



# **The Improbable Language: Survey Report on the Nasal Language of Bengkulu, Sumatra**

Karl Anderbeck  
Herdian Aprilani

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SIL International®

2013

SIL Electronic Survey Report 2013-012, August 2013

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## Abstract/Abstrak

In the context of language identification survey activities in Sumatra, Indonesia, two published wordlists of a language variety identified as “Nasal” were unearthed. Other than these wordlists, no documentation of the history, classification or sociolinguistics of this group was extant. In this study, brief fieldwork and resultant analysis are presented on the Nasal language group. The main conclusions are that Nasal is indeed a distinct language with a preliminary classification of isolate within Malayo-Polynesian. In spite of its small speaker population compared to its neighbors, it improbably remains sociolinguistically vital.

*Dalam konteks survei identifikasi bahasa di Sumatera, Indonesia, digali kembali dua daftar kata yang sudah diterbitkan untuk sebuah ragam wicara yang diidentifikasi sebagai 'Nasal.' Selain kedua daftar kata ini, tidak ada dokumentasi apa pun tentang sejarah, klasifikasi linguistik, atau keadaan sosiolinguistik dari kelompok ini. Dalam kajian ini, disajikan survei lapangan singkat terhadap kelompok bahasa Nasal dan analisis yang dihasilkannya. Kesimpulan utamanya adalah bahwa Nasal memang merupakan bahasa tersendiri, dengan klasifikasi sementara sebagai bahasa isolatif di dalam Malayo-Polinesia. Meskipun populasi penuturnya sangat sedikit dibandingkan dengan kelompok-kelompok di sekitarnya, kondisi sosiolinguistik Nasal secara mengejutkan tetap hidup.*

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# 1 Introduction

This report documents the existence of the improbably surviving Nasal language.<sup>1</sup> Nasal (pronounced nah-sahl) is an obscure speech variety spoken by perhaps three thousand people in southern Bengkulu Province of Sumatra, Indonesia, an area where groups typically number in the hundreds of thousands. Nasal was added to the sixteenth edition of the *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) as a newly documented language (ISO 639-3 code: nsy). Terse rationale for the addition was given in Anderbeck (2007a); the purpose of this report is to provide additional information and analysis on this language uncovered through abbreviated fieldwork in 2007. The basic claims here are that Nasal is a distinct and relatively vital language<sup>2</sup> with a preliminary classification as a Malayo-Polynesian isolate.

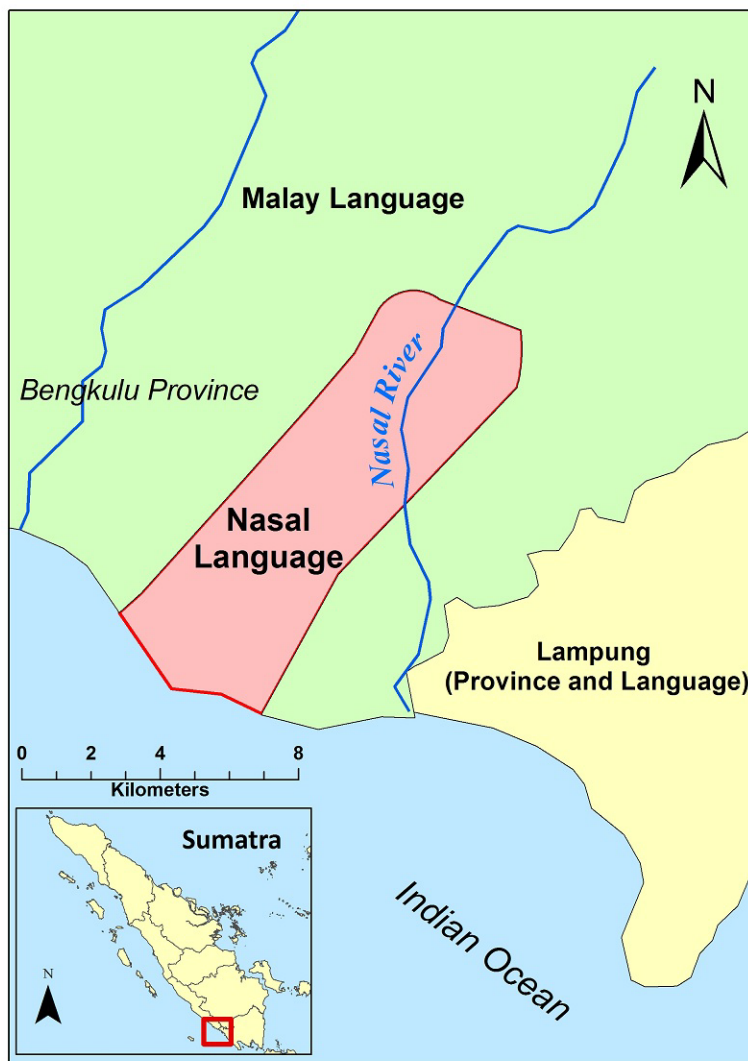
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<sup>1</sup> About the authors: Karl Anderbeck is former coordinator of language survey for SIL Indonesia Branch, while Herdian Aprilani was a member of the survey team. The division of labor for this study is fairly simple: Herdian was responsible for the fieldwork, and Karl for the design, analysis and write-up. The effort of either party will be referred to as “we” throughout the report; any errors in the report are Karl’s sole responsibility. We wish to thank our language assistants, particularly the village head of Tanjung Betuah and his wife, and also the Social Department of the Indonesian government, under whose auspices the research was undertaken and whose local personnel accompanied us to the research area.

About the language name: No, this is not a joke. There really is a language named *Nasal* in Indonesia. This name should not be confused with its English homograph, “nasal,” pronounced ney-zuhl. Nonetheless, for the discomfort of our English readers, we have sprinkled a few puns into the paper, based on this homography.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly speaking, “languages” do not exist. In the real world, what we actually observe are patterned speech acts by individuals, more-or-less cohesive within a speech community, exhibiting similarity over time; see Pike (1959:53) “language is a variety of behavior.” However, for the sake of brevity, in this report we will employ the useful fiction of an entity called “the Nasal language.”

Map 1. Nasal language of southwest Sumatra



## 1.1 Nasal in context

### 1.1.1 Physical setting

The Nasal language area is located in southern Bengkulu Province, about one hour's drive down the coast from the nearest city, Bintuhan. The Nasal language group is composed of three villages just north of the Lampung Province border in the Kaur regency: Tanjung Betuah and Gedung Menung in Muara Nasal district, and Tanjung Baru in Maje district. As with nearly all groups in southern Sumatra, the Nasal people largely hold to the Islamic religion. Although close to the coast, the Nasal group seems primarily oriented culturally toward the *Air Nasal*,<sup>3</sup> the river from which the group takes its name. The Nasal River is one of dozens of short rivers, their headwaters in the *Bukit Barisan* mountain range,

<sup>3</sup> *Air Nasal* could also be translated 'nasal fluid', but we would not recommend it.

flowing through Bengkulu province into the Indian Ocean. It is the longest of several in the Kaur regency, with its headwaters in the 1800-meter-high Pandan Mountain. The area surrounding the Nasal villages is mostly scrub forest and dry rice farmland under two hundred meters in elevation.

### 1.1.2 Linguistic setting

The tiny Nasal language is nestled amongst the Krui dialect of Lampung [ljp] and the Malay lects Kaur [vkk], Bengkulu, Serawai and Semenda [pse]. Speakers of dozens of Malay lects in southern Sumatra number nearly five million (Lewis 2009), not counting speakers of the national language, Indonesian. Speakers of Lampungic lects approach one and a half million, and Rejang 350,000. Meanwhile, Nasal speakers number a paltry three thousand or so (see §3.1).

## 1.2 Previous research

Nasal was evidently first documented by way of a wordlist elicited in 1895 and published in the Holle series (Stokhof 1987a:143–157). In this source, the speakers are identified as belonging to the *marga Nasal* (Nasal clan) in Bengkulu, bordering the Krui area of Lampung. Nasal data show up a second time by way of a wordlist published without comment in the Indonesian Language Center (*Pusat Bahasa*) publication *Pemetaan Bahasa Daerah di Sumatra Barat dan Bengkulu* [Mapping the vernacular languages of West Sumatra and Bengkulu Provinces] (Kasim et al. 1987).

Neither aforementioned publication credibly attempts to classify the language<sup>4</sup> nor do they provide any sociolinguistic details which might help us understand the origin of this group or its relationship with others. More recently, but prior to field research, Anderbeck (2007b:154) briefly discusses (and dismisses) the possibility of Nasal being considered a Lampungic lect and also uses the Holle Nasal data as an external witness to the reconstruction of Proto-Lampungic.

Given the small size of the Nasal group, it is perhaps understandable that Nasal has been overlooked, but from another angle, its obscurity is somewhat improbable. Linguists have been studying Sumatran languages for over a century, and in the past four decades, the Indonesian Language Center has put out scores of monographs on individual Indonesian lects, many smaller than Nasal.

