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## A DISCUSSION OF TWO TAMAN LANGUAGES IN WEST KALIMANTAN, INDONESIA

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### Abstract

This paper explores two Taman languages spoken in Western Borneo, Indonesia—the Tamanic Taman and Sekadau Taman. Historically, Tamanic Taman is related to the languages in South Sulawesi, whereas Sekadau Taman is a Malayic variety. These two Taman languages neither have social nor cultural connections with each other, but a comparison study found that Tamanic Taman and Sekadau Taman share a large volume of “Malayic” lexical items. Certain lexical items which are expected to be borrowed from Malayic do not exhibit the phonological innovations of Malayic. This argument is based on the analysis of the loss of Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) \*q or Proto Malayic (PM) \*h in Tamanic Taman. On the lexical level, words like *pu:n* (\*puqun/\*pahun) and *da:n* (\*daqan/\*dahan) can be misconceived as Malayic terms. However, because a Makassarese adjectival prefix *a-* (from PMP \*ma-) exists, the reflexed sound identified is PMP \*q (not PM \*h).

**Keywords:** Tamanic, Malayic, borrowing, similarity, proto forms

### UN DEBAT SOBRE DUES LLENGÜES TAMAN AL KALIMANTAN OCCIDENTAL, INDONESIA

#### Resum

Aquest article explora dues llengües tamàniques parlades a l'oest de Borneo, Indonèsia: el tamànic taman i el sekadau taman. Històricament, el tamànic taman està relacionat amb les llengües del sud de les Cèlebes, mentre que el sekadau taman és una varietat malaia. Aquestes dues llengües

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tamàniques no tenen connexions socials ni culturals entre elles, però un estudi comparatiu va trobar que el tamànic taman i el sekadau taman comparteixen un gran nombre d'elements lèxics "malais". Alguns elements lèxics que s'espera que siguin préstecs del malai no presenten les innovacions fonològiques d'aquesta llengua. Aquest argument es basa en l'anàlisi de la pèrdua de protomalai polinesi (PMP) \*q o protomalai (PM) \*h en tamànic taman. Pel que fa al lèxic, paraules com *pu:n* (\*puqun/\*puhun) i *da:n* (\*daqan/\*dahan) es poden interpretar erròniament com a termes malais. Tanmateix, com que existeix un prefix adjectival makassarès *a-* (de PMP \**ma-*), el so identificat és PMP \*q (no PM \*h).

**Paraules clau:** tamànic, malai, manlleu, similitud, protoformes

### UNA DISCUSIÓN SOBRE DOS LENGUAS TAMAN EN KALIMANTAN OCCIDENTAL, INDONESIA

#### Resumen

Este artículo explora dos lenguas tamánicas habladas en el oeste de Borneo, Indonesia: el tamánico taman y el sekadau taman. Históricamente, el tamánico taman está relacionado con las lenguas del sur de las Célebes, mientras que el sekadau taman es una variedad malaya. Estas dos lenguas tamánicas no tienen conexiones sociales ni culturales entre sí, pero un estudio comparativo descubrió que el tamánico taman y el sekadau taman comparten un gran número de elementos léxicos "malayos". Algunos elementos léxicos que se espera que sean préstamos del malayo no presentan las innovaciones fonológicas de esa lengua. Este argumento se basa en el análisis de la pérdida de protomalayo polinesio (PMP) \*q o protomalayo (PM) \*h en tamánico taman. En cuanto al léxico, palabras como *pu:n* (puqun/puhun) y *da:n* (daqan/dahan) se pueden interpretar erróneamente como términos malayos. Sin embargo, como existe un prefijo adjectival makasarés *a-* (de PMP *ma-*), el sonido identificado es PMP \*q (no PM \*h).

