Article

Enumeration and Classifiers in Pulau Simeulue/Pulau Banyak Languages, Aceh

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Abstract

The counting system(s) and the use of classifiers in the languages of Pulau Simeulue and Pulau Banyak are complex. Indeed, there is more than one means of enumeration depending on the nature of the entity being counted in those languages. This study reveals strong similarities between the counting systems and classifiers used across this set of languages that differ markedly from Bahasa Indonesia and other languages of Indonesia more closely related to Malay. It provides additional evidence of the connection between the languages spoken in Simeulue and those spoken in Pulau Banyak and with Nias to the south.

Keywords: *Austronesian languages, enumeration, classifiers, Simeulue, Pulau Banyak, Devayan, Sigulai, Leukon, Haloban, Nias*

Introduction

Indonesia is a region of intense language and culture contact over millennia with successive waves of traders and religions and sudden movements of people in response to natural disasters and sometimes conflict. The province of Aceh is no exception. The focus of this paper is on Pulau Simeulue (PS) and Pulau Banyak (PB), islands off the south west coast of Aceh Province, Indonesia. The Indigenous languages spoken on these islands, Devayan, Sigulai and Leukon on PS and Haloban in Haloban/Asontola on Pulau Tuangku in PB (see Aziz and Amery, 2016) are markedly different to the languages indigenous to the mainland of Aceh and are not able to be understood by Acehnese

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mainlanders unless they make the effort to learn them.

The Indigenous languages are being overtaken by Jamee introduced into Aceh following the arrival of Minang refugees from the Padri War in West Sumatra (1805 to 1836) who sought refuge in South Aceh, PB, PS and West Aceh. Jamee is the Acehnese word for 'guest'. The Minang immigrants, sharing a strong Islamic faith, were welcomed to settle in Aceh (Tim Balai Bahasa Aceh, 2012: 32). The Jamee language has gained major footholds in PS and PB (see Suliyanti, 2013) where it is the main language of commerce in the main administrative centres of Sinabang in the south of PS and Teluk Nibung in PB. From these commercial and administrative centres, Jamee is spreading throughout the region and is now the first language of the majority of the population of these islands. In addition, Indonesian is the national and official language, serving as the language of administration, of education, and in these regions, the main language of religion. Indonesian and Jamee are both having a profound impact on the Indigenous languages of PS and PB.

Immigrants from Nias, a large island to the south in North Sumatra, have settled in two small villages, Ujung Sialit and Suka Makmur on Pulau Tuangku, PB. Whilst Suka Makmur is a Muslim village, Ujung Sialit has been settled by Christian immigrants.

The Indigenous languages of PS and PB (Devayan, Sigulai, Leukon and Haloban) are used only by people in this region (ie they have no presence on the Acehnese mainland), and the majority only speak these languages plus Jamee and some Indonesian, not Acehnese. Aziz and Amery (2016) observe that the languages spoken in PS and PB are closely related to one another, and it seems that they are rooted in the Nias language. One subsystem of the languages of PS and PB that is especially interesting is the counting system(s) and the use of classifiers.

Based on the results of our 2016 language survey it was apparent that the systems of enumeration in each of the four languages and Bahasa Nias are closely related, though each language has its own particular constellation of variations. This study discusses the similarities, and differences, of the enumeration and classification systems of the languages spoken in PS and PB.

During our survey of the languages of PS and PB in 2016, we became aware of the use of different numerals for telling the time (eg jam duo 'two o'clock') and quantifying hours (eg dua jam 'two hours) vs quantifying the number of clocks (eg domba jam 'two clocks') in Bahasa Sigulai. A similar phenomenon is reported for Tagalog (Woods, 2011). Later on in Amery's investigation of Haloban in PB, it became apparent that the system of enumeration was indeed mysterious with a complex interplay at work between different numerals and different classifiers in the enumeration of different entities. These initial findings led to further investigations by Aziz with speakers of each of the languages of PS and PB who were based in Banda Aceh.

Literature Review

We compared the numeral systems of the languages of PS and PB with Indonesian and Jamee as these are the primary contact languages. All language consultants are trilingual speakers of Indonesian, Jamee and their local language. Indonesian is well-documented (Sneddon, 1996; Chaer, 2012; Kridalaksana, 2007), whilst Minang or Minangkabau is reasonably well documented (Marnita, 1996) so it makes sense to use these languages as a major point of reference.

