

# New Substrate Evidence in Lamaholot: Data from Central Lembata

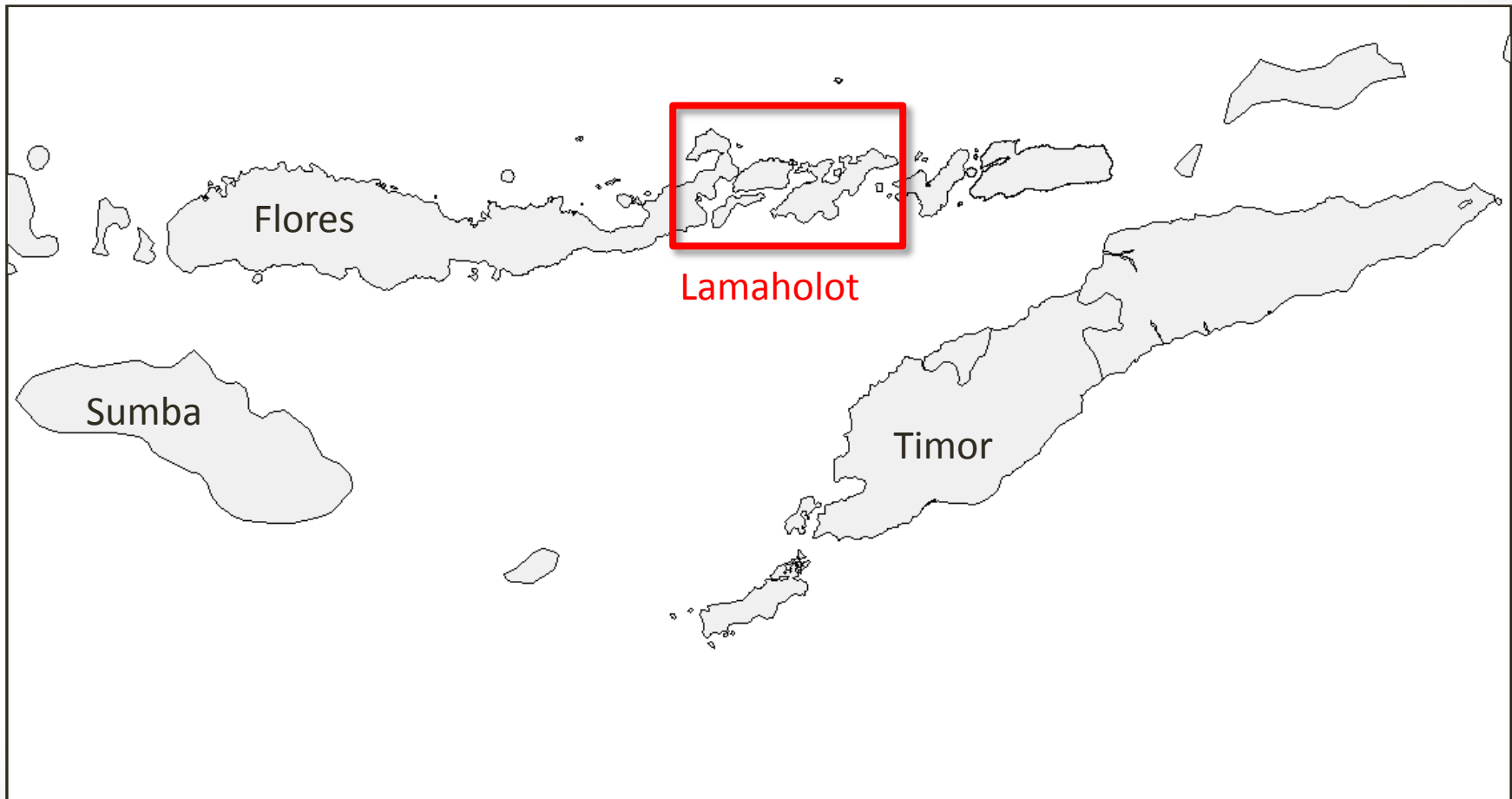


Hanna Fricke  
Leiden University  
13 May 2016  
APLL8 at SOAS London

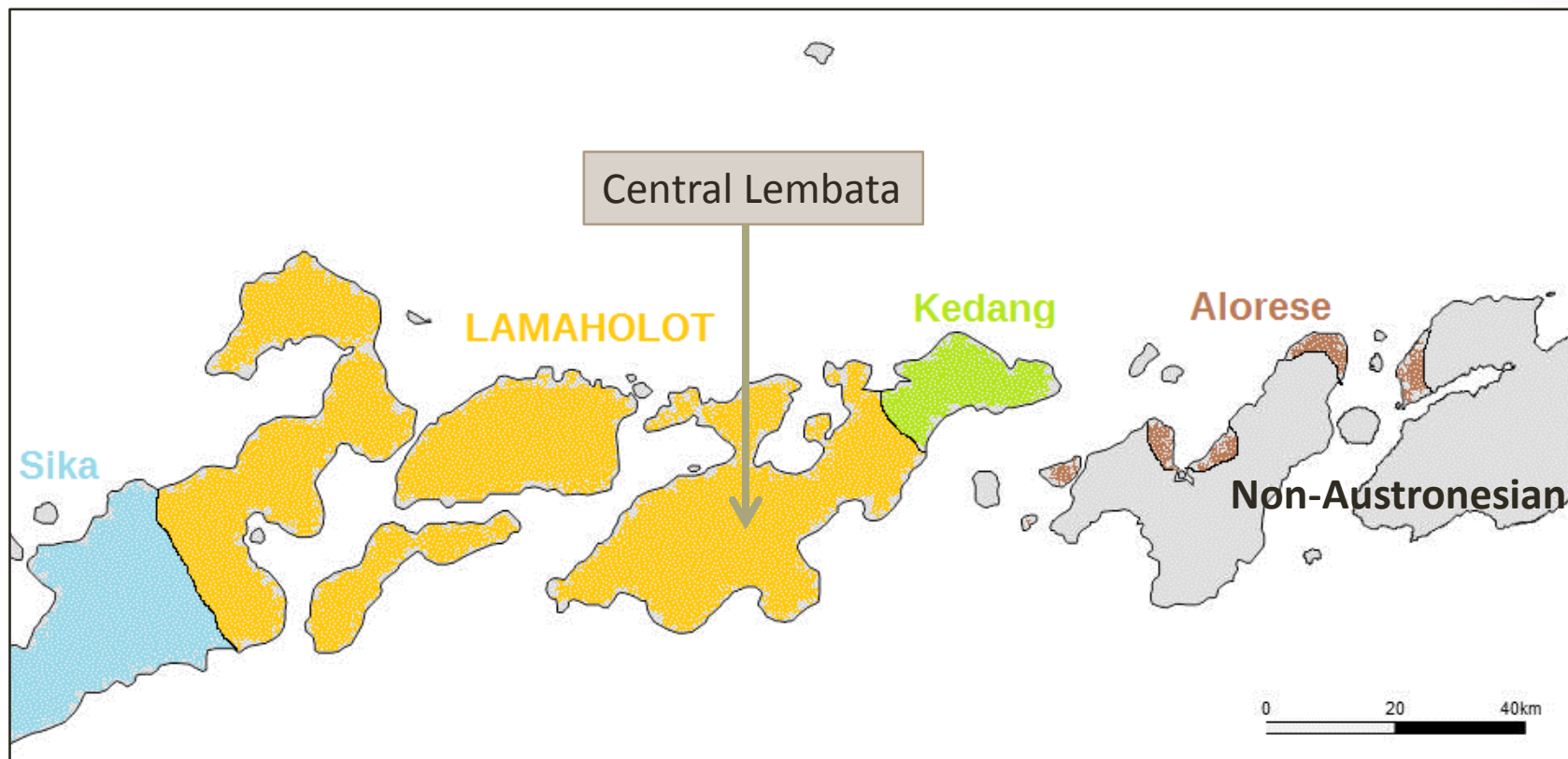
# Indonesia



# Province Nusa Tenggara Timur



# Lamaholot dialect chain (Austronesian)



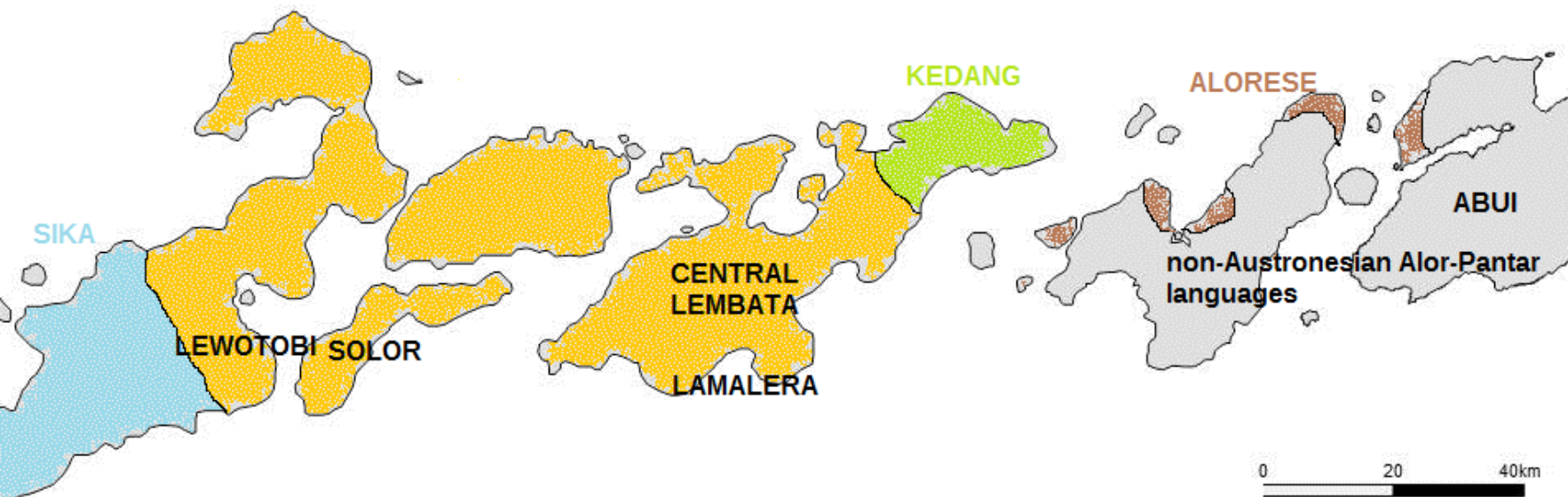
# Central Lembata

- undescribed variety of Lamaholot
- 5 villages in the central mountains on the island of Lembata
- 3000-4000 speakers
- **nouns** behave differently than in Lamaholot varieties described so far

# Overview

1. Synchronic description of nominal forms
2. Diachronic development of the plural suffix -a

# Nouns from Flores to Alor



	Sika	Lewotobi	Solor	Lamalera	C. Lembata	Kedang	Alorese	Abui
'dog'	ahu	aho	aho	ao	au aor aoja	au	aho	kaai
'stone'	watu	wato	wato	fato	watu wator watoja	wa'	fato	wi

# Nouns in Central Lembata

1. Alienably possessed nouns
  - A. two singular forms + one plural form (60%)
  - B. one singular form + one plural form (40%)
2. Inalienably possessed nouns
3. Unpossessed nouns

