

What is spoken in Atadei (Lembata)?

A language, a dialect, or a dialect cluster?

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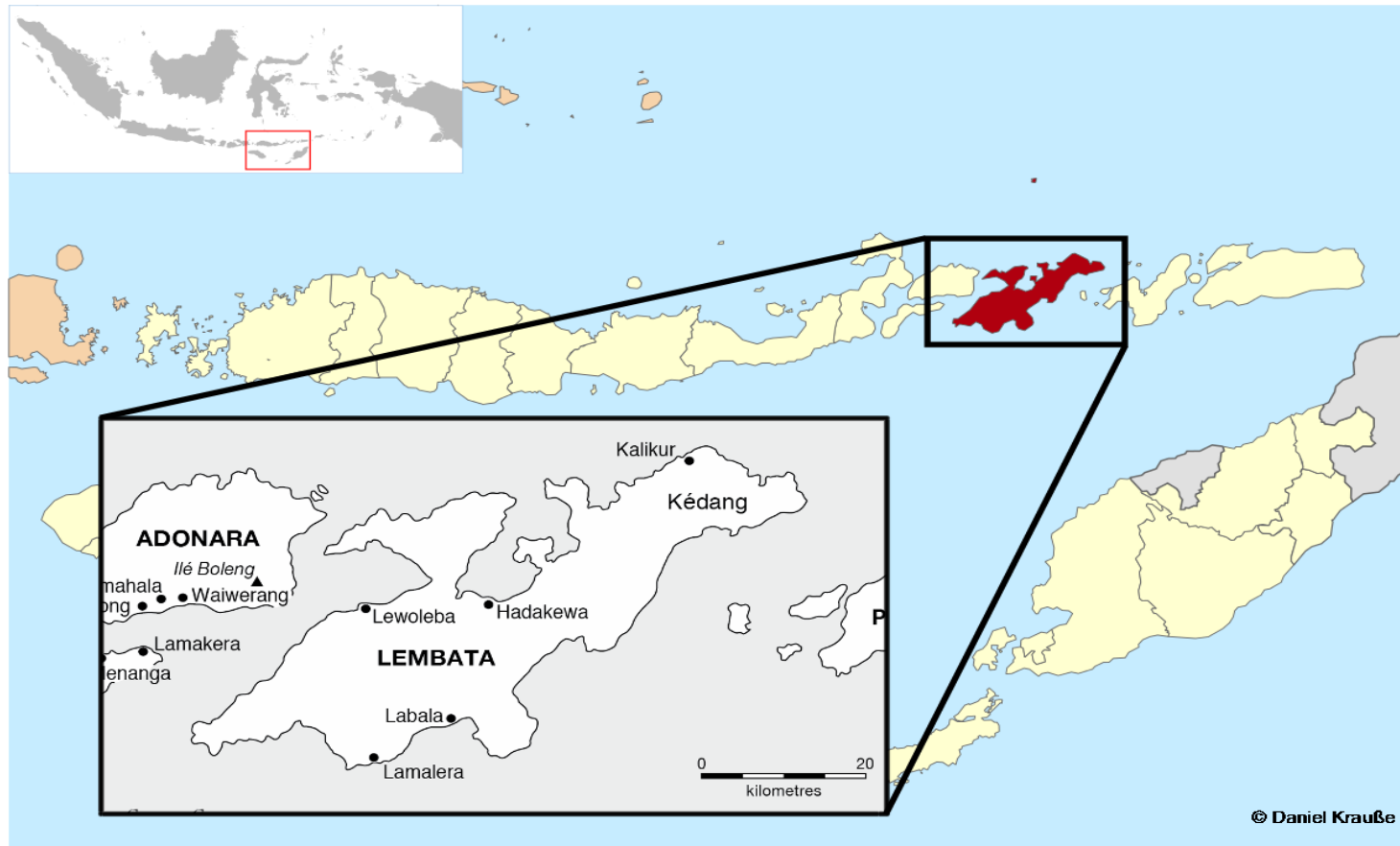
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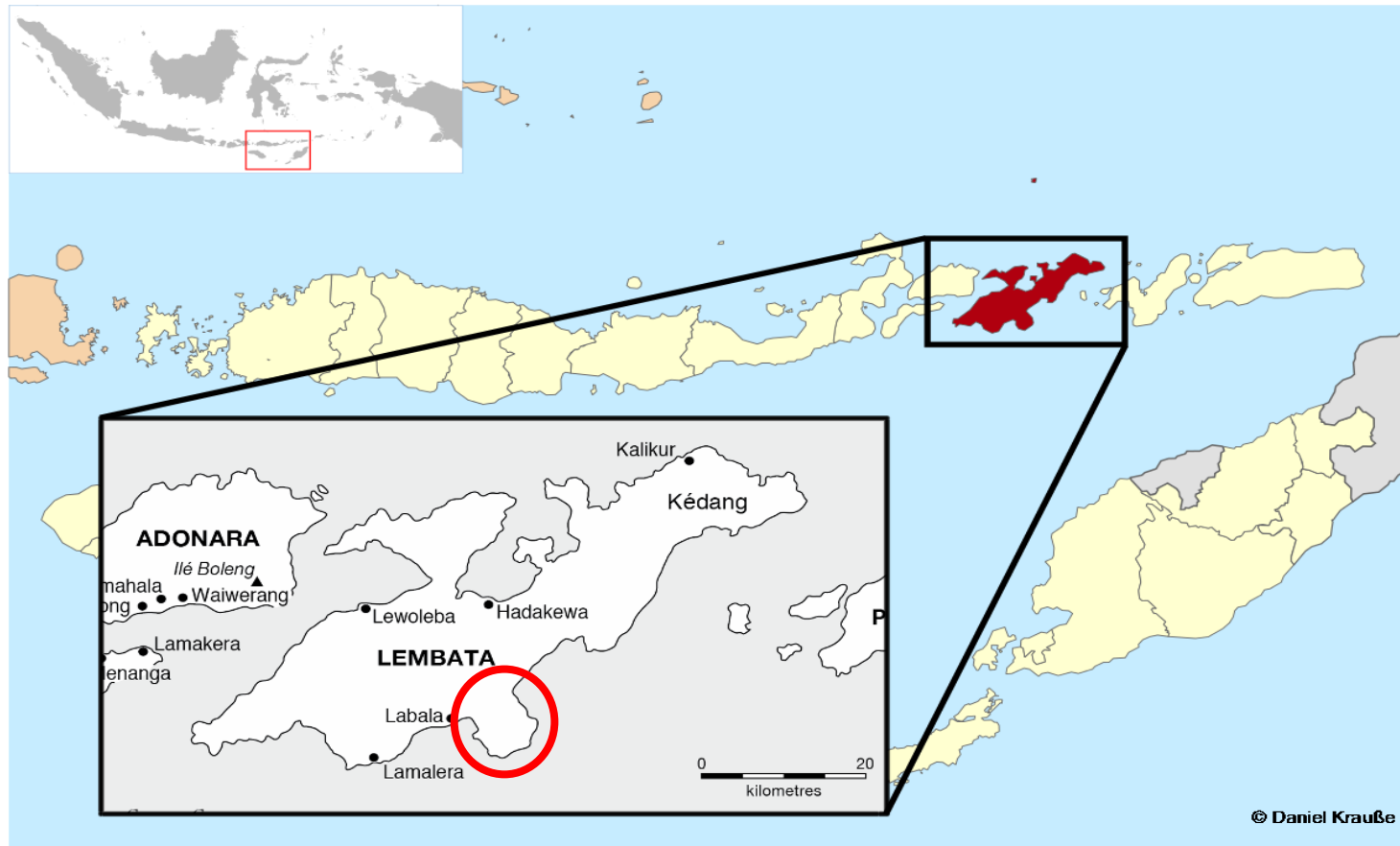
The Language: Atadei

