

# Grammatical innovations in Central Lembata Lamaholot

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## Contact or no contact?

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Workshop: Language contact in Indonesia

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# Central Lembata Lamaholot

- expresses more morphological categories than other varieties of Lamaholot
- is conservative and innovative at the same time

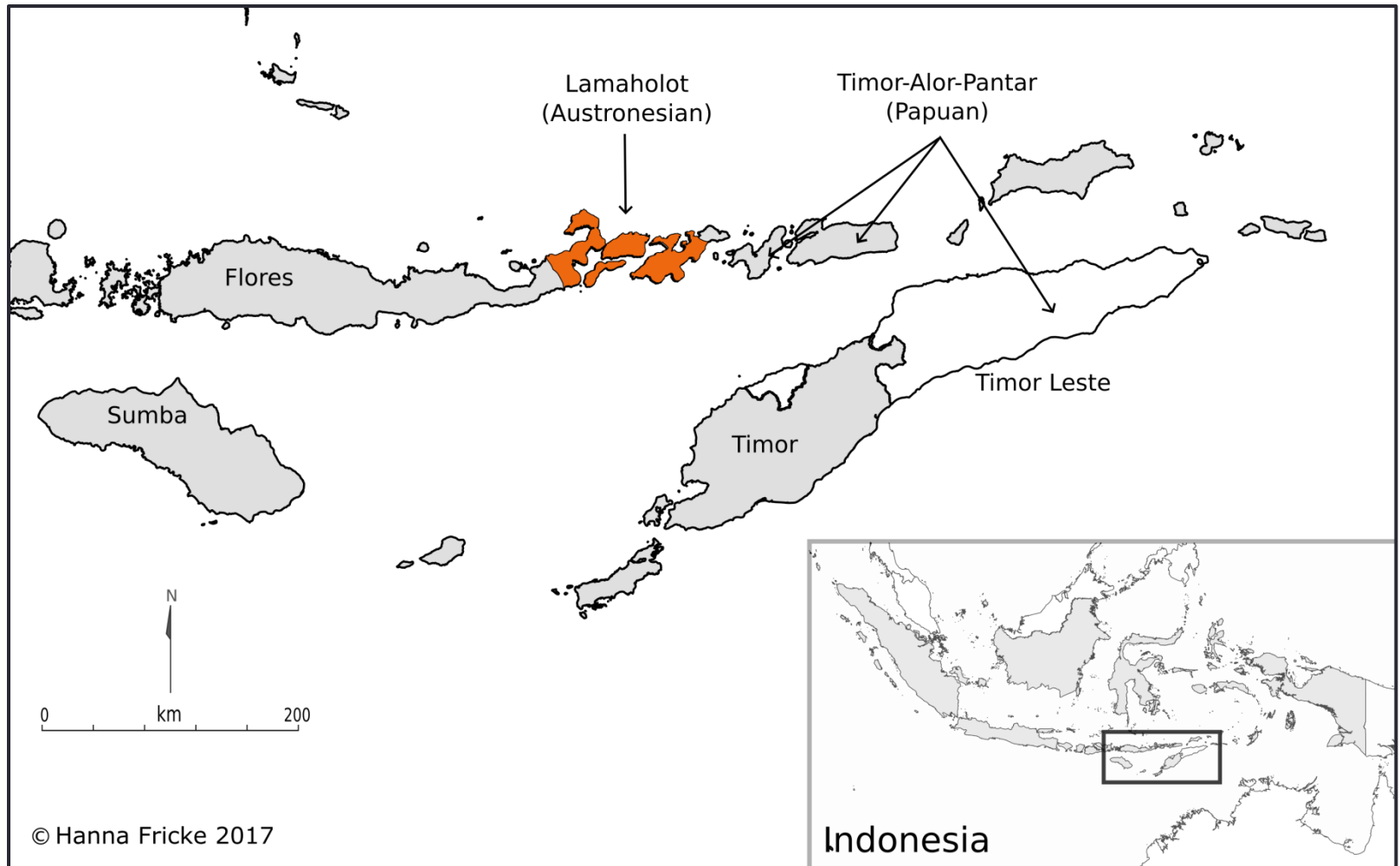
**Where do the innovations come from?**

**Was contact involved?**

# Outline

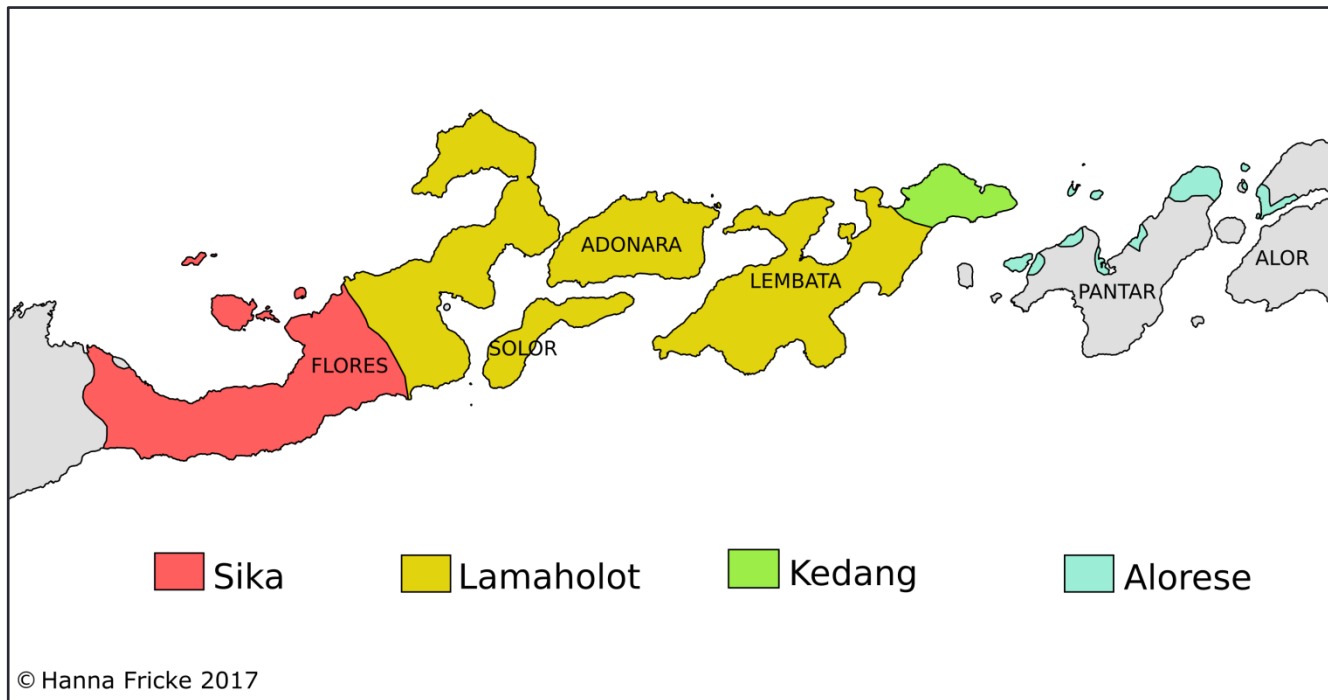
1. The Lamaholot dialect chain
2. Central Lembata Lamaholot's innovative features
  - Plural number suffix on nouns
  - Specificity suffix on nouns
  - Group of “double stem nouns”
  - New additional set of S/P verbal pronominal suffixes
3. Possible development scenarios for Central Lembata Lamaholot

