

THE GREATER NORTH BORNEO HYPOTHESIS

1. Internal structure of the North Sarawak subgroup

I. NORTH SARAWAK

A. BINTULU: Bintulu

B. BERAHAN-LOWER BARAM

1. BERAHAN: Long Terawan, Batu Belah, Long Teru, Long Jegan

2. LOWER BARAM: Belait, Miri, Dali', Narum, Lelak, Lemeting, Kiput

C. KENYAH

1. HIGHLAND KENYAH: Long Anap, Long Atun, Òma Lóngh, etc.

2. LOWLAND KENYAH: Long Ikang, Long San, Long Sela'an, Long Dunin, Long Wat, Sebop, various Penan communities

D. DAYIC

1. MURUTIC: Lun Dayeh/Lun Bawang

3. KELABITIC: Bario, Long Lellang, Long Napir, Long Seridan, Pa' Dalih, Long Banga' (Sa'ban), Long Terawan (Tring)

2. Reflexes of PNS *b and *b^h

	PNS *b			PNS *b ^h	
	I	M	F	I	M
A) Bintulu	b/v	v	b	ḡ	ḡ
B) Berawan (all dialects)	b	k/kk	m	p	p
Kiput	b	b	p	s	s
Narum, Miri	b	b	p	f	f
C) Kenyah (Highland)	b	b	p	p	p
Kenyah (Lowland)	b~ḡ	ḡ	p	ḡ	ḡ
Kenyah (Long Wat)	b	v	p	b	b
D) Lun Dayeh (Long Semado)	b	b	b		b ^h
Kelabit (Bario, Lg Lellang)	b	b	b		b ^h
Kelabit (Lg Napir, Lg Seridan)	b	b	b		f
Kelabit, Pa' Dalih	b	b	b~p	p	p
Sa'ban, Tring	b	b	p	p	p

EXS: *batu > BK *batuh*, Highland Kenyah *batu*, Kiput *bataw*, Bintulu *batəw* 'stone', next to:

1a) *buhek > *buək > *buk > *əbuk > *əbbuk > PNS *əb^huk > BK *əb^huk*, Highland Kenyah *puk*, Kiput *suəʔ*, Bintulu *ḡuk* 'head hair'

*qabu > BK *abuh*, Highland Kenyah *abu*, Kiput *abew*, Bintulu *avəw* 'ashes', next to:

1b) *tebu > *təbbu > PNS *təb^hu > BK *təb^huh*, Highland Kenyah *təpu*, Kiput *təsəw*, Bintulu *təbəw* 'sugarcane'

*babuy 'wild pig' > BK, Miri, Kiput *babuy* 'boar', next to:

*bukbuk > BK *bub^huk*, Miri *bufuk*, Kiput *busuəʔ* 'wood weevil; dust'

3. Reflexes of PAN/PMP voiced obstruents in Uma Juman Kayan

PNS	Uma Juman Kayan	
*bulu	bulu?	body hair/feather
*əb ^h uk	buk	head hair
*qabu	avu?	ashes
*təb ^h uh	təvu?	sugarcane
*ŋadan	aran	name
*pəd ^h u	pəru?	gall
*paday	pare	riceplant
*təməd ^h uR	təməduh	rhinoceros
*ujan	usan	rain
*Rəj ^h an	san	ladder

4. SABAH: Structure of the 'Northwest Austronesian Superstock' (after Smith 1984:41ff)

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Lundayeh language | 5. Bugis subfamily | 9. Bornean stock |
| 2. Banggi language | 6. Ida'an subfamily | 9.1. Tidong |
| 3. Illanun language | 7. Malayic subfamily | 9.2. Paitanic family |
| 4. Suluk language | 8. Bajau family | 9.3. Dusunic family |
| | | 9.4. Murutic family |

