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THE HOMELAND AND MIGRATION PROCESS OF SPEAKER SOUTH HALMAHERA AUSTRONESIAN

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Abstract

The South Halmahera Austronesian speakers refer to Buli speakers, Maba, Sawai, Gebe, Gane, and Taba located in North Maluku, Indonesia. The languages form a group called the South Halmahera Subgroup. As a group with the same ancestors, it leads to the need for explanations of the homeland and how speakers spread to their present settlement. This paper to explanations homeland and migrations process of the South Halmahera. This study showed, the ancestor of the South Halmahera is located on Gebe Island. From Gebe Island, the ancestral of South Halmahera, first migrated to Patani, followed by a second migration from Gebe Island to Gane. The first migration to Patani then spread in both directions, i.e to the north of the Maba-Buli region and to the south of the Weda-Sawai region. The last migration takes place from Gane to the island of Makian and Kayoa Island where Taba speakers live.

Keywords: homeland, migration process, historical linguistics

LA PÀTRIA I EL PROCÉS MIGRATORI DELS PARLANTS DE HALMAHERA DEL SUD AUSTRONÈSIC

Resum

Els parlants d'austronesi de Halmahera del Sud comprenen els parlants de Buli, Maba, Sawai, Gebe, Gane i Taba ubicats al nord de Maluku, Indonèsia. Els idiomes formen un grup anomenat 'subgrup de Halmahera del Sud'. Atès que són un grup que tenen els mateixos avantpassats, cal donar explicacions sobre l'origen de la pàtria i com els parlants es van estendre vers el seu assentament actual. Aquest article explica la pàtria i el procés de migracions del sud de Halmahera. Aquest estudi mostra que els avantpassats de Halmahera del Sud són a l'illa de Gebe. Des de l'illa de Gebe, els avantpassats de Halmahera del sud, van emigrar primer a Patani, seguit d'una segona migració de l'illa de Gebe a Gane.

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La primera migració a Patani després es va estendre en ambdues direccions, és a dir, al nord de la regió de Maba-Buli i al sud de la regió de Weda-Sawai. La darrera migració va tenir lloc des de Gane a l'illa de Makian i l'illa de Kayoa, on viuen els parlants de Taba.

Paraules clau: pàtria, procés migratori, lingüística històrica

LA PATRIA Y EL PROCESO MIGRATORIO DE LOS HABLANTES DE HALMAHERA DEL SUR AUSTRONÉSICO

Resumen

Los hablantes de austronesio de Halmahera del Sur se refieren a los hablantes de Buli, Maba, Sawai, Gebe, Gane y Taba ubicados en el norte de Maluku, Indonesia. Los idiomas forman un grupo llamado 'subgrupo de Halmahera del sur'. Ya que son un grupo con los mismos ancestros, es necesario dar explicaciones sobre la patria y cómo los hablantes se extendieron a su asentamiento actual. Este artículo explica el origen de la patria y el proceso de migraciones del sur de Halmahera. Este estudio muestra que los antepasados de Halmahera del sur se encuentran en la isla de Gebe. Desde la isla de Gebe, los antepasados de Halmahera del sur, emigraron primero a Patani, después de una segunda migración de la isla de Gebe a Gane. La primera migración a Patani se extendió luego en ambas direcciones, es decir, al norte de la región de Maba-Buli y al sur de la región de Weda-Sawai. La última migración tuvo lugar desde Gane a la isla de Makian y la isla de Kayoa, donde viven los hablantes de Taba.

Palabras clave: patria, proceso migratorio, lingüística histórica

1. Introduction

Austronesian languages spoken in South Halmahera (Northeast Indonesia) by Blust (1993 and 2013) are categorized into the South Halmahera Sub-districts of West Papua. According to Blust (1978), the South Halmahera Austronesian speakers consist of Buli, Maba, Sawai, Patani, Gane, and Taba (Eastern Makian). However, The Board of Language (2008) shows the isolates of Maba and Patani are two dialects of the same language, with a percentage difference of 75.25% (the result of dialectometric calculation). Kamholz (2014) mentions this group with the Southern Halmahera Subgroup and adds Gebe as a member of this subgroup because it has a subject marking prefix for the second person plural of {f-}, as a feature of this subgroup. Distribution of Austronesian speakers of South Halmahera for more details see figure 1.