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This paper will focus on cardinal and ordinal numerals, cardinals being the numerals one, two, three four etc. and ordinals indicating the sequence: first, second, third etc (Quirk et al, 1985, pp. 251- 252). Indonesian ordinal numerals are mostly formed through affixation of the prefix ke- to the cardinal numeral such as kedua 'second' and ketiga 'third'.

Definite numerals are base or core numerals, and are used to mention the number order such as units, tens, hundreds, thousands, million, and billion. They include the numerals 1 (one) - 9 (nine), and to other number clusters like ten and twenty (Alwi et al., 2003, p. 276). Of particular interest in this paper are the definite numerals and their co-occurrence with numeral classifiers of different kinds.

A numeral classifier is used in addition to the numeral when counting an entity of a particular shape or characteristic, similar to the use of 'head' in the English expression 50 head of cattle. According to Sneddon et al. (2010) classifiers in Indonesian are always preceded by a number, and when the number plus classifiers are used they usually precede but can follow the noun. When classifiers are used with nouns, the nouns are always indefinite. Sneddon et al. (2010) also suggest that in Indonesian there are only three classifiers which are used frequently: Orang 'people', ekor 'tail' used with animals, and buah 'fruit', also used with inanimate objects. In addition there are still many other classifiers which are still used, but they are becoming obsolete (Sneddon et al., 2010). Some of the classifiers are used overlapping in function such as helai, lembar and carik which can all occur with kertas 'paper', and biji and butir are both used with telor 'egg'. The classifier batang is used with cylindrical objects such as pipes, tree trunks and cigarettes. For round and curved objects, the classifier bentuk is used; however, for sharp things such as knives and needles, bilah is used. Bidang is used with flat, spread-out things, as in sebidang tanah 'a plot of land'. The languages of PS and PB also employ numeral classifiers, but not always as separate words as in Indonesian.

Research Method

This paper is based on elicited data, obtained first by Amery in 2016 from two of the most proficient speakers of Haloban living in the village of Asantola in PB, Aceh. Voice recordings were made of this elicitation session. These initial findings were followed in 2017-2019 by a more detailed investigation by Aziz of male and female students from PS and PB who were studying at three universities in Banda Aceh and Aceh Besar. Aziz selected two native speakers from each language.

Findings

The languages of PS and PB have complex systems of enumeration, drawing on the resources of indigenous counting systems and the more recently introduced Jamee numerals. Jamee numerals are almost identical to Minangkabau numerals which also show strong similarities to Indonesian numerals. Haloban appears to be most heavily influenced by Jamee. In fact, Haloban employs Jamee numerals when counting, except for satu 'one' taken from Indonesian. Devayan and Leukon use indigenous numbers when counting from one to seven, but revert to Jamee numerals for numbers from eight onwards. Sigulai uses indigenous numbers up until nine or ten, and Devayan uses fa 'ten', which is quite different to Jamee sapuluah 'ten'. All four languages use Jamee numbers for eleven onwards when counting, for example tuju(h) bale 'seventeen', even though Sigulai used fitu 'seven'

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and Devayan and Leukon used itufo 'seven' being quite different to Jamee tujuah (cf Indonesian tujuh 'seven'). The complete counting systems from one up to ten in PS and PB along with Jamee and Indonesian can be seen in Table 1 below.

Number	Devayan	Sigulai	Leukon	Haloban	Nias	Jamee	Indonesian
1	Sao	Amba	Sao	Satu	Sara	ciek	Satu
2	Dufo	Dumba	Dufo	Dua	Dua	duo	Dua
3	Tellufo	Telu	Tlufo	Tigo	Tölu	tigo	Tiga
4	Atao	Efa	Atafo	Ampek	Öfa	ampek	Empat
5	Limafo	Lima	Limafo	Limo	Lima	limo	Lima
6	Nemmafo	Ene	Nəmmafo	Anam	Önö	anam	Enam
7	Itufo	Fitu	Itufo	Tujuh	Fitu	tujuah	Tujuh
8	Salapan	Olu	Salapan	Lapan	Walu	salapan	Delapan
9	Sambelan	Siwa	Sambélan	Sambilan	Siwa	sambilan	Sembilan
10	Faan	Fuluh	Sapulu	Sapuluh	Fulu	sapuluah	Sepuluh

