The plural word *hire* in Alorese (Austronesian): Grammatical borrowing from neighboring Papuan languages

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Outline

• Plural words

• Background about Alorese (Austronesian)

• Plural word *hire* in Alorese

• Plurality among its sister languages

• Plural word(s) in neighboring Papuan (non-Austronesian) languages

• Contact-induced change (contact-induced grammaticalization)

• Scenario
Plural word

*Plural word*: a morpheme whose meaning and function is similar to that of affixes in other languages, but which is a separate word. (Dryer 1997: 865)

Lenakel (Austronesian, Vanuatu)

(1) *Kuri miin aan*
   
dog PL that
   
‘those dogs’ (Dryer 2007: 151)

- Plural words differ from ‘many’ (they do not imply more than two)
- Plural words differ from ‘many’ and ‘some’ (they do not also encode indefiniteness)
- Plural words are the sole indicators of plurality in the NP
Plural word(s) in Austronesian languages

-Dryer (1997): 66% (76/115)
-Wu (2017): 42% (54/128)

Proto Malayo-Polynesian:
*maŋa (Blust & Trussel 2010)

(Wu 2017: 59, Map 13)
Alorese (Austronesian, Indonesia)
Flores-Lembata languages
Alorese: origin

(Klamer 2011, 2012; Wellfelt 2016)
Alorese: contact with Papuan languages
The plural word *hire* in Alorese:

**ALORESE:**

1. Botol *hire* gopak kalli meja lolong
   - bottle.MLY PL put DEM.LOW table.MLY top
   - ‘(The/Some) bottles lie on the table.’

2. Mato anang *hire* kado kaluar
   - frog small PL jump go.out.MLY
   - ‘The small frogs jump out.’

\[
\text{[N ATTR NUM/PL Q DEM]}_{NP}\
\]
The plural word **hire** in Alorese:

- Plural word **hire** cannot co-occur with numerals:
  
  (3) \( \text{mato anang } (\text{hire}) \text{ namung hire} \)
  
  frog small PL six PL
  
  Intended: ‘six small frogs’

- Plural word **hire** can combine with a non-numeral quantifier

  (4) \( \text{Kame } m\text{-ei joget m-ong kabei kafae hire mafa} \)
  
  1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-go dance 1PL.EXCL-with children girl PL many
  
  ‘We go dancing with many girls.’
The plural word *hire* in Alorese:

- Plural word *hire* can convey completeness, entirety:

  (5) Go bote mo tide lalu aleng *hire* bəlara neka
      1SG hold 2SG stand then.MLY waist PL sick already
  ‘I held you while standing and then my whole back hurt.’

- Plural word *hire* can convey place, geographical origin:

  (6) Fe Austria *hire*
      3PL Austria PL
  ‘They were Austrian.’
Research question

Where does the plural word hire come from?

- Cognate of plural word hire absent in sister language(s)
- Neighboring Papuan languages all have plural words

Case of contact-induced change?
Contact-induced change: 4 requisites (Thomason 2009: 322)

(1) Prove the existence of contact between A and B

(2) Identify shared feature(s) in A and B

(3) Prove that the shared feature(s) was present in A before it came into contact with B (present in Proto-A)

(4) Prove that the shared feature(s) was NOT present in B before it came into contact with A
Plural in the sister languages

- Lamaholot Lewotobi
  no plural (Nagaya 2011)

- Lamaholot Lewoingu
  PL marker –we (very rare)
  guru-we ‘teachers/the teacher and his family’ (Nishiyama & Kelen 2007: 43)
Plural in the other related language

• Hewa

'ahan  ‘PL marker’ (?) (Fricke 2014:63)
Dedi’ anak 'ahan sementara lèbe
child small PL PROG play
‘The small children are playing…’

• Central Lembata

-a suffix ‘PL’ (Fricke, p.c.)
kopoŋ-a
child-PL
‘children’

• Kedang

no plural (Samley 1990)
Interim summary

• Plural word *maŋa reconstructed for PMP but not found in Flores-Lembata languages

• In Flores-Lembata languages, we see scattered pattern

• *Hire* ‘PL’ word in Alorese, no plural in LH Lewotobi, suffix -we in LH Lewoingu (rare), suffix –a in LH Central Lembata, no plural in Kedang, 'ahan (PL ?) in Hewa
Contact-induced change: 4 requisites (Thomason 2009: 322)