## 1.3 Research goals and questions

We conducted field research in the Nasal language as part of SIL Indonesia's larger program of surveying the languages of Sumatra, in an attempt to verify or clarify the general linguistic and sociolinguistic picture. Research undertaken has mostly been of a rapid-appraisal sort, sacrificing depth for breadth of coverage, utilizing opportunistic sampling both of village locations as well as questionnaire respondents.

Findings for the Sumatran research to date include studies on language vitality, bilingualism and language identification/dialectology. On vitality and bilingualism, examples include studies of Enggano (Im and Simanjuntak 2009; Aprilani 2007), Lampungic lects (Katubi 2007) and South Sumatran Malay (McDowell and Anderbeck 2008; Im and Simanjuntak 2009). Possibly the greatest effort has been made in the area of language identification, with particular focus on revising the ISO 639-3 registry of Sumatran languages (International Organization for Standardization 2012). Except in cases of isolates like Enggano or (we assert) Nasal, to properly identify language centers and peripheries, we frequently must supplement linguistic criteria with sociolinguistic criteria, such as mutual intelligibility, shared literature and ethnolinguistic identity (Lewis 2009). This research in Sumatra has significantly

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<sup>4</sup> The authors of the 1987 monograph were informed before beginning their fieldwork that Pasemah was one of the languages spoken in Bengkulu (Kasim et al. 1987:32). When none of their observation points self-identified as Pasemah, they incorrectly assumed that Nasal was Pasemah. (Pasemah/Besemah is a Malay lect.) Evidently, the authors didn't have a "nose" for classification.

transformed the language registry since 2000. Most of the changes have been deletions or mergers, the result of significant past overstatement of linguistic diversity. One isolate was revealed to be a phantom (Hajek 1996). We amalgamated nine Lampungic lects into three (Hanawalt 2007; Anderbeck and Hanawalt 2007a; Anderbeck and Hanawalt 2007b) and merged twenty-eight Malayic “languages” into fourteen (with more mergers possibly still to come) (Anderbeck 2008; Anderbeck 2007c; Anderbeck 2007d; Anderbeck 2007e; Anderbeck 2007f; McDowell and Anderbeck 2008). Not all was bloodletting, however. Three “new” languages were documented: first, local (vernacular) Malay [zlm] and Standard (Malaysian) Malay [zsm] were disambiguated (Anderbeck 2007g); second, Haji Malay [hji] was claimed to be sufficiently distinct from its fellow Malay (ML) lects in southern Sumatra to be considered a separate language (Anderbeck 2007h). The third “new” language is Nasal, the subject of this report.

In the case of Nasal, information sought through fieldwork included lexical and grammatical data, the history and background of Nasal and language-use patterns. Our research questions for Nasal fall into two categories: about the language and about its speakers.

About the language:

1. Is Nasal a distinct language from its neighbors (linguistically and in terms of intelligibility)? Particularly, given its clear similarity to Lampung, should Nasal be considered a Lampungic (LP) lect like Krui, Komering, Menggala and others?
2. If not Lampungic, how can Nasal be classified and (briefly) described?

About its speakers:

1. What can we ascertain about the history, setting and identity of the language group?
2. How many Nasal speakers are there?
3. How consistently are children learning and using Nasal?
4. What benefit, if any, would Nasal speakers derive if their language were to be brought into the sphere of literacy?

## 2 Methodology

This section details the methods used to gather and analyze data.<sup>5</sup>

### 2.1 Data collection

We conducted fieldwork from 7 to 9 May 2007, visiting all three Nasal villages in fairly typical, rapid-appraisal style. We elicited a wordlist, sentences and a short story, administered sociolinguistic questionnaires and dialogued with villagers about the group’s history and other background information. As we already suspected that Nasal was not closely related to any other language, in our research design we prioritized linguistic investigation over sociolinguistics in order to confirm this.

#### 2.1.1 *Informed consent*

In the data collection process, we observed the following procedure to secure the informed consent of the participants:

- The investigators introduce ourselves and our goals.
- We assure the language assistants that their identities will be kept confidential if they desire.
- We give an estimation of how much time will be requested for gathering the data.

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<sup>5</sup> No facial tissues were harmed during the collection of Nasal materials.



- We explain that we wish to learn about them and their language, and that there are no right or wrong answers.
- Because we judge that oral consent is usually most appropriate for a linguistic survey in Indonesia, we then request that they verbally respond whether they are willing to continue.
- The investigators tick “Yes” or “No” on the appropriate form.

In all cases, the language assistants graciously agreed to assist, and the investigators proceeded with our questions.

### 2.1.2 *Wordlist elicitation*

Because Nasal had only been lightly documented and had not been classified, we elicited not the standard 360-item wordlist but rather the 1900-item *Intercontinental Dictionary—Indonesian Context Version* (Himmelman 2001; Mead 2006).<sup>6</sup> This was elicited over two days in Tanjung Betuah with the assistance of three middle-aged native assistants, all fluent in Nasal and (so they said) in Indonesian, Semenda and Kaur as well. The main assistant was the Nasal tribal head.

In transcribing the items, we employed the International Phonetic Alphabet, commonly amended in Indonesia to denote the voiceless and voiced affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] with [c] and [j], and the semivowel [j] with [y]. We transcribed diphthongs as [ay], [uy] and [aw] rather than [ai], [ui] and [au]. We preferred unaffixed verbal forms to affixed, to avoid obscuring the initial consonant of the stem through morphophonemics. We did not note initial glottal stops, or whether a final stop is released or unreleased.

We elicited the wordlist page-by-page; after each page, we recorded the respondent pronouncing the words for that page with a Hi-MD recorder. A few sections lack a recording but most of the list was captured. After the trip, we listened to the recording again and double-checked the transcriptions.

A subset of the IDS is the Basic Austronesian (BAn) wordlist (Blust 1981), an adaptation of the Swadesh 200-item list for the Austronesian context and commonly used in Indonesia. This wordlist with Nasal data is reproduced in the appendices.

We also elicited twenty-three standard sentences (Himmelman 1988) and an eight-line story. These instruments with Nasal data may be found in the appendices.

### 2.1.3 *Sociolinguistic questionnaires*

We employed two standard sociolinguistic questionnaires: one for groups and another for the village head. Both had been field tested outside Nasal, and both are in the appendices. The group questionnaire includes the following sections: information about the participants, local leadership, language use (home, school, religion, general), language change, language maintenance, dialectology and intelligibility, language attitudes and media. The village head questionnaire has questions on demography, local economy, regional infrastructure, religion, health and education.

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<sup>6</sup> The Intercontinental Dictionary Series (IDS; 1310 items) was developed by the late Mary Ritchie Key at the University of California, Irvine (Key and Kaye 1984), who in turn based her work on *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* by Carl Darling Buck. Because of this heritage, the IDS contains some words which are not appropriate to the Indonesian context, and lacks others which would be.

In his presentation of Tomini-Tolitoli wordlists, Nikolaus Himmelman (2001) adopted the format of the IDS, while adding around 500 new entries for items (e.g., 'coconut shell') which were of particular interest in the Indonesian context. Most of Himmelman's additions were based on items found in the Holle New Basic List (Stokhof 1980) but not present in the original IDS. Building on Himmelman's work, David Mead added a significant number of other words, but probably totaling less than a hundred, in order to create the present “Indonesia Context Version” of the IDS.

Both questionnaires were administered in Tanjung Betuah; the group questionnaire with three women from the village, and the other with the village head. For the former, two of the three women were native Nasal, while the other had married in from the Kaur group. In the second village, Gedung Menung, we guessed that its language use dynamics would be quite similar to the adjacent Tanjung Betuah, so we only employed a village head questionnaire to obtain demographic information. In Tanjung Baru, around a ten-minute drive from Tanjung Betuah, we filled out a group questionnaire with input from the village secretary, while two non-Nasal people from the regency capital Bintuhan looked on. Because the Tanjung Baru village head was out of town, no village head questionnaire was administered there.

The manner of the sociolinguistic elicitation, particularly the skimpy, opportunistic sampling and the lack of time given for observation, betrays both the rapid appraisal nature of the trip as well as the relatively lower priority given to sociolinguistic factors vis-à-vis linguistic factors. Accordingly, sociolinguistic findings herein should be approached with healthy skepticism.

## 2.2 Data analysis

We used the comparative method (Trask 1996, among others) in our attempt in §3.3 to classify Nasal. The primary Nasal data source is the IDS list, while we also utilized the two published Nasal lists on occasion. Key comparative sources we consulted are Adelaar (1992) for Proto-Malayic, Anderbeck (2007b) for Proto-Lampungic, McGinn (2003) for Proto-Rejang and Blust (1999; 2012) for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP).

