

Issue 1 / Часть 1

Articles / Статьи

Acehnese: The dating of Into-Sumatra migration

The debate on the dating of the Acehnese-Chamic subgrouping has been inactive for nearly twenty years. However, new data on the Acehnese sub-lects and the interior mainland Chamic languages, and the historical studies of the Champa kingdom provide more clues about the Acehnese ancestors' time of migration into Sumatra. Using an etymological analysis approach, this study shows that despite being the first to leave the Chamic groups, Acehnese shares more innovation with the mainland Chamic languages than previously thought. This suggests that Acehnese might have left the group within a close time frame to the highland Chamic languages, which subgrouped in the 10th century CE. Based on the 8th century CE Javanese raids to the southern area of the Southeast Asia mainland, recorded in a Chamic inscription, the disappearance of the Linyi name from the Chinese records around the same date, the appearance of the Lamuri kingdom with its Austroasiatic toponymy, and the historical findings on Srivijaya power across Southeast Asia, all suggests that the Acehnese's Indochina-Sumatra migration is likely to have occurred around the middle of the 8th century CE. The final location of this first Chamic migration to Sumatra indicates that it was an intentional relocation rather than an emergency refuge. Furthermore, post-Proto-Chamic-breakup (PC) innovations and borrowings on the mainland are also found in higher numbers than previously reported. This finding proves the post-PC-breakup Chamic dispersal into Aceh-Sumatra, as Thurgood once claimed, to occur in the 15th century AD. Yet, the variants across dialects for these post-PC-breakup words reported in the present study open a probability of an earlier date of this second wave of Chamic-speaking migrants' arrival in Sumatra¹.

Keywords: Acehnese language; Chamic languages; languages of Southeast Asia; language change.

Introduction

It is now widely accepted that the Acehnese are indeed immigrants from the Indochina of today's Vietnam (Blust 1994, 2000; Thurgood 1999, 2007b). Durie's (1990) Proto-Acehnese and Thurgood's (1999) Proto-Chamic works that included the Acehnese in the reconstruction have provided strong evidence that the Acehnese and mainland Chamic languages were once a single community sharing several innovations. Yet, a significantly low number of Austroasiatic loans in Acehnese when compared with the other Chamic languages serves as a strong indicator that Acehnese missed many centuries of linguistic innovations in the Chamic language (Sidwell 2005, 2006), and is believed to be the first to leave the Chamic language family. Thurgood (1999: 29) argued that the Acehnese ancestors were the most northerly Chamic speakers who populated the northern part of the Champa kingdom with its capital Indrapura. According to Thurgood, other than Acehnese, the Tsat and Northern Roglai speakers are also the descendants of that northern Champa area who ran away from the Vietnamese raid in 982.

Meanwhile, historical records suggest that Acehnese might have existed in Sumatra in the 9th CE. The existence of what seems to be a Hindu-Buddha civilisation called the Lamuri king-

¹ I am deeply indebted to Paul Sidwell for his useful comments and guidance and also for answering all my inquiries related to this topic.

dom, located in today's Banda Aceh and Great Aceh (Daly et al. 2019; McKinnon 1988) areas was reported by some Arabic travellers as early as 9th CE. An Arab geographer Ibn Khurdadhbih mentioned the place as *Rām(n)ī* (رامني), *Lawrī*, *Lāmurī* and other variants (Cowan 1933).

The *lam-* as in Lamuri seems to come from Proto South-Bahnaric's **glam* or Proto North-Bahnaric **lam*, which means 'inside'. The distribution of this *lam-*, along with the morpheme *cot-* meaning 'hill', and *krueng* 'river' in many other place names within Aceh, particularly within the Banda Aceh and Great Aceh areas strongly indicates the presence of a Chamic-speaking community in this northern tip of Sumatra as early as the 9th CE. This historical record of Lamuri thus predates the Champa's northern capital fall (in the 10th CE) that triggered the subgroupings of Tsat and Highland Chamic of Roglai and Rade. This leads me to conclude that Acehnese left Champa at least one century before the event.

Durie (1990) and Sidwell (2005, 2006) suggest that the Acehnese-Chamic split may have occurred much earlier. Sidwell (2005) proposed the split date a few centuries before the common era, citing the percentage of AA loans in Acehnese and their unspecific AA language source(s). However, he later changed his stance to a more recent date, around the 5th century CE, suggesting the Chinese raids to subjugate Champa as a historical event (2006). Durie (cited in Sidwell 2005) also believes that Acehnese left at a much earlier date than the split of Tsat proposed by Thurgood (1999). Durie also once proposed that Acehnese was a sister of Proto-Chamic (PC) spoken geographically closer to the Malay peninsula and was probably part of Funan power in the first millennium, as cited in Sidwell (2005). Despite my agreement with Sidwell's (2006) statement about Champa instability within the first part of the first millennium, his 5th century date hypothesis is merely a statistical linguistic argument, thus lacking objective support. Considering the strategic position of North Sumatra in between the India and China trade route, more consistent records about Lamuri from much earlier centuries should also have been attested. Yet, none of the records about this Lamuri toponymy older than from the 9th CE are available. Furthermore, in the first millennium, from the Chinese report of Linyi (or read as *Lâm Ấp* in Vietnamese) until their first recognition of Champa in 859 AD, the Vietnam coasts were always a battlefield (Schweyer 2010). All the raids thus presented opportunities for population migration, but which ones most probably drove off the Acehnese ancestors from the mainland so that they ended up in Sumatra is a question the answer to which should include proper historical support.

A recent study of the ancient Chinese court documents by Suzuki (2019) led to the speculation that Linyi in the north was attacked by the Srivijaya Group² sometime in the 8th century CE, and the Linyi fleet was destroyed, preventing them from sending tribute to China. Therefore, Suzuki argues, from 757 until 859, i.e. for about 100 years, the Linyi name disappeared from Chinese records due to the impact of this sacking. The Acehnese ancestors' migration to Sumatra could occur around this time. This timing is a more logical proposal because the attackers' origin was the SEA islands (Sumatra, Java and the Malay peninsula). This timing explains the situation with the presence of Mainland-origin Chamic speakers in Sumatra (Modern Acehnese speakers), about which modern linguists have been wondering. At the very least, this timing provides a logical explanation for why the Chamic people should have chosen such a direction.

A possible scenario might be as follows: some Chamic people who believed in Mahayana Buddhism might have decided to submit to the Srivijaya group. Mahayana Buddhism was the

² Suzuki believed that Srivijaya was not merely a centralized kingdom in Palembang (Southern Sumatra), but rather a group of kingdoms across the mainland and islands around the peninsula. The Sailendra dynasty of Java, Funan and Chela were believed to be parts of this group.

Srivijaya's official religion at that time, while Linyi was Hindu and praised Siva. The archaeological evidence confirms this religion-rivalry hypothesis as the Shiva statue in Linyi's temple was thrown into the sea by the attackers during the raid (Majumdar 1927). It is unknown which Chamic kingdom hosted the Acehnese ancestors in the Linyi era, but I speculate that they lived in the one in the southern part close to Chenla (Funan, as Durie suggested in Sidwell 2005). From there, the journey might have been taken through the trans-peninsular of Thai-Malay as these areas were protected under the influence of the Srivijaya group around that period (Kelley 2023)³. From 9 AD onward, Chamic small kingdoms united into Champa, with a more unified local consciousness and a single Cham ethnicity (Schweyer 2010), whilst in Sumatra, Acehnese ancestors founded Lamuri as one of Srivijaya trade ports, perhaps to accommodate Barus, the camphor producer, in the west coast of Sumatra. Two heads of the *avalokiteśvara* were discovered in Banda Aceh and Great Aceh areas, dated between the 8th and 10th centuries. The fortresses of Indrapatra and Indrapurwa, as well as the old mosque of Indrapuri which was built atop a ruined Hindu-Buddha temple are all found dated between the 8th and 12th centuries. Therefore, I propose the 8th century CE as the correct timing of the Acehnese ancestors' arrival in Sumatra.

Other than this Acehnese subgroup dating from the Chamic family, the debate on the Acehnese language's historical place is made more complex by the open possibilities of other Chamic migrations into the island driven by continuous war on the mainland. Thurgood proposes 15 AD as the logical time and argues that the rise of the Aceh kingdom in the early 16th century CE and the information in the Malay Annals about the Champa prince who fled Champa after the sack of Vijaya in 1470 are two strong pieces of evidence for this second Chamic migration into the SEA islands. Unfortunately, Thurgood does not provide any strong linguistic evidence for this dating proposal.