# Nouns in Central Lembata

## 1. Alienably possessed nouns

A. two singular forms + one plural form (60%)

B. one singular form + one plural form (40%)

## 2. Inalienably possessed nouns

## 3. Unpossessed nouns

# Alienably possessed nouns

	Type A	Type B
Singular	<b>kopong</b> <b>kopo</b>	<b>manuk</b>
Plural	<b>kopong-a</b>	<b>manus-a</b>
GLOSS	'child'	'chicken'

# Alienably possessed nouns

	Type A	Type B
Singular	<b>kopong</b> NOUN.C <b>kopo</b> NOUN.V	<b>manuk</b>
Plural	<b>kopong-a</b>	<b>manus-a</b>
GLOSS	'child'	'chicken'

# Distribution of NOUN.V / NOUN.C

## 1. Modified nouns

NOUN.C → definite suffix *-u* or plural suffix *-a*

NOUN.V → followed by adjective, numeral, noun

## 2. Bare nouns

NOUN.C → preverbal noun (subject or fronted object)

NOUN.V → postverbal noun (object)

# Modified nouns

## 1. Noun modified by adjective, noun or numeral

- (1) **Kopo** binen guwal bal.  
child.V woman.C throw ball

*The girl throws a ball.*

FH1:8

## 2. Nouns with suffix

- (2) Go tutu **aper-u** snarêk.  
1SG tell fire.C-DEF first

*I tell about the first fire.*

N3:1

# Bare nouns

## 1. Subject position or fronted object

(3) **Wator** wo kedak.  
stone.C DIST big

*That stone is big.*

N:21

## 2. Postverbal object position

(4) Na bote-na kopo.  
3SG carry-3SG.OBJ child.V

*He carries the child away.*

L3:274

# The plural suffix -a

- Internal source of the morpheme
- Contact-induced grammaticalization

# Alienably possessed nouns

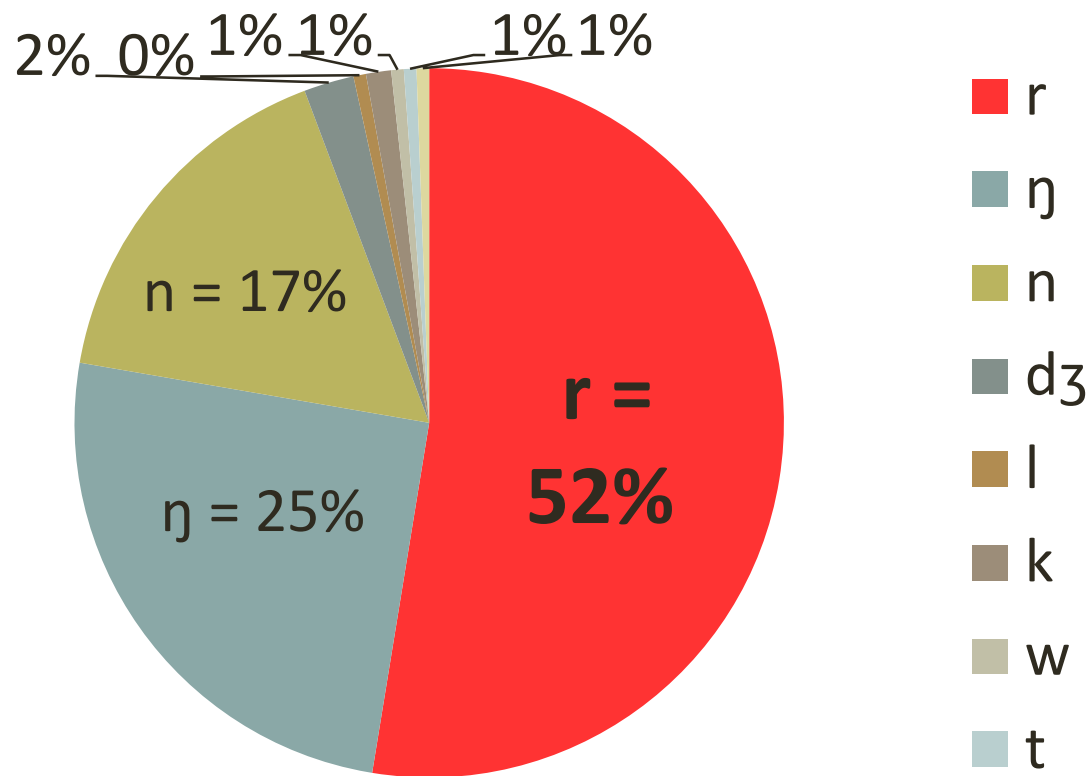
	Type A	Type B
Singular	<b>kopong</b> kopo	<b>manuk</b>
Plural	<b>kopong-a</b>	<b>manus-a</b>
GLOSS	'child'	'chicken'
Total: 292	175 (ca. 60%)	117 (ca. 40%)