We also used the comparative method to determine cognates for the lexicostatistic analysis. We followed standard lexicostatistical guidelines (Sanders 1977), including discarding duplicates; for example, all words for ‘ankle’ are composed of lexemes meaning ‘eye’ and ‘leg’, both of which were listed individually elsewhere in the comparison. We chose Bengkulu and Kaur lists as nearby Malayic lects, and Krui as the nearest Lampung dialect. Although further away, Rejang was included because of its comparative interest. The Krui list was taken from Anderbeck (2007b) while the rest were obtained from Kasim et al. (1987). Although the latter’s phonetic representations are not always trustworthy, they advantageously share the same elicitation list.

Because our resources for understanding Rejang comparative linguistics are more limited than that of Malayic or Lampungic, the Rejang-Nasal cognate percentages should be considered less reliable. If anything we erred by being too inclusive with possible Rejang cognates. Of course, lexicostatistics with its weaknesses as a methodology should not be taken too far, which is why we have written more about it here in the methodology section than in the results section!

A bit more should be said on loanwords. We provide two sets of similarity percentages in §3.3.1; with and without loanwords. The actual cognate counts excluding loanwords are of course smaller than when they are included, and both calculations can be interesting for their own reasons. However, identifying loanwords is not always possible, given that all four subgroups inherit a good deal of similarity from PMP and may also show some areal effects. Malay is the most common donor language, but LP loanwords also can be found in ML (particularly the Kaur lect) and in Nasal. Malay loans are the easiest to detect because information about ML (dialects and reconstruction) is abundant and of high quality. LP loans are not difficult to identify in ML but currently nearly impossible to demonstrate in Nasal because of its similarity to LP, and because an internal reconstruction of Nasal has not been completed (if it is possible at all). Hence, percent cognacy between LP and Nasal may appear substantially higher than it actually is.

What, if any, are the uses of lexicostatistics? A first use, if a dangerous one, is to hint at which languages are genetically related. We keep this use to a minimum here. A second use is to approximate the relative *level* of relatedness between varieties. Lects sharing 90% of their basic vocabulary are thought to be closely related dialects, while lexical similarity below 60–70% is considered to demonstrate distinct languages (Dyen 1965:18; Grimes 1988; Blair 1990:15).

In §3.2 on vitality, we utilize a form of lexicostatistics which could be called “diachronic lexicostatistics,”<sup>7</sup> in which we estimate the percentage of Nasal core vocabulary that has been replaced by loanwords over the past 112 years. This is done by comparing the word elicited for, say, ‘blood’ in the 1895 Holle list with that of the 2007 elicitation. The sample of words chosen was dependent on whether both lists contained the same item, and generally revolves around the BAn list. This diachronic methodology is subject to many of the same difficulties of more typical lexicostatistics, synonymy in particular, but is interesting nonetheless.

### 3 Findings and discussion

What do the gathered data tell us about the Nasal language and its speakers? We first present assorted facts about the Nasal language group in their sociocultural context, then narrow in on language use patterns, and conclude this section with some preliminary thoughts on Nasal’s linguistic classification.

#### 3.1 General information

This section furnishes general information about the Nasal language group, gleaned mainly from the questionnaires. Substantial social contact occurs between the three majority-Nasal villages. Tanjung Betuah is considered the village from which the Nasal people originated and in which the Nasal culture is best preserved, but no dialect differences were reported among the three. Although our Nasal language assistants told us that Nasal customs and traditions are quite similar to those of Serawai and Kaur (both ML groups in the area), they clearly view themselves as ethnolinguistically distinct from their neighbors, and their neighbors reportedly agree. (We did make a point of asking whether they had any other names for their language besides “Nasal.” They indicated that they did not.)

From the map and from information given to the investigators, it seems Nasal no longer borders the Krui area as was evidently the case in 1895 (Stokhof 1987a:143). Since the Nasal River obviously has not moved, ML speakers may have expanded into the area between Nasal and the modern Lampung provincial border, specifically the villages of Ulak Pandan and Merpas, while Nasal or Lampung territory concurrently receded.

In terms of economy and setting, the vast majority of Nasal make their living from farming (*petani*) as well as tending orchards or gardens (*berkebun*). Agricultural products mentioned as primary are timber, (dry field) rice and coffee. The villages have been electrified for about twenty years. Cellular phone service is available, and the majority of households have televisions. Tanjung Betuah has a post office, and both Tanjung Betuah and Gendung Menung contain mosques, elementary schools and health clinics. Malaria is the most frequently reported health problem. The number of children progressing from elementary (*SD*) to middle (*SMP*) and then high school (*SMU*) is reportedly close to 100%.

The two villages for which village head questionnaires were taken stated that they host a substantial amount of non-Nasal settlers, the greatest number being from Java, also Batak (North Sumatra), Lampung and neighboring Malay groups. Of the three villages, Tanjung Baru in particular contains a large proportion of mixed marriages (evidently over half the marriages), with ethnic Nasal people most frequently married to those from the cities of Bengkulu and Bintuhan. It is perhaps a significant sign of ethnic mixing that, in Tanjung Betuah, the village leader and (elementary) school principal are both non-Nasal, while in Tanjung Baru, the village head is Nasal while the principal is from elsewhere.

The following is an attempt to calculate the population of native Nasal speakers. Table 1 details the total population per village, the percentage of outsiders, a rough calculation of net Nasal population, and the source of the information.

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<sup>7</sup> Apologies for the Greek-Latin hybrid. We considered “temporal lexicostatistics” (keeping it all Latin) but settled on “diachronic” instead, given its wide use in linguistics.

Table 1. Nasal population calculated

Village	Total pop.	Percent outsiders	Net Nasal pop.	Source
Tanjung Betuah	613	20%	490	Village head questionnaire
Gedung Menung	743	5%	706	Village head questionnaire
Tanjung Baru	2305	(not stated, estimating ~20% from other things said)	1844	Group questionnaire
		Total estimated population	3040	

Although an earlier estimate of 6,000 Nasal speakers, a rough calculation based on the 2000 Indonesian census, had been provided to the *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009), it would seem that figure should be halved to three thousand native speakers, with perhaps another five hundred second-language speakers.

### 3.2 Language use and vitality

Reported vernacular language use is surprisingly vigorous. Nasal is consistently spoken at home, with neighbors, in the fields, even in the weekly markets where outsiders are present, and between children at home and during school breaks. Indonesian on the other hand is overwhelmingly used in more public domains including school instruction, weddings, and village announcements and in the domain of religion. Nasal people are also bilingual in Kaur Malay and, to a lesser extent, the other ML lects Semenda and Serawai. When meeting someone from Krui (Lampung) or Rejang, however, they switch to Indonesian to communicate.

In both questionnaire locations, respondents reported that 100% of Nasal children were fluent (*lancar*) in Nasal, even those of mixed marriages, and that even the relatively large number of non-Nasal people living in the Nasal villages learn to speak Nasal. The reported exception is the people from Kaur and Semenda, who say they are embarrassed to speak Nasal because it sounds funny.

Nasal people seem proud and unembarrassed about their language. Notwithstanding, although they do use their language in some cellular text messages, they see little need for written materials in their language, stating that they are accustomed to and well-served by written materials in Indonesian.

The upcoming *Ethnologue* edition will use the framework for reporting language vitality called the *Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* or EGIDS (Lewis and Simons 2010). Within this framework, Nasal would likely qualify for a 6a (Vigorous) rating, assuming the above language use patterns can be verified. If it turns out that over 5% of the children, including those of Nasal speakers who move away from the area, are not learning Nasal, then a rating of 6b (Threatened) would be more appropriate.

#### 3.2.1 Language change over a century

If Nasal seems stable in terms of parent-child transmission, what about the rate of language-internal change caused by borrowing? As discussed in §3.3, Nasal contains a significant number of loans from ML and possibly as many or more from LP. This is true even of the 1895 wordlist. Due to the serendipity of having two wordlists separated by 112 years, and to Nasal being a small language group with negligible dialect variation, it is possible to compare the two wordlists for changes over the past century. See Table 2 for the results of the comparison.

Table 2. Nasal lexicon over a century

Change	number	percentage
No change	189	76%
Pronunciation change	32	13%
Newly appearing native forms	6	2%
New LP loan	1	0%
New ML loans	20	8%

Of the 248 lexical items which could be found in both the 1895 and the 2007 wordlists, most (89%) either did not change at all or showed minor differences in pronunciation. (Several of the pronunciation changes consisted of final *h* being strengthened to glottal stop.) Only one or two new loans from LP appeared over the period, while twenty loanwords (8%) seem to have entered the lexicon from ML. Strangely though, in six cases, an 1895 list reports a ML or LP form, where the 2007 list has a *native* form. For example, the ML loan *bunuh* ‘kill’ in the 1895 list corresponds to *mataykon* in the 2007 list, the latter form clearly showing Nasal-specific reflexes. Most likely, these instances are artifacts of synonymy, but then again so also may be some of the apparently “new” ML loans, still potentially coexisting with native counterparts.

