



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Malayic varieties of Kelantan and Terengganu: description and linguistic history

Wu, J.

Citation

Wu, J. (2023, September 28). *Malayic varieties of Kelantan and Terengganu: description and linguistic history*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Amsterdam. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3642470>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3642470>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Malayic varieties of
Kelantan and Terengganu
Description and linguistic history

Published by

LOT
Binnengasthuisstraat 9
1012 ZA Amsterdam
The Netherlands

phone: +31 20 525 2461

e-mail: lot@uva.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: edited version of a sketch map published by the Royal Geographical Society to illustrate the paper *A journey through the Malay states of Trengganu and Kelantan* (Clifford 1897).

ISBN: 978-94-6093-436-0

DOI: <https://dx.medra.org/10.48273/LOT0651>

NUR: 616

Copyright © 2023 Jiang Wu. All rights reserved.

Malayic varieties of
Kelantan and Terengganu
Description and linguistic history

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 28 september 2023
klokke 10.00 uur

door

Jiang Wu

geboren te Rui'an, China
in 1992

Promotores: Prof. dr. Marian Klamer
Prof. dr. Tom Hoogervorst
(KITLV & State University of Malang)

Copromotor: Dr. Alexander Adelaar
(University of Melbourne &
Palacký University Olomouc)

Promotiecommissie: Prof. dr. Maarten Kossmann
Prof. dr. Stefanie Shamila Pillai
(University of Malaya)
Dr. Martine Bruil
Dr. Alexander D. Smith
(National University of Singapore)

The research reported here was supported by the Dutch Research Council (NWO) under project number 322-70-013.

Contents

Acknowledgements	xiii
List of abbreviations and symbols	xvii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Overview	1
1.2 The Malayic languages	4
1.3 Peninsular vernacular Malayic varieties	8
1.4 Malayic varieties in Kelantan and Terengganu	10
1.4.1 Geo-historical settings	10
1.4.1.1 Geography, demographics and livelihoods	10
1.4.1.2 History	15
1.4.2 Basic linguistic facts	21
1.5 Previous research	26
1.5.1 Early studies	27
1.5.2 Linguistic studies from 1960s	29
1.6 Present study	32
1.6.1 Fieldwork locations and native speaker consultants	33
1.6.2 Data collection and processing	36
1.6.3 Transcription conventions and citation codes	39
1.7 Structure of this dissertation	40
2 Phonology of Kelantan Malay	41
2.1 Introduction	41
2.2 Segment inventory	41

2.2.1	Consonant system	41
2.2.1.1	Consonant inventory	41
2.2.1.2	Contrasts between consonants	43
2.2.1.3	Phonetic realisations of consonants	48
2.2.2	Vowel system	49
2.2.2.1	Vowel inventory	49
2.2.2.2	Contrasts between vowels	50
2.3	Syllable structure	53
2.4	Word structure	56
2.4.1	Structure of simple words	56
2.4.2	Structure of derivatives	59
2.4.3	Phoneme distribution at the word level	61
2.4.3.1	Distribution of consonants	61
2.4.3.2	Distribution of vowels	62
2.5	Consonant clusters	63
2.6	Consonant sequences	69
2.7	Vowel sequences	70
2.8	Stress	71
2.9	Summary	74
3	Phonology of Coastal Terengganu Malay	77
3.1	Introduction	77
3.2	Segment inventory	78
3.2.1	Consonant system	78
3.2.1.1	Consonant inventory	78
3.2.1.2	Contrasts between consonants	79
3.2.1.3	Phonetic realisations of consonants	82
3.2.2	Vowel system	83
3.2.2.1	Vowel inventory	83
3.2.2.2	Contrasts between vowels	84
3.2.2.3	Phonetic realisations of vowels	87
3.3	Syllable structure	88
3.4	Word structure	90
3.4.1	Structure of simple words	90
3.4.2	Structure of derivatives	92
3.4.3	Phoneme distribution at the word level	94
3.4.3.1	Distribution of consonants	94