Distribution Type A / Type B:

→ related to the **final consonant** of the noun

# Final C-Phonemes of **Type A** nouns

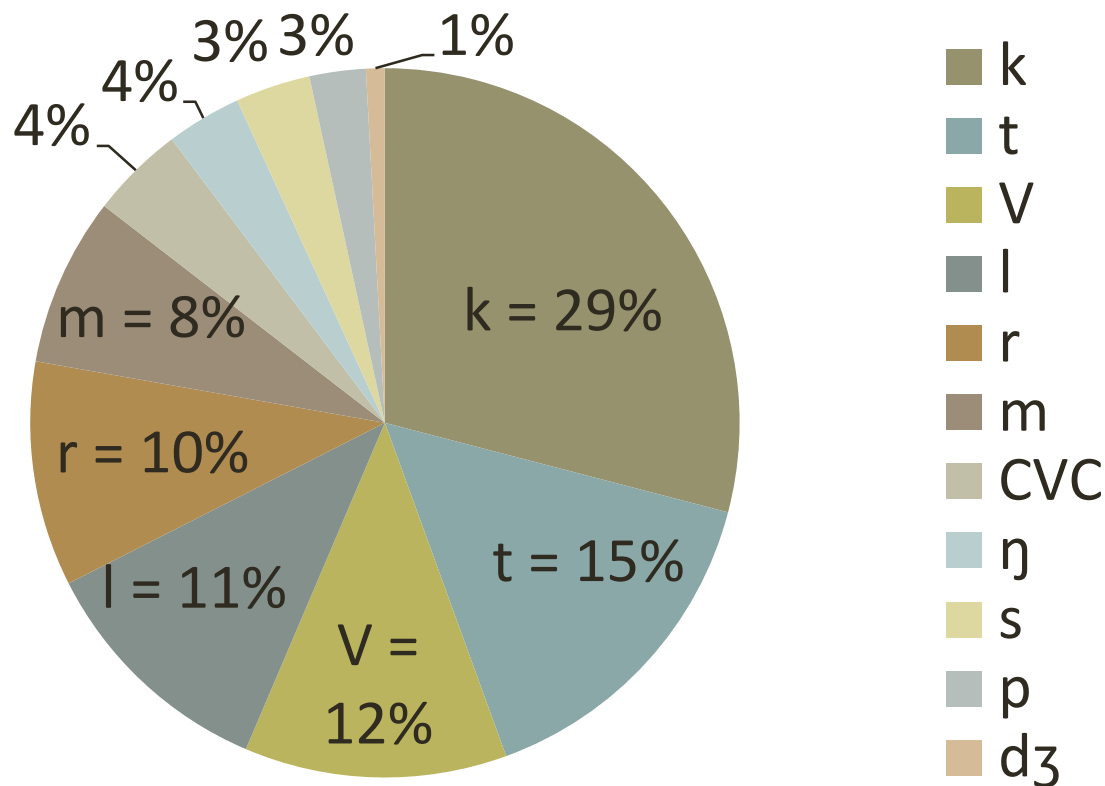
Example: 'stone' Singular: **watu** / **wator**; Plural: **watoja**



