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Further evidence for the reconstruction of *-ew and *-ey

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FURTHER EVIDENCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF *-əy AND *-əw¹

In *Gava*, the *Festschrift* dedicated to the late Hans Kähler, R. A. Blust has published a paper entitled 'The Proto-Austronesian word for "female"'. The article is an updated version of a 1970 paper, whose "central argument remains unchanged" (Blust 1982:27, fn. 1). In this essay Blust makes two major points:

- 1) He proposes a PAN reconstruction for the word 'female' which is different from Dyen's: Dyen (1965:302) reconstructs *bəHi[], whereas Blust proposes the reconstruction *bahi, the important difference being the reconstruction of *a instead of *ə.
- 2) He claims that "his analysis produces counterevidence to Dyen's argument for the reconstruction of a PAN diphthong *əy" (Blust 1982:17).

I will first discuss Dyen's reconstruction of *əy. Dempwolff (1934-1938) reconstructed a diphthong *-ay for the correspondence Tagalog -ay, Toba-Batak -e, Javanese -e, Malay -ay, and viewed the relatively large number of occurrences of Javanese and Malay -i instead of the expected -e (Jav.) and -ay (Mal.) as exceptions ("*Lautunstimmigkeiten*"). Blust (1982:26) presents the following list of the cases of discrepant reflexes of Dempwolff's *-ay in Javanese and Malay:

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TABLE 1

Dempwolff's reconstruction	Jav.	Mal.	Gloss
1. *bəRay	—	beri	'give'
2. *binay	—	bini	'wife'
3. *zambay	jambé	jambi	'areca palm'
4. *qatay	ati	hati	'liver'
5. *(dD)aqay	rai	dahi	'forehead'
6. *matay	mati	mati	'die, dead'
7. *pajay	pari	padi	'rice plant'
8. *qantay	anti	n-anti	'wait'
9. *taytay	t-el-iti	titi	'narrow bridge'
10. *qanay	p-ani	ani	'warp (in weaving)'
11. *jelay	jali	jelay	'grass sp.'
12. *qi(n)Tay	iti 'cast a glance'	intay	'spy on'

A few remarks regarding this list are necessary. *Reconstruction 1*: there exist the Old and Modern Javanese forms *w-in-èh*, *a-wèh* (OJv.) and *wè-wèh* (MJv.) 'to give'. For a possible explanation of these forms, see Nothofer (1975:180f.). *Reconstruction 5*: *(dD)aqay nowadays is reconstructed with a simple vowel *-i (Blust 1982:28, fn. 12). *Reconstruction 11*: the reflexes of the penultimate vowel and of the final diphthong are problematic. *Reconstruction 12*: besides *iti* there exist other Javanese forms which can be considered as being cognate with Mal. *intay*, viz. OJv. *aŋ-intay*, *maŋ-inte*, MJv. *inte* (B)² 'to pry, watch'.

Dyen (1949) accounts for these discrepant cases by dividing Dempwolff's *-ay into *-ay and *-əy, reconstructing *-ay for the correspondence already proposed by Dempwolff (see above) and *-əy "to explain final correspondences such as those of Tagalog *paláy*, Malay *padi*" (Dyen 1949:421, fn. 5).

According to Blust (1982:26) "Dyen's reconstruction of a PAN diphthong *-əy is not well motivated", since Dyen considers only the correspondence Tag. -ay: Mal. -i, but ignores the correspondence Tag. -ay: Jav. -i.

However, Dyen (1953:364, fn. 18) clearly states the reflexes which he assigns to his *-əy: "Tag. -ay, TBt. -e, Jav. -i, Mal. -i, NgD. -ey, Mer. -i".

Let us compare the reflexes of the two diphthongs reconstructed by Dyen considering only Tagalog, Toba-Batak, Javanese and Malay:

TABLE 2

	Tag.	TBt.	Jav.	Mal.
*-ay	-ay	-e	-e	-ay
*-əy	-ay	-e	-i	-i

Sundanese evidence strongly supports Dyen's hypothesis of a distinction

between *-ay and *-əy, since Sundanese reflects *-ay as -ay and *əy as -e (see Nothofer 1975:93f.).