- spoken in Kecamatan Atadei, Kabupaten Lembata, NTT



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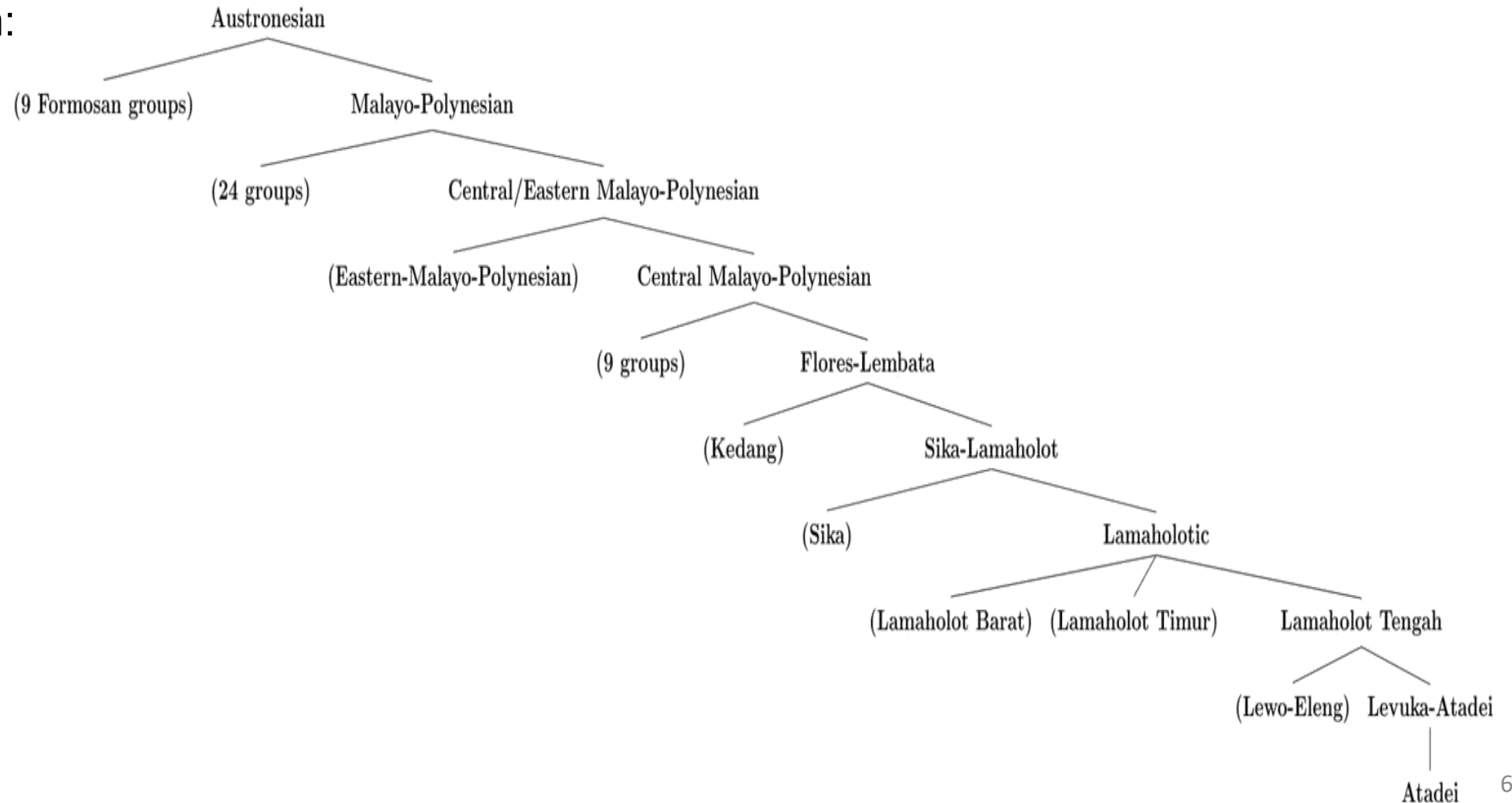