# The Lamaholot dialect chain



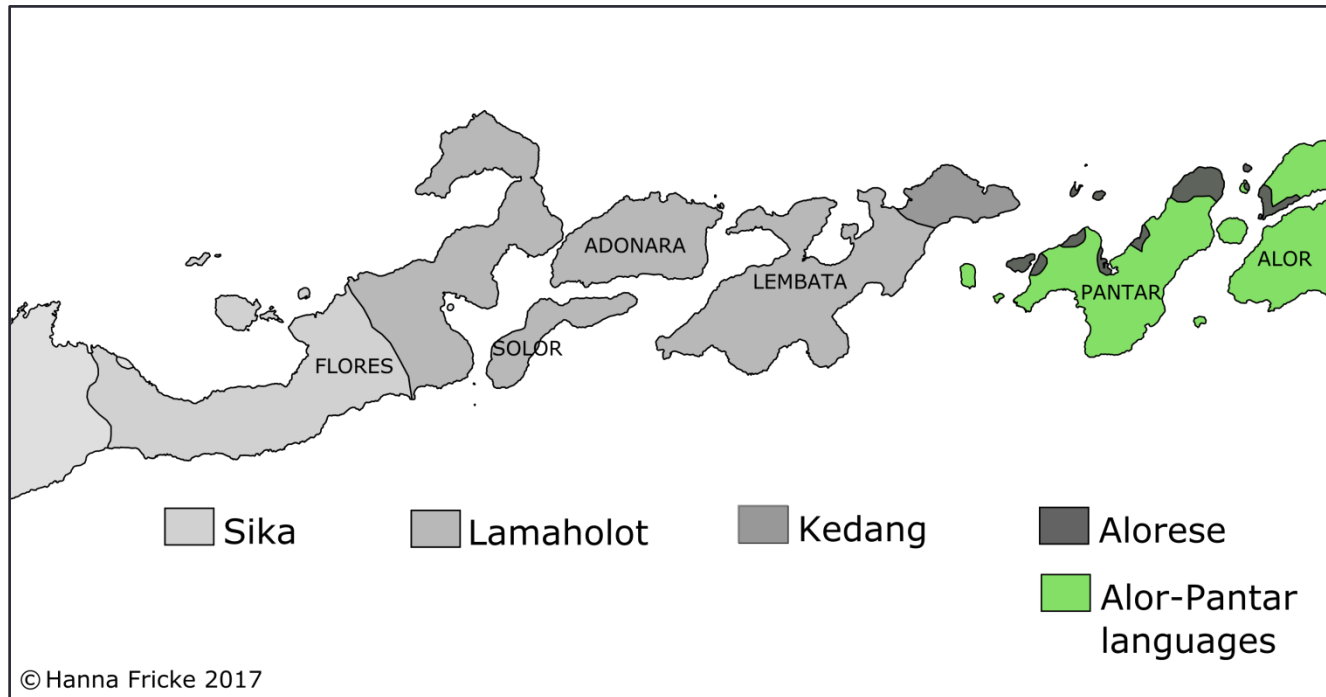
# Linguistic context

## Flores-Lembata languages (Austronesian)



# Linguistic context

## Alor-Pantar languages (Papuan)



# Lamaholot dialectology

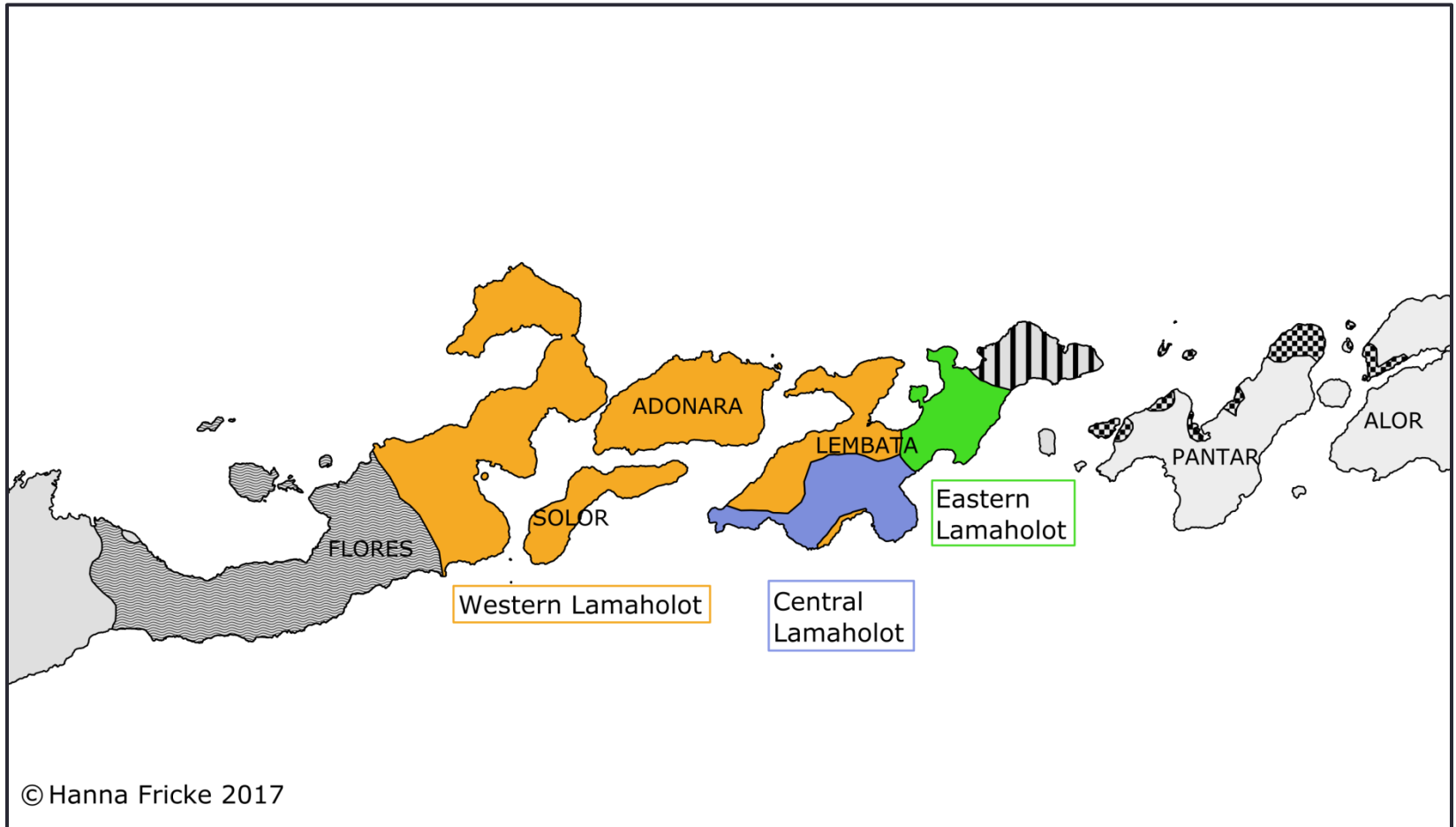
33 Swadesh lists in Keraf (1978)

