

Subgrouping Malayo-Polynesian languages of Sumatra and the Barrier Islands

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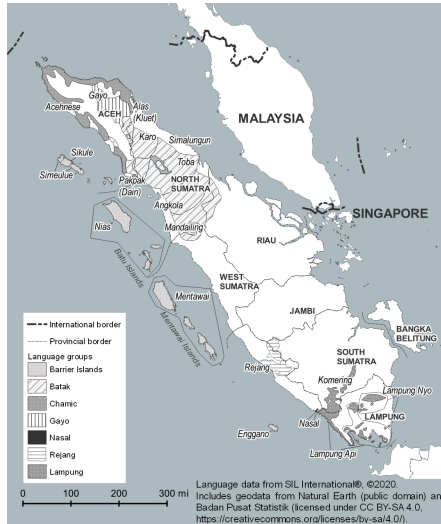
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The Languages of Sumatra and its Barrier Islands



Proposal

Sumatran subgroup that includes all non-Malayo-Chamic languages of Sumatra with the exception of Rejang and Lampungic.

- 1 Reaffirm Batak-Barrier Islands subgroup with evidence for the inclusion of Gayo
- 2 Provide evidence for the inclusion of Enggano and Nasal

Nothofer's (1986) Batak-Barrier Islands Proposal

- ▶ Nothofer (1986) first to outline strong argument for a subgroup containing the Barrier Islands (BI) and Batak languages
- ▶ The principal evidence for this:
 - ▶ Merger of PMP *c and *s as *s
 - ▶ Merger of PMP *ñ and *n as *n
 - ▶ Merger of PMP *z and *d as *d(?)
 - ▶ Shift of *-j- to *g/*x
 - ▶ Nearly 75 BI-Batak and 75 BI lexical innovations
 - ▶ 3 BI-Batak and 6 BI phonological irregularities

Motivations

- ▶ “Ultimately, more evidence for such a subgroup needs to be located. While it is certainly conspicuous that precisely those languages of Sumatra that do not fit into Western Indonesian reflect the change $*j > *g$, the entire subgrouping proposal rests on a single sound change.” (Smith 2017: 459)
- ▶ “There are no sound changes [...] shared between Enggano and all other Barrier Islands-Batak members.” (Edwards 2015: 89)
- ▶ “For now we conclude that the recommendation to the Ethnologue to provisionally classify Nasal as an isolate within Malayo-Polynesian was justified.” (Anderbeck & Aprilani 2013: 13)

Remaining Questions

- 1 What is the criteria for membership to the 'Sumatran' (Smith 2017) subgroup?
- 2 Where do **Gayo** (Nothofer 1986, 1994), **Enggano** (Edwards 2015; Smith 2017, 2020), and **Nasal** (Anderbeck & Aprilani 2013) stand in relation to this subgroup?

Phonological Innovations PMP > Proto-Sumatran

Mergers

- 1 PMP *j, *g > Proto-Sumatran *g >
 - ▶ Pre-Gayo *g, ∅ / V_V, *k / _#
 - ▶ Proto-Batak *g
 - ▶ Proto-Northern Barrier Islands *x, *k / _V#
 - ▶ Proto-Central Barrier Islands *g, *x / V_V
 - ▶ Pre-Mentawai *g

Phonological Innovations PMP > Proto-Sumatran

Mergers

- 1 PMP *j, *g > Proto-Sumatran *g
- 2 PMP *z, *d > Proto-Sumatran *d >
 - ▶ Pre-Gayo *r
 - ▶ Proto-Batak *d
 - ▶ Proto-Northern Barrier Islands *d, *r / V_V
 - ▶ Proto-Central Barrier Islands *d, *r / V_V, *l / #_...l
 - ▶ Pre-Mentawai *d, *r / V_V, *l / #_...l

Phonological Innovations PMP > Proto-Sumatran

Mergers

- 1 PMP *j, *g > Proto-Sumatran *g
- 2 PMP *z, *d > Proto-Sumatran *d
- 3 PMP *ñ, *n > Proto-Sumatran *n
- 4 PMP *R, *r > Proto-Sumatran *r >
 - ▶ Pre-Gayo *y
 - ▶ Proto-Batak *r
 - ▶ Proto-Northern Barrier Islands *l
 - ▶ Proto-Central Barrier Islands ø
 - ▶ Pre-Mentawai ø

Phonological Innovations PMP > Proto-Sumatran

Mergers

- 1 PMP *j, *g > Proto-Sumatran *g
- 2 PMP *z, *d > Proto-Sumatran *d
- 3 PMP *ñ, *n > Proto-Sumatran *n
- 4 PMP *R, *r > Proto-Sumatran *r
- 5 PMP *h > Proto-Sumatran ∅ >
 - ▶ Everywhere ∅

Phonological Innovations PMP > Proto-Sumatran

Mergers

- 1 PMP *j, *g > Proto-Sumatran *g
- 2 PMP *z, *d > Proto-Sumatran *d
- 3 PMP *ñ, *n > Proto-Sumatran *n
- 4 PMP *R, *r > Proto-Sumatran *r
- 5 PMP *h > Proto-Sumatran ∅

