

New Substrate Evidence in Lamaholot: Data from Central Lembata

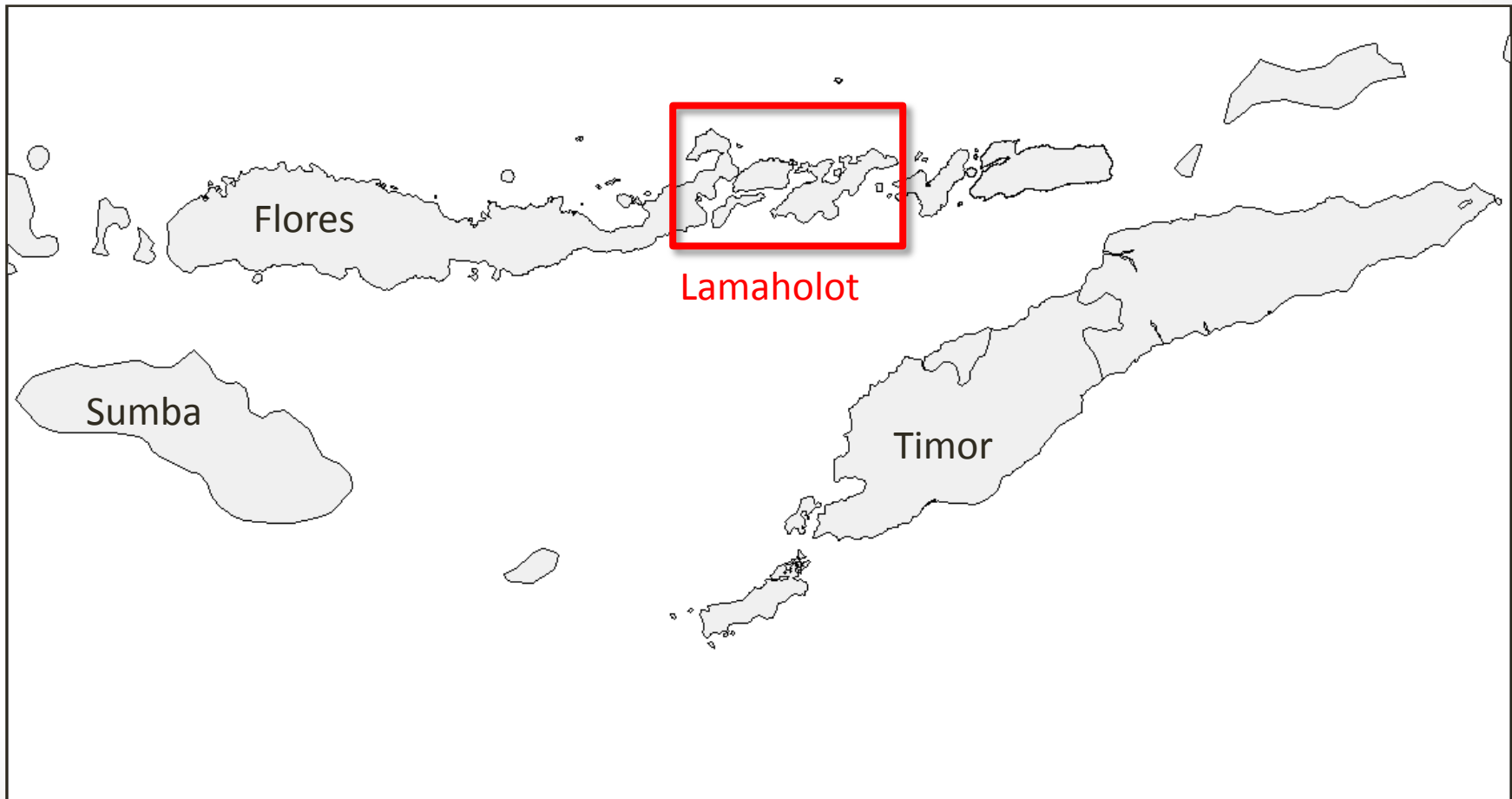


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APLL8 