=> Lexicostistics by Keraf

=> divison into three main subgroups

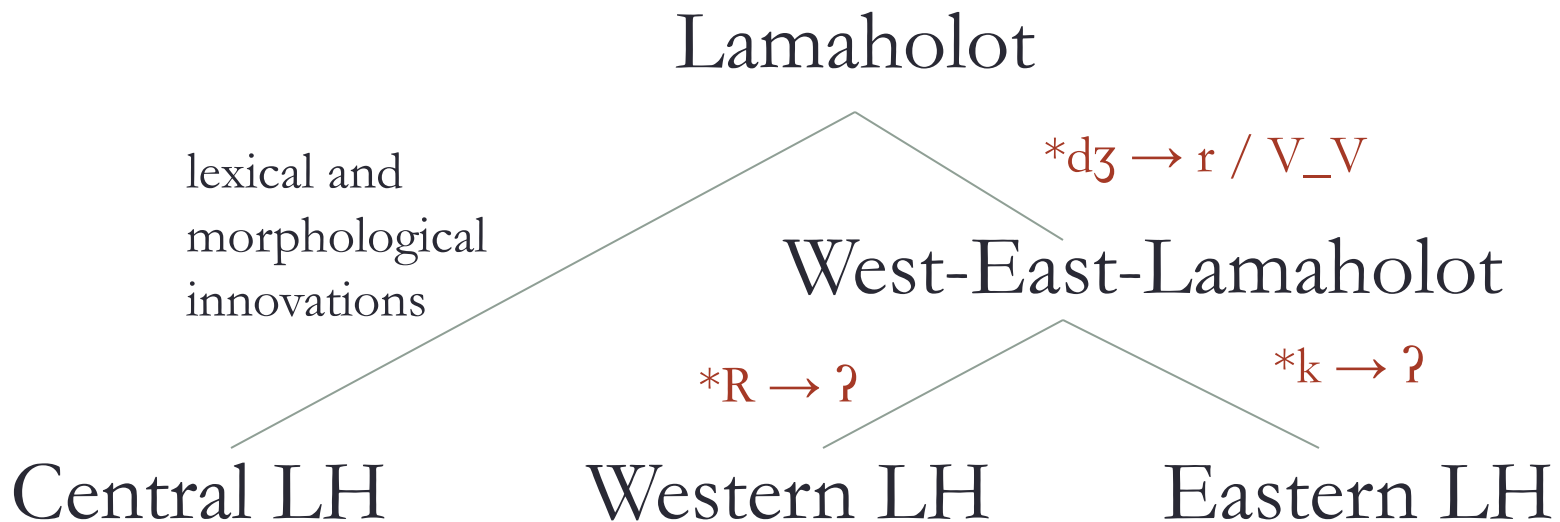
- Western Lamaholot
- Central Lamaholot
- Eastern Lamaholot