**Palabras clave:** tamánico, malayo, préstamo, similitud, protoformas

## 1. Introduction

According to Léglise and Migge (2006), the names of languages are never neutral. The etymology of the terms may be designated differently based on the factors of linguists' perspective, social recognition, political designations, or historical emergence (Léglise & Migge 2006). For instance, *Bahasa Melayu* (Malay language) in Malaysia and Indonesian are both the standardized registers of Malay. Nevertheless, this Malay variety was undergoing different developmental backgrounds, language policies, geopolitical proximity, and language planning in two different countries, later resulting in the divergence that is visible today (Beng & Poedjosoedarmo 2016). Linguistically, *Bahasa Melayu* and Indonesian exhibit significant differences in terms of vocabulary and pronunciation, respectively. Inevitably, in terms of linguistics studies,

the issue within the scope of the naming of a language, either languages that exhibit “different names of the same language” or “two different languages with the same name,” are among the interesting topics that are worthwhile exploring. This paper attempts to discuss the contradiction of two Taman languages in Western Kalimantan, Indonesia. The Taman varieties in the Sekadau valley and in Upper Kapuas exhibit contradictions in terms of historical relations, linguistic features, and language terminology; see Figure 1. This issue is crucial to explore as Western Borneo is complex and diverse in languages and ethnic groups. The results of this study can yield an insightful explanation of the relationship between language terminology and ethnic affiliation in a multilingual ecology like Western Borneo.

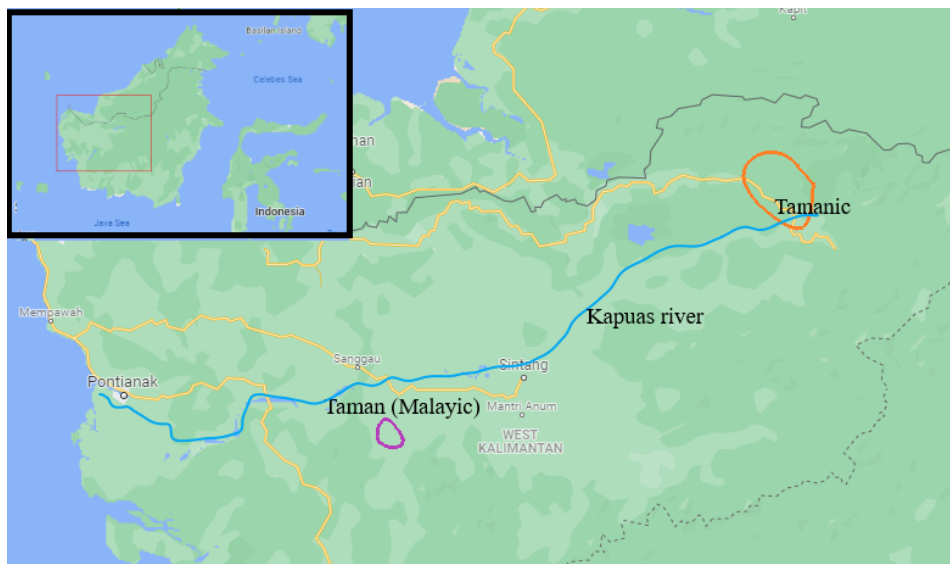


Figure 1. The Distribution of Tamanic Taman and Sekadau Taman in West Kalimantan, Indonesia (Source: Google Map)

## 2. The backgrounds and method

The Kapuas River in Western Kalimantan (1143 km in length), which flows west from the Muller Mountain range to the South China Sea, is the home of numerous Austronesian languages. The Austronesian languages along this river valley can be divided into three subbranches of the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, i.e. Malayic,

Bidayuhic and Tamanic. In the context of Western Borneo, the Malayic branch languages include various dialects of Malay and varieties that are similar to the Malay dialects, such as Ibanic, Suhaid, Benawas and Kadayatn. In the language atlas of Western Kalimantan, the Malayic branch covers the largest area of distribution. The Bidayuhic branch, on the other hand, is the second larger Malayo-Polynesian subgroup. The distribution of Bidayuhic of Western Borneo stretches from the outskirts of Kuching city in Sarawak southward for about 300 km to Sandai on the Pawan River. Bidayuhic variants are spoken in hundreds of hamlets and villages scattered along the tier of mountains and foothills that separate the coast from the swamps and wetlands of the upper Kapuas. The Sekadau River basin marks the easternmost extent of the Bidayuhic family (Collins & Chong 2008).

