

SYNCHRONICAL DESCRIPTION AT THE PHONETIC AND SYLLABIC LEVEL
OF MODANG (KALIMANTAN TIMUR) IN CONTRAST TO KENYAH, KAYAN,
AND PALAWAN (PHILIPPINES)

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In 1974 a meeting on 'The Study of Malay Culture' was held in Bali and in accordance with a recommendation of the Advisory Committee of UNESCO, the Directorate General of Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in co-operation with the Indonesian National Commission for UNESCO convened a workshop in ethnomusicology, oral traditions and the performing arts¹ which took place in Kalimantan Timur from March 29 to April 23, 1977. The workshop was an itinerant one on the Mahakam Basin and two of its eastern tributaries, the Kelinyau and the Telen.

We lived on two taxi-boats for three weeks and the fieldwork covered a distance of 1,000 kms to and from Samarinda. Along the way, we visited six Dayak villages (cf. map 1) but for a very brief period of time ranging from two to three days, sometimes less.

Each village welcomed us in the most courteous and ceremonial manner and presented to us the main items of its repertoire of music and dances, along with which we were taping and learning from observations and dialogues — thanks to the co-operation of the villagers. In such intense days and nights of work very little time was left for systematic linguistic inquiries but, in the respective villages visited, I tried to fill out a list of vocabulary. I only failed once in Long Səgar — among the Kenyah Uma? Jalam — because of an anticipated departure.

In oriental Asia comparative linguistics has to rely on vocabularies rather than on syntax and morphology to identify the genuine features of the given languages in order to classify them.

A list of word bases considered unequivocal and belonging to the old stock of the Austronesian world was proposed at the beginning of the workshop in Jakarta; some addenda and substitutions were made in order to adapt it to the environment and technology of the people of Kalimantan. It was based on the CEDRASEMI ethno-linguistic atlas of ~ 800 words among which 109 were to be accorded priority.

The list of 109 wordbases is semantically organised (natural phenomena (7), metal (6), plants (18), animals (10), alimentation (4), parts of the body (13), tools (11), colours (3) and numbers (13)) and by observing the vicinity and

Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, vol.2: *Tracking the travellers*, 321-331. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-75, 1982.

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proportion of cognates and non-cognates we can see three main groups:

- The first groups we visited along the river were speakers of *Melayu Kutai* and *Melayu Banjar*, which share a very high range of cognates with *Bahasa Indonesia* (our starting point in the inquiry). We have one subgroup.

- The second subgroup consists of *Bugis* with 72 vocabulary items, among which 26 are non-cognates.

Məlayu Kutai, *Məlayu Banjar* and *Bugis* are the languages spoken by the Islamic people living as merchants and traders in the east coast of Kalimantan, in the main towns of Balikpapan, Samarinda and Tenggarong, and farther upstream in Muara Kaman, Muara Ancalong (cf. map 1) and the big villages at the junction of the rivers and their tributaries.

- The third group consists of three Dayak languages and their respective local dialects, namely:

Modang with the dialect of Long Bəntə[?] (Ma); the dialect of Nəhəs Liah Bing (Mb);
Kenyah with the dialect of Long Lə[?]əs (Ka), subgroup Uma[?] Bəm;
 the dialect of Tanjung Manis (Kb), subgroup Uma[?] Taw;
 the dialect of Long Noran (Kc), subgroup Ləpə[?] Kulit;
Kayan in Miau Baru on the Wahau River (Ky).

In this paper we shall observe how one of the Dayak languages — namely *Modang* — reacts to diverse factors of evolution, for it seems possible to discover a synchronic dynamism by comparing *Modang* to the neighbouring *Kenyah* and *Kayan* languages as well as to the two Malay dialects, *Banjar* and *Kutai*, and extending the comparison to a language of the southern Philippines (neighbouring Borneo) which we are familiar with, *Palawan*.

