

THE MALAY CONTACT VARIETIES OF EASTERN INDONESIA:
A TYPOLOGICAL COMPARISON

by

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List of Abbreviations

ADD	Address
ADJ	Adjective
AM	Ambon Malay
ANIM	Animate
APPL	Applicative
ASP	Aspect
AUX	Auxiliary
AV	Active Voice
BA-/BƏ-/BƏR-	A verbal prefix in Malay varieties
BEN	Benefactive
BM	Banda Malay
CAUS	Causative
CJI	Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian
CL	Classifier
COM	Comitative
COMP	Completive
CONJ	Conjunction
CONT	Continuous
CONTRAST	Contrastive
DEM	Demonstrative
DIM	Diminutive
DP	Discourse Particle
EITM	Eastern Indonesian Trade Malay
EXCL	Exclusive
EXPER	Experiential
F	Feminine
FML	Formal
FUT	Future
HABIT	Habitual
-IN	A verbal suffix in CJI
INANIM	Inanimate
INCH	Inchoative
INCL	Inclusive
INF	Informal
INSTR	Instrumental
INT	Interjection
INTENS	Intensifier
IRREAL	Irrealis
ITER	Iterative
KM	Kupang Malay
LM	Larantuka Malay
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
MƏN-	A verbal prefix in Malay

MM	Manado Malay
MOD	Modal
N	Nasal, Noun, Neuter
NEG	Negator
NMM	North Moluccan Malay
NON-VOLIT	Non-Volitional
NP	Noun Phrase
NUM	Numeral
-NYA	A suffix in Malay varieties
PA(NG)-	A nominal prefix in Malay
PASS	Passive
PL	Plural
PM	Papua Malay
POSS	Possessive
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PREP	Preposition
PROG	Progressive
PERF	Perfective
PROHIB	Prohibitive
Q	Question Particle
QUANT	Quantifier
REAL	Realis
RECIP	Reciprocal
REDUP	Reduplication
REL	Relative Clause
SG	Singular
TA-/TƏ-/TƏR-	A verbal prefix in Malay varieties
UNIPA	Papua State University
V	Vowel, Verb
VM	Vehicular Malay
VP	Verb Phrase

Abstract

This dissertation is about the varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia which have arisen through language contact as a result of trade and colonial policies over the past 500-1000 years. Seven varieties have been identified which have become the native languages of their communities. These seven varieties are Manado Malay (North Sulawesi), North Moluccan Malay (North Moluccas), Ambon Malay and Banda Malay (Central Moluccas), Kupang Malay (Timor), Larantuka Malay (Flores) and Papua Malay (Indonesian New Guinea).

The seven varieties are described and compared, using a typological framework, looking at their phonology, general structure and clause structure, nouns and noun phrases, verbs and verb phrases and other grammatical features. The similarities and differences between the varieties in terms of each feature are discussed, and innovations are noted. In addition, a grammatical sketch of each variety, based upon the typological analysis presented in the dissertation, is included in Appendix 1.

The description and comparison of the seven varieties is based upon data collected during field work in seven locations in eastern Indonesia in 2003 and 2007. These data are included in Appendix 2. These data are supplemented by data found in published and unpublished descriptions of these varieties, where available.

Based upon the descriptions and comparisons of the varieties, conclusions are drawn regarding the historical origins and developments of the seven varieties. The Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia are thought to have developed from Vehicular Malay, an undocumented historical trade language which brought the Malay language to eastern

Indonesia from the Malay homeland in western Indonesia. Features shared by the eastern Indonesian contact varieties and western Indonesian varieties of Malay can be attributed to the historical Vehicular Malay language, and these features are described in the conclusion of this dissertation. In addition, features which are shared between the Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia but which are not found in western Indonesia are evidence that at one time, there was a single variety spoken in eastern Indonesia from which the seven Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia are descended. The features which can be ascribed to this variety are presented, and this previously undefined and unknown variety is given the name Eastern Indonesia Trade Malay (EITM). It is shown that the seven Malay contact varieties described in this dissertation are descended from EITM, and a likely pattern of the spread of these varieties is presented. Furthermore, it is noted that one variety, Lantaka Malay, spoken on the eastern tip of the island of Flores, in addition to many features derived from EITM, also has a significant component derived from peninsular Malay, which can be attributed to known historical factors.

In addition to features attributable to Vehicular Malay and EITM, there are some features which are unique to a single variety or which are shared by a few varieties which can be attributed to substrate influence.

This dissertation provides important information regarding the historical development of the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, as well as providing a typological description of these varieties. Furthermore, in view of the fact that these varieties are threatened by the expansion of the national language, Indonesian, which is being used in an increasing number of domains, the descriptions of these languages is an important step in documenting endangered language varieties.

1.0 Introduction

This study concerns the varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia which have arisen through language contact as a result of trade and colonial policies. Seven varieties have been identified and described with the goal of learning more about the language variety or varieties which initially gave rise to these contact varieties. These varieties are the ones which have become native languages of their respective communities. This study is an attempt to gain a greater understanding both of the nature of these contact varieties and the historical forces at play in their development.

Chapter 2 examines the history of the Malay language and the varieties of Malay which are spoken today in the Malay homeland, in other parts of the Indonesian archipelago, and in other locations outside of the Malay world.

Chapter 3 concerns the methodology and rationale involved in the collection of language data for this study, and details the seven locations in which data were collected, the informants who provided data and the types of language data which were collected.

Chapter 4 consists of a typological comparison of the seven identified contact varieties of Malay spoken in eastern Indonesia: Manado Malay, North Moluccan Malay, Ambon Malay, Banda Malay, Kupang Malay, Larantuka Malay and Papua Malay. The location and sociolinguistic setting of each language variety is given, as well as a review of the history of the language variety. The phonology of each language variety is presented, followed by a description of the morphosyntax of the varieties, feature by feature, with examples drawn from the data collected for the study, as well as other works in some instances, emphasizing points of similarity as well as variation between the different language varieties. The descriptions of each variety are based upon the data collected for

the study, as well as the published or unpublished work of other linguists who have worked on these varieties, where available.

Chapter 5 draws conclusions based upon the data presented in Chapter 4, and provides hypotheses concerning the nature of the language varieties which were involved in the development of the seven contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia.

Appendix 1 presents grammatical sketches of each language variety, based upon the typological features analyzed in Chapter 4. Appendix 2 presents the data collected for the study on the seven language varieties, including interlinear glosses for all data.

2.0 Background

The Malay language is an important language in Southeast Asia, with approximately 40 million native speakers and over 200 million second-language speakers and it is a national language in Indonesia (where it is known as *Bahasa Indonesia*), Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore. Despite its important status in the region, the range of varieties of the language is little understood. Few attempts have been made to even describe the complex social, political and linguistic factors involved in the language situation.

A classification of Malay varieties into three categories: “mother-tongue” Malay, “lingua franca” Malay, and “official” Malay was offered by Prentice (1978: 19-20). Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 673) provide an improvement on this classification: “Roughly, three distinct Malay categories of sociolects can be distinguished for this period [the 16th-20th centuries], (1) literary Malay (also Classical Malay), (2) lingua franca Malay, and (3) ‘inherited’ Malay.”

This classification is incomplete. Certain aspects of the language situation which are important in defining and explaining Malay dialectology have been overlooked in most analyses. Primary among these is the diglossic nature of the Malay language, a situation found from the very beginning of the historical record and continuing to the present day.

To gain an understanding of the current relations between varieties of Malay, it is important to first look at the historical development of the Malay language.

2.1 Historical Background

2.1.1 Malayic

Malay is classified as a language belonging to the Malayic sub-branch of the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch within the Austronesian family. The Malayic languages are closely related, and it is theorized that they dispersed within the past 2000-2500 years from a homeland in southwestern Borneo.¹ The exact classification of the Western Malayo-Polynesian languages is problematic, in that the languages evolved through a series of migrations between islands over a period of several millennia, and it is difficult to draw lines between various migrations which occurred in a more or less continuous stream, but in several different directions.²

The question of how to classify the Malayic languages has been debated by specialists. As Blust puts it: “without a definition of “Malay” we cannot know whether the classification of Malay-like speech communities is a dialectology of Malay or a sub-grouping of Malayic languages” (Blust 1988:6).

Blust provides the data presented in Table 2.1, which compares cognate percentages between eight Malayic varieties from Sumatra, Java, and Borneo, including two varieties traditionally classified as “Malay” varieties (Medan Malay and Betawi Malay) and one variety of Malay from eastern Indonesia (Ambon Malay).

¹ It was long assumed that the Malayic homeland was in Sumatra, and that speakers of Malayic varieties in Borneo were a more recent development. Adelaar (1985) first stated the case for a Borneo homeland, and further research revealing the linguistic diversity of Malayic languages in Borneo has confirmed this.

² Because of the nature of island migration, dialect continua are rare. Instead a pattern is found wherein related languages are found on different islands, where they co-exist with languages representing earlier migrations from the same homeland (or from an intermediate homeland). Untangling these relationships is a challenge.

Table 2.1: Basic Vocabulary Cognate Percentages (Blust 1988:3)

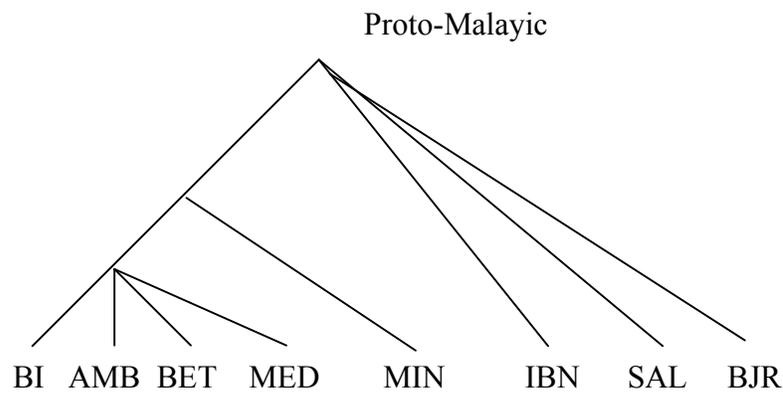
	MED	MIN	IBN	SAL	BJR	BET	AMB
BI	85.5	70.5	64.8	60.5	64.5	85.0	85.9
AMB	79.4	67.8	62.1	59.1	62.3	82.4	
BET	79.0	65.5	59.8	57.6	61.0		
BJR	61.0	53.0	49.2	47.7			
SAL	58.1	54.7	54.4				
IBN	61.3	52.3					
MIN	72.5						

BI=Standard Indonesian; MED=Medan Malay; MIN=Minangkabau; IBN=Iban; SAL=Salako; BJR=Banjar Malay; BET=Betawi (Jakarta); AMB=Ambon Malay

Blust posits that, if a family tree were derived from this table, it would look like

Figure 2.1 below.

Figure 2.1: A Family Tree for Eight Malay Speech Communities (from Blust 1988)



If we accept this division, then the dialects of Malay would consist of the four varieties grouped on the left (Medan Malay, Standard Indonesian, Betawi Malay, and Ambon Malay), to the exclusion of the other four varieties, despite the fact that speakers of Banjar identify themselves as Malays. This seems to be a straightforward and workable division, and indeed, it is the division which will be employed herein. However, it should be noted that there is one potential problem with this division. Blust describes this problem as follows: “The lexical relationship of Standard Malay to the non-standard peninsular dialects remains to be studied, but it appears that dialects such as Kedah and Trengganu

will not be much closer to Standard Malay-Indonesian than are Minangkabau and Kerinci.”
(Blust 1988:6-7)

This situation may lead to the inclusion of Minangkabau (and the closely related Kerinci language) as varieties of Malay, which is not unreasonable, given the degree of cognate terms (as shown in Table 2.1 above). Mutual intelligibility with other varieties of Malay is affected by the divergent phonology of Minangkabau and especially Kerinci, although it should be noted that similar divergent phonology occurs in the varieties of peninsular Malaysia (indeed, many of the same phonological innovations are found in both locations, and it may turn out that the varieties of peninsular Malaysia have an especially close relationship with Minangkabau and Kerinci). Unfortunately, there has been little work done on peninsular Malay varieties, and some of the work is quite dated (Hamilton 1922, Brown 1956). Collins (1980, 1983c) has described one dialect of peninsular Malay, and his observations do tend to confirm the assumed status of peninsular varieties.

For the purposes of the classification described in Section 2.2, the peninsular varieties will be considered as “Malay” varieties, due to political and cultural reasons (in the absence of linguistic data), while Minangkabau and Kerinci will be considered to be separate non-Malay Malayic varieties, though it is noted that these varieties show a close relationship to Malay. Map 2.1 shows the location of Malayic varieties today.

2.1.2 Malay

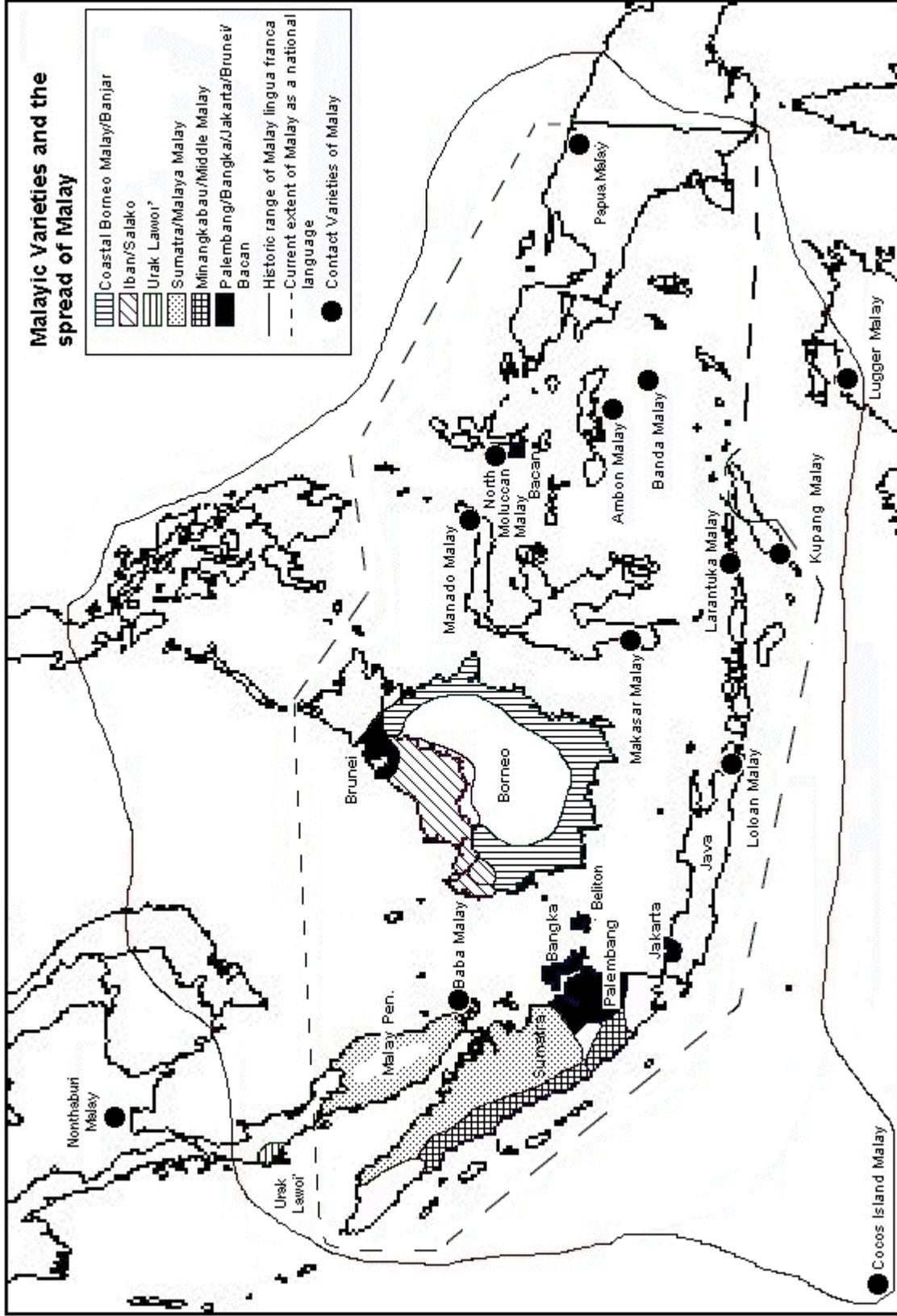
The Malay language has been an important lingua franca for centuries, if not millennia. The first written inscription in a variety of Malay dates from the 7th century, and several inscriptions in what is called Old Malay have been found in various locations in

Sumatra, Java, and the Malay peninsula from the next five centuries³ with one inscription dating from the year 900 found in Laguna, in the Philippines near Manila (Postma 1992). These inscriptions, from a wide geographical range, including areas which are not known to have ever been Malay-speaking regions, indicate that Malay has likely been a regional lingua franca at least since the time of the Sri Wijaya empire (7th-9th c. CE), and there is a possibility that it played this role even before that period. The positioning of Malay speakers on both sides of the Straits of Malacca (an important trade route) may have had an impact on the development of Malay as a trade language and lingua franca (Blust 1988:10).

Map 2.1 shows the historical extent of Malay as a lingua franca, including areas in which it is no longer used, such as the Philippines (Adelaar 1994), Papua New Guinea (Seiler 1983) and mainland Southeast Asia (as evidenced by loanwords from Malay such as Khmer *kompong*, from Malay *kampung* ‘village’). Also shown is the current range of Malay, with only a slight reduction from its historical extent.

The first Europeans to arrive in Eastern Indonesia found that Malay was widely used in the area (B.D. Grimes 1991), and the Malay word list collected in Tidore (North Moluccas) by Pigafetta in 1521 is evidence of the spread of Malay at that time (Bausani 1960). The Malay language, along with the religion of Islam, had arrived in the Moluccas at the latest by the latter half of the 15th century, as trade expanded rapidly due to an increased European demand for spices found only in the Moluccas (B.D. Grimes 1991). From this initial contact, a local variety of Malay developed in Ambon as a language of wider communication, and eventually communities speaking this variety as a native language appeared.

³ A detailed look at the early written record of Malay can be found in Teeuw (1959) and Steinhauer (1980).



Map 2.1 Malayic Varieties and the Spread of Malay

Under different, though related, circumstances, other contact varieties of Malay developed in Ternate (North Moluccan Malay), Manado, Makassar, Kupang, Larantuka, Irian Jaya (Papua) and other trade centers in Java, Bali, and the Malay Peninsula, and even outside the Indonesian archipelago, in Sri Lanka,⁴ the Netherlands, Thailand, the Cocos Islands, and coastal Australia. All of these varieties of Malay arose through contact with a form of Malay traditionally called *Bazaar Malay*.⁵ However, there has been little investigation of Bazaar Malay itself. Some observers (Hassan 1969, Lim 1988, Adelaar 1991, Bakker 2003, 2004) use the term Bazaar Malay to refer specifically to the contact language which has arisen in the multi-ethnic setting of West Malaysia. While this term is indeed in current usage in Malaysia, the term Bazaar Malay has often been used to refer to the trade language responsible for dispersing Malay throughout the Indonesian islands (Adelaar and Prentice 1996).

The term Bazaar Malay is often used interchangeably with other terms referring to “Low Malay,” or the common spoken language, as opposed to “High Malay,” the classical or standard language.⁶ This dichotomy, which can be clearly seen in the diglossia of contemporary Indonesia and Malaysia (Sneddon 2003), was reported by some of the earliest European observers, as Alisjahbana (1957) noted:

“Valentijn differentiated High Malay from Bazaar Malay or Disorderly Malay. Marsden divided Malay into four types: Court Language, Noble Language, Trade Language, and Disorderly Language. Dulaurier separated Literary Malay from Vulgar

⁴ Sri Lanka Malay cannot technically be considered a “variety” of Malay. Although it was lexified by Vehicular Malay, its syntax and morphology are similar to the other languages of Sri Lanka, and it should be considered a separate language from Malay.

⁵ Also known as *Pasar Malay* or *Bahasa Melayu Pasar*.

⁶ Prentice (1978:19) equates the two terms: “the trade-language which [European explorers] encountered was very little different from the modern one, known in Malay as *Bahasa Melayu Pasar* (‘market Malay’), and generally referred to in English as ‘Bazaar Malay’ or ‘Low Malay’.

Malay (colloquial Malay), while Werndly illustrated the difference between High Malay and Low Malay..." (Alisjahbana 1957:45)⁷

The literature thus presents us with different "low" Malays: a possibly pidginized trade language alongside colloquial spoken varieties of Malay, which have co-existed beside the standard language at least since Europeans began reporting on the linguistic situation in Indonesia, and likely for much longer.

Differences between these two Malays have not been investigated. In this work, I will avoid this confusion by adopting the term Vehicular Malay to refer to the contact language (in all its varieties) which gave rise to the varieties of Malay which arose outside of the traditional Malay homeland.⁸

Lingua franca varieties of Malay have had a long history. Loan words in languages such as Javanese date back to long before the historical record. Malagasy shows evidence of Malay loan words from both before and after the migration to Madagascar (estimated to have occurred 1500 years ago) (Adelaar 1994). Certainly by the time of the Sumatran-based Sri Wijaya empire (7th-10th centuries CE), when the historical record begins, the Malay language was an important language of wider communication in the region, and Malay-language inscriptions from this period have been found in Java and the Philippines. Malay has been a language of wider communication in Java for many centuries, which is evidenced by numerous loanwords in Javanese and Sundanese (as well as Javanese loanwords in Malay). In addition, Malay has been an important language in immigrant

⁷ "Valentijn mebedakan bahasa Melaju Tinggi dengan bahasa Melaju Pasar atau Bahasa Melaju Katjukan. Marsden membagi bahasa Melaju dalam empat bahagian: Bahasa Dalam, Bahasa Bangsawan, Bahasa Dagang, dan Bahasa Katjukan. Dulaurier menjisikan Malay litteraire (Melaju buku) dari pada Malay Vulgair[e] (Melaju setiap hari), sedangkan Werndly melukiskan perbedaan antara bahasa Melaju Tinggi dengan bahasa Melaju Rendah..."

⁸ This term first appeared in Smith, Paauw and Hussainmiya (2004).

communities in Java (chiefly Chinese) for 800 years. Unique contact varieties of Malay developed in Java, which are described below.

Contact varieties evolved in Eastern Indonesia, the focus of the spice trade, from an early date. Blust (1988) estimates that Malay has been spoken in Ambon since ± 1000 CE, while other scholars posit a later date. By the time the first Europeans arrived in the early 16th century, Malay was well established in the trading centers of east Indonesia, and it is possible that it was already used as a native language by some portion of the population in those trading centers at that time. There is a record of the spread of Malay in East Indonesia since the early 16th century (Steinhauer 1991b), and the growth of Malay-speaking communities in the region can be traced to some extent. The earliest communities where contact varieties of Malay developed were Ternate (North Moluccas), the Banda islands (before 1621), Ambon, and possibly Makassar, although unlike the others, Makassar Malay never developed significantly as a native language (Steinhauer 1988). Another variety of Malay, related to Ambon Malay (although influenced by North Moluccan Malay as well), developed in the Banda islands after the islands, the source of the nutmeg trade, were depopulated by the Dutch in 1621, and repopulated with a diverse group of settlers.

In the early 17th century, with the fall of the Portuguese colony in Malacca, a Malay-speaking community was established in Larantuka, on the island of Flores. Unlike the other Malay-speaking communities of eastern Indonesia, Larantuka Malay was strongly influenced by Portuguese and Peninsular Malay as a result of this migration.

By the 17th century, a variety of Malay was already well established in Kupang, on the island of Timor. Jacob and Grimes (2006) believe that Malay was established in Kupang at a much earlier date, due to the sandalwood trade.

Another contact variety, Manado Malay, developed in Northern Sulawesi, and is today the native language of a large number of speakers in the province of North Sulawesi. This variety is based on North Moluccan Malay, and still retains pronouns and loan words borrowed from the non-Austronesian Ternate language.

Other regional varieties of Malay have arisen in other parts of Eastern Indonesia and function as local lingua francas, such as Dobo Malay in the Aru Islands, Tual Malay in the Kei Islands, Alor Malay in the Alor-Pantar Region of East Nusatenggara (Baird et al 2004), and Tenggara Timur Jauh Malay in the islands of the Southwestern Moluccas (van Engelenhoven 2002). These varieties have not gained significant numbers of native speakers, although they are widely spoken in their respective regions.

On the island of Bali, settlers from Borneo and Sulawesi speak Loloan Malay, which dates from the seventeenth century (Sumarsono 1993).

There is little information in the historical record on the trade language which gave rise to these contact varieties. Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 678-679) list some trade languages or contact languages which are mentioned in the historical record. These are:

- *Tangsi Malay* – spoken in the barracks of the Dutch East Indies army. It contained Javanese, Dutch and Moluccan elements as well as a few features not found in any other Malay varieties. *Melajoe Sini*, spoken in the Netherlands, is descended from *Tangsi Malay*.
- *Pesisir Malay* – a form of literary Malay which developed on the north coast of Java in the 16th century (and probably earlier). It is used for Islamic instruction.
- *Java Malay* – used throughout Java, and as a written language in colonial times. It is likely that this developed into *Chinese Malay* (see below) and later modern colloquial

Indonesian. Paauw (2004) demonstrated, based on lexical evidence, that Java Malay was most likely the variety of Vehicular Malay which lexified Sri Lanka Malay.

- *Chinese Malay* – a literary style used in journalism by ethnic Chinese in the early 20th century. The language was related to Java Malay and was based on spoken Malay (“Low Malay”) rather than literary Malay.
- *Lugger Malay* – a pidginized trade language used in the 19th century by Indonesian, Japanese and Filipino pearl divers in the Kimberley region of Western Australia. The variety is extinct, but Malay words are still found in Aboriginal languages in the region.

2.1.3 Diglossia

At some point in the history of the Malay language, separate registers of the language developed, which became known as “High” and “Low” Malay. It is likely that these were originally registers to differentiate the speech of the nobles and royalty from the speech of the common people.⁹ With the advent of written Malay (in the 6th century at the latest), these registers were codified, with the written language representing a standardized, and probably more archaic variety of the language. Not all Malayic languages underwent this development, so it is likely that the class stratification of society and the development of a high language occurred after the Malayic migrations began. The most likely impetus for this development was the Indianization of elite society which began around the beginning of the current era, or around 2000 years ago. Malayic languages which came under the influence of the Malay rulers continued to use a high form of the language along with the low form used by most of the people. As a result, most Malayic languages shared a similar high form, which was a stabilizing influence. The exceptions were languages of

⁹ Similar (and even more complex) registers developed in other non-Malayic Western Indonesian languages such as Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese.

northern and western Borneo (Iban, Salako, and the “Dayak” languages) and Bacan in the Moluccas. Not surprisingly, these are the most divergent varieties today within the Malay world.

With the coming of Islam in the 13th and 14th centuries, a literary variety of Malay, known as Classical Malay, was codified and spread throughout the Malay world as a court language. In some areas, such as the kingdom of Pasai in northern Sumatra, it existed beside a non-Malayic Low language. There were different literary varieties in different locations, reflecting different varieties of Malay.

When Europeans first arrived in the Malay world, this stratification was immediately noticed. When the sultan of Ternate (a region speaking a non-Austronesian language in the easternmost part of the archipelago) sent letters to the Portuguese king in 1521 and 1522, literary Malay was the language used (Blagden 1930).

The colonial regimes of the Dutch and British reinforced this situation, and used the literary language as a language of colonial administration and (to a limited extent) education. A language referred to as “Riau-Johore Malay,”¹⁰ based on the court languages of the southern Malay peninsula and islands between it and southern Sumatra, emerged as the standard literary language for British Malay and the Dutch East Indies, and later developed into the national languages of Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei.

This led to a diglossic situation throughout the Malayic world, with a common, or Low language spoken at home and in the communities, and the literary, or High language spoken in official situations and used for all education and most media. In some areas, such

¹⁰ Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 674) point out that there never was a language which could be called “Riau-Johore Malay”, and the term refers to two separate varieties which were influential in the development of modern literary Malay.

as the eastern and northern Malay peninsula, western Sumatra, and the Malayic-speaking parts of Borneo, where there is a significant distance between the high and low varieties, the two varieties are kept quite separate. In other areas, such as eastern and southern Sumatra, Jakarta, and in many of the eastern Indonesian contact varieties of Malay, there is a continuum between the High and Low varieties (the only study of this relationship is Kumanireng (1982) who investigated the contact variety in Larantuka). This diglossic situation has not been addressed by most studies of Malayic/Malay varieties, although it has had a strong effect on the varieties of language used, and must be considered in any analysis of linguistic data from these regions.

This situation does not apply to all Malayic languages. Due to political, religious, and cultural factors, the Malayic groups which do not consider themselves “Malay” (the Iban, Salako/Kendayan, and Malayic “Dayak” groups of Borneo) do not consider literary Malay to be the “high” form of their languages.

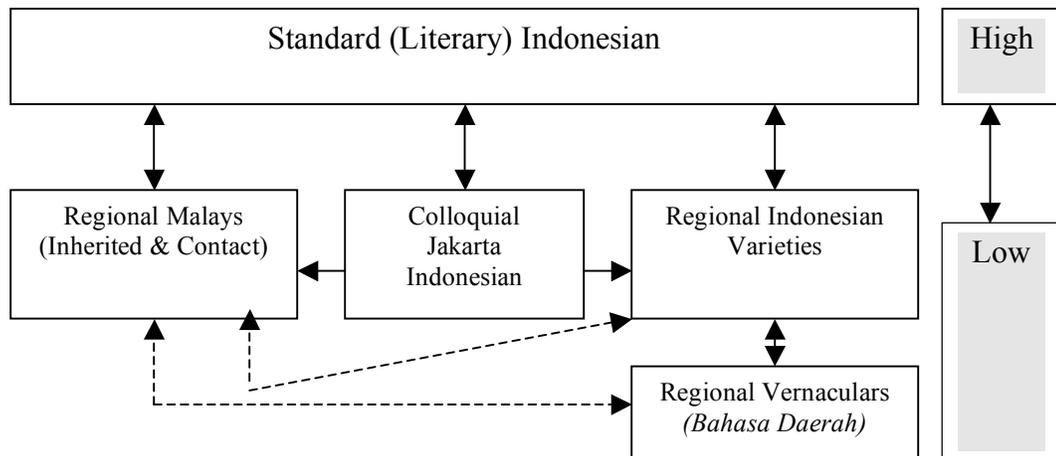
Furthermore, an additional level of diglossia has developed in Indonesia. With universal education in the standard language throughout the nation, colloquial varieties of the national language have developed, based largely upon colloquial Jakarta speech, which itself has developed from the historical variety known as Java Malay. These colloquial varieties have a regional flavor, and most, such as the variety spoken in Nusatenggara Jauh (the southwestern Moluccas) show influence from local (non-Malayic) languages (van Engelenhoven 2002).

In the “Malay” areas of Indonesia, a unique situation has emerged, with two distinct Low varieties emerging, one consisting of the “inherited” Malay variety, and a separate language consisting of the local variety of colloquial Indonesian. This development has not

been studied, but must be taken into account in any dialectology of Malay. David Gil (p.c.) reports that in the Indonesian province of Riau in central Sumatra, Riau Malay (the “inherited” language) is used at home and in traditional situations, while Riau Indonesian (the local colloquial variety of the national language) is used in communication with Indonesians of any group outside one’s own traditional community (except for official situations, in which the “high” language is used). Riau Indonesian is also increasingly used for informal communication between young people of the same community, a development which may have dire consequences for the traditional Malay varieties. Gil (1994) described Riau Indonesian. A similar situation is found within the Betawi community of Jakarta, where the traditional language, Betawi Malay, is used at home, colloquial Indonesian is used for informal situations in the community (Jakarta is a multi-ethnic community), and standard Indonesian is used for education, the media, and official situations. The extent of this “triglossic” situation in other Malay-speaking communities is unknown and needs to be studied.

This complex situation in which two or even three “Low” varieties are in competition, is shown in Figure 2.2 below.

Figure 2.2: High and Low Varieties of Malay



This situation has led to an increasing use of Colloquial Indonesian, particularly in urban areas, as it is considered more prestigious. In some areas, parents are attempting to raise their children speaking Indonesian at home, in order to provide them with better chances in life. The effect is to greatly increase the number of native speakers of Indonesian, which has detrimental effects on local languages. Malay varieties as well, both inherited and contact, are under threat from the increased use and greater prestige of Colloquial Indonesian as the Low variety in a diglossic setting. Although regional vernaculars (*bahasa daerah*) have not been greatly affected apart from losing speakers, the regional Malay varieties are changing rapidly, particularly among the younger generation. Indonesian vocabulary enters the language unseen, as these languages are closely related to Indonesian and share mostly cognate vocabulary. This has the effect of changing the phonology of the regional Malays, and eventually the morphology and syntax, as the languages are gradually Indonesianized. This happens almost beneath the level of awareness. As speakers use Indonesian in schools and offices and are exposed to it constantly in the media, they are scarcely aware when it becomes part of the language they use at home, with family and friends, and in their daily lives. The number of Indonesianisms in the texts collected for this study, provided by older speakers (ages 45 to 89) who were asked to speak in as pure a regional Malay as possible, and which were restricted to traditional and personal topics, is quite astounding.

The contact varieties of Malay are threatened by the more prestigious and omnipresent colloquial Indonesian varieties. In areas which are further from the mainstream, such as Larantuka, this effect is less noticeable, but in provincial capitals such

as Ambon or Kupang, it is difficult to draw a line between regional Malays and colloquial Indonesian.

A number of observers have studied colloquial varieties of Indonesian, although most of these studies have been in areas where the home language is a language other than Malay (Wouk (1989, 1999), van Engelenhoven (2002), Englebretson (2003), Ewing (2004)).

The diglossic situation between standard Indonesian and colloquial Indonesian has only recently gained the attention of linguists, although it was first reported by Anderson (1983). Sneddon (2003) described the diglossic situation in Indonesia, but did not take local varieties of Malay into account.

The relationship between colloquial and standard varieties in Malaysia has not been studied at all.

2.2 Varieties of Malay

Figure 2.3 below shows a classification of Malayic varieties, based upon historical factors. This classification represents a starting point for further dialectology of Malay. Previous work has tended to ignore the various divisions between varieties, or to focus upon a single factor.

The standard varieties of the national languages have been well described, with comprehensive grammars available (for Indonesian, Sneddon (1996) and Alwi et al (1998) are the best available). The colloquial varieties of Indonesian are only beginning to be studied.

Figure 2.3: Malay(ic) Varieties

Type	Sub-Type	Languages
National Languages	Standard Varieties	Bahasa Indonesia Bahasa Malaysia
	Colloquial Varieties	Modern Colloquial Indonesian, Nusatenggara Jauh Indonesian, Riau Indonesian, many others
“Inherited” Varieties	Malayic varieties	<i>Borneo</i> : “Dayak,” Banjar, Iban, Salako, others <i>Sumatra</i> : Minangkabau, Kerinci
	Group I (Malay varieties)	<i>Sumatra</i> : , Middle Malay (Seraway, Besemah), Riau Malay, Medan (Deli) Malay, others <i>Malaya</i> : Trengganu Malay, Kedah Malay, Kelantan Malay, Penang Malay, others
	Group II (Malay varieties)	<i>Borneo</i> : Brunei Malay, Sarawak Malay <i>Moluccas</i> : Bacan <i>Sumatra</i> : Palembang, Bangka, Beliton <i>Java</i> : Jakarta
Contact Varieties	East Indonesia	<i>Established Communities</i> : Ambon, North Moluccan, Banda, Manado, Kupang, Larantuka, Papuan Malay <i>Regional Lingua Francas</i> : Makassar, Alor, Tual, Tenggara Timur Jauh, Aru, Tanimbar
	West Indonesia	Peranakan Malay (Java), Loloan (Bali)
	Malaysia	Baba Malay, Malaysian Bazaar Malay
	Outside Indonesia	Sri Lanka Malay, Nonthaburi Malay (Thailand), Melajoe Sini (Netherlands), Lugger Malay (Australia), Cocos Malay

The standard languages can be considered to represent a more archaic form of the language, and the “inherited” and contact varieties show innovations. The fact that most innovations are shared by all varieties of Malay, whether they be phonological, morphological or syntactic innovations, indicates that the High form of the language has been distinct from the Low form for a long time.

The colloquial varieties of the national languages show significant differences from the standardized languages. This is not surprising given their separate origins. The standard varieties are descended from the literary court languages of central Sumatra and the southern Malay peninsula, while the colloquial varieties are descended from Low Malay. The origin of colloquial Indonesian can be traced to Vehicular Malay, specifically the

historical variety known as Java Malay, while the situation in Malaysia has not been studied. While the standard languages in Indonesia and Malaysia¹¹ are very similar and exhibit only minor lexical variation, the colloquial varieties of the national languages in Indonesia and Malaysia are very different, and are not immediately intelligible to one another.

Standard Malay exhibits a rich system of affixation, closely related to the systems found in other Austronesian languages. Other varieties of Malay have lost most or all of this system of affixation, and the most productive morphological process in most Malay varieties is reduplication (reduplication is also extremely productive in standard varieties of Malay).

Phonologically, standard Malay has a series of borrowed phonemes (/f/, /v/, /z/, /ʃ/, and /x/) which are not found in other varieties of Malay (although /f/ has been separately borrowed from local vernacular languages in the contact varieties of eastern Indonesia). Other than these borrowed phonemes, the phonemic inventory of all Malay varieties shows little variation, although the vowel inventory has been reduced from six in standard Malay (/i/, /e/, /ə/, /a/, /u/, /o/) to five in most contact varieties (with a loss of /ə/).

The various “inherited” varieties of Malay have been the least studied of all varieties. The Indonesian Language Center (*Pusat Bahasa*) has undertaken the description of many Malay varieties (as well as other languages in Indonesia), and has published numerous grammars, phonological studies, and other works. However, these works do not provide a thorough description, and more detailed descriptive studies are needed. Varieties

¹¹ The standard varieties in Singapore and Brunei are largely identical with the Malaysian variety.

in Malaysia and Sumatra have been even less studied, apart from some dated studies (Hamilton 1922, Brown 1956) and some more recent work (Collins (1983c), Gil (1994)).

The only “inherited” Malay variety which has been well-studied is Betawi Malay, the traditional language of Jakarta (Chaer (1976), Ikranagara (1980), Muhadjir (1981, 2000), Grijns (1982, 1983, 1991, 1995), Wallace (1976, 1977)).

2.2.1 Contact Varieties of Malay

Varieties of Malay which have arisen from contact between speakers of Malay and speakers of other languages can be classified as follows, with examples of varieties within each category:

2.2.1.1 Contact Varieties within the Malay World

In terms of academic study and description, Malay contact languages have fared better than the inherited varieties, and there have been a number of preliminary studies of the Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia, although they vary greatly in comprehensiveness. The following is a brief survey of some of the studies on contact varieties of Malay. The varieties being investigated in this study are those listed in the first section, the established communities of Eastern Indonesia, and the references available for those varieties are listed separately for each variety in Chapter 4.

2.2.1.1.1 Established Communities (Eastern Indonesia)

Manado Malay – Manado Malay is spoken in northern Sulawesi, and has displaced the original languages for a large population in that region. It developed from North Moluccan Malay, and exhibits vocabulary items from the non-Austronesian language of Ternate.

North Moluccan Malay – This variety is spoken on the islands of Ternate and Tidore, and is used as a lingua franca throughout the north Moluccas. It was one of the earliest contact varieties of Malay to arise.

Ambon Malay – This variety has been spoken on and near the small island of Ambon in the Moluccas at least since the 16th century, and possibly for much longer.

Banda Malay – Banda Malay developed after the Banda islands were depopulated by the Dutch in 1621. The Banda Malay language is closely related to Ambon Malay. A different and unrecorded variety of Malay existed in the islands before 1621.

Kupang Malay – This variety, spoken in the western part of the island of Timor may date back to the pre-European spice trade.

Larantuka Malay – Larantuka Malay evolved in the Portuguese colony of Larantuka on the island of Flores when a large group of speakers of peninsular Malay was evacuated to Larantuka at the time that the Portuguese colony in Malacca fell to the Dutch in 1641.

Papua Malay – Malay has been used in Papua as a lingua franca for a long time, as evidenced by a number of Malay words in Tok Pisin. Since the western half of New Guinea was annexed by Indonesia in 1963, Malay has gained even more widespread currency, and in recent years has begun to gain large numbers of native speakers in some areas.

2.2.1.1.2 Established Communities (Western Indonesia)

Peranakan (Chinese) Malay - Chinese Malay, or Peranakan, is morphologically and syntactically similar to Javanese, with a lexicon largely derived from Malay. It has been fairly well described (Rafferty 1982, 1984, Wolff 1997). Wolff (1988) maintains it is the only creolized variety of Malay in Indonesia.

Loloan Malay – This is a variety of Malay spoken by a community originally from Southern Sulawesi, who have reportedly lived in Bali for 300 years. A report on language maintenance in Loloan (Sumarsono 1993) gives very limited linguistic information.

2.2.1.1.3 Regional Lingua Francas (Eastern Indonesia)

Makassar Malay – This contact variety has also been spoken for hundreds of years, as Makassar has been an important trade center and the “gateway” to eastern Indonesia, and is a large multi-ethnic city. There is reportedly a community of 1.5 million native speakers (Uri Tadmor p.c.), but available information on Makassar Malay is limited. Makassar Malay may be endangered through replacement by colloquial Indonesian. Data in one published report may be unreliable (Steinhauer 1988).

Other Regional Varieties of Eastern Indonesia — Other regional varieties of Malay in Eastern Indonesia have only begun to be noticed. There are reportedly distinct varieties in the Aru Islands (Dobo Malay), the Kei Islands (Tual Malay), the Tanimbar Islands, the islands of Alor and Pantar (Alor Malay) (Baird et al 2004), and the Tenggara Timur Jauh Islands (van Engelenhoven 2002).

2.2.1.1.4 Pidginized/Creolized Varieties (Malaysia and Singapore)

Baba Malay – This creolized variety, evolving in the Chinese community of Singapore through contact between speakers of Hokkien and Malay, has been well studied (Shellabear 1913, Tan 1980, Lim 1988, Pakir 1986, 1988, 1989, Thurgood 1998, 2001, Ansaldo and Matthews 1999). It has almost disappeared today.

Malaysian Bazaar Malay – This variety, spoken in peninsular west Malaysia, has existed as a pidgin for hundreds of years without undergoing creolization. It is used between

speakers of the immigrant Chinese and Indian communities (who have retained their languages) for contact with the Malay population. The variety spoken by Indians is sometimes called Chitty Malay (from Tamil *Chettiar*, the name of a trading caste). Three short studies do not provide a great deal of descriptive information (Hassan (1969), Bakker (2003, 2004a).

2.2.1.2 Contact Varieties Outside the Malay World

Varieties outside of the Malay world have received some attention as well, as noted below. Since they are located outside of the Malay world, these varieties do not have a contrasting “high” form. Nonthaburi Malay (in Thailand) and Sri Lanka Malay have undergone significant syntactic and morphological changes due to the influence of the dominant languages in the societies. *Melajoe Sini*, spoken in the Netherlands, and *Cocos Malay*, spoken on a group of islands belonging to Australia, have remained closer to other varieties of Malay, possibly due to greater interaction with the homeland.

Nonthaburi Malay – Nonthaburi Malay, spoken in central Thailand, arose when large numbers of speakers of Pattani Malay (an “inherited” variety of Southern Thailand) were relocated to central Thailand in the 18th century. It has undergone significant phonological and structural convergence with Thai, and has been described in a sociolinguistically-oriented dissertation (Tadmor 1995).

Sri Lanka Malay – This variety arose through colonial movements of Malay speakers from Indonesia and the Malay peninsula to Sri Lanka, beginning in the mid-17th century. The language exhibits many typological features associated with the languages of Sri Lanka (SOV word order, case marking, postpositions, etc.) while the vocabulary is 90% Malay-based. Although there has been no thorough study of this variety (two large-

scale studies are currently underway), there have been a number of shorter studies (Adelaar (1991, 1996a), Bichsel-Stettler (1988), Smith (2003), Smith, Paauw and Hussainmiya (2004), Smith and Paauw (2006), Abdul Hamid (1991), Abu Bakar (1990), Bakker (2004b), Harun (1986), Hussainmiya (1978, 1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1990, 1991), Kekulawala (1979), Robuchon (2003), Saldin (1996), Paauw and Slomanson (2005), Slomanson (2003, 2008)).

Cocos Malay – This variety is spoken on a group of islands owned by Australia by descendants of workers brought to the islands in the 19th century. It does not appear to have diverged too far from the varieties of Vehicular Malay brought to the islands, largely because there was no substrate language involved. It has only been described in brief papers (Adelaar 1996a, 1996c).

Melayoe Sini – Immigrants from Indonesia to the Netherlands, largely from the Moluccas, speak this variety. It has been described in a Ph.D. dissertation from Leiden University (Tahitu 1989), which has not been investigated for this study.

Lugger Malay – Little is known of this extinct pidgin language spoken by pearl divers on Australia's Kimberley coast in the 19th century. It has been described by Hosokawa (1987) and is mentioned in Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 685). It included some Japanese grammatical particles and vocabulary (Hosokawa 1987: 287).¹²

2.3 Possible Pidginization and Creolization

In the literature on Malay dialects, Bazaar Malay is often referred to as a pidgin or pidginized variety of Malay, as in this definition from Prentice (1994): “Bazaar Malay

¹² There was also a pidginized language spoken in Australia's Northern Territory which was apparently based on the Makassar or Bugis language (Claire Bowerman p.c.).

(BzM), the pidginized form of Malay which for centuries, if not millennia, functioned as trading language and lingua franca throughout the archipelago and beyond.”

A number of observers (Prentice 1978, 1994; Adelaar and Prentice 1996, B.D. Grimes 1991) have concluded that Bazaar Malay is a pidgin language and/or that contact varieties of Malay (such as Ambon Malay) are creoles, but have provided little linguistic evidence in support of this position. Adelaar and Prentice (1996) label all contact varieties of Malay as “PMD” (Pidgin-Malay Derived). Wolff (1988:86-87), in response to this position, has said “...I have seen absolutely no proof that any of the living dialects of Indonesian/Malay are indeed creoles, despite the uncritical repetition of this notion in article after article and textbook after textbook.” Collins (1980) compared Ambon Malay (a contact variety) to Trengganu Malay (an “inherited” dialect of the Malay peninsula) and demonstrated that the two shared many features which differed from standard varieties of Malay, and that Trengganu Malay had at least as many “creole-like” features as Ambon Malay. Gil (2001) demonstrated that the Riau dialect of Indonesian (a colloquial variety of the national language) scores higher on measures of features traditionally regarded as creole features than known creole languages of the Western hemisphere. Paauw (2003) argued that contact varieties of Malay were based upon Low Malay, which served as a trade language, and that comparing contact varieties with the literary language is not a meaningful way of establishing prior creolization.

The most effective argument for establishing that some of the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia may be creolized languages is the one presented by B.D. Grimes (1991, 1994), who argues that the sociohistorical setting of these languages is consistent only with patterns of creolization, using the framework developed by Thomason

and Kaufman (1988). These varieties arose through trade, were spoken by groups speaking a variety of native languages, and were spoken in communities in which there was limited exposure to L1 speakers of the target language. Although this is indeed a classic setting for the development of a pidginized (and eventually, creolized) language, the lack of linguistic evidence for creolization (the Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia align closely with Low Malay varieties in western Indonesia), it is difficult to confirm that these varieties are indeed creolized. Jacob and C. Grimes (2007) argue that serial verb constructions in Kupang Malay, which they demonstrate are borrowed from local vernacular languages, are evidence that Kupang Malay is a creolized variety. If the borrowing of structures is sufficient to label a language a creole, then few languages would be exempt from this label. As Steinhauer (1991: 178) points out, quoting Bolinger (1980: 61), “probably every language spoken in the world today is at least to some extent a creole, an offspring of contact and conflict.”

McWhorter (2008) has attempted to demonstrate that *all* Low Malay varieties are creolized, and gives a number of arguments, with reference to Riau Indonesian, a colloquial Indonesian variety spoken in Sumatra by speakers of an “inherited” variety of Malay, as described by Gil (1994, 2000, 2001). McWhorter’s points have been addressed by Gil (2008), and it seems unlikely that Low Malay is itself the result of creolization, as there is no evidence for large-scale language contact in the Malay homeland, unless it happened over 2000 years ago, in the original migrations of Malay speakers from the Malay homeland in Borneo.

Unlike Low Malay, Malaysian Bazaar Malay is a pidgin language, and differs significantly from other contact varieties of Malay which have developed. Malaysian

Bazaar Malay is used for interethnic communication between Malays, Chinese and Indians in western Malaysia, and is a simplified form of low Malay, exhibiting a simplified lexicon, phonology and morphology, and has separate varieties for use by Chinese and Indians, with significant substrate influence from the languages of those groups (chiefly Hokkien and Tamil). It has been used as a pidgin for hundreds of years without undergoing any creolization. Malaysian Bazaar Malay has been described by Abdullah (1969) and Bakker (2003, 2004a). The variety spoken by Indians in Singapore has been described by Muthiah (2007).

Baba Malay is a variety of Malay spoken in Malacca, Penang, and Singapore by Straits-born Chinese, which is probably a creolized variety. It has existed as a distinct variety since the 16th century. Baba Malay has features which are quite possibly evidence of a Hokkien substrate. Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) posited that Baba Malay was the basis for the trade language which gave rise to Eastern Indonesian contact varieties of Malay, a position supported by Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 674). While it is quite likely that Baba Malay is a creolized language (one which probably did not pass through an intermediate stage of pidginization), and it is very likely that certain features found in Baba Malay found their way into Vehicular Malay, it is less certain that Baba Malay had a direct influence on the development of Vehicular Malay. Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 675) concede that “some of [the features which appear to be evidence of a Chinese substrate] are also recorded in vernacular Malay dialects and may be regularly inherited features which were lost in literary Malay.”

2.4 Typological Features

Adelaar and Prentice (1996) provide a description of contact varieties of Malay, both inside and outside of the Malay world. They provide a list of distinguishing traits shared by these contact varieties. Some of these features are shared by Low Malay varieties which are not a result of a process of language contact (numbers 1, 6 and 7), while others (numbers 5 and 8) do not actually occur in the contact varieties of eastern Indonesia (as demonstrated by the data in Chapter 4 and the grammatical sketches in Appendix 1). In general, these features could be considered markers of “Low” Malay, rather than contact Malay.

Figure 2.4: Features derived from Lingua Franca Malay (Adelaar and Prentice (1996))

Lingua Franca Malay	Literary Malay
1) possessive constructions consisting of possessor + <i>punya</i> + possessed	possessive constructions consist of possessed + possessor
2) plural pronouns derived from singular pronouns + <i>orang</i> (human being)	separate set of plural pronouns
3) retention of <i>-tar</i> and <i>-ber</i> as the only productive affixes	a full set of productive affixes
4) <i>ada</i> , the Malay existential marker, indicating progressive aspect	existential marker is separate from progressive aspect marker
5) reduced forms of the demonstratives <i>ini</i> and <i>itu</i> preceding a noun and functioning as definite markers	full forms of demonstratives following nouns
6) the use of a reduced form of <i>pergi</i> ‘to go’ as a verb as well as a preposition meaning ‘towards’	full form of <i>pergi</i> functioning only as a verb
7) causative constructions consisting of the auxiliaries <i>kasi/beri</i> ‘to give’ or <i>bikin/buat</i> ‘to make’ + the head verb	causative constructions through affixation of the head verb
8) the use of <i>sama</i> or another word as a multifunctional preposition (also for direct and indirect objects)	a full set of prepositions

It is important to note that the standard or literary languages are quite different morphosyntactically, phonologically and even lexically from the colloquial, inherited and contact languages. These latter varieties share a common origin in Low Malay and share many similarities in structure, morphology, phonology and lexicon. The literary languages, or High Malay, represent in many ways an earlier variety of Malay, while the Low Malay varieties reflected in today's colloquial national languages, the inherited Malay varieties, and contact Malay varieties, share phonological and morphosyntactic innovations and represent languages which have diverged further from the original language. This reality is often obscured by the role of the national languages as modern standard literary languages, and in the popular view at least, any divergence from these standard languages represents a degraded or sub-standard variety of the language. This view is commonly found among the speakers of these varieties as well.

3.0 The Study

The purpose of the study was to collect data on seven contact varieties of Malay spoken in eastern Indonesia in order to prepare short grammatical sketches on each variety. For some of these varieties, descriptive materials, both published and unpublished, existed as an additional source. Three of the varieties have had full linguistic descriptions written: Larantuka Malay (Kumanireng 1993), Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997) and Manado Malay (Stoel 2005). One variety, Banda Malay, has never been described.

3.1 Methodology

Language samples of the seven language varieties were collected in June-August, 2007, by visiting locations in eastern Indonesia where the languages were spoken. In each location, language assistants were employed to provide the investigator with information about the language and sociolinguistic setting, locate informants, assist in conducting interviews with informants and assist in transcribing the data collected. In all but one location, these assistants were university students trained in linguistics or graduates of applied linguistics university programs. All assistants were speakers of the Malay variety in that location.

Informants were selected on the basis of several criteria. All informants (with one exception) were native speakers of the variety spoken in that location. Older speakers were preferred, to guard against too strong an influence from the Indonesian language, and a balance between male and female informants was sought.

A list of structures to be elicited was prepared, and sample sentences in Indonesian were created to elicit these structures. The actual cues used varied from location to location, and changes were made along the way to improve the data collected through

elicitation. The list of elicited structures was used in most locations, with two exceptions. A total of six recordings were made of elicited sentences.

In addition to the elicited sentences, natural language data were collected through the recording of oral texts. These oral texts consisted of personal histories (6), traditional stories (*dongeng*) (8), and daily conversation (2). Not all texts collected were transcribed and used in the study.

Both the elicited sentences and the natural language oral texts were recorded on a digital recorder.

The recorded texts which were deemed useable were transcribed by the language assistants at each location. These transcriptions were done by hand in notebooks provided for the purpose. Each line of data was followed by a free translation in Indonesian. These transcriptions were helpful in getting a general understanding of the data, although assistants tended to change the data so that it represented an ideal representation of the language variety, without Indonesian influence, rather than the actual language used.

The final version of the transcriptions was prepared by the investigator, and represents an accurate representation of the recorded texts. Each of the texts chosen for transcription was transcribed in three lines, consisting of the original data, interlinear glosses and a free translation in English. These transcriptions are included in the Appendix of this document.

An obstacle in collecting data was that the interviews were conducted in Indonesian, and interference from Indonesian occasionally crept into the data collected, although the informants tried to guard against this. Although the investigator has a strong passive knowledge of most of the varieties studied, he is not able to easily speak the

varieties (although he attempted to, as far as possible) and this too influenced the amount of interference from Indonesian. Attempts were made to avoid this problem by having the assistants collect data without the investigator present, and three texts were collected in this manner.

3.2 Data

The following is a summary of the data collected for each of the seven varieties of Malay, organized by location.

- 1) Manado (Manado Malay). The assistant in Manado was Jelpris Topuh, a graduate of a program in applied linguistics at the Manado Teachers' Training Institute. The informants were Ema Yakobus, female, age 45, a civil servant, and Hebert Sanger, male, age 60, a security guard. The elicited sentences were collected from both informants. An oral history was also collected from the second informant, but was not used due to too much interference from Indonesian.
- 2) Ternate (North Moluccan Malay). The assistant in Ternate was Halis Ahmad, a graduate of an applied linguistics program at Khairun University in Ternate. The first informant was Ade, male, age 58, a dockworker, who provided data for the elicited sentences. An attempt to collect an oral text from this informant was not successful. The second text collected was a natural conversation, recorded at home by the language assistant, without the investigator present, consisting of a conversation between the assistant, age 35, and his mother-in-law, age 55.
- 3) Ambon (Ambon Malay). The assistant in Manado was Welmintje Meiske Moriolkosu, a student of applied linguistics at Pattimura University. The first informant, who provided a traditional story, was Yul Lekatompessy, female, age 48, a schoolteacher.

This text was collected by the assistant, without the investigator present. The second informant was Johannis Manuhua, male, age 62, a retired civil servant, who also provided a traditional story. The third informant was Mrs. Masurela, female, age 47, a housewife, who provided a personal history.

- 4) Banda refugee village, Ambon (Banda Malay). An attempt was made to collect data in the Banda islands, but the weekly flight was cancelled and the seas were too rough for boat traffic, so as a result, the data for Banda Malay were collected in a Banda refugee village on Ambon island, where about 1000 refugees from Banda were settled in 1999, fleeing religious conflict in the Banda islands. The refugee settlements in Ambon (two villages), along with a settlement of about 3000 refugees on Seram island, represent the entire Christian community of the Banda islands. The residents remaining in the Banda islands are Muslim. The Banda villages in Ambon are entirely populated by speakers of Banda Malay, and the villagers attempt to maintain a lifestyle as close as possible to the one they left behind. Banda Malay is the daily language of the villages, although young children who have been born in the villages since the resettlement are growing up speaking Ambon Malay, much to the chagrin of their parents.

The assistant in the Banda village was Revino Kempa, age 25, who was the only language assistant who did not have any training in linguistics. Data were collected from three informants. The first informant, a middle-aged female schoolteacher, provided a personal history, collected by the assistant. This oral text proved to be of little use, as it was in Indonesian. The second informant, Petrus, male, age 67, a retired farmer, provided elicited sentences. The third informant, Ridolof Godlieb, male, age 89, also a retired farmer, provided an oral history, which was collected without the

investigator present. Unfortunately, the transcription of this text was not useable, and the informant, who was lacking teeth, did not speak clearly. This set of circumstances, along with the fact that this was the investigator's first exposure to Banda Malay, made a full transcription difficult. The transcription included in the Appendix is of the first three minutes of a 20-minute recording.

- 5) Kupang (Kupang Malay). The assistant in Kupang was Feby Funay, a linguistics student at Widya Mandira Catholic University in Kupang. The informant was Christian Funay, the father of the assistant, male, age 56, a police officer. The informant provided the elicited texts and an oral history.
- 6) Manokwari, West Papua (Papua Malay). The assistant for Papua Malay was Fitri Yanti Djamaluddin, a linguistics student at Papua State University. The informant was Tete Mansim, of unknown age, but at least 80, an office cleaner. An attempt was made to elicit sentences, but turned out not to be possible from this informant. An oral history was recorded. This informant is not a native speaker of Papua Malay, but has been speaking Papua Malay as his primary language for 55 years.
- 7) Larantuka (Larantuka Malay). The assistant in Larantuka was Marcel Yeri Fernandez Akoli, a lecturer at the Language Center at Nusa Cendana University in Kupang. Texts were collected from three informants. The first, the assistant himself, provided the elicited sentences. The second informant, Magdalena Ribeiru, female, age 62, a homemaker, provided three traditional stories, two of which were transcribed. The third informant, Yoseph Fernandez Akoli, male, age 57, a retired bank employee and the father of the assistant, recorded a traditional story. Another informant, after listening to the stories recorded, went home and wrote out a traditional story in Larantuka Malay,

since she had lost the ability to speak due to a stroke, and wanted to share in the data collection. Her story was not used, as the data were limited to oral sources.

4.0 The Malay Contact Varieties of Eastern Indonesia : Comparison and Analysis

In this chapter, the seven contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia will be examined and compared, to ascertain what structures are shared and which are divergent between varieties. This analysis will enable certain conclusions to be drawn about the form and the character of the language variety or varieties which preceded the development of these contact varieties. When considering the historical development of these varieties, several known historical varieties as well as other presumed but unattested historical varieties will be referred to. These varieties did not exist in isolation, but, like all languages, were continuously evolving over time and space, and had their own contacts with other varieties as they evolved, so the labels given to them do not refer to a single moment in time but rather to a language as it developed and evolved over time. The varieties identified for the purposes of historical analysis in this document are the following:

1. Low Malay. This is the variety of Malay which developed in the Malay homeland, as distinct from High Malay, the court language of the Malay homeland which developed into the written language of the courts and elite and later, the literary language of the Malay world (existing today in the codified literary varieties which are the national languages of Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei, and one of the national languages of Singapore). High Malay is also known as Riau-Johore Malay, after the court languages of those regions, and Classical Malay. Low Malay has never been a written language, but has been the colloquial language of the Malay homeland. There are today significant differences between regional varieties of Low Malay in the Malay homeland, a region covering a vast area from eastern Sumatra, the Malay peninsula and coastal areas of Borneo. It is likely this regional variation has existed for a long time, and may represent, to

a certain extent, different waves of migration from the original Malay/Malayic homeland, which is thought to have been in Borneo. These regional differences do come into play when considering the history and development of Malay varieties. The major division in these varieties of Low Malay is between what has been referred to in Chapter 2 as “Group I” varieties (the Malay varieties spoken in central and northern Sumatra (including the Riau archipelago) and the Malay peninsula) and “Group II” varieties (spoken in southern Sumatra (including the islands of Bangka and Belitung), Borneo and Jakarta). The two groups are distinguished by lexical items as well as certain sound changes.

2. Peninsular Low Malay. This is the variety of Malay spoken in the Malay peninsula, and specifically the variety spoken historically in Malacca, which was the pre-eminent trading center for the Malay world from its founding in the late 14th century until the Portuguese took control in the early 16th century. This variety can be distinguished by Group I lexical items and certain sound changes.

3. Java Malay. This is a variety of Low Malay which was spoken in Java, largely as a second language, and was used by traders involved in the spice trade. It probably developed during the time of the Sriwijaya empire, which was centered in southern Sumatra and was likely the source of the expansion of the Malay language to Java (a Malay inscription in north-central Java dates from the 7th century). Since that time, Malay has had a role in Java as a language of wider communication, a trade language, and a language of administration, although it has not gained significant numbers of native speakers outside the Chinese community and the area of Jakarta (which has historically spoken a Group II Malay variety). Java Malay became the native language for Chinese immigrants, who settled beginning in the 15th century. In some areas, the language spoken by these Chinese

immigrants was influenced greatly by Javanese. Java Malay, particularly as spoken by Chinese, became a key factor in the development of modern colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, which has had a strong influence on the development of colloquial Indonesian varieties throughout the nation. Java Malay can be distinguished by Group II lexical items, certain phonology and morphology, and large numbers of loan words from Javanese.

4. Vehicular Malay. Vehicular Malay is the term for the variety or varieties of Malay which spread the language through trade and colonial policy, to areas outside the Malay homeland. This includes the trading centers of eastern Indonesia where the Malay varieties described in this document have arisen, as well as other places further afield such as Sri Lanka and the Cocos Islands. The exact nature of Vehicular Malay is not known, and there were certainly different varieties over time, with differing places of origin. However, there are features which these varieties of Vehicular Malay had in common, and there are certain conclusions which can be drawn about the nature of the language. Vehicular Malay is sometimes referred to in the literature as Bazaar Malay or *Bahasa Melayu Pasar*, a term which has been avoided here, because it is also used to refer to other, very different varieties of Malay, including Low Malay in the Malay homeland as well as the pidginized variety of Malay spoken in the Malay peninsula as a language of wider communication between diverse ethnicities. Vehicular Malay developed with elements which can be traced to both Peninsular Low Malay as well as Java Malay.

4.1 Typological Comparison

The seven Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia are compared in this chapter using a typological framework. Following a summary of the language distribution, speakers and history of each variety, the different typological features of the varieties will be

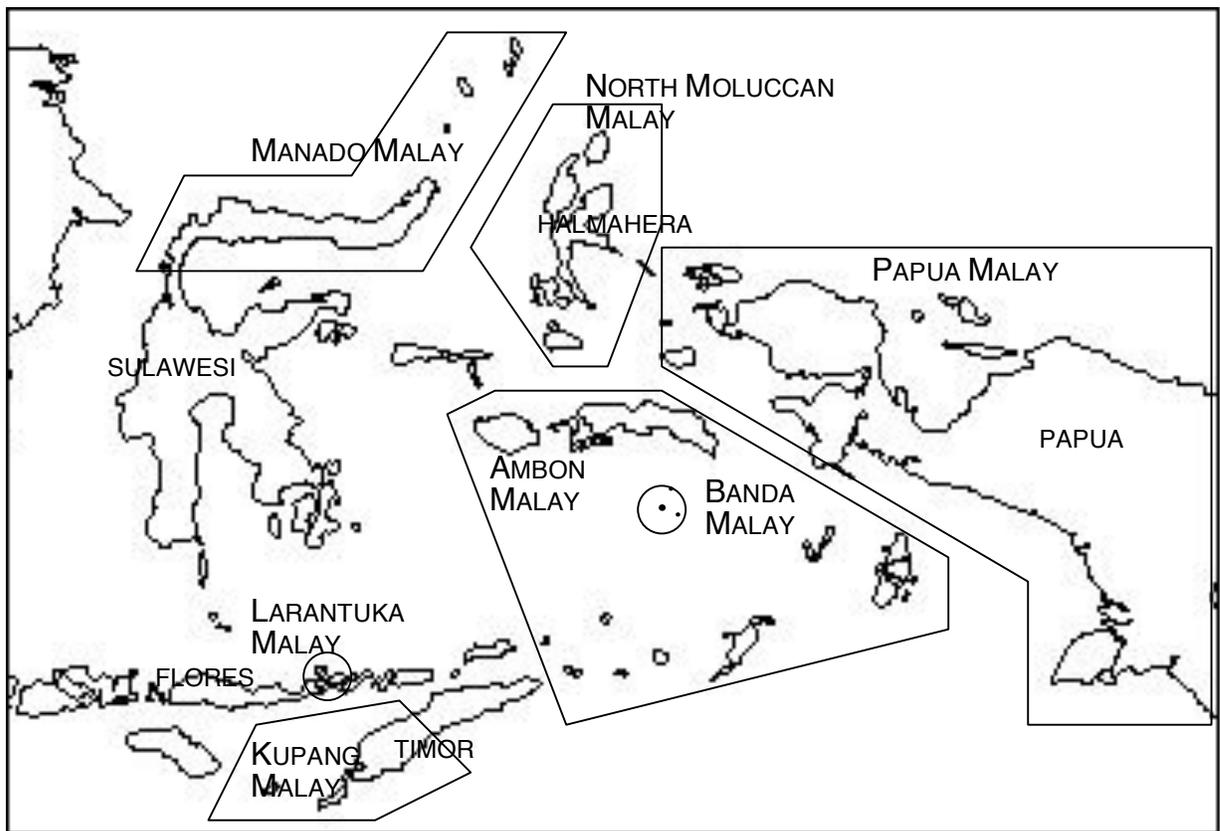
presented, comparing the way in which each feature occurs in each variety, with similarities and differences between the varieties highlighted. For further comparison, the way each feature is handled in a variety of Malay from western Indonesia, Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, (CJI) is included, allowing conclusions to be drawn regarding which features are emblematic of the seven contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia.

Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian is a variety which has only been recognized as a separate variety recently. Historically, it developed from the Low Malay varieties spoken in Java by Chinese immigrant communities, varieties which have been termed ‘Java Malay’. It has also been influenced by the Betawi language of Jakarta, a Low Malay variety which is thought to have been spoken in the Jakarta region for over one thousand years, and which is believed to not be the result of language contact but rather the language of a community transplanted from the Malay homeland. Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian is the native language of a growing community in Jakarta. The community originally consisted primarily of Chinese and Eurasians, but today the language is spoken as a first language by many young people who have grown up in Jakarta, especially those of the middle and upper classes and those whose parents do not come from the same native language communities. CJI is the language used in the products of popular culture in Jakarta, which have an audience throughout the nation, and, as a result, has a strong influence on colloquial varieties of Malay in all parts of Indonesia.

In the typological comparison, first the phonological features of the varieties will be examined, followed by sections on General/Clause Structure, Nouns and Noun Phrases, Verbs and Verb Phrases, and finally, Other Grammatical Features.

Each feature in each variety is illustrated by examples. Most of the examples are drawn from the data from the seven varieties collected for this study, and are numbered according to the text number and the line number within that text. The complete set of seventeen texts collected for this study can be found in Appendix 2 of this dissertation. Where an illustrated example was not available from the texts collected, examples have been drawn from data on these varieties collected by other observers, and the source for each example of this type is clearly labeled.

The information on Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, including all examples from this variety, is from Sneddon (2006).

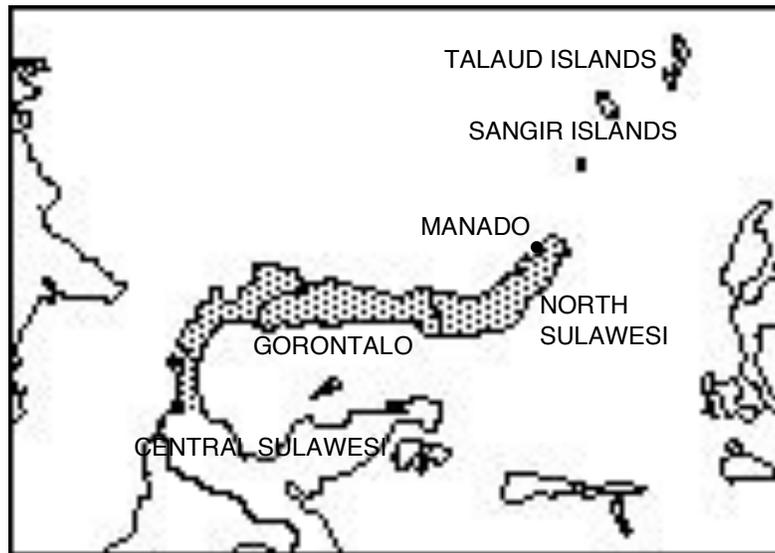


Map 4.1: Malay Contact Varieties in Eastern Indonesia

4.2 Language distribution, speakers and history

The seven Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia described in this chapter are shown in Map 4.1 above.

4.2.1 Language area, speakers, and history of Manado Malay



Map 4.2 Manado Malay

Manado Malay (*Bahasa Melayu Manado*), also known as Minahasa Malay, is spoken primarily in the province of North Sulawesi (*Sulawesi Utara*) and to a lesser extent, in the provinces of Gorontalo (until 2000, a part of North Sulawesi) and Central Sulawesi (*Sulawesi Tengah*). It has long been spoken as a first language in the cities of Manado and Bitung and surrounding areas, and has been gaining native speakers throughout the Minahasa region¹³ (the northern part of the province of North Sulawesi) and the Sangir-Talaud islands which stretch from the North Sulawesi peninsula to the southeasternmost Philippines. There are reports that in the Sangir-Talaud archipelago, there are very few native speakers of the original languages under age 20, as most children are being raised

¹³ Prentice (1994: 411) says “It is unclear how long the Minahasan languages can maintain themselves as viable linguistic entities under the increasing pressure of Manado Malay.”

speaking Manado Malay as their primary language (Jelpris Topuh, Napoleon Mandiangan p.c.). Stoel (2005: 6) posits “at least one million first-language speakers of Manado Malay,” based on population data for the relevant political units. Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) reports a more conservative estimate of 850,000 first-language speakers.

In addition to first-language speakers, Manado Malay is spoken as a second language throughout the provinces of North Sulawesi and Gorontalo, as well as parts of Central Sulawesi, with as many as three million speakers using the language as either a first or second language.

Speakers of Manado Malay for the most part represent language shift in communities formerly speaking Minahasan languages (chiefly Tonsea, Tombulu and Tondano) and Sangiric languages (Bantik, Sangir, Talaud), all of which are Austronesian languages, of the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch, and the Sulawesi sub-group. Many speakers of Manado Malay, especially those in and around the city of Manado, have no memory of or recall of the languages previously spoken. This language shift has occurred over a period of at least four hundred years, and is continuing, if not accelerating, at the current time.

Manado Malay is very similar to North Moluccan Malay, the variety of Malay spoken in Ternate and neighboring islands in the northern Moluccas. Strong evidence suggests that Manado Malay did not originate in Manado itself, but rather that it represents further development of a variety transplanted from the northern Moluccas. At the time the Netherlands established its first fortress in Manado in 1658 (Ricklefs 2001:79), Ternatean influence was strong there (along with Spain, which was the first colonial presence in the area, due to its presence in the nearby southern Philippines). It is likely that, through this

early Ternatean influence, North Moluccan Malay had already been introduced to Manado before the first Dutch fortress was established, as this represented the end of significant Ternatean influence in the region. Manado Malay has a significant number of loanwords from the Ternate language (a Papuan language, of the West Papuan family), as well as from Portuguese, which had a strong presence in the northern Moluccas (but not in Manado) in the 16th century. This, coupled with the fact that Manado Malay has had almost no influence from the Minahasa languages (or from Spanish), points toward its origin in the north Moluccas, and subsequent transplantation to Manado. The presence of significant numbers of Portuguese loanwords can further date this transplantation at the earliest to the period of Portuguese influence in Ternate, which lasted from 1522 to 1575.

During the Dutch colonial era, which lasted for nearly 300 years, until 1945, Manado enjoyed a favored position with the Dutch, and Dutch influence was very strong there. As a consequence, Manado Malay has large numbers of loanwords from Dutch.

Since Indonesian independence in 1945, and the advent of universal education in the Indonesian language, as well as the widespread availability of Indonesian-language media in all forms, the Indonesian language has had a strong and continuing influence on Manado Malay. Given their common origins in related varieties of Malay, Manado Malay and Indonesian (and, in particular, colloquial Indonesian) have been converging, to the point that speakers of Manado Malay, to varying extents and often subconsciously, employ Indonesian vocabulary and constructions when using Manado Malay, and it is often difficult to draw a line between the two languages.

Stoel (2005:14) reports that there is some regional variation in Manado Malay, influenced by differing substrate languages (Minahasan or Sangiric), the influence of Dutch

in Manado city and the Minahasa interior, and, especially among younger speakers, the influence of Indonesian. This variation affects the pronunciation of the consonant /p/ vs. /f/, word final nasals, high vs. mid vowels, vowel elision, and final vs. penultimate stress. The data used in this study were collected from speakers who have spent their entire lives in the city of Manado, and whose ages were 45 and 60. Even among these speakers, who have similar backgrounds, some variation was found, in terms of the form of word-final nasals, certain constructions, and the degree of influence of Indonesian.

4.2.1.1 Major sources for Manado Malay

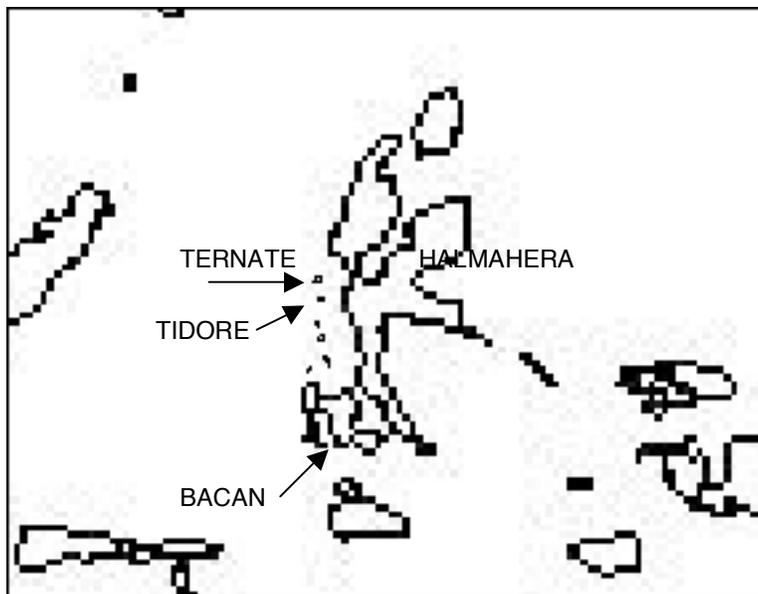
The earliest known source on Manado Malay is De Clercq (1871), which describes Manado Malay, mentions its association with North Moluccan Malay, discusses its differences from literary Malay, including a list of 11 specific features, provides a selection of pantuns (short poems), and concludes with a short list of unusual words. Manado Malay is also one of the varieties included in De Clercq's work on Malay in the Moluccas (1876), in which he provides an extensive wordlist and examples of Malay texts collected in various locations.

The most comprehensive source on Manado Malay is Stoel (2005). Although the primary aim of this work was to examine how focus is marked in Manado Malay, it also provides a thorough and well-organized description of the language, and includes an analysis of the discourse particles which are often not examined in descriptive grammars. An earlier work, which, until the publication of Stoel (2005), was the most informative description of Manado Malay available, is Prentice (1994), which looks at the historical setting of the language, and provides a brief description of the phonology and grammar.

Karisoah Najoan, Liwoso, Djojuroto, and Kembuan (1981) is a summary of the morphology and syntax of Manado Malay. It provides little analysis or explanation. Solea-Warouw (1985) is a Manado Malay-Indonesian dictionary, with some introductory notes on phonology and morphology. Ticoalu (1983) investigates interference from Manado Malay on the Indonesian used in North Sulawesi by civil servants and the mass media.

4.2.2 Language area, speakers, and history of North Moluccan Malay

North Moluccan Malay is spoken in the province of North Maluku,¹⁴ on the island of Halmahera and the islands to the north and west of Halmahera. It is principally used as a language of wider communication by groups speaking other languages, of both Austronesian and Papuan origin, but there are native speakers of North Moluccan Malay on the islands of Ternate, Tidore and Bacan. It is estimated that there are 700,000 speakers of North Moluccan Malay, with about 100,000 native speakers.¹⁵



Map 4.3: North Moluccan Malay

¹⁴ Maluku Utara became a province in 1999. Before that, it was part of the province of Maluku.

¹⁵ Both figures are from Ethnologue (Gordon 2005).

On the islands of Ternate and Tidore, an unusual situation exists, in that many children are raised speaking North Moluccan Malay as a first language, and learn the community language (the Ternate or Tidore language, which are closely-related West Papuan languages) at about the age of six or seven. Van Staden (2000) mentions this situation with regard to the island of Tidore, and it appears to be true of Ternate as well (Gufran Ali Ibrahim, p.c.).

On the islands of Bacan and Mandioli, a small community still exists which speaks a different variety of Malay, termed Bacan Malay, which appears to have a very different history.¹⁶ It has been theorized that this community predates the development of North Moluccan Malay, and may represent an earlier settlement of Malay speakers, possibly from Borneo, from possibly as long as 1000 years ago, or early language contact and resultant language shift. Although Bacan Malay does exhibit some features shared with North Moluccan Malay, possibly due to contact between the two languages over the past 500 years, it also has separate morphological and lexical features which point to a different history (Collins 1983b).

The northern Moluccas have had an important role in world history. Until the 17th century, cloves (*Eugenia aromatica*) were only found on the small islands of Ternate, Tidore, Moti, Makian and Bacan, all located off the west coast of Halmahera. Cloves had been prized in the Middle East and Europe from ancient times,¹⁷ and all the cloves

¹⁶ Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) estimates the size of the Bacan Malay community to number 2500. The long-term vitality of the language is in doubt (Collins 1983b).

¹⁷ It has been claimed that archaeologists have dated preserved cloves found in Syria to c. 1721 BCE (Andaya 1993: 1) and (Turner 2004: xv). Waruno Mahdi (p.c.) disputes this date, and believes linguistic evidence supports the more extensive body of evidence which places the clove's introduction to the west at between the second century BCE and the second

supplying the world's needs came from the northern Moluccas. By the 6th century CE, and possibly earlier, Malay-speaking traders controlled the clove trade (as well as the trade in other products of eastern Indonesia, including nutmeg, mace and sandalwood) (Hall 1992: 198). There are no records of what languages were used to conduct this trade, but it is very likely that Malay had a role of one kind or another from a very early time. It is known that by the time Europeans arrived in the early 16th century, Malay was already established as a regional lingua franca. One of the sailors on Magellan's expedition, Antonia Pigafetta, recorded a 'Tidore Word List' when the expedition, sans Magellan, who had been killed in the Philippines, reached Tidore in late 1521. The word list compiled by Pigafetta turned out to consist mostly of Malay words (Bausani 1960). The first written evidence appears in two letters sent by the Sultan of Ternate to the Portuguese king in 1521 and 1522 (Blagden 1931). These letters were written in literary Malay, but the Malay used exhibited some of the features found in modern North Moluccan Malay.¹⁸ The first work written in North Moluccan Malay did not appear until 1878, when a text on the history of Ternate by Naidah, a native of Ternate, was published (van der Crab 1878). The text is written in a language very similar to modern North Moluccan Malay, showing that the language was fully formed by the late 19th century. It is unlikely that there were many, if any, native speakers at that time, and that the growth of North Moluccan Malay is a more recent occurrence, post-dating Indonesian independence in 1945.

century CE. This linguistic evidence relates to the word for cloves in Indian languages of that era and its likely source in a word meaning 'nail' in Sumatran languages.

¹⁸ For example, the Malay word *bər-pərang* 'to make war' was written as *ba-parang*, illustrating both the loss of the schwa sound in North Moluccan Malay, and the representation of the Malay prefix *bər-* as *ba-*.

It is likely that the language was fully formed long before that time, however, since North Moluccan Malay, complete with large numbers of loan words from the Ternate and Portuguese languages, formed the basis for Manado Malay, which developed in Manado some time between the early 16th century and the late 17th century.

North Moluccan Malay is not identified by that name by its speakers, who do not tend to consider it as a language separate from Indonesian. They are more likely to think of it as an inferior variety of Indonesian and refer to it as *bahasa (Malayu) pasar* ‘(Malay) market language’ or *bahasa hari-hari* ‘daily language’ (Taylor 1983: 14). There is no ‘pure’ variety of the language, and as all speakers command varieties ranging from the colloquial language to something approaching Standard Indonesian, it is more appropriate to consider North Moluccan Malay as a continuum with any particular utterance showing the distinctive features of North Moluccan Malay to a greater or lesser degree depending upon the speaker’s familiarity with North Moluccan Malay and Standard Indonesian, the relative status of the speaker and addressee, and the topic (Voorhoeve 1983: 1). Taylor (1983: 15-16) conducted a sociolinguistic survey in 1978 in a village in northern Halmahera (well outside the area considered as home to native speakers of North Moluccan Malay), and found that 100% of the 123 respondents commanded ‘Indonesian’ (taken here to mean North Moluccan Malay), and that nearly 5% claimed to be monolingual in Indonesian. By contrast, 30 respondents replied that they did not command the local language, Tobelo (West Papuan). Indonesian was the major language of inter-ethnic communication used in the village. In addition, 53 out of 58 households reported that they used Indonesian when speaking to their children, versus only five households which used Tobelo. In view of the fact that this survey was conducted 30 years ago in a rather remote

part of the north Moluccas, it can be assumed that use of Indonesian/North Moluccan Malay has spread, and that the number of speakers using the language, both as a first language and as a second language, may be much higher than reported. A sociolinguistic survey of the province is planned in the future (Gufran Ali Ibrahim, p.c.).

Through universal education in Indonesian and the influence of Indonesian language media and popular culture, the use of Indonesian has certainly increased in urban areas. Although this evidence is anecdotal, I did not hear any language other than Indonesian/North Moluccan Malay spoken by young people on the streets of Ternate, and one of the texts recorded for this study, a recording of family members speaking informally at home in the city of Ternate, was strongly influenced by Standard Indonesian.¹⁹

It is notable that North Moluccan Malay has a large number of loan words (Voorhoeve 1983: 1), more than are found in most other varieties of Malay. The largest number are from the Ternate language and other languages of the north Moluccas (both Austronesian and non-Austronesian). There is also a large number of loans from Portuguese and Dutch which are not found in other varieties of Malay (except, of course, for Manado Malay, which shares the same basic lexicon). The influence of the local languages goes beyond vocabulary. As Taylor (1983: 15) puts it, “The Malay spoken in the North Moluccas has acquired lexical, morphological, and syntactic influences from the non-AN languages of the region.”

A Portuguese creole, Ternateño, was once spoken on Ternate, but is now extinct.

¹⁹ It should be noted that the family in question reported North Moluccan Malay as its sole home language, as the father was a native speaker of the Ternate language, and the mother was from Tidore. The interesting discovery was not that Malay was used at home, but the degree of influence of Standard Indonesian on the home language.

4.2.2.1 Major sources for North Moluccan Malay

De Clercq mentions the Malay of Ternate in his survey of Malay varieties (1876) and provides some texts.

The only published descriptions of North Moluccan Malay are two brief papers published in a volume of the journal *Nusa* in 1983. Voorhoeve (1983) presents a list of the features of North Moluccan Malay which differ from Standard Indonesian, with a focus on phonological differences. He also includes four short texts and a glossary. Taylor (1983) gives some sociolinguistic data on the use of North Moluccan Malay, provides a brief description of some of the features of the language (with examples), and includes three texts of a somewhat longer length than those provided by Voorhoeve. Although these two papers are short, they provide a useful introduction to the language.

Pigafetta's word list from 1521 is reproduced and discussed in Bausani (1960). The letters sent by the Sultan of Tidore to the Portuguese king in 1521 and 1522 are reproduced and analyzed in Blagden (1931). Two good histories of the region are Hanna and Alwi (1990) and Andaya (1993).

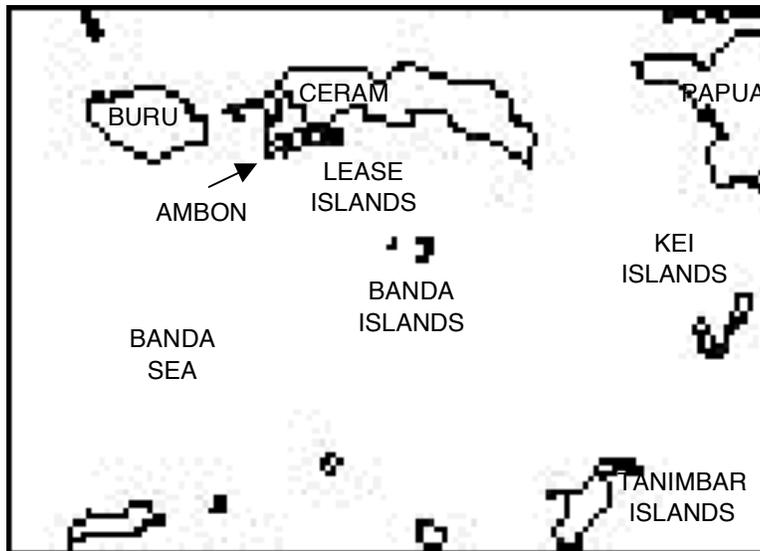
Van Staden (1998) discusses the interface between the Tidore language and North Moluccan Malay, a topic also addressed in her description of Tidore (2000).

4.2.3 Language area, speakers, and history of Ambon Malay

Ambon Malay is spoken in the province Maluku, by about 200,000 native speakers²⁰ located on the island of Ambon, the neighboring islands of Saparua, Haruku and Nusa Laut, along the southern coast of Seram island and in urban locations in the southern

²⁰ This figure is from Ethnologue (Gordon 2005).

Moluccas. In addition, it is widely used as a second language throughout the central and southern Moluccas, by as many as a million speakers.



Map 4.4: Ambon Malay and Banda Malay

Ambon Malay is known as *Malayu Ambong* by its speakers, who often view it as an inferior variety of Indonesian. It is described as having “marginal intelligibility” with Indonesian (Gordon 2005) and “difficult intelligibility” with North Moluccan Malay (Gordon 2005). Although it is regarded as a “Low” variety when compared to Indonesian, it is a “High” variety for speakers of vernacular languages in the Moluccas, and occupies a position between the vernaculars and Indonesian in terms of prestige. It is a marker of regional and ethnic identity in the Moluccas.

Malay has been known in the Moluccas, as a trade language, for centuries. Blust (1988) estimates that Malay has been spoken in Ambon for over 1000 years, though without written records, it is difficult to know precisely how long Malay has been spoken in the region. When Europeans first arrived in the Moluccas in the early 16th century,²¹

²¹ The Portuguese were the first to visit, in 1512, soon after they became established in Malacca in 1511.

Malay was known in trading centers throughout the region,²² including Ambon, which, although it was not originally the source of the spices which traders sought, had a protected harbor in which traders traditionally waited out the monsoon season from February to May, a tradition which was adopted by European traders in the region as well. Malay was spread as a lingua franca by these pre-European traders, who also used Malay as the primary means of spreading the Muslim religion in the eastern islands. The modern city of Ambon, also known as Amboina, did not exist before the Portuguese established a trading center on the southern shore of Ambon Bay in 1524. Over time, this location gained importance for the Portuguese, especially after the Portuguese built a fort there in 1569 and after the Portuguese community which had settled in Ternate fled there in 1575. In 1546 Francis Xavier visited the Moluccas and wrote from Ambon that “Each of these islands has its own native language and there are some islands where they speak differently at each place [on the island]. The Malay language, which is what they speak in Malacca, is very widespread in these parts.”²³ (B.D. Grimes 1991: 95, quoting Jacobs 1974-1984, vol. 1: 13-14).

During the era of extensive Portuguese trade in the area, which lasted until 1605, when the Portuguese surrendered their fort in Ambon to the Dutch,²⁴ many Portuguese loan words entered the Malay spoken in the Moluccas. Although varieties of Malay in the western part of the Malay archipelago have a significant number of loan words from

²² B.D. Grimes (1991: 94, quoting Jacobs 1974:-84 vol. 1: 267) mentions that Francisco Viera wrote in 1559 that the Portuguese found “*a lengua malaya que por todas estas partes corre*” (“the Malay language which runs through all these parts”).

²³ Original quote: “*Cada isla destas tiene lengua por si, ay isla que quasi caza lugar della tiene habla diferente. La lengua malaya, que es la que se habla en Malaca, es muy general por estas partes.*” (B.D. Grimes 1991:95)

²⁴ The Dutch, in this case, were the representatives of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC), which administered the Moluccas from 1605 until an actual Dutch colonial government took over in 1817.

Portuguese, there are far more in Ambon Malay, including kinship terms and pronouns (Abdurachman 1972). Under the Portuguese, and later the Dutch, Malay, which had previously served as the vehicle for the spread of Islam, became identified with the spread of Christianity. On the island of Ambon today, there is an even divide between Christians and Muslims. The Christians, for the most part, are native speakers of Ambon Malay, and the Muslims, with few exceptions, are native speakers of vernacular languages.

The Dutch initially attempted to make Ambon a colony “where the Dutch language ruled” (B.D. Grimes 1991: 97, quoting Brugmans 1938:211), but soon found this would not work and settled on Malay as the language of education and administration. The Dutch authorities attempted to introduce literary Malay, or High Malay, through a decree in 1689, which created a serious gap in communication initially, and eventually led to the diglossia still found in the region (which has been reinforced by education in Standard Indonesian since Indonesian independence in 1945). The Dutch church also decided upon literary Malay as its vehicle for spreading the gospel, which led to a situation in which the parishioners had little understanding of the scriptures or sermons (Steinhauer 1991b).

Although Malay has been spoken in Ambon for many centuries, it is unclear precisely when the language began to change from a second language used as a *lingua franca* to a native language used by a specific community. It is clear that the language had crystallized and had become sufficiently divergent from the Malay of western Indonesia for the Dutch authorities to issue a decree in 1689 mandating education in Standard Malay, and this could be an indication that a community of native Malay speakers existed at that time. B.D. Grimes (1991) takes the position that native speakers only began to appear in the 19th century. It is certain that by the early 19th century, there was indeed a community of native

Malay speakers, and today the Ambon Malay language continues to gain new speakers at the expense of speakers of vernacular languages throughout the central and southern Moluccas.

Ambon Malay has been influenced by the local vernacular languages of Ambon island, some of which have been replaced by Ambon Malay. The vernaculars which are still spoken on Ambon (chiefly on the northern Hitu peninsula of the island, by Muslim communities) and the Lease islands (Haruku, Saparua, Nusa Laut) are Asilulu, Hitu, Haruku, Laha, Larike-Wakasihu, Nusa Laut, Saparua, Seit-Kaitetu, and Tulehu.

A Portuguese Creole, now extinct, was once spoken on Ambon.

4.2.3.1 Major sources for Ambon Malay

De Clercq (1876) includes Ambon Malay in his survey of Malay varieties, and includes texts. Abdurachman (1972) discusses Portuguese loan words in Ambon Malay, while van Minde (2002) examines loan words from European languages in general. Collins (1974) is a brief description of Ambon Malay within a generative grammar framework. Collins (1980a) evaluates the arguments for and against Ambon Malay being classified as a creole language, based upon the definitions then current in the linguistic world. Collins (1980b) and (1981) describe the effects of Malay (and specifically Ambon Malay) on vernaculars of the region. Collins (1983a) discusses the development of the possessive construction in Ambonese Malay. B.D. Grimes (1991) and (1994) give a historical view of the development of Ambon Malay and describe some of its features. Van Minde and Tjia (2002) discusses the use of the morphemes *su* and *suda* in Ambon Malay. Tjia (2001) looks at language attitudes in relation to Ambon Malay.

The most valuable and comprehensive source on Ambon Malay is van Minde (1997), a description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Ambon Malay. This work also includes texts collected in Ambon Malay.

4.2.4 Language area, speakers, and history of Banda Malay

Banda Malay is spoken by approximately 13,500 people, on the Banda islands and in Banda refugee communities on the islands of Seram and Ambon. The Banda Islands are located in the Banda Sea, about 140 kilometers south of the island of Seram, and consist of about 10 small volcanic islands, with a total area of about 180 km² (40 square miles) rising out of a deep sea. Map 4.4. in Section 4.2.3 shows the location of the Banda islands. The Banda Malay language is used as a first language by all but recent immigrants to the islands, and is the sole language used on a daily basis by most of the inhabitants of the islands, although there is widespread knowledge of Indonesian as well. The population of the Banda Islands numbers about 9500, and there are sizeable communities of refugees from the islands residing in refugee villages (set up by the government) on the islands of Seram (± 3000 people) and the island of Ambon (± 1000 people). These refugees left the island in 1999 during the widespread inter-religious strife which took place in the Moluccas at that time, and represent almost the entire Christian population of the islands. The population remaining on the islands is nearly 100% Muslim.

The Banda Islands were the original source for the nutmeg tree (*Myristica fragrans*), which produced the highly-valued spices nutmeg and mace, which were used for flavoring, preservatives and medicines, and which were among the spices which inspired the European age of exploration. Banda had long been known to traders and mariners in the pre-European Indonesian archipelago, and the Malay language was known in the Banda

Islands, though probably not as a first language. The Banda language spoken in the islands at that time was a central Moluccan Austronesian language. When the first Europeans, the Portuguese, arrived in 1512, they found a well-established trading community in Banda, dealing in nutmeg and mace, as well as other products from the Moluccas region, such as cloves and slaves. The Banda community, which had embraced the Muslim religion, was led by indigenous leaders, termed *orang kaya* (Malay for ‘rich men’) who conducted trade negotiations with outsiders. The native trade continued through the sixteenth century with no disturbance, with the Portuguese as the main European customers. However, the Dutch first visited in 1599, followed by the English in 1601, two occurrences which were to have a lasting and tragic impact upon Banda. While the English set up trading posts on the islands of Run and Ai in 1602, the Dutch negotiated an “irrevocable monopoly” for the nutmeg trade (Hanna 1978: 19). There are indications the *orang kaya* never intended to truly grant a monopoly, as they were dependent upon the continued trade with Asian traders to deliver food and useable cloth, and they were unaware that the Dutch were indeed serious about the agreement.

Over the next twenty years, hostilities flared up between the Dutch and the Banda islanders, and between the Dutch and the British, who had continued to trade on the islands of Run and Ai. In 1621, the new Governor General of the Dutch V.O.C. (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or United East India Company), Jan Pieterszoon Coen, set out to solve the Banda problem once and for all. Coen arrived at Banda on February 27, 1621, having sailed from Batavia via Ambon, with an army of 1655 Europeans as well as about 400 Javanese convicts, Japanese mercenaries, freed slaves and Dutch merchants on board 52 ships. The Dutch force proceeded to depopulate the islands, killing many of the

islanders, and sending thousands into slavery back on Java. Of the estimated 15,000 inhabitants of the Banda islands at the time, it is thought that no more than one thousand remained alive on the islands when the carnage was over (Hanna 1978: 55). Some islanders escaped to Seram island, and the Kei and Aru archipelagos southeast of Banda. Indeed, two villages on the island of Kei Besar, Banda Elat and Banda Eli, are the only place the original Banda language is still spoken today, a linguistic anomaly, in that this Central Moluccan language is now only spoken in the southeast Moluccas, surrounded by languages which are only distantly related to it. Of the Malay language spoken in the Banda islands before 1621, a variety which Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 684) call 'Banda Malay I', there is no record. It certainly had an important role in society, as the village headmen were known by the Malay name *orang kaya*, and it was certainly well known, at least by traders, as the Javanese, Malay, Buginese, Arab and Chinese traders who traded in the islands presumably used Malay as their trade language, as did the Europeans who followed them. There is one hint as to its character, as the name for Run Island in English records is *Pooloroon*, reflecting the loss of word-final diphthongs common in Vehicular Malay and the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia (Malay *pulau* → VM **pulo* 'island').

After the islands had been depopulated, Coen instituted a policy designed to permanently assert Dutch control and a monopoly of the nutmeg trade. He set up a system whereby the productive land of the islands was divided into 68 parcels, or *perken*, run by *perkeniers*, Dutch free citizens of often disreputable backgrounds, with the produce from these plantations sold at predetermined rates to the V.O.C. Each plantation was supplied with slaves to work the land by the V.O.C., which also provided food and other necessities.

Despite bumps along the way, the *perken* system lasted for three hundred years, and gave Banda much of the character it has today.²⁵

Linguistically, the *perken* system led to a single language being used throughout the Banda islands, and that language was Banda Malay. Almost nothing is known of the development of Banda Malay. The slaves who initially repopulated the islands came from a widely diverse background, including, according to Hanna (1978: 62), “Papuan from New Guinea, Alfuru from Ceram [Seram], and various tribespeople from Buru, Timor and Borneo.” By 1638, the population consisted of 3,482 persons, according to a German visitor at that time (Hanna 1978:66), of whom 351 were V.O.C. personnel, 91 were free Dutch citizens (including the *perkeniers*), 20 were European women, 77 were children of European or mixed parentage, 560 were native Bandanese (of whom 211 were slaves), and 2,743 were “others,” of whom 1910 were slaves. This diverse group²⁶ presumably spoke a wide range of native languages, but it is likely that within a generation or two, most inhabitants of the islands were speaking Banda Malay as their sole language. The conditions were the prototypical conditions for the development of a creole, and it is not unlikely that the language which developed in the Banda islands went through the expected stages that a creole language goes through. By the time that the first (and only) observation was made of the Banda Malay language, Declerq (1876) found Banda Malay to be similar to Ambon Malay. It is not unlikely that, whatever form the Banda Malay language originally took in the years after 1621, its close location to Ambon, regular interaction with

²⁵ The last *perkenier*, Wim de Broeke, was killed in the religious conflict which flared up in 1999.

²⁶ A particularly enlightening quote from Hanna (1978: 2) which places the newly emerging society in perspective: “The original Bandanese population was decimated by the Westerners, then replenished by an influx of both European and Asian newcomers—free men and slaves, drifters and refugees of many languages, races, and religions.”

the administration and citizens of Ambon, and shared source of income in the spice trade led to convergence of the two varieties to some degree.

The unusual beginnings of this new Banda Malay language (which Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 684) label ‘Banda Malay II’ may have had some lasting effects on the language. There is certainly some variation in lexical items between Ambon Malay and Banda Malay, a fact which is pointed out by speakers of both varieties. The Banda Malay informants interviewed for this study provided a list of several dozen lexical items which were only found in Banda Malay, and speakers of Ambon Malay said they could recognize a Banda Malay accent immediately (indeed, the Banda Malay language has a very different cadence and intonation from Ambon Malay).

One further development may have had an effect on the language as well. In 1999, as a result of religious conflict in the islands, the Christian community, making up about one-fifth of the population of the islands, was evacuated to Seram and Ambon islands, where refugee villages have been built, and in which Banda Malay remains the language of home and community.²⁷ The informants interviewed for this study maintained that there are no differences between the language used by Christians and by Muslims, but this subject has not been studied, and is not within the scope of the current study. The long-term vitality of the Banda Malay language in these refugee communities is in doubt, and, indeed, the informants for this study said that school-age children in the communities were using Ambon Malay, rather than Banda Malay, as their primary language.

²⁷ One of the Banda villages on Ambon is named “Revenge”, after a British ship which was important in the history of Banda, but a rather ominous name given the current circumstances of the community. The inhabitants of the village claim to have no idea what the name means.

A Portuguese Creole was once spoken in the Banda islands (Gordon 2005), but is long extinct.

4.2.4.1 Sources for Banda Malay

De Clercq (1876) includes Banda Malay in his survey and word list of Malay varieties, but has nothing to say about the language apart from commenting on the similarity of Banda Malay to Ambon Malay.²⁸ Stokhof (1982) reprints some of the so-called “Holle lists,” word lists collected in the late 19th century by Dutch administrators, including three lists collected in the Banda islands, at ‘Banda’ (unknown location), ‘Sekola Neira’ (presumably a school on Banda Neira island) and ‘Sekola Lonthoir’ (presumably a school on Banda Besar island).

Other than those collections of lexical items, there are only a few references even to the existence of Banda Malay in the literature, in Prentice (1978), Wurm and Hattori (1981), B.D. Grimes (1991), and Adelaar and Prentice (1996). Grimes (1991: 85) says, in a footnote, that “a good description of Banda Malay is needed, along with notes on the similarities between Banda Malay and [Ambon Malay] and other Malay lingua franca varieties in eastern Indonesia.” This work is a first, albeit modest, step in that direction.

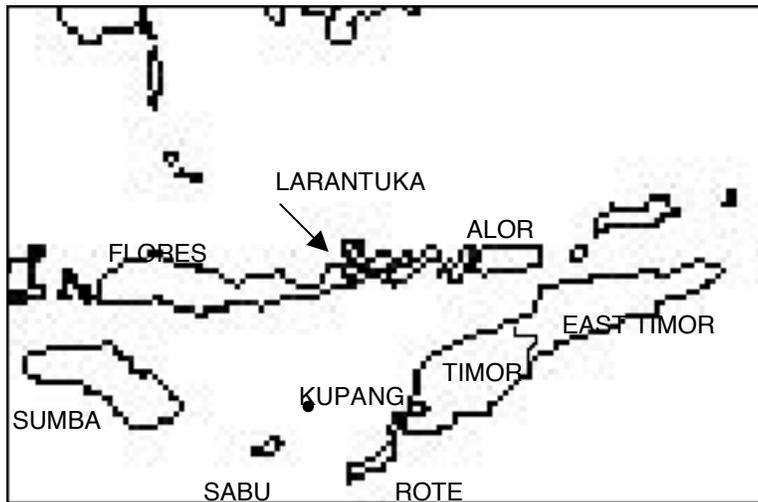
4.2.5 Language area, speakers, and history of Kupang Malay

Kupang Malay is spoken on the island of Timor and nearby islands in the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur. There are approximately 200,000 native speakers of Kupang Malay²⁹ in the city of Kupang and surrounding areas, with perhaps another 400,000 second language speakers. Second language speakers of Kupang Malay are primarily found in and

²⁸ The exact quote: “*Te Ambon heeft men werder een afzonderlijk Maleisch, waarvan het Bandische dialect nog een bijzonderen vorm aanbiedt.*”

²⁹ This figure is from Ethnologue (Gordon 2005).

around the city of Kupang and through the western part of Timor island, as well as the nearby islands of Semau and Rote, and speak a variety of native languages, including Uab Meto, Helong, Amarasi, Sabu, and “Rote” (commonly considered as a single language, but actually seven languages spoken on the island of Rote (Gordon 2005)).



Map 4.5: Kupang Malay

The city of Kupang is a cosmopolitan community with immigrants from throughout the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, as well as immigrants from outside the province. Kupang Malay serves as the main language of daily life in the city, and is the native language of a majority of the population.

The Malay language was originally brought to Kupang as a trade language through the sandalwood (*Santalum album*) trade, which was centered on the island of Timor, and has likely been used as a trade language in the area for well over a thousand years. It is unknown when a community using Kupang Malay as a native language first developed, and whether it predates the arrival of the first Europeans in the area in the early 16th century. During the Dutch colonial era, however, Kupang developed into a multi-ethnic port, with large numbers of Chinese, Rotinese and others, and it is likely that Kupang Malay was the native language of at least a segment of this community. Kupang, however,

remained a relatively small settlement until after Indonesian independence. The population has grown from 3,500 in 1916 to over 80,000 in 1980 to an estimated 300,000 today. This rapid growth has been matched by the growth in the community of native speakers of Kupang Malay, who today are estimated to number some 200,000, of which the largest ethnic groups are the Rotinese and Sabunese.³⁰ Other significant ethnic groups in Kupang are Javanese and Chinese, as well as immigrants from the islands of Flores, Sumba, Alor, Solor and other islands of the province, as well as Timor island itself. The role of Kupang as a regional trade center, and later, provincial capital, has led to Kupang Malay being a regional lingua franca for interethnic communication. One result has been the relatively large number of loan words and calques occurring in Kupang Malay originating in local languages of the region. There are also a number of borrowings from Dutch which do not occur in other contact varieties of Malay.

Kupang Malay is generally not identified by that name by its speakers, who do not tend to consider it as a language separate from Indonesian. They are more likely to think of it as an inferior variety of Indonesian. It is hard to draw a line between Kupang Malay and Indonesian, as all speakers command varieties ranging from the colloquial language to something approaching Standard Indonesian. It is more meaningful to view Kupang Malay as a continuum with any particular utterance showing the distinctive features of Kupang Malay to a greater or lesser degree depending upon the speaker and the topic. Through universal education in Indonesian and the influence of Indonesian language media and

³⁰ The sources for these numbers are: Steinhauer (1983: 42) for the 1916 and 1980 figures, the Indonesia guide by Lonely Planet (2007) for the current population of Kupang, and Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) for the number of speakers of Kupang Malay.

popular culture, the use of Indonesian and familiarity with Standard Indonesian is increasing.

There is one clearly identified dialect of Kupang Malay, the Air Mata dialect, spoken in a section of Kupang city geographically set apart from the rest of the city. Air Mata is one of only two Muslim neighborhoods in Kupang (the other twenty-three being primarily Christian). The dialect has been noted by Steinhauer (1983: 43), Jacob and Grimes (2003: 10) and Jacob and Grimes (2007: 2). In this dialect, for example, the Kupang Malay negator *sonde* becomes *honde*.

There are attempts to increase public awareness of Kupang Malay as a valid language and a language worth appreciating and preserving. There is a publisher (Artha Wacana Press) which has produced a dictionary as well as children's books and translations of bible stories in Kupang Malay, all of which are produced by trained linguists. There have also been efforts to have Kupang Malay recognized as a language of instruction in elementary schools in Kupang city (Jacob and B.D. Grimes 2006).

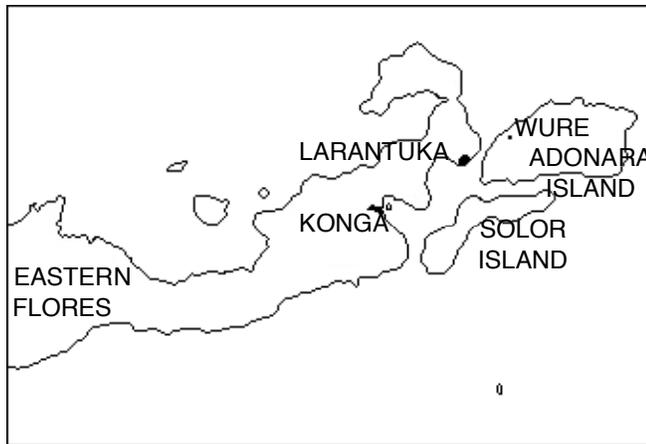
4.2.5.1 Major sources for Kupang Malay

De Clercq mentions the Malay of Kupang in his survey of Malay varieties (1876) and provides some texts. The only published description of Kupang Malay is a brief but informative paper (Steinhauer 1983) published in a volume of the journal *Nusa*. Jacob and C. Grimes (2003) is a well-organized Kupang Malay-Indonesian dictionary, which includes idioms and some descriptive notes on the language. Mboeik et al (1984) is an unpublished report prepared for the Project for the Investigation of Indonesian and Regional Language and Arts of the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture, which provides a simple description of the structure of Kupang Malay. The description is rather heavily influenced

by Indonesian structure, and is not as useful as might have been desired. B.D. Grimes (2005), Jacob and B.D. Grimes (2006), Jacob and C. Grimes (2007) and Jacob (2007) are unpublished papers dealing with aspects of the Kupang Malay language. The first two of these, B.D. Grimes (2005) and Jacob and B.D. Grimes (2006), examine the sociolinguistic setting and efforts to promote awareness of and recognition of the language. Jacob and C. Grimes (2007) examines serial verb constructions in Kupang Malay, and examines some possible sources of these constructions in the vernacular languages of the region. Jacob (2007) looks at three grammaticized particles in Kupang Malay and discusses their functions. Jacob (2004) is a children's book in Kupang Malay.

4.2.6 Language area, speakers, and history of Larantuka Malay

Larantuka Malay is spoken in and around the city of Larantuka on the island of Flores, and in two enclaves: the village of Wure on the island of Adonara (across a narrow strait from Larantuka) and four villages on Konga Bay, about 40 kilometers south of Larantuka, and serves more generally as a lingua franca on the eastern tip of Flores and nearby islands. There are approximately 23,000 native speakers of Larantuka Malay. Second language speakers of Larantuka Malay are primarily found in and around the city of Larantuka and through the eastern part of Flores island, as well as the nearby islands of Adonara, Solor and Lembata (Lomblen), and natively speak Lamaholot or other languages closely related to Lamaholot, which, until recently, were believed to be dialects of Lamaholot.



Map 4.6: Larantuka Malay

The city of Larantuka today is a fairly homogeneous community, and although it is largely made up of speakers of Larantuka Malay, many of whom trace their ancestry back to Portuguese settlers and their followers from the Malay peninsula who arrived in Larantuka in the 17th century, it actually had roots in diverse communities drawn to the settlement. Steinhauer (1991: 181) reports that Vatter, a German historian, reported in 1932 that the Larantuka community was at least partly formed from immigrants from Rote, Sabu, Makassar (Buginese) and Ternate. There is also a small Chinese community which has a long history in Larantuka. The Larantuka Malay community maintains a separate cultural and linguistic identity from the Lamaholot speakers who surround the city. Larantuka Malay serves as the main language of daily life in the city, and is the native language of a majority of the population.

Larantuka Malay is known by its speakers as Bahasa Nagi, a name probably deriving from the word *negeri*, meaning ‘village’ (ultimately from Sanskrit). *Nagi* is also the term for the city and the ethnic group who speak the language. The community has a strong ethnic identity, and, unlike in other parts of eastern Indonesia where Malay is

spoken, speakers of Larantuka Malay tend to differentiate their language from the national language, Indonesian, although some interference does occur.

Larantuka was a Portuguese outpost from the late sixteenth century until the mid nineteenth century, and for part of that period, from the fall of the Portuguese settlement in Solor³¹ in 1613, when “Portuguese, mestizoes and Dominicans” (Steinhauer 1991: 181) moved to Larantuka, until the rise of the Portuguese colony in East Timor, it was Portugal’s chief colony in the region. It is therefore not surprising that the Portuguese language has had a profound effect on the development of Larantuka Malay. Even more importantly, when the Portuguese stronghold in Malacca fell to the Dutch in 1641, the Portuguese authorities fled to Larantuka, bringing with them about 2000 followers, servants and slaves from Malacca, who were speakers of peninsular Malay. As a result, the influence of peninsular Malay can be seen in the phonology and lexicon of Larantuka Malay. In 1660, Catholic families fled from Makassar to Larantuka, some of whom had fled Malacca in 1641 (Kumanireng 1993: 5). Many Larantuka families trace their origins to the Portuguese and even to Malacca. A large number of Larantukans today have Portuguese family names, although they are not always immediately recognizable as such (the common family name Karwayu derives from Portuguese Carvalho, for example). The prevalence of Portuguese family names is at least partly due to intermarriage, but also to baptism practices. In Monteiro’s dictionary (1975), 6% of the words are of Portuguese origin, as opposed to 1% of Dutch origin (Steinhauer 1991: 182).

³¹ The Portuguese has established a fort on Solor in 1561. Before the Portuguese fled from Solor to Larantuka in 1613, it is estimated there were 100 families in Larantuka (Steinhauer 1991: 181).

Steinhauer (1993: 181), quotes a Portuguese historian, António Pinto da França, as remarking in 1985 that “the Portuguese influence in Indonesia was the effect of a daily contact between Indonesian and humble Portuguese priests, sailors, merchants and soldiers—a relationship between man and man.” Steinhauer insightfully adds “That the relationship may have been between man and woman also may be apparent from words such as /jetu/ ‘handsome’, /dɛnadu/ ‘naughty’, /kajumeNtu/ ‘determination of the wedding date’, /fɛmili/ ‘family, to be family’, /kəwalu/ ‘to carry a child on one’s shoulders’ (cf. Portuguese *jeito* ‘appearance, manner’, *denodadu* ‘bold, daring’, *casamento* ‘wedding’, *família* ‘family’, *cavalo* ‘horse’.”

The Portuguese language long had a role in Larantuka, and was mentioned in a 1924 comment on Larantuka, which remarked that “Christians in Larantuka used to learn Portuguese” (Steinhauer 1991, reporting on Bierman’s 1924 paper). Even today, Portuguese hymns are sung in church, although the meaning of the words is not known.³²

A sizeable contribution to the Larantuka Malay language has also been made by words borrowed from the local vernacular Lamaholot, which, according to Marcel Yeri Fernandez Akoli (p.c.), a linguist at Nusa Cendana University in Kupang and a native speaker of Larantuka Malay, outnumber borrowings from Portuguese by a significant margin. Steinhauer (1991: 194) notes that “a large part of [Larantuka Malay] vocabulary consists of words that resist easy etymologies, however. These words are probably of local origin [i.e. Lamaholot].”

³² A village elder in Wure recited a Portuguese prayer to me which he had memorized as a young man, and then asked me what it meant.

There are three dialects of Larantuka Malay, which, although they have continued to interact through the years, may have been geographically separate for over 300 years. The largest dialect is that spoken in Larantuka, which in 1989 had 18,012 speakers (Kumanireng 1993: 7). A separate dialect is spoken in four villages (Boru, Nuri, Nobokonga and Pululera) located near Konga Bay, about 40 kilometers south of the town of Larantuka, with a total of 3567 speakers in 1989 (Kumanireng 1993: 12). The third dialect is spoken in the village of Wure on the island of Adonara, across the Larantuka Strait from the city of Larantuka, with 889 speakers in 1989 (Kumanireng 1993: 9). Local traditions in Konga and Wure maintain that their ancestors left Larantuka in the 17th century to found these new settlements due to disputes, although Steinhauer (1991: 180) quotes a German historian, Vatter, who wrote in 1932 that Wure was founded in the 18th century in an act of “conscious seclusion” as the result of an old feud with Larantuka. The differences between the dialects are chiefly lexical (Kumanireng 1993: 12).

Until Indonesia’s independence in 1945, Larantuka Malay was a prestige language in the region, and was used in elementary education, spreading the Catholic religion, and business (Kumanireng 1993: 7).

Larantuka Malay has a very different history than other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia. Unlike Manado, Ternate, Banda, Ambon and Kupang, Larantuka was not a trade center or regional administrative center, and Malay was never an important trade language. Unlike the other six varieties, Larantuka Malay was never used as a lingua franca between peoples of varying linguistic backgrounds. Unlike the other varieties, there has never been any significant language shift in eastern Flores from vernacular languages to Malay. The speakers today of Larantuka Malay represent the descendants of Malay

speakers (which likely included both first and second language speakers) who were transplanted to the region in the mid 17th century. This unique history has had an effect on the development and maintenance of the Larantuka Malay language, and this effect can be seen in the form of the language today.

4.2.6.1 Major sources for Larantuka Malay

There are only a few published sources on Larantuka Malay, although there are some very valuable unpublished resources. Steinhauer (1991) is a short description of the language, with extensive notes on the phonology and its development. Kumanireng (1982) talks about the sociolinguistic setting and diglossia in Larantuka. Dietrich (1997) describes spatial orientation in Larantuka Malay, from an anthropologist's perspective, and investigates the origins of the Larantuka Malay system of spatial orientation by comparing it to the system used in Lamaholot.

Unpublished resources include a study done for the Research Project on the Languages and Literatures of Indonesia and the East Nusa Tenggara Region (Monteiro et al 1985) which gives an overview of the morphology and syntax of Larantuka Malay, a Larantuka Malay-Indonesian dictionary (Monteiro 1975), and a Ph.D. dissertation from the University of Indonesia which provides a thorough description of the phonology, morphology and phrase structure of the language (Kumanireng 1993). These latter two resources are particularly valuable in documenting and describing Larantuka Malay.

4.2.7 Language area, speakers, and history of Papua Malay³³

Papua Malay is spoken on the Indonesian half of the island of New Guinea, particularly in coastal areas, as well as on neighboring islands, notably Biak, Yapen, Numfoor, and the Raja Ampat islands. It is used as a language of wider communication for many of the 2.2 million people in Indonesian New Guinea. Burung and Sawaki (2007: 1) estimate that Papua Malay is spoken by approximately one million people. A survey conducted of major urban areas by SIL (Kim et al 2007: 3) shows that 80% of respondents in Jayapura (in the north) and 83% of respondents in Merauke (in the south) use Papua Malay as their primary language. It is reportedly spoken as a first language by some communities, and quite possibly a growing number of communities, in which younger speakers are abandoning the traditional languages for Malay.

Malay has had a presence in the coastal areas for a long time. Malay-speaking traders visited what is now Indonesian Papua (and beyond) before the European colonial era. The Raja Ampat islands to the northwest of Papua and the north coast of the Bird's Head region in northwestern Papua were included in the lands under the influence of the Sultan of Tidore before the first Europeans visited. Malay traders were known in other coastal areas, particularly in the north and west, and even in the eastern half of the island.³⁴

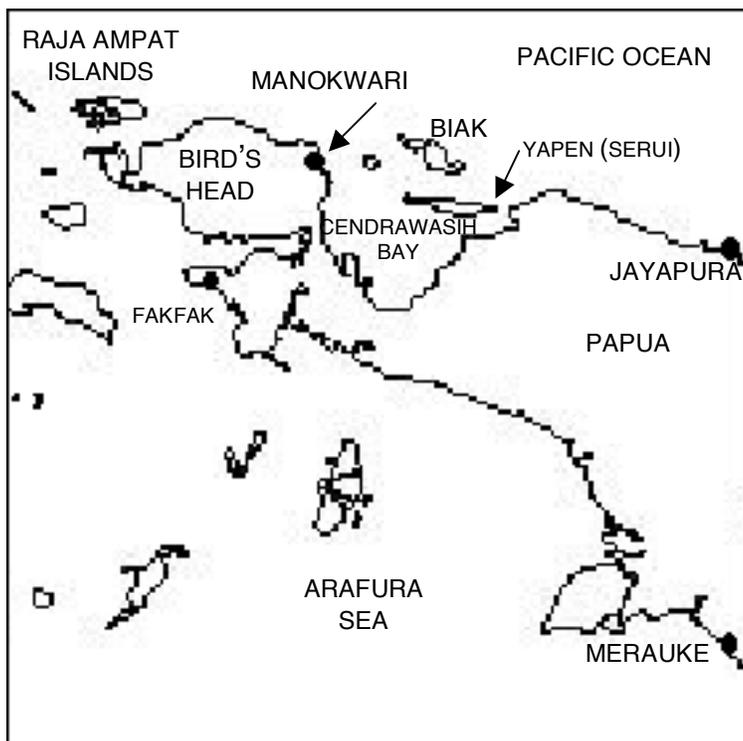
Seiler (1983) mentions that Malay was used as a lingua franca in the eastern part of Papua

³³ I owe much to Mark Donohue, who has informed me of much of what I know of Papua Malay, both through his as yet unpublished paper on Papuan Malay (Donohue: to appear) and through very informative discussions on the topic.

³⁴ A fair number of Malay words made their way into Tok Pisin, the English-based creole language of Papua New Guinea, which apparently had its beginnings in the islands of the Bismarck archipelago in the 19th century. Malay was obviously known to some extent as a contact language in that region, as attested by words such as *susu* 'breast' (<Malay *susu* 'milk, breast'), *sayor* 'leafy vegetable' (<(Low) Malay *sayor* 'vegetable'). *lombo* 'chili pepper' (<Malay *lombok* 'chili pepper') and *binatang* 'insect' (<Malay *binatang* 'animal').

New Guinea in the late 19th century as a result of the trade in bird of paradise feathers and again after World War II when the Dutch administered westernmost Australian New Guinea. Donahue adds:

“there are some Papuan-Malay speaking villages within the borders of Papua New Guinea, villages that have been set up in the 1960s following the exodus of people from the west when Indonesia took over. Villages such as Skou-Tiau speak Malay, with little regular contact with the varieties of Malay/Indonesian that are spoken across the border in [Indonesian] Papua. In Nyao, further north, Malay is also spoken (even by young children born decades after the move to Papua New Guinea), along with the local language. These villages represent a unique opportunity to study varieties of local Malay without the constant influence of the national standard language.” (Donahue to appear: 6)



Map 4.7: Papua Malay

When the Dutch began including Papua in their colonial empire in the 19th century (and more extensively in the 20th century), they found Malay was known as a local lingua franca in some areas, and they used it as a language for colonial administration.

Missionaries who brought the Christian religion to many communities (and, in some areas,

the Muslim religion) used Malay as the language of religious propagation. Starting in the 19th century, many of these missionaries, as well as many traders, were from the central Moluccas, so Ambon Malay was the variety of Malay many people in Papua modeled their own speech on, an influence which can still be seen today.

Precisely what varieties of Malay were known in which regions of Papua is still unknown, but there is linguistic evidence that both North Moluccan Malay (on the north and east coasts of the Bird's Head and in parts of Cendrawasih Bay, including the islands of Biak and Numfoor) and Ambon Malay (in the western and southern Bird's Head, the Bomberai peninsula, and in other parts of Cendrawasih Bay, including the island of Yapen) have been influential. The precise amount of influence of these varieties remains to be discovered.

Since the Dutch left New Guinea in 1963, and the region became the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya (in 1969), the Malay/Indonesian language has become the primary lingua franca of the region, and Standard Indonesian is taught in the schools, used in the mass media, and used in government administration and services.

It's not even certain whether or not there is a single variety of Malay which can be properly termed "Papua Malay". Donohue (to appear) names four varieties of Malay in Papua with which he is familiar, although there may be more distinct varieties, or all the varieties may just be variations of a "Papuan Malay." Whether there is one Papuan Malay or several Papuan Malays is a question outside the scope of the current study. There is an ongoing survey at the current time intended to shed some light on this question, conducted by researchers from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) (Kim et al 2007), and it is hoped that, before too long, we will have a better idea of what the variety or varieties currently

termed Papua Malay are. Initial results of the survey indicate that there may be two distinct varieties of Papuan Malay, in the north and south, with some regional variation in each.

The four varieties named by Donohue are:

- South Coast Papua Malay. This variety, spoken in Merauke, along the coast and for some distance inland features several unique lexical items borrowed from the Marind language, including *saham* ‘wallaby’, *nggat* ‘dog’ and even a discourse particle, *pele* ‘you’re kidding’. Donohue adds that there are lexical items found in the north which are unknown in this region. Donohue and Smith (1998) report that the 1PL pronoun *kita* is different in this variety as compared to North Papua Malay (*kitong*).

- Serui Malay. Serui Malay has been described by van Velzen (1995). It is the variety spoken in Cendrawasih Bay (known during the Dutch era as Geelvink Bay) apart from the islands of Biak and Numfoor. Although it shares most features with North Papua Malay, there are lexical differences, and differing details of pronunciation. The negator in Serui Malay is *tida*, while other varieties in Papua tend to use *t(a)ra/t(a)rada*, and the non-referential object is *akang* (as in Ambon Malay), while *de* is more common in other parts of Papua. Serui Malay may be the variety spoken in Manokwari and other towns in the eastern Bird’s Head region.

- Bird’s Head Malay. This variety, spoken around the towns of Sorong, Fakfak and Koiwai, appears to be closely related to Ambon Malay, with lexical items from Ambon Malay and grammatical constructions not found elsewhere in Papua.

- North Papua Malay. This is the variety described in Donohue (to appear) as well as a description by Suharno (1983). It is spoken in villages from Sarmi in the west to the Papua New Guinea border, including Yos Sudarso Bay (formerly Humboldt Bay) and the

town of Jayapura, a region which was a focus of Malay traders and Dutch colonial administrators. It features innovations not shared by other varieties of Malay in Papua, and is distinct from Serui Malay, which has been influenced more by Ambon Malay. Donohue (to appear: 2) notes that there is “variation depending on the grammar of the first language of the people who speak Malay, or the grammar of the language that was previously predominant in the area,” which indicates that there has been language shift to Malay in some communities in the area. Donohue mentions that the original inhabitants of this area included the Tabla, Ormu, Kayu Batu, Kayu Pulau, Tobati, Enggros, Sentani, Nafri, Elseng and Skou, and that there has been significant in-migration of other ethnic groups.

Donohue notes that the northern varieties show clear influence from North Moluccan Malay in lexical items such as *kelemarin* ‘yesterday’ which are not found on the south coast. The amount of influence on the northern variety or varieties from North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay is still unclear, although the historical role of speakers of both of these varieties in Papua is known.

There appears to be a leveling of regional differences in urban areas in the north while this may not be happening at the same pace in the south (Donohue to appear: 2).

Identifying regional varieties is complicated by two factors. First, there are 269 languages spoken in Papua (not including any varieties of Malay), of which 54 are Austronesian, with the remainder being “Papuan” languages, an umbrella term for non-Austronesian languages of multiple families as well as isolates. Each of these languages has its own grammatical and phonological system which can influence the Malay spoken by individuals and communities. Donohue (to appear: 3) notes that “some local varieties [of Malay], however, spoken in areas where Malay has a long history, have been heavily

influenced by first-language phonologies, and show strong deviations from more standard varieties of Malay.”

Secondly, a large number of speakers of Papuan Malay are second-language speakers, and this too influences the linguistic systems of individuals and communities and makes standardization over a region of disparate ethnicities difficult. It is still unknown how many first language speakers there are of Papuan Malay, although it is known that some ethnic groups are shifting to Malay as a first language.³⁵ A growing number of first-language speakers could lead to standardization of Papuan Malay across different regions, or could reinforce regional varieties with features attributable to the influence of different substrate languages in each region.

Many speakers of Papuan Malay do not consider their Malay as a unique variety, and refer to their speech as “Indonesian”. If there is any term used for the variety spoken in Papua, it is *Melayu Papua* ‘Papua Malay’, although this term is not widely used or even recognized. The basilectal variety of Papuan Malay exists in a continuum with Standard Indonesian, with no clear division between the varieties, and speakers may use structures or lexical items which are at any point on this continuum depending upon the situation, the interlocutors or their own familiarity with the standard language. The informant interviewed for this study, who had no education in formal Indonesian (or any language), did not distinguish between Papuan Malay and Indonesian, and, when asked if there were any differences in language use when the Dutch left and the Indonesians arrived in 1963, said:

³⁵ Donohue (1999: 4) reports that for the Warembori, a small ethnic group on the north coast of Papua, just to the west of the region identified as speaking North Papua Malay, language shift to Malay from the Warembori language is occurring and that “Children under the age of twenty do not display any ability to speak the [Warembori] language at all.” Donohue (p.c.) says that this is not the only place this is occurring, and it is likely that the pattern is more widespread.

- (1) *Stela Blanda, Indonesia datan. Indonesia datan juga kiton masi*
 after Dutch Indonesia come Indonesia come also 1PL still
 ‘After the Dutch, the Indonesians came. The Indonesians came while we

ada di sini. Sehari-hari kiton pake Melayu juga. Indonesia
 exist LOC here one-REDUP-day 1PL use Malay also Indonesia
 were still here. Every day we spoke Malay, then the Indonesians came,

datan, iya, sama saja kiton sama, pake Indonesia sama.
 come yes same only 1PL same use Indonesia same
 yes, it was just the same, speaking Indonesian was just the same.’ (12.20-22)

4.2.7.1 Major sources for Papua Malay

Suharno (1982) provides a brief description of some characteristics of the Malay spoken in Jayapura. Van Velzen (1995) offers a similar treatment of the Malay spoken in Serui, on Yapen island in Cendrawasih Bay. Walker (1982) gives a description of the sociolinguistic setting of a small village on the southern coast of the Bomberai peninsula in northwestern New Guinea. He speaks of the four languages in use in the community, and, notably, he differentiates Malay from Indonesian.³⁶ Seiler (1983) tells of the “lost” Malay language of Papua New Guinea, which was spoken in the late 19th century and again following World War II on the Papua New Guinea side of the border. Sawaki (2007) and Burung and Sawaki (2007) deal with specific constructions in Papua Malay. Kim et al (2007) discusses the initial findings of the Papua Malay Survey. Finally, and most importantly, Donohue (to appear) gives a sketch of the language, touching upon many of the important features of the Malay spoken in the northeastern part of Indonesian Papua, and discussing variation in the Malay of the region. Donohue also includes a few short texts in Papuan Malay.

³⁶ The community Walker studied may be somewhat atypical, however, in that it is Muslim, and has long-standing cultural links with the central Moluccas, continually reinforced through intermarriage.

A researcher with SIL, Angela Kluge, is beginning work on a full description of the Malay variety spoken in the northeast, between Sarmi and Jayapura, for her dissertation at Leiden University. This will be a valuable resource when it is completed.

4.2.8 Summary: Language area, speakers, and history

The seven contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia dealt with in this work have differing numbers of speakers and are spoken in various regions, as shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Contact Varieties of Malay in Eastern Indonesia

	Location	L1 Speakers	L2 Speakers	Total Speakers
Manado Malay	North Sulawesi Province	1,000,000	2,000,000	3,000,000
North Moluccan Malay	North Maluku Province	100,000	600,000	700,000
Ambon Malay	Maluku Province	200,000	1,000,000	1,200,000
Banda Malay	Banda Islands	13,500	0	13,500
Kupang Malay	Timor Island	200,000	400,000	600,000
Larantuka Malay	Eastern Flores island	23,000	50,000	73,000
Papua Malay	Indonesian New Guinea	100,000	900,000	1,000,000

Table 4.2 presents the major historical events relevant to the spread of Malay and the development of the seven contact varieties in eastern Indonesia as presented in the individual overviews above.

Table 4.2 Timeline of the spread of the Malay language

Date	Development
Prehistoric times	Spread of Malay/Malayic from its homeland in Borneo to Sumatra and the Malay peninsula.
4 th c BCE - 7 th c CE	Use of Malay as a trade language in the spice trade.
7 th to 14 th c.	Malay is used as a trade and contact language in Java and in the spice trade. Trade centers emerge in southern Sumatra and Java. Major goods traded originate in the north Moluccas (cloves), Banda (nutmeg), Kupang (sandalwood) and Sumatra (pepper). Malay is known to have been used as a trade language and lingua franca as far afield as the Philippines (inscription dating from 900 CE) and Papua.
14 th c.	Islam is brought to the Moluccas with Malay as the contact language. Establishment of sultanates in the north Moluccas.

1377	Establishment of Malacca as the primary regional trade center for the spice trade with India and China (and onward to other points) by Parameswara, a Sriwijayan prince (after 1414 known as Iskandar Shah).
15 th and 16 th c.	North Moluccans bring Malay to Manado and North Sulawesi.
15 th to 18 th c.	The Sultans of Tidore and Ternate extend area of influence to northern Papua and the Raja Ampat islands.
1511	Portuguese begin to take control of Malacca.
1512	Portuguese visit Banda, Ambon and the north Moluccas.
1521	Magellan's ships visit Tidore, Malay word list collected.
1521 -1522	Letters in Malay sent by the sultan of Ternate to the king of Portugal.
1545	Europeans (Spanish) first visit Papua.
1561	Portuguese establish a fort in Solor (near Larantuka), and a settlement in Larantuka.
1569	Portuguese establish base in Ambon.
1575	Portuguese influence in north Moluccas ends, as Portuguese are expelled by Ternate.
1598	Dutch first visit the Moluccas.
1602	Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) formed. British set up trading site in Banda. Dutch impose exclusive trading contract on Banda.
1605	Dutch take over Portuguese fort in Ambon.
1613	Portuguese fort in Solor falls to the Dutch. Portuguese population flees to Larantuka.
1621	Dutch depopulate the Banda islands, replacing the inhabitants with plantations manned by slaves.
1641	Portuguese Malacca falls to the Dutch. Portuguese population and followers flee to Makassar and Larantuka.
1653	Dutch occupy Kupang.
1658	Dutch establish a presence in Manado.
1660	Catholic families flee from Makassar to Larantuka.
1689	Dutch decree that High Malay will henceforth be the language of education and administration in Ambon.
17 th to 19 th c.	Dutch missionaries spread Christianity in the Moluccas, with Malay as the language of propagation.
17 th or 18 th c.	Disputes in Larantuka lead to establishment of new communities in Wure (Adonara island) and Konga (Flores island).
19 th and 20 th c.	Missionaries from Ambon spread Christianity in coastal areas of Papua. Islam is spread through trade and communal contacts with the Moluccas in northwestern Papua. Both religions use the Malay language.
1828 to 1848	Dutch claim southern and northern regions in Papua.
1859	Larantuka ceded to the Dutch from Portugal.
1898	Papua (then known as Dutch New Guinea) becomes part of the Dutch East Indies.

1945	Indonesian independence. Standard Indonesian becomes the official language across the archipelago (except in Papua).
1963	Administration of Dutch New Guinea transferred to Indonesia.
1969	The western part of New Guinea (formerly Dutch New Guinea) formally becomes part of Indonesia as the province of Irian Jaya (now the provinces of West Papua and Papua).

4.3 Phonology

4.3.1 Consonants

The basic consonant phonemes found in the contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia are presented in the table below. Of these phonemes, all were present in Vehicular Malay except /f/, which is an innovation in these varieties, introduced through loan words from local vernacular languages.

Table 4.3 Consonant Phonemes

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	(ʔ)
Voiced stops	b	d	ɟ <j>	g	
Fricatives	f	s			h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Glides	(w)		j <y>	w	

The orthographic conventions used in this document are indicated in angled brackets above, following standard Indonesian spelling.

There are a few issues concerning the consonant phonology which are of note, and these are discussed in the sections below on each individual variety and summarized following these sections.

4.3.1.1 Consonants of Manado Malay

A glottal stop is included in the analysis of the phonemes of Manado Malay by Prentice (1994) and Stoel (2005). However, the status of the glottal stop is questionable.

Glottal stops occur non-phonemically before words with an initial vowel and between vowels within a word. They also occur word-finally in words borrowed from Indonesian which have the /k/ phoneme occurring word-finally, although there appears to be variation between speakers, with some speakers dropping the word-final sound altogether and others pronouncing it as /k/. In addition, there are a few words with a word-final glottal stop of uncertain origin. Prentice (1994) suggests that these are possibly of Minahasa origin. Stoel (2005: 11) posits a contrast between word-final /k/, found in words borrowed from Dutch, and word-final /ʔ/, occurring in words of Indonesian origin and a few words of Manado Malay origin. He presents the following minimal pairs:

Table 4.4: Minimal Pairs with /k/ and /ʔ/

<i>ba</i>	(interjection)	<i>baʔ</i>	‘pork’	<i>bak</i>	‘water container’
—		<i>doʔ</i>	(discourse particle)	<i>dok</i>	‘dock’
<i>pa</i>	(inanimate marker)	<i>paʔ</i>	‘father’	<i>pak</i>	‘to pack’

My informants felt there was no glottal stop at the end of *ba*, the word for ‘pork’, though I occasionally heard it in actual usage (and occasionally did not). In view of the fact that the examples of a word-final [k] given by Stoel are from loanwords (from Dutch), and one of the examples of word-final [ʔ] (*paʔ*) is a loanword (from Indonesian),³⁷ I do not believe there is enough information available to conclusively answer this question. There are no examples in the limited data I collected of either word-final [k] or [ʔ].

There are a few sounds which are phonemic in Indonesian which can be heard to occur on occasion in Manado Malay, particularly among educated speakers, but which do not belong in the phonemic inventory of the sounds of Manado Malay. These are the

³⁷ I did not come across any examples of the discourse marker [doʔ] in my data.

sounds [v], [z], [ʃ] (<sy>), and [x] (<kh>). Prentice (1994) lists /v/, /z/ and /ʃ/ as phonemes of Manado Malay, and <v> and <z> occur in the orthographic representations in Solea-Warouw's dictionary (1985), but Stoel (2005: 11) concludes that they are not appropriately identified as phonemes of Manado Malay, and this appears to be the correct analysis.

4.3.1.2 Consonants of North Moluccan Malay

The consonant phonemes of North Moluccan Malay are similar to those found in other varieties of Malay, and most were inherited directly from the Vehicular Malay which brought the language to the northern Moluccas. However, the phoneme /f/ was not originally part of the phonological system of Vehicular Malay, and only exists in loan-words, chiefly from the Ternate language and other languages of the northern Moluccas, but also from Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch and, more recently, English. In Vehicular Malay and the varieties of Malay spoken in the Malay homeland in western Indonesia (including CJI), /f/ is not fully phonemic and alternates with /p/ for many, if not most, speakers.

There are a few borrowed phonemes, the use of which is usually a marker that the speaker is attempting to use a variety closer to Standard Indonesian, and which do not properly belong in the phonemic inventory of the sounds of North Moluccan Malay. These are the sounds [ʔ] (usually representing Indonesian word-final /k/, but also occurring intervocalically in words borrowed from Arabic), [ʃ] (<sy>, also only occurring in borrowed words, chiefly from Arabic, Dutch and English), and [x] (<kh>, occurring in words borrowed from Arabic and Dutch).

There are several changes which took place in North Moluccan Malay in the consonants occurring in the Vehicular Malay which was brought to the region.

1) Vehicular Malay (and the colloquial low Malay of western Indonesia) allow a variety of consonants in word-final position: /p, t, ʔ, m, n, ŋ, s, h, l, r/. Of these, only /ŋ, s, l, r/ are regularly retained in North Moluccan (and Manado) Malay. When a speaker is speaking in a higher register (i.e., sounding more “Indonesian,” more final consonants can appear. There are, however, a few words which regularly retain unusual consonants in all registers, and thus can’t be explained by Indonesian influence, such as *surat* ‘letter’ and *hidop* ‘live, life’). Examples of word-final consonants which were lost in North Moluccan Malay:³⁸

(2)	<i>tutu</i>	‘shut’	(< * <i>tutop</i>) (Voorhoeve 1983: 2)
	<i>tangka</i>	‘catch’	(< * <i>tangkap</i>) (Prentice 1994: 421)
	<i>dapa</i>	‘get, find, meet’	(< * <i>dapat</i>) (3.11)
	<i>doi</i>	‘money’	(< * <i>duit</i>) (3.130)
	<i>nae</i>	‘go up, climb’	(< * <i>naiʔ</i>) (4.6)
	<i>maso</i>	‘enter’	(< * <i>masoʔ</i>) (4.1)

2) Word-final nasal consonants /m, n, ŋ/ have merged as /ŋ/. This leads to occasional homonymy, which is commonly avoided by reinstating the original consonants, which are available through knowledge of Indonesian. Reinstatement of word-final nasals is a key marker of higher registers, and occurred often in the data collected for this study.

(3)	<i>bolong</i>	‘not yet’	(< * <i>bəlom</i>) (3.22)
	<i>minung</i>	‘drink’	(< * <i>minum</i>) (1.148)
	<i>tamang</i>	‘friend’	(< * <i>təman</i>) (3.73)
	<i>utang</i>	‘debt’	(< * <i>utang</i>) (3.70)
	<i>utang</i>	‘forest’	(< * <i>hutan</i>) (Taylor 1983: 17)
	<i>potong</i>	‘cut’	(< * <i>potong</i>) (3.6)

³⁸ Some examples are taken from the data on Manado Malay, which developed from North Moluccan Malay, and exhibits all of the same sound changes, or from other published sources, when an example is not available in the collected data.

4.3.1.3 Consonants of Ambon Malay and Banda Malay

The only word-final consonants found in Ambon Malay and Banda Malay are /ŋ, s, l, r/, and even these are occasionally elided, as in **ambel* → *ambe* ‘take’. Borrowed words may occur with a greater variety of word-final consonants (including p, t, m, n, and h).

When a speaker is speaking in a higher register (i.e., sounding more “Indonesian”), more final consonants can appear.

Word-final nasal consonants /m, n, ŋ/ have merged as /ŋ/, except in borrowed words and in higher registers (as speakers wish to sound more “Indonesian”). Before a stop, nasals tend to assimilate with the place of articulation of the stop, but there is some variability for some speakers (*parampuang* ~ *parangpuang* ‘woman’, *ansang* ~ *angsang* ‘gill’) (van Minde 1997: 42). There is no variability before velar stops, as the velar nasal is always found in this position.

4.3.1.4 Consonants of Kupang Malay

In Kupang Malay, unlike most Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, the glottal stop is phonemic, and appears in many words, chiefly borrowed from local vernacular languages or Arabic. It can occur word-medially between vowels and word-finally, in which position it is contrasted with /k/. In Indonesian, [ʔ] regular occurs in place of word-final /k/, and this pronunciation is found in some speakers of Kupang Malay, some of the time, but likely represents interference from Indonesian, and the distinction between word-final /k/ and word-final /ʔ/ seems to be a real one in Kupang Malay. The dictionary by

Jacob and C. Grimes (2003) differentiates between word-final /k/ and word-final /ŋ/,³⁹ though the latter is rare.

Kupang Malay shares many of the instances of loss of word-final consonants which occurred in Vehicular Malay, and which are found in other Malay varieties in eastern Indonesia, but the loss of final consonants is not as regular in Kupang Malay. Any consonant may occur in word-final position, although words with word-final consonants other than the typical Vehicular Malay set (ŋ, s, r, l) are generally only found in borrowed words (from Dutch, Portuguese and the vernacular languages of the region) or in words which are more highly marked as “Indonesian.”

Unlike varieties of Malay to the east, word-final nasal consonants have not merged in Kupang Malay, and words may end in /m/, /n/ or /ŋ/.

