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ACCENT ON VARIETY

Amran Halim
Lois Carrington
S.A. Wurm
eds



Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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The Secretary
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
The Australian National University
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Australia.

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INTRODUCTION

The Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics was held in Bali, Indonesia, in January 1981. Amran Halim, as Conference Organiser, and Stephen Wurm, as OCICAL committee member (now its Chairman) and as General Editor of Pacific Linguistics publications, decided that in addition to the Proceedings volume which would be published in Jakarta, a selection of the conference papers should be published, largely for the international readership, by Pacific Linguistics.

Two of the series of four volumes have now appeared: the first is *Currents in Oceanic*, the second *Tracking the travellers*; they deal with reconstructions, language movements, phonological changes and related areas of linguistics. This volume, *Accent on variety*, includes many of the more interesting papers in sociolinguistics which were offered at TICAL. Shortly the fourth and final volume in the series, *Thematic variation*, will appear: the papers included deal with syntax, morphology and allied topics.

Our thanks are due, for helpful comments and services, to Laurie Reid, John Lynch, Malcolm Ross, Ling Matsay, Wim Stokhof, D.P. Tampubolon, Marit Kana, S. Supomo. Once again, Lio Pancino has produced our maps with great skill. And especial thanks are due to Dianne Stacey, our most excellent typesetter.

AMRAN HALIM
Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa
Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta

LOIS CARRINGTON
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
Australian National University, Canberra

S.A. WURM
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
Australian National University, Canberra

THE CONTRIBUTORS

ROSS CLARK is Senior Lecturer in Linguistics in the Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, New Zealand

PRECY ESPIRITU-REID is Assistant Professor of Ilokano Language and Literature, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu

JAMES J. FOX is Professorial Fellow in the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra

C.D. GRIJNS is Senior Lecturer in Indonesian at Leiden State University, the Netherlands

KAY IKRANAGARA is Supervisor of English Language Programs at the Indonesian National Logistics Agency, Jakarta

JOSEPH F. KESS is Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada

E.A. KONDRASHKINA is with the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Moscow

THREES YOSEPHINE KUMANIRENG is Senior Lecturer in Linguistics, Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan, Universitas Negeri Nusa Cendana, Ende, Flores, Indonesia

BERND NOTHOFER is Professor in Southeast Asian Studies, University of Frankfurt, West Germany

D.J. PRENTICE is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Languages and Cultures of South East Asia and Oceania at the University of Leiden

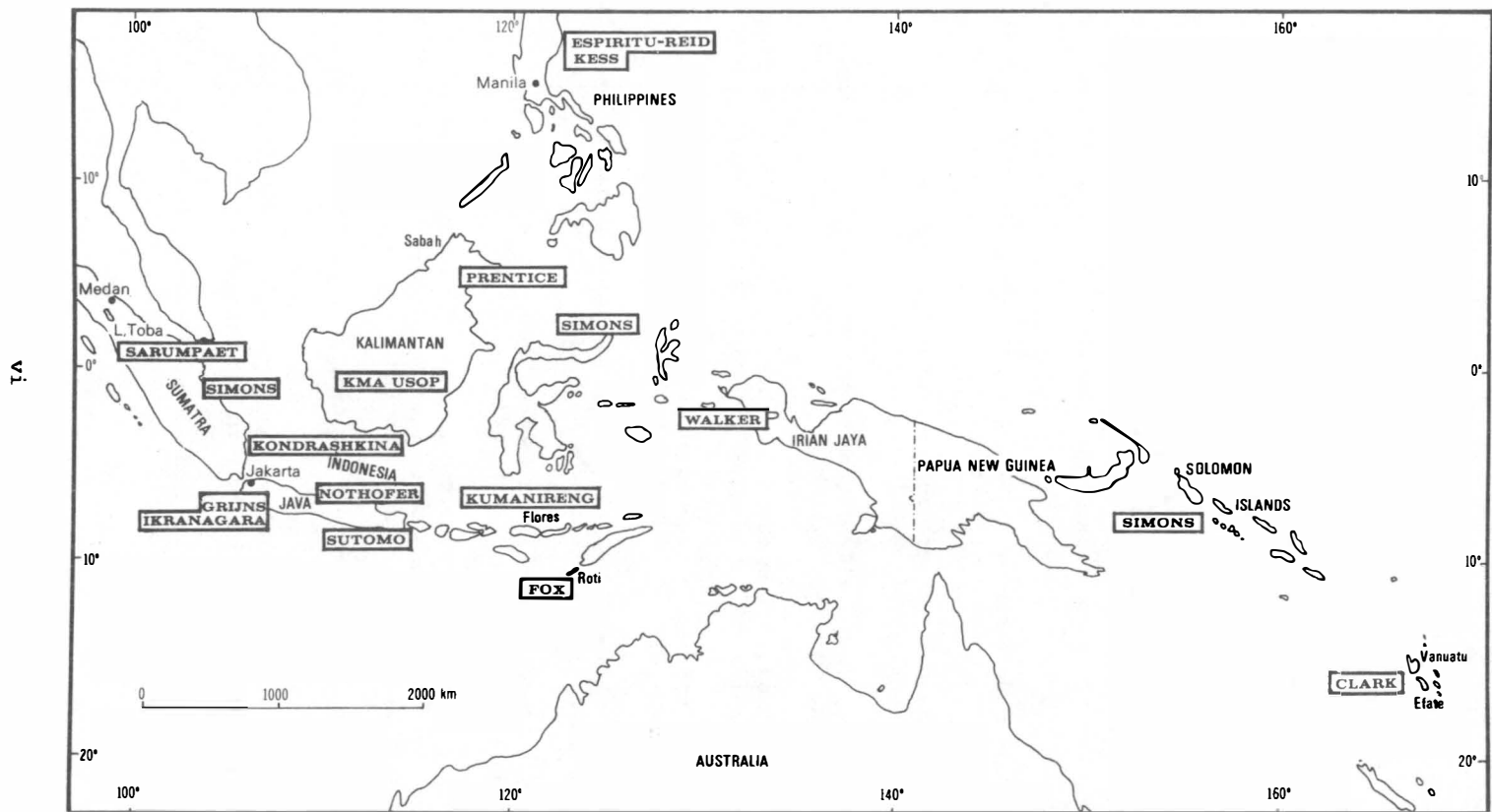
J.P. SARUMPAET is Senior Lecturer in Indonesian in the Department of Indian and Indonesian Studies, University of Melbourne

GARY F. SIMONS is an International Linguistics Consultant with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and Translation Advisor for Malaita with the Solomon Islands Translation Advisory Group

ISTIATI SUTOMO is Senior Lecturer in the English Department, Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Indonesia

KMA M. USOP is Senior Lecturer in Philosophy, Language and Dayak Studies at the Universitas Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan, Indonesia

ROLAND WALKER is a Consultant with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Jayapura, Irian Jaya, Indonesia, currently carrying out fieldwork at Namatota



Location of language areas referred to by the authors

TAGALOG RESPECT FORMS:
SOCIOLINGUISTIC USES, ORIGINS, AND PARALLELS

Joseph F. Kess

Tagalog, like the other languages of the Philippines, belongs to the Western Indonesian grouping of the Austronesian family of Pacific languages. Like many other languages, it exhibits forms of respectful address in terms of overtly shown categories. Such sociolinguistic devices express formally and explicitly the social relationship between co-locutors in a given interaction. This paper reviews these devices in Tagalog, giving an outline of their identification and their classification, then moving on to a discussion of the two major research themes entertained in this discussion, namely, the possible origins and the contemporary dimensions of sociolinguistic usage of Tagalog respectful address. The key formal device for showing sociolinguistic differences in Tagalog is found in the respectful use of enclitic particle and pronominal forms. Two enclitic particles, *po* and *ho*, correlate with the use of the pronouns *ikaw/ka you* (singular) and *kayo you* (plural) in showing sociolinguistic differences in conversational interaction. The exact dimensions of *po* (the most respectful) vs. *ho* vs. zero (absence of respectful address) was assessed by a questionnaire-like inventory listing sample conversational dyads. Approximately thirty subjects graciously filled out a four-page checklist, indicating whether a given dyad required *po*, *ho*, either, or neither in their usage. The analysis of contemporary sociolinguistic usage is based on the responses obtained from these subjects.

The possible historical origins of these sociolinguistic devices in Tagalog was assessed by examining the earliest available descriptions of Tagalog, and comparing them with later descriptive treatments. Another aspect of the research deals with the appearance or non-appearance of such respect forms in the syntax of some of the other languages of the Philippines, as well as related languages like Chamorro in Guam. This is to ascertain whether other languages of the group, major or minor, employ either the enclitic particles or the pronominal forms as respect forms in the syntax of that particular language, and if so, whether there is historical attestation of their appearance. It was hoped that information on this point would shed some light on the possible extra-familial origins of the sociolinguistic use of enclitic particles and pronominal forms in Philippine languages.

On the personal exchange level, it is obvious that personal encounters require interactants to observe a variety of linguistic etiquette strategies, the most important of which is the proper exchange of address forms. How to address

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the other person is a crucial decision in much social interaction, and several seminal studies have addressed themselves to exactly these considerations in dealing with the pronouns of power and solidarity in European languages (Brown and Gilman 1960) and the forms of titled address in American English (Brown and Ford 1964).

Interest in the analysis of respectful address was quickly stimulated by these early studies by Brown and his colleagues. In a history of sociolinguistics sense, Brown and his colleagues' work represents an important initial contribution to an understanding of the structured dimensions of the social setting. Numerous subsequent studies have inquired into the social psychological implications of such forms of address (Little and Gelles 1975), and for a variety of social or linguistic settings, as for example, Italian (Bates and Benigni 1975), for Swedish (Paulston 1974, 1975a, 1975b), for Canadian French (Lambert 1967, 1969), for Hungarian (Hollo 1975), for Russian (Friedrich 1972; Mayer 1975), for Quaker speech (Shipley and Shipley 1969), for Slovene and Serbo-Croatian (Kess and Juričić 1978a, b; Juričić and Kess 1978), for Turkish (Casson and Ozertug 1976), for Spanish (Fox 1969), for Japanese (Martin 1964), for Yiddish (Slobin 1963), for Tagalog (Kess 1973), and even for business (Slobin et al 1968) and academic settings (McIntire 1972; Blocker 1976).

The Tagalog respect forms are several in number. They have, however, the dual functions of distinguishing individuals as members of the same or different groups (acquainted or unacquainted) as well as designating members of one's own group as equal or unequal socially for various reasons (superior, inferior, or equal). There are two basic ways of indicating respect in Tagalog. One of these is the use of the respect particles *po* and *ho* as contrasted with their absence (zero). This zero is paralleled in the language by the presence of three forms of the affirmative (*yes opo*, *oho*, and *oo*), corresponding to *po*, *ho* and zero, respectively. Thus, respect use in simple affirmatives is replaced by a special pair of affirmatives both meaning *yes*, but with the secondary feature of level of respectful address included. For example, compare *opo yes (po)* and *oho yes (ho)* with *oo yes*. (The negative simply follows the typical enclitic pattern of orderings, with *hindi no, not*, acting as the first full sentence word.)

Respect particles fall under the heading of enclitics in Tagalog, usually appearing after the first full word or phrase in the sentence. This initial full phrase may be either a verbal or adjectival predicate or a nominal or prepositional phrase. There are, of course, other enclitics, and where two or more enclitics appear, the enclitics are ordered by a fairly rigorous set of occurrence privileges when other enclitics are also present in the same sentence, such that they occur in a rigidly predetermined order. An example of this ordering with a fuller range of enclitics follows, though it is obviously unlikely that such a constellation of enclitics occurs that frequently in Tagalog sentences.

+ PREDICATE na nga po ba din lamang sana ± Substantive Topic

In other uses, the *po* particle (but apparently not the *ho*) is simply frozen in such calcified greeting expressions as *Tao po Anybody home* or *Hello the house* (usually met with *Tuloy po kayo Come on in!*) and in *Mano po, May I have your hand?* (a hand to head ritual greeting with much older respected individuals). It is also interesting to note that of the earlier studies in Tagalog, neither Totanes (1745) nor the much later Blake (1925) and Bloomfield (1917) mention *ho* (nor, consequently, *oho*). Of course, neither do some more contemporary studies as, for example, Aspillera (1969), and though this may have been merely oversight on their part, it does not seem as likely. Only more contemporary pedagogical treatments concentrating on the colloquial spoken seem to make clear mention of the two, for example, Bowen et al (1965). Moreover, the apparent variation between *po* and *ho*

has only been noted in Bowen et al (1965:5), where the inherent variability of the po/ho continuum is noted by indicating that 'though po is usually considered more formal than ho, some speakers prefer one, some the other, and some use both'.

The other sociolinguistic device used to express respect is the use of a plural pronoun to address an individual person. Commonly, it is the second person plural pronoun kayo which is typically used. Occasionally, and perhaps more rarely now, when the addressee is especially esteemed for his elevated position, Tagalog makes use of the third person plural pronoun sila in direct address. It also makes occasional use of it as respectful reference in the axis of conversational reference to a third person singular third party. Such conventions are not unknown elsewhere (see Martin 1964, for an example of this in Japanese; Hoppe and Kess 1978, for one in English; and Kess and Juričić 1978a, for an example in South Slavic). It does seem to be noticeably lacking in Spanish, classical or contemporary, if we were thinking of the latter as a possible origin for such sociolinguistic practices.

Both kayo and sila contrast with the second person singular pronoun ikaw (or ka, depending upon sentence position). The pronominal system of Tagalog is presented below in an effort to place pronominal contrasts in focus. Incorporating the first person plural inclusive-exclusive distinction, Tagalog pronouns fall into two categories: (1) those which refer to the speaker (S), the hearer (H), the speaker plus hearer (S+H) or some other person (NSH), and (2) those which refer to each of the above plus others (see Stockwell 1959).

	(1) Simple	(2) Plus Others
S	ako	kami
H	ikaw/ka	kayo
S+H	kata	tayo
NSH	siya	sila

In fact, there are three parallel pronominal paradigms in Tagalog: the ako paradigm (presented above), the ko paradigm, and the akin paradigm. These correspond to the particles ang, nang, and sa, which mark the case functions of noun phrases in sentences. Thus, personal pronouns in Tagalog fall into sets corresponding to the three sets of nominal expressions marked by the particles ang, nang, and sa. The ako, ko, and akin pronoun classes are as follows.

	ang/si	nang/ni	sa/kay
Person:			
<i>I</i>	ako	ko	akin
<i>thou</i>	ikaw, ka	mo	iyo
<i>I and thou</i>	kata	nata, ta	kanita
<i>he, she</i>	siya	niya	kaniya
<i>we</i> (exclusive)	kami	namin	amin
<i>we</i> (inclusive)	tayo	natin	atin
<i>you</i>	kayo	ninyo	inyo
<i>they</i>	sila	nila	kanila

The rules affecting the respectful use of the second person singular and plural touch identically upon its manifestations in all three paradigms.

This paper takes the position that the respect particles co-occur in principle, though not necessarily in each instance, with the plural pronoun kayo (*sila* is exempted from further treatment in this discussion because of its special status and relative rarity). While it is true that either the particles or the pronoun may occur alone it seems that where only one of them occurs, the absent form is alleged to be implied by the form which does appear. It is always possible to insert the absent respect form without any noticeable grammatical or lexical change in the content of the sentence, as for example,

Pumunta na (po) ba kayo?; Pumunta na (ho) ba kayo?
Did you go?

On the other hand, solidarity and absence of status differences is expressed by the reciprocal use of the second person singular pronoun *ikaw/ka* and the non-use of the respect particles.

The occasions when the singular pronoun *ikaw* occurs with *po*, for example, are rare and are usually sociolinguistically marked. For example, in prayer addressing God or the saints one notes *ikaw* and *po* (see Schachter and Otnes 1972); this is not entirely unlike the use of *thou, thy, thine* in the Early Modern English version of the *Our Father* in the King James 1611 bible ('*Hallowed be thy name*') or the Spanish version of the *Padre Nuestro* ('*Santificado sea tu nombre*'). The Tagalog use of both *ikaw*, the familiar pronoun, and the respectful *po* represents the best possible compromise between the respectful awe and filial piety that Christians were to have shown in respect to the deity. The only other instances in Tagalog where such a paired presence (*ikaw-po*) occurs is in sarcastically marked speech, as for example, in *ikaw po . . . you think you're so important, but . . .* Here one is in disagreement with another's pretended greatness and issues a mocking form of address; the two are in direct contrast, a sociolinguistic contradiction in terms. Other forms have been occasionally designated as used in respectful fashions, but their uses in this sense are not entirely frequent and are highly restricted. This is said of *tayo we* (inclusive), and is used in situations characterised by gaiety or playfulness or in situations where the speaker wishes to denote his identification with a familiar hearer who may find himself in the same situation as the speaker. It is not used with individuals who are either non-solidary or superior to oneself (see Bowen 1965:175).

Kin terms typically have respectful address overtones, since they are non-reciprocal and are embedded in the hierarchically structured familial system. Terms like *ama father*, *ina mother*, *amain uncle*, *ale aunt*, *impo grandmother*, and *ingkong grandfather*, may be said to have such dimensions. It is not generally customary for younger siblings to use respectful particles with older siblings, but distinctive terms for the children of a family unit distinguished by order of birth and sex do reflect non-reciprocity. For example, one notes terms like *kuya* and *ate* for the oldest brother and sister, *diko* and *ditse* for the second oldest, and *sangko* and *sanse* for the third oldest. One even has *inso* for spouse of the eldest son and *siyaho* for spouse of the eldest daughter.

Given the roots in *sangko* and *sanse*, one suspects that they may be derived from some southern Chinese dialect like Hokkien. Certainly the care in the differential naming of oldest to youngest child in the family unit is a Chinese sociolinguistic practice of long standing. Comparing the roots in Mandarin, one notes some remarkable similarities, more than could be possibly due to chance. Thus, compare

di	弟	<i>second in a counting series</i> with <i>diko</i> and <i>ditse</i> ; also
ge	哥	<i>elder brother</i> and
jiě	姐	<i>elder sister</i> . (See also
zǐ	姊	<i>elder sister</i> .) One also has
san	三	<i>three</i> and the previous roots in <i>sangko</i> and <i>sanse</i> . This borrowing seems to have been extended to <i>inso</i> and <i>siyaho</i> ; compare
saō	嫂	<i>elder brother's wife</i> and <i>jiě elder sister</i> coupled with
fū	夫	<i>husband</i> (this latter would have heard the bilabial fricative qualities of <i>fū</i> and transferred it as an /h/). One also has
pó	婆	<i>paternal grandmother</i> for <i>impo</i> and
gōng	公	<i>paternal grandfather</i> for <i>ingkong</i> . It is easy to see parts of the highly respect-marked kin-address system as being borrowed from some Chinese language.

The similarities are even more striking with Hokkien, a more southerly coastal language, and one which is probably the most widespread Chinese language throughout South-east Asia. It is obvious that the terms and the highly respect-marked kin-address system has been borrowed from some Chinese language.

The use of titled forms of address also exhibit sociolinguistic dimensions of respectful address, either adding to or bestowing a sociolinguistic status on the individual. For example, terms like *Aling* before a female name or *Mang* before a male name function in this fashion. So also does *pare*, where even anonymous social exchanges can be superimposed on the respectful address system. For example, a buyer may address a street-vendor by using *pare*, *buddy*, *pal*, *Mac*, a term of non-solidary but seemingly familiar address. Though the vendor may be obviously lower in status in general, he becomes for this particular conversational exchange a banter partner in the buying-selling circumstance and the ensuing ritualised give-and-take (see Lynch 1962). None of this is particularly surprising, for according to Fox (1956), interpersonal relationships in the Philippines, especially those between non-kinsmen, are characterised by a marked self-awareness of personal position. It is not expected that one will find social devices for reducing possible friction and preventing the loss of self-esteem between non-kin types.

Lastly, one may also see the persistent use of the respect particles by one of the co-locutors after the other drops it from the conversation as a way of

keeping one's distance from one with whom one does not wish the social distance to close (see Lynch 1962). This is not unlike the strong-minded individual in English who insists on being addressed by title-plus-last-name (Mr Smith) after an aggressive salesman has tried to change the conversational tenor by switching to first names.

Use of the respect particles is not a pan-Philippine usage, however, and it is interesting to speculate on its possible origins. On the other hand, it is clearly not a general Philippine language characteristic, as the following discussion demonstrates. One possibility is that it is derived from Spanish sociolinguistic practices, though this is not easily demonstrated. Spanish, like all the languages of Europe, was party to the courtly spread of the pronouns of power and solidarity, and by the time of its colonial ministrations in South-east Asia this would have been a permanent sociolinguistic fixture in Spanish speech.

There is little question that the Spanish colonial regime had a tremendous impact on Philippine culture, and, as Wolff (1973) exemplifies, there is a good deal that can be told about the nature of Spanish-Filipino contact by the types of Spanish linguistic elements which find themselves in Philippine languages. Though the use of Spanish has practically disappeared from the Philippine scene, the amount and extent of bilingualism at one time must have been extremely widespread. One sees this both in the number of Spanish contact vernaculars as well as in the large extent to which Spanish borrowings penetrated the vocabulary core of Philippine languages. Wolff (1973:73) cites approximately 25 per cent of the total lexical entries in a Cebuano dictionary as being Spanish in origin. He notes further that 'in this way Cebuano is probably representative of languages spoken by Christian Filipinos'. The sociolinguistic status of Spanish must have always been that of the prestige language and Filipinos who did not master it would very likely have been wont to emulate it. Bilingualism must have been high in those speech communities which lived directly under strong Spanish influence and this influence must have permeated in some small fashion even the more remote peripheral areas by ripple effect.

That Spanish had a large sociolinguistic influence on the general social mores of large urban centres in the Philippines is supported by lexical borrowings in many languages in just these areas. For example, sexual mores, master-servant relationships, superior to inferior exchanges, the reception and treatment of guests, many kin terms, and so forth, are often of Spanish provenience in languages like Tagalog and Cebuano. It would not be surprising to expect that many other Spanish sociolinguistic conventions may have also found their way directly into the Filipino monolingual and bilingual communities.

Mention of Tagalog forms of respectful address is seen in the earliest Spanish treatments of Tagalog. Totanes (1745:17), for example, notes *po*, but indicates that there is no need to add *kayo* (*cayo* in Totanes' text, following Spanish orthographic practices). It may be that the respectful particles were already in use as a Tagalog device and that only the use of pronominal forms was derived from Spanish. The exact extent of the usage is puzzling, and Totanes presents a very incomplete picture, such that we are not sure of whether he is in fact recording contemporary sociolinguistic usage or simply seeing Tagalog through Spanish eyes. He does list (p.60) a verb *magpaico* (*magpa-ikaw?*), citing its gloss as *llamar de tu*, presumably the Tagalog equivalent of the Spanish *tutear*. He also (p.17, paragraph 59) records use of the second person plural for singular addressees in Tagalog. For example, he makes reference to asking questions of an inferior using *ca* or *mo*, depending upon the sequence in question. He also notes the use of *cayo* (*kayo*), comparing it to Spanish usage—the use of *maano cayo?* for *¿Como está Vmd.? [Vuestra Merced]*. It is interesting to note that the older form *maano* is used (cf. *paano*, *how*) instead of the contemporary borrowing

from Spanish, *kumusta* (from *¿Como esta?*). Thus, the greeting borrowed into Tagalog wholesale has not yet taken place. While it is difficult to give a time-scale for such events, the argument for Spanish origins would have been more persuasive had the greeting been *Kumusta kayo*, reflecting the intrusion from Spanish a little more convincingly. Totanes' paragraph (p.17, paragraph 59) is included below for its insights into that earlier stage.

59. *Con este anó se pregunta el parenteseo, ó dependencia, que uno tiene con otro, poniendo (para hablar con politica) al que fuere, ó parceiere mayor en nominativo, y al otro en genitivo. Vg.: (preguntando al superior) Anóca nitong babáye, l. báta? qué eres tú de esta muger, ó de este muchacho? Y responde Amà, soy padre. Asàua, soy su marido, Panôjinoon, soy su señor, etc. Anómo itong tauo? (preguntando al inferior) Amà, es mi padre. Asàua, es mi marido, etc., aunque tambien ponen en nominativo á aquel á quien preguntan, sin atencion á mayor ó menor. Anóca nitong babáye? (preguntando á un chiquillo) Anàc, soy su hijo. Hablando asimismo el inferior á su superior como amo, ó P. Ministro, etc., y como usando nosotros nombres de Usted, ó de V. merced, lo practican del modo siguiente; en lugar de las partículas de icáo, l. ca, usan de la partícula cayó. Vg.: maano cayó? como está Vmd.? Cun cayo, i, hindi napa sa Maynila? si Vmd. no hubiera ido á Manila? y ási del mismo modo en todas las locaciones de esta clase: con la advertencia, de que al cayo no se le ha de añadir la partícula pó: con lo que se particulariza este comun modo de hablar, bastante usado en los mas advertidos.*

By the time turn-of-the-century English descriptions like Blake's (1925) appear, this sociolinguistic practice was already well established, and is of course a fact of current Tagalog usage. (Note that although Blake's comprehensive work, *A grammar of the Tagalog language*, appeared in 1925, his research was easily begun just after the turn of the century, as attested to by his many earlier publications.)

Languages in contact situations often produce different results, and when looking at the other languages of the Philippines, this sociolinguistic device appears rather limited. Rather than all the languages which had intimate and continuing contact with Spanish having borrowed this practice, the following picture emerges. Tagalog is paralleled in its particle or pronominal usage by those languages which more or less surround it, suggesting a sociolinguistic drift of the practice. Other languages of the group further north (except Ilokano which, as a large and important language, may have had more contact with either Spanish or Tagalog or both) and further south, are conspicuously lacking in this device. The same is also largely true for the languages of the Bisayas surveyed here; this feature has in fact been cited by some (Lynch 1962) as at least one characteristic differentiating Tagalog from the Bisayan languages. Since only a limited representative sample of languages was surveyed, it is always possible that another sample would provide a different picture, though this is not likely.

To give the specific languages surveyed for this paper, we may note that in the Bisayas Cebuano (Wolff 1966:40; Bunye 1971:10) uses titled forms of address. Motus (1971:86) notes similar respectful titles of address in Hiligaynon, but neither po-like forms nor pronominal deployment.

On Luzon, Bikol (Mintz 1971:409) has both respect marker *po* and a second person plural pronoun (*kamó*) usage for a singular addressee. Most interestingly, Mintz (1971:116) notes that *po* is generally used in the Naga dialect of Bikol and dialects north towards Manila, but is rarely heard in the south. It may be that this reflects the earlier spread of this sociolinguistic device either from Spanish or through Tagalog from Spanish making a case for the contact limitations of such sociolinguistic practices derived from Spanish. If this is in fact the explanation for this situation, one speculates that such geographic constraints would have been that much more restrictive in an age without mass media.

Mirikitani (1972) notes the Kapampangan respect form *pu* as "a term marking deference and formality of speech (p.12)", and the distinction between *ka you* (singular) and *kayu you* (plural) as being one with politeness overtones (p.21). M. Forman (personal communication) has also confirmed this fact for Kapampangan. Benton (1971:14, 84) also notes the use of the second person plural pronoun (*kayó*) as having respectful address overtones in Pangasinan and a respect marker *pa* (p.178).

Further north, Bernabe (1971:9) notes the plural pronoun used in Ilokano as a sign of respect. L. Reid (personal communication) also notes no use of respect particles in Ilokano, but notes that there are respectful pronouns for address. Reid (personal communication) further notes no use of particles or pronouns for Bontoc nor for Ivatan on the Batanes islands north of Luzon.

An early study by Scheerer (1905) notes that the Nabaloi dialect of Igorot has only respectful overtones to the use of the first person pronouns inclusive and exclusive (*sikatayo* and *sikame*). Scheerer (1905:113) notes that

sikame will be heard, for instance, in a respectful report to a superior; *sikatayo*, on the contrary, in familiar talk among equals. The same propriety in speaking is found in Ilokano, Tagalog, etc., but is especially noteworthy among Igorot who otherwise address everybody, high or low, with *sikam* (thou), after the fashion of the Tyrolese mountaineers.

Scheerer, of course, would have been extremely conscious of this distinction, given the status of *Du/Sie* exchanges in German, and so we can take his testimony as to its non-appearance in Igorot. This is in keeping with the sociolinguistic practices of the other northern languages surveyed here.

T. Headland (personal communication) also notes that Dumagat, a Negrito language of north-eastern Luzon, has neither pronouns nor particles as respectful address devices.

In Mindanao, H. McKaughan (personal communication) notes neither particles nor pronouns used in respectful address devices for Maranao. Recalling that Maranao is in Muslim territory, with Marawi City a predominantly Muslim city, this absence would be entirely expected if the provenience of such forms of respectful address is ultimately Spanish.

Chamorro, like Palauan, belongs to the Philippine subgrouping by reason of their verb morphology and other characteristics. According to D. Topping (personal communication), Chamorro has neither respect particles nor the respectful deployment of pronouns like Tagalog. The Marianas were also discovered for Spain by Magellan (chronologically just before the Philippines) on his westward journey home while circumnavigating the globe for the first time. There was also a mission there since the 1600s, and an early and lasting influence on Chamorro from Spanish was the case until 1898 when Guam went to the United States.

The presence and importance of Spanish influence linguistically is amply testified to by the Spanish contact vernaculars in the Philippines, languages like Caviteño, Ermitaño, Davaueno, and Zamboangueno (see Whinnom 1956; also McKaughan 1958, Frake 1971). In general, much of the vocabulary of these Spanish contact creoles is Spanish in origin (though the grammar is markedly Filipino in structure), giving some idea of the penetration of Spanish in areas where it impinged closely and continuously on Filipino linguistic communities. Not surprisingly, these contact vernaculars often show the residue of Spanish socio-linguistic practices, since they were the result of creolisation with Spanish, from whence much of the original pidgin was derived.

Thus, M. Forman (personal communication) notes that while there are no particles in Zamboangueno, the second person pronoun set does have respectful uses like the Spanish and Tagalog. In discussing the Zamboangueno second person pronouns singular ?uste, tu, ?ebos and plural ?ustedes, bosotros, and kamo, Frake (1971:226) also notes the differences in respect usage between the two sets. It is difficult to tell from Molony's (1977:156-161) description whether the same thing is happening in Ternateño, though one guesses it likely to be similar.

In those Philippine languages which make use of this sociolinguistic device, the practice seems to run fairly parallel to that of other languages. In fact, claims about sociolinguistic universals in terms of which pronominal respect forms of address have been used have been made by Slobin, Miller, and Porter (1968). They suggest (1968:289) that

It is apparently a sociolinguistic universal that the address term exchanged between intimates ("familiar pronoun," first name, etc.) is the same term used in addressing social inferiors, and that the term exchanged between nonintimates ("polite pronoun," title and last name, etc.) is also used to address social superiors.

The universality of such observations is certainly open to question, though those Philippine languages which do use it seem to follow the general pattern. There is little quarrel with other such suggestions that the greater the status between individuals the greater is the probability of non-reciprocal address in those languages which do have such sociolinguistic mechanisms. However, it is certainly not a pan-Philippine characteristic, and many languages do not use it or use other means.

As for Spanish origins, the case is attractive, but inconclusive. Either the sociolinguistic device of pronominal deployment was borrowed and assimilated quickly enough from Spanish to have appeared in Totanes (1745) or it was already present. One would have expected other major languages of the grouping to have also done the same; Ilokano seems to have vestiges of it, but Cebuano and other Bisayan languages do not. The case would have been more convincing, had all the major contacted languages had the feature. Those languages surrounding Tagalog probably have it as a result of a ripple effect, but the question is whether this has ultimately a Spanish origin again or is a typological feature spread from Tagalog itself. A plausible guess is that the pronominal deployment feature was borrowed from Spanish and very early; there is, however, no immediate way of supplying incontrovertible proof for this speculation. The respectful enclitic particles *po* and *ho* may have had their own native history, and the remainder of this paper deals with their contemporary sociolinguistic usage pattern.

Turning to the analysis of the respect particles, an earlier preliminary analysis (see Kess 1973) was made on the basis of dialogues found in either the popular literature or in teaching materials. At first blush, the first division

seemed to be between addressees who are solidary (+S) and those who are not (-S). Solidarity is a continuum between acquaintance and familiarity. The next division involves the factors of relative status (S) or relative age (A). The +SA category requires only one plus. If the addressee is plus status or plus relative age (or both), he is considered +SA. If the addressee is about the same status and the same age, he is ±SA; if both factors are absent, he is -SA.

In sum, the function of Tagalog respect forms may be represented generally as below. The first distinction involves the presence (R) or absence (NR) of respect forms. Thus, if the addressee is +S but -SA or ±SA, respect forms normally do not occur, while the remainder of the categories do require them.

+SA	R	R	+SA
±SA	NR	R	±SA
-SA	NR	R	-SA
	+S	-S	

This earlier analysis posited a possible third division to account for two distinct though complementary groupings. Addressees who are +SA and +S, may also stand in a particularly solidary relationship with the speaker (though others may not). This relationship may be considered a secondary degree of solidarity, or, for lack of a better term, familiarity (F). The former (+SA, +S, +F) may optionally receive ho, but the latter (+SA, -F, +S) seemed to obligatorily receive po— for example, an employer or professor one is on good terms with, as opposed to one with whom the speaker is not. The second distinction between the variation of po and ho seemed to be a matter of style and the variation dependent on external factors. For -S and -SA or ±SA addressees the speaker seemed permitted a stylistic choice between po and ho. For -SA and -S addressees the speaker seemed permitted two choices. The first is between R and NR; the second a stylistic choice between po and ho, if R is chosen. Such a situation might arise with addressees who are in a temporary 'service' relationship like waiters and store clerks. Some speakers appeared to punctuate the initial stages of the exchange with respect forms, and then omit them altogether, as if there were a subtle balance between the -SA and -S factors, one momentarily outweighing the other.

Thirdly, on the +S side, +SA addressees who were +F seemed to optionally receive a ho and those who were not a po. There was a distinction between those -S addressees who exhibited some kind of plus absolute status (+AS), like a bishop, and those who did not (-AS). The former appeared to obligatorily receive po, the latter according to the speaker's style, either po or ho, as summarised below.

+SA	+F po	po +AS	+SA
	----- -F ho	{ po -AS ho	
±SA	∅	{ po ho	±SA
-SA	∅	{ po ho ∅	-SA
	+S	-S	

Despite typical claims to the contrary, it seemed that *po* and *ho* were not just in a more to less respectful continuum of usage. The relationship between the two seems to be also characterised by an inherent variability, and contemporary sociolinguistic usage patterns were checked by means of a detailed questionnaire. A four-page 115-dyad questionnaire (derived from an earlier twenty-page 460-dyad questionnaire) was graciously filled out by twenty-eight native Tagalog speakers. The dyad exchanges included highly restricted situations like kin exchanges at the one end of the continuum and less restricted exchanges like service relationship exchanges at the other. The questionnaire included situational exchange categories like the following:

- (a) kin terms (kin terms were also varied to obtain the interplay of additional factors like age and degree of acquaintance):
e.g. son (child) to father vs. son (adult) to father; considerably older male cousin to female cousin (close ties) vs. considerably older male cousin to female cousin (first acquaintance);
- (b) similar work situation:
e.g. male salesclerk to older female salesclerk (first acquaintance) vs. male salesclerk to older female salesclerk (long acquaintance);
- (c) employer-employee situation:
e.g. male salesclerk to same age male boss (first acquaintance) vs. male salesclerk to same age male boss (long acquaintance);
- (d) employer-employee situation + status as a relative:
e.g. male boss to young male employee who is also a relative, while at work vs. while at family gatherings;
- (e) equal status:
e.g. male doctor to male doctor: first acquaintance vs. colleague status;
e.g. nun to nun; first acquaintance vs. long-standing acquaintance vs. long-standing friendship;
- (f) service relationships:
e.g. young female shopkeeper to young male customer: first acquaintance vs. intermittent customer vs. steady customer;
e.g. young male teacher to young mother visiting the school;
- (g) formalised settings:
e.g. middle-aged host to guest who is less socially prominent than host.

Contemporary usage patterns derived from the questionnaire provide the following picture of primary dimensions in the deployment of respect particles (and by extension, probably for pronominal forms as well). In the kin setting, absolute age merits the greatest degree of respect usage in upward exchanges. The greatest usage of po is seen from grandson to grandfather; from this exchange it is a descending scale of po to ho usage according to relationship. For example, note the following table (P=po; H=ho; E=either; and N=neither).

grandson (child) to grandfather	P 67%	H 4%	E 30%	
son to father	P 46%	H 7%	E 43%	N 4%
niece (child) to uncle	P 14%	H 29%	E 54%	N 4%

It seems that all kin elders receive respectful forms, but the greater the age for such individuals within the mainstream family line, the greater the percentage of P. This is affirmed by grandfather addressees who receive the highest percentage of P in the entire questionnaire; the child to old man exchange, for example, only receives 54% P.

There seems to be little change in upward exchanges as the child becomes an adult; an adult son or daughter uses almost the same degree of respect as when a child. The same also appears to be true for other upward exchanges like aunts or uncles. There is some movement towards H, but it is not overly significant. For example, note the following table.

daughter (adult) to father	P 43%	H 14%	E 39%	N 4%
son (child) to father	P 46%	H 7%	E 43%	N 4%
niece (child) to uncle	P 14%	H 29%	E 54%	N 4%
nephew (adult) to uncle	P 14%	H 29%	E 50%	N 4%

This is in contrast with the intuitive expectations of at least one subject, who noted that "in general, an adult child (male or female) switches to ho or 'neither' when talking to his/her parents. It is as if the child has acquired a more equal status with the parents". One explanation may be that some subjects simply recorded the sociolinguistic practices within their own familial setting, and some chose to view the matter of these exchanges in the abstract. Nevertheless, the data point in the direction of a minimal degree of movement toward H in this setting. Moreover, familial kin relationships are not relationships that can be renegotiated, as for example, the English shift from title-last-name to first-name; rather, they are fixed and stable, unchanging over time, as is the intimacy of the kin relationship. It is not unexpected that the sociolinguistic expression of these relationships are also fixed over time, not as subject to change as are other types of social relationships which may be both renegotiated and see a movement toward greater intimacy.

In the downward direction P and H rarely appear at any age for the addressee. The only time the enclitics might appear, apparently, is sarcastically, when a child is being rude, to remind him to use the forms. For example, note the following table.

grandfather to grandson (child)	96% N
father to son (child)	93% N
uncle to niece (child)	96% N
uncle to nephew (adult)	96% N
father to daughter (adult)	96% N

As expected, P/H play a minor role in sibling relationships. Still, recalling the earlier discussion of sibling terms embedded within a ordered hierarchy-by-birth-order system, it is not surprising to see some use of H in an upward relationship (especially when the age is unstated, and one is possibly dealing with a wide range of age separation). Note, for example, the following table. Thus, a boy addressing an older sister gives 25% H, 21% E, and 54% N, while receiving 96% N in return.

As one moves further from mainstream familial ties, one finds that other dimensions like age take precedence, mirroring other social exchanges. For example, note the following table where the ratio of N responses is tied directly to age difference.

male cousin to female cousin of same age (close ties)	96% N
male cousin to considerably older female cousin (close ties)	37% N
considerably older male cousin to female cousin (close ties)	85% N

The fact of an inherent kinship relationship does make for an inherent acquaintanceship tie. Consequently, one sees less of its effects, and there is only a slightly greater tendency to use respect forms when unacquainted, as seen in the following table.

considerably older cousin to cousin				
- (close ties)	H 14%	E 4%	N 82%	
- (on first acquaintance)	H 14%	E 7%	N 79%	
cousin to cousin of same age				
- (close ties)		E 4%	N 96%	
- (on first acquaintance)	H 4%	E 7%	N 89%	
younger cousin to considerably older cousin				
- (close ties)	P 4%	H 30%	E 30%	N 37%
- (on first acquaintance)	P 4%	H 29%	E 36%	N 32%

In meeting individuals for the first time, where no social parameters are mentioned, the overtly discernible variable of age emerges as a powerful determinant in P/H usage. Very simply, the older the addressee is in respect to the speaker, the greater the respect usage; the younger, the less its use. For example, young man to child elicits 96% N while the reverse only 7% N, a large gap for a minimal age distance. Similarly, old woman to child elicits 96% N, old man to young man 89% N, old man to middle-aged woman 74% N, and old man to old woman 59% N. Even children are expected, at least in the abstract, to pay some heed to the sociolinguistic dimensions of such exchanges, as seen in the following.

child to young man	P 14%	H 32%	E 29%	N 25%
child to middle-aged woman	P 14%	H 39%	E 39%	N 7%
child to old man	P 54%	H 14%	E 29%	N 4%

Sex does not seem to be as important a variable, although one does record some respect usage for same age (young) male-female co-locutors, possibly, as one subject noted, perhaps as much so as "not to appear fresh or ill-mannered", as for the lack of solidarity variable. For example, a young man to young woman elicits 3% P, 10% H, 14% E, and 69% N.

In similar work settings, age and acquaintance emerge as the primary dimensions. Thus, the older the addressee, the higher the percentage and type of respect usage, as evidenced in the following table.

salesclerk to salesclerk of same age (first acquaintance)	89% N
salesclerk to older salesclerk (first acquaintance)	0% N
salesclerk to salesclerk of same age (long acquaintance)	89% N
salesclerk to older salesclerk (long acquaintance)	15% N

On first acquaintance, it is simply age that matters in P/H assignment; for example, compare 0% N for younger to older salesclerk exchanges and 64% N for old to young exchanges. But speakers of the same age are more familiar in address (89% N) than even older speakers addressing younger salesclerk colleagues (64% N). In the case of long acquaintance, both exchange dyads show an equal degree of familiarity (86% N). There also seems to be a tendency towards less use of the respect forms when there is a relationship of long acquaintance between co-locutors of disparate ages. Note, for example, the following.

younger to older salesclerk (first acquaintance)	P 7%	H 61%	E 32%	N 0%
younger to older salesclerk (long acquaintance)	P 4%	H 52%	E 30%	N 15%

On the other hand, for same-age dyads in the similar work scenario, acquaintance does not seem to be as significant a variable as it is elsewhere. Same-age salesclerks on first acquaintance elicit 4% P, 0% H, 7% E, and 89% N, while the same dyad under the long acquaintance condition elicits exactly the same responses.

In the similar work setting where status differences do exist, employee to employer address also pays heed to the age variable. Thus, if the boss is older, the employee uses more respectful forms of address, depending on the age discrepancy. If the boss is the same age, there is less of a tendency to use a respect particle. Similarly, if the boss is younger, there is also less tendency to use a respect particle. The factor of long acquaintance seems not to make too much difference here either, and the percentages are almost the same for first or long acquaintanceship relationships. Note, for example, the following table.

employee to older boss (first acquaintance)	P 4%	H 61%	E 36%	N 0%
employee to boss of same age (first acquaintance)	P 11%	H 32%	E 36%	N 21%
employee to younger boss (first acquaintance)	P 11%	H 29%	E 32%	N 29%
employee to boss of same age (long acquaintance)	P 4%	H 44%	E 15%	N 37%
employee to younger boss (long acquaintance)	P 7%	H 44%	E 11%	N 37%

In the case of an older boss, the age difference remains fixed and there is still the likelihood of respectful address being given. Compare, for example 37% N to a boss of the same age with 0% N to an older boss, both in the long acquaintance condition. It would appear that acquaintance is a relevant variable for an employee addressing a younger or same-age boss. At first acquaintance there is a greater tendency to use P or E, while with long acquaintance there is a greater tendency to use H or N. However, when addressing an older boss the degree of acquaintance seems almost irrelevant, for the age difference is fixed. One may conclude that age is ultimately a more important variable than acquaintance, though acquaintance is the dimension that defines other relationships which are not already predetermined by a substantial age gap. For example, note the following table.

employee to boss of same age (first acquaintance)	P 11%	H 32%	E 36%	N 21%
employee to boss of same age (long acquaintance)	P 4%	H 44%	E 15%	N 37%
employee to younger boss (first acquaintance)	P 11%	H 29%	E 32%	N 29%
employee to younger boss (long acquaintance)	P 7%	H 44%	E 11%	N 37%
employee to older boss (first acquaintance)	P 4%	H 61%	E 36%	N 0%
employee to older boss (long acquaintance)	P 7%	H 59%	E 33%	N 0%

Despite the added dimension of the employee being a kin relative, age remains the prime factor. Thus, an older relative is less likely to use a respect form to his boss than is a related employee who is younger than the boss. For example, the data show that an older related employee elicits 79% N to an older boss at a

family gathering while a younger employee elicits only 18% N. Moreover, a boss is more likely to use a respect form at work with an older related employee (36% N) than with a younger related one (23% N). This is matched by the boss to older related employee dyad in the family gathering setting with 25% N, as opposed to the boss to younger related employee there with 89% N.

The setting itself may exert some pressure on the formality of the exchange, such that one sees slightly less exchange of respect forms at family gatherings than in the formal settings of the workplace. In general, it seems that a kin relationship between co-locutors assumes a long acquaintance, and subjects were wont to treat it as such. It also seems to confer a special dimension to the relationship entirely congruent with this observation, and one sees somewhat less use of P (and consequently more use of H, E, or N) in the questionnaires than one sees for other dyadic relationships.

Service relationships again revert to the age variable as the primary feature. A teacher to parent exchange, for example, is primarily concerned with this feature, such that the older the addressee the more likely the respect forms. The progression of increasing use of respect forms is easily seen in the following trio of exchanges:

young teacher to young father visiting school	P 4%	N 46%
young teacher to middle-aged mother visiting school	P 11%	N 7%
young teacher to old father visiting school	P 14%	N 0%

Though there is less likelihood of respect forms in addressing someone younger, the very role setting itself seems to exert functional-stylistic pressure to observe the formality of the exchange setting, and one notes a higher percentage of respect forms than one might otherwise. This has also been observed elsewhere (see Kess and Juričić on South Slavic, 1978a) to a much more dramatic effect. Note, for example, the following table for some indication of how Tagalog seems to handle this setting for teachers to parents visiting the school.

middle-aged male teacher to old father	P 14%	H 57%	E 29%	N 0%
middle-aged female teacher to middle-aged mother	P 8%	H 31%	E 31%	N 31%
old male teacher to young mother	P 4%	H 29%	E 14%	N 54%
old female teacher to middle-aged father	P 4%	H 37%	E 19%	N 41%

For other service exchanges like shopkeeper to customer, both age and acquaintance are relevant variables. The greater the degree of acquaintance in a service relationship, the greater the likelihood of the one serving to use N. For example, for same-age young shopkeeper to young customer, the percentage of N use goes from 57% for first acquaintance to 79% as an intermittent customer and 93% N for a steady customer. The greatest jump is obviously between the first acquaintance and intermittent customer conditions, a feature that emerges from other shopkeeper to customer triads of this type. As expected, age also emerges as a

critical feature, such that old and middle-aged shopkeepers are more likely to use N (82% and 64%, respectively) to a young customer on first acquaintance, and so on. However, this difference is much smaller when the customer is an intermittent or a steady one. The young shopkeeper is somewhat less likely to use a respect form than his older counterparts in the steady customer condition. For example, young shopkeepers to intermittent young customers elicit 81% N, middle-aged shopkeepers to intermittent middle-aged customers 82% M, and old shopkeepers to intermittent old customers 86% N while the same dyads in the steady customer condition elicit 93% N, 86% N, and 86% N, respectively.

The acquaintance variable is superseded by the age variable when present. Thus, in the case of older customers, younger shopkeepers use almost the same degree of respect in addressing customers in any of the three conditions. However, for same-age dyads at the older end of the continuum, acquaintance once again emerges as an important characteristic. Thus, for example, a steady middle-aged customer will receive 71% N from the same-age middle-aged shopkeeper, while one who is visiting the store for the first time will receive 25% N (compare with 29% for a younger intermittent customer). And at the lower end of the age continuum, younger shopkeepers are more likely to use N when addressing same-age steady customers (93%) than are middle-aged or old shopkeepers addressing same-age steady customers (74% and 59% respectively). This seems to be true in general at the younger end of the age continuum, even for intermittent customers. For example, younger shopkeepers to same-age intermittent customers proffer 57% N, while middle-aged and old shopkeepers only proffer 29% and 39% N to same-aged intermittent customers. This is also true of the first acquaintance conditions as well, so that a same-aged customer visiting the store for the first time will more likely receive N if the shopkeeper is young. Compare, for example, the percentage of N responses for same-age shopkeeper to customer exchanges for young (93%), middle-aged (25%), and old (33%) under this condition.

When the situation is reversed to customers addressing shopkeepers, the age factor again emerges as primary. The degree of respectful address increases as the age difference increases between speaker and addressee. This holds true regardless of degree of frequency of patronage and acquaintance, as seen in the following table.

young steady customer to young shopkeeper	P 4% H 0% E 4% N 93%
young steady customer to middle-aged shopkeeper	P 4% H 48% E 41% N 7%
young steady customer to old shopkeeper	P 14% H 50% E 36% N 0%
young intermittent customer to young shopkeeper	P 3% H 7% E 17% N 72%
young intermittent customer to mid-aged shopkeeper	P 7% H 57% E 29% N 7%
young intermittent customer to old shopkeeper	P 21% H 43% E 36% N 0%
young customer to young shopkeeper (first acquaintance)	P 4% H 21% E 18% N 57%
young customer to middle-aged shopkeeper (first acquaintance)	P 7% H 52% E 41% N 0%
Young customer to old shopkeeper (first acquaintance)	P 25% H 43% E 32% N 0%

In the downward direction, the degree of familiarity does have an effect, so that moving from first-time to intermittent to steady customer status is reflected in the degree of N given to younger shopkeepers. Note, for example, the following table.

middle-aged customer to younger shopkeeper	
first acquaintance	63% N
intermittent	86% N
steady	89% N
old customer to younger shopkeeper	
first acquaintance	79% N
intermittent	89% N
steady	96% N

This even extends to the upward relationship, but ever so slightly. There is just a slight shading toward less P and more H or E, when the degree of familiarity is increased, as can be seen in the following trio.

young customer to old shopkeeper (first acquaintance)	P25% H43% E32%
intermittent young customer to old shopkeeper (first acquaintance)	P21% H43% E36%
steady young customer to old shopkeeper	P14% H50% E36%

Not surprisingly, there seems to be a slightly greater tendency for shopkeepers to use a respect form to customers than vice versa. No doubt buyers are aware of both the caveat emptor dictum and the heightened sociolinguistic persuasiveness of the marketplace, and this is not too surprising a finding.

Turning to urban versus rural settings, one finds in general neighbours in a rural environment are seen as showing more respect forms than their urban counterparts. Moreover, the tendency is more marked for rural speakers in first-acquaintance situations. Thus, one finds the following comparisons between barrio and urban settings.

	Rural	Urban
male neighbour to male neighbour (first acquaintance)	32% N	61% N
male neighbour to male neighbour (long acquaintance)	71% N	89% N
male neighbour to male neighbour (long friendship)	82% N	82% N
female neighbour to female neighbour (first acquaintance)	29% N	57% N
female neighbour to female neighbour (long acquaintance)	71% N	86% N
female neighbour to female neighbour (long friendship)	79% N	86% N

This also seems to match with observations by at least one subject, who noted that in Laguna she (in her thirties) is addressed as *po* by the old people, presumably because she is *matandang dugo old blood*, possibly because at some time in the past her great-grandfather might have been a *teniente del barrio*. Not only is this Jungian consciousness of traditions past more typical of a fixed stable community, so also are the social positions less privy to change here. Urbanisation makes for anonymity and less risk in social exchanges as well and consequently more likelihood of change. Still, as noted in the preceding table, even in the rural setting, there is less use of P/H as the degree of acquaintance increases. This is mirrored in the urban exchanges, where the degree of acquaintance is also translated into differences in the percentage of N responses. Thus, an urban male neighbour to a male neighbour elicits 61% N under the first acquaintance condition and 89% N under the long acquaintance condition; his female neighbour to female neighbour counterpart similarly elicits 57% N under the first condition, and 82% N under the second.

In assessing exchanges at an informal party or gathering, the more socially prominent the addressee the higher the likelihood of respect forms from host to guest. This may be compounded with age differences in the downward relationship in the absence of this factor, but can be clearly seen in its presence, as seen in the following.

younger host to more socially prominent guest	P 15%	H 44%	E 26%	N 15%
younger host to less socially prominent guest	P 7%	H 19%	E 22%	N 52%
older host to more socially prominent guest	P 11%	H 37%	E 19%	N 33%
older host to less socially prominent guest	P 4%	H 4%	E 7%	N 85%

For guest to host exchanges, the feature of relative age is the critical feature once again. The younger the guest in relation to the host, the higher the incidence of respect forms. This seems to run across the feature of social prominence, and likely takes some precedence over it as the primary variable when the two are in conflict, as seen in the following table.

younger more prominent guest to host	P 0%	H 19%	E 30%	N 52%
older more prominent guest to host	P 7%	H 7%	E 0%	N 85%
younger less prominent guest to host	P 11%	H 15%	E 22%	N 52%
older less prominent guest to host	P 7%	H 7%	E 11%	N 74%

Social prominence does not seem to be an overly important variable for guests addressing hosts. It would appear that age is the defining feature, and that further, the functional stylistic role of the host is one which automatically draws a certain status from its realisation. Note, for example, the following table, in which there is only a subtle shift in the responses.

more prominent older guest to host	P 7%	H 7%	E 0%	N 85%
less prominent older guest to host	P 7%	H 7%	E 11%	N 74%
younger more prominent guest to host	P 0%	H 19%	E 30%	N 52%
younger less prominent guest to host	P 11%	H 15%	E 22%	N 52%

Secondly, hosts are more likely to use respect forms to more prominent guests than guests are to hosts. In general, social prominence is a feature more relevant to the sociolinguistic choices made by hosts to guests than it is for guests to hosts (whose duties are already well defined by the role). Age differences, as always, seem to be extremely important; for the guest addressee social prominence may also be an extremely highly profiled feature. Note, for example, the following.

younger host to more prominent guest	P 15%	H 44%	E 26%	N 15%
younger guest to more prominent host	P 11%	H 15%	E 22%	N 52%
older host to more prominent guest	P 11%	H 37%	E 19%	N 33%
older guest to more prominent host	P 7%	H 7%	E 11%	N 74%

In general summation, one concludes that age is the most important variable in determining respectful address and the forms thereof. The older the addressee in relation to the speaker, the higher the incidence of respect forms, while the inverse sees their absence. A second variable is degree of acquaintance, such that the greater the degree of acquaintance, the less the degree of respect. It does not, however, usually supersede the factor of age. Other factors like occupational status, social prominence, and service relationships all play a part in determining the roles of the co-locutors, and this is reflected in the degree of respectful address used. Lastly, rural speech is perceived as being more conservative than urban speech in respect to respectful address considerations.

In general, the results also show females as somewhat more formal than males in their usage practices. There is not a wholesale shift in sociolinguistic styles, but rather a gradient with women tending to be slightly more polite and more formal. This is in keeping with sociolinguistic patterns generally reported elsewhere.

My attention has also been called to the possibility of differential patterns even among age groups separated by a mere decade or so (personal communication, Teresita V. Ramos). For example, at least one questionnaire from a respondent in his thirties seemed to have different patterns of response, using *ho* and *po* only rarely, to two others from the same subject subset in their forties. *Ho* seems to be more commonly used by younger speakers, and to the degree that age differences were noted in our survey, *ho* seems to be on the increase especially among young speakers (see also Schachter and Otnes 1972:324).

Lastly, the data indicate that *ho* is more frequent than *po*, which seems to occur primarily in situations of extreme respect (for example, young teacher to old father, grandson to grandfather, or young customer to old shopkeeper on first

acquaintance). It is clear that ho is on the rise in general, while po seems to be in the process of being set aside for special circumstances to show absolute respect. It also seems that po is used with really old people regardless of status. As one subject suggested, "for instance, a young senator will use po to an old garbage collector. The old garbage collector will show respect for the young senator by addressing him as 'Senator' but may not use po." In general, ho is both more common and is used when po is inappropriate, but there is nevertheless a need to show respect or social distance. When in doubt, one can and often does use ho. It may be that this is a change in the sociolinguistic strategies underlying the po/ho usage. Although several subjects noted that "the use of po/ho is dying in Manila", one suspects that it is rather a change in the relative weight and importance attached to the respect particles that may have accounted for this impression. Indeed, on the contrary, the data here reported suggest that the forms of respectful address are alive and well in Tagalog speech.

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LINGUISTIC VARIETIES IN TOBA-BATAK

J.P. Sarumpaet

1. INTRODUCTION

The Toba-Batak of North Sumatra are well known for their partiality for effective and elegant speech. This is evident in the heavy preoccupation with speech-making at the conclusion of the very frequent communal and ceremonial meals. Mandok hata *to say a word or two* usually develops into the delivery of a lengthy speech, with a lot of poetic recitals of proverbial sayings (umpama) interspersed in it.¹

It is regarded as most important to utter the right word in the right place at the right time. Hata i do pardebataon *The quality of worship is in the utterance* says one proverb, underlining the supreme importance of propriety in speech and of precise code-switching. Another well-known proverb says that Pantun do hangoluan, tois do hamagoan *Politeness brings life, whereas bad behaviour and bad manners are destruction.*

In this paper I attempt to discuss the functions and the forms of some varieties² used frequently in the Toba-Batak region.

The following varieties are clearly distinguishable in present-day Toba-Batak.

1. Everyday Speech (Hata siganup Ari)
 - 1.1 Intimate Language
 - 1.2 Standard Language
2. Ceremonial Language (Hata ni na Mandok Hata)
3. Language of Lamentation (Hata Andung)
4. Medico-Magic Language (Hata Hadatuon)

Van der Tuuk (1864, vol.1:v-vi) enumerated the following varieties (taalsoorten): 1. Language of Lamentation (Hata Andung), 2. Language in Trance (Hata ni Begu Siar), 3. Language of Teaching and Philosophy (Hata Poda), 4. Magico-Religious Language (Hata Pangaraksan), 5. Magical Formulae (Hata Tabas), and 6. Language of Camphor-gatherers (Hata ni Partodung). He did not give examples.

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Some of Van der Tuuk's varieties are incorporated or subsumed in the varieties that I am going to discuss. His Language of Teaching and Philosophy is lexically part of the Standard Language. Excepting the most esoteric terminology and phrases of his Magical Formulae, that variety, together with his Magico-Religious Language, is subsumed under my Medico-Magic Language. The Language in Trance and Language of Camphor-gatherers are also part of the Medico-Magic Language.³ His Language of Lamentation is coterminous with mine.

Ceremonial Language uses the respect vocabulary of the Standard Language. A lot of sayings and proverbs are used for description and illustration. These sayings or proverbs are of two kinds: an umpama has an unalterable form, while an umpasa has parts which can be changed to suit a particular situation. Both are the codification and embodiment of the principles and rules pertaining to the social, legal and religious life of Toba-Bataks. Many items in the respect vocabulary of the Standard Language, in turn, originate from the Language of Lamentation.

Thus I am going to discuss three varieties in this paper: Intimate Language (IL), Language of Lamentation (LL) and Medico-Magic Language (MML). Standard Toba-Batak (SL), which is the language used in schools, in sermons and in formal situations will be used as material for comparison.

2. INTIMATE LANGUAGE

This is the most lively and colourful variety in Toba-Batak. It is largely used by people living in remote areas, especially in the hills of Samosir. Indeed some parts of it are akin to the dialect of that island. This variety is also used a lot in the convivial atmosphere of that famous Batak institution, the palm-wine stall (lapo tuak). To a certain extent this variety is also used by young children among themselves and within their immediate surroundings in the nuclear family. It is a relaxed type of speech, whose use can only be given rise to by an equally relaxed atmosphere.⁴

Normally, a young child outgrows his IL when he goes to school. In all cases, speakers immediately revert to the SL whenever a senior person or a stranger joins the conversation.

The IL is primarily a spoken variety of Toba-Batak. Fortunately, we do have some written data in the newspapers of the 1930s, which I have been able to use to complete my own data.

The distinct features of the IL when compared with the SL are the following phonological and lexical changes:⁵ (1) Consonant Change; (2) Elision; (3) Simplified Affixation; (4) Contraction; (5) Syllabic Inversion; (6) Lexical Change, and (7) Amusing Formation.

- (1) *Consonant Change*: there is a tendency to replace a consonant in the SL with another which is closer in its place of articulation to that of the preceding vowel or consonant, or to repeat a consonant rather than to use two different consonants in succession:

p - k; b - m; n - t; r n - r r; t n - t t;
 m d - m b; ng d - ng g; ng n - ng ng; k n - k ng;
 rs - rh; l d - l l; l n - l l; n - h; s - t.

STANDARD	INTIMATE
p - k	
dapot <i>to get</i>	dakot
dapotan <i>in receipt of something</i>	dakotan
di Porsea <i>in Porsea</i>	i Korsea
dirimpu <i>thought</i>	iringku *
dua pulu <i>twenty</i>	dua kulu
gari apala <i>even though</i>	gari akala
garpu <i>fork</i>	garku
hape <i>whereas</i>	hake
hapengani <i>however</i>	hakengani
i pe <i>just now</i>	i ke
pamondut <i>swallower</i>	kamondut
pandorguhon <i>to hiccup</i>	kandorguhon
rupani <i>it seems</i>	rukani
sampulu <i>ten</i>	sangkulu *
sipanganon <i>food</i>	sikanganon
b - m	
ibana <i>he; she</i>	imana
n - t	
hulaning <i>really?</i>	hulating
r n (especially the possessive or agentive -na) - r r	
na ginararna <i>what he paid</i>	na ginararra
na sinoburna <i>what he drank up</i>	na sinoburra
mudarna <i>his blood</i>	mudarra
ala ni hodarna <i>because of its filthiness</i>	ala ni hodarra
!se goarna ? <i>What is his name?</i>	!se goarra ?
t n - t t	
atik nanggo <i>if at all</i>	ait tanggo

* mp is pronounced as pp, and ngk as kk in the SL.

STANDARD	INTIMATE
m d (especially with the emphatic do) — m b	
modom do <i>was asleep</i>	modom bo
huntam do <i>was shut</i> (about mouth)	huntam bo
tombon do <i>did bump</i>	tombom bo
ng d (especially with the emphatic do and the word <i>dope still</i>) ng g	
dung do <i>did happen</i>	dung go
adong do <i>there is</i>	aong go
adong dope <i>there still is</i>	aong gope
naeng do <i>was going to</i>	naeng go
adong di si <i>there exists there</i>	aong gi si
ng n — ng ng	
longang ni rohangku <i>my surprise</i>	longang ngi rohangku
lambungna <i>his side</i>	lambungnga
tondongna <i>his relatives</i>	tondongnga
lombangna <i>its ravine</i>	lombangnga
hampungna <i>its village headman</i>	hampungnga
k n — k ng	
terek ni uang satali <i>the difficulty of earning 25 cents</i>	terek ngi uang satali
burukburuk ni angkangna <i>cast-off clothing from his brother</i>	burukburuk ngi angkangnga
muruk ni na talu <i>the anger of a loser</i>	muruk ngi na talu
rs (especially with si) — rh	
marsipatu <i>wearing shoes</i>	marhipatu
marsiduadua <i>to have two wives</i>	marhiduadua
marsilobongan <i>clobbering each other</i>	marhilobongan
marsiadu <i>to compete</i>	marhiadu
l d (especially with the emphatic do) — l l	
ambal do <i>was different</i>	ambal lo
andul do <i>was prominent</i>	andul lo
hundul do <i>was sitting</i>	hundul lo
muntul do <i>did bounce</i>	muntul lo

STANDARD	INTIMATE
l n - l l	
Ambal ni nonang ma jolo. <i>By the way....</i>	Ambal li nonang ma jolo.
sompolsompolna <i>its plug</i>	sompolsompolla
parhundulna <i>the way he sits</i>	parhundulla
n - h	
nasida <i>they</i>	hasida
napuran <i>betel-leaf</i>	hapuran
naposo <i>servant</i>	haposo
s - t	
bustak <i>mud</i>	buntak *
sian <i>from</i>	tian **

(2) *Elision*: as can be expected, an intimate variety of a language tends to drop certain consonants. In intimate Toba-Batak the consonants which are frequently dropped are d, n, t, g and h:

d (especially, though not exclusively in the case of the passive prefix di- and the locative preposition di):

diantusi <i>understood</i>	iantusi
dipaboa <i>told</i>	ipaboa
diambolongkon <i>thrown away</i>	iambolongkon
disampathon <i>cast</i>	isampathon
dibuat bodil <i>shot dead</i>	ibuat bodil
didok rohangku <i>in my opinion</i>	idok rohangku
dipaboa ibana <i>he said</i>	ipaboa imana
dijaha nasida <i>they read</i>	ijaha asida
so diingot ibana <i>he does not remember</i>	so iingot imana
so diboto nasida <i>they do not know</i>	so iboto asida
di dia <i>where</i>	i dia
di si <i>there</i>	i si
adong <i>exist</i>	aong
molo dung do <i>when it is done</i>	molo ung go

* This form is now a SL variant, pronounced buttak.

** This form is further reduced to tan.

STANDARD	INTIMATE
initial n	
nasida <i>they</i>	asida
nunga <i>already</i>	unga
ninna <i>said</i>	inna
ndang <i>not, no</i>	dang *
nangkinng <i>just now</i>	angkinng
na niallengna <i>what he ate</i>	na iallangnga
t	
tagonan <i>preferably</i>	agonan *
timbang <i>to jump</i>	imbang
atik beha <i>just in case</i>	aik beha
g	
jagung <i>maize</i>	jaung
medial h	
beha <i>how</i>	bea
huroha <i>it seems</i>	huroa
(3) <i>Simplified affixation: the prefixes ni- and pi- undergo change in the following:</i>	
ni- — in-	
na nidokna <i>what he said</i>	na indokna
na nidohan <i>what one says</i>	na indohan
pi- — ni-	
pinaolooloan <i>obeyed</i>	nikaolooloan
(4) <i>Contraction is effected in the following:</i>	
nunga <i>already</i>	unga
molo dung do <i>if already</i>	molong go
ndada apala i <i>it was not actually that</i>	dada pala i
sian <i>from</i>	tan

* These are variants in the SL now.

STANDARD

INTIMATE

(5) *Syllabic inversion* (sometimes with variation) takes place in the following:

hansa mata <i>spectacles</i>	sangka mata
patar <i>clearly visible</i>	tapar
hunsi <i>key</i>	hinsu

(6) *Lexical change* is evident in the following:

holan <i>only</i>	hoin; hondal; mondal
pokrol <i>advocate</i>	pokonor
pokrol bambu <i>bush lawyer</i>	pokonor mambu
sian <i>from</i>	timan
gari <i>even</i>	salang
posoposo <i>baby</i>	pesepese
dope <i>as yet</i>	podo
olo <i>yes</i>	ong; ung; oung
atik <i>in case</i>	ait
lasiak <i>chilli</i>	lasinga

(7) *Amusing forms* are seen in the following loanwords:

juru tulis <i>clerk</i>	hujurtulluk *
pulpenhouder <i>fountain-pen</i>	pullupenhodar *

3. LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION

Lamentation takes place when a person is dying and during a ceremony prior to his burial. It is an expression of the deep feeling of loss. It is common to lament at the death of one's own wife,⁶ husband, son, daughter and a close friend, but people also lament at the death of their relations within the large extended family. In the old days people showed respect by lamenting at the death of their village headman or king.

This verbalisation of one's feeling of deep agony of bereavement takes the form of half-singing and half-recitation, using a special set of vocabulary and phrases.

The following are important requirements in lamentation: (1) its purpose is to relate the life history of the deceased truthfully; but it is important to underline the positive or good points only; (2) to show sympathy to those left

* Literally *stabbing lance* (cf. *pen-pusher*) and *messy pen*, evidently a cutting remark about white-collar workers and their paraphernalia.

behind by the deceased by reiterating their loss; (3) to emphasise the futility of man's efforts in the face of God's disposal to the contrary; (4) to honour the deceased and the people he left behind with a good performance, both linguistically and vocally.

Strict rules apply to the conduct of lamenters. Since the main purpose is to honour the deceased, respect, dignity and solemnity should at all times be observed.⁷ A saying expresses this point most strongly: *Maradat andung, marhata Debata To observe the rules of lamentation, to watch one's language when referring to God.*

The most reprehensible thing to do in a lamentation is to launch a veiled attack on others. This is called to conduct an *andung salik*,⁸ which is a clever use of what should be a solemn occasion to criticise or attack others. To put an end to such a disgraceful act, a more senior member of the community would usually be asked to intervene by starting a lamentation herself, but now in the proper and dignified manner that such a bereavement ceremony requires.

The linguistic rules of lamentation dictate that a lamenter must avoid as far as possible the use of ordinary words taken from the SL. In many instances, words from the respect vocabulary in the SL are adequate, and may indeed be the only ones that the lamenter can use. However, the specialist vocabulary of the LL is to be employed.⁹

The vocabulary of the LL consists mainly of nouns, adjectives and adverbs, although some verbs do also exist.

There are four distinct groups in this variety: (1) proverbial sayings; (2) attributive phrases to replace SL adjectives or adverbs; (3) personifying phrases to replace SL nouns, and (4) some verbs.

(1) *Proverbial Sayings* used instead of SL adjectives:

Here are some examples of this refined way of expressing quality or character:

Songon na hehe sian gambo ahu, songon na mungkap sian lombang i
I feel like a person who has got out of a quagmire, like a person who has climbed out of a ravine: I am relieved.

songon bondar na unong, songon gordang na polpol i
like a blocked canal, like a story that cannot be finished: stunned; unable to think clearly.

songon batu magulang, songon aek mabaor i
like a fallen rock and like water which has been drained: finished; nothing left (said especially about property or money)

songon hoda pinalua, songon giringan niromparhon
like a horse left to roam, like a spike thrown away: neglected; taken for granted; not appreciated.

songon anak ni manuk na sioksiok i
like young chicken crying for help: used to refer to orphans, or the members of a family left by the deceased.

marpungupungu songon siborok di guluan
to be together like tadpoles in a puddle: referring to unhappy and sad people huddled together.

songon sangge hinuntam, songon gansip na niodothon i
like a purse kept shut and like tongs squeezed: not allowed or not able to express an opinion.

(2) *Attributive phrases to replace SL adjectives or adverbs:*

didadang ari, diullus alogo
baked by the sun, swept by the wind: alive

maulibulung
to have good and healthy leaves: rich; respected; endowed with a large family

na ginjang na tarias
high and tall: tall (of a person)

mangganupi siarianan
to give each daily task its due: every day

manjorori siabornginan
to go systematically through each nightly task: every night

paubauba pasalinsalin
to shift one's position and to change one's appearance: unstable; fickle

marsitungkion
to bow one's head: to be sad; to be in mourning

The following intransitive verbs are used to mean *to die; dead*:
 magulang lit. *to roll down*; matompas lit. *to collapse*, of buildings, etc.;
 marobur lit. *to cave in*; malonglong lit. *to cave in*.

(3) *Personifying phrases to replace SL nouns:*

Many nouns in the LL consist only of one word, but prefixed with the personifying *si the one who; he who; the one called*: *simanangi the one who is the listener: ear (SL pinggol)*; *simanonggor the one who sees: eyes (SL mata)*; *simangido the one who asks for something: hand (SL tangan)* etc.

The following are more complex phrases:

sigongkonon bodari, sialapon manogot
the one who has to be invited at night, and to be met early in the morning: the headman, the king

tanduk so suharon, mata ni ari so dompahon i
the horn which cannot be reversed, the sun which cannot be faced directly: the great king, whom one cannot contradict

babiat di pintu, gompul di alaman
the one who is a tiger at the door and a bear in the streets: a powerful and wise king

parjagajaga di bibir, parpustaha di tolonan i
the one who is always watchful when speaking, and who has the books in his throat: a king or medicine-man who is a great speaker and debater

panggaduan na ginjang, lombulumbu na hapal i
the high wall and the heavy shield: the king; a great protector; one's patron and benefactor

siusung dolok na so ra sorat, siinum aek sampuran na so ra mogap i
the one who would not feel tired when carrying a mountain, and who would not get out of breath when drinking from a waterfall: a spoilt person; a person who always gets what he wants.

tambar daon aluk, sira daon impol i
medicine against frustration, salt to satisfy one's craving: cold comfort
 na hinunti madabu, na tineatea magulang i
that which was carried on the head and fell, and that which was carried on one's hand and rolled off: a very dear one who is dead.

halak na jaluk marabit, na haloat mangkuling
a person who dresses in a 'left-handed' fashion and who speaks inarticulately: a stranger; a foreigner.

(4) Verbals.

Verbals are very limited in number. They are formed by the prefix mar- or marsi- :

marsilungunon
to lament (from lungun saddening)

marsinunuton
lament continually (from nunut to work or proceed slowly but surely)

marsimangkudap
to have a chat; to be in conference (from simangkudap that which smacks: mouth)

marsileapon
to perform a ritualistic dance during a bereavement (from sileapon suffering)

marsirumata bulung
to chew betel-leaf (from sirumata bulung green leaf; betel-leaf)

4. MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE

The datu is a priest-doctor, whose duties are essentially religious, medical or educational in character. Although the present-day datu does not enjoy the prominence and esteem that his predecessors had, he is still active in the villages of the Toba-Batak region. His main activity is probably now medical more than anything else, but his advice is still sought in order to find a lost person or object, in order to identify a criminal, to decide upon an auspicious day, and in a few cases to communicate with spirits.

The linguistic variety used by the datu in his work is here called Medico-Magic Language (MML). It can be read in its written form in bark manuscripts (pustaha).

The specific vocabulary of the MML consists almost exclusively of nouns. Other parts of speech are taken from the SL, especially from the respect vocabulary of that variety. The MML also shares a number of lexical items with the LL.

Personification is the main characteristic of this linguistic variety. Since inanimate objects and non-humans are believed to have spirits,¹⁰ they are entitled to the respect that distinguished human beings normally enjoy. Thus, rather than calling an object in a direct manner by its common name in the SL, the datu uses an appellation or title in the form of a descriptive phrase. The phrase may begin with *si the one who; he who; the one called*. It may also begin with other honorifics like 'Miss', 'mother of' or 'King'.

The vocabulary can be divided into eleven groups, nine of them using a personifier or honorific: (1) *si the one who; he who; the one called*; (2) *boru Miss*; (3) *nan or nai mother of*; (4) *deang or dayang young maiden*; (5) *purti Princess*; (6) *naga lord mythical serpent*; (7) *tuan lord; master*; (8) *aji hero; knight; lord*; (9) *raja King; lord*; (10) terms without honorific; and (11) non-substantives:

(1) *si*:

- si pondok the one with short legs*: SL *babi pig*
- si marngingik di tonga talun the one who squeaks in the middle of the fallow land*: SL *bagudung mouse; rat*
- si rumia horning the one who is gladly shared by all*: SL *indahan boiled rice*
- si rumimpang the one whose parts are intertwined*: SL *hunik; pege turmeric; ginger*
- si tapion the one who should be respected*: SL *boru daughter*
- si radang the one sought after*: SL *timbango tobacco*

(2) *boru or si boru*:

- si boru deang sinsalsinsal the critical young lady*: SL *boru ni na sangap daughter of a nobleman*
- si boru marpinda omas the lady where gold changes hands, referring to a field as the source of livelihood*: SL *peapea wet field*
- si boru purtipurti the lady princess*: SL *gambiri candlenut*
- si boru na birong panuatan, sitabo utauta the dark lady, source of things, whose disgorgement is tasty*: SL *hudon cooking pot*

(3) *nan or nai* (usually used to refer to objects related to the preparation of meals):

- nan tunggu tiga the three ladies expecting things*: SL *dalihan na tolu the three rocks used as a cooking stand*
- nai basang basuhi mother of the rectangular fireplace; mother of the spirit of the fireplace*: SL *tatarang fireplace*

(4) deang, dayang or si deang:

si deang halasan *the young maiden with a lot of warmth*: SL tatarang *fire-place*

si deang gumarisik *the young maiden who moves around playfully*: SL dengke *fish*

si deang tumalas *the young maiden which is spread out and open*: SL amak panjomuran *mat used for drying rice in the sun*

si deang haruaran *the young maiden through whom one goes out*: SL harbangan *village gate*

si deang sampurborna *the multicoloured young maiden*: SL bunga pansur *plant with red and white flowers*

(5) purti (usually used in combination with the honorifics deang or boru):

si deang purti ni aji *the young maiden, daughter of the lord*: SL napuran *betel-leaf* (especially when used in an oracle)

si boru purtipurti *the lady princess*: SL gambiri *candlenut*

(6) naga:

naga partumpuan *the lord serpent in whom all come together*: SL bungkulan *ridge of roof*

naga tumording *the lord serpent in alignment*: SL urur *rafter*

tuan naga tumotap *the lord serpent in perfect alignment*: SL papan *floorboard*

naga tumulaktulak *the lord serpent wind- and rain-catcher*: SL jenggar *projecting part of roof*

naga rumurus *the lord serpent who has subsided*: SL na matolbak *landslide*

(7) tuan:

tuan sumerham *the lord glorious*: SL habinsaran *the east*

tuan sumindang *the lord erect*: SL daging *body; torso*

tuan si ojir *the lord rain*: SL aek udan *rainwater*

tuan naga tumotap *the lord serpent in perfect alignment*: SL papan *floorboard*

(8) aji or si aji:

si aji paninaran *the knight, who is a place for drying things*: SL salean
rack over fireplace

si aji marruang porhis *the knight with a hole as small as an ant*: SL sarune
trumpet; horn

(9) raja or si raja:

raja martingguang di dolok *the king who booms on the hills*: SL doal *small*
gong

si raja sumbaho *the smoothed king*: SL pandingdingan *wall-planks of a rice-*
shed

raja manubung dolok *the king who pierces the hills with his voice*: SL imbo
a kind of screaming monkey

si raja parpungan *the king with whom everything is deposited*: SL parapara
rack in which to keep things

raja mangande dangka *the king hanging on branches*: SL bodat *monkey*

si raja onangkat di ruangruang, parbajubaju bosu *his majesty who lives in*
holes, with his iron coat: SL ilik *lizard*

(10) Terms without honorific:

parpadangan: SL parhutaan *settlement*

mardomuata: SL pining *areca nut*

garunggang jau: SL timbaho *imported tobacco*

parsiangan: SL hamailaan ni baosa *male genitals*

anggundea: SL pinasa *jackfruit*

tarajuan: SL butuha na mapitung *intestinal appendix*

na mangolu di ruangruang, parmise na songon jarum *the one living in holes,*
with a moustache like a needle: SL sibahut *catfish*

(11) Non-substantives:

matinda: SL mate *to die; dead*

tidang: SL ndang adong *not there; non-existent*

patasimangot: SL mamele ompu *to give offerings to the clan ancestor*

5. CODESWITCHING, CODEMIXING AND INTERVARIETY TRANSFER

Codeswitching frequently takes place during a conversation. Hence it is common practice to switch to the SL from the IL as soon as a stranger or a senior person joins the group engaged in conversation. Codemixing, which is the careless confusion of two or more linguistic varieties, is regarded as bad style. Thus a conversation conducted in the SL must never be interspersed with lexical items taken from the IL. Conversely, whenever proverbial sayings from the LL are used in the SL, the speech or piece of writing is regarded as affected style or inappropriately flowery.

Transfer of lexical items between varieties, however, does occur over a period of time. Mention has been made above of the IL words *dang* (SL *ndang*), *agonan* (SL *tagonan*) and *buntak* (SL *bustak*), which have now been accepted as variants in the SL. The word *simanjung* is now also used as a respect term in the SL and not exclusively in the LL for *ulu head*. The MML also shares a number of lexical items with the LL, such as *si lomlom di robean* *the dark one on the hillside*: SL *lombu cow*; *cattle*.

NOTES

1. About the emphasis placed on the efficacy of speech, see also Vergouwen 1964:95ff.
2. I consider the more general term 'variety' more appropriate here, whereas others might prefer the term 'register'.
3. See Hariara 1968:77. One can still distinguish further small varieties: the Language of Thieves (*Hata ni Panangko*) and the Language of Warfare (*Hata Parmusuon*) which, together with some other vocabularies used by fishermen and hunters, are not sufficiently significant to warrant separate classification as linguistic varieties in the sense used here. Only five lexical items are referred to as Language of Warfare in Warneck 1977.
4. It would be interesting to find out whether the phonological character of the IL has its origins in the inexperienced stages of a child's articulative development, or in the inevitably slurred speech of half-inebriated palm-wine drinkers.

One can speculate that young children, growing up under the care of betel-chewing grandmothers who cannot properly pronounce labials acquire and retain this habit until they are taught otherwise at school. (cf. Farid Onn and Simanjuntak in *TICAL* 2:278-279.) Van der Tuuk (1971:12) noted that the *p* was unpronounceable by some people living near Lake Toba.

5. It is a moot point whether the changes have taken place over the years *towards* the SL rather than *away from* it.
6. It is often erroneously thought that only women participate in lamentations. This is definitely not so, although men may engage in them less frequently.

7. When uttering something awkward and untoward about a dead person, a Batak would say as an aside immediately afterwards: *Na so binege ni simangotna I hope his spirit did not hear it.*
8. From the verb *manalik* to say something hateful or inappropriate about somebody in a disguised manner.
9. The slight decline in the frequency of lamentations nowadays must at least in part be ascribed to the decline of this linguistic art among modern Bataks. An imperfect knowledge of the LL vocabulary can easily give a farcical turn to a lamentation.

In one religious instance the LL was used most effectively in a special afternoon service to celebrate Good Friday in 1971 in the Batak church in Pematang Siantar. See Sihombing 1971. Members of the congregation were most impressed by the efficacy and solemnity of the service.

10. See Tobing 1956:94ff.

APPENDIX

The following is a list of Standard Language (SL) words or phrases with their equivalents in the Language of Lamentation (LL) and/or Medico-Magic Language (MML)

When the same word or phrase is used for both the LL and the MML, the translation is given under the LL only.

