

The mixed lexicon of Lamaholot

(Austronesian, eastern Indonesia)



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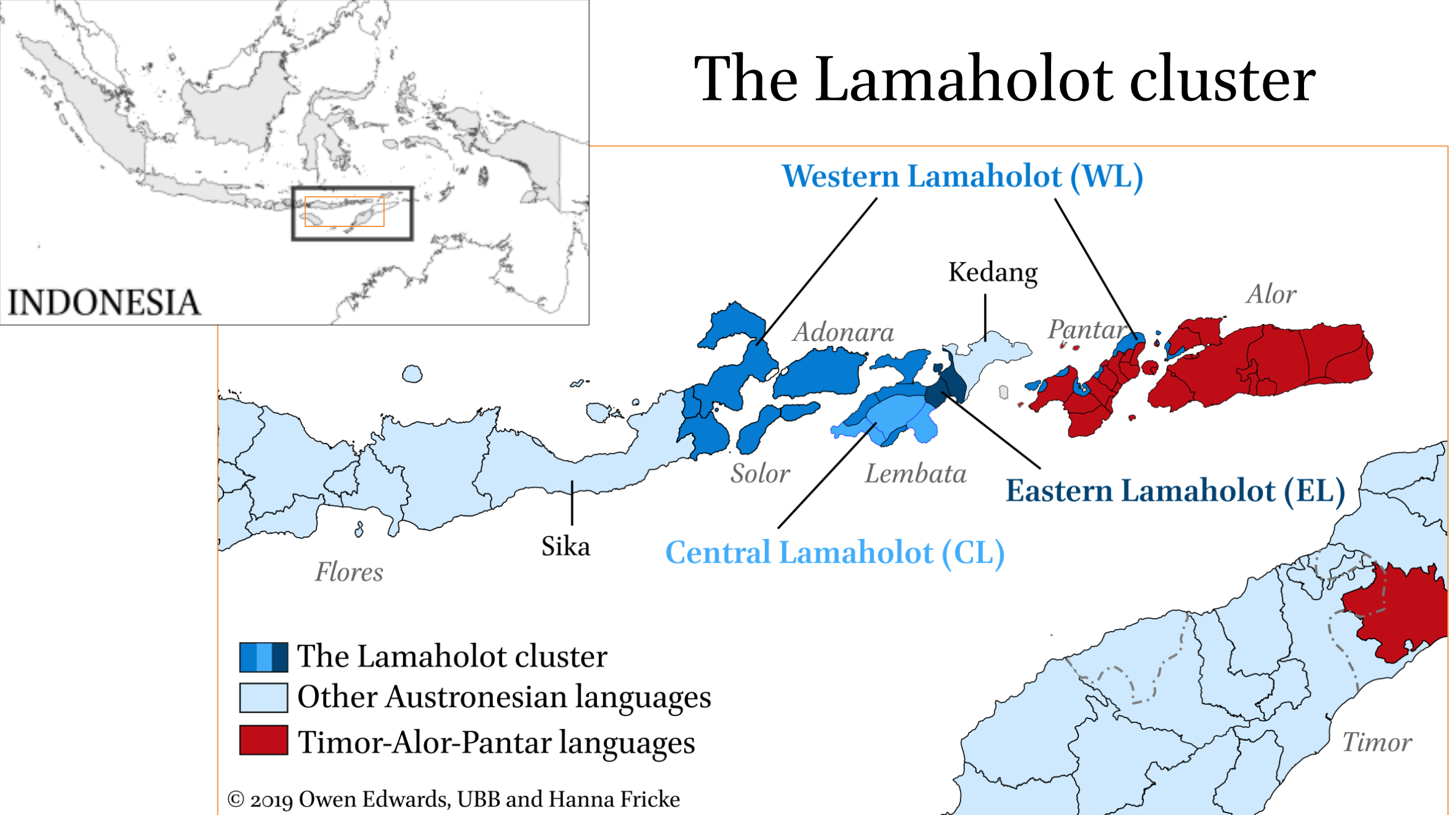
Aims of this talk

- About 50% of the Lamaholot lexicon cannot be traced back to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP).
- The non-PMP vocabulary is to large extents the result of rather recent language contact with now extinct non-Austronesian languages.

Introduction: The eastern Indonesian context

- Past and present **Austronesian** / **non-Austronesian** language contact
- Genetic admixture (Hudjashov et al. 2017, Bellwood 2017, Karafet et al. 2010)
- Mixed cultural features: in the Lamaholot area weaving vs. non-weaving communities (Barnes 1987)
- Systematic research on non-Austronesian vocabulary is still rare
 - Rote-Meto Comparative Dictionary (Edwards unpublished)
- Several single wide-spread lexical items have been discussed
 - #muku ‘banana’ (Schapper 2015) → possibly of Papuan origin
 - PCEMP *keRa ‘hawksbill turtle’ (Blust 1993, 2009)

The Lamaholot cluster



Non-Austronesian structural features in Lamaholot

Property nouns

POSS-N

N-LOC

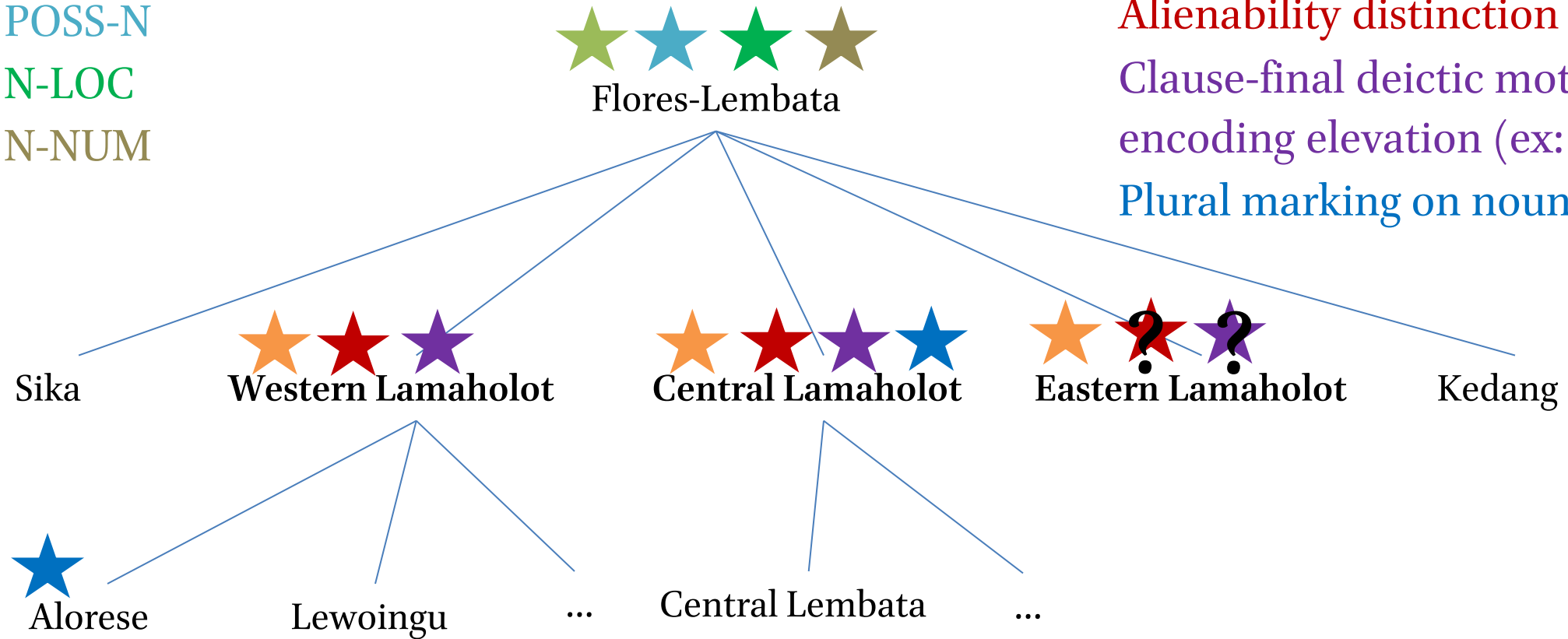
N-NUM

Clause-final negation (Fricke 2017)

Alienability distinction

Clause-final deictic motion verbs
encoding elevation (ex: 'go up')

Plural marking on nouns



Non-Austronesian lexemes in the Lamaholot lexicon

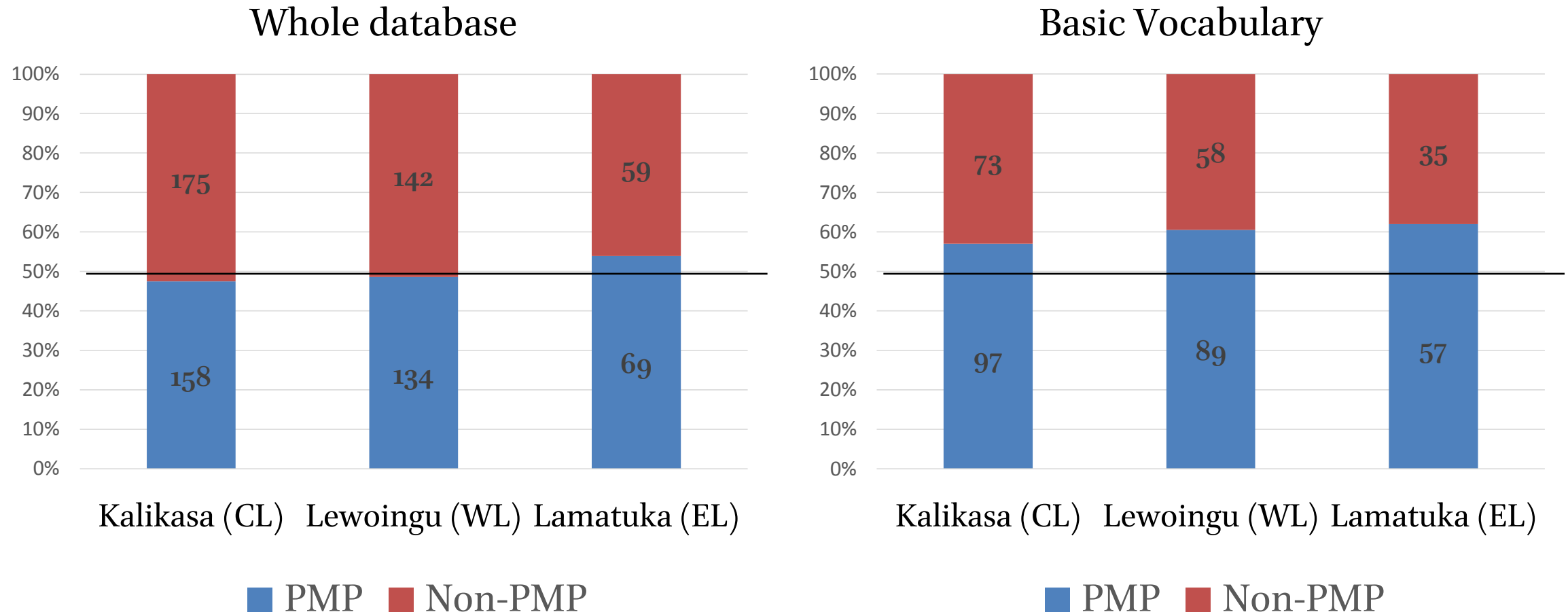
1. How big are the PMP and non-PMP components
 - a) ... of individual Lamaholot varieties?
 - b) ... of the reconstructed Proto-Flores-Lembata (PFL) lexicon?
2. Which and how many non-PMP lexemes
 - a) ... can be reconstructed to PFL?
 - b) are only shared with one other Flores-Lembata subgroup (Sika or Kedang)?
 - c) ... are found outside of the Flores-Lembata family?