Table 1: Counting systems in PS and PB

Looking across the five PS and PB languages, most pronounced variation is evident in the form of the numbers for one and two, and Sigulai being the most innovative with amba 'one' and dumba 'two' (as opposed to Haloban satu 'one' and dua 'two; Devayan/Leukon sao 'one' and dufo 'two' and Nias sara 'one' and dua 'two'). Sigulai shows a much closer affinity with Nias than Devayan, Leukon or Haloban. The Sigulai numerals olu 'eight' and siwa 'nine' are closely related to Nias walu 'eight' and siwa 'nine', as opposed to the Jamee-derived salapan 'eight' and sambelan 'nine' employed by all the other languages. Here Nias and Sigulai are conservative, preserving PAN *walu and *Siwa (Blust, 2013: 278).

The ordinal numbers in all indigenous languages except Nias are borrowed from Jamee. However, the pronunciation and spelling of the ordinal numbers are influenced by Indonesian, preferring the Indonesian prefixes per- and ke- over Jamee par- or ka-, yet maintaining the final o as in Jamee.

English	Devayan	Sigulai	Leukon	Haloban	Nias	Jamee
First	Pertamo	Pertamo	Pertamo	Pertamo	sara	Partamo
Second	Keduo	Keduo	Keduo	Keruo	dua	Kaduo
Third	Ketigo	Ketigo	Ketigo	Ketigo	tölu	Katigo
Fourth	Keampek	Keampek	Keampek	Keampek	öfa	Kaampek
Fifth	Kelimo	Kelimo	Kelimo	Kelimo	lima	Kalimo
Sixth	Keanam	Keanam	Keanam	Keanam	önö	Kaanam
Seventh	Ketuju	Ketujuh	Ketuju	Ketujuh	fitu	Katujuah

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Eighth	Kelapan	Kelapan	Kelapan	Kelapan	walu	Kalapan
Ninth	Kesambilan	Kesambilan	Kesambilan	Kesambilan	siwa	Kasambilan
Tenth	Kesapulu	Kesapuluh	Kesapulu	Kesapuluh	fulu	Kasapuluah

Table 2: Ordinal Numbers in PS and PB

In counting various objects, the form of the numeral changes radically, depending on what is being counted. Take Sigulai for example: amba 'one', mea 'one person', alangaika 'one animal', ageu 'one long square or round object', ala 'one' (long flat object eg ala biuk 'one knife'), amba buah 'one fruit' amba 'one' (small container), ambebe 'one bound object' (from amba + bebe), amba bine 'one package', amba 'one' (seed-like object), amba 'one' (bottle, plate etc), sakilo 'one kilo', sameter 'one metre', avilang 'one section' (of land, road etc), akhete or alabulu 'one fine, thin object' and so on. So we see amba, ala, a-, am- and sa- appearing variously in these forms for the element meaning 'one'. In alangaika 'one animal' we see an epenthetic nga syllable or ligature added between the numeral and classifier. This ligature is found very often in numerals in Devayan, Sigulai and Leukon and more often in the larger numerals. Tables 3 to 7 outlay enumeration strategies across six categories in each of the languages of PS and PB, as well as Nias.

	People	Animals	Fruits	Thin flat objects	Bundles of firewood	Long cylindrical objects
One	Mesa	sara	Sao	Salembar	Saferet	Sangaon
Two	Daro	Dua	Dufo	Duo lembar	Doferet	Dongaon
Three	Datello	Tlosiha	Tellufo	Tigo lembar	Tlo ferret	Tlongaon
Four	Dahat	Akasiha	Atao	Ampek lembar	Aka ferret	Akangaon
Five	Dallima	Limasiha	Limafo	Limo lembar	Limo ferret	Limangaon
Six	Daennem	Nemengasiha	Nemmafo	Annam lembar	Nemenga ferret	Nemengangaon
Seven	Daitu	Itungasiha	Itufo	Tuju lembar	Itunga ferret	Itungangaon
Eight	Salapan	Salapanngasiha	Salapan	Salapan lembar	Salapannga ferret	Salapanngangaon
Nine	Sambelan	Sambelanngasiiha	Sambelan	Sambelan lembar	Sambelannga ferret	Sambelanngangaon
Ten	Sapulu	Sapulungasiha	Faan	Sapulu lembar	Sapulunga feret	sapulungangaon