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
abara <i>shoulders</i>	¹ <i>sitangkingon the ones to carry things;</i>	—
	² <i>situmalha the ones arranged in tiers</i>	
abit <i>clothes</i>	¹ <i>sait; saop things to wear;</i>	—
	² <i>saop ni sitipahon the cloth that one weaves</i>	
aek <i>water</i>	¹ <i>sibangkion; sibongkion springwater;</i>	—
	² <i>sitarison the one that one should level;</i>	
	³ <i>si lumanlan the large stretch;</i>	
	⁴ <i>simalumalum the cool one;</i>	
	⁵ <i>aek sorba jati totally pure water</i>	

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
æk tabar <i>fresh water</i>	—	æk sorba jati <i>totally pure water</i>
æk udan <i>rainwater</i>	—	tuan si ojir <i>the lord rain</i>
ahu I	—	ibanguku diri <i>oneself</i>
alaman <i>village compound</i>	¹ siagalangan; sihalangan <i>the place for hospitality</i>	—
	² antaran na bidang <i>the wide stretch</i>	
Alap ma nang ahu! <i>Take me, too! (said to the spirit of the deceased)</i>	Parsiulahi ahu songon na tading i, parsibalihi ahu songon na manaili tu pudi i <i>Come back again for me, who is staying back here; turn around to look at me, who is also looking back.</i>	—
aleale <i>friend</i>	sirundaon <i>the one to be guided</i>	—
ama <i>father</i>	na marsinuan <i>the one who cultivates</i>	—
ama naung marianakkon <i>a man who already has children</i>	ama parsinuan tunas <i>a man who has planted a shoot</i>	—
amak; lage mat	rindang sibalunon <i>a token which has to be rolled up</i>	—
amak panjomuran <i>mat used for drying rice in the sun</i>	—	si deang tumalas <i>the young maiden spread out in the sun</i>
amang boru <i>father's sister's husband</i>	¹ amang sibijaon <i>the man with whom one conspires;</i> ² amang silungbane <i>the man with whom one shares</i>	—
ampang <i>rice-basket</i>	—	sitahang di balena <i>the one always ready with a measuring tin</i>
ampodi <i>large bamboo-rat</i>	rahar bulu <i>the one that makes plants wither</i>	—
anak son	sinuan tunas <i>the offshoot</i>	—
anak ni tangga <i>rungs of a ladder; steps</i>	—	si deang martinditindi <i>the young maidens, the one on top of the other</i>
anak parjalang <i>a son who has left to settle elsewhere</i>	—	sitindaon <i>the dead one</i>

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
anak sasada <i>an only child</i>	¹ na songon sagak ni panabian <i>the one who is like a rice- shoot on a harvested field;</i> ² songon halakhalak na tarpunjung, songon tandiang na hapuloan <i>like a scarecrow standing on its own, like a tree-fern stranded on an island</i>	—
andalu <i>rice-powder</i>	—	si deang tumadoa <i>the young maiden who works on, obliv- ous of everything</i>
andor; hotang <i>liana;</i> <i>rattan</i>	—	naga panjalap <i>the lord serpent, who holds things</i>
andung <i>lamentation</i>	siluluton <i>the one that goes on and on</i>	—
anduri <i>winnow</i>	—	garege <i>the one which is worked hard</i>
anggi <i>younger sibling</i>	sialosan; siadosan; sialasan <i>the one to whom one must respond</i>	—
ansimun <i>cucumber</i>	pangalambohi <i>the one to calm you down</i>	—
api <i>fire</i>	si gumorgor <i>the roaring one</i>	ai aji marhirlohirlo <i>the knight who is aflicker</i>
apulapul <i>consolation</i>	sobosobo ni na lungun <i>some- thing to calm down a sad person</i>	—
ari <i>day; daylight</i>	siarianan; siharianan <i>what is spent in the daytime</i>	—
ari parudan <i>rainy day</i>	si rumondo <i>the rainy one</i>	—
arsak <i>sadness</i>	sidangolon <i>what has to be borne</i>	—
ateate <i>liver; heart</i>	silamoton; silameton <i>the smooth one</i>	—
babi; aili <i>pig;</i> <i>wild pig</i>	¹ si mardokdak di nambur <i>the one who smacks with his tongue out in the mist;</i> ² si marnangkat di nambur <i>the one who shoots off in the morning-mist;</i> ³ si maranakanak ni nambur <i>child of the morning-mist</i>	¹ si pondok <i>the one with the short legs;</i> ² si babolon <i>the huge one;</i> ³ si pabundat <i>the one who moves slowly</i>
babiat <i>tiger</i>	si marinte di dolok <i>the one who waits in the hills</i>	pong pang bala saribu <i>the one who stops a thousand men</i>

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
bagot <i>sugar palm</i>	¹ si lumambe bulung <i>the one with young yellow leaves</i> ² si lumambe hodong <i>the one with yellow ribs</i>	—
bagudung <i>mouse; rat</i>	—	¹ si lasang <i>the majestic one;</i> ² si leseng <i>the sarcastic one;</i> ³ si marngingik di tonga talun <i>the one who squeaks in the middle of the fallow land</i>
bahenon <i>to be carried out</i>	—	jualan
baion <i>pandanus strip</i>	siputihon; rindang siputihon <i>something that has to be picked</i>	—
bajubaju <i>shirt; jacket</i>	saep sipoholon <i>a cloth to hold on to</i>	soluhon <i>the one to put on</i>
baju pendek <i>short blouse</i>	simanulpang <i>the one that perches</i>	—
balga <i>big</i>	magodang panaguan <i>large in content</i>	—
bao <i>wife's brother's wife; husband's sister's husband</i>	sisumbaon <i>the one who should be respected</i>	—
baringin <i>banyan tree</i>	—	sipulang bariba <i>the one who returns on his own; the solitary one</i>
baringin naung <i>robirobian a very old banyan tree</i>	—	sambang so suda <i>the one which is never out of season</i>
baringin sanggulsanggul ni panortor <i>banyan-twig worm on the head when performing a ritual dance</i>	—	si rumadang <i>the one which is always sought after</i>
barita; hatahata <i>news; gossip</i>	—	tonjatonja <i>visitations</i>
batang ni hau <i>felled tree-trunks</i>	tuan rumedang <i>the quiet and unmoving lord</i>	—
batu na gukguk <i>a heap of stones</i>	—	ulubalang na hohom <i>the quiet warriors</i>
bere <i>sister's son; sister's daughter</i>	sibijaon <i>the one to conspire with</i>	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
biang <i>dog</i>	¹ siteuon <i>the one with the sad eyes</i> ² si marpangpang di jabu <i>the one who stays indoors</i>	siteuon
bibir <i>lips</i>	sitalbeon <i>the one which protrudes</i>	—
binatang di aek <i>creatures living in water</i>	¹ gulok ni sibongkihon; gulok-gulok ni sibongkihon <i>the worms of water</i> ² ulok ni sibongkihon <i>the snakes of water</i>	—
bindoran <i>chameleon</i>	—	bursikbursik <i>the one to spit upon (during a ritual ceremony)</i>
bintang <i>star</i>	sihumirlo <i>the one that twinkles</i>	sihumirlo
bodat <i>monkeys and apes</i>	—	¹ raja mangande dangka <i>the king hanging on branches</i> ² na mora di dangka <i>the rich gentleman on the branches</i>
'bodil <i>gun</i>	¹ sirumonggur <i>the thunder;</i> ² siteaon <i>the one to hold up;</i> ³ si tenggar di banua <i>the one with an aim in the land</i>	—
bohi <i>face</i>	si mangarudok	—
bolon <i>heavily built</i>	na bolon na barombom <i>large and rotund</i>	—
bonang <i>thread</i>	siudoron <i>the one which is to be spun</i>	—
boraspati <i>wall-lizard</i>	—	siruru <i>the one who should slide down</i>
borngin <i>night</i>	sihabornginan <i>what is spent at night-time</i>	—
boru <i>daughter</i>	sinuan beu <i>the loved one</i>	sitapion <i>the one who should be respected</i>
boru ni na sangap <i>daughter of a nobleman</i>	—	si boru deang sinsalsinsal <i>the critical young lady</i>
botabota <i>rice-grain which is still not unhusked during stamping</i>	—	si aji marsegesege <i>the knight who eludes selection</i>

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
bubu <i>fish-trap</i>	sijalinon <i>the one to spin</i>	—
buhabuha ijuk <i>dawn</i> ; urmun <i>sunset</i>	si ala manotari <i>the one providing an interval</i>	—
bulan <i>moon</i>	si rumondang <i>the one that shines</i>	—
bulan <i>month</i>	si rumondang bulan <i>the moon that shines</i>	ari na tolu pulu <i>the thirty days</i>
bulu <i>bamboo</i>	¹ situlison <i>the one to be engraved</i> ; ² sisuraton <i>the one to be written upon</i>	—
bulungbulung <i>leaf</i>	si rumata bulung <i>green leaf</i>	—
bulung motung 'motung'- <i>leaf, one side of which is white; often used as plates</i>	—	¹ pinggan puti harangan <i>the large white plate of the forest</i> ; ² saoan puti <i>the white bowl</i>
bulu sisuraton <i>type of bamboo, suitable for writing correspondence on</i>	boru ni situlison <i>daughter of the one to be engraved</i>	—
bunga pansur <i>plant with red and white flowers</i>	—	si deang sampurborna <i>the multicoloured young maiden</i>
bungkulan <i>ridge of roof</i>	si naga partumpuan <i>the lord serpent, in whom all come together</i>	si naga partumpuan
butuha <i>stomach</i>	¹ boltok <i>the round part</i> ; ² siubeon; sihubeon <i>the inner part</i>	—
butuha na mapitung <i>intestinal appendix</i>	—	tarajuan <i>the one that is turned up</i>
dahanon <i>husked rice</i>	¹ sisaburon <i>the ones to be spread around</i> ; ² siringgiton <i>the ones to be exchanged with money</i>	—
dainang <i>my mother</i>	¹ ina na mangintubu <i>the woman who brought me to this world</i> ² inang na marbeu ahu <i>mother who loves me (said by a male)</i>	—
dakdanak na simbur dagingna <i>a child who is growing up fast</i>	songon tubis na tumandok, songon tumbur ni siala na bolon i <i>like a bamboo-shoot growing large in the soil, like a large 'siala' shoot</i>	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
dakdanak na so marama so marina <i>orphans; members of the family left by the deceased</i>	songon anak ni manuk na sioksiok <i>like a young chicken crying for help</i>	—
dalihan na tolu <i>three rocks used as a cooking stand</i>	nan tunggu tiga <i>the three ladies waiting for things</i>	nan tunggu tiga
damang <i>father</i>	ama na marsinuan; ama na sumuan ahu <i>the man who planted me</i>	—
damar <i>resin</i>	—	tidoan <i>the one which has to be searched for</i>
dengke <i>fish</i>	¹ sibongkion <i>the water creature;</i> ² urat ni hapongkion; urat ni sipongkion <i>the vein of water;</i> ³ urat ni nai bongkihon <i>the vein of the mother of water;</i> ⁴ gulokgulok ni aek sibongkihon <i>the worms of water</i>	si deang gumarisik; si deang gumaristik <i>the young maiden who moves around playfully</i>
desa <i>points of the compass</i>	—	panggorda na ualu <i>the eight astrological deities</i>
Dibobok dihilala ala ni hinamago i <i>to feel like being in a straitjacket because of the bereavement</i>	dijambak songon jambulan i, ditimpus songon panihat i <i>like forelock grabbed, and like mortal remains thrust in a bag</i>	—
dila <i>tongue</i>	simarhuat <i>the one that probes</i>	—
Di mulana denggan, hape di pudi gabe hinamago <i>good at the outset, but things turn bad later on</i>	na jagar di molangon, songon eme sibaboan i <i>one which is exceptionally beautiful like rice-plants before weeding- time</i>	—
Dipabaris manang piga na mate sian ibana asa ditanom <i>several bodies arranged for burial</i>	songon ogung pinarunggu, na songon taganing pinatur i <i>like gongs assembled, like drums neatly arranged</i>	—
dipasombu <i>neglected;</i> ndang diargahon <i>taken for granted;</i> ndang dipekkon <i>not heeded</i>	songon hoda pinalua, songon giringan niromparhon i <i>like a horse left to roam, like a spike thrown away</i>	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
Dirungkai sidangolon naung salpu <i>to open up old wounds; to remind one of previous miseries</i>	dibuhai songon luhutan i, dirungkai songon parrambuan i <i>turned upside down like stacks of harvested rice, investigated like a garbage-bin</i>	—
Ditambahi arsak naung adong hian <i>to have more trouble on top of existing ones</i>	situnjang na rugut, sidegehon na ompas <i>the one who kicks a person who has stumbled, and who stands on a person who is down</i>	—
doal <i>small gong</i>	—	raja martingguang di dolok <i>the king who booms on the hills</i>
dolok <i>mountain</i>	¹ dolok sinabung <i>the challenging mountain;</i> ² simanabung <i>the challenger</i>	naga sihabuntulan <i>the lord serpent with a bulge</i>
dongan sabutuha <i>people of the same 'marga'; fellow clansmen</i>	si mardung ni bulunta <i>the ones sharing the same bamboo-hedge</i>	—
dorpi <i>wall of house</i>	—	¹ si deang pangunsandean <i>the young maiden against whom to lean</i> ² si raja sumanderasandera <i>the leaning king</i>
dos <i>equal; suman similar</i>	martinondong martinudu <i>to be related and to share the same symbols</i>	—
dugul <i>knee</i>	si dagal <i>the knob</i>	—
duhutduhut <i>weed in rice-field</i>	¹ pangkat; ² siluhuton; silumuhut <i>the ones to collect</i>	naga tumotap <i>the lord serpent ever-present</i>
duhutduhut pulungan taoar <i>medicinal herbs</i>	—	si pursara ni langit, si pusara ni tano <i>the cure for heaven and earth</i>
duma <i>rich; to occupy an important position</i>	—	¹ marbunga nasi <i>with blooms of rice;</i> ² marompon na so hasigean <i>to have a rice-silo whose top cannot be reached with a ladder</i>
eda <i>brother's wife; husband's sister</i>	sialosan; siadosan; sialasan <i>the one to whom one must respond</i>	—

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eme <i>unhusked rice</i>	paigon <i>the one that one has to toil for</i>	bunga padi <i>flower of rice</i>
eme <i>rice-plant</i>	si gumorsing <i>the golden</i>	padi
eme na boltok <i>rice which has developed ears</i>	—	si raja marsigalang <i>the king who is feasting</i>
gabe <i>blessed with many children</i>	na toga; matoga <i>respected</i>	—
gadong jurur <i>sweet potato</i>	andor siramoson <i>the creeper with plenty of fruit</i>	—
gading <i>ivory bangle</i>	sijagaron <i>the pretty one</i>	—
gambir <i>Uncaria gambir leaf</i>	—	marlopien <i>arranged systematically</i>
gambiri <i>candle-nut</i>	—	si boru purtipurti <i>the lady princess</i>
gana <i>oath</i>	asiasi tinimpus <i>grace which is shrouded in secrecy</i>	—
ganup ari <i>every day</i>	mangganupi siarianan <i>to give each daily task its due</i>	—
ganup borngin <i>everynight</i>	manjorori siabornginan <i>to go systematically through each nightly task</i>	—
gaol <i>banana</i>	siaunon <i>the one to swing around</i>	—
gara ni api di sipusipu <i>glowing firewood</i>	¹ silaiton <i>the one to burn</i> ² sinahiton <i>the one that burns steadily</i>	—
ginjang rias <i>tall (of a person)</i>	na ginjang na tarias <i>high and prominent</i>	—
godang <i>plentiful</i>	magodang panaguan <i>large in content</i>	—
Gok pangkilalaan ala ni hinamago i <i>I feel as if I cannot breathe because of my misery</i>	Mabuk so minum ahu, butong so marpiogon i <i>I am drunk and I have not had any drink, I feel sated, and I have not eaten</i>	—
golanggalang <i>armband</i>	rindang sililiton <i>a token to be twisted around the arm</i>	—
goligoli <i>seat in a dugout canoe</i>	si amak pandan <i>the pandanus mat</i>	—
gompang mangingani dohot pauliulihon <i>to stay in one place watching over and looking after the deceased</i>	songon tungko ni solu, songon garut di panabian i <i>like a mooring-post for a canoe, like rice-stumps after harvest</i>	—

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gonting <i>hip</i>	siholtingon <i>the one to keep tight</i>	—
gordang <i>large drum</i>	¹ si rumonda <i>the one that brings the crowd;</i>	—
	² simarjojong <i>the one with the heavy boom</i>	—
gundur <i>pumpkin</i>	pangalumi <i>the cooling agent</i>	—
guriguri <i>medicine-pot</i>	—	sirengrung <i>parmiahan the oil-pot that clinks</i>
habinsaran <i>the east</i>	—	tuan sumerham <i>the lord glorious</i>
haha <i>elder sibling</i>	sialosan; siadosan; sialasan <i>the one to whom one must respond</i>	—
hailaan ni baa <i>male genital organ</i>	situmorjok <i>the one standing erect</i>	parsiangan <i>the originator</i>
hailaan ni boru-boru <i>female genital organ</i>	situmeok <i>the one asking to be blessed with child</i>	—
hajut hadanghadangan <i>handbag</i>	¹ saep sipistuhon <i>a cloth bag with decorative holes;</i>	—
	² rindang siputihon <i>something to pick up</i>	—
halak (class-word for people); <i>person</i>	¹ si mardung <i>the one(s) already there;</i>	—
	² si mardum <i>the one who eats just plain rice</i>	—
halakhalak <i>scarecrow</i>	—	si raja rampasan <i>the master over intruders</i>
halak na asing <i>stranger;</i> bangso na asing <i>foreigner</i>	halak na jaluk marabit, na haloat mangkuling i <i>a person who dresses in a 'left-handed' fashion, and who speaks in-articulately</i>	—
halak na olo mangondihon halak na metmet jala na lea <i>protector of the weak and the humble</i>	pangalualuan ni na bile, pangompasan ni na maliali i <i>where the miserable come for protection and where the unlucky come to throw themselves</i>	—
halak na sirang-sirangon <i>a person trying to get a divorce; ndang hot untrustworthy;</i> mambalambal <i>fickle</i>	songon limut di aek simumbalmumbal i <i>like weed floating around in water</i>	—

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halak na tarpasaut lomo ni rohana <i>a person who always gets what he wants</i>	siusung dolok na so ra sorat, siinum aek na so ra mogap i <i>the one who would not feel tired when carrying a mountain, and who would not get out of breath when drinking from a waterfall</i>	—
halak na tuk bisuk dohot haadonganna <i>a wise and rich man, who needs no help from others</i>	na pande so tuturon, na gogo so urupan <i>a skilful person who needs no organising, and a strong man who needs no help</i>	—
halak si ginjang roha <i>a haughty person</i>	partali ganjang so haduduran, partalun bolak so haulaan <i>the one with rope which cannot be reeled in, and with land which cannot be cultivated</i>	—
halang ulu <i>sleeping section of a house</i>	parpidoan <i>the place which beckons</i>	—
halehetanna <i>in balanced proportions</i>	magodang so maotik <i>not too large and not too small</i>	—
haluang <i>flying fox</i>	—	sirumambang di langit <i>the one spreading it- self in the sky</i>
hamatean <i>death</i>	¹ siroburon; haroburan <i>the abyss;</i> ² halonglongan <i>where one sinks into;</i> ³ padang silungunon <i>the lonely field;</i> ⁴ toru ni situmandok <i>under the grave</i>	—
hamatean na tompu <i>sudden death</i>	na so hinirimhirim, na so panagaman i <i>the one which is not hoped for, nor expected</i>	—
hambing <i>goat</i>	siulangon <i>the one that grazes on fallow land</i>	—
hapur <i>lime</i>	—	¹ sirumonang na laga <i>the clear and angry one;</i> ² si boru rista holbung <i>lady lime in the valley;</i> ³ na galetongan <i>the one that is itchy all over</i>
haramoja <i>type of melon</i>	situmandi <i>the prominent one</i>	—
haraparon <i>starvation; poverty</i>	siraparon <i>the one who is hungry</i>	—

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harbangan <i>village gate</i>	—	si deang haruaran <i>the young maiden through whom one goes out</i>
hasiangan <i>the world</i>	si ulubalang ari <i>the one in command of the day</i>	—
hau <i>tree</i>	—	¹ tuan di hasaingan <i>the lord who is always in friction with his fellows;</i> ² naga sihatimbulan <i>the lord serpent standing out</i>
hauma <i>rice-field</i>	¹ bonggaran; sibonggaran <i>the one which has to be broken up;</i> ² tonga ni lobongon <i>centre of sowing;</i> ³ tonga lobongon marsibonggaran <i>centre of sowing which has been broken up;</i> ⁴ parpaiogonan <i>where one has to toil</i>	—
hela <i>son-in-law</i>	¹ ama na hubalos <i>the man I have responded to;</i> ² na binalos <i>the one to whom one has responded</i>	—
hepeng <i>money</i>	¹ si humisik <i>the jingler;</i> ² riar <i>the restless one;</i> ³ siriaron <i>the restless one</i>	—
hesek <i>gong, used to give the beat in an orchestra</i>	—	¹ si aji marringoringo <i>the knight with the loud voice;</i> ² si aji rumingo <i>the loud knight</i>
hinambor <i>grave-mound</i>	gugung <i>the one which is raised</i>	—
Hira so tarusung be sitaonon i <i>My misery seems to be unbearable</i>	Loja so marusungusung ahu, boratan so marboanboan i <i>I am tired and I have not carried anything, things are heavy and yet I am not carting anything</i>	—
hoda <i>horse</i>	¹ si jambe ihur; si jumambe ihur <i>the one with falling tail</i> ² si gontam di banua <i>the one that frightens the land</i>	silindangan <i>the one with spots</i>

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hohos <i>belt</i>	simanitik <i>the one that holds fast</i>	simanitik
holan godangan sihataon <i>a person who is the object of gossip</i>	sipagodang hataon, so ada pujion i <i>the one who increases the amount of gossip and who has nothing in him to praise</i>	—
holan hinamago nama mardapotdapot siholsohononhon <i>there is only continuous suffering to bear</i>	Talaga panduduran ahu, hudon ni babi parimpuan i <i>I am the drain in the house and the cooking-pot for pigs' food</i>	—
Holan mangapian nama tu halak na so marhinamago i <i>It remains now to envy those not beset by misery</i>	Loja mangapian ahu, ngalutan manudosi i <i>I am exhausted as I envy people, and feeling miserable from comparing myself with others</i>	—
holan satongkin tarpuji jala tandi, hape pintor mate <i>to be honoured and prominent for a while and then died</i>	na mangilas songon harimborbor, na maindo songon eme siganjang rungkung i <i>showing signs of imminent death with beauty like the 'harimborbor' insect, bowing low like long-eared rice</i>	—
hole <i>oar</i>	si bulung bira <i>the taro-leaf</i>	—
horbo <i>water-buffalo</i>	¹ si limatok <i>the leech;</i> ² silumatahon <i>the one hit on the body;</i> ³ sirumanggas di padang <i>the one that stands out in the field</i>	sirumanggas di padang
horis <i>creese</i>	sirumantos <i>the sharp one</i>	—
hotang rattan	—	naga rumambit <i>the lord serpent who is very tough</i>
hot jala togu <i>consistent and with a strong will</i>	—	matangkang majuara <i>ready to defend one's beliefs and to protect others</i>
hotorhotor <i>network of ropes used to pull bells and tins to scare birds away from a field</i>	—	si deang martali rundut <i>the young maiden with ropes in disarray</i>
hudon <i>cooking-pot</i>	—	si boru na birong panuatan, sitabo utauta <i>the dark lady, source of things, whose disgorgement is tasty</i>
hujur lance	sirumantos <i>the sharp one</i>	—

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hulahula <i>wife-giving family</i>	simarimbun <i>the family where everyone assembles</i>	—
hum rohana <i>to have the heart to do something</i>	barani pulut	—
hundulan <i>buttocks</i>	siamburuk <i>the one which releases air</i>	—
hundulhundul <i>to sit around for a chat</i>	marsijuguhon	—
hunik <i>turmeric-root</i>	si rumimpang <i>the one whose parts are intertwined</i>	si rumimpang
huta <i>village</i>	¹ lobuan na godang <i>the large assembly-place;</i> ² tonga ni asean <i>centre of worship;</i> ³ tuktuk pangadosan <i>the cape where people respond to one another</i>	si deang partumpuran <i>the young maiden into whom people crowd</i>
ianakkon <i>son; daughter</i>	boras ni siubeon <i>the fruit of one's womb</i>	—
iboto <i>brother; sister</i>	¹ si raja ibot; ² raja ni ibotna; ³ si tuan ni ibotna;	—
igung <i>nose</i>	¹ simanganggo <i>the one used to smell something;</i> ² siputoron <i>the one to turn</i>	—
ilik <i>lizard</i>	—	si raja onkat di ruangruang, parbajubaju bosu <i>his majesty who lives in holes, with his iron coat</i>
ilu di tingki mangandung <i>tears shed during a lamentation</i>	¹ sibongkion; sibangkihon <i>water;</i> ² tapiian pardangolan <i>water of suffering</i>	si ari mojan <i>the day when one's breath is short</i>
imbo <i>a kind of screaming monkey</i>	—	raja manubung dolok <i>the king who pierces the hills with his voice</i>
ina <i>mother</i>	¹ na mangintubu <i>the one who gives birth;</i> ² na umbeu <i>the one who loves</i>	—
ina na marbabo <i>a woman who is weeding in the field</i>	—	si raja mungkit monggal <i>her majesty who goes up and down and sways about</i>

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ina naung mardakdanak <i>a woman who has borne a child</i>	ina parsinuan beu <i>a woman who has established love</i>	—
indahan <i>boiled rice</i>	¹ paigon <i>the one for which one has to toil;</i> ² nasi; ³ indahan jorajora <i>food as a pledge for improvement</i>	si rumia <i>horning the one who is gladly shared by all</i>
indahan na ginasingkon <i>boiled rice left on low fire to dry</i>	—	si aji marsalasa <i>the knight basking in the warmth</i>
itak <i>flour</i>	sigurguron <i>the one which has to be steamed</i>	—
jabu <i>house</i>	¹ sigalangan; sihagalangan; pargalanggalan <i>a place for hospitality;</i> ² isian ni hagalangan; sianniagalangan; <i>the re- pository of hospitality;</i> ³ parbidoan	¹ bondul; ² ruma na marampang na marjual <i>a house with a rice-basket and where there is rice;</i> ³ si baganding tua <i>the colourful and the old;</i> ⁴ jorojoro na godang <i>a large temple</i>
jagal <i>meat</i>	sitangoan <i>the one to be chopped up</i>	—
jagung <i>maize</i>	¹ sirumondang <i>the one to be roasted;</i> ² sipinjoton <i>the one which is full of grains</i>	—
jarijari <i>fingers</i>	sirimpur <i>the slender ones</i>	—
jea tonan <i>bad luck</i> (as foretold by an oracle)	—	pondom <i>death without any convulsions</i>
jenggar <i>projecting part of roof</i>	—	naga tumulaktulak <i>the lord serpent, wind- and rain-catcher</i>
jolma parhatahata <i>an articulate person; an orator</i>	parpustaha di tolonanna, parjagajaga di bibirna <i>the one who keeps his books in his throat, and his alertness on his lips</i>	—
jolma tanda <i>a prominent figure</i>	na tanda di arian songon hoda sibolang i <i>the one who is prominent among the crowd in a resting-place like a horse with spots</i>	—

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jongong boti <i>unable to think clearly; stunned</i>	songon bondar na unong, songon gordang na polpol i <i>like a blocked canal, like a story that cannot be finished</i>	—
lae <i>sister's husband; father's sister's son</i>	¹ siadosan <i>the one to whom one must respond;</i> ² silansapon <i>the one who is overrated</i>	—
lagu <i>kindness</i>	pailung <i>speech</i>	—
lais <i>slats on which sugar-palm fibre is fastened as roofing</i>	—	tuan naga ruminte <i>the lord serpent in perfect rows</i>
lampet <i>steamed cake</i>	timpal sigaburon <i>the soft missile</i>	—
laut <i>sea</i>	si lumanlan na bidang <i>the vast stretch of water</i>	—
limatok <i>leech</i>	uotuat di tonga talun <i>the one stalking in the fallow land</i>	—
limut <i>seaweed</i>	—	si lumimbe <i>the demonstrative one</i>
lindi <i>slow-worm</i>	rahar dolok <i>the one that brings the hill down</i>	—
loloan <i>audience; gathering</i>	tonga ni mangajana <i>centre of solemn assembly</i>	—
lombang <i>ravine</i>	siruruson <i>the one into which one has to slide</i>	—
lombu <i>cows; cattle</i>	si lomlom di robean <i>the dark one on the hillside</i>	si lomlom di robean
longa <i>sesame</i>	si sumarsar <i>the one that bursts</i>	—
lote <i>quail</i>	simarngujuk di adaran <i>the one who yodels in the fields</i>	—
loting bosi <i>flint lighter</i>	santik marsantihan <i>the one which hits the other</i>	—
luat na dao <i>far-off places</i>	toding parjauan, toding sihadaoan <i>foreign and remote regions</i>	—
lubanglubang <i>hole</i>	—	talaga panduduran ni na roa <i>the lower part of the house, from which waste is thrown away</i>
lungguk <i>a heap</i>	—	si deang marunggunngun <i>the young maiden stored in a heap</i>

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lupaklupak <i>puddle</i>	—	si deang parromboan <i>the young maiden where water stands still</i>
magodang <i>grown-up</i>	magodang panaguan <i>large in content</i>	—
male <i>hungry</i>	marsiraparon <i>to be starving</i>	—
malgipalqip laho mate <i>gasping when dying</i>	songon gea na tipul na margellokkelok i, songon simarhuruk na nirambas na marheporhepor i <i>like a cut worm, twisting and turning; like a reeling hen after being hit with a stick</i>	—
malo <i>clever; skilful</i>	uja; mauja <i>suitable; fitting</i>	—
malo jala pantas marroha <i>intelligent and wise</i>	¹ mauja matogu <i>suitable and consistent;</i> ² na uja marroha <i>the one whose thinking is fitting</i>	—
mambahen parengkelan <i>to crack jokes</i>	marsituriak <i>to make people happy; to be happy by playing games</i>	—
mambuat <i>to take away; to fetch</i>	manggagang <i>to hold; to grab</i>	—
mamele ompu parsadaan <i>to give offerings to the clan ancestor</i>	—	¹ gohan <i>to hold a complete ceremony</i> ² patasimangot <i>to address the spirit of the clan</i>
mananom <i>to bury (a person)</i>	marsitumalin <i>to place somebody in his grave</i>	—
manghabengethon <i>to suffer quietly</i>	mangonjaphon <i>to hold things down</i>	—
mandera ni na mate <i>white cloth flown over grave</i>	—	panji <i>banner</i>
mangalehon sipanganon tu halak <i>to serve food to visitors</i>	mangganupi na so taruli, manjorori na so tarola <i>to give their due to those who miss out, and to distribute equally among those without share</i>	—
mangambe <i>to walk with arms swinging</i>	tarambe simangido <i>with the hands swinging</i>	—
mangan <i>to have a meal</i>	marpaiogon <i>to have rice</i>	—

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mangandung <i>to perform a lamentation</i>	¹ marsilungunon <i>to be sad;</i> ² mangandung sipariron <i>to lament because of suffering</i>	—
mangandungkon sidangolon <i>to express one's misery through a lamentation</i>	na mangandung na dangol, na papuas na parir i <i>to perform a sad lamentation and to let out one's miserable feelings</i>	—
mangarimangi <i>to consider carefully</i>	mangarampampa songon parmahan, mardabudabu songon parjuji i <i>counting sheep like a shepherd, and counting his money like a gambler</i>	—
manghatai <i>to be in conference</i>	¹ malilung <i>to make a speech;</i> ² mauja <i>to say fitting things;</i> ³ marsimangkudap <i>to use one's mouth</i>	—
mangolu <i>to be alive;</i> hipas <i>in good health</i>	¹ marsiulubalang ari <i>to have control of the day;</i> ² didadang ari, diullus alogo <i>baked by the sun, swept by the wind</i>	
manortor di tingki sitaonon <i>to perform a ritualistic dance during a bereavement</i>	marsileapon <i>to make one's body perform</i>	marsileapon
manuk <i>chicken</i>	¹ simarhuruk <i>the one that sits on eggs</i> ² simarhusuk <i>the one that shakes itself</i>	na umpaspas habongna, na umpalu sarunena <i>the one who shakes out his wings, and who blows his horn</i>
manuk na balga a <i>chicken large enough to be used in an oracle</i>	sitonggor di banua <i>the one that can overlook the world</i>	—
manuk na rara <i>red hen (favoured to be slaughtered for festivities)</i>	—	ompu rigop <i>the quick grandfather</i>
marbabo <i>to weed</i>	marsilumuhut <i>to collect things</i>	—
marbada <i>to quarrel</i>	marsiruntuson <i>to be brief and short</i>	—
marbalik <i>to change one's mind</i>	—	marrantos <i>to act suddenly</i>
marbarita <i>to spread news;</i> marhatahata <i>to gossip</i>	—	martonja <i>to drop in on a visit</i>
mardalan <i>to walk</i>	tarlangka simanjojok <i>with the feet stepping</i>	—

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marhinamago <i>to be in mourning</i>	¹ marsitungkion <i>to bow one's head;</i> ² marsidangolon <i>to be in misery;</i> ³ marsiluluton <i>to be weeping incessantly</i>	—
Marjea do iba na tongtong diingani hinamago <i>I am an accursed person, beset with misery</i>	Rasun ni panurungi do ahu, sirabun na mohop i <i>I am poison despatched by a priest-doctor, and also hot fire-ash</i>	—
marlas ni roha <i>happy; joyful</i>	marsituriak <i>to play games</i>	
marnapuran <i>to chew betel-leaf</i>	¹ marsitopahon; ² marsirumata bulung (see napuran)	—
marniang <i>thin (of a person)</i>	songon ranggas ni hau sinaiton <i>like dead twigs of a tree</i>	—
marningot <i>to remember</i>	marnaingothon <i>to remind oneself</i>	—
marpungu holan na maliali <i>unhappy and sad people huddled together</i>	marpungupungu songon siborok di guluan <i>to be together like tadpoles in a puddle</i>	—
marrapot <i>to attend a meeting</i>	marsijuguhon <i>to sit around; to sit together</i>	—
marsadasada <i>alone; one by one</i>	marsadasada bulung <i>to be the only leaf on a tree</i>	—
marsahit <i>to be ill</i>	pinartubol ni siaginon <i>to be avenged by suffering</i>	¹ panggirgiron <i>trembling because of eagerness;</i> ² margulunggulung <i>to roll about</i>
marsak <i>sad</i>	¹ marsitungkion <i>to bow one's head;</i> ² marsiruntuson <i>to be brief and short</i>	—
marsapata <i>to be under a curse</i>	marsapata sipurpuron <i>to be under a curse which has to be scattered in the wind</i>	—
marsiak bagi <i>to live in poverty</i>	pinartubol ni siaginon <i>to be avenged by adversity</i>	—
martonatona ni begu siar <i>to pass on a message through a person in trance</i>	—	martonatona ni na mate <i>to pass on a message from the dead</i>
martonun <i>to weave</i>	marsitipahon <i>to get things ready</i>	—
mas <i>gold</i>	si gumorsing <i>the yellow one</i>	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
mata eyes	¹ simalolong <i>the one used by those who are separated;</i> ² simanonggor; sipatonggor <i>the watcher</i>	—
mata ni ari manogotna <i>morning sun</i>	siala manotari <i>the motivation for spreading one's wings</i>	—
mate to die	¹ marobur; madobur <i>to fall into an abyss;</i> ² magulang <i>to fall down a cliff;</i> ³ mapulha <i>broken like a dam;</i> ⁴ malonglong <i>to cave in;</i> ⁵ maguling <i>to roll down;</i> ⁶ matompas; marompas <i>to collapse;</i> ⁷ marangin sipurpuron <i>to be in the fresh air</i>	matinda <i>to change one's appearance</i>
mate sian na so ada ala, so ada dalam <i>to die for no known reason or cause</i>	binuat ni godung na so marhinambor, suga na so marpatudu i <i>to fall into a pit which has no mound to show it, and caught by an invisible thorn</i>	—
mengkel <i>to laugh</i>	marsituriak <i>to be happy</i>	—
metmet <i>small</i>	maetek panaguan <i>small in content</i>	—
minggu week	—	ari na pitu <i>the seven days</i>
modom <i>to sleep</i>	marpidon <i>to close one's eyes</i>	—
mubauba <i>unstable;</i> paasingasing <i>fickle</i>	paubauba pasalinsalin <i>to shift one's position and to change one's clothes</i>	—
mudar ni manuk di ampang <i>blood of a chicken used in an oracle</i>	—	saniang naga setan <i>water deity (in the form of a snake) and ghost</i>
mula ni las ni ari <i>the onset of the warmth of the day</i>	—	si deang mangilasilas <i>the young maiden showing signs of disappearing</i>
muruk <i>angry</i>	marsiruntuson <i>to be sharp and brief</i>	—
naek pangabahan to <i>improve one's financial position</i>	magodang panaguan <i>to increase in content</i>	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
na jotjot niebatan a <i>place which is often visited; stamping ground</i>	alamat parniloniloan a place <i>where things glitter</i>	—
na lea jala na dangol <i>a humble and poor person</i>	ponjot so na bolon, sungkot so na ginjang he needs more space <i>while he is not large, he touches the ceiling while he is not tall</i>	—
na manabi eme harvesting <i>women (using sickles)</i>	—	si deang na ruminte <i>the young maidens in perfect rows</i>
na mate the deceased	sirumondo the one who has gone down	—
na matolbak land-slide	—	naga rumurus the lord <i>serpent who has subsided</i>
naboru father's sister	¹ ina silungbane the women with <i>whom one shares;</i> ² inang sibijaon the woman with <i>whom one conspires</i>	—
nantulang mother's brother's wife	inang sibijaon the woman with <i>whom one conspires</i>	—
na padot jala na nunut <i>a hard and meticulous worker</i>	Parholiholi na so ra ngalutan, parjarijari na so ra mansohot i <i>The one whose bones never ache and whose fingers never stand still</i>	—
na pinadimundimun <i>something or someone treated with great care and love</i>	na ginolomgolom buni, na pinuntalan tarida i the one <i>which/whom one hides in the palm and which/whom one covers up in the open</i>	—
na pinaolooloan, hape <i>gabe mate one who has been spoilt and who is now dead</i>	na hinunti madabu, na tineatea magulang i that which was carried <i>on the head and fell, and that which was carried on the hand and rolled off</i>	—
naposo sisurusuruon <i>servant</i>	halung ni na maulibulung the <i>neckband of a rich person</i>	—
napuran betel-leaf	¹ sirumata bulung green leaf; ² sitopahon the one that falls off; ³ sirargurak the one that bubbles;	¹ si deang purti ni aji <i>the young maiden, daughter of medical magic;</i> ² sitopahon na mauliate <i>most welcome one that falls down</i>

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napuran na gok <i>betel-leaf complete with ingredients: betel-leaf, lime, Uncaria gambir leaf or essence, areca nut and tobacco</i>	na opat saharoburan, na lima sada hatompasan <i>the four going down the same pit, and the five collapsing on the same spot</i>	—
na so hapodaan <i>a person who would not listen to advice</i>	na so tampil sipaingot, so siat siajaron i <i>the one who would not accept advice or instruction</i>	—
na so marguna tu manang aha <i>a ne'er-do-well</i>	na so tampil tu aha, na so bolas tu dia i <i>the one who cannot fit and cannot go anywhere</i>	—
na so umboto hinamago manang soro ni ari <i>dope a child who is still unaware of suffering and adversity</i>	na so tumanda na dangol, na so umboto na parir i <i>the one who does not know what is sad and terrible</i>	—
na tading metmet <i>a very young orphan</i>	na tading malapalap, na tading maliali i <i>the one left destitute and without hope</i>	—
na tarduru <i>a person, socially ostracised because of his/her humble situation</i>	na di duru ni bale, na di balian ni patula i <i>one who is outside the hut and beyond the pale</i>	—
ndang adong <i>not there; non-existent</i>	—	tidang
ndang adong be sihirimon ala ni hinamago i <i>there is no hope any more because of this bereavement</i>	dihunsi songon baba ni sopo i, diharsap songon baba harbangan i <i>locked like a barn-door, bolted like the village gate</i>	—
Ndang adong na songon sitaononki dokdokna <i>There is no suffering greater than mine</i>	Hupasuman ahu soada sumanhi, hupatudos ahu soada tudoshi I <i>compare myself with others, there is no comparison; I cannot find my equal</i>	—
ndang adong teba <i>finished; nothing left (said especially about property or money)</i>	songon batu magulang, songon aek mabaor i <i>like a fallen rock, and like a body of water which has been drained</i>	—
ndang adong tondong na tau pangalualuan <i>without a relative to whom to go for help</i>	tu jolo soada pareahan, tu pudi soada hasurutan i <i>nothing to go forward to, nor to retreat to</i>	—
Ndang adong tudosan ni sitaonon i <i>The bereavement is without equal in sadness</i>	Tudosan so anian ahu, anian so tudosan i <i>I am not a comparison nor an example</i>	—
Ndang adong tutur na ro, ndang adong tutur topoton <i>To have no relatives to visit or to come and visit one</i>	Soada na malilung, soada palilungan i <i>There is no one to speak to you, and no one for you to speak to</i>	—

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ndang be diargahon; diparhamuda <i>not appreciated any more; belittled</i>	songon pege na lambang, songon hunik na halaosan i <i>like ginger which is unable to produce shoots and like too much turmeric in food</i>	—
ndang boi mandok hatana ala dipodui jala diporduti <i>unable to say anything because he is shouted at and found fault with</i>	songon anduhur niopopan, songon amporik na sinioran i <i>like a wild dove frightened away, and like rice-birds attacked with slings</i>	—
ndang diparhaseang <i>deemed useless; a woman divorced</i>	songon rompu so siat, songon dangdang so bolas i <i>like rattan bands which are too tight and like penitence which is unacceptable</i>	—
Ndang huboto mara laho ro tuson <i>I left everything to come here</i>	Songon hinabahaba ahu, songon hinipuhipu i <i>like a person pushed by a whirlwind, like a person hurried along</i>	—
ndang maradian mardalani tusan tuson <i>endlessly walking to and fro</i>	tu dolok tu toruan songon lali silampeang i <i>flying towards the hills and then down again, like a falcon looking for chickens</i>	—
ndang margogo patupa manang aha <i>utterly unable to do anything</i>	sungkot so na ginjang, ponjot so na bolon i <i>touching the ceiling while not being tall, cramped while not being large</i>	—
ndang marhasoan <i>restless</i>	hundul pualpualon, tinding pangalelaon <i>to cry when sitting down and to look behind one's back when standing</i>	—
ndang marrindang <i>childless</i>	songon jonggol ni bauta, songon ranggas ni hau sinaiton i <i>like the end of a discussion and like the smallest twig of a tree</i>	—
ndang sadia leleng umurna <i>not living long; not lasting long</i>	songon si rumata bulung na mura malos i, na songon bungabunga na rondang maleu i <i>like leaves which wither easily, like flowers which wilt in a short time</i>	—
ndang siat mandok hatana <i>not allowed or not able to express an opinion</i>	songon sangge hinuntam, songon gansip niodothon i <i>like a purse kept shut and like tongs squeezed</i>	—
Ndang tarhatahon dangol ni sitaonon i <i>The bereavement is indescribable in its intensity</i>	¹ Na lobi ansaansaan ahu, lompo turiturian i <i>I have more than enough solutions, I am overflowing with stories;</i> ² na sirngom songon golap, so boi suluon i <i>unfathomable like the dark, impossible to light</i>	—

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Neang pangkilalaanku <i>I feel relieved</i>	Songon na hehe sian gambo ahu, songon na mungkap sian lombang i <i>I feel like a person who has got out of a quagmire, like a person who climbed out of a ravine</i>	—
ngolu siap ari <i>livelihood; subsistence</i>	si ulubalang ari <i>the one in command of the day</i>	—
Nunga bolong, magulang, maup dihilala ala ni hinamago i <i>I feel des- erted, down on my face and drowned because of my misery</i>	Nunga diaup ahu na so tu aek silumanlan i, nunga digulang ahu na so tu lombang siruruson i <i>I have been left to drown, but not in a lake; thrown down, but not into an abyss</i>	—
Nunga disalpuhon rohangku na sailaon <i>I have forgotten what was past</i>	Hubolus songon parhubuan i, hulang kai songon dalam niulang i <i>I bypassed it like a defence position and I stepped over it like an unrepaired footpath</i>	—
obuk hair	sitarupon; simanarup <i>the roof</i>	—
obuk na ganjang situtu <i>very long hair</i>	—	paspasan baliga hodong <i>a spread like sugar- palm rib</i>
ogung gong	silonggahon <i>the one which is made to boom</i>	—
ompu grandparent	sisumbaon <i>the one who should be paid respect to</i>	—
onan marketplace	¹ parsimburan <i>where one grows up fast;</i> ² onan parsingguran <i>where things come and go fast;</i> ³ tiga parsahiran ni halak maulibulung <i>the market where gentlemen socialise;</i> ⁴ tiga parsahiran <i>the market where people socialise</i>	—
onggang hornbill	si raja porhas di soara <i>the lord with a sound like that of lightning</i>	raja siborang laut <i>the king who gazes at the sea</i>
ontong dirimangi rohana, ragam diransapi rohana <i>to consider exhaustively; to consider all options</i>	dadapdadap songon na mapitung, jamajama songon na oto i <i>probing about like a blind man, trying everything like an ignoramus</i>	—
ordang <i>three-pronged stick, used to make holes in the soil, into which seed is put</i>	—	si aji rumondaronda <i>the knight who moves about gracefully</i>

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osangosang <i>chin</i>	simangisang <i>the one poised at an angle</i>	—
otik <i>little; small in quantity</i>	maotik panaguan <i>small in content</i>	—
padung <i>the flat part of a rice-mortar, between the hole and the edge</i>	—	si deang manarenare <i>the young maiden catching things</i>
pahean <i>clothes</i>	sijagaron <i>something with which to beautify oneself</i>	—
pahompu <i>grandchild</i>	sisumbaon <i>the one who should be respected</i>	—
paintophon <i>to extinguish</i>	—	palalishon <i>to send to wander</i>
palito <i>oil-lamp</i>	si rumondang bulan <i>the one like the moonlight</i>	—
pamangan <i>mouth</i>	simangkusap; simangkudap <i>the one that smacks</i>	—
pamatang <i>human body</i>	¹ simangarudok <i>the one that moves;</i> ² simangaliok <i>the fat one;</i> ³ sileapon <i>the one which should be moved;</i> ⁴ angkula <i>the one which is moved up and down;</i> ⁵ si manare <i>the one which is turned towards something</i>	tuan sumindang <i>the lord who stands erect</i>
pamuro di biuron <i>one who watches over a rice-field when the rice-ears begin to fill</i>	—	raja manjoai <i>the king who claps to show his appreciation</i>
pandiloan <i>small window</i>	si raja bondul <i>the lord in the house</i>	partidoan <i>the one through which one peeps</i>
pandindingan ni ruma <i>wallboard of a house</i>	¹ si baganding naga mangupar <i>the lord multicoloured and moving serpent;</i> ² siupar parpidoan <i>the moving ones, wanting to invite</i>	¹ si baganding naga mangupar; ² siupar parpidoan ³ si upar mangalele <i>the moving ones, wanting to give chase</i>
pandingdingan ni sopo <i>wallboard of a rice shed</i>	—	si raja sumbaho <i>the smoothed king</i>
pang <i>strong (of drinks)</i>	—	maga

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Pangalelaon mataniba <i>I am seeing things</i>	Mago tarsurasura ahu, mago tarmatamata i <i>I am suffering from feeling and seeing non- existent things</i>	—
pangarahut <i>rope or band (around firewood, etc.)</i>	—	si deang jumalimot <i>the young maidens in disarray</i>
pangir <i>shampoo</i>	—	si boru rintik di ahasa <i>the mad young lady in the bottle</i>
panjomuran eme <i>mat on which to dry rice in the sun</i>	—	si deang sumange <i>the young maiden spread around</i>
papan <i>floorboard</i>	—	tuan naga tumotap <i>the lord serpent in perfect alignment</i>
paradianan <i>resting spot</i>	¹ si martudos <i>the equaliser;</i> ² si deang pangulonon; si deang panulonon <i>the young maiden where one rests</i>	si deang panulonon
parapara <i>rack in which to keep things</i>	—	si raja parpunguan <i>the king with whom everything is deposited</i>
parbandaan <i>graveyard</i>	¹ tano pangarantoan <i>distant colony in which one settles;</i> ² tano rura sihadaoan <i>distant land and valley</i>	—
pargadombus <i>spendthrift</i>	—	padang lalis <i>the wanderer; the hobo; the gypsy</i>
parhata na lambok <i>a well-spoken person; a perfect gentleman</i>	parsimangkudap sibanebane i <i>the one with the fragrant mouth</i>	—
parhohom <i>a quiet person</i>	parsoara igilon <i>the one whom one has to beg to produce a sound</i>	—
parhutaan <i>a spot on which to build a village</i>	¹ parpadangan <i>where grass grows;</i> ² parpiloan <i>a spot where young palms grow;</i> ³ sihasaeon <i>the cleared field</i>	¹ parpadangan; ² parpidoan <i>where hospitality is shown</i>
parik ni huta <i>village wall</i>	—	si dayang partahi tuk <i>the young maiden who reaches her objectives</i>

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parindahanan <i>woven rice-bag</i>	rindang sipagoon <i>the one to be kept full to stand erect</i>	—
parjabuan <i>a spot on which to build a house</i>	¹ parpadangan; ² parpiloan (see parhutaan)	—
parlambok <i>a person who is never angry</i>	luli so sumungkar, banebane so tupa sumogar i <i>tuft which is not difficult to work, and mint which never loses its aroma</i>	—
parmateon na jimput, manggotap pangkirimon <i>a sudden death, which upsets a lot of plans</i>	sitostos hirahira, sidabu pargumbangan i <i>the one which cuts the creepers, and brings down the doorposts</i>	—
parmateon ni sada halak na manggotap pangkirimon <i>death of a person which eliminates a lot of hope</i>	siarsik aek tao soada partobaan i, sirabi hau harangan so ada parsobanan i <i>the one which drains the lake and thus eliminates a place for fishing, and which fells the forest trees and thus eliminates a source of firewood</i>	—
parmuruk <i>an irritable person</i>	parateate gara ni api sihumilas na so boi intopan i <i>the one with the heart like unextinguishable amber</i>	—
parsahitsahit <i>a sickly person</i>	panduduran ni siaginon <i>where sickness flows down to</i>	—
parsili <i>puppet made of banana-stem, used as defensive medical magic</i>	—	ompu raja di porlak <i>the great king in the garden</i>
parsori ni ari <i>a person beset by bad luck</i>	lubanglubang panarean, talaga panduduran i <i>a hole that receives rubbish and the lower part of the house where dust collects</i>	—
partungkoan <i>meeting place; village assembly spot</i>	tonga ni mangajarajar <i>centre of teaching</i>	—
parumaen <i>daughter-in-law</i>	¹ ina na hubalos <i>the woman I have responded to;</i> ² na binalos <i>the one to whom one has responded</i>	—
pat <i>foot</i>	simanjojak <i>the ones planted on the ground</i>	—
peapea <i>wet field</i>	—	si boru marpinda omas <i>the lady where gold changes hands</i>

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pege <i>ginger-root</i>	si rumimpang <i>the one whose parts are intertwined</i>	¹ si rumimpang; ² sipasiang di bona <i>the one that induces articulateness in the house</i> ; ³ si tajagar di portibi <i>the beautiful one in the world</i>
pidong <i>bird</i>	¹ sihumabang <i>the flyer</i> ; ² sirumambe di tonga talun <i>the ones crowding uncultivated land</i>	—
pinasa <i>jackfruit</i>	—	¹ anggundea <i>the one that swings</i> ; ² sungsang duri <i>the band of thistle</i>
pinggol <i>ear</i>	¹ sipareon <i>the receptive one</i> ; ² simanangi <i>the listener</i>	—
pining <i>areca nut</i>	—	mardomuate <i>the one which is in agreement</i>
Pinirpirhon nama hinamago i <i>I simply have to shake off my misery</i>	Huparsituriakkon nama i di simangkudaphi, huparsanggulsanggulhon di simanjungki <i>I just laugh it off and wear it playfully on my head</i>	—
pira ni manuk <i>chicken-egg</i>	pira ni ambalungan <i>the egg from the ravine</i>	pira ni ambalungan
podang <i>sabre</i>	sirumantos <i>the sharp one</i>	si panjongkat <i>the one used to bring things down</i>
portibi <i>world</i>	sumanggo <i>the one that sniffs</i>	—
posoposo na tinadingkon ni ama manang inana <i>a baby orphan</i>	na tading di ampot, na longkot di sapor i <i>the one left on a nappy and stuck on a strainer</i>	—
punsu ni hotang <i>edge of rattan creeper</i>	—	si rimbur ni hotang <i>the sharp end of rattan</i>
raja <i>the headman; the king</i>	sigokkonon bodari, sialapon manogot <i>the one who has to be invited at night, and to be fetched early in the morning</i>	—
raja manang datu na pistar marhata <i>a king or priest-doctor who is an orator</i>	parjagajaga di bibir, parpustaha di tolonan i <i>the one who is always alert when speaking, and who keeps the books in his throat</i>	—
raja na boi asangasang <i>the king who is the pride of his fellow men</i>	tungkot siarudan di dalan na landit, sulusulu di ari golap i <i>the staff to be used when going through slippery paths, the torch in the dark</i>	—

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raja na gogo jala na sangap <i>a powerful and respected chief</i>	si tumorus habang <i>the one who can fly anywhere</i>	—
raja na olo loja mambahen pardamean <i>a king who leaves no stone unturned to bring peace</i>	pangimpal pangimbalo, pamijor pangarapoti i <i>the one who fastens and repairs</i>	—
raja na sangap na so jadi suharon hatana <i>a great king, whom one cannot contradict</i>	tanduk so suharon, mata ni ari so dompahon i <i>the horn which cannot be reversed, the sun which cannot be faced directly</i>	—
raja na singal jala na bisuk <i>a powerful and wise king</i>	babiat di pintu, gompul di alaman i <i>the one who is a tiger at the door and a bear in the streets</i>	—
raja pangondian a <i>great protector, one's patron and benefactor</i>	panggaduan na ginjang, lombulumbu na hapal i <i>the high wall and the heavy shield</i>	—
raja pargomgom <i>the charismatic unifier</i>	tali panggongga, bonang pangarahuti i <i>the rope which bounds things together</i>	—
rangrang rusukna <i>emaciated</i>	songon palangka tinahuran, songon lampak na niodothon i <i>like a dugout basin, like a banana-bark pressed flat</i>	—
rangsa ni datu <i>the priest-doctor's utterings</i>	—	si aji marhirian <i>the knight who comes down in extended form</i>
ransang <i>bolt</i>	—	¹ naga mangarusuk gunung <i>the lord serpent piercing the mountain;</i> ² si deang pangarusuk gunung <i>the young maiden who pierces the mountain</i>
rapakrapak <i>a thread-bare winnow</i>	—	si sarasa
rihit sand	naga marlinolino <i>the lord dragon glittering in the sun</i>	alamat parniloniloan <i>sign of glitter</i>
rihit na balga <i>rough sand</i>	—	bintang naga marnilonilo <i>the dragon-star which glitters in the sun</i>
robean <i>steep hillside</i>	—	si deang sumandar <i>the leaning young maiden</i>
ronggur <i>thunder</i>	sigumorok <i>the one that rumbles</i>	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
saborngin <i>for one night</i>	sada siabornginan; sada sihabornginan <i>the spending of one night</i>	—
sabulan <i>for one month</i>	sada sirumondang bulan <i>the period of one month</i>	—
sadari <i>for one day</i>	sada siarianan <i>one daylight spent</i>	—
saganan ni na tubutubuan <i>firewood which burns during childbirth</i>	—	sinahiton <i>the one that burns steadily</i>
sahan <i>drinking-horn</i>	—	tudutudu <i>pointer</i>
sahit <i>disease</i>	siaginon <i>what has to be borne</i>	—
sai mangandungi <i>to lament continually</i>	marsinunuton <i>to work steadily and for a long time</i>	—
salean <i>rack over fireplace</i>	—	si aji paninaran <i>the knight who is a place for drying things</i>
sambil <i>bird-snare</i>	—	si deang marsabar <i>the enticing young maiden</i>
sangap <i>respected; mora rich</i>	maulibulung; na uli bulung <i>provided with beautiful leaves</i>	—
sangasanga <i>saucepan</i>	si tahar baba <i>the one with the wide mouth</i>	—
sangkap ni roha na taruntul <i>thwarted plans</i>	songon timpal na tardangka, songon ansuan na tarbatu i <i>like a throw hindered by branches and like a digging stake hitting a rock</i>	—
santan <i>coconut milk</i>	—	sitahuning ni portibi <i>the world's yellow fluid</i>
saringsaring mandolok <i>echo</i>	siringanringani <i>the one that lifts the spirit</i>	—
sarune <i>flute</i>	situmoar <i>the one that says: toar! toar!</i>	¹ si aji marruang porhis <i>the knight with a hole as small as an ant;</i> ² si raja marnoninoni <i>the king who goes on and on performing</i>
sataon <i>one year</i>	sada partaonan <i>one full cycle of seasons</i>	—
satongkin <i>for a short while</i>	sada siatongkinan <i>one of a short pause</i>	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
sendal <i>slats which support the projecting edge of a roof</i>	—	si ala manotari <i>the reason for spreading</i>
siampudan <i>youngest child</i>	¹ tungtung ni siubeon <i>last fruit of the womb;</i> ² pansadian ni siubeon <i>the end of the womb's activity</i>	—
siarsiaran <i>in trance</i>	—	rumingkas siaiangan
sibagure ni tano <i>low brush with hard stem</i>	—	rampi marpuhung <i>small and bent low</i>
sibahut <i>catfish</i>	—	na mangolu di ruangruang, <i>parmise na songon jarum the one living in holes, with a moustache like a needle</i>
silinjuang <i>Dracaena shrub (used to ward off disease)</i>	sisuang tumpuran <i>the one that repeats its defensive actions</i>	—
sillam <i>lightning</i>	—	sintamoning <i>that which gives one a temporary headache</i>
simata <i>beads</i>	rindang siruruson <i>a token which drops off easily</i>	—
simatua boru <i>mother-in-law</i>	¹ ina na umbalos ahu <i>the woman who has responded to me;</i> ² inang na umbalos <i>mother who has responded</i>	—
simatua doli <i>father-in-law</i>	¹ ama na umbalos ahu <i>the man who has responded to me;</i> ² amang na umbalos <i>father who has responded</i>	—
sior <i>sling (used to kill birds)</i>	sarnak	—
sipasabam roha <i>cold comfort</i>	tambar daon aluk, sira daon ampol <i>i medicine against frustration, salt to satisfy one's craving</i>	—
sira <i>salt</i>	silumangsa ijur <i>the one to make the saliva run freely</i>	¹ siojuron <i>the one that one craves for;</i> ² simanggiling di horsik <i>the one pounded like sand</i>
sitaonon <i>suffering; adversity</i>	¹ siaginon <i>what has to be borne;</i> ² sileapon <i>the one that should be moved;</i> ³ pangumbang <i>the one that opens old wounds;</i> ⁴ parsilungunon <i>sadness</i>	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
sitaonon na ngorngor <i>lasting suffering</i>	songon gara ni pangko simenggarmenggar i, songon gara ni sobuon simohopmohop i <i>like the amber of sugar-palm wood which never dies out, and that of rice-husks which goes on burning hot</i>	—
si torop anak, si torop partubu <i>to be- long to a large family</i>	matorop bulung; na torop bulung <i>with leaves aplenty; the one with many leaves</i>	—
siusung eme tu huta <i>the women who carry rice home from a harvest</i>	—	si deang na ruminda <i>the young maidens who carry things</i>
soban <i>fuel</i>	¹ silaiton <i>the one to burn;</i> ² sinahiton <i>the one that burns steadily</i>	—
soban hau <i>firewood</i>	¹ ranggas ni hau silaiton <i>twigs of trees to be burnt;</i> ² situmalas <i>the one which produces a lot of heat</i>	—
sobuon <i>rice-husk</i>	si aji marhirian <i>the knight that flies like dandruff</i>	—
soit <i>hipbones</i>	singendulon <i>the convulsive ones</i>	—
solu <i>dugout canoe</i>	¹ siruminsir <i>the one that glides;</i> ² sirinsiron <i>the one to be made to glide;</i> ³ si gumolang gumoling <i>the one that tips from left to right</i>	toras tumonggung <i>the one that reaches old age</i>
songgop <i>to alight; to perch</i>	marsitinggir <i>to come down and sit on something</i>	—
Songon jolma sibursikkononhon iba <i>hinilala I feel like one to be despised</i>	diultophon songon sopasopa i, dibursikkon songon nipi na sambor i <i>spat out like used tobacco and a bad dream</i>	—
Songon na mogap iba ala ni hinamago i <i>I feel like a drowning person because of my misery</i>	Hundul pualpualon ahu, tindang pangalaloon i <i>I scream when I sit down and I am unsteady when I stand up</i>	—
Songon na neang jolo pangkilalaan, hape ro ma tompu na dokdok <i>I feel relieved for a while, and suddenly this heavy blow</i>	Pujion sitongkin ahu, hapianon sasaindahan i <i>I was praised and envied only for a fleeting moment</i>	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
sopo eme <i>rice-shed</i>	situngkolon; sianniatungkolon; isian ni hatungkolon <i>the one which has to be supported</i>	—
sopo partonunan <i>outhouse where one weaves</i>	¹ pangandungan saop ni sitipahon <i>where woven cloth weeps;</i> ² pangandungan ni saep siteburon <i>where cloth that is spread also weeps</i>	—
suansuanan <i>plants</i>	—	si aji rumondop <i>the knight lying low</i>
suda sinamotna, marmatean pinahanna <i>to lose all one's money and one's cattle</i>	songon raruan binurian, songon balanja nilusoan i <i>like a fermentation bowl being washed, like a bamboo vessel being cleaned</i>	—
suhatsuhat <i>measuring tin for rice</i>	si aji marsoluhan <i>the knight who goes in and out</i>	—
surpu <i>tree-trunk floating on a river</i>	—	si rimba paya <i>the forest that has been washed away</i>
surut pangabahan <i>to be reduced in fortunes</i>	maetek panaguan <i>to grow smaller in content</i>	—
susu <i>mother's or woman's breast</i>	¹ sitairon <i>the one to be pulled by babies;</i> ² sitabeon <i>the source of life</i>	bagot sinta <i>the sugar-palm for which a baby craves</i>
Tading iba marsitaanon <i>I am left here to suffer</i>	Dipasurung ma ahu, songon na marpaiogon i <i>I am given special food, like one who is having a feast</i>	—
Taganan nama mate ala ni hinamago i <i>I'd rather die now</i>	Na bulusan marobur nama ahu, na ulian matompas i <i>It is better for me now to fall into an abyss and to collapse</i>	—
Taganan unang tubu, anggo so hipas jala hasea ngoluna <i>It is better not to have been born, if his life is not to be good or if he is not to be healthy</i>	na buragan so lolo, songon hudon parsihodoan i <i>that which is better not to have been made, like a bad cooking-pot</i>	—
Taganan unang tubu, anggo so leleng mangolu <i>It would have been better not to have been born, if he is not to live long</i>	na buragan so mungkap, songon bungabunga na pitpit i <i>that which is better not open, like a flower- bud</i>	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
taganing dohot odap <i>drums in an orchestra</i>	simarlutung simarlatang <i>the ones which boom and bang</i>	—
tali paningkotan <i>rope used to commit suicide</i>	tali siudoron <i>rope to be spun</i>	—
tangan <i>hand</i>	¹ simangido <i>the one that asks for something;</i> ² simanare <i>the one ready to receive</i>	simangaridop <i>the snatcher</i>
tangga ni jabu <i>steps into a house</i>	sihite bondul <i>the communication with the house</i>	—
tanggurung dorsum	¹ ambitan <i>the part which is covered up;</i> ² simandorpi <i>the part facing the wall</i>	—
tano <i>earth; land</i>	situmalin <i>what is left</i>	naga humimpal <i>the solid lord serpent</i>
tano na tarulang <i>fallow land; deserted land</i>	situmalun <i>the one which was once cultivated</i>	—
tano on <i>this world</i>	siaginon <i>the one which has to be borne; the suffering</i>	—
tanoman <i>grave</i>	¹ panduduran siaginon <i>the disposal of suffering;</i> ² situmandok <i>the container</i>	—
taon <i>year</i>	—	bulan na sampulu dua <i>the twelve months</i>
tao na bidang <i>wide part of a lake</i>	—	si deang tumaotao <i>the young maiden out in the open lake</i>
tarduru dihilala ala ni hinamagona <i>to feel discriminated because of one's misery</i>	tarpulik songon horbo siporoon, na tarduru songon handang di balian i <i>set apart like a water-buffalo to be milked, put outside like an outer fence</i>	—
tarpunjung <i>without friends; ostracised</i>	tilil; tinil	—
tarup <i>roof</i>	—	¹ naga mangulosi <i>the lord serpent who provides a blanket;</i> ² naga haluphalup <i>the lord serpent who covers up</i>

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
tatarang <i>fireplace</i>	nai basang basuhi <i>mother of the rectangular fireplace; mother of the spirit of the fireplace</i>	¹ nai basang basuhi; ² si deang halasan <i>the young maiden with a lot of warmth;</i> ³ si deang martambian <i>the young maiden with even and uneven parts</i>
tiang <i>pillars (in a house)</i>	—	raja na masipollungan <i>the kings arguing against one another</i>
Tihas nama iba didok roha saleleng ni lelengna <i>I feel like a permanent defect</i>	Tupik di bibir nama ahu na so boi jarumon i, landong di bohi na so boi sapsapon i <i>I am like a harelip which cannot be sewn up, a mole which cannot be taken out</i>	—
timba <i>water-scoop used in a dugout canoe</i>	siantuk na risi <i>the one which touches rough parts</i>	—
timbaho <i>tobacco</i>	¹ sitimpulon <i>the one to make to produce smoke;</i> ² sipuloson <i>the one to be rolled</i>	¹ si radang; si rumadang <i>the one sought after;</i> ² lumutlumut ni si rumadang <i>the weed of the one that is sought after;</i> ³ garunggang jau <i>imported weed</i>
tinggal holan sada sambing <i>left on one's own</i>	songon siala na lungunan, songon tandiang na hapuloan <i>like a siala-plant standing on its own and like a tree fern stranded on an island</i>	—
tintin ni boru sibaso <i>ring of a female medium</i>	—	si dayang ratna rumiri <i>the young maiden, precious and in several layers</i>
tobu <i>sugarcane</i>	—	siojuron <i>the one that one craves for</i>
togap <i>physically strong</i>	matoga bulung <i>endowed with powerful leaves</i>	—
tompitOMPI <i>bundle carried on the back</i>	—	si deang partumpuan <i>the young maiden into whom things come together</i>
tompu masa, pola bohabohaon roha ni halak <i>to happen suddenly, upsetting everybody</i>	Tarhirap simarhuruk, tarhuntaI siteuon i <i>The hens were scattering in all directions and the dogs were shaken</i>	—

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
tona <i>message</i>	—	tana
tondi <i>spirit</i>	—	salindung <i>the invisible</i>
tondong <i>relatives</i>	sirundaon <i>the ones to be helped and guided</i>	—
tondung <i>oracle</i>	—	¹ siringkiron <i>the one to be consulted;</i> ² alamat sori matandang <i>sign of future fortunes</i>
tonun <i>weaving</i>	sitipahon <i>the one to get ready</i>	—
tos <i>hosana to die</i>	polut angin sipurpuron <i>the breath of life has stopped</i>	—
tuak <i>palm wine</i>	hua ni si lumambe bulung; hua ni si lumambe hodong <i>the sauce of the sugar-palm</i>	—
tuak tangkasan <i>unadulterated palm wine (used as an offering)</i>	—	tuak sorba jati <i>totally pure palm wine</i>
tujung <i>weeping-cloth</i>	saep siteburon <i>a cloth to put over the head</i>	—
tulang <i>mother's brother</i>	¹ simarimbun <i>the one who bestows love;</i> ² sibijaon; amang sibijaon <i>the man with whom to conspire</i>	—
tunggal <i>panaluan magic staff</i>	si upar manorus <i>the one who moves about with force</i>	si upar manorus
tunggane <i>wife's brother; mother's brother's son</i>	¹ silansapon <i>the one who is overrated;</i> ² siadosan <i>the one to whom one must respond</i>	—
tunggane <i>boru wife</i>	¹ siadopan <i>the one I face;</i> ² ina siadopan <i>the woman I face;</i> ³ simarubun <i>the one who looks after me;</i> ⁴ si boru nialuna <i>the woman in whom I confide;</i> ⁵ ompu api <i>the mistress of the fireplace</i>	simarubun

STANDARD LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF LAMENTATION	MEDICO-MAGIC LANGUAGE
tunggane doli <i>husband</i>	¹ siadopan <i>the one I face;</i> ² ama siadopan <i>the man I face;</i> ³ simarubun <i>the one who looks</i> <i>after me;</i> ⁴ si raja nialuna <i>the master in</i> <i>whom I confide;</i> ⁵ ulu <i>head</i>	simarubun
tungkotungko <i>tree-</i> <i>stump</i>	—	raja tumotop <i>the stable</i> <i>king</i>
tu utara tu dangsina <i>to and fro;</i> <i>scattered; to settle</i> <i>in faraway places</i>	tu atara tu apotan <i>gone north</i> <i>and south</i>	tu atara tu apotan
ulaula na tajom <i>sharp implements</i>	sirumantos <i>the sharp one</i>	—
uli <i>beautiful; good</i>	—	sijagaron
ulos <i>woven cloth</i> <i>used as clothing</i>	¹ saep; ² sitipahon <i>the one to get ready;</i> ³ siteburon <i>the one to spread</i>	—
ulu <i>head</i>	simanjujung <i>the part that</i> <i>carries things</i>	saporti tunggul <i>the one</i> <i>resembling the leader</i>
unte <i>lemon</i>	—	raja manotap <i>the stable</i> <i>and consistent king</i>
uraturat ni hau <i>roots of tree</i>	—	si raja martotopan <i>the</i> <i>stabiliser king</i>
urur <i>rafter</i>	—	naga tumording <i>the lord</i> <i>serpent in alignment</i>

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LANGUAGE USE AT NAMATOTA: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILE

Roland Walker

0. INTRODUCTION

The pattern of language use in a multilingual community tells us much about the attitudes and values that are the driving forces in that society. Their attitude toward neighbouring communities, the national community, and their own value as a distinct subculture is reflected in the way a people use the languages in their repertoire. The value they place on change vs. maintenance of the status quo, or even trying to recapture an earlier time in their life and glory as a people, is revealed by the way a community chooses to limit the appropriateness of one language over another in various situations.

This study examines language use at Namatota, a small village on the southwest coast of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. First of all, I will describe the social setting in which language use takes place at Namatota. Then I will examine the four major languages in use at Namatota and several models for the description of multilingualism. Lastly, I want to examine the constraints on language choice, which reveal underlying values and attitudes. These values and attitudes affect language use at Namatota today and determine trends for the future.

In the course of a day, four or more languages are likely to be in use at Namatota – depending on the identity of the interlocutors, the social setting they are in, and the particular values they wish to communicate at a given time. For example, in a typical day, a man will discuss the day's fishing venture with the other men in Koiwai, tell his son to bail the canoe and fetch the paddles in Malay, sit with the men and chant the Koran in Arabic, and end the day listening to the radio in Indonesian.

Koiwai¹ is the language of *primary identity* for the people of Namatota, though not the first language (i.e. language first learned in life) of all Namatotans. All adult Namatotans speak Koiwai, even though a number of them speak languages of the islands to the west and south of Irian Jaya as their first languages. For this segment of the population, Koiwai may be the second, third, or fourth language which they have acquired. Nevertheless, Namatota is a linguistic community in the sense of Gumperz' definition:

... a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication (Gumperz 1962:31).

Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, vol.3: *Accent on variety*, 79-94. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-76, 1982.

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In approaching this study, I have adopted a methodology suggested by Shuy and Tucker for sociolinguistic surveys.² The first requirement is that a study of language use be *diachronic* — it should tell us something of the changing linguistic situation. With no literature to use as a measure of the past, I will be limited in this aspect. However, questioning people about language use in the past and comparison of dialects reveals some information about the changing linguistic situation. Another look at language use at Namatota in ten years will provide much more information of a diachronic nature.

The second requirement for a valid sociolinguistic study is that of *indirect data gathering* — information should be obtained mainly by observation rather than by direct questioning, because what people say about their own language use and what they do are often two different things. Data for this study was gathered from observations of eleven months of living at Namatota in 1978-1979. Interviewing people in the village did provide some valuable information regarding language attitudes and past performance, but data from interviews has been verified by direct observation.

The third requirement of a study regarding language use is that it must be *socially relevant* — language must be seen in its social context.

1. A SOCIO-HISTORICAL SKETCH OF NAMATOTA: THE CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE USE

In this section we will consider certain aspects of the social setting at Namatota which impinge on the use of language there.

1.1 Namatota's internal make-up: the microcosm

Historically speaking, the people of Namatota are a mixture of peoples. When the Dutch explorer, Dick Hendrik Kolff (Kolff 1840) visited the islands at the eastern tip of Seram (Seram Laut and Goram) in 1825, he found a regular trade going on between these islands and the Namatota area. Some of the Seram Laut chiefs took Papuan wives, and some of the Seram Laut and Goram traders married Papuan women and settled at Namatota. Besides Kolff's log, the physical features and languages of Namatotans bear witness to this heritage of mixing between Seram and the Namatota area of Irian Jaya.³

People from other parts of Indonesia continue to arrive at Namatota. Presently, there are two school teachers, one from Java and the other from near Sorong, Irian Jaya, who are temporary residents and thus considered outsiders. Eight other households contain a spouse who has come to Namatota from other communities. (Three from Goram, two from Kokas, one from Kei, one from Babar and one from Ujung Pandang). Thus, out of thirty households, one-third have members who are not native to Namatota, and who, therefore, speak Koiwai as a second language. These eight people have not just married into marginal families within the social structure. To the contrary, some of them have married into the more influential families. For example, the raja's grandmother is from Goram and the village headman's wife is from Kei. The village headman's parents are a good example of the interethnic marriages that have produced the people of Namatota. His father was from Timor and his mother was a Mairasi (the Irianese language group closest to Namatota, with whom there has been a good deal of intermarriage). Rather than being stigmatised, the offspring of these intergroup marriages are among the religious, economic and social leaders of the village.

With regard to education, of the 125 residents of Namatota, two are high school graduates, one of whom is the present raja. One man finished the ninth grade, one the eighth grade, two the sixth grade and most of the young people and middle-aged men finished three grades of school. Middle-aged men are the leaders of Koiwai society and none of these men with the exception of the raja, have more than a third grade education. It is only members of the younger generation that have gone beyond the third grade. Indonesian is the medium of instruction in the school and so it is necessary for those who progress in school also to progress in their command of Indonesian.

The chief occupation of Namatotans is fishing. Catches that exceed immediate local demand are salted, smoked or sold fresh in Kaimana. Men and women both dive for shells in season and process copra, year-round, as cash products. The markets for these products and the consequent need to communicate with outsiders for economic reasons will be discussed in the next section.

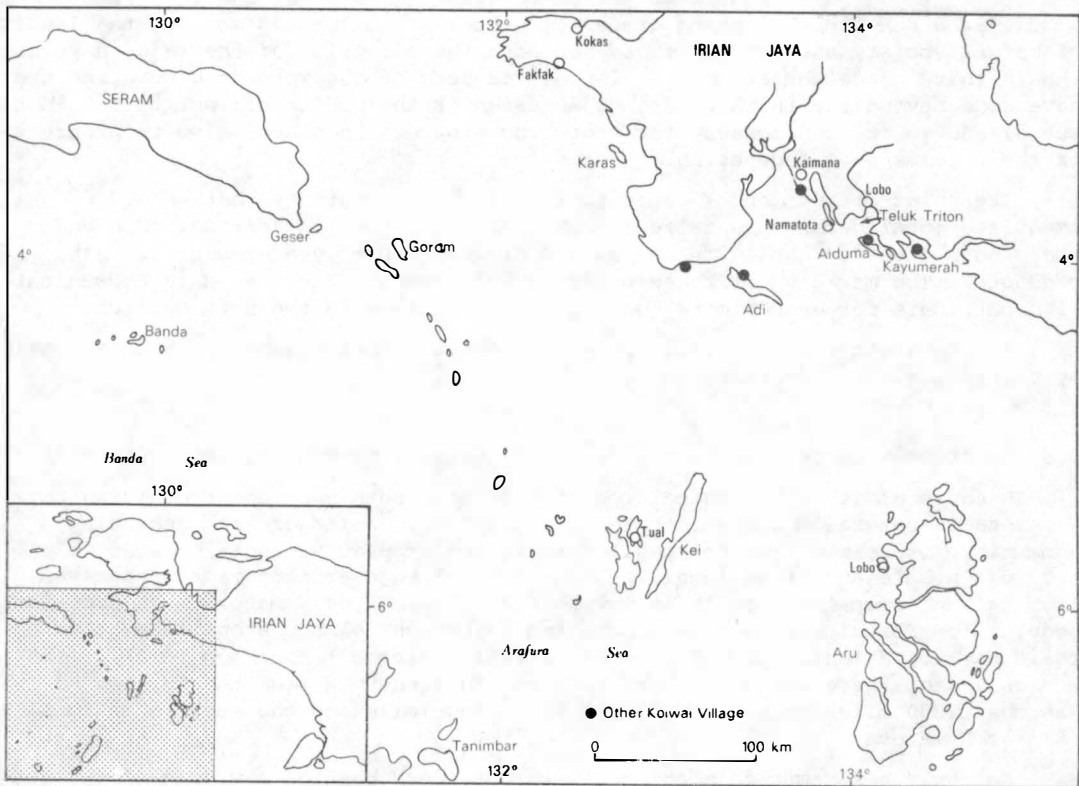
All Namatotans are Muslim. This includes some Christians who became Muslims by marrying girls from Namatota.

1.2 Namatota's membership in the larger linguistic community: the macrocosm

Because of its geographical position on the south-west coast of Irian Jaya, Namatota is naturally drawn into relationships with a larger Malay-speaking community. (See map that follows.) Many boats stop at Namatota because it provides a safe anchorage in all seasons. Usually government representatives from Kaimana stop there on their way to villages east of Namatota. In addition, people from Koiwai villages on Aiduma and Kayumerah islands stop in Namatota on their way to Kaimana. Inhabitants of Mairasi villages located on Teluk Triton commonly stop there as well. Even traders and fishermen from the islands of Tanimbar (300 miles to the south) and Buton (800 miles to the west) occasionally call at Namatota.

Not only has Namatota's contact with outsiders been of a wide variety, but it has occurred over a long period of time. The first colony established by the Dutch in Irian Jaya, Fort du Bus, was erected in 1828 on Teluk Triton, just fifteen miles to the east of Namatota (Bachtiar 1963:57). The Dutch made a treaty with the raja of Namatota at that time. Afterwards, the Dutch called at Namatota on their patrols and for a time maintained a post there. In 1925, the raja of Namatota accompanied a Dutch patrol to pacify aggressive tribes to the east. Kaimana was a centre of Dutch administration and as such had much contact with Namatota. Beginning in the Dutch period and continuing to the present, Chinese merchants who live in Kaimana have maintained close economic ties with the people of Namatota. During World War II, the Japanese had a post at Namatota, and after the war called at Namatota to conduct logging operations. Since 1962, when Indonesia began governing Irian Jaya, there has been increasing contact between Namatota and the greater Indonesian society. All of these contacts with Seram Laut, the Dutch, the Chinese, Japanese and Indonesians have been carried on in some form of what is now the Indonesian national language (i.e. Malay).

Not only has Namatota's contact with the outside world been because of its location with respect to exploration, trade and government patrol routes, but also because of social relationships. As noted earlier, there have been a significant number of marriages with members of different ethnic groups. The original immigrants from Seram intermarried with the Mairasi people, who are Namatota's nearest neighbours. Inter-marriage with Mairasi people continues today, resulting in social relationships which depend upon Malay for communication



Map 1: Namatota in relation to the larger linguistic community

(although some Mairasi people speak Koiwai and a few Namatotans speak Mairasi). Another example of the need to speak Malay is the case of a brother and a sister from Namatota who have both married spouses from Kokas (a town north of Fakfak, Irian Jaya). In their homes, Malay is used while the two from Kokas are learning Koiwai. In the course of making marriage arrangements, the brother spent a year in Kokas, thus necessitating the use of only Malay for that time.

A powerful political relationship that has brought the people of Namatota into contact with other ethnic groups, and thus necessitated the use of Malay, was that of the relationship of the raja of Namatota to the tribes under his control (Arguni, Kamberau, Buruwai and Mairasi). The raja would call on the tribes within a 100 km radius of Namatota to come and serve him in various ways, such as by putting a new roof on his house, cleaning up the village for big occasions and providing labour for him in other ways. People from these groups, as well as from Kaimana, also came to Namatota for important religious holidays, out of respect to the raja. Although in the past, some of the people in these tribes learned Koiwai, some communication probably took place in Malay, as it does today.

Probably the most important relationship, in terms of frequency and need, which necessitates the use of Malay for Namatotans, is the economic tie that the people have to the Chinese merchants in Kaimana. These merchants buy the products Namatotans gather and sell them many items in return. Money is needed for clothes, kerosene and various other essentials to their way of life (e.g. tools, fishing line and hooks, etc.). Their relationship with the Chinese is also important for providing the ingredients for the cakes they make which are essential to the numerous religious services they have. The merchants in Kaimana also loan them money based on future copra crops and advance them salt with the assurance of buying their salted fish at a later date. In this way, a tight web of economic interdependence is woven which necessitates the use of Malay as a trade language.

Some of the men of Namatota also act as middlemen in trade between the Chinese and men of other villages (e.g. Mairasi villages in Teluk Triton). They make arrangements to buy the forest products these men have gathered and in the course of their dealings use Malay for the transactions and the broader relationships that their roles include.

A few of the men of Namatota have coconut groves in Mairasi villages, so this entails further contact using Malay as the medium.

Another economic factor which has promoted the use of Malay is that of men working outside the village for wages. Some of the present leaders at Namatota formerly worked in Kaimana under the Dutch administration. A number of the young men have worked for foreign oil and lumber companies alongside employees from different language groups. In such instances, Malay is the medium of communication between employees and employer.

The relationship of Namatota to the Indonesian government is an important reason for the people to use a language other than Koiwai. Namatota is the seat of the governmental subdivision which includes three other villages. Two of these villages are Mairasi villages and so any business is handled in Indonesian or Malay depending on the abilities of the interlocutors.

The raja of Namatota is a high-school graduate and speaks Indonesian well. He is also the representative of the government for the area and so relates to government personnel above him in Indonesian and the village leaders under him in Indonesian or Malay. When any outside economic interests wish to enter the area for logging or fishing, they must stop and report to him. It is not uncommon for these fishermen or timber cutters to spend a night or two at Namatota, relating to the people in the village using Malay.

The introduction of Islam to Namatota (from Goram) brought with it the use of Arabic for the chanting of the Koran. Home prayer services (hajjat) are essential to the life cycle ceremonies at Namatota, (first meal, circumcision, marriage, death) and so Arabic assumes a great importance. Maintaining the traditional way of life requires a number of trained Koranic readers. Therefore, prestige is associated with learning to recite the Koran in Arabic and many children receive training under the tutelage of the religious leader (imam). Some boys are sent to other villages or towns for further study. Graduation ceremonies for successful students are big occasions which underline how highly the community values being able to recite the Koran. There is virtually no *comprehension* of Arabic, however. It is significant that parents exert much more pressure upon their children to learn to recite Arabic than to continue their education in the public schools. The reason for this must lie in their perception of the relevancy of the subject of study to their way of life.

It should be evident that Namatota is not an isolated linguistic community. Several times a week, and sometimes more than once a day, the cry of "Johnson" goes up from children on the beach. Soon a Johnson outboard powered boat arrives, bringing Malay-speaking merchants, Indonesian-speaking government officials, or Koiwai-speaking Namatotans back home from Kaimana.

It is in these contexts that the people of Namatota live their lives, using appropriate languages from their rich repertoire. Now we will examine in more detail the languages in use at Namatota, the situations in which they are used, and evidence of change in both linguistic form and function.

2. LANGUAGE STRUCTURE AND USE AT NAMATOTA: THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION

2.1 The code matrix and code selection (see Chart 1)

Four languages comprise the code matrix of the village as a whole: Koiwai, Malay, Indonesian and Arabic. Four other languages are the mother tongues of a few individuals and form part of their personal repertoires.

Three people speak Goram (the closest related language to Koiwai; about 55 per cent cognate) as their mother tongue, and members of their families speak it a little. It is not uncommon for Goram to be spoken daily in at least one home, but it is usually sandwiched in between the use of Malay and Koiwai. There are two native speakers of Sekar (the language of Kokas), so they use Sekar, at times, between themselves. One speaker each of Kei, Babar and Bugis live at Namatota, but with no one else to speak with, these languages are unused most of the time. A few individuals have some ability in Mairasi, Kamberau and Irahutu (languages of other groups in the Kaimana area).

Koiwai is the language of primary identity for most Namatotans in that they see themselves as part of the Koiwai ethnic group. Koiwai is used in most *informal* situations with other Koiwai speakers, including those who speak Koiwai by virtue of the fact that they married into a Koiwai-speaking village, but whose first language is other than Koiwai. For adults it is the language of the home (except those homes where one spouse has come from a different language group) and daily activities. It is spoken by adults and teens as they gather on the beach or in a home at night after the day's work is done. It is the language of daily pursuits such as fishing and gardening.

Malay is used for informal communication with people who do not speak Koiwai. It is used with merchants and traders at Namatota and in Kaimana. It is the language to use when relating to people of other language groups, whether in Kaimana, Namatota, or elsewhere. Malay is used among children in almost all situations, except school. Malay is also used among young people, especially when one of the speakers has spent considerable time away from the village (e.g. at school in Fakfak).

Parents usually address their children in Malay. (Although they understand Koiwai, some younger children do not yet speak it). The explanation that the parents give for this is that Malay is so important, they want to make sure that their children learn it. They can always learn Koiwai, they say. This is a fairly recent phenomenon, since adults say that they learned Koiwai before Malay, though the reverse is true now.

Codeswitching is very common between Koiwai and Malay. Men playing dominoes freely switch back and forth during a game. Children playing often insert Koiwai words, phrases and sentences into a conversation mainly dominated by Malay. When

telling stories, men will switch to Malay in order to quote Malay-speaking characters. There is much codeswitching that remains to be analysed, but is outside the scope of this present study. The entire population seems to feel quite at home in both Koiwai and Malay and feels free to switch back and forth in informal conversation.

Koiwai and Malay are the most frequently used codes at Namatota, but on a typical day, two other languages are selected for more limited uses – Indonesian and Arabic.

SOCIAL SETTINGS	CODES				
	Koiwai	Malay	Indonesian	Arabic	other lgs
Adult conversation with in-group	X	-	-	-	-
Adult conversation with out-group	-	X	-	-	-
Adult with child	-	X	-	-	-
Public information in formal settings	-	-	X	-	-
Correspondence	-	-	X	-	-
Boat names	-	X	-	-	-
Religious rituals	-	-	-	X	-
Conversation after religious rituals	X	-	-	-	-
Children playing	-	X	-	-	-
School	-	-	X	-	-
Mixed homes (one spouse from other language group)	-	X	-	-	-
Government relations	-	-	X	-	-
Among people who share another mother-tongue	-	-	-	-	X

Chart 1: The code matrix at Namatota

FORMAL		INFORMAL	
RELIGIOUS	SECULAR	IN-GROUP	OUT-GROUP
Arabic	Indonesian	Koiwai	Malay

Chart 2: Showing the most basic social situations which determine language choice for adults at Namatota

Indonesian is the language of *formal* secular situations, whether among Koiwai speakers or between Koiwai speakers and non-Koiwai speakers. It is the language of government and education. (There is a school at Namatota offering grades 1-3. Those continuing their education must live in Kaimana or other larger towns.) Indonesian is used for other formal occasions in the village such as certain parts of the wedding ceremony and funerals. (Usually the school teacher is asked to make a speech on behalf of the deceased's family since he is the best Indonesian speaker). Announcements made at parties are given in Indonesian, even though the party-goers converse in Koiwai throughout the night. Indonesian is also the language which is written (e.g. letter writing).

Arabic is the fourth language that is used on a regular basis at Namatota. It is the ritual language of religion used by Namatotans, who are all Muslims. Several times a week, the men gather for the chanting of the Koran in Arabic. As is the case of other Muslims whose mother tongue is not Arabic, their comprehension of Arabic is almost nil. Even the religious leaders at Namatota know the meaning of only two phrases: *Bismillah in the name of God* (the opening phrase of every section of the Koran), and *salam ulaikum peace be with you* (a greeting used when inviting someone to a religious service or when entering a service).

Arabic fills a well defined social slot as the ritual language of religion, though the people do not understand the content expressed by it. It has the value of establishing their identity as members of the brotherhood of Islam. In the chanting of the Koran, Arabic also produces a 'magical' effect. This is the province of a separate study, but stated briefly, Arabic seems to function in a complex that appeases hostile spirits, much in the way that magic rituals did before Islam came to Namatota.

2.2 Language structure and language distance

Language distance (Weinreich 1953) refers to the degree of similarity between codes in the matrix. While semantic structure should also be included in a contrastive study to determine language distance, for our purposes here, we will look only at the lexicon, grammar and phonology of the codes in the matrix at Namatota. A continuum of structural similarity would look like this:

Arabic	Indonesian	Malay	Koiwai
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Indonesian and Malay are the closest in linguistic affinity, and making a distinction between them is sometimes difficult, especially because speakers with a limited education possess limited skill in speaking Indonesian. When they intend to speak Indonesian, the result is often a 'dressed up Malay' rather than standard Indonesian. (The evaluative flavour of this statement has been expressed to the author by several Namatotans). Indonesian is considered by the people to be the 'high' language of the two, in Ferguson's terms (1959). The distinction is also blurred by the fact that Indonesian has its historical roots in Malay, and has been expanded lexically by much borrowing from English, Arabic and Sanskrit.⁴ Phonologically, Indonesian and Malay are essentially identical. One lexical difference between Indonesian and Malay is in the use of pronouns. Malay commonly employs *beta I* and *dorang they* for the Indonesian *saya* and *mereka*. Paitua *he* and *maitua she* take the place of the Indonesian *bapak* and *ibu* as pronouns. There are many other lexical items different in the two codes (i.e. Malay *mancado axe* = Indonesian *kapak*).

Grammatically, Malay is much simpler than Indonesian, especially in the area of verb morphology. Indonesian has verbal prefixes, which signal active/passive

and transitivity distinctions (Wolff 1971) and suffixes which are used for polite commands, causative, etc. Malay lacks all of these affixes. Thus the Indonesian *meng + turun + kan* = Malay *kasih turun* *lower*. Another grammatical distinction is the genitive construction. The Malay *beta pu(nya) buku* *I + have + book / my book* is rendered in Indonesian as *buku saya*.

Arabic is the farthest away from the other languages in the matrix. Its main similarity with the others is the lexicon, which has served as a source for borrowing into Malay, Indonesian and Koiwai.

Koiwai and Malay/Indonesian are very close phonologically. Malay/Indonesian have some phones which did not occur in Koiwai in the past, but now have been borrowed along with the Malay/Indonesian words and so form a normal part of Koiwai speech. The main difference in their present phonology is that the allophones of Koiwai /f/ are bilabial (voiced and voiceless) whereas the Malay/Indonesian allophone is labio-dental (voiceless).

Gramatically, Koiwai and Malay/Indonesian are quite similar. Syntactically, they follow the pattern SVO, N-Determiner, N-Descriptive Adjective, Prepositional and Comparisons are Adjective-Marker-Standard. Koiwai, however, differs from Malay and Indonesian in some ways, as listed on Chart 3.

Lexically, Koiwai and Malay/Indonesian share about 30 per cent cognates. Koiwai very readily borrows Malay/Indonesian words, and for verbs merely adds a subject prefix to the verb stem.

INDONESIAN	MALAY	KOIWAI
1. Preverbal aspect markers		Combination of pre- and post-verbal markers
2. Spatial and directional relations		These relations marked by verbs and noun modifiers
3. Part/whole relations expressed as: Part + Whole		Expressed as: Whole + Part
4. Reflexive marked by separate word		Marked by infix
5. Question word occurs sentence initial		Question word sentence final
6. Negative particle precedes item negated		Negative particle occurs sentence final
7. Number precedes noun		Number follows noun
8. Verb inflected for transitivity and causality	Non-inflected verb	Verb inflected for subject (person and number)
9. Personal possession marked as possessed + possessor	Marked as possessor + punya + possessed	Normally marked: possessed + possessor. Sometimes as possessor + possessed

Chart 3: Some comparisons of Indonesian, Malay and Koiwai grammar

Koiwai appears to be changing in the direction of Malay/Indonesian. The Malay/Indonesian decimal number system, for example, is generally used in place of the Koiwai imperfect decimal system, which is more awkward to use. One example of syntactic change is found in the favoured use of the form *ta' ulelan* *I don't know* instead of *ulelan tei*. The Malay/Indonesian negative particle *ta'* has been borrowed as well as its position preceding the verb, as opposed to the usual Koiwai postverbal position. Phonological change is seen in the fact that the Namatota dialect has almost totally lost prenasalisation of voiced stops under the influence of Malay/Indonesian. Prenasalised voiced stops are features of the Koiwai dialects spoken in Kayumerah and Adijaya.

3. SOME MODELS OF MULTILINGUALISM AND THEIR APPLICATION TO LANGUAGE USE AT NAMATOTA

In order for several languages to be used in a single society, each language must fulfill a distinct function. If not, an unstable condition exists and at least one of the languages is bound to be replaced (T'sou 1979). Several models of multilingualism have been proposed to account for the various functions of language, which will shed light on the situation at Namatota.

