma* 'come' functions as a conjunction-like element, signaling the movement from the 'take' event to the 'give' event. In other

AP languages, such as Blagar and Teiwa, *ma* 'come' has become prosodically attached to the verb 'take', and it has grammaticalized into an oblique marker.

Since the majority of AP languages employ a *give*-SVC involving the verb 'take' flagging T, the optional verb 'come', and the verb 'give' flagging R, it was possible to reconstruct the following *give*-construction for proto-AP (Klamer and Schapper 2012:199):

A T TAKE [COME] R R_{AGR}-GIVE

The various types of *give*-SVCs attested in the AP languages have developed from this syntactic construction. Although other types of constructions are also attested (e.g., biclausal), the SVC is the only type that is found in all the AP languages. In the early stages of the language, 'come' was "an independent intransitive verb that is neither subordinate nor coordinate to the two transitive verbs involved in a 'give' event, each forming a separate phrase with their complement" (Klamer and Schapper 2012:199). Only in later stages, a reanalysis of 'come' took place, which led to the different levels of integration found in the modern AP languages.

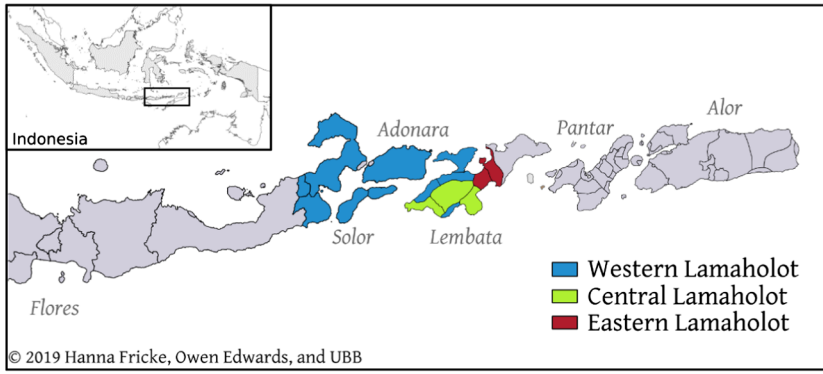
To conclude, *give*-constructions are interesting from a contact perspective, because they are vulnerable in contact situations, and from a typological perspective, because, in this domain, prototypical Austronesian languages and Papuan languages are structurally different. Among Papuan languages, AP languages have a strong preference to encode 'give' events in an SVC involving the verbs 'take', and 'give'. Furthermore, AP *give*-constructions display two interesting features, namely, the loss of semantic content of the verb 'take' and the presence of the verb 'come' when T is located at distance from R. In our investigation of Lamaholot, Alorese, and Adang, we took into account these two features, and we elicited the data accordingly. We will show that the feature of distance has become relevant also in Alorese but is not relevant in Lamaholot.

3. THE LANGUAGES. In this section, the three languages of this study are introduced with their geographic locations, linguistic context, and other characteristics. Section 3.1 introduces the Austronesian language Lamaholot, section 3.2 provides background information on the Austronesian language Alorese, and section 3.3 addresses Adang and the other AP languages in general.

3.1. LAMAHOLOT (AUSTRONESIAN). Lamaholot is a cluster of language varieties spoken in the Solor archipelago in the Indonesian province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (see map 1). Lamaholot varieties altogether have approximately 300,000 speakers (Fricke 2019a).

Genealogically, Lamaholot belongs to the Flores–Lembata family. The Lamaholot cluster comprises three subgroups: Western Lamaholot, Central Lamaholot, and Eastern Lamaholot. Western Lamaholot is the geographically most widespread subgroup and has by far the largest number of speakers. The neighboring languages of Lamaholot, that is, Sika in the west, Kedang and Alorese in the east, are closely related to Lamaholot and part of the same family.

MAP 1. LAMAHOLOT IN THE SOLOR ARCHIPELAGO.



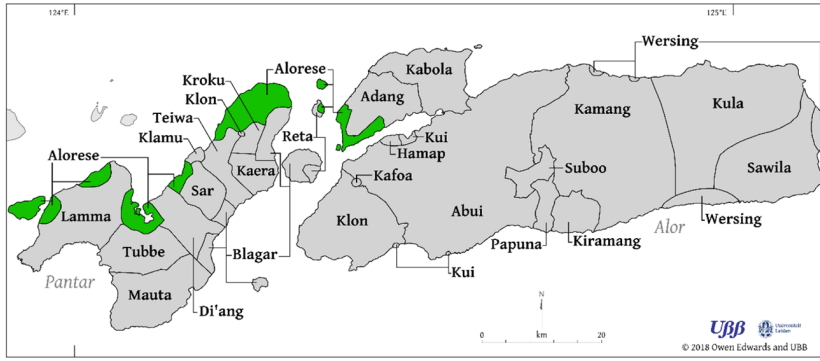
3.2. ALORESE (AUSTRONESIAN). Alorese is spoken in the Alor archipelago, which belongs to the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, eastern Indonesia. The language has approximately 25,000 speakers (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2019), and it is spoken along the coasts of Alor and Pantar, and on two small islands in the Alor-Pantar strait (see map 2). Besides Indonesian and the local Malay variety, Alorese is the only indigenous Austronesian language on Alor and Pantar. The other languages spoken on those islands are Papuan languages, which belong to the AP family (see section 2.3). On Alor, Alorese is spoken alongside Adang; on Pantar, it is spoken alongside Blagar, Kroku, Teiwa, and Kaera among others (see map 2).

Alorese is an Austronesian language of the Flores–Lembata subgroup that also includes Sika, Kedang, and the Lamaholot varieties (see section 3.1). Within the Flores–Lembata languages, the closest relatives of Alorese are Lamaholot varieties, in particular, Western Lamaholot varieties (Doyle 2010:30; Elias 2017; Fricke 2019a). Historically, Alorese speakers are descendants of groups migrating eastward from the Western Lamaholot–speaking area (Klamer 2011:8–15; Wellfelt 2016:248–9). These groups settled on Pantar roughly in the first half of the fourteenth century. Afterward, in the sixteenth century, a group of Alorese speakers moved to the Alor Peninsula. Alorese is reported to have been used as a lingua franca in the area of the Alor-Pantar strait before Indonesian was introduced in the 1960s (Stokhof 1975:8; DuBois 1944:16).

3.3. ADANG (AP). The islands of Alor and Pantar are home to around 20 Papuan languages (see map 2). One of these is Adang, spoken on the northern part of Alor Island. Adang has approximately 3,000 speakers (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2019), and it is quickly losing users to Indonesian and Malay.

Genealogically, Adang belongs to the group of AP languages, within the Timor–AP family. This is a family of roughly thirty Papuan languages spread across the islands of Timor, Alor, and Pantar in eastern Indonesia and East

MAP 2. ALORESE SPOKEN ON ALOR AND PANTAR.



Timor (Schapper, Huber, and van Engelenhoven 2014). There is evidence that the AP languages have been spoken on the Alor archipelago since ~3,000 BP (Klamer 2014:14), thus long before the arrival of the Alorese.

Originally, the Papuan language speakers and the Alorese occupied different niches: the Papuan live in the interior, are land-oriented, and are Christians or animists, while the Alorese are coastal, sea-oriented, Muslim people. Despite this (apparent) dichotomy, there has always been contact between the Papuans and the Alorese, most often in terms of exogamy, trade, and alliances (Moro 2019a). Since the early 1970s, some original Papuan mountain dwellings have been moved to the coast next to the main road and border on Alorese-speaking villages (Klamer 2010; Moro 2019a; Saad, Klamer, and Moro 2019). On Pantar and on the Alor Peninsula there are communities where Papuan speakers and Alorese speakers live alongside one another. This geographical proximity promotes multilingualism and language contact.

