

**What can synchronic data tell us
about the past?:
Contact-induced change in Eastern Indonesia**

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LUCL Colloquium, Leiden, 21 April 2017

Introduction

“Reconstructing the past through languages of the present: the Lesser Sunda islands”



Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research

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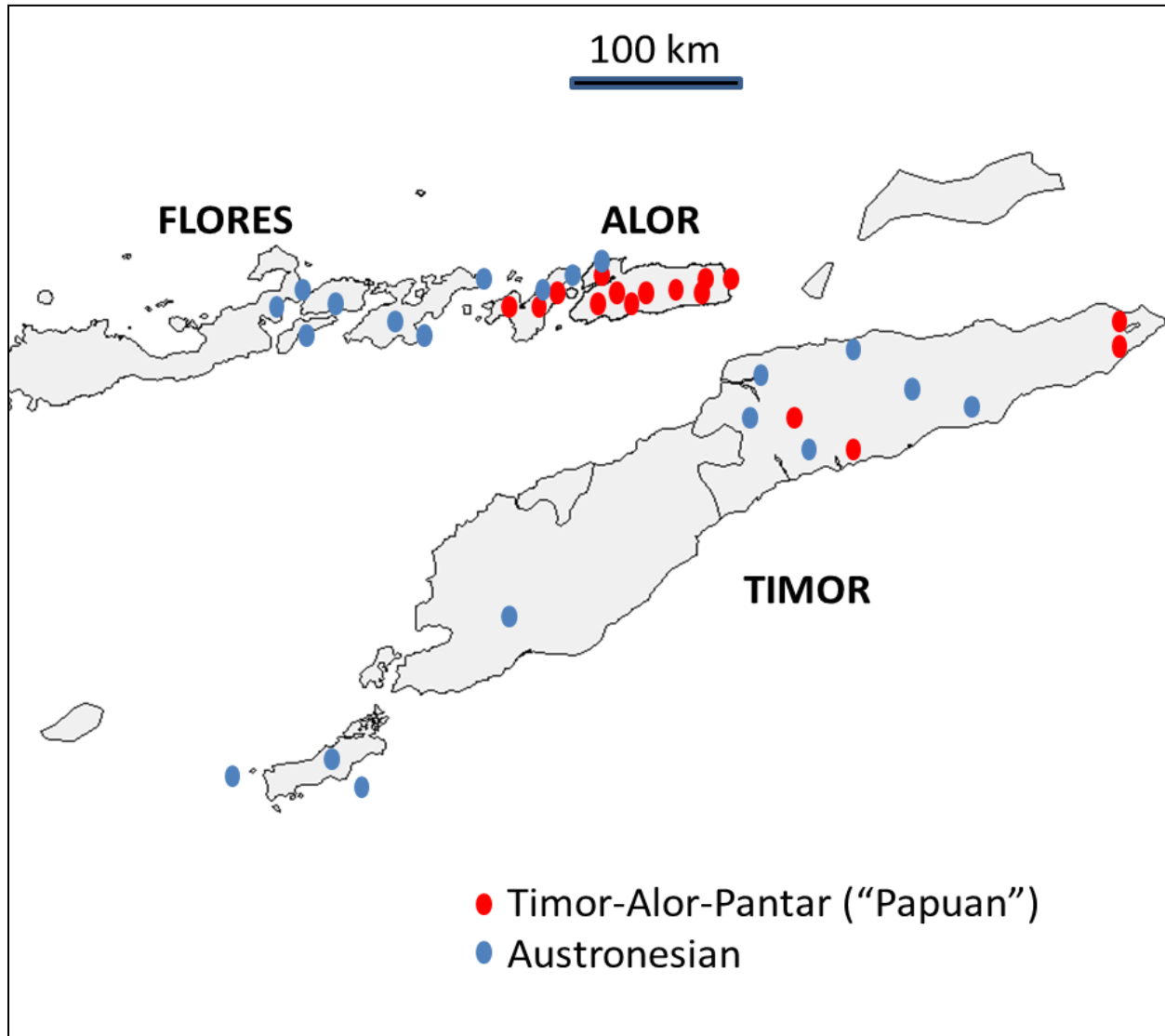
2014-2019

www.vici.marianklamer.org

Area of study



Two families in contact

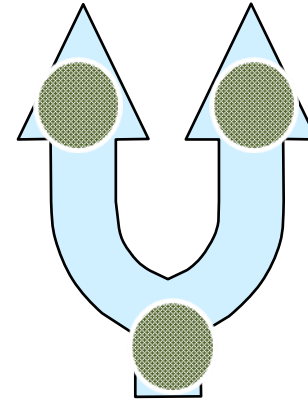


Reconstructing the past

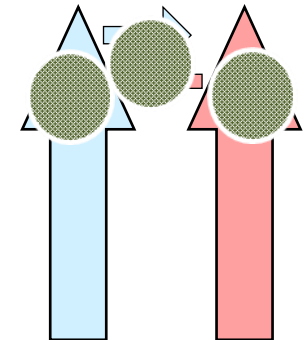
- TAP family *assumed* to be related to language groups in New Guinea
- No supporting evidence
- Evidence of Austronesian loans in proto-TAP
- Austronesian arrival in the area 3,500 BP
- For most of the area
 - No archaeological data
 - No written historical sources

Key: Study linguistic similarities

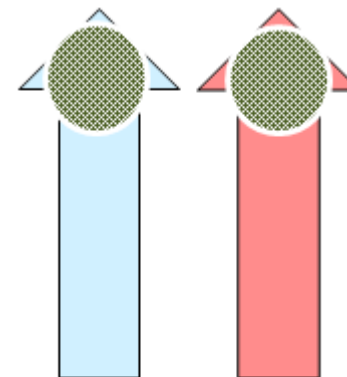
- Inherited from ancestor



- Diffused through contact



- Reflect universal patterns of language structure and evolution



Aims

Study synchronic language data to discover:

- History & dispersal of Papuan and Austronesian groups
- Patterns of Borrowing and Inheritance
- Their role in the evolution of language



Three lines of inquiry



Lines of inquiry (I)

Regional Survey:
Study lexical, typological &
cultural
traces of inheritance and contact

Marian Klamer





East Timor & East Flores





Pura, Pantar, Lembata, Alor

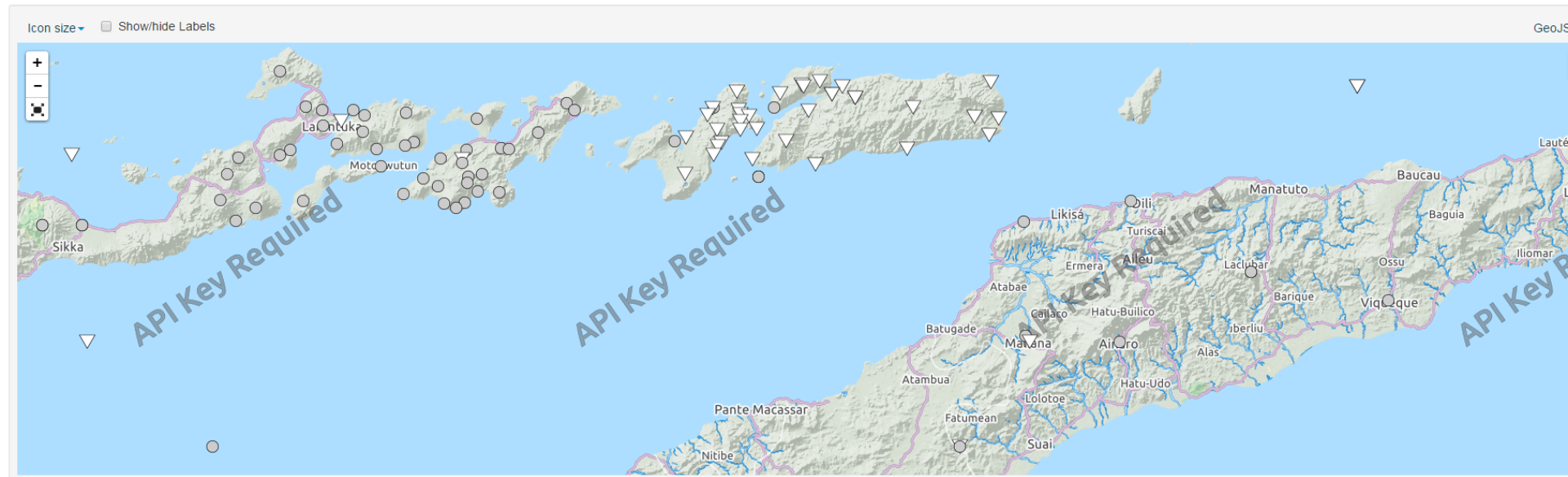




Cross-Linguistic Linked Database: Connected to *Glottolog* and *Concepticon*

lessersunda.ullet.net

Languages



Showing 1 to 100 of 124 entries

← Previous 1 2 Next →

Id	Name	Latitude	Longitude	Macroarea	Family
abui1241	Abui	-8.19	126.26	--any--	Timor-Alor-Pantar
abui1241-fuime	Abui-Fuimelang	-8.23	124.67	--any--	Timor-Alor-Pantar
abui1241-pette	Abui-Petleng	-8.21	124.59	--any--	Timor-Alor-Pantar
abui1241-pette-o	Abui-Petleng (Orthographic)	-8.21	124.59	--any--	Timor-Alor-Pantar