at SOAS London

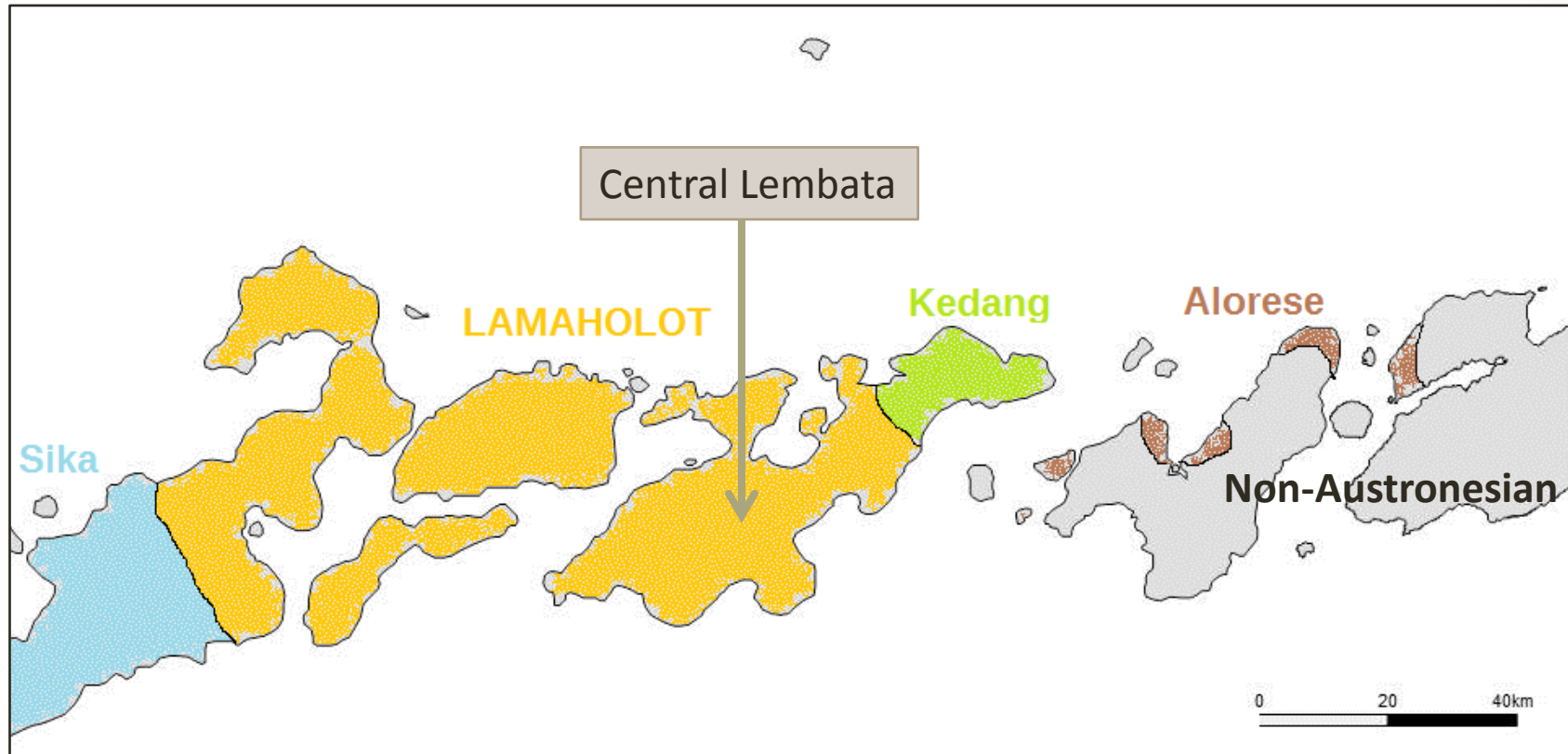
Indonesia



Province Nusa Tenggara Timur



Lamaholot dialect chain (Austronesian)



