The mixed lexicon of Lamaholot
(Austronesian, eastern Indonesia)

In the village of Bakan on Lembata Island

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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  - Rote-Meto Comparative Dictionary (Edwards unpublished)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

- Western Lamaholot (WL)
- Eastern Lamaholot (EL)
- Central Lamaholot (CL)

Colors:
- Blue: The Lamaholot cluster
- Light blue: Other Austronesian languages
- Red: Timor-Alor-Pantar languages

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Non-Austronesian structural features in Lamaholot

Property nouns
- POSS-N
- N-LOC
- N-NUM

Flores-Lembata

Sika
- Alorese

Western Lamaholot
- Lewoingu

Central Lamaholot
- Central Lembata

Eastern Lamaholot

Kedang

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/](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

Whole database

Kalikasa (CL) Lewoingu (WL) Lamatuka (EL)

PMP Non-PMP

158 134 69

Basic Vocabulary

Kalikasa (CL) Lewoingu (WL) Lamatuka (EL)

PMP Non-PMP

97 89 57

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

Whole database

Proto-Flores-Lembata

PMP  Non-PMP
PMP rates in comparison

(Additional data from Owen Edwards – ongoing work)

PFL = Proto-Flores-Lembata
PRM = Proto-Rote-Meto
Enggano: see Edwards 2015
Non-PMP cognate sets in Lamaholot and beyond

- 76 shared only by LH and KD
- 74 shared only among LH subgroups
- 42 shared only by LH and SK
- 39 reconstructible to PFL

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

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### Non-PMP Cognate Sets in Lamaholot and Beyond

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorization</th>
<th>LH and KD</th>
<th>LH Subgroups</th>
<th>LH and SK</th>
<th>PFL Reconstructible</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shared only by LH and KD</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shared only among LH subgroups</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared only by LH and SK</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconstructible to PFL</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legend:**
- Blue: The Lamaholot cluster
- Green: Other Austronesian languages
- Red: Timor-Alor-Pantar languages
- Purple: AN (region) + TAP

**Note:**
- PFL = Proto-Flores-Lembata
- LH = Lamaholot
- SK = Sika
- KD = Kedang

**Map:**
- Western Lamaholot (WL)
- Eastern Lamaholot (EL)
- Flores
- Sika
- Central Lamaholot (CL)
- Lembata
- Adonara
- Flore"
Non-PMP cognate sets in Lamaholot and beyond

PFL = Proto-Flores-Lembata, LH = Lamaholot, SK = Sika, KD = Kedang
Cognates of #tapu ‘coconut’

- Bima-Lembata
- Timor subgroups
- CEMP (?)
- Timor subgroups
- Malayo-Polynesian

- Bima
- Sumba-Hawu

- West/Central Flores
- Flores-Lembata
- Sika
- Western Lamaholot
- Central Lamaholot
- Eastern Lamaholot
- Kedang

- tapo
- tapu
- ta?
Cognates of #peda ‘machete’

Portuguese: espada ‘sword’ (Robinson 2013)

Timor-Alor-Pantar
- East Timor
- Alor-Pantar

Malayo-Polynesian
- CEMP (?)

Timor subgroups
- Timor-Alor-Pantar
- Bima-Lembata

Bima-Lembata
- Bima
- Sumba-Hawu
- West/Central Flores
- Flores-Lembata

Western Lamaholot
- Sika
- peda

Central Lamaholot
- peda

Eastern Lamaholot
- Kedang
- peda?
Cognates of #deko ‘trousers’

Timor-Alor-Pantar

Adang: deku
Kaera: deko

Malayo-Polynesian

CEMP (?)

Timor subgroups

Lole deko

Western Flores: deko

Western Lamaholot

Central Lamaholot

Eastern Lamaholot

Kedang deko

Sika

Western Flores: deko

Sumba-Hawu
Non-PMP cognate sets in Lamaholot and beyond

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<tr>
<td>Shared only by LH and KD</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shared only among LH subgroups</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>

PFL = Proto-Flores-Lembata, LH = Lamaholot, SK = Sika, KD = Kedang
Cognates of #elam ‘meat’

- Bima-Lembata
- Bima
- Sumba-Hawu
- West/Central Flores
  - Flores-Lembata
    - Sika
    - Western Lamaholot
    - Central Lamaholot
    - Eastern Lamaholot
    - Kedang
  - elã (only on Lembata)
  - elam
  - elã

CEMP (?)
Malayo-Polynesian
Timor subgroups

Shared only among LH subgroups
- nowhere else
- AN (region)
- TAP
- AN (region) + TAP

