

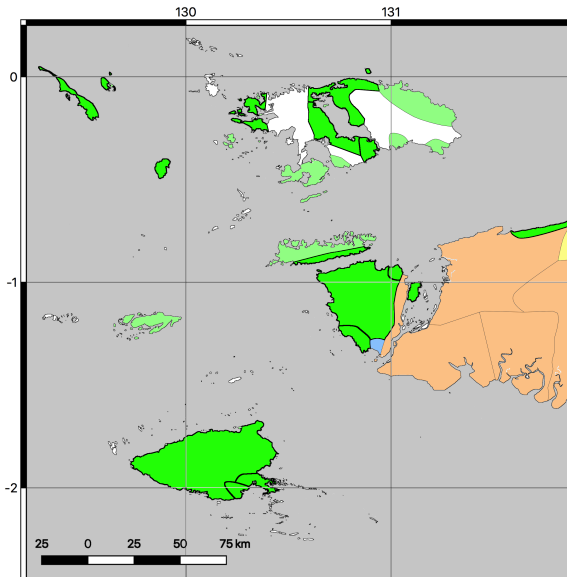
The languages of Raja Ampat: A typological and historical overview

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Meeting on the Culture, Languages, and History of Raja Ampat
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Raja Ampat languages: Phonology

- ▶ Segmental inventories: 14-15 consonants, 5-7 vowels
e.g. Salawati Ma¹ya /p b t d k g f s m n l r y w/, /i e a o u/
- ▶ Tone:
 - ▶ Ambel: High /³/
e.g. Metnyo Ambel /tu³n/ ‘moon’ vs /tun/ ‘thorn’
 - ▶ Ma¹ya, Salawati: High /³/ vs Rise /¹²/
 - ▶ Biga: High /³/ vs Extra-High /⁴/
 - ▶ Batta: High /³/ vs Rise /¹²/ vs Low /¹/
 - ▶ Matbat: Extra High Fall /⁴¹/ vs High /³/ vs Low Rise /¹²/ vs Low /¹/ vs Rise-Fall /¹²¹/ vs Low Fall /²¹/
- ▶ Lexical stress: Ma¹ya, Biga
e.g. Kawe Ma¹ya /ma¹na³/ ‘grease’ vs /¹mana³/ ‘light (of weight)’

Raja Ampat languages: Morphosyntax

► Pronouns

	SG	DU	PC	PL
1.EXCL	yen	amu ³	amtu ³ l	am
1.INCL		atu ³	atu ³ l	at
2	aw	mlu ³	mtu ³	miy
3	dem	hlu ³	htu ³ l	demh

Batta pronouns

Raja Ampat languages: Morphosyntax

► Verbal subject marking

	Class I	Class II V-initial	/t/, /d/, /h/, /b/-initial	Class III /l/, /m/, /w/-initial	/s/-initial	Class IV C-initial
	-gón 'promise'	-un 'know'	-tum 'follow'	-mát 'die'	-sun 'enter'	-mdól 'fall'
1SG	ya-gón	y-un	t<y>um	m<y>át	Ø-sun	ya-mdól
2SG	nya-gón	ny-un	N-t<y>um	N-m<y>át	N-sun	nya-mdól
3SG.AN	na-gón	n-un	N-tum	N-mát	N-sun	na-mdól
3SG.INAN	aN=na-gón	aN=n-un	aN=tum	aN=mát	aN=sun	aN=mdól
1DU.I	tuta-gón	tut-un	tut-tum	tut-mát	tu-sun	tuta-mdól
1DU.E	uma-gón	um-un	um-tum	um-mát	um-sun	uma-mdól
2DU	muma-gón	mum-un	mum-tum	mum-mát	mum-sun	muma-mdól
3DU	ula-gón	ul-un	u-tum	u-mát	u-sun	ula-mdól
1PC.I	(a)túta-gon	(a)tút-un	(a)tút-tum	(a)tút-mat	tú-sun	(a)túta-mdól
1PC.E	atúma-gon	atúm-ul	atúm-tum	atúm-mat	atúm-sun	atúma-mdól
2PC	matúma-gon	matúm-un	matúm-tum	matúm-mát	matúm-sun	matúma-mdól
3PC	atúla-gon	atúl-un	atú-tum	atú-mat	atú-sun	atúla-mdól
1PL.I	ta-gón	t-un	Ø-tum	t-mát	Ø-sun	ta-mdól
1PL.E	áma-gon	ám-un	ám-tum	ám-mat	ám-sun	áma-mdól
2PL	ma-gón	m-un	mim-tum	mim-mát	mim-sun	ma-mdól
3PL.AN	la-gón	l-un	la-tum	la-mát	la-sun	la-mdól
3NSG.INAN	sina-gón	sin-un	si-tum	si-mát	si-sun	si-mdól

