

Is Rote-Meto Austronesian?

Owen Edwards

Leiden University & Language and Culture Unit, Kupang

14/06/2019

Outline

Background

Lexicon

- Basic Vocabulary

- Semantic Fields

Sound Correspondences

- Between daughter languages

- Between PMP and Proto Rote-Meto

Conclusion

Outline

Background

Lexicon

Basic Vocabulary

Semantic Fields

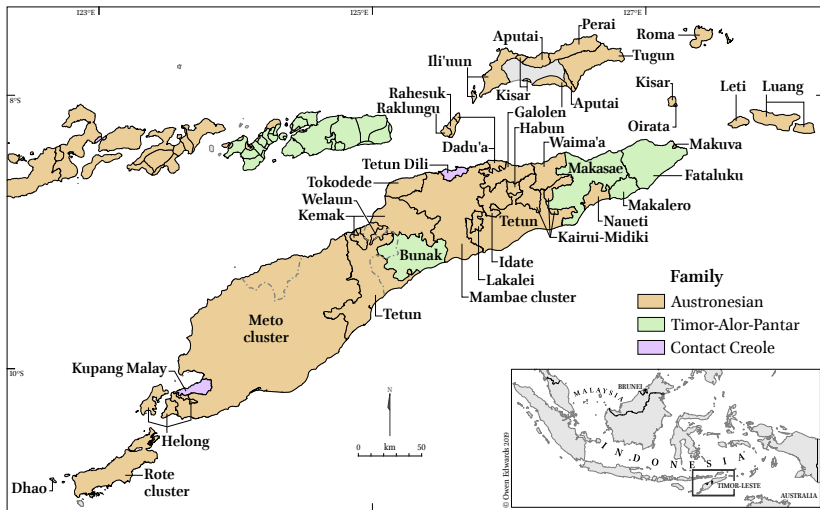
Sound Correspondences

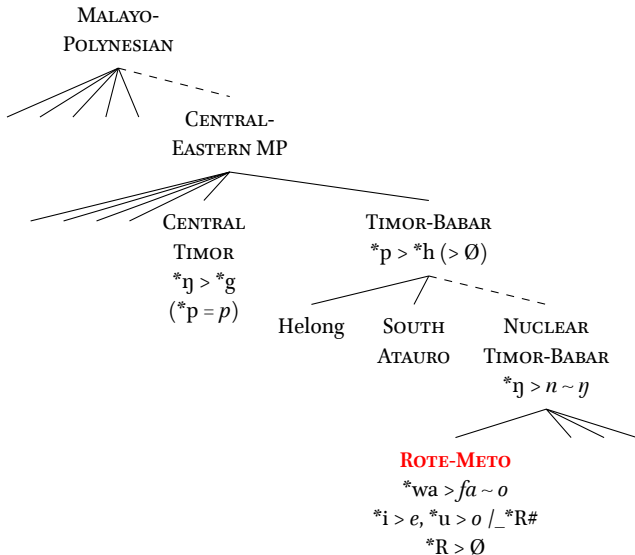
Between daughter languages

Between PMP and Proto Rote-Meto

Conclusion

Location





Toolbox - [Comparative RM.txt]

File Edit Database Project Tools Checks View Window Help

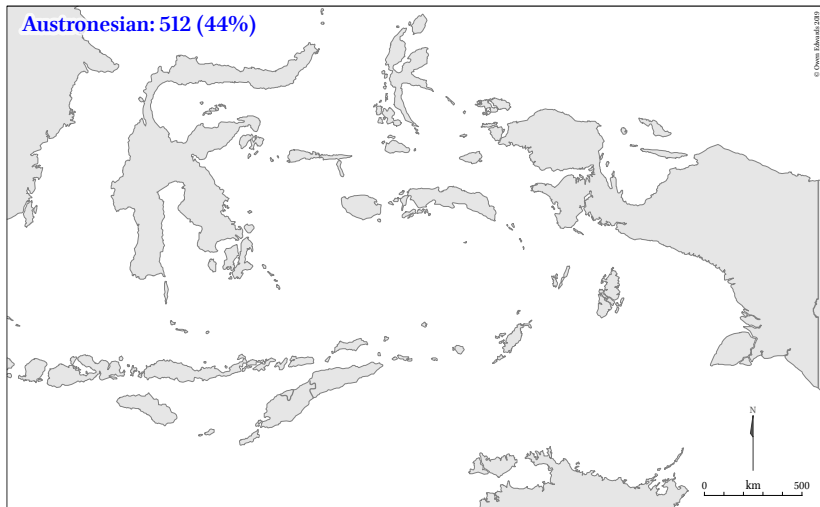
[no filter]