Nasal informants report that the speech of the elderly and the young are quite similar, although some older terms for numbers and body parts are no longer used, and some words used by the elderly are no longer in common use overall.

Overall, we find the Nasal core vocabulary surprisingly stable, for a small language surrounded by larger and more powerful neighbors, providing likely evidence of a relatively settled diglossia.

### 3.3 Classification

To which languages, if any, is Nasal related? Let's take a brief look at lexicostatistical results.

#### 3.3.1 Lexicostatistics

Table 3 provides lexicostatistical percentages between Nasal, the Krui dialect of Lampung, Rejang, and two of the nearest ML lects, Kaur and Bengkulu. The number in bold is the percentage of shared cognates, while the number to its right is the lexical similarity percentage unadjusted for (i.e., including) loanwords.

Table 3. Cognate and total lexical similarity percentages

Nasal				
<b>52</b> /54	LP-Krui			
<b>41</b> /45	<b>40</b> /43	Rejang		
<b>43</b> /54	<b>39</b> /44	<b>48</b> /51	ML-Kaur	
<b>41</b> /48	<b>35</b> /40	<b>47</b> /50	<b>77</b> /74	ML-Bengkulu

According to the lexicostatistic analysis of Lampungic lects in Hanawalt et al. (2006:42), the lowest cognate percentages within the set of LP dialects are in the high fifties, between the northernmost (and geographically separated) Komerling lect and southern varieties, while the typical percentage range for neighboring dialects is 80–90%. In contrast, the percentage of cognates shared between Nasal and the

neighboring LP lect, Krui, only reaches 52%. This alone would call for skepticism that Nasal and Lampung are closely related. Although unadjusted lexical similarity between Nasal and Kaur (the geographically nearest ML dialect) is as high as with Lampung (54%), once ML and LP loans are removed from the calculation, the similarity falls to 43%.<sup>8</sup> Nasal-Rejang similarity is even lower, at 41%.

### 3.3.2 Subgrouping Nasal

Now we move on to a brisk discussion of historical relationships within the rubric of the comparative method. The first task is to establish that Nasal does not belong in either of the two vast families of Malayic and Lampungic dialects surrounding it. After that we will consider three possibilities for higher level subgrouping.

Adelaar (1992:2) provides a list of developments which, taken together, define membership in the Malayic subgroup. Anderbeck (2007b:42) offers the same for the LP subgroup. If one is familiar with Lampungic, on first blush the Nasal data seem very similar, certainly more similar to LP than to ML. For example the Nasal lect distinguishes PMP ultimate closed *\*a* from *\*ə*, and retains PMP *\*-uy*, both like LP and unlike ML. As with LP, many final stops are debuccalized, e.g. *hasu?* ‘smoke’ (< PMP *\*asep*), *lawu?* ‘sea’ (< PMP *\*lahud*), *daxa?* ‘land’ (< PMP *\*daRat* ‘littoral sea’) and *ula?* ‘vein’ (< PMP *\*uRat*). Nasal contains large amounts of distinctive LP vocabulary, like *kaci* ‘dog’, *xalus* ‘straight’ and *suay* ‘nine’ (the latter two sharing irregular metathesis with LP).

However, Nasal and general LP patterns also exhibit significant disjunctures. Lexically, these differences include a relatively high number of ML loans (~10% of words) in Nasal, some evident Javanese loans in Nasal not seen in LP (e.g., *katela* ‘cassava’, *naroh* (Holle), *naho?* (IDS) ‘plant (v.)’, *jagal* ‘hit’ [Jav. ‘kick’] and a substantial subset (10%) of words of as-yet unknown provenance (e.g. *lagan* ‘tomorrow’, *hajay* ‘leaf’, *buyah* (Holle) ‘heart’, *kəpisa* (Holle), *pisoan* (IDS) ‘boil (n.)’, *risaw* (Holle) ‘bad (person)’, *səmalaw* ‘cry’, *paŋut* (Holle) ‘knife’).

In terms of sound changes, we first observe that PMP final *\*-ay* reflexes are retained in Nasal, where they are not for LP (e.g., Nasal *həŋay* ‘sand’ vs. LP *həni*). Second, Nasal displays an unusual scatter of PMP *\*j* and *\*z* reflexes not evident in LP. Patterns in Nasal are unclear, partially because unambiguous examples are rare, and loanwords are difficult to distinguish from native words. However, compare for example PMP *\*z* in reflexes of *\*kezeŋ* ‘stand’ (Zorc 1995): LP *\*həjəŋ* vs. Nasal *m-əduŋ*; and PMP *\*j* in *\*pejes* ‘spicy’: LP *\*pəras* vs. Nasal *pəgus*. The third and greatest barrier to inclusion within the LP subgroup is Nasal’s reflexes of PMP *\*R*. In non-initial position, PMP *\*R* > Nasal *l*, e.g., *ralah* ‘blood’ < PMP *\*daRah*, *sila* ‘salt’ < PMP *\*qasiRa*, *hapul* ‘lime’ < PMP *\*qapuR*, etc. In contrast, LP exhibits syncope of PMP *\*R* in *\*C-aRa-C* environments (e.g., *rah* ‘blood’), and in other environments, the primary pattern in PLP was for non-initial PMP *\*R* to be palatalized to *y* or *i* (e.g., LP *sia* ‘salt’). Along with the easy conclusion that Nasal is not Malayic, Nasal’s PMP *\*R* reflexes clearly exclude it from the LP group regardless of their shared similarities.

This conclusion does not, however, rule out the possibility that LP and Nasal may be related on an equal level as daughter languages of an as-yet undescribed proto-language. Certainly the two share suggestive similarities, in particular numerous shared lexemes. However, based on our approximately 350-item wordlist common between Nasal and LP, we can identify only a handful of shared lexical innovations which can be demonstrated not to be LP loans. For a negative example, LP *\*səgə?*, Nasal *səgu?* ‘hide, conceal’ are clearly related, but no sound changes prevent us from claiming the Nasal form may be a loanword (most LP dialects reflect ultimate PMP *\*e* as *o*). Table 4 lists a number of shared lexemes for which true cognacy is very likely. The displayed PMP *retentions* are only a sampling, but the list of five forms without PMP reconstructions, which we consider *innovations*, is basically complete.

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<sup>8</sup> Kaur and Serawai exhibit a number of words found otherwise only in LP or Nasal, most likely loanwords from LP (Anderbeck 2007b:119).

Table 4. Reflexes shared by Nasal and LP not attributable to borrowing

gloss	Nasal	Lampung	PMP
<b>RETENTIONS</b>			
hair	<i>uo?</i>	<i>buwo?</i>	<i>*buhek</i>
sand	<i>hənai?</i>	<i>həni</i>	<i>*qenay</i>
road, path	<i>təŋah-ran</i>	<i>raŋ-laya</i>	<i>*zalan</i>
sit	<i>m-ədun</i>	<i>*həjəŋ</i>	<i>*kezeŋ</i> ‘stand’ (Zorc 1995)
root	<i>wat</i>	<i>*wakat</i>	<i>*wakat</i> ‘mangrove root’
climb	<i>caŋka?</i>	<i>*cakat</i> (most <i>caka?</i> )	<i>*sakat</i>
vein	<i>ula?</i>	<i>*uyat</i> (most <i>uya?</i> )	<i>*uRat</i>
pot	<i>raluk</i>	<i>*rayəh</i>	<i>*daReq</i> soil; clay; pot
<b>INNOVATIONS</b>			
all	<i>uŋin</i>	<i>uŋin</i>	
bite	<i>ŋgəhol</i>	<i>ŋalŋal</i>	
how	<i>upa</i>	<i>ipa, rəpa</i>	
hungry	<i>lutuh</i>	<i>*bətəh</i>	
descenda <sup>a</sup>	<i>rəŋah</i>	<i>*rəgəh/rəgah</i>	

<sup>a</sup>The shared metathesis of PMP *\*siwa* ‘nine’ as *suay* was not included in this chart because we consider it a clear LP loan. The metathesized form is the product of a later LP sound change found in only a subset of Lampungic and is therefore not reconstructible to Proto-Lampungic (Anderbeck 2007b:51). Similarly, LP *rulus* ‘straight’ (<PMP *\*lurus*) is a post-Proto-LP development.

In actuality, five demonstrable lexical innovations among a pool of nearly 350 comparisons are not that impressive.

In terms of consistent sound changes, a putative relationship between Nasal and LP is more difficult to demonstrate. Certainly the two are conservative in similar respects, as noted above, but conservatism alone is weak evidence of subgrouping. Shared innovations such as PMP *\*h* > Ø or *\*q* > *h* are mostly widespread in western Austronesia and therefore not diagnostic. One fairly distinctive shared innovation is the debuccalization (change from oral to non-oral) of final stops. This innovation should not, however, be used as evidence for subgrouping. Anderbeck (2007b:62ff.) demonstrates that debuccalization occurred after Proto-Lampungic and occasionally to loanwords as well as native etyma (for example, LP/Nasal *dara?* ‘land’ is a likely ML loan). Although most Nasal instances of debuccalization are ambiguous as to their origin, *caŋka?* ‘climb’ and *ula?* ‘vein’ (see Table 4) are clearly native. We therefore conclude that debuccalization as a phonological innovation spread from LP to Nasal and is not a feature of some shared proto-language.