Consequently, the present article offers linguistic arguments for two important proposals; (a) that Acehnese split from Chamic around the 8th century AD, and (b) that sometime after the break-up of PC on the mainland, another Chamic-speaking group entered the Aceh region and mixed with the already present Chamic-speaking inhabitants.

The data

The present study consults a set of databases both from websites and printed publications as listed in Table 1. In addition to these, a set of Acehnese data was gained from informants speaking various Acehnese lects. They are:

1. A 70-year-old male from Tantuha, Great Aceh
2. A 43-year-old female from Seulimeum, Great Aceh
3. A 67-year-old female from Blang Galang, Pidie
4. A 62-year-old female from Meureudu, Pidie Jaya
5. A 40-year-old female from Seunuddon, North Aceh
6. A 32-year-old female from Langsa, East Aceh
7. A 51-year-old female from Lamno, Aceh Jaya

All the informants above were contacted individually by the author via Whatsapp text, call and/or voice note. Each informant was given a specific gloss (in Bahasa Indonesia) to be translated into Acehnese according to their respective dialect.

³ Kelley (2023) even suggested that "Shilifoshi" (a Chinese toponym that many historians believe to be a transcription of Srivijaya) was located around today Trang, Thailand during the 8th century.

Table 1. Language Databases Used in the Present Study

Language	Database	Source
Austronesian I	The Austronesian Comparative Dictionary Online (ACD)	https://acd.clld.org/ (Blust, Trussel & Smith 2023)
Austronesian II	Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database	https://lpan.eva.mpg.de/ (Greenhill, Blust & Gray 2008)
Austroasiatic	The SEALANG Mon-Khmer Languages Project	http://sealang.net/monkhmer/index.htm
Proto-Chamic	Thurgood's PC Reconstruction	Thurgood 1999
Proto-Malayic	Adelaar's PM Reconstruction	Adelaar 1992
Acehnese I	Acehnese-Indonesian-English Thesaurus	Daud & Durie 1999
Acehnese II	Wordlist on the sub-lects of Great Aceh, Pidie, Pidie Jaya, North Aceh and Aceh Jaya	Author's own data
Malayic Dialects	Pusat Rujukan Persuratan Melayu (PRPM)	Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka https://prpm.dbp.gov.my/
Javanese Dialects	SEALANG Library Javanese Dictionary Corpus	http://sealang.net/java/dictionary.htm

Results & discussion

1. The Birth of Chamic Language

The Proto-Chamic (PC) language — as reconstructed by Thurgood (1999) — was presumed to have developed a few centuries before the common era in the area of the Mekong River of modern-day southern Cambodia. PC is the result of a mix between a Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) language with an Austroasiatic language of mainland southeast Asia, probably a proto-variety of Bahnaric (Grant 2005; Thurgood 1999). The exact geographical situation in which the language was born is unknown, nor is the precise period. Yet, the emergence of what was believed a Chamic kingdom around the 2nd century CE in central Vietnam could be the marking point of the Chamic-speaking community's first political recognition. Before that, they may have simply existed as a scattered minority group of Austronesian, being relatives of Proto-Malayic-speaking seafarers who, just like them, were also fighting for dominance in the ancient trade routes of Southeast Asia.

Blust (1981) proposed that Chamic was the grand-niece of the Moken/Moklen language, the language of the sea nomad minority which has existed since at least 2000 years ago, and in the past was believed to have mediated the trade of goods between the trans-national traders (e.g. Indian, Arab and Roman) and the inlanders⁴ around the Isthmus of Kra (Bellina, Blench & Galipaud 2021). Moken/Moklen left the family of WMP before Chamic-Malayic was formed as a single language community. Larish (1999), who reconstructed Proto-Moken/Moklenic, suggested that Chamic speakers were similar to the Moken/Moklenic before settling in. Further research is needed to prove the sea-nomadic life of early Chamic speakers as claimed by Larish, yet I suppose that their activities as mediators between the inland ethnic groups and transnational traders were highly probable and could explain the source of small dialectal variations that existed before the break-up of PC as envisioned by Thurgood (1999), Durie (1990) or Brunelle (2019).

⁴ Aslian people (thus in Bellina, Blench & Galipaud 2021); however, for the mainland Chamic inhabitants, the inlanders must have been the Bahnaric groups of Austroasiatic speakers.

Although the Linyi kingdom of the 2nd century AD mentioned in the Chinese source seems indeed to be a Chamic kingdom, no evidence proves that the kingdom represented all the Chamic speakers living in that period. Thus, parallel to the suggestion by Schweyer (2010) and Suzuki (2019), I also regard Linyi as merely a fraction of the overall Chamic-speaking group, probably the first group that adopted Hinduism and flourished into a recognised kingdom. So, during the Linyi era, or before the 9th century CE, the mainland Chamic communities were scattered along the coast of Vietnam from the south to the north, speaking a mutually intelligible variant of PC with few linguistic differences.

2. The First Dispersal of Acehnese

Although the date is debated, all linguists have agreed that Acehnese left the Chamic family first, as demonstrated by the significantly minimal presence of AA loanwords, the abundance of Malay loanwords, distinct phonological and lexical innovations not shared with the other Chamic, and some other arguments. Thurgood (1999) implies that the date of split of Acehnese should be around the same period as that of Tsat in the 10th century. He states:

“The Chamic dialect chain extended north at least as far as Quang-Tri, where they undoubtedly encountered Katuic speakers..... Under pressure from the north, these Chamic speakers left, probably to become the modern Acehnese of northern Sumatra.”

(Thurgood 1999: 20)

Pressure from the north did not start before Vietnamese independence from China, which occurred in 938 AD (Fall 971). Therefore, the quotation from Thurgood might suggest that the Acehnese left the mainland between 9th and 10th centuries AD.

In another part where he discusses the pre-syllabic clusters of post-PC, he states that:

“The under-representation in Acehnese and Tsat along with the strongest representation in the highlands languages combines to suggest that many of these forms were borrowed after the Acehnese had left the mainland on the journey that would eventually take them to Sumatra and after the Tsat had broken from the Roglai and gone to Hainan, fleeing the Vietnamese push to the south.”

(Thurgood 1999: 98)

In this second statement, Thurgood proposes that Acehnese and Tsat left at two different points in time. Since he believes that the Tsat left in the 10th century, the Acehnese must have left earlier than that. Considering Thurgood’s view that the Vietnamese’s “push to the south” (which started in the 9th century) was the motive, Acehnese should have left sometime around that same period. In short, the linguistic evidence provided by Thurgood leads him to the conclusion that Acehnese has been in Sumatra for at least 1000 years, i.e. since the 10th century or earlier. Given that Thurgood does not restrict the relevant factors to Champa’s conflict with the Vietnamese, a date of the 8th century AD would still fit his linguistic arguments for the date of the separation of the Acehnese subgroup.

Regardless of the reasons, for being the first to leave the family, Acehnese was thought to have missed many linguistic changes in the Chamic family. In terms of shared innovations across the Chamic language, Acehnese was thought to share none with any Chamic languages, thus it could not be subgrouped with any of them. For example, the Acehnese final accretion of velar nasal *-ŋ* in such words as ‘five’, ‘flower’, and ‘woman’ was thought to be an innovation developed in SEA islands, until Lee (1998) finally demonstrated that an understudied Chamic language also had this feature. The Cat Gia Roglai (CGR; the first word is sometimes written as Cac) is a Chamic language spoken in Cat Hai, north of Phan Rang city, in the southern part of Vietnam (Lee 1998). Lee successfully shows two interesting phonological innova-

tions shared between Acehnese and CGR — the accretion of final nasals and the raising of PC’s central nasal vowels. We should now discuss the two shared innovations of the Acehnese and the mainland Chamic of CGR according to Lee in more detail.

