

*Between worlds:  
linguistic papers in memory of  
David John Prentice*



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David John Prentice**

edited by

**K. Alexander Adelaar and Robert Blust**



**Pacific Linguistics  
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies  
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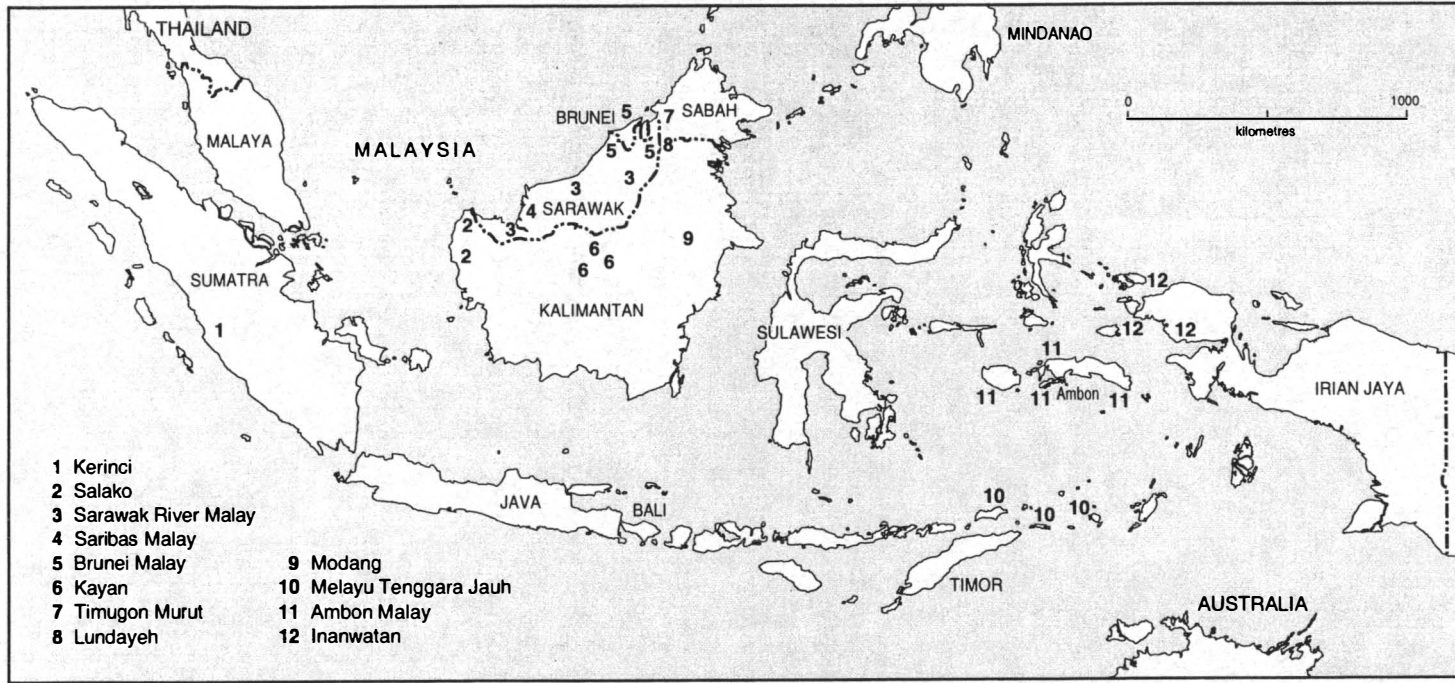
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Map showing the location of languages under discussion in this volume



# *Acknowledgements*

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We would like to thank Jim Collins for his editorial help and for having taken the initiative for this memorial volume for Jack Prentice at the Borneo Research Council Conference at the Universiti Brunei Darussalam in June 1996.

We are also grateful to Jaime Ayong and Sue Prentice for their efforts to find a suitable photograph, and to Anya Woods for preparing the final draft of this volume.

*The Editors*

# *Preface: Jack Prentice, 1942-1995*

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ROBERT BLUST

David John Prentice (Jack to his friends, and D.J. to his publishers), was a linguist of great talent whose publication output, although small, was of consistently high quality. He was born in Lancashire, England, in 1942, but spent most of his adult life in other countries, most notably Malaysia, Australia, and Holland. In his heart of hearts I believe he considered himself a citizen of the world.

After receiving his primary training in linguistics at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, Jack began a PhD in the Department of Linguistics at the Research School of Pacific Studies of The Australian National University in 1965, under the general leadership of Stephen A. Wurm. There, with the assistance of field grants, he was able to travel to Sabah (the former British North Borneo) in September, 1965, where he set about learning the language of the Timugon Muruts. Altogether, in the course of two trips between September 1965 and March 1968, he spent some eighteen months among the Muruts of Sabah. This, more than any other, seems to have been the experience that changed his life, and defined his professional career.

In 1971, a revised form of his doctoral dissertation, *The Murut languages of Sabah* was published in the Pacific Linguistics series of the ANU. Although its title suggests that it is a comparative work, and although the concluding thirty-page chapter is concerned with 'Outline studies of other Murut languages', *The Murut languages of Sabah* consists primarily of a 270-page grammar of Timugon Murut, using the tagmemic model then current among members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Jack's description of Timugon Murut is a formally detailed and richly illustrated grammar, with much information on the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language, as well as a sketch of the cultural background in which it is embedded. *The Murut languages of Sabah* became, and remains today, the most detailed grammar of any of the languages of Sabah.

My own contact with Jack began shortly after the publication of his grammar, as I had published a paper on the languages of northern Sarawak in 1969, which attracted his attention. We began a correspondence, in 1973, and met at the First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics ('Comparative' was dropped from the title of later conferences) in Honolulu, during the first week of January 1974. It was characteristic of Jack that he shared unpublished information with me on our first meeting, giving me copies of word lists collected by the primatologist David Horr from several of the then virtually unknown languages of the Kinabatangan basin in eastern Sabah which show distinctive phonological developments similar to the ones that I had identified among the languages of northern Sarawak.

In the late summer of 1974, I moved to Canberra, Australia, myself, where I took up a research position at the ANU. During this period our research interests moved into different directions and Jack and I had little contact during the twenty-four months that we overlapped in Australia. But then, at an extraordinary juncture in Dutch academic history, we were both hired in the autumn of 1976 as two of three foreigners appointed to positions in the Department of Indonesian Languages and Cultures at the University of Leiden. During the nearly eight years that we spent together in Holland, Jack's interests turned increasingly toward Malay, the specialisation for which he was hired. On the side, he continued to work on a very substantial and detailed dictionary of Timugon Murut but this remained in the background of his official work — almost a hobby that he appeared to keep up more as a labour of love than as a project for which he expected to receive institutional support. To my knowledge he made no further trips to Sabah during the period 1976–1984 in connection with the Murut dictionary. Rather, his major effort in lexicography was concentrated on bringing out a new Malay dictionary.

After I returned to Hawaii in 1984 I had only sporadic contact with Jack. We saw each other last in the summer of 1986 at a symposium on the history of the Malay language which was organised at the Dewan Bahasa in Kuala Lumpur, largely through the efforts of James T. Collins. Although he passed through Hawaii near the end of his life in 1994, I was away on sabbatical leave, and we were unable to meet again.

Jack was a specialist whose energies were devoted primarily to the description of Timugon Murut, and other languages of Borneo with Philippine-type 'focus systems', as well as to Malay in all its dialectal heterogeneity. But this specialist orientation did not prevent him from taking a lively interest in questions of general linguistic theory, and in talking with him about linguistic matters one always had the impression that theoretical issues were of great importance to him. He was, however, above all a humanist, and he once expressed his regrets to me that he had written his Timugon grammar in such a formalistic mode, saying that if he had to do it over again it would be done very differently. His desire to see and understand language not as an abstract formal entity detached from time and place, but as the principal means by which a people express their culture, comes out in various ways.

This is perhaps most obvious in his study of Timugon humour, but is also expressed through his longstanding interest in comparative-historical linguistics as a tool for explaining how the synchronic structure and content of a language has evolved from earlier structures and contents which were transformed through time.

At some point after his arrival in Holland I began to see signs of the decline which ended in Jack's premature death. Never in all that time did I see him behave in an unkind manner toward anyone, despite his own problems. He had extraordinary patience as a teacher, great generosity as a friend and colleague, and a richly detailed knowledge of the languages he studied most. We will all miss him and the unique contributions that he brought to the field of Austronesian linguistics.



# 1 *Salako morphology and the interrelation between voice, mood and aspect*

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SANDER ADELAAR

In memory of Jack Prentice  
In gratitude for the knowledge he shared with us  
For his generosity, tolerance and patience  
In constant friendship

## 1 Introduction

This contribution<sup>1</sup> gives a short description of Salako morphology, showing the interdependence of undergoer-orientation, completive aspect and subjunctive mood in this language.

Salako is a Malayic language with more than 15,000 speakers living in the Sambas regency of West Kalimantan and in the First Division (Lundu district) of Sarawak.<sup>2</sup> It is also called bahasa Dameà,<sup>3</sup> and it is mutually intelligible with Ahe, Belangin and some other dialects with which it forms the Kendayan dialect chain.

The Kendayan<sup>4</sup> dialects are prominent in the Pontianak regency and in the southern part of Sambas regency of West Kalimantan.<sup>5</sup> They are richer and more complex in structure

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1 I collected the Salako data used in this paper during a series of field trips between 1986 and 1990 to West Kalimantan, Indonesia. My main informant was Mr Vitus Kaslem from Nyarumkop (Tujuhbelas District, Sambas Regency). I am greatly indebted to him for all the time he spent with me, for his thorough instructions and for his patience. I would also like to thank John Bowden from The Australian National University and Michael Ewing from the University of Melbourne, for their careful proofreading of an earlier draft of this paper. Any omissions or errors in it are, of course, my responsibility.

2 According to my own calculations in Adelaar (1991:1n.2), the number of speakers must exceed 18,000.

3 This term has in fact become more current in Sambas, although the relation with the Salako people in Sarawak and an original common homeland along the Selakau River in Sambas (see Ina Anak Kalom and Hudson 1970:281) are still acknowledged.

4 Pronounced [kanay'd'n] or [kanay'c'n] among Kendayan speakers themselves.

than most other forms of Malayic, and they have many phonological, morphological and lexical retentions from Proto Malayic that were lost in most Malay dialects (Adelaar 1992b).

Malayic languages are usually strongly influenced by forms of literary Malay and also trade Malay. However, Kendayan and many other autochthonous Malayic languages spoken in western Borneo are somewhat exceptional in this respect. While they have also been influenced by various mainstream forms of Malay, they were less affected by them as a result of the geographical and social isolation of their speakers in the past.

This paper<sup>6</sup> has the following sections: some explanatory notes on phonemics and morphophonemics (§2), verbal morphology (§3), noun morphology (§4), the interrelation between voice, aspect and mood (§5) and concluding remarks (§6). A chart with pronouns and a short sample of Salako prose with translation are given in Appendix I and Appendix II respectively.

## 2 Explanatory notes on Salako phonemics and morphophonemics

This section gives only very basic information on the phonemes of Salako and on the morphophonemic alternations of the suffix *-AN*. For a more detailed overview, see Adelaar (1991).

### Phonemes

Salako has eight vowel phonemes: *i*, *e*, *ə*, *a*, *o*, *ō*, *u* and *ū*. There are no diphthongs, except in loan words such as the Malay function words *kalaw* 'if, when' and *ataw* 'or' (usually pronounced *kalo* and *ato* respectively). Stress is non-phonemic and falls on the last syllable.

The vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u* have oral and nasal allophones. Nasalised vowels occur after a nasal consonant which is not the result of the historical reduction of a consonant cluster consisting of a nasal + homorganic voiced occlusive. Of the nasal allophones, only *ō* and *ū* are phonemic (but only marginally so, see Adelaar 1991:4–5).

The low mid-vowel *a* is realised as a rounded open vowel [ɔ] before #, *-ʔ*, *-h*, *-pm*, *-tn* and *-kng*. It is also realised as [ɔ] when immediately preceding another rounded *a*, or when it is separated from a rounded *a* by *h* or *ʔ*. This rounding is indicated as 'à' in my spelling of Salako.

Salako consonants are *p*, *t*, *c*, *k*, *ʔ*, *b*, *d*, *j*, *g*, *m*, *n*, *ny*, *ng*, *r*, *l*, *s*, *h*, *w* and *y*.

<sup>5</sup> Ahe (Pontianak regency) is an especially important lingua franca in some of the inland areas of West Kalimantan.

<sup>6</sup> The following abbreviations and conventions will be used in the interlinear glossing of Salako sentences in this paper: *-AN* nominal and verbal suffix with the allomorphs [-an], [-ʔan], [-àtn] and [-ʔàtn]; CAUS causative; DEF definite marker; EMP emphatic particle; IV intransitive marker; N nasalisation; NC non-controlled prefix; PA personal article; PL plural; RED reduplication; SG singular; SJ subjunctive suffix; TV transitive affix; U undergoer; UO undergoer-oriented prefix; VOC vocative suffix.

