Reconstructing Linguistic and Social Histories of the Lamaholot region

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Leiden University
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Introduction
Introduction

1. What is the migration history of people in the Flores-Lembata region?
2. Were there non-Austronesian (NAN) speakers in the region?
Introduction

• No NAN speakers today
• Few written historical records
• Focus on linguistic evidence
• Combined with
  • oral & written historical accounts
  • certain cultural practices
Outline

Lamaholot (LMH) varieties

1. Subgroups of proto-LMH: evidence from phonology & lexicon
2. Homeland of proto-LMH
3. Migrations from LMH homeland
4. Migrations in historical times

Languages in the Flores-Lembata region

5. Non-AN contact: linguistic evidence
6. Non-AN contact: cultural evidence
Evidence for Lamaholot subgroups

Proto-Lamaholot

P-Peripherial-Lamaholot
- PL *s → h
- PL *d → r / V_V
- PL *ulu ‘head’ (< PMP *qulu)
  → PPL *kote ‘head’

P-Central-Lamaholot
- PL *h → zero
- PL *d → dʒ / V_V
- PL *tasik / tahik ‘sea’ (< PMP *tasik)
  → PCL *lodʒor ‘sea’

P-Western-Lamaholot
- PPL *r → ?
- PWLA *koker ‘meeting house’
- PWLA *k?wateʔ ‘sarong for female’

P-Eastern-Lamaholot
- PPL *k → ?
- PPL *kayu [kaju] ‘tree’ (< PMP *kahiw)
  → PEL *əso ‘tree’
Proto-Lamaholot homeland: Lembata

“Centre of gravity principle” (Sapir’s 1916: 87)
“Diversity hotspot principle” (Robbeets 2017: 6-8)
Migrations from LMH homeland before 1300

East Adonara: Homeland of Western Lamaholot (Grangé 2015:47)
Migration to Pantar
1300-1350

(Klammer 2011, 2012; Wellfelt 2016; Moro 2018:180)
Migrations from Lepan Batan around 1525

Luwuk (Sulawesi) → Seran Goran (Maluku) → Lepan Batan (Kroko Puken)

14th c. → 16th c.

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Austronesian Flores-Lembata languages
Non-Austronesian Alor-Pantar languages
Interim summary of migrations

1. Lembata was the homeland of Lamaholot & language of splitting groups moved out: before 14th C
2. Alorese moved to Pantar: in 14th C
3. Lepan Batan people moved to East Flores, Solor, Adonara, Lembata, and Pantar: in early 16th C
MP subgroups in the Flores-Lembata region

Ancient times

P Flores-Lembata

- POSS N
- N NUM

Sika
- Final NEG
- Alienability

P Lamaholot-Kedang
- Final deictic motion verbs

P Lamaholot

Kedang

PMP

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Ancient NAN-AN contact: POSS N & N NUM

**AN order:** N POSS

1. Indonesian *rumah-nya* John
   house -3SG John
   N POSS

2. Indonesian *tiga orang*
   three person
   NUM N

**NAN order:** POSS N

3. CLH-Central Lembata (Fricke to appear)
   *witi ulu-n*
   goat head-3SG
   POSS N

4. WLH-Lewoingu (Nishiyama & Kelen 2007:44)
   *hepe təlo*
   knife three
   N NUM

MP subgroups in the Flores-Lembata region

- **PMP**
  - Ancient node
    - **POSS N**
    - **N NUM**

- **P Flores-Lembata**
  - **Final deictic motion verbs**

- **Sika**
  - **Final NEG**
  - **Alienability**

- **P Lamaholot-Kedang**
  - **Final NEG**
  - **Alienability**

- **P Lamaholot**

- **Kedang**
NAN contact P-Flores
Lembata: deictic verbs

Cognate set ‘go’

Flores-Lembata group
- Sika
- W Lmh
- C Lmh
- Alorese
- Kedang

P-Alor Pantar
- P-AN

Elsewhere in E Indonesia
C-W Flores
- Rongga la’a, molo, ndua, to’o
- Kéo kai, mbana, nuka, ndua, pade

Timor
- Tetun bá
- Amarasi nao

Sumba
- Kambera lua, laku
NAN contact P-Flores-Lembata: deictic verbs

Clause-final position of verb
AN: Initial or medial  NAN/Papuan: Final
(Blust 2013: 461)  (Blust 2013: 461, 471).