Examples of etyma containing *-ay and their reflexes are: *anay, Tag. *qá:nay*, TBt. *qane-ane*, Mal. *anay-anay*, Snd. *anay* 'termite'; *balay, Tag. *bá:hay* 'house', TBt. *bale* 'hut', Jav. *balé* 'bench', Mal. *balay* 'public building', Snd. *balay* 'little wall made of stones'; *tapay, Tag. *tá:pay* 'dough', Jav. *tapé*, Mal., Snd. Banten *tapay* 'yeast, leavened cake'; *rantay, TBt. *ratte*, Jav. *ranté*, Mal., Snd. *rantay* 'chain'.

The Sundanese cognates of the forms listed in Table 1 are the following:

TABLE 3

1. <i>bere</i>	'give'
2. <i>be-bene, ka-bene</i>	'sweetheart (female), fiancé(e)'
<i>ca-wene</i>	'young daughter, maiden'
3. <i>jambe</i>	'areca palm'
4. <i>hate</i>	'liver'
5. —	reconstruction has *-i: *dahi
6. —	<i>pati</i> is treated as a loan from Javanese, the Sundanese word being <i>paeh</i>
7. <i>pare</i>	'rice plant'
8. —	<i>anti</i> is treated as a loan from Javanese or Malay
9. <i>t-al-ete</i>	'ask exactly'
10. <i>pi-hane</i>	'warp (in weaving)'
11. —	
12. —	no cognates

Further instances exemplifying *əy occur among the following: *gura-məy, Jav., Mal. Java *gurami*, Snd. *gurame* 'kind of fish'; *(zZ)unəy, Mal. *juni*, Snd. *jone* 'kind of plant'; *kandəy, Jav. *kandi* 'bag, pouch', Mal. *kandi-kandi* 'basket', Snd. Banten *kande* 'kind of *katun*-bag'; (tT)i(rR)əy, Mal. *tiri*, Snd. *tere* 'step-'; *quəy, OJv. *hwī*, Snd. *hoe* 'rattan'.

The examples of Table 3 and the other instances listed above show that in Sundanese a preceding high vowel partially assimilates to -e and that *ə before -e becomes e (e.g. *bəRəy > Snd. *bere* 'to give').

There is convincing support for the reconstruction of the sequence *-əy for the correspondence Tag. -ay, TBt. -e, Jav. -i, Mal. -i, Snd. -e: one of the reflexes of *R in Sundanese is y, e.g. *saRaŋ > Snd. *sayan* 'nest', *lapaR > Snd. *palay* (with metathesis) 'hungry'. The etyma *DəŋəR 'to hear' and *bəRas 'husked rice' have *dəŋe* and *beas* as Sundanese reflexes, where *dəŋe* presumably is a further development of an older Sundanese *dəŋəy and *beas* of an older Sundanese *bəyas.

An interesting development is that of Snd. *peuyeum* 'glutinous rice sweetened by yeast' from *pəRəm, where the *ə of an early Sundanese

*-əy- (< *-əR-) assimilated to an early Sundanese *eu* in the following syllable before the contraction of early Sundanese *-əy to *e* could take place³.

Let us now turn briefly to the reconstruction of *-i. This proto-phoneme regularly appears as *-i* in Tagalog, Toba-Batak, Javanese, Malay and Sundanese. Madurese, which is closely related to Malay and Sundanese, reflects *-i as *-i(h)* or *-e(h)*, depending on the preceding phonemes. Two examples will suffice to demonstrate this correspondence: *beli, Tag. *bili*, TBt. *boli*, OJv. *ma-meli*, Mal. *beli*, Snd. *beuli*, Mad. *belli(h)* 'to buy'; *tali, Tag. *tá:liq*, TBt., Jav., Mal., Snd. *tali*, Mad. *tale(h)* 'rope, cord'.

We thus can establish the following three correspondence sets:

TABLE 4

	Tag.	TBt.	Jav.	Mal.	Snd.	Mad.
*-ay	-ay	-e	-e	-ay	-ay	-ay
*-əy	-ay	-e	-i	-i	-e	-i(h), -e(h) ⁴
*-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i(h), -e(h) ⁴

Tagalog and Toba-Batak merge *-ay and *-əy, while Malay – just like Javanese and Madurese – merges *-əy and *-i. Consequently Malay *-i* reflects *-əy or *-i⁵. The only language under consideration that has different reflexes for all three reconstructions is Sundanese.