The Taman variety that is partially discussed in this paper is a dialect of the Tamanic language branch. The Tamanic language (which includes the dialects of Embaloh, Kalis and Taman) is observed to display a pattern of distant pockets or enclaves and is distributed near the head of the Kapuas River, in the Hulu Kapuas Regency, West Kalimantan (Indonesia). Based on Adelaar's study, the position of Tamanic is related to the language of South Sulawesi (for example the Buginese and Makassarese); see Adelaar (1994). His finding has clarified several hypothetical assumptions about the position of Tamanic. As reviewed in Adelaar (1994), previous studies on sub-grouping of the Tamanic language raise the issue of whether this language is an "endo-Bornean" or "exo-Bornean" branch. For example, the studies by von Kessel, A.B. Hudson and V.T. King classified Tamanic as an exo-Bornean language and having a historical relationship with members of the South Sulawesi Group. Linguists such as R.A. Blust and B. Nothofer included this language in the Malayic subgroup (Adelaar 1994). To justify the exact position of this language branch, Adelaar has discussed this language thoroughly in terms of the shared innovations, lexicons, pronominal systems and some of its morphological features. His discussion concluded that the Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) \*Z becomes d and r in Tamanic, \*d/\*r in Proto-South Sulawesi (PSS); PMP \*w retained in Tamanic and PSS; and, the Tamanic and South Sulawesi languages share a great number of lexical innovations; for details, see Table 1. The lexical similarity between the Tamanic and Malayic was considered as

the result of borrowing due to this ethnic group's having been in contact with the Malay and Iban in their cultural history.

Another “Taman” language discussed in this paper is spoken in the Sekadau valley, a river branch of Kapuas; see Figure 1. Based on the field data, this language is initially assigned as the Malayic variety and labelled as *Taman Sesat* (Taman Gone Astray) by the locals. The informants even said that *Kami ini tiruan*, ‘We here are imitations’. Collins’ (2004) study on the Ibanic languages has identified another *sesat* language in the Sekadau valley, i.e. the *Ketungau Sesat*. The linguistic characteristics of the *Ketungau Sesat* of the Sekadau valley differ from those of the Ibanic group along the Ketungau River (in upper Kapuas). The *Taman Sesat* in the Sekadau valley is also reported in brief in Collins (2004): “Indeed, the *Taman Sesat* is not related to the Taman language spoken in the headwaters of the Kapuas River, about 300-400 km upriver from the Sekadau area. The Sekadau variant of Taman is a Malayic language, whereas the upriver Taman is a Tamanic language.” One of the reasons these speakers acknowledge their language as a “stray” language is “... each of these communities has oral traditions about their ancestors who made the wrong turn, drifted too far from their homeland, got left behind or simply went astray. In Collins (2004), he further explained that the term *sesat* “astray” is not only found in the Ibanic variety of Ketungau in Sekadau, but also used as terminology by the locals to label the Taman and Sawai languages. The reason that the Ketungau variety in Sekadau is acknowledged as *sesat* is that these Ibanic varieties “are peripheral in a geographical sense because they are located on the very southwestern most fringe of the Ibanic territories, and also peripheral in a social sense because they do not speak the mainstream Ibanic variants”.

In the case of the *Taman Sesat*, it is unclear whether this term is an endonym or merely an exonym. The linguistic relationship between the Taman of the Upper Kapuas and of the Sekadau River is also unexplained. To avoid confusion in language naming terms, this paper uses the term “Sekadau Taman” to differentiate the Malayic Taman from the dialect of the Tamanic language mentioned in Adelaar (1994). Based on literature reviews, the Sekadau Taman has been mentioned in brief in Collins (2004)

and Collins (2002), Chong (2012) and Collins & Chong (2008). In a linguistic field report in the Sekadau Valley, Collins (2002) introduced the Taman variety as a Malayic variety spoken by the Dayaks in this valley. Chong's (2012) study also provides some brief information on the Taman language in Sekadau. In his sociolinguistic study on language choice among the multilingual speakers in Sekadau, he reported that Sekadau Taman is a variety of Malayic and has linguistic similarity with Sekadau Malay dialect. One of his Chinese informants' mothers is even a Taman Dayak, and she admitted that Sekadau Taman and Sekadau Malay are mutually intelligible to a certain degree.