Based on the quantitative (lexicostatistical) and qualitative (jointly phonological and lexical innovation) conducted by Burhanuddin (2016), the Austronesian South Halmahera includes Buli (Bl), Maba (Mb), Sawai (Sw), Gebe (Gb), Gane (Gn), and Taba (Tb). These languages have a close kinship and are derived from one common

ancestor, called Proto- South Halmahera (PSH) (Blust 1978 and 2013, Kamholz 2014, Buranuddin 2016). Based on quantitative (lexicostatistical) and qualitative evidence (shared innovation of phonological and lexical), Burhanuddin (2016) states that Proto-South Halmahera is first divided into two, Proto-Central-Eastern South Halmahera (Buli-Maba-Sawai-Gebe) and Southern-South Halmahera (Gane-Taba) (same as Blust (1978) and Kamholz (2014)). Furthermore, Burhanuddin (2016) divides Proto-Central-Eastern-South Halmahera into two, namely Gebe and Proto-Buli-Maba-Sawai. Proto-Buli-Maba-Sawai is divide into Sawai and Proto-Buli-Maba, and Proto-Buli-Maba into Buli and Maba. Eventually Proto-Southern-South Halmahera splits into Gane and Taba (see Chart 1).

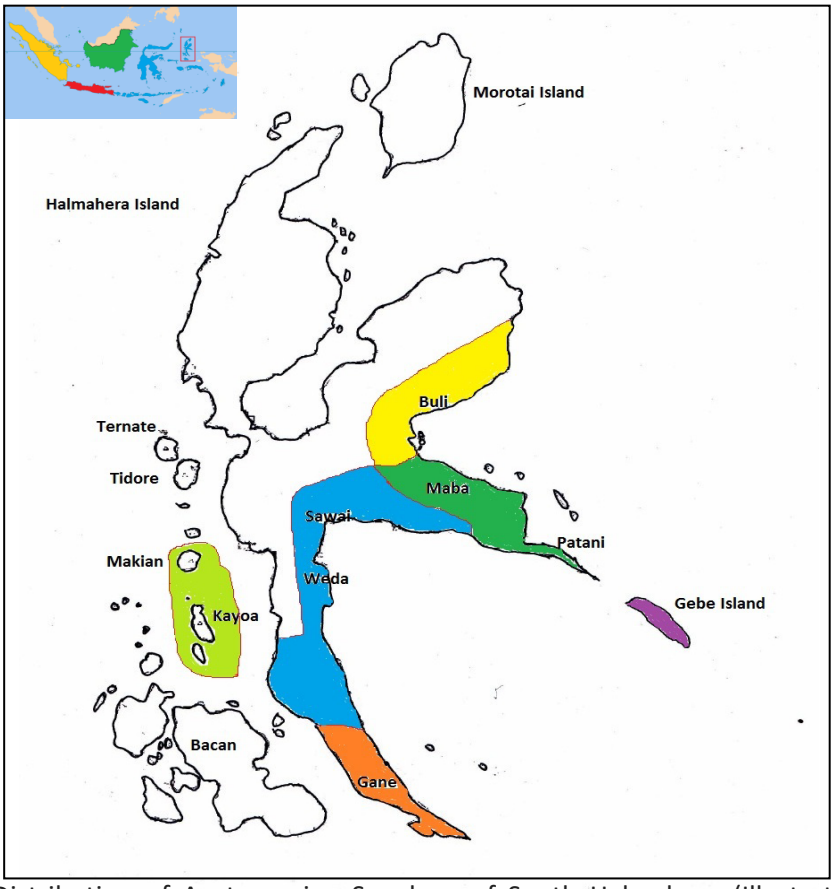

Figure 1. Distribution of Austronesian Speakers of South Halmahera (Illustrated from Blust (1978), Kamholz (2014), Lewis et al. (2015), Burhanuddin (2016))

When looking at Chart 1 and Figure 1, it can be said that the Central-Eastern South Halmahera region is more heterogeneous than the South-South Halmahera region. The diversity of Austronesian speakers in the Central-Eastern South Halmahera

region leads Blust (1978) and Kamholz (2014) to the conclusion that the homeland of Austronesian South Halmahera speakers is in the region. Because, in the region there are speakers of Buli, Maba, Sawai, and Gebe (more heterogeneous) whereas in the South-South Halmahera region there are only Gane and Taba speakers. Although Blust (1978) and Kamholz (2014) state that the homeland of the Southern Halmahera Subgroup is located in the Central-Eastern-South Halmahera region, they do not specifically specify which region is meant, and there is no linguistic evidence supporting their hypothesis. Therefore, this study intends to explain the land of Austronesian origin of South Halmahera and its supporting linguistic evidence. In addition, this study will also explain the process of migration from the land of origin to the area in which they live today.