4. METHODOLOGY. This section illustrates the methodology used in the present study. The stimuli are discussed first (section 4.1), as we used the same elicitation material for the three languages. Information about the participants and the data set of each language is given in each subsection: Lamaholot (section 4.2), Alorese (section 4.3), and Adang (section 4.4).

4.1. ELICITATION STIMULI. For the present study, we used eight video clips displaying 'give' events. These video clips were part of a list of 46 video clips—the Event and Position list—that we compiled.[4] One of the advantages of using visual stimuli is that they allow the researcher to control for the type of

4. The Event and Position list contains a selection of video clips and pictures developed by the Language and Cognition Department of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (see http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/ [Accessed September 25, 2019]) and eight additional video clips shot by us to elicit 'give' events. The complete list of stimuli and their sources is given in the appendix.

constructions, while still eliciting spontaneous speech. This method overcomes, on the one hand, the disadvantage of possible structural copying from the meta-language when using translations instead, and on the other hand, the problem of little comparability when using data from free speech.

The eight 'give' video stimuli were designed and shot for the present study by us and two colleagues at Leiden University. In the design, we specifically controlled for the two features that are salient in AP languages, namely, the action of taking the object and distance between T and R (see section 2). To control for the action of taking, we manipulated the position of the object, either being in the hands of the actor (IN HAND) or being somewhere else in the close proximity of the actor (AT HAND) that triggered the action of taking. To control for the distance, we designed two options: either the participants are in arm reach from each other (NO DISTANCE), or they are further away from each other (DISTANCE). This led to four possible combinations: IN HAND – NO DISTANCE, AT HAND – NO DISTANCE, IN HAND – DISTANCE, and AT HAND – DISTANCE. For each combination of features, there were two videos with different objects involved. Table 1 provides a list of the eight video clips used in this study sorted by feature combination.

The video clips were played on a laptop in front of the participant with the instruction (in Indonesian) to describe in the target language "what is going on." Participants were recorded in a familiar environment, either their home or a friend's home, and were video recorded while performing the task.[5] Being part of a longer elicitation list, these eight video clips were not displayed in a row, but they were intermingled with thirty-eight other video clips that, in this study, functioned as distractors. The instruction was given in Indonesian because the researchers did not master the target language well enough to explain instructions clearly. We believe that the use of Indonesian did not affect the descriptions because the instruction was given at the very beginning of the recording of the long Event and Position list (forty-six video clips), and it was *not* repeated before each clip. The extent of Malay/Indonesian influence is difficult to test in a scientific way that allows comparison across the three languages. The only way to control for this variable is to select comparable speech communities and speakers with a similar (educational) background across the three languages, which we have done.

4.2. LAMAHOLOT DATA SET. The Lamaholot data were collected by Hanna Fricke in March and April 2016 during six elicitation sessions with the video clips described in section 4.1. The Lamaholot variety recorded is Central Lembata, which belongs to the Central Lamaholot subgroup. The recordings are archived in the Central Lembata Corpus (Fricke 2019b). There were six participants with ages ranging from 19 to 44 years, two were female and four male. Two of the participants were primary school teachers, two had graduated from secondary school and for two the educational level

5. One participant was recorded at school.

TABLE 1. VIDEO CLIPS USED FOR THIS STUDY

Feature combination	Title	Screenshot
IN HAND – NO DISTANCE	(1a) book_inhand	
IN HAND – NO DISTANCE	(1b) flowers_inhand	
AT HAND – NO DISTANCE	(2a) pen_athand	
AT HAND – NO DISTANCE	(2b) banana_athand	
IN HAND – DISTANCE	(3a) cup_inhand_distance	
IN HAND – DISTANCE	(3b) flowers_inhand_distance	
AT HAND – DISTANCE	(4a) book_athand_distance	
AT HAND – DISTANCE	(4b) cup_athand_distance	

TABLE 2. LAMAHOLOT DATA SET (SIX SPEAKERS)

Video clips	Valid tokens	Excluded tokens	All tokens
IN HAND – NO DISTANCE	10	2	12
AT HAND – NO DISTANCE	6	6	12
IN HAND – DISTANCE	11	1	12
AT HAND – DISTANCE	5	7	12
Total	32	16	48

is unknown. They came from three villages on the island of Lembata (see map 1). These three villages use the same language and are located in walking distance from each other.

The elicitation of the eight 'give' video clips with these six speakers resulted in a collection of forty-eight tokens. Table 2 provides an overview of the valid and excluded tokens. The criteria for inclusion were that the utterance contained a verb meaning 'give'. Third-person T and R arguments only expressed by pronouns or agreement suffixes (without a previously mentioned NP) were not considered for the analysis because it is not clear whether these morphemes refer to the T or the R participant.

Out of all forty-eight tokens, thirty-two tokens were considered for the analysis of *give*-constructions in Lamaholot. Many tokens of the AT HAND condition type were excluded because they did not contain a sentence with a verb meaning 'give'. Each valid token was coded for the type of construction used to express the 'give' event depicted in the video clip. The types and frequencies of each construction are discussed in section 5.1. The description is based on the data set introduced here but also complemented with information from grammars of other Lamaholot varieties.

4.3. ALORESE DATA SET. The Alorese data were collected by Francesca Moro during a fieldwork trip to Alor and Pantar from May to August 2016. Data were sampled from two dialects of Alorese, the dialect spoken on Alor and the dialect spoken on Pantar (see map 2). In total, thirteen speakers were recorded. They all grew up in Alorese-speaking villages and have no (or very little) knowledge of AP languages. On Alor, recordings were made with six participants (ages ranging from 27 to 64 years), all female. On Pantar, recordings were made with seven participants (ages ranging from 28 to 67 years), six females and one male. Their educational background varies, six finished primary school, one finished lower secondary school, two finished secondary school, and four continued studying after high school to get a diploma. The recordings are archived in the Alorese Corpus (Moro 2019b).

The elicitation of the eight 'give' video clips with these thirteen speakers resulted in a collection of 104 tokens. Table 3 provides an overview of the valid and excluded tokens. The criterion for inclusion was that the utterance contained a verb meaning 'give' and at least one NP argument (either T or R).

TABLE 3. ALORESE DATA SET (THIRTEEN SPEAKERS)

Video clips	Valid tokens	Excluded tokens	All tokens
IN HAND – NO DISTANCE	22	4	26
AT HAND – NO DISTANCE	21	5	26
IN HAND – DISTANCE	25	1	26
AT HAND – DISTANCE	20	6	26
Total	88	16	104

Each valid token was coded for the type of construction used to express the 'give' event depicted in the video clip. The types and frequencies of each construction are discussed in section 5.2.

4.4. ADANG DATA SET. The Adang data were collected by Francesca Moro in June 2016, on Alor Island. Recordings and transcriptions were obtained from five Adang speakers, living in the villages located on the Alor Peninsula (see map 2). These villages were selected, as they are located adjacent to the Alorese-speaking villages, where the Alorese data were collected. The Adang participants were all female, with ages ranging from 25 to 51 years old. All but one participant could not speak Alorese; the only participant who was familiar with Alorese was recently married to an Alorese man but had been living in an Alorese village only for seven months. They had different educational background: one finished primary school, two finished lower secondary school, and two finished secondary school. The recordings are archived in the Adang Corpus (Moro 2019c). The elicitation of the eight 'give' video clips with the five Adang participants yielded forty tokens. Table 4 provides an overview of the valid and excluded tokens. The criterion for inclusion was that the utterance contained a verb meaning 'give' and at least one NP argument (either T or R).