The Language: Atadei

- speakers: no figure available, probably ~5,000 to 8,000 (Krauße 2016:114)
- alternative names:
 - South Lembata (Hammarström et al. 2017)
 - Painara (Keraf 1978)
 - Lerek (Fricke 2015, Akoli 2017)
- belongs to the Central Lembata group of Lamaholotic languages

The Language: Atadei

- Classification:



The Language: Atadei

- nearly no previous research
- 200-word list by Keraf (1978:449-452) for Painara matches my Atadei/Atalojo data by ~95%
- 500+ word list by Hanna Fricke (2015) for Lerek matches my data almost exactly
- Doyle (2010) on internal division of the Flores-Lembata subgroup
- Central Lembata grammatical descriptions:
 - Akoli (2010) on Lewokukung variety
 - Krauße (2016) on Atadei variety
 - Fricke (2017a) on Kalikasa variety
- further description is needed

Dialect or Language?

- Distinction is not clear-cut:
 - Cantonese as a dialect of Chinese/Mandarin?
 - Norwegian and Danish different languages?
 - East Javanese and West Javanese are dialects?
 - Malay(sian) and Indonesian are different languages?

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- Mutual intelligibility
 - Can people from Beijing understand people from Hong Kong speaking Cantonese?
 - Can people from Denmark understand Norwegians when they both speak their own language?
 - Can people from Surabaya understand people from Banten or Tegal (in low level Javanese)?
 - Can people from Kuala Lumpur understand people from Jakarta?

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 - Can people from Surabaya understand people from Banten or Tegal (in low level Javanese)? **X**
 - Can people from Kuala Lumpur understand people from Jakarta? **✓**
- This leads us to ...
 - Mandarin and Cantonese are two different languages
 - Norwegian and Danish are dialects of the same language “Riksmål”
 - East Javanese and West Javanese are two different languages
 - Malaysian and Indonesian are dialects of the same language “Malay”

Dialect or Language?

- What about Lamaholot and its varieties?
 - chain of dialects / dialect chain (Bowden 2008:247; Fricke 2017a:752; Kroon 2016:4; Nagaya 2010:158; Nagaya 2011:9)
 - dialect chain with three dialect clusters (Grangé 2015)
 - dialects (Melalatoa 1995:442; Sanga 2002:5)
 - dialects / vernaculars (“Mundarten”) / Solor language (“Sprache”) (Arndt 1937:3)
 - Lamaholot languages (“bahasa-bahasa”) / Lamalera dialect (Keraf 1978)
 - Lamaholot as *lingua franca* encompassing poorly documented languages (Grimes: 1997:81)
 - Atadei language with internal dialects (Krauß 2016)
 - Lamaholot dialect chain / Lerek language (Akoli 2017)
 - Alorese as a separate language: 40-50% cognacy (Klamer 2011:24), previously dialect of Lamaholot

Dialect or Language?

- Consider the following sentences:

(1) Go kan a to'u di hala'.
1SG eat.1SG what one EMPH NEG
"I eat/ate nothing." (Nishiyama & Kelen 2007:20)

[Lewoingu, Flores]

(2) Go tək ka no anam-anam wɛi hi.
1SG NEG eat.1SG there.is thing-RED some NEG
"I eat/ate nothing." (Krauße 2016:116)

[Atadei]

Parameters for a Dialect/Language

- Mutual intelligibility
- Lexical evidence
- Phonological evidence
- Morphological evidence
- Syntactic evidence

Parameter ①: Mutual intelligibility

- Tested with other languages (Daniels 2016, Gooskens et al. 2018, Tang & van Heuven 2009)
- Atadei speakers understand other varieties of Lamaholot (Kalikasa and “standard” Lamaholot)
- reason: Lamaholot has been the *lingua franca* of the region for long time
- BUT: speakers from other varieties usually do not understand Atadei!
- tentative test with a speaker from Adonara Barat:
 - “sounds like from Lembata, but cannot understand it”
 - “have heard that word before but don’t know what it means”
 - “we don’t say that”
- compare: Balinese speakers understand Indonesian/Malay (*lingua franca* and language of education), but Indonesians/Malaysians do not understand Balinese
 - asymmetrical mutual intelligibility
- more tests with Lamaholot-speaking people are needed!