Recent studies examining the South Halmahera group linguistically diachronically include Kamholz (2014), Burhanuddin (2018), Sumarlam, Purnanto, Burhanuddin & Muhammad (2018), Burhanuddin, Sumarlam & Mahsun (2019), Burhanuddin, Mahyuni & Sukri (2019), as well as Hadi, Burhanuddin & Sukri (2020). Kamholz (2014) examines the diversity and South Halmahera-West New Guinea Subgroup. Burhanuddin (2018) examines the internal innovations of the Taba language in North Maluku from historical linguistic aspects. Sumarlam, Purnanto, Burhanuddin & Muhammad (2018) studied the Proto-Austronesian reflex to the Ambelau language in West Central Maluku to test Collins' (1981) hypothesis. Burhanuddin, Sumarlam & Mahsun (2019) examine the complexity of sound changes in South Halmahera languages. Burhanuddin, Mahyuni & Sukri (2019) provide a response to the opinion of Adriani & Kruyt (1914) about the characteristics of the South Halmahera Group. Meanwhile Hadi, Burhanuddin & Sukri (2020) examine the Maya language to identify the initial characteristics of the South Halmahera-West New Guinea. If you look closely, none of these studies have explained the origins and migrations of Austronesian speakers in South Halmahera. The concept of South Halmahera does not only refer to the geographical area where the speakers of the language live but to the language group consisting of Buli, Maba, Sawai, Gebe, Gane, and Taba which is called the *South Halmahera Subgroup*.

To explain this, a top-down approach is adopted by looking at the level of preservation of ancient languages by utilizing the reconstructed results of Proto-

Austronesian (PAN) ancient languages reconstructed by Blust & Trussel (2015) and Proto-South Halmahera (PSH) reconstructed by Burhanuddin (2016). Which saw its realization in six modern South Halmahera languages. In addition, the Sapir (1916), Dyen (1965) and Blust (2013) approaches were used, which states that the determination of the origin of a language family is determined in subgrouping. Further, it is argued that areas with high distribution and diversity imply relatively long periods of time, whereas areas with low diversity imply shorter time. Therefore, the determination of land of origin of kin languages should be traced to areas of high diversity. The model of determining the land of origin by utilizing the result of language grouping was done by Dyen (1965) using lexicostatistics method.

2. Homeland and Migration Process of Native Austronesian Halmahera

Based on the quantitative (lexicostatistical) and qualitative (shared innovation of phonological and lexical) proposed by Burhanuddin (2016), the historical relationship of the Austronesian languages of South Halmahera can be illustrated in Chart 1.