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Table 3: Enumeration of Six Categories in Devayan

	People	Animals	Fruits	Thin flat objects	Bundles of firewood	Long cylindrical objects
One	Mèsa	Sara Ngasikha	Sao	Sao	saferet	Saayu
Two	Daro	Duangasikha	Dufo	Dufo	Doferet	Doayu
Three	Datəlô	Tlungasikha	Tlufo	Tlufo	Tlo feret	Teloayu
Four	Dahat	Aat/akangasikha	Atafo	Atafo	Aat feret	Aat ngaayu
Five	Dalima	Limangasikha	Limafo	Limafo	Limo feret	Limangayu
Six	Dannəm	ənəmngasikha	Nəmmafo	Nəmmafo	Nem feret	ənəm ngayu
Seven	Daitu	Itungasikha	Itufo	Itufo	Itu feret	Itungayu
Eight	Salapan	Salapanngasikha	Salapan	Salapan	Salapan feret	salapan ngayu
Nine	Sambélan	Sambélanngasikha	Sambélan	Sambélan	Sambelan ferret	Sambélan ngayu
Ten	Sapulu	Sapulungasikha	Sapulu	Sapulu	Sapulu feret	Sapulu ngayu

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	People	Animals	Fruits	Thin flat objects	Bundles of firewood	Long cylindrical objects
One	Mea	Alangaikha	Amba	Salembar	saferet	Ageu
Two	Dalua	Duangaika	Domba	Duo lembar	Doferet	Dogeu
Three	Datelu	Telungaikha	Telu	Tigo lembar	Tlo feret	Telungageu
Four	Daeva	Evangaikha	Eva	Ampek lembar	Aat feret	evangageu
Five	Dalima	limangaikha	Lima	Limo lembar	Limo feret	Limangageu
Six	Daena	Enengaika	Ene	Annam lembar	Nem feret	enengageu
Seven	Dafitu	Fitungaikha	Fitu	Tujuh lembar	Itu feret	fitungageu
Eight	Daolu	Olungaikha	Olu	Lapan lembar	Salapan feret	olungageu
Nine	Dasiwa	Singangaikha	Siwa	Sambelan lembar	Sambelan ferret	siwangageu
Ten	Dafulu	Fulungaikha	Fuluh	Sapuluh lembar	Sapulu feret	fulungageu

	People	Animals	Fruits	Thin flat objects	Bundles of firewood	Long cylindrical objects
One	Mèsa	Sara Ngasikha	Sao	Sao	saferet	Saayu
Two	Daro	Duangasikha	Dufo	Dufo	Doferet	Doayu
Three	Datəlô	Tlungasikha	Tlufo	Tlufo	Tlo feret	Teloayu
Four	Dahat	Aat/akangasikha	Atafo	Atafo	Aat feret	Aat ngaayu
Five	Dalima	Limangasikha	Limafo	Limafo	Limo feret	Limangayu
Six	Dannəm	ənəmngasikha	Nəmmafo	Nəmmafo	Nem feret	ənəm ngayu
Seven	Daitu	Itungasikha	Itufo	Itufo	Itu feret	Itungayu
Eight	Salapan	Salapanngasikha	Salapan	Salapan	Salapan feret	salapan ngayu
Nine	Sambélan	Sambélanngasikha	Sambélan	Sambélan	Sambelan ferret	Sambélan ngayu
Ten	Sapulu	Sapulungasikha	Sapulu	Sapulu	Sapulu feret	Sapulu ngayu

Table 5: Enumeration of Six Categories in Leukon

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	People	Animals	Fruits	Thin flat objects	Bundles of firewood	Long cylindrical objects
One	mesa	sara	Sao	Salembar	Sewirit ayu	Sangawun
Two	raro	rua	Ruo	Duo lembar	Dua wirit	Rongawun
Three	ratelu	telu	Teluo	Tigo lembar	Tiga wirit	Teloawun
Four	rahat	aka	Atawo	Ampek lembar	Ampat wirit	Akanawun
Five	ralima	lima	Limaho	Limo lembar	Lima wirit	Limangawun
Six	ranem	enam	Namaho	Annam lembar	Anam wirit	Anamawun
Seven	raitu	itu	Ituwo	Tujuh lembar	Tujuh wirit	Tujuhawun
Eight	salapan	lapan	Salapan	Lapan lembar	Salapan wirit	Salapanawun
Nine	sambilan	sambilan	sambilan	Sambelan lembar	Sambilan wirit	Sambilanawun
Ten	sapuluh	sepuluh	Sapuluh	Sapuluh lembar	Sapuluh wirit	Sapuluhawun