Ambel verbal subject-marking paradigms

Raja Ampat languages: Morphosyntax

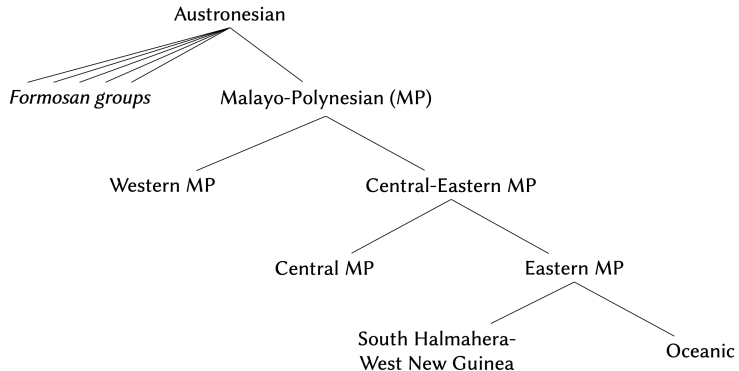
► Alienability distinction

	Kin term <i>tabyu</i> ¹² 'grandchild'	Body part <i>ka</i> ³ <i>li</i> ³ <i>f</i> 'tooth'
1SG	(ni-k) <i>tabyu</i> ¹² -g	(ni-k) <i>ka</i> ³ <i>li</i> ³ <i>f</i> -ig
2SG	(ni-m) <i>tabyu</i> ¹² -m	(ni-m) <i>ka</i> ³ <i>li</i> ³ <i>f</i> -im
3SG	(ni) <i>i</i> ³ - <i>tabyu</i>	(ni) (<i>i</i> ³ -) <i>ka</i> ³ <i>li</i> ³ <i>f</i>
1NSG	(ni-n) <i>tabyu</i> -n	(ni-n) <i>ka</i> ³ <i>li</i> ³ <i>f</i> -in
2NSG	(ni-m) <i>tabyu</i> -m	(ni-m) <i>ka</i> ³ <i>li</i> ³ <i>f</i> -im
3NSG	(ni-n) <i>tabyu</i> -n	(ni-n) <i>ka</i> ³ <i>li</i> ³ <i>f</i> -in

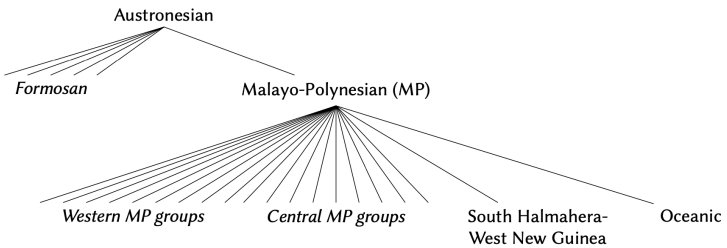
Wauyai Ma'ya inalienable possession paradigms

	<i>fa</i> ³ 'rice'	<i>wa</i> ¹² <i>g</i> 'canoe'
1SG	ni-k <i>fa</i> ³	ni-k <i>wa</i> ¹² <i>g</i>
2SG	ni-m <i>fa</i> ³	ni-m <i>wa</i> ¹² <i>g</i>
3SG	ni <i>fa</i> ³	ni <i>wa</i> ¹² <i>g</i>
1NSG	ni-n <i>fa</i> ³	ni-n <i>wa</i> ¹² <i>g</i>
2NSG	ni-m <i>fa</i> ³	ni-m <i>wa</i> ¹² <i>g</i>
3NSG	ni-n <i>fa</i> ³	ni-n <i>wa</i> ¹² <i>g</i>

Wauyai Ma'ya alienable possession paradigms

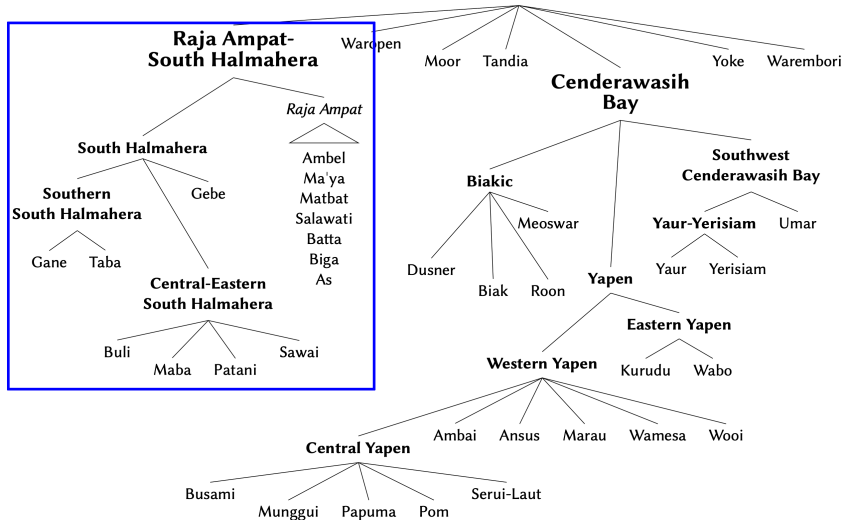


Blust (2009, 2014)