(1) Prove the existence of contact between A and B

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(4) Prove that the shared feature(s) was NOT present in B before it came into contact with A
Plural word in Proto-Alor-Pantar

- Proto-Alor-Pantar had plural word *non* (Klamer et al. 2014:409)
Plural words in Papuan AP languages

• Western Pantar

(7) Bal \textit{marung} \textit{mea} \textit{tang} \textit{pering}
ball PL table on pour
‘A bunch of balls are spread out on the table.’ (Klamer et al. 2014: 379)

• Teiwa

(8) G-oqai \textit{non} \textit{u} \textit{min-an} \textit{tau}
3SG-child PL DIST die-REAL PFV
‘Her children have died.’ (Klamer et al. 2014: 385)

[N ATTR \{(CLF) NUM/PL \} DEM ART]_{NP}
Plural words in Papuan AP languages

• Plural word cannot co-occur with numerals:

  Western Pantar

  (9) *Keʔe (maru) kealaku maru
      fish    PL   twenty    PL
      Intended: ‘twenty fish’ (Klamer et al. 2014: 382)

• Plural word can combine with a non-numeral quantifier:

  Teiwa

  (10) Wat non dum usan ma!
      coconut   PL   many  pick.up come
      ‘Pick up the many coconuts.’ (Klamer et al. 2014: 384)
Plural words in Papuan AP languages

• Plural word can convey completeness, entirety:

Western Pantar

(11) ...gai $ke\?e$ $maru$ $si$ $aname$ $ging$ $haggi$ $kanna$

3.POSS fish PL ART person 3PL.ACT take already

‘(We placed our fish traps), and then the people took all the fish.’ (Klamer et al. 2014: 398)

• Plural word can indicate membership to a clan (or origin from a place):

Teiwa

(12) Teiwa $non$ $ga\?an$ $ita\?a$ $ma$ $gi$?

clan.name PL that.KNWN where OBL go

‘Where did that group of Teiwa [people] go to.’ (Klamer et al. 2014: 404)
Research question

- Case of contact-induced change?
Contact-induced change: 4 requisites (Thomason 2009: 322)

(1) Prove the existence of contact between A and B
   *Alorese and Papuan languages on Alor and Pantar in contact since 14th c.*

(2) Identify shared feature(s) in A and B
   *Plural word(s) in Alorese and in Papuan languages of Alor and Pantar have similar syntactic/semantic properties*

(3) Prove that the shared feature(s) was present in A before it came into contact with B (present in Proto-A)
   *Proto-Alor-Pantar had plural word *non*

(4) Prove that the shared feature(s) was NOT present in B before it came into contact with A
   *Plural word hire not present in Proto Malayo-Polynesian/Proto Flores-Lembata -Innovation in Alorese*
Contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2005, p. 81)

- a. Bilingual speakers notice that in a Papuan language there is a grammatical category *plural*.

- b. They create an equivalent category *plural* in Alorese on the basis of the use patterns available in Alorese.

- c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using the 3PL *pronoun* in order to develop the category *plural*.

- d. They grammaticalize the 3PL *pronoun* (PMP *si ida*) to a *plural* marker (*hire*).

- e. They innovate the 3PL pronoun form *we/fe*.
Scenario: Proto-Flores-Lembata

Proto-Lamaholot-Alorese
PMP *si ida (3PL pronoun)

(Central) Lamaholot
- PL suffix > 3PL *si ida

(Western) Lamaholot
reflections of *sira
as 3PL pronoun

Alorese
*si ida > hire PL word
we/fe > 3PL pronoun

Contact with Papuan language(s) on Pantar

Hewa

Kedang
Conclusions

• Lack of correspondences and scattered distribution of plural morphemes in the Flores-Lembata languages (Lamaholot, Alorese, Kedang and Hewa) suggest independent development.

• Proto-Lamaholot-Alorese had a reflection of the 3PL pronoun PMP\(\ast si\) ida.

• After Alorese split from Lamaholot in the 14\textsuperscript{th} c., the form \(\ast si\) ida was reinterpreted as a plural word in Alorese (due to contact with Papuan lgs.), while it maintained its pronominal function in Western Lamaholot.

• Alorese inherited the form hire (\(\ast si\) ida) from its mother language, but borrowed the function of a plural word from neighboring Papuan languages.
Thank you!