\lx	\mr	\ps	\et	\de
*dilah	*empty*	PRM	*empty*	bael ; wood apple
*dio	*dio-t	PRM	*empty*	crushed grain
*ditə	*empty*	PRM	*empty*	gum, resin, glue, st
*dfoa	*empty*	PRM	*empty*	burp, belch
*dodo	*empty*	PRM	*dodok	kill by stabbing
*doi	*empty*	PRM	*empty*	carry on shoulder
*doka	*doka~dala-k	Rote	*empty*	knee cavity
*doki	*do~doki	Rote	*empty*	desire
*doʔi	*empty*	PRM	*empty*	prise out, lever ou
*dole	*dole-k	PnRM	*empty*	brains, marrow
*dolu	*empty*	PRM	*empty*	draw water, lower
*dombe	*empty*	Rote	*empty*	knife
*doo	*ka-doo	PRM	*zauq	far, distant
*dosa	*empty*	Rote	*empty*	vinegar
*doto	*na-ka-doto	PRM	*empty*	thunder, make a lc
*dudi	*empty*	PRM	*empty*	stoop, bow
*dudu	*empty*	Rote	*empty*	tinder, oakum
*dula	*empty*	PRM	*empty*	engrave, tattoo, pa
*dunggu	*empty*	Rote	*empty*	insert
*eda	*empty*	PRM	*haRazan	ladder, stairs
*ee	*empty*	PwRM	*empty*	3SG.ACC
*ei	*ei-k	Rote	*qaqay	foot, leg
*eki	*empty*	Rote	*akit	shout, cry out
*eko	*empty*	Rote	*empty*	shake, sift
*ekut	*empty*	PRM	*empty*	palm fibres, wover

