New Substrate Evidence in Lamaholot: Data from Central Lembata

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Indonesia

Nusa Tenggara Timur
Lamaholot dialect chain (Austronesian)

Central Lembata

LAMAHOLOT

Kedang

Alorese

Non-Austronesian

Sika
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sika</th>
<th>Lewotobi</th>
<th>Solor</th>
<th>Lamalera</th>
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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

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### Alienably possessed nouns

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| Singular | **kopong**  
**kopo**  | manuk  |
| Plural   | kopong-a                  | manus-a|
| GLOSS    | ‘child’                    | ‘chicken’|
## Distribution of NOUN.V / NOUN.C

1. **Modified nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>NOUN.C</td>
<td>definite suffix -u or plural suffix -a</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOUN.V</td>
<td>followed by adjective, numeral, noun</td>
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2. **Bare nouns**

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<td>NOUN.C</td>
<td>preverbal noun (subject or fronted object)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOUN.V</td>
<td>postverbal noun (object)</td>
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Modified nouns

1. Noun modified by adjective, noun or numeral

   (1) **Kopo**

   *Kopo binen guwal bal.*

   *child.V woman.C throw ball*  

   *The girl throws a ball.*  

2. Nouns with suffix

   (2) **Go**

   *Go tutu aper-u snarêk.*

   *1SG tell fire.C-DEF first*  

   *I tell about the first fire.*
Bare nouns

1. Subject position or fronted object

(3) \[ \text{Wator} \quad \text{wo} \quad \text{kedak.} \]

\[ \text{stone.C} \quad \text{DIST} \quad \text{big} \]

That stone is big.

2. Postverbal object position

(4) \[ \text{Na} \quad \text{bote-na} \quad \text{kopo.} \]

\[ 3SG \quad \text{carry-3SG.OBJ} \quad \text{child.V} \]

He carries the child away.
The plural suffix -a

- Internal source of the morpheme
- Contact-induced grammaticalization
*Alienably possessed nouns*

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<td>Total: 292</td>
<td>175 (ca. 60%)</td>
<td>117 (ca. 40%)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Distribution Type A / Type B: 
\[ \Rightarrow \text{related to the final consonant of the noun} \]
Final C-Phonemes of Type A nouns

Example: ‘stone’ Singular: **watu** / **wator**; Plural: **watoja**

- **r** = 52%
- **ŋ** = 25%
- **n** = 17%
- Other phonemes: 2%

Total: 175 nouns
Final Phonemes of **Type B** nouns

Example: ‘chicken’ Singular: **manuk**; Plural: **manusa**

- **k** = 29%
- **t** = 15%
- **V** = 12%
- **l** = 11%
- **r** = 10%
- **m** = 8%
- **ŋ** = 4%
- **s** = 3%
- **p** = 3%
- **dʒ** = 1%

Total: 117 nouns
Final phonemes of alienably possessed nouns

Type A: r, ɳ 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

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<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Etymology</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<td>api</td>
<td>aper</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>PMP</td>
<td>*hapuy ‘fire’</td>
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<tr>
<td>kaju</td>
<td>kajor</td>
<td>‘wood, tree’</td>
<td>PMP</td>
<td>*kahiw ‘wood, tree’</td>
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<tr>
<td>muku</td>
<td>mukor</td>
<td>‘banana’</td>
<td>PTAP</td>
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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

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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

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- 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

au + ra → ao-ra

dog + 3PL.POSS their dog(s)
3PL.POSS => PL / SG

1. Contraction of V-final noun and 3PL.POSS pronoun
   
   **au** + **ra** → **ao-** **ra**
   
   dog + 3PL.POSS → their dog(s)

2. Generalization to plural number
   
   **aora** → **aora**
   
   ‘their dog(s)’ → ‘dog.PL’
3PL.POSS => PL / SG

1. Contraction of V-final noun and 3PL.POSS pronoun
   \[ \text{au} + \text{ra} \rightarrow \text{ao-ra} \]
   dog + 3PL.POSS \quad \text{their dog(s)}

2. Generalization to plural number
   \[ \text{aora} \rightarrow \text{aora} \]
   ‘their dog(s)’ \quad ‘dog.PL’

3. Reanalysis of final -a as plural marker
   \[ \text{aor-a} \rightarrow \text{aor} \]
   ‘dog-PL’ \quad ‘dog.SG’
3PL.POSS => PL / SG

1. Contraction of V-final noun and 3PL.POSS pronoun
   \( au \ + \ ra \rightarrow ao-ra \)
   \( \text{dog} \ + \ 3\text{PL}.\text{POSS} \rightarrow \text{their dog(s)} \)

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   \( aora \rightarrow aora \)
   ‘their dog(s)’
   ‘dog.PL’

3. Reanalysis of final -a as plural marker
   \( aor-a \rightarrow aor \)
   ‘dog-PL’
   ‘dog.SG’

4. /r/ \rightarrow /dʒ/ in intervocalic position or before /a/
   \( aoj-a \rightarrow aor \)
   \( \text{dog.PL} \rightarrow \text{dog.SG} \)
3PL.POSS => PL / SG

1. Contraction of V-final noun and 3PL.POSS pronoun
   \[\text{au} \quad + \quad \text{ra} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ao-ra}\]
   dog + 3PL.POSS  \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{their dog(s)}

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4. /r/ \rightarrow /dʒ/
   \[\text{aoja} \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{aor} \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{au}\]
   dog.PL \quad \quad \quad dog.SG \quad \quad \quad dog.SG
   dog.C \quad \quad \quad dog.V
Why did C Lembata develop a morphological plural marking on nouns?

Contact-induced grammaticalization
(Heine&Kuteva 2005:80)

3PL free possessor pronouns $\rightarrow$ general plural suffix

$\rightarrow$ language internal process

Why contact-induced?
### Nouns from Flores to Alor

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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!