Donohue & Denham (2010)

South Halmahera- West New Guinea



After Kamholz (2014, 2015, 2017)

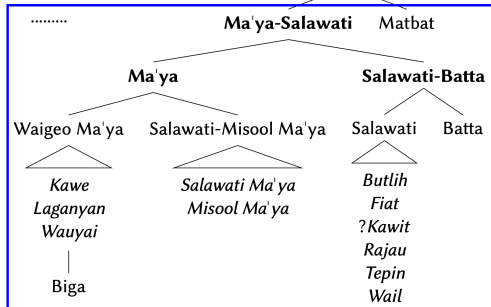
Raja Ampat- South Halmahera

South Halmahera

Ma'ya-Salawati-Matbat

As

Ambel



Verbal subject-marking paradigms (singular)

	1sg		2sg		3sg	
	V	C	V	C	V	C
Ambel	y-	<y>	ny-	n-<y>	n-	N-
As	<y>	i-<y>	m-<y>	m-<y>	n-	n-
Matbat						
Magey	k-	k-	m-	m-	n-	n-
Ma'ya						
Waigeo	y-	<y>	my-	m-<y>	ny-	n-<y>
Salawati	y-	<y>	my-	m-<y>	ny-	n-<y>
Biga	y-	<y>	m-	m-<y>	ny-	<y>
Salawati						
Fiawat	?	yə-<y>	?	?	?	?
Butlih	y-	yə-<y>	my-	mə-<y>	ny-	<y>
Tepin	y-	yə-<y>	my-	mə-<y>	ny-	<y>
Batta	y-	yə-<y>	mny-	mə-<y>	ny-	<y>

Raja Ampat- South Halmahera

South Halmahera



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Ma'ya-Salawati-Matbat

Ma'ya-Salawati

Matbat

Ambel

As

Ma'ya

Waigeo Ma'ya

Salawati-Misool Ma'ya



Kawe
Laganyan
Wauyai

Biga

Salawati Ma'ya
Misool Ma'ya

Salawati-Batta

Salawati

Batta



Butlih
Fiat
?Kawit
Rajau
Tepin
Wail

Verbal subject-marking paradigms (singular)

	1sg		2sg		3sg	
	V	C	V	C	V	C
Ambel	y-	<y>	ny-	n-<y>	n-	N-
As	<y>	i-<y>	m-<y>	m-<y>	n-	n-
Matbat						
Magey	k-	k-	m-	m-	n-	n-
Ma'ya						
Waigeo	y-	<y>	my-	m-<y>	ny-	n-<y>
Salawati	y-	<y>	my-	m-<y>	ny-	n-<y>
Biga	y-	<y>	m-	m-<y>	ny-	<y>
Salawati						
Fiawat	?	yə-<y>	?	?	?	?
Butlih	y-	yə-<y>	my-	mə-<y>	ny-	<y>
Tepin	y-	yə-<y>	my-	mə-<y>	ny-	<y>
Batta	y-	yə-<y>	mny-	mə-<y>	ny-	<y>

Proto-Salawati-Batta: Apocope

	pMS	pSB	pM
‘fish’	* ¹ yini ³	* ¹ yi ¹² n	* ¹ ini ³
‘to hear’	*- ¹ dono ³	*-do ¹² n	*- ¹ dono ³
‘paddle’	* ¹ pʊsʊ ³	* ¹ pu ¹² h	* ¹ pʊsʊ ³
‘to play’	*- ¹ byaya ³	*- ¹ bya ¹² y	*- ¹ byaya ³
‘taro’	* ¹ ka ¹ lene ³	* ¹ qə ¹ le ¹² n	* ¹ ka ¹ lene ³
‘bird’	* ¹ mani ³	* ¹ mi ¹² n	* ¹ mani ³
‘cold’	* ¹ ka ¹ bluti ³	* ¹ qə ¹ blu ¹² t	* ¹ ka ¹ bluti ³
‘to run’	*- ¹ tati ³	*- ¹ ti ¹² t	*- ¹ tati ³