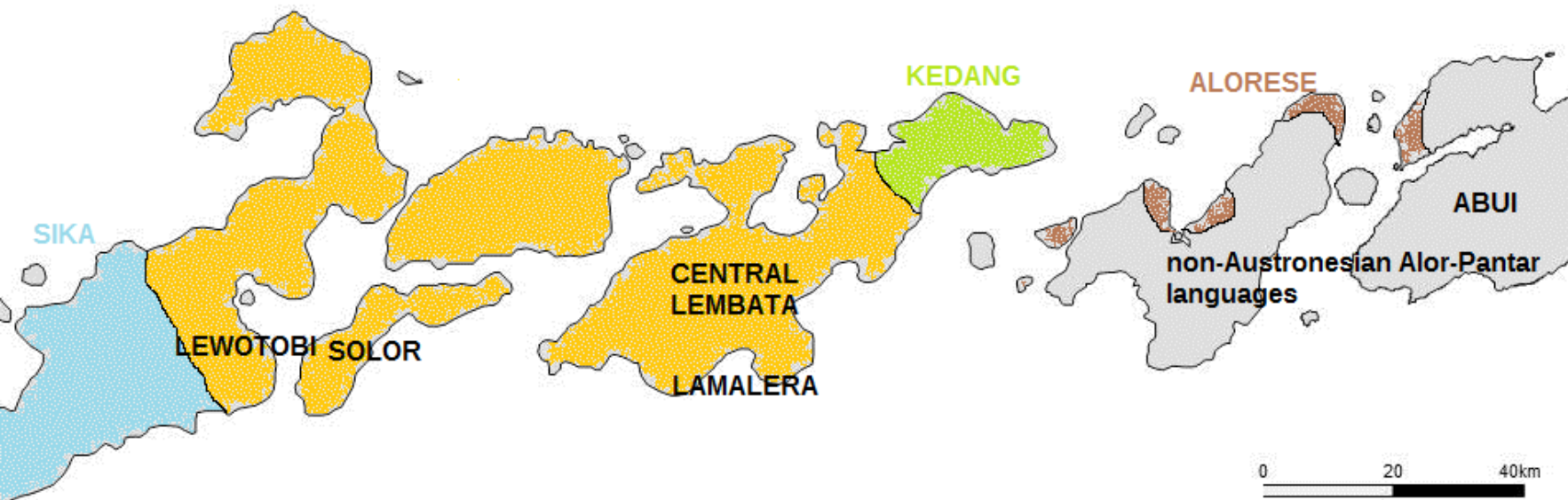
Central Lembata

- undescribed variety of Lamaholot
- 5 villages in the central mountains on the island of Lembata
- 3000-4000 speakers
- **nouns** behave differently than in Lamaholot varieties described so far

Overview

1. Synchronic description of nominal forms
2. Diachronic development of the plural suffix -a

Nouns from Flores to Alor



	Sika	Lewotobi	Solor	Lamalera	C. Lembata	Kedang	Alorese	Abui
'dog'	ahu	aho	aho	ao	au aor aoja	au	aho	kaai
'stone'	watu	wato	wato	fato	watu water watoja	wa'	fato	wi

Nouns in Central Lembata

1. Alienably possessed nouns

- A. two singular forms + one plural form (60%)
- B. one singular form + one plural form (40%)

2. Inalienably possessed nouns

3. Unpossessed nouns

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Alienably possessed nouns

	Type A	Type B
Singular	kopong kopo	manuk
Plural	kopong-a	manus-a
GLOSS	‘child’	‘chicken’

Alienably possessed nouns

	Type A	Type B
Singular	kopong NOUN.C kopo NOUN.V	manuk
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Distribution of NOUN.V / NOUN.C

1. Modified nouns

NOUN.C → definite suffix *-u* or plural suffix *-a*

NOUN.V → followed by adjective, numeral, noun

2. Bare nouns

NOUN.C → preverbal noun (subject or fronted object)

NOUN.V → postverbal noun (object)

Modified nouns

1. Noun modified by adjective, noun or numeral

- (1) **Kopo** binen guwal bal.
child.V woman.C throw ball

The girl throws a ball.

