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Revisiting the sub-dialect classification of the Manggarai language in the West Manggarai Regency

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Abstract
This study investigates sub-dialect variation of the Manggarai language spoken in the West Manggarai Regency. We surveyed ten sample survey sites and asked informants for 200 Swadesh word lists. The data was analyzed by formulating a sound correspondence system based on phonological differences between survey sites, resulting in a sub-dialect classification map. We conclude that there are three variations of the Manggarai language in West Manggarai: The Kempo sub-dialect (MSdK) which covers the districts of Komodo, Mbeliling, and Sano Nggoang; Kolang sub-dialect (MSdS>H) which is spoken in the sub-districts of Pacar, Macang Pacar, Kuwus and Kuwus Barat. This classification is proven by the sound correspondence between MSdK and MSdS>H, such as [e] – [e̯], [i] – [iə], [k] – [ʔ], [s] – [h], [c] – [s], and [h] – [ɣ]. There is also transition area sub-dialect (TAS), which classify the districts of Lembor, Lembor Selatan, Welak, Boleng, and Ndoso in the same group, showing the emergence of all linguistic features in the form of sound correspondences in the two sub-dialects with certain conditions need to be considered. This classification confirms the validity and provides evidence for the sub-dialect groupings carried out by Verheijen and refutes the Language Development and Fostering Agency, Ministry of Education and Culture, Indonesia, which is not based on scientific evidence.

Keywords: Dialectology, Kempo, Kolang, Manggarai, Phonological Differences

Introduction

The fundamental postulate states that geographic distance can be correlated with linguistic diversity (Koile et al., 2022). At the border of two languages, language contact can give rise to linguistic characteristics compared to areas far from the two languages (Naning, 1998). If someone travels from one site to another in a specific direction, that person will find linguistic differences that distinguish one area from another. The farther they go from where they left, the greater the level of differences in language dialects found (Nerbonne, 2010; Chambers et al., 2004; Heeringa et al., 2001). The two continuing dialects on the outer edge of a geographical area may not understand each other, but a shared chain of understanding will link them. In other words, the greater the separation between geographic locations, the greater the difficulty in understanding speech in a particular dialect.

Within a linguistically homogeneous community, individuals are typically attuned, whether consciously or unconsciously, to the diverse speech variations present and can adapt their communication accordingly. The concept of mutual intelligibility, as elucidated by Lauder (2002), serves as a crucial criterion for distinguishing whether these variations constitute distinct languages or different dialects of the same language (Fernandez, 1993). Grimes (1997) observes that such language situations, characterized by varying degrees of mutual intelligibility, are commonplace in Nusa Tenggara languages, including Manggarai. In this context, individuals can communicate effectively with speakers of neighboring dialects but face challenges when interacting with those from non-adjacent dialects. Grimes (1997) provides a concrete example: individuals in a village or dialect A can readily engage in everyday communication with their counterparts in dialect B. Some degree of communication might be possible with those from dialect C. However, they may struggle to communicate effectively with speakers of dialects D and E, despite sharing ethnic background and similar life cycle practices. This phenomenon is encapsulated by the term "geographical dialect continuum" where linguistic variation gradually increases with geographical distance.

Dialectological research, however, is a series of various descriptive studies which demands an adequate and empirically valid theoretical and methodological framework. There are still many problems that remain and have not been resolved. Thus, continuous research is needed to achieve the formulation of reasonable rules by the actual reality. This research explores the Manggarai language variation issue specifically in the West Manggarai Regency, which has not been perfectly documented. The overarching objective of this study is to address contemporary issues in dialectology. It seeks to explore the proliferation of dialectal variations, not solely across geographical boundaries, but also among distinct social groups. This inquiry is spurred by the changing landscape of the modern era, characterized by mass education, heightened personal mobility, and instant communication in industrialized nations. These societal shifts potentially pose a threat to the preservation of particular dialects. The study raises pivotal questions, "How do languages exhibit variations across regions where they are spoken?" and "What are the prevailing patterns governing these variations, including the linguistic boundaries that restrict them?". This research formulates sub-dialect variations of Manggarai based on phonological differences, revealing a constant sound correspondence system unique to its speakers.

In the West Manggarai Regency, the indigenous Manggarai tribe shares their habitat with various other ethnic groups, including the Bima, Bajo, Bugis, Minang, and several other tribes hailing from the Flores Island region, such as the Ende Lio and Sumba tribes. A significant number of these communities predominantly reside in coastal areas, where they are primarily engaged in fishing activities. Meanwhile, members of the Minang tribe and some Bima tribes are involved in trade, often centred in urban areas. The Bima and Bajo tribes have also established diasporas in various sub-districts along the coastline, such as South Lembor, Komodo, and Boleng sub-districts. The notion that the Manggarai tribe exclusively descends from a single lineage is inaccurate. Various historical records attest to the fact that the population inhabiting

Manggarai territory comprises immigrants who settled and propagated in the region. Deki (2018) argues that there exists a disconnect between the history of the discovery of the ancient Homo Floresiensis in Liang Bua, West Manggarai district, and the contemporary Manggarai society. The unearthing of ancient human remains also supports the idea that the Manggarai people have their own ancestors. Furthermore, archaeological excavations conducted by Verhoeven in Liang Rancang, situated to the north of Ruteng, and subsequent explorations in various other areas like Warloka and Pulo Rinca, have led to the conclusion that prehistoric communities inhabited the Manggarai mainland during that era. This conclusion is substantiated by the discovery of stone tablets, artifacts, stone tombs, and other archaeological evidence (Daeng, 1995).

In historical context, the tribes currently residing in the land of Manggarai are believed to have originated from diverse origins, including Sumba, Mandosawu, Pong Welak, South Sulawesi, Bima, as well as descendants of Malay-Malacca, Malay-Minangkabau, and Tanah Dena (Toda, 1992). These various tribes dispersed across different regions of the Manggarai mainland. For instance, the descendants of the Kuleng or Mandosawu dynasty, rumoured to have originated from Turkey, now inhabit areas such as Riwu, Sita, Ruteng, Ngkaer, Desu, and Kolang-Torok. They are also responsible for the establishment of the Cibal and Lamba-Leda. Additionally, descendants from Sumba have given rise to the Badjo people, which is primarily situated in the Tangge area and oversees several subdistricts, including Dalu Kolang, Lo'ok, Wontong, Munting Welak, Matawae, and Ramut (Deki, 2018).

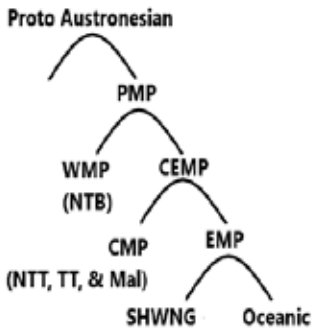

Figure 1. The pedigree of the Polynesian languages

The Manggarai language is spoken across three regencies: West Manggarai, Manggarai, and East Manggarai Regencies. It shares geographical proximity with several other languages, including the Komodo language to the west and the Rembong language to the east. Verheijen (1967) explains the Manggarai language lacks derivations, meaning it does not have affixes. Earlier morphological processes in these languages have left remnants, suggesting that bound morphemes for conveying grammatical information gradually declined across the region, particularly in Central and West Flores languages. Furthermore, Manggarai and other languages in West Flores are said to be linguistically conservative, preserving older forms and structures (Blust, 2008). The Manggarai language is also known as an isolated language, meaning its words consist of free morphemes and are monomorphemic, typically having only one morpheme (Mangga, 2020).

