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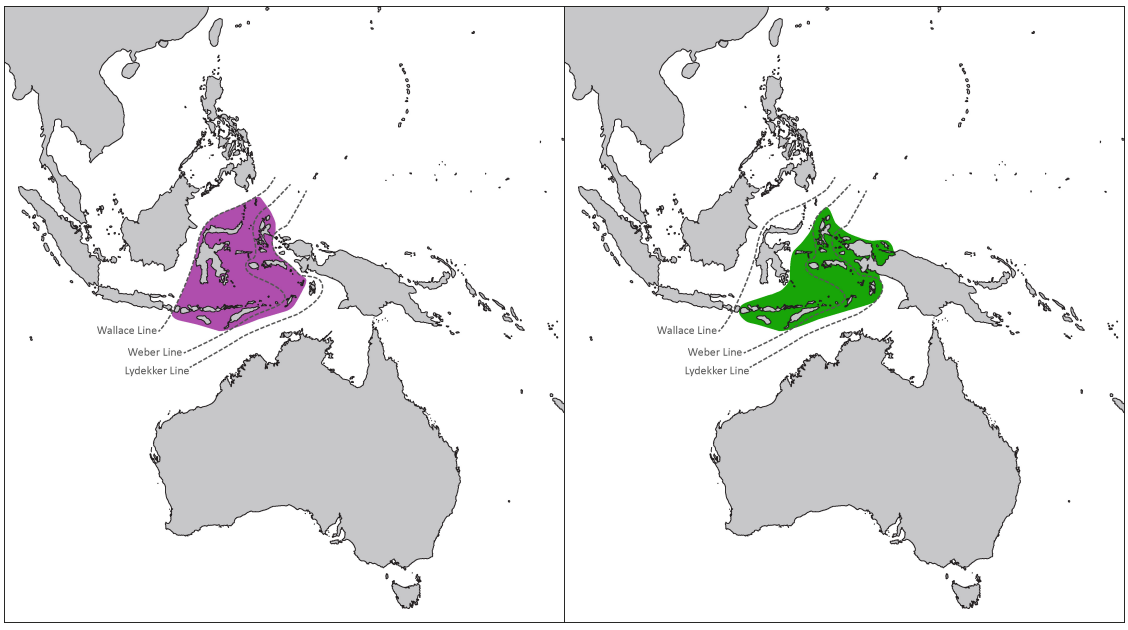
Language contact and substrate in the languages of Wallacea: Introduction

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1. What is Wallacea?[1]

The term "Wallacea" originally refers to a zoogeographical area located between the ancient continents of Sundaland (the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo, Java, and Bali) and Sahul (Australia and New Guinea) (Dickerson 1928). Wallacea includes Sulawesi, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, Sumba, Timor, Halmahera, Buru, Seram, and many smaller islands of eastern Indonesia and independent Timor-Leste (Map 1). What characterises this region is its diverse biota drawn from both the Southeast Asian and Australian areas. This volume uses the term Wallacea to refer to a linguistic area (Schapper 2015). In linguistic terms as in biogeography, Wallacea constitutes a transition zone, a region in which we observe the progressive attenuation of the Southeast Asian linguistic type to that of a Melanesian linguistic type (Gil 2015). Centred further to the east than Biological Wallacea, Linguistic Wallacea takes in the Papuan and Austronesian languages in the region of eastern Nusantara including the Minor Sundic Islands east of Lombok, Timor-Leste, Maluku, the Bird's Head and Neck of New Guinea, and Cenderawasih Bay (Map 2).



Map 1. Biological Wallacea **Map 2. Linguistic Wallacea**

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The Papuan families of Wallacea can be geographically divided into mainland (New Guinea) and "outlier" (or non-mainland New Guinea) languages. There are three outlier families: (i) the Timor-Alor-Pantar family, consisting of around 30 languages scattered among Austronesian languages in eastern and central Timor, and dominating on the islands of Alor and Pantar; (ii) the North Halmahera family, encompassing around a dozen languages on Halmahera Island and some small satellite islands in north Maluku; (iii) the Yawa family, comprising two languages offshore in Cenderawasih Bay, Yawa spoken in central Yapen Island, and its closely related sister language, Saweru, spoken on Saweru Island just south of Yapen. On the New Guinea mainland, we find multiple families and language isolates (essentially, one-language families). On the Bird's Head there are the East Bird's Head family, the West Bird's Head family, the South Bird's Head family, as well as three isolates. On the Bomberai Peninsula are members of the West Bomberai family and two isolates, Mor and Tanahmerah (also known as Sumeri), while on the Bird's Neck we find members of the Mairasi family.