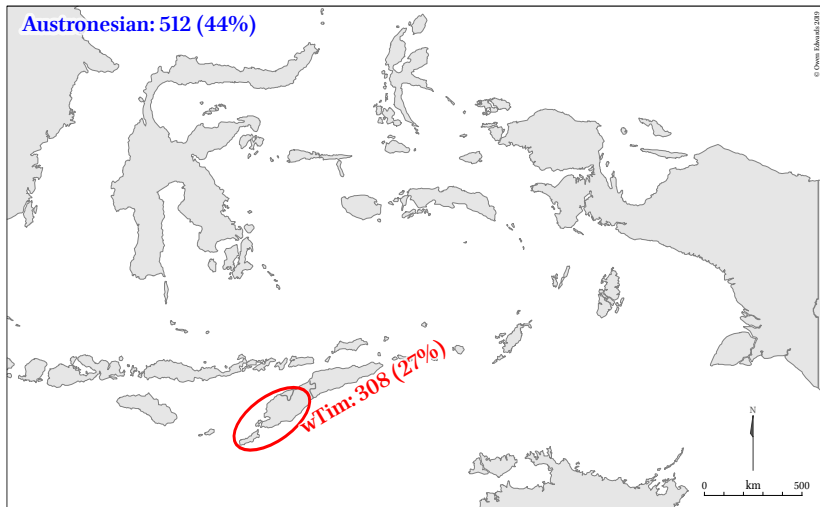
\lx *doo

195/1161 Comparative Rote-Me

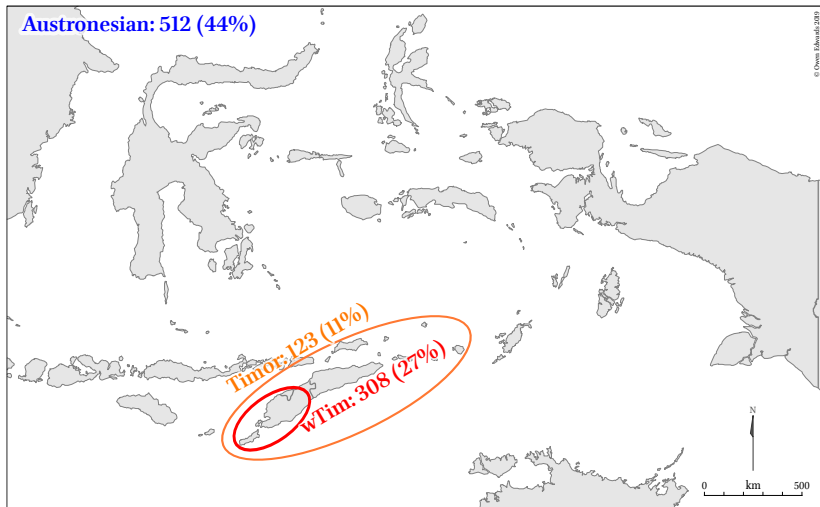
Lexicon Spread



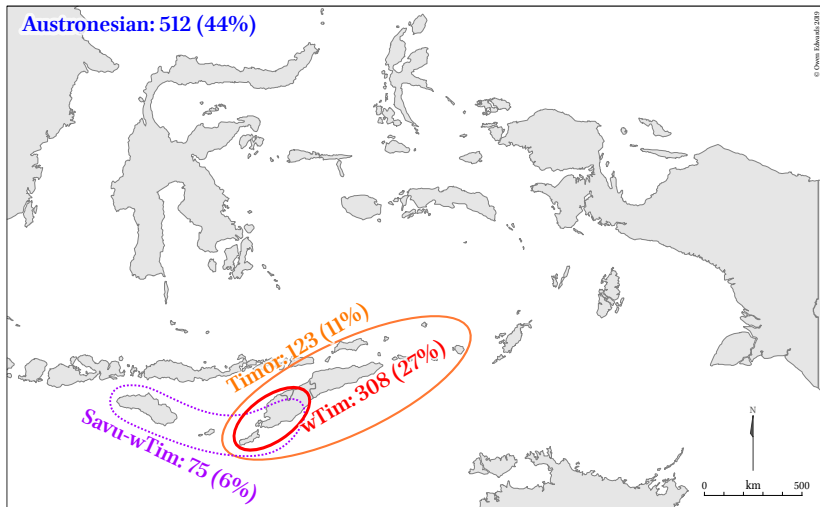
Lexicon Spread



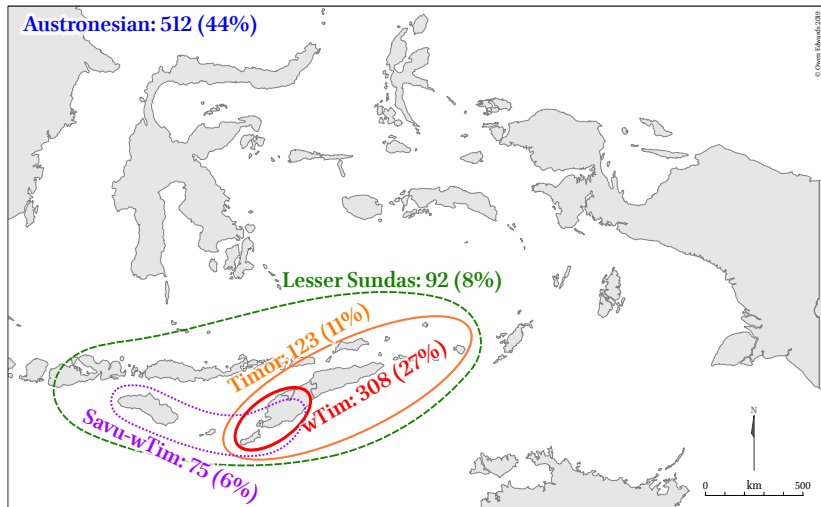
Lexicon Spread



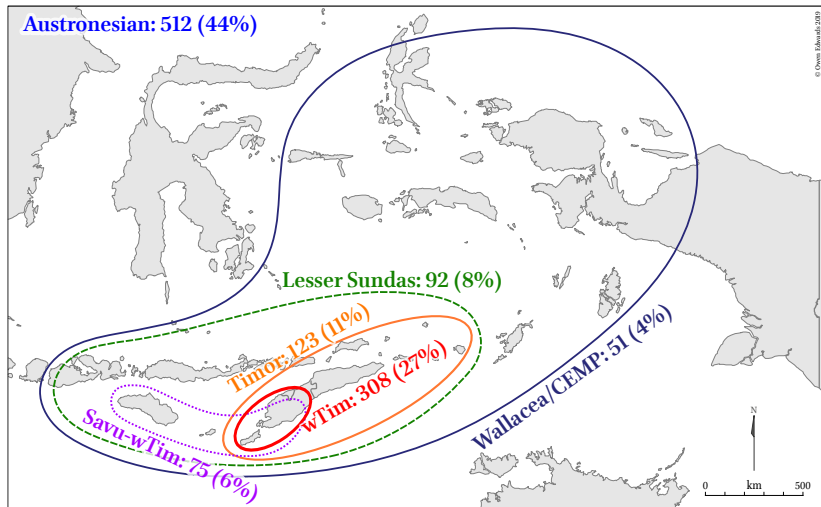
Lexicon Spread



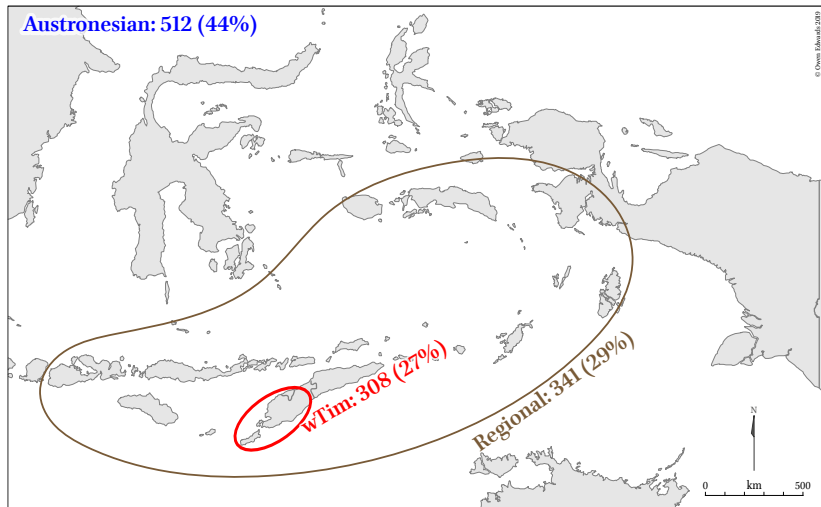
Lexicon Spread



Lexicon Spread



Lexicon Spread



Outline

Background

Lexicon

Basic Vocabulary

Semantic Fields

Sound Correspondences

Between daughter languages

Between PMP and Proto Rote-Meto

Conclusion

Outline

Background

Lexicon

Basic Vocabulary

Semantic Fields

Sound Correspondences

Between daughter languages

Between PMP and Proto Rote-Meto

Conclusion

Methodology

- ▶ Leipzig-Jakarta 100 item basic word-list (Tadmor et al. 2012)

Methodology

- ▶ Leipzig-Jakarta 100 item basic word-list (Tadmor et al. 2012)

	PMP	PRM	AN	Reg.	wTim
'fire'	*hapuy	*ahi	1		
'water'	*wahiR	*oe	1		

Methodology