2.1. The raising of PC’s main syllable vowels

Both Acehnese and CGR raised the low back unrounded vowel of PC to central high unrounded in CGR and central or back rounded and unrounded vowels in Acehnese, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. The main syllable vowels of PC in Acehnese and CGR

Gloss	PAN	PC (Thurgood 1999)	Ac (Daud & Durie 1999)	CGR (Lee 1998)	NR (Thurgood 1999; Lee 1998)	PRC (Thurgood 1999)	Malay
five	<i>lima</i>	* <i>lima</i>	<i>limɔŋ</i>	<i>ləmiŋ</i>	<i>lumā</i>	<i>lami</i>	<i>lima</i>
betelnut	–	* <i>pina:ŋ</i>	<i>pinuŋ</i>	<i>pinɪŋ</i>	<i>pināŋ</i>	<i>paniŋ</i>	<i>pinang</i>
gold	–	* <i>ʔama:s</i>	<i>muŋ</i>	<i>mɪŋ</i>	<i>māŋ</i>	<i>mɪŋ</i>	<i>mas</i>
to nurse	–	–	<i>mɔm</i>	<i>mim</i>	<i>mām</i>	–	–
land	* <i>tanəŋ</i>	* <i>tanah</i>	<i>tanɔh</i>	<i>tanɪh</i>	<i>tanāh</i>	<i>tanɪh</i>	<i>tanah</i>
enter	* <i>tama</i>	* <i>tama</i>	<i>tamɔŋ</i>	<i>tamiŋ</i>	<i>tamā</i>	<i>tami</i>	* <i>tama?</i>

To illustrate, the PC low back unrounded long vowel *-a:- which is preceded by a nasal consonant (as in ‘betel nut’ and ‘gold’) became the high back unrounded vowel -u- in Acehnese, and a high central unrounded vowel -i- in Cac Gia Roglai (CGR) and Phan Rang Cham (PRC). Meanwhile, despite its geographical closeness to CGR, Northern Roglai (NR) retained the low back unrounded vowel, but nasalised it into -ã-. This leaves NR as the only Chamic language in the table to retain the low unrounded long vowel of PC. CGR, Acehnese, and PRC also treat similarly the PC final short vowel *-a(h), either raising it to /i/ in CGR and PRC, or to /ɔ/ or /ɔ/ in Acehnese (see glosses ‘five’, ‘land’ and ‘enter’ in Table 2).

The abovementioned shared innovations give us the impression that Acehnese, PRC, and CGR were close in the Chamic dialectal chain before the Vietnamese ‘push to the south’ or before the 9th century, in which Acehnese and CGR formed one group while PRC belonged to another. Meanwhile, as Thurgood once suggested, NR was a lect spoken in northern Champa and grouped with Tsat. Thus, Acehnese-CGR and PRC were the southern lects of the Chamic dialectal chain in the first millennium. This fits the hypothesis proposed in the present study: the Chamic cities attacked by the Srivijaya in the 8th century were Kauthara and Panduranga, both located in the southern coastal area of modern Vietnam. When Srivijaya attacked Kauthara and Panduranga, the Acehnese-CGR population which dwelled in the area split up: the Acehnese left for Sumatra where they further developed the innovations they once shared only with CGR, whereas CGR joined the more northern Chamic speakers which were pushed to the south, and stopped resembling the Acehnese relatives who had fled the mainland.

2.2. The accretion of final nasals

Acehnese and CGR share the accretion of final nasal velar -ŋ which suggests a common stage of development for both languages for a few centuries after PC. This innovation in both languages cannot be a coincidence because they occur in a similar environment and within the

same basic vocabularies. Not only do they both develop a final $-ŋ$ in the PC open syllable ending in $*-a$, but Acehnese and CGR also raise the PC short vowel that preceded the sound; to $/i/$ in CGR and PRC, and $/a/$ or $/ɔ/$ or $/u/$ in Acehnese.

The nasal velar coda $-ŋ$ after the PMP final vowel $-a$ or $-au$ occurs when the final vowel is preceded by the nasal consonant $*-m[n/ŋ]$. Similar change patterns took place in some other WMP languages, such as Malayic and Old Javanese, or languages nearby, such as Batak and Sundanese (see Table 3), indicating that the Acehnese velar nasal accretion did not originate already after the Acehnese migration to the SEA islands; however, this innovation seems to have further spread on Sumatra, postdating the exodus of the ancestors of Acehnese. The presence of similar forms in Javanese can be taken as evidence of contacts between Acehnese-CGR with an unknown dominant language which carried this phonological characteristic to the mainland. Studying the distribution of this PMP velar nasal accretion within Chamic and some other WMP languages, which occurs only when the main initial consonant of the syllable is a nasal sound, I suspect that this pattern was borrowed from an unknown AN language of Borneo during the early first millennium. This language lent out the PMP-descended words for ‘women’, ‘flower’, and ‘tiger’, all of them with a final $-ŋ$, to the ancestral states of Javanese, Sundanese, and Malayic in the islands, as well as to the Acehnese-CGR in southern Vietnam. Specifically, in Chamic the contact with this AN language must have occurred sometime between the 1st and 7th centuries AD in the southern area of Vietnam or during the rise of the Funan kingdom in today’s Cambodia.

Let us take a look at PAN $*bunja$ ‘flower’ (Table 3, gloss 6), which is also reconstructible as PMP $*bunjaŋ$ in Blust’s ACD. Both Acehnese and CGR treat the etymon similarly by raising the vowel that preceded it (Acehnese $bunɔŋ$ vs. CGR $puwiŋ$). Notice that in other WMP languages the vowel that precedes $-ŋ$ remains low. PRC also shows a change that is consistent with Acehnese and CGR, raising the main syllable vowel so that the form becomes $piŋu$, except it does not get affected by the accretion of velar $ŋ$, indicating that the shared raising of the vowel in this Acehnese-CGR-PRC cluster predates the velar accretion in Acehnese-CGR. Furthermore, the same innovation which occurred in both Acehnese and CGR items ‘five’, ‘ricefield’ and ‘enter’ suggests that it took place on the mainland when Acehnese and CGR were still a single group.

The PMP etymon for ‘tiger’, $*rimau$ (Table 3, gloss 2), is also found with final nasal velar reflexes in all modern varieties of Chamic and in some WMP languages of Java, Bali and Borneo. In Borneo, both variants, with and without the velar nasal final and the diphthong $-au$, are found in the languages of interior hunter-gatherers, pointing to the island of Borneo as the origin of this word. However, no historical records have ever reported the existence of tigers on Borneo island; probably, the Borneo PWMP speakers use the word to refer to the smaller-than-tiger leopard species that lives on their home island. This may be why, in Old Javanese and Old Balinese, the word *mong* specifically refers to a baby tiger, not an adult one. For adult tigers, which in the past were found in abundance in Java and Bali islands, people have their own term *macan*. A phonologically similar pattern is even found in the Khmer-speaking community inland⁵; Thurgood lists this word as a post-PC-breakup borrowing from an unclear source (1999: 361). However, its $-au$ diphthong retained in Written Cham *rimauŋ* confirms its AN origin. The diphthong is also retained in Acehnese *rimuəŋ* which shows that the Acehnese left when the borrowing had just occurred or when the monophthongisation to $/o/$ or $/ɔ/$ + $-ŋ$ in Rade, Jarai and Chru had not yet taken place in this word. Therefore, as a post-PC-breakup

⁵ The form *taa mouj* តាម៉ូជ is a word for ‘tiger’ in certain Montagnard languages of Cambodia (Khmer) (Headley et al. 1997).

item, this word should have been borrowed into Chamic sometime after the common era. I suggest that this word was brought onto the mainland by the Shailendra’s SEA-island colonists/traders who invaded Chenla. They probably spoke a WMP language which could be closer to either Old Javanese or Proto-Malayic. The connection between the mainland and SEA island power (Java-Malay Srivijaya) is proven by the Sdok Kak Thom inscription which mentioned that Jayavarman II, the king of Chenla, declared its independence from Java (Coedes 1975).

On the other hand, in Javanese the final velar nasal accretion seems to be morphological rather than phonological. Old Javanese has *lima* for ‘five’, *telu* for ‘three’, but *lima-η puluh* for ‘fifty’ and *telu-η puluh* for ‘thirty’. Meanwhile, Acehese and CGR do not change any other numbers except for ‘five’; thus, even if the final *-η* in these languages was borrowed from the ancestors of an AN-speaking community who settled in the mainland in the pre-Chenla era, the influence was phonological rather than morphological. Perhaps this contact occurred only through trading.