Parameters for a Dialect/Language

- ✓ Mutual intelligibility only asymmetrical language
- Lexical evidence
 - Phonological evidence
 - Morphological evidence
 - Syntactic evidence

Parameter ②: Cognacy

- Lexical comparison
- Correspondence of basic words between two languages in percent
- Basic words: pronouns, body parts, colours, numbers, verbs of movement/perception, adjectives
- Swadesh list (1952) used in lexicostatistics to determine cognacy between languages
 - dialects of a language: 81-100% cognacy (Swadesh 1954:326) or 70-100% (Dyen et al. 1992:9)
 - languages of a family: 36-81% cognacy (Swadesh 1954:326)

Parameter ②: Cognacy

- Keraf (1978:448) provides a lexicostatistic matrix of almost all Lamaholot varieties

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1
79 2
68 72 3
73 74 70 4
67 61 53 67 5
67 64 52 64 88 6
59 58 47 59 69 64 7
59 60 52 64 72 71 85 8
57 62 54 65 70 70 77 74 9
60 60 51 61 80 77 64 67 69 10
77 74 71 81 65 62 56 57 52 66 11
59 59 54 63 84 82 67 71 70 77 63 12
72 78 74 77 59 59 58 61 64 55 74 57 13
69 78 71 75 59 59 59 61 62 57 70 59 84 14
44 54 54 54 50 48 47 49 52 49 56 53 62 62 15
53 59 53 61 55 52 53 59 61 55 59 58 67 67 74 16
46 59 50 56 61 63 71 75 72 67 55 69 55 57 51 54 17
25 31 44 30 29 29 27 30 30 23 31 35 32 34 40 40 31 18
71 71 74 67 55 54 47 52 54 50 71 54 73 69 52 55 58 33 19
69 70 75 66 54 55 49 53 56 52 70 54 71 69 51 54 52 31 85 20
71 73 77 66 53 53 50 53 55 51 67 52 73 66 52 54 50 32 48 81 21
70 76 77 67 56 56 49 53 56 52 65 53 71 69 51 54 51 31 85 85 78 22
71 76 77 71 54 56 51 53 57 52 73 54 76 71 52 55 51 32 82 80 84 84 23
71 76 78 68 55 54 48 52 56 47 71 54 71 70 51 62 51 32 82 83 81 89 83 24
69 75 75 67 54 54 51 52 56 47 73 55 72 71 53 56 50 34 80 76 88 76 82 79 25
72 70 74 66 54 53 47 48 53 49 68 53 69 65 53 55 48 33 72 69 75 72 77 76 75 26
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66 67 68 63 50 50 46 49 53 47 66 51 69 66 52 55 47 31 68 66 72 70 76 72 75 79 87 28
70 72 71 65 50 54 49 49 54 50 68 51 70 69 55 57 48 32 69 69 74 72 79 75 74 79 88 85 29
68 70 71 63 50 53 48 50 55 49 66 52 67 69 54 56 50 33 71 71 72 70 73 76 72 80 83 81 83 30
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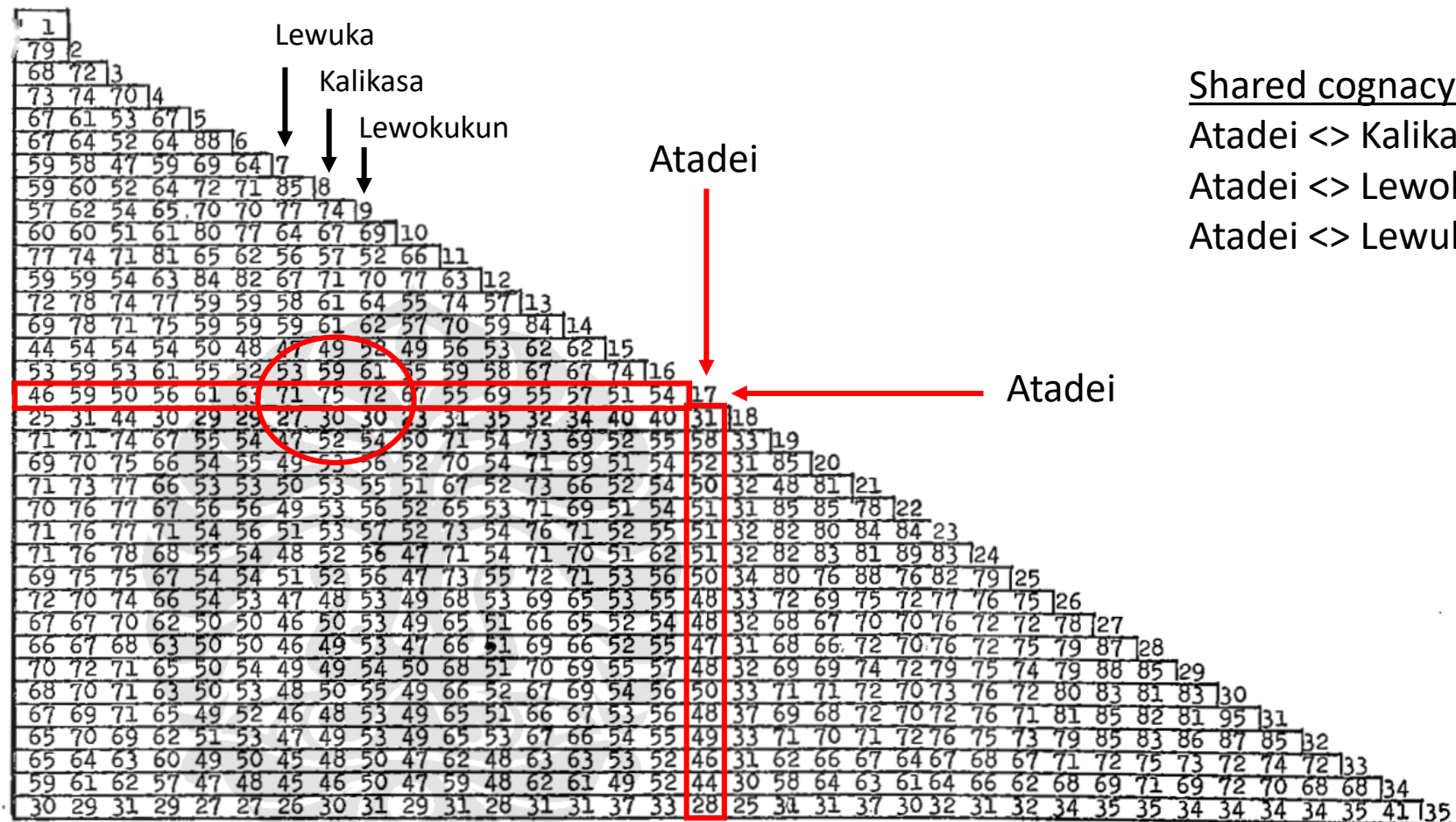
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Atadei