Ferguson (1959), in his seminal essay on 'Diglossia', suggested two basic functions of languages in a bilingual society. The most commonly used code, the LOW language, he identified with the language of home and hearth, the language of daily pursuits. The HIGH language, on the other extreme, was that variety used for government, education, 'high culture' and religion. In the situation at Namatota, Indonesian fulfills some of the functions of the High language (though not for religion). Arabic is used exclusively for religion and so functions as a High language, too. Functions of the Low language, however, are filled by both Malay and Koiwai in certain situations.

Nida and Wonderly (1971) propose a model which adds several dimensions to the understanding of multilingualism and helps explain the situation at Namatota. They allow for three languages in the matrix, each functioning as either (1) in-group language, (2) out-group language, or (3) language of special information. The intention of their model was to describe a situation such as the one in the nation of Indonesia, where the local vernaculars function as in-group languages. Indonesian (in some variety) serves as the out-group language to communicate across regional and ethnic boundaries, and English serves as a language of specialised information, such as in technical publications and scientific literature. At Namatota, Koiwai normally functions as the in-group language. Malay functions as the out-group language along with Indonesian, mainly depending on the formality of the speech event (i.e. Indonesian-formal; Malay-informal). Indonesian fulfills the function of providing specialised information from sources outside the village community. Arabic does not find a place in this model, since it does not communicate special information, but rather fulfills a ritual/magic function.

Fishman (1968) proposes a model for the study of multilingualism which handles any number of languages and provides some fundamental insights that clarify the phenomenon of language selection in a multilingual society. His main contribution is that he adds a level of abstraction that goes beyond a description solely in terms of situations and functions. He states, "For a community to maintain two 'languages' in a more-or-less stable manner each much be associated with a particular subset of complementary community values" (Fishman 1968:35). Values underlie all of human behaviour, speech included. Certain values cluster around

the use of specific codes in the matrix and determine which codes will be used in given *domains* (the institutions specified in the culture-specific script as appropriate in terms of actors, scenery, etc. for the use of the codes in the community repertoire). One appealing aspect of Fishman's model is that, instead of trying to fit language functions into etic categories, he advocates that we seek to identify domains that are emic — meaningfully different to the speech community itself. How Fishman's model applies to the situation at Namatota will be explored shortly.

One other study that is useful in explaining variations from general patterns of language use in a community is that of Simon Herman (1961). He studied language selection among Israeli immigrants from the psychological perspective of the individual speaker. Herman found that there was a tension between personal need (i.e. the need to communicate information, the need for security, etc.) and the social situation (i.e. pressure from the group to conform). These two factors must be viewed from the background of the individual's personal history and emotional make-up. Since Namatota has a high percentage of newcomers to the community (in one-third of the homes), Herman's insights are quite relevant in understanding why certain individuals do not fit the community norm, or why they do when it appears that they should not. An example of the latter is that newcomers usually speak Koiwai with other Namatotans, even when they could communicate referential information more effectively in Malay. In this case the group exerts pressure to conform to group usage (i.e. speaking Koiwai). The personal need of the individual to fit into the community may override his personal need to communicate information. So he speaks Koiwai, even though his fluency is more limited than in Malay. This finding is parallel to Herman's observation of Israeli immigrants' speech behaviour:

the more marginal a person is in a particular society, the more salient for him becomes the question of language use as an indicator of group affiliation and the less free he is to respond merely in terms of the demands of the immediate situation newcomers anxious to be accepted in Israeli society speak Hebrew on occasions in which persons more firmly entrenched feel themselves free to choose the language in which they are most at ease or to act in terms of the immediate situation. (Herman 1961)

4. CONSTRAINTS ON LANGUAGE SELECTION: HOW IT WORKS AT NAMATOTA

Each language used in Namatota carries cultural and emotive values. Specifying these values will help us to understand why the use of one language is chosen over the use of another in various cultural and situational contexts.

Security based on group identity is a basic value that places constraints on the use of all four languages in the Namatota code matrix. Out of her study of multilingualism among Colombia's Vaupes Indians, Jean Jackson (1974:60) writes, "An individual's formal affiliation to a language is a component of his social identity".

The primary identity of Namatotans is that of belonging to the Namatota community and the larger Koiwai community. "For a man to speak one language rather than another is a ritual act, it is a statement about one's personal status: to speak the same language as one's neighbor expresses solidarity with those neighbors" (Leach 1954:37) When a Namatotan speaks Koiwai, besides

communicating referential information, he is saying, "I am proud of my heritage as a member of the Koiwai people and my membership in the community of Namatota". Unlike some ethnic minority groups, the Koiwai people have a very positive group-image and are proud to be known as Namatotans. One way this is manifested is that, though they borrow freely from Malay, they maintain a set of local place-names distinct from the Malay names. The positive group-image is also apparent in the way they carry themselves and relate to people of other language groups. In Kaimana, they freely use Koiwai in public and are not reticent to talk with Chinese store owners, as are some other village peoples. The fact that newly arrived Namatotans learn to use Koiwai when they could already communicate easily with established residents using Malay is a further manifestation of their positive group-image.

The same value of security based on broader group identity is a factor in the selection of Malay for use in certain communication situations. Because of inter-ethnic marriages, a number of Namatotans belong to kin groups which extend beyond the boundaries of the Koiwai-speaking community. In order to maintain these relationships and identify with in-laws, Malay is very important. There are certain occasions, as well, when Namatotans wish to identify with the larger Kaimana community (i.e. relating to merchants). Here, again, Malay plays an important role. The people of Namatota also see themselves as members of Irianese culture. Statements regarding "we Irianese" as opposed to "those Javanese" correlate with the use of Malay, as opposed to Indonesian.

Another value favouring the use of Malay in certain situations is that of progress — the desire for socioeconomic advancement. Malay has been the medium whereby the raja of Namatota could summon surrounding tribes to serve him. Malay is necessary for the economic life of the village, since marketing products and buying goods depends on relations with Malay-speaking merchants. Parents want their children to learn Malay and they view it as a step toward mastering Indonesian.

Social and economic advancement, so that they can enjoy security as members of the national culture, is a value which causes Namatotans to want for themselves and especially their children to be able to speak Indonesian. One old woman, in speaking about her son who had gone on to university and gotten a job in the government, said that now her son "had become human". She did not seem as concerned that he had not been back to the village to see her for many years as that he had 'arrived' as a city-dwelling member of Indonesian society.

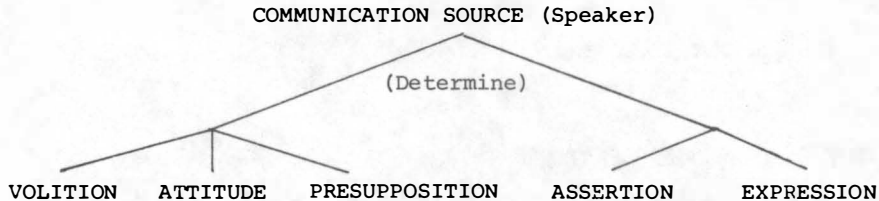
Education can be a step towards social and economic advancement, and so parents are not hesitant to send their children away to school if they demonstrate an inclination in that direction. Teaching Malay to their children is a demonstration of the parents' eagerness for their children to learn Indonesian and to go off to school.

Security as a value is manifested in the use of Arabic. As the language of religious ritual, the use of Arabic gives a sense of security through group identification. As the worshippers seated on mats chant the Koran in Arabic, they can identify with the brotherhood of Islam throughout the world. The effectiveness of these rituals to placate the hostile spirits around them gives a feeling of security in their relationship with the cosmos. And in their view, the effectiveness of these rituals is partly tied up with the use of Arabic as the medium.

Deeply held values of the speech community, then, are the major determinants of language selection in a multilingual community such as Namatota. Other factors nearer the 'surface' (e.g. specific situations and communication roles) also play

a part in determining selection of a code in a given context. One important factor is the speaker's intent of his speech act. We can talk about this factor as the *Volitional* component of the speech act in Gregerson's model (1976).

Gregerson's model of the speech act, though not created with multilingualism in mind, has the mechanism for handling the question of code selection that we are considering here. Looking just at the speaker's side of the equation, we have the following picture:



The *Volitional* component of the speech act normally includes choices such as to Inform, Berate, Deceive, Compliment, Exhort, etc. the hearer. Specifying the *Volitional* component of the speech act, along with the *Attitudes* and *Presuppositions* of the speaker determines how the message (*Assertion*) will be formed (*Expression*). In a multilingual society, where a choice must be made as to the medium of *Expression* (i.e. which language) the *Volitional* component of the speech act (besides the identity of participants) will be a determiner of the code selected. If it is the will of the speaker to generate feelings of group solidarity, and both participants are Koiwai, then the code selected will be Koiwai. If, on the other hand, the speaker wishes to carry on a transaction with a non-Koiwai merchant in Kaimana, he will choose to use Malay, even though the merchant may be able to understand Koiwai. Koiwai may be used with these same participants, if another *Volitional* component is in focus — e.g. joking. If the speaker wishes to show respect (through formality) to a government official, he will choose to speak in Indonesian rather than Malay. In the same way, if the goal of his speech act is to perform an efficacious ritual act, he will select Arabic, the holy language of Islam.

Some other speech act goals and the general constraints they place on speakers in the selection of appropriate codes follow: (1) Cursing or showing anger — The Isirawa of Irian Jaya use Malay rather than Isirawa to curse at someone.⁵ I observed a trial at Namatota, where the village leaders expressed their initial anger toward the offending young man in Malay. As their anger cooled down, they switched back to Koiwai. (2) Telling a secret — Obviously, the one telling the secret will try to choose a language that is understood by his intended receptor, but unknown to those who are within earshot. This is possible for the two Sekar speakers at Namatota. (3) Informing — If this is the primary goal of the speech act, then the language which conveys information most effectively will be selected. For Koiwai speakers (in-group) this will be Koiwai. For non-Koiwai speakers, the language selected will be Malay, unless the formality value overrides and Indonesian is selected. As can be seen at this point, the selection of one language over another in any multilingual society involves the complex interaction of a number of community speech act rules available to native speakers. How these rules are ranked in terms of relative strength is not yet fully known. Nor is it known to what extent it is even possible to specify the constraints in such a way as to predict which language will be chosen in any given situation.

We can, however, identify some of the emic factors that constrain language selection at Namatota. They are as follows:

- (1) *Identity* or role of participants in the speech act: e.g. in-group/out-group; parent/child; villager/government representative etc.
- (2) Speech act *genre*: e.g. ritual/non-ritual; written/spoken.
- (3) Volitional component of the speech act.
- (4) Underlying community values: e.g. *Security* by fitting into a group and the cosmos; *Progress* (i.e. socioeconomic advancement).

Chart 2 displays some of these factors.

5. THE FUTURE OF LANGUAGE USE AT NAMATOTA

The following trends appear to be interacting to affect the future of language use at Namatota.

As long as the current world view and ideological base remain intact for the people of Namatota, Arabic will continue to be used as the language of religious ritual.

Because of the value placed on progress and the part that education plays in this, Indonesian will continue to grow in usage, especially among the young people. A new school which is being built at Namatota will extend the opportunity for students to attend school through sixth grade and thus foster the use of Indonesian. The government has plans to make Kaimana a more important centre, and the proposed expansion will probably include a movie theatre. Films have been a major means of spreading the national language in the Philippines, and we can predict that this will be the case in Irian Jaya as well.

Because of increased contact with foreign economic interests and government officials, Indonesian will increase in importance and Malay will decrease.

Koiwai will continue to change rather than die, becoming more like Malay and Indonesian with time. Hymes has reported a case study from Brazil (1962) showing that even though a tribal group is integrated into the national culture and their traditional culture is lost, their language can be preserved. Therefore, even as facets of Namatotan culture change, reflecting influence by the national culture, the Koiwai language will remain as a badge of identity, marking them off as a separate people.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this study has been to give insight into the complexities of language use at Namatota. It has revealed a pattern of language use and the constraints that determine language selection in a multilingual community. It has identified trends that help us to predict the future of language use. But even more than this, it has demonstrated how the people of Namatota see themselves as part of a changing world. We catch a glimpse of the values — the hub of culture — that orders and integrates the entire complex of their lives.

NOTES

1. Koiwai is an Austronesian language spoken as the language of primary identity by approximately 600 speakers in the villages of Namatota, Waikala, Kayumerah, Keroi, Adijaya, Nasaulon, Baru and the town of Kaimana.
2. From a draft entitled 'Proposed sociolinguistic survey of Pakistan'.
3. Koiwai is classified as a member of the South Halmahera-West New Guinea group of Eastern Indonesian languages by Salzner (1960). Dyen (1965), however, classifies Koiwai in his Moluccan Linkage. My own study confirms Dyen's classification of Koiwai with the languages of Molucca. Using Salzner's scheme I would put Koiwai in the Ambon-Timor Group rather than the South Halmahera-West New Guinea group, since I find the highest cognate relationship with Goram (55 per cent).
4. Malay was in use throughout the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago as a trade language centuries before Indonesian became the national language in the 1940s and became the language of government in Irian Jaya in 1962. When Pigafetta, one of the survivors of Magellan's party, arrived in Ternate in 1521, he found Malay in wide use and recorded one of the first Malay word-lists.

Although Indonesian has great similarities to Malay, since it has a distinct function in society, it will be considered as a separate code in this study.
5. Carol Erickson Kalmbacher, personal communication.

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TWO SCHOOLS: ON FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE IN THE CLASSROOM IN INDONESIA

Kay Ikranagara

A few years ago observation and tape recording of verbal interactions in a rural school in West Java were carried out by participants in a sociolinguistic research practicum I supervised for the National Language Center.¹ I felt that the type of interactions they observed had a bearing on certain language and language-related problems of Indonesian education. I have recently done some additional observation and recording in a very different Indonesian school, a government 'development school'. In this paper I will discuss the verbal interactions of teachers and students in these two schools in terms of their density, participant structures, and functions, and will suggest a relationship between the linguistic strategies used by the teachers and students and certain problems of education in Indonesia.

I am interested in relating classroom linguistic strategies to two problems of education in Indonesia, the first having to do with language learning and the second with social change. In regard to the first, it should be noted that Indonesia has had great success in its national language program in comparison with the problems encountered in other Asian countries with similar linguistic diversity. But it is commonly felt that the level of ability which students reach in the national language (Bahasa Indonesia: BI) is still a fundamental problem, particularly in reference to rural children (e.g. Soewangara 1978:7).

The second problem has to do with how the Indonesian school system can promote certain desired goals of social change. The Indonesian Government states that a goal of its elementary school system is to develop the new 'development man' (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 1976). The problem is how the educational system can be designed to shape and strengthen behaviours that are compatible with the goals of social change and at the same time maintain enough 'fit' with the values of the present society to be practicable. The way language is used is one of the types of behaviour in the schools which must somehow fit both with the present society and with its desired goals.

It is the teachers' and students' linguistic strategies, or their ways of using language in teaching and learning, which may be related to these educational problems. These ways of using language may be usefully described in terms of density, participant structures, and functions of speech events.

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Concepts used in the study

The verbal event is defined here as in Horner and Gussow (1972:171) as "a piece of verbal behavior emitted by one person addressing another". Individual verbal events are separated from one another by a shift in addressee or a period of silence at the end of an utterance.

Density of communication is figured by the number of times a speaker addresses a speech event to a given addressee (Horner and Gussow 1972:171).

Participant structure refers to the way participants are structured in a speech event (Phillips 1972:377). Structures which occur in this data are: teacher interacting with the students as a group, teacher interacting with individual students, and individual students interacting with each other.

The analysis of verbal events in terms of functions is based on Skinner's (1957) classification of verbal behaviour. The definitions below are from Horner and Gussow (1972:176-177).

Among the classes of verbal behaviour I found in the data are those identified as 'mands', 'tacts', and 'echoic responses'. The mand is:

verbal behavior that works primarily for the benefit of the speaker. Technically it is a verbal operant that is under the functional control of various states of relative deprivation or aversive stimulation and thus specifies its reinforcer.

For example, "Get out!" or "Be quiet!" It usually has the force of requesting that something be done, but it is sometimes in another form than a request. For example, "Some people are very noisy", may have the force of a request for quiet.

A tact is:

a verbal event in which the speaker talks about something, e.g. "My, that's pretty!" Hence it acts to benefit the listener because it extends his contact with the environment. In technical terms, the tact is a verbal operant in which the controlling stimulus is any one of a whole world of things and events a speaker may "talk about" and the reinforcer is varied or general - essentially the fact that in a given verbal community such statements are characteristically replied to.

An echoic response is:

a verbal response that has a point-to-point correspondence with the topography of the verbal controlling stimulus. In Skinner's view it is established in the child by such deliberate reinforcers on the part of parents and teachers as "Right!" or "Good boy!" contingent on a correct mimic response from the child.

Examples of these various types of speech events will be given in the discussion of the students' and teachers' repertoires to follow.

The study

The observation and recording in the rural school (RS) was only one subproject of a research practicum in a rural area of West Java, where the local language is Sundanese. Two other subprojects provided interesting language-related background information on the immediate area of the school. The first was concerned with

language usage. It found levels of education of adults, contact with non-Sundanese speakers, media exposure, and occurrence of situations in which use of BI was considered appropriate, all to be strikingly low. On the other hand, 70 per cent of the families had children currently in school, and BI was officially the language of instruction by at least the fourth grade. This subproject found the expected correlations within the population showing that use of BI correlated with age, sex, and media contact. It did not find the expected correlations between usage and domain, as the number of people who reported using BI regularly in any domain was so small.

A second subproject involved a simple oral language test. Four one-paragraph stories were read and questions were asked about their content. Of the random sample 43 per cent were unable to answer the first, simplest question.

These results give a picture of BI ability and usage sharply different from that in the environment of the Development School, which was located in a basically BI-speaking area.

The rural school (RS) consisted of six grades. Few of the students continued their education after graduation. Most of the students' parents were reported to be rice farmers and workers in the local tea plantations and factory. The teachers were also native speakers of Sundanese.

When the researchers began to observe in the RS, they found a highly unnatural situation in the lower grades: the teachers attempted to teach only in BI in front of the observers, and the children apparently understood little of what was being said.

The use of BI in the upper grades appeared much more natural. However the question arises whether the classroom interaction without observers in these grades would have been quite different. There are two aspects to this question, one concerning the language used and the other the linguistic strategy. In regard to the language used, the observers noted that the students at this level did seem to have the ability to at least understand the classroom interaction and answer simple questions in BI. This could be seen especially in the fifth-grade BI lesson, in which the students answered simple questions in BI appropriately. It was also confirmed by the results of the language test later given to the twenty sixth-graders. Of the students 78 per cent passed the test, suggesting that most of the class would understand most of the classroom interaction in BI. On the other hand, it is quite likely that the teacher usually puts in quite a bit of Sundanese explanatory material as well, in the mixed style some teachers slipped into in the lower grades. Some indications that the students were not comfortable in classes conducted entirely in BI were: the high proportion of wrong responses to mands for information and occasionally even mands for echoic responses, the students' unwillingness or inability to give more than one-word answers, and the proportion that did not pass the simple oral test.

In reference to the linguistic strategy, an indication that it would not have been very different without observers is that similar classroom interaction was apparently found by two researchers on long-term projects, Djalil (1978) and Shaeffer (1979). In other regions of Indonesia, they apparently found similar interaction both in BI and in regional languages. Although these two studies do not analyse the classroom interaction linguistically, their descriptions seem to refer to the type of language use we found in the RS, to be discussed below.

The Development School (DS) presented a strong contrast to the RS. The Students were an elite group. Many of them were drawn from the surrounding complex which housed the faculties of a university and teacher-training college.

Competition to enter the school (at kindergarten) was intense, and children were given screening tests, including intelligence tests, as part of the selection process. The school had its own junior and senior high schools, to which its elementary school graduates were automatically accepted.

The first language of most of the students was BI. Among themselves they spoke to some degree in a regional variety of BI which is not considered appropriate as a public variety. However, the degree of interference it would cause in understanding standard BI would be minimal. In addition, being located in a major city, the students had many more opportunities for exposure to standard BI than the RS students.

The teachers were also an elite group. Many of them were graduates of the teacher-training college, an unusually high educational level for elementary school teachers.

The school was one in which the new curriculum was being tested. The new curriculum uses a set of learning 'modules' as the basic text material. The system of applying them at the DS was briefly as follows: each class was divided into two or three ability groups for each subject. The students worked independently to complete the modules in a given order. If a student got very far ahead of his group, he was either given extra work to do or free time.

Accustomed to visitors from the associated teacher-training college and foreign countries, the students and teachers at this school paid little attention to the observers.

These two schools are clearly not 'typical' Indonesian schools, but probably more like polar extremes within the educational system of Indonesia.²

The researchers observed at the RS for a week and a half. They kept detailed journals of their observations. About thirteen hours of tape recording were done in all grades. I selected the recording made in the fifth grade for closer analysis as it could be compared with the fifth grade of the DS: the sixth grade of the DS is considered part of the junior high school. The type of verbal interactions heard on the tape recording of the RS fifth grade appears to be typical of the interaction in the RS as represented by the tape recordings and researchers' observations. About three hours and forty-five minutes of classroom interaction were recorded in the RS fifth grade on two days by two observers. One class period of science, two of social studies, one of mathematics and one of language were included.

The DS was one I was familiar with and had observed over several years. Two assistants recorded one and a half hours of classroom interaction in two fifth-grade classes there.³ These appear to be typical of the DS interaction as I have observed it. One class period of mathematics and one of language were included. In addition I hand recorded all interactions of the three children nearest the door during one language class period (about forty-five minutes) in one of the DS fifth grades.

I transcribed the fifth-grade tape recordings from the two schools and counted and classified the speech events in these transcriptions and in the hand-recorded transcription of the DS children's interaction. In the following sections I will first give some translated excerpts from the transcriptions and then will discuss the results of the analysis of the transcriptions. Charts summarising the results of the analysis follow the discussion.

TRANSLATIONS OF SAMPLE TRANSCRIPTIONS

KEY: T: Teacher - G: Students as a group - I: Individual student.

RS Transcription I

T: Sometimes thermometers are bigger. Sometimes they are big...?
 G: ...ger!
 T: In the thermometer is mercury. In the thermometer is mer...?
 G: ...cury!
 T: Or alcohol. Or al...?
 G: ...cohol!
 T: Because mercury is easily affected by heat. Because mercury is easily affected by ...?
 G: ...heat!
 T: And heat easily affects alcohol. Affects al...?
 G: ...cohol!
 T: And it reaches the number that shows the degree of temperature. The number that shows the temper...?
 G: ...ature!
 T: If you put the thermometer in hot water then the temperature will rise. The temperature will...?
 G: ...rise!
 T: The temperature reached will be one hundred degrees Celsius. One hundred degrees Cel...?
 G: ...sius!
 T: or two hundred twelve degrees...?
 G: ...Celsius!
 T: Two hundred twelve degrees Fahrenheit. Two hundred twelve degrees Fah...?
 G: ...Celsius!
 T: ...renheit. So this is a picture of a thermometer. A picture of a thermo...?
 G: ...meter!
 T: So this is Celsius thirty-...?
 G: ...two!
 T: Thirty-...?
 G: ...two!
 T: Thirty-two degrees. Thirty-two deg...?
 G: ...grees!
 T: The temperature of the human body is thirty-six degrees. The human body is thirty-six deg...?
 G: ...grees!
 T: So this is called a thermo...?
 G: ...meter!
 T: Then we read the thermo...?
 G: ...meter!

RS Transcription II

T: Now, I'm going to ask. What was the first Islamic kingdom in Indonesia?
 The kingdom of ...?
 The first in Indone...?
 G: ...sia!
 T: Now, think about it.
 How can we go on with the next lesson if you don't know the last lesson?
 It was in North Suma...?
 G: ...tra!

T: And up to now, North Sumatra, and the region of Aceh, up to now are still regions where they have the religion of Is...?

G: ...lam!

T: And on the island of Java? The kingdom of Demak. The kingdom of De...?

G: ...mak!

T: The kingdom of ...?

G: Demak!

T: The kingdom of Demak.
The last lesson went up to the Islamic kingdoms.
The biggest one, what was it? It spread all over Indonesia.
What was it? The kingdom of Maja...?

G: ...pahit!

T: It reached all over Indone...?

G: ...sia?

T: If I ask you, how many times bigger than Java is the island of Kalimantan, Kalimantan is fo...?

G: ...ur!

T: Kalimantan is ...?

G: ...four!

T: Four times bigger than the island of ...?

G: ...Java!

T: At that time Kalimantan was still colonised by the Eng...?

G: ...lish!

T: But at that time not all of it. Not all of ...?

G: ...it!

T: came under the kingdom of Maja...?

G: ...pahit!

RS Transcription III

T: Now we'll study language. We'll study lang...?

G: ...guage!

T: We'll tell a little story. Tell a little ...?

G: ...story!

T: In good language. In good ...?

G: ...language!

T: Last week we went camp...?

G: ...ping!

T: We'll tell about the camping. Like this: "Last week we went camping". Who can do it?
Don't be shy.

I: I can't.

T: Of course you can. Just talk about the camping.
Of course you can.
Come on.
Did you go?

I: Yes.

T: You went, didn't you? Of course you can.

I: Last week we went camping.

T: Good.

I: We came to... We came to...

T: Come on.
Come on. We want to talk well. We don't want not to talk well.

I: Last week we went camping.

- T: Try, just one sentence. "Last week I went camping."
Come on, who can talk?
O.K., that is discussion. Let's try questions and answers.
Where do you live?
- I: In kampung alun-alun.
- T: So your mother lives in kampung alun-alun?
- I: Yes.
- T: What grade are you in?
- I: Fifth.
- T: Fifth. If I'm not wrong on Friday your class went camping.
- I: Yes.
- T: Did you go?
- I: Yes.
- T: What did you do there?
- I: Camping.
- T: What else?
- I: Nothing.
- T: Did you take anything?
- I: No.
- T: Who knows what you took?
Someone else?
Have you ever gone to the fields with your father? Tell us about it.
So maybe you feel shy. Afraid of being wrong. But being wrong is usual for
people. Everyone makes mistakes.
What about you?
What day do you usually go to the fields? On Sun...?
- G: ...day!
- T: On Sun...?
- G: ...day!

DS Transcription I

- T: Who else needs this module?
Please help me give it out.
No. This one, this one, this one.
It's 9.50, O.K.?
Take module twenty-one, O.K.?
Group B, get it here.
Take it, O.K.?
Group A, number twenty-nine.
- I: I need number twenty-one.
- T: Just getting it now.
Do you have paper?
Look for it, O.K.?
Get it.
Have you done it already?
Do the problems first. Study the example first.
Do you want to finish the test today?
- G: Yes.
- T: You haven't finished module twenty-nine.
Someone is being noisy.
Ani, what page are you on?
- I: (inaudible)
- T: Have you done it?

I: I've already done it, Teacher.
 T: If you haven't don't go on yet, O.K.?
 What you're finished, that's good.
 No one may go ahead. No one may.
 Those who are finished may go outside. But check your work first, O.K.?
 If you didn't pass, study it again.
 Do you have paper?
 G: Yes.
 T: Everyone has paper?
 You aren't finished yet, are you?
 I: No.
 T: (inaudible)
 I: (inaudible)
 T: (inaudible)
 I: (inaudible)
 T: You are on number eight. You haven't done seven yet. Do it first. Why didn't you ask?
 (inaudible)
 I: (inaudible)
 T: Who isn't finished yet?
 Those who are ready for the test can play out in the yard.

DS Transcription II (by hand)

Iin: Den, what do you do, Den?
 Deni: (inaudible)
 Iin: (reads softly to self)
 Child at door: What are you doing?
 David: A story
 Oni: What are you doing?
 Iin: Exercise one. (Reads softly)
 Uh ... this one.
 Oni: This?
 Iin: Ya.
 (inaudible)
 Neli: Did you pass?
 Iin: Not yet, not yet.
 It's difficult.
 Neli: You do this first.
 Iin: (inaudible)
 Deni: Just like this.
 Iin: Teacher, look at Dedi, Teacher!
 Teacher: Group A has already taken test 21, haven't you?
 Iin: Yes.
 (inaudible)
 Teacher: Here is the list of names of the ones who passed.
 (Reads list of names)
 Iin: What, Teacher?
 Did you pass or not?
 Neli: (inaudible)
 Iin: Do you put it in order like this?
 Neli: Just like that.
 Iin: (whispers)
 Neli: (whispers)

- Neli: (inaudible)
 Iin: Ya, I understand, I understand. You put it in order in one paragraph, right?
 Neli: Ohhh.
 Oni: What's this?
 Iin: Like this. You look for the synonyms over here. For example, jika-kalau. Like that. It's up to you.
 Deni, like this?
 Deni: Yes!
 Iin: Which exercise are you doing, Nel?
 Neli: Number two.
 Iin: What?
 Neli: Number two.

Frequency and density of interaction and participant structures in the RS and the DS

One immediate impression on listening to the RS tapes in contrast to those from the DS is that the RS teachers spoke more often. Generally the RS teachers spoke throughout the class period except when the students responded, but there were intermittent silences when the teachers wrote on the board, looked for a place in a book, or just seemed to collect themselves to go on. When they were through talking the students were dismissed.

In contrast, the observers noted that the DS teachers did not talk much to the group. They seemed to spend most of their time keeping an eye on the class, giving out papers, and overseeing the work of individual students.

The impression of relative frequency of the teachers' verbal events in the RS in comparison to the DS is confirmed by a calculation of the average number of verbal events per minute in the transcriptions of the fifth-grade tapes. The RS teacher spoke twice as many times as the DS teachers (an average of four times per minute, compared to the DS average of two times per minute).

One class period which was somewhat deviant from the others in the RS data was the BI class period. However, it was still more like other RS interaction than like DS interaction. In this lesson the teacher attempted first to get the students to describe individually a recent experience. When the students did not respond, he tried to get them to ask and answer questions of each other. Again failing to elicit responses, he fell partly back into manding for echoic responses (see below). He did succeed in getting some individual students to answer his simple questions to them, although only with one-word answers. One has the impression of a teacher valiantly trying to do something quite unfamiliar to his students. There were long silences on this tape as the teacher waited for students to respond. But even in this lesson, he still spoke more frequently than the DS teacher (three times per minute, compared to the DS teachers' range of one to two times per minute).

The RS teachers generally addressed themselves to the students as a group rather than to individuals. In the transcriptions the RS fifth-grade teacher addressed 91 per cent of his verbal events to the group. Of the 9 per cent addressed to individuals, almost all took place in the BI lesson.

In comparison, the DS teachers' verbal events were more often directed to individual students. Still, most (63 per cent) of the DS teachers' verbal events in the transcriptions were directed to the group.

In summary, the RS teachers' verbal events were frequent and group-oriented, while the DS teachers' verbal events were relatively infrequent and directed both to the group and to individuals.

Turning to the complementary students' repertoires, we find that the RS students did not speak as often as their teachers, but they spoke more often than the DS students. On the fifth-grade tapes, the RS students' average number of speech events is two per minute. In contrast, the frequency of the DS students' speech events on the tapes was less than one per minute. This may seem to be a surprising result. Another researcher has noted his surprise on finding the DS he visited so quiet (Shaeffer 1979:258). I am not sure he is referring to the same kind of situation however, for the DS students were not silent but spoke to each other softly and continuously. The resultant noise level among the students was so high that the teachers had difficulty making themselves heard. One teacher occasionally manded the group to reduce the noise level. But each student individually spoke quietly, to his neighbours. As this was very difficult to catch on a tape recorder, I recorded by hand the interactions of the three children sitting nearest me for one class period. Interacting with a total of six other children during the period, the verbal events in this group took place at a fairly constant rate of about one per minute.

The RS students generally spoke loudly and as a group. In the transcriptions of the fifth-grade interaction, 87 per cent of their verbal events were of this kind. Almost all of the remaining 13 per cent of their verbal events, which were individual, took place during the BI class period. The RS students' verbal events were directed toward the teacher. There was not much opportunity for interaction among the students. The frequency of teacher-group verbal events was too high and so was the noise level.

Of the few verbal events by students on the DS tapes, 90 per cent were individuals speaking to the teacher. Only 10 per cent were group-to-teacher. In the hand-recorded material, 82 per cent of the students' verbal events were individuals speaking to specific other individuals, 15 per cent were individuals speaking either to themselves or to the undifferentiated audience of the students in the immediate vicinity, and 4 per cent were individuals speaking to the teacher.

In summary, the RS students' verbal events were relatively frequent and entirely group-to-teacher, while the DS students' verbal events were relatively infrequent and largely individual student to individual student.

The functional analysis: the teachers' repertoires

The most striking impression from listening to the tapes of the RS is the teachers' frequent use of language in a way which appears to have no standardised name in Indonesia, but which seems to be immediately recognised by Indonesians from all over Indonesia as a teacher's style, particularly for elementary school. In a scene in a recent popular Indonesian children's film ('Harmonikaku') the mother used a single mand in this style to draw the children from their play to do their homework:

Mother: Now it's time to stu...?
Children: ...dy!

The teacher uses a sharply rising intonation and waits for the children as a group to supply the last one or two syllables in the phrase, or s/he sometimes completes it with them. The children complete the phrase in unison, often shouting.

I have called this way of using language on the teacher's part a 'mand for an echoic response' and on the students' part an 'echoic response'. Although this is not the type of echoic response described by Skinner (1957), it seems to meet his definition. Of the echoic responses 90 per cent on the RS tapes analysed are repetitions of models given by the teacher immediately before, as in:

Teacher: Now we're going to study mathematics.

We're going to study mathema...?

Students: ...tics!

In the remaining cases we may say that the children are echoing sentences which they have heard before, usually from the same speaker in the same context, as in the first example above, or as in the following example:

Teacher: This is an old lesson. The teachings of Islam were brought to Indonesia by people from In...?

Students: ...dia!

where the teacher is reviewing a previous lesson.

This pattern has been noted by observers in other schools in Indonesia as well:

Answers are given by pupils all at once ... like group singing ... the pupils don't seem to care whether they answer correctly or not, the important thing for them is to have the opportunity to shout together... (Djalil 1978:6)

Teachers regularly use ... the "broken-word" method where a teacher stops in mid-sentence or even mid-word and waits for the class to chorus back a memorised, one-word reply. (Schaeffer 1979:121)

In the transcriptions of the RS fifth grade, mands for echoic responses of the type described above were the second most frequent type of verbal event in the teacher's repertoire. This also held true for each class period except in the mathematics period in which mands for echoic response were the most frequent type of verbal event. The lowest percentage of this type of verbal event in a class period was 27 per cent found in the BI period.

In contrast, in the transcriptions of the DS interaction, no such mands occurred. The functional analysis of the RS and DS transcriptions showed a number of other striking contrasts as well.

The largest proportion of the RS teacher's verbal events were found to be simple tacts. They were also the largest proportion of the teacher's verbal events in each class period except in the mathematics period, in which they were the second most numerous. Most of these tacts explained the content of the lesson, such as:

Teacher: This is a line.

In the DS transcriptions, simple tacts were also the most frequent type of verbal event for the teachers. But although one of the teachers gave a few simple tacts explaining the content of the lesson to a small group, most of the DS teachers' tacts addressed to the group had to do with the mechanics of the students' activities, as in the following examples:

Teacher: If you don't pass one test, it doesn't matter.

Teacher: You are on number eight.

Only when speaking to individual students did the teachers do much explaining of the subject matter. This was natural since different students were working on different material.

Other kinds of verbal events which occurred in the RS transcriptions were in comparatively small percentages, the largest being 8 per cent. One such verbal event was the mand for movement. The mands for movement in the RS data occurred mostly in the BI class and were actually mands to speak, as the teacher urged the students repeatedly to describe a recent experience, as in:

Teacher: Just talk about the camping. Of course you can.

In addition the teacher asked in each class period for questions from the students (there were none).

In contrast, in the DS transcriptions the teachers' most frequent type of verbal event was the mand for movement, for example:

Teacher: Check your work first.

Teacher: Study it again.

These were all mands for activity. There was none of this type of instruction in the RS transcriptions.

The few mands for information in the RS transcriptions were also mostly in the BI period, as the teacher began to ask simple questions, such as:

Teacher: What do you do? Hoe?

Student: Hoe. (giggles)

Although these were mands for information, the information actually sought by the teacher was whether or not the student could understand the question and give any appropriate answer.

In contrast, in the DS transcriptions, manding for information was a relatively important function for the DS teachers. Most of these mands sought information about the mechanics of the students' activity, as in:

Teacher: Who else needs this module?

Teacher: Ani, what page are you on?

In the RS transcriptions, some mands for confirmation also occurred, such as:

Teacher: Zero is bigger, isn't it?

Students: Yes!

Such mands did not occur in the DS transcriptions.

Finally, in the DS transcriptions each teacher, once, manded a student for continuation, as in:

Teacher: O.K. And then?

Such mands did not occur in the RS transcriptions.

In summary, tacts and mands for echoic responses dominated the teachers' responses in the RS transcriptions.

Mands for movement and information and simple tacts dominated the DS teachers' repertoires. Their repertoires completely lacked mands for echoic responses.

The functional analysis of the students' repertoires

The most striking contrast between the repertoires of the RS students and the DS students was their use of echoic responses. In the RS transcriptions 75 per cent of the students' verbal events were echoic responses while no such events occurred in the DS transcriptions.

It might be noted that the echoic responses in the RS material were occasionally incorrect responses, as in:

Teacher: You want to be cle...?
 Students: ...ver!
 Teacher: So you can go to high ...?
 Students: ...ver!
 Teacher: school.

In the RS transcriptions the only other type of verbal events by the students were tacts. Most of these were one-word replies to simple questions in the BI period, as described above. There was also some reading aloud of multiplication sentences in the mathematics period and there were some confirmation responses. It might be noted that the teacher's few mands for information or confirmation in connection with the content of the lesson usually received no reply or a wrong answer as in:

Teacher: Which one is bigger?
 ...
 Is minus two bigger?
 Students: Yes!
 Teacher: Zero is bigger.

In the DS transcriptions, the largest number of the students' verbal events were simple tacts. Although there were a number of exchanges on the content of the lesson between individuals and the teacher, the largest number of students' tacts to the teacher concerned the mechanics of their activities, as in:

Student: I haven't written it down yet, Teacher.

On the other hand, when speaking to other students, a larger number concerned the content of the lesson, as in:

Student: You put it in order, in a paragraph.

In the RS transcriptions, the students' repertoire is completely lacking in mands.

In contrast, mands are the second most frequent type of speech event for the students in the DS transcriptions. The most frequent type of mands are the mands for information. These had to do either with the mechanics of the activity or with the content of the lesson, as in:

Student: What number are you on?
 Student: Den, what do you do, Den?
 Student: How do I do it, Teacher?
 Student: Do I take this one, Teacher?

There were also mands for movement, both to the teacher:

Student: I need number twenty-one.

and to other students:

Student: Go away.

Student: Put them in order like this, in a paragraph.

There were also a few mands for permission to the teacher:

Student: May I go out, Teacher?

and to other students:

Student: May I use your pen?

Finally there were mands for attention to the teacher and other students:

Student: Teacher! Teacher!

Student: Iin! Iin! (girl's name)

and mands for repetition to the teacher and other students:

Student: What?

It is of interest that with each other the students used their daily regional variety of BI influenced by the original dialect of the area.⁴

In summary, in the RS transcriptions, the students' repertoire was dominated by echoic responses. Mands were completely lacking.

In the DS transcriptions, the students' repertoire was dominated by simple tacts and mands for information. It is of interest to note that Skinner (1957) considers tacts the most important form of verbal interaction, while mands are particularly important in children's natural conversation (e.g. Horner and Gussow 1972).

Teachers' and students' strategies

The RS teachers' strategy may be characterised as dominated by frequent group-oriented tacts and mands for echoic responses. In contrast the DS teachers' strategy is infrequent group- and individual-oriented tacts and mands for movement and information.

The corresponding students' strategies may be characterised as follows: the RS students' strategy is dominated by fairly frequent group-to-teacher echoic responses. The DS students' strategy is relatively infrequent, largely peer-oriented tacts and mands for information.

These characterisations describe the contrasting strategies of the RS and DS. They are more useful for showing the contrast between these classroom strategies than characterisations of teachers' strategies in such terms as 'lecture method' or 'questions and answers', or students' strategies as 'active' or 'passive'. Both the RS and the DS teachers lecture and ask questions, but in different participant structures and with different functions. Similarly both groups of students may be called 'active', but in different participant structures and with different functions.

	RS	DS
Teacher to Group	91%	63%
Teacher to Individual	9%	37%

Chart 1: Teachers' repertoires: participant structures

	RS	DS
Mands		
movement	8%	39%
information	7%	29%
confirmation	5%	-
continuation	-	1%
echoic response	39%	-
Tacts		
simple	42%	32%

Chart 2: Teachers' repertoires: functions

	RS	DS	
		tape recorded	by hand
Group to Teacher	87%	(10%)	-
Individual to Teacher	13%	(90%)	4%
Individual to Individual	-	-	82%
Individual to Self or Undifferentiated other Students	-	-	15%

Chart 3: Students' repertoires: participant structures

	RS	DS	
		tape recorded	by hand
Mands			
movement	-	3%	5%
attention	-	-	5%
information	-	13%	23%
permission	-	3%	2%
repetition	-	-	2%
Tacts			
simple	10%	81%	60%
reading aloud	7%	-	4%
confirmation	8%	-	-
Echoic responses	75%	-	-

Chart 4: Students' repertoires: functions

RS and DS strategies and language learning

Leacock (1972:117) notes that

[Memorisation and rote-teaching] methods seem to be related in the history of nations to the initial period of building literacy in a common language. They make school easier for the [non-native] speaker than does the contemporary emphasis on individual participation in discussion.

The teaching strategy used in the RS makes school easier for the students, who are just learning BI, than strategies which would require them to tact or mand individually in BI.

But while rote-teaching methods, and particularly the RS strategy, may be related to the students' lack of fluency in the target language, they may not be the best ways of teaching language. In a situation such as that of immigrant children in the U.S., as mentioned by Leacock (1972:117), the children learn the language in their everyday interactions outside of school. But the students in the RS in this study live in a large, well-established language community and have relatively little contact with the national language. It would seem that second-language-teaching methods would be more appropriate for them.

One tenet of second-language teaching today is to consider the specific purpose for which the student studies a second language (e.g. Prator 1976:7). The RS students may in large part follow their parents in working as farmers and labourers. In addition to being able to communicate on a simple level with non-Sundanese speakers, it would be of benefit to them to be able to understand and respond to information and instructions in the national language.

But in the RS they do not learn to use the language in school in the participant structures and functions they would need for this purpose. They learn primarily to give echoic responses as a group, rather than to respond individually to mands for information or movement.

In the Development School, although the students are basically BI-speaking, they need to learn to use standard BI for a wide range of functions for higher education. But the use of certain participant structures such as individual-to-group and even individual-to-teacher, is limited by the student-teacher ratio and the facilities available. Although the conditions in the DS are relatively good compared to many Indonesian schools, there are about forty students to a class and little space available for work in smaller groups. As this is not a situation which can likely be remedied in the near future, the teachers must work within these limitations.

Within the limitations of the situation, the DS students are being taught to use the standard language in useful ways. The DS teacher's strategy does require the students to respond to mands for movement and information in standard BI. The students respond to the teacher's mands for information with appropriate activity. They respond to the mands for information from the written material with written tacts in standard BI. The DS teacher's strategy also calls upon the students to tact and mand in standard BI to the teacher to some extent. Each of the students whose interaction I had recorded did tact or mand the teacher individually during the class period.

The extension of the new curriculum will probably be accompanied by in-service training for teachers. It would be an opportunity to train teachers such as those at the RS to alter their teaching strategy to make their students' language learning more effective. It seems possible that teachers such as the RS

teachers could adapt the teaching strategy of the DS teachers to their needs. For this scheme, the teachers should also have the support, especially in the lower grades of BI materials with a second-language-teaching approach (cf. Soewangara 1978:11). In other subjects, the RS teachers could mand for information and movement in BI with progressively less explanation in the native language from the lower to the upper grades. The students, speaking spontaneously in their native language, could help each other to respond both to the teacher's mands for movement with appropriate activity and to the mands for information from the written material with appropriate written responses in BI. If this scheme were realised, students such as those in the RS might learn to use BI in more relevant ways.

RS and DS strategies and social change

"When we teach children how to participate in communication with others, we are teaching them how to learn", note Byers and Byers (1972:6). "And whatever is learned serves to provide the child or person with the process for learning still more through increasingly higher levels of participation." At the same time, we must remember that "all educational endeavors must be designed to shape and strengthen behaviors that are not only compatible with society's goals, but will also find support in the everyday world." (Horner and Gussow, 1972:190).

A goal of the Indonesian education system is to develop the characteristics needed by 'development man', such as creativity, responsibility, and independence (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 1976). The traditional Indonesian value system, according to Koentjaraningrat (1974), promotes characteristics not in accordance with the needs of the age of development, such as not wanting to stand alone, depending on mutual help, orientation to one's superiors, not taking responsibility for one's own acts, desire not to be above others in one's peer group, conformism, lack of achievement-orientation.

The linguistic strategy in the RS is one that is comfortable for members of the traditional society. It is group-oriented on the part of the teacher, so that it does not require the student to stand alone or take responsibility for his own acts. On the part of the student it is oriented to the superior (teacher) and relies heavily on echoic responses so that he may be comfortably conforming and remaining within the peer group.

A similar language activity is found in the children's extracurricular classes in Koran reading. The students repeat verses of the Koran in Arabic in a rhythmic style after the religion teacher until they have memorised them. The teacher does not break down the passages to explain them, although he sometimes expounds on their meaning as a whole. This activity resembles the RS classroom strategy in that the students are required only to give echoic responses.

Thus, the strategy used in the RS is a familiar one for the students and fits well with the society around it. As seen in the example of the fifth-grade BI lesson, when the teacher attempts to modify his style too much, the result is that the students do not respond. In the RS setting, the teacher must be careful that his students do not become so uncomfortable that they simply stop attending school.

The RS strategy however does not seem to fit with the goal of developing creativity, responsibility, and independence. The students do not work alone, and have no individual responsibility or opportunity for creativity in the classroom.

What about the DS strategy? It is quite different from the type of interaction found in the Western 'experimental' schools of the 'open classroom' or 'individually guided education' type. But even if such systems were desired, the teacher-student ratio and facilities available preclude options such as choice by the individual student of his own scheduling of subjects. They make difficult such methods as small group discussion, role-playing, or having individual students speak before the class, although such methods can be used to some extent.

Although the DS strategy avoids the method characterised by Phillips (1972: 381) in U.S. schools as "learning through public mistakes", it does require the students to work more independently, responsibly, and creatively than with the RS strategy. The students spend most of their time responding individually to the demands of the written materials and have the responsibility for their own responses. Their responses are largely tacit which allow more creativity than the echoic responses of the RS. In their spontaneous interaction among themselves, they are also able to use language creatively and independently.

At the same time, the DS strategy makes use of a basic characteristic of the traditional Indonesian character: reliance on mutual help. The DS students' largest number of demands for information were to each other.

The DS strategy appears to fit with the desired goals of social change of Indonesian education better than the RS strategy. At the same time it exploits a quality of the traditional character. Perhaps this aspect would make it a practicable strategy to extend to schools such as the RS along with the extension of the new curriculum. The test of such speculations will have to await the future.

Conclusion and suggestions

The observations above concerning the relationship of educational problems and teaching strategies in Indonesia are of course very speculative. This study has been based on a small amount of data from only two schools and is clearly very limited.

However I have tried to show that an analysis of classroom interaction in terms of density, participant structures, and functions is useful in characterising the teacher's and student's strategies in such a way that they can be contrasted and related to language problems in the schools. It is suggested that these concepts be used in teacher training in Indonesia, for example to evaluate practice teaching included in the new curriculum extension.

NOTES

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2. It should be noted that the RS observation was carried out in August 1975. My association with the DS also began in 1975. The new curriculum program in the DS had already begun at that time. However the recording in the DS was not done until August 1980. In spite of this time gap, the situation in the RS may not have changed very much. Djalil and Shaeffer apparently found situations similar to that in the RS in 1978 and 1979.
3. I would like to express my gratitude to the principal, teachers and students of the DS for their help, and to my assistants: Hengky R.S., of U.I., and Elizabeth Agnes of IKIP Jakarta.
4. The regional variety of BI used by the students among themselves in varying degrees is a variety with strong influence from the original dialect of the area, the Betawi dialect. Thus they use, for example, gue and lu for the first and second person pronouns rather than the standard BI pronouns, and -in as a verbal suffix rather than the standard BI suffixes -kan or -i.

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SOME SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS AS DETERMINANTS OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Istiati Sutomo

1. INTRODUCTION

Bahasa Indonesia (henceforth: BI) is the only official language for instruction and communication in educational institutions, from nursery schools up to universities, throughout the country. Its use needs to be observed seriously, particularly by those who work in universities and other institutions of higher learning in which the language is used to express concepts, ideas or advanced thoughts on science and technology. Linguistic shortcomings in scientific writings may cause misunderstanding or misinterpretation that could deter our students' progress or puzzle our scientific community in general. As an instrument to express complex advanced thoughts, BI has to be mastered more thoroughly by those who devote themselves to teaching in tertiary-level educational institutions, in which knowledge, science and technology are studied, developed and disseminated for the benefit of our country and people.

Up to this present moment, however, there have been complaints about the lack of BI proficiency of most of our scholars, scientists or educators working in tertiary-level educational institutions. Previous research reported by Sadtono (1975) on the theses of sarjana candidates of Malang Teachers Training College in the period 1972-1974 discloses that 39.47% errors in those theses were in the field of structure. The remaining errors were in paragraph-composition (15.37%), spelling (2.71%) and word-formation (0.56%).

Based on the assumption that language definitely has a symbolic value for its users (i.e. a value that indicates its speakers' social and cultural background (Giglioli 1972)), the research described in this paper has also studied the socio-cultural factors that have apparently become the background of its users' language choice and, to a certain degree, have determined their proficiency.

Since highly variable and complex patterned societal behaviour obviously exists in language (Fishman 1972) our scientists' or educators' proficiency in BI could consequently be correlated with their sociocultural background to explain "a structure and pattern from what seems variation and deviation from the standpoint of a linguist's analysis" (Hymes 1974).

The research was administered to a sample of 174 educators chosen by random sampling from a universe of 1143 permanent lecturers of Universitas Negeri Sebelas Maret Surakarta (UNS), Universitas Jendral Soedirman Purwokerto (UNSOED), and

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The subjects' age has a correlation with their knowledge of *BI structure* (significant at $p < .01$):

- A category has an interdependency with the group of subjects of 25 - 35 years old,
- B category has an interdependency with the group of subjects of 35 - 45 years old,
- C category has an interdependency with the group of subjects of 45 - 55 years old.

2.2 The subjects' hobby also has a correlation with their knowledge of *BI spelling* (significant at $p < .01$):

- there is a correlation between B category (= good) with the hobby of reading extensively (incl. foreign publications),
- there is a correlation between C category (= sufficient) with the hobby of reading local publications,
- there is a correlation between D category (= insufficient) with hobbies other than reading and writing.

The subjects' hobby has a correlation with their knowledge of *BI structure* (significant at $P < .01$):

- there is a correlation between A category and the hobby of reading and writing,
- there is a correlation between B category and the hobby of reading extensively,
- there is a correlation between C category and the hobby of reading only local publications.

3. DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS

3.1 In the Javanese sociocultural setting, elderly educated people are supposed to know more about Javanese culture, and at the same time to be more acquainted with western (= Dutch) culture, since only children of the *priyayi* groups (i.e. of royal descent/of high social status) were allowed to go to respectable schools during the Dutch colonial time. Consequently, they speak Javanese - with at least three functional variants - as well as Dutch, then the language with the highest social status. BI, which was learned later, still in its old form, was brought into contact with the two earlier-learned languages of prestige. Their attitude towards each language, whether idiosyncratic or stereotyped, and their relative proficiency in each of them (Weinreich 1968), tended to make those people use the national language less frequently, so that they have not kept up with the continuous progress of the development of BI.

On the other hand, the educated people among the younger generation learned their mother tongue, Javanese, with an awareness that it was a 'home language', and also in a much more democratic atmosphere. When they started to learn BI, they had already accepted it as the prestigious national language and the only/main medium of instruction at school. The existence of English had nothing to do with their acquisition of the skill of BI and their habit of using it, since

English was only a foreign language. The present research has demonstrated that as a result the younger educated people could easily adapt themselves to and follow every change and development of BI towards its present level of standardisation and intellectualisation. Language interference which commonly happens with elderly people (BI, with lexical and grammatical interference from Javanese and Dutch) scarcely occurs with younger people, although they also are bilingual.

In the fields of spelling and style, however, there is no correlation between age groupings and linguistic proficiency. The new guidelines of BI spelling seem to have been observed by both young and old since issued in 1972.

As for the style of the scientific register, there have been no official guidelines as yet. Except for some sporadic use of Anton Moeliono's and Johannes' proposed guidelines, only a few people seem to know how to write properly in the scientific style in Indonesian.

This research has also disclosed that the kinds of hobby the subjects had seem definitely to correlate with their BI proficiency. The subjects having a hobby of reading and writing all belong to the A proficiency category (= very good), whereas those having a pastime other than reading or writing come under the D category of proficiency (= insufficient).

3.2 Nowadays in Javanese modern society, there is no more social stratification based on nobility/royal descent. However, the central Java area which had long been under the wing of the royal system has apparently still preserved some remnants of some kind of aristocratic life as occasionally revealed in its people's customs and social behaviour. Educated people who have become an 'elite' group (Tanner 1967) in modern Indonesia have taken the noblemen's place to become the honoured people in the present social system. University educators, for example, are to a certain degree pampered by the government with privileges — their working hours are less than those of their colleagues working in other government offices, their promotion is generally punctual — and respected in their surroundings with reverence and gratitude. Geertz' notion that descent was one of the social status determinants seems now to have become irrelevant in modern Javanese society (Geertz 1970).

Congruent with the existence of social stratification in Central Java, in which university educators are considered a group of elite, there is the Javanese language spoken by ± 50 millions of people, with honorific variants of usage. It is not merely a change of personal pronouns which indicates the social status of the conversers as is the case with French *tu* and *vous* or German *du* and *Sie* to signify the L and H. In Javanese, nearly every word changes in form according to and indicating the status of the conversers and degree of familiarity with one another. The three main functional variants: low, middle and high Javanese can even be elaborated further in their usage by way of interchanging their words to generate several other intra-variants and thus specify more meticulously the status difference, or degree of familiarity, among the speakers, or of the people they are talking about.

The diglossia (Ferguson 1964) of Javanese, combined suitably with the set of levels of social stratification found in Central Java, have indeed created a linguistic community which is rather solidly closed and so not entirely favorable for the democratic language, BI, to develop itself fast and smoothly, to be used more frequently and be learned more seriously by the people of this area. The Javanese language is for them much more appropriate to express politeness and intimacy, since it is rich in expressions to symbolise shades of feeling and meaning (cf. Tanner 1967).

This research has disclosed that out of 174 subjects, there are only 41 persons who speak BI at home (23.56%), whereas 123 subjects still use BI alternating with Javanese (70.68%), and 10 speak BI alternating with Javanese and a foreign language (5.74%). At the office, only 76 out of 174 respondents speak BI (43.67%). The rest speak BI alternating with Javanese or with a foreign language (56.33%). The error-count instrument tabulating the subjects' linguistic errors in the areas of spelling, terminology, structure and style reveals their BI proficiency in terms of A, B, C and D categories and is presented below:

proficiency:	Spelling				Terminology				Syntax				Style			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
frequency:	24	53	65	32	35	72	51	16	47	76	51	-	51	64	52	8

It is hoped that the findings of this research have indicated the need for and direction of concrete measures to be taken by language education planners and policy makers.

Adopting the assumption that there are positive correlations between the subjects' linguistic proficiency and their sociocultural background, some suggestions could possibly be taken into consideration:

- (a) BI upgrading courses may still be needed for university educators, taking into account all the linguistic features they should have mastered when dealing with science in written form, and the non-linguistic factors which have – to a certain extent – become determinants of their linguistic proficiency.
- (b) The hobby of reading and writing should purposely be developed among educators of tertiary level educational institutions.
- (c) Writing activity should be promoted more intensively.
- (d) Having been longer and more intensively exposed to foreign languages as well as Javanese, elderly educators should not be exempted from the upgrading courses.
- (e) BI should be used more frequently at home and at the office.

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH ON INDONESIAN AND MALAY IN THE SOVIET UNION

E.A. Kondrashkina

The present sociolinguistic study has been carried out by a group of scholars in the Soviet Union following on the research begun in 1920-1930 and brought about by the need to analyse a number of practical problems in the language field.

As is known, the Soviet Union is a multinational country with 130 peoples each with different languages. Because of this, the ethnolinguistic situation in the Soviet Union is similar to the situation in various Asian and Pacific countries such as the Philippines and Indonesia.

During the years 1920-1930 a group of Soviet linguists accomplished practical work in a wide field, and created writing systems for languages which up till then had only been spoken, the dialect basis for these languages and the conditions of their further development. In those times the interest was mainly on the functional balance problem between the Russian language and the other languages in our country.

Many among those at the Conference are probably not aware that Russian is not the National Language of the Soviet Union.

All languages in our country have an equal value, but Russian is the language spoken by most peoples. Besides, Russian has been functioning as the means of communication for wider regions and peoples for a long time. Russian is a very well developed language with a very rich literary tradition.

That is why before the 1917 revolution Russian had already a function as the means of communication in a very wide area and after the revolution this process was accelerated.

Based on our practical experience in the field of language development, Soviet sociolinguists have applied the basic theory of modern sociolinguistics in the Soviet Union.

Oriental sociolinguistics in the Soviet Union began not very long ago. This science consists of macrosociolinguistics and microsociolinguistics. This classification was brought about by two problems which arose in a number of Asian and African countries after the Second World War.

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The most important problem is choosing an official language or National Language. It was known that in some Asian countries the solution of this problem was connected with severe conflicts between national groups as for instance in India, Malaysia and Sri Lanka. It was also known that Indonesia is one of those countries who gained her Independence from the colonialists where the problem of choosing a national language did not exist.

It is obvious that only a language which is widely known and understood by most peoples in a country could become a means of communication and integration within that community.

In macrosociolinguistics investigation of various language positions was carried out, language policies, the relation between language development and social processes, ideological influences, including religion, on language.

The use of an autochthonous (original) language as the means of communication (official language) in the ex-colonial country must have the following conditions: i.e. vocabulary and modern terminology, since in the future that language will have to replace the western language which is currently used by the people.

A language must have standardisation. We Soviet linguists believe that any language could become the standard and modern language with a function as the means of communication. To be able to reach this function, a guided language policy has to be carried out consistently.

Every change in language system influence by language policy is analysed in microsociolinguistics.

Even though the grammatical problem of Indonesian had been studied by Soviet linguists for a long time, sociolinguistic study on Indonesian and Malaysian began just 10-15 years ago.

Among those Indonesian sociolinguistic problems, the most important problem is the position, the function of Indonesian and its development. For the first time in our linguistics, that problem has been brought up and studied by a well-known Soviet linguist on Indonesian, N.F. Alieva (who also attended the TICAL conference).

She wrote two articles entitled "The formation of the Indonesian literary language" (Alieva 1965) and "Aspects of the development of Indonesian as the National Language of the Republic of Indonesia" (Alieva 1967). In both articles Alieva discussed the reasons behind the changes from Malay to the national language of Indonesia; the political role of Indonesian after 1945 and new sources which influenced Indonesian language development in connection with the movement of the development centre from Sumatra to Jakarta.

The influence of local languages on Indonesian language; the first moves in the field of language policy of the Indonesian National Language; a number of problems in Malay and other languages in Malaysia were analysed by a very talented linguist, the late Dr. A.P. Pavlenko in his article entitled: "The creation of the modern Indonesian literary language in connection with other languages" (Pavlenko 1965) and "A number of language problems in Malaysia" (Pavlenko 1970).

A Soviet linguist, Dr. Y.V. Maretin in his article entitled: "The characteristics of Indonesian as the National Language of the Republic of Indonesia" (Maretin 1969), analysed the historic aspects of Malay and Indonesian. He also set out a number of difficulties faced by Indonesian in its development.

The Soviet linguists have been thoroughly following the process of functional and intra-structural development of Indonesian. The position of Indonesian as

mentioned above is different from the position of the Malaysian language. Because of the historical situation, Indonesia did not have any problems in choosing a national language by the time they gained their Independence. We could say that history has chosen the language i.e. Indonesian, which was a lingua franca in the Indonesian archipelago.

Since Indonesian became the National Language and had to serve most spheres of communication in the society, therefore there arose the necessity to complete and to develop the language i.e. to apply language standards both in the written and in the spoken language. In analysing this standardisation, I would like to quote the contribution of the Indonesian linguists, i.e. Prof. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, Prof. Amran Halim, Prof. Anton Moeliono, Prof. Harimurdi Kridalaksana, Prof. S. Effendi and the others.

We Soviet linguists followed thoroughly the studies carried out by the Indonesian linguists and completely agree that Indonesian needs standardisation urgently.

In our own study, we have analysed the linguistic situation in Indonesia at the present time and the place and role of Indonesian in this situation.

Our main interest is the evaluation of Jakarta's role and the Jakarta dialect in the language situation in Indonesia. In addition we are trying to make an evaluation of the results of language policy after 1945.

As a result of this study I have completed articles entitled "Sociolinguistic problems in Indonesia at the present time" (Kondrashkina 1975), "The linguistic situation and language policy in Indonesia" (Kondrashkina 1977), "Language problems in Indonesia in the 1970s" (Kondrashkina 1978a), and my doctoral thesis entitled "Sociolinguistic aspects of Indonesian language development after Independence" (1978b).

Some conclusions of these studies will be described as follows:

1. The linguistic situation in Indonesia is marked by a language dialect and subdialect hierarchy, which are different either according to its level of development or according to the distinction among the environment of human activities. In my opinion, the linguistic situation in Indonesia consists of four main components: (1) National Language - Indonesian, (2) local regional language (see explanation below), (3) local language and (4) Moslem language - Arabic.

Different from the usual classification of the original languages in Indonesia i.e. Indonesian and local languages, I use 'local regional language' in this report. 'Local regional language' means the language of a large ethnic group which is also called a nation. The local regional language is used as a basic language in primary school. Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese and some other languages are classified as local regional languages, whereas local language is a language used mainly as communication within the family and among local peoples. The local languages are for example in Lubu, Ulu, Sika, Ende and some other places.

2. The prominent tendencies of linguistic situation development in Indonesia at the present time are as follows: the position of Indonesian is getting stronger, its functions and the area of use are growing more extensive, stabilisation of its vocabulary, enriched by the sources of the local regional and local languages as well as of international terminology.

3. Most of the Indonesians master two or more languages. These two languages are usually their mother language and the National Language. For example Javanese and Indonesian, Sundanese and Indonesian etc.

Professor E.M. Uhlenbeck wrote: "There are few areas in the world where there is a more extensive and still growing amount of multi-lingualism than in Indonesia" (Uhlenbeck 1971:218).

I came to the conclusion that in most cases in Indonesia there are two kinds of bilingualism. The first is by contact — which arose in the area where two peoples live close together and the second is non-contact, which is usually caused by social-psychological factors, i.e. the desire to broaden one's knowledge, to know about the cultural standards, etc. The bilingualism of the second type usually includes the mother language and Indonesian. In this case the mastering of Indonesian is usually through the school, mass media, literature, work, or military service. The second bilingualism is the more familiar case and in my opinion is most interesting as a sociolinguistic study.

4. A very strong indication in the linguistic situation in Indonesia recently is the increasing influence of the Jakarta dialect on Indonesian. The reason for this linguistic event is, in my view, because of the more important role of the capital as the centre of political, economic and cultural life of the Republic of Indonesia.

5. We evaluate positively the language policy of Indonesia, that aims to further develop the Indonesian language and to extend the area of its usage, to classify and analyse the local languages.

In my opinion, after the foundation of the 'National Center for Language Development', language policy became more intensive and fruitful.

The problems of the linguistic situation and language policy in Malaysia were analysed by Dr. T.W. Dorofeeva in her thesis, "Functions and development of Malaysian Language" (1980) and in her article entitled: "Aspects of language policy in Malaysia" and "Linguistic situation and language policy in Malaysia".

Among others, Dr Dorofeeva analysed bilingualism in Malaysia. She came to the conclusion that most of bilingualism in Malaysia is non-contact Malaysian-English. Bilingualism arose because many Malaysians have a good command of English.

A specific indication in the linguistic situation in Indonesia and Malaysia is language interference. Research in language interference is known as micro-sociolinguistics.

In the frame of these studies, Soviet linguists also analysed interference in both languages. Interference in Indonesian is caused by Javanese and in Malaysian by English influences. Since there is no standard grammar up to date, it is very difficult for us to appraise such expressions as "Sampai ketemu lagi" *Until we meet again* and "Jangan ketawa" *Don't laugh* etc. Is it an interference or has it become a habit?

Soviet linguists also analysed the problems of terminological system and word formation. For example Dr. W.I. Peckurov in his article entitled: "Neologism in social political terminology of Indonesian" and in his doctoral thesis "Social-political terminology of Indonesian" (1970) analysed the main tendency in the terminological system in the social-political field in Indonesia.

Dr. N.M. Timonina wrote a doctoral thesis entitled: "Principal analysis on synthesis of noun pronunciation in Indonesian" (1980).

In this short report I cannot discuss in detail all the words of the Soviet linguists on Indonesian and Malay but I would like to point out an enormous work i.e. *A grammar of Indonesian* (Alieva, Arakin, Ogloblin and Sirk, 1972)

This Indonesian grammar is a contribution to Austronesian linguistics and also a source of sociolinguistic studies on the Indonesian language.

Finally I would like to thank the organisers of the TICAL Conference. I believe that this meeting of Austronesian linguists was most useful in enhancing knowledge and understanding among all the nations in the wide world.

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DIGLOSSIA IN LARANTUKA, FLORES: A STUDY ABOUT LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE SWITCHING AMONG THE LARANTUKA COMMUNITY

Threes Y. Kumanireng

In many speech communities two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions. The most familiar example is, perhaps, the standard language and the regional dialect. People speak the local dialect at home or among family or friends of the same dialect area but use the standard language in communicating with speakers of other dialects, on public occasions or when talking in a mixed group (Ferguson 1959:1).

To ordinary people, the standard language is that variety of speech which is spoken by the high-class people, the intellectuals, the social climbers and the pedants. The standard language serves in social and educational identification of individuals. It is an indispensable requirement in the achievement of social and economic status.

The standard language, as the linguist takes it to mean, is much more than a status language or a language which reflects uniformity in pronunciation. According to Einar Haugen, the standard language is that variety of speech which reflects uniformity in form and function (Haugen 1972:251).

The dialect, to the linguist, is any habitual variety of language, regional or social (McDavid 1969:99), any form of speech, rural or urban, high or low in the hierarchy of social classification. It is the variety of speech closest to the individual, that always forms a rich source for the supply of words to describe various kinds of emotions and attributes (Asmah Haji Omar 1971:3).

The Malay language in Indonesia, which will as well be called standard Bahasa Indonesia, is spoken differently in various dialects. Those different dialects then become the native tongues of some ethnic groups, such as in Ambon, in Kupang, in Larantuka and in some other places. People speak these dialectal varieties of Malay besides Bahasa Indonesia, in different situations.

The purpose of this paper is to describe a diglossic situation in the Larantuka community where people speak Bahasa Indonesia on formal occasions and Larantuka Malay in informal, ordinary conversational and friendly situations. The writer will also show features that characterise diglossia such as the function, prestige, grammar and phonology of the two varieties.

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The judgements of this paper are based primarily on the writer's personal experience, as she herself is a native speaker of Larantuka Malay. She spoke Larantuka Malay (in her childhood days) at home, spoke the regional language (Lamaholot) with people outside Larantuka and spoke Bahasa Indonesia with her teachers or schoolmates at school.

Larantuka Malay is spoken by about ten thousand people living in Larantuka, the most important town in the easternmost part of the island of Flores. This dialectal Malay has a long tradition as an interethnic means of communication, but is the first language only of the coast and a few up-country pockets. People living outside Larantuka speak their own regional language; when they come into contact with the Larantukan they speak Malay. The Larantuka Malay is known as Melayu Rendah to contrast with Melayu Tinggi which is now Bahasa Indonesia.

Before Bahasa Indonesia gained its present status as the National Language, this dialectal Malay was considered the standard dialect in this region. The status of this dialectal Malay was a dominant factor in the acquisition of status and prestige. It was one of the requirements of job-seekers in the society, and it had a strong effect on the surrounding rural area. The Malay-speaking people are also called 'Orang Melayu', and they consider themselves urban or educated as this Malay gives them a feeling of prestige.

This dialectal Malay is used in everyday communication in matters which are informal, non-academic and non-professional in nature. When villagers of different backgrounds meet each other in the marketplace, or when they haggle with a trader from the neighbouring islands they rarely resort to Bahasa Indonesia. A Larantuka man, for instance, might feel uncomfortable or appear to be the subject of ridicule, if he is obliged to use Bahasa Indonesia when he is having a heated argument with his wife, be she a Larantuka or a non-Larantuka woman, or when he is conversing with any of his companions of the same dialectal community as himself.

Bahasa Indonesia, on the other hand, is used in matters which are academic, philosophical and professional in nature as well as in literary writing. Bahasa Indonesia is the language of education and power, superposed and considered superior to the dialectal Malay. No Larantukan can become educated without learning Bahasa Indonesia and by Indonesian standards the average educational level in Larantuka is quite high.

For convenience of reference we take Charles Ferguson's term for the superposed variety in diglossia as H (High), for Bahasa Indonesia, and L (Low), for Larantuka Malay. There is specialisation of function for High and Low. In one set of situations only H is appropriate, and in another only L; with the two sets overlapping only very slightly. The following is a list of situations with indication of the variety normally used.

	Bahasa Indonesia (H)	Larantuka Malay (L)
- Personal letters	X	-
- Instructions to servants, waiters, or workmen	-	X
- Conversation with family, friends colleagues	-	X
- Instructions in class/offices	X	-
- Sermons in church or Mosque	X	-
- Speech in parliament	X	-
- Political speeches	X	-
- School lectures	X	-
- Newspapers: editorials, news-stories, captions for pictures	X	-
- Folk literature, folk songs etc.	-	X
- Poetry	X	-

The importance of using the right variety in the right situation can hardly be overestimated. A non-Larantukan who learns to speak fluent and accurate Malay, and then uses it in formal speech, is an object of ridicule. A member of the speech community who uses Bahasa Indonesia in a purely conversational situation or in an informal activity (like shopping) is equally an object of ridicule. Bahasa Indonesia is not used as the medium of ordinary conversation; and any attempt to do this marks one to be either pedantic and artificial or else in some sense disloyal to the community.

There are some poems composed in dialectal Malay, known as panto (pantun in Bahasa Indonesia). A small handful of poets compose in both Bahasa Indonesia and Malay, but the status of the two kinds of poetry is very different. For the speech community as a whole it is only the poetry in H (Bahasa Indonesia) that is felt to be 'real' poetry. Folk literature, folk songs and tales are in L (Larantuka Malay) form. There are also certain proverbs, politeness formulas and the like in L which are cited in ordinary conversations. The following is an example:

"Ubi kao-kao, ubi banto api
Dudo jao-jao, jangan taro ati"

"Ikan mata kene, ganto ujong bale
Angka mata kena, ati bula-bale" etc.

Among speakers, adults use Malay in speaking to children and children use Malay in speaking to one another. This dialectal Malay is learned by children in what may be regarded as the normal way of learning one's mother tongue. Bahasa Indonesia may be heard by children from time to time, but the actual learning of it is chiefly accomplished by the means of formal education. The speaker is at home in L to a degree he almost never achieves in Bahasa Indonesia (H). The grammatical structure of Malay is learned without explicit discussion of grammatical concepts; the grammar of H is learned in terms of 'rules' and 'norms' to be imitated. By contrast, descriptive and normative studies of dialectal Malay are either non-existent or relatively recent and small in quantity. There is no settled orthography and there is a wide variation in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary.

The grammatical structure of Malay is simpler than that of Bahasa Indonesia. There is no special or established norm for grammar. Complex sentences which result from the combination of two or more simple sentences either by the process of embedding or conjoining are hardly used in dialectal speech. A sentence like: Mereka sudah pergi is said Dorang so pi in Larantuka Malay. Indonesian words, pronunciation, and morphological patterns are freely used in the Larantuka context, especially by people who live in the city. Affixation of verbs is completely absent in dialectal Malay.

Generally speaking, the bulk of vocabulary items of Bahasa Indonesia is shared by Malay, of course, with variations in form and with differences in use and meaning. Bahasa Indonesia includes in its total lexicon technical terms and learned expressions which have no regular Malay equivalents, since the subjects involved are rarely if ever discussed in pure Malay. Larantuka Malay includes in its total lexicon popular expressions and the names of very homely objects or objects of very localised distribution which have no regular Bahasa Indonesia equivalents since the subjects involved are rarely if ever discussed in pure Bahasa Indonesia; for example rumpu-rampe, in Larantuka Malay, cannot be replaced by any single word in Bahasa Indonesia (cf. gado-gado).

The lexicon of Larantuka Malay is taken from Malay, Bahasa Indonesia, Portuguese, Dutch and the regional language (Lamaholot). The vocabulary of this

dialectal Malay is greatly influenced by Portuguese and Dutch, and this can still be observed in church services. The Portuguese and the Malaccans from the Malay Peninsula came and settled in Larantuka in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The descendants of the Portuguese can still be met in the city. The Larantukans have inherited such Portuguese names as de Roxari, da Silva, Diaz Viera, Fernandez and others. The adopted items then undergo changes in spelling, pronunciation and sometimes in meaning, due to selection by the speakers themselves of a system of expressions for the purpose of intergroup communication. The following are some examples of adopted vocabulary from different languages.

Larantuka Malay	Dutch	Bahasa Indonesia	
Om	Oom	Paman	<i>uncle</i>
tanta	tante	bibi	<i>aunt</i>
me (mo)	met	dengan	<i>with</i>
ne	ne	tidak	<i>not</i>
Larantuka Malay	Portuguese	Bahasa Indonesia	
renya	reinha	ratu	<i>queen</i>
kanta	cantare	nyanyi	<i>sing</i>
nyora	sinhora	perempuan	<i>woman</i>
TuaN Deo	Deo	Tuhan	<i>God</i>
Larantuka Malay	Lamaholot	Bahasa Indonesia	
Wela	Welak	menusuk dengan tali	<i>to stab</i>
		sampai tembus untuk	
		diikat	
OluN	Olung	percuma	<i>free, gratis</i>
OriN	Oring	pondok	<i>small house</i>
brikiN (berikiN)	beriking	mengangkat	<i>to take up/to lift</i>
Larantuka Malay	-	Bahasa Indonesia	
makaN		makan	<i>eat</i>
minoN		minum	<i>drink</i>
telo		telur	<i>egg</i>
sipo		siput	<i>snail</i>
pi		pergi	<i>go</i>
terada/te		tidak	<i>not</i>
ae		air	<i>water</i>
so		sudah	<i>already</i>
ambe		ambil	<i>take</i>
rubo		rubuh	<i>collapse</i>
gare		garis	<i>line</i>
bae		baik	<i>good</i>
tako		takut	<i>afraid</i>
mampo		mampus	<i>to die</i>
maso		masuk	<i>to enter</i>
buke		bukit	<i>hill</i>
gunoN		gunung	<i>mountain</i>
lia		lihat	<i>to see</i>
engko		engkau	<i>you</i>
kuro		kurus	<i>thin</i>
etc.			

There are many paired items; one Bahasa Indonesia and one Malay referring to fairly common concepts frequently used in both Bahasa Indonesia and Malay, where the range of meaning of the two terms is roughly the same and the use of one or the other immediately stamps the utterance or written sequence as H (Bahasa Indonesia or L (Larantuka Malay). The words: *bentak to suspect*, *pukul to beat*, *bagus kind*, *bohong falsehood*, and *tidak not* for example never occur in ordinary conversation, and *kebeka to snap*, *beda to beat*, *noka beautiful*, *perega to lie* and *terada not* are not used in normal written Indonesian or in formal speech. There is a great gap between the corresponding doublets in this diglossia.

The relationship between the phonology of Larantuka Malay and that of Bahasa Indonesia in diglossia is quite close. The sound systems of Larantuka Malay and of Bahasa Indonesia are very much similar. The speakers use mixed forms, and there is extensive interference in both directions in terms of the distribution of phonemes in specific lexical items. Larantuka Malay has a special kind of nasal sound (in final position) which is, here, symbolised [N]. It is not the [m], [n] or [ŋ] of Bahasa Indonesia, but is, let us say, a nasalised vowel; *minum* in Bahasa Indonesia is said /minoN/ in Larantuka Malay; *datang* is pronounced /dataN/, and *makan* is said /makaN/ etc.

Diglossia in Larantuka is accepted and not regarded as a 'problem' by the speech community. The dialectal Malay is adapted as an effective means of communication in informal situations. It is preferred as it is closer to the real thinking and feeling of the people of all levels; it causes no educational problems since people have already acquired a basic knowledge of it in early childhood.

For broader communication among different regional and social segments of the community, e.g. for economic, administrative, military or ideological reasons people use Bahasa Indonesia. The diglossia situation in Larantuka may remain stable for long period of time. Larantuka Malay continuously borrows new vocabulary items from Bahasa Indonesia. People would prefer to use 'mixed language' rather than to abandon Malay completely. They read news written in Bahasa Indonesia and discuss it in Malay. They listen to formal speeches delivered in Bahasa Indonesia and give comments in Larantuka Malay using Bahasa Indonesia now and then.

The majority of Larantuka Malay speakers are to some extent bilingual in the national language, Bahasa Indonesia. Bahasa Indonesia is used in the schools, and it is increasingly used by Larantukans in the city. Many children begin to learn Bahasa Indonesia only when they start to go to school, and the teacher must use dialectal Malay to communicate with the children especially in the lower grades, even though the official language of instruction is Bahasa Indonesia.

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'NECESSARY' AND 'UNNECESSARY' BORROWING

Ross Clark

This paper examines the English loanwords in an Oceanic language, Mele-Fila, with a view to asking: why are they there? The data are incomplete and in some ways unsystematic, as the question has only gradually begun to bother me in the course of a general descriptive and comparative study of the language. Still, I present some observations in order to raise some questions that as far as I know have not been considered before in the Oceanic context. Previous writers on loanwords in various Oceanic languages (e.g. Schütz 1970, 1978, Elbert 1970, Hollyman 1962, Milner 1957, Tryon 1970, Vernier 1948) have given extensive lists of words, have classified them as to source, historical period and semantic area, and analysed the phonological transformations attendant upon borrowing. By and large, however, they have taken the culture contact of the last two centuries as a general and self-evident explanation for why the words are there to begin with.

The general linguistic literature on borrowing has been based on a somewhat restricted range of data. Most of the examples used by such writers as Bloomfield (1933), Weinreich (1953) and Derooy (1956) involve borrowing among the national languages of Europe, or into the languages of minority communities in America, whether immigrant or native. Except for the spectacular phonological restructuring of loanwords in Hawaiian, Oceania has not figured in such discussions.

Mele-Fila is one of about 100 Oceanic languages spoken in the Republic of Vanuatu. Its speech community is larger than average for the area, numbering perhaps 1800 people, of whom 1200 live in Mele village, where most of my work has been done. Mele-Fila is the first language of nearly everyone in the village, and is used every day by persons of all ages, in contexts ranging from domestic intimacy to public meetings. But the presence and the influence of English, French and Bislama¹ are evident at every turn. Instruction in the two elementary schools is entirely in English or French. In the church, while M-F is commonly used in prayers, sermons and announcements, (which are locally composed), Bible readings and most hymns are in English, Bislama or the neighbouring Erakor language, since no mission translations into M-F exist. And when there is a visiting party from another village (an increasingly common event) the entire service may be in Bislama. The same switch to Bislama occurs on a variety of other occasions when visitors from outside the village are present.² Radio Vanuatu provides several hours a day of broadcasting in English, French and Bislama.³ And, of course, the many Mele people whose daily work takes them to the nearby town of Vila (whether as domestics, labourers, office workers or simply sellers of produce in the market) must use these languages for a major segment of their lives.

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Loanwords of recent origin will appear in almost any sample of Mele speech over a few sentences in length, and the number in my lexical files is in the hundreds, despite a methodological bias against them.⁴ Let's first look at a random sample of a dozen of them:

aeani <i>iron</i>	marseni <i>pill, medicine</i>	Sarerei <i>Saturday</i>
fooko <i>fork</i>	nakitae <i>necktie</i>	susaa <i>jew's harp</i>
kakau <i>cacao, cocoa</i>	peelo <i>bell</i>	taatuu <i>tattoo</i>
laemu <i>lemon, lime</i>	raisi <i>rice</i>	waea <i>wire</i>

This sample is nicely representative of the corpus in a number of respects. All but one are from English (kakau is almost certainly French, and taatuu is equivocal). In most cases it is impossible to distinguish between words borrowed directly from English, and words of English origin borrowed from Bislama, although given the relative amount of knowledge of the two, Bislama has probably been much more important as an immediate source. All the words are nouns (taatuu can also be a verb), all are concrete (except perhaps Sarerei), and all relate to new things and concepts of European introduction.

This is the common and unproblematic pattern of 'cultural borrowing'. It should be noted, however, that even loans like the above are not strictly necessary. In addition to borrowing, semantic extension of existing lexical items and creation of new lexical forms from existing material (neologism) are recognised as alternative means available to every language for dealing with novelty in the world of experience. Mele-Fila has made some use of these processes:

nifo	<i>tooth; horn (of an animal)</i>
kanukanu	<i>to decorate, make designs; to write</i>
suisui	<i>gun (from suisui to blow [v.i.])</i>
injini maanamu	<i>lawnmower (from injini engine, machine, maanamu grass)</i>
panu furufuru	<i>carpet (from panu mat, furufuru hairy)</i>

But borrowing appears to be a much more common choice. By contrast Dorais, in his recent study of the 'modern vocabulary' of the Québec-Labrador dialects of the Inuit (Eskimo) language, found that neologisms accounted for roughly 77% of the total corpus, semantic extension for 16% and borrowings for only 7% (Dorais 1978:22). One obvious explanation that comes to mind is the much more complex derivational morphology of Inuit. But Mele-Fila appears not to make much use even of such morphological resources as it has. For instance, there is a prefix *nii-* deriving nouns of instrument from verbs, as in:

niikura	<i>oven rake (from kura arrange stones in oven)</i>
niikupi	<i>throwing stick (from kupi-a knock down (fruit) with a throwing stick)</i>

The potential usefulness of such an affix can be seen from the fact that about 60% of the neologisms in Dorais' corpus described the function or use of the object (e.g. *qirng-uti (what is used for searching) telescope*). Mele-Fila, however, appears not to have used *nii-* at all to create terms for European things. Thus it appears that structural factors alone cannot account for the choice of one mechanism over another. (This point is made by Weinreich 1953:61-62.)

The inadequacy of 'need' as an explanation can also be seen from numerous cases where an earlier semantic extension or neologism has been replaced by a borrowing. Bread, for example, was apparently originally referred to as *kuau itoga foreign laplap*, since in composition, method of preparation and importance

in the diet it is fairly similar to the traditional Vanuatu food.⁵ This expression, however, is now obsolete, and the normal term is *pireete*. Miller (1971) gives similar examples from Shoshoni, such as *tuuhupa* (*black soup*) *coffee*, being replaced by *koppi*.

One can suggest a number of reasons why, in the absence of a self-conscious 'purist' movement, there should be a universal tendency to replace neologisms or extensions with loanwords. In general, neologisms will be polymorphemic and hence longer than monomorphemic borrowed forms. Mithun and Chafe (1979:30) give the rather extreme example of Mohawk *iontewennata'ahstakhwa'* (*one uses it for inserting the voice*) *telephone*, cited by native speakers as evidence of the inconvenience of Mohawk for dealing with the modern world.

Extensions are also vulnerable to replacement because, by definition, they ignore a distinction which is lexicalised in the donor language. To the highly bilingual speaker, such a non-distinction may even be embarrassing: "It's really *bread*, of course, but we call it 'laplap'!" It may also be that increasing familiarity with, and adoption of, the new culture makes speakers more aware of differences, e.g. between *bread* and *laplap*, where previously a broad similarity had been perceived (Weinreich 1953:59).⁶

So far the examples considered have all fallen within the semantic area of recent innovations of European origin. To turn our attention to some examples outside this area immediately raises the question of what is 'new' and what is not. Despite the manifest physical differences between Europeans and Melanesians, I do not know of any cases of new body-part terms being borrowed or coined to refer to European skin, hair, eyes, etc. Such categories of material culture as *knife* and *house* are carried over without lexical innovation, despite important differences between the European and Melanesian versions of such things. The differences, therefore, are not a sufficient explanation when borrowing does take place. The difference between work as a social institution in European and Melanesian society, for example, is not in itself enough to account for some people's use of *wooka* instead of the indigenous word *wesiwesi*. One might speculate that *wooka* would be introduced with the specialised meaning *work for wages*, while *wesiwesi* would be applied to work on one's own house or garden, etc. I do not have enough data to say whether there is any such tendency; but my (middle-aged) informants, at least, did not perceive it that way. They rather condemned *wooka* as an abusive borrowing, when a perfectly good indigenous synonym existed. Nor will the obvious differences explain why *niisara broom* is now less common than *puroomu*.

Newness may be as much a new way of thinking about existing things as a new thing. The words Niuepiritis *New Hebrides* and *kastomu traditional culture* are frequently heard in modern discussions in Mele, but have no equivalent indigenous expressions, since there was previously no notion of a local group of islands distinguished from the rest of the world, or of traditional culture as opposed to modern ways.

In some cases it appears that borrowing may be brought about by a concept that is not necessarily new, but has not been conveniently lexicalised in the language before. Haiman (1979:84) mentions a number of examples where Hua (spoken in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea) has borrowed an apparently 'unnecessary' word from Tok Pisin, apparently because it provides a general term where the language had previously had only a set of more specialised words. Thus *opim* (hu) *open* (v.t.) covers a semantic range previously inhabited by "a half-

dozen verbs for various kinds of opening". The same pattern appears in the Mele waase *wash* and kuuku *cook* (v.t.). In both cases, culture contact not only expanded the range of techniques, but also provided a general term to go with the various specifics (e.g. taona *cook in earth oven*, tuunaa *grill*, noopaa *steam*, faraeni *fry*, etc.).

One effect of this adoption of general terms may be confusion and eventual loss of the specialised terms. Haiman notes that this often happens in Hua (1979:85). Weinreich (1953:54) suggests that such confusion may take place even without actual borrowing simply through interference in the speech of bilinguals. The eventual loss of these terms would leave a later investigator with the impression that no indigenous lexical items had existed in the domain. Something like this may account for the persistence of the word storii *story* in Mele. Informants claim that atara matua is the proper Mele expression, but this is much more general, atara meaning *language, words, speech*, and matua *old*. Evidence from other Polynesian languages would lead one to expect two or three words for different types of traditional narrative, and it seems at least possible that these may have been lost, along with other specialised vocabulary, in the severe erosion of Mele's traditional culture in the last hundred years.

Some other words appear to have filled lexical gaps other than the lack of a generalising term. (Perhaps it would be less teleological to say that they seem to have taken up residence in previously uninhabited areas of semantic space.) I have been unable to elicit any indigenous Mele term translating *learn*, for which laeni is used. The modal mas *must* conveys a sense of obligation which seems to have been difficult to express in the old language — the convenient expressions being a verb particle covering anything from imperative to statement of future plans, and a higher verb meaning *it is good that...* Impotene *important* seems to be a usefully specific term within areas like *big* and *heavy*.