Palatals and voiced stops do not occur in final position, *h* is not realised in initial position in inherited vocabulary,<sup>7</sup> *ʔ* is not phonemic in word-initial position, and *w* and *y* only occur intervocalically in inherited vocabulary.

Salako has the following intervocalic consonant clusters: (inherited:) *mp*, *nt*, *nc*, *ngk*, *ns*, (only occurring in loan words:) *mb*, *nd*, *nj*, *ngg*, *st*, *kt*, *kl*, *ks*, *ngl*. It also has the preploded nasals *pm*, *tn* and *kng*, which consist of an unreleased homorganic voiceless stop + nasal and occur in final position (e.g. *garàpm* ‘salt’) as well as before morpheme boundaries (e.g. *N* + *garàpm* = *iʔ* → *ngarapmiʔ* ‘to salt U’). These preploded nasals change to *m*, *n* and *ng* respectively when prefixation or suffixation brings them in proximity of another (simple or preploded) nasal (e.g. *N-* + *buàkng* → *muang* ‘to throw away’; *uràkng* ‘person; stranger’ + *-AN* → *urangan* ‘to receive many people’). They are analysed as consonant clusters for reasons of descriptive economy (see Adelaar 1991). However, see Blust (1997) for an alternative analysis.

Finally, there are also consonant clusters which only occur word-initially and consist of a stop + *l*.

### Morphophonemic alternations of *-AN*

*-AN* occurs as a suffix or as part of a circumfix. Derivations with *-AN* (as a suffix as well as part of a circumfix) are verbs or nouns (see below).

*-AN* has four allomorphs, [-an], [-àtn], [ʔan] and [ʔàtn]. Their distribution was originally phonotactically conditioned but has become unpredictable due to two factors: (1) the historical reduction of homorganic nasal + voiced stop clusters to simple nasals, and (2) borrowing from Malay, which has a corresponding suffix *-an* without allomorphs showing prepllosion.

The allomorph [-an] is suffixed to:

1. roots ending with a preploded nasal (whereby the latter becomes a simple nasal, e.g. *uràkng* + *AN* → *urangan*);
2. roots ending with a vowel other than *a* preceded by a nasal that developed from a historically simple nasal, e.g. *anyi* + *AN* (< *\*hanyi*) → *anyian* ‘harvest, crop’, (but cf. *ningiàtn* (< *\*tinggi*), below);
3. roots ending with a vowel + glottal sequence (*h* or *ʔ*) preceded by a nasal that developed from a historical simple nasal, e.g. *rumàh* ‘house’ + *sa-* *-AN* → *sarumahan* ‘members of the same neighbourhood or village’ (but cf. also *numuhàtn*, below);
4. loan words not yet completely adapted to the canonical shape of Salako, e.g. *tarusan* ‘channel’ (< Indonesian *tərusan*).

The allomorph [-àtn] is suffixed to:

1. roots ending in a consonant other than a nasal or glottal (e.g. *samut* ‘ant’ + *AN* → *samutàtn* ‘covered with ants’); and

<sup>7</sup> Contrary to Adelaar (1991), I now recognise the existence of an initial *h* in Salako inherited vocabulary. This *h-* appears following a morpheme boundary in word-medial position, e.g. the *h-* in <*hanyi*> is not realised in *anyi-an* ‘harvest’ but it is in *ba-hanyi* ‘to harvest’ and *pa-hanyi-an* ‘field ready to be harvested’.

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2. roots ending in a vowel other than *a*, or a (any) vowel + *-h/-ʔ*. The preceding consonant can be a nasal provided that it historically derives from a homorganic nasal + voiced stop cluster, e.g. *N + tingi + AN* (< *\*tinggi*) → *ningiàtn* ‘to raise’ *N + uih + AN* → *nguihàtn* ‘hit, caught’; *tumbuh* ‘grow’ (< *\*tumbuh*) + *AN* → *numuhàtn* ‘to cultivate (plant)’.

The allomorph *-[ʔan]* is suffixed to:

1. roots ending in *a* preceded by a nasal historically deriving from a simple nasal, e.g. *amà* (< *\*lama*) + reduplication + *-AN* → *amà-kaʔamaʔan* ‘eventually, in the end’;
2. loan words ending in *a* that are not yet completely adapted to the canonical shape of Salako, e.g. *ka + biasà + AN* → *kabiasaʔan* ‘habit, custom’ (cf. Indonesian *kebiasaan* [kəbiasaʔan] ‘habit, custom’).

The allomorph *-[ʔàtn]* is suffixed to:

1. roots ending in *a* preceded by a consonant other than a nasal, e.g. *N + bisà -AN* → *misàʔàtn* ‘make U poisonous’;
2. roots ending in *a* preceded by a nasal historically deriving from a homorganic nasal + voiced stop cluster, e.g. *N + tingà + AN* (< *\*tinggal*) → *ningàʔàtn* ‘to leave U behind’.

Derivations with *-AN* (whether a transitive suffix, a nominal suffix or part of a verbal or nominal circumfix) will be treated below in various sub-sections of §3 and §4.

### 3 Verbal morphology

#### 3.1 The stative suffix *-AN*

*-AN* is suffixed to nouns or stative intransitive verbs denoting an unpleasant condition, or to nouns denoting something that is capable of creating such condition. The resulting form is a stative intransitive verb meaning ‘suffering from [root]’. Examples:

<i>gaiʔ</i>	‘afraid’	<i>gaiʔ-àtn</i>	‘frightened easily, timid, nervous’
<i>garo</i>	‘ulceration; scab’	<i>garo-àtn</i>	‘to suffer from ulcers’
<i>tuiʔ</i>	‘ear-wax’	<i>tuiʔ-àtn</i>	‘to have wax in one’s ear’
<i>biar</i>	‘worms’	<i>biar-àtn</i>	‘to have worms’
<i>sangeh</i>	‘asthma’	<i>sangeh-an</i>	‘to be asthmatic’
<i>samut</i>	‘ant’	<i>samut-àtn</i>	‘covered with ants’
<i>uràkng</i>	‘human, person’	<i>urang-an</i>	‘to receive many people’

#### 3.2 The intransitive prefix *ba-*

This prefix forms intransitive verbs. It occurs with verbals, nominals and precatogorials. (Precatogorials are roots of which the word class cannot be determined because they never occur underived. They are indicated between angled brackets).

The prefix *ba-* has three allomorphs: [ba-], [baʔ-] and [bar-].

The most frequent allomorph is [ba-]. It occurs before any consonant. It also occurs before vowels; however, [baʔ-] usually occurs before initial *a* except if the latter was historically



preceded by \*l.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, [bar-] may occur before any initial vowel, but the conditioning for its appearance (rather than [ba-]/[baʔ-]) remains unclear. Examples include:

<komoʔ>		<i>ba-komoʔ</i>	'to gather, to come together'
<i>nanang</i>	'to see'	<i>ba-tanang</i>	'to look at each other'
<i>madàh</i>	'to ask leave'	<i>ba-padàh</i>	'to say; to inform'
<hanyi>		<i>ba-hanyi</i>	'to harvest'
<bagi>		<i>ba-bagi</i>	'to split up; to be divisible'
<i>ng-ajet</i>	'to fight, to scratch'	<i>bar-ajet</i>	'to to fight, to scratch each other'
<i>ampat</i>	'four'	<i>bar-ampat</i>	'to be four in number'

With nouns, *ba-* forms stative intransitive verbs. These sometimes can be translated as 'possess [root]', 'use [root]' or 'wear [root]'. For example:

<i>karajà</i>	'work, task'	<i>ba-karajà</i>	'to work'
<i>daràh</i>	'blood'	<i>ba-daràh</i>	'to bleed'
<i>buʔuk</i>	'head hair'	<i>ba-buʔuk</i>	'to have head hair'
<i>ayukng</i>	'companion, friend'	<i>bar-ayukng</i>	'to be accompanied'
<i>anak</i>	'child'	<i>bar-anak</i>	'to bear a child'
<i>ateʔ</i>	'lightning'	<i>baʔ-ateʔ</i>	'to be struck by lightning'
<i>arti</i>	'meaning'	<i>baʔ-arti</i>	'to mean, have a meaning'
<i>angir</i>	'k.o. fruit' (< * <i>langir</i> )	<i>ba-angir</i>	'wash one's hair with angir'
<i>enyekng</i>	'domestic pig'	<i>ba-enyekng</i>	'to be provided with a pig'
<i>insiʔ</i>	'content'	<i>ba-insiʔ</i>	'to contain, be filled'

With nouns and verbs, *ba-* also occurs in combination with *-AN*. The resulting derivation has an added meaning of plurality, which includes reciprocity and diffuseness. Examples include:

<i>ng-ampar</i>	'to spread out'	<i>baʔ-ampar-àtn</i>	'to be spread all over; to be spread, of many things'
<i>samak</i>	'close by'	<i>ba-samak-àtn</i>	'to be close to each other'
<i>sampàʔ</i>	'a betel chew'	<i>ba-sampàʔ-àtn</i>	'to chew betel together'
< <i>gugur</i> >		<i>ba-gugur-àtn</i>	'to fall (of several things)'
<i>cintà</i>	'love'	<i>ba-cintà-cintà-ʔàtn</i> <sup>9</sup>	'to love each other'

It is important to note that *ba-* also occurs in combination with *-iʔ* or with *-AN + -iʔ*. These derivations with *-iʔ* (a plurality marker) will be discussed in §3.5.

Derivations with *ba-* are the intransitive counterparts of actor-oriented transitive verbs derived with *ma-*. The latter are often combined with *-AN*. The corresponding undergoer-oriented forms are formed with *pa-* (*-AN*) (a circumfix which is homonymous with the noun-forming circumfix treated in §4.3). The allomorphs *mar-* (*-AN*) and *par-* (*-AN*) apply where the corresponding *ba-* prefix appears as *bar-*.<sup>10</sup> Examples:

<sup>8</sup> At some point Salako lost its lateral although it was reintroduced through borrowing (Adelaar 1992b: 385–388).

<sup>9</sup> With reduplication of the root denoting intensive action.

<sup>10</sup> Expected forms with glottal stop corresponding to [baʔ-] (viz. \*[maʔ- -(ʔ)an]/[maʔ- -(ʔ)àtn] and \*[paʔ- -(ʔ)an]/[paʔ- -(ʔ)àtn] do not occur in my data.

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<i>ba-diri</i>	'to stand'	<i>ma-diri</i>	'to erect (U)'
<i>ba-sangkà?</i>	'to deny'	<i>ma-sangkà?-àtn</i>	'to deny (something)'
<i>ba-tampirikng</i>	'to have a fight'	<i>ma-tampiring-an</i>	'to attack (U)'
<i>ba-lawàkng</i>	'to get married'	<i>ma-lawang-an</i>	'to marry off (one's child)'
<i>bar-anti</i>	'to stop' (<anti>)	<i>mar-anti-àtn</i>	'to stop (U)'
<i>ba-gawe</i>	'hold a ritual feast'	<i>di-pa-gawe-àtn</i>	'to be given such a feast, to be the reason for a ritual feast'

### 3.3 The transitive prefix *N-*

*N-* is apparently a marker of transitive verbs. It is prefixed to completed and non-completed transitive verbs, with the exception of transitive verbs in imperative phrases or in undergoer-oriented non-completed phrases (see §5.3). *N-* has the following realisations:

*ng-* before *g* and *k*, which are deleted in the process, and before an initial vowel:

<i>N + garàpm + i?</i>	→	<i>ngarapm-i?</i>	'to salt (U)'
<i>N + kayuh</i>	→	<i>ngayuh</i>	'to paddle'
<i>N + ako?</i>	→	<i>ng-ako?</i>	'to admit'
<i>N + ukum</i>	→	<i>ng-ukum</i>	'to sentence (U)'

*nga-* before initial *w*,<sup>11</sup> *l* and *r*<sup>12</sup>:

<i>N + waris + i?</i>	→	<i>nga-waris-i?</i>	'to inherit (U)'
<i>N + lelet</i>	→	<i>nga-lelet</i>	'to cut (throat)'
<i>N + rabà</i>	→	<i>nga-rabà</i>	'to taste'

*m-* before *b* and *p*, which are deleted:

<i>N + bare?</i>	→	<i>mare?</i>	'to give'
<i>N + pangkong</i>	→	<i>mangkong</i>	'to slap'

*n-* before *d* or *t*, which are deleted:

<i>N + duduk + i?</i>	→	<i>nuduk-i?</i>	'to sit on, occupy'
<i>N + tunu</i>	→	<i>nunu</i>	'to burn (U)'

*ny-* before *s*, *c* or *j*, which are deleted:

<i>N + sahut</i>	→	<i>nyahut</i>	'to answer'
<i>N + cocok</i>	→	<i>nyocok</i>	'to drink'
<i>N + jahit</i>	→	<i>nyahit</i>	'to sew'

∅ before an initial nasal:

<i>N + makàtn</i>	→	<i>makàtn</i>	'to eat'
<i>N + nyanyi</i>	→	<i>nyanyi</i>	'to sing'

<sup>11</sup> Note that the data do not provide verbal roots with initial *y*.