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Shared cognacy:

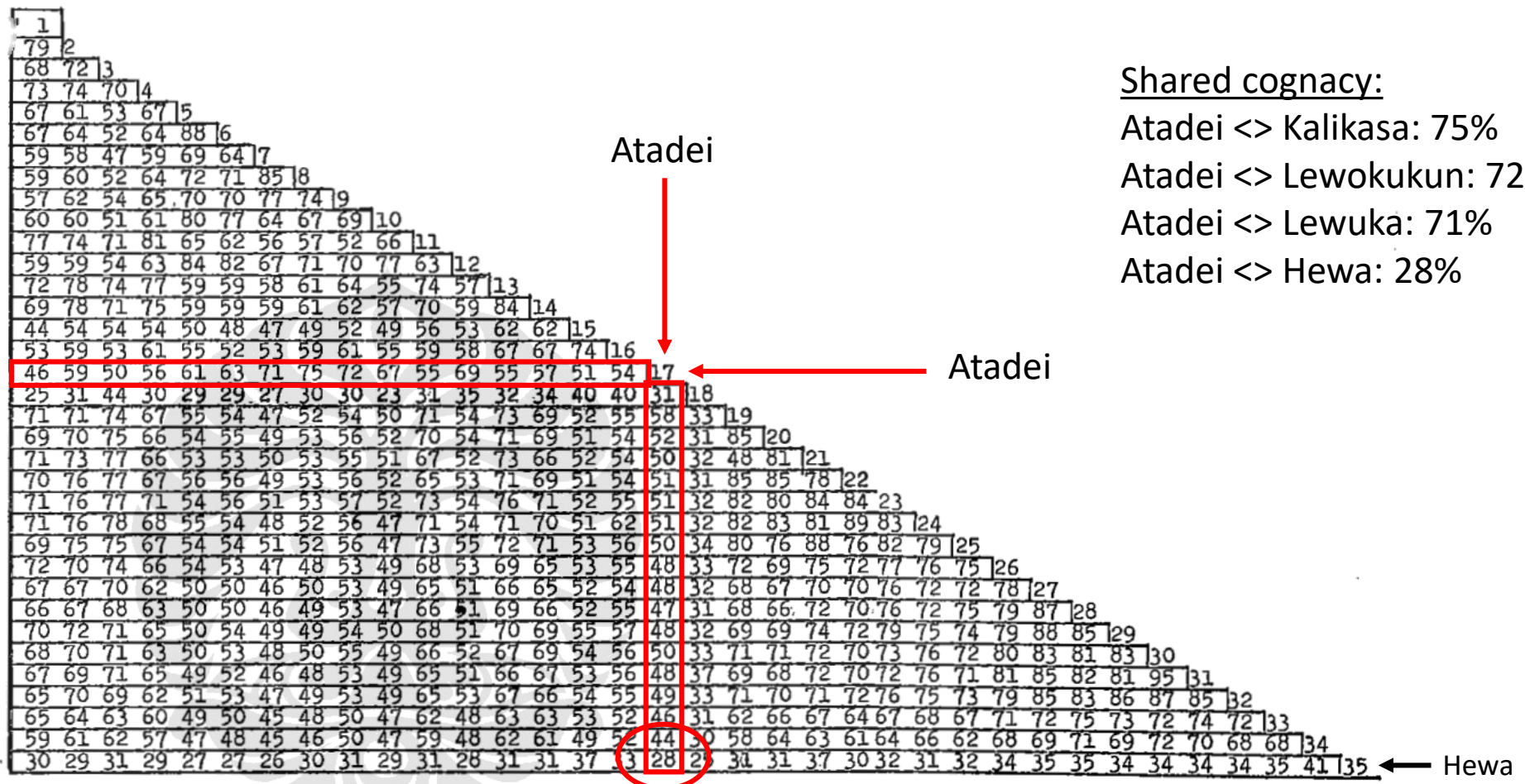
Atadei <> Kalikasa: 75%

Atadei <> Lewokukun: 72%

Atadei <> Lewuka: 71%