While there have been varying viewpoints regarding the historical classification of the Manggarai language, it is more accurately categorized within the Central Malayo-Polynesian language group (Blust, 2008). The term 'Malayo-Polynesian' was initially introduced by Schmidt and is attributed to Wilhelm von Humboldt, who incorporated it in his writings concerning the Kawi language on the island of Java.

Humboldt employed this term to underscore a point made by other scholars, which emphasized the linguistic connection between the western Indo-Malaysian archipelago and the languages spoken in Polynesia, considering them as one language family (Ross, 1996). The initial migration of the Austronesian to Taiwan occurred around 4000-3500 BC, where they settled permanently and relied on simple agricultural practices involving tubers and cereals, as well as maritime activities (Bellwood, 1985; Bellwood, 2006).

Proto Austronesian expanded further north to the Philippines around 3000 BC. By the end of the third and second millennia BC, Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) had spread to regions including Borneo, Sulawesi, and the Moluccas. Interestingly, all these groups originated from Taiwan, except for the Malayo-Polynesian group itself. The Malayo-Polynesian group can be further divided into two major subgroups (Trudgill, 2004): Western-Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) and Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (CEMP). Within the Malayo-Polynesian language family, WMP encompasses languages spoken in the Philippines, western Indonesia, Southeast Asia mainland, Madagascar, as well as Palauan and Chamorro of Western Micronesia (Blust, 1993). CEMP, in turn, is further divided into two subgroups: Central-Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) and Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian (EMP). CMP comprises Austronesian languages spoken in the Lesser Sunda and Moluccas islands, spanning from Bima in the west to the north through Central Moluccas, including the Sula archipelago (Blust, 1980). The Manggarai language in the Lesser Sunda Islands falls under the CMP category. More specifically, the Manggarai languages are classified into the Bima-Sumba language group (Esser, 1938), the West Flores sub-group (Fernandez, 1996), and the Sumba-Hawu group (Blust 2008). On the other hand, EMP is divided into two parts: South Halmahera-West New Guinea (AN in Halmahera, Raja Empat Island, and the Vogelkop Peninsula in Papua New Guinea to the east to Waropen) and Oceanic, which encompasses 450 languages spread across Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.

Numerous linguistics authorities have undertaken the task of discerning various dialectal variations within the Manggarai language. Burger (Grimes, 1997) partitions the Manggarai dialect into three principal categories: Eastern, Central, and West Manggarai. The archival documentation of Verheijen (1967) and Grimes (1997) reveal a more intricate mosaic of linguistic diversity, encompassing a total of 43 sub-dialects attributed to the Manggarai language. These sub-dialects are further organized into five overarching dialect groups: West Manggarai, West-Central Manggarai, Central Manggarai, East Manggarai, and Far-East Manggarai. The latter, situated in North-Central Flores, stands apart from the other Manggarai dialects, owing to its isolation by the intervening Rembong language (Blust, 2008). Verheijen (1967) elucidated that the feudal territories, referred to as *dalu* often serve as the terminology for these dialects, encapsulating ethnic and linguistic units. The system of *kedaluan*, also called *hamente*, is an acronym for the Dutch word '*Gemeente*', which refers to the name of an administrative-territorial division. Categorizing the language data remains a subject of ongoing scrutiny, oscillating between distinct language levels or the demarcation of disparate dialects and sub-dialects within the same linguistic framework. Verheijen addressed this by cataloguing his dialectal data within a Manggarai-Indonesian dictionary and compiled it into corpora in the website LexiRumah (Kaiping et al., 2019). This resource expounds upon the sub-dialect types within each dialect group, offering a comprehensive repository for linguistic scholars. Although the sub-dialect classification has been implemented in a language map and the field research data has been input into the corpus, further exploration is necessary to provide scientific evidence for the grouping. Additionally, there seems to be an error in grouping sub-dialect areas, specifically the Kempo area, which is classified as the leading regional group of speaking areas of the S>H Kolang sub-dialect. However, the reality contradicts this grouping as the Kempo area, which is currently part of the administrative area of Mbeliling sub-district, features linguistic variations that differ from other sites grouped into this sub-dialect. These differences can be observed in phonology, lexicon, and intonation.

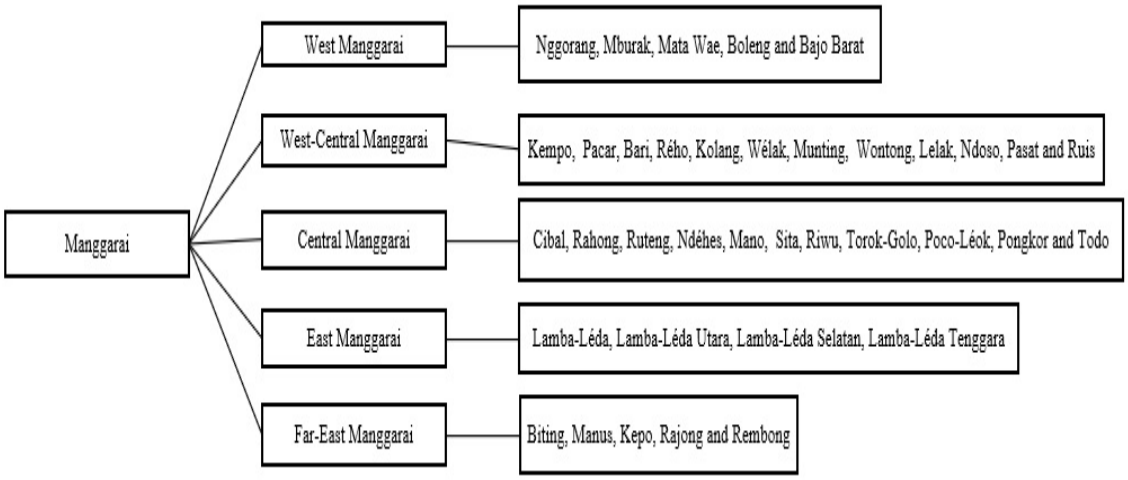

Figure 2. Sub-dialect classification proposed by Verheijen

The map designates areas shaded in yellow to indicate sub-dialect variations within the West Manggarai language dialect. These encompass locales such as Nggorang, Mburak, Mata Wae, Boleng, Kempo, and Bajo. Moreover, there are regions characterized by dual-color shading, denoted as yellow-green and yellow-pink, signifying the transition areas. These areas indicate the presence of diaspora dialects of the West Manggarai language, which extend into locations including Pacar, Welak, Kolang, Ndoso, and Munting. It is pertinent to note that the map delineated by Verheijen has become obsolete in contemporary times. This obsolescence arises from establishing distinct territorial boundaries between the West Manggarai, Manggarai, and East Manggarai districts. The Manggarai Regency encompasses three sub-districts, namely Komodo, Sano Nggoang, Mbeliling, Boleng, Lembor, South Lembor, Pacar, Macang Pacar, Kuwus, Kuwus Barat, Ndoso, and Welak.