Shift

- 1 PMP *q > Proto-Sumatran *h >
 - ▶ Pre-Gayo ∅, *h / _#
 - ▶ Proto-Batak ∅, *h / _#
 - ▶ Proto-Northern Barrier Islands ∅
 - ▶ Proto-Central Barrier Islands *h
 - ▶ Pre-Mentawai ∅

Phonological Innovations PMP > Proto-Sumatran

Mergers

- 1 PMP *j, *g > Proto-Sumatran *g
- 2 PMP *z, *d > Proto-Sumatran *d
- 3 PMP *ñ, *n > Proto-Sumatran *n
- 4 PMP *R, *r > Proto-Sumatran *r
- 5 PMP *h > Proto-Sumatran ∅

Shift

- 1 PMP *q > Proto-Sumatran *h

Enggano as a Sumatran Language

1 (✓) PMP *j, *g > PSum *g > Enggano *h*

“The historical phonology of [some] consonants from PMP is poorly understood due to a lack of attestation. It is likely, however, that *g became *h* through an earlier merger with *ŋ [...] and later with *j” (Smith 2017: 350)

PMP	Enggano
*gələŋ ‘intestinal.worm’	<i>e-hodo</i> ‘worm’
*pija ‘how.many’	<i>a-fiha</i> ‘how.many’
*suja ‘pitfall.spikes’	<i>kuha</i> ‘pig.trap’
*sijəm ‘ant’	<i>kiho</i> ‘ant’

Enggano as a Sumatran Language

- 1 (✓) PMP *j, *g > PSum *g > Enggano *h*
- 2 (?) PMP *z, *d > PSum *d > Enggano *d*

PMP

- (?) *tuzuq 'to.point'
- (?) *quzuŋ 'promontory'
- *duniq 'rainbow'
- *duha 'two'
- *dəŋəR 'to.hear'

Enggano

- e-kudu* 'promontory'
- e-dudi* 'rainbow'
- ʔa-dua* 'two'
- doho-i* 'to.hear'

Enggano as a Sumatran Language

- 1 (✓) PMP *j, *g > PSum *g > Enggano *h*
- 2 (?) PMP *z, *d > PSum *d > Enggano *d*
- 3 (?) PMP *ñ, *n > PSum *n > Enggano *d*

PMP

(?) *ñamñam 'tasty'

(?) *pəñu 'turtle'

*duniq 'rainbow'

*bunuq 'to.kill'

*t<in>aqi 'small.intestine'

Enggano

ki-~dada 'to.taste'

e-~punu-?o?oi 'turtle'

(cf. Mtw. *penuŋ* 'turtle')

e-dudi 'rainbow'

ki-pudu 'to.kill'

e-kidai 'intestines'

Enggano as a Sumatran Language

- 1 (✓) PMP *j, *g > PSum *g > Enggano *h*
- 2 (?) PMP *z, *d > PSum *d > Enggano *d*
- 3 (?) PMP *ñ, *n > PSum *n > Enggano *d*
- 4 (?) PMP *R, *r > PSum *r > Enggano *ø*

PMP

(?) *rebuŋ 'bamboo.shoot'
*tirtir 'to.shiver'
*Rumaq 'house'
*baRəq 'swelling'
*ikuR 'tail'
*qabatiR 'sago.grub'

Enggano

~*opu* 'k.o.grass'
~*kaniki* 'to.tremble'
e-uba 'house'
e-pao 'wound'
e-iʔo 'tail'
e-~paki 'wood.worm'

Enggano as a Sumatran Language

- 1 (✓) PMP *j, *g > PSum *g > Enggano *h*
- 2 (?) PMP *z, *d > PSum *d > Enggano *d*
- 3 (?) PMP *ñ, *n > PSum *n > Enggano *d*
- 4 (?) PMP *R, *r > PSum *r > Enggano *∅*
- 5 (✓) PMP *h > PSum *∅* > Enggano *∅*

PMP	Enggano
*hasaŋ 'gills'	<i>e-~aka</i> 'gills'
*bahuq 'odor'	<i>e-pau</i> 'stink'
*duha 'two'	<i>?a-dua</i> 'two'

Enggano as a Sumatran Language

- 1 (✓) PMP *j, *g > PSum *g > Enggano *h*
- 2 (?) PMP *z, *d > PSum *d > Enggano *d*
- 3 (?) PMP *ñ, *n > PSum *n > Enggano *d*
- 4 (?) PMP *R, *r > PSum *r > Enggano *∅*
- 5 (✓) PMP *h > PSum *∅* > Enggano *∅*
- 6 (✓) PMP *q > PSum *h > Enggano *∅*

PMP	Enggano
*qulu 'head'	<i>e-ulu</i> 'head'
*t<in>aqi 'small.intestine'	<i>e-kidai</i> 'intestines'
*bahuq 'odor'	<i>e-pau</i> 'stink'