Bloomfield divided all borrowing between distinct languages (that is, other than dialect borrowing) into 'cultural' and 'intimate'. Any borrowing beyond the semantic sphere of 'cultural novelties' could take place only in a situation where the donor language was socially dominant over the receptor. Nineteenth-century linguists might have been comfortable talking about the 'superiority' of the dominant language; modern writers would rather stress its 'prestige'. But if this asymmetry were sufficient as an explanation, one would expect borrowings to be randomly distributed throughout the lexicon. This seems not to be the case.

The closest thing to such a 'prestige' field-effect is the apparent clustering of loans whose content is, strictly speaking, non-novel, in areas of association with Europeans: school, wage labour, the money economy, and politics. The small sample on which this paper is mainly based includes sapote *support*, joeni *join* and mempa *member* in the organisational sphere; salemu *sell*, puuaa *poor* and riiji *rich* in the economic. One could answer that these are all or mainly in fact new concepts, except that informants offer Mele synonyms, suggesting that at least some closely related notion existed in pre-European times. It is also probably not a coincidence that kuuku and waase, mentioned above, are among the most common domestic tasks performed by Melanesians for Europeans.

The clearest example of this effect, however, and one which is apparently much more widespread than Mele, is the numerals. Although Mele has a decimal number system capable in theory of reckoning at least into the tens of thousands, the indigenous numerals are rarely used beyond about five, and then mainly by older persons attempting to be formally correct. Some adolescents do not even know the higher numerals. Clearly the reason for this is the much greater European emphasis on counting and reckoning, particularly with regard to time and

money, reinforced by daily teaching in the schools. These two areas, in fact, have probably always been reckoned solely in English. Certainly one says *tu kalooko* and not **rua kalooko* for *two o'clock*. This is probably the reason why *taemu time* is apparently replacing the native word *malo*, though one can still say either *temalo afa?* or *t'taemu afa? what time is it?*

Above ten, the Mele numerals are probably also disfavoured by the 'mechanical factor' mentioned above — that of simply being longer and hence less convenient than their competitors. This factor has been exaggerated by some writers — surely the difference in length between *hitten* and *schlagen* (Clyne 1967:79) could not in itself bring about a systematic preference for the former — but a Mele expression like *mijikao eerua antuuma gafuru eeono antuuma eefaa 264* is clearly at a disadvantage relative to *tu anreti sikisti foaa*.

A final group of words does not seem to be much like any of those previously considered, but finds parallels in many other languages. The 'connectives' *ale*, *nao* and *oraet*, roughly translatable by *well...*, *so...* or *then...* are conspicuous in narrative, even traditional stories told by older speakers who were making a conscious effort to avoid English borrowings. Hill and Hill (1977:62) mention hesitation forms and connectives (such as *entonces then*, *hasta until*) as among the most common Hispanicisms in their Nahuatl texts; similar words (*well, anyway, you know, you see*) are common in the speech of Clyne's German-speaking Australians (1967:75-76).

Many mysteries remain. Among my favourites are *staa*ji *start*, one of the most common, for which *tuulake* appears to be a perfect semantic and grammatical equivalent; *insai*ji (Mele *iroto*) *inside*; and *au*ji *come/go out* (Mele *tave*). Nevertheless I conclude by echoing Haiman's belief that "the borrowing is not random and indiscriminate". There is still a need for a convincing theory of the 'why' of borrowing, what Weinreich (1953:61) refers to as "one of the unsolved problems of language contact".

NOTES

1. Bislama is the local term for the dialect of Melanesian Pidgin English which is used as a lingua franca in Vanuatu. Other dialects are spoken in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, the latter being quite well known under the local name Tok Pisin. For descriptions of Bislama see Camden (1977) and Guy (1974).
2. Except for the few hundred people of nearby Fila Island, 'outside the village' implies a different language. It is probable that in pre-European times there was much bilingualism between Mele-Fila and the neighbouring dialects of Efate. Although quite a few middle-aged and older people are still bilingual, this is probably due in large part to the former use of the Erakor language in church and school. It seems likely that the availability of Bislama is tending to eliminate this local bilingualism, except perhaps for those with close kin ties to neighbouring villages.
Also present in Mele are a small number of people born elsewhere who have taken up residence there, mainly as a result of marrying Mele people. Unfortunately I have no data on language use in such households.
3. There is no regular use of vernacular languages on the radio. The only occasions on which I have heard them (aside from local string-band songs) were a short prayer in the Fila dialect as part of a special church service, and a number of emergency messages addressed to particular areas by custom chiefs and politicians during the political crisis of 1980.

4. That is, one tends to assume that the word for 'spoon' or 'bicycle' will be an English borrowing, and hence not to bother asking for such 'obvious' items. Informants, too, may give answers of the form, "Oh, we don't have a word for that - we just say *spoon*..." or whatever. My own strong interest in comparative Polynesian problems also makes me tend to overlook this recently-acquired vocabulary.
5. *Laplap*, a word of uncertain origin, is used in Bislama as well as in local English and French to refer to "a wide range of traditional food dishes, which are prepared by grating or slicing yam, taro, manioc, kumala, banana, breadfruit, etc., wrapping it in leaves, with or without meat, fish, greens, etc., and cooking it in hot stones in an earth oven" (Camden 1977:55).
6. One circumstance which may increase the viability of an extension is where the original referent becomes obsolete or of marginal importance relative to the new referent. Miller (1971) gives the following examples from Shoshoni: *kuicuu buffalo* was extended to include *cow*; *cow* then became the focal meaning of the term, with the result that to specify *buffalo* one must say *piakuiccu big cow*; *?eti bow* was extended to *gun*, which is now the primary meaning, with *bow* being referred to as *huu?eti wooden gun*.

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SOME LUDIC ASPECTS OF TIMUGON MURUT

D.J. Prentice

BACKGROUND

At the 38th Congress of ANZAAS (the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science) held in Hobart, Tasmania in August 1965, my friend and colleague Don Laycock presented a paper entitled "Back and fill: a cross-linguistic look at ludlings", in which he defined a 'ludling' as:

the result of a transformation or of a series of transformations acting regularly on an ordinary language text, with the intent of altering the form but not the content of the original message for concealment or comic effect.

In subsequent writings on the same topic, Laycock (e.g. 1972) has maintained this definition virtually unchanged and has also admirably persisted in using the (admittedly 'barbarous') term ludling.

It was during a field-trip in Sabah some six months later, when Laycock's paper had already been shunted into the non-active section of my memory, that I first entered the Timugon Murut word *kalos* in my word-file as an unexplained variant of *kalo no, not*. There it remained for several years, until a survey of root-structures revealed the existence of other synonymous pairs of the *kalo/kalos* type, differing only in the presence or absence of a final consonant. Further investigation showed that these pairs represented the simplest of several ways in which speakers of Timugon Murut deliberately 'play' with the phonological shape of words for various purposes. In previous articles (Prentice 1974 and 1981) I have described other types of specialised linguistic usage in the Timugon Murut language as used in song and ritual. However, those usages are based almost entirely on regular lexical substitution and are therefore intrinsically different from phenomena of the ludling type, which form the topic of this paper.

The ways in which the investigation of such ludlings can contribute to the task of linguistic analysis have already been so lucidly described, both by Laycock (1972:4) and by Sherzer (1976:31-34), that any further justification of the study of play language would be superfluous here. Suffice it therefore to quote Laycock's observation:

The study of ludlings is not just a linguistic side-issue. Ludlings give valuable information on the native-speaker's intuition as to what constitutes a syllable, a vowel, a consonant, a consonant cluster, a word, or a suprasegmental.

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PHONOLOGY

Before embarking on the description of the four types of play language so far known in Timugon Murut, it is necessary to explain some aspects of the phonological system of the ordinary language, especially those which are relevant to, or contrast with, phonological features of the various play language outputs.

1. The phoneme inventory of Timugon Murut contains 4 vowels and 16 consonants: /a i o u b d g j k l m n ŋ ñ p s t w y ?/. In the orthography used here, /ŋ ñ ?/ are spelt ng, ny, q respectively. With the exception of /d/ (to be discussed below), all other phonemes are spelt as written above.

2. The voiced stops b, /d/, g are fricativised to [b, r, g] respectively following a vowel, w, y or q, regardless of any intervening word boundary. Because of the presence of numerous loanwords (mostly from Malaysian) containing the segments [d] or [r], in which the pronunciation of those segments remains unaffected, /d/ appears to be in the process of splitting into /d/ and /r/. Oppositions such as [kara?] *think* and [ada?] *there is/are* (from Malaysian *ada*) are commonplace, and literate members of Timugon society consistently write d or r according to pronunciation. For these reasons, /d/ is spelt d only word medially following a consonant (i.e. in the cluster nd) and in loanwords; elsewhere it is spelt r.

3. The segments j and ny never occur word finally, while q occurs only word finally. The semivowel w does not occur adjacent to u; nor does y occur adjacent to i.

4. All four vowels occur freely in word-final syllables. In penultimate syllables, o (which reflects Proto-Austronesian *e) only occurs when the final syllable also contains o. In all syllables preceding the penultimate, the opposition between o and a is neutralised, o occurring when the immediately following syllable contains o, a occurring elsewhere.

5. Consonant clusters are restricted to word-medial position and may consist only of a nasal + obstruent (i.e. mb, nd, ngg, nj, ngk, mp, ns and nt). Further, only one such cluster is permissible in a given word. There are no geminate consonants.

6. Although each vowel in a word constitutes the nucleus of an emic syllable, two adjacent vowels are usually pronounced as a single syllable nucleus, even when separated by a word boundary. If the two vowels are identical, they coalesce into a single long vowel. If they consist of a high vowel (i or u) and a non-high vowel (a or o) in either order, the high member of the sequence is non-syllabic. If both vowels are high, the first is non-syllabic. Two non-high vowels are always separated by a word-boundary. Nevertheless, they are realised as a single long vowel, either [a:] or [ɔ:], according to the rule stated in 4. above. Thus the sentence *aniin no aku ra owoy ra umo-no He will give me some rattan in the field* is pronounced [a'ni:n na:ku 'ro:wöy 'raɬmɔnɔ].

7. With a few exceptions, word stress falls predictably on the penultimate syllable. If the nucleus of that syllable is a member of a vowel sequence, the stress falls on the resulting long vowel, or on the syllabic member of the sequence.

8. With the exception of some clitic pronouns and particles, all Timugon words consist of at least two emic syllables. The canonical shape of the word can be represented by the following formula:

$$(C_X)V_X(N) \dots (C_1)V_1(N) (C_2)V_2(C_3)$$

in which C = consonant, V = vowel, N = nasal consonant homorganic with following C, () = optionality, and ... = potentially infinite recurrence of preceding elements (with the proviso that N may only occur once).

WORD-CLASSES

A distinction is made in this paper between 'full words', which are always disyllabic or longer and always carry word stress, and 'particles', which are frequently monosyllabic and almost always unstressed. Such particles consist of post-nominal deictics and possessive pronouns, pre-nominal case-markers, post-verbal modifiers and post-verbal subject and/or agent pronouns. The operation of play language mechanisms in Timugon Murut is usually confined to full words, although a sequence of particles is often treated as a full word unit.

Henceforth the terms 'play language' and 'ordinary language' will be abbreviated as PL and OL respectively. Sample sentences will usually be cited in the order: OL form, word-for-word English translation, PL form, free English translation.

PL 1: ADDITION OF FINAL CONSONANT

In the simplest form of Timugon PL, of which one instance was cited at the beginning of this paper, a consonant is added to any full word ending in a vowel, w or y. This play language is used in narrative when quoting the words of a character in a story, and in conversation when citing third parties or when affectionately mocking one's interlocutor. With one exception, the added consonant is always a phonetic continuant with a length about twice that of an OL word-final consonant. The operation is shown in the following rule, in which x = the added consonant:

$$\# \dots (C_2)V_2(C_3)\# \rightarrow \# \dots (C_2)V_2(C_3)x:\# \quad // \quad C_3 = w, y, \text{ zero}$$

The identity of the added consonant is determined by the speaker's conception of the personality of the individual being quoted. Thus addition of -ss marks the speech of persons with a foreign (non-Timugon) accent, of rough, arrogant characters (and 'baddies' in folk-tales), and of women when cited by men, whereas -ll is used for children, stupid or dumb people, and men being quoted by women, -bb (i.e. [b:]) for old, toothless people, -rr for men quoted by women, and -t (the only non-continuant) for deaf people.

Of the following examples of PL 1, 1 and 2 are taken from recordings of stories, while 3 is an exchange between two men.

1. (OL) kalo! soroy aku raiti
 no remain I here
- (PL) kalo-ss! soroy-ss aku raiti-ss
 No! I'll stay here!

(Arrogant young man refusing advice to avoid possible danger by sleeping elsewhere)

2. (OL) kua! sanggilan kow?
why when you
- (PL) kua-ll! sanggilan kow-ll?
Well! When did you arrive?

(Rather slow-witted man addressing guest who has been in his house for seven days)

3. A speaking:

- (OL) mongoy kow kia ra kaday?
go you mod pt shop
- (PL) mongoy-bb kow kia-bb ra kaday-bb?
Are you going shopping?

B speaking:

- (OL) iow! mambali aku ra lungun!
yes buy I pt coffin
- (PL) iow-bb! mambali-bb aku-bb ra lungun!
Yes! I'm going to buy a coffin!

(Exchange between two middle-aged men, lifelong friends and neighbours. Although they are approximately the same age, B has a shock of grey hair and appears older than A, a fact which forms the basis of much bantering between them. Here A gently pokes fun at B, who is passing his house, by using the -bb suffix. B retorts by playing along with the joke.)

The same PL mechanism is also used to characterise the speech of individual members of the community, without any of the connotations referred to above. There appears to be general agreement in the community as a whole about which characterisation is allotted to a particular individual, although how this comes about is far from clear. Thus the speech of Jimin (my principal Timugon Murut teacher and adoptive father), that of Kasuab (one of his sons), and my own speech are quoted (or mocked) by other Timugon speakers with -ll. Similarly, the speech of Jimin's brother-in-law Sani is marked by -ss, that of a female cousin by -rr, and that of Sarijintang, a distant kinswoman, by -bb. Certain suffixed consonants appear to be used only for this type of individual speech marking. They include -nn, -ngng and -zz, of which the last is completely absent from OL, even as a phone.

It is evident that this PL, which is variously named ragu oss 'S-language', ragu obb 'B-language' etc., depending on the consonant used, barely falls within Laycock's definition of a ludling, since its purpose is certainly not concealment. Even comic effect is clearly a secondary feature, although 'dramatic effect' (in its broadest sense) would describe the purpose of PL 1 more accurately. This PL is perhaps more easily compared with certain techniques used by raconteurs in English, such as adoption of a quavering falsetto for the speech of old people, or replacement of s by sh for the speech of drunkards.

PL 2: ADDITION OF FINAL SYLLABLE

In the first type of PL 2, called ragu al 'al-language', the sequence -al is suffixed to all full words and some disyllabic clitics:

$$\# \dots (C_2)V_2(C_3)\# \rightarrow \# \dots (C_2)V_2(C_3)al\#$$

Example:

4. (OL) mongoy aku ra kaday
 go I pt shop
 (PL) mongoyal akual ra kadayal
 I'm going shopping.

The second type of PL 2 is known as ragu in 'in-language' and consists of the suffixation of -in to all full words and to some particles. The suffix takes the form -qin following a vowel or semivowel:

$$\# \dots (C_2)V_2(C_3)\# \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \# \dots (C_2)V_2(C_3)qin\# \\ \# \dots (C_2)V_2(C_3)in\# \end{bmatrix} // \begin{bmatrix} C_3 = w, y, \text{ zero} \\ \text{elsewhere} \end{bmatrix}$$

Examples:

5. (OL) manginum aku ra inasi
 drink I pt rice-beer
 (PL) manginum in akuqin ra inasiqin
 I drink rice-beer
6. (OL) okow mongoy mangkuot ri Amay
 you go ask pt Dad
 (PL) okowqin mongoyqin mangkuotin riqin Amayqin
 You go and ask Dad

It will be noted that example 6 contains one of the very few instances in the data of a monosyllabic particle participating alone in a PL operation (ri → riqin).

The two types of PL 2, as well as the remaining PL's discussed below, are employed for different purposes and in different circumstances from PL 1. Whereas the latter is used by all sections of the community in order to lend extra colour or flavour to an utterance, the former are used only by adolescents talking informally among themselves. No other age group appears to use these PL's: pre-adolescent children have not yet learnt them, while adult members of the community seem to forget them with remarkable speed and thoroughness, even to the extent of denying the existence of any such 'play languages' or 'secret languages'. Adolescents in Timugon society enjoy numerous opportunities for being together as a separate group (e.g. during communal festivities, while guarding or harvesting the rice-crop, and while bathing, washing clothes or fetching water at the river-side), usually out of sight and sound of their elders. On such occasions they make use of PL's 2-4 whenever someone who is not a member of their group comes within earshot, in order to conceal the purport of their words from the intruder (but not from each other), a purpose fulfilled with especial effectiveness by PL 3 and PL 4 (q.v. below).

PL 3: ELISION OF FINAL SYLLABLE

In this PL, termed ragu satangaq 'half-language' or ragu nu Pilipin 'Philippines language', the final -V(C) of every full word and of some disyllabic particles is deleted. The initial C of the final syllable is only deleted when it forms the second member of a nasal + obstruent cluster:

- A. $\#(C_x)V_x(N) \dots (C_1)V_1(C_2)V_2(C_3)\# \rightarrow \#(C_x)V_x(N) \dots (C_1)V_1(C_2)\#$
 B. $\#(C_x)V_x \dots (C_1)V_1NC_2V_2(C_3)\# \rightarrow \#(C_x)V_x \dots (C_1)V_1N\#$

Examples:

7. (OL) sanggilan ulian mu?
when go home you
 (PL) sanggil uli mu?
When are you going home?
8. (OL) kua panulis kow ra giti?
why write you pt here
 (PL) ku panul ko ra git?
Why are you writing here?
9. (OL) napajaq sansam-ti ra usiq
too much vegetable-this pt salt
 napaj san-ti ra us
These vegetables have got too much salt in them!
10. (OL) mapanday kow kia mindagu ra ragu nu Pilipin?
able you mod speak pt language pt Philippines
 (PL) mapan ko ki mindag ra rag nu Pilip?
Can you speak the Philippines language?

(NOTE: A possible explanation for the apparently irregular change of monosyllabic kow to ko is to be found in the description of PL 4 below.)

The application of the mechanisms of PL 3 has a number of logical consequences for the phonology of the output. One is that q does not occur at all, since it is restricted to word-final position in the OL. Another is that j occurs finally as well as in other positions (see the treatment of napajaq in 9.). Presumably the same is true of the much rarer segment ny, though there are no examples in the data. Other less predictable distinguishing features of PL 3 are that the word stress is retained on the nucleus of the original penultimate syllable, and that the rule governing fricativisation of voiced stops does not apply. That is to say, all /b/ and /g/ phonemes, and some /d/ phonemes, are exempted from the rule and are pronounced as plosives. These features are illustrated below, where example 10 is repeated, first in the phonemic OL version, then in the phonetic OL version and finally in the phonetic PL version. The same process is repeated for a further example, supplemented by literal and free English translations.

10. (OL: phonemic) /mapanday kow kia mindagu da dagu nu pilipin?
 (OL: phonetic) [ma'pandæy kow k^hia mɪn'dagu ra 'ragu nu 'pilipɪn]
 (PL: phonetic) [ma'pan ko ki mɪndag da 'rag nu 'pilip]

11. (OL: phonemic) /kua didun-ti, magilon kow ni raki?/
why you-here look you mod I
 (OL: phonetic) ['k^ua ri'runti, ma'gilon kow ni 'rakɨ?]
 (PL: phonetic) ['ku 'dirti, ma'gil ko ni 'rak]
What's up with you, why are you looking at me?

The changes brought about by the PL 3 mechanisms, particularly the prevalence of voice plosives and word stress on final syllables, produce an effect that is markedly non-Timugon and indeed reminiscent of a Philippines language. It is not clear, however, whether the name ragu nu Pilipin refers to this resemblance or to the geographical centre from which this PL has spread, or is believed by its users to have spread. As far as can be ascertained, similar PL's are reported only for Javanese among the Austronesian languages. Laycock (1972), for example, mentions a Javanese PL in which the initial syllable is deleted, such that pingir *edge* and dilaten *lick* become gir and laten respectively. Sherzer (1976:28), on the other hand, reports a Javanese PL in which:

...every syllable of every word except the initial one is deleted. Furthermore, every syllable in the play language output must be closed; this is done by retaining the initial consonant of the second syllable of the source word, if needed.

However, Sherzer gives only one example of this PL, a sentence consisting of three disyllabic words: aku arep lugo *I am going to go*, which yields ak ar luɣ. It is therefore not clear whether the mechanism involved is in fact deletion of all syllables except the first, as maintained by Sherzer, or deletion of the last syllable only, since with disyllabic words the results are indistinguishable. The former seems unlikely in a language in which the morphology relies so heavily on prefixation and infixation, processes which result in many identical initial syllables. If the latter is the case, then this Javanese PL is identical with the Timugon PL 3.

Timugon-speakers of the younger generation being almost all bilingual in Timugon and Malay, they frequently use colloquial Sabah Malay among themselves, especially in non-traditional environments (e.g. at school, on the football field, etc.), and often apply PL 3 to that language also.

Examples:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>12. (OL) saya tidaq mauq
 <i>I not wish</i>
 (PL) say tid ma
 <i>I don't want to!</i></p> | <p>14. (OL) kau pigi di sana ka?
 <i>you go pt there pt</i>
 (PL) ka pig di san ka?
 <i>Are you going over there?</i></p> |
| <p>13. (OL) kau ini tambirang
 <i>you this boastful</i>
 (PL) ka in tambir
 <i>You're such a big-head</i></p> | <p>15. (OL) di mana kau mandi nanti?
 <i>pt where you bathe (future)</i>
 (PL) di man ka man nan?
 <i>Where are you going to have your bath?</i></p> |

It is not known whether the same PL is in use among the small group of native Malay-speakers in Sabah (who are ethnically Brunei Malays).

PL 4: TRANSPOSITION OF FINAL SYLLABLE

The fourth and most complex PL, which the Timugon call ragu tabalik 'backwards language', is formed basically by removing the final syllable to initial position in the word. It is perhaps the most widely attested PL in the Austronesian area: it is discussed for example by Evans (1923:276-277) for Malay and by Garcia (1933) and Conklin (1956) for Tagalog. Blust (1980:45) writes:

The existence of systems of speech disguise designated by forms of the root *balik 'reverse' both in Western Indonesia and in the Philippines argues for a similar tradition of some antiquity in the Austronesian world.

Here too it is necessary to sound a note of warning concerning the over-reliance on data consisting of words of less than three syllables which has vitiated some descriptions of this type of PL. Such words cannot be used alone as test-cases to distinguish between on the one hand strict syllable inversion (in which the words 'Timugon Murut' would become 'Gonmuti Rutmu'), and on the other hand syllable transposition, either of the initial syllable to the end of the word ('Mugonti Rutmu'), or of the final syllable to the beginning of the word ('Gontimu Rutmu').

In order to convert an OL word into PL 4, the following ordered rules must be applied to all full words:

- (i) Words with initial vowels are treated as though beginning with q:

$$\#V\dots \rightarrow \#qV\dots$$

- (ii) When the initial consonant of the final syllable is m, n or ng (there are no examples in the data of ny in the same environment), it is treated as geminate. This rule is also applied optionally when that consonant is a semivowel (w or y), and sporadically when it is r:

$$\dots C_2V_2(C_3)\# \rightarrow \dots C_2C_2V_2(C_3)\# \quad // \quad C_2 = m, n, ng, w, y, r$$

- (iii) Two adjacent vowels anywhere in the word are treated as though separated by a semivowel or a glottal stop. The segment which is inserted between the two vowels is w when the first is u and the second is not u; y when the first is i and the second is not i; and q in all other environments:

$$V_1V_2 \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V_1wV_2 \\ V_1yV_2 \\ V_1qV_2 \end{bmatrix} \quad // \quad \begin{bmatrix} V_1 = u, V_2 \neq u \\ V_1 = i, V_2 \neq i \\ \text{elsewhere} \end{bmatrix}$$

- (iv) The final -(C)V(C) of the word is moved to initial position:

$$\#(C_x)V_x(N)\dots(C_1)V_1(N)(C_2)V_2(C_3)\# \rightarrow \#(C_2)V_2(C_3)(C_x)V_x(N)\dots(C_1)V_1(N)\#$$

- (v) Any resulting sequence of q are reduced to a single q:

$$qq \rightarrow q$$

As in OL, word stress in PL 4 is predictable, though the rule for its placement is somewhat different. In PL 4, stress falls on the final syllable of trisyllabic words and on the penultimate syllable of other words.

Step-by-step application of the rules listed above is shown in the following selected words, followed in turn by sample sentences.

	<i>no, not</i>		<i>sniff, kiss</i>		<i>able</i>		<i>beard</i>
OL	kalo	OL	alok	OL	mapanday	OL	jangut
(iv)	loka	(i)	qalok	(iv)	daymapan	(ii)	jangngut
PL	['lɔka]	(iv)	lokqa	PL	[dɛyma'pan]	(iv)	ngutjang
		PL	['lɔkʔa]			PL	['ŋɛtjaŋ]
	<i>bird</i>		<i>fish</i>		<i>match (for fire)</i>		<i>black</i>
OL	susuit	OL	papait	OL	pandirip	OL	maitom
(iii)	susuwit	(iii)	papaqit	(ii)	pandirrip	(iii)	maqitom
(iv)	witsusu	(iv)	qitpapa	(iv)	rippandir	(iv)	tommaqi
PL	[wɨtsu'su]	PL	[ʔɨtpa'pa]	PL	[rɨp:an'dɨr]	PL	[tɔm:a'ʔi]
	<i>stay</i>		<i>soul</i>		<i>fragrant</i>		<i>look!</i>
OL	mayan	OL	ambiluo	OL	maangiq	OL	ilaiq
(ii)	ma(y)yan	(i)	qambiluo	(ii)	maangngiq	(i)	qilaiq
(iv)	yanma(y)	(iii)	qambiluwo	(iii)	maqangngiq	(iii)	qilaqiq
PL	['yanma],	(iv)	woqambilu	(iv)	ngiqmaqang	(iv)	qiqqila
	['yanmæy]	PL	[wɔʔam'bilu]	PL	[ŋɨʔma'ʔaŋ]	(v)	qiqila
						PL	['ʔiʔi'la]

Examples:

16. (OL) maitom kakagaq abuk ri Joon
black very hair pt John
 (PL) tommaqi gaqkaka bukqa ri Qonjo
John's hair is very dark.
17. (OL) manginum kow kia ra inasi?
drink you mod pt rice-beer
 (PL) nummangin kia kow ra siqina?
Are you drinking rice-beer?
18. (OL) mapanday kow kia ra ragu tabalik?
able you mod pt language backwards
 (PL) daymapan qowko yaki ra gura liktaba?
Do you know the backwards language?
19. (OL) ilaiq karabaw-no mongkotop!
look buffalo-the graze
 (PL) qiqila bawkara noqin topmongko!
Look at that buffalo grazing!
 (a derogatory comment on a companion's eating habits)

Several irregularities are to be noted in examples 16-19. For example, the sequence of postverbal clitics *kow* (pronoun) and *kia* (interrogative modifier) occurs in both 17 and 18, but is treated differently. In 17 the order of the two clitics is simply reversed, a regular procedure in this PL when both are monosyllabic, but unusual when one of the clitics is disyllabic (as *kia*). In 18 *kow* and *kia* are separately subjected to the PL 4 mechanism, which in the case of *kia* yields a regular form *yaki*. In the case of *kow*, however, the appearance of *qowko* can be explained as resting on an analysis of *kow* as a disyllabic *koow. The same explanation would also clarify the conversion of *kow* to *ko* in PL 3 (above).

Similarly the form *noqin* for *-no* in 18 must be derived from *ino*, the full form of the deictic which is in normal use in many Murut dialects but in Timugon occurs only in formal speech and letter writing.

CONCLUSION

As has already been stated, play languages can offer valuable insights into the structure of a language at various levels. The data presented here provides support for a number of analytical standpoints, e.g. that nasal + obstruent clusters such as *mp*, *nt*, etc., are not to be regarded as unit phonemes, and that phonetic single long vowels do in fact represent two emic syllables (even though opposing analyses are perfectly viable or even unavoidable for certain other languages). On the other hand, a play language can also raise some interesting questions and function as a signpost towards problems that need solving. Why, for instance, are word-medial nasal consonants treated as geminate in PL 4? Is one justified in trying to find a historical reason by hypothesising that this feature represents a generalisation of the gemination which affected word-medial consonants in many Western Indonesian languages when following **e*? Or is it simply that Timugon speakers feel that such nasal consonants straddle the syllable boundary and belong to two syllables simultaneously?

Up to the present, regrettably few linguists have even noticed play languages, still fewer have written about them, and only a handful have seriously attempted to incorporate them (or the information they provide) into a wide-based linguistic analysis.

As far as the Austronesian area is concerned, more extensive information on the distribution and nature of play languages may even permit an eventual reconstruction of a particular PL strategy, providing similarly valuable insights into the structure of an ancestral language.

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WORD TABOO AND COMPARATIVE AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS

Gary F. Simons

0. INTRODUCTION

It is a common practice among Austronesian languages that certain words become tabooed because of their association with things sacred or things proscribed. This fact has long been known, but its implications for comparative linguistics have not yet been sufficiently recognised. Early in this century, Sir James Frazer in his classic work on primitive religion, *The golden bough*, devotes 100 pages to the topic of tabooed words, with the majority of his examples coming from Austronesian languages¹ (1911:318-418). The potential effect on language history could be significant, since when a word becomes taboo its users must change the way it is pronounced or replace it altogether.² However, word tabooing has received little attention by comparative Austronesian linguists. A notable exception is Dyen's observation (Dyen 1963) that word tabooing may account for unexpectedly low cognate percentages in his lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian languages.

The most thorough treatment of word tabooing in a particular Austronesian language is Keesing and Fifi'i 1969. The authors describe in full both the cultural forces which motivate and maintain the taboos, and the linguistic mechanisms which carry them out. They go beyond the description of Kwaio word tabooing to make two observations of a more general nature: (1) word tabooing seems to have been widespread enough in the Pacific that perhaps the early Oceanic speakers practised some form of it (1969:154-155), and (2) a long history of word tabooing could explain some problems in comparative Oceanic linguistics (1969:155).

In this paper I am following up the lead given by Keesing and Fifi'i, and have compiled evidence which supports these two hypotheses, not only for Oceanic but for Austronesian as a whole. The paper develops in three parts. In part 1, from two groups of word tabooing languages in the Solomon Islands, I give evidence for just how word taboo can affect language change and comparative linguistics. In part 2, with a sample of data from 75 Austronesian languages, I plot the distribution of various types of word tabooing practices and then reconstruct some of these for certain proto-speech communities. In part 3, given the ways in which word taboo is known to affect language change and given the reconstruction of word tabooing for early Austronesian speech communities, I suggest a number of problems in comparative Austronesian linguistics for which word taboo may hold at least a partial explanation.

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1. THE EFFECT OF WORD TABOO IN COMPARATIVE LINGUISTICS

In this section I attempt to show not only in what ways word taboo can affect language change, but also to give quantitative estimates of the extent to which it actually does in documented cases. The first two subsections report on results of my own field work in the Solomon Islands, first on Santa Cruz and then on Malaita.³ The third subsection reports information that was gleaned from other authors. In defining the scope of comparative linguistics, I include quantitative methods like lexicostatistics as well as the qualitative methods for comparative reconstruction.

1.1 The case of Santa Cruz, Solomon Islands

My first personal experience with word taboo and comparative linguistics came in a dialect survey of Santa Cruz Island conducted with Richard Buchan in 1977 (Simons 1977a, 1979). We found 15 dialects which group into two languages on a criterion of mutual intelligibility. A Swadesh wordlist was collected by Buchan from each of the dialects. After preliminary comparisons of all the lists, words that required double checking were identified. In one case, when Buchan went back and asked the word again, he got a completely different response. When he queried the discrepancy, the bystanders explained, "Oh, he can't say that word", and the story of word taboo on Santa Cruz unfolded.

Word taboo in Santa Cruz is based on a taboo against calling the name of certain of one's affinal relations. In the Graciosa Bay dialect the kinship relation involved is called the *kado*.⁴ It is a reciprocal kinship term designating the relationship between son-in-law and mother-in-law, son-in-law and father-in-law, and husbands of sisters (that is, men who have the same parents-in-law). Between males who are *kado* there is a relationship of marked restraint evidenced by a taboo on joking and on saying the name of the *kado*. Between a son- and mother-in-law the relationship is one of stringent avoidance with an additional taboo on even making eye contact with each other.⁵ When one's *kado* dies, the name taboo still remains in effect.⁶ If a person breaks the name taboo, he must pay compensation to everyone who heard him say the name (except never to the offended *kado*). In pre-European times, a person would buy some food with the traditional currency, red-feather money (Davenport 1962), and make presentations of it. Today, they buy tobacco with government currency.

Names in Santa Cruz consist of a common word preceded by one of two prefixes for marking the sex of the referent. Men's names begin with *me-* and women's names begin with *i-*. Thus from the word *kio* *bird* two names can be formed: *Mekio* for a man and *Ikio* for a woman. Occasionally a man's name will omit the *me-* prefix. Some names have a compound root, as in *Menäkanyä* (*me-näka-nyä* *male-smoke-fire*) *Mr Smoke of fire*.

The taboo does not end with the name. It also extends to the common words which form the tabooed name. If, for instance, a man's mother-in-law is named *Ikio*, he cannot use the common word *kio* to refer to birds. He must find another way to talk about birds. Common methods of finding a replacement form include borrowing the word from a neighbouring dialect, inventing a circumlocution, or modifying the word phonologically.

To find out the potential effect of this word tabooing custom on language change and comparative linguistics, I went through the survey wordlist (basically the Swadesh 100-word list) with a middle-aged man asking him if anyone had a name with that meaning. His responses included names of people from all over the island, not just his own dialect. However, I am sure that similar questioning in other dialect areas would uncover many more examples of basic vocabulary in names.

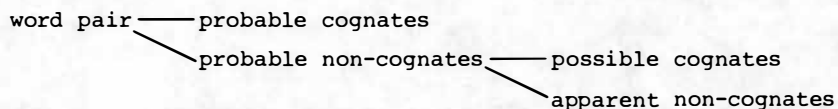
The result was that by the knowledge of one middle-aged man, 46% of the basic vocabulary items occur in names. This means that 46% of the basic vocabulary is potentially taboo for some people on the island to use, and potentially liable to spontaneous change. One-third of the names he cited were based on words from a dialect different from his own. The fact that he knew their meanings suggests that dialect forms are widely known and probably commonly used as synonyms when replacing tabooed forms.

The Santa Cruz dialects offer three problems of a phonological nature for comparative linguistics: the difficulty of establishing regular sound correspondences among the dialects, the difficulty of determining if forms are cognate, and the difficulty of establishing the regular sound changes for identifiable Austronesian roots. Without prehistoric written records it may not ever be possible to prove that a process of changing tabooed words by phonological modification lies at the root of these problems. However, I suggest that in the given cultural setting it offers a very plausible explanation for problems that are otherwise difficult to explain. Each of these problems is now considered in turn.

(1) The difficulty of establishing regular sound correspondences among the Santa Cruz dialects: No one has yet attempted this in print; however, when the attempt is made there will be many exceptions to the proposed sound laws. In Buchan's dialect survey wordlists (Simons 1977a:30-40), I found that 55% of the 125 proposed sets of cognate words appear to contain irregular sound correspondences. Although some of these cases are no doubt due to transcription errors and errors in judgment, a very large residue of irregular sound correspondences must remain.

(2) The difficulty of determining if forms are cognate: The irregularity of sound change leads to a problem for lexicostatistics — we cannot always be sure if two forms are cognate. The cognate percentages recorded in the dialect survey report (Simons 1977a:18) are percentages of 'probable' cognates. With 55% of the cognate sets showing what appear to be irregular sound correspondences, even these cognate judgments are questionable in places. However, we can go still further. For instance, in the word for 'mouth' there are two basic cognate sets, *nao* forms and *nabwa* forms. There are no recurring sound correspondences which account for the loss of *b* and the change of *wa* to *o*; thus, these forms were scored as non-cognate in the computation of probable cognates. However, given the fact that tabooed words can be replaced by phonological modification, it is very possible that these words derive from the same original word. Other examples of forms not counted probably cognate, but which are possibly cognate, are: *novo* and *newa* *meat*, *mwa* and *mna* *eye*, *nainyo* and *ino* and *ne* *leg*,⁷ and many more.

For any comparison of two dialects, a pair of words can be categorised in the following way:



That is, a pair of words can be probable cognates or probable non-cognates. The probable non-cognates can be further classified as possible cognates (given the phonological modification mechanisms of word taboo) or apparent non-cognates.

For each pair of dialects, the percentage of probable non-cognates that are possible cognates was computed. The results for all 105 pair-wise dialect comparisons among the 15 dialects are summarised in Table 1.

Range of % probable cognates	Number of cases	Average % probable non-cognates	Average % possible cognates	% of probable non-cognates that are possible cognates
90-99%	22	5.7%	1.2%	21%
80-89%	27	15.0%	4.1%	27%
70-79%	30	26.1%	9.0%	34%
60-69%	15	34.9%	12.2%	35%
50-59%	11	45.8%	18.4%	40%

The first row of the table reads as follows: 22 pairs of dialects have from 90% to 99% probable cognates; for these 22, the average percentage of probable non-cognates is 5.7%, of which 1.2% are possible cognates. Thus the proportion of probable non-cognates that are possible cognates is 1.2/5.7, or 21%.

The fact that from 21% to 40% of the forms originally judged to be non-cognate are so similar in form as to be possibly cognate proves that indeed most of them must be originally cognate. The laws of probability tell us that it is virtually impossible that as many as 40% of the non-cognate forms could be that similar in form merely by chance. A process of spontaneous and irregular phonological modification, such as is needed for maintaining word taboos, has indeed been at work among the Santa Cruz dialects.⁸

The fact that the percentage of probable non-cognates that are possibly cognate increases steadily from 21% to 40% as the lexicostatistic similarity decreases from 99% to 50%, accords with how we would expect a word taboo motivated process of phonological modification to work. As the irregular changes occur spontaneously in local areas and then spread, eventually we would expect changes to occur on top of changes. Therefore, the further apart the dialects, the greater the potential number of overlain changes and thus the greater appearance of non-cognition.

(3) The difficulty of establishing regular sound changes for identifiable Austronesian roots: As early as 1926, Sidney Ray identified a number of Austronesian forms in these languages but remarked that "a careful examination of the vocabularies gives few examples of regular phonetic changes" (1926:451). Fifty years later, Wurm's attempts along these same lines have met with the same result (1970b, 1976).

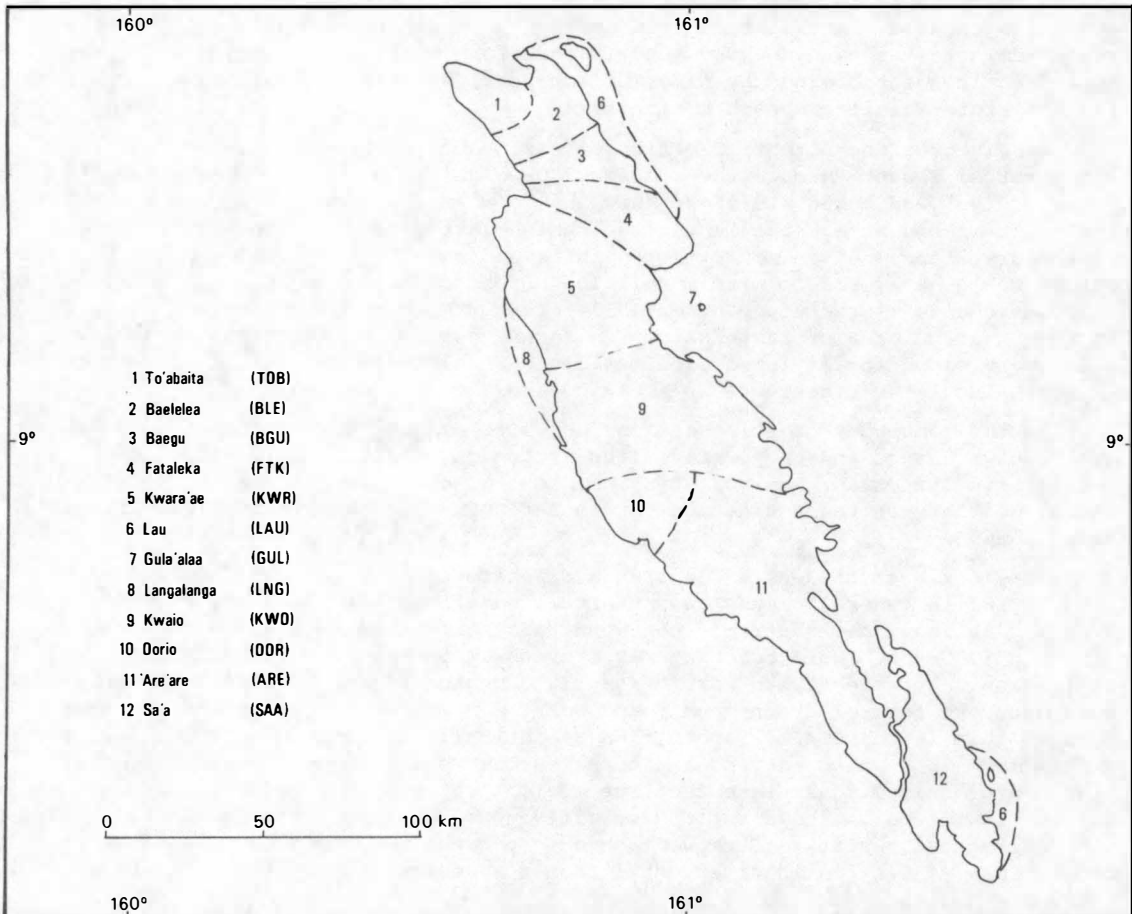
These three problems of phonological change somehow play a part in an even deeper problem for comparative linguistics, the problem of classifying the Santa Cruz and Reef Islands languages. The early investigators, Codrington (1885) and Ray (1926:447-455), classified the languages as Austronesian. More recently, Wurm (1970a, 1970b, 1976) has classified them as non-Austronesian and members of his East Papuan Phylum. In the latest instalment of the debate, Peter Lincoln (1978) has suggested that these languages could be classed as originally Oceanic. Wurm's reply (1978) attempts to strengthen his own thesis of Papuan substratum with Austronesian overlay by showing parallels with pidginisation processes. The basic arguments for the Papuan element are morphological and syntactic, and we have not documented any cases of word taboo affecting the languages at this level. However, a substratum hypothesis by itself does not satisfactorily account for all the phonological data. A long history of language changing word taboo must have some part in explaining the messy Austronesian that is found on Santa Cruz today.

1.2 The case of Malaita, Solomon Islands

Word taboo in the Malaitan languages (see Map 1) is based on a taboo against saying the name of a dead ancestor. From the spirits of dead ancestors comes the power by which the living attain success (Keesing and Fifi'i 1969:157). Thus for the Baegu culture and for Malaita in general, "veneration of ancestral spirits by means of pig sacrifice and observance of a strict taboo system is the essence of ... religion" (Ross 1973:53). One of these strict taboos is the name taboo. The basic principle behind the name taboo is the following:

The name of a person ... is associated with the 'essence' of that person. The name of an [ancestor] acquires sacredness roughly corresponding to the sacredness of the [ancestral spirit].... Usage of a [linguistic] form associated with that name can impinge on the sacredness of the ancestor (Keesing and Fifi'i 1969:159).

Names are commonly built from common words. Thus not only does speaking the name become taboo, but also using the common words which may be inside the name. As a Kwara'ae man once explained to me, "To speak the name of an ancestor is to invoke his power, and one cannot therefore use the name lightly".



Map 1: Languages and dialects of Malaita

Here are some further details on how the Malaitan word taboo works (taken from the Kwaio data of Keesing and Fifi'i 1969): In general, the older an ancestor, the more powerful and sacred he is. However, the name of a person who has died in the lifetime of those now living may become tabooed among his surviving relatives in respect to his memory, even though no special powers are yet attributed to him (p.159). Persons who die of leprosy or tuberculosis become sacred immediately (p.160). Sometimes a word sounding like the name, but not morphologically related to it, becomes tabooed as well (p.162). Tabooed forms cannot be uttered by the spirit's descendants, nor may they be uttered by others in their presence (pp.168-169). Breaking of the taboo requires that compensation be paid, usually in the form of a pig or shell money (p.169).

Common methods for finding replacement forms for tabooed words are semantic shift of an existing form (such as by analogy, metaphor, or generic-specific relationship), substitution of a form with semantic similarity or overlap, borrowing from another Malaitan language or from Pidgin English, modifying the tabooed form phonologically, inventing a circumlocutionary descriptive phrase, or using an alternative morphological derivation on the same base (pp.166-168).

Word tabooing of this nature has been attested in the literature for Kwaio (Keesing and Fifi'i 1969), To'abaita (Deck 1933:34), and Sa'a (Ivens 1927:274). I have observed it in Kwara'ao and 'Are'are as well (without yet checking in the other languages). This distribution covers the very northernmost group on the island down to the southernmost and is therefore sufficient for us to reconstruct this practice of tabooing the names of ancestral spirits (and related common words) for the Proto-Malaitan speech community.

To discover the potential effect of name tabooing on comparative Malaitan linguistics, I went through the Swadesh 100-word list with a To'abaita man (65 years of age) and asked him if he knew any To'abaita person (living or dead) with that word in his name. The result was that he attested names for 59% of the basic vocabulary items. Given more time to think and more help from neighbours he surely would have come up with more. The effect of name tabooing in inducing language change is therefore potentially great. Keesing has measured that effect in the Sinalagu area of East Kwaio. He found that 12% of the basic vocabulary items were taboo for at least some residents in all uses and another 5% were taboo in some linguistic constructions (Keesing and Fifi'i 1969:165).

In the remainder of this section I seek to measure the effect of word taboo on language change and comparative linguistics on Malaita. This effect is measured in six areas: lexicostatistics, lexical change, synonyms in reconstructions, doublets in reconstruction, irregular sound change, and recurring irregular sound change.

(1) Lexicostatistics: The standard lexicostatistic method (and indeed linguistics in general) makes an unstated assumption that there are no true synonyms in language. However, the word taboo situation is a valid exception (Thomson 1975:43). Word tabooing requires the speakers of a language to have at their disposal at least two ways of saying certain things. When all the speakers of a language control synonymous forms for the same wordlist item and the choice between them is culturally rather than semantically determined,⁹ then a lexicostatistic method which records and compares only one response for each wordlist item can grossly miscalculate the true lexical relationship between languages. The error will be in the direction of yielding cognate percentages that are lower than the actual reality. From a diachronic perspective, this has the effect of overestimating linguistic divergence; from a synchronic perspective, it underestimates dialect intelligibility.¹⁰

To test the effect of synonymy in underestimating the true relationship between languages, I have used a refinement to lexicostatistics which allows us to take account of synonyms. I first collected a 100-word list from the 12 major languages and dialects of Malaita, and computed cognate percentages in the standard way (considering only the first word given in each dialect). Then for each wordlist item in the five languages for which dictionaries are available — To'abaita (Waterston 1924), Lau (Fox 1974), Kwaio (Keesing 1975), 'Are'are (Geerts 1970), and Sa'a (Ivens 1929) — I looked up all the non-cognate forms from the other languages to see if that language had a cognate form (whether the same or different in meaning). For instance, the Lau wordlist gives *kete* for the word *head*. All other languages have a reflex of PML (Proto-Malaitan) **bwau*. In the Lau dictionary I found that the Lau people also use a reflex of this form, *gwou*, to mean *head*. Thus Lau in terms of the first choice of my informant is not cognate with the rest of Malaita, but in terms of a synonymous form it is. Lexicostatistics seeks to measure lexical replacements and shifts in meaning. Since the Lau reflex of PML, *gwou*, has neither been replaced nor shifted in meaning, it can legitimately be counted as a cognate for lexicostatistical purposes.

The refinement of lexicostatistics is as follows. We liken one dialect to a hearer and the other to a speaker. Then we ask the question, "Does the hearing dialect have a word that is cognate with the first-choice word of the speaking dialect?" If so, a cognate is counted. From a synchronic interpretation, such a cognate suggests that the hearer would understand the word; from a diachronic interpretation, it suggests a historical relationship. The resulting measure is asymmetric. That is, the number of cognates with A hearing B may be different from the number with B hearing A.

The results of the computation are given in Table 2. Three percentages are given for each dialect pair. First is the percentage arrived at by the conventional method. Second is the percentage when synonyms are also counted (that is, no lexical replacement and no shift in meaning). I take this percentage to be the truest measure of cognates for lexicostatistics. Third is the percentage when cognates with a shift in meaning are also counted. By allowing semantic shift this percentage is not a true lexicostatistic measure by conventional standards. However, it does give a useful measure of common lexical content. Since many of the shifted meanings are still very similar in meaning, this third percentage may even more nearly predict intelligibility in some cases.

To give an idea of the overall effect of counting cognates which are synonyms and which have near meaning, the results are summarised in Table 3. For each of the five 'hearing' languages the range of the percentage increase and the average increase for both synonymous cognates and cognates with near meaning are given in the table. With all but one of the average effects of counting synonyms greater than 7%, true synonymy proves to be a significant factor in language relations on Malaita. This is especially true in the cases where the effect ranges as high as 16%, 18% and 22%.¹¹

From a synchronic perspective, the increased cognate percentages incorporating synonyms give us a more accurate prediction of intelligibility between dialects. Following Swadesh's suggestion, 81% is commonly accepted as the dividing line between different languages versus different dialects and is therefore thought to be the general threshold of intelligibility. For TOB, the conventional computations put BGU, FTK, and LAU in a 75% to 77% relationship. The count incorporating synonyms brings all three relationships into an 80% to 86% range and indeed all are mutually intelligible with TOB. For LAU, the count with synonyms brings TOB, FTK, GUL, and KWR above the supposed threshold. The first

Table 2: Refined lexicostatistics for Malaitan languages

Three scores are given: (1) standard, (2) including synonyms, and (3) also including cognates with shift in meaning.

TOB, LAU, KWO, ARE, and SAA (on the left hand side) are counted as hearing the first word given by the other language. The languages are listed roughly in a north-to-south geographical ordering.

		TOB	BLE	BGU	FTK	KWR	LAU	GUL	LNG	KWO	DOR	ARE	SAA
TOB	(1)		83	76	75	66	77	70	66	54	52	54	51
	(2)		92	85	80	71	86	76	70	59	54	56	53
	(3)		96	89	85	76	92	85	79	70	67	68	64
LAU	(1)	77	84	80	77	67		79	63	61	52	54	49
	(2)	91	96	96	92	83		87	78	70	61	61	62
	(3)	98	99	99	98	91		93	89	84	72	76	71
KWO	(1)	54	55	53	62	60	61	72	61		59	53	47
	(2)	68	65	64	75	72	70	83	77		76	71	60
	(3)	75	74	73	82	76	74	88	84		82	80	70
ARE	(1)	54	49	50	53	53	54	58	61	53	75		57
	(2)	60	56	55	59	59	61	63	67	60	80		79
	(3)	69	68	60	71	67	71	74	79	75	85		81
SAA	(1)	51	47	49	49	49	49	49	53	47	54	57	
	(2)	58	54	59	60	59	55	55	64	54	62	67	
	(3)	63	63	68	67	64	63	66	73	67	72	76	

Table 3: Overall effect of refined lexicostatistics

	Increase to cognate percentage when counting synonymous cognates		Additional increase when counting cognates with meaning change	
	Range	Average	Range	Average
TOB	2-9%	5.3%	4-13%	8.1%
LAU	7-16%	12.2%	3-15%	8.5%
KWO	9-18%	13.1%	4-10%	7.0%
ARE	5-22%	7.5%	2-15%	9.2%
SAA	6-11%	8.5%	5-13%	8.6%
Overall		9.3%		8.3%

three are definitely intelligible with LAU. KWR is marginally so because of a pervasive metathesis process which makes aural recognition of cognate words difficult for the uninitiated. For the other three 'hearing' languages - KWO, ARE, SAA - I have not observed what the intelligibility relationships actually are. Note the striking asymmetry between ARE and SAA. ARE hearing SAA (79%) comes right up to the supposed threshold, but SAA hearing ARE (67%) is well below it. Thus, the results predict that ARE people may be able to understand SAA but not vice versa. Further investigations will be required to test this hypothesis.

From a diachronic perspective, the increased cognate percentages incorporating synonyms would alter our interpretation of the degree of divergence separating the languages. This could be especially problematic if trying to estimate the absolute time depth of divergence by glottochronology. Taking some of the more dramatic examples and using the usual retention rate of 80.5% per millenium, the following differences arise. The KWO to TOB increase of 54% to 68% represents a difference of 15 centuries versus 8 centuries. The LAU to KWR increase of 67% to 83% represents a difference of 9 centuries versus 4 centuries. The ARE to SAA increase of 57% to 79% represents a difference of 13 centuries versus 5 centuries. Obviously, glottochronology has its problems where word taboo has affected the pattern (and probably the rate) of lexical change.

(2) Lexical change: Conventional approaches to comparative linguistics admit only one kind of lexical change (as distinct from phonological or semantic changes to a lexical item); it is the process of replacement. A replacement, when form A with meaning 'x' is replaced by a different form B with the same meaning 'x', can be diagrammed as follows:

Lexical replacement: A 'x' > B 'x'

Whether lexical change occurs by a family tree model of dialect splitting and divergence, or by a wave theory model of dialect borrowing and convergence, the same process of replacement explains lexical change.

The word tabooing situation, however, introduces another kind of lexical change which I am terming 'augmentation'. By lexical augmentation a synonym is added to the lexicon to co-exist with the original form. That is, form B with meaning 'x' is added to the lexicon to augment form A with the same meaning 'x' (without replacing it). This can be diagrammed:

Lexical augmentation: A 'x' > A 'x', B 'x'

In order to determine the extent to which the tabooing situation has motivated lexical change via augmentation rather than replacement, I analysed lexical change in the items of the 100-word list for the 12 Malaitan languages and dialects. In Table 4, some lexical isogloss patterns demonstrating the two patterns of change are given. Example 1a shows a simple case of augmentation. Every Malaitan language reflects PML *bwau for the meaning *head*. However, LAU uses a synonym *kete* as its first choice without replacing its *bwau reflex. Contrast this pattern with example 2a which shows a simple replacement pattern. While all other languages reflect PML *ba'ita as the word for *big*, KWR has replaced it completely with *doe*.

Example 1b illustrates an augmentation pattern¹² in which synonymous forms can be reconstructed for PML. Thus the augmenting change dates back to the time of PML, or even earlier. Two PML words with the meaning *leaf* are reconstructable. Note, however, that today only three of the languages preserve these forms as synonyms; in most other languages there is a meaning shift in one form or the other. Nevertheless, the meaning *leaf* occurs today with both forms in both

Table 4: Patterns of lexical change													
Key to symbols:													
X The language reflects this form.													
X ¹ In the case of synonyms, this is the first choice.													
X* The form is reflected but with a different meaning.													
1. AUGMENTATION													
	TOB	BLE	LAU	GUL	BGU	FTK	KWR	LNG	KWO	DOR	ARE	SAA	
a. <i>head</i>													
PML *bwau	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
kete	X*	-	X ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
b. <i>leaf</i>													
PML *'aba	X ¹	X	X ¹	X	X*	X ¹	X*	X ¹	X	X	X*	X ¹	X ¹
PML *rau	X*	-	X*	-	X ¹	X	X ¹	X	-	-	-	X	X
po'ore	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-
2. REPLACEMENT													
a. <i>big</i>													
PML *ba'ita	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X
doe	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
b. <i>nose</i>													
PML *bwalusu	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	X
PML *bwango	X*	-	X*	-	-	-	X*	-	X	X	X	X*	X*
PML *ngora	X*	X	X	X	X	X	X	X*	X*	X*	X*	X*	X*

Table 5: Patterns of lexical change in Malaitan basic vocabulary		
No lexical change		33%
Every language has the same form		
Augmentation pattern		36%
One PML form with local synonyms	15%	
Synonyms in PML	21%	
	36%	
Replacement pattern		32%
One PML form with local replacements	15%	
Multiple PML forms with local meaning shifts	8%	
No reconstructable PML forms	9%	
	32%	

northern and southern Malaita and must be reconstructed as PML for both forms. Contrast this with the replacement pattern in example 2b. Here there are three reconstructed forms. In this case, however, there are no synonyms today, nor do there appear to have been any in PML. Only the first listed form, *bwalusu, is reconstructed with the meaning *nose*. *bwango appears to have had an original meaning *mucus*, and its use as *nose* is an innovation in some southern languages. *ngora appears to have had an original meaning of *snore*, *snort* and *snout*, and its use as *nose* is an innovation in some northern languages. Here, meaning shifts have brought about true replacements.

To determine the extent to which the tabooing situation has motivated lexical change via augmentation rather than replacement, I examined each wordlist item to find which pattern of lexical change explained the overall distribution of forms. The results are in Table 5. In that table, 'local' refers to a change which is confined to a single language or small group of neighbouring ones and cannot be reconstructed for PML. The overall result is that 33% of the items show no lexical change, 36% show an augmentation pattern of lexical change, and 32% show a replacement pattern of lexical change. If we consider just the items that show lexical change, 53% have changed by augmentation. At least for the basic vocabulary, lexical change by augmentation is more frequent in this word tabooing situation than is change by replacement.

(3) Synonyms in reconstruction: A striking result of Table 5 is that synonyms must be reconstructed in PML for 21% of the basic vocabulary. (This count does not include phonological doublets.) Earlier in the paper, word tabooing was reconstructed as a cultural practice of the Proto-Malaitan speech community on the basis of its distribution in the daughter languages. The current result concerning reconstructable synonyms gives more direct evidence that the proto-speech community did practise word tabooing, in that it maintained synonyms for a significant proportion of the basic vocabulary.

The three aspects of comparative linguistics considered thus far have measured the impact of the word tabooing requirement of maintaining synonyms. The next three measure the impact of irregular sound change. One method of finding a word to replace a tabooed word is to modify the original word phonologically; another is to borrow the same word from a neighbouring dialect (that is, borrow their pronunciation). In both cases we would expect irregular sound correspondences in cognate words to be common. The data bear this out:

(4) Irregular sound correspondences: 34% of the 182 cognate sets found in the 100-word list display irregular sound correspondences.¹³ (A more refined count which distinguishes spontaneous irregular changes from irregular correspondences due to borrowing of dialectal forms has yet to be attempted.) 34% is a large portion of the whole, but considerably less than the 55% found for Santa Cruz. Computations performed for language families without word tabooing are needed as a baseline for comparison.

(5) Recurring irregular sound changes: Certain spontaneous irregular sound changes (that is, they are not from borrowings) occur so commonly as to appear to be regular changes. A striking example is Kwaio's disposition toward changing d's to g's. Kwaio d is the regular reflex of PML *d, and g is the regular reflex of PML *g (Levy 1979:223). The Lau language has the same reflexes for these proto-phonemes. Scores of examples of the d:d and g:g correspondences between these two languages can be found. However, consider the following pairs of cognate words:

Kwaio	Lau	Meaning
gani	dani	<i>day, daylight</i>
logo	rodo	<i>night, dark</i>
-ga	-da	3rd person plural possessive
aga	ada	<i>look, see</i>
gamu	damu	KWO <i>chew</i> , LAU <i>smack the lips</i>
guigui	dudui	<i>vinegar ant</i>
ugu	udu	<i>a drop of water</i>
age	ade	<i>do, happen</i>
nagama	madama	<i>moon</i>

This g:d correspondence occurs repeatedly enough (and with no conditioning factor) that some comparativists might be tempted to reconstruct a subscripted or capital letter proto-phoneme to symbolise the correspondence. However, such an analysis is unjustified in terms of diachronic plausibility. There is no other language which suggests that the ancestral language had another phoneme, nor does the PML sound system (assuming that it was a natural phonological system) have room for another velar or alveolar stop phoneme. In fact, Kwaio itself gives counter evidence in that it has g-d doublets for three of these words (gani-dani, gamu-damu, guigui-duidui). The explanation for this kind of common irregular sound change is to be found in the mechanisms of word tabooing, not in regular inheritance from the proto-language.

This example suggests that in a word tabooing language family the conventional dichotomy between regular and irregular sound correspondences is not fully adequate for making decisions of cognacy and shared inheritance. We must admit a third class of 'common' sound correspondences which are sufficient to establish cognacy, but which indicate the working of a culturally induced spontaneous sound change (rather than a borrowing). That is, there are some regular ways to modify a form when it becomes taboo.

(6) Doublets in reconstruction: Doublets (that is, phonologically similar words with identical or near meanings) are very much in evidence throughout Malaita. Keesing and Fifi'i (1969:174-175) give fourteen sets for examples in their word taboo paper. They suggest two possible sources for these similar forms: coining of replacement forms by phonological modification or by borrowing. These sets are not necessarily restricted to 'doublets'; one contains five phonological alternatives for the same word. Many more examples of doublets can be found in the Kwaio dictionary as well as in all of the other Malaitan dictionaries. Some doublets are not confined to single languages but are sufficiently widespread as to be reconstructable. This gives further direct evidence that the kinds of taboo motivated language changing processes observed today must have been used by the PML speech community as well.

There appear to be at least seven doublets in the 100-word list. Four of these involve a phonological difference only:

PML	*mela,	*mena	<i>red</i>
	*ano,	*gano	<i>earth, ground</i>
	*dani	*dangi	<i>day</i>
	*sinali,	*singali	<i>moon</i>

Three more involve a slight difference in meaning as well:

PML	*baururu <i>knee, kneel</i> and *boururu <i>kneel</i>
	*ngidu <i>lip, mouth</i> and *ngisu <i>spit, saliva</i>
	*marawa <i>green, bluish</i> is the colour of *matawa <i>open sea</i>

In summary, two word-taboo motivated processes of language change are prevalent on Malaita: (1) the generation of synonyms (basically through meaning shifts or borrowings), and (2) the phonological modification of tabooed words (through spontaneous sound change or borrowing the pronunciation used by a neighbouring language). The impact of synonymy was measured to be the following: on average, counting synonyms as cognates raises cognate percentages 9.3% on a 100-word list, lexical change by augmentation is more frequent than lexical change by replacement, and synonyms must be reconstructed in PML for 21% of the items on the 100-word list. The impact of phonological modification is as follows: 34% of cognate sets on the 100-word list show irregular sound correspondences, spontaneous irregular sound changes occur frequently enough that we must define a class of irregular sound correspondences which still reflect direct inheritance rather than borrowing, and doublets must be reconstructed in PML for 7% of the items on the 100-word list.

1.3 Information from other authors

A number of authors have commented on the effects of word tabooing on cognate percentages and lexicostatistical survey techniques. The first of these was Dyen (1963:63-64). In his lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian languages he noted that the Polynesian languages Tahitian and Paumotu regularly scored significantly lower than the other Polynesian languages when compared with non-Polynesian languages. Tahitian is well known for its practice of tabooing words sounding like a royal name (see Appendix, number 73). The average cognate percentage of these two languages with four non-Polynesian Oceanic languages (Rotuman, Fijian, Efate, and Gilbertese) was 16.5%; the average score of Hawaiian with these four languages was 24.1% and of Niue was 29.8%. That is, the tabooing languages scored an average 8% to 13% fewer cognates. Dyen suggests that the word tabooing custom "might ultimately favor the replacement of a larger number of words than normal".

Lithgow (1973) documents a 19% change in basic vocabulary over the past 50 years in the Austronesian language of Muyuw (Woodlark Island, Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea). Of the total change, 13% comprises lexical replacement, and the remaining 6% comprises phonological modification of the original word. Lithgow lists three causes for these changes (1973:106; see also Appendix, number 44): (1) one cannot say the name of a deceased clan relative, or any words with a similar sound, (2) one cannot say the names of parents-in-law and siblings-in-law, and (3) if a man has magic associated with a particular thing, he will never pronounce the normal word for it.

Sandra Callister (personal communication) reports that word tabooing has affected past cognate counts on Misima Island (another Austronesian language of the Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea). On Misima there are taboos on names of the dead and of affines (see Appendix, number 45). Callister reports that "there is virtually no dialect difference from village to village on Misima, yet an earlier lexicostatistical survey talks about cognate counts of 92% to 96% between villages".

The studies of three investigators in non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea are relevant as well. In Kewa (Southern Highlands Province) three kinds of taboos affect the use of common words: affinal name taboos, taboos on names of the dead, and words made taboo by association with cult activities (see Appendix, letter G). Karl Franklin has done extensive survey work among Kewa dialects (Franklin 1968). Although he has not specifically tested for the effect

of word tabooing in lexicostatistical results, he suggests (personal communication) that the skewing could be as much as 15% to 20% on a standard 190-word list containing basic vocabulary and cultural vocabulary for New Guinea. Robert Larsen (1975:6) in a dialect survey of the Orokaiva language (Northern Province; see Appendix, letter H) found word tabooing and synonymy to be such a problem that he developed a phonostatic method for analysing the results. This method measures not how many words are cognate, but how phonetically similar are cognate words, thus bypassing the problem of synonyms altogether. Les Bruce (1977) likewise found that word tabooing skewed lexicostatistical surveys (specifically working in the East Sepik Province). He suggests that in word tabooing areas a pilot survey should be first carried out to determine the most stable vocabulary for initial comparative purposes, and then items affected by word taboo should be eliminated from the survey wordlist.

Several authors have discussed how new forms to replace tabooed forms are coined. Bruce (1977) lists nine ways that the Alamlak of Papua New Guinea (a non-Austronesian group in the East Sepik Province; see Appendix, letter F) use to avoid saying words that form the tabooed names of affinal relatives. The first two are borrowing a new word or modifying the old one phonologically. The remaining seven are different semantic relations between the original word and the word chosen to replace it. These include using a more generic term, a more specific term, a caricaturisation, a term with extended meaning, a term with similar referent, a synonym, or an antonym.

Among the Buang, an Austronesian group of the Morobe Province in Papua New Guinea (see Appendix, number 34), Hooley (1972:502-505) reports that each personal name has a conventional 'taboo' name associated with it, which affinal relatives must use when referring to the bearer of the name and in place of the name whenever it occurs as a common word. He gives examples of four kinds of associations between the personal name and the taboo name: neither name has any meaning, the two names form a specific-generic pair, the two names are a synonymous pair, the taboo name bears a phonetic similarity to the personal name (although it has a totally unrelated meaning).

Dixon (1980:98-99) in generalising about how Australian languages replace tabooed words lists four methods: use a synonymous form already in the language (but only in a minority of languages in which "virtually every lexical item has a number of synonyms"), borrow from a neighbouring language, coin a new compound, or shift the meaning of a term already in the language.

In three languages for which published accounts are available, replacement forms are coined primarily by means of semantic relationships, not by borrowing or phonological modification. Franklin gives many examples of how this is done among the Kewa for both replacing tabooed names of affinal relatives (1967:79-80) and in creating a ritual pandanus language (1972:70-72) and a religious argot (1975:717-722). Diffloth (1980:160-161) gives examples of how the Semai, an Austro-Asiatic people of the Malay peninsula, coin words or expressions to replace the tabooed names of animals. The replacement forms are of two categories: 'disgracing names' based on words which make fun of the animal's appearance or behaviour, and 'secret names' which make a purposefully obscure association so as to prevent the animal from knowing that it is being named. Helen Fox (in press) in describing avoidance terms among the Big Nambas (an Austronesian group of Vanuatu; see Appendix, number 67) gives examples of three ways in which avoidance terms are coined: by substituting semi-synonymous terms already in the language, by using a descriptive phrase as a circumlocution, or by using a synonymous term not used anywhere in the language except as an avoidance term.

At the other end of the spectrum are languages where avoidance terms are coined strictly by phonological deformation. All the cases I have found are cases of pig-Latin-like sublanguages. Most examples are cases of 'disguised language' in which the purpose is to conceal the speaker's meaning from certain listeners. Other examples are cases of 'play languages' in which the purpose is basically to entertain. While the current examples do not deal directly with word taboos, I mention them here in the interest of exploring their connection in the future. In addition, cases of phonologically modified sublanguages are of relevance to the more general question of culturally induced irregular language change, as sublanguage forms may be adopted into the standard language.

Conklin describes disguised speech in two languages of the Philippines, Tagalog (1956) and Hanunoo (1959). Modifications include reordering of phonemes, reordering of syllables, substitution of phonemes, or addition of meaningless affixes. Larry Allen (see Appendix, number 11 for details) describes play languages used by children and teenagers in Kankanaey of the Philippines. Ernest Lee (see Appendix, number 8 for details) describes play languages in Roglai, an Austronesian language of Vietnam. In story telling there are special sublanguages formed by phonological modification used for certain characters in a story: 'turtle talk', 'buzzard talk', 'tiger talk', and 'corpse talk'.

Laycock (1969) describes three forms of modified language in Buin, a non-Austronesian language of Bougainville, Papua New Guinea: poetic language, adolescent play language, and a 'dog language' used in story telling (see Appendix, letter I for details). He notes four cases of modified forms being adopted into the standard language (1969:16). In a later paper, Laycock (1972) develops a typology of the mechanisms of modification used in play languages, based on examples from over 50 languages. Twelve of these are Austronesian.

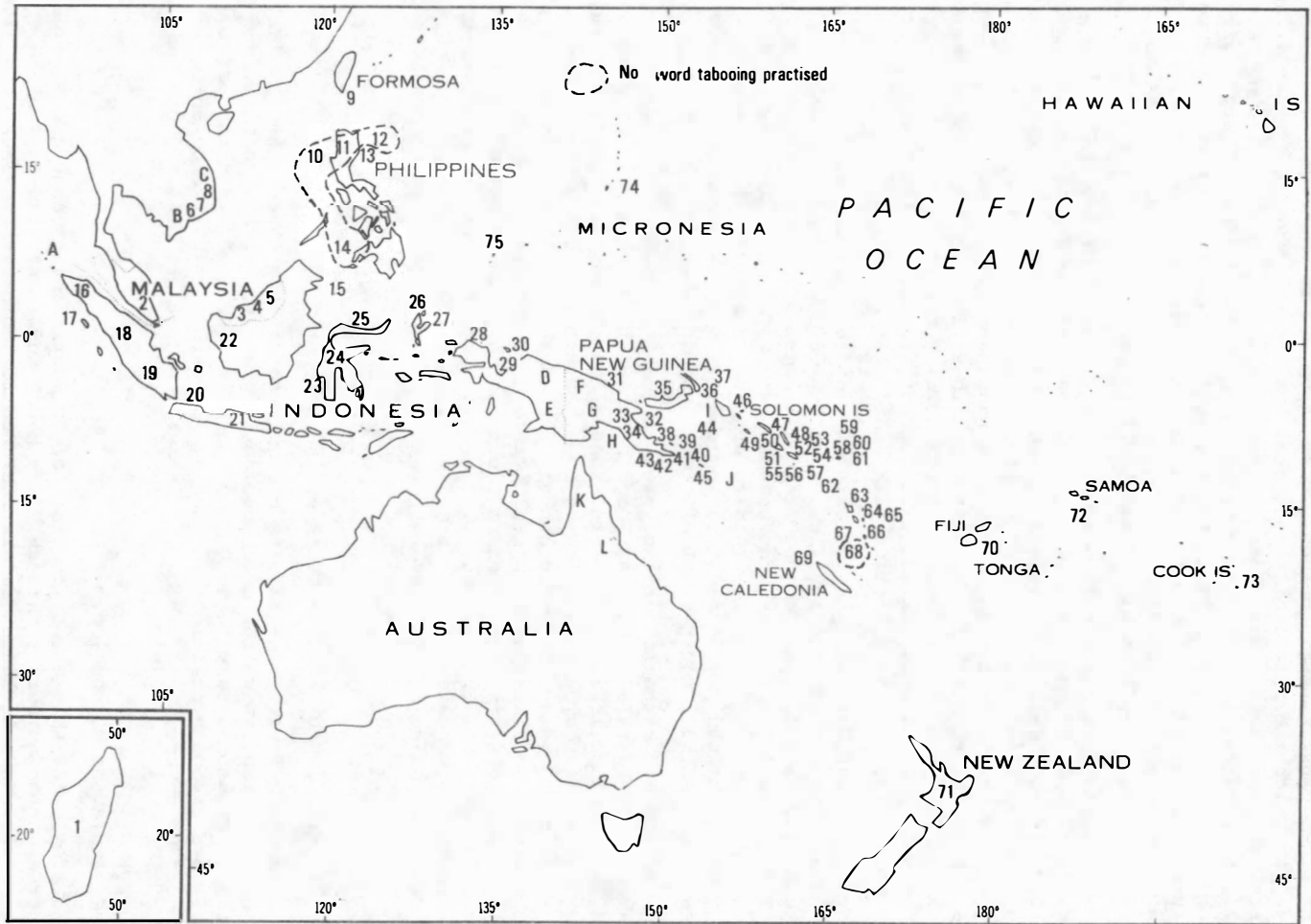
The metathesis of consonant and vowel in (mostly) final CV syllables in normal speech in Kwara'ae (Malaita, Solomon Islands) may be a related phenomenon (Simons 1977b, Clark 1981). In careful speech and in singing, unmetathesised forms are used (as they are in all uses in other Malaitan languages). One of the theories for the development of metathesis in Kwara'ae is that it was deliberately used as a device to make speech unintelligible to the ancestral spirits. (Note the relationship of this phenomenon to the tabooing of the names of these spirits discussed in Section 1.2.) Laycock (1982b) discusses this and other cases of metathesis in Austronesian languages and presents a case for 'deliberate' metathesising (such as in disguised or play language) in some of the examples.

2. THE DISTRIBUTION OF WORD TABOO IN AUSTRONESIA

This section reports the results of a literature search and questionnaire survey aimed at finding where word tabooing is practised in Austronesia, and of what kinds. First the sample and methodology are described, then each of the types of word tabooing practices is considered in turn: name taboos on relatives, name taboos on chiefs, name taboos on the dead, and other forms of word taboo.

2.1 The sample and methodology

The sample for this survey consists of 75 Austronesian languages.¹⁴ These are plotted as the numbers 1 through 75 in Map 2 and identified in Table 6. Twelve non-Austronesian languages are included for comparison. These are plotted as the letters A through L.



Map 2: Distribution of languages in the sample

Table 6: Identification of languages in the sample

(Name, location)
1. Madagascar (source gives no particular dialect)
2. Malay, Malay peninsula, West Malaysia
3. Sea Dyak, Sarawak, East Malaysia
4. Tatana, Sabah, East Malaysia
5. Labuk Kadazan, Sabah, East Malaysia
6. Eastern Cham, Vietnam
7. Chru, Vietnam
8. Roglai, Vietnam
9. Yami, Botel Tobago Island, Formosa
10. Bolinao, Luzon, Philippines
11. Kankanaey, Luzon, Philippines
12. Eastern Bontoc, Luzon, Philippines
13. Ifugao: Amganad, Luzon, Philippines
14. Chavacano, west Mindanao, Philippines
15. Central Sinama, Sulu Archipelago, Philippines
16. Achinese, NW Sumatra, Indonesia
17. Nias, Nias Island, Indonesia
18. Karo-Batak, central Sumatra, Indonesia
19. Batak, central Sumatra, Indonesia
20. Sundanese, west Java, Indonesia
21. Javanese, central and east Java, Indonesia
22. Dyak, west Borneo, Indonesia
23. Bolang Mongondo, west Sulawesi, Indonesia
24. Alfoors of Poso, central Sulawesi, Indonesia
25. Alfoors of Minahassa, northern Sulawesi, Indonesia
26. Alfoors of Halmahera, Indonesia
27. Tobaru, Halmahera, Indonesia
28. Nufoors, Numfor Island, Irian Jaya, Indonesia
29. Serui, Tapen Island, Irian Jaya, Indonesia
30. Biak, Biak Island, Irian Jaya, Indonesia
31. Kairiru, Kairiru Island, Papua New Guinea
32. Jabem, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea
33. Patep, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea
34. Buang, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea
35. Nakanai, central north coast of New Britain, Papua New Guinea
36. Duke of York, Duke of York Islands, east New Britain, Papua New Guinea
37. Sursurunga, New Ireland, Papua New Guinea
38. Iduna, D'Entrecasteaux Islands, Papua New Guinea
39. Yamalele, D'Entrecasteaux Islands, Papua New Guinea
40. Dobu, Dobu Island, Papua New Guinea
41. Tawala, northern shore Milne Bay, Papua New Guinea
42. Wagawaga, SW shore of Milne Bay, Papua New Guinea
43. Suau SE tip of Papua New Guinea
44. Muyuw, Woodlark Island, Papua New Guinea
45. Misima, Misima Island, Papua New Guinea
46. Alu, Shortland Islands, Solomon Islands
47. Kia, NW Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands
48. Maringe, central Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands

continued ...

Table 6: continued...

49. Ghari, west Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands
 50. Birao east Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands
 51. Rennellese, Rennell Island, Solomon Islands
 52. To'abaita, NW Malaita, Solomon Islands
 53. 'Are'are, south Malaita, Solomon Islands
 54. Ulawa, Ulawa Island, Solomon Islands
 55. Arosi, west San Cristobal, Solomon Islands
 56. Bauro, central San Cristobal, Solomon Islands
 57. Kahua, east San Cristobal, Solomon Islands
 58. Owa, Santa Ana Island, Solomon Islands
 59. Aiwo, Reef Islands, Solomon Islands
 60. Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz Island, Solomon Islands
 61. Aba, Utupua Island, Solomon Islands
 62. Banks Islands, Vanuatu
 63. Motlav, Saddle Island, Vanuatu
 64. Aoba, NE Aoba Island, Vanuatu
 65. West Omba, west Aoba Island, Vanuatu
 66. Raga, northern Pentecost Island, Vanuatu
 67. Big Nambas, NW Malekula, Vanuatu
 68. Fila, Efate Island, Vanuatu
 69. Belep, Belep Island, New Caledonia
 70. Taveuni Island, Fiji
 71. Maori, New Zealand
 72. Samoan, Samoan Islands
 73. Tahitian, French Polynesia
 74. Ponape, Caroline Islands
 75. Yapese, Yap Island, Caroline Islands
- A. Nicobar Islands, India
 - B. Chrau, Vietnam
 - C. Katu, Vietnam
 - D. Kwerba, north coast Irian Jaya, Indonesia
 - E. Muyu, south coast Irian Jaya, Indonesia
 - F. Alamlak, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea
 - G. Kewa, Southern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea
 - H. Orokaiva, Northern Province, Papua New Guinea
 - I. Buin, south Bougainville, Papua New Guinea
 - J. Yele, Rossel Island, Papua New Guinea
 - K. Gudang, Cape York Peninsula, Australia
 - L. Dyirbal, Queensland, Australia

Table 6: Identification of languages in the sample

Pawley (1975) estimates that there are approximately 500 Austronesian languages. Thus the current survey draws on a 15% sample. Of these 500 languages, about 200 belong to the Western Austronesian subgroup and the other 300 to the Eastern Austronesian (or Oceanic) subgroup. In the current survey, the very same proportion is kept with 30 of the languages from the Western subgroup and 45 from the Oceanic. The general agreement among scholars appears to be that the dividing line between Western and Eastern Austronesian falls just

to the east of Geelvink Bay in Irian Jaya (Pawley 1975, Capell 1976b:34ff). Thus in this sample, languages 1 through 30 are Western Austronesian, and languages 31 through 75 are Oceanic.¹⁵

In Table 6, the 75 languages are identified as to language name and island where spoken. In the Appendix a full listing of the data and sources for each language is given. The sources are of two types. The first is published ethnographic accounts. The second is contemporary field linguists, anthropologists, and native speakers who filled in and returned a questionnaire which I circulated. The questionnaire is appended to this paper.

In defining 'taboo' for this study, I have used a broad definition: any practice of avoidance. Taboos come in different strengths, from social restrictions which carry the stigma of embarrassment when they are broken, to sacred prohibitions which bring down the wrath of the supernatural when broken. Since the sources, in general, are not so detailed as to define what sanctions the avoidance practices or what outcome results from a breach, it is not possible to distinguish different degrees of taboo and I have therefore lumped them all together.

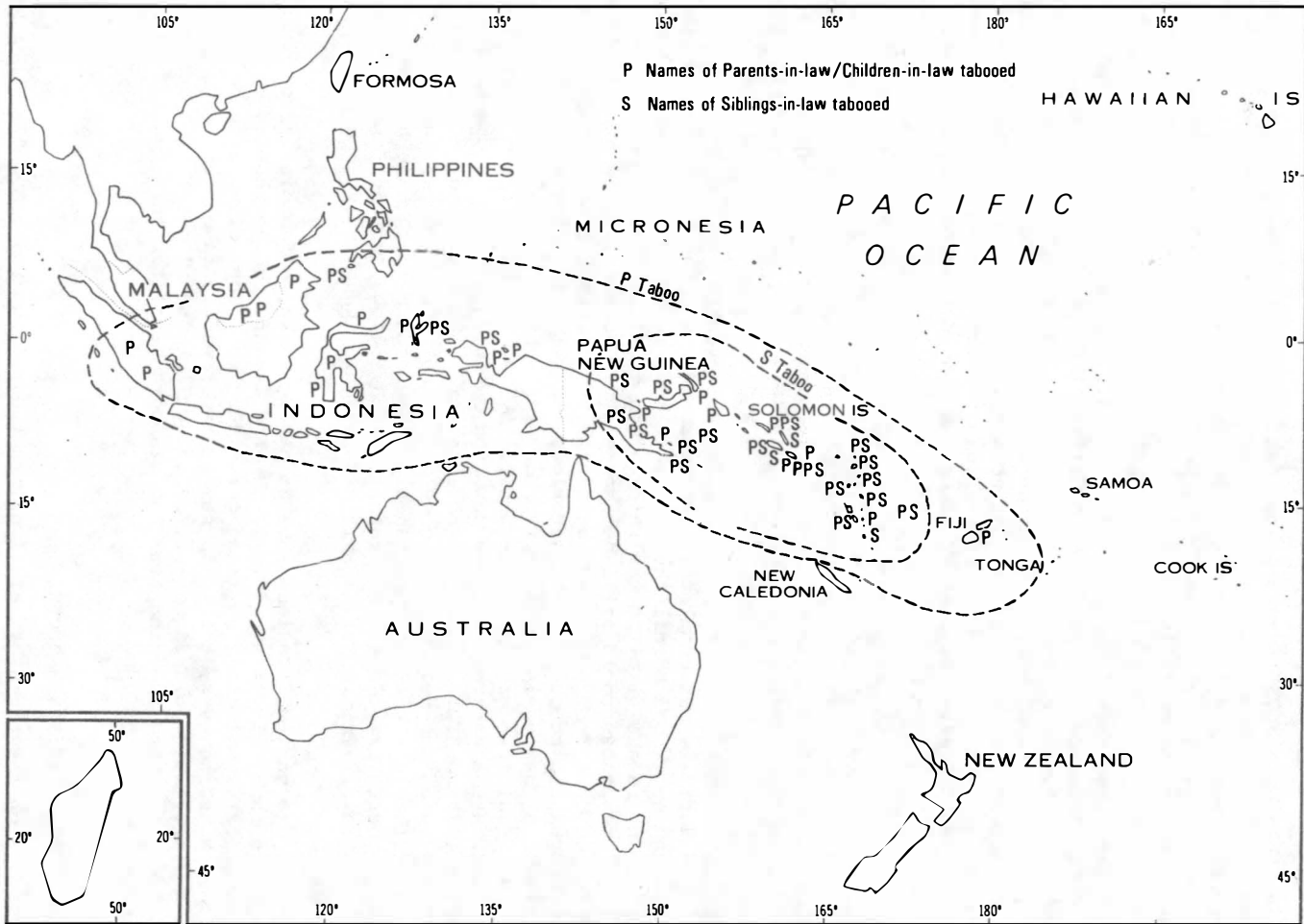
As for method in reconstruction, my criterion for suggesting that a particular tabooing practice be reconstructed for a subgroup of languages is that at least 50% of the languages in this sample which are in that subgroup reflect that kind of taboo. Note that the isogloss loops drawn on the maps do not mean that every language inside has the particular practice, but that at least 50% of the languages do.

An important fact to keep in mind is that even for the 75 languages in this sample, the data are not complete. Many respondents to the questionnaire remarked that they had not known of all the practices they reported until they had received the questionnaire and elicited the information to fill it out. This suggests that a number of responses could still be incomplete. However, it is especially with regard to the data from published sources that the data are incomplete. I have found ethnographic accounts to be notorious for not describing word tabooing practices when they do in fact occur. Monographs by Hogbin (1939) and Ross (1973) on two north Malaitan groups and an article by Davenport (1964) on Santa Cruz social structure are three examples just from the two groups of languages discussed in Section 1.1 and 1.2. Thus, just because word tabooing is not reported in an ethnography, does not mean that it does not exist. Furthermore, just because an author describes one kind of word tabooing, does not mean that he has described all word tabooing practices. The results which follow can therefore be viewed as reporting a lower limit. More complete data would undoubtedly uncover more word tabooing.

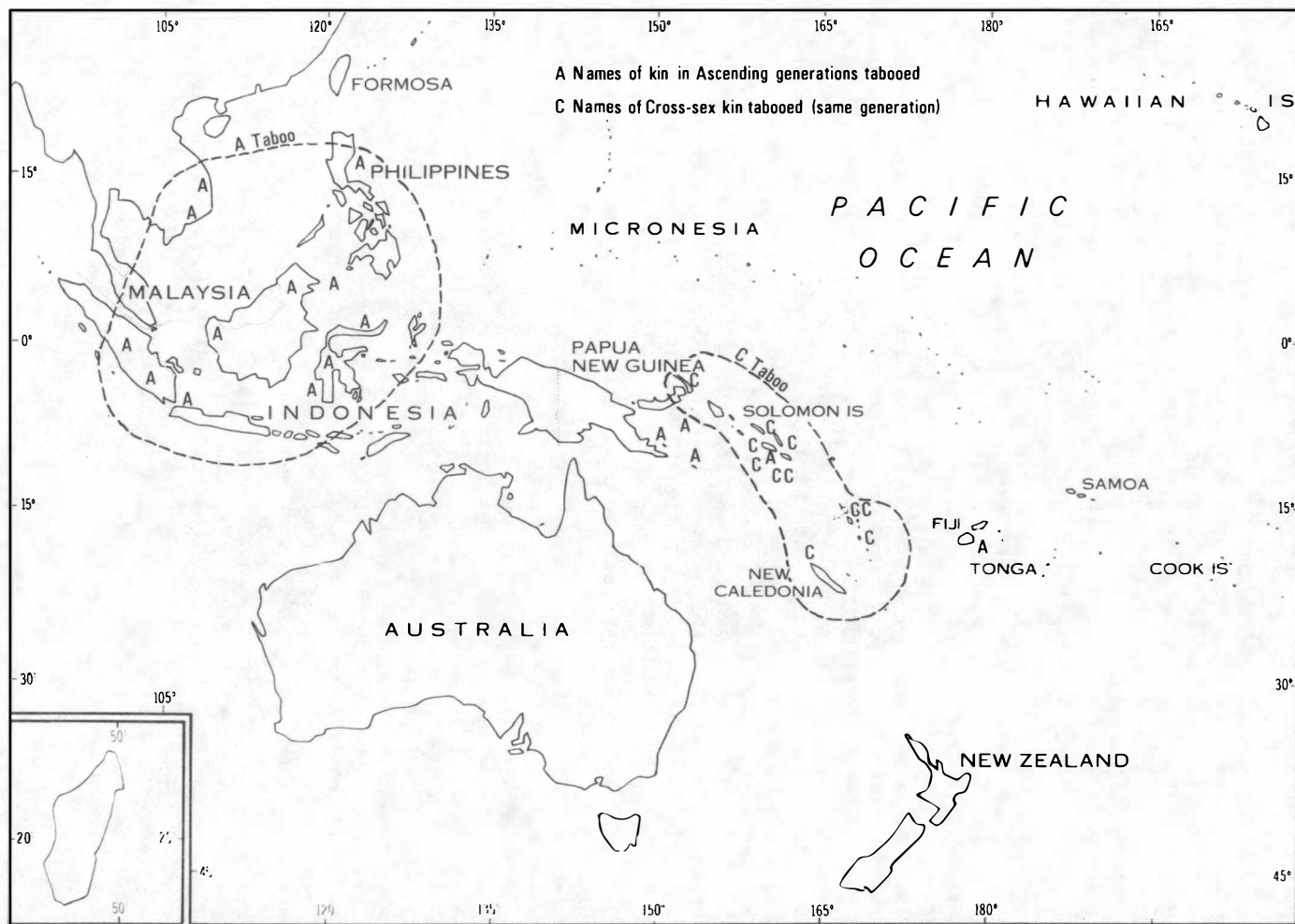
Map 2 designates five languages as having no known tabooing practices: four languages in the Philippines (10, 11, 12, and 14) and the Polynesian outlier Fila in Vanuatu (68). All other 70 languages attest some sort of word tabooing practice. Note, however, that this sample is skewed in favour of languages with tabooing practices. This is because we cannot in general get the information that there is no word tabooing from the ethnographic literature, only from questionnaires.