Each valid token was coded for the type of construction used to express the 'give' event depicted in the video clip. The types and frequencies of each construction are discussed in section 5.3.

5. *GIVE*-CONSTRUCTIONS. In this section, different types of *give*-constructions are introduced for each of the languages in this study. In section 5.1, we show that Lamaholot uses three types of constructions to express 'give'

TABLE 4. ADANG DATA SET (FIVE SPEAKERS)

Video clips	Valid tokens	Excluded tokens	All tokens
IN HAND – NO DISTANCE	8	2	10
AT HAND – NO DISTANCE	7	3	10
IN HAND – DISTANCE	10	0	10
AT HAND – DISTANCE	6	4	10
Total	31	9	40

events: monoverbal constructions, multiverb constructions, and biclausal constructions. Alorese also has three types of *give*-constructions: monoverbal constructions, SVCs, and biclausal constructions (section 5.2). Adang has only two types: SVCs and biclausal constructions (section 5.3). Section 5.4 provides a summary of the constructions described in the three languages.

5.1. *GIVE*-CONSTRUCTIONS IN LAMAHOLOT. In Lamaholot, three main types of *give*-constructions are attested: (1) a monoverbal construction, (2) a multiverb construction, and (3) a biclausal construction with a conjunction (see table 5).

The monoverbal construction has two subtypes: (1) a construction with T as a direct object and R in a prepositional phrase (PrepO construction) and (2) a construction with either T or R as a direct object and the other argument unexpressed.

The multiverb construction contains two verbs each introducing an argument: T is generally introduced by a verb meaning 'take' and (an optional) R is introduced by a verb meaning 'give'. In some tokens, R is left out, and the verb 'give' occurs as the second verb of the construction without an overt argument. Multiverb constructions do not contain any overt conjunction between the two verbs, which differentiates them from biclausal constructions. The term multiverb construction is a cover term for two subtypes of constructions: multiverb constructions that are not SVCs and multiverb constructions that are SVCs (see Unterladstetter 2020). In multiverb constructions (non-SVCs) the agent is repeated before the second verb, and there is typically a pause or intonational break before the second verb. In the case of SVCs, no intonational break or pause occurs between the two verbs, and the agent is not repeated (see definition in section 2).

In the biclausal construction, an optional T argument is introduced in the first clause by a verb meaning 'take', 'bring', or 'hold', while R is introduced in a second clause with the verb 'give' and an optional preposition. The two clauses are connected by a conjunction.

In the Lamaholot variety described here, there are two verbs meaning 'give', *noto* and *béé,* which are synonyms; in the data set the verb *noto* occurs

TABLE 5. CONSTRUCTION TYPES IN THE LAMAHOLOT DATA SET

Type	Subtype									*N*
Monoverbal		A		give	T			prep	R	9
		A		give	T					5
		A		give					R	1
Multiverb	non-SVC	A	take				A=give		(R)	8
	SVC	A	take†		T		give		(R)	5
Biclausal		A	take/bring/hold		(T)	conj	A=give	(prep)	R	4
Total										32

† Mainly the verb 'take' is used, but there is one token in our sample that contains 'bring' instead.

twenty-eight times, while *béé* occurs twelve times. The conditioning factors for the use of these two verbs remain to be investigated. So far, no relation between the verb form and the construction type could be identified. The verb *béé* 'give' probably goes back to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *beRay 'give, present gifts to; gift' (Blust and Trussel 2010), although the loss of a reflex of the second syllable in *beRay remains unexplained. The origin of the verb *noto* 'give' is unknown. The word is likely related to *gənato* 'send' in the Western Lamaholot variety of Lewolema (Pampus 1999:122) and *natoŋ* 'stretch forward, hand over' in Alorese (Moro 2019b).

Table 5 provides the number of tokens (*N*) for each construction type in the Lamaholot data set. There is a clear preference for two constructions, the monoverbal construction (fifteen times) and the multiverb construction (thirteen times). Elements given in brackets in the table are optional.

Interestingly, the type and frequency of *give*-constructions attested in our data set differ from the data reported in other sources. Descriptive grammars of Western Lamaholot (Nagaya 2011:108, 318–323; Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:80–81, 118–119; Kroon 2016:66, 183) only list two types of *give*-constructions: the PrepO construction and the DO construction. Furthermore, the examples of DO constructions reported in these grammars often feature T and R as full NPs.[6] In our data set, no DO construction is attested. The difference between the descriptive grammars and our data set appears to be linked to the elicitation method used. Probably, data on *give*-constructions in the descriptive grammars are elicited by means of translation from Indonesian (which has both PrepO and DO constructions) or by grammaticality judgments of sentences created by the researcher (see also section 5.2.1). These methods elicit the DO construction, although in more spontaneous speech, such as in the data elicited for this study, no DO construction occurs. Further evidence comes from the Central Lembata Corpus (Fricke 2019b), which contains spontaneous as well as elicited data from the Central Lamaholot variety of Central Lembata, the same variety as in our data set. In this corpus, the DO construction with two object NPs occurs in only one sentence that was elicited by means of translation and grammaticality judgment. In free speech data, the DO construction does not occur.

In the following, each Lamaholot *give*-construction type is discussed in detail. In section 5.1.4, we show that the choice of construction, monoverbal or multiverb, is connected to the position of the object (IN HAND vs. AT HAND).

5.1.1. Monoverbal construction. The monoverbal construction only contains the verb 'give'. The most frequent type of monoverbal construction in our sample is the PrepO construction, where T follows the verb and R is introduced by a locative preposition (4).

6. An example of a DO construction with R and T as full NPs in Western Lamaholot is *go nein inawae to'u bunga to'u* 1SG give girl one flower one 'I gave a girl a flower' with the structure A GIVE R T (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:80).

	A		GIVE	T	PREP	R	
(4)	Biné	tu	noto	bunga	la	biné	tuné.[7]
	female	one	give	flower	LOC	female	one

'A woman gives flowers to a woman.' (FH6:36)

In most instances, the preposition introducing R is the general locative *la* 'LOC', but other more specific locational prepositions, such as the locationals *réné* 'PROX' or *jéné* 'upwards' are possible. In one token, the Indonesian preposition *untuk* 'for' is used to introduce R.

In another type of monoverbal construction, either T or R is left unexpressed and they are to be understood from the context. In five tokens, T is expressed as a direct object, and the prepositional phrase encoding the R is left out (5). In two tokens, it is T that is left unexpressed (6).

	A			GIVE	T	
(5)	Biné	tuné	diro	noto	muku	tasak.
	female	one	PROG	give	banana	ripe

'A woman is giving a ripe banana.' (FH5:27)

	A	GIVE	R		
(6)	Tuné	noto-nga	né	teman	...
	One	give-3SG	3SG.POSS	friend	

'One gives (it) to her friend ...' (FH5:22)

5.1.2. Multiverb construction. The multiverb construction contains maximally two verbs, but no conjunction. Of the thirteen Lamholot multiverb constructions, eight are multiverb constructions (non-SVC) and five are SVCs. The eight multiverb constructions contain an agent-marker before the second verb, and in most of them (five out of eight) an intonational break is clearly audible before the second verb. Therefore, these eight multiverb constructions are not considered to be typical SVCs. Only five out of thirteen Lamaholot multiverb constructions comply with the definition of SVC (see section 2). These five SVCs do not contain any intonational break or pause nor the repetition of the agent in the form of a pronominal subject-marker before the second verb. In a typical SVC, the agent would be expressed only once (see section 2). In all multiverb constructions, the first verb is normally *guti* 'take'.[8] The final vowel of the verb *guti* 'take' is lowered to *é* when a suffix is added. The second verb is *béé* 'give' or *noto* 'give'. An example of a multiverb construction with an intonational break and the subject-marker *na*= '3SG' before the second verb is given in (7). An example of a Lamaholot SVC is given in (8). There is

7. The Lamaholot examples from our data set are transcribed following the orthography in Fricke (2019b) in which the following non-IPA conventions are used: <é> = [e], <e> = [ə], <j> = [dʒ], <ng> = [ŋ], and <w> = [v] ~ [ʋ]. Other Lamaholot examples are transcribed according to their sources. The sources indicated for the Lamaholot examples from our data set, such as (FH6:36) in example (4), follow the citation codes used in Fricke (2019a) and (2019b). The first part is the unique identifier of a recording (here FH6), and the second part is the line number in the transcription (here 36).
8. In only one token the verb *-eti* 'bring' is used, which takes a subject inflection.

no meaning difference between a multiverb construction with repeated subject-marker and an SVC.