<sup>12</sup> *nga-* sometimes also applies before an initial vowel in roots that originally had an initial *\*l*.

### 3.4 The transitive marker *-iʔ*

There are two suffixes *-iʔ*, a transitive marker and a plurality marker.

The transitive marker *-iʔ* often forms verbs that are location-oriented or direction-oriented, but in some derivations this orientedness does not apply, as is shown in the case of *maik-iʔ* among the following examples:

<i>berà</i>	‘angry’	<i>mera-iʔ</i>	‘to get angry at (U), scold (U)’
<i>maniʔ</i>	‘to bathe’	<i>maniʔ-iʔ</i>	‘to give a bath to (U)’
<i>ba-padàh</i>	‘to ask for permission; to report’	<i>madah-iʔ</i>	‘to inform (U); to invite (U)’
<i>salàh</i>	‘wrong, mistaken’	<i>nyalah-iʔ</i>	‘to blame (U)’
<i>lalu</i>	‘to pass’	<i>nga-lalu-iʔ</i>	‘to pass along (U)’
<i>ampus</i>	‘to go’	<i>ng-ampus-iʔ</i>	‘to go to (U)’
<i>baik</i>	‘good’	<i>maik-iʔ</i>	‘to bring (U) into order, to improve (U)’

*-iʔ* also adds the notion of location-orientedness or direction-orientedness to transitive verbal roots, although here again this does not necessarily apply to all resulting forms. Note the following examples:

<i>mayar</i>	‘to pay (money, goods)’	<i>mayar-iʔ</i>	‘to pay to (U)’
<i>madàh</i>	‘to ask permission for (U), to inform about (U)’	<i>madah-iʔ</i>	‘to inform (U); to invite (U)’
<i>nanang</i>	‘to see (U)’	<i>nanang-iʔ</i>	‘to watch (U); to call in on (a sick person)’

### 3.5 The plurality marker *-iʔ*

The plurality marker *-iʔ* is suffixed to transitive as well as intransitive verbs. With verbs prefixed with *ba-*, it adds the notion of reciprocity, plurality of actors or repeated action. Examples:

< <i>abuh</i> >		<i>baʔ-abuh-iʔ</i>	‘to commit incest’
< <i>karàhàkng</i> >		<i>baʔ-karahakng-iʔ</i>	‘to yell at each other’
<i>naap</i>	‘to hold’	<i>ba-taʔap-taʔap-iʔ</i>	‘to hold on to each other’
<i>tumàkng</i>	‘to fall down, to topple long things’	<i>ba-tumakng-iʔ</i>	‘trampled down (of many long things)’

When suffixed to verbs that are circumfixed with *ba-* *-AN*, *-iʔ* forms iteratives indicating that large numbers join in the action or that everyone joins in the action. It sometimes also denotes a repeated or intensified state or action. Examples:

<i>dari</i>	‘to run’	<i>ba-dari-atn-iʔ</i>	‘to run (of everybody or of many people)’
<i>ukàʔ</i>	‘injury, wound’	<i>ba-ukaʔ-atn-iʔ</i>	‘to be covered with wounds’
<i>turutn</i>	‘to go down’	<i>ba-turun-an-i</i>	‘to go down (everybody or many people)’
<i>atàkng</i>	‘to come’	<i>ba-atang-an-iʔ</i>	‘to come in great numbers’

When *-i?* is suffixed to transitive verbs suffixed with *-AN*, it adds the notion of plurality of undergoer or repeated action. Examples are:

<i>naban-an</i>	'to take (along)'	<i>naban-an-i?</i>	'to take everything or everyone; to take (U) to several places'
<i>ngapas-àtn</i>	'to set free'	<i>ngapas-atn-i?</i>	'to set free (of many things)'

Sentences (1)–(5) provide some examples in context:

- (1) *Ba-dari-atn-i?-lah uràkng Saboyo? ba uràkng Saribas an-nyian.*  
IV-run-AN-PL-EMP people Saboyo? with people Saribas this  
'Off ran all the Saboyo and Saribas people.'
- (2) *Tubuh Ne? Dibo?-pun ba-uka?-atn-i?, ba-daràh.*  
body Grandpa ibo-EMP IV-wound-AN-PL IV-blood  
'Grandpa Dibo?'s body was all covered with wounds, he was bleeding.'
- (3) *Ba-turun-an-i?-lah samue?e uràkng ka dààpm kapal*  
IV-go down-AN-PL-EMP all people at inside ship  
*angkoà tai.*  
that aforementioned  
'So out came everybody who was on that ship.'
- (4) *Uràkng kan supàtn kalaw diri? naban-an-i?*  
people don't they? embarrassed if we take along-AN-PL  
*bini-e ka sià ka na?an?*  
wife-their to here to there  
'People'd get embarrassed if we took their wives here and there, right?'
- (5) *Di-ngapas-atn-i? burukng-e di-natak-i? tali-e samue?e.*  
UO-to free-AN-PL bird-DEF UO-cut-TV line-DEF all  
'All birds were released, all the lines (holding them) were cut.'

### 3.6 The transitive marker *-AN*

The suffix *-AN* forms causative verbs from stative and dynamic verbs, as is shown in the following examples:

<i>tarus</i>	'to continue'	<i>narus-àtn</i>	'to continue (U)'
<i>koat</i>	'strong'	<i>ngoat-àtn</i>	'to strengthen (U)'
<i>susàh</i>	'difficult, cumbersome'	<i>nyusàhàtn</i>	'to complicate (U), to trouble (U)'
<i>tantu</i>	'definite; certain'	<i>nantu-àtn</i>	'to determine (U)'
<i>kalàh</i>	'to lose, be defeated'	<i>ngalàhàtn</i>	'to defeat (U)'
< <i>malu</i> >		<i>uràkng an-di-maluàtn</i>	'a respected person'
<i>taamà?</i>	'to go inside'	<i>naama?an</i>	'to put (U) inside'
<i>adà</i>	'there is'	<i>ngadà?àtn</i>	'to bring about (U)'
<i>ba-komo?</i>	'to come together'	<i>ngomo?àtn</i>	'to collect (U)'
<i>naik</i>	'to go up'	<i>rajà an-nyian</i> <i>di-naikàtn ka kapal</i>	'the sovereign was carried into the ship'

<i>uas</i>	'wide, broad'	<i>ngauas-àtn padi</i>	'to spread paddy about, to sow rice'
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The transitive marker *-AN* also derives transitive verbs from nouns. Examples:

<i>curità</i>	'story'	<i>nyurità?àtn</i>	'to tell (s.th.)'
<i>sumpàh</i>	'oath, curse'	<i>nyumpàhàtn</i>	'to curse (s.th.)'
<i>subarang</i> <sup>13</sup>	'the opposite side'	<i>nyubarangan</i>	'to put/bring (U) across' as in <i>aku pane nyubarangan kau sampe ka tapi sawangan</i> 'I can set you across the river'

Suffixed to a transitive verbal root, it changes either the meaning or the undergoer of the verb.

Examples of *-AN* changing the meaning of a transitive root include:

<i>muang</i>	'to throw away'	<i>muangan</i>	'to place or store (U) away'
<i>nabàtn</i>	'to take away, steal'	<i>nabanan</i>	'to take (U)'

Examples of *-AN* changing the undergoer of a transitive root (*-AN* as an 'undergoer-selector') are listed below:

<i>mare?</i>	'give (someone)'	<i>mare?àtn</i>	'to give (something)'
<i>nginyàpm</i>	'to borrow (U)'	<i>nginyaman</i>	'to lend (U)'
<i>ngamuat</i>	'to make'	<i>ngamuatàtn</i>	'to make for (someone)' <i>ià dingamuatàtn songko?</i> 'They made a rimless cap for him'
<i>ngago</i>	'to look for, fetch'	<i>ngagoàtn</i>	'to look for on behalf of (s.o.)' <i>picarà ngagoàtn ià andarà</i> 'the matchmaker looked for a young maiden on his behalf'

### 3.7 *di-*

*di-* occurs in undergoer-oriented phrases.<sup>14</sup> When *di-* is used and there is an explicit actor, it directly precedes that actor. The latter can be first, second or third person. If there is no explicit actor, *di-* directly precedes the undergoer-oriented verb.

### 3.8 *-à?*

*-à?* is a subjunctive marker. It is suffixed to the head of a predicate and adds the notion of intention or future; see §5.2.

<sup>13</sup> This form must be borrowed as its final nasal does not show the expected prelosion. Its first syllable has *u* which is explained by the fact that words of more than two syllables (including loan words) often exhibit colouring of the antepenultimate vowel which is conditioned by their consonantal environment, e.g. *jubatà* 'deity' (< Malay *dewata*, Sanskrit *dewata* 'gods'); *sulendang* 'k.o. scarf' (< Malay *sələndang* id.); *siturup* 'syrup' (< Malay *sətrup*, Dutch *stroop* id.).

<sup>14</sup> *di-* is denoted as a prefix but its status as a prefix or an independent particle in Salako remains unclear and requires further investigation.

3.9 Non-controlled *ta-*

*ta-* denotes an unintentional or uncontrolled movement or action. It can also denote possibility or feasibility to do something.<sup>15</sup> *ta-* has the allomorphs [ta-], [taʔ-] (before historical initial *a-*) and [tar-]. [tar-] only occurs before initial vowels, but it remains unclear under which exact conditions it does so.<sup>16</sup> Examples of *ta-* denoting unintentional or uncontrolled movement or action are:

<i>ngomoʔ</i>	'to collect (U)'	<i>ta-komoʔ</i>	'gathered'
<i>jantoʔ</i>	'to fall'	<i>ta-jantoʔ</i>	'to fall unexpectedly'
<i>nontokng</i>	'to pour out s.th.'	<i>ta-tontokng</i>	'to pour out, gush out accidentally'
<i>jadi</i>	'and so'	<i>ta-jadi</i>	'to happen'
< <i>masok</i> >		<i>ta-masok</i>	'included'
< <i>tangkap</i> >, <i>nangkap</i>	'to seize, grab'	<i>ta-tangkap</i>	'caught'
<i>ng-angkat</i>	'to lift'	<i>tar-angkat, taʔ-angkat</i>	'capable of lifting'

Sentences (6)–(8) provide examples in context:

- (6) *lâ ta-tangkap basàʔ.*  
she NC-catch wet  
'She was caught red-handed.'
- (7) *Kuit kapala-e ta-jantoʔ ka Bukit Rayà an-nyian.*  
skin head-his NC-fall on mountain/hill Rayà this  
'The skin of his head fell on Mount Rayà.'
- (8) *Darah-e ta-tontokng ka daerah Mantarado.*  
blood-his NC-pour out in/on area Montrado  
'His blood gushed out over the Montrado area.'

In sentences (9)–(12) examples of *ta-* denoting possibility or feasibility are provided:

- (9) *Ta-dangar bunyi dameà pun anàʔ.*  
NC-hear sound what EMP not  
'No sound whatsoever was (=could be) heard.'
- (10) *lâ ngoleʔ ka kebà ka kanan, anàʔ ugàʔ ta-goleʔ.*  
he roll at/to left at/to right not only/just NC-roll  
'He tried to roll it (the monkey) left and right, but it just couldn't be rolled over.'
- (11) *Anàʔ taʔ-angkat salong-e an-nyian.*  
not NC-lift sarong-DEF this  
'The sarong could not be lifted.'

<sup>15</sup> In contrast to Malay *ter-*, *ta-* does not denote superlative or excessive degree when prefixed to a static intransitive verb.

<sup>16</sup> It seems to be either an anomalous form retained from Proto Malayic or a loan form due to influence from Malay. The two forms in my texts exhibiting this allomorph could be borrowed from Malay (viz. *tar-ingat/ta-ingat* 'to remember'; *tar-angkat/taʔ-angkat* 'capable of being lifted'; cf. Malay *teringat* and *terangkat* [same meanings]). Likewise, a number of forms that seem to have lexicalised this allomorph (*tarajutn* 'to jump'; *tarabàkng* 'to fly'; *tarabit* 'to rise, emerge') are suspect of borrowing from Malay.

- (12) *Nyobà ià ng-angkat-à? ià anà? ugà? bisà tar-angkat.*  
 N-try he N-lift-SJ it not just/only can NC-lift  
 'He tried hard to lift it but it just couldn't be lifted.'

(Note that *ta-* derivations include actor-oriented forms in examples (13)–(14)).

- (13) *Ià ta-tatak ka tali jambatan angkoà tai.*  
 she/he NC-cut at/on rope bridge that aforementioned  
 'He accidentally cut the rope holding the rope bridge.'
- (14) *Pa? Ayay dah ta-duduk di halaman angkoà.*  
 Pa? Ayay already NC-sit in courtyard that  
 'Pa? Ayay had fallen on his bum in the courtyard.'