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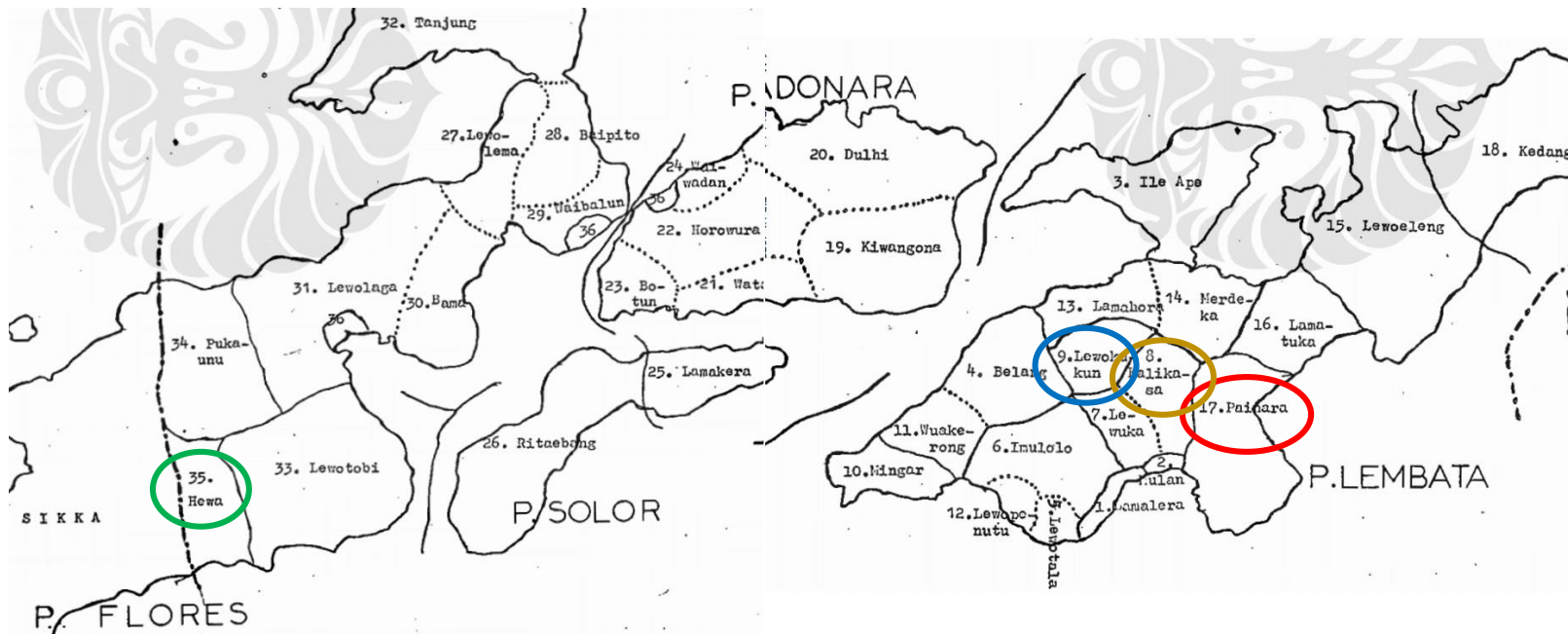
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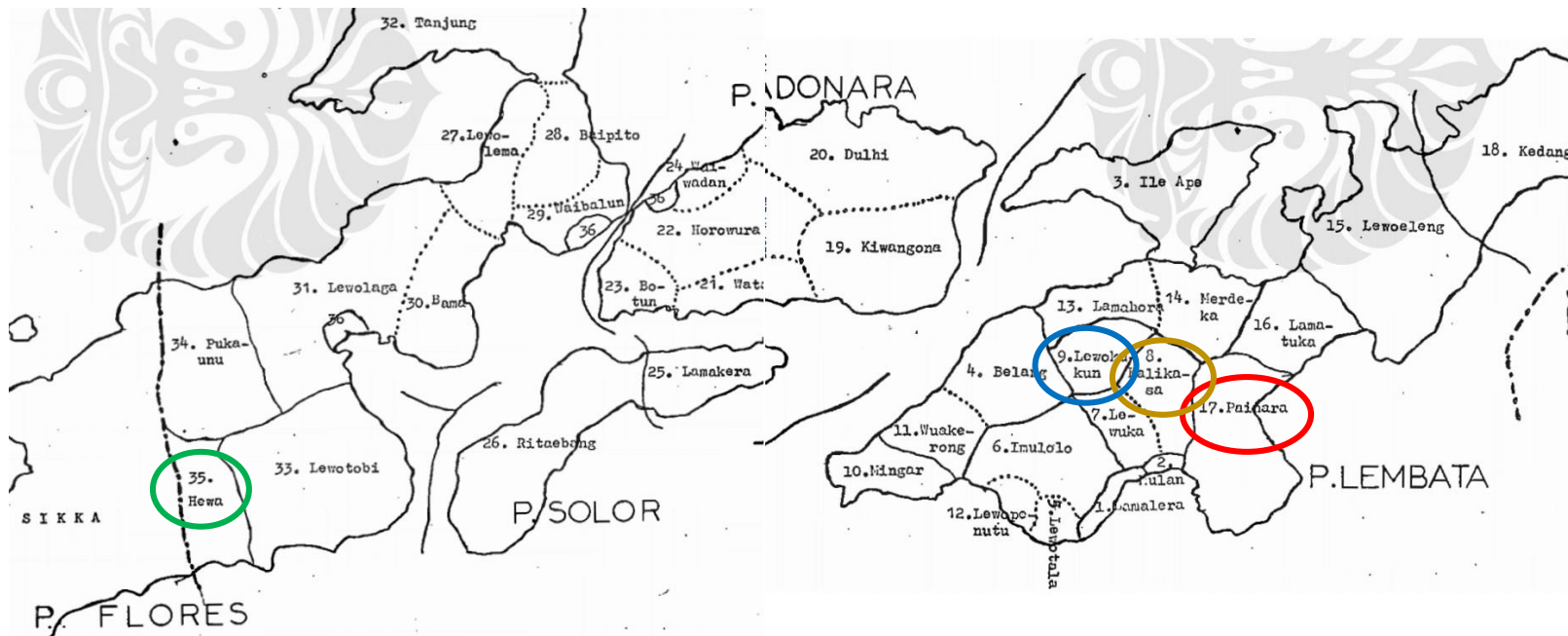
Atadei <> Lewuka: 71%