(7) A TAKE T GIVE R
Kopo binén na=guté-na muku tasak | na=béé ibu.
child female 3SG=take-3SG banana ripe 3SG=give mother
'. . . , a girl takes a ripe banana, and gives (it) to an elder woman.'
(FH1:27)

(8) TAKE T GIVE R
. . . na=guti buku noto nané.
3SG=take book give 3SG
'. . . takes the book and gives (it) to her.' (FH2:13)

5.1.3. Biclausal construction. In the biclausal construction, T and R appear in two separate clauses that are connected by the conjunction *pa* 'then' (9).

(9) BRING T CONJ GIVE R
Na=n-eti no bunga tu pa na=béé ibu.
3SG=3SG-bring COM flower one then 3SG=give mother
'. . . she brings a flower, then she gives (it) to an elder woman.'
(FH1:15)

In our data set, there are only four biclausal constructions. In these four constructions, the verb *guti* 'take' is used twice as the verb of the first clause, whereas the verbs *-eti* 'bring' and *soga* 'hold' appear once each.

5.1.4. Choice of construction. In the previous sections, we have shown that the most frequent types of *give*-constructions in Lamaholot are the monoverbal construction (fifteen tokens) and the multiverb construction (thirteen tokens). As the elicitation video stimuli control for the position of the object (IN HAND vs. AT HAND) and the distance (DISTANCE vs. NO DISTANCE), it is possible to see a correlation between the position of the object and the construction type in the Lamaholot data. Table 6 provides absolute numbers of monoverbal, multiverb, and biclausal constructions according to feature combinations. A clear pattern emerges in which monoverbal constructions are favored in IN HAND situations and multiverb constructions are favored in AT HAND situations (encircled cells in the table), regardless of DISTANCE. For the biclausal constructions, the small number of tokens does not reveal any correlation.

The fact that monoverbal constructions appear only once in AT HAND situations suggests that the AT HAND situation strongly favors a multiverb

TABLE 6. NUMBER OF TOKENS BY VIDEO CLIP IN THE LAMAHOLOT DATA SET

	Monoverbal		Multiverb		Biclausal	
	IN HAND	AT HAND	IN HAND	AT HAND	IN HAND	AT HAND
NO DISTANCE	8	1	1	4	1	1
DISTANCE	6	0	3	5	2	0

construction with a second verb, such as *guti* 'take', to express the action of 'taking' that is necessary before the object can be handed over. In fact, all multiverb constructions describing an AT HAND situation have the verb *guti* 'take' as the first verb. That multiverb constructions are mainly used when the action of taking is actually happening suggests that the multiverb constructions in Lamaholot explicitly describe the two sub-events of taking and giving.

5.2. *GIVE*-CONSTRUCTIONS IN ALORESE. Alorese allows three main constructions to express 'give' events: (1) a monoverbal construction with only the verb 'give', (2) an SVC, and (3) a biclausal construction with a conjunction (see table 7). These three main types of construction can be further divided into subtypes.

The monoverbal construction has two subtypes: it can either be a DO construction, where T and R are both bare NPs, or it can be a PrepO construction, where T is bare and R is introduced by a preposition. The SVC also has two subtypes: one with two verbs (e.g., TAKE – T – GIVE – R), and one with three verbs (e.g., TAKE – T – COME – GIVE – R). The biclausal construction also has two subtypes: in the first subtype A is the same in both clauses, while in the second subtype, there are two different agents (A_1 and A_2).

Table 7 presents a summary of all the types of constructions attested in Alorese and the number of tokens (*N*) in the data set. The items in parentheses are optional and occur only in some utterances. Each construction type will be discussed in more detail below.

The verb 'give' is *neng* in the dialect of Alor, and *ning* (sometimes pronounced as *neing*) in the dialect of Pantar. Both forms are cognate with forms attested in Western Lamaholot varieties, the closest genealogical relatives of Alorese. An example of a cognate is *nei(ŋ)* 'give' in Adonara Lamaholot (see Klamer 2015). Interestingly, the form for 'give' in Alorese resembles the forms for 'give' in many AP languages, which go back to proto-Alor–Pantar (proto-AP) *-enV (Holton and Robinson 2014:88). Since there is no evidence that the ancestor language of Western Lamaholot and Alorese (proto-Western Lamaholot-Alorese) was ever in contact with AP languages, we believe that the form *neng/ning* in Alorese and the Western Lamaholot

TABLE 7. *GIVE*-CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE ALORESE DATA SET

Type	Subtype											*N*
Monoverbal	A		give							R	T	2
	A		give	T					prep	R		1
SVC	A		pass/take	T				(pass)†	give	R		37
	A	(go)	carry/take	T	come			(pass)	give	R		36
Biclausal	A		carry/take	T		conj			give	R		5
	A_1	ask		T		conj	A_2	(pass)	give	R		3
Other												4
Total												88

† In three tokens, the additional verb 'pass' is used before the verb 'give'. Note that, in these three tokens, the verb introducing the T is 'take'; thus there is no token where 'pass' occurs twice.

varieties is the result of inheritance from their common ancestor. However, we cannot exclude that this similarity is the result of an ancient borrowing either in proto-AP or in proto-Western Lamaholot-Alorese.

5.2.1. Monoverbal construction. The monoverbal construction is quite rare in the semi-spontaneous speech we elicited, as it is attested only three times in the data set (out of eighty-eight tokens). The monoverbal construction only involves the verb *ning/neng* 'give'. There are two possibilities for encoding T and R.

The first subtype is a DO construction, in which R and T follow the verb and are both bare NPs, as illustrated in example (10). The DO subtype occurs twice in the data set, with both tokens provided by the same speaker.

		A		GIVE	R			T	
(10)	Ada	ina	tou	ning	ina	tou	kali	bunga.[9]	
	be(MLY)	mother	one	give	mother	one	DEM.LOW	flower	

'There is a woman (who) gives the other woman flowers.'

(H&F_Mahdia 77.1)[10]

The second subtype, which occurs only once in the data set, is a PrepO construction, where the verb 'give' introduces T, while the locative preposition *oro* introduces R, as illustrated in example (11).

	A			GIVE	T	PREP	R		
(11)	Gina	ha		neng	bunga	oro	ina	kafae	ha.
	mother	DEM.PROX		give	flower	LOC	mother	girl	DEM.PROX

'The woman gives flowers to the girl.' (H&F_Ros 48.1)

Note that the DO construction is the only type of *give*-construction reported in the Alorese grammar by Klamer (2011:73), and it was elicited by means of Indonesian sentence translation. Interestingly, the consultant of Klamer provided this construction in response to both an Indonesian sentence containing a DO construction and an Indonesian sentence with a PrepO construction.[11] This might indicate that PrepO constructions are avoided in Alorese.