Table 3. The Acehese accretion of final velar /-η/ before PMP final /-a/ and /-au/

No	Acehnese I	Proto-Chamic (and other Chamic)	Proto-Malay	PMP	Other
1	<i>inɔŋ</i> ‘female’	* <i>ina</i>	* <i>inaŋ</i> ‘mother, mother’s sister’ (ACD)	* <i>inaŋ</i> ; * <i>ina</i> ‘mother, mother’s sister’	<i>ina-η</i> ‘mother, elderly woman’ (Old Javanese)
2	<i>rimuŋ, rimuəŋ</i> ‘tiger’	* <i>rimɔ:ŋ</i>	* <i>harimau</i>	* <i>rimau</i>	<i>moŋ</i> (Old Javanese)
3	<i>liməŋ, limɔŋ</i> ‘five’	* <i>lima</i> <i>ləmiŋ</i> (CGR)	* <i>lima</i>	* <i>lima</i>	<i>lima-η puluh</i> ‘fifty’ (Old Javanese)
4	<i>taməŋ, tam tamɔŋ</i> ‘get in, enter’	* <i>tama</i> <i>tamiŋ</i> (CGR)	–	* <i>tama</i>	<i>ka-tama-n</i> (Old Javanese) ‘ <i>ka-tama-n</i> ’ (Tae’ — North Sulawesi)
5	<i>uməŋ, umɔŋ</i> ‘ricefield’	* <i>huma</i> <i>hmiŋ</i> (CGR)	<i>huma</i> (Malay)	* <i>quma</i>	
6	<i>bunəŋ, bunɔŋ</i> ‘flower’	* <i>buŋa</i> <i>puwiŋ</i> (Cac Gia Roglai) <i>piŋu</i> (PRC)	* <i>buŋa</i>	* <i>buŋa</i> ¹ * <i>buŋaŋ</i> ² ‘flower’ (ACD)	
7	<i>taŋəŋ, taŋɔŋ</i> ‘ask’	–	* <i>taŋa</i> ‘ask’	* <i>kutaña</i>	<i>kutaŋnaŋ</i> ‘ask for or about’ (Makassarese)
8	<i>ŋawəŋ, ŋawɔŋ</i> ‘soul’	* <i>jaŋa</i>	* <i>ŋawa</i>	* <i>NiSawa</i> (PAN)	
9	<i>luŋəŋ, luŋɔŋ,</i> <i>luŋɔ</i> ‘sesame’	* <i>laŋa</i>		* <i>leŋa</i>	
10	<i>laŋɔŋ, laŋəŋ</i> ‘insect: green bottle fly’	–		* <i>beRŋaw</i>	
11	<i>kuwəŋ, kuwəŋ</i> ‘touch, meet, hit’	–	<i>kena</i> (Malay) * <i>meŋena</i> (PWMP)	* <i>keNa</i> (PAN)	

Thus, Acehnese and CGR were formerly a single Chamic lect in southern Vietnam that some time between 2nd and 8th centuries underwent contact with a seafarer community speaking an Austronesian language that was characterised by the accretion of final velar /-ŋ/ in PMP final open syllables of the type *n[m/ŋ/w]a[au]*. This innovation took place in the southernmost lects of the Chamic dialectal chain and did not have time to spread to the more northern ones, since most of those southern speakers were displaced by the Shailendras of Srivijaya to their region in Sumatra. The number of Chamic immigrants that arrived in Sumatra after Srivijaya's raid on Kauthara in the 8th century must have been significantly high, considering the Shailendra dynasty's famous strength and dominance. With such a high number of people, it must have been quick and easy to significantly reduce the presence of the local language(s) of Sumatra, while the Sumatran Chamic speakers that became the Acehnese, in contrast, multiplied over a relatively short time.

3. Post-PC-breakup Phonological Innovation & Borrowing: Another into-Sumatra Chamic Migration?

Based on the rise of the Aceh kingdom in the 16th century, the story of the runaway prince from Champa told in the Malay Annals, and the Chinese bell kept in Aceh museum that is dated around the same period as the historical and archaeological evidence, Thurgood (1999) proposes that another migration must have occurred around the end of the 15th century CE as a result of the Vietnamese attack on Vijaya, the southern capital of Champa. In a book review, Brunelle (2007) also presents an overview of Thurgood's stand on the split dates of Acehnese. In a later paper, Thurgood further clarifies his stance on Acehnese's out-of-the-mainland dates of migration: the precise date for the first journey remains unknown, while the second journey must have taken place in the 15th century — the only date that Thurgood is certain of (Thurgood 2007a). He also re-emphasizes the important role played by the Aceh Kingdom that flourished between the 16th and 19th centuries in shifting the other languages in northern Sumatra to Acehnese, which explains the Acehnese's relatively great number of speakers compared to the other Chamic languages.

In this section of the paper, I conduct an analysis of the post-PC break-up wordlist from Thurgood (1999), presenting linguistic evidence for a different Chamic-speaking arrival in Aceh. However, instead of agreeing with the 15th century hypothesis, I suspect an earlier date. The reasons are discussed below.

The phonological innovations and lexical borrowings that occurred after the breakup of PC are believed to be missing or severely limited in Acehnese, thus confirming its relatively early split from PC. Surprisingly, however, several post-PC breakup innovations were spotted in certain understudied sublects of Acehnese, such as those of the Seulimuem and Tantuha villages of Great Aceh; Blang Galang and Garot of Pidie; Meureudu of Pidie Jaya; Seuneddon of North Aceh; and Langsa of East Aceh. Figure 1 shows the Acehnese districts of the old kingdom which once existed around those areas. Furthermore, some omission of sounds in the initial position observed in certain lects of Pidie and Great Aceh could have happened as the result of a situation where the newly arrived Chamic speakers tried to curb their 'odd' dialectal characteristics as the impact of this language mix. Furthermore, many words borrowed after the breakup of PC, which were missing in most Acehnese lects (Thurgood 1999: 346–364), were also found within these specific lects. All of this could be evidence of another wave of Chamic-speaking people migrating to Sumatra after this innovation had taken place on the mainland.

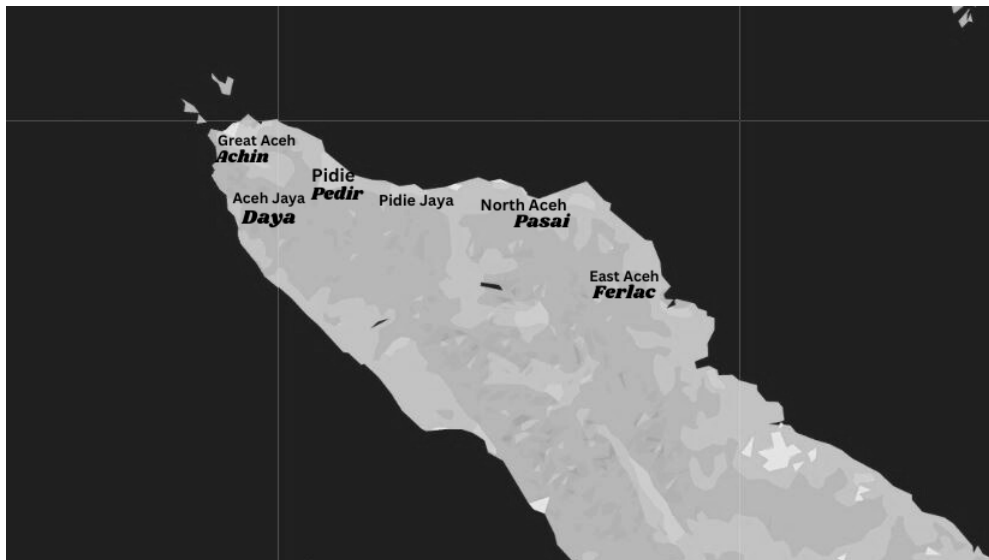


Figure 1. Modern Districts and Old Kingdoms in Aceh

3.1. The post-PC change of /*c-/ to /t-/

A mainland Chamic linguistic innovation proposed by Thurgood (1999: 79), namely, the shift of /*c-/ to /t-/ in word-initial position if the main (second) syllable shares the same initial, turns out to be present in some of the Acehnese subjects. Thurgood (1999: 27) shows that, since this pattern is found only in Jarai, Northern Roglai, Phan Rang Cham and Written Cham, this should reflect the effects of post-PC borrowing. He states:

“...the apparent failure of Acehnese to participate in this change, with the exception of the word ‘lizard’, suggests that Acehnese left before much of this occurred” (Thurgood 1999: 78).