What I mean with **non-PMP** vocabulary

- Lexical items and cognate sets that cannot be traced back to a Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) source (i.e. not attested in Blust & Trussel online <http://www.trussel2.com/acd/>)
- Possible reasons for lexemes being classified as **non-PMP**:
 1. Cognates not documented yet
 2. Cognates lost
 3. Invention by speech community
 4. Borrowing from a non-Austronesian source

} Eventually of Austronesian origin

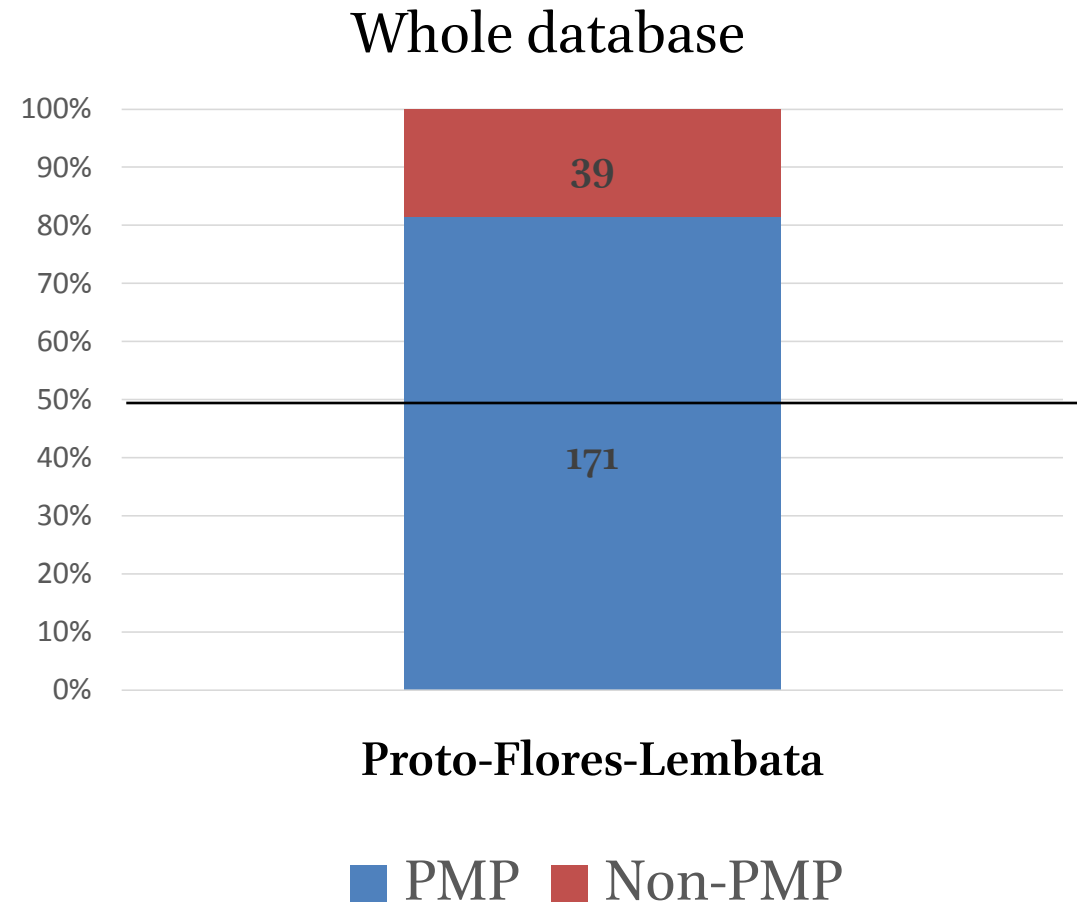
The Lamaholot lexicon: individual languages



CL = Central Lamaholot; WL = Western Lamaholot; EL = Eastern Lamaholot.

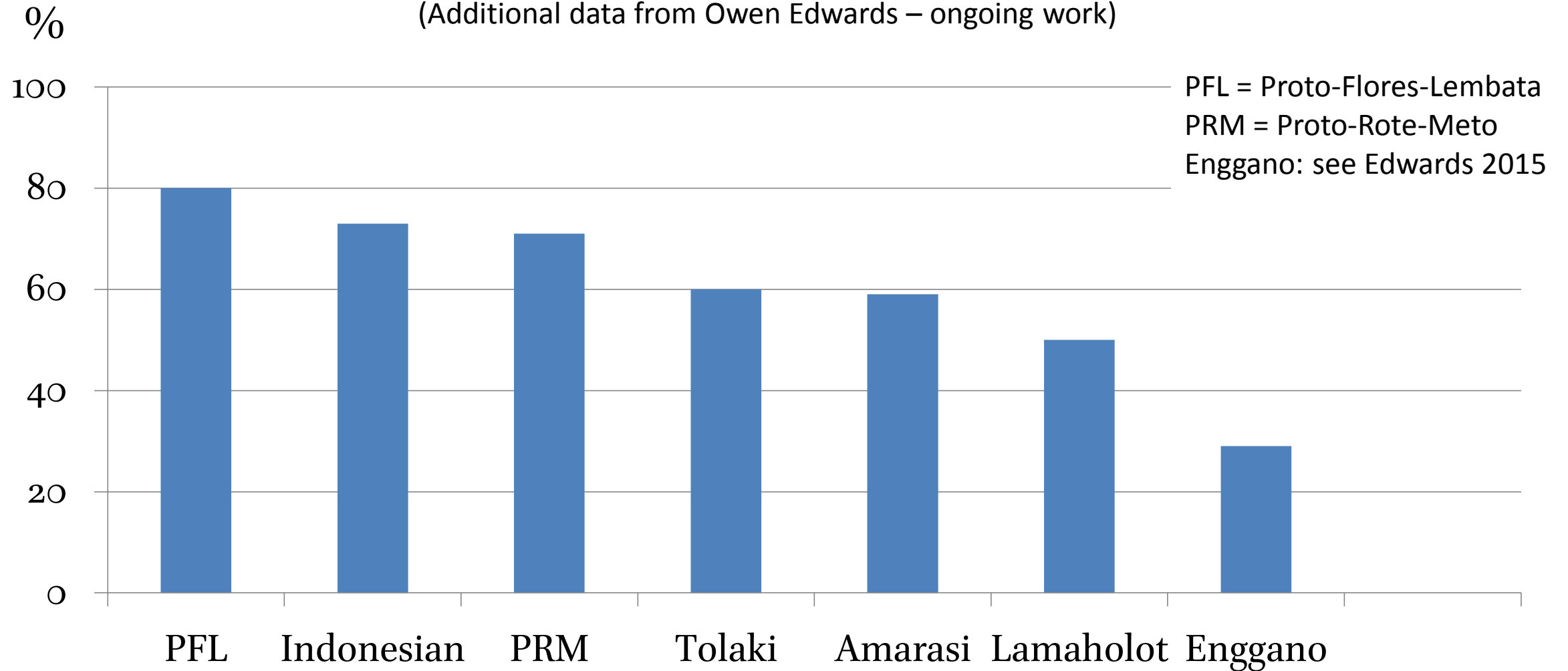
Data sources: Kalikasa (Fricke 2015), Lewoingu (Klamer 2015), Lamatuka (Keraf 1978)