5.2.2. SVC. The SVC is by far the preferred strategy in Alorese, as it occurs in 83 percent of the tokens (seventy-three out of eighty-eight). SVCs in Alorese are defined following the same criteria as Klamer and Schapper (2012:177) (see section 2). In the SVC, the first verb introduces T, and second verb R. There are two subtypes of SVCs, one with two verbs, and one with three verbs.

The first subtype of SVC contains minimally two verbs, and it is typically used when the 'give' event does not involve distance. There are thirty-seven

9. The Alorese examples are transcribed following the orthography in Klamer (2011) with the addition of <ə> for schwa.
10. The citation code is adapted from the original file name of the associated recording stored in the Alorese Corpus (Moro, 2019b). The abbreviation H&F refers to the Event and Position list, followed by the name of the speaker. The numbers refer to the line, and the segment of the corresponding file when it is opened with the program ELAN or FLEx.
11. The two Indonesian sentences used for elicitation are *orang itu memberikan ayahku uang* "that person gave my father money," and *orang itu memberi uang kepada bapakku* "that person gave money to my father" (Klamer, pers. comm.).

tokens of this construction in the data set. The first verb introducing T is usually a verb of causation of accompanied motion (see Levin 1993: 134), such as 'pass' or 'take', while the second verb introducing R is always 'give'. The choice of the first verb depends on the position of T. If T is already in the hand of A, the verbs *sorong* or *natong* 'hand over' are used (fifteen tokens), as in example (12). If A has to take T from somewhere, then *gute* 'take' is used (thirteen tokens).

	A				PASS	T	GIVE	R
(12)	Beka	kafae	jilbab	ha	sorong	bunga	neng	ina
	child	girl	hijab	DEM.PROX	pass	flower	give	mother
	kafae	tou	ha.					
	girl	one	DEM.PROX					

'The girl with the hijab gives flowers to that woman.'

(H&F_Ade 41.1)

In six tokens, the verb 'give' is repeated twice, the first time it introduces T and the second time R.[12] The construction with the verb 'give' repeated twice is more frequent when T is already in the hand of A. Other verbs that can introduce T are *bang* 'bring', *nate* 'carry', and *putar* 'stir (cup of tea)', each with one token.

The second subtype of SVC contains at least three verbs; this type of SVC occurs thirty-six times in the data set. In this subtype, an additional verb meaning 'come' occurs between the verb encoding T and the verb encoding R. The presence of the verb 'come' indicates that the 'give' event involves distance; that is, A is not nearby R but comes toward her.[13]

As for the other verbs, the choice of the first verb encoding T again depends on the position of T. If T is already in the hand of A, the verbs *bang* 'carry' or *nate* 'carry' are used (fifteen tokens), as in example (13). If A has to take T from somewhere, then *gute* 'take' is used (seventeen tokens).

	A			CARRY	T	COME	GIVE	R
(13)	Ina	kafae	kali	nate	bunga	mene	neng	ina
	mother	girl	DEM.LOW	3SG-carry	flower	come	give	mother
	kafae	tou	pake	jilbab	kali.			
	girl	one	use	hijab	DEM.LOW			

'The woman brings flowers and gives (them) to that woman with the hijab.' (H&F_Yati 20.1)

Other verbs that can introduce T are *natong* 'hand over', *nami* 'lift', *huro* 'ladle', and *pali* 'pour', each with one token. The verb meaning 'come' is

12. An example of an SVC with two verbs 'give' is: *Tou neing bunga neing tou kali* one give flower given one DEM.LOW 'One gives flowers to the other one.'
13. It is not possible to establish which is the argument of the verb 'come', as either A or T could be conceptualized as coming toward R. The verbs expressing 'come' do not typically host agreement morphology, and there is no formal means, such as agreement, to determine the argument of the verb. However, one of the verbs used in this context is *-ai* 'move', which is one of the few Alorese verbs that carry subject agreement (see Moro 2019a). Unfortunately, in the two examples where *nai* '3SG-move' is used both A and T have third-person singular referents so it is not possible to establish which argument is indexed by the *n-* prefix.

almost always the verb *mene* (twenty-four tokens), but other verbs are attested as well, such as *dai* 'come upward' (six tokens), *hau*/*hou* 'come downward' (three tokens), *n-ai* '3SG-move' (two tokens), *maso* 'enter' (one token). The verb encoding R is always *neng*/*ning* 'give'.

To summarize, all SVCs expressing 'give' events contain at least two verbs: the first one is a verb of caused-motion that introduces the T, and the second one is the verb *ning*/*neng* 'give' that introduces R. Additionally, if there is distance involved, the verb *mene* 'come' is added to link the two subevents.

5.2.3. Biclausal construction. The biclausal construction involves two clauses linked by a conjunction. T is introduced in the first clause, while R is introduced in the second clause. The biclausal construction is rather infrequent, as it occurs only eight times in the data set (out of eighty-eight). There are two subtypes of biclausal constructions. One subtype is structurally similar to the SVC in having one A that is the subject of both verbs, but it differs from it due to the presence of the conjunction, as illustrated in (14). The first verb introducing T can be *nate* 'carry' (one token), *gute* 'take' (two tokens), or the verb *baca* 'read' (two tokens).

	A					CARRY	
(14)	Yang	kafae	yang	tou	ha	nate	
	REL	girl	REL	one	DEM.PROX	3SG-carry	
	T		CONJ	GIVE	R		
	bunga	hou	mung	neng	ina	kafae	ha.
	flower	come.downward	SEQ	give	mother	girl	DEM.PROX

'This woman carries flowers, then (she) gives (them) to the woman.' (H&F_Intan 28.1)

In the second subtype, there are two different agents, in the first clause A_1 asks for T, while in the second clause A_2 gives T to A_1 (which becomes the R), as illustrated in example (15). In this subtype, the verb introducing T is always *bangang* 'ask'.

	A_1				ASK	T	
(15)	Məsia	kwae	tou	ke	bangang	muko	kəlli
	person	girl	one	DEM.PROX	ask	banana	DEM.LOW
			CONJ	A_2		GIVE	R
	na	kawan	kaing	kawan	te	ning	ro.
	3SG.POSS	friend	then	friend	DEM.DIST	give	3SG

'This girl asks her friend for the banana then the friend gives (it) to her.' (H&F_Jakob 38.1)

5.2.4. Choice of construction. This section discusses the usage patterns of the *give*-constructions in Alorese and shows that the constructions selected by the Alorese speakers (monoverbal, SVC, or biclausal) largely depend on the type of video clip described. A breakdown of the number of monoverbal, SVC, and biclausal constructions used according to the feature combinations is given in table 8 and discussed below.

TABLE 8. NUMBER OF TOKENS BY VIDEO CLIPS IN THE ALORESE DATA SET

	Monoverbal		SVC—2 verbs		SVC—3 verbs		Biclausal	
	IN HAND	AT HAND	IN HAND	AT HAND	IN HAND	AT HAND	IN HAND	AT HAND
NO DISTANCE	2	1	15	15	0	1	3	3
DISTANCE	0	0	5	2	18	17	1	1

As noted in the previous section, the monoverbal construction is rare, and it occurs only in the NO DISTANCE video clips. SVCs are used across the board as the preferred strategy, but there is a correlation between the type of SVC and the feature DISTANCE. Speakers prefer to use the SVC with two verbs (CARRY/TAKE – T – GIVE – R) to describe video clips with NO DISTANCE, while the SVC with the additional verb 'come' (CARRY/TAKE – T – COME – GIVE – R) is almost exclusively used in the video clips where there is DISTANCE (encircled cells in the table). Finally, the biclausal construction is more frequent in the description of the NO DISTANCE video clips. One possible reason for this is that, in the NO DISTANCE video clips the actors are more zoomed in than in the other video clips, and it is possible to see the lips moving. Even though the video clips had no sound, it was easier for the participants to understand that one of the actors actually asked for the object in or at hand (T). This yielded biclausal constructions of the form: A_1 asks for T, then A_2 gives (it) to A_1.