Raja Ampat- South Halmahera

South Halmahera



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Ma'ya-Salawati-Matbat

Ma'ya-Salawati

Matbat

Ambel

As

Ma'ya

Waigeo Ma'ya

Salawati-Misool Ma'ya



Kawe
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Salawati Ma'ya
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Salawati-Batta

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Butlih
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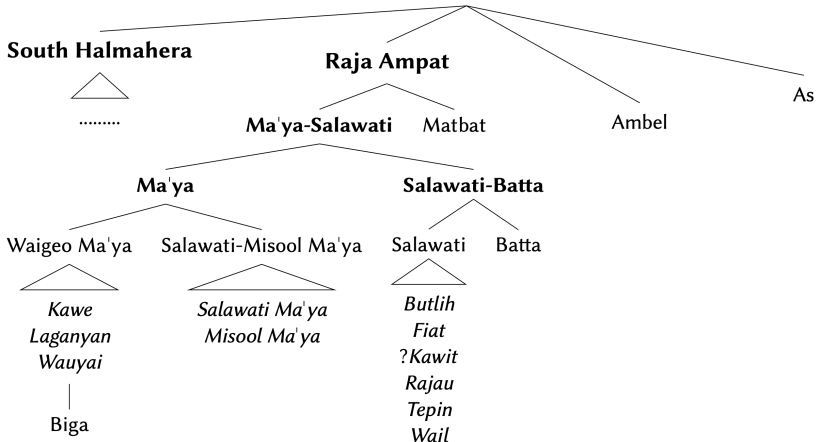
Proto-Ma'ya-Salawati *High>
 proto-Ma'ya *Rise / V [+stress, -high]

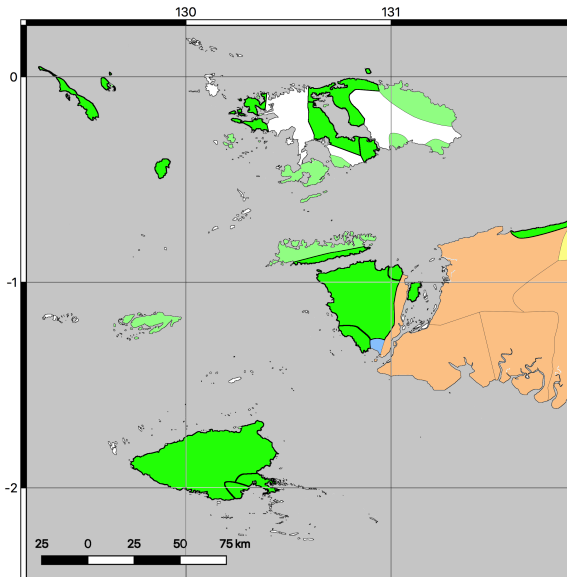
	pMS	pSB	pM
'bone'	*ka'bo ³ m	*qə'bo ³ m	*ka'bo ¹² m
'cassowary'	*ka'lo ³ w	*qə'lo ³ w	*ka'lu ¹²
'cloud'	*mnye ³ t	*mnye ³ t	*me ¹² t
'to eat (intr.)'	*-a'po ³ n	*-po ³ n	*-a'po ¹² n
'land turtle'	*ka'nya ³ t	*qə'nya ³ t	*ka'nya ¹² t
'sand'	*le ³ n	*le ³ n	*le ¹² n
'to walk'	*-da ³ g	*-ta ³ g	*-da ¹² g
'to wash clothes'	*-fa'ba ³ m	*-h'ba ³ m	*-fa'ba ¹² m

Proto-Ma'ya-Salawati *High>
 proto-Ma'ya *Rise / V [+stress, -high]

	pMS	pSB	pM
'good'	*fi ³ y	*fi ³ y	*fi ³
'to kill'	*-bu ³ n	*-bu ³ n	*-bu ³ n
'low tide'	*mʊ ³ s	*mu ³ h	*mʊ ³ s
'rat'	*ka'lu ³ f	*qə'lu ³ h	*ka'lu ³ f
'sea turtle'	*fi ³ n	*fi ³ n	*fi ³ n
'three'	*tʊ ³ l	*tu ³ l	*tʊ ³ l
'village'	*pnu ³ w	*pə'nu ³ w	*pnu ³
'wall'	*kan'ji ³ n	*qən'je ³ n	*ka'ji ³ n

Raja Ampat- South Halmahera





Evidence for Papuan substrate in Raja Ampat?

- ▶ Non-Austronesian lexical items (esp. Ambel, Matbat)
- ▶ Phonological similarities: Tone
- ▶ Morphosyntactic similarities: e.g. inalienably possessed kin terms vs body parts











Thanks for listening!