FH1:8

2. Nouns with suffix

- (2) Go tutu **aper-u** snarêk.
1SG tell fire.C-DEF first

I tell about the first fire.

N3:1

Bare nouns

1. Subject position or fronted object

(3) **Wator** **wo** **kedak.**
stone.C DIST big

That stone is big.

N:21

2. Postverbal object position

(4) **Na** **bote-na** **kopo.**
3SG carry-3SG.OBJ child.V

He carries the child away.

L3:274

The plural suffix -a

- Internal source of the morpheme
- Contact-induced grammaticalization

Alienably possessed nouns

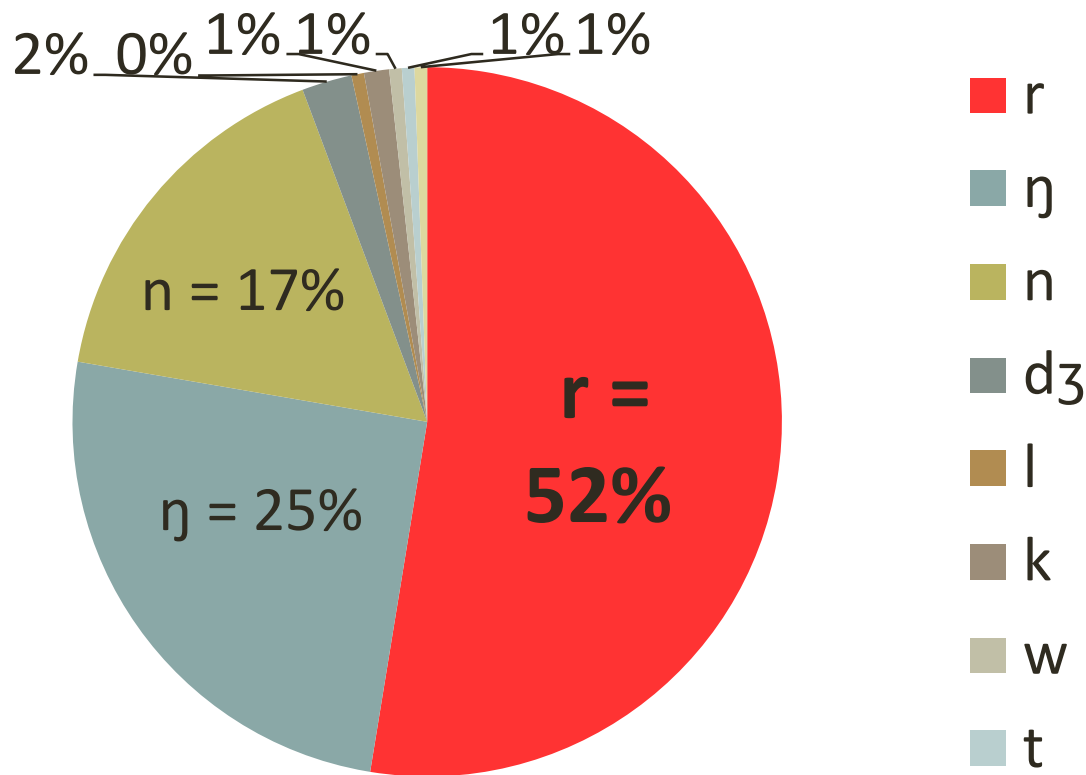
	Type A	Type B
Singular	kopong kopo	manuk
Plural	kopong-a	manus-a
GLOSS	‘child’	‘chicken’
Total: 292	175 (ca. 60%)	117 (ca. 40%)

Distribution Type A / Type B:

→ related to the **final consonant** of the noun

Final C-Phonemes of **Type A** nouns

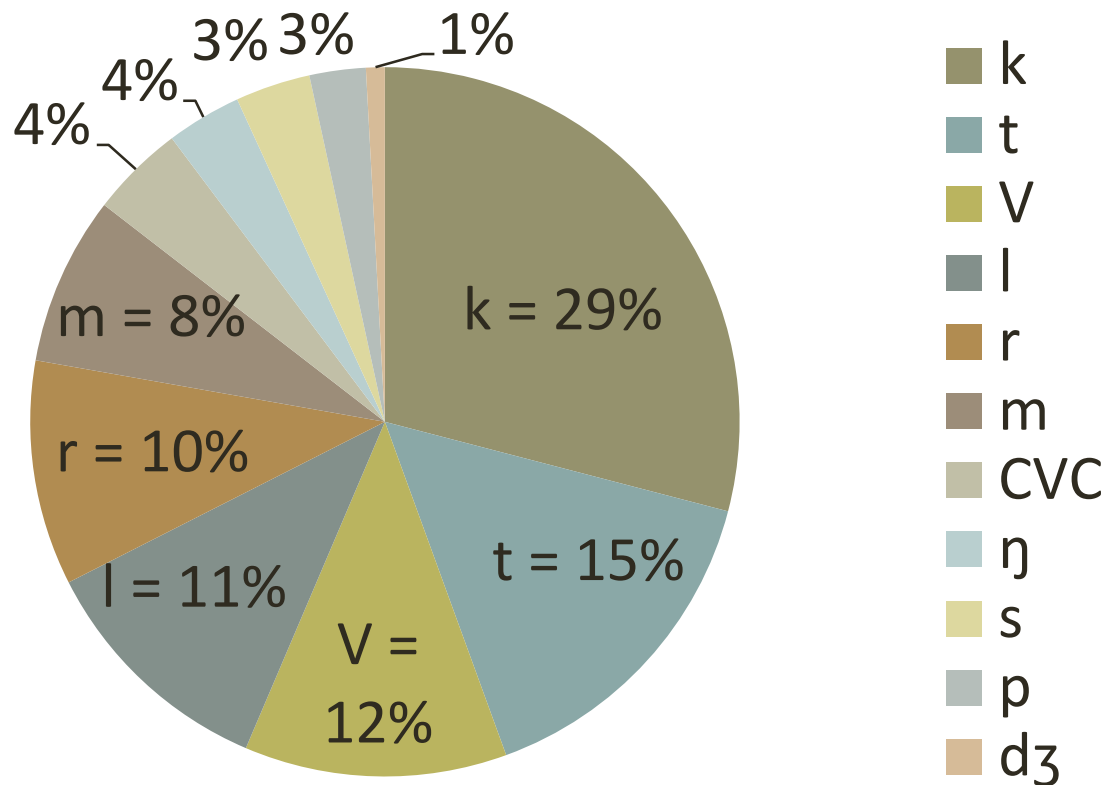
Example: 'stone' Singular: **watu** / **wator**; Plural: **watoja**



Total: 175 nouns

Final Phonemes of **Type B** nouns

Example: 'chicken' Singular: **manuk**; Plural: **manusa**



Total: 117 nouns

Final phonemes of alienably possessed nouns

Type A: **r, ŋ** or **n**

- **r** is overrepresented word-finally

r: all words only 7%, Type A nouns over 50%

Type B: **k, t, V, l, r, m**

- **V** is underrepresented word-finally

V: all words 47%, Type B nouns 12%

-r as a historic suffix

- /r/ is overrepresented as coda of Type A nouns
- NOUN.r -> many vowel/glide final proto forms

Origin of Type A NOUN.r

NOUN.V	NOUN.C	Gloss	Etymology ¹			Source
api	aper	‘fire’	PMP	*hapuy	‘fire’	B&T
kaju	kajor	‘wood, tree’	PMP	*kahiw	‘wood, tree’	B&T
muku	mukor	‘banana’	PTAP	*mugu	‘banana’	Schapper et al (2014:111)
au	aor	‘dog’	PMP	*asu	‘dog’	B&T
kutu	kutor	‘head louse’	PMP	*kutu	‘head louse’	B&T

1 **PMP**: Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, **PTAP**: Proto-Timor-Alor-Pantar