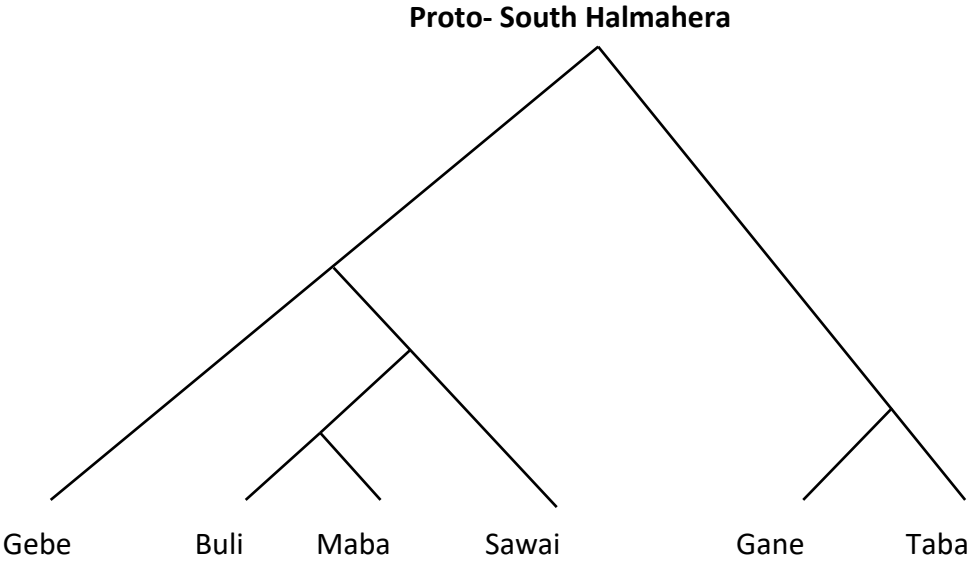

Chart 1. The South Proto Halmahera Family Tree

Looking at Figure 1 and chart 1, the area called Blust (1978) and Kamholz (2014) Central-Eastern-South Halmahera (consisting of Buli, Maba, Sawai, Gebe) reflects a high diversity. Naturally, Blust (1978) and Kamholz (2014) point to the origin of the South Halmahera Austronesian speakers located around the area. When looking at the opinions of Pawley & Ross (1995) which states that the highest branch of the family tree (which experienced the earliest splits and, in its subgroup, has a high diversity) reflects its old age so that the region can be identified as the land of origin of the kin language, Gebe can be hypothesized as the homeland of Austronesian South Halmahera speakers. In addition, the Gebe speech area lies within a continuous unity within the heterogeneous Central-Eastern-South Halmahera region.

Although the reconstruction of Proto-South Halmahera (PSH) conducted by Burhanuddin (2016) does not reflect or resemble the particular language it derives, there are at least some ancient forms found in Gebe that are not found in other South Halmahera languages. Based on the review, phonologically and lexically Gebe language still maintains Proto-Austronesian (PAN) and Proto-South Halmahera (PSH), while in other South Halmahera speakers have undergone innovation (change).

At PAN level, Gebe speakers still maintain (retention): (a) vowel *a (in penultima syllables (/#K-) and ultima (-K#)); (B) glottal stop consonant-bilabial-unvoiced *p (on the ultima syllable); and (c) the glottal stop consonant-dorsovelar-unvoiced *k /#- (in the beginning position), while in other South Halmahera these three phonemes have undergone innovation (change). Maintenance of PAN *a in the penultima syllable in Gebe is regular (except in Buli sometimes occurring), whereas in other South Halmahera become /ɔ/. This can be found in PAN *aCay ‘to die’, *kam-anak ‘nephew’, *kamay ‘hand’, * kalih ‘dig’, *qasep ‘asap’, in Gebe (Gb) each becomes *mat*, *fanaq*, *kamɛd*, *talay*, and *yataf*, whereas in South Halmahera *mɔt*, *mtɔ(q,r)*, *f(o,ɔ)nɔ(g,k)*, *kom (u,ɔ)(r,d)*, *t(o,ɔ)l(a,ɔ,e)i*, and *yɔt(ɔ,a)(f,s)*. In the same position, PAN *a is maintained by Gebe speakers, whereas by other speakers the sound disappears, for example PAN *qasəp ‘smoke’ and *paniki ‘bat’, in Gebe respectively become corpse and *kafanik*, whereas in Other South Halmahera languages become: *m(ɲ,y)as(o,ɔ)q* (except Buli: *memeyas*) and *fni(k,q)* (Taba: *nhik* < *hnik (metatesis) < *fnik < *fanik < *panik < PAN: *paniki). The earliest syllabism of the *kafanik* ‘bat’ in Gebe, occurs regularly (as a result

of internal *innovation*), for example for the meanings of 'thighs' and 'cheeks' respectively in Gebe: *kapya* and *kafofoq*, whereas in other South Halmahera: *fiy(a,ɔ)(q,r)* and *f(o,ɔ)f(o,ɔ,u)(r,q)*. So is the syllabe of prefix {*me-*} in Buli: *memeyas* 'smoke', as a result of the reduplication of early syllabe (internal innovations) that occurs regularly in the language, for example 'you' and 'white' in Buli: *amam* and *bubulaŋ*, whereas in other south Halmahera *am* and *bulaŋ* respectively. In the ultima syllabus, PAN *a is also still maintained by Gebe speakers, whereas in other South Halmahera languages it becomes /ɔ/ (and sometimes becomes /ø/), eg PAN *Sepat 'four', *ka-manak 'nephew ', *Səyaq 'shame', in their respective Gebe: *pifat*, *fanaq*, *mayaq*, whereas in other South Halmahera languages: *(le)p(i)(f,h)ɔt*, *f(o,ɔ)nɔ(g,k)*, and *m(a,ɔ)i*.

