Excrescent Nasals
In Malayic Varieties
of Western Sumatra

David Gil
Timothy McKinnon
Phrase-Final Phonology

\[ x = \text{syllable, word or foot} \]

\[ x \ x \ x \ x \ x \ x \ x \ x \ x \ ]
Phrase-Final Phonology

x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x

[x x x][x x x][x x x][x][x x x x x x]
The distinction between medial and final is realized by different phonological features in different languages.
## Phrase-Final Phonology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common Malay</td>
<td>satu</td>
<td>kali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kupang Malay</td>
<td>satu</td>
<td>kali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakarta Indonesian</td>
<td>satu</td>
<td>kali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusun Baru</td>
<td>satu</td>
<td>kali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasia Sabalah</td>
<td>satu</td>
<td>kali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Word 1</td>
<td>Word 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jakarta Indonesian</td>
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<td>kali?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusun Baru</td>
<td>satu</td>
<td>kali tn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>kaliŋ</td>
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</table>
Phrase-Final Phonology

Manokwari Malay

Kupang Malay

Metathesis

ŋ~n
Phrase-Final Phonology

- Jakarta Indonesian: Ø~h
- Minangkabau: Ø~h
- KL Malay: a~ə

Map showing locations of different languages with their respective phonetic symbols.
Phrase-Final Phonology

Dusun Baru
Ø~kŋ

Jakarta Indonesian
Ø~ʔ
Phrase-Final Phonology
Phrase-Final Phonology

Muara Sipongi
stem gradation

Kerinci
stem gradation

Jangkat
stem gradation
Phrase-Final Phonology

Pasia Sabalah  Ø~ŋ

Tapan  Ø~ŋ

Dusun Baru  Ø~ŋ/m
Typology of Phrase-Final Alternations

- substance of alternation
- unit hosting alternation
- diachrony: original form
- underlying form
- heavier form
- discreteness
- obligatoriness
- percolation to acrolect
- domain type
Typology of Phrase-Final Alternations

• substance of alternation
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- stress
- preoralization of nasals
  Ø ~ h, ?
- epenthetic vowels
- stem gradation
  n ~ η
- metathesis and truncation
- excrecent nasals
Typology of Phrase-Final Alternations

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syllable
foot
word
Typology of Phrase-Final Alternations

- substance of alternation
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| F form only |
| F or M forms |
| M form only |
Typology of Phrase-Final Alternations

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Phrasal phonological
Phonophonemic
Grammatical
Lexical
Typology of Phrase-Final Alternations

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stress
preoralization of nasals
Ø ~ h, ?
epenthetic vowels
stem gradation
n ~ η
metathesis and truncation
excrecent nasals
Excrecent Nasals in Western Sumatra

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow \eta / V[+hi]_\# \]

words that end with i or u receive an extra “excrecent” velar nasal \( \eta \).
Pasia Sabalah Padang Minangkabau
Excrescent nasals are

- infrequent in phrase-final position
- rare or absent in phrase-medial position

Excrescent nasals are “phonetically”

- speakers are generally unaware of them
- speakers also use them when speaking Indonesian
Pasia Sabalah Padang Minangkabau

A: špatu
   shoe

G: pintuŋ
   door

A: špatu špatu
   shoe   shoe

G: yes
   yes

A: ndeh lah
   EXCL   CONTR

G: tiga satunŋ
   three   one
Pasial Sabalah Padang Minangkabau

G: a sapi di atas
FILL cow LOC above

A: sapi di bawah
cow LOC below

X: nda? bulih tuŋju? do
NEG can point NPOL

G: yes
yes

A: lah
PFCT
The “Bird-Game” Texts: A Quantitative Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>η</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utterance medial</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utterance final</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>325</td>
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<td>1263</td>
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<td>Utterance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medial</td>
<td>74.7%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>75.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Utterance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>95.5%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
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Pasia Sabalah Padang Minangkabau

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<td>99.0%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utterance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final</td>
<td>84.6%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
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Pasia Sabalah Padang Minangkabau

- substance of alternation
- unit hosting alternation
- diachrony: original form
- underlying form
- heavier form
- discreteness
- obligatoriness
- percolation to acrolect
- domain type

Ø ~ ñ

syllable

medial

medial

final

discrete (maybe also ₋)

optional

yes

phrasal phonological
Tapan
Tapan

word final:
*is > ih
*as > eh
*at > e?
*us > uǐh
*V[hi]ŋ > V[hi]ǎŋ

Malayic

Minangic

Minangkabau

Lunangic

Tapan  Muko-Muko
Tapan

Malayic

Minangic

Minangkabau

Lunangic

Tapan Muko-Muko

*VNC[-vd]V_ > _VC[-vd]V_

excrecent nasals
Excrescent nasals are

- obligatory in word-final position
- optional in the first term of compounds (including reduplication)
- absent before clitics or suffixes

Excrescent nasals are emblematic of Tapan language

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow \eta / \mathbf{V[+hi]}_{-}\# \]
Malay/Indonesian: duku ‘longan’

dukun ‘longan’

dukun-dukun ~ duku-dukun ‘longans’
Binjai Tapan

Associative Marker: -ă

① matu ~ matuă ‘eye’
② asap ~ asapă ‘smoke’
③ dukun ~ dukună ‘shaman’
Binjai Tapan