There is evidence for the reconstruction of the diphthongs *-aw and *-əw as well as of the final vowel *u, of which all reflexes in the languages under consideration are parallel to those of *-ay, *-əy and *-i, except for the Sundanese reflex of *-aw and the Tagalog reflex of *-u. The reconstruction of *-əw was first proposed by Dyen (1953:363, fn. 18). Table 5 shows the correspondence sets:

TABLE 5

	Tag.	TBt.	Jav.	Mal.	Snd.	Mad.
*-aw	-aw	-o	-o	-aw	-o	-aw
*-əw	-aw	-o	-u	-u	-o	-u(h), -o(h) ⁴
*-u	-o	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u(h), -o(h) ⁴

Examples are the followings:

*-aw: *bakaw, Tag. *bá:kaw*, TBt. *baho*, Mal. *bakaw*, Snd. *bako* 'kind of tree'; *tinjaw, Jav. *tinjo* 'to visit', Mal. *tinjaw* 'to crane the neck, be on the watch', Snd. *tenjo* 'to see'.

*-əw: *burəw, Tag. *bú:gaw* 'to put to flight', TBt. *buro* 'to pursue', Jav. *buru* 'pursue', Mal. *buru* 'to chase, hunt', Snd. *boro* 'to hunt, chase', Mad. *buru(h)* 'to run away'; *bañəw, Jav. *bañu* 'water', Mal. *bañu* 'fermented coconut-water', Snd. *baño* 'water', Mad. *bhaño(h)* 'to urinate'; *(dD)agəw or *ga(dD)əw, Mal. *dagu*, Snd.

gado 'chin'; *garəw, Jav. *garu* 'to harrow', Mal. *garu* 'scraping, scratching', Snd. *garo* 'to scratch', Mad. *gharu(h)* 'to scratch'.

*-u: *batu, Tag. *bato*, TBt. *batu*, Jav. *watu*, Mal. *batu*, Snd. *batu*, Mad. *bato(h)* 'stone'; *bulu, Tag. *bū:lo* 'floss', TBt. *im-bulu*, Jav. *wulu*, Mal. *bulu*, Snd. *bulu*, Mad. *bulu(h)* 'hair'.

Tagalog, Toba-Batak and Sundanese merge *-aw and *-əw, while Malay – just like Javanese and Madurese – merges *-əw and *-u. Consequently, the origin of Malay -u is *-əw or *-u.

Again, Sundanese shows partial assimilation of a preceding high vowel: *i and *u before -o appear as *e* and *o*, as in the case of -*e*. There is no instance of *ə before *-aw or *-əw.

Having established the reconstruction of *-ay and *-əy, I would now like to consider the reconstruction of the PAN word for 'female'. Blust's argument in favour of a reconstruction with *a, namely PAN *bahi*, is mainly based on forms such as Tongan *fa-fine* 'woman', in which Blust would like to explain the initial CV as a partial reduplication. Thus, Blust treats the Tongan form as a reflex of *ba+b-in-ahi, and argues (1982: 19) that Dyen has to identify the first syllable of forms such as Tongan *fa-fine* as "an unidentified preposed element" because of his reconstruction with *ə: *ba+b-in-əHi[].

How does Blust's hypothesis regarding the phonemic shape of the PAN word for 'female' fit the data from so-called Malayo-Javanic languages? I will present data from Malay, Old Javanese, Modern Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese. The data are arranged according to types which will be explained below.