The Proto-Flores-Lembata lexicon

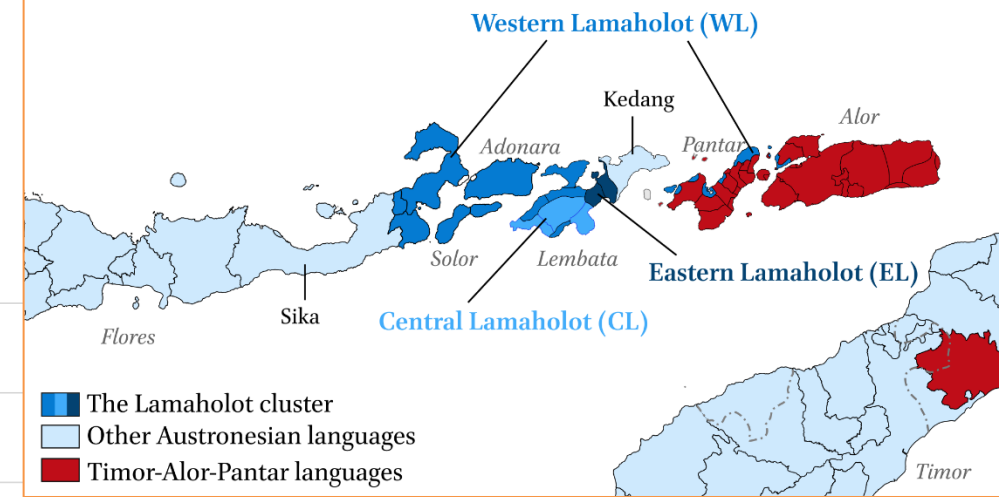
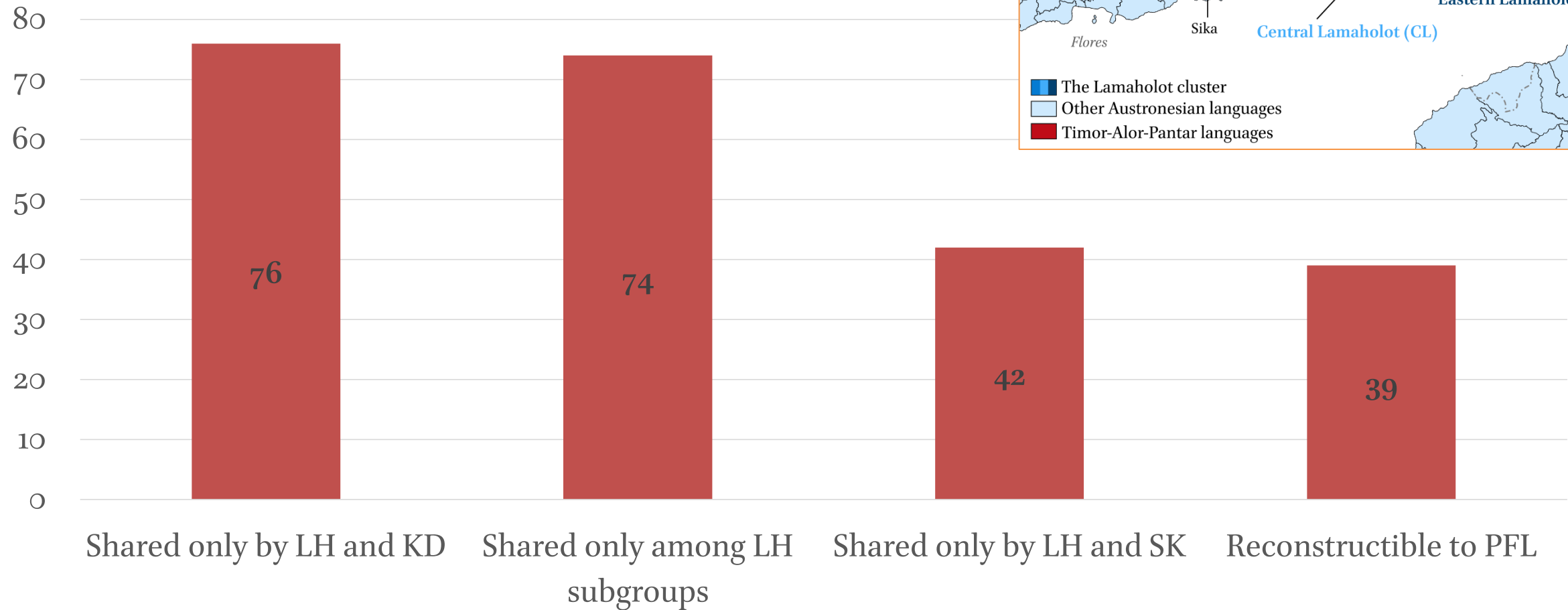


PMP rates in comparison

(Additional data from Owen Edwards – ongoing work)

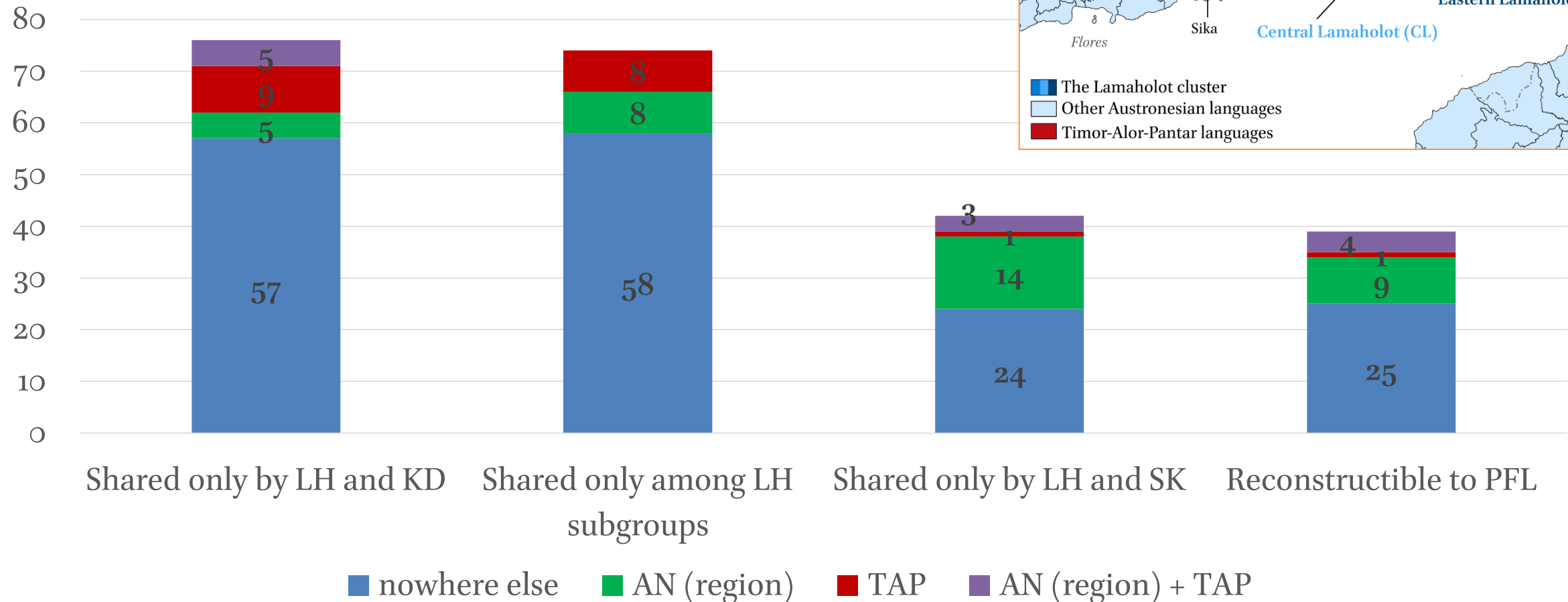


Non-PMP cognate sets in Lamaholot and beyond



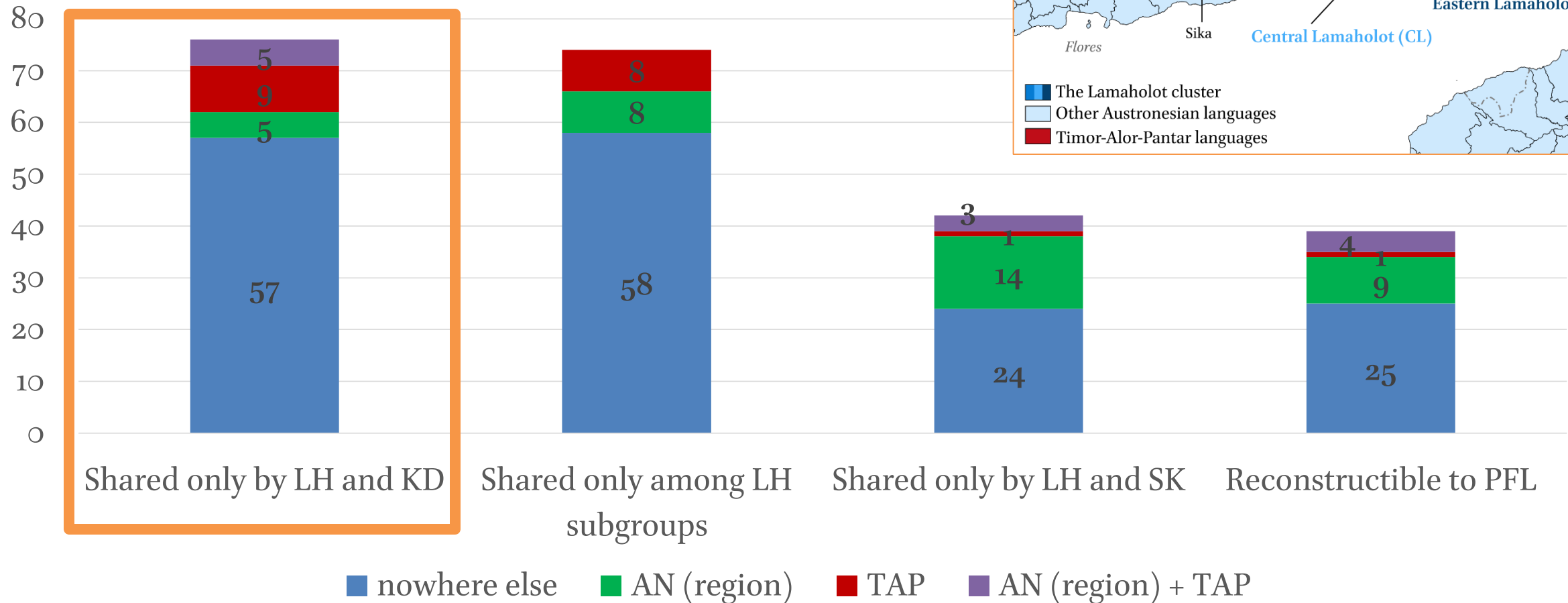
PFL = Proto-Flores-Lembata, LH = Lamaholot, SK = Sika, KD = Kedang

Non-PMP cognate sets in Lamaholot and beyond



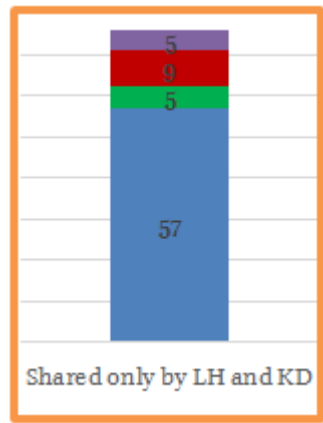
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Non-PMP cognate sets in Lamaholot and beyond