4.3.1.6 Consonants of Larantuka Malay

The consonant phonemes of Larantuka Malay (apart from an archiphoneme, discussed below) are similar to those found in other varieties of Malay, and most were inherited directly from earlier varieties of Malay, which likely included the Malay spoken in Malacca in the 17th century and the Vehicular Malay which was known throughout the Indonesian archipelago. Although the phoneme /f/ rarely appears (only 11 words of approximately 1800 in Monteiro’s dictionary (1975) began with /f/, and all are

³⁹ Both word-medial glottal stops and word-final glottal stops are written as <’>, as in *sa’ir* ‘poem’ and *to’* ‘only’.

borrowings), it does appear to be phonemic, and is analyzed as such by Monteiro et al (1985),⁴⁰ Steinhauer (1983) and Kumanireng (1993).

As has been noted above, the varieties of contact Malay in eastern Indonesia have lost many final consonants which were found in earlier varieties of Malay, and these patterns of consonant loss are very similar for most varieties other than Larantuka Malay. Larantuka Malay has lost all final consonants, except for a very few monosyllabic words borrowed from Dutch, which have /l/, /s/ and /r/ in word-final position. These consist of *bal* ‘ball’, *par* ‘to be of the same kind, to match’, *pel* ‘pill’, *pas* ‘exactly, precisely’, *es* ‘ice’ and *mir* ‘ant’.⁴¹ These six words appear to be the only words in the language with syllable-final consonants (unless one counts the archiphoneme /N/, which is discussed below).

The concept of an archiphoneme /N/ in Larantuka Malay was a solution to a problem of describing the phonology of the language which developed over time, in order to describe precisely what is happening in the large number of words in Larantuka Malay which end in nasalized vowels but which are cognate to nasal-final words in other languages. Monteiro, in his dictionary (1975), considered these word-final sounds to be separate phonemes (the five nasal vowel phonemes thus expanded the vowel set of Larantuka Malay to 11 phonemes). He spelled these word-final nasalized sounds with Vn, such as *malan* [malã] (<*malam*), *bukan* [bukã] (<*bukan*) and *datan* [datã] (<*datang*).

⁴⁰ Although /f/ was discussed in Monteiro et al’s description of the phonology of Larantuka Malay, and was included in their list of word-initial and word-medial phonemes, for some reason they did not include it on their phoneme chart (Monteiro et al 1985: 23), an oversight which was remarked on by Kumanireng (1993: 42).

⁴¹ The unusual presence of a borrowed word for ‘ant’ leads to this interesting footnote from Steinhauer (1983: 183): “It is remarkable that such a word should be borrowed. Also Kupang Malay has /mir/, while Manado Malay [and North Moluccan Malay] borrowed /bifi/ from Ternatan. LM /səmo/ ‘ant’ is the regular reflection of SM *semut* [/səmut/] ‘ant’, which seems to be a loanword too.” [LM=Larantuka Malay, SM=Standard Malay]

Monteiro et al (1985) kept this same analysis of 11 vowel phonemes, including 5 nasalized vowels (there was no nasalized schwa), but changed the spelling so that *malan* became *malã*, *bukan* became *bukã* and *datan* became *datã*. Kumanireng (1982: 134) gave the spelling of such words with word-final nasalized vowels as VN (*dataN*), but gave no rationale or explanation. This led Steinhauer (1991), in a later version of a paper first presented in 1985, to posit an archiphoneme /N/ which accounted for the word-final nasalized vowels in Larantuka Malay, and had the further advantage of accounting for the nasal assimilation of syllable-final word-medial nasal sounds occurring before stops,⁴² which are frequently found in all varieties of Malay,⁴³ In this analysis, there are four nasal phonemes which can occur syllable-initially (/m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /ŋ/),⁴⁴ but only one nasal phoneme which can occur syllable-finally, /N/. Word-finally, this archiphoneme is realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel. Word-medially, in nasal-stop clusters, it is realized as a homorganic nasal, assimilating to the following stop. Steinhauer was not sure of what to do about nasals occurring before /s/, which, in his data set, which was entirely derived from Monteiro's dictionary (1975), appeared to be inconsistent: *bonsu* 'younger', *mənsia* 'human being', *səngsara* 'misery'.

Kumanireng (1993) resolved this problem, by pointing out that /N/ is always realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel when it occurs word-finally, but that it is only realized as a homorganic nasal when it appears before non-palatal consonants. Before other consonants (the palatal stops /c/ and /j/, as well as the fricatives /s/ and /f/), it is

⁴² Steinhauer included all stops, a view which was further refined by Kumanireng (1993)

⁴³ Indeed, some observers have analyzed nasals in this position in Malay as the product of an archiphoneme (with more limited scope).

⁴⁴ "Syllable-initially" includes all occurrences of nasal phonemes intervocalically.

realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel. It is only in this position that a nasalized schwa can occur, since schwas never occur word-finally. As a result, the words that had vexed Steinhauer turned out to be *boNsu* [bõsu], *məNsia* [mõsia] and *səNsara* [sõsara].

Kumanireng (1993: 63) gave further evidence of these reflexes of the archiphoneme /N/:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------|-----------------|
| (4) | <i>cəNca</i> | [cõca] | ‘chop, mince’ |
| | <i>ləNjo</i> | [lõjo] | ‘shrill, clear’ |
| | <i>aNsa</i> | [ãsa] | ‘goose’ |
| | <i>daNca</i> | [dãsa] | ‘dance’ |

There is one further restriction on the occurrence of /N/. /N/ does not occur at the end of words in which the final vowel in the word is preceded by a nasal or a prenasalized consonant, as in *tanam* > *tana* (**tanaN*) ‘to plant’ and *pinjam* > *piNja* (**piNjaN*) ‘to borrow’.

Consonant clusters are commonly found in Larantuka Malay, but generally only in borrowed words. The loss of schwa (see below) which led to the creation of consonant clusters in other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia did not occur. Consonant clusters include the following: /br/, /pr/, /dr/, /tr/, /fr/, /gr/, /kl/, /st/, /sp/, /kr/, /pl/, /sk/, /str/ and /spr/ (Kumanireng 1993: 60). Only 3% of 2515 words Kumanireng examined had consonant clusters.

The loss of syllable-final consonants (other than /N/) has led to a significant number of homonyms:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|---------------|---------------------|
| (5) | <i>tana</i> | ‘soil, earth’ | (< * <i>tanah</i>) |
| | <i>tana</i> | ‘to plant’ | (< * <i>tanam</i>) |
| | <i>kəra</i> | ‘hard’ | (< * <i>kəras</i>) |
| | <i>kəra</i> | ‘to cut off’ | (< * <i>kərat</i>) |
| | <i>kəra</i> | ‘crust’ | (< * <i>kərak</i>) |

4.3.1.7 Consonants of Papua Malay

It is difficult to identify the consonant phonemes of Papua Malay, since there is regional and individual variation in the use of the language, which may indeed be more than one variety. There are two descriptions available of the phonological inventories of two varieties, and both will be presented here. The first, by Donohue (to appear: 6) is for North Papua Malay.

Table 4.5: Consonants of North Papua Malay (Donohue)

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	(tʃ) <c>	k	
Voiced stops	b	d	(dʒ) <j>	g	
Fricatives	(f)	s			h
Nasals	m	n	(ɲ) <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Glides	w		j <y>		

The second inventory presented is from van Velzen (1995: 315) for Serui Malay.

Table 4.6: Consonants of Serui Malay (van Velzen)

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	c <c>	k	
Voiced stops	b	d	ʃ <j>	g	
Fricatives	f	s			h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Liquid		l/r			
Glides	w		j <y>		

The consonant phonemes are generally similar to those found in other varieties of Malay, although there are some significant differences. For many speakers, there is no opposition between /l/ and /r/ and these can sometimes occur in (apparent) free variation. Many languages in New Guinea lack a distinction between /l/ and /r/, so this is not a

surprising development. In some varieties of Papua Malay, there is no /f/ phoneme,⁴⁵ and in the limited number of borrowed words which have an /f/ in other varieties of Malay, /f/ is realized as /p/. Some speakers (and possibly some regions) neutralize all final nasals to /ŋ/, while others (such as the informant for this study) neutralize all final nasals to /n/, as their languages lack [ŋ]. The phonemes /c/ and /j/ (which may be palatal stops or affricates) are not commonly used by speakers who have not been educated in standard Indonesian.⁴⁶ The same is true for the palatal nasal /ɲ/. Donohue (to appear: 6) suggests that the palatal series might better be represented as [ty], [dy], [ny], rather than as separate phonemes. The manner in which the palatal series appears in speech varies. Donohue (to appear: 6) says, in reference to North Papua Malay, “In many cases, [tʃ] is neutralized with the alveolar stop as [t], and similarly [dʒ] has merged with [d]; for other speakers both [tʃ] and [dʒ] neutralize with the palatal glide to [j].” For Serui Malay, van Velzen notes that, for /c/ and /j/, speakers may use “the strings /ti/ and /di/ instead. /c/ may on several occasions be replaced by /si/ or even by /t/.”

The consonant features which are unique to eastern Indonesian varieties of Malay, in terms of their historical development from Vehicular Malay, such as the loss of /h/ in all positions except between like vowels, and the loss of word-final consonants other than /ŋ/, /s/, /r/, and sometimes /l/, are also found in Papua Malay, which is not surprising, given that

⁴⁵ Van Velzen notes that “Serui Malay speakers are rather strict in their use of phoneme /f/”, while Donohue does not include it as a full phoneme in North Papua Malay.

⁴⁶ Although van Velzen (1995: 315) lists /c/ and /j/ as phonemes of Serui Malay, he remarks that these “are not used very often by uneducated speakers.”

Papua Malay presumably developed from North Moluccan and/or Ambon Malay. In Papua Malay, however, there seems to be much more variation between the basilectal forms and the Standard Indonesian forms. This is most likely an reflection of the fact that the basilectal variety has never been standardized across the region, and recent exposure through schooling, the mass media and government administration to the high variety has had a significant impact.

4.3.1.8 Summary of Consonant Phonemes

There are a few issues concerning the consonant phonology which are of note, and which concern variation between varieties, or developments in Vehicular Malay.

- The glottal stop is a part of the phonemic inventory of Manado Malay and Kupang Malay, but not of any other variety. In Manado Malay, it is only found in words borrowed from Indonesian and possibly Minahasa, and not for all speakers, and can be considered a borrowed phoneme, and not a true part of the phonemic system of the language. Although there are minimal pairs appearing in the speech of some speakers, these are influenced by the diglossia and widespread bilingualism occurring between Manado Malay and Indonesian. In Kupang Malay, the glottal stop occurs in words borrowed from local vernacular languages, and can be considered a part of the phonemic inventory, as illustrated by the following minimal pairs and near minimal pairs:

- (6) *Ma'u* 'nickname (short for Markus)'
mau 'want, FUT'
- ke'ok* 'give up, die (loan word from Uab Meto)'
keok 'give up, lose, surrender (loan word from Rote)'
- do'i* 'pry, dig (loan word from Rote)'
doi 'money'

<i>ba'i</i>	‘grandfather, uncle, old man (loan word from Rote)’	
<i>bae</i>	‘good’	
<i>po'e</i>	‘defecate (loan word from Sabu)’	
<i>poek</i>	‘bad, inferior (loan word from Rote)’	
<i>to'a</i>	‘prop, support’	
<i>toa</i>	‘loudspeaker’	(Jacob and Grimes 2003)

These are not influenced by bilingualism, as the glottal stop is found in Kupang Malay in the speech of individuals who do not speak the local vernaculars these sounds originated in.

The glottal stop was not part of the phonology of Vehicular Malay.

- /h/ is only found between like vowels word-medially.⁴⁷ In word-final position, an /h/ which existed in varieties of Malay which preceded Vehicular Malay has disappeared, and it can be assumed that word-final /h/ did not occur in Vehicular Malay. /h/ appears word-initially inconsistently in all the varieties of Malay described in this chapter, and these occurrences can be attributed to reinstatement of a word-initial /h/ through the influence of Indonesian or borrowing of words with a word-initial /h/ from local vernacular languages. /h/ is regularly lost between non-like vowels word-medially. This loss of /h/ in these environments is commonly found in Low Malay, and can be considered to have been a feature of Vehicular Malay.

- In most varieties, there is a merger of word-final nasals. In North Moluccan Malay, Manado Malay, Ambon Malay and Banda Malay, the nasals merge to /ŋ/. In Papuan Malay, the merger is to /n/ or /ŋ/. In Larantuka Malay, word-final nasals appear as the archiphoneme /N/ which occurs as nasalization on the preceding vowel. Merger of

⁴⁷ /h/ occasionally occurs in word-initial position or in word-medial position between unlike vowels in words recently borrowed from Indonesian.

word-final nasals has not occurred in Kupang Malay, and is not consistent in Manado Malay. These word-final nasals had not merged in Vehicular Malay, and this development presumably occurred after Malay arrived in eastern Indonesia.

- Word-final non-nasal consonants other than /s/, /l/ and /r/, which existed in Vehicular Malay have been lost to a large extent in the contact varieties of Malay of eastern Indonesia. It is assumed that these consonants were still present in Vehicular Malay in that other varieties of Low Malay which are closely related to Vehicular Malay, and which may be assumed to have been involved in the formation of Vehicular Malay, such as Peninsular Malay and Java Malay, have not lost these consonants. This fact, along with the merger of word-final nasals mentioned above, leads to the possibility that all the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, to one extent or another, developed from or were strongly influenced by a single unattested variety which was already established at the time of first European contact. It is likely that this variety, which will be referred to as Eastern Indonesian Trade Malay (EITM), developed in the trading centers of Banda and the northern Moluccas, and was the direct ancestor of the varieties which were already in existence at the time of first European contact in the early 16th century, North Moluccan Malay, the lost Banda Malay language (as opposed to the current Banda Malay language, which developed after 1621), and, probably, though not certainly, Kupang Malay. From these varieties, other varieties (Manado Malay, the current Banda Malay and Papua Malay) developed. Larantuka Malay appears to be a combination of Peninsular Malay and EITM, as it exhibits features of both varieties, a situation which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

With regard specifically to the loss of non-nasal final consonants other than /s/, /l/ and /r/, this development is present in all the varieties of Malay described in this chapter to

one extent or another. Word-final consonants appear in the modern versions of these languages in words borrowed from local languages, words borrowed from foreign languages (chiefly Dutch), and words borrowed from Indonesian, as well as, for individual speakers, words in which final-consonants have been reinstated, through influence from modern Indonesian. In Larantuka Malay, all such word-final consonants have been lost, as well as all word-final consonants in general, with two exceptions. Word-final nasals which occurred in earlier varieties of Malay have become the archiphoneme /N/ in Larantuka Malay (realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel), except in words where a nasal or prenasalized consonant precedes the final vowel in the word. Secondly, Larantuka Malay has borrowed six monosyllabic words from Dutch which end in -l, -r or -s (two words with each final consonant, in fact).

- In Papua Malay, there is a merger of /r/ and /l/ for some speakers (and in some regions). For some speakers the phonemes /c/ and /j/ do not occur, and are replaced by /t/ (or a palatalized /t/) or /s/. This may be due to the large number of second-language speakers of Papua Malay, and is not viewed as an innovation in the phonology of the language.

- There are a few phonemes borrowed from Indonesian or foreign languages which can be heard to occur on occasion, particularly among educated speakers, but which do not belong in the phonemic inventory of the sounds of these Malay varieties. These are the sounds [v], [z], [ʃ] (<sy>), and [x] (<kh>), and for some varieties, [ʔ].

4.3.2 Vowels

Table 4.7 presents the vowel phonemes found in the contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia.

Table 4.7: Vowel Phonemes

i		u
e	(ə)	o
	a	

4.3.2.1 Vowels of Manado Malay

The presence of the schwa in Manado Malay presents a number of interrelated issues. Manado Malay is derived from North Moluccan Malay, a variety in which the schwa is not found, and indeed, the number of words with a schwa sound is limited. By contrast, all of the non-Malay languages spoken in North Sulawesi have the schwa sound, as do both the Standard and Colloquial varieties of Indonesian, so the development (and increasing use of) the schwa in Manado Malay is not unexpected or unusual. In the data collected for this study, schwa sounds occurred frequently, particularly in words borrowed from Indonesian, or in words which might represent code-switching to Indonesian. In some cases, an older variety of Manado Malay might have lacked the schwa, yet the schwa occurred in the data collected. The transcriptions of the data represent the actual sounds produced, and not an idealized (and probably archaic) Manado Malay, despite the desires of some of the informants.

Manado Malay is derived from North Moluccan Malay, which in turn originated in the Malay trade language which was brought to the Moluccas in the era preceding European contact. This variety, a non-attested variety which has been termed Vehicular Malay, almost certainly included the schwa sound in its vowel inventory (the schwa sound remains in the varieties of Malay spoken in Sumatra, Borneo, the Malay peninsula and Java, which are the likely homelands of the traders who brought Malay to the eastern

islands, as well as in modern Colloquial Indonesian, a descendant of earlier Low Malay varieties). The processes by which the schwa sound disappeared in the development of North Moluccan Malay are discussed below. These processes include deletion (leading to the development of word-initial consonant clusters, unknown in Vehicular Malay), replacement and assimilation. Other phonological processes which occurred in the development of North Moluccan Malay (and which had already occurred before Manado Malay developed from that language) are the loss of final consonants in many environments, and the merger (to /ŋ/ <ng>) of final nasal consonants in word-final position (and the replacement of other word-final consonants by /ŋ/), and the development of lexical stress. Other processes, which are described by some observers such as Prentice (1994) and Adelaar and Prentice (1996) as emblematic of Manado Malay or the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, had actually occurred in Vehicular Malay prior to its arrival in the Moluccas, and can be found in the colloquial Malay spoken throughout the Malay homeland. These include the lowering of /i/ and /u/ in final closed syllables, monophthongization of the diphthongs /-ay/ and /-aw/ and loss of /h/ in most environments.

4.3.2.2 Vowels of North Moluccan Malay

The schwa is only found in North Moluccan Malay in words which are highly marked as ‘Indonesian’ and in the pronunciation of speakers attempting to sound more Indonesian in their speech, and is not a part of the phonemic inventory of colloquial North Moluccan Malay. In the elicited text from Ternate, the schwa was only found in four words clearly marked as Indonesian: *səmentara* ‘while’, *pərna* ‘ever’ (this also occurs in the data as *parna*), *pərtama* ‘first’ (a Ternatean word *magori* ‘first’ was also elicited), and *gədung*

‘building’. In the conversation which was recorded and transcribed, the schwa was only found in four words as well, despite the strong influence of Indonesian syntax and vocabulary found in this text.

Given that Vehicular Malay had a schwa sound, it is useful to understand how this sound was handled, and how the reflexes of words which originally had this sound appear in North Moluccan Malay. Given that Vehicular Malay was not a written language, and we have no records of the precise form of the language which was brought to the north Moluccas, the examples below from Vehicular Malay represent reconstructions of the most likely Vehicular Malay forms, considering the forms found in other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, and the forms found in modern colloquial varieties of low Malay.

A number of processes, by which North Moluccan Malay or Manado Malay lost, assimilated or replaced the schwa sound have been discussed in Prentice (1994) and Voorhoeve (1983), and this analysis builds upon those studies. The processes involved are summarized below. It should be noted that these are not regular sound changes, affecting each occurrence of a sound, but rather tendencies or a set of possible strategies, which, taken together, had the effect of eliminating the schwa sound from the phonemic system of the newly developing language.

1) Complete loss of /ə/ with resulting disyllabification, producing syllable-initial consonant clusters, which are rarely found in other varieties of Malay, and which were not found in Vehicular Malay. This process was particularly common in the environments [stop] _ [liquid], /s/ _ [liquid] and [nasal] _ [nasal/liquid].

- (7) **səkali* → *skali* 'one time' (3.120)
 **bəɫajar* → *blajar* 'study' (3.41)
 **bərapa* → *brapa* 'how many' (3.58)

2) In penultimate syllables, /ə/ was replaced by /e/. This happened especially when the final syllable contained /a/.

- (8) **dəŋgan* → *deng(an)* 'with' (3.6)
 **tətəp* → *tetap* 'still' (4.16)
 **tərus* → *terus* 'direct' (4.43)

3) Also in penultimate syllables, /ə/ assimilated to the vowel in the following syllable. This change affected the same set of target words as the previous change. This change occurred after the sound changes which lowered /i/ and /u/ in final closed syllables, and after the monophthongization of word-final /-ay/ and /-aw/ (two changes which had already occurred in Vehicular Malay before North Moluccan Malay was formed).

- (9) • Assimilation to /a/
 **bəsar* → *basar* 'large' (3.90)
 **əmpat* → *ampa* 'four' (4.21)
- Assimilation to /e/
 **ləbe* → *lebe* 'more' (3.122)
 **pətik* → *pete* 'pick' (2.62)
- Assimilation to /i/
 **kəring* → *kiring* 'dry' (Prentice 1994: 415)
 **kəncing* → *kincing* 'urine' (Voorhoeve 1983: 3)
- Assimilation to /o/
 **bəlom* → *bolong* 'not yet' (3.22)
 **pəno* → *pono* 'full' (Voorhoeve 1983: 3)
- Assimilation to /u/
 **pərut* → *puru* 'belly' (Voorhoeve 1983: 3)
 **bətul* → *butul* 'true, exact' (Prentice 1994: 415)

2) In other environments, including pre-penultimate syllables, /ə/ was replaced by /a/.

- (10) **pərempuan* → *parampuan* ‘woman’ (3.3)
**bəli* → *bali* ‘buy’ (3.21)
**kəlmərin* → *kalamarin* ‘yesterday’ (3.40)
**kəcil* → *kacil* ‘small’ (3.91)
**sədikit* → *sadiki* ‘a little’ (3.96)

The loss of the schwa has led to the development of phonemic stress. In Vehicular Malay, stress fell on the penultimate syllable, unless this syllable contained a schwa, in which case stress fell on the final syllable. The result is minimal pairs such as the following:

- (11) *ba’rat* ‘heavy’ (<**bə’rat*)
’barat ‘west’ (<*’*barat*)

There are other processes, which are described by some observers such as Prentice (1994), Adelaar and Prentice (1996) and Voorhoeve (1983) as developments in North Moluccan Malay, Manado Malay or the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, but which had actually occurred in Vehicular Malay prior to its arrival in the Moluccas, and can be found in the colloquial Malay spoken in the Malay homeland. These are the lowering of /i/ and /u/ in final closed syllables, monophthongization of the diphthongs /-ay/ and /-aw/ and loss of /h/ in most environments (except between two identical vowels).⁴⁸ These developments are described as occurring before other developments such as the loss of the schwa. This is quite true, in that these developments occurred before Vehicular Malay reached eastern Indonesia. In fact, one development, the lowering of /i/ and /u/ in final closed syllables, is the usual

⁴⁸ There are some words which inexplicably have retained /h/ in the word-initial environments in which it has generally been lost, both in the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, and in the low Malay colloquial varieties of western Indonesia (and, by extension, Vehicular Malay). Some examples are *hati* ‘liver, seat of emotion’, *hari* ‘day’, *hidop* ‘live, life’ and *hantam* ‘hit, attack’.

pronunciation in the Standard Malay of Malaysia, and was reflected in the official spelling until the spelling systems of Malaysia and Indonesia were unified in 1972.

Word final diphthongs in North Moluccan Malay (and in fact, all the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia) tend to take the form of /-ae/ and /-ao/, two diphthongs which did not exist in Vehicular Malay, and which are not found in western varieties of Malay. This had the effect of increasing the number of diphthongs from the three found in Vehicular Malay to the five found in North Moluccan Malay.⁴⁹ Since Vehicular Malay had already lost all word-final diphthongs, these diphthongs in North Moluccan Malay occur in words which were consonant-final in Vehicular Malay, but which have lost their final consonants due to the processes described above:

- (12) *bae* 'good' (<*bai?) (3.117)
lao 'sea' (<*laut) (3.103)

There is a clear order of operations in which changes in any given word occurred.

For example, the word *ba-kalae* 'to fight' (3.114) went through the following changes:

⁴⁹ There is some question as to whether the contact varieties of Malay have diphthongs at all, or whether these forms should be analyzed as sequences of vowels. In all the eastern varieties of Malay, vowel sequences appear to function as two units, unlike the diphthongs of western Indonesia. Further work is needed to determine conclusively if this is the case.

Table 4.8 An Example of Rule Ordering in North Moluccan Malay

Form	Variety	Process
<i>bər-kəlahi</i>	Malay	(none)
<i>bər-kəlahi</i>	Colloquial (low) Malay	monophthongization (does not apply)
<i>bər-kəlai</i>	Colloquial (low) Malay	loss of /h/
<i>bər-kəlae</i>	North Moluccan Malay (?)	/ay/ → /ae/
<i>bə-kəlae</i>	North Moluccan Malay (?)	morpheme /bər-/ becomes /bə-/ ⁵⁰
<i>ba-kalae</i>	North Moluccan Malay	loss of schwa

4.3.2.3 Vowels of Ambon Malay and Banda Malay

Ambon Malay and Banda Malay have no schwa, and schwas did not occur at all in the data collected for this study, even in registers influenced by Indonesian. Van Minde (1997) does not mention a schwa sound in his description of Ambon Malay phonology, even as an alternative pronunciation. Since Vehicular Malay had a schwa sound, it is useful to understand how this sound was handled, and how the reflexes of words which originally had this sound appear in Ambon Malay and Banda Malay. These processes are similar to the ones which occurred in North Moluccan Malay and Manado Malay, as described above, although the application of these processes differs for certain individual words.

In final unstressed syllables of polysyllabic morphemes, except final syllables in which the penultimate syllable contains /i/ or /u/ (and for /i/, final syllables ending in /s/), /i/ can, and often is, replaced by /e/ (van Minde 1997: 25-29). Since this operation does not work in both directions, it is not an example of neutralization. The examples below are from van Minde (1997):

⁵⁰ The loss of /h/ had already occurred before the language was transported to the northern Moluccas through Vehicular Malay. The change of /ay/ → /ae/ may have occurred in Vehicular Malay, or more likely in a eastern Indonesian successor to Vehicular Malay, as it is found throughout the Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia, but not in any western varieties. The change of /bər-/ → /bə-/ may also have occurred in this successor to Vehicular Malay, as most varieties of eastern Indonesia show /ba-/ (Larantuka Malay has /bə(r)/).

- (13) *anjing* ~ *anjeng* ‘dog’
kasi ~ *kase* ‘to give’
campur ~ *campor* ‘to mix’
masu ~ *maso* ‘to enter’ (van Minde 1997: 26-29)

The words which undergo this alternation are ones in which the variety of Malay which preceded Vehicular Malay had a low vowel (/e/ or /o/) in final unstressed closed syllables. In those cases in Ambon Malay where the affected words have final unstressed open vowels, the original final consonant has been lost (a process which likely occurred in Vehicular Malay before it ever arrived in eastern Indonesia). In the examples above, the reconstructed forms in pre-Vehicular Malay were */*kaseh/* and */*masok/*.⁵¹ In Vehicular Malay, these became */*kase/* and */*maso/*. In modern colloquial Indonesian, however, the comparable forms for the four words cited above are */anjing/*, */kasi(h)/*, */campur/*, and */masuk/*, with the final example realized as *[masuʔ]*. It is likely that the alternation in the realization of the vowels in final unstressed syllables is caused by the influence of the modern Indonesian forms, and that the phonemic form for speakers of Ambon Malay is more properly the lower vowel in each instance.

It should be noted that the sequences analyzed as diphthongs in other varieties of Malay behave as if they were composed of two syllables, which could lead to questioning whether they are indeed diphthongs or sequences of vowels (which is the position taken by van Minde (1997)). There are more vowel sequences possible in Ambon Malay than in western varieties of Malay. This is partly due to the vowel lowering in final unstressed syllables which occurred in Vehicular Malay, which caused changes such as **baik* → **baek* → *bae* ‘good’ and **laut* → **laot* → *lao* ‘sea’, and led to two new vowel sequences,

⁵¹ This form was likely realized as *[masoʔ]*.

/æ/ and /ao/, in the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia. The original diphthongs */ay/ and */aw/ were only retained in non-final stressed syllables.⁵²

4.3.2.4 Vowels of Kupang Malay

Steinhauer (1983: 44) includes the schwa in the vowel inventory of Kupang Malay, although Mboeik et al (1984: 19) and Jacob and C. Grimes (2003: 5) do not. The schwa occurred in the data collected for this study, but it tended to appear in words more highly marked as Indonesian. The best analysis, therefore, is that the schwa is not part of the core inventory of phonemes in Kupang Malay, but it regularly appears in the speech of some speakers through Indonesian influence, especially in higher registers. As Jacob and Grimes' dictionary (2003) attests, there is always a non-schwa alternative form for any word which may appear with a schwa.

The schwa sounds which occurred in Vehicular Malay were handled using strategies similar to the ones described for North Moluccan Malay above, although the results were different in some instances. These strategies generally involved replacement of the schwa by another vowel. Examples (from Jacob and C. Grimes 2003: 5) are in (14).

(14)	Vehicular Malay	Kupang Malay	
	* <i>bəsar</i>	<i>besar</i>	‘large’
	* <i>kəmbali</i>	<i>kambali, kombali</i>	‘return’
	* <i>kəliling</i>	<i>kuliling</i>	‘around’
	* <i>kəbun</i>	<i>kabon, kobon(g)</i>	‘orchard, farm’
	* <i>bətul</i>	<i>batul</i>	‘correct’
	* <i>kəcil</i>	<i>kici</i>	‘small’

⁵² In Vehicular Malay, word-final diphthongs in open syllables became monophthongs, as described above. Example: Pre-Vehicular Malay **pisau* → Vehicular Malay **piso* → Ambon Malay *piso*, modern Standard Indonesian *pisau*, modern colloquial Indonesian *piso* ‘knife’.

The loss of the schwa led to the development of phonemic stress. In Vehicular Malay, stress fell on the penultimate syllable, unless this syllable contained a schwa, in which case stress fell on the final syllable. The result is minimal pairs such as the following:

- (15) *ba'rat* 'heavy' (<**bə'rat*)
 'barat 'west' (<*'*barat*)
- pa'rang* 'machete' (<**pə'rang*)
 'parang 'war' (<*'*parang*)

4.3.2.5 Vowels of Larantuka Malay

Unlike other contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, the schwa is fully phonemic and always has been in Larantuka Malay.⁵³

Kumanireng (1993: 54) offers the following notes on vowel phonemes in Larantuka Malay:

1. The schwa does not occur in word-final position, before /h/ or in clusters with other vowels.
2. The schwa is usually found in pre-penultimate syllables in words of more than two syllables.
3. /i, e, a, o, u/ can be found in word-final position.
4. All vowels, except the schwa, may be found in all possible two-vowel clusters with each other. However, the vowels must be different (there are no clusters of

⁵³ In some of the other varieties (Manado Malay, North Moluccan Malay, Kupang Malay, Papuan Malay) which had no schwa historically, the schwa occurs (and is occurring with increasing frequency) due to interference from Indonesian. Its position as a phonemic part of the language is not as clear-cut, though it is certainly part of many individuals' personal systems.

the same vowel repeated). There is no glottal stop inserted between vowels, although non-phonemic glides may occur.

5. Monosyllabic words ending in a vowel (accounting for 40 out of 55 monosyllabic words in the language) are realized with a non-phonemic long vowel.
6. All vowels, including the schwa, may be realized as nasalized vowels, if they occur before /N/. If /N/ occurs word-medially before a non-palatal stop, it does not cause nasalization of the preceding vowel, but rather assimilates to the place of articulation of the following stop.
7. There are no diphthongs in Larantuka Malay.

4.3.2.6 Other Phonological Developments in Larantuka Malay

Since Larantuka Malay did not lose schwa sounds as did other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, phonemic stress has not developed. Stress is regular, and is found on the penultimate syllable (Kumanireng 1993: 66).

The canonical syllable structure is CV(N), and the canonical word is made up of two syllables: CV(N)CV(N). Kumanireng's analysis of 2515 words in Larantuka Malay (1993: 76) showed that 61% of words had this canonical disyllabic structure. Furthermore, only 2% of words were monosyllabic, while 24% were of three syllables, and only 1% of four syllables. No words were longer than four syllables.

Not all words which ended in nasals in an earlier variety of Malay became words ending in /N/ in Larantuka Malay. This change was blocked if the final syllable began with a nasal or a prenasalized stop, and the word-final nasal was simply dropped. This also

applies to modern loan words. Hence the following are examples of sound changes which occurred:

- (16)
- | | | |
|------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| <i>*anyam</i> | <i>anya</i> | ‘to weave’ |
| <i>*pinjam</i> | <i>piNja</i> | ‘to borrow’ |
| <i>*gəlobang</i> | <i>gəloNba</i> | ‘wave’ |
| <i>*pinang</i> | <i>pina</i> | ‘areca nut’ |
| <i>*minom</i> | <i>mino</i> | ‘to drink’* |
| <i>*anjing</i> | <i>aNji</i> | ‘dog’* |
| <i>*səmen</i> | <i>səme</i> | ‘cement’ (from English) |
| <i>*ikan</i> | <i>ikaN</i> | ‘fish’ |
| <i>*turon</i> | <i>turoN</i> | ‘descend’ |
| <i>*cium</i> | <i>ciōN</i> | ‘kiss’ |
| <i>*ujong</i> | <i>ujoN</i> | ‘end, tip, top’ |
| <i>*masin</i> | <i>masiN</i> | ‘salty’ |
| <i>*turon</i> | <i>turoN</i> | ‘to borrow’ |
| <i>*gong</i> | <i>goN</i> | ‘gong’ |
| <i>*fam</i> | <i>faN</i> | ‘family name’ (from Dutch) |
- (examples from Steinhauer 1993: 183-184)

A number of developments are evidence of the influence of peninsular Malay in the development of Larantuka Malay. In bisyllabic roots, the sequence $-\text{ər}C-$ becomes $-\text{ər}\text{ə}C-$.

This sequence is common in peninsular Malay (*kərja* \rightarrow *kərəja* ‘work’) and is found in Larantuka Malay as well, though not in any other Malay varieties outside the Malay peninsula.

- (17)
- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|---|
| <i>*tərbang</i> | \rightarrow <i>tərəbaN</i> | ‘to fly’ |
| <i>*tərjon</i> | \rightarrow <i>tərəjoN</i> | ‘to fly’ |
| <i>*bərseN</i> | \rightarrow <i>bərəseN</i> | ‘to sneeze’ |
| <i>*kərbo</i> | \rightarrow <i>kərəbo</i> | ‘water buffalo’ |
| <i>*bərkas</i> | \rightarrow <i>bərəka</i> | ‘bundle’ (examples from Steinhauer 1993: 191) |

The general tendency for high vowels to be lowered in (originally) closed root-final syllables is more advanced in Larantuka Malay, as it is in peninsular Malay, as compared to other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia. Steinhauer (1993: 186-188) carefully

analyzes this process and reflects on the process and ordering of changes. He points out that a number of the words he examines have closely related forms in peninsular Malay, but not in varieties of Malay found in Indonesia (Peninsular Malay *tonggeng* is a more likely source of *toNge* ‘to stick up one’s posterior’ than Indonesian *tungging*). He concludes that the vowel lowering process is evidence that Larantuka Malay is more closely related to peninsular Malay than are other contact varieties of eastern Indonesia. A possible conclusion is that the vowel lowering process was not as far along in the variety which became the Vehicular Malay which influenced the other contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia as was the peninsular Malay which was an important component in the formation of Larantuka Malay (when the Portuguese community of Malacca relocated to Larantuka in 1641). Steinhauer (1991: 191) gives a list of eight words where there is “unpredictable... lowering of high vowels to /o/ and /e/ in penultimate syllables.” However, he points out that five of these are similar to Peninsular Malay forms, which would seem to solve the issue of predictability, especially since the other three consist of a loan word from Portuguese, an instance of partial reduplication, and a word which may reflect an archaic morpheme (all three points having been made by Steinhauer himself). There are also a fair number of lexical items shared by Larantuka Malay and Peninsular Malay, which are unknown in other varieties of Malay.

A few other sound changes in Larantuka Malay, again as noted by Steinhauer (1991: 189-192):

In other low Malay varieties (in western Indonesia, eastern Indonesia and the Malay peninsula), there is a tendency to drop /h/ word-finally and, in some words, word-initially. Intervocally in these low Malay varieties, /h/ is only dropped when it occurs between

different vowels (**tahi* → *tai* ‘excrement’). In Larantuka Malay, uniquely, /h/ is dropped between like vowels as well, with a concomitant shortening of the vowel sequence:

- (18) **pohon* → *poN* ‘tree’
**jahat* → *ja* ‘bad, evil’
**tahan* → *taN* ‘to hold’
**leher* → *le* ‘neck’ (examples from Steinhauer 1993: 189)

In three very common words, /s/ becomes /h/. This also occurs (again, in select words) in the Air Mata dialect of Kupang Malay and in Sri Lanka Malay (no direct relationship between these varieties is implied, but there may be some other common factor triggering this change in disparate Malay varieties).

- (19) **satu* → *hatu* ‘one’
**sana* → *hana* ‘over there’
**sama* → *hama* ‘with’

Function words, perhaps because of their frequency of use, exhibit irregular or unexpected sound changes, such as reduction of penultimate syllables.

- (20) **masih* → *masi, məsi(N)* ‘still’
**lagi* → *ləgi* ‘again’
**tadi* → *tədi* ‘just now’
**mana* → *məna* ‘which’
**di mana* → *dəməna* ‘where’
**kə mana* → *kəməna* ‘to where’
**bagaimana* → *bəgəna*⁵⁴ ‘how’
**bilamana* → *bəlməna* ‘when’
**səkarang* → *səkəraN* ‘back, return’
**kəmbali* → *kəNbali* ‘again’
**masing-masing* → *məsin-məsin* ‘each’ (also *masiN-masiN, məmasiN*)
(examples from Steinhauer 1993: 190)

⁵⁴ Steinhauer lists the form *bəge(mə)na*, which I did not come across in my data or my time in Larantuka.

By contrast, there is only one lexical word, **tarek* → *tare, t̄ore* ‘to pull’, which exhibits such a change.

Finally, there is a tendency to reduce antepenultimate syllables, which is likely due to these syllables being in an unstressed position. Some examples from the list given by Steinhauer (1991: 191-191):

- (21) **buaya* → *bəwaya* ‘crocodile’
**suara* → *səwara* ‘voice’
**suanggi* → *səwaŋgi* ‘evil spirit’
**dua hari* → *dəwari* ‘two days (the day after tomorrow)’
**bicara* → *bəcara* ‘to talk’
**binatang* → *bənatana* ‘animal’
**di atas* → *data* ‘on (top)’
**pagi hari* → *pəgari* ‘early in the morning’
(examples from Steinhauer 1993: 190)

4.3.2.7 Vowels of Papua Malay

As with the consonants, there is a difference in the vowel inventory reported for Papua Malay in the two available studies (reflecting regional variation), so both are included here.

Table 4.9: Vowels of North Papua Malay (Donohue to appear: 6)

i	u
(e)	(o)
ɛ	ɔ
a	

Table 4.10: Vowels of Serui Malay (van Velzen 1995: 318)

i	u
e	o
a	

Donohue notes that for some speakers there is a seven vowel system, with a distinction made between /e/ and /ɛ/, and between /o/ and /ɔ/ with the lower vowels occurring in positions in which Standard Malay has a word final diphthong (/ay/ or /aw/). The result is a contrast in words such as in (22), necessitating an underlying seven vowel system.

- (22) *pece* ‘mud’ (< **becek*)
pante ‘beach’ (< **pantai*)
jompo ‘pick up’ (< **jəmpu*)
pulo ‘island’ (< **pulau*) (Donohue to appear: 8)

Other developments in Papua Malay, such as the loss of the schwa and the lowering of vowels in final closed syllables (as well as the loss of the word-final diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/) are the same as the developments found in North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay, and it can be assumed that these developments had already occurred before the Malay language reached Papua. The further development of a word-final vowel contrast in words which had already lost a diphthong or word-final consonant is not as easily explained, and may be a remnant of a vowel distinction in this position which was subsequently lost in other varieties of Malay, or it may be a newer introduction, reflecting a familiarity with Standard Indonesian, in which there is a distinction word-finally in these words, with a resulting effort to create such a distinction.

The loss of the schwa which was present in Vehicular Malay has been handled in a similar manner to North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay, although individual lexical items show some variation (perhaps due to their origins in differing varieties of Malay). According to Donohue (to appear: 6), the schwa occasionally appears in some words, such as *kə(lə)lwar* ‘small bat’. This may be due to interference from knowledge of Standard

Indonesian. It does not appear that the schwa is part of the phonemic system of varieties of Papua Malay, and indeed it was not analyzed as part of the phonemic system of either North Papuan Malay (by Donohue) or Serui Malay (by van Velzen).

The loss of the schwa has led to phonemic stress, as in the other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia (except Larantuka Malay). Minimal pairs are easily found:

- (23) *dapá* ‘front’ (< **dəpan*)
dápa ‘obtain, get’ (< **dapat*)
barát ‘heavy’ (< **bərat*)
bárat ‘west’ (< **barat*) (Donohue to appear: 8)

For second-language speakers in areas with limited exposure to Malay, the phonology of the local language can create pronunciations which diverge from normal usage in Malay. Compare the forms in (24), (26) and (28) with their Standard Indonesian variants in (25), (27) and (29).

- (24) Papuan Malay
 [dɛβɔɾɔm cəjəβuŋə dəwŋgɛβərə]
De=potong saya=punya daun-kepala
 3SG=cut 1SG=POSS leaf-head
 ‘He cut my hair.’ (Donohue to appear: 3, 1)
- (25) Standard Indonesian
Dia mem-[p]otong rambut saya.
 3SG AV-cut hair 1SG
 ‘He cut my hair.’ (Donohue to appear: 3, 2)
- (26) Papuan Malay
Bari kita bakad daji cikara (Lake Plains Region)
 come 1PL eat rice now
 ‘Let’s eat some rice now.’ (Donohue to appear: 4, 3)
- (27) Standard Indonesian
Mari kita makan nasi sekarang
 come 1PL eat rice now
 ‘Let’s eat some rice now.’ (Donohue to appear: 4, 3)

- (28) Papuan Malay
Caya mau cuci (Dani ethnic group)
 1SG want injection
 ‘I want to be given an injection.’ (Donohue to appear: 4, 4)
- (29) Standard Indonesian
Saya mau (di)-suntik
 1SG want PASS-injection
 ‘I want to be given an injection.’ (Donohue to appear: 4, 4)

4.3.2.8 Summary of Vowel Phonemes

Vehicular Malay had a six-vowel system, with a phonemic schwa. The contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia (with the exception of Larantuka Malay) have a five-vowel system, with no schwa. The loss of the schwa presumably occurred in EITM, as the schwa-less varieties all employ similar strategies to replace the schwas which occurred in Vehicular Malay. Some speakers of some modern varieties, in particular Manado Malay, Kupang Malay and Papua Malay, employ the schwa sound in their daily speech, through the influence of Indonesian, although this sound is not a part of the phonology of the basilectal variety of their language. Unlike the other six varieties described in this chapter, Larantuka Malay has a schwa in its sound system, and apparently, the schwa has always been a part of its sound system. This points to a differing origin for Larantuka Malay from the other six varieties, and this will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Some observers, such as Voorhoeve (1983) and Taylor (1983) have posited a series of diphthongs for certain varieties of Malay, and have pointed out that these varieties have a larger inventory of diphthongs than varieties of Malay found in western Indonesia. The occurrence of the diphthongs /ae/ and /ao/ in particular has been noted, along with the observation that these developed from word-medial /ay/ and /aw/ in earlier varieties of Malay. Other observers, such as van Minde (1997) and Kumanireng (1993) maintain that

there are no diphthongs, but rather vowel combinations of some sort, based on phonological and prosodic evidence. There is some evidence for both positions, but the evidence seems stronger for the existence of vowel combinations rather than diphthongs, so no diphthongs are posited for EITM, although it is likely that Vehicular Malay had the diphthongs /ay/, /aw/ and /oy/. The loss of these diphthongs through a variety of processes (word final diphthongs became monophthongized in Low Malay prior to the development of Vehicular Malay, word-medial diphthongs were lowered and became vowel combinations rather than single units in EITM) is one of the distinguishing features of EITM and all seven of the Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia.

For some speakers of Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 12) and Papua Malay (Donohue to appear: 8), there is a further contrast between /e/ and /ɛ/ and between /o/ and /ɔ/. These are not considered to be a part of the general phonology of these varieties.

4.4 General/Clause Structure

4.4.1 Word Order

All of the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia are isolating languages, with little productive morphology of any kind, apart from reduplication. As a result, word order takes a very important role, and the basic word orders of SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT (in transitive clauses) and SUBJECT-VERB (in intransitive clauses) are adhered to, with only marked exceptions for discourse purposes. These basic word orders are shared by Malay varieties of western Indonesia, including Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian.

Manado Malay

(30) *Tu guru ada baca buku.*

DEM teacher ASP read book

‘The teacher is reading a book.’ (1.7)

- (31) *Tu anak ada tidor*
 DEM child ASP sleep
 ‘The child is sleeping.’ (1.2)

North Moluccan Malay

- (32) *Kita mo bali oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ‘I will buy a new car.’ (3.23)

- (33) *Ana itu tidor.*
 child DEM sleep
 ‘The child sleeps.’ (3.2)

Ambon Malay

- (34) *Dia buka mulu ka mari.*
 3SG open mouth to here
 ‘It opened its mouth to here.’ (6.7)

- (35) *...Nene Luhu punya kuda itu mati...*
 Nene Luhu POSS horse DEM die
 ‘...Nene Luhu’s horse died...’ (5:30-31)

Banda Malay

- (36) *Guru itu baca buku.*
 teacher DEM read book
 ‘The teacher reads a book.’ (8.8)

- (37) *Ana itu tido.*
 child DEM sleep
 ‘The child sleeps.’ (8.2)

Kupang Malay

- (38) *Itu guru baca buku.*
 DEM teacher read book
 ‘The teacher reads a book.’ (10.8)

- (39) *Itu nona manangis.*
 DEM girl cry
 ‘The girl cries.’ (10.3)

Larantuka Malay

- (40) *Guru tu ada baca buku.*
 teacher DEM ASP read book
 ‘The teacher reads a book.’ (13.8)

- (41) *Kəbara tu ada mənangi.*
 girl DEM ASP cry
 ‘The girl cries.’ (13.3)

Papua Malay

(42) *Da=bunu oran semua...*
3SG=kill people all
'He killed all the people...' (12.32)

(43) *...kamu=dudu hati-hati...*
2PL=sit REDUP-care
'...you all sit carefully ...' (12.64)

For some second-language speakers of Papua Malay in areas where there is little use of Malay, as in the Lake Plains region in inland north Papua, Donohue (to appear: 3) reports that some contact varieties of Malay show SOV word order, as the local languages are SOV.

In addition, Donohue (to appear: 26) notes that divergence from the SVO pattern "is rife, due to the extensive use of topicalization and other pragmatically marked patterns that affect the word order." Donohue presents some of the options available based upon a single basic clause (44). The other possibilities are commonly heard (except (48) and (50)).

(44) SVO
[_{NP:SUBJ} *Kita=ni*] [*tra suka makan*] [_{NP:OBJ} *nasi*.]
1SG=DEM NEG like eat rice
'I don't like eating rice.' (Donohue to appear: 26, 97)

(45) S, VO
Kita=ni, sa=tra suka makan nasi.
1SG=DEM 1SG=NEG like eat rice
'Me, I don't like eating rice.' (Donohue to appear: 26, 98)

(46) O, (S)V
Nasi=tu, sa=tra suka makan.
rice=DEM 1SG=NEG like eat
'Rice, I don't like eating (it).' (Donohue to appear: 26, 99)

(47) VO, (S)AUX
Makan nasi=tu sa=tra suka.
eat rice=DEM 1SG=NEG like
'Eating rice, I don't like.' (Donohue to appear: 27, 100)

- (48) SV, O
 ? *Kita=ni tra suka makan, nasi.*
 1SG=DEM NEG like eat rice
 ‘I don’t like eating, rice.’ (Donohue to appear: 27, 101)
- (49) (S)VO, S
Sa=tra suka makan nasi, kita=ni.
 1SG=NEG like eat rice 1SG=DEM
 ‘Well, I don’t like eating rice, me.’ (Donohue to appear: 27, 102)
- (50) (S)V, SO
 **Sa=tra suka makan, kita=ni nasi.*
 1SG=NEG like eat 1SG=DEM rice
 ‘Well, I don’t like eating, me, rice.’ (Donohue to appear: 27, 103)

4.4.2 Lexical Categories

There are three open classes of words in the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia: nouns, verbs and adjectives. Although adjectives have certain verb-like features and could possibly be analyzed as a sub-class of verbs (as van Minde (1997: 59) does for Ambon Malay),⁵⁵ adjectives have certain features which set them apart from verbs, most notably that they can occur with intensifiers, while verbs can not. Adjectives in Papua Malay do not generally take pronominal proclitics marking the subject (Donohue to appear: 15), further evidence that, at least in that variety, they represent a separate class. The following example illustrates this contrast:

- (51) *Sa=saki.* **Sa=kecil.*
 1SG=sick 1SG=small
 ‘I’m sick.’ ‘I’m small.’ (Donohue to appear: 16, 36-37)

⁵⁵ Van Minde (1997: 64) analyzes the forms in Ambon Malay which might be considered to be adjectives as a sub-class of verbs (which he calls Class II.1), defined as monovalent stative intransitive verbs which can be used in comparative constructions. The fact that these forms are thus set apart from all other verbs in a sub-class of their own makes van Minde’s analysis little different from other analysts who label these forms ‘adjectives’ on much the same evidence. There is no doubt that adjectives in the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia have many verb-like features (they can serve as predicates, they may be modified by mood and aspect markers, and they are negated by the verbal negator), and the decision to include adjectives as a sub-class of verbs or to set them apart as a separate class is a fine distinction.

Adjectives in Papua Malay include *kecil* ‘small, young’, *besa(r)* ‘big, grown up’ *laku* ‘good, acceptable’ and most color terms, but not words such as *tua* ‘old’, *muda* ‘young’, *saki* ‘sick’ and *jahat* ‘bad, evil’, which are morphologically verbs (Donohue to appear: 16). In (51) above, *saki* ‘sick’ is acceptable, since *saki* functions as a verb, while *kecil* ‘small’ is not possible, since *kecil* is an adjective.

The closed classes of words are analyzed with minor differences by various observers, but, in general, the following closed classes can be identified for these varieties. This list is largely based upon Stoel’s analysis for Manado Malay (2005: 29).

- Pronouns (a sub-class of nouns)
- Demonstratives
- Prepositions
- Conjunctions
- Possessive markers
- Numerals
- Directionals
- Intensifiers
- Relativizers
- Negators
- Question words
- Aspect markers
- Adverbs
- Interjections
- Discourse Particles

There is no significant variation in word classes between the contact varieties of Malay of eastern Indonesia, or between the eastern varieties and Malay varieties of western Indonesia, and the issues relating to the definition of word classes in the eastern varieties also apply to the western varieties.

4.4.3 Prepositions

Prepositional phrases in the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia consist of PREPOSITION + NOUN PHRASE, and generally occur after the verb. The most commonly used prepositions in each variety, with examples, are listed below.

4.4.3.1 Prepositions in Manado Malay

- *di* LOC ('at, in, on')⁵⁶

(52) *Meong ada tidor di atas kadera.*
cat ASP sleep LOC top chair
'The cat is sleeping on the chair.' (1.4)

(53) *Ruma basar ada di jalang Kartini.*
house big have LOC street Kartini
'A big house on Kartini Street.' (1.117)
- *dari* 'from; than'

(54) *Kita datang dari sana.*
1SG come from over.there
'I came from over there.' (1.128)

(55) *Gunung itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
mountain DEM more tall from mountain DEM
'That mountain is taller than this mountain.' (1.153)
- *ka* 'to' (when the following noun phrase is inanimate)

(56) *Kita pærna pigi ka luar kota.*
1SG ever go to outside city
'I have ever gone out of town.' (1.17)

⁵⁶ The preposition *di* can combine with words meaning such as 'top', 'bottom' and 'interior' to form the meanings 'on (top of)/above', 'under/below', and 'inside'. This is true in all varieties of Malay. Unlike English, *di* can also refer to the goal of a movement, and in these cases is usually interchangeable with *ka*.

- (57) *Ngana datang ka mari kiapa?*
 2SG come to here why
 ‘You came here why?’ (1.84)
- *pa* ‘to, at, for’ (before animate noun phrases representing direct objects, goals, recipients, or beneficiaries (Stoel 2005: 40))
- (58) *Tu orang ada tulis surat pa de pe mama.*
 DEM person ASP write letter to 3SG POSS mother
 ‘The man is writing a letter to his mother.’ (1.3)
- (59) *Anak itu ada kase bunga pa de pe mama.*
 child DEM ASP give flower to 3SG POSS mother
 ‘The child is giving a flower to his/her mother.’ (1.8)
- *deng* ‘with’ (INSTRUMENTAL, COMITATIVE)
- (60) *Kita pe papa ada potong tali deng piso.*
 1SG POSS father ASP cut rope with knife
 ‘My father is cutting a rope with a knife.’ (1.5)
- (61) *Kita pe papa ada potong kayu deng de pe tamang.*
 1SG POSS father ASP cut wood with 3SG POSS friend
 ‘My father is cutting wood with his friend.’ (1.6)
- *for* ‘for’ (BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT: examples of all three uses are not available in the data)⁵⁷
- (62) *Dia ada bekeng makanang for mo jual di pasar.*
 3SG ASP make food for ASP sell LOC market
 ‘S/he is making food to sell in the market.’ (1.128)

Prepositional phrases in Manado Malay generally occur after the verb, clause finally, as in all examples in the data collected for this study. According to Stoel (2005: 140), they may be fronted if they provide new information or to form a segue from a preceding sentence, as in the example below.

- (63) (Mila was not at the harbor, so we decided to call her.)
Dari situ torang pigi di wartel.
 from there 1PL go in Wartel
 ‘From there we went to the Wartel (=telephone shop).’ (Stoel (2005: 140, 5.14)

⁵⁷ Despite its form, *for* is not a loan from English. It most likely was originally borrowed (into North Moluccan Malay) from Portuguese *por* ‘for’, with the pronunciation influenced by Dutch *voor* ([fo:r]) ‘for’.

4.4.3.2 Prepositions in North Moluccan Malay

- *di* LOC ('at, in, on')

(64) *Kita pe papa ada ba-tanam pohon di taman/kintal.*
1SG POSS father ASP BA-plant tree LOC garden
'My father plants trees in the garden.' (3.1)

(65) *Kalamarin ngana tara bali ikan di pasar.*
yesterday 2SG NEG buy fish LOC market
'You didn't buy fish in the market yesterday.' (3.40)

- *dari* 'from; than'

(66) *Kita datang dari lao ka dara.*
1SG come from sea to land
'I came from a seaward direction to a landward direction.' (3.103)

(67) *Gunung Ternate lebe tinggi dari gunung Tidore.*
mountain Ternate more tall from mountain Tidore
'Ternate's mountain is taller than Tidore's mountain.' (3.122)

- *ka* 'to' (before both inanimate and animate noun phrases)

(68) *Bikiapa ngana datang ka mari?*
why 2SG come to here
'Why did you come here?' (3.72)

(69) *Kita kasi barang ini ka ngana.*
1SG give thing DEM to 2SG
'I give this thing to you.' (3.128)

- *pa* 'to' (only when the following noun phrase is animate)⁵⁸

(70) *Kita pe ade ada ba-tulis surat pa dia pe guru.*
1SG POSS younger.sibling ASP BA-write letter to 3SG POSS teacher
'My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.' (3.4)

(71) *Orang itu ada kase bunga pa dia pe nona.*
person DEM ASP give flower to 3SG POSS girlfriend
'The person gives a flower to his girlfriend.' (3.9)

⁵⁸ *pa* can occur before animate noun phrases representing direct objects, goals, recipients, or beneficiaries.

- *deng* ‘with’ (INSTRUMENTAL, COMITATIVE)

(72) *Kita pe papa ada potong tali deng piso.*
 1SG POSS father ASP cut rope with knife
 ‘My father cuts a rope with a knife.’ (3.6)

(73) *Kita pe papa deng kita pe om ada potong kayu.*
 1SG POSS father with 1SG POSS uncle ASP cut wood
 ‘My father cuts wood with my uncle.’ (3.7)

- *for* ‘for’ (BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT; examples of all three uses are not available in the data)

(74) *Kita kasi barang ini for ngana.*
 1SG give thing DEM for 2SG
 ‘I give this thing to you.’ (3.129)

- *sama* ‘with, to, at’⁵⁹

(75) *bilang sama* ‘to say to (someone)’
inga sama ‘to think of (someone/something)’
sampe sama ‘to arrive at (somewhere)’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 6)

Time adverbs (which are not marked by prepositions) are regularly fronted, even when the prompt presents a time adverb in final position:

(76) *Tadi malam dia tara ba-uni teve.*
 last night s/he NEG BA-watch TV
 ‘S/he didn’t watch TV last night.’ (3.38)

(77) *Hari rabu dorang akan tara jadi pigi.*
 day Wednesday 3PL FUT NEG happen go
 ‘They won’t leave on Wednesday.’ (3.39)

(78) *Kalamarin ngana tara bali ikan di pasar.*
 yesterday 2SG NEG buy fish LOC market
 ‘You didn’t buy fish in the market yesterday.’ (3.40)

4.4.3.3 Prepositions in Ambon Malay

Prepositions can be locative or non-locative, and simple or complex. Table 4.11 presents the prepositions of Ambon Malay, with examples following. The complex

⁵⁹ This range of functions for *sama* in North Moluccan Malay parallels the range of functions of *sama* in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (see below).

prepositions may occur with the locative prepositions *di*, *ka* or *dari*, but only *dari* is obligatory.

Table 4.11 Prepositions in Ambon Malay (adapted from van Minde 1997: 75)

Simple Locative Prepositions	<i>di</i>	LOC ‘at, in, on, to’
	<i>dari (dar, der)</i>	‘from’
	<i>ka</i>	‘to’ (ANIM. or INANIM.)
	<i>dekat</i>	‘close to’
	<i>tangada</i>	‘across, opposite’
	<i>sampe</i>	‘arrive, till’
	<i>abis</i>	‘after’
Simple Non-Locative Prepositions	<i>dengang (deng, dengan)</i>	‘with’ (INSTR., COM.)
	<i>par, for (fur), buat (bot)</i>	‘for, to’ (BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT)
	<i>sama</i>	‘be equal to, to, with’
	<i>macang (macam)</i>	‘(be) like’
	<i>sampe</i>	‘until’
	<i>abis</i>	‘after’
	<i>sondor</i>	‘without’
Complex Locative Prepositions <i>di, dari, ka +</i>	<i>dalang (dalam)</i>	‘in(side)’
	<i>balakang (blakang)</i>	‘back(side)’
	<i>bawa (baw, ba)</i>	‘bottom(side)’
	<i>atas</i>	‘top’
	<i>muka</i>	‘face, front’
	<i>pinggir (pingger)</i>	‘side’
	<i>sabala (sabla)</i>	‘side’
	<i>tenga</i>	‘middle’

Selected examples from the chart above follow.

- *di* LOC (‘at, in, on’)
- (79) *Yang biasanya itu antua punya kehidupan ada di punca Sirimau.*
 REL usual DEM 3SG.FML POSS life have LOC peak Sirimau
 ‘Her usual life was led atop the peak of Sirimau Hill.’ (5.9-10)
- *ka* ‘to’ (before inanimate and animate noun phrases) + ‘dalam’ ‘in(side)’
- (80) *...angin bawa akang jato ka dalam aer masing.*
 wind bring 3SG.N fall to in water salty
 ‘...the wind blew it (off her head) so it fell into the salt water.’ (5.38-39)

- *dekat* ‘near’ + *deng(an)(g)* ‘with’
- (81) ...*dia punya ini dekat dengan Sirimau.*
 3SG POSS DEM near with Sirimau
 ‘her [home] was near Sirimau.’ (5.9)
- *sampe* ‘until’
- (82) *Sampe sakarang ini hidop seng macam yang kaya dolo-dolo lai.*
 until now DEM life NEG like REL like REDUP-previous DP
 ‘Until now, life is not the way it was previously anymore.’ (7.11-12)
- *di* LOC (‘at, in, on’) + *atas* ‘top’
- (83) *dia jato terguling di atas tana.*
 3SG fall rolling LOC on ground
 ‘...it fell rolling on the ground.’ (5.51)
- *di* LOC (‘at, in, on’); *deng* ‘with’ (INSTRUMENTAL, COMITATIVE)
- (84) *Tapi karena di Ambon waktu itu samua panggil antua deng*
 but because LOC Ambon time DEM all call 3SG.FML with
gelaran...
 title
 ‘But everyone in Ambon at that time called her by her (given) name...’
 (5.4-5)
- *par* ‘for, to’ (BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT); *di* LOC (‘at, in, on’)
- (85) ...*dia seng percaya par dia pung mama pi di tanpa itu.*
 3SG NEG believe for 3SG POSS mother go LOC place DEM
 ‘...he didn’t believe his mother would go to that place.’ (6.4-5)
- *abis* ‘after’
- (86) ...*orang belanja pulang abis samua suda malam...*
 person shop go.home after all already night
 ‘...that person went home after (it was) late at night...’ (5.77-78)

4.4.3.4 Prepositions in Banda Malay

- *di* LOC ('at, in, on')

(87) *Beta pung papa tanam pohong di kintal.*
1SG POSS father plant tree LOC garden
'My father plants trees in the garden.' (8.1)

(88) *Ada kukis di dapur.*
have cake LOC kitchen
'There is cake in the kitchen.' (8.30)

- *dari* 'from'

(89) *Kita datang dari timor.*
1SG come from east
'I came from the east.' (8.57)

(90) *Gunung sana itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
mountain over.there DEM more tall from mountain DEM
'The mountain over there is taller than this mountain.' (8.66)

- *ka* 'to' (before both inanimate and animate noun phrases)

(91) *Katong dari sana datang ka sini.*
1PL from over.there come to here
'We came from over there to here.' (8.55)

- *deng* 'with' (INSTRUMENTAL, COMITATIVE)

(92) *Beta pung papa potong tali deng piso.*
1SG POSS father cut rope with knife
'My father cuts a rope with a knife.' (8.6)

(93) *Beta pung papa potong kayu deng beta pung om.*
1SG POSS father cut wood with 1SG POSS uncle
'My father cuts wood with my uncle.' (8.7)

(94) *Dorang baku-sayang satu deng lain.*
3PL RECIP-love one with other
'They love each other one with another.' (8.63)

- *par* ‘for’ (BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT; examples of all three uses are not available in the data)

(95) *Beta pung ade tulis surat par guru.*
 1SG POSS younger.sibling write letter to teacher
 ‘My younger sibling wrote a letter to the teacher.’ (8.4)

(96) *Orang itu kasi bunga par dia pu tunangan.*
 person DEM give flower to 3SG POSS fiancé
 ‘The person gives a flower to his/her fiancé(e).’ (8.9)

4.4.3.5 Prepositions in Kupang Malay

Table 4.12: Prepositions of Kupang Malay

Simple Locative Prepositions	<i>di</i>	LOC ‘at, in, on, to’
	<i>dari</i>	‘from’
	<i>pi</i>	‘to’ (ANIM. or INANIM.)
	<i>sang</i>	‘to, with’ (ANIMATE)
	<i>deka</i>	‘close to’
	<i>sampe</i>	‘arrive (at), till’
	<i>abis</i>	‘after’
Simple Non-Locative Prepositions	<i>deng</i>	‘with’ (INSTR., COM.)
	<i>buat</i>	‘for, to’ (BENEFACTIVE)
	<i>kasi</i>	‘for, to’ (RECIPIENT)
	<i>sama</i>	‘be equal to, to, with’
	<i>macam</i>	‘(be) like’
	<i>sampe</i>	‘until’
	<i>abis</i>	‘after’
Complex Locative Prepositions <i>di, dari, ka +</i>	<i>dalam</i>	‘inside’
	<i>balakang (blakang)</i>	‘back(side)’
	<i>bawa</i>	‘bottom(side)’
	<i>kolong</i>	‘bottom (side)’
	<i>muka</i>	‘face, front’
	<i>atas</i>	‘top’
	<i>sabla</i>	‘side’
	<i>tenga</i>	‘middle’

Table 4.12 presents the prepositions of Kupang Malay, which can be seen in the selected examples below. It is notable that the prepositions *pi* ‘to’ (ANIMATE or INANIMATE) and *kasi* ‘for, to’ (RECIPIENT) are grammaticalized from the verbs *pi* ‘to go’ and *kasi* ‘to give’ and that these forms do not occur as prepositions in most other Malay varieties

(although Larantuka Malay has a grammaticalized preposition of the same function as *kasi* formed from a different verb meaning ‘to give’).

- *di* LOC (‘at, in, on’)

(97) *Bapa su barenti di sakola.*
 father ASP stop LOC school
 ‘Father stopped school.’ (11.6)
- *dari* ‘from’

(98) *Beta datang dari sana.*
 1SG come from over.there
 ‘We came from over there.’ (10.85)
- *pi* ‘to’ (before inanimate and animate noun phrases)

(99) *Itu orang kasi bunga pi dia pung pacar.*
 DEM person give flower go 3SG POSS girlfriend
 ‘The person gives a flower to his girlfriend.’ (10.9)
- *sang* ‘to’ (before animate noun phrases)

(100) *Lu lia sang beta.*
 2SG see to 1SG
 ‘You see me.’ (10.11)
- *sampe* ‘until’

(101) *Sampe di kalas tiga mau ujian, ya suda.*
 until LOC grade three ASP exam yes already
 ‘Up till year three, just before the final exams, and that was it.’ (10.7-8)
- *deng* ‘with’ (INSTRUMENTAL, COMITATIVE)

(102) *Beta pung bapa potong tali deng piso.*
 1SG POSS father cut rope with knife
 ‘My father cuts a rope with a knife.’ (10.6)

(103) *Beta pung bapa potong kayu deng beta pung om/bapa kici.*
 1SG POSS father cut wood with 1SG POSS uncle
 ‘My father cuts wood with my uncle.’ (10.7)

- *kasi* ‘for’ (RECIPIENT)

(104) *Beta pung ade su tulis surat kasi dia pung guru.*
 1SG POSS younger.sibling ASP write letter give 3SG POSS teacher
 ‘My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.’ (10.4)

- *macam* ‘like’

(105) *...kotong macam kejaga kode sa.*
 1PL like watch monkey only
 ‘...it was as if we were watching monkeys.’ (11.23)

- *di* LOC (‘at, in, on’) + *atas* ‘top’

(106) *Itu kucing tidor di atas korsi.*
 DEM cat sleep LOC on chair
 ‘The cat sleeps on the chair.’ (10.5)

4.4.3.6 Prepositions in Larantuka Malay

Table 4.13 presents the prepositions of Larantuka Malay, which can be seen in the selected examples below. The preposition *bəri* ‘for, to’ (RECIPIENT) is grammaticalized from the verb *bəri* ‘to give’.

- *di~də* LOC (‘at, in, on’); *kə* ‘to’ (before both inanimate and animate noun phrases)

(107) *Dia di utaN te, dia lari kə sana kə mari, cari makaN.*
 3SG LOC forest DP 3SG run to over.there to here look.for food
 ‘He was in the forest, he was running here and there, looking for food.’
 (15.5)

(108) *Tiba-tiba jo cahaya di muka idoN-nya kəliliN də ana*
 REDUP-arrive then light LOC face nose-NYA around LOC child

kəci te puN kəpala...

small DP POSS head

‘Suddenly a light shone on the face and nose around the small child’s head...’ (14.49-50)

Table 4.13: Prepositions of Larantuka Malay

Simple Locative Prepositions	<i>di/də</i>	LOC ‘at, in, on, to’
	<i>kə</i>	‘to’ (ANIM. or INANIM.)
	<i>dari</i>	‘from’
	<i>lao dataN</i>	‘from a seaward direction’
	<i>dara dataN</i>	‘from a landward direction’
	<i>dəba</i>	‘under, below, southward’
	<i>data</i>	‘top, above, on, northward’
	<i>dalaN</i>	‘in(side)’
	<i>lua</i>	‘out(side)’
Simple Non-Locative Prepositions	<i>hama</i>	‘along with’(COMITATIVE)
	<i>mə</i>	‘with’ (INSTR., COM.)
	<i>bəri</i>	‘for, to’ (RECIPIENT)
	<i>uNto</i>	‘for, to’ (BEN., PURP., RECIP.)
	<i>pake</i>	LOC ‘with (s.t.)’
	<i>(ə)si</i>	‘by, as (manner)’
	<i>səlama</i>	‘while’
	<i>waktu</i>	‘at (a time)’
	<i>təga</i>	‘because’
Complex Locative Prepositions <i>di, dari, kə +</i>	<i>deka</i>	‘close to’
	<i>muka</i>	‘front’(side)
	<i>bəlakaN</i>	‘back(side)’
	<i>səbəla + (keri, kanan)</i>	‘(be)side’ + (left, right)
	<i>kəliliN</i>	‘around’
	<i>təNtənga</i>	‘in the middle’
	<i>ujoN</i>	‘at the end, at the tip’
	<i>tənga</i>	‘middle’

- *di* LOC (‘at, in, on’) + *atas* ‘top’

(109) *Lima pulo kali jalaN di atas sana.*
 five ten time walk LOC on over.there
 ‘Fifty times he walked (stepped) there..’ (14.42-43)

- *dari* ‘from; than’

(110) *Jadi kəlinci tu lebe cərdi dari [buaya].*
 so rabbit DEM more intelligent than [crocodile]
 ‘So that rabbit is more intelligent than [a crocodile].’ (15.34)

- *lao dataN* ‘from a seaward direction’

(111) *Kita lao dataN.*

1SG sea come

‘I came from a seaward direction.’ (13.96)

- *kə* ‘to’ (before inanimate and animate noun phrases); *dəba* ‘under, below, southward’⁶⁰

(112) ...*dia mau bawa kə sunge, sunge luNpo dəba te.*

3SG want bring to river river mud LOC.below DP

‘...he wanted to bring [him] to the river, the muddy river below.’ (15.19)

- *data* ‘top, above, on, northward’

(113) *Data poN pərəpa te, ido kəkəra hatu eko.*

on.top tree mangrove DP live monkey one CL

‘On top of the mangrove tree lived a monkey.’ (16.2)

- *dalaN* ‘in(side)’

(114) *Kita tiNga dalaN ruma gədu.*

1SG live in house big

‘I live in a big house.’ (13.90)

- *uNto* ‘for, to’ (BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT)

(115) *Kita puN ade tuli surat uNto dia puN guru.*

1SG POSS younger.sibling write letter for 3SG POSS teacher

‘My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.’ (13.4)

- *kə* ‘to’ + *lua* ‘out(side)’

(116) *Jo dia bə-tau, “Oi, əNko puN sapi, kalo kə-lua makaN kita puN*

then 3SG BƏ-know INT 2SG POSS cow if to-out eat 1SG POSS

kəbon...

garden

‘Then the other one said, “Hey, if your cows get out and eat my garden...”.’

(17.13)

⁶⁰ The preposition *dəba* historically derives from separate forms meaning ‘at’ + ‘below’. Cf. Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (CJI) *di bawah* ‘under, below’ or the form *di bawa* which occurs in the other Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia. Similarly, the preposition *data* ‘top, above, on’ derives from ‘at’ + ‘top’, cf. the form *di atas* found in CJI and the Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia.

- *dəka* ‘close to, near’

(117) *Dia undo te jao hana dəka paNte Suste.*
 3SG move.back NEG far over.there near beach Suste
 He backed up not far there, near Suste Beach.’ (16.22-23)

- *səbəla* ‘(on the) side; beside’

(118) *Tə-bəla dua, jadi hatu hana səbəla, toraN sini.*
 TƏ-split two so one over.there side 1PL here
 ‘Split in two, that one over there, and us over here.’ (14.7)

4.4.3.7 Prepositions in Papua Malay

Table 4.14 Prepositions in Papua Malay

Simple Locative Prepositions	<i>di</i>	LOC ‘at, in, on, to’
	<i>dari</i>	‘from’
	<i>ke, ka, kə</i>	‘to’ (ANIM. or INANIM.)
	<i>dekat</i>	‘close to’
	<i>sampe</i>	‘arrive, till’
	<i>abis</i>	‘after’
Simple Non-Locative Prepositions	<i>deng, den, dengan, denan</i>	COM, INST ‘with’
	<i>untuk, untu</i>	BEN ‘for, to’
	<i>buat</i>	BEN ‘for, to’
	<i>kasi, kase, kas</i>	BEN ‘for, to’
	<i>sama</i>	‘with, to’
	<i>pake</i>	INST ‘with, use’
	<i>sampe</i>	‘until’
	<i>abis</i>	‘after’
Complex Locative Prepositions <i>di, dari, ka +</i>	<i>dalang, dalam</i>	‘inside’
	<i>balakang, blakang</i>	‘back(side)’
	<i>bawa</i>	‘bottom(side)’
	<i>muka</i>	‘face, front’
	<i>atas</i>	‘top’

The complex prepositions may occur with the locative prepositions *di*, *ka* or *dari*, but only *dari* is obligatory. *Di* and *ka* may be omitted in certain other constructions, and are

not generally used with the verb *pi* ‘go’. Selected examples of the prepositions of Papua Malay follow.

- *di* LOC (‘at, in, on’)
- (119) *Sa=kerja di sini su=lama betul di UNIPA ini.*
 1SG=work LOC here ASP=long true LOC UNIPA DEM
 ‘I’ve worked here a long time at Papua State University (UNIPA).’ (12.1)
- *dari* ‘from; than’
- (120) *Dari kota turus Amban ini buka.*
 from city then Amban DEM open
 ‘From the city then Amban was developed.’ (12.78)
- *di* LOC (‘at, in, on’); *ke~ka* ‘to’ (before inanimate and animate noun phrases)
- (121) *Oran Japan datan itu di pante saja, iko di pante, tida masu*
 people Japan come DEMLOC beach only follow LOC beach NEG enter
ke Kebar.
 to Kebar
 ‘The Japanese came just to the beach, onto the beach, didn’t enter into Kebar.’ (12.14-15)
- *dari* ‘from; than’; *sampe* ‘until’
- (122) *Ton=kerja dari Blanda sampe UNIPA.*
 1PL=work from Dutch until UNIPA
 ‘I worked from the Dutch era till UNIPA.’ (12.5)
- *abis* ‘after’
- (123) *Don=su=rame abis ton=besar-besar.*
 3PL=ASP=many.people after 1PL=REDUP-big
 ‘There were many of them, after we were big.’ (12.17-18)
- *den~deng* ‘with’ (COMITATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL)
- (124) *Rumkorem da=tinggal den ipar ini.*
 Rumkoren 3SG=live with in-law DEM
 ‘Rumkoren lived with his in-laws.’ (12.42)

- *buat* ‘for’ (BENEFACTIVE)
- (125) *Lebe bae kasi kudu buat dia...*
 more good give church to 3SG
 ‘It would be better to give him religion.’ (12.34)
- *sama* ‘with, to’
- (126) *A meman tu Blanda don seraka sama doran...*
 INT truly DEM Dutch 3PL greedy with 3PL
 ‘The Dutch were indeed greedy with people ...’ (12.68)

4.4.3.8 Summary of Prepositions

Prepositions in the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia consist of locative prepositions, non-locative prepositions and complex locative prepositions. A number of prepositions (sometimes in minimally altered form) are shared by all the varieties or almost all the varieties, and these can be considered the basic prepositions inherited from Vehicular Malay:

Table 4.15: Prepositions

Simple Locative Prepositions	<i>di</i>	LOC ‘at, in, on, to’
	<i>ka</i>	‘to’
	<i>dari</i>	‘from’
	<i>deka</i>	‘close to’
	<i>sampe</i>	‘until’
	<i>abis</i>	‘after’
Simple Non-Locative Prepositions	<i>sama</i>	‘along with’
	<i>deng</i>	‘with’
	<i>sampe</i>	‘until’
	<i>abis</i>	‘after’
Complex Locative Prepositions <i>di, dari, ka</i> +	<i>muka</i>	‘front’(side)
	<i>balakang</i>	‘back(side)’
	<i>bawa</i>	‘bottom(side)’
	<i>atas</i>	‘top(side)’
	<i>sabala</i>	‘side, beside’
	<i>dalam</i>	‘in(side)’

The prepositions used in the eastern Indonesian varieties are similar to the prepositions used in western varieties of Low Malay, including Colloquial Jakarta

Indonesian, for the most part. Like the eastern varieties, CJI uses a reduced set of the prepositions available in High Malay. In CJI, the preposition *sama* (~*ama*), which usually has a comitative meaning of ‘with’ or ‘along with’ in eastern Malay varieties, has an expanded range of uses, and besides the uses which can be glossed as ‘with’ (linking an intransitive verb to a following complement) or ‘and’, indicating accompaniment or a reciprocal relationship, as well as indicating an instrumental complement,⁶¹ it can also occur in situations where eastern varieties would tend to have *ke* ‘to’ or *dari* ‘from’ (Sneddon 2006: 51). In addition, in CJI, *sama~ama* is used for an agent following a passive verb, a role which is not possible in eastern Malay varieties, as they lack the passive.

Examples of the use of *sama~ama* in CJI follow.

- (127) *Trus dia bilang ama temen gue...*
 then 3SG say PREP friend 1SG
 ‘Then he said to my friend...’ (Sneddon 2006: 51, 184)
- (128) *Si Astrid suka minjam duit sama bokap-nya.*
 DIM Astrid like borrow money PREP father-3SG
 ‘Astrid is always borrowing money from her father.’ (Sneddon 2006: 51, 185)
- (129) *Gue di-ajar-in ama orang-tua gua juga untuk kritis, gitu loh.*
 1SG PASS-taught-INPREP people-old 1SG also to critical like.that DP
 ‘I was also taught by my parents to be critical.’ (Sneddon 2006: 52, 194)

As in some eastern varieties, the verb *pake* ‘use, wear’ can function as a preposition with an instrumental meaning.

- (130) *Untung kagak ada yang n-impuk-in gue pake kapur, segala macem.*
 lucky NEG be REL N-pelt-IN 1SG PREP chalk all sorts
 ‘Luckily no one pelted me with chalk or the like.’ (Sneddon 2006: 53, 201)

⁶¹ Although *sama* (or a variant) is found in most eastern varieties, these functions are usually performed by the preposition *deng* (or its variants).

4.4.4 Negation

4.4.4.1 Negation in Manado Malay

Simple clausal negation is expressed by the negator *nyanda* or *nya*,⁶² which occurs in the verb complex (see Section 4.6) immediately before the verb phrase being negated:

(131) *Dia nyanda ba-telpon pa de pe mama tadi malam.*
3SG NEG BA-telephone to 3SG POSS mother last night
'S/he didn't call his/her mother last night.' (1.26)

(132) *Nyanda ada kukis di dapur.*
NEG have cake LOC kitchen
'There is no cake in the kitchen.' (1.35)

Negation of elements other than the verb is accomplished through use of the negator *bukang*:

(133) *Bukang ngana dulu kerja di pabrik?*
NEG 2SG before work LOC factory
'Wasn't it you who used to work at the factory?' (2.43)

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *bəlung* or *bolong* 'not yet':

(134) *Kita bəlung tidor/bobo.*
1SG not.yet sleep/sleep
'I haven't slept yet.' (1.24)

(135) *Dia bolong mangael ikan.*
3SG not.yet hook fish
'He has not gone fishing yet.' (2.26)

A few expressions make use of a negative prefix *nim-*, which can occur with the words *bole* 'can/may', *tau* 'know' and *mau* 'want'.

(136) *Dia nim-bole ba-bicara bahasa Inggris.*
3SG NEG-can BA-speak language English
'S/he can't speak English.' (1.30)

There is also a prohibitive negator, *jang* 'don't'.

⁶² Stoel (2005: 59) presents this as *nyanda?* or *nya?*. The informants I worked with did not use a glottal stop in this word, and felt it sounded odd there, though not wrong (which may be further evidence against the phonemic status of the glottal stop in Manado Malay).

4.4.4.2 Negation in North Moluccan Malay

Simple clausal negation is expressed by the negator *tarada* ‘no, not, not have’ or *tara* ‘no, not’, which occurs immediately before the verb phrase being negated (see Section 4.6):

- (137) *Tadi malam dia tara ba-uni teve.*
last night s/he NEG BA-watch TV
‘S/he didn’t watch TV last night.’ (3.38)
- (138) *Ngoni tara jadi blajar di skola.*
2PL NEG happen study LOC school
‘You (pl) didn’t study in school.’ (3.41)
- (139) *Kalo ngana tara datang me tara apa pun.*
if 2SG NEG come CONJ NEG what also
‘If you don’t come it’s not a problem.’ (3.132)

When the meaning is ‘not have’, *tarada* frequently appears as *tara ada* to avoid a potentially ambiguous meaning, as well as the possible construction **tarada ada*.

- (140) *Kui di dapur so tara ada lagi.*
cake LOC kitchen ASP NEG have again
‘There is no more cake in the kitchen.’ (3.51)

Negation of elements other than the verb is accomplished through use of the negator *bukan(g)*:

- (141) *Yang sama dengan itu bukan lagi?*
REL same with DEM NEG again
‘The same as that one, isn’t it also?’ (4.30)

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *balung* or *bolong* ‘not yet’:

- (142) *Bolong, ada libur.*
not.yet have vacation
‘Not yet. She’s on vacation.’ (4.2)
- (143) *Dia bolong mangael ikan.*
3SG not.yet hook fish
‘He has not gone fishing yet.’ (3.26)

There is also a prohibitive negator, *jang* ‘don’t’.

4.4.4.3 Negation in Ambon Malay

Simple clausal negation is expressed by the negators *seng* ‘no, not’ (< Port. *sem* ‘no, without’) *tar/tra* ‘no, not’, or *tida* ‘no, not’ (a recent introduction < Indon. *tidak*). These negators follow the subject and precede the verb, and can also occur after the main verb as part of a modifying VP. The position of the negator within the verb phrase and the sentence will be discussed further in Section 4.6. *Seng* is by far the most common negator, while *tar/tra*, which did not occur in the data collected for this study, marks a more emphatic negation, and frequently co-occurs with *ada* ‘have, be, exist’, *bae* ‘good’, *bole* ‘may, be allowed’ and *bisa* ‘can, be able’ (van Minde 1997: 276-277).

(144) *Nene Luhu itu seng mati, antua hilang.*
Nene Luhu DEM NEG dead 3SG.FML lost
‘Nene Luhu did not die, she disappeared.’ (5.53-54)

(145) *Seng ada apa-apa lai.*
NEG have REDUP-what DP
‘There is nothing left.’ (7.15-16)

(146) *Ruma ini akang seng batul-batul.*
house DEM 3SG.N NEG REDUP-right
‘This house isn’t right.’ (7.2)

Negation of elements other than the verb is accomplished through use of the negator *bukan(g)*:

(147) *...baru dong ketauan itu daun, bukan uang yang di situ.*
just 3PL find.out DEM leaf NEG money REL LOC there
‘only then did they realize that it was leaves, not money, there.’ (5.78-79)

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *balong/bolong/blong* ‘not yet’, which sometimes appears as its Indonesian cognate *belum*:

- (148) ...waktu dulu kan seng ada di Ambong ini bolong ada oto bolong
 time before Q NEG have LOC Ambon DEM not.yet have car not.yet

ada apa-apa...
 have REDUP-what

‘...at that time, there were no cars yet in Ambon or anything else...’
 (5.24-25)

- (149) *Pada satu ketika, perjalanan itu belum sampe di Gunung Nona...*
 On one time journey DEM not.yet arrive LOC mountain Nona
 ‘One day, she had not reached Nona Mountain yet on her journey...’ (5.29)

There is also a prohibitive negator, *jangan/jang/jangan* ‘don’t’.

- (150) *Jang lei!*
 don’t also
 ‘Don’t do that anymore.’ (van Minde 1997: 279, 5.313)

Another morpheme with negative meaning is *sondor* ‘without’ (<Dutch *zonder* ‘without’). Unlike the other negators in this section, it is not a sentence adverb.

- (151) *Anjing gonggong sondor gigi.*
 dog bark CONJ teeth
 ‘The dog barks without biting (idiom).’ (van Minde 1997: 312, 6.95)

4.4.4.4 Negation in Banda Malay

Simple clausal negation is expressed by the negators *tara* ‘no, not’, or *tarada* ‘not have, there is not’. These negators follow the subject and immediately precede the verb phrase (see Section 4.6).

- (152) *Dia tara nonton tifi tadi malam.*
 s/he NEG watch TV last night
 ‘S/he didn’t watch TV last night.’ (8.25)

- (153) *Pane tara bali ikan di pasar kalamaring.*
 2SG NEG buy fish LOC market yesterday
 ‘You didn’t buy fish in the market yesterday.’ (8.27)

- (154) *Su tarada lai kukis di dapur.*
 ASP NEG DP cake LOC kitchen
 ‘There is no more cake in the kitchen.’ (8.33)

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *balong/bolong/blong* ‘not yet’:

- (155) *Beta balong bali oto baru.*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 ‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’ (8.16)

4.4.4.5 Negation in Kupang Malay

Simple clausal negation is usually expressed by the negator *son(de)* ‘no, not’ (< Dutch *zonder* ‘without’). A negative derivational prefix, *tar-*, exists for stronger negation and in set phrases with a limited set of verbs (including adjectives), such as *tar-bisa* ‘cannot’, *tar-bae* ‘morally bad’ (vs. *sonde bae* ‘not good’), *tar-batu(l)* ‘confused crazy, deranged’ (vs. *sonde batu(l)* ‘not true, wrong’) and *tar-tau* ‘don’t know’ (see 159 below) (Steinhauer 1983: 46).

- (156) *Dia sonde nonton teve tadi malam.*
 s/he NEG watch TV last night
 ‘S/he didn’t watch TV last night.’ (10.30)

- (157) *Karena kebetulan jadi polisi bapa su sonde sakola*
 because it.seems become police father ASP NEG school
terus lai.
 continue again
 ‘Because of becoming a policeman, father didn’t continue at school.’
 (11.11-12)

- (158) *Je bosong mau bae ko bosong sonde mau jadi bae,*
 so 2PL ASP good so.that 2PL NEG ASP become good
itu bosong pung ator.
 DEM 2PL POSS arrange
 ‘So if you will be good or you won’t be good, it’s up to you.’ (11.40-41)

- (159) *Sakarang beta mau omong bahasa Inggris, tar-tau batu ko*
 now 1SG ASP speak language English NEG-know correct or
sonde, jang katawa e.
 NEG don’t laugh DP
 ‘Now I am going to speak English, I don’t know whether it’s right or not, don’t laugh, OK?’ (Steinhauer 1983: 46)

Negation of elements other than the verb is accomplished through use of the negator *bukan*, though no examples occurred in the data.

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *balong* or *balom* ‘not yet’:

- (160) *Beta balong bali oto baru.*
1SG not.yet buy car new
‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’ (10.16)

There is also a prohibitive negator, *jang* ‘don’t’.

- (161) *Bosong mesti ada lai, jang macam papa ini.*
2PL must have more don’t like father DEM
‘You must have more, don’t be like father.’ (11.44-45)

4.4.4.6 Negation in Larantuka Malay

Simple clausal negation is usually expressed by the negators *te* ‘no, not’ or the existential negators *tərada* ‘no, not have’ or *ne* ‘no, not’ (<Dutch). The three are generally interchangeable for verbal negation, but only *te* can be used before modals.

- (162) *Kita ni oraN, kita ni ləma, Kita ni te kua.*
1SG DEM person 1SG DEM weak 1SG DEM NEG strong
‘I’m a person, I’m weak. I’m not strong.’ (16.7)

- (163) *Tərada mata ae ni!*
NEG.have spring water DEM
‘There’s no spring!’ (15.10)

- (164) *Bolo so ne ka di dapo?*
cake ASP NEG Q LOC kitchen
‘Is there no cake in the kitchen?’ (13.48)

Contrastive negation (of NPs, VPs, APs or clauses) is accomplished through use of the negator *bukaN*.

- (165) *Te bəto əNko gori itu, itu bukaN kita puN kaki itu, ini kita*
 NEG correct 2SG bite DEM DEM NEG 1SG POSS foot DEM DEM 1SG
puN kaki!
 POSS foot
 ‘It’s not correct (what) you’re biting, that’s not my foot, this is my foot!’
 (15.22)

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *bəloN/boloN* ‘not yet’:

- (166) *Kita bolon bəli oto baru.*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 ‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’ (13.22)

There is also a prohibitive negator, *janga* ‘don’t’.

- (167) *Itu arti-nya kita oraN manusia ini, janga məngaNgap*
 DEM meaning-NYA 1PL person human DEM do.not assume
reme oraN yaN ləma.
 light person REL weak
 ‘The meaning is that we humans should not take lightly people who are weak.’ (13.32-33)

4.4.4.7 Negation in Papua Malay

Negation in all clause types is expressed by the negators *t(a)ra* ‘no, not’, *t(a)rada* ‘no, not (have)’, or *tida* ‘no, not’ (the latter only in some areas, and most likely a recent introduction from Indonesian *tidak*). These negators follow the subject and precede the verb, and can also occur after the main verb as part of a modifying VP. The position of the negator within the verb phrase and the sentence will be discussed in Section 4.6 below. The negator can be attached as a clitic, when a subject pronoun clitic occurs, as in (168) below. The use of clitics for demonstratives and pronouns is discussed below in Section 4.5.4 for pronominal clitics, and Section 4.5.7 for demonstrative clitics.

- (168) *Sa umur=tu sa=tida=tau.*
 1SG age=DEM 1SG=NEG=know
 ‘I don’t know how old I am.’ (12.3)

(169) ...*tara bisa kalo dia=bunu oran.*
 NEG can if 3SG=kill people
 ‘...it’s not allowed to kill people.’ (12.36)

(170) *Trada yang blok tong pu kartu.*
 NEG.have REL block 3PL POSS card
 ‘(There is) none (who) blocks our [phone] card.’ (Advertising banner from Manokwari, cited in Kim et al (2007: 3))

Negation of elements other than the verb is accomplished through use of the negator *buka(n)*.

(171) *Dong=lia kitong buka(n) manusia.*
 3PL=see 1PL NEG human
 ‘They look at us as if we’re sub-human.’ (Donohue to appear: 38, 155)

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *balom/burum* ‘not yet’, which can also appear as its Indonesian cognate *belum*.

(172) *Sa=balom kawin.*
 1SG=not.yet marry
 ‘I haven’t married yet.’ (Donohue to appear: 37, 152b)

Donohue (to appear: 37) points out that Papuan Malay allows the negator *t(a)ra* in positions where *balom/burum* ‘not yet’ would be expected in other varieties of Malay, as in (172) above: where the construction *Saya tidak kawin* (1SG NEG marry) would be unacceptable in most varieties of Malay, Papuan Malay allows the following:

(173) *Sa=tida=kawen, iya, sa=tida=kawen, iya, kerja saja..*
 1SG=NEG=marry yes 1SG=NEG=marry yes work only
 ‘I never got married, yes, I never married, yes, only worked.’ (12.60)

There is also a verb, *taramaw* with the meaning ‘not want’ (Donohue to appear: 38).

(174) *De=taramaw jalan.*
 3SG=not.want walk
 ‘He doesn’t want to go.’ (Donohue to appear: 38, 160)

4.4.4.8 Summary of Negation

Variation in the principle negators is one of the features which distinguishes the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia from each other in the minds of the speakers, and can be seen as one carrier of a language's unique identity, along with the pronoun set. Although there is a great deal of variation in the principle negators, there is usually an alternate form in each language which is derived from *tara(da)* (only Manado Malay lacks such a form), and it is likely that the common negator in Vehicular Malay and/or EITM was *tara(da)* or something close to that form, which is probably derived from *tida(k) (ada)* or *ta(k) (ada)*, forms found in Low Malay in western Indonesia. The unique forms found in several varieties are generally derived from loan words (Ambon Malay *seng* <Portuguese *sem*, Kupang Malay *sonde* <Dutch *zonder*, Manado Malay *nyanda* <Java Malay *ndak*).

Table 4.16: Negators

Variety	Primary Negator	Alternate Negators	Contrastive Negator	Prohibitive Negator	Negative Aspect
Manado Malay	<i>nyanda</i>	<i>nim-</i>	<i>bukang</i>	<i>jang</i>	<i>bolong</i>
North Moluccan Malay	<i>tarada</i>		<i>bukang</i>	<i>jang</i>	<i>bolong</i>
Ambon Malay	<i>seng</i>	<i>tar, tra, tida, sondor</i>	<i>bukang</i>	<i>jang(ang)</i>	<i>balong, bolong</i>
Banda Malay ⁶³	<i>tara(da)</i>				<i>balong</i>
Kupang Malay	<i>son(de)</i>	<i>tar-</i>	<i>bukan</i>	<i>jang</i>	<i>balong</i>
Larantuka Malay	<i>te</i>	<i>ne, tərada</i>	<i>bukaN</i>	<i>janga</i>	<i>bəlong</i>
Papua Malay ⁶³	<i>t(a)ra(da)</i>	<i>tida</i>	<i>buka(n)</i>		<i>balom</i>
CJI	<i>ənggak, kagak</i>	<i>tidak</i>	<i>bukan</i>	<i>jangan</i>	<i>bəlum, blum</i>

Other negators, including the contrastive negator *bukan(g)*, the negative aspect marker *balong* and the prohibitive negator *jang(an)* are consistent across varieties.

⁶³ Data were not collected for the contrastive and prohibitive negators in Banda Malay or the prohibitive negator in Papua Malay.

The negators used in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian are also included in the chart above, for contrast.

4.4.6 Questions

4.4.6.1 Polar Questions

Polar (yes/no) questions are generally indicated by intonation alone:

Manado Malay

(175) *Kukis ada di dapur?*
 cake have LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’ (1.40, 2.35)

(176) *Ngana dulu ada kerja di pabrik?*
 2SG before ASP work LOC factory
 ‘Did you formerly work at the factory?’ (1.47)

(177) *Dia ada cari oto baru?*
 3SG ASP search car new
 ‘Is he looking for a new car?’ (1.56)

(178) *Tina makang sayur?*
 Tina eat vegetables
 ‘Is Tina eating vegetables?’ (2.58)

North Moluccan Malay

(179) *Ngana dulu pernah kerja di pabrik?*
 2SG before ever work LOC factory
 ‘Did you ever work at the factory (in the past)?’ (3.55)

(180) *Iki so maso kuliah?*
 Iki ASP enter lecture
 ‘Has Iki started going to class?’ (4.1)

(181) *Ambe doi?*
 take money
 ‘Get the money?’ (4.18)

Ambon Malay

(182) *Se mao lempar beta?*
 2SG want throw 1SG
 ‘Did you want to throw [a stone] at me?’ (van Minde 1997: 260, 5.223)

(183) *E, ose seng inga beta lai?*
 INT 2SG NEG remember 1SG DP
 ‘Hey, don’t you remember me anymore?’ (van Minde 1997: 260, 5.225)

Banda Malay

- (184) *Dulu pane karja di pabrik?*
before 2SG work LOC factory
'Did you used to work at the factory?' (8.35)

Kupang Malay

- (185) *Kokis ada di dapur?*
cake have LOC kitchen
'Is there any cake in the kitchen?' (10.41)
- (186) *Lu dulu karja di pabrik?*
2SG before work LOC factory
'Did you used to work at the factory?' (10.45)
- (187) *Jadi kotong dua sa?*
so 1PL two only
'So it's only the two of us?' (10.44)

Larantuka Malay

- (188) *Bolo məsiN ada di dapo?*
cake still have LOC kitchen
'Is there still cake in the kitchen?' (13.46)
- (189) *Angi bara, əNko bisa ni bua jato kəkəra data poN lao paNte*
wind west 2SG can DEMmake fall monkey on.top tree sea beach
lahayoN tu?"
Lahoyang DEM
'"West Wind, can you make this monkey fall from the top of this tree at
Lahayong Beach?' (16.8-9)

A clause-final question word, *ka* (which takes the form *kang* in Manado Malay and *ko* in Kupang Malay), can also appear, and occurred in the data for most varieties.

North Moluccan Malay

- (190) *Ini baru satu kali ka?*
DEM just one time Q
'This is just one time, right?' (4.25)

Ambon Malay

- (191) *Pap mara katong ka?*
father angry 1PL Q
'Would father be angry with us?' (van Minde 1997: 261, 5.229)

Banda Malay

- (192) *Fino macang dia ada ba-jalang deng dia pung ade ka?*
Vino like 3SG ASP BA-walk with 3SG POSS younger.sibling Q
'Vino, it seems he is walking around with his younger sibling, isn't he?'
(8.51)

- (193) *Fino ada tinggal di kota ka?*
Vino ASP live LOC town Q
'Vino lives in town, doesn't he?' (8.50)

Kupang Malay

- (194) *Masi ada kokis di dapur ko?*
still have cake LOC kitchen Q
'Is there still cake in the kitchen?' (10.39)

- (195) *Lu pung kawan mau datang juga ko?*
2SG POSS friend ASP come also Q
'Will your friend come or not?' (10.43)

Larantuka Malay

- (196) *əNko kərian di pabrik ka?*
2SG work LOC factory Q
'Do you work in the factory?' (13.54)

- (197) *Bolo ada di dapu ka?*
cake have LOC kitchen Q
'Is there cake in the kitchen?' (13.47)

Papua Malay

- (198) *...da=bilan ko=setuju? Setuju ka?*
3SG=say 2SG=agree agree Q
'...she said "Do you agree? Do you agree?" (12.49)

The Indonesian patterns of inversion in existential and aspectual questions, and use of clause-initial *apa* 'what' to indicate a polar question commonly occurred in the data, but may well be a result of interference from the Indonesian-language prompts.⁶⁴

Manado Malay

- (199) *Ada kukis di dapur?*
have cake LOC kitchen
'Is there cake in the kitchen?' (1.38)

⁶⁴ When *apa* 'what' is used in a polar question, it is glossed as Q, since it is functioning as a question marker rather than a question word.

(200) *Masi ada kukis le di dapur?*
still have cake DP LOC kitchen
'Is there still cake in the kitchen?' (1.37)

(201) *Apa dia mo cari oto baru?*
Q 3SG want search car new
'Is he looking for a new car?' (2.49)

North Moluccan Malay

(202) *Ada kui di dapur?*
have cake LOC kitchen
'Is there cake in the kitchen?' (3.48)

(203) *E apa Iki so maso skola?*
INT Q Iki ASP enter school
'Hey, has Iki started school yet?' (4.1)

Kupang Malay

(204) *Ada kokis di dapur ko?*
have cake LOC kitchen Q
'Is there cake in the kitchen?' (10.40)

4.4.6.2 Leading Questions

Leading questions may be formed by the addition of a variety of particles, interjections or discourse markers, which vary from variety to variety. In Manado Malay, the interjection *e*, the discourse particle *kang* or the emphatic particle *to* occur after the item questioned.

(205) *Ngana dulu kərja di pabrik to?*
2SG before work LOC factory DP
'You used to work at the factory, didn't you?' (1.48)

(206) *Ngana dulu to kərja di pabrik?*
2SG before DP work LOC factory
'You used to work at the factory, didn't you?' (2.42)

In North Moluccan Malay, leading questions may be formed with the question word *ka* or the emphatic particle *to* after the item questioned.

(207) *Ngana dulu karja di pabrik, iyo to?*
 2SG before work LOC factory yes DP
 ‘You used to work at the factory, didn’t you?’ (3.56)

(208) *Tiga bulan to?*
 three month DP
 ‘It’s been three months, hasn’t it?’

Ambon Malay also makes use of the emphatic particle *to* (<Dutch *toch*, with the same function).⁶⁵

(209) *Ose tau to?*
 2SG know DP
 ‘You know that, don’t you?’ (van Minde 1997: 263, 5.241)

(210) *Ade, katong su sanang to?*
 younger.sibling 1PL ASP happy DP
 ‘Brother, we’re happy now, aren’t we?’ (van Minde 1997: 263, 5.242)

In Banda Malay, questions may begin with the negator *tara* ‘no, not’ to form a leading question.

(211) *Tara ada lia orang pake beta pung baju?*
 NEG have see person wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Didn’t anyone see who is wearing my shirt?’ (8.41)

In Larantuka Malay, the particles *ka*, *to*, *e* and *i* can be used to request confirmation, and act as leading question markers.

(212) *Jo ahir-nya so ka?*
 so end-NYA ASP Q
 ‘So in the end it’s like that, right?’ (15.48)

(213) *əNko teNpo hari kərian di pabrik, to?*
 2SG time day work LOC factory DP
 ‘You used to work at the factory, didn’t you?’ (13.55)

(214) *Jadi buaya kən tər-kənal oraN yaN jahat, e?*
 so crocodile Q TƏ-know person REL bad Q
 ‘The crocodile is famous for being nasty, right?’ (15.1)

⁶⁵ Van Minde (1997: 263) also mentions the question markers *la* and *kang* which are used far less frequently.

- (215) *əNko to teNpo hari kərian di pabrik, i?*
 2SG DP time day work LOC factory Q
 ‘Didn’t you once work at the factory?’ (13.56)

Leading questions may also be formed by a clause-final negator, with or without the question particle *ka*, with the meaning ‘or not’, or by *ka + apa* ‘what’, meaning ‘or what?’.

Manado Malay

- (216) *Ada kukis ato nyanda di dapur?*
 have cake or NEG LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there cake or not in the kitchen?’ (1.43)

North Moluccan Malay

- (217) *Di dapur masi ada kui ka so tarada?*
 LOC kitchen still have cake Q ASP NEG.have
 ‘Is there any cake left in the kitchen or is there no more?’ (3.50)

- (218) *Bulan delapan tarada?*
 month eight NEG
 ‘The eighth month, no?’ (4.24)

- (219) *Ngana pe tamang akan datang ka tarada?*
 2SG POSS friend FUT come Q NEG.have
 ‘Will your friend come or not?’ (3.53)

Ambon Malay

- (220) *Bagitu mo ka seng?*
 like.that want Q NEG
 ‘Is that okay with you or not?’ (van Minde 1997: 262, 5.235)

- (221) *Se su makang ka blong?*
 2SG ASP eat Q not.yet
 ‘Have you eaten already (or not yet)?’ (van Minde 1997: 262, 5.236)

- (222) *Se gila k apa?⁶⁶*
 2SG crazy Q what
 ‘Are you crazy or what?’ (van Minde 1997: 262, 5.237)

Banda Malay

- (223) *Fino pu oto mangkali dua ka apa?*
 Vino POSS car maybe two Q what
 ‘It seems maybe Vino has two cars, doesn’t he?’ (8.53)

⁶⁶ In Ambon Malay, the question particle *ka* is realized as *k* before /a/.

Papua Malay

(224) *Dong=su=makan, tidak?*

3PL=PERF=eat NEG

‘They’ve already eaten, haven’t they?’ (Donohue to appear: 39, 167)

4.4.6.3 Content Questions

Content questions can be formed using one of a set of question words, which generally appear in situ, and have a distinctive pattern of intonation. However, presumably due to the influence of Indonesian, in Manado Malay, Ambon Malay and Banda Malay (but not in other varieties), question words can also appear sentence-initially, as Indonesian typically allows (but does not require) this construction. The difference in function between question words in situ and those occurring sentence-initially is not readily apparent. The question words in each variety (except Papua Malay, for which not enough data were available) are listed below, with examples following.

4.4.6.3.1 Manado Malay

Table 4.17: Question words in Manado Malay

<i>apa</i>	‘what’	<i>kiapa</i>	‘why’
<i>mana</i>	‘where’	<i>brapa/bərapa</i>	‘how many’
<i>bagaimana</i>	‘how’	<i>tempo apa</i>	‘when’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’	<i>kapan</i>	‘when’

(225) *Paulus ada beli apa di pasar?*
Paul ASP buy what LOC market
‘What is Paul buying at the market?’ (1.75)

(226) *Tina ada makang apa?*
Tina ASP eat what
‘What is Tina eating?’ (2.56)

(227) *Ngana datang ka mari kiapa?*
2SG come to here why
‘You came here why?’ (1.84, 2.75)

(228) *Ngana pe sekolah di mana?*
2SG POSS school LOC where
‘Your school is where?’ (1.68, 2.60)

- (229) *Di mana ngana pe səkolah?*
 LOC where 2SG POSS school
 ‘Where is your school?’ (2.59)
- (230) *Bərapa gunung itu pe tinggi?*
 how.much mountain DEM POSS tall
 ‘What is the height of that mountain?’ (2.143)
- (231) *Ngana tempo apa mo klar səkolah?*
 2SG time what ASP finish school
 ‘You will finish school when?’ (1.81)
- (232) *Sapa ada ba-pete bunga?*
 who ASP BA-pick flower
 ‘Who picked the flower?’ (1.70)
- (233) *Ngana pe papa sapa?*
 2SG POSS father who
 ‘Who is your father?’ (2.71)

4.4.6.3.2 North Moluccan Malay

Table 4.18: Question words in North Moluccan Malay

<i>apa</i>	‘what’	<i>bikiapa</i>	‘why’
<i>mana</i>	‘where’	<i>brapa</i>	‘how many’
<i>bagaimana</i>	‘how’	<i>tempo apa</i>	‘when’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’	<i>kapan</i>	‘when’

- (234) *Ali ada bali apa di pasar?*
 Ali ASP buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Ali buy at the market?’ (3.68)
- (235) *Ngana pe ruma di mana? (*Di mana ngana pe ruma?)*
 2SG POSS house LOC where
 ‘Where is your house?’ (3.60)
- (236) *Bagaimana cara dia akan pi cari dia pe tamang?*
 how method 3SG FUT go search.for 3SG POSS friend
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’ (3.73)
- (237) *Ngana nama sapa?*
 2SG name who
 ‘What is your name?’ (3.62)

- (238) *Sapa yang buka jandela?*
 who REL open window
 ‘Who opened the window?’ (3.63)
- (239) *Ngana ka mari bikiapa?*
 2SG to here why
 ‘Why did you come here?’ (3.71)
- (240) *Iki so klas brapa?*
 Iki ASP class how.many
 ‘What grade is Iki entering?’ (4.5)
- (241) *Ngana datang tempo apa?*
 2SG come time what
 ‘When did you come?’ (3.133)
- (242) *E kapan baru mo maso?*
 INT when just ASP enter
 ‘Hey, when will she start?’ (4.3)

4.4.6.3.3 Ambon Malay

Table 4.19: Question words in Ambon Malay

<i>apa</i>	‘what’	<i>mangapa</i>	‘why’
<i>mana</i>	‘which’	<i>par apa</i>	‘why’
<i>bagaimana</i>	‘how’	<i>apa tempo</i>	‘when’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’	<i>di mana</i>	‘where’
<i>barapa/brapa</i>	‘how many’		

- (243) *Ini apa?*
 DEM what
 ‘What is this?’ (van Minde 1997: 267, 5.253)
- (244) *Mau bikin bagaimana?*
 want make how
 ‘What (how) can we do?’ (7.13)⁶⁷
- (245) *Tadi se dapa brapa?*
 just.now 2SG get how.many
 ‘How many did you get?’ (van Minde 1997: 267, 5.249)

⁶⁷ The question word *bagaimana* ‘how’ questions not only manner, but circumstances (van Minde 1997: 267)

- (246) *Katong tinggal deng sapa?*
 1PL live with who
 ‘With whom should we stay?’ (van Minde 1997: 269, 5.261)

4.4.6.3.4 Banda Malay

Table 4.20: Question words in Banda Malay

<i>apa</i>	‘what’	<i>barapa</i>	‘how many’
<i>bagaimana</i>	‘how’	<i>apa tempo</i>	‘when’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’	<i>di mana</i>	‘where’

- (247) *Fino tadi bali apa di pasar?*
 Vino just.now buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Vino buy at the market?’ (8.44)
- (248) *Bagaimana dia mau pi cari dia pu tamang lai?*
 how 3SG ASP go search.for 3SG POSS friend DP
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’ (8.47)
- (249) *Sapa yang tadi buka jandela?*
 who REL just.now open window
 ‘Who opened the window (just now)?’ (8.40)
- (250) *Nyong, sakarang su jam barapa?*
 polite.address now ASP hour how.many
 ‘Sir, what is the time now.’ (8.36)
- (251) *Pane apa tempo mau bayar beta pu utang itu?*
 2SG what time ASP pay 1SG POSS debt DEM
 ‘When can you pay back your debt to me?’ (8.46)
- (252) *Pane pu ruma di mana? (*Di mana pane pu ruma di mana?)*
 2SG POSS house LOC where
 ‘Where is your house?’ (8.38)

4.4.6.3.5 Kupang Malay

Table 4.21: Question words in Kupang Malay

<i>apa</i>	‘what’	<i>kanapa</i>	‘why’
<i>mana</i>	‘which’	<i>barapa</i>	‘how many’
<i>karmana</i>	‘how’	<i>di mana</i>	‘where’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’	<i>kapan (tempo)</i>	‘when’

- (253) *Joni pi bəli apa di pasar?*
 Joni go buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Joni buy at the market?’ (10.59)
- (254) *Lu pung ruma di mana?* (*Di mana lu pung ruma?* is also possible)
 2SG POSS house LOC where
 ‘Where is your house?’ (10.51)
- (255) *Karmana dia mau cari dia pung kawan?*
 how 3SG ASP search.for 3SG POSS friend
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’ (10.63)
- (256) *Lu pung nama sapa?*
 2SG POSS name who
 ‘What is your name?’ (10.53)
- (257) *Sapa yang buka itu jandela?*
 who REL open DEM window
 ‘Who opened the window?’ (10.54)
- (258) *Kanapa ko lu datang sini?*
 why Q 2SG come here
 ‘Why did you come here?’ (10.62)
- (259) *...beta mau tanya sakarang su jam barapa e?*
 1SG ASP ask now ASP hour how.many DP
 ‘...I’d like to ask, what is the time now?’ (10.48)
- (260) *Kapan lu mau bayar kembali utang dui?*
 when 2SG ASP pay back debt money
 ‘When will you pay back the debt?’ (10.61)

4.4.6.3.6 Larantuka Malay

Table 4.22: Question words in Larantuka Malay

<i>apa</i>	‘what’	<i>bua apa</i>	‘why’
<i>məna, mana</i>	‘which’	<i>təga apa</i>	‘why’
<i>bəgəna, bəgəməna</i>	‘how’	<i>diməna/dəməna</i>	‘where’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’	<i>diəna/əna</i>	‘where’
<i>kapan</i>	‘when’	<i>kəməna</i>	‘to where’
<i>teNpo apa</i>	‘when’	<i>bərapa</i>	‘how many’

- (261) *Kita mau jalaN kə səbəla, uNto apa ni, dia bə-tau.*
 1SG want walk to side for what DEM3SG Bə-know
 ‘I want to walk on the other side, for what, he said.’ (14.15)
- (262) *...aNka ini taro sini, yaN mana pərlu kə sana kə sana...*
 lift DEMput here REL which need to over.there to over.there
 ‘...lifted this one and put him here, the ones who belonged over there over there...’ (10.51)
- (263) *Bəra-bəra ni, bəgena ni?*
 REDUP-heavy DEM how DEM
 ‘So heavy, how can this be?’ (14.46)
- (264) *ENko ni sapa?*
 2SG DEM who
 ‘Who are you?’ (14.48)
- (265) *Kapan əNko mau/mo baya əNko puN utaN?*
 when 2SG ASP pay 2SG POSS debt
 ‘When will you pay back your debt?’ (13.68)
- (266) *Bua apa əNko dataN sini?*
 why Q 2SG come here
 ‘Why did you come here?’ (13.69)
- (267) *...dəməna koraN ni?*
 LOC.where 2PL DEM
 ‘...where are you?’ (14.9)
- (268) *əNko puN ruma diəna?*
 2SG POSS house LOC.where
 ‘Where is your house?’ (13.59)
- (269) *Pa, səkəraN jaN bərapa ni?*
 sir now hour how.many DEM
 ‘Sir, what is the time now?’ (13.57)

4.4.6.3.7 Papua Malay

- (270) *...dia punya apa?*
 DEM what
 ‘...what did he have??’ (12.19)

(271) *Ton=dapa nasi di mana?*
 1PL=get rice LOC where
 ‘Where would we get rice?’ (12.26)

4.4.6.4 Summary of Questions

In all seven varieties, polar questions can be indicated by intonation alone, or can make use of a clause-final question particle *ka* (*ko* in Kupang Malay, *kang* in Manado Malay). In Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, polar questions are generally only marked by intonation. The High Malay question particle *kah* is associated with higher registers, and is not found in CJI.

Leading questions are formed by discourse particles or a clause final negator (along with intonation cues). The same strategies are used in CJI, which has a discourse particle *kok* which signals a question expressing a speaker’s surprise at the truth of a statement or event.

Content questions are formed from a set of question words derived from *apa* ‘what’ and *mana* ‘which’, although there is some innovation in the form these take in individual languages (such as North Moluccan Malay *bikiapa* ‘why’, from *bikin apa* ‘make what’). Question words appear in situ in most varieties, unlike Indonesian, which allows fronting of question words, although Manado Malay, Ambon Malay and Banda Malay allow fronting of question words. The set of question words in CJI is similar to the sets used in eastern varieties of Malay.

4.5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

4.5.1 Order of Elements

The basic order of the noun phrase in the seven varieties of Malay is:

(DEM) (QUANT) (NP_{POSS}) HEAD (NUM) (NOUN) (ADJ) (DEM) (VP) (QUANT) (REL/PP) (DEM)

Not all of the language varieties allow all of the elements in this order. The order of DEMONSTRATIVE-NOUN did not occur in the data for Larantuka Malay, Banda Malay and Papua Malay. Of these three languages, it is likely that Larantuka Malay has always had the order of NOUN-DEMONSTRATIVE (it is the only order possible in Kumanireng’s description (1993)), which is common in western varieties of Malay, including Peninsular Malay, which is the probable source of Larantuka Malay. It is also likely that DEMONSTRATIVE-NOUN can occur in Banda Malay and Papua Malay, but that this order, which is likely the original order, did not occur in the data for this study, most probably due to the influence of Indonesian.

Within the noun phrase, nouns may be modified by demonstratives, quantifiers, possessives, numerals, adjectives, other nouns, VPs, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses.

Some varieties allow quantifiers and numerals to precede the noun, again through the influence of Indonesian, although this is a recent innovation, and the basic order is for these elements to follow the noun.

The only element which always precedes the noun in all varieties is the possessor noun phrase.⁶⁸

In Larantuka Malay, the discourse particle *te* which is used to focus on a particular element can appear after various elements in the noun phrase:

- (272) *raksasa puN bahu te*
 giant POSS shoulder DP
 ‘the giant’s shoulder’ (14.34)

⁶⁸ The sole exception is the *-nya* possessive construction in Larantuka Malay, which takes the form of a clitic following the noun.

(273) *ana kəci te puN kəpala te*
child small DP POSS head DP
'the small child's head' (14.50)

(274) *oraN puN kəboN kətimu te*
person POSS garden cucumber DP
'a human's cucumber garden' (15.6)

(275) *əNko te puN sapi te*
2SG DP POSS cow DP
'your cows' (17.20)

In, Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, the basic order of elements in the noun phrase is:

(DEM) (QUANT) HEAD (NOUN) (ADJ) (DEM) (=POSS) (REL/PP) (DEM)

The major differences in the order of elements in the noun phrase between CJI and the eastern varieties:

- The possessive marker in CJI, which is a clitic, always follows the head, giving the order of POSSESSED-POSSESSOR, while in all the eastern varieties, POSSESSOR-POSSESSED is the only order possible (except for the third person possessive with *-nya* in Larantuka Malay).

- In CJI, quantifiers and numerals normally precede the head, while the typical order in eastern varieties is for these elements to follow the head.

- In CJI, demonstrative can precede or follow the head, although DEM + HEAD is more frequent, as in most eastern varieties, and it is assumed that this was the order in EITM. In formal Indonesian, demonstratives can only follow the head, and the presence of DEM + HEAD order is an identifying feature of Low Malay varieties.

In all seven eastern Indonesian varieties, as well as in CJI, adjectives may be reduplicated, to make them more emphatic.

The following examples illustrate the variable order of elements in the noun phrase possible in the various Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia. (276) and (277) show the variable order of the quantifier in Manado Malay (N-QUANT and QUANT-N). (278) shows the N-QUANT order in North Moluccan Malay. (279) shows the POSS-N-ADJ order in Banda Malay. (280) shows the POSS-N and N-NUM orders in Banda Malay. (281) shows the POSS-N-ADJ order in Kupang Malay. (282) shows the order POSS-N-QUANT in Larantuka Malay. (283) shows the order N-ADJ in Papua Malay.

Manado Malay

(276) *Paulus pe oto banya.*
 Paul POSS car many
 ‘Paul has many cars.’ (1.95)

(277) *Paulus ada banya buku.*
 Paul have many book
 ‘Paul has many books.’ (1.88)

North Moluccan Malay

(278) *Ali ada buku banya.*
 Ali have book many
 ‘Ali has many books.’ (3.84)

Banda Malay

(279) *Fino pu ruma baru lai.*
 Vino POSS house new DP
 ‘Vino has a new house.’ (8.48)

(280) *Fino pu oto mangkali dua ka apa?*
 Vino POSS car maybe two Q what
 ‘It seems maybe Vino has two cars, doesn’t he?’ (8.53)

Kupang Malay

(281) *...bapa pung kawan baku...*
 father POSS friend close
 ‘...father’s close friend...’ (11.2)

Larantuka Malay

(282) *Joni puN buku banya.*
 Joni POSS book many
 ‘Joni has many books.’ (13.72)

Papua Malay

- (283) *Don=su=rane abis ton=besar-besar.*
3PL=ASP=many.people after 1PL=REDUP-big
'There were many of them [Japanese], after we were big' (12.17-18)

4.5.2 Plural Marking

Plural marking on nouns is rare in all varieties. If nouns are modified by a numeral or a quantifier, or if the context makes the number clear, plural is not marked.⁶⁹ Nominal reduplication to indicate a plural occurs if the context is ambiguous, if plurality is stressed, or if a variety of objects is indicated.⁷⁰ In Larantuka Malay, reduplication may be partial or total, while the other varieties only allow full reduplication. Examples of plural meanings which are unmarked (when co-occurring with a numeral or quantifier) or which are marked by reduplication follow.

Manado Malay

- (284) *Paulus punya buku-buku/kitab-kitab.*
Paul POSS REDUP-book/REDUP-book
'Paul has books.' (2.88)

North Moluccan Malay

- (285) *tanggal-tanggal ka sana bole ganti pake tanggal jato tempo sana,*
REDUP-date to there can change use date fall time there
'...the dates, you can use the due date there,' (4.26)

- (286) *Ali ada buku banya. (*Ali ada buku-buku)*
Ali have book many
'Ali has many books.' (*Ali has books) (3.84)

Ambon Malay

- (287) *...itu biasanya ibu-ibu suka cari dorang pung suami*
DEM usual REDUP-mother like search.for 3PL POSS husband
di situ
LOC there
'...often married women search for their husbands there...' (5.62-63)

⁶⁹ There is one example in the data of plural marking with a number, from Larantuka Malay (17.1). This may be due to a convention used in story telling, as it is not a normal structure.

⁷⁰ Plural marking operates under the same constraints in CJI.

(288) *Dolo orang ta-tua dong itu mau bikin bodo ana-ana itu*
before people TA-old 3PL DEM want make stupid REDUP-child DEM
'In the old days, parents liked to fool their children...' (6.1)

(289) *...karena sakarang ni cengke-cengke su abis.*
because now DEM REDUP-clove ASP finish
'...because now the clove trees are all destroyed.' (7.15)

Banda Malay

(290) *Fino pu buku banya.*
Vino POSS book many
'Vino has many books.' (8.49)

(291) *Fino pu oto mangkali dua ka apa?*
Vino POSS car maybe two Q what
'It seems maybe Vino has two cars, doesn't he?' (8.53)

(292) *Habis perang, orang-orang yang itu su mati habis sama sekali.*
finish war REDUP-person REL DEM ASP dead finish with very
'After the war, the people were all dead, completely destroyed.' (9.3-4)

(293) *Orang pulo Hatta saja yang ada ta-tinggal itu.*
people island Hatta only REL have TA-leave DEM
'Only the people on Hatta Island were left.' (9.5-6)

Kupang Malay

(294) *Bosong ana-ana, bapa mau cerita, bahwa...*
2PL REDUP-child father ASP tell.story that
'Children, father will tell a story, how...' (11.1)

(295) *Joni pung buku-buku.*
Joni POSS REDUP-book
'Joni has many books.' (10.73)

(296) *Dia datang bawa akar-akar, suru mama ma'ale ko sumbur*
3SG come bring REDUP-root order mother chew so.that spit

di to'o pung balakang.
LOC uncle POSS back

'He came with a selection of roots and ordered mother to chew them in order to spit them on uncle's back.' (Steinhauer 1983: 45)

(297) *Joni pung oto ada dua.*
Joni POSS car have two
'Joni has two cars.' (10.71)

Larantuka Malay

(298) *A, jo dia dəŋga ana-ana mənangi-mənangi dəməna aja ni.*
 INT then 3SG hear REDUP-child REDUP-cry LOC.where only DEM
 ‘Then he heard the children crying everywhere.’ (14.13)

(299) *Joni puN bə-buku.*
 Joni POSS REDUP-book
 ‘Joni has many books.’ (13.80)

(300) *Jadi, sə-tiap kali itu, hari-hari itu toraN məsti piki...*
 so one-every time DEM REDUP-day DEM 1PL must think
 ‘So every time, every day, we must think...’ (15.40)

Papua Malay

(301) *...sa suda kuran tau ana-ana doran tapi doran=sendiri cerita.*
 1SG already less know REDUP-child 3PL but 3PL=self tell.story
 ‘...I don’t know the children, they tell their own stories.’ (12.11-12)

(302) *Blanda dia=kunjuni kudu-kudu sampe di situ...*
 Dutchman 3SG=visit REDUP-church until LOC there
 ‘The Dutchman visited the churches all the way to there ...’ (12.44-45)

(303) *Kita punya foto-foto yan Blanda don=foto.*
 1SG POSS REDUP-photo REL Dutch 3PL=photo
 ‘We have photos which the Dutch took.’ (12.61-62)

4.5.3 Pronouns

4.5.3.1 Pronouns in Manado Malay

The pronouns of Manado Malay are presented in the table below.

Table 4.23: Pronouns of Manado Malay

Full form	Short form		Full form	Short form	
<i>kita</i>	<i>ta</i>	1SG	<i>torang</i>	<i>tong</i>	1PL (INCL/EXCL)
<i>ngana</i>	—	2SG informal	<i>ngoni</i>	—	2PL
<i>əngko</i>	—	2SG formal			
<i>dia</i>	<i>de</i>	3SG	<i>dorang</i>	<i>dong</i>	3PL

The short forms are found only in the first and third person pronouns, and cannot be clause final. A short form can always be replaced by a full form.⁷¹ The third person forms

⁷¹ Stoel (2005: 17) calls these short forms “cliticized forms”.

must have animate referents (except in possessive constructions). Inanimates are not referred to pronominally.

The plural forms do not refer to any specific number of persons. A specific number can be indicated by a pronoun followed by a numeral, as in the example.

- (304) *Jadi hanya torang dua?*
 so only 1PL two
 ‘So it’s only the two of us?’ (1.46)

Subject and object pronouns may be left out in an utterance if the context makes clear who is referred to. In this example from Stoel (2005: 43), the subject, direct object and indirect object are all unexpressed.

- (305) (If I don’t pay cash, I will not get the goods that I need.)
Jadi nyak kase dang?
 so not give DP
 ‘So they don’t give them to you?’ (Stoel 2005: 43, 2.65)

4.5.3.2 Pronouns in North Moluccan Malay

The pronouns of North Moluccan Malay are presented in the table below.

Table 4.24: Pronouns of North Moluccan Malay

Full form	Short form		Full form	Short form	
<i>kita</i>	—	1SG	<i>(ki)torang</i> ⁷²	<i>tong</i>	1PL (INCL/EXCL)
<i>ngana</i>	—	2SG informal	<i>ngoni</i>	—	2PL
<i>dia</i>	<i>de</i>	3SG	<i>dorang</i>	<i>dong</i>	3PL

The short forms are found only in the first and third person pronouns, and cannot be clause final. A short form can always be replaced by a full form. The third person forms may have animate or inanimate referents.

The plural forms do not refer to any specific number of persons. A specific number can be indicated by a pronoun followed by a numeral, as in the example.

⁷² Taylor (1983: 19) reports that *kitong* is also a possible 1PL form, though I did not come across this in collecting data or listening to the language spoken.

- (306) *Jadi cuma hanya tong dua saja?*
 so only only 1PL two only
 ‘So it’s only the two of us?’ (3.54)

Subject and object pronouns may be deleted in an utterance if the context makes clear who is referred to.

For some speakers, a pronoun cross-referencing the subject occurs immediately after the subject, preceding the verb. Although this construction did not occur in the data collected for this study, two examples are included in Voorhoeve (1983: 6), which he considers examples of a topic-comment construction. The possibility could also be entertained that these are examples of a subject prefix on the verb, a construction found in the local languages of the northern Moluccas, both Austronesian and non-Austronesian, and one which occurs with more frequency in other Malay varieties in eastern Indonesia.

- (307) *Ana satu itu dia meninggal lagi.*
 child one DEM 3SG die again
 ‘That one child died too’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 6)

- (308) *Jadi Raja ini dia aku sah.*
 so sultan DEM 3SG authorize
 ‘And so the sultan authorized it.’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 6)

4.5.3.3 Pronouns in Ambon Malay

The pronouns of Ambon Malay are presented Table 4.25 below (adapted from van Minde 1997: 69).

Most pronouns have short forms, which can only be used in specific positions, as indicated in the chart below. Subject and object pronouns may be deleted in an utterance if the context makes clear who is referred to.

The 2PL and 3PL pronouns have the same form, and derive their meaning from the context.

Table 4.25: Pronouns of Ambon Malay

	One-word sentence	Subject	Object (of verb or prep.)
1SG	<i>beta</i>	<i>beta (bet, be)</i>	<i>beta</i>
2SG informal ⁷³	<i>ose (os, se), ale</i>	<i>ose (os, se), ale (al)</i>	<i>ose (os, se), ale</i>
3SG	<i>dia</i>	<i>dia (di, de)</i>	<i>dia</i>
3SG.FML	<i>antua, ontua</i>	<i>antua, ontua</i>	<i>antua, ontua</i>
3SG.N	—	<i>akang</i>	<i>akang (kang, ang)</i>
1PL (INCL/EXCL)	<i>katong</i>	<i>katong (tong)</i>	<i>katong</i>
2PL	<i>dorang (dong)</i>	<i>dorang (dong)</i>	<i>dorang (dong)</i>
3PL	<i>dorang (dong)</i>	<i>dorang (dong)</i>	<i>dorang (dong)</i>

The 3SG pronoun *dia* generally takes a human referent, but for some speakers, it can have a non-human or inanimate referent. More commonly, *akang* is used for non-human referents. Both forms occurred with inanimate referents in a single text in the data: (80) and (146) above make use of the 3SG.N form *akang*, while (309) below uses the 3SG form *dia*.

- (309) ...*antua punya benang itu... dia jato terguling di atas tana.*
 3SG.FML POSS thread DEM 3SG fall rolling LOC on ground
 ‘...her thread... it fell rolling on the ground.’ (5:49-50)

As was noted for North Moluccan Malay above, a pronoun cross-referencing the subject can occur immediately after the subject, preceding the verb (with any negative intervening). This construction is much more common in Ambon Malay than in North Moluccan Malay. Van Minde (1997: 284) considers these structures as examples of a topic-comment construction, and this is indeed a likely analysis. However, as with North Moluccan Malay, the possibility could also be entertained that these are examples of a subject clitic on the verb, a construction commonly found in the local languages of the central Moluccas. (309) above is one such example from the texts collected for this study.

Another example is:

⁷³ The 2SG pronoun *ose* is from Portuguese *voce* ‘you, thou’, while the 2SG pronoun *ale* is from a local language. 2SG pronouns are only used in informal/familiar contexts. In formal contexts a title or title + name is used.

- (310) *Ruma ini akang seng batul-batul.*
 house DEM 3SG.N NEG REDUP-right
 ‘This house isn’t right.’ (7.2)

4.5.3.4 Pronouns in Banda Malay

The pronouns of Banda Malay are presented in the table below.

Table 4.26: Pronouns of Banda Malay

1SG	<i>beta</i>
2SG	<i>pane</i>
3SG	<i>dia</i>
3SG.FML	<i>antua</i>
1PL (INCL/EXCL)	<i>katong</i>
2PL	<i>kamorang (kamong)</i>
3PL	<i>dorang (dong)</i>

As was noted previously for North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay, a pronoun cross-referencing the subject can occur immediately after the subject, preceding the verb. Van Minde (1997: 284) considers these structures in Ambon Malay as examples of a topic-comment construction, and this is indeed a likely analysis. However, as with North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay, the possibility could also be entertained that these are examples of a subject clitic on the verb, a construction commonly found in the local languages of the northern and central Moluccas.

- (311) *Oto itu dia tumbu pohong.*
 car DEM 3SG crash tree
 ‘The car crashed into the tree.’ (8.22)

4.5.3.5 Pronouns in Kupang Malay

The pronouns of Kupang Malay are presented Table 4.27 below. The short forms, which do not occur in all pronouns, cannot be clause final. A short form can always be replaced by a full form. The variation in form for the first and second person plural pronouns seems to generally follow ethnic lines, with speakers of Rotinese heritage using,

for example *katong*, while speakers of Sabunese or Timorese ancestry use *kotong* (Jacob and Grimes 2003: 9-10).

Table 4.27: Pronouns of Kupang Malay

<i>beta, bet, be</i>	1SG	<i>kotong, katong, ketong</i>	1PL (INCL)
		<i>botong, batong</i>	1PL (EXCL)
<i>lu</i> ⁷⁴	2SG (informal)	<i>bosong, basong, besong</i>	2PL
<i>dia, di</i>	3SG	<i>dorang, dong</i>	3PL

It is notable that Kupang Malay is the only contact variety of Malay in eastern Indonesia where a distinction is found between inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns. Steinhauer (1983) reports that the inclusive pronoun is often used for both inclusive and exclusive meanings. This is confirmed by the data collected for this study, in which the informant uses the inclusive form as the sole 1PL form.

The plural forms do not refer to any specific number of persons. A specific number can be indicated by a pronoun followed by a numeral, as in (187) above.

Subject and object pronouns may be deleted in an utterance if the context makes clear who is referred to.

4.5.3.6 Pronouns in Larantuka Malay

The pronouns of Larantuka Malay are presented Table 4.28 below. The forms labeled “archaic” in the chart occur in the literature and were elicited from speakers, but did not occur in the data collected, and were not heard in conversation during two visits to Larantuka. Although the gender distinction in the third person singular pronouns⁷⁵ is not therefore an active part of the language today, the gender distinction in the second person

⁷⁴ The 2SG pronoun *lu* is originally from Southern Min (Hokkien) Chinese, and probably came to Kupang Malay by way of Java.

⁷⁵ These apparently derive from derogatory terms in Portuguese: *bica* < *bicha* ‘worm, snake, bad-tempered woman’ and *bicu* < *bicho* ‘worm, insect, ugly/awkward person’ (Steinhauer 1991: 182).

pronouns is very common in daily speech in informal or intimate circumstances. These did not occur in the data due to the nature of the data: elicited utterances and folk tales. In daily conversation, however, the gender-distinguished second person pronouns *no* and *oa* occur much more frequently than the neutral *əNko*.

Table 4.28: Pronouns of Larantuka Malay

1SG (familiar)	<i>kita</i>	1PL (INCL/EXCL)	<i>(kə)toraN</i> ⁷⁶
1SG (formal - archaic)	<i>beta</i>		
2SG (neutral)	<i>əNko</i>	2PL	<i>(əN)koraN</i>
2SG (male - familiar)	<i>no</i>		<i>kamu-oraN</i>
2SG (female - familiar)	<i>oa</i>		
3SG (neutral)	<i>dia</i>	3PL	<i>doraN</i>
3SG (male - archaic)	<i>bicu</i>		
3SG (female - archaic)	<i>bica</i>		

The plural forms do not refer to any specific number of persons. A specific number can be indicated by a pronoun followed by a numeral, as in (312).

- (312) *Cuma toraN dua jo.*
 only 1PL two DP
 ‘It’s only the two of us.’ (13.52)

Subject and object pronouns may be deleted in an utterance if the context makes clear who is referred to.

4.5.3.7 Pronouns in Papua Malay

The pronouns of Papua Malay are presented in Table 4.29 below.

Donohue describes the use of the clitic forms as follows: “The clitic forms are used as proclitic subject agreement markers on verbs, as markers of possession on the possessive particle *pu* and as proclitics on numerals, quantifiers and classifiers (which are arguably best treated as verbs).” Donohue’s analysis of these forms as proclitics has been applied to

⁷⁶ The plural pronoun forms *toraN* and *koraN* occur much more frequently than the variants.

the Papua Malay data collected for this study. This structure has likely been influenced by the structures of local vernacular languages, in which subject agreement prefixes are common. Since the subject clitics do not create homorganic final nasals when attached to consonant-initial verbs, they can not be analyzed as prefixes. Examples follow. Note that with 3SG and 3PL subjects, the clitic follows an explicitly named subject, as in (315) and (317).

Table 4.29: Pronouns of Papua Malay⁷⁷

	Free	Clitic
1SG	<i>kita, say, sa</i>	<i>sa=</i>
2SG informal	<i>kaw, ko, koe</i>	<i>ko=</i>
3SG	<i>dia, de, da, di</i>	<i>de=, da=</i>
3SG.INANIMATE	<i>akan (Serui)</i>	
1PL (INCL/EXCL)	<i>kiton(g), kita, kitoran(g)</i>	<i>toran(g)=, ton(g)=</i>
2PL	<i>kamu</i>	<i>kam=</i>
3PL	<i>doran(g)</i>	<i>don(g)=</i>

(313) *Sa=kerja di sini su lama betul di UNIPA ini.*
 1SG=work LOC here ASP long true LOC UNIPA DEM
 ‘I’ve worked here a long time at Papua State University (UNIPA).’ (12.1)

(314) *...ko=tinggal di sini su lama jadi ko=pinda...*
 2SG=live LOC here ASP long so 2SG=move
 ‘...you have lived here a long time so you [must] move...’ (12.56-57)

(315) *Jumander da=tinggal di Amberbaken sana.*
 Jumander 3SG=live LOC Amberbaken over.there
 ‘Jumander lived there in Amberbaken.’ (12.31)

(316) *Jadi ton waktu kecil smua ton=makan.*
 so 1PL time small all 1PL=eat
 ‘So when we were small we ate everything.’ (12.28)

(317) *Blanda don=kase, Blanda kase ini, kudu...*
 Dutch 3PL=give Dutch give DEM church
 ‘The Dutch they gave us, the Dutch gave us a church...’ (12.29)

⁷⁷ The forms in the second column are analyzed as clitics by Donohue (to appear: 10) and as a “reductive set” by van Velzen (1995: 326).

Donohue (to appear: 11) notes that the 3SG pronoun *dia* can be used for both animate and inanimate referents, at least in the North Papua variety, and with inanimate referents, it can be either singular or plural, while the 3PL pronoun *dorang/dong* can only be used for human referents. For Serui Malay, van Velzen mentions that there is a 3SG inanimate pronoun *akan*, which is similar to *akang* in Ambon Malay. This pronoun does not seem to occur in other varieties of Papua Malay.

4.5.3.8 Summary of Pronouns

Table 4.30: Pronouns⁷⁸

	MM	NMM	AM	BM	KM	LM	PM
1SG (INF)	<i>kita, ta</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>beta, bet, be</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>beta, bet, be</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>saya, sa, say, kita</i>
1SG (FML)						<i>beta</i>	
2SG	<i>ngana</i>	<i>ngana</i>	<i>(o)se, os, ale</i>	<i>pane</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>(əN)ko</i>	<i>ko, kaw, koe</i>
2SG (M)						<i>no</i>	
2SG (F)						<i>oa</i>	
3SG	<i>dia, de</i>	<i>dia, de</i>	<i>dia, di, de,</i>	<i>dia</i>	<i>dia, de</i>	<i>dia</i>	<i>dia, de, da, di</i>
3SG (FML)			<i>antua, ontua</i>	<i>antua</i>			
3SG (M)						<i>bicu</i>	
3SG (F)						<i>bica</i>	
3SG (INAN)			<i>akang, kang, ang</i>				<i>akan(g)</i>
1PL (INCL/EXCL)	<i>torang, tong</i>	<i>(ki)torang, (ki)tong,</i>	<i>katong, kitong, tong</i>	<i>katong</i>		<i>(kə)toraN</i>	<i>kita, ton(g) (ki)tong, (ki)toran(g)</i>
1PL (INCL)					<i>katong, kotong</i>		
1PL (EXCL)					<i>batong, botong</i>		
2PL	<i>ngoni</i>	<i>ngoni</i>	<i>dorang, dong</i>	<i>kamorang</i>	<i>basong, bosong</i>	<i>(əN)koraN, kamu-oraN</i>	<i>kamu, kam</i>
3PL	<i>dorang, dong</i>	<i>dorang, dong</i>	<i>dorang, dong</i>	<i>dorang, dong</i>	<i>dong</i>	<i>doraN, dəraN</i>	<i>doran(g), don(g)</i>

⁷⁸ The following abbreviations will be used in this section and in the remainder of this document: MM = Manado Malay, NMM = North Moluccan Malay, AM = Ambon Malay, BM = Banda Malay (II), KM = Kupang Malay, LM = Larantuka Malay, PM = Papua Malay.

Pronoun forms are an identifying feature of the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, and the pronoun sets vary significantly between varieties, and are the first items speakers mention when comparing their varieties to other varieties.

Variation in the pronoun sets is much greater than variation in any other area of the lexicon. Empty boxes in the table above indicate distinctions which are not made in a particular language. For varieties which have short forms of the pronouns, there are restrictions on where these can occur, as noted above.

The plural pronoun set in all varieties (with the exception of the 2PL forms in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay, which are borrowed from the Ternate language, and the 2SG forms in Papua Malay) is formed by combining a singular pronoun with *orang* ‘human being’, as in the following list:

- (318) *kita* + *orang* → *kitong, katong, kotong, kitorang, katoraN, torang, tong*
beta + *orang* → *batong, botong, basong, bosong*
kamu + *orang* → *kamorang, kamu-oraN*
əNko + *oraN* → *əNkoraN*
dia + *orang* → *dorang, doraN, dong*

The pronouns of CJI are presented in the table below. The first and second person pronouns differ significantly from the forms found in the eastern varieties, although Kupang Malay shares the 2SG pronoun *lu*, and Papua Malay (at least in some varieties) uses variants of the 1SG pronoun *saya* (which is used in formal contexts in CJI). The CJI 1PL form *kita* occurs as a 1SG pronoun in Manado Malay, North Moluccan Malay, Larantuka Malay, and Papua Malay (where it can mean 1SG or 1PL). The 3SG form represents the only convergence between all varieties, while the 3PL form in CJI is not shared with any eastern variety.

Table 4.31: Pronouns of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian

1SG INF	<i>gua, gue, aku</i>	1PL (INCL/EXCL)	<i>kita</i>
1SG FML	<i>saya</i>		
2SG	<i>lu, elu, kamu</i>	2PL	<i>kalian</i> (rare)
3SG	<i>dia</i>	3PL	<i>mereka</i>

4.5.4 Reduplication of Pronouns and Question Words

Question words and pronouns may be reduplicated to indicate indefiniteness or lack of specificity and can function as pronouns or to modify nouns (as in (319) and (326)).⁷⁹

Reduplicated question words can also function as indefinite or non-specific interrogative pronouns. The question word *sapa* ‘who’ is reduplicated to give the non-specific meaning of ‘who all (one or more)’ ((324) and (325)).

- *apa* ‘what’ → *apa-apa* ‘anything, everything’ (or *apa-apa?* ‘what all?’)

Ambon Malay

- (319) ...*bolong ada apa-apa*...
not.yet have REDUP-what
‘...there was nothing else yet...’ (5.25)

Kupang Malay

- (320) ...*papa son ada harta kekayaan apa-apa mo kasi sang*
father NEG have property riches REDUP-what ASP give to

bosong...
2PL
‘...father doesn’t have any property or riches of any kind to give to you ...’
(11.28-29)

Larantuka Malay

- (321) *Jo dia bər-tobat, dia te te mau bua dosa apa-apa lægi jo.*
then 3SG BƏ-repent 3SG DP NEG want make sin REDUP-what again DP
‘Then he [the giant] repented, he didn’t want to sin any more.’ (14.56-57)

⁷⁹ This function works the same in CJI.

(322) *Hanya angan-angan, arti-nya cuma rencana jo, me*
 only REDUP-fantasy meaning-NYA only plan DP but

bəloN bua apa-apa.

not.yet make REDUP-what

‘Only a fantasy. That means it’s just a plan, but we. haven’t done anything yet.’ (17.43-44)

- *mana* ‘where’ → *mana-mana* ‘everywhere, anywhere’ (or *mana-mana?* ‘where all?’)

Ambon Malay

(323) *...jadi antua ada di mana-mana saja.*
 so 3SG.FML have LOC REDUP-where only
 ‘...(as if) she is everywhere at once.’ (5.74-75)

- *sapa* ‘who’ → *sapa-sapa* ‘whoever’ (or *sapa-sapa?* ‘who all?’)

Manado Malay

(324) *Sapa-sapa ada ba-pete bunga?*
 REDUP-who ASP BA-pick flower
 ‘Who all is picking a flower?’ (1.72)

North Moluccan Malay

(325) *Sapa-sapa saja yang pake kita pe baju?*
 REDUP-who only REL wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Who all wore my shirt?’ (3.65)

- *karmana* ‘how’ → *karmana-karmana* ‘however’ (or *karmana-karmana?* ‘however?’)⁸⁰

Kupang Malay

(326) *Na, ini papa dulu sonde tau bahasa Inggris,*
 INT DEM father before NEG know language English

bahasa karmana-karmana.

language REDUP-how

‘Now, father, in the old days, never learned English, however that language is.’ (11.36-37)

⁸⁰ This is the Kupang Malay form. Forms of this question word vary in other varieties, but the meaning of the reduplicated form is consistent.