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Cognates of #ravuk 'body hair'

Bima

Sumba-Hawu

West/Central Flores

Flores-Lembata

Bima-Lembata

Timor subgroups

Tetun-Suai: rahuk

Western Lamaholot

Central Lamaholot

Eastern Lamaholot

Kedang

Sika

Malayo-Polynesian

CEMP (?)
Cognates of #kiri ‘comb’

Timor-Alor-Pantar

PAP *kir

(Robinson 2013)

East Timor Alor-Pantar

Bima-Lembata

Bima

Sumba-Hawu

West/Central Flores Flores-Lembata

Malayo-Polynesian

Timor subgroups

CEMP (?)

Western Lamaholot Central Lamaholot Eastern Lamaholot Kedang

Sika

kiri

kiri

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Non-PMP cognate sets in Lamaholot and beyond

PFL = Proto-Flores-Lembata, LH = Lamaholot, SK = Sika, KD = Kedang
Cognates of #lusir ‘needle’

Western Lamaholot

Central Lamaholot

Eastern Lamaholot

Kedang

Timor subgroups

Malayo-Polynesian

CEMP (?)

Bima-Lembata

Bima

Sumba-Hawu

West/Central Flores

Flores-Lembata

Sika

luhir

luhi

lusir
Cognates of #likat ‘oven’

- Bima-Lembata
  - Bima
  - Sumba-Hawu
  - West/Central Flores
  - Flores-Lembata
    - Sika: \( liʔat \)
    - Western Lamaholot: \( lika(t) \)
    - Central Lamaholot: \( lika(ŋ) \)
    - Eastern Lamaholot
      - Funai-Helong: \( tlikan \)

- Kedang
- Timor subgroups
- CEMP (?)
- Malayo-Polynesian
Cognates of #koli ‘lontar palm’

Timor-Alor-Pantar

Abui: *aikol*
Blagar: *ajkoli*

East Timor

Alor-Pantar

Bima-Lembata

Timor subgroups

Malayo-Polynesian

Palu’e: *koli*
Lio: *kʰoli*

Flores-Lembata

Western Lamaholot

Central Lamaholot

Eastern Lamaholot

Kedang

Sumber-Huwu

Bima

Sika

West/Central Flores

Bima-Lembata

CEMP (?)
Non-PMP cognate sets in Lamaholot and beyond

PFL = Proto-Flores-Lembata, LH = Lamaholot, SK = Sika, KD = Kedang
Cognates of PFL *osan ‘mat’

- Bima-Lembata
- West/Central Flores
- Sika
- Western Lamaholot
- Central Lamaholot
- Eastern Lamaholot
- Kedang
- Flores-Lembata
- Timor subgroups
- CEMP (?)
- Malayo-Polynesian
Cognates of PFL *vəki ‘body’

- **Bima-Lembata**: *weki*
- **Flores-Lembata**: *vəki*
- **West/Central Flores**: *vəki*
- **Sika**: *viʔin*
- **Western Lamaholot**: *wəkiŋ*
- **Central Lamaholot**: *vəki*
- **Eastern Lamaholot**: *vəki*
- **Kedang**: *weʔ*
- **Sumba-Hawu**: *weki*
- **Bima**: *weki*
- **Timor subgroups**: CEMP (?)
- **Malayo-Polynesian**
Cognates of PFL *motoŋ ‘marungge’

Timor-Alor-Pantar

Adang: motoŋ
Blagar: motoluŋ

East Timor
Alor-Pantar

Bima-Lembata

Bima
Sumba-Hawu
West/Central Flores
Flores-Lembata

Ancestral North (AN) subgroups

West Timor subgroups

Timor subgroups

Malayo-Polynesian

Timor-Alor-Pantar

Blagar

Bima

Sika
Western Lamaholot
Central Lamaholot
Eastern Lamaholot
Kedang

CEMP (?)

nowhere else
AN (region)
TAP
AN (region) + TAP
Cognates of PFL *muku ‘banana’

Timor-Alor-Pantar

East Timor
muʔu

Alor-Pantar
muku

PAP *mogol

Malayo-Polynesian

CEMP (?)

Kemak mu:

Bima
Sumba-Hawu
West/Central Flores
Flores-Lembata
Central Lamaholot
Western Lamaholot
Sika
Bima-Lembata
PFL *muku

Timor subgroups

West/Central Flores

Eastern Lamaholot

Kedang
muʔũ
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!