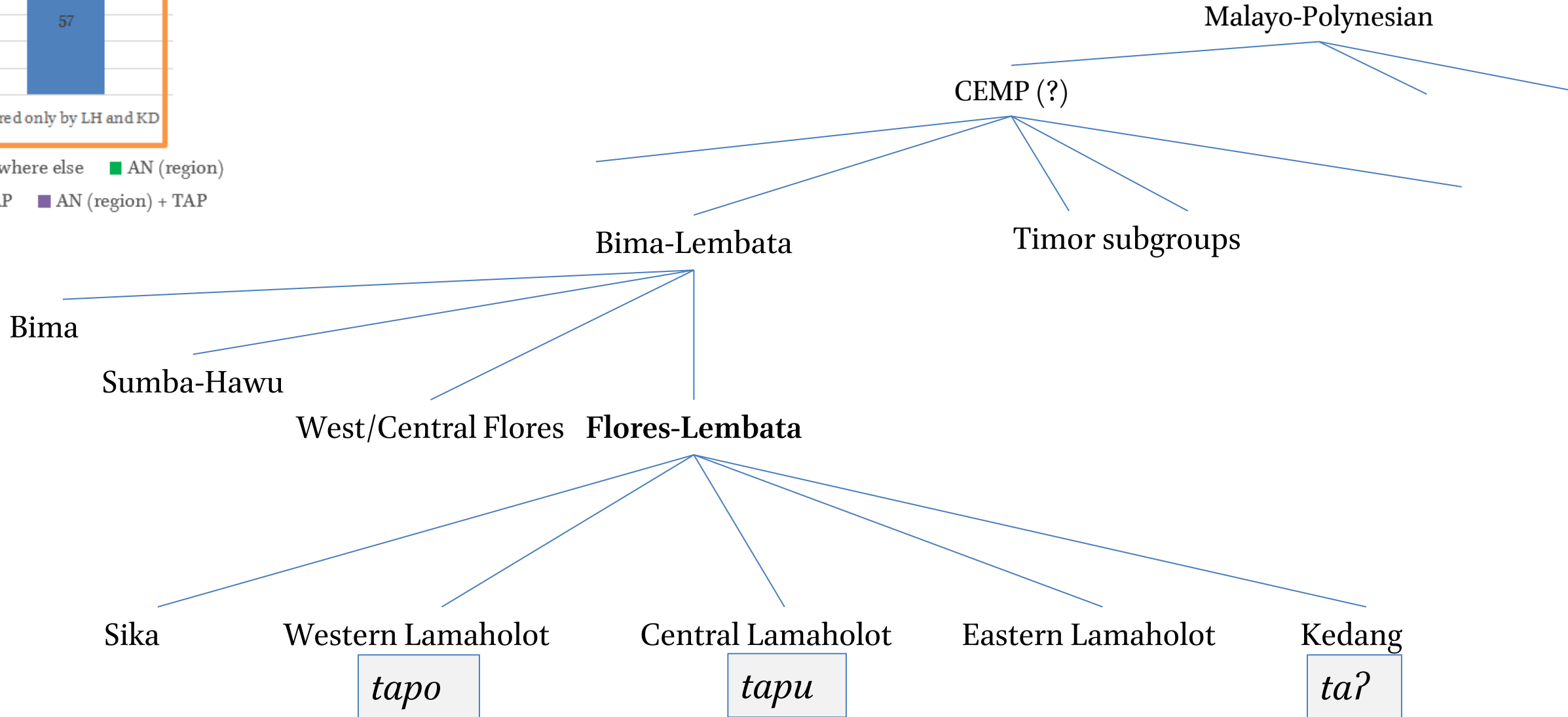


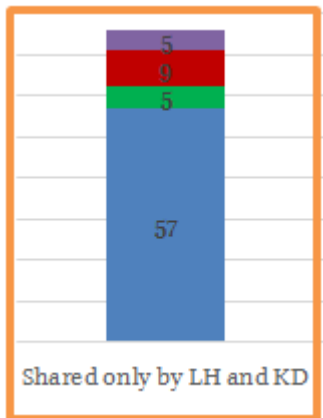
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Cognates of #tapu 'coconut'



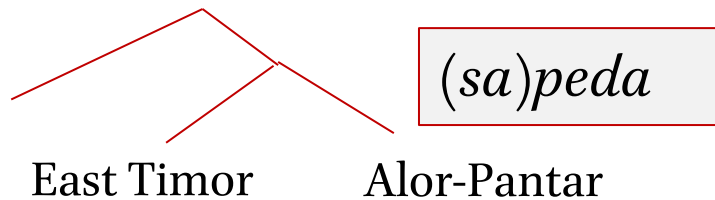
■ nowhere else ■ AN (region)
■ TAP ■ AN (region) + TAP





Cognates of #peda 'machete'

Timor-Alor-Pantar



Malayo-Polynesian

CEMP (?)

Timor subgroups

Bima-Lembata

Bima

Sumba-Hawu

West/Central Flores Flores-Lembata

Portuguese:
espada 'sword'

(Robinson 2013)

Sika

Western Lamaholot

Central Lamaholot

Eastern Lamaholot

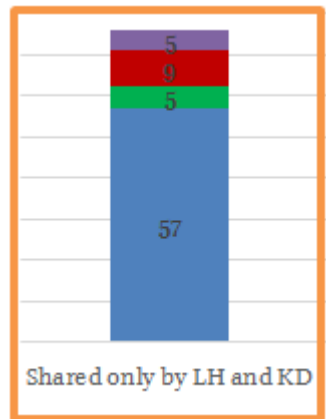
Kedang

pɛda

pɛda

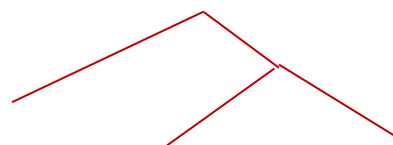
pɛda?

Cognates of #deko 'trousers'



■ nowhere else ■ AN (region)
■ TAP ■ AN (region) + TAP

Timor-Alor-Pantar



East Timor

Alor-Pantar

Adang: *deku*
Kaera: *deko*

Malayo-Polynesian

CEMP (?)