Total: 175 nouns

# Final Phonemes of **Type B** nouns

Example: 'chicken' Singular: **manuk**; Plural: **manusa**



Total: 117 nouns

# Final phonemes of alienably possessed nouns

## Type A: **r, ŋ** or **n**

- **r** is overrepresented word-finally

r: all words only 7%, Type A nouns over 50%

## Type B: **k, t, V, l, r, m**

- **V** is underrepresented word-finally

V: all words 47%, Type B nouns 12%

# -r as a historic suffix

- /r/ is overrepresented as coda of Type A nouns
- NOUN.r -> many vowel/glide final proto forms

# Origin of Type A NOUN.r

NOUN.V	NOUN.C	Gloss	Etymology <sup>1</sup>			Source
<b>api</b>	aper	'fire'	PMP	*hapuy	'fire'	B&T
<b>kaju</b>	kajor	'wood, tree'	PMP	*kahiw	'wood, tree'	B&T
<b>muku</b>	mukor	'banana'	PTAP	*mugu	'banana'	Schapper et al (2014:111)
<b>au</b>	aor	'dog'	PMP	*asu	'dog'	B&T
<b>kutu</b>	kutor	'head louse'	PMP	*kutu	'head louse'	B&T

1 **PMP**: Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, **PTAP**: Proto-Timor-Alor-Pantar

2 **B&T**: Blust and Trussel's Austronesian Comparative Dictionary online at <http://www.trussel2.com/acd/>

# Historic development

- Vowel final nouns got the suffix -r
- Possible language-internal source for
  - historic final -r
  - plural suffix -a

# Plural marking of nouns

	Type A		Type B
Singular	<b>kopong</b> kopo	<b>wator</b> watu	<b>manuk</b>
Plural	<b>kopong-a</b>	<b>watoj-a</b>	<b>manus-a</b>
GLOSS	'child'	'stone'	'chicken'

Final C = /r/                      => PL -j-a

Final C = /p,t,k/                  => PL -s-a

Any other Final C                => PL -C-a

# Possessor suffixes and plural suffix

## plural suffixes

Final C = /r/                   => PL **-j-a**

Final C = /p,t,k/               => PL **-s-a**

Any other Final C              => PL -C-a

## possessor suffix

1SG       -ga

2SG       -m

3SG       -n

1IN       **-sa**

1EX       -m

2PL       -m

3PL       **-ja**

# Possessor suffixes and plural suffix

## plural suffixes

Final C = /r/	=> PL <b>-j-a</b>
Final C = /p,t,k/	=> PL <b>-s-a</b>
Any other Final C	=> PL -C-a

## possessor suffix

1SG	-ga
2SG	-m
3SG	-n
1IN	<b>-sa</b>
1EX	-m
2PL	-m
3PL	<b>-ja</b>

Lamalera Lamaholot: **-ri** '3PL.POSS'  
Many LH varieties: **ra** '3PL'  
Sika: **rimu** '3PL'

# 3PL.POSS => PL / SG

1. Contraction of V-final noun and 3PL.POSS pronoun

<b>au</b>	+ <b>ra</b>	→	<b>ao-ra</b>
dog	+ <b>3PL.POSS</b>		their dog(s)

# 3PL.POSS => PL / SG

## 1. Contraction of V-final noun and 3PL.POSS pronoun

<b>au</b>	+ <b>ra</b>	→	<b>ao-ra</b>
dog	+ 3PL.POSS		their dog(s)

## 2. Generalization to plural number

<b>aora</b>	→	<b>aora</b>
'their dog(s)'		'dog.PL'

# 3PL.POSS => PL / SG

1. Contraction of V-final noun and 3PL.POSS pronoun

<b>au</b>	+ <b>ra</b>	→	<b>ao-ra</b>
dog	+ 3PL.POSS		their dog(s)

2. Generalization to plural number

<b>aora</b>	→	<b>aora</b>
'their dog(s)'		'dog.PL'