5. EVIDENCE FOR NORTH BORNEO: PNS *b^h, *d^h, *g^h and Ida'an Begak bp, dt, gk

	PMP	PNS	NS	Ida'an Begak	
(A)	*baqbaq	*bəb ^h a?	LgA pa?	bəbpa?	mouth
	*buhek	*əb ^h uk	BK əb ^h uk	əbpuk	head hair
	*tebek	*təb ^h ək	BK təb ^h ək	təbpok	pierce
	*tebeŋ	*təb ^h əŋ	BK təb ^h əŋ	təbpoŋ	fell trees
	*tebuh	*təb ^h uh	BK təb ^h uh	təbpu	sugarcane
	*qalejaw	*əd ^h aw	BK əd ^h o	ədtow	day
	----	*məd ^h an	BIN mədān,		
			LgA mətān	m-adtan (= mədtan?)	faint
	*hapejes	*pəd ^h əs	BIN pədəs	pədtos	smart/sting; ill
	*haRezan	*əj ^h an	BK əd ^h an	gədtan	ladder
	*kezep	*kəj ^h əp	BK kəd ^h əp	kədtop	blink
(B)	*lebuq	*ləb ^h u?	LgA ləpo?	----	village
	*hapejiq	*pəd ^h i	BK pəd ^h ih	----	sting; salty
	*qapeju	*pəd ^h u	BK pəd ^h uh	----	gall, bile
	----	*təməd ^h uR	BK təməd ^h ur	----	rhinoceros
(C)	*Rebaq	----	----	gəbpa?	collapse
	*lebug	----	----	ləbpog	mudhole
	*lebenj	----	----	ləbpoŋ	grave
	*teduŋ	----	----	tədtuŋ	cover head

(D)	*baqeRu	*bəRu	BK bəruh	bagku (= bəgku?)	new
	*beRas	*bəRas	BK bəra	bəgkas	husked rice
	*beRaqaṭ	*bəRat	BK bərat	bəgkat	heavy
	*teRas	----	----	təgkas	heartwood
	*ma-buhek	*mabuk	BK mabuk	əbpuk	drunk
	*bahu(-an)	*baʔu?	LgW baʔu?	əbpow	odor
	*zauq	*jau?	BIN jau?	ədtu?	far

6. FURTHER EVIDENCE FOR NORTH BORNEO: Kadazan Dusun reflexes of PNB *b, *b^h and *d, *d^h

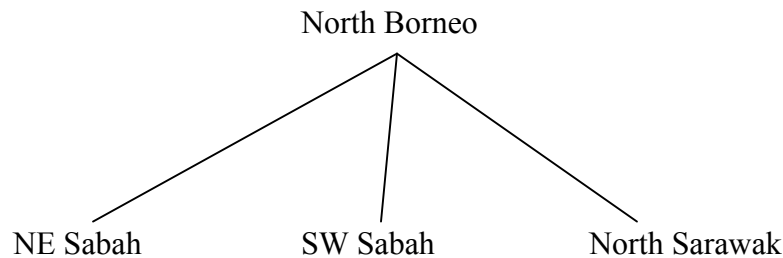
*-b- (= *b) > v: *abaŋ > *avan* ‘block, hinder’, *qabiq > *avi?* ‘finish’, *ma-buhek > *a-vuk* ‘drunk’, *Rabun > *gavun* ‘fog, mist’, *iban > *ivan* ‘parent-in-law’, *sabit > *savit* ‘hang, hook onto’, *qabu > *tavu* ‘ashes’, *tebuj > *tovud* ‘spring of water’, *quban > *tuvan* ‘gray hair’.

*-b- (= *b^h) > b: *Rebaq > *aba?* ‘fall, collapse’, *bakbak > *babak* ‘smash, break’, *busbus > *bubus* ‘pour out’, *butbut > *bubut* ‘k.o. bird’, *beRuk > *gobuk* ‘short-tailed monkey’ (met.), *lebiq > *hobi* ‘more, extra’, *leben > *hoboŋ* ‘grave’, *keban > *kaban* ‘box, trunk’, *tebas > *tabas* ‘cut bushes’, *tebek > *tobok* ‘pierce, stab’, *tebuh > *tobu* ‘sugarcane’, *buhek > buk > *əbuk > *tobuk* ‘head hair’, *tebus > *tobus* ‘redeem, ransom’.

*-d/z/j- (= *d?) > Ø: *kuja ‘how?’ > *kuo* ‘why?’, *ŋajan > *ŋaan* ‘name’, *pajay > *paay* ‘rice in the field’, *pija > *pio* ‘how much/how many?’, *tuzuq ‘point, indicate’ > *tuu?* ‘seven’.

*-d/z/j- (= *d^h) > d: *kezut > *kodut* ‘pinch’, *hapejiq > *podi?* ‘sting’, *hapejes > *podos* ‘smart; pungent’, *sejep ‘set, of sun’ > *sodop* ‘night’, *sedu > *sodu?* ‘hiccup’, *ejuŋ > *toduŋ* ‘nose’.