- *bosong* 2PL → *bosong-bosong* ‘you all’⁸¹

Kupang Malay

(327) *Na beta harap supaya bosong-bosong ini...*
 INT 1SG hope so.that REDUP-2PL DEM
 ‘I hope that all of you...’ (11.28)

- *dorang* 3PL → *dorang-dorang* ‘they all’

Larantuka Malay

(328) *Jadi aNka-aNka doraN taro di səbəla, səbab doraN-doraN*
 so REDUP-lift 3PL put LOC side because REDUP-3PL

te te bisa liwa!
 DP NEG can pass

‘So he lifted them and placed them on the other side, because nobody could pass!’ (14.15-16)

4.5.5 Possessive Constructions

The possessive construction in the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia takes the form POSSESSOR-POSSESSIVE MARKER-POSSESSED, with the possessive or genitive marker taking the form of *punya* ‘to own’ or, more commonly, a shortened form of *punya*. The forms which the possessive marker takes in the seven varieties are presented in Table 4.32. This is one of the distinctive features of these varieties, which sets them apart from Malay varieties of western Indonesia. There can be a string of more than one possessive, as in several of the examples below. Larantuka Malay also makes use of a possessed-possessor construction in some circumstances, as noted below. The possessive morpheme also serves as a nominalizer and intensifier. The same construction of POSSESSOR-POSSESSIVE MARKER-POSSESSED is used for pronominal possession as for nominal possession.

The possessive marker in CJI always follows the head, and typically takes the form of a clitic (for pronominal possession with singular pronouns), a separate (non-attached)

⁸¹ This is the form in Kupang Malay, but the function is the same for plural pronouns in all seven varieties, with their varying forms.

pronoun, a name or title, or another noun, giving the order of POSSESSED-POSSESSOR, as in the example below. The possessive construction is one of the most distinctive differences between western varieties of Malay and the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia.

- (329) *Itu masa depan anak, bukan masa depan Bapak, bukan masa depan orang-tua.*
 DEM time front child NEG time front father NEG time
 front people-old
 ‘That is the children’s future, not your future (sir), not the future of the parents.’ (Sneddon 2006: 68, 249)

Table 4.32: Possessive Markers

MM	NMM	AM	BM	KM	LM	PM
<i>pe</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>pung,</i> <i>pong</i> ⁸²	<i>pu, pung</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>puN</i>	<i>punya,</i> <i>pu</i>

Manado Malay

- (330) *Tina so makang de pe sayor?*
 Tina ASP eat 3SG POSS vegetables
 ‘Has Tina eaten her vegetables?’ (1.61)

- (331) *Sapa ngana pe papa?*
 who 2SG POSS father
 ‘Who is your father?’ (1.79)

- (332) *Kita pe om pe ana*
 1SG POSS uncle POSS child
 ‘My uncle’s child’ (2.98)

North Moluccan Malay

- (333) *Kita pe ade ada ba-tulis surat pa dia pe guru.*
 1SG POSS younger.sibling ASP BA-write letter to 3SG POSS teacher
 ‘My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.’ (3.4)

- (334) *Kita pe tamang akan pi di pesta.*
 1SG POSS friend FUT go LOC party
 ‘My friend will come to the party.’ (3.52)

⁸² The Ambon Malay possessive marker *pung* can take its Indonesian form *punya*, appear as *pong*, or be reduced to *ng* or even \emptyset .

- (335) *Kita pe om pe ana*
 1SG POSS uncle POSS child
 'My uncle's child' (3.89)

Ambon Malay

- (336) *...tapi sebenarnya Nene Luhu itu antua pung nama itu*
 but truth Nene Luhu DEM 3SG.FML POSS name DEM

Kristina Pattimahu.

Kristina Pattimahu

'...but actually nene Luhu's name was Kristina Pattimahu.' (5.3-4)

- (337) *Antua dengar orang pung susa.*
 3SG.FML hear person POSS difficulty
 'She listens to their problems.' (5.75)

- (338) *Lalu ada sisa antua pung rambu aja.*
 then have remainder 3SG.FML POSS hair only
 'Then there was only a remnant of her hair left.' (6.11)

- (339) *...katong pung ruma-rua ta-bakar samua.*
 1PL POSS REDUP-house TA-burn all
 '...our houses were all burned up.' (7.3-4)

Banda Malay

- (340) *Beta pung papa tanam pohong di kintal.*
 1SG POSS father plant tree LOC garden
 'My father plants trees in the garden.' (8.1)

- (341) *Yang di Indonesia cuma katong dua, beta deng beta pu bapa...*
 REL LOC Indonesia only 1PL two 1SG with 1SG POSS father
 'Of the Indonesians, there were only the two of us, my father and me...' (9.10)

- (342) *Sapa yang pake beta pung baju ini?*
 who REL wear 1SG POSS shirt DEM
 'Did anyone see who is wearing my shirt?' (8.42)

Kupang Malay

- (343) *Lu pung kawan mau datang juga ko?*
 2SG POSS friend ASP come also Q
 'Will your friend come or not?' (10.43)

- (344) *Ini beta pung tanpa lahir.*
 DEM 1SG POSS place birth
 'This is the place where I was born.' (10.88)

- (345) ...*lu su pili lu pung jurusan.*
 2SG ASP choose 2SG POSS major
 ‘...you have chosen your major.’ (11.35-36)

4.5.5.1 Possessive constructions in Larantuka Malay

There are two different possessive constructions in Larantuka Malay. The first, similar to the construction in the other contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, takes the form POSSESSOR *puN* POSSESSED, in which *puN* is the possessive or genitive marker. The other construction, which is only found with the third person singular, is quite the opposite: POSSESSED-*nya*, with the morpheme *-nya* indicating a third person singular possessor. Examples (346) and (347) shows both possessive constructions for third person singular possessors.

- (346) *Kita puN ade tuli surat uNto dia puN guru.*
 1SG POSS younger.sibling write letter for 3SG POSS teacher
 ‘My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.’ (13.4)

- (347) *Bəgəna dia mau/mo cari təmaN-nya?*
 how 3SG ASP search.for friend-POSS
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’ (13.70)

The *-nya* construction is not found in any of the other contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, but is identical to the usual third-person singular possessive construction found in the Malay varieties of western Indonesia, including standard Indonesian and colloquial Indonesian, as well as the Malay varieties of the Malay peninsula. It is uncertain whether this construction was part of the Malay brought to Larantuka by the original Malay-speaking settlers (who may have pre-dated the settlers from Malacca, and, hence, may have spoken a variety of Malay from outside the Malay peninsula), whether it represents a feature brought to Larantuka by later settlers (the Portuguese and their followers), or whether it is a more recent addition through Indonesian influence. The last

possibility seems the least likely, since the morpheme is quite well-established in the language, and appears in speech which is otherwise uninfluenced by Indonesian constructions. The most likely scenario is that Larantuka Malay represents a merging of the Vehicular Malay trade language (manifested in the *puN* construction, as well as other constructions and lexical items) and peninsular Malay (represented by the *-nya* construction and various constructions, idioms and lexical items), though the precise order in which this occurred is unclear. It should be noted as well that the morpheme *-nya* is also a nominalizer in Larantuka Malay (a function it shares with peninsular varieties of Malay and western Indonesia varieties), and this usage will be described separately below.

The *-nya* construction is not used in all third person singular possessive situations. Of 34 such situations in the data, 22 occurred with *puN* and 12 occurred with *-nya*, so it is clear that *puN* and *-nya* are not in complementary distribution. However, as would be expected, *puN* was the only construction found with other possessors (1SG, 2SG, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL), a total of 53 times. The other possessive suffixes found in western Malay varieties are not found in Larantuka Malay. The distribution of *puN* and *-nya* is unclear, because of the limited data available. It would be expected that one construction would be favored, as in English, which also has two possessive constructions. Steinhauer (1991: 93), basing his analysis on the examples in Monteiro's dictionary (1975), says that the *-nya* constructions are "much more frequent." Although there were no examples of *-nya* with a nominal possessor in the data, it is likely that these constructions are allowed in Larantuka Malay, as they are in western varieties of Malay.

Kumanireng (1993: 118) points out that a nominalized form created by the nominalizer *-nya* may not take the *-nya* possessive construction, but must make use of *puN* (as in (349) below). However, in all other situations, the two appear to be interchangeable.

(348) *Dəngan dia puN daera di utaN to, dia puN kaNpu tu, di utaN.*
 with 3SG POSS region LOC forest DP 3SG POSS village DEMLOC forest
 ‘In his place in the forest, his village, in the forest.’ (15.33)

(349) ... *ada dia puN ləbe-nya...*
 have 3SG POSS excess-NOM
 ‘...there is (he has) a strength...’ (16.34)

(350) *Jo ilaN ko, ilaN data bərasu-nya, ilaN.*
 then disappear DP disappear from.on shoulder-POSS disappear
 ‘Then he disappeared, disappeared from on the [giant’s] shoulder,
 disappeared’ (14.55-56)

As in other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, the possessive morpheme *puN* can function as an intensifier, although it only occurred once in the data.

(351) *Joni puN bə-buku.*
 Joni INTENS Bə-book
 ‘Joni has many books.’

4.5.5.2 Possessive constructions in Papua Malay

The possessive construction in Papua Malay takes the form POSSESSOR *punya/pu* POSSESSED, in which *punya* or *pu* is the possessive marker. Donohue (to appear: 24) points out that *punya* “is often reduced to *pu*, and when a pronominal possessor is indicated the pronoun is almost invariably procliticised to the (reduced) possessive marker directly, which in turn can appear cliticised on to the possessum. When the possessor is a clitic pronoun, the whole possessor + possessed unit MUST cliticise to the following possessum noun, while this is only optional for nominal possessors, and then only with the reduced form, *pu*, never with *punya*.”

- (352) *Kitoran dari ini, ini bapa punya keturunan ini.*
 1PL from DEM DEM father POSS descendants DEM
 ‘We’re from this, father’s descendants are these.’ (12.12)
- (353) *...dia punya apa, da=pu=kudu.*
 3SG POSS what 3SG=POSS=church
 ‘...what did he have? He had a church.’ (12.29-30)
- (354) *Da=pu=nama Jumander, dari Numfoor.*
 3SG=POSS=name Jumander from Numfoor
 ‘He [the pastor’s] name was Jumander, from Numfoor.’ (12.30)
- (355) *Da=pu=ana-ana don=ada...*
 3SG=POSS=REDUP-child 3PL=exist
 ‘His children are still around.’ (12.58-59)

4.5.6 Demonstratives

4.5.6.1 Demonstratives in Manado Malay

Demonstratives play a central role in Manado Malay, and are presented in Table 4.33.

Table 4.33 Demonstratives	Full Form	Short Form
Neutral/Away from speaker (‘that’)	<i>itu</i>	<i>tu</i>
Close to speaker (‘this’)	<i>ini</i>	<i>ni</i>

Prentice (1994) distinguishes between deictics and articles, and claims that the short forms function as articles, while the full forms are deictics. This claim does not appear to be borne out by the evidence, and Stoel’s (2005: 31) description of the short forms as simply that, short forms of the full forms, seems to be the correct analysis.

Demonstratives in Manado Malay, as in all the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, may be used pronominally as well as adnominally, although the short forms may only be used adnominally.

The short forms can only occur phrase-initially in noun phrases, while the full forms can occur before or after the noun. As the examples below indicate, there is variation

between speakers as to the placement of the forms. Stoel (2005: 31), referring to the data he collected, says that “it is far more common for a determiner to precede the noun than follow it,” and this appears to reflect a more “pure” form of Manado Malay, less influenced by Indonesian forms (in which the demonstrative typically follows the noun).⁸³ Both possibilities occur in the examples below. In (356), (358) and (361), short forms occur before the noun, while in (357) the same meaning as (356) is expressed by a full form following the noun. (359) and (360) show full forms of the demonstrative occurring before and after an adjective (following the noun), expressing slight differences in meaning.

- (356) *Tu anak ada tidor.*
 DEM child ASP sleep
 ‘The child is sleeping.’ (1.2)
- (357) *Anak itu ada tidor.*
 child DEM ASP sleep
 ‘The child is sleeping.’ (2.2)
- (358) *Paulus yang beli tu buku?*
 Paul REL buy DEM book
 ‘Was Paul the one who bought a book?’ (1.58)
- (359) *Kita pe oto ini baru.*
 1SG POSS car DEM new
 ‘This car of mine (which is) new.’ (1.115)
- (360) *Kita pe oto baru ini.*
 1SG POSS car new DEM
 ‘This new car of mine.’ (2.105)
- (361) *Apa tu Paulus ada beli di pasar?*
 what DEM Paul ASP buy LOC market
 ‘What is Paul buying at the market?’ (1.76)

In some situations, a demonstrative may be followed by an identical demonstrative, as in (362) below. In such cases (as well as cases in which the consecutive demonstratives are different, as in (364) and (365)), Stoel (2005: 31) analyzes the first demonstrative as

⁸³ Stoel refers to demonstratives as ‘determiners’.

nominalizing a clause which is implied by the context, rather than specifically mentioned. In these cases the second demonstrative serves as a definite marker and the structures are equational, with the two demonstratives occurring in different NPs.

(362) *Itu tu orang ada beli kita pe oto.*
 DEM DEM person ASP buy 1SG POSS car
 ‘That is the person who is buying my car.’ (1.135)

(363) *Itu orang ada beli kita pe oto.*
 DEM person ASP buy 1SG POSS car
 ‘That is the person who is buying my car.’ (2.125)

(364) *Ini tu anak ada pancuri ayam.*
 DEM DEM child ASP steal chicken
 ‘That is the child who is stealing my chicken.’ (1.136)

(365) *So ini tu tanpa kita lahir.*
 ASP DEM DEM place 1SG born
 ‘This is the place where I was born.’ (1.137)

(366) *Gunung itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
 mountain DEM more tall from mountain DEM
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain’ (1.153, 2.144)

4.5.6.2 Demonstratives in North Moluccan Malay

Demonstratives play an important role in North Moluccan Malay. The demonstratives are *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. The short forms *ni* and *tu* may occur, but are not common. Demonstratives can occur both before the noun or after the noun, and may occur in both locations for emphatic effect (Taylor 1983: 20). Voorhoeve (1983: 5) observes that if the noun is possessed or quantified, the demonstrative follows it. It is likely that in some cases demonstratives occurring after the noun are influenced by the formal Indonesian construction, which only allows this position. In the data collected for this study, the demonstrative followed the noun in all examples, possibly due to the influence of the Indonesian prompts (in the elicited data, as in (367)) and the Indonesian influence on the oral text due to the topic (as in 368). The examples

below of demonstratives preceding the noun and both preceding and following the noun are from Voorhoeve (1983).

- (367) *Motor itu tabrak oto ini.*
 motorcycle DEM crash car DEM
 ‘That motorcycle crashed into this car.’ (3.35)
- (368) *Saya musti tetap ini ambe doi tiga ratus itu.*
 1SG must still DEM take money three hundred DEM
 ‘I still have to get that three hundred (thousand rupiah).’ (4.16)
- (369) *Untung-untung ini agama masuk!*
 REDUP-luck DEM religion enter
 ‘Thank goodness the [Christian] religion came!’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 5)
- (370) *Jadi, begitu dia inga itu pesan itu...*
 so like.that 3SG think.of DEM instruction DEM
 ‘So, he obeyed the instruction as he was told...’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 5)
- (371) *dorang makan saya punya ana ini*
 3PL eat 1SG POSS child DEM
 ‘They ate this child of mine.’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 5)

4.5.6.3 Demonstratives in Ambon Malay

There are two demonstratives in Ambon Malay, *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. In addition, the 3SG.N pronoun *akang* can function as a demonstrative. *Ini*, *itu*, and *akang* can function as the head of an NP, as subject, object or object of a preposition. All three forms can precede a head noun to modify it, while only *ini* and *itu* (and their short forms *ni* and *tu*) may follow a head noun. The short forms *ni* and *tu* may be used to modify a clause as markers of emphatic or emotional effect, but the full forms *ini* and *itu* do not occur with this function (van Minde 1997: 71). Demonstratives can also occur in combinations, preceding or bracketing the noun. Finally, demonstratives can be used as a space-filler, when the speaker cannot think of a particular word, as in (374) below. It is likely that in some cases demonstratives occurring after the noun are influenced by the Indonesian construction, which only allows this position, and that the pronominal

position was the original unmarked position in Ambon Malay. In the data collected for this study, the demonstrative followed the noun in a large majority of the examples. The examples below include demonstratives serving as the head of an NP, and preceding and following the noun.

- (372) ...*antua hilang sampe saat ini...*
 3SG.FML lost until time DEM
 ‘...she has been gone until now...’ (5.55)
- (373) *Itu akang pung carita bagitu.*
 DEM 3SG.N POSS story like.that
 ‘That is the way the story goes.’ (6.16)
- (374) *Itu tanpa tinggal antua itu, itu di Soya Atas yang ini dengan*
 DEMplace live 3SG.FML DEMDEMLOC Soya upper REL DEMwith

Sirimau, dia punya ini dekat dengan Sirimau.
 Sirimau 3SG POSS DEMnear with Sirimau
 ‘Her place of residence was in Soya Atas near Sirimau Hill, her [home] was near Sirimau.’ (5.8-9)
- (375) *Waktu dulu di Batu Gajah itu, karena aer antua daerah itu*
 time before LOC Batu Gajah that because water 3SG.FML region DEM

tu kan itu dia Nene Luhu punya daerah.
 DEMQ DEM3SG Nene Luhu POSS region
 ‘In previous times in Batu Gajah, the water in that region belonged to Nene Luhu, since it was her region.’ (5.81-82)
- (376) *Sampe sakarang ini hidop seng macam yang kaya dolo-dolo lai.*
 until now DEM life NEG like REL like REDUP-previous DP
 ‘Until now, life is not the way it was previously anymore.’ (7.11-12)

4.5.6.4 Demonstratives in Banda Malay

There are two demonstratives in Banda Malay, *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. The demonstratives follow the noun. Although other Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia allow the demonstrative to precede the noun (in some varieties, it is the unmarked form), Banda Malay does not allow the demonstrative to

precede the noun. Informants regularly placed the demonstrative following the noun, even when given a prompt in Ambon Malay, with a demonstrative preceding the noun.

(377) *Nona itu manangis.*
 girl DEM cry
 ‘The girl cries.’ (8.3)

(378) *Guru itu baca buku.*
 teacher DEM read book
 ‘The teacher reads a book.’ (8.8)

(379) *Motor itu ta-tumbu oto ini.*
 motorcycle DEM TA-crash car DEM
 ‘That motorcycle crashed into this car.’ (8.23)

(380) *Tadi pigi, Fino bali apa di pasar itu?*
 just.now go VINO buy what LOC market DEM
 ‘When he went just now, what did VINO buy at the market?’ (8.45)

(381) *...apa ini...*
 what DEM
 ‘...what was it?’ (8.9)

4.5.6.5 Demonstratives in Kupang Malay

The demonstratives in Kupang Malay are *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. The short forms *ni* and *tu* may occur, but only in clause-final position, and only when the speaker feels the referent of the preceding construction is identifiable by the hearer (Steinhauer 1983: 51) or the hearer has an emotional attachment to the referent. In their regular usage as adnominal demonstratives, demonstratives can only occur before the noun. In this case, Kupang Malay is different from other varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, which allow adnominal demonstratives to occur both before and after the noun, except for Banda Malay, Larantuka Malay and Papua Malay, which only allow these demonstratives after the noun. In the data collected for this study, adnominal demonstratives (in the non-anaphoric, or regular, usage) always occurred before the noun (40 examples), except for one construction (*waktu itu* ‘at that time’), which is a loan

construction from Indonesian, and which occurred nine times, along with one occurrence of the unexpected *itu waktu*. Post-nominal anaphoric usage of *(i)ni* and *(i)tu* occurred 12 times. The examples below are of demonstratives preceding the noun as well as anaphoric demonstratives in post-nominal position (as in (385) and (386)).

- (382) *Itu motor tabrak ini oto.*
 DEM motorcycle crash DEM car
 ‘That motorcycle crashed into this car.’ (10.27)
- (383) *Sapa yang manyanyi ini lagu?*
 who REL sing DEM song
 ‘Who sang/is singing this song?’ (10.57)
- (384) *Itu oto dapa tabrak.*
 DEM car get crash
 ‘The car was hit (by another car).’ (10.94)
- (385) *Kalo lu tamba lebe tinggi itu, papa tetap masi hidop, na, papa*
 if 2SG add more high DEM father remain still live INT father
lebe sanang lai.
 more happy again
 ‘If you achieve even more, and father is still alive, now, father would be even happier.’ (11.53-54)
- (386) *Andia bapa sampe sana selama tugas katumu deng*
 therefore father until over.there while duty meet with
mama ini, dapa bosong tiga orang.
 mother DEM get 2PL three CL
 ‘Therefore father was over there for duty and met your mother, and got the three of you.’ (11.16-17)

4.5.6.6 Demonstratives in Larantuka Malay

The demonstratives in Larantuka Malay are *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. The short forms *ni* and *tu* also frequently occur (as do the full forms), in clause-final position, when the speaker feels the referent of the preceding construction is identifiable by the hearer (Kumanireng 1993: 221) or the hearer has an emotional attachment to the referent. Demonstratives may occur in the subject or object position in

their full forms. When they are used adnominally, demonstratives always follow the noun. Clause-final referential usage of *(i)ni* and *(i)tu* occurred 12 times.

There are related forms used for location (*sini* ‘here’, *hana* ‘over there’, *situ* ‘there’) and the set of adverbial demonstratives *bəgini* ‘like this’ and *bəgitu* ‘like that’.

Itu and *ini* can be followed by the short forms *tu* or *ni* to emphasize the unique nature of the referent (as in (388) below).

Table 4.34 The Use of the Particles *tu*, *ni* and *te* in Larantuka Malay

Noun Phrase	+	<i>tu</i>	→	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • refers to a thing, manner, or place located away from or neutral to speaker and addressee. • refers to time in the past
Pronoun				
Verb Phrase		<i>ni</i>	→	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • refers to a thing, manner, or place located near the speaker/addressee. • refers to time in the near future • cataphoric reference
Prepositional Phrase				
		<i>te</i>	→	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anaphoric reference. No reference to the relative distance from the speaker and addressee

Table 4.34, adapted from Kumanireng 1993: 230) contrasts the use and function of *itu*, *ini* and the discourse particle *te* (discussed below). The first column consists of the items which can be followed by *ini*, *itu* or *te*, while the column on the right describes the functions of these constructions.

The examples below of the demonstratives *itu* and *ini* following the noun ((387) and the first demonstrative in (388)) and as well as referential demonstratives *(i)tu* and *(i)ni* in clause-final position (the second demonstrative in (388), as well as the demonstrative in (389) and both demonstratives in (390)). In (388), the first demonstrative, *ini*, is an adnominal demonstrative modifying *guno* ‘mountain’, while the second demonstrative, *ni*,

indicates that the mountain is located near the speaker (or in sight of the speaker). In (389), the demonstrative *ni* refers to the act of developing a garden, rather than to the garden itself, and is thus referential. In (390), the demonstrative *ni* is also referential, referring to the ability of the west wind to make the monkey fall, and not to any specific noun, while the demonstrative *tu* refers to the monkey on top of the tree on Lahayong Beach, indicating that it is located at a distance from the speaker.

- (387) *Jo dia aNka kaju itu, dia jolo kə sana.*
 then 3SG lift wood DEM 3SG poke to over.there
 ‘Then he lifted up a stick of wood, and he poked it there.’ (15.22)
- (388) *Guno hana lebe tiNgi dari guno ini ni.*
 mountain over.there more tall from mountain DEM DEM
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’ (13.113)
- (389) *Tine kəboN kita, mau tine kəboN ni.*
 develop garden 1SG want develop garden DEM
 ‘Make a garden, I want to make a garden.’ (17.4)
- (390) *Angi bara, əNko bisa ni bua jato kəkəra data poN lao paNte*
 wind west 2SG can DEM make fall monkey on.top tree sea beach
lahayoN tu?
 Lahayong DEM
 ‘West Wind, can you make this monkey fall from the top of this tree at
 Lahayong Beach?’ (16.8-9)

4.5.6.7 Demonstratives in Papua Malay

There are two demonstratives in Papua Malay, *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. These can also occur as the clitics =*ni* and =*tu*. In addition, the demonstratives can also serve a referential or anaphoric marker or a topic marker. In addition to spatial reference, the demonstratives can also be used to position an entity or an action in time, with *ini* referring to the present time, and *itu* referring to a time in the past.

Demonstratives may occur in the subject or object position in their full forms.

Demonstratives used to modify a noun always follow the noun.

(391) *Turus sa punya om ini jahat. Om=ni=jahat, da=jahat.*
then 1SG POSS uncle DEM bad uncle=DEM=bad 3SG=bad
‘Then I had an uncle who was bad. This uncle was bad, he was bad.’
(12.31)

(392) *Ini siapa=tu, siapa=ni...*
DEM who=DEM who=DEM
‘Who was that? Who was this?...’ (12.41)

(393) *Japan itu su, don=su=rane.*
Japan DEM ASP 3PL=ASP=many.people
‘There were many Japanese.’ (12.17)

(394) *Keadaan zaman dulu=tu dari waktu kecil itu...*
Situation era before=DEM from time small DEM
‘The situation in the old days when I was young...’ (12.22)

4.5.6.8 Summary of Demonstratives

The demonstratives in the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia are *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. The short forms *ni* and *tu* can also occur (as can the full forms) in clause-final position,⁸⁴ when the speaker feels the referent of the preceding construction is identifiable by the hearer. Demonstratives may occur in the subject or object position in their full forms. The location of demonstratives modifying a noun phrase is discussed above, and it is likely that the original order in all varieties except Larantuka Malay was DEMONSTRATIVE-N. This is changing in many varieties, with N-DEMONSTRATIVE occurring more frequently through the influence of Indonesian.

There are related forms used for location (*sini* ‘here’, *sana* ‘over there’, *situ* ‘there’) and the set of adverbial demonstratives *bagini* ‘like this’ and *bagitu* ‘like that’ (In Larantuka Malay, the forms are *bəgini* and *bəgitu*).

⁸⁴ In Manado Malay, the short forms can only occur clause-initially.

Itu and *ini* can be followed by the short forms *tu* or *ni* to emphasize the unique nature of the referent, as in the example below from Larantuka Malay.

- (395) *Guno hana lebe tiNgi dari guno ini ni.*
 mountain over.there more tall from mountain DEM DEM
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’ (13.113)

The demonstratives in CJI also take the form *itu* and *ini* and can precede or follow the N, although the DEMONSTRATIVE-N order is more common. The emphatic forms *tu(h)* and *ni(h)* can follow *itu* or *ini* to give stress to what is being referred to. The forms *tu(h)* and *ni(h)* can also follow verbal or adjectival predicates for emphasis (Sneddon 2006: 71). Sneddon analyzes these occurrences as discourse particles rather than demonstratives (Sneddon 2006: 72). Examples of the use of the full and short forms of demonstratives in CJI follow.

- (396) *Anak-anak-nya ini tuh di-ajar-in kalo seandei-nya*
 REDUP-child-NYA DEM DEM PASS-teach-IN if supposing-NYA

emang demo uda mulai bahaya, lari!
 indeed demo already begin dangerous run
 ‘These kids are taught that if the situation in a demo has started to get dangerous they should run!’ (Sneddon 2006: 71, 274)

- (397) *Belum foto lagi ni gua.*
 not.yet photo again DP 1SG
 ‘I still haven’t had my photo taken.’ (Sneddon 2006: 72, 277)

4.5.7 Numerals

The cardinal numerals of the seven varieties are shown in the table below. For the most part, the members of each set are identical, with minor variations to fit the sound systems of each variety. There are a few interesting divergences, however. In Ambon Malay, there are two ways to denote the series 11-19. The first is the method commonly found in Malay varieties, through the use of a morpheme meaning ‘teen’, which commonly

takes the form *balas* (<**bəlas*). In Ambon Malay, there is a second way to denote these numerals, and that is by juxtaposing the numerals ten with one of the set 1-9, as in *sa-pulu dua*, literally ‘ten two’, meaning ‘twelve’.

In Larantuka Malay, the form *hatu* ‘one’ is only used when the numeral stands alone. When it combines with tens, it takes the form *satu*, as in *dua pulo satu* ‘twenty-one’ or *tiga rato lima pulo satu* ‘351’.. When it combines with other numerals, it retains the form *hatu*, as in *sə-rato hatu* ‘one hundred and one’. *Hatu/satu* ‘one’, also has a combining prefix form, *sə-*, when it appears in initial position, as in *sə-bəla* ‘eleven’.

Table 4.35: Numerals⁸⁵

	MM	NMM	AM	BM	KM	LM	PM
one	<i>satu</i>	<i>satu</i>	<i>satu, sato</i>	<i>satu</i>	<i>satu</i>	<i>hatu, satu</i>	<i>satu</i>
two	<i>dua</i>	<i>dua</i>	<i>dua</i>	<i>dua</i>	<i>dua</i>	<i>dua</i>	<i>dua</i>
three	<i>tiga</i>	<i>tiga</i>	<i>tiga</i>	<i>tiga</i>	<i>tiga</i>	<i>tiga</i>	<i>tiga</i>
four	<i>ampa</i>	<i>ampa</i>	<i>ampa</i>	<i>ampa</i>	<i>ampa(t)</i>	<i>əNpa</i>	<i>ampat</i>
five	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>
six	<i>anam</i>	<i>anang, anam</i>	<i>anang</i>	<i>anang</i>	<i>anam</i>	<i>əna</i>	<i>anam</i>
seven	<i>tuju</i>	<i>tuju</i>	<i>tuju</i>	<i>tuju</i>	<i>tuju</i>	<i>tujo</i>	<i>tuju</i>
eight	<i>dalapang</i>	<i>dalapang</i>	<i>d(a)lapang</i>	<i>dalapang</i>	<i>dalapan</i>	<i>dəlapaN</i>	<i>dalapang</i>
nine	<i>sambilang</i>	<i>sambilang</i>	<i>sambilang</i>	<i>sambilang</i>	<i>sambilan</i>	<i>səNbilaN</i>	<i>sambilang</i>
ten	<i>sa-pulu</i>	<i>sa-pulu</i>	<i>sa-pulu, spulu</i>		<i>sa-pulu</i>	<i>sə-pulo</i>	
twelve	<i>dua bəlas</i>	<i>dua balas</i>	<i>dua balas, sa-pulu dua</i>		<i>dua balas</i>	<i>dua bəla</i>	
twenty	<i>dua pulu</i>	<i>dua pulu</i>	<i>dua pulu</i>		<i>dua pulu</i>	<i>dua pulo</i>	
200	<i>dua ratus</i>	<i>dua ratus</i>	<i>dua ratus</i>		<i>dua ratus</i>	<i>dua rato</i>	
2000	<i>dua ribu</i>	<i>dua ribu</i>	<i>dua ribu</i>		<i>dua ribu</i>	<i>dua ribu</i>	
2 million	<i>dua juta</i>	<i>dua juta</i>	<i>dua juta</i>		<i>dua juta</i>	<i>dua juta</i>	

⁸⁵ Complete numeral sets were not collected for Banda Malay and Papua Malay.

In all seven varieties, the morphemes *pulu* ‘ten’, *balas* ‘teen’, *ratus* ‘hundred’, *ribu* ‘thousand, and *juta* ‘million’ combine with the cardinal numerals to form all numerals.

Only one numeral, *satu* ‘one’, has a special combining form, *sa-*.

Numerals typically follow the noun they modify, and it can be assumed that NOUN + NUMERAL (+ CLASSIFIER) is the standard order in the eastern Indonesian varieties of Malay.

Indonesian influence has led to the occasional appearance of NUMERAL (+ CLASSIFIER) + NOUN order in all varieties except Banda Malay. There are other possibilities which could explain why numerals invariably precede certain nouns, such as years and sums of money.

One is that such concepts are associated with modern life, and were more recent innovations in the language, and are more associated with Indonesian structure (this is almost certainly the explanation for *satu strep* ‘one stripe’ in (411) below). Another possibility is that large numbers are not traditionally expressed in these varieties, so a phrase such as ‘100 years’ (405) or any sum in Indonesian currency are not expressed with the more traditional construction. However, it should be noted that any number of years takes the order NUM-N, as in (407). This may be due to the fact that the order N-NUM, when referring to years, would tend to be understood as an ordinal.

Manado Malay

(398) *Dia pe oto satu.*
3SG POSS car one
‘He owns a car.’ (1.125)

(399) *tuju anjing*
seven dog
‘seven dogs’ (2.123)

North Moluccan Malay

(400) *Ali pe buku ada lima.*
Ali POSS book have five
‘Ali has five books.’ (3.83)

- (401) *Ali so ada oto satu.*
 Ali ASP POSS one car
 ‘Ali has a car.’ (3.81)

Ambon Malay

- (402) *parangpuang tuju*
 woman seven
 ‘seven women’ (van Minde 1997: 152, Table 4.2)

- (403) *nona-nona lima pol ampa ni*
 REDUP-young.woman five ten four DEM
 ‘fifty-four young women’ (van Minde 1997: 152, Table 4.2)

- (404) *dua orang*
 two person
 ‘two people’ (van Minde 1997: 152, Table 4.2)

- (405) *saratos taong*
 100 year
 ‘100 years’ (van Minde 1997: 152, Table 4.2)

- (406) *Jadi satu ana ada, kadang-kadang dia mara dia pung mama.*
 so one child have REDUP-sometimes 3SG angry 3SG POSS mother
 ‘So there was one child, and sometimes he would be angry with his mother.’
 (6.2-3)

- (407) *Katong tinggal di Paso selama tiga taun.*
 1PL live LOC Paso as.long.as three year
 ‘We lived in Paso for three years.’ (7.8-9)

Banda Malay

- (408) *Fino pu oto satu.*
 Vino POSS one car
 ‘Vino has a car.’ (8.52)

- (409) *Beta pu tanpa lahir di sini.*
 1SG POSS place birth LOC here
 ‘This is the place where I was born.’ (8.61)

Kupang Malay

- (410) *Joni pung oto satu.*
 Joni POSS car one
 ‘Joni has a car.’ (10.70)

- (411) ...*pangkat satu strep...*
 rank one stripe
 ‘...the rank of one stripe...’ (11.47)

Larantuka Malay

- (412) *Joni puN buku lima.*
 Joni POSS book five
 ‘Joni has five books.’ (13.79)

- (413) ... *toraN luput dari itu, satu pəristiwa yaN bəgitu.*
 1PL escape from DEM one event REL like.that
 ‘...we escape from that, an event like that.’ (15.39-40)

Ordinal numerals tend to take the ordinal prefix *ka-/kə-*, which is the same as the Indonesian prefix, and is likely a recent borrowing. This prefix is not used in Banda Malay, and there is no difference in form between cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals in this variety. No data were collected on ordinal numerals in Papua Malay, and it is unknown whether the prefix *ka-/kə-* is regularly used. The phrase *peran dunia kedua* ‘second world war’ occurred in the data collected for Papua Malay, but it could well be a frozen phrase borrowed from Indonesian as the name of the war, as the form of the prefix is *ke-* rather than the expected *ka- or kə-*. Several varieties use the Indonesian term *pərtama* for ‘first’, originally a loanword from Sanskrit. North Moluccan Malay uses the Ternatean word *magori* ‘first’ alongside *pərtama*. In Larantuka Malay, *pərtama* co-exists with *kə-satu*, (not **kə-hatu*).

In North Moluccan Malay, there was an occurrence of an ordinal numeral without the *ka-* prefix, which may be a regular construction, with the elicited *ka-* construction a result of Indonesian influence:

- (414) ...*ini jato tempo, bulan dalapan.*
 DEM fall time month eight
 ‘...the due date is in the eighth month.’ (4.26)

It is likely that unmarked ordinals were the original form in all varieties, and that ordinals formed with *ka-* are an innovation through Indonesian influence.

Numeral classifiers occur in most varieties, and follow the numeral (which typically follows the noun being modified). The set of numeral classifiers is limited, and the use of these may be a recent development, through the influence of Indonesian. The data from North Moluccan Malay always seemed to use a single classifier, *biji*, which in Indonesian indicates small things, and would not normally be used with a word like ‘car’ (as in (415) below). In Banda Malay, numeral classifiers also did not occur in the data, and it is possible that they are not used in Banda Malay. The existing descriptions of Kupang Malay (Mboeik et. al. (1984), Steinhauer (1991) And Jacob and C. Grimes (2003) do not mention numeral classifiers, but two examples of numeral classifiers in Kupang Malay are given below.

North Moluccan Malay

- (415) *Ali pe oto ada dua biji.*
 Ali POSS car have two CL
 ‘Ali has two cars.’ (3.82)

- (416) *Cincin barapa pun, dua biji?*
 ring how.many also two CL
 ‘How many rings, two?’ (4.9)

Ambon Malay

- (417) *ikang sapol ekor*
 fish ten CL
 ‘ten (classifier: animal) fish’ (van Minde 1997: 152, Table 4.2)

- (418) *tuju orang bidadari*
 seven CL fairy
 ‘seven (classifier: human) fairies’ (van Minde 1997: 152, Table 4.2)

Kupang Malay

- (419) *Ais dong horo kambing satu ekor, ju dong ame Yusuf pung*
then 3PL kill goat one CL next 3PL take Joseph POSS

baju bagus itu, ko calop pi dalam dara.
coat fine DEM so.that dip go in blood

‘Then they killed a goat, and they took Joseph’s fine coat and then dipped it in blood.’ (Artha Wacana 2000: 8)

- (420) *Opa nae ame pohon patik kalapa dua boa.*
grandfather climb take tree pick coconut two CL
‘Grandfather climbed up the coconut tree to pick two coconuts.’
(Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 3)

Larantuka Malay

- (421) *Anji tuju eko*
dog seven CL
‘Seven dogs’ (13.98)

- (422) *Data poN pərəpa te, ido kəkəra hatu eko.*
on.top tree mangrove DP live monkey one CLS
‘On top of the mangrove tree lived a monkey.’ (16.2)

- (423) *Hatu, kita mo pi lia əNko puN sapi brapa eko...*
one 1SG ASP go see 2SG POSS cow how.many CL
‘First, we’ll go and see how many cows you have...’ (17.33-34)

The numerals in CJI function in the same manner as the numerals in the eastern varieties, and only exhibit minor differences in form (attributable to the absence of the schwa and the merger of final nasals in most eastern varieties). Numeral classifiers are commonly used in CJI, but the set of available classifiers is limited, as in most eastern varieties. The typical order in CJI is NUM + CL + NOUN, while the preferred order in most eastern varieties is NOUN + NUM + CL.

4.5.8 Relative Clauses

In the texts collected for this study, the relative clause constructions usually made use of the typical Malay relativizer *yang*, although there were also examples of bare relative constructions, with no relative marker in the data for most varieties. Van Minde

(1997: 166) says this is the typical construction for Ambon Malay. Donahue (to appear: 22) says the same is true for Papua Malay, and Prentice (1991: 424-425) says “There is no Manado Malay equivalent of the Standard Malay relative ligature *yang* which frequently links the noun and the qualifying adjective.” My informants for Manado Malay both insisted that *yang* was commonly used in Manado Malay, and were rather confused by my repeated queries about it. It is likely that the frequent use of *yang* in all varieties is due to Indonesian influence, and the fact that the prompts for elicited structures used *yang*.

In the data collected for Larantuka Malay, relative clause constructions tended to make use of the typical Malay relativizer *yang*, although it was occasionally omitted in otherwise typical *yang* constructions, and the discourse particle *jo* appeared. Although *jo* doesn't seem to be a relativizer, it does indicate the presence of a relative clause, in some instances.

Relative clause constructions with *yang*, in all varieties of Malay, are frequently headless, as in most of the examples below.

Manado Malay

(424) *Paulus yang beli tu buku?*

Paul REL buy DEM book

‘Was Paul the one who bought that book?’ (1.58)

(425) *Ada yang ba-pete bunga?*

have REL BA-pick flower

‘Was there someone who picked a flower?’ (1.71)

(426) *Pasang ini sapa yang tulis?*

message DEM who REL write

‘This message, who was the one who wrote it?’ (1.74, 2.66)

(427) *Dia yang paling kaya.*

3SG REL most rich

‘S/he is the one who is the richest.’ (1.157)

- (428) *ruma yang basar*
 house REL big
 ‘a house which is big.’ (2.106)

North Moluccan Malay

- (429) *Sapa yang pake kita pe baju?*
 who REL wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Who is wearing my shirt?’ (3.64)

- (430) *Apa yang Ali bali di pasar?*
 what REL Ali buy LOC market
 ‘What did Ali buy at the market?’ (3.69)

- (431) *Kita tinggal di ruma yang sadiki basar.*
 1SG live LOC house REL little big
 ‘I live in a house which is rather big.’ (3.96)

- (432) *Ana itu yang pancuri ayam.*
 child DEM REL steal chicken
 ‘That is the child who stole my chicken.’ (3.109)

Ambon Malay

- (433) *Ya, jadi pake kaki kuda yang di sa-bala.*
 yes so use foot horse REL LOC one-side
 ‘Yes, so she had a horse’s hoof on one side.’ (5.16)

- (434) *Na, biasanya tanpa ketemu itu di Gunung Nona, yang*
 INT usual place meet DEM LOC mountain Nona REL

nantinya akang nama Gunung Nona itu.
 later FUT name mountain Nona DEM

‘Now, usually their meeting place was atop Nona (‘Miss’) Mountain, that which would later be named Nona Mountain.’ (5.21-22)

- (435) *...antua pun dengar orang yang mengeluh katakan seperti angin...*
 3SG.FML also hear person REL complain say like wind
 ‘...she also hears their complaints as through the wind...’ (5.74)

- (436) *...Nene Luhu itu buat ana-ana kacil yang bermandi di*
 Nene Luhu DEM make REDUP-child small REL bathe LOC

pinggir kali itu dia hilang...
 side river DEM 3SG lost

‘...Nene Luhu would cause children bathing beside the river to disappear...’
 (5.83-84)

Banda Malay

(437) *Tara ada lia orang pake beta pung baju?*
NEG have see person wear 1SG POSS shirt
'Did anyone see who is wearing my shirt?' (8.41)

(438) *Sapa yang manyanyi lagu ini?*
who REL sing song DEM
'Who sang/is singing this song?' (8.43)

(439) *Ana itu yang pancuri ayam.*
child DEM REL steal chicken
'That is the child who stole my chicken.' (8.60)

(440) *...beta yang pimpin dorang di sana...*
1SG REL lead 3PL LOC over.there
'...I was the one who led them over there...' (8.2-3)

Kupang Malay

(441) *Sapa yang buka itu jandela?*
who REL open DEM window
'Who opened the window?' (10.54)

(442) *Sapa sa yang pake beta pung baju ini?*
who only REL wear 1SG POSS shirt DEM
'Who all wore my shirt?' (10.56)

(443) *Ini lagu sapa yang manyanyi?*
DEM song who REL sing
'Who sang/is singing this song?' (10.58)

(444) *Ida yang lahir di Bajawa.*
Ida REL born LOC Bajawa
'Ida was the one born in Bajawa.' (11.18-19)

Larantuka Malay

(445) *Sapa yaN pake kita puN baju e?*
who REL wear 1SG POSS shirt Q
'Who is wearing my shirt?' (13.62)

(446) *Sapa jo pake kita puN baju?*
who DP wear 1SG POSS shirt
'Who all wore my shirt?' (13.63)

(447) *Apa jo Joni bəli di pasa?*
what DP Joni buy LOC market
'What was it that Joni bought at the market?' (13.67)

- (448) *Bə-goyaN, itu yaN toraN bə-tau gəNpa te ka.*
 BƏ-shake DEM REL 1PL BƏ-know earthquake DP DP
 ‘Shaking, which we call an earthquake.’ (14.3)
- (449) *Itu arti-nya kita oraN manusia ini, janga məngaNgap reme*
 DEM meaning-NOM1PL person human DEM do.not assume light

oraN yaN ləma.
 person which weak
 ‘The meaning is that we humans should not take lightly people who are weak.’ (16.32-33)
- (450) *Dua bapa-bapa le doraN pi kəboN, me bapa yaN bəloN kawəN.*
 two REDUP-father again 3PL go garden, but father REL not.yet marry.
 ‘Two men went out to a garden, but they were men who were not married yet.’ (17.1)

In Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, defining relative clauses are marked by *yang*, although, unlike in formal Indonesian, *yang* is occasionally omitted (Sneddon 2006: 73).

- (451) *Dan materi yang di-ajar-in kan itu-itu aja.*
 and material REL PASS-teach-IN DP REDUP-DEM only
 ‘And the material which is taught is just the same old thing.’ (Sneddon 2006: 72, 280)
- (452) *Gua mo jadi guru, tapi guru bidang-nya bidang tari.*
 1SG ASP become teacher but teacher field-NYA field dance
 ‘I want to be a teacher, but a teacher (whose) field is dancing.’ (Sneddon 2006: 73, 288)

4.5.8.1 Nominalized Relative Clauses in Manado Malay

Referring to Manado Malay, Stoel (2005: 51) distinguishes between nominalized relative clauses (nominalized with *tu*), which he says could also be analyzed as two noun phrases in apposition (an example is given in (453) below), and relative clauses which are not nominalized, as in (454). In (453), there is a nominalized prepositional phrase, *tu di Tatelu* ‘the (one) in Tatelu’ and a nominalized clause *tu toran da falao samua* ‘the (one in

which) we all fainted'.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Stoel points out that headless relative clauses occur frequently, both with *tu* (as in (453)) and without *tu* (as in (455)).

Manado Malay

(453) (I didn't go along with the camping trip to Maumbi.)

Kita cuma da iko tu di Tatelu, tu torang da falao
 1SG only ASP follow DEM in Tatelu DEM 1PL ASP faint

samua dang.

all DP

'I went along only with the one to Tatelu, the time when we all fainted.'

(Stoel 2005: 49, 2.86)

(454) (Yesterday, my voice was really forced out of its range.)

Pokonya so nyak war-war tu lagu ta da ma-nyanyi.

basically ASP not REDUP-proper DEM song 1SG ASP MA-sing

'Basically, the songs that I was singing were not in tune anymore.'

(Stoel 2005: 51, 2.91)

(455) (Although they were staying on the volcano, they weren't affected by its eruption.)

Kong dong ja ba-kem akang jao dari punca.

CONJ 3PL ASP BA-camp APPL far from summit

'The place where they camp is far from the summit.' (Stoel 2005: 51, 2.93)

Stoel's analysis provides a fresh way of viewing relative clauses in Malay varieties, and a sentence such as (456), from the elicited data, could be interpreted as having a nominalized relative clause, marked by *tu*.⁸⁷

(456) *Itu tu orang ada beli kita pe oto.*

DEM DEM person ASP buy 1SG POSS car

'That is the person who is buying my car.' (1.135)

⁸⁶ Unlike clauses nominalized with *pe*, clauses nominalized with *tu* may contain aspect markers.

⁸⁷ The issue of relative clauses in Malay varieties is far from a simple one. Englebretson (In Press) says *yang* in Colloquial Indonesian has a range of functions "from traditional relative clauses serving as modifiers of head nouns, to headless referring expressions serving as presupposed information in clefts, to referring expressions functioning as direct nominal arguments of predicates."

4.5.8.2 Relative Clauses in Papua Malay

Relative clauses are usually post-nominal,⁸⁸ as in other Malay varieties, which also happens to be in alignment with the usual position in the languages of New Guinea. The relativizer *yan(g)* is not obligatory and is frequently omitted. Donohue notes that the rules for relative clause formation are not restrictive, and various elements can head a relative clause, including A (457), S (458), P (459) or an oblique (460) (these four examples are from Donohue (to appear: 22)).

(457) *orang tadi ada makan sago itu.*
person just.now exist eat sago DEM
'the person who was eating the sago earlier on' (Donohue to appear: 22, 73)

(458) *Dong=tadi jalan pi tanjung itu.*
3PL=just.now walk go cape DEM
'that lot who went to the cape earlier on' (Donohue to appear: 22, 74)

(459) *...ampas-ampas yang kitong buang*
REDUP-rubbish REL 1PL throw.away
'...the rubbish that we throw away' (Donohue to appear: 22, 75)

(460) *Itu tadi saya bilang, itu kampong dong=tinggal.*
that just.now 1SG say DEM village 3PL=stay
'That's what I told you before, that's the village that they stayed in.'
(Donohue to appear: 22, 76)

(461) *...baru om itu, satu di pante, da=kawin sa punya kaka*
then uncle DEM one LOC beach 3SG=marry 1SG POSS older.sibling
parampuan.
female
'...then this uncle, the one who lived on the beach, married my older sister.'
(12.32-33)

⁸⁸ Donohue (to appear: 23) also gives examples of pre-nominal relative clauses.

- (462) *Tida tau oran yan mati-mati di kampu, ana-ana yan*
 NEG know person REL REDUP-die LOC village REDUP-child REL
melahirkan.
 give.birth
 I don't know who has died back in the village, what children have given
 birth...' (12.10)

4.5.9 Nominal Morphology

There are two kinds of morphological processes in the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, which vary in their productivity: affixation and reduplication. There is only one indisputably productive nominal prefix: the ordinal prefix *ka-*, discussed above. Other nominal affixes, such as the affixes which have the Standard Malay forms *pəN-*, *kə-x-an*, and *-an*, which occur in other varieties of Malay can be found in frozen constructions, but have no productivity, as in the example below from Ambon Malay, in which an affixed form of *tau* 'to know' (<Indonesian *ketahuan*) is found.

- (463) *...baru dong ketauan itu daun...*
 just 3PL find.out DEM leaf
 '...only then did they realize that it was leaves...' (5.78)

It is possible that the prefix *pa(ng)-* in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay have some element of productivity, and this is discussed below.

In Larantuka Malay, the suffix *-nya*, which can mark third person singular possession can also function as a nominalizer. As a nominalizer, *-nya* can be attached to verbs (464), adjectives (465), adverbs (466) or prepositions to form nouns, as in the examples below. This usage is also found in Malay varieties of western Indonesia, but is not found in other eastern Indonesian varieties.

- (464) *Arti-nya, dia kalo lapar tu, dia te mau tau.*
 meaning-NOM 3SG if hungry DEM 3SG NEG want know
 'This means if he is hungry, he doesn't care.' (15.2)

(465) ... *po əNko puN kəboN te brapa bəsa-nya.*
 also 2SG POSS garden DP how.much big-NOM
 ‘...and also how big your garden is.’ (17.34)

(466) ...*səmuə-nya iko dunia ini sama jo.*
 all-NOM follow world DEM same DP
 ‘...all are part of this same world.’ (16.36)

Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian has a range of productive nominal affixes, including the nominalizers *-an* and *-nya*, the ordinal prefix *kə-i* and the prefix form of ‘one’, *se-*.

Other nominal affixation found in formal Indonesian also occur in CJI.

Nominal reduplication is a common and productive process, indicating plurality, diversity or totality. There are no significant differences between the functions of reduplication in the eastern varieties and reduplication in CJI, although CJI has a wider range of available functions.

4.5.9.1 The affix *pa(ng)-* in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay

The nominal prefix *pang-* or *pa-*, which has the meaning ‘a person who regularly does x, or is x’ may have some productivity in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay. This prefix is related to the prefix *pəN-*, found in standard Malay and other Malay varieties of western Indonesia. The *pəN-* prefix involves nasal assimilation to the following consonant, and this process is sometimes found in the Manado Malay reflexes. This prefix is not commonly found in Manado Malay, and it is possible that it represents a frozen remnant borrowed from a variety of Malay in which it is common. In fact, the only example in the data collected for this study was one which included a word which uses the *pang-* prefix, originating from the nominalized Malay form *pən-curi*, meaning ‘thief’. but which has undergone a shift in Manado Malay and has shifted its lexical category so that

function, and two others of which also include the frozen verbal *ma-* (<*məN-*) prefix, which is non-productive in North Moluccan Malay, and which cannot co-occur with *peN-* in varieties of Malay in which both prefixes are productive. It seems the prefix did have some productivity at one time, however, since the example from Taylor of *pang-foya* ‘liar’ involves a root from the Ternate language (*foya* ‘to lie’).

- (471) *Ana itu yang pancuri ayam.*
 child DEM REL steal chicken
 ‘That is the child who stole my chicken.’ (3.109)
- (472) *pa-malas* ‘lazy person’
pang-gayung ‘to row, oar’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 4)
- (473) *pang-manangis* ‘crybaby’
pang-malawan ‘one who resists’
pang-foya ‘liar’ (Taylor 1983: 19)

4.5.9.2 Nominal Reduplication

In all the varieties studied, nominal reduplication can be used to indicate plurality, variety or totality, as in the examples below. In addition, reduplication may indicate indefiniteness, as described in Section 4.5.4 above. In Larantuka Malay, reduplication may be partial or total.

Manado Malay
 (474) *cowok* ‘boy’ *cowok-cowok* ‘boys’ (Stoel 2005: 26)

North Moluccan Malay
 (475) *Sapa-sapa saja yang pake kita pe baju?*
 REDUP-who only REL wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Who all wore my shirt?’ (3.65)

(476) *Dua suda, tak apa-apa.*
 two already NEG REDUP-what
 ‘Both of them, no problem.’ (4.14)

Ambon Malay

(477) *Kalo ana-ana dong pung rambu mau panjang itu...*
if REDUP-child 3PL POSS hair want long DEM
'If children want to have long hair...' (6.14)

(478) *Barang-barang samua habis.*
REDUP-thing all finish
'(Our) goods were all destroyed.' (7.4)

Banda Malay

(479) *Habis perang, orang-orang yang itu su mati habis sama sekali.*
finish war REDUP-person REL DEM ASP dead finish with very
'After the war, the people were all dead, completely destroyed.' (8.3-4)

(480) *Yang lain-lain su habis, su tarada.*
REL REDUP-other ASP finish ASP NEG-have
'The others were all gone, not there anymore.' (8.11)

Kupang Malay

(481) *Jadi bapa tes polisi itu waktu deng bapa pung kawan-kawan.*
so father test police DEM time with father POSS REDUP-friend
'So father took the police (entrance) test at that time with father's friends.'
(11.5-6)

(482) *Bosong yang kasi terus ini bapa pung cita-cita.*
2PL REL give continue DEM father POSS REDUP-aspiration
'You are the one continuing father's aspirations.' (11.40)

Larantuka Malay

(483) *toraN ni də-sini a mənangi mərata bae po ana-ana te.*
1PL DEM LOC-here INT cry lament well also REDUP-child DP
'We here were crying and lamenting along with the children.' (14.9)

(484) *Dia pi di utaN-utaN, dia apa, bəR-senaN-senaN di utaN-utaN, ka?*
3SG go LOC REDUP-forest 3SG what BƏ-REDUP-happy LOC REDUP-forest Q
'He went into the forest, he what, he was happy in the forest, right?' (15.32)

Papua Malay

(485) *Kitoran cukup yan di rawa-rawa.*
1PL enough REL LOC REDUP-swamp
'We only needed the kind from the swamps.' (12.27)

Other uses of reduplication, which parallel uses found in western varieties of Malay, may possibly be found in all the varieties studied, and their lack of occurrence in

the data may be due to the sample size. Alternatively, these may be borrowed uses of reduplication, and may represent a more recent innovation in these varieties.

Stoel (2005: 26) describes the following types of nominal reduplication found in Manado Malay (in addition to nominal reduplication indicating plurality, variety, totality or indefiniteness):

- Pronouns may be reduplicated to indicate that a referent is involved in an ongoing process.

(486) *Dong suka kita-kita trus.*
 3PL like REDUP-1SG continue
 ‘They wanted me to continue all the time.’ (Stoel 2005: 26, 2.19)

- Reduplicated kinship terms create adjectives referring to an age group.

(487) *opa* ‘grandfather’ *opa-opa* ‘quite old (man)’
nyong ‘young man’ *nyong-nyong* ‘young, unmarried (man)’
 (Stoel 2005: 26)

- Reduplicated numerals produce the meaning ‘all x’ (*dua-dua* ‘all two; both’).

(488) (I want to be a teacher.)
Soalnya kita pe orang tua le dua-dua guru to.
 since 1SG POSS parents DP two-two teacher DP
 ‘Since my parents are both teachers too.’ (Stoel 2005: 26, 2.20)

In Ambon Malay, in addition to inflectional nominal reduplication, indicating plurality, diversity or totality, nominal reduplication can also be derivational, creating a word-class change. With a limited number of nouns, derivational reduplication effects a change in word class, as in the following, in which the noun *malam* ‘night’ becomes the time adverb *malam-malam* ‘late at night’.

(489) *...cari malam-malam.*
 search REDUP-night
 ‘...searching late at night.’ (6.63)

- (490) ...*waktu antua hidop di tenga-tenga orang Ambon waktu itu...*
 time 3SG.FML live LOC middle-middle person Ambon time DEM
 ‘...at the time she lived amid the people of Ambon...’ (5.17)

4.6 Verbs and Verb Phrases

4.6.1 Order of elements

There are a number of elements which can be part of the verb complex in the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, and they fit into specific slots. All slots excluding the verb base are optional, and, indeed, often a bare verb base occurs. The first class of aspect markers in Table 4.36 below operates on the predicate level (as does the negative), while the second class of aspect markers operates in the verb phrase, and this distinction is reflected in the organization of Table 4.36. The term ‘verb complex’ is used to cover the entire predicate, while emphasizing that all elements are tied in some way to the verb. This organization owes much to van Minde’s description of Ambon Malay (1997: 188), Prentice’s description of Manado Malay (1994: 429) and Kumanireng’s description of Larantuka Malay (1993: 276-283). These sources show that members of the verbal complex in eastern varieties fit into specifically ordered slots, and show the membership of some slots. The verbal complex as described in this dissertation represents further development upon the concepts as described by van Minde and Prentice, and expansion of the framework to cover more than one variety. As is noted below, this framework is quite different from that found in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (and, by extension, western varieties of Malay). Following the analysis of van Minde for Ambon Malay, some aspect markers such as *masi* ‘still’ and *balong* ‘not yet’ operate on the predicate level rather than

the verb phrase level within the verb complex (van Minde 1997: 190), as does the negator (van Minde 1997: 273).⁹⁰

Table 4.36 The verb complex

VERB PHRASE										
ASPECT 1	N E G	ASPECT 2	M O D A L	DEGREE	A U X	PREFIX	V	DEGREE	MANNER	V P
						REDUPLICATION ITERATIVE				

The order of elements in the verb complex represents a major point of difference between the eastern varieties, which share a similar framework, and Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian and western varieties of Malay, which have a much simpler framework with fewer slots and a simpler system of aspect marking (and which do not allow as many possibilities for verb combinations and serial verbs). More than one element may appear in the aspect, modal and prefix categories. Members of the modal category may appear outside the verb complex preceding the negator in limited situations (see (493) below).

Table 4.37 Order of Verb Modifiers in Indonesian

1	2	3
<i>akan</i> FUT	<i>harus</i> ‘must’	<i>dapat</i> ‘can’ <i>bisa</i> ‘can’ <i>boleh</i> ‘may’ <i>suka</i> ‘like’ <i>ingin</i> ‘want’ <i>mau</i> ‘want, FUT’

⁹⁰ Van Minde (1997: 274), notes that Dryer (1988: 94) “observes that, in general, it is hard to decide whether in a structural sense the negative morpheme is a constituent on its own, or whether it is linked up in some way with (parts of) the verb phrase.” Van Minde (1997: 274-281) provides compelling evidence for treating the negator as being outside the verb phrase in Ambon Malay, and that is the analysis followed in this dissertation, as applied to the seven Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia.

As an illustration, Table 4.37 is found in the standard reference grammar of Indonesian and, although it was designed for formal Indonesian, applies to CJI as well (Alwi et al 1998: 159). It is likely that the complexity of the verbal complex differs between western and eastern varieties due to the greater morphological complexity available (though always optional) in western varieties.

Table 4.38 presents some of the members of key categories in Table 4.36. The lists of members are illustrative. The examples are not from a single language, but rather represent items which are found in all (or almost all) of the seven varieties. The form listed is a typical form rather than one drawn from a specific variety. Specific examples of the members of each class from each language follow, along with examples of the structures as applied in the varieties.

Table 4.38 Members of certain categories in the verb complex

		VERB PHRASE					V E R B
ASPECT 1	NEG	ASPECT 2	MODAL	DEGREE	AUX	PREFIX	
<i>su</i> PERF	<i>tara</i> NEG	<i>ada</i> PROG	<i>bisa</i> 'can'	<i>lebe</i> 'more'	<i>pi</i> 'go'	<i>ba-</i>	
<i>masi</i> 'still'		<i>parna</i> 'ever'	<i>bole</i> 'may'	<i>kurang</i> 'less'	<i>dapa</i> 'get'	<i>ta-</i>	
<i>bolong</i> 'not yet'		<i>mo</i> FUT	<i>mesti</i> 'must'	<i>paling</i> 'very'	<i>kasi</i> CAUS	<i>baku-</i>	
				<i>sama</i> 'equal'	<i>bikin</i> CAUS		
				<i>sadiki</i> 'a little'	<i>buat</i> CAUS		
				<i>talalu</i> 'too'	REDUPLICATION		

4.6.1.1 Order of elements in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay

The elements included for Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay are similar (the Manado Malay forms are listed in the table below), with minor exceptions in form. The only form which has significant variation is the primary negator, which is *tara* or *tarada* in North Moluccan Malay.

Table 4.39 Members of certain categories in the verb complex in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay

			VERB PHRASE				VERB BASE
ASPECT 1	NEGATIVE	ASPECT 2	MODAL	AUX	PREFIX B	PREFIX A	
<i>so</i> PERF	<i>nyanda, nya</i> VERBAL	<i>mo</i> INCH	<i>bole</i> 'can, may'	<i>dapa</i> EXPERIEN, POTENTIAL, ETC.	<i>ta-</i> NON- VOLIT	<i>baku-</i> RECIPROCAL	
<i>masi</i> 'still'	<i>bukang</i> 'not' CONTRAST	<i>(a)da</i> REALIS	<i>musti</i> 'must'	<i>(ka)se</i> CAUSATIVE		<i>ba-</i> ATTRIBUTIVE, DURATIVE, REFLEXIVE	
<i>bəlung, bolong</i> 'not yet'		<i>ja</i> HABIT	<i>akang</i> 'will'	<i>beking</i> CAUSATIVE			
<i>jang</i> PROHIB					(REDUPLICATION) ITERATIVE		

The following are examples of possible combinations of sub-sets of these elements in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay. The data collected for this study do not give examples of more than a few elements in any single example. The examples below include information on which slots each element in the verb complex fill (other than object NPs). An aspect marker may appear before or after the negator, or both before and after, as in (493).

Manado Malay

- (491) *Kita masi mo bəli oto baru.*
 1SG still ASP buy car new
 ASP1 ASP2 V
 'I still will buy a new car.' (1.15)

- (492) *Kita mo suka bəli motor baru beso.*
 1SG ASP want buy motorcycle new tomorrow
 ASP2 AUX V
 'I want to buy a new motorcycle tomorrow.' (1.31)

North Moluccan Malay

- (493) *Hari rabu dorang akan tara jadi pigi.*
 day Wednesday 3PL FUT NEG happen go
 MOD NEG AUX V
 'They won't leave on Wednesday.' (3.39)

(494) *Ngoni tara jadi blajar di skola.*
 2PL NEG happen study LOC school
 ASP AUX V
 ‘You (pl) didn’t study in school.’ (3.41)

4.6.1.2 Order of elements in Ambon Malay and Banda Malay

The elements included for Banda Malay are similar to those for Ambon Malay (the Ambon Malay forms are listed in the table below), with minor exceptions in form. The only form which has significant variation is the primary negator, which is *tara* NEG or *tarada* NEG.have in Banda Malay.

Table 4.40 Members of certain categories in the verb complex in Ambon Malay and Banda Malay

		VERB PHRASE					V E R B
ASPECT 1	NEG	ASPECT 2	MODAL	DEGREE	AUX	PREFIX	
<i>su</i> PERF	<i>seng</i> NEG	<i>ada</i> PROG/REAL	<i>mau</i> ‘want’	<i>kurang</i> ‘little’	<i>kasi</i> CAUS	<i>ba-</i>	
<i>masi</i> ‘still’	<i>jang</i> ‘don’t’		<i>mau</i> FUT	<i>sadiki</i> ‘a bit’	<i>dapa</i> ‘get’	<i>ta-</i>	
<i>balong</i> ‘not yet’			<i>musti</i> ‘must’	<i>lebe</i> ‘more’	<i>pi(gi)</i> ‘go’	<i>baku-</i>	
			<i>bole</i> ‘may’	<i>sama</i> ‘equal’	<i>jaga</i> HABIT		
			<i>bisa</i> ‘can’	<i>talalu</i> ‘too’	<i>suka</i> HABIT		
						REDUPLICATION	

The following are examples of possible combinations of these elements in Ambon Malay and Banda Malay. As with the examples for Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay, the data provide no examples of more than a few elements in any single example.

Ambon Malay

(495) *Dong su mau tanggalang...*
 3PL ASP FUT drown
 ASP MOD V
 ‘They were about to drown...’ (van Minde 1997: 192, 4.211)

(496) *Nene Luhu itu ada mau punya tunangan...*
 Nene Luhu DET ASP FUT have fiancé
 ASP MOD V
 ‘Nene Luhu was going to be engaged...’ (5.19)

Banda Malay

(497) *Dia ada pigi mangael ikan.*
 3SG ASP go fishing fish
 ASP AUX V
 ‘He is fishing.’ (8.19)

(498) *Dorang tara mau datang.*
 3PL NEG want come
 NEG MOD V
 ‘They don’t want to come.’ (8.29)

4.6.1.3 Order of elements in Kupang Malay

Table 4.41 Members of certain categories in the verb complex in Kupang Malay

		VERB PHRASE					V E R B
ASPECT 1	NEG	ASPECT 2	MODAL	DEGREE	AUX	PREFIX	
<i>su</i> PERF	<i>sonde</i> NEG	<i>ada</i> PROG	<i>bisa</i> ‘can’	<i>lebe</i> ‘more’	<i>pi</i> ‘go’	<i>ba-</i>	
<i>masi</i> ‘still’	<i>tar-</i> NEG	<i>parna</i> ‘ever’	<i>bole</i> ‘may’	<i>kurang</i> ‘less’	<i>dapa</i> ‘get’	<i>ta-</i>	
<i>bolom</i> ‘not yet’		<i>mo</i> FUT	<i>usa</i> ‘need’	<i>paling</i> ‘very’	<i>kasi</i> CAUS	<i>baku-</i>	
		<i>maen</i> ITER	<i>mesti</i> ‘must’	<i>sama</i> ‘equal’	<i>bekin</i> CAUS		
		<i>jaga</i> HAB		<i>sadiki</i> ‘a little’	<i>ame</i> ‘take’		
				<i>talalu</i> ‘too’	<i>buang</i> ‘discard’		
				<i>pung</i> ‘very’	REDUPLICATION		

The following are examples of possible combinations of these elements in Kupang Malay. As with the earlier examples, there are no instances in the data of more than a few elements in any single example.

(499) *Beta bolom bəli oto baru.*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 ASP.NEG V
 ‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’ (10.20)

(500) *Dia ada mangae ikan.*
 3SG ASP hook fish
 ASP V
 ‘He is fishing.’ (10.22)

4.6.1.4 Order of elements in Larantuka Malay

The members of the verb complex and the ordering of elements differ a bit in Larantuka Malay, compared to the other Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia. There are more slots in the verb complex, and not all combinations within the complex are possible, due to semantic restrictions. The items which do occur have ordering restrictions, as depicted in the tables which follow. Some aspect markers, as well as negation, operate on the predicate level, while other aspect markers operate in the verb phrase, and this distinction is reflected in the organization of the tables below, which have been informed by Kumanireng’s careful analysis of Larantuka Malay (1993: 276-283).

Table 4.42 The verb complex in Larantuka Malay

VERB PHRASE						
			CORE VERB PHRASE			
Certain Aspect and Modal Markers, and Negation	Certain Aspect and Modal Markers	Degree Markers	Auxiliaries	Prefixes	Main Verb	Phrases marking Degree and Manner, and other Verb Phrases
			REDUPLICATION ITERATIVE			

Tables 4.43 and 4.44 below list some of the members of the categories in Table 4.42. The lists of members are illustrative, and not necessarily exhaustive. The following are examples of co-occurrence of the slots in Tables 4.43 and 4.44, from Kumanireng (1993). (503) is an example of a serial verb (see Section 4.6.4).

(501) *Dia mæsti so bisa pi tido.*
 3SG must ASP can go sleep
 MOD1 ASP1 MOD2 AUX2 V
 ‘He should already be able to go to bed.’ (Kumanireng 1993: 282, 5.042)

Table 4.43 Members of categories preceding the core verb phrase in Larantuka Malay

VERB PHRASE							
MODAL 1	ASPECT 1	NEG	ASPECT 2	ASPECT 3A	ASPECT 3B	MODAL 2	DEGREE
<i>məsti</i> 'must'	<i>so</i> PERF	<i>te</i> NEG	<i>pərna</i> 'ever'	<i>ada</i> REALIS	<i>səbage</i> CONT	<i>suka</i> 'want'	
	<i>məsi(N)</i> 'still'	<i>ne</i> NEG	<i>baru</i> 'just now'		<i>səməntara</i> CONT	<i>kəpingi</i> 'want'	
		<i>tərada</i> NEG	<i>səlalū</i> 'always'	<i>jadi</i> 'will become'		<i>mau</i> 'want'	
	<i>bəloN</i> 'not yet'		<i>biasa</i> 'usually'	<i>jaga</i> HAB		<i>bisa</i> 'can'	
				<i>mau</i> FUT		<i>bole</i> 'may'	
						<i>mulai</i> 'start'	
						<i>bərənti</i> 'stop'	

- (502) *ToraN so te suka dataN pərənde ləgi.*
 3PL ASP NEG want come study again
 ASP1 NEG MOD2 AUX V
 'They don't want to go to school anymore.' (Kumanireng 1993: 282, 5.045)
- (503) *Bə-buda so tərada maso kəlua sini ləgi.*
 REDUP-child ASP NEG.have enter go.out here again
 ASP1 NEG V V
 'The children don't go in and out of here anymore.'
 (Kumanireng 1993: 283, 5.046)
- (504) *Ani baru bale pəsia.*
 Ani just.now return travel
 ASP2 AUX2 V
 'Ani just came back from her travels' (Kumanireng 1993: 284, 5.051)

Table 4.44 Members of the core verb phrase in Larantuka Malay

CORE VERB PHRASE					
AUX 1	AUX 2	AUX 3	AUX 4	PREFIX	MAIN VERB
<i>pi</i> 'go'	<i>turoN</i> descend'	<i>dudo</i> 'sit'	<i>aNka</i> 'lift'	<i>bə(r)-</i>	
<i>bua</i> CAUS	<i>nae</i> 'ascend'	<i>tido</i> 'sleep'	<i>aNbe</i> 'take'	<i>tə(r)-</i>	
<i>bəri</i> CAUS	<i>bale</i> 'return'	etc.		REDUPLICATION	
<i>ba</i> CAUS	<i>dataN</i> 'come'				

Table 4.44 illustrates the items in the core verb phrase. The items must occur in this order, but there can be one or more auxiliaries before the main verb. There can even be more than one auxiliary from a single column, as in (507). The following are examples of co-occurrence of the slots in the core verb phrase, from Kumanireng (1993).

(505) *DoraN mulai dudo aNka siNpa bən-baraN tu.*
 3PL start sit lift store REDUP-thing DEM
 MOD2 AUX3 AUX4 V
 ‘They began sitting down and lifting and storing those goods.’
 (Kumanireng 1993: 279, 5.030)

(506) *Bicu bərənti dataN aNbe oraN puN səsara.*
 3SG.M stop come take person POSS trash
 MOD2 AUX2 V
 ‘He stops coming and taking people’s trash.’
 (Kumanireng 1993: 280, 5.031)

(507) *Bica tu bisa nae turoN aNka siNpa baraN-baraN.*
 3SG.F DEM can go.up go.down lift store REDUP-thing
 MOD2 AUX2 AUX2 AUX4 V
 ‘She can go up and down lifting and storing goods.’
 (Kumanireng 1993: 280, 5.034)

4.6.1.5 Order of elements in Papua Malay

There is not enough information available at present to define exactly what elements are included in the verb complex in Papua Malay, and their precise ordering, but we can draw some general conclusions about some of the elements and which slots they create. These are presented in Table 4.45. All slots excluding the verb base are optional, and, indeed, often a bare verb base occurs. The first class of aspect markers in Table 4.45 below operates on the predicate level (as does the negative), while the second class of aspect markers operates in the verb phrase. The third class of aspect markers, which includes a single item, *abis* COMPLETIVE, occurs after the verb.

Table 4.45 Elements in the Verb Phrase in Papua Malay

VERB PHRASE							
ASPECT 1	NEG	ASPECT 2	MODAL	AUX	PREFIX	MAIN VERB	ASPECT 3
<i>su</i> PERF	<i>t(a)ra</i> NEG	<i>ada</i> PROG/REAL	<i>musti</i> 'must'	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ba-</i>		<i>abis</i> COMP
<i>masi</i> 'still'	<i>t(a)rada</i> 'not have'		<i>bole</i> 'may'	<i>bikin</i> CAUS	<i>baku-</i>		
<i>b(a)lum</i> 'not yet'		<i>mo</i> FUT /IRREAL	<i>bisa</i> 'can'	<i>buat</i> CAUS			
				<i>kena</i> PASS			
				<i>dapa</i> PASS			
				<i>taw</i> HABIT			
				<i>jadi</i> INCH			
				REDUPLICATION			

The following are examples of possible combinations of these elements in Papua Malay. As with the earlier examples, there are no instances in the data of more than a few elements in any single example.

- (508) ...*sa=su=lupa dia waktu Blanda, da=bilan suda...*
 1SG=ASP=forget 3SG time Dutch 3SG=say ASP
 =ASP1=V
 '...I have forgotten, in the Dutch era, he said enough...' (12.56)

- (509) *Oran baru tida bisa datan.*
 people new NEG can come
 NEG MOD V
 'New people couldn't come.' (12.67)

4.6.2 Aspect markers

Aspect can be marked by aspect markers such as *su/so* PERF and *masi* 'still' which operate on the predicate level (the 'Aspect 1' category in the tables above), and by the marker *ada*, which can be a marker of PROG or REALIS (depending on the specific variety),

which operates on the phrase level ('Aspect 2'). In addition, the modal *mau/mo* can function as a modal meaning 'want' or as an aspect marker denoting future aspect.

The progressive or realis marker, *ada*, is distinguished from the verb *ada* 'have; exist; there is.' The aspect marker *ada* cannot be negated, while the verb *ada* may be negated.

The descriptions below give a picture of which aspect markers are used in each variety and the functions which they encode.

The range of aspect markers and range of functions possible is much more limited in CJI than in the eastern varieties. The progressive or realis marker in the eastern varieties, *ada*, for example, does not have this function in CJI, and does not occur at all as an aspect marker. Two key aspect markers which are shared by CJI and eastern varieties of Malay are *udah* PERF (*so/su* in eastern varieties, with the forms in all varieties derived from *sudah* 'already') and *mau/mo* 'want, FUT'.

As in the previous section, the slots which these aspect markers fill are shown in the glosses for each example.

4.6.2.1 Aspect markers in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay

Table 4.46: Aspect in Manado Malay

Aspect category	Affirmative	Negative
realis	<i>(a)da</i>	—
inchoative	<i>mo</i>	<i>nya mo</i>
realis-inchoative	<i>(a)da mo</i>	<i>nya mo</i>
perfective	<i>so</i>	<i>so nya</i>
prospective	<i>so mo</i>	<i>so nya mo</i>
habitual	<i>ja</i>	<i>nya ja</i>
perfective-habitual	<i>so ja</i>	<i>so nya ja</i>

Aspect can be marked in several ways in Manado Malay. Reduplication can mark progressive or durative aspect (see below). Another way aspect can be marked is by words which occur in the 'Aspect 1' slot, outside of the verb phrase, such as *masi* 'still', *pərna*

‘ever’, *sadang* or *səmentara*, which denote an on-going activity, or *suda* ‘already’. But the most common way to mark aspect is by way of one of the four aspect markers, or clitics, *so*, *mo*, *(a)da*, and *ja*, which are frequently, though not obligatorily, used, and which occur in the ‘Aspect 2’ slot, within the verb phrase. The four can combine with each other and be negated in specific ways, as shown in the table above, from Stoel (2005: 36). It should be noted that the interaction between negators and aspect markers is not as clearly defined as in Table 4.39.

The realis marker, *(a)da*, is distinguished from the verb *(a)da* ‘have; exist; there is’ in that the aspect marker *(a)da* cannot be negated (it is, after all, a realis marker denoting that an event actually is occurring or will occur), while the verb *(a)da* may be negated. Inchoative aspect, marked by *mo*, often expresses predictions, intentions or promises, and behaves much like a future marker. The perfective marker, *so*, indicates that an action or event is completed. The habitual marker, *ja*, which indicates that an action is performed regularly, is much less frequently used than the other three aspect markers. In the data collected for this study, *ja* did not occur. Examples of the use of aspect markers follow.

Aspect markers function similarly in North Moluccan Malay, with minor differences in the form of the specific aspect markers.

Manado Malay

(510) *Tina ada makang apa?*
 Tina ASP eat what
 ASP2 V
 ‘What is Tina eating?’ (2.56)

(511) *Kita so beli oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ASP1 V
 ‘I bought a new car.’ (1.10)

- (512) *Kita mo ba-pancing ikang.*
 1SG ASP BA-go.fishing fish
 ASP2 PREFIX-V
 ‘I will go fishing.’ (1.21)

North Moluccan Malay

- (513) *Orang itu ada kase bunga pa dia pe nona.*
 person DEM ASP give flower to 3SG POSS girlfriend
 ASP2 V
 ‘The person gives a flower to his girlfriend.’ (3.9)

- (514) *Ngana so tidor.*
 2SG ASP sleep
 ASP1 V
 ‘You slept.’ (3.29)

- (515) *Kita mo bali oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ASP2 V
 ‘I will buy a new car.’ (3.23)

4.6.2.2 Aspect in Ambon Malay, Banda Malay and Kupang Malay

Aspect can be marked by aspect markers such as *su* PERF and *masi* ‘still’ which operate on the predicate level (the ‘Aspect 1’ category in the tables above), and by the marker *ada*, which can be a marker of PROG or REALIS, which operates on the phrase level (‘Aspect 2’). In addition, the modal *mau* can function as a modal meaning ‘want’ or as an aspect marker denoting future aspect.

The progressive or realis marker, *ada*, is distinguished from the verb *ada* ‘have; exist; there is.’ The aspect marker *ada* cannot be negated, while the verb *ada* may be negated. Examples of the use of aspect markers follow.

Ambon Malay

- (516) *Dia pung mama bicara su terlambat.*
 3SG POSS mother speak ASP too.late
 V ASP2 PREFIX-V
 ‘His mother spoke too late.’ (6.10)

(517) *Nene Luhu itu ada mau punya tunangan...*
 Nene Luhu DEM ASP ASP have fiancé
 ASP2 ASP2 V
 ‘Nene Luhu was going to be engaged...’ (5.19-20)

(518) *Tapi masi antua hidop seperti manusia biasa itu di-panggil Kristina...*
 but still 3SG.FML live like human usual DEMPASS-call Kristina
 ASP1 V
 ‘However, while she lived as a human, she was usually called Kristina...’
 (5.6-7)

Banda Malay

(519) *Dia ada lego-lego.*
 3SG ASP REDUP-fishing
 ASP2 REDUP-V
 ‘He is fishing.’ (8.18)

(520) *Beta balong bali oto baru*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 ASP1.NEG V
 ‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’ (8.16)

(521) *Bagaimana dia mau pi cari dia pu tamang lai?*
 how 3SG ASP go search.for 3SG POSS friend DP
 ASP2 AUX V
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’ (8.47)

(522) *Su tar-ada, su mati habis*
 ASP NEG-have ASP dead finish
 ASP1 NEG-V ASP1 V ADV
 ‘They were gone, they were all dead.’ (8.8)

Kupang Malay

(523) *Dia masi mangae/pancing ikan.*
 3SG still hook/catch fish
 ASP1 PREFIX-V/V
 ‘He is still fishing.’ (10.25)

(524) *Bapa su barenti di sakola.*
 father ASP stop LOC school
 ASP1 V
 ‘Father stopped school.’ (11.6)

- (525) *Beta bolom bəli oto baru.*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 ASP1.NEG V
 ‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’ (10.20)
- (526) *Dia su parna mangae/pancing ikan.*
 3SG ASP ever hook/catch fish
 ASP1 ASP2 PREFIX-V/V
 ‘He has ever gone fishing.’ (10.24)
- (527) *Dia ada mangae/pancing ikan.*
 3SG ASP hook/catch fish
 ASP2 PREFIX-V/V
 ‘He is catching fish/He is fishing.’ (10.22)
- (528) *Beta pung kawan mau datang di pesta.*
 1SG POSS friend ASP come LOC party
 ASP2 V
 ‘My friend will come to the party.’ (10.42)

4.6.2.3 Aspect markers in Larantuka Malay

Aspect markers such as *so* PERF and *məsi* ‘still’ operate on the predicate level (the ‘Aspect 1’ category in Table 4.43 above), while *ada*, the REALIS marker, or the other aspect markers listed as ‘Aspect 2, 3a or 3b’ in Table 4.43 are in the verb phrase. The aspect marker *ada* cannot be negated, while the verb *ada* may be negated (but only by *tərada*).

Examples of the use of aspect markers of both types follow.

- (529) *Dia tio yaN kə-dua, kəkəra te so mekiN lenye.*
 3SG blow REL ORD-two monkey DP ASP even.more listless
 V REL ASP1 A
 ‘He blew for the second time, the monkey became even more listless.’
 (16.27)
- (530) *Hatu, kita mo pi lia əNko puN sapi brapa eko...*
 one 1SG ASP go see 2SG POSS cow how.many CL
 ASP2 AUX V
 ‘First, we’ll go and see how many cows you have...’ (17.33-34)

- (531) *Arti-nya cuma rencana jo. me bəloN bua apa-apa.*
 meaning-NYA only plan DP but not.yet make REDUP-what
 ASP1.NEG V
 ‘That means it’s just a plan, but we haven’t done anything yet.’ (17.43-44)
- (532) *Dia məsiN məngae ikaN.*
 3SG still hook fish
 ASP1 PREFIX-V
 ‘He is still fishing.’ (13.28)
- (533) *Ana tu ada tido.*
 child DEM ASP sleep
 ASP3A V
 ‘The child sleeps.’ (13.2)
- (534) *Dia pərna məngae ikaN*
 3SG ever hook fish
 ASP2 PREFIX-V
 ‘He has ever gone fishing.’ (13.27)

4.6.2.4 Aspect in Papua Malay

Aspect can be marked by aspect markers such as *su* PERFECTIVE and *masi* ‘still’ which operate on the predicate level (the ‘Aspect 1’ category in the tables above), and by the markers *ada*, which can be a marker of PROGRESSIVE or REALIS aspect, and *mo*, which marks FUTURE or IRREALIS aspect, which operate on the phrase level (‘Aspect 2’). In addition, the aspect marker *abis* can occur after the verb (with intervening material) and marks COMPLETIVE aspect. Examples of the use of aspect markers follow.

- (535) *...sa=su=lupa...*
 1SG=ASP=forget
 ASP1=V
 ‘I have forgotten.’ (12.56)
- (536) *... Amban=ni su buka.*
 Amban=DEM ASP open
 ASP1 V
 ‘...this area of Amban was developed.’ (12.69-70)

- (537) *Blanda kembali sa=masi di Kebar.*
 Dutch return 1SG=still LOC Kebar
 V =ASP1
 ‘When the Dutch returned, I was still in Kebar.’ (12.15-16)
- (538) *...jadi kiton mo fikir bagemana.*
 so 1PL ASP think how
 ASP2 V
 ‘...so we would wonder how things would be.’ (12.68-69)
- (539) *Sampe lama betul baru ton=blum=tau siapa ini...*
 until long true just 1PL=not.yet=know who DEM
 ASP2 PREFIX-V
 ‘For a long time I didn’t know who this was.’ (12.54-55)
- (540) *Sekarang angin besar ada tiup, jangan kitong pigi.*
 now wind big ASP blow don’t 1PL go
 ASP2 PREFIX-V
 ‘It’s really blowing up a storm right now, we shouldn’t go out.’
 (Donohue to appear: 35, 163)
- (541) *Ton=kerja di kota abis.*
 1PL=work LOC city ASP
 =V ASP3
 ‘In the end, I worked in the city.’ (12.18-19)
- (542) *Nanti dia tinggal turus dia=bunu oran abis.*
 later 3SG stay then 3SG=kill people finish
 V =V ASP3
 ‘Then he stayed and he killed all the people.’ (12.33-34)

4.6.2.5 Post-verbal *suda* in North Moluccan Malay, Ambon Malay and Kupang Malay

The verb can be followed by *suda* ‘already’ in clause-final position which functions as an emphatic marker. Although etymologically it is related to the aspect particle *su*, it functions quite differently in this form.

North Moluccan Malay

- (543) *Gunung itu so paling tinggi suda.*
 mountain DEM ASP most tall already
 ‘That mountain is the tallest.’ (3.125)

(544) *A ini suanggi ini... lebe bae kasi pulang suda!*
 INT DEM evil.spirit DEM more good give go.home already
 ‘Oh, I’d really better get rid of this evil spirit!’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 6)

Ambon Malay

(545) *Des, ini ruma katong pung ruma suda.*
 so DEM house 1PL POSS house EMPH
 ‘So, this house is ours, and that’s final.’ (van Minde 1997: 251, 5.182)

Kupang Malay

(546) *Bapa tugas di Bajawa, ya suda.*
 father duty LOC Bajawa yes already
 ‘Father had duty in Bajawa, that’s all.’ (11.10-11)

4.6.3 Complex verbs

Complex verbs, which are found in all seven of the varieties, consist of a main verb preceded by one of the auxiliary verbs in the ‘Aux’ column in Table 4.36 above, which can include, but are not limited to, *dapa* ‘can, get, find’, *kasi* ‘give’, *bikin* ‘make’, *buat* ‘make’, and *pi* ‘go’.⁹¹ Verbs combined with *dapa* have an added meaning of ability or undergoing an experience. *Kasi*, *bikin* and *buat* are causatives. *Pi* indicates location and direction. These forms, along with others in this category, are very productive, and represent a major innovation which has taken place in the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, as these constructions are not commonly found in other Malay varieties. More than one of these forms can occur in a single construction. These elements generally occur before the main verb. The descriptions below list the forms available in each variety, along with examples of their use.

Forms which occur as auxiliary verbs in the eastern Malay varieties such as the habitual marker *ja(ga)* and the causative markers *kasi*, *biking* and *buat*, do not occur as

⁹¹ These auxiliary verbs also exist as main verbs in their own right, when not combined with other verbs.

auxiliaries in CJI, or occur to a much more limited extent. CJI lacks the extensive range of complex verbs found in eastern varieties.

4.6.3.1 Complex verbs in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay

Complex verbs in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay are formed with *dapa* ‘can, get, find’, *kase* ‘give’ or *beking* ‘make’. Verbs combined with *dapa* have an added meaning of ability or undergoing an experience. *Kase* and *beking* are causatives. The precise forms of the auxiliaries differ slightly between Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay, although their function is the same.

Manado Malay

(547) (The volcano near our village has erupted.)

Dari pa torang dapa lia skali no.

from at 1PL AUX see very DP

‘From our place we could see it very well.’ (Stoel 2005: 34, 2.34)

(548) (I had completely forgotten that we have a test tomorrow.)

Untung le ngana da kase inga pa kita.

luck DP 2SG ASP AUX remember at 1SG

‘Fortunately, you made me remember again.’ (Stoel 2005: 35, 2.37)

(549) (Andre made us believe that he wasn’t her boyfriend.)

Dia so beking bodok pa torang.

3SG ASP AUX stupid at 1PL

‘He made a fool of us.’ (Stoel 2005: 34, 2.34)

North Moluccan Malay

(550) *Burung dapa lia pohon, dia dapa lia bunga.*

bird AUX see tree 3SG AUX see flower

‘The bird sees the tree. It sees a flower.’ (3.20)

(551) *Bole kase tunju saya kantor pos sabala mana?*

can give show 1SG office post side where

‘Can you show me where is the post office?’ (3.59)

(552) *Tərus si paitua ini tərus kasi tau bilang sama si laki itu:...*

then ADD old.man DEM directly AUX know say to ADD man DEM

‘Then the old man told that man straightaway:...’

(Voorhoeve 1983: 9, Text IV)

- (553) *Satu saat ada bikin rame.*
 one time ASP AUX merry
 ‘One time [they] were making merry.’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 10, Text IV)

4.6.3.2 Complex verbs in Ambon Malay

Complex verbs in Ambon Malay are formed with *dapa* ‘can, get, find’, *kasi/kase* ‘give’, *bikin(g)* ‘make’, *jaga* ‘watch’, or *suka* ‘like’. Verbs combined with *dapa* have an added meaning of ability or undergoing an experience. *Kasi/kase* and *bikin* are causatives, while *suka* and *jaga* are habitual markers.

- (554) *Lalu antua kasi pulang kembali itu anak.*
 then 3SG.FML give go.home return DEM child
 ‘Then she returned the children to their homes.’ (5.91-92)
- (555) *Antua punya perkerjaan itu cuma tiap hari suka menjai pake*
 3SG.FML POSS work DEM only every day like sew use
tangan.
 hand
 ‘Her work every day was simply to sew by hand.’ (5.45-46)
- (556) *Dolo orang ta-tua dong itu mau bikin bodo ana-ana itu...*
 before people TA-old 3PL DEM want make stupid REDUP-child DEM
 ‘In the old days, parents liked to fool their children...’ (6.1)

4.6.3.3 Complex verbs in Kupang Malay

Complex verbs in Kupang Malay are formed with several auxiliaries, which include, but are not limited to, *dapa* ‘can, get, find’, *kasi* ‘give’, *bekin* ‘make’, *pi* ‘go’, *ame* ‘take’ and *buang* ‘throw out’. Verbs combined with *dapa* have an added meaning of ability or undergoing an experience. *Kasi* and *bekin* are causatives. *Pi*, *ame*, and *buang* indicate location and direction. More than one of these forms can occur in a single construction, as in (560). These elements can occur before or after the main verb.

- (557) *Joni pi bəli apa di pasar?*
 Joni go buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Joni buy at the market?’ (10.59)

- (558) *Dia pung kelu mau tola buang sang dia*
 3SG POSS family ASP push throw.out to 3SG
 ‘His family was going to reject him’ (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 7)
- (559) *Dong ame bawa samua parampuan deng ana-ana dari itu kampong.*
 3PL take carry all woman with REDUP-child from DEM village
 ‘They carried off (took away) all the women and children from that village.’
 (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 6)
- (560) *Andia ko sampe di Kupang, dapa kasi barana Yeni dan Febi.*
 therefore so.that arrive LOC Kupang get give give.birth Yeni and Febi
 ‘After arriving in Kupang, we were given two more children, Yeni and Febi.’ (11.25-26)
- (561) *Dong bekin mati tikus pake batu.*
 3PL CAUS die mouse use stone
 ‘They killed the mouse with a stone.’ (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 4)

Other examples of these auxiliaries combining with verbs are given below, from Jacob and C. Grimes (2003) and Jacob and C. Grimes (2007). These lists are not exhaustive.

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| (562) | <i>pi duduk</i> | ‘go to sit’ | <i>pi semba</i> | ‘go worship’ |
| | <i>pi tidor</i> | ‘go sleep’ | <i>pi bawa</i> | ‘go take’ |
| | <i>pi tenga</i> | ‘go live’ | <i>pi badame</i> | ‘go make peace’ |
| | <i>pi pasiar</i> | ‘go for a stroll’ | <i>pi taro</i> | ‘go put’ |
| | <i>pi ame</i> | ‘go to fetch’ | <i>pi urus</i> | ‘go arrange’ |
| (563) | <i>tola buang</i> | ‘reject’ | <i>gali buang</i> | ‘dig up (to get rid of)’ |
| | <i>bakar buang</i> | ‘burn off’ | <i>sakop buang</i> | ‘scoop up & throw away’ |
| | <i>kabas buang</i> | ‘brush off’ | <i>lempar buang</i> | ‘(forcefully) throw away’ |
| | <i>tapis buang</i> | ‘winnow out’ | <i>hela buang</i> | ‘drag away, pull apart’ |
| | <i>jual buang</i> | ‘sell off, betray’ | <i>ra’u buang</i> | ‘scoop up & throw away’ |
| | <i>makan buang</i> | ‘consume wastefully’ | <i>po’a buang</i> | ‘pour out (to get rid of)’ |
| (564) | <i>kasi badiri</i> | ‘to cause to stand’ | <i>kasi lepas</i> | ‘to let go’ |
| | <i>kasi bangun</i> | ‘to build’ | <i>kasi luas</i> | ‘to make wider’ |
| | <i>kasi biar</i> | ‘to allow’ | <i>kasi mati</i> | ‘to kill’ |
| | <i>kasi idop</i> | ‘to give life’ | <i>kasi ondor</i> | ‘to force backwards’ |
| | <i>kasi ingat</i> | ‘to remind’ | <i>kasi pi</i> | ‘to cause to go’ |
| | <i>kasi isin</i> | ‘to permit’ | <i>kasi pinjam</i> | ‘to lend’ |
| | <i>kasi jato</i> | ‘to make fall’ | <i>kasi pisa</i> | ‘to split, divide’ |
| | <i>kasi kaluar</i> | ‘to make leave’ | <i>kasi sewa</i> | ‘to rent out’ |
| | <i>kasi kanal</i> | ‘to introduce’ | <i>kasi tau</i> | ‘to tell’ |
| | <i>kasi kubur</i> | ‘to bury’ | <i>kasi tunju</i> | ‘to give direction’ |

(565)	<i>ame kambali</i>	‘retrieve’	<i>ketu ame</i>	‘pick by breaking off’
	<i>ame bawa</i>	‘take away’	<i>koru ame</i>	‘pick by stripping off’
	<i>ame kasi</i>	‘take and give’	<i>dengar ame</i>	‘hear s.t. or s.o.’
	<i>tangkap ame</i>	‘catch, arrest’	<i>palo ame</i>	‘hug, embrace (s.o)’
	<i>rampas ame</i>	‘snatch, steal’	<i>pegang ame</i>	‘touch, hold (s.t. or s.o.)’
	<i>kodo ame</i>	‘swallow, ingest’	<i>pili ame</i>	‘choose’
	<i>tarima ame</i>	‘receive’	<i>kumpul ame</i>	‘gather (with a group)’
	<i>gali ame</i>	‘dig up (for use)’	<i>sakop ame</i>	‘scoop up (for a purpose)’
	<i>makan ame</i>	‘eat up (for strength)’	<i>bakar ame</i>	‘bake, roast (food)’
	<i>hela ame</i>	‘lead (to a goal)’	<i>po’a ame</i>	‘pour (for use)’

4.6.3.4 Complex verbs in Larantuka Malay

Complex verbs in Larantuka Malay can be formed with auxiliaries which can include, but are not limited to, *bua* CAUS, *bəri* CAUS, *pi* ‘go’, *nae* ‘go up, ascend’, aNbe ‘take’ and *turoN* ‘go down, descend’.

(566) *Kita puN bapa bua puto tali ma piso*
 1SG POSS father make cut rope with knife
 ‘My father cuts a rope with a knife.’ (13.6)

(567) *DoraN te jadi pi hari rabu.*
 3PL NEG happen go day Wednesday
 ‘They won’t leave on Wednesday.’ (13.38)

(568) *Joni pi bəli apa di pasa?*
 Joni go buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Joni buy at the market?’ (13.66)

(569) *Kita ni kua, kita ni bisa bua rubo poN-poN kaju.*
 1SG DEMstrong 1SG DEMcan make fall.down REDUP-tree wood
 ‘I am strong, I can make trees fall down.’ (16.4-5)

The following examples, from Kumanireng (1993), show the range of meanings that can be created when these auxiliaries combine with verbs. These lists are not exhaustive.

(570) *bua bae* ‘to repair (make good)’ *bua pata* ‘to break s.t. in half’
bua bəsa ‘to make larger’ *bua jato* ‘to make s.t./s.o. fall’
bua rusa ‘to break’ *bua mati* ‘to kill s.t./s.o.’
bua peNde ‘to shorten’ *bua ido* ‘to give life to s.t./s.o.’

<i>bua paNja</i>	‘to lengthen’	<i>bua abis</i>	‘to finish s.t. off’
<i>bua bərisi</i>	‘to make clean’	<i>bua rubo</i>	‘to cause s.t. to collapse’
<i>bua koto</i>	‘to make dirty’	<i>bua tərəbang</i>	‘to cause st. to fly’
<i>bua susa</i>	‘to make difficult’	<i>bua bərənti</i>	‘to make s.t. stop’

(571)	<i>bəri bango</i>	‘to cause to rise, wake’	<i>bəri kəlua</i>	‘to let s.o. out’
	<i>bəri maso</i>	‘to give entry’	<i>bəri lalu</i>	‘to give way, allow’
	<i>bəri tido</i>	‘to put to sleep’	<i>bəri turoN</i>	‘to lower s.t.’
	<i>bəri dudo</i>	‘to give a seat to s.o.’	<i>bəri ido</i>	‘to give life to s.o./s.t.’

4.6.3.5 Complex verbs in Papua Malay

Complex verbs in Papua Malay include constructions formed with the CAUSATIVE markers *kas(i)/kase=*, *bikin(g)* or *buat*, the PASSIVE markers *kena* or *dapa*, the HABITUAL marker *taw* or the INCHOATIVE marker *jadi*.

4.6.3.5.1 Causative in Papua Malay

CAUSATIVE constructions are formed with the markers *kas(i)/kase=* ‘give’ (a bound form), *bikin(g)* ‘make’, or *buat* ‘make, do’. The latter two occur independently, and are not bound. Donohue (to appear: 29) notes the following distribution for these causativizers: *kas(i)/kase=* can occur with any predicate, agentive or non-agentive and transitive or intransitive. *Bikin(g)* can only occur with intransitive bases, in particular non-agentive bases. An object can occur following the construction, or between the two elements. *Buat* gives a less direct sense of causation, and only occurs with the causee between the two elements.

(572)	<i>Tuhan</i>	<i>yan</i>	<i>perinta</i> ,	<i>jadi</i>	<i>kasi=pata</i> .
	God	REL	order	so	give=break
	‘God has ordered it, so break [your weapons] (cause them to be broken).’				
	(12.52)				

(573) *Blanda bilan kiton kas=tinggal kamu, tapi kamu hati-hati dunia*
Dutch say 1PL give=stay 2PL but 2PL REDUP-care world

masi goya
still unstable

‘The Dutch said “We are leaving you all, but you be careful, the world is still unstable.” (12.62-63)

(574) *De=bikin sa=menangis.*

3SG=make 1SG=cry

‘He made me cry.’ (Burung and Sawaki 2007: 3, 6)

(575) *Dong=buat de=pulang.*

3PL=make 3SG=go.home

‘They made him return home (eg. through the things they said, or because they had made him uncomfortable, etc.)’ (Donohue to appear: 30, 122)

4.6.3.5.2 Passive in Papua Malay

Passive constructions in Papua Malay are formed with the *PASSIVE* markers

kəna/kona ‘hit, (be) affect(ed by)’ or *dapa* ‘get, find, meet’, which is not used in the North

Papua region, but is common in Serui and other varieties around Cendrawasih Bay (and is

the primary form presented in Sawaki (2007)). In constructions with *kəna*, the agent is

usually not mentioned, and the theme/patient must be adversely affected by the event

(Donohue to appear: 30). This constraint relates to the meaning of the verb *kəna*, which is a

regular transitive verb conveying the meaning of ‘to adversely affect’. Active sentences

with *kəna* are more common than passive constructions. Passive constructions are rare in

the languages of New Guinea, although passive meanings through serialization occur in

languages of the Jayapura area (Donohue (to appear: 31). Examples of passive

constructions with *kəna* and *dapa* follow.

- (576) *Sa=pu=pace kena tabrak.*
 1SG=POSS=friend suffer collide
 ‘My friend was hit (by a car).’ (Donohue to appear: 31, 126)
- (577) *Anak itu de=dapa pukul dari de=pu=bapa.*
 child DEM 3SG=PASS hit from 3SG=POSS=father
 ‘The child was hit by his father.’ (Sawaki 2007: 2, 7)
- (578) *Sa dapa kase=tinggal.*
 1SG PASS CAUS=leave
 ‘I was left (by someone).’ (Sawaki 2007: 2, 14)

4.6.3.5.3 Other Complex verbs in Papua Malay

Examples of the HABITUAL marker *taw* ‘know’ and the INCHOATIVE marker *jadi* ‘become’ follow.

- (579) *Kitong taw makan sabeta sagu.*
 1PL HABIT eat grub sago
 ‘We habitually eat sago grubs.’ (Donohue to appear: 35, 155)
- (580) *Selese sekola de=jadi guru.*
 complete school 3SG=become teacher
 ‘When he finished school he became a teacher.’
 (Donohue to appear: 37, 147)

4.6.4 Serial Verb Constructions

Complex events may be expressed through two or more consecutive main verbs (as distinct from constructions which employ auxiliaries). These constructions vary in productivity in the different varieties, but serial verb constructions are found in all varieties. The sets of verbs which may be used varies from variety to variety, but often include verbs which indicate motion or direction.

The serial verb constructions draw from a larger, and possibly open, set of verbs than the complex verb constructions above, which employ a closed set of auxiliaries. The auxiliaries in the complex verb set are often reduced phonologically as well. In addition,

the serial verb constructions vary from variety to variety, and often reflect the influence of local vernacular languages.

Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian lacks the range of serial verb constructions and verb combinations found in the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, although serial verb constructions may be employed in certain circumstances.

4.6.4.1 Serial verbs in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay

Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay make less use of serial verbs than other eastern varieties of Malay. Serial verb constructions indicate motion, often employing the verb *pi* ‘go’ or have a causative meaning with the verb *suru* ‘send, order’. Other verbs can appear as well, as in (584).

Manado Malay

(581) *Paulus ada pi bəli buku?*
 Paul ASP go buy book
 ‘Is Paul buying a book?’ (1.57)

(582) (We received news from our village that the clove trees were bearing fruit.)
Jadi sebe suru pi lia dang.
 so father order go see DP
 ‘So my father told me to have a look.’ (Stoel 2005: 39, 2.48)

North Moluccan Malay

(583) *Bagaimana cara dia akan pi cari dia pe tamang?*
 how method 3SG FUT go search.for 3SG POSS friend
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’ (3.73)

(584) *Ali ada ba-jalang ba-baronda deng dia pe ade.*
 Ali ASP BA-walk BA-walk.around with 3SG POSS younger.sibling
 ‘Ali is walking around with his younger sibling (right now).’ (3.80)

4.6.4.2 Serial verbs in Ambon Malay and Banda Malay

Serial verb constructions in these varieties generally indicate motion or direction with the verb *pi(gi)* ‘go’ or the verb *bawa* ‘bring’. Other verbs can appear as well, as in (590).

Ambon Malay

(585) *Aa, angin bawa maso ka aer masing,*
INT wind bring enter to water salty
'The wind carried it into the salt water.' (5.39)

(586) *...dong pi belanja di toko...*
3PL go shop LOC store
'...They went shopping at the store...' (5.76)

(587) *Dia pi ambel dia pung mama pung rambu itu. Lalu dia pi bungkus*
3SG gotake 3SG POSS mother POSS hair DEM then 3SG go wrap.up
akang.
3SG.N
'He went and took up his mother's hair. Then he wrapped it up.' (6.11)

(588) *Kalo memang jaring pigi dapa ikang, ya?*
if truly net go find fish yes
'If we can truly go catch fish with nets, right?' (7.14)

Banda Malay

(589) *Dia ada pigi/pi mangael ikan.*
3SG ASP go fishing fish
'He is fishing.' (8.19)

(590) *Dong tara jadi berangkat hari Rabu.*
3PL NEG happen go day Wednesday
'They won't leave on Wednesday.' (8.26)

(591) *Bagaimana dia mau pi cari dia pu tamang lai?*
how 3SG ASP go search.for 3SG POSS friend DP
'How will he look for his friend?' (8.47)

(592) *Kalo memang jaring pigi dapa ikang, ya?*
if truly net go find fish yes
'If we can truly go catch fish with nets, right?' (7.14)

4.6.4.3 Serial verbs in Kupang Malay

Kupang Malay makes use of serial verb constructions to a greater extent than most other varieties of Malay. Many serial verb constructions in Kupang Malay are similar to constructions found in the local vernacular languages of the Kupang region (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007), and it is reasonable to assume that these constructions in Kupang Malay are

influenced by these languages, as serial verb constructions are not as productive in other varieties of Malay. Serial verb constructions in Kupang Malay often employ the verbs *bawa* ‘bring’ and *ame* ‘take’, though other verbs are also commonly used as well.

(593) *Ama Kale piko bawa karanjang pi di pasar.*
 father Kale carry bring basket go LOC market
 ‘Father Kale carries the basket to the market.’ (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 3)

(594) *Opa nae ame pohon patik kalapa dua boa.*
 grandfather climb take tree pick coconut two CL
 ‘Grandfather climbed up the coconut tree to pick two coconuts.’
 (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 3)

(595) *Pohon yang sonde kasi kaluar bua, tantu tukang kabon dong datang*
 tree REL NEG give go.out fruit certain worker garden 3PL come

potong ko lempar buang maso pi dalam api.
 cut so.that throw throw.out enter go in fire
 ‘(As for) trees which don’t produce fruit, surely the gardeners will come and cut off (their branches) to throw them into the fire.’
 (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 4)

(596) *Bemo len Tarus maen pulang bale angka panumpang.*
 minibus route Tarus play go.home return pick.up passenger
 ‘The minibus on the Tarus route regularly goes back and forth taking passengers home.’ (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 4)

4.6.4.4 Serial verbs in Larantuka Malay

Serial verb constructions are very productive in Larantuka Malay. Unlike most of the other varieties, serial verb constructions in Larantuka Malay are not generally formed from a set of verbs, but rather can employ many different verbs. In the examples below, different pairs of verbs are used in each construction.

- (597) *Jadi kalo dia bango bə-diri tu, toraN samua data dunia ni*
 So if 3SG rise BƏ-stand DEM 1PL all above earth DEM
bə-goyaN.
 BƏ-shake
 ‘When he would stand up, all of us on the surface of the earth would shake.’
 (14.2-3)
- (598) *ToraN ni də-sini a mənangi mərata bae po ana-ana te.*
 1PL DEM LOC-here INT cry lament well also REDUP-child DP
 ‘We here were crying and lamenting along with the children.’ (14.9-10)
- (599) *Ae-ae masiN lao paNte, kita bisa aNtaN baNti kiri kana.*
 REDUP-water salt sea shore 1SG can strike throw.down left right
 ‘I can throw around the seawater on the seashore from left to right.’ (16.6-7)

4.6.4.5 Serial verbs in Papua Malay

Complex events may be expressed through two or more consecutive verbs in Papua Malay. The first verb is from a limited set, such as *pi/pigi/pergi* ‘go’, *ba(wa)* ‘bring’, *datan(g)* ‘come’, or *ambe* ‘take’. For example, *ambe ba(wa)=pergi* ‘get carry go’ to mean ‘take’ and *ambe ba=datang* ‘get carry come’ to mean ‘bring’ (Donohue to appear 28). These serial verb constructions are particularly common when motion is involved, and direction or means can be added to the serial verb construction. Some examples of possible serial verb constructions are in (600), with examples of their usage following.

- (600) *ba(wa) datang* carry + come = ‘bring’
ba(wa) pigi carry + go = ‘take’
ba(wa) pulang carry + return = ‘bring back’
ambe(l) curi take + steal = ‘steal’ (Donohue to appear 28, 111)
- (601) *De=ambe bai ba=pergi pulang di ruma.*
 3SG=take bucket carry=go return LOC house
 ‘He took the bucket back home.’ (Donohue to appear 28, 109)

- (602) *Sa=pu=toman dong=su=ambe buku ba=pi ruma.*
 1SG=POSS=friend 3PL=PERF=take book carry=go house
 ‘My friends have taken the books to their houses.’
 (Donohue to appear 29, 112)
- (603) *Jadi sa=punya nenek pigi dong=terima yengan bai. Tru*
 and.so 1SG=POSS grandmother go 3PL=receive with good and.then

dong=kasi barang-barang de=bawa pulang.
 3PL=give REDUP-thing 3SG=carry return
 ‘So my grandmother went (there), and they welcomed her heartily. They
 gave her presents which she took back home.’ (Donohue to appear 29, 113)

4.6.5 Verbal morphology

Verbal morphology consists of affixation and reduplication. There are three productive derivational verbal prefixes, *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*, which are generally found in all seven varieties, although Papua Malay does not appear to use the prefix *ba-* productively, and in Larantuka Malay *ba-* and *baku-* have merged as *ba-*. The function of *ba-* varies in the varieties which employ it, but in general, *ba-* added to a nominal base means ‘to have *x*’, ‘to use *x*’ or ‘to produce *x*’. With adjective bases, *ba-* creates verbs meaning ‘having the quality of *x*’ or ‘to become *x*’. With verbal bases, there is more variation, but in most, if not all, varieties *ba-* can form ongoing or stative verbs. In most varieties (Manado Malay, North Moluccan Malay, Ambon Malay, Banda Malay and Kupang Malay), *ba-* can create verbs with a reflexive meaning. In Larantuka Malay and Kupang Malay, *ba-* can give verbs with plural agents a reciprocal meaning.

The prefix *ta-* has the same function in all seven varieties. It denotes that an action is unintentional or accidental, or that something happens unexpectedly or unintentionally.

The prefix *baku-* is found in all varieties except Larantuka Malay, and forms reciprocal verbs. This prefix was borrowed from the Ternate language (where it appears as

maku-). It was probably borrowed before the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia became separate varieties, and it is therefore evidence of the hypothetical parent variety of these languages, Eastern Indonesia Trade Malay. The fact that Larantuka Malay does not have this prefix is further evidence of its separate origin in a variety transplanted from Peninsular Malay.

In all varieties, verbal reduplication is a common and productive process. The most usual purpose of reduplication of the base is iteration, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. The base may be a verb or a preposition. Verbal reduplication typically takes the form of full reduplication, though it may, in some varieties, involve the reduplication of prefixes. In Larantuka Malay, there are other types of verbal reduplication, involving partial reduplication and alterations of the stem, which are not found in the other six varieties.

The specific forms of affixation and verbal reduplication available in each variety and the functions of these forms are described below, along with examples.

4.6.5.1 Verbal morphology in Manado Malay

Manado Malay has three productive verbal prefixes: *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*.⁹² More than one prefix can occur on a word, and prefixes may be reduplicated. As the meanings for the prefixes are at times quite subtle, it is difficult to predict the occurrence of prefixes,

⁹² Words which are borrowed from other varieties of Malay which contain nominal or verbal affixes such as *ma-* (<*məN-*), *an-*, *-kan*, *ke-* *-an*, etc. are monomorphemic in Manado Malay (and the other eastern Indonesian contact varieties of Malay as well), and the affixes, although they may appear in a word, are not productive. When a borrowed affix appears to be used productively, it is more appropriately considered as code-switching. In the glosses for the data collected for this study, such non-productive affixes are treated as part of the word, and not as part of the linguistic system of the variety.

and the same sentence elicited from two speakers may result in one using a prefix and one without, without a significant difference in meaning.

The prefix *ba-* has a number of separate uses, with sub-sets within each category reflecting subtle distinctions. Stoel (2005:18-22) gives a thoughtful and detailed analysis of the distinctive functions of the prefix *ba-*. The prefix *ba-* forms verbs. Some general categories are:

- If the base is a noun, the meaning of *ba-* is roughly ‘to have x’ or ‘to use x’. The list below is from Stoel (2005), followed by an example from the data collected for this study.

(604)	<i>bifi</i>	‘ant’	<i>ba-bifi</i>	‘to be full of ants’
	<i>tamang</i>	‘friend’	<i>ba-tamang</i>	‘to be friends’
	<i>puru</i>	‘belly’	<i>ba-puru</i>	‘to have a paunch’
	<i>sosapu</i>	‘broom’	<i>ba-sosapu</i>	‘to sweep’
	<i>angin</i>	‘wind’	<i>ba-angin</i>	‘to be windy’ (Stoel 2005: 18-19)

(605) *Dia nyanda ba-telpon pa de pe mama tadi malam.*
 3SG NEG BA-telephone to 3SG POSS mother last night
 ‘S/he didn’t call his/her mother last night.’ (1.26)

- If the base is an adjective, the meaning of *ba-*, according to Stoel (2005: 21) is ‘to achieve the action or state to which the base refers.’ The first examples below are from Stoel, followed by examples from the data collected for this study.

(606)	<i>capat</i>	‘quick’	<i>ba-capat</i>	‘to hurry’
	<i>dingin</i>	‘cold’	<i>ba-dingin</i>	‘to go out in the cold’
	<i>gode</i>	‘fat’	<i>ba-gode</i>	‘to get fat’
	<i>basa</i>	‘wet’	<i>ba-basa</i>	‘to get wet’ (Stoel 2005: 20-21)

- If the base is a verb, *ba-* refers to an ongoing activity, and forms stative verbs.

The examples below once again are from Stoel.

(607)	<i>jalang</i>	‘walk’	<i>ba-jalang</i>	‘to be walking’
	<i>dusta</i>	‘lie; fib’	<i>ba-dusta</i>	‘to be lying’
	<i>momasa</i>	‘cook’	<i>ba-momasa</i>	‘to be cooking’ (Stoel 2005: 21)

- (608) *Kita samentara ba-bəli oto baru.*
 1SG CONT BA-buy car new
 ‘I am (in the process of) buying a new car.’ (1.13)
- (609) *Paulus sementara ba-jalang deng de pe ade.*
 Paul CONT BA-walk with 3SG POSS younger.sibling
 ‘Paul is walking with his younger sibling (right now).’ (1.92)
- (610) *Kita pe papa ba-potong tali deng piso.*
 1SG POSS father BA-cut rope with knife
 ‘My father cuts a rope with a knife.’ (2.5)

- Prentice (1994: 429) also lists *ba-* as having a reflexive meaning with transitive verbs. Stoel (2005: 21), however, says “there are very few words in which *ba-* has a reflexive meaning, and these words do not necessarily have a reflexive meaning.” Nevertheless, the following did occur in the data elicited for this study:

- (611) *Kita ba-cukur (sandiri).*
 1SG BA-shave (self)
 ‘I shaved myself.’ (2.129)
- (612) *Kita ada ba-cuci.*
 1SG ASP BA-wash
 ‘I washed myself.’ (1.140)

The prefix *ta-* also forms verbs, and usually means what Stoel (2005: 22) terms ‘an unexpected or involuntary action.’

- (613) *Oto itu ada ta-tabrak.*
 car DEM ASP TA-crash
 ‘The car was hit (by another car).’ (1.146)

The prefix *baku-* forms reciprocal verbs. This morpheme is somewhat unusual, in that it was borrowed into North Moluccan Malay from the Ternate (West Papuan) language, and has since spread to all of the contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, and has even begun to appear in Malay varieties in western Indonesia, most notably colloquial Jakarta Indonesian.

- (614) *Dorang baku-hantam.*
 3PL RECIP-hit
 ‘They hit each other.’ (1.142)
- (615) *Dorang baku-sayang.*
 3PL RECIP-love
 ‘They love each other.’ (1.143)

Verbal reduplication in Manado Malay involves both the reduplication of bases and the reduplication of prefixes. The most common purpose of reduplication of the base is iteration, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. The base may be a verb, an adjective or a preposition. Examples (from Stoel 2005: 25) can be found in (616). An example from the elicited texts is presented in (617).

- (616) *saki* ‘ill’ *saki-saki* ‘sickly’
tunggu ‘wait’ *tunggu-tunggu* ‘wait for some time’
lia ‘look’ *lia-lia* ‘look around’
tidor sadap ‘sleep well’ *tidor sadap-sadap* ‘sleep very well’
 (Stoel 2005: 25)

- (617) *Paulus pigi ka kota sama-sama deng Tina kalamaring.*
 Paul go to town REDUP-along with Tina yesterday
 ‘Paul went to town along with Tina yesterday.’ (2.82)

Prefixes may also be reduplicated to indicate repetition as well as durative aspect.

- (618) (At that time the economic crisis set in.)
Nyak jadi dang ngoni pe bisnis ba-ba-jual kaeng
 not successful DP 2.PL POSS business REDUP-BA-sell cloth

di Talaut?
 in Talaud
 ‘So you weren’t successful selling cloth in Talaud?’ (Stoel 2005: 27, 2.21)

- (619) (She felt sorry for her mother.)
Nyandak da orang baku-baku-tulung to di ruma.
 not have person REDUP-RECIP-help DP in house
 ‘There is nobody at home to help her.’ (Stoel 2005: 27, 2.23)

4.6.5.2 Verbal morphology in North Moluccan Malay

North Moluccan Malay has three productive verbal prefixes: *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*.⁹³ In addition to productive use of these prefixes, there are a number of words in which the *ba-* prefix is frozen as part of a loanword from a variety of Malay in which it was productive. Examples include the following:

- (620) *balayar* 'sail; to sail' (Voorhoeve 1983:4)
balabu 'to ride at anchor' (Taylor 1983: 18)
barenti 'stop' (Taylor 1983: 18)
bakalae 'to fight' (Taylor 1983: 18)

The prefix *ba-* has three uses in North Moluccan Malay:

- If the base is a noun, the meaning of *ba-* is roughly 'to have x' or 'to use x'.

- (621) *pece* 'mud' *ba-pece* 'to be muddy'
aer 'water' *ba-air* 'to be watery' (Taylor 1983:19)

- If the base is a verb, *ba-* refers to an ongoing activity, and forms stative verbs.

- (622) *Kita pe papa ada ba-tanam pohon di taman/kintal.*
1SG POSS father ASP BA-plant tree LOC garden
'My father plants trees in the garden.' (3.1)

- (623) *Guru tu ada ba-baca buku.*
teacher DEM ASP BA-read book
'The teacher reads a book.' (3.8)

- (624) *Tadi malam dia tara ba-uni teve.*
last night 3SG NEG BA-watch TV
'S/he didn't watch TV last night.' (3.38)

- (625) *Dia ada ba-diri di situ.*
3SG asp BA-stand LOC there
'He is standing there.' (3.102)

- The prefix *ba-* can make the action of a verb reflexive, directing the action at the actor himself. According to Taylor (1983: 18), this usage derives from a similar

⁹³ Voorhoeve (1983: 4) believes that *ba-* and *ta-* are not productive in North Moluccan Malay, while Taylor (1983: 18) believes *ba-* and *ta-* are productive.

prefix in the non-Austronesian languages of the region, which takes the form of *maa-* in Tobelo. The following are examples of this usage from the data collected for this study:

(626) *Kita ba-cukur sandiri.*
 1SG BA-shave self
 ‘I shaved myself.’ (3.112)

(627) *Kita ba-cuci sandiri.*
 1SG BA-wash self
 ‘I washed myself.’ (3.113)

Taylor gives the following examples of the reflexive usage of *ba-*:

(628)	<i>simpan</i>	‘hide’	<i>ba-simpan</i>	‘hide oneself’
	<i>putar</i>	‘turn’	<i>ba-putar</i>	‘turn oneself’
	<i>ambe</i>	‘take’	<i>ba-ambe</i>	‘take for oneself’
	<i>bili</i>	‘buy’	<i>ba-bili</i>	‘buy for oneself’ (Taylor 1983: 18)

Furthermore, Taylor provides examples of forms which, although they have no inherent reflexive meaning, require a reflexive prefix in the non-Austronesian languages of Halmahera, with the result that speakers of North Moluccan Malay in Halmahera apply the reflexive prefix where it would not be expected. It is probable that these forms are not used by all speakers of North Moluccan Malay. They did not appear in the data from Ternate.

(629) *ba-lia* ‘see’
ba-haga ‘stare’ (Taylor 1983: 18)

The prefix *ta-* also forms verbs, and creates the meaning that the action happens accidentally or by an unexpected or involuntary action.

(630) *ta-tikam* ‘stabbed’
ta-robek ‘torn’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 4)

As with the prefix *ba-*, there are occurrences of the prefix *ta-* which are not the result of a productive process, but rather a frozen form borrowed into the language:

(631) *Dia tatawa.*
3SG laugh
'S/he laughs.' (3.99)

(632) *Gunung itu tara talalu tinggi.*
mountain DEM NEG too tall
'That mountain is taller than this mountain.' (3.123)

The prefix *baku-* forms reciprocal verbs. This morpheme was borrowed into North Moluccan Malay from the non-Austronesian (West Papuan) languages of the region, and has close cognates in most of these languages.⁹⁴ It has since spread to all of the contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia (except Larantuka Malay), and has even begun to appear in Malay varieties in western Indonesia, most notably colloquial Jakarta Indonesian. As with the non-Austronesian languages of the region, it is used with two meanings. The first is to 'do something to each other,' as in the examples below.

(633) *Dorang baku-hantam.*
3PL RECIPIENT-hit
'They hit each other.' (3.115)

(634) *Dorang baku-sayang.*
3PL RECIPIENT-love
'They love each other. (as in brother-sister, husband-wife, but not boyfriend-girlfriend)' (3.116)

(635) *Dorang baku-bawa bae.*
3PL RECIPIENT-bring good
'They care for each other. (as in boyfriend-girlfriend)' (3.117)

The second meaning is to perform the action of a verb separately to objects of the same kind (Taylor 1983: 19). This usage did not occur in the data collected for this study.

(636) *pili* 'choose' *baku-pili* 'choose from among similar objects'
cari 'look for' *baku-cari* 'look for among similar things'
(Taylor 1983: 19)

⁹⁴ Ternate *maku-*, Tidore *maku-*, Galela *makV-*, Tobelo *makV-*, Sahu *ma'u*.

- (637) *Dia baku-pili bras.*
 3SG RECIP-choose rice
 ‘She chooses (separates good from bad) rice.’ (Taylor 1983: 19)
- (638) *Kita baku-cari itu kartas.*
 1sg RECIP-look.for DEM paper
 ‘I looked for that paper (e.g., among many other papers and similar objects.’
 (Taylor 1983: 19)

Verbal reduplication in North Moluccan Malay commonly occurs. The most usual purpose of reduplication of the base is iteration, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. The base may be a verb, an adjective or a preposition.

- (639) *Kita inga-inga ngana dulu pərna kerja di pabrik.*
 1SG REDUP-remember 2SG before ever work LOC factory
 ‘I recall that you once worked at the factory.’ (3.57)
- (640) *Brarti ini baru kasi baru-baru sebelum dia pigi.*
 mean DEM just give REDUP-new before 3SG go
 ‘That means he just gave you this just before he left.’ (4.27)
- (641) *Itu sama-sama deng waktu [unclear] cincin.*
 DEM REDUP-with with time [unclear] ring
 ‘It’s the same as the ring’s [unclear].’ (4.24)

There is also a type of reduplication which is not generally found in other Malay varieties, and that is the reduplication of a transitive verb to indicate the object used to perform an action. This use is also found in the non-Austronesian languages of the region, and appears to be a loan from those languages (Taylor 1983: 19).

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| (642) <i>falo</i> | ‘to bail’ |
| <i>falo-falo</i> | ‘bailer’ |
| <i>timba aer</i> | ‘to draw water’ |
| <i>timba-timba aer</i> | ‘water bucket’ |
| <i>loku rumpu</i> | ‘to carry trash/weeds’ |
| <i>loku-loku rumpu</i> | ‘device used to carry out trash’ |
| <i>kore</i> | ‘to gouge’ |
| <i>kore-kore</i> | ‘device used to gouge, coconut-gouger’ |
| <i>lingkar nilon</i> | ‘to coil nylon fishing line’ |
| <i>lingkar-lingkar nilon</i> | ‘reel for fishing line’ (Taylor 1983: 19) |

4.6.5.3 Verbal morphology in Ambon Malay

Ambon Malay has three productive verbal prefixes: *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*. In addition to productive use of these prefixes, there are a number of words in which the *ba-* prefix is frozen as part of a loanword from a variety of Malay in which it was productive. Examples include the following:

- (643) *barangkat* ‘to leave, depart’ (van Minde 1997: 95)
bakalai ‘to fight’ (van Minde 1997: 95)
barenti ‘stop’ (van Minde 1997: 95)
bataria ‘to yell, shout’ (7.9)

The evidence that these forms are unproductive consists of two things: 1) they do not fit into the productive categories of *ba-* in Ambon Malay, and 2) some of the words in this category retain the /r/ phoneme, which was present in the borrowed form (as part of the prefix *bər-*) which would not be present if a prefix *ba-* had been attached to an Ambon Malay root. Examples from (643) are *bataria* (from **bər-təriaʔ*) and *barangkat* (from **bər-angkat*).

The prefix *ba-* has four uses in Ambon Malay:

- If the base is a noun, the meaning of *ba-* is roughly ‘to have x’ or ‘to use x’.

- (644) *daong* ‘leaf’ *ba-daong* ‘to have leaves’ (7.2)
tangke ‘stem’ *ba-tangke* ‘to be watery’ (7.7)

- If the base is a transitive verb, *ba-* creates an intransitive verb with a reflexive meaning (van Minde 1997: 96).

- (645) *baso* ‘to wash’ *ba-baso* ‘to wash oneself’
cukor ‘to shave’ *ba-cukor* ‘to shave oneself’
goso ‘to rub’ *ba-goso* ‘to rub oneself’
jumur ‘to dry in the sun’ *ba-jumur* ‘to take a sunbath’ (van Minde 1997: 97)

- Also with transitive verbs, *ba-* creates an intransitive verb with iterative, durative or habitual meaning (van Minde 1997: 96):

(646) *ambur* ‘to scatter’ *ba-ambur* ‘to make a mess’
jual ‘to sell’ *ba-jual* ‘to sell (for a living)’
luda ‘to spit’ *ba-luda* ‘to spit (all the time)’
mara ‘to be angry’ *ba-mara* ‘to be angry (all the time)’
(van Minde 1997: 97)

- With transitive verbs, *ba-* can denote a more or less permanent quality of the subject, a deliberate act of the agent or the durative or habitual nature of the action (van Minde 1997: 98):

(647) *batu* ‘to cough’ *ba-batu* ‘to cough repeatedly’
gatal ‘to itch’ *ba-gatal* ‘to itch (all the time)’
ribot ‘noisy’ *ba-ribot* ‘to make noise (all the time)’
sombong ‘conceited’ *ba-sombong* ‘to act conceited’ (van Minde 1997: 98)

The prefix *ta-* also forms verbs, and creates the meaning that the action happens accidentally or by an unexpected or involuntary action.

(648) ...*katong pung ruma-ru**ma ta-bakar samua*.
1PL POSS REDUP-house TA-burn all
‘...our houses were all burned up.’ (7.3)

(649) *De ta-badiri deng skrek*.
3SG TA-stand with fright
‘He stood still with fright’ (van Minde 1997: 99)

As with the prefix *ba-*, there are occurrences of the prefix *ta-* which are not the result of a productive process, but rather a frozen form borrowed into the language:

(650) *tua* ‘old’ *tatua* ‘old (in *orang tatua* ‘parents’)’ (6.1)
**tawa* *tatawa* ‘to laugh’ (van Minde 1997: 99)
lalu ‘next’ *talalu* ‘too’ (van Minde 1997: 188)
paksa ‘force’ *tarpaksa* ‘forcibly’ (van Minde 1997: 188)

The prefix *baku-* forms reciprocal verbs, and occurs in two intransitive structures: Subject *baku-V* and Agent *baku-V deng Goal* (van Minde 1997: 101).

- (651) *Orang samua baku-hura.*
 person all RECIPIENT-cheer
 ‘Everyone cheered.’ (van Minde 1997: 101)
- (652) *Dolo dong baku-musu, skarang dong su baku-bae.*
 earlier 3PL RECIPIENT-hostile now 3PL ASP RECIPIENT-good
 ‘They used to be enemies, now they are on good terms with each other’ (van Minde 1997: 101)
- (653) *Kalo ose mau makang rusa, baku-pukol deng beta.*
 if 2SG want eat deer RECIPIENT-hit with 1SG
 ‘If you want to eat deer, you’ll have to fight with me’ (van Minde 1997: 103)

Verbal reduplication is a very productive and common process in Ambon Malay.

The most usual purpose of reduplication of the base is iteration, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. It can also indicate plurality of an action or event, or that an action, event or state is intensified. The base may be a verb, a modifier or a preposition. In negative sentences, it is the negative aspect which is intensified or made more emphatic, as in (655).

- (654) *cari* ‘search (for)’ *cari-cari* ‘search everywhere (for)’

Aa, waktu cari-cari, Nene itu datang dan “Ada kenapa cucu?”
 INT time REDUP-search Nene DEM come and have why grandchild
 ‘At the time she was searching everywhere, Nene came to her and said
 “What is wrong, grandchild?”’ (5.64-65)

- (655) *seng batul* ‘not right’ *seng batul-batul* ‘not right at all’

Ruma ini akang seng batul-batul.
 house DEM 3SG.N NEG REDUP-right
 ‘This house isn’t right at all.’ (7.2)

- (656) *lapar* ‘hungry’ *lapar-lapar* ‘very hungry’

...jalan sampe lapar-lapar...
 walk until REDUP-hungry
 ‘...we walked until (we were) very hungry...’ (7.7)

(657) *bale* ‘return’ *bale-bale* ‘(all of us) return’
Tuhan antar katong bale-bale pulang ka katong pung
 God accompany 1PL REDUP-return go.home to 1PL POSS
kampong lagi.
 village again
 ‘God accompanied us to return home to our village again.’ (7.10-11)

(658) *sadiki* ‘a little’ *sadiki-sadiki* ‘a very little’
Ana-ana bisa dapa uang sadiki-sadiki karena sakarang ni
 REDUP-child can get money REDUP-little because now DEM
cengke-cengke su abis.
 REDUP-clove ASP finish
 ‘The children can have a (very) little money because now the clove trees are all destroyed.’ (7.14-15)

4.6.5.4 Verbal morphology in Banda Malay

Banda Malay has three productive verbal prefixes: *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*. In addition to productive use of these prefixes, there are a number of words in which the *ba-* prefix is frozen as part of a loanword from a variety of Malay in which it was productive. Examples include the following:

(659) *badiri* ‘to stand’ (8.56)
bakalae ‘to fight’ (8.62)
barangkat ‘to leave’ (8.26)
balajar ‘to study’ (8.28)

An apparently productive use of the prefix *ba-* only occurred once in the data. It is likely that it has several productive uses, as in other Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, but the data do not give any evidence of this. One common use in closely related varieties, a reflexive use (‘to shave oneself’) was rejected by the informants for this study. The only data which appears to use *ba-* in a productive way, with a durative meaning, is in (660). Analysis of other possible uses of *ba-* awaits further data.

- (660) *Fino macang dia ada ba-jalang deng dia pung ade ka?*
 Vino like 3SG ASP BA-walk with 3SG POSS younger.siblingQ
 ‘Vino, it seems he is walking around with his younger sibling, isn’t he?’
 (8.51)

The prefix *ta-* appeared twice in the data, and creates the meaning that an action happens accidentally or by an unexpected or involuntary action.

- (661) *Motor itu ta-tumbu oto ini.*
 motorcycleDEM TA-crash car DEM
 ‘That motorcycle crashed into this car.’ (8.23)
- (662) *Orang pulo Hatta saja yang ada ta-tinggal itu.*
 people island Hatta only REL have TA-leave DEM
 ‘Only the people on Hatta Island were left.’ (8.5-6)

The prefix *baku-* forms reciprocal verbs.

- (663) *Dorang baku-sayang satu deng lain.*
 3PL RECIP-love one with other
 ‘They love each other one with another.’ (8.63)
- (664) *Dorang baku-bawa bae.*
 3PL RECIP-bring good
 ‘They care for each other (as in boyfriend-girlfriend).’ (8.64)

Verbal reduplication did not occur in the data, probably due to the nature of the elicited data, although it is assumed that the process is productive in Banda Malay. The one reduplicated verb which did occur, *lego-lego* ‘to go fishing’, appears to be a frozen form, and not the result of a productive process of reduplication. It is a word not found in other Malay varieties, and may have been borrowed from a vernacular language.

4.6.5.5 Verbal morphology in Kupang Malay

Kupang Malay has three productive verbal prefixes: *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*. In addition to productive use of these prefixes, there are a number of words in which the *ba-* prefix is frozen as part of a loanword from a variety of Malay in which it was productive. Examples include the following:

- (665) *badiri* 'to stand'
barana 'to give birth'
barenti 'to stop'
bakalai 'to fight' (Jacob and C. Grimes 2003)

The prefix *ba-* has several uses in Kupang Malay:⁹⁵

- If the base is a noun, the meaning of *ba-* is roughly 'to have x' 'to produce x' or 'to use x'.

- (666) *Kotong pung jagong su besar ma bolom ba-bunga, tunggu sa*
 1PL POSS corn ASP big but not.yet BA-flower wait only

ko dia ba-pulek.
 so.that 3SG BA-cob

'Our corn is already well-grown, but is not blossoming yet, just wait until it has cobs.' (Steinhauer 1983: 46)

- (667) *Baru sakarang beta ba-surat kasi susi Mia dong.*
 just now 1SG BA-letter give older.sister Mia and-her-people
 'Only now I write a letter to you (Mia and family).' (Steinhauer 1983: 46)

- If the base is an adjective, *ba-* has a function not unlike its function with nouns: 'to have x-ness' or 'to become x'. Indeed, this may be further (slight) evidence that adjectives form a lexical category separate from verbs.

- (668) *Dia pung rambu ba-puti.*
 3SG POSS hair BA-white
 'His hair has turned white.' (Steinhauer 1983: 47)

- (669) *Botong ada ba-saki.*
 1PL ASP BA-sick
 'We are sick (with the disease going around).' (Steinhauer 1983: 47)

- With certain adjectives with the right sort of semantics, *ba-* indicates a reciprocal relationship, such as *deka* 'near' *ba-deka* 'near to each other' or *jao* 'far' *ba-jao* 'far from each other'.

⁹⁵ This analysis owes much to Steinhauer (1983: 46-49).

(670) *Dong tenga ba-deka deng sakola.*
 3PL live BA-near with school
 ‘They live close to the school.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 48)

- The prefix *ba-* with verb bases has a number of idiosyncratic meanings (which, since they differ from other Malay varieties, are probably not frozen forms). In addition, *ba-* attached to a verb base can mean ‘to have observable effects (of a process)’ (675), can make the action of a verb reciprocal (if the situation and context permit such an interpretation) (676), or can have the meaning ‘an activity seen as an undivided whole’ (as opposed to a series of activities) (677).

(671) *robek* ‘to rip, tear’ *ba-robek* ‘to have rips or tears’
pica ‘to crack, smash’ *ba-pica* ‘to have cracks, broken off pieces’
 (Steinhauer 1983: 48)

(672) *Be lia dong ba-lia di pesta.*
 1SG see 3PL BA-see LOC party
 ‘I saw them exchanging glances at the party.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 48)

(673) *M, ba-nis-ba-nis begitu te itu su son lama lai.*
 INT REDUP-BA-sneeze like.that then DEM ASP NEG long.time again
 ‘Hmm, sneezing like that all the time, it won’t take much longer (to catch a cold).’ (Steinhauer 1983: 49)

The prefix *ta-* also forms verbs, and creates the meaning that the action happens accidentally or by an unexpected or involuntary action.

(674) *Beta pung hati ta-puku sa.*
 1SG POSS liver TA-hit only
 ‘My heart (lit. liver) took an unexpected hit.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 46)

(675) *Sabantar bapa tua su ta-bakar deng minya panas.*
 soon father old ASP TA-burn with oil hot
 ‘Soon the old man will get accidentally burned with the hot oil.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 46)

As with the prefix *ba-*, there are occurrences of the prefix *ta-* which are not the result of a productive process, but rather a frozen form borrowed into the language:

(676) *Itu gunung talalu tinggi.*
 DEM mountain too tall
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’ (10.96)

(677) *tagantong* ‘depend on’
tarpaksa ‘forced to do s.t.’ (Jacob and C. Grimes 2003)

The prefix *baku-* forms reciprocal verbs, and can occur with the word *saling*, which also indicates reciprocity, as in (678).

(678) *Dorang saling baku-pukul.*
 3PL each.other RECIP-hit
 ‘They hit each other.’ (10.90)

(679) *Dorang ada baku-suka.*
 3PL ASP RECIP-like
 ‘They love each other.’ (10.91)

Verbal reduplication in Kupang Malay is a common and productive process. The most usual purpose of reduplication of the base is iteration, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. The base may be a verb or a preposition.

(680) *Joni deng dia pung ade jalan sama-sama.*
 Joni with 3SG POSS younger.sibling walk REDUP-with
 ‘‘Joni is walking around with his younger sibling.’’ (10.69)

(681) *Jadi bapa pikir-pikir lebe bae katong maso polisi.*
 so father REDUP-think more good 1PL enter police
 ‘So father thought that it would be better for us to join the police.’ (11.3-4)

4.6.5.6 Verbal morphology in Larantuka Malay

Larantuka Malay has two productive verbal prefixes: *bə(r)-*, and *tə(r)-*. The prefix *bə(r)-* has two allomorphs: *bə-* before vowels, and *bə-* before consonants.

There are four types of the prefix *bə(r)-* in Larantuka Malay.⁹⁶

- With transitive verbs, *bə(r)-* indicates a reciprocal relationship with plural agents.

It is possible that this use derives from the reciprocal prefix *baku-* found in the other contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, but which is absent from Larantuka Malay, as the function is identical.⁹⁷ According to Kumanireng (1993: 154), the action may have a non-human target, and there may be more than two actors (*A, B mə C bə-rabe baju* ‘A, B and C tore each others’ clothes’).

(682) *Ai, bə-bəda ka doraN dua te, bə-bəda, ah, ena jo, jadi*
 INT BƏ-fight DP 3PL two DP BƏ-fight INT feel.good DP so

bə-bəda ka.

BƏ-fight DP

‘Ah, then the two of them started fighting each other, ah, they enjoyed it, fighting each other.’ (17.21-22)

(683) *DoraN bə-suka badaN.*
 3PL RECIP-want body
 ‘They love each other.’⁹⁸ (13.104)

(684) *Təga apa koraN lia koraN dua bə-lia badan, te mənəyao?*
 cause what 2PL see 2PL two BƏ-see body NEG answer
 ‘What is causing you two to just look at each other, with no response?’
 (17.38-39)

- With transitive verbal bases, no object specified, and a single actor, the prefix *bə(r)-* simply indicates that the action specified by the verb is ongoing. This also

⁹⁶ This analysis owes much to Kumanireng (1983: 46-49).

⁹⁷ Kupang Malay has both a reciprocal use of *ba-* (cognate to *bə(r)-*) and the reciprocal prefix *baku-*.

⁹⁸ This gloss, provided by an informant, may a bit polite, and the actual meaning might be rather more carnal. Another informant provided the phrase *bə-aNbe badaN* ‘to copulate’ (lit. ‘take body’).

applies to intransitive verbal bases. There are two examples of this usage in (682) above. Other examples follow.

(685) *Jadi ana-ana səkola səmuə te dudu sopan bəgini bəpara*
 so REDUP-child school all DP sit polite like.this Bə-listen
ibu omo.
 3SG.F.FML talk
 ‘So the schoolchildren all sat politely and listened to the teacher talk.’
 (14.25-26)

(686) *Jo angi timo bətau “coba əNko bua jato.”*
 then wind east Bə-know try 2SG make fall
 ‘Then the East Wind said, “Try and make him fall.”’ (16.10-11)

- If the base is a noun, the meaning of *bə(r)-* is roughly ‘to have x’, ‘to produce x’ or ‘to use x’.

(687) *Sini ka təNpa ma kita bərana kita.*
 here DP place with 1SG Bə-child 1SG
 ‘This is the place where I was born.’ (13.101)

(688) *Joni puN bəbuku.*
 Joni INTEN Bə -book
 ‘Joni has many books.’ (13.80)

(689) *bunga* ‘flower’ *bə-bunga* ‘to flower’
təlo ‘egg’ *bə-təlo* ‘to lay an egg’
minya ‘oil’ *bə-minya* ‘to produce oil’
bunyi ‘sound’ *bə-bunyi* ‘to to make a sound’
laya ‘sail’ *bə-laya* ‘to sail’
təma ‘friend’ *bə-təma* ‘to be friends’ (Kumanireng 1993: 156)

- If the base is an adjective, *bə(r)-* has a function not unlike its function with nouns: ‘to have x-ness’, ‘to have the quality of x’ or ‘to become x’.

(690) ... *koraN denga bə-bae e ni.*
 2PL listen BƏ-good DP DEM
 ‘Listen well (all of you).’ (14.25)

(691) *Dia pi di utaN-utaN, dia apa, bər-senaN-senaNdi utaN-utaN, ka?*
 3SG go LOC REDUP-forest 3SG what BƏ-REDUP-happy LOC REDUP-forestQ
 ‘He went into the forest, he what, he was happy in the forest, right?’ (15.32)

The prefix *tə(r)-* also forms verbs, and creates the meaning that the action happens accidentally or by an unexpected or involuntary action. This prefix also has two allomorphs: *tər-* before vowels and *tə-* before consonants.