Although it is irregular, PAN *p /#V-V# (in the middle position), is still maintained by Gebe speakers, while in other South Halmahera languages becomes /t/, /f/, and /h/, for example PAN *Sipan 'centipede' in Gebe: *lalipan*, while in other South Halmahera languages: *(li)li(t,f,h(a,i,ɛ)ŋ*. In addition, Gebe's speakers still maintain PAN *k in the initial position irregularly, while in other South Halmahera languages disappear, for example PAN *kaSiw 'wood', in Gebe: *kay*, while in other South Halmahera: *ay*.

At the level of Proto-South Halmahera (PSH), Gebe speakers also still maintain high-backed vowels PSH *u, whereas in other South Halmahera languages have been degraded into /ɔ/ (center-back-closed), eg PSH *p**u**pare 'pare, paria' and *k**u**lano 'king', in their respective Gebe: *pupare* and *kulano*, while in other South Halmahera languages: *p**ɔ**pare* and *k**ɔ**lano*. According to Nothofer (1975) and Blust (2013), PAN vowels consist of /i/, /u/, /ə/, and /a/ so according to them all middle vowels (/e/, /ɛ/, /o/, and /ɔ/) must be assumed to be derived from high vowels (/i/ and /u/) or from low vowels (/a/). Thus, the vowel /u/ which appears in Gebe in that context is seen as a vowel older than /ɔ/ (because it is derived from *u as a result of lowering, and that is common in Austronesian languages) in other South Halmahera languages. In addition, PSH *a on the penultimate syllable is still maintained by Gebe speakers while in other South Halmahera languages becomes /ɔ/, eg PSH: *lau 'remote' (PAN *zauʔ), *nau 'palm', and *walaʔ 'straps' each in Gebe: *lau*, *nau*, and *walaʔ*, whereas in other South Halmahera languages it becomes: *lɔu, nɔu*, and *wɔl(a,ɔ)*.

In addition to phonology, Gebe speakers still maintain the PSH etymon: *iyaʔ ‘he, she, it’, *tubuʔ ‘boxing’, and *maya? ‘shame’, in their own Gebe: *iyaʔ*, *tubuʔ*, and *mayaʔ*, whereas in other South Halmahera languages respectively be: *i(ʔ)*, *(c,t)(i,u)t*, and *m(a,ɔ)i*. To make it clearer, the description of Proto-Austronesia and Proto-South Halmahera (PSH) alerts and changes that occurred in Gebe and other South Halmahera languages, are summarized in Figure 2.

The description of the maintenance and alteration of PAN and PSH implies that before becoming phonemes and lexicons as used today by Buli speakers, Maba, Sawai, Gane, and Taba, their single ancestor may have used the same phonemes and lexicon as Gebe language. In other words, in its development phonemes and lexicons in all of the present-day South Halmahera languages are derived from phonemes and lexicon as found in Gebe. Thus, the modern forms contained in the languages of South Halmahera are assumed to be derived from a similar form to that of the Gebe language. If so, a generalized initial hypothesis can be that the South Halmahera languages are spreading from Gebe Island where Gebe is spoken to the settlements where they live today.