Due to Thurgood’s limited data, he had only one relevant word (‘lizard’), and concluded that the Acehnese left before the pattern of borrowing could become extensive. Yet, in addition to ‘lizard’, my data from the Acehnese speakers around Seulimuem and Indrapuri of Great Aceh, as well as some villages in Pidie and Pidie Jaya, demonstrate at least three more words that follow this change. With these new data, I revise the table of the relevant changes presented in Thurgood 1999 (see Table 4).

Table 4. The change of PC /*c-/ to Acehnese /t-/ in the initial syllable

Gloss	Malay	Proto-Chamic (Thurgood 1999)	Ac. (Daud & Durie)	Ac. (Seulimuem & some Pidie)	Jarai (Thurgood 1999)	NR (Thurgood 1999)	PR Cham (Thurgood 1999)	Wr. Cham (Thurgood 1999)
grandchild	<i>cucu</i>	* <i>cucɔ</i>	<i>cucɔ</i>	<i>tucɔ</i>	<i>təco</i>	<i>tico</i>	<i>taco</i>	<i>tičauv</i>
chop	–	* <i>cacɔh</i>	<i>cicah</i>	<i>ticah</i>	<i>təcɔh</i>	<i>ticɔh</i>	<i>tacoh</i>	<i>tičauḥ</i>
greatgrandchild	<i>cicit</i>	* <i>cicēt</i>	<i>cot</i>	<i>cot</i>	<i>tacē?</i>	<i>ticē?</i>	<i>tacē?</i>	<i>tičai?</i>
home lizard	<i>cicak</i>	* <i>cicak</i>	<i>cica?</i>	<i>tica?</i>	<i>kāŋkā?</i>	<i>tacā?</i>	<i>kacā?</i>	–
bird	–	* <i>cim</i>	<i>cicem</i>	<i>ticem</i>	<i>cim</i>	<i>cip</i>	<i>cim</i>	<i>cim</i>
spoon	<i>camca</i>	–	<i>canca</i>	<i>tanca</i>	–	–	–	–
rinse	<i>cucur</i>	–	<i>cuco</i>	<i>tuco</i>	–	–	–	–
to taste	<i>cicip</i>	–	<i>cicap</i>	<i>ticap</i>	–	–	–	–

In Seulimeum, this change of /*c-/ to /t-/ occurs in the same environment as in the other Chamic languages; initial *c-* only shifts to *t-* when the second syllable of the word starts with the same initial. The Acehnese example of ‘spoon’, which was borrowed from Hindi *camcā* or Persian *čamča*, with a bilabial nasal sound in the middle, also follows this change, indicating that it was still in effect when this word was borrowed (probably between the 12th and 15th centuries AD), or after the Chola raid, which was followed by the occupation of the area by Tamil Nadu traders who later intermarried with the royal natives and founded smaller independent kingdoms along the northern coastal area. Meanwhile, most other Acehnese lects retain the older form with /c-/.

3.2. PC /*c-/ to Acehnese /j-/

In Thurgood 1999: 70, Durie explains that PC initial /*c-/ is voiced in Acehnese only when the main syllable also contains a voiceless stop. He demonstrates this with two examples: PC **cupat* ‘to squeeze’, which becomes *jupat* in Acehnese, and PC **champa* ‘Champa’, which becomes *juumpa* in Acehnese. Indeed, in some Acehnese lects, certain PC words with initial /*c-/ changed it to /j-/; however, in the majority of lects the older form with /*c-/ is still retained. This is particularly true for the gloss ‘to squeeze’, for which the variant *jupat* was preferred by speakers in the Great Aceh area, while *cupat* characterized other areas from Pidie to East Aceh. The gloss ‘Champa’ is indeed found only as *juumpa* in all attested Acehnese lects.

However, not all Acehnese words which satisfy the condition proposed by Durie have the initial consonant voiced to /j-/. Some items, such as *cukeh* ‘to poke’, *cutɔʔ* ‘to peck’, and *cutiāt* ‘to pinch’ have no variants with /j-/ in any lects. Hence, this *c- > j-* sound change is likely an unstable phenomenon that lasted over a relatively short time in the past and thus affected only a small region.

It is perhaps useful to analyse the two identity-related terms to find further clues, namely, the Champa and Cham. We know that the previous Chamic migration was hinted at by the name of its speakers as a mutation from the toponyms ‘Champa’ or ‘Cham’. In particular, the name of ‘Utsat’ or ‘Tsat’ in Hainan comes from the word ‘Cham’, while the ‘Kampong Cepa’ in Kelantan comes from the word ‘Champa’. Given that the name ‘Champa’ (as a kingdom) does not appear until the 9th century AD (Schweyer 2010), the existence of the word ‘Jeumpa’, which probably represents the Champa kingdom, could indicate another Chamic group of migrants in Sumatra after the 9th century. Judging by the incomplete spread of this *c- > j-* pattern, this second Chamic group in Aceh must have been small in numbers and was quickly absorbed by the more dominant Chamic language.

Furthermore, the name *Jeumpa* /*juumpa*/ has long been known as the name of Aceh’s iconic flower, the *Magnolia champaca*, as well as place names in Bireuen and Pidie areas, before historians proposed that the word could mean a place or kingdom located in today’s Vietnam. In Malaysia, *cempa* could mean two things as well: a flower species and a place⁶. This suggests that the word was once a shared term between Acehnese and Malaysian Malay for this sacred plant (compare it to the terms used in Indonesian Malay — *campaka* or *kamboja* ‘magnolia flower’). The *cempa* which became *juumpa* in Acehnese could also refer to a place — not the Champa kingdom in Vietnam, but merely any small town nearby where many Chamic immigrants used to reside. From this we may conclude that the Acehnese word *Jeumpa* is a term

⁶ The word is given as *cempaka*, ‘Magnolia flower’ in Kamus Bahasa Melayu, Malaysia. The other definition for *cempa* in the same Malaysian dictionary is a place or town, supported by examples from poems. However, it is not defined where the actual location of Cempa is situated.

related to Champa kingdom immigrants and their famous iconic flower. Considering its shared form and meaning with Malaysian Malay, I hypothesize that its presence was also dominant in the Malay peninsula until it was finally absorbed into Malay.

Meanwhile, the other term, *Cham*, seems to evolve into the modern word *Aceh*, the name of the region and its people who speak Acehnese. Unlike the word *Champa* which had its initial sound changed to *j-* due to its plosive initial in the main syllable, the word *Cham* in Acehnese retains its initial consonant, transformed into *Achim*, *Achin* and finally *Aceh*. The form *Achim*, still retaining the nasal consonant *-m*, is attested in the early 16th century Portuguese documents referring to the area of today's Banda Aceh. Although it appeared for the first time in the 16th century, this does not mean that the term did not exist before that or only existed in that time period. Was the Aceh toponym introduced by Chamic newcomers who migrated there as latecomers? Or could it have existed for centuries before or since the first Chamic dispersal to Sumatra? Without more historical and archaeological evidence, the issue remains problematic. However, in general, the ethnic name *Cham* is older than the kingdom name *Champa*; the name of *Aceh* or *Achin* or *Achim* could have been present in Sumatra as early as the first Chamic migration in the 8th century⁷.

On the other hand, the younger word *Champa*, or *Jeumpa* in Acehnese, appears much later. The two places named after this word could give additional clues: the Jeumpa sub-district in the Bireuen area was an area between the kingdoms of Pasai and Pedir, and the Jeumpa town in the Pidie area was only 6 km into the interior of Batee, the old port of Pedir. These two locations, up to the eastern part of Banda Aceh, are also areas where the *j-* variants are common, cf. such examples as *cupa?* > *jupa?* 'measurement tool', *cupat* > *jupat* 'to squeeze', *ciŋu?* > *jiŋu?* 'to peep, to keep an eye' and *ciŋklet* > *jiŋklet* 'to stand on one's toes', which all have corresponding forms in Malaysian Malay (*cupa?*, *jepit*, *jenguk* and *jengket*, respectively meaning 'measurement tool', 'to clasp', 'visit' and 'tiptoe'). A fuller study of Pedir as an old kingdom in Aceh, and what seems to be its close connection with the Malay peninsula, should be encouraged to find more clues about this second group of Chamic immigrants.