Lines of inquiry (III)

Case studies of
Papuan-Austronesian contact-induced change

Indonesian



Abui

George Saad (PhD)



Lines of inquiry (III)

Case studies of contact-induced change



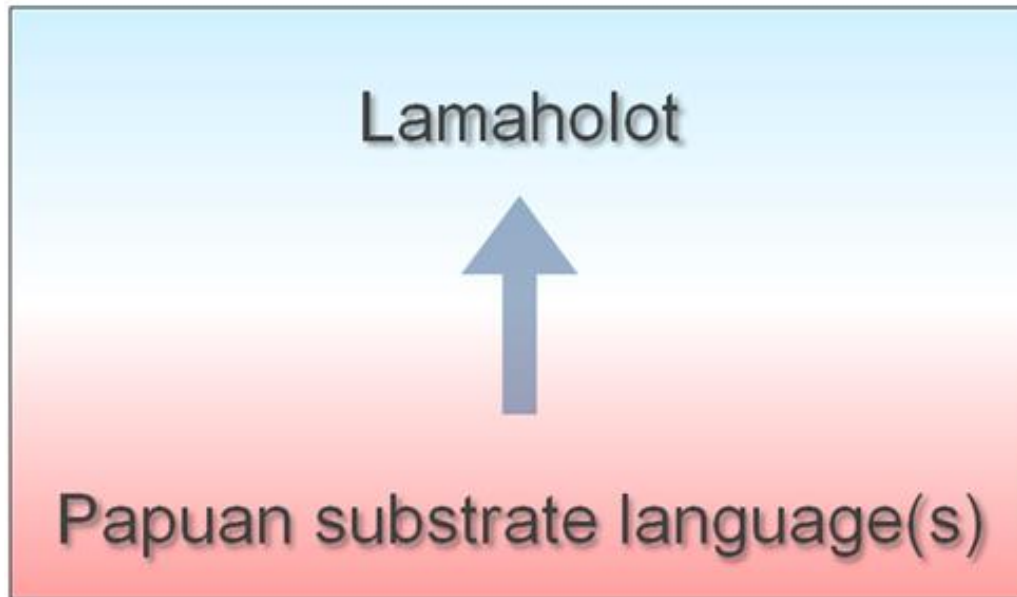
Francesca Moro (Postdoc)





Lines of inquiry (III)

Case studies of contact-induced change



Hanna Fricke (PhD)