- ▶ Leipzig-Jakarta 100 item basic word-list (Tadmor et al. 2012)

	PMP	PRM	AN	Reg.	wTim
'fire'	*hapuy	*ahi	1		
'water'	*wahiR	*oe	1		
'laugh'	(*malip)	*mali		1	

Methodology

- ▶ Leipzig-Jakarta 100 item basic word-list (Tadmor et al. 2012)

	PMP	PRM	AN	Reg.	wTim
'fire'	*hapuy	*ahi	1		
'water'	*wahiR	*oe	1		
'laugh'	(*malip)	*mali		1	
'thigh'		*mbusu			1

Methodology

- ▶ Leipzig-Jakarta 100 item basic word-list (Tadmor et al. 2012)

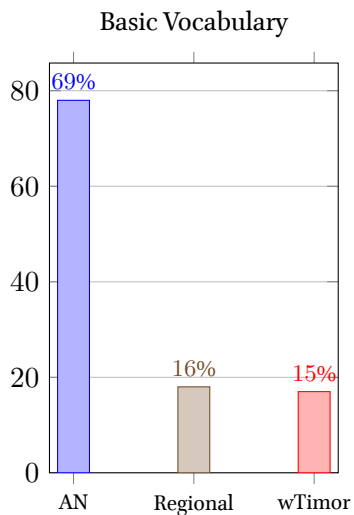
	PMP	PRM	AN	Reg.	wTim
'fire'	*hapuy	*ahi	1		
'water'	*wahiR	*oe	1		
'laugh'	(*malip)	*mali		1	
'thigh'		*mbusu			1
'nose'	*ijuj	*idu	1		
'nose'		*mbana			1

Methodology

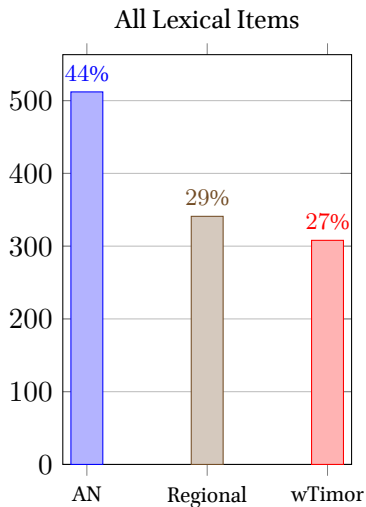
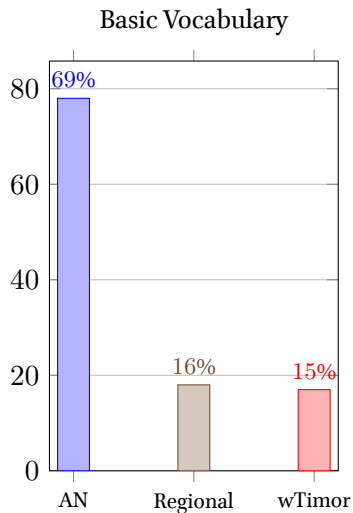
- ▶ Leipzig-Jakarta 100 item basic word-list (Tadmor et al. 2012)

	PMP	PRM	AN	Reg.	wTim
'fire'	*hapuy	*ahi	1		
'water'	*wahiR	*oe	1		
'laugh'	(*malip)	*mali		1	
'thigh'		*mbusu			1
'nose'	*ijuj	*idu	1		
'nose'		*mbana			1
			3	1	2