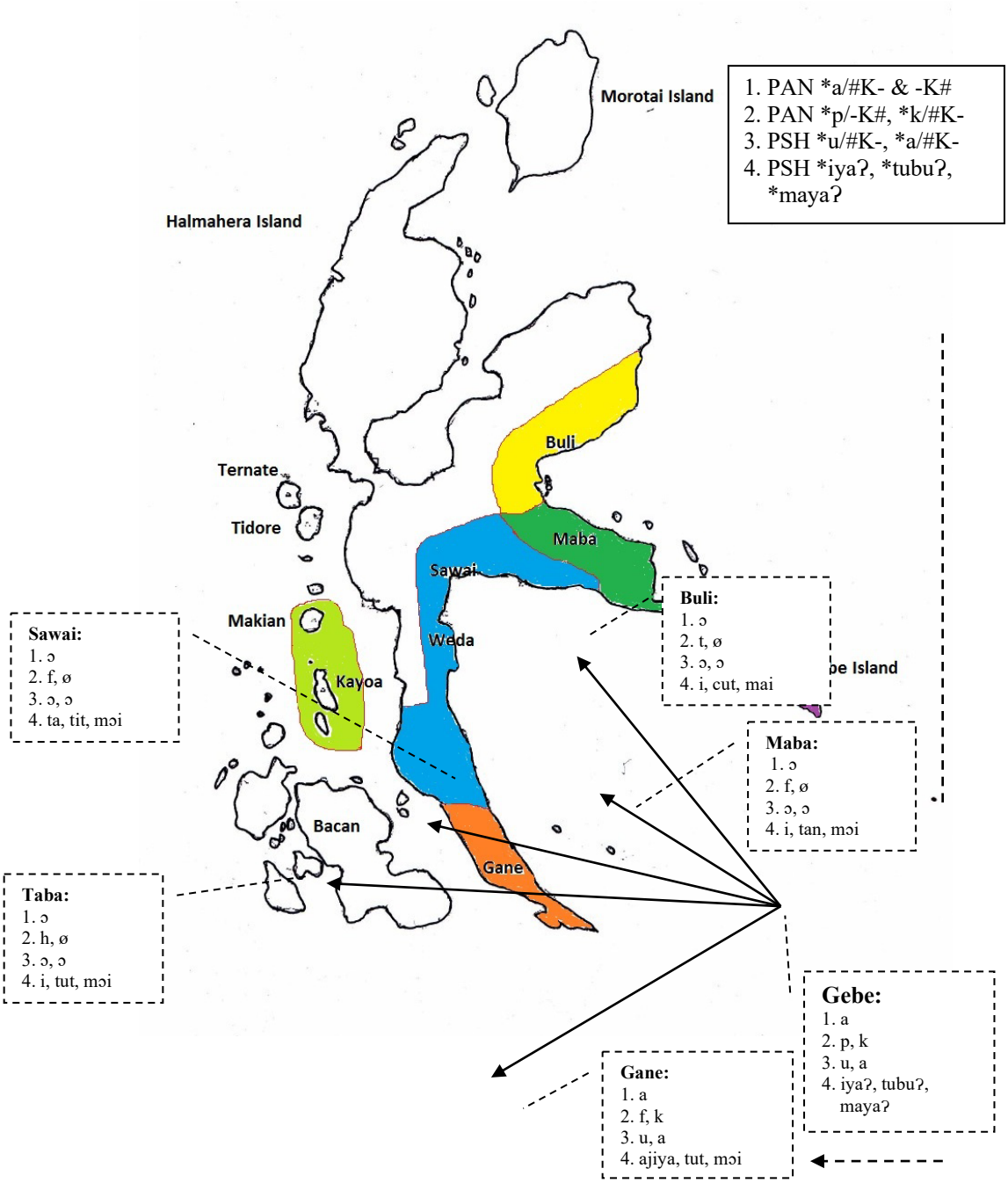

Figure 2. Retens of Protolanguage (Proto-Austronesia and Proto-South Halmahera) in Gebe and its Changes in Other Southern Halmahera Languages

If Gebe Island (in Gebe-speaking territory) becomes the homeland of Austronesian speakers of South Halmahera, the problem is whether its ancestors at any given time in the past spread/migrated simultaneously (as shown in Figure 2) or gradually left the island of Gebe to Where they live today? In other words, how is the

process of migrating the ancestors of Austronesian South Halmahera speakers until they reach the place where they live now?

If looking at the historical relation of the languages of South Halmahera as seen in chart 1, it can be said the migration process from Gebe Island took place gradually. First, perhaps at different periods of time, the migration from Gebe Island takes place in two stages (as reflected in the first relational chart 1), the first migration to the Patani region and then the second migration to the Gane region. Initial migration to Patani then generated Buli-Maba-Sawai speakers, while the second migration to Gane generated the Gane and Taba speakers. This migration is characterized by quantitative (lexicostatistical) and qualitative (joint innovation) proofs proposed by Burhanuddin (2016) which shows the closeness of the Buli-Maba-Sawai relationship on the one hand and Gane-Taba on the other. The closeness of the relationship reflected in the high percentage of kinship (as well as joint innovation) is evident that separation of members of the two subgroups is not so long ago. In contrast, quantitative and qualitative evidence indicates a low percentage of kinship between Buli-Maba-Sawai and Gane-Taba indicating the time of separation has been long (see Figure 3).