# Internal subdivision of Lamaholot



# Historical-comparative approach

- Elias (2017) using Keraf's data
  - Confirms three main subgroups based on shared sound changes
- Preliminary results



# Published descriptive grammar (sketches)

Western Lamaholot	Central Lamaholot	Eastern Lamaholot
Arndt 1937 (FL-SL-AD)	my current work	-
Fernandez 1977 (FL)		
Keraf 1978 (LB)		
Nishiyama & Kelen 2007 (FL)		
Nagaya 2011 (FL)		
Kroon 2016 (SL)		

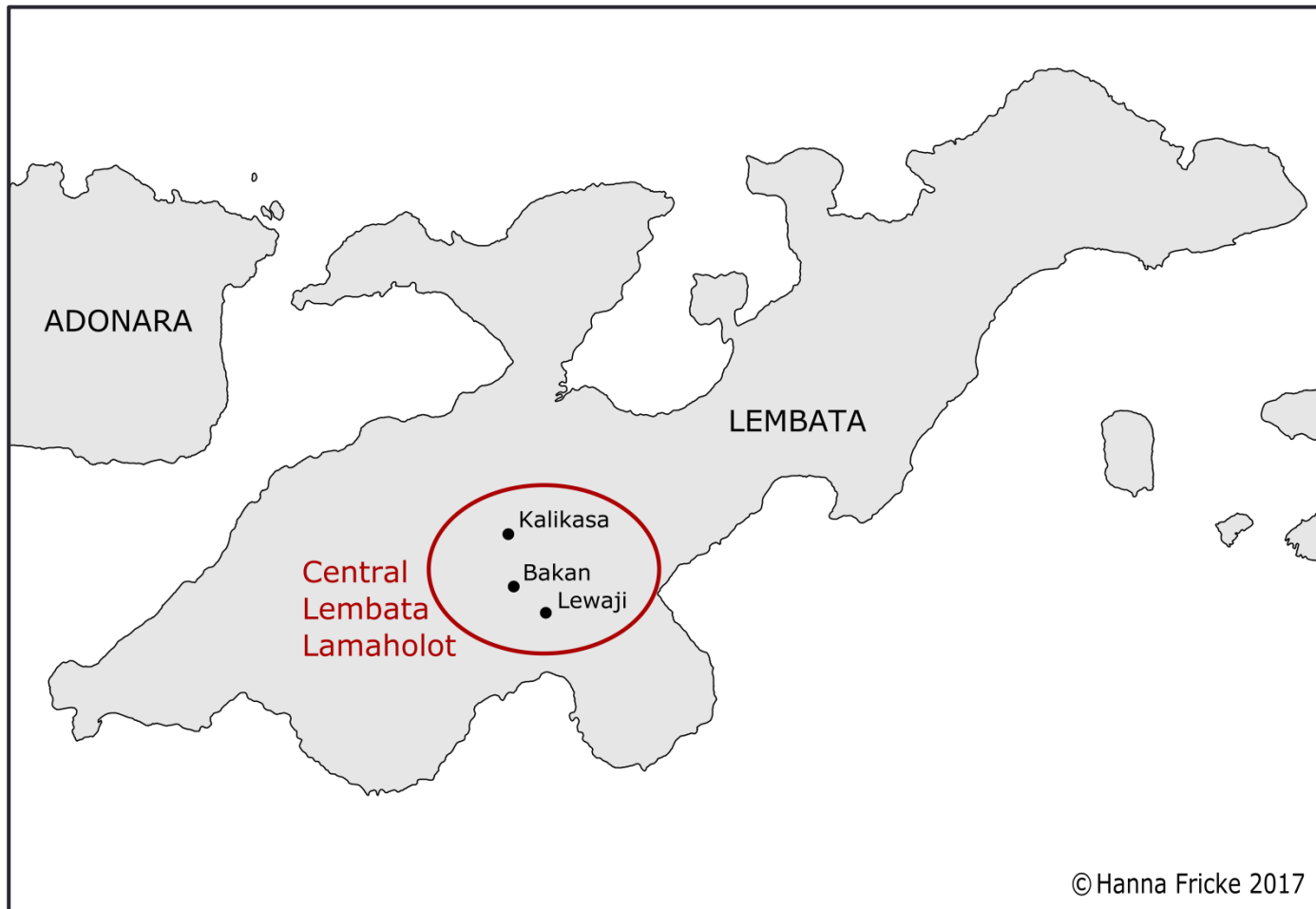
FL = Flores

SL = Solor

AD = Adonara

LB = Lembata

# Central Lembata Lamaholot



# Central Lembata Lamaholot

has more morphological categories than other varieties of Lamaholot

Why?