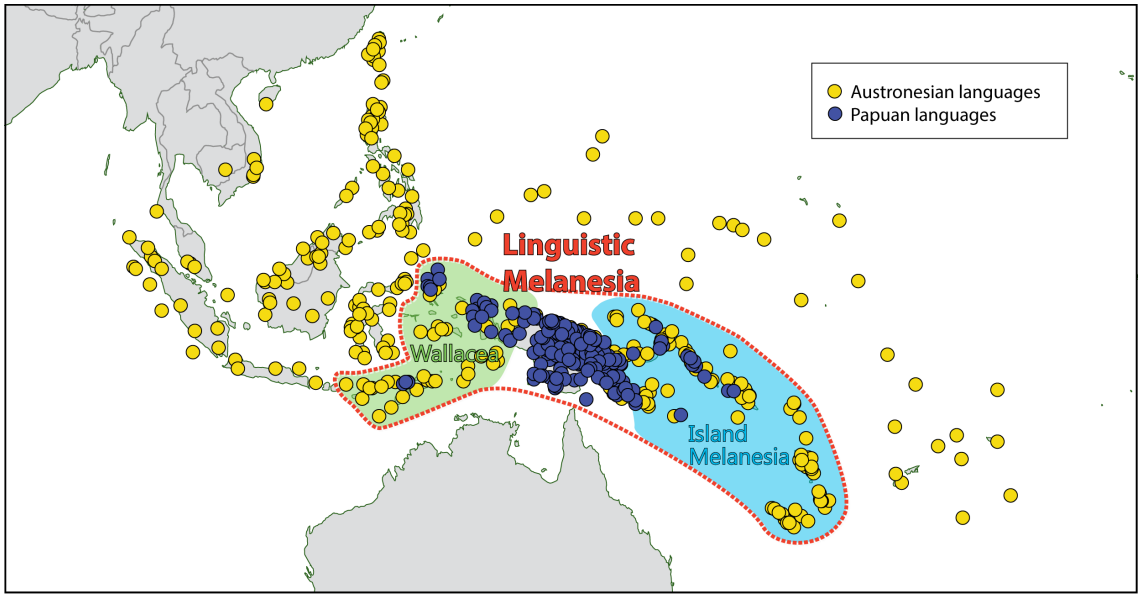
Alongside these Papuan languages are Austronesian languages. According to the subgrouping of Blust (1982/3, 1993), Austronesian languages in Wallacea belong to one of two subgroups: Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) and South Halmahera-West New Guinea (SHWNG). The CMP subgroup takes in the Austronesian languages of Timor-Leste and East Nusa Tenggara as far east as Bima on the eastern half of Sumbawa Island, as well as those of southern and central Maluku. The SHWNG subgroup includes the Austronesian languages of northern Maluku (south Halmahera and Raja Ampat) and Cenderawasih Bay as far as Warembori at the mouth of the Mamberano river, as well as, possibly, Irarutu on the Bomberai Peninsula. This covers what Himmelmann (2005) identified as a typological grouping of Austronesian, the "pre-posed possessor languages".

The place of Wallacea within the wider region has been made problematic by some unfortunate nomenclature. Traditionally, the term "Melanesia" has been used to refer to all of New Guinea and the islands to its east, but not those to its west (e.g., Dumont d'Urville 1832, Codrington 1885, Ray 1907). In accordance with this practice, the label "Island Melanesia" has been applied only to the islands to the east of New Guinea, taking in the islands of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Caledonia, as, for instance, in Spriggs (1997), Moore (2003) and Dunn et al. (2008). For many, the inference from this would, naturally, be that Wallacea does not belong to Melanesia. Yet, Wallacea is delimited by the appearance of Papuan languages, which are thought to originate on the island of New Guinea (Donohue 2008). Wallacea is also the region in which Austronesian languages begin to assume typological features consistent with those of Papuan languages (Brandes 1884, Donohue 2007). This places Wallacea within the western perimeter of Linguistic Melanesia (Map 3).

In adopting the term Wallacea to collectively characterise the languages in this region, we also have a unique descriptor that recognises that Wallacea is characterised by a set of features more specific than those that delimit Linguistic Melanesia as a whole.[2] The most widespread features that have been discussed to-date are semantic alignment (Donohue 2004) and neuter gender (Schapper 2010). These features are shared across unrelated and non-contiguous Papuan language families and numerous Austronesian subgroups in-between. Other Wallacean features, such as synchronic metathesis

[2] Previous attempts to define a Wallacean linguistic area under other names ('Eastern Indonesia', 'East Nusantara') have erroneously included features which in fact define the larger Linguistic Melanesia area.

(Schapper 2015) and do-give colexification (Reesink 2013, Gil 2017), have more limited distributions, but still bear witness to the extensive linguistic convergence across the region.