	People	Animals	Fruits	Thin flat objects	Bundles of fire-wood	Long cylindrical objects
One	Samesa niha	Sara na'eu	Sam bua	Sara	Saraboloe	Sagewu
Two	Darua niha	Dua na'eu	Dom bua	Dua	Duaboloe	Duangaewu
Three	Datelu niha	Telu na'eu	Telö ngawua	Telu	Teluboloe	Telungaewu
Four	Daefa niha	Efa na'eu	Efangawua	Efa	Eva boloe	Efangaewu
Five	Dalima niha	Lima na'eu	limangawua	Lima	Lima boloe	Limangaewu
Six	Daönö niha	Önö na'eu	önö ngawua	Önö	Önö boloe	Önöngaewu
Seven	Dafitu niha	Fitu na'eu	Fitu ngawua	Fitu	Fituboloe	Fitungaewu
Eight	Dawalu niha	Walu	Walungaw	Walu	Waluboloe	walungaewu

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		na'eu	ua			
Nine	Dasiwa niha	Siwa na'eu	Siwa ngaw ua	Siwa	Siwaboloe	Siwangaewu
Ten	Dafulu niha	Fulu na'eu	Fulu ngawua	Fulu	Fulu boloe	Fulungaewu

Discussion and Conclusions

The languages of PS and PB display considerable variation in the shape of the numeral, which varies according to what is being counted. This variation has a number of sources, in part due to long-standing variation in the ancestral language which has been retained in this particular set of languages. Some is the result of fusion of the following classifier with the numeral to form a new numeral root. In large-part, however, the variation is due to language contact, whilst there are other minor variations in both indigenous and introduced roots.

Independent numerals 'one' and 'two'

The most obvious of all differences between number systems in these languages are the independent numbers 'one' and 'two' with Devayan/Leukon sao 'one' vs Sigulai amba 'one' vs Haloban satu 'one' (from Indonesian) and Nias sara 'one' which in Devayan, Leukon and Haloban is the expression for 'one animal'. Similarly, Devayan/Leukon dufo 'two' corresponds to Sigulai dumba 'two' and Haloban/Nias/Indonesian dua 'two'. So where do the divergent terms sao, amba, dufo and dumba come from. If we consider the Nias, Jamee and Indonesian terms for 'one fruit' and 'two fruits' the answer becomes obvious. Nias sam bua 'one fruit', compared with Indonesian sebuah and Jamee sabuah, has introduced a homorganic nasal m in anticipation of the following b in bua. Exactly the same process has occurred in Nias dom bua 'two fruits', compared with Indonesian dua buah and Jamee duo buah. Sigulai amba derives from sambua. The deletion of the initial s is a semi-regular sound change in Sigulai, but is retained in Devayan and Leukon. Similarly, Sigulai dumba has derived from Nias dombua. So there has been a process of fusion of bua 'fruit', which is the classifier for fruits, with the numerals one and two. Amba and dumba are independent numerals in their own right and are no longer restricted to counting fruit. Devayan/Leukon sao 'one' and dufo 'two' have arisen in a similar way.

Despite the fact that Devayan sao and dufo have arisen from fusion of the 'fruit' classifier, they must be followed by bon (cf bo 'fruit') followed by the name of the fruit as in sao bon mangga 'one mango', dufo bon yamor 'two papayas', tigo bon bonnol 'three coconuts' etc. According to the Devayan language informant, the addition of the word bo without being followed by the name of the fruit will sound strange to its speakers.