2.2 Names of relatives tabooed

Taboos on the names of relatives are treated in Maps 3 and 4. Map 3 plots the distribution of name taboos on affinal relatives. Map 4 plots the distribution of name taboos on consanguineal relatives.



Map 3: Affinal name taboo



Map 4: Consanguineal name taboo

In Map 3, two varieties of affinal name taboos are distinguished and plotted. Each 'P' marks where there is a name taboo involving parents-in-law and children-in-law. Each 'S' marks where there is a name taboo involving siblings-in-law. If a language has name taboos on all affinal relatives, then both 'P' and 'S' are marked.

The results show that 43 of the 75 languages in the sample (or 57%) have some form of the parents-in-law/children-in-law name taboo. For six of the languages (5, 24, 25, 34, 45, 65) the sources list other kinds of relatives in name taboo relationship, but then observe that it is the parents-in-law taboo which is the strictest. The parents-in-law/children-in-law name taboo, both by its wide distribution and its relative strength with respect to other relationship taboos, appears to be a fundamental aspect of Austronesian culture. I therefore reconstruct it as being a cultural practice of the Proto-Austronesian speech community.

The data also lead us to an indication of exactly what form this Proto-Austronesian parents-in-law name taboo took. In the synchronic data there are three variables involved: (1) whether the taboo involves the father-in-law, the mother-in-law, or both; (2) whether the taboo involves the son-in-law, daughter-in-law, or both; and (3) whether the taboo is ascending (only names of parents-in-law tabooed), descending (only names of children-in-law tabooed), or reciprocal (names tabooed in both directions). For the first variable, 38 of the 43 languages involve both the fathers- and mothers-in-law in the taboo. For the second variable, 33 of the 43 languages involve both the sons- and daughters-in-law in the taboos; nine involve the son-in-law only; while one involves only the daughter-in-law. For the third variable, 24 of the 43 languages report reciprocal taboo relations; 17 report ascending only relationships, while the remaining two report descending taboos. On the basis of these results, I reconstruct the Proto-Austronesian affinal name tabooing practice to be a reciprocal taboo between parents-in-law and their children-in-law.

The second kind of affinal name taboo marked in Map 3, taboos between siblings-in-law, is not distributed widely enough to qualify as a Proto-Austronesian characteristic. Only 25 languages have this kind of taboo. Note, however, that 22 of these occur in Papua New Guinea,¹⁶ Solomon Islands, or Vanuatu. The sample includes 36 Melanesian languages from these three countries and 22 of them (or 61%) have a sibling-in-law taboo. Thus it is likely that the sibling-in-law taboo can be reconstructed for a large subgroup of Oceanic, or even for Oceanic as a whole. Note also that two of the three cases outside of Oceania are in the border area of Halmahera and Geelvink Bay. The data are not conclusive enough to suggest exactly what form this taboo might have had. In 12 of the 22 cases, sources indicate that the taboo extends to all siblings-in-law; in the other ten cases only certain sibling-in-law relations are involved, such as between brothers-in-law, or between sisters-in-law, or between siblings-in-law of the opposite sex or of the same sex, or only between men who have married sisters.

Map 4 plots the distribution of consanguineal (or blood relative) name taboos. Each 'A' marks where there is a taboo involving ascending generations, that is, parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and the like. A few languages reported that the names of all relatives are tabooed. These are included under this code. Each 'C' marks a taboo involving a cross-sex relationship, normally in the same generation. Nine of the ten cases are of name taboos between a brother and a sister.

Seventeen languages have the ascending generations type of taboo. The distribution of these is not wide enough to ascribe to Proto-Austronesian. However, 12 of the cases are in central Western Austronesian languages in the sample. Thus it may be something that can be reconstructed for major subgroups of Western Austronesian or for Western Austronesian as a whole. Of the examples 70% are of taboos which are ascending only (that is, children do not say names of parents, but parents do of children), while the other 30% are reciprocal.

There are ten instances of the cross-sex taboo, with possibly an eleventh instance (see Appendix, number 66), and each of these is in Melanesia. They are confined to an area including New Ireland, Solomon Islands (excluding the Santa Cruz group), Vanuatu (excluding the Banks group), and New Caledonia. Within this area, 50% of the languages in the sample have this taboo and it therefore seems to be a taboo reconstructable for at least some subgroups of Oceanic. In nine cases the taboo is between a brother and a sister (often extended to cousins who are 'clan brothers and sisters'), and this I would take to be the original form of the taboo. The one variant is a name taboo between relatives of different generations who are of opposite sexes.

Two other types of name taboo deserve mention here. One is a taboo on saying one's own name. Four languages in the sample report this kind of avoidance practice (see Appendix, number 19, 39, 44, 57). The other is a taboo on saying the name of a close friend or companion. This also is reported in four languages (see Appendix, numbers 29, 38, 40, 63).

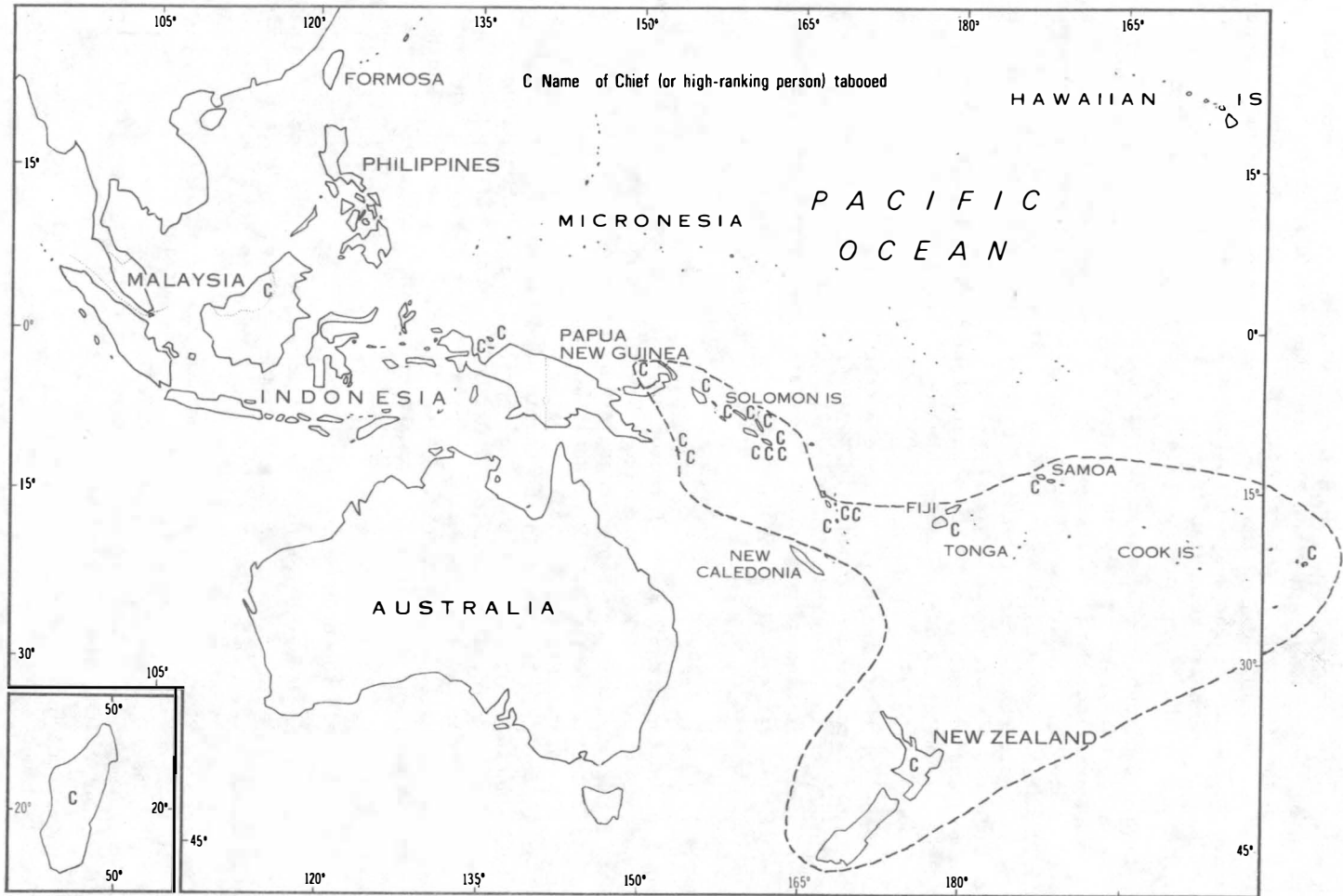
2.3. Names of chiefs tabooed

Map 5 plots the distribution of taboos against saying the name of the chief or other persons of high rank. The results show that such a taboo occurs in 22 languages of the sample. Eighteen of these are in Oceania and two more in the border area of Geelvink Bay. Within Oceania they are concentrated in New Britain, the Solomons, Woodlark, Misima, central Vanuatu, Fiji, and Polynesia. Within this area, 18 of 24 (or 75%) languages in the sample have taboos against saying the name of high-ranking people. This therefore appears to be a taboo reconstructable for at least some subgroups of Oceanic.¹⁷ Of the 22 taboos of this nature, 14 are described by the sources as being a taboo against saying the name of the chief of a tribe or clan or village; seven sources speak in terms of big men, leading men, or high-ranking men; and one (Tahitian) speaks of tabooing the name of the king.

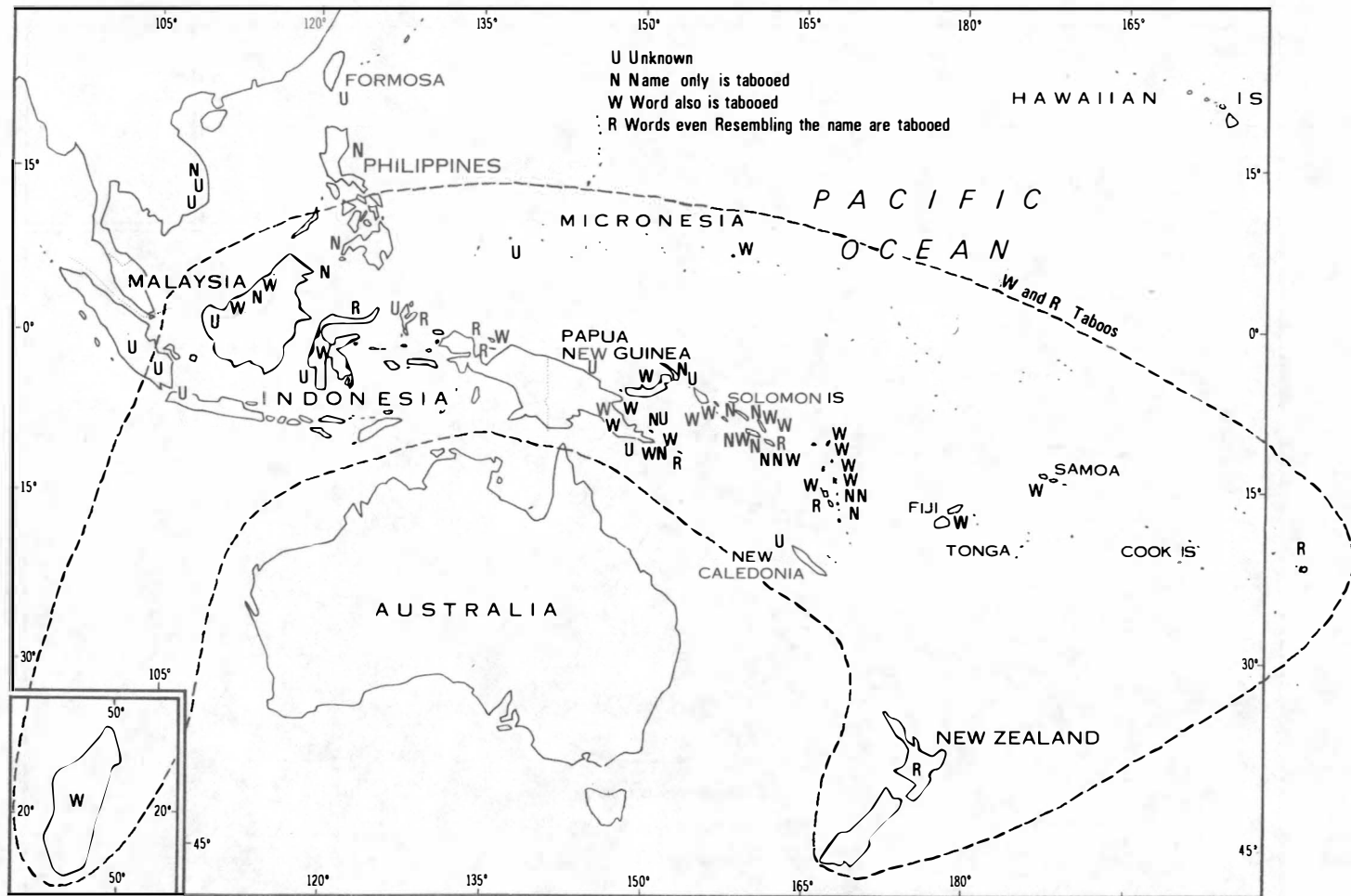
2.4 Names of the dead tabooed

Map 6 plots the distribution of taboos against saying the names of the dead. Each 'R' marks a case in which the taboo is simply an extension of a name taboo on relatives; that is, those relatives whom it is taboo to name while they are alive, it is still taboo to name after they have died. Each 'C' marks a case in which the taboo is simply an extension of the name taboo on chiefs; that is, it is taboo to call the chief's name while he is alive and also after he has died. The remaining cases, marked by 'D', are cases of a new phenomenon, that of tabooing the names of all dead people. In three of the cases the taboo is not everlasting, but holds for a limited time period only.

There are only three cases of the extension to the relatives taboo and three to the chiefs taboo. Thus these extensions do not prove to be a significant form of the taboo. The full taboo on names of the dead is significant, however. It



Map 5: Chiefly name taboo



Map 7: Name taboos as word taboos

occurs in 21 languages of the sample, and possibly historically in a 22nd. Seventeen of these 21 languages are in Oceania and two more are in the border area of Geelvink Bay. Again this is a taboo that can be reconstructed for major subgroups of Oceanic. All languages in the sample on the SE tip of New Guinea and all outlying islands have this taboo. Sodo some languages in New Britain, the Solomons, and central Vanuatu, as well as the two Micronesian languages in the sample.

2.5 Name taboos and language change

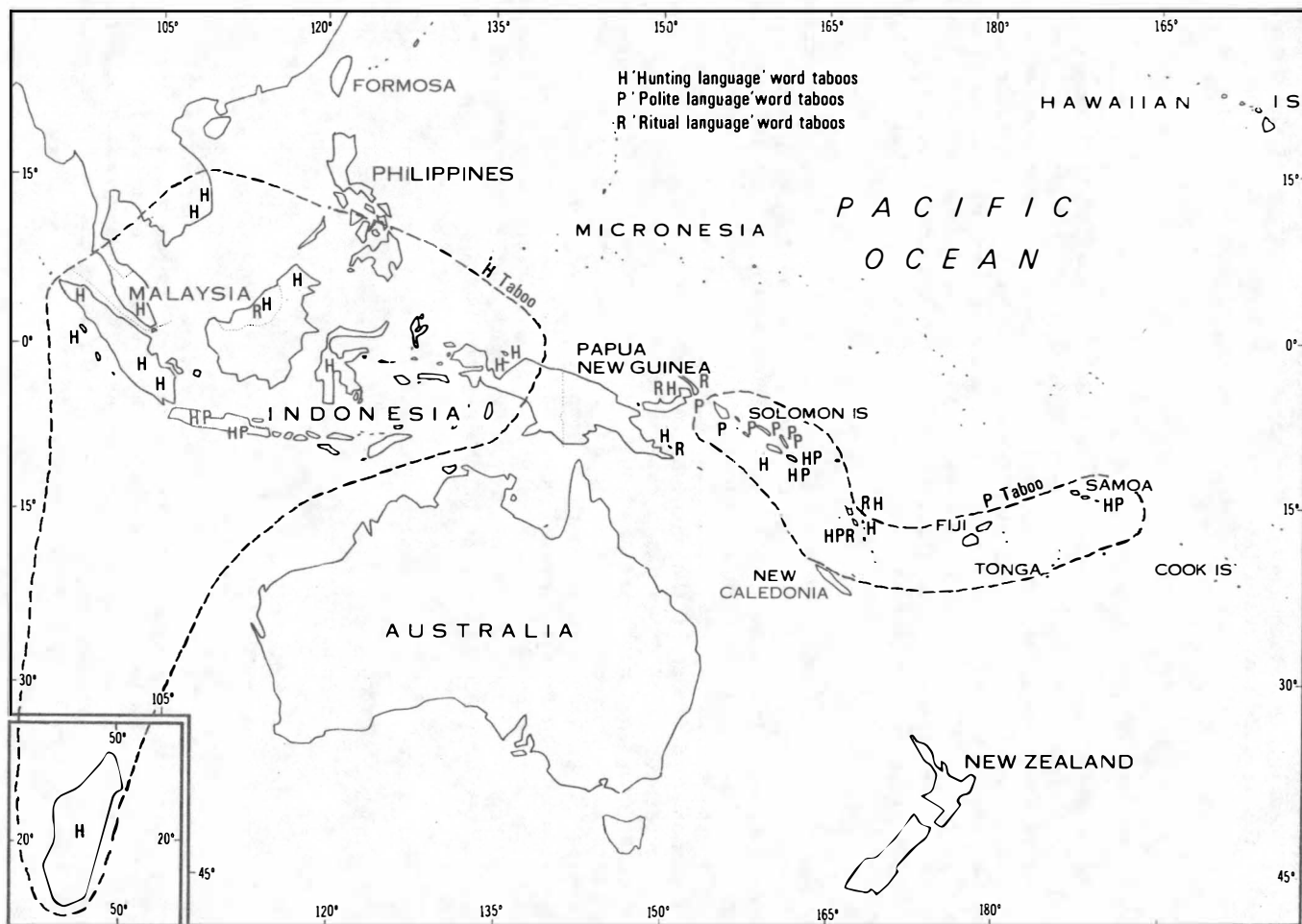
In most cases, a name taboo goes deeper than the name itself. When the name itself is a meaningful word (or is derived from one), that word may also become taboo in its common use. Thus by extension, the name taboo becomes a word taboo. It is these word taboos that are of special interest to the comparative linguist, because when words of a language become taboo, language change must take place to fill the void. If all of the name taboos analysed thus far were limited to simple name taboos, then the distributions and reconstructed tabooing practices would be of interest only to the culture historian. However, if these name taboos also entail word taboos, then they are of vital interest to the language historian as well.

In Map 7 the distribution of simple name taboos versus those which extend to word taboos is plotted. This map shows how far the name taboos plotted in Maps 3 to 6 extend. Altogether, 65 of the 75 languages in the sample have some sort of name taboo. Each 'U' marks a case in which it is unknown (because of inadequacy of the source) whether or not the name taboo extends to the use of that name as a common word. Most of the unknown cases come from sources taken from published literature. Each 'N' marks a case in which the name only is tabooed. In 12% of these cases all names are meaningless; in the remaining 88%, languages which can form names from meaningful words do not extend the taboo to the common word. Each 'W' marks a case in which the common word from which the name is derived is also tabooed from its normal use. Each 'R' marks an even further extension of the word taboo. In these cases, words even resembling the tabooed name are also tabooed. Thus words that rhyme or words that share common syllables and so on, may become taboo, depending on the way the particular language judges similarity.

The total counts for each category are as follows:

<i>Category</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>
Unknown	15
Known	50
Name only	16 (32%)
Word also	25 (50%)
Even resembling	9 (18%)

The overall result is that in over two-thirds of the cases where the category is known, the name taboo does extend to a word taboo and thus causes language change. In the 18% of the languages where words even resembling the tabooed word must be changed, we can expect an especially heavy impact of word taboo on language change. Another result is that in 48 of the 50 (or 96%) known cases, names can be formed from common words.



Map 8: Other forms of word taboo

The language changing word taboos are distributed evenly throughout Austronesia. Unfortunately, most of the unknown cases are in Western Austronesia so the data there are sparse. However, 65% of the known cases there are language changing word taboos, which suggests that there is not a significant difference between West and East.

The evidence is sufficiently strong to allow us to make two reconstructions. First, the Proto-Austronesian speech community formed names from common words. Second, all the name taboos reconstructed thus far extended to word taboos.

2.6 Other forms of word taboo

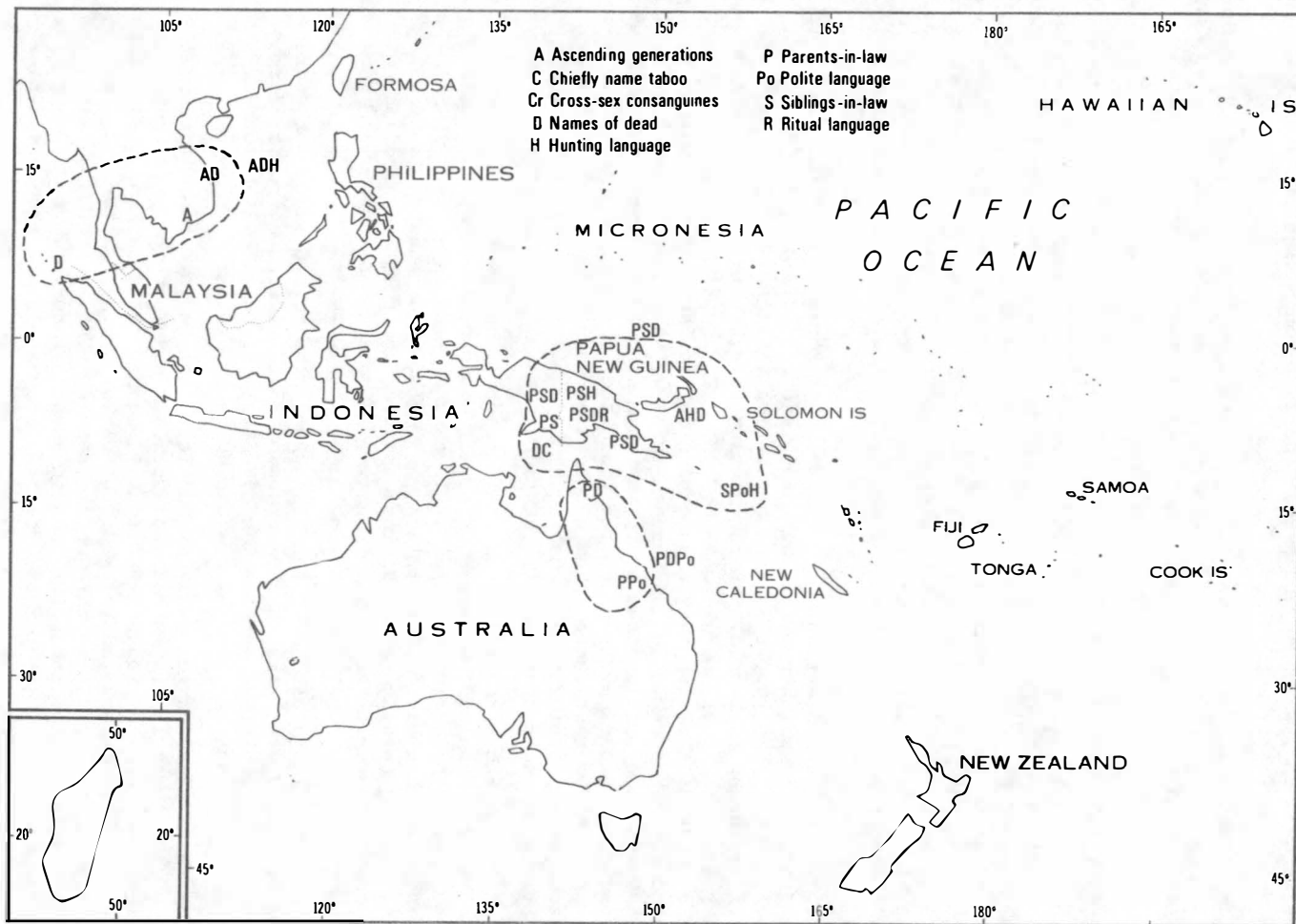
In the sample, three other types of word taboo occur frequently in Austronesia,¹⁸ word tabooing customs which do not derive from name taboos. On the surface, some of these practices may not seem like word taboo, however, they do fit a broad definition of word taboo as any type of word avoidance. These are all cases in which the use of normal language is avoided because of the social context in which it is used. Of interest to the comparative linguist is the fact that all of these practices require the native speakers to have more than one way to talk about the same thing (denotative synonyms), with the choice depending on the context.

Map 8 plots the distribution of these other forms of word taboo. Each 'H' marks a language in which special 'hunting' language is employed. This kind of taboo takes many forms, but the basic motivation behind them all seems to be the deception of the spirit world. In the hunting form, hunters taboo the names of game they are seeking or the weapons they use. In the fishing form, fishermen taboo the names of the fish they are setting out to catch or the implements associated with the task. In the harvest form, workers in the harvest fields are required to use a special vocabulary. In the mining form, miners taboo the names of the ores they are excavating and the tools they do it with. All these share a common thread and I have lumped them all together under 'hunting' language. I have also grouped here certain cases in which animal names are tabooed, but the source brings out no connection with hunting.

Each 'P' marks a case of 'polite' language. The two cases in Western Austronesia, Javanese and Sundanese, are well known cases of status styles in which the speaker selects the proper style to use based on his status in relation to the addressee and based on familiarity as well. The cases in Eastern Austronesia are generally taboos against speaking about certain body parts or possessions of respected men (and strangers, in some cases) with normal vocabulary. Special honorific vocabulary is available for this purpose.

Each 'R' marks a case of ritual language (also termed argots or secret languages). These are cases where a group of insiders uses a special form of language in order to preserve some magic, ritual, or cult. Often secrecy or keeping outsiders out of the know are behind their use.

The results are as follows: The hunting language word taboos occur in 24 languages. Of these 15 are in Western Austronesia. These comprise 50% of the languages in Western Austronesia and thus I suggest that this kind of word tabooing practice can be reconstructed for Western Austronesia. The other nine cases in Oceania represent only 20% of the Oceanic sample. This is not high enough to reconstruct this kind of taboo for Oceanic as well; however, future investigation may uncover a stronger case for the 'hunting language' word taboo as a pan-Austronesian phenomenon.



MAP 9: Word taboo in NAN languages

Polite language taboos occur in two Western languages and ten Oceanic languages. These Oceanic cases represent 50% of the languages in the sample which are in the Solomons chain, central Vanuatu, and central Polynesia.¹⁹ Thus it appears to be a practice reconstructable for at least some Oceanic subgroups. Note that this practice may be related to the chiefly name taboo already reconstructed for parts of Oceanic. The use of honorific language toward chiefs and big men is an even stronger form of honorific taboo than the name taboo. Deeper study may be able to establish a clear link between the two.

The third practice, ritual languages, occurs only in one Western and five Oceanic languages.²⁰ Thus on the current evidence this cannot be reconstructed for any subgroup.

Another practice deserves mention. These are play languages (or disguised languages) in which the normal language is systematically modified phonologically either for the purpose of entertainment or secrecy. Eight languages in the sample report some form of this, evenly split between Western and Eastern Austronesian (see Appendix, numbers 2, 8, 11, 21, 63, 66, 71, 72).

2.7 Summary list of reconstructed word tabooing practices

For the Proto-Austronesian speech community, there was:

- (1) a name taboo between parents-in-law and children-in-law.

For Proto-Western-Austronesian, or at least major subgroups of it, there was:

- (2) a name taboo on consanguineal relations of ascending generations, and
- (3) hunting language word taboos.

For Proto-Oceanic, or at least major subgroups of it, there was:

- (4) a name taboo between siblings-in-law,
- (5) a name taboo between consanguines of the same generation but opposite sex,
- (6) a taboo on the names of chiefs,
- (7) a taboo on the names of the dead, and
- (8) the use of honorific vocabulary with respected men (possibly related to 6 above).

The Proto-Austronesian speech community formed names from common words. All of these name taboos extended to a taboo on the common use of words occurring in the name.

2.8 Word taboo in non-Austronesian languages

Word taboo is not an Austronesian distinctive; it is found in the language families which neighbour Austronesian. However, by comparing the kinds of taboos found in Austronesian as opposed to those found in the neighbouring families, we see that the form of word taboo in Austronesian is distinctive. Map 9 plots the types of word taboo found in the 12 non-Austronesian languages included in the sample.

In the three Austro-Asiatic languages two types of taboo are observed: the taboo on the names of consanguineal relatives (A), and the taboo on names of the dead (D). Diffloth (1975:483) notes that in Austro-Asiatic generally animals are subject to numerous taboos, and describes specifically for the Semai how such word taboos work (1980). This suggests a widespread distribution of the hunting language taboo as well.

In the seven Papuan Languages, three types of taboo are found in at least four languages: the parents-in-law name taboo (P), the siblings-in-law name taboo (S), and the taboo on names of the dead (D). These three types of taboo are further evidenced in the five additional Papuan languages listed in the addenda to the Appendix.

In the two Australian languages, three types of taboo are found: the parents-in-law name taboo (P), a 'polite' language used in the presence of taboo in-laws (Po; this is the well known 'mother-in-law language' described in Dixon 1972), and a taboo on the names of the dead (D). Concerning the latter, Dixon (1980: 28) states that "in every part of Australia a person's name cannot be spoken for some time after his death". These three types of taboo are further evidenced in the five additional Australian languages listed in the addenda to the Appendix.

The taboo types in the neighbouring families show similarities with the Austronesian types, but there are also distinctive differences. Western Austronesian distinguishes itself from its Austro-Asiatic neighbours by not having the taboo on names of the dead, and by having the parents-in-law taboo. Oceanic distinguishes itself from its Papuan neighbours by having three additional kinds of taboo: the cross-sex consanguineal name taboo, the chiefly name taboo, and the use of honorific vocabulary with respected men.

While it cannot be denied that word taboo is an areal feature, any attempt to explain Austronesian word taboo in terms of areal influences will fall short. Ultimately the unique features of Austronesian word taboo are most easily explained in terms of shared inheritance from a common ancestral culture.

3. WORD TABOO AND PROBLEMS IN COMPARATIVE AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS

In Section 1 we saw that word taboo causes language change. Basically it consists of spontaneous change in vocabulary to replace tabooed words. Three recurring mechanisms of change were observed:

- (1) borrowing from a neighbouring dialect,
- (2) deliberate phonological modification of the existing term,
- (3) semantic innovation from within the language.

At the lexical level, these processes lead to the generation of synonyms and doublets within the language. At the phonological level, the first two processes lead to irregular sound changes. (Note that no effects at the grammatical level have been observed.) Therefore word taboo, as a cultural feature which motivates the above kinds of changes, poses a problem for conventional comparative linguistics which operates on principles of regular sound drift, independent change in languages, and the non-existence of true synonyms.

Given that at least the parents-in-law name taboo must be reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian, and that many more varieties of word taboo can be reconstructed for various subgroups in Austronesian, we would expect to see the above effects reflected in the history of the Austronesian language family. I therefore suggest that word taboo may play a role in explaining the following seven problems for comparative linguistics:

(1) Problems in classifying languages of east Indonesia and insular Melanesia: Pawley (1975:485) describes the situation as follows:

The languages of east Indonesia, including the western end of New Guinea, more diverse than those of west Indonesia and the Philippines, are sometimes treated as a single subgroup of Western Austronesian, and sometimes regarded as composed of a number of primary branches, each co-ordinate with Oceanic and with a group comprising the remaining members of Western Austronesian. Similarly troublesome are a number of languages of the north coast of New Guinea and certain regions of insular Melanesia.

Note that these two problem areas in classification are precisely those areas where the greatest number of word tabooing practices occur. Besides having the parents-in-law and hunting language taboos reconstructed for Western Austronesian, the area of Halmahera and Geelvink Bay stands out as also having siblings-in-law name taboos, taboos on the name of the chief, and taboos on the names of the dead. Furthermore, three of the five languages in our sample from that area extend the name taboos to include words even resembling the tabooed name. It is therefore not surprising that these languages are 'more diverse' than their counterparts in west Indonesia and the Philippines. For the other troublesome area, insular Melanesia, we reconstructed no less than six types of word taboos.

(2) The dissimilarity of vocabulary in Oceanic Languages: Pawley (1975:489, 485) states the problem thus:

Scholars remain puzzled by the great differences among Oceanic languages, especially in vocabulary items... These languages share very few related words with each other and with other languages in the family, although in grammar they usually show quite strong resemblances to members of the Oceanic subgroup.

We have seen that word taboo, of which six varieties are reconstructed in Oceania, causes frequent and spontaneous lexical change, without affecting the grammar.

(3) Reconciling retention rate constants of glottochronology with archaeological time scales: Pawley (1976:306) gives a case for the south-eastern coast of Papua New Guinea where archaeological evidence suggests that Oceanic people settled about 2,000 years ago, but glottochronological computations suggest over 3,000 years ago. However, where word taboo causes spontaneous lexical change, languages are not written, and populations are small, it is not surprising that lexical change would be faster than Swadesh's proposed constant.

(4) Explaining variation in retention rates among Austronesian languages: Blust (1981) has documented the wide range of variation in the percentage of basic vocabulary that various Austronesian languages have retained from Proto-Austronesian. If the Swadesh hypothesis of a constant and universal retention rate is true, then all Austronesian languages should preserve the same proportion of Proto-Austronesian vocabulary, since all daughter languages are equally far removed in time from the common ancestral language. However, the retention rates reported by Blust range from a high of 57% to a low of 16%. In searching for an explanation, I would suggest that the rate of vocabulary replacement is likely to correlate with the intensity of word tabooing practices. Note that Blust's basic conclusion that vocabulary replacement in Oceanic (where retention ranges from 38% to 16%) is much greater than in Western Malayo-Polynesian (where retention ranges from 57% to 29%), accords with my results that word tabooing practices are more intense in Oceanic.

(5) Finding homelands for proto-speech communities: Dyen (1956) has proposed that the most likely dispersal centre (homeland) of a language family or subgroup is in that region where its genetically most diverse members are found. This is based on an assumption that for all the languages in a family, the rate of linguistic change will be the same. Thus the area of greatest linguistic diversity would be the area of greatest time depth. However, in (1) and (4) above, we have seen that in Austronesia, linguistic diversity may not be so much a function of time depth as of intensity of word tabooing practices. Dyen (1965), taking his proposal to its logical conclusion, suggests that the Austronesian languages have their origin in western Melanesia, in an area centred on the Bismarck Archipelago. But few scholars have accepted this hypothesis. As Bellwood (1978:32) states, "there are very strong archaeological and physical reasons for excluding Melanesia as a possible Austronesian homeland".

(6) The problem of synonyms and doublets in reconstruction: Capell (1976: 570, 574) speaks of the problem of the high number of synonyms (including variants in form, and semantic shifts) in lists of reconstructed Proto-Oceanic and (to a lesser extent) Proto-Austronesian vocabulary. "To state the difficulty rather crudely, there seem to be enough quasi-synonyms to provide more than one proto-language!" For Capell, this fact supports his theory of multiple migrations into Oceania with prehistoric 'language mixing'. However, we have already seen in the Malaitan example, that in one particular group of word tabooing languages, synonyms must be reconstructed for 21% of the items on a basic wordlist and doublets for 7%. A large number of synonyms and doublets is a natural by-product of word tabooing. Thus we can expect them in PAN and especially POC reconstructions.

(7) Reconstructing too many proto-phonemes: The problem of reconstructing too many proto-phonemes is exemplified by Dyen's description of Proto-Austronesian phonology (1971). Among the reconstructed proto-phonemes he lists: *R₁ through *R₄, *S₁ through *S₅, *h₁ through *h₄, and many more subscript-1 and subscript-2 proto-phonemes. These cannot really be considered reconstructions,²¹ however, because no natural language could possibly have that many phonological contrasts. These 'reconstructions' do not therefore tell us what the language spoken by the Proto-Austronesians must have been like. These reconstructions are based on the Neogrammarian hypothesis that, "The sound laws admit no exceptions". Thus a new proto-phoneme is posited for each unexplained correspondence set. However, in a word tabooing language family a new maxim is required: "Sound change can be expected to occur spontaneously and irregularly in individual words." The comparativist in Austronesia must distinguish regular correspondence sets that reflect the original proto-language, from those correspondences (even though they may recur) which result from spontaneous changes caused by word taboo.

The hypothesis that word tabooing can explain many problems in comparative linguistics is not without its own problems. One problem is that although word tabooing practices may be widespread, they may not necessarily be of a nature that would promote widespread language change. For instance, a sibling-in-law taboo would affect far fewer people than a taboo on the name of a dead person, and that in turn might affect fewer people than a taboo on the name of a chief or king. Presumably taboos affecting only a few people would not be likely to cause language change, whereas those affecting a whole dialect group would. Further study will be required to correlate the nature of word tabooing with the extent of language change.

I would suggest that two factors are likely to cause even taboos on names of relations to have a greater effect on language change than we might expect: (1) the small size of speech communities and language groups in Oceania, and (2) social systems in which most everyone is related to everyone else. With regard to (1), the average population of an Oceanic language is only about 3,000 (about 300 languages with about one million speakers: Pawley 1975) and speech communities often consist of only a few households forming a hamlet. It is conceivable that changes could easily take root in such small groups.²² With regard to (2), the taboos often extend generationally. That is, a parents-in-law taboo might extend to all affines of the first ascending generation, a siblings-in-law taboo might extend to all affines of the same generation, or a cross-sex siblings taboo might extend to all cross-sex blood relations of the same generation. With small residential communities organised along family lines, such taboos could affect whole speech communities.

Another problem is that the synonymy factor may actually work to retard rather than accelerate the rate of lexical change in some cases. This is because with synonyms available, lexical replacement is not really necessary. Rather, when a word becomes tabooed, a synonym takes its place in common usage; and then when that word becomes tabooed, the original word can return to take its place; and the cycle goes on with terms alternating between tabooed and non-tabooed status without being replaced. Further study will be required to find out to what extent tabooed forms are revived rather than being replaced.

Even if revival rather than replacement is the common rule, the power of word taboo as an explanatory factor in the seven problem areas discussed above is little affected. The effect of word taboo in generating synonyms, doublets, and spontaneous irregular sound changes is not changed. Only the rate of lexical replacement would be affected; it would be slower. But this would not remove the skewing effect in lexicostatistics simply because synonymy would still be involved. Even if words that have temporarily gone out from common use will one day come back, this does not change the fact that they are gone when the count of cognates is made. The word-tabooing situation will always give conventional lexico-statistics the appearance of greater diversity than is truly there (see examples in Section 1).

Perhaps the greatest problem with word tabooing as an explanation in comparative linguistics, and the potentially most damaging one, is the tendency that may arise to abuse it by offering it as a panacea to cure all comparative problems. Other explanations have been used in the past — migrations, substrata, pidginisation, and language mixing. There has been a disturbing tendency to put these forth lightly without good evidence when normal comparative explanations fail. I hope I am not guilty of that here. Rather, my aim is to demonstrate how word taboo can affect language change, to cite some potential explanations that it may hold, and then to exhort individual investigators to apply these explanations only after detailed study has demonstrated their validity.

Word taboo offers a fresh approach to problems in comparative Austronesian linguistics. Unlike the other four explanations listed above, it does not rely on external interference from another language, but strictly on internal cultural practices of the language group itself. However, we must be careful to apply this explanation with understanding, lest it merely become a waste basket for the inexplicable.

APPENDIX

COMPLETE DATA FOR SURVEY OF WORD TABOO DISTRIBUTION IN AUSTRONESIA

The complete data on which all the maps and results in Section 2 are based are listed in this appendix. Table 6 serves as an index into this listing (see Section 2.1). Under each language, an initial paragraph details the location of the language (including latitude and longitude where possible) and the source of information. Where information came from a questionnaire, the full name of the respondent is given followed by his or her affiliation. (Summer Institute of Linguistics is abbreviated as SIL). Native speaker respondents are identified as such.^{2,3} Where information came from published literature, an author-year citation is given. Where there is literature that appears to be relevant but which I have not yet seen, it is cited in parentheses preceded by 'see also'.

The data regarding word taboos are presented in numbered paragraphs corresponding to the type of information as follows:

1. Names of affinal relations tabooed
2. Names of consanguineal relations tabooed
3. Name of the chief tabooed
4. Names of the dead tabooed
5. Name taboos extending to word taboo
6. Hunting language taboos
7. Polite language taboos
8. Secret language taboos
9. Other word tabooing or related practices

If there is no information regarding a category, no paragraph for that category appears. In categories 1 and 2, *from X to Y* is used to show a one-way taboo relationship where X cannot say Y's name, or *to Y* where the identity of X is implied unambiguously. *Between X and Y* is used to show a reciprocal relationship (that is, neither can say the other's name). The sources are not always explicit enough to make an interpretation possible.

The comments in paragraph 5 pertain to all the name tabooing practices described in 1 through 4. The responses in this category tell two things: if names can be formed from common words, and to what extent the name taboo extends to a word taboo. In the case of the two responses, "The common word also is tabooed" and "Words even resembling the tabooed names are tabooed", the fact that names can be formed from common words is to be understood.

In the questionnaire which I sent out, respondents were asked to judge the strength of each tabooing practice they described. Three choices were given: Strong, Dying out, or Ancient. Some respondents added a fourth category: Weak. These judgments (where available) are added in parentheses at the end of the numbered paragraph to which they pertain.

1. MADAGASCAR — Malagasy Republic. (The source gives no particular dialect.) Frazer 1911:378, 379, 401.

3. Whenever a common word forms the name or part of the name of the chief of the tribe, it becomes sacred and may no longer be used in its normal signification. There are a large number of independent chieftains, and therefore so many changes that confusion often arises.

4. After the chief dies, the words remain taboo.

5. The common word also is tabooed.

6. They don't mention the word for 'crocodile' near some rivers. Don't say the word for 'salt' within earshot of a certain spirit lest he dissolve it. Don't say words for 'lightning' or 'mud', or mention one's clothes are 'wet' if they were wetted in certain rivers.

2. MALAY — Malay Peninsula, West Malaysia. Frazer 1911:407-408, 405; Laycock 1972 (see also Evans 1917, 1923; St. John 1863).

6. Tin miners regard the ore as being under the protection and command of certain spirits and that the ore itself has its own personality and will. Thus they taboo the use of words offensive to the spirits and to the ore. The Malay fowler does not call the artifacts of his trade by common name. Fishermen do not mention the common names of birds or beasts while they are at sea. Searchers for camphor go into the forests for three or four months and during the whole of this time the use of ordinary Malay language is forbidden to them, and they have to speak a special language called by them the *bassa kapor camphor language*. Even those who stayed behind in the villages must speak it while the search party is in the forest. They use the camphor language to propitiate the spirit who presides over camphor trees.

9. St. John (1863, vol.2:289, quoted by Laycock 1972:97) describes the use of disguised language in the court of the Sultan of Brunei:

The women delight in every practice that can deceive their lords, and they have invented a system of speaking to each other in what may be called an inverted language—in Malay, 'Bhasa Balik'. It is spoken in different ways: ordinary words have their syllables transposed, or to each syllable another one is added.... They are constantly varying it, and girls often invent a new system, only confined to their intimate acquaintances; if they suspect they are understood by others, they instantly change it.

Laycock gives a few examples (1972:70, 81, 84).

3. SEA DYAK — Sarawak, East Malaysia. Frazer 1911:339.

1. To the parents of the spouses of one's self, one's brothers, one's sisters, and one's cousins.

5. The common word also is tabooed.

4. TATANAN — Sabah, East Malaysia (5.5 N, 115.5 E). Inka Pekkanen and Phyllis Dunn, SIL.

1. Between children-in-law and parents-in-law. (Dying out)

5. Names can be formed from common words, but only the name is tabooed.

6. While hunting in the jungle, the hunters may not say the names of the wild animals, neither the ones they are hunting specifically nor any others. If someone spots a game animal, he shouts, "Look! Raramu over there!", raramu being any kind of wild game. (Strong)

8. There is a ritual language which is very old. The priestesses must study it for several years, and the common people hearing it cannot understand what is being said.

9. It is taboo to give a child the name of someone else. If that person has died, giving someone their name shows that one wants to forget that the ancestor existed and to no longer appease their spirit. Unappeased spirits can cause all kinds of trouble including sickness and death.

5. LABUK KADAZAN — Sabah, East Malaysia (6 N, 117 E). Hope M. Hurlbut, SIL.

1. Between children-in-law and parents-in-law. If a person should mention his parent-in-law's name, then his abdomen would swell up and might burst, or his disposition might change from being kind and friendly to bad-tempered.

2. From children to parents and grandparents and so on. Actually, younger people are not supposed to say the name of any older person, but if pressed people will be willing to say the name of an older person as long as it is not their own relative. The government is forcing people to drop the taboo by saying that information given to the government is not taboo. As people see there is no evil consequence from breaking the taboo once, then it comes easier the second time. Also the introduction of Christianity has brought more freedom from this and other taboos. (Strong, but weakening among young people.)

3. Children are forbidden to say the names of village headmen and other chiefs, but adults are free to use them. Probably an extension of (2) above.

4. Names of people older than oneself are still taboo after they die. (Strong, but weakening among young people.)

5. The common word is also tabooed.

6. There are some words which are taboo during harvest, such as wind, bathe, rain, day. This taboo holds in some, but not all, villages. When one goes hunting and is asked "Where are you going?", the reply is "I am going to collect rattan". In the same way, if one is going fishing, the reply is "Going for a walk" or "Going for a paddle". Nor can the names of weapons, animals, fishing equipment, or fish be mentioned, lest the game hear and hide.

9. They avoid giving children the names of another person. If they did and either one died, then the family of the living person with the same name will demand the payment of a chicken from the family of the deceased, because the living person of the same name has been 'threatened' and may die also if no payment is made.

6. EASTERN CHAM — Vietnam (11.5 N, 109 E). Doris Blood, SIL; Frazer 1911:404.

2. Relatives are usually referred to by kin terms rather than names. Parents are seldom called by name but referred to as 'mother of X' or 'father of Y'. She suggests that there may have been something going on with name taboo that she was not aware of.

6. From Frazer: When the Cham are searching for the precious eagle-wood in the forest, they must employ an artificial jargon to designate most objects of everyday life.

9. Among the Cham there is a difference between men's and women's speech. This is relevant to the overall problem of multiple forms for a single meaning unit, but does not appear to be related to word tabooing. Men's speech preserves relic language features and terms that are found in the ancient Cham script and literature. Women's speech (because women are illiterate) has streamlined these forms by a natural process of language change. See Blood 1961 for a full explanation.

7. CHRU - Vietnam 11.8 N, 108.9 E). Gene Fuller, SIL.

4. There is a reticence to utter the names of the dead. Fuller reports, "A brother of a Chru friend died. He told us of it in a letter. He wrote the name of the deceased enclosed in parentheses."

5. Some names are formed from common words. Fuller did not know if the taboo would extend to the common word.

8. ROGLAI - Vietnam (12 N, 109 E). Ernest W. Lee, SIL; Frazer 1911:404 for item 6 only.

2. Personal names are avoided after people become parents. (This is not confined to relatives; it is to all people.) Parents are called by names of children; grandparents are called by names of grandchildren born of their daughters. Even husband and wife call each other by their child's name after they have had children, but by a reciprocal kinship term before having children.

5. All names must be nonsense. Furthermore, a name of either a living or dead person cannot be given to another. Lee reports, "I know one example of a child's name that had to be changed because an old woman came down from the mountains to a refugee settlement and this child had the same name as hers."

4. These two constraints on naming practices suggest a hypothesis that originally there was a taboo on the names of the dead (in that names are not re-used) and that names were originally meaningful words and these words were tabooed as well (in that the current requirement of nonsense names could have arisen in order to avoid having to change the language when names became taboo).

6. When the 'Orang-Glai' (E. Lee confirms identification as Roglai) are searching for the precious eagle-wood in the forest, they must employ an artificial jargon to designate most objects of everyday life.

9. Different forms of phonologically modified play language are used for different characters in story telling. In 'corpse talk' the final vowel (or diphthong) of one word is swapped with an adjacent word. In 'tiger talk' vowels are nasalised. In 'turtle talk' the final vowel (or diphthong) is dropped and replaced by -ət. In 'buzzard talk' all non-final syllables are replaced by ri- and the vowel of the final syllable is nasalised.

9. YAMI - Botel Tobago Island, Formosa (45 miles due E. of south tip of Formosa). The people originate from Batanese, N. Philippines, rather than from the Formosan mainland. Kano and Segawa 1956:13.

4. It is taboo to refer to the name of the dead in the presence of its consanguineal kin, for by doing so the spirit of the dead might be invoked into visiting them and exposing them to the same peril (i.e. death).

10. BOLINAO (SAMBAL) - Luzon, Philippines (16.3 N, 119.8 E). Gary Persons, SIL. All responses negative.

5. Some names are formed from common words.

11. KANKANA'EY - Luzon, Philippines (16.8 N, 120.7 E). Larry Allen, SIL.

5. Some names are formed from common words.

9. Poetic language - There are special words used in ritual songs, especially for rhyming purposes. For example, *ipogaw person* has the synonyms *litagwá* and *kityágo* which are used only in certain rhyming songs. It would not be taboo to use these terms elsewhere; it would only be strange or inappropriate.

Play languages - There are quite a few play languages used by young people for entertainment and to conceal the nature of a conversation from outsiders. Some modifications used: (1) Insert pV_x after every V_x , (2) delete everything but first syllable of root, reduplicate that syllable, then suffix -ninit (which is a nonsense element), or (3) delete the last syllable of the main word of a short sentence and then add -s to that word.

12. EASTERN BONTOC - Luzon, Philippines (17 N, 121 E). David and Joan Ohlson, SIL. All responses negative.

5. Names are formed from common words.

13. IFUGAO: AMGANAD - Luzon, Philippines (17 N, 121 E). Anne West, SIL.

2. Names are not taboo. However, it is not considered respectful to use a relative's name, but rather one refers to him by a kinship term, and only mentions his name when asked for it.

5. Some names are formed from common words.

9. There is a taboo (but not a strict one) against using the term 'my spouse'. Instead one must say 'my companion' or 'that one'.

14. CHAVACANO - W. Mindanao, Philippines (7 N, 122 E). This language is a Spanish creole that has grown out of an originally Austronesian area (thus AN culture). Audrey Mayer, SIL.

2. Mayer reports:

Relatives are often referred to by kinship terms rather than by name, but as far as we have been able to tell this is attributed to 'our custom' rather than to taboo. It could probably be called a courtesy custom. It is not strictly followed. Perhaps it originated in a long lost taboo system that is no longer even recognised by the speakers as such.

Since she has defined the practice in terms of courtesy rather than avoidance, I have not counted it in Section 2.

5. Names are not formed from common words.

15. CENTRAL SINAMA - Sulu Archipelago, Philippines (5.5 N, 121 E). Kemp Pallesen, SIL.

1. Between parents-in-law and children-in-law. To a spouse's siblings and their spouses. (Strong)

2. Between grandparents and grandchildren, and between uncles-aunts and nieces-nephews. (Strong) Between parents and children. (Weak)

4. All those in first and second ascending generation whose names were tabooed in life, are also tabooed when dead. (Strong)

5. Names can be formed from common words, but only name is tabooed.

16. ACHINESE — NW Sumatra, Indonesia. Frazer 1911:409.

6. Fishermen employ a special vocabulary when at sea. Sumatran gold miners observe naming taboos similar to Malay tin miners (see number 2).

17. NIAS — Nias Island, Indonesia (1 N, 97.5 E). Frazer 1911:410.

6. During hunting season, they may not call the 'eye', 'hammer', 'stones', and 'sun' by their true names. During rice harvest, reapers must speak of everything by names different from those in common use.

18. KARO-BATAK — Central Sumatra, Indonesia. Frazer 1911:338, 405.

1. To parents-in-law.

2. To parents, uncles, aunts, grandparents, brothers and sisters.

6. Never say the word 'tiger' in the forest, but always some euphemistic phrase in order to propitiate the beast.

19. BATAK — Central Sumatra, Indonesia. Frazer 1911:338, 405.

1. From a man to his wife or children-in-law. From a woman to her son-in-law.

2. They have an aversion to saying the names of self, parents, grandparents, and elder blood relatives.

6. When they go out in search of camphor, they must abandon the speech of daily life as soon as they reach the camphor forest.

20. SUNDANESE — West Java, Indonesia. Frazer 1911:341, 415. (Frazer cites Sunda; I have ascribed it to Sundanese.)

2. To father and mother.

6. It is taboo to call certain animals by their standard language designation, e.g. goat, tiger, wild boar, mouse. Must use a circumlocution instead.

7. Sundanese has three status styles: informal, deferential, and a middle style (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1975, *Micropaedia* 9:672).

21. JAVANESE — Central and Eastern Java, Indonesia. For item 6, Frazer 1911:411; for item 7, John U. Wolff, Cornell University; for item 9, Laycock 1972:77-78.

6. They avoid using certain common words at evening or night. For instance, 'snake' is called 'tree root', a 'venomous centipede' is called 'red ant', and 'oil' is called 'water'.

7. Wolff explains the status styles in Javanese as follows:

Javanese has special honorific vocabulary which refers to actions done by or done toward persons of a certain rank. Thus to my father I would never 'give', I would 'offer';

and he in turn would not just 'give' to me, but 'grant'. I might 'eat' but someone like my father would 'dine'. Honorifics are used to refer to any person considered to be of high status, but one never uses them of oneself. Their proper use is a matter of using good manners, but by no means is it something as rigidly enforced as a taboo would be.

In addition to honorifics, Javanese also has speech levels — that is, a set of forms (about 1000 in number) which one uses when speaking to persons of a certain class or people one is not intimate with. The use of the high level is determined by factors similar to the factors which lead to the choice of *tu* or *usted* in Spanish, *du* or *Sie* in German, and so forth.

9. Laycock documents a play-language in which the first syllable of polysyllabic words is dropped.

22. DYAK — West Borneo, Indonesia (specifically identified as Dyaks of Landak and Tajan). Frazer 1911:340.

2. To parents and grandparents.

23. BOLANG MONGONDO — West Sulawesi, Indonesia. Frazer 1911:341.

1. To parents-in-law

2. To parents, aunts, and uncles.

24. ALFOORS OF POSO — Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. Frazer 1911:340, 411-412.

1. To parents-in-law. This is the strictest taboo.

2. To father, mother, grandparents, and other near relatives.

5. The common word also is tabooed. "It is the common practice ... to replace the forbidden word by a kindred word ... borrowed from another dialect."

6. Forbidden to speak the ordinary language when at work in the harvest field. They also substitute common words in the forest, so as not to offend the spirits there.

25. ALFOORS OF MINAHASSA — Northern Sulawesi, Indonesia. Frazer 1911:341.

1. To parents-in-law. This is the strongest taboo.

2. To father, mother, grandparents, and other near relatives.

5. Words even resembling the tabooed name are also tabooed.

26. ALFOORS OF HALMAHERA — Halmahera, Indonesia. Frazer 1911:341.

1. To father-in-law.

27. TOBARU — Halmahera, N Moluccas, Indonesia. Roriwo Karetji, native speaker.

1. Between children-in-law and parents-in-law. To one's spouse's siblings. Between the parents of spouses. If a parent-in-law accidentally mentions the name of a child-in-law, he will receive a light punishment or fine. But if the child-in-law mentions the name of his parents-in-law, or a word similar to their names, he will be heavily punished. (Strong)

5. Words even resembling the name are tabooed.

28. NUFOORS — Numfor Island, Irian Jaya, Indonesia. (Numfor is my identification of Frazer's Nufoor.) Frazer 1911:342.

1. Persons related by marriage are forbidden to mention each other's name.

5. Even words resembling the name are tabooed.

29. SERUI — Yapen Island, Irian Jaya, Indonesia. Sumar Sinery, native speaker.

1. To parents-in-law. Must use word for 'you' instead. (Strong)

3. Names of person of high standing are tabooed. (This taboo does not carry over to common words.) (Dying out)

4. The names of all dead are tabooed. "Educated people are influencing the village away from this practice." (Dying out)

5. Words even resembling the name are tabooed.

9. If friends are in the jungle or hunting together, they may not call out each other's names. (Strong)

30. BIAK—Biak Island, Irian Jaya, Indonesia 1 S, 136 E). Neltji Mampioer, native speaker.

1. Between parents-in-law and children-in-law. (Dying out)

3. Names of persons of high standing are tabooed. (Dying out)

4. The names of all dead are tabooed for normal use, because they are used in worshipping statues or other sacred things for the purpose of obtaining good spirits or else to curse other people. (Dying out)

5. The common word also is tabooed.

6. One does not say he is going to hunt cuscus, but rather that he is going to get rattan. One does not say that he is going fishing but rather that he is going to the sea. (Strong)

31. KAIRIRU — Kairiru Island, Papua New Guinea (3.5 S, 143.5 E). Richard Wivell, SIL.

1. To parents-in-law and to brothers-in-law. (Strong)

5. Some names are formed from common words. He did not know if the taboo extends to the common word.

32. JABEM — Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea (6.6 S, 147.8 E). Frazer 1911:342, 354.

1. Parents-in-law may neither be touched or named.
4. They do not mention the names of the dead.
5. The common word also is tabooed.

33. PATEP — Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea (6.9 S, 146.6 E). A dialect of Mumeng. Linda Lauck, SIL.

1. Between parents-in-law and children-in-law. To the siblings-in-law of oneself, one's cousins, or of other close relatives. (Weak)
5. The common word also is taboo.

34. BUANG — Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea (6.9 S, 146.9 E). Bruce Hooley, SIL; Hooley 1972:502-505.

1. Names of all in-law relations tabooed, especially parents-in-law and brothers-in-law. It is a great shame to say the names of one's in-laws, and a lapse in this requires that the offender withdraw from village activities until his mistake is forgotten. Usually a present must be given to the offended party as well. (Strong)

5. The common word is tabooed as well. Hooley (1972) documents how the replacement forms are obtained. (See discussion in Section 1.3 above.) In a personal communication, Hooley documents three cases of common words which have recently fallen out of use (while their use as names remains); these changes he ascribes to the tabooing process.

35. NAKANAI — Central north coast of New Britain, Papua New Guinea (5.5 S, 151 E). Raymond Johnston, SIL; Johnston 1980:11.

1. Between a man and his parents-in-law. From a woman to her parents-in-law. From a person to any other relatives of the person he has married. Some younger people will say the name of in-laws in the same generation. (Strong)

2. In general, names are avoided either in reference or address as a means of showing esteem. It is unthinkable for a young person to address an older person by name, and unbearable that someone should so address their in-laws. The utmost deference is shown by third person reference in face-to-face conversation. Between cross-consanguineals there are numerous respect and mutual obligation constraints, but they do not include name taboos. (Strong)

3. It is taboo to say the name of a person of high standing to his face.

4. Names of the dead are tabooed, but just for a few weeks after the death.

5. The common word also is tabooed.

6. In fishing, one does not readily announce the name of the reef or one's intentions, for fear of spiritual interference. Johnston thought that the same kind of deceptive taboo applies to hunting, but was not certain at the time of writing.

8. There are a few hidden expressions amounting to some kind of limited argot for special occasions when secrecy is needed from (usually) tribal outsiders.

8. The older men use an alternative vocabulary in certain situations, apparently related to magic.

9. People do not want to say their own names. (Strong)

45. MISIMA — Misima Island, Papua New Guinea (10.6 S, 152.8 E). Bill and Sandra Callister, SIL.

1. To all in-laws, but especially strong to parents-in-law. There is also a respectful avoidance of using one's spouse's name. (Strong)

2. There is a respectful avoidance of using the names of one's parents, grandparents, or mother's brother. There is not a penalty for saying the names of tabooed relatives, except social disapproval. (Strong)

3. In the past, the names of respected men, who had much wealth (mainly in the form of pigs) and who were generous and hospitable, were often tabooed. Nowadays, these men do not really exist. (Ancient)

4. People on Misima have several names, at least three, but one of these is their 'real' name, and this name is strictly tabooed by everyone in an area when they die (essentially, in their home village which may consist of 200-500 people). The penalty for breaking the taboo is to pay valuables to the offended relatives. Close relatives in the same clan are allowed to say the name of the deceased, but seldom do. When a person dies, the names of his namesakes must be changed. (Strong)

5. Words even resembling the tabooed name are also tabooed. In story telling, if one's in-law's name sounds like the name of an island (for instance), one cannot name the island in the story. Rather one will refer to it in a roundabout way and then stop to check that the listeners understand which island is meant before continuing. As another example, Callisters' report that one of their acquaintances has an in-law with a name that sounds like the Dobu word for *big* sinebwana. Whenever he sings Dobu songs with others, he must stop singing whenever he reaches this word, leave it out, and start up again on the following word. Because of the taboos on names of the dead, visitors from other villages must be careful to learn and avoid the tabooed words and names of their hosts. Synonyms are very common; Callisters report that there are five words for 'fire' in common use in the village where they live.

46. ALU — Shortland Islands, Solomon Islands. Stephen Sukina, native speaker.

1. Between sons-in-law and parents-in-law. (Dying out)

3. A chief and his wife are not called by their names, but by a special term. (Dying out)

4. The names of some dead are tabooed (he did not specify who). (Dying out)

5. The common word also is tabooed. Sukina reports, "All of these practices will soon die out because of Christianity and because young people do not now accept and practice them."

7. If a man is with his sister, sibling-in-law, father-in-law, or son-in-law, or if a woman is with her brother or sibling-in-law, then he/she must be careful of his/her speech. For instance, one cannot ask "What part of your body?", but must ask "Where?".

47. KIA — NW Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands. David Bosma, SIL.

1. Cannot name one's mother-in-law, nor joke in front of in-laws in general.
2. Between a man and his sister; she must be referred to by the names of her children (e.g. John's mother).
3. May not address chief by name, but only by title.
5. Some names are formed from common words, but only the name is tabooed.
7. When speaking or referring to a big man, special lexical items are used in place of common terms for many body parts and bodily actions. For instance, *vagitau* replaces *mahai eat*, *mege* replaces *epu to sleep*, *saoro* replaces *ngengene to talk*, *ngurehe* replaces *nauele to cry*, *paete* replaces *manga mouth*, *nahali* replaces *hiba eye*, and so on.

48. MARINGE — Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands. David Bosma, SIL.

1. Between children-in-law and parents-in-law; between siblings-in-law. Between a man and his mother-in-law and between siblings-in-law of opposite sexes there are additional taboos against visual contact, proximal contact, and even conversing in certain circumstances. If someone should break the taboo and mention the names of in-laws, then the in-laws will demand a customary payment called *pholoru* which involves giving a feast in which lots of presents are given to them.

3. Cannot address chief by name, only by title.
5. Some names are formed from common words, but only the name is tabooed.
7. With reference to big men, *to eat* is *ima* rather than the common term *ghamu*.

49. GHARI — West Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands. Fr. Kerry Prendeville, S.M.

2. Between a man and his sisters (includes all females of same generation in his lineage), and vice versa. Besides a name taboo, there is avoidance of physical contact, proximal contact, or visual contact. Both the traditional name and the Christian name are taboo. Use of the kinship term, *vavine*, is also forbidden in the sister's presence. They do not even like to see this word printed in written literature.

5. Names are formed from common words, but only use of the name is tabooed.
6. When fishing for bonito or flying fish, they do not utter the names of their prey.
9. They avoid the names of legendary ancestral spirits, and place names associated with ancestral shrines.

50. BIRAO — East Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands. Hogbin 1937:68-69, 1969:17-18.

1. One does not address relatives-by-marriage by either name or kinship term.
2. One does not address brothers, sisters, mother's brothers, or sister's sons by either name or kinship term. There are many other avoidance taboos between a brother and sister. For parents, kinship terms but not name are appropriate.
5. The common word also is tabooed. A person addressing a tabooed relative has recourse to the dual form of the pronoun.

51. RENNELLESE — Rennell Island, Solomon Islands (12 S, 160 E). Nico Daams, SIL.

1. Between a man and his sister's husband (or wife's brother), and between a woman and her brother's wife (or husband's sister), there is a relationship of restraint marked by avoidance of personal names and refraint from talking of sexual matters. (Dying out)

2. Between a brother and sister there was a relationship of stringent avoidance, including a name taboo as well as taboos against conversing and proximal contact. When the mission came, they told the people that this was a bad custom. Today only the name taboo is observed among older people. (Dying out)

4. People will not use the name of a deceased person for a certain time after a person has died. The duration depends on the 'love' one has for the deceased. As a substitute, people use a newly coined honorific name. (Strong)

5. Some names are formed from common words, but only the name is tabooed. 1 and 2 apply only to traditional names, while 4 applies to both traditional and European names.

52. TO'ABAITA — Northern Malaita Island, Solomon Islands (8.4 S, 160.6 E). Gary Simons, SIL.

4. The names of dead ancestors whose spirits have become sacred are tabooed. The practice is basically as described for Kwaio by Keesing and Fifi'i (1969). (Dying out among Christians)

5. The common word is also tabooed.

7. One never speaks about the mouth parts (mouth, tongue, teeth, lips, neck) of a respected man or a stranger. For some words of eating and some foods, there are honorific forms which must be used when addressing or referring to respected men or strangers. There is no penalty for a breach of this custom, except public shame. (See footnote 9 for honorific forms.) (Strong)

9. There are separate plural pronouns used in reference to women.

53. 'ARE'ARE — Southern Malaita Island, Solomon Islands, Philip Neri, native speaker.

1. A man to his sister-in-law; a woman to her brother-in-law. (Weak)

2. Between a brother and sister. (Weak)

3. A chief is called by his title, araha, never by his name. (Strong)

4. The names of ancestral spirits are tabooed in all but ritual uses. Names of all dead are taboo in joking contexts. (Weak)

5. The common word is also tabooed. The name tabooing practices are dying out because of Christianity and other European influence.

54. ULAWA — Ulawa Island, Solomon Islands. (9.8 S, 161.9 E). Richard Teona, native speaker.

7. One does not invite someone to 'eat', but rather to 'hold food'.

55. AROSI — West San Cristobal, Solomon Islands. Silas Dodomwane, native speaker.

1. Between children-in-law and parents-in-law. (Dying)
3. The name of the chief was once tabooed. (Ancient)
5. Names can be formed from common words, but only the name is tabooed.

56. BAURO — Central San Cristobal, Solomon Islands. Stephen Musi, native speaker; Fox 1919:143 (for item 2 only).

1. Between children-in-law and parents-in-law. (Strong)
2. Between brother and sister. (Strong) This is a strict avoidance relationship which besides the name taboo includes taboos against physical contact, proximal contact, joking, or conversing. This avoidance relation extends to cross-cousins in some parts of Bauro. Also, a boy does not say the name of his older brother or joke in his presence.
3. Name of chief was once tabooed. (Ancient)
5. Names can be formed from common words, but only the name is tabooed.

57. KAHUA — Eastern San Cristobal, Solomon Islands. Michael Hanega, native speaker.

1. Between son-in-law and parents-in-law. Between siblings-in-law. (Strong)
3. Name of chief was once tabooed. (Ancient) Currently, people have a great respect for big men and have special words for calling them. (Weak)
4. It was once taboo to mention the name of a dead chief. (Ancient)
5. The common word also is tabooed.
6. You can never ask anyone who is going hunting, "Where are you going? Hunting?". Instead you must say, "Are you going to climb betelnut?". (Strong)
7. There is a special way of talking to big men. One cannot say "your eye!" or "your mouth!" or "your head!" as an exclamation. They can be used in normal speaking, except that in a gathering with big men one would avoid them altogether. (Strong)
9. A person does not say his own name, except when questioned about it.

58. OWA — Santa Ana Island, Solomon Islands (11 S, 162.4 E). Martin Mafuara, native speaker.

1. Between son-in-law and parents-in-law. If the taboo is broken there is shame and compensation must be paid. (Strong)
3. Name of chief was once tabooed. (Ancient)
5. Words even resembling the name are tabooed. For instance, Mafuara means *stranger*. Any name or word beginning with *ma* is also taboo if one's taboo relative is named Mafuara, words such as *mafe flower*, *mawa hard*, and so on.

Mafuara tells an amusing story along these lines: One day someone from the village was reading the Scripture lesson at the evening church service. The lesson was from one of the epistles of St. Peter; however, the man's father-in-law happened to be named Peter. He announced the lesson like this: "The lesson is from the first letter written by my father-in-law, beginning at..."

6. When someone is preparing gear for hunting or fishing it is taboo to ask him what he is doing or where he is going. Also it is taboo to ask these questions while he is out doing the hunting or fishing. (Strong)

7. As for Kahua, number 57.

9. When a couple is engaged, they avoid using each other's names. Once they are married there is no problem.

59. AIWO — Reef Islands, Solomon Islands (10.3 S, 166.2 E). Martin Moea, native speaker; Davenport 1964:184-187.

1. Between a man and his mother-in-law (and her sisters) and father-in-law. Between siblings-in-law. The plural is used to talk about the former. A joking taboo holds for all these relations. Between spouses. With the mother-in-law, there is a strict mutual avoidance including a taboo against eye contact and conversing. If either fails to observe this avoidance, he or she must publicly destroy some personal property. The mother-in-law taboo is still strong; the other are weakening.

2. Between a person and mother's brother, father's sister, or father's sister's husband. Avoidance of joking, loud talking, and arguing as well.

5. The common word also is tabooed.

60. SANTA CRUZ — Santa Cruz Island, Solomon Islands (10.8 S, 166 E). Gary Simons, SIL; W. O'Ferrall 1904:223ff. (See section 1.1 above)

1. Between son-in-law and parents-in-law. Between men who have married sisters. Between son-in-law and mother-in-law the taboo is particularly strict; they may not even talk to each other or look at each other.

4. The name remains tabooed after the in-law dies.

5. The common word also is tabooed.

61. ABA — Utupua Island, Solomon Islands (11.4 S, 166.5 E). Patterson Bagira, native speaker.

1. Between a man and his parents-in-law. Between siblings-in-law. There is also a joking taboo for these relationships. Between a man and his mother-in-law there must be a strict mutual avoidance relationship including taboos against eye contact and conversing as well. The mother-in-law taboo is strong; the others are weakening.

5. The common word also is tabooed.

62. BANKS ISLANDS — Banks Islands, Vanuatu (14 S, 167.4 E). Codrington 1891:43-44.

1. Between man and mother-in-law. From child to father-in-law. Between a man and his wife's brother. Between persons whose children have married each other. A son- and mother-in-law will not even come near each other.

5. The common word is tabooed as well. To take care of this words of similar meaning are substituted, thus 'shed' for 'house', 'cutter' for 'knife', 'shooter' for 'bow'. Also, "there is a stock of words kept in use for this very purpose, to use instead of the common words".

63. MOTLAV — Saddle Island, Banks Islands, Vanuatu (13.6 S, 167.7 E). Baldwin Jacobson Lonsdale, native speaker.

1. Between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Between siblings-in-law, especially brothers-in-law. Between persons whose children have married each other, especially between parents of the same sex. The word yohe, a term of deep respect, is used instead of the name in addressing all of the above. The taboo between children-in-law and parents-in-law can cause a spouse's name to become taboo. For instance, if a girl marries a boy with the same name as her father, the girl's mother can no longer use the name of her own husband. (Strong)

4. The names of all dead are tabooed. (Strong)

5. The common word is also tabooed.

6. When a group goes hunting or fishing, there is no word taboo for those in the group. However, it is taboo for those back in the village to mention the names of those who are away hunting or fishing (even as a common word), lest it cause that person to miss when shooting.

8. Men have special forms of delivering speech to their own sex. Chiefs especially use special forms of speech if they need to make special announcements to men, where women and girls are forbidden to be present or to hear. Women, likewise, have special forms of delivering speech particularly to their own sex which men and boys are forbidden to hear.

9. There is a name taboo between very close friends of the same sex (extending to the common word). They use the respect form yohe instead. (Strong)

There is a playful use of language by reversing words. For example, a mother might call a child, van me *come here*. If one wanted to make fun of her, the order would be reversed, me van. (Very common)

64. AOBA — NE Aoba Island, Vanuatu. (15.4 S, 168 E). Charles Remy, native speaker.

1. Man to parents-in-law. (Strong)

2. From a man to his sister. (Strong) From a man to his mother. (Dying out)

3. Line members refer to their chief by title, not by name. (Strong)

5. Names can be formed from common words, but only the name is tabooed.

65. WEST OMBA — W Aoba Island, Vanuatu (15.4 S, 167.7 E). Formerly called Duindui language. Dorothy Dewar, Apostolic Church.

1. Between son-in-law and parents-in-law. From daughter-in-law to parents-in-law. Between sisters-in-law. (Strong)

2. Between adolescents and adults of opposite sexes who are related. (Strong)

3. The local names (but not European names) of chiefs are tabooed. With Christianity, names of pastors have become taboo as well. (Strong)

5. Names are formed from common words, but only the name is tabooed. For the parents-in-law/children-in-law taboos, both local and Christian names are tabooed. For other relationships only the local name is.

66. RAGA — Northern Pentecost Island, Vanuatu (15.5 S, 168.1 E). Michael Taboa, native speaker.

1. Between a sister-in-law and a brother-in-law. (Dying out)
2. Previously there was avoidance between brother and sister but he does not know if it included a name taboo. (Ancient)
5. Some names are formed from common words, but only the name is tabooed.
6. When a person is going hunting or fishing, if he is met by someone and that person asks him where he is going, it is taboo to say exactly where he is going. If he did, he would not catch anything. Therefore he answers, "Going walk about".
9. Common questions such as "Where are you going?", "What are you doing?", and "What is that?" are forbidden to be asked in a strange place. Especially in places where it is believed that spirits are living. If one does, the result would be that he would fall ill.

Play language — He recalls when young hearing older boys use a form of play language in which they pronounced all the words backwards. Not common.

67. BIG NAMBAS — NW Malekula Island, Vanuatu (16 S, 167.4 E). Greg and Helen Fox, Presbyterian Reformed Church of Australia; H. Fox, in press.

1. Between a daughter-in-law and a father-in-law. Between a man and the wife of his younger brother or cousin. In addition to the name taboo, a woman must never look at, speak with, or be seen by her taboo relatives.
3. The name of the chief of a clan or village is taboo.
4. Every dead person's name is taboo for a period of one generation, then it can be reused and the common word again spoken. (Strong)
5. Words even resembling the name are tabooed. Taboos on similar sounding words are dying out however. (Taboos on name and common word still strong.)
6. As for Raga, number 66.
7. Parts of the body and intimate possessions of any important men are taboo for a common person to speak of, especially women. A woman must not name the intimate parts or possessions of her son either. (Dying out)
8. Men only can know or speak the technical terms for circumcision rites. Women only can know or speak the technical terms for the tooth avulsion ceremony after marriage performed on women by women. The latter is no longer practised.
9. It is taboo to speak one's own name.

68. FILA — Efate Island, Vanuatu (17.7 S, 168.2 E). Helen Fox, Presbyterian Reformed Church of Australia.

All responses negative.

69. BELEP — Belep Island, New Caledonia (19.7 S, 163.7 E). Frazer 1911:344.

2. Between a sister and a brother. Also applies between cousins of opposite sex.

70. TAVEUNI — Taveuni Island, Fiji (17 S, 180 E). Michael Cili, S.M., native speaker.

1. Between parents-in-law and children-in-law.

2. To parents, grandparents, father's brothers, mother's brothers, father's sisters and cross cousins. The mother's brothers and father's sisters are especially taboo.

3. A chief is never referred to by name, only by title.

4. The name of a dead chief is tabooed. There may have been an ancient practice of widespread tabooing of names of the dead.

5. The common word is also tabooed.

71. MAORI — New Zealand. Frazer 1911:381; Laycock 1972:70, 71, 74.

3. There was a prohibition on uttering the names of chiefs or of common words resembling them. "This taboo naturally produced a plentiful crop of synonyms in the Maori language, and travellers newly arrived in the country were sometimes puzzled at finding the same things called by quite different names in neighbouring tribes."

5. Even words resembling the name were tabooed.

9. Laycock cites examples of play-languages based on systematic insertion of nonsense syllables after every syllable of an utterance.

72. SAMOAN — Samoa (14 S, 172 W). Brown 1910:280, 382, 380-381, 250; Laycock 1972:81.

3. A word had to be changed if it was in a sacred chief's name. He also documents a case where words corresponding to the names of two village gods were changed.

5. The common word also is tabooed.

6. There were words which could not be used by the bushmen when hunting or by the fishermen when going out to fish for bonito or shark. Other words were used for the ordinary names of the articles taken by them on board.

7. Polite language was used extensively. "The underlying principle in the use of polite language is that it must be used to chiefs and visitors, but they must never use the polite terms in speaking of themselves or of anything belonging to them." Brown gives a whole page of examples (p.381). In general the ordinary forms are common Oceanic roots and the polite forms are inventions. Doves were addressed in polite language as they were thought to be the representatives of some god.

9. Lasch (1907, cited by Laycock 1972:81) mentions a play language called ganana liliu *reversed language*, but gives no examples.

73. TAHITIAN — Tahiti, French Polynesia. Frazer 1911:381-382. (See also Vernier 1948; Stokes 1955).

3. When a king comes to the throne, any words in the language that resemble his name in sound must be changed for others.

On the accession of King Otoo which happened before Vancouver's visit to Tahiti, the proper names of all the chiefs were changed, as well as forty or fifty of the commonest words in the language. ... When a certain king named Tu came to the throne, the word tu which means *to stand* was changed to tia, fetu *a star* became fetia, tui *to strike* became tia, and so on.

However, these changes were temporary; on the death of the king the old words revived.

5. Even words resembling the name were tabooed.

74. PONAPE — Paliker district, Ponape, Caroline Islands. Frazer 1911:362.

4. Names of the dead are tabooed.

5. The common word is tabooed as well.

75. YAPSESE — Yap Island, Caroline Islands. Sherwood Lingenfelter, SUNY Brockport. (See also Defngin 1958, Kirkpatrick 1973.)

1-2. Names are not taboo, but all kinship terms are taboo as terms of address. They are spoken as such only as a curse. Children use Spanish *niña*, *papa* to address parents, or their personal names, but never the Yapese terms *tamag my father* or *tinag my mother*. Personal names are the standard form for addressing others. (Strong)

4. The names of all immediate kin who have died are taboo. The person whom one could never call by the kin term during his life, is only referred to by the kin term and never by name after he dies. One may speak the names of other people's dead relatives, but not one's own. If this taboo is broken, one cannot eat fish for three or more days.

5. Names can be formed from common words, but he did not know whether the common word was tabooed as well.

NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

A. NICOBAR ISLANDS — Nicobar Islands, India. Austro-Asiatic. Frazer 1911:362.

4. Names of the dead are tabooed.

5. The common word is tabooed as well.

B. CHRAU — Vietnam (11 N, 107.5 E). Austro-Asiatic. David Thomas, SIL. (See also Thomas 1972).

2. To parents. When they have to fill out government forms, they like to have someone along to say the parents' names for them.

5. The common word is tabooed as well.

C. KATU — Vietnam (15.5 N, 107.5 E). Austro-Asiatic. Nancy Costello, SIL.

1-2. The names of all relatives are tabooed.

4. The names of all dead are tabooed.

5. The common word is tabooed as well. A word which rhymes with the common word is used when a common word becomes taboo. In this way, the language gradually changes.

D. KWERBA — Irian Jaya, Indonesia (2.2 S, 138.4 E). Papuan. James DeVries, SIL.

1. Between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Between an individual and his/her spouse's older siblings. (Strong)

4. The names of all dead are taboo, but this is practised only for a limited time after which the name is given to someone else. (Strong)

5. The common word is also tabooed. The taboos are strictly practised with the 'earth names' (indigenous names). However, they are not practised with Christian (Indonesian) names. Breaking the taboo results in a feeling of shame.

E. MUYU — Irian Jaya, Indonesia (8.5 S, 140.5 E). Papuan. Marcell Imco and Thomas Keramtop, native speakers.

1. Between a son-in-law and his mother-in-law. Between siblings-in-law. Between a person and his/her mother's brother's wife. (Strong)

3. Names of high standing leaders are tabooed. (Dying out)

4. Names of all dead are tabooed. (Strong)

5. Names are not formed from common words.

9. Names of the following are tabooed: characters in myths, sacred places, and sacred animals connected with myths and beliefs.

F. ALAMBLAK — East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea (3.5 S, 143 E). Papuan. Les Bruce, SIL. (See also Bruce 1977).

1. Between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Between siblings-in-law. (Strong)

5. The common word is tabooed as well.

6. Names for fish and the generic term 'fish' are taboo during certain important fishing expeditions during certain times of the year. The word 'sago, food' is substituted. (Strong)

9. A friend or relative who performs a kind or important duty for someone bears a special relationship to that person, who will henceforth refrain from saying his name and refer to him by a term which is related to the function that

was performed. For example, Titar (from tita *carry on shoulders*) derives from an instance where a person carried his young friend for a long distance through the swamp when he was sick. (Strong)

G. KEWA — Southern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea. Papuan. Karl Franklin, SIL. References to his publications are given below at points where they are relevant.

1. Between a man and his parents-in-law, wife's brothers, wife's sisters, wife's sisters' husbands, wife's sisters' children, and son-in-law. Between a woman and her father-in-law. (1967:79; 1968:27ff; 1972:68; 1977:377) (Strong)

4. When a person dies, his name is considered taboo because the ghost is malevolent. To mention a dead man's name is to call the attention of the ghost to the speaker's presence (1972:68). (Strong)

5. The common word is also tabooed.

8. Cult argots have developed around rituals that involve cures in the houses of specific deities or spirits. The words for common objects which are important to cult activities are tabooed for the whole community (1972:68-69, 1975).

Franklin (personal communication) describes two processes by which this has been done. In East Kewa, cult adherents tabooed old words for use by cult outsiders, forcing the community to adopt dialectal (or sometimes Pidgin) replacements. In West Kewa, the cult adherents coined new words for tabooed objects which the community at large were not supposed to know or utter. Franklin reports that when he would inadvertently break these word taboos, people would spit on the ground to express their disgust. (Dying out)

Another form of secret language is a ritual pandanus language (1972). The area in which pandanus grows in abundance is inhabited by wild dogs and spirits and has certain magical qualities. In order to control these magical properties and dangerous beings, the Kewa use a special language while harvesting the pandanus. It is built on standard Kewa, but with a vocabulary and grammar restricted and regularised. (Dying out)

H. OROKAIVA — Northern Province, Papua New Guinea (9 S, 148.4 E). Papuan. Robert Larsen, SIL; Larsen 1975:6.

1. To all in-laws.

4. The names of all dead in-laws are tabooed.

5. The common word is also tabooed. Because of this, many alternative words are available, and words become clan-specific. For instance, the two terms 'water' and 'mother' have five different alternative words. People are beginning to rely more on Christian names which are not taboo.

I. BUIN — South Bougainville, Papua New Guinea (6.7 S, 155.7 E). Papuan. Margie Griffin, SIL. Laycock 1969 (for items 6 and 9).

2. Between a man and his father's sister, because the man will marry her daughter. Other relationships are considered 'taboo', but this one is unique in tabooing the name and in a number of other restrictions. (Dying out)

4. The name of anyone who has died is taboo for everyone for a week or two during mourning. Very close relatives may avoid the name for a year or so. However, if the one who died is a 'taboo relative', the name remains taboo for ever. (Dying out)

5. The common word is tabooed as well. Poetic forms of names (see 9 below) are also taboo for the aunt/nephew relationship. In former days, the people lived in small hamlets. Children grew up interacting with a limited number of other children and the adults were able to enforce the taboos. Now the people have moved together into large villages. Children play in large groups together in villages and at schools with virtually no concern for the former taboos. There is no way adults could enforce the taboos if they wanted to.

6. When men go hunting or fishing, they used to use substitute words for certain important items like 'sun', 'water', and the name of the things being hunted or fished for. This was to keep the spirits from knowing what they were doing and spoiling their luck.

9. Laycock describes three forms of modified language: poetic language (in which the first two or last two syllables of a word or name are extracted and an arbitrary affix added), adolescent play language (in which the syllables of polysyllabic words are rearranged), and a 'dog language' used in story telling (in which stops are omitted between like vowels and a suffix added).

J. YELE — Rossel Island, Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea (11 S, 154.1 E). Papuan. Jim Henderson, SIL.

1. Between a man and his wife's sisters. Between a man and his brothers' wife. Between a woman and her brother's wife. Between a man and his mother's brother's wife. In addition to the name taboo, one cannot touch or even approach closely a taboo relative. (Strong) In days gone by, women used to respect taboo males by hiding their faces and sitting with their backs to them, but this is no longer done.

5. The common word is tabooed as well. The taboo also extends to the namesakes of tabooed relatives, as well as to those called by the tabooed relations in the classificatory system. Hence every one has about half a dozen names to ensure that an alternative is always available for taboo names. When common words are tabooed because of inclusion in a taboo name, the chief means of replacement are periphrasis and simile.

6. When men go to Lów:a Island, they use different words for 'fish', 'sea', 'sun', 'moon', 'rain', 'water', and 'get sick'. When they hunt possum in the bush, they use alternate forms for 'possum', 'male possum', 'female possum', 'bulbous plant where possums go inside'.

7. Different words are used for some body parts (such as thighs, arms, parts of face) and certain personal possessions (such as basket) of taboo relatives. The alternative forms for these are a permanent part of the language. (Strong)

9. Women use different words for various objects such as 'canoe'. (Dying out)

K. GUDANG — Cape York Peninsula, Australia. Frazer 1911:346, 358.

1. From a man to his mother-in-law. From a woman to her father-in-law.

4. The names of the dead are tabooed, and the common word must be immediately dropped and replaced. However, as time passes the word is likely to gradually return to common use.

5. The common word is tabooed as well.

L. DYIRBAL — South of Cairns, Queensland, Australia. Dixon 1972:32.

7. Every speaker has at his disposal two languages: a 'mother-in-law language' and an everyday language. A person would not closely approach or look at a taboo relative, nor speak directly to them. Whenever a taboo relation is within earshot the 'mother-in-law' (or avoidance) language was used. Taboo relatives are: a parent-in-law of the opposite sex, a child-in-law of the opposite sex, and a cross cousin of the opposite sex.

ADDENDA OF NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

In Papua New Guinea:

Bulmer 1965:141 — In Kyaka, taboo on names of recent dead.

Glasse 1965:32 — In Huli, taboo on names of powerful female ghosts.

Oliver 1955:263-265 — In Siwai, name taboo between man and mother-in-law, father's sisters, and mother's brother's wife.

Scorza 1974:201 — In Au, name taboo on any of wife's near family.

Shaw 1974:233 — In Samo, name taboo between all affines.

In Australia (Frazer 1911:346, 358-359):

Kowraregas, Prince of Wales Islands — Same as Gudang above.

Booandik, South Australia — Persons related by marriage speak in low voices and use words different from those in common use.

Victoria — Name taboo on mother-in-law and names of the dead.

Moorunde tribe — Taboos on names of the dead.

Encounter Bay, South Australia — Taboos on names of the dead.