Basic Vocabulary



Basic Vocabulary



Outline

Background

Lexicon

Basic Vocabulary

Semantic Fields

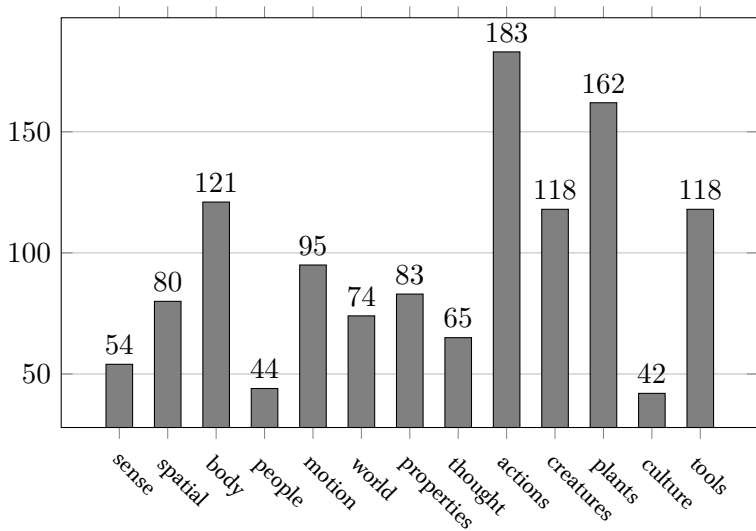
Sound Correspondences

Between daughter languages

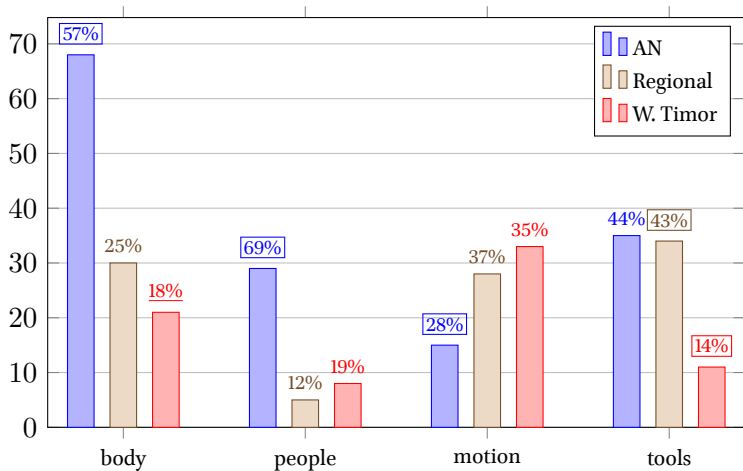
Between PMP and Proto Rote-Meto

Conclusion

Semantic Fields



Strata by semantic fields



Summary

- ▶ AN stratum robustly represented in basic vocabulary and fields resistant to borrowing

Summary

- ▶ AN stratum robustly represented in basic vocabulary and fields resistant to borrowing
 - ▶ Inherited

Summary

- ▶ AN stratum robustly represented in basic vocabulary and fields resistant to borrowing
 - ▶ Inherited
- ▶ Regional stratum has more tools than expected

Summary

- ▶ AN stratum robustly represented in basic vocabulary and fields resistant to borrowing
 - ▶ Inherited
- ▶ Regional stratum has more tools than expected
 - ▶ somewhat mixed; inherited/borrowed

Summary

- ▶ AN stratum robustly represented in basic vocabulary and fields resistant to borrowing
 - ▶ Inherited
- ▶ Regional stratum has more tools than expected
 - ▶ somewhat mixed; inherited/borrowed
- ▶ West Timor stratum is fairly evenly represented

Summary

- ▶ AN stratum robustly represented in basic vocabulary and fields resistant to borrowing
 - ▶ Inherited
- ▶ Regional stratum has more tools than expected
 - ▶ somewhat mixed; inherited/borrowed
- ▶ West Timor stratum is fairly evenly represented
 - ▶ ambiguous, but not obviously borrowed

Outline

Background

Lexicon

Basic Vocabulary

Semantic Fields

Sound Correspondences

Between daughter languages

Between PMP and Proto Rote-Meto

Conclusion

Outline

Background

Lexicon

Basic Vocabulary

Semantic Fields

Sound Correspondences

Between daughter languages

Between PMP and Proto Rote-Meto

Conclusion

Irregular correspondences

'moon'