From the reviews, it is noticed that neither of these previous studies provide an adequate linguistic description of the Sekadau Taman. The general conceptualization of this language is: it is a Malayic Dayak language, similar to the Sekadau Malay dialect, and has no relation to the Taman language spoken about 300-400 km upriver from the Sekadau area. To clarify the linguistic position and determine the linguistic characteristics of the Malayic Taman in Sekadau, this paper will elaborate on the phonological features of Sekadau Taman and provide a comparative study of these two Taman languages. The data was collected under a project sponsored by the *Southeast Asia Regional Studies Program (SEASREP)*, Japan. In this project, numerous Malayic and Bidayuhic variants were collected. Some of the results have been published in journal papers and books. The data of this project (including the Sekadau Taman) was collected based on a 450-item wordlist. This wordlist was expanded from the basic vocabulary wordlist by Morris Swadesh and its content was modified based on the linguistic and cultural environment of Borneo, in particular, and the archipelago, in general.

### **3. Data analysis**

This section delineates the phonological features of the Sekadau Taman. Initially, the inventory of vowels, diphthongs, and consonants will be presented, and subsequently, a depiction of certain remarkable linguistic features within the language ecology of Sekadau will be made.

### 3.1 The Sekadau Taman

The charts below are the inventory of the vowels, (diphthongs) and consonants of the Sekadau Taman. This language variety consists of five vowels, the coalescence of diphthongs and 19 consonants.

a) *Vowels*. The vowels of Sekadau Taman are: /i, u, e, o, a/. In this language, in the penultimate position of a disyllabic word, the allophone of /ə/ is [o], whereas in the final position, /u/ appears as [o]. For example:

|                         |                             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| /cəlap/ [colap] ‘cold’  | /bujur/ [bujo:] ‘straight’  |
| /kəcil/ [kocit] ‘small’ | /guntur/ [gunto:] ‘thunder’ |
| /bəsar/ [bosa:] ‘big’   | /tanduk/ [tanok] ‘horn’     |

b) *Diphthongs*. As Sekadau Taman is a Malayic variety, the Proto Malayic (PM) diphthongs, \*-aw and \*-ay are inherited in the coalescence form of /o/ and /e/, respectively. For example:

|                                                     |                        |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| *pətay > pote ‘bitter bean <i>Parkia speciosa</i> ’ | *danaw > dano ‘lake’   |
| *səyay > sue ‘lemon grass’                          | *pulaw > pulo ‘island’ |

c) *Consonants*. Among the 19 consonants that existed in the Sekadau Taman, the phonemes of /p, t, k, m, n, s, l/ present in all the positions of a word. Phonemes /b, d, g, c, j, ɣ, w, y/ are distributed in the word’s initial or medial position, whereas /ʔ, ŋ/ are only distributed in the word’s final position. The /l/ in the word’s final position is realised as [t] if preceded by a high front vowel /i/, for example, /kəcil/ → [kocit] ‘small’. If it is followed by other vowels, it retained as [l]. For example, /təbal/ → [tobal] ‘thick’ and /timbul/ → [timul] ‘floating’. The word final /ŋ/ also exhibits a similar phonological process. In this case, the velar nasal has changed to an alveolar

phoneme, /n/ when the high front vowel /i/ follows. For example, /kəniŋ/ → [konin] ‘eyebrow’.