### 3.10 Non-controlled *ka-* *-AN*

Like *ta-*, *ka-* *-AN* also indicates unintentional or uncontrolled movement or action. It moreover adds the notion of being struck by something undesirable to the resulting derivation. It is circumfixed to transitive and intransitive verbs and to nouns. It has the following allomorphs: [ka- -an], [ka- -?an], [ka- -àtn], [ka- -?àtn] and [ka- -anan]. The rules for the distribution of [ka- -anan] remain unclear.<sup>17</sup> Examples:

<i>sangeh</i>	'asthma'	<i>ka-sangeh-an</i>	'to have an attack of asthma'
<i>gai?</i>	'afraid'	<i>ka-gai?-àtn</i>	'frightened to death'
<i>samut</i>	'ant'	<i>ka-samut-àtn</i>	'to become numb (of a limb)'
<i>repo</i>	'happy'	<i>ka-repo-àtn</i>	'overjoyed'
<i>nahui?</i>	'to know'	<i>ka-tahu-anan</i>	'to be found out'
<i>ningà-àtn</i>	'to leave behind'	<i>ka-tinga-anan</i>	'abandoned'

### 3.11 Rare affixes

#### *The middle verb prefix siN-*

*siN-* only occurs in the following four examples in three of which it is preceded by *ba-*. It forms middle verbs (where the actor is doing something to herself or himself). The nasal element in this prefix assimilates to the following consonant which (other than with *N-* and *paN-*) is not deleted. The examples are:

< <i>ko?opm</i> >		<i>basing-ko?opm</i>	'put entirely into one's mouth'
< <i>soor</i> >		<i>sin-soor</i>	'throw oneself to the floor out of recalcitrance, roll oneself over the floor'
<i>muhà</i>	'face'	<i>basi-muhà</i>	'wash one's face'
< <i>komor</i> >		<i>basing-komor</i>	'rinse one's mouth'

<sup>17</sup> The ending [-anan] is the regular result of *-AN* + *-AN*: when *-AN* is suffixed to a final homorganic stop + nasal cluster, it is realised as [-an], and the cluster is reduced to its nasal component (§2.2). It is to be expected that there is also a realisation [-?anan] after final *a* but I found no evidence for this in my data.

**The transitive prefix maka-**

In the only two instances found in my texts, this prefix is prefixed to intransitive verbal roots and forms factitive verbs:

<i>maka-lalu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>moot</i>	‘keep one’s promise, act according to what one has said’
<i>maka-rehetn</i>		‘make light (particularly a punishment)’

**4 Nominal affixes**

Salako has several noun-forming affixes. The functions and meanings of some (viz. *paN-*, *paN-* -AN and *pa-* -AN) are not as clearcut as those of others (viz. -AN, *ka-* -AN), as will be seen below.

Apart from noun-forming affixes there is also a vocative suffix.

**The nominalising prefix paN-**

The prefix *paN-*, when prefixed to verbal roots, forms nouns denoting an instrument or function in relation to the root. Some of these nouns are often used attributively (see *pang-alok* and *pang-ikat*, below). *paN-* has several allomorphs with a final nasal being realised in the same way — and causing the same changes to the following consonant — as the verbal prefix *N-*, discussed in §3.3. Examples include:

<i>ng-alok-i?</i>	‘tell lies’	<i>pang-alok</i>	‘prone to lying; a person prone to lying’
<i>ng-ikat</i>	‘to bind’	<i>tali pangikat</i>	‘a rope for binding’
< <i>tutup</i> >		<i>panutup moot</i>	‘something to cover the mouth’
<i>nabo?</i>	‘to visit’	<i>panabo?</i>	‘representative, member of delegation’
<i>ngapàkng</i>	‘to embrace’	<i>pangapàkng</i>	‘measurement for a circumference equalling an embrace’
< <i>aap</i> >		<i>pang-aap</i>	‘delegate’

**The nominalising circumfix paN- -AN**

The circumfix *paN-* -AN derives nouns from roots that have transitive derivations with *N-*. The resulting nouns denote the performance itself (abstract nouns), actor or result. The nasal in the first segment (*paN-*) has allomorphs that are formed in a way analogous to that of the verbal prefix *N-* (§3.3). Examples with transitive verb roots are:

<i>mintà?</i>	‘to ask for, to request’	<i>pa-mintà?-àtn</i>	‘a request’
<i>nga-raban-an</i>	‘to act as midwife’	<i>panga-raban-an</i>	‘midwife’
<i>mare?</i>	‘to give’	<i>pa-mare?àtn</i>	‘gift’

<sup>18</sup> As pointed out previously, an earlier \**l* was lost in Salako (although it has become part of Salako phonology again through borrowing). Therefore, the *l* in the root of *maka-lalu* points to borrowing either from a neighbouring dialect (possibly Ahe) or from Malay. Along with *lalu*, Salako also has a root *au* ‘to pass along’.



In a single case this circumfix occurs with a stative intransitive root and has an attributive meaning:

*rongko?* 'ill' *panga-rongko?-àtn* 'prone to illness, sickly'

### The nominalising circumfix *pa-* -AN

The circumfix *pa-* -AN derives nouns from intransitive verbs. It is the nominal counterpart of intransitive verbal derivations with *ba-*. Before a vowel the allomorph *par-* may occur (as in *paridupâm*). Examples:

<i>ba-buis</i>	'perform a <i>ba-buis</i> ritual'	<i>pa-buis-àtn</i>	'food preparations for a <i>ba-buis</i> ritual'
<i>ba-jari</i>	'have the size of a finger'	<i>pa-jari-àtn</i>	'something the size of a finger'
<i>ba-jààtn</i>	'to walk, go'	<i>pa-jaan-an</i>	'journey'
<i>ba-lawàkng</i>	'to get married'	<i>pa-lawang-an</i>	'marriage'
<i>ba-saru?</i>	'to invite; to invoke'	<i>pa-saru?-àtn</i>	'invitation'
( <i>idup</i>	'to live')	<i>par-idup-àtn</i>	'livelihood'

### The nominalising suffix -AN

The suffix -AN, when attached to transitive verbal roots, derives nouns referring to a goal or result of what would be expressed by the derived verb, such as:

<i>muih</i>	'to obtain'	<i>puih-àtn</i>	'catch, yield'
<i>nga-epet</i>	'to wrap'	<i>epet-àtn</i>	'parcel'
<i>nyangàh-àtn</i>	'to pray'	<i>sangàh-àtn</i>	'a <i>sangàh-àtn</i> prayer'
<i>ng-ae?</i>	'to help a community member'	<i>ae?àtn</i>	'communal help group'

The following case is noteworthy as it seems to be a derivation from a noun that already has a suffix -AN:<sup>19</sup>

*ampàhàtn* 'vegetables; side-dishes' *ampahan-an* 'all sorts of vegetables'

### The nominalising circumfix *ka-* -AN

The circumfix *ka-* -AN forms nouns from (stative and dynamic) intransitive verbs. If the root is a stative verb, the resulting meaning refers to the root as a quality. Dynamic intransitive verbal roots with *ka-* -AN are very limited. A characterisation of their meaning is therefore rather difficult, especially since the meanings of the examples *ka-idup-àtn* and *ka-tidur-àtn* (below) seem to be lexicalised to some extent.

Note that this circumfix has the same form as the non-controlledness marker *ka-* -AN, which can also occur on the basis of stative and dynamic transitive verbs. Examples include:

<sup>19</sup> Compare the [ka- -anan] forms in §3.9, which also have a 'double' suffix -AN.

<i>gagas</i>	'beautiful, attractive'	<i>ka-gagas-àtn</i>	'beauty'
<i>susàh</i>	'difficult, worrisome'	<i>ka-susàh-àtn</i>	'difficulties, trouble'
<i>idup</i>	'to live'	<i>ka-idup-àtn</i>	'life, livelihood'
<i>tidur</i>	'to sleep'	<i>ka-tidur-àtn</i>	'sleeping place'

### ***The vocative marker -à***

Certain nouns (kinship terms, names, nouns referring to a rank or position) can be suffixed with the vocative marker *-à*, as is shown in the following sentences:

- (15) *Am-bagà*                      *mati*        *kau an-nyian*, *Pa? Ayay-à!*  
 Relative marker-stupid extremely you this        Pa? Ayay-VOC  
 'Gosh, how dumb you are, Pa? Ayay!'
- (16) *Kà?-à!*                      *Apiiiii!*    *Kà?-à!*  
 older brother-VOC    fire        older brother  
 'Hey brother! Fire! Brother!'
- (17) *Dameà, jar-e*        *pardana mantari o rajà-à?*  
 what    saying-his    prime minister    oh sovereign-VOC  
 "'What is going on, oh king?" said the prime minister.'

## **5 Voice, aspect and mood**

As already indicated in the introduction of this paper, voice, aspect and mood are interdependent categories in Salako. In the following paragraphs each of these categories will be treated separately, but a discussion of the details of their interrelatedness follows.

### **5.1 Undergoer-orientedness**

Undergoer-orientedness is marked by word order and (in some cases) by *di-*. The latter can be used in two ways in an undergoer-oriented phrase.

1. If the actor is not expressed, it directly precedes the verb, as in examples (18) and (19):

- (18) *Sanang-lah*    *ati*        *Si Bunsu?*    *an-nyian*    *tai*  
 pleased-EMP    heart    Si Bunsu?    this        aforementioned  
  
*nanang uma-e*    *akà?*                      *di-nga-rumput.*  
 see    field-her    finished/done    UO-N-weed  
 'Si Bunsu? was pleased to see that her field was all weeded.'
- (19) *Heran*    *ià:*    *Sape nuukng-i?*    *ià*    *nga-rumput?*  
 surprised    she    who help-TV    her    N-weed  
  
*Padahal,*                      *uma-e*    *agi?*    *ayà?*    *napàtn*    *di-rumput.*  
 while on the contrary    field-her    more    big    not yet    UO-weed  
 'She was surprised: who had helped her [housemate] to weed? Her own field, which was in fact bigger, had not yet been weeded.'

2. If the actor is expressed, *di-* often directly precedes it and functions as an actor case marker, as in sentences (20)–(23):

- (20) *Buuu bàà an-nyian ga?e di-ià ngosokatn-i? ka tubuh-e.*  
 k.o. bamboo this also by-her N-rub in-TV at body-her  
 ‘She also rubbed the bàà bamboo on to her body.’
- (21) “*Angkoàlah*”, *jare*, “*tuàkng kale? di-kau matàh-matàh ‘ngkoà,*  
 that-EMP she said bone catfish by-you N-break-RED that  
*ku-ng-amuat kai, ku-ngai ka batangan namu sauàkng*”.  
 (by) me-N-make hook by me-hook at river find k.o. carp  
 “‘That’, she said, ‘is the bone of the catfish that you broke; I made it into a fish-  
 hook and caught a carp with it in the river.’”
- (22) *Kata-e angkoà tai di-uràkng Saboyo?*  
 word/command-his that aforementioned by-people Saboyo?  
*am-batujuh an-nyian nurut-i?*  
 who-IV-be seven which-this N-to follow/obey-TV  
 ‘The seven Saboyo? people obeyed his orders.’
- (23) *Ià tanang agi? tangkitn-e dah tabà, di-daràh<sup>20</sup>*  
 he look again sword-his already thick by-blood  
*kayo mungkus, anà? bisà di-buàkng.*  
 enemy N-to wrap not able UO-throw away  
 ‘He looked at his sword again which had become thick, it was completely  
 covered with (‘wrapped in’) the enemy’s blood which could not be shaken  
 off (‘thrown away’).’

But in many cases where the actor is indicated, *di-* does not appear at all. Whether *di-* does appear or not, the actor as a rule follows the undergoer and directly precedes the verb; see sentences (24)–(26).

- (24) *Dààpm sa?-ari abis uma-e ang-ayà? koà ià nga-rumput.*  
 in one-day finished field-her which-large that (by) him N-weed  
 ‘Within a day her field, which was large, had all been weeded by him.’
- (25) *Nanà nange kalo dah banyak padi anà? kità*  
 soon, later EMP if already much/many paddy not (by) you  
*piharà anà? kità? hormat-i?*  
 look after not (by) you respect-TV  
 ‘Later if there is much paddy you won’t take care of it, you won’t respect  
 the paddy.’
- (26) *Lalu bungà riukng an-nyian Si Pakapuràtn*  
 then flower riukng this (by) Si Pakapuràtn

<sup>20</sup> Note that example (23) exhibits the use of *di-* as an agent marker [in *di-daràh*] as well as a marker of undergoer-orientation [in *di-buàkng*].

*ngugur-atn-i?* ka buuk Si Mamakng Sauàkng.  
 N-strew-TV-PL on hair Si Mamakng Sauàkng  
 'Si Pakapuràtn then strewed these riukng-flowers on Si Mamakng Sauàkng's hair.'

Because *di-* is not obligatory in cases where the actor is expressed, it appears that word order is the principal marker of undergoer-orientedness in Salako. Neither is *di-* in complementary distribution with *N-* and able to co-occur with it, as some of the above sample sentences show. (The function of *N-* is discussed in §4.3).