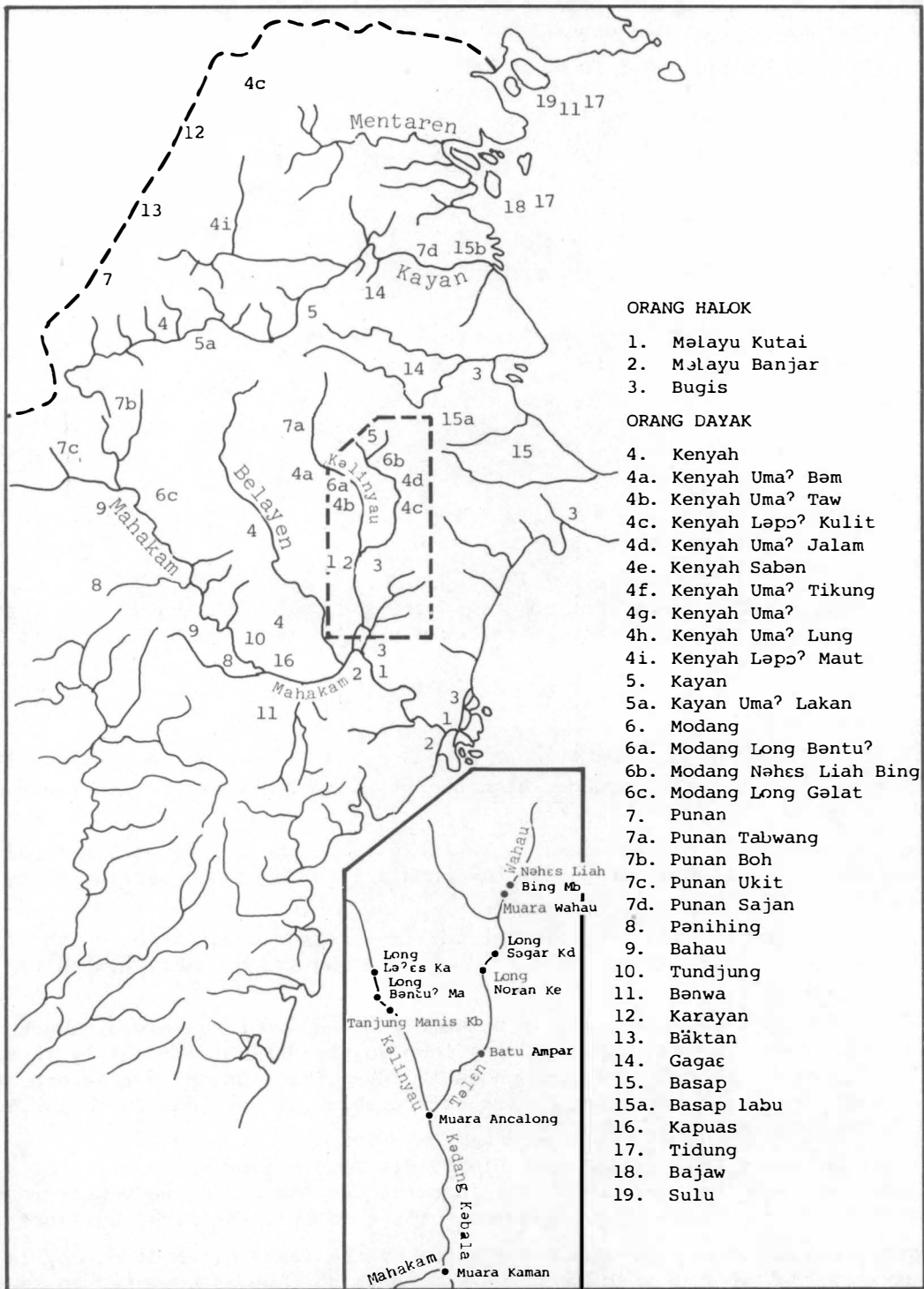
Instead of focussing our interest on the causes of the noticeable evolution of *Modang* — causes which are not only physical or physiological but also and necessarily extralinguistical because of migrations, bilingualism, borrowings, contemporary modernisation, propagation of various faiths, and education — we shall proceed to the phonetic description of *Modang* and its syllabic structure in an attempt to describe, by reference to our modest documentation, the tendencies of this language. As a matter of fact it is characterised by a marked tendency to move from di- or tri-syllabism to monosyllabism.

SYNCHRONIC STUDY OF THE SYLLABIC STRUCTURE OF MODANG (Mb)

A comparison between the *Modang*, *Kenyah* and *Kayan* languages as well as the different Malay dialects and *Bugis* shows a clear tendency to reduce the disyllables to monosyllables and trisyllables to disyllables or even monosyllables.