3.4.3.2	Distribution of vowels	95
3.5	Consonant clusters	96
3.6	Consonant sequences	100
3.7	Vowel sequences	101
3.8	Stress	102
3.9	Summary	104
4	Phonology of Inland Terengganu Malay	107
4.1	Introduction	107
4.2	Segment inventory	108
4.2.1	Consonant system	108
4.2.1.1	Consonant inventory	108
4.2.1.2	Contrasts between consonants	108
4.2.1.3	Phonetic realisations of consonants	112
4.2.2	Vowel system	113
4.2.2.1	Vowel inventory	113
4.2.2.2	Contrasts between vowels	114
4.2.2.3	Phonetic realisations of vowels	116
4.3	Syllable structure	122
4.4	Word Structure	125
4.4.1	Structure of simple words	125
4.4.2	Structure of derivatives	127
4.4.3	Phoneme distribution at the word level	128
4.4.3.1	Distribution of consonants	128
4.4.3.2	Distribution of vowels	129
4.5	Consonant clusters	130
4.6	Consonant sequences	135
4.7	Vowel sequences	137
4.8	Stress	137
4.9	Summary	139
4.10	Comparison of NEPM phonologies	140
5	Morphology	143
5.1	Introduction	143
5.2	Morphological units	144
5.2.1	Words	144
5.2.2	Internal structure of words	148

5.2.3	Clitics	151
5.2.4	Interim summary	157
5.3	Word-formation	158
5.3.1	Prefixation	158
5.3.1.1	Morphophonological alternations	158
5.3.1.2	Prefix <i>bɣ</i> - 'INTR; MID'	161
5.3.1.3	Prefix <i>tɣ</i> - 'NVOL'	164
5.3.1.4	Prefix <i>pɣ</i> - 'CAUS; FCT'	167
5.3.1.5	Prefix <i>NN₁</i> - 'IPFV'	170
5.3.1.6	Prefix <i>NN₂</i> - 'NMLS'	175
5.3.1.7	Interim summary	177
5.3.2	Initial gemination	178
5.3.2.1	Grammatical functions of initial gemination	178
5.3.2.2	Initial gemination and prefixation	184
5.3.2.3	Initial gemination and the cliticisation of prepositions	188
5.3.3	Compounding	191
5.3.4	Reduplication	193
5.3.5	Fossilised complex words	199
5.4	Summary	201
6	Word classes and basic syntax	203
6.1	Introduction	203
6.2	Word classes	204
6.2.1	Nouns	204
6.2.2	Verbs	205
6.2.3	Adverbs	210
6.2.4	Pronouns	213
6.2.4.1	Personal pronouns	213
6.2.4.2	Relative pronouns	216
6.2.5	Demonstratives and deictics	217
6.2.6	Quantifiers and numerals	220
6.2.6.1	Numerals	221
6.2.6.2	Non-numeral quantifiers	224
6.2.7	Classifiers	225
6.2.8	Interrogatives	227

6.2.9	Negators	232
6.2.10	Prepositions	236
6.2.11	Conjunctions	241
6.2.12	Discourse particles	243
6.2.13	Interjections	246
6.3	Noun phrases	248
6.4	Basic clause structure	251
6.4.1	Verbal clauses	251
6.4.1.1	Dynamic verbal clauses	251
6.4.1.2	Stative verbal clauses	257
6.4.2	Non-verbal clauses	260
6.4.2.1	Nominal predicates	260
6.4.2.2	Quantifier/numeral predicates	261
6.4.2.3	Locational clauses	262
6.4.2.4	Existential clauses	264
6.5	Summary	267
7	Phonological history	269
7.1	Introduction	269
7.2	Some notes on the reconstruction of PM	270
7.3	Reflexes of PM consonants	272
7.3.1	PM stops	275
7.3.2	PM nasals	285
7.3.3	PM fricatives	287
7.3.4	PM liquids	289
7.3.5	PM glides	291
7.3.5.1	PM intervocalic glides	291
7.3.5.2	PM final glides	295
7.3.6	PM consonant sequences	300
7.4	Reflexes of PM vowels	308
7.4.1	PM penultimate *a and *ə	310
7.4.2	PM penultimate *i and *u	311
7.4.3	PM ultimate *a and *ə	312
7.4.4	PM ultimate *i and *u	315
7.4.4.1	Lowering in KM and CTM	316
7.4.4.2	Diphthongisation in ITM	318
7.4.4.3	Nasalisation	327