Map 3. Wallacea at the western periphery of Linguistic Melanesia (after Schapper & de Vries forthcoming)

2. Contact and substrate in the languages of Wallacea

The existence of Wallacea as a linguistic area is predicated on linguistic patterns observed in modern languages, but it is obviously the product of historical processes that have been played out over a long period by humans in interaction with one another. It is reasonable to assume that when Austronesian speakers arrived in Wallacea, they interacted with earlier inhabitants speaking Papuan languages. It seems very likely that it was contact with Papuan speakers and, in some cases, shift from these Papuan languages that led to many of the typological innovations that we observe in the Austronesian languages of Wallacea as elsewhere in Linguistic Melanesia.

Particularly since Thurston's (1982, 1987, 1989, 1994) pioneering study of contact between Lusi and Anêm, there has been a steady stream of studies in language contact and shift in Island Melanesia (recent examples include Pawley 2006, Ross 2008, 2010, Dunn 2009, Evans & Palmer 2011, Smith 2016). Observations of contact phenomena between Papuan and Austronesian languages off the (north)east coast of New Guinea have been important in the development of linguistic theory, with a number of the canonical contact situations described in the literature originating from here. Perhaps, most famously, the term "metatypy" was coined by Ross (1996) to describe the kind of contact-induced change he observed between Takia and Waskia whereby a language's syntactic and semantic patterns are changed on a large scale following a model language in which the speakers are bilingual and which is the dominant language of the speakers.

To the west, in Wallacea, however, there has been comparatively little study of contact between Papuan and Austronesian speaking groups. There are still no detailed case studies of the many extant contact situations of Papuan and Austronesian languages in Wallacea (Yawa-Serui Laut, Taba-West Makian, Sekar-Mbaham, Bunaq-Kemak, etc.). There has also been little in-depth historical reconstruction of families and subgroups, both Papuan and Austronesian, in the region. Without such work, it is difficult to make

reliable inferences about prehistorical Papuan-Austronesian contact situations. A case in point is the appearance of bound person-number markers in Central Malayo-Polynesian languages. Blust (1993:258–259) tentatively reconstructs a paradigm of bound person-number markers for PCMP, but Donohue & Grimes (2008:131–132) cast doubt on whether the different forms can convincingly be treated as a single innovation such as would characterise a single ancestral protolanguage. Without a reconstruction of PCMP, if indeed such a language existed, and its constituent subgroups, we do not know whether there was a single event in which a substrate/contact language introduced the person-number markers to PCMP, or whether they were innovated on numerous separate occasions independently, potentially on the basis of distinct substrate/contact events.

Many advances have been made on the synchronic description of languages in Wallacea in the last 20 years; the basis for quality comparative-historical linguistic studies is now available.

3. This issue

This issue is the result of a workshop held at the KITLV, Leiden on 1st and 2nd December 2016 with financial support from the KNAW and KITLV's congress bursaries. The workshop brought together scholars, particularly in the early career stage, working on field-intensive studies of languages in Wallacea with the aim to stimulate work on issues of contact and substrate in the region. Papers in this issue represent a combination of presentations developed out of the workshop and additional contributions solicited subsequently.

The opening paper by Laura Arnold on tonogenesis in Raja Ampat provides an interesting counterpart to the tonogenesis arguments that David Kamholz (2017) makes in PART 1 of this special issue. While Kamholz finds that tone is not reconstructable in three neighboring Austronesian languages of Cenderawasih Bay, Arnold is able to reconstruct tone to some extent in Raja Ampat languages. However, because tone still appears to have emerged independently more than once in the languages, Arnold concludes, like Kamholz, that contact with or shift from a tonal Papuan language is the best explanation for the tonogenesis.

The following paper by Timothy Usher and Antoinette Schapper looks at Mbaham and Iha, two closely related Papuan languages located on the Onin peninsula. The authors present a detailed phonological and lexical reconstruction of the proto-language from which they descend. In their work they identify numerous Austronesian borrowings, with most clearly originating in neighboring Austronesian languages. The Onin region appears to have played an active role in indigenous trade networks, and further historical work on the languages of the region will likely throw light on the interaction between New Guinea and the Moluccas.

Moving to southeastern Wallacea, Catharina Williams-van Klinken and John Hajek look at contemporary changes in the use of numerals in Tetun Dili, the lingua franca of Timor-Leste. They identify that, alongside the stable use of Tetum numerals, there has been a shift in the relative use of Indonesian and Portuguese numerals with borrowed nouns. They observe that the decrease in Indonesian numerals and the concomitant increase in Portuguese numerals followed independence from Indonesia and correlates with a rise in Portuguese in education and media.

Staying in the same area, Antoinette Schapper and Emilie Wellfelt look at contact between the neighboring islands of Alor and Timor. They show how historical sources

and oral traditions bear witness to long-standing communication and exchange between groups from south-eastern Alor and northern Timor. The paper brings together evidence from song, place names and lexemes to present the first account of the interactions between Timor and Alor.

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