QUESTIONNAIRE

The study of the distribution of word tabooing practices in Austronesia is on-going research. Anyone who can supply information on additional languages, please answer the following questions and mail to: Gary Simons, Box 52, Auki, Malaita, SOLOMON ISLANDS.

Name _____ Affiliation _____

Mailing address _____

Language name _____ Country _____

Is it an Austronesian language? Yes No

Map co-ordinates of language center: _____ Lat _____ Long

continued ...

Questionnaire continued...

NAMES OF RELATIONS TABOOED

Are the names of any relations tabooed? Yes No

If so, what relations are involved?

(Use *from X to Y* to show a one-way taboo where X cannot say Y's name; use *between X and Y* to show a reciprocal taboo where neither can say the other's name.)

Is it taboo to say one's own name? Yes No

Current status of these practices:

 Strong Weak Dying out Ancient

Any other comments:

NAMES OF HIGH RANKING PERSONS TABOOED

Are the names of persons of high rank tabooed? Yes No

Whose? kings, chiefs, political big men, respected men, strangers, shamans, _____

Current status of the practice:

 Strong Weak Dying out Ancient

Any other comments:

NAMES OF THE DEAD TABOOED

Are the names of the dead tabooed? Yes No

Whose? everyone, men only, sacred ancestors, chiefs, big men, those relatives tabooed in life, _____

Current status of practice:

 Strong Weak Dying out Ancient

Any other comments:

DOES THE NAME TABOO EXTEND TO WORD TABOO?

Are personal names derived from common words?

 All are Most are Some are None are

Is the common word also tabooed? Yes No Don't know

Are words that even sound like the name tabooed? (Such as words that rhyme or have the same first syllable and so on)

 Yes No Don't know

If yes, can you give some examples:

OTHER FORMS OF WORD TABOO

Describe any practice like 'hunting language' (word taboos during hunting, fishing, harvesting, mining):

Describe any practice like 'polite language' (special vocabulary used when talking to or about high ranking persons, strangers, tabooed relatives).

continued ...

Questionnaire continued...

Describe any practice like 'ritual language' (special forms of language used by the insiders of a cult or by practitioners of a ritual):

Current status of the above practices:

Strong Weak Dying out Ancient

ANYTHING ELSE?

Can you describe any other practices in which names or words are tabooed? Any other cases where the language maintains two ways to say the same thing and the choice is situationally determined (e.g. women's speech, status styles, poetic language)? Any forms of disguised language or play language (e.g. pig-Latin)?

DOCUMENTATION

Are your responses based on firsthand experience living in the language group? Yes No

How sure are you of the reliability of your responses:

Very sure Pretty sure They're tentative Based on hearsay

Are any or all of the practices you have described on this questionnaire documented in print? If so, please give as full a bibliographic citation as you can.

NOTES

1. The word taboo itself may give some clue as to tabooing's prominence in Austronesia. It is a word that English has borrowed from Austronesia, apparently brought back from Tonga by Captain Cook (cf. Proto-Polynesian *tapu < Proto-Eastern Oceanic *tampu).
2. Word tabooing also has a potentially significant affect in applied linguistics. For instance, in March 1981 I was required to pay a fine of \$10 in a north Malaita customary court for inadvertently using the name of someone's sacred ancestor in a primer for teaching the To'abaita people to read their own language. Although the topic of applied linguistics is not taken up in the text, many examples of word tabooing's effect on reading and literature are reported in the Appendix.
3. I gratefully acknowledge the sponsorship of the Translation Committee of the Solomon Islands Christian Association during the period of fieldwork (March-December 1977, December 1979-December 1980).
4. For the Santa Cruz kinship system, see Davenport 1964.
5. To comply with this taboo, a mother-in-law always had a cloth handy with which she could cover her face and turn the other way in case she were to happen upon her son-in-law. A curtain was erected inside a house to separate a son- and mother-in-law when one was visiting the house of the other. Today the taboo on eye contact seems to be dying out. However, the taboo on joking and saying the name are still very strong.

6. Nearly 80 years ago, the Rev. O'Ferrall (1904:233ff. quoted in Frazer 1911:344) described name taboo on Santa Cruz. His description largely coincides with mine. However, he described an additional taboo relationship which does not appear to hold today: none of the men to whom a husband has paid money for a wife may ever utter his name or look him in the face.
7. S.A. Wurm (personal communication) reports that these forms involve morphological variation on top of the phonological variation in the basic root, *nyo*, *no*, and *ne*.
8. The one drawback of this kind of reasoning is that although it demonstrates that a process of phonological modification has been a part of the dialect history, it does not allow us to determine which pairs of forms are related by modification and which are similar by chance. A residue of chance similarities will always remain. Applying the comparative method to find recurring patterns of modification may help us one day to be able to distinguish.
9. There are two other practices which produce the same effect of requiring speakers to maintain synonyms for common words. The first is a set of honorific forms used when speaking of things having to do with eating (including body parts involved) in reference to men to whom the speaker wants to show respect. I have observed this in Kwara'ae and To'abaita thus far. The following examples are from To'abaita (for verbs, the intransitive and transitive forms are given):

Meaning	Common Word	Honorific Form
<i>eat</i>	fanga, 'ania	rere'e, re'ea
<i>drink</i>	ku'u, ku'ufia	'ingo, 'ingofia
<i>edible greens</i>	kwake	tatabo
<i>pudding of taro and Canarium almond</i>	kata	salo
<i>puddings of taro and coconut</i>	kumu, lakeno, suufau	lengo
<i>mouth</i>	foko	(none)
<i>tooth</i>	lifo	(none)
<i>tongue</i>	mea	(none)
<i>lips</i>	ngidu	(none)
<i>neck</i>	lua	(none)

To use the common forms for the above items with reference to men would be very rude. (Note that in the case of the body parts the terms are avoided altogether with no replacement forms.) A breach of this custom does not require compensation payment; it just produces shame.

The second practice is a series of women's forms for the plural pronouns in Fataleka, Gula'alaa, and To'abaita (Simons 1980). The Proto-Malaitan plural pronouns have had a meaning shift and become the general plural pronouns. The Proto-Malaitan plural pronouns are retained in these three languages, but have become forms used only when the referents are women. Word tabooing, honorific language, and women's forms are all cases which lead to forms that are synonymous in their denotative meanings but have situationally defined distinctions. All are potential trouble spots for the collector of lexicostatistic word lists.

10. For a discussion of diachronic versus synchronic lexicostatistics, see Simons 1977c. On the topic of estimating (or predicting) intelligibility from cognate percentages, see Simons 1979 (Chapters 5 and 6).

11. It should be observed that the method depends on the completeness of the dictionaries. TOB and ARE have the smaller dictionaries; LAU, KWO and SAA have the more extensive. The average effect of counting synonyms shows a trend of the better the dictionary, the greater the effect of synonymy. The results of this method should not be viewed as final, but as pointing to lower limits.
12. In the case of ARE and the form po'ore there has been a strict replacement. However, the overall pattern for the item 'leaf' is one of augmentation and it is therefore counted as such in the statistics of Table 5.
13. All the regular sound correspondences for the 12 Malaitan languages and dialects are known. Levy 1979 gives the correspondences for eight of the languages. I have worked out the correspondences for the remaining four.
14. For purposes of this survey I have grouped the troublesome Reef Islands and Santa Cruz languages (numbers 59 and 60 in Table 1) with Austronesian. This is not meant as a statement of their linguistic affiliation, but rather as an observation that with respect to these data, the two languages show virtually identical responses as their two closest neighbours in the sample, the unquestionably Austronesian Utupua (61) and Banks Islands (62). To exclude Reefs and Santa Cruz would obscure this cultural similarity.
15. For purposes of this survey I have grouped the troublesome Yapese language with Oceanic. With respect to these data, it groups to the east rather than to the west.
16. Note that the New Guinea Pidgin word for 'brother-in-law', 'sister-in-law' and even 'in-laws in general' is tambu (Mihalic 1971:191). This no doubt reflects the wide-spread nature of affinal taboos throughout Papua New Guinea.
17. Note that the chiefly name taboo has a complementary distribution to the ascending generations consanguineal name taboo. Perhaps deeper study will be able to establish a link between the two.
18. A fourth type of taboo, taboos against talking about sex and body functions, was mentioned by a number of sources. I have excluded this kind of taboo from consideration because it is found so universally as to be non-distinctive. Nor, with its highly restricted semantic domain, is its potential effect on language change significant.
19. There are also well-documented cases of honorific chiefly languages in the Loyalty Islands. Nengone (Mare Island) has a chiefly sublanguage called Iwatenu, and Dehu (Lifou Island) has a chiefly sublanguage called Umeng (Leenhardt 1946).
20. James Fox (1977:64) cites other cases of ritual languages in Austronesia. In particular, he has studied the feature of parallelism in these ritual languages and poetic traditions (1971, 1977). One result, reminiscent of replacement mechanisms in word tabooing is the widespread occurrence of prescribed parallel word pairs (that is, pairs of words in which one is conventionally substituted for the other in a parallel construction, as in parallel lines of poetry). For instance, in Rotinese poetry (eastern Indonesia), Fox has compiled a list of over 1000 such word pairs (1977:79). Ritual languages in the Madang area of Papua New Guinea are well documented by Aufinger (1942, 1949) and Dempwolff (1909).

21. Dyen actually terms most of these reconstructions 'provisional' proto-phonemes, as though the qualification justifies the usage. However, these could never become established proto-phonemes because a natural language could not possibly be like that. So why call them provisional proto-phonemes at all? They should be treated as strictly what they are—observed sound correspondences.
22. Laycock (1982a) discusses the small size of speech communities in relation to the problem of Melanesian linguistic diversity.
23. In addition to those acknowledged in the data, I must express my gratitude to two individuals who went out of their way to translate the questionnaire and interview native speaker respondents so as to submit data for nine of the languages: Father Terry Brown (Bishop Patteson Theological Centre, Solomon Islands) and Marit Kana (Summer Institute of Linguistics, Indonesia).

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'FILIPINO' AS A UNION LANGUAGE FOR THE PHILIPPINES

Precy Espiritu-Reid

1. INTRODUCTION

In 1972, the Constitutional Convention of the Philippines promulgated a new constitution. It was ratified by the barangay or citizen assemblies on January 17, 1973. In the section that dealt with language — Article XV, Section 3 — Paragraph 2 stated: "The National Assembly shall take steps towards the development and formal adoption of a common national language to be known as Filipino". (Santiago 1973:171). The national language until this time had been known as Pilipino. The effect of this measure however was not simply to change the name from having an initial P to F. It drew a distinction between Pilipino and Filipino, by stating in Paragraph 3 of the same section "Until otherwise provided by law, English and Pilipino shall be the official languages". At the present time, then, according to the Constitution, there is an official language, Pilipino, with a national language, Filipino, to be implemented by the National Assembly.

There is yet a far more significant implication to this development. Pilipino as it has been developed since 1934 has been based on a single Philippine language, Tagalog. Filipino, on the other hand is to be a 'common' National Language. The meaning of this can best be understood by reference to the recommendation of the Committee on National Language to the Convention. The report of the Committee stated, "A common national language to be known as FILIPINO shall be evolved, developed, and adopted based on existing native languages and dialects without precluding the assimilation of words from foreign languages." (Yabes 1973:100).

The background for this decision will be discussed in Section 5 of this paper. It is sufficient here to note that the purpose of the recommendation was to replace a national language based on Tagalog, which is spoken natively by only about one-fifth of the Filipino population, with a national language to which all Filipinos could relate. The phrase 'common national language' is interpreted by many scholars (e.g. Yabes 1973, 1977; Llamzon 1977, etc.) to mean a composite language, or a union language.

Filipino would be a union language because it would be a deliberately created standard language, drawing upon existing dialects and languages, supposedly for official and educational use. Ideally it would be a language which people from

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one end of the nation to the other could identify, providing a sense of national identity and unity that is supposedly not achieved by the present national language, which to all intents and purposes is Tagalog.

At the time of the debate on the national language issue in 1972, both the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Philippine Association of Language Teachers vigorously objected to the directions it appeared the Constitution would take, on the grounds that there was little if any chance that an artificially created, composite language would have any chance of success. Despite their efforts, individuals such as Leopoldo Yabes, a prominent Ilokano author and professor at the University of the Philippines, and Ernesto Constantino, at the time Chairman of the Department of Linguistics at the University of the Philippines and also an Ilokano, lobbied successfully for the change from Pilipino to Filipino.

The motivations for Constantino's position will be discussed in Section 5. The question that must be raised here and which I will attempt to answer in this paper, is whether, in the light of the experiences that other nations who have attempted to develop union languages have had, there is any chance of achieving the goals that are hoped for it.

In the sections that follow, I will examine the language situation in three countries where union languages have been developed. I will attempt to explore the reasons for their relative success or failure and in the final section I will compare these situations with that in the Philippines.

2. SHONA, THE UNION LANGUAGE OF ZIMBABWE

2.1 The problems

The languages of what is now called Zimbabwe, formerly Rhodesia, were first written by missionaries, who were interested in spreading their message by use of the written word. As a result of this linguistic activity there was a considerable amount of literature in most of the regional languages by the 1920s. There were five different translations of the New Testament, each with its distinctive orthography, and each usable only by speakers of the local dialect into which the translation had been made (Fortune 1972:16).

It was recognised by the churches and also by the Government that producing literature in increasing numbers of local dialects without any effort at standardisation was counter-productive, in that it became more and more economically unfeasible to publish limited editions of materials in what seemed to be relatively closely related dialects.

The move towards developing a standard language was therefore primarily motivated by economic considerations and the need of the Government to have a standard form for its purposes. The need for a common language for industrial workers may also have been a contributing factor.

2.2 The solution

Whiteley (1957:224) has stated, "Standardization may be affected in two ways: by elevating one of a number of dialects (varieties) to be the standard form or by attempting to create a composite of all the main dialects". It was the latter method which the Government was interested in implementing when in 1929 it invited Clement Doke, a prominent Bantu scholar, to study the linguistic situation and to report to the Legislative Assembly on the possibility of uniting the dialects

"into a literary form for official and educational purposes and the standardization of the orthography" (Ansre 1974:378). Doke worked for one year, comparing the various dialects and made a number of recommendations to the Government. These recommendations, as quoted by Ansre (1974:379-380) from Doke's report (Doke 1931) include the following:

Recommendation 1: That there be two official languages recognized in Southern Rhodesia, one for the main Shona-speaking area, and one for the Ndebele-speaking area.

Recommendation 2: That one unified literary language be recognized to serve the main Shona area.

Recommendation 3: That the name of the unified language be Shona, and in the vernacular Cifona.

Recommendation 4: That a unified grammar be standardized on the basis of Karanga and Zezuru.

Recommendation 5: That a dictionary of Shona be prepared, to be as inclusive as possible of words from Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika, and Nda. That for the present Korekore words be admitted sparingly and that the use of colloquial words from the dialects of Budya, Tavara, Karombe, Danda, Teve, ũangwe, etc. be discouraged.

Doke's recommendations clearly indicated that the proposed new language was not to be simply a composite of all the main dialects. The grammar of the language was to be based on only two of the dialects, Karanga and Zezuru, which (according to Doke) between them accounted for 460,000 speakers, or over half of the population for whom the language was being prepared. Moreover, there was very little grammatical difference between the two dialects. A third factor which no doubt supported this decision was the geographical location of these speakers. The capital of the country, Salisbury, is in the middle of the Zezuru-speaking area, and typically dialects associated with the centre of government and education achieve higher prestige than peripheral dialects.

Lexical items from six phonologically similar dialects, including Zezuru and Karanga would form the basis of the dictionary, although forms from Manyika and Nda to the east would also be freely admitted. Presumably, the phonology of these dialects is very similar to that of the central dialects. The cautious inclusion of Korekore is no doubt because of the phonological dissimilarity of these forms. Dialects which were said to be influenced by Zulu were not eligible for inclusion.

The Government commission to Doke to provide guidelines for the standardisation of orthography resulted in Doke's proposing a thirty-three-letter alphabet based on what was called the Africa Alphabet, which had been designed about that time by the International Institute for African Languages and Cultures. Again, it was the phonological system of Zezuru which Doke used as the basis for his orthography, since he claimed that this dialect made more phonological distinctions than the others and so was better fitted than others to form the basis of a common alphabet (Fortune 1972:17). Although based on the phonemic principle (one symbol for each distinctive sound) problems developed, several uncommon symbols were used to represent sounds not found in English, making it difficult and expensive to typeset materials written in the orthography.

Although it was accepted by the Ministry of Education, it was not accepted by the public, and even Government departments and newspapers continued to use older spelling systems which utilise only the Roman alphabet.

The so-called 'New Orthography' lasted only till 1955 when a committee formed to examine the problem recommended a number of changes. It abolished the symbols not found in the Roman alphabet, and changed the phonetic value of others.

The second orthography, although approved by the Government and the Shona-speaking community, under-represented the phonemic distinctions in the language with the result that considerable ambiguity occurred. By 1967, the Shona Language Committee had recommended another orthographic change. The phonemic distinctions described by Doke, which had not been represented by the 1955 alphabet, were now distinguished by the introduction of a series of digraphs (bh, dh, vh and n?). Certain problems still remain, such as the failure to symbolise certain 'breathy' consonants which occur sporadically in Zezuru, and also the failure to symbolise tone, but the alphabet has been designed not merely to represent Zezuru or any of the other spoken forms of the language but as a basis for a common written literature. Fortune (1972:38) says "[The alphabet] is a very clear and adequate instrument for Shona literature, one which is fairly consistent and one which is reasonably easy to learn".

The goal which Doke had, the standardisation of the orthography and the development of a common literary form has been achieved. This has been reinforced by the publication of a grammar (Fortune 1955) and a dictionary (Hannan 1966) of Standard Shona. The New Testament has been translated into the language using Zezuru, Manyika, and Karanga informants providing a model for other writers. Ansre (1974:382) quotes a letter from Fortune from which the information in the preceding paragraph is drawn. The final paragraph of Fortune's letter is worth quoting in full to show the degree of acceptance and success that standard Shona enjoys.

The Publications Bureau have been responsible for the production of a number of works, mainly short novels, which had remarkable success and which are sold all over Mashonaland. These books are written almost entirely by Zezuru, Karanga, and Manyika speakers and the Bureau's editorial staff ensure that the texts conform to normal usage in morphology and vocabulary.

In the meanwhile the relative importance of Zezuru, the cluster of dialects spoken around Salisbury, has increased by a relative growth in population and major educational institutions. Teachers have carried Zezuru into Korekore and Ndau territory and there would be hardly any demand today that those dialects, with perhaps the exception of Budya which has some protagonists, should contribute their purely local forms to standard literary Shona. A new series of readers is to be written in a common form and used all over the Shona-speaking area. These are prepared with the help of a panel on which Zezuru, Karanga, and Manyika are represented so that the texts may not appear alien to any of the speakers of these dialects. They are to replace the former series of readers each of which, from Standard II onwards, consisted of an anthology of selections in each of the main central dialects. These are evidence then than a common standard literary form is evolving.

2.3 Reasons for the success of Shona

To the extent that Shona is accepted, the reasons are fairly clear. They are as follows:

1. Missionaries, educators, and government officials all shared the same opinion that a standard written form was necessary to cut the cost in time, energy and money in producing both religious and secular materials.

2. The official plan to standardise was initiated by the Government, and it gave it its full financial, political, academic and social backing.

3. The person chosen to undertake the task was a highly respected Bantu scholar and educator, not a missionary.

4. The basic similarities between the dialects spoken in the Shona area meant that standardisation was not going to mean a union of clearly distinct languages. Doke (1931:29) noted that his choice of dialects was because of their underlying unity of vocabulary, their common sharing of particular phonetic elements, and grammatical features.

5. The present orthography enjoys wide acceptance not only by most Government and Education officials, but also by religious bodies, and the general public. It was seen as being similar to the spelling of English, an advantage which Doke's 'New Orthography' did not have (Fortune 1972:18). It is necessary to note however that although Shona has been widely accepted, since black majority rule has been achieved in Zimbabwe the press there has carried reports of attacks on the language by government officials.

6. There is no indication in the literature that any of the dialects are strongly regionalistic, a fact which would result in resistance to the imposition of a language which closely follows one of the other regional dialects.

7. The standard language is promoted as a literary language. There is no attempt to force people to change the spoken forms of their regions. People can therefore relate to it, without feeling that their own linguistic competence is threatened.

8. Doke adopted a very conservative view of what a composite language should be. Grammatically, the language is basically Karanga, although very little explicit standardisation of grammatical forms has taken place (Fortune 1972:51). The alphabet fairly well represents the sounds of all the dialects, and the lexicon is basically composed of a large body of words which are common to the main dialects.

3. LULUYIA, THE UNION LANGUAGE OF WESTERN KENYA

3.1 The problem

When missionaries first arrived in Western Kenya, they were faced with the same situation that the missionaries faced when they first arrived in Rhodesia, that is, large numbers of dialects, chaining together, so that adjacent dialects tended to be very close, with a high degree of mutual intelligibility, but the further apart the dialects were from each other, the lower was the level of mutual intelligibility.

The first missionaries arrived in the Western Kenya area in 1902. They represented the Friends' African Mission (FAM) and settled in the southern part of the Luyia area at Kaimosi, where the Butiriki dialect is spoken. By 1912, the

Church Missionary Society (CMS) had missionaries working in the central dialects. The Roman Catholic missionaries also started their work in the central dialect area from a place called Mumias. The Church of God began work in 1905 in Bunyore, one of the south-central dialects. Over the years, the missions expanded from their original mission sites until in some dialect areas, several missions were working side by side.

The linguistic problems which developed resulted from the mission's language policies. As new missionaries arrived, they were required to spend a year or more in language study at the main mission site, where their work had first begun, in language study. The language they learned was the local dialect of the mission site, the language into which the missionaries had translated their religious and educational materials. When the missionaries were assigned to some other area after their language study, they carried with them the dialect of the home mission site. Only the Roman Catholics made it a practice to work in the local dialect of the mission station wherever it happened to be located. There had been no consultation between missions on the development of orthographies, so that where two missions happened to be working in the same dialect area, their printed materials could be representative of different dialect areas and even if they did represent the local dialect, their orthographies were different, and their practices of word division were also different.

The linguistic situation in Western Kenya and the events which led to attempts at standardisation are fully discussed by P.A.N. Itebete (1974). He includes a letter written by the Rev. W. Chadwick in 1914, which pleads for standardisation, and suggests that Wanga, the central dialect, form the basis for a standard language which would be used by all the missions. Although the reasons put forward by Chadwick were very cogent, each mission continued to follow its own policies for another twenty-five years.

The intervening period saw various individuals pressing for a standard language. One of these was Archdeacon Owen of the Anglican Church who was a "tireless opponent of linguistic diversity and campaigned ceaselessly for some form of unification" (Itebete 1974:98). He attempted to introduce Swahili as a unifying language, but the attempt was unsuccessful because missionaries and local people preferred to use the local languages.

There was some pressure from those in charge of African education also towards standardisation. The Government was in favour of standardisation. In 1934, they began offering Grants-in-Aid for the preparation and publication of approved reading materials for use in the schools. These were to be in vernacular languages. The rules, however, excluded the Luyia dialects, because they specified that grants would only be given where the language was used by large groups of pupils, and where the orthography had been standardised and approved by the Government.

Although some Africans felt that these arguing for unionisation were interfering with their languages, and urged great caution, others were vocal in urging that a standard be developed. Itebete (1974:100) quotes one Muluyia who wrote as follows:

...to Missionaries, Educationists and to Administrators; to all those men and women to whose charge the people of North Kavirondo have been committed and who are interested in the well-being and progress of the *Abaluhya*, in the name of my fellow countrymen, I beg to present to you our greatest and most urgent problem, namely the linguistic situation of North Kavirondo.

To a casual observer, North Kavirondo has an infinity of languages, and no doubt from location to location dialectal divergences in pronunciation, speech melody, and vocabulary are apparent. However, the so-called languages have such a strong affinity that the whole district falls into one broad linguistic category. This fact hardly deserves further elaboration, suffice it to say that, go where a *Muluhya* may in North Kavirondo, he is understood, and is at home, and speaks to his fellow *Abaluhya* in no other medium than his own peculiar dialect.

Hitherto, *Lunyore*, *Lurogoli* and *Luwanga*, have been REDUCED to writing and are employed as media of instruction in our schools. Take *Lunyore* for instance. As a rule it is the language of the *Banyore* or *Bunyore*, but its use now goes far beyond its natural locality. Besides *Bunyore*, it is used in *Kisa*, *Kakamega*, *Butsotso* and wherever a Church of God Mission Station has been established in North Kavirondo. *Luwanga* of *Buwanga* is used in *Buk'ayo*, *Buwanga*, *Bumarachi*, *Samia*, *Kitosh*, *Kisa*, *Marama* and *Bunyole* in the African Anglican Church. Similarly *Luragoli* is used in *Maragoli*, *Kakamega*, *Kabras*, *Kitosh* and throughout the Friend's Africa Mission. What a confusion worse confounded!

During the 1930s, there gradually developed a sense of political unity in the area. It was during this period that the term *Baluyia* was first used to apply to the people of the region. The establishing of a North Kavirondo Central Association in this period acted as a unifying force for the *Baluyia* and ultimately resulted in full acceptance of the proposals for linguistic unification when they were proposed in the early 1940s (Itebete 1974:101).

3.2 The solution

The various factors outlined above culminated in 1941 with the first meeting of the Orthography Committee. It was apparently constituted of a number of representatives of the four major missions, CMS, FAM, Church of God, and Roman Catholic, each of which, as noted above, had heavy emotional investment in the orthographies they had been using for decades. There was immediate disagreement over who was to co-ordinate the committee and what its task was, with the result that they sent their resignation to the District Education Board, which itself was chosen by the Local Native Council, the funding source for the committee.

A second committee convened in 1942 without a representative of the FAM. A Miss Appleby of the CMS was requested by the committee to formulate a standardised *Luluyia* alphabet for consideration by the committee. Several guiding principles were to be followed: (a) the orthography should be relatable to the surrounding main Bantu languages such as Ganda and Swahili; (b) diacritics were to be avoided as much as possible; (c) the alphabet was to be as simple as possible; (d) if the English alphabet proved inadequate, extra symbols were to be suggested; and (e) she should consider an article by a Mr. W. Akatsa on general principles of *Luluyia* orthography.

Miss Appleby's general recommendations, when they appeared, included the following:

1. Spelling was to be based on the pronunciation of the majority of the *Luyia* people.

2. Grammar was to be that of the central dialects (Lumarama, Lushisa, Luwanga, and Lutsotso).

3. Any vocabulary item used in the Luyia area was eligible for inclusion in the standard language, but care should be taken that only the most widely known and used words be included.

Considerable criticism and some hostility greeted the attempt to unionise the dialects. The FAM actively disassociated themselves from the proposal, and representatives of the Bukusu dialect eventually also withdrew from the committee. These two groups represented the most divergent dialects of the area.

Interest in the process of standardisation gradually decreased. Funding from the Local Native Council diminished and finally stopped. Donations in 1957 totalled 750/-. By 1964, the amount had fallen to 60/-.

The purpose of the standardisation program was to provide a literary vehicle, a common written language. Yet there has been little broad acceptance of the proposals. The three Protestant and one Catholic orthographies have been reduced by one, to three orthographies.

3.3 Reasons for the failure of Luluyia

(a) The most apparent reason for Luluyia's failure to capture the imagination of the Luluyia people who speak the Luluyia dialects can be traced to lack of unity among the groups, primarily missionary organisations who were likely to be affected by the decisions.

But underlying the dissatisfaction of the dissenting groups was the irrefutable fact of the divergence of the dialects in which they worked. The dialects which are most closely related have apparently accepted the standardised orthography.

(b) Some missionaries objected to the concept of a union language "on doctrinal grounds". They felt that the people should be able to read the Bible in their own mother tongue.

(c) There seems to be little African involvement in a matter which ultimately affects the African.

(d) There is no Government backing.

The Department of Education is not really interested in endorsing or supporting it, and neither are the school teachers interested in teaching it. English is seen as the language of opportunity for the students, and so the vernaculars are de-emphasised.

4. SAMNORSK, THE PROPOSED UNION LANGUAGE OF NORWAY

4.1 The problem

The complexity of the language situation in Norway is such that only a very superficial overview of it can be provided in this paper. Einar Haugen (1966) has written an entire volume on the subject, and the long saga of conflict and language adaptation is still continuing.

Norway's language problems started as a result of over four centuries of Danish rule over the country beginning in 1397, which finally ended in 1814. During this period, Danish was the language of education and government, and

children grew up learning how to read and write Danish, although their own speech forms were different. They spoke one of a number of Norwegian dialects. By 1814, there were at least five different speech norms in the country (Haugen 1968:675). These were: (a) Danish Colloquial, spoken mainly by immigrant Danish officials, merchants and actors; (b) Literary Standard, a Norwegian reading pronunciation of Danish, used by native Norwegian government officials, ministers and teachers when instructing school children in reading; (c) Colloquial Standard, a compromise between the reading pronunciation and local Norwegian speech habits, a form of speech which was fairly uniform among the official class in daily speech; (d) Urban Substandard, spoken by artisans and working class people, with much local variation and related to the rural dialects surrounding the urban centres; and (e) Local Dialects, spoken by the farming class, and differing from parish to parish.

Two different responses to this complex linguistic situation developed, both coming from linguist-school teachers. The first was from Knud Knudsen (1812-1895) who promoted a written form of the Colloquial Standard. His goal was gradually to shift the orthography from what was felt to be Danish and foreign to a peculiarly Norwegian system. He proposed numerous native substitutes for foreign words and published a grammar in 1856 of his "Danish-Norwegian" language.

The other response was from Ivar Aasen (1813-1896), who pioneered the study of the rural dialects of Norway. From his research, he distilled what he perceived to be their "over-all pattern" and wrote a grammar in 1864 and a dictionary in 1873, in which he furnished the means for writing his new language which he called Landsmal (LM) or "national language" (Haugen 1968:676).

In 1885, a significant event in the history of the development of the language problem took place. In that year, the Government first took an official position with reference to the linguistic situation. The resolution said, "The Government is requested to take the necessary steps toward placing the Norwegian folk language on an equal footing, as a school and official language, with the usual language of books and writing." (Haugen 1966:38). From this time on, LM could claim official standing as a national language. It was introduced as a subject in the teachers' colleges, it began to be used in the churches, and school districts were given the choice of using LM as the language to be used in written work. By 1909, it had been accepted by 20 per cent of the school districts.

By 1900, Knudsen's language had become known as Riksmal (RM) or 'state language'.

The role of the Government in the planning of the nation's languages, begun in 1885, became more and more significant in the twentieth century. The Government has been responsible for instituting reforms in both languages beginning with spelling reforms in 1907, 1917, and 1938, and the establishing of a Language Commission in 1951, which produced the 1958 Textbook Norm.

The recognition that LM was a very regionalistic language, based mainly on the rural dialects of Western Norway and the Midlands, began to militate against its acceptance. Aasen had vigorously rejected incorporation of terms from the rural dialects of Eastern Norway believing that they were too heavily influenced by Swedish. His was a puristic language and in many respects different from the rural dialects upon which it was supposedly based. Aasen had attempted to resurrect words which were etymologically prior to the current language, words that were found in the writings of the ancient Norwegians prior to the Danish takeover in the twelfth century. He introduced silent letters into the spelling of some words, and altered the morphology to achieve a system which he felt was

universal for the rural dialects, but which was not spoken anywhere. Aasen succeeded in producing a union language, one which received Government approval, developed a literature and was allowed to be taught in the schools.

It became apparent, however, that spelling reform was needed to bring LM into line with RM, which to some extent already reflected the pronunciation of the people. The reforms of 1907 and 1917 substantially achieved this, so that words which were pronounced the same in both languages would both be written in the same way.

In 1929, the two languages were renamed. Riksmal became known as Bokmal (BM), or 'book language', and Landsmal was called Nynorsk (NN) or 'New Norwegian'.

Fully supporting two official languages soon became recognised as the burden it was. A small nation could ill afford the luxury of printing parallel versions of all its educational materials and official documents. The two languages were also the cause of much social and political conflict. Nynorsk, based as it was on rural word forms and pronunciations was considered by urban sophisticates as being artificial, vulgar, primitive, and fit only for peasants. Bokmal, on the other hand, was considered by Nynorsk supporters to be corrupt, full of foreign words and basically Danish, and its speakers were considered to be snobbish and elitist (Haugen 1966:285).

A move to unite the two languages grew out of the recognition that both tongues were firmly established in the literature and that neither could be successfully elevated to the status of a national language. The stage was set for the creation of a union language to supersede both BM and NN.

4.2 The solution

Samnorsk (SM) or 'United Norwegian' was the name given by a folklore scholar named Moltke Moe in 1909 for what he believed the country needed, a single, united language, drawing upon the best of both idioms. The idea of a union language was in fact the motivation for the spelling reforms of 1917 and 1934. These were the first steps to the uniting of the two languages.

In 1934, the Parliament directed the commission for spelling reform to work for "a rapprochement of the two languages in orthography, word forms, and inflections, based on Norwegian folk speech". In 1951, once again, the Parliament instructed the newly created Language Commission to "promote the rapprochement of the two written languages on the basis of Norwegian folk speech, along whatever lines may be feasible at any given time" (Haugen 1968:679-680).

After six years of work and much internal and external debate, the LC finally produced its textbook norm. Prior to its appearance, the NM chairman of the LC is reported to have said "I am afraid that many will think the mountain has brought forth a mouse" (Haugen 1966:241). The result was not what many people had hoped for. The two norms still existed. They had only been slightly modified. No general principles for change were offered, only adjustments involving single words in the two languages. Haugen says that "the many minor adjustments in the norm tended in the direction of traditional norms, so that the main tenor of the norm was not so much to promote fusion as to establish the status quo" (1966:247).

Although the country is edging very slowly towards the acceptance of a union language, tremendous barriers of public opinion still exist, both from the BM as well as the NN sides. However, NN seems gradually to be losing ground in the

struggle. Since its peak in 1943, when 34 per cent of school children were being taught NN, the figure declined, until in 1963 only 21.1 per cent were being taught the language (Haugen 1966:309). BM is yielding little of the efforts to incorporate folk forms into it, and more and more people pass over from the use of the dialect to Colloquial Standard as they move from rural areas to the cities in search of education and better jobs.

Samnorsk is not yet a reality, although the country moves implacably towards that goal.

4.3 Prospects for the success or failure of Samnorsk

When one compares selections written in BM and NN, such as appear in Haugen 1968:686, one is struck by the great similarity between the two language forms. They are not distinct languages, they are different stylistic norms, with identical phonemic systems, although they differ in pronunciation; they also have virtually identical syntax and most of their vocabulary in common. They differ mostly in the complexity of their morphology, NN being more morphologically complex than BM, and in their social status, NN carrying with it a savour of the rural or rustic, with a large number of coined terms and forms of limited usage.

With differences that appear this minimal, and with the continued active support of the majority of the country's political parties, and the active role of the Ministry of Education and Church in diminishing the conflict, the ultimate development of a single, unified language seems only a matter of time.

And yet the solid resistance of BM speakers to continued intrusion of folk forms, and the great lack of success in introducing morphological changes, even of the simplest kind, makes one wonder whether the goal will ever be achieved.

Perhaps the continual decline of the use of NN will eventually make moot the question of whether Samnorsk will succeed as the national language of Norway.

5. FILIPINO, THE PROPOSED UNION LANGUAGE OF THE PHILIPPINES

5.1 The problem

The language situation in the Philippines is exceedingly complex. From Batanes in the north to Jolo in the south, one can scarcely proceed fifty miles without moving from one dialect to another, and often from one language to another. In some areas, such as the mountain provinces, every barrio is distinguished by its own dialect. The number of languages in the Philippines has been variously estimated from 75 to 150, with other estimates going even higher. Eight of these languages have more than one million speakers each and are commonly called the major languages. They are Cebuano, Tagalog, Ilokano, Waray, Hiligaynon, Pangasinan, Kapampangan, and Bikol. The rest of the languages constitute what are known as the minor languages.

Some of the major languages are fairly similar to one another. Tagalog, Cebuano, Waray, Hiligaynon, and Bikol have a fair amount in common. They are part of the Central Philippine subgroup. The differences between them are somewhat on the order of the differences between the Romance languages, such as French, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian. The other major languages however, are much more distinct. Ilokano and Pangasinan have some similarities, both belonging to the Cordilleran group of Philippine languages, but Kapampangan has not been genetically subgrouped with either the Central Philippine subgroup or the Cordilleran subgroup.

Until fairly recently it was generally believed by linguists that Philippine languages constituted a single subgroup within the Austronesian language family, but Reid (1982) proposes that the central languages of the Philippines subgroup with languages to the south of the Philippines and form part of a redefined Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, whereas the northern languages and possibly also most of the languages of the south Philippines constitute a separate branch of the Austronesian family (his Outer Philippines). The differences between the northern languages and the rest of the Philippines are indeed considerable.

Even languages which are recognised as being genetically close to each other still have considerable morphological and syntactic differences, apart from the differences in lexicon, and sometimes also in phonology. Reid (1978) noted that there are no two languages in the Philippines which can be shown to have the same set of construction markers, that is case-marking particles, ligature, etc.

All the major languages also show considerable dialect differentiation. Bikol, for example, has eight clearly distinct dialects.

With all this linguistic diversity, it is not surprising that the Philippines has for many years sought to develop a single national language. Yabes (1977) traces the development of the national language concept in the Philippines. As in so many other countries, the dual choice of whether to elevate one of the languages to the status of national language or whether to follow the far more politically appealing route of having a multi-language-based national tongue, has occupied the discussions of linguists, teachers, writers, and politicians.

The first major confrontation between those who preferred a composite language and those who preferred a national language based on Tagalog took place at the first Constitutional Convention, in 1934. A first draft of the Constitution stated, "A national language being necessary to strengthen the solidarity of the Nation, the National Assembly shall take steps looking to the development of a language common to all the people on the basis of the existing native languages".

Before the draft could be discussed however, the section quoted was eliminated and an amendment to adopt Tagalog as the national language was offered. The amendment was decisively rejected. A compromise proposal was offered and approved which once again allowed for the adoption of a national language based on existing native languages. However, when the Style Committee revised the document, the language provision was changed to read "based on one of the existing native languages". The President of the Senate, Manuel L. Quezon, who supposedly engineered the switch, subsequently became President of the nation and, in 1937, he proclaimed Tagalog as that one language to form the base of the national language.

The Institute of National Language (*Surian ng Wikang Pambansa*) was created to develop Tagalog into a national language. They adopted a puristic approach resurrecting old and often obsolete terms, and coining new words to take the place of foreign borrowings. The result was a language which became less like spoken Tagalog and further strengthened the resistance of non-Tagalogs against it. The language was renamed *Pilipino* in 1959. Yabes (1977:358) states:

Tagalog, they must have thought to themselves, was too regional a name to be acceptable to non-Tagalogs; 'Pilipino' would be more national, at least in sound, so 'Pilipino' should henceforth be the name of the national language. But the non-Tagalogs could not be fooled; objections could not be removed by just changing names. As a matter of fact, this

ill-concealed attempt at deception made matters worse for the Tagalog language movement, because it lay the leaders open to charges of skulduggery and intellectual dishonesty.

The situation, however, remained unchanged until 1972, when the new Constitutional Convention again adopted a measure calling for a common national language, mentioned above in the Introduction.

5.2 The solution

Ten years have passed since Filipino was proclaimed to be the new national language. Until now, there have been no decisions made by the National Assembly as to how the provision in the Constitution is to be implemented. In effect, things remain very much the way they were before 1972. Some changes have taken place, however, which suggest the direction in which the country is moving.

In 1974, despite the decision that Filipino was to be the national language (not Tagalog-based Pilipino), the Ministry of Education promulgated a bilingual education policy in English and Pilipino for primary through tertiary levels of schooling. Massive sums of money were spent on translation of textbooks into Pilipino and in the developing of a national curriculum for those subjects which were to be taught in Pilipino.

The Institute of National Language continued its operation. It has however, begun a study of the "Manila Lingua Franca", or colloquial Manila Tagalog, which some have proposed should form the basis of Filipino (Bautista 1977:21).

One other development has been the official name change of the Department of Pilipino Language and Literature at the University of the Philippines to "Department of Filipino Language and Literature". The change is said to have been made at the direction of the Minister of Education and Culture, who had been requested by the University to make a decision on the matter. The subject matter in the Department remains unchanged.

The vitality of Pilipino as an official language seems assured. Gonzales and Postrada (1976) summarise a number of recent studies which involve the learning and use of this language. They state:

It [Pilipino] is currently in a rapid process of disseminating itself, and all the prognoses and projections are that it will be disseminated even more rapidly the next few years because of its use as a medium of instruction in the school system and its extensive use in the mass media which in turn are more extensively used as the level of education and the socio-economic level of a people increase...

We do not think it will take more than several decades to spread Pilipino. Given our modest extrapolations, we predict that by the year 2000, 82% of Filipinos will speak Pilipino (1976:82-83).

In another article, Gonzales (1977) projected that by the year 2000, "every part of the Philippines for practical purposes will be Pilipino-speaking except for parts of Northern Mindanao" (1977:284).

Despite the apparent strength of Pilipino and the confidence of its promoters, there is still a vocal minority who are striving to promote the Filipino of the 1972 Constitution. Prominent among the pro-Filipinists is Ernesto Constantino.

In the book that he edited with Sikat and Cruz, *Pilipino o Filipino* (1975) as reported in Bautista's (1976) review, he explains why he pressed for the adoption of Filipino during the 1972 Constitutional Convention. He believed that anti-Filipino forces were so strong, that unless a compromise Filipino was proposed, English might have been declared the national language.

Constantino states three principles which should be followed in the development of Filipino. (1) The national language should be based not on one language alone but on several. This does not preclude the possibility that one of these languages will serve as the nucleus of the national language. (2) In choosing the elements (affixes, constructions, sounds, words, etc.), those that are used by the great majority of languages should be preferred. (3) The lexicon should allow sets of alternant forms as synonyms, with a limit of four for each meaning.

By following these principles, Constantino believes he can arrive at a universal alphabet, a universal grammar, and a universal dictionary or thesaurus.

Although Constantino claims that people have misunderstood the meaning of his "universal approach" (Bautista 1976:88), the application of the principles he proposes can only result in a union language. He apparently rejects the term "amalgam language" implying perhaps an unsystematic combination of languages, but presses for the inclusion of elements from languages all over the country. He even cites the development of Shona and Samnorsk to show the feasibility of such an endeavour.

Assuming then that Constantino is attempting the development of a grammatical system which has elements from more than one language, an alphabet which represents the sound systems of more than one language, and a lexicon which draws on a number of languages, what are the prospects that such a language could be successful as a national language in the Philippines?

5.3 Prospects for the success or failure of Filipino as a union language

One of the points which has become very clear in the discussion of the union languages of other countries earlier in this paper, is that the closer the languages (or dialects) are that form the union language, the greater the chance of success of the language. Haugen (1966:18) says, "... resistance is likely to be stronger the greater the language distance within the group". The only clearly successful union languages (Shona, and the development of Nynorsk from the rural dialects of Western Norway) are clearly examples of the union of dialects which are mutually intelligible with almost identical grammatical systems and phonologies. Union has usually meant the harmonising of differing orthographies, and the promotion of lists of lexical items from the different dialects.

From this standpoint, a union Filipino has little chance of acceptance. The difference among the languages of the Philippines is so great that the possibility of forming an acceptable composite is remote.

Constantino claims that all Philippine languages have a common grammatical base. He has published an article (Constantino 1965) in which he characterises this base structure for 26 Philippine languages. This base structure, however, is an abstract formulation in terms of generative-transformational grammar. The actual surface structure of these languages varies considerably from one to the other and it is the surface structures of the languages that people react to. The deep structure of the following sentences in Ilokano and Tagalog may be the same, but the surface structures are considerably different.

Ilokano: Iगतanganto ni Maria ni Juan ti relo.
 Tagalog: Ibibili ni Maria ng relo si Juan.
 English: Mary will buy a watch for Juan.

There are four grammatical differences in these structures. (a) In Ilokano the verb is marked for benefactive focus by the affix combination *i—an*. In Tagalog, it is simply *i-*; (b) the presence in Tagalog of CV-reduplication (*bibili*) here marks future tense, in Ilokano, the verb is interpretable simply as non-past, and requires the clitic *-to* to make it explicitly future; (c) In Ilokano the Subject (*ni Juan*) obligatorily follows the Agent (*ni Maria*). In Tagalog, the Subject (*si Juan*) may occur in any position relative to the other noun phrases, but commonly occurs at the end of the sentence; (4) In Ilokano, Genitive and Nominative phrases are identically marked (*ni* for persons), in Tagalog they are marked differently (*ni* Genitive, *si* Nominative for persons).

Other structures are much more radically different on the surface, such as:

Ilokano: Awan kuartak.
 Tagalog: Wala akong pera.
 English: I have no money.

So it would seem that even if it were possible to formulate a universal grammar for Philippine languages, the possibility of formulating a series of transformational rules that would produce an acceptable surface structure is remote.

Haugen (1966:185) reports on the attempt to change the word order for numerals in Nynorsk and Bokmal from digit plus decade (e.g. four and twenty) to decade plus digit (e.g. twenty-four), a change which was felt by all concerned to be very useful. But in the ten years since the change was instituted, Haugen reported that hardly anybody used it. He says (1966:187) "It is an interesting illustration of the resistance which language makes to even the most obviously logical of changes". The possibility of even modifying a Tagalog word order to bring it into line with the majority of other Philippine languages, would probably also meet severe resistance and certain rejection.

Another factor which has militated against the acceptance of union languages elsewhere had been strong regionalism associated with a particular dialect. This is one of the factors that led to the disassociation of the FAM from the Luluya experiment. It is also partly responsible for the difficulties associated with the combining of NN and BM in Norway. NN is very clearly identified with the rural areas of Western Norway, even though in recent years, it has incorporated a number of forms from the east. One of the most prominent characteristics of the Philippine linguistic situation is the strong regionalism which is prevalent. It is not uncommon to hear Ilokanos referring to themselves jokingly as belonging to the Ilokano nation. And Cebuanos, constituting as they do the largest language in terms of number of mother tongue speakers, are also strongly regionalistic. Given these facts, it also seems highly improbable that a Union Filipino could succeed.

Union languages have been most successful where Government, religious organisations and other segments of society were all strongly in favour of the language and worked actively for its promotion and success. In the Philippines, however, despite the opposition to Pilipino registered in 1972, there has been no real surge of public opinion in favour of the Filipino alternative. Although the Government is committed by the Constitution to work for its development, there have been no Government actions since 1972 to bring this about. On the contrary,

it appears that Government is content to continue the promotion of Pilipino by its Bilingual Education Policy of 1974 and its continued funding of the Institute of National Language (committed still to the development of Pilipino).

If Filipino as a true union language, based on existing native languages has such a remote chance of success, what are the options available to language planners in the Philippines which would result in a more acceptable national language than is present-day Pilipino?

It seems clear that, whatever lexical form the language may have, its grammatical structure must be that of one of the existing languages. The logical choice, given the wide distribution of Tagalog, in the guise of Pilipino, is Tagalog. There are enough surface similarities between Tagalog and the other Central Philippine languages that make up the majority of the Philippine population, that Tagalog structure can be fairly easily learned, given the appropriate motivation.

The question of orthography will continue to be a matter of much discussion. The basic problem to be faced here is the extent to which foreign (i.e. mainly English and Spanish) terms, and non-Tagalog terms are to be incorporated, and if they are to be incorporated, to what extent they are to be adapted to Tagalog phonology. The INL has begun a fairly liberal policy of including foreign terms in Pilipino, and of allowing a fair degree of latitude in terms of spelling. Pilipino orthography has been expanded to allow for such non-Tagalog sounds as *f* to be included, on the basis that such sounds do occur in other Philippine languages; *f*, for example, occurs in Ibanag as well as a few other languages. The principle however, really seems to be one of including consonants that are familiar to Filipinos through their use of English and Spanish, rather than because of their existence in the native languages. There is no proposal to include the velar fricative [x], for example, which occurs in more Philippine languages than [f] does, simply because this sound does not occur in English or Spanish. Neither is there any provision for the pepet vowel [ə], which is historically the source for many words having Tagalog *i*, even though the majority of Philippine languages, including some of the major ones (Ilokano and Pangasinan) have this phoneme as part of their sound systems. If words having these sounds are to be incorporated into Pilipino, there should be clearly stated principles on if and how they are to conform to the phonemic system of the base language, Tagalog.

This brings us to the question of lexicon. It is in this area where Pilipino has the greatest chance of becoming Filipino. And it is in this area that language planners should focus their major efforts.

Constantino has suggested the development of a universal dictionary which would allow multiple synonyms. This is one possible direction, although Haugen (1966:288-289) states that

language abhors duplication ... From this point of view, it is clear that the numerous alternative forms admitted to the language by Norwegian planning commissions are inefficient carriers of communication ... Alternatives of this kind force decisions which call attention to the forms themselves rather than their content. Any freedom that is won by such choice is nullified by the fact that it is not complete: no writer can follow his dialect in all details.

Nevertheless, the educated Filipino is highly adept at switching lexical items, although this is usually the substitution of English lexical items for Tagalog, when speaking in Tagalog. It is rare to hear an Ilokano who, when speaking Tagalog, substitutes Ilokano equivalents for Tagalog words.

Such a universal dictionary would be of interest and maybe of great value, but whether this should be the lexicon of the new Filipino is debatable, unless the orthography can be expanded to allow for sounds (such as *pepet*) and patterns (such as geminated consonants which are not present in Tagalog but which do occur widely outside the Central Philippine area).

One area of lexical development which should be vigorously pursued is the identification of cultural vocabulary which characterises the various ethnic groups. There is much that is common culturally among the various linguistic groups in the Philippines. But it is the cultural differences that are often the basis for regionalistic pride, and these differences are expressed in often unique lexical items. The *ati-atihan* fiesta in Aklan, and the *kanyaw* ceremonies of Mountain Province are two examples of regional cultural activities the names of which are well known in Manila and which are already part of the Tagalog language, although their definitions relate to the regions from which the terms come.

The inclusion of such distinctively regional vocabulary, rather than allowing Ilokano *atep* and Cebuano *atop* to exist alongside Tagalog *atip* for *roof* would strengthen the acceptance of the language. The development of such regionally unique lexicons would probably foster a greater sense of appreciation for the cultural diversity that is found in the Philippines and would have a positive effect on the acceptance of the language in which these terms were given prominence by its promoters.

Constantino has apparently already proposed the translation of regional literatures into Filipino as a way of developing a national literature (Bautista 1976:88; Constantino 1977:165). This would be one way of identifying some of the lexicon to which I have just referred. Care would need to be taken, however, that such terms would be allowed to stand in Filipino, either footnoted, or with a following paraphrase to allow them to be understood, rather than simply translating the term by some convenient Tagalog equivalent.

Other possibilities include the sponsoring of literary awards for professional local writers on cultural themes, and the establishing of scholarships for high school and college students of Filipino who have shown their aptitude in the new language.

The education of the nation as to the nature of the new language is essential. There must be a continuing attempt to project Filipino as a developing language and a continual effort to involve non-Tagalog groups in its development.

But what is needed most of all, is the development of a suitable climate for the new language to develop. Although there has been much resistance to Filipino, millions of people have spent years attempting to master the language, school teachers teach in it, and a large body of literature has developed in it. Any attempt to look upon composite Filipino as a replacement for Filipino can only be doomed to failure. On the other hand, the presentation of Filipino as a language, admittedly based on Tagalog, but which freely admits terminology from the other languages which characterises the unique features of those cultures can be expected to gain a wide base of support.

Filipino should be identified with a fresh attitude towards co-operation with speakers of regional languages and of understanding not only their linguistic differences but also their cultural differences. Only thus will the barriers which presently stand in the way of full acceptance of a Tagalog-based national language be overcome, and the country can be proud of a language whose form, although Tagalog, can have a truly national content.

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PATTERNS OF COHESION IN JAKARTA MALAY: TOWARDS A MORE OBJECTIVE METHOD OF DESCRIBING AREAL VARIATION

C.D. Grijns

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 General background

One of the acknowledged merits of dialectology is that it demonstrated very early and very generally the complexity of the areal distribution of linguistic features in natural languages. Yet there is the paradox that dialectology so far has been unable to find adequate methods for describing the underlying order which constitutes, delimits and classifies the different varieties in a linguistic area. This fact seems to be the main reason why there is still so much uncertainty about the position of areal linguistics with regard to other fields of linguistic study, and especially about its positive contribution to the theory of language.

From this point of view one of the first tasks of areal linguistics would be the developing of better methods to describe the synchronic patterning of diatopical variation. It is obvious that especially in areas where few historical data are available, as is often the case in Austronesian studies, a reliable description of existing patterns of distribution could be an important aid to historical and comparative work. Moreover, if we could succeed in developing more valid methods for describing co-occurrence patterns in empirical linguistic data, these could also be applied to syntopical variation and thus help us to better understand the problem of linguistic 'codes' in sociolinguistics. Here again, in the Austronesian area, the tasks of linguistic description, and, where necessary, language engineering are urgent and fascinating.

Especially during the last decade rapid progress has been made in the field of data theory. At present several new techniques are available for the analysis of underlying structures in sets of empirical data. By structure we mean the pattern of relationships between the elements in a set. The type of techniques I have in view aim at a faithful description of the structure through presenting the data in a mathematical model. Via the model the relationships between the linguistic elements are measured; the measuring does not involve other attributes of the elements. For students of linguistic variation it is of particular interest to know that in the mathematical approach the boundaries between patterns

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are not seen as clear-cut and absolute, but as gradual and often fuzzy. Any final decision regarding classification or grouping should be based upon direct study of the empirical data.

For some years I have been exploring the possibility of using one such newly developed technique for the analysis of the complex dialect variation in the Jakarta Malay area. I would like to report here on some methodological aspects of this ongoing research. Before giving an outline of the method, the data and the model, it seems appropriate to consider how the traditional methods have been evaluated, and why they cannot be judged to be adequate; in addition we shall briefly discuss the theory and method developed by C.-J.N. Bailey.

1.2 The traditional methods

It is almost fifty years ago since Bloomfield summarised both the achievements and the potentialities of traditional dialect geography. Positively, he appreciated the contribution made to "our understanding of the extra-linguistic factors that affect the prevalence of linguistic forms" as well as to the knowledge of "a great many details concerning the history of individual forms". On account of sociolinguistic and semantic factors, however, Bloomfield saw no hope of a "scientifically usable analysis, such as would enable us to predict the course of every isogloss". On the other hand he noted that although "important social boundaries will in time attract isogloss-lines... it is evident that the peculiarities of the several linguistic forms themselves play a part, since each is likely to show an isogloss of its own". (Bloomfield 1933:345).

Forty years after the publication of Bloomfield's *Language*, W. Winter, in his state of the art report in *Current trends in linguistics*, writes:

... the results hitherto achieved in the field of areal linguistics apparently do not form a coherent fabric or even a somewhat consistent pattern, but merely a patchwork quilt of colorful, but largely unrelated data and anecdotes. [One must conclude] ... that in this field nearly everything can be shown to be possible, but that not much progress has been made toward determining what is probable and to what degree, so that the time does not seem to be at hand yet for an empirically based coherent theory of areal linguistics (provided there can be such a theory for a complex field not amenable to investigation under simplified and consistent test conditions, and not just an ordered set of observations concerning events that can be shown to have taken place.) (Winter 1973:135).

Another scholar in the field of variational linguistics, C.-J. Bailey, speaks in a similar vein with regard to the results of the first hundred years of 'glottogeography':

... I do not believe that the present methods are ever going to bring us any nearer to the goal of defining or delimiting dialects, or that these methods are ever going to make more contributions to our understanding of the theory of language, than they already have. (Bailey 1980:234).

These judgements all point to a methodological impasse with regard to the description of dialect patterning. The traditional methods have in common that

the spatial (geographical) patterning of the points of observation (the informants) is taken into account from the very beginning. The map is the main tool of the dialect geographer (cf. Goossens 1969:13). Together with the map comes a lot of other extra-linguistic information, which is highly relevant for the explanation of linguistic patterns. But these patterns themselves cannot be described on the basis of their geographical position, but only on the basis of their distribution over the points of observation, which is not the same. The two approaches should be clearly distinguished. I agree with Bailey, who advocates that the first task of dialectology is to look for language-internal patterning, the 'what-goes-with-what' approach. Bailey contrasts this line to the line taken by Trudgill (in Trudgill 1973), who concentrates on the geographical end (cf. Bailey 1980:248). (Here one may observe a parallel with the distinction between a sociolinguistics which relates linguistic patterns to social patterns, and a sociology of language which concentrates on the role of language in society.) If dialectology makes the impression of a "patchwork quilt of largely unrelated data" it is mainly because the above-mentioned distinction has not been consistently implemented. In itself, however, this cannot be the main reason for the impasse, as some of the best dialectologists have been always aware of the distinction, and particularly so the structuralists.

To begin with structural dialectology: why did Weinreich's diasystem method, the "treating of different systems together because of their partial similarity" fail to produce integrated descriptions of dialect areas? (see Weinreich 1968/1954). I see three reasons: (i) a full description would require a *complete* analysis of the systems which are treated together. In practice, one always has to work with (subjectively selected) subsystems. Especially in the case of semantic data the selection can only be extremely arbitrary. (For very interesting examples of semantic applications see Goossens 1969:69ff.) In brief, one has to know the position of every contrasting element under study within its total system; (ii) The similarity between the structure of different systems, even if the first condition could have been fulfilled, was not yet quantifiable; (iii) The application of structural isoglosses meets the same problems as any other isoglossic method, as Ivić very explicitly remarks ("... leaving the dialectologist in a helpless struggle with the perplexities of choice." Ivić 1962:34). It is inherent in the structural approach that heterogeneity within systems is seen as deviation from structuredness. Thus the heterogeneity of a transition area is for Kurath a case of "temporary disorganization" (H. Kurath, quoted with approval in Moulton 1968:458). This may be a good characterisation under certain circumstances. It does not offer much to go upon if one undertakes the synchronic description of a complex area.

The reason why the use of isoglosses does not lead to the description of distributional structure is that isoglosses contrast one particular feature, or a group of features, to all the other features of groups together. Since any feature may have a different relationship with any other individual feature, this means an enormous loss of information. In addition, the choice of isoglosses is almost invariably arbitrary and based on an extralinguistic criterion, since only those isoglosses are considered which join a bundle, and as long as they do so, the criterion is spatial. All the isoglossic methods have these weaknesses in common, also those which use more refined statistical techniques. If statistics are applied here, i.e. if generalisations are made on the basis of a sample, the predictions are based on geography, not on language. Ivić's suggestion to typify dialect areas according to the density, the direction, the form, etc., of the isoglosses which intersect them, has not been followed up, and highly interesting as it is, would not have yielded a description of the relationships between the

linguistic features (see Ivić 1962). Guiter has succeeded in overcoming the problem of arbitrariness in the selection of isoglosses, by counting *all* the isoglosses which intersect the linking-lines between any pair of adjacent villages which are angular points of the same triangle, the total set of villages being connected in one network of triangles. This produces a valid hierarchy of boundaries and sub-boundaries in the area. It does not, however, bring out which linguistic features go together in each of the subareas, and which groups of features can be contrasted (see Guiter 1973).

Isoglosses represent dissimilarities (and for that reason they have rightly been called "heteroglosses", cf. Kurath 1972:24ff.). Another frequently used technique is based on similarity counts. For each pair of dialects or languages under investigation a similarity score is computed which is defined on a fixed set of concepts (often the one represented in the 100- or 200-word list of Swadesh). The pairs of dialects, etc., or, eventually, groups of pairs, can then be ordered according to their degree of linguistic similarity. This approach is attractive in that the ordering of the heterogeneity is not carried out on the spatial (geographical) dimension, and any fixed set of concepts can be used without leaving out any features. Thus linguistic 'nearness' between sets of variants is measured objectively. Nevertheless this is also a weak method, because only pairs of total sets can be compared, and all information is lost with regard to the specific content of the individual sets. This fact is well realised of course, and the technique is used in synchronic analysis mainly to find a preliminary grouping of dialects, etc. (For recent examples see Walker 1975, on Lampung dialects, and Anceaux 1978, on south-east Sulawesi).

Another problem which is inherent in all the methods used so far, is that there is no objective criterion to determine whether two features should be considered as compatible or not. Identical forms occurring in different dialects may have a somewhat different meaning, whereas somewhat different forms with the same, or a rather similar, meaning cannot always safely be established as compatible on the basis of known regular sound correspondences. The inevitable reduction of variants previous to their mapping or counting remains a delicate task, where the subjective opinion of the researcher plays an important part. The problem is well known as the cognation or compatibility problem. (I agree with Cadora 1979:4ff. that for synchronic purposes the latter term is more appropriate).

1.3 Bailey's theory of dialects as implicational constellations

In the meanwhile for more than a decade C.-J.N. Bailey has been developing a new theoretical approach to the problem of areal patterning. The essence of his method is that he concentrates first on language-internal patterns rather than beginning with extralinguistic distributions, as we have seen above. Within that framework his analysis is primarily time-based. Both explanation and prediction are related to the dimension of time. Explanation "is possible only when one understands how structures grow and evolve" (Bailey 1979:28). With regard to prediction, since social happenings cannot be predicted, "only the non-social side of linguistic analysis and linguistic change is fully theoretical, allowing of both explanation and prediction... The social side is only semi-theoretical..." (1979:36).

In order to detect this one-dimensional structure in his data, Bailey makes use of the so-called implicational scale (also known as Guttman scale, and already several times applied in sociolinguistic work: cf. DeCamp 1971, Dittmar 1973, etc.).

Table 1				
	A	B	C	D
1. A B C D	1.	1	1	1
2. A B C - or, numerically	2.	1	1	0
3. A B - -	3.	1	0	0
4. A - - -	4.	1	0	0
5. - - - -	5.	0	0	0
		4	3	2
		1		

The model is satisfied if the data show a pattern as represented in Table 1, where the rows (1., 2., ...n) represent the linguistic variables. There are as many rows as there are variants in the first row. Thus a simultaneous ordering of points of observation and of variants of one same variable becomes apparent. The theory is that observation point 1., which has all the variants, is the most original "lect" (Bailey's term), whereas variant A, which has gone through all the developments in time, is the oldest variant. Any later stage implies the next preceding stage. The variants A, B, C, D, can be perfectly ordered along the basis of the rectangle, which is interpreted as the linear dimension of time. Calculation of probabilities may in this technique determine the admissibility of violations of the model.

Bailey has demonstrated very interesting cases, where structure was found independently from geographical order (see especially Bailey 1973 and 1980). A test of the validity of his theory would include the calculation of the proportion between the amount of data which do confirm the assumption and those which do not, since one general criterion for the suitability of the model is the quantity of the data that have to be eliminated in order to satisfy the model. If too many variants have to be neglected, the model should be rejected. Bailey claims that his method can be applied on all levels of linguistic description. However the solutions which have been demonstrated so far do not include substantial sets of lexical items. Moreover, it is a precondition for the method that the linguistic history of the speech community is not disturbed by borrowings from outside or by internal discontinuity. Therefore the old factors already pointed out in Bloomfield's summary still seem to challenge the theory. Will semantic variation ever be predictable? Will it be possible to find speech communities, sufficiently homogeneous and free from unpredictable sociolinguistic variation, where the theory can be fully applied? Whatever the answer to these questions may be, Bailey's experiments are a very important effort to open up new ways in areal linguistics.

2. MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING OF JAKARTA MALAY DATA

2.1 General notes on the method

My own investigation also concentrates primarily on the patterning of linguistic elements and is not based on the isoglossic method. Unlike Bailey, I have not been looking so much for a new theoretical basis, but rather for a new technique which would give the perspective of a really structural description of a total linguistic area. I do believe that such a description, if successful,

can contribute to new theoretical insights, and I suspect that in the case of this area especially the processes of rapid convergence and of the preserving of local identity can be studied. Since my fieldwork has been a first exploration in a completely neglected area, I have been aiming at a descriptive approach, without making any assumptions as to the expected patterning. The technique of which I am making use is a scaling technique. Scaling techniques are quantification techniques which aim at representing an empirical relational system within a formal, usually a numerical, system. Scaling techniques are based on a geometrical model and are primarily of a descriptive nature. The purpose of the procedure is to gain an insight into relations between entities in the empirical reality and to detect the 'hidden structure' in the data (cf. Kruskal and Wish 1978:7).

The choice of the numerical system (the scale, or the scale model) depends on the nature of the data and the assumptions the researcher wishes to make regarding the expected structure. The analysis which I am carrying out at present is based on a non-metric multidimensional scaling technique for the analysis of categorical data, as will be described in the next two sections.

2.2 The data

In order to keep our exposition of the procedures as concrete as possible, we shall use a terminology which directly refers to the particular data under study. These data comprise the results of a linguistic survey carried out in 1970 in 470 points of observation ('villages', i.e. *desas*, or, in Jakarta, *kelurahans*) throughout the total Jakarta Malay area. This area includes the administrative territory of Jakarta (DKI-Jakarta) as well as a number of surrounding subdistricts in the districts of Bogor, Bekasi and Tangerang (see Maps 1 and 2 pp.276, 278). The informants all belong to the Jakarta Malay or 'Betawi' speech community. One major assumption in collecting the data has been that this speech community is socially sufficiently homogeneous to justify the neglect of social differentiation. (On the exclusive social function of this vernacular as folk speech, see Grijns 1977). It was also assumed that the conditions under which the questionnaire was administered (always through interviews in Indonesian by Indonesian fieldworkers) have been sufficiently constant to keep undesired situational variation at a minimum.

The questions in the questionnaire are the variables. The more than 600 questions are divided into several sets of variables, each of which is analysed separately. The first set, which was used as a training ground, comprises 50 lexical items, many of which have been chosen from the Swadesh 'basic vocabulary' lists (as given in Samarin 1967:220-223). Other primarily lexical sets refer to kinship, agricultural tools, fishing tools, kitchen tools, flora and fauna, adjectives and intransitive 'verbs', etc., whereas some sets exclusively comprise phonological or morphological questions.

The data are organised as mutually exclusive, and exhaustive, response categories in a rectangular matrix. A concrete example may illustrate this. The variable 'new' in the context 'a new shirt' elicited the following variants: baru, baru/bagus, baru', anyar, anyar/énggal, bagus, cakep, baru/cakep, jempolan, utuh. For the first set of 50 items these variants were grouped into five lexical categories as shown in Table 2.

1. baru (occurring 339×), baru' (21×), frequency	360
2. anyar (8×), anyar/bagus (1×)	9
3. bagus (25×), baru/bagus (8×)	33
4. cakep (5×), baru/cakep (1×)	6
5. jempolan (1×), anyar/énggal (1×), utuh (2×), missing data (58×)	62
Total frequencies	470

For the analysis it is assumed that these categories are indeed mutually exclusive, which is another working hypothesis, of which the relative validity for the empirical reality can be seen from the arrangement above. A different grouping is possible, of course, and has indeed been applied when the same variable was included again in another set, as has been done with most of the 50 variables of this first set, for reasons of testing and comparison. In all cases the final category contains the residual forms, i.e. those forms which have a very low frequency, or which are somewhat suspect, etc. In all the other sets the first category contains the missing data.

In the matrix the cells contain the response categories. Thus each horizontal row corresponds with the profile of response categories on which a particular village scores; each column corresponds with the series of response categories observed with regard to a particular variable.

Table 3 shows a very small section of the matrix for the first four of the 470 villages, where the numbers in the cells are the category number. (Variables: 77-82.)

Villages	Variables					
	77	78	79	80	81	82
1	4	9	9	6	6	6
2	3	3	4	3	3	3
3	3	3	9	6	6	6
4	5	3	3	3	3	6

Reading along the rows, one sees, for example, that villages 1 and 3 have the same profiles for variables 79-82. When reading along the columns, however, we cannot make the same type of comparison, since the numbers in each column represent mutually completely independent categories of different variables. In order to make the scores comparable and countable, horizontally as well as vertically, the matrix has been converted (i.e. rewritten) into a zero-one matrix as follows (see Table 4):

Table 4										
Villages	categories									
	3 4 5	3 9	3 4 9	3 6	3 6	3 6				
1	0 1 0	0 1	0 0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1				
2	1 0 0	1 0	0 1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0				
3	1 0 0	1 0	0 0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1				
4	0 0 1	1 0	1 0 0	1 0	1 0	0 1				
Variables	(77)	(78)	(79)	(80)	(81)	(82)				

In this latter matrix the categories take the place of the variables, and it is indeed not the variables which will be quantified, but the categories. What we are going to study is no longer, as in the isoglossic approach, the relationship between a particular linguistic feature (i.e. a category) and all the other features together, nor is it any longer the relationship between pairs of languages or dialects (i.e. villages) on the basis of their partial similarity. This matrix is the starting-position for an analysis of the relationships between all the categories simultaneously, and between all the villages simultaneously. It is important to state that only the data in this matrix will be analysed. This means that no external information, such as knowledge of the geographical position of the villages, will influence the analysis. Nor will any a priori weighting of the data take place. The aim is the best possible (i.e. isomorphic) representation ('picture') in the model of the empirical data as we have observed them.

2.3 The model

At this point we have to face the fact that the quantification itself, i.e. the attributing of numerical values to the categories and to the villages, is too technical a process to be accessible for users of the method (including this author) who have not passed through an advanced mathematical training. The basic principles can be understood, however, without knowledge of the algorithm involved. The model is a variant of the multidimensional scaling techniques and has been developed by De Leeuw and others. It is generated by the computer program HOMALS-1.

Like other multidimensional scaling techniques, HOMALS is strongly geometrically oriented. The model represents each village and each response category as a point in an Euclidean space. (One could visualise a three-dimensional model as a 'cloud' of points). The ultimate object of the procedure is to obtain a perfect one-to-one correspondence between the position of the points in the total model and the position of the villages as well as of the categories in their mutual relationship in the total set of empirical data, as organised in the matrix. In order to make the patterning of the villages and the categories optimally comparable, HOMALS represents both in a joint space.

The position of the points in the model is defined by co-ordinates on a system of axes which have the same origin, i.e. the zero co-ordinate. There is one axis for every dimension on which the analysis is carried out. A point in

the model whose projection on a particular axis coincides with the origin has the score zero. If the projection lies on one side of the origin, the score is negative; on the opposite side the scores are positive. On a plane one can plot the position of a point on any pair of two dimensions, given the scores of the point. The HOMALS program provides the well-known type of scattergrams. However, as soon as the number of points is too large, too many points coincide in the plots. Moreover, an analysis on four dimensions requires six plots, five dimensions require ten plots, and one soon faces the problem of how to compare so many maps. Since I am working with relatively large sets on five dimensions I have called in the help of other techniques to reduce the information contained in the HOMALS scores, as will be discussed later on.

If the distribution of the categories were entirely random, the number of dimensions required for the perfect representation in the model of n categories would be $n - 1$. Where contrasting patterns exist, a reduction of the dimensionality is possible. Since the program aims at the lowest acceptable dimensionality, the direction of every axis is computed in such a way as to obtain an optimal dichotomisation of the data space, i.e. the dichotomy optimally corresponds with existing contrasts in the data. Accordingly, the opposition between the positively scoring categories or villages on a particular dimension and the negatively scoring items is an important clue for the interpretation.

The HOMALS technique is non-metrical, i.e. the position of the points in the model is not determined on the basis of absolute distances, but of an *order* of distances. This has enabled the designers of HOMALS to organise the model in such a way that both the homogeneity within groups of points and the heterogeneity between groups is maximised.

The particular geometric characteristics of HOMALS are summarised in Van Rijckevorsel and De Leeuw 1978, page 5, as follows (their terms 'subsets' and 'elements' having been replaced by 'categories' and 'villages'; the numbering is mine).

- ¹Categories and villages are in a joint space.
- ²Villages that share most categories with other villages are *representative* and therefore *central* in space.
- ³Villages that share the least categories with all other villages are *unique* and therefore *excentrical* in space.
- ⁴Villages that share a unique group of categories are *homogeneous* and therefore *contiguous* in space.
- ⁵Unique groups of categories are *heterogeneous* and therefore separated in space.

To the first characteristic the following note can be added: a village's score on a particular dimension is the sum of the scores of the categories which score on that village; a category's score is the mean of the scores of the villages which score on that category. Thus categories with a typical profile of scores on a series of dimensions are closely associated with villages that have a similar type of profile on the same dimensions, and conversely. This implies that if the characteristics of a group of villages can be interpreted, the clue is given to the interpretation of a group of categories, whereas villages can be typified by the qualities of the categories on which they score.

Let us now, after this general view of the procedures, turn to the new possibilities which the method offers, and exemplify these on the basis of concrete data.

3. SOME APPLICATIONS

3.1 Early studies

Very early applications of multidimensional scaling in Austronesian linguistics are to be found in two papers which were read at the Montreal Conference of May, 1973, by Paul Black and David and Gillian Sankoff (Black 1976; Sankoff and Sankoff 1976). Black successfully aimed at a spatial representation of the relationships between twelve dialect varieties of Bikol, a Philippine language. The two-dimensional configuration of the model, if superimposed on an atlas map, is strikingly congruous to the geographical position of the dialects. Sankoff and Sankoff explored the relationship between twenty-six Austronesian speech varieties in the Morobe Province (Papua New Guinea) in the same way and with very similar results. (cf. also the earliest application of this method by Henrici, in Henrici 1973, for the classification of twenty-eight Bantu languages).

Both studies were based on a set of lexical similarity percentages. They give proof that for a rough spatial representation of non-hierarchical relationships between dialects or languages both the type of data (the percentages) and the scaling technique are suited. It is important to realise, that if the positions of the points in the model (the dialects) had been considerably different from the positions on the geographical map, the result would have been equally valid. For an explanation of the differences one should then have looked for extralinguistic causes. Black has in fact done this in order to explain some minor discrepancies in the case of Bikol, by making a distinction between 'coastal' and 'mountain' dialects (cf. Black 1976:55).

3.2 Taking advantage of the joint space technique

My own investigation also began with geographical plotting of the scores of the individual varieties (i.e. the 470 villages) as a safe testing method. I made a separate map for the scores on each dimension. The variables were those of the first set mentioned in Section II, labelled HALS 1-50. Each of the five maps revealed at least one clearly patterned subarea. As an example I publish here the map for the third dimension, because it was the surprising interpretation of this map which made me decide to continue the analysis with the HOMALS program. As can be seen immediately, the positive-negative dichotomy in Map 3 (p.279) coincides almost perfectly with the administrative distinction between the area of DKI-Jakarta and the surrounding areas. Where exceptions occur the scores are zero, or in a few cases 1 or 2. We also see that the Mauk and Sepatan subdistricts are vaguely associated (i.e. with low scores), with DKI-Jakarta. Of the surrounding areas the western part is much more marked than the eastern.

The next step was to test the essentially new possibilities which HOMALS offers. Quite arbitrarily we selected for every dimension those categories which scored minimally 5 (+5 or -5). The occurrences of these categories we plotted also geographically. The evidence was clear: due to the representation of the villages and the categories in a joint space, high-scoring villages for a particular dimension showed the occurrence of a relatively high number of high-scoring categories for that same dimension. Again using a threshold value of 5, this time for the village scores, we made a combined map for the five dimensions and found several subareas which are distinguishable by a particular combination of positive or negative scores, as shown in Map 4 (p.280). This map demonstrates that (in terms of the fifty variables under study), there must be at least the following separate (sub)dialects: (a) Mauk + Sepatan, (b) Ciputat and surroundings,

(c) Gunung Sindur, (d) Cengkareng + Grogol Petamburan + Tanah Abang + Kebayoran Baru, (e) North-East Jakarta, and (f) Pasar Rebo. This also means that villages which belong to one of these (sub)dialects should be identifiable by their particular score profile on the five dimensions together; the same holds for the categories occurring in these villages. Below we shall give several examples of this identification procedure. We first deal with the procedure as it can be practised somewhat impressionistically by the researcher himself. For the second, more refined procedure, the help of further mathematical techniques is indispensable.

3.3 An example of rough grouping based on congruous score profiles

We now turn first to the list of village scores in the HOMALS output and try to find some unique patterns. The subdistricts of Mauk and Sepatan are clearly marked by the almost complete absence of the positive symbol in Map 4 (p.280). Moreover, inspection of the list of scores reveals that the all-negative score profile is uniquely found for the villages 435-460 (village 453 being eliminated because too many data are missing). As another unique feature of this group of villages we note the high or extremely high negative values for the second dimension. As we can see, these villages completely and exclusively cover the Mauk-Sepatan area. There is an abrupt transition which precisely coincides with the borderline between Sepatan and Teluk Naga. Some examples of the typical village score profiles are: -0 -27 -2 -7 -8 (village 449); -1 -14 -2 -3 +0 (village 437); a complete list is given in Table 7 and will be discussed later.

With regard to the values given here and throughout this paper and in the maps we should note that, on the basis of our general experience with the data, the distinction between negative and positive scores has been neglected for the values ranging from +1 to -1; thus village 437, which scores +0 on the fifth dimension, is not considered as deviating from the - - - - - score profile pattern. It should be noted that the figures we give for the scores are rounded figures. We write figures of HOMALS such as -0.012908, 0.058216, -0004503, etc., as integers: -1, +5, -0, etc.

On the second dimension the village scores for the Mauk-Sepatan group range from -27 to -7. The next lower village score is -5, which is found in the south-east of the total area, in village 80. Although this score indicates that village 80 probably has some features in common with the Mauk-Sepatan group, it cannot belong to this group, not because of its geographical remoteness, but because its score profile is different: +0 -5 +3 +5 +5. Such common features may have been independently borrowed from a common source, such as Sundanese, or the urban dialect, or Javanese.

Let us now study the categories which typically occur in the Mauk-Sepatan area. After some trying out we select those categories which score between -25 and -5 on the second dimension and which have negative values also on the other dimensions. These are the 22 categories listed in Table 5. There are 9 more categories with an all-negative score profile. These score between -3 and -1 on the second dimension. The total number of categories in this set of 50 variables amounts to 282 after the 50 final categories (missing data, etc.) have been eliminated. Table 5 shows the HOMALS category label of every individual category, its total frequency, its form and meaning, its score profile, and the possible source language(s). We now wish to take a very close look at the actual distribution over the villages of these categories. For that purpose we combine the villages and the categories under study in one large table (Table 6).

Table 5

Category score profile - - - -; values for second dimension between -25 and -5. The HOMALS variable and category number, the total frequency of the category, its form, its meaning, its score profile, and the possible source language(s) are listed.

cat.	freq.	form, meaning	score profile	source lg.?
41.3	5×	apa maning <i>so much the more</i>	-2 -25 -1 -6 -8	Jav.
18.2	7×	wiji (<i>spinach</i>) <i>seed</i>	-1 -23 -1 -6 -8	Jav., Sd.
13.2	10×	anyar <i>new (shirt)</i>	-1 -20 -0 -4 -5	Jav., Sd.
6.9	11×	(pe)pedut <i>mist, fog</i>	+0 -19 -2 -3 -5	Jav.
17.9	5×	kepagut <i>scratched (by a thorn)</i>	-1 -19 -1 -4 -6	Sd., (Jav.?)
3.3	4×	atis (no context) <i>cold</i>	-0 -17 -1 -5 -5	Jav.
26.3	23×	gerah <i>having fever</i>	-1 -16 -1 -2 -2	Jav.
29.2	8×	buruan <i>yard (of a house)</i>	-0 -16 -1 -3 -2	Sd. Banten-Jav.
29.4	14×	karang <i>yard (of a house)</i>	-2 -15 -1 -3 -2	(Banten-) Jav.
5.3	25×	empuk <i>fat, grease</i>	-1 -15 -2 -3 -2	?
15.2	8×	berek, borok, burek <i>rotten</i>	-1 -14 -1 -1 -1	Jav.
45.2	32×	kakéongan, kiong(an) etc. <i>ankle</i>	-0 -12 -1 -2 -2	Banten-Jav.
32.10	18×	kuduk (<i>nape of</i>) <i>neck</i>	+0 -10 -0 -2 -2	from Java.
39.9	13×	(negation word +) urungan <i>undoubtedly</i>	-0 -8 +0 +0 -0	Jav.?, Sd.?
14.6	9×	pasti <i>right (answer)</i>	-0 -7 -0 -1 -2	Sd., Jav.?
27.5	11×	luas <i>wide (road)</i>	-3 -7 -3 -0 +1	?, Mal.
40.15	15×	(various expr, with) kaga <i>there's not a bit left</i>	-1 -7 -2 -1 +0	Jav.?
32.1	59×	kamu (sekalian/semuah) <i>all of you</i>	-1 -6 -1 -1 +0	Mal.
40.12	13×	kaga (etc.) acan <i>there's not a bit left</i>	-0 -6 -1 -0 -2	Jav., Sd.?
8.5	39×	utuh (<i>still</i>) in good <i>condition (of a bicycle tyre)</i>	-0 -5 +0 -2 -0	Jav.
11.1	58×	(bulan) purnama <i>full moon</i>	-0 -5 -1 -0 +0	Jav., Sd.
42.2	12×	boro <i>let alone ...</i>	-1 -5 +0 -1 +0	Sd.

3.4 Congruous profiles of categories and villages jointly tabulated

In Table 6 the rows show the category profiles and the columns the village profiles. The actual occurrence of a category in a particular village can be determined on the basis of the data matrix. In the first three columns at the right side of the table the number of occurrences in Mauk, in Sepatan, and in the total Mauk-Sepatan area is indicated for each category. The fourth column, labelled "elsewhere", indicates the number of occurrences in villages outside the Mauk-Sepatan area. The fifth column ("sum total") gives the total frequency of the category, and the final column its score on the second dimension.

If we read the columns labelled "subtotal" and "elsewhere" from the top to the bottom, we see that up to category 45.2 the number of occurrences in the Mauk-Sepatan area always exceeds (and nearly always very considerably exceeds) the number of occurrences elsewhere. From category 43.10 on we see the reverse develop. This gives proof that the categories which score between -25 and -12 on the second dimension are particularly typical for the Mauk-Sepatan area. We also checked the distribution of the occurrences "elsewhere", and we found no noticeable patterning. The categories which also occur outside Mauk and Sepatan are in the outside area scattered over approximately 150 villages, of which only 30 villages have 2 occurrences, whereas villages with 3 occurrences or more have not been found. The nine categories which have lower scores on the second dimension and therefore have not been included in Table 6, all do occur in the Mauk-Sepatan area, only with lower relative frequency.

At this point we can conclude that in this example the profile of the village scores is indeed closely associated with the profile of the category scores. We have found that the profile of a category *predicts* its occurrence in particular villages. In cases where the scores are less marked, the predictability is accordingly lower. We have been able to identify a Mauk-Sepatan (sub)dialect *and* its area on the basis of a *simultaneous* analysis of the village scores and the category scores. The use of geographical plots of the scores has greatly facilitated the discovery, but the same result could have been attained without any consulting of the maps.

3.5 A further subdivision of the Mauk-Sepatan dialect area

At the bottom of Table 6 the total occurrences per village are indicated in the row "total". The row "missing data" shows the number of missing data per village (which is relatively low in these two areas). The next row indicates the maximally possible total per village, which occurs if all the missing data in the column for a particular village represent one of the categories under study. The row labelled "area" refers to whether the village belongs to the Mauk or to the Sepatan subdistrict (M or S, respectively). In the final row the village scores are given.

From these figures we see that generally the village scores on the second dimension in Sepatan are lower than those in Mauk. The average village score for Sepatan is -14.6, and for Mauk -18.5. In Sepatan also the average number of categories (as included in Table 6) per village is lower: for Sepatan it is 8.2 (or 9.4, if all missing data are included), and for Mauk it is 9.5 (or 10.2). Out of the 22 categories only one (40.12) does not occur in Mauk, whereas six categories do not occur in Sepatan (41.3; 18.2; 17.9; 3.3; 14.6; 27.5). If we divide the categories into two groups, those scoring between -25 and -7, and those scoring -6 or -5, we find that the six categories which exclusively occur in Mauk,

all belong to the higher-scoring group, whereas the one that exclusively occurs in Sepatan belongs to the lower-scoring group. Thus, if we compare Mauk with Sepatan, it is Mauk which is particularly typified by the highest scoring group of categories.

From Map 4 (p.280) as well as from the list of village scores it can be seen that there is reason to study the contrast between Mauk and Sepatan in further detail. Not only on the second dimension is there a noticeable difference between the scores, but also on the fourth and the fifth. We therefore list all the village score profiles in Table 7, separately for Mauk and Sepatan. For drawing Map 4 the value of 5 was chosen arbitrarily for all the dimensions. From Table 7 it is apparent that for the fifth dimension this value does very well, whereas for the fourth dimension a threshold value of 3 is the most suitable one. With regard to the categories, we also retain the value 5 for the fifth dimension. For the fourth dimension we hesitate between 3 and 4. If 3 is chosen, the following categories are to be included: HALS 41.3; 18.2; 13.2; 6.9; 17.9; 3.3 (see Table 5). The villages to be included are: villages 449, 448, 450, 457, 452, 456, 451, and 455. Again we set up a combined table for these villages and categories (Table 8).

The table shows that the villages which it includes form the typical area of a subvariety (in terms of the variable set HALS 1-50) of which the most typical representatives are the lexical variants *apa maning*, *wiji*, *anyar*, *(pe)pedut*, *kepagut*, and *atis*. Geographical mapping of this result yields a spatial coherent area of contiguous villages in the western part of Mauk (see Map 5, p.281). There could be some hesitation about including category 6.9 in the group of most typical categories, since it occurs 7 times in Sepatan and one of the 4 occurrences in Mauk is in village 460, which does not belong to the typical group of western Mauk. On the other hand this group is particularly typified by the highest scores on the second dimension, and *(pe)pedut* scores very high indeed (-19). Thus I would not eliminate *(pe)pedut* from the subvariety in question. It is a Javanese word, which was found by Nothofer along the borderline between West Java and Central Java, and also in the Sumedang area (etc.), not however in Banten (see Nothofer 1980, vol.2, map 16). This is an example of how the final decision about the grouping of the linguistic features or villages ultimately lies with the researcher and not with some automatic device beyond his control. If we exclude HALS 6.9 from the group, the limit value for the fourth dimension becomes 4 instead of 3.

3.6 A comparison with the traditional method

Now one might be a bit sceptical and ask whether the same result could not have been reached by the simple use of traditional word maps. This would involve the use of 50 maps, each with information on 470 points. In fact, for this experimental set, computer-plotted geographical maps for all the 50 variables have been made. Careful studying of these maps does indeed reveal that the Mauk-Sepatan area is a particularly patterned area, and one certainly would succeed in finding most of the typical features of the subdialect. But whereas the calculated grouping points to very clearly defined borderlines of the area and a very precisely and objectively definable membership of the categories of particular groups, the traditional method would leave us with many unanswered questions.

In the Mauk-Sepatan area more than 125 of the HALS categories occur. There would be no objective criterion for selecting the 22 most typical categories as shown in Table 6. This is easily understood if one realises that even of these selected features so many also occur outside the Mauk-Sepatan area (19 out of 22),

whereas none covers all the 25 villages, and as many as 16 cover less or much less than half of the total number of villages in the area (see Table 6). The strict borderline found by HOMALS between Sepatan and Teluk Naga appears, as a rather fuzzy transition, only on 10 of the 50 maps. On the basis of simple counting of occurrences of individual features, as is done with the traditional method, one might attach more weight to a category such as HALS 26.3 (gerah), which occurs on 22 villages in the area and only once "elsewhere", than to apa maning (HALS 41.3) with 5 occurrences only in Mauk. From Table 6 we learn that it is apa maning which contributes most, both to the general pattern and to the

Table 7: Village scores in Mauk and Sepatan

vill.	Mauk					vill.	Sepatan				
448	-0	-26	-0	-7	-11	435	-1	-12	-1	-4	-0
449	-0	-27	-2	-7	-8	436	-3	-11	-2	-2	-0
450	-1	-25	-2	-5	-8	437	-1	-14	-2	-3	+0
451	-2	-20	-2	-3	-5	438	-1	-17	-2	-3	-1
452	-3	-24	-3	-6	-7	439	-1	-13	-2	-1	-0
453	+20	-0	-0	+1	+2*	440	-2	-15	-2	-2	+0
454	-2	-14	-1	-2	+1	441	+9	-13	-1	+0	-5*
455	+0	-15	+1	-5	-7	442	-3	-22	-2	-4	-3
456	-3	-23	-1	-3	-6	443	+9	-15	-0	-0	-7*
457	-3	-25	-1	-7	-7	444	-3	-11	-2	-1	+0
458	+1	-7	-3	-1	+3	445	-3	-16	-1	-2	+0
459	-1	-8	-0	-1	+2	446	-3	-13	-1	-2	-1
460	-0	-9	-3	+0	+0	447	-4	-18	-2	-3	-1

*Villages 441, 443 and 453 have 22, 20 and 49 missing items of data respectively. This causes the high positive scores on the first dimension.