7.5	Syllable reduction	328
7.5.1	Syllable reduction in PM disyllables	328
7.5.2	Syllable reduction in PM trisyllables	329
7.5.2.1	Vowel contraction	330
7.5.2.2	Antepenultimate vowel syncope	331
7.5.2.3	Cluster assimilation	334
7.5.3	Interim summary	337
7.6	Relative chronology of sound changes	338
7.7	Summary	340
8	Morphological history	343
8.1	Introduction	343
8.2	Affixes reconstructed in PM	344
8.3	Morphological retention and innovation	346
8.3.1	PM *(mb)Ar-, *pAr ₁ - and *tAr-	347
8.3.2	PM *mAN- and *pAN-	352
8.4	Morphological reduction	356
8.4.1	Fossilisation of PM *-i and *-an	356
8.4.2	Loss of other affixes	360
8.4.3	Contact-induced change?	363
8.5	Summary	369
9	General discussion and conclusions	371
9.1	Overview	371
9.2	Summary of main findings	371
9.3	Implications for the Malayic migration history	377
9.4	Limitations and directions for future research	380
	Appendices	383
A	Basic word lists	383
B	Sample texts	393
B.1	Sample text of KM	393
B.2	Sample text of CTM	399
B.3	Sample text of ITM	409
	Bibliography	419

English summary	445
Samenvatting in het Nederlands	447
Ringkasan dalam Bahasa Melayu	449
Curriculum vitae	451

Acknowledgements

The completion of this dissertation owes a debt of gratitude to the remarkable people who have supported and helped me throughout this journey. First and foremost, my deepest thanks go to my wonderful supervisors Marian Klamer, Sander Adelaar and Tom Hoogevorst, whose guidance and inspiration have been invaluable. Without Marian encouraging me to apply for the NWO grant, this project would have never existed in the first place. From the very beginning of my PhD, she has been giving me the freedom to explore my own research interests, and she has always had confidence in me. I am grateful for Sander's professional input on Malayic languages, and his meticulous feedback on my manuscripts over numerous Skype calls. Tom provided insights on the etymologies of many words, and he offered me many coffees at 't Suppiershuysinghe, which were always accompanied by thought-provoking discussions.

Numerous other individuals have contributed to this dissertation in one way or another. I consider myself fortunate to have been surrounded by a group of like-minded people during the initial years of my PhD at LUCL. I wish to thank all the members of Marian's VICI group: Hanna Fricke, Owen Edwards, Francesca Moro, Gereon Kaiping, George Saad and Yunus Sulistyono. Owen read several chapters of my dissertation and offered valuable comments, and he introduced me to map-making software. Hanna gave me introductory courses on ELAN and FLE_x, and she helped me with many technical issues. Additionally, all the feedback I received on my presentations in conferences and symposiums have enriched this work in meaningful ways. My former teacher and classmates in Beijing, Congcong Fu,

Huizhong Wang and Wenxue Jing, have engaged in inspiring chats with me and provided advice on various aspects related to Malay lexicon and grammar. Congcong and Huizhong also checked the Malay summary of this dissertation. I would also like to thank Thom van Hugte for proofreading the final manuscript and reviewing the Dutch summary.

About eight months of my PhD were spent in Malaysia, and those were unforgettable times thanks to the hospitality and companion of many people there. To all the speakers from Kelantan and Terengganu who generously hosted me and dedicated their time to teaching me their fascinating languages: *ribuan terima kasih!* I wish to thank Ihsan, Amirul and Asma and their families in Tanah Merah, Nurudin's family in Kuala Terengganu, and Pakcik Abdullah and Makcik Jamaliah in Ulu Terengganu, as well as all other language consultants whose names I cannot list here. Tarmizi and Karl Anderbeck brought me to the field in Kelantan and Terengganu for the first time in July 2018, which really opened up my fieldwork experience. I am indebted to Prof. Datuk Seri Awang Sariyan, Prof. Stefanie and Prof. Salinah for their assistance in establishing connections with the local communities. Nadia, Asilah and Aisyah assisted me in transcribing some parts of the data, and my friends in Kuala Lumpur, Zhenfeng Li and Wanzhen Zhao, made my stay in Malaysia much more enjoyable.