This reduction is operated in the initial syllable(s):

- | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1. (V)CVC | : umah (Kb) | → mə [?] | 'dry rice field' |
| | ənam (BAH) | → nam | 'six' |
| | əmas (BAH) | → maes | 'gold' |
| 2. (VC)CVC | : udjan (BAH) | → si:n | 'rain' |
| 3. C(V)CVC | : malat (Kb) | → mlət | 'iron' |
| 4. (CV)CVC | : ləsong (BAH) | → sɔŋ | 'mortar' |
| 5. (CV) (CV)CVC | : kələput (Kb) | → pət | 'blowpipe' |
| 6. CV(C) | : asaw (Ka) | → sa:° | 'dog' |



Map 1: Listing and location of languages in East Kalimantan

Consequently the weight passes from the beginning to the ending of the word and manifestation of it has several aspects:

a) Lengthening of the vowel in an open syllable of a monosyllabic or disyllabic word	CV ²	lɔ: lədzə:	'betel leaf' 'wood'
b) Consonant followed by a diphthong in an open syllable of a monosyllabic or disyllabic word	Cdiphthong	psæɛ ləkɔɛ	'paddle' 'man'
c) Absence of lengthening of the vowels in a closed monosyllable or disyllable	CVC	sɔŋ	'mortar'
d) Consonant followed by a diphthong in a closed syllable	CdiphthongC	tɔŋbæɛs məlhɛʔŋ	'jew's harp' 'red'
e) Succession of two vowels in open monosyllabic word	CCV	pláɛ ptáɛ séɛ	'rice' 'banana' 'adze'
f) Succession of two vowels in a closed monosyllabic word following a metathesis	CCVVC	tluang	'bone'

In other words the contraction or, if you wish, the erasing of the first syllable in Modang (Ma) and (Mb) is followed by a continuity in the final syllable which might be:

- lengthening of the vowel
- diphthongs
- succession of two vowels.

Obviously this is a language which phonetically manifests a high range of possibilities in the final syllable.

The evolution of Modang seems to be linked with the weight of the final articulation. It is demonstrated at the phonic level by two characteristics, namely stress and length.

Stress being fixed is not relevant and the strong accentuation on the last syllable weakens the first syllable, and by so doing has probably tended to erase it completely.

There is no relevant opposition between long and short vowels although, at the phonetic level, we can perceive many long vowels articulated mainly in Ma. Stress and length are linked at the phonetic level, but length is relevant at the phonemic level and the canonic form of the vowel is not long in Mb, while it seems to be long in Ma (cf. chart 2).

The complexity in the last syllable of disyllables, or in monosyllables, manifested by lengthening, diphthong², and the succession of two vowels is to be carefully noted, being the consequence of the fall of the first syllable.

Therefore we proceeded to a brief study of the last rhymes of monosyllabic wordbases in the two Modang dialects we were able to tape as compared to Kenyah and Kayan, the neighbouring Dayak languages in this area.

This table of correspondences between cognates manifests the progressive variations on the three Dayak languages we are focussing upon, and their respective dialects.

The starting point is a simple known etymon consisting of a simple vowel and one can see the process of diphthongisation characteristic of Modang (Ma). The tables focus on Modang and should be read from Modang to Kenyah and Kayan.

The tendency towards a reduction of disyllables into monosyllables produced:

1) *Initial consonantic group consecutive to the loss of a vowel*

pl	:	paraj (Kc)	→	plæ	'rice'
bl	:	bulong (Ky)	→	blung	'sago'
tl	:	tulang (Kc)	→	tluang	'bone'
pt	:	pəttəj (Kc)	→	ptæ	'banana'
ps	:	pəsəj (Kc)	→	psa:ɛ	'fishhook'
ts	:	tusu (Kc)	→	tsu ^ʔ	'seven'
ml	:	malat (Kb)	→	m ^h læɛt	'iron'
mt	:	m ^h ytan (Mb)	→	mtan	'eye'
ms	:	məsə (Ma)	→	m ^h sə ^ʔ	'house'
m ^h n	:	m ^h anək (Ky)	→	m ^h nək	'bird'

We observe that in each initial consonantic group the second consonant is always an apico or alveolar |C + t, s, l, n| the nasal |m + C| seem to be an initial consonantic group as the occlusives |p + C|, |t + C| or |b + C| and the group |m + apicoalveolar| enters in correlation with the former ones.

This rule of formation of initial consonantic groups is verified by the fact that with velar and palatals as a second consonant, the fall of the vowel which is very often a pepet is not operated:

Ma	kədjó	'tree'
	ləká:ɛ	'man'

2) *Implosive consonants*

In absolute final position after a vowel I perceive implosive consonants $\underset{\wedge}{t}$ $\underset{\wedge}{k}$ $\underset{\wedge}{p}$ as in Maanyan.