FIGURE 1: The North Borneo subgroup of Austronesian languages



7. Lexical evidence for a Northeast Sabah subgroup

No.	PMP	PNES	Bonggi	Ida'an	Gloss
01.	*(qa)lima	*əpi?	pii?	ppi?	hand
02.	*qabaRa	*səd ^h əŋ	sodokŋ	sadtoŋ	shoulder
03.	*gemgem	*m-əg ^h ət	m-ogot	m-əgkot	to hold
04.	*(ba)labaw	*sikut	sihut	sikut	rat, mouse
05.	*meñak	*inak	inək	ennak	fat, grease

06.	*hulaR	*ulaŋ	uləkŋ	ulaŋ	snake
07.	*kaRaŋ	*kabaʔ	kabaʔ	kabaʔ	crab
08.	*iheq	*sidu	sidu	sidu	urine
09.	*tian-an	*təgiʔ	togi	təgiʔ	pregnant
10.	*sedu	*sədun	sududn	sədun	hiccup
11.	*masuk	*suək	s-um-uwak	s-əm-uok	enter ¹
12.	*ma-tuqah	*taməŋ	mon-tamaŋ	taməŋ	parent-in-law
13.	*anak lima	*tinduruʔ	tinduruʔ	təduruʔ	index finger
14.	*qahelu	*gəlu	golu	gəllu	pestle
15.	*demdem	*tuəŋ	tuakŋ	tuəŋ	dark
16.	*besuR	*biag	mbiag	biag	satiated
17.	*balalaŋ (?)	*tukaʔ	tuhaʔ	tukaʔ	grasshopper
18.	*hikam	*seraʔ	saraʔ	səraʔ	woven mat
19.	?	*tulaʔ	n-nulaʔ	tulaʔ	criticise; blame

8. Homorganic obstruent clusters in languages of Sabah and Mindanao

KADAZAN DUSUN (Sabah)

-bp-: *abpay* ‘place legs on or across someone while sitting on the floor’
tobpus ‘burst, jet out, spout out’

-dt-: *hudtak* ‘crush, mash’
tadtauʔ ‘k.o. caterpillar’

-ds-: *padsok* ‘stamp the foot; step on’
tudsok ‘swoop down’

-gk-: *sugkuʔ* ‘to attack’
tagkos ‘belt, girdle’

WESTERN BUKIDNON MANOBO (Mindanao)

-bp-: *abpaŋ* ‘a form or die used in handcraft’
tibpuŋ ‘the broken-off point of something’

-dt-: *budtul* ‘area of the abdomen below the navel’
lidtu ‘proceed vertically in the air, as a bird that flies straight up’

-ds-: *bədsil* ‘k.o. bird with long tail’
tadsaʔ ‘each, every’

-gk-: *səgkad* ‘set a captive bird out as bait to catch another’
ugkəy ‘one head of mature rice’