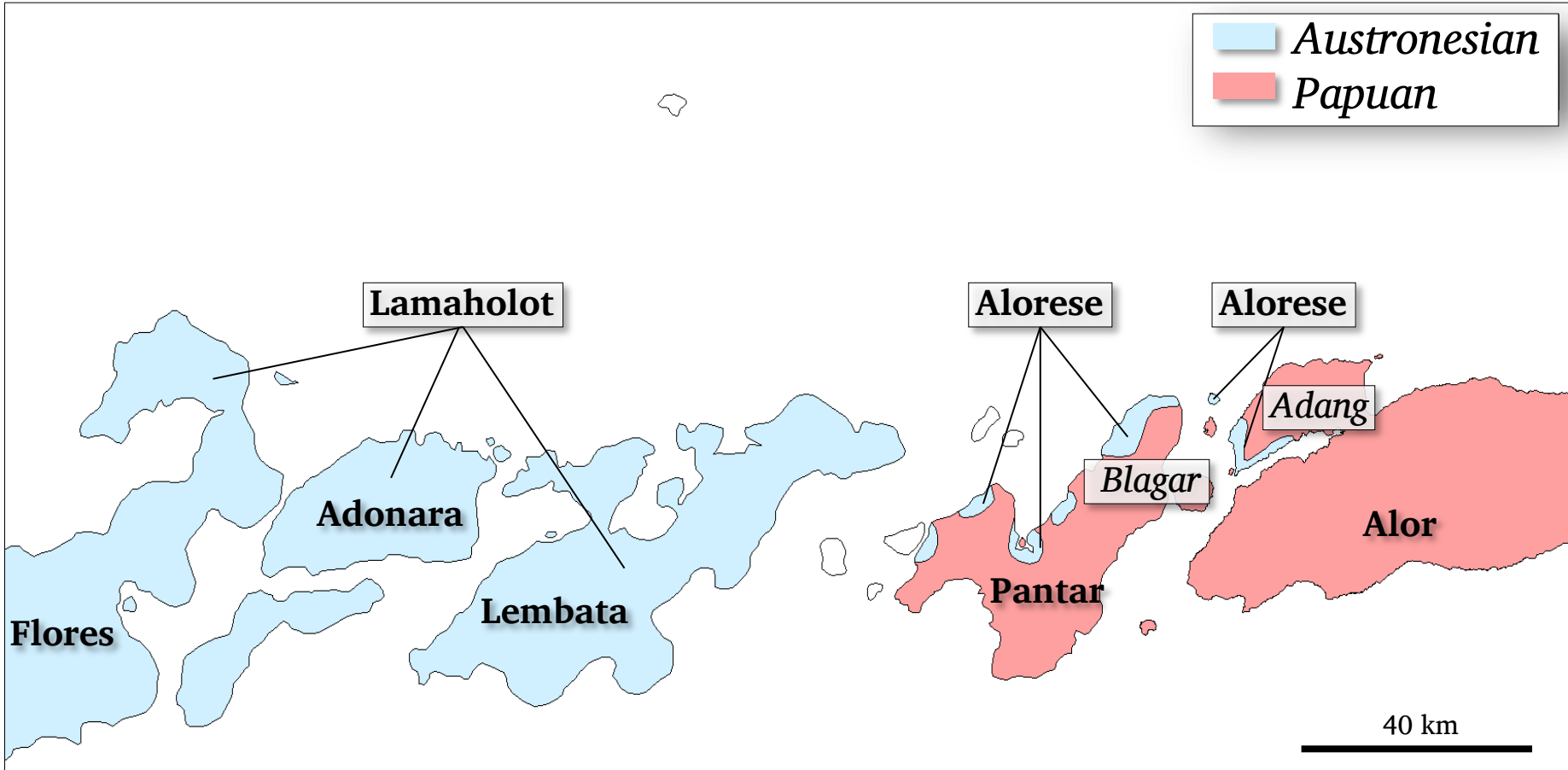




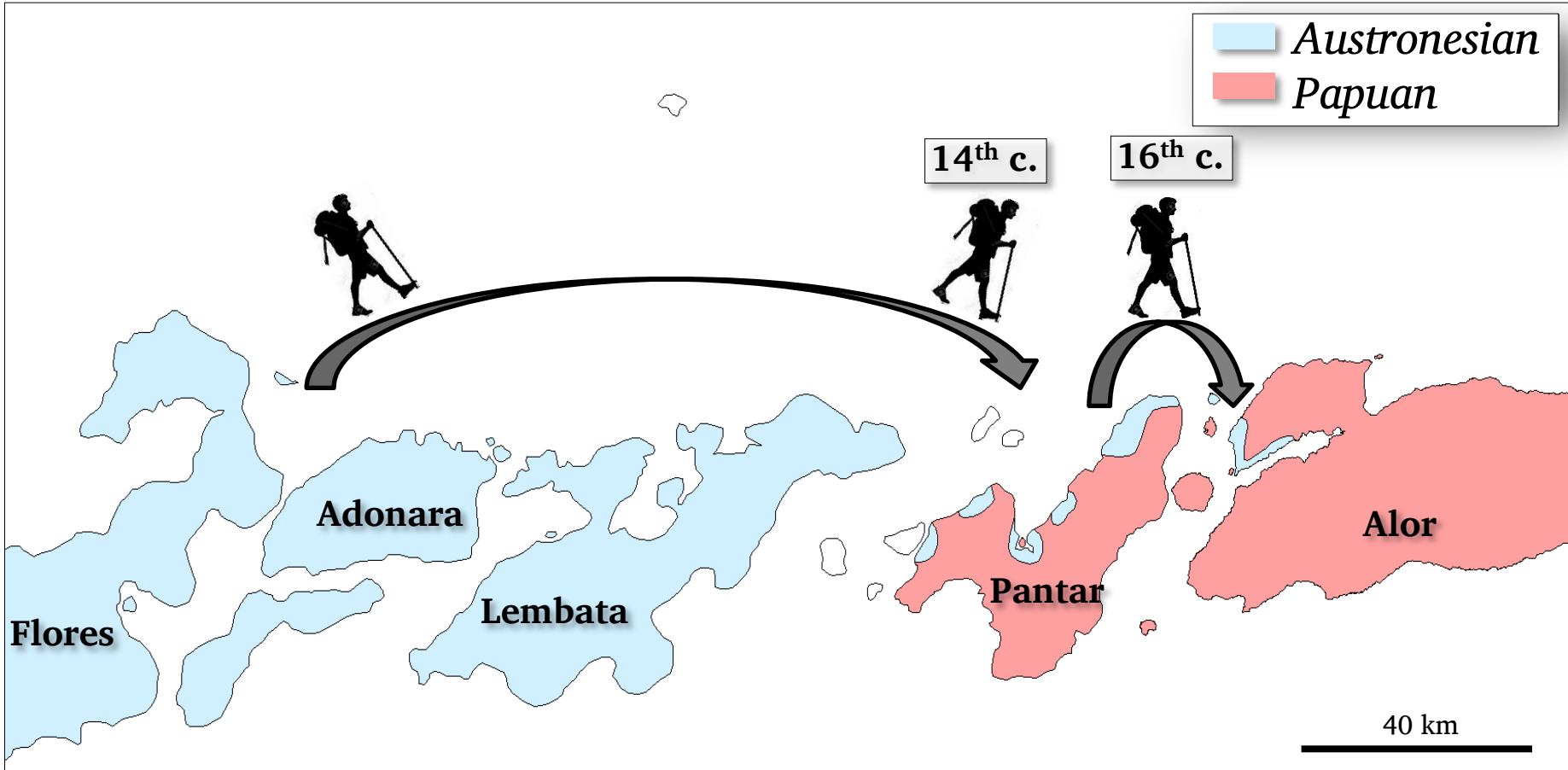
Simplification in Alorese (Austronesian)

Francesca Moro

Alorese: geographical context



Alorese: origin



Alorese and Lamaholot

- Sister languages
- Lamaholot is morphologically more complex
- Morphology almost completely lost in Alorese
(Klamer 2012:72)

Example: subject agreement

	Lamaholot (Lewoingu)		Alorese
	A/S subject prefix	S subject suffix	A/S subject prefix
1SG	<i>k-</i>	<i>-kən</i>	<i>k-</i>
2SG	<i>m-</i>	<i>-ko, -no</i>	<i>m-</i>
3SG	<i>n-</i>	<i>-na, -nən</i>	<i>n-</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>m-</i>	<i>-kən</i>	<i>m-</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>t-</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>t-</i>
2PL	<i>m-</i>	<i>-ke/-ne</i>	<i>m-</i>
3PL	<i>r-</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>r-</i>

(Nishiyama & Kelen, 2007: 32; Klamer 2012)

Research Questions

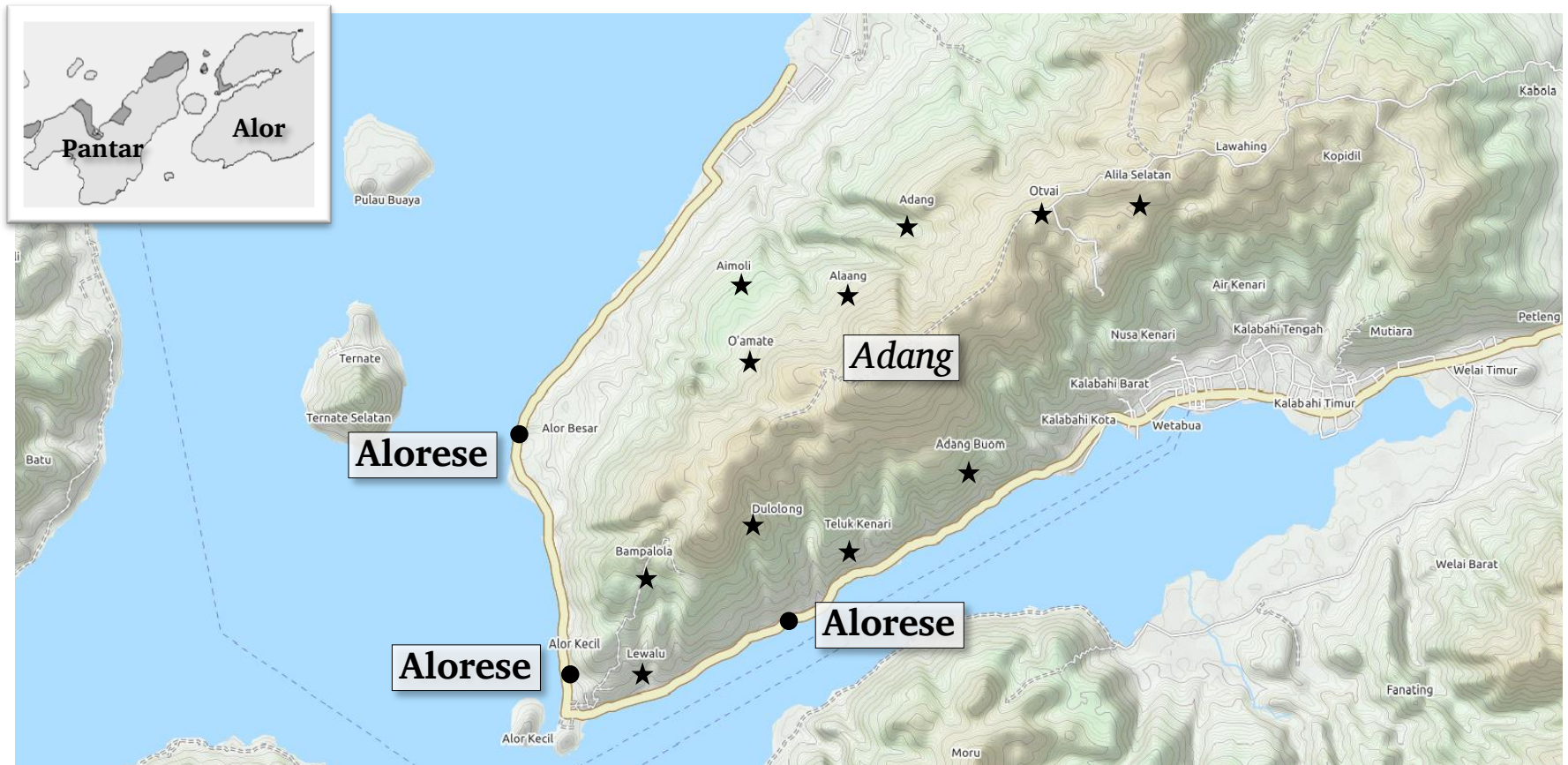
- How has Alorese simplified its inflectional morphology?