(692) ...*poN kaju tə-bale-male.*
 tree wood TƏ-REDUP-return
 ‘...the tree moved back and forth.’ (16.16)

(693) *Dia tio yaN kə-tiga, kəkəra nyenya, tanga tə-ləpa, jato*
 3SG blow REL ORD-three monkey sleep.soundly hand TƏ-let.go fall

dalaN ae...
 in water
 ‘He blew for the third time, and the monkey fell sound asleep, his paws let go, and he fell in the water...’ (16.28-29)

Verbal reduplication in Larantuka Malay is a very productive process. There are four patterns of verbal reduplication, and all are productive.⁹⁹ All four patterns can occur with a single verb, as in (694) below (examples are from Kumanireng 1993: 164-165).

- Full reduplication (*baNti* ‘to throw s.t. down’ → *baNti-baNti* ‘to throw s.t. down repeatedly’). This pattern shows iteration or intensification, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. This is the most productive type, and can be used with all classes of verbs.

⁹⁹ The types of reduplication and their descriptions are based on Kumanireng (1993: 162)

- Partial reduplication (*garu* ‘to scratch’ → *gəgaru* ‘scratching frequently’, as opposed to *garu-garu* ‘scratching repeatedly’). This pattern shows that an activity is not being performed well or whole-heartedly. This type does not occur with words of one syllable, words which are vowel-initial, or certain transitive and intransitive verbs such as *makaN* ‘eat’, *mino* ‘drink’, *maNdi* ‘bathe’, *tido* ‘sleep’, *masa* ‘cook’, or sense verbs.
- Reduplication with a change in one part of the base (*bale* ‘return’ → *bula-bale* ‘going back and forth aimlessly’). This pattern shows that an action is being done repeatedly with no goal. This type occurs with transitive verbs.
- Reduplication with affixation, which can occur with any of the three patterns above (*lipa* ‘to fold’ → *təlipa-ripa* ‘folded so thoroughly that s.t. is ruined or can’t be unfolded’). This pattern shows that an activity is uncontrolled or intensive. This type occurs with the prefix *tə(r)-* (as in (692) above).

- (694) *suNko* ‘to run with head down (as a wild boar)’
suNko-suNko ‘to run with head down repeatedly’
səsuNko ‘to run with head down frequently’
suNko-ruNko ‘to run with head down aimlessly’
tə-suNko-ruNko ‘to fall headfirst in an uncontrolled manner’

- (695) *Jadi aNka-aNka doraN taro di səbəla, səbab doraN-doraN te te*
so REDUP-lift 3PL put LOC side because REDUP-3PL DP NEG

bisa liwa!

can pass

‘So he lifted them and placed them on the other side, because nobody could pass!’ (14.15-16)

(696) *Hatu hana, hatu sini, jo di tən-tənga ini sini*
 one over.there one here so LOC REDUP-middle DEM here

kalo ini, batu bəsa-bəsa təNguliN-muliN.
 if DEM rock REDUP-big REDUP-rolling
 ‘One there, one here, in the middle of this place also, there were many
 tumbled boulders.’ (14.17-18)

(697) *Dia umu-ame, gitu...*
 3SG REDUP-chew like.that
 ‘He was chewing wildly, like that... (15.18)

4.6.5.7 Verbal morphology in Papua Malay

A number of prefixes which occur in other varieties of Malay can be found in Papua Malay, but it is uncertain whether these have any productivity or are frozen forms borrowed into the language or instances of code-switching with Standard Indonesian. There may also be regional variation as well in the use and productivity of these forms. There are three prefixes which may or may not be productive in Papua Malay: *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*. These prefixes are productive in the two Malay varieties which were influential in the spread of Malay in Papua, North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay, but further study is needed to assess the extent of their use in Papua Malay and their possible productivity. Van Velzen lists all three as well as *maN-* and *paN-* as productive prefixes in Serui Malay, although he says *maN-* has little functional load and “probably, it is not very productive” (van Velzen 1995: 324), while he notes *paN-* is only used “in one or two instances” (van Velzen 1995: 325). The forms listed by van Velzen for *ba-* do not seem to follow a regular pattern, and in fact a few of them, such as *barangka* ‘to depart’, coincide with forms known to be frozen forms in North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay. *Ta-* is more likely to turn out to have some productivity. Van Velzen lists the following forms for *ta-*:

(698)	<i>tidur</i>	‘sleep’	<i>tatidur</i>	‘fallen asleep’
	<i>tahan</i>	‘keep, detain’	<i>tatahan</i>	‘kept, hold’
	<i>toki</i>	‘beat’	<i>tatoki</i>	‘beaten’ (van Velzen 1995: 324)

Of these, *tatahan* is likely a frozen borrowing, while the other two are possibly the result of a productive prefix, especially if the meaning includes the sense of ‘accidental’ or without intention. The word *toki* is a local borrowing, as well, which would be evidence for productivity of the prefix.

Sawaki (2007) gives a number of examples using *ta-* which fit the pattern of having an accidental or unintended result. Although Sawaki does not specify which region he is drawing data from, it is likely the Cendrawasih Bay area, which includes Serui and Manokwari, two locations with which Sawaki is familiar. Sawaki analyzes the forms with *ta-* as “accidental passives”, in which “the patient is promoted to be the agent and the base verb takes the passive prefix *ta-*” (Sawaki 2007: 3). Leaving aside the question of whether these are actually passives (a question also raised by van Velzen (1995: 324)), the forms do seem to be productive in this variety of Papua Malay, and they do contain the meaning of an accidental or unintended result. Sawaki gives the following examples:

- (699) *Ruma itu de ta-bakar.*
house DEM 3SG TA-burn
‘The house was burned.’ (Sawaki 2007: 3, 19)
- (700) *Buku-buku itu ta-bongkar.*
REDUP=book DEM TA-take.apart
‘Those books have been thrown around.’ (Sawaki 2007: 3, 20)
- (701) *Tong bikin de ta-banting sampe de manangis.*
1PL make.CAUS 3SG TA-fall.down until 3SG cry
‘We made him fall down, which made him cry.’ (Sawaki 2007: 3, 21)
- (702) *De kase ta-putar sa baru sa jatu.*
3SG give.CAUS TA-spin 1SG then 1SG fall
‘He made me spin around until I fell down.’ (Sawaki 2007: 3, 22)

- (703) *De bikin ruma ta-bakar.*
 3SG make,CAUS house TA-burn
 ‘He made the house burn down.’ (Sawaki 2007: 3, 23)

Suharno (1983: 106), speaking of the variety spoken in Jayapura (North Papua Malay) mentions that the prefix *ta-* can occur where Standard Indonesian has *ber-*, which may be evidence that *ba-* is not productive or common in this variety. He gives the following examples:

- (704) *Rodanya mase ta-putar.*
 wheel still TA-spin
 ‘The wheel is still spinning.’ (Suharno 1983: 106, 87)

- (705) *Dorang ta-bale dan lia itu ruma.*
 3PL TA-return and see DEM house
 ‘They turn around and see the house.’ (Suharno 1983: 106, 88)

The prefix *baku-* forms reciprocal verbs, and is mentioned by van Velzen (1995: 324) for Serui Malay and Donohue (to appear: 33) for North Papuan Malay, although Donohue does not consider it a prefix, but rather a separate word. He gives the following example.

- (706) *Dong=baku taru tangan.*
 3PL=RECIP place hand
 ‘They were hitting each other.’ (Donohue to appear: 33, 140)

Verbal reduplication is a productive process in Papua Malay. The most usual purpose of reduplication of the base is iteration, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. It can also indicate plurality of an action or event, or that an action, event or state is intensified. The base may be a verb, a modifier or a preposition.

- (707) *Tida tau oran yan mati-mati di kampu...*
 NEG know person REL REDUP-die LOC village
 ‘I don’t know who has died back in the village.’ (12.10)

- (708) *Don=jaja ke sana tanya-tanya doran.*
 3PL=go to over.there REDUP-ask 3PL
 ‘They went there and asked all of them.’ (12.50)

In contrast to the limited set of verbal affixes used in the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian has a larger set of productive verbal affixes which can be used in a wider range of functions. The verbal affixes of CJI include those listed below. In addition, the verbal affixes of formal Indonesian sometimes occur. In most cases (unlike formal Indonesian), the use of these affixes is optional. Notably, the prefix *bər-* has a wider range of uses in eastern varieties of Malay.

The functions of verbal reduplication in CJI are similar to those found in the contact varieties of Malay of eastern Indonesia.

Table 4.47 Verbal Affixes of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian¹⁰⁰

Affix	Function
<i>N-</i> , <i>ngə-</i>	used (optionally) with transitive verbs in active voice
<i>di-</i>	used in passive voice (typically with no stated agent)
<i>bər-</i>	used (optionally and rarely) with some intransitive verbs
<i>tər</i> ⁻¹	used (occasionally) with adjectives to indicate superlative
<i>tər</i> ⁻²	used in some idiomatic (and frozen) adverbial expressions
<i>tər</i> ⁻³	used with some stative verbs
<i>tər</i> ⁻⁴	used with some verbs to denote ability or inability
<i>tər</i> ⁻⁵	used with some verbs to indicate that an action or event or accidental, unintended, unexpected, agentless, involuntary or sudden
<i>kə-</i>	used (occasionally) in place of <i>tər</i> ⁻⁴ and <i>tər</i> ⁻⁵
<i>-an</i> ¹	used (occasionally) with adjectives to form comparatives
<i>-an</i> ²	used with reciprocal verbs and some other verbs
<i>-in</i>	used (optionally) with transitive verbs to indicate a beneficiary object or to form a causative indicating that the object is used to perform the action
<i>-nya</i>	used (occasionally) to nominalize verbs

¹⁰⁰ The descriptions of the affixes are summarized from Sneddon (2006: 20-50).

4.7 Other Grammatical Features

4.7.1 Intensifier

The possessive marker (see above) which takes the form *pe* in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay (and occurs in related forms in other Malay varieties) has yet another function, in that when *pe* is followed by an adjective, it serves as an intensifier. In Manado Malay, it can combine with another intensifier, *skali*, making it even stronger. In North Moluccan Malay, it frequently occurs with *sampe* ‘to reach, until’, and in Kupang Malay it occurs with the discourse particle *lai* ‘again’, which are also intensifiers. There is no similar structure in CJI.

Manado Malay

(709) *Gunung itu pe tinggi.*
mountain DEM INTENS tall
‘That mountain is very tall.’ (1.150)

(710) *Gunung itu pe tinggi kali.*
mountain DEM INTENS tall very
‘That mountain is extremely tall.’ (1.151)

(711) (Since you didn’t show up, I wanted to go with someone else.)
Tunggu pa ngoni pe lama, jadi telfon pa Mila no.
wait at 2PL INT long so call at Mila DP
‘Waiting for you took very long, so I called Mila.’ (Stoel 2005: 46, 2.75)

North Moluccan Malay

(712) *Buku itu pe mahal sampe.*
book DEMPOSS expensive until
‘That book is very expensive.’ (3.37)

(713) *Ali pe buku pe banya sampe.*
Ali POSS book POSS many until
‘Ali has very many books.’ (3.75)

(714) *Dia pe tinggi.*
3SG POSS tall
‘He is very tall.’ (3.97)

- (715) *Gunung pe tinggi sampe.*
 mountain POSS tall until
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’ (3.121)

Ambon Malay

- (716) *Pung bodo!*
 POSS stupid
 ‘How awfully stupid!’ (van Minde 1997: 322, 6.132)

Banda Malay

- (717) *Buku itu pu mahal.*
 book DEM POSS expensive.
 ‘That book is very expensive.’ (8.24)

- (718) *Gunung itu mar pu tinggi.*
 mountain DEM but POSS tall
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’ (8.65)

Kupang Malay

- (719) *Itu buku pung mahal lai.*
 DEM book POSS expensive DP
 ‘That book is very expensive’. (10.29)

- (720) *Dia pung tinggi lai.*
 3SG POSS tall DP
 ‘He is very tall.’ (10.81)

- (721) *Itu gunung pung tinggi lai.*
 DEM mountain POSS tall DP
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’ (10.97)

4.7.1.1 Superlative Constructions

Superlative constructions are related to intensifiers, and the possessive marker can be used to indicate superlatives in most varieties, alongside the borrowed Indonesian morpheme *paling* ‘most’, although the borrowed form is preferred to disambiguate between an intensifier and a superlative, and is found in the examples below.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Solea-Warouw’s dictionary of Manado Malay (1985) does not include *paling*, although Jacob and Grimes’ dictionary of Kupang Malay (2003) does include it.

Larantuka Malay makes use of an intensifying particle, *na*, in the superlative construction. The borrowed form *paling* is not found in Larantuka Malay.

Manado Malay

(722) *Gunung itu tu paling tinggi di Indonesia.*
 mountain DEM DEM most tall LOC Indonesia
 ‘That mountain is the tallest in Indonesia.’ (1.154)

North Moluccan Malay

(723) *Di Maluku Utara, gunung itu yang paling tinggi.*
 LOC Maluku Utara mountain DEM REL most tall
 ‘That mountain is the tallest in Maluku Utara.’ (3.124)

(724) *Gunung itu so paling tinggi suda.*
 mountain DEM ASP most tall already
 ‘That mountain is the tallest.’ (3.125)

Banda Malay

(725) *Gunung sana yang paling tinggi.*
 mountain over.there REL most tall
 ‘That mountain over there is the tallest.’ (8.67)

Kupang Malay

(726) *Itu gunung yang paling tinggi di Indonesia.*
 DEM mountain REL most tall LOC Indonesia
 ‘That mountain is the tallest in Indonesia.’ (10.99)

Larantuka Malay

(727) *Guno tu tiNgi na tiNgi.*
 mountain DEM tall DP tall
 ‘That mountain is the tallest.’ (13.112)

4.7.2 Conjunctions

The different varieties of Malay employ a wide range of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions and function words, many language-specific and, in some varieties, borrowed from Indonesian. All varieties except Larantuka Malay, however, employ the preposition *deng* ‘with’ to conjoin two clauses. Other forms found in most varieties are *tapi* ‘but’, *mar/ma* ‘but’, *jadi* ‘so’, *tarus/trus* ‘and then’, *kong* ‘and, then’ and

abis ‘after that’. Disjunction is often marked by ...*ka ...ka* ‘or’ with the particles following the items questioned, as in the example below from Papua Malay.¹⁰²

- (728) *Bikin kebon, tanam kasbi ka, bete ka, betatas ka, ton=makan.*
 make garden plant cassava or tuber or yam or 1PL=eat
 ‘Made a garden, planted cassava, or tubers, or yams, and we ate.’ (12.23-24)

The usual morpheme indicating conjunction in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, *dan* ‘and’, is not found in the eastern Malay varieties, although another morpheme indicating conjunction in CJI, *sama* ‘with’, is sometimes found in these varieties. The most common conjunction in the eastern varieties, *deng* ‘with’, is not used for this purpose in CJI, where its form is *dengan*. The most common morpheme indicating disjunction in CJI, *ato* ‘or’, is not common in the eastern varieties, although it does occur. The more common construction in eastern varieties ...*ka ...ka*, is related to a less commonly used construction in CJI, ...*kek ...kek*. Other conjunctions found in some eastern Malay varieties have no correlate in CJI, such as *mar/ma* ‘but’ (a loan from Dutch, where its form is *maar*), *kong* ‘and, then’ and the North Moluccan Malay conjunction *la* ‘in order to’.

4.7.2.1 Conjunctions in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay

Two noun phrases may be linked by *deng* ‘with; and’, as in (729) and (730).

Manado Malay

- (729) *Paulus deng Tina pigi ka pasar.*
 Paul CONJ Tina go to market
 ‘Paul and Tina went to the market.’ (2.134)

North Moluccan Malay

- (730) *Kalamarin Ali deng Yusuf ada pi di kota.*
 yesterday Ali CONJ Yusuf have go to town
 ‘Ali went to town with Yusuf yesterday.’ (3.79)

¹⁰² The ...*ka ...ka* disjunction construction was also found in the pidginized 19th century Luggar Malay spoken off the Australian coast. Hosokawa (1987: 291) misidentifies this construction as having a Japanese origin. The Japanese disjunctive morpheme (*ka*) has a similar form, but functions differently (Hiromi Takahashi p.c.).

Two clauses may be linked with the coordinating conjunction *kong* ‘and; and then’.

Manado Malay

(731) *Paulus pigi ka pasar kong ada bəli ikang.*
Paul go to market CONJ ASP buy fish
‘Paul went to the market and bought fish.’ (1.145)

North Moluccan Malay

(732) *Ali tadi ada pigi di pasar kong bali ikan di sana.*
Ali just.now ASP go LOC market CONJ buy fish LOC over.there
‘Ali went to the market and bought fish.’ (3.119)

Disjunction between phrases or clauses may be marked by *ato* ‘or’, in Manado Malay or by the question marker *ka* in North Moluccan Malay. (733) shows an ‘or not’ question. In this case *ka* indicates an alternative question, and functions as a question marker as well as a disjunction marker, indicating a question which offers two or more alternatives.

Manado Malay

(733) *Ada kukis ato nyanda di dapur?*
have cake or NEG LOC kitchen
‘Is there cake or not in the kitchen?’ (1.43)

North Moluccan Malay

(734) *Kui masi ada di dapur ka so abis?*
cake still have LOC kitchen Q ASP finish
‘Is there any cake left in the kitchen or is it finished?’ (3.47)

North Moluccan Malay has a conjunction, *la* ‘in order to’, which does not occur in other Malay varieties, and which was borrowed from local non-Austronesian languages (Taylor 1983: 20).

(735) *Dia ba-tabung doi itu la mo bali oto baru.*
3SG BA-save money DEM in.order.to ASP buy car new
‘S/he saves money in order to buy a new car.’ (3.131)

4.7.2.2 Conjunctions in Ambon Malay

Two words, phrases or clauses in Ambon Malay may be linked with a variety of conjunctions. (736) lists the coordinating conjunctions available. There are also a few subordinating conjunctions, which include the complementizers *yang* and *kata* and a variety of adverbializers such as *sondor* ‘without’, *macang* ‘such as’, *waktu* ‘when’ and *asal* ‘if only’.

Examples of coordinating constructions are shown in the examples below.

(736)	<i>deng</i>	‘and’	<i>kong</i>	‘then’
	<i>tapi/tape</i>	‘but’	<i>lalu trus</i>	‘then right away’
	<i>mar/mor</i>	‘but’	<i>abis</i>	‘and then, after that’
	<i>jadi/jade</i>	‘so’	<i>par/for/fur</i>	‘for’
	<i>des</i>	‘so’	<i>buat/bot</i>	‘for’
	<i>lalu/lal/la</i>	‘and then’	<i>ukur/ukor</i>	‘in order that, so that’
	<i>tarus/trus</i>	‘next’	<i>supaya/spaya</i>	‘in order that, so that’

(van Minde 1997: 77)

(737) *Tapi dong bilang: “Papa, seng usa mara deng seng usa malu.”*
but 3PL say father NEG need angry CONJ NEG need embarrassed
‘But they said, “Daddy, you don’t have to be angry and you don’t have to feel embarrassed.”’ (van Minde 1997: 300, 6.42)

(738) *Tapi antua seng mati...*
but 3SG.FML NEG die
‘But she did not die...’ (5.57)

(739) *Jadi satu saat dia pung mama nae di batu ba-daong tu...*
so one time 3SG POSS mother go.up LOC rock BA-leaf DEM
‘So one day his mother climbed up on the rock with leaves...’ (6.5-6)

4.7.2.3 Coordination and Subordination in Kupang Malay

Kupang Malay has a set of coordinating and subordinating function words which are different from those found in other varieties. These exist alongside similar function words found in Indonesian (and with cognates in other contact varieties of Malay). Table 4.48 below presents these two parallel sets which exist alongside each other in Kupang

Malay, with one set resulting from more recent influence from Indonesian. This analysis is based in part on Steinhauer (1983: 55). The two sets do not match up exactly, though Steinhauer (1983: 55) says that the functions of the Indonesian set are covered by the members of the Kupang Malay set.

Table 4.48 Coordinating/Subordinating Function Words in Kupang Malay

Kupang Malay Forms		Indonesian Forms in Kupang Malay	
<i>ju</i> ‘immediately after that’	(740)	<i>tarus</i> ‘immediately after that’	
<i>te</i> ‘but; for; because’	(741)	<i>karna</i> ‘because’	(749)
<i>ma</i> ‘but’	(742)	<i>tapi</i> ‘but’	(750)
<i>na</i> ‘(if x) then (y)’	(743)	<i>kalo</i> ‘if’	(751)
<i>ko</i> QUESTION MARKER	(744)	<i>dan</i> ‘and’	
<i>ko</i> ‘or’	(745)	<i>sampe</i> ‘to reach, arrive; until’	(752)
<i>ko</i> ‘so that; to, in order to’	(746)	<i>atau</i> ‘or’	
<i>andia ko</i> ‘no wonder, of course’	(747)	<i>walaupun</i> ‘although’	
<i>ke</i> ‘or’	(745)	<i>biarpun</i> ‘although’	
<i>co</i> ‘if (IRREALIS time reference)’	(748)	<i>jadi</i> ‘to become; so’	(753)

The examples below relate to specific items in the table above. The numbers following each item in the table refer to the number of the example below which illustrates how that item is used in Kupang Malay. Numbers (740) through (748) illustrate Kupang Malay forms, while numbers (749) through (753) illustrate Indonesian forms which are used in Kupang Malay.

(740) *Beta kasi tanda sang dia, ju andia ko dia inga.*
 1SG give sign to 3SG immediately of course 3SG remember
 ‘I gave him a sign, and immediately of course he remembered.’
 (Steinhauer 1983: 56)

(741) *Beta su manganto, te besok mau pi sakola.*
 1SG ASP sleepy because tomorrow ASP go school
 ‘I am already sleepy (and I’m going to bed), for tomorrow I’m going to school.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 56)

(742) *Dong manyao abis, ma dong sonde kaluar.*
 3PL respond finish but 3PL NEG go.out
 ‘They responded all right, but they didn’t come out.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 56)

- (743) *Kalo su lapar na, kotong makan supermi manta.*
 if ASP hungry then 1PL eat instant.noodles raw
 ‘When we got hungry, we ate raw instant noodles.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 56)
- (744) *Ada kokis di dapur ko?*
 have cake LOC kitchen Q
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’ (10.40)
- (745) *Malam ko/ke, siang ko/ke, beta yang jaga cuci piring.*
 night or day or 1SG REL HABIT wash dish
 ‘Night or day, it’s me who keeps on washing dishes.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 57)
- (746) *...bapa pung kawan baku aja deng bapa ko mau maso polisi.*
 father POSS friend close urge with father so.that ASP enter police
 ‘...father’s close friend urged father to join the police.’ (3.47)
- (747) *Andia ko sampe di Kupang, dapa kasi barana Yeni dan Febi.*
 of course arrive LOC Kupang get give give.birth Yeni and Febi
 ‘Of course after arriving in Kupang, we were given two more children, Yeni and Febi.’ (11.25-16)
- (748) *Co tadi lu su singga di tanta Agus ko minta*
 if just.now 2SG ASP drop.by LOC Aunt Agus in.order.to ask.for

balimbing, mangkali kotong su beking rujak.
 starfruit maybe 1PL ASP make fruit.salad
 ‘If just now you had dropped by at Aunt Agus’ to ask for starfruit, we would probably have fruit salad made by now.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 56)
- (749) *Karna pangaru deng ini bapa pung kawan-kawan bilang maso*
 because influence with DEM father POSS REDUP-friend say enter

polisi, ya suda bapa maso ya suda, itu.
 police yes already father enter yes already DEM
 ‘Because of the influence of father’s friends who said to join the police that was all, father joined, that was it.’ (11.8)
- (750) *Waktu itu bapa memam sakola tapi sakola di STM.*
 time DEM father truly school but school LOC technical.high.school
 ‘At that time, father was still in school but at the technical high school.’
 (11.8-9)

(751) *Je usaha ko kalo lu tamat na lu jadi orang*
 so make.effort so.that if 2SG graduate DP 2SG become person

bae-bae.

REDUP-good

‘So work hard so that if you graduate you will be a good person.’ (11.37-38)

(752) *Sampe di kalas tiga mau ujian, ya suda.*
 until LOC grade three ASP exam yes already

‘Up till year three, just before the final exams, and that was it.’ (11.7-8)

(753) *Jadi waktu itu bapa ju iko kawan pung buju-buju ahirnya*
 so time DEM father also follow friend POSS REDUP-urging end

bapa ju maso polisi sama-sama deng dia.

father also enter police REDUP-same with 3SG

‘So at that time father followed along with his friend’s urging and finally father also joined the police along with him.’ (11.4-5)

4.7.2.4 Coordinating and Subordinating Conjunctions in Larantuka Malay

The coordinating and subordinating conjunctions in Larantuka Malay are presented below, based on Kumanireng’s description (1993: 204-210). The coordinating conjunctions are *ma~mə* ‘and, with’ (754), *me* ‘but’ (755) and *...ka ...ka* ‘or’ (756).

(754) *Kita puN bapa bəla kayu ma kita puN om.*
 1SG POSS father cut wood with 1SG POSS uncle
 ‘My father cuts wood with my uncle.’ (13.7)

(755) *...əNko bə-tau əNko kua me kita tio pəlaN-pəlaN, kekera jato*
 2SG BƏ-know 2SG strong but 1SG blow REDUP-slow monkey fall

dalaN ae te.

in water DP

‘...you said you were strong but I blew slowly, and the monkey fell in the water.’ (16.31-32)

- (756) ...*jadi manusia tu kaya ka miskiN, bəsa ka kəce, mani ka te mani,*
 so human DEM rich or poor big or small pretty or NEG pretty
dari guno ka dari lao paNte, səmua-nya iko dunia ini sama jo.
 from mountain or from sea shore all-NOM follow world DEM same DP
 ‘...who are rich or poor, big or small, pretty or ugly, from the mountains or
 from the seashore, all are part of this same world.’ (16.35-36)

The subordinating conjunctions of Larantuka Malay are presented in Table 4.49

below, with examples following.

Table 4.49 Subordinating Conjunctions in Larantuka Malay

Subordinating Conjunctions	
<i>səbəlōN</i> ‘before’	<i>məski, jika</i> ‘although’
<i>səməntara</i> ‘while’	<i>kəndati</i> ‘although’
<i>səlama</i> ‘while, during’	<i>macaN</i> ‘like, as’
<i>waktu</i> ‘during, at the time that’	<i>sama</i> ‘as if’
<i>(itu/abis) jo</i> ‘then, after that’ (747)	<i>jetukata</i> ‘like, as’
<i>asa (jo)</i> ‘as long as’	<i>təga</i> ‘because’ (749, 750)
<i>kalu, kalo</i> ‘if’ (748)	<i>laNtaraN</i> ‘because’
<i>baraN</i> ‘supposing that’	<i>kata</i> ‘it is said, that’
<i>para</i> ‘so that’	<i>maka</i> ‘therefore’
<i>səpaya</i> ‘so that’	<i>saNpe</i> ‘until’ (751)
<i>mulai</i> ‘beginning with, since’	

- (757) *Dia makaN, makaN, makaN, makaN, abi jo, dia ao...*
 3SG eat eat eat eat finish DP 3SG thirsty
 ‘He ate, ate ate, ate, till it was all gone, then he was thirsty...’ (15.6-7)

- (758) *Jadi kalo dia bango bə-diri tu, toraN səmua data dunia*
 So if 3SG rise Bə-stand DEM 1PL all above earth
ni bə-goyaN.
 DEM Bə-shake
 ‘When he would stand up, all of us on the surface of the earth would sway.’
 (14.2-3)

- (759) ...*kəkəra te so mekiN lenye, təga angi timo tə-tio səpoi-səpoi*
 monkey DP ASP even.more listless because wind east TƏ-blow REDUP-soft

pəNpəlaN-pəNpəlaN.

REDUP-slow

‘...the monkey became even more listless, because the East Wind blew very softly and very slowly.’ (16.27-28)

- (760) *Kəkəra data te təga dapa angi ena te, mata mulai rebe.*
 monkey on.top DP because get wind nice DP eye start shut
 ‘The monkey on top, because he was getting a nice breeze, his eyes started to shut.’ (16.24)

- (761) *Jo, kita bəli sapi piara, saNpe banya-banya, kita puN sapi.*
 so 1SG buy cow domestic until REDUP-many 1SG POSS cow
 ‘I’ll buy domesticated cows, many of them, my cows.’ (17.7-8)

4.7.2.5 Conjunctions in Papua Malay

Clauses are usually conjoined by simple juxtaposition, with no overt conjunction, a construction common in other varieties of Malay and not unique to Papua Malay. An example is shown in (762) below. In addition, there are a few conjunctions with uses differing from other varieties of Malay, and these are presented separately below.

- (762) *Ambil hasil itu saya suda habis ya [clap] kapur¹⁰³ suda hilang*
 take result DEM 1SG already finish yes [clap] run.away already gone

artinya de=pu=uang su=habis de=su=hilang.

meaning 3SG=POSS=money PERF=*finish* 3SG=PERF=gone

‘They’ll take the results, and when I’m finished, well [clap], they’ll run away, already gone, I mean their money’ll be finished, they’ll take off.’

(Donohue to appear: 41, 176)

As in other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, simple nominal conjunction is marked by *den(g)* ‘with’ and simple disjunction is marked by *ka... ka...* ‘or’.

- (763) *Skola pertanian ya den skola pertanian.*
 school agriculture yes with school forestry
 ‘The school of agriculture and the school of forestry.’ (12.6-7)

¹⁰³ This appears to be a variant pronunciation of *kabur* ‘to run away, escape’.

- (764) *Bikin kebon, tanam kasbi ka, bete ka, betatas ka, ton=makan.*
 make garden plant cassava or tuber or yam or 1PL=eat
 ‘Made a garden, planted cassava, or tubers, or yams, and we ate.’ (12.23-24)

Donohue (to appear: 41-46) describes the use of several other words which can be used to conjoin clauses. *Jadi*, which has already been mentioned as an inchoative marker, is also used to conjoin clauses, although differently from its use in other varieties of Malay (although Standard Indonesian has a similar construction ending in *jadinya*). *Jadi* occurs as a sentence-final particle, justifying a sentence and referring to an assumed proposition.

- (765) *Sa=tra=ikot. Sa=capek jadi.*
 1SG=NEG=accompany 1SG=tired and.so
 ‘I’m not coming along. It’s because I’m tired.’
 (Donohue to appear: 42, 178)

- (766) *Sa=tra=rajin jadi.*
 1SG=NEG=industrious and.so
 ‘It’s just that I don’t work very hard.’ (Donohue to appear: 42, 179)

Jadi also occurs as a marker of a new topic, often occurring with *itu*.

- (767) *Jadi don=bilan meman betul.*
 so 3PL=say truly correct
 ‘So what they said is really true.’ (12.64-65)

Another word used to conjoin clauses is *baru*. Donohue (to appear: 42) mentions that De Vries (1989) has noted that *baru*, literally ‘new’, functions as a switch reference marker in South Papua Malay, and Donohue adds that it has this function in North Papua Malay as well, and works like *na* in Tok Pisin. In fact, it has this function in the other Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, and even in Standard Indonesian as well, where it could be translated as ‘now, only then’, as in (769) below, which quotes a popular nationwide (Standard Indonesian) beer advertisement from the 1970s, so the use of *baru* in Papua Malay (as in (768) below) can not be considered an innovation.

(768) *Kalo dari Wusku ke Senggi baru ada jalan mobil.*
 if from Usku to Senggi now exist road vehicle
 ‘Now from Usku to Senggi, that’s where there’s a vehicle road.’
 (Donohue to appear: 42, 183)

(769) *Ini bir baru. Ini baru bir.*
 DEM beer new DEM now beer
 ‘This is a new beer. Now *this* is beer.’

Similarly, the uses identified by Donahue for *trus* ‘then’, *kalo* ‘if’ and *itu* ‘that’ as conjunctions do not seem to be different from their use in colloquial Indonesian and other Malay varieties.

4.7.3 Comparatives

The order of elements in the comparative construction is ADJ-MARKER-STANDARD, and this appears to apply to all varieties, though no data are available for Papua Malay.

Manado Malay

(770) *Gunung itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
 mountain DEM more tall from mountain DEM
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’ (1.153)

North Moluccan Malay

(771) *Gunung Ternate lebe tinggi dari gunung Tidore.*
 mountain Ternate more tall from mountain Tidore
 ‘Ternate’s mountain is taller than Tidore’s mountain.’ (3.122)

Banda Malay

(772) *Gunung sana itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
 mountain over.there DEM more tall from mountain DEM
 ‘The mountain over there is taller than this mountain.’ (8.66)

Kupang Malay

(773) *Itu gunung lebe tinggi dari ini gunung.*
 DEM mountain more tall from DEM mountain
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’ (10.98)

Larantuka Malay

(774) *Guno hana lebe tiNgi dari guno ini ni.*
 mountain over.there more tall from mountain DEM DEM
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’ (13.113)

The comparative construction with ADJ-MARKER-STANDARD with the same form (*x lebi(h) y dari z*) also occurs in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian. In CJI there are also affixes which can indicate the comparative (and even the superlative), although these occur less frequently.

4.7.4 Directionals/Spatial Deixis

In North Moluccan Malay, Ambon Malay, Larantuka Malay and Papua Malay, spatial deixis systems have developed which orient direction based upon the location of land and sea (or, in the case of Papua Malay, settlement and the interior). It is likely that these systems developed through the influence of local vernacular languages. Taylor (1983:17) makes the case that the system in North Moluccan Malay reflects the systems used in the local Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages of the northern Moluccas. Dietrich (1997) makes the same case for Larantuka Malay, and shows the parallels between the system used in Larantuka Malay and that of the local Lamaholot language. The existence of a land-sea spatial deixis system in Ambon Malay and its absence in the closely related Banda Malay variety can probably be attributed to the fact that Ambon Malay developed in an area surrounded by local vernacular languages which presumably had such a system, while Banda Malay was formed on islands which had been depopulated and had no substrate languages to influence it in such a manner. The fact that these systems only exist in some varieties which can be directly linked to substrate influence is evidence that there was no such land-sea spatial deixis system in Vehicular Malay or in Eastern Indonesia Trade Malay. There is no comparable spatial deixis system relating to land and sea in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian.

In the varieties of Malay which have such a spatial deixis system, the spatial orientation represents an expansion of the limited deictic system found in other varieties of Malay, whether western or eastern varieties. The basic spatial deictic system in Malay varieties is found in Table 4.50 below.

Table 4.50 The Basic Malay Spatial Deictic System¹⁰⁴

locatives	<i>(di) sini</i> ‘here’ ¹⁰⁵	<i>(di) situ</i> ‘there’	<i>(di) sana</i> ‘over there’
demonstratives	<i>ini</i> ‘this’	<i>itu</i> ‘that’	
adverbial demonstratives	<i>bəgini</i> ‘like this’	<i>bəgitu</i> ‘like that’	

The expanded systems found in the four varieties described in this section generally involve additional locative formations, using the prepositions *ka~kə* ‘to, toward’ and *dari* ‘from’ plus *lao* ‘sea’ and *dara* ‘land’ or similar forms, on one axis, and the locative prepositions *ba(wa)* ‘down, below, under’ and *ata(s)* ‘up, above, over’ on another axis. These terms replace the four cardinal directions (north, south, east, west) commonly found in other Malay varieties. In Ambon Malay, the verbs *nae* ‘go up’ and *turon* ‘descend’ are used as well to indicate movement along this second axis.

4.7.4.1 Directionals/Spatial Deixis in North Moluccan Malay

Local Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages have influenced the spatial deixis system of North Moluccan Malay, which Taylor (1983: 17) calls “one of the most initially striking features of the dialect.” This influence takes the form of the orientation upon which directional movement is based. There are three axes of orientation which are found in local Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages which form the basis for spatial deixis in North Moluccan Malay, although, according to Taylor (1983: 17), these

¹⁰⁴ The orientation in this system is relative to a deictic center.

¹⁰⁵ The form *ka sini* ‘to here’ does not occur in most eastern varieties. The form *ka mari* ‘to here’ (derived from a verb meaning ‘come here’) fills this role in these varieties.

axes are much more pervasive in the local languages. The three axes of orientation are landward vs. seaward, this direction vs. that direction, and upward vs. downward. Taylor describes this third axis in Halmahera as describing both vertical up-down movement as well as movement northward parallel to the coasts (downward) and southward parallel to the coasts (upward). In the data collected for this study in Ternate, exactly the opposite orientation was found, with southward movement called *ka bawa* ‘downward,’ and northward movement termed *ka atas* ‘upward,’ as in (777) and (778).¹⁰⁶ Movement from the coast towards a point inland is termed *ka dara* ‘landward,’ while movement in the opposite direction is *ka lao* ‘seaward’, as in (775) and (776). In addition, movement can be described in relation to a speaker’s location as *ka sana* ‘in that direction’ and *ka mari* ‘in this direction,’ as in (779) and (780). Taylor points out that these axes of orientation even apply to nearby objects, and movement across a room can be described as seaward, landward, upward or downward (Taylor 1983: 18), rather than ‘here’ or ‘there’ as in most varieties of Malay. Taylor also gives the examples presented in (781) and (782), collected in Halmahera, and says that these constructions, modeled on usage in local non-Austronesian languages, may not be used by all speakers of North Moluccan Malay.

(775) *Kita datang dari lao ka dara.*
 1SG come from sea to land
 ‘I came from a seaward direction to a landward direction.’ (3.103)

(776) *Kita datang dari dara ka lao.*
 1SG come from land to sea
 ‘I came from a landward direction to a seaward direction.’ (3.104)

(777) *Kita datang dari atas ka bawa.*
 1SG come from above to below
 ‘I came from the north to the south.’ (3.105)

¹⁰⁶ This difference is possibly due to the differing orientation of Ternate (with the ocean to the west) and eastern Halmahera (where Taylor did his research), with the ocean to the east.

- (778) *Kita datang dari bawa ka atas.*
 1SG come from below to above
 ‘I came from the south to the north.’ (3.106)
- (779) *Ngana ka mari bikiapa?*
 2SG to this.direction why
 ‘Why did you come here?’ (3.71)
- (780) *Kita datang dari sana.*
 1SG come from over.there
 ‘We came from there.’ (3.101)
- (781) *Ambel ka mari de pe daon baru tumbu pa dia*
 take to this.direction 3SG POSS leaf then pound to it
 ‘Take (this direction) its leaf then pound it.’ (Taylor 1983: 18)
- (782) *...so baku-atur ka bawa*
 ASP RECIP-arrange to down
 ‘...already come to an agreement downward = already come to an agreement with each other in a final way.’ (Taylor 1983: 18)

4.7.4.2 Directionals/Spatial Deixis in Ambon Malay

As is the case with North Moluccan Malay, and with many of the vernacular languages of eastern Indonesia, Ambon Malay has a spatial deixis system developed around existence on an island. The deictic expressions used are found in (783) with examples of the usage of these expressions given in (784) – (788).

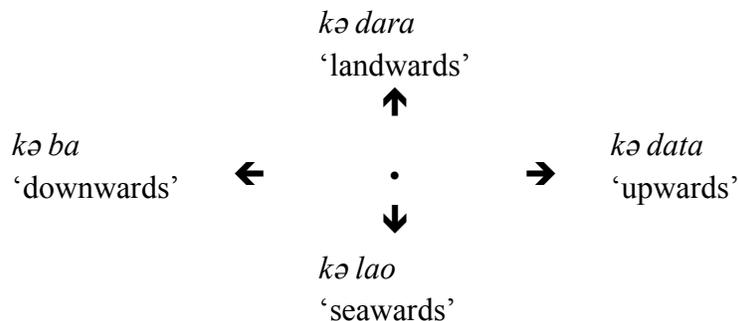
- (783) *nae/nai* ‘climb (up), go up’ = ‘go away from the coast’
turung/turong ‘descend, go down’ = ‘go toward the coast’
ka lao/lau ‘toward the sea, seawards’
di lao/lau ‘toward the sea, seawards’
sabala/sabla lao/lau ‘toward the sea, seawards’
ka dara ‘toward the land, landwards’
di dara ‘toward the land, landwards’
sabala/sabla dara ‘toward the land, landwards’ (van Minde 1997: 173)
- (784) *Be ada mo nae.*
 1SG ASP FUT climb
 ‘I’m about to go away from the coast (to the interior).’
 (van Minde 1997: 173, 4.119)

- (785) *De so turong pasar.*
 3SG ASP descend market
 ‘She has gone (seawards) to the market.’ (van Minde 1997: 173, 4.120)
- (786) *Seng ap-apa, dudu di sabla dara tu.*
 NEG REDUP-what sit LOC side land DEM
 ‘It doesn’t matter, sit landwards there.’ (van Minde 1997: 173, 4.121)
- (787) *toko Sentral di lau.*
 store Sentral LOC sea
 ‘the Sentral store located seawards.’ (van Minde 1997: 173, 4.122)
- (788) *Ka lao sadiki!*
 to sea a.bit
 ‘(Put down the chair) more seawards.’ (van Minde 1997: 173, 4.123)

4.7.4.3 Directionals/Spatial Deixis in Larantuka Malay

A feature which Larantuka Malay shares with North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay (as well as Papua Malay) is a spatial deixis system based upon the location of the land and the sea. This kind of system is common in the vernacular languages of eastern Indonesia, both Austronesian and non-Austronesian. The spatial deixis system in Larantuka Malay has been studied by the anthropologist Stefan Dietrich, who describes the system in Dietrich (1997), and proposes that the spatial deixis system in Larantuka Malay has its origins in the spatial deixis system employed in Lamaholot, the vernacular language spoken around Larantuka, which also has a land-sea axis (Dietrich 1997: 108). The system in Larantuka Malay can be illustrated by the following diagram, from Dietrich (1997: 103):

Figure 4.1 Spatial Orientation in Larantuka Malay



The actual orientation vis-à-vis primary directions such as north and south depends upon where one is in relation to the land and the sea. For speakers in Larantuka, the sea is to the east and therefore ‘upwards’ is north. Across the strait in the town of Wure on the island of Adonara, however, the sea is to the west and ‘upwards’ is south. The primary terms used to describe location and movement in Larantuka Malay, along with the corresponding terms in Lamaholot, are presented in the following table (the Lamaholot terms are from Dietrich 1997: 109). The examples in (789) to (794) illustrate the usage of some of the terms from Larantuka Malay.

Table 4.51 Spatial Orientation Terms in Larantuka Malay

Larantuka Malay	Meaning	Lamaholot
<i>lao</i>	‘at the seaside’	<i>lau</i>
<i>kə lao, pi (kə) lao</i>	‘seawards’	<i>lau tai</i>
<i>(dari) lao dataN</i>	‘from the seaside’	<i>lau dai</i>
<i>dara</i>	‘on the landside’	<i>raé</i>
<i>kə dara, pi (kə) dara</i>	‘landwards’	<i>raé tai</i>
<i>(dari) dara dataN</i>	‘from the landside’	<i>raé hau</i>
<i>də ba, turoN də ba</i>	‘below’	<i>lali</i>
<i>kə ba</i>	‘towards below’	<i>lali tai, lali lodo</i>
<i>də ba nae</i>	‘from below’	<i>lali géré, lali haka</i>
<i>data</i>	‘above’	<i>téti</i>
<i>kə data</i>	‘towards above’	<i>haka tai, téti géré</i>
<i>(dari) data turoN</i>	‘from above’	<i>téti hau, téti todo</i>

(789) *Kita lao dataN.*

1SG sea come

‘I came from a seaward direction.’ (13.96)

(790) *Kita dara dataN*

1SG land come

‘I came from a landward direction.’ (13.97)

(791) *Mari toraN bango toraN pi kə dara, lia koraN dua puN kəboN dulu.*

come 1PL get.up 1PL go to land see 2PL two POSS garden first

‘Come, let’s get up and let’s go landwards, and see the garden of the two of you first.’ (17.32-33)

(792) *dara ruma baru (tu)*
land house new (DEM)
'(that) new house is westwards.' (Kumanireng 1993: 306)

(793) *dara bəlakaN situ*
land back there
'there in the back to the west' (Kumanireng 1993: 307)

(794) *dəba sini*
below here
'south of here' (Kumanireng 1993: 307)

4.7.4.4 Directionals/Spatial Deixis in Papua Malay

As with the case with some other contact varieties of Malay, Papua Malay has a spatial deixis system developed around existence on an island, or at least with orientation to a coast and an interior. Donahue (to appear: 13) mentions the following constructions as being used in the North Papua variety:

(795) *kəməri, kamari* 'towards settlement'
kədara, kadara(t) 'landward, away from settlement'

As this is the only information available at present, this would be a useful area for further research.

4.7.5 Interjections

Interjections, which precede the clause they comment on, but are not part of the clause, are commonly used in discourse to express emotions or attitudes. Interjections are found in all the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia (as well as in western varieties including CJI), although there is significant variation in the form these particles take.

Common interjections in Manado Malay are *hi* to express distaste, *hu* to express disgust, and *o* to express understanding or surprise (Stoel 2005: 61-62). Interjections occurring in the data for North Moluccan Malay were *e*, *o* and *he*. For Ambon Malay,

interjections occurring in the data were *a(a)*, *o* and *na(h)*. Van Minde (1997: 80) presents a list of 18 interjections found in Ambon Malay.

Common interjections in Larantuka Malay are listed in the table below, and include interjections which occurred in the data as well as others described by Kumanireng (1993: 212).

Table 4.52 Interjections in Larantuka Malay

Interjection	Emotion or Attitude Expressed
<i>oi</i>	‘hey’ surprise, anger
<i>a, ha</i>	confirmation, pause mechanism
<i>ai, hai</i>	surprise
<i>hi</i>	anger
<i>kita e</i>	‘1SG <i>e</i> ’ regret, complaint
<i>əNko le</i>	‘2SG <i>le</i> ’ anger or urging
<i>bapa ma</i>	‘father <i>ma</i> ’ amazement, surprise
<i>haN</i>	‘huh?’ surprise (with rising intonation)
<i>tuan deo</i>	‘god’ surprise
<i>ya tuhan</i>	‘oh god (Indonesian)’ surprise

4.7.6 Discourse Particles

Discourse particles are frequently found in the seven varieties studied. These are words which are difficult to analyze morphosyntactically and which appear frequently. Some varieties appear to make greater use of these particles than other varieties, and they are particularly common in Manado Malay, Kupang Malay and Larantuka Malay. The form of the particles and their functions varies significantly between varieties, and it can be assumed that the particles and their functions developed independently in each variety. Discourse particles also frequently occur in CJI, although the members of the set of particles are different from those found in eastern Malay varieties.

4.7.6.1 Discourse particles in Manado Malay

Discourse particles are a category distinct from interjections. The term discourse particles refers to words which are “morphologically invariable and express a speaker’s immediate ‘here and now’ attitudes, thoughts and desires” (Stoel 2005: 65, referring to Goddard (1998)). As such, discourse particles, unlike interjections, are an integral part of the syntax of utterances. Stoel (2005: 65) defines discourse particles in Manado Malay in terms of four key factors: (1) discourse particles occur at the end of a syntactic phrase, defined as a maximal projection, such as a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, or a verb phrase excluding all objects and adjuncts; (2) discourse particles cannot occur in isolation; (3) discourse particles are syntactically optional; and (4) discourse particles never receive a focus-marking accent.

Stoel (2005: 68) lists twenty discourse particles which occur with varying frequencies in Manado Malay. Overall, discourse particles account for 11.3% of the 10,020 words in Stoel’s corpus of oral texts, which represents very frequent occurrence in daily conversation. Some discourse particles, in particular *dang*, *no*, *le*, *jo*, and *to*, were especially common in Stoel’s corpus.

Of the twenty discourse particles listed by Stoel, only four (*to*, *le*, *e*, and *kote*) occur in the elicited data collected for this study. The data were collected in a non-natural setting, so it is not surprising that these discourse-based elements did not occur frequently.

Discourse particles in Manado Malay have a variety of functions, relating to a speaker’s attitudes and perceptions of the listener’s knowledge and attitudes. Their purposes range from emphatic markers to contrast markers to quotatives to indefiniteness markers. Stoel (2005: 65-98) gives a detailed analysis of discourse particles in Manado Malay.

(796) *Ngana dulu kərja di pabrik to?*
 2SG before work LOC factory DP
 ‘You used to work at the factory, didn’t you?’ (1.48)

(797) *Kita pe tamang mo datang le di pesta.*
 1SG POSS friend ASP come DP LOC party
 ‘My friend will come to the party also.’ (2.38)

(798) *Kantor pos di mana e?*
 office post LOC where DP
 ‘Where is the post office?’ (1.53)

(799) *Ngana kote dulu kərja di pabrik?*
 2SG DP before work LOC factory
 ‘Did you formerly work at the factory?’ (1.48)

4.7.6.2 Discourse particles in North Moluccan Malay

The discourse particles in North Moluccan Malay which commonly occurred in the collected texts were *to* and *e*, both of which had occurred frequently in the Manado Malay data, and *me*, which appears to be a particle unique to North Moluccan Malay. Taylor (1983:21) posits that *me*, which has the meaning ‘also, even’ is a loan from the non-Austronesian languages of the region, such as Tobelo *ma* ‘also, even’. The case for a non-Austronesian origin is strengthened by a construction *me... me...* (see (794) below) which functions like the English ‘both... and...’, and which is paralleled by Tobelo *ma... ma...* (Taylor 1983: 21).

(800) *Tiga bulan to?*
 three month DP
 ‘It’s been three months, hasn’t it?’ (4.15)

(801) *E, bulan muka, e?*
 INT month front DP
 Hey, next month, huh? (4.24)

(802) *Me dia bilang kalo doi lebe tabus cincin, kalo lebe.*
 DP 3SG say if money more pay.off ring if more
 ‘Also she said if there is more than enough money, the rings should be paid off, if there is more than enough.’ (3.8)

(803) *Me bolong ini.*
 DP not.yet DEM
 ‘Also not this one yet.’ (3.14)

(804) *Kita me tara pigi, kita pe bini me tara mau.*
 1SG DP NEG go 1SG POSS wife DP NEG want
 ‘Both I am not going, and my wife does not want [to go].’ (Taylor 1983: 21)

4.7.6.3 Discourse Particles and Other Function Words in Kupang Malay

There are a number of other function words and discourse particles which have a role in Kupang Malay and help give the language its character. One of these is *sa* ‘only, just’, which is an emphatic marker.

The particle *na* mentioned above as a coordinating function word also serves three separate functions as a discourse particle: It can be an exclamation with a meaning something like ‘there you are!’, it can be a sentence initial interjection introducing a new topic, and it can be a sentence-final discourse particle with an emphatic meaning. The particle *ju*, apart from its use as a coordinating function word as described above can have the meaning ‘also, nevertheless, even so’. Finally, a common clause-final particle is *lai* ‘again, anymore’ which is also an emphatic marker.

(805) *Karena, ya, STM kan hanya waktu itu satu-satu*
 because yes technical.high.school Q only time DEM REDUP-one

di Kupang sa.
 LOC Kupang only
 ‘Because, yes, at that time the technical high school was the only one in Kupang.’ (11.12-13)

(806) *...bapa kasi sakola sang bosong, na sakola bae-bae.*
 father give school to 2PL DP school REDUP-good
 ‘...father gives schooling to you all, there you are, good schooling.’
 (11.26-27)

(807) *Ya, na ini bapa kas-tau terus terang bahwa...*
 yes DP DEM father give-know straight clear that
 ‘Yes, now, this is something father will tell you frankly, that...’ (11.26-27)

(808) *Jadi kebetulan bosongpu kaka Ida ju su tamat.*
so by.chance2PL POSS older.sibling Ida also ASP graduate
'So by chance your older sister Ida also has graduated.' (11.32-33)

(809) *Yeni, karena dia su mau kawin, dia son mau sakola lai.*
Yeni because 3SG ASP want marry 3SG NEG want school DP
'Yeni, because she wanted to get married, she didn't want to go to school anymore.' (11.34)

4.7.6.4 Discourse Particles in Larantuka Malay

Discourse particles are very common in Larantuka Malay. One discourse particle, *te*, occurred 108 times in the data collected. Kumanireng (1993:216), pointing out that these particles have never been analyzed in previous studies, adds "...it is precisely these particles which give Larantuka Malay its unique character."¹⁰⁷

The common discourse particles of Larantuka Malay are listed in Table 4.53. Many of these occurred in the data. Others are from Kumanireng (1993: 215-246), and the meanings given in the table below are from that source. Although Kumanireng includes the short forms of demonstratives *ni* and *tu*, and the negators *te*, *ne* and *tərada* in her analysis, these particles are not included here, as they have been previously discussed. Discourse particles can not occur on their own, but exist in a context. They are closely bound with the prosody of an utterance, and are thus dependent upon the context, the syntactic structure used, and the wants and needs of an individual speaker. It is hard to pin down the meaning of a discourse particle, as that meaning may change in different utterances, depending upon the context, and, most importantly, the intonation.

¹⁰⁷ "...justru partikel-partikel inilah yang ikut menjadikan Melayu Larantuka sebuah ragam yang khas."

Table 4.53 Discourse Particles in Larantuka Malay

Discourse Particle	Meaning or Function
<i>daN</i>	emphatic marker
<i>ka</i> ¹⁰⁸	emphatic marker
<i>se</i>	mitigates a request, ‘please’
<i>po</i>	questions the connection or causal relation between two actions. Also functions as an emphatic marker stressing inclusion.
<i>na</i>	intensifier, follows adjectives and verbs, forms superlatives.
<i>te</i>	anaphoric particle, refers to an earlier reference or shared information.
<i>le</i>	indicates regret or a result contrary to expectations or desires.
<i>o</i>	used to remind or inform the addressee of something.
<i>e</i>	used to order or urge s.o. to do s.t. or not to do something, express surprise, anger or regret, or request confirmation.
<i>i</i>	used to ask for confirmation or support.
<i>maka</i>	connecting particle, indicating a causal relationship
<i>lo</i>	connecting particle, indicating a causal relationship

Although a number of these discourse particles occurred in the data, the particle *te* occurred the most frequently by far. Its purpose is as an anaphoric marker, similar to *tu*, with which it can co-occur. It can follow noun phrases, pronouns, prepositional phrases and verb phrases. Unlike *tu*, *te* always refers to something previously mentioned, but does not say anything about the relative distance to the speaker or addressee. *Te* can occur multiple times in a single utterance, as in (810), with five occurrences of *te* in a single sentence.

(810) *Dia te mo aNka kewalu ana te jo dia te mo aNka*
 3SG DP want lift carry.on.shoulders child DP so 3SG DP ASP lift

kaki gini mo taro də te sunge, sunge te məkiN bəsa.
 foot like.this ASP put LOC DP river river DP increasingly big
 ‘He wanted to carry the child on his shoulders so he wanted to lift his foot like this to place it in the river, but the river grew bigger.’ (14.37-38)

¹⁰⁸ *ka* also functions as a question marker, as discussed above.

- (811) *Raksasa hatu ni ka bəsa na bəsa.*
giant one DEM DP big DP big
‘This particular giant was the largest.’ (14.1)
- (812) *Mari jalaN daN ka...*
come walk DP DP
‘Come, let’s go...’ (17.39)
- (813) *Jo angi bara, “e gaNpa tu le, bua jato tu kəkəra data poN le.”*
then wind west DP easy DEM DP makefall DEM monkey on.top tree DP
‘The West Wind [said], “Hey, even that’s easy, even making that monkey
on top of that tree fall.’ (11.32-33)
- (814) *Jo angi timo bə-tau “e, əNko bae kua.”*
then wind east BƏ-know DP 2SG good strong
‘Then the East Wind said “Hey, you’re really strong.”’ (16.6-7)

4.7.7 Other Features

There are some features unique to a single variety, such as gender in Larantuka Malay, and head-tail linkage in Papua Malay. These features reflect unique events in the development of these varieties (in these cases, the long-term contact between Larantuka Malay and Portuguese and the contact between Papua Malay and the local vernaculars of Papua), and do not provide evidence concerning the development of the contact varieties of Malay in general. These features do not occur in CJI.

4.7.7.1 Applicative in Manado Malay

Manado Malay has an applicative marker, *akang*, which increases the valency of a verb, with the result that an oblique participant is elevated to object (Stoel 2005: 43). Most commonly, the verb is intransitive and *akang* makes it a transitive verb. In the example below, the applied object is not mentioned explicitly.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ There were no examples in the elicited data of the applicative, so the examples here are from Stoel (2005).

- (815) (Recently I have learned a lot about making love.)
Jadi mo praktek akang kalu dia mo datang.
 so ASP practice APPL if 3SG ASP come
 ‘So I will practice on her when she comes.’ (Stoel 2005: 44, 2.66)

The example below is also with an intransitive verb, but the object is explicitly mentioned. The applicative marker allows for the applied object, *Yaya*.

- (816) (When I went there I didn’t see so many of our friends.)
Cuma Yaya no ta da baku-dapa akang.
 only Yaya DP 1SG ASP RECIP-meet APPL
 ‘The only one who I met was Yaya.’ (Stoel 2005: 44, 2.67)

Most commonly, the applicative marker increases the valency of a verb from one to two, or from two to three, But it can also be used to increase the valency from zero to one, as in (817) below.

- (817) (It starts to rain a little.)
Kita da ujang akang.
 1SG ASP rain APPL
 ‘It rained on me (I was rained on).’ (Stoel 2005: 45, 2.73)

4.7.7.2 Gender in Larantuka Malay

One feature which is unique to Larantuka Malay among the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, and which is quite rare among Austronesian languages in general, is the marking of gender on some nouns. The majority of the nouns in which gender marking is found have been borrowed from Portuguese, so it is not surprising that these forms should be marked for gender. What is surprising is that the marking has been extended to at least one set of nouns of Malay origin. The form this marking takes is the set of endings consisting of *-u* for males and *-a* for females. This has previously been seen in the 3sg pronouns *bicu* and *bica* borrowed from Portuguese, as discussed above. Steinhauer (1991: 194) offers the following list of forms from Larantuka Malay. Of note is the last item in the list, *mənantu/mənanta*, which is derived from the Malay word *mənantu* ‘son/daughter-in-

law’. This is one instance, and possibly the only example, of the Portuguese morpheme being extended to a Malay stem.

(818)	<i>tiu</i>	‘uncle’	<i>tia</i>	‘aunt’
	(<Port. <i>tio, tia</i>)			
	<i>kənyadu</i>	‘brother-in-law’	<i>kənyada</i>	‘sister-in-law’
	(<Port. <i>cunhado, cunhada</i>)			
	<i>inyu</i>	‘godfather’	<i>inya</i>	‘godmother’
	(<Port. <i>padrinha, madrinha</i>)			
	<i>saNtu</i>	‘male saint’	<i>saNta</i>	‘female saint’
	(<Port. <i>santo, santa</i>)			
	<i>ana səNbrinyu</i>	‘nephew’	<i>ana səNbrinya</i>	‘niece’
	(<Port. <i>sobrinho, sobrina</i> + Malay <i>ana</i> ‘child’)			
	<i>mənantu</i>	‘son-in-law’	<i>mənanta</i>	‘daughter-in-law’
	(<Malay <i>mənantu</i> ‘son/daughter-in-law’)			
	(Steinhauer 1991: 194)			

4.7.7.3 Head-Tail Linkage in Papua Malay

Head-tail linkage, a strategy widely used in the languages of New Guinea is also commonly used in Papuan Malay. The examples below, from Donohue (to appear: 40) show examples of what Donohue terms “classic head-tail linkage”, in that elements are repeated (in the case of (819), the mountain as a goal) to link sentences together in a narrative. In (820), the elements *pondok* ‘hut’ and *isterihat* ‘rest’ are repeated, thereby linking the sentences.

- (819) *Dong=jalan jalan jalan, pi gunung. Sampe di gunung,*
 3PL=walk walk walk go mountain until LOC mountain
- dong=su=capek, taramaw jalan lai.*
 3PL=PERF=tired not.want walk again
 ‘They went, and went and went, and got to the mountain. When they got to the mountain they were tired, and didn’t want to continue.’
 (Donohue to appear: 40, 173)

(820) *Dong=nae jalan pi sampe di pondok. Sampe di pondok*
 3PL=ascend road go until LOC hut until LOC hut

dong=duduk isterihat. Selese isterihat dong=ambe barang
 3PL=sit rest complete rest 3PL=take thing

pikul ba=pulang di kampong.
 carry.on.shoulder carry=return LOC village

‘They follow the road to the hut. Arriving at the hut, they sit down and rest.
 After resting, they take their things and carry them back to the village.’

(Donohue to appear: 41, 174)

4.7.7.4 Loanwords in Papua Malay

One common thread in the reports on Papua Malay which have appeared is a mention of lexical items which only appear in Papua Malay, and are either not found in other varieties of Malay or have different semantic interpretations. Donohue (to appear: 48-50) lists 30 items, van Velzen (1995: 329-333) includes 113 items, and Suharno (1983: 105) mentions 26 items. A few of these items are included here, to illustrate the range of innovative lexical items found in Papua Malay (D = from Donohue, S = from Suharno, V = from van Velzen). Although all the Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia include loan words from local vernaculars, there appear to be a greater number in Papua Malay, which play an important role in the language.

- (821) Words unique to the local culture
- | | |
|----------------|--|
| <i>forna</i> | ‘sago bread mould’ (S) |
| <i>koteka</i> | ‘penis gourd’ (S) |
| <i>nokeng</i> | ‘string bag’ (S, V) |
| <i>mayari</i> | ‘try to find a mate, flirt, seduce’ (S, V) |
| <i>sekan</i> | ‘plaited armband’ (S) |
| <i>seman</i> | ‘outrigger’ (S) |
| <i>kabila</i> | ‘chest’ (S) |
| <i>papeda</i> | ‘sago porridge’ (V) |
| <i>bia</i> | ‘shell’ (V) |
| <i>genemo</i> | ‘type of vegetable’ (V) |
| <i>lau-lau</i> | ‘tree kangaroo’ (V) |
| <i>jubi</i> | ‘arrow’ (V) |
| <i>soa-soa</i> | ‘iguana’ (V) |

<i>bobo</i>	‘nipah tree’ (V)
<i>burung yakop</i>	‘white cockatoo’ (V)
<i>toki</i>	‘beat’ (V)
<i>papeda laut</i>	‘jelly fish’ (lit. ‘sago porridge of the sea’) (V)
<i>gosi/gose</i>	‘penis’ (V)
<i>pepe</i>	‘vagina’ (V)
<i>kasbi</i>	‘cassava’ (V)
<i>bete</i>	‘kind of tuber’ (V)
<i>duri babi</i>	‘sea urchin’ (lit. ‘boar thorn’) (V)
<i>kole-kole</i>	‘canoe without outriggers’ (V)
<i>lolaro, olaro</i>	‘mangrove tree’ (V)
<i>guci</i>	‘type of dance performed by children’ (V)
<i>yosim</i>	‘local modern dance’ (V)
<i>molo</i>	‘skin-diving’ (V)
<i>noge</i>	‘derogatory term for mountain Papuans’ (V)
<i>meti</i>	‘dried up, empty, lifeless, absent’ (V)
<i>sema</i>	‘black magician’ (V)
<i>tai yakis</i>	‘exclamation of resistance’ (V)
<i>koming</i>	‘term for indigenous Papuans’ (V)
<i>bilolo</i>	‘hermit crab’ (V)
<i>tifa</i>	‘kind of drum’ (V)
<i>noa</i>	‘manta ray’ (D)
<i>bobatu</i>	‘poison fish (species)’ (D)
<i>ka(i)ta</i>	‘contrary to hopes’ (D)

(822) Words exhibiting semantic change

(Standard Indonesian meaning in parentheses)

<i>mata jalan</i>	‘intersection’ (‘lookout, observer’) (S)
<i>tempo</i>	‘early’ (‘time’) (S)
<i>kemuka</i>	‘earlier’ (‘to the front’) (S)
<i>langgar</i>	‘meet, overtake’ (‘violate, collide’) (S)
<i>balabo</i>	‘park (a car), stop, rest’ (‘cast anchor’) (S)
<i>parau tenggelam</i>	‘overloaded canoe’ (‘sunk canoe’) (V)
<i>kumis</i>	‘moustache, beard, sideburns, chest hair’ (‘moustache’) (V)
<i>panggayu</i>	‘to paddle, row’ (‘oar’) (V)
<i>dayung</i>	‘oar’ (‘to paddle, row’) (V)
<i>ipar</i>	‘non-Papuan, immigrant’ (‘brother/sister-in-law’)
<i>nae/naik</i>	‘travel by (path)’ (‘climb, travel by (vehicle)’) (D)
<i>gigit</i>	‘bother, annoy’ (‘bite’) (D)
<i>cari jalan</i>	‘walk around looking for something’ (‘looking for a road, way out’) (D)

- (823) Innovations using Malay words
- spolo lagi saprampa* ‘a quarter to ten’ (lit. ‘ten again one-quarter’) (S)
kapala kali ‘headwaters (of a river)’ (lit. ‘head river’) (V)
ular kaki ampa ‘type of poisonous lizard’ (lit. ‘four-legged snake’) (V)
makasar ‘term for Islamic non-Papuans’ (<place name) (V)
taru tangan ‘hit with hand, slap’ (lit. ‘place hand’) (D)
- (824) Kinship terms
- bapa ade/adi* ‘father’s younger brother, father’s younger sister’s husband’ (S, V, D)
mama ade/adi ‘mother’s younger sister, mother’s younger brother’s wife’ (V, D)
bapa tua ‘father’s elder brother, father’s elder sister’s husband’ (V, D)
mama tua ‘mother’s elder sister, mother’s elder brother’s wife’ (D)
tanta ‘father’s sister (D), parent’s younger brother’s wife (V)’
om ‘mother’s brother (D), parent’s younger sister’s husband (V)’
bapa mantu ‘father-in-law’ (literally ‘father son-in-law’) (S)
sowo ‘relation between two people whose spouses are siblings of the same sex’ (V)

5.0 Conclusion

Through describing the seven contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, and comparing the phonologies and grammars employed in these varieties, certain conclusions can be drawn about the variety or varieties involved in the origin and development of the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia. Features found in one or more varieties may have one of the following three sources:

1) Features found in Vehicular Malay, the language variety or varieties which first brought Malay to the eastern islands as a trade language. Features can be identified as belonging to Vehicular Malay if they are shared between all, or almost all, the varieties in eastern Indonesia, and they can be found in varieties in western Indonesia, particularly in the Malay varieties used in Java, Sumatra, or the Malay Peninsula, the three regions which are known to have been historically involved in the spice trade which originally brought Malay to the eastern islands.

2) Features which developed in the eastern islands before the various varieties of eastern Indonesian Malay developed separate identities. These are features shared by all, or almost all, of the contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, but which are not found in varieties in western Indonesia. The preponderance of features of this type leads to the conclusion that a variety of Malay was established in eastern Indonesia, with a common set of features, which then dispersed to the various locations where eastern Indonesian varieties of Malay are found today. In Chapter 4, this hypothetical variety, the parent of the eastern Indonesian Malay varieties, was given the name Eastern Indonesian Trade Malay (EITM), and it was posited that this variety developed in either the northern Moluccas or in the Banda islands, which were the two primary foci of the spice trade in eastern Indonesia.

3) Features which are only found in one variety, or in one or two varieties. These features represent localized developments, after individual varieties of Malay began developing following the establishment of Malay-speaking communities in the various locations in eastern Indonesia where Malay varieties developed. These unique features are generally due to the influence of local vernacular, or substrate, languages.

These three types of features will be examined in turn, in the hopes that this analysis will add to our understanding of the varieties of Malay which were involved in creating the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia.

5.1 Features inherited from Vehicular Malay

A number of features in the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia have been inherited from Vehicular Malay, the trade language which brought Malay to the eastern islands. First, and most obviously, the lexicon of all the contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia consists mostly of lexical items shared with varieties of Malay in the west. In Chapter 2, it was noted that Ambon Malay shares 85.9% of its vocabulary with Standard Indonesian and 85% with Betawi Malay (the indigenous language of the Jakarta region). This percentage is probably representative of the shared vocabulary between eastern Indonesian contact varieties and western varieties of Malay. Divergences occur due to the significant number of loan words in eastern varieties from Portuguese, Dutch and local vernaculars, and words which have entered western varieties from various sources since Vehicular Malay brought the language to the eastern islands.

Lexical items which were inherited with little change in all varieties include (apart from the open class categories of nouns, verbs and adjectives) the set of numerals, the set

of singular pronouns, the basic set of question words, the negators (except the primary negator), and the basic set of prepositions.

Second, the phonologies of eastern varieties are almost identical to the phonologies of western varieties of Malay. The phoneme inventories only differ in a few minor points, chiefly the addition of /f/ as a phoneme in the eastern varieties (/f/ has also been added to the inventory of western languages, through borrowings from European languages, but has not become as completely a part of the phonemic system in the western varieties) and the loss of the schwa in eastern varieties (except for Larantuka Malay)

Other features which can be attributed to Vehicular Malay:

Phonology

- Monophthongization of the word-final diphthongs /ay/ to /e/ and /aw/ to /o/.
(Section 4.3.2)
- Loss of word-final /ʔ/ and /h/. (Section 4.3.1)
- Loss of word-medial /h/ except between like vowels. (Section 4.3.1)
- Loss of word-initial /h/. (Section 4.3.1)
- Lowering of /i/ to /e/ and of /u/ to /o/ in final closed syllables. (Section 4.3.2)

Morphology

- Productive nominal and verbal reduplication. (Section 4.5.9 and Section 4.6.5)
- The prefixes *ba-* and *ta-*. Vehicular Malay had a simpler set of affixes than Standard Malay, as do all varieties of Low Malay. It is likely that Vehicular Malay also had active and passive verbal prefixes, though these are not found in any contact variety of Malay in eastern Indonesia. (Section 4.6.5)

Syntax

- The basic word order of SVO. (Section 4.4.1)
- The open and closed lexical categories are the same in all varieties of Malay, although the exact categories are open to interpretation. (Section 4.4.2)
- Other basic orders including NOUN-ADJECTIVE, NOUN-NUMERAL, NP-REL, NP-PP, and the basic order of elements in the NP and VP. (Section 4.5.1)
- Formation of polar questions and content questions. (Section 4.4.6)
- A possessive construction consisting of POSSESSOR-*punya*-POSSESSED, with an abbreviated form of *punya*. (Section 4.5.5)
- Plural is not marked except in rare cases, and then by nominal reduplication. (Section 4.5.2)
- Indefinite pronouns are formed by reduplication. (Section 4.5.4)
- The use of short forms of the demonstratives *ini* and *itu* for discourse strategies. (Section 4.5.6)
- Formation of comparative structures. (Section 4.7.3)

The possessive construction requires a short explanation, as this structure has been identified as one of the defining features of contact varieties of Malay (Adelaar and Prentice 1996: 675), and it might be thought that it developed in eastern Indonesia, since the vernaculars of the region commonly employ similar structures. It is likely that the POSSESSOR-*punya*-POSSESSED construction first developed in the western part of the Malay world, possibly through the influence of Southern Min (Hokkien) Chinese (Ansaldò and Matthews 1999). It is regularly found in contact varieties in the Malay peninsula such as Baba Malay and Malaysian Bazaar Malay, and may well have been used in Malay varieties

spoken in Malacca, which was the primary trading center in southeast Asia in the 14th through 17th centuries. It is found in Low Malay varieties in western Indonesia, and, although it is not the most common possessive structure, is found in Jakarta Colloquial Indonesian and the Chinese Malay of central and eastern Java. The POSSESSOR-*punya*-POSSESSED construction has even been found in a 19th century document in a Malay variety spoken in Indonesian Borneo (Nothofer 2003). It is therefore probable that the construction was a part of Vehicular Malay, and was not an innovation occurring in the eastern islands.

5.2 Innovations in Eastern Indonesian Trade Malay

Certain developments are shared by all, or most, of the contact Malay varieties in eastern Indonesia, yet are not found in varieties of Malay in the west. It is therefore likely that these varieties developed from a single unattested variety, referred to herein as Eastern Indonesian Trade Malay (EITM), which may have developed in the northern Moluccas or the Banda islands in the centuries before the first European contact in the early 16th century. The only surviving contact variety of Malay in eastern Indonesia known to pre-date the first European contact is North Moluccan Malay, as the original Malay of the Banda islands was lost when the islands were depopulated in 1621. Kupang Malay may also pre-date the first European contact, but Kupang at that time was a very small settlement and not at the center of the thriving spice trade, and it is likely that Kupang Malay only developed as a distinct variety during the colonial era. The other Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia—Ambon Malay, Manado Malay, the second Banda Malay, Larantuka Malay and Papua Malay—are known to have developed after European contact.

The features which were likely developed in EITM and then spread as other varieties developed are included in the following list.

Phonology

- Merger of word-final nasals. (Section 4.3.1)
- Loss of word-final non-nasal consonants other than /s/, /l/ and /r/. (Section 4.3.1)
- Addition of the phoneme /f/. (Section 4.3.1)
- Loss of the schwa (except in Larantuka Malay), with specific strategies employed to delete the schwa or replace it with other vowels. (Section 4.3.2)
- The development of phonemic stress as a result of the loss of the schwa (except in Larantuka Malay). (Section 4.3.2)

Morphology

- Use of the prefix *baku-* to form reciprocal verbs (except in Larantuka Malay). (Section 4.6.5)
- Loss of all other Malay affixes except *ba-* and *ta-*. (Section 4.6.5)
- Loss of a passive morpheme.
- Plural pronouns developed from singular pronouns + *orang* ‘human being’. (Section 4.5.3)

Syntax

- DEMONSTRATIVE-NOUN order (except in Larantuka Malay). (Section 4.5.6)
- The use of grammaticized aspect markers such as *su/so* PERF, *mau/mo* FUT, and *ada* REALIS/PROGRESSIVE. (Section 4.6.2)
- The use of the auxiliaries *kasi*, *bikin* and *buat* to form causative structures, as well as other auxiliaries such as *dapa* ‘get, find’, *pi* ‘go’, *jaga* HABITUAL, and *maen* ITERATIVE. (Section 4.6.3)
- Relative clause constructions with no overt marking. (Section 4.5.8)

- The use of the possessive particle as an intensifier (except in Larantuka Malay).
(Section 4.7.1)

- The development of a set of discourse particles. (Section 4.7.6)

The uniformity of these features across the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia (with the exception of Larantuka Malay, which is discussed below) is striking, and the conclusion that these varieties must have descended from a common parent after arriving in eastern Indonesia is a reasonable one. It would be unlikely that these features would develop independently, particularly given the differing histories of the varieties and the different substrate languages interacting with each. Furthermore, these features are not found in Malay varieties outside of eastern Indonesia, and could not have been transmitted by way of Vehicular Malay. The only alternative is to posit the existence of EITM, a variety which evolved, over time and in different locations, into the contact varieties of Malay which exist today in eastern Indonesia.

Some aspects of EITM can be reconstructed from the forms in current varieties descended from EITM. For example, the following are likely reconstructions (in addition to the demonstratives, aspect markers and auxiliaries mentioned above):

(825) Pronoun Set

<i>*kita</i>	1SG	<i>*kita-orang</i>	1PL
<i>*beta</i>	1SG ¹¹⁰		
<i>*kamu</i>	2SG	<i>*kamu-orang</i>	2PL
<i>*dia</i>	3SG	<i>*dia-orang</i>	3PL

(826) Negators: **tara* ‘no, not’
**tarada* ‘not have’ (from *tara* ‘no not’ + *ada* ‘exist, have’)

(827) Question marker: **ka*

¹¹⁰ The first person pronoun *beta* derives from the royal first person pronoun in High Malay, and there was probably originally a formal/informal distinction between *kita* and *beta*.

Question words:	<i>*apa</i>	‘what’
	<i>*mana</i>	‘which’
	<i>*sapa</i>	‘who’
	<i>*di mana</i>	‘where’
	<i>*bagemana</i>	‘how’
	<i>*kena apa</i>	‘why’
	<i>*barapa</i>	‘how many’

5.3 Innovations Due to Substrate Influence

A few innovations have occurred in specific varieties which are not shared by other varieties in eastern Indonesia, and can be attributed to the influence of local vernacular languages. These innovations include the following:

- The development of a land-sea spatial deixis system in North Moluccan Malay, Ambon Malay, and Larantuka Malay. Although these systems have certain similarities, they developed independently as a result of contact with local languages, as shown by Taylor (1983) for North Moluccan Malay and Dietrich (1997) for Larantuka Malay. A spatial deixis system with a different orientation, that of settlement-inland has developed in Papua Malay (at least in the North Papua variety), again as a result of contact with local languages.

(Section 4.7.4)

- Head-Tail linkages in Papua Malay, a structure which has been borrowed from Papuan languages of the region, in which it is commonly found. (Section 4.7.7.3)

- Serial verb constructions in Kupang Malay, particularly those employing the auxiliaries *ame* ‘take’ and *buang* ‘throw away’. These structures have been shown by Jacob and C. Grimes (2007) to parallel structures found in local vernacular languages of the Kupang region. (Section 4.6.4.3)

- Gender distinctions in human noun forms, which have developed in Larantuka Malay as a result of long-term intensive contact with Portuguese. Many of the terms with

gender distinctions have been borrowed from Portuguese, but morphemes indicating gender have been applied to Malay stems in at least one instance (*mənantu* ‘son-in-law’, *mənanta* ‘daughter-in-law’, both derived from Malay *mənantu* ‘son/daughter-in-law’). (Section 4.7.7.2)

- An applicative marker, *akang*, is used in Manado Malay, but not found in other Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia. This marker may have developed through the influence of local vernaculars, although it is notable that a pronoun of the same form, *akang*, occurs as a 3SG.INANIMATE pronoun in Ambon Malay and Papua Malay (Serui), and the forms in these varieties may be related. (Section 4.7.7.1)

- The second person singular and plural pronouns in Manado Malay and North Moluccan Malay, *ngana* 2SG and *ngoni* 2PL, have been borrowed from the Ternate language, and represent the only exceptions to the plural pronoun formation rule (plural pronoun = singular pronoun + *orang*) in any of the contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia. (Section 4.5.3)

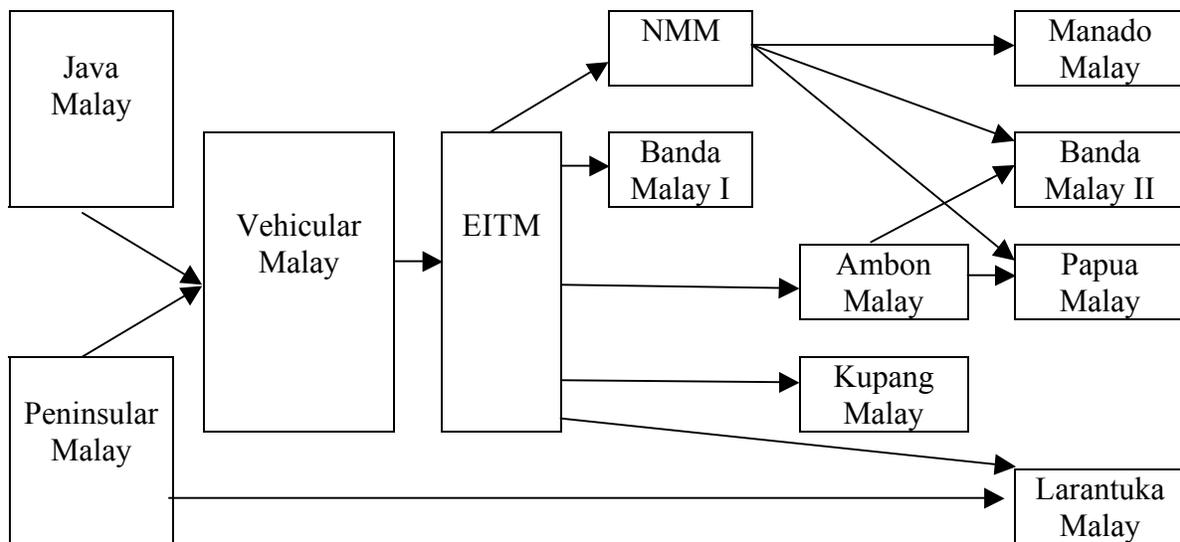
- Short forms of pronouns are used in Papua Malay as subject agreement proclitics, a development due to the common use of subject agreement markers on verbs in both the Austronesian and Papuan languages of New Guinea. (Section 4.5.3)

5.4 The History of the Contact Malay Varieties of Eastern Indonesia

The preceding analysis has made possible an understanding of some of the mechanisms which were involved in the development of the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, and a general picture has emerged of the stages which must have taken place to create the resulting varieties which are known today.

Figure 5.1 below presents these stages which occurred over time, with the most recent developments on the right side of the figure. The first event was the development of Vehicular Malay, the trade language which brought Malay to eastern Indonesia (and beyond), a variety which developed in the trading centers of the western part of the archipelago, and which was most likely not a single homogeneous variety, but which exhibited regional differences in the varying locations in which it was used, which were located in the trading centers of eastern and southern Sumatra, the Riau islands, the western and southern Malay peninsula, and the north coast of Java. The varieties of Malay which formed Vehicular Malay were all varieties of Low Malay, and included Java Malay and Peninsular Malay, as well as Low Malay varieties of Sumatra and the Riau islands. Sumatran varieties themselves can be divided into Group I varieties in the north and the Riau islands, which share similarities with Peninsular Malay, and Group II varieties in the south, which are more similar to Java Malay.

Figure 5.1: Development of the Contact Malay Varieties of Eastern Indonesia



Note: NMM=North Moluccan Malay, EITM=Eastern Indonesia Trade Malay

For convenience, the Group I varieties of north and east Sumatra, the Riau islands and the Malay Peninsula are represented in the figure by “Peninsular Malay”, while the Group II varieties of southern Sumatra and Java are represented by “Java Malay.” Traces of both these groups can be seen in contact Malay varieties today, and, since both groups were involved in trade activities, it can be assumed that both varieties were involved in the formation of Vehicular Malay.

After Malay arrived in the eastern islands, it initially took the form of a single eastern variety, represented by EITM in Figure 5.1. It was at this stage that it developed the features listed in Section 5.2 above, which are shared by all, or most, of the varieties which descended from EITM. The early known varieties to grow out of EITM are North Moluccan Malay and the first Banda Malay. In fact, these two varieties may have been very similar, and may have themselves been EITM. There is no record of the first Banda Malay, which was lost when the Banda islands were depopulated in 1621. Ambon Malay arose in the 16th century around the Portuguese fort in Ambon, and was certainly influenced by both North Moluccan Malay and the first Banda Malay, and can be seen as a descendant of EITM. Kupang Malay may have developed earlier, but it is more likely that it developed after trade with Europeans (first the Portuguese, and later, the Dutch) began. It is likely that it too represents a direct descendant of EITM.

Manado Malay was established through contact with Ternate, and thus is a direct descendant of North Moluccan Malay. It arose in the 15th and 16th centuries. Manado Malay is very similar to North Moluccan Malay, both structurally and lexically, including a large number of loan words from the Ternate language, and Portuguese words which could only have come from North Moluccan Malay, as prior to the arrival of the Dutch in the

mid-17th century, Manado's previous contacts with Europeans were exclusively with the Spanish, who controlled the nearby Philippines.

Banda Malay II developed after the Banda islands were depopulated in 1621 and a new population (consisting chiefly of slaves from other parts of the archipelago) was established on the islands. Some of these slaves were from the northern Moluccas and Ambon, and brought with them their varieties of Malay, which were influential in giving the new language its character. In the succeeding centuries, regular contact with nearby Ambon has brought the two varieties closer together, and there are few points of divergence between the two varieties, apart from lexical items.

Larantuka Malay probably began to develop when the Portuguese fled Solor to Larantuka in 1613, but gained most of its speakers (and character) when the Portuguese fled to Larantuka in 1641 from Malacca, bringing with them Peninsular Malay. Peninsular Malay had a strong influence on the development of Larantuka Malay, and it may be more accurate to say that Larantuka Malay is a direct descendant of Peninsular Malay, with some influence from EITM, rather than to include it in the varieties descended from EITM. Certain critical features of the language are unlike EITM varieties, such as the inclusion of the schwa in the vowel system, the advanced nature of vowel lowering in final closed syllables (a process which has its origins in Group I Malay, and, although it occurs in EITM languages, is much more advanced in Peninsular Malay and Larantuka Malay), the use of the 3SG possessive suffix *-nya*, NOUN-DEMONSTRATIVE order, the lack of the reciprocal prefix *baku-*, the lack of phonemic stress, and the lack of the possessive particle used as an intensifier. On the other hand, all of the features listed above in Section 5.2 as emblematic of Vehicular Malay are found in Larantuka Malay. In addition to the

phonological and structural evidence tying Larantuka Malay to Peninsular Malay, there is also a significant number of lexical items found in Peninsular Malay and Larantuka Malay but unknown in the other Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia.

Although it appears to be most accurate to consider Larantuka Malay as a descendant of Peninsular Malay rather than a descendant of EITM, there are certain features which it does share with varieties descended from EITM, and these might point to a role of EITM in the development of Larantuka Malay (or, possibly, that these features properly should be included in the feature set for Vehicular Malay, rather than EITM). In this category we find the fact that Larantuka Malay shares almost precisely the same reduced set of Malay affixes as the other varieties of eastern Indonesia (including loss of the passive morpheme, a morpheme found in all western varieties of Malay), makes use of the same set of aspect particles, and uses similar auxiliaries to create CAUSATIVE and other constructions. Two other areas of convergence between Larantuka Malay and EITM are just as likely to have occurred independently: the addition of the phoneme /f/ (found in vernacular languages around Larantuka and throughout eastern Indonesia), and the development of a set of discourse particles (a feature which is not found in all EITM varieties).

Another area in which Larantuka Malay exhibits a convergence with EITM varieties, which, again, is likely due to an independent development, is in the handling of word-final consonants. Varieties descended from EITM tend to lose all non-nasal word-final consonants other than /s/, /l/ and /r/, while word-final nasal consonants tend to merge to /ŋ/. In Larantuka Malay, all non-nasal word-final consonants have been lost (except for six monosyllabic loans from Dutch, which end in /s/, /l/ and /r/), while word-final nasal

consonants have merged to the archiphoneme /N/, which is realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel (unless the final syllable begins with a nasal consonant or prenasalized consonant, in which case the word-final nasal is lost). The processes which have led to the loss of word-final consonants in both the EITM varieties and in Larantuka Malay may be due to substrate influence as the vernacular languages of eastern Indonesia strongly favor open syllables.

Papuan Malay initially developed through contacts (in coastal areas only) with the sultanates of Tidore and Ternate in the 17th and 18th centuries, followed by trade contacts with the north Moluccans and Ambonese in the 19th century, as well as religious propagation (from Ambon and the central Moluccas) and Dutch colonial administration in the 19th and 20th centuries, and finally, Indonesian government administration, education and mass media after 1963. There appear to be regional variations due to the differing forms of the contact language which brought Malay to Papua, with the area around Cendrawasih Bay speaking a variety closer to North Moluccan Malay, and the southern Bird's Head and Bomberai peninsula speaking a variety closer to Ambon Malay.

The contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia all developed from Vehicular Malay, and, all except for Larantuka Malay, developed from a hypothetical Eastern Indonesian Trade Malay, a language which arose through the spice trade between the Malay-speaking world and the spice islands of eastern Indonesia, while Larantuka Malay represents a transplanted variety of Peninsular Malay.

Appendix 1

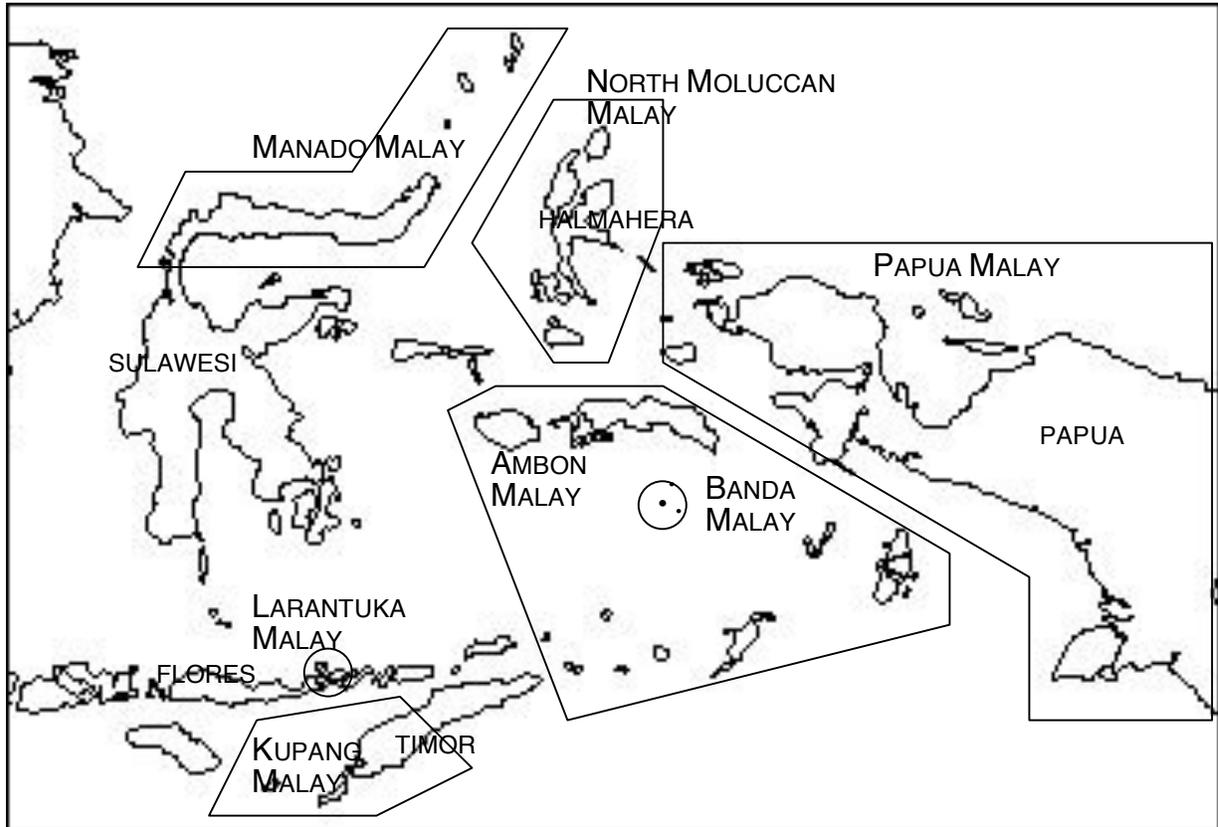
Grammatical Sketches:

The Malay Contact Varieties of Eastern Indonesia

This section consists of separate grammatical sketches for each of the seven eastern Indonesian contact varieties of Malay. These sketches represent a reorganization of the information presented in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, and do not include new data or analysis. This appendix is included to provide a separate accessible reference for each variety.

The Malay Contact Varieties of Eastern Indonesia

The seven Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia described in this appendix are shown in Map A.1 below.



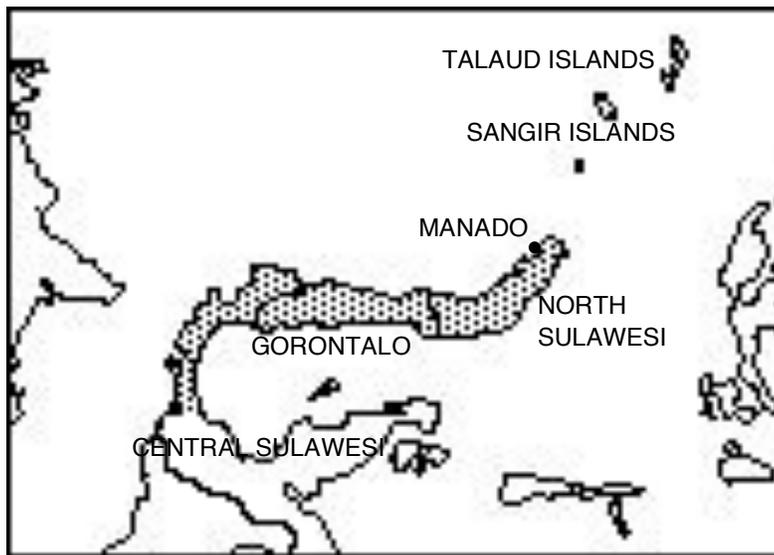
Map A.1: Malay Contact Varieties in Eastern Indonesia

A.1 Manado Malay

A.1.1 Language area, speakers, and history

Manado Malay (*Bahasa Melayu Manado*), also known as Minahasa Malay, is spoken primarily in the province of North Sulawesi (*Sulawesi Utara*) and to a lesser extent, in the provinces of Gorontalo (until 2000, a part of North Sulawesi) and Central Sulawesi (*Sulawesi Tengah*). It has long been spoken as a first language in the cities of Manado and Bitung and surrounding areas, and has been gaining native speakers throughout the

Minahasa region¹¹¹ (the northern part of the province of North Sulawesi) and the Sangir-Talaud islands which stretch from the North Sulawesi peninsula to the southeasternmost Philippines. There are reports that in the Sangir-Talaud archipelago, there are very few native speakers of the original languages under age 20, as most children are being raised speaking Manado Malay as their primary language (Jelpris Topuh, Napoleon Mandiangan p.c.). Stoel (2005: 6) posits “at least one million first-language speakers of Manado Malay,” based on population data for the relevant political units. Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) reports a more conservative estimate of 850,000 first-language speakers.



Map A.2 Manado Malay

In addition to first-language speakers, Manado Malay is spoken as a second language throughout the provinces of North Sulawesi and Gorontalo, as well as parts of Central Sulawesi, with as many as three million speakers using the language as either a first or second language.

¹¹¹ Prentice (1994: 411) says “It is unclear how long the Minahasan languages can maintain themselves as viable linguistic entities under the increasing pressure of Manado Malay.”

Speakers of Manado Malay for the most part represent language shift in communities formerly speaking Minahasan languages (chiefly Tonsea, Tombulu and Tondano) and Sangiric languages (Bantik, Sangir, Talaud), all of which are Austronesian languages, of the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch, and the Sulawesi sub-group. Many speakers of Manado Malay, especially those in and around the city of Manado, have no memory of or recall of the languages previously spoken. This language shift has occurred over a period of at least four hundred years, and is continuing, if not increasing, at the current time.

Manado Malay is very similar to North Moluccan Malay, the variety of Malay spoken in Ternate and neighboring islands in the northern Moluccas. Strong evidence suggests that Manado Malay did not originate in Manado itself, but rather that it represents further development of a variety transplanted from the northern Moluccas. At the time the Netherlands established its first fortress in Manado in 1658 (Ricklefs 2001:79), Ternatean influence was strong there (along with Spain, which was the first colonial presence in the area, due to its presence in the nearby southern Philippines). It is likely that, through this early Ternatean influence, North Moluccan Malay had already been introduced to Manado before the first Dutch fortress was established, as this represented the end of significant Ternatean influence in the region. Manado Malay has a significant number of loanwords from the Ternate language (a Papuan language, of the West Papuan family), as well as from Portuguese, which had a strong presence in the northern Moluccas in the 16th century. This, coupled with the fact that Manado Malay has had almost no influence from the Minahasa languages (or from Spanish), points toward its origin in the north Moluccas, and subsequent transplantation to Manado. The presence of significant numbers of Portuguese

loanwords can further date this transplantation at the earliest to the period of Portuguese influence in Ternate, which lasted from 1522 to 1575.

During the Dutch colonial era, which lasted for nearly 300 years, until 1945, Manado enjoyed a favored position with the Dutch, and Dutch influence was very strong there. As a consequence, Manado Malay has large numbers of loanwords from Dutch.

Since Indonesian independence in 1945, and the advent of universal education in the Indonesian language, as well as the widespread availability of Indonesian-language media in all forms, the Indonesian language has had a strong and continuing influence on Manado Malay. Given their common origins in related varieties of Malay, Manado Malay and Indonesian (and, in particular, colloquial Indonesian) have been converging, to the point that speakers of Manado Malay, to varying extents and often subconsciously, employ Indonesian vocabulary and constructions when using Manado Malay, and it is often difficult to draw a line between the two languages.

Stoel (2005:14) reports that there is some regional variation in Manado Malay, influenced by differing substrate languages (Minahasan or Sangiric), the influence of Dutch in Manado city and the Minahasa interior, and, especially among younger speakers, the influence of Indonesian. This variation affects the pronunciation of the consonant /p/ vs. /f/, word final nasals, high vs. mid vowels, vowel elision, and final vs. penultimate stress. The data used in this study were collected from speakers who have spent their entire lives in the city of Manado, and whose ages were 45 and 60. Even among these speakers, who have similar backgrounds, some variation was found, in terms of the form of word-final nasals, certain constructions, and the degree of influence of Indonesian.

A.1.2 Major sources

The earliest known source on Manado Malay is De Clercq (1871), which describes Manado Malay, mentions its association with North Moluccan Malay, discusses its differences from literary Malay, including a list of 11 specific features, provides a selection of pantuns (short poems) in Manado Malay, and concludes with a short list of unusual words in Manado Malay. Manado Malay is also one of the varieties included in De Clercq's work on Malay in the Moluccas (1876), in which he provides an extensive wordlist and examples of Malay texts collected in various locations.

The most comprehensive source on Manado Malay is Stoel (2005). Although the primary aim of this work was to examine how focus is marked in Manado Malay, it also provides a thorough and well-organized description of the language, and includes an analysis of the discourse particles which are often not examined in descriptive grammars. An earlier work, which, until the publication of Stoel (2005), was the most informative description of Manado Malay available, is Prentice (1994), which looks at the historical setting of the language, and provides a brief description of the phonology and grammar.

Kariso Najoan, Liwoso, Djojuroto, and Kembuan (1981) is a summary of the morphology and syntax of Manado Malay. It provides little analysis or explanation. Solea-Warouw (1985) is a Manado Malay-Indonesian dictionary, with some introductory notes on phonology and morphology. Ticoalu (1983) investigates interference from Manado Malay on the Indonesian used in North Sulawesi by civil servants and the mass media.

A.1.3 Phonology and orthography

A.1.3.1 Consonants of Manado Malay

The consonant phonemes of Manado Malay are:

Table A.1: Consonants of Manado Malay

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	(ʔ)
Voiced stops	b	d	ɟ <j>	g	
Fricatives	f	s			h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Glides	(w)		j <y>	w	

The orthographic conventions used in this document are indicated in angled brackets above, following standard Indonesian spelling.

There are a few issues concerning the consonant phonology which are of note. The status of the glottal stop is questionable. Glottal stops occur non-phonemically before words with an initial vowel and between vowels within a word. They also occur word-finally in words borrowed from Indonesian which have the /k/ phoneme occurring word-finally, although there appears to be variation between speakers, with some speakers dropping the word-final sound altogether. In addition, there are a few words with a word-final glottal stop of uncertain origin. Prentice (1994) suggests that these are possibly of Minahasa origin. Stoel (2005: 11) posits a contrast between word-final /k/, found in words borrowed from Dutch, and word-final /ʔ/, occurring in words of Indonesian origin and a few words of Manado Malay origin. He presents the following minimal pairs:

Table A.2: Minimal Pairs with /k/ and /ʔ/

<i>ba</i>	(interjection)	<i>baʔ</i>	‘pork’	<i>bak</i>	‘water container’
—		<i>doʔ</i>	(discourse particle)	<i>dok</i>	‘dock’
<i>pa</i>	(inanimate marker)	<i>paʔ</i>	‘father’	<i>pak</i>	‘to pack’

My informants felt there was no glottal stop at the end of *ba*, the word for ‘pork’, though I occasionally heard it in actual usage (and occasionally did not). In view of the fact

that the examples of a word-final [k] given by Stoel are from loanwords (from Dutch), and one of the examples of word-final [ʔ] (*paʔ*) is a loanword (from Indonesian),¹¹² I do not believe there is enough information available to conclusively answer this question. There are no examples in the limited data I collected of either word-final [k] or [ʔ].

There are a few borrowed phonemes which can be heard to occur on occasion, particularly among educated speakers, but which do not belong in the phonemic inventory of the sounds of Manado Malay. These are the sounds [v], [z], [ʃ] (<sy>), and [x] (<kh>). Prentice (1994) lists /v/, /z/ and /ʃ/ as phonemes of Manado Malay, and <v> and <z> occur in the orthographic representations in Solea-Warouw's dictionary (1985), but Stoel (2005: 11) concludes that they are not appropriately identified as phonemes of Manado Malay, and this appears to be the correct analysis.

A.1.3.2 Vowels of Manado Malay

The vowel inventory of Manado Malay is:

Table A.3: Vowels of Manado Malay

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

The presence of the schwa in Manado Malay presents a number of interrelated issues. Manado Malay is derived from North Moluccan Malay, a variety in which the schwa is not found, and indeed, the number of words with a schwa sound is limited. By contrast, all of the non-Malay languages spoken in North Sulawesi have the schwa sound, as do both the Standard and Colloquial varieties of Indonesian, so the development (and

¹¹² I did not come across any examples of the discourse marker [doʔ] in my data.

increasing use of) the schwa in Manado Malay is not unexpected or unusual. In the data collected for this study, schwa sounds occurred frequently, particularly in words borrowed from Indonesian, or which might represent code-switching to Indonesian. In some cases, an older variety of Manado Malay might have lacked the schwa in certain words, yet the schwa occurred in the data collected. The transcriptions of the data represent the actual sounds produced, and not an idealized (and probably archaic) Manado Malay, despite the desires of some of the informants.

Manado Malay is derived from North Moluccan Malay, which in turn originated in the Malay trade language which was brought to the Moluccas in the era preceding European contact. This variety, a non-attested variety which has been termed Vehicular Malay, almost certainly included the schwa sound in its vowel inventory (the schwa sound remains in the varieties of Malay spoken in Sumatra, Borneo, the Malay peninsula and Java, which are the likely homelands of the traders who brought Malay to the eastern islands). The processes by which the schwa sound disappeared in the development of North Moluccan Malay are discussed in Chapter 4. These processes include deletion (leading to the development of word-initial consonant clusters, unknown in Vehicular Malay), replacement and assimilation. Other phonological processes which occurred in the development of North Moluccan Malay (and which had already occurred before Manado Malay developed from that language) are the loss of final consonants in many environments, and the merger (to /ŋ/ <ng>) of final nasal consonants in word-final position (and the replacement of other word-final consonants by /ŋ/), and the development of lexical stress. These processes are described in the discussion of North Moluccan Malay. Other processes, which are described by some observers such as Prentice (1994) and Adelaar and

Prentice (1996) as emblematic of Manado Malay or the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, had actually occurred in Vehicular Malay prior to its arrival in the Moluccas, and can be found in the colloquial Malay spoken throughout the Malay homeland. These include the lowering of /i/ and /u/ in final closed syllables, monophthongization of the diphthongs /-ay/ and /-aw/ and loss of /h/ in most environments.

A.1.4 General/Clause Structure

A.1.4.1 Word Order

Manado Malay is an isolating language, and there is little productive morphology of any kind, apart from reduplication. As a result, word order takes a very important role, and the basic word orders of SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT (in transitive clauses) and SUBJECT-VERB (in intransitive clauses) are adhered to, as in the following typical examples, with only rare, highly-marked exceptions.

(A1) *Tu guru ada baca buku.*
DEM teacher ASP read book
'The teacher is reading a book.' (1.7)

(A2) *Tu anak ada tidor*
DEM child ASP sleep
'The child is sleeping.' (1.2)

A.1.4.2 Lexical categories

Manado Malay has three open classes of words. The open classes are nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Although adjectives have certain verb-like properties, and could possibly be analyzed as a sub-class of verbs, they can be distinguished from verbs because adjectives can occur with intensifiers, while verbs usually can not.

The following are the closed classes of words in Manado Malay, as described in Stoel (2005: 29). The members of these classes will be described separately.

- Pronouns (a sub-class of Nouns)
- Demonstratives
- Possessive markers
- Numerals
- Aspect markers
- Directionals
- Prepositions
- Intensifiers
- Relativizers
- Conjunctions
- Sentence Adverbs
- Negators
- Question words
- Interjections
- Discourse particles

A.1.4.3 Prepositions

Prepositional phrases in Manado Malay consist of PREPOSITION + NOUN PHRASE.

There are only a few prepositions in Manado Malay. The most commonly used prepositions, with examples, are listed below.

- *di* LOC ('at, in, on')¹¹³
 - (A3) *Meong ada tidor di atas kadera.*
cat ASP sleep LOC top chair
'The cat is sleeping on the chair.' (1.4)
 - (A4) *Ruma basar ada di jalang Kartini.*
house big have LOC street Kartini
'A big house on Kartini Street.' (1.117)
- *dari* 'from; than'
 - (A5) *Kita datang dari sana.*
1SG come from over.there
'I came from over there.' (1.128)
 - (A6) *Gunung itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
mountain DEM more tall from mountain DEM
'That mountain is taller than this mountain.' (1.153)
- *ka* 'to' (when the following noun phrase is inanimate)
 - (A7) *Kita pərna pigi ka luar kota.*
1SG ever go to outside city
'I have ever gone out of town.' (1.17)
 - (A8) *Ngana datang ka mari kiapa?*
2SG come to here why
'You came here why?' (1.84)
- *pa* 'to, at, for' (before animate noun phrases representing direct objects, goals, recipients, or beneficiaries (Stoel 2005: 40)
 - (A9) *Tu orang ada tulis surat pa de pe mama.*
DEM person ASP write letter to 3SG POSS mother
'The man is writing a letter to his mother.' (1.3)
 - (A10) *Anak itu ada kase bunga pa de pe mama.*
child DEM ASP give flower to 3SG POSS mother
'The child is giving a flower to his/her mother.' (1.8)

¹¹³ The preposition *di* can combine with words meaning such as 'top', 'bottom' and 'interior' to form the meanings 'on (top of)/above', 'under/below', and 'inside'. This is true in all varieties of Malay. Unlike English, *di* can also refer to the goal of a movement, and in these cases is usually interchangeable with *ka*.

- *deng* ‘with’ (INSTRUMENTAL, COMITATIVE)

(A11) *Kita pe papa ada potong tali deng piso.*
 1SG POSS father ASP cut rope with knife
 ‘My father is cutting a rope with a knife.’ (1.5)

(A12) *Kita pe papa ada potong kayu deng de pe tamang.*
 1SG POSS father ASP cut wood with 3SG POSS friend
 ‘My father is cutting wood with his friend.’ (1.6)

- *for* ‘for’ (BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT: examples of all three uses are not available in the data)¹¹⁴

(A13) *Dia ada bekeng makanang for mo jual di pasar.*
 3SG ASP make food for ASP sell LOC market
 ‘S/he is making food to sell in the market.’ (1.128)

Prepositional phrases in Manado Malay generally occur after the verb, clause finally, as in all examples in the data collected for this study. According to Stoel (2005: 140), they may be fronted if they provide new information, as in the example below.

(A14) (Mila was not at the harbor, so we decided to call her.)
Dari situ torang pigi di wartel.
 from there 1PL go in Wartel
 ‘From there we went to the Wartel (=telephone shop).’
 (Stoel (2005: 140, 5.14)

A.1.4.4 Negation

Simple clausal negation is expressed by the negator *nyanda* or *nya*,¹¹⁵ which occurs in the first position in the verb phrase before the verb being negated:

(A15) *Dia nyanda ba-telpon pa de pe mama tadi malam.*
 3SG NEG BA-telephone to 3SG POSS mother last night
 ‘S/he didn’t call his/her mother last night.’ (1.26)

¹¹⁴ Despite its form, *for* is not a loan from English. It most likely was originally borrowed (into North Moluccan Malay) from Portuguese *por* ‘for’, with the pronunciation influenced by Dutch *voor* ([fo:r]) ‘for’.

¹¹⁵ Stoel (2005: 59) presents this as *nyanda?* or *nya?*. The informants I worked with did not use a glottal stop in this word, and felt it sounded odd there, though not wrong (which may be further evidence against the phonemic status of the glottal stop in Manado Malay).

- (A16) *Nyanda ada kukis di dapur.*
 NEG have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘There is no cake in the kitchen.’ (1.35)

Negation of elements other than the verb is accomplished through use of the negator

bukang:

- (A17) *Bukang ngana dulu kerja di pabrik?*
 NEG 2SG before work LOC factory
 ‘Wasn’t it you who used to work at the factory?’ (2.43)

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *bəlung* or *bolong* ‘not yet’:

- (A18) *Kita bəlung tidor/bobo.*
 1SG not.yet sleep/sleep
 ‘I haven’t slept yet.’ (1.24)
- (A19) *Dia bolong mangael ikan.*
 3SG not.yet hook fish
 ‘He has not gone fishing yet.’ (2.26)

A few expressions make use of a negative prefix *nim-*, which can occur with the words *bole* ‘can/may’, *tau* ‘know’ and *mau* ‘want’.

- (A20) *Dia nim-bole ba-bicara bahasa Inggris.*
 3SG NEG-can BA-speak language English
 ‘S/he can’t speak English.’ (1.30)

There is also a prohibitive negator, *jang* ‘don’t’.

A.1.4.5 Questions

Polar questions are generally indicated by intonation alone:

- (A21) *Kukis ada di dapur?*
 cake have LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’ (1.40, 2.35)
- (A22) *Ngana dulu ada kerja di pabrik?*
 2SG before ASP work LOC factory
 ‘Did you formerly work at the factory?’ (1.47)

(A23) *Dia ada cari oto baru?*
3SG ASP search car new
'Is he looking for a new car?' (1.56)

(A24) *Tina makang sayur?*
Tina eat vegetables
'Is Tina eating vegetables?' (2.58)

The Indonesian patterns of inversion in existential and aspectual questions, and use of clause-initial *apa* 'what' to indicate a polar question commonly occurred in the data, but may well be a result of interference from the Indonesian-language prompts.

(A25) *Ada kukis di dapur?*
have cake LOC kitchen
'Is there cake in the kitchen?' (1.38)

(A26) *Masi ada kukis le di dapur?*
still have cake DP LOC kitchen
'Is there still cake in the kitchen?' (1.37)

(A27) *Apa dia mo cari oto baru?*
Q 3SG want search car new
'Is he looking for a new car?' (2.49)

Leading questions may be formed by the addition of the interjection *e* or the discourse particle *kang* or the emphatic particle *to* after the item questioned. Leading questions do not appear to be very common, and speakers avoided them, even when directly elicited.

(A28) *Ngana dulu kerja di pabrik to?*
2SG before work LOC factory DP
'You used to work at the factory, didn't you?' (1.48)

(A29) *Ngana dulu to kerja di pabrik?*
2SG before DP work LOC factory
'You used to work at the factory, didn't you?' (2.42)

Leading questions may also be formed by a clause-final negator with the meaning 'or not'.

(A30) *Ada kukis ato nyanda di dapur?*
 have cake or NEG LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there cake or not in the kitchen?’ (1.43)

Content questions can be formed using one of a set of questions words, which generally appear in situ, and question-word questions have a distinctive pattern of intonation. However, presumably due to the influence of Indonesian, question words can also appear sentence-initially.

Table A.4: Question words

<i>apa</i>	‘what’	<i>kiapa</i>	‘why’
<i>mana</i>	‘where’	<i>brapa/bərapa</i>	‘how many’
<i>bagaimana</i>	‘how’	<i>tempo apa</i>	‘when’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’	<i>kapan</i>	‘when’

(A31) *Paulus ada bəli apa di pasar?*
 Paul ASP buy what LOC market
 ‘What is Paul buying at the market?’ (1.75)

(A32) *Tina ada makang apa?*
 Tina ASP eat what
 ‘What is Tina eating?’ (2.56)

(A33) *Ngana datang ka mari kiapa?*
 2SG come to here why
 ‘You came here why?’ (1.84, 2.75)

(A34) *Ngana pe səkolah di mana?*
 2SG POSS school LOC where
 ‘Your school is where?’ (1.68, 2.60)

(A35) *Di mana ngana pe səkolah?*
 LOC where 2SG POSS school
 ‘Where is your school?’ (2.59)

(A36) *Bərapa gunung itu pe tinggi?*
 how.much mountain DEM POSS tall
 ‘What is the height of that mountain?’ (2.143)

(A37) *Ngana tempo apa mo klar səkolah?*
2SG time what ASP finish school
'You will finish school when?' (1.81)

(A38) *Sapa ada ba-pete bunga?*
who ASP BA-pick flower
'Who picked the flower?' (1.70)

(A39) *Ngana pe papa sapa?*
2SG POSS father who
'Who is your father?' (2.71)

A.1.5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

A.1.5.1 Order of elements

The basic order of the noun phrase in Manado Malay is:

(DEM) (QUANT) (NP_{POSS}) HEAD (NUM) (NOUN) (ADJ) (DEM) (VP) (QUANT) (REL/PP) (DEM)

These elements and the constraints on each will be discussed below.

Within the noun phrase, nouns may be modified by demonstratives, quantifiers, possessives, numerals, adjectives, other nouns, VPs, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses.

Quantifiers and numerals may precede the noun, again through the influence of Indonesian, although this is a recent innovation, and the basic order is for these elements to follow the noun.

Adjectives may be reduplicated, to make them more emphatic.

The following examples show the variable order of the quantifier in Manado Malay (N-QUANT and QUANT-N).

(A40) *Paulus pe oto banya.*
Paul POSS car many
'Paul has many cars.' (1.95)

- (A41) *Paulus ada banya buku.*
 Paul have many book
 ‘Paul has many books.’ (1.88)

A.1.5.2 Plural marking

There is no plural marking on nouns which are already modified by a quantifier or a numeral. In situations in which the context might be ambiguous, a plural noun may be indicated by reduplication, although informants avoided this form when it was directly elicited, and it only occurs in situations where possible ambiguity must be clarified.

- (A42) *Paulus punya buku-buku/kitab-kitab.*
 Paul POSS REDUP-book/REDUP-book
 ‘Paul has books.’ (2.88)

A.1.5.3 Pronouns

The pronouns of Manado Malay are presented in the table below.

Table A.5: Pronouns of Manado Malay

Full form	Short form		Full form	Short form	
<i>kita</i>	<i>ta</i>	1SG	<i>torang</i>	<i>tong</i>	1PL (INCL/EXCL)
<i>ngana</i>	—	2SG informal	<i>ngoni</i>	—	2PL
<i>əngko</i>	—	2SG formal			
<i>dia</i>	<i>de</i>	3SG	<i>dorang</i>	<i>dong</i>	3PL

The short forms are found only in the first and third person pronouns, and cannot be clause final. A short form can always be replaced by a full form.¹¹⁶ The third person forms must have animate referents (except in possessive constructions).

The plural forms do not refer to any specific number of persons. A specific number can be indicated by a pronoun followed by a numeral, as in the example.

- (A43) *Jadi hanya torang dua?*
 so only 1PL two
 ‘So it’s only the two of us?’ (1.46)

¹¹⁶ Stoel (2005: 17) calls these short forms “cliticized forms”.

Subject and object pronouns may be deleted in an utterance if the context makes clear who is referred to. In this example from Stoel (2005: 43), the subject, direct object and indirect object are all unexpressed.

- (A44) (If I don't pay cash, I will not get the goods that I need.)
Jadi nyak kase dang?
 so not give DP
 'So they don't give them to you?' (Stoel 2005: 43, 2.65)

A.1.5.4 Reduplication of Pronouns and Question Words

Question words and pronouns may be reduplicated to indicate indefiniteness or lack of specificity and can function as pronouns or to modify nouns. Reduplicated question words can also function as indefinite or non-specific interrogative pronouns. The question word *sapa* 'who' is reduplicated to give the non-specific meaning of 'who all (one or more)'.

- (A45) *Sapa-sapa ada ba-pete bunga?*
 REDUP-who ASP BA-pick flower
 'Who is picking a flower?' (1.72)

A.1.5.5 Possessive constructions

The possessive construction in Manado Malay takes the form POSSESSOR *pe* POSSESSED, in which *pe* is the possessive or genitive marker.¹¹⁷ There can be a string of more than one possessive, as in (A48).

- (A46) *Tina so makang de pe sayor?*
 Tina ASP eat 3SG POSS vegetables
 'Has Tina eaten her vegetables?' (1.61)

- (A47) *Sapa ngana pe papa?*
 who 2SG POSS father
 'Who is your father?' (1.79)

¹¹⁷ The morpheme *pe* is a short form of the verb *punya* 'to own'.

(A48) *Kita pe om pe ana*
 1SG POSS uncle POSS child
 ‘My uncle’s child’ (2.98)

The possessive morpheme *pe* also serves as a nominalizer and intensifier. These uses are discussed below.

A.1.5.6 Demonstratives

Demonstratives play a central role in Manado Malay, and are presented in Table A.6.

Table A.6 Demonstratives

	Full Form	Short Form
Neutral/Away from speaker (‘that’)	<i>itu</i>	<i>tu</i>
Close to speaker (‘this’)	<i>ini</i>	<i>ni</i>

Prentice (1994) distinguishes between deictics and articles, and claims that the short forms function as articles, while the full forms are deictics. This claim does not appear to be borne out by the evidence, and Stoel’s (2005: 31) description of the short forms as simply that, short forms of the full forms, seems to be the correct analysis.

Demonstratives in Manado Malay may be used pronominally as well as adnominally, although the short forms may only be used adnominally.

The short forms can only occur phrase-initially in noun phrases, while the full forms can occur before or after the noun. As the examples below indicate, there is variation between speakers as to the placement of the forms. Stoel (2005: 31), referring to the data he collected, says that “it is far more common for a determiner to precede the noun than follow it,” and this appears to reflect a more “pure” form of Manado Malay, less influenced by Indonesian forms (in which the demonstrative typically follows the noun).¹¹⁸ Both

¹¹⁸ Stoel refers to the demonstratives as ‘determiners’.

possibilities occur in the examples below. In (A49), (A51) and (A54), short forms occur before the noun, while in (A50) the same meaning as (A49) is expressed by a full form following the noun. (A52) and (A53) show full forms of the demonstrative occurring before and after an adjective (following the noun), expressing slight differences in meaning.

- (A49) *Tu anak ada tidor.*
 DEM child ASP sleep
 ‘The child is sleeping.’ (1.2)
- (A50) *Anak itu ada tidor.*
 child DEM ASP sleep
 ‘The child sleeps.’ (2.2)
- (A51) *Paulus yang beli tu buku?*
 Paul REL buy DEM book
 ‘Was Paul the one who bought a book?’ (1.58)
- (A52) *Kita pe oto ini baru.*
 1SG POSS car DEM new
 ‘This new car of mine.’ (1.115)
- (A53) *Kita pe oto baru ini.*
 1SG POSS car new DEM
 ‘This new car of mine.’ (2.105)
- (A54) *Apa tu Paulus ada beli di pasar?*
 what DEM Paul ASP buy LOC market
 ‘What is Paul buying at the market?’ (1.76)

In some situations, a demonstrative may be followed by an identical demonstrative, as in (A55) below. In such cases (as well as cases in which the consecutive demonstratives are different, as in (A57) and (A58)), Stoel (2005: 31) analyzes the first demonstrative as nominalizing a clause which is implied by the context, rather than specifically mentioned. In these cases the second demonstrative serves as a definite marker and the structures are equational, with the two demonstratives occurring in different NPs.

- (A55) *Itu tu orang ada beli kita pe oto.*
 DEM DEM person ASP buy 1SG POSS car
 ‘That is the person who is buying my car.’ (1.135)
- (A56) *Itu orang ada beli kita pe oto.*
 DEM person ASP buy 1SG POSS car
 ‘That is the person who is buying my car.’ (2.125)
- (A57) *Ini tu anak ada pancuri ayam.*
 DEM DEM child ASP steal chicken
 ‘That is the child who is stealing my chicken.’ (1.136)
- (A58) *So ini tu tanpa kita lahir.*
 ASP DEM DEM place 1SG born
 ‘This is the place where I was born.’ (1.137)
- (A59) *Gunung itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
 mountain DEM more tall from mountain DEM
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain’ (1.153, 2.144)

A.1.5.7 Numerals

The cardinal numerals of Manado Malay are shown in the table below.

Table A.7 Numerals of Manado Malay

<i>satu</i>	‘one’
<i>dua</i>	‘two’
<i>tiga</i>	‘three’
<i>ampa</i>	‘four’
<i>lima</i>	‘five’
<i>anam</i>	‘six’
<i>tuju</i>	‘seven’
<i>dalapang</i>	‘eight’
<i>sambilang</i>	‘nine’
<i>sa-pulu</i>	‘ten’
<i>dua belas</i>	‘twelve’
<i>dua pulu</i>	‘twenty’
<i>dua ratus</i>	‘two hundred’
<i>dua ribu</i>	‘two thousand’
<i>dua juta</i>	‘two million’ (1.134)

The morphemes *pulu* ‘ten’, *belas* ‘teen’, *ratus* ‘hundred’, *ribu* ‘thousand’, and *juta*

‘million’ combine with the cardinal numerals to form all numerals. Only one numeral, *satu*

‘one’, has a special combining form, *sa-*. Ordinal numerals are formed by a prefix, *ka-*, as in the table below (only *pərtama* ‘first’, a loanword from Sanskrit, is an exception to the pattern).

Table A.8 Ordinal Numerals in Manado Malay

<i>pertama</i>	‘first’
<i>ka-dua</i>	‘second’
<i>ka-tiga</i>	‘third’
<i>ka-ampa</i>	‘fourth’ (1.133)

Numerals typically follow the noun they modify, and it can be assumed that NOUN + NUMERAL is the standard order in Manado Malay. Indonesian influence has led to the occasional appearance of NUMERAL + NOUN order. In fact, this atypical word order was the most common in the data elicited (probably due, once again, to the influence of Indonesian-language prompts).

(A60) *Dia pe oto satu.*
 3SG POSS car one
 ‘He owns a car.’ (1.125)

(A61) *Tuju anjing*
 seven dog
 ‘Seven dogs’ (2.123)

Numeral classifiers, which are found in many Malay varieties, do not seem to be commonly found in Manado Malay (see (A58) and (A59) above). Prentice (1994) gives examples which make use of numeral classifiers, so there may be some regional or individual variation.

A.1.5.8 Relative Clauses

In the elicited data, most relative clause constructions made use of the typical Malay relativizer *yang*. Prentice (1991: 424-425) says “There is no Manado Malay

equivalent of the Standard Malay relative ligature *yang* which frequently links the noun and the qualifying adjective.” My informants for Manado Malay both insisted that *yang* was commonly used in Manado Malay, and were rather confused by my repeated queries about it.. It is likely that the frequent use of *yang* in all varieties is due to Indonesian influence, and the fact that the prompts for elicited structures used *yang*. Other, possibly more typical constructions, may have been avoided. Examples of *yang* constructions from the elicited data follow.

(A62) *Paulus yang beli tu buku?*
 Paul REL buy DEM book
 ‘Was Paul the one who bought that book?’ (1.58)

(A63) *Ada yang ba-pete bunga?*
 have REL BA-pick flower
 ‘Did someone pick a flower?’ (1.71)

(A64) *Pasang ini sapa yang tulis?*
 message DEM who REL write
 ‘This message was written by whom?’ (1.74, 2.66)

(A65) *Dia yang paling kaya.*
 3SG REL most rich
 ‘S/he is the richest.’ (1.157)

(A66) *Ruma yang basar*
 house REL big
 ‘A house which is big.’ (2.106)

Stoel (2005: 51) distinguishes between nominalized relative clauses (nominalized with *tu*), which he says could also be analyzed as two noun phrases in apposition (an example is given in (A67) below), and relative clauses which are not nominalized, as in (A68). In (A67), there is a nominalized prepositional phrase, *tu di Tatelu* ‘the (one) in Tatelu’ and a nominalized clause *tu toran da falao samua* ‘the (one in which) we all

fainted'.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, he says that headless relative clauses also occur frequently, both with *tu* (as in (A67)) and without *tu* (as in (A69)).

(A67) (I didn't go along with the camping trip to Maumbi.)
Kita cuma da iko tu di Tatelu, tu torang da falao
 1SG only ASP follow DEM in Tatelu DEM 1PL ASP faint

samua dang.

all DP

'I went along only with the one to Tatelu, the time when we all fainted.'

(Stoel 2005: 49, 2.86)

(A68) (Yesterday, my voice was really forced out of its range.)

Pokonya so nyak war-war tu lagu ta da ma-nyanyi.

basically ASP not REDUP-proper DEM song 1SG ASP MA-sing

'Basically, the songs that I was singing were not in tune anymore.'

(Stoel 2005: 51, 2.91)

(A69) (Although they were staying on the volcano, they weren't affected by its eruption.)

Kong dong ja ba-kem akang jao dari punca.

CONJ 3PL ASP BA-camp APPL far from summit

'The place where they camp is far from the summit.' (Stoel 2005: 51, 2.93)

Stoel's analysis provides a fresh way of viewing relative clauses in Malay varieties, and a sentence such as (A70), from the elicited data, could be interpreted as having a nominalized relative clause, marked by *tu*.¹²⁰

(A70) *Itu tu orang ada beli kita pe oto.*

DEM DEM person ASP buy 1SG POSS car

'That is the person who is buying my car.' (1.135)

¹¹⁹ Unlike clauses nominalized with *pe*, clauses nominalized with *tu* may contain aspect markers.

¹²⁰ The issue of relative clauses in Malay varieties is far from a simple one. Englebretson (In Press) says *yang* in Colloquial Indonesian has a range of functions "from traditional relative clauses serving as modifiers of head nouns, to headless referring expressions serving as presupposed information in clefts, to referring expressions functioning as direct nominal arguments of predicates."

A.1.5.9 Nominal Morphology

There are two kinds of morphological processes in Manado Malay, which vary in their productivity: affixation and reduplication. Manado Malay has two nominal prefixes: the ordinal prefix *ka-*, discussed above, and the nominal prefix *pang-* or *pa-*, which has the meaning ‘a person who regularly does x, or is x’. This prefix is related to the prefix *pəN-*, found in standard Malay and other Malay varieties of western Indonesia. The *pəN-* prefix involves nasal assimilation to the following consonant, and this process is sometimes found in the Manado Malay reflexes. This prefix is not commonly found in Manado Malay, and it likely represents a frozen remnant borrowed from a variety of Malay in which it is common. In fact, the only example in the data collected for this study was one which included a word which uses the *pang-* prefix, originating from the nominalized Malay form *pəN-curi*, meaning ‘thief’. but which has undergone a shift in Manado Malay and has shifted its lexical category so that the word *pan-curi* means ‘to steal’. This underscores the lack of productivity of this affix, as it no longer preserves its inherent meaning as a nominalizer.¹²¹

(A71) *Ini tu anak ada pan-curi ayang.*
DEM DEM child ASP PA-steal chicken
‘That is the child who is stealing my chicken.’ (1:136)

This verbalized nominal form can also take verbal prefixes, as in the following example from the elicited data:

¹²¹ This shift in lexical categories has led to an interesting situation in which the word has been denominalized and then renominalized, by adding the *pa(ng)-* prefix again to form *pa-pan-curi* ‘thief’ (Stoel 2005: 24). This could possibly be analyzed as partial reduplication of the first syllable, rather than application of a (non-productive) prefix.

(A77) *opa* ‘grandfather’ *opa-opa* ‘quite old (man)’
nyong ‘young man’ *nyong-nyong* ‘young, unmarried (man)’
 (Stoel 2005: 26)

- Reduplicated numerals produce the meaning ‘all x’ (*dua-dua* ‘all two; both’).

(A78) (I want to be a teacher.)
Soalnya kita pe orang tua le dua-dua guru to.
 since 1SG POSS parents DP REDUP-two teacher DP
 ‘Since my parents are both teachers too.’ (Stoel 2005: 26, 2.20)

A.1.5.10 Nominalization

According to Prentice and Stoel, nominalized clauses can be formed with the possessive marker *pe* or the demonstrative *tu* (Prentice 1994: 426, Stoel 2005: 46). Nominalized clauses formed with *pe* are identical to possessive constructions. Stoel (2005:26) defines these as clauses which cannot have an aspect marker. He further explains “For each nominalized clause there is a corresponding regular clause in which the possessive marker *pe* is replaced by an aspect marker. The possessor of the nominalized clause is equivalent to the subject of the regular clause and the possessed is equivalent to its predicate.”¹²² In the first two examples, the nominalized *pe* clause introduces a complement clause.

(A79) (After visiting my family I came back home.)
Ta pe lia berti da lewat.
 1SG POSS see Berti ASP pass.by
 ‘I saw that Berti had passed by.’ (Stoel 2005: 47, 2.78)

(A80) (They didn’t tell me where these visitors came from.)
Cuma kita pe tau jo ada tamu datang.
 only 1SG POSS know DP have guest come
 ‘The only thing I knew was that some visitors had come.’
 (Stoel 2005: 47, 2.79)

¹²² There were no examples of nominalized clauses in the elicited data, so the examples here are from Stoel (2005). Stoel (2005: 48) mentions that these constructions are mainly found in the speech of speakers from outside Manado, possibly due to the fact that speakers in Manado are more influenced by Indonesian, which does not have such a construction.

Nominalized clauses can be also introduce time adjuncts, indicating that the event in the nominalized clause occurred simultaneously with the event in the main clause. The nominalized clause always occurs before the main clause.

- (A81) (She came here at eight o'clock.)
Pas ngoni pe pigi depe sampe.
 exactly 2PL NOM go 3SG.POSS arrive
 ‘Just when you had gone she arrived.’ (Stoel 2005: 48, 2.81)

Nominalized clauses which introduce time adjuncts do not need to have an expressed possessor if the context can provide the referent.

- (A82) (One month after we first met we got married.)
Pe abis kaweng torang tinggal sini.
 POSS finished married 1PL stay here
 ‘Since our wedding we have been living here.’ (Stoel 2005: 48, 2.83)

Nominalized clauses can also be formed by the demonstrative *tu*, which can be used to nominalize any kind of phrase, including adjective, verb and prepositional phrases., and may refer to persons (as in (83) below) or things (as in (67) above).

- (A83) (What do you think of the senior students at our school?)
Ada tu bae sto, ada tu nyandak no.
 have DEM good DP have DEM not DP
 ‘I guess some are good, while others are not.’ (Stoel 2005: 49, 2.84)

Nominalizations with *tu* may also be used to form headless relative clauses, when the head need not be mentioned specifically as it is already the topic of the conversation.

- (A84) (He told me that the man we saw is not her boyfriend.)
Tu ngana da lia itu kata Stefan.
 DEM 2SG ASP see DEM DP Stefan
 ‘The person you saw, he said, was Stefan.’ (Stoel 2005: 49, 2.87)

A.1.6 Verbs and Verb Phrases

A.1.6.1 Order of elements

There are a number of elements which can be part of the verb phrase in Manado Malay, and they fit into specific slots. The order and terminology used here is based on the analysis in Prentice (1994: 429). All slots preceding the verb base are optional, and, indeed, often a bare verb base occurs.

Table A.9 The verb phrase in Manado Malay

(NEGATIVE)	(ASPECT)	(AUX B)	(AUX A)	(PREFIX B)	(PREFIX A)	VERB BASE
<i>nyanda, nya</i> NEUTRAL	<i>so</i> PERFECTIVE	<i>bole</i> 'can, may'	<i>dapa</i> EXPERIENTIAL, POTENTIAL, ETC.	<i>ta-</i> NON- VOLITIONAL	<i>baku-</i> RECIPROCAL	
<i>bəlung, bolong</i> 'not yet'	<i>mo</i> INCHOATIVE	<i>musti</i> 'must'	<i>(ka)se</i> CAUSATIVE		<i>ba-</i> ATTRIBUTIVE, DURATIVE, REFLEXIVE	
<i>bukang</i> 'not' CONTRASTIVE	<i>(a)da</i> REALIS	<i>akang</i> 'will'	<i>beking</i> CAUSATIVE			
<i>jang</i> PROHIBITIVE	<i>ja</i> HABITUAL		(REDUPLICATION) ITERATIVE			

The following are examples of possible combinations of sub-sets of these elements in Manado Malay. The data collected for this study do not give examples of more than a few elements in any single example.

(A85) *Kita masi mo bəli oto baru.*
 1SG still ASP buy car new
 ASP1 ASP2 V
 'I still will buy a new car.' (1.15)

(A86) *Kita mo suka bəli motor baru beso.*
 1SG ASP want buy motorcycle new tomorrow
 ASP2 AUX V
 'I want to buy a new motorcycle tomorrow.' (1.31)

A.1.6.2 Aspect markers

Aspect can be marked in several ways in Manado Malay. Reduplication can mark progressive or durative aspect (see below). Another way aspect can be marked is lexically, by words such as *masi* ‘still’, *pərna* ‘ever’, *sadang* or *səmentara*, which denote an on-going activity, or *suda* ‘already.’¹²³ But the most common way to mark aspect is by way of one of the four aspect markers, or clitics, *so*, *mo*, *(a)da*, and *ja*, which are frequently, though not obligatorily, used. The four can combine with each other and be negated in specific ways, as shown in the table below, from Stoel (2005: 36). It should be noted that the interaction between negators and aspect markers is not as clearly defined as in the table above.

Table A.10: Aspect in Manado Malay

Aspect category	Affirmative	Negative
realis	<i>(a)da</i>	—
inchoative	<i>mo</i>	<i>nya mo</i>
realis-inchoative	<i>(a)da mo</i>	<i>nya mo</i>
perfective	<i>so</i>	<i>so nya</i>
prospective	<i>so mo</i>	<i>so nya mo</i>
habitual	<i>ja</i>	<i>nya ja</i>
perfective-habitual	<i>so ja</i>	<i>so nya ja</i>

The realis marker, *(a)da*, is distinguished from the verb *(a)da* ‘have; exist; there is.’ The aspect marker *(a)da* cannot be negated (it is, after all, a realis marker denoting that an event actually is occurring or will occur), while the verb *(a)da* may be negated. Inchoative aspect, marked by *mo*, often expresses predictions, intentions or promises, and behaves much like a future marker. The perfective marker, *so*, indicates that an action or event is completed. The habitual marker, *ja*, which indicates that an action is performed regularly,

¹²³ These words which mark aspect lexically occur in the same slot in Table A.9 as the four aspect markers.

is much less frequently used than the other three aspect markers. In the data collected for this study, *ja* did not occur. Examples of the use of aspect markers follow.

(A87) *Tina ada makang apa?*
 Tina ASP eat what
 ‘What is Tina eating?’ (2.56)

(A88) *Kita so beli oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ‘I bought a new car.’ (1.10)

(A89) *Kita mo ba-pancing ikang.*
 1SG ASP BA-go.fishing fish
 ‘I will go fishing.’ (1.21)

A.1.6.3 Complex verbs

Complex verbs consist of a verb preceded by one of the verbs in the ‘Aux A’ column in Table A.9 above: *dapa* ‘can, get, find’, *kase* ‘give’ or *beking* ‘make’. Verbs combined with *dapa* have an added meaning of ability or undergoing an experience. *Kase* and *beking* are causatives. All three forms are productive, although these forms did not appear in the data collected. Examples drawn from Stoel (2005) follow.

(A90) (The volcano near our village has erupted.)
Dari pa torang dapa lia skali no.
 from at 1PL AUX see very DP
 ‘From our place we could see it very well.’ (Stoel 2005: 34, 2.34)

(A91) (I had completely forgotten that we have a test tomorrow.)
Untung le ngana da kase inga pa kita.
 luck DP 2SG ASP AUX remember at 1SG
 ‘Fortunately, you made me remember again.’ (Stoel 2005: 35, 2.37)

(A92) (Andre made us believe that he wasn’t her boyfriend.)
Dia so beking bodok pa torang.
 3SG ASP AUX stupid at 1PL
 ‘He made a fool of us.’ (Stoel 2005: 34, 2.34)

A.1.6.4 Serial Verb Constructions

Complex events may be expressed through two or more consecutive verbs. Serial verb constructions indicate motion, often employing the verb *pi* ‘go’ or have a causative meaning with the verb *suru* ‘send, order’. (A93) is from the data collected for this study, while (A94), which uses both *pi* and *suru*, is from Stoel’s data.

(A93) *Paulus ada pi bəli buku?*
Paul ASP go buy book
‘Is Paul buying a book?’ (1.57)

(A94) (We received news from our village that the clove trees were bearing fruit.)
jadi sebe suru pi lia daŋ.
so father order go see PAR
‘So my father told me to have a look.’ (Stoel 2005: 39, 2.48)

A.1.6.5 Verbal morphology

Verbal morphology consists of affixation and reduplication. Manado Malay has three productive verbal prefixes: *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*.¹²⁴ More than one prefix can occur on a word, and prefixes may be reduplicated. As the meanings for the prefixes are at times quite subtle, it is difficult to predict the occurrence of prefixes, and the same sentence elicited from two speakers may result in one using a prefix and one without, without a significant difference in meaning.

The prefix *ba-* has a number of separate uses, with sub-sets within each category reflecting subtle distinctions. Stoel (2005:18-22) gives a thoughtful and detailed analysis of

¹²⁴ Words which are borrowed from other varieties of Malay which contain nominal or verbal affixes such as *ma-* (<məN-), *an-*, *-kan*, *ke-* *-an*, etc. are monomorphemic in Manado Malay, and the affixes, although they may appear in a word, are not productive. When a borrowed affix appears to be used productively, it is more appropriately considered as code-switching. In the glosses for the data collected for this study, such non-productive affixes are treated as part of the word, and not as part of the linguistic system of Manado Malay.

the distinctive categories of the prefix *ba-*. The prefix *ba-* forms verbs. Some general categories are:

- If the base is a noun, the meaning of *ba-* is roughly ‘to have x’ or ‘to use x’. The list below is from Stoel (2005), followed by an example from the data collected for this study.

(A95)	<i>bifi</i>	‘ant’	<i>ba-bifi</i>	‘to be full of ants’
	<i>tamang</i>	‘friend’	<i>ba-tamang</i>	‘to be friends’
	<i>puru</i>	‘belly’	<i>ba-puru</i>	‘to have a paunch’
	<i>sosapu</i>	‘broom’	<i>ba-sosapu</i>	‘to sweep’
	<i>angin</i>	‘wind’	<i>ba-angin</i>	‘to be windy’ (Stoel 2005: 18-19)

(A96)	<i>Dia nyanda ba-telpon pa de pe mama tadi malam.</i>
	3SG NEG BA-telephone to 3SG POSS mother last night
	‘S/he didn’t call his/her mother last night.’ (1.26)

- If the base is an adjective, the meaning of *ba-*, according to Stoel (2005: 21) is ‘to achieve the action or state to which the base refers.’ The first examples below are from Stoel, followed by examples from the data collected for this study.

(A97)	<i>capat</i>	‘quick’	<i>ba-capat</i>	‘to hurry’
	<i>dingin</i>	‘cold’	<i>ba-dingin</i>	‘to go out in the cold’
	<i>gode</i>	‘fat’	<i>ba-gode</i>	‘to get fat’
	<i>basa</i>	‘wet’	<i>ba-basa</i>	‘to get wet’ (Stoel 2005: 20-21)

- If the base is a verb, *ba-* refers to an ongoing activity, and forms stative verbs. The examples below once again are from Stoel.

(A98)	<i>jalang</i>	‘walk’	<i>ba-jalang</i>	‘to be walking’
	<i>dusta</i>	‘lie; fib’	<i>ba-dusta</i>	‘to be lying’
	<i>momasa</i>	‘cook’	<i>ba-momasa</i>	‘to be cooking’ (Stoel 2005: 21)

(A99)	<i>Kita samentara ba-bali oto baru.</i>
	1SG CONT BA-buy car new
	‘I am (in the process of) buying a new car.’ (1.13)

(A100)	<i>Paulus sementara ba-jalang deng de pe ade.</i>
	Paul CONT BA-walk with 3SG POSS younger.sibling
	‘Paul is walking with his younger sibling (right now).’ (1.92)

(A101) *Kita pe papa ba-potong tali deng piso.*
1SG POSS father BA-cut rope with knife
'My father cuts a rope with a knife.' (2.5)

- Prentice (1994: 429) also lists *ba-* as having a reflexive meaning with transitive verbs. Stoel (2005: 21), however, says "there are very few words in which *ba-* has a reflexive meaning, and these words do not necessarily have a reflexive meaning." Nevertheless, the following did occur in the data elicited for this study:

(A102) *Kita ba-cukur (sandiri).*
1SG BA-shave (self)
'I shaved myself.' (2.129)

(A103) *Kita ada ba-cuci.*
1SG ASP BA-wash
'I washed myself.' (1.140)

The prefix *ta-* also forms verbs, and usually means what Stoel (2005: 22) terms 'an unexpected or involuntary action.'

(A104) *Oto itu ada ta-tabrak.*
car DEM ASP TA-crash
'The car was hit (by another car).' (1.146)

The prefix *baku-* forms reciprocal verbs. This morpheme is somewhat unusual, in that it was borrowed into North Moluccan Malay from the Ternate (West Papuan) language, and has since spread to all of the contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, and has even begun to appear in Malay varieties in western Indonesia, most notably colloquial Jakarta Indonesian.

(A105) *Dorang baku-hantam.*
3PL RECIP-hit
'They hit each other.' (1.142)

- (A106) *Dorang baku-sayang.*
 3PL RECIP-love
 ‘They love each other.’ (1.143)

Verbal reduplication in Manado Malay involves both the reduplication of bases and the reduplication of prefixes. The most common purpose of reduplication of the base is iteration, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. The base may be a verb, an adjective or a preposition. Examples (from Stoel 2005: 25) can be found in (A107). An example from the elicited texts is presented in (A108).

- (A107) *saki* ‘ill’ *saki-saki* ‘sickly’
tunggu ‘wait’ *tunggu-tunggu* ‘wait for some time’
lia ‘look’ *lia-lia* ‘look around’
tidor sadap ‘sleep well’ *tidor sadap-sadap* ‘sleep very well’
 (Stoel 2005: 25)

- (A108) *Paulus pigi ka kota sama-sama deng Tina kalamaring.*
 Paul go to town REDUP-along with Tina yesterday
 ‘Paul went to town along with Tina yesterday.’ (2.82)

Prefixes may also be reduplicated to indicate repetition as well as durative aspect.