One significant sound change provides positive evidence for a possible Nasal-LP subgroup. Anderbeck (2007b:147) reconstructs Proto-Lampungic *\*r* as a reflex of PMP *\*d* in just over half of word-initial and word-medial examples. In contrast with Nasal’s reflexes of PMP *\*j* and *\*z*, PMP *\*d* in Nasal follows quite closely the LP pattern, and in a way that seems native rather than borrowed.

Table 5. LP and Nasal reflexes of PMP \*R

gloss	PMP	(Proto-)LP	Nasal	loan?
thorn	* <i>duRi</i>	* <i>rui</i>	<i>xuli</i>	no (*R reflex)
two	* <i>duha</i>	* <i>rua</i>	<i>xuo</i>	possible LP > Nasal
come	* <i>dateŋ</i>	* <i>ratəŋ</i>	<i>xatəŋ</i>	possible LP > Nasal
pot	* <i>daReq</i> ‘soil; clay; pot’	* <i>rayəh</i>	<i>xaluk</i>	no (*R reflex)
blood	* <i>daRaŋ</i>	* <i>ərah</i>	<i>xalah</i>	no (*R reflex)
embrace	* <i>dakep</i> ‘catch, seize, embrace’	Komering <i>dakok</i>	<i>xako?</i>	no (*d reflex)
hear	* <i>dəŋeR</i>	* <i>dəŋi</i>	<i>dəŋul</i>	no (*R reflex)
dust	* <i>dəbu</i>	* <i>dəbu</i>	<i>dəbu</i>	possible ML or LP loan
chest	* <i>dahdah</i>	* <i>dada</i>	<i>dado</i>	possible ML or LP loan
dull	* <i>ku(n)dul</i>	* <i>kudul</i>	<i>kudul</i>	possible LP > Nasal
live	* <i>ma-qudip</i>	* <i>huri?</i>	<i>uxip</i>	no (final <i>p</i> in Nasal not present in LP)

Table 5 lists all available examples of PMP \**d* which are shared by both LP and Nasal. With the exception of the reflexes of PMP \**dakep* ‘embrace etc.’, the reflexes match in whether they reflect *d* or *r*. Moreover, mostly because of the serendipitous prevalence of forms also containing PMP \**R*, at least six of our examples can be said to be native and not attributable to borrowing, either into Nasal from LP or into both from ML.

Between the decent amount of lexical similarity including some demonstrable shared innovations, and the stronger shared pattern of PMP \**d* reflexes, the existence of a Nasal-LP subgroup is a possibility requiring further investigation.

Now we mention two additional subgrouping possibilities, mutually exclusive to the LP connection explored above. Besides Nasal, Lampung and Malay, the other language spoken in the same general area is Rejang [rej], listed in the Ethnologue as an isolate within Malayo-Polynesian. (See Map 2.) Intriguingly, Rejang and Nasal share a fairly significant sound change, frequent PMP \**R* > *l*, hence for example Proto-Rejang \**sili* ‘salt’ and \**blas* ‘rice’ (PMP \**beRas*), and Nasal *sila* and *las*. However, McGinn actually reconstructs a split of PMP \**R* into Proto-Rejang \**r*, \**l* and zero (2005:23ff.). We won’t here reproduce the extensive discussion, but suffice it to say that Nasal shows a different pattern, sometimes reflecting *l* where Rejang reflects \**r*, e.g. Nasal *m̥la?* ‘heavy’ < PMP \**beReqat* vs. Proto-Rejang \**bərat*, Nasal *hapul* ‘chalk’ < PMP \**qapuR* vs. Proto-Rejang \**upur*.



Map 2. Nasal and Rejang



Another candidate for future subgrouping investigation is the Barrier Islands language of Simalur/Simeulue [smr]. Although Nothofer (1986; cf. also 1994) adduced evidence for a Barrier Islands subgroup including Simalur as part of a larger Batak-Barrier Islands group, Simalur was the only language of the group to regularly reflect PMP \*R as *l*. As between Nasal and Rejang, both continuity and discontinuity exist between Nasal and Simalur in the distribution of PMP \*R reflexes.<sup>9</sup> Similarities include Simalur *asila* ‘salt’, *dala* ‘blood’ and *axul* ‘lime’, while dissimilarities include Simalur *anteu* ‘egg’ (< PMP \**qateluR*; cf. Nasal *hantəlul*) and *bərae* ‘rice’.

We note one additional sound change distinguishing Nasal from its neighbors: the frequent weakening of initial PMP \**b* before \**a*, and elision before other vowels. Examples of this include Nasal *watu* ‘stone’ < PMP \**batu*, *wasuh* ‘wash’ < PMP \**ma-baseq*, *wataŋ* ‘tree’ < PMP \**bataŋ*, *uah* ‘fruit’ < PMP \**buaq*, *uo?* ‘hair’ < PMP \**buhek*, *uni* ‘seed’ < PMP \**bineSiq* and *las* ‘uncooked rice’ < PMP \**beRas*.

A full-fledged examination of the possible subgrouping of Nasal with Lampung, Rejang, or Simalur/Barrier Islands, is beyond the scope of this report, but for now we conclude that the recommendation to the Ethnologue to provisionally classify Nasal as an isolate within Malayo-Polynesian was justified.

<sup>9</sup> The sources for Simalur data are Kähler (1961) via Blust (2012) and Stokhof (1987b).

## 4 Conclusion

It should be clear that the improbably named Nasal is a distinct language from its neighbors; not only are its highest percentages of shared cognates with nearby languages well under 60% but, more significantly, it does not clearly form an exclusive subgroup with any other language around it. If Nasal is not actually a Malayo-Polynesian isolate, its genetic relations are sufficiently obscured by time and linguistic change to make classifying it a challenge.

In terms of its ecology, Nasal has absorbed large numbers of loanwords from Malay and, probably, Lampung. Also, with only three thousand or so speakers, its speakers form a very small group in comparison with its neighbors. Nevertheless, both its current sociolinguistic profile and its basic vocabulary, quite intact over the past century, suggest, however improbably, a relatively stable diglossia (or polyglossia). In these circumstances, children consistently pick up the language from their parents, and outsiders who marry into the group learn and use the language as well.

### 4.1 Nasal residue (further research)

As this is basically the first documentation of the Nasal language, it goes without saying that much opportunity exists for further research. In the linguistic arena, grammatical and phonological description is needed, as is a dictionary. Publications of oral traditions, folk stories, proverbs, etc. would only begin to document this unique group and their language.

In the area of comparative linguistics, much more could be done to explore Nasal's relationship with languages such as to Lampung, Rejang, or Simalur and the Barrier Island languages. Nearly nothing is documented of Nasal's history, including in particular the historical motivations for the close lexical relationship we observe with Lampung. Additionally, what is the history and ethnic make-up of the villages of Ulak Pandan and Merpas which currently separate Nasal and Lampung?

In the area of sociolinguistics, more and higher-quality detail on language-use patterns, including parent-child transmission, multilingualism and domains of use, would be interesting and useful. Particularly intriguing would be to learn more of the "survival patterns" of this language: how does the Nasal group persist with a distinct character and identity—three villages in the middle of neighbors hundreds of times its size?

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Group sociolinguistic questionnaire (English translation)

Village: \_\_\_\_\_ Subdistrict: \_\_\_\_\_ Regency: \_\_\_\_\_  
Language name (according to researcher or Ethnologue): \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_  
Language name (according to informant): \_\_\_\_\_  
Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_ Note-taker: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Time: \_\_\_\_\_  
Researchers in attendance: \_\_\_\_\_  
Attending residents: \_\_\_\_\_ Adult males: \_\_\_\_\_ Adult females: \_\_\_\_\_  
Young people: \_\_\_\_\_  
Number of active contributors: \_\_\_\_\_ Number of male contributors: \_\_\_\_\_  
Number of female contributors: \_\_\_\_\_

#### Verbal consent

- Introduce yourself and explain your goals.
- Inform the contributors that their identity will be kept confidential.
- Explain that approximately 30 minutes will be requested for working through the questionnaire.
- Explain that we want to learn about them and their language, and that there are not right or wrong answers.
- Ask if they are willing to continue.