5.3. *GIVE*-CONSTRUCTIONS IN ADANG. In Adang, 'give' events can be expressed with an SVC, or with a biclausal construction. The Adang SVC and biclausal constructions can be divided into subtypes (see table 9). Note that, having SOV order, the NPs referring to T and R always precede the verb(s). There are two subtypes of SVC: one with minimally two verbs (e.g., T – TAKE – R – GIVE), and one with minimally three verbs (e.g., T – CARRY – COME – R – GIVE). The biclausal construction also has two subtypes: in the first subtype A is the same in both clauses, while in the second subtype, there are two different agents (A_1 and A_2).

A summary of all the types of constructions attested in Adang and the number of tokens (*N*) in the dataset is given in table 9. The items in parentheses are optional and occur only in some utterances. Each construction type will be discussed in more detail below.

The verb 'give' in Adang is *-ɛn*, which is a reflex of the proto-AP form*-enV 'give' (Holton and Robinson 2014:88). The verb *-ɛn* is obligatorily prefixed by an object prefix indexing R. The prefix can cooccur with R as a full NP, if this has not been mentioned earlier, or the NP can be dropped if the referent of R is known (Haan 2001:228). According to Haan (2001:228), the verb *-ɛn* 'give' in Adang is ditransitive; however, we found no ditransitive construction in our data set. It may very well be that the ditransitive sentences reported by Haan were elicited by means of Indonesian translations. This is reported for

TABLE 9. *GIVE*-CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE ADANG DATA SET

Type	Subtype									*N*
SVC	(A)	(T)	take					$(R)_{NP}$	RAGR-give	7
	(A)	T	carry				come	$(R)_{NP}$	RAGR-give	15
Biclausal	(A)	T	read/hold	(conj.)	(A)	take		$(R)_{NP}$	RAGR-give	3
	A_1	T	ask	conj.	A_2	(carry)		$(R)_{NP}$	RAGR-give	4
Other										2
Total										31

Teiwa, for instance, where *give*-constructions with a bare T (DO constructions) occur only in elicitation through Indonesian (Klamer and Schapper 2012:191).

5.3.1. Serial verb construction. SVCs are the most common strategy to express 'give' events in Adang (twenty-two out of thirty-one, 71 percent). SVCs are defined following the same criteria as in Klamer and Schapper (2012:177, see section 2). In the SVC, T is flagged by the first verb, while R by the second verb. There are two subtypes of SVCs: one with minimally two verbs (e.g., T – TAKE – R – RAGR-GIVE), and one with minimally three verbs (e.g., T – CARRY – COME – R – RAGR-GIVE).

The first subtype of SVCs contains two verbs, and it is typically used when the 'give' event does not involve distance. There are seven tokens of this construction in the data set. The verb flagging T is usually a verb of causation of accompanied motion, while the verb *-ɛn* 'give' flags R, as illustrated in example (16). In (16), R *nu ho* 'this one (girl)' is also indexed with the object prefix on the verb *-ɛn* 'give'.

	A		T			TAKE	R		GIVE		
(16)	Nu	…	buŋa	nɔʔ-nɔʔ	ho	med	nu	ho	ʔ-ɛn	puŋ	mid.[14]
	one		flower	RDP~good	DEF	take	one	DEF	3.OBJ-give	hold	go.up
	'One … takes the nice flowers (and) gives (them) to this one.'										
											(H&F_Ice 72.1)[15]

The verb flagging T can be *med* 'take' (four tokens), *tɛfaŋ* 'carry' (one token), *tan* 'pass on' (one token), or *puŋ* 'hold' (one token). There is no relation between the use of the verb *med* 'take' and the description of AT HAND video clips, where the actor physically takes T before giving it. The four tokens of *med* 'take' were all used when describing IN HAND video clips, where T was already in the hand of A. Thus, unlike Alorese, the use of 'take' in Adang SVCs is more grammaticalized. The grammaticalization of *med* 'take' is in line with the pattern attested in other AP languages, where the verb 'take' in *give*-SVCs is used as T-flagging element and has lost part of its semantic content (see section 2).

The second subtype of SVCs contains three verbs and is typically used when there is distance between the participants. In this subtype, the verb *ma* 'come' occurs between the verb flagging T and the verb flagging R. The use of *ma*

14. The Adang examples are transcribed following the orthography in Haan (2001).
15. The citation code follows the same rules as for Alorese (see footnote 10), the only difference being that these recordings are stored in the Adang Corpus (Moro 2019c).

'come' implies some kind of movement of A and T toward R. There are fifteen tokens of this construction in the data set; an example is given in (17).

	A		T	CARRY	COME	R		GIVE
(17)	ʔɔb	nu	buŋa	tɛfaŋ	ma	ʔɔb	nu	ʔ-ɛn.
	woman	one	flower	carry	come	woman	one	3.OBJ -give

'A woman carries flowers (and) gives (them) to another woman.'
(H&F_Sula 69.1)

The verb flagging T can be *fit* 'carry'[16] (six tokens), *tɛfaŋ* 'carry' (five tokens), *puŋ* 'hold' (two tokens), or *-ra* 'be with' (two tokens). The verb intervening between the T-flagging verb and the R-flagging verb is almost always *ma* 'come' (eleven out of fifteen tokens), but there are also two tokens where the verb *hoʔ* 'arrive' is used, and two tokens where the verb *fa* 'go over there' is used.[17]

To summarize, Adang *give*-SVCs always contain a verb flagging T (e.g., 'take', 'carry', 'hold') and the verb *-ɛn* 'give' flagging R. Frequently, especially when the 'give' event involves distance, the verb *ma* 'come' is also added in between the other two verbs.

5.3.2. Biclausal construction. There are seven tokens of the biclausal construction in the data set (out of thirty-one tokens). In the biclausal construction, T is flagged in the first clause and R in the second clause; the two clauses are either overtly linked by a conjunction, or there is a pause or an intonation break. The second clause is often an SVC including an optional verb of causation of accompanied motion (e.g., 'take', 'carry') preceding the verb 'give'. There are two subtypes of biclausal constructions.

The first subtype of biclausal construction consists of two clauses that share the same A. An example of the first subtype of biclausal construction is given in (18). Here A, the third-person singular subject pronoun *sa,* is repeated in the second clause. The verb flagging T in the first clause can be *-dun* 'see/look', *baca* 'read', as in (18), or *puŋ* 'hold', each with one token.

	A	T		READ	
(18)	Sa	buku	sa	baca	no
	3SG.SBJ	book	3SG.SBJ	read	?

A			R	GIVE	A
sa	foi	med	sɔ-kawan	ʔ-ɛn	baca.
3SG.SBJ	again	take	3.REFL.AL-friend	3.OBJ -give	read

'She reads a book, she again takes (it) and gives (it) to her friend to read.'
(H&F_Sula 40.1)

In the second subtype of biclausal constructions, there are two different As; in the first clause A_1 asks for T, while in the second clause A_2 gives T to A_1, as

16. In Haan (2001), the verb *tɛfaŋ* is translated as 'carry (on shoulder)' (p. 124), while *fit* is translated as 'carry (heavy objects on one's head)' (p. 397). None of the video clips used for the present study depicted a participant carrying T on the shoulder nor on the head; therefore, we assume that here *tɛfaŋ* and *fit* simply mean 'carry'. The use of one rather than the other seems to be due to speaker preference.
17. The translations of these directional verbs are taken from Haan (2001:286).