This tendency towards an implosive articulation after a final vowel is effective in the three orders.

3) Most probably the evolution of weakening of the initial bilabial consonant into a bilabial lightly velar continuant b > w like bulan > wəlwen 'moon', is also to be linked to the weight (stress and diphthong) of the syllable.

WORDBASE STRUCTURE

Everything works as if a transposition of disyllabism was operated on the remaining syllable. Consequently and necessarily the basic form of the syllabic nucleus is complex (long vowels in Ma; diphthongs in Mb or a succession of two vowels).

The wordbase structure is either disyllabic or monosyllabic. In the last case we observed several phenomena at the vowel level but also at the consonant level:

- 1) After a simple consonant the weight is at the vowel level manifested by the lengthening or the burst into diphthongs.
- 2) After the loss of the vowel of the first syllable an initial consonant cluster appears providing the second consonant is apico-alveolar.

This is apparently a constraint of the word structure.

	'gold'	'husked rice'	'four'	'fire'	'rice in the field'	'paddle'	'rat'	'eyes'	'iron'
Ma	mé:ah	hé:a	pé:a _ɿ	póε	pəllé:	pəsé:	əβéa	məté ^a n	məl ^a k
Mb	mæs	hæs	pət	əpɔ ^ɛ	pláε	psæ ^ɛ	əβéa	mtan	mlæt
Ka	mas	ba:h		apój	padáj	bəsó _j	bəlabaw	matá	utón
Kb	ma _ɿ	ba'á	pat	lutón	padój	bəsój	bəlabáw	matá	malát
Kc	mas	bahá	pat	apój	paráj	bəsáj	bəlabáw	maté	utón
	ma _ɿ	bahá	pat	apój	paráj	bəsáj	laβáw	matán	titáj
	PPH amas PAN hemas	PPH beRas	PPH epat	PAND 'apuj	PAND pag'aj	PPH beR(a)say	PPH la(bw)aw	PAND mata	

This chart tends to show the monosyllabic tendency of Modang and diphthong occurrence.

NB: Although PPH reconstructions are cited (see Wurm and Wilson 1975), that does not imply that the languages discussed here are in a Philippine subgroup. Most of these reconstructions are of a quarter time depth.

Chart 1

	'nose'	'mortar'	'dog'	'hair' (head)	'head'	'wood'	'hair' (body)	'to eat'	'seven'	'blow pipe'	'banana'	'stone'
Ma	lo:ŋ	so:ŋ	sa:°	wɔ:k̡	dɔ:g̡	kəɟo:	bəllo:n	mu:n	sóu	pó:t	pətó:a	wətá°
Mb	luŋ	sɔŋ	tlɔŋ	wɔk	doʔ	kəɟy:	blun	hoʔ	tsuʔ	pɔt	ptéɛ	wətáɔ
Ka	ndoŋ	ləsóŋ	asó	pó:k	uló	kajó	bulú	umán		kəlləpút	pəttih	batú
Kb	ŋdoŋ	lɔsoŋ	asú	pók	ulú	kajú	bulú	umán	tudzoʔ	kəlləpút	pəttí	batú
Kc	ŋtoŋ	lisóŋ	asow	buk	uláw	kajáw	buláw	umán	tusúʔ	kləpuṭ̡	pəttɔj	batáw
Ky	uróŋ	so:ŋ	asɔ:ʔ	bwok buk	kahon	kajóʔ	bulóʔ	kani	tusúʔ	hapɔṭ̡	putéʔ	batóʔ
	PAND ʔugʔung	PANS lěsun	PANS asu	PANDF buhək	PANC ulu	PAND kaju	PANDF bulu		PANDLRD tudʔuh	PAND tulup	PANS punti	PAND batuʔ

This chart tends to show the monosyllabic tendency of Modang on rhymes with [o] and [u].
At first approximation [o] and [u] are one single phoneme.