In Sekadau Taman, the PM \*h in the word initial appears as [∅] and as a long vowel in the medial position. In the word’s final position, this consonant is retained as [h]. This feature is very common in Malay dialects and other Malayic varieties in Western Borneo, such as Sekadau Malay, Sarawak Malay, Ibanic languages, Kanayatn, Benawas and Suhaid; see, for example, Collins (1986), Collins (2005), Chong (2012). Nothofer (1996) claimed that this feature (particularly the loss of /h/ in initial position) is the defining characteristic of a subgroup of Western Borneo Malayic. The examples for the Sekadau Taman are:

\*hutan > utan ‘forest’

\*jahat > ja:it ‘bad’

\*puteh > putih ‘white’

\*hujan > ujatn ‘rain’

\*pahit > pa:it ‘bitter’

\*bunuh > munuh ‘to kill’

In spontaneous speech, the phonemes of /k/ and /ʔ/ are always misperceived as the same phoneme. As a subgroup of Western Borneo Malayic, Sekadau Taman displays very clear minimal pairs between /k/ and /ʔ/. For example, [koʔaʔ] ‘the long-tailed macaque’ and /kəʔak/ ‘rice crust’. Other examples of (near-) minimal pairs contrasting /k/ and /ʔ/ are: [lomaʔk] ‘animal fat’ vs [lamaʔ] ‘long time’ and [mantaʔ] ‘unripe’ vs [mansak] ‘ripe’. In certain words, an open syllable is observed to become a closed syllable phonetically with the addition of a glottal stop /ʔ/. For example, /buka/ → [bukaʔ] ‘open’, /asu/ → [asuʔ] ‘dog’, /au/ → [auʔ] ‘yes’, /lima/ → [limaʔ] ‘five’. Nevertheless, this feature is restricted to words like [bila] ‘when’, [malu] ‘shy’, [tua] ‘old’, [batu] ‘stone’, [kayu] ‘wood’, etc.

### 3.2 *The Tamanic Taman*

In Adeelaar (1994), he proved that the Tamanic languages in the Upper Kapuas region are a separate sub-group within the Western Malayo-Polynesian language group. The Tamanic language spoken in interior Borneo has been identified as having ties to the South Sulawesi language spoken outside of Borneo Island rather than the



Malayic languages (e.g. Malay and Iban). The table below shows the diagnostic sound changes from PMP, PM, Tamanic, and PSS, outlined by Adelaar (1994).

| Proto Malayo-Polynesian | Proto Malayic | Tamanic        | Proto South Sulawesi       |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| b-                      | b-            | b-(∅-)         | b- (w-)                    |
| -b-                     | -b-           | -∅- (-w-, -b-) | -w-, -bb-/t__, -b-/cons.__ |
| d                       | d, -t         | d (-d-ʔ)       | d or r, -t                 |
| D                       | d, -t         | d, -r-, -r     | d or r, -r                 |
| j                       | d, -t         | s (d, r)       | z, -t                      |
| (N)j                    | (n)d          | nd, r          | (n)d                       |
| z                       | j             | d-             | j (or d, r)                |
| Z                       | J             | d-(j-), -r-    | d, r                       |
| q                       | h             | ∅, -ʔ          | ∅                          |
| -iq                     | -ih           | -eʔ            | -e                         |
| -uq                     | -uh           | -oʔ            | -o                         |
| h, ʔ                    | ∅, -ʔ-, -ʔ    | ∅              | ∅                          |
| -aw                     | -aw           | -o             | -o                         |
| -əw                     | -u            | -o             | -o                         |
| -əy                     | -i            | -e             | -e                         |
| -ay                     | -ay           | -e             | -e                         |

Table 1. The Sound Changes from PMP, PM, Tamanic and PSS Quoted from Adelaar (1994)

In terms of social contact, the Tamanic speakers in Borneo have been in contact with the Malayic speakers for a long time, and “these societies are in many respects quite different from those of millions of Makassarese or Buginese or those of the Mandar, the South Toraja or other South Sulawesi ethnic groups” (Adelaar 1994). The socio-linguistic circumstances of contact in Borneo have influenced the Tamanic languages, and this language is identified as having mutual borrowing from the Malayic languages. Accordingly, the shared lexical innovations are very obvious postulates in the Tamanic Taman and Sekadau Taman studied. Indeed, it is irrelevant to compare two languages from different subgroups. For example, by comparing the Bidayuhic with Malayic languages, we can only obtain the results of correspondences in terms of mutual borrowing and the inherited forms of Proto-Malayo Polynesian. In Chong and Collins, they found that some of the Bidayuhic words which were reconstructed in

Proto-Malyo-Polynesian with \*R, such as, \*Rumaq ‘house’, \*ZaRum ‘needle’, \*baqəRat ‘heavy’, \*Rimba ‘forest’; these words can be matched to words in Malay with “r” (i.e. *rumah, jarum, berat, rimba*); see Collins & Chong 2008).