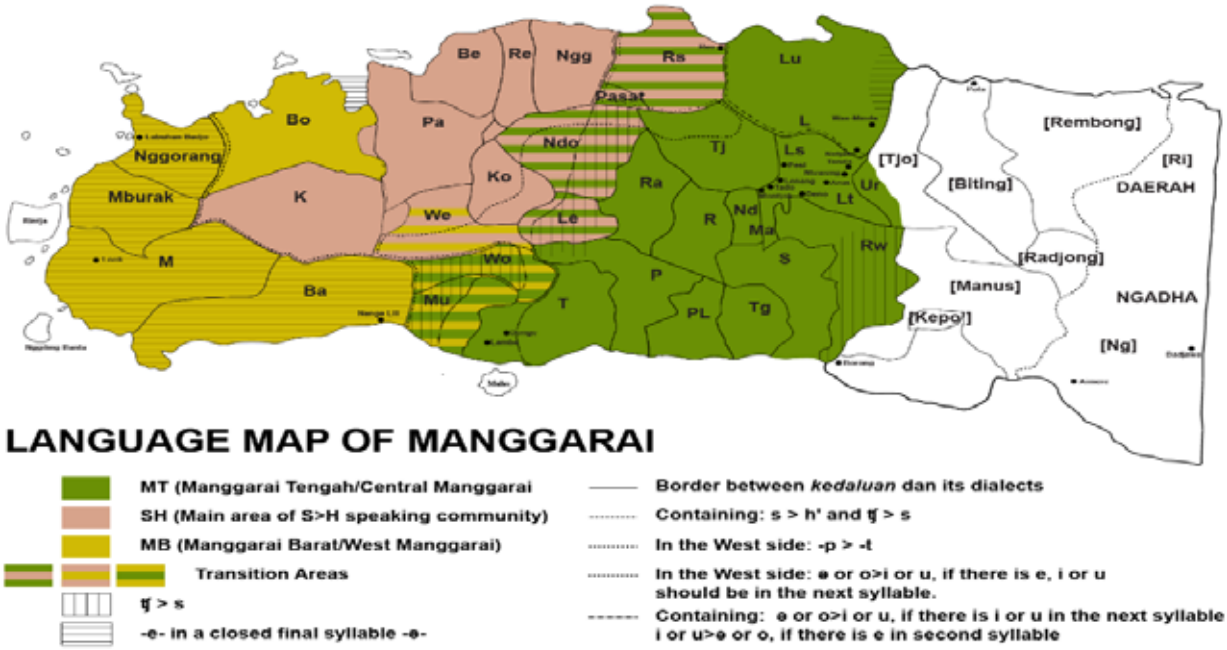

Figure 3. Manggarai language map compiled Verheijen

In contrast to the previously established findings, data emanating from the Language Development and Fostering Agency in Indonesia elucidates that the Manggarai language manifests itself in five distinctive dialects dispersed across three regencies. The Tangge dialect is spoken in Tangge, Lembor District, West Manggarai Regency; the Manus dialect is utilized by the inhabitants of Golo Meni and Mukun (Pong Bali), situated in Kota Komba District, East Manggarai Regency; the Rajong (Kesar) dialect finds expression in Mbengan, Kota Komba District, East Manggarai Regency, and Nanga Meje and Langga Sai, Elar Selatan District, East Manggarai Regency, the Kepo dialect is prevalent in Mbengan, Gising (South Elar), Golo Linus, Sangan Kalo, Elar Selatan District, and East Manggarai Regency; and lastly, the Rembong dialect is spoken in Sangan Kalo, Elar Selatan District, East Manggarai Regency.

Differences in language variation are not only limited to different lexical variations but more narrowly can be identified through differences in the realization of phonemes (allophones) in each dialect/sub-dialect. Unique linguistic characteristics can differentiate each dialect/sub-dialect. The principal objective of this study is to discern the linguistic variations of the Manggarai language spoken in the West Manggarai Regency by providing evidence linguistic characterization in each sub-dialect areas. It is important to note that the research conducted does not accurately depict reality. West Manggarai Regency has several subdialects that are easily distinguishable due to the unique linguistic characteristics of each speaker. Therefore, it would be incorrect to assume that there is only one dialect/subdialect in the district, as stated by the Language Development and Fostering Agency. Verheijen's assertion that groups the Kempo region into the S>H Kolang subdialect area is inaccurate and requires empirical data to be proven.

The information highlights disparities in characterizing Manggarai language dialects in the West Manggarai. The Language Development and Fostering Agency asserts only one dialect in West Manggarai Regency, specifically the Tangge sub-dialect. In contrast, this report contradicts the sub-dialects documented by Verheijen, wherein the Tangge variation is not included among the recognized sub-dialects in the West Manggarai Regency. Local inhabitants in West Manggarai Regency acknowledge the existence of three sub-dialect variations: Kempo, S>H Kolang, and Tangge sub-dialects. Verheijen (1967) expounded that MT (Manggarai Tengah = Central Manggarai), MB (Manggarai Barat = West Manggarai), and SH are essentially the same dialect, bridging West Manggarai (SH, WM) and Central Manggarai (SH, CM). Ndoso is unique in its placement, residing solely in the West Manggarai, with a northeastern extension into the Manggarai district, where speakers of the Rahong dialect are found. Consequently, the sub-regions of Boleng, Lembor, and South Lembor manifest distinct linguistic features. Nevertheless, variations within the S>H Kolang sub-dialect in various regions reveal nuanced phonetic distinctions. Although the S>H sub-dialect typically involves a sound shift from [s] to [h], this alteration isn't universally present in all parts of the Lembor region. Despite these distinctions, shared linguistic features affirm the classification of these regions under the same dialect. Demonstrating the distinctive acoustic variations present at each research location holds the potential to categorize and delineate specific sub-dialectal linguistic regions. The outcomes derived from this categorization can be transmuted into linguistic cartography, which substantiates or challenges preceding scholarly findings. It is imperative to contemplate a judicious selection of survey locales, informants, and an inventory of inquiries.

Data and methodology

Dialect geography serves as a discipline that strives to establish an empirical foundation for understanding linguistic diversity within specific geographical locales (Chambers et al., 2004). It employs methodologies that overlap with other academic disciplines, emphasizing the importance of systematic data collection techniques. We employed a methodical approach involving a structured note-taking technique that necessitated direct visits to survey sites. These visits entailed conducting face-to-face oral interviews with

informants and meticulously recording all field observations using phonetic transcription (Britain, 2010). Researchers utilized the IPA Help 2.1, developed by SIL International, to facilitate the phonetic transcription process. This application is a valuable tool for language researchers, enabling the transcription of speech variations manifested through distinct phonetic articulations. The transcription outcomes were subject to validation, a crucial step involving collaboration with phoneticians and applying triangulation techniques. Triangulation, a well-established research method, seeks to ascertain the accuracy of specific information by cross-referencing multiple data sources, which may include observations and interviews with individuals holding diverse perspectives.