➤ L2 speakers

(Kusters, 2003; Trudgill 2011)

Case study: Alorese L1 and L2 speakers

- Alorese: coast, sea-oriented, Muslim
- Adang: interior, land-oriented, Christians or animists



Alorese and Adang communities

- Exchange women
- Exchange goods
- Alorese intermediary with Chinese-Muslim traders
- Alorese intermediary with colonial government
- Political alliance (The '10-3-7' alliance)
- Shared traditions

The Alorese speech community

- L2 > L1
- Trade language
- Other societal domains
- Exchange practical information
- Communicative function

Case study: subject agreement among Alorese L1 and L2 speakers

-ate *-enung* *-ang/-aka*
'to carry' 'to drink' 'to eat'

pronoun

1SG	(go)	<i>k-ate</i>	<i>k-enung</i>	<i>k-ang</i>
2SG	(mo)	<i>m-ate</i>	<i>m-enung</i>	<i>g-ong</i>
3SG	(no)	<i>n-ate</i>	<i>n-enung</i>	<i>g-ang</i>
1PL.EXCL	(kame)	<i>m-ate</i>	<i>m-enung</i>	<i>g-eng</i>
1PL.INCL	(ite)	<i>t-ate</i>	<i>t-enung</i>	<i>t-aka</i>
2PL	(mi)	<i>m-ate</i>	<i>m-enung</i>	<i>g-eng</i>
3PL	(fe)	<i>r-ate</i>	<i>r-enung</i>	<i>r-aka</i>

Case study: subject agreement among Alorese L1 and L2 speakers

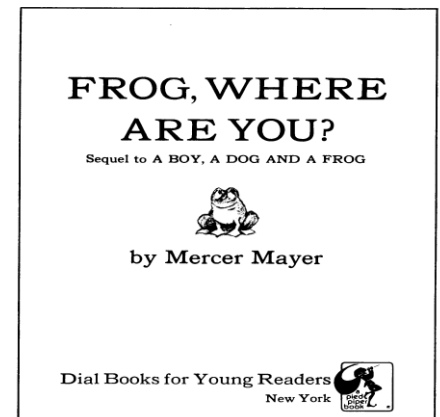
- **Participants**

6 Alorese L1 speakers (all female, age 27-64years)

12 Alorese L2 speakers (all female, age 25-46 years,
all L1 Adang)

Case study: subject agreement among Alorese L1 and L2 speakers

- **Stimuli** (40-50 min. speech per participant)
 - Free narrative (a fairytale or a personal experience)
 - Frog story
 - Surrey elicitation list (42 video clips)
 - H&F elicitation list (46 video clips)



Surrey stimuli



Gambe tou te bele tide golu kajo pukong tou gua

‘A man is standing hugging a tree’

Case study: subject agreement among Alorese L1 and L2 speakers

- **Results** (Mann–Whitney two-tailed t-test ($p < 001$))

	L1 speakers	L2 speakers
Correct match	307 97.4%	243 70.6%
Agreement mismatch	7 2.2%	94 27.3%

(1) *Ina* *kafae* *kali* *n-ate* *bunga* *mene*
 mother girl DEM 3SG-carry flower come
 ‘A young woman brings some flowers.’ (L1 speaker)

(2) *Ina* *kafae* *m-ate* *bunga* *beta...*
 mother girl 2SG/1PL.EXCL/2PL-carry flower arrive
 ‘A young woman brings some flowers...’(L2 speaker)

Case study: subject agreement among Alorese L1 and L2 speakers

L2 speaker	Group 1	Error rate
Ina	Bilingual Adang-Alor (27 years)	0.13
Ida	Bilingual Adang-Alor (20 years)	0.34
Ida M.	Bilingual Adang-Alor (19 years)	0.21
Hawa	Bilingual Adang-Alor (17 years)	0.25
Group average		0.24
	Group 2	
Rahma	Bilingual Adang-Alor (8 years)	0.14
Rahma M.	Bilingual Adang-Alor (6 years)	0.07
Mona	Bilingual Adang-Alor (6 years)	0.32
Isma	Bilingual Adang-Alor (5 years)	0.32
Saleha	Bilingual Adang-Alor (5 years)	0.22
Group average		0.23
	Group 3	
Loni	Bilingual Adang-Alor (2 year)	0.33
Wia	Bilingual Adang-Alor (1 year)	1.00
Sula	Bilingual Adang-Alor (7 months)	0.36
Group average		0.58

Case study: subject agreement among Alorese L1 and L2 speakers

Verb meaning		Inaccurate verb form	Percentages
-ate	‘to carry’	<i>m-</i> ‘2SG/2PL/1PL.EXCL.’ > <i>m-ate</i>	64%
		<i>r-</i> ‘3PL’ >	<i>r-ate</i> 35%
-ei	‘to go’	<i>m-</i> ‘2SG/2PL/1PL.EXCL.’ > <i>m-ei</i>	58%
		<i>r-</i> ‘3PL’ >	<i>r-ei</i> 37%
-enung	‘to drink’	<i>m-</i> ‘2SG/2PL/1PL.EXCL.’ > <i>m-enung</i>	61%
		<i>r-</i> ‘3PL’ >	<i>r-enung</i> 23%
-ang/-aka	‘to eat’	<i>r-</i> ‘3PL’ >	<i>r-aka</i> 76%

Case study: subject agreement among Alorese L1 and L2 speakers

- L2 speakers: variable production of agreement
- Error rate does not correlate to length of exposure
- Error with Subject prefixes
 - extension of one prefix (*m-*, *r-*)
 - *m-* represents default agreement
 - syllable structure (vowel-initial verbs ☹)

Conclusions

How has Alorese simplified its inflectional morphology?

- L2 acquisition by Adang speakers
- Speech community: L2 > L1
- Simplification of agreement (on-going change)
- A/S prefixes > extension of one prefix
- Loss of S suffixes (completed change)
- S suffixes > omission (vowel-final verbs 😊)

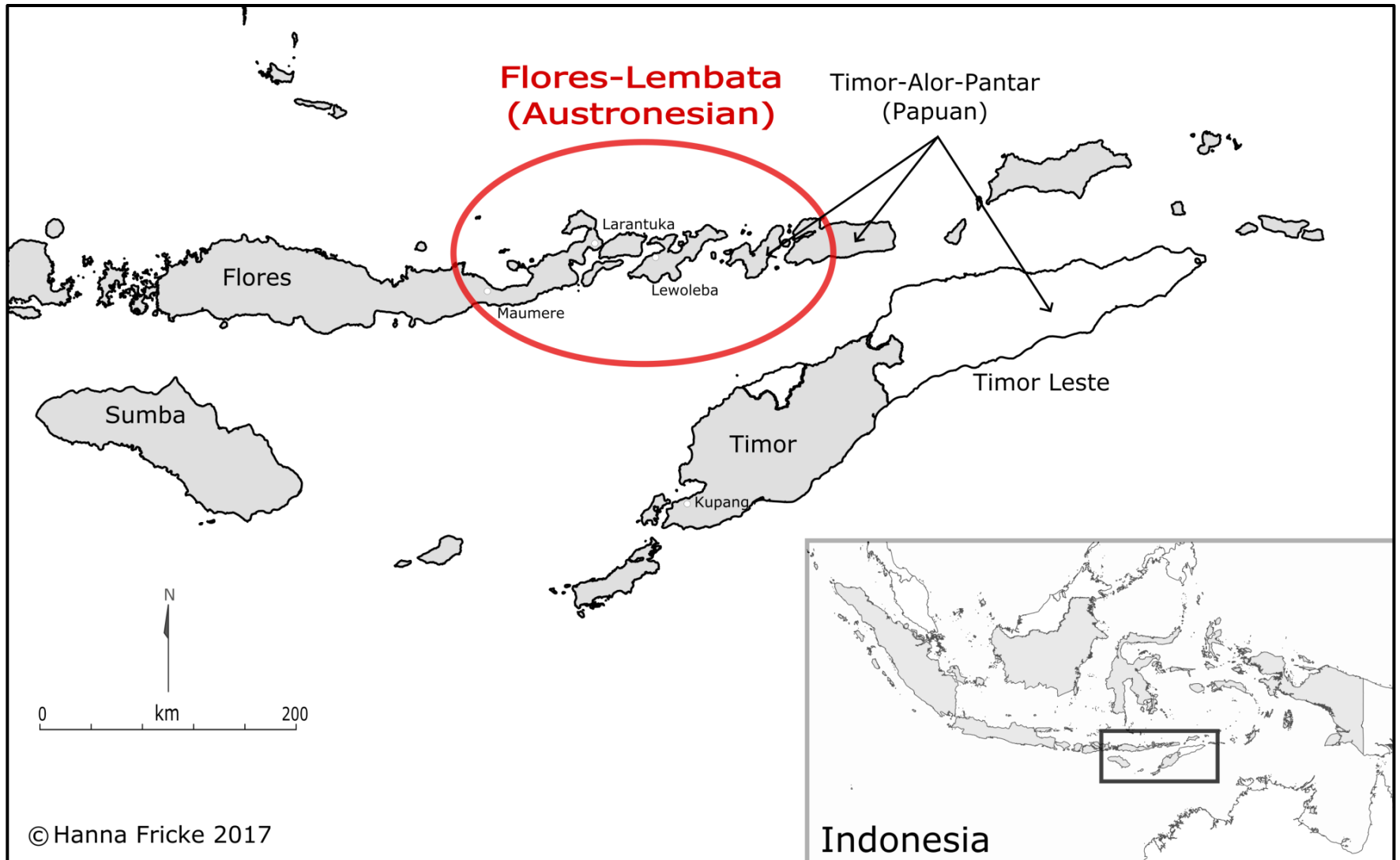
Clause-final negation in Flores-Lembata languages (Austronesian)