#### 4. The discussion of results

The following paragraphs provide a basic comparison of the Tamanic Taman and Sekadau Taman, and make no attempt to argue the issue of the inclusion of the Tamanic Taman in the Malayic subgroup. Due to social assimilation and language adaptation, the data collected displays lexical similarities between the Tamanic Taman and Sekadau Taman. Table 2 and Table 3 show the selected lexical items of the similarities and differences between these languages.

| No. | Gloss    | Tamanic Taman     | Sekadau Taman       |
|-----|----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1.  | Skin     | Kulit             | kulit               |
| 2.  | Stomach  | Parut             | poyut               |
| 3.  | Smile    | Tatawa            | tawa                |
| 4.  | Eye      | mata              | mata                |
| 5.  | Sit      | duduk             | dudok               |
| 6.  | Wife     | bini              | bini                |
| 7.  | Rope     | tali              | tali                |
| 8.  | Wood     | kayu              | kayu                |
| 9.  | Straight | lurus             | luyus               |
| 10. | Bird     | burung            | bu <sup>ʎ</sup> uŋ  |
| 11. | Chicken  | manuk             | mano <sup>ŋ</sup> k |
| 12. | Flower   | bunga             | bunga               |
| 13. | Sago     | sagu <sup>ʔ</sup> | sagu <sup>ʔ</sup>   |
| 14. | Sea      | laut              | laut                |
| 15. | Hill     | bukit             | bukit               |
| 16. | Moon     | bulan             | bulan               |
| 17. | Star     | bintang           | bintang             |
| 18. | Round    | bulat             | bulat               |
| 19. | Night    | malam             | mala <sup>p</sup> m |
| 20. | Year     | taun              | taun                |

Table 2. The lexical similarities between Tamanic Taman and Sekadau Taman

| No. | Gloss       | Tamanic Taman | Sekadau Taman      |
|-----|-------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 1.  | Legs        | kai           | kaki               |
| 2.  | Mouth       | babaʔ         | ɲawa               |
| 3.  | See         | mitah         | nonsit             |
| 4.  | Dream       | mamui         | Mimpi              |
| 5.  | Male        | baba:         | laki laki          |
| 6.  | Female      | bibiŋe        | bətinaʔ            |
| 7.  | Child       | anaq          | ana <sup>ŋ</sup> k |
| 8.  | Husband     | lai:          | laki               |
| 9.  | Grandmother | piaŋ          | gaeʔ               |
| 10. | Grandfather | baiʔ          | abuʔ               |
| 11. | Name        | ason          | nama               |
| 12. | Needle      | darom         | jaɣum              |
| 13. | To kill     | munoʔ         | munuh              |
| 14. | Dog         | asuh          | asu                |
| 15. | Wing        | sa:p          | sayap              |
| 16. | Day         | aso           | aɣi                |
| 17. | Unripe      | mataʔ         | mantaʔ             |
| 18. | Ripe        | sa:saq        | mansak             |
| 19. | Not         | injju         | ndaʔ               |
| 20. | Yes         | ĩ:            | aoʔ                |

Table 3. The lexical differences between Tamanic Taman and Sekadau Taman

Although the Sekadau Taman exhibits numerous lexical similarities with the Tamanic Taman. As a separate language sub-group, the Tamanic Taman owns “distinctive” innovations as reconstructed by Adelaar (1994) in Table 1. This part focuses on the lenition of intervocalic consonants identified in Tamanic Taman. To discuss these phonological features, we are obliged to present a cross-reference with the Malayic inherited words. In Table 4, the data collected has identified certain Tamanic Taman words with the elision of intervocalic /k/, /y/ and /h/.