Timor subgroups

Lole *dēko*

Bima-Lembata

Bima

Sumba-Hawu

West/Central Flores

Flores-Lembata

Western Flores: *dēko*

Sika

Western Lamaholot

dēko

Central Lamaholot

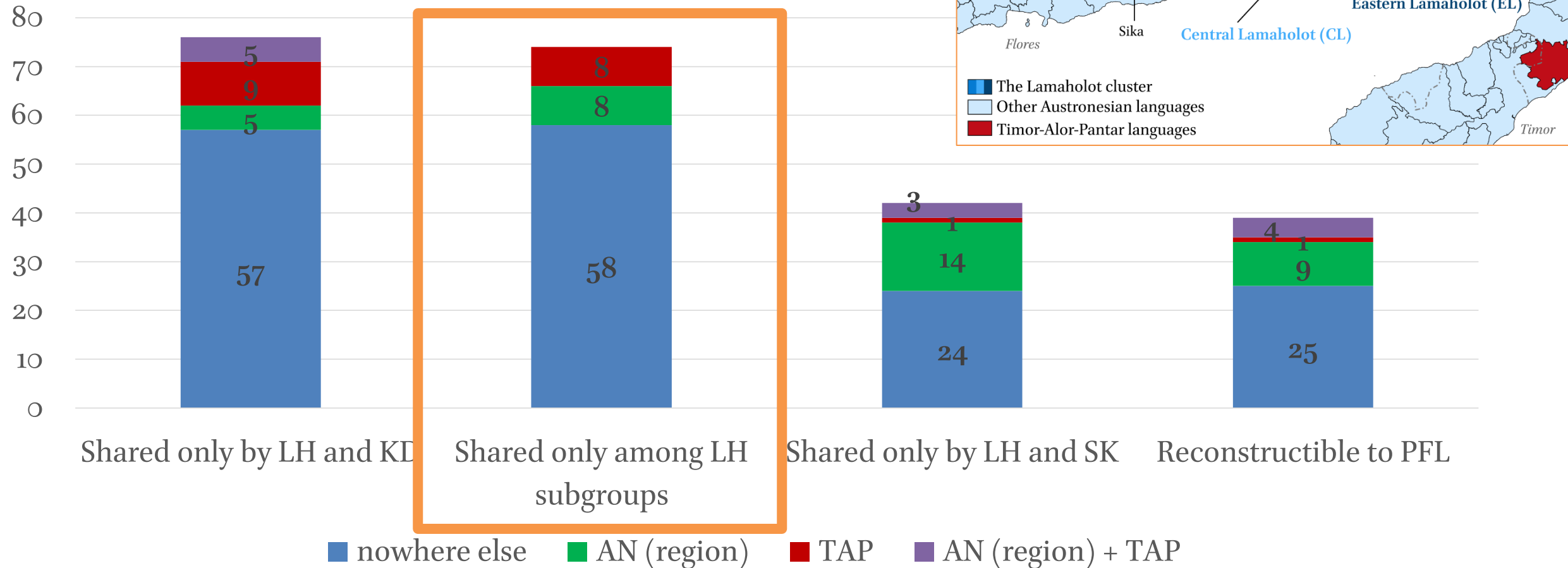
dēko

Eastern Lamaholot

Kedang

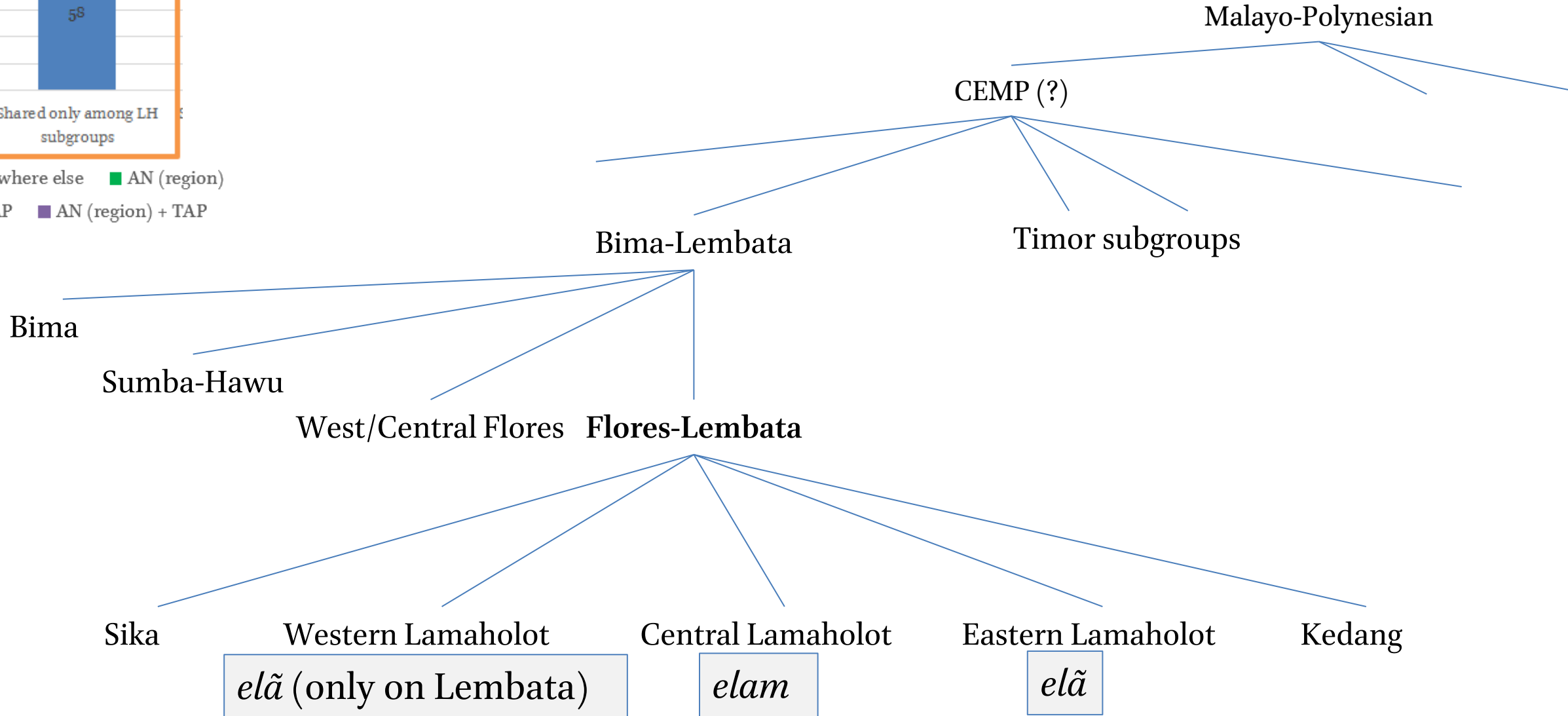
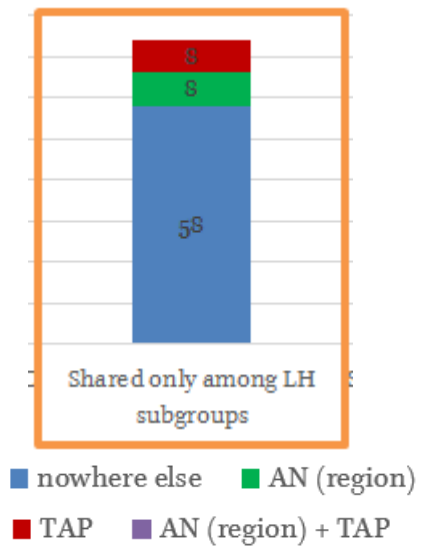
dēko

Non-PMP cognate sets in Lamaholot and beyond

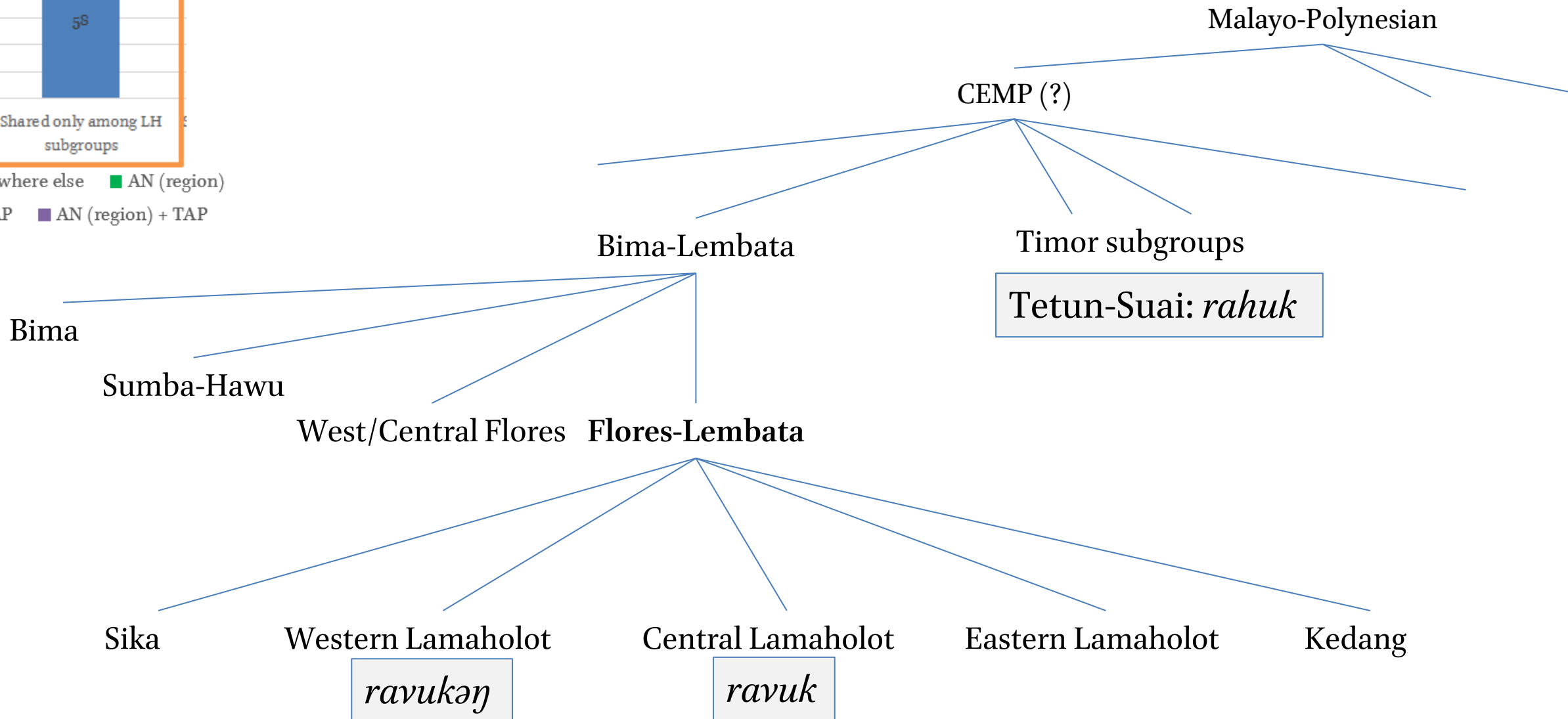
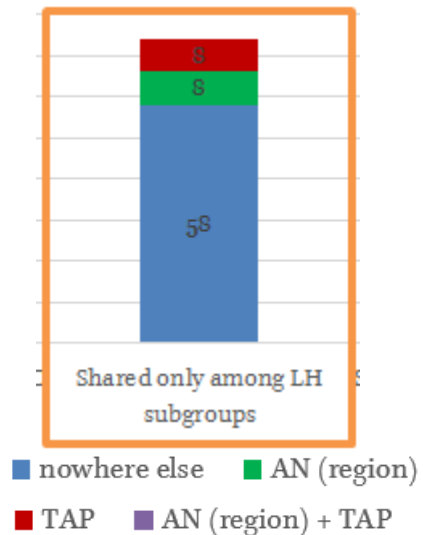


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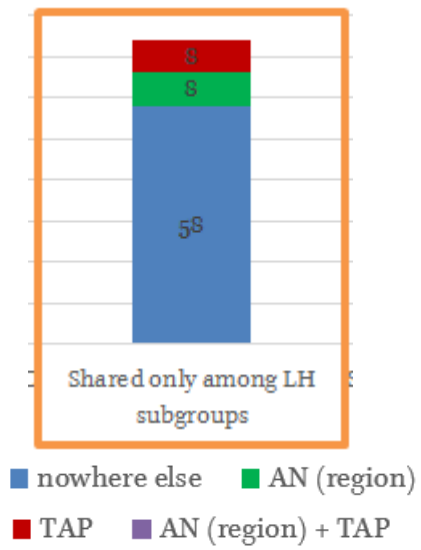
Cognates of #elam ‘meat’



Cognates of #ravuk ‘body hair’



Cognates of #kiri 'comb'



Timor-Alor-Pantar

PAP *kir

(Robinson 2013)

East Timor

Alor-Pantar

Malayo-Polynesian

CEMP (?)

