A window into the early history of language contact in Sumatra

(https://bit.ly/3z4CpbB)

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Goal

To show how current linguistic properties of Nasal and patterns of multilingualism in the Nasal speech community serve as a window into early language contact in Sumatra, providing a grounded example of language contact and change among Malayo-Polynesian languages in western Indonesia.

Overview

1. Linguistic history of Sumatra

2. Nasal speech community

3. Multilingualism

4. Layered traces of contact

5. Conclusion

Sumatran

Evidence < series of mergers

PMP *j, *g > Proto-Sumatran *g
PMP *z, *d > Proto-Sumatran *d
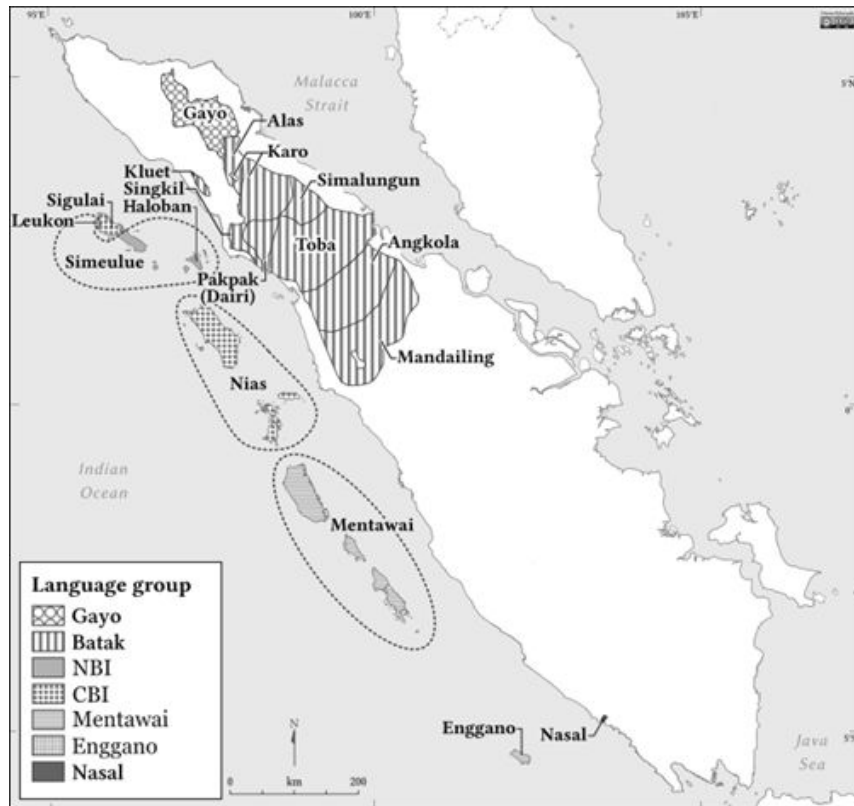PMP *ñ, *n > Proto-Sumatran *n
PMP *R, *r > Proto-Sumatran *r
PMP *h   > Proto-Sumatran ø
PMP *q   > Proto-Sumaran *h

See also Smith (2017), Nothofer (1986)

Sumatran subgroup = Non-Malayo-Chamic
languages of Sumatra *except* Lampungic and Rejang


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Linguistic history of Sumatra

Four apparent primary migrations:

1. Pre-Austronesian groups (see Blench 2014 for Enggano specifically)
2. Arrival and dispersal of speakers of Proto-Sumatrans   (← Nasal)
   ○ Arrival of Rejang, Lampungic unclear
3. Displacement by Malay groups
4. Recent (< 100 years) population movements

"the linguistic history of Sumatra has not been one of continuous undisturbed differentiation, but probably included a major episode of language leveling in which incoming Malayic speakers replaced earlier languages and so 'reset the clock' of linguistic evolution" (Blust 2013: 77–78)