☐ "Oral permission is given." Note whether "yes" or "no" \_\_\_\_\_

#### I. DATA ABOUT PARTICIPANTS

1. Are there people in this group who were not born and raised here? Y/N  
(If yes, ask "where?" and "when did you move here?") \_\_\_\_\_
2. Are there people in this group who are married to someone from outside this area? Y/N  
(If yes, ask "from where?") \_\_\_\_\_
3. How many in this group have gone to school? \_\_\_\_\_ finished high school (SMU)? \_\_\_\_\_  
finished junior high (SMP)? \_\_\_\_\_ finished elementary (SD)? \_\_\_\_\_ didn't finish elementary (SD)? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Has anyone in this group ever moved outside the area to work/live? Y/N  
(If yes, ask "where?" and "how long outside this area?") \_\_\_\_\_
5. Total population: \_\_\_\_\_ % Natives: \_\_\_\_\_ % Those who have moved in: \_\_\_\_\_

## II. LOCAL LEADERSHIP

	<b>Subdistrict head</b>	<b>Village head</b>	<b>(Public) Elementary principal</b>	<b>Customary law leader</b>	<b>Religious leader</b>
1. Where are the village leaders from?					
2. Approximately how old?					

3. The majority of people here have what work? \_\_\_\_\_

4. Where do you go to the daily market? here/at: \_\_\_\_\_

5. Where do you go to the weekly market? here/at: \_\_\_\_\_

6. Where do you go to the health clinic? here/at: \_\_\_\_\_

## III. LANGUAGE USE

What language is most frequently used in/at.....?				
Domain	Vernacular	Indonesian	Language of wider communication (LWC): _____	Other language
<b>DOMESTIC</b>				
1. Home				
2. With neighbors				
3. In the fields/orchards (or other workplaces: _____)				
4. Daily market				
5. Weekly market				
6. Health clinic				
<b>AT SCHOOL</b>				
7. Break times				
8. When teacher explains lessons in 1st grade	Through grade ____?			
<b>GENERAL</b>				
9. Traditional ceremonies (e.g., circumcisions, weddings)				
10. Announcing something (e.g. a death)				
11. Meetings with village leaders				
<b>RELIGION</b>				
12. Religious services (instruction or worship)				
13. Group prayer times				
14. Individual times of prayer				
15. Reading holy scripture				
16. Announcements at house of worship				
17. Sermon delivery at mosque or church				

## IV. LANGUAGE CHANGE

1. In what language do children in this village usually begin to speak? \_\_\_\_\_  
Do they eventually become fluent in that language? Y/N
2. (If not vernacular) Usually children in this village learn the vernacular at what age? \_\_\_\_  
Do they eventually become fluent in the vernacular? Y/N
3. What language is most frequently used between children? \_\_\_\_\_  
With their parents? \_\_\_\_\_  
And in what language do their parents reply? \_\_\_\_\_
4. What language is most frequently used between youth? \_\_\_\_\_  
With their parents? \_\_\_\_\_  
And in what language do their parents reply? \_\_\_\_\_
5. In this village, what percentage of people under 20 years are fluent in the vernacular? \_\_\_\_  
What percentage of people between 20 and 30 years are fluent in the vernacular? \_\_\_\_  
What percentage of people between 30 and 40 years are fluent in the vernacular? \_\_\_\_
6. Are there words which only old people use, that are not used by younger people? Y/N  
Examples: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Are there words which only young people use, that are not used by older people? Y/N  
Examples: \_\_\_\_\_
8. In which village(s) do people speak your language the best? \_\_\_\_\_

## V. LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

1. Why do outsiders usually move here? Work    marry    settled by government    other \_\_\_\_\_
2. What ethnic groups do these outsiders come from? Most frequent? [circle most frequent]  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Do the outsiders learn to use the local language? Y/N If not, what language do the locals use to communicate with them? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Usually young people here marry with people from which ethnic groups? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Are young people forbidden to marry anyone who differs in terms of: Ethnic group? Y/N  
Religion? Y/N    Language? Y/N Other? \_\_\_\_\_
6. What percentage of the youth move outside the area when they become adults? \_\_\_\_  
For what? marriage/schooling/work? \_\_\_\_\_
7. In your opinions, which language(s) should be the medium of instruction in school? \_\_\_\_\_  
Why? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Is the vernacular taught as a subject in school? Y/N  
If yes, through which grade? \_\_\_\_\_  
Is the vernacular taught using the local script or Indonesian script? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Are there people who only speak in the vernacular (e.g., don't speak Indonesian)? Y/N  
Approximately what percentage? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Do you use Indonesian in this village every day? Y/N    Vernacular? Y/N    [LWC] \_\_\_\_\_? Y/N

## VI. DIALECTOLOGY

1. How many dialects does the vernacular have? \_\_\_\_ What are they? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Which dialect is spoken by the most people? \_\_\_\_\_
3. In which area/village do people speak the vernacular the best? \_\_\_\_\_ Besides this village, what other villages? \_\_\_\_\_
4. From which area/village does the vernacular originate? \_\_\_\_\_

5. What are the areas/villages where the language and pronunciation are exactly the same as here?

Name of area/village (use map)	Name of language

6. What are the areas/villages where the language and pronunciation differs just a bit, but is still easily understood?

Name of area/village (use map)	Name of language

7. What are the areas/villages where the language and pronunciation is so different that it is hard to understand?

Name of area/village (use map)	Name of language

8. To be asked in the Nasal Subdistrict, Kaur Regency, Bengkulu Province

If You meet someone from	What language will you use to facilitate communication?	And they will answer in what language?	Can children understand this language without learning it?	Are your ancestors from the same place as theirs?
Kaur (Malay)			Y/N	Y/N
Krui (Lampung Api)			Y/N	Y/N
Rejang			Y/N	Y/N

## VII. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

1. What language are you most content using? \_\_\_\_\_
2. If you are angry, what language do people here use? \_\_\_\_\_
3. If you're telling a funny story or joking, what language do you use? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Are you ever embarrassed to use your language here? Y/N Why? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Do the youth desire to learn to read and write in the vernacular? Y/N Why? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Do people under 40 years here wish their children to learn how to read and write in the vernacular? Y/N Why? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Do you desire to learn to speak the vernacular better? Y/N Why? \_\_\_\_\_

## VIII. MEDIA

1. Have you ever heard the vernacular used on the radio, cassette, TV, or VCD? Y/N  
Where and in what event? \_\_\_\_\_  
What dialect was that event in? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Have you ever seen a book written in the vernacular? Y/N  
What was the book about? Songs Prayers Health Proverbs/Sayings Religion Other \_\_\_\_\_  
When and where did you see those books? \_\_\_\_\_  
What dialect was it written in? \_\_\_\_\_  
If you had the same book with the same subject, which would you prefer, the one in the vernacular or the one in Indonesian? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Books in what language are easiest for you to understand? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_
4. What language is most appropriate for a book on customary law? \_\_\_\_\_ education? \_\_\_\_\_ religion? \_\_\_\_\_ agriculture? \_\_\_\_\_ health? \_\_\_\_\_ songs? \_\_\_\_\_ stories? \_\_\_\_\_
5. What percentage of people here can read well? \_\_\_\_\_



## Appendix B: Village head questionnaire (English translation)

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Researcher: \_\_\_\_\_

Village Head Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Position/title: \_\_\_\_\_ Place of origin: \_\_\_\_\_

Language spoken in this village according to the village head: \_\_\_\_\_

Village head address: \_\_\_\_\_

### DEMOGRAPHY

1. What is the population of this village? \_\_\_\_\_ How many heads of households? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Are there people in this village who hail from elsewhere? Y/N  
How many? \_\_\_\_\_  
From where? \_\_\_\_\_  
Why? (work, marriage, etc.) \_\_\_\_\_

### ECONOMY

1. Do government workers (pegawai negeri) work here? Y/N In what capacity? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What are the main occupations of villagers here? (circle listed items below)  
Farmer Woodworker Fisherman Laborer Trader Garden/plantation tender
3. What other occupations besides those above? \_\_\_\_\_
4. What percent of native villagers leave (semi-permanently) to seek work? \_\_\_\_\_ What type of work? \_\_\_\_\_
5. What percent of native villagers work outside and return weekly? \_\_\_\_\_ What type of work? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Does the agricultural output of this village fulfill the daily needs of villagers? Y/N
7. Are villagers here required to buy additional supplies? Y/N
8. What are the natural resources in this village? \_\_\_\_\_

### REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

11. Is there electricity in the village? Y/N  
From where? National Electric Co. (PLN) Generator Other: \_\_\_\_\_  
When did PLN power enter this village? \_\_\_\_\_  
How many hours a day does the current flow? \_\_\_\_\_  
Do disturbances of PLN electricity occur frequently? Y/N  
What kind of disturbances? \_\_\_\_\_
12. Where do you need to go to make a phone call? \_\_\_\_\_
13. Is there a cellular signal here? Y/N With which SIM card? \_\_\_\_\_
14. What percentage of people own a television? \_\_\_\_\_ Are there people who view VCDs or DVDs? Y/N
15. The majority gets water from where? Well River Pump Piped in
16. Where do people here usually go to market? \_\_\_\_\_
17. What type of public transportation serves here? Bus/Van (angkot)/Motorcycle  
taxi/Boat/[other:] \_\_\_\_\_/None
18. Where is the nearest post office? \_\_\_\_\_
19. Where is the nearest police station? \_\_\_\_\_