Table 8: Villages and categories of the 'Western Mauk' subvariety

categories	vill. 449	448	450	457	452	456	451	455	total	total freq.
41.3	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	5	5
18.2	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	6	7
13.2	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7	10
6.9	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	3	11
17.9	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	4	5
3.3	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	3	4
total	4	5	5	3	4	3	2	2		

distinction between the western Mauk variety and the rest of the Mauk-Sepatan area. We cannot objectively determine such differences, i.e. *measure* them, without the calculating of the astronomical number of associations which the computer program is able to do. In order to emphasise this we have chosen the Mauk-Sepatan area for this first example, since it is one of the most easily identifiable subareas of the total Jakarta Malay area.

3.7 Three further examples of the rough identification procedure

Let us now, very concisely, and primarily referring to the information contained in Tables 9-14, demonstrate how along the same lines what we shall call the 'Ciputat' dialect, the 'Gunung Sindur' dialect, and the 'Cengkareng + Grogol Petamburan + Tanah Abang + Kebayoran Baru' dialect can be identified.

Again with the help of Map 4 and on the basis of the - + + - - list of village scores, we select the profile pattern - + + - -, with values on the fourth dimension between -11 and -6 for the village scores, and between -8 and -4 for the category scores. Tables 9 and 10 contain all the information needed to identify the 'Ciputat' dialect and to draw its borderlines in Map 5 (p.281). The column labelled "catt." in Table 10 indicates for each village the number of occurrences of one or more of the categories included in Table 9. (In the same way the column "catt." in Tables 12 and 13 refer to the categories included in Tables 11 and 13, respectively).

For the Gunung Sindur dialect the profile pattern is - - + + -; the threshold values are very high: +28 and +25 on the fourth dimension for the village scores, and for the category scores +25 and +10. Tables 11 and 12, and Map 5 show the grouping.

Finally, Tables 12 and 13, and Map 5 again, indicate how the remarkable dialect zone which includes Cengkareng, parts of Grogol Petamburan and Tanah Abang, and practically the whole of Kebayoran Baru, are identified. The typical pattern is here - + - - -, with village scores between -15 and -7 on the fifth dimension, and category scores between -10 and -5.

Rather than multiplying this kind of example, we conclude this section by referring to Table 15, in which for one or two particular representative villages of each of the five dialects which we have identified in this way, the full list of variants is given which score on the village in question. The table gives also the typical score profile of the villages, but only dichotomously, i.e. positive or negative scores for each dimension, without threshold values. A plus sign after a variant indicates that the category's score profile, dichotomously, corresponds with the village score profile.

3.8 The use of advanced clustering techniques

What has been demonstrated in the above sections is in fact the application of a rough clustering technique on the score profiles. It seems possible to identify in this way the most well-marked and homogeneous score patterns, but much more refined methods are needed to detect the lesser marked patterns and their distribution. The use of rounded figures instead of the calculated real figures of the HOMALS output means the loss of much valuable information. Therefore I have been using several computer programs for the clustering of the profiles. One well-known problem with these techniques is that usually several solutions are offered which are, mathematically, equally acceptable, whereas

Table 9: The 'Ciputat' dialect

Category score profile: - + + - -; values for fourth dimension between -8 and -4. The HOMALS variable and category number, the total frequency of the category, its form, its meaning, its score profile, and the possible source language(s) are listed:

cat.	freq.	form, meaning	score profile	source lg.?
9.3	27×	belagu berani <i>bullying</i>	-1 +2 +3 -5 -3	Jav.
10.2	45×	lanang <i>man</i>	+0 +1 +6 -4 -0	Jav., Sd.
13.4	6×	cakep <i>new (shirt)</i>	-0 +2 +4 -7 -1	?
28.3	13×	sapet, sepet <i>wing</i>	+0 +2 +1 -5 -0	?
28.4	42×	sewiwi, siwi <i>wing</i>	-0 +1 +7 -5 -1	Jav.
31.2	22×	gawéan <i>work</i>	+1 +1 +4 -4 -4	Jav.
39.7	30×	udah tentu <i>undoubtedly</i>	-1 +1 +3 -4 -0	cf. Mal., Jav., Sd.
40.2	5×	ora ada dikit <i>there's not a bit left</i>	-0 +2 +6 -9 -0	ora: Jav.
41.6	9×	lebih-lebih <i>the more so as</i>	-0 +1 +4 -5 -2	cf. Mal., Jav., Sd.
43.6	46×	(ge)gitok <i>(nape of) neck</i>	-0 +2 +3 -4 -1	Jav.
50.5	17×	(k)a(n)til-(k)a(n)til(an) <i>uvula</i>	-1 +2 +7 -8 -2	cf. Jav.

Table 10: The 'Ciputat' dialect area

Village score profile: - + + - -: values for fourth dimension between -11 and -6; number of categories as included in Table 9.

vill.	score profile	catt.	vill.	score profile	catt.
23	-2 +5 +11 -10 -5	4	422	-0 +1 +7 -6 -0	3
24	-2 +4 +12 -11 -4	5	423	-0 +3 +11 -6 -4	3
25	+0 +3 +8 -6 -3	5	424	-0 +4 +10 -6 -4	3
26	-2 +4 +11 -10 -4	5	425	+0 +0 +6 -6 -0	4
27	-2 +4 +11 -10 -4	3	426	+0 +3 +7 -7 -3	3
28	-1 +2 +6 -6 -3	5	427	-0 +2 +9 -10 -4	5
408	+0 +3 +7 -9 -1	5	428	-2 +5 +5 -7 -5	4
409	-2 +3 +7 -11 -2	6	429	-1 +2 +10 -11 -5	6
415	-1 +2 +6 -7 -1	3	430	-2 +3 +6 -6 -5	5
416	-2 +2 +6 -10 -1	6	431	-2 +2 +8 -10 -5	6
417	-0 +3 +11 -6 -3	5	432	-1 +1 +8 -8 -4	5
418	-0 +3 +10 -6 -1	4	433	-1 +2 +9 -9 -4	6
420	-1 +3 +7 -10 -2	5			

Table 11: The 'Gunung Sindur' dialect

Category score profile: - - + + -; values for fourth dimension between +25 and +10. The HOMALS variable and category number, the total frequency of the category, its form, its meaning, its score profile, and the possible source language(s) are listed:

cat.	freq.	form, meaning	score profile	source lg.?
6.10	9×	mèga <i>mist</i>	-6 -2 +13 +23 -6	(Jav., Sd.: <i>cloud</i>)
31.4	11×	kejaan <i>work</i>	-1 -0 +4 +20 -2	?
35.1	10×	alukan (<i>rather than...</i>) <i>it would be better to...</i>	-2 -0 +8 +10 -2	Sd., Jav.
39.10	8×	ora/kaga wurungan <i>undoubtedly</i>	-6 -2 +13 +25 -6	Jav.
44.3	8×	gegusi <i>molar (tooth)</i>	-6 -2 +13 +25 -6	?
45.5	8×	(me)muncangan <i>ankle</i>	-5 -3 +13 +24 -5	Sd.
47.1	13×	pelangkakan <i>groin</i>	-3 -1 +6 +11 +0	Sd.
47.3	4×	pengpelangan <i>groin</i>	-5 -2 +9 +21 -4	Sd.

Table 12: The 'Gunung Sindur' dialect area

Village score profile: - - + + -; values for fourth dimension between +28 and +25; number of categories as included in Table 11.

vill.	score profile	catt.	vill.	score profile	catt.
2	-6 -2 +15 +26 -6	6	(6	-4 -1 +8 +13 -4	3)
3	-7 -2 +15 +25 -6	6	7	-6 -3 +13 +25 -7	5
4	-6 -2 +15 +25 -5	6	8	-7 -2 +12 +27 -7	4
5	-7 -2 +14 +28 -6	7	9	-6 -2 +13 +28 -6	6

Table 13: The 'Cengkareng-GrPetamburan-TnAbang-Kebayoran Baru' dialect

Category score profile: - + - - -; values for fifth dimension between -10 and -5. The HOMALS variable and category number, the total frequency of the category, its form, its meaning, its score profile, and the possible source language(s) are listed:

cat.	freq.	form, meaning	score profile	source lg.?
4.6	19×	gebleg (geblek)/tolol <i>stupid</i>	-5 +4 -7 -0 -10	Jav.
14.7	24×	persis, percis <i>correct (answer)</i>	-5 +4 -7 -0 -9	Jav., Sd., Dutch
17.7	29×	barèt, barèt <i>scratched (by a thorn)</i>	-3 +3 -7 -0 -7	Sd., Balin.
36.4	6×	demènin, deminin <i>let (him) be; that'll do</i>	-4 +4 -3 -2 -7	Jav.?
38.2	13×	kaga bakal <i>(he is) not prepared to (go)</i>	-3 +3 -7 -0 -6	Jav.?
40.6	22×	kaga ada barang sedikit <i>there's not a bit left</i>	-3 +3 -6 -0 -5	(barang:) Jav.?
44.4	14×	panggal, (gigi) pangkal <i>molar (tooth)</i>	-4 +4 -7 -0 -7	Balin.

Table 14: The 'Cengkareng-GrPetamburan-TnAbang-Kebayoran Baru' dialect area

Village score profile: - + - - -; values for fifth dimension between -15 and -7; number of categories as included in Table 13.

vill.	score profile	catt.	vill.	score profile	catt.
254	-5 +4 -7 +0 -14	2	190	-7 +5 -10 -0 -13	4
255	-4 +4 -7 -0 -10	2	191	-6 +5 -9 +0 -12	4
256	-5 +4 -7 +0 -12	3	192	-4 +5 -7 -0 -7	2
257	-5 +4 -6 +0 -11	2	193	-5 +4 -9 +0 -7	2
258	-5 +5 -8 +0 -13	6	194	-4 +4 -8 +0 -8	2
259	-5 +4 -8 +0 -13	3	195	-5 +4 -7 -0 -8	3
262	-6 +5 -10 +0 -15	6	196	-6 +5 -8 -1 -11	4
263	-6 +4 -9 +0 -11	3	197	-5 +5 -8 -0 -12	4
264	-6 +6 -9 +0 -13	6	198	-4 +4 -6 -0 -9	1
265	-6 +4 -9 +0 -10	4	199	-5 +4 =6 -1 -7	2
266	-6 +5 -9 -0 -13	5			
121	-6 +5 -10 +0 -14	4			
122	-6 +5 -9 -0 -14	4			
124	-6 +5 -9 -0 -12	4			

different programs give often largely overlapping solutions. Clustering also takes relatively much computer time, and the larger data sets could not directly be handled by the smaller computers on which some of the experiments were done.

Rather than going into these yet unsolved problems, I would like to demonstrate that if it is possible to find a satisfactory solution, i.e. to identify clusters which are found to be constant through different experiments and from different initial positions, the clustering approach yields very good final results. It should be realised that a satisfactory solution does imply the (mathematically interpretable) existence of fuzziness within sets, which may lead to the calculation of a varying degree of membership of subsets (clusters), and thus also to the insight that borderlines between groups are often fuzzy. It is obvious that the mathematical studies which are going on in this field are highly relevant for any research which aims at the analysis of empirical data (see Backer 1978a, 1978b).

The only detailed clustering operation on which I can report here concerns a set of 126 category score profiles over five dimensions. The 19 variables refer to fishing tools. At the end of the clustering procedure eight clusters were identified. Their standardised distribution over the villages was calculated (the standardising at the same time solves the problem of mapping the missing data), and the result was geographically plotted. With some modifications for technical reasons, which do not affect the value of the map as an example, Map 6 (p.282) shows the geographical distribution of the eight clusters. At the end of this procedure we listed for every cluster the distribution of its individual members over the villages, and we tried to find an implicational patterning, in view of Bailey's theory mentioned in Section 1. So far we cannot report any positive result. We should, however, keep in mind that this set of variables has a very high number of missing data, up to an average of 45 per cent, which is due to the technical character of the variable set, and to some degree to ambiguity caused by the mediocrity of the pictures used in the questionnaire.

This detailed analysis of a limited set of particularly weak data, which is very incompletely dealt with here, seems to justify the conclusion that careful clustering of the HOMALS category scores is a valid and efficient way of grouping the linguistic features according to their distribution over the villages. The approach via the category scores is more precise than if the village scores are clustered, because the missing data are integrated in the village scores, whereas for the clustering procedure they can be eliminated from the list of category scores, being a category of their own.

3.9 Dimensionality and the interpretation of the individual dimensions

Another possibility, which I have not explored so far, would be to increase the number of dimensions on which the HOMALS analysis is carried out. With the HOMALS technique it is left to the user of the program to choose the dimensionality, and in our case the number of five dimensions was quite arbitrarily chosen. HOMALS has proved to be an extremely precise technique and it is particularly devised to maximise the coherence within groups. I cannot yet estimate which technical problems would arise if one should deal with an output showing the scores for, say, ten dimensions (and how the output presentation would be organised), but further research in this direction seems needed.

Since we have not looked so far at the individual dimensions, let us return to the data set of HOMALS 1-50 and discuss each of the dimensions briefly. Map 4 reveals that every dimension marks at least one contiguous dialect area: the first

Table 15

Some sample villages. The labels refer to the 'dialect', the village number and the dichotomous score profile. Items marked by + have the same dichotomous score profile as the village.

Variables	'Ciputat'		'Cengk.-GrPetamburan-TAbang-Keb.Baru''Gg.Sindur'			
	417 - + + - -	429 - + + - -	262 - + - - -	190 - + - - -	5 - - + + -	
1. <i>big</i>	gedé	gedé	besar	gedé	gedé	
2. <i>cloud</i>	asep	awan	awan	awan	mèga+	
3. <i>cold</i>	dingin	adem	dingin	dingin	dingin	
4. <i>stupid</i>	gebleg	tolol	tolol/bebel	geblek	bodoh	
5. <i>fat, grease</i>	gajih	gajih	minyak+	minyak+	gajih	
6. <i>mist, fog</i>	ampak2	ampak2	ampak2	asep	mèga+	
7. <i>who</i>	siapah	—	sapah	siapé	siapa	
8. <i>not worn out (tyre)</i>	bagus	utuh	bagus	bagus	bagus	
9. <i>bullying</i>	belagu berani+	belagu berani+	—	lagè	belaga	
10. <i>man</i>	lanang	—	lelaki	lelaki	lelaki	
11. <i>full moon</i>	bulan 14-nya	bulan terang	bulan terang	bulan terang	tanggal 14	
12. <i>narrow</i>	seseg	seseg	sempit	sempit	sempit	
13. <i>new (shirt)</i>	baru	baru	baru	baru	baru	
14. <i>right (answer)</i>	jitu	bener	percis+	persis+	jètu/cocok+	
15. <i>rotten</i>	busuk	lodoh/busuk+	busuk	busuk	busuk	
16. <i>round</i>	bulat	bunder/bulat	bunder/bulet	bulet/bunder	bulet	
17. <i>scratched</i>	kebarèd	—	barèd+	barèd+	kebarèt	
18. <i>(spinach)-seed</i>	biji	biji	biji'	biji	biji	
19. <i>dull</i>	kedul	pudul	pudul+	pudul+	mintul+	
20. <i>small</i>	kecit	kecil	kecil	kecil	kecil	
21. <i>straight</i>	lempeng	lempeng	lempeng	lempeng	lempeng	
22. <i>there (far off)</i>	di sono+	sono+	di sonoh	di sonoh	di sonoh	
23. <i>there (near by)</i>	di sono	sono	di situh	di situh	di situh	
24. <i>they</i>	merèka	—	diah+	diè'	dia	

25. <i>hot (water)</i>	panas	panas	panas	panas	panas
26. <i>having fever</i>	panas	panas	panas	panas	panas
27. <i>wide (road)</i>	lèbar	lèbar	lèbar	lèbar	lèbar
28. <i>wing</i>	sewiwi+	siwi+	sayap	sayap	sayap
29. <i>yard</i>	—	latar+	latar	latar	pekarangan
30. <i>woman</i>	wadon	wadon	perempuan	perempuan	wadon
31. <i>work</i>	pegawéan+	gawéan	kerjaan	kerjaan	kejaan+
32. <i>all of you</i>	eluh semuanya	lu	luh semuanya	lu semuènyè	luh semuanya
33. <i>how could...</i>	abong	(i)lokan+	masa iya...	apè iyè...+	i lokan/abong
34. <i>only because</i>	abong2+	abong2+	abong2	abong2	abong2
35. <i>it would be better to...</i>	mendingan	angguran	mendingan+	mendingan+	mendingan/angguran+
36. <i>let (him) be</i>	bagènin	bagènin	deminin	...ajè	...baé
37. <i>his mother</i>	—	—	nya'nyah+	nyaknyè'+	ibunya
38. <i>is not prepared to</i>	bader	ora bakalant+	kaga' bakal+	kagè bakal+	moal
39. <i>undoubtedly</i>	ora kudu+	—	mesti+	udè pasti	kaga wurungant+
40. <i>there's not a bit left</i>	ora pisan+	—	kaga barang dikit	abis bener	kaga pisan
41. <i>so much the more</i>	—	lebih2	apalagi+	apalagi+	komo lagi+
42. <i>let alone...</i>	—	boro2	boro2+	apè lagi+	boro lampart+
43. <i>neck</i>	tengkok	gitok+	tengkok+	tengkok+	tengkok
44. <i>molar</i>	baham	baham	baham	panggal+	gegusi+
45. <i>ankle</i>	mata kaki	mata kaki	mata kaki	mata kaki	muncangan+
46. <i>joint</i>	ugel2	pergelangan	ugel2an	ugel2	pegelangan
47. <i>groin</i>	selangkangan	pikang	pikangant+	pikangant+	pelangkakan
48. <i>glands in the groins</i>	sèkèlan	sèkèlan	kelanjerant+	klanjerant+	sèkèlan
49. <i>middle finger</i>	jari tengah	jari tengah	jeriji tengah+	jeriji tengah+	jari tengah
50. <i>wula</i>	kantil2+	antil2ant+	lak2an	lak2an	elak2an

Table 16

The highest scoring categories on the fourth dimension.
(For meanings, see Table 15.)

Var./Cat.	Positive scores	source lg.?
44.3 (ge)gusi	+25	?
39.10 ora/kaga wurungan	+25	Jav., Sd.
45.4 (me)muncangan	+24	Sd.
6.10 mèga	+23	Sd., Jav.
47.3 pengpelangan	+21	Sd.
47.1 pelangkakan	+11	Sd.
31.4 kejaan	+10	?
35.1 alukan	+10	Jav., Sd.
19.3 mintul	+8	Sd.
14.4 jitu/jètu	+7	Sd.
40.8 kaga pisan	+7	Jav., Sd.
42.10 boro lampar	+7	Sd.
29.5 pe(/pa)karangan	+6	Jav., Sd.
42.4 boro ampar (cf. 42.10)	+5	Sd.
38.10 moal	+4	Sd.

Var./Cat.	Negative scores	source lg.?
38.3 ora bahannya	-10	Jav. (ora)
40.2 ora ada dikit	-9	Jav. (ora)
33.5 lokan	-8	cf. Jav. ilok(an)
50.5 (k)antil2an, etc.	-8	Jav.,?
13.4 cakep	-7	?
18.2 wiji	-6	Jav., Sd.
41.3 apa maning	-6	Jav.
3.3 atis	-5	Jav.
9.3 belagu berani	-5	cf. Jav. gawé iagu
28.3 sapet	-5	?
28.4 sewiwi, siwi	-5	Jav.
41.6 lebih	-5	Jav., Mal., Sd.
9.6 pura, pura2	-4	Jav.? Mal.?
13.2 anyar	-4	Jav., Sd.
31.2 gawéan	-4	Jav.
39.7 udah tentu	-4	cf. Jav., Sd.? Mal.
43.6 gitok	-4	Jav.

dimension (positive) marks Pasar Rebo; the second dimension (negative) marks Mauk and Sepatan; the third dimension (negative) marks the area of DKI Jakarta; the fourth dimension (positive) marks Gunung Sindur, and finally, the fifth (positive) marks the eastern part of Jakarta proper. This list is not complete, but suffices for forming some idea of what we may expect, and particularly what we may not expect when trying to interpret a particular dimension. From the simple inspection of the content of some typical villages, as listed in Table 15, we learn that all these villages have a very mixed vocabulary. Now if each dimension is at least associated with an area with much mixture of Javanese, Sundanese, Malay, Balinese and other elements, it is improbable that any of our five dimensions will show a clear-cut dichotomy between, say, Javanese and Sundanese elements, Banten Javanese and Central-Java Javanese, Malay and non-Malay elements, etc. Moreover, the dimensions with HOMALS are not selected according to some underlying principle chosen by the researcher.

On the other hand, some areas are clearly more influenced by Javanese, for example, than others, and this fact could be reflected by the dimension on which these areas have particularly marked scores. This indeed is what we find if we contrast the highest scoring categories on the fourth dimension on the positive side with those on the negative side. Table 16 shows clearly more Sundanese elements on the positive side, and more Javanese elements on the negative side, and this pattern continues even if we come to the very low scores. On the basis of this general, though not absolute pattern, we can *predict* that such a Javanese-looking form as ora/kaga wurungan, meaning *undoubtedly*, has reached Jakarta Malay as a borrowing from Sundanese. The form wurung (=burung) does indeed occur in Sundanese (as a borrowing from Javanese) with the meaning *it didn't work out*. A parallel case is barèd/barèt (HALS 17.7) which has the scores -3 +3 -7 -0 -7. With the meaning *scratched (by a thorn)* it occurs both in Sundanese and in Balinese. The high negative score on the third dimension shows that it is a typical word from the urban area (it occurs indeed exclusively in Jakarta), and the zero score on the fourth dimension predicts that it has nothing to do with the contrast Sundanese-Javanese. Therefore we may assume that the source language is Balinese.

A more puzzling case is HALS 38.11, bader (*he is*) *not prepared to (go)*. This variant has the scores +6 +1 +2 +0 -6. The high positive score on the first dimension, combined with the high negative score on the fifth dimension, immediately points to the Pasar Rebo region (cf. Map 4). We are not surprised to find bader, which has a total occurrence of 23, as often as 16 times in Pasar Rebo. Now Pasar Rebo, in accordance with the contrast on the third dimension (see Map 3), belongs to the urban area, although some of its villages, seven in all, score +0. The low positive score of bader on the third dimension shows that it is somewhat more associated with 'rural' features than with 'urban'. The other 7 occurrences are indeed in villages which have an average score of +8 on the third dimension (villages 31, 417, 423, 424, 465, 467, 469 in Sawangan, Serpong, Ciputat and Ciledug). Within the area of Pasar Rebo bader occurs in 6 of the 7 villages which score +0. (The seventh village has no data for this variable.) (See Map 3.) Since we know, (both from a further analysis of the third dimension and from a simple geographical plotting of the frequency of occurrences of a number of Balinese features) that, generally speaking, the Balinese element in

Jakarta Malay has spread from the urban to the rural area, the positive score of bader on the third dimension does not make Balinese the most probable source language for bader. We have not been able indeed to find a parallel in Balinese. On the other hand, bader could be easily explained as a borrowing from Sundanese. In Sundanese badeur means *unmanageable, disobedient*. Javanese and Old Javanese do not seem to have any direct parallels. What is puzzling, however, is that in the case of a strong association with Sundanese we would expect a rather high positive score on the fourth dimension instead of the completely neutral +0. Should we seek then the origin of bader in Banten rather than in the Sundanese area?

In the majority of such cases as bader a straightforward historical interpretation on the basis of individual dimensions is not possible in an area where so much mixture exists and in which relatively recent migration plays such an important part as is the case in the Jakarta Malay area. One would constantly have to look for additional data from outside the area. Moreover, as is generally attested in the literature (cf., e.g., Kruskal and Wish 1978:30), the difficulty of interpreting the dimensions is inherent in the multidimensional scaling techniques. The making of few assumptions makes the interpretation load heavier for the researcher. It seems therefore methodically more fruitful to concentrate first on the most complete possible grouping of the linguistic features and the villages, before new information from outside is called in.

We conclude this section with two more general observations. The first is, that extremely high scores on one side which are not counterbalanced by (rather) high scores on the other side of a particular dimension, indicate that the high scoring features are contrasted to *all* the other features, so that not much can be expected from a detailed analysis of the low scoring side. This is the case with the second dimension in the HALS 1-50 set, where the maximum negative category score is -25, and the maximum positive score +4. Thus the Mauk-Sepatan area and dialect are set apart as a typical group over against the total remaining area and its typical features.

The second observation regards the positive side of the first dimension. In this set as well as in any other set we have analysed so far, HOMALS groups the missing data categories on one side of the first dimension. This means that villages with many missing data score very high on that side (see Table 7). This is a very convenient warning to the user that his data are unreliable from a particular point of view. It makes the geographical mapping of the village scores for the first dimension more complicated, but since the missing data form a separate category, the grouping of the categories is not affected. HOMALS also may bring out other errors in the data. In a set of phonological items, where the questions had been administered as a multiple choice, the informants had often given more than one form. I found very high scores for a long series of such double answers, and I expected to find a nicely patterned transition area. What I discovered instead was that the villages which scored so high exactly coincided with those places where one particular fieldworker had been collecting the data. He had been either too insecure or too insistent, but anyhow HOMALS had him taped.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

4.1 The objectivity of the method

The method as described above requires a very orderly arrangement of the data, it does not eliminate data before their exact position within the total configuration has been determined and evaluated, and, generally, the more subjective and intuitive judgements come at a later, much better prepared stage as compared with the traditional methods. Above all, a very precise quantification leading to the measuring of the differences replaces the more subjective estimates made by the researcher. No incommensurate external data are called to one's aid before the analysis on the data contained in the matrix is finished.

The method even may detect inconsistencies, discrepancies and other errors or flaws in the data themselves. The precarious dependency of the researcher on probabilistic methods for solving the problem of missing data (which are, in terms of the empirical data, entirely unpredictable) is overcome, since village- and category-points are only defined by the non-missing entries of the data set (cf. van Rijckevorsel and De Leeuw 1978:7). The HOMALS technique is a highly objective tool for finding latent structures even in very weak data sets. It is sufficiently known (though not always sufficiently realised) how weak data sets are which comprise information with regard to reported or observed linguistic behaviour (cf. Moulton 1968:461 ff, disputed in Kurath 1972:16). Dialect data based on the use of questionnaires are especially weak in as far as it is generally impossible to determine the position of a given variant with regard to other, alternative, variants in the informant's repertoire.

Quite apart from the subjective elements involved in the process of data collecting, however, and also leaving out the final stage where, as always in the case of empirical data, the researcher's own judgements are decisive (the two poles are far from mutually independent, of course), I see three phases in the processing of the data where subjectivity is practically unavoidable and should be kept at a minimum. Chronologically, the second and third of these phases are the choice of dimensionality and the linking of different data sets; the first phase will be discussed last: it regards the reduction of the field data into mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories.

Although it is true that the initial choice of the number of dimensions on which the analysis is carried out is very arbitrary with HOMALS, it is always possible to increase the dimensionality as long as the results seem to justify this. There is, however, no measure for determining the best dimensionality; only relative importance of each individual dimension can be seen from its stress value (stress indicates the 'goodness of fit' of the model).

With regard to the third phase, I can only say that I have not yet explored practically, and that mathematically it is not yet known to what extent HOMALS solutions can be mutually compared. (In some other techniques, such as factor analysis, the rotation of the configurations is applied). If a regular correspondence between the solutions for different sets of variables could be found, the variables could be combined in an objective way, and the highly subjective way of combining the variables in particular sets (as done by myself) could be

replaced by a structurally determined selection. I am thinking particularly of the possibility of selecting the best variables in order to study the distribution of semantic fields, or to compare distributions on different levels of description (phonological, morphological, etc.).

Finally, how can we keep the first problem under control? The reduction of the field data into a limited number of categories implies many decisions with regard to the compatibility of variants. One may choose a linguistic criterion, such as the strictly lexical, or strictly phonological, character of the data set. But there will always remain many cases of doubt: should *wurungan* and *urungan* be kept apart (see above), or *itam* and *item black*, (as noted by the fieldworkers), or *encè'* and *enci'*? Both mean *father's younger brother*, but have been found to come from different source languages; (see for details Grijns 1980). For the first set of 50 lexical variables I have consulted all the geographical maps. Later I found the following method giving the best results. All variants which occur more than three times are classed in a separate category. Particularly interesting variants with a total occurrence of only three or even two are sometimes kept apart. HOMALS usually gives satisfactory results for my data even with such low frequencies. After the HOMALS analysis has been carried out, it is decided on the basis of the category scores whether further reduction is warranted. This is the case if the score profile of two or more of the categories is almost identical, and, of course, if there are no linguistic considerations to keep the variants apart. In some cases, if the scores of all the categories are extremely low on every dimension, even the whole variable may be eliminated from the set, although the fact of almost random distribution contains in itself important information. Since the variables HALS 1-50 were later included also in other sets, often with a different classification of the variants, the applicability of the above sketched procedure has been amply tested. Thus in the case of the variable *baru*, which was originally grouped into five categories, as shown in Table 2, where the forms *baru* and *baru'* were combined in category 1, in another set of (lexical) variables *baru'* was set apart and scored sufficiently differently from *baru* to justify its retention as a distinct entity.

4.2 Possible relevance for historical linguistics and sociolinguistics

The early investigations as mentioned in the first section of Chapter 3 were all carried out in the context of historical linguistics. What a technique such as HOMALS can offer here is considerable: a check on cognation or compatibility (since very similar score profiles mean very similar associations with all the other features under study), a much fuller use of the available information (no more cognation percentages, but direct scores for all the individual features), and a simultaneous patterning of the varieties (dialects, languages or even larger groups) and the variants.

For sociolinguistics the same possibility exists of simultaneous grouping of the informants (without previous classification according to social groups) and of the individual variants they use. Since the program can handle large data sets, the difficulty of how to select the best variables can be overcome. One does not

need to begin with some few selected variables and then build up the set, as Thelander was forced to do in his article on code-switching or code-mixing (Thelander 1976). In that case one has to move from the more obvious to the less obvious variables, and it may become increasingly difficult to enlarge the set somewhat objectively, whereas the HOMALS technique applies an objective procedure of reduction, and one is free to include in the initial data set any features which seem to be of interest for the distinguishing of the speech varieties under study.

Multidimensional scaling is not a panacea for all problems of patterning of linguistic features and informants (cf. Berdan 1978, where the application of multidimensional scaling and the related technique of principal components analysis is compared in the case of five variants of one vowel variable; it should be noted, however, that HOMALS can be seen as a non-linear form of principal components analysis, cf. Van Rijckevorsel and De Leeuw 1978:1 and 2). In such a complex variation as we find in the Jakarta Malay area, and especially if dealing with lexical variables, one would hardly even think of the possibility for an algorithm to *generate* variants. But as has been demonstrated, for our data the HOMALS procedure has unmistakably considerable *predictive* power as to linguistic patterning.

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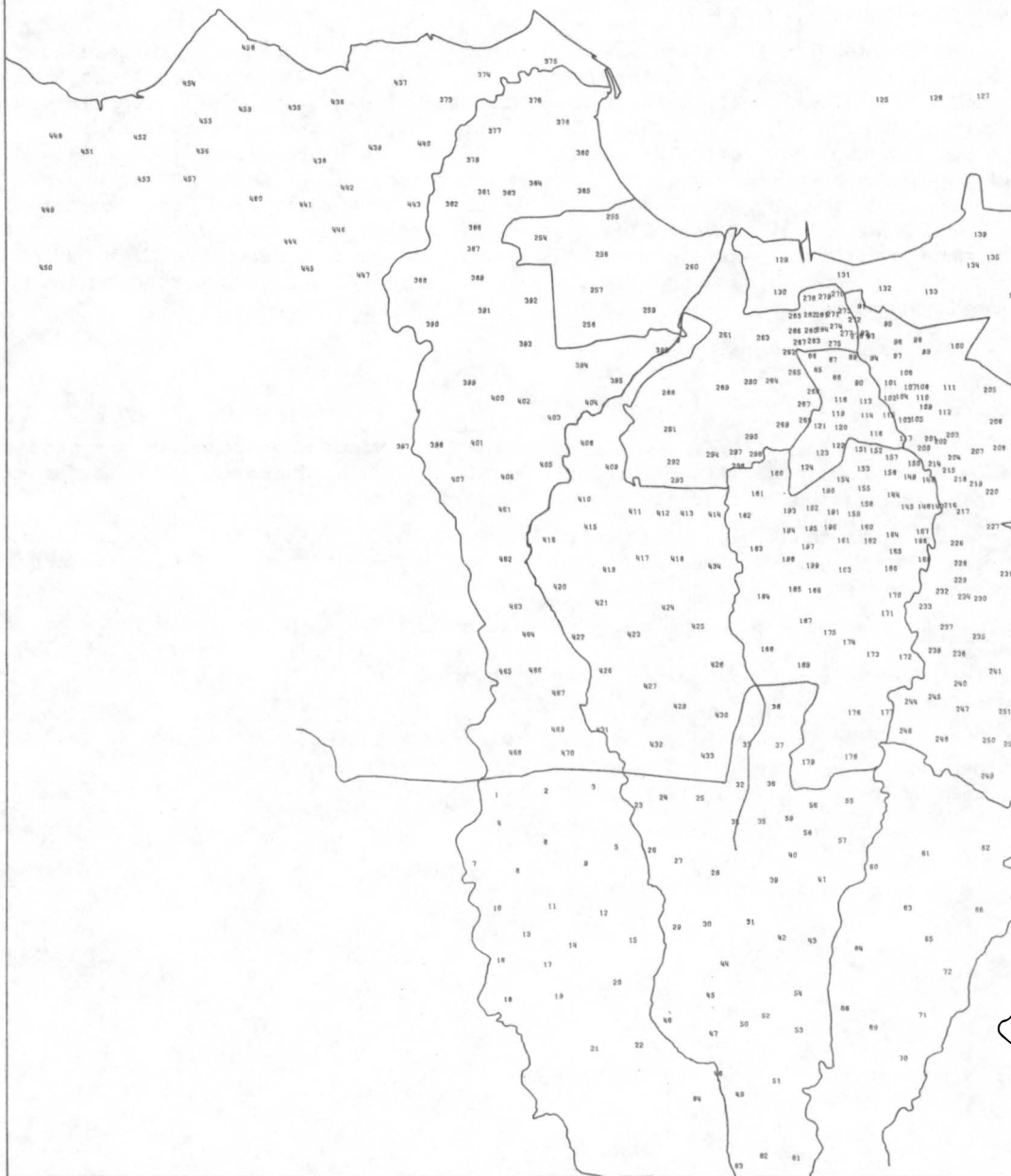
I wish to thank Mike Tjok Joe of the Department of Scientific Applications in the Computing Centre, Leiden University, who has carried out all the programming work for me.

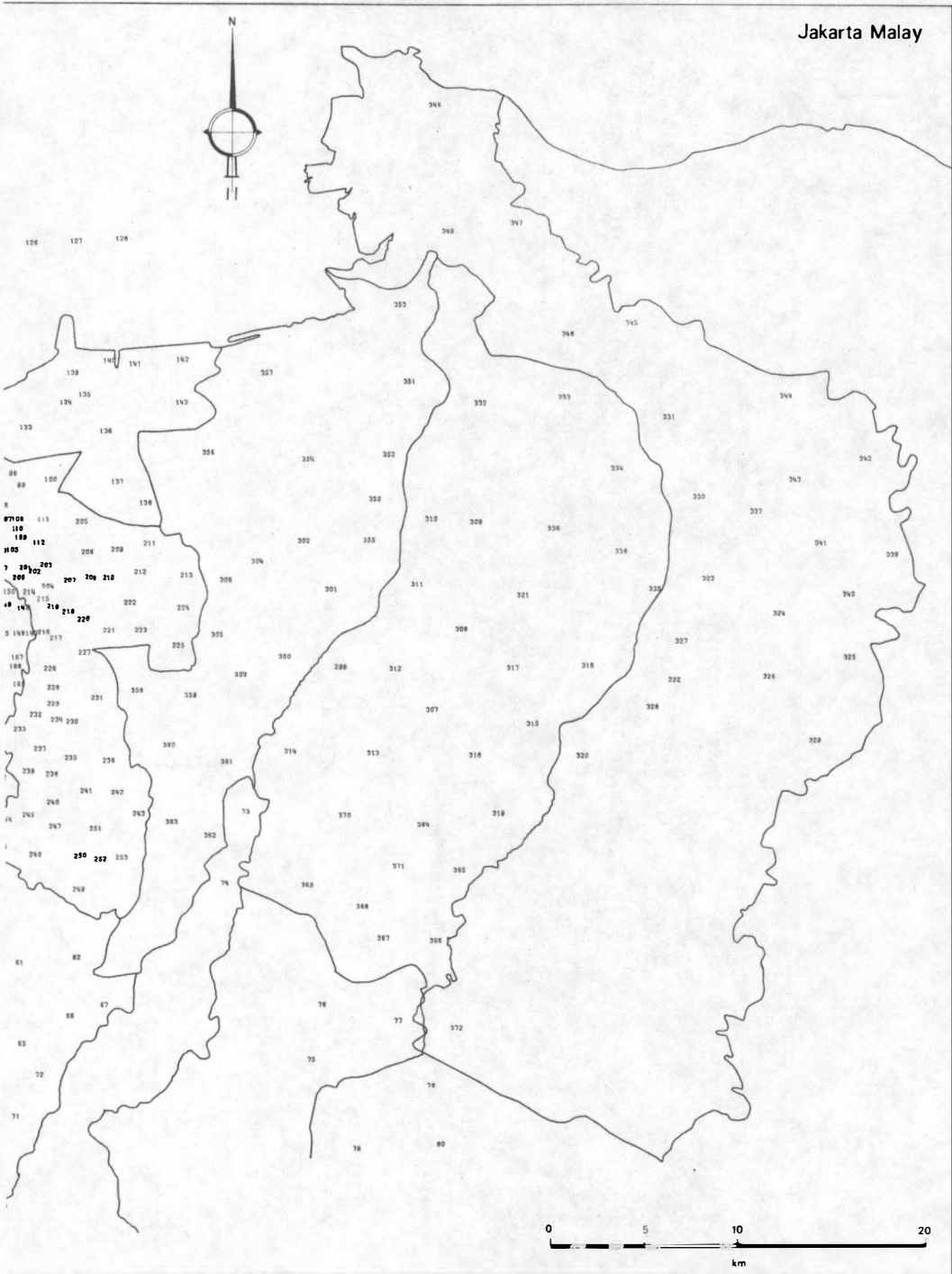
I am also very much obliged to E. Backer and H.P.A. Haas of the Information Theory Group, Department of Electrical Engineering, Delft University of Technology, for making the detailed clustering studies on the set of 'fishing tools' variables.

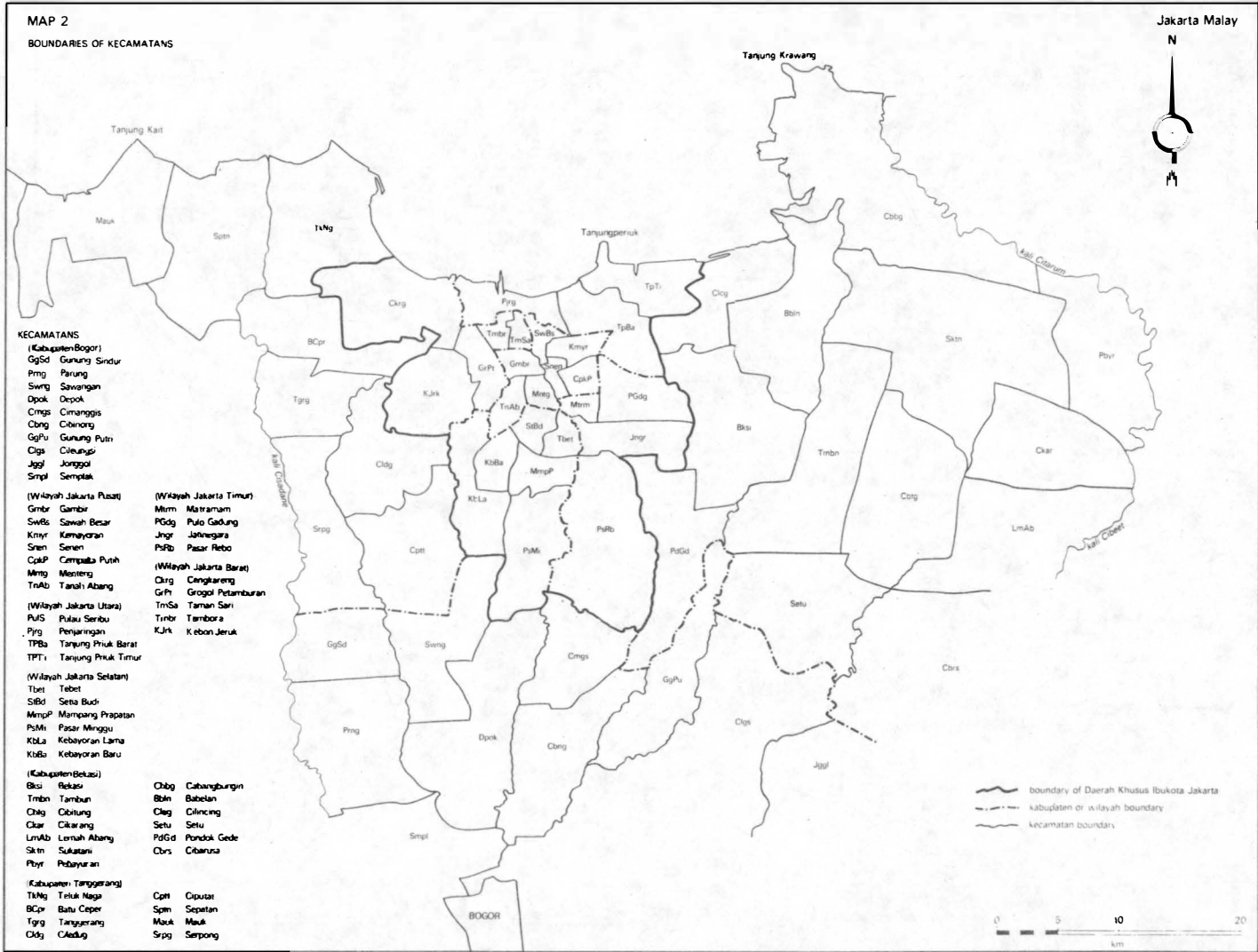
The fieldwork on which this paper is based was supported in part by the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO; file W 38-2).

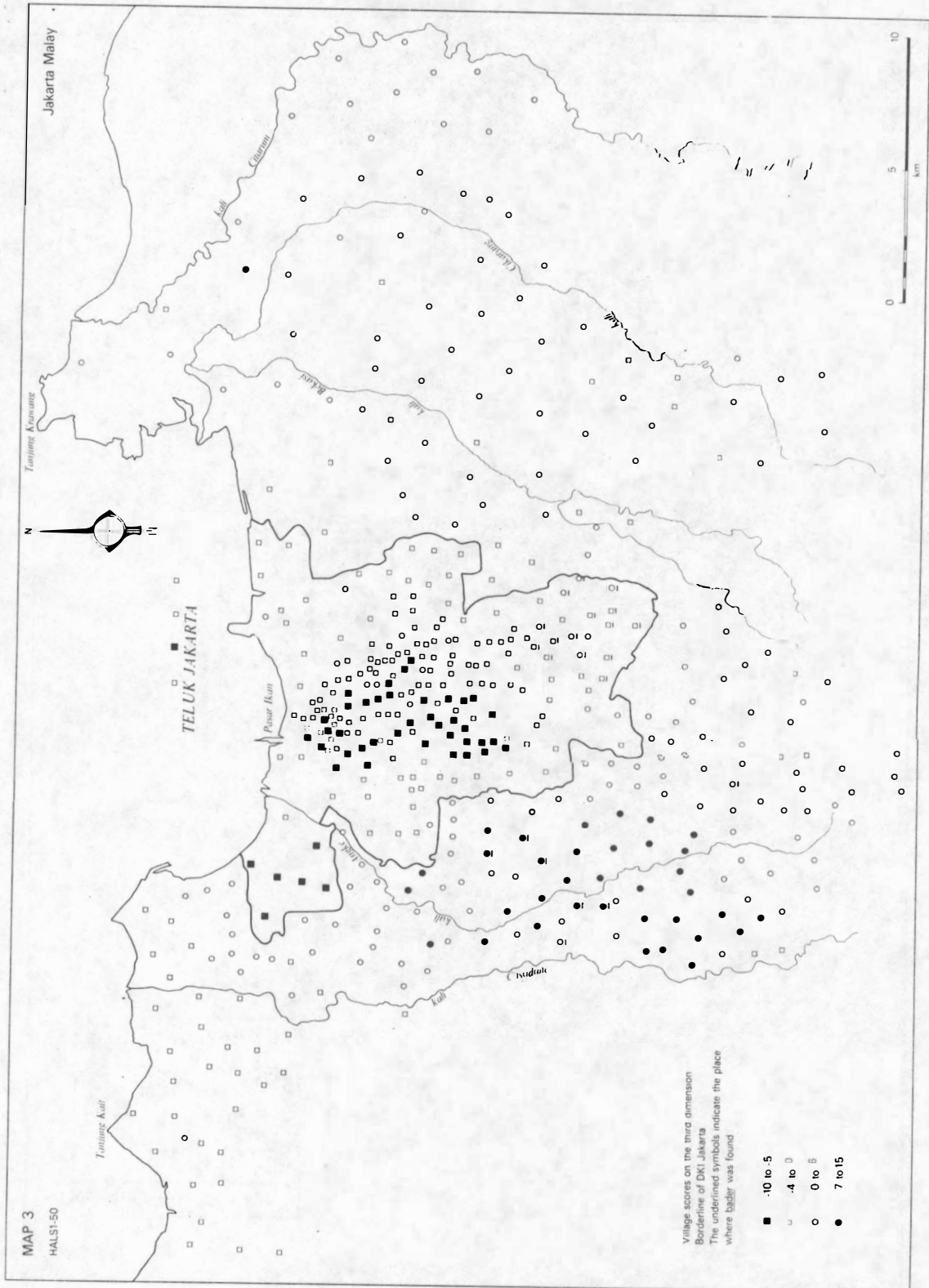
MAP 1

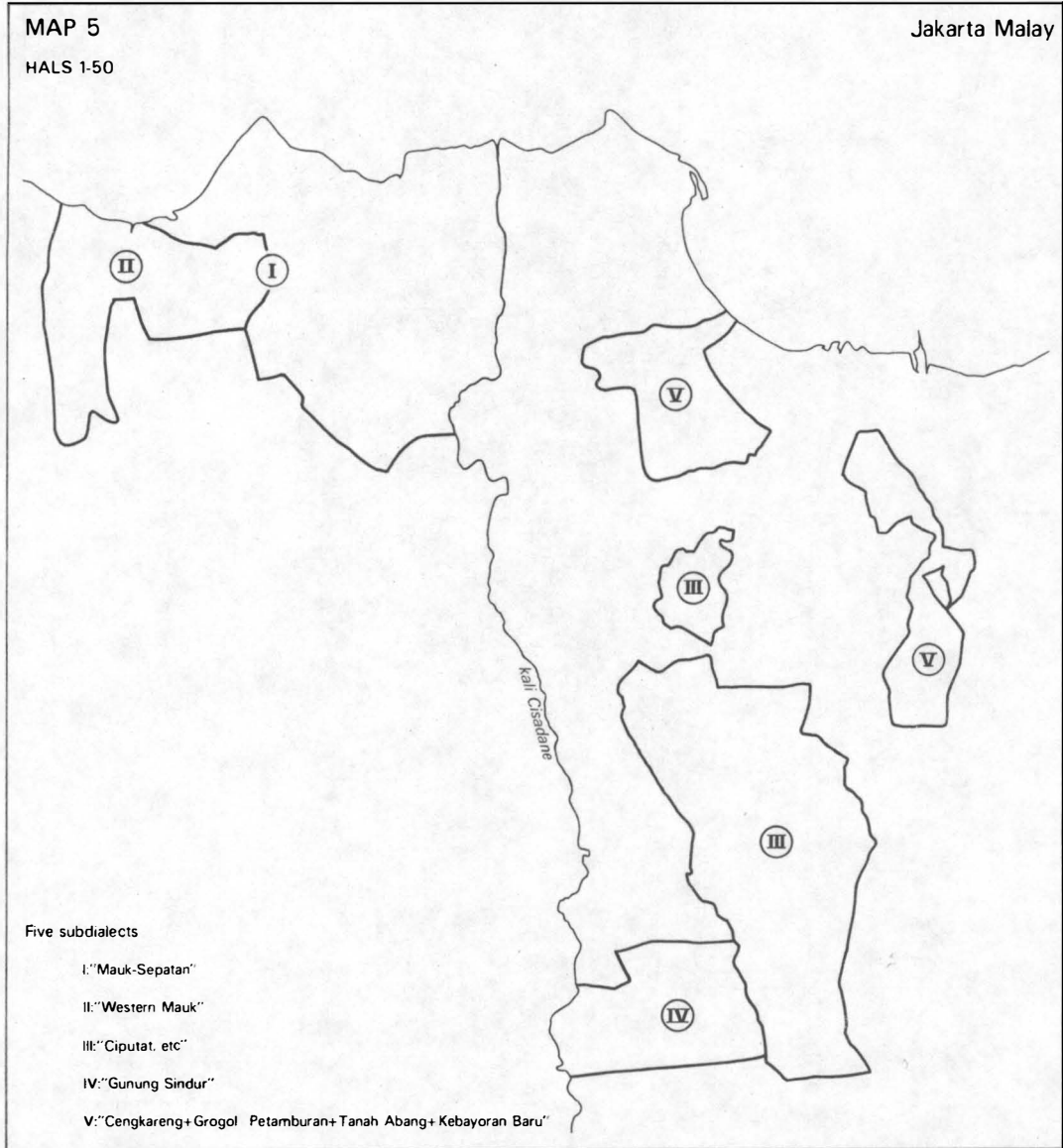
NUMBERS OF VILLAGES INCLUDED IN THE SURVEY











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CENTRAL JAVANESE DIALECTS

Bernd Nothofer

In this paper I will present a few results of my dialect research which I carried out in Central Java from February until August 1979.¹

Map 1 shows the territory in which I examined the dialects of 34 Central Javanese villages. The research was mainly carried out in those *kabupatens* of Central Java that lie to the west of an imaginary line the end points of which are the towns of Weleri in the north and Parangtritis in the south. Villages were visited in the following *kabupatens*: Brebes, Tegal, Pemalang, Pekalongan, Batang, Kendal, Banyumas, Purbalingga, Banjarnegara, Wonosobo, Temanggung, Cilacap, Kebumen, Purworejo, Kulon Progo, and Gunung Kidul. The list that appears on the following page contains the names of the villages I visited, their population, and the districts and *kabupatens* they belong to.

In this paper I will deal with two topics: (1) I will demonstrate the agreement between dialectal data and historical facts, and (2) I will comment on dialect-geographical aspects of the polite vocabulary of Javanese.

1. CONGRUENCE OF LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL BOUNDARIES – THE CASE OF CENTRAL JAVA

When comparing the various linguistic maps of a study area, dialect-geographical constellations can be recognised. These structures are made evident by the occurrence of bundles of isoglosses, that is, by the similarity in the course of several linguistic boundaries. The interpretation of the development of such constellations is either of an extra-linguistic or an intra-linguistic nature. J. Goossens (1977:74) has said with regard to the extra-linguistic view: "An areal-linguistic interpretation is extra-linguistic if it explains the spread of linguistic phenomena and the geographical contradictions between them with the aid of other than linguistic factors". This view is based on the notion that the dialect-geographical segmentation of a study area is mainly the consequence of its (cultural-)historical development.

Two bundles of isoglosses will be described below, and an attempt will be made to interpret them extra-linguistically. Both bundles run from the north to the south coast of Central Java. The first bundle can be seen on map 2 which provides a summary of phonetic isoglosses which occur in all of the words examined. Other phonogeographical isoglosses, occurring only in individual cases, however, and whose course is very similar to those on the previous map, can be

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	Name of the village	Population	District	Kabupaten
1	Murareja	2600	Sumurpanggang	Tegal
2	Sindangjaya	2200	Kersana	Brebes
3	Rajegwesi	2300	Pagerbarang	Tegal
4	Galuh Timur	5400	Tonjong	Brebes
5	Tayem	7800	Karangpucung	Cilacap
6	Sitemu	3000	Taman	Pemalang
7	Luwijawa	2400	Jatinegara	Tegal
8	Kedawung	1600	Bojong	Tegal
9	Sambirata	4000	Cilongok	Banyumas
10	Pengadegan	3400	Wangon	Banyumas
11	Gandrungmanis	19000	Gandrungmangu	Cilacap
12	Grujugan	5000	Kemranjen	Banyumas
13	Karangduren	3000	Sokaraja	Banyumas
14	Majapura	3300	Bobotsari	Purbalingga
15	Jojogan	2500	Watukumpul	Pemalang
16	Api-api	2600	Wiradesa	Pekalongan
17	Lolong	1300	Karanganyar	Pekalongan
18	Kalibening	3000	Kalibening	Banjarnegara
19	Danareja	3600	Purwanegara	Banjarnegara
20	Gumawang	1600	Kuwarasan	Kebumen
21	Buluspesantren	1300	Buluspesantren	Kebumen
22	Plumbon	5000	Sadang	Kebumen
23	Prigi	2700	Sigaluh	Banjarnegara
24	Pejawaran	2700	Pejawaran	Banjarnegara
25	Wonobodro	2500	Blado	Batang
26	Ponowareng	200	Tulis	Batang
27	Tegalombo I	1200	Tersono	Batang
28	Bojong	1000	Tretep	Temanggung
29	Tegalombo II	2400	Kalikajar	Wonosobo
30	Brunorejo	4000	Bruno	Purworejo
31	Wareng	2500	Butuh	Purworejo
32	Jogoboyo	900	Purwodadi	Purworejo
33	Banaran	5500	Galur	Kulon Progo
34	Mula	3200	Wonosari	Gunung Kidul

found on maps 3 and 4. A morphophonemic boundary with a similar course appears on map 5, a morphological isogloss appears on map 6 (here it is the eastern boundary), and the lexical boundaries can be seen on map 7 (the *krama* word is missing in the villages numbered 28, 29, 32, 33, and 34, and it is inum in a strip lying to their west), on map 8 (the *krama* form in villages 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, and 34 is *brambat*, while the south-western villages have no *krama* form), on map 9 (villages 28, 29, 31, 32, 33 and 34 have no *krama* word, and the south-western area has *sinḍutan*), and on map 10 (the *ngoko* word in villages 26, 27, 28, 32, 33 and 34 is *koṭoŋ*, while in the other regions it is *suwuŋ* or *koṣoŋ*).

The second bundle of isoglosses runs somewhat further east and can be seen on maps such as map 11 which summarises three phonetic isoglosses. A morphemic isogloss having a similar course is the boundary between the -na area and the -akən area (map 6). Lexical boundaries are the ombɛ, ombe/inum isogloss as *krama* words for *to drink* (map 7), the inum/umbe, umbe, ombe isogloss as *ngoko* words for the same meaning, the təlutih/gətah, jətah, pulut isogloss for *tree sap* (map 12), and the tumbuk/gəntəŋ isogloss as *krama* words for *to pound rice* (map 13).

Let us now look at the political and cultural history of the study area in order to provide an extralinguistic interpretation of the dialect-geographical constellations just described.

The history relevant to this area begins with the mention of the first Hindu-Javanese kingdom called Mataram.² This kingdom flourished in Central Java at the beginning of the eighth century. On the Dieng Plateau it left behind some of the most recent Hindu monuments in Java. According to Chinese reports, the rulers of Mataram regularly paid visits there. The kingdom, which is said to have been located in the area of Yogya, Solo and the old Kedu (see map 15), eventually perished and was replaced by a Buddhist Shailendra Dynasty which had its base in Sumatra. The Shailendras ruled over Central Java and its local kingdoms and pushed the conservative Hindu forces out toward the East. In the eighth century the Shailendras firmly established themselves in Central Java. In the ninth century this Buddhist kingdom was replaced by a Shivaistic one which also called itself Mataram. This Mataram was located in the area of the Mataram of the beginning of the eighth century. Only the centre was further to the south. The centre of the first Mataram was in the region of the present-day small town of Kedu, the centre of the second Mataram in the area of Yogyakarta. But soon Central Java lost its importance as the centre of the Shivaistic culture, and Eastern Java moved to the forefront. For the duration of five centuries only this part of the island is mentioned in historical records. The last and largest of the Hindu-Javanese kingdoms, namely Majapahit, was founded in East Java. At the beginning of the 16th century Majapahit gradually went into dissolution, weakened by the flowering of Malacca as a commercial centre and by the spread of Islam. The centre of power moved again from East Java to Central Java. During the reign of Sultan Agung from 1613 to 1645 the newly-founded kingdom of Mataram became the greatest power on Java. The port cities on the north coast of Java, which had been converted to Islam in the 15th century, were defeated and subjected. The cultural region of this kingdom consisted primarily of the areas of Yogya, Solo and Old Kedu. At their centre was the palace, and it formed their linguistic landscape.

The speech of the palace occupied a special position and aspired to a general validity especially in the area just outlined. But the cultural area of Mataram was formed not only by these old territories. Rather, the neighbouring territories to the west such as East Bagelen and East Pekalongan (see map 15) also belonged to it. The cultural ties of these areas to the cultural centre are described by Schrieke (1957:211ff.). Essentially, he says that parts of the areas outside the immediate Mataram region, among them the area of the Dieng Plateau and the surrounding territories, had a special function in this kingdom. Until these regions were transferred to the Dutch in the 19th century, they had always been of special importance to the rulers of Mataram, since the ruling princes of Mataram regarded themselves as descendants from these areas. Thus, the Dieng Plateau and its surroundings were a territory traditionally tied closely to the palace.

Comparing the (cultural-)historical boundaries with the linguistic boundaries, we see a congruence between the courses taken by both. As described above, the inner circle of the Mataram kingdom comprises the regions of Yogya, Solo and Old Kedu. The western boundaries of this circle largely correspond to the first bundle of isoglosses. Only in the extreme north and south are there occasional deviations. These will be explained below.

The second bundle of isoglosses permits the conclusion that the cultural area of Mataram extended beyond this boundary and included East Bagelen and East Pekalongan.

The cultural area of the Mataram palace thus comprised not only the territories of Yogya, Solo and Old Kedu; rather, a part of the western neighbouring areas, those of East Bagelen and East Pekalongan, also belonged to it. On the basis of their historical importance for the royal court, these western territories had many relations to the centre which were augmented by the ties of the secular culture. These factors permit us to regard the entire area as a cultural community. This finds its most visible expression in the fact that the areas under consideration in parts grew together in the new political order of Central Java: Old Kedu and Old East Bagelen were united in the Residency of Kedu of post-colonial times.

The extralinguistic interpretation of the dialectal situation would be incomplete without an explanation of the deviating or different courses taken by many isoglosses on the northern and southern coasts. On several maps it can be seen that either in the north and/or in the south isoglosses have reached far to the west in a funnel shape (e.g. maps 14, 16 and 17), or that an enclave appears in the north in which dialectal forms used further to the east occur (e.g. map 2). This northern enclave is the port city of Pekalongan with its surroundings. Such dialect constellations can be found along great communications and culture routes emanating from the cultural centre. The two great and important communications routes of Central Java, which already existed in the 17th century, run along the north and the south coast. The advance of linguistic elements can occur in two ways. It regularly happens that elements advancing from afar skip shorter or longer distances in order to spread out in an urban centre of attraction, from which they then expand into the city's area of influence. The formation of enclaves occurs in this way. More rarely, linguistic innovations also advance continually from place to place into another dialect area. In doing so, only the places along the great communications routes are influenced at first.

2. DIALECT-GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF THE POLITE VOCABULARY OF JAVANESE

A few Indonesian languages distinguish between non-polite and polite vocabulary. This phenomenon is typical for languages such as Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, and Balinese. The degree of familiarity between the speaker and the addressee and the social status of the addressee are decisive factors in the selection between non-polite and polite words. The more formal the relationship between the speaker and the addressee and the higher the social status of the addressee, the more polite is the vocabulary.

So far there have been no dialect-geographical studies on the polite vocabulary of Javanese. In the following I would like to present some results of my research on the dialect geography of the Javanese *krama* and *krama inggil* vocabulary.

Let me first remark on the polite vocabulary. The *krama* and *krama inggil* vocabulary shows less dialectal variation than the non-polite (*ngoko*) vocabulary. This is due to the fact that polite vocabulary is a relatively recent innovation. Maps 13, 18 and 19 show meanings for which there is dialectal variation on the *krama* and the *krama inggil* level. It is interesting to note that the *krama* vocabulary has more dialectal variation than the *krama inggil* vocabulary.

2.1 Some observations on the *krama* vocabulary

2.1.1 The western dialects have less *krama* vocabulary than the more eastern dialects. The area with the least amount of *krama* vocabulary is the region around Tegal (villages 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, and 8). The dialects 32, 33, 34 have more *krama* vocabulary than any other examined dialect, since the polite vocabulary probably originated in this more eastern area. From there it spread to the surrounding areas, but it did not always reach the peripheral areas. Maps 20 and 21 are examples which show that the western dialects have less *krama* vocabulary.

2.1.2 Sometimes the areas with less *krama* vocabulary have a *krama* word for meanings which appear in areas with more *krama* vocabulary without a *krama* word. Examples appear on maps 9 and 22.

2.1.3 The *krama* vocabulary of the areas with less *krama* vocabulary has the following characteristics:

(a) In some instances the *krama* word is a borrowing of the *ngoko* word of the neighbouring dialects. See map 23.

(b) In some cases the *krama* word is a borrowing of the *ngoko* word which is used in the areas with more *krama* vocabulary (see map 24). These cases seem to suggest that at the time of the spread of the polite vocabulary the *ngoko* words of the more eastern dialects were regarded as more polite. The corresponding *krama inggil* words are not always borrowed.

(c) There are instances in which the *ngoko* word of the area with less *krama* vocabulary appears as the *krama* word of the area with more *krama* vocabulary and the *krama* word of the area with less *krama* vocabulary as the *ngoko* word of the area with more *krama* vocabulary. See maps 7 and 25. In both cases one might consider the *ngoko* words of the area with less *krama* vocabulary as old borrowings from Malay, while the *krama* words were borrowed with the spread of the vocabularies from the cultural centre. The *krama* words of the area with more *krama* vocabulary could be explained as follows: *klapa*, *klɔpɔ* probably is a relatively recent borrowing from Malay; *inum* in the villages 19 - 23 probably is a borrowing from the neighbouring northern and western dialects.

(d) The *krama* word can be a relic form. The *krama* word *səwəŋ* *empty* on map 10 is older than the *ngoko* word *suwun*. NJv. *suwun* is the result of the development OJv. *-əwə-* > NJv. *-uwu-*.

(e) The *krama* form relatively often is a new formation which is constructed by analogy to certain morphophonemic processes that form *krama* vocabulary from *ngoko* words. Examples:

map 26: In the area around Yogyakarta *garu* is the neutral word for *harrow*. In the west we find *gantən* and *gantɔs* as *krama* forms. The form *gantən* is probably formed on the model

ngoko: *-ru*, *-ri* > *krama*: *-ntən*

as appears in *karuwan* : *kantənən* *certain*.

map 22: The *krama* form pənjatəs *rattan* is perhaps formed by analogy to jatəs *teak* which is the *krama* form corresponding to ngoko *jati*.

map 27: The *krama* form baŋbət, bambət *bamboo* is formed by analogy to the model

$$\text{ngoko: } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b \\ w \end{array} \right\} \text{ u (C) } > \text{ krama: } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b \\ w \end{array} \right\} \text{ ət}$$

as appears in jambu : jambət *guava*.

(f) In some cases the *krama* word is identical with the *ngoko* word of a semantically close concept of the eastern dialect or a neighbouring dialect. An example appears on map 26: juŋkat which is used in several dialects as the *krama* word for *harrow* is in other dialects the *ngoko* word for *comb*.

(g) It happens that the *krama* word is identical with the *krama* word of a semantically close concept of the dialects around Yogyakarta or of a neighbouring dialect. An example: sawuŋ on map 28 is in the western dialects the *krama* word for *chicken*. In the more eastern dialects, however, it is the *krama* word for *cock*.

(h) In some instances the *krama* word probably is a borrowing from Malay. An example appears on map 13: tumbuk *to pound rice* must be interpreted as a Malay loan.

In the following I would like to comment on two dialect maps which show how Malay borrowings participate in the formation of *krama* vocabulary.

map 8: We distinguish six dialect areas: a large western area in which there exists only brambaŋ, an eastern area where brambaŋ is the *ngoko* word and brambət the *krama* form, in the north-west there are four small dialect areas: (1) *ngoko*: bawaŋ abaŋ, *krama*: brambaŋ abrit, (2) *ngoko*: bawaŋ abaŋ, *krama*: bawaŋ abrit, (3) *ngoko*: brambaŋ abaŋ, *krama*: bawaŋ abrit, (4) *ngoko*: brambaŋ abaŋ, *krama*: brambaŋ abrit.

The source of bawaŋ abaŋ is Malay bawaŋ merah, merah being replaced by its Javanese translation abaŋ. In the more eastern dialects we find the Javanese word brambaŋ, but the loan translation abaŋ also appears. In dialect area (1) the *krama* word consists of the Javanese word brambaŋ and the *krama* equivalent of abaŋ, namely abrit. In dialect (2) and in dialect (3) the *krama* expression consists of the Malay loan bawaŋ and of abrit. In dialect (4) we find as in (1) brambaŋ abrit.

map 29: We find two large dialect areas in which there exists only a neutral word for *sweet*: in the western dialects (including the dialects of Cirebon and Indramayu) we find the Malay borrowing manis and in the more eastern dialects we find lægi. On the border between these two territories there are areas in which the neighbouring neutral word appears as the *krama* word: on the periphery of the manis-area we find an area where manis is the *ngoko* word and lægi the *krama*, on the periphery of the lægi-area we find two areas where lægi is the *ngoko* word and manis the *krama* word.

2.2 Some observations on the *krama inggil* vocabulary

2.2.1 The extreme western dialects have not only less *krama* vocabulary, but also less *krama inggil* vocabulary. See map 30.

2.2.2 In some instances the *krama* and *krama inggil* words of the areas with a smaller amount of polite vocabulary and of the areas with a larger amount of polite vocabulary are exchanged. See map 31.

2.2.3 *Krama inggil* words of the areas with a larger amount of polite vocabulary often appear as *krama* words in the areas with a smaller amount of polite vocabulary. Examples: In the eastern dialects *asta hand*, *taliṅa ear*, and *wijik to clean the hands* are *krama inggil* words, in the western dialects, however, they are used as *krama* words.

NOTES

1. This research and my participation in this Congress was made possible by a grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Bad Godesberg.
2. The historical facts described on the following pages are partly taken from Peacock.

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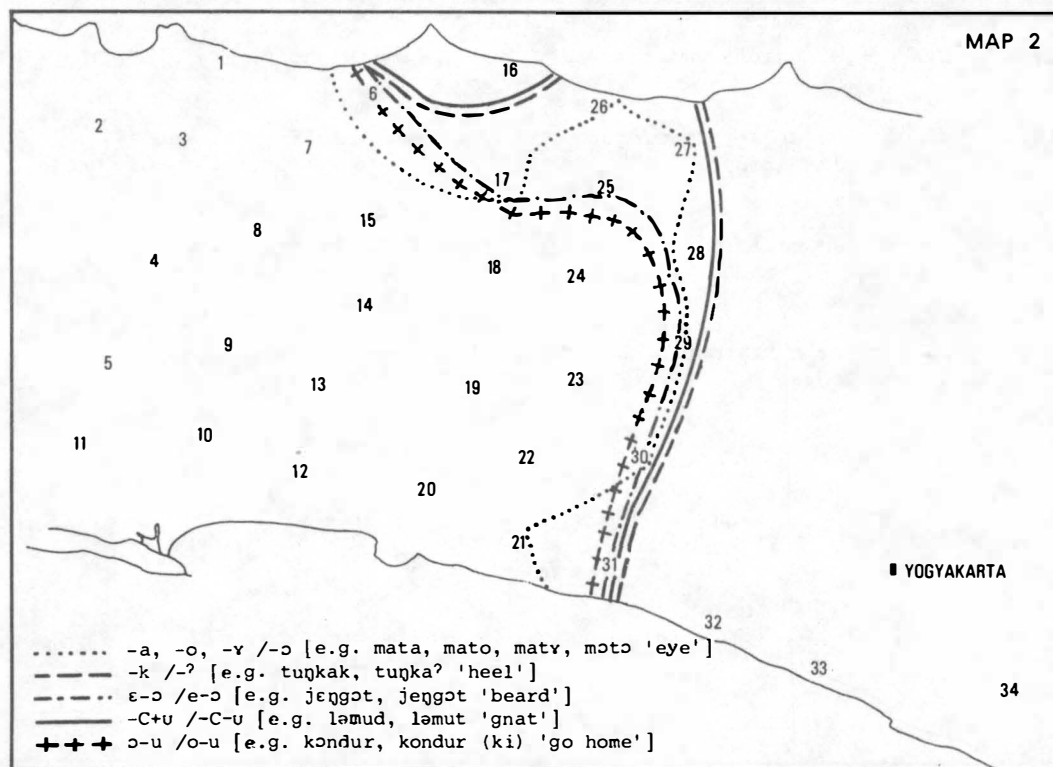
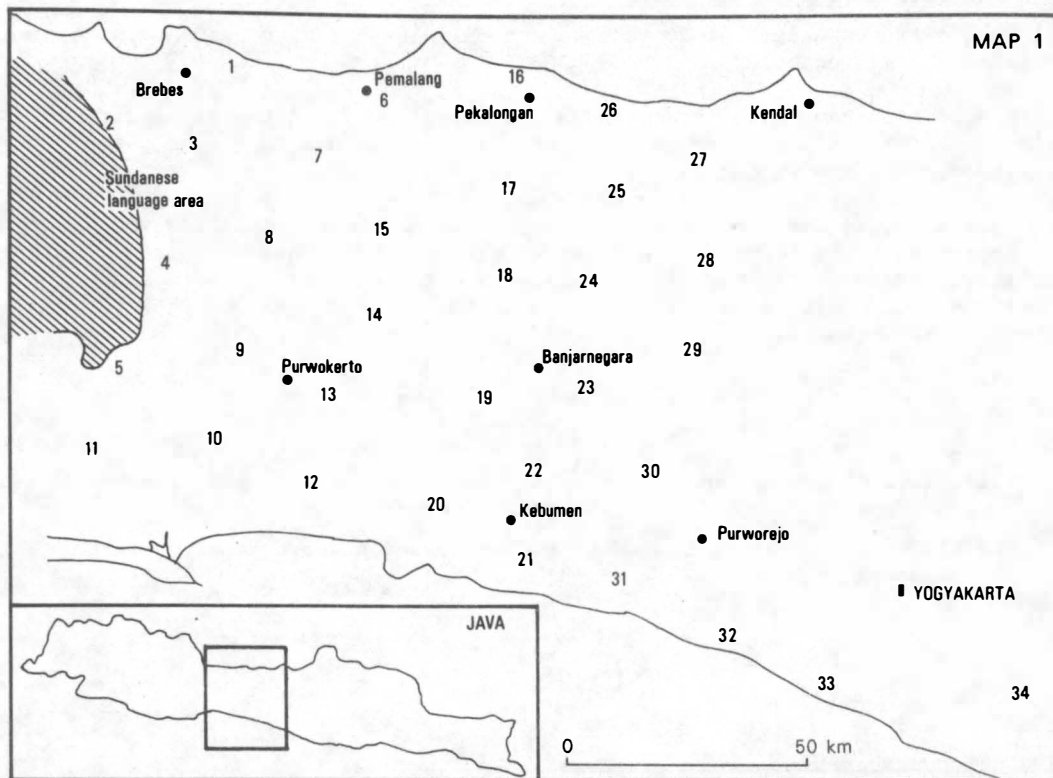
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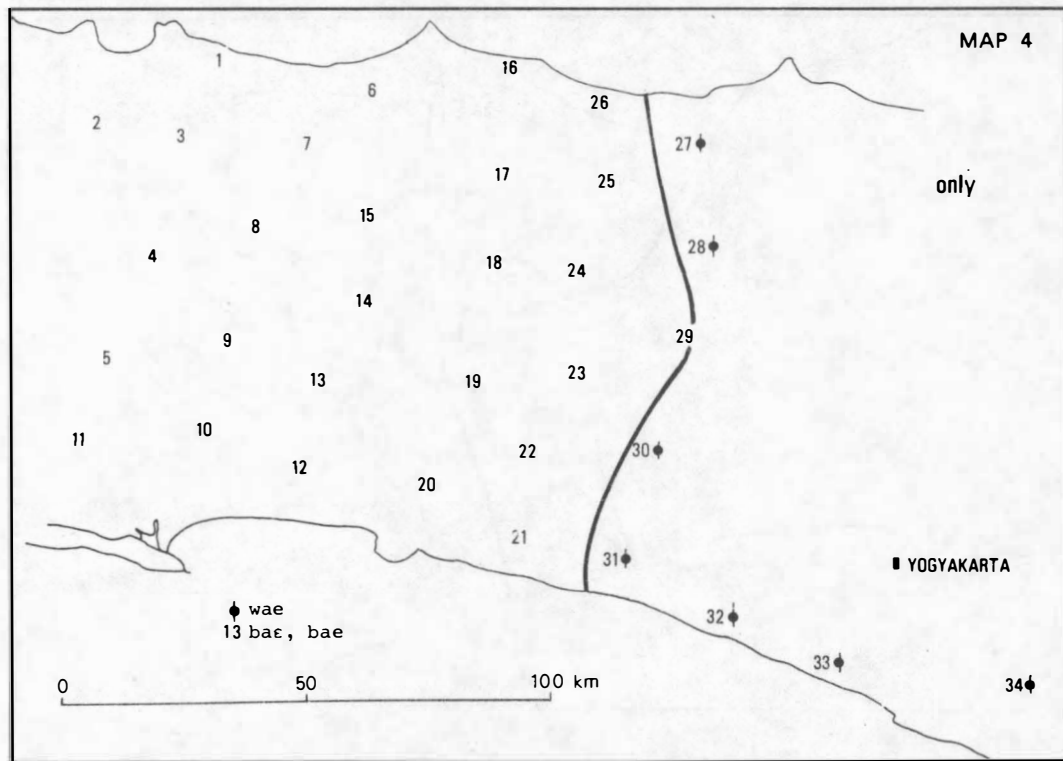
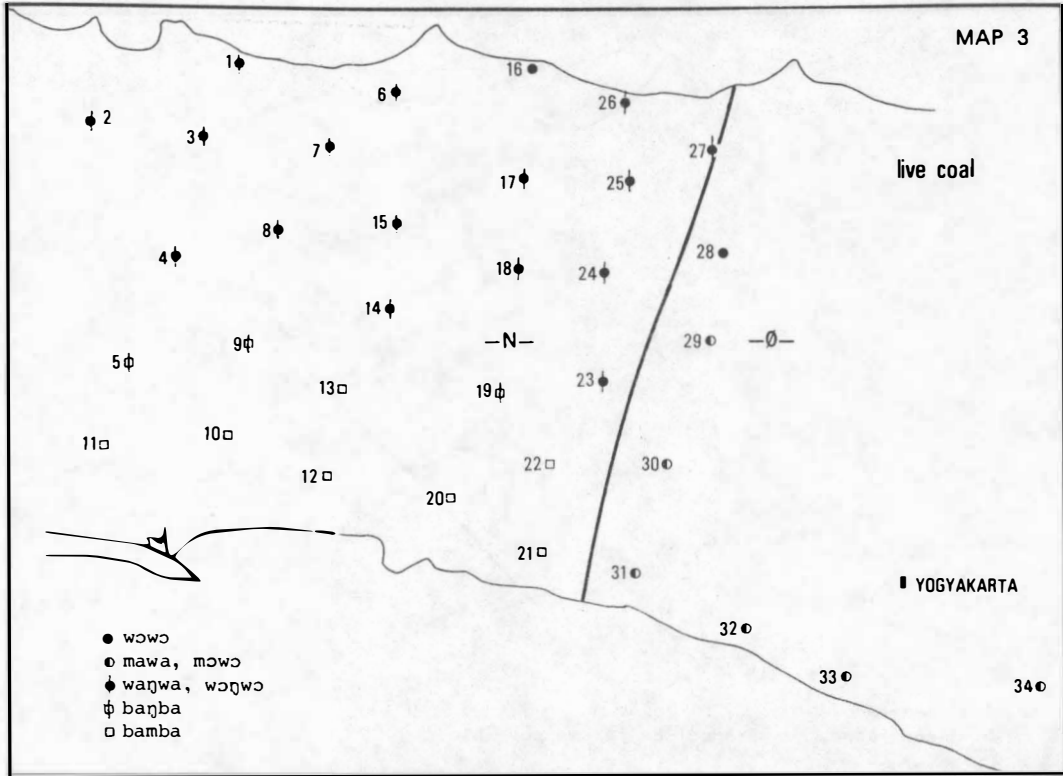
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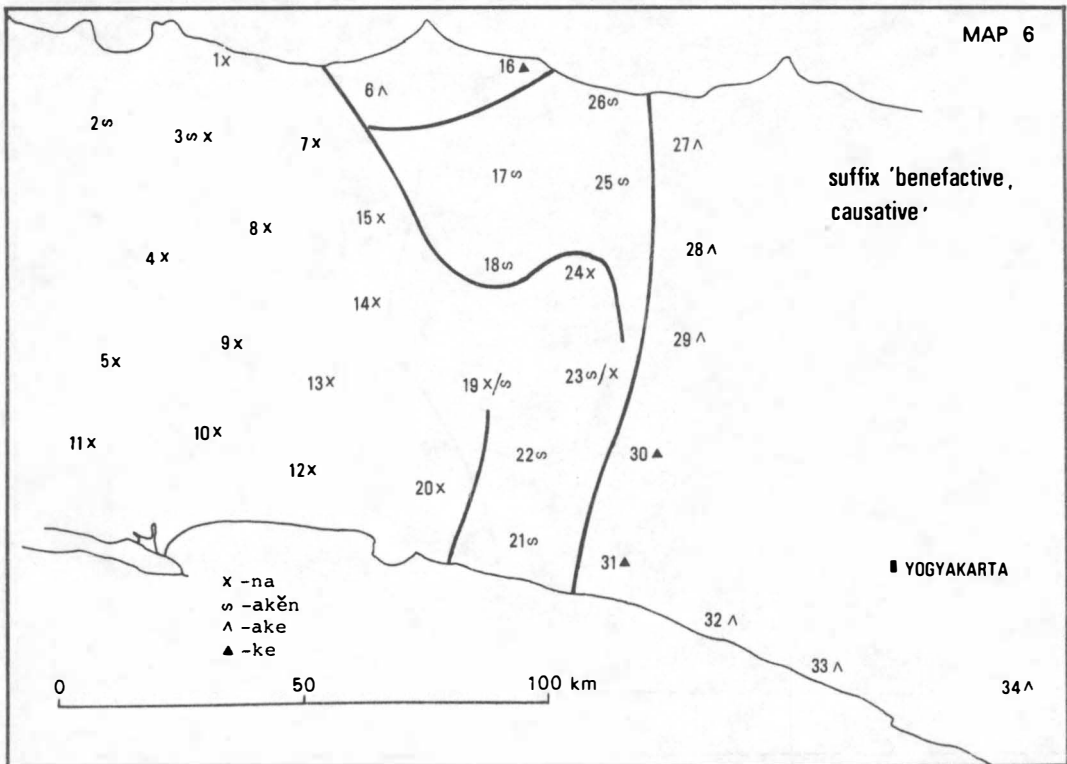
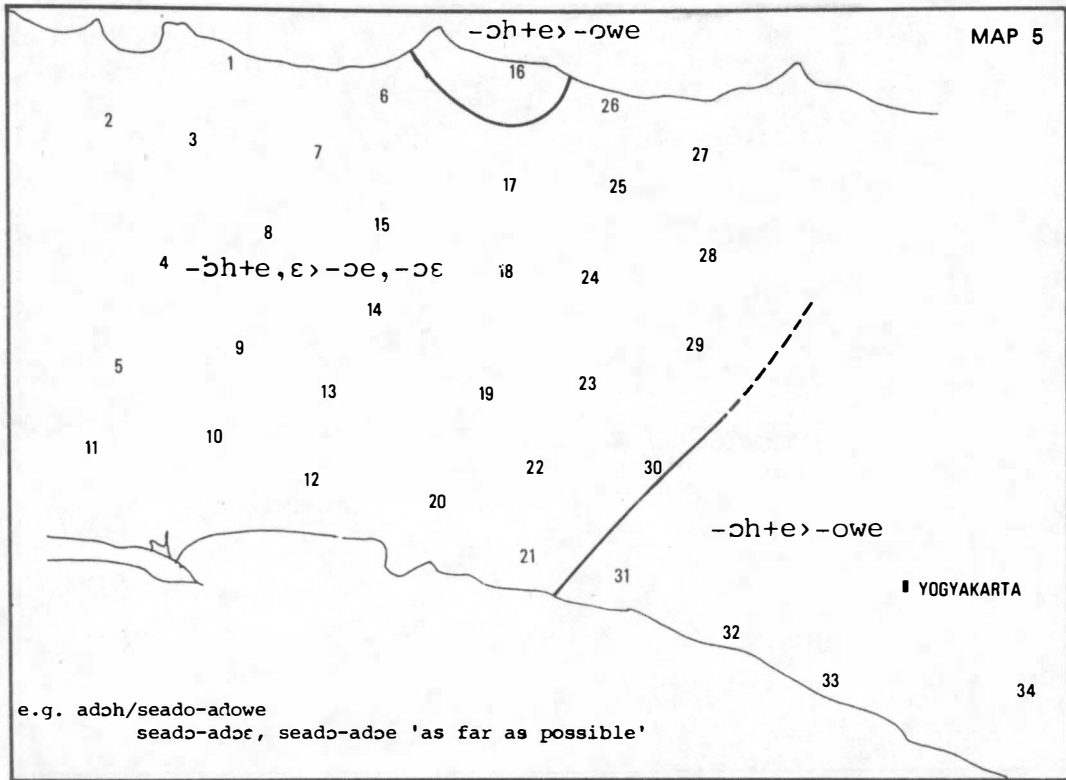
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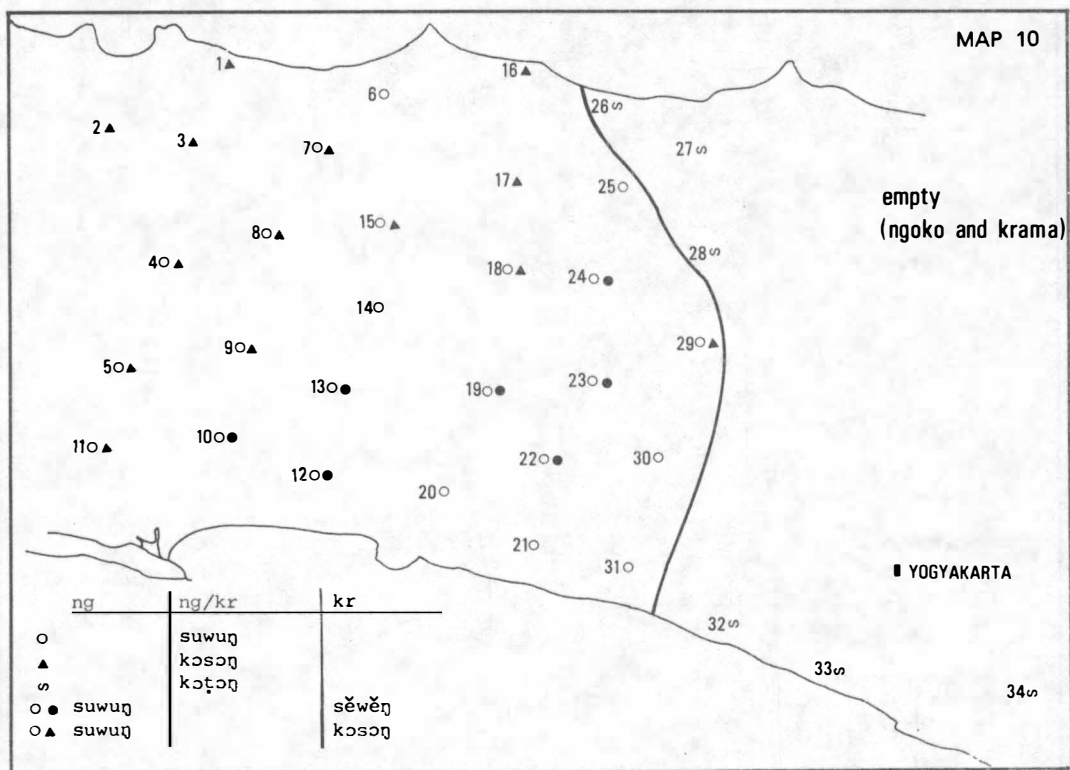
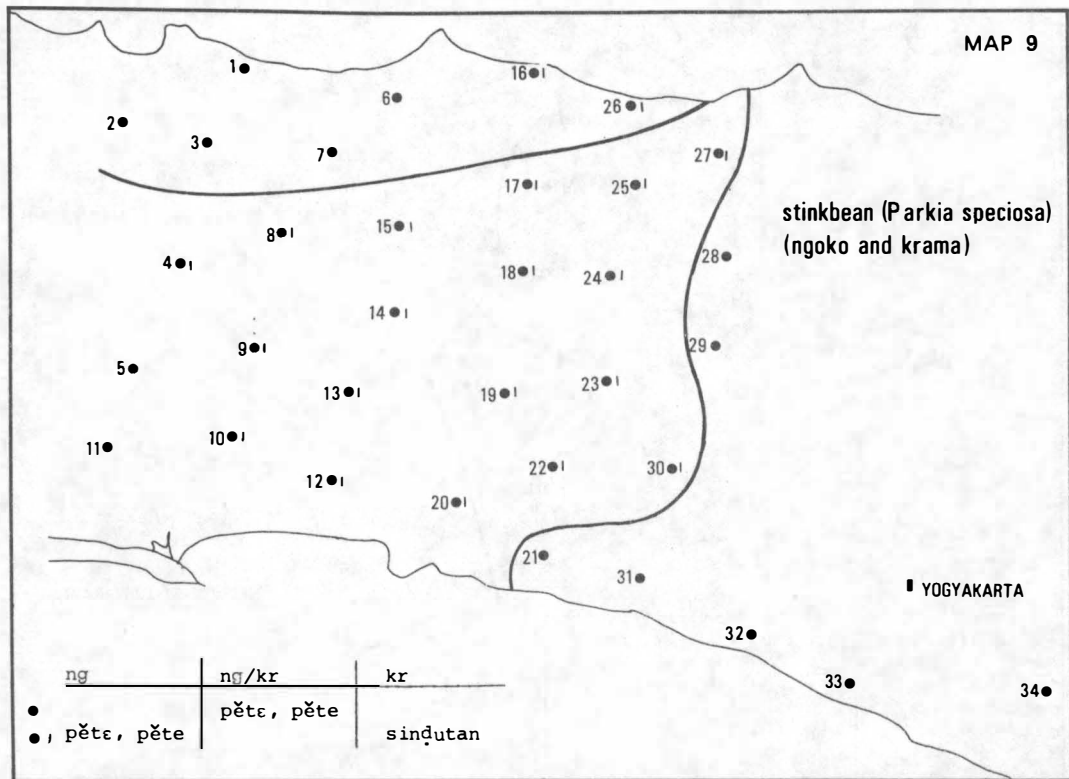
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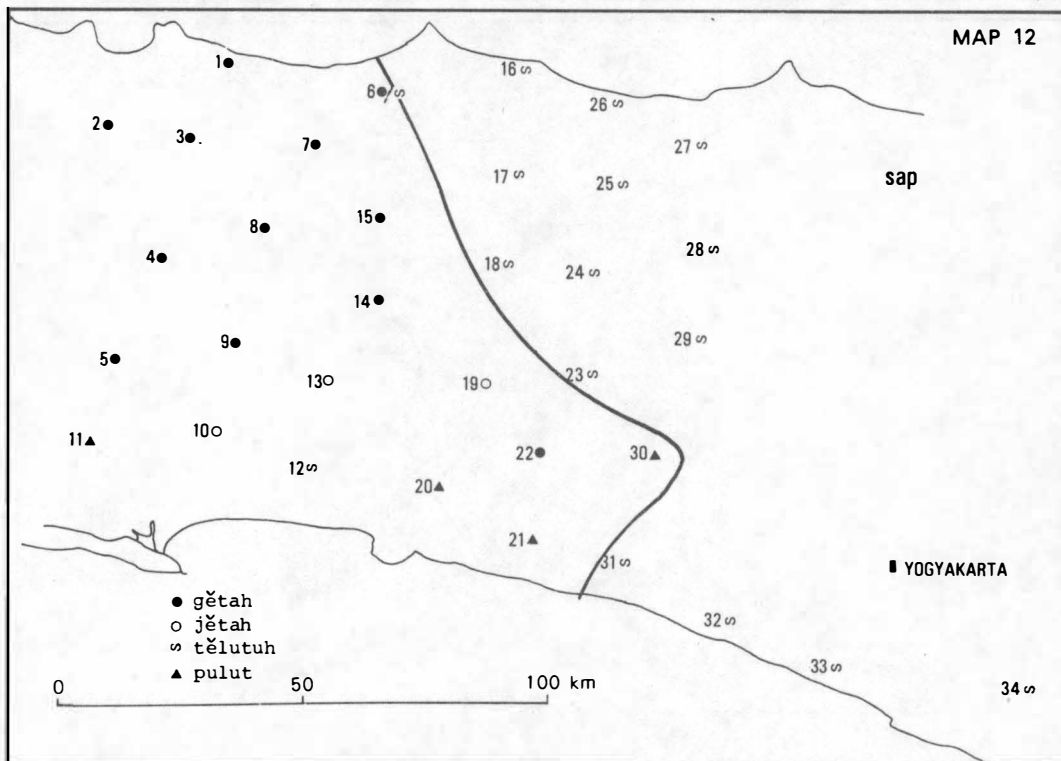
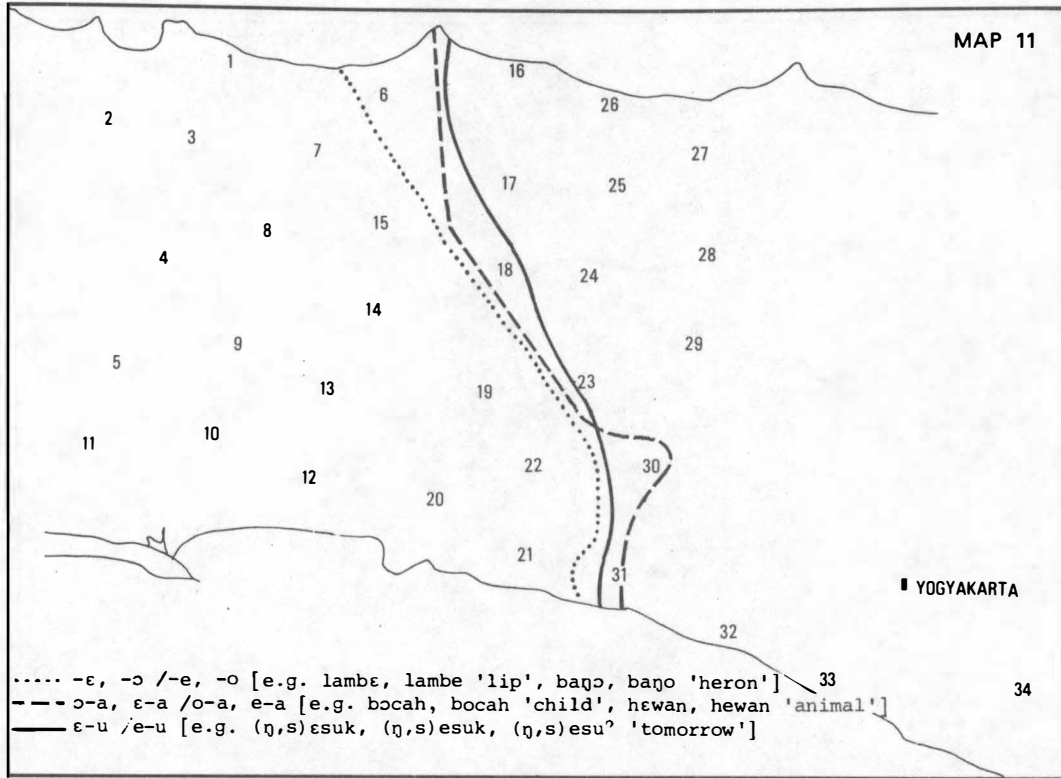
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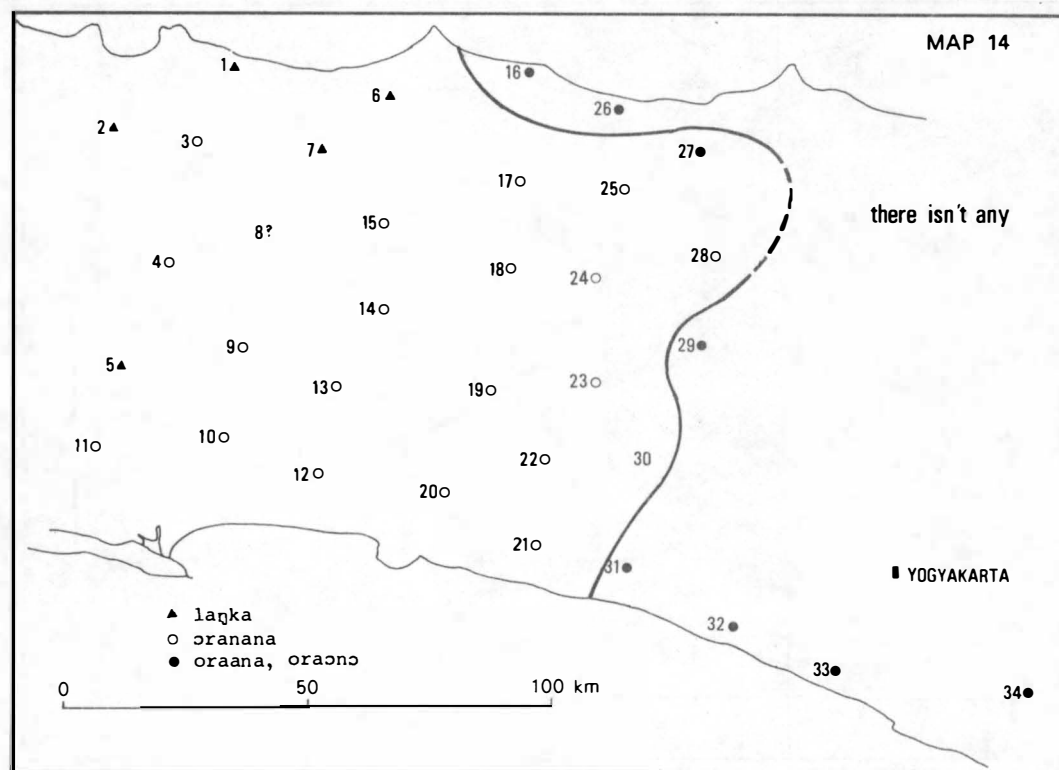
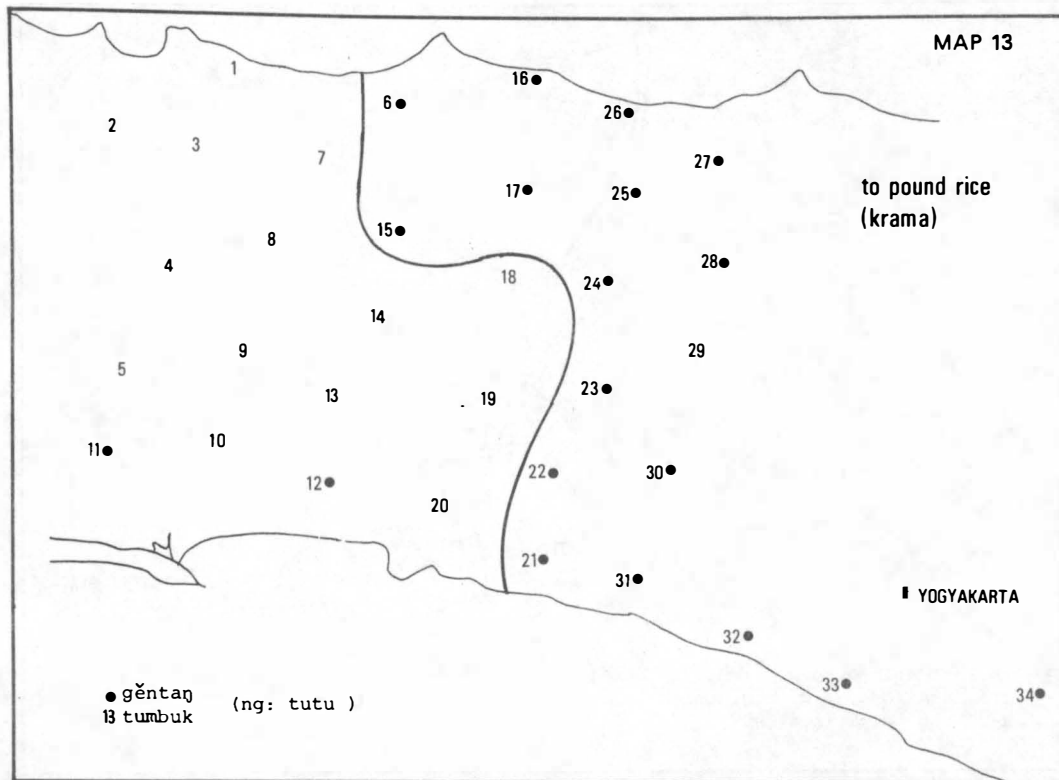