My PhD journey in the past six years would not have been the same without my fellow linguists at LUCL, many of whom have become much more than just colleagues to me: Zhen Li, Qing Yang, Tingting Zheng, Zhuoyi Luo, Rasmus Puggaard-Rode, Sarah von Grebmer Zu Wolfsthurn, Andrew Wigman, Lis Kerr, Priscilla Lam, Charlie Xu, Matthew Sung, Olga Nozdracheva, Xinyi Wen, Jiaqi Wang, Ruoyu Shi, Jian Sun, Hana Hasanah, Xander Vertegaal, Astrid van Alem, Cesko Voeten, Ami Okabe, Laura Smorenburg, Meike de Boer, Nurenzia Yannuar, Hang Cheng, Han Hu, Menghui Shi, Min Liu, Jinlei Zhou and Dan Yuan, as well as the rest of them. I would like to thank Zhen, Qing, Tingting and Zhuoyi for their camaraderie, for all the lunches and dinners we had, and for putting up with my grumbling and whining. Rasmus was a great officemate, who was always willing to discuss phonetics and phonology with me. I also received much help from Sarah in handling all the intricate details during the final stage of my PhD. To each and every one I have met in LUCL, I extend my gratitude for our conversations, no matter how trivial, and for the enjoyable moments we shared over drinks and social gatherings.

Lastly, I want to express my heartfelt gratitude to my friends and life partners who have provided me with invaluable companionship and made Leiden feel like home. I am deeply thankful to Stefano Mattia, who has been by my side throughout the years, offering unwavering support. To Minyan, Thom, Dannan, Siyun and Yi, my sincere appreciation for our genuine friendship. And to my parents and family, my deepest thanks for your immeasurable understanding and love.

List of abbreviations and symbols

Glosses

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABST	abstractive
ACT	actor
ADVS	adversative
AFF	affirmative
AGT	agent
ANAPH	anaphoric
APPL	applicative
ATTR	attributive
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
COL	collective
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
EMPH	emphasis
EXIST	existential
EXCL	exclusive
FCT	factitive

FOC	focus
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INDEF	indefinitive
INST	instrumental
INTERJ	interjection
INTR	intransitive
INTS	intensifier
IPFV	imperfective
HES	hesitation
HUM	human referent
LIG	ligature
LOC	locative
MID	middle (voice)
NEG	negator
NMLS	nominaliser
NHUM	non-human referent
NVOL	non-volitional
PART	particle
PERS	person
PL	plural
PREP	preposition
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal
Q	question
RDP	reduplication
RECP	reciprocal
REL	relativiser
RES	resultative
SFP	sentence final particle
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
TAG	tag question
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
VF	verum focus

Languages

AA	Austro-Asiatic
BH	Banjar Hulu
CTM	Coastal Terengganu Malay
ENG	English
ITM	Inland Terengganu Malay
KM	Kelantan Malay
NEPM	Northeastern Peninsular Malayic
PAn	Proto Austronesian
PK	Payang Kayu
PM	Proto Malayic
PMP	Proto Malayo-Polynesian
PWMP	Proto Western-Malayo-Polynesian
SM	Standard Malay

Citation codes

a	audio
cv	conversation
d	discussion and interview
e	elicitation
fn	field notes
n	narrative
v	video
wl	word list

Other abbreviations

A	agent
C	consonant
Env.	environment
f.n.	footnote
k.o.	kind of
n.	noun
NP	noun phrase
O	object
P	patient
p.c.	personal communication

PP	prepositional phrase
QP	quantifier predicate
R	recipient
S	subject
s.o.	someone
s.th.	something
SSP	Sonority Sequencing Principle
SVC	Serial verb construction
T	theme
V	vowel
VP	verb phrase

Usage of symbols

σ	syllable
#	word boundary
\emptyset	zero (phoneme or morpheme)
[]	phonetic form; phrase
//	phonemic form (also in <i>italics</i>)
$\langle \rangle$	orthographic representation
$\langle \rangle$	segment deleted or substituted during morphophonological processes
\rightarrow or \leftarrow	synchronic derivation
$>$ or $<$	diachronic change or loanword origin
*	reconstructed form
+	inferred form at an intermediate stage
\times	unreconstructable or unattested form
†	historical forms that are no longer attested
?	tentative or uncertain analysis
-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic boundary
	historical morpheme boundary
~	free variation between two (or more) forms
\approx	approximately equal to