TABLE 10. NUMBER OF TOKENS BY VIDEO CLIPS IN THE ADANG DATA SET

	SVC—2 verbs		SVC—3 verbs		Biclausal	
	IN HAND	AT HAND	IN HAND	AT HAND	IN HAND	AT HAND
NO DISTANCE	2	2	2	3	3	4
DISTANCE	4	0	6	4	0	2

shown in (19). The two clauses are joined by means of the focusing determiner *hɔrɔ*.[18] The focusing determiner *hɔrɔ* puts the event described in the first clause in focus, in a kind of cleft construction. The Adang fieldwork assistant who transcribed all the recordings consistently translated the element *hɔrɔ* with the Malay conjunctions *langsung* 'immediately' or *jadi* 'then'. The verb in the first clause can be *baŋ* 'ask' (three tokens), or *-hou* 'ask' (one token).

	A_1		T	ASK	CONJ	A_2		GIVE
(19)	ʔɔb	to	mɔʔɔi	baŋ	hɔ-rɔ	ʔai	ka	ʔ-ɛn.
	woman	old	banana	ask	DEF-FOC	child	small	3.OBJ -give

'A woman asks for a banana, and the child gives (it) to her. (Lit: It is a woman asking a banana, that the child gives (it) to her.)'

(H&F_Margarit 32.1)

5.3.3. Choice of construction. This section explains the usage patterns of the *give*-constructions in Adang. Table 10 reports a breakdown of the number of SVCs and biclausal constructions used in the different video clips.

The only clear pattern that emerges from the data is that SVCs with three verbs (e.g., T – CARRY – COME – R – GIVE) are used more consistently in the video clips involving distance (encircled cells in the table). For SVCs with two verbs, the number of tokens does not show any clear correlation to the feature of distance. Biclausal constructions seem to be more frequent in the NO DISTANCE video clips, because the lip movement of the actor asking for T is more visible than in the DISTANCE clips, and therefore speakers tend to use the construction: A_1 – T – ask – conj. – A_2 – (R) – give (see section 5.2.4).

5.4. SUMMARY. The most frequent types of *give*-construction in Lamaholot are the monoverbal PrepO construction and the multiverb construction. Monoverbal PrepO constructions are favored in IN HAND situations, and multiverb constructions are favored in AT HAND situations. The feature DISTANCE does not seem to play a role in the choice of the construction. There are no *give*-constructions with three verbs in Lamaholot. The fact that multiverb constructions are used only when the action of taking is visible in the video clips (AT HAND video clips) suggests that these constructions in Lamaholot are explicitly describing the two subevents of the giving action—taking and giving.

In Alorese, monoverbal PrepO constructions are extremely rare (only one token). The most frequent type of *give*-construction is the SVC. In the SVC,

18. The focusing determiner *hɔ-rɔ* is formed by combining the definite determiner *hɔ* and the focusing suffix *-rɔ* (Haan 2001:34).

the first verb introducing T is always a verb of causation of accompanied motion, like 'hand over' or 'take', while the second verb introducing R is always 'give'. The choice of the first verb depends on the position of T. If T is already in the hand of A (IN HAND video clips), the verb 'hand over' or 'pass is used; if A has to take T from somewhere (AT HAND video clips), then 'take' is used. This usage pattern shows that the verb 'take' in Alorese retains its semantic content. SVCs can have two or three verbs, and there is a correlation between the type of SVC and the feature DISTANCE. Speakers prefer to use the SVC with two verbs (PASS/TAKE – T – GIVE – R) to describe video clips with NO DISTANCE, while the SVC with three verbs (CARRY/TAKE – T – COME – GIVE – R) is almost exclusively used in the video clips where there is distance.

Adang has no PrepO construction, and it displays a strong preference for SVCs. As for Alorese, the verb flagging T is usually a verb of causation of accompanied motion, while the verb flagging R is the verb 'give'. Unlike Alorese, however, there is no relation between the use of the verb 'take' as T-flagging verb and the description of AT HAND video clips, where the actor physically takes T before giving it. Thus, the use of 'take' in Adang SVCs is more grammaticalized than in Alorese. Adang SVCs can also have two or three verbs. SVCs with three verbs (e.g., T – CARRY – COME – R – GIVE) are used more consistently in the video clips involving distance.

Finally, Lamaholot, Alorese, and Adang show the possibility of encoding 'give' events in a biclausal construction. This strategy is common worldwide and probably possible in all languages; therefore, it will not be discussed further. In the next section, we will focus on the differences, namely, on PrepO constructions and multiverb constructions, in particular SVCs.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION. The systematic comparison of *give*-constructions clearly shows that there is a higher degree of structural similarity between Alorese and Adang, than there is between Alorese and its sister language Lamaholot. We propose that the structural isomorphism between Alorese and the AP languages, of which Adang is an example, is the result of convergence, a type of contact-induced change. To argue that convergence has indeed occurred in Alorese, we demonstrate that Alorese fulfills the four requisites for contact-induced change (Thomason 2001, 2009, see section 1). Although one could always argue that *give*-SVCs in Alorese are an independent internal innovation, we argue that the circumstantial evidence of contact demonstrated in this paper is strong enough to propose contact-induced change. After all, "the idea that internal sources of change should always be preferred over contact has no evidentiary basis" (Ross 2013:12).

First, Alorese and the AP languages have been spoken in close proximity since the fourteenth century (see section 3.2). Historical records and recent linguistic research (Klamer 2011, 2012; Robinson 2015; Moro 2018, 2019a) prove that the languages have been in contact for centuries, and they are still in contact today. Second, there are at least three structural features shared by

Alorese and the AP languages: (1) the same type of *give*-constructions, (2) a plural word to code nominal plurality, and (3) the formation of the numeral 'ten' following the same pattern (Moro 2018). In the *give*-construction, Alorese and the AP languages display a strong preference for encoding T and R as direct objects of two different verbs, avoiding monoverbal constructions. Furthermore, the composition and distribution of SVCs is similar. Unlike Lamaholot that has very few instances of SVCs overall and these are only attested for describing AT HAND video clips, Alorese and Adang use SVCs across the board. In Alorese and in the AP languages, SVCs can contain either two or three verbs, and when a third verb is involved, this is a verb meaning 'come'. Third, we can safely assume that AP languages had *give*-SVCs before they came into contact with Alorese, as a *give*-SVC has been reconstructed to the level of proto-AP (see section 2). Since proto-AP dates back to ~3,000 years ago (see section 3.3), while the first Alorese settlers arrived on Pantar only approximately 600–700 years ago, the presence of *give*-SVCs among AP languages today is undoubtedly due to inheritance and not due to contact with Alorese. Finally, we need to prove that *give*-SVCs were *not* present in Alorese before the language came into contact with AP languages. Ideally, to satisfy this requirement one would need records of an earlier stage of Alorese prior to contact. However, we do not have such records for languages like Alorese. To overcome this problem, we can infer the 'earlier stage' by comparing Alorese to its sister language, Lamaholot, which is not in contact with AP languages.