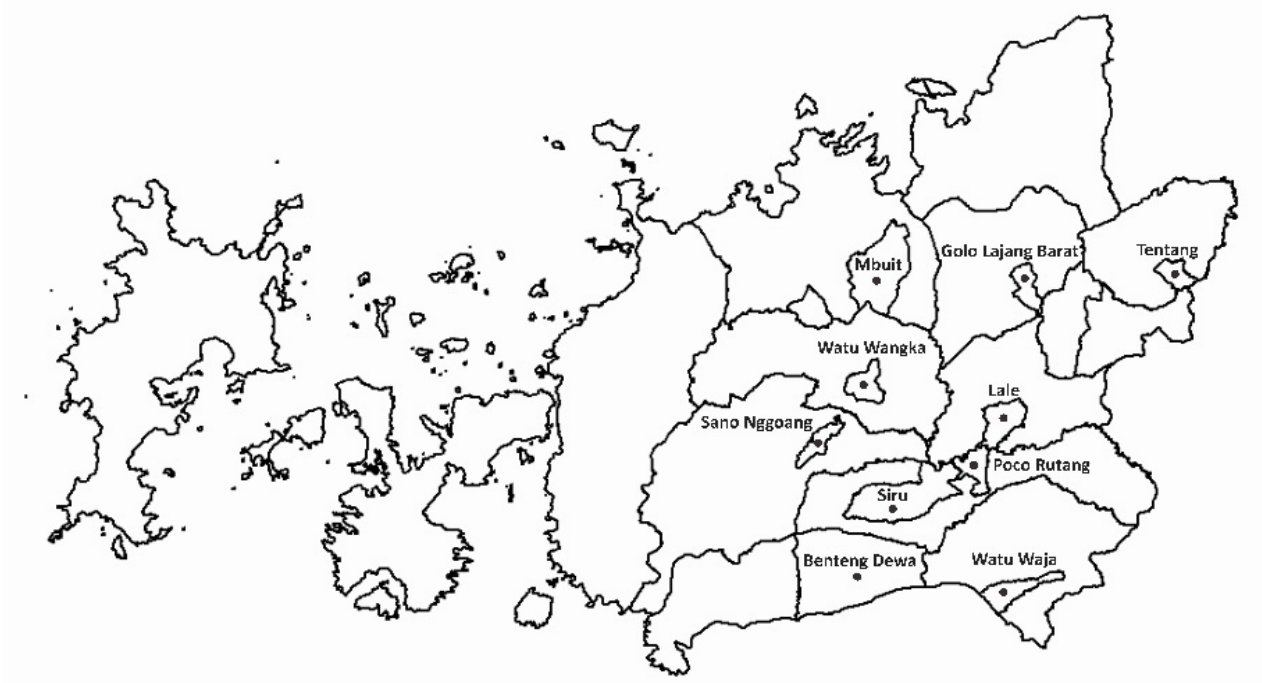

Figure 4. Maps of survey sites in this present study

Prior to commencing field research, several critical considerations needed to be addressed. This included selecting the survey sites, the informants and developing a suitable questionnaire (Mahsun, 1995). The selection of survey sites is paramount, as it directly influences the choice of informants and wordlists. Qualitative criteria were applied to identify suitable survey sites, which typically encompassed rural areas far from major urban centers, characterized as isolated regions with limited mobility (Ayatrohaedi, 1978). A maximum population size of 6,000 people and a requirement for rural areas to have been inhabited for at least 30 years were also factors considered.

The selection of survey sites was guided by the spatial autocorrelation principle, which posits that locations in proximity are likely to exhibit similar linguistic variations (Jeszenszky et al., 2021). In simpler terms, dialects or sub-dialects located in geographically distant areas are expected to display less similarity than those in adjacent regions (Chambers et al., 2004). This selection process thoroughly examined existing data and samplings to pinpoint areas demonstrating discernible linguistic variation. This phase corresponds to the concept of planning the grid which aims to delineate the geographical area under investigation and determine specific data collection points (Boberg et al., 2018).

This research was guided by identifying and documenting evidence of traditional dialect speakers who had been less influenced by standardized forms of language promoted through education. Consequently, the target areas were smaller rural communities, aligning with the overarching research goals and methodological considerations. The selection of an appropriate sampling method is essential to ensure

the representativeness of the chosen area in investigating indications of different dialect variations. To this end, the research adhered to the NORMs criteria proposed by Chambers et al. (2004), which specify the characteristics of suitable informants: nonmobile, older, rural individuals, preferably male.

The study was conducted in ten carefully selected survey sites in the West Manggarai Regency. These sites include Sano Nggoang in Sano Nggoang District, Watu Wangka in Mbeliling District, Mbuit in Boleng District, Poco Rutang and Siru in Lembor District, Benteng Dewa and Watu Waja in South Lembor, Golo Lajang Barat in Pacar, Lale in Welak District, and Tentang Village in Ndoso. These sites were chosen based on the established criteria, particularly concerning the age of the village and their geographical locations, aligning with the recommendations of experts in the field.

Table 1. Survey sites in this present study

Numbered Index Map	Survey Site
1	Mbuit
2	Watu Waja
3	Benteng Dewa
4	Lale
5	Poco Rutang
6	Siru
7	Golo Lajang Barat
8	Sano Nggoang
9	Watu Wangka
10	Tentang

For each of these ten survey sites, one informant was selected by the predefined criteria. These criteria encompassed being at least middle-aged, being a native of the community (Boberg et al., 2018), engaging in farming or labor-related activities, possessing physical and mental well-being (Mahsun, 1995), and not having reached an advanced age (Lauder, 1993). The informants selected for this study included individuals like MK (53) in Watu Wangka, TM (52) in Lale, LM (50) in Watu Waja, DU (54) in Mbuit, SH (55) in Tentang, Ra (48) in Siru, GH (59) in West Golo Lajang, YB (54) in Sano Nggoang, SN (51) in Poco Rutang, and AK (54) in Benteng Dewa.

The establishment of criteria for both survey sites and informants directly impacted the type of wordlists employed in the dialect surveys. Additional data collection was conducted to comprehensively capture various linguistic aspects of the studied dialects, encompassing cultural inquiries aimed at discerning linguistic variations in the Manggarai language across the selected survey sites. Researchers must thoroughly explore the language and history of the research area to inform the development of pertinent questions (Mahsun, 1995). Such information can be sourced from prior research, dictionaries, or historical records (Fernandez, 1993; Mahsun, 1995). In this study, the Manggarai-Indonesian Dictionary compiled by Verheijen (1967) played a pivotal role in shaping the wordlists used. Consequently, the selection of words for investigation was based on the Swadesh list, consisting of 200 words with minor adjustments, all following the specified criteria. These meticulous procedures were undertaken to ensure the methodological rigor and reliability of the research, facilitating a comprehensive exploration of dialect variations within the selected survey sites.

Results

The explanation provided regarding the distinction between phonetic and phonemic differences aligns with the principles of linguistic analysis. Phonological differences related to proto phonemes, phonetic variations within allophones, and phonemic distinctions impacting meaning all play significant roles in understanding the intricate linguistic landscape of the Manggarai district. These principles underscore the meticulous approach taken in this study to discern and analyse the diverse linguistic features in the Manggarai language. Several Manggarai language proto-phonemes are realized or pronounced differently at several survey sites in this research. Below we illustrate the differences in linguistic features observed at each surveyed site and subsequently classify them based on these variations to delineate sub-dialect areas.