| No. | Gloss               | Tamanic Taman                                  |
|-----|---------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1.  | Nails               | ku:t (cf. <i>kukut</i> in Iban [4])            |
| 2.  | Leg                 | kai: (cf. <i>kaki</i> either in Malay or Iban) |
| 3.  | Husband             | lai: (cf. <i>laki</i> in Bornean Malayic)      |
| 4.  | Fear                | ataut (cf. <i>takut</i> in Malay)              |
| 5.  | Back part (of body) | bala:ŋ (cf. <i>belakang</i> in Malay)          |
| 6.  | Wing                | sa:p (cf. <i>sayap</i> in Malay or Iban)       |

|     |                  |                                                           |
|-----|------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 7.  | Crocodile        | boa: (cf. <i>buaya</i> in Malay or <i>ba:ya</i> in Iban)* |
| 8.  | Base of ree      | po:n (cf. <i>po:n</i> in Bornean Malayic)*                |
| 9.  | Branch of a tree | da:n (cf. <i>da:n</i> in Bornean Malayic)*                |
| 10. | bitter           | apait (cf. <i>pait</i> in Bornean Malayic)*               |

Table 4. The “assumed” lenition features of Tamanic Taman.

The Proto forms of *nails* are: PMP \*kuku; PM \*kuku, (Tamanic Taman *ku:t*). This word undergoes segmental deletion /kukut/ → [ku:t]. In Adelaar (1994), he criticised Nothofer’s claims on the shared phonological innovation of /kukut/ in Embaloh (Tamanic) and Iban (Malayic) and stressed that this word is definitely a Malayic word. Synchronically, the segmental deletion in Tamanic Taman can be explained by Hayes’ (1989) Moraic Theory—“compensatory lengthening”. The underlying consonant is noticed to have moraic value. The segmental deletion occurred in the segmental tier and left a floating mora,  $\mu$ . This mora will later be joined to the immediate vowel to form a vowel lengthening. This phonological process is found in all the examples presented in Table 4.

The Proto forms of *male* (in literal meaning) are: PMP \*laki; PM \*laki (Tamanic Taman *lai:*). In Borneo, the term *laki* has undergone a semantic shift from ‘male’ to ‘husband’ and segmental deletion as [lai:]. The author assumes that [lai:] is borrowed from Malayic rather than an inherited word of PMP in Tamanic, based on two evidences. (a) In Adelaar’s (1992) reconstruction, the PM form of \*laki indicates the meaning of ‘husband’. A cross-check in the *Online Austronesian Comparative Dictionary* noticed that *husband* in PMP form is \*qasawa. (b) Almost all Malayic varieties use the term *laki* for ‘husband’ (see for example, in various varieties of Malay, Ibanic (Chong 2019), Suhaid (Collins 2005), Kanayatn, etc). The Tamanic Taman distributed in a Malayic speaking environment has inevitably been influenced by this term. This claim is in line with the statement by Kutuzov, Szymanski & Velldal (2018), “semantic shifts may be caused by changes in the general environment of the speakers. Thus, semantic shifts are naturally separated into two important classes: linguistic drifts (slow and regular changes in the core meaning of words) and cultural

shifts (culturally determined changes in associations of a given word).” In Tamanic Taman, after adapting the Malayic term, this word undergoes a segmental deletion.

The PMP form for *legs* is \*qaqay and PM \*kaki (Tamanic Taman *kai*). If assumed that /kai:/ is a loan word from Malayic, the segmental deletion of /kaki/ has triggered the lengthening of the [i] in [kai:]. In Adelaar (1992), he remarked that certain body parts do not reflex the PMP terms in Malayic. The PMP \*qaqay > PM \*kaki is one of the examples. The other examples are: PMP \*likud ‘back part (of body)’ was replaced by \*bAlakan, and PMP \*kapak ‘wing’ was replaced by \*sayap. The Tamanic Taman in this study appears as the elision of segment CV, [bala:ŋ] and [sa:p] respectively. This phonological feature can be explained as having been influenced by the Malayic languages.