Atadei <> Hewa: 28%



Parameter ②: Cognacy

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Shared cognacy:

Atadei <> Kalikasa: 75%

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Atadei <> Hewa: 28%

Shared cognacy:

Czech <> Ukrainian: 75%
(Dyen et al. 1992)

Javanese <> Malay: 37%
(Dyen 1962)

Parameters for a Dialect/Language

✓ Mutual intelligibility

only asymmetrical

language

✓ Lexical evidence

only 70-75% similarity to closest relative

language?

- Phonological evidence
- Morphological evidence
- Syntactic evidence

Parameter ③: Phonology

- sound correspondence of /dʒ/ (Central Lembata) and /r/ (other varieties) has been shown by Akoli (2017) and Doyle (2010)
- Atadei has no /s/
- <w> is realized as a /ʊ/, never as /v/ as in other varieties (e.g. Adonara Barat, Lewotobi)
- vowel inventory differs mainly in nasalization feature

Parameter ③: Phonology

Atadei: kuhing 'cat'

Solor/Lewolema: kusĩ

Kedang: kusing

Atadei: -ha 'our'

Kalikasa: -sa 'our'

Atadei: nuh- 'mouth'

Kalikasa/Lewuka: nus

Lerek: nuhə

Lewokukun: nusəga

Lewopenutu: nuha

Mingar: nusa

Lamahora: nuhukə

Merdeka: nuhu

Lewoeleng: nuhe

Parameter ③: Phonology

- Atadei (Krauß 2016:118)

	front	central	back
close	i		u
close-mid	e	ə	o
open-mid	(ɛ)		(ɔ)
open		a	

Ritaebang, Solor (Kroon 2016:36)

	front	central	back
close	i, ĩ		u, ũ
close-mid		ə, ẽ	o, õ
open-mid	ɛ, ẽ		
open		a, ă	

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ikan ‘fish’

ekan ‘earth’

mitəm ‘black’

ləyon ‘day’

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ikǣ ‘fish’

ekǣ ‘universe’

mitẽ ‘black’

lerõ ‘day’

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• Morphological evidence		
• Syntactic evidence		

Parameter ④: Morphology

Pronominal morphology in Atadei:

	free	alienable	subject	inalienable
1SG	goən	N goən	gɔ V/N	N-(ə)g
2SG	moən	N moən	mɔ V/N	N-(ə)m
3SG	nane	N naən	nə V/N	N-(ə)n
1PL.IN	tite	N tite	ti(te) V/N	N-(ə)hə*
1PL.EX	kame	N kame	kam V/N	
2PL	miɔ	N miɔn	miɔ V/N	N-(ə)i, -ya
3PL	dane	N dane	də V/N	

* allomorphs: -(a)ha, -(u)hu

Kalikasa (Fricke 2017a):

	free	alienable	subject	irrealis	inalienable
1SG	gone	goe N	go(ne) V	ka V	N-ga
2SG	mone	?	mo(ne) V	ma V	N-mu
3SG	nane	?	na(ne) V	na V	N-nu/-:/-Ø
1PL.IN	tite	?	tite V	ta V	N-sa
1PL.EX	kame	?	kam(e) V	kam V	N-mi
2PL	mio	?	mio V	ma V	
3PL	dane	?	da(ne) V	da V	N-i(-dʒa)

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3PL	dane	?	da(ne) V	da V	N-i(-dʒa)

Parameter ④: Morphology

- Possessive pronouns

[illegible]

(4) lango **go'en** / lango-**kən** [Lewoingu]
house 1SG.POSS house-1SG.POSS
“my house” (Nishiyama & Kelen 2007:23)

(5) **gə** lango-**kə** / lango **go'enə** [Adonara Barat]
 1SG.POSS house-1SG.POSS house 1SG.POSS
 “my house” (fieldwork data)

(6) **gɔ** unan / **gɔ** una-**g**
 1SG.POSS house 1sg.poss house-1sg.poss
 “my house” (fieldwork data)

Parameter ④: Morphology

- Inalienable possessive suffixes

	Lewoingu		Adonara Barat		Solor	Kalikasa	Atadei
	suffixed	free	suffixed	free	suffixed	suffixed	suffixed
1SG	lima-kən	lima go'en	go lima-kə	lima go'en(ə)	lima-k	lima-ga	lima-g
2SG	lima-ko*	lima mo'en	mo lima-ne	lima mo'en(ə)	lima-m	lima-mu	lima-m
3SG	lima-nən	lima na'en	na lima-ne	lima na'en(ə)	limã	limã	lima-n
1PL.IN	lima-te	lima tite'en	tit(e) lima-te	lima tite'en(ə)	lima-te	lima-sa	lim-ha
1PL.EX	lima-kən	lima kame'en	kam(e) lima-kə	lima kame'en(ə)	lima-ke	lima-mi	lim-ha
2PL	lima-ke**	lima mion	mio lima-kə	lima mion(ə)	lima-ké	lima-mi	lim-ai
3PL	lima-ka	lima ra'en	ra'e lima-nə	lima ra'en(ə)	lima-ka	lima-dʒa	lim-ai