Phonetic differences

Phonetic differences emphasize that a phoneme is realized with different allophones. The sound differences must be consistent and found in the same position in the word. Below, we present three types of phonetic differences between survey sites under investigated.

Sound difference between [e] and [e̯] in the middle position before nasal [ŋ]

Many Austronesian languages have 4 to 5 vowel phonemes, including regional languages in Indonesia, such as the phonemes i, u, a, e, and an indistinct mid-central vowel. The Manggarai language has five vowel phonemes, one of which is close-mid front unrounded vowel /e/. We found differences in pronouncing the phoneme /e/ at the investigated survey sites. This type of phonetic difference only occurs in the middle position of the word before the velar nasal [**ŋ**].

Table 2. Sound differences between [e] and [e̯]

Gloss	PCMP	PFB	Realization	Survey Site
Float	*qaluʀ	*wa(q)a	lenteŋ	3, 6, 8, 10
			lenteŋ̯	1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9
Fish	*hikan	*ikaŋ	nakeŋ	3, 6, 8
			nakeŋ̯	1, 2, 4, 5, 9
Swim	*najuy	*naŋiŋ	naŋeŋ	8
			naŋeŋ̯	1, 2, 4, 7, 9

The sound [e̯] in IPA is classified as non-syllabic because the sound resembles a diphthong. This sound is consistently found in areas 1 (Mbuit), 2 (Watu Waja), 4 (Lale), and 9 (Watu Wangka). For unregistered survey locations, the absence of registration implies the identification of substantial lexical variations, such as in the case of gloss fish, area 10 (Tentang) and 7 (Golo Lajang Barat) is not listed because it has another variation /ika**ŋ**/, which is even the only survey site that preserved its proto form (cognate). Likewise, in the gloss swim, survey sites 3 (Benteng Dewa), 5 (Poco Rutang), and 6 (Siru) have another variation /la**ŋ**e/, and area 10 (Tentang) uses the variation /a**ŋ**i**ŋ**/.

Sound difference between [i] and [iə] in the middle position before nasal [ŋ]

Similar to the first difference above, there are also examples of differences in the sounds [i] and [iə] which only appear in the middle position right before a velar nasal [**ŋ**].

Table 3. Sound differences between [i] and [iə]

Gloss	PCMP	PFB	Realization	Survey Site
Yellow	*kunij	*kleros	kuniŋ	1, 3, 6, 10
			kuniəŋ	2, 4, 5, 7
Sand	*qənay	*lai	laiŋ	1, 3, 6, 8, 9
			laiəŋ	2, 4, 5, 7, 10

The pronunciation of the sound [iə] before the velar nasal /ŋ/ appears to be consistent in areas 2 (Watu Waja), 4 (Lale), 5 (Poco Rutang), and 7 (Golo Lajang Barat). However, in area 10 (Tentang), the observed pattern lacks consistency. This becomes evident when we examine the word 'yellow' where we would expect to hear the phoneme /e/ before the velar nasal /ŋ/ in the middle of the word. Instead, it is pronounced with the [e] phonetic sound. Survey sites 1 (Mbuit), 3 (Benteng Dewa), 6 (Siru), and 9 (Watu Wangka) generally use the [e] sound. However, in area 8 (Sano Nggoang), a different word was identified, which has a distinct meaning from the previously mentioned lexemes. This word is pronounced as /ɗères/.

Sound difference between [k] and [ʔ]

Apart from occurring in Indonesian, glottalization can also happen in languages in Eastern Indonesia. Fricke (2022) notes that this kind of change is expected in Proto-Flores (PFL), where proto *k changes to glottal [ʔ] in the languages derived from, including the Manggarai language. However, the proto phoneme *k inheritance can vary between sub-dialects of the Manggarai language.

Table 4. Sound differences between [k] and [ʔ]

Gloss	PCMP	PFB	Realization	Survey Site
Ash	*qabu	*awu	ravuk	1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10
			ravuʔ	2, 4, 5, 7
Child	*anak	*anak	anak	1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10
			anaʔ	2, 4, 5, 7
Dust	*qabu	*awu	kəɓok	1, 3, 6, 8. 9
			kəɓoʔ	2, 4, 5, 7, 10
Scratch	*kaRaw	*kasi	kərok	1, 3, 6, 8. 9
			kəroʔ	2, 4, 5, 7, 10

Fernandez (1988) stated that the phoneme /k/ is realized into two types of allophones in several different areas in the West Manggarai district, namely glottal plosive [ʔ] and velar plosive [k]. In the final position, the phoneme /k/ is realized as a plosive [k] in areas 1 (Mbuit), 3 (Benteng Dewa), 6 (Siru), 8 (Sano Nggoang), and 9 (Watu Wangka) and a sound [ʔ] in areas 2 (Watu Waja), 4 (Lale), 5 (Poco Rutang), and 7 (Golo Lajang Barat). Survey site 10 (Tentang) tends to adopt both sound forms because of contact between two dialect variations: the Rahong dialect in the Manggarai district and the S>H Kolang dialect. In contrast to the typical pronunciation for glosses ending in the glottal [ʔ] sound, such as ash, child, dust, and scratch, Region 10 utters the gloss 'ash' as ravuk.

Phonemic differences

Phoneme differences mean that the two sounds do not come from the same phoneme but are different. This sound difference typically occurs due to how the sound changes over time (Brown et al., 2013).

Correspondence between phonemes /s/ - /h/

The phoneme /s/ is realized as two different sounds in several survey sites, namely the alveolar fricative [s] in areas 1 (Mbuit), 3 (Benteng Dewa), 4 (Lale), 5 (Poco Rutang), 6 (Siru), 8 (Sano Nggoang), 9 (Watu Wangka), and 10 (Tentang), and the glottal fricative [h] in area 2 (Watu Waja) and 7 (Golo Lajang Barat). This kind of correspondence appears productively in the initial and middle positions of words in area 2 (Watu Waja) and only appears in monosyllabic words in the final position of words. This emphasizes that the correspondence of the sounds [s] and [h] has certain conditions in area 2 but is constant in area 7, which appears in all word positions. There are two variations for gloss 'gloss', namely /irus/iruh/ and /isu**ŋ**/. The /irus/ variation was found at survey sites 2, 4, 5, and 10, while /iruh/ was only found in the survey site 7.

Table 5. Phoneme correspondence between /s/ - /h/

Position	Gloss	PCMP	PFB	Realization	Survey Site
Initial	Leaf	*daun	*ləba	sauŋ	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				hauŋ	2, 7
	Two	*dua	*Dua	sua	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				hua	2, 7
	Street	*zalan	*zalan	salaŋ	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				halaŋ	2, 7
Middle	Life	*ma-qudip	*muDi	mose	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				mohe	2, 7
	Rain	*quzan	*uzan	usaŋ	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				uhaŋ	2, 7
	Name	*ŋajan	*nazaŋ	ŋasaŋ	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				ŋahaŋ	2, 7
End	Smoke	*masu	*nus	nu:s	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				nu:h	2, 7
	Teeth	*ipən	*ŋ(q)is	ŋiʔis	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				ŋiʔh	7
	Nose	*ijul	*izuŋ	irus	2, 4, 5, 10
				iruh	7

Correspondence between the phonemes /c/ and /s/

Palatal plosive /c/ is realized differently at several survey sites in the West Manggarai district, such as [c] and [s]. Area 5 (Poco Rutang) adopts two different pronunciations at once. In the initial position, area 5 tends to pronounce it with [c] and pronounces it with [s] in the middle place. The same thing also happened at survey site 4 (Lale), which adopted two pronunciations in the initial part of the word but was consistent in the middle position. The gloss 'few' is pronounced as [s], but not in other glosses, such as 'dig' and 'salt', which are pronounced with a [c] sound. This indicates that areas 2 (Watu Waja) and 7 (Golo Lajang Barat) do not have the palatal plosive sound [c] and tend to be represented with the fricative [s] in these two areas.