PMP *bulan

PRM *bulan

Oenale *fulan*

Dengka *bula-?*

Tii *bula-k*

Termanu *bula-k*

Rikou *bula-?*

Ro'is *funun*

Kotos *funan*

Molo *funan*

Irregular correspondences

	'moon'	'flower'
PMP	*bulan	*buja
PRM	*bulan	*buna-k
Oenale	<i>fulan</i>	<i>buna-?</i>
Dengka	<i>bula-?</i>	<i>buna-?</i>
Tii	<i>bula-k</i>	<i>buna-k</i>
Termanu	<i>bula-k</i>	<i>buna-k</i>
Rikou	<i>bula-?</i>	<i>buna-?</i>
Ro'is	<i>funun</i>	<i>fu/bona ?</i>
Kotos	<i>funan</i>	<i>fu/bona ?</i>
Molo	<i>funan</i>	

Irregular correspondences

	'moon'	'flower'	'shadow'	'medicine'
PMP	*bulan	*buja		
PRM	*bulan	*buna-k	*mafo	*mado
Oenale	<i>fulan</i>	<i>buna-?</i>	<i>mafo-?</i>	<i>modo</i>
Dengka	<i>bula-?</i>	<i>buna-?</i>	<i>mafo-?</i>	<i>modo</i>
Tii	<i>bula-k</i>	<i>buna-k</i>	<i>ma-mafo</i>	<i>modo</i>
Termanu	<i>bula-k</i>	<i>buna-k</i>	<i>ma-mafo</i>	<i>modo</i>
Rikou	<i>bula-?</i>	<i>buna-?</i>	<i>ma-mafo</i>	<i>modo</i>
Ro'is	<i>funun</i>	<i>fu/ona ?</i>	<i>mafo ?</i>	<i>maro</i>
Kotos	<i>funan</i>	<i>fu/ona ?</i>	<i>mafo ?</i>	<i>maro</i>
Molo	<i>funan</i>		<i>mafo ?</i>	<i>malo</i>

Irregular correspondences

	'moon'	'flower'	'shadow'	'medicine'
PMP	*bulan	*buja		
PRM	*bulan	*buna-k	*mafo	*modo
Oenale	<i>fulan</i>	<i>buna-?</i>	<i>mafo-?</i>	<i>modo</i>
Dengka	<i>bula-?</i>	<i>buna-?</i>	<i>mafo-?</i>	<i>modo</i>
Tii	<i>bula-k</i>	<i>buna-k</i>	<i>ma-mafo</i>	<i>modo</i>
Termanu	<i>bula-k</i>	<i>buna-k</i>	<i>ma-mafo</i>	<i>modo</i>
Rikou	<i>bula-?</i>	<i>buna-?</i>	<i>ma-mafo</i>	<i>modo</i>
Ro'is	<i>funun</i>	<i>fu/ona ?</i>	<i>mafo ?</i>	<i>maro</i>
Kotos	<i>funan</i>	<i>fu/ona ?</i>	<i>mafo ?</i>	<i>maro</i>
Molo	<i>funan</i>		<i>mafo ?</i>	<i>malo</i>

Irregular correspondences by strata

- ▶ western Timor = 27% irregular (84/308)

Irregular correspondences by strata

- ▶ western Timor = 27% irregular (84/308)
- ▶ Regional = 23% irregular (79/341)

Irregular correspondences by strata

- ▶ western Timor = 27% irregular (84/308)
- ▶ Regional = 23% irregular (79/341)
- ▶ Austronesian = 16% irregular (83/512)

Irregular correspondences by strata

- ▶ western Timor = 27% irregular (84/308)
- ▶ Regional = 23% irregular (79/341)
- ▶ **Austronesian = 16% irregular (83/512)**

Outline

Background

Lexicon

Basic Vocabulary

Semantic Fields

Sound Correspondences

Between daughter languages

Between PMP and Proto Rote-Meto

Conclusion

Proto-Malayo-Polynesian

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal	Front	Cent.	Back
Plos. [-V]	*p	*t		*k	*q		High	*i	*u
Plos. [+V]	*b	*d	*j [gʲ]	*g			Mid	*ə	
Affr. [+V]			*z [dʒ]				Low	*a	
Nasal	*m	*n	*ñ [ɲ]	*ŋ					
Fricative		*s				*h			
Lateral		*l							
Trill		*R [r]							
Tap		*r [ɾ]							
Glide	*w		*y [j]						

Proto-Rote-Meto (PRM)

	Labial	Coronal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal		Front	Central	Back
Plos. [-V]	*p	*t		*k	*ʔ	High	*i		*u
Plos. [+V]	*b	*d	(*dʒ)			Mid	*e	*ə	*o
Implos.	*ɓ	*ɗ				Low		*a	
Prenas.	*mb	*nd		*ŋg					
Fric.	*f	*s			*h				
Nasal	*m	*n		*ŋ					
Lateral		*l							
Rhotic		*r							
Glide	(*w)								