Indeed, it is challenging to determine the inherited or borrowed forms in Tamanic Taman. As stated in Adelaar (1994), PMP \*h and \*q were lost in PSS and Tamanic. On the face of it, one can argue that *boa*: ‘crocodile’ might be a borrowed word from PM \*buhaya. If this claim is true, the influence of PM \*buhaya on Tamanic Taman would be the coalescence of [ua] and the segmental deletion of [-ya], becoming [boa:]. Other examples can be seen in PMP \*puqun ‘base of a tree’ > PM \*puhun, (Tamanic Taman *po:n*) and PMP \*daqan ‘branch of a tree’ > PM \*dahan, (Tamanic Taman *da:n*). In other Malayic varieties, these words are observed to appear as *pu:n* and *da:n* in Sarawak Malay, Ibanic varieties, and Suhaid (Collins 2005) as well. In these Malayic varieties, a phonological deletion is involved in the inherited PM \*h. However, in Tamanic Taman, the loss of either PMP \*q or PM \*h needs further explanations.

The additional evidence found in the words *apait* ‘bitter’ and *ataut* ‘fear’ can justify that certain lexical similarities between Tamanic and Malayic do not pertain to borrowing. In these two examples, it is unclear whether *apait* and *ataut* are reflected by PMP \*ma-paqit / \*ma-takut or PM \*pahit / \*takut. However, the retention of a PMP stative-marking prefix \*ma-, which has been truncated to *a-* in Tamanic, is the evidence to support the claim that *apait* and *ataut* are the reflexes of PMP.

- a) PMP \*ma-paqit > Tamanic Taman *apait*

b) PMP \*ma-takut > Tamanic Taman *ataut*

As reconstructed by Adelaar (1992), the Proto Malayic form of the stative marking affix is \*mAN-. The prefix *a-* in Tamanic has been identified as having a relationship with the South Sulawesi languages. As noted by Cense, “in Makassarese, *ma-* occurs as an ‘adjectival’ prefix in both older and archaising forms of the language, but shows up as *a-* in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century texts” (Blust 2013). The examples given, *apait* and *ataut*, are absolutely two adjective words, and *a-* as an adjectival prefix in this language. This finding initially refutes the claims that the *po:n* and *da:n* are the result of phonological influences from the Malayic.

## 5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the Sekadau Taman is a variety of Malayic. It contains basic Western Bornean Malayic phonological features such as the h-:  $\emptyset$ , the contrast of /k/and/?/. This Malayic variety also consists of its own distinctive phonemes, such as [o] is the diphthong of /e/ and /l/ shifted to [t] when preceded by a high vowel /i/. The Tamanic Taman dispersal in interior Borneo, on the other hand, is a distinct language subgroup and has historical relations with the languages of South Sulawesi. Adelaar (1994) has proved this relationship and provides a clear picture of the shared innovation among the South Sulawesi languages and Tamanic. Inevitably, the Tamanic Taman, which is surrounded by Malayic speakers, has experienced language and cultural contact. This contact is observed to influence the aspects of lexical, phonology, and semantics. The Tamanic Taman studied in this paper shares many lexical similarities with the Sekadau Taman. As a matter of fact, these two Taman languages neither have social nor cultural connections with each other, but some of the lexical items undergo phonological changes and appear as the diagnostic words of Tamanic. On the face of it, the exo-Bornean Tamanic Taman seems influenced by the Malayic varieties surrounding it. But certain lexical items which are expected to be borrowed from Malayic do not exhibit the phonological innovations of Malayic. This argument is based on the analysis of the loss of PMP \*q/PM \*h in the intervocalic position. On the

lexical level, the words like pu:n (\*puqun/\*puhun) and da:n (\*daqan/\*dahan) are the terms for other Malayic varieties as well. Based on the existence of an adjectival prefix a- (from PMP \*ma-) in both Tamanic and Makassarese, the elided Proto sound is PMP \*q (not PM \*h). This study has given credence that the Tamanic language shared lexical innovations with the South Sulawesi languages and was excluded from the Malayic sub-group.

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