- retained inherited features (which are lost in other varieties)
  - Irrealis pronouns
  - Ergative alignment through S/P verbal suffixes
- innovated features
  - New additional set of S/P verbal suffixes
  - Plural suffix on nouns
  - Specificity suffix on nouns
  - “Double stem nouns” – two shapes of the same noun which are distributed according to specific rules

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- **innovated features**
  - **New additional set of S/P verbal suffixes**
  - **Plural suffix on nouns**
  - **Specificity suffix on nouns**
  - **“Double stem nouns” – two shapes of the same noun which are distributed according to specific rules**

# Two sets of S/P pronouns in Central Lembata

	Set 1 (>700 verbs)	Set 2 (30 verbs)
1sg	<b>-ga</b>	<b>-ka</b>
2sg	<b>-u (-gu)</b>	<b>-ku</b>
3sg	<b>-a (-ŋu)</b>	<b>-na</b>
1incl	<b>-sa</b>	
1excl	<b>-mi</b>	
2pl	<b>-mi</b>	
3pl	<b>-i (-ŋi)</b>	<b>-∅</b>

Set 1 and Set 2:

- No functional difference
- Lexicalized use

Set 2:

- Minor pattern
- Non-productive
- Appears on a small set of frequently used verbs
- Singular forms show a historically older pattern

# Lamaholot verbal S/P suffixes in comparison

	Central Lembata Lamaholot		Lewoingu Lamaholot
	SP		S
	Set 1	Set 2	
1sg	<b>-ga</b>	<b>-ka</b>	<b>-kən</b>
2sg	<b>-u (-gu)</b>	<b>-ku</b>	<b>-ko</b>
3sg	<b>-a (-ŋu)</b>	<b>-na</b>	<b>-na /-nən</b>
1incl	<b>-sa</b>		<b>-te</b>
1excl	<b>-mi</b>		<b>-kən</b>
2pl	<b>-mi</b>		<b>-ke</b>
3pl	<b>-i (-ŋi)</b>	<b>-∅</b>	<b>-ka</b>

# S/P verbal suffixes in comparison

- 1 set of S/P suffixes in Kedang (Samely 1991)
- 1 set of S/P suffixes in Adonara Lamaholot (Grangé unpublished)
- 1 set of S suffixes in Lewoingu Lamaholot (Nishiyama&Kelen 2007) and other Western Lamaholot varieties (Nagaya 2011; Kroon 2016)
- **2 sets** of S/P suffixes in Central Lembata Lamaholot  
=> The second additional set is innovated

# Nouns in Central Lembata

	Type I	Type II
<b>Semantic type of possessive construction</b>	Inalienable	Alienable
<b>Possessor</b>	Possessor suffix	Free possessor pronoun
<b>Plural number</b>	No plural suffix	Plural suffix
<b>Specificity</b>	No specificity suffix	Specificity suffix
<b>Stem forms</b>	Only single stems	40 % single stem 60 % “double stem”

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⇒ clearly innovated

⇒ **not** found in other Lamaholot varieties

⇒ **not** found in other Flores-Lembata languages (closest relatives)

# Possessive constructions

## Type I nouns

(1) (go) lotor-**ga**  
1SG knee-**1SG.POSS**  
'my knee'

## Type II nouns

(2) **goe** unan  
**1SG.POSS** house  
'my house'



# Specificity marking

## Type I nouns

Type I nouns are obligatorily possessed

⇒ by definition specific

⇒ specificity is an irrelevant category

## Type II nouns

(5) Go    tutu    tentan    tutəŋ-**u**.  
1SG    tell    about    frog-**SPC**

‘I will tell about a frog.’