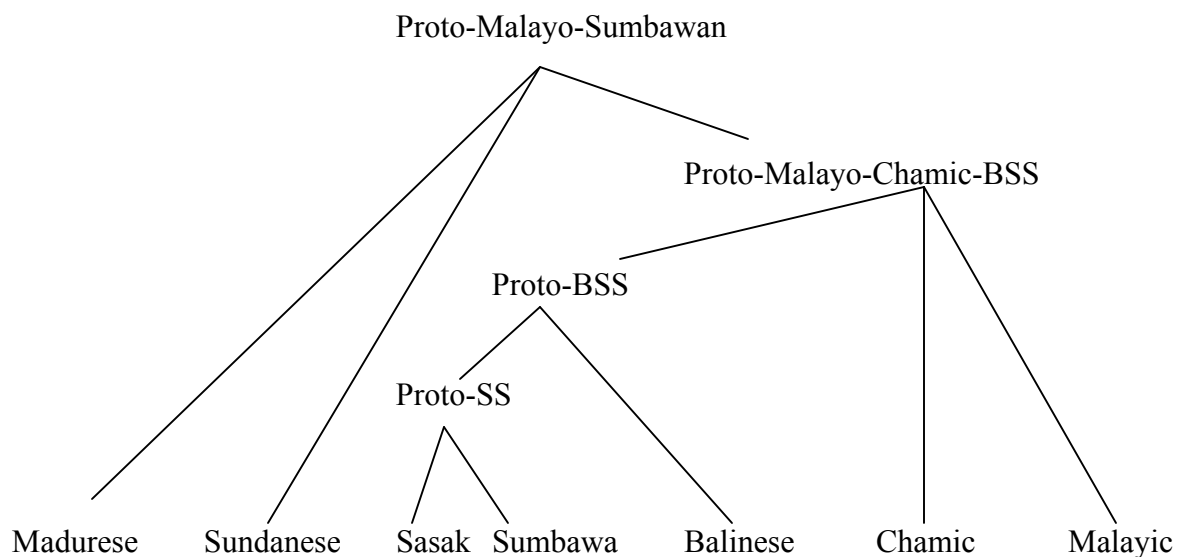
9. EVIDENCE FOR GREATER NORTH BORNEO

¹ These forms may point to PMP *ma-suək, but even so the absence of the prefix is peculiar to Bonggi and Ida'an.

No.	PMP	PGNB	English
01.	*pitu	*tuzuq	seven
02.	*(ba)labaw	*(bə)labaw, *tikus	rat, mouse
03.	*ipes	*lipəs	cockroach
04.	*qantipa	*qəntipa, *labi	soft-shelled turtle
05.	*lemak	*lunək	soft, mushy
06.	*paniki	*kubun	flying fox
07.	*bəkək (?)	*saʔay	bullfrog
08.	*sapaw	*sulap	field hut
09.	*sapaw ‘field hut’	*laŋkaw	temporary shelter
10.	*qaRta ‘outsiders’	*sakay	stranger
11.	*qipil	*bələŋjan	ironwood tree
12.	*palu	*tukul	hammer
13.	*qabaŋ	*alud	canoe
14.	*bilik	*lamin	room of a house
15.	*?	*kuju	heron
16.	*?	*butbut	coucal, crow-pheasant
17.	*?	*kəraʔ	long-tailed macaque
18.	*?	*tiuŋ	talking grackle, hill myna
19.	*?	*dəmək	blowpipe dart
20.	*?	*kəbən	quiver for blowpipe darts
21.	*?	*kuini	<i>Mangifera odorata</i>
22.	*?	*təgap	firm, fixed; sturdily built
23.	*?	*ambay	sweetheart
24.	*?	*guaŋ	heart (emotional)

10. IS THERE A ‘MALAYO-SUMBAWAN’ SUBGROUP?

FIGURE 2: THE MALAYO-SUMBAWAN SUBGROUP (after Adelaar 2005)



11. MALAYO-SUMBAWAN PHONOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS (after Adelaar 2005)

1. *j > d : (not distinctive)
2. *z > j : (change is orthographic)
3. *w > Ø : (only 3 valid examples; *w > Ø found in many other lgs)
4. *R (and *r) > r : (not distinctive)
5. *q > h : (distinctive, but not found in Sasak)
6. *h > Ø (except between vowels, or if the following vowel is a schwa) : (not distinctive)
7. *-iw > i : (not distinctive)
8. *-uy > i : (not distinctive)
9. Split of *-ay to -ay and -i : (not found in Chamic; found in Javanese)
10. Split of *-aw to -aw and -u : (not found in Chamic; found in Javanese)
11. Cluster reduction : (not distinctive; not found in Balinese)
12. Nasal became homorganic to following stop : (not distinctive; not found in Balinese)
13. Final voiced stops became devoiced : (not found in Balinese)
14. Homorganic nasal accretion between initial schwa and following stop : (more interesting, but also appears in Javanese in some forms)

12. EVIDENCE FOR PROTO-WESTERN INDONESIAN.

(1) PMP *? > PWIN *biRuan̩ ‘sun bear’

Sabah: Minansut *bowan̩*

North Sarawak: Kelabit *bəruan̩*, Òma Lóngh Kenyah *bəvan̩h*, Long Terawan Berawan *kəbiŋ*, Kiput *bəluŋiə*

Other Bornean: Kayan, Murik *buan̩*, Taboyan *bian̩*, Dusun Deyah *biβan̩*, Ma’anyan *bayuan̩*, Kapuas *bahuan̩*

Malayo-Chamic: Iban, Malay *bəruan̩*, Minangkabau *biruan̩*

Other Western Indonesian: Rejang *buʔan̩*, OJ *barwan̩/baron̩*, Sasak *bəruan̩*

(2) PMP *? > PWIN *kəlabət ‘gibbon’