The function of Salako *di-* and its co-occurrence with *N-* are remarkable against the context of voice-marking in most dialects of Malay and other languages spoken in western Indonesia. In the latter, nasalisation is a marker of actor-orientation. If *di-* applies, it never co-occurs with nasalisation, and its use is not optional; along with a restricted set of proclitic pronouns it is one of the morphological markers of undergoer-orientation. Word order is also relevant for voice-marking, but it is a concomitant factor rather than the main marker.

## 5.2 Subjunctive

Subjunctive is expressed by the suffix *-à?* which must be a reflex of the Proto Austronesian subjunctive marker *\*-a*, and which has a cognate *-a* (also a subjunctive marker) in the Old Malay text of the seventh century inscriptions of South Sumatra and Bangka Island (Adelaar 1992a:163–164).

This *-à?* is suffixed to predicates denoting an intention, an approaching event, a conceivable danger and, in conjunction with *bai?* 'not want to', a refusal, as in example (30). When *-à?* is suffixed, *à* in the preceding syllable loses its rounding<sup>21</sup> (cf. *ngicàkng* 'to look for' versus *ngicakng-à?* '[in order] to look for'), and a preceding suffix *-i?* loses its glottal stop (*nanam-i?* 'to plant' versus *nanam-i-à?* '[in order] to plant'); see sentences (27)–(30) below.

(27) *Ampagi-e Si Bunsu? ampus ka rumàh Si Pakapuràtn,*  
 morning-of it Si Bunsu? go at/to house Si Pakapuràtn  
*ng-icakng-à? kale? sabap anà? di-puang-an tumare?*  
 N-look for-SJ catfish because not UO-back-CAUS yesterday  
 'The next morning Si Bunsu went to the house of Si Pakapuràtn to look for the catfish, because it had not been returned the night before.'

(28) *Jaji, dayà Si Mamàkng Sauàkng an-doho? ià ga?e,*  
 really like Si Mamàkng Sauàkng in.the.past he just  
*dah gagas. Ià nanding-à? gagasatn-e an-nyian*  
 already handsome he compare-SJ handsomeness-his this  
*tai ià ngicàkng taor.*  
 aformentioned he look.for egg  
 'Really, he was like the old Si Mamakng Sauàkng again, he had become handsome. He looked for an egg (to be used as a mirror) in order to see how handsome he had become.'

<sup>21</sup> Except in cases where *-à?* directly follows a final *à* or *à?*, e.g. *ba-mintà?* 'to request' versus *ba-mintà?-à?* '(in order) to request'; (with a glottal stop emerging on the morpheme boundary:) *nyuà* 'to sell' versus *nyuà?-à?* 'in order to sell'.

- (29) *Ià noget-atn-i? lah asir angkoà ka*  
 he N-fasten-TV-PL EMP palm leaf rib that at  
*samak-samak tempat burukng 'ngkoà ba-mani-atn-i-à?.*  
 close-close place bird that IV-bathe-together-PL-SJ  
 'He attached the palm leaf ribs very close to a place where birds come together to take a bath.'
- (30) *aku dah bai? ba-lawakng-à? kau!*  
 I already don't want IV-marry-SJ you  
 'I don't feel like marrying you any more!'

Apparently, *-à?* can be suffixed to any verb, including (as attested in a single case) a verb that has the non-controlled affix *ta-*:

- (31) *Cilakà kau Pa? Ayay-à! Dah abis ikàtn angkoà*  
 damn you Pa? Ayay-VOC already finished fish that  
*kau najar! Sampe-sampe kanama?an kapala-ngu agi?, jar-e,*  
 by-you gobble to the extent.until got stuck head-your again she said  
*kadààpm balangà? an-nyian. Memang ta-rorokng-à? daràh*  
 inside vessel this indeed NC-pour.out-SJ blood  
*hane kau an-nyian. Nyamae nang ka kau an-nyian!*  
 just/only you this how/what to do EMP to you this  
 "Damn you, Pa? Ayay! You devoured all the fish, so that now your head is stuck in this cooking pot", she said. "In fact you might have to let go of your blood (in order to get loose). What are we supposed do with you!"

In sentences (32) and (33), *-à?* is also found with prepositional phrases and question words:

- (32) *Ià anà? sampat sidi ka umà?-à?.*  
 he not have opportunity very at/to field-SJ  
 'He had no chance at all to go to the field.'
- (33) *Jadi kapalae an-nyian botak, itàpm dayà timpurukng*  
 so head-her this bald black like coconut shell  
*buu?. Makin manas ià. Tapi nyamae-à?-lah, barang*  
 scorched increasingly angry she but how (to do)-SJ-EMP thing  
*koà dah tajadi, ià biasà sajà agi? nange.*  
 that already happen she get used just again EMP  
 'So her head was bald, and black like a scorched coconut shell. She became even more angry. But what could she do about it, it had already happened, she'd better get used to it.'

However, the subjunctive marker *-à?* does not occur with undergoer-oriented forms prefixed with *N-*, as will be illustrated in §5.3. *N-* affixed to a undergoer-oriented verb indicates completed action, which is inherently incompatible with subjunctivity.

### 5.3 Completed and non-completed action

Transitive verbs are marked with *N-*, whether they are based on a transitive verbal root or derived from another root through affixation of the transitivity affixes *-an/-àtn*, *-i?* or *ma-/pa-*.

*N-* is always affixed to actor-oriented verbs, as for example in sentences (34) and (35).

- (34) *Sape nuukng-i? ià nga-rumput?*  
 who N-help-TV her N-weed  
 'Who helped her to weed?'

- (35) *Jadi ambujàkng an-nyian anà? nanang*  
 so the young (unmarried) man this not N-see  
*andarà an-nyian.*  
 the young (unmarried) woman this  
 'So, the young man does not see the young woman (i.e. before marriage).'

*N-* is also affixed to undergoer-oriented verbs, provided that they express an action that has taken place completely; note:

- (36) *Uma-e akà? di-nga-rumput.*  
 field-her done UO-N-weed  
 'Her field was already weeded.'

However, *N-* is not affixed to undergoer-oriented verbs in phrases referring to events that have not taken place at all, or that have not yet completely taken place. This includes future events, events expressing various extents of possibility, desirability, permissiveness or necessity repeated and habitual events and hypothetical events. Examples of phrases expressing non-completed action in each of these categories are cited below.

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses an event that has not taken place:

- (37) *Jadi amà-amà Ne? Kulup an-nyian tai*  
 so in the end Grandpa Kulup this aforementioned  
*anà? jaji di-bunuh.*  
 not really UO-kill  
 'So, in the end Kulup was not killed.'

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses a future event:

- (38) *Bini-e an-nyian sadih nangar anak-e si Kulup mao? di-bunuh.*  
 wife-his which-this sad N-hear child-her PA Kulup will UO-kill  
 'His wife was sad to hear that her child Kulup was going to be killed.'
- (39) *Uràkng am-mao? di-tunu angkoà bukàtn-lah uràkng*  
 person who-will UO-cremate that not-EMP person  
*sambarangan.*  
 random/whatever/whoever  
 'The person that is going to be cremated is not just anyone.'

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses a measure of possibility:

- (40) *Jadi tabat bubue di Pasir Panjang masih dapat di-tanang*  
 so fence funnel-his at Pasir Panjang still can UO-see  
*sampe kanià.*  
 until now  
 'So, the fence of his fishtrap can still be seen at Pasir Panjang.'
- (41) *Salong angkoà adà tapi napàtn bisà di-puang-an.*  
 sarong that there is but not yet can UO-go back-TV  
 'The sarong is here but cannot yet be returned.'

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses a measure of desirability:

- (42) *Ame ku di-tingà-?àtn disià aku sorokng!*  
 don't I UO-leave-TV here I/me alone  
 'Don't leave me behind here all by myself!'
- (43) *Kade?nyà dah masak, di-tono-i? ame apa?-ku tanang.*  
 if already ripe UO-cover-TV lest father-my (be) seen  
 'When it (the rice) is ripe, it should be covered so that my father won't see it.'

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses a necessity:

- (44) *Si Kulup harus di-bunuh karnà ià naban-an padi ka dunià.*  
 PA Kulup have to UO-kill because he N-take-TV paddy to world  
 'Kulup has to be killed because he took paddy to the world.'

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses a measure of suitability or permission:

- (45) *Angkoà tanda-e bah[wa] tanàh [.....] angkoà baik untuk di-umà.*  
 that sign-its that land that good for UO-work  
 'That's the sign that the land [.....] is suitable for cultivation.'
- (46) *Angkoà tanda-e tanàh angkoà anà? muih di-umà, jahat.*  
 that sign-DEF land that not N-allowed UO-work.a.field bad  
 'That's the sign that the land may not be worked, it's bad.'

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses a repeated or habitual act:

- (47) *Ià tatak ka sià, ià tatak ka na?an, natak-i? tege? kayo ka koà.*  
 he cut at here he cut at there N-cut-TV neck enemy there  
*Ià di-kayo tatak: anà? ukà? karana ià kabà.*  
 he by-enemy cut not wounded because he invulnerable  
 'He cut left and right, slashing the necks of many enemies there. Whenever they would try to wound him, he was not hurt because he was invulnerable.'
- (48) *Uràkng Saboyo? tatap di-batak kayo.*  
 people Saboyo? still/always UO-call/consider enemy  
 'Saboyo? people are still considered enemies.'

- (49) *Si Mamàkng Sauàkng tiap ari ià kaut-i? ka rumah-e.*  
 PA Mamàkng Sauàkng each day by-her lock-TV in house-her  
 'Each day she would lock Si Mamàkng Sauàkng up in her house.'
- (50) *[.....] Ià kurang sisi marati-àtn pamarentahatn-e.*  
 he less extremely N-understand-TV administration-his  
*Pamarentahàtn salalu di-bare?-àtn, di-saràh-àtn ka*  
 administration always UO-give-TV UO-leave-TV at  
*pardana-mantari-e.*  
 prime-minister-his  
 'He did not understand much at all of his administration. He would always give, he would leave administration to his prime minister.'

The following sample sentence (51) expresses a hypothetical event. It describes the customs that have to be observed if a person dies.

- (51) *Manurut adat Daya? uràkng an-dah mati tatap*  
 according custom Dayak person who-already dead always  
*di-piharà salamà tujuh ari tujuh maam. Tikar banta-e*  
 UO-look after during seven day seven night mat pillow-her  
*di-buang-an ka entok rumàh. Di-anggap ià masih adà*  
 UO-put-TV in corner house UO-consider she still present  
*di-dààpm gulungan tikar-e angkoà. Tiap gumare? di-bare? makàtn.*  
 inside roll mat-her that each afternoon UO-give food  
 'According to Dayak custom a deceased person is looked after for seven days and seven nights. Her sleeping mat and pillow are put in a corner of the house. She is considered still to be in her bedroll. Each afternoon she gets food'.

Phrases like this (describing a hypothetical event) can also be observed in the text 'Wedding customs', which describes the protocol and preparations prior to a wedding (see Appendix II).

Non-completed action does, however, not apply to an event that has already taken place within the 'reality' of a hypothetical event. The following phrase originates from the same text as sample (51) and is in direct sequence to it. The overall event in (52) is hypothetical and concerns the death of a person. But within that event, the deceased person has already been buried, hence the completed forms *di-nyubur* and *di-nunu* (both meaning 'buried') in (52), instead of *\*di-subur* and *\*di-tunu*.

- (52) *[Tiap gumare? di-bare? makàtn.] Padahal ià dah di-nyubur,*  
 [each afternoon UO-give food] while in fact she already UO-N-bury  
*ataw dah di-nunu, tapi di-bare? makàtn ga?e.*  
 or already UO-N-cremate but UO-give food just  
 'Each afternoon she gets food. In fact she is already buried or cremated, but she gets food all the same.'

Observe also the following phrase, which should be read in context and comes from the text 'Wedding customs' in Appendix II.



- (53) *Padà ari an-di-nantu-àtn angkoà*  
 at day which-UO-N-appoint-TV that  
 'On the appointed day'

Within the context, a day has been appointed for a wedding ceremony. Although the event is a description and therefore hypothetical, the appointment of a day for the wedding is a completed action within that description, hence nasal substitution of the initial consonant of the root *tantu* (→ *-nantu-*).

Non-completed action includes subjunctive phrases. Predictably, subjunctive propositions are of a non-completed nature, as is demonstrated in the following two examples:

- (54) *Kalo ià atàkng ka na?an, ià atàkng ka rumàh uràkng an-di-ià*  
 if they arrive at there they arrive at house people who-by-them  
*undang-à? angkoà tai, [...]* *ià bare? tali s-ete?*  
 invite-SJ that aforementioned they give rope one-piece  
 'When he arrives there, when he arrives at the house of the people that he wants to invite, he gives them a piece of rope.'
- (55) *Ngago kayu api untuk ià juà?-à? ka pasar.*  
 N-look for wood fire in order to (by) him sell-SJ at market  
 'He looked for firewood that he could sell at the market.'