Nasal

- Approx. 3,000 speakers in 4 villages
- Not known to linguists until 2007
  (Anderbeck & Aprilani 2013)
- Extensive contact
- Multilingualism in local Malay
  varieties
- Cultural practices similar to
  surrounding Malay and Lampungic
  groups
  - Exceptions: *Sengkukho, Cik Setian*
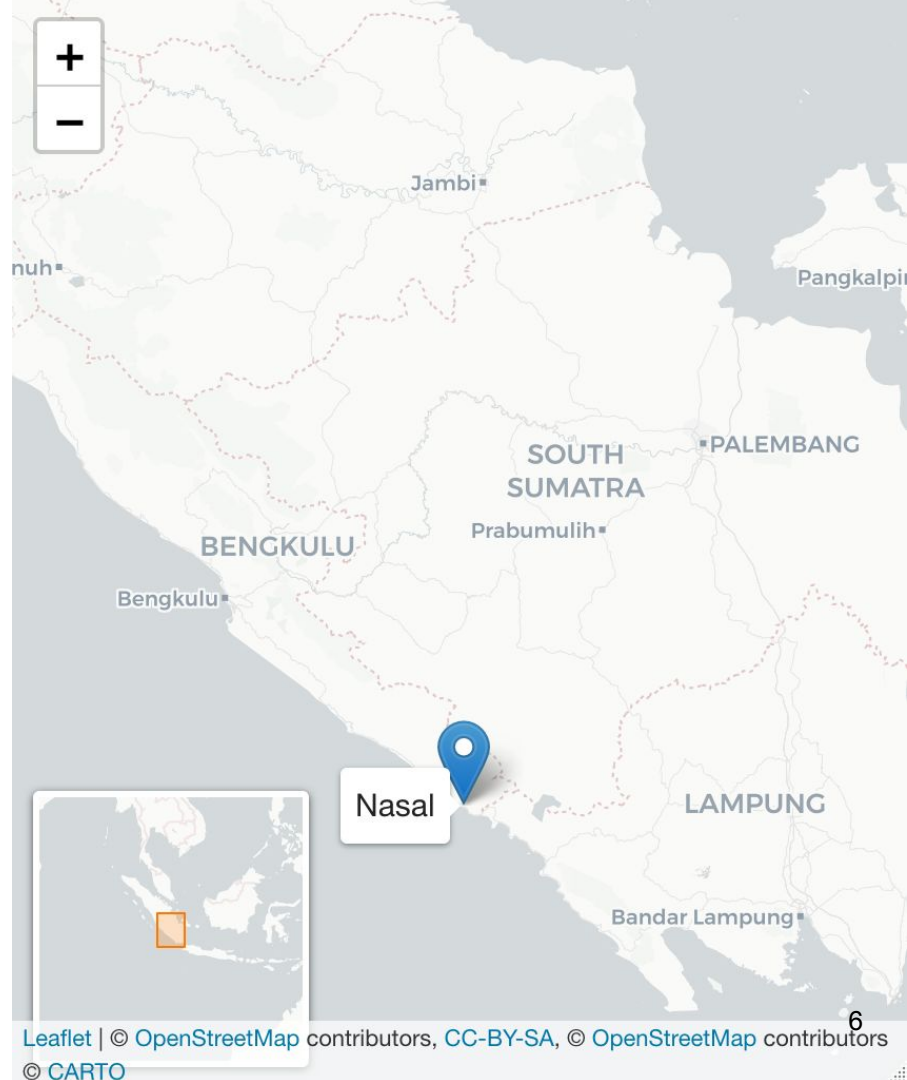
Small-scale multilingualism

"… involves situations in which individuals can speak and/or understand numerous Indigenous languages with small numbers of speakers (generally on the order of hundreds or a few thousand), usually with additional competence in erstwhile colonial languages."

(Pakendorf et al. 2021)

A fringe case?

1. Kaur
   - approx. 40k speakers
   - Marked pronunciation of /r/ ~ [ʕ]
   - Spoken along coast
2. South Barisan Malay
   - Semende dialect
   - approx. 1.5 million speakers
   - Spilling down from the highlands

Standard and colloquial varieties of Indonesian used with **some outsiders** (Javanese, Batak) and **formal situations** (weddings, funerals).

*Some contact with Krui (Lampungic)

Nasal speech community

~1980s: Construction of paved road and bridges

2004: Nasal river floods, village known as Benteng moves to ~5km north to Tanjung Baru (later becoming two villages, Tanjung Baru and Tanjung Agung).

Apparent ongoing shifts in practices away from local traditions

Nasal not endorsed in official capacities (broader communication, education, etc.)

Interviews on Language Use

28 people living in Nasal villages

- 23 native Nasal
- 5 Kaur, Semende

Ages 26–62

12 Women, 16 men

Interviews conducted by Dendi Wijaya, who had not visited Nasal, but is from the region.