- (A109) (At that time the economic crisis set in.)
Nyak jadi dang ngoni pe bisnis ba-ba-jual kaeng
 not successful DP 2.PL POSS business REDUP-BA-sell cloth

di Talaut?
 in Talaud
 ‘So you weren’t successful selling cloth in Talaud?’ (Stoel 2005: 27, 2.21)

- (A110) (She felt sorry for her mother.)
Nyandak da orang baku-baku-tulung to di ruma.
 not have person REDUP-RECIP-help PAR in house
 ‘There is nobody at home to help her.’ (Stoel 2005: 27, 2.23)

A.1.7 Other Grammatical Features

A.1.7.1 Applicative

Manado Malay has an applicative marker, *akang*, which increases the valency of a verb, with the result that an oblique participant is elevated to direct object (Stoel 2005: 43). Most commonly, the verb is intransitive and *akang* makes it a transitive verb. In the example below, the applied object has the role of patient, but is not mentioned explicitly.¹²⁵

- (A111) (Recently I have learned a lot about making love.)
Jadi mo praktek akang kalu dia mo datang.
so ASP practice APPL if 3SG ASP come
'So I will practice on her when she comes.' (Stoel 2005: 44, 2.66)

The example below is also with an intransitive verb, but the object is explicitly mentioned. The applicative marker allows for the applied object, *Yaya*.

- (A112) (When I went there I didn't see so many of our friends.)
Cuma Yaya no ta da baku-dapa akang.
only Yaya DP 1SG ASP RECIP-meet APPL
'The only one who I met was Yaya.' (Stoel 2005: 44, 2.67)

Most commonly, the applicative marker increases the valency of a verb from one to two, or from two to three, But it can also be used to increase the valency from zero to one, as in (A113) below.

- (A113) (It starts to rain a little.)
Kita da ujan akang.
1SG ASP rain APPL
'It rained on me (I was rained on).' (Stoel 2005: 45, 2.73)

¹²⁵ There were no examples in the elicited data of the applicative, so the examples here are from Stoel (2005).

A.1.7.2 Intensifier

The possessive marker *pe* can also function as a nominalizer. It has yet another function, in that when *pe* is followed by an adjective, it serves as an intensifier. In (A115) below, it combines with another intensifier, *skali*, making it even stronger.

(A114) *Gunung itu pe tinggi.*
mountain DEM INTENS tall
'That mountain is very tall.' (1.150)

(A115) *Gunung itu pe tinggi kali.*
mountain DEM INTENS tall very
'That mountain is extremely tall.' (1.151)

(A116) (Since you didn't show up, I wanted to go with someone else.)
Tunggu pa ngoni pe lama, jadi telfon pa Mila no.
wait at 2PL INT long so call at Mila DP
'Waiting for you took very long, so I called Mila.' (Stoel 2005: 46, 2.75)

A.1.7.2.1 Superlative Constructions

Superlative constructions are related to intensifiers. The borrowed Indonesian morpheme *paling* 'most' was used in the data collected to indicate superlatives, as in the example below.¹²⁶

Manado Malay
(A117) *Gunung itu tu paling tinggi di Indonesia.*
mountain DEM DEM most tall LOC Indonesia
'That mountain is the tallest in Indonesia.' (1.154)

A.1.7.3 Conjunctions

Two noun phrases may be linked with *deng* 'with', as in (A117).

(A118) *Paulus deng Tina pigi ka pasar.*
Paul with Tina go to market
'Paul and Tina went to the market.' (2.134)

Two clauses may be linked with the coordinating conjunction *kong* 'and; and then'.

¹²⁶ Solea-Warouw's dictionary of Manado Malay (1985) does not include *paling*.

(A119) *Paulus pigi ka pasar kong ada bəli ikang.*
 Paul go to market CONJ ASP buy fish
 ‘Paul went to the market and bought fish.’ (1.145)

Disjunction between phrases or clauses may be marked by *ato* ‘or’, as in (A120).

(A120) *Ada kukis ato nyanda di dapur?*
 have cake or NEG LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there cake or not in the kitchen?’ (1.43)

A.1.7.4 Comparatives

The order of elements in the comparative construction is ADJ-MARKER-STANDARD.

(A121) *Gunung itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
 mountain DEM more tall from mountain DEM
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’ (1.153)

A.1.7.5 Interjections

Interjections are commonly used in discourse to express emotion. Common interjections are *hi* to express distaste, *hu* to express disgust, and *o* to express understanding or surprise (Stoel 2005: 61-62). Interjections precede the clause they comment on, but are not part of the clause.

A.1.7.6 Discourse particles

Discourse particles are a category distinct from interjections. The term discourse particles refers to words which are “morphologically invariable and express a speaker’s immediate ‘here and now’ attitudes, thoughts and desires (Stoel 2005: 65, referring to Goddard (1998)). As such, discourse particles, unlike interjections, are an integral part of the syntax of utterances. Stoel (2005: 65) defines discourse particles in Manado Malay in terms of four key factors: (1) Discourse particles occur at the end of a syntactic phrase, defined as a maximal projection, such as a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, or a verb phrase excluding all objects and adjuncts; (2) Discourse particles cannot occur in isolation;

(3) Discourse particles are syntactically optional; and (4) Discourse particles never receive a focus-marking accent.

Stoel (2005: 68) lists twenty discourse particles which occur with varying frequencies in Manado Malay. Overall, discourse particles account for 11.3% of the 10,020 words in Stoel's corpus of oral texts, which represents very frequent occurrence in daily conversation. Some discourse particles, in particular *dang*, *no*, *le*, *jo*, and *to*, were especially common in Stoel's corpus.

Of the twenty discourse particles listed by Stoel, only four (*to*, *le*, *e*, and *kote*) occur in the elicited data collected for this study. The data were collected in a non-natural setting, so it is not surprising that these discourse-based elements did not occur frequently.

Discourse particles in Manado Malay have a variety of functions, relating to a speaker's attitudes and perceptions of the listener's knowledge and attitudes. Their purposes range from emphatic markers to contrast markers to quotatives to indefiniteness markers. Stoel (2005: 65-98) gives a detailed analysis of discourse particles in Manado Malay.

(A122) *Ngana dulu kerja di pabrik to?*
2SG before work LOC factory DP
'You used to work at the factory, didn't you?' (1.48)

(A123) *Kita pe tamang mo datang le di pesta.*
1SG POSS friend ASP come DP LOC party
'My friend will come to the party also.' (2.38)

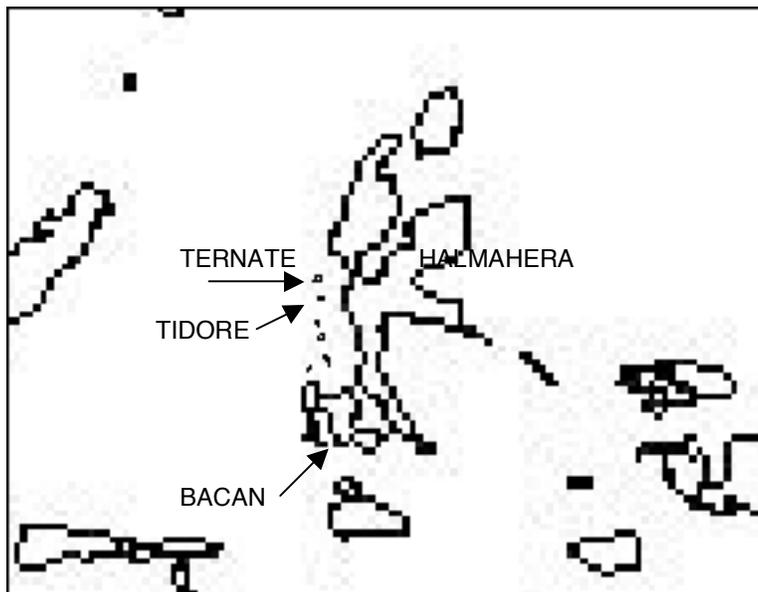
(A124) *Kantor pos di mana e?*
office post LOC where DP
'Where is the post office?' (1.53)

(A125) *Ngana kote dulu kerja di pabrik?*
2SG DP before work LOC factory
'Did you formerly work at the factory?' (1.48)

A.2 North Moluccan Malay

A.2.1 Language area, speakers, and history

North Moluccan Malay is spoken in the province of North Maluku,¹²⁷ on the island of Halmahera and the islands to the north and west of Halmahera. It is principally used as a language of wider communication by groups speaking other languages, of both Austronesian and Papuan origin, but there are native speakers of North Moluccan Malay on the islands of Ternate, Tidore and Bacan. It is estimated that there are 700,000 speakers of North Moluccan Malay, with about 100,000 native speakers.¹²⁸



Map A.3: North Moluccan Malay

On the islands of Ternate and Tidore, an unusual situation exists, in that many children are raised speaking North Moluccan Malay as a first language, and learn the community language (the Ternate or Tidore language, which are closely-related West Papuan languages) at about the age of six or seven. Van Staden (2000) mentions this

¹²⁷ Maluku Utara became a province in 1999. Before that, it was part of the province of Maluku.

¹²⁸ Both figures are from Ethnologue (Gordon 2005).

situation with regard to the island of Tidore, and it appears to be true of Ternate as well (Gufran Ali Ibrahim, p.c.).

On the islands of Bacan and Mandioli, a small community still exists which speaks a different variety of Malay, termed Bacan Malay, which appears to have a very different history.¹²⁹ It has been theorized that this community predates the development of North Moluccan Malay, and may represent an earlier settlement of Malay speakers, possibly from Borneo, from possibly as long as 1000 years ago, or early language contact and resultant language shift. Although Bacan Malay does exhibit some features shared with North Moluccan Malay, possibly due to contact between the two languages over the past 500 years, it also has separate morphological and lexical features which point to a different history (Collins 1983b).

The northern Moluccas have had an important role in world history. Until the 17th century, cloves (*Eugenia aromatica*) were only found on the small islands of Ternate, Tidore, Moti, Makian and Bacan, all located off the west coast of Halmahera. Cloves had been prized in the Middle East and Europe from ancient times,¹³⁰ they were highly prized in Europe from ancient Roman times, and all the cloves supplying the world's needs came from the northern Moluccas. By the 6th century CE, and possibly earlier, Malay-speaking traders controlled the clove trade (as well as the trade in other products of eastern Indonesia, including nutmeg, mace and sandalwood) (Hall 1992: 198). There are no records

¹²⁹ Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) estimates the size of the Bacan Malay community to number 2500. The long-term vitality of the language is in doubt (Collins 1983b).

¹³⁰ It has been claimed that archaeologists have dated preserved cloves found in Syria to c. 1721 BCE (Andaya 1993: 1) and (Turner 2004: xv). Waruno Mahdi (p.c.) disputes this date, and believes linguistic evidence supports the more extensive body of evidence which places the clove's introduction to the west at between the second century BCE and the second century CE. This linguistic evidence relates to the word for cloves in Indian languages of that era and its likely source in a word meaning 'nail' in Sumatran languages.

of what languages were used to conduct this trade, but it is very likely that Malay had a role of one kind or another from a very early time. It is known that by the time Europeans arrived in the early 16th century, Malay was already established as a regional lingua franca. One of the sailors on Magellan's expedition, Antonia Pigafetta, recorded a 'Tidore Word List' when the expedition, sans Magellan, who had been killed in the Philippines, reached Tidore in late 1521. The word list compiled by Pigafetta turned out to consist mostly of Malay words (Bausani 1960). The first written evidence appears in two letters sent by the Sultan of Ternate to the Portuguese king in 1521 and 1522 (Blagden 1931). These letters were written in literary Malay, but the Malay used exhibited some of the features found in modern North Moluccan Malay.¹³¹ The first work written in North Moluccan Malay did not appear until 1878, when a text on the history of Ternate by Naidah, a native of Ternate, was published (van der Crab 1878). The text is written in a language very similar to modern North Moluccan Malay, showing that the language was fully formed by the late 19th century. It is unlikely that there were many, if any, native speakers at that time, and that the growth of North Moluccan Malay is a more recent occurrence, post-dating Indonesian independence in 1945.

It is likely that the language was fully formed long before that time, however, since North Moluccan Malay, complete with large numbers of loan words from the Ternate and Portuguese languages, formed the basis for Manado Malay, which developed in Manado some time between the early 16th century and the late 17th century.

¹³¹ For example, the Malay word *bər-pərang* 'to make war' was written as *ba-parang*, illustrating both the loss of the schwa sound in North Moluccan Malay, and the representation of the Malay prefix *bər-* as *ba-*.

North Moluccan Malay is not identified by that name by its speakers, who do not tend to consider it as a language separate from Indonesian. They are more likely to think of it as an inferior variety of Indonesian and refer to it as *bahasa (Malayu) pasar* ‘(Malay) market language’ or *bahasa hari-hari* ‘daily language’ (Taylor 1983: 14). There is no ‘pure’ variety of the language, and as all speakers command varieties ranging from the colloquial language to something approaching Standard Indonesian, it is more appropriate to consider North Moluccan Malay as a continuum with any particular utterance showing the distinctive features of North Moluccan Malay to a greater or lesser degree depending upon the speaker’s familiarity with North Moluccan Malay and Standard Indonesian, the relative status of the speaker and addressee, and the topic (Voorhoeve 1983: 1). Taylor (1983: 15-16) conducted a sociolinguistic survey in 1978 in a village in northern Halmahera (well outside the area considered as home to native speakers of North Moluccan Malay), and found that 100% of the 123 respondents commanded ‘Indonesian’ (taken here to mean North Moluccan Malay), and that nearly 5% claimed to be monolingual in Indonesian. By contrast, 30 respondents replied that they did not command the local language, Tobelo (West Papuan). Indonesian was the major language of inter-ethnic communication used in the village. In addition, 53 out of 58 households reported that they used Indonesian when speaking to their children, versus only five households which used Tobelo. In view of the fact that this survey was conducted 30 years ago in a rather remote part of the north Moluccas, it can be assumed that use of Indonesian/North Moluccan Malay has spread, and that the number of speakers using the language, both as a first language and as a second language, may be much higher than reported. A sociolinguistic survey of the province is planned in the future (Gufran Ali Ibrahim, p.c.).

Through universal education in Indonesian and the influence of Indonesian language media and popular culture, the use of Indonesian has certainly increased in urban areas. Although this evidence is anecdotal, I did not hear any language other than Indonesian/North Moluccan Malay spoken by young people on the streets of Ternate, and one of the texts recorded for this study, a recording of family members speaking informally at home in the city of Ternate, was strongly influenced by Standard Indonesian.¹³²

It is notable that North Moluccan Malay has a large number of loan words (Voorhoeve 1983: 1), more than are found in other varieties of Malay. The largest number are from the Ternate language and other languages of the north Moluccas (both Austronesian and non-Austronesian). There is also a large number of loans from Portuguese and Dutch which are not found in other varieties of Malay (except, of course, for Manado Malay, which shares the same basic lexicon). The influence of the local languages goes beyond vocabulary. As Taylor (1983: 15) puts it, “The Malay spoken in the North Moluccas has acquired lexical, morphological, and syntactic influences from the non-AN languages of the region.”

A Portuguese creole, Ternateño, was once spoken on Ternate, but is now extinct.

A.2.2 Major sources

De Clercq mentions the Malay of Ternate in his survey of Malay varieties (1876) and provides some texts.

The only published descriptions of North Moluccan Malay are two brief papers published in a volume of the journal *Nusa* in 1983. Voorhoeve (1983) presents a list of the

¹³² It should be noted that the family in question reported North Moluccan Malay as its sole home language, as the father was a native speaker of the Ternate language, and the mother was from Tidore. The interesting discovery was not that Malay was used at home, but the degree of influence of Standard Indonesian on the home language.

features of North Moluccan Malay which differ from Standard Indonesian, with a focus on phonological differences. He also includes four short texts and a glossary. Taylor (1983) gives some sociolinguistic data on the use of North Moluccan Malay, provides a brief description of some of the features of the language (with examples), and includes three texts of a somewhat longer length than those provided by Voorhoeve. Although these two papers are short, they provide a useful introduction to the language.

Pigafetta’s word list from 1521 is reproduced and discussed in Bausani (1960). The letters sent by the Sultan of Tidore to the Portuguese king in 1521 and 1522 are reproduced and analyzed in Blagden (1931). Two good histories of the region are Hanna and Alwi (1990) and Andaya (1993).

Van Staden (1998) discusses the interface between the Tidore language and North Moluccan Malay, a topic also addressed in her description of Tidore (2000).

A.2.3 Phonology and orthography

A.2.3.1 Consonants of North Moluccan Malay

The consonant phonemes of North Moluccan Malay are:

Table A.11: Consonants of North Moluccan Malay

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	
Voiced stops	b	d	ʃ <j>	g	
Fricatives	f	s			h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Glides	(w)		j <y>	w	

The orthographic conventions used in this document are indicated in angled brackets above, following standard Indonesian spelling.

The consonant phonemes are similar to those found in other varieties of Malay, and most were inherited directly from the Vehicular Malay which brought the language to the northern Moluccas. However, the phoneme /f/ was not originally part of the phonological system of Vehicular Malay, and only exists in loan-words, chiefly from the Ternate language and other languages of the northern Moluccas, but also from Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch and, more recently, English. In Vehicular Malay and the varieties of Malay spoken in the Malay homeland in western Indonesia, /f/ is not fully phonemic and alternates with /p/ for many, if not most, speakers.

There are a few borrowed phonemes, the use of which is usually a marker that the speaker is attempting to use a variety closer to Standard Indonesian, and which do not properly belong in the phonemic inventory of the sounds of North Moluccan Malay. These are the sounds [ʔ] (usually representing Indonesian word-final /k/, but also occurring intervocalically in words borrowed from Arabic), [ʃ] (<sy>, also only occurring in borrowed words, chiefly from Arabic, Dutch and English), and [x] (<kh>, occurring in words borrowed from Arabic and Dutch).

There are several changes which took place in North Moluccan Malay in the consonants occurring in the Vehicular Malay which was brought to the region.

1) Vehicular Malay (and the colloquial low Malay of western Indonesia) allow a variety of consonants in word-final position: /p, t, ʔ, m, n, ŋ, s, h, l, r/. Of these, only /ŋ, s, l, r/ are regularly retained in North Moluccan (and Manado) Malay. When a speaker is speaking in a higher register (i.e., sounding more “Indonesian,” more final consonants can appear. There are, however, a few words which regularly retain unusual consonants in all

registers, and thus can't be explained by Indonesian influence, such as *surat* 'letter' and *hidop* 'live, life'). Examples of word-final consonants which were lost in North Moluccan Malay:¹³³

(A126)	<i>tutu</i>	'shut'	(<* <i>tutop</i>) (Voorhoeve 1983: 2)
	<i>tangka</i>	'catch'	(<* <i>tangkap</i>) (Prentice 1994: 421)
	<i>dapa</i>	'get, find, meet'	(<* <i>dapat</i>) (3.11)
	<i>doi</i>	'money'	(<* <i>duit</i>) (3.130)
	<i>nae</i>	'go up, climb'	(<* <i>nai</i> ?) (4.6)
	<i>maso</i>	'enter'	(<* <i>maso</i> ?) (4.1)

2) Word-final nasal consonants /m, n, ŋ/ have merged as /ŋ/. This leads to occasional homonymy, which is commonly avoided by reinstating the original consonants, which are available through knowledge of Indonesian. Reinstatement of word-final nasals is a key marker of higher registers, and often occurred in the data collected for this study.

(A127)	<i>bolong</i>	'not yet'	(<* <i>bəlom</i>) (3.22)
	<i>minung</i>	'drink'	(<* <i>minum</i>) (1.148)
	<i>tamang</i>	'friend'	(<* <i>təman</i>) (3.73)
	<i>utang</i>	'debt'	(<* <i>utang</i>) (3.70)
	<i>utang</i>	'forest'	(<* <i>hutan</i>) (Taylor 1983: 17)
	<i>potong</i>	'cut'	(<* <i>potong</i>) (3.6)

A.2.3.2 Vowels of North Moluccan Malay

The vowel inventory of North Moluccan Malay is:

Table A.12: Vowels of North Moluccan Malay

i		u
e	(ə)	o
	a	

The schwa is only found in words which are highly marked as 'Indonesian' and in the pronunciation of speakers attempting to sound more Indonesian in their speech, and is

¹³³ Some examples are taken from the data on Manado Malay, which developed from North Moluccan Malay, and exhibits all of the same sound changes, or from other published sources, when an example is not available in the collected data.

not a part of the phonemic inventory of colloquial North Moluccan Malay. In the elicited text from Ternate, the schwa was only found in four words clearly marked as Indonesian: *səmentara* ‘while’, *pərna* ‘ever’ (this also occurs in the data as *parna*), *pərtama* ‘first’ (a Ternatean word *magori* ‘first’ was also elicited), and *gədung* ‘building’. In the conversation which was recorded and transcribed, the schwa was only found in four words as well, despite the strong influence of Indonesian syntax and vocabulary found in this text.

Given that Vehicular Malay had a schwa sound, it is useful to understand how this sound was handled, and how the reflexes of words which originally had this sound appear in North Moluccan Malay. Given that Vehicular Malay was not a written language, and we have no records of the precise form of the language which was brought to the north Moluccas, the examples below from Vehicular Malay represent reconstructions of the most likely Vehicular Malay forms, considering the forms found in other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, and the forms found in modern colloquial varieties of low Malay.

A number of processes, by which North Moluccan Malay or Manado Malay lost, assimilated or replaced the schwa sound have been discussed in Prentice (1994) and Voorhoeve (1983), and this analysis builds upon those studies. The processes involved are summarized below. It should be noted that these are not regular sound changes, affecting each occurrence of a sound, but rather tendencies or a set of possible strategies, which, taken together, had the effect of eliminating the schwa sound from the phonemic system of the newly developing language.

1) Complete loss of /ə/ with resulting disyllabification, producing syllable-initial consonant clusters, which are rarely found in other varieties of Malay, and which were not found in Vehicular Malay. This process was particularly common in the environments [stop] _ [liquid], /s/ _ [liquid] and [nasal] – [nasal/liquid].

- (A128) **səkali* → *skali* ‘one time’ (3.120)
 **bəlajar* → *blajar* ‘study’ (3.41)
 **bərapa* → *brapa* ‘how many’ (3.58)

2) In penultimate syllables, /ə/ was replaced by /e/. This happened especially when the final syllable contained /a/.

- (A129) **dəngan* → *deng(an)* ‘with’ (3.6)
 **tətap* → *tetap* ‘still’ (4.16)
 **tərus* → *terus* ‘direct’ (4.43)

3) Also in penultimate syllables, /ə/ assimilated to the vowel in the following syllable. This change affected the same set of target words as the previous change. This change occurred after the sound changes which lowered /i/ and /u/ in final closed syllables, and after the monophthongization of word-final /-ay/ and /-aw/ (two changes which had already occurred in Vehicular Malay before North Moluccan Malay was formed).

- (A130) • Assimilation to /a/
 **bəsar* → *basar* ‘large’ (3.90)
 **əmpat* → *ampa* ‘four’ (4.21)
- Assimilation to /e/
 **ləbe* → *lebe* ‘more’ (3.122)
 **pətik* → *pete* ‘pick’ (2.62)
- Assimilation to /i/
 **kəring* → *kiring* ‘dry’ (Prentice 1994: 415)
 **kəncing* → *kincing* ‘urine’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 3)

- Assimilation to /o/

**bəlom* → *bolong* ‘not yet’ (3.22)

**pəno* → *pono* ‘full’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 3)

- Assimilation to /u/

**pərut* → *puru* ‘belly’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 3)

**bətul* → *butul* ‘true, exact’ (Prentice 1994: 415)

2) In other environments, including pre-penultimate syllables, /ə/ was replaced by /a/.

(A131) **pərempuan* → *parampuan* ‘woman’ (3.3)

**bəli* → *bali* ‘buy’ (3.21)

**kəlmərin* → *kalamarin* ‘yesterday’ (3.40)

**kəcil* → *kacil* ‘small’ (3.91)

**sədikit* → *sadiki* ‘a little’ (3.96)

The loss of the schwa has led to the development of phonemic stress. In Vehicular Malay, stress fell on the penultimate syllable, unless this syllable contained a schwa, in which case stress fell on the final syllable. The result is minimal pairs such as the following:

(A132) *ba’rat* ‘heavy’ (<**bə’rat*)
’barat ‘west’ (<*’*barat*)

There are a few other processes, which are described by some observers such as Prentice (1994), Adelaar and Prentice (1996) and Voorhoeve (1983) as developments in North Moluccan Malay, Manado Malay or the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, but which had actually occurred in Vehicular Malay prior to its arrival in the Moluccas, and can be found in the colloquial Malay spoken in the Malay homeland. These are the lowering of /i/ and /u/ in final closed syllables, monophthongization of the diphthongs /-ay/

and /-aw/ and loss of /h/ in most environments (except between two identical vowels).¹³⁴

These developments are described as occurring before other developments such as the loss of the schwa. This is quite true, in that these developments occurred before Vehicular Malay reached eastern Indonesia. In fact, one development, the lowering of /i/ and /u/ in final closed syllables, is the usual pronunciation in the Standard Malay of Malaysia, and was reflected in the official spelling until the spelling systems of Malaysia and Indonesia were unified in 1972.

Word final diphthongs in North Moluccan Malay (and in fact, all the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia) tend to take the form of /-ae/ and /-ao/, two diphthongs which did not exist in Vehicular Malay, and which are not found in western varieties of Malay. This had the effect of increasing the number of diphthongs from the three found in Vehicular Malay to the five found in North Moluccan Malay.¹³⁵ Since Vehicular Malay had already lost all word-final diphthongs, these diphthongs in North Moluccan Malay occur in words which were consonant-final in Vehicular Malay, but which have lost their final consonants due to the processes described above:

(A133) *bae* ‘good’ (< **bai*?) (3.117)
lao ‘sea’ (< **laut*) (3.103)

There is a clear order of operations in which changes in any given word occurred.

For example, the word *ba-kalae* ‘to fight’ (3.114) went through the following changes:

¹³⁴ There are some words which inexplicably have retained /h/ in the word-initial environments in which it has generally been lost, both in the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, and in the low Malay colloquial varieties of western Indonesia (and, by extension, Vehicular Malay). Some examples are *hati* ‘liver, seat of emotion’, *hari* ‘day’, *hidop* ‘live, life’ and *hantam* ‘hit, attack’.

¹³⁵ There is some question as to whether the contact varieties of Malay have diphthongs at all, or whether these forms should be analyzed as sequences of vowels.

Table A.13 An Example of Rule Ordering in North Moluccan Malay

Form	Variety	Process
<i>bər-kəlahi</i>	Malay	(none)
<i>bər-kəlahi</i>	Colloquial (low) Malay	monophthongization (does not apply)
<i>bər-kəlai</i>	Colloquial (low) Malay	loss of /h/
<i>bər-kəlae</i>	North Moluccan Malay (?)	/ay/ → /ae/
<i>bə-kəlae</i>	North Moluccan Malay (?)	morpheme /bər-/ becomes /bə-/ ¹³⁶
<i>ba-kalae</i>	North Moluccan Malay	loss of schwa

A.2.4 General/Clause Structure

A.2.4.1 Word Order

North Moluccan Malay is an isolating language, with little productive morphology of any kind, apart from reduplication. As a result, word order takes a very important role, and the basic word orders of SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT (in transitive clauses) and SUBJECT-VERB (in intransitive clauses) are adhered to, as in the following typical examples, with only rare, highly-marked exceptions.

(A134) *Kita mo bali oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ‘I will buy a new car.’ (3.23)

(A135) *Ana itu tidor.*
 child DEM sleep
 ‘The child sleeps.’ (3.2)

¹³⁶ The loss of /h/ had already occurred before the language was transported to the northern Moluccas through Vehicular Malay. The change of /ay/ → /ae/ may have occurred in Vehicular Malay, or more likely in a eastern Indonesian successor to Vehicular Malay, as it is found throughout the Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia, but not in any western varieties. The change of /bər-/ → /bə-/ may also have occurred in Vehicular Malay, as most varieties of eastern Indonesia show /ba-/ (Larantuka Malay has /bə-(r)/).

A.2.4.2 Lexical categories

North Moluccan Malay has three open classes of words. The open classes are nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Although adjectives have certain verb-like properties, and could possibly be analyzed as a sub-class of verbs, they can be distinguished from verbs because adjectives can occur with intensifiers, while verbs usually can not.

The following are the closed classes of words in North Moluccan Malay, similar to those described for Manado Malay. The members of these classes will be described separately.

- Pronouns (a sub-class of nouns)
- Demonstratives
- Prepositions
- Conjunctions
- Possessive markers
- Numerals
- Directionals
- Intensifiers
- Relativizers
- Negators
- Question words
- Aspect markers
- Adverbs
- Interjections
- Discourse Particles

A.2.4.3 Prepositions

Prepositional phrases in North Moluccan Malay consist of PREPOSITION + NOUN PHRASE. There are only a few prepositions in North Moluccan Malay. The most commonly used prepositions, with examples, are listed below.

- *di* LOC ('at, in, on')

(A136) *Kita pe papa ada ba-tanam pohon di taman/kintal.*
1SG POSS father ASP BA-plant tree LOC garden
'My father plants trees in the garden.' (3.1)

(A137) *Kalamarin ngana tara bali ikan di pasar.*
yesterday 2SG NEG buy fish LOC market
'You didn't buy fish in the market yesterday.' (3.40)

- *dari* 'from; than'

(A138) *Kita datang dari lao ka dara.*
1SG come from sea to land
'I came from a seaward direction to a landward direction.' (3.103)

(A139) *Gunung Ternate lebe tinggi dari gunung Tidore.*
mountain Ternate more tall from mountain Tidore
'Ternate's mountain is taller than Tidore's mountain.' (3.122)

- *ka* 'to' (before both inanimate and animate noun phrases)

(A140) *Bikiapa ngana datang ka mari?*
why 2SG come to here
'Why did you come here?' (3.72)

(A141) *Kita kasi barang ini ka ngana.*
1SG give thing DEM to 2SG
'I give this thing to you.' (3.128)

- *pa* 'to' (only when the following noun phrase is animate)¹³⁷

(A142) *Kita pe ade ada ba-tulis surat pa dia pe guru.*
1SG POSS younger.sibling ASP BA-write letter to 3SG POSS teacher
'My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.' (3.4)

¹³⁷ *pa* can occur before animate noun phrases representing direct objects, goals, recipients, or beneficiaries.

(A143) *Orang itu ada kase bunga pa dia pe nona.*
 person DEM ASP give flower to 3SG POSS girlfriend
 ‘The person gives a flower to his girlfriend.’ (3.9)

- *deng* ‘with’ (INSTRUMENTAL, COMITATIVE)

(A144) *Kita pe papa ada potong tali deng piso.*
 1SG POSS father ASP cut rope with knife
 ‘My father cuts a rope with a knife.’ (3.6)

(A145) *Kita pe papa deng kita pe om ada potong kayu.*
 1SG POSS father with 1SG POSS uncle ASP cut wood
 ‘My father cuts wood with my uncle.’ (3.7)

- *for* ‘for’ (BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT; examples of all three uses are not available in the data)

(A146) *Kita kasi barang ini for ngana.*
 1SG give thing DEM for 2SG
 ‘I give this thing to you.’ (3.129)

- *sama* ‘with, to, at’¹³⁸

(A147) *bilang sama* ‘to say to (someone)’
inga sama ‘to think of (someone/something)’
sampe sama ‘to arrive at (somewhere)’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 6)

Prepositional phrases in North Moluccan Malay generally occur after the verb, clause finally, as in all examples in the data collected for this study.

On the other hand, time adverbs (which are not marked by prepositions) are regularly fronted, even when the prompt presents a time adverb in final position:

(A148) *Tadi malam dia tara ba-uni teve.*
 last night s/he NEG BA-watch TV
 ‘S/he didn’t watch TV last night.’ (3.38)

(A149) *Hari rabu dorang akan tara jadi pigi.*
 day Wednesday 3PL FUT NEG happen go
 ‘They won’t leave on Wednesday.’ (3.39)

¹³⁸ This range of functions for *sama* in North Moluccan Malay parallels the range of functions of *sama* in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian.

- (A150) *Kalamarin ngana tara bali ikan di pasar.*
 yesterday 2SG NEG buy fish LOC market
 ‘You didn’t buy fish in the market yesterday.’ (3.40)

A.2.4.4 Negation

Simple clausal negation is expressed by the negator *tarada* ‘no, not, not have’ or *tara* ‘no, not’, which occurs immediately before the verb phrase being negated:

- (A151) *Tadi malam dia tara ba-uni teve.*
 last night s/he NEG BA-watch TV
 ‘S/he didn’t watch TV last night.’ (3.38)

- (A152) *Ngoni tara jadi blajar di skola.*
 2PL NEG happen study LOC school
 ‘You (pl) didn’t study in school.’ (3.41)

- (A153) *Kalo ngana tara datang me tara apa pun.*
 if 2SG NEG come CONJ NEG what also
 ‘If you don’t come it’s not a problem.’ (3.132)

When the meaning is ‘not have’, *tarada* frequently appears as *tara ada* to avoid a potentially ambiguous meaning, as well as the possible construction **tarada ada*.

- (A154) *Kui di dapur so tara ada lagi.*
 cake LOC kitchen ASP NEG have again
 ‘There is no more cake in the kitchen.’ (3.51)

Negation of elements other than the verb is accomplished through use of the negator *bukan(g)*:

- (A155) *Yang sama dengan itu bukan lagi?*
 REL same with DEM NEG again
 ‘The same as that one, isn’t it also?’ (4.30)

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *bəlung* or *bolong* ‘not yet’:

- (A156) *Bolong, ada libur.*
 not.yet have vacation
 ‘Not yet. She’s on vacation.’ (4.2)

(A157) *Dia bolong mangael ikan.*
3SG not.yet hook fish
'He has not gone fishing yet.' (3.26)

There is also a prohibitive negator, *jang* 'don't'.

A.2.4.5 Questions

Polar (yes/no) questions are generally indicated by intonation alone:

(A158) *Ngana dulu pərna karja di pabrik?*
2SG before ever work LOC factory
'Did you ever work at the factory (in the past)?' (3.55)

(A159) *Iki so maso kulia?*
Iki ASP enter lecture
'Has Iki started going to class?' (4.1)

(A160) *Ambe doi?*
take money
'Get the money?' (4.18)

A clause-final question word, *ka* can also appear.

(A161) *Ini baru satu kali ka?*
DEM just one time Q
'This is just one time, right?' (4.25)

The Indonesian patterns of inversion in existential and aspectual questions, and use of clause-initial *apa* 'what' to indicate a polar question commonly occurred in the data, but may well be a result of interference from the Indonesian-language prompts.

(A162) *Ada kui di dapur?*
have cake LOC kitchen
'Is there cake in the kitchen?' (3.48)

(A163) *E apa Iki so maso skola?*
INT Q Iki ASP enter school
'Hey, has Iki started school yet?' (4.1)

A clause-final question word, *ka*, can also appear. This morpheme can also introduce a clause-final 'or not?' as in (A167) and (A169).

Table A.14: Question words

<i>apa</i>	‘what’	<i>bikiapa</i>	‘why’
<i>mana</i>	‘where’	<i>brapa</i>	‘how many’
<i>bagaimana</i>	‘how’	<i>tempo apa</i>	‘when’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’	<i>kapan</i>	‘when’

(A170) *Ali ada bali apa di pasar?*

Ali ASP buy what LOC market
‘What did Ali buy at the market?’ (3.68)

(A171) *Ngana pe ruma di mana? (*Di mana ngana pe ruma?)*

2SG POSS house LOC where
‘Where is your house?’ (3.60)

(A172) *Bagaimana cara dia akan pi cari dia pe tamang?*

how method 3SG FUT go search.for 3SG POSS friend
‘How will he look for his friend?’ (3.73)

(A173) *Ngana nama sapa?*

2SG name who
‘What is your name?’ (3.62)

(A174) *Sapa yang buka jandela?*

who REL open window
‘Who opened the window?’ (3.63)

(A175) *Ngana ka mari bikiapa?*

2SG to here why
‘Why did you come here?’ (3.71)

(A176) *Iki so klas brapa?*

Iki ASP class how.many
‘What grade is Iki entering?’ (4.5)

(A177) *Ngana datang tempo apa?*

2SG come time what
‘When did you come?’ (3.133)

(A178) *E kapan baru mo maso?*

INT when just ASP enter
‘Hey, when will she start?’ (4.3)

A.2.5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

A.2.5.1 Order of elements

The basic order of the noun phrase is:

(DEM) (QUANT) (NP_{POSS}) HEAD (NUM) (NOUN) (ADJ) (DEM) (VP) (QUANT) (REL/PP) (DEM)

Within the noun phrase, nouns may be modified by demonstratives, quantifiers, possessives, numerals, adjectives, other nouns, VPs, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses. These elements and the constraints on each will be discussed below.

Quantifiers and numerals may precede the noun, again through the influence of Indonesian, although this is a recent innovation, and the basic order is for these elements to follow the noun.

(A179) *Ali ada buku banya.*
Ali have book many
'Ali has many books.' (3.84)

(A180) *Tiga bulan to?*
three month DP
'It's been three months, hasn't it?' (4.15)

Adjectives may be reduplicated, to make them more emphatic.

A.2.5.2 Plural marking

Plural marking on nouns is rare. If nouns are modified by a numeral or a quantifier, or if the context makes the number clear, plural is not marked. Nominal reduplication to indicate a plural occurs if the context is ambiguous, if plurality is stressed, or if a variety of objects is indicated, but only in registers which approximate Indonesian:

(A181) *tanggal-tanggal ka sana bole ganti pake tanggal jato*
REDUP-date to over.there can change use date fall
tempo sana,
time over.there
'...the dates, you can use the due date there,' (4.26)

(A182) *Ali ada buku banya. (*Ali ada buku-buku)*
 Ali have book many
 ‘Ali has many books.’ (*Ali has books) (3.84)

A.2.5.3 Pronouns

The pronouns of North Moluccan Malay are presented in the table below.

Table A.15: Pronouns of North Moluccan Malay

Full form	Short form		Full form	Short form	
<i>kita</i>	—	1SG	<i>(ki)torang</i> ¹³⁹	<i>tong</i>	1PL (INCL/EXCL)
<i>ngana</i>	—	2SG informal	<i>ngoni</i>	—	2PL
<i>dia</i>	<i>de</i>	3SG	<i>dorang</i>	<i>dong</i>	3PL

The short forms are found only in the first and third person pronouns, and cannot be clause final. A short form can always be replaced by a full form. The third person forms may have animate or inanimate referents.

The plural forms do not refer to any specific number of persons. A specific number can be indicated by a pronoun followed by a numeral, as in the example.

(A183) *Jadi cuma hanya tong dua saja?*
 so only only 1PL two only
 ‘So it’s only the two of us?’ (3.54)

Subject and object pronouns may be deleted in an utterance if the context makes clear who is referred to.

For some speakers, a pronoun cross-referencing the subject occurs immediately after the subject, preceding the verb. Although this construction did not occur in the data collected for this study, two examples are included in Voorhoeve (1983: 6), which he considers examples of a topic-comment construction. The possibility could also be entertained that these are examples of a subject prefix on the verb, a construction found in

¹³⁹ Taylor (1983: 19) reports that *kitong* is also a possible 1PL form, though I did not come across this in collecting data or listening to the language spoken.

the local languages of the northern Moluccas, both Austronesian and non-Austronesian, and one which occurs with more frequency in other Malay varieties in eastern Indonesia.

(A184) *Ana satu itu dia meninggal lagi.*
 child one DEM 3SG die again
 ‘That one child died too’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 6)

(A185) *Jadi Raja ini dia aku sah.*
 so sultan DEM 3SG authorize
 ‘And so the sultan authorized it.’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 6)

A.2.5.4 Reduplication of Pronouns and Question Words

Question words and pronouns may be reduplicated to indicate indefiniteness or lack of specificity and can function as pronouns or to modify nouns. Reduplicated question words can also function as indefinite or non-specific interrogative pronouns. The question word *sapa* ‘who’ is reduplicated to give the non-specific meaning of ‘who all (one or more)’.

(A186) *Sapa-sapa saja yang pake kita pe baju?*
 REDUP-who only REL wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Who all wore my shirt?’ (3.65)

A.2.5.5 Possessive constructions

The possessive construction in North Moluccan Malay takes the form POSSESSOR *pe* POSSESSED, in which *pe* is the possessive or genitive marker. There can be a string of more than one possessive, as in (A189).

(A187) *Kita pe ade ada ba-tulis surat pa dia pe*
 1SG POSS younger.sibling ASP BA-write letter to 3SG POSS
guru.
 teacher
 ‘My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.’ (3.4)

(A188) *Kita pe tamang akan pi di pesta.*
 1SG POSS friend FUT go LOC party
 ‘My friend will come to the party.’ (3.52)

- (A189) *Kita pe om pe ana*
 1SG POSS uncle POSS child
 ‘My uncle’s child’ (3.89)

The possessive morpheme *pe* also serves as an intensifier. This use is discussed below.

A.2.5.6 Demonstratives

Demonstratives play an important role in North Moluccan Malay. The demonstratives are *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. The short forms *ni* and *tu* may occur, but are not common. Demonstratives can occur both before the noun or after the noun, and may occur in both locations for emphatic effect (Taylor 1983: 20). Voorhoeve (1983: 5) observes that if the noun is possessed or qualified, the demonstrative follows it. It is likely that in some cases demonstratives occurring after the noun are influenced by the Indonesian construction, which only allows this position. In the data collected for this study, the demonstrative followed the noun in all examples, possibly due to the influence of the Indonesian prompts (in the elicited data, as in A190) and the Indonesian influence on the oral text due to the topic (as in A191). The examples below of demonstratives preceding the noun and both preceding and following the noun are from Voorhoeve (1983).

- (A190) *Motor itu tabrak oto ini.*
 motorcycle DEM crash car DEM
 ‘That motorcycle crashed into this car.’ (3.35)

- (A191) *Saya musti tetap ini ambe doi tiga ratus itu.*
 1SG must still DEM take money three hundred DEM
 ‘I still have to get that three hundred (thousand rupiah).’ (4.16)

- (A192) *Untung-untung ini agama masuk!*
 REDUP-luck DEM religion enter
 ‘Thank goodness the [Christian] religion came!’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 5)

(A193) *Jadi, bagitu dia inga itu pesan itu...*
 so like.that 3SG think.of DEM instruction DEM
 ‘So, he obeyed the instruction as he was told...’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 5)

(A194) *dorang makan saya punya ana ini*
 3PL eat 1SG POSS child DEM
 ‘They ate this child of mine.’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 5)

A.2.5.7 Numerals

The cardinal numerals of North Moluccan Malay are shown in the table below.

Table A.16 Numerals of North Moluccan Malay

<i>satu</i>	‘one’
<i>dua</i>	‘two’
<i>tiga</i>	‘three’
<i>ampa</i>	‘four’
<i>lima</i>	‘five’
<i>anang, anam</i>	‘six’
<i>tuju</i>	‘seven’
<i>dalapan(g)</i>	‘eight’
<i>sambilan(g)</i>	‘nine’
<i>sa-pulu</i>	‘ten’
<i>dua balas</i>	‘twelve’
<i>dua pulu</i>	‘twenty’
<i>dua ratus</i>	‘two hundred’
<i>dua ribu</i>	‘two thousand’
<i>dua juta</i>	‘two million’

The morphemes *pulu* ‘ten’, *balas* ‘teen’, *ratus* ‘hundred’, *ribu* ‘thousand, and *juta* ‘million’ combine with the cardinal numerals to form all numerals. Only one numeral, *satu* ‘one’, has a special combining form, *sa-*. Ordinal numerals are formed by a prefix, *ka-*, as in the table below (only *pərtama* ‘first’, a loanword from Indonesian (originally from Sanskrit), and *magori*, a loanword from Ternate, are exceptions to the pattern).

Table A.17 Ordinal Numerals in North Moluccan Malay

<i>pərtama</i>	‘first’
<i>ka-dua</i>	‘second’
<i>ka-tiga</i>	‘third’
<i>ka-ampa</i>	‘fourth’ (3.107, 3.108)

Numerals typically follow the noun they modify, and it can be assumed that NOUN + NUMERAL is the standard order in North Moluccan Malay. Indonesian influence has led to the occasional appearance of NUMERAL + NOUN order.

(A195) *Ali pe buku ada lima.*
 Ali POSS book have five
 ‘Ali has five books.’ (3.83)

(A196) *Ali so ada oto satu.*
 Ali ASP POSS one car
 ‘Ali has a car.’ (3.81)

Numeral classifiers, which are found in many Malay varieties, occurred sporadically in the data, and always seemed to use a single classifier, *biji*, which in Indonesian indicates small things, and would not normally be used with a word like ‘car’.

(A197) *Ali pe oto ada dua biji.*
 Ali POSS car have two CL
 ‘Ali has two cars.’ (3.82)

(A198) *Cincin barapa pun, dua biji?*
 ring how.many also two CL
 ‘How many rings, two?’ (4.9)

There was an occurrence of an ordinal numeral without the *ka-* prefix, which may be a regular construction, with the elicited *ka-* construction a result of Indonesian influence:

(A199) *...ini jato tempo, bulan delapan.*
 DEM fall time month eight
 ‘...the due date is in the eighth month.’ (4.26)

A.2.5.8 Relative Clauses

In the elicited data, most relative clause constructions made use of the typical Malay relativizer *yang*. This may be a function of the fact that the prompts (in Indonesian) used *yang*, and although *yang* does occur in North Moluccan Malay (and all other Malay varieties I am familiar with), other possibly more typical constructions may have been avoided. Examples of *yang* constructions from the elicited data follow.

- (A200) *Sapa yang pake kita pe baju?*
 who REL wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Who is wearing my shirt?’ (3.64)
- (A201) *Apa yang Ali beli di pasar?*
 what REL Ali buy LOC market
 ‘What did Ali buy at the market?’ (3.69)
- (A202) *Kita tinggal di ruma yang sadiki basar.*
 1SG live LOC house REL little big
 ‘I live in a house which is rather big.’ (3.96)
- (A203) *Ana itu yang pancuri ayam.*
 child DEM REL steal chicken
 ‘That is the child who stole my chicken.’ (3.109)

It is likely that the nominalized clauses formed with *tu* described above which occur in Manado Malay are also found in North Moluccan Malay, and can form relative clauses, though no unequivocal cases occurred in the data collected for this study. There is, however, one example of what appears to be a nominalized clause formed with *tu*:

- (A204) *Ini tu jato tempo.*
 DEM DEM fall time
 ‘This is the due date.’ (4.31)

A.2.5.9 Nominal Morphology

There are two kinds of morphological processes in North Moluccan Malay, which vary in their productivity: affixation and reduplication. North Moluccan Malay has two nominal prefixes: the ordinal prefix *ka-*, discussed above,¹⁴⁰ and the nominal prefix *pang-* or *pa-*, which originally had the meaning of ‘a person who performs an action’. This prefix is related to the prefix *pəN-*, found in standard Malay and other Malay varieties of western Indonesia. This prefix likely represents a frozen remnant borrowed from a variety of Malay

¹⁴⁰ Although forms with this prefix were elicited, in the oral text a different construction marked the ordinal (see (A199)), and the status of *ka-* in North Moluccan Malay is questionable.

in which it was common. In fact, the only example in the data collected for this study is the one in (A203) above, where the nominalizing function of the prefix has been lost. This underscores the lack of productivity of this affix, as it no longer preserves its inherent meaning as a nominalizer. Voorhoeve and Taylor provides other examples, one of which has also lost the nominalizing function, and two others of which also include the frozen verbal *ma-* (<*məN-*) prefix, which is non-productive in North Moluccan Malay, and which cannot co-occur with *peN-* in varieties of Malay in which both prefixes are productive. It seems the prefix did have some productivity at one time, however, since the example from Taylor of *pang-foya* ‘liar’ involves a root from the Ternate language (*foya* ‘to lie’).

- (A205) *pa-malas* ‘lazy person’
pang-gayung ‘to row, oar’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 4)
- (A206) *pang-manangis* ‘crybaby’
pang-malawan ‘one who resists’
pang-foya ‘liar’ (Taylor 1983: 19)

Although there is only one example in the elicited data of nominal reduplication (A181 above), and it does not appear that nominal reduplication can be used to mark plurality in lower registers, there are some contexts in which nominal reduplication may be used to indicate indefiniteness or group membership.

- (A207) *Sapa-sapa saja yang pake kita pe baju?*
 REDUP-who only REL wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Who all wore my shirt?’ (3.65)
- (A208) *Dua suda, tak apa-apa.*
 two already NEG REDUP-what
 ‘Both of them, no problem.’ (4.14)

A.2.6 Verbs and Verb Phrases

A.2.6.1 Order of elements

Table A.18 The verb phrase in North Moluccan Malay

			VERB PHRASE				VERB BASE
ASPECT 1	NEGATIVE	ASPECT 2	MODAL	AUX	PREFIX B	PREFIX A	
<i>so, su</i> PERF	<i>tara, tarada</i> VERBAL	<i>mo, mau</i> INCH	<i>bole</i> 'can, may'	<i>dapa</i> EXPERIEN, POTENTIAL, ETC.	<i>ta-</i> NON- VOLIT	<i>baku-</i> RECIPROCAL	
<i>masi</i> 'still'	<i>bukan(g)</i> 'not' CONTRAST	<i>(a)da</i> REALIS	<i>musti</i> 'must'	<i>(ka)si</i> CAUSATIVE		<i>ba-</i> ATTRIBUTIVE, DURATIVE, REFLEXIVE	
<i>bulung, bolong</i> 'not yet'		<i>ja</i> HABIT	<i>akan</i> 'will'	<i>bikin</i> CAUSATIVE			
<i>jang</i> PROHIB					(REDUPLICATION) ITERATIVE		

There are a number of elements which can be part of the verb phrase in North Moluccan Malay, and they fit into specific slots. The order and terminology used here is based on the analysis in Prentice (1994: 429) for Manado Malay. All slots preceding the verb base are optional, and, indeed, often a bare verb base occurs. The examples below include information on which slots each element in the verb complex fill (other than object NPs). An aspect marker may appear before or after the negator, or both before and after, as in (A209).

(A209) *Hari rabu dorang akan tara jadi pigi.*
 day Wednesday 3PL FUT NEG happen go
 MOD NEG AUX V
 'They won't leave on Wednesday.' (3.39)

(A210) *Ngoni tara jadi blajar di skola.*
 2PL NEG happen study LOC school
 ASP AUX V
 'You (pl) didn't study in school.' (3.41)

A.2.6.2 Aspect markers

Aspect can be marked in several ways in North Moluccan Malay. Reduplication can mark progressive or durative aspect (see below). Another way aspect can be marked is lexically, by words such as *masi* ‘still’, *pərna* ‘ever’, *sadang* or *səmentara*, which denote an on-going activity, or *suda* ‘already’.¹⁴¹ But the most common way to mark aspect is by way of one of the four aspect markers, or clitics, *so/su*, *mo/mau*, and *(a)da*, which are frequently, though not obligatorily, used.

Table A.19: Aspect in North Moluccan Malay

Aspect category	
realis	<i>(a)da</i>
inchoative	<i>mo/mau</i>
perfective	<i>so/su</i>

The realis marker, *(a)da*, is distinguished from the verb *(a)da* ‘have; exist; there is.’ The aspect marker *(a)da* cannot be negated (it is, after all, a realis marker denoting that an event actually is occurring or will occur), while the verb *(a)da* may be negated. Inchoative aspect, marked by *mo/mau*, often expresses predictions, intentions or promises, and behaves much like a future marker. The perfective marker, *so/su*, indicates that an action or event is completed. Examples of the use of aspect markers follow.

(A211) *Orang itu ada kase bunga pa dia pe nona.*
 person DEM ASP give flower to 3SG POSS girlfriend
 ASP2 V
 ‘The person gives a flower to his girlfriend.’ (3.9)

(A212) *Ngana so tidor.*
 2SG ASP sleep
 ASP1 V
 ‘You slept.’ (3.29)

¹⁴¹ These words which mark aspect lexically occur in the same slot in Table A.18 as the four aspect markers.

- (A213) *Kita mo bali oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ASP2 V
 ‘I will buy a new car.’ (3.23)

A.2.6.3 Post-verbal *suda*

The verb can be followed by *suda* ‘already’ which functions as a modal particle functioning as an emphatic marker. Although etymologically it is related to the aspect particle *so/su*, it functions quite differently in this form.

- (A214) *Gunung itu so paling tinggi suda.*
 mountain DEM ASP most tall already
 ‘That mountain is the tallest.’ (3.125)

- (A215) *A ini suanggi ini... lebe bae kasi pulang suda!*
 INT DEM evil.spirit DEM more good give go.home already
 ‘Oh, I’d really better get rid of this evil spirit!’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 6)

A.2.6.4 Complex verbs

Complex verbs consist of a verb preceded by one of the verbs in the ‘Aux A’ column in Table A.18 above: *dapa* ‘can, get, find’, *kasi/kase* ‘give’ or *bikin* ‘make’. Verbs combined with *dapa* have an added meaning of ability or undergoing an experience. *Kasi/kase* and *bikin* are causatives. All three forms are very productive, although not all of these forms appeared in the data collected.

- (A216) *Burung dapa lia pohon, dia dapa lia bunga.*
 bird AUX see tree, 3SG AUX see flower
 ‘The bird sees the tree. It sees a flower.’ (3.20)

- (A217) *Bole kase tunju saya kantor pos sabala mana?*
 can give show 1SG office post side where
 ‘Can you show me where is the post office?’ (3.59)

(A218) *Tərus si paitua ini tərus kasi tau bilang sama si*
 then ADD old.man DEM directly AUX know say to ADD
laki itu...
 man DEM
 ‘Then the old man told that man straightaway...’
 (Voorhoeve 1983: 9, Text IV)

(A219) *Satu saat ada bikin rame.*
 one time ASP AUX merry
 ‘One time [they] were making merry.’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 10, Text IV)

A.2.6.5 Serial Verb Constructions

Complex events may be expressed through two or more consecutive verbs.

(A220) *Bagaimana cara dia akan pi cari dia pe tamang?*
 how method 3SG FUT go search.for 3SG POSS friend
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’ (3.73)

(A221) *Ali ada ba-jalang ba-baronda deng dia pe*
 Ali ASP BA-walk BA-walk.around with 3SG POSS
ade.
 younger.sibling
 ‘Ali is walking around with his younger sibling (right now).’ (3.80)

A.2.6.6 Verbal morphology

Verbal morphology consists of affixation and reduplication. North Moluccan Malay has three productive verbal prefixes: *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*.¹⁴² In addition to productive use of these prefixes, there are a number of words in which the *ba-* prefix is frozen as part of a loanword from a variety of Malay in which it was productive. Examples include the following:

¹⁴² Words which are borrowed from other varieties of Malay which contain nominal or verbal affixes such as *ma-* (<məN-), *an-*, *-kan*, *ke-* *-an*, etc. are monomorphemic in North Moluccan Malay, and the affixes, although they may appear in a word, are not productive. In the glosses for the data collected for this study, such non-productive affixes are treated as part of the word, and not as part of the linguistic system of North Moluccan Malay. Voorhoeve (1983: 4) believes that *ba-* and *ta-* are not productive in North Moluccan Malay, while Taylor (1983: 18) believes *ba-* and *ta-* are productive.

- (A222) *balayar* 'sail; to sail' (Voorhoeve 1983:4)
balabu 'to ride at anchor' (Taylor 1983: 18)
barenti 'stop' (Taylor 1983: 18)
bakalae 'to fight' (Taylor 1983: 18)

The prefix *ba-* has three uses in North Moluccan Malay:

- If the base is a noun, the meaning of *ba-* is roughly 'to have x' or 'to use x'.

- (A223) *pece* 'mud' *ba-pece* 'to be muddy'
aer 'water' *ba-air* 'to be watery' (Taylor 1983:19)

- If the base is a verb, *ba-* refers to an ongoing activity, and forms stative verbs.

- (A224) *Kita pe papa ada ba-tanam pohon di taman/kintal.*
 1SG POSS father ASP BA-plant tree LOC garden
 'My father plants trees in the garden.' (3.1)

- (A225) *Guru tu ada ba-baca buku.*
 teacher DEM ASP BA-read book
 'The teacher reads a book.' (3.8)

- (A226) *Tadi malam dia tara ba-uni teve.*
 last night 3SG NEG BA-watch TV
 'S/he didn't watch TV last night.' (3.38)

- (A227) *Dia ada ba-diri di situ.*
 3SG asp BA-stand LOC there
 'He is standing over there.' (3.102)

- The prefix *ba-* can make the action of a verb reflexive, directing the action at the actor himself. According to Taylor (1983: 18), this usage derives from a similar prefix in the non-Austronesian languages of the region, which takes the form of *maa-* in Tobelo. The following are examples of this usage from the data collected for this study:

- (A228) *Kita ba-cukur sandiri.*
 1SG BA-shave self
 'I shaved myself.' (3.112)

- (A229) *Kita ba-cuci sandiri.*
 1SG BA-wash self
 'I washed myself.' (3.113)

Taylor gives the following examples of the reflexive usage of *ba-*:

(A230)	<i>simpan</i>	‘hide’	<i>ba-simpan</i>	‘hide oneself’
	<i>putar</i>	‘turn’	<i>ba-putar</i>	‘turn oneself’
	<i>ambe</i>	‘take’	<i>ba-ambe</i>	‘take for oneself’
	<i>bili</i>	‘buy’	<i>ba-bili</i>	‘buy for oneself’ (Taylor 1983: 18)

Furthermore, Taylor provides examples of forms which, although they have no inherent reflexive meaning, require a reflexive prefix in the non-Austronesian languages of Halmahera, with the result that speakers of North Moluccan Malay in Halmahera apply the reflexive prefix where it would not be expected. It is probable that these forms are not used by all speakers of North Moluccan Malay. They did not appear in the data from Ternate.

(A231)	<i>ba-lia</i>	‘see’
	<i>ba-haga</i>	‘stare’ (Taylor 1983: 18)

The prefix *ta-* also forms verbs, and creates the meaning that the action happens accidentally or by an unexpected or involuntary action.

(A232)	<i>ta-tikam</i>	‘stabbed’
	<i>ta-robek</i>	‘torn’ (Voorhoeve 1983: 4)

As with the prefix *ba-*, there are occurrences of the prefix *ta-* which are not the result of a productive process, but rather a frozen form borrowed into the language:

(A233)	<i>Dia tatawa.</i>
	3SG laugh
	‘S/he laughs.’ (3.99)

(A234)	<i>Gunung itu tara talalu tinggi.</i>
	mountain DEM NEG too tall
	‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’ (3.123)

The prefix *baku-* forms reciprocal verbs. This morpheme was borrowed into North Moluccan Malay from the non-Austronesian (West Papuan) languages of the region, and

has close cognates in most of these languages.¹⁴³ It has since spread to all of the contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia (except Larantuka Malay), and has even begun to appear in Malay varieties in western Indonesia, most notably colloquial Jakarta Indonesian. As with the non-Austronesian languages of the region, it is used with two meanings. The first is to ‘do something to each other,’ as in the examples below.

(A235) *Dorang baku-hantam.*
 3PL RECIPIENT-hit
 ‘They hit each other.’ (3.115)

(A236) *Dorang baku-sayang.*
 3PL RECIPIENT-love
 ‘They love each other. (as in brother-sister, husband-wife, but not boyfriend-girlfriend)’ (3.116)

(A237) *Dorang baku-bawa bae.*
 3PL RECIPIENT-bring good
 ‘They care for each other. (as in boyfriend-girlfriend)’ (3.117)

The second meaning is to perform the action of a verb separately to objects of the same kind (Taylor 1983: 19). This usage did not occur in the data collected for this study.

(A238) *pili* ‘choose’ *baku-pili* ‘choose from among similar objects’
cari ‘look for’ *baku-cari* ‘look for among similar things’
 (Taylor 1983: 19)

(A239) *Dia baku-pili bras.*
 3SG RECIPIENT-choose rice
 ‘She chooses (separates good from bad) rice.’ (Taylor 1983: 19)

(A240) *Kita baku-cari itu kartas.*
 1sg RECIPIENT-look.for DEM paper
 ‘I looked for that paper (e.g., among many other papers and similar objects.’ (Taylor 1983: 19)

Verbal reduplication in North Moluccan Malay commonly occurs. The most usual purpose of reduplication of the base is iteration, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an

¹⁴³ Ternate *maku-*, Tidore *maku-*, Galela *makV-*, Tobelo *makV-*, Sahu *ma’u*.

action has been going on for an extended time. The base may be a verb, an adjective or a preposition.

(A241) *Kita inga-inga ngana dulu pərna karja di pabrik.*
 1SG REDUP-remember 2SG before ever work LOC factory
 ‘I recall that you once worked at the factory.’ (3.57)

(A242) *Brarti ini baru kasi baru-baru sebelum dia pigi.*
 mean DEM just give REDUP-new before 3SG go
 ‘That means he just gave you this just before he left.’ (4.27)

(A243) *Itu sama-sama deng waktu [unclear] cincin.*
 DEM REDUP-with with time [unclear] ring
 ‘It’s the same as the ring’s [unclear].’ (4.24)

There is also a type of reduplication which is not generally found in other Malay varieties, and that is the reduplication of a transitive verb to indicate the object used to perform an action. This use is also found in the non-Austronesian languages of the region, and appears to be a loan from those languages (Taylor 1983: 19).

(A244)	<i>falo</i>	‘to bail’
	<i>falo-falo</i>	‘bailer’
	<i>timba aer</i>	‘to draw water’
	<i>timba-timba aer</i>	‘water bucket’
	<i>loku rumpu</i>	‘to carry trash/weeds’
	<i>loku-loku rumpu</i>	‘device used to carry out trash’
	<i>lingkar nilon</i>	‘to coil nylon fishing line’
	<i>lingkar-lingkar nilon</i>	‘reel for fishing line’
	<i>kore</i>	‘to gouge’
	<i>kore-kore</i>	‘device used to gouge, coconut-gouger’
	(Taylor 1983: 19)	

A.2.7 Other Grammatical Features

A.2.7.1 Intensifier

The possessive marker *pe* (introduced above) can also function as an intensifier when followed by an adjective. It frequently occurs with *sampe* ‘to reach, until’, which also functions as an intensifier.

(A245) *Buku itu pe mahal sampe.*
book DEM POSS expensive until
'That book is very expensive.' (3.37)

(A246) *Ali pe buku pe banya sampe.*
Ali POSS book POSS many until
'Ali has many books.' (3.75)

(A247) *Dia pe tinggi.*
3SG POSS tall
'He is tall.' (3.97)

(A248) *Gunung pe tinggi sampe.*
mountain POSS tall until
'That mountain is very tall.' (3.121)

A.2.7.1.2 Superlative Constructions

The superlative is formed with the word *paling* 'most', which is quite likely a loan from Indonesian.

(A249) *Di Maluku Utara, gunung itu yang paling tinggi.*
LOC Maluku Utara mountain DEM REL most tall
'That mountain is the tallest in Maluku Utara.' (3.124)

(A250) *Gunung itu so paling tinggi suda.*
mountain DEM ASP most tall already
'That mountain is the tallest.' (3.125)

A.2.7.2 Conjunctions

Two noun phrases may be linked with *deng* 'with', as in (A251).

(A251) *Kalamarin Ali deng Yusuf ada pi di kota.*
yesterday Ali with Yusuf have go to town
'Ali went to town with Yusuf yesterday.' (3.79)

Two clauses may be linked with the coordinating conjunction *kong* 'and; and then'.

(A252) *Ali tadi ada pigi di pasar kong bali ikan di sana.*
Ali just.now ASP go LOC market CONJ buy fish LOC over.there
'Ali went to the market and bought fish.' (3.119)

Disjunction between phrases or clauses may be marked by the question word *ka*. In this case *ka* indicates an alternative question, and functions as a question marker as well as a disjunction marker, indicating a question which offers two or more alternatives.

(A253) *Kui masi ada di dapur ka so abis?*
cake still have LOC kitchen Q ASP finish
'Is there any cake left in the kitchen or is it finished?' (3.47)

North Moluccan Malay has a conjunction, *la* 'in order to', which does not occur in other Malay varieties, and which was borrowed from local non-Austronesian languages (Taylor 1983: 20).

(A254) *Dia ba-tabung doi itu la mo bali oto baru.*
3SG BA-save money DEM in.order.to ASP buy car new
'S/he saves money in order to buy a new car.' (3.131)

A.2.7.3 Comparatives

The order of elements in the comparative construction is ADJ-MARKER-STANDARD.

(A255) *Gunung Ternate lebe tinggi dari gunung Tidore.*
mountain Ternate more tall from mountain Tidore
'Ternate's mountain is taller than Tidore's mountain.' (3.122)

A.2.7.4 Interjections

Interjections are commonly used in discourse to express emotion. Interjections occurring in the data were *e*, *o* and *he*. Interjections precede the clause they comment on, but are not part of the clause.

A.2.7.5 Discourse particles

Discourse particles are a category distinct from interjections. The term discourse particles were defined for Manado Malay, and have a similar role in North Moluccan Malay, but do not seem to occur nearly as frequently.

The discourse particles which commonly occurred in the collected texts were *to* and *e*, both of which had occurred frequently in the Manado Malay data, and *me*, which appears to be a particle unique to North Moluccan Malay. Taylor (1983:21) posits that *me*, which has the meaning ‘also, even’ is a loan from the non-Austronesian languages of the region, such as Tobelo *ma* ‘also, even’. The case for a non-Austronesian origin is strengthened by a construction *me... me...* (see (A260) below) which functions like the English ‘both... and...’, and which is paralleled by Tobelo *ma... ma...* (Taylor 1983: 21).

(A256) *Tiga bulan to?*
 three month DP
 ‘It’s been three months, hasn’t it?’ (4.15)

(A257) *E, bulan muka, e?*
 INT month front DP
 Hey, next month, huh? (4.24)

(A258) *Me dia bilang kalo doi lebe tabus cincin, kalo lebe.*
 DP 3SG say if money more pay.off ring if more
 ‘Also she said if there is more than enough money, the rings should be paid off, if there is more than enough.’ (3.8)

(A259) *Me bolong ini.*
 DP not.yet DEM
 ‘Also not this one yet.’ (3.14)

(A260) *Kita me tara pigi, kita pe bini me tara mau.*
 1SG DP NEG go 1SG POSS wife DP NEG want
 ‘Both I am not going, and my wife does not want [to go].’ (Taylor 1983: 21)

A.2.7.6 Directionals/Spatial Deixis

Local Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages have influenced the spatial deixis system of North Moluccan Malay, which Taylor (1983: 17) calls “one of the most initially striking features of the dialect.” This influence takes the form of the orientation upon which directional movement is based. There are three axes of orientation which are found in local Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages which form the basis for

spatial deixis in North Moluccan Malay, although, according to Taylor (1983: 17), these axes are much more pervasive in the local languages. The three axes of orientation are landward vs. seaward, this direction vs. that direction, and upward vs. downward. Taylor describes this third axis in Halmahera as describing both vertical up-down movement as well as movement northward parallel to the coasts (downward) and southward parallel to the coasts (upward). In the data collected for this study in Ternate, exactly the opposite orientation was found, with southward movement called *ka bawa* ‘downward,’ and northward movement termed *ka atas* ‘upward,’ as in (A263) and (A264).¹⁴⁴ Movement from the coast towards a point inland is termed *ka dara* ‘landward,’ while movement in the opposite direction is *ka lao* ‘seaward’ (as in (A261) and (A262)). In addition, movement can be described in relation to a speaker’s location as *ka sana* ‘in that direction’ and *ka mari* ‘in this direction,’ as in (A266) and (A267). Taylor points out that these axes of orientation even apply to nearby objects, and movement across a room can be described as seaward, landward, upward or downward (Taylor 1983: 18), rather than ‘here’ or ‘there’ as in most varieties of Malay. Taylor also gives the examples presented in (A267) and (A268), collected in Halmahera, and says that these constructions, modeled on usage in local non-Austronesian languages, may not be used by all speakers of North Moluccan Malay.

(A261) *Kita datang dari lao ka dara.*
 1SG come from sea to land
 ‘I came from a seaward direction to a landward direction.’ (3.103)

(A262) *Kita datang dari dara ka lao.*
 1SG come from land to sea
 ‘I came from a landward direction to a seaward direction.’ (3.104)

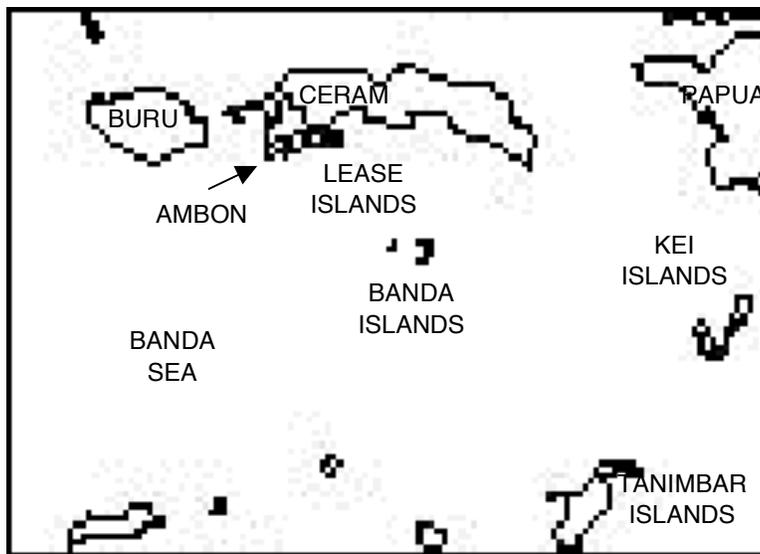
¹⁴⁴ This difference is possibly due to the differing orientation of Ternate (with the ocean to the west) and eastern Halmahera (where Taylor did his research), with the ocean to the east.

- (A263) *Kita datang dari atas ka bawa.*
 1SG come from above to below
 ‘I came from the north to the south.’ (3.105)
- (A264) *Kita datang dari bawa ka atas.*
 1SG come from below to above
 ‘I came from the south to the north.’ (3.106)
- (A265) *Ngana ka mari bikiapa?*
 2SG to this.direction why
 ‘Why did you come here?’ (3.71)
- (A266) *Kita datang dari sana.*
 1SG come from that.direction
 ‘We came from over there.’ (3.101)
- (A267) *Ambel ka mari de pe daon baru tumbu pa dia.*
 take to this.direction 3SG POSS leaf then pound to it
 ‘Take (this direction) its leaf then pound it.’ (Taylor 1983: 18)
- (A268) *...so baku-atur ka bawa*
 ASP RECIP-arrange to down
 ‘...already come to an agreement downward = already come to an agreement with each other in a final way.’ (Taylor 1983: 18)

A.3 Ambon Malay

A.3.1 Language area, speakers, and history

Ambon Malay is spoken in the province Maluku, by about 200,000 native speakers¹⁴⁵ located on the island of Ambon, the neighboring islands of Saparua, Haruku and Nusa Laut, along the southern coast of Seram island and in urban locations in the southern Moluccas. In addition, it is widely used as a second language throughout the central and southern Moluccas, by as many as a million speakers.



Map A.4: Ambon Malay and Banda Malay

Ambon Malay is known as *Malayu Ambong* by its speakers, who often view it as an inferior variety of Indonesian. It is described as having “marginal intelligibility” with Indonesian (Gordon 2005) and “difficult intelligibility” with North Moluccan Malay (Gordon 2005). Although it is regarded as a “Low” variety when compared to Indonesian, it is a “High” variety for speakers of vernacular languages in the Moluccas, and occupies a position between the vernaculars and Indonesian in terms of prestige. It is a marker of regional and ethnic identity in the Moluccas.

¹⁴⁵ This figure is from Ethnologue (Gordon 2005).

Malay has been known in the Moluccas, as a trade language, for centuries. Blust (1988) estimates that Malay has been spoken in Ambon for over 1000 years, though without written records, it is difficult to know precisely how long Malay has been spoken in the region. When Europeans first arrived in the Moluccas in the early 16th century,¹⁴⁶ Malay was known in trading centers throughout the region,¹⁴⁷ including Ambon, which, although it was not originally the source of the spices which traders sought, had a protected harbor in which traders traditionally waited out the monsoon season from February to May, a tradition which was adopted by European traders in the region as well. Malay was spread as a lingua franca by these pre-European traders, who also used Malay as the primary means of spreading the Muslim religion in the eastern islands. The modern city of Ambon, also known as Amboina, did not exist before the Portuguese established a trading center on the southern shore of Ambon Bay in 1524. Over time, this location gained importance for the Portuguese, especially after the Portuguese built a fort there in 1569 and after the Portuguese community which had settled in Ternate fled there in 1575. In 1546 Francis Xavier visited the Moluccas and wrote from Ambon that “Each of these islands has its own native language and there are some islands where they speak differently at each place [on the island]. The Malay language, which is what they speak in Malacca, is very widespread in these parts.”¹⁴⁸ (B.D. Grimes 1991: 95, quoting Jacobs 1974-1984, vol. 1: 13-14).

¹⁴⁶ The Portuguese were the first to visit, in 1512, soon after they became established in Malacca in 1511.

¹⁴⁷ B.D. Grimes (1991: 94, quoting Jacobs 1974:-84 vol. 1: 267) mentions that Francisco Viera wrote in 1559 that the Portuguese found “*a lengua malaya que por todas estas partes corre*” (“the Malay language which runs through all these parts”).

¹⁴⁸ Original quote: “*Cada isla destas tiene lengua por si, ay isla que quasi caza lugar della tiene habla diferente. La lengua malaya, que es la que se habla en Malaca, es muy general por estas partes.*” (B.D. Grimes 1991:95)

During the era of extensive Portuguese trade in the area, which lasted until 1605, when the Portuguese surrendered their fort in Ambon to the Dutch,¹⁴⁹ many Portuguese loan words entered the Malay spoken in the Moluccas. Although varieties of Malay in the western part of the Malay archipelago have a significant number of loan words from Portuguese, there are far more in Ambon Malay, including kinship terms and pronouns (Abdurachman 1972). Under the Portuguese, and later the Dutch, Malay, which had previously served as the vehicle for the spread of Islam, became identified with the spread of Christianity. On the island of Ambon today, there is an even divide between Christians and Muslims. The Christians, for the most part, are native speakers of Ambon Malay, and the Muslims, with few exceptions, are native speakers of vernacular languages.

The Dutch initially attempted to make Ambon a colony “where the Dutch language ruled” (B.D. Grimes 1991: 97, quoting Brugmans 1938:211), but soon found this would not work and settled on Malay as the language of education and administration. The Dutch authorities attempted to introduce literary Malay, or High Malay, through a decree in 1689, which created a serious gap in communication initially, and eventually led to the diglossia still found in the region (which has been reinforced by education in Standard Indonesian since Indonesian independence in 1945). The Dutch church also decided upon literary Malay as its vehicle for spreading the gospel, which led to a situation in which the parishioners had little understanding of the scriptures or sermons (Steinhauer 1991b).

Although Malay has been spoken in Ambon for many centuries, it is unclear precisely when the language began to change from a second language used as a lingua

¹⁴⁹ The Dutch, in this case, were the representatives of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC), which administered the Moluccas from 1605 until an actual Dutch colonial government took over in 1817.

franca to a native language used by a specific community. It is clear that the language had crystallized and had become sufficiently divergent from the Malay of western Indonesia for the Dutch authorities to issue a decree in 1689 mandating education in Standard Malay, and this could be an indication that a community of native Malay speakers existed at that time. B.D. Grimes (1991) takes the position that native speakers only began to appear in the 19th century. It is certain that by the early 19th century, there was indeed a community of native Malay speakers, and today the Ambon Malay language continues to gain new speakers at the expense of speakers of vernacular languages throughout the central and southern Moluccas.

Ambon Malay has been influenced by the local vernacular languages of Ambon island, some of which have been replaced by Ambon Malay. The vernaculars which are still spoken on Ambon (chiefly on the northern Hitu peninsula of the island, by Muslim communities) and the Lease islands (Haruku, Saparua, Nusa Laut) are Asilulu, Hitu, Haruku, Laha, Larike-Wakasih, Nusa Laut, Saparua, Seit-Kaitetu, and Tulehu.

A Portuguese Creole, now extinct, was once spoken on Ambon.

A.3.2 Major sources

De Clercq (1876) includes Ambon Malay in his survey of Malay varieties, and includes texts. Abdurachman (1972) discusses Portuguese loan words in Ambon Malay, while van Minde (2002) examines loan words from European languages in general. Collins (1974) is a brief description of Ambon Malay within a generative grammar framework. Collins (1980a) evaluates the arguments for and against Ambon Malay being classified as a creole language, based upon the definitions then current in the linguistic world. Collins (1980b) and (1981) describe the effects of Malay (and specifically Ambon Malay) on

vernaculars of the region. Collins (1983a) discusses the development of the possessive construction in Ambonese Malay. B.D. Grimes (1991) and (1994) give a historical view of the development of Ambon Malay and describe some of its features. Van Minde and Tjia (2002) discusses the use of the morphemes *su* and *suda* in Ambon Malay. Tjia (2001) looks at language attitudes in relation to Ambon Malay.

The most valuable and comprehensive source on Ambon Malay is van Minde (1997), a description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Ambon Malay. This work also includes texts collected in Ambon Malay.

A.3.3 Phonology and orthography

A.3.3.1 Consonants of Ambon Malay

The consonant phonemes of Ambon Malay are:

Table A.20: Consonants of Ambon Malay

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	
Voiced stops	b	d	ɟ <j>	g	
Fricatives	f	s			h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Glides	(w)		j <y>	w	

The orthographic conventions used in this document are indicated in angled brackets above, following standard Indonesian spelling.

The consonant phonemes are similar to those found in other varieties of Malay, and most were inherited directly from the Vehicular Malay which brought the language to the northern Moluccas. However, the phoneme /f/ was not originally part of the phonological system of Vehicular Malay, and only exists in loan-words, chiefly from Dutch. In Vehicular Malay and the varieties of Malay spoken in the Malay homeland in western

Indonesia, /f/ is not fully phonemic and alternates with /p/ for many, if not most, speakers. However, it is fully phonemic in Ambon Malay.

Borrowed consonant phonemes ([ʔ], [ʃ], [x]), which occur as a marker of Indonesian-influenced registers in other varieties of Malay, and which do not properly belong in the phonemic inventory of these varieties, did not occur in the data for this study, and may be particularly rare in Ambon Malay, even when speakers are speaking a variety closer to the High.

Vehicular Malay (and the colloquial Low Malay of western Indonesia) allow a variety of consonants in word-final position: /p, t, ʔ, m, n, ŋ, s, h, l, r/. Of these, only /ŋ, s, l, r/ are regularly retained in Ambon Malay (and even these are occasionally elided, as in **ambel* → *ambe* ‘take’), though borrowed words may occur with a greater variety of word-final consonants (any of the word-final consonants found in Vehicular Malay, except the glottal stop, may occur in borrowed words). When a speaker is speaking in a higher register (i.e., sounding more “Indonesian”), more final consonants can appear.

Word-final nasal consonants /m, n, ŋ/ have merged as /ŋ/, except in borrowed words. This leads to occasional homonymy, which is commonly avoided by reinstating the original consonants, which are available through knowledge of Indonesian. Reinstatement of word-final nasals is a key marker of higher registers, and often occurred in the data collected for this study. Before a stop, nasals tend to assimilate with the place of articulation of the stop, but there is some variability for some speakers (*parampuang* ~ *parangpuang* ‘woman’, *ansang* ~ *angsang* ‘gill’) (van Minde 1997: 42). There is no variability before velar stops, as the velar nasal is always found in this position.

A.2.3.2 Vowels of Ambon Malay

The vowel inventory of Ambon Malay is:

Table A.21: Vowels of Ambon Malay

i	u
e	o
a	

Although in most other varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, a schwa sound can occur in words marked as “Indonesian”, this does not appear to occur in Ambon Malay.

There were no occurrences of the schwa in the three texts collected for this study, and van Minde (1997) does not mention a schwa sound in his description of Ambon Malay phonology, even as an alternative pronunciation.

Since Vehicular Malay had a schwa sound, it is useful to understand how this sound was handled, and how the reflexes of words which originally had this sound appear in Ambon Malay. These processes are similar to the ones which occurred in North Moluccan Malay and Manado Malay, as described above, although the application of these processes differs for certain individual words.

In final unstressed syllables of polysyllabic morphemes, except final syllables in which the penultimate syllable contains /i/ or /u/ (and for /i/, final syllables ending in /s/), /i/ can, and often is, replaced by /e/ (van Minde 1997: 25-29). Since this operation does not work in both directions, it is not an example of neutralization. The examples below are from van Minde (1997):

(A269)	<i>anjing</i> ~ <i>anjeng</i>	‘dog’
	<i>kasi</i> ~ <i>kase</i>	‘to give’
	<i>campur</i> ~ <i>campor</i>	‘to mix’
	<i>masu</i> ~ <i>maso</i>	‘to enter’ (van Minde 1997: 26-29)

The words which undergo this alternation are ones in which the variety of Malay which preceded Vehicular Malay had a low vowel (/e/ or /o/) in final unstressed closed syllables. In those cases in Ambon Malay where the affected words have final unstressed open vowels, the original final consonant has been lost (a process which likely occurred in Vehicular Malay before it ever arrived in eastern Indonesia). In the examples above, the reconstructed forms in pre-Vehicular Malay were */*kaseh/* and */*masok/*.¹⁵⁰ In Vehicular Malay, these became */*kase/* and */*maso/*. In modern colloquial Indonesian, however, the comparable forms for the four words cited above are */anjing/*, */kasi(h)/*, */campur/*, and */masuk/*, with the final example realized as [masuʔ]. It is likely that the alternation in the realization of the vowels in final unstressed syllables is caused by the influence of the modern Indonesian forms, and that the phonemic form for speakers of Ambon Malay is more properly the lower vowel in each instance.

It should be noted that the sequences analyzed as diphthongs in other varieties of Malay behave as if they were composed of two syllables, which could lead to questioning whether they are indeed diphthongs or are sequences of vowels (which is the position taken by van Minde (1997)). There are more vowel sequences possible in Ambon Malay than in western varieties of Malay. This is partly due to the vowel lowering in final unstressed syllables which occurred in Vehicular Malay, which caused changes such as **baik* → **baek* → *bae* ‘good’ and **laut* → **laot* → *lao* ‘sea’, and led to two new vowel sequences,

¹⁵⁰ This form was likely realized as [masoʔ].

/ae/ and /ao/, in the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia. The original diphthongs *ay and *aw were only retained in non-final stressed syllables.¹⁵¹

A.3.4 General/Clause Structure

A.3.4.1 Word Order

Ambon Malay is an isolating language, with little productive morphology of any kind, apart from reduplication. As a result, word order takes a very important role, and the basic word orders of SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT (in transitive clauses) and SUBJECT-VERB (in intransitive clauses) are adhered to, as in the following typical examples, with only rare, highly-marked exceptions.

(A270) *Dia buka mulu ka mari.*
3SG open mouth to here
'It opened its mouth to here.' (6.7)

(A271) *...Nene Luhu punya kuda itu mati...*
Nene Luhu POSS horse DEM die
'...Nene Luhu's horse died...' (5:30-31)

A.3.4.2 Lexical categories

There are three open classes of words in Ambon Malay: nouns, verbs and adjectives. Although adjectives have certain verb-like features and could possibly be analyzed as a sub-class of verbs, as van Minde (1997: 59) does, adjectives have certain features which set them apart from verbs, most notably that they can occur with intensifiers, while verbs can not. Van Minde (1997: 64) analyzes the forms in Ambon Malay which might be considered to be adjectives as a sub-class of verbs (which he calls Class II.1), defined as monovalent stative intransitive verbs which can be used in comparative

¹⁵¹ In Vehicular Malay, word-final diphthongs in open syllables became monophthongs, as described above. Example: Pre-Vehicular Malay **pisau* → Vehicular Malay **viso* → Ambon Malay *viso*, modern Standard Indonesian *pisau*, modern colloquial Indonesian *viso* 'knife'.

constructions. The fact that these forms are thus set apart from all other verbs in a sub-class of their own makes van Minde's analysis little different from other analysts who label these forms 'adjectives' on much the same evidence. Adjectives in Ambon Malay indeed have many verb-like features (they can serve as predicates, they may be modified by mood and aspect markers, and they are negated by the verbal negator), and the decision to include adjectives as a sub-class of verbs or to set them apart as a separate class is a fine distinction.

The following are the closed classes of words in Ambon Malay. The members of these classes will be described separately.

- Pronouns (a sub-class of nouns)
- Demonstratives
- Prepositions
- Conjunctions
- Possessive markers
- Numerals
- Directionals
- Intensifiers
- Relativizers
- Negators
- Question words
- Aspect markers
- Adverbs
- Interjections
- Discourse Particles

A.3.4.3 Prepositions

Table A.22 Prepositions in Ambon Malay (adapted from van Minde 1997: 75)

Simple Locative Prepositions	<i>di</i>	LOC 'at, in, on, to'
	<i>dari (dar, der)</i>	'from'
	<i>ka</i>	'to' (ANIM. or INANIM.)
	<i>dekat</i>	'close to'
	<i>tangada</i>	'across, opposite'
	<i>sampe</i>	'arrive, till'
	<i>abis</i>	'after'
Simple Non-Locative Prepositions	<i>dengang (deng, dengan)</i>	'with' (INSTR., COM.)
	<i>par, for (fur), buat (bot)</i>	'for, to' (BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT)
	<i>sama</i>	'be equal to, to, with'
	<i>macang (macam)</i>	'(be) like'
	<i>sampe</i>	'until'
	<i>abis</i>	'after'
	<i>sondor</i>	'without'
Complex Locative Prepositions <i>di, dari, ka +</i>	<i>dalang (dalam)</i>	'in(side)'
	<i>balakang (blakang)</i>	'back(side)'
	<i>bawa (baw, ba)</i>	'bottom(side)'
	<i>atas</i>	'top'
	<i>muka</i>	'face, front'
	<i>pinggir (pingger)</i>	'side'
	<i>sabala (sabla)</i>	'side'
	<i>tenga</i>	'middle'

Prepositional phrases in Ambon Malay consist of PREPOSITION + NOUN PHRASE.

Prepositions can be locative or non-locative, and simple or complex. Table A.22 presents the prepositions of Ambon Malay, with examples following. The complex prepositions may occur with the locative prepositions *di*, *ka* or *dari*, but only *dari* is obligatory.

Selected examples from the chart above follow.

- *di* LOC ('at, in, on')

(A272) *Yang biasanya itu antua punya kehidupan ada di punca*
 REL usual DEM 3SG.FML POSS life have LOC peak

Sirimau.

Sirimau

'Her usual life was led atop the peak of Sirimau Hill.' (5.9-10)

- *ka* 'to' (before inanimate and animate noun phrases) + '*dalam*' 'in(side)'

(A273) *...angin bawa akang jato ka dalam aer masing.*
 wind bring 3SG.N fall to in water salty
 '...the wind blew it (off her head) so it fell into the salt water.' (5.38-39)

- *dekat* 'near' + *deng(an)(g)* 'with'

(A274) *...dia punya ini dekat dengan Sirimau.*
 3SG POSS DEM near with Sirimau
 'her [home] was near Sirimau.' (5.9)

- *sampe* 'until'

(A275) *Sampe sakarang ini hidop seng macam yang kaya*
 until now DEM life NEG like REL like

dolo-dolo lai.

REDUP-previous DP

'Until now, life is not the way it was previously anymore.' (7.11-12)

- *di* LOC ('at, in, on') + *atas* 'top'

(A276) *dia jato terguling di atas tana.*
 3SG fall rolling LOC on ground
 '...it fell rolling on the ground.' (5.51)

- *di* LOC ('at, in, on'); *deng* 'with' (INSTRUMENTAL, COMITATIVE)

(A277) *Tapi karena di Ambon waktu itu samua panggil antua*
 but because LOC Ambon time DEM all call 3SG.FML

deng gelaran...

with title

'But everyone in Ambon at that time called her by her (given) name...'
 (5.4-5)

- *par* ‘for, to’ (BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT); *di* LOC (‘at, in, on’)

(A278) ...*dia seng percaya par dia pung mama pi di tanpa itu.*
 3SG NEG believe for 3SG POSS mother go LOC place DEM
 ‘...he didn’t believe his mother would go to that place.’ (6.4-5)

- *abis* ‘after’

(A279) ...*orang belanja pulang abis samua suda malam...*
 person shop go.home after all already night
 ‘...that person went home after (it was) late at night...’ (5.77-78)

A.3.4.4 Negation

Simple clausal negation is expressed by the negators *seng* ‘no, not’ (< Port. *sem* ‘no, without’) *tar/tra* ‘no, not’, or *tida* ‘no, not’ (a recent introduction < Indon. *tidak*). These negators follow the subject and precede the verb, and can also occur after the main verb as part of a modifying VP. The position of the negator within the verb phrase and the sentence will be discussed further below. *Seng* is by far the most common negator, while *tar/tra*, which did not occur in the data collected for this study, marks a more emphatic negation, and frequently co-occurs with *ada* ‘have, be, exist’, *bae* ‘good’, *bole* ‘may, be allowed’ and *bisa* ‘can, be able’ (van Minde 1997: 276-277).

(A280) *Nene Luhu itu seng mati, antua hilang.*
 Nene Luhu DEM NEG dead 3SG.FML lost
 ‘Nene Luhu did not die, she disappeared.’ (5.53-54)

(A281) *Seng ada apa-apa lai.*
 NEG have REDUP-what DP
 ‘There is nothing left.’ (7.15-16)

(A282) *Ruma ini akang seng batul-batul.*
 house DEM 3SG.N NEG REDUP-right
 ‘This house isn’t right.’ (7.2)

Negation of elements other than the verb is accomplished through use of the negator *bukan(g)*:

(A283) ...*baru dong ketauan itu daun, bukan uang yang di*
just 3PL find.out DEM leaf NEG money REL LOC

situ.

there

‘only then did they realize that it was leaves, not money, there.’ (5.78-79)

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *balong/bolong/blong* ‘not yet’, which sometimes appears as its Indonesian cognate *belum*:

(A284) ...*waktu dulu kan seng ada di Ambong ini bolong ada*
time before Q NEG have LOC Ambon DEM not.yet have

oto bolong ada apa-apa...

car not.yet have REDUP-what

‘...at that time, there were no cars yet in Ambon or anything else...’

(5.24-25)

(A285) *Pada satu ketika, perjalanan itu belum sampe di Gunung*
On one time journey DEM not.yet arrive LOC mountain

Nona...

Nona

‘One day, she had not reached Nona Mountain yet on her journey...’ (5.29)

There is also a prohibitive negator, *jangang/jang/jangan* ‘don’t’.

(A286) *Jang lei!*

don’t also

‘Don’t do that anymore.’ (van Minde 1997: 279, 5.313)

Another morpheme with negative meaning is *sondor* ‘without’ (<Dutch *zonder* ‘without’). Unlike the other negators in this section, it is not a sentence adverb.

(A287) *Anjing gonggong sondor gigi.*

dog bark CONJ teeth

‘The dog barks without biting (idiom).’ (van Minde 1997: 312, 6.95)

A.3.4.5 Questions

Polar questions are generally indicated by intonation alone. There were no examples of polar questions in the three texts collected for this study, so the following examples are from van Minde (1997).

(A288) *Se mao lempar beta?*
2SG want throw 1SG
'Did you want to throw [a stone] at me' (van Minde 1997: 260, 5.223)

(A289) *E, ose seng inga beta lai?*
INT 2SG NEG remember 1SG DP
'Hey, don't you remember me anymore?' (van Minde 1997: 260, 5.225)

A clause-final question word, *ka* can occur.

(A290) *Pap mara katong ka?*
father angry 1PL Q
'Would father be angry with us?' (van Minde 1997: 261, 5.229)

Leading questions may be formed by use of the emphatic particle *to* (<Dutch *toch*, with the same function).¹⁵²

(A291) *Ose tau to?*
2SG know DP
'You know that, don't you?' (van Minde 1997: 263, 5.241)

(A292) *Ade, katong su sanang to?*
younger.sibling 1PL ASP happy DP
'Brother, we're happy now, aren't we?' (van Minde 1997: 263, 5.242)

Ka followed by a negator (such as *seng* 'no, not' or *balong/blong* 'not yet') forms a leading question of the form 'or not?'

(A293) *Bagitu mo ka seng?*
like.that want Q NEG
'Is that okay with you or not?' (van Minde 1997: 262, 5.235)

¹⁵² Van Minde (1997: 263) also mentions the question markers *la* and *kang* which are used far less frequently.

(A294) *Se su makang ka blong?*
 2SG ASP eat Q not.yet
 ‘‘Have you eaten already (or not yet)?’’ (van Minde 1997: 262, 5.236)

(A295) *Se gila k apa?*¹⁵³
 2SG crazy Q what
 ‘‘Are you crazy or something?’’ (van Minde 1997: 262, 5.237)

Content questions can be formed using one of a set of questions words, which generally appear in situ, and question-word questions have a distinctive pattern of intonation. The primary syntactic functions vary by question word. *Apa* ‘what’, *mana* ‘which’, *sapa* ‘who’ and *barapa* ‘how many’ may function as subject, predicate or object. *Bagaimana* ‘how’, *mangapa* ‘why’ (or its Indonesian counterpart *kenapa*), *par apa* ‘why’, and *di mana* ‘where’ may only function as predicates. *Apa tempo* ‘when’ may not function as subject, object or predicate (van Minde 1997:265). For emphasis, question words (when representing a predicate or an object) may be moved to sentence-initial position. Because of the nature of the texts collected for this study, there were few question words, so most of the examples below are from van Minde (1997).

Table A.23: Question words

<i>apa</i>	‘what’	<i>mangapa</i>	‘why’
<i>mana</i>	‘which’	<i>par apa</i>	‘why’
<i>bagaimana</i>	‘how’	<i>apa tempo</i>	‘when’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’	<i>di mana</i>	‘where’
<i>barapa/brapa</i>	‘how many’		

(A296) *Ini apa?*
 DEM what
 ‘‘What is this?’’ (van Minde 1997: 267, 5.253)

(A297) *Mau bikin bagaimana?*
 want make how
 ‘‘What (how) can we do?’’ (7.13)¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ In Ambon Malay, the question particle *ka* is realized as *k* before /a/.

¹⁵⁴ The question word *bagaimana* ‘how’ questions not only manner, but circumstances (van Minde 1997: 267)

(A298) *Tadi se dapa brapa?*
just.now 2SG get how.many
'How many did you get?' (van Minde 1997: 267, 5.249)

(A299) *Katong tinggal deng sapa?*
1PL live with who
'With whom should we stay?' (van Minde 1997: 269, 5.261)

A.3.5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

A.3.5.1 Order of elements

The noun phrase consists of the following elements:

(DEM) (QUANT) (NP_{POSS}) HEAD (NUM) (NOUN) (ADJ) (DEM) (VP) (QUANT) (REL/PP) (DEM)

These elements and the constraints on each will be discussed below.

Within the noun phrase, nouns may be modified by demonstratives, quantifiers, possessives, numerals, adjectives, other nouns, VPs, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses.

While demonstratives and quantifiers may precede or follow the noun and possessives always precede the noun, all other elements follow the noun being modified. Possibly due to Indonesian-language influence, quantifiers occasionally precede the noun, though this was likely not originally a normal construction in Ambon Malay.

A.3.5.2 Plural marking

Plural marking is optional in Ambon Malay, and if nouns are modified by a numeral or a quantifier, plurality is not generally marked on the noun (though it may be, for emphasis). When it does occur, the plural is marked through reduplication of the noun:

- (A300) ...*itu biasanya ibu-ibu suka cari dorang pung*
 DEM usual REDUP-mother like search.for 3PL POSS
suami di situ
 husband LOC there
 ‘...often married women search for their husbands there...’ (5.62-63)
- (A301) *Dolo orang ta-tua dong itu mau bikin bodo ana-ana*
 before people TA-old 3PL DEM want make stupid REDUP-child
itu.
 DEM
 ‘In the old days, parents liked to fool their children...’ (6.1)
- (A302) ...*karena sakarang ni cengke-cengke su abis.*
 because now DEM REDUP-clove ASP finish
 ‘...because now the clove trees are all destroyed.’ (7.15)

A.3.5.3 Pronouns

The pronouns of Ambon Malay are presented in the table below (adapted from van Minde 1997: 69).

Table A.24: Pronouns of Ambon Malay

	One-word sentence	Subject	Object (of verb or prep.)
1SG	<i>beta</i>	<i>beta (bet, be)</i>	<i>beta</i>
2SG informal ¹⁵⁵	<i>ose (os, se), ale</i>	<i>ose (os, se), ale (al)</i>	<i>ose (os, se), ale</i>
3SG	<i>dia</i>	<i>dia (di, de)</i>	<i>dia</i>
3SG.FML	<i>antua, ontua</i>	<i>antua, ontua</i>	<i>antua, ontua</i>
3SG.N	—	<i>akang</i>	<i>akang (kang, ang)</i>
1PL (INCL/EXCL)	<i>katong</i>	<i>katong (tong)</i>	<i>katong</i>
2PL	<i>dorang (dong)</i>	<i>dorang (dong)</i>	<i>dorang (dong)</i>
3PL	<i>dorang (dong)</i>	<i>dorang (dong)</i>	<i>dorang (dong)</i>

Most pronouns have short forms, which can only be used in specific positions, as indicated in the chart. Subject and object pronouns may be deleted in an utterance if the context makes clear who is referred to.

¹⁵⁵ The 2SG pronoun *ose* is from Portuguese *voce* ‘you, thou’, while the 2SG pronoun *ale* is from a local language. 2SG pronouns are only used in informal/familiar contexts. In formal contexts a title or title + name is used.

The 2PL and 3PL pronouns have the same form, and derive their meaning from the context.

The 3SG pronoun *dia* generally takes a human referent, but for some speakers, it can have a non-human or inanimate referent. More commonly, *akang* is used for non-human referents. Both forms occurred with inanimate referents in a single text in the data: (A273) above makes use of the 3SG.N form *akang*, while (A303) below uses the 3SG form *dia*.

(A303) ...*antua punya benang itu... dia jato terguling di atas tana.*
3SG.FML POSS thread DEM 3SG fall rolling LOC on ground
'...her thread... it fell rolling on the ground.' (5:49-50)

As was noted for North Moluccan Malay above, a pronoun cross-referencing the subject occurs immediately after the subject, preceding the verb (with any negative intervening). This construction is much more common in Ambon Malay than in North Moluccan Malay. Van Minde (1997: 284) considers these structures as examples of a topic-comment construction, and this is indeed a likely analysis. However, as with North Moluccan Malay, the possibility could also be entertained that these are examples of a subject clitic on the verb, a construction commonly found in the local languages of the central Moluccas. (A303) above is one such example from the texts collected for this study. Another example is:

(A304) *Ruma ini akang seng batul-batul.*
house DEM 3SG.N NEG REDUP-right
'This house isn't right.' (7.2)

A.3.5.4 Reduplication of Pronouns and Question Words

Question words and pronouns may be reduplicated to indicate indefiniteness or lack of specificity and can function as pronouns or to modify nouns. Reduplicated question words can also function as indefinite or non-specific interrogative pronouns.

(A305) ...*bolong ada apa-apa...*
 not.yet have REDUP-what
 ‘...there was nothing else yet...’ (5.25)

(A306) ...*jadi antua ada di mana-mana saja.*
 so 3SG.FML have LOC REDUP-where only
 ‘...(as if) she is everywhere at once.’ (5.74-75)

A.3.5.5 Possessive constructions

The possessive construction in Ambon Malay takes the form POSSESSOR *pung* POSSESSED,¹⁵⁶ in which *pung* is the possessive marker, as in (A300) above and the following:

(A307) ...*tapi sebenarnya Nene Luhu itu antua pung nama itu*
 but truth Nene Luhu DEM 3SG.FML POSS name DEM
Kristina Pattimahu.
 Kristina Pattimahu
 ‘...but actually nene Luhu’s name was Kristina Pattimahu.’ (5.3-4)

(A308) *Antua dengar orang pung susa.*
 3SG.FML hear person POSS difficulty
 ‘She listens to their problems.’ (5.75)

(A309) *Lalu ada sisa antua pung rambu aja.*
 then have remainder 3SG.FML POSS hair only
 ‘Then there was only a remnant of her hair left.’ (6.11)

(A310) ...*katong pung ruma-ruka ta-bakar samua.*
 1PL POSS REDUP-house TA-burn all
 ‘...our houses were all burned up.’ (7.3-4)

The possessive morpheme *pung* can also serve as an intensifying particle.

A.3.5.6 Demonstratives

There are two demonstratives in Ambon Malay, *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. In addition, the 3SG.N pronoun *akang* can function as a demonstrative. *Ini*, *itu*, and *akang* can function as the head of an NP, as subject, object or

¹⁵⁶ The possessive marker *pung* can take its Indonesian form *punya*, appear as *pong*, or be reduced to *ng* or even \emptyset .

object of a preposition. All three forms can precede a head noun to modify it, while only *ini* and *itu* (and their short forms *ni* and *tu*) may follow a head noun. The short forms *ni* and *tu* may be used to modify a clause as markers of emphatic or emotional effect, but the full forms *ini* and *itu* do not occur with this function (van Minde 1997: 71). Demonstratives can also occur in combinations, preceding or bracketing the noun. Finally, demonstratives can be used as a space-filler, when the speaker cannot think of a particular word, as in (A313) below. It is likely that in some cases demonstratives occurring after the noun are influenced by the Indonesian construction, which only allows this position, and that the pronominal position was the original unmarked position in Ambon Malay. In the data collected for this study, the demonstrative followed the noun in a large majority of the examples. The examples below include demonstratives serving as the head of an NP, and preceding and following the noun.

(A311) ...*antua hilang sampe saat ini...*
 3SG.FML lost until time DEM
 ‘...she has been gone until now...’ (5.55)

(A312) *Itu akang pung carita bagitu.*
 DEM 3SG.N POSS story like.that
 ‘‘That is the way the story goes.’’ (6.16)

(A313) *Itu tanpa tinggal antua itu, itu di Soya Atas yang*
 DEM place live 3SG.FML DEM DEM LOC Soya upper REL
ini dengan Sirimau, dia punya ini dekat dengan Sirimau.
 DEM with Sirimau 3SG POSS DEM near with Sirimau
 ‘Her place of residence was in Soya Atas near Sirimau Hill, her [home]
 was near Sirimau.’ (5.8-9)

(A314) *Waktu dulu di Batu Gajah itu, karena aer antua*
 time before LOC Batu Gajah that because water 3SG.FML
daera itu tu kan itu dia Nene Luhu punya daera.
 region DEM DEM Q DEM 3SG Nene Luhu POSS region
 ‘In previous times in Batu Gajah (‘Elephant Rock’), the water in that region
 belonged to Nene Luhu, since it was her region.’ (5.81-82)

(A315) *Sampe sakarang ini hidop seng macam yang kaya*
 until now DEM life NEG like REL like
dolo-dolo lai.
 REDUP-previous DP
 ‘Until now, life is not the way it was previously anymore.’ (7.11-12)

A.3.5.7 Numerals

The cardinal numerals of Ambon Malay are shown in the table below.

Table A.25 Numerals of Ambon Malay

<i>satu/sato</i>	‘one’
<i>dua</i>	‘two’
<i>tiga</i>	‘three’
<i>ampa</i>	‘four’
<i>lima</i>	‘five’
<i>anang</i>	‘six’
<i>tuju</i>	‘seven’
<i>d(a)lapang</i>	‘eight’
<i>sambilan(g)</i>	‘nine’
<i>sapulu/spulu</i>	‘ten’
<i>sapulu dua/sapol dua/duabalas/doblas</i>	‘twelve’
<i>dua pulu/dopul/dupul</i>	‘twenty’
<i>dua ratus/doratus/doratos</i>	‘two hundred’
<i>dua ribu/doribu</i>	‘two thousand’
<i>sajuta</i>	‘one million’

The morphemes *pulu* ‘ten’, *balas* ‘teen’, *ratus* ‘hundred’, *ribu* ‘thousand’, and *juta* ‘million’ combine with the cardinal numerals to form all numerals. Only one numeral, *satu* ‘one’, has a special combining form, *sa-*, which is productive (van Minde 1997: 105). The numerals from eleven to nineteen have two possible forms, with the construction *sapulu*

‘ten’ + numeral being more traditional, and the construction numeral + *balas* ‘teen’ an innovation influenced by Indonesian.

Numerals typically follow the noun they modify, and it can be assumed that NOUN + NUMERAL (+ CLASSIFIER) is the standard order in Ambon Malay. Indonesian influence has led to the increasing appearance of NUMERAL (+ CLASSIFIER) + NOUN order, and indeed this is the order which appeared in the texts collected for this study, all of which have evidence of extensive Indonesian influence. The examples in (A316) - (A321) below are from van Minde, showing the range of possible numeral constructions, followed by examples from the texts collected for this study.

(A316) *parangpuang tuju*
woman seven
‘seven women’ (van Minde 1997: 152, Table 4.2)

(A317) *nona-nona lima pol ampa ni*
REDUP-young.woman five ten four DEM
‘fifty-four young women’ (van Minde 1997: 152, Table 4.2)

(A318) *ikang sapol ekor*
fish ten CL
‘ten (classifier: animal) fish’ (van Minde 1997: 152, Table 4.2)

(A319) *tuju orang bidadari*
seven CL fairy
‘seven (classifier: human) fairies’ (van Minde 1997: 152, Table 4.2)

(A320) *dua orang*
two person
‘two people’ (van Minde 1997: 152, Table 4.2)

(A321) *saratos taong*
100 year
‘100 years’ (van Minde 1997: 152, Table 4.2)

(A322) *Jadi satu ana ada, kadang-kadang dia mara dia pung*
 so one child have REDUP-sometimes 3SG angry 3SG POSS

mama.

mother

‘So there was one child, and sometimes he would be angry with his mother.’ (6.2-3)

(A323) *Katong tinggal di Paso selama tiga taun.*
 1PL live LOC Paso as.long.as three year
 ‘We lived in Paso for three years.’ (7.8-9)

Numeral classifiers seem to occur more frequently in Ambon Malay than in other Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, although they did not occur in the texts. They can occur when numerals precede or follow the noun, as in the examples in (A318) and (A319) above. As noted above, plural marking can occur with numerals, as in (A317).

Ordinal numerals are formed by a prefix, *ka-*, except for the numeral one, as in the table below.

Table A.26 Ordinal Numerals in Ambon Malay

ka-dua ‘second’
ka-tiga ‘third’
ka-ampa ‘fourth’ (van Minde 1997: 106)

A.3.5.8 Relative Clauses

In the texts collected for this study, the relative clause constructions made use of the typical Malay relativizer *yang*. Van Minde (1997: 166) does not include relative clauses with *yang* in his analysis of Ambon Malay, but rather describes relative clauses with no special marking. Examples of *yang* constructions from the elicited data follow.

(A324) *Ya, jadi pake kaki kuda yang di sa-bala.*
 yes so use foot horse REL LOC one-side
 ‘Yes, so she had a horse’s hoof on one side.’ (5.16)

- (A325) *Na, biasanya tanpa ketemu itu di Gunung Nona, yang*
 INT usual place meet DEM LOC mountain Nona REL
nantinya akang nama Gunung Nona itu.
 later FUT name mountain Nona DEM
 ‘Now, usually their meeting place was atop Nona (‘Miss’) Mountain, that
 which would later be named Nona Mountain.’ (5.21-22)
- (A326) *...antua pun dengar orang yang mengeluh katakan seperti*
 3SG.FML also hear person REL complain say like
angin...
 wind
 ‘...she also hears their complaints as through the wind...’ (5.74)
- (A327) *...Nene Luhu itu buat ana-ana kacil yang bermandi*
 Nene Luhu DEM make REDUP-child small REL bathe
di pinggir kali itu dia hilang...
 LOC side river DEM 3SG lost
 ‘...Nene Luhu would cause children bathing beside the river to
 disappear...’ (5.83-84)

A.3.5.9 Nominal Morphology

There are two kinds of morphological processes in Ambon Malay, which vary in their productivity: affixation and reduplication. Ambon Malay has only one productive nominal prefix: the ordinal prefix *ka-*, discussed above. Other nominal prefixes, which are productive in other varieties of Malay, such as the agent prefix *peN-/pan-/pa-*, or the circumfix *ke- -an*, are not productive in Ambon Malay, and only exist in frozen forms, as in (A328) below, in which an affixed form of *tau* ‘to know’ (<Indonesian *ketahuan*) is found.

- (A328) *...baru dong ketauan itu daun...*
 just 3PL find.out DEM leaf
 ‘...only then did they realize that it was leaves...’ (5.78)

Nominal reduplication can be inflectional, indicating plurality, diversity or totality, or derivational, creating a word-class change. Examples of inflectional nominal reduplication follow.

markers operates in the verb phrase, and this distinction is reflected in the organization of Table A.27, which is based partly on van Minde (1997: 188).

Table A.28 presents some of the members of key categories in Table A.27. The lists of members are illustrative and not exhaustive.

Table A.28 Members of certain categories in the verb complex in Ambon Malay

		VERB PHRASE					V E R B
ASPECT 1	NEG	ASPECT 2	MODAL	DEGREE	AUX	PREFIX	
<i>su</i> PERF	<i>seng</i> NEG	<i>ada</i> PROG/REAL	<i>mau</i> 'want'	<i>kurang</i> 'little'	<i>kasi</i> CAUS	<i>ba-</i>	
<i>masi</i> 'still'	<i>jang</i> 'don't'		<i>mau</i> FUT	<i>sadiki</i> 'a bit'	<i>dapa</i> 'get'	<i>ta-</i>	
<i>balong</i> 'not yet'			<i>musti</i> 'must'	<i>lebe</i> 'more'	<i>pi</i> 'go'	<i>baku-</i>	
			<i>bole</i> 'may'	<i>sama</i> 'equal'	<i>jaga</i> HAB		
			<i>bisa</i> 'can'	<i>talalu</i> 'too'	<i>suka</i> HAB		
						REDUPLICATION	

The following are examples of possible combinations of these elements in Ambon Malay. The data have no examples of more than a few elements in any single example.

(A333) *Dong su mau tanggalang...*
 3PL ASP FUT drown
 ASP MOD V
 'They were about to drown...' (van Minde 1997: 192, 4.211)

(A334) *Nene Luhu itu ada mau punya tunangan...*
 Nene Luhu DET ASP FUT have fiancé
 ASP MOD V
 'Nene Luhu was going to be engaged...' (5.19)

A.3.6.2 Aspect

Aspect can be marked by aspect markers such as *su* PERF and *masi* 'still' which operate on the predicate level (the 'Aspect 1' category in the tables above), and by the marker *ada*, which can be a marker of PROG or REALIS, which operates on the phrase level

or *suka* ‘like’. Verbs combined with *dapa* have an added meaning of ability or undergoing an experience. *Kasi/kase* and *bikin* are causatives, while *suka* and *jaga* are habitual markers

All these forms are very productive, although not all appeared in the data collected.

(A339) *Lalu antua kasi pulang kembali itu anak.*
 then 3SG.FML give go.home return DEM child
 ‘Then she returned the children to their homes.’ (5.91-92)

(A340) *Antua punya pekerjaan itu cuma tiap hari suka menjai*
 3SG.FML POSS work DEM only every day like sew
pake tangan.
 use hand
 ‘Her work every day was simply to sew by hand.’ (5.45-46)

(A341) *Dolo orang ta-tua dong itu mau bikin bodo ana-ana itu...*
 before people TA-old 3PL DEM want make stupid REDUP-child DEM
 ‘In the old days, parents liked to fool their children...’ (6.1)

A.3.6.5 Serial Verb Constructions

Complex events may be expressed through two or more consecutive verbs. The first verb is from a limited set, such as *pi/pigi* ‘go’, *bawa* ‘bring’ or *cari* ‘look for’. These verbs generally describe motion, and act as auxiliaries.

(A342) *Aa, angin bawa maso ka aer masing,*
 INT wind bring enter to water salty
 ‘The wind carried it into the salt water.’ (5.39)

(A343) *...dong pi belanja di toko...*
 3PL go shop LOC store
 ‘...They went shopping at the store...’ (5.76)

(A344) *Dia pi ambil dia pung mama pung rambu itu. Lalu dia*
 3SG go take 3SG POSS mother POSS hair DEM then 3SG
pi bungkus akang.
 go wrap.up 3SG.N
 ‘He went and took up his mother’s hair. Then he wrapped it up.’ (6.11)

- (A345) *Kalo memang jaring pigi dapa ikang, ya?*
 if truly net go find fish yes
 ‘If we can truly go catch fish with nets, right?’ (7.14)

A.3.6.6 Verbal morphology

Ambon Malay has three productive verbal prefixes: *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*. In addition to productive use of these prefixes, there are a number of words in which the *ba-* prefix is frozen as part of a loanword from a variety of Malay in which it was productive. Examples include the following:

- (A346) *barangkat* ‘to leave, depart’ (van Minde 1997: 95)
bakalai ‘to fight’ (van Minde 1997: 95)
barenti ‘stop’ (van Minde 1997: 95)
bataria ‘to yell, shout’ (7.9)

The evidence that these forms are unproductive consists of two things: 1) they do not fit into the productive categories of *ba-* in Ambon Malay, and 2) some of the words in this category retain the /r/ phoneme, which was present in the borrowed form (as part of the prefix *bər-*) which would not be present if a prefix *ba-* had been attached to an Ambon Malay root. Examples from (338) are *bataria* (from **bər-təriaʔ*) and *barangkat* (from **bər-angkat*).

The prefix *ba-* has four uses in Ambon Malay:

- If the base is a noun, the meaning of *ba-* is roughly ‘to have x’ or ‘to use x’.

- (A347) *daong* ‘leaf’ *ba-daong* ‘to have leaves’ (7.2)
tangke ‘stem’ *ba-tangke* ‘to be watery’ (7.7)

- If the base is a transitive verb, *ba-* creates an intransitive verb with a reflexive meaning (van Minde 1997: 96).

(A348)	<i>baso</i>	‘to wash’	<i>ba-baso</i>	‘to wash oneself’
	<i>cukor</i>	‘to shave’	<i>ba-cukor</i>	‘to shave oneself’
	<i>goso</i>	‘to rub’	<i>ba-goso</i>	‘to rub oneself’
	<i>jumur</i>	‘to dry in the sun’	<i>ba-jumur</i>	‘to take a sunbath’

(van Minde 1997: 97)

- Also with transitive verbs, *ba-* creates an intransitive verb with iterative, durative or habitual meaning (van Minde 1997: 96):

(A349)	<i>ambur</i>	‘to scatter’	<i>ba-ambur</i>	‘to make a mess’
	<i>jual</i>	‘to sell’	<i>ba-jual</i>	‘to sell (for a living)’
	<i>luda</i>	‘to spit’	<i>ba-luda</i>	‘to spit (all the time)’
	<i>mara</i>	‘to be angry’	<i>ba-mara</i>	‘to be angry (all the time)’

(van Minde 1997: 97)

- With transitive verbs, *ba-* can denote a more or less permanent quality of the subject, a deliberate act of the agent or the durative or habitual nature of the action (van Minde 1997: 98):

(A350)	<i>batu</i>	‘to cough’	<i>ba-batu</i>	‘to cough repeatedly’
	<i>gatal</i>	‘to itch’	<i>ba-gatal</i>	‘to itch (all the time)’
	<i>ribot</i>	‘noisy’	<i>ba-ribot</i>	‘to make noise (all the time)’
	<i>sombong</i>	‘conceited’	<i>ba-sombong</i>	‘to act conceited’

(van Minde 1997: 98)

The prefix *ta-* also forms verbs, and creates the meaning that the action happens accidentally or by an unexpected or involuntary action.

(A351)	... <i>katong</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>ruma-ruma</i>	<i>ta-bakar</i>	<i>samua</i> .
	1PL	POSS	REDUP-house	TA-burn	all

‘...our houses were all burned up.’ (7.3)

(A352)	<i>De</i>	<i>ta-badiri</i>	<i>deng</i>	<i>skrek</i> .
	3SG	TA-stand	with	fright

‘He stood still with fright’ (van Minde 1997: 99)

As with the prefix *ba-*, there are occurrences of the prefix *ta-* which are not the result of a productive process, but rather a frozen form borrowed into the language:

- (A353) *tua* ‘old’ *tatua* ‘old (in *orang tatua* ‘parents’)’ (6.1)
 **tawa* *tatawa* ‘to laugh’ (van Minde 1997: 99)
 lalu ‘next’ *talalu* ‘too’ (van Minde 1997: 188)
 paksa ‘force’ *tarpaksa* ‘forcibly’ (van Minde 1997: 188)

The prefix *baku-* forms reciprocal verbs, and occurs in two intransitive structures:

Subject *baku-V* and Agent *baku-V deng* Goal (van Minde 1997: 101).

- (A354) *Orang samua baku-hura.*
 person all RECIP-cheer
 ‘Everyone cheered.’ (van Minde 1997: 101)
- (A355) *Dolo dong baku-musu, skarang dong su baku-bae.*
 earlier 3PL RECIP-hostile now 3PL ASP RECIP-good
 ‘They used to be enemies, now they are on good terms with each other’
 (van Minde 1997: 101)
- (A356) *Kalo ose mau makang rusa, baku-pukol deng beta.*
 if 2SG want eat deer RECIP-hit with 1SG
 ‘If you want to eat deer, you’ll have to fight with me’
 (van Minde 1997: 103)

Verbal reduplication is a very productive and common process in Ambon Malay.

The most usual purpose of reduplication of the base is iteration, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. It can also indicate plurality of an action or event, or that an action, event or state is intensified. The base may be a verb, a modifier or a preposition. In negative sentences, it is the negative aspect which is intensified or made more emphatic, as in (A358).

- (A357) *cari* ‘search (for)’ *cari-cari* ‘search everywhere (for)’
 Aa, waktu cari-cari, Nene itu datang dan “Ada kenapa
 INT time REDUP-search Nene DEM come and have why
 cucu?”
 grandchild
 ‘At the time she was searching everywhere, Nene came to her and said
 “‘What is wrong, grandchild?’” (5.64-65)

(A358) *seng batul* ‘not right’ *seng batul-batul* ‘not right at all’

Ruma ini akang seng batul-batul.
house DEM 3SG.N NEG REDUP-right
‘This house isn’t right at all.’ (7.2)

(A359) *lapar* ‘hungry’ *lapar-lapar* ‘very hungry’

...jalan sampe lapar-lapar...
walk until REDUP-hungry
‘...we walked until (we were) very hungry...’ (7.7)

(A360) *bale* ‘return’ *bale-bale* ‘(all of us) return’

Tuhan antar katong bale-bale pulang ka katong
God accompany 1PL REDUP-return go.home to 1PL

pung kampong lagi.
POSS village again
‘God accompanied us to return home to our village again.’ (7.10-11)

(A361) *sadiki* ‘a little’ *sadiki-sadiki* ‘a very little’

Ana-ana bisa dapa uang sadiki-sadiki karena sakarang
REDUP-child can get money REDUP-little because now

ni cengke-cengke su abis.
DEM REDUP-clove ASP finish
‘The children can have a (very) little money because now the clove trees are all destroyed.’ (7.14-15)

A.3.7 Other Grammatical Features

A.3.7.1 Intensifier

The possessive marker *pung* can also function as an intensifier when followed by an adjective.

(A362) *Pung bodo!*
POSS stupid
‘How awfully stupid!’ (van Minde 1997: 322, 6.132)

A.3.7.2 Conjunctions

Two words, phrases or clauses in Ambon Malay may be linked with a variety of conjunctions. (A363) lists the coordinating conjunctions available. There are also a few

subordinating conjunctions, which include the complementizers *yang* and *kata* and a variety of adverbializers such as *sondor* ‘without’, *macamang* ‘such as’, *waktu* ‘when’ and *asal* ‘if only’.

Examples of coordinating constructions are shown in the examples below.

(A363)	<i>deng</i>	‘and’	<i>kong</i>	‘then’
	<i>tapi/tape</i>	‘but’	<i>lalu trus</i>	‘then right away’
	<i>mar/mor</i>	‘but’	<i>abis</i>	‘and then, after that’
	<i>jadi/jade</i>	‘so’	<i>par/for/fur</i>	‘for’
	<i>des</i>	‘so’	<i>buat/bot</i>	‘for’
	<i>lalu/lal/la</i>	‘and then’	<i>ukur/ukor</i>	‘in order that, so that’
	<i>tarus/trus</i>	‘next’	<i>supaya/spaya</i>	‘in order that, so that’
	(van Minde 1997: 77)			

(A364) *Tapi dong bilang: “Papa, seng usa mara deng seng usa*
 but 3PL say father NEG need angry CONJ NEG need

malu.”

embarrassed

‘But they said, “Daddy, you don’t have to be angry and you don’t have to feel embarrassed.”’ (van Minde 1997: 300, 6.42)

(A365) *Tapi antua seng mati...*
 but 3SG.FML NEG die
 ‘But she did not die...’ (5.57)

(A366) *Jadi satu saat dia pung mama nae di batu ba-daong tu...*
 so one time 3SG POSS mother go.up LOC rock BA-leaf DEM
 ‘So one day his mother climbed up on the rock with leaves...’ (6.5-6)

A.3.7.3 Comparatives

The order of elements in the comparative construction is ADJ-MARKER-STANDARD.

The structure of the comparative is:

(A367) NP₁ *lebe* Verb *dari* NP₂
 more from (van Minde 1997: 175).

A.3.7.4 Interjections

Interjections are commonly used in discourse to express emotion. Interjections occurring in the data were *a(a)*, *o* and *na(h)*. Van Minde (1997: 80) presents a list of 18 interjections found in Ambon Malay. Interjections precede the clause they comment on, but are not part of the clause.

A.3.7.5 Directionals/Spatial Deixis

As is the case with several other Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, and with many of the vernacular languages of eastern Indonesia, Ambon Malay has a spatial deixis system developed around existence on an island. The deictic expressions used are:

(A368) <i>nae/nai</i>	‘climb (up), go up’ = ‘go away from the coast’
<i>turung/turong</i>	‘descend, go down’ = ‘go toward the coast’
<i>ka lao/lau</i>	‘toward the sea, seawards’
<i>di lao/lau</i>	‘toward the sea, seawards’
<i>sabala/sabla lao/lau</i>	‘toward the sea, seawards’
<i>ka dara</i>	‘toward the land, landwards’
<i>di dara</i>	‘toward the land, landwards’
<i>sabala/sabla dara</i>	‘toward the land, landwards’ (van Minde 1997: 173)

(A369) *Be ada mo nae.*
1SG ASP FUT climb
‘I’m about to go away from the coast (to the interior).’
(van Minde 1997: 173, 4.119)

(A370) *De so turong pasar.*
3SG ASP descend market
‘She has gone (seawards) to the market.’ (van Minde 1997: 173, 4.120)

(A371) *Seng ap-apa, dudu di sabla dara tu.*
NEG REDUP-what sit LOC side land DEM
‘It doesn’t matter, sit landwards there.’ (van Minde 1997: 173, 4.121)

(A372) *toko Sentral di lau.*
store Sentral LOC sea
‘the Sentral store located seawards.’ (van Minde 1997: 173, 4.122)

(A373) *Ka lao sadiki!*
to sea a.bit
‘(Put down the chair) more seawards.’ (van Minde 1997: 173, 4.123)

A.4 Banda Malay

A.4.1 Language area, speakers, and history

Banda Malay is spoken by approximately 13,500 people, on the Banda islands and in Banda refugee communities on the islands of Seram and Ambon. The Banda Islands are located in the Banda Sea, about 140 kilometers south of the island of Seram, and consist of about 10 small volcanic islands, with a total area of about 180 km² (40 square miles) rising out of a deep sea. Map A.4 in Section A.3 shows the location of the Banda islands. The Banda Malay language is used as a first language by all but recent immigrants to the islands, and is the sole language used on a daily basis by most of the inhabitants of the islands, although there is widespread knowledge of Indonesian as well. The population of the Banda Islands numbers about 9500, and there are sizeable communities of refugees from the islands residing in refugee villages (set up by the government) on the islands of Seram (\pm 3000 people) and the island of Ambon (\pm 1000 people). These refugees left the island in 1999 during the widespread inter-religious strife which took place in the Moluccas at that time, and represent almost the entire Christian population of the islands. The population remaining on the islands is nearly 100% Muslim.

The Banda Islands were the original source for the nutmeg tree (*Myristica fragrans*), which produced the highly-valued spices nutmeg and mace, which were used for flavoring, preservatives and medicines, and which were among the spices which inspired the European age of exploration. Banda had long been known to traders and mariners in the pre-European Indonesian archipelago, and the Malay language was known in the Banda Islands, though probably not as a first language. The Banda language spoken in the islands at that time was a central Moluccan Austronesian language. When the first Europeans, the

Portuguese, arrived in 1512, they found a well-established trading community in Banda, dealing in nutmeg and mace, as well as other products from the Moluccas region, such as cloves and slaves. The Banda community, which had embraced the Muslim religion, was led by indigenous leaders, termed *orang kaya* (Malay for ‘rich men’) who conducted trade negotiations with outsiders. The native trade continued through the sixteenth century with no disturbance, with the Portuguese as the main European customers. However, the Dutch first visited in 1599, followed by the English in 1601, two occurrences which were to have a lasting and tragic impact upon Banda. While the English set up trading posts on the islands of Run and Ai in 1602, the Dutch negotiated an “irrevocable monopoly” for the nutmeg trade (Hanna 1978: 19). There are indications the *orang kaya* never intended to truly grant a monopoly, as they were dependent upon the continued trade with Asian traders to deliver food and useable cloth, and they were unaware that the Dutch were indeed serious about the agreement.

Over the next twenty years, hostilities flared up between the Dutch and the Banda islanders, and between the Dutch and the British, who had continued to trade on the islands of Run and Ai. In 1621, the new Governor General of the Dutch V.O.C. (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or United East India Company), Jan Pieterszoon Coen, set out to solve the Banda problem once and for all. Coen arrived at Banda on February 27, 1621, having sailed from Batavia via Ambon, with an army of 1655 Europeans as well as about 400 Javanese convicts, Japanese mercenaries, freed slaves and Dutch merchants on board 52 ships. The Dutch force proceeded to depopulate the islands, killing many of the islanders, and sending thousands into slavery back on Java. Of the estimated 15,000 inhabitants of the Banda islands at the time, it is thought that no more than one thousand

remained alive on the islands when the carnage was over (Hanna 1978: 55). Some islanders escaped to Seram island, and the Kei and Aru archipelagos southeast of Banda. Indeed, two villages on the island of Kei Besar, Banda Elat and Banda Eli, are the only place the Banda language is still spoken today, a linguistic anomaly, in that this Central Moluccan language is now only spoken in the southeast Moluccas, surrounded by languages which are only distantly related to it. Of the Malay language spoken in the Banda islands before 1621, a variety which Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 684) call 'Banda Malay I', there is no record. It certainly had an important role in society, as the village headmen were known by the Malay name *orang kaya*, and it was certainly well known, at least by traders, as the Javanese, Malay, Buginese, Arab and Chinese traders who traded in the islands presumably used Malay as their trade language, as did the Europeans who followed them. There is one hint as to its character, as the name for Run Island in English records is *Pooloroon*, reflecting the loss of word-final diphthongs common in Vehicular Malay and the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia (Malay *pulau* → VM **pulo* 'island').

After the islands had been depopulated, Coen instituted a policy designed to permanently assert Dutch control and a monopoly of the nutmeg trade. He set up a system whereby the productive land of the islands was divided into 68 parcels, or *perken*, run by *perkeniers*, Dutch free citizens of often disreputable backgrounds, with the produce from these plantations sold at predetermined rates to the V.O.C. Each plantation was supplied with slaves to work the land by the V.O.C., which also provided food and other necessities.

Despite bumps along the way, the *perken* system lasted for three hundred years, and gave Banda much of the character it has today.¹⁵⁷

Linguistically, the *perken* system led to a single language being used throughout the Banda islands, and that language was Banda Malay. Almost nothing is known of the development of Banda Malay. The slaves who initially repopulated the islands came from a widely diverse background, including, according to Hanna (1978: 62), “Papuan from New Guinea, Alfuru from Ceram [Seram], and various tribespeople from Buru, Timor and Borneo.” By 1638, the population consisted of 3,482 persons, according to a German visitor at that time (Hanna 1978:66), of whom 351 were V.O.C. personnel, 91 were free Dutch citizens (including the *perkeniers*), 20 were European women, 77 were children of European or mixed parentage, 560 were native Bandanese (of whom 211 were slaves), and 2,743 were “others,” of whom 1910 were slaves. This diverse group¹⁵⁸ presumably spoke a wide range of native languages, but it is likely that within a generation or two, most inhabitants of the islands were speaking Banda Malay as their sole language. The conditions were the prototypical conditions for the development of a creole, and it is not unlikely that the language which developed in the Banda islands went through the expected stages that a creole language goes through. By the time that the first (and only) observation was made of the Banda Malay language, Declerq (1876) found Banda Malay to be similar to Ambon Malay. It is not unlikely that, whatever form the Banda Malay language originally took in the years after 1621, its close location to Ambon, regular interaction with

¹⁵⁷ The last *perkenier*, Wim de Broeke, was killed in the religious conflict which flared up in 1999.

¹⁵⁸ A particularly enlightening quote from Hanna (1978: 2) which places the newly emerging society in perspective: “The original Bandanese population was decimated by the Westerners, then replenished by an influx of both European and Asian newcomers—free men and slaves, drifters and refugees of many languages, races, and religions.”

the administration and citizens of Ambon, and shared source of income in the spice trade led to convergence of the two varieties to some degree.

The unusual beginnings of this new Banda Malay language (which Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 684) label ‘Banda Malay II’ may have had some lasting effects on the language. There is certainly some variation in lexical items between Ambon Malay and Banda Malay, a fact which is pointed out by speakers of both varieties. The Banda Malay informants interviewed for this study provided a list of several dozen lexical items which were only found in Banda Malay, and speakers of Ambon Malay said they could recognize a Banda Malay accent immediately (indeed, the Banda Malay language has a very different cadence and intonation from Ambon Malay).

One further development may have had an effect on the language as well. In 1999, as a result of religious conflict in the islands, the Christian community, making up about one-fifth of the population of the islands, was evacuated to Seram and Ambon islands, where refugee villages have been built, and in which Banda Malay remains the language of home and community.¹⁵⁹ The informants interviewed for this study maintained that there are no differences between the language used by Christians and by Muslims, but this subject has not been studied, and is not within the scope of the current study. The long-term vitality of the Banda language in these refugee communities is in doubt, and, indeed, the informants for this study said that school-age children in the communities were using Ambon Malay, rather than Banda Malay, as their primary language.

¹⁵⁹ One of the Banda villages on Ambon is named “Revenge”, after a British ship which was important in the history of Banda, but a rather ominous name given the current circumstances of the community. The inhabitants of the village claim to have no idea what the name means.

A Portuguese Creole was once spoken in the Banda islands (Gordon 2005), but is long extinct.

A.4.2 Sources

De Clercq (1876) includes Banda Malay in his survey and word list of Malay varieties, but has nothing to say about the language apart from commenting on the similarity of Banda Malay to Ambon Malay.¹⁶⁰ Stokhof (1982) reprints some of the so-called “Holle lists,” word lists collected in the late 19th century by Dutch administrators, including three lists collected in the Banda islands, at ‘Banda’ (unknown location), ‘Sekola Neira’ (presumably a school on Banda Neira island) and ‘Sekola Lonthoir’ (presumably a school on Banda Besar island).

Other than those collections of lexical items, there are only a few references even to the existence of Banda Malay in the literature, in Prentice (1978), Wurm and Hattori (1981), B.D. Grimes (1991), and Adelaar and Prentice (1996). Grimes (1991: 85) says, in a footnote, that “a good description of Banda Malay is needed, along with notes on the similarities between Banda Malay and [Ambon Malay] and other Malay lingua franca varieties in eastern Indonesia.” This sketch is a first, albeit modest, step in that direction.

A.4.3 Phonology and orthography

A.4.3.1 Consonants of Banda Malay

The consonant phonemes of Banda Malay are:

¹⁶⁰ The exact quote: “*Te Ambon heeft men werder een afzonderlijk Maleisch, waarvan het Bandische dialect nog een bijzonderen vorm aanbiedt.*”

Table A.29: Consonants of Banda Malay

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	
Voiced stops	b	d	ɟ <j>	g	
Fricatives	f	s			h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Glides	(w)		j <y>	w	

The orthographic conventions used in this document are indicated in angled brackets above, following standard Indonesian spelling.

The consonant phonemes are similar to those found in other varieties of Malay, and most were inherited directly from the Vehicular Malay which brought the language to the northern Moluccas. As with other varieties in eastern Indonesia, the phoneme /f/ was not originally part of the phonological system of Vehicular Malay, and only exists in loan-words, chiefly from Dutch.¹⁶¹ In Vehicular Malay and the varieties of Malay spoken in the Malay homeland in western Indonesia, /f/ is not fully phonemic and alternates with /p/ for many, if not most, speakers. However, it is fully phonemic in Banda Malay.

Borrowed consonant phonemes ([ʔ], [ʃ], [x]), which occur as a marker of Indonesian-influenced registers in other varieties of Malay, and which do not properly belong in the phonemic inventory of these varieties, did not appear in the data for this study, and may not be used at all in Banda Malay.

Vehicular Malay (and the colloquial low Malay of western Indonesia) allow a variety of consonants in word-final position: /p, t, ʔ, m, n, ŋ, s, h, l, r/. Of these, only /ŋ, s, l,

¹⁶¹ Banda Malay appears to have a greater number of Dutch loan words than any other variety of Malay, which is not surprising, given its history, in that the Banda islands were effectively ruled by Dutch plantation managers for 300 years.

r/ are regularly retained in Banda Malay (and even these are occasionally elided, as in **ambel* → *ambe* ‘take’), though borrowed words may occur with a greater variety of word-final consonants (any of the word-final consonants found in Vehicular Malay, except the glottal stop, may occur in borrowed words).

Word-final nasal consonants /m, n, ŋ/ have merged as /ŋ/, except in borrowed words. This leads to occasional homonymy, which is commonly avoided by reinstating the original consonants, which are available through knowledge of Indonesian.

A.2.3.2 Vowels of Banda Malay

The vowel inventory of Banda Malay is:

Table A.30: Vowels of Banda Malay

i	u
e	o
a	

Although in most other varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, a schwa sound can occur in words marked as “Indonesian”, this does not appear to occur in Banda Malay.

There were no occurrences of the schwa in the data collected for this study.

Since Vehicular Malay had a schwa sound, it is useful to understand how this sound was handled, and how the reflexes of words which originally had this sound appear in Banda Malay. These processes are similar to the ones which occurred in North Moluccan Malay although the application of these processes differs for certain individual words.

A.4.4 General/Clause Structure

A.4.4.1 Word Order

Banda Malay is an isolating language, with little productive morphology of any kind, apart from reduplication. As a result, word order takes a very important role, and the

basic word orders of SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT (in transitive clauses) and SUBJECT-VERB (in intransitive clauses) are adhered to, as in the following typical examples, with only rare, highly-marked exceptions.

(A374) *Guru itu baca buku.*
teacher DEM read book
'The teacher reads a book.' (8.8)

(A375) *Ana itu tido.*
child DEM sleep
'The child sleeps.' (8.2)

A.4.4.2 Lexical categories

Banda Malay has three open classes of words. The open classes are nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Although adjectives have certain verb-like properties, and could possibly be analyzed as a sub-class of verbs, they can be distinguished from verbs because adjectives can occur with intensifiers, while verbs usually can not.

The following are the closed classes of words in Banda Malay. The members of these classes will be described separately.

- Pronouns (a sub-class of nouns)
- Demonstratives
- Prepositions
- Conjunctions
- Possessive markers
- Numerals
- Directionals
- Intensifiers
- Relativizers

- Negators
- Question words
- Aspect markers
- Adverbs
- Interjections
- Discourse Particles

A.4.4.3 Prepositions

Prepositional phrases in Banda Malay consist of PREPOSITION + NOUN PHRASE, and generally occur after the verb. A limited set of prepositions appeared in the data, precluding a thorough analysis of prepositions in Banda Malay. The prepositions which appeared, along with examples, follow.

- 1) *di* LOC ('at, in, on')

(A376) *Beta pung papa tanam pohong di kintal.*
 1SG POSS father plant tree LOC garden
 'My father plants trees in the garden.' (8.1)

(A377) *Ada kukis di dapur.*
 have cake LOC kitchen
 'There is cake in the kitchen.' (8.30)

- 2) *dari* 'from'

(A378) *Kita datang dari timor.*
 1SG come from east
 'I came from the east.' (8.57)

(A379) *Gunung sana itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
 mountain over.there DEM more tall from mountain DEM
 'The mountain over there is taller than this mountain.' (8.66)

- 3) *ka* 'to' (before both inanimate and animate noun phrases)

(A380) *Katong dari sana datang ka sini.*
 1PL from over.there come to here
 'We came from there to here.' (8.55)

4) *deng* ‘with’ (INSTRUMENTAL, COMITATIVE)

(A381) *Beta pung papa potong tali deng piso.*
1SG POSS father cut rope with knife
‘My father cuts a rope with a knife.’ (8.6)

(A382) *Beta pung papa potong kayu deng beta pung om.*
1SG POSS father cut wood with 1SG POSS uncle
‘My father cuts wood with my uncle.’ (8.7)

(A383) *Dorang baku-sayang satu deng lain.*
3PL RECIP-love one with other
‘They love each other one with another.’ (8.63)

5) *par* ‘for’ (BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT; examples of all three uses are not available in the data)

(A384) *Beta pung ade tulis surat par guru.*
1SG POSS younger.sibling write letter to teacher
‘My younger sibling wrote a letter to the teacher.’ (8.4)

(A385) *Orang itu kasi bunga par dia pu tunangan.*
person DEM give flower to 3SG POSS fiancé
‘The person gives a flower to his/her fiancé(e).’ (8.9)

A.4.4.4 Negation

Simple clausal negation is expressed by the negators *tara* ‘no, not’, or *tarada* ‘not have, there is not’. These negators follow the subject and precede the verb.

(A386) *Dia tara nonton tifi tadi malam.*
s/he NEG watch TV last night
‘S/he didn’t watch TV last night.’ (8.25)

(A387) *Pane tara bali ikan di pasar kalamaring.*
2SG NEG buy fish LOC market yesterday
‘You didn’t buy fish in the market yesterday.’ (8.27)

(A388) *Su tarada lai kukis di dapur.*
ASP NEG DP cake LOC kitchen
‘There is no more cake in the kitchen.’ (8.33)

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *balong/bolong/blong* ‘not yet’:

(A389) *Beta balong bali oto baru.*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 ‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’ (8.16)

A.4.4.5 Questions

Polar (yes/no) questions are generally indicated by intonation alone:

(A390) *Dulu pane kerja di pabrik?*
 before 2SG work LOC factory
 ‘Did you used to work at the factory?’ (8.35)

A clause-final question word, *ka* can also appear.

(A391) *Fino macang dia ada ba-jalang deng dia pung ade ka?*
 Vino like 3SG ASP BA-walk with 3SG POSS younger.sibling Q
 ‘Vino, it seems he is walking around with his younger sibling, isn’t he?’
 (8.51)

(A392) *Fino ada tinggal di kota ka?*
 Vino ASP live LOC town Q
 ‘Vino lives in town, doesn’t he?’ (8.50)

Leading questions may be formed with the negator *tara* ‘no, not’.

(A393) *Tara ada lia orang pake beta pung baju?*
 NEG have see person wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Didn’t anyone see who is wearing my shirt?’ (8.41)

Leading questions may also be formed by a clause-final negator, with or without the question particle *ka*, with the meaning ‘or not’, or by *ka + apa* ‘what’, meaning ‘or what?’.

(A394) *Fino pu oto mangkali dua ka apa?*
 Vino POSS car maybe two Q what
 ‘It seems maybe Vino has two cars, doesn’t he?’ (8.53)

Content questions can be formed using one of a set of questions words, which generally appear in situ, and question-word questions have a distinctive pattern of intonation. The question words which occurred in the data are in Table A.31. Question words may be moved to sentence-initial position.

Table A.31: Question words

<i>apa</i>	‘what’	<i>barapa</i>	‘how many’
<i>bagaimana</i>	‘how’	<i>apa tempo</i>	‘when’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’	<i>di mana</i>	‘where’

(A395) *Fino tadi bali apa di pasar?*
 Vino just.now buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Vino buy at the market?’ (8.44)

(A396) *Bagaimana dia mau pi cari dia pu tamang lai?*
 how 3SG ASP go search.for 3SG POSS friend DP
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’ (8.47)

(A397) *Sapa yang tadi buka jendela?*
 who REL just.now open window
 ‘Who opened the window (just now)?’ (8.40)

(A398) *Nyong, sakarang su jam barapa?*
 polite.address now ASP hour how.many
 ‘Sir, what is the time now.’ (8.36)

(A399) *Pane apa tempo mau bayar beta pu utang itu?*
 2SG what time ASP pay 1SG POSS debt DEM
 ‘When can you pay back your debt to me?’ (8.46)

(A400) *Pane pu ruma di mana? (*Di mana pane pu ruma di mana?)*
 2SG POSS house LOC where
 ‘Where is your house?’ (8.38)

(A401) *Fino pu oto mangkali dua ka apa?*
 Vino POSS car maybe two Q what
 ‘It seems maybe Vino has two cars, doesn’t he?’ (8.53)

A.4.5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

A.4.5.1 Order of elements

The noun phrase consists of the following elements:

(QUANT) (NP_{POSS}) HEAD (NUM) (NOUN) (ADJ) (DEM) (VP) (QUANT) (REL/PP) (DEM)

These elements and the constraints on each will be discussed below.

It is likely that DEMONSTRATIVE-NOUN can occur in Banda Malay, but that this order, which is likely the original order, did not occur in the data for this study, most probably due to the influence of Indonesian.

Within the noun phrase, nouns may be modified by demonstratives, quantifiers, possessives, numerals, adjectives, other nouns, VPs, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses. (A402) shows the POSS-N-ADJ order in Banda Malay, while (A403) shows the POSS-N and N-NUM orders.

(A402) *Fino pu ruma baru lai.*
 Vino POSS house new DP
 ‘Vino has a new house.’ (8.48)

(A403) *Fino pu oto mangkali dua ka apa?*
 Vino POSS car maybe two Q what
 ‘It seems maybe Vino has two cars, doesn’t he?’ (8.53)

A.4.5.2 Plural marking

Plural marking is optional in Banda Malay when a noun is not quantified. It can occur, as in (A406) below, or it may be inferred from context, as in (A407). Nouns which are quantified do not have plural marking, as in (A403) and (A404). When plural marking does occur, as in (A406), it is accomplished through reduplication of the noun.

