# The 15<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (15–ICAL)

### **Kemak Dialects in Timor Leste**

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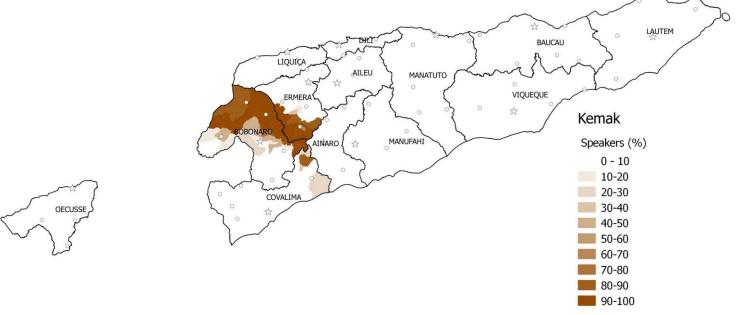
Dili Institute of Technology 28/06/2021

# INTRODUCTION



## Introduction

- ☐ Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian
- ☐ Speakers in East Timor (2015 census):
  - around 69,000.
- ☐ Speakers in West Timor, Indonesia (Joshua
  - project, 2021): around 12,000, many
  - migrated from East Timor.
- ☐ Alternative names: Ema
- ☐ Mainly spoken in Bobonaro and Ermera municipalities.



# Research questions

- What are the varieties of Kemak?
- How can they be grouped?
- How mutually intelligible are they?
- What are the similarities and differences between the varieties?
- In what contexts is Kemak used?
- What linguistic varieties are used for inter-variety communication by Kemak speakers?
- What do Kemak speakers consider to be the most attractive variety, and which variety would they prefer to see used in Kemak literature?

# WORDLIST ANALYSIS

## Methodology: wordlist analysis

- Provisionally identified 10 Kemak varieties from my own experience, naming them after the major town in each area. Added an additional variety in response to feedback.
- 11 groups: one per location, 3-5 speakers per group. All native speakers, age 25-50, 23male & 12 female, interviewed in the capital Dili.
- Asked them to specify what they think the varieties of Kemak are.
- Collected a 206-word Basic Austronesian wordlist.
  - Asked them to orally translate each item from Tetun into their own variety of Kemak.
  - The researcher transcribed the words in standard script (not phonetic script).
  - The speakers read the list and checked the spelling.
  - Recorded one reader reading the Tetun and the Kemak for each item.
- Analysed using Gabmap.

# Varieties according to Kemak speakers

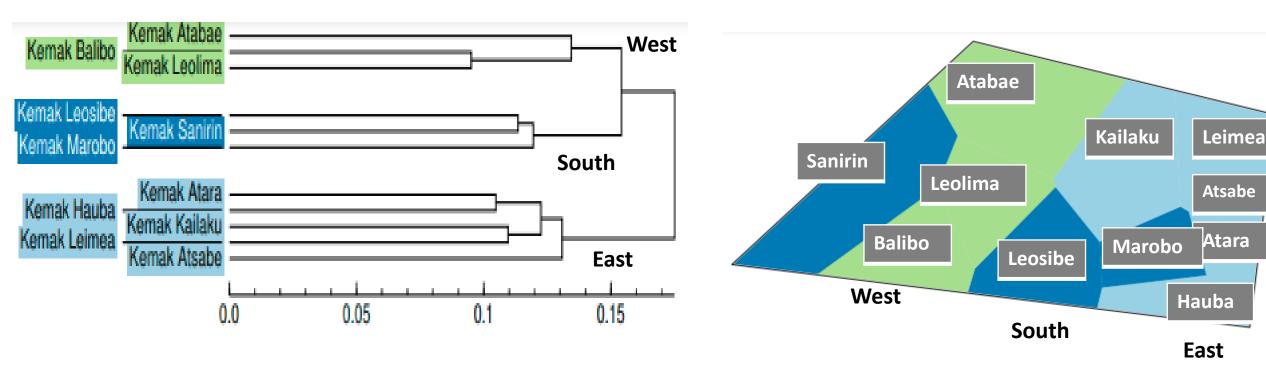
16 speakers identified varieties of Kemak11 varieties got at least 10 mentions:

- 2 Eastern speakers had limited knowledge of the West
- Disagreement over whether Atsabe,
   Atara, Leimea are 3 varieties or 2.
- 5 recognized 2 subvarieties of Hauba
- 2 recognized 2 subvarieties of Marobo



## Clustering analysis by Gabmap

Weighted average clustering method, 3 clusters



## Geographic and historical correlation

- Loes River separates East and South from West.
- East and West were traditionally separate kingdoms.
- South is geographically split: Sanirin people are said to have migrated from Marobo.

### Distinctive features of Eastern varieties

☐ Eastern varieties (esp. Atsabe and Kailaku) often have an additional final vowel which is identical to the final vowel in disvllabic Southern and Western words

English	East	South	West
hand	limara (Atsabe, Kailaku) limar (Leimeia, Hauba)	limar (all)	limar (all)
green	mosoko (all)	mosok (2) moskon (Marobo)	mosok (all)
six	neeme (all)	neem (all)	haneem (2)

☐ Where Eastern varieties end in a vowel, South and West often have an additional final /n/.

English	East	South	West
cold	suma (all)	suman (all)	suman (2) sumang (Leolima) gabaran (2)
sick	baraga (3) mgara (Hauba)	mgaran (2) gbaran (Sanirin)	gabaran (2) gabarang (Leolima)
night	dodaga (all)	dodogan (Marobo)  dodgan (Sanirin)  dodag (Leosibe)	dodag (2) lelebo (Atabae)

### Distinctive features of Western varieties

☐ Where East (except Atsabe) and South have /c/, Western varieties tend to have /t/.