Hanna Fricke

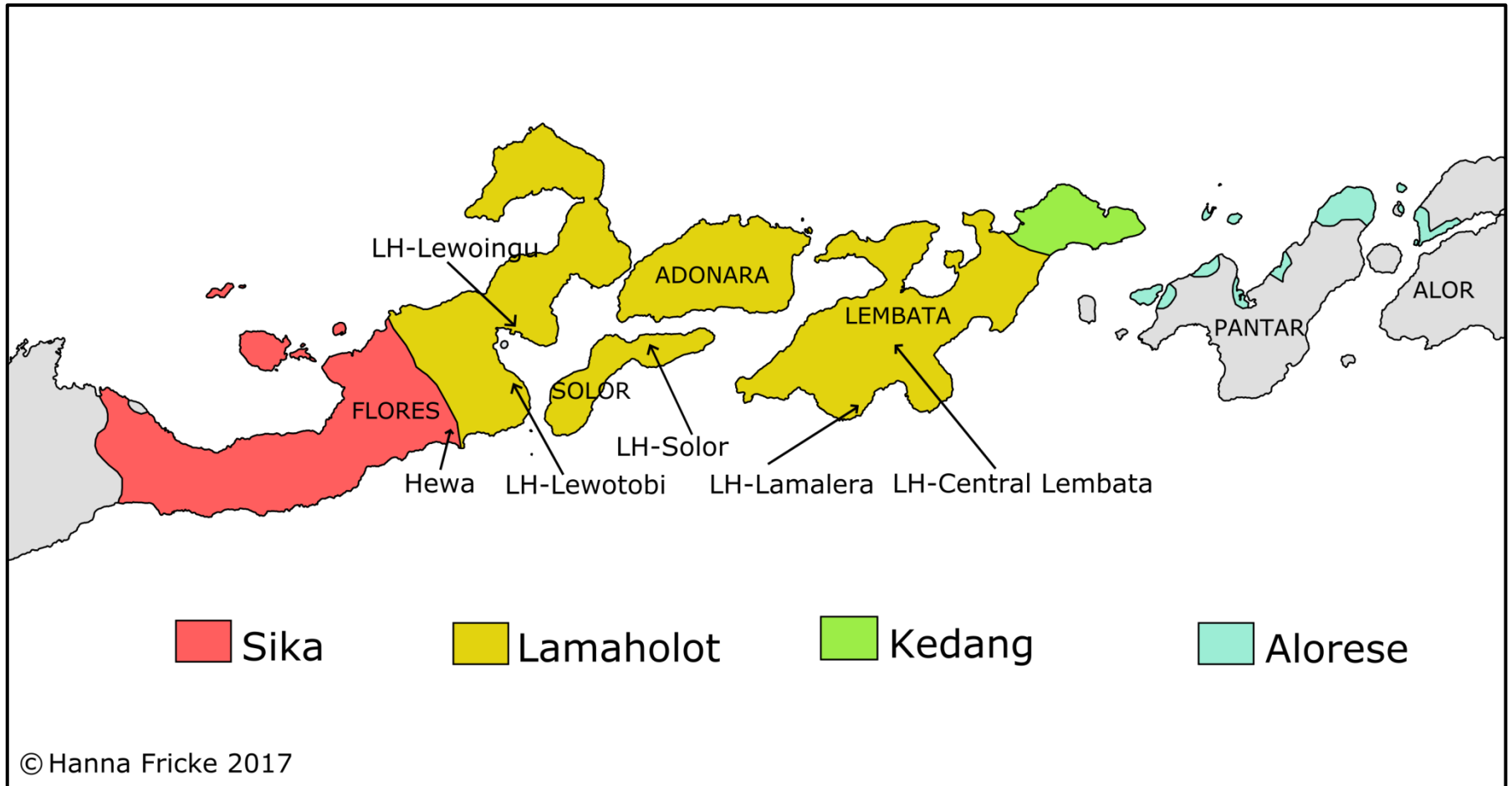
Outline

1. Flores-Lembata languages
2. Theoretic background: Jespersen Cycle
3. Negation patterns in F-L languages
4. Diachronic development
5. Conclusions

1. Flores-Lembata Languages (Austronesian)



Flores-Lembata Languages (Austronesian)



2. Jespersen Cycle

(Jespersen 1917; Dahl 1979:88)

Main steps of a Jespersen Cycle

1. Pre-predicate negation
2. Double negation
3. Post-predicate negation

French

1. ne ...
2. ne ... pas
3. ... pas

Why does a Jespersen Cycle start?

- Spontaneous innovation to gain **emphatic negation** (Vossen 2016: 24)
- Contact-induced change (Vossen 2016: 202)
- Contact-induced change to gain emphatic negation

3. Negation patterns

Austronesian languages

- pre-predicate single negation (Vossen 2016:4)

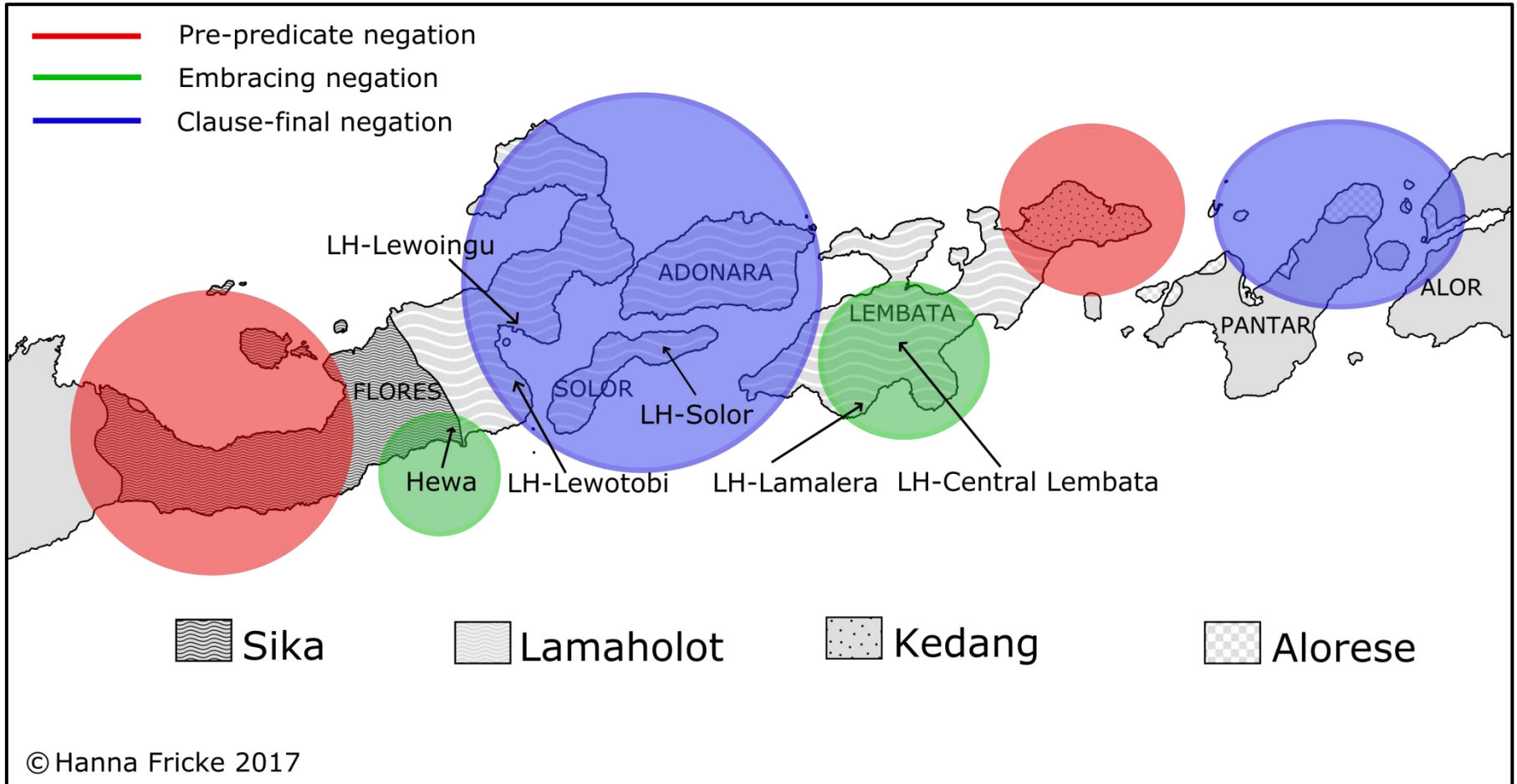
Papuan languages

- clause-final negation (OV word order)