Table 6. Phoneme correspondence between /c/ and /s/

Position	Gloss	PCMP	PFB	Realization	Survey Site
Initial	A few	-	*loeŋ	cəkoe	1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				səkoe	2, 4, 7
	Dig	*kali	*kali	cake	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				sake	2, 7
	Salt	*qasiRa	*siqe	ciʔe	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				siʔe	2, 7
Middle	Dog	*asu	*asu	acu	1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10
				asu	2, 4, 5, 7
	Wet	*basəq	*basa	ɓaca	1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10
				ɓasa	2, 4, 5, 7
	Sea	*tasik	*tasik	tacik	1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10
				tasiʔ	2, 4, 5, 7
Initial and Middle	Breast	*susu	-	cucu	1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10
				susu	2, 4, 5, 7

Wolff (1989) stated that the phoneme /c/ is not included in the inventory of phonemes in Proto-Austronesian. He proved that no correspondences in the primary language subgroups reflect PAN *d, *r, *c, *z, *g, or *T. Some languages that show the *c phoneme correspondence are Javanese and Malay, while many other languages show the *s reflex. Let's consider this statement in the case of the Manggarai language. It can be assumed that every survey site that reflects variations with the *s phoneme is the oldest dialect or sub-dialect or is the forerunner to other sub-dialects. With that, it is said that it is possible that areas 2 (Watu Waja) and 7 (Golo Lajang Barat), which show consistency in the discovery of the [s] sound, are the oldest proto for other dialects/sub-dialects of the Manggarai language in West Manggarai Regency.

Correspondence between the phonemes /h/ and /ɣ/

This kind of correspondence is a unique feature that differentiates the S>H Kolang sub-dialect from the Kempo and Badjo sub-dialects. Every word pronounced with [h] in the Kempo and Badjo sub-dialects always becomes [ɣ] in the S>H Kolang dialect (i.e., survey sites 2, 4, and 7). The fricative [ɣ] is a distinctive or distinguishing feature for the S>H Kolang sub-dialect from other sub-dialects. In this case, the correspondence happens in the initial and middle positions of words.

Table 7. Phoneme correspondence between /h/ and /ɣ/

Position	Gloss	PCMP	PFB	Realization	Survey Site
Initial	2nd Singular	*miu	*meu	hau	1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				ɣau	2, 4, 7
	3rd Singular	*ʃ+ia	-	hia	1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				ɣia	2, 4, 7
	Lice	*kutu	*kutu	hutu	1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				ɣutu	2, 4, 7
Middle	Egg	*qatəluR	*təlo	ruha	1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10
				ruɣa	2, 4, 7

Discussion

Classification of sub-dialect areas in West Manggarai Regency

After analyzing phonological differences among survey sites, a precise classification of Manggarai language variations in West Manggarai Regency can be formulated.

Area 7 (Golo Lajang Barat in Pacar) is an area that is categorized as an S>H Kolang sub-dialect (MSdS>H) speaking area which has all the characteristic linguistic features, such as [e̯] and [iə] in the middle position before the nasal [ŋ}, [ʔ] in final part, the tendency for the sound [h] for each phoneme [s] in [h] MSdK, the direction for the sound [s] for each sound [c] in Kempo, and the tendency for [ɣ] for each [h] in Kempo. Survey site 2 cannot be categorized as part of the S>H Kolang sub-dialect because this area has the tendency to pronounce /h/ instead of /s/ at the final position of monosyllabic words. But in other situations, Watu Waja use /s/ instead of /h/ in the word-final place. Moreover, Watu Waja displays a stronger resemblance in its linguistic characteristics to Golo Lajang Barat when compared to other survey sites.

Opposite to that, survey sites 3 (Benteng Dewa), 6 (Siru), 8 (Sano Nggoang), and 9 (Watu Wangka) can be finally included in the Kempo sub-dialect (MSdK). The grouping of MSdK sub-dialects is based on linguistic features opposite those in the MSdS>H sub-dialect. In the MSdK sub-dialect, the phonemes [e] and /i/ are pronounced as [e] and [i], respectively, in the middle position before a nasal [ŋ]. It's worth noting that the linguistic features in the two sub-dialects are contradictory. For instance, the sound [s] in the Kempo sub-dialect is always pronounced with the sound [h] in the Kolang sub-dialect, while the sound [s] in the Kolang sub-dialect is the sound [c] in the Kempo sub-dialect. Similarly, the sound [h] is pronounced with the sound [ɣ] in the Kolang sub-dialect. In summary, the differences between the two sub-dialects are presented in the table below.

Table 8. Major phonological differences between Kempo and Kolang subdialects

Kempo		Kolang
[e]		[e̯]
[i]		[iə]
[k]	><	[ʔ]
[s]		[h]
[c]		[s]
[h]		[ɣ]

Survey sites 1 (Mbuit), 2 (Watu Waja), 4 (Lale), 5 (Poco Rutang), and 10 (Tentang) are referred to as transition areas. It is called a transition area because both the linguistic features in MSdS>H and MSdK

appear blurry, which means that sometimes these special linguistic features merge and can be found in this area. Although Mbuit appears to be more similar to members of the Kempo subdialect group, evidence shows that in the first correspondence above, Mbuit uses [e̞] instead of [e] as used by members of the Kolang subdialect group. This may be due to the mingling and mixing of speaking communities from the two sub-dialects in the Boleng sub-district area, particularly in Mbuit village. This has resulted in the adoption and fusion of different linguistic features. It has been previously mentioned why Watu Waja is not included in the Kolang sub-dialect group. Even though some of its linguistic features are more similar to members of this sub-dialect group, people in this area tend to be located in coastal areas, making it possible to have contact with speakers of other Manggarai-speaking communities. This differs from Golo Lajang Barat, situated in the highlands, where the linguistic features remain unchanged. Classifying survey sites 4 (Lale) and 5 (Poco Rutang) is evident from the discovery of inconsistent patterns of linguistic features, such as in correspondence between the phonemes /c/ and /s/; survey sites 4 (Lale) and 5 (Poco Rutang) tend to adopt two pronunciations with specific rules. On the other hand, inconsistent correspondence between the sounds [iə] and [i] found in survey site 10 (Tentang) also tends to adopt these two sounds.