(A404) *Fino pu buku banya.*
 Vino POSS book many
 ‘Vino has many books.’ (8.49)

(A405) *Fino pu oto mangkali dua ka apa?*
 Vino POSS car maybe two Q what
 ‘It seems maybe Vino has two cars, doesn’t he?’ (8.53)

(A406) *Habis perang, orang-orang yang itu su mati habis sama sekali.*
 finish war REDUP-person REL DEM ASP dead finish with very
 ‘After the war, the people were all dead, completely destroyed.’ (9.3-4)

(A407) *Orang pulo Hatta saja yang ada ta-tinggal itu.*
 people island Hatta only REL have TA-leave DEM
 ‘Only the people on Hatta Island were left.’ (9.5-6)

A.4.5.3 Pronouns

The pronouns of Banda Malay are presented in the table below.

Table A.32: Pronouns of Banda Malay

1SG	<i>beta</i>
2SG	<i>pane</i>
3SG	<i>dia</i>
3SG.FML	<i>antua</i>
1PL (INCL/EXCL)	<i>katong</i>
2PL	<i>kamorang (kamong)</i>
3PL	<i>dorang (dong)</i>

As was noted previously for North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay, a pronoun cross-referencing the subject can occur immediately after the subject, preceding the verb. Van Minde (1997: 284) considers these structures in Ambon Malay as examples of a topic-comment construction, and this is indeed a likely analysis. However, as with North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay, the possibility could also be entertained that these are examples of a subject clitic on the verb, a construction commonly found in the local languages of the northern and central Moluccas.

(A408) *Oto itu dia tumbu pohong.*
car DEM 1SG crash tree
'The car crashed into the tree.' (8.22)

A.4.5.4 Possessive constructions

The possessive construction in Banda Malay takes the form POSSESSOR *pung* (or *pu*) POSSESSED, in which *pung/pu* is the possessive marker, as in the examples below:

(A409) *Beta pung papa tanam pohong di kintal.*
1SG POSS father plant tree LOC garden
'My father plants trees in the garden.' (8.1)

(A410) *Yang di Indonesia cuma katong dua, beta deng beta pu bapa...*
REL LOC Indonesia only 1PL two 1SG with 1SG POSS father
'Of the Indonesians, there were only the two of us, my father and me...'
(9.10)

- (A411) *Sapa yang pake beta pung baju ini?*
 who REL wear 1SG POSS shirt DEM
 ‘Did anyone see who is wearing my shirt?’ (8.42)

The possessive morpheme *pung* can also serve as an intensifying particle.

A.4.5.5 Demonstratives

There are two demonstratives in Banda Malay, *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. The demonstratives follow the noun. Although other Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia allow the demonstrative to precede the noun (in some varieties, it is the unmarked form), Banda Malay does not allow the demonstrative to precede the noun. Informants regularly placed the demonstrative following the noun, even when given a prompt in Ambon Malay, with a demonstrative preceding the noun.

- (A412) *Nona itu manangis.*
 girl DEM cry
 ‘The girl cries.’ (8.3)

- (A413) *Guru itu baca buku.*
 teacher DEM read book
 ‘The teacher reads a book.’ (8.8)

- (A414) *Motor itu ta-tumbu oto ini.*
 motorcycle DEM TA-crash car DEM
 ‘That motorcycle crashed into this car.’ (8.23)

- (A415) *Tadi pigi, Fino bali apa di pasar itu?*
 just.now go VINO buy what LOC market DEM
 ‘When he went just now, what did VINO buy at the market?’ (8.45)

- (A416) *...apa ini...*
 what DEM
 ‘...what was it?’ (8.9)

A.4.5.6 Numerals

The cardinal numerals of Banda Malay are shown in the table below.

Table A.33 Numerals of Banda Malay

<i>satu</i>	‘one’
<i>dua</i>	‘two’
<i>tiga</i>	‘three’
<i>ampa</i>	‘four’
<i>lima</i>	‘five’
<i>anang</i>	‘six’
<i>tuju</i>	‘seven’
<i>dalapang</i>	‘eight’
<i>sambilang</i>	‘nine’

Numerals follow the noun they modify, and it can be assumed that NOUN + NUMERAL is the standard order in Banda Malay. NUMERAL + NOUN, the typical order in Indonesian, and a common alternate formation in other varieties of Malay, did not occur in the data. Numeral classifiers also did not occur in the data, and it is possible that they are not used in Banda Malay.

(A417) *Fino pu oto satu.*
Vino POSS one car
‘Vino has a car.’ (8.52)

(A418) *Beta pu tanpa lahir di sini.*
1SG POSS place birth LOC here
‘This is the place where I was born.’ (8.61)

There is no specific construction for ordinal numerals in Banda Malay, but rather cardinal numerals are used in contexts where an ordinal numeral would occur.

A.4.5.7 Relative Clauses

In the texts collected for this study, the relative clause constructions usually made use of the typical Malay relativizer *yang*, although there was one example of a bare relative construction, with no relative marker (A419). It is possible that the use of *yang* is due to Indonesian influence.

(A419) *Tara ada lia orang pake beta pung baju?*
 NEG have see person wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Did anyone see who is wearing my shirt?’ (8.41)

(A420) *Sapa yang manyanyi lagu ini?*
 who REL sing song DEM
 ‘Who sang/is singing this song?’ (8.43)

(A421) *Ana itu yang pancuri ayam.*
 child DEM REL steal chicken
 ‘That is the child who stole my chicken.’ (8.60)

(A422) *...beta yang pimpin dorang di sana...*
 1SG REL lead 3PL LOC over.there
 ‘...I was the one who led them over there...’ (8.2-3)

A.4.5.8 Nominal Morphology

There is one kind of morphological process used for nouns in Banda Malay, and that is reduplication, which indicates plurality, diversity or totality.

(A423) *Habis perang, orang-orang yang itu su mati habis sama sekali.*
 finish war REDUP-person REL DEM ASP dead finish with very
 ‘After the war, the people were all dead, completely destroyed.’ (8.3-4)

(A424) *Yang lain-lain su habis, su tarada.*
 REL REDUP-other ASP finish ASP NEG-have
 ‘The others were all gone, not there anymore.’ (8.11)

A.4.6 Verbs and Verb Phrases

A.4.6.1 Order of elements

There are a number of elements which can be part of the verb complex in Banda Malay, and they fit into specific slots. All slots excluding the verb base are optional, and, indeed, often a bare verb base occurs. Although the data don’t contain examples of all the possibilities, there is enough evidence that it can reasonably be assumed that the verb complex in Banda Malay operates in the same manner as in Ambon Malay, as presented in Table A.34. The first class of aspect markers in Table A.34 below operates on the predicate

level (as does the negative), while the second class of aspect markers operates in the verb phrase, and this distinction is reflected in the organization of Table A.34.

Table A.34 The verb complex in Banda Malay

VERB PHRASE											
ASPECT 1	NEG	ASPECT 2	MODAL	DEGREE	AUX	PREFIX	V	DEGREE	MANNER	VP	
							REDUPLICATION ITERATIVE				

Table A.35 presents some of the members of key categories in Table A.34. The lists of members are illustrative, and the limited data accounts for the limited membership in some categories. Once again, evidence suggests that the categories operate as in Ambon Malay.

Table A.35 Members of certain categories in the verb complex in Banda Malay

VERB PHRASE								V E R B
ASPECT 1	NEG	ASPECT 2	MODAL	DEGREE	AUX	PREFIX		
<i>su</i> PERF	<i>seng</i> NEG	<i>ada</i> PROG/REAL	<i>mau/mo</i> 'want'	<i>lebe</i> 'more'	<i>pi</i> 'go'	<i>ba-</i>		
	<i>tarada</i> NEG.have		<i>mo</i> FUT		<i>jadi</i> 'happen'	<i>ta-</i>		
<i>balong</i> 'not yet'						<i>baku-</i>		
							REDUPLICATION	

The following are examples of possible combinations of these elements in Banda Malay. The data have no examples of more than a few elements in any single example.

(A425) *Dia ada pigi mangael ikan.*
 3SG ASP go fishing fish
 ASP AUX V
 'He is fishing.' (8.19)

(A426) *Dorang tara mau datang.*
 3PL NEG want come
 NEG MOD V
 'They don't want to come.' (8.29)

A.4.6.2 Aspect

Aspect can be marked by aspect markers such as *su* PERF and *balong* ‘not yet’ which operate on the predicate level (the ‘Aspect 1’ category in the tables above), and by the marker *ada*, which can be a marker of PROG or REALIS, which operates on the phrase level (‘Aspect 2’). In addition, the modal *mau/mo* can function as a modal meaning ‘want’ or as an aspect marker denoting future aspect.

The progressive or realis marker, *ada*, is distinguished from the verb *ada* ‘have; exist; there is,’ although the two cannot occur together. The aspect marker *ada* cannot be negated, while the verb *ada* may be negated (through *tarada*). Examples of the use of aspect markers follow.

(A427) *Dia ada lego-lego.*
3SG ASP REDUP-fishing
ASP2 REDUP-V
‘He is fishing.’ (8.18)

(A428) *Beta balong bali oto baru*
1SG not.yet buy car new
ASP1.NEG V
‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’ (8.16)

(A429) *Bagaimana dia mau pi cari dia pu tamang lai?*
how 3SG ASP go search.for 3SG POSS friend DP
ASP2 AUX V
‘How will he look for his friend?’ (8.47)

(A430) *Su tar-ada, su mati habis*
ASP NEG-have ASP dead finish
ASP1 NEG-V ASP1 V ADV
‘They were gone, they were all dead.’ (8.8)

A.4.6.3 Complex Verbs

Complex verbs, consist of a main verb preceded by one of the auxiliary verbs in the ‘Aux’ column in Table 4.35 above. These auxiliary verbs include, but are likely not limited to *pi/pigi* ‘go’, and *jadi* ‘happen’.

(A431) *Dia ada pigi/pi mangael ikan.*
3SG ASP go fishing fish
'He is fishing.' (8.19)

(A432) *Dong tara jadi berangkat hari Rabu.*
3PL NEG happen go day Wednesday
'They won't leave on Wednesday.' (8.26)

(A433) *Bagaimana dia mau pi cari dia pu tamang lai?*
how 3SG ASP go search.for 3SG POSS friend DP
'How will he look for his friend?' (8.47)

(A434) *Kalo memang jaring pigi dapa ikang, ya?*
if truly net go find fish yes
'If we can truly go catch fish with nets, right?' (7.14)

A.4.6.4 Verbal morphology

Verbal morphology consists of affixation and reduplication. Banda Malay has three productive verbal prefixes: *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*. In addition to productive use of these prefixes, there are a number of words in which the *ba-* prefix is frozen as part of a loanword from a variety of Malay in which it was productive. Examples include the following:

(A435) *badiri* 'to stand' (8.56)
bakalae 'to fight' (8.62)
berangkat 'to leave' (8.26)
balajar 'to study' (8.28)

An apparently productive use of the prefix *ba-* only occurred once in the data. It is likely that it has several productive uses, as in other Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, but the data do not give any evidence of this. One common use in closely related varieties, a reflexive use ('to shave oneself') was rejected by the informants for this study. The only data which appears to use *ba-* in a productive way, with a durative meaning, is in (A436). Analysis of other possible uses of *ba-* awaits further data.

- (A436) *Fino macang dia ada ba-jalang deng dia pung ade ka?*
 Vino like 3SG ASP BA-walk with 3SG POSS younger.sibling Q
 ‘Vino, it seems he is walking around with his younger sibling, isn’t he?’
 (8.51)

The prefix *ta-* appeared twice in the data, and creates the meaning that an action happens accidentally or by an unexpected or involuntary action.

- (A437) *Motor itu ta-tumbu oto ini.*
 motorcycle DEM TA-crash car DEM
 ‘That motorcycle crashed into this car.’ (8.23)

- (A438) *Orang pulo Hatta saja yang ada ta-tinggal itu.*
 people island Hatta only REL have TA-leave DEM
 ‘Only the people on Hatta Island were left.’ (8.5-6)

The prefix *baku-* forms reciprocal verbs.

- (A439) *Dorang baku-sayang satu deng lain.*
 3PL RECIP-love one with other
 ‘They love each other one with another.’ (8.63)

- (A440) *Dorang baku-bawa bae.*
 3PL RECIP-bring good
 ‘They care for each other (as in boyfriend-girlfriend).’ (8.64)

Verbal reduplication is a very productive and common process in Malay varieties, usually to show iteration, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. It can also indicate plurality of an action or event, or that an action, event or state is intensified. Verbal reduplication did not occur in the data, probably due to the nature of the elicited data, and it is assumed that the process is productive in Banda Malay. The one reduplicated verb which did occur, *lego-lego* ‘to go fishing’, appears to be a frozen form, and not the result of a productive process of reduplication. It is a word not found in other Malay varieties, and may have been borrowed from a vernacular language.

A.4.7 Other Grammatical Features

A.4.7.1 Intensifier

The possessive marker *pung/pu* can also function as an intensifier when followed by an adjective.

(A441) *Buku itu pu mahal.*
book DEM POSS expensive.
'That book is expensive.' (8.24)

(A442) *Gunung itu mar pu tinggi.*
mountain DEM but POSS tall
'That mountain is very tall.' (8.65)

A.4.7.1.1 Superlative Constructions

Superlative constructions are marked by the borrowed Indonesian morpheme *paling* 'most'.

(A443) *Gunung sana yang paling tinggi.*
mountain over.there REL most tall
'That mountain over there is the tallest.' (8.67)

A.4.7.2 Comparatives

The order of elements in the comparative construction is ADJ-MARKER-STANDARD.

(A444) *Gunung sana itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
mountain over.there DEM more tall from mountain DEM
'The mountain over there is taller than this mountain.' (8.66)

A.4.7.3 Directionals/Spatial Deixis

Unlike North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay, Banda Malay does not have a spatial deixis system developed around existence on an island. This may be due to the origins of the variety in a multi-ethnic setting without a single local vernacular serving as a substrate. Examples of deictic expressions are:

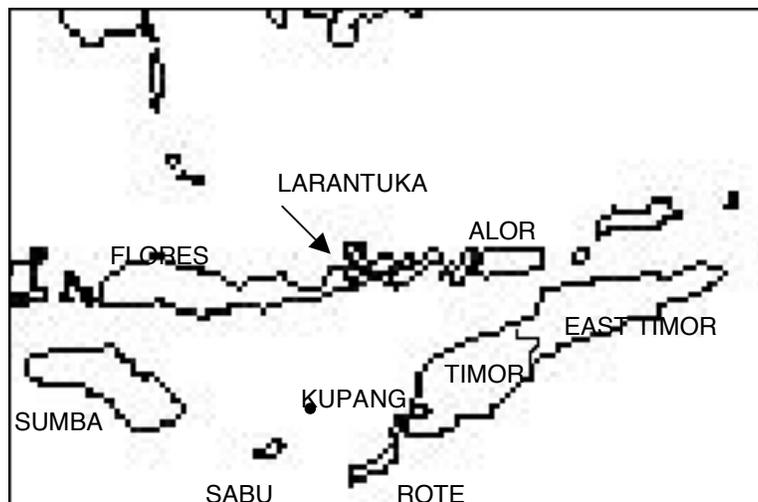
(A445) *Kita datang dari timor.*
1SG come from east
'I came from the east.' (8.57)

(A446) *Kita datang dari barat.*
1SG come from west
'I came from the west.' (8.58)

A.5 Kupang Malay

A.5.1 Language area, speakers, and history

Kupang Malay is spoken on the island of Timor and nearby islands in the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur. There are approximately 200,000 native speakers of Kupang Malay¹⁶² in the city of Kupang and surrounding areas, with perhaps another 400,000 second language speakers. Second language speakers of Kupang Malay are primarily found in and around the city of Kupang and through the western part of Timor island, as well as the nearby islands of Semau and Rote, and speak a variety of native languages, including Uab Meto, Helong, Amarasi, Sabu, and “Rote” (commonly considered as a single language, but actually seven languages spoken on the island of Rote (Gordon 2005)).



Map A.5: Kupang Malay

The city of Kupang is a cosmopolitan community with immigrants from throughout the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, as well as immigrants from outside the province. Kupang Malay serves as the main language of daily life in the city, and is the native language of a majority of the population.

¹⁶² This figure is from Ethnologue (Gordon 2005).

The Malay language was originally brought to Kupang as a trade language through the sandalwood (*Santalum album*) trade, which was centered on the island of Timor, and has likely been used as a trade language in the area for well over a thousand years. It is unknown when a community using Kupang Malay as a native language first developed, and whether it predates the arrival of the first Europeans in the area in the early 16th century. During the Dutch colonial era, however, Kupang developed into a multi-ethnic port, with large numbers of Chinese, Rotinese and others, and it is likely that Kupang Malay was the native language of at least a segment of this community. Kupang, however, remained a relatively small settlement until after Indonesian independence. The population has grown from 3,500 in 1916 to over 80,000 in 1980 to an estimated 300,000 today. This rapid growth has been matched by the growth in the community of native speakers of Kupang Malay, who today are estimated to number some 200,000, of which the largest ethnic groups are the Rotinese and Sabunese.¹⁶³ Other significant ethnic groups in Kupang are Javanese and Chinese, as well as immigrants from the islands of Flores, Sumba, Alor, Solor and other islands of the province, as well as Timor island itself. The role of Kupang as a regional trade center, and later, provincial capital, has led to Kupang Malay being a regional lingua franca for interethnic communication. One result has been the relatively large number of loan words and calques occurring in Kupang Malay originating in local languages of the region. There are also a number of borrowings from Dutch which do not occur in other contact varieties of Malay.

¹⁶³ The sources for these numbers are: Steinhauer (1983: 42) for the 1916 and 1980 figures, the Indonesia guide by Lonely Planet (2007) for the current population of Kupang, and Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) for the number of speakers of Kupang Malay.

Kupang Malay is generally not identified by that name by its speakers, who do not tend to consider it as a language separate from Indonesian. They are more likely to think of it as an inferior variety of Indonesian. It is hard to draw a line between Kupang Malay and Indonesian, as all speakers command varieties ranging from the colloquial language to something approaching Standard Indonesian. It is more meaningful to view Kupang Malay as a continuum with any particular utterance showing the distinctive features of Kupang Malay to a greater or lesser degree depending upon the speaker and the topic. Through universal education in Indonesian and the influence of Indonesian language media and popular culture, the use of Indonesian and familiarity with Standard Indonesian is increasing.

There is one clearly identified dialect of Kupang Malay, the Air Mata dialect, spoken in a section of Kupang city geographically set apart from the rest of the city. Air Mata is one of only two Muslim neighborhoods in Kupang (the other twenty-three being primarily Christian). The dialect has been noted by Steinhauer (1983: 43), Jacob and Grimes (2003: 10) and Jacob and Grimes (2007: 2). In this dialect, for example, the Kupang Malay negator *sonde* becomes *honde*.

There are attempts to increase public awareness of Kupang Malay as a valid language and a language worth appreciating and preserving. There is a publisher (Artha Wacana Press) which has produced a dictionary as well as children's books and translations of bible stories in Kupang Malay, all of which are produced by trained linguists. There have also been efforts to have Kupang Malay recognized as a language of instruction in elementary schools in Kupang city (Jacob and B.D. Grimes 2006).

A.5.2 Major sources

De Clercq mentions the Malay of Kupang in his survey of Malay varieties (1876) and provides some texts. The only published description of Kupang Malay is a brief but informative paper (Steinhauer 1983) published in a volume of the journal *Nusa*. Jacob and C. Grimes (2003) is a well-organized Kupang Malay-Indonesian dictionary, which includes idioms and some descriptive notes on the language. Mboeik et al (1984) is an unpublished report prepared for the Project for the Investigation of Indonesian and Regional Language and Arts, of the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture, which provides a simple description of the structure of Kupang Malay. The description is rather heavily influenced by Indonesian structure, and is not as useful as might have been desired. B.D. Grimes (2005), Jacob and B.D. Grimes (2006), Jacob and C. Grimes (2007) and Jacob (2007) are unpublished papers dealing with aspects of the Kupang Malay language. The first two of these, B.D. Grimes (2005) and Jacob and B.D. Grimes (2006), examine the sociolinguistic setting and efforts to promote awareness of and recognition of the language. Jacob and C. Grimes (2007) examines serial verb constructions in Kupang Malay, and examines some possible sources of these constructions in the vernacular languages of the region. Jacob (2007) looks at three grammaticized particles in Kupang Malay and discusses their functions. Jacob (2004) is a children's book in Kupang Malay.

A.5.3 Phonology and orthography

A.5.3.1 Consonants of Kupang Malay

The consonant phonemes of Kupang Malay are:

Table A.36: Consonants of Kupang Malay

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Voiced stops	b	d	ɟ <j>	g	
Fricatives	f	s			h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Glides	(w)		j <y>	w	

The orthographic conventions used in this document are indicated in angled brackets above, following standard Indonesian spelling.

The consonant phonemes are similar to those found in other varieties of Malay, and most were inherited directly from the Vehicular Malay which brought the language to Kupang. However, the phoneme /f/ was not originally part of the phonological system of Vehicular Malay, and only exists in loan-words, chiefly from Dutch and local vernacular languages, but also from Arabic, Portuguese and, more recently, English. In Vehicular Malay and the varieties of Malay spoken in the Malay homeland in western Indonesia, /f/ is not fully phonemic and alternates with /p/ for many, if not most, speakers.

There are a few borrowed phonemes, the use of which is usually a marker that the speaker is attempting to use a variety closer to Standard Indonesian, and which do not properly belong in the phonemic inventory of the sounds of Kupang Malay. These are the sounds [ʃ] (<sy>, also only occurring in borrowed words, chiefly from Arabic, Dutch and English), and [x] (<kh>, occurring in words borrowed from Arabic and Dutch).

Unlike most Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, the glottal stop is phonemic, and appears in many words, chiefly borrowed from local vernacular languages or Arabic. It can occur word-medially between vowels and word-finally, in which position it is contrasted

with /k/. In Indonesian, [ʔ] regular occurs in place of word-final /k/, and this pronunciation is found in some speakers of Kupang Malay, some of the time, but likely represents interference from Indonesian. The distinction between word-final /k/ and word-final /ʔ/ seems to be a real one in Kupang Malay, and the dictionary by Jacob and C. Grimes (2003) differentiates between word-final /k/ and word-final /ʔ/,¹⁶⁴ though the latter is rare.

Kupang Malay shares many of the instances of loss of word-final consonants which occurred in Vehicular Malay, and which are found in other Malay varieties in eastern Indonesia, but the loss of final consonants is not as regular in Kupang Malay. Any consonant may occur in word-final position, although words with word-final consonants other than the typical Vehicular Malay set (ŋ, s, r, l) are generally only found in borrowed words (from Dutch, Portuguese and the vernacular languages of the region) or in words which are more highly marked as “Indonesian.”

Also unlike varieties of Malay to the east, word-final nasal consonants have not merged in Kupang Malay, and words may end in /m/, /n/ or /ŋ/.

A.5.3.2 Vowels of Kupang Malay

The vowel inventory of Kupang Malay is:

Table A.37: Vowels of Kupang Malay

i		u
e	(ə)	o
	a	

¹⁶⁴ Both word-medial glottal stops and word-final glottal stops are written as <ʔ>, as in *sa'ir* ‘poem’ and *to* ‘only’.

Steinhauer (1983: 44) includes the schwa in the vowel inventory of Kupang Malay, although Mboeik et al (1984: 19) and Jacob and C. Grimes (2003: 5) do not. The schwa occurred in the data collected for this study, but it tended to appear in words more highly marked as Indonesian. The best analysis, therefore, is that the schwa is not part of the core inventory of phonemes in Kupang Malay, but it regularly appears in the speech of some speakers through Indonesian influence, especially in higher registers. As Jacob and Grimes' dictionary (2003) attests, there is always a non-schwa alternative form for any word which may appear with a schwa.

The schwa sounds which occurred in Vehicular Malay were handled using strategies similar to the ones described for North Moluccan Malay above, although the results were different in some instances. These strategies generally involved replacement of the schwa by another vowel. Examples (from Jacob and C. Grimes 2003: 5) are in (436).

(A447)	Vehicular Malay	Kupang Malay	
	<i>*bəsar</i>	<i>besar</i>	'large'
	<i>*kəmbali</i>	<i>kambali, kombali</i>	'return'
	<i>*kəliling</i>	<i>kuliling</i>	'around'
	<i>*kəbun</i>	<i>kabon, kobon(g)</i>	'orchard, farm'
	<i>*bətul</i>	<i>batul</i>	'correct'
	<i>*kəcil</i>	<i>kici</i>	'small'

The loss of the schwa led to the development of phonemic stress. In Vehicular Malay, stress fell on the penultimate syllable, unless this syllable contained a schwa, in which case stress fell on the final syllable. The result is minimal pairs such as the following:

(A448)	<i>ba'rat</i>	'heavy'	(<* <i>bə'rat</i>)
	<i>'barat</i>	'west'	(<*' <i>barat</i>)
	<i>pa'rang</i>	'machete'	(<* <i>pə'rang</i>)
	<i>'parang</i>	'war'	(<*' <i>parang</i>)

A.5.4 General/Clause Structure

A.5.4.1 Word Order

Kupang Malay is an isolating language, with little productive morphology of any kind, apart from reduplication. As a result, word order takes a very important role, and the basic word orders of SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT (in transitive clauses) and SUBJECT-VERB (in intransitive clauses) are adhered to, as in the following typical examples, with only rare, highly-marked exceptions.

(A449) *Itu guru baca buku.*
 DEM teacher read book
 'The teacher reads a book.' (10.8)

(A450) *Itu nona manangis.*
 DEM girl cry
 'The girl cries.' (10.3)

A.5.4.2 Lexical categories

Kupang Malay has three open classes of words. The open classes are nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Although adjectives have certain verb-like properties, and could possibly be analyzed as a sub-class of verbs, they can be distinguished from verbs because adjectives can occur with intensifiers, while verbs usually can not.

The following are the closed classes of words in Kupang Malay. The members of these classes will be described separately.

- Pronouns (a sub-class of nouns)
- Demonstratives

- Prepositions
- Conjunctions
- Possessive markers
- Numerals
- Directionals
- Intensifiers
- Relativizers
- Negators
- Question words
- Aspect markers
- Adverbs
- Interjections
- Discourse Particles.
- Proforms
- Quantifiers
- Prepositions
- Conjunctions
- Adverbs
- Interjections

A.5.4.3 Prepositions

Prepositional phrases in Kupang Malay consist of PREPOSITION + NOUN PHRASE.

Because of the isolating nature of the language, the function of prepositions is important in Kupang Malay. The most commonly used prepositions, with examples, are listed below.

Table A.38: Prepositions of Kupang Malay

Simple Locative Prepositions	<i>di</i>	LOC ‘at, in, on, to’
	<i>dari</i>	‘from’
	<i>pi</i>	‘to’ (ANIM. or INANIM.)
	<i>sang</i>	‘to, with’ (ANIMATE)
	<i>deka</i>	‘close to’
	<i>sampe</i>	‘arrive (at), till’
	<i>abis</i>	‘after’
Simple Non-Locative Prepositions	<i>deng</i>	‘with’ (INSTR., COM.)
	<i>buat</i>	‘for, to’ (BENEFACTIVE)
	<i>kasi</i>	‘for, to’ (RECIPIENT)
	<i>sama</i>	‘be equal to, to, with’
	<i>macam</i>	‘(be) like’
	<i>sampe</i>	‘until’
	<i>abis</i>	‘after’
Complex Locative Prepositions <i>di, dari, ka +</i>	<i>dalam</i>	‘inside’
	<i>balakang (blakang)</i>	‘back(side)’
	<i>bawa</i>	‘bottom(side)’
	<i>kolong</i>	‘bottom (side)’
	<i>muka</i>	‘face, front’
	<i>atas</i>	‘top’
	<i>sabla</i>	‘side’
	<i>tenga</i>	‘middle’

Table A.38 presents the prepositions of Kupang Malay, which can be seen in the selected examples below. It is notable that the prepositions *pi* ‘to’ (ANIMATE or INANIMATE) and *kasi* ‘for, to’ (RECIPIENT) are grammaticalized from the verbs *pi* ‘to go’ and *kasi* ‘to give’ and that these forms do not occur as prepositions in most other Malay varieties (although Larantuka Malay has a grammaticalized preposition of the same function as *kasi* formed from a different verb meaning ‘to give’).

- *di* LOC (‘at, in, on’)
- (A451) *Bapa su barenti di sakola.*
 father ASP stop LOC school
 ‘Father stopped school.’ (11.6)

- *dari* ‘from’

(A452) *Beta datang dari sana.*
 1SG come from there
 ‘We came from there.’ (10.85)
- *pi* ‘to’ (before inanimate and animate noun phrases)

(A453) *Itu orang kasi bunga pi dia pung pacar.*
 DEM person give flower go 3SG POSS girlfriend
 ‘The person gives a flower to his girlfriend.’ (10.9)
- *sang* ‘to’ (before animate noun phrases)

(A454) *Lu lia sang beta.*
 2SG see to 1SG
 ‘You see me.’ (10.11)
- *sampe* ‘until’

(A455) *Sampe di kalas tiga mau ujian, ya suda.*
 until LOC grade three ASP exam yes already
 ‘Up till year three, just before the final exams, and that was it.’ (10.7-8)
- *deng* ‘with’ (INSTRUMENTAL, COMITATIVE)

(A456) *Beta pung bapa potong tali deng piso.*
 1SG POSS father cut rope with knife
 ‘My father cuts a rope with a knife.’ (10.6)

(A457) *Beta pung bapa potong kayu deng beta pung om/bapa kici.*
 1SG POSS father cut wood with 1SG POSS uncle
 ‘My father cuts wood with my uncle.’ (10.7)
- *kasi* ‘for’ (RECIPIENT)

(A458) *Beta pung ade su tulis surat kasi dia pung guru.*
 1SG POSS younger.sibling ASP write letter give 3SG POSS teacher
 ‘My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.’ (10.4)
- *macam* ‘like’

(A459) *...kotong macam kejaga kode sa.*
 1PL like watch monkey only
 ‘...it was as if we were watching monkeys.’ (11.23)

- *di* LOC ('at, in, on') + *atas* 'top'
- (A460) *Itu kucing tidur di atas kursi.*
 DEM cat sleep LOC on chair
 'The cat sleeps on the chair.' (10.5)

A.5.4.4 Negation

Simple clausal negation is usually expressed by the negator *son(de)* 'no, not'. A negative derivational prefix, *tar-*, exists for stronger negation and in set phrases with a limited set of verbs (including adjectives), such as *tar-bisa* 'cannot', *tar-bae* 'morally bad' (vs. *sonde bae* 'not good'), *tar-batu(l)* 'confused crazy, deranged' (vs. *sonde batu(l)* 'not true, wrong') and *tar-tau* 'don't know' (see (A464) below) (Steinhauer 1983: 46).

- (A461) *Dia sonde nonton teve tadi malam.*
 s/he NEG watch TV last night
 'S/he didn't watch TV last night.' (10.30)

- (A462) *Karena kebetulan jadi polisi bapa su sonde sakola terus lai.*
 because it.seems become police father ASP NEG school
 continue again
 'Because of becoming a policeman, father didn't continue at school.'
 (11.11-12)

- (A463) *Je bosong mau bae ko bosong sonde mau jadi bae, itu bosong pung ator.*
 so 2PL ASP good so.that 2PL NEG ASP become good
 DEM 2PL POSS arrange
 'So if you will be good or you won't be good, it's up to you.' (11.40-41)

- (A464) *Sakarang beta mau omong bahasa Inggris, tar-tau batu ko sonde, jang katawa e.*
 now 1SG ASP speak language English NEG-know correct
 or NEG don't laugh DP
 'Now I am going to speak English, I don't know whether it's right or not, don't laugh, OK?' (Steinhauer 1983: 46)

Negation of elements other than the verb is accomplished through use of the negator *bukan*, though no examples occurred in the data.

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *balong* or *balom* ‘not yet’:

(A465) *Beta balong bali oto baru.*
1SG not.yet buy car new
‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’ (10.16)

There is also a prohibitive negator, *jang* ‘don’t’.

(A466) *Bosong mesti ada lai, jang macam papa ini.*
2PL must have more don’t like father DEM
‘You must have more, don’t be like father.’ (11.44-45)

A.5.4.5 Questions

Polar questions are generally indicated by intonation alone:

(A467) *Kokis ada di dapur?*
cake have LOC kitchen
‘Is there any cake in the kitchen?’ (10.41)

(A468) *Lu dulu kerja di pabrik?*
2SG before work LOC factory
‘Did you used to work at the factory?’ (10.45)

(A469) *Jadi kotong dua sa?*
so 1PL two only
‘So it’s only the two of us?’ (10.44)

A clause-final question marker, *ko* can also appear. *Ko* can also introduce a clause-final ‘or not?’ as in (A463) above.

(A470) *Masi ada kokis di dapur ko?*
still have cake LOC kitchen Q
‘Is there still cake in the kitchen?’ (10.39)

(A471) *Lu pung kawan mau datang juga ko?*
2SG POSS friend ASP come also Q
‘Will your friend come or not?’ (10.43)

The Indonesian pattern of inversion in existential and aspectual questions occurred in the data as well, but only with the question word *ko* in its usual clause-final position.

(A472) *Ada kokis di dapur ko?*
 have cake LOC kitchen Q
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’ (10.40)

Content questions can be formed using one of a set of questions words, which generally appear in situ, and question-word questions have a distinctive pattern of intonation.

Table A.39: Question words in Kupang Malay

<i>apa</i>	‘what’	<i>kanapa</i>	‘why’
<i>mana</i>	‘which’	<i>barapa</i>	‘how many’
<i>karmana</i>	‘how’	<i>di mana</i>	‘where’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’	<i>kapan (tempo)</i>	‘when’

(A473) *Joni pi beli apa di pasar?*
 Joni go buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Joni buy at the market?’ (10.59)

(A474) *Lu pung ruma di mana?* (*Di mana lu pung ruma?* is also possible)
 2SG POSS house LOC where
 ‘Where is your house?’ (10.51)

(A475) *Karmana dia mau cari dia pung kawan?*
 how 3SG ASP search.for 3SG POSS friend
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’ (10.63)

(A476) *Lu pung nama sapa?*
 2SG POSS name who
 ‘What is your name?’ (10.53)

(A477) *Sapa yang buka itu jandela?*
 who REL open DEM window
 ‘Who opened the window?’ (10.54)

(A478) *Kanapa ko lu datang sini?*
 why Q 2SG come here
 ‘Why did you come here?’ (10.62)

(A479) *...beta mau tanya sakarang su jam barapa e?*
 1SG ASP ask now ASP hour how.many DP
 ‘...I’d like to ask, what is the time now?’ (10.48)

(A480) *Kapan lu mau bayar kembali utang dui?*
 when 2SG ASP pay back debt money
 ‘When will you pay back the debt?’ (10.61)

A.5.5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

A.5.5.1 Order of elements

The noun phrase consists of the following elements:

(DEM) (QUANT) (NP_{POSS}) HEAD (NUM) (NOUN) (ADJ) (DEM) (VP) (QUANT) (REL/PP) (DEM)

Within the noun phrase, nouns may be modified by demonstratives, quantifiers, possessives, numerals, adjectives, other nouns, VPs, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses. These elements and the constraints on each will be discussed below.

(A481) shows the POSS-N-ADJ order in Kupang Malay.

(A481) *...bapa pung kawan baku...*
 father POSS friend close
 ‘...father’s close friend...’ (11.2)

While demonstratives usually precede the noun and possessives always do, demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, quantifiers, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses follow the noun being modified. Due to Indonesian-language influence, numerals and quantifiers occasionally precede the noun, as in (A482), though this is not a typical construction in Kupang Malay.

(A482) *...bapa dapa tugas di Bajawa, waktu itu anam bulan di*
 father get duty LOC Bajawa time DEM six month LOC
polisi...
 police
 ‘...father was assigned duty in Bajawa, at that time six months at the police academy...’ (11.9-10)

A.5.5.2 Plural marking

Plural marking on nouns is rare in Kupang Malay. If nouns are modified by a numeral or a quantifier, or if the context makes the number clear, plural is not marked (as in (A486)). Nominal reduplication to indicate a plural occurs if the context is ambiguous (as in (A483) where the father could be addressing one child or more), if plurality is stressed (as in (A484)), or if a variety of objects is indicated, as in (A485).

(A483) *Bosong ana-ana, bapa mau cerita, bahwa...*
 2PL REDUP-child father ASP tell.story that
 ‘Children, father will tell a story, how...’ (11.1)

(A484) *Joni pung buku-buku.*
 Joni POSS REDUP-book
 ‘Joni has many books.’ (10.73)

(A485) *Dia datang bawa akar-akar, suru mama ma’ale ko
 sumbur di to’o pung balakang.*
 3SG come bring REDUP-root order mother chew so.that
 spit LOC uncle POSS back
 ‘He came with a selection of roots and ordered mother to chew them in order to spit them on uncle’s back.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 45)

(A486) *Joni pung oto ada dua.*
 Joni POSS car have two
 ‘Joni has two cars.’ (10.71)

A.5.5.3 Pronouns

The pronouns of Kupang Malay are presented in the table below.

Table A.40: Pronouns of Kupang Malay

<i>beta, bet, be</i>	1SG	<i>kotong, katong, ketong</i>	1PL (INCL)
		<i>botong, batong</i>	1PL (EXCL)
<i>lu</i> ¹⁶⁵	2SG (informal)	<i>bosong, basong, besong</i>	2PL
<i>dia, di</i>	3SG	<i>dorang, dong</i>	3PL

¹⁶⁵ The 2SG pronoun *lu* is originally from Southern Min (Hokkien) Chinese, and probably came to Kupang Malay by way of Java.

The short forms, which do not occur in all pronouns, cannot be clause final. A short form can always be replaced by a full form. The variation in form for the first and second person plural pronouns seems to generally follow ethnic lines, with speakers of Rotinese heritage using, for example *katong*, while speakers of Sabunese or Timorese ancestry use *kotong* (Jacob and Grimes 2003: 9-10).

It is notable that Kupang Malay is the only contact variety of Malay in eastern Indonesia where a distinction is found between inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns. Steinhauer (1983) reports that the inclusive pronoun is often used for both inclusive and exclusive meanings. This is confirmed by the data collected for this study, in which the informant uses the inclusive form as the sole 1PL form.

The plural forms do not refer to any specific number of persons. A specific number can be indicated by a pronoun followed by a numeral, as in (A469) above.

Subject and object pronouns may be deleted in an utterance if the context makes clear who is referred to.

A.5.5.4 Reduplication of Pronouns and Question Words

Question words and pronouns may be reduplicated to indicate indefiniteness or lack of specificity and can function as pronouns or to modify nouns. Reduplicated question words can also function as indefinite or non-specific interrogative pronouns.

- *apa* ‘what’ → *apa-apa* ‘anything, everything’ (or *apa-apa?* ‘what all?’)

(A487) ...*papa son ada harta kekayaan apa-apa mo kasi*
 father NEG have property riches REDUP-what ASP give

sang bosong...
 to 2PL

‘...father doesn’t have any property or riches of any kind to give to you ...’
 (11.28-29)

- *karmana* ‘how’ → *karmana-karmana* ‘however’ (or *karmana-karmana?* ‘however?’)

(A488) *Na, ini papa dulu sonde tau bahasa Inggris, bahasa*
 INT DEM father before NEG know language English language

karmana-karmana.

REDUP-how

‘Now, father, in the old days, never learned English, however that language is.’ (11.36-37)

bosong 2PL → *bosong-bosong* ‘you all’

(A489) *Na beta harap supaya bosong-bosong ini...*
 INT 1SG hope so.that REDUP-2PL DEM

‘I hope that all of you...’ (11.28)

A.5.5.5 Possessive constructions

The possessive construction in Kupang Malay takes the form POSSESSOR *pung* POSSESSED, in which *pung* is the possessive or genitive marker.

(A490) *Lu pung kawan mau datang juga ko?*
 2SG POSS friend ASP come also Q
 ‘Will your friend come or not?’ (10.43)

(A491) *Ini beta pung tanpa lahir.*
 DEM 1SG POSS place birth
 ‘This is the place where I was born.’ (10.88)

(A492) *...lu su pili lu pung jurusan.*
 2SG ASP choose 2SG POSS major
 ‘...you have chosen your major.’ (11.35-36)

The possessive morpheme *pung* also serves as an intensifier. This use is discussed below.

A.5.5.6 Demonstratives

The demonstratives in Kupang Malay are *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. The short forms *ni* and *tu* may occur, but only in clause-final position, and only when the speaker feels the referent of the preceding construction is identifiable by

the hearer (Steinhauer 1983: 51) or the hearer has an emotional attachment to the referent. In their regular usage as adnominal demonstratives, demonstratives can only occur before the noun. In this case, Kupang Malay is different from other varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, which allow adnominal demonstratives to occur both before and after the noun, except for Banda Malay, Larantuka Malay and Papua Malay, which only allow these demonstratives after the noun. In the data collected for this study, adnominal demonstratives (in the non-anaphoric, or regular, usage) always occurred before the noun (40 examples), except for one construction (*waktu itu* ‘at that time’), which is a loan construction from Indonesian, and which occurred nine times, along with one occurrence of the unexpected *itu waktu*. Post-nominal anaphoric usage of *(i)ni* and *(i)tu* occurred 12 times. The examples below are of demonstratives preceding the noun as well as anaphoric demonstratives in post-nominal position (as in (A496) and (A497)).

(A493) *Itu motor tabrak ini oto.*
 DEM motorcycle crash DEM car
 ‘That motorcycle crashed into this car.’ (10.27)

(A494) *Sapa yang manyanyi ini lagu?*
 who REL sing DEM song
 ‘Who sang/is singing this song?’ (10.57)

(A495) *Itu oto dapa tabrak.*
 DEM car get crash
 ‘The car was hit (by another car).’ (10.94)

(A496) *Kalo lu tamba lebe tinggi itu, papa tetap masi hidop,*
 if 2SG add more high DEM father remain still live

na, papa lebe sanang lai.
 INT father more happy again
 ‘If you achieve even more, and father is still alive, now, father would be even happier.’ (11.53-54)

(A497) *Andia bapa sampe sana selama tugas katumu deng*
 therefore father until over.there while duty meet with

mama ini, dapa bosong tiga orang.
 mother DEM get 2PL three person
 ‘Therefore father was over there for duty and met your mother, and got the
 three of you.’ (11.16-17)

A.5.5.7 Numerals

The cardinal numerals of Kupang Malay are shown in the table below.

Table A.41 Numerals of Kupang Malay

<i>satu</i>	‘one’
<i>dua</i>	‘two’
<i>tiga</i>	‘three’
<i>ampat, ampa</i>	‘four’
<i>lima</i>	‘five’
<i>anam</i>	‘six’
<i>tuju</i>	‘seven’
<i>dalapan</i>	‘eight’
<i>sambilan</i>	‘nine’
<i>sa-pulu</i>	‘ten’
<i>dua balas</i>	‘twelve’
<i>dua pulu</i>	‘twenty’
<i>dua ratus</i>	‘two hundred’
<i>dua ribu</i>	‘two thousand’
<i>dua juta</i>	‘two million’

The morphemes *pulu* ‘ten’, *balas* ‘teen’, *ratus* ‘hundred’, *ribu* ‘thousand, and *juta* ‘million’ combine with the cardinal numerals to form all numerals. Only one numeral, *satu* ‘one’, has a special combining form, *sa-*. Ordinal numerals are formed by a prefix, *ka-*, as in the table below (only *partama* ‘first’, a loanword from Indonesian (originally from Sanskrit), is an exception to the pattern).

Table A.42 Ordinal Numerals in Kupang Malay

<i>partama</i>	‘first’
<i>ka-dua</i>	‘second’
<i>ka-tiga</i>	‘third’
<i>ka-ampa(t)</i>	‘fourth’

Numerals typically follow the noun they modify, and it can be assumed that NOUN + NUMERAL is the standard order in Kupang Malay, as in (A498). Indonesian influence has led to the occasional appearance of NUMERAL + NOUN order, as in (A499).

(A498) *Joni pung oto satu.*
 Joni POSS car one
 ‘Joni has a car.’ (10.70)

(A499) *...pangkat satu strep...*
 rank one stripe
 ‘...the rank of one stripe...’ (11.47)

Numeral classifiers, which are found in many Malay varieties, appear to be fairly rare in Kupang Malay. Steinhauer’s description (1983), Mboeik et al’s description (1984) and the Jacob and C. Grimes dictionary (2003) do not mention classifiers at all, and classifiers are not listed in the dictionary entries. However, examples of numeral classifiers in Kupang Malay can be found in (A500) and (A501).

(A500) *Ais dong horo kambing satu ekor, ju dong ame Yusuf*
 then 3PL kill goat one CL next 3PL take Joseph

pung baju bagus itu, ko calop pi dalam dara.
 POSS coat fine DEM so.that dip go in blood
 ‘Then they killed a goat, and they took Joseph’s fine coat and then dipped it in blood.’ (Artha Wacana 2000: 8)

(A501) *Opa nae ame pohon patik kalapa dua boa.*
 grandfather climb take tree pick coconut two CL
 ‘Grandfather climbed up the coconut tree to pick two coconuts.’
 (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 3)

A.5.5.8 Relative Clauses

In the elicited data, all relative clause constructions made use of the typical Malay relativizer *yang*. This may be a function of the fact that the prompts (in Indonesian) used *yang*, and although *yang* does occur in Kupang Malay (and all other Malay varieties I am

familiar with), other possibly more typical constructions may have been avoided. Examples of *yang* constructions from the elicited data follow.

(A502) *Sapa yang buka itu jandela?*
 who REL open DEM window
 ‘Who opened the window?’ (10.54)

(A503) *Sapa sa yang pake beta pung baju ini?*
 who only REL wear 1SG POSS shirt DEM
 ‘Who all wore my shirt?’ (10.56)

(A504) *Ini lagu sapa yang manyanyi?*
 DEM song who REL sing
 ‘Who sang/is singing this song?’ (10.58)

(A505) *Ida yang lahir di Bajawa.*
 Ida REL born LOC Bajawa
 ‘Ida was the one born in Bajawa.’ (11.18-19)

A.5.5.9 Nominal Morphology

There are two kinds of morphological processes in Kupang Malay, which vary in their productivity: affixation and reduplication. Kupang Malay has only one productive nominal prefix: the ordinal prefix *ka-*, discussed above.

Nominal reduplication, on the other hand, is a common and productive process, indicating plurality or variety.

(A506) *Jadi bapa tes polisi itu waktu deng bapa pung kawan-kawan.*
 so father test police DEM time with father POSS REDUP-friend
 ‘So father took the police (entrance) test at that time with father’s friends.’
 (11.5-6)

(A507) *Bosong yang kasi terus ini bapa pung cita-cita.*
 2PL REL give continue DEM father POSS REDUP-aspiration
 ‘You are the one continuing father’s aspirations.’ (11.40)

The following are examples of possible combinations of these elements in Kupang Malay. As with the earlier examples, there are no instances in the data of more than a few elements in any single example.

(A508) *Beta bolom bəli oto baru.*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 ASP.NEG V
 ‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’ (10.20)

(A509) *Dia ada mangae ikan.*
 3SG ASP hook fish
 ASP V
 ‘He is fishing.’ (10.22)

A.5.6.2 Aspect markers

Aspect can be marked by aspect markers such as *su* PERF and *masi* ‘still’ which operate on the predicate level (the ‘Aspect 1’ category in the tables above), and by the marker *ada*, which can be a marker of PROG, which operates on the phrase level (‘Aspect 2’). In addition, the modal *mau* can function as a modal meaning ‘want’ or as an aspect marker denoting future aspect.

The progressive or realis marker, *ada*, is distinguished from the verb *ada* ‘have; exist; there is.’ The aspect marker *ada* cannot be negated, while the verb *ada* may be negated. Examples of the use of aspect markers of both types follow.

(A510) *Dia masi mangae/pancing ikan.*
 3SG still hook/catch fish
 ASP1 PREFIX-V/V
 ‘He is still fishing.’ (10.25)

(A511) *Bapa su barenti di sakola.*
 father ASP stop LOC school
 ASP1 V
 ‘Father stopped school.’ (11.6)

- (A512) *Beta bolom bəli oto baru.*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 ASP1.NEG V
 ‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’ (10.20)
- (A513) *Dia su parna mangae/pancing ikan.*
 3SG ASP ever hook/catch fish
 ASP1 ASP2 PREFIX-V/V
 ‘He has ever gone fishing.’ (10.24)
- (A514) *Dia ada mangae/pancing ikan.*
 3SG ASP hook/catch fish
 ASP2 PREFIX-V/V
 ‘He is catching fish/He is fishing.’ (10.22)
- (A515) *Beta pung kawan mau datang di pesta.*
 1SG POSS friend ASP come LOC party
 ASP2 V
 ‘My friend will come to the party.’ (10.42)

A.5.6.3 Post-verbal *suda*

The verb can be followed by *suda* ‘already’ which functions as a modal particle functioning as an emphatic marker. Although etymologically it is related to the aspect particle *su*, it functions quite differently in this form.

- (A516) *Bapa tugas di Bajawa, ya suda.*
 father duty LOC Bajawa yes already
 ‘Father had duty in Bajawa, that’s all.’ (11.10-11)

A.5.6.4 Complex verbs

Complex verbs consist of a main verb preceded by one of the auxiliary verbs in the ‘Aux’ column in Table A.44 above, which can include, but are not limited to, *dapa* ‘can, get, find’, *kasi* ‘give’, *bebin* ‘make’, *pi* ‘go’, *ame* ‘take’ and *buang* ‘throw out’. Verbs combined with *dapa* have an added meaning of ability or undergoing an experience. *Kasi* and *bebin* are causatives. *Pi*, *ame*, and *buang* indicate location and direction. These forms, along with others in this category, are very productive. More than one of these forms can

occur in a single construction, as in (A520). These elements can occur before or after the main verb.

- (A517) *Joni pi bali apa di pasar?*
 Joni go buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Joni buy at the market?’ (10.59)
- (A518) *Dia pung kelu mau tola buang sang dia*
 3SG POSS family ASP push throw.out to 3SG
 ‘His family was going to reject him’ (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 7)
- (A519) *Dong ame bawa samua parampuan deng ana-ana dari*
 3PL take carry all woman with REDUP-child from

itu kampong.
 DEM village
 ‘They carried off (took away) all the women and children from that village.’ (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 6)
- (A520) *Andia ko sampe di Kupang, dapa kasi barana*
 therefore so.that arrive LOC Kupang get give give.birth

Yeni dan Febi.
 Yeni and Febi
 ‘After arriving in Kupang, we were given two more children, Yeni and Febi.’ (11.25-26)
- (A521) *Dong bekin mati tikus pake batu.*
 3PL CAUS die mouse use stone
 ‘They killed the mouse with a stone.’ (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 4)

Other examples of these auxiliaries combining with verbs are given below, from Jacob and C. Grimes (2003) and Jacob and C. Grimes (2007). These lists are not exhaustive.

- | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (A522) <i>pi duduk</i> | ‘go to sit’ | <i>pi semba</i> | ‘go worship’ |
| <i>pi tidor</i> | ‘go sleep’ | <i>pi bawa</i> | ‘go take’ |
| <i>pi tenga</i> | ‘go live’ | <i>pi badame</i> | ‘go make peace’ |
| <i>pi pasiar</i> | ‘go for a stroll’ | <i>pi taro</i> | ‘go put’ |
| <i>pi ame</i> | ‘go to fetch’ | <i>pi urus</i> | ‘go arrange’ |

(A523)	<i>tola buang</i>	‘reject’	<i>gali buang</i>	‘dig up (to get rid of)’
	<i>bakar buang</i>	‘burn off’	<i>sakop buang</i>	‘scoop up & throw away’
	<i>kabas buang</i>	‘brush off away’	<i>lempar buang</i>	‘(forcefully) throw away’
	<i>tapis buang</i>	‘winnow out’	<i>hela buang</i>	‘drag away, pull apart’
	<i>jual buang</i>	‘sell off, betray’	<i>ra’u buang</i>	‘scoop up & throw away’
	<i>makan buang</i>	‘consume wastefully’	<i>po’a buang</i>	‘pour out (to get rid of)’
(A524)	<i>kasi badiri</i>	‘to cause to stand’	<i>kasi lepas</i>	‘to let go’
	<i>kasi bangun</i>	‘to build’	<i>kasi luas</i>	‘to make wider’
	<i>kasi biar</i>	‘to allow’	<i>kasi mati</i>	‘to kill’
	<i>kasi idop</i>	‘to give life’	<i>kasi ondor</i>	‘to force backwards’
	<i>kasi ingat</i>	‘to remind’	<i>kasi pi</i>	‘to cause to go’
	<i>kasi isin</i>	‘to permit’	<i>kasi pinjam</i>	‘to lend’
	<i>kasi jato</i>	‘to make fall’	<i>kasi pisa</i>	‘to split, divide’
	<i>kasi kaluar</i>	‘to make leave’	<i>kasi sewa</i>	‘to rent out’
	<i>kasi kanal</i>	‘to introduce’	<i>kasi tau</i>	‘to tell’
	<i>kasi kubur</i>	‘to bury’	<i>kasi tunju</i>	‘to give direction’
(A525)	<i>ame kambali</i>	‘retrieve’	<i>ketu ame</i>	‘pick by breaking off’
	<i>ame bawa</i>	‘take away’	<i>koru ame</i>	‘pick by stripping off’
	<i>ame kasi</i>	‘take and give’	<i>dengar ame</i>	‘hear s.t. or s.o.’
	<i>tangkap ame</i>	‘catch, arrest’	<i>palo ame</i>	‘hug, embrace (s.o.)’
	<i>rampas ame</i>	‘snatch, steal’	<i>pegang ame</i>	‘touch, hold (s.t. or s.o.)’
	<i>kodo ame</i>	‘swallow, ingest’	<i>pili ame</i>	‘choose’
	<i>tarima ame</i>	‘receive’	<i>kumpul ame</i>	‘gather (with a group)’
	<i>gali ame</i>	‘dig up (for use)’	<i>sakop ame</i>	‘scoop up (for a purpose)’
	<i>makan ame</i>	‘eat up (for strength)’	<i>bakar ame</i>	‘bake, roast (food)’
	<i>hela ame</i>	‘lead (to a goal)’	<i>po’a ame</i>	‘pour (for use)’

A.5.6.5 Serial Verb Constructions

Complex events may be expressed through two or more consecutive main verbs (as distinct from constructions which employ auxiliaries). These constructions are very productive. Many serial verb constructions are similar to constructions found in the local vernacular languages of the Kupang region (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007), and it is reasonable to assume that these constructions in Kupang Malay are influenced by these languages, as serial verb constructions are not as productive in other varieties of Malay.

Serial verb constructions in Kupang Malay often employ the verbs *bawa* ‘bring’ and *ame* ‘take’, though other verbs are also commonly used as well.

(A526) *Ama Kale piko bawa karanjang pi di pasar.*
 father Kale carry bring basket go LOC market
 ‘Father Kale carries the basket to the market.’ (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 3)

(A527) *Opa nae ame pohon patik kalapa dua boa.*
 grandfather climb take tree pick coconut two CL
 ‘Grandfather climbed up the coconut tree to pick two coconuts.’
 (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 3)

(A528) *Pohon yang sonde kasi kaluar bua, tantu tukang kabon dong*
 tree REL NEG give go.out fruit certain worker garden 3PL

datang potong ko lempar buang maso pi dalam api.
 come cut so.that throw throw.out enter go in fire
 ‘(As for) trees which don’t produce fruit, surely the gardeners will come
 and cut off (their branches) to throw them into the fire.’
 (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 4)

(A529) *Bemo len Tarus maen pulang bale angka panumpang.*
 minibus route Tarus play go.home return pick.up passenger
 ‘The minibus on the Tarus route regularly goes back and forth taking
 passengers home.’ (Jacob and C. Grimes 2007: 4)

A.5.6.6 Verbal morphology

Verbal morphology consists of affixation and reduplication. Kupang Malay has three productive verbal prefixes: *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*.¹⁶⁶ In addition to productive use of these prefixes, there are a number of words in which the *ba-* prefix is frozen as part of a loanword from a variety of Malay in which it was productive. Examples include the following:

¹⁶⁶ Words which are borrowed from other varieties of Malay which contain nominal or verbal affixes such as *ma-* (<məN-), *an-*, *-kan*, *ke-* *-an*, etc. are monomorphemic in Kupang Malay, and the affixes are not productive. In the glosses for the data collected for this study, such non-productive affixes are treated as part of the word, and not as part of the linguistic system of Kupang Malay.

- (A530) *badiri* 'to stand'
barana 'to give birth'
barenti 'to stop'
bakalai 'to fight' (Jacob and C. Grimes 2003)

The prefix *ba-* has several uses in Kupang Malay:¹⁶⁷

- If the base is a noun, the meaning of *ba-* is roughly 'to have x' 'to produce x' or 'to use x'.

(A531) *Kotong pung jagong su besar ma bolom ba-bunga, tunggu*
 1PL POSS corn ASP big but not.yet BA-flower wait

sa ko dia ba-pulek.

only so.that 3SG BA-cob

'Our corn is already well-grown, but is not blossoming yet, just wait until it has cobs.' (Steinhauer 1983: 46)

(A532) *Baru sakarang beta ba-surat kasi susi Mia dong.*
 just now 1SG BA-letter give older.sister Mia and-her-people
 'Only now I write a letter to you (Mia and family).' (Steinhauer 1983: 46)

- If the base is an adjective, *ba-* has a function not unlike its function with nouns: 'to have x-ness' or 'to become x'. Indeed, this may be further (slight) evidence that adjectives form a lexical category separate from verbs.

(A533) *Dia pung rambu ba-puti.*

3SG POSS hair BA-white

'His hair has turned white.' (Steinhauer 1983: 47)

(A534) *Botong ada ba-saki.*

1PL ASP BA-sick

'We are sick (with the disease going around).' (Steinhauer 1983: 47)

- With certain adjectives with the right sort of semantics, *ba-* indicates a reciprocal relationship, such as *deka* 'near' *ba-deka* 'near to each other' or *jao* 'far' *ba-jao* 'far from each other'.

¹⁶⁷ This analysis owes much to Steinhauer (1983: 46-49).

(A535) *Dong tenga ba-deka deng sakola.*
 3PL live BA-near with school
 ‘They live close to the school.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 48)

- The prefix *ba-* with verb bases has a number of idiosyncratic meanings (which, since they differ from other Malay varieties, are probably not frozen forms). In addition, *ba-* attached to a verb base can mean ‘to have observable effects (of a process)’ (A536), can make the action of a verb reciprocal (if the situation and context permit such an interpretation) (A537), or can have the meaning ‘an activity seen as an undivided whole’ (as opposed to a series of activities) (A538).

(A536) *robek* ‘to rip, tear’ *ba-robek* ‘to have rips or tears’
pica ‘to crack, smash’ *ba-pica* ‘to have cracks, broken off pieces’
 (Steinhauer 1983: 48)

(A537) *Be lia dong ba-lia di pesta.*
 1SG see 3PL BA-see LOC party
 ‘I saw them exchanging glances at the party.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 48)

(A538) *M, ba-nis-ba-nis bagitu te itu su son lama lai.*
 INT REDUP-BA-sneeze like.that then DEM ASP NEG long.time again
 ‘Hmm, sneezing like that all the time, it won’t take much longer (to catch a cold).’ (Steinhauer 1983: 49)

The prefix *ta-* also forms verbs, and creates the meaning that the action happens accidentally or by an unexpected or involuntary action.

(A539) *Beta pung hati ta-puku sa.*
 1SG POSS liver TA-hit only
 ‘My heart (lit. liver) took an unexpected hit.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 46)

(A540) *Sabantar bapa tua su ta-bakar deng minya panas.*
 soon father old ASP TA-burn with oil hot
 ‘Soon the old man will get accidentally burned with the hot oil.’
 (Steinhauer 1983: 46)

As with the prefix *ba-*, there are occurrences of the prefix *ta-* which are not the result of a productive process, but rather a frozen form borrowed into the language:

(A541) *Itu gunung talalu tinggi.*
 DEM mountain too tall
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’ (10.96)

(A542) *tagantong* ‘depend on’
tarpaksa ‘forced to do s.t.’ (Jacob and C. Grimes 2003)

The prefix *baku-* forms reciprocal verbs.

(A543) *Dorang saling baku-pukul.*
 3PL each.other RECIP-hit
 ‘They hit each other.’ (10.90)

(A544) *Dorang ada baku-suka.*
 3PL ASP RECIP-like
 ‘They love each other.’ (10.91)

Verbal reduplication in Kupang Malay is a common and productive process. The most usual purpose of reduplication of the base is iteration, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. The base may be a verb or a preposition.

(A545) *Joni deng dia pung ade jalan sama-sama.*
 Joni with 3SG POSS younger.sibling walk REDUP-with
 ‘‘Joni is walking around with his younger sibling.’ (10.69)

(A546) *Jadi bapa pikir-pikir lebe bae katong maso polisi.*
 so father REDUP-think more good 1PL enter police
 ‘So father thought that it would be better for us to join the police.’ (11.3-4)

A.5.7 Other Grammatical Features

A.5.7.1 Intensifier

The possessive marker *pung* can also function as an intensifier when followed by an adjective. It frequently occurs with the discourse particle *lai* ‘again’ which is also an intensifier.

(A547) *Itu buku pung mahal lai.*
 DEM book POSS expensive DP
 ‘‘That book is very expensive’. (10.29)

(A548) *Dia pung tinggi lai.*
 3SG POSS tall DP
 ‘He is tall.’ (10.81)

(A549) *Itu gunung pung tinggi lai.*
 DEM mountain POSS tall DP
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’ (10.97)

A.5.7.1.1 Superlative Constructions

Superlative constructions are related to intensifiers. The borrowed Indonesian morpheme *paling* ‘most’ is commonly used to indicate the superlative, as in the example below.

(A550) *Itu gunung yang paling tinggi di Indonesia.*
 DEM mountain REL most tall LOC Indonesia
 ‘That mountain is the tallest in Indonesia.’ (10.99)

Table A.45 Coordinating/Subordinating Function Words in Kupang Malay

Kupang Malay Forms	Indonesian Forms in Kupang Malay
<i>ju</i> ‘immediately after that’ (A551)	<i>tarus</i> ‘immediately after that’
<i>te</i> ‘but; for; because’ (A552)	<i>karna</i> ‘because’ (A560)
<i>ma</i> ‘but’ (A553)	<i>tapi</i> ‘but’ (A561)
<i>na</i> ‘(if x) then (y)’ (A554)	<i>kalo</i> ‘if’ (A562)
<i>ko</i> QUESTION MARKER (A555)	<i>dan</i> ‘and’
<i>ko</i> ‘or’ (A556)	<i>sampe</i> ‘to reach, arrive; until’ (A563)
<i>ko</i> ‘so that; to, in order to’ (A557)	<i>atau</i> ‘or’
<i>andia ko</i> ‘no wonder, of course’ (A558)	<i>walaupun</i> ‘although’
<i>ke</i> ‘or’ (A556)	<i>biarpun</i> ‘although’
<i>co</i> ‘if (IRREALIS time reference)’ (A559)	<i>jadi</i> ‘to become; so’ (A564)

A.5.7.2 Coordinating and Subordinating Function Words

Kupang Malay has a set of coordinating and subordinating function words which are different from those found in other varieties. These exist alongside similar function words found in Indonesian (and with cognates in other contact varieties of Malay). Table A.45 above presents these two parallel sets which exist alongside each other in Kupang Malay, with one set resulting from more recent influence from Indonesian. This analysis is

based in part on Steinhauer (1983: 55). The two sets do not match up exactly, though Steinhauer (1983: 55) says that the functions of the Indonesian set are covered by the members of the Kupang Malay set.

The examples below relate to specific items in the table above. The numbers following each item in the table refer to the number of the example below which illustrates how that item is used in Kupang Malay. Numbers (A551) through (A559) illustrate Kupang Malay forms, while numbers (A560) through (A564) illustrate Indonesian forms which are used in Kupang Malay.

(A551) *Beta kasi tanda sang dia, ju andia ko dia inga.*
 1SG give sign to 3SG immediately of course 3SG remember
 ‘I gave him a sign, and immediately of course he remembered.’
 (Steinhauer 1983: 56)

(A552) *Beta su manganto, te besok mau pi sakola.*
 1SG ASP sleepy because tomorrow ASP go school
 ‘I am already sleepy (and I’m going to bed), for tomorrow I’m going to school.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 56)

(A553) *Dong manyao abis, ma dong sonde kaluar.*
 3PL respond finish but 3PL NEG go.out
 ‘They responded all right, but they didn’t come out.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 56)

(A554) *Kalo su lapar na, kotong makan supermi manta.*
 if ASP hungry then 1PL eat instant.noodles raw
 ‘When we got hungry, we ate raw instant noodles.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 56)

(A555) *Ada kokis di dapur ko?*
 have cake LOC kitchen Q
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’ (10.40)

(A556) *Malam ko/ke, siang ko/ke, beta yang jaga cuci piring.*
 night or day or 1SG REL HAB wash dish
 ‘Night or day, it’s me who keeps on washing dishes.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 57)

- (A557) *...bapa pung kawan baku aja deng bapa ko mau*
 father POSS friend close urge with father so.that ASP
maso polisi.
 enter police
 ‘...father’s close friend urged father to join the police.’ (3.47)
- (A558) *Andia ko sampe di Kupang, dapa kasi barana Yeni dan Febi.*
 of course arrive LOC Kupang get give give.birth Yeni and Febi
 ‘Of course after arriving in Kupang, we were given two more children,
 Yeni and Febi.’ (11.25-16)
- (A559) *Co tadi lu su singga di tante Agus ko minta*
 if just.now 2SG ASP drop.by LOC Aunt Agus in.order.to ask.for
balimbing, mangkali kotong su beking rujak.
 starfruit maybe 1PL ASP make fruit.salad
 ‘If just now you had dropped by at Aunt Agus’ to ask for starfruit, we
 would probably have fruit salad made by now.’ (Steinhauer 1983: 56)
- (A560) *Karna pangaru deng ini bapa pung kawan-kawan bilang*
 because influence with DEM father POSS REDUP- friend say
maso polisi, ya suda bapa maso ya suda, itu.
 enter police yes already father enter yes already DEM
 ‘Because of the influence of father’s friends who said to join the police that
 was all, father joined, that was it.’ (11.8)
- (A561) *Waktu itu bapa memam sakola tapi sakola di STM.*
 time DEM father truly school but school LOC tech.high.school
 ‘At that time, father was still in school but at the technical high school.’
 (11.8-9)
- (A562) *Je usaha ko kalo lu tamat na lu jadi*
 so make.effort so.that if 2SG graduate DP 2SG become
orang bae-bae.
 person REDUP-good
 ‘So work hard so that if you graduate you will be a good person.’ (11.37-38)
- (A563) *Sampe di kalas tiga mau ujian, ya suda.*
 until LOC grade three ASP exam yes already
 ‘Up till year three, just before the final exams, and that was it.’ (11.7-8)

(A564) *Jadi waktu itu bapa ju iko kawan pung buju-buju*
 so time DEM father also follow friend POSS REDUP-urging

ahirnya bapa ju maso polisi sama-sama deng dia.
 end father also enter police REDUP-same with 3SG
 ‘So at that time father followed along with his friend’s urging and finally
 father also joined the police along with him.’ (11.4-5)

A.5.7.3 Comparatives

The order of elements in the comparative construction is ADJ-MARKER-STANDARD.

(A565) *Itu gunung lebe tinggi dari ini gunung.*
 DEM mountain more tall from DEM mountain
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’ (10.98)

A.5.7.4 Discourse Particles and Other Function Words in Kupang Malay

There are a number of other function words and discourse particles which have a role in Kupang Malay and help give the language its character. One of these is *sa* ‘only, just’, which is an emphatic marker.

The particle *na* mentioned above as a coordinating function word also serves three separate functions as a discourse particle: it can be an exclamation with a meaning something like ‘there you are!’, it can be a sentence initial interjection introducing a new topic, and it can be a sentence-final discourse particle with an emphatic meaning. The particle *ju*, apart from its use as a coordinating function word as described above can have the meaning ‘also, nevertheless, even so’. Finally, a common clause-final particle is *lai* ‘again, anymore’ which is also an emphatic marker.

(A566) *Karena, ya, STM kan hanya waktu itu satu-satu*
 because yes tech.high.school Q only time DEM REDUP-one

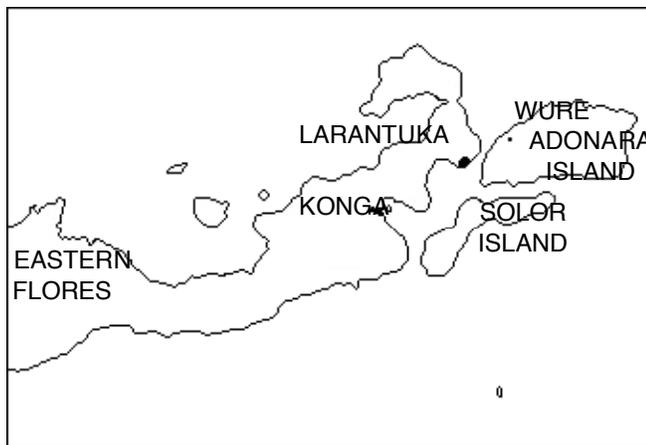
di Kupang sa.
 LOC Kupang only
 ‘Because, yes, at that time the technical high school was the only one in
 Kupang.’ (11.12-13)

- (A567) *...bapa kasi sakola sang bosong, na sakola bae-bae.*
 father give school to 2PL DP school REDUP-good
 ‘...father gives schooling to you all, there you are, good schooling.’
 (11.26-27)
- (A568) *Ya, na ini bapa kas-tau terus terang bahwa...*
 yes DP DEM father give-know straight clear that
 ‘Yes, now, this is something father will tell you frankly, that...’ (11.26-27)
- (A569) *Jadi kebetulan bosong pu kaka Ida ju su tamat.*
 so by.chance 2PL POSS older.sibling Ida also ASP graduate
 ‘So by chance your older sister Ida also has graduated.’ (11.32-33)
- (A570) *Yeni, karena dia su mau kawin, dia son mau sakola lai.*
 Yeni because 3SG ASP want marry 3SG NEG want school DP
 ‘Yeni, because she wanted to get married, she didn’t want to go to school
 anymore.’ (11.34)

A.6 Larantuka Malay

A.6.1 Language area, speakers, and history

Larantuka Malay is spoken in and around the city of Larantuka on the island of Flores, and in two enclaves: the village of Wure on the island of Adonara (across a narrow strait from Larantuka) and four villages on Konga Bay, about 40 kilometers south of Larantuka, and serves more generally as a lingua franca on the eastern tip of Flores and nearby islands. There are approximately 23,000 native speakers of Larantuka Malay. Second language speakers of Larantuka Malay are primarily found in and around the city of Larantuka and through the eastern part of Flores island, as well as the nearby islands of Adonara, Solor and Lembata (Lomblen), and natively speak Lamaholot or other languages closely related to Lamaholot, which, until recently, were believed to be dialects of Lamaholot.



Map A.6: Larantuka Malay (adapted from a map from the upcoming edition of *Ethnologue*)

The city of Larantuka today is a fairly homogeneous community, and although it is largely made up of speakers of Larantuka Malay, many of whom trace their ancestry back to Portuguese settlers and their followers from the Malay peninsula who arrived in Larantuka in the 17th century, it actually had roots in diverse communities drawn to the

settlement. Steinhauer (1991: 181) reports that Vatter, a German historian, reported in 1932 that the Larantuka community was at least partly formed from immigrants from Rote, Sabu, Makassar (Buginese) and Ternate. There is also a small Chinese community which has a long history in Larantuka. The Larantuka Malay community maintains a separate cultural and linguistic identity from the Lamaholot speakers who surround the city. Larantuka Malay serves as the main language of daily life in the city, and is the native language of a majority of the population.

Larantuka Malay is known by its speakers as Bahasa Nagi, a name probably deriving from the word *negeri*, meaning ‘village’ (ultimately from Sanskrit). *Nagi* is also the term for the city and the ethnic group who speak the language. The community has a strong ethnic identity, and, unlike in other parts of eastern Indonesia where Malay is spoken, speakers of Larantuka Malay tend to differentiate their language from the national language, Indonesian, although some interference does occur.

Larantuka was a Portuguese outpost from the late sixteenth century until the mid nineteenth century, and for part of that period, from the fall of the Portuguese settlement in Solor¹⁶⁸ in 1613, when “Portuguese, mestizoes and Dominicans” (Steinhauer 1991: 181) moved to Larantuka, until the rise of the Portuguese colony in East Timor, it was Portugal’s chief colony in the region. It is therefore not surprising that the Portuguese language has had a profound effect on the development of Larantuka Malay. Even more importantly, when the Portuguese stronghold in Malacca fell to the Dutch in 1641, the Portuguese authorities fled to Larantuka, bringing with them about 2000 followers, servants and slaves

¹⁶⁸ The Portuguese has established a fort on Solor in 1561. Before the Portuguese fled from Solor to Larantuka in 1613, it is estimated there were 100 families in Larantuka (Steinhauer 1991: 181).

from Malacca, who were speakers of peninsular Malay. As a result, the influence of peninsular Malay can be seen in the phonology and lexicon of Larantuka Malay. In 1660, Catholic families fled from Makassar to Larantuka, some of whom had fled Malacca in 1641 (Kumanireng 1993: 5). Many Larantuka families trace their origins to the Portuguese and even to Malacca. A large number of Larantukans today have Portuguese family names, although they are not always immediately recognizable as such (the common family name Karwayu derives from Portuguese Carvalho, for example). The prevalence of Portuguese family names is at least partly due to intermarriage, but also to baptism practices. In Monteiro's dictionary (1975), 6% of the words are of Portuguese origin, as opposed to 1% of Dutch origin (Steinhauer 1991: 182).

Steinhauer (1993: 181), quotes a Portuguese historian, António Pinto da França, as remarking in 1985 that “the Portuguese influence in Indonesia was the effect of a daily contact between Indonesian and humble Portuguese priests, sailors, merchants and soldiers—a relationship between man and man.” Steinhauer insightfully adds “That the relationship many have been between man and woman also may be apparent from words such as /jetu/ ‘handsome’, /dɛnadu/ ‘naughty’, kajumɛNtu/ ‘determination of the wedding date’, /fɛmili/ ‘family, to be family’, /kɔwalu/ ‘to carry a child on one’s shoulders’ (cf. Portuguese *jeito* ‘appearance, manner’, *denodadu* ‘bold, daring’, *casamento* ‘wedding’, *família* ‘family’, *cavalo* ‘horse’.”

The Portuguese language long had a role in Larantuka, and was mentioned in a 1924 comment on Larantuka, which remarked that “Christians in Larantuka used to learn

Portuguese” (Steinhauer 1991, reporting on Bierman’s 1924 paper). Even today, Portuguese hymns are sung in church, although the meaning of the words is not known.¹⁶⁹

A sizeable contribution to the Larantuka Malay language has also been made by words borrowed from the local vernacular Lamaholot, which, according to Marcel Yeri Fernandez Akoli (p.c.), a linguist at Nusa Cendana University in Kupang and a native speaker of Larantuka Malay, outnumber borrowings from Portuguese by a significant margin. Steinhauer (1991: 194) notes that “a large part of [Larantuka Malay] vocabulary consists of words that resist easy etymologies, however. These words are probably of local origin [i.e. Lamaholot].”

There are three dialects of Larantuka Malay, which, although they have continued to interact through the years, may have been geographically separate for over 300 years. The largest dialect is that spoken in Larantuka, which in 1989 had 18,012 speakers (Kumanireng 1993: 7). A separate dialect is spoken in four villages (Boru, Nuri, Nobokonga and Pululera) located near Konga Bay, about 40 kilometers south of the town of Larantuka, with a total of 3567 speakers in 1989 (Kumanireng 1993: 12). The third dialect is spoken in the village of Wure on the island of Adonara, across the Larantuka Strait from the city of Larantuka, with 889 speakers in 1989 (Kumanireng 1993: 9). Local traditions in Konga and Wure maintain that their ancestors left Larantuka in the 17th century to found these new settlements due to disputes, although Steinhauer (1991: 180) quotes a German historian, Vatter, who wrote in 1932 that Wure was founded in the 18th century in an act of “conscious seclusion” as the result of an old feud with Larantuka. The differences between the dialects are chiefly lexical (Kumanireng 1993: 12).

¹⁶⁹ A village elder in Wure recited a Portuguese prayer to me which he had memorized as a young man, and then asked me what it meant.

Until Indonesia's independence in 1945, Larantuka Malay was a prestige language in the region, and was used in elementary education, spreading the Catholic religion, and business (Kumanireng 1993: 7).

Larantuka Malay has a very different history than other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia. Unlike Manado, Ternate, Banda, Ambon and Kupang, it was not a trade center or regional administrative center, and Malay was never an important trade language. Unlike the other six varieties, it was never used as a lingua franca between peoples of varying linguistic backgrounds. Unlike the other varieties, there has never been any significant language shift in eastern Flores from vernacular languages to Malay. The speakers today of Larantuka Malay represent the descendants of Malay speakers (which likely included both first and second language speakers) who were transplanted to the region in the mid 17th century. This unique history has had an effect on the development and maintenance of the Larantuka Malay language, and this effect can be seen in the form of the language today.

A.6.2 Major sources

There are only a few published sources on Larantuka Malay, although there are some very valuable unpublished resources. Steinhauer (1991) is a short description of the language, with extensive notes on the phonology and its development. Kumanireng (1982) talks about the sociolinguistic setting and diglossia in Larantuka. Dietrich (1997) describes spatial orientation in Larantuka Malay, from an anthropologist's perspective, and investigates the origins of the Larantuka Malay system of spatial orientation by comparing it to the system used in Lamaholot.

Unpublished resources include a study done for the Research Project on the Languages and Literatures of Indonesia and the East Nusa Tenggara Region (Monteiro et al 1985) which gives an overview of the morphology and syntax of Larantuka Malay, a Larantuka Malay-Indonesian dictionary (Monteiro 1975), and a Ph.D. dissertation from the University of Indonesia which provides a thorough description of the phonology, morphology and phrase structure of the language (Kumanireng 1993). These latter two resources are particularly valuable in documenting and describing Larantuka Malay.

A.6.3 Phonology and orthography

A.6.3.1 Consonants of Larantuka Malay

The consonant phonemes of Larantuka Malay are:

Table A.46: Consonants of Larantuka Malay

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	
Voiced stops	b	d	ɟ <j>	g	
Fricatives	f	s			h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Glides	(w)		j <y>	w	

Archiphoneme: N

The orthographic conventions used in this document are indicated in angled brackets above, following standard Indonesian spelling.

The consonant phonemes (apart from the archiphoneme) are similar to those found in other varieties of Malay, and most were inherited directly from earlier varieties of Malay, which likely included the Malay spoken in Malacca in the 17th century and the Vehicular Malay which was known throughout the Indonesian archipelago. Although the phoneme /f/ rarely appears (only 11 words of approximately 1800 in Monteiro's dictionary

(1975) begin with /f/, and all are borrowings), it does appear to be phonemic, and is analyzed as such by Monteiro et al (1985),¹⁷⁰ Steinhauer (1983) and Kumanireng (1993).

Borrowed phonemes which are sometimes found in other Malay varieties, and the use of which is usually a marker that the speaker is attempting to use a variety closer to Standard Indonesian, are not found in Larantuka Malay. These are the sounds [ʔ], [ʃ] and [x].

It has been discussed above that the varieties of contact Malay in eastern Indonesia have lost many final consonants which were found in earlier varieties of Malay, and that these patterns of consonant loss were very similar for the five varieties described earlier. Larantuka Malay has lost all final consonants, except for a very few monosyllabic words borrowed from Dutch, which have /l/, /s/ and /r/ in word-final position. These consist of *bal* ‘ball’, *par* ‘to be of the same kind, to match’, *pel* ‘pill’, *pas* ‘exactly, precisely’, *es* ‘ice’ and *mir* ‘ant’.¹⁷¹ These six words appear to be the only words in the language with syllable-final consonants (unless one counts the archiphoneme /N/, which is discussed below).

The concept of an archiphoneme /N/ in Larantuka Malay was a solution to a problem of describing the phonology of the language which developed over time, in order to describe precisely what is happening in the large number of words in Larantuka Malay which end in nasalized vowels but which are cognate to nasal-final words in other languages. Monteiro, in his dictionary (1975), considered these word-final sounds to be

¹⁷⁰ Although /f/ was discussed in Monteiro et al’s description of the phonology of Larantuka Malay, and was included in their list of word-initial and word-medial phonemes, for some reason they did not include it on their phoneme chart (Monteiro et al 1985: 23), an oversight which was remarked on by Kumanireng (1993: 42).

¹⁷¹ The unusual presence of a borrowed word for ‘ant’ leads to this interesting footnote from Steinhauer (1983: 183): “It is remarkable that such a word should be borrowed. Also Kupang Malay has /mir/, while Manado Malay [and North Moluccan Malay] borrowed /bifi/ from Ternatan. LM /səmo/ ‘ant’ is the regular reflection of SM *semut* [/səmut/] ‘ant’, which seems to be a loanword too.” [LM=Larantuka Malay, SM=Standard Malay]

separate phonemes (the five nasal vowel phonemes thus expanded the vowel set of Larantuka Malay to 11 phonemes). He spelled these word-final nasalized sounds with Vn, such as *malan* [malã] (<*malam*), *bukan* [bukã] (<*bukan*) and *datan* [datã] (<*datang*). Monteiro et al (1985) kept this same analysis of 11 vowel phonemes, including 5 nasalized vowels (there was no nasalized schwa), but changed the spelling so that *malan* became *malã*, *bukan* became *bukã* and *datan* became *datã*. Kumanireng (1982: 134) gave the spelling of such words with word-final nasalized vowels as VN (*dataN*), but gave no rationale or explanation. This led Steinhauer (1991), in a later version of a paper first presented in 1985, to posit an archiphoneme /N/ which accounted for the word-final nasalized vowels in Larantuka Malay, and had the further advantage of accounting for the nasal assimilation of syllable-final word-medial nasal sounds occurring before stops,¹⁷² which are frequently found in all varieties of Malay.¹⁷³ In this analysis, there are four nasal phonemes which can occur syllable-initially (/m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /ŋ/),¹⁷⁴ but only one nasal phoneme which can occur syllable-finally, /N/. Word-finally, this archiphoneme is realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel. Word-medially, in nasal-stop clusters, it is realized as a homorganic nasal, assimilating to the following stop. Steinhauer was not sure of what to do about nasals occurring before /s/, which, in his data set, which was entirely derived from Monteiro's dictionary (1975), appeared to be inconsistent: *bonsu* 'younger', *mənsia* 'human being', *səngsara* 'misery'.

¹⁷² Steinhauer included all stops, a view which was further refined by Kumanireng (1993)

¹⁷³ Indeed, some observers have analyzed nasals in this position in Malay as the product of an archiphoneme (with more limited scope).

¹⁷⁴ "Syllable-initially" includes all occurrences of nasal phonemes intervocalically.

Kumanireng (1993) resolved this problem, by pointing out that /N/ is always realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel when it occurs word-finally, but that it is only realized as a homorganic nasal when it appears before non-palatal consonants. Before other consonants (the palatal stops /c/ and /j/, as well as the fricatives /s/ and /f/), it is realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel. It is only in this position that a nasalized schwa can occur, since schwas never occur word-finally. As a result, the words that had vexed Steinhauer turned out to be *boNsu* [bõsu], *məNsia* [mõsia] and *səNsara* [sõsara].

Kumanireng (1993: 63) gave further evidence of these reflexes of the archiphoneme /N/:

(A571)	<i>cəNca</i>	[cõca]	‘chop, mince’
	<i>ləNjo</i>	[lõjo]	‘shrill, clear’
	<i>aNsa</i>	[ãsa]	‘goose’
	<i>daNca</i>	[dãsa]	‘dance’

There is one further restriction on the occurrence of /N/. /N/ does not occur at the end of words in which the final vowel in the word is preceded by a nasal or a prenasalized consonant, as in *tanam* > *tana* (**tanaN*) ‘to plant’ and *pinjam* > *piNja* (**piNjaN*) ‘to borrow’.

Consonant clusters are commonly found in Larantuka Malay, but generally only in borrowed words. The loss of schwa which led to the creation of consonant clusters in other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia did not occur. Consonant clusters include the following: /br/, /pr/, /dr/, /tr/, /fr/, /gr/, /kl/, /st/, /sp/, /kr/, /pl/, /sk/, /str/ and /spr/ (Kumanireng 1993: 60). Only 3% of 2515 words Kumanireng examined had consonant clusters.

The loss of syllable-final consonants (other than /N/) has led to a significant number of homonyms:

(A572)	<i>tana</i>	‘soil, earth’	(<* <i>tanah</i>)
	<i>tana</i>	‘to plant’	(<* <i>tanam</i>)
	<i>kəra</i>	‘hard’	(<* <i>keras</i>)
	<i>kəra</i>	‘to cut off’	(<* <i>kerat</i>)
	<i>kəra</i>	‘crust’	(<* <i>kerak</i>)

A.6.3.2 Vowels of Larantuka Malay

The vowel inventory of Larantuka Malay is:

Table A.47: Vowels of Larantuka Malay

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

Unlike other contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, the schwa is fully phonemic and always has been.

Kumanireng (1993: 54) offers the following notes on vowel phonemes in Larantuka Malay:

1. The schwa does not occur in word-final position, before /h/ or in clusters with other vowels.
2. The schwa is usually found in pre-penultimate syllables in words of more than two syllables.
3. /i, e, a, o, u/ can be found in word-final position.
4. All vowels, except the schwa, may be found in all possible two-vowel clusters with each other. However, the vowels must be different (there are no clusters of the same vowel repeated). There is no glottal stop inserted between vowels, although non-phonemic glides may occur.

5. Monosyllabic words ending in a vowel (accounting for 40 out of 55 monosyllabic words in the language) are realized with a non-phonemic long vowel.
6. All vowels, including the schwa, may be realized as nasalized vowels, if they occur before /N/. If /N/ occurs word-medially before a non-palatal stop, it does not cause nasalization of the preceding vowel, but rather assimilates to the place of articulation of the following stop.
7. There are no diphthongs in Larantuka Malay.

A.6.3.3 Other Phonological Developments in Larantuka Malay

Since Larantuka Malay did not lose schwa sounds as did other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, phonemic stress has not developed. Stress is regular, and is found on the penultimate syllable (Kumanireng 1993: 66).

The canonical syllable structure is CV(N), and the canonical word is made up of two syllables: CV(N)CV(N). Kumanireng's analysis of 2515 words in Larantuka Malay (1993: 76) showed that 61% of words had this canonical disyllabic structure. Furthermore, only 2% of words were monosyllabic, while 24% were of three syllables, and only 1% of four syllables. No words were longer than four syllables.

Not all words which ended in nasals in an earlier variety of Malay became words ending in /N/ in Larantuka Malay. This change was blocked if the final syllable began with a nasal or a prenasalized stop, and the word-final nasal was simply dropped. This also applies to modern loan words. Hence the following are examples of sound changes which occurred:

(A573)	* <i>anyam</i>	<i>anya</i>	‘to weave’
	* <i>pinjam</i>	<i>piNja</i>	‘to borrow’
	* <i>galombang</i>	<i>gəloNba</i>	‘wave’
	* <i>pinang</i>	<i>pina</i>	‘areca nut’
	* <i>minom</i>	<i>mino</i>	‘to drink’*
	* <i>anjing</i>	<i>aNji</i>	‘dog’*
	* <i>səmen</i>	<i>səme</i>	‘cement’ (from English)
	* <i>ikan</i>	<i>ikaN</i>	‘fish’
	* <i>turon</i>	<i>turoN</i>	‘descend’
	* <i>ciom</i>	<i>ciON</i>	‘kiss’
	* <i>ujong</i>	<i>ujoN</i>	‘end, tip, top’
	* <i>masin</i>	<i>masiN</i>	‘salty’
	* <i>turon</i>	<i>turoN</i>	‘to borrow’
	* <i>gong</i>	<i>goN</i>	‘gong’
	* <i>fam</i>	<i>faN</i>	‘family name’ (from Dutch)

(examples from Steinhauer 1993: 183-184)

A number of developments are evidence of the influence of peninsular Malay in the development of Larantuka Malay. In bisyllabic roots, the sequence $-\text{ər}C-$ becomes $-\text{ər}\text{ə}C-$. This sequence is common in peninsular Malay (*kərja* \rightarrow *kərəja* ‘work’) and is found in Larantuka Malay as well, though not in any other Malay varieties outside the Malay peninsula.

(A574)	* <i>tərbang</i>	\rightarrow	<i>tərəbaN</i>	‘to fly’
	* <i>tərjon</i>	\rightarrow	<i>tərəjoN</i>	‘to fly’
	* <i>bərsen</i>	\rightarrow	<i>bərəseN</i>	‘to sneeze’
	* <i>kərbo</i>	\rightarrow	<i>kərəbo</i>	‘water buffalo’
	* <i>bərkas</i>	\rightarrow	<i>bərəka</i>	‘bundle’

(examples from Steinhauer 1993: 191)

The general tendency for high vowels to be lowered in (originally) closed root-final syllables is more advanced in Larantuka Malay, as it is in peninsular Malay, as compared to other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia. Steinhauer (1993: 186-188) carefully analyzes this process and reflects on the process and ordering of changes. He points out that a number of the words he examines have closely related forms in peninsular Malay,

but not in the Malays of Indonesia (Peninsular Malay *tonggeng* is a more likely source of *toNge* ‘to stick up one’s posterior’ than Indonesian *tungging*). He concludes that the vowel lowering process is evidence that Larantuka Malay is more closely related to peninsular Malay than are other contact varieties of eastern Indonesia. A possible conclusion is that the vowel lowering process was not as far along in the variety which became the Vehicular Malay which influenced the other contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia as was the peninsular Malay which was an important component in the formation of Larantuka Malay (when the Portuguese community of Malacca relocated to Larantuka in 1641). Steinhauer (1991: 191) gives a list of eight words where there is “unpredictable... lowering of high vowels to /o/ and /e/ in penultimate syllables.” However, he points out that five of these are similar to Peninsular Malay forms, which would seem to solve the issue of predictability, especially since the other three consist of a loan word from Portuguese, an instance of partial reduplication, and a word which may reflect an archaic morpheme (all three points having been made by Steinhauer himself). There are also a fair number of lexical items shared by Larantuka Malay and Peninsular Malay, which are unknown in other varieties of Malay.

A few other sound changes in Larantuka Malay, again as noted by Steinhauer (1991: 189-192):

In other low Malay varieties (in western Indonesia, eastern Indonesia and the Malay peninsula), there is a tendency to lose /h/ word-finally and, in some words, word-initially. Intervocally in these low Malay varieties, /h/ is only lost when it occurs between different vowels (**tahi* → *tai* ‘excrement’). In Larantuka Malay, uniquely, /h/ is dropped between like vowels as well, with a concomitant shortening of the vowel sequence:

- (A575) **pohon* → *poN* ‘tree’
 **jahat* → *ja* ‘bad, evil’
 **tahan* → *taN* ‘to hold’
 **leher* → *le* ‘neck’ (examples from Steinhauer 1993: 189)

In three very common words, /s/ becomes /h/. This also occurs (again, in select words) in the Air Mata dialect of Kupang Malay and in Sri Lanka Malay (no direct relationship between these varieties is implied, but there may be some other common factor triggering this change in disparate Malay varieties).

- (A576) **satu* → *hatu* ‘one’
 **sana* → *hana* ‘over there’
 **sama* → *hama* ‘with’

Function words, perhaps because of their frequency of use, exhibit irregular or unexpected sound changes, such as reduction of penultimate syllables.

- (A577) **masih* → *masi, məsi(N)* ‘still’
 **lagi* → *ləgi* ‘again’
 **tadi* → *tədi* ‘just now’
 **mana* → *məna* ‘which’
 **di mana* → *dəməna* ‘where’
 **kə mana* → *kəməna* ‘to where’
 **bagaimana* → *bəgəna*¹⁷⁵ ‘how’
 **bilamana* → *bəlməna* ‘when’
 **səkarang* → *səkəraN* ‘back, return’
 **kəmbali* → *kəNbali* ‘again’
 **masing-masing* → *məsin-məsin* ‘each’ (also *masiN-masiN*,
məmasiN)

(examples from Steinhauer 1993: 190)

By contrast, there is only one lexical word, **tarek* → *tare, təre* ‘to pull’, which exhibits such a change.

¹⁷⁵ Steinhauer lists the form *bəge(mə)na*, which I did not come across in my data or my time in Larantuka.

Finally, there is a tendency to reduce antepenultimate syllables, which is likely due to these syllables being in an unstressed position. Some examples from the list given by Steinhauer (1991: 191-191):

(A578) * <i>buaya</i>	→	<i>bəwaya</i>	‘crocodile’
* <i>suara</i>	→	<i>səwara</i>	‘voice’
* <i>suanggi</i>	→	<i>səwaŋgi</i>	‘evil spirit’
* <i>dua hari</i>	→	<i>dəwari</i>	‘two days (the day after tomorrow)’
* <i>bicara</i>	→	<i>bəcara</i>	‘to talk’
* <i>binatang</i>	→	<i>bənatana</i>	‘animal’
* <i>di atas</i>	→	<i>data</i>	‘on (top)’
* <i>pagi hari</i>	→	<i>pəgari</i>	‘early in the morning’

(examples from Steinhauer 1993: 190)

A.6.4 General/Clause Structure

A.6.4.1 Word Order

Larantuka Malay is an isolating language, with little productive morphology of any kind, apart from reduplication. As a result, word order takes a very important role, and the basic word orders of SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT (in transitive clauses) and SUBJECT-VERB (in intransitive clauses) are adhered to, as in the following typical examples, with only rare, highly-marked exceptions.

(A579) *Guru tu ada baca buku.*
 teacher DEM ASP read book
 ‘The teacher reads a book.’ (13.8)

(A580) *Kəbara tu ada mənangi.*
 girl DEM ASP cry
 ‘The girl cries.’ (13.3)

A.6.4.2 Lexical categories

According to Kumanireng’s analysis (1993: 108), there are six open classes of words in Larantuka Malay and five closed classes. Although Kumanireng’s analysis is well

organized and thorough, in this description of Larantuka Malay, some of these categories will be consolidated or expanded. The open classes for the purposes of this analysis are nouns, verbs and adjectives. Although adjectives could be analyzed as a sub-set of verbs, there are enough features which separate them (primarily their co-occurrence with intensifiers) to justify viewing them as a separate category.

The following are the closed classes of words in Larantuka Malay. Some of these classes parallel the classes identified by Kumanireng, while others differ. The members of these classes will be described separately.

- Pronouns (a sub-class of nouns)
- Demonstratives
- Prepositions
- Conjunctions
- Possessive markers
- Numerals
- Directionals
- Intensifiers
- Relativizers
- Negators
- Question words
- Aspect markers
- Adverbs
- Interjections
- Discourse Particles

A.6.4.3 Prepositions

Prepositional phrases in Larantuka Malay consist of PREPOSITION + NOUN PHRASE. Because of the isolating nature of the language, the function of prepositions is important in Larantuka Malay. The most commonly used prepositions, with examples, are listed below.

Table A.48: Prepositions of Larantuka Malay

Simple Locative Prepositions	<i>di/də</i>	LOC ‘at, in, on, to’
	<i>kə</i>	‘to’ (ANIM. or INANIM.)
	<i>dari</i>	‘from’
	<i>lao dataN</i>	‘from a seaward direction’
	<i>dara dataN</i>	‘from a landward direction’
	<i>dəba</i>	‘under, below, southward’
	<i>data</i>	‘top, above, on, northward’
	<i>dalaN</i>	‘in(side)’
	<i>lua</i>	‘out(side)’
Simple Non-Locative Prepositions	<i>hama</i>	‘along with’ (COMITATIVE)
	<i>mə</i>	‘with’ (INSTR., COM.)
	<i>bəri</i>	‘for, to’ (RECIPIENT)
	<i>uNto</i>	‘for, to’ (BEN., PURP., RECIPIENT)
	<i>pake</i>	LOC ‘with (s.t.)’
	<i>(ə)si</i>	‘by, as (manner)’
	<i>sələma</i>	‘while’
	<i>waktu</i>	‘at (a time)’
	<i>təga</i>	‘because’
Complex Locative Prepositions <i>di, dari, kə +</i>	<i>deka</i>	‘close to’
	<i>muka</i>	‘front’ (side)
	<i>bələkaN</i>	‘back(side)’
	<i>səbəla + (keri, kanan)</i>	‘(be)side’ + (left, right)
	<i>kəliliN</i>	‘around’
	<i>təNtənga</i>	‘in the middle’
	<i>ujoN</i>	‘at the end, at the tip’
	<i>tənga</i>	‘middle’

Table A.48 presents the prepositions of Larantuka Malay, which can be seen in the selected examples below. The preposition *bəri* ‘for, to’ (RECIPIENT) is grammaticalized from the verb *bəri* ‘to give’.

- *di~də* LOC ('at, in, on'); *kə* 'to' (before both inanimate and animate noun phrases)

(A581) *Dia di utaN te, dia lari kə sana kə mari, cari makaN.*
 3SG LOC forest DP 3SG run to there to here look.for food
 'He was in the forest, he was running here and there, looking for food.'
 (15.5)

(A582) *Tiba-tiba jo cahaya di muka idoN-nya kəliliN də*
 REDUP-arrive then light LOC face nose-NYA around LOC

ana kəci te puN kəpala...
 child small DP POSS head
 'Suddenly a light shone on the face and nose around the small child's
 head...' (14.49-50)

- *di* LOC ('at, in, on') + *atas* 'top'

(A583) *Lima pulo kali jalaN di atas sana.*
 five ten time walk LOC on there
 'Fifty times he walked (stepped) there..' (14.42-43)

- *dari* 'from; than'

(A584) *Jadi kəlinci tu lebe cərdi dari [buaya].*
 so rabbit DEM more intelligent than [crocodile]
 'So that rabbit is more intelligent than [a crocodile].' (15.34)

- *lao dataN* 'from a seaward direction'

(A585) *Kita lao dataN.*
 1SG sea come
 'I came from a seaward direction.' (13.96)

- *kə* 'to' (before inanimate and animate noun phrases); *dəba* 'under, below, southward'¹⁷⁶

(A586) *...dia mau bawa kə sunge, sunge luNpo dəba te.*
 3SG want bring to river river mud LOC.below DP
 '...he wanted to bring [him] to the river, the muddy river below.' (15.19)

¹⁷⁶ The preposition *dəba* historically derives from separate forms meaning 'at' + 'below'. Cf. Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (CJI) *di bawah* 'under, below' or the form *di bawa* which occurs in the other Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia. Similarly, the preposition *data* 'top, above, on' derives from 'at' + 'top', cf. the form *di atas* found in CJI and the Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia.

- *data* ‘top, above, on, northward’

(A587) *Data poN pəɾəpa te, ido kəkəra hatu eko.*
 on.top tree mangrove DP live monkey one CL
 ‘On top of the mangrove tree lived a monkey.’ (16.2)

- *dalaN* ‘in(side)’

(A588) *Kita tiNga dalaN ruma gədu.*
 1SG live in house big
 ‘I live in a big house.’ (13.90)

- *uNto* ‘‘for, to’ (BENEFACTIVE, PURPOSE, RECIPIENT)

(A589) *Kita puN ade tuli surat uNto dia puN guru.*
 1SG POSS younger.sibling write letter for 3SG POSS teacher
 ‘My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.’ (13.4)

- *kə* ‘to’ + *lua* ‘out(side)’

(A590) *Jo dia bə-tau, “Oi, əNko puN sapi, kalo kə-lua makaN*
 then 3SG BƏ-know INT 2SG POSS cow if to-out eat

kita puN kəbon...

1SG POSS garden

‘Then the other one said, “Hey, if your cows get out and eat my garden...”.’ (17.13)

- *dəka* ‘close to, near’

(A591) *Dia undo te jao hana dəka paNte Suste.*
 3SG move.back NEG far over.there near beach Suste
 He backed up not far there, near Suste Beach.’ (16.22-23)

- *səbəla* ‘(on the) side; beside’

(A592) *Tə-bəla dua, jadi hatu hana səbəla, toraN sini.*
 TƏ-split two so one there side 1PL here
 ‘Split in two, that one over there, and us over here.’ (14.7)

A.6.4.4 Negation

Simple clausal negation is usually expressed by the negators *te* ‘no, not’ or the existential negators *tərada* ‘no, not have’ or *ne* ‘no, not’ (<Dutch). The three are generally interchangeable for verbal negation, but only *te* can be used before modals.

(A593) *Kita ni oraN, kita ni ləma, Kita ni te kua.*
1SG DEM person 1SG DEM weak 1SG DEM NEG strong
‘I’m a person, I’m weak. I’m not strong.’ (16.7)

(A594) *Tərada mata ae ni!*
NEG.have spring water DEM
‘There’s no spring!’ (15.10)

(A595) *Bolo so ne ka di dapo?*
cake ASP NEG Q LOC kitchen
‘Is there no cake in the kitchen?’ (13.48)

Contrastive negation (of NPs, VPs, APs or clauses) is accomplished through use of the negator *bukaN*.

(A596) *Te bəto əNko gori itu, itu bukaN kita puN kaki itu,*
NEG correct 2SG bite DEM DEM NEG 1SG POSS foot DEM

ini kita puN kaki!
DEM 1SG POSS foot
‘It’s not correct (what) you’re biting, that’s not my foot, this is my foot!’
(15.22)

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *bəloN/boloN* ‘not yet’:

(A597) *Kita boloN bəli oto baru.*
1SG not.yet buy car new
‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’ (13.22)

There is also a prohibitive negator, *janga* ‘don’t’.

(A598) *Itu arti-nya kita oraN manusia ini, janga mængaNgap*
 DEM meaning-NYA 1PL person human DEM do.not assume

reme oraN yaN læma.

light person which weak

‘The meaning is that we humans should not take lightly people who are weak.’ (13.32-33)

A.6.4.5 Questions

Polar questions are generally indicated by intonation alone:

(A599) *Bolo mæsiN ada di dapo?*
 cake still have LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there still cake in the kitchen?’ (13.46)

(A600) *Angi bara, æNko bisa ni bua jato kækæra data poN lao paNte*
 wind west 2SG can DEM make fall monkey on.top tree sea beach

lahayoN tu?”

Lahoyang DEM

‘‘West Wind, can you make this monkey fall from the top of this tree at Lahayong Beach?’ (16.8-9)

A clause-final question word, *ka*, can also appear.

(A601) *æNko kærian di pabrik ka?*
 2SG work LOC factory Q
 ‘Do you work in the factory?’ (13.54)

(A602) *Bolo ada di dapo ka?*
 cake have LOC kitchen Q
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’ (13.47)

The particles *ka*, *to*, *e* and *i* can be used to request confirmation, and act as leading question markers.

(A603) *Jo ahir-nya so ka?*
 so end-NYA ASP Q
 ‘So in the end it’s like that, right?’ (15.48)

(A604) *æNko teNpo hari kærian di pabrik, to?*
 2SG time day work LOC factory DP
 ‘You used to work at the factory, didn’t you?’ (13.55)

(A605) *Jadi buaya kən tər-kənal oraN yaN jahat, e?*
 so crocodile Q TƏ-know person REL bad Q
 ‘The crocodile is famous for being nasty, right?’ (15.1)

(A606) *əNko to teNpo hari kərian di pabrik, i?*
 2SG DP time day work LOC factory Q
 ‘Didn’t you once work at the factory?’ (13.56)

Content questions can be formed using one of a set of questions words, which generally appear in situ/ Question-word questions have a distinctive pattern of intonation.

Table A.49: Question words in Larantuka Malay

<i>apa</i>	‘what’	<i>bua apa</i>	‘why’
<i>məna, mana</i>	‘which’	<i>təga apa</i>	‘why’
<i>bəgəna, bəgəməna</i>	‘how’	<i>diməna/dəməna</i>	‘where’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’	<i>diəna/əna</i>	‘where’
<i>kapan</i>	‘when’	<i>kəməna</i>	‘to where’
<i>teNpo apa</i>	‘when’	<i>bərapa</i>	‘how many’

(A607) *Kita mau jalaN kə səbəla, uNto apa ni, dia bə-tau.*
 1SG want walk to side for what DEM 3SG BƏ-know
 ‘I want to walk on the other side, for what, he said.’ (14.15)

(A608) *...aNka ini taro sini, yaN mana pərлу kə sana kə*
 LIFT DEM put here REL which need to over.there to
sana...
 over.there
 ‘...lifted this one and put him here, the ones who belonged over there over there...’ (10.51)

(A609) *Bəra-bəra ni, bəgena ni?*
 REDUP-heavy DEM how DEM
 ‘So heavy, how can this be?’ (14.46)

(A610) *ENko ni sapa?*
 2SG DEM who
 ‘Who are you?’ (14.48)

(A611) *Kapan əNko mau/mo baya əNko puN utaN?*
when 2SG ASP pay 2SG POSS debt
'When will you pay back your debt?' (13.68)

(A612) *Bua apa əNko dataN sini?*
why Q 2SG come here
'Why did you come here?' (13.69)

(A613) *...dəməna koraN ni?*
LOC.where 2PL DEM
'...where are you?' (14.9)

(A614) *əNko puN ruma diəna?*
2SG POSS house LOC.where
'Where is your house?' (13.59)

(A615) *Pa, səkəraN jaN bərapa ni?*
sir now hour how.many DEM
'Sir, what is the time now?' (13.57)

A.6.5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

A.6.5.1 Order of elements

The noun phrase consists of the following elements:

(QUANT) (NP_{POSS}) HEAD (NUM) (NOUN) (ADJ) (DEM) (VP) (QUANT) (REL/PP) (DEM)

These elements and the constraints on each will be discussed below.

Within the noun phrase, nouns may be modified by demonstratives, quantifiers, possessives, numerals, adjectives, other nouns, VPs, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses.

It is likely that Larantuka Malay has always had the order of NOUN-DEMONSTRATIVE (it is the only order possible in Kumanireng's description (1993)), which is common in

western varieties of Malay, including Peninsular Malay, which is the probable source of Larantuka Malay.¹⁷⁷

(A616) shows the order POSS-N-QUANT in Larantuka Malay.

(A616) *Joni puN buku banya.*
Joni POSS book many
'Joni has many books.' (13.72)

In addition, the discourse particle *te* which is used to focus on a particular element can appear after various element in the noun phrase, as in (A617) – (A620).

(A617) *raksasa puN bahu te*
giant POSS shoulder DP
'The giant's shoulder' (14.34)

(A618) *ana kəci te puN kəpala te*
child small DP POSS head DP
'The giant's shoulder' (14.50)

(A619) *oraN puN kəboN kətimu te*
person POSS garden cucumber DP
'The giant's shoulder' (15.6)

(A620) *əNko te puN sapi te*
2SG DP POSS cow DP
'The giant's shoulder' (17.20)

A.6.5.2 Plural marking

Plural marking on nouns is rare in Larantuka Malay. If nouns are modified by a numeral or a quantifier, or if the context makes the number clear, plural is (usually) not marked.¹⁷⁸ Nominal reduplication to indicate a plural occurs if the context is ambiguous, as in (A621), if plurality is stressed, as in (A622), or if a variety of objects is indicated, as in (A623). Reduplication may be partial or total, with the same meaning.

¹⁷⁷ Other Malay varieties in eastern Indonesia have a basic order of DEMONSTRATIVE-NOUN.

¹⁷⁸ There is one example in the data of plural marking with a number (17.1). This may be due to a convention used in story telling, as it is not a normal structure.

(A621) *A, jo dia dəŋga ana-ana mənangi-mənangi dəməna*
 INT then 3SG hear REDUP-child REDUP-cry LOC.where

aja ni.

only DEM

‘Then he heard the children crying everywhere.’ (14.13)

(A622) *Joni puN bə-buku.*

Joni POSS REDUP-book

‘Joni has many books.’ (13.80)

(A623) *Jadi, sə-tiap kali itu, hari-hari itu toraN məsti piki...*

so one-every time DEM REDUP-day DEM 1PL must think

‘So every time, every day, we must think...’ (15.40)

A.6.5.3 Pronouns

The pronouns of Larantuka Malay are presented in the table below.

Table A.50: Pronouns of Larantuka Malay

<i>kita</i>	1SG (familiar)	<i>(kə)toraN</i> ¹⁷⁹	1PL (INCL/EXCL)
<i>beta</i>	1SG (formal - archaic)		
<i>əNko</i>	2SG (neutral)	<i>(əN)koraN</i>	2PL
<i>no</i>	2SG (male - familiar)	<i>kamu-oraN</i>	
<i>oa</i>	2SG (female - familiar)		
<i>dia</i>	3SG (neutral)	<i>doraN</i>	3PL
<i>bicu</i>	3SG (male - archaic)		
<i>bica</i>	3SG (female - archaic)		

The forms labeled “archaic” in the chart occur in the literature, and were elicited from speakers, but did not occur in the data collected, and were not heard in conversation during two visits to Larantuka. Although the gender distinction in the third person singular pronouns¹⁸⁰ is not therefore an active part of the language today, the gender distinction in the second person pronouns is very common in daily speech in informal or intimate

¹⁷⁹ The plural pronoun forms *toraN* and *koraN* occur much more frequently than the variants.

¹⁸⁰ These apparently derive from derogatory terms in Portuguese: *bica* < *bicha* ‘worm, snake, bad-tempered woman’ and *bicu* < *bicho* ‘worm, insect, ugly/awkward person’ (Steinhauer 1991: 182).

circumstances. These did not occur in the data due to the nature of the data: elicited utterances and folk tales. In daily conversation, however, the gender-distinguished second person pronouns *no* and *oa* occur much more frequently than the neutral *aNko*.

The plural forms do not refer to any specific number of persons. A specific number can be indicated by a pronoun followed by a numeral, as in (A624).

(A624) *Cuma toraN dua jo.*
 only 1PL two DP
 ‘It’s only the two of us.’ (13.52)

Subject and object pronouns may be deleted in an utterance if the context makes clear who is referred to.

A.6.5.4 Reduplication of Pronouns and Question Words

Question words and pronouns may be reduplicated to indicate indefiniteness or lack of specificity and can function as pronouns or to modify nouns, as in (A626). Reduplicated question words can also function as indefinite or non-specific interrogative pronouns.

(A625) *Jadi aNka-aNka doraN taro di səbəla, səbab doraN-doraN*
 so REDUP-lift 3PL put LOC side because REDUP-3PL

te te bisa liwa!
 DP NEG can pass

‘So he lifted them and placed them on the other side, because nobody could pass!’ (14.15-16)

(A626) *Jo dia bər-tobat, dia te te mau bua dosa apa-apa*
 then 3SG BƏ-repent 3SG DP NEG want make sin REDUP-what

ləgi jo.
 again DP

‘Then he [the giant] repented, he didn’t want to sin any more.’ (14.56-57)

- (A627) *Hanya angan-angan, arti-nya cuma rencana jo, me bəlo*
 only REDUP-fantasy meaning-NYA only plan DP but not.yet
bua apa-apa.
 make REDUP-what
 ‘Only a fantasy. That means it’s just a plan, but we. haven’t done anything yet.’ (17.43-44)

A.6.5.5 Possessive constructions

There are two different possessive constructions in Larantuka Malay. The first, similar to the construction in the other contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, takes the form POSSESSOR *puN* POSSESSED, in which *puN* is the possessive or genitive marker. The other construction, which is only found with the third person singular, is quite the opposite: POSSESSED-*nya*, with the morpheme *-nya* indicating a third person singular possessor. Examples (A628) and (A629) shows both possessive constructions for third person singular possessors.

- (A628) *Kita puN ade tuli surat uNto dia puN guru.*
 1SG POSS younger.sibling write letter for 3SG POSS teacher
 ‘My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.’ (13.4)

- (A629) *Bəgəna dia mau/mo cari təmaN-nya?*
 how 3SG ASP search.for friend-POSS
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’ (13.70)

The *-nya* construction is not found in any of the other contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, but is identical to the usual third-person singular possessive construction found in the Malay varieties of western Indonesia, including standard Indonesian and colloquial Indonesian, as well as the Malay varieties of the Malay peninsula. It is uncertain whether this construction was part of the Malay brought to Larantuka by the original Malay-speaking settlers (who may have pre-dated the settlers from Malacca, and, hence, may have spoken a variety of Malay from outside the Malay peninsula), whether it

represents a feature brought to Larantuka by later settlers (the Portuguese and their followers), or whether it is a more recent addition through Indonesian influence. The last possibility seems the least likely, since the morpheme is quite well-established in the language, and appears in speech which is otherwise uninfluenced by Indonesian constructions. The most likely scenario is that Larantuka Malay represents a merging of the Vehicular Malay trade language (manifested in the *puN* construction, as well as other constructions and lexical items) and peninsular Malay (represented by the *-nya* construction and various constructions, idioms and lexical items), though the precise order in which this occurred is unclear. It should be noted as well that the morpheme *-nya* is also a nominalizer in Larantuka Malay (a function it shares with peninsular Malays and western Indonesia Malays), and this usage will be described separately below.

The *-nya* construction is not used in all third person singular possessive situations. Of 34 such situations in the data, 22 occurred with *puN* and 12 occurred with *-nya*, so it is clear that *puN* and *-nya* are not in complementary distribution. However, as would be expected, *puN* was the only construction found with other possessors (1SG, 2SG, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL), a total of 53 times. The other possessive suffixes found in western Malay varieties are not found in Larantuka Malay. The distribution of *puN* and *-nya* is unclear, because of the limited data available. It would be expected that one construction would be favored, as in English, which also has two possessive constructions. Steinhauer (1991: 93), basing his analysis on the examples in Monteiro's dictionary (1975), says that the *-nya* constructions are "much more frequent." Although there were no examples of *-nya* with a nominal possessor in the data, it is likely that these constructions are allowed in Larantuka Malay, as they are in western varieties of Malay.

Kumanireng (1993: 118) points out that a nominalized form created by the nominalizer *-nya* may not take the *-nya* possessive construction, but must make use of *puN*, as in (A631) below. However, in all other situations, the two are interchangeable.

(A630) *Dəngan dia puN daera di utaN to, dia puN kaNpu tu,*
 with 3SG POSS region LOC forest DP 3SG POSS village DEM

di utaN.

LOC forest

‘In his place in the forest, his village, in the forest.’ (15.33)

(A631) ... *ada dia puN ləbe-nya...*
 have 3SG POSS excess-NOM
 ‘...there is (he has) a strength...’ (16.34)

(A632) *Jo ilaN ko, ilaN data bərasu-nya, ilaN.*
 then disappear DP disappear from.on shoulder-POSS disappear
 ‘Then he disappeared, disappeared from on the [giant’s] shoulder,
 disappeared’ (14.55-56)

A.6.5.6 Demonstratives

The demonstratives in Larantuka Malay are *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. The short forms *ni* and *tu* also frequently occur (as do the full forms), in clause-final position, when the speaker feels the referent of the preceding construction is identifiable by the hearer (Kumanireng 1993: 221) or the hearer has an emotional attachment to the referent. Demonstratives may occur in the subject or object position in their full forms. When they are used adnominally, demonstratives always follow the noun. Clause-final referential usage of *(i)ni* and *(i)tu* occurred 12 times.

There are related forms used for location (*sini* ‘here’, *hana* ‘over there’, *situ* ‘there’) and the set *bəgini* ‘like this’ and *bəgitu* ‘like that’.

Itu and *ini* can be followed by the short forms *tu* or *ni* to emphasize the unique nature of the referent (as in (A635) below).

Table A.51, adapted from Kumanireng 1993: 230) contrasts the use and function of *itu*, *ini* and the discourse particle *te* (discussed below).

Table A.51 The Use of the Particles *tu*, *ni* and *te* in Larantuka Malay

Noun Phrase	+	<i>tu</i>	→	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • refers to a thing, manner, or place located away from or neutral to speaker and addressee. • refers to time in the past
Pronoun				
Verb Phrase		<i>ni</i>	→	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • refers to a thing, manner, or place located near the speaker/addressee. • refers to time in the near future • cataphoric reference
Prepositional Phrase				
		<i>te</i>	→	Anaphoric reference. No reference to the relative distance from the speaker and addressee

The examples below of the demonstratives *itu* and *ini* following the noun as well as referential demonstratives (*i*)*tu* and (*i*)*ni* in clause-final position.

- (A633) *Jo dia aNka kaju itu, dia jolo kə sana.*
 then 3SG lift wood DEM 3SG poke to over.there
 ‘Then he lifted up a stick of wood, and he poked it there.’ (15.22)
- (A634) *Guno hana lebe tiNgi dari guno ini ni.*
 mountain over.there more tall from mountain DEM DEM
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’ (13.113)
- (A635) *Tine kəboN kita, mau tine kəboN ni.*
 develop garden 1SG want develop garden DEM
 ‘Make a garden, I want to make a garden.’ (17.4)
- (A636) *Angi bara, əNko bisa ni bua jato kəkəra data poN*
 wind west 2SG can DEM make fall monkey on.top tree

lao paNte lahayoN tu?
 sea beach Lahoyang DEM
 ‘West Wind, can you make this monkey fall from the top of this tree at Lahoyang Beach?’ (16.8-9)

A.6.5.7 Numerals

The cardinal numerals of Larantuka Malay are shown in the table below.

Table A.52 Numerals of Larantuka Malay

<i>hatu</i>	‘one’
<i>satu</i>	‘one (when in combination with teens, tens, etc.)’
<i>dua</i>	‘two’
<i>tiga</i>	‘three’
<i>əNpa</i>	‘four’
<i>lima</i>	‘five’
<i>əna</i>	‘six’
<i>tujo</i>	‘seven’
<i>dələpaN</i>	‘eight’
<i>səNbilaN</i>	‘nine’
<i>sə-pulo</i>	‘ten’
<i>dua bəla</i>	‘twelve’
<i>dua pulo</i>	‘twenty’
<i>dua rato</i>	‘two hundred’
<i>dua ribu</i>	‘two thousand’
<i>dua juta</i>	‘two million’

The morphemes *pulo* ‘ten’, *bəla* ‘teen’, *rato* ‘hundred’, *ribu* ‘thousand, and *juta* ‘million’ combine with the cardinal numerals to form all numerals. The form *hatu* ‘one’ is only used when the numeral stands alone. When it combines with tens, it takes the form *satu*, as in *dua pulo satu* ‘twenty-one’. When it combines with other numerals, it retains the form *hatu*, as in *sə-rato hatu* ‘one hundred and one’. *Hatu/satu* ‘one’, also has a combining prefix form, *sə-*, when it appears in initial position, as in *sə-bəla* ‘eleven’. Ordinal numerals are formed by a prefix, *kə-*, as in the table below. Only *pərtama* ‘first’, a loanword from Indonesian (originally from Sanskrit), is an exception to the pattern, and it co-exists with *kə-satu*, (not **kə-hatu*).

Table A.53 Ordinal Numerals in Larantuka Malay

<i>pərtama</i>	‘first’
<i>kə-satu</i>	‘first’
<i>kə-dua</i>	‘second’
<i>kə-tiga</i>	‘third’
<i>kə-əNpa</i>	‘fourth’

Numerals typically follow the noun they modify, and it can be assumed that NOUN + NUMERAL is the standard order in Larantuka Malay, as in (A637). Indonesian influence has led to the occasional appearance of NUMERAL + NOUN order, as in (A638), in this case, probably due to its preceding the loan word from Indonesian *peristiwa* ‘event’.

(A637) *Joni puN buku lima.*
 Joni POSS book five
 ‘Joni has five books.’ (13.79)

(A638) ... *toraN luput dari itu, satu peristiwa yaN bəgitu.*
 1PL escape from DEM one event REL like.that
 ‘...we escape from that, an event like that.’ (15.39-40)

Numeral classifiers, which are found in many Malay varieties, are more commonly used in Larantuka Malay than in other contact varieties of eastern Indonesia. They are, however, optional and only appeared in a few examples in the data.

(A639) *Anji tuju eko*
 dog seven CL
 ‘Seven dogs’ (13.98)

(A640) *Data poN pərapa te, ido kəkəra hatu eko.*
 on.top tree mangrove DP live monkey one CLS
 ‘On top of the mangrove tree lived a monkey.’ (16.2)

(A641) *Hatu, kita mo pi lia əNko puN sapi brapa eko...*
 one 1SG ASP go see 2SG POSS cow how.many CL
 ‘First, we’ll go and see how many cows you have...’ (17.33-34)

A.6.5.8 Relative Clauses

In the data collected, relative clause constructions tended to make use of the typical Malay relativizer *yang*, although it was occasionally omitted in otherwise typical *yang* constructions, and the discourse particle *jo* appeared. Although *jo* doesn't seem to be a relativizer, it does indicate the presence of a relative clause, in some instances. The frequency of *yang* may be a function of the fact that the prompts (in Indonesian) used *yang*, and although *yang* does occur in Larantuka Malay (and all other Malay varieties I am familiar with), other constructions may have been avoided. Examples of relative clause constructions, with and without *yang*, from the elicited data and the collected texts follow.

(A642) *Sapa yaN pake kita puN baju e?*
 who REL wear 1SG POSS shirt Q
 'Who is wearing my shirt?' (13.62)

(A643) *Sapa jo pake kita puN baju?*
 who DP wear 1SG POSS shirt
 'Who all wore my shirt?' (13.63)

(A644) *Apa jo Joni bəli di pasa?*
 what DP Joni buy LOC market
 'What was it that Joni bought at the market?' (13.67)

(A645) *Bə-goyaN, itu yaN toraN bə-tau gəNpa te ka.*
 BƏ-shake DEM REL 1PL BƏ-know earthquake DP DP
 'Shaking, which we call an earthquake.' (14.3)

(A646) *Itu arti-nya kita oraN manusia ini, janga məngaNgap*
 DEM meaning-NOM 1PL person human DEM do.not assume

reme oraN yaN ləma.
 light person which weak
 'The meaning is that we humans should not take lightly people who are weak.' (16.32-33)

- (A647) *Dua bapa-bapa le doraN pi kəboN, me bapa yaN*
 two REDUP-father again 3PL go garden, but father REL
bəloN kawəN.
 not.yet marry.
 ‘Two men went out to a garden, but they were men who were not married yet.’ (17.1)

A.6.5.9 Nominal Morphology

There are two kinds of morphological processes in Larantuka Malay, which vary in their productivity: affixation and reduplication. Larantuka Malay has two productive nominal affixes: the ordinal prefix *ka-*, discussed above, and the suffix *-nya*, which can mark third person singular possession and can also function as a nominalizer. As a nominalizer, *-nya* can be attached to verbs (A648), adjectives (A649), adverbs (A650) or prepositions to form nouns, as in the examples below.

- (A648) *Arti-nya, dia kalo lapar tu, dia te mau tau.*
 meaning-NOM 3SG if hungry DEM 3SG NEG want know
 ‘This means if he is hungry, he doesn’t care.’ (15.2)

- (A649) ... *po əNko puN kəboN te brapa bəsa-nya.*
 also 2SG POSS garden DP how.much big-NOM
 ‘...and also how big your garden is.’ (17.34)

- (A650) ... *səmuə-nya iko dunia ini sama jo.*
 all-NOM follow world DEM same DP
 ‘...all are part of this same world.’ (16.36)

Nominal reduplication is a common and productive process, indicating plurality (A651) or variety (A652). Reduplication may be partial or total.

- (A651) *toraN ni də-sini a mənangi mərəta bae po ana-ana te.*
 1PL DEM LOC-here INT cry lament well also REDUP-child DP
 ‘We here were crying and lamenting along with the children.’ (14.9)

(A652) *Dia pi di utaN-utaN, dia apa, bər-senaN-senaN di*
 3SG go LOC REDUP-forest 3SG what BƏ-REDUP-happy LOC
utaN-utaN, ka?
 REDUP-forest Q
 ‘He went into the forest, he what, he was happy in the forest, right?’ (15.32)

A.6.6 Verbs and Verb Phrases

A.6.6.1 Order of elements

Table A.54 The verb complex in Larantuka Malay

VERB PHRASE						
CORE VERB PHRASE						
Certain Aspect and Modal Markers, and Negation	Certain Aspect and Modal Markers	Degree Markers	Auxiliaries	Prefixes	Main Verb	Phrases marking Degree and Manner, and other Verb Phrases
			REDUPLICATION ITERATIVE			

There are a number of elements which can be part of the verb complex in Larantuka Malay, and they fit into specific slots. All slots excluding the verb base are optional, and, indeed, often a bare verb base occurs. There are quite a few slots in the verb complex, and not all combinations within the complex are possible, due to semantic restrictions. The items which do occur have ordering restrictions, as depicted in the tables which follow. Some aspect markers, as well as negation, operate on the predicate level, while other aspect markers operate in the verb phrase, and this distinction is reflected in the organization of the tables below, which have been informed by Kumanireng’s careful analysis of Larantuka Malay (1993: 276-283).

The tables below list some of the members of the categories in Table A.54. The lists of members are illustrative, and not necessarily exhaustive.

Table A.55 Members of categories preceding the core verb phrase in Larantuka Malay

VERB PHRASE							
MODAL 1	ASPECT 1	NEG	ASPECT 2	ASPECT 3A	ASPECT 3B	MODAL 2	DEGREE
<i>mästi</i> 'must'	<i>so</i> PERF	<i>te</i> NEG	<i>pərna</i> 'ever'	<i>ada</i> REALIS	<i>səbage</i> CONT	<i>suka</i> 'want'	
	<i>məsi</i> 'still'	<i>ne</i> NEG	<i>baru</i> 'just now'		<i>səməntara</i> CONT	<i>kəpingi</i> 'want'	
		<i>tərada</i> NEG	<i>səlalu</i> 'always'	<i>jadi</i> 'will become'		<i>mau</i> 'want'	
	<i>bəloN</i> 'not yet'		<i>biasa</i> 'usually'	<i>jaga</i> HAB		<i>bisa</i> 'can'	
				<i>mau</i> FUT		<i>bole</i> 'may'	
						<i>mulai</i> 'start'	
						<i>bərənti</i> 'stop'	

The following are examples of co-occurrence of the slots in Tables A.54 and A.55, from Kumanireng (1993). (A655) is an example of a serial verb.

(A653) *Dia mästi so bisa pi tido.*
 3SG must ASP can go sleep
 MOD1 ASP1 MOD2 AUX2 V
 'He should already be able to go to bed.' (Kumanireng 1993: 282, 5.042)

(A654) *ToraN so te suka dataN pərənde ləgi.*
 3PL ASP NEG want come study again
 ASP1 NEG MOD2 AUX V
 'They don't want to go to school anymore.' (Kumanireng 1993: 282, 5.045)

(A655) *Bə-buda so tərada maso kəlua sini ləgi.*
 REDUP-child ASP NEG.have enter go.out here again
 ASP1 NEG V V
 'The children don't go in and out of here anymore.'
 (Kumanireng 1993: 283, 5.046)

(A656) *Ani baru bale pəsia.*
 Ani just.now return travel
 ASP2 AUX2 V
 'Ani just came back from her travels' (Kumanireng 1993: 284, 5.051)

The table below illustrates the items in the core verb phrase. The items must occur in this order, but there can be one or more auxiliaries before the main verb. There can even be more than one auxiliary from a single column, as in (A659).

Table A.56 Members of the core verb phrase in Larantuka Malay

CORE VERB PHRASE					
AUX 1	AUX 2	AUX 3	AUX 4	PREFIX	MAIN VERB
<i>pi</i> 'go'	<i>turoN</i> descend'	<i>dudo</i> 'sit'	<i>aNka</i> 'lift'	<i>bə(r)-</i>	
<i>bua</i> CAUS	<i>nae</i> 'ascend'	<i>tido</i> 'sleep'	<i>aNbe</i> 'take'	<i>tə(r)-</i>	
<i>bəri</i> CAUS	<i>bale</i> 'return'	etc.		REDUPLICATION	
<i>ba</i> CAUS	<i>dataN</i> 'come'				

The following are examples of co-occurrence of the slots in the core verb phrase, from Kumanireng (1993).

(A657) *DoraN mulai dudo aNka siNpa bənbaraN tu.*
 3PL start sit lift store REDUP-thing DEM
 MOD2 AUX3 AUX4 V
 'They began sitting down and lifting and storing those goods.'
 (Kumanireng 1993: 279, 5.030)

(A658) *Bicu bərənti dataN aNbe oraN puN sasara.*
 3SG.M stop come take person POSS trash
 MOD2 AUX2 V
 'He stops coming and taking people's trash.'
 (Kumanireng 1993: 280, 5.031)

(A659) *Bica tu bisa nae turoN aNka siNpa baraN-baraN.*
 3SG.F DEM can go.up go.down lift store REDUP-thing
 MOD2 AUX2 AUX2 AUX4 V
 'She can go up and down lifting and storing goods.'
 (Kumanireng 1993: 280, 5.034)

A.6.6.2 Aspect markers

Aspect can be marked by aspect markers such as *so* PERF and *məsi* 'still' which operate on the predicate level (the 'Aspect 1' category in Table A.55 above), and by *ada*, the REALIS marker, or a selection of other aspect markers listed as 'Aspect 2, 3a or 3b' in

Table A.55 above. The realis marker, *ada*, is distinguished from the verb *ada* ‘have; exist; there is.’ The aspect marker *ada* cannot be negated, while the verb *ada* may be negated (but only by *tərada*). Examples of the use of aspect markers of both types follow.

- (A660) *Dia tio yaN kə-dua, kəkəra te so mekiN lenye.*
 3SG blow REL ORD-two monkey DP ASP even.more listless
 V REL ASP1 A
 ‘He blew for the second time, the monkey became even more listless.’
 (16.27)
- (A661) *Hatu, kita mo pi lia əNko puN sapi brapa eko...*
 one 1SG ASP go see 2SG POSS cow how.many CL
 ASP2 AUX V
 ‘First, we’ll go and see how many cows you have...’ (17.33-34)
- (A662) *Arti-nya cuma rencana jo, me bəloN bua apa-apa.*
 meaning-NYA only plan DP but not.yet make REDUP-what
 ASP1.NEG V
 ‘That means it’s just a plan, but we haven’t done anything yet.’ (17.43-44)
- (A663) *Dia məsiN məngae ikaN.*
 3SG still hook fish
 ASP1 PREFIX-V
 ‘He is still fishing.’ (13.28)
- (A664) *Ana tu ada tido.*
 child DEM ASP sleep
 ASP3A V
 ‘The child sleeps.’ (13.2)
- (A665) *Dia pərna məngae ikaN*
 3SG ever hook fish
 ASP2 PREFIX-V
 ‘He has ever gone fishing.’ (13.27)

A.6.6.3 Complex verbs

Complex verbs consist of a main verb preceded by one of the auxiliary verbs in the ‘Aux’ columns in Table A.55 above, which can include, but are not limited to, *bua* CAUS,

bəri CAUS, *pi* ‘go’, *nae* ‘go up, ascend’, *aNbe* ‘take’ and *turoN* ‘go down, descend’. These

forms, along with others in this category, are very productive.

(A666) *Kita puN bapa bua puto tali ma piso.*
 1SG POSS father make cut rope with knife
 ‘My father cuts a rope with a knife.’ (13.6)

(A667) *DoraN te jadi pi hari rabu.*
 3PL NEG happen go day Wednesday
 ‘They won’t leave on Wednesday.’ (13.38)

(A668) *Joni pi bəli apa di pasa?*
 Joni go buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Joni buy at the market?’ (13.66)

(A669) *Kita ni kua, kita ni bisa bua rubo poN-poN kaju.*
 1SG DEM strong 1SG DEM can make fall.down REDUP-tree wood
 ‘I am strong, I can make trees fall down.’ (16.4-5)

The following examples, from Kumanireng (1993), show the range of meanings that can be created when these auxiliaries combine with verbs. These lists are not exhaustive.

(A670) <i>bua bae</i>	‘to repair (make good)’	<i>bua pata</i>	‘to break s.t. in half’
<i>bua bəsa</i>	‘to make larger’	<i>bua jato</i>	‘to make s.t./s.o. fall’
<i>bua rusa</i>	‘to break’	<i>bua mati</i>	‘to kill s.t./s.o.’
<i>bua peNde</i>	‘to shorten’	<i>bua ido</i>	‘to give life to s.t./s.o.’
<i>bua paNja</i>	‘to lengthen’	<i>bua abis</i>	‘to finish s.t. off’
<i>bua bərisi</i>	‘to make clean’	<i>bua rubo</i>	‘to cause s.t. to collapse’
<i>bua koto</i>	‘to make dirty’	<i>bua tərəbang</i>	‘to cause st. to fly’
<i>bua susa</i>	‘to make difficult’	<i>bua bərənti</i>	‘to make s.t. stop’

(A671) <i>bəri bango</i>	‘to cause to rise, wake’	<i>bəri kəlua</i>	‘to let s.o. out’
<i>bəri maso</i>	‘to give entry’	<i>bəri lalu</i>	‘to give way, allow’
<i>bəri tido</i>	‘to put to sleep’	<i>bəri turoN</i>	‘to lower s.t.’
<i>bəri dudo</i>	‘to give a seat to s.o.’	<i>bəri ido</i>	‘to give life to s.o./s.t.’

A.6.6.4 Serial Verb Constructions

Complex events may be expressed through two or more consecutive main verbs (as distinct from constructions which employ auxiliaries). These constructions are very productive. In the examples below, different pairs of verbs are used in each construction.

(A672) *Jadi kalo dia bango bə-diri tu, toraN samua data dunia*
So if 3SG rise BƏ-stand DEM 1PL all above earth

ni bə-goyaN.

DEM BƏ-shake

‘When he would stand up, all of us on the surface of the earth would shake.’ (14.2-3)

(A673) *ToraN ni də-sini a mənangi mərata bae po ana-ana te.*
1PL DEM LOC-here INT cry lament well also REDUP-child DP
‘We here were crying and lamenting along with the children.’ (14.9-10)

(A674) *Ae-ae masiN lao paNte, kita bisa aNtaN baNti*
REDUP-water salt sea shore 1SG can strike throw.down

kiri kana.

left right

‘I can throw around the seawater on the seashore from left to right.’ (16.6-7)

A.6.6.5 Verbal morphology

Verbal morphology consists of affixation and reduplication. Larantuka Malay has two productive verbal prefixes: *bə(r)-*, and *tə(r)-*.¹⁸¹ The prefix *bə(r)-* has two allomorphs: *bər-* before vowels, and *bə-* before consonants.

There are four types of the prefix *bə(r)-* in Larantuka Malay.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Words which are borrowed from other varieties of Malay which contain nominal or verbal affixes such as *məN-*, *an-*, *-kan*, *ke-* *-an*, etc. are monomorphemic in Larantuka Malay, and the affixes are not productive. In the glosses for the data collected for this study, such non-productive affixes are treated as part of the word, and not as part of the linguistic system of Larantuka Malay.

- With transitive verbs, *bə(r)-* indicates a reciprocal relationship with plural agents.

It is possible that this use derives from the reciprocal prefix *baku-* found in the other contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, but which is absent from Larantuka Malay, as the function is identical.¹⁸³ According to Kumanireng (1993: 154), the action may have a non-human target, and there may be more than two actors (*A, B mə C bə-rabe baju* ‘A, B and C tore each others’ clothes’).

(A675) *Ai, bə-bəda ka doraN dua te, bə-bəda, ah, ena jo, jadi*
 INT BƏ-fight DP 3PL two DP BƏ-fight INT feel.good DP so

bə-bəda ka.

BƏ-fight DP

‘Ah, then the two of them started fighting each other, ah, they enjoyed it, fighting each other.’ (17.21-22)

(A676) *DoraN bə-suka badaN.*
 3PL RECIp-want body
 ‘They love each other.’¹⁸⁴ (13.104)

(A677) *Təga apa koraN lia koraN dua bə-lia badan, te mənəyao?*
 cause what 2PL see 2PL two BƏ-see body NEG answer
 ‘What is causing you two to just look at each other, with no response?’
 (17.38-39)

- With transitive verbal bases, no object specified, and a single actor, the prefix *bə(r)-* simply indicates that the action specified by the verb is ongoing. This also

¹⁸² This analysis owes much to Kumanireng (1983: 46-49).

¹⁸³ Kupang Malay has both a reciprocal use of *ba-* (cognate to *bə(r)-*) and the reciprocal prefix *baku-*.

¹⁸⁴ This gloss, provided by an informant, may a bit polite, and the actual meaning might be rather more carnal. Another informant provided the phrase *bə-aNbe badaN* ‘to copulate’ (lit. ‘take body’).

applies to intransitive verbal bases. There are two examples of this usage in (660) above. Other examples follow.

(A678) *Jadi ana-ana səkola səmua te dudu sopan bəgini*
 so REDUP-child school all DP sit polite like.this

bəpara ibu omo.

BƏ-listen 3SG.F.FML talk

‘So the schoolchildren all sat politely and listened to the teacher talk.’

(14.25-26)

(A679) *Jo angi timo bətau “coba əNko bua jato.”*

then wind east BƏ-know try 2SG make fall

‘Then the East Wind said, “Try and make him fall.”’ (16.10-11)

- If the base is a noun, the meaning of *bə(r)-* is roughly ‘to have x’, ‘to produce x’ or ‘to use x’.

(A680) *Sini ka təNpa ma kita bərana kita.*

here DP place with 1SG BƏ-child 1SG

‘This is the place where I was born.’ (13.101)

(A681) *Joni puN bəbuku.*

Joni INTEN BƏ -book

‘Joni has many books.’ (13.80)

(A682) *bunga* ‘flower’ *bəbunga* ‘to flower’

təlo ‘egg’ *bətəlo* ‘to lay an egg’

minya ‘oil’ *bəminya* ‘to produce oil’

bunyi ‘sound’ *bəbunyi* ‘to to make a sound’

laya ‘sail’ *bəlaya* ‘to sail’

təma ‘friend’ *bətəma* ‘to be friends’ (Kumanireng 1993: 156)

- If the base is an adjective, *bə(r)-* has a function not unlike its function with nouns: ‘to have x-ness’, ‘to have the quality of x’ or ‘to become x’.

(A683) ... *koraN denga bə-bae e ni.*
 2PL listen BƏ-good DP DEM
 ‘Listen well (all of you).’ (14.25)

(A684) *Dia pi di utaN-utaN, dia apa, bər-senaN-senaN di*
 3SG go LOC REDUP-forest 3SG what BƏ-REDUP-happy LOC
utaN-utaN, ka?
 REDUP-forest Q
 ‘He went into the forest, he what, he was happy in the forest, right?’
 (15.32)

The prefix *tə(r)-* also forms verbs, and creates the meaning that the action happens accidentally or by an unexpected or involuntary action. This prefix also has two allomorphs: *tər-* before vowels and *tə-* before consonants.

(A685) ...*poN kaju tə-bale-male.*
 tree wood TƏ-REDUP-return
 ‘...the tree moved back and forth.’ (16.16)

(A686) *Dia tio yaN kə-tiga, kəkəra nyenya, tanga tə-ləpa,*
 3SG blow REL ORD-three monkey sleep.soundly hand TƏ-let.go
jato dalaN ae...
 fall in water
 ‘He blew for the third time, and the monkey fell sound asleep, his paws let go, and he fell in the water...’ (16.28-29)

Verbal reduplication in Larantuka Malay is a very productive process. There are four patterns of verbal reduplication, and all are productive.¹⁸⁵ All four patterns can occur with a single verb, as in (A687) below (examples are from Kumanireng 1993: 164-165).

- Full reduplication (*baNti* ‘to throw s.t. down’ → *baNti-baNti* ‘to throw s.t. down repeatedly’). This pattern shows iteration or intensification, to indicate a repeated

¹⁸⁵ The types of reduplication and their descriptions are based on Kumanireng (1993: 162)

activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. This is the most productive type, and can be used with all classes of verbs.

- Partial reduplication (*garu* ‘to scratch’ → *gəgaru* ‘scratching frequently’, as opposed to *garu-garu* ‘scratching repeatedly’). This pattern shows that an activity is not being performed well or whole-heartedly. This type does not occur with words of one syllable, words which are vowel-initial, or certain transitive and intransitive verbs such as *makaN* ‘eat’, *mino* ‘drink’, *maNdi* ‘bathe’, *tido* ‘sleep’, *masa* ‘cook’, or sense verbs.
- Reduplication with a change in one part of the base (*bale* ‘return’ → *bula-bale* ‘going back and forth aimlessly’). This pattern shows that an action is being done repeatedly with no goal. This type makes transitive verbs into intransitives.
- Reduplication with affixation, which can occur with any of the three patterns above (*lipa* ‘to fold’ → *təlipa-ripa* ‘folded so thoroughly that s.t. is ruined or can’t be unfolded’). This pattern shows that an activity is uncontrolled or intensive. This type occurs with the prefix *tə(r)*-(as in (673) above).

(A687) <i>suNko</i>	‘to run with head down (as a wild boar)’
<i>suNko-suNko</i>	‘to run with head down repeatedly’
<i>səsuNko</i>	‘to run with head down frequently’
<i>suNko-ruNko</i>	‘to run with head down aimlessly’
<i>tə-suNko-ruNko</i>	‘to fall headfirst in an uncontrolled manner’

(A688) <i>Jadi aNka-aNka doraN taro di səbəla, səbab doraN-doraN</i>
so REDUP-lift 3PL put LOC side because REDUP-3PL

te te bisa liwa!
 DP NEG can pass

‘So he lifted them and placed them on the other side, because nobody could pass!’ (14.15-16)

(A689) *Hatu hana, hatu sini, jo di tən-tənga ini sini*
 one over.there one here so LOC REDUP-middle DEM here

kalo ini, batu bəsa-bəsa təNguliN-muliN.
 if DEM rock REDUP-big REDUP-rolling
 ‘One there, one here, in the middle of this place also, there were many
 tumbled boulders.’ (14.17-18)

(A690) *Dia umu-ame, gitu...*
 3SG REDUP-chew like.that
 ‘He was chewing wildly, like that...’ (15.18)

A.6.7 Other Grammatical Features

A.6.7.1 Intensifier

As in other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, the possessive morpheme *puN* can function as an intensifier, although it only occurred once in the data.