Interviews conducted in Semende or Indonesian

Interviews on Language Use

Speaking Nasal → Speaking Kaur (→ Speaking Semende)
(reverse is not true)

1. Attitudes towards Nasal, Kaur, Indonesian are positive
   ○ Semende more mixed with a range of positive/negative feelings and assessment of fluency.
2. Domains of use largely unhelpful
   ○ "Who am I talking to?"
   ○ "Most people at the hospital speak Kaur so I'd speak Kaur there"
3. Sporadic reports of speaking/understanding Krui

Layers of Nasal
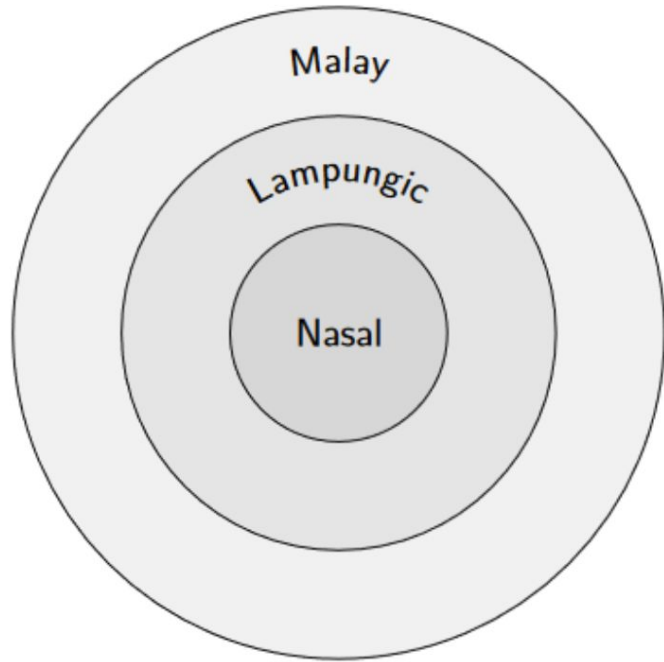
Three primary layers of Nasal:

Malayic (Kaur, South Barisan Malay)

Lampungic (Krui, Komering)

Nasal core

Massive borrowing in…

- Lexicon
- Morphology
- Syntax (?)

Often impossible to identify if a given element is borrowed from one group or another.

Malayic

Morphology:
- Nasal *bə-* 'MID' < Kaur *bər-*
- Nasal *tə-* 'NVOL' < Kaur *tər-*   ← Fully productive
- Nasal *di-* 'PV' < Kaur *di-*

Content (Lexicon):
- Nasal *həluŋ* 'to hear' < Kaur *həluŋ*
- Nasal *səməŋko* < Malayic *səmaŋka*
        (cf. *ləmbujo* 'watermelon')

                                            ↖
                                            Ongoing contact effects
Function (Lexicon):
- Nasal *sai* 'REL' ~ Kaur *yang* 'REL'   ↙
- Nasal *yo* '3☐' ~ Kaur *nyo* '3☐'
- Nasal *lawan* 'and' ~ Kaur *khan* 'and'

Malayic

Syntax

Kaur

1. *Teguh   ndak m-beli   deʻian*.
   T.   want AV-buy   durian
   'Teguh wants to buy durian.'

2. *Deʻian   lah ʻadu   di-beli   Teguh*.
   durian   done already   PV-buy   T.
   'Teguh already bought durian.'

3. *Kayu ni   ʻadu   ku=teta'*.
   wood that   already   1□=chop
   'I already chopped that tree.'

Nasal

1. *Nyak hago n-etuk   pempang   kayu sudi*.
   1□   want AV-chop   log   wood that
   'I'm going to chop down those wood logs.'

2. *Pempang   kayu sudi khadu   ku=tetuk*.
   log   wood that   already   1□=chop
   'I chopped those wood logs.'

3. *Pempang   kayu sudi khadu   (di-)tetuk=nyo*.
   log   wood that   already   (PV-)-chop=3□
   '(S)He already chopped those wood logs.'

Voice in Way Lima appears to be very similar except first and second person pronouns can appear in di- marked constructions.

Malayic

Syntax

Kaur

1. *Aku   tadi   te-teta'   ja'i.*
   1□   earlier   ɴᴠᴏʟ-cut   finger
   'I accidentally cut (my) finger.'
2. *Tali=mu   tadi   te-teta'=ku.*
   thread=2□ earlier   ɴᴠᴏʟ-cut=1□
   'I accidentally cut your rope.'

Nasal

1. *Nyak kak   te-suwah   lahan kai.*
   1□   done ɴᴠᴏʟ-burn   field 2ᴘ
   'I accidentally burned your field.'
2. *Lahan   ni   te-suwah=ku.*
   field   that   ɴᴠᴏʟ-burn=1□
   'I accidentally burned the field'

Non-volitional *tə-* used with enclitic agent

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Lampungic

Morphology:
- Nasal *mi-* 'kinship associative' < Lampungic *mi-*   ← Only in a few forms