3.3. The voicing of PC */*k-/* to */g-/* in Acehnese

The voicing of the initial presyllabic velar */k-/* to */g-/* in Acehnese occurs when the initial consonant of the main (second) syllable is plosive (Durie in Thurgood 1999). This change seems to have started early because the voiced variant is universally found in almost all lects across Aceh, while the older unvoiced variant is not found in any lects. Therefore, I suggest that the shift **k- > g-* is one of the first independent innovations of the Acehnese as a Chamic language. Additionally, I also observe that this specific voicing phenomenon extends to *k-* in the initial consonant cluster *kl-*, e.g. in PC **kliŋa* 'ear' which became *gliŋuŋ* in Acehnese, and in Dutch *klas* 'class' which became Acehnese *glah* (see Table 5).

Some assumptions may be drawn from this sound change pattern and its distribution across Acehnese lects that follow the change. First, due to being widely attested in both the interior and coastal lects, the change must have started early, or before the move inland had started. This period must have been as early as the 8th to 11th centuries, during which the changes in such basic words like 'foot' and 'ear' took place, and continued until as late as the 15th–17th centuries, as seen from such PM words as **kancīŋ*, **kapur*; the Javanese word for 'pota-

⁷ The alternate names for Pasai found in Portuguese documents include *Pachem* and *Pasem*, which might also be connected to the name *Cham* (see Pires & Rodrigues 1944).

Table 5. The voicing of PC initial velar plosive /*k/ to /g/

Gloss	PAN/PMP/PWMP (ACD Website + ABVD Website)	Proto-Chamic (Thurgood 1999)	Proto-Malayic (Adelaar 1992; ACD Website + ABVD Website)	Acehnese
‘foot/leg’	* <i>qaqay</i>	* <i>kakay</i>	* <i>kaki</i>	<i>gaki</i>
‘head louse’		* <i>kutɔw</i>	* <i>kutu</i>	<i>gute</i>
‘nail’		* <i>kukɔw</i>	* <i>kuku</i>	<i>guke</i>
‘shirt button’			* <i>kanc̄iŋ</i>	<i>gancenj</i>
‘chalk/limestone’			* <i>kapur</i>	<i>gapu</i>
‘cotton’	* <i>kapuk</i>	* <i>kapa:s</i>	* <i>kapo?</i>	<i>gapuh</i>
‘fart’	* <i>qutut</i>	* <i>kəntut</i>	* <i>kəntut</i>	<i>guntot</i>
‘tree sp.’			* <i>ketapanj</i>	<i>gutapanj</i>
‘we (incl.)’			* <i>kita</i>	<i>gata +nyoe</i>
‘massage’			* <i>kusuk</i>	<i>gusu?</i>
‘mountain name’			* <i>kratau</i>	<i>gurute</i>
‘ear’		* <i>kliŋa</i>	* <i>teliŋa</i>	<i>glinunj</i>

toes’, *kənthanj*, which entered Southeast Asia in the 16th century; and the Portuguese word *classe* (or Dutch *klas*) which was borrowed around the 16th–17th centuries. I also suggest that the name of a mountain which separates the Great Aceh and Aceh Jaya areas, Geureutè /*gurrute*/, was also the product of this change from the Gayoness word *krato* and its Malayic equivalent *kratau*, denoting a species of mulberry plant whose leaves are used to feed the silkworm that grows abundantly in the high mountainous area⁸ (see Table 5). The spread of this change to both basic terms and words with specifically narrow semantics suggests that Acehnese speakers rely on this special phonological characteristic of the Acehnese language to make it distinct from Malay, their other dominant language.

3.4. The loss or glottalization of the Acehnese plosive /g-/ , /b-/ and affricate /j-/ initials

Within Pidie and Great Aceh, there are some Acehnese lects which drop the initial consonant in items with PC **k-*, or Acehnese *g-* as discussed in section 3. In these lects, the loss does not only extend to the Acehnese initial voiced velar /g-/, but also to two other initial consonants: the voiced plosive bilabial /b-/ and voiced affricative palatal /j-/ (see Table 7). The loss mainly occurs in words with reduplication, such as PC **kakay* and PAN **baqbaq*; however, it also takes place, quite exceptionally, in the word *jarɔə* ‘finger, hand’. I suppose that it may have been due to its close semantic relationship with ‘foot’, with the word altered to contain the same initial sound for purposes of harmony (semantic attraction).

Given that another group of Chamic immigrants arrived in the north coastal area of Aceh (today’s Pidie), the loss of initial voiced sounds in some words could result from the interaction between two Chamic dialects. The Chamic speakers which arrived later may have adjusted the respective forms in their language to blend with the Chamic speakers already present in the area.

⁸ Silkworm farming flourished in North Sumatra and silk was recorded to be one of the trade commodities of the place in the 15th–16th centuries (see Pires & Rodrigues 1944).

Table 6. The loss of initial plosives /k/, /g/ and /b/

Gloss	PAN/PMP/PWMP (ACD Website + ABVD Website)	Proto-Chamic (Thurgood 1999)	Proto-Malayic (Adelaar 1992; ACD Website + ABVD Website)	Acehnese (Daud & Durie, 1999)	Acehnese (Field data from Pidie & Great Aceh)
'foot/leg'	* <i>qaqay</i>	* <i>kakay</i>	* <i>kaki</i>	<i>gaki</i>	<i>aki</i>
'nail'		* <i>kukɔw</i>	* <i>kuku</i>	<i>gukεə</i>	<i>ukεə</i>
'tooth'		* <i>gigεy</i>	* <i>gigi/gigoy</i>	<i>gigɔə</i>	<i>igɔə</i>
'mouth'	* <i>baqbaq</i> 'opening, gate'	* <i>mabah</i> 'mouth'	–	<i>babah</i>	<i>abah</i>
'lips'	* <i>biRbiR</i>	–	<i>bibir</i>	<i>bibi</i>	<i>ibi</i>
'hand, finger'			<i>jari</i>	<i>jarɔə</i>	<i>arɔə</i>

4. The post-PC-breakup borrowings

Given Thurgood's implicit assumption that the Acehnese left around the 9th-10th centuries, the PC words listed in Thurgood 1999 as borrowings after the split should be found in small to moderate numbers in Acehnese. Indeed, Thurgood only lists 36 Acehnese words out of 201 as borrowings that took place after the break-up of PC. The list of Acehnese borrowings includes 9 (out of total 20) words of Indian origin, 2 (out of total 3) of Arabic origin, and 25 (out of total 179) of unknown MK origin.

Thurgood's list was rechecked in the present study with the help of Acehnese-speaking informants from Tantuha, Seulimeum & Indrapuri (Great Aceh district), Simpang Tiga (Pidie district), and Meureudu (Pidie Jaya district). The result shows that Acehnese contains more post-PC lexical borrowings than reported by Thurgood. Compared to Thurgood's 36 Acehnese words (out of 201), the present study found 25 more (see Table 7), bringing the total up to 61/201. This means that Acehnese has a total of 30.3%, not 12.4% as previously thought, of post-PC-breakup lexical borrowings in its vocabulary.

Furthermore, the presence of more than one variant for some of these words in Acehnese suggests that they had existed long enough on the island to form a dialect chain. For instance, in the first pattern, where the PC main syllable ending in *-η/n corresponds to Ac -η/∅ with a back high vowel -u- in the main syllable, the three Acehnese variants stemming from the same PC word hint at a subgrouping of Acehnese in the past. There are three sets of words with this pattern found in the list: PC **bamɔ:η* 'banana stalk', PC **jhuəη* 'long-legged', and PC **kun* 'bundle'. The distribution of the first and second variants for these words in Acehnese dialects is complicated. The first variant for the first item (*mu*) is distributed widely across almost all the lects of Aceh. The second one (*munη*) has so far been found in two minority lects — one in the Tantuha village of Great Aceh, recorded from a 70-year old informant, and the other one in the Aceh Jaya sublect of the Lamno area.