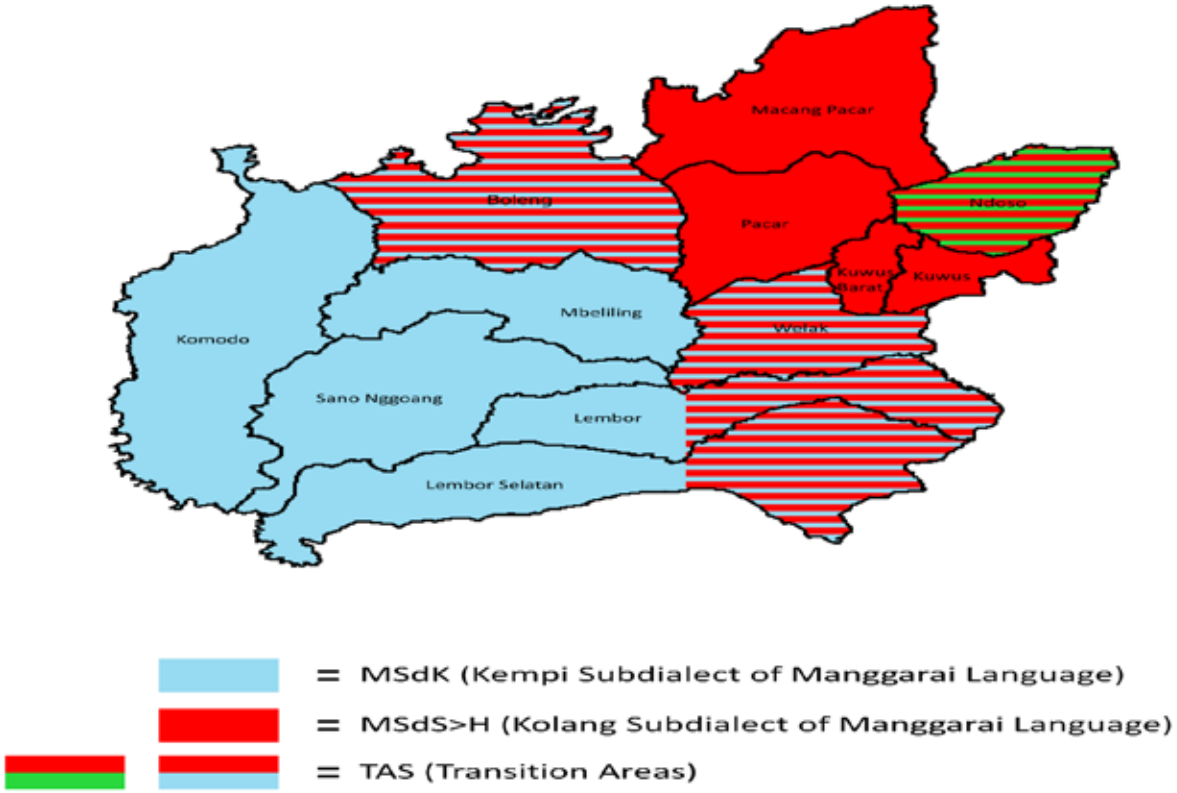

Figure 5. Language classification of Manggarai in this present study

The areas coloured blue is where the Kempo sub-dialect is spoken, consisting of Boleng, Komodo, Mbeliling and Sano Nggoang subdistricts. This aligns with the sample survey sites selected in this research, representing each sub-district. The areas coloured red are the main areas where the Kolang sub-dialect is spoken, which includes the sub-districts of Pacar, Macang Pacar, Kuwus, and Kuwus Barat. The Lembor and Lembor Selatan sub-districts are marked with a boundary line between the Kempo sub-dialect and the transition area because these two sub-districts are represented by two sample survey sites which function to prove that the sub-district area has two sub-dialect groups at once. This explains that there are parts

of the Lembor and Lembor Selatan areas that only speak the Kempo sub-dialect, and there are also parts of the area shaded in red and blue, which also include the Welak sub-district, indicating the existence of transition area sub-dialects. The areas coloured red and green also include transition areas that combine the Kolang sub-dialect with the Rahong dialect spoken in Manggarai Regency. Thus, the grouping confirms the validity of the language map compiled by Verheijen, which included the Munting, Welak, and Ndoso in the transition area (i.e., areas Watu Waja in South Lembor, Lale in Welak, Poco Rutang in Lembor, and Tentang in Ndoso).

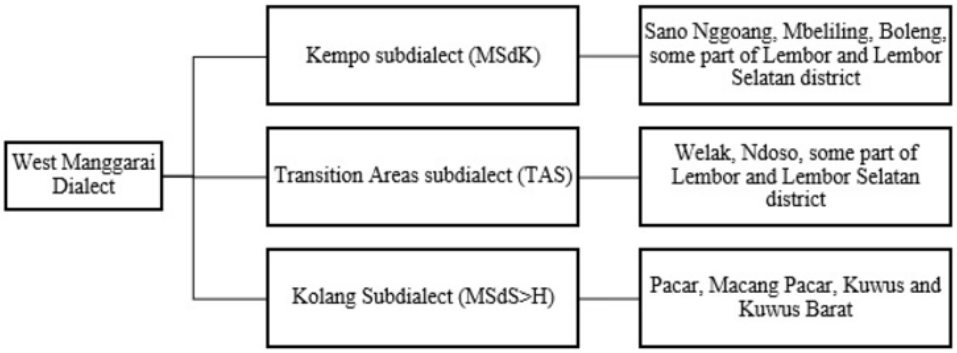

Figure 6. Sub-dialect areas in West Manggarai Regency

Differences in consonant inventory in each sub-dialect

The explanation above shows that the two sub-dialects have the same number of consonant phonemes, namely 17 consonant phonemes, but with different inventories.

Table 9. Consonant phoneme inventory in MSdS>H

Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
p b		t d	ʤ	k g	ʔ
m		n		ŋ	
		r			
	v	s		ɣ	h
		l			

Table 10. Consonant phoneme inventory in MSdK

Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
p b		t d	c ʤ	k g	ʔ
m		n		ŋ	
		r			
	v	s			h
		l			

The Kolang sub-dialect (MSdS>H) has: the velar fricative /ɣ/ which does not exist in Kempo sub-dialect (MSdK). This phoneme corresponds to the /h/ phoneme in MSdK, which implies that every [h] sound in MSdK is pronounced as [ɣ] in MSdS>H. However, this does not mean that MSdS>H does not have /h/ because the glottal fricative /h/ in MSdS>H is the alveolar fricative /s/ in MSdK. The alveolar fricative /s/ in

MSdS>H is a palatal plosive /c/ in MSdK. However, MSdS>H does not have /c/. The transition areas tend to have all these phonemes because, based on field data, such correspondence tends to be inconsistent, in area 2 (Watu Waja), the correspondence of the phonemes /s/ and /h/ tends to be non-constant, such as in the gloss knee and teeth, area 2 always follows the MSdK sub-dialect pattern, which tends to use the phoneme /s/ rather than /h/. In other cases, area 2 pronounces the gloss smoke with /nu:h/ following the MSdS>H pattern. The fusion is also clearly visible in area 4 (Lale), where the correspondence between the phonemes /s/ and /c/ is unstable, especially in the initial place of the word. It shows the unsteady correspondence of the phonemes /s/ and /c/ in the initial position of words in area 4 (Lale). This inconsistency only occurs in the initial position, while other data shows that area 2 tends to use /c/ in the middle of words as in the gloss wash /vaca/. This contrasts with survey site 5 (Poco Rutang), which also shows inconsistent correspondence (see Table 6).