#### 5.4 The interrelation between voice, mood and aspect

Completion of an event is basically a modal category because it provides information about whether or not an event has really taken place. The subjunctive suffix *-à?* expresses an intention or expectation. As already mentioned above, forms with this suffix clearly fall within the scope of non-completed events because they concern events that have not yet taken place.

However, the category of completion also has aspectual meaning. Events that have taken place completely are by definition past events, and they exclude habitual and repeated action.

The interrelation between voice and mood appears from the fact that completion is only distinguished in undergoer-oriented phrases.

An interesting problem emerging from this interrelation is the function of *N-*. This verbal prefix apparently cannot be defined in positive terms. It is no marker of voice, because it occurs with actor-oriented as well as undergoer-oriented verbs. Nor is it an aspect marker, because it occurs with verbs expressing completed action as well as with verbs expressing non-completed action. The only cases without *N-* are undergoer-oriented verbs expressing a non-completed event.

## 6 Concluding remarks

On account of its linguistic diversity, West Kalimantan seems to be the homeland of the Malayic language group (Adelaar 1985, 1992; Blust 1988; Collins 1996; Nothofer 1996). In order to test this hypothesis further, it is of great historical linguistic interest to investigate the morphosyntactical systems of the Malayic languages in this area. The present description of

Salako undergoer-orientation, completed aspect and subjunctive shows that within the Malayic subgroup there are languages that are morphosyntactically rather different from Malay, in spite of all formal appearances.

Although this paper is primarily of a descriptive nature, it does shed some new light on the more general question of the origin of *di-* in Malay and other Malayic languages having *di-* (or a related form). There are several theories about the origin of the Malay prefix *di-*. One theory is that it developed from the Malay personal pronoun *dia*, analogous to *ku-* and *kau-*, which are respectively first and second person agent prefixes related to the free pronouns *aku* (first person) and *engkaw* (second person). A second theory is that it was originally the preposition *di* (which is an actor marker in Salako but is more widely known as a locative preposition in Malay). This was proposed by Walther Aichele, a colleague of Dempwolff in Hamburg (Aichele 1942–43). Finally, probably the most popular theory is that *di-* is a denasalised cognate of Old Malay *ni-* and of Proto Austronesian *ni-/in-*. Proponents of this theory are de Casparis and Teeuw (see Adelaar 1992a:162–163) and, more recently, Paul Hopper (1988:448).

The Salako evidence is clearly in support of the second theory. It has become increasingly likely that the undergoer-oriented marker *di-* is a recent development in Malayic languages and that its origins have to be sought in a (locative) preposition *di*. In Salako, *di-* is only of limited importance as a marker of voice, word order being the main indicator of undergoer-orientation. Moreover, it quite often functions as an actor marker (as it does, for instance, in Minangkabau (see Moussay 1981:277) and Kelantan Malay (see Abdul Hamid Mahmood 1994:20–21). Evidence against the first theory is that Malay *di-* forms are basically agentless forms unless the agent is explicitly mentioned in the form of a noun-phrase or third person pronominal suffix *-nya*. Evidence against the third theory is found in the fact that in Malay and other Malayic languages having a prefix *di-* it usually<sup>22</sup> has not undergone vowel neutralisation, in contradistinction to other prefixes which all have schwa (cf. Malay *māN-*, *bār-*, *pāN-*, *pār-*, *tār-*, *kā-*, *sā-*). If *di-* had developed from *\*ni-*, it would have been a Proto Austronesian *retention* and would have been expected to have undergone vowel neutralisation. Other evidence against the third theory is that a number of Malayic languages in West Malaysia do not have (and apparently never had) *di-* as a marker of undergoer-orientedness (Adelaar 1992a:155–163).

Wouk (1989) investigates the use of voice in various forms of Indonesian as well as in Jakarta Malay. One important factor governing 'trigger choice' (i.e. the choice between Agent- and Patient-Orientedness) in these Malay varieties is discourse transitivity.<sup>23</sup> Here as well as in languages in general, Actor-Trigger (Agent-Orientedness) points to lower transitivity and imperfective action, whereas Patient-Trigger (Undergoer-Orientedness) implies higher transitivity and perfective action. Salako is remarkably different from other Malayic varieties in that it morphologically marks the distinction between completed and non-completed action/event. It does so in Undergoer-Oriented clauses only and with the use of prenasalisation. Prenasalisation in this case marks completion of the action/event, whereas in other Malayic varieties (and in many West Austronesian languages outside the Malayic group) it marks Agent-orientedness (with the associated notions of low transitivity and

<sup>22</sup> There however are a few forms of Malayic in which this marker did undergo vowel neutralisation; compare, among others, Mualang, a Malayic language from West Kalimantan which is closely related to Iban (Dunselman 1955).

<sup>23</sup> Other important factors being thematicity and topicality of the arguments of a clause.

imperfective action). In this respect Salako seems to go against the general trend observed in other West Austronesian languages.

Finally, the Salako data are also relevant from a phonological perspective. Many languages along the South China Sea coasts are typical for their preploded nasals. These nasals almost invariably occur in word-final position only. In Kendayan dialects, however, they also occur word-medially before morpheme boundaries (as in *ng-icakng-à?* '[in order] to look for'; *ba-uka?-atn-i?* 'to be covered with wounds'). Whether their occurrence word-medially has to do with a greater phonotactic tolerance or with the fact that Salako has a number of suffixes (which do not contain a nasal) remains to be investigated.

## Appendix I: Personal pronouns

	Free	Possessive
1SG	<i>aku, ku</i> <sup>24</sup>	<i>-ku</i>
2SG	<i>kau</i>	<i>-ngu</i>
3SG	<i>ià</i>	<i>-e</i>
1PL (inclusive)	<i>diri?</i>	<i>-tà</i>
1PL (exclusive)	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>
2PL	<i>kità?</i>	<i>kità?</i>
3PL	<i>ià, uràkng, ne? idà?</i>	<i>-e</i>

Salako has two series of personal pronouns. Some details are explained below.

1. *-e* has an allomorph *-?e* which appears after words ending in *-e*. *-e* also functions as a marker of definiteness.
2. *-ngu* has the allomorphs *-ũ*, *-u*, *-nu* and *-ngu*:
  - after *-r*, *-n*, *-ng*, *-k*, *-h* and *-?*, *-ũ* applies;
  - after *-tn*, *-u* or *-ngu* apply (in the latter case, with loss of the preceding final nasal);
  - after *-t*, *-nu* or *-ngu* apply;
  - after *-pm*, *-ngu* applies, with loss of preceding *-m*;
  - in all other cases *-ngu* is suffixed.

## Appendix II: Sample text

This sample text is part of an account by Mr Vitus Kaslem of marriage customs among the Salako. It was recorded in November 1986 in Nyarumkop (Kabupaten Sambas, West Kalimantan).

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<sup>24</sup> Agent is usually expressed with *ku-*, although there are instances of *aku* performing the Agent role.

**Adat Balawàkng**

1. *An-nyian adàlah curità Dayà? balawàkng, diantara bujàkng ba andarà. Jadi, dààpm ià mao? balawàkng biasae angaki mintà? andarà. Tapi andarà an-nyian anà? ià tahuì?, kahe ià bapadàh ka picarà, jare uràkng Indonesia, pèrantara. Jadi ià nyuruh parantara an-nyian uràkng am-pane ngomong, pane bakatà, ampus ngagoàtn ià andarà.*
2. *Jadi picarà an-nyian ampus ka kampokng, nanang andarà di na?an. Lalu ià tanyai? uràkng tuhae: dah adà ge? kasoàkng nyangkap ka bungà kità? an-nyian? Kade?nyà napàtn, ià padàhàtn gi? anà? kasoàkng nyangkap ka bungaku an-nyian, ratiatne ka anak darae, gi? anà? bauràkng mintà ià.*
3. *Lalu, ià puàkng agi?, matakàtn ka anak, ka ambujàkng an-nyian tai, bahwa di na?an adà andarà gagas. Gagas sidi, pane karajà, koat karajà, rajitn sidilah ià karajà. Ambujàkng an-nyian tai nangar katà picarà an-nyian tai muji andarà 'ngkoà, iàpun nyabut mao?. Lalu ià ampuslah agi?, picarà 'ngkoà, ka kampokng andarà an-nyian bakatà si ane? tai mao?. Kade? ià mao? nyamae ane?e.*
4. *Baiklah. Lalu diadakanlah tai musawarah,<sup>25</sup> bakomo?, jadi istilahè 'ngkoà "ngomo?", ratiatne ngomo?an page waris, pihak angaki, bahwa angaki an-nyian mao? balawakngà?. An-nyian mərəupakan pəngumuman ka kamaru?, ka page waris. Lalu akà? an-nyian picarà ampus agi? ka pihak andarà, pihak ambini. Ià madàhàtn kami mao? atakngà? padà ari sakian.*
5. *Padà ari an-dinantuàtn angkoà, pihak ambini an-nyian tai dah basiap-siap ga?e, ngadà?àtn upacarà sadikit. Lalu mataki? page warise ga?e, dan padà ari an-dah dinantuàtn angkoà, pihak angaki atàkng.*
6. *Lalu ngomo? ka pihak ambini. Pihak angaki atàkng nabanang gande, ataw jare uràkng Indonesia, mas kawin. Diamparlah gande an-nyian ka atas nyero? kade?nyà manyak. Disaksikan samue?e oleh uràkng-uràkng kamaru? ambini. Gande an-nyian disabut buàh mao? pihak angaki.*
7. *Pihak angaki, ambujàkng an-nyian tai, anà? muih ampus ka upacara bagande an-nyian ka pihak ambini. Jadi anà? adà an-nanang ià, jadi ambujàkng an-nyian anà? nanang andarà an-nyian. Baru? ià batanang apabila dah balawàkng, dah panganten. Mulà-mulà anà? sidi batahuàtn; tàh ià gagas, tàh ià bakurap, poko?e ià picayà? ka katà picarà.*
8. *Dah jaji balawàkng, pada ari dah dinantuàtn kamie buatne, baru?lah ià atàkng: "taamà?" damae. Diadà?àtn upacarà enek doho?. Mati manok tau eko?, tumpi? poe? ga?e. Angkoà ià sakamaru?àtn. Kade? uràkng tuhà ambini adà bajukut, adà baduit, ià amuat pestà ayà?, damae "bagawe". Gawe ayà?. Munuh enyekng, munuh manok, ngundang uràkng ka sià ka na?an səgala page waris, jauh-jauhpun digagoi? page waris an-nyian. Kalo ià, balawàkng, begitu ià taamà?, begitu ià dipagaweàtn, angkoà damae "jambu erang". Langsung bagawe.*

<sup>25</sup> After hearing the recording of his own story, the informant noted that 'Lalu diadà?àtn tai pamupakatàtn' would have been a more correct Salako phrase. Note that both *musawarah* and *mupakat* are ultimately Arabic loan words that were borrowed via Malay.

9. *Dààpm gawe an-nyian, tantulah sabalume bagawe, ià misti ngundang uràkng. Undang an-nyian tai barupa tali: tali tarap, dipilin enek-enek, diboho ujuknge. Icàkng duit sen, duit sen Balandà. Sabalahe dibare? kapur, sabalàh anà? muih.*
10. *Disuruh nang seko? uràkng bajààtn ka daeràh kampokng ka na?an. An-laine ka kampokng an-lain. Tiap kampokng 'ngkoà adà uràkng bajààtn nabanán undang an-nyian mataki? page waris an di dààpm kampokng 'ngkoà masing-masing. Kalo atàkng ka na?an, ià atàkng ka rumàh uràkng an-diià undangà? angkoà tai, an-di ià saruà? an-nyian, ià bare? tali sete?. Jadi uràkng an-nyian batanyà?: "Dameà ratie tali an-nyian?" Lalu ià batakàtn: "Tali an-nyian", jare, "ngundang kità?"*

### Wedding Customs

1. This is a story about how inland people get married, between young men and young women. So, when they want to get married it is usually the man who asks the hand of a young woman. But he does not know this young woman, he only talks [tells his intention] to a matchmaker or, as Indonesians say, a *perantara*. So he sends this matchmaker, who is good at talking, to go and look for a woman for him.
2. So this matchmaker goes to a village and sees a young woman there. Then he asks the parents: "Is there already a butterfly perching on your flower?"<sup>26</sup> If not, they will say, "No butterfly has come to perch on my flower yet," meaning that so far no one has asked for their daughter.
3. Then he goes back to tell the young man that there [in the village] is a beautiful young woman. She is very beautiful, works well and hard, and is very industrious.  
The young man, hearing the matchmaker saying words of praise about the woman, says that he wants her. The matchmaker goes to the maiden's village again and says that so-and-so wants a marriage. If they consent, how will they go about it?
4. Alright. A council is organised convening all family members — the term for this is *ngomo?* meaning that the family members on the young man's side are called together — to announce that he wants to get married. This is a sort of general announcement to relatives and close friends. The matchmaker then goes again to the family of the maiden, the woman. He (she?) announces, we would like to come at such-and-such date.
5. On the appointed day, the woman and her family are all set and have prepared a bit of a celebration. They inform their relatives,<sup>27</sup> and the family of the young man comes on the appointed day.
6. They gather with the family of the young woman. The young man's party brings along the bride price, or in Indonesian, the *mas kawin*. The bride price is then spread on a winnowing tray, if there is much. The woman's family and friends have a look at everything. This bride price is called the *buah mao?* [fruit of intent] of the man's party.