(A691) *Joni puN bə-buku.*
 Joni INTENS Bə-book
 ‘Joni has many books.’

A.6.7.1.1 Superlative Constructions

Larantuka Malay makes use of an intensifying particle, *na*, in the superlative construction. The borrowed Indonesian form *paling*, which is found in the other contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, is not found in Larantuka Malay.

(A692) *Guno tu tiNgi na tiNgi.*
 mountain DEM tall DP tall
 ‘That mountain is the tallest.’ (13.112)

(A693) *Raksasa hatu ni ka bəsa na bəsa.*
 giant one DEM DP big DP big
 ‘This particular giant was the largest.’ (14.1)

A.6.7.2 Coordinating and Subordinating Conjunctions

The coordinating and subordinating conjunctions in Larantuka Malay are presented below, based on Kumanireng's description (1993: 204-210). The coordinating conjunctions are *ma~mə* 'and, with' (A693), *me* 'but' (A694) and *...ka ...ka* 'or' (A695).

(A694) *Kita puN bapa bəla kayu ma kita puN om.*
 1SG POSS father cut wood with 1SG POSS uncle
 'My father cuts wood with my uncle.' (13.7)

(A695) *...əNko bə-tau əNko kua me kita tio pəlaN-pəlaN,*
 2SG BƏ-know 2SG strong but 1SG blow REDUP-slow

kekera jato dalaN ae te.
 monkey fall in water DP
 '...you said you were strong but I blew slowly, and the monkey fell in the water..' (16.31-32)

(A696) *...jadi manusia tu kaya ka miskiN, bəsa ka kəce, mani ka*
 so human DEM rich or poor big or small pretty or

te mani, dari guno ka dari lao paNte, səmua-nya iko
 NEG pretty from mountain or from sea shore all-NOM follow

dunia ini sama jo.
 world DEM same DP
 '...who are rich or poor, big or small, pretty or ugly, from the mountains or from the seashore, all are part of this same world.' (16.35-36)

The subordinating conjunctions of Larantuka Malay are presented in Table 4.57 below, with examples following.

Table A.57 Subordinating Conjunctions in Larantuka Malay

Subordinating Conjunctions	
<i>səbələn</i> 'before'	<i>məski, jika</i> 'although'
<i>səməntara</i> 'while'	<i>kəndati</i> 'although'
<i>sələma</i> 'while, during'	<i>macaN</i> 'like, as'
<i>waktu</i> 'during, at the time that'	<i>sama</i> 'as if'

<i>(itu/abis) jo</i> ‘then, after that’ (747)	<i>jetukata</i> ‘like, as’
<i>asa (jo)</i> ‘as long as’	<i>təga</i> ‘because’ (749, 750)
<i>kalu, kalo</i> ‘if’ (748)	<i>laNtaraN</i> ‘because’
<i>baraN</i> ‘supposing that’	<i>kata</i> ‘it is said, that’
<i>para</i> ‘so that’	<i>maka</i> ‘therefore’
<i>səpaya</i> ‘so that’	<i>saNpe</i> ‘until’ (751)
<i>mulai</i> ‘beginning with, since’	

(A697) *Dia makaN, makaN, makaN, makaN, abi jo, dia ao...*
 3SG eat eat eat eat finish DP 3SG thirsty
 ‘He ate, ate ate, ate, till it was all gone, then he was thirsty...’ (15.6-7)

(A698) *Jadi kalo dia bango bə-diri tu, toraN səmua data dunia*
 So if 3SG rise BƏ-stand DEM 1PL all above earth

ni bə-goyaN.

DEM BƏ-shake

‘When he would stand up, all of us on the surface of the earth would sway.’
 (14.2-3)

(A699) *...kəkəra te so mekiN lenye, təga angi timo tə-tio*
 monkey DP ASP even.more listless because wind east TƏ-blow

səpoi-səpoi pəNpəlaN-pəNpəlaN.

REDUP-soft REDUP-slow

‘...the monkey became even more listless, because the East Wind blew very softly and very slowly.’ (16.27-28)

(A700) *Kəkəra data te təga dapa angi ena te, mata mulai .*
 monkey on.top DP because get wind nice DP eye start

rebe.

shut

‘The monkey on top, because he was getting a nice breeze, his eyes started to shut.’ (16.24)

(A701) *Jo, kita bəli sapi piara, saNpe banya-banya, kita puN sapi.*
 so 1SG buy cow domestic until REDUP-many 1SG POSS cow
 ‘I’ll buy domesticated cows, many of them, my cows.’ (17.7-8)

A.6.7.3 Interjections

Interjections, which precede the clause they comment on, but are not part of the clause, are commonly used in discourse to express emotions or attitudes. Common interjections are listed in Table A.58, and include interjections which occurred in the data as well as others described by Kumanireng (1993: 212).

Table A.58 Interjections in Larantuka Malay

Interjection	Emotion or Attitude Expressed
<i>oi</i>	‘hey’ surprise, anger
<i>a, ha</i>	confirmation, pause mechanism
<i>ai, hai</i>	surprise
<i>hi</i>	anger
<i>kita e</i>	‘1SG <i>e</i> ’ regret, complaint
<i>əNko le</i>	‘2SG <i>le</i> ’ anger or urging
<i>bapa ma</i>	‘father <i>ma</i> ’ amazement, surprise
<i>haN</i>	‘huh?’ surprise (with rising intonation)
<i>tuan deo</i>	‘god’ surprise
<i>ya tuhan</i>	‘oh god (Indonesian)’ surprise

A.6.7.4 Discourse Particles

Discourse particles are very common in Larantuka Malay. One discourse particle, *te*, occurred 108 times in the data collected. Kumanireng (1993:216), pointing out that these particles have never been analyzed in previous studies, adds “...it is precisely these particles which give Larantuka Malay its unique character.”¹⁸⁶

The common discourse particles of Larantuka Malay are listed in Table A.59. Many of these occurred in the data. Others are from Kumanireng (1993: 215-246), and the meanings given in the table below are from that source. Although Kumanireng includes the short forms of demonstratives *ni* and *tu*, and the negators *te*, *ne* and *tərada* in her analysis,

¹⁸⁶ “...justru partikel-partikel inilah yang ikut menjadikan Melayu Larantuka sebuah ragam yang khas.”

these particles are not included here, as they have been previously discussed. Discourse particles can not occur on their own, but exist in a context. They are closely bound with the prosody of an utterance, and are thus dependent upon the context, the syntactic structure used, and the wants and needs of an individual speaker. It is hard to pin down the meaning of a discourse particle, as that meaning may change in different utterances, depending upon the context, and, most importantly, the intonation.

Table A.59 Discourse Particles in Larantuka Malay

Discourse Particle	Meaning or Function
<i>daN</i>	emphatic marker
<i>ka</i> ¹⁸⁷	emphatic marker
<i>se</i>	mitigates a request, ‘please’
<i>po</i>	questions the connection or causal relation between two actions. Also functions as an emphatic marker stressing inclusion.
<i>na</i>	intensifier, follows adjectives and verbs, forms superlatives.
<i>te</i>	anaphoric particle, refers to an earlier reference or shared information.
<i>le</i>	indicates regret or a result contrary to expectations or desires.
<i>o</i>	used to remind or inform the addressee of something.
<i>e</i>	used to order or urge s.o. to do s.t. or not to do something, express surprise, anger or regret, or request confirmation.
<i>i</i>	used to ask for confirmation or support.
<i>maka</i>	connecting particle, indicating a causal relationship
<i>lo</i>	connecting particle, indicating a causal relationship

Although a number of these discourse particles occurred in the data, the particle *te* occurred the most frequently by far. Its purpose is as an anaphoric marker, similar to *tu*, with which it can co-occur. It can follow noun phrases, pronouns, prepositional phrases and verb phrases. Unlike *tu*, *te* always refers to something previously mentioned, but does not

¹⁸⁷ *ka* also functions as a question marker, as discussed above.

say anything about the relative distance to the speaker or addressee. *Te* can occur multiple times in a single utterance, as in (688), with five occurrences of *te* in a single sentence.

- (A702) *Dia te mo aNka kewalu ana te jo dia te*
 3SG DP want lift carry.on.shoulders child DP so 3SG DP
mo aNka kaki gini mo taro də te sunge, sunge te
 ASP lift foot like.this ASP put LOC DP river river DP
məkiN bəsa.
 increasingly big
 ‘He wanted to carry the child on his shoulders so he wanted to lift his foot like this to place it in the river, but the river grew bigger.’ (14.37-38)

- (A703) *Raksasa hatu ni ka bəsa na bəsa.*
 giant one DEM DP big DP big
 ‘This particular giant was the largest.’ (14.1)

- (A704) *Mari jalaN daN ka...*
 come walk DP DP
 ‘Come, let’s go...’ (17.39)

- (A705) *Jo angi bara, “e gaNpa tu le, bua jato tu kəkəra*
 then wind west DP easy DEM DP make fall DEM monkey
data poN le.”
 on.top tree DP
 ‘The West Wind [said], “Hey, even that’s easy, even making that monkey on top of that tree fall.’ (11.32-33)

- (A706) *Jo angi timo bə-tau “e, əNko bae kua.”*
 then wind east BƏ-know DP 2SG good strong
 ‘Then the East Wind said “Hey, you’re really strong.”’ (16.6-7)

A.6.7.5 Comparatives

The order of elements in the comparative construction is ADJ-MARKER-STANDARD.

- (A707) *Guno hana lebe tiNgi dari guno ini ni.*
 mountain over.there more tall from mountain DEM DEM
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’ (13.113)

Table A.60 Spatial Orientation Terms in Larantuka Malay

Larantuka Malay	Meaning	Lamaholot
<i>lao</i>	‘at the seaside’	<i>lau</i>
<i>kə lao, pi (kə) lao</i>	‘seawards’	<i>lau tai</i>
<i>(dari) lao dataN</i>	‘from the seaside’	<i>lau dai</i>
<i>dara</i>	‘on the landside’	<i>raé</i>
<i>kə dara, pi (kə) dara</i>	‘landwards’	<i>raé tai</i>
<i>(dari) dara dataN</i>	‘from the landside’	<i>raé hau</i>
<i>də ba, turoN də ba</i>	‘below’	<i>lali</i>
<i>kə ba</i>	‘towards below’	<i>lali tai, lali lodo</i>
<i>də ba nae</i>	‘from below’	<i>lali géré, lali haka</i>
<i>data</i>	‘above’	<i>téti</i>
<i>kə data</i>	‘towards above’	<i>haka tai, téti géré</i>
<i>(dari) data turoN</i>	‘from above’	<i>téti hau, téti todo</i>

(A708) *Kita lao dataN.*

1SG sea come

‘I came from a seaward direction.’ (13.96)

(A709) *Kita dara dataN*

1SG land come

‘I came from a landward direction.’ (13.97)

(A710) *Mari toraN bango toraN pi kə dara, lia koraN dua puN*
 come 1PL get.up 1PL go to land see 2PL two POSS

kəboN dulu.

garden first

‘Come, let’s get up and let’s go landwards, and see the garden of the two of you first.’ (17.32-33)

(A711) *dara ruma baru (tu)*

land house new (DEM)

‘(that) new house is westwards.’ (Kumanireng 1993: 306)

(A712) *dara bəlakaN situ*

land back there

‘there in the back to the west’ (Kumanireng 1993: 307)

(A713) *dəba sini*

below here

‘south of here’ (Kumanireng 1993: 307)

A.6.7.6 Gender

One feature which is unique to Larantuka Malay among the contact Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, and which is quite rare among Austronesian languages in general, is the marking of gender on some nouns. The majority of the nouns in which gender marking is found have been borrowed from Portuguese, so it is not surprising that these forms should be marked for gender. What is surprising is that the marking has been extended to at least one set of nouns of Malay origin. The form this marking takes is the set of endings consisting of *-u* for males and *-a* for females. This has previously been seen in the 3sg pronouns *bicu* and *bica* borrowed from Portuguese, as discussed above. Steinhauer (1991: 194) offers the following list of forms from Larantuka Malay. Of note is the last item in the list, *mənantu/mənanta*, which is derived from the Malay word *mənantu* ‘son/daughter-in-law’. This is one instance, and possibly the only example, of the Portuguese morpheme being extended to a Malay stem.

(A714) <i>tiu</i>	‘uncle’	<i>tia</i>	‘aunt’
(<Port. <i>tio, tia</i>)			
<i>kənyadu</i>	‘brother-in-law’	<i>kənyada</i>	‘sister-in-law’
(<Port. <i>cunhado, cunhada</i>)			
<i>inyu</i>	‘godfather’	<i>inya</i>	‘godmother’
(<Port. <i>padrinha, madrinha</i>)			
<i>saNtu</i>	‘male saint’	<i>saNta</i>	‘female saint’
(<Port. <i>santo, santa</i>)			
<i>ana səNbrinyu</i>	‘nephew’	<i>ana səNbrinya</i>	‘niece’
(<Port. <i>sobrinho, sobrina</i> + Malay <i>ana</i> ‘child’)			
<i>mənantu</i>	‘son-in-law’	<i>mənanta</i>	‘daughter-in-law’
(<Malay <i>mənantu</i> ‘son/daughter-in-law’)			
(Steinhauer 1991: 194)			

A.7 Papua Malay¹⁸⁸

A.7.1 Language area, speakers, and history

Papua Malay is spoken on the Indonesian half of the island of New Guinea, particularly in coastal areas, as well as on neighboring islands, notably Biak, Yapen, Numfoor, and the Raja Ampat islands. It is used as a language of wider communication for many of the 2.2 million people in Indonesian New Guinea. Burung and Sawaki (2007: 1) estimate that Papua Malay is spoken by approximately one million people. A survey conducted of major urban areas by SIL (Kim et al 2007: 3) shows that 80% of respondents in Jayapura (in the north) and 83% of respondents in Merauke (in the south) use Papua Malay as their primary language. It is reportedly spoken as a first language by some communities, and quite possibly a growing number of communities, in which younger speakers are abandoning the traditional languages for Malay.

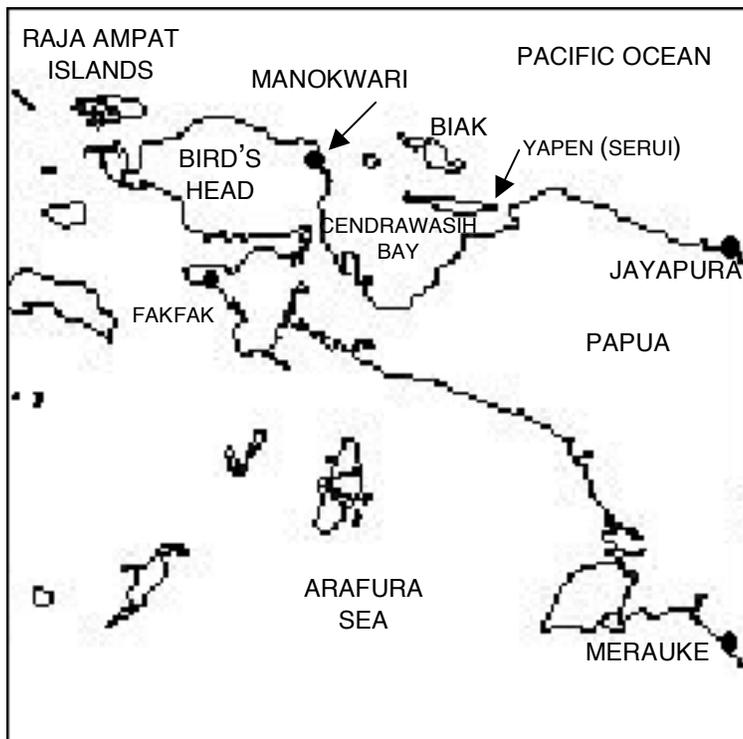
Malay has had a presence in the coastal areas for a long time. Malay-speaking traders visited what is now Indonesian Papua (and beyond) before the European colonial era. The Raja Ampat islands to the northwest of Papua and the north coast of the Bird's Head region in northwestern Papua were included in the lands under the influence of the Sultan of Tidore before the first Europeans visited. Malay traders were known in other coastal areas, particularly in the north and west, and even in the eastern half of the island.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ I owe much to Mark Donohue, who has informed me of much of what I know of Papua Malay, both through his as yet unpublished paper on Papuan Malay (Donohue: to appear) and through very informative discussions on the topic.

¹⁸⁹ A fair number of Malay words made their way into Tok Pisin, the English-based creole language of Papua New Guinea, which apparently had its beginnings in the islands of the Bismarck archipelago in the 19th century. Malay was obviously known to some extent as a contact language in that region, as attested by words such as *susu* 'breast' (<Malay *susu* 'milk, breast'), *sayor* 'leafy vegetable' (<(Low) Malay *sayor* 'vegetable'). *lombo* 'chili pepper' (<Malay *lombok* 'chili pepper') and *binatang* 'insect' (<Malay *binatang* 'animal').

Seiler (1983) mentions that Malay was used as a lingua franca in the eastern part of Papua New Guinea in the late 19th century as a result of the trade in bird of paradise feathers and again after World War II when the Dutch administered westernmost Australian New Guinea. Donahue adds:

“there are some Papuan-Malay speaking villages within the borders of Papua New Guinea, villages that have been set up in the 1960s following the exodus of people from the west when Indonesia took over. Villages such as Skou-Tiau speak Malay, with little regular contact with the varieties of Malay/Indonesian that are spoken across the border in [Indonesian] Papua. In Nyao, further north, Malay is also spoken (even by young children born decades after the move to Papua New Guinea), along with the local language. These villages represent a unique opportunity to study varieties of local Malay without the constant influence of the national standard language.” (Donahue to appear: 6)



Map A.7: Papua Malay

When the Dutch began including Papua in their colonial empire in the 19th century (and more extensively in the 20th century), they found Malay was known as a local lingua franca in some areas, and they used it as a language for colonial administration.

Missionaries who brought the Christian religion to many communities (and, in some areas, the Muslim religion) used Malay as the language of religious propagation. Starting in the 19th century, many of these missionaries, as well as many traders, were from the central Moluccas, so Ambon Malay was the variety of Malay many people in Papua modeled their own speech on, an influence which can still be seen today.

Precisely what varieties of Malay were known in which regions of Papua is still unknown, but there is linguistic evidence that both North Moluccan Malay (on the north and east coasts of the Bird's Head and in parts of Cendrawasih Bay, including the islands of Biak and Numfoor) and Ambon Malay (in the western and southern Bird's Head, the Bomberai peninsula, and in other parts of Cendrawasih Bay, including the island of Yapen) have been influential. The precise amount of influence of these varieties remains to be discovered.

Since the Dutch left New Guinea in 1963, and the region became the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya (in 1969), the Malay/Indonesian language has become the primary lingua franca of the region, and Standard Indonesian is taught in the schools, used in the mass media, and used in government administration and services.

It's not even certain whether or not there is a single variety of Malay which can be properly termed "Papua Malay". Donohue (to appear) names four varieties of Malay in Papua with which he is familiar, although there may be more distinct varieties, or all the varieties may just be variations of a "Papuan Malay." Whether there is one Papuan Malay or several Papuan Malays is a question outside the scope of the current study. There is an ongoing survey at the current time intended to shed some light on this question, conducted by researchers from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) (Kim et al 2007), and it is

hoped that, before too long, we will have a better idea of what the variety or varieties currently termed Papua Malay are. Initial results of the survey indicate that there may be two distinct varieties of Papuan Malay, in the north and south, with some regional variation in each.

The four varieties named by Donohue are:

- South Coast Papua Malay. This variety, spoken in Merauke, along the coast and for some distance inland features several unique lexical items borrowed from the Marind language, including *saham* ‘wallaby’, *nggat* ‘dog’ and even a discourse particle, *pele* ‘you’re kidding’. Donohue adds that there are lexical items found in the north which are unknown in this region. Donohue and Smith (1998) report that the 1PL pronoun *kita* is different in this variety as compared to North Papua Malay (*kitong*).

- Serui Malay. Serui Malay has been described by van Velzen (1995). It is the variety spoken in Cendrawasih Bay (known during the Dutch era as Geelvink Bay) apart from the islands of Biak and Numfoor. Although it shares most features with North Papua Malay, there are lexical differences, and differing details of pronunciation. The negator in Serui Malay is *tida*, while other varieties in Papua tend to use *t(a)ra/t(a)rada*, and the non-referential object is *akang* (as in Ambon Malay), while *de* is more common in other parts of Papua. Serui Malay may be the variety spoken in Manokwari and other towns in the eastern Bird’s Head region.

- Bird’s Head Malay. This variety, spoken around the towns of Sorong, Fakfak and Koiwai, appears to be closely related to Ambon Malay, with lexical items from Ambon Malay and grammatical constructions not found elsewhere in Papua.

- North Papua Malay. This is the variety described in Donohue (to appear) as well as a description by Suharno (1983). It is spoken in villages from Sarmi in the west to the Papua New Guinea border, including Yos Sudarso Bay (formerly Humboldt Bay) and the town of Jayapura, a region which was a focus of Malay traders and Dutch colonial administrators. It features innovations not shared by other varieties of Malay in Papua, and is distinct from Serui Malay, which has been influenced more by Ambon Malay. Donohue (to appear: 2) notes that there is “variation depending on the grammar of the first language of the people who speak Malay, or the grammar of the language that was previously predominant in the area,” which indicates that there has been language shift to Malay in some communities in the area. Donohue mentions that the original inhabitants of this area included the Tabla, Ormu, Kayu Batu, Kayu Pulau, Tobati, Enggros, Sentani, Nafri, Elseng and Skou, and that there has been significant in-migration of other ethnic groups.

Donohue notes that the northern varieties show clear influence from North Moluccan Malay in lexical items such as *kelemarin* ‘yesterday’ which are not found on the south coast. The amount of influence on the northern variety or varieties from North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay is still unclear, although the historical role of speakers of both of these varieties in Papua is known.

There appears to be a leveling of regional differences in urban areas in the north, while this may not be happening at the same pace in the south (Donohue to appear: 2).

Identifying regional varieties is complicated by two factors. First, there are 269 languages spoken in Papua (not including any varieties of Malay), of which 54 are Austronesian, with the remainder being “Papuan” languages, an umbrella term for non-Austronesian languages of multiple families as well as isolates. Each of these languages

has its own grammatical and phonological system which can influence the Malay spoken by individuals and communities. Donohue (to appear: 3) notes that “some local varieties [of Malay], however, spoken in areas where Malay has a long history, have been heavily influenced by first-language phonologies, and show strong deviations from more standard varieties of Malay.”

Secondly, a large number of speakers of Papuan Malay are second-language speakers, and this too influences the linguistic systems of individuals and communities and makes standardization over a region of disparate ethnicities difficult. It is still unknown how many first language speakers there are of Papuan Malay, although it is known that some ethnic groups are shifting to Malay as a first language.¹⁹⁰ A growing number of first-language speakers could lead to standardization of Papuan Malay across different regions, or could reinforce regional varieties with features attributable to the influence of different substrate languages in each region.

Many speakers of Papuan Malay do not consider their Malay as a unique variety, and refer to their speech as “Indonesian”. If there is any term used for the variety spoken in Papua, it is *Melayu Papua* ‘Papua Malay’, although this term is not widely used or even recognized. The basilectal variety of Papuan Malay exists in a continuum with Standard Indonesian, with no clear division between the varieties, and speakers may use structures or lexical items which are at any point on this continuum depending upon the situation, the interlocutors or their own familiarity with the standard language. The informant

¹⁹⁰ Donohue (1999: 4) reports that for the Warembori, a small ethnic group on the north coast of Papua, just to the west of the region identified as speaking North Papua Malay, language shift to Malay from the Warembori language is occurring and that “Children under the age of twenty do not display any ability to speak the [Warembori] language at all.” Donohue (p.c.) says that this is not the only place this is occurring, and it is likely that the pattern is more widespread.

interviewed for this study, who had no education in formal Indonesian (or any language), did not distinguish between Papuan Malay and Indonesian, and said, when asked if there were any differences in language use when the Dutch left and the Indonesians arrived in 1963, said:

(A715) *Stela Blanda, Indonesia datan. Indonesia datan juga kiton*
after Dutch Indonesia come Indonesia come also 1PL
'After the Dutch, the Indonesians came. The Indonesians came while we

masi ada di sini. Sehari-hari kiton pake Melayu juga.
still exist LOC here one-REDUP-day 1PL use Malay also
were still here. Every day we spoke Malay, then the Indonesians came,

Indonesia datan, iya, sama saja kiton sama, pake Indonesia sama.
Indonesia come yes same only 1PL same use Indonesia same
yes, it was just the same, speaking Indonesian was just the same.' (12.20-22)

A.7.2 Major sources

Suharno (1982) provides a brief description of some characteristics of the Malay spoken in Jayapura. Van Velzen (1995) offers a similar treatment of the Malay spoken in Serui, on Yapen island in Cendrawasih Bay. Walker (1982) gives a description of the sociolinguistic setting of a small village on the southern coast of the Bomberai peninsula in northwestern New Guinea. He speaks of the four languages in use in the community, and, notably, he differentiates Malay from Indonesian.¹⁹¹ Seiler (1983) tells of the “lost” Malay language of Papua New Guinea, which was spoken in the late 19th century and again following World War II on the Papua New Guinea side of the border. Sawaki (2007) and Burung and Sawaki (2007) deal with specific constructions in Papua Malay. Kim et al (2007) discusses the initial findings of the Papua Malay Survey. Finally, and most

¹⁹¹ The community he studied may be somewhat atypical, however, in that it is Muslim, and has long-standing cultural links with the central Moluccas, continually reinforced through intermarriage.

importantly, Donohue (to appear) gives a sketch of the language, touching upon many of the important features of the Malay spoken in the northeastern part of Indonesian Papua, and discussing variation in the Malay of the region. Donohue also includes a few short texts in Papuan Malay.

A researcher with SIL, Angela Kluge, is beginning work on a full description of the Malay variety spoken in the northeast, between Sarmi and Jayapura, for her dissertation with Leiden University. This will be a valuable resource when it is completed.

A.7.3 Phonology and orthography

A.7.3.1 Consonants of Papua Malay

It is difficult to identify the consonant phonemes of Papua Malay, since there is regional and individual variation in the use of the language, which may indeed be more than one variety. There are two descriptions available of the phonological inventories of two varieties, and both will be presented here. The first, by Donohue (to appear: 6) is for North Papua Malay.

Table A.62: Consonants of North Papua Malay (Donohue)

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	(tʃ) <c>	k	
Voiced stops	b	d	(dʒ) <j>	g	
Fricatives	(f)	s			h
Nasals	m	n	(ɲ) <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Glides	w		j <y>		

The second inventory presented is from van Velzen (1995: 315) for Serui Malay.

Table A.63: Consonants of Serui Malay (van Velzen)

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	c <c>	k	
Voiced stops	b	d	ɟ <j>	g	
Fricatives	f	s			h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Liquid		l/r			
Glides	w		j <y>		

The orthographic conventions used in this document are indicated in angled brackets above, following standard Indonesian spelling.

The consonant phonemes are generally similar to those found in other varieties of Malay, although there are some significant differences. For many speakers, there is no opposition between /l/ and /r/ and these can sometimes occur in free variation. Many languages in New Guinea lack a distinction between /l/ and /r/, so this is not a surprising development.. In some varieties of Papua Malay, there is no /f/ phoneme,¹⁹² and in the limited number of borrowed words which have an /f/ in other varieties of Malay, /f/ is realized as /p/. Some speakers (and possibly some regions) neutralize all final nasals to /ŋ/, while others (such as the informant for this study) neutralize all final nasals to /n/, as their languages lack [ŋ]. The phonemes /c/ and /j/ (which may be palatal stops or affricates) are not commonly used by speakers who have not been educated in standard Indonesian.¹⁹³ The same is true for the palatal nasal /ɲ/. Donohue (to appear: 6) suggests that the palatal series might better be represented as [ty], [dy], [ny], rather than as separate phonemes. The

¹⁹² Van Velzen notes that “Serui Malay speakers are rather strict in their use of phoneme /f/”, while Donohue does not include it as a full phoneme in North Papua Malay.

¹⁹³ Although van Velzen (1995: 315) lists /c/ and /j/ as phonemes of Serui Malay, he remarks that these “are not used very often by uneducated speakers.”

manner in which the palatal series appears in speech varies. Donohue (to appear: 6) says, in reference to North Papua Malay, “In many cases, [tʃ] is neutralized with the alveolar stop as [t], and similarly [dʒ] has merged with [d]; for other speakers both [tʃ] and [dʒ] neutralize with the palatal glide to [j].” For Serui Malay, van Velzen notes that, for /c/ and /j/, speakers may use “the strings /ti/ and /di/ instead. /c/ may on several occasions be replaced by /si/ or even by /t/.”

Borrowed consonant phonemes ([ʔ], [ʃ], [x]), which occur as a marker of Indonesian-influenced registers in other varieties of Malay, and which do not properly belong in the phonemic inventory of these varieties may be particularly rare in Papua Malay, even when speakers are speaking a variety closer to the high.

The consonant features which are unique to eastern Indonesian varieties of Malay, in terms of their historical development from Vehicular Malay, such as the loss of /h/ in all positions except between like vowels, and the loss of word-final consonants other than /ŋ/, /s/, /r/, and sometimes /l/, are also found in Papua Malay, which is not surprising, given that Papua Malay presumably developed from North Moluccan and/or Ambon Malay. In Papua Malay, however, there seems to be much more variation between the basilectal forms and the Standard Indonesian forms. This is most likely an reflection of the fact that the basilectal variety has never been standardized across the region, and recent exposure through schooling, the mass media and government administration to the high variety has had a significant impact.

A.7.3.2 Vowels of Papua Malay

As with the consonants, there is a difference in the vowel inventory reported for Papua Malay in the two available studies (reflecting regional variation), so both are being included here.

Table A.64: Vowels of North Papua Malay (Donohue to appear: 6)

i	u
(e)	(o)
ɛ	ɔ
a	

Table A.65: Vowels of Serui Malay (van Velzen 1995: 318)

i	u
e	o
a	

Donohue notes that for some speakers there is a seven vowel system, with a distinction made between /e/ and /ɛ/, and between /o/ and /ɔ/ with the lower vowels occurring in positions in which Standard Malay has a word final diphthong (/ay/ or /aw/). The result is a contrast in words such as in (A716), necessitating an underlying seven vowel system.

(A716)	<i>pece</i>	‘mud’	(< * <i>becek</i>)
	<i>pantɛ</i>	‘beach’	(< * <i>pantai</i>)
	<i>jompo</i>	‘pick up’	(< * <i>jəmpu</i>)
	<i>pulɔ</i>	‘island’	(< * <i>pulau</i>) (Donohue to appear: 8)

Other developments in Papua Malay, such as the loss of the schwa and the lowering of vowels in final closed syllables (as well as the loss of the word-final diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/) are the same as the developments found in North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay, and it can be assumed that these developments had already

occurred before the Malay language reached Papua. The further development of a word-final vowel contrast in words which had already lost a diphthong or word-final consonant is not as easily explained, and may be a remnant of a vowel distinction in this position which was subsequently lost in other varieties of Malay, or it may be a newer introduction, reflecting a familiarity with Standard Indonesian, in which there is a distinction word-finally in these words, with a resulting effort to create such a distinction.

The loss of the schwa which was present in Vehicular Malay has been handled in a similar manner to North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay, although individual lexical items show some variation (perhaps due to their origins in differing varieties of Malay). According to Donohue (to appear: 6), the schwa occasionally appears in some words, such as *kə(lə)lwar* ‘small bat’. This may be due to interference from knowledge of Standard Indonesian. It does not appear that the schwa is part of the phonemic system of varieties of Papua Malay, and indeed it was not analyzed as part of the phonemic system of either North Papuan Malay (by Donohue) or Serui Malay (by van Velzen).

The loss of the schwa has led to phonemic stress, as in the other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia (except Larantuka Malay). Minimal pairs are easily found:

(A717)	<i>dapá</i>	‘front’	(< * <i>dəpan</i>)
	<i>dápa</i>	‘obtain, get’	(< * <i>dapat</i>)
	<i>barát</i>	‘heavy’	(< * <i>bərat</i>)
	<i>bárat</i>	‘west’	(< * <i>barat</i>) (Donohue to appear: 8)

For second-language speakers in areas with limited exposure to Malay, the phonology of the local language can create pronunciations which diverge from normal usage in Malay. Compare the forms in (A718), (A720) and (A722) with their Standard Indonesian variants in (A719), (A721) and (A723).

- (A718) [dɛβɔrɔm cajaβuŋa dawŋgɛβara]
De=potong saya=punya daun-kepala
 3SG=cut 1SG=POSS leaf-head
 ‘He cut my hair.’ (Donohue to appear: 3, 1)
- (A719) *Dia mem-[p]otong rambut saya.*
 3SG AV-cut hair 1SG
 ‘He cut my hair.’ (Donohue to appear: 3, 2)
- (A720) *Bari kita bakad daji cikara* (Lake Plains Region)
 come 1PL eat rice now
 ‘Let’s eat some rice now.’ (Donohue to appear: 4, 3)
- (A721) *Mari kita makan nasi sɛkarang*
 come 1PL eat rice now
 ‘Let’s eat some rice now.’ (Donohue to appear: 4, 3)
- (A722) *Caya mau cuci* (Dani ethnic group)
 1SG want injection
 ‘I want to be given an injection.’ (Donohue to appear: 4, 4)
- (A723) *Saya mau (di)-suntik*
 1SG want PASS-injection
 ‘I want to be given an injection.’ (Donohue to appear: 4, 4)

A.7.4 General/Clause Structure

A.7.4.1 Word Order

Papua Malay is an isolating language, with little productive morphology of any kind, apart from reduplication. As a result, word order generally takes a very important role, and the basic word orders of SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT (in transitive clauses) and SUBJECT-VERB (in intransitive clauses) are normal, as in the following typical examples:

- (A724) *Da=bunu oran semua...*
 3SG=kill people all
 ‘He killed all the people...’ (12.32)
- (A725) *...kamu=dudu hati-hati...*
 2PL=sit REDUP-care
 ‘...you all sit carefully ...’ (12.64)

For some second-language speakers of Papua Malay in areas where there is little use of Malay, as in the Lake Plains region in inland north Papua, Donohue (to appear: 3) reports that some contact varieties of Malay show SOV word order, as the local languages are SOV.

In addition, Donohue (to appear: 26) notes that divergence from the SVO pattern “is rife, due to the extensive use of topicalization and other pragmatically marked patterns that affect the word order.” Donohue presents some of the options available based upon a single basic clause (A726). The other possibilities are commonly heard (except (A730) and (A732)).

(A726) SVO

[_{NP:SUBJ} *Kita=ni*] [*tra suka makan*] [_{NP:OBJ} *nasi.*]
 1SG=DEM NEG like eat rice

‘I don’t like eating rice.’ (Donohue to appear: 26, 97)

(A727) S, VO

Kita=ni, sa=tra suka makan nasi.
 1SG=DEM 1SG=NEG like eat rice

‘Me, I don’t like eating rice.’ (Donohue to appear: 26, 98)

(A728) O, (S)V

Nasi=tu, sa=tra suka makan.
 rice=DEM 1SG=NEG like eat

‘Rice, I don’t like eating (it).’ (Donohue to appear: 26, 99)

(A729) VO, (S)AUX

Makan nasi=tu sa=tra suka.
 eat rice=DEM 1SG=NEG like

‘Eating rice, I don’t like.’ (Donohue to appear: 27, 100)

(A730) SV, O

? *Kita=ni tra suka makan, nasi.*
 1SG=DEM NEG like eat rice

‘I don’t like eating, rice.’ (Donohue to appear: 27, 101)

(A731) (S)VO, S

Sa=tra suka makan nasi, kita=ni.
 1SG=NEG like eat rice 1SG=DEM

‘Well, I don’t like eating rice, me.’ (Donohue to appear: 27, 102)

(A732) (s)v, so
 **Sa=tra suka makan, kita=ni nasi.*
 1SG=NEG like eat 1SG=DEM rice
 ‘Well, I don’t like eating, me, rice.’ (Donohue to appear: 27, 103)

A.7.4.2 Lexical categories

Papua Malay has three open classes of words: nouns, verbs and adjectives.

Although adjectives form only a small word class, have certain similarities with verbs, and might be analyzed as a sub-class of verbs, they are analyzed here as a separate category, as they can take intensifiers and, most importantly, they do not generally take pronominal proclitics marking the subject (Donohue to appear: 15). The following example illustrates this contrast:

(A733) *Sa=saki.* **Sa=kecil.*
 1SG=sick 1SG=small
 ‘I’m sick.’ ‘I’m small.’ (Donohue to appear: 16, 36-37)

Adjectives include *kecil* ‘small, young’, *besa(r)* ‘big, grown up’ *laku* ‘good, acceptable’ and most color terms, but not words such as *tua* ‘old’, *muda* ‘young’ and *jahat* ‘bad, evil’, which are morphologically verbs (Donohue to appear: 16).

The following are the closed classes of words in Papua Malay. The members of these classes will be described separately.

- Pronouns (a sub-class of nouns)
- Demonstratives
- Prepositions
- Conjunctions
- Possessive markers
- Numerals
- Directionals

- Intensifiers
- Relativizers
- Negators
- Question words
- Aspect markers
- Adverbs
- Interjections
- Discourse Particles

A.7.4.3 Prepositions

Prepositional phrases in Papua Malay consist of PREPOSITION + NOUN PHRASE.

Prepositions can be locative or non-locative, and simple or complex. Table A.66 presents the prepositions of Papua Malay. The complex prepositions may occur with the locative prepositions *di*, *ka* or *dari*, but only *dari* is obligatory. *Di* and *ka* may be omitted in certain other constructions, and are not generally used with the verb *pi* ‘go’.

- *di* LOC (‘at, in, on’)

(A734) *Sa=kerja di sini su=lama betul di UNIPA ini.*
 1SG=work LOC here ASP=long true LOC UNIPA DEM
 ‘I’ve worked here a long time at Papua State University (UNIPA).’ (12.1)

- *dari* ‘from; than’

(A735) *Dari kota turus Amban ini buka.*
 from city then Amban DEM open
 ‘From the city then Amban was developed.’ (12.78)

Table A.66 Prepositions in Papua Malay

Simple Locative Prepositions	<i>di</i>	LOC 'at, in, on, to'
	<i>dari</i>	'from'
	<i>ke, ka, kə</i>	'to' (ANIM. or INANIM.)
	<i>dekat</i>	'close to'
	<i>sampe</i>	'arrive, till'
	<i>abis</i>	'after'
Simple Non-Locative Prepositions	<i>deng, den, dengan, denan</i>	COM, INST 'with'
	<i>untuk, untu</i>	BEN 'for, to'
	<i>buat</i>	BEN 'for, to'
	<i>kasi, kase, kas</i>	BEN 'for, to'
	<i>sama</i>	'with, to'
	<i>pake</i>	INST 'with, use'
	<i>sampe</i>	'until'
	<i>abis</i>	'after'
Complex Locative Prepositions <i>di, dari, ka +</i>	<i>dalang, dalam</i>	'inside'
	<i>balakang, blakang</i>	'back(side)'
	<i>bawa</i>	'bottom(side)'
	<i>muka</i>	'face, front'
	<i>atas</i>	'top'

- *di* LOC ('at, in, on'); *ke~ka* 'to' (before inanimate and animate noun phrases)

(A736) *Oran Japan datan itu di pante saja, iko di pante,*
 people Japan come DEM LOC beach only follow LOC beach

tida masu ke Kebar.

NEG enter to Kebar

'The Japanese came just to the beach, onto the beach, didn't enter into Kebar.' (12.14-15)

- *dari* 'from; than'; *sampe* 'until'

(A737) *Ton=kerja dari Blanda sampe UNIPA.*

1PL=work from Dutch until UNIPA

'I worked from the Dutch era till UNIPA.' (12.5)

- *abis* 'after'

(A738) *Don=su=rame abis ton=besar-besar.*

3PL=ASP=many.people after 1PL=REDUP-big

'There were many of them, after we were big.' (12.17-18)

- *den~deng* ‘with’ (COMITATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL)

(A739) *Rumkorem da=tinggal den ipar ini.*
 Rumkoren 3SG=live with in-law DEM
 ‘Rumkoren lived with his in-laws.’ (12.42)

- *buat* ‘for’ (BENEFACTIVE)

(A740) *Lebe bae kasi kudu buat dia...*
 more good give church to 3SG
 ‘It would be better to give him religion.’ (12.34)

- *sama* ‘with, to’

(A741) *A meman tu Blanda don seraka sama doran...*
 INT truly DEM Dutch 3PL greedy with 3PL
 ‘The Dutch were indeed greedy with people ...’ (12.68)

A.7.4.4 Negation

Negation in all clause types is expressed by the negators *t(a)ra* ‘no, not’, *t(a)rada* ‘no, not (have)’, or *tida* ‘no, not’ (the latter only in some areas, and most likely a recent introduction from Indonesian *tida*?). These negators follow the subject and precede the verb, and can also occur after the main verb as part of a modifying VP. The position of the negator within the verb phrase and the sentence will be discussed further below. The negator can be attached as a clitic, when a subject pronoun clitic occurs, as in (A742) below. The use of clitics for demonstratives and pronouns is discussed below

(A742) *Sa umur=tu sa=tida=tau.*
 1SG age=DEM 1SG=NEG=know
 ‘I don’t know how old I am.’ (12.3)

(A743) *...tara bisa kalo dia=bunu oran.*
 NEG can if 3SG=kill people
 ‘...it’s not allowed to kill people.’ (12.36)

(A744) *Trada yang blok tong pu kartu.*
 NEG.have REL block 3PL POSS card
 ‘(There is) nobody (who) blocks our [phone] card.’ (Advertising banner from Manokwari, cited in Kim et al (2007: 3))

Negation of elements other than the verb is accomplished through use of the negator *buka(n)*.

- (A745) *Dong=lia kitong buka(n) manusia.*
3PL=see 1PL NEG human
'They look at us as if we're sub-human.' (Donohue to appear: 38, 155)

A negative meaning is contained in the aspect marker *balom/burum* 'not yet', which can also appear as its Indonesian cognate *belum*.

- (A746) *Sa=balom kawin.*
1SG=not.yet marry
'I haven't married yet.' (Donohue to appear: 37, 152b)

Donohue (to appear: 37) points out that Papuan Malay allows the negator *t(a)ra* in positions where *balom/burum* 'not yet' would be expected in other varieties of Malay, as in (A746) above: where the construction *Saya tidak kawin* (1SG NEG marry) would be unacceptable in most varieties of Malay, Papuan Malay allows the following:

- (A747) *Sa=tida=kawen, iya, sa=tida=kawen, iya, kerja saja..*
1SG=NEG=marry yes 1SG=NEG=marry yes work only
'I never got married, yes, I never married, yes, only worked.' (12.60)

There is also a verb, *taramaw* with the meaning 'not want' (Donohue to appear: 38).

- (A748) *De=taramaw jalan.*
3SG=not.want walk
'He doesn't want to go.' (Donohue to appear: 38, 160)

A.7.4.5 Questions

Polar (yes/no) questions are generally indicated by intonation alone. A clause-final question word, *ka*, can also appear.

- (A749) *...da=bilan ko=setuju? Setuju ka?*
3SG=say 2SG=agree agree Q
'...she said "Do you agree? Do you agree?" (12.49)

Leading questions may also be formed by a clause-final negator,.

(A750) *Dong=su=makan, tidak?*
3PL=PERF=eat NEG
'They've already eaten, haven't they?' (Donohue to appear: 39, 167)

Content questions can be formed using questions words, which appear in situ, and have a distinctive pattern of intonation.

(A751) *...dia punya apa?*
3SG have what
'...what did he have??' (12.19)

(A752) *Ton=dapa nasi di mana?*
1PL=get rice LOC where
'Where would we get rice?' (12.26)

A.7.5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

A.7.5.1 Order of elements

The noun phrase consists of the following elements (Donohue to appear: 16):

(NP_{POSS}) HEAD (NUM) (NOUN) (ADJ) (DEM) (VP) (QUANT) (REL/PP) (DEM)

These elements and the constraints on each will be discussed below.

The order of DEMONSTRATIVE-NOUN did not occur in the data for Papua Malay. It is also likely that the order DEMONSTRATIVE-NOUN can occur, but that this order, which is likely the original order, did not occur in the data for this study, most probably due to the influence of Indonesian.

Within the noun phrase, nouns may be modified by demonstratives, quantifiers, possessives, numerals, adjectives, other nouns, VPs, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses.

(A753) shows the order N-ADJ in Papua Malay.

- (A753) *Don=su=rane abis ton=besar-besar.*
 3PL=ASP=many.people after 1PL=REDUP-big
 ‘There were many of them [Japanese], after we were big’ (12.17-18)

A.7.5.2 Plural marking

Plural marking is optional in Papua Malay, and if nouns are modified by a numeral or a quantifier, plurality is not generally marked on the noun. When it does occur, the plural is marked through reduplication of the noun:

- (A754) ...*sa suda kuran tau ana-ana doran tapi doran=sendiri*
 1SG already less know REDUP-child 3PL but 3PL=self

cerita.

tell.story

‘...I don’t know the children, they tell their own stories.’ (12.11-12)

- (A755) *Blanda dia=kunjuni kudu-kudu sampe di situ...*
 Dutchman 3SG=visit REDUP-church until LOC there
 ‘The Dutchman visited the churches all the way to there ...’ (12.44-45)

- (A756) *Kita punya foto-foto yan Blanda don=foto.*
 1SG POSS REDUP-photo REL Dutch 3PL=photo
 ‘We have photos which the Dutch took.’ (12.61-62)

A.7.5.3 Pronouns

The pronouns of Papua Malay are presented in the table below.

Table A.67: Pronouns of Papua Malay¹⁹⁴

	Free	Clitic
1SG	<i>kita, say, sa</i>	<i>sa=</i>
2SG informal	<i>kaw, ko, koe</i>	<i>ko=</i>
3SG	<i>dia, de, da, di</i>	<i>de=, da=</i>
3SG.INANIMATE	<i>akan (Serui)</i>	
1PL (INCL/EXCL)	<i>kiton(g), kita, kitoran(g)</i>	<i>toran(g)=, ton(g)=</i>
2PL	<i>kamu</i>	<i>kam=</i>
3PL	<i>doran(g)</i>	<i>don(g)=</i>

¹⁹⁴ The forms in the second column are analyzed as clitics by Donohue (to appear: 10) and as a “reductive set” by van Velzen (1995: 326).

Donohue describes the use of the clitic forms as follows: “The clitic forms are used as proclitic subject agreement markers on verbs, as markers of possession on the possessive particle *pu* and as proclitics on numerals, quantifiers and classifiers (which are arguably best treated as verbs).” Donohue’s analysis of these forms as proclitics has been applied to the Papua Malay data collected for this study. This structure has likely been influenced by the structures of local vernacular languages, in which subject agreement prefixes are common. Since the subject clitics do not create homorganic final nasals when attached to consonant-initial verbs, they can not be analyzed as prefixes. Examples follow. Note that with 3SG and 3PL subjects, the clitic follows an explicitly named subject, as in (A759) and (A761).

(A757) *Sa=kerja di sini su lama betul di UNIPA ini.*
 1SG=work LOC here ASP long true LOC UNIPA DEM
 ‘I’ve worked here a long time at Papua State University (UNIPA).’ (12.1)

(A758) *...ko=tinggal di sini su lama jadi ko=pinda...*
 2SG=live LOC here ASP long so 2SG=move
 ‘...you have lived here a long time so you [must] move...’ (12.56-57)

(A759) *Jumander da=tinggal di Amberbaken sana..*
 Jumander 3SG=live LOC Amberbaken over.there
 ‘Jumander lived there in Amberbaken.’ (12.31)

(A760) *Jadi ton waktu kecil smua ton=makan.*
 so 1PL time small all 1PL=eat
 ‘So when we were small we ate everything.’ (12.28)

(A761) *Blanda don=kase, Blanda kase ini, kudu...*
 Dutch 3PL=give Dutch give DEM church
 ‘The Dutch they gave us, the Dutch gave us a church...’ (12.29)

Donohue (to appear: 11) notes that the 3SG pronoun *dia* can be used for both animate and inanimate referents, at least in the North Papua variety, and with inanimate referents, it can be either singular or plural, while the 3PL pronoun *dorang/dong* can only

be used for human referents. For Serui Malay, van Velzen mentions that there is a 3SG inanimate pronoun *akan*, which is similar to *akang* in Ambon Malay. This pronoun does not seem to occur in other varieties of Papua Malay.

A.7.5.4 Possessive constructions

The possessive construction in Papua Malay takes the form POSSESSOR *punya/pu* POSSESSED, in which *punya* or *pu* is the possessive marker. Donohue (to appear: 24) points out that *punya* “is often reduced to *pu*, and when a pronominal possessor is indicated the pronoun is almost invariably procliticised to the (reduced) possessive marker directly, which in turn can appear cliticised on to the possessum. When the possessor is a clitic pronoun, the whole possessor + possessed unit MUST cliticise to the following possessum noun, while this is only optional for nominal possessors, and then only with the reduced form, *pu*, never with *punya*.”

(A762) *Kitoran dari ini, ini bapa punya keturunan ini.*
 1PL from DEM DEM father POSS descendants DEM
 ‘We’re from this, father’s descendants are these.’ (12.12)

(A763) *...dia punya apa, da=pu=kudu.*
 3SG POSS what 3SG=POSS=church
 ‘...what did he have? He had a church.’ (12.29-30)

(A764) *Da=pu=nama Jumander, dari Numfoor.*
 3SG=POSS=name Jumander from Numfoor
 ‘He [the pastor’s] name was Jumander, from Numfoor.’ (12.30)

(A765) *Da=pu=ana-ana don=ada...*
 3SG=POSS=REDUP-child 3PL=exist
 ‘His children are still around.’ (12.58-59)

A.7.5.5 Demonstratives

There are two demonstratives in Papua Malay, *ini* ‘this; close to speaker’ and *itu* ‘that; away from speaker’. These can also occur as the clitics =*ni* and =*tu*. In addition, the

demonstratives can also serve a referential or anaphoric marker or a topic marker. In addition to spatial reference, the demonstratives can also be used to position an entity or an action in time, with *ini* referring to the present time, and *itu* referring to a time in the past.

Demonstratives may occur in the subject or object position in their full forms.

Demonstratives used to modify a noun always follow the noun.

(A766) *Turus sa punya om ini jahat. Om=ni=jahat, da=jahat.*
 then 1SG POSS uncle DEM bad uncle=DEM=bad 3SG=bad
 ‘Then I had an uncle who was bad. This uncle was bad, he was bad.’
 (12.31)

(A767) *Ini siapa=tu, siapa=ni...*
 DEM who=DEM who=DEM
 ‘Who was that? Who was this?...’ (12.41)

(A768) *Japan itu su, don=su=rane.*
 Japan DEM ASP 3PL=ASP=many.people
 ‘There were many Japanese.’ (12.17)

(A769) *Keadaan zaman dulu=tu dari waktu kecil itu...*
 Situation era before=DEM from time small DEM
 ‘The situation in the old days when I was young...’ (12.22)

A.7.5.6 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are usually post-nominal,¹⁹⁵ as in other Malay varieties, which also happens to be in alignment with the usual position in the languages of New Guinea. The relativizer *yan(g)* is not obligatory and is frequently omitted. Donohue notes that the rules for relative clause formation are not restrictive, and various elements can head a relative clause, including A (A770), S (A771), P (A772) or an oblique (A773) (these four examples are from Donohue (to appear: 22)).

(A770) *orang tadi ada makan sago itu.*
 person just.now exist eat sago DEM
 ‘the person who was eating the sago earlier on’
 (Donohue to appear: 22, 73)

¹⁹⁵ Donohue (to appear: 23) also gives examples of pre-nominal relative clauses.

(A771) *Dong=tadi jalan pi tanjung itu.*
 3PL=just.now walk go cape DEM
 ‘that lot who went to the cape earlier on’ (Donohue to appear: 22, 74)

(A772) *...ampas-ampas yang kitong buang*
 REDUP-rubbish REL 1PL throw.away
 ‘...the rubbish that we throw away’ (Donohue to appear: 22, 75)

(A773) *Itu tadi saya bilang, itu kampong dong=tinggal.*
 that just.now 1SG say DEM village 3PL=stay
 ‘That’s what I told you before, that’s the village that they stayed in.’
 (Donohue to appear: 22, 76)

(A774) *...baru om itu, satu di pante, da=kawin sa punya*
 then uncle DEM one LOC beach 3SG=marry 1SG POSS

kaka parampuan.
 older.sibling female
 ‘...then this uncle, the one who lived on the beach, married my older sister.’ (12.32-33)

(A775) *Tida tau oran yan mati-mati di kampu, ana-ana yan.*
 NEG know person REL REDUP-die LOC village REDUP-child REL

melahirkan
 give.birth
 I don’t know who has died back in the village, what children have given birth...’ (12.10)

A.7.5.7 Nominal Morphology

There are two kinds of morphological processes in Papua Malay, which vary in their productivity: affixation and reduplication. Papua Malay has no productive nominal affixes. Other nominal prefixes, which are productive in other varieties of Malay, such as the agent prefix *peN-/pan-/pa-*, or the circumfix *ke- -an*, are not productive in Papua Malay, and only exist in frozen forms. Nominal reduplication, as in the example below, can indicate plurality, diversity or totality.

(A776) *Kitoran cukup yan di rawa-rawa.*
 1PL enough REL LOC REDUP-swamp
 ‘We only needed the kind from the swamps.’ (12.27)

A.7.6 Verbs and Verb Phrases

A.7.6.1 Order of elements

There is not enough information available at present to define exactly what elements are included in the verb complex in Papua Malay, and their precise ordering, but we can draw some general conclusions about some of the elements and which slots they create. These are presented in Table A.68 below. All slots excluding the verb base are optional, and, indeed, often a bare verb base occurs. The first class of aspect markers in Table A.68 below operates on the predicate level (as does the negative), while the second class of aspect markers operates in the verb phrase. The third class of aspect markers, which includes a single item, *abis* COMPLETIVE, occurs after the verb.

Table A.68 Elements in the Verb Phrase in Papua Malay

VERB PHRASE							
ASPECT 1	NEG	ASPECT 2	MODAL	AUX	PREFIX	MAIN VERB	ASPECT 3
<i>su</i> PERF	<i>t(a)ra</i> NEG	<i>ada</i> PROG/REAL	<i>musti</i> 'must'	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ba-</i>		<i>abis</i> COMP
<i>masi</i> 'still'	<i>t(a)rada</i> 'not have'		<i>bole</i> 'may'	<i>bikin</i> CAUS	<i>baku-</i>		
<i>b(a)lum</i> 'not yet'		<i>mo</i> FUT /IRREAL	<i>bisa</i> 'can'	<i>buat</i> CAUS			
				<i>kena</i> PASS			
				<i>dapa</i> PASS			
				<i>taw</i> HAB			
				<i>jadi</i> INCH			
REDUPLICATION							

The following are examples of possible combinations of these elements in Papua Malay. As with the earlier examples, there are no instances in the data of more than a few elements in any single example.

(A777) ...*sa=su=lupa dia waktu Blanda, da=bilansuda...*
 1SG=ASP=forget 3SG time Dutch 3SG=say ASP
 =ASP1=V
 ‘...I have forgotten, in the Dutch era, he said enough...’ (12.56)

(A778) *Oran baru tida bisa datan.*
 people new NEG can come
 NEG MOD V
 ‘New people couldn’t come.’ (12.67)

A.7.6.2 Aspect

Aspect can be marked by aspect markers such as *su* PERFECTIVE and *masi* ‘still’ which operate on the predicate level (the ‘Aspect 1’ category in the tables above), and by the markers *ada*, which can be a marker of PROGRESSIVE or REALIS aspect, and *mo*, which marks FUTURE or IRREALIS aspect, which operate on the phrase level (‘Aspect 2’). In addition, the aspect marker *abis* can occur after the verb (with intervening material) and marks COMPLETIVE aspect.

The PROGRESSIVE or REALIS marker, *ada*, is distinguished from the verb *ada* ‘have; exist; there is.’ The aspect marker *ada* cannot be negated, while the verb *ada* may be negated. Examples of the use of aspect markers follow.

(A779) ...*sa=su=lupa...*
 1SG=ASP=forget
 ‘I have forgotten.’ (12.56)

(A780) ... *Amban=ni su buka.*
 Amban=DEM ASP open
 ‘...this area of Amban was developed.’ (12.69-70)

(A781) *Blanda kembali sa=masi di Kebar.*
 Dutch return 1SG=still LOC Kebar
 ‘When the Dutch returned, I was still in Kebar.’ (12.15-16)

(A782) ...*jadi kiton mo fikir bagemana.*
 so 1PL ASP think how
 ‘...so we would wonder how things would be.’ (12.68-69)

- (A783) *Sampe lama betul baru ton=blum=tau siapa ini...*
 until long true just 1PL=not.yet=know who DEM
 ‘For a long time I didn’t know who this was.’ (12.54-55)
- (A784) *Sekarang angin besar ada tiup, jangan kitong pigi.*
 now wind big ASP blow don’t 1PL go
 ‘It’s really blowing up a storm right now, we shouldn’t go out.’
 (Donohue to appear: 35, 163)
- (A785) *Ton=kerja di kota abis.*
 1PL=work LOC city ASP
 ‘In the end, I worked in the city.’ (12.18-19)
- (A786) *Nanti dia tinggal turus dia=bunu oran abis.*
 later 3SG stay then 3SG=kill people finish
 ‘Then he stayed and he killed all the people.’ (12.33-34)

A.7.6.3 Complex verbs

Complex verbs consist of a verb preceded by one of the verbs in the ‘Aux’ column in Table A.68 above: the CAUSATIVE markers *kas(i)/kase=*, *bikin(g)* or *buat*, the PASSIVE markers *kena* or *dapa*, the HABITUAL marker *taw* or the INCHOATIVE marker *jadi*. All these forms are very productive, although not all appeared in the data collected, and some of the examples below are from other sources.

A.7.6.3.1 Causative

CAUSATIVE constructions are formed with the markers *kas(i)/kase=* ‘give’ (a bound form), *bikin(g)* ‘make’, or *buat* ‘make, do’. The latter two occur independently, and are not bound. Donohue (to appear: 29) notes the following distribution for these causativizers: *kas(i)/kase=* can occur with any predicate, agentive or non-agentive and transitive or intransitive. *Bikin(g)* can only occur with intransitive bases, in particular non-agentive bases. An object can occur following the construction, or between the two elements. *Buat* gives a less direct sense of causation, and only occurs with the causee between the two elements.

(A787) *Tuhan yan perintah, jadi kasi=pata.*
 God REL order so give=break
 ‘God has ordered it, so break [your weapons] (cause them to be broken).’
 (12.52)

(A788) *Blanda bilan kiton kas=tinggal kamu, tapi kamu hati-hati*
 Dutch say 1PL give=stay 2PL but 2PL REDUP-care

dunia masi goya.
 world still unstable

‘The Dutch said “We are leaving you all, but you be careful, the world is still unstable.” (12.62-63)

(A789) *De=bikin sa=menangis.*
 3SG=make 1SG=cry
 ‘He made me cry.’ (Burung and Sawaki 2007: 3, 6)

(A790) *Dong=buat de=pulang.*
 3PL=make 3SG=go.home
 ‘They made him return home (eg. through the things they said, or because they had made him uncomfortable, etc.)’ (Donohue to appear: 30, 122)

A.7.6.3.2 Passive

Passive constructions in Papua Malay are formed with the PASSIVE markers

kəna/kona ‘hit, (be) affect(ed by)’ or *dapa* ‘get, find, meet’, which is not used in the North

Papua region, but is common in Serui and other varieties around Cendrawasih Bay (and is

the primary form presented in Sawaki (2007)). In constructions with *kəna*, the agent is

usually not mentioned, and the theme/patient must be adversely affected by the event

(Donohue to appear: 30). This constraint relates to the meaning of the verb *kəna*, which is a

regular transitive verb conveying the meaning of ‘to adversely affect’. Active sentences

with *kəna* are more common than passive constructions. Passive constructions are rare in

the languages of New Guinea, although passive meanings through serialization occur in

languages of the Jayapura area (Donohue (to appear: 31). Examples of passive constructions with *kəna* and *dapa* follow.

(A791) *Sa=pu=pəce kəna tabrak.*
 1SG=POSS=friend suffer collide
 ‘My friend was hit (by a car).’ (Donohue to appear: 31, 126)

(A792) *Anak itu de=dapa pukul dari de=pu=bapa.*
 child DEM 3SG=PASS hit from 3SG=POSS=father
 ‘The child was hit by his father.’ (Sawaki 2007: 2, 7)

(A793) *Sa dapa kase=tinggal.*
 1SG PASS CAUS=leave
 ‘I was left (by someone).’ (Sawaki 2007: 2, 14)

A.7.6.3.3 Other Complex verbs

Examples of the HABITUAL marker *taw* ‘know’ and the INCHOATIVE marker *jadi* ‘become’ follow.

(A794) *Kitong taw makan sabeta sagu.*
 1PL HABIT eat grub sago
 ‘We habitually eat sago grubs.’ (Donohue to appear: 35, 155)

(A795) *Selese sekola de=jadi guru.*
 complete school 3SG=become teacher
 ‘When he finished school he became a teacher.’
 (Donohue to appear: 37, 147)

A.7.6.4 Serial Verbs

Complex events may be expressed through two or more consecutive main verbs (as distinct from constructions which employ auxiliaries). The first verb is from a limited set, such as *pi/pigi/pergi* ‘go’, *ba(wa)* ‘bring’, *datan(g)* ‘come’, or *ambe* ‘take’, and acts as an auxiliary. For example, *ambe ba(wa)=pergi* ‘get carry go’ to mean ‘take’ and *ambe ba=datang* ‘get carry come’ to mean ‘bring’ (Donohue to appear 28). These serial verb constructions are particularly common when motion is involved, and direction or means

can be added to the serial verb construction. Some examples of possible serial verb constructions are in (A796), with examples of their usage following.

- (A796) *ba(wa) datang* carry + come = ‘bring’
ba(wa) pigi carry + go = ‘take’
ba(wa) pulang carry + return = ‘bring back’
ambe(l) curi take + steal = ‘steal’ (Donohue to appear 28, 111)

- (A797) *De=ambe bai ba=pergi pulang di ruma.*
 3SG=take bucket carry=go return LOC house
 ‘He took the bucket back home.’ (Donohue to appear 28, 109)

- (A798) *Sa=pu=toman dong=su=ambe buku ba=pi ruma.*
 1SG=POSS=friend 3PL=PERF=take book carry=go house
 ‘My friends have taken the books to their houses.’
 (Donohue to appear 29, 112)

- (A799) *Jadi sa=punya nenek pigi dong=terima yengan bai.*
 and.so 1SG=POSS grandmother go 3PL=receive with good

Tru dong=kasi barang-barang de=bawa pulang.
 and.then 3PL=give REDUP-thing 3SG=carry return
 ‘So my grandmother went (there), and they welcomed her heartily. They gave her presents which she took back home.’ (Donohue to appear 29, 113)

A.7.6.5 Verbal morphology

Verbal morphology consists of affixation and reduplication. A number of prefixes which occur in other varieties of Malay can be found in Papua Malay, but it is uncertain whether these have any productivity or are frozen forms borrowed into the language or instances of code-switching with Standard Indonesian.¹⁹⁶ There may also be regional variation as well in the use and productivity of these forms. There are three prefixes which may or may not be productive in Papua Malay: *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*. These prefixes are

¹⁹⁶ Words which are borrowed from other varieties of Malay which contain affixes such as *ma-* (<məN-), *an-*, *-kan*, *kə-* *-an*, *-nya*, etc. are monomorphemic in Papua Malay, and the affixes, although they may appear in a word, are not productive. In the glosses for the data collected for this study, such non-productive affixes are treated as part of the word, and not as part of the linguistic system of Papua Malay.

productive in the two Malay varieties which were influential in the spread of Malay in Papua, North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay, but further study is needed to assess the extent of their use in Papua Malay and their possible productivity. Van Velzen lists all three as well as *maN-* and *paN-* as productive prefixes in Serui Malay, although he says *maN-* has little functional load and “probably, it is not very productive” (van Velzen 1995: 324), while he notes *paN-* is only used “in one or two instances” (van Velzen 1995: 325). The forms listed by van Velzen for *ba-* do not seem to follow a regular pattern, and in fact a few of them, such as *barangka* ‘to depart’, coincide with forms known to be frozen forms in North Moluccan Malay and Ambon Malay. *Ta-* is more likely to turn out to have some productivity. Van Velzen lists the following forms for *ta-*:

(A800)	<i>tidur</i>	‘sleep’	<i>tatidur</i>	‘fallen asleep’
	<i>tahan</i>	‘keep, detain’	<i>tatahan</i>	‘kept, hold’
	<i>toki</i>	‘beat’	<i>tatoki</i>	‘beaten’ (van Velzen 1995: 324)

Of these, *tatahan* is likely a frozen borrowing, while the other two are possibly the result of a productive prefix, especially if the meaning includes the sense of ‘accidental’ or without intention. The word *toki* is a local borrowing, as well, which would be evidence for productivity of the prefix.

Sawaki (2007) gives a number of examples using *ta-* which fit the pattern of having an accidental or unintended result. Although Sawaki does not specify which region he is drawing data from, it is likely the Cendrawasih Bay area, which includes Serui and Manokwari, two locations with which Sawaki is familiar. Sawaki analyzes the forms with *ta-* as “accidental passives”, in which “the patient is promoted to be the agent and the base verb takes the passive prefix *ta-*” (Sawaki 2007: 3). Leaving aside the question of whether these are actually passives (a question also raised by van Velzen (1995: 324)), the forms do

seem to be productive in this variety of Papua Malay, and they do contain the meaning of an accidental or unintended result. Sawaki gives the following examples:

- (A801) *Ruma itu de ta-bakar.*
house DEM 3SG TA-burn
'The house was burned.' (Sawaki 2007: 3, 19)
- (A802) *Buku-buku itu ta-bongkar.*
REDUP=book DEM TA-take.apart
'Those books have been thrown around.' (Sawaki 2007: 3, 20)
- (A803) *Tong bikin de ta-banting sampe de manangis.*
1PL make.CAUS 3SG TA-fall.down until 3SG cry
'We made him fall down, which made him cry.' (Sawaki 2007: 3, 21)
- (A804) *De kase ta-putar sa baru sa jatu.*
3SG give.CAUS TA-spin 1SG then 1SG fall
'He made me spin around until I fell down.' (Sawaki 2007: 3, 22)
- (A805) *De bikin ruma ta-bakar.*
3SG make.CAUS house TA-burn
'He made the house burn down.' (Sawaki 2007: 3, 23)

Suharno (1983: 106), speaking of the variety spoken in Jayapura (North Papua Malay) mentions that the prefix *ta-* can occur where Standard Indonesian has *ber-*, which may be evidence that *ba-* is not productive or common in this variety. He gives the following examples:

- (A806) *Rodanya mase ta-putar.*
wheel still TA-spin
'The wheel is still spinning.' (Suharno 1983: 106, 87)
- (A807) *Dorang ta-bale dan lia itu ruma.*
3PL TA-return and see DEM house
'They turn around and see the house.' (Suharno 1983: 106, 88)

The prefix *baku-* forms reciprocal verbs, and is mentioned by van Velzen (1995: 324) for Serui Malay and Donohue (to appear: 33) for North Papuan Malay, although Donohue does not consider it a prefix, but rather a discrete morpheme. He gives the following example.

- (A808) *Dong=baku taru tangan.*
 3PL=RECIP place hand
 ‘They were hitting each other.’ (Donohue to appear: 33, 140)

Verbal reduplication is a productive process in Papua Malay. The most usual purpose of reduplication of the base is iteration, to indicate a repeated activity, or that an action has been going on for an extended time. It can also indicate plurality of an action or event, or that an action, event or state is intensified. The base may be a verb, a modifier or a preposition.

- (A809) *Tida tau oran yan mati-mati di kampu...*
 NEG know person REL REDUP-die LOC village
 ‘I don’t know who has died back in the village.’ (12.10)

- (A810) *Don=jaja ke sana tanya-tanya doran.*
 3PL=go to over.there REDUP-ask 3PL
 ‘They went there and asked all of them.’ (12.50)

A.7.7 Other Grammatical Features

A.7.7.1 Conjunctions

Clauses are usually conjoined by simple juxtaposition, with no overt conjunction, a construction common in other varieties of Malay and not unique to Papua Malay. An example is shown in (A811) below. In addition, there are a few conjunctions with uses differing from other varieties of Malay, and these are presented separately below.

- (A811) *Ambil hasil itu saya suda habis ya [clap] kapur¹⁹⁷ suda*
 take result DEM 1SG already finish yes [clap] run.away already

hilang artinya de=pu=uang su=habis de=su=hilang.
 gone meaning 3SG=POSS=money PERF=*finish* 3SG=PERF=gone
 ‘They’ll take the results, and when I’m finished, well [clap], they’ll run away, already gone, I mean their money’ll be finished, they’ll take off.’
 (Donohue to appear: 41, 176)

¹⁹⁷ This appears to be a variant pronunciation of *kabur* ‘to run away, escape’.

As in other contact varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia, simple conjunction is marked by *den(g)* ‘with’ and simple disjunction is marked by *ka... ka...* ‘or’.

(A812) *Skola pertanian ya den skola pertanian.*
school agriculture yes with school forestry
‘The school of agriculture and the school of forestry.’ (12.6-7)

(A813) *Bikin kebon, tanam kasbi ka, bete ka, betatas ka, ton=makan.*
make garden plant cassava or tuber or yam or 1PL=eat
‘Made a garden, planted cassava, or tubers, or yams, and we ate.’ (12.23-24)

Donohue (to appear: 41-46) describes the use of several other words which can be used to conjoin clauses. *Jadi*, which has already been mentioned as an inchoative marker, is also used to conjoin clauses, although differently from its use in other varieties of Malay (although Standard Indonesian has a similar construction ending in *jadinya*). *Jadi* occurs as a sentence-final particle, justifying a sentence and referring to an assumed proposition.

(A814) *Sa=tra=ikot. Sa=capek jadi.*
1SG=NEG=accompany 1SG=tired and.so
‘I’m not coming along. It’s because I’m tired.’
(Donohue to appear: 42, 178)

(A815) *Sa=tra=rajin jadi.*
1SG=NEG=industrious and.so
‘It’s just that I don’t work very hard.’ (Donohue to appear: 42, 179)

Jadi also occurs as a marker of a new topic, often occurring with *itu*.

(A816) *Jadi don=bilan meman betul.*
so 3PL=say truly correct
‘So what they said is really true.’ (12.64-65)

Another word used to conjoin clauses is *baru*. Donohue (to appear: 42) mentions that De Vries (1989) has noted that *baru*, literally ‘new’, functions as a switch reference marker in South Papua Malay, and Donohue adds that it has this function in North Papua Malay as well, and works like *na* in Tok Pisin. In fact, it has this function in the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, and even in Standard Indonesian as well, where it could be

translated as ‘now, only then’, as in (A818) below, which quotes a popular nation-wide (Standard Indonesian) beer advertisement from the 1970s, so the use of *baru* in Papua Malay (as in (A817) below) can not be considered an innovation.

(A817) *Kalo dari Wusku ke Senggi baru ada jalan mobil.*
 if from Usku to Senggi now exist road vehicle
 ‘Now from Usku to Senggi, that’s where there’s a vehicle road.’
 (Donohue to appear: 42, 183)

(A818) *Ini bir baru. Ini baru bir.*
 DEM beer new DEM now beer
 ‘This is a new beer. Now *this* is beer.’

Similarly, the uses identified by Donahue for *trus* ‘then’, *kalo* ‘if’ and *itu* ‘that’ as conjunctions do not seem to be different from their use in colloquial Indonesian and other Malay varieties.

A.7.7.2 Directionals/Spatial Deixis

As with the case with some other contact varieties of Malay, Papua Malay has a spatial deixis system developed around existence on an island, or at least with orientation to a coast and an interior. Donahue (to appear: 13) mentions the following constructions as being used in the North Papua variety:

(A819) *kəmari, kamari* ‘towards settlement’
kədara, kadara(t) ‘landward, away from settlement’

As this is the only information available at present, this would be a useful area for further research.

A.7.7.3 Head-Tail Linkage

Head-tail linkage, a strategy widely used in the languages of New Guinea is also commonly used in Papuan Malay. The examples below, from Donohue (to appear: 40) show examples of what Donohue terms “classic head-tail linkage”, in that elements are

repeated (in the case of (A820), the mountain as a goal) to link sentences together in a narrative. In (A821), the elements *pondok* ‘hut’ and *isterihat* ‘rest’ are repeated, thereby linking the sentences.

(A820) *Dong=jalan jalan jalan, pi gunung. Sampe di gunung,*
 3PL=walk walk walk go mountain until LOC mountain

dong=su=capek, taramaw jalan lai.
 3PL=PERF=tired not.want walk again

‘They went, and went and went, and got to the mountain. When they got to the mountain they were tired, and didn’t want to continue.’

(Donohue to appear: 40, 173)

(A821) *Dong=nae jalan pi sampe di pondok. Sampe di pondok*
 3PL=ascend road go until LOC hut until LOC hut

dong=duduk isterihat. Selese isteihat dong=ambe barang
 3PL=sit rest complete rest 3PL=take thing

pikul ba=pulang di kampong.
 carry.on.shoulder carry=return LOC village

‘They follow the road to the hut. Arriving at the hut, they sit down and rest. After resting, they take their things and carry them back to the village.’

(Donohue to appear: 41, 174)

A.7.7.4 Lexicon

One common thread in the reports on Papua Malay which have appeared is a mention of lexical items which only appear in Papua Malay, and are either not found in other varieties of Malay or have different semantic interpretations. Donohue (to appear: 48-50) lists 30 items, van Velzen (1995: 329-333) includes 113 items, and Suharno (1983: 105) mentions 26 items. A few of these items are included here, to illustrate the range of innovative lexical items found in Papua Malay (D = from Donohue, S = from Suharno, V = from van Velzen).

(A822) Words unique to the local culture

<i>forna</i>	‘sago bread mould’ (S)
<i>koteka</i>	‘penis gourd’ (S)
<i>nokeng</i>	‘string bag’ (S, V)
<i>mayari</i>	‘try to find a mate, flirt, seduce’ (S, V)
<i>sekan</i>	‘plaited armband’ (S)
<i>seman</i>	‘outrigger’ (S)
<i>kabila</i>	‘chest’ (S)
<i>papeda</i>	‘sago porridge’ (V)
<i>bia</i>	‘shell’ (V)
<i>genemo</i>	‘type of vegetable’ (V)
<i>lau-lau</i>	‘tree kangaroo’ (V)
<i>jubi</i>	‘arrow’ (V)
<i>soa-soa</i>	‘iguana’ (V)
<i>bobo</i>	‘nipah tree’ (V)
<i>burung yakop</i>	‘white cockatoo’ (V)
<i>toki</i>	‘beat’ (V)
<i>papeda laut</i>	‘jelly fish’ (lit. ‘sago porridge of the sea’) (V)
<i>gosi/gose</i>	‘penis’ (V)
<i>pepe</i>	‘vagina’ (V)
<i>kasbi</i>	‘cassava’ (V)
<i>bete</i>	‘kind of tuber’ (V)
<i>duri babi</i>	‘sea urchin’ (lit. boar hair’) (V)
<i>kole-kole</i>	‘canoe without outriggers’ (V)
<i>lolaro, olaro</i>	‘mangrove tree’ (V)
<i>guci</i>	‘type of dance performed by children’ (V)
<i>yosim</i>	‘local modern dance’ (V)
<i>molo</i>	‘skin-diving’ (V)
<i>noge</i>	‘derogatory term for mountain Papuans’ (V)
<i>meti</i>	‘dried up, empty, lifeless, absent’ (V)
<i>sema</i>	‘black magician’ (V)
<i>tai yakis</i>	‘exclamation of resistance’ (V)
<i>koming</i>	‘term for indigenous Papuans’ (V)
<i>bilolo</i>	‘hermit crab’ (V)
<i>tifa</i>	‘kind of drum’ (V)
<i>noa</i>	‘manta ray’ (D)
<i>bobatu</i>	‘poison fish (species)’ (D)
<i>ka(i)ta</i>	‘contrary to hopes’ (D)

(A823) Words exhibiting semantic change

(Standard Indonesian meaning in parentheses)

<i>mata jalan</i>	‘intersection’ (‘lookout, observer’) (S)
<i>tempo</i>	‘early’ (‘time’) (S)
<i>kemuka</i>	‘earlier’ (‘to the front’) (S)
<i>langgar</i>	‘meet, overtake’ (‘violate, collide’) (S)
<i>balabo</i>	‘park (a car), stop, rest’ (‘cast anchor’) (S)

<i>parau tenggelam</i>	‘overloaded canoe’ (‘sunk canoe’) (V)
<i>kumis</i>	‘moustache, beard, sideburns, chest hair’ (‘moustache’) (V)
<i>panggayu</i>	‘to paddle, row’ (‘oar’) (V)
<i>dayung</i>	‘oar’ (‘to paddle, row’) (V)
<i>ipar</i>	‘non-Papuan, immigrant’ (‘brother/sister-in-law’)
<i>nae/naik</i>	‘travel by (path)’ (‘climb, travel by (vehicle)’) (D)
<i>gigit</i>	‘bother, annoy’ (‘bite’) (D)
<i>cari jalan</i>	‘walk around looking for something’ (‘looking for a road, way out’) (D)

(A824) Innovations using Malay words

<i>spolo lagi saprampa</i>	‘a quarter to ten’ (lit. ‘ten again one-quarter’) (S)
<i>kapala kali</i>	‘headwaters (of a river)’ (lit. ‘head river’) (V)
<i>ular kaki ampa</i>	‘type of poisonous lizard’ (lit. ‘four-legged snake’) (V)
<i>makasar</i>	‘term for Islamic non-Papuans’ (<place name) (V)
<i>taru tangan</i>	‘hit with hand, slap’ (lit. ‘place hand’) (D)

(A825) Kinship terms

<i>bapa ade/adi</i>	‘father’s younger brother, father’s younger sister’s husband’ (S, V, D)
<i>mama ade/adi</i>	‘mother’s younger sister, mother’s younger brother’s wife’ (V, D)
<i>bapa tua</i>	‘father’s elder brother, father’s elder sister’s husband’ (V, D)
<i>mama tua</i>	‘mother’s elder sister, mother’s elder brother’s wife’ (D)
<i>tanta</i>	‘father’s sister (D), parent’s younger brother’s wife (V)’
<i>om</i>	‘mother’s brother (D), parent’s younger sister’s husband (V)’
<i>bapa mantu</i>	‘father-in-law’ (literally ‘father son-in-law’) (S)
<i>sowo</i>	‘relation between two people whose spouses are siblings of the same sex’ (V)

Appendix 2:

Texts Collected for the study in

Manado (Texts 1, 2)

Ternate (Texts 3, 4)

Ambon (Texts 5, 6, 7)

Banda Refugee Village, Ambon (Texts 8, 9)

Kupang (Texts 10, 11)

Manokwari, Papua (Text 12)

Larantuka (Texts 13, 14, 15, 16, 17)

Text No. 1

Location: Manado (June 2007)

Informant: Female, Civil Servant, Age 45

1. *Kita pe maitua ada bəli bunga di pasar.*
1SG POSS wife ASP buy flower LOC market
'My wife buys flowers at the market.'
2. *Tu anak ada tidor.*
DEM child ASP sleep
'The child is sleeping.'
3. *Tu orang ada tulis surat pa de pe mama.*
DEM person ASP write letter to 3SG POSS mother
'The man writes a letter to his mother.'
4. *Meong ada tidor di atas kadera.*
cat ASP sleep LOC on chair
'The cat sleeps on the chair.'
5. *Kita pe papa ada potong tali deng piso.*
1SG POSS father ASP cut rope with knife
'My father cuts a rope with a knife.'
6. *Kita pe papa ada potong kayu deng de pe tamang.*
1SG POSS father ASP cut wood with 3SG POSS friend
'My father cuts wood with his friend.'
7. *Tu guru ada baca buku.*
DEM teacher ASP read book
'The teacher reads a book.'
8. *Anak itu ada kase bunga pa de pe mama.*
child DEM ASP give flower to 3SG POSS mother
'The child gives a flower to his/her mother/gives his/her mother a flower.'
9.

<i>kita</i>	1SG	<i>torang/tong</i>	1PL (INCL/EXCL)
<i>ngana</i>	2SG informal	<i>ngoni</i>	2PL
<i>əngko</i>	2SG formal		
<i>dia/de</i>	3SG	<i>dorang/dong</i>	3PL
10. *Kita so bəli oto baru.*
1SG ASP buy car new
'I bought a new car.'

11. *Kita bəlung bəli oto baru.*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 ‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’
12. *Kita mo bəli oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ‘I will buy a new car.’
13. *Kita səmentara ba-bəli oto baru.*
 1SG CONT BA-buy car new
 ‘I am (in the process of) buying a new car.’
14. *Kita ada bəli oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ‘I buy a new car.’
15. *Kita masi mo bəli oto baru.*
 1SG still ASP buy car new
 ‘We still will buy a new car.’
16. *Kita masi tinggal di sini.*
 1SG still live LOC here
 ‘I still live here.’
17. *Kita pərna pigi ka luar kota.*
 1SG ever go to outside city
 ‘I have ever gone out of town.’
18. *Kita səlalu pigi ka luar kota.*
 1SG always go to outside city
 ‘I always go out of town.’
19. *Kita so ba-pancing ikang.*
 1SG ASP BA-go.fishing fish
 ‘I went fishing.’
20. *Kita bəlung ba-pancing ikang.*
 1SG not.yet BA-go.fishing fish
 ‘I haven’t gone fishing yet.’
21. *Kita mo ba-pancing ikang.*
 1SG ASP BA-go.fishing fish
 ‘I will go fishing.’

22. *Kita sementara ba-pancing ikang.*
 1SG CONT BA-go.fishing fish
 'I am fishing (at the moment).'
23. *Kita so tidor.*
 1SG ASP sleep
 'I slept.'
24. *Kita bəlung tidor/bobo.*
 1SG not.yet sleep/sleep
 'I haven't slept yet'
25. *Kita mo tidor.*
 1SG ASP sleep
 'I will sleep.'
26. *Dia nyanda ba-telpon pa de pe mama tadi malam.*
 3SG NEG BA-telephone to 3SG POSS mother last night
 'S/he didn't call his/her mother last night'
27. *Dorang so nyanda mo bərangkat beso.*
 3PL ASP NEG ASP leave tomorrow
 'They will not leave tomorrow'
28. *Torang nyanda bəli ikang di pasar kalamaring.*
 1PL NEG buy fish LOC market yesterday
 'We didn't buy fish at the market yesterday.'
29. *Ngoni bole datang di pesta beso.*
 2PL can come LOC party tomorrow
 'You (pl) can come to the party tomorrow.'
30. *Dia nim-bole ba-bicara bahasa Inggris.*
 3SG NEG-can BA-speak language English
 'S/he can't speak English.'
31. *Kita mo suka bəli motor baru beso.*
 1SG ASP want buy motorcycle new tomorrow
 'I want to buy a new motorcycle tomorrow.'
32. *Kita nyanda mo ba-bəli motor baru beso.*
 1SG NEG want BA-buy motorcycle new tomorrow
 'I don't want to buy a new motorcycle tomorrow.'

33. *Kita perlu mo bəli jam baru.*
 1SG need ASP buy clock new
 ‘I need to buy a new clock.’
34. *Ada kukis di dapur.*
 have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘There is cake in the kitchen.’
35. *Nyanda ada kukis di dapur.*
 NEG have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘There is no cake in the kitchen.’
36. *So nyanda ada kukis di dapur.*
 ASP NEG have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘There is no more cake in the kitchen.’
37. *Masi ada kukis le di dapur?*
 still have cake DP LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there still cake in the kitchen.’
38. *Ada kukis di dapur?*
 have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’
39. *Masi ada le kukis di dapur?*
 still have DP cake LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there still any cake in the kitchen?’
40. *Kukis ada di dapur?*
 cake have LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’
41. *So nyanda ada kukis di dapur?*
 ASP NEG have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there no more cake in the kitchen?’
42. *So nyanda le kukis di dapur?*
 ASP NEG DP cake LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there no cake in the kitchen any more?’
43. *Ada kukis ato nyanda di dapur?*
 have cake or NEG LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there cake or not in the kitchen?’

44. *Kita pe tamang mo datang le di pesta.*
 1SG POSS friend ASP come DP LOC party
 ‘My friend will come to the party also.’
45. *Kita pe tamang mo datang. Apa ngana pe tamang mo datang le?*
 1SG POSS friend ASP come. what 2SG POSS friend ASP come DP
 ‘My friend will come. Will your friend also come?’
46. *Jadi hanya torang dua?*
 so only 1PL two
 ‘So it’s only the two of us?’
47. *Ngana dulu ada kərja di pabrik?*
 2SG before ASP work LOC factory
 ‘Did you formerly work at the factory?’
48. *Ngana dulu kərja di pabrik to?*
 2SG before work LOC factory DP
 ‘You used to work at the factory, didn’t you?’
49. *Ngana kote dulu kərja di pabrik?*
 2SG DP before work LOC factory
 ‘Did you formerly work at the factory?’
50. *Dia le kərja di pabrik.*
 3SG DP work LOC factory
 ‘He worked at the factory also.’
51. *Dia nyanda kərja di pabrik.*
 3SG NEG work LOC factory
 ‘He didn’t work at the factory.’
52. *Bole mo tanya, so jam brapa skarang?*
 can ASP ask ASP hour how.many now
 ‘If I may ask, what is the time now (Prompt: a polite way to ask the time).’
53. *Kantor pos di mana e?*
 office post LOC where DP
 ‘Where is the post office?’
54. *Di mana kote kantor pos?*
 LOC where DP office post
 ‘Where is the post office?’

55. *Dia ada cari oto baru.*
 3SG ASP search car new
 ‘He is looking for a new car.’
56. *Dia ada cari oto baru?*
 3SG ASP search car new
 ‘Is he looking for a new car?’
57. *Paulus ada pi bəli buku?*
 Paul ASP go buy book
 ‘Is Paul buying a book?’
58. *Paulus yang bəli tu buku?*
 Paul REL buy DEM book
 ‘Was Paul the one who bought that book?’
59. *Apa tu Paulus ada bəli?*
 what DEM Paul ASP buy
 ‘What did Paul buy?’
60. *Apa yang Paulus ada bəli?*
 what REL Paul ASP buy
 ‘What did Paul buy?’
61. *Tina so makang de pe sayor?*
 Tina ASP eat 3SG POSS vegetables
 ‘Has Tina eaten her vegetables?’
62. *Tina ada makang apa?*
 Tina ASP eat what
 ‘What is Tina eating?’
63. *Apa tu Tina ada makang?*
 what DEM Tina ASP eat
 ‘What is Tina eating?’
64. *Tina ada makang apa?*
 Tina ASP eat what
 ‘What is Tina eating?’
65. *Tina ada makang de pe sayor.*
 Tina ASP eat 3SG POSS vegetables
 ‘Tina is eating her vegetables.’

66. *Tina ada makang de pe sayor?*
 Tina ASP eat 3SG POSS vegetables
 ‘Is Tina eating her vegetables?’
67. *Mana ngana pe səkolah?*
 where 2SG POSS school
 ‘Where is your school?’
68. *Ngana pe səkolah di mana?*
 2SG POSS school LOC where
 ‘Your school is where?’
69. *Sapa ada buka jendela?*
 who ASP open window
 ‘Who opened the window?’
70. *Sapa ada ba-pete bunga?*
 who ASP BA-pick flower
 ‘Who picked the flower?’
71. *Ada yang ba-pete bunga?*
 have REL BA-pick flower
 ‘Did someone pick a flower?’
72. *Sapa-sapa ada ba-pete bunga?*
 who-who ASP BA-pick flower
 ‘Who is picking a flower?’
73. *Sapa yang ada tulis ini pasang?*
 who REL ASP write DEM message
 ‘Who wrote this message?’
74. *Pasang ini sapa yang tulis?*
 message DEM who REL write
 ‘This message was written by whom?’
75. *Paulus ada bəli apa di pasar?*
 Paul ASP buy what LOC market
 ‘What is Paul buying at the market?’
76. *Apa tu Paulus ada bəli di pasar?*
 what DEM Paul ASP buy LOC market
 ‘What did Paul buy at the market?’

77. *Ngana bəli oto baru di mana?*
 2SG buy car new LOC where
 ‘You bought your new car where?’
78. *Di mana ngana bəli oto baru.*
 LOC where 2SG buy car new
 ‘Where did you buy your new car?’
79. *Sapa ngana pe papa?*
 who 2SG POSS father
 ‘Who is your father?’
80. *Tempo apa ngana mo klar səkolah?*
 time what 2SG ASP finish school
 ‘When will you finish school?’
81. *Ngana tempo apa mo klar səkolah?*
 2SG time what ASP finish school
 ‘You will finish school when?’
82. *Tempo apa dia ada bəli oto baru?*
 time what 3SG ASP buy car new
 ‘When did he buy a new car?’
83. *Kiapa ngana datang ka mari?*
 why 2SG come to here
 ‘Why did you come here?’
84. *Ngana datang ka mari kiapa?*
 2SG come to here why
 ‘You came here why?’
85. *Bagimana ngana tau kita pe alamat?*
 how 2SG know 1SG POSS address
 ‘How do you know my address?’
86. *Dia kita pe guru.*
 3SG 1SG POSS teacher
 ‘He is my teacher.’
87. *Paulus ada de pe ruma baru.*
 Paul ASP 3SG POSS house new
 ‘Paul has a new house.’

88. *Paulus ada banya buku.*
Paul have many book
'Paul has many books.'
89. *Paulus sekarang ada di kota.*
Paul now have LOC town
'Paul is in town right now.'
90. *Paulus ada pigi di kota kalamaring.*
Paul ASP go LOC town yesterday
'Paul went to town yesterday.'
91. *Paulus ada pigi ka kota deng Tina kalamaring.*
Paul ASP go to town with Tina yesterday
'Paul went to town with Tina yesterday.'
92. *Paulus sementara ba-jalang deng de pe ade.*
Paul CONT BA-walk with 3SG POSS younger.sibling
'Paul is walking with his younger sibling (right now).'
93. *Paulus ada de pe oto.*
Paul have 3SG POSS car
'Paul has a car.'
94. *Paulus ada de pe oto dua.*
Paul have 3SG POSS car two
'Paul has two cars.'
95. *Paulus pe oto banya.*
Paul POSS car many
'Paul has many cars.'
96. *Paulus pe buku ada lima.*
Paul POSS book have five
'Paul has five books.'
97. *Ada orang*
have person
'There is someone.'
98. *Buku ini yang tulis ada orang.*
book DEM REL write have person
'This book was written by someone.'
99. *Kita pe rum.*
1SG POSS house
'My house'

100. *Ngana pe anak*
2SG POSS child
'My child'
101. *Torang pe kantor*
1PL POSS office
'Our office'
102. *Dorang pe kantor*
3PL POSS office
'Their office'
103. *Ngoni pe kantor*
2PL POSS office
'Your (pl) office'
104. *Ngana pe tangang*
2SG POSS hand
'Your hand'
105. *Paulus pe ruma*
Paul POSS house
'Paul's house'
106. *De pe ruma*
3SG POSS house
'His house'
107. *Kita pe om*
1SG POSS uncle
'My uncle'
108. *Ruma basar*
house big
'Big house'
109. *Ruma basar ada di jalang Kartini*
house big have LOC street Kartini
'A big house on Kartini Street'
110. *Baju mera*
shirt red
'Red shirt'
111. *Pohong tinggi*
tree tall
'Tall tree'

112. *Jalang panjang*
 street long
 ‘Long street’
113. *Ruma kacili ini*
 house little DEM
 ‘This little house’
114. *Gedung basar ini*
 building large DEM
 ‘This large building’
115. *Kita pe oto ini baru.*
 1SG POSS car DEM new
 ‘This new car of mine.’
116. *Kita tinggal di ruma basar.*
 1SG live LOC house big
 ‘I live in a big house.’
117. *Ruma basar ada di jalang Kartini.*
 house big DEM LOC street Kartini
 ‘A big house on Kartini Street.’
118. *Dia itu tinggi.*
 3SG DEM tall
 ‘He is tall.’
119. *Dia itu guru.*
 3SG DEM teacher
 ‘He is a teacher.’
120. *Dia tatawa.*
 3SG laugh
 ‘He laughs.’
121. *Ini kita pe ruma.*
 DEM 1SG POSS house
 ‘This is my house.’
122. *Kita pe ruma ini.*
 1SG POSS house DEM
 ‘My house is this one.’
123. *Itu ngana pe ruma.*
 DEM 2SG POSS house
 ‘That is your house.’

124. *Ngana pe ruma itu.*
 2SG POSS house DEM
 ‘Your house is that one.’
125. *Dia pe oto satu.*
 3SG POSS car one
 ‘He owns a car.’
126. *Dia pe oto itu.*
 3SG POSS car DEM
 ‘He owns that car.’
127. *Kita tinggal di sini.*
 1SG live LOC here
 ‘I live here.’
128. *Kita datang dari sana.*
 1SG come from over.there
 ‘I came from there.’
129. *Dia ada ba-diri di situ.*
 3SG ASP BA-stand LOC there
 ‘He is standing there.’
130. *Dua ruma*
 two house
 ‘Two houses’
131. *Ampa burung*
 four bird
 ‘Four birds’
132. *Tuju anjing*
 seven dog
 ‘Seven dogs’
133. *Pertama, kadua, katiga, kaampa*
 first second third fourth
 ‘First, second, third, fourth’
134. *satu* ‘one’
dua ‘two’
tiga ‘three’
ampa ‘four’
lima ‘five’
anam ‘six’
tuju ‘seven’

<i>dalapang</i>	‘eight’
<i>sambilang</i>	‘nine’
<i>sa-pulu</i>	‘ten’
<i>dua belas</i>	‘twelve’
<i>dua pulu</i>	‘twenty’
<i>dua ratus</i>	‘two hundred’
<i>dua ribu</i>	‘two thousand’
<i>dua juta</i>	‘two million’

135. *Itu tu orang ada bəli kita pe oto.*
 DEM DEM person ASP buy 1SG POSS car
 ‘That is the person who bought my car.’
136. *Ini tu anak ada pan-curi ayang.*
 DEM DEM child ASP PA-steal chicken
 ‘That is the child who is stealing my chicken.’
137. *So ini tu tanpa kita lahir.*
 ASP DEM DEM place 1SG born
 ‘This is the place where I was born.’
138. *Dia so tau tempo apa de pe tamang mo datang.*
 3SG ASP know time what 3SG POSS friend ASP come
 ‘He already knows when his friend will come.’
139. *Kita ada ba-cukur.*
 1SG ASP BA-shave
 ‘I shaved myself.’
140. *Kita ada ba-cuci.*
 1SG ASP BA-wash
 ‘I washed myself.’
141. *Dorang ada ba-kalae.*
 3PL ASP BA-fight
 ‘They fought.’
142. *Dorang baku-hantam.*
 3PL RECIP-hit
 ‘They hit each other.’
143. *Dorang baku-sayang.*
 3PL RECIP-love
 ‘They love each other.’

144. *Paulus deng Tina pigi ka pasar.*
 Paul with Tina go to market
 ‘Paul and Tina went to the market.’
145. *Paulus pigi ka pasar kong ada beli ikang.*
 Paul go to market CONJ ASP buy fish
 ‘Paul went to the market and bought fish.’
146. *Oto itu ada ta-tabrak.*
 car DEM ASP TA-crash
 ‘The car was hit (by another car).’
147. *Gedung itu ada bangun.*
 building DEM have build
 ‘The building was built.’
148. *Ada minung aer.*
 have drink water
 ‘The water was drunk.’
149. *Paulus ada minung aer.*
 Paul ASP drink water
 ‘Paulus drank water.’
150. *Gunung itu pe tinggi.*
 mountain DEM INTENS tall
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’
151. *Gunung itu pe tinggi skali.*
 mountain DEM INTENS tall very
 ‘That mountain is extremely tall.’
152. *Gunung nyandak talalu tinggi.*
 mountain NEG too tall
 ‘That mountain isn’t very tall.’
153. *Gunung itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
 mountain DEM more tall from mountain DEM
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’
154. *Gunung itu tu paling tinggi di Indonesia.*
 mountain DEM DEM most tall LOC Indonesia
 ‘That mountain is the tallest in Indonesia.’

155. *Dia orang kaya.*
 3SG person rich
 ‘S/he is a rich person.’
156. *Dia lebe kaya dari kita.*
 3SG more rich from 1SG
 ‘S/he is richer than me.’
157. *Dia yang paling kaya.*
 3SG REL most rich
 ‘S/he is the richest.’
158. *Dia ada bekeng makanang for mo jual di pasar.*
 3SG ASP make food for ASP sell LOC market
 ‘S/he makes food to sell in the market.’
159. *ba’rat* ‘heavy’
’barat ‘west’

Text No. 2

Location: Manado (June 2007)

Informant: Male, Security Guard, Age 60

1. *Kita pe maitua bəli bunga di pasar.*
1SG POSS wife buy flower LOC market
'My wife buys flowers at the market.'
2. *Anak itu ada tidor.*
child DEM ASP sleep
'The child sleeps.'
3. *Orang itu ba-tulis surat pa de pe mama.*
person DEM BA-write letter to 3SG POSS mother
'The man writes a letter to his mother.'
4. *Meong tidor di atas kadera.*
cat sleep LOC on chair
'The cat sleeps on the chair.'
5. *Kita pe papa ba-potong tali deng piso.*
1SG POSS father BA-cut rope with knife
'My father cuts a rope with a knife.'
6. *Kita pe papa ba-potong kayu deng de pe tamang.*
1SG POSS father BA-cut wood with 3SG POSS friend
'My father cuts wood with his friend.'
7. *Guru tu ba-baca buku.*
teacher DEM BA-read book
'The teacher reads a book.'
8. *Anak itu kase bunga pa de pe mama.*
child DEM give flower to 3SG POSS mother
'The child gives a flower to his/her mother/gives his/her mother a flower.'
9. *kita* 1SG *torang* 1PL (INCL/EXCL)
ngana 2SG informal *ngoni (samua)* 2PL
əngko 2SG formal
dia 3SG *dorang* 3PL
10. *Kita so bəli oto baru.*
1SG ASP buy car new
'I bought a new car.'

11. *Kita bəlung bəli oto baru.*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 ‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’
12. *Kita mo bili oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ‘I will buy a new car.’
13. *Kita səmentara ba-bəli oto baru.*
 1SG CONT BA-buy car new
 ‘I am (in the process of) buying a new car.’
14. *Kita parna bəli oto baru.*
 1SG ever buy car new
 ‘I have ever bought a new car.’
15. *Kita so ba-pancing ikang.*
 1SG ASP BA-go.fishing fish
 ‘I went fishing.’
16. *Kita mo ba-pancing ikang.*
 1SG ASP BA-go.fishing fish
 ‘I will go fishing.’
17. *Kita so tidor.*
 1SG ASP sleep
 ‘I slept.’
18. *Kita mo tidor.*
 1SG ASP sleep
 ‘I will sleep.’
19. *Dia nyanda ba-telpon pa de pe mama tadi malang.*
 3SG NEG BA-telephone to 3SG POSS mother last night
 ‘S/he didn’t call his/her mother last night.’
20. *Dorang nyanda mo bərangkat beso.*
 3PL NEG ASP leave tomorrow
 ‘They will not leave tomorrow.’
21. *Ngana nyanda bəli ikang di pasar kalamaring.*
 2SG NEG buy fish LOC market yesterday
 ‘You didn’t buy fish at the market yesterday.’

22. *Ngoni nyanda hadir di pesta.*
 2PL NEG attend LOC party
 ‘You (pl) didn’t attend the party.’
23. *Dia bole bicara bahasa Inggris.*
 3SG can speak language English
 ‘S/he can speak English.’
24. *Dia nim-bole bicara bahasa Inggris.*
 3SG NEG-can speak language English
 ‘S/he can’t speak English.’
25. *Kita ingin mo beli motor baru beso.*
 1 SG want ASP buy motorcycle new tomorrow
 ‘I want to buy a new motorcycle tomorrow.’
26. *Kita nyanda ingin mo beli motor baru beso.*
 1SG NEG want ASP buy motorcycle new tomorrow
 ‘I don’t want to buy a new motorcycle tomorrow.’
27. *Dorang musti simpang doi banya.*
 3PL must save money much
 ‘They must save a lot of money.’
28. *Kita perlu mo beli jam baru.*
 1SG need ASP buy clock new
 ‘I need to buy a new clock’
29. *Ada kukis di dapur.*
 have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘There is cake in the kitchen.’
30. *Nyanda ada kukis di dapur.*
 NEG have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘There is no cake in the kitchen.’
31. *So nyanda ada kukis di dapur.*
 ASP NEG have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘There is no more cake in the kitchen.’
32. *Masi ada kukis di dapur?*
 still have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there still cake in the kitchen.’

33. *Ada kukis di dapur?*
 have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’
34. *Apa ada kukis di dapur?*
 what have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there any cake in the kitchen.’
35. *Kukis ada di dapur?*
 cake have LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’
36. *Nyanda ada kukis di dapur?*
 NEG have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there no more cake in the kitchen?’
37. *Ada kukis ato nyanda di dapur?*
 have cake or NEG LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there cake or not in the kitchen?’
38. *Kita pe tamang mo datang le di pesta.*
 1SG POSS friend ASP come DP LOC party
 ‘My friend will come to the party also.’
 Alternative word orders (note position of *le*):
Kita pe tamang mo datang di pesta le
Kita pe tamang le mo datang di pesta
39. *Kita pe tamang mo datang. Apa ngana pe tamang mo datang le?*
 1SG POSS friend ASP come. Q 2SG POSS friend ASP come DP
 ‘My friend will come. Will your friend also come?’
40. *Jadi cuma torang dua?*
 so only 1PL two
 ‘So it’s only the two of us?’
41. *Apa ngana dulu ada kərja di pabrik?*
 what 2SG before ASP work LOC factory
 ‘Did you formerly work at the factory.’
42. *Ngana dulu to kərja di pabrik?*
 2SG before DP work LOC factory
 ‘You used to work at the factory, didn’t you?’
43. *Bukang ngana dulu kərja di pabrik?*
 NEG 2SG before work LOC factory
 ‘Wasn’t it you who used to work at the factory?’

44. *Dia le kərja di pabrik juga.*
 3SG DP work LOC factory also
 ‘He worked at the factory also.’
45. *Dia nyanda kərja juga di pabrik.*
 3SG NEG work also LOC factory
 ‘He didn’t work at the factory also.’
46. *Kita mo tanya, jam brapa skarang?*
 1SG want ask hour how.many now
 ‘I’d like to ask, what is the time now (Prompt: a polite way to ask the time)’
47. *Di mana tu kantor pos?*
 LOC where DEM office post
 ‘Where is the post office?’
48. *Dia mo cari oto baru.*
 3SG want search car new
 ‘He is looking for a new car.’
49. *Apa dia mo cari oto baru?*
 what 3SG want search car new
 ‘Is he looking for a new car?’
50. *Apa Paulus mo bəli buku?*
 what Paul ASP buy book
 ‘Will Paul buy a book?’
51. *Apa Paulus yang bəli tu buku?*
 what Paul REL buy DEM book
 ‘Was Paul the one who bought a book?’
52. *Apa tu Paulus bəli?*
 what DEM Paul buy
 ‘What did Paul buy?’
53. *Apa yang Paulus ada bəli?*
 what REL Paul ASP buy
 ‘What did Paul buy?’
54. *Apa Tina so makang itu sayur?*
 what Tina ASP eat DEM vegetables
 ‘Has Tina eaten the vegetables?’

55. *Apa yang Tina ada makang?*
 what REL Tina ASP eat
 ‘What is Tina eating?’
56. *Tina ada makang apa?*
 Tina ASP eat what
 ‘What is Tina eating?’
57. *Tina makang de pe sayor.*
 Tina eat 3SG POSS vegetables
 ‘Tina is eating her vegetables.’
58. *Tina makang sayor?*
 Tina eat vegetables
 ‘Is Tina eating vegetables?’
59. *Di mana ngana pe sekolah?*
 LOC where 2SG POSS school
 ‘Where is your school?’
60. *Ngana pe sekolah di mana?*
 2SG POSS school LOC where
 ‘Your school is where?’
61. *Sapa yang ada buka jendela?*
 who REL ASP open window
 ‘Who opened the window?’
62. *Sapa yang ada pete itu bunga?*
 who REL ASP pick DEM flower
 ‘Who picked the flower?’
63. *Ada yang pete bunga?*
 have REL pick flower
 ‘Did someone pick a flower?’
64. *Sapa-sapa yang ada pete bunga?*
 who-who REL ASP pick flower
 ‘Who all picked a flower?’
65. *Sapa tulis itu pasang ini?*
 who write DEM message DEM
 ‘Who wrote this message?’

66. *Pasang ini sapa yang tulis?*
 message DEM who REL write
 ‘This message was written by whom?’
67. *Paulus ada beli apa di pasar?*
 Paul ASP buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Paul buy at the market?’
68. *Apa yang Paulus beli di pasar?*
 what REL Paul buy LOC market
 ‘What did Paul buy at the market?’
69. *Ngana beli oto baru di mana?*
 2SG buy car new LOC where
 ‘You bought your new car where?’
70. *Sapa ngana pe papa?*
 who 2SG POSS father
 ‘Who is your father?’
71. *Ngana pe papa sapa?*
 2SG POSS father who
 ‘Who is your father?’
72. *Tempo apa ngana mo tamat sekolah?*
 time what 2SG ASP finish school
 ‘When will you finish school?’
73. *Tempo apa dia ada beli oto baru?*
 time what 3SG ASP buy car new
 ‘When did he buy a new car?’
74. *Kiapa ngana datang ka mari?*
 why 2SG come to here
 ‘Why did you come here?’
75. *Ngana datang ka mari kiapa?*
 2SG come to here why
 ‘You came here why?’
76. *Bagaimana ngana tau kita pe alamat?*
 how 2SG know 1SG POSS address
 ‘How do you know my address?’

77. *Dia kita pe guru.*
 3SG 1SG POSS teacher
 ‘He is my teacher.’
78. *Paulus punya ruma baru.*
 Paul POSS house new
 ‘Paul has a new house.’
79. *Paulus banya buku.*
 Paul many book
 ‘Paul has many books.’
80. *Paulus ada di kota s karang.*
 Paul have LOC town now
 ‘Paul is in town right now.’
81. *Paulus pigi di kota kalamaring.*
 Paul go LOC town yesterday
 ‘Paul went to town yesterday.’
82. *Paulus pigi ka kota sama-sama deng Tina kalamaring.*
 Paul go to town REDUP-alongwith Tina yesterday
 ‘Paul went to town along with Tina yesterday.’
83. *Paulus sedang ba-jalang deng de pe ade.*
 Paul CONT BA-walk with 3SG POSS younger.sibling
 ‘Paul is walking with his younger sibling (right now).’
84. *Paulus punya satu oto.*
 Paul POSS one car
 ‘Paul has a car.’
85. *Paulus punya dua oto.*
 Paul POSS two car
 ‘Paul has two cars.’
86. *Paulus punya banya oto.*
 Paul POSS many car
 ‘Paul has many cars.’
87. *Paulus punya lima buku.*
 Paul POSS five book
 ‘Paul has five books.’
88. *Paulus punya buku-buku/kitab-kitab.*
 Paul POSS REDUP-book/REDUP-book
 ‘Paul has books.’

89. *Ada satu orang.*
 have one person
 ‘There is someone.’
90. *Kita pe ruma*
 1SG POSS house
 ‘My house’
91. *Ngana pe anak*
 2SG POSS child
 ‘My child’
92. *Torang pe kantor*
 1PL POSS office
 ‘Our office’
93. *Dorang pe kantor*
 3PL POSS office
 ‘Their office’
94. *Ngoni pe kantor*
 2PL POSS office
 ‘Your (pl) office’
95. *Ngana pe tangang*
 2SG POSS hand
 ‘Your hand’
96. *Paulus pe ruma*
 Paul POSS house
 ‘Paul’s house’
97. *Dia pe ruma*
 3SG POSS house
 ‘His house’
98. *Kita pe om pe anak*
 1SG POSS uncle POSS child
 ‘My uncle’s child’
99. *Ruma basar*
 house big
 ‘Big house’

100. *Baju merah*
shirt red
'Red shirt'
101. *Pohon tinggi*
tree tall
'Tall tree'
102. *Jalan panjang*
street long
'Long street'
103. *Rumah kecil ini*
house little DEM
'This little house'
104. *Gedung besar ini*
building large DEM
'This large building'
105. *Kita punya mobil baru ini.*
1SG POSS car new DEM
'This new car of mine.'
106. *Rumah yang besar*
house REL big
'A house which is big'
107. *Kita tinggal di rumah besar.*
1SG live LOC house big
'I live in a big house.'
108. *Rumah besar ada di jalan Kartini.*
house big have LOC street Kartini
'The big house is on Kartini Street.'
109. *Rumah besar yang ada di jalan Kartini.*
house big REL have LOC street Kartini
'The big house which is on Kartini Street.'
110. *Dia tinggi.*
3SG tall
'He is tall.'
111. *Dia guru.*
3SG male.teacher
'He is a (male) teacher.'

112. *Dia enci.*
3SG female.teacher
'She is a (female) teacher.'
113. *Dia tatawa.*
3SG laugh
'He laughs.'
114. *Ini kita pe ruma.*
DEM 1SG POSS house
'This is my house.'
115. *Kita pe ruma ini.*
1SG POSS house DEM
'My house is this one.'
116. *Kita tinggal di sini.*
1SG live LOC here
'I live here.'
117. *Kita datang dari sana.*
1SG come from over.there
'We came from over there.'
118. *Dia ba-diri di situ.*
3SG BA-stand LOC there
'He is standing there.'
119. *Kita datang dari arah lao.*
1SG come from direction sea
'I came from a seaward direction.'
120. *Kita datang dari arah gunung.*
1SG come from direction mountain
'I came from the direction of the mountains.'
121. *Dua ruma*
two house
'Two houses'
122. *Ampa burung*
four bird
'Four birds'
123. *Tuju anjing*
seven dog
'Seven dogs'

124. *kadua*
second
'second'
125. *Itu orang ada beli kita pe oto.*
DEM person ASP buy 1SG POSS car
'That is the person who bought my car.'
126. *Ini anak yang ada ba-pan-curi ayam.*
DEM child REL ASP BA-PA-steal chicken
'That is the child who is stealing my chicken.'
127. *Ini tanpa kita pe tanpa lahir.*
DEM place 1SG POSS place born
'This is the place where I was born.'
128. *Torang so tau tempo apa tamang mo datang.*
1PL ASP know time what friend ASP come
'We already know when the friend will come.'
129. *Kita ba-cukur (sandiri).*
1SG BA-shave (self)
'I shaved myself.'
130. *Kita ba-cuci sandiri.*
1SG BA-wash myself
'I washed myself.'
131. *Dorang ada ba-kalae.*
3PL ASP BA-fight
'They fought.'
132. *Dorang baku-pukul.*
3PL RECIP-hit
'They hit each other.'
133. *Dorang saling baku-cinta.*
3PL each.other RECIP-love
'They love each other.'
134. *Paulus deng Tina pigi ka pasar.*
Paul with Tina go to market
'Paul and Tina went to the market.'

135. *Paulus pigi ka pasar kong bəli ikang di sana.*
 Paul go to market CONJ buy fish LOC over.there
 ‘Paul went to the market and bought fish.’
136. *Oto ada tabrak.*
 car have crash
 ‘The car was hit (by another car).’
137. *Oto di-tabrak.*
 car PASS-crash
 ‘The car was hit (by another car).’
138. *Gədung ada bangun.*
 building have build
 ‘The building was built.’
139. *Aer ada minung.*
 water have drink
 ‘The water was drunk.’
140. *Paulus ada minung aer.*
 Paul ASP drink water
 ‘Paulus drank water.’
141. *Gunung itu tinggi.*
 mountain DEM tall
 ‘That mountain is tall.’
142. *Gunung itu tinggi səkali.*
 mountain DEM tall very
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’
143. *Bərapa gunung itu pe tinggi?*
 how.much mountain DEM POSS tall
 ‘What is the height of that mountain?’
144. *Gunung itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
 mountain DEM more tall from mountain DEM
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’
145. *Gunung itu yang paling tinggi di Indonesia.*
 mountain DEM REL most tall LOC Indonesia
 ‘That mountain is the tallest in Indonesia.’

146. *Dia orang kaya.*
3SG person rich
'S/he is a rich person.'

147. *Dia lebe kaya dari pa kita.*
3SG more rich from to 1SG
'S/he is richer than me.'

148. *Dia yang paling kaya.*
3SG REL most rich
'S/he is the richest.'

149. *Dia bekeng makanang untu di-jual di pasar.*
3SG make food for PASS-sell LOC market
'S/he makes food to sell in the market.'

Text No. 3

Location: Ternate

Informant: Male, Dockworker, Age 58

1. *Kita pe papa ada ba-tanam pohon di taman/kintal.*
1SG POSS father ASP BA-plant tree LOC garden
'My father plants trees in the garden.'
2. *Ana itu tidor.*
child DEM sleep
'The child sleeps.'
3. *Jajaru/parampuan/cewe itu manangis.*
girl DEM cry
'The girl cries.'
4. *Kita pe ade ada ba-tulis surat pa dia pe guru.*
1SG POSS younger.sibling ASP BA-write letter to 3SG POSS teacher
'My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.'
5. *Tusa ada tidor di atas kadera.*
cat ASP sleep LOC on chair
'The cat sleeps on the chair.'
6. *Kita pe papa ada potong tali deng piso.*
1SG POSS father ASP cut rope with knife
'My father cuts a rope with a knife.'
7. *Kita pe papa deng kita pe om ada potong kayu.*
1SG POSS father with 1SG POSS uncle ASP cut wood
'My father cuts wood with my uncle.'
8. *Guru tu ada ba-baca buku.*
teacher DEM ASP BA-read book
'The teacher reads a book.'
9. *Orang itu ada kase bunga pa dia pe nona.*
person DEM ASP give flower to 3SG POSS girlfriend
'The person gives a flower to his girlfriend.'
10. *Orang itu ada kase bunga pa dia pe nyong.*
person DEM ASP give flower to 3SG POSS boyfriend
'The person gives a flower to her boyfriend.'
11. *Kita (ada) lia (pa) ngana/ Kita (dapa) lia (pa) ngana.*
1SG ASP see to 2SG 1SG AUX see to 2SG
'I see you.'

12. *Ngana (ada) lia (pa) kita/ Ngana (dapa) lia (pa) kita.*
 2SG ASP see to 1SG 2SG AUX see to 1SG
 ‘You see me.’
13. *Dia (ada) lia (pa) torang/ Dia (dapa) lia (pa) torang.*
 3SG ASPsee to 1PL 3SG AUX see to 1PL
 ‘S/he sees us.’
14. *Kita (ada) lia (pa) dia/ Kita (dapa) lia (pa) dia.*
 1SG ASP see to 3SG 1SG AUX see to 3SG
 ‘I see him/her.’
15. *Torang(ada) lia (pa) dia/ Torang(dapa) lia (pa) dia.*
 1PL ASP see to 3SG 1PL AUX see to 3SG
 ‘We see him/her.’
16. *Kita (ada) lia (pa) ngonni/ Kita (dapa) lia (pa) ngonni.*
 1SG ASP see to 2PL 1SG AUX see to 2PL
 ‘I see you (pl).’
17. *Ngonni (ada) lia (pa) kita/ Ngonni (dapa) lia (pa) dia.*
 2PL ASP see to 1SG 2PL AUX see to 1SG
 ‘You (pl) see me.’
18. *Kita (ada) lia (pa) dorang/ Kita (dapa) lia (pa) dorang.*
 1SG ASP see to 3PL 1SG AUX see to 3PL
 ‘I see them.’
19. *Dorang (ada) lia (pa) kita/ Dorang (dapa) lia (pa) kita.*
 3PL ASP see to 1SG 3PL AUX see to 1SG
 ‘They see me.’
20. *Burung dapa lia pohon, dia dapa lia bunga.*
 bird AUX see tree, 3SG AUX see flower
 ‘The bird sees the tree. It sees a flower.’
21. *Kita so bali oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ‘I bought a new car.’
22. *Kita bolong bali oto baru.*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 ‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’
23. *Kita mo bali oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ‘I will buy a new car.’

24. *Dia ada samentara mangael ikan.*
 3SG ASP ASP hook fish
 'He is catching fish/He is fishing.'
25. *Dia so abis mangael ikan.*
 3SG ASP finish hook fish
 'He went fishing.'
26. *Dia bolong mangael ikan.*
 3SG not.yet hook fish
 'He has not gone fishing yet.'
27. *Dia parna mangael ikan.*
 3SG ever hook fish
 'He has ever gone fishing.'
28. *Dia masi samentara mangael ikan.*
 3SG still CONT hook fish
 'He is still fishing.'
29. *Ngana so tidor.*
 2SG ASP sleep
 'You slept.'
30. *Ngana mo tidor.*
 2SG ASP sleep
 'You will sleep.'
31. *Dia ada samentara tidor.*
 3SG ASP CONT sleep
 'You are sleeping.'
32. *Dorang ada samentara lagi makan.*
 3SG ASP CONT again sleep
 'They are eating.'
33. *Dorang so makan.*
 3SG ASP eat
 'They ate.'
34. *Oto itu tabrak pohon.*
 car DEM crash tree
 'The car crashed into the tree.'

35. *Motor itu tabrak oto ini.*
 motorcycle DEM crash car DEM
 ‘That motorcycle crashed into this car.’
36. *Kita ada bali buku itu.*
 1SG ASP buy book DEM
 ‘I buy that book.’
37. *Buku itu pe mahal sampe.*
 book DEM POSS expensive until
 ‘That book is very expensive.’
38. *Tadi malam dia tara ba-uni teve.*
 last night 3SG NEG BA-watch TV
 ‘S/he didn’t watch TV last night.’
39. *Hari rabu dorang akan tara jadi pigi.*
 day Wednesday 3PL FUT NEG happen go
 ‘They won’t leave on Wednesday.’
40. *Kalamarin ngana tara bali ikan di pasar.*
 yesterday 2SG NEG buy fish LOC market
 ‘You didn’t buy fish in the market yesterday.’
41. *Ngoni tara jadi blajar di skola.*
 2PL NEG happen study LOC school
 ‘You (pl) didn’t study in school.’
42. *Dia bisa bicara bahasa Inggris.*
 3SG can speak language English
 ‘S/he can speak English.’
43. *Beso dorang tara mau datang.*
 tomorrow 3PL NEG want come
 ‘They don’t want to come tomorrow.’
44. *Ada kui di dapur.*
 have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘There is cake in the kitchen.’
45. *Kui di dapur su trada.*
 cake LOC kitchen ASP NEG.have
 ‘There is no cake in the kitchen.’
46. *Kui so trada lagi di dapur.*
 cake ASP NEG.have again LOC kitchen
 ‘There is no more cake in the kitchen.’

47. *Kui masi ada lagi di dapur ka su abis?*
 cake still have again LOC kitchen Q ASP finish
 ‘Is there still cake in the kitchen or is it finished?’
48. *Ada kui di dapur?*
 have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’
49. *Kui masi ada di dapur ka so abis?*
 cake still have LOC kitchen Q ASP finish
 ‘Is there any cake left in the kitchen or is it finished?’
50. *Di dapur masi ada kui ka so tarada?*
 LOC kitchen still have cake Q ASP NEG.have
 ‘Is there any cake left in the kitchen or is there no more?’
51. *Kui di dapur so tara ada lagi.*
 cake LOC kitchen ASP NEG have again
 ‘There is no more cake in the kitchen.’
52. *Kita pe tamang akan pi di pesta.*
 1SG POSS friend FUT go LOC party
 ‘My friend will come to the party.’
53. *Ngana pe tamang akan datang ka tarada?*
 2SG POSS friend FUT come Q NEG.have
 ‘Will your friend come or not?’
54. *Jadi cuma hanya tong dua saja?*
 so only only 1PL two only
 ‘So it’s only the two of us?’
55. *Ngana dulu pərna kerja di pabrik?*
 2SG before ever work LOC factory
 ‘Did you ever work at the factory (in the past)?’
56. *Ngana dulu kerja di pabrik, iyo to?*
 2SG before work LOC factory yes DP
 ‘You used to work at the factory, didn’t you?’
57. *Kita inga-inga ngana dulu pərna kerja di pabrik.*
 1SG REDUP-remember 2SG before ever work LOC factory
 ‘I recall that you once worked at the factory.’
58. *Bole tau skarang so jam brapa?*
 can know now ASP hour how.many
 ‘If I may know, what is the time now? (Prompt: a polite way to ask the time)’

59. *Bole kase tunju saya kantor pos sabala mana?*
 can give show 1SG office post side where
 ‘Can you show me where is the post office?’
60. *Ngana pe ruma di mana? (*Di mana ngana pe ruma?)*
 2SG POSS house LOC where
 ‘Where is your house?’
61. *Ngana tinggal di mana?*
 2SG live LOC where
 ‘Where do you live?’
62. *Ngana nama sapa?*
 2SG name who
 ‘What is your name?’
63. *Sapa yang buka jendela?*
 who REL open window
 ‘Who opened the window?’
64. *Sapa yang pake kita pe baju?*
 who REL wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Who is wearing my shirt?’
65. *Sapa-sapa saja yang pake kita pe baju?*
 REDUP-who only REL wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Who all wore my shirt?’
66. *Sapa yang manyanyi lagu ini?*
 who REL sing song DEM
 ‘Who sang/is singing this song?’
67. *Sapa yang bisa manyanyi lagu ini?*
 who REL can sing song DEM
 ‘Who can sing this song?’
68. *Ali ada bali apa di pasar?*
 Ali ASP buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Ali buy at the market?’
69. *Apa yang Ali bali di pasar?*
 what REL Ali buy LOC market
 ‘What did Ali buy at the market?’

70. *Kapan ngana bisa bayar ulang ngana pe utang?*
 when 2SG can pay return 2SG POSS debt
 ‘When can you pay back your debt?’
71. *Ngana ka mari bikiapa?*
 2SG to this.direction why
 ‘Why did you come here?’
72. *Bikiapa ngana datang ka mari?*
 why 2SG come to here
 ‘Why did you come here?’
73. *Bagaimana cara dia akan pi cari dia pe tamang?*
 how method 3SG FUT go search.for 3SG POSS friend
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’
74. *Ali so ada ruma baru.*
 Ali ASP own house new
 ‘Ali has a new house.’
75. *Ali pe buku pe banya sampe.*
 Ali POSS book POSS many until
 ‘Ali has many books.’
76. *Ali skarang so ada di kota.*
 Ali now ASP have LOC town
 ‘Ali is in town right now.’
77. *Ali kalamarin ada pi di kota.*
 Ali yesterday have go LOC town
 ‘Ali went to town yesterday.’
78. *Kalamarin Ali ada pi di kota.*
 yesterday Ali have go LOC town
 ‘Ali went to town yesterday.’
79. *Kalamarin Ali deng Yusuf ada pi di kota.*
 yesterday Ali with Yusuf have go to town
 ‘Ali went to town with Yusuf yesterday.’
80. *Ali ada ba-jalang ba-baronda deng dia pe ade.*
 Ali ASP BA-walk BA-walk.around with 3SG POSS younger.sibling
 ‘Ali is walking around with his younger sibling (right now).’
81. *Ali so ada oto satu.*
 Ali ASP POSS one car
 ‘Ali has a car.’

82. *Ali pe oto ada dua biji.*
 Ali POSS car have two piece
 ‘Ali has two cars.’
83. *Ali pe buku ada lima.*
 Ali POSS book have five
 ‘Ali has five books.’
84. *Ali ada buku banya.*
 Ali have book many
 ‘Ali has many books.’
85. *Ada orang.*
 have person
 ‘There is someone.’
86. *Buku ini ada orang yang tulis.*
 book DEM have person REL write
 ‘This book was written by someone.’
87. *Kita pe ruma*
 1SG POSS house
 ‘My house’
88. *Ngoni pe kantor*
 2PL POSS office
 ‘Your (pl) office’
89. *Kita pe om pe ana*
 1SG POSS uncle POSS child
 ‘My uncle’s child’
90. *Ruma basar*
 house big
 ‘Big house’
91. *Ruma kacil itu*
 house little DEM
 ‘This little house’
92. *Gedung basar ini*
 building large DEM
 ‘This large building’
93. *Ini kita pe oto.*
 DEM 1SG POSS car
 ‘This car of mine/this is my car.’

94. *Kita pe oto ini.*
 1SG POSS car DEM
 ‘This car of mine/this is my car.’
95. *Kita tinggal di ruma basar.*
 1SG live LOC house big
 ‘I live in a big house.’
96. *Kita tinggal di ruma yang sadiki basar.*
 1SG live LOC house REL little big
 ‘I live in a house which is rather big.’
97. *Dia pe tinggi.*
 3SG POSS tall
 ‘He is tall.’
98. *Dia guru.*
 3SG teacher
 ‘S/he is a teacher.’
99. *Dia tatawa.*
 3SG laugh
 ‘S/he laughs.’
100. *Kita tinggal di sini.*
 1SG live LOC here
 ‘I live here.’
101. *Kita datang dari sana.*
 1SG come from over.there
 ‘We came from over there.’
102. *Dia ada ba-diri di situ.*
 3SG asp BA-stand LOC there
 ‘He is standing there.’
103. *Kita datang dari lao ka dara.*
 1SG come from sea to land
 ‘I came from a seaward direction to a landward direction.’
104. *Kita datang dari dara ka lao.*
 1SG come from land to sea
 ‘I came from a landward direction to a seaward direction.’
105. *Kita datang dari atas ka bawa.*
 1SG come from above to below
 ‘I came from the north to the south.’

106. *Kita datang dari bawa ka atas.*
 1SG come from below to above
 ‘I came from the south to the north.’
107. *magori/pertama*
 first
 ‘first’
108. *kadua*
 second
 ‘second’
109. *Ana itu yang pancuri ayam.*
 child DEM REL steal chicken
 ‘That is the child who stole my chicken.’
110. *Kita pe tanpa lahir di sini.*
 1SG POSS place birth LOC here
 ‘This is the place where I was born.’
111. *Dia so tau dia pe tamang mo datang.*
 3SG ASP know 3SG POS friend ASP come
 ‘We already know when the friend will come.’
112. *Kita ba-cukur sandiri.*
 1SG BA-shave self
 ‘I shaved myself.’
113. *Kita ba-cuci sandiri.*
 1SG BA-wash self
 ‘I washed myself.’
114. *Dorang ba-kalae.*
 3PL BA-fight
 ‘They fought.’
115. *Dorang baku-hantam.*
 3PL RECIP-hit
 ‘They hit each other.’
116. *Dorang baku-sayang.*
 3PL RECIP-love
 ‘They love each other. (as in brother-sister, husband-wife, but not boyfriend-girlfriend)’

117. *Dorang baku-bawa bae.*
 3PL RECIP-bring good
 ‘They care for each other. (as in boyfriend-girlfriend)’
118. *Ali deng Yusuf tadi pi pasar.*
 Ali with Yusuf just.now go market
 ‘Ali and Yusuf went to the market.’
119. *Ali tadi ada pigi di pasar kong bali ikan di sana.*
 Ali just.now ASP go LOC market CONJ buy fish LOC over.there
 ‘Ali went to the market and bought fish.’
120. *Gunung itu tinggi skali.*
 mountain DEM tall very
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’
121. *Gunung pe tinggi sampe.*
 mountain POSS tall until
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’
122. *Gunung Ternate lebe tinggi dari gunung Tidore.*
 mountain Ternate more tall from mountain Tidore
 ‘Ternate’s mountain is taller than Tidore’s mountain.’
123. *Gunung itu tara talalu tinggi.*
 mountain DEM NEG too tall
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’
124. *Di Maluku Utara, gunung itu yang paling tinggi.*
 LOC Maluku Utara mountain DEM REL most tall
 ‘That mountain is the tallest in Maluku Utara.’
125. *Gunung itu so paling tinggi suda.*
 mountain DEM ASP most tall already
 ‘That mountain is the tallest.’
126. *Dia ada bikin makanan mo jual di pasar.*
 3SG ASP make food ASP sell LOC market
 ‘S/he makes food to sell in the market.’
127. *Kita kasi barang ini buat ngana.*
 1SG give thing DEM for 2SG
 ‘I give this thing to you.’

128. *Kita kasi barang ini ka ngana.*
 1SG give thing DEM to 2SG
 ‘I give this thing to you.’
129. *Kita kasi barang ini for ngana.*
 1SG give thing DEM for 2SG
 ‘I give this thing to you.’
130. *Dia simpan doi itu la mo bali oto baru.*
 3SG save money DEM in.order.to ASP buy car new
 ‘S/he saves money in order to buy a new car.’
131. *Dia ba-tabung doi itu la mo bali oto baru.*
 3SG BA-save money DEM in.order.to ASP buy car new
 ‘S/he saves money in order to buy a new car.’
132. *Kalo ngana tara datang me tara apa pun.*
 if 2SG NEG come CONJ NEG what also
 ‘If you don’t come it’s not a problem.’
133. *Ngana datang tempo apa?*
 2SG come time what
 ‘When did you come?’

Text No. 4

Location: Ternate (July 2007)

**Informants: A: Lis, Male (age 35), B: Female (Age 55, Mother-in-Law of A),
Conversation at home**

Doi

‘Money’

- 1 A: *Iki so maso kulia? E apa Iki so maso skola?*
Iki ASP enter lecture INT what Iki ASP enter school
‘Has Iki started going to class? Hey, has Iki started school yet?’
- 2 B: *Bolong, ada libur.*
not.yet have vacation
‘Not yet. She’s on vacation.’
- 3 A: *E kapan baru mo maso?*
INT when just ASP enter
‘Hey, when will she start?’
- 4 B: *Tanggal brapa maso?*
date how.many enter
‘What date does she start?’
- 5 A: *Iki so klas brapa?*
Iki ASP class how.many
‘What grade is Iki entering?’
- 6 B: *Nae kalas ampat. Tami klas lima.*
go.up class four Tami class five
‘She’s been promoted to fourth grade. Tami is in fifth grade’
- 7 A: *Tapi lampu deng aer bolong bayar bulan ini. Nanti cek dulu gaji.*
but lamp with water not.yet pay month DEM later check first salary
‘(Referring to school fees) But the electricity and water bills have not been paid this month. I’ll check when I get paid later.’
- 8 B: *Me dia bilang kalo doi lebe tabus cincin, kalo lebe.*
DP 3SG say if money more pay.off ring if more
‘Also she said if there is more than enough money, the rings should be paid off, if there is more than enough.’
- 9 A: *Cincin barapa pun, dua biji? Lis punya lagi?*
ring how.many also two pieces Lis POSS again
‘How many rings, two? Including Lis’s (referring to himself)?’

- 10 B: *Ya. Lis punya itu, Rafli yang gade, tapi dia punya itu, saya yang gade*
 Yes. Lis POSS DEM Rafli REL pawn but 3SG POSS DEM 1SG REL pawn
 ‘Yes, the one Lis owns, Rafli pawned, but the one mother owns (referring to herself), I pawned.’
- 11 A: *Barang samua?*
 thing all
 ‘Is that all?’
- 12 B: *Tu Rafli pe ngana. Kalo... tapi dia... saya punya barangkali barang*
 DEM Rafli POSS 2SG If but 3SG 1SG POSS maybe approximately

tiga ratus lebe dan itu, tiga ratus delapan pulu. Bərarti ada bukti
 three hundred more and DEM three hundred eight ten mean have proof

ini dia pe surat.
 DEM 3SG POSS letter
 ‘Rafli pawned yours. If... but he... Mine is about 300 (thousand rupiah) or more, and that one, 380 (thousand rupiah). This means the proof is in his receipt.’
- 13 A: *Itu bərarti cukup bayar dia pe ada tabus.*
 DEM mean enough pay 3SG POSS have pay.off
 ‘That means there is enough to pay off his (ring).’
- 14 B: *Dua suda, tak apa-apa. Me bolong ini.*
 two already NEG REDUP-what DP not.yet DEM
 ‘Both of them, no problem. Also not this one yet.’
- 15 A: *Tiga bulan to?*
 three month DP
 ‘It’s been three months, hasn’t it?’
- 16 B: *Saya musti tetap ini ambe doi tiga ratus itu.*
 1SG must still DEM take money three hundred DEM
 ‘I still have to get that three hundred (thousand rupiah).’
- 17 A: *Tiga ratus delapan pulu lima.*
 three hundred eight ten five
 ‘Three hundred twenty five.’
- 18 B: *Ambe doi?*
 take money
 ‘Get the money?’

- 19 A: *Saya.*
1SG
'I will.'
- 20 B: *Kalo tabus?*
if pay.off
'Will it be paid off?'
- 21 A: *Tapi səkitar ampa ratus lebe ka apa, ampa ratus dua pulu tuju.*
but about four hundred more Q what four hundred two ten seven
'But it's about four hundred or more or so, four hundred twenty seven.'
- 22 B: *ampa ratus dua pulu tuju, suda [unclear] ampa ratus.*
four hundred two ten seven already [unclear] four hundred
'Four hundred twenty seven, already [unclear] four hundred'
- 23 A: *Ini so brapa lama?*
DEM ASP how.much long
'How long has it been?'
- 24 B: *Tau, di situ, ada dia pe jangka. Itu, di sini dong ada*
know LOC there have 3SG POSS period.of.time DEM LOC here 3PL ASP

tulis, jato tempo tu. E, bulan muka, e? Bulan delapan tarada? Itu
write fall time DEMINT month front DP month eight NEG DEM

sama-sama deng waktu [unclear] cincin. Jato tempo.
REDUP-with with time [unclear] ring fall time
'I don't know. Over there (on the receipt) it has the time period. There, they have written the due date. Hey, next month, huh? The eighth month, no? It's the same as the ring's [unclear]. Due date.'
- 25 A: *Ini baru satu kali ka? So brapa?*
DEM just one time Q ASP how.many
'This is just one time, right? How many payments have you made?'
- 26 B: *E ini kalo mo ganti surat, bilang ini [unclear] bole ganti,*
INT DEM if ASP change letter say DEM [unclear] can change

tanggal-tanggal ka sana bole ganti pake tanggal jato tempo sana,
REDUP-date to over.there can change use date fall time over.there

tanggal apa itu tergantung tanggal kredit bulan ampa, ini jato
date what DEM depend date credit month four DEM fall

- tempo, bulan dalapan. Bərarti Agustus.*
time month eight mean August
‘Hey, if I want to change the receipt, it says you can change it, the dates, you can use the due date there, what date, depending on the date of credit in the fourth month, the due date is in the eighth month, that means August.’
- 27 A: *Brarti ini baru kasi baru-baru sebelum dia pigi.*
mean DEM just give REDUP-new before 3SG go
‘That means he just gave you this just before he left.’
- 28 B: *Saya, ini lagi ada sini. Saya kira bolong datang. Yang ada Lis*
1SG DEMagain have here 1SG think not.yet come REL have Lis
punya itu. De pe ka muka. Apa sama, yang jangka ini jato
POSS DEM D P to front what same REL period.of.time DEM fall
tempo ini juga, bulan ini, bərarti.
time DEM also month DEM mean
‘I, it’s right here. I think it hasn’t come yet. For Lis’s, there was a down payment. Is it the same? The time period of this, the due date of this also, this month, it means.’
- 29 A: *Yang jato tempo bulan muka, tanggal dua pulu, bulan dalapan.*
REL fall time month front date two ten month eight
‘The due date is next month, the twentieth of the eighth month.’
- 30 B: *Yang sama dengan itu bukan lagi?*
REL same with DEM NEG again
‘The same as that one, isn’t it also?’
- 31 A: *Yang ini, tanggal anam, bulan sambilan sini. Ini tu jato tempo.*
REL DEM date six month nine here DEM DEM fall time
‘This one says here, the sixth of the ninth month. This is the due date.’
- 32 B: *O, itu [unclear]*
INT DEM [unclear]
‘Oh, that [unclear].’
- 33 A: *Ini ka?*
DEM Q
‘This one?’
- 34 B: *Ya, ya,*
yes yes
‘Yes, yes.’

- 35 A: *Ini Rafli.*
 DEM Rafli
 ‘This is Rafli’s.’
- 36 B: *O, Rafli?*
 INT Rafli
 ‘Oh, Rafli’s.’
- 37 A: *Lis punya masi bulan sambilan.*
 Lis POSS still month nine
 ‘Lis’s isn’t until the ninth month.’
- 38 B: *O, bulan sambilan [unclear] mama punya [unclear] bulan dalapan*
 INT month nine [unclear] mother POSS [unclear] month eight
 ‘Oh, the ninth month. Mother’s is the eighth month.’
- 39 A: *Ini yang bulan dalapan ini, bərarti...*
 DEM REL month eight DEM mean
 ‘This one is the eighth month. That means...’
- 40 B: *Bərarti?*
 mean
 ‘What does it mean?’
- 41 A: *He. Mama punya bulan sambilan.*
 INT mother POSS month nine
 ‘Hey, mother’s is the ninth month.’
- 42 B: *O... di sini...*
 INT LOC here
 ‘Oh... here...’
- 43 A: *Tanggal jato tempo tanggal dua pulu bulan dalapan. Terus ini...*
 date fall time date two ten month eight next DEM
 ‘The due date is the twentieth of the eighth month. Then this one...’
- 44 B: *O, kalo mama ini.*
 INT if mother DEM
 ‘Oh, this one is mother’s.’
- 45 A: *Tanggal sambilan bulan dalapan.*
 date nine month eight
 ‘The ninth day of the eighth month.’

46 B: *Ini, yang di sini jato tempo ini, ini. Yang ini, jato ini, apa,*
DEM LOC LOC here fall time DEM DEM REL DEM fall DEM what

dong gade, dong jual. Dilelang pada tanggal...

3PL pawn 3PL sell auctioned on date

‘This, this one, the due date is this, this one. This one, the due date, what, they will pawn it, they will sell it. (Reading from the receipt:) “Will be auctioned on the date...”’