Bima-Lembata

Timor subgroups

Bima

Sumba-Hawu

West/Central Flores

Flores-Lembata

Sika

Western Lamaholot

Central Lamaholot

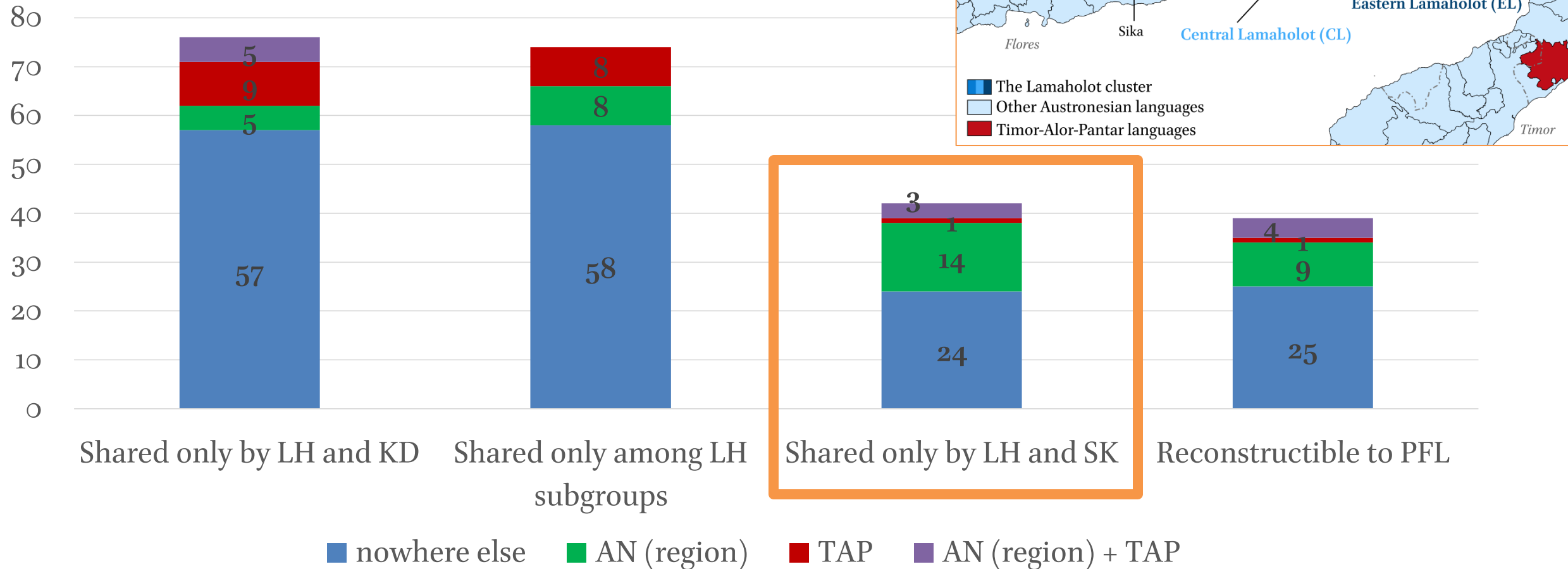
Eastern Lamaholot

Kedang

kiri

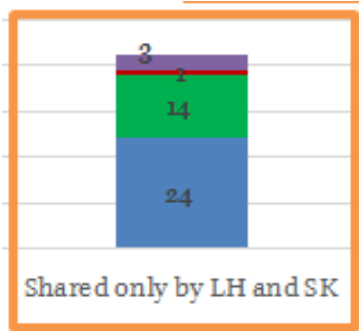
kiri

Non-PMP cognate sets in Lamaholot and beyond

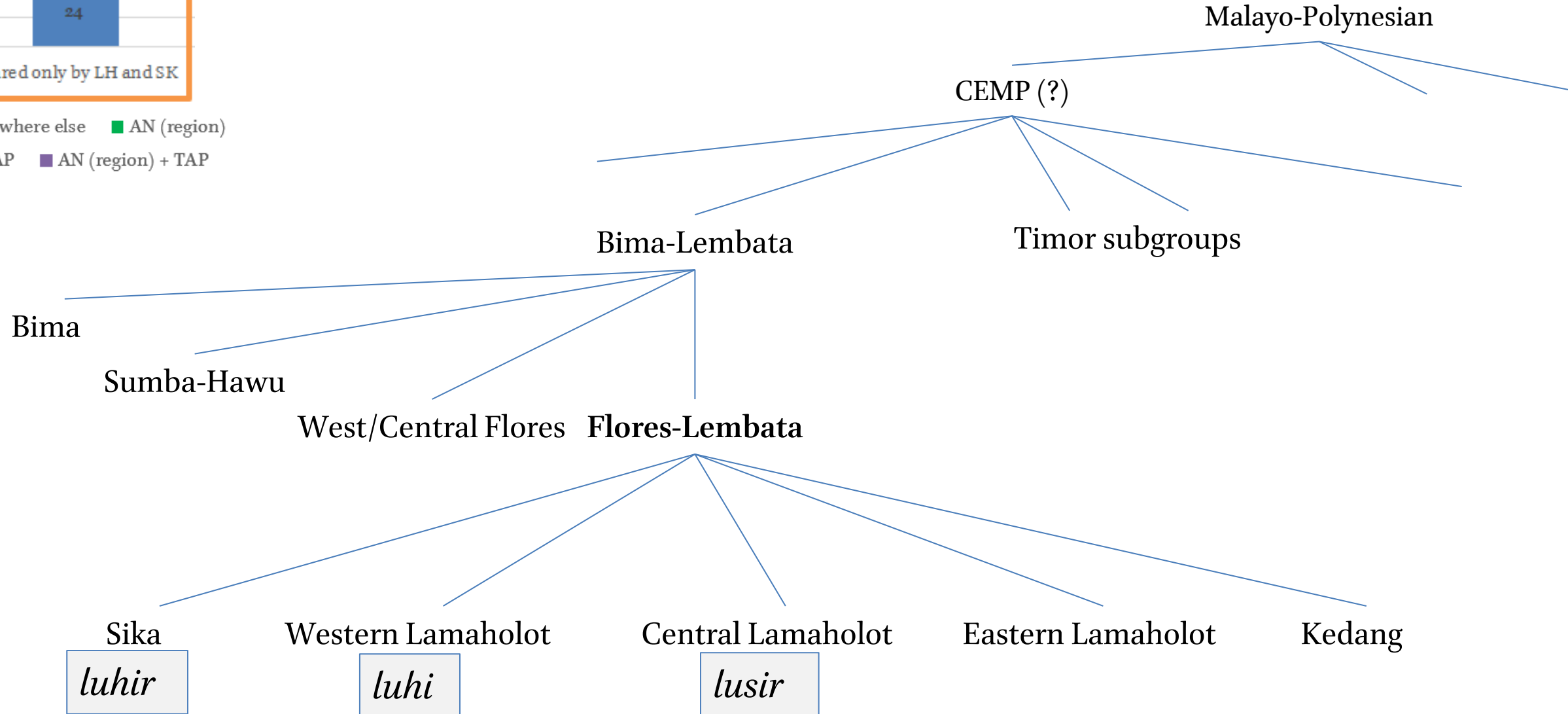


PFL = Proto-Flores-Lembata, LH = Lamaholot, SK = Sika, KD = Kedang

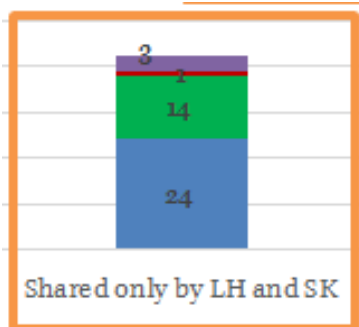
Cognates of #lusir ‘needle’



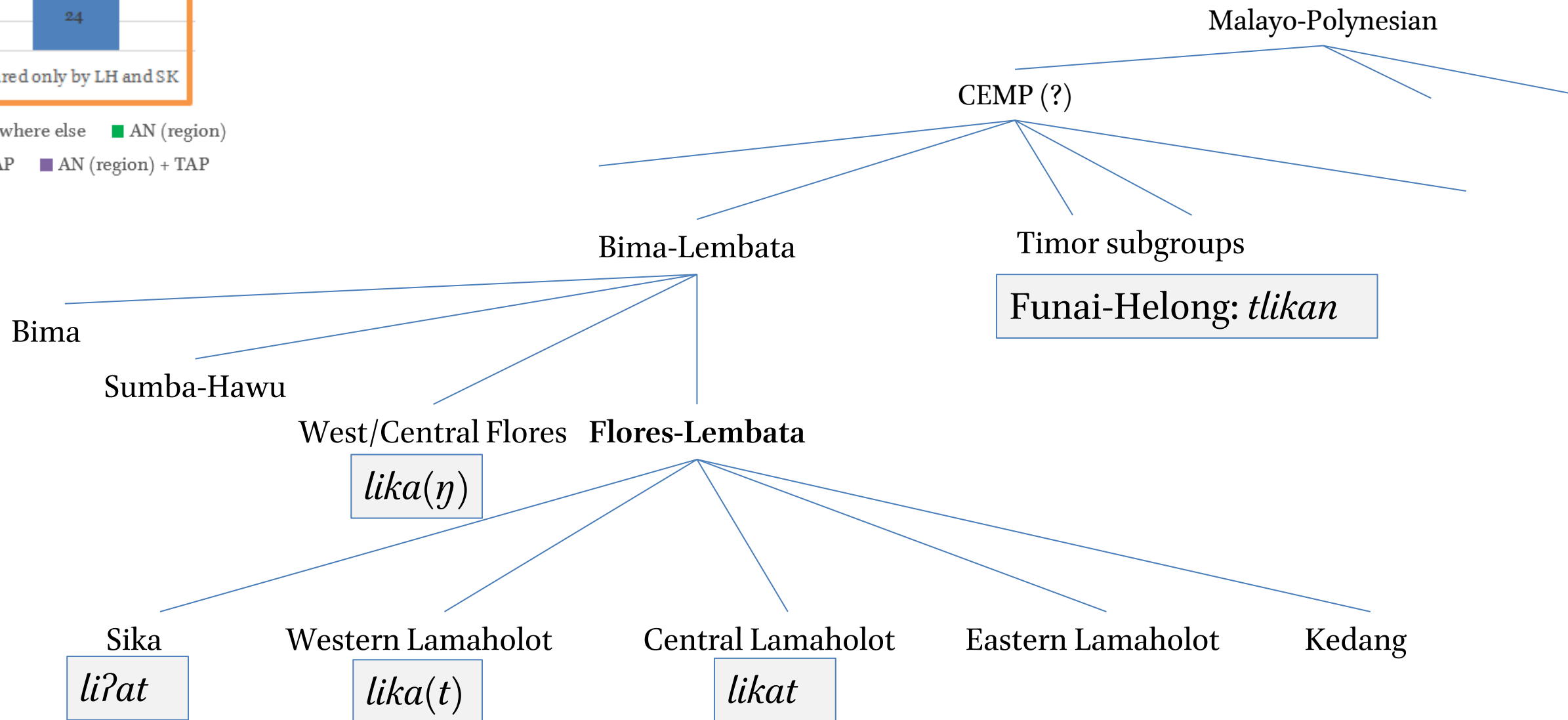
■ nowhere else ■ AN (region)
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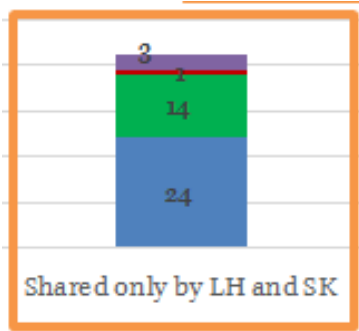


Cognates of #likat 'oven'