# “Double stem” nouns

## Type I nouns

Single stem (100%)	
<b>lotor</b>	‘knee’
<b>ulu</b>	‘head’

## Type II nouns

Single stem (38%)		“Double stem” (62%)	
<b>manuk</b>	‘chicken’	<b>au</b> <b>aor</b>	‘dog’
<b>luba</b>	‘sheep’	<b>kopo</b> <b>kopoŋ</b>	‘child’

C-final: 30

V-final: 33

Total: 63

→ Equal distribution

**C-final: 112**

V-final: 13

Total: 125

→ Many more C-final nouns

**/r/-final: 107**

**/ŋ/-final: 47**

**/n/-final: 34**

**Various: 13**

**Total: 201**

# Use of “double stem” nouns (1)

- N + modifier → V-final form

(6) [kopo tu]  
child.V one  
‘one child’

(7) [kaju kedak]  
tree.V big  
‘big tree’

- N + suffix → C-final stem

(8) [kopon-a]  
child-PL  
‘children’

(9) [kajor-u]  
tree-SPC  
‘a/the tree’

## Use of “double stem” nouns (2)

- N = post-verbal position → V-final form

(10) Kam paraw [**kopo**].  
1EX feed child  
‘We bring up (our) children.’

- N = pre-verbal position → C-final form

(11) [**Kopon**] ksopel dʒe lodo.  
child jump UP descend  
‘The child jumps down.’

# Internal source for plural suffix **-a** and “double stem” nouns

	Vowel final	Consonant final
1. Collocation	<b>*au</b> <b>*ra</b> (PMP *sida) dog      3PL	<b>*kopon</b> <b>*ra</b> child      3PL
2. Phonetic adaption	<b>ao-ra</b>	<b>kopon-Øa</b>
3. Reanalysis	<b>aor-a</b> dog-PL	<b>kopon-a</b> child-PL
4. Analogy	<b>aor</b> <b>au</b>	<b>kopon</b> <b>kopo</b>
5. Sound change	<b>aodʒ-a</b>	-

# Possible internal sources for specificity suffix **-u**

	Consonant final
1. Collocation	<b>kopoŋ</b> <b>-nu</b> / <b>tu</b> child            3SG.POSS            one
2. Phonetic adaption	<b>kopoŋ-Øu</b>
3. Reanalysis	<b>kopoŋ-u</b> child-SPC

# Innovative features

Contact-induced grammaticalization

OR

Language-internal grammaticalization



Do other languages in the area show these features?

- Austronesian languages in the area
  - Flores-Lembata languages
  - Timor languages
- Timor-Alor-Pantar languages

# Are these features present in other Lamaholot varieties?

	<b>Lewotobi (Flores)</b>	<b>Lewoingu (Flores)</b>	<b>Lamalera (Lembata)</b>
<b>Two sets of S/P suffixes</b>	-	-	-
<b>Plural number</b>	-	optional plural suffix <b>-we</b> (also associative)	-
<b>Specificity</b>	-	-	-
<b>Double stem nouns</b>	-	-	-

# Are these features present in other Flores-Lembata languages?

	Sika	Hewa	Kedang	Alorese
<b>Two sets of S/P suffixes</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>Plural number</b>	?	Potential plural word <b>ʔahan</b> (??)	?	Postnominal plural word <b>hire</b>
<b>Specificity</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>Double stem nouns</b>	-	-	-	-

# Are these features present in other Austronesian languages on Timor?

	<b>Uab-Meto</b>	<b>Helong</b>
<b>Two sets of S/P suffixes</b>	-	-
<b>Plural number</b>	Amarasi: plural enclitic <b>=n</b> (and allomorphs) (Edwards 2016:214)	?
<b>Specificity</b>	-	M-forms marks specificity (Edwards 2016:62)
<b>Double stem nouns</b>	U-form and M-form (Edwards 2016)	U-form and M-form (Edwards 2016:61)

# Are these features present in Alor-Pantar languages (Papuan)?

	<b>Alor-Pantar languages</b>
<b>Two sets of S/P suffixes</b>	several sets of S/P <b>prefixes</b> (but functionally different!) Differential object marking (Fedden et al 2013)
<b>Plural number</b>	postnominal plural words (Klamer, Schapper & Corbett 2014:377)
<b>Specificity</b>	<b>Kamang:</b> specific article = <b>a</b> <b>Abui and Western Pantar:</b> specific demonstrative
<b>Double stem nouns</b>	-

# Are these features present in TAP languages on Timor (Papuan)?

	Makasae	Fataluku	Makalero
<b>Two sets of S/P suffixes</b>	-	-	-
<b>Plural number</b>	plural suffix <b>-la</b> (Huber 2008:14)	plural enclitic <b>=ere</b> (Heston 2015:21)	Plural suffixes <b>-raa</b> <b>/ -laa</b> (Huber 2011:236) [ <b>-r</b> is nominalizer] (Huber 2011:102)
<b>Specificity</b>	-	-	-
<b>Double stem nouns</b>	-	-	“reduced nouns” in certain positions (Huber 2011:120)

