What is spoken in Atadei (Lembata)?

A language, a dialect, or a dialect cluster?

Daniel Krauße
University of Newcastle, Australia
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Content

1  The Language: Atadei
2  Dialect or Language?
3  Parameters for a Dialect/Language
   1  Mutual intelligibility
   2  Lexical evidence
   3  Phonological evidence
   4  Morphological evidence
   5  Syntactic evidence
4  Conclusion
The Language: Atadei

- spoken in Kecamatan Atadei, Kabupaten Lembata, NTT
The Language: Atadei

- spoken in Kecamatan Atadei, Kabupaten Lembata, NTT
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:

  Austronesian
  - (9 Formosan groups)
  - (24 groups) Malayo-Polynesian
    - Central/Eastern Malayo-Polynesian
      - (Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian) Central Malayo-Polynesian
        - (9 groups) Flores-Lembata
          - (Kedang) Sika-Lamaholot
            - (Sike) Lamaholotic
              - (Lamaholot Barat) (Lamaholot Timur) Lamaholot Tengah
                - (Lewo-Eleng) Levuka-Atadei
                  - Atadei
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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• Mutual intelligibility
  • Can people from Beijing understand people from Hong Kong speaking Cantonese? X
  • Can people from Denmark understand Norwegians when they both speak their own language? ✓
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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? ✓

• 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 (Krauße 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)

(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)
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

• Lexical evidence
• Phonological evidence
• Morphological evidence
• Syntactic evidence

only asymmetrical language
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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Shared cognacy:
- Atadei <> Kalikasa: 75%
- Atadei <> Lewokukun: 72%
- Atadei <> Lewuka: 71%
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### Shared Cognacy:
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- Atadei <> Hewa: 28%

### Other 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 /ʋ/, never as /v/ as in other varieties (e.g. Adonara Barat, Lewotobi)
- vowel inventory differs mainly in nasalization feature
**Parameter ③: Phonology**

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<tr>
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<th>Word</th>
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<td>‘our’</td>
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**Parameter ③: Phonology**

- Atadei (Krauße 2016:118)

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- **Ikan** ‘fish’
- **Ekan** ‘earth’
- **Mitəm** ‘black’
- **Ləyən** ‘day’

- **Ikā** ‘fish’
- **Ekā** ‘universe’
- **Mitē** ‘black’
- **Lerō** ‘day’
Parameters for a Dialect/Language

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

- only asymmetrical
- only 70-75% similarity to closest relative
- no nasalization, some phonemes differ

Language
Language?
Language?
### Parameter ④: Morphology

**Pronominal morphology in Atadei:**

<table>
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<th>subject</th>
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<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>goən</td>
<td>N goən</td>
<td>go V/N</td>
<td>N-(ə)g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>moən</td>
<td>N moən</td>
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<td>N-(ə)m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>nane</td>
<td>N nən</td>
<td>nə V/N</td>
<td>N-(ə)n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.IN</td>
<td>tite</td>
<td>N tite</td>
<td>ti(te) V/N</td>
<td>N-(ə)hə*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EX</td>
<td>kame</td>
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<td>kam V/N</td>
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<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>mio</td>
<td>N mion</td>
<td>mio V/N</td>
<td>N-(ə)i, -ya</td>
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* allomorphs: -(a)ha, -(u)hu

**Kalikasa (Fricke 2017a):**

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<td>ti(te) V/N</td>
<td>N-(ə)hə*</td>
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<td>kame</td>
<td>N kame</td>
<td>kam V/N</td>
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<tr>
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<td>mio</td>
<td>N mion</td>
<td>mio V/N</td>
<td>N-(ə)i, -ya</td>
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<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>dane</td>
<td>N dane</td>
<td>deə V/N</td>
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* allomorphs: -(ə)ha, -(u)hu

## Kalikasa (Fricke 2017):

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>free</th>
<th>alienable</th>
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<td>?</td>
<td>mio V</td>
<td>ma V</td>
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<td>?</td>
<td>da(ne) V</td>
<td>da V</td>
<td>N-i(-d3a)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Parameter ④: Morphology