The observed phonemic correspondence of /s/ and /c/ in the area 5 (Poco Rutang) reveals a noteworthy pattern. In initial positions, it is apparent that this region predominantly adheres to the MSdK pattern, employing the phoneme /c/ instead of /s/. In contrast, in the middle place of words, area 5 aligns with the MSdS>H pattern, favouring the usage of /s/ over /c/. It fits to categorize Poco Rutang as part of a transitional zone that encompasses and assimilates these distinctive linguistic characteristics from both sub-dialects. Furthermore, a similar phonemic variability is observed in the area 10 (Tentang), particularly about the interchange between velar /k/ and glottal /ʔ/ in final positions. Area 10 exhibits a certain degree of oscillation between the MSdK and MSdS>H patterns. For instance, the gloss ash and stream manifest the pronunciation with the velar /k/, following the MSdK pattern, whereas in the gloss dust and scratch, the area 10 resorts to the glottal /ʔ/, adhering to the MSdS>H pattern

In addition to the previously mentioned phonemes, implosive consonants are also considered a standard feature and a unique characteristic of Lesser Sundanese languages, including Bimanese, Komodo, Ngadha, and Hawu. Verheijen (1967) observed that several dialects of the Manggarai language in West Flores incorporate implosives (Blust, 2013). These implosives include the voiced bilabial implosive [ɓ], alveolar implosive [ɗ], and velar implosive [ɠ]. The implosive [ɓ] is produced by creating a seal between the articulator and the point of articulation. When the glottis vibrates (resulting in sound), the larynx moves downward, releasing the seal initially formed and allowing air to flow into the mouth. Typically, implosive [ɓ] appears in initial and medial positions within Manggarai words. Implosive [ɓ] differs from the plosive [b]. The critical distinction is that the former is a lung sound produced by pushing air solely through the intercostal muscles and the diaphragm, unlike most sounds. This type of sound occurs specifically when two consonant phonemes begin with a nasal bilabial sound [m]. This feature adds complexity and uniqueness to the phonological landscape of the Manggarai language.

The implosive alveolar sound [ɗ] is produced by positioning the tongue tip behind the upper front teeth or alveolar ridge. A seal is formed between the articulator and the point of articulation. The larynx moves downward when the glottis vibrates (resulting in sound). Subsequently, the seal created in the initial step is released, allowing air to enter the mouth. The voiced alveolar plosive [d] occurs in Manggarai only when the alveolar sound is followed by the nasal [n], forming the cluster [nd]. Another distinctive characteristic of the Manggarai language is its differentiation between the negative vowel sound [ɠ] and the plosive velar sound [g]. The former is typically found at the beginning and middle of words, whereas the latter appears in words preceding the nasal velar [ŋ], forming the sequence [ŋg]. The velar implosive stop [ɠ] is generated by blocking the flow of air in the vocal tract; negative, it involves glottal ingress, accomplished by drawing air while pushing the glottis down; velar, it is pronounced with the back of the tongue against the soft palate; and voiced, the vocal cords vibrate during articulation. Conversely, the voiced velar plosive [g] only surfaces in speech when it is preceded by a nasal [ŋ], creating the cluster [ŋg]. However, it should

be noted that there are exceptions where the velar plosive [g] can appear without the nasal [ŋ]. These phonological distinctions contribute to the unique phonetic landscape of the Manggarai language.

Conclusion and future work

This study delineates the linguistic variations in the Manggarai language spoken in the West Manggarai Regency by examining the linguistic features in the form of sound correspondences between sample survey sites under investigation. As previously mentioned, there exists a different perspective concerning the categorization of sub-dialects of the Manggarai language in the Manggarai district.

Our findings affirm the pertinence of the language classification framework devised by Verheijen, which stratifies the Manggarai language dialect territory into three distinct segments. First, the region denoted as the West Manggarai (Manggarai Barat=MB) dialect-speaking domain in Figure 2 of the language map (indicated by yellow shading) represents the central nexus for the propagation of the Kempo sub-dialect (MSdK), as elucidated in Figure 5 (highlighted in blue). The survey sites encompassed by MSdK in this investigation encompass Mbuit, Watu Wangka, Sano Nggoang, Siru, and Benteng Dewa. Second, the sole area encompassed by MSdS>H in this study is Golo Lajang Barat, which exhibits phonological traits antithetical to those of MSdK. In Verheijen's language map, other regions not included as survey sites in this research are assigned to the MSdS>H group, specifically Welak, Kolang, Berit, Reho, and Kempo. However, Watu Wangka in Mbeliling, the native enclave for the Kempo dialect, is annotated with the letter K (Kempo) on Verheijen's language map and is construed as an SH dialect territory. This region evinces linguistic attributes entirely congruent with those observed in the other areas grouped into MSdK in this study. Third, there exist the transition areas, as delineated by Verheijen, which are portions where linguistic characteristics are situated at the confluence of divergence between two dialect-speaking domains. The yellow-green shaded region, encompassing the Munting and Wontong areas, is a transition area bridging the West Manggarai and Central Manggarai dialects, akin to the Watu Waja area. Meanwhile, the yellow-pink shaded area, encompassing Welak in isolation, mirrors the linguistic dynamics observed in the villages of Poco Rutang and Lale in this research. Furthermore, in this study, the Selamat area exhibits transitional characteristics akin to Ndoso, Lelak, Pasat, and Ruis in Verheijen's linguistic cartography.

In conclusion, the primary divergence in language classification resides in the allocation of the Watu Wangka region in the Mbeliling sub-district, which, in Verheijen's research, is categorized as an MSdS>H speaking area, despite its linguistic attributes bearing a semblance to other MSdK speaking locales. This analysis also challenges the language identification undertaken by the Language Development and Fostering Agency, which singularly designates the Tangge sub-dialect as the exclusive variant of the Manggarai language in the West Manggarai district. In this research, Tangge can be classified as a transitional domain where linguistic variations appear to converge between MSdS>H and MSdK. Selecting sample survey sites serves as a means to encapsulate the linguistic disparities manifesting in the West Manggarai district, obviating the necessity for a comprehensive re-evaluation of survey sites while recognizing the continuity of patterns established in a prior study by Verheijen.

Therefore, it is necessary to carry out further researches with a broader area coverage in order to produce more accurate documentation of Manggarai language variations. This can be done by observing the variations of the West Manggarai language as a whole in the district and focusing on linguistic differences and extra-linguistic aspects (acoustic analysis) such as intonation, stress, and rhythm by utilizing computational methodologies such as PRAAT or other technologies that have not been utilized. In addition, researchers can further observe the Manggarai language dialect through Corpus-based dialectology rather than a survey or atlas-based methods because apart from being rarely done, it also provides several benefits, namely survey signals are more frequent than not, categorical, show a high level of data reduction, and therefore

may be less accurate than corpus signals, which can provide graded frequency information and thus better handle continuous linguistic variation (Szmrecsanyi, 2014). In addition, it is advisable to conduct research on a more expansive regional scope by encompassing Manggarai and East Manggarai districts. This will facilitate a comprehensive revision of the categorization of sub-dialects within the Manggarai language in the West Flores region.

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