RELIGION

20. What places of worship are in this village? \_\_\_\_\_

HEALTH

21. Is there a health clinic in this village? Y/N  
 If yes, in what year did it begin operation? \_\_\_\_\_  
 If not, where do people from this village travel to find a health clinic? \_\_\_\_\_
22. Do any doctors or nurses live here? Y/N      How many? \_\_\_\_\_
23. Do any traditional healers live here? Y/N      How many? \_\_\_\_\_
24. What sicknesses frequently occur here? \_\_\_\_\_

EDUCATION

25. How many teachers work here? \_\_\_\_\_ Where are they from? \_\_\_\_\_
26. How many children aged 6–12 are here? \_\_\_\_\_ 13–15? \_\_\_\_\_ 16–18? \_\_\_\_\_
27. Is there an elementary school (SD) here? Y/N      Government or private?  
 If not, where do children go? \_\_\_\_\_
28. Is there a junior high school (SMP) here? Y/N      Government or private?  
 If not, where do children go? \_\_\_\_\_
29. Is there a high school (SMU) here? Y/N      Government or private?  
 If not, where do children go? \_\_\_\_\_
30. Approximately how many children finish elementary and progress to junior high? \_\_\_\_\_
31. Approximately how many children finish junior high and progress to high school? \_\_\_\_\_
32. Approximately how many children finish high school and progress to university or post-secondary education? \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix C: Basic Austronesian Wordlist with Nasal responses

BAn#	Gloss	Nasal	BAn#	Gloss	Nasal
1	hand	<i>culu?</i>	28	breathe	<i>bənapas</i>
2	left (hand)	<i>kixi</i>	29	sniff/smell	<i>ɲium</i>
3	right (hand)	<i>kanan</i>	30	mouth	<i>baŋo?</i>
4	leg (foot)	<i>suhut</i>	31	teeth	<i>gigi</i>
5	walk/go	<i>lapax</i>	32	tongue	<i>mo:/lidah</i>
6	road/path	<i>təŋəhan/bala?</i>	33	laugh	<i>lalaŋ</i>
7	come	<i>xatuŋ</i>	34	cry (weep)	<i>səməlaw</i>
8	turn	<i>mbilo?</i>	35	vomit (v.)	<i>mutah</i>
9	swim	<i>ləlagoy</i>	36	spit (v.)	<i>bəliux</i>
10	dirty (clothes)	<i>kama?</i>	37	eat	<i>maŋan, kane?</i>
11	dust	<i>dəbu:</i>	38	chew (v.)	<i>məpa?</i>
12	skin (person)	<i>bawa?</i>	39	cook (v.)	<i>məsa?</i>
13	back (body part)	<i>punguŋ</i>	40	drink (v.)	<i>minom</i>
14	belly	<i>isaw</i>	41	bite (v.)	<i>ŋəxuh</i>
15	bone	<i>tulan</i>	42	suck	<i>ŋəxisop</i>
16	intestines	<i>usus</i>	43	ear	<i>cupɲ</i>
17	liver	<i>xatay</i>	44	hear	<i>ndəŋul</i>
18	breast	<i>susu</i>	45	eye	<i>mato</i>
19	shoulder	<i>pəmpɲ</i>	46	see	<i>ŋəliya?</i>
20	know	<i>panday</i>	47	yawn (v.)	<i>ŋəluap</i>
21	think	<i>bəpikɪx</i>	48	sleep (v.)	<i>pədom</i>
22	afraid	<i>xabay</i>	49	lie down	<i>ŋgaləŋ</i>
23	blood	<i>xalah</i>	50	dream (v.)	<i>mimpɪ</i>
24	head	<i>hulu</i>	51	sit	<i>mədun</i>
25	neck	<i>galah</i>	52	stand (v.)	<i>təga?</i>
26	hair (head)	<i>uwo?</i>	53	person	<i>hulun</i>
27	nose	<i>ɲulan</i>	54	man	<i>xagah</i>

<b>BAn#</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Nasal</b>	<b>BAn#</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Nasal</b>
55	woman	<i>bay</i>	86	grow	<i>tuwoh</i>
56	child	<i>ana?</i>	87	swell (v.)	<i>matuŋ</i>
57	husband	<i>sawo<sup>h</sup></i>	88	squeeze	<i>nəkon</i>
58	wife	<i>bibay</i>	89	hold (v.)	<i>nəca?/hahan</i>
59	mother	<i>ma?</i>	90	dig	<i>ŋgali</i>
60	father	<i>ba?</i>	91	buy	<i>məmbəli</i>
61	house	<i>bahun</i>	92	open (v.)	<i>məmbuka?</i>
62	roof	<i>hato?</i>	93	pound (rice)	<i>nutu</i>
63	name	<i>gəlax</i>	94	throw	<i>xamboŋ</i>
64	say	<i>ŋici?</i>	95	fall (v.)	<i>buguŋ</i>
65	rope	<i>tali</i>	96	dog	<i>kaci</i>
66	tether	<i>tambaŋ</i>	97	bird	<i>buxuŋ</i>
67	sew	<i>ŋjahut</i>	98	egg	<i>təlul</i>
68	needle	<i>səxo?</i>	99	feather	<i>bulu mano?</i>
69	hunt (v.)	<i>bəbuxu</i>	100	wing	<i>kəpih</i>
70	shoot	<i>nɪmba?</i>	101	fly (v.)	<i>hambux</i>
71	stab	<i>nikam</i>	102	rat	<i>tikus</i>
72	hit (with st.)	<i>mangul</i>	103	meat	<i>dagŋ</i>
73	steal	<i>malŋ</i>	104	fat (noun)	<i>gəmo?</i>
74	kill	<i>mataykon</i>	105	tail	<i>gundam</i>
75	dead	<i>matay</i>	106	snake	<i>həndipay</i>
76	live/be alive	<i>uxp</i>	107	worm (earth)	<i>gəluŋ tanoh</i>
77	scratch (v.)	<i>ŋikuŋ</i>	108	lice (head)	<i>kutu hulu</i>
78	cut/hack	<i>nətu?</i>	109	mosquito	<i>hagas</i>
79	wood	<i>kayu</i>	110	spider	<i>ləlawah</i>
80	split (v.)	<i>mbəlah</i>	111	fish	<i>iwo</i>
81	sharp	<i>isu?</i>	112	rotten	<i>busu?</i>
82	dull	<i>kudul</i>	113	branch (tree)	<i>pəmpaŋ</i>
83	work (v.)	<i>bəgawiyān</i>	114	leaf	<i>hajay</i>
84	plant (v.)	<i>naho?</i>	115	root	<i>jaŋkah</i>
85	choose	<i>milh</i>	116	flower	<i>buŋo</i>

<b>BAn#</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Nasal</b>	<b>BAn#</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Nasal</b>
117	fruit	<i>uwah</i>	148	white	<i>handa?</i>
118	grass	<i>ləlimu</i>	149	red	<i>abaŋ</i>
119	earth	<i>tanoh</i>	150	yellow	<i>kunŋ</i>
120	stone	<i>watu</i>	151	green	<i>xujaw</i>
121	sand	<i>xənaɣ</i>	152	small (object)	<i>xəni?</i>
122	water	<i>ʰwayɪl</i>	153	big (object)	<i>balak</i>
123	flow (v.)	<i>ŋalɪx</i>	154	short (object)	<i>xəbah</i>
124	sea	<i>lau?</i>	155	long (object)	<i>awan</i>
125	salt	<i>silo</i>	156	thin (object)	<i>tipis</i>
126	lake	<i>paluh</i>	157	thick (object)	<i>təbal</i>
127	forest	<i>ximbo balak</i>	158	narrow	<i>səmpit/xəni?</i>
128	sky	<i>laŋɪt</i>	159	wide	<i>xəbuɦ</i>
129	moon	<i>bulan</i>	160	sick/painful	<i>sakɪ?</i>
130	star	<i>bintaŋ</i>	161	shy/ashamed	<i>liyom</i>
131	cloud	<i>aban</i>	162	old (person)	<i>tuho</i>
132	fog	<i>kəlum</i>	163	new	<i>əmpay</i>
133	rain	<i>ujan</i>	164	good (person)	<i>hələw</i>
134	thunder	<i>guntux</i>	165	bad (person)	<i>jahat</i>
135	lightning	<i>kilap</i>	166	true/correct	<i>bətul</i>
136	wind	<i>aŋm</i>	167	night	<i>dəŋi</i>
137	blow (v.)	<i>ŋəbu</i>	168	day	<i>walih</i>
138	hot (water)	<i>panas/handup</i>	169	year	<i>tahun</i>
139	cold (water)	<i>ŋison</i>	170	when	<i>kəbilo</i>
140	dry (object)	<i>laŋu</i>	171	hide	<i>səgu?</i>
141	wet (cloth)	<i>wasuh</i>	172	climb	<i>caŋka?</i>
142	heavy	<i>məla?</i>	173	at	<i>di</i>
143	fire	<i>apoy</i>	174	inside	<i>di dəlum</i>
144	burn (a field)	<i>suah</i>	175	above	<i>di atas</i>
145	smoke	<i>hasu?</i>	176	below	<i>di dibah</i>
146	ashes	<i>həmbuo</i>	177	this	<i>aɟo</i>
147	black	<i>halum</i>	178	that	<i>udi</i>