We know that Lamaholot and Alorese have a common ancestor (Klamer 2011:11). It is plausible to assume that the ancestor of Lamaholot and Alorese allowed *give*-SVCs to some extent. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that other types of SVCs (e.g., directional, benefactive) are widespread among Western Lamaholot varieties (Nishyama and Kelen 2007:115; Nagaya 2011:459; Kroon 2016:209; cf. Klamer 2011:102). Based on these observations, we propose that, when Alorese split from Lamaholot, the contact with AP languages boosted the use of *give*-SVCs in Alorese, which were extended to all types of events (not only for AT HAND types like in Lamaholot). In addition, a new type of *give*-SVC with three verbs was calqued from the AP languages. These contact-induced changes might have been facilitated by the phonological similarity between the forms for 'give' in Alorese and in the AP languages (see section 5.2). Having shown that *give*-SVCs in Alorese are the result of contact-induced change, we can now identify the agents of change on the basis of the outcome of contact. The overgeneralization of the SVC with two verbs is a case of frequential copying (Johanson 2002:292). This type of copying is a change that is typically found in bilingual communities, such as heritage language communities, whereby bilingual children copy the frequency of a construction from one language to their 'other' language (see, e.g., Moro and Klamer 2015; Villerius, Moro and Klamer 2019). The SVCs with three verbs are an example of grammatical calquing, typically found among bilingual

(pre)adolescents. According to Ross (2013:11, 37) in small-scale communities, such as in eastern Indonesia, bilingually induced change in (pre)adolescents typically leads to grammatical calquing, syntactic restructuring, and complexification, while shift-induced change in adults typically leads to simplified (morpho-)syntax. Linguistic research in other areas, such as South America, has also shown that structural and syntactic calquing mostly occurs in bilingual children and preadolescents (Sánchez 2006). In grammatical calquing, like the SVCs with three verbs, bilingual speakers replicate a construction in the model language by calquing its structural components and mapping them onto the perceived equivalent forms of the recipient language.

To summarize, if we are to reconstruct the history of contact of Alorese on the basis of linguistic evidence, it is likely that there was a time when Alorese was spoken in small communities where child bilingualism was pervasive. During this time grammatical calques such as the *give*-SVCs with three verbs, the plural word, and the pattern of forming the numeral 'ten' took place (see section 1).

Apart from contributing to the reconstruction of the sociolinguistic history of Alorese, this study has shown the importance of using visual stimuli to collect *give*-constructions. In the literature, the use of translations from Indonesian or Malay may have yielded constructions that are uncommon in spontaneous speech. For example, in the Alorese grammar by Klamer (2011), where *give*-constructions were elicited by means of Indonesian sentence translations, the only type of *give*-construction reported is the DO construction. Visual stimuli make it possible to obtain relatively natural data, while at the same time maintaining control of the type of data collected and their comparability. The use of visual stimuli is, of course, not without problems (see Himmelmann 1998; Klamer and Moro 2020). Recently, François (2019) has made the proposal of using "conversational questionnaires," which consist in providing native speakers with a context and then eliciting chunks of speech that would be appropriate in the given context. This methodology of data collection is said to elicit naturalistic data, while still allowing for cross-linguistic comparison. It remains to be tested empirically whether conversational questionnaires would also be an effective tool to elicit *give*-constructions.

To conclude, we have demonstrated the following. The frequency distribution and the composition of *give*-SVCs attested in Alorese are the result of contact with neighboring AP languages. By analyzing the outcome of contact we can infer the history of a speech community. For Alorese, the results of this and previous studies suggest that there were small Alorese-AP bilingual communities with children imposing grammatical calquing from AP languages onto Alorese. Finally, the use of video stimuli to elicit *give*-constructions has shown the importance of elicitation methodology. Although not being entirely natural, *give*-constructions elicited by video stimuli provide a more realistic picture of language use than those elicited by means of translation.

APPENDIX

The Event and Position list:

No.	File name	Category	Source
1	st43bas.jpg	Positional verbs	Ameka et al. (1999)
2	4b_cup_inhand_distance.mp4	Give events	Fricke and Moro, own records
3	cb17carspont.mpg	Cut and Break Clips	Bohnemeyer et al. (2001)
4	M53_Arrow.jpg	Topological Relations	Bowerman and Pederson (1992)
5	134M_outinin.mpg	Staged events	van Staden et al. (2001)
6	32_giving.mpg	Reciprocals	Evans et al. (2004)
7	cb19shands.mpg	Cut and Break Clips	Bohnemeyer et al. (2001)
8	076T_applethrowmiss.mpg	Staged events	van Staden et al. (2001)
9	ba56bas.jpg	Positional verbs	Ameka et al. (1999)
10	003M_inoutin.mpg	Staged events	van Staden et al. (2001)
11	1a_pen_take_at hand.mp4	Give events	Fricke and Moro, own records
12	M49_Arrow.jpg	Topological relations	Bowerman and Pederson (1992)
13	3b_book_distance.mp4	Give events	Fricke and Moro own records
14	cb10carslice.mpg	Cut and Break Clips	Bohnemeyer et al. (2001)
15	4a_flowers_inhand_distance.mp4	Give events	Fricke and Moro, own records
16	cb26carknifeshort.mpg	Cut and Break Clips	Bohnemeyer et al. (2001)
17	bot58gr.jpg	Positional verbs	Ameka et al. (1999)
18	cb21carhammer.mpg	Cut and Break Clips	Bohnemeyer et al. (2001)
19	cb03stickontree.mpg	Cut and Break Clips	Bohnemeyer et al. (2001)
20	41_giving.mpg	Reciprocals	Evans et al. (2004)
21	07_kassava_box.mpg	Caused position	Hellwig and Lüpke (2001)
22	2b_book_inhand.mp4	Give events	Fricke and Moro, own records
23	M13_Arrow.jpg	Topological relations	Bowerman and Pederson (1992)
24	3a_cup_distance.mp4	Give events	Fricke and Moro, own records
25	26_kassavas_table.mpg	Caused position	Hellwig and Lüpke (2001)
26	021T_applethrowcatch.mpg	Staged events	van Staden et al. (2001)
27	1b_banana_take_athand.mp4	Give events	Fricke and Moro, own records
28	cb01chands.mpg	Cut and Break Clips	Bohnemeyer et al. (2001)
29	M16_Arrow.jpg	Topological relations	Bowerman and Pederson (1992)
30	bot22bas.jpg	Positional verbs	Ameka et al. (1999)
31	29_kassava1_tree.mpg	Caused position	Hellwig and Lüpke (2001)
32	131M_teaswitchactor.mpg	Staged events	van Staden et al. (2001)
33	24_ladder_tree.mpg	Caused position	Hellwig and Lüpke (2001)
34	bot52tab.jpg	Positional verbs	Ameka et al. (1999)
35	41_stick_ground.mpg	Caused position	Hellwig and Lüpke (2001)
36	2a_flowers_inhand.mp4	Give events	Fricke and Moro, own records
37	M64_Arrow.jpg	Topological relations	Bowerman and Pederson (1992)
38	cb09carknifelong.mpg	Cut and Break Clips	Bohnemeyer et al. (2001)
39	001ET_handtohand.mpg	Staged events	van Staden et al. (2001)
40	rp15rck.jpg	Positional verbs	Ameka et al. (1999)
41	17_ball_tree.mpg	Caused position	Hellwig and Lüpke (2001)
42	135T_applegive.mpg	Staged events	van Staden et al. (2001)
43	bea11gr.jpg	Positional verbs	Ameka et al. (1999)
44	34_giving.mpg	Reciprocals	Evans et al. (2004)
45	cb18cutfinger.mpg	Cut and Break Clips	Bohnemeyer et al. (2001)
46	bot37bas.jpg	Positional verbs	Ameka et al. (1999)

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