English	East	South	West
stone	acu (3) atu (Atsabe)	acu (all)	hatu (all)
white	buci (3) buti (Atsabe)	buci (all)	buti (all)
grass	su'ucu (2) su'uc (Hauba)	su'ut (2) su'uts (Marobo)	su'ut (all)

☐ Some numerals in Western varieties have an initial /ha/, which varieties from the East and South don't have.

English	East, South	West
two	rua (all)	harua (all)
three	telu (all)	telu (2) hatelu (Balibo)
five	lima (all)	halima (2) hilima (Atabae)

## Other types of variation, with no relation to clustering

•Some varieties sometimes have an epenthetic vowel where others have an initial consonant cluster. This vowel is identical to the first vowel.

English	Kemak Kailaku	Kemak Leosibe		
laugh	ginila (3 East)	gnila (all South, all West, 1 East)		
heavy	mededa (2 East)	mdeda (2 East)		
neavy	madedan (1 South)	mdedan (2 South, 2 West)		
		mreran (1 West)		
fall	manahu (2 East, 2 West)	mnahu (3 East, 3 South, 1 West)		

A lot of variation seems to have no pattern.

English		
lie down	boe (3 East)	bue (2 East, all South, all West
water	bia (all East, 2 South, 2 West)	bea (1 South, 1 West)

## Totally distinct vocabulary

□ 58 items (28%) have at least one variety with a totally unrelated term.

English	Kemak varieties								
worm	koer (Atsabe, Sanirin) kuere (Atara)	kuita'u (Leimea) koita'o (Kailaku) kuicau (Hauba) kuica'u (Atabae)	ular (Leosibe) ulal (Marobo)	<i>lakit</i> (Leolima, Balibo					
say	dale (Leimea, Leisibe, Atsabe)	toek (Marobo)	<i>boi</i> (Atsabe, Balibo)	habu (Kailalku)	to'u (Atabae)	bobe (Leolima, Hauba, Sanirin)			
lake	bia lihu (Atara, Atsabe) bea lehung (Marobo) bea lihung (Leolima) bea lihun (Sanirin)	<i>leb</i> u (Leimea)	r <i>oko</i> (Hauba)	ramas (Leosibe)	<i>debu</i> (Balibo)				

☐ Possibly some Tetun loans, but it's hard to know as Kemak and Tetun are related.

☐ No Portuguese loans in the Basic Austronesian wordlist.

## Comparison with clustering by native speakers

K Kailaku		Х					
K Leimea			Х	Х	Х		
K Atsabe			X		Х		
K Atara		_			Х	Х	
K Hauba		Х				Х	
K Marobo		Х					
K Sanirin	Х	Х	X	X	Х	Х	
K Leosibe		Х	X		х		
K Leolima	Х	x		Х	Х		
K Balibo	X	X			х		

- All recognized West, but some add Kailaku, Leimea or Sanirin
- 5 saw Kailaku and Leosibe as a single cluster, but Gabmap puts Kailaku as East and Leosibe as South. Several factors may make them seem more mutually intelligible than expected:
  - Relatively low number of very different words: 18. (This compares with Leimeia-Kailaku which have 19 very different words, while Gabmap places these 2 as very similar.)
  - Some East/South phonological differences are easily adjusted to:
    - eye: *matara* (Kailaku), *matar* (Leosibe)
    - small: *bi'i* (Kailaku), *bi'in* (Leosibe)

# PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF SPEAKERS

### In what contexts is Kemak used?

### **Kemak:**

- Family
- Informal community get-togethers
- Market, local shops
- Ritual ceremonies, funerals.

#### **Tetun Dili:**

- With people from other parts of Timor
- In school, church, government, formal meetings

## Perceived intelligibility

- Asked 17 people how well they understood speakers from each of the other varieties.
- All agreed they could understand Kemak speakers from all varieties to some extent.
- Some speakers can understand other varieties well because they have often been exposed to them, e.g. with relatives there, or because they are travelling market sellers.
- In general people understand speakers from their own cluster more than speakers from other clusters, but there are exceptions.

## Language used for inter-variety communication

- Kemak speakers use Kemak with most other Kemak speakers.
  - Each uses their own variety (65%).
  - One speaks the other's variety (24%).
- Alternatively both speak Tetun (10%).
  - 7 out of 17 said they speak Tetun with speakers of some other varieties. All but one case was across a cluster boundary.

### Preferred dialect to listen to and for literature

	Atsabe	Hauba	Kailaku	Leosibe	Marobo	Balibo
Preferred variety to listen to	3	2	1	0	8	2
Preferred variety for literature	6	5	2	1	1	0

- ☐ For listening to:
  - Marobo (South) was strongly preferred.
  - All reasons were based on pronunciation.
- ☐ For literature:
  - Atsabe and Hauba (East) preferred.
  - 9 gave reasons of easy understanding.

### Conclusion

### Kemak has 3 subgroups:

- Vocabulary (Gabmap)
- Mutual intelligibility high within subgroups
- Speakers usually use Kemak within their own subgroup

#### West versus East + South:

- ha- on some numerals, /t/ versus /c/
- Kemak speakers recognize West as distinct
- Loes River separates them

#### East versus West + South:

- Where West and South have a final vowel, East often has an extra coda.
- Where West and South have a final /n/, East often lacks it.

East versus West: traditionally separate kingdoms

South versus East + West: no additional evidence.

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