Unconditioned splits

PMP		Proto-Rote-Meto
*b-	>	*f ~ *b ~ *ɓ ~ *mb
*d-	>	*d ~ *ɗ ~ *r
*z [dʒ]	>	*ɗ ~ *nd ~ *d
*j [gʝ]	>	*ɗ ~ *d ~ *dʒ ~ *r
*g	>	*ŋg ~ *k
*p	>	*h ~ *p
*q	>	∅ ~ *h
*ŋ	>	*n ~ *ŋ ~ *ŋg
*R [r]	>	∅ ~ *r
*ə#	>	*ə ~ *e
*wa	>	*o ~ *fa ~ *wa

Unconditioned splits

PMP		Proto-Rote-Meto
*b-	>	*f ~ *b ~ *ɓ ~ *mb
*d-	>	*d ~ *ɗ ~ *r
*z [dʒ]	>	*ɗ ~ *nd ~ *d
*j [gʝ]	>	*ɗ ~ *d ~ *dʒ ~ *r
*g	>	*ŋg ~ *k
*p	>	*h ~ *p
*q	>	∅ ~ *h
*ŋ	>	*n ~ *ŋ ~ *ŋg
*R [r]	>	∅ ~ *r
*ə#	>	*ə ~ *e
*wa	>	*o ~ *fa ~ *wa

PMP		PRM
*t	=	*t
*k	=	*k
*m	=	*m
*n	=	*n
*ñ [ɲ]	>	*n
*h	>	∅
*s	=	*s
*l	=	*l
*r [ɾ]	>	*r

Unconditioned splits: PMP *b > *f ~ *b ~ *ɓ ~ *mb

	'weevil'	'body hair'	'joint'	'coconut husk'
PMP	*bukbuk	*bulu	*buku	*bunut
PRM	*ka-fufu-k	*bulu-k	*ɓuku-k	*ka-mbunut
Oenale	<i>fufu-ʔ</i>	<i>fulu-ʔ</i>	<i>ɓuku-ʔ</i>	<i>mbunut</i>
Dengka	<i>fufu-ʔ</i>	<i>fulu-ʔ</i>	<i>buku-ʔ</i>	<i>mbunut</i>
Tii	<i>fufu-k</i>	<i>ɓulu-k</i>	<i>ɓuʔu-k</i>	<i>mbunu-k</i>
Ba'a	<i>fufu-k</i>	<i>bulu-k</i>	<i>buʔu-k</i>	<i>mpunu-k</i>
Termanu	<i>fufu-k</i>	<i>bulu-k</i>	<i>buʔu-k</i>	<i>punu-k</i>
Rikou	<i>fufu-ʔ</i>	<i>bulu-ʔ</i>	<i>buku-ʔ</i>	<i>punu-ʔ</i>
Ro'is		<i>funu-f</i>	<i>buʔu-f</i>	
Kotos	<i>ʔ fufu ʔ</i>	<i>funu ʔ</i>	<i>buʔu-f</i>	<i>ʔ punu-f</i>
Molo	<i>fufu k</i>	<i>funu ʔ</i>		<i>na-ʔ punu ʔ</i>

Irregular correspondences by strata

- ▶ western Timor = 27% irregular (84/308)
- ▶ Regional = 23% irregular (79/341)
- ▶ **Austronesian = 16% irregular (83/512)**

Irregular correspondences by strata

- ▶ western Timor = 27% irregular (84/308)
- ▶ Regional = 23% irregular (79/341)
- ▶ **Austronesian = 16% irregular in daughters**

Irregular correspondences by strata

- ▶ western Timor = 27% irregular (84/308)
- ▶ Regional = 23% irregular (79/341)
- ▶ Austronesian = 16% irregular in daughters
- ▶ **PMP > Proto Rote-Meto 41% irregular (211/512)**

Proto-Rote-Meto (PRM)

	Labial	Coronal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plos. [-V]	*p	*t		*k	*ʔ
Plos. [+V]	*b	*d	(*dʒ)		
Implos.	*ɓ	*ɗ			
Prenas.	*mb	*nd		*ŋg	
Fric.	*f	*s			*h
Nasal	*m	*n		*ŋ	
Lateral		*l			
Rhotic		*r			
Glide	(*w)				

	Front	Central	Back
High	*i		*u
Mid	*e	*ə	*o
Low		*a	

A partial explanation

‘Papuan’

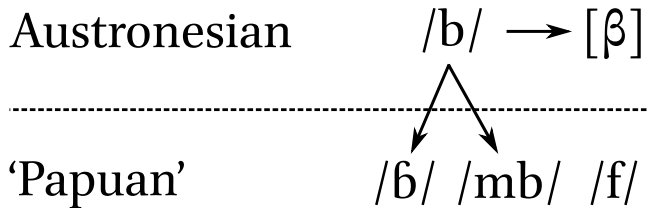
/b/ /mb/ /f/

A partial explanation

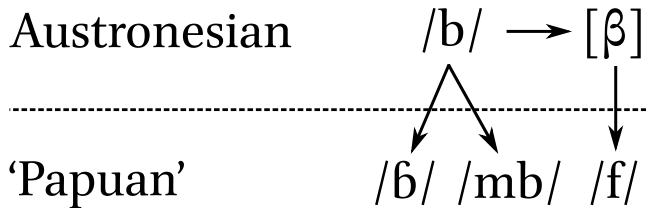
Austronesian /b/ → [β]