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Counting People: Prefix da- ~ ra-

A distinct word mesa in Devayan, Leukon and Haloban (in Amery's data) or mea in Sigulai, means 'one person'. It is quite distinct from the independent word for 'one' (sao, amba, sara, satu). In Nias it appears with the additional prefix sa- 'one' together with niha 'person' to form the longer expression samesa niha 'one person'. However, most numeral expressions for counting people entail the prefix da-, or ra- in the case of Haloban, attached to the numeral. Ariani (2016) has raitu 'seven people' compared with Aziz's daitu in Devayan. In Sigulai and Nias, da- is prefixed to all numerals from two to ten, but in Devayan and Leukon da- is attached only to numerals from two to seven. In Amery's data the prefix ra- mirrors the distribution of da- in Devayan and Leukon, being attached to numerals from two to seven. This human prefix appears to have ancient origins as discussed in Amery and Zulfadli (forthcoming).

Indigenous vs Introduced Numerals

The most obvious source of variation is the use of introduced numerals, borrowed mostly from Jamee and occasionally from Indonesian. Indigenous numerals are more likely to be used when the number is small than when it is larger. Introduced numerals are most likely to be used with introduced measure words such as kilo. Indigenous numerals are most likely to be used in counting people, animals and fruits but there is considerable variation in the point at which introduced numerals cut in. Sigulai appears to be the most conservative. It is the only language of the four PS/PB languages which uses indigenous numerals above eight. Haloban is the language most heavily influenced by Jamee and is the only language of the four which uses introduced numerals when just counting independently of a specific entity. The other three languages use indigenous numerals at least up to seven for this purpose.

In Ariani's (2016) Devayan data, a similar pattern emerges. Borrowed (Jamee) numerals are intruding at different points depending on what is being counted. They appear from two onwards if just counting, from three or four onwards if counting days, but from eight onwards if counting people, animals or fruits. But if plants are counted, the Jamee/Indonesian word tujuh 'seven' is used rather than the indigenous itu- 'seven' which is used with fruit. If weeks, months or years are enumerated, then all numerals are borrowed from Jamee. But there are some differences between Ariani's (2016) Devayan data and Aziz's 2018-19 Devayan data. Ariani has itu ngasiha 'seven animals', with the indigenous numeral itu 'seven', whereas Aziz has tujuhngasiha 'seven animals' with the introduced numeral tujuh 'seven'. Ariani has rufo 'two fruits' compared with Aziz's dufo 'two fruits'.

The Ligature –nga

An epenthetic syllable –nga often appears throughout the data in enumerating certain objects. It is most evident in Devayan and least apparent in Haloban and occurs more often in larger numeral expressions. In Devayan, Sigulai and Leukon it appears with all numerals when counting animals, but never in counting thin, flat objects. Let's consider its distribution in counting long cylindrical shapes. In Nias it occurs with all numerals except one, in Sigulai with three and above, in Leukon

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with four and above, in Devayan with six and above and in Haloban just with one, two and five. By contrast, in counting bundles of firewood, it only occurs in Devayan and then only with numerals three and above. In counting fruits, it only appears in Nias, and then just with numerals three and above.

Minor Variation in the Form of the Numeral

All languages exhibit minor variation in the form of the numerals, irrespective of whether it is indigenous or introduced, which depends on what is being counted. The indigenous morpheme for 'two' is sometimes ro, sometimes, du, sometimes do whilst the introduced morpheme for 'two' varies between dua and duo. Indigenous elements for 'three' vary between telu, telo and tlo, whilst the introduced 'three' is sometimes tigo, sometimes tiga. Similarly, the indigenous element for 'four' varies between hat, aka and ata.

The Meaning of Variation

There is a need for more in-depth investigation of the plethora of variant forms. Our data was obtained primarily through elicitation and is based on the knowledge of a small number of speakers of each language. But it is clear that not all speakers agree all the time. Even the same speaker was found to volunteer different numerals on different occasions for the same purpose. Significant differences are evident in Amery's Haloban data, compared with that collected by Aziz and there are clear differences between Ariani's (2016) Devayan data and that collected by Aziz. There are also signs of internal inconsistency within data collected by the same researcher. At this stage it is unknown whether this variation has social meaning. A range of sociolinguistic variables, including age, sex, education and occupation of the speaker should be investigated. Perhaps there is localized subdialectal variation from one village to another. Language shift is likely to be more advanced in some locations than others. The Haloban data would seem to support this hypothesis.

This investigation has presented an especially interesting case in the study of number systems and counting phenomena where the extent of variation in the form of the numeral is perhaps unrivaled.

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