Meanwhile, the variants of PC **jhuəη* are observed as distributed from Pidie to the east coast of Langsa, forming a dialect chain as *jhuəη* and *ηhuəη* within the Pidie and Pidie Jaya area, and *ηhuə* in North Aceh and East Aceh area. Surprisingly, the variants *ηhuə* and *ηhuəη* are also found in Tantuha of Great Aceh, indicating a significant merge between the North Aceh and Great Aceh communities sometime in the past. This could result from contact between the Pasai and the Aceh Sultanate in 1524 AD, when the latter conquered the first and made it into a military base to attack Aru and Johor in the Malay Peninsula. Therefore, considering this Pasai-Aceh union in 1524 AD, the arrival of post-PC-breakup *bamɔ:η*, *jhuəη*, and *kun* lexical items into the island must predate the event. I hypothesize that they first started to

Table 7. Additional post-PC borrowings into Acehnese (after Thurgood 1999).

Gloss	PC (Thurgood 1999)	Acehnese (Field data from Pidie & Great Aceh; Daud & Duri 1999)
'man; person'	* <i>manus</i>	<i>manuih</i>
'left (side)'	* <i>iāw</i>	<i>wiə</i>
'morning; dawn'	* <i>ʔəm-aquāh</i>	<i>bəŋa(ɔ)h</i>
'banana blossom, stalk'	* <i>bamɔ:ŋ</i>	<i>mu:ŋ; mu</i>
'scoop up; ladle out'	* <i>chɔʔ</i>	<i>cɔʔ</i>
'mark; draw line'	* <i>creh</i>	<i>creh</i>
'hide'	* <i>dəp</i>	<i>padnʔ</i>
'small'	* <i>dət</i>	<i>dit</i>
'lie prone'	* <i>gruāʔ</i>	<i>cruəp, frup</i>
'long-legged'	* <i>jhuəŋ</i>	<i>jhuəŋ; jhuəŋ, juə</i>
'scratch; claw'	* <i>kuac</i>	<i>kuət</i>
'fold, bundle'	* <i>kun</i>	<i>kuə</i>
'firm; solid'	* <i>kəjap</i>	<i>jap</i>
'clay'	* <i>lən + *kliat</i>	<i>tənɔh kliət</i>
'to swallow'	* <i>luən</i>	<i>taluəm</i>
'rich'	* <i>madar</i>	<i>mada</i>
'to squirt, to spit out, to blow'	* <i>prush/h</i>	<i>pruh</i>
'a comb; hand of bananas'	* <i>sisi(r)</i>	<i>isi</i>
'pull out'	* <i>suac</i>	<i>suət</i>
'shake, tremble'	* <i>tatuh</i>	<i>tət.tət</i>
'barrel'	* <i>thuŋ</i>	<i>thoŋ</i>
'mynah bird'	* <i>tioŋ</i>	<i>tioŋ</i>
'horn; antler'	* <i>tuki</i>	<i>luŋke</i>
'turn aside, turn'	* <i>wəh</i>	<i>wəh, wət, wēt</i>
'descend'	* <i>yu:ʔ</i>	<i>yuʔ</i>

appear between the 12th and 13th centuries. One other option could be the year 1470, right after the fall of Vijaya on the mainland, as suggested by Thurgood (1999, 2007b); however, earlier dates corresponding to other historical events seem more logical.

The third Acehnese item, *kuə* 'bundle', the presence of which was reported only for the Pidie and Pidie Jaya speakers (without any traces of the older variant *kun*), increase the probability that the Pidie area is the true origin of post-PC borrowings in Acehnese, being the precise location where the second wave of Chamic immigrants had first landed. Additionally, the predominant usage of the Acehnese post-PC words such as *dit* 'small, little', *cruəp, frup* 'lie prone', *tət.tət* 'tremble, shake' and *yuʔ* 'descend; reduce' by the Acehnese speakers in Pidie and Pidie Jaya area once again strongly confirms them as the initial destinations for this second wave. This is strong evidence in favor of the second wave of Chamic migration to Aceh as suggested by Thurgood (1999); however, precise dating of this event needs further investigation.

In *Suma Oriental*, a Portuguese traveller, Tomé Pires, who visited the area around 1515 AD, wrote interesting remarks about Pedir, the kingdom between Pasai and Achin (the Aceh Kingdom centralised in the most northern tip of Sumatra). He states that:

Pedir in the island of Sumatra, before 1510, used to be important and rich. It once held the mouth of the channel, had all the trade and was visited by traders more than Pasai. The king of Pedir was always at war with the king of Achin. The king of Pirada (which borders Pasai) was related to Pedir. One of the Pedir King's captains now reigns the kingdom and throws out one of the princes who then runs away to Pasai (Pires & Rodrigues 1944: 139).

This information indicates that in the 16th century, Pedir was an important port that was at war with Aceh which it bordered on the west, but had a more harmonious relationship with kingdoms bordering it from the east (Pirada, Pasai). Therefore, I assume that Pedir and Pasai should have been in a state of intense language contact during this time, which explains why the dialect chain for the lexical item *jhuəŋ ~ juəŋ ~ juə* extends from Pidie to Pidie Jaya to North Aceh respectively. Later (from 1524 and onward), the Pasai-Pedir-Achin union resulted in a dialectal mix which blurred out the linguistic evidence of this second Chamic arrival to Sumatra.

In the meantime, phonological studies on the sublects of Great Aceh, Aceh Jaya and West Aceh⁹, with the strong resemblance of their final diphthongs to the PC state, should be further encouraged, as the Acehnese lects spoken in these areas could be the oldest Chamic dialects in Sumatra.

Conclusion

The proposed historical explanation for the evidence discussed above is as follows. Around the mid-8th century, a group of Chamic speakers, skilled in warfare and navigation but without any traces of literacy, sailed from Vietnam to northern Sumatra. There they became subjects to one of the Srivijaya kingdoms centralised in the Palembang area and became known as the Modern Acehnese. The Acehnese left the Chamic community when the southern mainland kingdoms came under attack from the Shailendra dynasty of Southeast Asian islands. The ancestral Acehnese lect during that time was probably spoken in the south of Vietnam, away from Chinese influence and close to the Funan (probably bilingual in Old Javanese and Malay) of today Cambodia. The study suggests that Acehnese, Chamic and Old Javanese relationships should be studied to investigate whether the contact took place on the mainland. The combination of evidence from Chinese and Arabic records, the oldest Hindu-Buddhist archaeological remnants found in Aceh, and the toponymy of Lamuri and other place names around the Great Aceh and Pidie districts support the 8th century hypothesis. Additionally, in line with Thurgood's proposal, this study also suggests a second Chamic dispersal to Sumatra. Evidence for this comes in the form of word variants with characteristics that are similar to post-PC breakup innovations in various sublects within the districts of Great Aceh and Pidie. Statistically, when data from several understudied dialects of Acehnese were included, a much higher number of post-PC-breakup borrowings were found in Acehnese than previously thought. This linguistic insight opens a discussion on the dating of the second Chamic migration into Sumatra, which probably started from the Pidie area. A more refined chronology of contacts between old kingdoms and ports in the area should be produced to support the critical analysis of linguistic variation in Acehnese and ultimately uncover the dynamic of human migration and contacts in the ancient islands and mainland of Southeast Asia.

⁹ The reconstruction of the Proto-Acehnese dialect by Durie (1990) was carried out on the basis of only a small fraction of the Acehnese lects, namely, those that spread from the northern coast to the tip of the land, or the Banda Aceh area. The reconstruction thus missed the linguistic variations that exist in the interior lects of the western coast. Recently, some of these understudied lects spoken in the Great Aceh, Aceh Jaya, Nagan Raya and West Aceh districts were investigated anew (Yusuf et al. 2022; Yusuf, Fata, & Karwinda 2021; Masykar et al. 2021; Masykar, Nurrahmi, & Al Mulhim 2021), providing data on Acehnese vowels with a stronger resemblance to PC.