3. Reanalysis of final -a as plural marker

<b>aor-a</b>	<b>aor</b>
'dog- <b>PL</b> '	'dog. <b>SG</b> '

# 3PL.POSS => PL / SG

1. Contraction of V-final noun and 3PL.POSS pronoun

<b>au</b>	+ <b>ra</b>	→	<b>ao-ra</b>
dog	+ 3PL.POSS		their dog(s)

2. Generalization to plural number

<b>aora</b>	→	<b>aora</b>
'their dog(s)'		'dog.PL'

3. Reanalysis of final -a as plural marker

<b>aor-a</b>	<b>aor</b>
'dog-PL'	'dog.SG'

4. /r/ → /dʒ/ in intervocalic position or before /a/

<b>aoj-a</b>	<b>aor</b>
dog.PL	dog.SG

# 3PL.POSS => PL / SG

1. Contraction of V-final noun and 3PL.POSS pronoun

<b>au</b>	+ <b>ra</b>	→	<b>ao-ra</b>
dog	+ 3PL.POSS		their dog(s)

2. Generalization to plural number

<b>aora</b>	→	<b>aora</b>
'their dog(s)'		'dog.PL'

3. Reanalysis of final -a as plural marker

<b>aor-a</b>	<b>aor</b>
'dog-PL'	'dog.SG'

4. /r/ → /dʒ/

**aoja**  
dog.PL

**aor**  
dog.SG  
dog.C

**au**  
dog.SG  
dog.V

# Why did C Lembata develop a morphological plural marking on nouns?

## Contact-induced grammaticalization

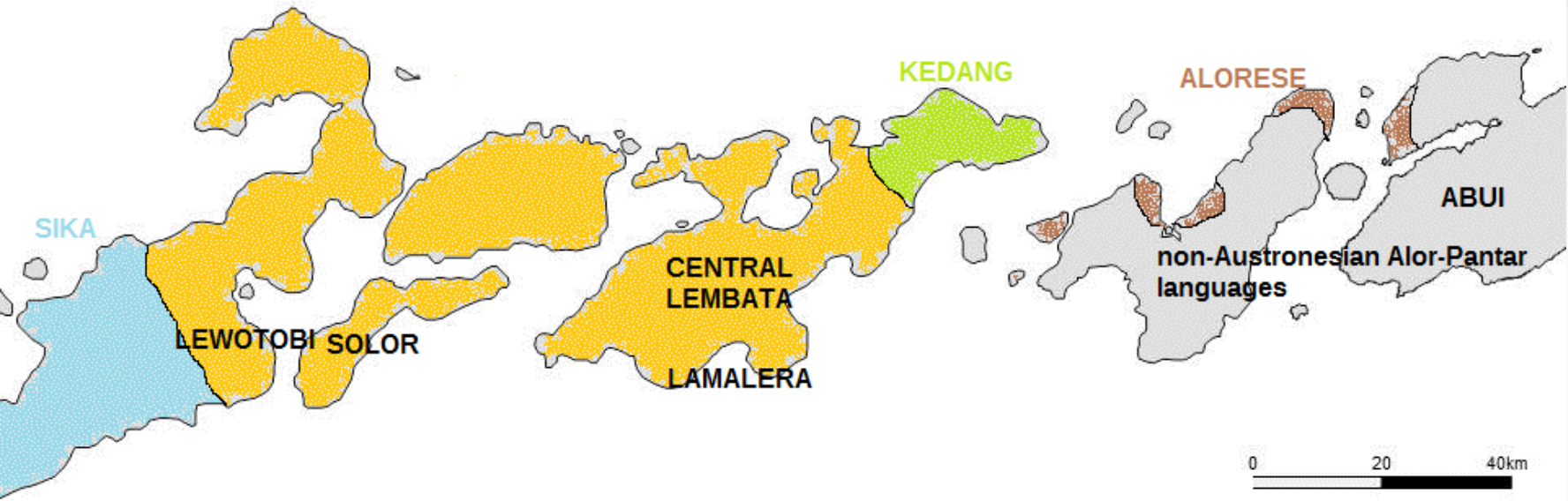
(Heine&Kuteva 2005:80)

3PL free possessor pronouns → general plural suffix

→ language internal process

Why contact-induced?