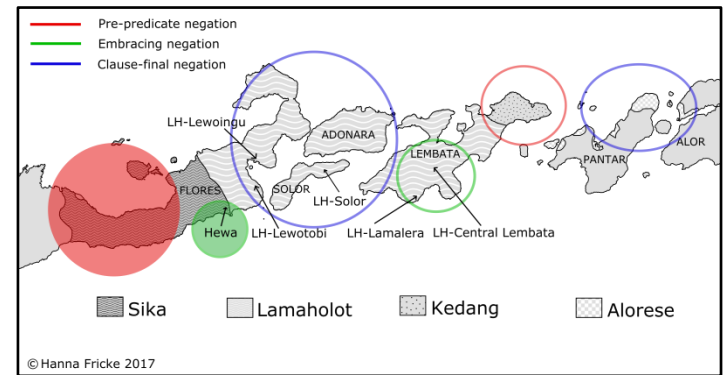
Cases of diffusion in contact areas:

= > Austronesian languages with clause-final negation (Vossen 2016:119-121,202; Reesink 2002:246)

Distribution of negation patterns in Flores-Lembata languages



Negation patterns in Flores-Lembata languages



(1) Sika

Aʔu **ene** raʔintəŋ.
1SG **NEG** know

'I don't know.'

Pre-predicate negation

(Arndt 1931:42)

(2) Hewa

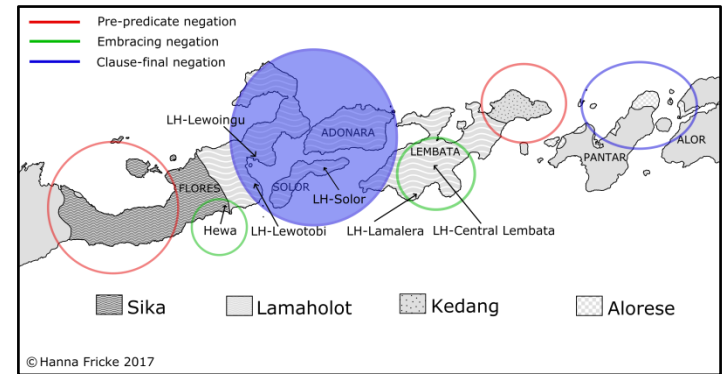
Dediʔ anak **eʔon** puas **iva.**
child little **NEG** satisfied **NEG**

'The little child is not satisfied.'

Double negation

(Fricke 2014:9)

Negation patterns in Flores-Lembata languages



(3) LH-Lewotobi

Go kã ikã hua **həla?**
1SG 1SG.eat fish fish.sp NEG

'I don't eat hua fish.'

(Nagaya 2011:392)

(4) LH-Lewoingu

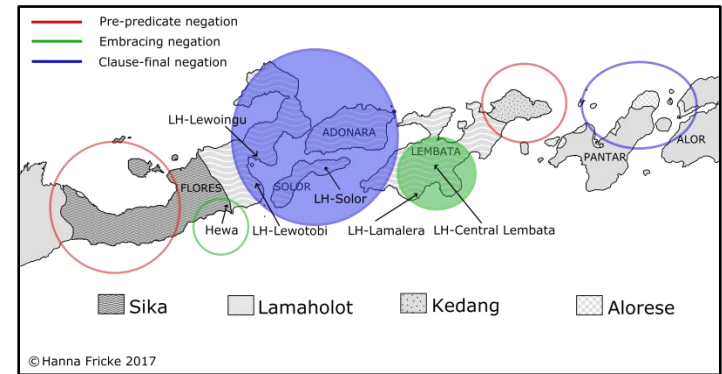
Go bərin na **hala?**
1SG hit 3SG NEG

'I did not hit him.'

Clause-final negation

(Nishiyama and Kelen 2007:69)

Negation patterns in Flores-Lembata languages



(5) LH-Solor

Ema déna wata **la.**
mother cook rice NEG

'Mom is not cooking rice.'

Clause-final negation

(Kroon 2016:158)

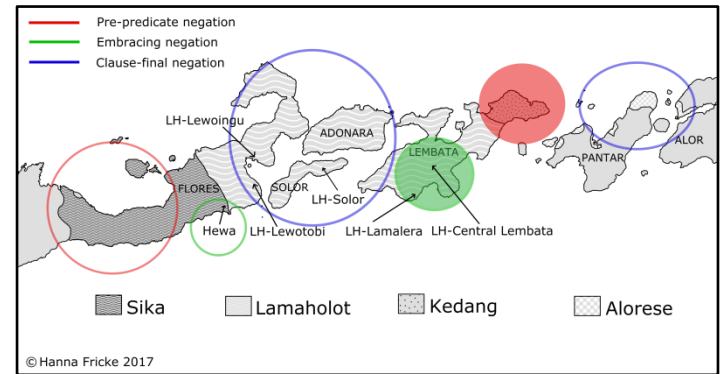
(6) LH-Lamalera

T-ai fulâ pé tana di **taku** tegel **hala.**
1IN-go market DIST land also NEG see NEG

'When we went to the market, we could not see the island.' (Keraf 1978:232)

Double negation

Negation patterns in Flores-Lembata languages



(7) LH-Central Lembata

Ta-na mojip **si.**
 NEG-3SG live NEG

'It does not live.'

Double negation

(C1:163)

(8) Kedang

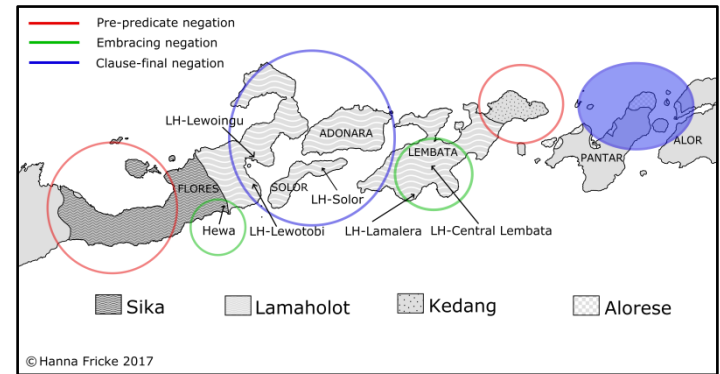
Wèi **ohaq** in=u.
 water NEG drink.1s=pp.1s

'I don't drink water.'

Pre-predicate negation

(Samely 1991:74)

Negation patterns in Flores-Lembata languages



(9) Alorese

No n-oring
3SG 3SG-know

lahe.
NEG

'He doesn't know.'