If it is true that the initial migration takes place through two stages, the problem is why the migration to Patani territory occurs first, not to the Gane region? The reason may be that seemingly the number of languages derived as a result of migration to Patani (Buli-Maba-Sawai) so that it is more heterogeneous (see Figure 1), compared to the second migration to Gane (Gane-Taba). For, as has been pointed out, the heterogeneity of the region indicates the length of the journey traveled, so that the time of separation with the parent language occurs earlier, and vice versa.

Secondly, after the initial migration of the first stage to Patani, it then spread to Maba-Buli as the third migration, and soon followed the fourth migration from Patani to the Weda-Sawai region. This is relevant to the family tree Chart 1, when both Buli-Maba-Sawai in the past were descended from one ancestor then separated into two, namely Sawai and Buli-Maba. This can be seen from the close relationship of Buli-Maba's kinship compared to both of them to Sawai. The problem is why migration to Buli-Maba occurs first, not Weda-Sawai? The possible answer is that the Maba-Buli region is more heterogeneous than Sawai, indicating the long separation time from its

parent language (Proto-Buli-Maba-Sawai). Finally, the fifth migration takes place from Gane to eastern Makian Island and Kayoa Island where Taba speakers live. To be clear, the migration process (stage) of Austronesian speakers of South Halmahera is shown in Figure 3.