# Nouns from Flores to Alor



	Sika	Lewotobi	Solor	Lamalera	C. Lembata	Kedang	Alorese	Abui
'dog'	ahu	aho	aho	ao	au aor aoja	au	aho	kaai
'stone'	watu	wato	wato	fato	watu wator watoja	wa'	fato	wi

# Nominal plural in the area

- Closely related Austronesian languages:
  - no plural marking on nouns
- Plural suffixes are **untypical for Austronesian** languages in general

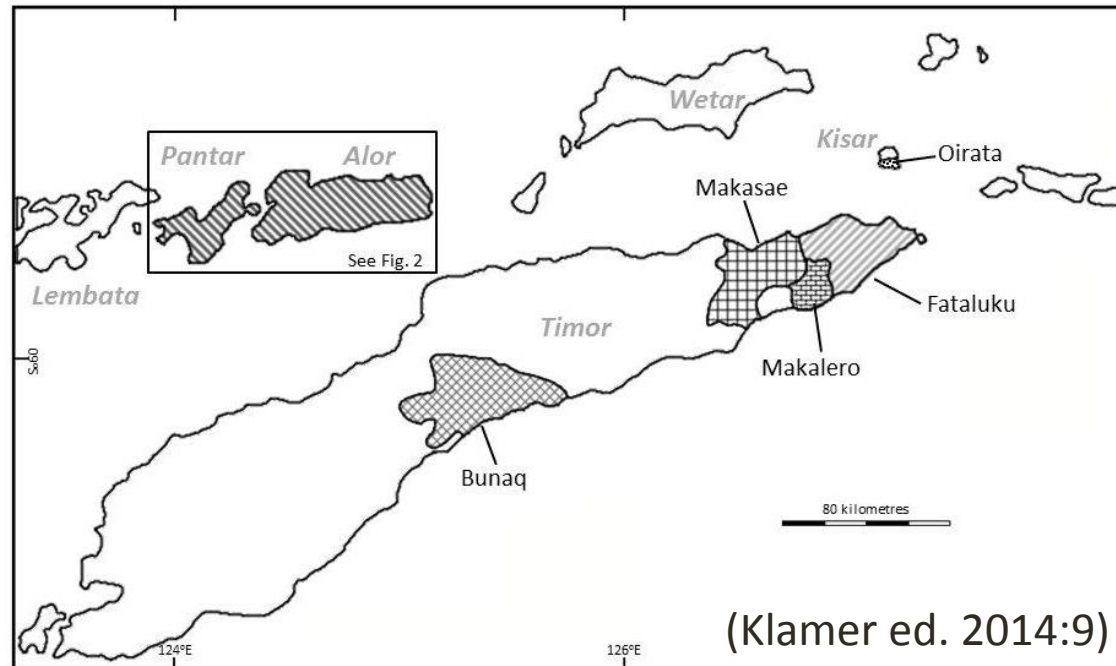
# Nominal plural in the area

## Non-Austronesian Timor-Alor-Pantar family

**Makasae:** plural suffix **-la** (Huber 2008:14)

**Fataluku:** plural enclitic **=ere** (Heston 2015:21)

**Alor-Pantar lgs.:** postnominal plural words  
(Klamer, Schapper & Corbett 2014:377)



# Non-Austronesian substrate in Lamaholot

→ has been suggested before (Klamer 2012:104)

## Substrate features in Lamaholot

- preposed nominal possessor
- postposed locational noun
- alienably/inalienably distinction
- postpredicate negation
- **nominal plural suffix for alienably possessed nouns**

# Thank you!