<sup>26</sup> That is, "Has your daughter already been spoken for?"

<sup>27</sup> Lit. 'Then they inform their relatives'.

7. The young man in question is not allowed to come to the bride price ceremony at the young woman's place. So, no one will see him, and he does not get to see the young woman. They only get to see each other when they are getting married, when they are bride and bridegroom. At first they do not know anything at all about each other, whether the other is beautiful, or has a skin rash:<sup>28</sup> the matchmaker's words are all they rely on.
8. When the day of the wedding has come, on the appointed day of such-and-such month, the bridegroom finally comes: this is called *taamâ?* ('entering'). First a small ritual is performed. Three chickens are killed, and there is also *tumpi?* and *poe?*.<sup>29</sup> This is with relatives and close friends. If the bride's parents are well-to-do, they hold a big celebration which is called *ba-gawe* ('to hold a communal ritual'). They hold a big *gawe*. They kill pigs and chickens, and they invite relatives from everywhere here and there, even from very far away. When they are married, when the bridegroom enters the bride's house, and at the moment their wedding is celebrated; this is called *jambu erang*.
9. They start the celebration right away. During the celebration, or actually before they celebrate, they [the bride's party] have to invite people. The invitation is done by way of a rope: a rope made of the bark of a tarap tree which is plaited in a very fine fashion and has a knot at the end. A coin is taken, a Dutch coin which has chalk added to one side (the other side cannot have chalk).
10. Several people are sent to this or that village. To each of these villages a person is sent with this invitation in order to inform relatives. When he arrives and reaches the house of the relative-to-invite, he gives him a rope. So the latter asks: "What is the meaning of this rope?" "This rope", the messenger then says, "is to invite you".

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<sup>28</sup> *Kurap* 'ringworm (causing scurvy)'; *ba-kurap* 'to suffer from scurvy'.

<sup>29</sup> *Tumpi?* and *poe?* are standard ingredients in rituals. *Tumpi?* is a cake made of rice-flour and sugar; *poe?* is sticky rice cooked in a bamboo sheath.

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# 2 *Formalism or phoneyism? The history of Kayan final glottal stop*

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ROBERT BLUST

## 1 Formalism in linguistics<sup>1</sup>

Formalism in linguistics can be characterised as an attempt to model language behaviour in terms of a deductive system of logical relationships. In this sense it is similar to theory testing in general. However, it differs from other approaches to theory in its somewhat mechanical attempts to generate sets of logical possibilities which *might* model language behaviour or structure. For example, when Paul Kiparsky (1968) proposed that the traditional concept of sound change should be viewed instead as rule change, he was forced to fit an earlier framework of assumptions which was conceived inductively (that is, leading from phonetic change as a primary fact to structural change as a derivative consequence) into an entirely different framework of assumptions conceived deductively (leading from rules on an abstract level as a primary fact to phonetic change as a derivative consequence). One type of rule change that he proposed was rule reordering — a logical possibility which was permitted by his conceptual framework, and one that seemed to be supported by a tenuous body of evidence. But in the years that have passed since this proposal was made it seems to me there has been little hard evidence to show that rule reordering is a possible type of linguistic change. The up side to a formal approach, then, is that it may force the observer to ask questions that might not otherwise come to mind. The down side is that it may encourage a spurious faith in formalisms that have little relationship to the real world.

## 2 Kayan

Kayan is spoken in the upper courses of many of the major river systems of central Borneo, including the Kahayan, Mahakam, Baram, Rejang and Kapuas basins. Its centre of origin appears to have been in Kalimantan, probably in the Kahayan and Mahakam basins. Rousseau (1988:5), following Kayan oral tradition, maintains that the Kayan and Kenyah

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is dedicated to the memory of Jack Prentice, friend and fellow investigator of the still largely undescribed languages of Borneo.

'have close cultural and historical relationships. They originate from the upper Kayan river area (or Apau Kayan)'.

It is clear that Rousseau's statement is concerned only with proximate origins, since Austronesian (AN) speakers reached Borneo by sea and, given an economy based in part on the exploitation of marine resources, must have settled coastal and lower fluvial zones before ascending the upper courses of any of the major rivers. Distributional evidence strongly favours the view that the North Sarawak group of languages to which Kenyah belongs began to differentiate in the lower Baram basin of northern Sarawak (Blust 1974a). Moreover, since the evidence for classifying Kayan as a North Sarawak language is ambiguous, it is by no means obvious that the similarities which are shared exclusively by Kayan and Kenyah are due to common ancestry followed by fission and divergence, rather than to an extended period of intensive contact between distinct Austronesian cultural and linguistic traditions which entered Borneo from opposite sides of the island.

The closest linguistic relatives of Kayan are Modang, spoken in the lower Kahayan basin and adjacent areas of Kalimantan, and Murik, spoken in the Baram river basin of northern Sarawak (Blust 1974b). Of these, Modang appears to be the more distantly related. The full range of Kayan dialects is yet to be sketched out in any comprehensive treatment. Impressionistically, internal divergence within Kayan appears to be less marked than internal divergence within Kenyah, thus suggesting an historically more recent expansion from some common centre of dispersal. Distributional evidence of this kind can be taken to imply that the Kenyah preceded the Kayan in the Usun Apau and elsewhere in the upper courses of the major rivers of central Borneo. Comparison with the still more recent and equally explosive expansion of the Iban over the past century and a half suggests that the Kayan probably began to migrate upriver from a geographically more compact region within the past five to six centuries, with Murik representing a still earlier split.

Despite their overall similarity, Kayan dialects differ in subtle details of phonology, some of which are of considerable theoretical interest. This paper is concerned with one such detail, the history of final glottal stop.

### 3 Final glottal stop in Kayan dialects

One of the first features of most Kayan dialects to catch the attention of an observer with a knowledge of other Austronesian languages is the interchange of final glottal stop and zero. While other languages typically reflect Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *\*mata* 'eye' with a final vowel, and Proto Malayo-Polynesian *\*m-ataq* 'raw' with a final glottal stop, for example, the reverse is true in Kayan. Like Proto Austronesian *\*q*, Proto Malayo-Polynesian *\*q* probably was a pharyngeal stop. In the immediate ancestry of Kayan and many other languages of Borneo it had evidently already become a glottal stop, and will be treated as such in the following discussion.

Table 1 illustrates this distinctive development with data from five language communities: (1) Long Atip (Apo branch of the Tutoh, Baram basin); (2) Uma Juman of the Rejang basin (Blust 1977); (3) the 'Baram Kayan' of Southwell (1980); (4) the subdialect of Uma Bawang spoken at Long Murum (Rousseau 1974); and (5) Murik (Blust 1974b). The first four of these communities represent Kayan dialects, while Murik is a separate language which shares about 65 per cent of its basic vocabulary with Kayan (Blust 1974b:180).

Unpublished data on Long Atip is given in phonemic transcription, and published data on the other communities in a slightly modified form of the orthography of the source:<sup>2</sup>

**Table 1:** The development of final glottal stop and final vowel in four Kayan dialects and Murik

Pre-Kayan	* <i>mata</i> 'eye'	* <i>ata</i> ? 'raw'
Long Atip	<i>mata</i> ?	<i>ata</i>
Uma Juman	<i>mata</i> ?	<i>ata</i>
Baram Kayan	<i>mata</i> ?	<i>ata</i>
Long Murum	<i>mata</i> ?	<i>ata</i>
Murik	<i>mata</i> ?	<i>ata</i>

No phonetically reliable data are available for Modang. Moreover, this language has undergone extensive phonological innovations, often making the recognition of cognates far less transparent than is the case for Kayan dialects and Murik. It will thus be ignored for purposes of this study.

What is immediately apparent from the examples in Table 1 is that earlier glottal stop is reflected as zero, and earlier zero as glottal stop. A similar reversal is consistently attested in many other forms that earlier ended in glottal stop or zero, both in Kayan dialects, and in Murik.

#### 4 Complex sound changes

In trying to come to grips with the history of glottal stop in Kayan we are faced with what at first seems to be a conceptual dilemma. There are two changes: (1) \*ʔ > zero; and (2) \*-V > V?. If the changes are ordered (1)–(2), glottal stop and zero will merge as glottal stop, and if they are ordered (2)–(1) glottal stop and zero will merge as zero:

Pre-Kayan	* <i>mata</i> 'eye'	* <i>ata</i> ? 'raw'
change (1)	<i>mata</i>	<i>ata</i>
change (2)	<i>mata</i> ?	<i>ata</i> ?
RESULT	/ <i>mata</i> ?/	/ <i>ata</i> ?/
change (2)	<i>mata</i> ?	<i>ata</i> ?
change (1)	<i>mata</i>	<i>ata</i>
RESULT	/ <i>mata</i> /	/ <i>ata</i> /

During the early development of generative phonology ordering paradoxes of this kind were recognised in the relationships between phonological rules, and some linguists proposed to deal with them through the use of a formal notation which employed alpha variables. In an 'alpha-switching' rule (Harms 1968:61) it was suggested that two segments /a/, /b/ could be transformed to /b/, /a/ through a unitary, simultaneous operation. Such formalisms have long

<sup>2</sup> Southwell (1980: general introduction) notes that his dictionary was begun among the Uma Peliau Kayan, and then expanded as he moved from longhouse to longhouse in his capacity as a Christian minister over a period of some thirty years. Although he reportedly incorporates data from a number of different Kayan subdivisions, including the Uma Bawang, these evidently have been regularised to the phonology of Uma Peliau, since they fail to exhibit the distinctive differences with which this paper is primarily concerned.

since been abandoned in phonological theory, and I believe rightly so, but the types of problems which they addressed remain, and continue to present explanatory challenges.

The alpha-switching rule was proposed to cope with analytical problems in synchronic phonology, and was eventually abandoned. Could the case of Kayan final glottal stop provide confirmation of the reality of alpha-switching rules in historical change? Despite its intuitive artificiality, the case for an alpha-switching change in Kayan appears initially attractive. What possible phonetic gradations could be found between glottal stop and zero? Even Murik shows the change, which consequently appears to have occurred prior to the separation of the Kayan dialects proper.<sup>3</sup>

Comparison with other types of sound change suggests that the alpha-switching convention was designed to deal with a special case of a more general type of problem. Sound changes in historical linguistics can be divided into simple and complex. Simple sound changes are incremental if they involve a change in a single feature, and saltatory if they involve changes in two or more features.

Exemplary sound changes are simple and incremental, as with the voicing or spirantisation of intervocalic stops. Saltatory sound changes invariably raise the question of whether they might be the cumulative product of incremental changes. In some cases, as with the change *\*t* > /k/ in Hawaiian, saltatory changes do not appear to be reducible to a series of incremental changes. In other cases they may be, but all such examples must be considered on a case-by-case basis. The term 'saltatory' here closely parallels its usage in evolutionary biology, where complex organs such as the eye can only be satisfactorily accounted for as cumulative products of many small changes. The difference is that saltatory changes apparently are never justified in biology, but sometimes are in linguistics (as in the case of *\*t* > /k/ in Hawaiian).

Complex sound changes differ from simple sound changes in requiring two apparently simultaneous operations, one of which may provide the environment for the other. As seen in Table 2, the Pa' Dalih dialect of Kelabit exhibits two, apparently coordinated changes: (1) *\*e* > /i/ before a final voiced consonant, and (2) devoicing of final obstruents after /i/ from *\*e* (PK = Proto Kelabit, *\*e* = schwa):

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<sup>3</sup> Kenneth L. Rehg (pers. comm.) has pointed out to me that alpha-switching rules permitted the interchange of positive and negative values for a segmental feature, but did not permit the interchange of a segment and zero. Oddly, this appears to be a gap in the theoretical underpinnings of the formalism, since there is no empirical reason why alpha-switching rules, if real, should be restricted to the interchange of segments. The only obvious remedy that might be invoked to cover this defect is to propose a feature [segment] which could be specified with positive or negative values. However, this too appears contrived, since any positive specification for [segment] would require a number of dependent feature specifications none of which would have any meaning with [-segment]. Perhaps if apparent alpha-switching rules which involve the interchange of a segment with zero had been considered from the beginning, the formalism would never have been taken seriously even by its proponents.