Bibliography

- Adelaar, K. Alexander. 1992. *Proto Malayic: The Reconstruction of Its Phonology and Parts of Its Lexicon and Morphology*. (Pacific Linguistics: Series C, 119). Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.
- Bellina, Bérénice, Roger Blench, Jean-Christophe Galipaud (eds.). 2021. *Sea Nomads of Southeast Asia: From the Past to the Present*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Blust, Robert. 1981. The reconstruction of Proto-Malayo-Javanic: An appreciation. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 137: 456–469.
- Blust, Robert. 1994. The Austronesian Settlement of Mainland Southeast Asia. In: Karen Adams, Thomas Hudak (eds.). *Papers from the Second Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society 1992*: 25–83. Tempe Arizona: Arizona State University.
- Blust, Robert. 2000. From Ancient Cham to Modern Dialects: Two Thousand Years of Language Contact and Change (Review). *Oceanic Linguistics* 39(2): 435. doi: 10.2307/3623433
- Blust, Robert, Stephen Trussel, Alexander D. Smith. 2023. *CLDF Dataset Derived from Blust's 'Austronesian Comparative Dictionary.'* Available online at: github.com/lexibank/acd. doi: 10.5281/zenodo.7741197
- Brunelle, Marc. 2019. Revisiting the Expansion of the Chamic Language Family: Acehnese and Tsat. In: Andrew Hardy, Geoff Wade (eds.). *Champa: Territories and Networks of a Southeast Asian Kingdom*: 287–302. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Coedes, George. 1975. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Cowan, H. K. J. 1933. Lamuri — Lambri — Lawri — Ram(n)i — Lan-Li — Lan-Wu-Li — Nan-Po-Li. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 90(1): 422–424. doi: 10.1163/22134379-90001421
- Daly, Patrick, Edmund Edwards McKinnon, R. Michael Feener, Tai Yew Seng, Ardiansyah, Andrew Parnell, Nizamuddin, Nazli Ismail, Kerry Sieh, Jędrzej Majewski. 2019. The Historic Trading Port of Lamri on the North Sumatran Coast. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 105: 115–144.
- Daud, Bukhari, Mark Durie. 1999. *Kamus Basa Acèh= Kamus Bahasa Aceh = Acehnese-Indonesian-English Thesaurus*. (Pacific Linguistics, Series C, 151). Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.
- Durie, Mark. 1990. Proto-Chamic and Acehnese Mid Vowels: Towards Proto-Aceh-Chamic. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53(1): 100–114.
- Fall, Bernard B. 1971. The History and Culture of Vietnam. *Naval War College Review* 23(6): 48–54.
- Grant, Anthony P. 2005. The Effects of Intimate Multidirectional Linguistic Contact in Chamic. In: Anthony Grant, Paul Sidwell (eds.). *Chamic and beyond: Studies in Mainland Austronesian Languages*: 37–104. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.
- Greenhill, Simon, Robert Blust, Russell D. Gray. 2008. The Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database: From Bioinformatics to Lexomics. *Evolutionary Bioinformatics* 4: 271–283.
- Headley, Robert K., Rath Chim, Ok Soeum. 1997. *Modern Cambodian-English dictionary*. Kensington: Dunwoody Press.
- Kelley, Liam. 2023. *Revisiting the Chinese Sources on Early Southeast Asian History*. (Universiti Brunei Darussalam Working Paper No. 73). Gadong: Institute of Asian Studies, Universiti Brunei Darussalam.
- Larish, Michael David. 1999. *The Position of Moken and Moklen Within the Austronesian Language Family (Thailand)*. Doctoral dissertation. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i.
- Lee, Ernest W. 1998. The Contribution of Cat Gia Roglai to Chamic. In: David Thomas (ed.). *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics No. 15: Chamic Studies*: 31–54. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.
- Majumdar, R. C. 1927. *Champa. History and Culture of an Indian Colonial Kingdom in the Far East 2nd–16th century A.D.* New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Masykar, Tanzir, Roni Agusmaniza, Tabsyir Masykar, Huang Shan, Febri Nurrahmi. 2021. Variation of Acehnese Monophthong /ʌ/ in Western Acehnese Dialect. *Journal of English Language Teaching and Linguistics* 6(3): 695. doi: 10.21462/jeltl.v6i3.655.
- Masykar, Tanzir, Febri Nurrahmi, Abdullah Al Mulhim. 2021. Diphthongized Monophthongs of Acehnese Oral Vowels in Samatiga Dialect. *Journal of Language and Literature* 21 (2): 418–428. doi: 10.24071/joll.v21i2.3379
- McKinnon, E. Edwards. 1988. Beyond Serandib: A Note on Lambri at the Northern Tip of Aceh. *Indonesia* 46: 103–121.

- Pires, Tomé, Francisco Rodrigues. 1944. *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*. Ed. by Armando Cortesao. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Schweyer, Anne-Valérie. 2010. *The Birth of Champa. Crossing borders in southeast asian archaeology, Sep 2010, Berlin, Germany*. Ms., available online at: shs.hal.science/halshs-00828812.
- Sidwell, Paul. 2005. Acehnese and the Aceh-Chamic Language Family. In: Anthony Grant, Paul Sidwell (eds.). *Chamic and beyond: Studies in Mainland Austronesian Languages*: 211–245. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.
- Sidwell, Paul. 2006. Dating the separation of Acehnese and Chamic by etymological analysis of the Aceh-Chamic lexicon. *The Mon-Khmer Studies Journal* 39: 105–122.
- Suzuki, Takashi. 2019. *The History of Srivijaya, Angkor and Champa*. Tokyo: Mekong Publishing.
- Thurgood, Graham. 1999. *From Ancient Cham to Modern Dialects: Two Thousands Years of Language Contact and Change*. (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications. Vol. 28.) University of Hawai'i Press.
- Thurgood, Graham. 2007a. *The Acehnese: Genetic Affiliations, Diversity and Absorption*. Paper presented at The First International Conference on Aceh and Indian Ocean Studies. Banda Aceh: Universitas Syiah Kuala.
- Thurgood, Graham. 2007b. The Historical Place of Acehnese: The Known and the Unknown (A Working Paper). In: *First International Conference of Aceh and Indian Ocean Studies*. Banda Aceh. Ms., online at: www.sabrizain.org/malaya/library/acehnese.pdf.
- Yusuf, Yunisrina Qismullah, Ika Apriani Fata, Sinta Karwinda. 2021. Oral Monophthong Vowel Qualities of the Jamee Language in Aceh. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 10(3): 794–803. doi: 10.17509/ijal.v10i3.31767
- Yusuf, Yunisrina Qismullah, Zufadli A. Aziz, Faisal Mustafa, Husnul Khatimah. 2022. The unique accent features of the stigmatized Greater Aceh subdialect in Sibreh, Aceh, Indonesia. *International Journal of Language Studies* 16(2): 143–164.

Септия Ирнанда. К вопросу о датировке миграции ачех на Суматру

Дискуссия относительно датировки истории ачех-чамской подгруппы не возобновлялась уже почти двадцать лет. Однако новые данные, собранные по диалектам ачех и материковым чамским языкам, а также исторические исследования королевства Чампа дают возможность сформулировать новые гипотезы о времени миграции предков ачех на Суматру. Этимологический анализ материала показывает, что, несмотря на то, что ачех были первой ветвью, отделившейся от чамской группы, они разделяют больше общих инноваций с материковыми чамскими языками, чем считалось ранее. Это говорит о том, что отделение ачех могло произойти примерно в одно и то же время с отделением горно-чамских языков (X век н.э.). Учитывая набеги яванцев в VIII веке н. э. на южное побережье Юго-Восточной Азии, зафиксированные в чамской надписи, исчезновение названия Линьи из китайских летописей примерно в то же время, появление царства Ламури с его австроазиатской топонимикой и исторические находки, относящиеся к государству Шривиджая, логично предположить, что миграция ачех из Индокитая на Суматру скорее всего имела место в середине VIII века н. э. Географическое расположение этих первых чамских мигрантов на Суматре свидетельствует скорее в пользу преднамеренного расчета, чем экстренного бегства. Помимо этого, на материковых территориях обнаруживается намного больше инноваций и заимствований, относящихся к периоду после распада чамского единства, чем считалось ранее. Это согласуется с гипотезой о том, что основное расселение чамского этноса в Ачех-Суматре, как было ранее предположено Г. Тергудом, относится к XV в. Тем не менее, диалектные варианты этих слов, появившихся после распада чамской общности, заново ставят вопрос о возможности более ранней даты релокации на Суматру этой второй волны мигрантов, говоривших на чамском языке.

Ключевые слова: язык ачех; чамские языки; языки Юго-Восточной Азии; языковые изменения.