<b>BAn#</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Nasal</b>
179	near	<i>taliŋ</i>
180	far	<i>jaoh</i>
181	where	<i>didipo</i>
182	I	<i>pa?</i>
183	you (singular)	<i>kaw</i>
184	he/she	<i>iyo:</i>
185	we (exclusive)	<i>kam</i>
185	we (inclusive)	<i>kito</i>
186	you all (pl.)	<i>uŋin-uŋin no/kay</i>
187	they	<i>hulon</i>
188	what	<i>api</i>
189	who	<i>sapo</i>
190	other	<i>lam</i>
191	all	<i>uŋm-uŋm</i>
192	and/with	<i>xan</i>
193	if	<i>katu</i>
194	how	<i>jə upo</i>
195	not	<i>maɽuwat</i>
196	count (v.)	<i>ŋəhituŋ</i>
197	one	<i>say</i>
198	two	<i>xuo</i>
199	three	<i>təlu</i>
200	four	<i>pa?</i>

## Appendix D: Nasal sentences

- |    |                                                           |                                                                                                                                                 |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Tamu sudah datang.</i><br>mənda? ka? hatəŋ<br>guest already come<br><i>The guests have come.</i>                                             |
| 2  | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Ia berteriak keras-keras.</i><br>iyo maŋgɪl bias<br>he call loudly<br><i>He called loudly.</i>                                               |
| 3  | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Saya belum tahu.</i><br>pa? ko panday<br>I not-yet know<br><i>I don't know.</i>                                                              |
| 4a | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Ali melempar anjing.</i><br>ali ŋuxamboy kaci<br>Ali stone dog<br><i>Ali stoned the dog.</i>                                                 |
| 4b | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Anjing itu dilempar Ali.</i><br>kaci sudi dixamboy ali<br>dog already passive-stone Ali<br><i>The dog was stoned by Ali.</i>                 |
| 5  | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Saya hendak membeli seekor ayam.</i><br>pa? ha gombəli səbigi manu?<br>I want buy one chicken<br><i>I want to buy a chicken.</i>             |
| 6  | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>...kambing yang sudah saya bunuh.</i><br>kambiəŋ ka? hadu ku pataykon<br>goat which already I killed<br><i>...the goat I killed.</i>         |
| 7  | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Manik-manik manakah yang untuk saya?</i><br>xambu xambu sipo genku<br>bead bead which for-me<br><i>Which beads are for me?</i>               |
| 8  | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Sepuluh hari lagi baru kami berangkat.</i><br>səpulu ali agi kam xi bəxəŋkat<br>ten day more we friend leave<br><i>We leave in ten days.</i> |
| 9  | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Katanya si Hasan sudah berangkat.</i><br>laŋo hasan ka? bəxəŋkat<br>say-he Hasan already leave<br><i>He/she says Hasan left already.</i>     |

- |    |                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 10 | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Saya suka minum teh.</i><br>pa? hawa? minum teh<br>I like drink tea<br><i>I like to drink tea.</i>                                                                             |
| 11 | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Botol itu berisi minyak.</i><br>kaco? (gudu) sudi ŋisi mija?<br>bottle that filled oil<br><i>That bottle is filled with oil.</i>                                               |
| 12 | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Mereka tidur di rumah paman Ali.</i><br>tian sudi pəduŋ di baŋun pa? uncu ali<br>they that sleep in house uncle Ali<br><i>They sleep in uncle Ali's house.</i>                 |
| 13 | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Matanya hitam.</i><br>matopo halum<br>eye-he black<br><i>His/her eyes are black.</i>                                                                                           |
| 14 | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Suaminya orang Jawa.</i><br>xagah/sawopo hulon jawo<br>husband-she person Java<br><i>Her husband is Javanese.</i>                                                              |
| 15 | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Tingginya dua meter.</i><br>tinggaŋpa huo metex<br>height-he two meter<br><i>He is two meters tall.</i>                                                                        |
| 16 | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Mari silakan makan.</i><br>mada kito maŋan<br>let we eat<br><i>Let's eat.</i>                                                                                                  |
| 17 | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Belilah kuda itu.</i><br>bəlılo kudo sudi<br>buy-emphatic horse that<br><i>Buy that horse.</i>                                                                                 |
| 18 | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Berhentilah di setasiun.</i><br>mantido di təsiun<br>stop-there at station<br><i>Stop at the station.</i>                                                                      |
| 19 | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Jangan beli kelapa.</i><br>ikın bəli ɲu <sup>w</sup> ol<br>don't buy coconut<br><i>Don't buy coconut(s).</i>                                                                   |
| 20 | Elicitation form<br>Nasal<br>Word-for-word<br>Translation | <i>Kapan tanah ini akan ditanami?</i><br>kəbilo tano <sup>h</sup> sijo xagoh di taxo? <sub>ɪ</sub><br>when land this want passive-plant<br><i>When will this land be planted?</i> |



- |    |                  |                                                       |
|----|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 21 | Elicitation form | <i>Apakah padi yang akan ditanam di tanah itu?</i>    |
|    | Nasal            | apeha go pahay ditaxo?ɪ tanoh sudi                    |
|    | Word-for-word    | what-interrogative rice-plant passive-plant land that |
|    | Translation      | <i>Is it rice that will be planted in that land?</i>  |
|    |                  |                                                       |
| 22 | Elicitation form | <i>Gunung itu akan kudaki.</i>                        |
|    | Nasal            | gunoŋ sudi xago? ku capai                             |
|    | Word-for-word    | mountain that want I climb                            |
|    | Translation      | <i>That mountain will I climb.</i>                    |

## Appendix E: Nasal text

Nasal	cərito kəbahaʔan bal:ak di nasal
Word-for-word Indonesian	cerita banjir besar di Nasal
Free translation (Indonesian)	<i>Cerita tentang Kebanjiran Besar di Nasal.</i>
Free translation (English)	<i>This is a story about a big flood in Nasal.</i>
Nasal	pada tahun səxibu suway xatus walum puluh pitu
Word-for-word Indonesian	pada tahun seribu sembilan ratus delapan puluh tujuh
Free translation (Indonesian)	<i>Pada tahun seribu sembilan ratus delapan puluh tujuh,</i>
Free translation (English)	<i>In 1987,</i>
Nasal	təjadi bahaʔ balak luax biaso koŋ pənah təjadi
Word-for-word Indonesian	terjadi banjir besar luar biasa belum pernah terjadi
Free translation (Indonesian)	<i>terjadi banjir besar luar biasa yang sebelumnya tidak pernah terjadi.</i>
Free translation (English)	<i>there was a terrible flood like had never happened before.</i>
Nasal	pada waktu sudi məʔ uwat dəduʔ təjadi say matay
Word-for-word Indonesian	pada waktu itu tidak ada yang terjadi yang mati
Free translation (Indonesian)	<i>Pada waktu itu tidak ada korban jiwa,</i>
Free translation (English)	<i>There weren't any fatalities,</i>
Nasal	tətapi duʔ kəxugian həxto bəndo
Word-for-word Indonesian	tetapi banyak kerugian harta benda
Free translation (Indonesian)	<i>tetapi banyak orang yang menderita kerugian harta benda.</i>
Free translation (English)	<i>but many people suffered the loss of their possessions.</i>
Nasal	təjadiŋo waktu bulan puaso bəbəhalian
Word-for-word Indonesian	terjadinya waktu bulan puasa sore-sore
Free translation (Indonesian)	<i>Terjadinya pada waktu bulan puasa pada sore hari,</i>
Free translation (English)	<i>It happened during Fasting Month in the afternoon,</i>
Nasal	waktu kam masih bəumux təlum puluh taun
Word-for-word Indonesian	waktu kami masih berumur tiga puluh tahun
Free translation (Indonesian)	<i>ketika saya masih berumur tiga puluh tahun.</i>
Free translation (English)	<i>when I was 30 years old.</i>
Nasal	səumux uxih koŋ pənah təjadi
Word-for-word Indonesian	seumur hidup belum pernah terjadi
Free translation (Indonesian)	<i>Seumur hidup, baru kali ini saya mengalami kejadian seperti itu.</i>
Free translation (English)	<i>I have never before or after seen something like that.</i>

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