Chart 2

	'rain'	'tooth'	'hen'	'pig'	'five'	'swidden'	'man'	'fishhook'
Ma	si:n	ki:v	dzip _ˆ	dji:m	mɔ:ŋ	mɔ:g _ˆ	ləká:ɛ	pəsá:ɛ
Mb	sjən	kwo:	djəp	djəm	məʔ	məʔ	ləkɔ ^ɛ	gɪt
Ka	udján	dʷipén	ijap	baboj		umá	lakɪ	pa:sí
Kb	udján	dzipén	jap	buʔin	lɔmma	umáh	lake	kawit
Kc	usán	dzipén	ijap	baboj	ləmmé	uméh	lakəj	pəsəj
Ky	usá:n	ipén	hijap	baβuj	limaʔ	lumɔʔ	lɔkɛʔ	kawit _ˆ
	PAMS udan	PAND ipən	PANBLAA piak	PAND babuj	PAND lima	PTSL uma	PAND lakɪ	PANDLO kawit

This chart tends to show the monosyllabic tendency of Modang on rhymes with /i/, /ə/, and /ɔɔ/, /ə/

Chart 3

From charts 1, 2 and 3, the following diphthongs are present in Modang:

o^a : cf. 'dog', 'stone'

o:ᵃ : cf. 'banana'

ɛ^a : cf. 'gold', 'eyes', 'husked rice'

o^u : cf. 'seven'

ɔ^ɛ : cf. 'man', 'five'

e^a : cf. 'rat', 'four'

THE PROBLEM OF ? AND h

Referring to the work of I. Dyen (1953, 1971) and of A.G. Haudricourt (1966) we see that the treatment of the uvular protophoneme *q which is still articulated in the Paiwan and Atayal languages of Taiwan is:

*q > ? in intervocalic and final position of Kenyah and Kayan,

ex. (53) : dara? 'blood'

ex. (28) : pu?un 'tree'

This treatment is similar in languages of the Philippines, while in the Indonesian languages of Java and Sumatra, in Malay, as well as in Cham and Rhade in Continental South-East Asia the treatment is:

q > h

ex. (53) : darah (Bjr); darah (Bah)

ex. (28) : puhun (Bjr); pohon (Mal Ku) (Bah).

The treatment of Məlayu Banjar and Məlayu Kutai is distinct from Kenyah and Kayan as I observed them in that area. With Modang h being a laryngeal, we have:

ex. (53) : laehae? < dara? where the first syllable vowel assimilates to that of the second.

PROBLEM OF THE OCCURRENCE OF GEMINATES IN KENYAH (Ka), (Kb), (Kc)

The occurrence is automatic after the schwa which can arise from an original short vowel (Zorc 1978, and personal communication)

ex. (14)	'banana'	pəttih pətti pəttəj	} *punti
ex. (3)	'three'	təllaw (Kc)	*təlu
ex. (5)	'five'	lɔmma (Ka) ləmme (Kb)	*lɔma
ex. (23)	'rice-seedling'	bənni? (Ka)	*bənhɪq
ex. (43)	'woman'	ləttoh (Ka)	?

The geminates are very frequent in Bugis and Madurese. They appear also in Modang (Ma).

ex. (50)	'tongue'	təlla?	*dilaq
ex. (51)	'hair of body'	bəllə:n	*buluh
ex. (52)	'bone'	təlluwən	*tuq(ə)lan
ex. (30)	'sago'	bəllə:ŋ	?
ex. (43)	'woman'	ləddəh → əldəh	?

In general, internal phonetic evolution is slow in large insular areas like Formosa and Borneo.

If one compares the evolution between certain languages of Borneo and those of Java, one can see that the evolution in Kalimantan Timur is more internally motivated (i.e. unaffected by the extraneous influences of other languages) than in Java where Hindic influence affected the shape of words.

Some Dayak groups of Borneo have a typology very similar to the one observed in the Southern Philippines: the Murut (cf. Prentice 1969) and Dusun languages of Sabah are very close to the Palawan (cf. Revel-Macdonald 1978:282) language at the phonemic level and in syllabic structure. I would consider Kenyah and Kayan as having a parallel evolution with this branch of the Austronesian family (typologically not genetically).

In the areas of the Kelinyau, Telen and Wahau Rivers which we visited, we could observe that, in the middle of rather classic and normalised languages like Kenyah and Kayan, the Modang language was evolved more drastically. While the two are mutually intelligible, Modang is experienced as a strong linguistic boundary between groups.

It would be interesting to see what effectively happened to the vocalic system of Modang. The original system is a simple one consisting of four vowels:

i u
 ə
 a

The oppositions underlining the diphthongs are still to be brought out.

The 'burst' of the vowel in the last remaining syllable should be analysed in relationship to all the other phonemes and of course to the morphological patterns of this language.

One can raise the question as to how long it would take to develop the features described for Modang in these pages.

NOTES

1. See the UNESCO publication (1979).
2. In order to distinguish a diphthong from a succession of two vowels one hears two morae instead of three in the whole word.

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