* alternatively: -no

** alternatively: -ne

Parameter ④: Morphology

- Verb paradigms

<i>eat</i>	Lewoingu	Adonara Barat	Atadei
1sg	kan(kən)	kan	ka
2sg	gon(ko)	gõ	ga
3sg	gan	gã	ga
1pl.in	təkan	təkã	ga
1pl.ex	məkan	məkã	ga
2pl	gen	gẽ	ga
3pl	rəkan	rəkã	ga

Parameter ④: Morphology

- Verb paradigms

<i>drink</i>	Lewoingu	Adonara Barat	Atadei
1sg	k-enun	k-enũ	k -ɛn
2sg	m-enun	m-enũ	m -ɛn
3sg	n-enun	n-enũ	n -ɛn
1pl.in	t-enun	t-enũ	t -ɛn
1pl.ex	m-enun	m-enũ	m -ɛn
2pl	m-enun	m-enũ	m -ɛn
3pl	r-enun	r-enũ	d -ɛn

Parameter ④: Morphology

- Verb paradigms

<i>live/stay</i>	Lewoingu	Adonara Barat	Atadei
1sg	ia'-kən	ia(-kə)	k -ia
2sg	ia'-ko	ia(-ko)	m -ia
3sg	ia'-na	ia(-ka)	n -ia
1pl.in	ia'-te	ia(-tə)	t -ia
1pl.ex	ia'-kən	ia(-kə)	m -ia
2pl	ia'-ke	ia(-kə)	m -ia
3pl	ia'-ka	ia(-ka)	d -ia

Parameter ④: Morphology

- Verb paradigms

<i>go</i>	Lewoingu	Adonara Barat	Atadei
1sg	k-a'i-kən	k-a'i(-kə)	k -ɛi
2sg	m-a'i-ko	m-a'i(-ko)	m -ɛi
3sg	n-a'i-na	n-a'i(-na)	n -ɛi
1pl.in	t-a'i-te	t-a'i(-te)	t -ɛi
1pl.ex	m-a'i-kən	m-a'i(-kə)	m -ɛi
2pl	m-a'i-ke	m-a'i(-kə)	m -ɛi
3pl	r-a'i-ka	r-a'i(-ka)	d -ɛi

Parameters for a Dialect/Language

✓ Mutual intelligibility	only asymmetrical	language
✓ Lexical evidence	only 70-75% similarity to closest relative	language?
✓ Phonological evidence	no nasalization, some phonemes differ	language?
✓ Morphological evidence	pronouns differ slightly, different verb classes	language
• Syntactic evidence		

Parameter ⑤: Syntax

- Negation
 - Jespersen Cycle Dahl (1979:88) is well attested in Flores-Lembata languages (Fricke 2017b)
 - (1) pre-predicate negation: Kedang, Sika
 - (2) embracing double negation: Hewa, Lamalera, Central Lembata
 - (3) clause-final negation: Lewoingu, Lewotobi, Solor, Alorese

Pattern	Language/variety	Gloss		
pre-predicate	Kedang	oha?	...	
	Sika	ene	...	
embracing	Hewa	eʔo(n)	...	iva
	Central Lembata	ta/tak	...	si(ne)
	Lamalera	taku	...	hala
clause-final	Lewotobi		...	həla?
	Lewoingu		...	hala?
	Solor		...	la
	Alorese		...	lahe

(data from Fricke 2017b)

Parameter ⑤: Syntax

- Negation
 - What about Atadei?

(7) (*Də*) ***tək*** *d-ia* *rəbe* ***hi***.

3PL.SUBJ **NEG** 3PL-live here **NEG**

“They don’t live here” (Krauße 2016:124)

embracing pattern

(8) *Rəbé* ***tək*** *no* *kənik*.

HERE **NEG** THERE.IS rice

“There is no rice here.” (Krauße 2016:125)

pre-predicate pattern

Parameter ⑤: Syntax

- Negation
 - What about Atadei?

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pre-predicate pattern

→ optional clause-final negation in many cases!

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✓ Syntactic evidence	different negation	dialect?

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✓ Syntactic evidence	different negation	dialect?
		language

Conclusion

- Determination of dialect and language has various consequences
- social consequences:
 - dialect is seen as pertaining to lower status than a language
 - dialects may be looked down upon
- political consequences:
 - Max Weinreich (1945): “A language is a dialect with an army and navy” about arbitrariness of the distinction between dialect and language
 - linguistic separatism (Hindi/Urdu, Catalan/Occitan, Serbo-Croatian, Malay/Indonesian)
- educational consequences
 - dialects are never taught at school, languages may become language of instruction
 - no school materials are published in dialects

Conclusion

- Atadei shows tendency towards being classified as a single language
- I looked at Atalojo **variety**, Fricke (2017a) and Akoli (2017) at Lerek variety of Atadei
- these are very close (mutual intelligible) varieties of **South/Eastern Atadei**
- South/Eastern Atadei and Western Atadei (including Levuka and Kalikasa) are probably **dialects** of the same **language Atadei / South Lembata**
- Atadei is a region with various mutual intelligible dialects, but not beyond its borders, hence these languages form a **dialect cluster**
- Atadei may linguistically be classified as a **LANGUAGE** of the **Central Lembata** branch, which is a subgroup of the **Central Lamaholot** group of **Lamaholotic languages**

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