Lexicon:
- Nasal *bihum* 'cheek'   < Lampungic *bihum*   < PMP *bəRəqaŋ
      (beside Nasal *səmbəlahum*)
- Nasal *kikuy* 'to.scratch'   < Lampungic *kikuy*   < PMP *kuR-kuR
- Nasal *piyuh* 'to.squeeze'   < Lampungic *piyuh*   < PMP *pəRəq
- Nasal *məχanay* 'bachelor'   < Lampunigic *məχanay*   < PMP *ma-Ruqanay
      (beside Nasal *mələhanay)*
- Nasal *bahun* 'home'   < Lampungic *ləmbahan*
- Nasal *uŋin* 'all'   < Komering *uŋin* (else Lampungic *uɲin*)

Lampungic

Nasal demonstrative system

	Independent	Post-nominal	Locative	Manner	*k-*	*ng-*
Prox	**ajo**	**sijo/so**	**dijo**	jeujo	kajo	ngajo
Med	ani	heni/ni	**disan**	jeusan	kani	ngani
Dist	**udi**	sudi	**dudi**	jeudi	kudi	ngudi

Nasal *nyak* '1□' < Lampungic *nyak*
(other potential loan pronouns)

Lampungic

Nasal infixes and irregular *tə*- forms

root	*m-* | *-em-*	*te(k)-*	
iuh	*miuh*	*tekiuh*	'urinate'
-ising	*mising*	*tekising*	'defecate'
hetuk	*metuk*	*teketuk*	'fart'
utah	*mutah*	*tekutah*	'throw up'
-hedung	*medung*	*tehedung*	'sit'

Peeling back the layers

Lexical borrowing
- **Malayic**:
  - Present variation   ⇒   Reflects current multilingualism
  - Body of loan content words   ⇒   Long-term contact
  - Import of function words   ⇒   Sustained multilingualism
- **Lampungic**:
  - Invariant loan lexicon   ⇒   Historical contact (no longer taking place)
  - Body of loan content words   ⇒   Long-term contact
  - Reworking of functional systems ⇒   Sustained, long-term multilingualism

Lexical borrowing ⇒   *Long-term multilingualism* with Lampungic

(no longer visible in modern-day Nasal)

Peeling back the layers

Morphological/Syntactic borrowing
- **Malayic**:
  - *bə-*, *tə-*, *di-* adopted ⇒ Sustained multilingualism
    (*bə-*, *tə-* possibly mediated by Lampungic)
  - Phrase/Sentence structure ⇒ Sustained multilingualism
- **Lampungic**:
  - *mi-* adopted ⇒ Possible borrowing of complex forms

Morphological/Syntactic borrowing ⇒ *Long-term multilingualism* with Malayic
(as sustained to the present day)

Different aspects of Nasal loans reveal distinct (possibly overlapping) stages of language contact, and not simply *contact* but *functional multilingualism*

Nasal core

Reflexes of *R:

PMP	Nasal (/l/)	Lampungic (/y/)	Malayic (/r/)
*wahiR	*wayil* 'water'		
*daRaq	*χalah* 'blood'		
*ma-Ruqanay	*mələhanay* 'bachelor'	*məχanay* 'bachelor'	
*baRəqaŋ	*səmbəlahum* 'molar'	*bihum* 'cheek'	
*waRi	*wali* 'day'		*hakhi* '(moon)day'
*[qk]apuR	*hapul* 'limestone'		*kapuχ* 'limestone'

Similar for *j, *z…

Phonological developments distinguish Nasal core from Lampungic/Malayic

Nasal core

Lexicon:

- Inherited Proto-Sumatran vocabulary (e.g., *hasar 'nest' > *hasal*)
- Innovative lexicon not found in surrounding area

Phonology:

- Unique sound changes (*r > /l/; *z > /d/; *j > /g/, /h/, /k/)
- Prosodic structure distinct from neighboring speech communities

Morphology:

- Unproductive *<əm>* infix
- Pluractional/imitative AV + *-an* construction

Haji (Anderbeck 2007)

Malayic language spoken in South Sumatra province

Significant Lampungic influence in lexicon

Reflects similar situation of *long-term multilingualism*

Lampungic	Nasal	Haji	English
baŋuʔ	*baŋuʔ*	*baŋuʔ*	'mouth'
galah	*galah*	*galah*	'neck'
kikuy	*kikuy*	*kəkuy*	'to scratch'
piyuh	*piyuh*	*pioχ*	'to squeeze'
rulus	*χulus*	*ʁulus*	'straight'

Conclusions

Nasal demonstrates a complex history of *sustained multilingualism* (not just *contact*) with both Lampungic and Malay varieties.

The impact of universal multilingualism in Kaur is evident in Nasal lexicon and grammar.

Solidified patterns from Lampungic point to an earlier widespread multilingualism in some variety of Lampungic.

- Although the exact source is unclear and is likely *not* its current closest neighbour (Krui)

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