2 **B&T**: Blust and Trussel’s Austronesian Comparative Dictionary online at <http://www.trussel2.com/acd/>

Historic development

- Vowel final nouns got the suffix -r
- Possible language-internal source for
 - historic final -r
 - plural suffix -a

Plural marking of nouns

	Type A		Type B
Singular	kopong kopo	wator watu	manuk
Plural	kopong-a	watoj-a	manus-a
GLOSS	'child'	'stone'	'chicken'

Final C = /r/ => PL -j-a

Final C = /p,t,k/ => PL -s-a

Any other Final C => PL -C-a

Possessor suffixes and plural suffix

plural suffixes

Final C = /r/	=> PL -j-a
Final C = /p,t,k/	=> PL -s-a
Any other Final C	=> PL -C-a

possessor suffix

1SG	-ga
2SG	-m
3SG	-n
1IN	-sa
1EX	-m
2PL	-m
3PL	-ja

Possessor suffixes and plural suffix

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Final C = /r/	=> PL -j-a
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3PL	-ja

Lamalera Lamaholot: **-ri** '3PL.POSS'
Many LH varieties: **ra** '3PL'
Sika: **rimu** '3PL'

3PL.POSS => PL / SG

1. Contraction of V-final noun and 3PL.POSS pronoun

au	+ ra	→	ao-ra
dog	+ 3PL.POSS		their dog(s)

3PL.POSS => PL / SG

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2. Generalization to plural number

aora	→	aora
'their dog(s)'		'dog.PL'

3PL.POSS => PL / SG

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3. Reanalysis of final -a as plural marker

aor-a	aor
'dog- PL '	'dog. SG '

3PL.POSS => PL / SG

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'dog-PL'	'dog.SG'

4. /r/ → /dʒ/ in intervocalic position or before /a/

aoj-a	aor
dog.PL	dog.SG

3PL.POSS => PL / SG

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3. Reanalysis of final -a as plural marker

aor-a	aor
'dog-PL'	'dog.SG'

4. /r/ → /dʒ/

aoja
dog.PL

aor
dog.SG
dog.C

au
dog.SG
dog.V

Why did C Lembata develop a morphological plural marking on nouns?

Contact-induced grammaticalization

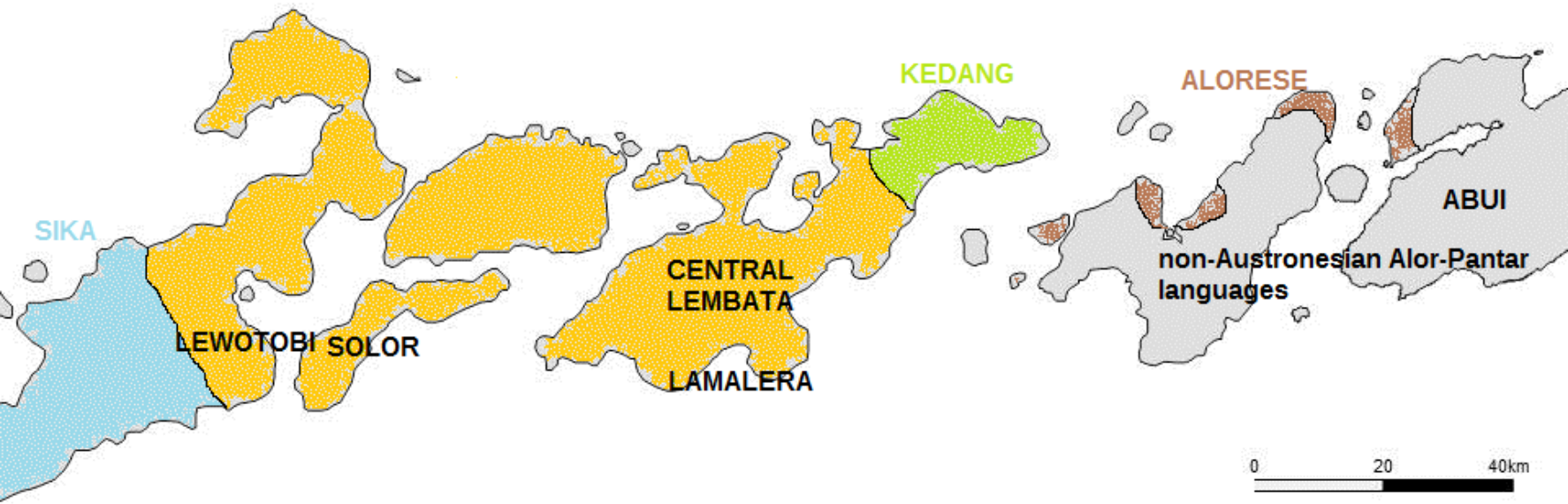
(Heine&Kuteva 2005:80)