# Summary of comparative view

- No other language shows the same set of features.
- Plural marking strategies appear scattered over Austronesian and TAP languages.
- Some cases of nouns with two shapes
  - Austronesian languages on Timor have two noun forms:
    - Unmetathesized (U)-form and Metathesized (M)-form
    - Distribution rules, amongst others: M+V-suffix; M+attribute
  - Non-Austronesian Makalero has a few reduced noun forms, one of them is restricted to object position.

# Three Possible developments of nominal features in Central Lembata

## 1. Contact-induced grammaticalization

- Contact to an unknown non-Austronesian language

## 2. Inherited from Proto-Lamaholot

- Other Lamaholot varieties lost these features

## 3. Language-internal grammaticalization

- Gain of complexity due to isolation of the variety

# Contact-induced grammaticalization

- Contact to an **unknown non-Austronesian language** which has these features or part of them
  - a language related to non-Austronesian languages on **Timor?**

## Questions:

- Is the nominal plural morphology reconstructable to a Proto-Timor level?
  - Are there other features in these languages that also appear in Central Lembata?
- Why would only Central Lembata be affected by this potential contact and no other Lamaholot variety?

# Inherited from Proto-Lamaholot

- Only one possible piece of evidence for this scenario:
  - V-final nouns in West and East Lamaholot have gone through **final vowel lowering of /i/ and /u/**

PMP	Kedang	West+East Lamaholot	Central Lembata
*asu ‘dog’	au	<b>ao</b>	au <b>aor</b>
*qilih ‘hill’	ili	<b>ile</b>	ili <b>iler</b>

- **Problem:** **Why no traces** at all? All V-final with lowered V, no C-final variants found.

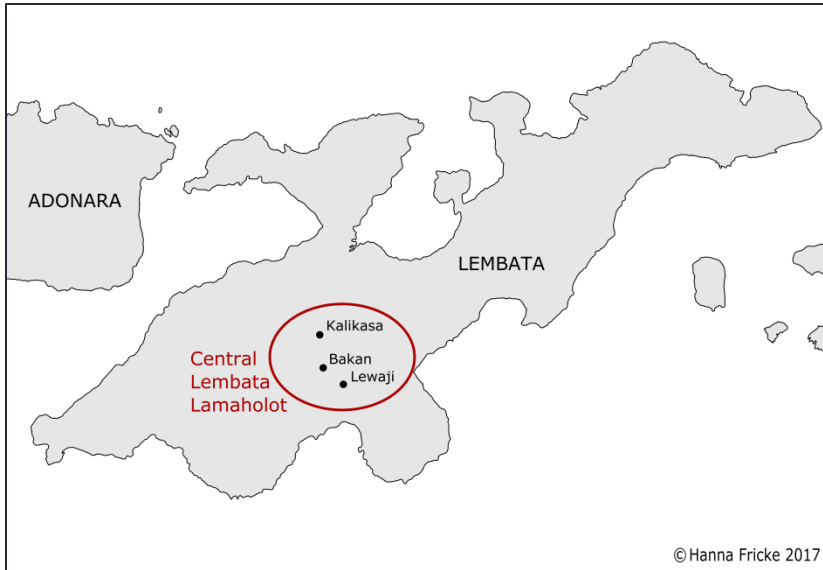
# Language-internal grammaticalization

- Let to **complexification** = new morphological categories, more irregularity (Trudgill 201:91)
- Languages can **gain features** due to
  - **contact** with another language (Trudgill 2010:315)
  - long-term **isolation** (Trudgill 2011:89; Baechler 2015)

Isolation  $\neq$  no contact to other people

Isolation = no outsiders learning the language (Trudgill 2011:89)

# Central Lembata - isolated?



Spoken in the central mountains of Lembata

- Unlikely to function or have functioned as lingua franca
- Until now: only spoken by people in the villages
- **In the past:** probably little marriage partners from outside the community

# Summing up

- Central Lembata Lamaholot **gained complexity in the pronominal and nominal domain.**
- Neither other varieties of Lamaholot nor related languages show the same features.
- The most probable reason is a **language-internal development due to isolation** of the variety.
- However, other scenarios should not be dismissed completely yet.

# Thank you