Nasal as a Sumatran Language

1 (✓) PMP *j, *g > PSum *g > Nasal g, k / _#

PMP	Nasal	English
*pagəq	paguh	'to.endure'
*hapəjəs	pəgus	'sour'
*pajay	pəhay	'unhulled.rice'
*sijəm	sihum	'ant'
*quləj	huluk	'caterpillar'
*lələj	laluk	'fly'
*pusəj	pusuk	'navel'

Nasal as a Sumatran Language

- 1 (✓) PMP *j, *g > PSum *g > Nasal g, k / _#
- 2 (✓) PMP *z, *d > PSum *d > Nasal d, χ

PMP	Nasal	English
*zaRaŋ	χalaŋ	'seldom'
*pəzəm	pədum [†]	'to.sleep'
*tazuk	taχu?	'to.plant'
*duRi	χuli	'thorn'
*dəŋəR	dəŋul	'to.hear'
*qudaŋ	huχaŋ	'shrimp'
*qudip	huχi? [†]	'to.live'
*tuqəd	tuhut	'tree.stump'

Nasal as a Sumatran Language

- 1 (✓) PMP *j, *g > PSum *g > Nasal g, k / _#
- 2 (✓) PMP *z, *d > PSum *d > Nasal d, χ
- 3 (?) PMP *ñ, *n > PSum *n

PMP	Nasal	English
*ñikñik	həniʔ	'pig.louse'
*nanaq	nanah	'pus'
*qənay	hənay	'sand'
*qalu-hipan	həlupan	'centipede'

Nasal as a Sumatran Language

- 1 (✓) PMP *j, *g > PSum *g > Nasal g, k / _#
- 2 (✓) PMP *z, *d > PSum *d > Nasal d, χ
- 3 (?) PMP *ñ, *n > PSum *n
- 4 (✓) PMP *R, *r > PSum *r > Nasal /

PMP	Nasal	English
*rəbuŋ	ləbuŋ	'bamboo.shoot'
*Raŋu	laŋu	'dry'
*daRəq	χaluh	'pot'
*daRaŋ	χalah	'blood'
*paRa	palo	'storage.shelf'
*dəŋəR	dəŋul	'to.hear'
*wahiR	wayil	'water'

Nasal as a Sumatran Language

- 1 (✓) PMP *j, *g > PSum *g > Nasal g, k / _#
- 2 (✓) PMP *z, *d > PSum *d > Nasal d, χ
- 3 (?) PMP *ñ, *n > PSum *n
- 4 (✓) PMP *R, *r > PSum *r > Nasal /
- 5 (✓) PMP *h > PSum ∅ > Nasal ∅

PMP	Nasal	English
*hapuy	apuy	'fire'
*ihəq	ih	'urine'
*wahiR	wayil	'water'
*tuhud	tuwut	'knee'
*baRah	walo	'flame'

Nasal as a Sumatran Language

- 1 (✓) PMP *j, *g > PSum *g > Nasal g, k / _#
- 2 (✓) PMP *z, *d > PSum *d > Nasal d, χ
- 3 (?) PMP *ñ, *n > PSum *n
- 4 (✓) PMP *R, *r > PSum *r > Nasal /
- 5 (✓) PMP *h > PSum ∅ > Nasal ∅
- 6 (✓) PMP *q > PSum *h > Nasal h

PMP	Nasal	English
*qətət	hətu?	'fart'
*quay	huway	'rattan'
*tuqah	tuho	'old'
*tuqəd	tuhut	'tree.stump'
*ihəq	iuh	'urine'
*daRaQ	χalah	'blood'

Lexical Innovations

Table: PSum lexical innovations.

PSum	Eng	Pre-G	PB	PNBI	PCBI	Pre-Mtw	Nasal
*alay	'friend'		*aley	*alay	*le	*aley	
*aŋgəh	'to.kiss'		*aŋgəh	*aŋkə	*ago		
*bahij	'ginger'		*bahij	*baj			
*baruŋ	'heron'		*baruŋ	*baluŋ			
*bəŋkik	'bat'		*bəŋkik	*bəŋiʔ	*bəgi		
*bəŋjay	'maggot'		*bəŋjeɣ	*bəŋjay			
*dələg	'mountain'		*dələg	*dələk	*lələ	*lelew	
*hasar	'nest'	*asay	*asar				<i>hasal</i>
*lakun	'sibling.in.law'	*lakun		*laʔun	*laʔo	*lakun	
*sada	'one'	*sara	*sada	*sara	*sara	*sara	
*ciəh	'snail'		*cih				<i>siyuh</i>
*tarub	'roof'		*tarub	*talup			
*təruh	'low'	*tuyuh	*təruh	*təlu	*tou		
*tigər	'midday'		*tigər	*tikəl	*sixo		
*timbər	'smoke'		*timbər	*timbəl	*simbo	*timbo	
*tindaw	'to.ask.for'	*tiro		*tindaw	*sində	*tidow	
*puləgəs	'rattan'		*puləgəs			*pulege	

Conclusion

- ▶ Sumatran subgroup characterized by five mergers and one shift
- ▶ Gayo and Nasal likely members of the family
- ▶ Enggano, though evidence is difficult, appears to follow suit
- ▶ Rejang and Lampung do not appear to fit in Sumatran, though this is a preliminary conclusion

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