Clause-final negation

(Moro 2016)

Jespersen Cycle for Flores-Lembata

Jespersen Stage	Pattern	Languages
1	NEG ...	Sika Kedang
2	NEG ... NEG	Hewa LH-Central Lembata LH-Lamalera
3	... NEG	LH-Lewotobi LH-Lewoingu LH-Solor Alorese

4. Diachronic development

Proto-Flores-Lembata
pre-predicate negation

Contact to a
Papuan language

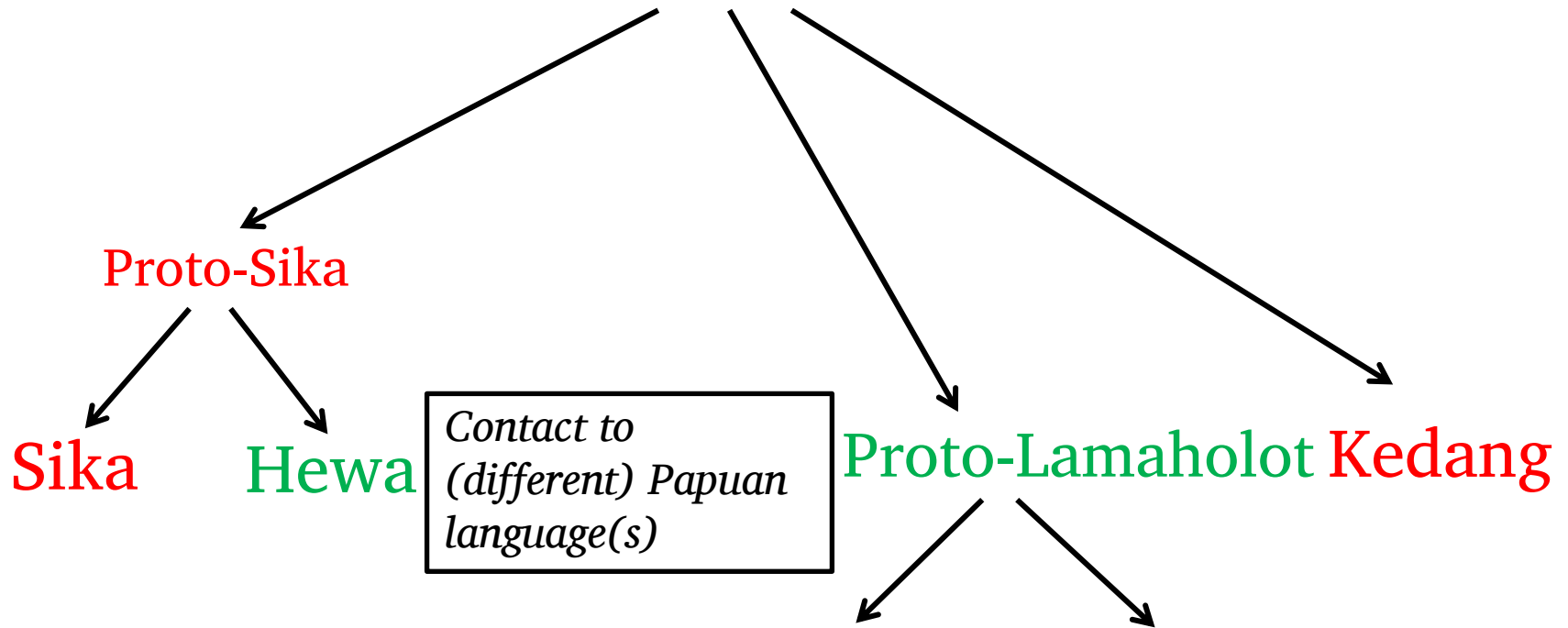
Sika and Kedang

→ pre-predicate negation

Hewa and Lamaholot

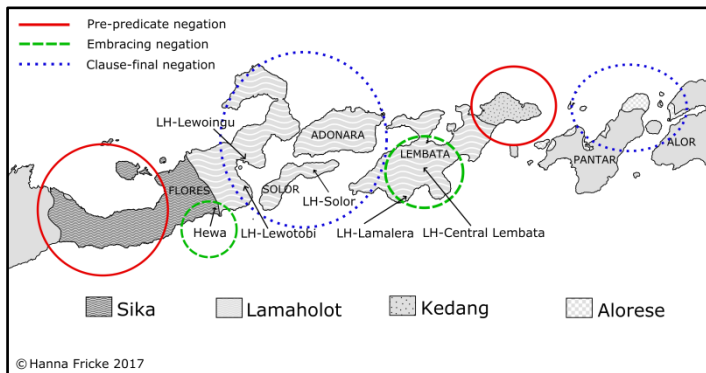
→ clause-final negation
particle

Option 1: Proto-Flores-Lembata

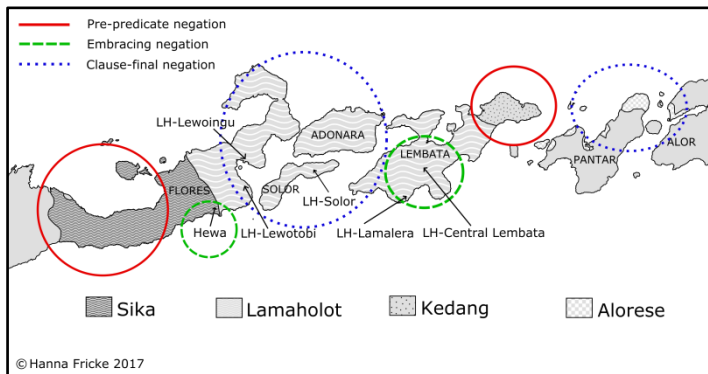
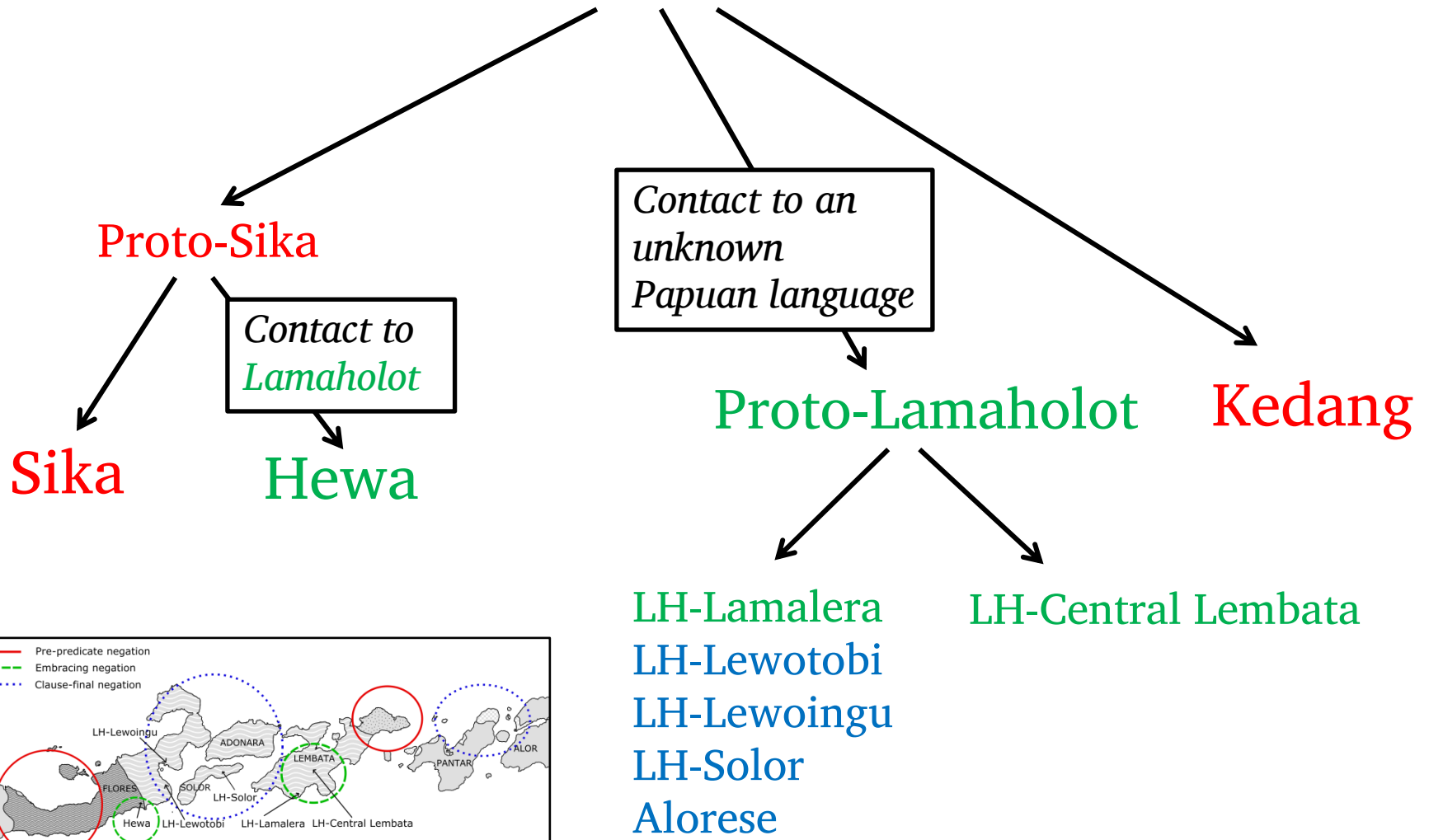