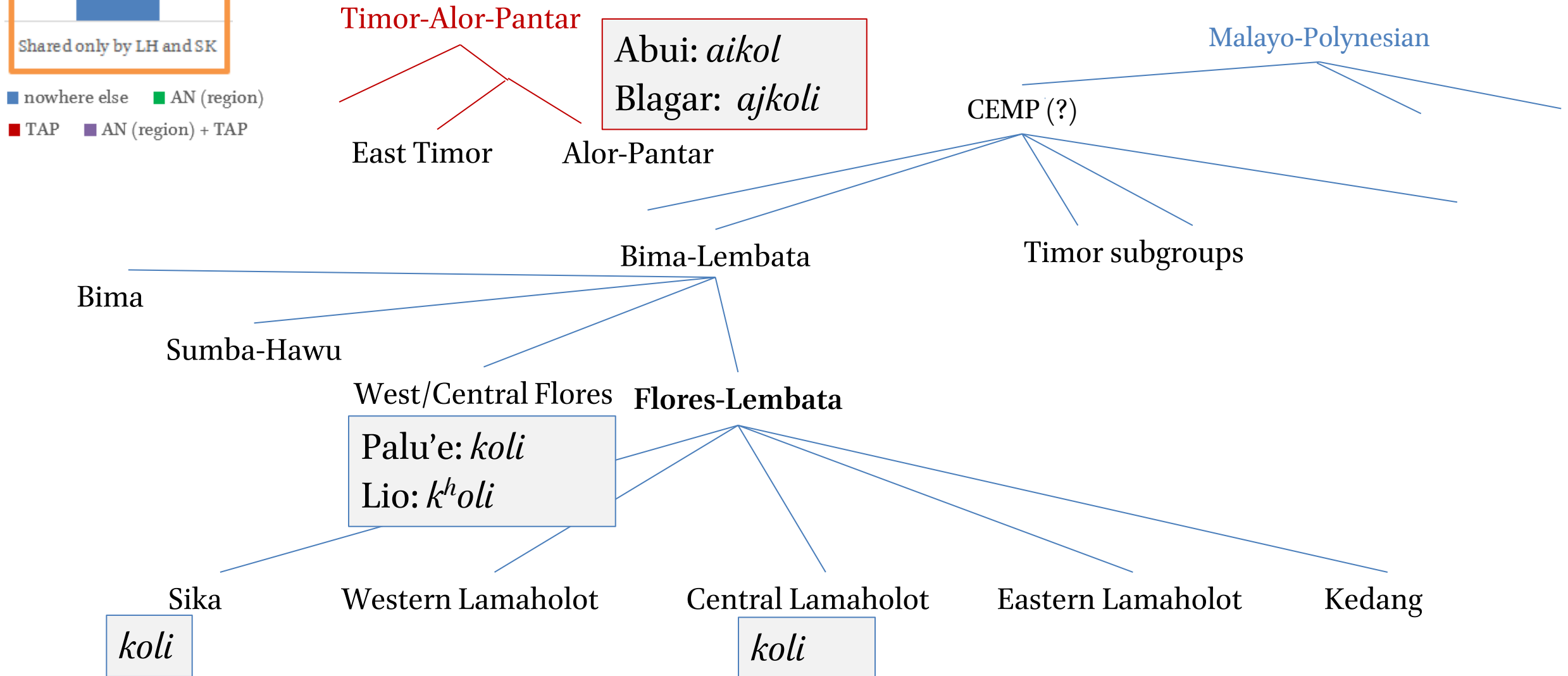


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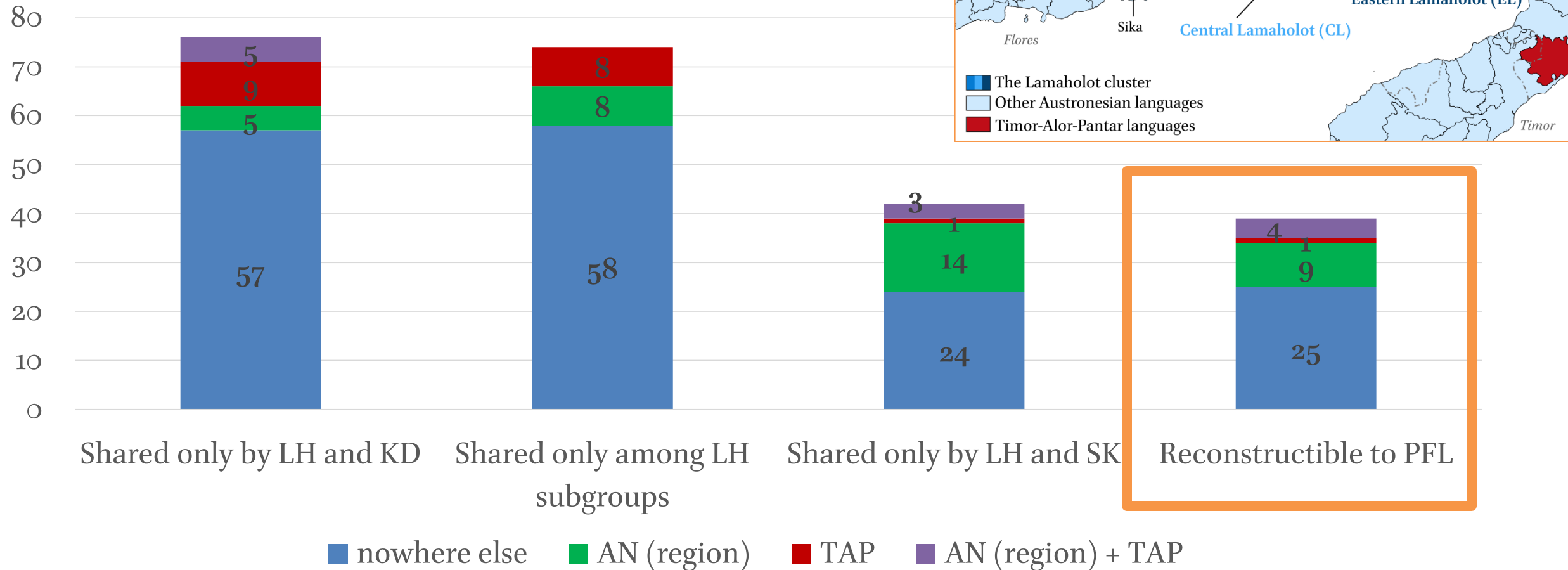




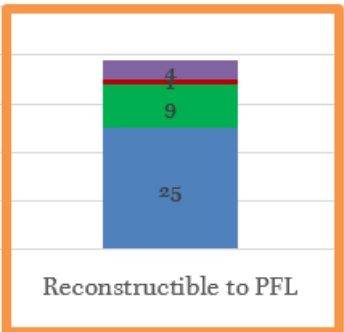
Cognates of #koli 'lontar palm'



Non-PMP cognate sets in Lamaholot and beyond

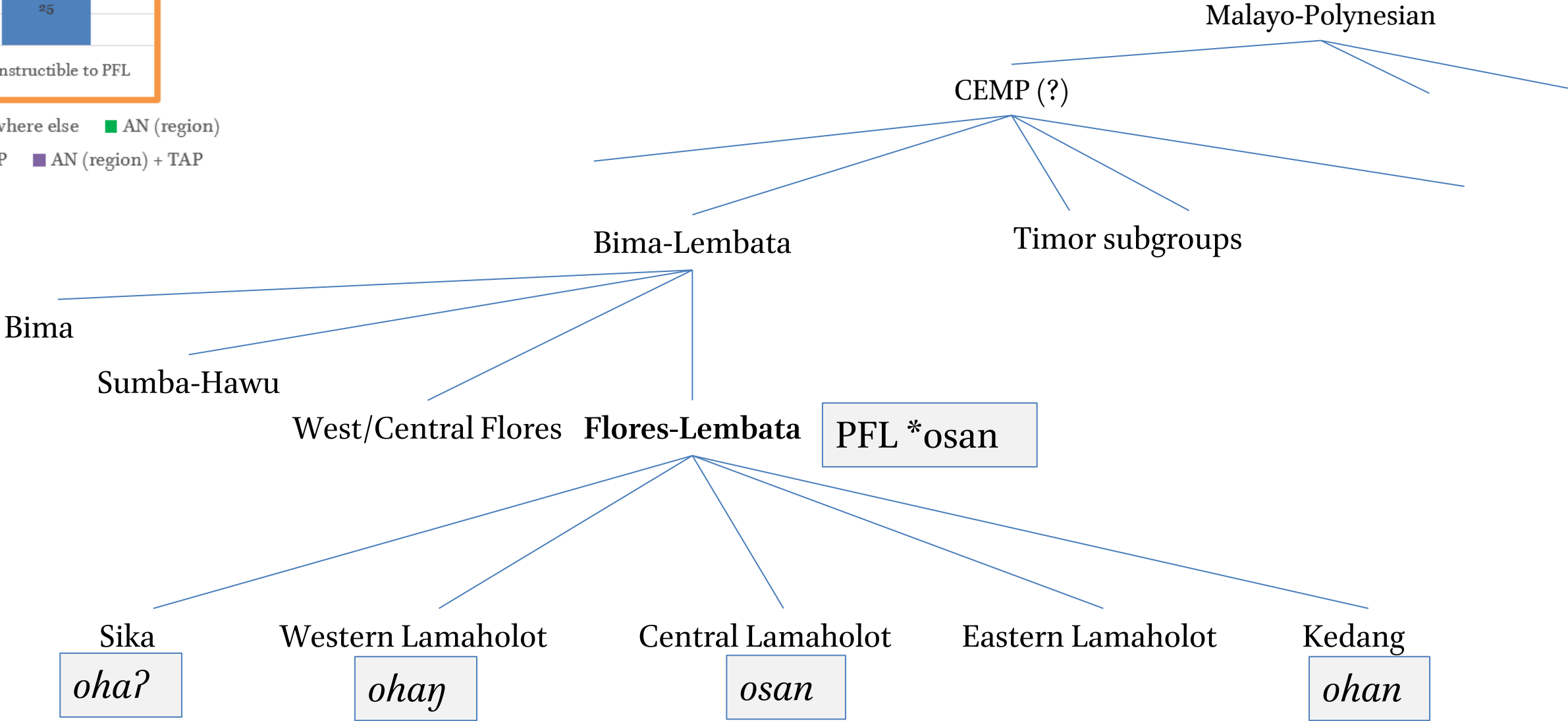


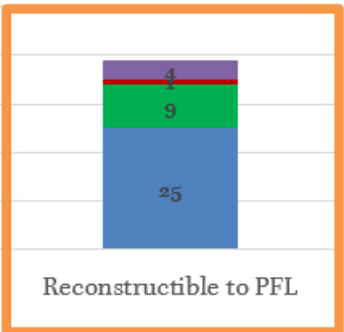
PFL = Proto-Flores-Lembata, LH = Lamaholot, SK = Sika, KD = Kedang