(1)  ...naiʔ unuʔ  n-nao  na-kbatu=n....
     PF\textsuperscript{1}  past  3-go  3-shell=PL

(2)  Sizha  la’ʔa  zhale Borong.
     3  go  west Borong
     ‘Mereka pergi ke Borong.’  (Rongga, Arka 2016: 86)

1) PF = parent’s father (grandfather)
NAN contact P-Flores
Lembata: deictic verbs

(3) \textit{...mo je una \textit{m-ai}}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
2SG & HIGH house 2SG-go \\
\end{tabular}

‘...you go up to your house’ \textit{(C Lembata;Fricke to appear)}

(4) \textit{Nimu gawi lau \textit{n-a}}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
3SG & walk sea 3SG-go \\
\end{tabular}

‘She walks there’ \textit{(Sika, Rosen 1986: 59)}
MP subgroups in the Flores-Lembata region

PMP

Ancient times

• POSS N
• N NUM

P Flores-Lembata

• Final deictic motion verbs

Sika

• Final NEG
• Alienability

P Lamaholot-Kedang

P Lamaholot

Kedang

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NAN contact in P Lamaholot: Negation

**AN order**: NEG Pred
(Vossen & Vd Auwera 2014: 61)

**NAN order**: Pred NEG
(Reesink 2002)

\[\text{Aʔu ene raʔintang} \]
1SG NEG know

\[\text{`I don’t know`} \]
(Sika, Arndt 1931: 42)

\[\text{Ema dέna wata ʔa} \]
mother cook rice NEG

\[\text{`Mom is not cooking rice`} \]
(WLmh-Solor; Kroon 2016: 158)
Diachronic development

Proto-Flores-Lembata

NEG Pred

Sika and Kedang → NEG Pred

Lamaholot → Pred NEG

Contact to a Papuan language

(Fricke 2017)
Pred NEG

1. The Pred-NEG order is NAN
2. Structure got borrowed
3. Final NEG forms themselves are NOT borrowed but grammaticalized language-internal material:
# Forms of final NEG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Clause-final negator</th>
<th>Cognate sets</th>
<th>Subgroup</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WLH-Lewotobi</td>
<td>hala?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WLH-Lewoingu</td>
<td>hala?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WLH-Solor</td>
<td>la</td>
<td><strong>HALA</strong></td>
<td><strong>W Lamaholot</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alorese</td>
<td>lahe</td>
<td>*<em>PMP <em>salaq</em></em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WLH-Lamalera</td>
<td>hala</td>
<td>‘wrong, mistake’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLH-Central Lembata</td>
<td><em>si(ne)</em></td>
<td><strong>SI</strong></td>
<td><strong>C Lamaholot</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C Lembata <em>si(ne)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELH-Lewoeeleng</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td><strong>(I)WA</strong></td>
<td><strong>E-Lamaholot</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Summary

Ancient times

• POSS N
• N NUM

P Flores-Lembata

• Final deictic motion verbs

Sika

P Lamaholot-Kedang

• Final NEG
• Alienability

P Lamaholot

Kedang

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Weaving = typical Austronesian (Barnes 2005:154-155)

**Kedang**: traditionally weaving is prohibited (Barnes 1987:21)

**Lamaholot**: “patchwork distribution” (Barnes 1987:24) of *ikat* weaving communities and simple weaving / non-weaving communities
Summary

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Ancient times

P Flores-Lembata
  • POSS N
  • N NUM

Sika
  • Final NEG
  • Alienability

P Lamaholot-Kedang
  • Final deictic motion verbs

P Lamaholot

Kedang
  • Non-weaving communities
Proposed contact area

PLK (and later PL) + non-Austronesian language(s)

Austronesian Flores-Lembata languages
Non-Austronesian Alor-Pantar languages

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Conclusions

• All the migrations in the Flores-Lembata region we have evidence for took place after P Lmh had already split into 3 groups

• The contact with NAN languages took place earlier

• The most recent NAN contact was at the P Lamaholot level

• The lower level contact took place on Lembata as the homeland of Proto-Lamaholot and Proto-Lamaholot-Kedang

• The non-AN contact language(s) was/were typologically similar to current Alor Pantar languages
References


NAN contact P-Flores
Lembata: deictic verbs

Cognate sets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>‘go’</th>
<th>‘come’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sika</td>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>mai-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WLH</td>
<td>-a- / -ai</td>
<td>dai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLH</td>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>mene(k-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alorese</td>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>mene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kedang</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFL</td>
<td>*-ai</td>
<td>*mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>*um-ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pAP</td>
<td>*wai</td>
<td>*mai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Rongga *mai*
- Kéo *mai*
- Tetun *mai*
- Helong *maa*

- Rongga *la’a, molo, ndua, to’o*
- Kéo *kai, mbana, nuka, ndua, pade*
- Tetun *bá*