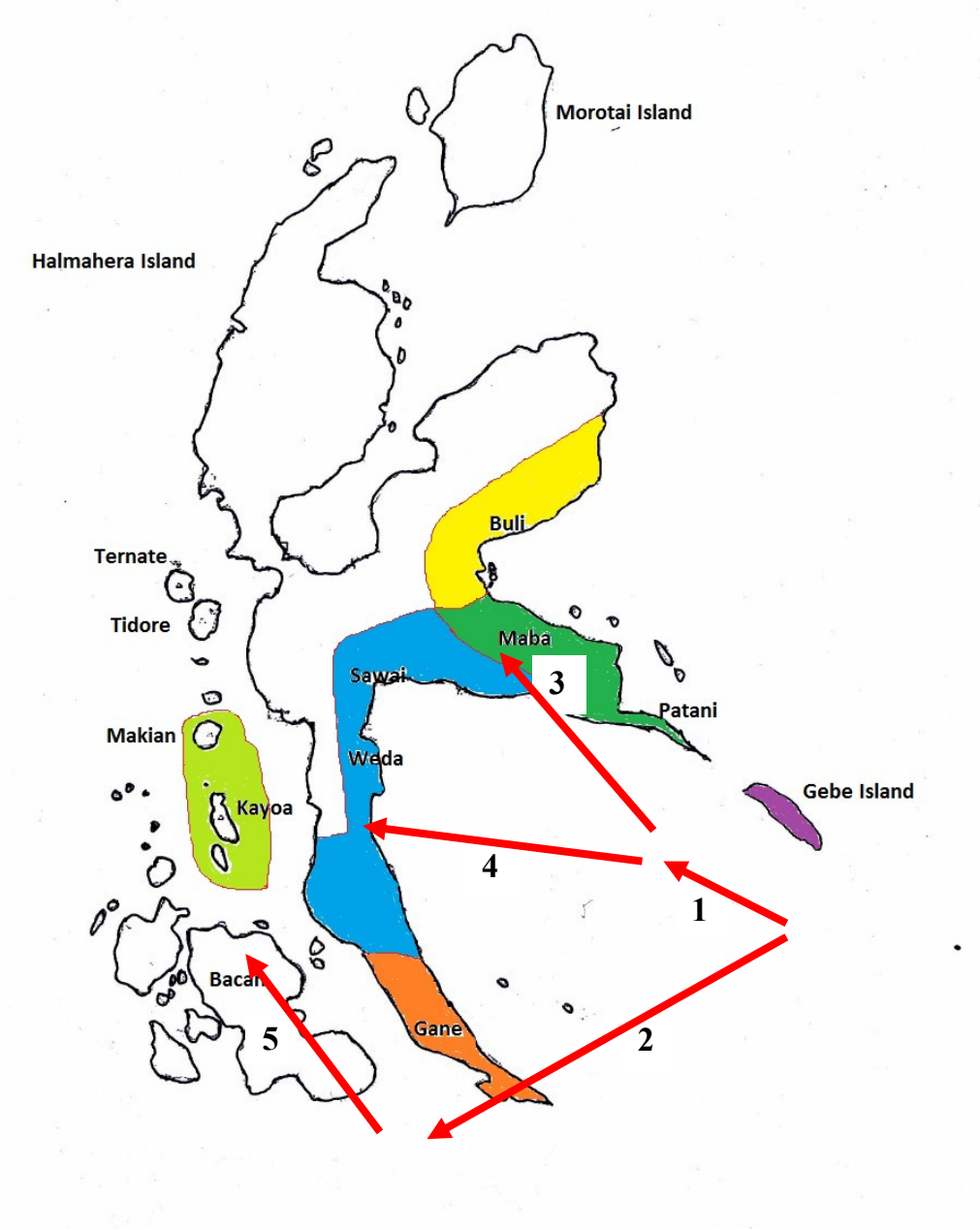

Figure 3. The Migration Process of Native Halmahera Austronesian Speakers

Although no PAN or PSH etimon was found to explain the process or stage of migration of Austronesian South Halmahera speakers, partially the migration process can still be traced. Regular change of PAN *p > *f > Taba: *h* becomes evidence of recent migration to Taba speakers (from Gane to Makian Island), because in other South Halmahera languages becomes /f/ whereas in Taba the language becomes /h/, For example PAN *paniki 'bat' > *panik > *fanik (Gebe) > *fnik (Buli, Maba, Sawai, Gane) > *hnik > Taba: *nhik*; PAN: *pəɲuq 'turtle' > *pəɲu> *pəɲ > *pən > *pɛn > *fɛn (Buli, Maba, Sawai, Gebe) > Taba: *hɛn*. Migration to Maba-Buli earlier than to Sawai can be observed on PSH*balit 'left' > *balit (Buli-Maba) > Sawai: *balɛt*; PSH *didif 'spit' > *tifif/*ditif > *titif (Buli-Maba) > Sw: *titɛf*. The loss of the initial syllabe *pu-* of Gane-Taba, while it is still mentained in Buli-Maba-Sawai-Gebe becomes evidence that migration from Gebe Island to Patani occurs earlier than Gane, for example PAN *bubuŋan 'ridge' > *pubuŋan/ *bupuŋan> *p(u,a,ɛ)puŋan (Buli-Maba-Sawai-Gebe) > Gane-Taba: *puŋan*.

Gebe Island as the homeland of Austronesia South Halmahera speakers is relevant to the views of Blust (1978) and Kamholz (2014) which stipulates that the origin of South Halmahera-West New Guinea Subgroup is located in Cendrawasih Bay, so it is somewhat logical that the land of Austronesian origin of South Halmahera is located next to East of Halmahera Island, which is Gebe Island. Because, according to them all members of South Halmahera-West New Guinea Subgroup which is located in the west is indicated to be a result of migration from east to west (see Figure 4).

In addition, nonlinguistic Gebe Island is very supportive geographically, because of its strategic position. Gebe Island is a transition area that connects South Halmahera region with West New Guinea. When associated with current reality, based on the author's experience during field data collection, Gebe Island is a stopover, shipping, communication, and economy/trade route for the people of South Halmahera from and to West New Guinea. Speakers of the Central-Eastern South Halmahera languages are generally easier and frequent to communicate, sail and trade to fulfill their daily needs to West Papua via Gebe Island, rather than to Ternate, which is the center of development and commerce of the people of North Maluku generally.

Figure 4. The Migration Process of Native Halmahera Austronesian Speaker from Cenderawasih Bay

3. Conclusion

It can be inferred that on the basis of historical linguistic and nonlinguistic evidence, the land of Austronesian origin of South Halmahera is located on Gebe Island. The process of migration of Austronesian South Halmahera speakers from Gebe Island occurs gradually. From Gebe Island, the Austronesian ancestor of South Halmahera first migrated to Patani, then a second migration to Gane. The first migration to Patani then spread to Maba-Buli (third migration) then from Patani to the weda-Sawai (fourth migration). The last migration takes place from Gane to Makian Island and Kayoa Island where Taba speakers live.

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