Sabah: Tombonuwo *kolawot*, Kadazan *kahavot*, Minansut, Limbang Bisaya *kəlawot*

North Sarawak: Kelabit, Kenyah *kəlabət*

Other Bornean: Taboyan *kəlaβət*, Dusun Malang *kalaβot*, Katingan *kalaβet*

Malayo-Chamic: (no examples)

Other Western Indonesian: (no examples)

(3) PMP *? > PWIN *bəduk, *bəRuk ‘pig-tailed macaque’

Sabah: Tidong (T) *gabok*, Tombonuwo *gobuk*, Paitan, Limbang Bisaya *gabuk*

North Sarawak: Bintulu *bəduk*, Miri *bəsuk*, Narum *bətuək*, Kiput *bəsuaʔ*, Long Anap Kenyah *duk*, Bario Kelabit *bəd^huk*

Other Bornean: Uma Juman Kayan *bəruk*, Taboyan, Lawangan, Dusun Deyah, Siang *boruk*, Dusun Malang, Samihim, Maanyan, Kapuas, Ba’amang, Katingan *beruk*

Malayo-Chamic: Malay *bəruk* ‘coconut monkey: *Macacus nemestrinus*’

Other Western Indonesian: (no examples)

(4) PMP *ʔ > PWIN *pəlanuk ‘mousedeer, chevrotain’

Sabah: Ida’an *pəlanuk*, Tombonuwo *polanuk*, Okolod Murut *palanuk*

North Sarawak: Kelabit *pəlanuk*, Narum *pəlanok*

Other Bornean: Murik *pəlanok*, Mukah Melanau, Taboyan *pəlanuk*, Singhi *pironuk*, Samihim, Ma’anyan, Murung *palanuk*, Dusun Deyah *planduk*, Ba’amang, Kapuas, Katingan *palanduk*

Malayo-Chamic: Banjarese *pilanduk*, Malay *pəlanduk*, Minangkabau *palanduəʔ*

Other Western Indonesian:

(5) *PMPʔ > PWIN *dəŋən ‘river otter’.

Sabah: Ida’an *rəŋŋon*, Tombonuwo *roŋon*

North Sarawak: Sebop, Long Moh Kenyah *dəŋən*

Other Bornean: Kayan, Ngaju Dayak *dəŋən*

Malayo-Chamic: (no examples)

Other Western Indonesian: (no examples)

(6) PMP *wahiR > PWIN *suŋay ‘river’

Sabah: Bonggi *suŋi*, Tidong (Tarakan) *suŋey*, Tombonuwo *suŋoy* ‘river, water’

North Sarawak: Long Anap Kenyah *suŋay* ‘river, water’

Other Bornean: Kayan *huŋey*, Murik *uŋe* ‘river, water’, Matu Melanau *suŋay*, Mukah Melanau *suŋay* ‘small river’, Ngaju Dayak *suŋaei* ‘small stream’ (cp. *batan danum* ‘big river’), Taboyan *suŋe*, Maanyan *huŋey*, Tunjung *suŋay*, Siang *suŋoy* ‘river’

Malayo-Chamic: Malay *suŋay* ‘river’

Other Western Indonesian: Toba Batak *suŋe* ‘brook’, Sundanese *suŋe* ‘river’

(7) PMP *binəŋa/minəŋa > *əlun ‘river mouth’

Sabah: Ida’an *əlun* (Moody 1993), *llun* (Goudswaard 2005) ‘river’

North Sarawak: Kelabit *əlun* ‘mouth of a river’, Long Moh Kenyah *lon* ‘estuary’, Kiput *loə* ‘opening’, *loə cəw* ‘mouth of a river, estuary’

Other Bornean: Kayan *lun* ‘mouth of a river’, Taboyan, Lawangan *oləŋ* (< met.), Murung *olun* ‘mouth of a river’

Malayo-Chamic: (no examples)

Other Western Indonesian: (no examples)

(8) PMP *buaq > PWIN *pinan ‘areca nut’

Sabah: Kadazan *pinan*

North Sarawak: Long Anap Kenyah *pinan*

Other Bornean: Ngaju Dayak *pinan* ‘areca palm’

Malayo-Chamic: Malay *pinan* ‘areca palm’

Other Western Indonesian: Gayo, Karo Batak, Toba Batak *pinan* ‘areca palm’, Ma’anyan, Javanese, Balinese, Makasarese *pinan* ‘betel nut’