Text No. 5

Location: Ambon (July 2007)

Informant: Female (Age 48, Teacher)

Nene Luh
grandmother Luh

- 1 *Jadi yang beta mau cerita itu tentang Nene Luh. Jadi mengenai Nene*
so REL 1SG ASP tell.story DEM about Nene Luh So about Nene
“So, I will tell a story about Nene Luh. So, about this Nene Luh (‘grandmother
- 2 *Luhu ini, Nene Luh ini asalnya dari negeri Soya. Kalo mau bilang*
Luhu DEM Nene Luh DEM origin from country Soya if ASP say
“Luhu’), Nene Luh was originally from the country of Soya (in southern Ambon
- 3 *itu Nene Luh itu nama panggilan, tapi sebenarnya Nene Luh itu antua*
DEM Nene Luh DEM name call but truth Nene Luh DEM 3SG.FML
“island). The name Nene Luh is just a nickname but actually Nene Luh’s name was
- 4 *pung nama itu Kristina Pattimahu. Tapi karena di Ambon waktu itu semua*
POSS name DEM Kristina Pattimahu but because LOC Ambon time DEM all
“Kristina Pattimahu. But everyone in Ambon at that time
- 5 *panggil antua deng gelaran ya-itu Nene Luh. A, Nene Luh itu nanti*
call 3SG.FML with title 3SG-DEM Nene Luh INT Nene Luh DEM later
“called her by her (given) name. Later, after Nene Luh had
- 6 *pada saat antua su hilang baru istilah nama itu dia muncul. Tapi masi*
at time 3SG.FML ASP lost just term name DEM 3SG appear but still
“gone missing only then did the name (Nene Luh) appear. However, while she
- 7 *antua hidop seperti manusia biasa itu di-panggil Kristina, antua fam*
3SG.FML alive like human usual DEM PASS-call Kristina 3SG.FML surname
“lived as a human, she was usually called Kristina, her given name,
- 8 *itu, apa, Kristina Pattimahu. Itu tanpa tinggal antua itu, itu di Soya*
DEM what Kristina Pattimahu DEM place live 3SG.FML DEM DEM LOC Soya
“Kristina Pattimahu. Her place of residence was in Soya Atas (near Ambon city)
- 9 *Atas yang ini dengan Sirimau, dia punya ini dekat dengan Sirimau. Yang*
upper REL DEM with Sirimau 3SG POSS DEM near with Sirimau REL
“near Sirimau Hill, her [home] was near Sirimau.
- 10 *biasanya itu antua punya kehidupan ada di punca Sirimau. Na, Nene*
usual DEM 3SG.FML POSS life have LOC peak Sirimau INT Nene
“Her usual life was led atop the peak of Sirimau Hill. Now, Nene

- 11 *Luhu ini, waktu hidopnya itu terkenal di dalam kota Ambon. Itu seperti*
 Luhu DEMtime life DEMfamous LOC in city Ambon DEMlike
 “Luhu, while she was alive, was famous in the city of Ambon.
- 12 *saja deng katong bilang pahlawan Maluku bagitu waktu itu. Yang tidak*
 only with 1PL say hero Moluccas like.that time DEMREL NEG
 “She was like what we call a hero of the Moluccas at that time.
- 13 *kalanya seperti laki-laki. Jadi peran antua itu seperti pahlawan saja*
 lose like man so role 3SG.FML DEM like hero only
 “She was as good as any man. So her role was as a hero at that time.
- 14 *waktu itu. Na, jadi tapi hidop antua itu orangnya tida sampurna*
 time DEMINT so but life 3SG.FML DEM person NEG perfect
 “Now, during her life she was not a perfect person
- 15 *karena kaki sa-bala itu kaki manusia, yang sa-bala itu orang bilang*
 because foot one-side DEMfoot human REL one-side DEM person say
 “because one of her feet was a normal human foot, and the other foot was what
- 16 *kaki kuda. Ya, jadi pake kaki kuda yang di sa-bala. Aa, jadi katong*
 foot horse yes so use foot horse REL LOC one-side INT so 1PL
 “people said was a horse’s hoof. Yes, so she had a horse’s hoof on one side. So we
- 17 *lia, waktu antua hidop di tenga-tenga orang Ambon waktu itu,*
 see time 3SG.FML live LOC middle-middle person Ambon time DEM
 “can see, at the time she lived amid the people of Ambon
- 18 *hidopnya itu seperti, katakan-la pahlawan. Lalu di Ambon waktu antua*
 life DEMlike say-EMPH hero then LOC Ambon time 3SG.FML
 “her life was that of, shall we say, a hero. In Ambon at the time she
- 19 *hidop, itu antua itu, Nene Luhu itu ada mau punya tunangan dengan,*
 live DEM 3SG.FML DEM Nene Luhu DEMASP ASP POSS fiancé with
 “lived, Nene Luhu was going to be engaged to,
- 20 *katong mau bilang itu, se-orang juga katakan-la pahlawan dari Nusaniwe*
 1PL ASP say DEM one-CL also say-EMPH hero from Nusaniwe
 “we can say, a man who could also be called a hero from Nusaniwe
- 21 *dari Latuhalat. Na, biasanya tanpa ketemu itu di Gunung Nona,*
 from Latuhalat INT usual place meet DEMLOC mountain Nona (‘Miss’)
 “from Latuhalat. Now, usually their meeting place was atop Nona (‘Miss’) Mountain,

- 22 *yang nantinya akang nama Gunung Nona itu. Perjalanan dari, dari Soya,*
REL later FUT name mountain Nona DEM journey from from Soya
“that which would later be named Nona Mountain. Her journey from Soya,
- 23 *dari Soya sampe antua sampe di, di ini, ka, di Gunung Nona,*
from Soya until 3SG.FML arrive LOC LOC DEM Q LOC mountain Nona
“from Soya till she arrived at, at this, to Nona Mountain, usually
- 24 *biasanya perjalanan itu memake kuda. Biasanya perjalanan waktu dulu*
usual journey DEM use horse usual journey time before
“her journey was on a horse. This was normal in Ambon at that time, there were
- 25 *kan seng ada di Ambong ini bolong ada oto bolong ada apa-apa maka*
Q NEG have LOC Ambon DEM not.yet have car not.yet have REDUP-whatso
“no cars yet in Ambon or anything else so she used a
- 26 *antua pake kuda untu perjalanan itu. Na, perjalanan itu pake kuda dan*
3SG.FML use horse for journey DEM INT journey DEM use horse and
“horse for her journey. Now, the journey was on a horse and
- 27 *biasanya tanpa ketemu dengan pacarnya ato tunangannya itu di*
usual place meet with boyfriend or fiancé DEM LOC
“usually her meeting place with her boyfriend or fiancé was on
- 28 *Gunung Nona. Jadi, stiap hari itu tanpa ketemu nae Gunung Nona-la,*
mountain Nona so every day DEM place meet go.up mountain Nona-EMPH
“Nona Mountain. So, every day she would go up to the meeting place on Nona
- 29 *aa. Pada satu ketika, perjalanan itu belum sampe di Gunung Nona, baru*
INT On one time journey DEM not.yet arrive LOC mountain Nona just
“Mountain, yes. One day, she had not reached Nona Mountain yet on her journey,
- 30 *sampe di Kudamati. Aa, mulai muncul di situ karena Nene Luhu*
arrive LOC Kudamati INT begin appear LOC there because Nene Luhu
“she had only reached Kudamati (an area just south of Ambon city). It seems that
- 31 *punya kuda itu mati, di Kudamati, lalu antua kasi nama itu Kudamati.*
POSS horse DEM die LOC Kudamati then 3SG.FML give name DEM Kudamati
“because Nene Luhu’s horse died there, in Kudamati, she gave the place the name
- 32 *Aa, tanpa ketemu di Gunung Nona, karena tiap hari antua punya*
INT place meet LOC mountain Nona because every day 3SG.FML POSS
“Kudamati (‘horse dead’). The place where they would meet was on Nona Mountain,

- 33 *tunangan itu nae ketemu di atas seng tau antua pung nama, jadi*
 fiancé DEM go.up meet LOC top NEG know 3SG.FML POSS name so
 “because every day her fiancé would go up to meet her atop the mountain yet he
- 34 *panggil antua itu cuma dengan gelar Nona, jadi waktu ketemu cuma*
 call 3SG.FML DEM only with title Miss so time meet only
 “didn’t know her name, so he called her only by the title ‘Miss’, so when they would
- 35 *panggil Nona, karena belum tau nama, maka itu dinamakan Gunung*
 call Miss because not.yet know name so DEM PASS-name mountain
 “meet he only called her Miss, because he didn’t know her name yet, therefore it was
- 36 *Nona. Aa, lalu, dari Gunung Nona itu, biasanya antua ronda*
 Nona INT then from mountain Nona DEM.usual 3SG.FML make.rounds
 “named Nona (Miss) Mountain. Then from Nona Mountain, usually she made the
- 37 *antar antua pung pacar untu pulang itu sampe di Batu*
 accompany 3SG.FML POSS boyfriend for go.home DEM.until LOC Batu
 “rounds accompanying her boyfriend on his way home (and on one day) arrived at
- 38 *Capeu. Di situ, Batu Capeu itu, antua punya topi itu, dia, angin*
 Cepeu LOC there Batu Cepeu DEM 3SG.FML POSS hat DEM 3SG wind
 “Batu Capeu. There, at Batu Capeu, her hat, the wind blew it (off her head) so it fell
- 39 *bawa akang jato ka dalam aer masing. Aa, angin bawa maso ka aer*
 bring 3SG.N fall to in water salty INT wind bring enter to water
 “into the salt water. The wind carried it into the salt water, (so) she gave it the name
- 40 *masing, antua kasi nama jadi Batu Capeu. Aa, itu tanpa ketemu lagi*
 salty 3SG.FML give name become Batu Cepeu INT DEM.place meet again
 “Batu Capeu. It was also a meeting place there, at Batu Capeu.
- 41 *di situ, Batu Capeu. Na, dari situ antua perjalanan itu tapi*
 LOC there Batu Cepeu INT from there 3SG.FML journey DEM but
 “Now, from there she continued her journey but
- 42 *antua pung tunangan itu seng jadi kaweng. Tapi ahirnya antua pung*
 3SG.FML POSS fiancé DEM.NEG happen marry but last 3SG.FML POSS
 “her fiancé (and her) didn’t end up getting married. In the end, her
- 43 *kuda mati jadi Kudamati, lalu Gunung Nona*
 horse dead become Kudamati (‘dead horse’) then Gunung Nona (‘Miss Mountain’)
 “horse died and became Kudamati, then Nona (‘Miss’) Mountain was given its name

- 44 *terjadi karena tanpa ketemu cuma nona seng tau nama, aa, di situ*
 happened because place meet only miss NEG know name, INT LOC there
 “because it was the meeting place of the miss whose name was not known, and she
- 45 *la di Batu Cepeu, aa, seng lama. Antua punya perkerjaan itu cuma tiap*
 EMPHLOC Batu Cepeu INT NEG long 3SG.FML POSS work DEM only every
 “was there at Batu Capeu not very long. (After that) her work every day was simply
- 46 *hari suka menjai pake tangan, aa, menjai pake tangan. Jarung tangan itu*
 day like sew use hand INT sew use hand needle hand DEM
 “to sew by hand, sewing by hand. Using a needle by hand,
- 47 *lalu antua tiap hari menjai di gunung atas Sirimau, itu kan dia*
 then 3SG.FML every day sew LOC mountain on Sirimau DEMQ 3SG
 “then every day she sewed on the mountaintop of Sirimau, it is
- 48 *tinggi, jadi dingin, tiap hari perkerjaan cuma menjai menjai menjai*
 tall become cold every day work only sew sew sew
 “very tall, so she was cold, every day her work was just sewing, sewing, sewing,
- 49 *begini menjai deng tangan. Aa, waktu antua menjai, antua*
 like.that sew with hand INT time 3SG.FML sew 3SG.FML
 “just that. sewing by hand. (One time while) she was sewing, her
- 50 *punya benang itu benang di dalam akang punya, katakana-la, di dalam*
 POSS thread DEM thread LOC in 3SG.N POSS say-EMPH LOC in
 “thread, the thread in its, we can say, in
- 51 *gulungan itu, dia jato terguling, dia jato terguling di atas tana. Lalu*
 roll DEM 3SG fall rolling 3SG fall rolling LOC on ground then
 “the roll, it fell, rolling, it fell rolling on the ground. Then
- 52 *antua Nene Luhu itu iku, iku benang itu, iku iku dia, sampe*
 3SG.FML Nene Luhu DEM follow follow thread DEM follow follow 3SG until
 “Nene Luhu followed, followed the thread, followed, followed it, until
- 53 *ahirnya tida dapa, antua hilang. Dengan sendirinya Nene Luhu jadi, Nene*
 last NEG find 3SG.FML lost with self Nene Luhu became Nene
 “at last she couldn’t find it, and she disappeared. As a result, Nene Luhu became,
- 54 *Luhu itu seng mati, antua hilang. Aa, dengan sendirinya iku iku iku*
 Luhu DEM NEG dead 3SG.FML lost INT with SELF follow follow follow
 “Nene Luhu did not die, she disappeared. As a result of following, following,

- 55 *iku antua hilang, antua hilang sampe saat ini, katong seng dengar Nene*
follow 3SG.FML lost 3SG.FML lost until time DEM 1PL NEG hear Nene
“following, following, she disappeared, she has been gone until now, and we have
- 56 *Luhu mati. Orang Ambon ini seng tau Nene Luhu mati di mana, seng tau.*
Luhu die people Ambon DEM NEG know Nene Luhu die LOC where NEG know
“never heard that she is dead. The people of Ambon don’t know where Nene Luhu
- 57 *Tapi antua seng mati, cuma antua hilang. Nah, buktinya untu hilang bahwa*
but 3SG.FML NEG die only 3SG.FM lost INT proof for lost that
“died, they don’t know. But she did not die, she is only missing. Now, the proof is
- 58 *katong tau bahwa kalo ada keadaan yang umpamanya orang ada susa,*
1PL know that if have situation REL example person POSS difficulty
“that we know that if there is a situation in which a person faces difficulty,
- 59 *Nene Luhu itu tolong. Nene Luhu itu paling senang tolong orang dalam*
Nene Luhu DEM help Nene Luhu DEM most happy help person in
“Nene Luhu will help. Nene Luhu is happiest when she is helping people who are in
- 60 *keadaan susa. Aa, waktu dulu itu di Batu Gajah itu, di apa, hotel apa,*
situation difficult INT time before DEM LOC Batu Gajah DEM LOC what hotel what
“difficult situations. At one time in Batu Gajah, at the what, the hotel what,
- 61 *di Batu Gajah, di lapangan tenes, mau ke lapangan tenes itu, ada satu*
LOC Batu Gajah LOC court tennis ASP to court tennis DEM have one
“in Batu Gajah, at the tennis courts, on the way to the tennis courts, there is a
- 62 *hotel di situ, itu biasanya ibu-ibu suka cari dorang pung*
hotel LOC there DEM usual REDUP-mother like search.for 3PL POSS
“hotel there, and often married women search for their (wayward)
- 63 *suami di situ, cari malam-malam. Aa, perna satu ibu ditolong*
husband LOC there search REDUP-night INT ever one mother PASS-help
“husbands there, searching late at night. There was one woman who was helped
- 64 *ole Nene Luhu. Aa, waktu cari-cari, Nene itu datang dan “Ada kenapa*
by Nene Luhu INT time REDUP-search Nene DEM come and have why
“by Nene Luhu. At the time she was searching everywhere, Nene came to her and
- 65 *cucu? “ Nene punya sebutan untu samua orang itu dengan cucu.*
grandchild Nene POSS term for all people DEM with grandchild
“said “What is wrong, grandchild?” Nene’s term for all people is ‘grandchild’.

- 66 *Jadi anggap saja itu pung cucu ini dalam Ambon samua. Aa, langsung*
 so regard only DEMPOSS grandchild DEM in Ambon all INT directly
 “So just regard all the people of Ambon as (her) grandchildren. As soon as
- 67 *bilang keluhannya begini, suami itu suda tinggal lama, tida perna*
 say complain like.this husband DEM already leave long NEG ever
 “she told her complaint, that her husband had been gone a long time, and never came
- 68 *pulang ruma, Aa, Nene bilang “Kalo begitu mari Nene bawa*
 go.home house INT Nene say if like.that come Nene bring
 “home, Nene said “If so, let me take you for a walk.”
- 69 *jalan.” Sa-Hotel Anggrek, namanya Hotel Anggrek, di Batu Gajah. Nene*
 walk one-Hotel Orchid, name Hotel Orchid LOC Batu Gajah Nene
 “All over the Orchid Hotel, that is the name, the Orchid Hotel in Batu Gajah, Nene
- 70 *bawa ke sana dapa dengan suaminya, dengan parampuan lain. Aa, itu*
 bring to there find with husband with woman other INT DEM
 “brought her there and found her husband, with another woman. That is
- 71 *untu menolong dengan cara begitu. Ada, di Batu Gajah itu, di muka*
 for help with method like.that have LOC Batu Gajah DEM LOC front
 “the way she would help people. In Batu Gajah, in front of the
- 72 *Kodam itu, ada aa, Gedung Wanita. dulu itu Gedung*
 regional.military.command DEM have INT building woman before DEM building
 “Regional Military Command, there is the Gedung Wanita (Women’s Building),
- 73 *Wanita. Orang kawin, kalo orang kawin pung susa saja keluhan sampe*
 woman people marry if people marry POSS difficulty only complain until
 “what used to be the Gedung Wanita.¹⁹⁸ Married people with troubles complain
- 74 *antua pun dengar orang yang mengeluh katakan seperti angin jadi antua*
 3SG.FML also hear person REL complain say like wind so 3SG.FML
 “to Nene Luhu, who hears their complaints as through the wind as if she
- 75 *ada di mana-mana saja. Antua dengar orang pung susa. Pada saat*
 have LOC REDUP-where only 3SG.FML hear person POSS difficulty at time
 “is everywhere at once. She listens to their problems. At the time that
- 76 *orang dalam susa dong pi belanja di toko, dia rela untu kasi*
 person in difficulty 3PL go shop LOC store 3SG willing for give
 “one person was in trouble and went shopping at the store, Nene Luhu gave her

¹⁹⁸ Gedung Wanita is a building run by the wives of male civil servants. Its main purpose is as a meeting hall and auditorium used for weddings and other large public and private functions.

- 77 *uang, uang, uang itu dong pi belanja, serta-la orang belanja pulang*
 money money money DEM3PL go shop and-EMPH person shop go.home
 “money, money so she could go shopping, and then when that person went home
- 78 *abis samua suda malam, baru dong ketauan itu daun, bukan uang yang*
 after all already night just 3PL find.out DEM leaf NEG money REL
 “after (it was) late at night, only then did they realize that it was leaves, not money,
- 79 *di situ. Antua rubakan daun yang tadi menjadi uang. Itu Nene*
 LOC there 3SG.FML change leaf REL just.now become money DEM Nene
 “there [that she was given]. Nene Luhu had changed leaves to become money. That is
- 80 *Luhu punya kelebihan yang itu ada. Kalo cuma antua tida sanang kalo*
 Luhu POSS excess REL DEM have if only 3SG.FML NEG happy if
 “the extraordinary thing about Nene Luhu. However she is only unhappy if
- 81 *kota Ambon itu kotor. Waktu dulu di Batu Gajah itu, karena aer*
 city Ambon DEM dirty time before LOC Batu Gajah that because water
 “the city of Ambon is dirty. In previous times in Batu Gajah, the water
- 82 *antua daera itu tu kan itu dia Nene Luhu punya daera. Aa, aer*
 3SG.FML region DEM DEMQ DEM3SG Nene Luhu POSS region INT water
 “in that region belonged to Nene Luhu, since it was her region.
- 83 *itu kalo daera aer itu dia kotor, maka, maka Nene Luhu itu buat*
 DEM if region water DEM3SG dirty then then Nene Luhu DEM make
 “If the water in that region was dirty, then Nene Luhu would cause
- 84 *ana-ana kacil yang bermandi di pinggir kali itu dia hilang, dong*
 REDUP-child small REL bathe LOC side river DEM3SG lost 3PL
 “children bathing beside the river to disappear, they would
- 85 *hilang. Beberapa hari sampe mesti nae di atasnya raja Soya, sampe di*
 lost a.few day until must go.up LOC top king Soya until LOC
 “be gone. A few days before he was to go up to the top of the mountain,
- 86 *raja Soya bilang dorang masalanya dulu samua baru raja Soya*
 king Soya say 3PL problem before all just king Soya
 “the king of Soya announced his troubles. Before the king of Soya
- 87 *panggil, panggil dengan [unclear] supaya Nene Luhu itu datang. Na, kalo*
 call call with [unclear] so.that Nene Luhu DEM come INT if
 “summoned Nene Luhu with [unclear] so she would come. Now, if

- 88 *panggil [unclear] di atas di Gunung Sirimau, berarti tandanya itu*
 call [unclear] LOC top LOC mountain Sirimau mean sign DEM
 “she is summoned with [unclear] from the top of Sirimau Hill, it means it is a sign
- 89 *tanda Nene Luhu datang untu bicara langsung. Raja tua dulu di Soya*
 sign Nene Luhu come for talk directly king old before LOC Soya
 “for Nene Luhu to come and speak directly. The old king of Soya
- 90 *itu bicara langsung dengan Nene Luhu itu. Nanti Nene Luhu keluhan*
 DEM talk directly with Nene Luhu DEM Later Nene Luhu complain
 “spoke directly to Nene Luhu. Then Nene Luhu told of her complaints so that
- 91 *apa supaya dong tau, o dong kotor dalam kota Ambon. Lalu antua*
 what so.that 3PL know INT 3PL dirty in city Ambon then 3SG.FML
 “they would know, (that) they (had made) the city of Ambon dirty. Then she
- 92 *kasi pulang kembali itu anak. Jadi itu Nene Luhu punya ini begitu...*
 give go.home return DEM child so DEM Nene Luhu POSS DEM like.that
 “returned the children to their homes. So that is the way of Nene Luhu...”

Text No. 6

Location: Ambon (July 2007)

Informant: Male (Age 62, Retired Civil Servant)

Batu Ba-Daong

rock BA-leaf

‘The Rock With Leaves’

- 1 *Dolo orang ta-tua dong itu mau bikin bodo ana-ana itu, dong bilang*
before people TA-old 3PL DEM want make stupid REDUP-child DEM 3PL say
‘In the old days, parents liked to fool their children, they would say that there was
- 2 *kata ada batu ba-daong. Jadi satu ana ada, kadang-kadang dia mara dia*
word have rock BA-leaf so one child have REDUP-sometimes 3SG angry 3SG
‘a rock with leaves. So there was one child, and sometimes he would be angry with
- 3 *pung mama. Lalu dia pung mama bilang kata “Kalo bagitu, mama pi la*
POSS mother Then 3SG POSS mother say word if like.that mother go EMPH
‘his mother. Then his mother said “If that’s the way it is, mother will go to
- 4 *batu ba-daong nanti, loko mama.” Dia seng yakin, dia seng percaya par*
rock BA-leaf later hold.onto mother 3SG NEG certain 3SG NEG believe for
‘the rock with leaves later, hold onto mother.’ He wasn’t sure about it, he didn’t
- 5 *dia pung mama pi di tanpa itu. Jadi satu saat dia pung mama nae di*
3SG POSS mother go LOC place DEM so one time 3SG POSS mother go.up LOC
‘believe his mother would go to that place. So one day his mother climbed up
- 6 *batu ba-daong tu, lalu dia pung mama manyanyi, “Batu ba-daong, Batu la*
rock BA-leaf DEM then 3SG POSS mother sing rock BA-leaf rock EMPH
‘on the rock with leaves, and then his mother sang “Rock with leaves, rock with a
- 7 *ba-tangke, Buka mulu-mu.” Lalu dia buka mulu. Dia buka mulu ka mari. Dia*
BA-stem open mouth- 2SG then 3SG open mouth 3SG open mouth to here 3SG
‘stem, open your mouth. Then it opened its mouth, it opened its mouth to here. His
- 8 *pung mama mulai maso dalam batu ba-daong tu. Terus maso ka batu ba-daong.*
POSS mother begin enter into rock BA-leaf DEM then enter to rock BA-leaf
‘mother began to enter into the rock with leaves. Then she entered into the rock with
- 9 *Lalu dia ba-taria “Mama e Mama, beta minta ampong jua. Lalu su*
then 3SG BA-scream mother hey mother 1SG ask.for mercy also then ASP
‘leaves. Then he screamed “Mother, hey mother, I ask your mercy.” But it was too

- 10 *terlambat. Dia pung mama bicara su terlambat, karena dia su [unclear].*
 too.late 3SG POSS mother speak ASP too.late because 3SG ASP [unclear],
 “late. His mother spoke too late, because he had already [unclear]”
- 11 *dia pung mama. Lalu ada sisa antua pung rambu aja. Dia pi ambil*
 3SG POSS mother. then have remainder 3SG.FML POSS hair only 3SG go take
 “his mother. Then there was only a remnant of her hair left. He went and took up
- 12 *dia pung mama pung rambu itu. Lalu dia pi bungkus akang. Lalu dia pi*
 3SG POSS mother POSS hair DEM then 3SG go wrap.up 3SG.N then 3SG go
 “his mother’s hair. Then he wrapped it up. Next he went and
- 13 *tanang akang di pohon pisang. Nanti di situ akang punya lanjutan*
 plant 3SG.N LOC tree banana later LOC there FUT POSS continuation
 “planted it at a banana tree. This place later gave a continuation
- 14 *caritanya. Kalo ana-ana dong pung rambu mau panjang itu, potong rambu*
 story if REDUP-child 3PL POSS hair want long DEM cut hair
 “to his story. If children want to have long hair, cut off their hair,
- 15 *itu, tanang akang di pohon pisang supaya ana-ana pung rambu panjang.*
 DEM plant 3SG.N LOC tree banana so.that REDUP-child POSS hair long
 “and plant it at a banana tree so that the children will have long hair.
- 16 *Itu akang pung carita bagitu.*
 DEM 3SG.N POSS story like.that
 “That is the way the story goes.”

Text No. 7

Location: Ambon (July 2007)

Informant: Female (Age 47, Housewife)

Kerusuhan

riots

‘The Riots’,¹⁹⁹

- 1 *Katong dolo sebelum kerusuhan, katong pung ruma, ada sadiki besar, tapi*
1PL former before riots 1PL POSS house have little big but
“We used to, before the riots, we used to have a house, which was quite big, but
- 2 *kasian, sakarang katong pulang di sini. Ruma ini akang seng batul-batul.*
take.pity, now 1PL go.home LOC here house DEM 3SG.N NEG REDUP-right
“have pity on us, now we have returned home to here. This house isn’t right at all.
- 3 *Soalnya dolo waktu dong serang katong, katong pung ruma-ruma ta-bakar*
reason former time 3PL attack 1PL 1PL POSS REDUP-house TA-burn
“The thing is, previously when they attacked us, our houses were all burned up.
- 4 *samua. Barang-barang samua habis. Samua katular, samua [unclear]. Jalan*
all REDUP-thing all finish all spread all [unclear] road
“Our goods were all destroyed. Everything spread, everything [unclear]. On the way
- 5 *sampe di utang, ujan! Waktu musim-musim gini itu, ujan. Katong sampe*
until LOC forest rain time REDUP-season like.this DEM rain 1PL arrive
“to the forest, it was raining! It was this season, the rainy season. We arrived
- 6 *di gunung. Samua-samua, ana-ana samua, dingin samua! La sampe di*
LOC mountain REDUP-all REDUP-child all cold all to arrive LOC
“at the mountain. All of us, all the children, were cold. On the way to the
- 7 *gunung-gunung tinggi, tida makan lagi, jalan sampe lapar-lapar, tu lapar.*
REDUP-mountain tall NEG eat again walk until REDUP-hungry DEM hungry
“tall mountains, we didn’t eat anything, (we) walked until (we were) very hungry, that
- 8 *Lima hari dalang utang, dingin, sampe, ya, tong turun di Paso. Katong*
five day in forest cold until yes 1PL come.down LOC Paso 1PL
“was real hunger. We spent five days in the forest, cold, until, yes, we came down in
- 9 *tinggal di Paso selama tiga taun. Tinggal di tanpa pengungsian. Ya,*
live LOC Paso as.long.as three year live LOC place refugee yes
“Paso. We lived in Paso for three years. We lived in a refugee camp. Yes,

¹⁹⁹ The city of Ambon was beset by serious riots in 1999 (continuing sporadically until 2002). Thousands of homes and businesses were destroyed, and hundreds of people lost their lives.

- 10 *bagitu-la. Karena berkat Tuhan sampe bale-bale. Tuhan antar*
 like.that-EMPH because blessing God arrive REDUP-return God accompany
 “that’s how it was. Because of God’s blessing, we were able to return home. God
- 11 *katong bale-bale pulang ka katong pung kampong lagi. Sampe sakarang*
 1PL REDUP-return go.home to 1PL POSS village again until now
 “accompanied us to return home to our village again. Until now,
- 12 *ini hidop seng macam yang kaya dolo-dolo lai. Barang utang-utang*
 DEM life NEG like REL like REDUP-previous again thing REDUP-forest
 “life is not the way it was previously anymore. We lost all our goods in the forest.
- 13 *abis samua. Mau bikin bagaimana? Katong sakarang cuma harap jaring*
 finish all want make how 1PL now only hope net
 “What can we do? Now we only rest our hopes on fishing with nets.
- 14 *saja. Kalo memang jaring pigi dapa ikang, ya? Ana-ana bisa dapa uang*
 only if truly net go find fish yes REDUP-child can get money
 “If we can truly go catch fish with nets, right? The children can have a little money
- 15 *sadiki-sadiki karena sakarang ni cengke-cengke su abis. Seng ada*
 REDUP-little because now DEM REDUP-clove ASP finish NEG have
 “because now the clove trees are all destroyed. There is nothing
- 16 *apa-apa lai. Habis samua. Mau gimana, kerusuhan?*
 REDUP-what again finish all want like.how riots
 “left. Everything is gone. What was it all for, the riots?”

Text No. 8

Location: Banda Refugee Village, Ambon

Informant: Male, Retired farmer, Age 67

1. *Beta pung papa tanam pohong di kintal.*
1SG POSS father plant tree LOC garden
'My father plants trees in the garden.'
2. *Ana itu tido.*
child DEM sleep
'The child sleeps.'
3. *Nona itu manangis.*
girl DEM cry
'The girl cries.'
4. *Beta pung ade tulis surat par guru.*
1SG POSS younger.sibling write letter to teacher
'My younger sibling wrote a letter to the teacher.'
5. *Pus tido di kadera.*
cat sleep LOC chair
'The cat sleeps on the chair.'
6. *Beta pung papa potong tali deng piso.*
1SG POSS father cut rope with knife
'My father cuts a rope with a knife.'
7. *Beta pung papa potong kayu deng beta pung om.*
1SG POSS father cut wood with 1SG POSS uncle
'My father cuts wood with my uncle.'
8. *Guru itu baca buku.*
teacher DEM read book
'The teacher reads a book.'
9. *Orang itu kasi bunga par dia pu tunangan.*
person DEM give flower to 3SG POSS fiancé
'The person gives a flower to his fiancé.'
10. *Beta lia pane.*
1SG see 2SG
'I see you.'
11. *Pane lia beta.*
2SG see 1SG
'You see me'

12. *Dong lia katong.*
3PL see 1PL
'They see us.'
13. *Katong lia dia.*
1PL see 3SG
'We see him/her.'
14. *Beta lia kamong.*
1SG see 2PL
'I see you (pl).'
15. *Beta su bali oto baru.*
1SG ASP buy car new
'I bought a new car.'
16. *Beta balong bali oto baru.*
1SG not.yet buy car new
'I haven't bought a new car yet.'
17. *Beta nanti mo bali oto baru.*
1SG later ASP buy car new
'I will buy a new car.'
18. *Dia ada lego-lego.*
3SG ASP REDUP-fishing
'He is fishing.'
19. *Dia ada pigi/pi mangael ikan.*
3SG ASP go fishing fish
'He is fishing.'
20. *Dia su lego-lego.*
3SG ASP REDUP-fishing
'He went fishing.'
21. *Dorang/dong ada makang.*
3PL ASP eat
'He is eating.'
22. *Oto itu dia tumbu pohong.*
car DEM 1SG crash tree
'The car crashed into the tree.'
23. *Motor itu ta-tumbu oto ini.*
motorcycle DEM TA-crash car DEM
'That motorcycle crashed into this car.'

24. *Buku itu pu mahal.*
book DEM POSS expensive
'That book is expensive.'
25. *Dia tara nonton tifi tadi malam.*
s/he NEG watch TV last night
'S/he didn't watch TV last night.'
26. *Dong tara jadi berangkat hari Rabu.*
3PL NEG happen go day Wednesday
'They won't leave on Wednesday.'
27. *Pane tara bali ikan di pasar kalamaring.*
2SG NEG buy fish LOC market yesterday
'You didn't buy fish in the market yesterday.'
28. *Kamorang tadi tara balajar di skola.*
2PL just.now NEG study LOC school
'You (pl) didn't study in school today.'
29. *Dorang tara mau datang.*
3PL NEG want come
'They don't want to come.'
30. *Ada kukis di dapur.*
have cake LOC kitchen
'There is cake in the kitchen.'
31. *Tarada kukis di dapur.*
NEG cake LOC kitchen
'There is no cake in the kitchen.'
32. *Su abis kukis di dapur.*
ASP finish cake LOC kitchen
'There is no more cake in the kitchen.'
33. *Su tarada lai kukis di dapur.*
ASP NEG DP cake LOC kitchen
'There is no more cake in the kitchen.'
34. *Ada kukis lagi di dapur?*
have cake again LOC kitchen
'Is there any more cake in the kitchen?'
35. *Dulu pane karja di pabrik?*
before 2SG work LOC factory
'Did you used to work at the factory?'

36. *Nyong, sakarang su jam barapa?*
 polite.address now ASP hour how.many
 ‘Sir, what is the time now (Prompt: a polite way to ask the time)’
37. *Nyong, pane tara lia kantor pos di mana?*
 polite.address 2SG NEG see office post LOC where
 ‘Sir, where is the post office?’
38. *Pane pu ruma di mana? (*Di mana pane pu ruma di mana?)*
 2SG POSS house LOC where
 ‘Where is your house?’
39. *Pane nama sapa?*
 2SG name who
 ‘What is your name?’
40. *Sapa yang tadi buka jandela?*
 who REL just.now open window
 ‘Who opened the window (just now)?’
41. *Tara ada lia orang pake beta pung baju?*
 NEG have see person wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Did anyone see who is wearing my shirt?’
42. *Sapa yang pake beta pung baju ini?*
 who REL wear 1SG POSS shirt DEM
 ‘Who is wearing my shirt?’
43. *Sapa yang manyanyi lagu ini?*
 who REL sing song DEM
 ‘Who sang/is singing this song?’
44. *Fino tadi bali apa di pasar?*
 Vino just.now buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Vino buy at the market?’
45. *Tadi pigi, Fino bali apa di pasar itu?*
 just.now go Vino buy what LOC market DEM
 ‘When he went just now, what did Vino buy at the market?’
46. *Pane apa tempo mau bayar beta pu utang itu?*
 2SG what time ASP pay 1SG POSS debt DEM
 ‘When can you pay back your debt to me?’

47. *Bagaimana dia mau pi cari dia pu tamang lai?*
 how 3SG ASP go search.for 3SG POSS friend DP
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’
48. *Fino pu ruma baru lai.*
 Vino POSS house new DP
 ‘Vino has a new house.’
49. *Fino pu buku banya.*
 Vino POSS book many
 ‘Vino has many books.’
50. *Fino ada tinggal di kota ka?*
 Vino ASP live LOC town Q
 ‘Vino lives in town, doesn’t he?’
51. *Fino macang dia ada ba-jalang deng dia pung ade ka?*
 Vino like 3SG ASP BA-walk with 3SG POSS younger.sibling Q
 ‘Vino, it seems he is walking around with his younger sibling, isn’t he?’
52. *Fino pu oto satu.*
 Vino POSS one car
 ‘Vino has a car.’
53. *Fino pu oto mangkali dua ka apa?*
 Vino POSS car maybe two Q what
 ‘It seems maybe Vino has two cars, doesn’t he?’
54. *Beta tinggal di sini.*
 1SG live LOC house
 ‘I live here.’
55. *Katong dari sana datang ka sini.*
 1PL from over.there come to here
 ‘We came from over there to here.’
56. *Dia ba-diri di situ.*
 3SG BA-stand LOC there
 ‘He is standing there.’
57. *Kita datang dari timor.*
 1SG come from east
 ‘I came from the east.’
58. *Kita datang dari barat.*
 1SG come from west
 ‘I came from the west.’

59. *satu, dua*
 one two
 ‘one, two *or* first, second’
60. *Ana itu yang pancuri ayam.*
 child DEM REL steal chicken
 ‘That is the child who stole my chicken.’
61. *Beta pu tanpa lahir di sini.*
 1SG POSS place birth LOC here
 ‘This is the place where I was born.’
62. *Dong ba-kalae.*
 3PL BA-fight
 ‘They fought.’
63. *Dorang baku-sayang satu deng lain.*
 3PL RECIP-love one with other
 ‘They love each other one with another.’
64. *Dorang baku-bawa bae.*
 3PL RECIP-bring good
 ‘They care for each other (as in boyfriend-girlfriend).’
65. *Gunung itu mar pu tinggi.*
 mountain DEM but POSS tall
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’
66. *Gunung sana itu lebe tinggi dari gunung ini.*
 mountain over.there DEM more tall from mountain DEM
 ‘The mountain over there is taller than this mountain.’
67. *Gunung sana yang paling tinggi.*
 mountain over.there REL most tall
 ‘That mountain over there is the tallest.’

Text No. 9

Location: Banda Refugee Village, Ambon

Informants: Male (Age 89, Retired farmer), answering questions asked by his grandson, age 25.

Perang Dunia Dua

war world two

‘World War II’

1 Q: *Jaman perang dolo gimana?*

era war before how

“What was it like during the war?”

2 A: *Jaman perang dolo beta jadi pengawas di sana, cuma satu, beta*

era war before 1SG become supervisor LOC over.there only one 1SG

“During the war I was a supervisor there [in Banda], the only one, I was the one

3 *yang pimpin dorang di sana, yang lain su habis. Habis perang,*

REL lead 3PL LOC over.there REL other ASP finish finish war

“who led them there, the others were all gone. After the war,

4 *orang-orang yang itu su mati habis sama sekali. Tinggal beta sandiri yang*

REDUP-personREL DEM ASP dead finish with very leave 1SG alone REL

“the people were all dead, completely destroyed. I was the only one

5 *ada hidop, di pimpinan [unclear] yang ada di situ sa. Orang*

have alive LOC leader [unclear] REL have LOC there only people

“left alive, out of the leaders [unclear] which were there. Only the people on

6 *pulo Hatta saja yang ada ta-tinggal itu.*

island Hatta only REL have TA-leave DEM

“Hatta Island were left.”

7 Q: *Orang Banda su tar-ada?*

person Banda ASP NEG-have

“The people of Banda weren’t there?”

8 *Su tar-ada, su mati habis. Samua, samua. Yang ada di atas sana,*

ASP NEG-have ASP dead finish all all REL have LOC above over.there

“They were gone, they were all dead. All, all of them. The ones were up there,

9 *apa ini, orang Belanda saja yang di [unclear]. Yang lain su habis.*

what DEM person Dutch only REL LOC [unclear] REL other ASP finish

“what was it, only the Dutch who were [unclear]. The others were all gone.

- 10 *Yang di Indonesia cuma katong dua, beta deng beta pu bapa, e, bapa*
REL LOC Indonesia only 1PL two 1SG with 1SG POSS father INT father
“Of the Indonesians, there were only the two of us, my father and me, my father
- 11 *yang suda mati. Deng mama. Yang lain-lain su habis, su tarada.*
REL already dead with mother REL REDUP-other ASP finish ASP NEG-have
“who is dead now. And mother. The others were all gone, not there anymore.”

Text No. 10

Location: Kupang

Informant: Male, Police Officer, Age 56

1. *Beta pung bapa tanam pohon di kobon.*
1SG POSS father plant tree LOC garden
'My father plants trees in the garden.'
2. *Itu ana tidor.*
DEM child sleep
'The child sleeps.'
3. *Itu nona manangis.*
DEM girl cry
'The girl cries.'
4. *Beta pung ade su tulis surat kasi dia pung guru.*
1SG POSS younger.sibling ASP write letter give 3SG POSS teacher
'My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.'
5. *Itu kucing tidor di atas korsi.*
DEM cat sleep LOC on chair
'The cat sleeps on the chair.'
6. *Beta pung bapa potong tali deng piso.*
1SG POSS father cut rope with knife
'My father cuts a rope with a knife.'
7. *Beta pung bapa potong kayu deng beta pung om/bapa kici.*
1SG POSS father cut wood with 1SG POSS uncle
'My father cuts wood with my uncle.'
8. *Itu guru baca buku.*
DEM teacher read book
'The teacher reads a book.'
9. *Itu orang kasi bunga pi dia pung pacar.*
DEM person give flower go 3SG POSS girlfriend
'The person gives a flower to his girlfriend.'
10. *Beta lia (sang) lu.*
1SG see to 2SG
'I see you.'
11. *Lu lia (sang) beta.*
2SG see to 1SG
'You see me.'

12. *Dia lia (sang) ketong.*
 3SG see to 1PL
 ‘S/he sees us.’
13. *Ketong lia (sang) dia.*
 1PL see to 3SG
 ‘We see him/her.’
14. *Beta lia (sang) basong/bosong/besong.*
 1SG see to 2PL
 ‘I see you (pl).’
15. *Basong/bosong/besong lia (sang) beta.*
 2PL see to 1SG
 ‘You (pl) see me.’
16. *Beta lia (sang) dong.*
 1SG see to 3PL
 ‘I see them.’
17. *Dong lia sang beta.*
 (sang) see to 1SG
 ‘They see me.’
18. *Itu burung lia pohon, dia lia bunga.*
 DEM bird see tree, 3SG see flower
 ‘The bird sees the tree. It sees a flower.’
19. *Beta su bəli oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ‘I bought a new car.’
20. *Beta bolom bəli oto baru.*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 ‘I haven’t bought a new car yet.’
21. *Beta mau bəli oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 ‘I will buy a new car.’
22. *Dia ada mangae/pancing ikan.*
 3SG ASP hook/catch fish
 ‘He is catching fish/He is fishing.’

23. *Dia su mangae/pancing ikan.*
 3SG ASP hook/catch fish
 ‘He went fishing.’
24. *Dia su parna mangae/pancing ikan.*
 3SG ASP ever hook/catch fish
 ‘He has ever gone fishing.’
25. *Dia masi mangae/pancing ikan.*
 3SG still hook/catch fish
 ‘He is still fishing.’
26. *Itu oto tabrak pohon.*
 DEM car crash tree
 ‘The car crashed into the tree.’
27. *Itu motor tabrak ini oto.*
 DEM motorcycle crash DEM car
 ‘That motorcycle crashed into this car.’
28. *Beta beli itu buku.*
 1SG buy DEM book
 ‘I buy that book.’
29. *Itu buku pung mahal lai.*
 DEM book POSS expensive DP
 ‘That book is very expensive.’
30. *Dia sonde nonton teve tadi malam.*
 s/he NEG watch TV last night
 ‘S/he didn’t watch TV last night.’
31. *Dong sonde jadi berangkat hari rabu.*
 3PL NEG happen leave day Wednesday
 ‘They won’t leave on Wednesday.’
32. *Lu sonde beli ikan di pasar kamarin.*
 2SG NEG buy fish LOC market yesterday
 ‘You didn’t buy fish in the market yesterday.’
33. *Basong sonde balajar di sekola.*
 2PL NEG study LOC school
 ‘You (pl) didn’t study in school.’

34. *Dia bisa ba-omong bahasa Inggris.*
 3SG can BA-speak language English
 ‘S/he can speak English.’
35. *Dong sonde/son mau datang beso.*
 3PL NEG want come tomorrow
 ‘They don’t want to come tomorrow.’
36. *Ada kokis di dapur.*
 have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘There is cake in the kitchen.’
37. *Sonde ada kokis di dapur.*
 NEG have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘There is no cake in the kitchen.’
38. *Sonde ada kokis lai di dapur.*
 NEG have cake DP LOC kitchen
 ‘There is no more cake in the kitchen.’
39. *Masi ada kokis di dapur ko?*
 still have cake LOC kitchen Q
 ‘Is there still cake in the kitchen?’
40. *Ada kokis di dapur ko?*
 have cake LOC kitchen Q
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’
41. *Kokis ada di dapur?*
 cake have LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there any cake in the kitchen?’
42. *Beta pung kawan mau datang di pesta.*
 1SG POSS friend ASP come LOC party
 ‘My friend will come to the party.’
43. *Lu pung kawan mau datang juga ko?*
 2SG POSS friend ASP come also Q
 ‘Will your friend come or not?’
44. *Jadi kotong dua sa?*
 so 1PL two only
 ‘So it’s only the two of us?’
45. *Lu dulu karja di pabrik?*
 2SG before work LOC factory
 ‘Did you used to work at the factory?’

46. *Lu dulu kerja di pabrik, ko?*
 2SG before work LOC factory Q
 ‘You used to work at the factory, didn’t you?’
47. *Lu yang dulu kerja di pabrik ko?*
 2SG REL before work LOC factory Q
 ‘Didn’t you once work at the factory?’
48. *Jang mara e, beta mau tanya sakarang su jam barapa e?*
 don’t angry DP 1SG ASP ask now ASP hour how.many DP
 ‘Don’t be angry, I’d like to ask, what is the time now? (Prompt: a polite way to ask the time)’
49. *Beta mau tanya ni, kantor pos di mana e?*
 1SG want ask DEM office post LOC where DP
 ‘Can you show me where is the post office?’
50. *Di mana lu pung ruma?*
 LOC where 2SG POSS house
 ‘Where is your house?’
51. *Lu pung ruma di mana?*
 2SG POSS house LOC where
 ‘Where is your house?’
52. *Lu tinggal di mana?*
 2SG live LOC where
 ‘Where do you live?’
53. *Lu pung nama sapa?*
 2SG POSS name who
 ‘What is your name?’
54. *Sapa yang buka itu jendela?*
 who REL open DEM window
 ‘Who opened the window?’
55. *Ada yang pake beta pung baju ko?*
 have REL wear 1SG POSS shirt Q
 ‘Who is wearing my shirt?’
56. *Sapa sa yang pake beta pung baju ini?*
 who only REL wear 1SG POSS shirt DEM
 ‘Who all wore my shirt?’

57. *Sapa yang manyanyi ini lagu?*
 who REL sing DEM song
 ‘Who sang/is singing this song?’
58. *Ini lagu sapa yang manyanyi?*
 DEM song who REL sing
 ‘Who sang/is singing this song?’
59. *Joni pi beli apa di pasar?*
 Joni go buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Joni buy at the market?’
60. *Joni beli apa sa di pasar?*
 Joni buy what only LOC market
 ‘What did Joni buy at the market?’
61. *Kapan lu mau bayar kembali utang dui?*
 when 2SG ASP pay back debt money
 ‘When will you pay back the debt?’
62. *Kanapa ko lu datang sini?*
 why Q 2SG come here
 ‘Why did you come here?’
63. *Karmana dia mau cari dia pung kawan?*
 how 3SG ASP search.for 3SG POSS friend
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’
64. *Joni pung ruma baru.*
 Joni own house new
 ‘Joni has a new house.’
65. *Joni pung buku banya.*
 Joni POSS book many
 ‘Joni has many books.’
66. *Joni ada di kota sakarang.*
 Joni have LOC town now
 ‘Joni is in town right now.’
67. *Joni pi di kota kamarin.*
 Joni go LOC town yesterday
 ‘Joni went to town yesterday.’
68. *Joni pi di kota sa deng Pieter.*
 Joni go LOC town only with Peter
 ‘Joni went to town with Peter yesterday.’

69. *Joni deng dia pung ade jalan sama-sama.*
 Joni with 3SG POSS younger.sibling walk REDUP-with
 ‘Joni is walking around with his younger sibling.’
70. *Joni pung oto satu.*
 Joni POSS car one
 ‘Joni has a car.’
71. *Joni pung oto ada dua.*
 Joni POSS car have two
 ‘Joni has two cars.’
72. *Joni pung buku ada lima.*
 Joni POSS book have five
 ‘Joni has five books.’
73. *Joni pung buku-buku.*
 Joni POSS REDUP-book
 ‘Joni has many books.’
74. *Ada satu orang.*
 have one person
 ‘There is someone.’
75. *Ini buku ada satu orang yang tulis.*
 DEM book have one person REL write
 ‘This book was written by someone.’
76. *Ruma bəsar*
 house big
 ‘Big house’
77. *Itu ruma kacil*
 DEM house little
 ‘That little house’
78. *Ini beta pung oto.*
 DEM 1SG POSS car
 ‘This car of mine/this is my car.’
79. *Beta tinggal di ruma bəsar.*
 1SG live LOC house big
 ‘I live in a big house.’
80. *Beta tinggal di ruma yang bəsar səkali.*
 1SG live LOC house REL big very
 ‘I live in a house which is very big.’

81. *Dia pung tinggi lai.*
 3SG POSS tall DP
 ‘He is tall.’
82. *Dia guru.*
 3SG teacher
 ‘S/he is a teacher.’
83. *Dia katawa.*
 3SG laugh
 ‘He laughs.’
84. *Beta tengga di sini.*
 1SG live LOC here
 ‘I live here.’
85. *Beta datang dari sana.*
 1SG come from over.there
 ‘We came from over there.’
86. *Dia ba-diri di situ.*
 3SG BA-stand LOC there
 ‘He is standing there.’
87. *Itu ana yang mǎncuri ayam.*
 DEM child REL steal chicken
 ‘That is the child who stole a chicken.’
88. *Ini beta pung tanpa lahir.*
 DEM 1SG POSS place birth
 ‘This is the place where I was born.’
89. *Dia su tau kapan dia pung kawan mau datang.*
 3SG ASPknow when 3SG POSS friend ASP come
 ‘We already know when the friend will come.’
90. *Dorang saling baku-pukul.*
 3PL each.other RECIP-hit
 ‘They hit each other.’
91. *Dorang ada baku-suka.*
 3PL ASP RECIP-like
 ‘They love each other.’
92. *Joni dan Pieter pi di pasar.*
 Joni and Peter go LOC market
 ‘Joni and Peter went to the market.’

93. *Joni pi di pasar dan bəli ikan.*
 Joni go LOC market and buy fish
 ‘Joni went to the market and bought fish’
94. *Itu oto dapa tabrak.*
 DEM car get crash
 ‘The car was hit (by another car).’
95. *Itu aer Joni yang minum.*
 DEM water Joni REL drink
 ‘That is the water which Joni drank.’
96. *Itu gunung talalu tinggi.*
 DEM mountain too tall
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’
97. *Itu gunung pung tinggi lai.*
 DEM mountain POSS tall DP
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’
98. *Itu gunung lebe tinggi dari ini gunung.*
 DEM mountain more tall from DEM mountain
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’
99. *Itu gunung yang paling tinggi di Indonesia.*
 DEM mountain REL most tall LOC Indonesia
 ‘That mountain is the tallest in Indonesia.’
100. *Dia bekin makan ko ba-jual di pasar.*
 3SG make food for BA-sell LOC market
 ‘S/he makes food to sell in the market.’
101. *Dia kumpu doi kong mo bəli oto baru.*
 3SG save money in.order.to ASP buy car new
 ‘S/he saves money in order to buy a new car.’

Text No. 11

Location: Kupang (August 2007)

Informant: Male (Age 56, Police Officer)

Carita Bapa

story father

‘A father’s story (to his daughter)’

- 1 *Bosong ana-ana, bapa mau cerita bahwa taon tuju satu tu ada bapa*
2PL REDUP-child father ASP tell.story that year seven one DEM have father
“Children, father will tell a story, how back in 1971 father’s close friend urged father
- 2 *pung kawan baku aja deng bapa ko mau maso polisi. Tapi waktu itu memang*
POSS friend close urge with father so.that ASP enter police but time DEM truly
“to join the police. At that time, it was truly very difficult to find a job. So father
- 3 *cari kerja susa sekali. Jadi bapa pikir-pikir lebe bae katong maso*
search.for work difficult very so father REDUP-think more good 1PL enter
“thought that it would be better for us to join the police. So at that time father
- 4 *polisi. Jadi waktu itu bapa ju iko kawan pung buju-buju ahirnya bapa*
police so time DEM father also follow friend POSS REDUP-urging end father
“followed along with his friend’s urging and finally father also joined the police
- 5 *ju maso polisi sama-sama deng dia. Jadi bapa tes polisi itu waktu deng*
also enter police REDUP-same with 3SG so father test police DEM time with
“along with him. So father took the police (entrance) test at that time with father’s
- 6 *bapa pung kawan-kawan. Bapa su barenti di sakola. Waktu itu bapa meman*
father POSS REDUP-friend father ASP stop LOC school time DEM father truly
“friends. Father stopped school. At that time, father was still in school but at the
- 7 *sakola tapi sakola di STM. Sampe di kalas tiga mau ujian, ya*
school but school LOC technical.high.school until LOC gradethree ASP exam yes
“technical high school. Up till year three, just before the final exams, and that was it.
- 8 *suda. Karna pangaru deng ini bapa pung kawan-kawan bilang maso polisi,*
already because influence with DEM father POSS REDUP-friend say enter police
“Because of the influence of father’s friends who said to join the police,
- 9 *ya suda, bapa maso, ya suda, itu. Jadi ahirnya bapa lulus polisi, bapa dapa*
yes already father enter yes already DEM so end father pass police father get
“that was all, father joined, that was it. So in the end father passed the police exam,

- 10 *tugas di Bajawa, waktu itu anam bulan di polisi jadinya. Bapa tugas*
 duty LOC Bajawa time DEM six month LOC police happen father duty
 “and was assigned duty in Bajawa, at that time six months at the police academy it
- 11 *di Bajawa, ya suda. Karena kebetulan jadi polisi bapa su sonde*
 LOC Bajawa yes already because it.seems become police father ASP NEG
 “turned out. Father had duty in Bajawa, that’s all. Because of becoming a policeman,
- 12 *sakola terus lai. Karena, ya, STM kan hanya waktu itu*
 school continue again because yes technical.high.school Q only time DEM
 “father didn’t continue at school. Because, yes, at that time the technical high school
- 13 *satu-satu di Kupang sa. Jadi di Bajawa kan waktu itu bapa baru*
 REDUP-one LOC Kupang only so LOC Bajawa Q time DEM father just
 “was the only one in Kupang. So in Bajawa at that time, father had just
- 14 *tamat polisi, dapa tugas di Bajawa. Jadi ahirnya bapa su sonde sambung*
 graduate police get duty LOC Bajawa so end father ASP NEG resume
 “graduated from the police academy and was assigned duty in Bajawa. So in the end
- 15 *sakola lai, jadi bapa putus sakola waktu itu. Jadi ahirnya bapa tugas*
 school DP so father cut.off school time DEM so end father duty
 “father didn’t continue school anymore, so father dropped out of school at that time.
- 16 *kurang lebe sa-pulu taon di Bajawa. Andia bapa sampe sana selama*
 more less one-ten year LOC Bajawa therefore father until over.there while
 “So in the end father spent about ten years in Bajawa. Therefore father was over there for
- 17 *tugas katumu deng mama ini, dapa bosong tiga orang. Tapi di antara*
 duty meet with mother DEM get 2PL three CL but LOC between
 duty and met your mother, and got the three of you. But between
- 18 *bosong tiga orang, yang satu ini, bosong kaka Ida, Ida yang lahir*
 2PL three CL REL one DEM 2PL older.sibling Ida Ida REL born
 “the three of you, just one, your older sister Ida, Ida was born
- 19 *di Bajawa. Ida barada di Bajawa, ya. yang bosong dua barada di Kupang,*
 LOC Bajawa Ida BA-ada LOC Bajawa yes REL 2PL two BA-ada LOC Kupang
 “in Bajawa, Ida came to being in Bajawa, yes, and the other two of you came to being
- 20 *apa, Yeni deng Febi, deng lu. Jadi bapa mungkin waktu itu tugas kurang*
 what Yeni with Febi with 2SG so father maybe time DEM duty less
 “in Kupang, what, Yeni and Febi, and you. So father maybe at that time spent about

- 21 *lebe sa-pulu taon di Bajawa, juga di-kasi pinda bapa ke Polsek.*
 more one-ten year LOC Bajawa also PASS-give move father to regional.police
 “ten years on duty in Bajawa, and then was moved to the Regional Police.
- 22 *Jadi sampe di Polsek, mungkin bapa tugas lapan bulan. Ahirnya bapa*
 so arrive LOC regional.police maybe father duty eight month end father
 “So after arriving at the Regional Police, maybe father was on duty for eight months.
- 23 *pikir-pikir kan di sana sepi, kotong macam kejaga kode sa. Je*
 REDUP-think Q LOC over.there quiet 1PL like watch monkey only so
 In the end, father felt it was too quiet over there, it was as if we were watching monkeys.
- 24 *bapa pinda kembali Kupang. Ahirnya waktu itu tugas, bapa tugas lapan bulan,*
 father move back Kupang end time DEM duty father duty eight month
 “So father moved back to Kupang. In the end father’s duty there lasted eight months,
- 25 *ya suda. Pinda kembali Kupang. Andia ko sampe di Kupang, dapa*
 yes already move back Kupang of course arrive LOC Kupang get
 “that was all. We moved back to Kupang. Of course after arriving in Kupang, we were
- 26 *kasi barana Yeni dan Febi. Ya, na ini bapa kas-tau terus terang*
 give give.birth Yeni and Febi yes DP DEM father give-know straight clear
 “given two more children, Yeni and Febi. Yes, now, this is something father will
- 27 *bahwa berhubung papa ini sakola hanya sampe di STM*
 that related.to father DEM school only until LOC technical.high.school
 “tell you frankly, that because father only finished school through year two of technical
- 28 *kalas dua sa. Na beta harap supaya bosong-bosong ini, ya, papa son*
 grade two only DP 1SG hope so.that REDUP-2PL DEM yes father NEG
 “high school, I hope that all of you, yes, father doesn’t
- 29 *ada harta kekayaan apa-apa mo kasi sang bosong, hanya ilmu*
 have property riches REDUP-what ASP give to 2PL only knowledge
 “have any property or riches of any kind to give to you, only knowledge,
- 30 *sa, jadi papa harap ya kebetulan bapa masi mampu, bapa kasi sakola*
 only so father hope yes by.chance father still can father give school
 “so father hopes that, by chance, father is still able to, father gives schooling
- 31 *sang bosong, na sakola bae-bae. Jadi harta bapa kasi bosong hanya*
 to 2PL DP school REDUP-good so property father give 2PL only
 “to you all, good schooling. So the only property father gives you all is that,

- 32 *ya itu sa, itu ilmu. Jadi kebetulan bosong pu kaka Ida ju*
 yes DEM only DEM knowledge so by.chance 2PL POSS older.sibling Ida also
 “yes, only knowledge. So by chance your older sister Ida also
- 33 *su tamat. Dia pi kulia di Denpasar selama kurang lebe mungkin*
 ASP graduate 3SG go lecture LOC Denpasar as.long.as less more maybe
 “has graduated. She attended university in Denpasar for more or less maybe
- 34 *anam taon. Yeni, karena dia su mau kawin, dia son mau sakola lai. Na,*
 six year Yeni because 3SG ASP want marry 3SG NEG want school DP DP
 “six years. Yeni, because she wanted to get married, she didn’t want to go to school
- 35 *ini Febi, su kulia, kulia bae-bae, supaya bisa, ya, istilahnya lu su*
 DEM Febi ASP lecture lecture REDUP-good so.that can yes term 2SG ASP
 “anymore. Now, as for you, Febi, you are at the university now, and you are studying
- 36 *pili lu pung jurusan. Lu pung jurusan itu bahasa. Na, ini papa dulu*
 choose 2SG POSS major 2SG POSS major DEM language DP DEM father before
 “well, so that, yes, as they say, you have chosen your major. Your major is language.
- 37 *sonde tau bahasa Inggris, bahasa karmana-karmana. Je usaha*
 NEG know language English language REDUP-how so make.effort
 “Now, father, in the old days, never learned English, however that language is. So
- 38 *ko kalo lu tamat na lu jadi orang bae-bae. Ya, ini sebab*
 so.that if 2SG graduate DP 2SG become person REDUP-good yes DEM because
 “work hard so that if you graduate you will be a good person. Yes, this is why
- 39 *papa su tua, papa son bisa apa-apa lai, hanya papa tunggu pension*
 father ASP old father NEG can REDUP-what DP only father wait pension
 “father, because father is already old, cannot do anything else, father is just waiting
- 40 *sa. Bosong yang kasi terus ini bapa pung cita-cita. Je bosong*
 only 2PL REL give continue DEM father POSS REDUP-aspiration so 2PL
 “for the pension only. You are the one continuing father’s aspirations. So if you
- 41 *mau bae ko bosong sonde mau jadi bae, itu bosong pung ator.*
 ASP good so.that 2PL NEG ASP become good DEM 2PL POSS arrange
 “will be good or you won’t be good, it’s up to you.
- 42 *Jangan bosong iko papa lai. Papa ini lia, batas namanya polisi. Baru*
 don’t 2PL follow father DP father DEM look limit name police just
 “Don’t you follow what father has done. Look at father, limited as police are.

- 43 *papa tamat SMP tapi bapa usaha bisa dapa sampe*
 father graduate middle.school but father make.effort can get until
 “Father only graduated from middle school but father has worked hard to get
- 44 *LetKol. Na bosong ana-ana mesti ada lai, ya itu? Bosong*
 lieutenant.colonel DP 2PL REDUP-child must have more yes DEM 2PL
 “to (the rank of) Lieutenant Colonel. Now, you children must have more, yes? You
- 45 *mesti ada lai, jang macam papa ini. Papa, ya, karena memang Tuhan*
 must have more don’t like father DEM father yes because truly God
 “must have more, don’t be like father. Father, yes, because God truly
- 46 *kasi berkat ju, ya suda. Bapa dapa sampe jadi polisi, mulai ada satu*
 give blessing also yes already father get until become police begin have one
 “gave blessing too, that’s all. Father was able to become a policeman, starting with
- 47 *strep, pangkat satu strep, orang itu la mau sampe di LetKol*
 stripe rank one stripe person DEM DP ASP until LOC lieutenant.colonel
 “one stripe, the rank of one stripe, and that person, through working half to death,
- 48 *la setenga mati. Tapi memang bapa mau nasib bae. Jadi kalo papa*
 DP half dead but truly father ASP fate good so if father
 “became a Lieutenant Colonel. But truly father has good fate. So if father
- 49 *su sampe di LetKol, na, bosong ana-ana ju usahakan ke*
 ASP until LOC lieutenant.colonel DP 2PL REDUP-child also make.effort like
 “can become a Lieutenant Colonel, you
- 50 *Febi tu, sakola su kulia, sampe tamat, na usahakan supaya lu,*
 Febi DEM, school ASP lecture until graduate DP make.effort so.that 2SG
 “children also must work hard, like you Febi, you’re at the university now, stay till
- 51 *ya, teruskan lu pung cita-cita. Jadi jang hanya batas sampe lu*
 yes continue 2SG POSS REDUP-aspiration so don’t only limit until 2SG
 “you graduate and work hard so that you, yes, continue your dreams. So don’t only
- 52 *tamat ini kulia ju, hanya stop di situ. Usaha supaya lebe*
 graduate DEM lecture also only stop LOC there make.effort so.that more
 “limit yourself until you graduate from the university also, only stopping there. Work
- 53 *tinggi lai. Kalo lu tamba lebe tinggi itu, papa tetap masi hidop, na,*
 high DP if 2SG add more high DEM father remain still live DP
 “hard so that you are even higher again. If you achieve even more, and father is still
- 54 *papa lebe sanang lai.*
 father more happy again
 “alive, now, father would be even happier.”

Text No. 12

Location: Manokwari (August 2007)

Informant: Male (Age uncertain, ± 80, Office cleaner at the university)

Sa=Pu=Hidop

1SG=POSS=life

‘My Life’

- 1 *Sa=kerja di sini su lama betul di UNIPA ini.*
1SG=work LOC here ASP long true LOC Papua.State.University DEM
‘I’ve worked here a long time at Papua State University (UNIPA).’
- 2 *Waktu dulu kiton kerja di kota, dulu waktu lagi Blanda, iya! Ton=kerja*
time before 1PL work LOC city before time again Dutch yes 1PL=work
‘I used to work in the city, back in the time of the Dutch, yes! I worked
- 3 *di [sini]. Sa umur=tu sa=tida=tau. Waktu itu guru dia=baru=turun*
LOC [here] 1SG age=DEM 1SG=NEG=know time DEM teacher 3SG=just=come.down
‘at [here]. I don’t know how old I am. At that time, the teachers had just come
- 4 *tapi kiton su=besar ke muka jadi sa=tida=tau umurnya.*
but 1PL ASP=big to front so 1SG=NEG=know age
‘but I was already grown up so I don’t know my age.
- 5 *Ton=kerja dari Blanda sampe UNIPA. Blanda pulan baru UNIPA buka*
1PL work from Dutch until UNIPA Dutch go.home then UNIPA open
‘I worked from the Dutch era till UNIPA. The Dutch went home and then UNIPA
- 6 *lagi, UNIPA pulan... e... UNIPA buka, sa=kerja di UNIPA lagi. Skola*
again UNIPA go.home INT UNIPA open 1SG=work LOC UNIPA again school
‘opened again, UNIPA went home, er, UNIPA opened, and I worked at UNIPA
- 7 *pertanian ya den skola pertanian. Don=bagi skola pertanian, skola*
agriculture yes with school forestry 3PL share school agriculture school
‘again. The school of agriculture and the school of forestry. They split it into a
- 8 *kehutanan. Jadi yan skola kehutanan tetap, skola di pertanian tetap.*
forestry so REL school forestry permanent school LOC agriculture permanent
‘school of agriculture and a school of forestry. So the forestry school was permanent
- 9 *[Sa =lahir] di Kebar, iya. I su lama sa=su=lama di Manokwari.*
[1SG=born] LOC Kebar yes INT ASP long 1SG=ASP=long LOC Manokwari
‘and the agriculture was permanent. [I was born] in Kebar, but I’ve been in

- 10 *Tida tau oran yan mati-mati di kampu, ana-ana yan melahirkan.*
 NEG know person REL REDUP-die LOC village REDUP-child REL give.birth
 “Manokwari a long time. I don’t know who has died back in the village, what
- 11 *Baru sa, sa suda kuran tau ana-ana, doran tapi doran=sendiri*
 just 1SG 1SG already less know REDUP-child 3PL but 3PL=self
 “children have given birth, I don’t know the children, they tell their own stories.
- 12 *cerita. Kitoran dari ini, ini bapa punya keturunan ini. Waktu yan*
 tell.story 1PL from DEMDEM father POSS descendants DEMtime REL
 “We’re from this, father’s descendants are these. When I was small,
- 13 *sa=kecil itu, sa=kecil sampe waktu dunia kedua. Dunia kedua, peran kedua*
 1SG=small DEM 1SG=small until time world second world second war second
 “I was small until the time of the second world, the second world, the second war
- 14 *ka ini. Japan den Blanda. Oran Japan datan itu di pante saja, iko di*
 or DEMJapan with Dutch people Japan come DEMLOC beach only follow LOC
 “or whatever, the Japanese and the Dutch. The Japanese came just to the beach, onto
- 15 *pante, tida masu ke Kebar. Ia, doran=iko ke pante saja. Blanda kembali*
 beach NEG enter to Kebar 3SG 3PL=follow to beach only Dutch return
 “the beach, didn’t enter into Kebar. They just came to the beach. When the Dutch
- 16 *sa=masi di Kebar. Sa masi di Kebar, trus Blanda kembali lagi.*
 1SG=still LOC Kebar 1SG still LOC Kebar then Dutch return again
 “returned, I was still in Kebar. I was still in Kebar and the Dutch came back again.
- 17 *Japan itu su... don=su=rame. Don=su=rame abis*
 Japan DEM ASP 3PL=ASP=many.people 3PL=ASP=many.people after
 “There were many Japanese. There were many of them, after we were
- 18 *ton=besar-besar. Baru kiton turun, ton=kerja di Blanda lagi. Ton=kerja*
 1PL=REDUP-big just.then 1PL go.down 1PL=work LOC Dutch again 1PL=work
 “big. Then I went down and worked for the Dutch again. In the end, I worked
- 19 *di kota abis. Ton=tinggal, kiton tinggal, turus Blanda puran, UNIPA.*
 LOC city ASP 1PL live 1PL live then Dutch go.home UNIPA
 “in the city. I lived, I lived there and then the Dutch went home [and then there was]
- 20 *Stela Blanda, Indonesia datan. Indonesia datan juga kiton masi ada di sini.*
 after Dutch Indonesia come Indonesia come also 1PL still have LOC here
 “UNIPA. After the Dutch, the Indonesians came. The Indonesians came while I was

- 21 *Sehari-hari kiton pake Melayu juga. Indonesia datan iya, sama saja kiton*
 one-REDUP-day 1PL use Malay also Indonesia come yes same only 1PL
 “still here. Every day we spoke Malay, then the Indonesians came, yes, It was just
- 22 *sama, pake Indonesia sama. Keadaan zaman dulu=tu dari waktu kecil itu,*
 same use Indonesia same Situation era before=DEM from time small DEM
 “the same, speaking Indonesian was just the same. The situation in the old days
- 23 *zaman dulu kitoran pake apa ton=pake kebon saja. Bikin kebon, tanam*
 era before 1PL use what 1PL=use garden only make garden plant
 “when I was young, we did what, we just tended our gardens. Made a garden,
- 24 *kasbi ka, bete ka, betatas ka, ton=makan. Sampe kitoran besar, guru*
 cassava or tuber or yam or 1PL=eat until 1PL big teacher
 “planted cassava, tubers, yams, and we ate. Until I grew up and the teachers
- 25 *turun, Baru kiton makan nasi ka apa. Di Kebar tida makan*
 come.down only.then 1PL eat rice like what LOC Kebar NEG eat
 “arrived. Only then did we find out what rice was. In Kebar rice wasn’t eaten.
- 26 *nasi. Ton=dapa nasi di mana? Makan kasbi, pisan, betatas,*
 rice 1PL=get rice LOC where eat cassava banana yam
 “Where would we get rice? We ate cassava, bananas, yams,
- 27 *bete, sagu. Sagu tu dua macam. Kitoran cukup yan di rawa-rawa.*
 tuber sagu sagu DEM two type 1PL enough REL LOC REDUP-swamp
 “tubers, sagu. There are two kinds of Sagu. We only needed the kind from the
- 28 *lain yan di itu, Enau ka ini. Jadi ton waktu kecil smua ton=makan,*
 other REL LOC DEM Enau or DEM so 1PL time small all 1PL=eat
 “swamps. The other kind was from Enau. So when we were small we ate everything,
- 29 *sarvem. Blanda don=kase, Blanda kase ini, kudu, kudu dia punya apa,*
 sarvem Dutch 3PL=give Dutch give DEM church church 3SG POSS what
 “including sarvem. The Dutch they gave us, the Dutch gave us a church, what did
- 30 *da=pu=kudu. Da=pu=nama Jumander, dari Numfoor. Jumander*
 3SG=POSS=church 3SG=POSS=name Jumander from Numfoor Jumander
 “he have? He had a church. He [the pastor’s] name was Jumander, from Numfoor.
- 31 *da=tinggal di Amberbaken sana. Turus sa punya om ini jahat.*
 3SG=live LOC Amberbaken over.there then 1SG POSS uncle DEM bad
 “Jumander lived there in Amberbaken. Then I had an uncle who was bad. This uncle

- 32 *Om=ni=jahat, da=jahat. Da=bunu oran semua, baru om itu, satu di pante,*
uncle=DEM=bad 3SG=bad 3SG=kill people all then uncle DEM one LOC beach
“was bad, he was bad. He killed all the people, then this uncle, the one who lived on
- 33 *da=kawin sa punya kaka parampuan. Da=bilan, o tida bisa. Nanti dia*
3SG=marry 1SG POSS older.sibling female 3SG=say INT NEG can later 3SG
“the beach, he married my older sister. He said, “Oh I can’t.” Then he
- 34 *tinggal turus dia=bunu oran abis. Lebe bae kasi kudu buat dia supaya*
stay then 3SG=kill people finish more good give church to 3SG so.that
“stayed and he killed all the people. It would be better to give him religion so that
- 35 *kalo dia=tinggal di situ, kase nasihat begini-begini-begini, supaya dia=*
if 3SG=stay LOC there give advice REDUP-like.this so.that 3SG=
“if he stayed there, give him advice like this, like this, like this, so that he
- 36 *berenti dia=bunu oran, tara bisa kalo dia=bunu oran. Di dunia ini memam*
stop 3SG=kill people NEG can if 3SG=kill people LOC world DEM truly
“would stop killing people, it’s not allowed to kill people. In this world it’s true
- 37 *dia=bunu, tapi ton=takut Tuhan tadi. Ae, da=pu=jahat da=bunu oran*
3SG=kill but 3PL=scared God just.now INT 3SG=POSS=bad 3SG=kill people
“he killed, but we were afraid of God in those days. Oh, he was bad he killed people
- 38 *ta karuan saja, tida ada sala ka da=bunu. Oran yan tua da=bilan oran*
NEG reason only NEG have wrong if 3SG=kill people REL old 3SG=say people
“for no reason, they had done no wrong and he killed them. Old people he said were
- 39 *suanggi, da=bunu. Ana-ana muda juga dia=bunu, sampe ini da=punya*
sorcerer 3SG=kill REDUP-child young also 3SG=kill until DEM 3SG=POSS
“sorcerers so he killed them. Young children also he killed, even his older sibling.
- 40 *kaka satu. da=tinggal, pinda dari Kebar, tinggal di pante, tinggal di*
older.sibling one 3SG=live move from Kebar live LOC beach live LOC
“He lived, moved from Kebar, lived on the beach, lived on the beach
- 41 *pante turus, kudu Jumander e. Ini siapa=tu, siapa=ni, ko dia. E, satu*
beach continue church Jumander DP DEM who=DEM who=DEM 2SG 3SG INT one
“continuously, in the area of Jumander’s church. Who was that? Who was this? He
- 42 *yan tido=ni, Ini Lumkorem. Rumkorem da=tinggal den ipar ini. Trus*
REL sleep=DEM DEM Rumkoren Rumkoren 3SG=live with in-law DEM then
“was the sleeping one, This was Rumkoren, Rumkoren lived with his in-laws.

- 43 *pendeta Nibael. Pendeta Nibael dia=kunjuni kampu, sampe di Masni. Dulu pastor Nibael pastor Nibael 3SG=visit village until LOC Masni before*
 “Then came pastor Nibael. Pastor Nibael visited the villages, all the way to Masni.
- 44 *waktu Blanda itu, Blanda prenta sampe di Masni. Blanda dia=kunjuni time Dutch DEM Dutch order until LOC Masni Dutchman 3SG=visit*
 “During the Dutch era, the Dutch controlled all the way to Masni. The Dutchman
- 45 *kudu-kudu sampe di situ kambali dia=bla. Tuan penyeta kase REDUP-church until LOC there return 3SG=half master pastor give*
 “visited the churches all the way to there, he returned half (?). The respected pastor
- 46 *kudu satu buat ini oran, ini oran, ini bagus oran dari Kebar church one for these people these people these good people from Kebar*
 “gave churches (sermons?), one for these people, these people, these good people
- 47 *sana. Penyeta da=bilan kampan saja asal siap kampo, bikin kampo. there pastor 3SG=say easy only as.long.as ready village make village*
 “from Kebar. The pastor said it was easy, if only the village was ready, make a
- 48 *Turus yan kawen sa=pu=parampuan e, ade, kaka parampuan then REL marry 3SG=POSS=woman INT younger.sibling older.sibling woman*
 “village. Then the married one, my woman, er, younger sister, my older sister
- 49 *ini da=bilan ko=setuju? Setuju ka? Kata dia menyera dia=bilan ya! Ton= DEM 3SG=say 2SG=agree agree Q say 3SG give.up 3SG=say yes 1PL=*
 “she said “Do you agree? Do you agree?” And he gave in and said yes! We’re
- 50 *siap! Don=jaja ke sana tanya-tanya doran. Ton=tako dia. Da=bilan, ready 3PL=go to over.there REDUP-ask 3PL 1PL=afraid 3SG 3SG=say*
 “ready! They went over there and asked all of them. They were scared of him. He said
- 51 *Jumander ko ke di atas pata jubi denan tomba, paran abis. Tida bisa Jumander 2SG to LOC top break arrow with spear machete finish NEG can*
 “He said, Jumander, “You up there, break your arrows and your spears, destroy your
- 52 *siapa yan perintah di situ. Tuhan yan perintah, jadi kasi pata. Nibael, Ambu who REL order LOC there God REL order so give break Nibael Ambon*
 “machetes.” Nobody else can give orders there. God has ordered it, so break them.”
- 53 *oran Ambu, tinggal di Amberbaken dilapan taon, ya, banyak dari Ambu, person Ambon live LOC Amberbaken eight year yes many from Ambon*
 “Nibael, Ambon, Ambonese, lived in Amberbaken eight years, yes. There were many

- 54 *dari Ambu, ya. Ambu, Ambu yan kase kudu ke Kebar. Sampe lama*
 from Ambon yes Ambon, Ambon REL give church to Kebar until long
 “from Ambon, from Ambon, yes, Ambon, Ambon gave churches to Kebar. For a
- 55 *betul baru ton=blum=tau siapa ini, ji, waktu di Kowawi=ni. E*
 true just 1PL=not.yet=know who DEM INT time LOC Kowawi=DEM INT
 “long time I didn’t know who this was, when I was in Kowawi. I have
- 56 *sa=su=lupa dia waktu Blanda, da=bilan suda,ko=tinggal di sini*
 1SG=ASP=forget 3SG time Dutch 3SG=say ASP 2SG=live LOC here
 “forgotten, in the Dutch era, he said enough, you have lived here a long time
- 57 *su lama jadi ko=pinda kase kudu asli. Doreri=doran ganti. Trus ini*
 ASP long so 2SG=move give church original Doreri=3PL replace then DEM
 “so you [must] move to a new church. A person from Doreri replaced him. Then
- 58 *la dia=pinda. Siapa=ni? Anton Rumander, ya, Anton Rumander. Da=pu=*
 DP 3SG=move who=DEM Anton Rumander yes Anton Rumander 3SG=POSS=
 “he moved. Who was this? Anton Rumander, yes, Anton Rumander. His
- 59 *ana-ana don=ada, satu kerja di Wanokmari, satu kerja di sini, di*
 REDUP-child 3PL=exist one work LOC Manokwari one work LOC here LOC
 “children are still around, one works in Manokwari, one works here, on a
- 60 *coklat. Sa=tida=kawen, iya, sa=tida=kawen, iya, kerja saja.*
 chocolate.plantation 1SG=NEG=marry yes 1SG=NEG=marry yes work only
 “chocolate plantation. I never got married, yes, I never married, yes, only worked.
- 61 *Sampe, Blanda pulan, Blanda pulan itu, kiton di sini. Kita punya*
 until Dutch go.home Dutch go.home DEM 1PL LOC here 1SG POSS
 “Until the Dutch went home, the Dutch went home, I’ve been here. We have
- 62 *foto-foto yan Blanda don=foto. Kitoran semua, Blanda bawa, e, Blanda*
 REDUP-photo REL Dutch 3PL=photo 1PL all Dutch take INT Dutch
 “photos which the Dutch took. All of us, the Dutch took them. The Dutch
- 63 *bilan kiton kas tinggal kamu, tapi kamu hati-hati dunia masi goya, e,*
 say 1PL give stay 2PL but 2PL REDUP-care world still unstable INT
 “said “We are leaving you, but you be careful, the world is still unstable,
- 64 *kamu dudu hati-hati, kiton lepas tanan e, tapi dunia masi goya. Jadi*
 2PL sit REDUP-care 1PL let.go hand DP but world still unstable so
 “you sit carefully, we let go, but the world is still unstable. So

- 65 *don=bilan memaan betul. Sampe don=pi meronta lagi. Blanda bilan itu*
 3PL=say truly correct until 3PL=go revolt again Dutch say DEM
 “what they said is really true. When they left, there was more revolting, the Dutch
- 66 *betul, don=meronta. Aom=doran, Aom=doran=meronta. Kiton punya oran-tua*
 correct 3PL=revolt Aom=3PL Aom=3PL=revolt 1PL POSS parents
 “spoke truly, they revolted, the Aom people, the Aom people revolted. Our parents
- 67 *pinda bagini tara bisa. Oran baru tida bisa datan. Kiton dudu fikir*
 move like.this NEG can people new NEG can come 1PL sit think
 “people couldn’t leave. New people couldn’t come. We sat and wondered what was
- 68 *bagemana. A memaan tu Blanda don=seraka sama doran jadi kiton mo*
 how INT truly DEM Dutch 3PL=greedy and 3PL so 1PL ASP
 “happening. The Dutch were indeed greedy with them so we would wonder how
- 69 *fikir bagemana. Suda don=meronta, baru don=meronta. ini, Amban=ni su*
 think how already 3PL=revolt then 3PL=revolt DEM Amban=DEM ASP
 “things would be. After they revolted, right after they revolted, this area of Amban was
- 70 *buka. Oran Kebar semua buka Kebar e Amban ini. Di kota oran Kebar*
 open people Kebar all open Kebar INT Amban DEM LOC city people Kebar
 “developed. It was Kebar people who developed Amban. In the city, people from
- 71 *Amberbaken yan buka kota, tida Serui. Sekaran baru Serui banya, kalo*
 Amberbaken REL open city NEG Serui now just Serui many if
 “Kebar and Amberbaken developed the city, not Serui people. Only now are there a
- 72 *Wandamen banya, Biak banya. Tida ada Biak, tida ada Wandamen, tida ada*
 Wandamen many Biak many NEG have Biak NEG have Wandamen NEG have
 “lot of people from Serui, a lot from Wandamen, a lot from Biak. There were none
- 73 *oran Serui. Oran Kebar denan berbagenya buka Manokwari jadi kota,*
 people Serui people Kebar with all.sorts open Manokwari become city
 “from Biak, none from Wandamen, none from Serui. Kebar people of all sorts
- 74 *ya, Amban ini. Paitua yan tau ini Amban yan don=buka ini.*
 yes Amban DEM. respected.old.man REL know DEM Amban REL 3PL=open DEM
 “developed Manokwari into a city and Amban too. A respected old man knows who
- 75 *Paitua ada, paitua Herwani. Iya, tete Herwani,*
 respected.old.man have respected.old.man Herwani yes grandfather Herwani
 “developed Amban. He is still around, the respected old man Herwani. Grandfather

- 76 *dia, dia=cerita. Dia=bilang ini buka Amban ini oran Serui, oran Wandame,*
 3SG 3SG=tell.story 3SG=say DEM open Amban DEM people Serui people Wandamen
 “Herwani, he tells the story. He says the ones who developed Amban are not from
- 77 *oran Biak, tida! Oran Kebar semua yan buka Manokwari tadi sampe di*
 people Biak NEG people Kebar all REL open Manokwari before until LOC
 “Serui, Wandamen, Biak! Only Kebar people developed Manokwari all the way to the
- 78 *kota. Dari kota turus Amban ini buka. Amban ini buka itu buka, ini, maskape*
 city from city then Amban DEM open Amban DEM open DEM open DEM company
 “city. From the city then Amban was developed. Amban was developed by a Dutch
- 79 *Blanda. Maskape Blanda yan buka kantor besar di sana di bawa.*
 Dutch company Dutch REL open office big LOC over.there LOC below
 “company. The Dutch company opened a headquarters down below over there.”

Text No. 13

Location: Larantuka

Informant: Male, University Teacher, Age 25

1. *Kita puN bapa tana poN di kiNta ruma.*
1SG POSS father plant tree LOC garden house
'My father plants trees in the garden (of the house).'
2. *Ana tu ada tido.*
child DEM ASP sleep
'The child sleeps.'
3. *Kəbara tu ada mənangi.*
girl DEM ASP cry
'The girl cries.'
4. *Kita puN ade tuli surat uNto dia puN guru.*
1SG POSS younger.sibling write letter for 3SG POSS teacher
'My younger sibling wrote a letter to his/her teacher.'
5. *KuciN tido data kərosi/kədera.*
cat sleep LOC.top chair
'The cat sleeps on the chair.'
6. *Kita puN bapa bua puto tali ma piso.*
1SG POSS father make cut rope with knife
'My father cuts a rope with a knife.'
7. *Kita puN bapa bəla kayu ma kita puN om.*
1SG POSS father cut wood with 1SG POSS uncle
'My father cuts wood with my uncle.'
8. *Guru tu ada baca buku.*
teacher DEM ASP read book
'The teacher reads a book.'
9. *OraN tu bəri bunga uNto dia puN soba.*
person DEM give flower for 3SG POSS girlfriend
'The person gives a flower to his girlfriend.'
10. *OraN tu bəri soba-nya bunga.*
person DEM give girlfriend-POSS flower
'The person gives his girlfriend a flower.'

11. *Kita lia əNko.*
1SG see 2SG
'I see you.'
12. *əNko lia kita.*
2SG see 1SG
'You see me.'
13. *Dia lia toraN.*
3SG see 1PL
'S/he sees us.'
14. *ToraN lia dia.*
1PL see 3SG
'We see him/her.'
15. *Kita lia koraN.*
1SG see 2PL
'I see you (pl).'
16. *KoraN lia kita.*
2PL see 1SG
'You (pl) see me.'
17. *Kita lia doraN.*
1SG see them
'I see them.'
18. *DoraN lia kita.*
They see 1SG
'They see me.'
19. *kita* 1SG *toraN/kətoraN* 1PL (INCL/EXCL)
beta 1SG formal (archaic)
əNko 2SG *koraN/kamu-oraN* 2PL
no 2SG male
oa 2SG female
dia 3SG *doraN* 3PL
bicu 3SG male (archaic)
bica 3SG female (archaic)
20. *BuroN lia poN. BuroN tu lia bunga.*
bird see tree, 3SG DEM see flower
'The bird sees the tree. The bird sees a flower.' (3SG pronoun cannot replace 'the bird')

21. *Kita so bəli oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 'I bought a new car.'
22. *Kita bolon bəli oto baru.*
 1SG not.yet buy car new
 'I haven't bought a new car yet.'
23. *Beta mau/mo bəli oto baru.*
 1SG ASP buy car new
 'I will buy a new car.'
24. *Dia ada məngae ikaN.*
 3SG ASP hook fish
 'He is catching fish/He is fishing.'
25. *Dia so məngae ikaN.*
 3SG ASP hook fish
 'He went fishing.'
26. *Dia bolon məngae ikaN.*
 3SG not.yet hook fish
 'He hasn't gone fishing yet.'
27. *Dia pərna məngae ikaN.*
 3SG ever hook fish
 'He has ever gone fishing.'
28. *Dia məsiN məngae ikaN.*
 3SG still hook fish
 'He is still fishing.'
29. *əNko so tido.*
 2PL ASP sleep
 'You already slept.'
30. *əNko mau/mo tido.*
 2PL ASP sleep
 'You will sleep.'
31. *əNko ada tido.*
 2PL ASP sleep
 'You are sleeping (right now).'

32. *doraN ada makaN.*
 3PL ASP sleep
 ‘He is eating (right now).’
33. *doraN so makaN.*
 3PL ASP sleep
 ‘He already ate.’
34. *Oto tu tuNbo poN.*
 car DEM crash tree
 ‘The car crashed into the tree.’
35. *HoNda tu tuNbo oto ni.*
 motorcycle DEM crash DEM car
 ‘That motorcycle crashed into this car.’
36. *Kita bəli tu buku.*
 1SG buy DEM book
 ‘I buy that book.’
37. *Dia te noNto tivi tə malaN.*
 s/he NEG watch TV last night
 ‘S/he didn’t watch TV last night.’
38. *DoraN te jadi pi hari rabu.*
 3PL NEG happen go day Wednesday
 ‘They won’t leave on Wednesday.’
39. *KəmariN kita te bəli ikaN di pasa.*
 yesterday 1SG NEG buy fish LOC market
 ‘I didn’t buy fish in the market yesterday.’
40. *KoraN te blaja di skola.*
 2PL NEG study LOC school
 ‘You (pl) didn’t study in school.’
41. *Dia bisa omo/omoN INgris.*
 3SG can speak English
 ‘S/he can speak English.’
42. *DoraN te mau dataN eso.*
 3PL NEG want come tomorrow
 ‘They don’t want to come tomorrow.’

43. *Bolo ada di dapo.*
 cake have LOC kitchen
 ‘There is cake in the kitchen.’
44. *Bolo tərada di dapo/Tərada bolo di dapo.*
 cake NEG.have LOC kitchen/NEG.have cake LOC kitchen
 ‘There is no cake in the kitchen.’
45. *Bolo tərada ləgi di dapo.*
 cake NEG.have again LOC kitchen
 ‘There is no more cake in the kitchen.’
46. *Bolo məsiN ada di dapo?*
 cake still have LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there still cake in the kitchen?’
47. *Bolo ada di dapo ka?*
 cake have LOC kitchen Q
 ‘Is there cake in the kitchen?’
48. *Bolo so ne ka di dapo?/ Bolo tərada ka di dapo?*
 cake ASP NEG Q LOC kitchen cake NEG.have Q LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there no cake in the kitchen?’
49. *Bolo so ne ləgi ka di dapo?/ Bolo tərada ləgi ka di dapo?*
 cake ASP NEG again Q LOC kitchen cake NEG.have again Q LOC kitchen
 ‘Is there no more cake in the kitchen?’
50. *Kita puN təma mau/mo dataN di pesta/sərwisu.*
 1SG POSS friend ASP come LOC party
 ‘My friend will come to the party.’
51. *əNko puN təma po mau/mo dataN (ka)?*
 2SG POSS friend also ASP come (Q)
 ‘Will your friend come too?’
52. *Cuma toraN dua jo.*
 only 1PL two DP
 ‘It’s only the two of us.’
53. *KəmariN kita ma bapa pi Oka. Jo, toraN nae poN.*
 yesterday 1SG with father go Oka. then 1PL go.up tree
 ‘Yesterday, my father and I went to Oka. Then we climbed a tree.’

54. *əNko kərian di pabrik ka?*
 2SG work LOC factory Q
 ‘Do you work in the factory?’
55. *əNko teNpo hari kərian di pabrik, to?*
 2SG time day work LOC factory DP
 ‘You used to work at the factory, didn’t you?’
56. *əNko to teNpo hari kərian di pabrik, i?*
 2SG DP time day work LOC factory Q
 ‘Didn’t you once work at the factory?’
57. *Pa, səkəraN jaN bərapa ni? Tolong se.*
 sir now hour how.many DEM help first
 ‘Sir, what is the time now? (Prompt: a polite way to ask the time)’
58. *Pa, bisa tunjo kaNtor pos ni diəna e?*
 sir can show office post DEM LOC.where Q
 ‘Can you show me where is the post office?’
59. *əNko puN ruma diəna?*
 2SG POSS house LOC.where
 ‘Where is your house?’
60. *əNko puN nama sapa?*
 2SG POSS name who
 ‘What is your name?’
61. *Sapa tu yaN buka jəNdela?*
 who DEM REL open window
 ‘Who opened the window?’
62. *Sapa yaN pake kita puN baju e?*
 who REL wear 1SG POSS shirt Q
 ‘Who is wearing my shirt?’
63. *Sapa jo pake kita puN baju?*
 who DP wear 1SG POSS shirt
 ‘Who all wore my shirt?’
64. *Sapa kaNta lagu ni?*
 who sing song DEM
 ‘Who sang/is singing this song?’

65. *Lagu ni sapa yaN kaNta?*
 song DEM who REL sing
 ‘This song is sung by whom?’
66. *Joni pi bəli apa di pasa?*
 Joni go buy what LOC market
 ‘What did Joni buy at the market?’
67. *Apa jo Joni bəli di pasa?*
 what DP Joni buy LOC market
 ‘What was it that Joni bought at the market?’
68. *Kapan əNko mau/mo baya əNko puN utaN?*
 when 2SG ASP pay 2SG POSS debt
 ‘When will you pay back your debt?’
69. *Bua apa əNko dataN sini?*
 why Q 2SG come here
 ‘Why did you come here?’
70. *Bəgəna dia mau/mo cari təmaN-nya?*
 how 3SG ASP search.for friend-POSS
 ‘How will he look for his friend?’
71. *Joni puN ruma baru.*
 Joni POSS house new
 ‘Joni has a new house.’
72. *Joni puN buku banya.*
 Joni POSS book many
 ‘Joni has many books.’
73. *SəkaraN ni Joni ada di jawan.*
 now DEM Joni have LOC town
 ‘Joni is in town right now.’
74. *Kəmarin Joni pi jawan.*
 yesterday Joni go town
 ‘Joni went to town yesterday.’
75. *Kəmarin Joni pi jawan ma Frans.*
 yesterday Joni go town with Frans
 ‘Joni went to town with Frans yesterday.’

76. *Joni ada pi pəsia ma dia puN ade.*
 Joni ASP go walk.around with 3SG POSS younger.sibling
 ‘Joni is walking around with his younger sibling.’
77. *Joni puN oto hatu.*
 Joni POSS car one
 ‘Joni has a car.’
78. *Joni puN oto dua.*
 Joni POSS car two
 ‘Joni has two cars.’
79. *Joni puN buku lima.*
 Joni POSS book five
 ‘Joni has five books.’
80. *Joni puN bə-buku.*
 Joni INTENS Bə-book
 ‘Joni has many books.’
81. *Ada hatu orang.*
 have one person
 ‘There is someone.’
82. *Buku ni hatu orang tuli.*
 book DEM one person write
 ‘This book was written by someone.’
83. *Kita puN ruma*
 1SG POSS house
 ‘My house’
84. *Korang puN kaNtor*
 2PL POSS office
 ‘Your (pl) office’
85. *Kita puN om puN ana*
 1SG POSS uncle POSS child
 ‘My uncle’s child’
86. *Ruma gədu*
 house big
 ‘Big house’

87. *Ruma kəce tu*
house little DEM
'That little house'
88. *Kita puN oto ni.*
1SG POSS car DEM
'This car of mine/this is my car.'
89. *Ruma gədu ni.*
house big DEM
'This big house.'
90. *Kita tiNga dalaN ruma gədu.*
1SG live in house big
'I live in a big house.'
91. *Dia tə-paNgo-laNgo.*
3SG TƏ-REDUP-tall
'He is tall.'
92. *Dia tu guru.*
3SG DEM teacher
'S/he is a teacher.'
93. *Dia tə-tawa.*
3SG TƏ-laugh
'He laughs.'
94. *Kita tiNga sini.*
1SG live here
'I live here.'
95. *Kita hana dataN.*
1SG over.there come
'I came from over there.'
96. *Kita lao dataN.*
1SG sea come
'I came from a seaward direction.' ('I came from the east' cannot be expressed)
97. *Kita dara dataN.*
1SG land come
'I came from a landward direction.' ('I came from the west' cannot be expressed)

98. *Anji tuju eko*
 dog seven CL
 ‘Seven dogs’
99. *pərtama, kədua, kətiga*
 first second third
 ‘First, second, third’
100. *Ana tu yaN aNbe ayaN.*
 child DEM REL steal chicken
 ‘That is the child who stole a chicken.’
101. *Sini ka təNpa ma kita bərana kita.*
 here DP place with 1SG BƏ-child 1SG
 ‘This is the place where I was born.’
102. *Dia so tau dia puN təma datang kapan.*
 3SG ASP know 3SG POSS friend come when
 ‘He already knows when his friend will come.’
103. *DoraN bə-bəda.*
 3PL RECIP-hit
 ‘They hit each other.’
104. *DoraN bə-suka badaN.*
 3PL RECIP-want body
 ‘They love each other.’
105. *Kita səNdiri cuko kita puN jaNgo.*
 1SG self shave 1SG POSS beard
 ‘I shaved my own beard/I shaved myself.’
106. *Kita cuci badaN səNdiri.*
 1SG wash body self
 ‘I washed my own body/I washed myself.’
107. *Joni dan Frans pi pasa.*
 Joni and Frans go market
 ‘Joni and Frans went to the market.’
108. *Joni pi pasa jo dia bəli ikaN hana.*
 Joni go market then 3SG buy fish over.there
 ‘Joni goes to the market and buys fish there.’

109. *Oto kena tabrak.*
 car get crash
 ‘The car was hit (by another car).’
110. *Joni mino ae.*
 Joni drink water
 ‘That is the water which Joni drank/Joni drank water.’
111. *Guno tu tiNgi bəto.*
 mountain DEM tall true
 ‘That mountain is very tall.’
112. *Guno tu tiNgi na tiNgi.*
 mountain DEM tall DP tall
 ‘That mountain is the tallest.’
113. *Guno hana lebe tiNgi dari guno ini ni.*
 mountain over.there more tall from mountain DEM DEM
 ‘That mountain is taller than this mountain.’
114. *Dia bua məkana uNto jua di pasa.*
 3SG make food for sell LOC market
 ‘S/he makes food to sell in the market.’
115. *Dia siNpa doi uNto bəli oto baru.*
 3SG save money for Buy car new
 ‘S/he saves money to buy a new car.’

Text No. 14

Location: Larantuka (August 2007)

Informant: Female, Homemaker, Age 62

Raksasa

giant

“The Giant”

- 1 *Raksasa hatu ni ka bəsa na bəsa. Dia te tiŋga də-ba, apa, bəlonga*
giant one DEMDP big DP big. 3SG DP live at-under what surface
“This particular giant was the largest. He lived beneath the earth’s surface.
- 2 *dunia. Jadi kalo dia bango bə-diri tu, toraN səmuə data dunia ni*
earth So if 3SG rise BƏ-stand DEM 1PL all above earth DEM
“When he would stand up, all of us on the surface of the earth would
- 3 *bə-goyaN. Bə-goyaN, itu yaN toraN bə-tau gəNpa te ka. Jadi hatu*
BƏ-shake BƏ-shake DEMREL 1PL BƏ-know earthquake DP DP so one
“sway. Shaking, which we call an earthquake. One time,
- 4 *kali te, toraN sini Nagi te dapa apa ni e batu luNpo ni banya*
time DP 1PL here Larantuka DP get what DEMDP stone mud DEM many
“those of us living here in Larantuka were hit by lots of mud and stones.
- 5 *na banya, baru turoN data turoN batu hatu moNti səkeli. Dia turoN*
DP many then fall on.top fall stone one pile truly 3SG fall
“Many stones then fell on top, a big pile. They all fell,
- 6 *səmuə te, bə-pisahan na səbəla e toraN, toraN sini te apa, tə-bəla dua.*
all DP BƏ-part DP side DP 1PL 1PL here DP what TƏ-split two
“parting us on one side. We here were split into two parts.
- 7 *Tə-bəla dua, jadi hatu hana səbəla, toraN sini. KaNpu hana kaNpu*
TƏ-split two so one over.there side 1PL here village over.there village
“Split in two, that one over there, and us over here. That village there over there.
- 8 *hana. KaNpu sini, kaNpu sini. Jadi ana-ana ni cari bapa-ma-nya*
over.there village here village here So REDUP-child DEM search father-mother-POSS
“This village here over here. So children searched for their parents.

- 9 *oi əma e, ma e, pa e, dəməna koraN ni? ToraN ni də-sini*
 INT Mother DP Mother DP father DP LOC.where 2PL DEM 1PL DEM LOC-here
 “Mother, father, where are you? We here were
- 10 *a mənangi mərata bae po ana-ana te. Jadi waktu itu te, ada*
 INT cry lament well also REDUP-child DP so time DEMDP have
 “crying and lamenting along with the children. At that time, there was a
- 11 *nene raksasa te bəsa na bəsa te də-ba tana te. Dia te mau*
 grandfather giant DP big DP big DP at-below ground DP 3SG DP want
 “giant who was the largest under the ground. He wanted to
- 12 *jalaN data dunia, Dia jalaN data dunia. ToraN poN data tana ni ka. A,*
 walk on earth 3SG walk on earth 1PL also on ground DEMDP INT
 “walk upon the earth. We were also above ground.
- 13 *jo dia dənga ana-ana mənangi-mənangi dəməna aja ni. Jo,*
 then 3SG hear REDUP-child REDUP-cry LOC.where only DEM then
 Then he heard the children crying everywhere. So
- 14 *nene raksasa a te bə-tau ai kita ni mau jalaN kə-sana dulu.*
 grandfather giant INT DP BƏ-knowINT 1SG DEM want walk to-over.there before
 “the giant said “I want to go there first.”
- 15 *Kita mau jalaN kə səbəla, uNto apa ni, dia bə-tau. Jadi aNka-aNka*
 1SG want walk to side for what DEM 3SG BƏ-know so REDUP-lift
 “I want to walk on the other side, for what, he said. So he lifted
- 16 *doraN taro di səbəla, səbab doraN-doraN te te bisa liwa! DoraN te*
 3PL put LOC side because REDUP-3PL DP NEG can pass 3PL NEG
 “them and placed them on the other side, because nobody could pass! They
- 17 *bisa liwa tu təNpa bəncana te, doraN te bisa liwa to. Hatu hana, hatu*
 can pass DEM place disaster DP 3PL NEG can pass DP one over.there one
 “could not pass that place of disaster, they couldn’t pass. One there, one
- 18 *sini, jo di tən-tənga ini sini kalo ini, batu bəsa-bəsa təNguliN-muliN.*
 here so LOC REDUP-middle DEM here if DEM rock REDUP-big REDUP-rolling
 “here, in the middle of this place also, there were many tumbled boulders.

- 19 *Jadi nene raksasa te turoN də tən-tənga sunge e, apa təNpa*
 so grandfather giant DP go.down LOC REDUP-middle river DP what place
 “So grandfather giant went down into the middle of the river, the place
- 20 *bəncana te jo, dia bə-diri bəgini ni, dia bə-diri gini, jo dia aNka*
 disaster DP DP 3SG BƏ-stand like.this DEM 3SG BƏ-stand like.this then 3SG lift
 “of the disaster, and he stood like this, he stood like this, and he lifted one and put
- 21 *hatu taro sini, aNka hatu taro sini, jo aNka la gini taro sini, aNka*
 one put here lift one put here then lift DP like.this put here lift
 “him here, lifted one and put him here, lifted like this and put him here, lifted this one
- 22 *ini taro sini, yaN mana pərлу kə sana kə sana, mana pərлу kə sini.*
 DEM put here REL which need to over.there to over.there where need to here
 “and put him here, the ones who belonged over there over there, the ones who belonged
- 23 *YaN mau kə sini kə sini, yaN mau kə hana kə hana bəgitu. Jadi*
 REL want to here to here REL want to over.there to over.there like.that So
 “here over here. The ones who wanted to go here over here, the ones who wanted to
- 24 *səkarang, dia te bə-tau bəgini, səmua-nya dia so, apa, taro di səbəla*
 now 3SG DP BƏ-know like.this all-NOM 3SG ASP what put LOC side
 “go over there over there, like that. So now he said like this, all of them he placed on
- 25 *səmua te, Nona, ana-ana səkola, koraN denga bə-bae e ni. Jadi*
 all DP young.lady REDUP-child school 1PL listen BƏ-good DP DEM so
 “the side, all. Young lady, schoolchildren, listen well. So the schoolchildren all
- 26 *ana-ana səkola səmua te dudu sopan bəgini bə-para ibu omo. Jo*
 REDUP-child school all DP sit polite like.this BƏ-listen 3SG.F.FML talk so
 “sat politely and listened to the teacher talk. And she said, the teacher
- 27 *ibu te bə-tau, ibu guru te bə-tau, dia so jalaN kə sana,*
 3SG.F.FML DP BƏ-know 3SG.F.FML teacher DP BƏ-know 3SG ASP walk to over.there
 “said, he walked there, wanted to lift his foot and set it down
- 28 *mo aNka kaki-nya taro data səbəla sunge te, səbəla təNpa tu te. Ana hatu,*
 want lift foot-POSS put on.top side river DP side place DEM DP child one
 “beside the river, on the side of that place. But one child, one child was still crying.

- 29 *ana ini məsiN mənangi. “Nene, saya bəloN, saya bəloN. Nene, saya*
 child DEM still cry grandfather 1SG not.yet 1SG not.yet grandfather 1SG
 “Grandfather, not yet me, not yet me, grandfather, not yet me, not yet m...” Ah!
- 30 *bəloN, saya bə...” Ah! “BəloN, saya bəloN, kita bəloN, kita bəloN” Oi! Ini*
 not.yet 1SG not.yet INT not.yet 1SG not.yet 1SG not.yet 1SG not.yet INT DEM
 “Not yet, not yet me, not yet me, not yet me” Oy! There was still one small child
- 31 *məsiN ada ana kəci hatu ni. Dia mənangi apa-an ni? Oi rupa-nya,*
 still have child small one DEM 3SG cry what-NOM DEM INT seem-NOM
 “Why is he crying? It seems that he hasn’t been
- 32 *macaN dia tu jo dia te kita bəloN aNka dia taro ana kə səbəla. Ayo, kita*
 like 3SG DEM DP 3SG DP 1SG not.yet lift 3SG put child to side HORT 1SG
 “lifted and placed on the other side yet. Let’s go, I’ll lift you over there. Then
- 33 *kə sana aNka tu. Jo, nene raksasa te aNka dia taro dia kə*
 to over.there lift DEM then grandfather giant DP lift 3SG put 3SG to
 “grandfather giant lifted him up and placed him on his shoulder, on grandfather
- 34 *bahu-nya, data nene raksasa puN bahu te ada ana, ana kəci*
 shoulder-POSS on.top grandfather giant POSS shoulder DP have child child small
 “giant’s shoulder there was the small child, the small child
- 35 *gini. Bərasu, data bərasu. Ana kəci te kəci gini ni ka,*
 like.this shoulder on.top shoulder child small DP small like.this DEM DP
 “like this. Shoulder, on the shoulder. A small child, as small as this,
- 36 *jadi dia aNka taro data bərasu-nya, bərasu, jo jo dia jalaN.*
 so 3SG lift put on.top shoulder-POSS shoulder then DP 3SG walk
 “so he lifted him up and put him on his shoulder.. Then he walked.
- 37 *Dia te mo aNka kewalu ana te jo dia te mo aNka kaki*
 3SG DP want lift carry.on.shoulders child DP so 3SG DP ASP lift foot
 “He wanted to carry the child on his shoulders so he wanted to lift his foot like this
- 38 *gini mo taro də te sunge, sunge te məkiN bəsa. Sunge te məkiN*
 like.this ASP put LOC DP river river DP increasingly big river DP increasingly
 “to place it in the river, but the river grew bigger. The river grew bigger.
- 39 *bəsa. Jo dia mau aNka kaki kanan, ya, dia taro ləgi, sunge*
 big then 3SG want lift foot right yes 3SG put again river
 “Then he wanted to lift his right foot, and he placed it down again, the river

- 40 *məkiN bəsa ləgi! Jo dia mau aNka kaki kerī taro, sunge te məkiN*
 increasingly big again then 3SG want lift foot left put river DP increasingly
 “was again growing bigger! Then he wanted to lift his left foot and place it, but the
- 41 *bəsa ləgi! Akir-nya sunge te dia jalaN saNpe dua pulo, tiga pulo, əNpat*
 big again end-NOM river DP 3SG walk until two ten three ten four
 “river grew even bigger! In the end, the river grew till twenty, thirty, forty,
- 42 *pulo, lima pulo kaki. Ah, jadi lima pulo kali jalaN! Lima pulo kali*
 ten five ten foot INT so five ten time walk five ten time
 “fifty steps. So he had to walk fifty steps! Fifty times
- 43 *jalaN di atas sana. Jadi dia bə-tau bəgini, “Ah, ana ini məkiN*
 walk LOC on over.there so 3SG BƏ-know like.this INT child DEM increasingly
 “he walked (stepped) there. So he said “Ah, this child is getting heavier,
- 44 *bəra, məkiN bəra dunia po mikiri-nya kita tiNga də-ba bəlonga*
 heavy increasingly heavy world also think-NOM 1SG stay LOC-under surface
 “heavy as the world and he thought I’ll stay here underground
- 45 *tana jo po, ringa kita rasa-nya. Təga apa mo ka ana lebe bəra*
 earth then also light 1SG feel-NOM cause what ASP Q child more heavy
 “then he’ll feel lighter I think. What can make a child heavier
- 46 *dari dunia ni? Te dia ana kəci hatu ni. Bəra-bəra ni, bəgena*
 from world DEM DP 3SG child small one DEM REDUP-heavy DEM how
 “than the world? This is a unique child. So heavy, how can this be?
- 47 *ni? Jo kita heran po, raksasa tu, ana ini məkiN bəra. “E*
 DEM so 1SG amazed also giant DEM child DEM increasingly heavy DP
 “I’m amazed, that giant [thought], this child is getting heavier. “Hey
- 48 *no, əNko ni sapa?” Dia te tanya, raksasa, “ENko ni sapa?”*
 young.man 2SG DEM who 3SG DP ask giant 2SG DEM who
 “young man, who are you?” he asked, the giant asked, “Who are you?”
- 49 *Jo ana te bə-tau, “Ai, kita ni, kita ni...” Tiba-tiba jo cahaya di*
 then child DP BƏ-know INT 1SG DEM 1SG DEM REDUP-arrive then light LOC
 “Then the child said, “Ai, I am, I am...” Suddenly a light shone on the face and

- 50 *muka idoN-nya kəliliN də ana kəci te puN kəpala te cahaya kəliliN. Jo,*
face nose-POSSaround LOC child small DPPOSS head DP light around then
“nose around the small child’s head, a light all around. Then
- 51 *dia bə-tau, raksasa te bə-tau, “Ai, əNko ni padahal-nya, əNko ni*
3SG BƏ-know giant DP BƏ-know INT 2SG DEM actually-NOM 2SG DEM
“he said, the giant said, “Ai, you are actually, you are
- 52 *Yesus Kristus e?” Jo dia bə-tau, “Jadi tuan mencari sapa?”*
Jesus Christ DP then 3SG BƏ-know so 2SG search.for who
“Jesus Christ, right?” Then he said “And who are you looking for?”
- 53 *Jo dia bə-tau te ka, “Tuan e əNko cari sapa? Jo tuan*
then 3SG BƏ-know DP DP 2SG DP 2SG search.for who then 2SG
“Then he said “You are looking for whom? You must
- 54 *te bə-tau.” Raksasa te bə-tau, “Kita ni mo cari Yesus Kristus.”*
DP BƏ-know giant DP BƏ-know 1SG DEMwant search.for Jesus Christ
“tell” Then the giant said, “I am looking for Jesus Christ.”
- 55 *Jo ana kəci te bə-tau, “kita ka! Jo ilaN ko, ilaN data*
then child small DP BƏ-know 1SG DP then disappear DP disappear from.on
“Then the small child said, “I am he!” Then he disappeared, disappeared from on
- 56 *bərasu-nya, ilaN. IlaN. Jo dia bə-tobat, dia te te mau*
shoulder-POSS disappear disappear then 3SG BƏ-repent 3SG DP NEG want
“the [giant’s] shoulder, disappeared, disappeared. Then he [the giant] repented, he
- 57 *bua dosa apa-apa ləgi jo. Dia dipərmaNdikan, ba di gəreja*
make sin REDUP-what again DP 3SG baptize bring LOC church
“didn’t want to sin any more. He was baptized, at the church,
- 58 *jo dipərmaNdikan. Raksasa te nama-nya Kristoforus, yaN arti-nya*
DP baptize giant DP name-POSS Kristoforus REL meaning-NOM
“baptized. The giant was given the name Kristoforus, which means
- 59 *‘raksasa pəndukoN Kristus’. Ini guru Be cərita.*
giant supporter Christ DEM teacher Be story
“‘Giant who Supports Christ’. This was teacher Be’s story”

Text No. 15

Location: Larantuka (August 2007)

Informant: Female, Homemaker, Age 62

Kelinci Ma Buaya

rabbit with crocodile

“The Rabbit and the Crocodile”

- 1 *Jadi buaya kən tər-kənal oraN yaN jahat, e? OraN jahat kalo buaya*
so crocodile Q TƏ-know person REL bad Q person bad if crocodile
“The crocodile is famous for being nasty, right? The crocodile is a bad being,
- 2 *tu, e? Arti-nya, dia kalo lapar tu, dia te mau tau. Dia kalo*
DEM Q meaning-NOM 3SG if hungry DEM 3SG NEG want know 3SG
“isn’t it? This means if he is hungry, he doesn’t care. If he is
- 3 *ləsü tu, dia te tau sapa ka, sapa ka, sapa ka? Dia makaN jo, e?*
hungry DEM 3SG NEG know who or who or who or 3SG eat DP Q
“hungry, he doesn’t know who or who or who [he eats]. He just eats, right?
- 4 *Dia seNba-pəgi. Jadi, səkaraN ni, kəlinci hatu te, dia di utaN to? Dia di*
3SG wipe.out so now DEM rabbit one DP 3SG LOC forest DP 3SG LOC
“He simply wipes out [his prey]. Now, this one time, a rabbit was in the forest, right?
- 5 *utaN. Dia di utaN te, dia lari kə sana kə mari, cari makaN. Jo dia*
forest 3SG LOC forest DP 3SG run to over.there to here look.for food so 3SG
“He was in the forest. He was in the forest, he was running here and there, looking for
- 6 *dapa oraN puN kəboN kətimu te, abi po. Dia makaN, makaN,*
find person POSS garden cucumber DP finish also 3SG eat eat
“food. Then he came across a human’s cucumber garden, and ripe too. He ate, ate
- 7 *makaN, makaN, abi jo, dia ao. Dia ao, jadi dia cari ae,*
eat eat finish DP 3SG thirsty 3SG thirsty so 3SG look.for water
“ate, ate, till it was all gone, he was thirsty. He was thirsty, so he looked for water.
- 8 *mau mino ni, cari ae. “Ai, kita ni ao. Lebe bae kita pi di*
want drink DEM look.for water INT 1SG DEM thirsty more good 1SG go LOC
“He wanted to drink, so he looked for water. “Hey, I’m thirsty. It’s better if I go to
- 9 *sunge cari ae.” Jo dia jalaN kə sana kə mari, cari ae, cari*
river look.for water so 3SG walk to over.there to here look.for water look.for
“the river to look for water.” So he walked here and there, looking for water, looking

- 10 *ae, dəməna ini mata ae? Tərada mata ae ni! Mata ae ni.*
 water LOC.where DEM spring water NEG.have spring water DEM spring water DEM
 “for water, where is that spring? There’s no spring! This spring.
- 11 *Jadi dia pi saNpe di hatu təNpa yaN “Oi! Ini ada mata sunge bəsa,*
 so 3SG go until LOC one place REL INT DEM have spring river big
 “So he went along until one place where [he said] “Oy, this is a spring, a large river,
- 12 *kali te, kali bəsa, ae. Kita məsti turoN, jo dia te mino, mino,*
 stream DP stream big water 1SG must go.down so 3PL DP drink drink
 “a stream, a large stream, water. I must go down there, so he drank and drank,
- 13 *bəgini ni te. Dia te tau ada buaya dalaN naNti dataN pəN-pəlaN.*
 like.this DEMDP 3SG NEG know have crocodile inside later come REDUP-slow
 “just like that. He didn’t know there was a crocodile in the water, coming slowly.
- 14 *DataN pəN-pəlaN bəgini jo. Dia, “Oi! Kita puN kaki səbəla ini, e,*
 come REDUP-slow like.this DP 3SG INT 1SG POSS foot side DEMDP
 “coming slowly, just like this. He said “Oy, my foot on this side, er,
- 15 *tangaN səbəla ini, dia so cako bəgini, cako gini. Jo, “Ai, Bapa kami,*
 hand side DEM 3SG ASP grab like.this grab like.this then INT father 1PL
 “my hand on this side, he has grabbed it like this. Then, “Oh, our father, oh, this
- 16 *ai, ini binataN ni dia te bae, ini ni dia mo makaN kita, binataN ini*
 INT DEM animal DEM 3SG NEG good DEMDEM 3SG want eat 1SG animal DEM
 “animal, he is not good, he wants to eat me. This animal is not good, him. So he
- 17 *te bae, dia ini. Jadi, dia to, “Ai, Nene buaya, əNko mau makaN*
 NEG good 3SG DEM then 3SG DP INT grandfather crocodile 2SG want eat
 “[said], “Grandfather crocodile, you want to eat me!” Then the crocodile under there
- 18 *kita!” Jo, buaya dəba te be-tau, “No...” Dia umu-ame, gitu,*
 1SG then crocodile LOC.below DP BƏ-know 2SG.M.INF 3SG REDUP-chew like.that
 “said “You...” while he was chewing wildly, like that, he wanted to [unclear], he
- 19 *dia mau [unclear], dia mau bawa kə sunge, sunge luNpo dəba te. Dia*
 3SG want [unclear] 3SG want bring to river river mud LOC.below DP 3SG
 “wanted to bring [him] to the river, the muddy river below. He [the rabbit] said, like
- 20 *omo, dia te gini, “Sala! əNko gori itu sala! Ne, əNko gori itu sala! Ini*
 talk 3SG DP like.this wrong 2SG bite DEM wrong NEG 2SG bite DEM wrong DEM
 “this, “Wrong! You are biting the wrong thing! No, you’re biting the wrong thing!

- 21 *kita puN kaki ini, te bəto. Te bəto əNko gori itu, itu bukaN kita puN*
 1SG POSS foot DEMNEG correct NEG correct 2SG bite DEMDEMNEG 1SG POSS
 “This isn’t really my foot. It’s not correct (what) you’re biting it, that’s not my foot, this
- 22 *kaki itu, ini kita puN kaki!”Jo dia aNka kaju itu, dia jolo kəsana. Dia*
 foot DEM DEM 1SG POSS foot then 3SG lift wood DEM 3SG poke to there 3SG
 “is my foot! Then he lifted up a stick of wood, and he poked it there [into the water]. He
- 23 *jolo kəsana, buaya ləpa tangaN, ləpa kaki-nya te. Dia bəri kaju te,*
 poke to over.there crocodile let.go hand let.go foot-POSS DP 3SG give wood DP
 “poked it there, and the crocodile let go of his hand, let go of his foot. He gave it the
- 24 *“kita buaya te gori di kaju te, dia [unclear] gəNbira, sənaN-sənaN dia*
 1SG crocodile DP bite LOC wood DP 3SG [unclear] glad REDUP-happy 3SG
 “stick and the crocodile bit the wood. The rabbit [unclear] was glad and very happy.
- 25 *te so apa ni, kita so mərdeka te ka?”, dia to. Dia sənaN-sənaN di*
 DPASP what DEM 1SG ASP free DPQ 3SG DP 3SG REDUP-happy LOC
 “He said, “I am, what is it, I am free now, yes?, he said. He was very happy in the
- 26 *utaN, jo dia sənaN-sənaN di utaN-utaN te jo. Dia bə-tau, “Ai, uNto*
 forest then 3SG REDUP-happy LOC REDUP-forestDP DP 3SG BƏ-know INT fortune
 “forest. Then he was very happy in the forest. He said, “Ah, this is good fortune,
- 27 *bae, itu kita piNta, [unclear] kita so luput ini, kita so, kita so, apa*
 good DEM 1SG clever [unclear] 1SG ASP escape DEM 1SG ASP 1SG ASP what
 “I’m clever, I’ve escaped, I’ve, I’ve, what,
- 28 *ini, bebas! Kita, apa, uNto bae tu,” bəgitu. “Kita aNka ma kaju*
 DEM free 1SG what fortune good DEM like.that 1SG lift with wood
 “I’m free! I, what. had good fortune” like that [he said]. “I picked up the stick
- 29 *kəpin te ka tu, aNka kaju. Kəlinci bə-tau, “Ini kita puN kaki, ini.*
 trick DP Q DEM lift wood rabbit BƏ-know DEM 1SG POSS foot DEM
 “and tricked [him], picked up the stick.” The rabbit said, “This is my foot. But it was
- 30 *Padahal kaju, jo kita tarik kita puN kaki, buaya gori di kaju. Jadi*
 actually wood so 1SG pull 1SG POSS foot crocodile bite LOC wood so
 “actually a stick of wood, so I pulled my foot out and the crocodile bit the wood.

- 31 *dia [unclear] nene buaya, dia bə-tau gitu. Dia so [unclear].*
 3SG [unclear] grandfather crocodile 3SG BƏ-know like.that 3SG ASP [unclear]
 “So he [unclear] grandfather crocodile,” he said like that. He had [unclear]
- 32 *Dia pi di utaN-utaN, dia apa, bər-senaN-senaN di utaN-utaN, ka? Dəngan*
 3SG go LOC REDUP-forest3SG what BƏ-REDUP-happy LOC REDUP-forestQ with
 “He went into the forest, he what, he was happy in the forest, right? In
- 33 *dia puN daera di utaN to, dia puN kaNpu tu, di utaN. Dia puN*
 3SG POSS region LOC forest DP 3SG POSS village DEMLOC forest 3SG POSS
 “his place in the forest, his village, in the forest. His
- 34 *kaNpu di utaN. Jadi nama-nya kəlinci. Jadi kəlinci tu lebe cərdi dari*
 village LOC forest so name-POSS rabbit so rabbit DEM more intelligent than
 “village in the forest. After all, he’s a rabbit. So that rabbit is more intelligent than
- 35 *[buaya]. Apa po arti-nya kəjahatan tu bəgitu, asalkan kətoraN*
 [crocodile] what also meaning-NOM NOM-bad-NOM DEM like.that if.only 1PL
 “[a crocodile]. Whatever its meaning, evil is like that, as long as we aren’t,
- 36 *tida, tida bodo, bəgitu, ya? Tərmasuk arti-nya, apa itu, ToraN po məsti,*
 NEG NEG stupid like.that yes TƏ-enter meaning-NOMwhat DEM 1PL also must
 “aren’t stupid, like that, yes? This includes the meaning, what is it, we also must
- 37 *apa, apa ni, nama-nya ni? Cəpa-ləka, bəgitu. ToraN kalo te cəpa-ləka*
 what what DEM name-POSS DEM fast-quick like.that 1PL if NEG fast-quick
 “what, what is it, what is it called? Quick thinking, that’s it. If we can think quickly
- 38 *dalaN bər-pikir bəgitu. ToraN məsti cəpa-ləka. Ota maen, ota maen,*
 in BƏ-think like.that 1PL must fast-quick brain working brain working
 “in our thoughts like that. We must think quickly. Our brains must be working,
- 39 *jadi cəpa-ləka, jadi səbənar-nya, apa kətoraN te, toraN luput dari itu, satu*
 so fast-quick so one-true-NOM what 1PL DP 1PL escape from DEM one
 “brains working, so we think quickly, so in fact, what we, we escape from that, an
- 40 *pəristiwa yaN bəgitu. Jadi, sə-tiap kali itu, hari-hari itu toraN məsti*
 event REL like.that so one-every time DEMREDUP-dayDEM 1PL must
 “event like that. So every time, every day, we must

- 41 *piki, bahwa kətoraN jalaN tu, məsti piki apa, kətoraN jalaN, ini bae ni,*
 think that 1PL walk DEM must think what 1PL walk DEM good DEM
 “think, that we go on, must think what, we go on, that’s good,
- 42 *di kətoraN puN apa? KətoraN pi Gege, kətoraN pi LuNbalu, kətoraN*
 LOC 1PL POSS what 1PL go Gege 1PL go Lumbalu 1PL
 “but what do we have? If we go to Gege, if we go Lumbalu, we
- 43 *məsti piki. ada apa ni? ToraN məsti pərhatikan, oi, bagemana ni?*
 must think have what DEM 1PL must pay.attention INT how DEM
 “must think, what is there? We must be careful, oy, what about this? Like that, ah.
- 44 *Gitu, ah. Jadi, kalo səlalu kətoraN pikirkan cəpa-ləka, dan səlalu cərdas,*
 like.that INT so if always 1PL think fast-quick and always intelligent
 “So, if we always think quickly, and are always intelligent, if our thinking
- 45 *səlalu pikir-an tu maen, maka te gaNpa oraN dapa toraN, gitu.*
 always thought DEM working therefore NEG easy people fool 1PL like.that
 “is always working, then it won’t be easy for people to fool us, like that. Yes, it
- 46 *Ya, te gaNpa oraN bawa bodo, gitu. Səbab, toraN jalaN, dalaN*
 yes NEG easy people bring stupid like.that because 1PL walk in
 “won’t be easy for people to make us look stupid, like that. Because, as we go on, in
- 47 *hati tu atas nama Bapa kəru dulu, putra dan ro kudus dulu,*
 liver DEM on name father holy first son and spirit holy first,
 “our hearts is the name of the Holy Father foremost, and the Son and the Holy Spirit
- 48 *gitu, jalaN, jadi, ah, itu bole [unclear]. Jo ahir-nya so ka?*
 like.that walk so INT DEM can [unclear] so end-NOM ASP Q
 “first, like that. we go on, so, ah, it can [unclear]. So in the end it’s like that, right?”

Text No. 16

Location: Larantuka (August 2007)

Informant: Male, Retired Bank Employee, Age 57

Angi Bara Ma Angi Timo

wind west and wind east

“The West Wind and The East Wind”

- 1 *Ini carita təNtaN angi bara angi timo. Dulu kala lao paNte lahayoN,*
DEM story about wind west wind east before time sea beach Lahoyang
“This story is about the West Wind and the East Wind. At one time, at Lahoyong
- 2 *ada poN pəɾəpa. Data poN pəɾəpa te, ido kəkəra hatu eko. Dia*
have tree mangrove on.top tree mangrove DP live monkey one CLS 3SG
“Beach, there was a mangrove tree. On top of the mangrove tree lived a monkey. He
- 3 *ido cari makaN, turoN bə-karaN lao paNte, nae kə-data poN. Angi*
live search food descend Bə-find.fish sea shore climb on.top tree wind
“lived by searching for food, climbing down the tree to look for fish on the seashore,
- 4 *bara dataN bə-tau angi timo, “angi timo, əNko lia kita ni. Kita ni*
west come Bə-know wind east wind east 2SG see 1SG DEM 1SG DEM
“then climbing back up the tree. The West Wind came and said to the East Wind,
- 5 *kua, kita ni bisa bua rubo poN-poN kaju. Ae-ae masiN lao*
strong 1SG DEM can make fall.down REDUP-tree wood REDUP-water salt sea
““East Wind, look at me. I am strong, I can make trees fall down. I can throw around
- 6 *paNte, kita bisa aNtaN baNti kiri kana. Jo angi timo bə-tau “e, əNko*
shore 1SG can strike throw.down left right. then wind east Bə-know DP 2SG
“the seawater on the seashore from left to right. Then the East Wind said “Hey,
- 7 *bae kua. Kita ni oraN, kita ni ləma, Kita ni te kua. Kita ni*
good strong 1SG DEM person 1SG DEM weak 1SG DEM NEG strong 1SG DEM
“you’re really strong. I’m a person, I’m weak. I’m not strong. I am very tired.”
- 8 *lesma-lesma.” Jo angi bara, angi timo bə-tau “Angi bara, əNko bisa ni*
tired-REDUP then wind west wind east Bə-know wind west 2SG can DEM
“Then the west wind, the East Wind said “West Wind, can you

- 9 *bua jato kəkəra data poN lao paNte lahayoN tu?*” *Jo angi bara,*
make fall monkey on.top tree sea beach Lahoyang DEM then wind west
“make this monkey fall from the top of this tree at Lahayong Beach? The West Wind
- 10 *“e gaNpa tu le, bua jato tu kəkəra data poN le.” Jo angi*
DP easy DEMDP make fall DEMmonkey on.top tree DP then wind
“[said], “Hey, even that’s easy, even making that monkey on top of that tree fall. Then
- 11 *timo bə-tau “coba əNko bua jato.” Angi bara te uNdo hana paNte*
east BƏ-know try 2SG make fall wind west DP move.back over.there beach
“the East Wind said, “Try and make him fall.” The West Wind moved back all the
- 12 *Suste.²⁰⁰ Dia bəNba hana dataN. Bə-rasa dataN ae masiN nae tə-puta*
Suste 3SG smash over.there come. BƏ-strike come water salt rise TƏ-spin
“way to Suste Beach. He came strongly from there, striking the salt water, making it
- 13 *bə-liung. Kəkəra data poN te pəgaN təgo-təgo. Jo angi timo te “te jato*
BƏ-crash monkey on.top tree DP hold firm-REDUP then wind east DP NEG fall
“rise and spin and crash. The monkey atop the tree held very firmly. Then the East
- 14 *angi bara kəkəra te?” “Ah kalo bəgitu kita uNdo ləbe jao ləgi.” Dia*
wind west monkey DP INT if like.that 1SG move.back more far again 3SG
“Wind said “the monkey didn’t fall, West Wind.” “If that’s the case, I’ll move back
- 15 *uNdo hana paNte Bəsa. Dia bəNba hana paNte Bəsa dataN,*
move.back over.there beach big 3SG smash over.there beach big come
“further.” He backed up all the way to Big Beach. He struck from there, from Big Beach,
- 16 *sama ləgi, ae bə-rasa, poN kaju tə-bale-male. Kəkəra te pəgaN*
same again water BƏ-strike tree wood TƏ-REDUP-return monkey DP hold
“but once again, the water struck the tree and the tree moved back and forth. The monkey
- 17 *mekiN təgo. YaN kə-dua, poN te jato. Angi timo bə-tau “te jato tu*
even.more firm REL ORD-two tree NEG fall wind east BƏ-know NEG fall DEM
“held even more firmly. The second time, the tree didn’t fall. The East Wind said, “The
- 18 *angi bara kəkəra tu. Bə-bəto puN ini!” Dia uNdo ləbe jao ləgi,*
wind west monkey DEM BƏ-true POSS DEM 3SG move.back more far again
“monkey didn’t fall, West Wind. This is true!” He backed up even further, from

²⁰⁰ Literally, ‘Nun’s Beach’.

- 19 *hana Kawalelo. Hana dataN dia siap, dia bəNba hana dataN, poN*
 over.there Kawalelo over.there come 3SG ready 3SG smash over.there come tree
 “Kawalelo. From there he was ready to come, From there he came smashing, the
- 20 *kaju te bə-goyaN, mə-dəka pərəpa te, mə-dəka saNpe lao təba ae. Kəkəra*
 wood DP BƏ-sway MƏ-near mangrove DP MƏ-near until sea thick water monkey
 “trees swayed near the mangrove, until the sea water was thick around it. The monkey
- 21 *te pəgaN təgo-təgo, te jato. Jo angi timo bə-tau “Sətop. SkəraN kita*
 DP hold firm-REDUP NEG fall then wind east BƏ-know stop now 1SG
 “held very firmly, and did not fall. Then the East Wind said, “Stop. Now it’s my
- 22 *puN bagian. əNko lia, əNko lia kita bua kəkəra ni jato.” Dia uNdo*
 POSS part 2SG see 2SG see 1SG make monkey DEM fall 3SG move.back
 turn. “You’ll see, you’ll see me make this monkey fall.” He backed up not far there,
- 23 *te jao hana dəka paNte Suste. Dia tio pəN-pəlaN, tio*
 NEG far over.there near beach Suste 3SG blow slow blow
 “near Suste Beach. He blew slowly, blew very slowly.
- 24 *pəN-pəlaN-pəN-pəlaN. Kəkəra data te təga dapa angi ena te, mata*
 REDUP-slow monkey on.top DP because get wind nice DP eye
 “The monkey on top, because he was getting a nice breeze, his eyes started to shut.
- 25 *mulai rebe. Angi timo bə-tau angi bara, “əNko lia tu. Dia puN mata suNgo*
 start shut wind east BƏ-know wind west 2SG see DEM 3SG POSS eye truly
 “The East Wind said to the West Wind, “Look at that. His eyes are truly shut.
- 26 *rebe tu. əNko lia, kita tio sə-kali ləgi naNti. Dia gugo dəba ae.” Dia*
 shut DEM 2SG see 1SG blow one-time again later 3SG fall below water 3SG
 “Look, I will blow once again. He will fall into the water.” He blew for the
- 27 *tio yaN kə-dua, kəkəra te so mekiN lenye. təga angi*
 blow REL ORD-two monkey DP ASP even.more listless because wind
 “second time, the monkey became even more listless, because the East Wind
- 28 *timo tə-tio səpoi-səpoi pəNpəlaN-pəNpəlaN. Dia tio yaN kə-tiga,*
 east TƏ-blow REDUP-soft REDUP-slow 3SG blow REL ORD-three
 “blew very softly and very slowly. He blew for the third time,

- 29 *kəkəra nyenya, tanga tə-ləpa, jato dalaN ae, gədəbu dalaN ae,*
 monkey sleep.soundly hand TƏ-let.go fall in water down in water
 “and the monkey fell sound asleep, his paws let go, and he fell in the water, down
- 30 *jo gədəbu dalaN ae. Jo angi timo bə-tau angi bara, “əNko tədi*
 then down in water then wind east BƏ-know wind west 2SG before
 “into the water. Then the East Wind said to the West Wind, “You said
- 31 *bə-tau kita ni te kua, əNko lia, əNko bə-tau əNko kua me kita*
 BƏ-know 1SG DEMNEG strong 2SG see 2SG BƏ-know 2SG strong but 1SG
 “I was not strong, you see, you said you were strong but I
- 32 *tio pəlaN-pəlaN, kekera jato dalaN ae te. Itu arti-nya kita oraN*
 blow REDUP-slow monkey fall in water DP DEM meaning-NOM 1PL person
 “blew slowly, and the monkey fell in the water. The meaning is that we
- 33 *manusia ini, janga məngaNgap reme oraN yaN ləma. Di dalaN tiap,*
 human DEM do.not assume light person which weak LOC inside every
 “humans should not take lightly people who are weak. In every,
- 34 *dalaN tiap puN lema te, ada dia puN ləbe-nya, jadi manusia*
 inside every POSS weakness DP have 3SG POSS excess-NOM so human
 “In every weakness, there is a strength, so people
- 35 *tu kaya ka miskiN, bəsa ka kəce, mani ka te mani, dari guno ka*
 DEM rich or poor big or small pretty or NEG pretty from mountain or
 “who are rich or poor, big or small, pretty or ugly, from the mountains or
- 36 *dari lao paNte, səmua-nya iko dunia ini sama jo.*
 from sea shore all-NOM follow world DEM same DP
 “from the seashore, all are part of this same world.”

Text No. 17

Location: Larantuka (August 2007)

Informant: Female, Homemaker, Age 62

Cuma Rencana

only plan

“Just a Plan”

- 1 *Dua bapa-bapa le doraN pi kəboN, me bapa yaN bəloN kawəN.*
two REDUP-father again 3PL go garden, but father REL not.yet marry.
“Two men went out to a garden, but they were men who were not married yet.
- 2 *Bapa-bapa muda məsiN. Jadi doraN pi kəboN. Jo doraN dua te dudo hatu*
REDUP-father young still so 3PL go garden then 3PL two DP sit one
“The men were still young. So they went out to a garden. Then the two of them sat
- 3 *təNpa jo. DoraN dua te kəwesa, “Ai, kita te mau buka kəboN,” hatu*
place DP 3PL two DP talk INT 1SGL DP want open garden one
“in a place and talked. “Ah, I want to make a garden,” one
- 4 *te bə-tau, “Tine kəboN kita, mau tine kəboN ni. Mau tanaN padi,*
DP BƏ-know develop garden 1SG want develop garden DEM want plant rice
“said. “Make a garden, I want to make a garden. I want to plant rice,
- 5 *tanaN pisaN, tanaN ubi, tanaN nənas, pokok-nya səmua di kəboN, məsti*
plant banana plant yam plant pineapple basis-NOM all LOC garden must
“plant bananas, plant yams, plant pineapple, basically I want everything in the garden,
- 6 *buka kəboN. Bua bəsa-bəsa.” Jo hatu te bə-tau “Oi, kalo əNko buka*
open garden make REDUP-big then one DP BƏ-know INT if 2SG open
“I must make a big garden.” Then the other one said, “Oy, if you make a
- 7 *kəboN, kita mau bəli sapi. Jo, kita bəli sapi piara, saNpe*
garden 1SG want buy cow so 1SG buy cow domestic until
“garden, I will buy some cows. I’ll buy domesticated cows, many
- 8 *banya-banya, kita puN sapi.” Jo, dia bə-tau, “Oi, kalo əNko puN*
REDUP-many 1SG POSS cow then 3SG BƏ-know INT if 2SG POSS
“of them, my cows.” Then the other one said, “Oy, if you have

- 9 *sapi banya bəgitu, əNko məsti kaNda. əNko te bole ləpa.*
 cow many like.that 2SG must fence.in 2SG NEG can let.free
 “many cows like that, you have to fence them in, you can’t let them run free.”
- 10 *naNti kita puN kəboN əNko puN sapi makaN.” Jo yaN puN sapi*
 later 1SG POSS garden 2SG POSS cow eat then REL POSS cow
 “Later, my garden will be eaten by your cows.” Then the one who owned cows
- 11 *te bə-tau, “E, jo toraN di utaN-utaN ni, bua kaNda? Jadi ləpa*
 DP BƏ-know DP DP 1PL LOC REDUP-forestDEM make fence so let.free
 “said, “Hey, we’re out in the forest and you want me to make a fence? Just let them
- 12 *jo ka sapi te. Bua apa te məsti bua kaNda ləgi di utaN-utaN ni?”*
 DP if cow DP make what DP must make fence again LOC REDUP-forest DEM
 “be free, the cows. What would I need to make a fence for, out in the forest?”
- 13 *Jo dia bə-tau, “Oi, əNko puN sapi, kalo kə-lua makaN kita puN*
 then 3SG BƏ-know INT 2SG POSS cow if go-out eat 1SG POSS
 “Then the other one said, “Oy, if your cows get out and eat my
- 14 *kəbon, kita puN pisaN-pisaN ka, jagoN ka, padi ka, dia ini,*
 garden 1SG POSS REDUP-banana or corn or rice or 3SG DEM
 “garden, my bananas or my corn or my rice, I will
- 15 *kita pana əNko puN sapi,” bə-tau gitu. Jo dia te, yaN puN sapi,*
 1SG arrow 2SG POSS cow BƏ-know like.that then 3SG DP REL POSS cow
 “shoot your cows with an arrow,” he said like that. Then he, the one with the cows,
- 16 *bə-tau “Ai, kalo əNko pana kita puN sapi, kita baka əNko puN kəboN.*
 BƏ-know INT if 2SG arrow 1SG POSS cow 1SG burn 2SG POSS garden
 “said, “Ah, if you shoot my cows with an arrow, I will burn your garden while you
- 17 *əNko tərada di kəboN, kita baka əNko puN kəboN. Akir-nya doraN dua*
 2SG NEG.have LOC garden 1SG burn 2SG POSS garden end-NOM 3PL two
 “aren’t in the garden, I’ll burn your garden.” In the end, the two of them
- 18 *te səmu-rəmu, səmu-rəmu, səmu-rəmu, sibu-ribu, sibu-ribu, jo doraN*
 DP REDUP-argue REDUP-argue REDUP-argue REDUP-debate REDUP-debate then 3PL
 “argued and argued and argued, and debated and debated, and then the two of them

- 19 *dua te bə-gumo po, bə-gumo, bə-tau, “Ai, kita puN kəboN te kita*
two DP BƏ-wrestle also BƏ-wrestle BƏ-know INT 1SG POSS garden DP 1SG
“even wrestled, wrestled, and then one said, “Ah, I worked hard to make my garden
- 20 *juru-bua tə-ləma-ləma, jo əNko te puN sapi te dataN makaN? Jo*
AGENT-make TƏ-REDUP-weak-weak then 2SG DPPOSS cow DP come eat then
“till I was thoroughly tired, and then your cows come along and eat it? Then I shoot
- 21 *kita pana əNko puN sapi te, əNko baka kita puN kəboN?” Ai, bə-bəda ka*
1SG arrow 2SG POSS cow DP 2SG burn 1SG POSS garden INT BƏ-fight DP
“them with an arrow, and you burn down my garden?” Ah, then the two of them started
- 22 *doraN dua te, bə-bəda, ah, ena jo, jadi bə-bəda ka. Bə-bəda, jo*
3PL two DP BƏ-fight INT feel.good DP so BƏ-fight DP BƏ-fight then
“fighting each other, ah, they enjoyed it, fighting each other. They fought until in the
- 23 *akir-nya Pa Lurah te dataN. OraN lapor di lurah jo,*
end-NOM HON village.chief DP come person report LOC village.chief DP
“end, the village chief came there. Someone had reported to the village chief, and he
- 24 *lurah dataN, jo bə-tau, “Ada apa koraN dua bə-bəda ni?” Ba pi*
village.chief come then BƏ-know have what 2PL two BƏ-fight DEM bring go
“came there and then he said, “What is making you two fight?” He brought them to the
- 25 *di kaNtor lurah jo, Tanya bə-tau təga apa. “Tida ini, Pa*
LOC office village.chief DP ask BƏ-know cause what NEG DEM HON
“village office. He asked them what had caused this. [One answered] “No, Mr.
- 26 *Lurah. Kita puN kəboN te bəgəna makaN, ne, kita puN kəboN bəgəna*
village.chief 1SG POSS garden DP how eat NEG 1SG POSS garden how
“Village Chief, why was my garden eaten? No, how was my garden
- 27 *te makaN? Kita bua tə-ləma-ləma le, dia suru dia puN sapi te maso*
DP eat 1SG make TƏ-weak-weak again 3SG send 3SG POSS cow DP enter
“eaten? I made it through tiring hard work, and then he sends his cows in
- 28 *makaN kita puN kəboN te bua abi. Jadi kita pana dia puN sapi.*
eat 1SG POSS garden DP make finish so 1SG arrow 3SG POSS cow
“to eat my garden until it’s all gone. So I shot his cows with an arrow,

- 29 *Jo dia odiN kita bə-tau kita, dia mau baka kita puN kəboN.*” *Jo*
 so 3SG revenge 1SG BƏ-know 1SG 3SG want burn 1SG POSS garden so
 “and then he took revenge on me, I say, he burned down my garden.” So
- 30 *doraN dua te ber-teNka ləgi di muka Pa Lurah te, di*
 3SG two DP BƏ-argue again LOC face HON village.chief DP LOC
 “the two of them began to argue again in front of the village chief, at the
- 31 *lurah desa ni. Ber-teNka situ məndəka bə-bəda. Jo Pa*
 village.chief village DEM BƏ-argue there approach BƏ-fight so HON
 “village office. They argued there almost to the point of fighting. So
- 32 *Lurah bə-tau, “Sətop! UdaN, janga bə-bəda. Mari toraN bango*
 village.chief BƏ-know stop enough don’t BƏ-fight come 1PL get.up
 “the village chief said, “Stop! Enough, don’t fight. Come, let’s get up and
- 33 *toraN pi kə dara, lia koraN dua puN kəboN dulu. Hatu, kita mo pi lia*
 1PL go to land SEE2PL two POSS garden first one 1SG ASP go see
 “let’s go landwards, and see the garden of the two of you first. First, we’ll go and
- 34 *əNko puN sapi brapa eko, e, po əNko puN kəboN te brapa bəsa-nya.*
 2SG POSS cow how.many CL DP also 2SG POSS garden DP how.much big-NOM
 “see how many cows you have, hey, and also how big your garden is.
- 35 *Brapa banya sapi makaN əNko puN kəboN te. Jo əNko puN sapi te*
 how.many many cow eat 2SG POSS garden DP so 2SG POSS cow DP
 “How many cows ate your garden, and how many of your cows have been
- 36 *brapa eko yaN dia pana.” Itu jo doraN dua te mau bə-diri*
 how.many CL REL 3SG arrow DEM DP 3PL two NEG want BƏ-stand
 “shot by his arrows. The two of them did not want to get up together with the
- 37 *bango səN-sama ma Lurah te, bə-diri lua kaNtor Lurah,*
 get.up REDUP-same with village.chief DP BƏ-stand outside office village.chief
 “village chief, standing outside the village office, they just looked at each other,
- 38 *jo hatu lia hatu. Hatu lia hatu, begini. Jo, “Təga apa koraN lia*
 then one see one one see one like.this then cause what 2PL see
 “one looked at the other, like this. Then [the chief said] “What is causing you two

- 39 *koraN dua bə-lia badan, te mənɣao? Mari jalaN daN ka, kita pi*
 2PL two BƏ-see body NEG answer come walk DP DP 1SG go
 “to just look at each other, with no response? Come, let’s go
- 40 *lia doraN dua puN sawa ma kəboN, e, sawa ma sapi te. JalaN*
 see 3PL two POSS rice.field with garden DP rice.field with cow DP walk
 “see your field with a garden, er, your field with cows. Let’s
- 41 *daN ka.” Jo doraN dua te tiNga nota jo. Tə-diaN te mənɣao,*
 DP DP so 3PL two DP leave stare DPTƏ-quiet NEG answer
 “go.” The two of them just stared at each other. They remained quiet with no answer,
- 42 *o ne. “Təga apa koraN te mənɣao?” “Hanya angan-angan, Pa*
 INT NEG cause what 2PL NEG answer only REDUP-fantasy HON
 “oh no. “What is causing you to not answer?” “It’s only a fantasy, Mr..
- 43 *Lurah. Hanya angan-angan. Arti-nya cuma rencana jo. me*
 village-chief only REDUP-fantasy meaning-NOM only plan DP but
 ” Village Chief. Only a fantasy. That means it’s just a plan, but we
- 44 *bəloN bua apa-apa. Me sawa te po ne, sapi te po ne.*
 not.yet make REDUP-what but rice.field NEG also NEG cow DP also NEG
 “haven’t done anything yet. There’s no field and also no cows, no.”
- 45 *Jadi pəngaru oraN tu, toraN janga cəpa taNgaN, te bole.*
 so influence people DEM 1PL don’t fast accept NEG allow
 “So don’t be quick to accept the influence of others, it’s not allowed.”

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