'Papuan' /b/ /mb/ /f/

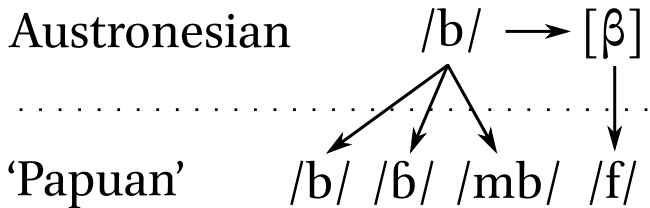
A partial explanation



A partial explanation



A partial explanation



A partial explanation

Proto-RM /b/ /ɓ/ /mb/ /f/

Outline

Background

Lexicon

Basic Vocabulary

Semantic Fields

Sound Correspondences

Between daughter languages

Between PMP and Proto Rote-Meto

Conclusion

Conclusion

- ▶ Proto Rote-Meto itself is the result of imperfect language shift to an Austronesian language
- ▶ daughters developed mostly 'as normal'

Conclusion

- ▶ Proto Rote-Meto itself is the result of imperfect language shift to an Austronesian language
- ▶ daughters developed mostly 'as normal'
- ▶ Is Rote-Meto Austronesian?

Conclusion

- ▶ Proto Rote-Meto itself is the result of imperfect language shift to an Austronesian language
- ▶ daughters developed mostly 'as normal'
- ▶ Is Rote-Meto Austronesian?
- ▶ Yes, but not in the same way as, say, Malay

Conclusion

- ▶ Proto Rote-Meto itself is the result of imperfect language shift to an Austronesian language
- ▶ daughters developed mostly 'as normal'
- ▶ Is Rote-Meto Austronesian?
- ▶ Yes, but not in the same way as, say, Malay
- ▶ adopted Austronesian?

Conclusion

- ▶ Proto Rote-Meto itself is the result of imperfect language shift to an Austronesian language
- ▶ daughters developed mostly 'as normal'
- ▶ Is Rote-Meto Austronesian?
- ▶ Yes, but not in the same way as, say, Malay
- ▶ adopted Austronesian?
- ▶ 'Papuan' Austronesian?

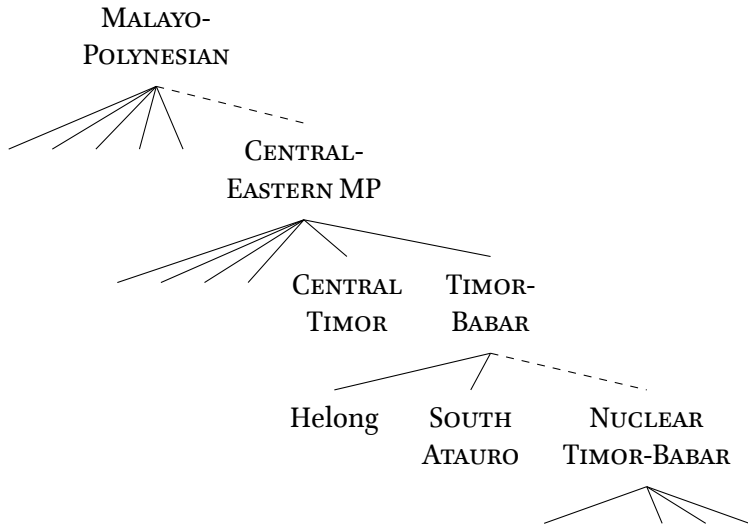
Conclusion

- ▶ Proto Rote-Meto itself is the result of imperfect language shift to an Austronesian language
- ▶ daughters developed mostly 'as normal'
- ▶ Is Rote-Meto Austronesian?
- ▶ Yes, but not in the same way as, say, Malay
- ▶ adopted Austronesian?
- ▶ 'Papuan' Austronesian?
- ▶ non-Austronesian(ised) Austronesian?

Conclusion

- ▶ Proto Rote-Meto itself is the result of imperfect language shift to an Austronesian language
- ▶ daughters developed mostly 'as normal'
- ▶ Is Rote-Meto Austronesian?
- ▶ Yes, but not in the same way as, say, Malay
- ▶ adopted Austronesian?
- ▶ 'Papuan' Austronesian?
- ▶ non-Austronesian(ised) Austronesian?
- ▶ statistically Austronesian?

What happened when?



Outline

Background

Lexicon

- Basic Vocabulary

- Semantic Fields

Sound Correspondences

- Between daughter languages

- Between PMP and Proto Rote-Meto

Conclusion