3PL free possessor pronouns → general plural suffix

→ language internal process

Why contact-induced?

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Nominal plural in the area

- Closely related Austronesian languages:
 - no plural marking on nouns
- Plural suffixes are **untypical for Austronesian** languages in general

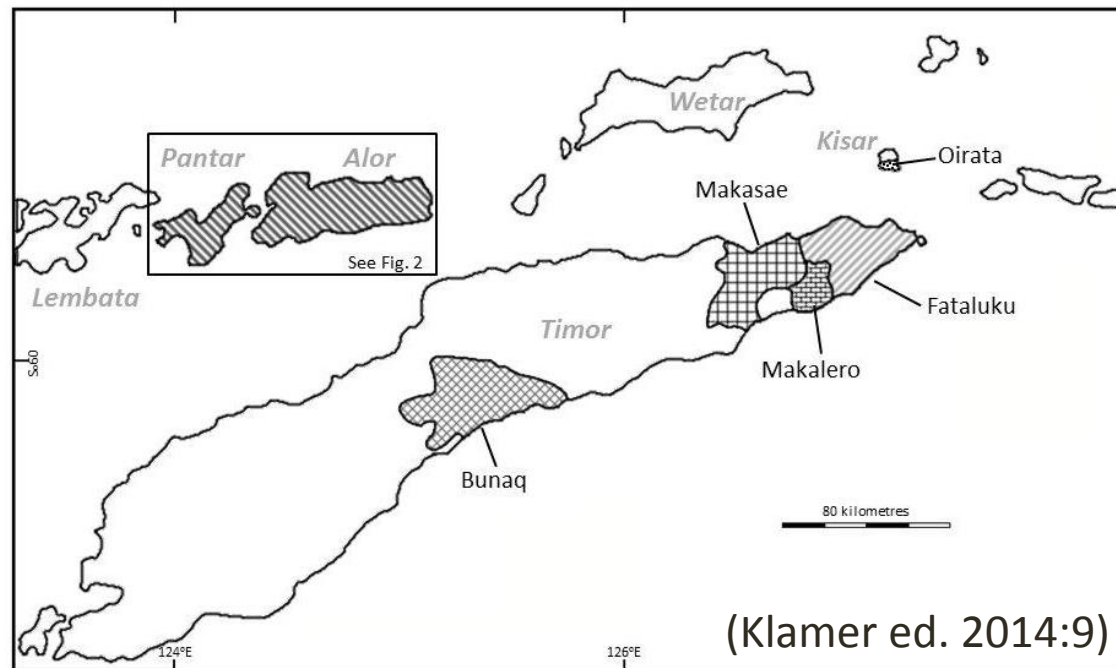
Nominal plural in the area

Non-Austronesian Timor-Alor-Pantar family

Makasae: plural suffix **-la** (Huber 2008:14)

Fataluku: plural enclitic **=ere** (Heston 2015:21)

Alor-Pantar lgs.: postnominal plural words
(Klamer, Schapper & Corbett 2014:377)



Non-Austronesian substrate in Lamaholot

→ has been suggested before (Klamer 2012:104)

Substrate features in Lamaholot

- preposed nominal possessor
- postposed locational noun
- alienably/inalienably distinction
- postpredicate negation
- nominal plural suffix for alienably possessed nouns

Thank you!