Cognates of PFL *osan 'mat'

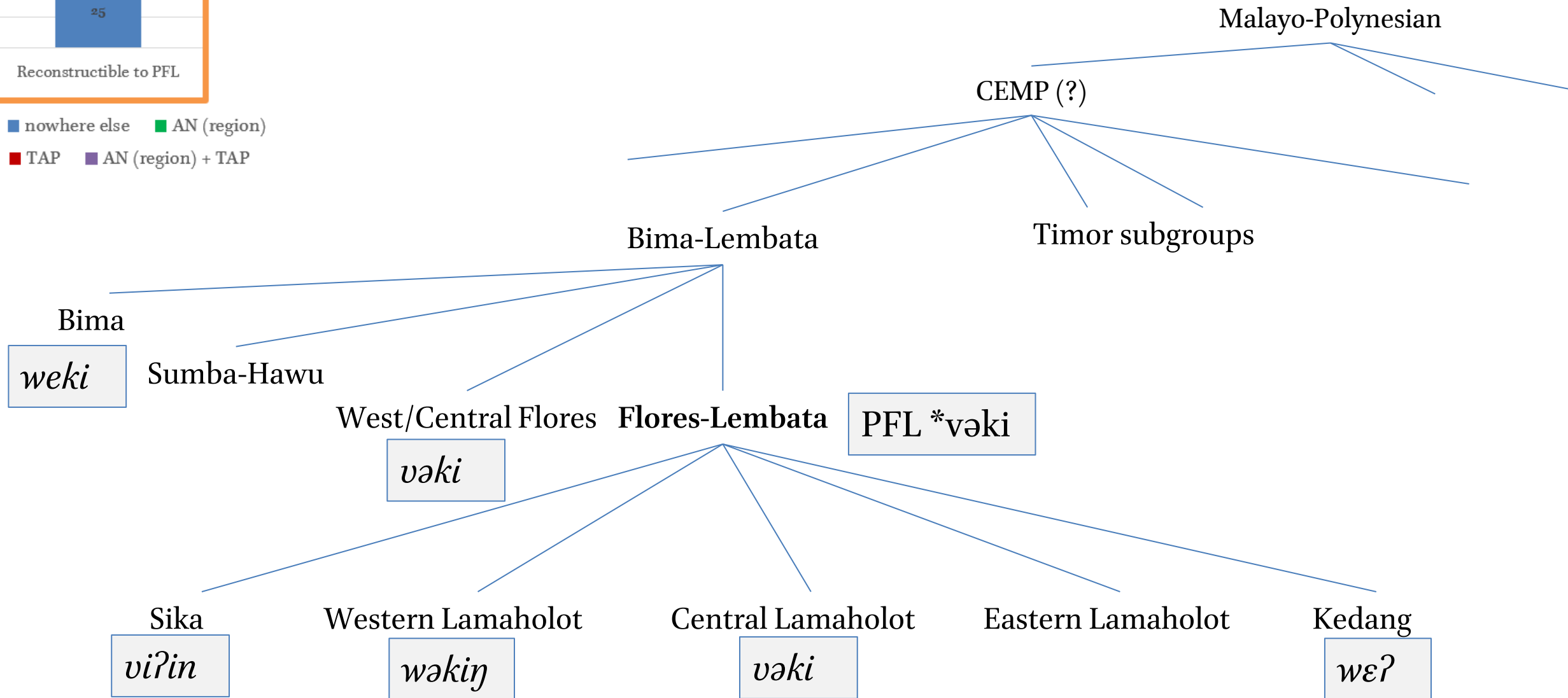
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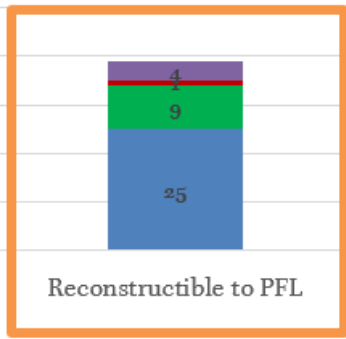


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■ TAP ■ AN (region) + TAP

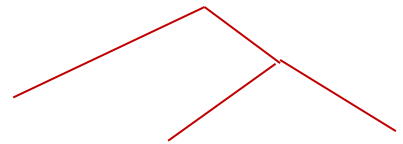
Cognates of PFL *vəki 'body'



Cognates of PFL *moton 'marungge'



Timor-Alor-Pantar



East Timor

Alor-Pantar

Adang: *moton*
Blagar: *motolun*

Malayo-Polynesian

CEMP (?)

Timor subgroups

Bima-Lembata

Bima

Sumba-Hawu

West/Central Flores

Flores-Lembata

PFL **moton*

Sika

Western Lamaholot

Central Lamaholot

Eastern Lamaholot

Kedang

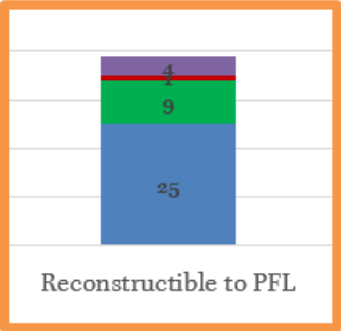
moton

moton

moton

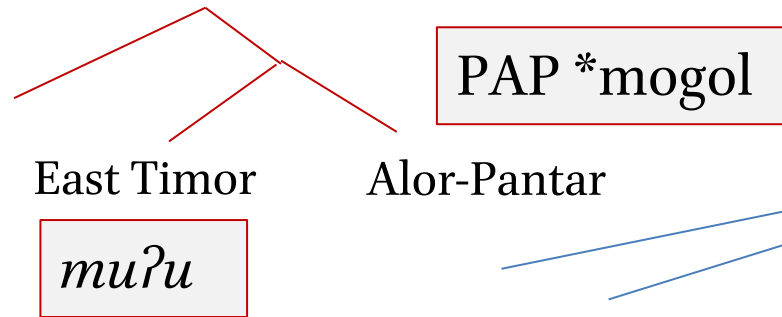
moton

Cognates of PFL *muku 'banana'



■ nowhere else ■ AN (region)
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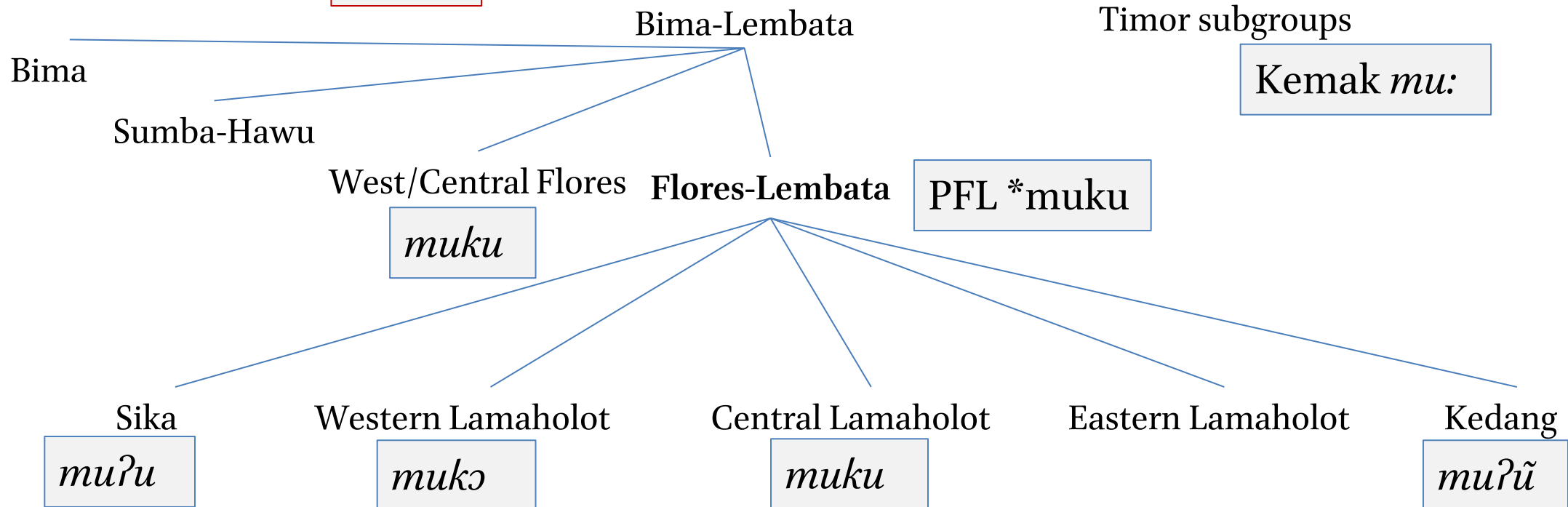
Timor-Alor-Pantar



PAP *mogol

Malayo-Polynesian

CEMP (?)



Summary of **non-PMP** vocabulary in Lamaholot

- Most of it cannot be traced back to PFL
- Only some of it is attested outside of the Flores-Lembata family
- Most non-PMP vocabulary must have entered the languages AFTER the split-up of PFL into 5 subgroups – but BEFORE the subgroups underwent their regular sound changes.

Possible reasons for lexical replacement or additions

- Contact-induced
 - Borrowing
 - Code-switching (Muysken 1997)
 - Bilingual mixed language (Thomason 2001)
- Language-internal
 - Taboo
 - Esoterogany
 - deliberate language change is rare (Thomason 2007)

Possible scenario for Lamaholot

- Contact-induced
 - Borrowing
 - **Code-switching**
 - **Bilingual mixed language**
- Language-internal
 - Taboo
 - Esoterogany

Bilingual communit(y/ies)

- Austronesian languages
(descendant of PFL)
- Non-Austronesian languages
(unknown)

=> code-switching => “fossilization”
=> mixed language

Thank you!



Thank you!

- Barnes, Robert. 1987. Weaving and non-weaving among the Lamaholot. *Indonesia Circle* 42. 16–31.
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