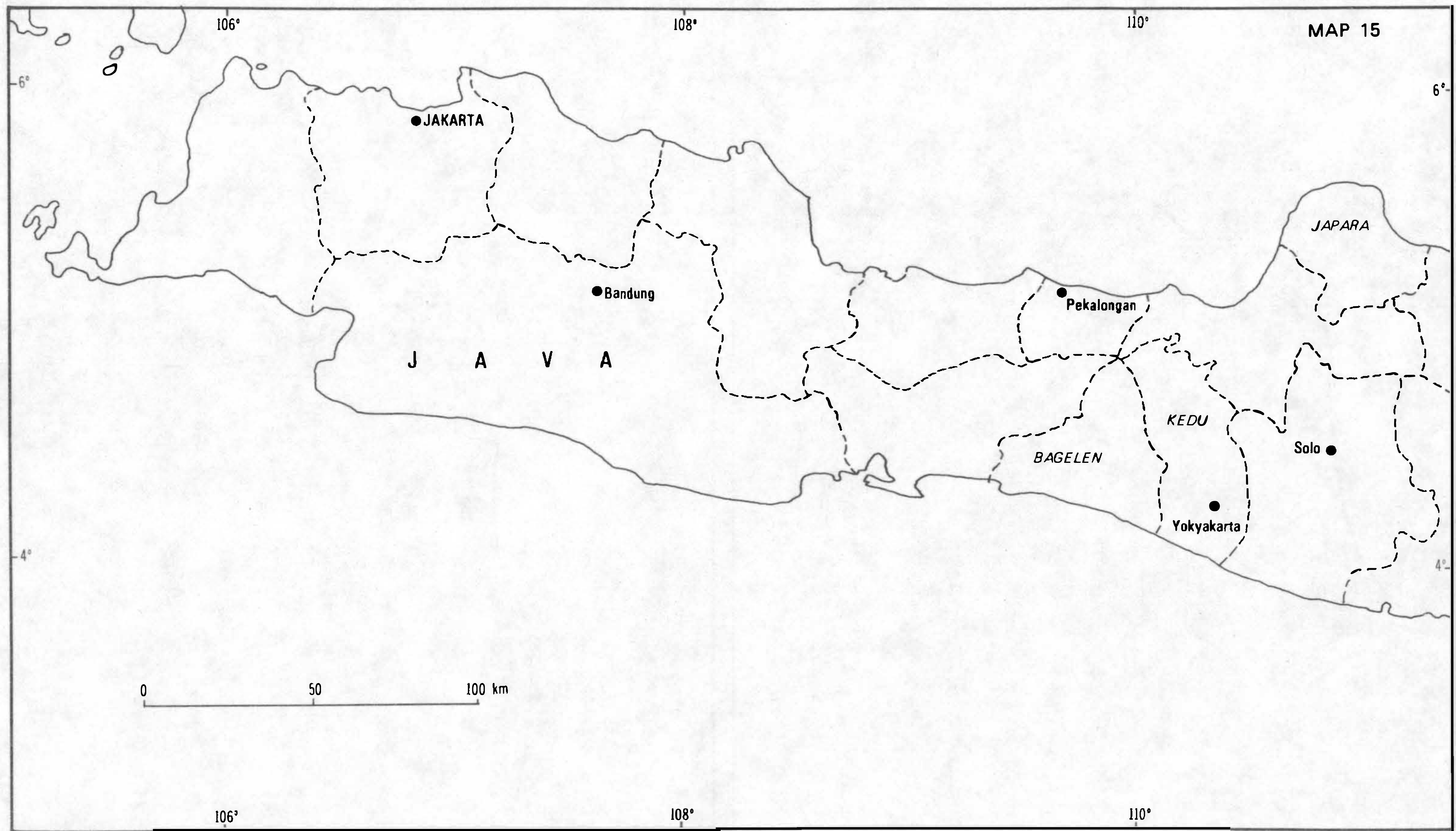




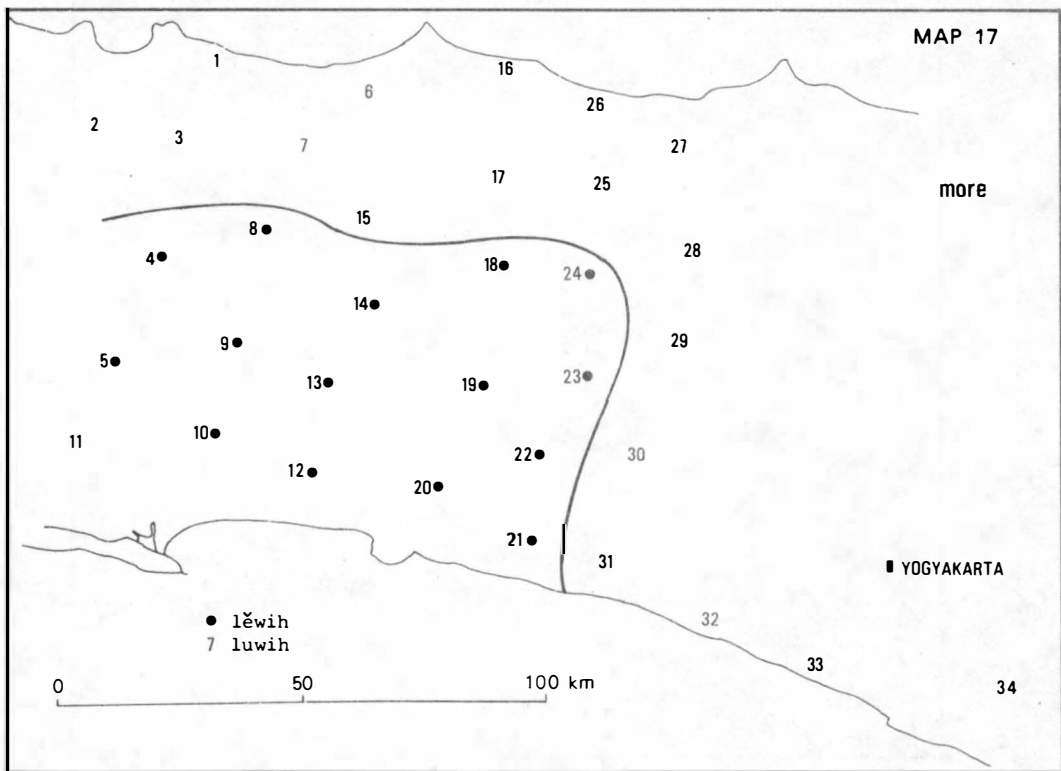
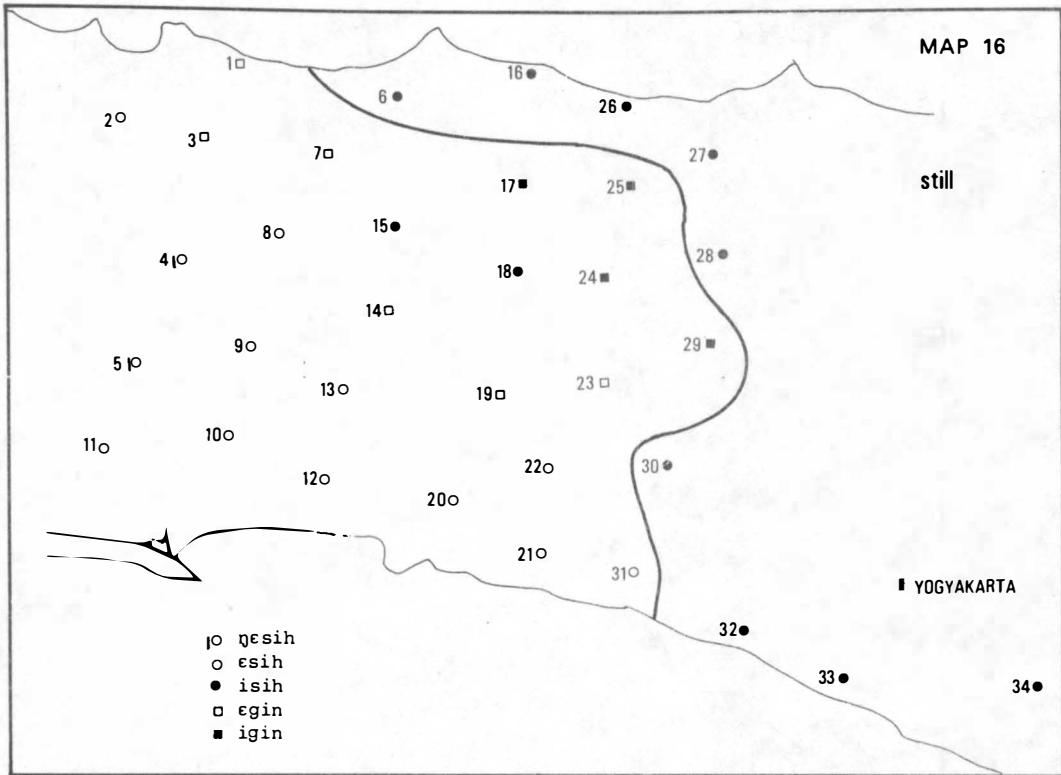


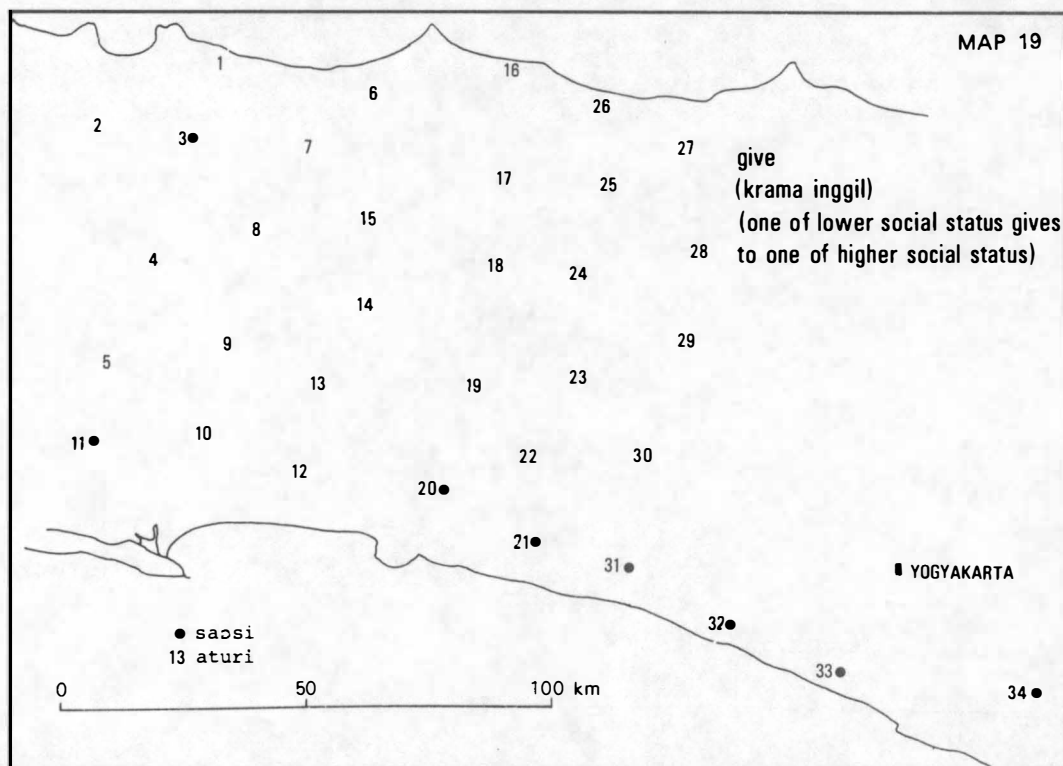
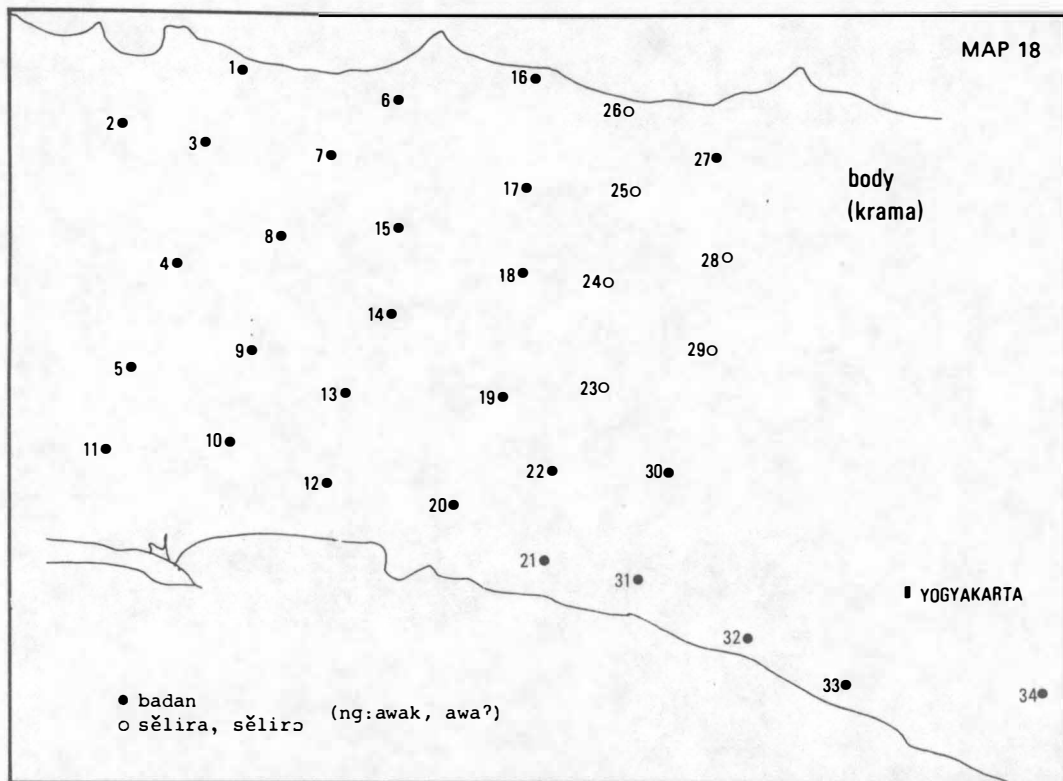


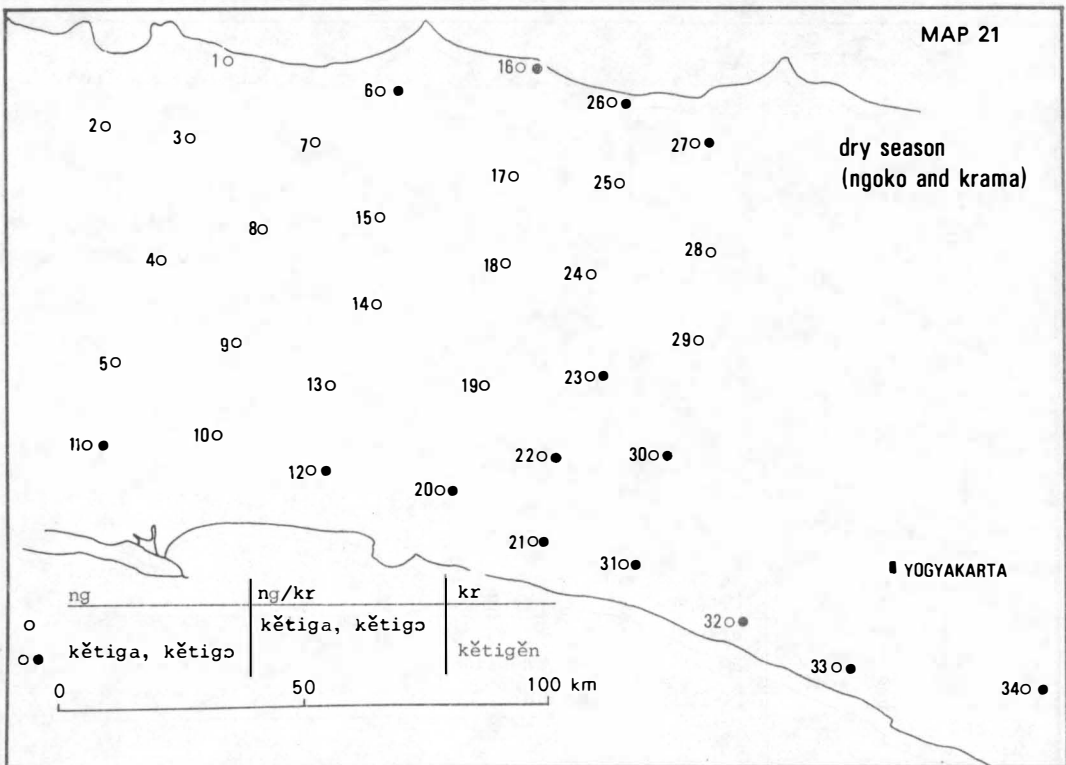
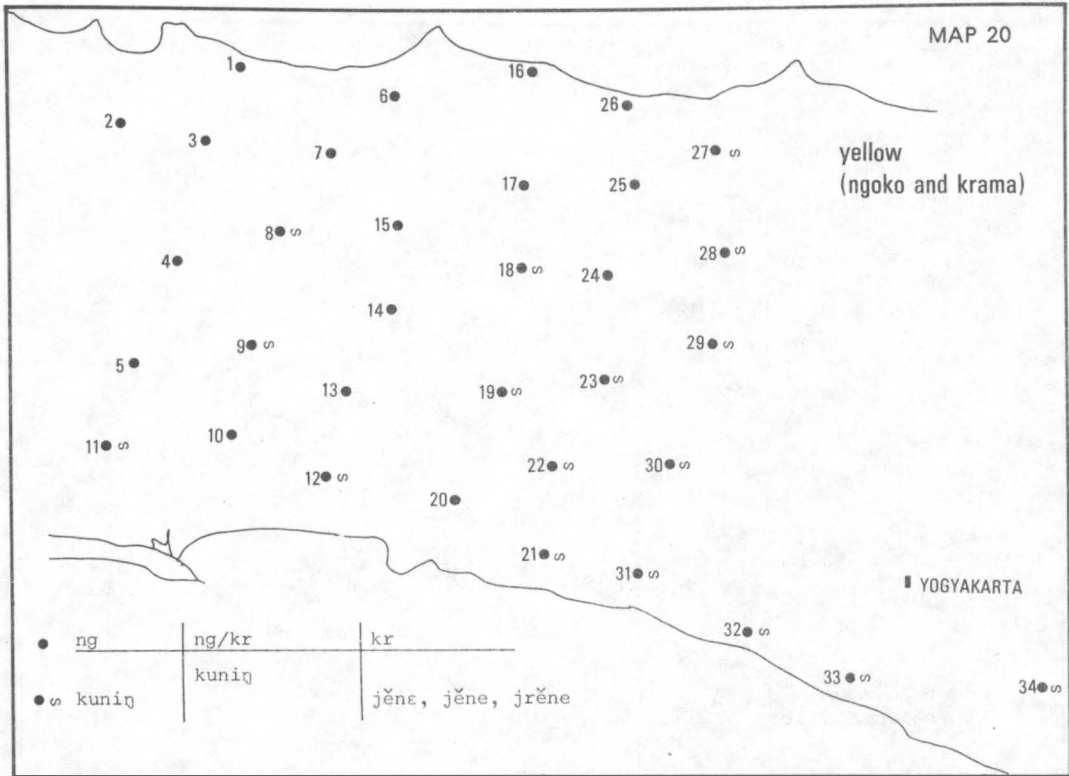


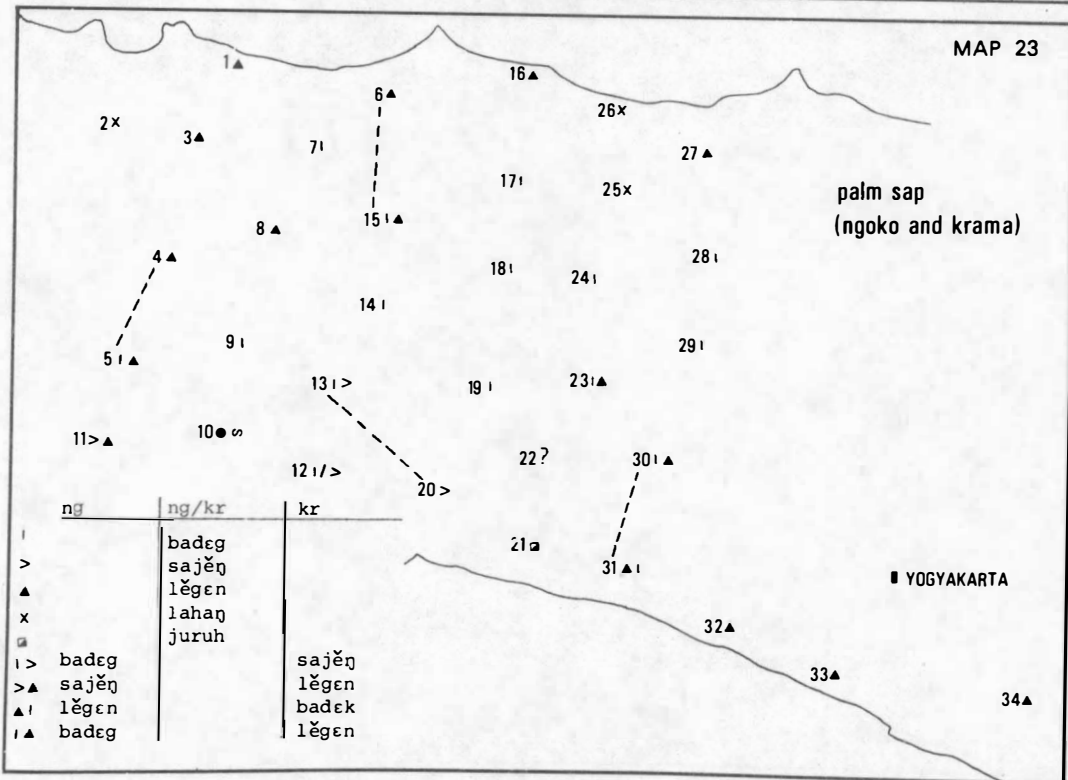
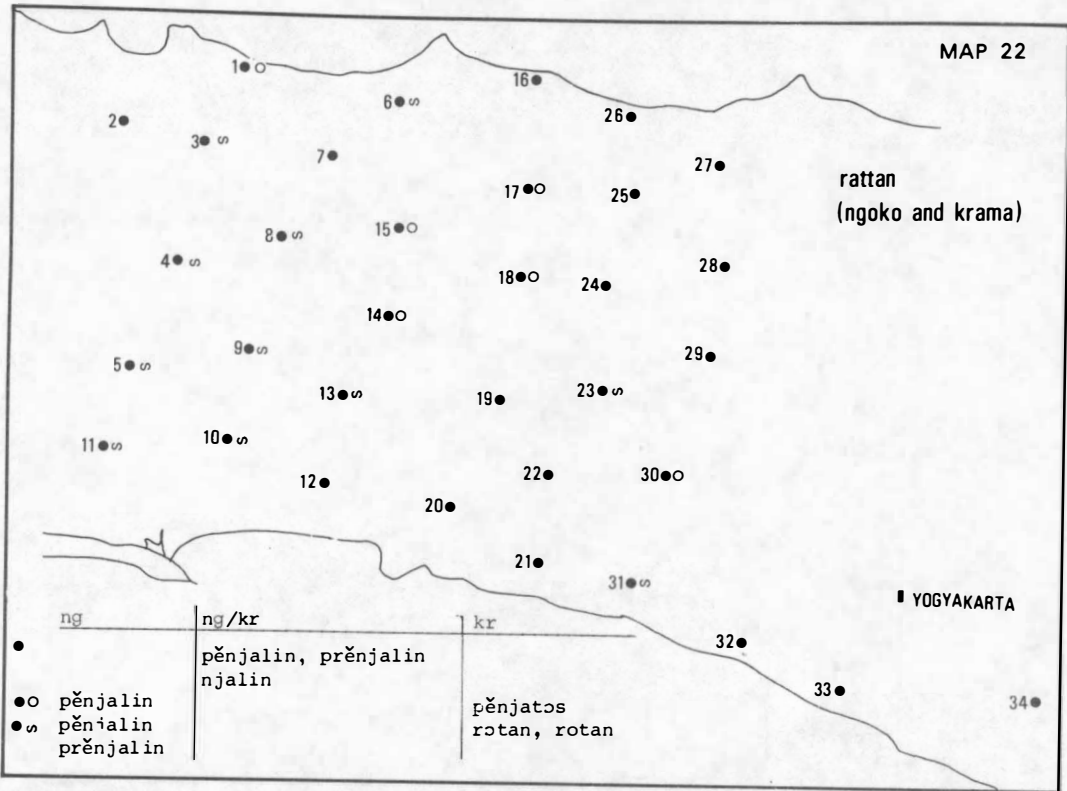


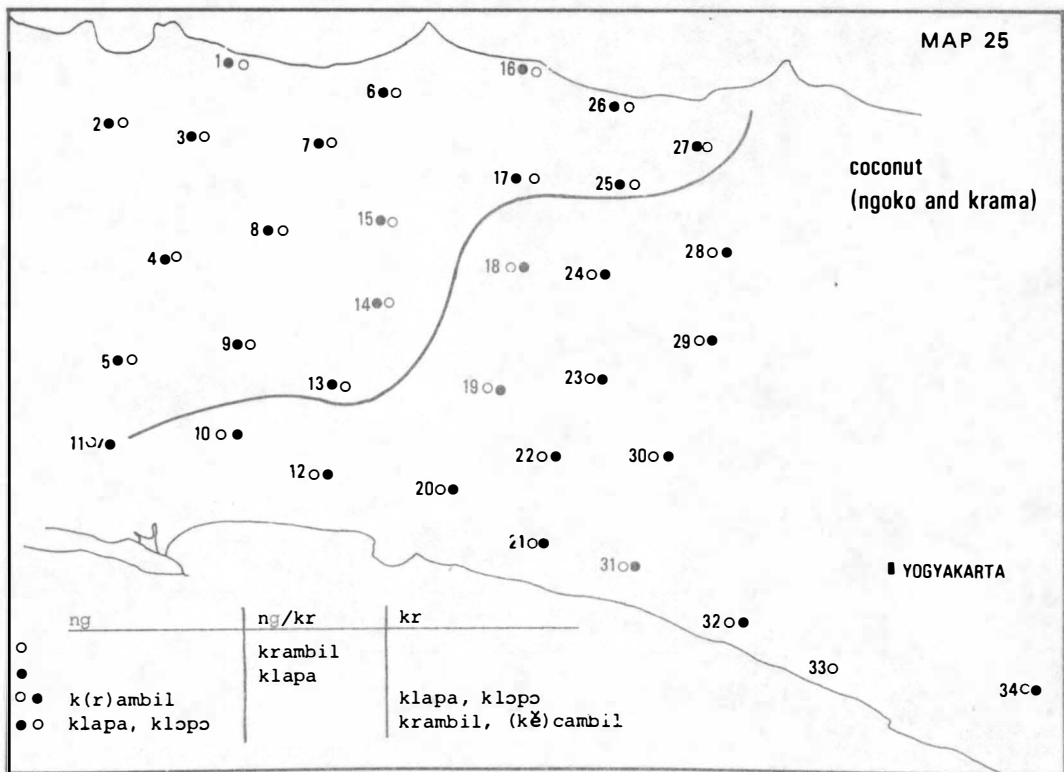
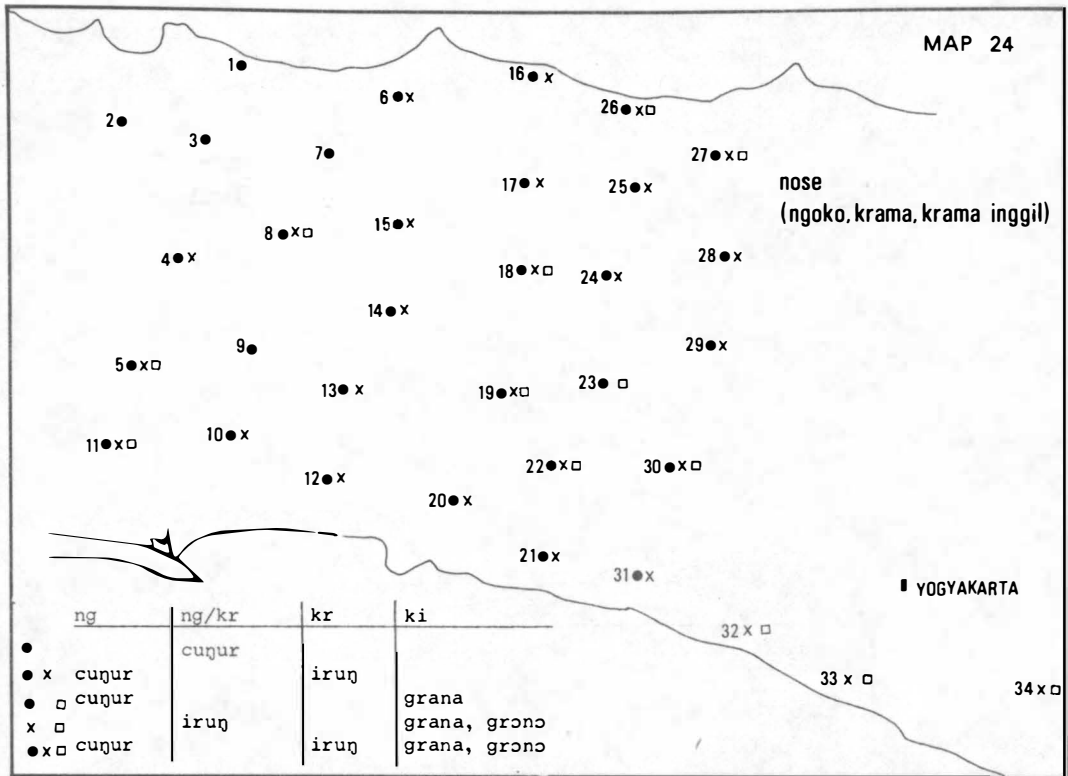
Javanese administrative boundaries

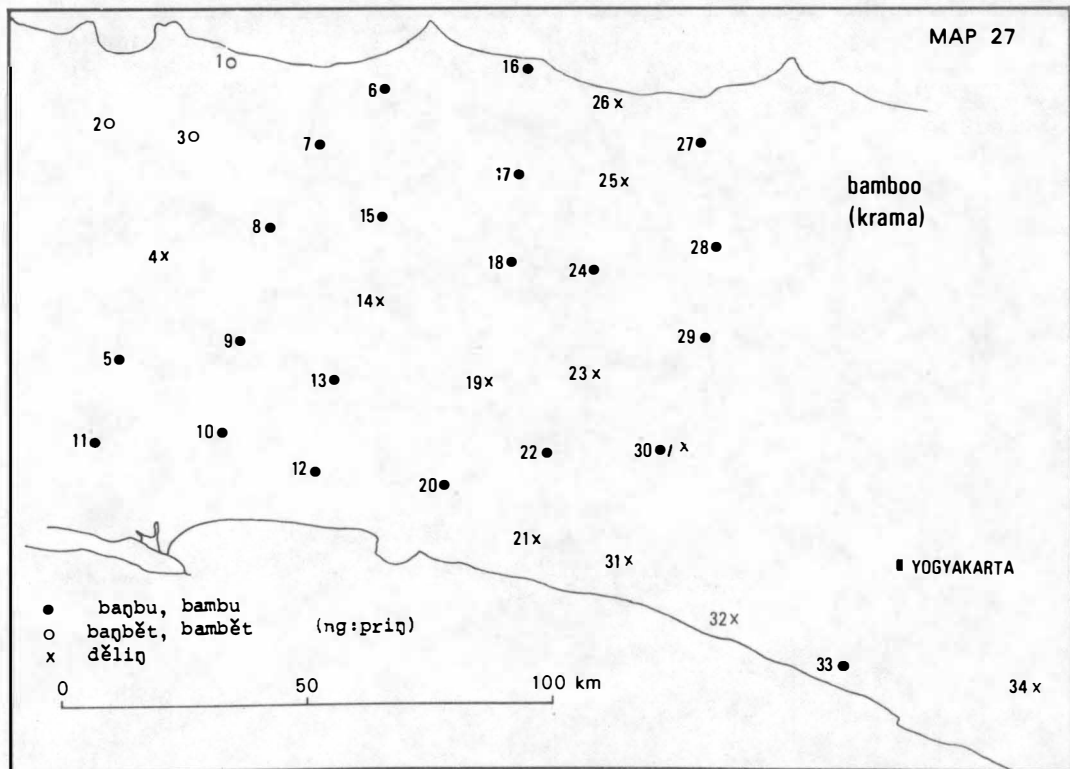
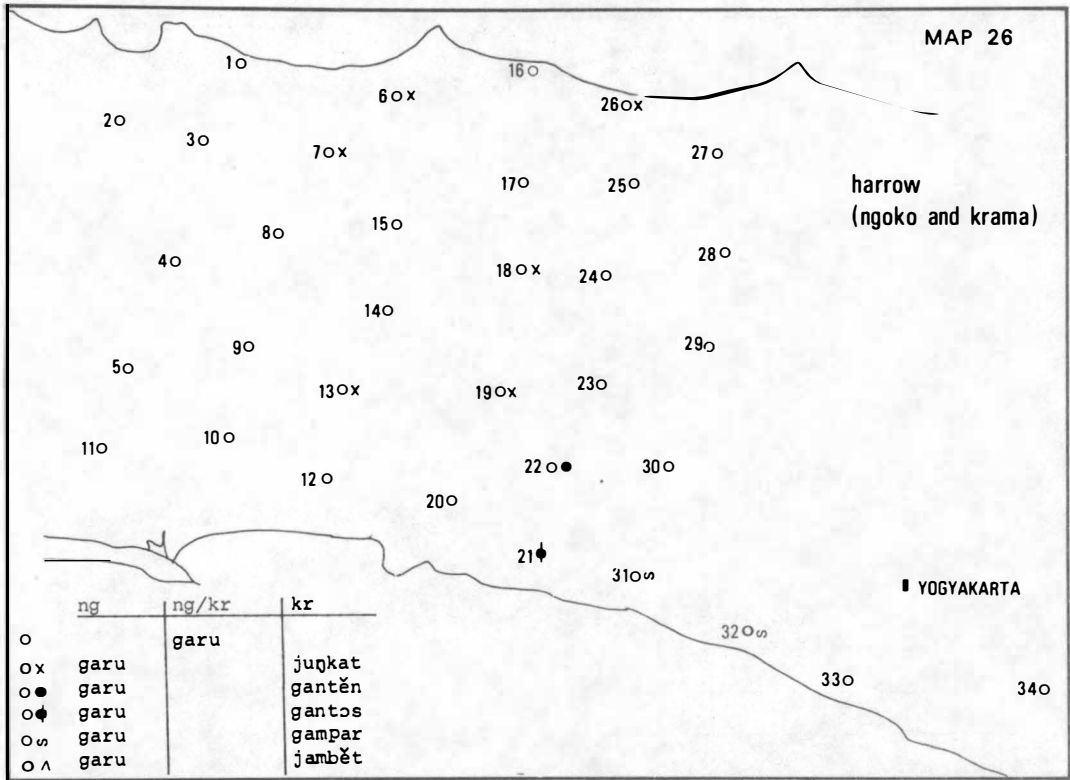


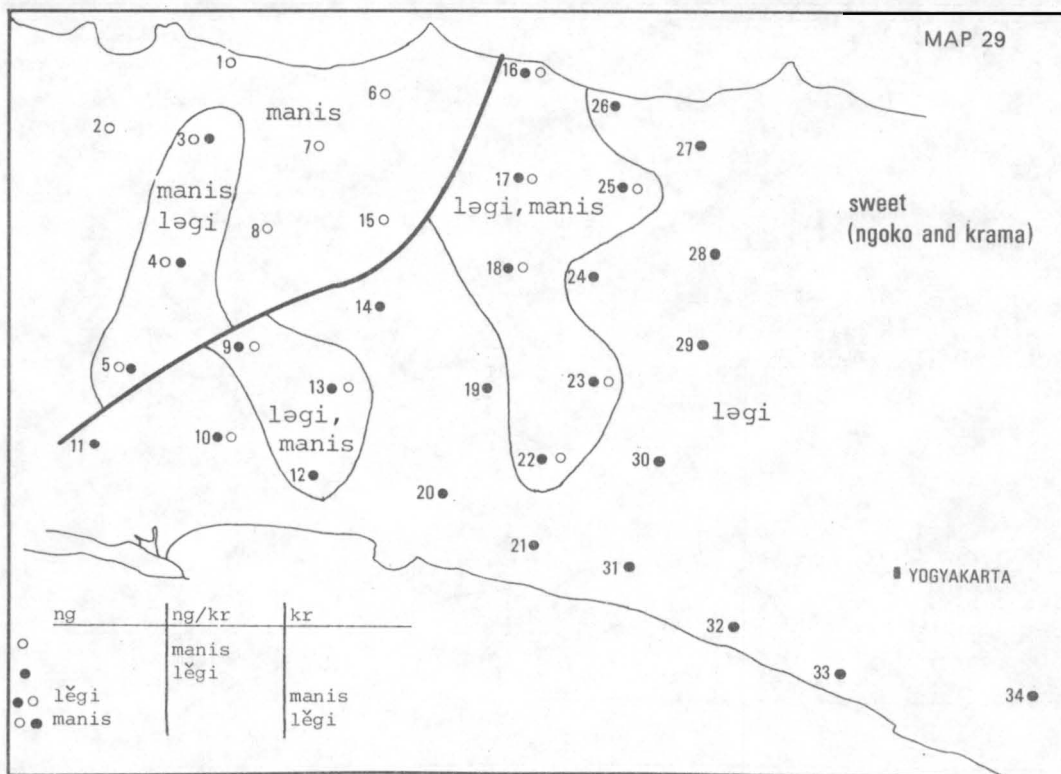
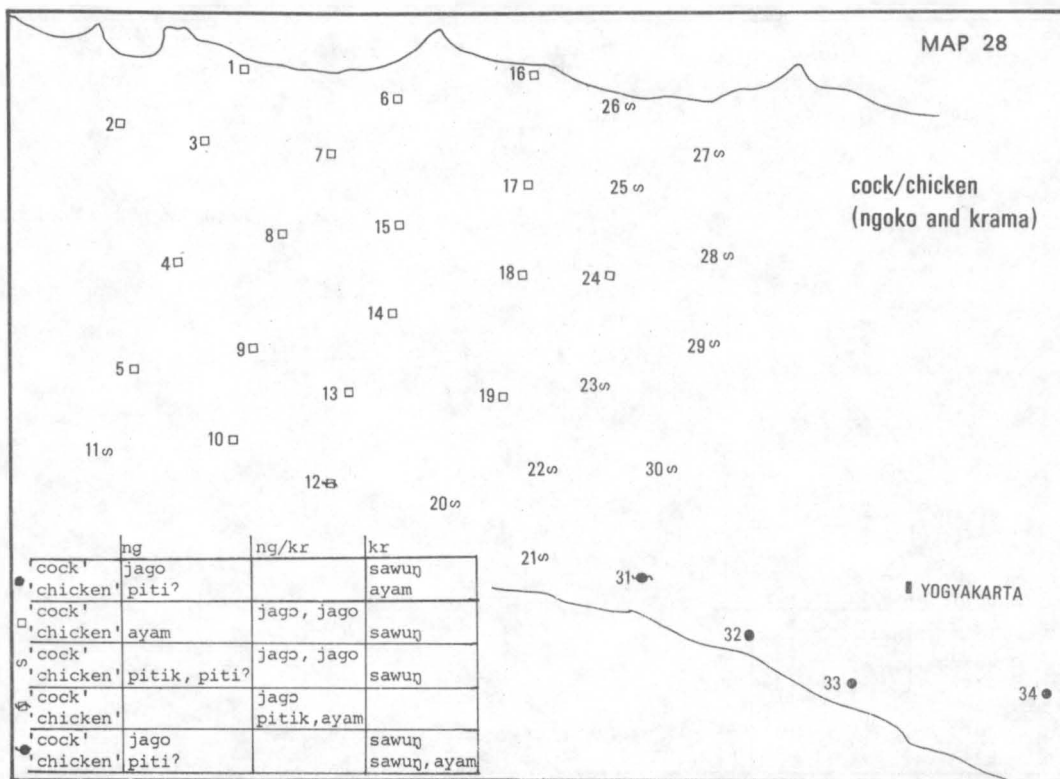


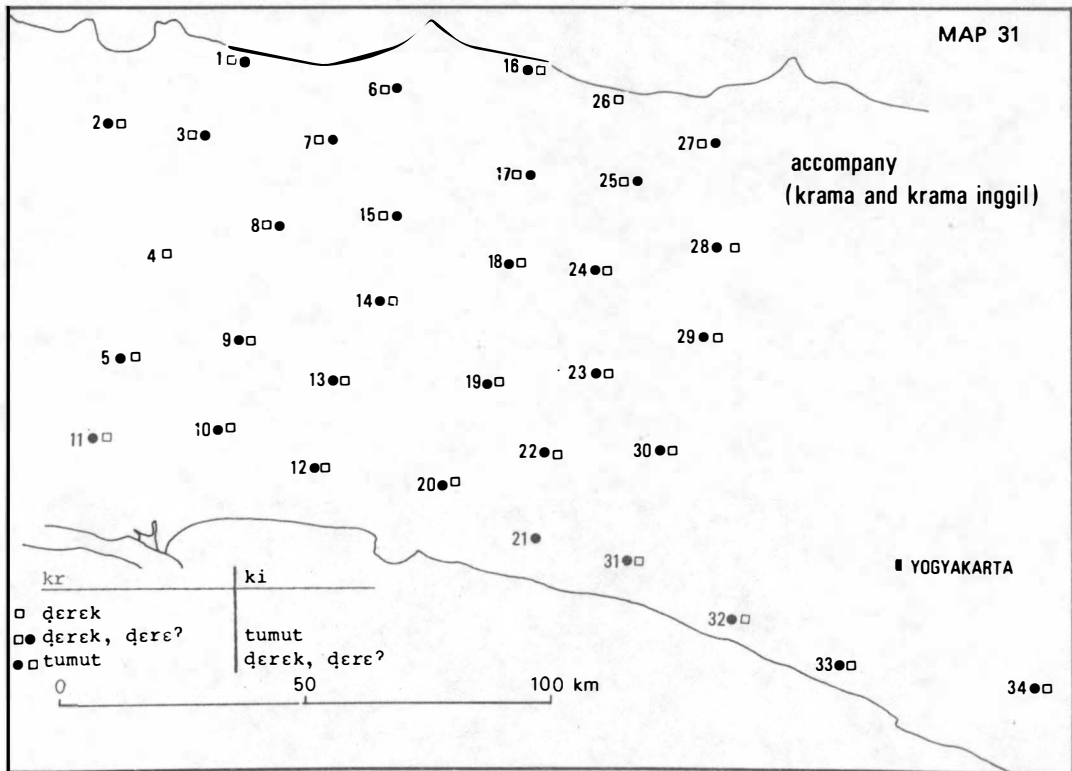
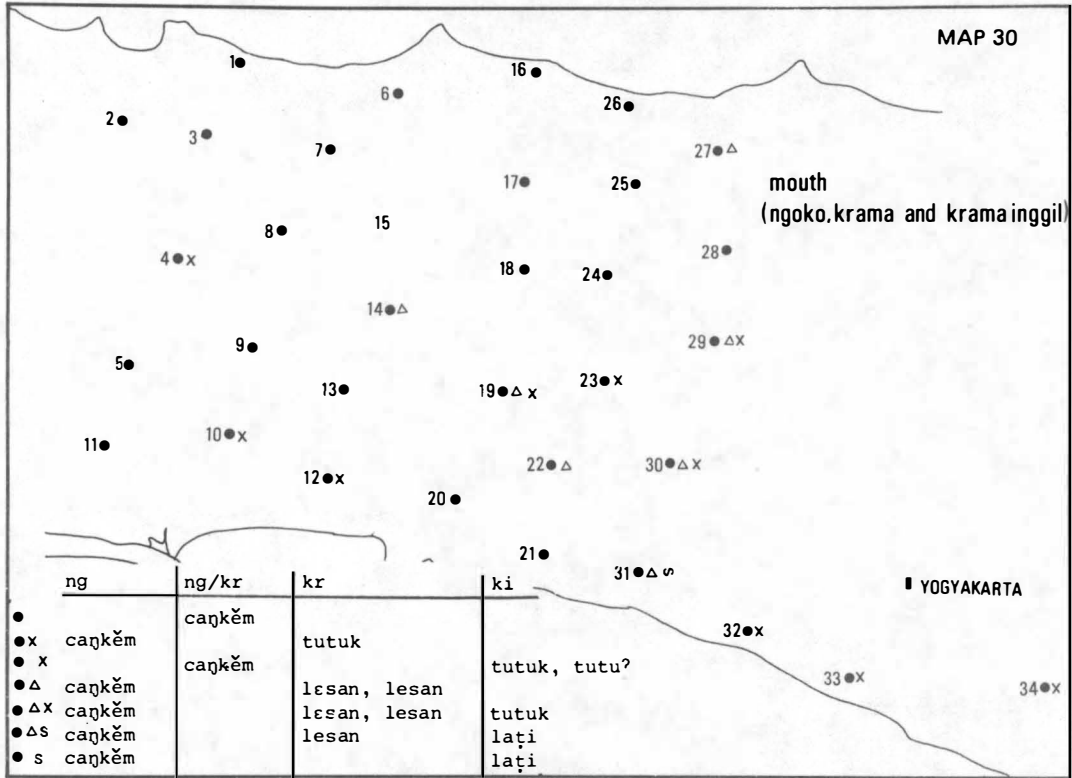












THE ROTINESE CHOTBAH AS A LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE

James J. Fox

The chotbah or sermon is a form of elevated speech that occurs in a well-defined context for an audience who, though largely silent, are attentive to the stylistic nuances of the performance. It is supposed to be provocative, persuasive and exhortatory. It invariably derives its inspiration from a scriptural theme that serves as its source, and it is thus frequently interspersed with references to other exemplary linguistic forms that require commentary and explanation.

In an Austronesian context – as its name implies – the chotbah is a derived, rather than a traditional, speech form. Yet in both Islamic and Christian regions of Indonesia, the chotbah has now become a highly valued form of speaking worthy of careful comparative examination.

In this paper I wish to examine briefly the Rotinese chotbah as a linguistic performance. Because of the variety of linguistic resources upon which it draws, the chotbah can be considered the most complex form of speaking among Rotinese today. For this reason, and because there is considerable variation in their performance, chotbah cannot be described simply or briefly. Furthermore, a chotbah is merely the high point of a religious service and to be fully comprehended must be considered in this wider context. For the purposes of this paper I shall therefore concentrate my analysis and draw my examples from a single performance. This is a performance that was filmed and recorded in its entirety during a period of ethnographic film research on the island of Roti in 1978. Although I shall be focussing on the verbal aspects of this performance, a fuller analysis will eventually include examination of crucial nonverbal aspects as well.

The linguistic situation: resources for the performance

Most Rotinese are conversant in two languages: Rotinese and Malay. This, in itself, is not of great significance. What is of significance are the various registers of these two languages that are utilised in speaking. In both languages there are 'high' and 'low' registers, and their use parallels one another.

Rotinese: The Rotinese language refers not to a single undifferentiated language but to a number of related dialects. The Dutch linguist Jonker, in his dictionary (1908:ix-x), distinguished nine dialects of Rotinese but failed to take account

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of the dialect of Delha on which he had no information. A list of ten dialects, however, would not do justice to the sociolinguistic reality on the island, for the Rotinese themselves invariably insist that each of the eighteen former political domains (nusak) possesses its own dialect (dedeä nusak). The evidence cited for this claim derives from a conglomeration of phonological, grammatical and semantic differences between neighbouring domains, yet it is clear that since the mid-seventeenth century genuine speakers of Rotinese dialects have attempted to distinguish themselves further from one another to justify political recognition and autonomy (Fox 1971:70-73; 1977:81-83). Thus, even today every Rotinese speaks a specific dialect that serves as a sign of local identity or origin. This is equally true of Rotinese who live in villages on Timor that have been settled for over a hundred years. Although somewhat attenuated, Rotinese dialects on Timor still reflect nusak origins on Roti.

In addition to a local dialect which is the register for everyday speech, most Rotinese understand a high register of Rotinese. This is a poetic form of speech or, as I have referred to it in previous publications, a ritual language. Although there are phonological as well as minor syntactical differences in its use, ritual language is broadly intelligible throughout the island. This is partially due to the fact that ritual language incorporates and exploits semantic differences among dialects to create its special code.¹ This code is highly structured and based on principles of semantic parallelism that require the strict pairing of elements to produce formulaic phrases and verses. As the vehicle for proverbs, poetry, songs and chants, ritual language is used in situations of formal interaction whenever an elevated form of Rotinese is deemed necessary.

Malay: Like Rotinese, Malay has high and low registers. In the Timor area the lowest of these registers is Basa Kupang, a dialect of Malay that has been developing in Kupang since the mid-seventeenth century. Basa Kupang is related to other eastern Indonesian dialects of Malay (Larantuka, Amboin, Minahasa) but includes a considerable number of Rotinese loanwords, since the Rotinese have long been the dominant population of the Kupang area. The following sentence is a simple illustration:

- (1) Beta su pi ma lu sonde ada.
 Saya sudah pergi tapi kamu tidak ada.

The pronouns, beta and lu, are typical of Malay dialects in eastern Indonesia, as is the tendency to drop final syllables in the case of su from sudah (and in contrast with Jakarté where initial syllables are dropped); whereas ma is a possible conflation of the Rotinese conjunction, ma, with an abridged form of the Dutch conjunction, maar and sonde is the curious negative that is distinctive of Basa Kupang. This register is the everyday language of the market, of intimate interaction among members of distant nusak, and among school friends and acquaintances from other islands.

Another register of Malay is standard Indonesian. This is of increasing importance because it is taught in all schools and used in all official and public situations. It is important to note that Rotinese pride themselves on speaking a proper Indonesian and on not mixing the registers of Basa Kupang and standard Indonesian.

Yet another register — the highest of all — is 'Biblical Malay', a form of Malay based originally on the early translations of the Bible. Since Roti has a tradition of local schools dating from the 1730s, and since one of the principal

goals of these schools was to teach the language of the Malay Bible, this register is deeply embedded in Rotinese culture and its forms of speaking. Although in recent years a more modern translation of the Bible has been promoted and used in Protestant churches throughout the island, it is still common to hear quotations from the 'old' translation (much as in the English-speaking world, recourse is still made, on formal occasions, to the King James translation).

In this there occurs a significant cross-cultural coincidence of linguistic forms. The highest Rotinese register coincides with the highest Malay register in its reliance on parallelism. In particular, the Book of Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Songs, the Book of Isaiah and much of Jeremiah are expressed in a parallelism that is hardly mistakable in the Malay Bible. A simple juxtaposition of a few lines from the Song of Songs in the *Alkitab* used on Roti (Sjiru'-Asjar Solaiman 2:1-3) with English translation from the King James version and a few lines from a popular Rotinese poem give a clear idea of the similar, traditional use of parallelism.

(2) Malay:

Akulah bunga air-mawar dari Sjaron	<i>I am the rose of Shar'on</i>
Dan bunga bakung dari lembah.	<i>And the lily of the valleys.</i>
Seperti bunga bakung diantara duri-duri,	<i>As the lily among thorns</i>
Demikianlah adinda diantara segala	<i>So is my love among the daughters</i>
anak-dara	
Seperti pokok djeruk diantara segala	<i>As the apple tree among the trees</i>
pohon kaju hutan	<i>of the wood</i>
Demikianlah kekasihku diantara segala	<i>So is my beloved among the sons.²</i>
anak-teruna.	

(3) Rotinese:

Te leo mafo ai-la hiluk	<i>But if the Trees' Shade moves</i>
Ma sao tua-la keko	<i>And the Lontars' Shadow shifts</i>
Na, Suti, au o se	<i>Then I, Suti, with whom will I be</i>
Ma, Bina, au o se	<i>And I, Bina, with whom will I be</i>
Fo au kokolak o se	<i>With whom will I talk</i>
Ma au dedeäk o se	<i>And with whom will I speak</i>
Tao neu nakabanik	<i>To be my hope</i>
Ma tao neu namahenak?	<i>And my reliance?</i>

Coincidence is, however, not identity and there are also differences between these two 'high' registers. Rotinese ritual language can only be used for the production of parallel utterances, whereas Biblical Malay, though used to express similar parallel verses, has many other uses as well. (It is only the medium for translating an original Hebrew that, like Rotinese, distinguished between poetic and ordinary discourses.) Thus the use of these two registers does not result in the expression of parallel statements in one and then the other medium, but rather encourages the rendering of Biblical statements in canonical Rotinese forms.

This has far-reaching implications for understanding the processes of linguistic creativity. To render Biblical ideas into Rotinese ritual language, equivalent parallel terms must be created. Some of these are understood and accepted throughout the island; others seem to be idiosyncratic to specific preachers. Some commonly recognised terms are as follows:

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| (4) (a) Heaven: | Nusa Sodak // Ingu Temak | <i>Domain of Well-Being //
Land of Fullness</i> |
| (b) The Holy Spirit: | Dula Dalek // Leü Teik | <i>Patterner of the Heart //
Marker of the Inner Self</i> |
| (c) To Repent: | Sale Dalek // Tuka Teik | <i>To turn the heart //
To change the Inner Self</i> |
| (d) Golgotha: | Lete Langaduk // Puku
Pakulimak | <i>Hill of the Skull //
Mount of the Nailed Hands</i> |
| (e) To Redeem: | Soi // Tefa [Tifa] | <i>To free // To pay</i> |
| (f) The Redeemer: | Mana-soi // Mana-tefa | <i>The One who freed //
The One who paid</i> |

These terms are relatively simple compared to the majority that are highly metaphoric and often theologically dense and difficult to translate. Christ, for example, is referred to as Maleo Lain Puana // Masafali Poin Tuana, which implies that Christ is the transformer of God's mercy (Maleo Lain // Masafali Poin indicating this heavenly transformation).

As in so much of ritual language, many metaphors are based on a botanic idiom. Tale // Fia taro // yam are botanic icons for the (male-) person. Christ's crucifixion is thus referred to as Iona fia // male tale, which implies a withering or temporary death of these plants. Similarly, using an entirely traditional ritual expression, Christ can be referred to as:

- (5) Huni ma-lapa litik // Tefu ma-nggona lilok:
The banana with copper blossom // The sugarcane with golden sheath

This metaphorical elaboration can be carried to great lengths. Some sermons by older preachers (who are themselves oral poets) include long passages of barely modified traditional poetry. Indeed, there is a tendency for some Rotinese to see in their traditional poetry – not simply in its form but in its content as well – another version of Biblical wisdom. For the majority of Rotinese, however, the Bible sets the standard on which Rotinese forms are a commentary.

This accounts for another – perhaps the most important – rhetorical feature of Rotinese sermons. Since Rotinese and Malay are both intelligible, there is seemingly no need for both languages to be used in a sermon. But the chief rhetorical feature of sermons is that both languages are used in a complex way. This duality is explicable not as a translation of one language into another, but as another form of parallelism in which similar statements are expressed, in elevated form, as pairs. The rest of this paper will be devoted to an examination of this kind of linguistic performance.

A Rotinese chotbah: the performance

A preacher, like an oral poet, is expected to warm up and become 'hot' during the course of his sermon. Thus sermons begin slowly using a combination of ordinary Rotinese and Malay, work up to a crescendo and then gradually taper off. Ideally, the crescendo is marked by the use of Rotinese ritual language. The sermon which I wish to analyse here follows precisely this format. The theme of the sermon as announced at the very beginning is taken from the Gospel reading: Luke 19:1-10. (As Jesus enters Jericho, a rich tax collector, Zacchaeus, climbs a tree to see him. Jesus looks up and tells him to come down quickly from the

tree because he intends to spend the night at his house.) The preacher, E.M. Pono of Teranu, gives particular emphasis to Christ's order to Zacchaeus to come down immediately from the tree. This becomes a major metaphor that he develops at length.

The sermon begins slowly in Rotinese with a simple restatement of the gospel story. The medium is ordinary Rotinese marked by numerous parallel phrases. The gospel for example is:

- (6) (a) Lamatuaka dedea-kokolan fo nan'detak do nan'sulak
The Lord's speech // talk that is marked or written
- (b) Tunga faik ma tunga ledok ita basa tamanene
Each day and each sun we all listen
- (c) Ita basa-basa tala pasak ita dii-don, buka ita dalen
We all open our ears, open our hearts

Only once in the initial part of the sermon is Malay used and this single sentence is also marked by a parallel phrase:

- (7) Dengarlah firman Allah hari ini, apa artinya dan tujuannya buat hidup kita.

The next time Malay occurs it is used in parallel with the same statement in Rotinese.

- (8) (R) Kona lai-lai te faik ia boe o au menumpang nai o uman dale.

(M) Segera turun karena aku menumpang didalam rumahmu hari ini.

This 'double language parallelism' once begun continues throughout the sermon. In fact, once introduced, each new rhetorical device becomes part of an ever more complex repertoire. Simple repetition is another such feature.

- (9) Lai esuk seluk afada ...

Once again I say ...

Zakeos! Segera turun karena hari ini aku menumpang didalam rumahmu

Zakeos! lai-lai kona faik ia au menumpang nai o uman dale.

Yet another subtle form of parallelism is to make a statement in one language but to use a single word or expression from the other language — particularly at the beginning or end — for the purposes of emphasis. This cross-language parallelism can work either way.

- (10) (a) Malay with the emphasis on a single Rotinese word:

Bukan begitu banyak Tuhan panggil, tapi satu kali, kona [descend]!

- (b) Rotinese with the emphasis on a single Malay word (in this case the Malay terms themselves form a pair):

Bukan ana sanga hataholi ndos *Not that he seeks a man who is true*
Tapi ana sanga hataholi manamopok *But rather he seeks a man who is lost*

When all of these rhetorical devices — Rotinese parallelism, double-language parallelism, cross-language parallelism and simple repetition — are being used, the preacher is truly 'hot'. A further indication of this is this invocation of quotations of the old translation of the Malay Bible:

- (11) Kalau menurut terjemahan lama:

'Berbahagialah segala orang yang rendah hatinya,
karena mereka itu yang empunya keradjaan sorga.'

It is at this stage, the crescendo, that the preacher switches to an extended use of Rotinese ritual language with only an occasional word or phrase in Malay.

- (12) Maleo Lain puana, *The Heavenly Lord's son*
 [lit. *areca palm*]
 Ana moli pengo naleon *He underwent a change*
 Ma Masafali Poin tuana *And High God's son* [lit. *lontar palm*]
 An' dadi hilu nasafalin *He was transformed*
Sehingga an' dadi neu huni malapa litik *So that He became the banana tree*
with copper blossom.
 Ma an' dadi neu tefu manggona lilok *And he became the sugarcane with*
golden sheath.
 De lapa litin fifiu *The copper blossom sways.*
 Ma nggona lilon nggangape *And the golden sheath waves*
 De ana ngape leli Hela Dulu *He waves toward Hela Dulu*
 Ma fiu feo Kosi Kona, *And sways toward Kosi Kona*
 Fo ana-ma Hela Dulu *The orphan, Hela Dulu*
 Boe o nanasuluka la boe-ma *As it is written so*
 Falu-ina Kosi Kona *The widow, Kosi Kona*
 Lo nanahapak, *As is mentioned*
Sesuai no kokoa-kiok *In the praise-song*
 [lit. *crowing-peeping*]
 Neme ita tolano kor-museik. *From our choir.*
 Ana-ma Binga Lete la *The orphans, Binga Lete*
 Ala lamatani *They cry*
 Ma falu-ina Kade Sali la *And the widows, Kade Sali*
 Ala lasakedu *They sob*
 Lasakedu bedopo *They sob sadly*
 Ma lamatani balu-balu *And they cry pathetically*
 Ala doko-doe se? *Whom do they request*
 Ala doko-doe hanya *They request only*
 Touk Dali Asa Koli *The man, Dali Asa Koli [Christ]*
 Do Taëk Lolo Mata Sina, *Or the Boy, Lolo Mata Sina [Christ]*
 Tou manaso sidak *The man who sews what is ripped*
 Ma Taëk manaseu saik. *And the boy who stitches what is torn.*
Inilah Zakeos! *This, then, is Zacchaeus!*
 Ana doko-doe se? *Whom does he request?*
 Ana doko-doe kada Kristus mesakana *He requests only Christ alone*
Adalah Tou manaso sidak *Here is the man who sews what is*
ripped.
 Ma Taë manaseu saik. *And the boy who stitches what is torn.*

Here in the heat of the sermon, the preacher calls forth an array of powerful images and metaphors. All of these are essentially traditional. The comparison of Christ to the 'Banana tree with copper blossom // Sugarcane with golden sheath' involves the extension of traditional botanic icons to a new context (for the use of these same icons in a traditional context, cf. Fox 1971:242-244). The Rotinese recognise a large corpus of canonical chants, each of which is identified by the name of the chief chant-character. To invoke the name of this character is to recall the appropriate chant and the message it conveys. This brief passage contains several of these oral literary allusions. Hela Dulu // Kosi Kona and Binga Lete // Kade, for example, are separate chant-character names that call to mind specific chants. (Hela Dulu // Kosi Kona are also evoked in a ritual language song sung by the choir earlier in the service.) What these characters have in common is that they are 'widows and orphans'. This then forms the underlying

metaphor for the passage. In the Rotinese view, man's dependence in an imperfect world is likened to being an orphan and widow. This is also Zacchaeus' condition. What all these 'orphans and widows' have in common is their need for Christ who, in this passage, is referred to in three different ways: (1) as Banana tree // Sugar cane; (2) by the chant name, Touk Dali Asa Koli // Taëk Lolo Mata Sina; and (3) as the Man who sews what is torn // the Boy who stitches what is ripped.

Of linguistic significance is the fact that several lines that should be paired are, in fact, incomplete. This is the case in particular with the lines that contain the verb, *doko-doe to request*. *Doko-doe*, however, is a word that occurs almost exclusively in ritual language and its normal pair, *tai-boni*, is well known and unequivocal. A network analysis of the verbs for speaking (Fox 1974:78-79) shows clearly and graphically the position of *doko-doe* // *tai-boni* in this semantic field. Hence it can be argued that the more specific the terms of a set parallel phrase are, the more likely that its counterpart phrase can be left unstated but understood in an actual performance.

The passage I have just analysed is one of three in this particular sermon. Each is marked by a brief statement or statements in a mix of Malay and ordinary Rotinese. Thus the crescendo of the sermon consists of peaks and troughs, after which there is a return to the rhetorical style that preceded these high points. It is in this style that the sermon ends.

Conclusion

For anyone who understands the registers of the languages involved, a sermon is an exhilarating experience. A good preacher can always draw an audience from beyond his local parish. As a performance a sermon is, however, unlike a traditional chanting ceremony. Sermons are relatively short and consist of a series of dramatic bursts, whereas a traditional chanting ceremony is a steady rhythmic continuum that can occupy an entire evening. The goal of traditional chanting is to preserve a continuity with the ancestral wisdom of the past. In sermons, by the use of involved and sometimes convoluted metaphors, preachers push ritual language in new directions for their own spiritual purposes.

It should not be imagined that sermons of the kind I have discussed are a recent phenomenon. Hints in the mission literature indicate that the use of traditional parallelism in sermons was already established in the nineteenth century and certainly these usages flourished in the pre-war period of the twentieth century. Ironically, 'traditional' sermons may be in more danger of disappearing than the older forms of chanting. The Protestant Church of Timor (GMIT) has trained a new generation of young Rotinese pendeta in theological schools in Kupang and Jakarta, and these pendeta are not as well attuned to local forms of speaking as the old *utusan injil*. What the next generation holds for the development of speaking on Roti remains to be seen.³

NOTES

1. The term 'code' is appropriate in this context because ritual language is not another register like that of ordinary language. More is necessary than the ability to produce or comprehend a grammatical Rotinese utterance. What is necessary is the ability to pair utterances in an acceptable manner. Code here refers to the associate principles which underlie the pairing of semantic elements and thus form the basis for the realisation of culturally acceptable utterances (Fox 1975:110ff).
2. Note the difference in translation of the same Hebrew passage in the Malay *Alkitab* and the King James version as for example *djeruk* versus *apple*.
3. The research on which this paper is based has been conducted on various trips to the island of Roti since 1965. It has been supported by grants from the U.S. Public Health Service (NIMH), the National Science Foundation, and the Australian National University. This research has been done under the auspices of the *Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia* and with the sponsorship of the Universities of Nusa Cendana in Kupang and Satya Wecana in Sala Tiga. I express my thanks to all of these institutions, and to Mr Timothy Asch who accompanied me to Roti in 1977 and 1978 to film the performance of sermons as one aspect of a program for the ethnographic film documentation of Rotinese culture.

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KARUNYA: THE NGAJU DAYAK SONGS OF PRAISE

KMA M. Usop

1. INTRODUCTION

There still exists among the Ngaju Dayaks, especially among the traditional Kaharingan¹ believers, living along the rivers of Kapuas, Kahayan, Katingan and other places in Central Kalimantan, a forum called *balian karunya*² which is, religiously, a form of life ritual performed as a separate part at the end of life or death rituals. Recently it has also been held independently as a cultural or social event, e.g. to welcome guests. This poetic expression is a part of *Sangen* or *Sangyang*³ oral literature. Though it is actually a commentary on people's individual lives in this world, it still more or less has religious elements as it is generally presented by the Kaharingan *basir* or priests. In this way it is a means of communicating values socially or religiously derived. However, *karunya*'s audience is nowadays mixed: Kaharingans, Christians and Moslems. They join in the session and enjoy it. This shows that the forum is now more of a social and cultural event than religious. Generally, the impression is that it belongs to the Kaharingans, because they alone cherish the heritage and preserve it. It is now diminishing in frequency and mastery, though the system of communication is built-in within the performance. The younger generation can no longer enjoy it, simply because they don't understand the language. Here and there we find Ngaju words introduced into it, but this penetration is only superficial.

Culturally, it is an ancient work of art which has been so patterned in thought, form and words, that it could not expose itself to change. Even the later form of Ngaju poems or songs, which are called *karungut*, did not absorb the *karunya* form. *Karungut* is similar to the Malay *pantun*. *Karunya*, therefore represents a distinct mode of looking at the world and the lives of people. Its established form or pattern is no longer relevant to the present.

2. THE KARUNYA

The *karunya* session presents the traditional religious priest, called *basir* or *pangarunya*, who uses his poetical and musical ingenuity to publicly reveal the personal and social yearnings of persons such as his audience. His poetry delivery is simultaneously repeated by four or six persons sitting either side of him. The nearer the repeaters to the *pangarunya*, the central reciter or the *upo*,

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the cleverer they are in mastering the art. This is in fact the system of communicating the art to the younger generation. These reciters at the same time accompany the performance with a cylinderlike percussion instrument, about a metre long, called katambung, beaten simultaneously to fit the various rhythms.

The whole sequences of poems — consisting of introductory, content and closing poems — may take more than half an hour of presentation, depending on how the basir himself presents it. Each verse consists of two lines: the first line called the male line or kutak hatue and the second line called the female line or kutak bawi. Both lines semantically or symbolically explain each other. The main emphasis is not on the usual rhymes (of sound) at lines' ends, but on the correspondence of meanings of the respective words between the paired lines. This semantic parallelism is actually one of the main characteristics of Sangen literature as shown in the example below:

Iii nyaho hai mamparuguh tungkupah *The grand thunder (sound) opens its power*
Kilat panjang mamparinjet ruang *The long lightning blazes through space*

In the above verse we can see clearly the semantic correspondence of *grand* and *long*, *thunder* and *lightning*, *opens* and *blazes*, *power* and *space*. (The existing rhymes within a line or within a verse are but occasional and accidental in nature, e.g. *panjang* and *ruang*. Although they may intensify the meanings and thus beautify the verse, theirs is not the main emphasis.) To perform his function, the basir must possess some deep knowledge and experience of life, otherwise his commentaries on people's lives would not succeed. As a keen observer who is also conscious of his knowledge, he seems to have embodied the moral values and norms by which he could judge, and give the sincere praise, criticisms, suggestions and advice which everyone appears to yearn for. In this way, *karunya* is not only exposing social status, but also acts as a means of control, a learning session on life, a forum to generate norms and values, and provides moments of awareness and self-criticism.

One may also observe that *karunya* has always tried to adjust itself to developments within society and therefore it gives the impression of being up-to-date. It has derived its diminishing existence and survival from those personal (psychological) and social (sociological) needs, and it remains dear to the people who can still understand and appreciate it as songs of their own lives. The following are some examples of the poems:⁴

- (1) Iii ... Tesek bewey kalingun Sambang *My memory⁵ begins to ripple, like the*
hariak nanjulu, kilaw riak *ripples of a fish on a lake's surface*
kalawaw kabantukan danaw
Pandang tege karendem garu *My knowledge starts to rise,*
haringki, tingkah pahi laut *resembling waves of a river fish off*
Bukit Liti *Bukit Liti (village)*
- (2) Iii ... Naniha ngalimbang bumbung *I try to search for an inspiration on*
daren purun, Sambang, sagila *the mats' surface, and seeing the*
nyaloh riak bulaw tangkanyahan *ripples of their designs*
Marar taraju pandang hakayaw *I try to feel the mats' texture, and*
dare, sarawe rentar ringkin *suddenly finding the waves woven on*
hatalumbang *the mats*

- (3) Iii ... Naray mawi purun saloh rari-
ak daree, awi riak ruhung
are hapungkal hiringah
Mambuhen pandung ringki-ring-
kin tabuhii, awi ringkin bunu
habangkalan ranggaa
- Why at all the mats weave as if
waving, oh because the powerful
waves are moving together
Why at all the floor is waving
as if rippling, oh because the
youthful ripples are gathering*
- (4) Iii ... Riak ruhung are hapungkal hi-
ringah, tarantang penyang le-
wu are habambay
Ringkin bunu kutuh habangka-
lan ranggaa, salutih rundung
kutuh baratatay
- The manly waves are gathering,
the selected sons of nearby villages
The young ripples are creeping,
the best surfs of the close-by
settlements*
- (5) Iii ... Ampin jadi ruhung sama kama-
san lingu, kueh maku halaut
lunuk mamua bulaw
Tingkah pulang pantin jarah
karendem, isen nyabiluy pa-
lempang baras bulaw lampang
- It seems all of you are full of
understanding, because you are not
hindering this feast
It appears all of you are sufficiently
tolerant, for you not avoiding this
party*
- (6) Iii ... Kilaw betet Sambang ngaling-
kang jaraw, ngalimbang ti-
ngang ije kadandang
Tingkah antang naraju ranggaw
tapang garu, naraju bungay
due kapating
- Like a parakeet [is Sambang] circling
around to meet a certain hornbill
Resembling a hawk flying around, to
perch on a trunk of two branches*
- (7) Iii ... Sama netep garing kapun-
dukan keton munduk, ruhung,
amun sama penyang itah hin-
je simpey
Rata hajip sihung pajenan
bajanda, bunu, amun sama pa-
ngahat paturung humba tam-
burakah
- Let yourselves tightly sit,
gentlemen, if all of us are
relatives
Please all of you be attentively
seated, sirs, for that is the
gesture of our being members of
a community*
- (8) Iii ... Dia puji oloh saloh bulaw
tarahan, naharep rangkang
Sambang bapa Lambung
Kurang aton oloh lentar jari
puya kalinti, nyambau garun
hengkun mama Sawang
- Never a person became a slave,
facing this naive old man, Sambang,
Lambung's father
Rarely a man became a servant,
sitting in front of this simple
aging man, Sawang's uncle*

3. ANALYSIS

After analysing a set of karanuya verses, the structure and patterns discovered are as follows:

a. Structure of karunya poems is shown in Table 1.

The person's cycle of life, which is part of his history, is clearly described in the content part. It is observed that the change of beat generally coincides with the change of phase. The relation between number of words and syllables and beats is shown in Table 2.

What we learn from these preliminary data is simply that the beat patterns do not significantly influence the number of words and syllables. The number of words ranges from 9 to 13 in a line, and the number of syllables ranges from 21 to 34 in a line. This means that the basir freely composes his verses to fit into the beat patterns. It is also implied that the dominant consideration is the semantic meanings of the paired words.

b. The paired words between every two lines, as shown in the verse samples, are (randomly chosen):

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|-------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) | kalingun | <i>memory</i> | hariak | <i>ripple</i> | kilaw | <i>like</i> |
| | karendem | <i>knowledge</i> | haringki | <i>ripple thinly</i> | tingkah | <i>resemble</i> |
| (2) | naniha | <i>enough</i> | sagila | <i>instantly</i> | tangkanyahan | <i>matted</i> |
| | marar | <i>sufficient</i> | sarawe | <i>suddenly</i> | hatalumbang | <i>wove</i> |
| (3) | riak ruhung | <i>powerful waves</i> | hapungkal | <i>move together</i> | naray | <i>what</i> |
| | ringkin bunu | <i>youthful ripples</i> | habangkalan | <i>gather</i> | mambuhen | <i>why</i> |
| (4) | habambay | <i>nearby</i> | tarantang | <i>sprout</i> | are many | ruhung <i>manly</i> |
| | baratatay | <i>close by</i> | salutih | <i>shoot</i> | kutuh <i>considerably</i> | bunu <i>young</i> |
| (5) | kueh maku | <i>do not want</i> | kamasan lingu | <i>full of understanding</i> | | |
| | isen | <i>shame to</i> | jarah karendem | <i>sufficiently tolerant</i> | | |
| (6) | betet | <i>parakeet</i> | naraju | <i>fly around</i> | | |
| | antang | <i>hawk</i> | ngalingkang | <i>circle around</i> | | |
| (7) | sama | <i>same</i> | netep | <i>not moving</i> | hinje | <i>stay together</i> |
| | rata | <i>evenly</i> | hajip | <i>sticking to</i> | humba | <i>go with</i> |
| (8) | dia puji | <i>never</i> | saloh | <i>incarnate</i> | nyambau | <i>in front of</i> |
| | kurang aton | <i>almost none</i> | lengar | <i>transform into</i> | naharep | <i>to face</i> |
| | bulaw tarahan | <i>slave</i> | | | | |
| | puya kalinti | <i>servant</i> | | | | |

These samples show us that many words are synonymous, some others are related in such a way that one is a part of the other e.g. *memory* and *knowledge*, *youthful* and *manly*, and some others are related conceptually or causally e.g. *understanding* and *being tolerant*.

c. However, it is felt that an appreciation of the related meanings of the two lines or sentences presents a complete and total impression to the hearer. In some cases the first line is general in nature, while the second line is particular or concrete, or the other way round.

Table 1				
Opening Sound of every verse	Beats of the accompanying instruments	Word characteristics	Contents	Periods
Iii...	Karunya beat	1. Tesek bewey. 2. (Awi) aton...	1. Introduction -describing the situation -referring to a person	Here and now
	Pepet uan beat (Biting beat)	3. Hemben... 4. Dia usah...	2. Contents -the person's family background -his achievements -praises, advices, criticisms, comfort	Past Present Future
	Murik danum badehes beat (up-river sailing beat)	5. Jete rawey...	3. Closing	

Table 2				
Verse Samples	Lines	Words	Syllables	Beats
1	1st	12	29	Karunya
	2nd	9	21	
2	1st	11	24	Karunya
	2nd	10	24	
3	1st	11	22	Pepet uan
	2nd	13	34	
4	1st	9	24	Pepet uan
	2nd	10	24	
5	1st	11	27	Danum badehes
	2nd	10	24	

4. CONCLUSION

a. Karunya is not meant to strongly or sharply criticise someone in public. It tends to sublimate things into a more desirable form. It is but human, for the Dayaks also are people more responsive to praises than to criticisms. It can motivate someone to act, to introspect or to change. A person may be curious to know his image not as he sees it, but as others see it. Whenever the description expressed by the *basir* fits the reality of the person commented upon, the audience cries out spontaneously. These moments are not only enjoyed by the audience, but also by the *basir*.

b. One of the main causes of its gradual diminution is not only the moribundity of the language used, but that the frames of thought or experiences are no longer relevant to the present. A phrase such as "to pick a flower" for "marriage" may be completely intelligible to today's people, whereas saying in Sangen "tingang mangkungan lunuk" (*a hornbill perches on a banyan tree*) would not. It seems to us, therefore, that Sangen literature is supported by a different body of knowledge.

c. It exposes social status, and makes a person aware of it.

d. Each verse is a complete expression: the two lines explain each other; the second line intensifies or makes the meaning of the first line clearer. It is not clear enough or sufficient to speak of a dragon without saying, in elaboration, (a member of) snake, or the other way round.

e. To appreciate a poem is to plunge into the poet's world of experiences and ideas. When we fail to perceive that world which may be different from ours, then there is a gap in appreciation. Karunya in particular is one such case.

f. Perhaps, what survives from karunya is its semantic rhymes, and last but not least the ingenuity of the composer-reciter in identifying himself with the people's world of ideas and experiences within his own mode.

NOTES

1. Kaharingan means *by itself* or *self-existence*. It is now grouped into Hindu religion and called Hindu Kaharingan but retains its own identity.
2. Balian karunya is a life ritual making people relive or be conscious of their lives; *balian* or *wadian* means *to return*.
3. Sangen or Sangiang refers to the language or literature on sangiang (gods) of the Kaharingan Dayaks. Sangen or Sangiang is no longer a living language and is used as ritual language only.
4. As recited by Damang Y. Salilah (92 years).
5. Sambang's memory.