- Possessive pronouns

(3) goe unan
    1SG.POSS house
    “my house” (Fricke 2017a:758)

(4) lango go’en / lango-kə
    house 1SG.POSS house-1SG.POSS
    “my house” (Nishiyama & Kelen 2007:23)

(5) gɔ lango-ka / lango go’ena
    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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lewoingu</th>
<th>Adonara Barat</th>
<th>Solor</th>
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<td>tit(ə) lima-te</td>
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<td>ra’e lima-nə</td>
<td>lima ra’en(ə)</td>
<td>lima-ka</td>
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* alternatively: -no
** alternatively: -ne
Parameter ④: Morphology

- Verb paradigms

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<td>takā</td>
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<td>makā</td>
<td>ga</td>
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<td>gen</td>
<td>gē</td>
<td>ga</td>
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<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
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**Parameter ④: Morphology**

- Verb paradigms

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<td>k-enū</td>
<td>k-εn</td>
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<td>m-enū</td>
<td>m-εn</td>
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<td>m-εn</td>
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### Parameter ④: Morphology

- Verb paradigms

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<td>ia(-ko)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ia(-ka)</td>
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<td>ia’-kən</td>
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<td>2pl</td>
<td>ia’-ke</td>
<td>ia(-kə)</td>
<td>m-ia</td>
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<td>3pl</td>
<td>ia’-ka</td>
<td>ia(-ka)</td>
<td>d-ia</td>
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## Parameter ④: Morphology

- **Verb paradigms**

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<td>2sg</td>
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<td>m-a’i(-kə)</td>
<td>m-εi</td>
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<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>r-a’i-ka</td>
<td>r-a’i(-ka)</td>
<td>d-εi</td>
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Parameters for a Dialect/Language

✓ Mutual intelligibility  
only asymmetrical

✓ Lexical evidence  
only 70-75% similarity to closest relative

✓ Phonological evidence  
no nasalization, some phonemes differ

✓ Morphological evidence  
pronouns differ slightly, different verb classes

• Syntactic evidence

language

language?

language?
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Language/variety</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pre-predicate</td>
<td>Kedang</td>
<td>oha?</td>
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<td>Sika</td>
<td>ene</td>
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<td>embracing</td>
<td>Hewa</td>
<td>eʔo(n)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Central Lembata</td>
<td>ta/tak</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lamalera</td>
<td>taku</td>
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<td>clause-final</td>
<td>Lewotobi</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>Solor</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alorese</td>
<td>...</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(data from Fricke 2017b)
Parameter ⑤: Syntax

- Negation
  - What about Atadei?

(7) (Də) **tak**  d-ia  rəbe  **hi.**  
    3PL.SUBJ NEG  3PL-live  here  NEG
    “They don’t live here” (Krauße 2016:124)

(8) **Rəbê**  **tak**  no  kənik.  
    HERE  NEG  THERE.IS  rice
    “There is no rice here.” (Krauße 2016:125)
Parameter ⑤: Syntax

- Negation
  - What about Atadei?

(7) (Də)  *tak  d-ia  rəbe  hi.*  embracing pattern
  3PL.SBJ  NEG   3PL-live  here   NEG
  “They don’t live here” (Krauße 2016:124)

(8)  Rəbè  *tak  no  kənık.*  pre-predicate pattern
  HERE  NEG   THERE.IS   rice
  “There is no rice here.” (Krauße 2016:125)

→ optional clause-final negation in many cases!
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: different negation dialect?
Parameters for a Dialect/Language

- ✓ Mutual intelligibility
  - only asymmetrical

- ✓ Lexical evidence
  - only 70-75% similarity to closest relative

- ✓ Phonological evidence
  - no nasalization, some phonemes differ

- ✓ Morphological evidence
  - pronouns differ slightly, different verb classes

- ✓ Syntactic evidence
  - different negation

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 becomes 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
Literature