Associative Marker: -ǎ

① matu ~ matuǎ ‘eye’
② asap ~ asapǎ ‘smoke’
③ dukun ~ dukunǎ ‘shaman’
④ udaŋ ~ udaǎ ‘shrimp’
⑤ dukuǎŋ ~ dukuǎ ‘support’

final ə is dropped, leaving nasality: ǎ
Binjai Tapan

Associative Marker: -ă

① matu ~ matuă ‘eye’
② asap ~ asapă ‘smoke’
③ dukun ~ dukună ‘shaman’

④ udaŋ ~ udaă ‘shrimp’

⑤ dukuŋ ~ dukuă ‘support’

⑥ dukuŋ ~ dukuă ‘longan’

final ŋ is dropped, leaving nasality: ā

associative marker is oral ă, showing that underlying form of stem is duku
Binjai Tapan

- substance of alternation
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- obligatoriness
- percolation to acrolect
- domain type

Ø ~ η

syllable

medial

medial

final

discrete

obligatory

no

morphophonemic
From Pasia Sabalah to Binjai Tapan

• substance of alternation
• unit hosting alternation
• diachrony: original form
• underlying form
• heavier form
• discreteness
• obligatoriness  optional → obligatory
• percolation to acrolect  yes → no
• domain type  phrasal phonological → morphophonemic
From Pasia Sabalah to Binjai Tapan

Pasia Sabalah

Kota Tapan

Binjai Tapan

phrasal phonological morphophonemic
From Pasia Sabalah to Binjai Tapan

Kota

Tapan

• In the city, excrescent nasals are sometimes absent
• In the city, there is lots of codeswitching between Tapan, Minangkabau and Indonesian
• We are not yet sure whether, in addition to codeswitching, there exists a distinct city dialect, Kota Tapan
• Preliminary impressions suggest that the distribution of excrescent nasals in the city is conditioned by medial vs. final position in the phonological phrase
• If indeed this is the case, such alternations would support the existence of a Kota Tapan dialect, intermediate between Pasia Sabalah and Binjai Tapan
Kota Tapan
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X: kursiŋ kursiŋ merah</th>
<th>Y: m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kursiŋ kursiŋ chair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kursiŋ kursiŋ red</td>
<td>fill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X: kuniāŋ</th>
<th>Y: kuniāŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>yellow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X: kursiŋ kuniāŋ</th>
<th>Z: a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chair yellow</td>
<td>fill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X: coklat</th>
<th>Z: lima mpat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brown</td>
<td>lima mpat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X: limo epe? limo pe? five four five four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Z: lima mpat lima mpat five four five four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X: kursin kursin merah chair chair red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X: kuniəŋ yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y: kuniəŋ yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X: kursin kuniəŋ chair yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X: coklat brown</td>
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Kota Tapan

Tapan  Minangkabau  Indonesian

X: kursiŋ kursiŋ merah
   chair  chair  red

X: kuniŋ
   yellow

Y: kuniŋ
   yellow

X: kursiŋ kuniŋ
   chair  yellow

X: coklat
   brown

Y: m
   FILL

X: a
   FILL

Z: a
   FILL

X: limo  peŋ
   five  four

Z: lima  mpat
   five  four
Kota Tapan

X: kursiŋ kursiŋ merah
   chair   chair   red

X: kuniāŋ yellow

Y: kuniāŋ yellow

X: kursiŋ kuniāŋ
   chair   yellow

X: coklat brown

Y: m
   FILL

X: a
   FILL

Z: a
   FILL

X: limo epeʔ limo peʔ
   five  four  five  four

Z: lima mpat lima mpat
   five  four  five  four
Kota Tapan

X: kursiŋ kursiŋ merah chair chair red

Y: m

X: a

Y: a

X: limo epeʔ limo peʔ

Z: lima mpat lima mpat
From Pasia Sabalah to Binjai Tapan

Pasia Sabalah
Kota Tapan
Binjai Tapan

phrasal phonological → morphophonemic
Elsewhere in Malayic

- phrasal
- phonological

  - lexical
  - morphophonemic
  - grammatical
Elsewhere in Malayic

The Attributive-Predicative Distinction

Riau Indonesian

pintu    hitam
    door    black

(a) ‘black door’     attributive
(b) ‘The door is black’     predicative
Elsewhere in Malayic

The Attributive-Predicative Distinction

Tanjung Pauh Mudik Kerinci

\[
pint'yiw \quad it'y'a
\]
door. O \quad black

(a) ‘black door’ \quad \textit{attributive}
(b) ‘The door is black’ \quad \textit{predicative}

\[
Pint'yao \quad it'y'a
\]
door. A \quad black

‘Doors are black’ \quad \textit{predicative}
Elsewhere in Malayic

The Attributive-Predicative Distinction

★ What about Pasia Sabalah Padang Minangkabau and Binjai Tapan:
  • do they use phrasal phonology to distinguish between attributive and predicative structures? as in Tanjung Pauh Mudik Kerinci?
  • or are the relevant constructions perhaps vague between attributive and predicative structures? as in Riau Indonesian?

★ We found no evidence that excrescent nasals distinguish attributive and predicative structures
Acknowledgements

Lidya Emilda
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