LH-Lamalera
 LH-Lewotobi
 LH-Lewoingu
 LH-Solor
 Alorese

LH-Central Lembata



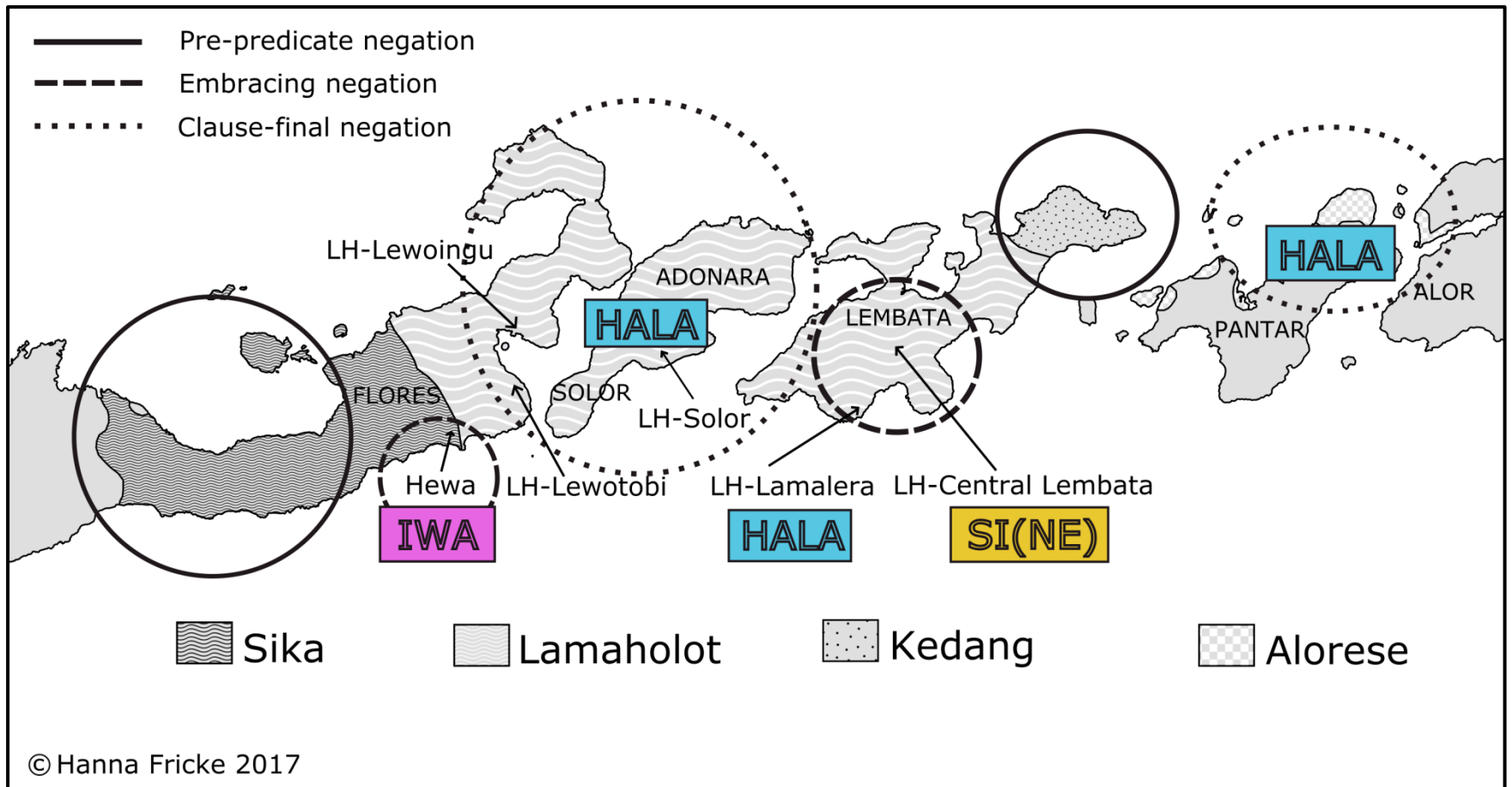
Option 2: Proto-Flores-Lembata



Why contact-induced?

- Area characterized by contact between Austronesian and Papuan languages → diffusion of features (Ewing and Klamer 2010; Klamer et al. 2008:10;136)
- Lamaholot: non-Austronesian substrate has been suggested (several “Papuan” features) (Klamer 2012)
- Clause-final negation in Austronesian languages is (so far) ONLY found in areas close to languages of other families (Vossen 2016:88,120)

Clause-final negators



Clause-final negators

Variety	Clause-final negator	Cognate sets	Subgrouping
LH-Lewotobi	<i>həla?</i>	HALA	Western Lamaholot
LH-Lewoingu	<i>hala?</i>		
LH-Solor	<i>la</i>		
Alorese	<i>lahe</i>		
LH-Lamalera	<i>hala</i>		
LH-Central Lembata	<i>si(ne)</i>	SI	Central Lamaholot
Hewa	<i>iva</i>	IWA	Hewa

Clause-final negators

Variety	Clause-final negator	Cognate sets	Subgrouping
LH-Lewotobi	<i>həlaʔ</i>	HALA	Western Lamaholot
LH-Lewoingu	<i>halaʔ</i>		
LH-Solor	<i>la</i>		
Alorese	<i>lahe</i>		
LH-Lamalera	<i>hala</i>		
LH-Central Lembata	<i>si(ne)</i>	SI	Central Lamaholot
Hewa	<i>iva</i>	IWA	Hewa

Clause-final negation

Embracing negation

Conclusions (1)

- Negators group according to genetic affiliation not according to negation patterns
 - > Double negation has developed in several varieties partly independently
- Most Western Lamaholot varieties have lost the pre-predicate negator by now

Etymology of clause-final negators

Variety	Clause-final negator	Cognate sets	Sources
LH-Lewotobi	<i>həlaʔ</i>	HALA	PMP *salaq ‘wrong, mistake’
LH-Lewoingu	<i>halaʔ</i>		
LH-Solor	<i>la</i>		
Alorese	<i>lahe</i>		
LH-Lamalera	<i>hala</i>		
LH-Central Lembata	<i>si(ne)</i>	SI	LH-Central Lembata <i>si(ne)</i> ‘a bit’
Hewa	<i>iva</i>	IWA	unknown

→ Lamaholot: Grammaticalization of inherited words

→ Hewa: innovation

Conclusions (2)

- The “new” clause-final negators are NOT borrowed from a Papuan language but grammaticalized language-internal material
 - ⇒ Contact-induced grammaticalization
 - ⇒ Structural borrowing
 - ⇒ Indication for long-term bilingualism of a mixed population

Further research

- Examine other features of the language that show Papuan influence in the same way
 - Possessive constructions
 - Word order of possessor and possessed
 - Alienability distinction
 - Locative constructions
 - Focus particle
- Answer the questions:
 - When and where did contact take place?
 - What were the circumstances of the contact scenarios?

Conclusions

- What do synchronic data say about the past?
- In Eastern Indonesia, Austronesian languages changed their structure due to contact with Papuan speakers
 - Alorese simplified morphology
 - Flores-Lembata adopted final negators
- What kind of speakers, which type of contact?

Conclusions:

Morphological simplification

- Today's Alorese has **many L2 speakers**
- Compared to Alorese L1 speakers, L2 speakers with a Papuan L1 show significantly **reduced** agreement morphology
- **Morphological simplification** is expected to occur in speech communities with a language that is used in **trade** and in various **other communicative** domains, and where L2 speakers form the larger segment of the population.
- Alorese loss of morphology is due to the large proportion of Papuan L2 speakers in Alorese communities

Conclusions:

Structural borrowing

- Structural borrowings like the adoption of final negations typically occur in communities of mixed populations with **long-term bilingualism**
- The final negation structures developed independently in two sub-branches of the AN family (Proto-Lamaholot; Hewa), so there must have been at least **two independent contact situations**
- While today no Papuan languages are spoken in Flores-Lembata, in the past **several mixed communities with bilingual speakers** of AN and Papuan must have lived there
- As only AN languages survived, the **Papuan** language(s) must have had **lower status** in these communities

Thank you!

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