TABLE 6

	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	Type 7	Type 8
Malay	<i>bini</i> 'wife'	—	<i>bibi</i> 'aunt'	—	—	—	—	—
Old Javanese	<i>wini, bini</i> 'wife'	<i>babini</i> 'woman, wife'	<i>bibi</i> 'mother, my dear'	—	—	—	—	—
Modern Javanese	<i>bini</i> (B) ² 'spouse'	—	<i>bibi</i> 'aunt'	—	—	—	—	—
Sundanese	—	<i>cawene</i> 'young daughter, maiden'	—	<i>awewe</i> 'woman, wife'	<i>bebene</i> 'sweetheart, fiancé(e)'	<i>ewe</i> 'wife'	—	<i>kabene</i> 'sweetheart, fiancé(e)'
Madurese	<i>bine(h)</i> 'wife' <i>bineq</i> 'of female gender'	<i>babineqan,</i> <i>babineyan</i> 'wife'	—	—	<i>bibineq</i> 'of female gender'	—	<i>əbine</i> 'of female gender'	—

According to the hypothesis put forward by Blust, words of Type 1 must reflect *b-in-ahi. In these languages PAN h was lost and the sequence -ai was reanalysed as the diphthong -ay (Blust 1982:26). Thus, the proto-language of these four languages must have had a form *binay. Blust, only dealing with Malay *bini*, cannot explain the irregular development of *-ay, which should appear as Mal. -ay instead of -i.

I would like to suggest that the various Malayo-Javanic words reflect the PAN root bəHi[], which became Proto-Malayo-Javanic (PMJ) Bəy⁶. The forms of this *Bəy, with partial or full reduplication and infixation in earlier forms of the modern languages or in PMJ, are presented in Table 7.

TABLE 7

Type	Form
1	*B-in-əy
2	*Ba+B-in-əy(-an)
3	*Bəy Bəy
4	*a-Bə+Bəy or *a-Bəy Bəy
5	*Bəy B-in-əy or *Bi+B-in-əy (in order to explain Snd. <i>bebene</i> , one has to posit that the reduplication of the root or the partial reduplication of the infixed form must have occurred after *-B- became Snd. -w-)
6	*ə-Bəy (*ə is a prothetic vowel)
7	*ə-B-in-əy
8	*ka+B-in-əy (the prefixation of *ka- must have occurred after *-B- became Snd. -w-)

The vowel following *B in Types 4 and 6 must have been *ə, since *B- regularly becomes Snd. c- before *a (see Nothofer 1975:301-7).

The occurrence of Snd. *e* in non-final position (e.g. *cawene*, *bebene*, *ewe*) is explained by the assimilation rules outlined above.

According to the hypothesis which distinguishes between *-ay and *əy, all reflexes of the eight types of form of PAN bəHi[] 'female' can be explained with the exception of the first two segments in PMJ Ba+B-in-əy(-an) (< PAN ba+b-in-əHi[]). The initial CV cannot be explained as a partial reduplication, and therefore was referred to by Dyen – as was mentioned above – as "an unidentified preposed element".

One might suggest one of the two following explanations: 1) *ba- is a partial reduplication whose vowel is *a instead of expected *ə because the PAN canonical system did not allow for *ə to occur in the antepenultimate syllable; 2) *ba- is a PMP prefix which probably also occurs in *ba-isa-n 'parents-in-law'. The meaning of this prefix may have been something like 'relative, of the same family'.

NOTES

- 1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Fourth European Colloquium on Malay and Indonesian Studies in Leiden 1983. I am grateful to J. C. Anceaux and R. A. Blust for their comments.
- 2 (B) denotes 'literary'.
- 3 One might also argue that the sequence *-əyə- became Snd. -euyeu-. Because of the fact that Sundanese does not allow the co-occurrence of the vowel *e* (and also *o*) with *eu* in one morpheme, it seems impossible to posit the following development: *pəRəm (*R > y) (> *pəyəm (*əy > e, *ə > eu) > *peeum (development of a glide between the two vowels) > *peyeum (assimilation) > peuyeu.
- 4 Depending on the preceding phonemes.
- 5 Malay -i also reflects the diphthongs *-iw (e.g. *laRiw > Mal. *lari* 'to run') and *-uy (e.g. *baluy > Mal. *kem-bali* 'to return').
- 6 Nothofer (1975:123-45) distinguishes between PMJ B (Jav. *w-/b-*, *-w-*; Mal. *b-*, *-b-*; Snd. *b-*, *-w-*; Mad. *b-*, *-b-*) and PMJ b (Jav. *b-*, *-b-*, *-b-*; Mal. *b-*, *-b-*, *-p*; Snd. *b-*, *-b-*, *-b-*; Mad. *bh-*, *-bh-*, *-p*).

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