**Table 2:** Evidence for an apparent complex sound change in Pa' Dalih Kelabit

No.	PK	Pa' Dalih	English
01	* <i>aleb</i>	<i>alip</i>	'knee'
02	* <i>kekeb</i>	<i>kekip</i>	'lid'
03	* <i>teheb</i>	<i>tenip</i>	'cold'
04	* <i>teheb</i>	<i>teŋip</i>	'riverbank'
05	* <i>dadem</i>	<i>dadim</i>	'shivering'
06	* <i>dedhem</i>	<i>desim</i>	'dark'
07	* <i>tadem</i>	<i>tadim</i>	'sharp'
08	* <i>keted</i>	<i>ketit</i>	'back (anat.)'
09	* <i>pued</i>	<i>puit</i>	'navel'
10	* <i>tuked</i>	<i>tukit</i>	'prop'
11	* <i>uled</i>	<i>ulit</i>	'maggot'
12	* <i>gatel</i>	<i>gatil</i>	'itch'
13	* <i>nedhen</i>	<i>nesin</i>	'to press down'
14	* <i>η-eleg</i>	<i>η-elik</i>	'to separate'

The raising of *\*e* to /i/ does not occur before word-final voiceless consonants in examples such as *\*ŋetep* > /ŋetep/ 'to bite' (cf. *\*geteb* > /ŋetip/ 'to cut'), *\*puet* > /puet/ 'bottom' (cf. *\*pued* > /puit/ 'navel'), or *\*bedhek* > /besek/ 'nasal mucus'. Moreover, the devoicing of final stops does not occur after /i/ from earlier *\*i* in forms such as *\*dalid* > /dalid/ 'ear', *\*ma?id* > /ma?id/ 'to wipe', *\*selubid* > /selubid/ 'lie down', or *\*tumid* > /tumid/ 'heel'. Superficially, then, it appears that the raising of *\*e* and the devoicing of final stops were innovated as a package.

If this view of the history of Pa' Dalih vowel raising and final devoicing is valid, it exemplifies a type of change similar to that seen in the interchange of glottal stop and zero in Kayan. In both cases there is an ordering paradox which appears to be resolvable only by assuming the simultaneous innovation of two changes. Hence, both are examples of complex sound changes.

The problem with this interpretation of the Pa' Dalih data is that the raising of *\*e* to /i/ is found in some forms which originally ended in a voiceless consonant, as in *\*kibet* > /kibit/ 'to heal', *\*η-abet* > /η-abit/ 'to tie', or *\*negeghep* > /negekip/ 'to shiver'. Moreover, some protoforms with a final voiced stop after *\*e* did not obligatorily devoice, as with *\*aleb* > /alip/ 'knee' (also recorded as /alib/), or *\*kereb* > /kerip/ 'can, able' (also recorded as /kerib/), and some protoforms with a final voiced stop after vowels other than *\*e* did devoice, as with *\*elad* > /lat/ 'wing', *\*paad* > /paat/ 'smooth, level' and *\*nutud* > /nutut/ 'to burn'. Although there appears to be a statistically significant association between *\*e* raising and final stop devoicing, then, the two changes are independent in some lexical items, implying that they were innovated as separate historical events.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Since final stop devoicing following vowels other than *\*e* is more richly attested than *\*e* raising before final voiceless stops, it appears likely that final devoicing was the first change to take place. The fact that *\*e* raising shows a statistically significant association with original final voiced stops may reflect elicitation bias in a limited corpus, since every effort was made to multiply examples of this apparent complex change once it was recognised in my field notes. The question of why neither change appears to be completely regular remains to be answered.

## 5 The history of final glottal stop in Kayan

If the seemingly simultaneous raising of \**e* and devoicing of final stops in Pa' Dalih Kelabit actually was a sequence of irregular final devoicing intercepted mid-course by irregular raising, our faith in the reality of complex sound changes must be shaken to some extent. What, then, can we offer as an alternative explanation of the facts in Kayan?

Rousseau (1974) provides data on the Uma Bawang subdialect of Long Murum on the Baluy branch of the Rejang river, and Southwell (1980) claims to include the Uma Bawang subdialect within the range of dialects surveyed in his dictionary of 'Baram Kayan'. In both cases final glottal stop and final vowel have the distribution sketched in Table 1. It thus comes as something of a surprise to discover that Uma Bawang material which I recorded in the Baram basin during fieldwork in 1971 has added glottal stop after original final vowels, but without dropping earlier final glottal stop, as in pre-Kayan \**telu* > /teloʔ/ 'three', but \**puluʔ* > /puluʔ/ 'ten'.<sup>5</sup> How, then, was merger prevented?

Table 3 illustrates the Uma Bawang reflexes of forms with earlier final vowel and earlier final glottal stop:

**Table 3:** Uma Bawang reflexes of forms with earlier final vowel and earlier final glottal stop

Pre-Kayan	Uma Bawang	English
*-i	-eʔ	
<i>beli</i>	<i>beleʔ</i>	'to buy'
<i>kami</i>	<i>kameʔ</i>	'we (excl.)'
<i>punti</i>	<i>puteʔ</i>	'banana'
<i>n̄upi</i>	<i>n̄upeʔ</i>	'to dream'
*-iʔ	-iʔ	
<i>njiʔ</i>	<i>jiʔ</i>	'one'
<i>piliʔ</i>	<i>piliʔ</i>	'choose'
<i>putiʔ</i>	<i>putiʔ</i>	'white'
<i>uliʔ</i>	<i>uliʔ</i>	'go home'
*-u	-oʔ	
<i>asu</i>	<i>asoʔ</i>	'dog'
<i>batu</i>	<i>batoʔ</i>	'stone'
<i>kayu</i>	<i>kayoʔ</i>	'wood'
<i>kutu</i>	<i>kutoʔ</i>	'head louse'
*-uʔ	-uʔ	
<i>buluʔ</i>	<i>buluʔ</i>	'bamboo sp.'
<i>ipuʔ</i>	<i>ipuʔ</i>	'blowgun poison'
<i>puluʔ</i>	<i>puluʔ</i>	'ten'
<i>pusuʔ</i>	<i>pusuʔ</i>	'heart'

<sup>5</sup> Uma Bawang data was collected from Andrew Jan Ajang, then a student at Tanjong Lobang College, Miri, in Sarawak's Fourth Division, during the summer of 1971.

Pre-Kayan	Uma Bawang	English
*-a	-a?	
<i>dua</i>	<i>dua?</i>	'two'
<i>lima</i>	<i>lima?</i>	'five'
<i>mata</i>	<i>mata?</i>	'eye'
<i>tuba</i>	<i>tuba?</i>	'derris root'
*-a?	-aa	
<i>bua?</i>	<i>buaa?</i>	'fruit'
<i>sala?</i>	<i>salaa?</i>	'wrong'
<i>uma?</i>	<i>umaa?</i>	'house'
<i>tana?</i>	<i>tanaa?</i>	'earth'

As the data from Uma Bawang show, a glottal stop was added to final vowels before earlier final glottal stop was dropped. Merger was prevented through two changes in the preceding vowel: (1) lowering of high vowels before secondary glottal stop, and (2) lengthening of low vowels before a primary glottal stop. This still leaves an important question unanswered: how were primary and secondary glottal stop distinguished for purposes of the rule which lowered high vowels? Close checking in the field showed that while /a/ and /aa/ contrast before final glottal stop in Uma Bawang, as in /ata?/ 'water' (< \*ata) versus /ataa?/ 'raw, unripe' (< \*ata?), /i/ and /u/ are automatically lengthened before final glottal stop.

What this indicates is a sequence of four ordered changes leading to the reversal of final glottal stop and zero:

1. all vowels were lengthened before final glottal stop. This includes only \*i, \*u and \*a, since the final /e/ and /o/ that occur in many Kayan dialects developed from diphthongs \*-ay and \*-aw, which are preserved in dialects such as Long Atip (Blust 1974b:181ff.).
2. glottal stop was added after final vowels, producing length contrasts in ALL vowels before final glottal stop.
3. short high vowels were lowered before final glottal stop.
4. final glottal stop was lost after long vowels.

Sample derivations for pre-Kayan \*telu 'three', \*pulu? 'ten', \*mata 'eye', and \*tana? 'earth' are given in Table 4. Developments which applied to final \*u also applied *mutatis mutandis* to \*i:

**Table 4:** Sample derivations showing the development of final vowels and of final glottal stop in the language communities of Table 1

*telu	*pulu?	<i>mata</i>	<i>tana?</i>	INNOVATION
<i>telu</i>	<i>puluu?</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>tanaa?</i>	1
<i>telu?</i>	<i>puluu?</i>	<i>mata?</i>	<i>tanaa?</i>	2
<i>telo?</i>	<i>puluu?</i>	<i>mata?</i>	<i>tanaa?</i>	3
<i>telo?</i>	<i>pulu</i>	<i>mata?</i>	<i>tana</i>	4

Uma Bawang Kayan has undergone only changes (1)–(3). In this dialect high vowels are automatically long before final glottal stop, but since length is fully predictable for these segments it is not treated as phonemic. By contrast, the low vowel /a/ can be either long or short before final glottal stop, and this phonetic difference is therefore contrastive. The language communities of Table 1 have undergone all four of these changes. Since these include both Kayan dialects and Murik, it is clear that change (4) was independently innovated on at least two occasions (once in the history of some still unspecified collection of Kayan dialects and another time in the history of Murik). In these language communities the lowering of high vowels before final glottal stop is fully predictable, and so has not been indicated phonemically in past publications (e.g. Blust 1974b, 1977).

After innovation (1), length was a phonetic feature of all vowels before final glottal stop, but was not yet contrastive. After innovation (2), length became contrastive for all vowels, but only before final glottal stop. After innovation (3), the lowering of short high vowels restricted length contrasts to the low vowel /a/, as is currently the case in Uma Bawang Kayan.

The Uma Bawang dialect spoken in the Baram basin does not appear to be the only Kayan language community which has preserved a record of these ordered changes. The Kayan dialect of the upper Kapuas basin in Kalimantan which the Dutch colonial language official J.P.J. Barth (1910) described early in the twentieth century also has undergone only changes (1)–(3). This is not immediately apparent from his orthography, but can be determined from additional notes which he provides.

In his Introduction, Barth (1910:xv) describes the glottal stop as a ‘swallowed k;’ (Dutch: ‘*opgeslokte*’ *k*), and notes that he signals it with the Arabic hamzah, since no diacritic sign is available for it from the Latin alphabet. He cites some words with a single pronunciation, ending in glottal stop, as with /asò/ ‘dog’, /ata/ ‘water’, or /putè/ ‘banana’, but cites others in a primary boldface entry with final vowel, followed by an alternative form in parentheses which contains a final glottal stop, suggesting that the two are in free variation, as with /mata/ (*mata*) ‘eye’, or /puti/ (*puti*) ‘white’. In other cases he cites forms which are identical except for a diacritic which is inadequately explained (p.xvi), but which must represent a contrast in vowel length, as with /ata/ ‘water’, but /atá/ ‘raw’ (cp. Uma Bawang /ata?/ ‘water’, /ataa?/ ‘raw’).

These citations show that Busang, like the Uma Bawang dialect of the Baram basin, has undergone changes (1)–(3) but not change (4), and further confirm the explanation given here for the interchange of original final glottal stop and original final zero.

## 5 Conclusion

What at first appears to be evidence for complex sound changes in typical Kayan dialects, and hence diachronic evidence for formal conventions of the type once advocated under the rubric of ‘alpha-switching’ rules in synchronic phonological theory, turns out on closer inspection to result from a sequence of ordered changes in which merger is prevented by innovations in the environment of the affected segments. The apparently single innovation which interchanged final glottal stop and zero in many Kayan dialects and in Murik is an illusion created by a parallel change (loss of final glottal stop after long vowels) in closely related languages. The solution proposed to this problem highlights two principles of reconstructive methodology which are often overlooked: (1) the importance of dialects in



comparative linguistics, and (2) the importance of phonetic detail in language comparison.<sup>6</sup> Both of these considerations are often treated as 'little things' of marginal importance to the greater enterprise of reconstruction. But the history of final glottal stop in Kayan shows that little things matter, and without paying sufficient heed to them much bigger things may be seriously misunderstood.

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<sup>6</sup> For a rare exception to the not infrequent neglect of dialects in historical linguistics see Llamzon (1973).



# 3 *Split intransitivity in Timugon Murut*

RICHARD BREWIS

## 1 Introduction

Timugon Murut is a Western Austronesian language spoken in the Tenom valley around the town of Tenom, Sabah, Malaysia. There are two dialects corresponding to the two main rivers that flow through the valley they inhabit, Poros and Kapagalan. The estimated number of speakers is 9,000. Prentice's thesis (1971) remains to date the only published grammar of any language indigenous to Sabah. The help we have received from this contribution has been considerable, due to its accuracy and consistency. Prentice (1971) described the morphology of Timugon Murut using the Tagmemic model.<sup>1</sup> In his first analyses (1965, 1969) he attempted to establish verb classes on the basis of focus potential. This proved '... unsatisfactory as a basis for a syntactical classification, as it included in one class verbs which were syntactically quite different ...' (1971:33). Following Pike (1964) and Longacre (1964) he then established verb classes as determined by the potential range of situational roles possible for each stem. This he remarked '... forms the primary criterion in determining stem class membership' (1971:35).

Since 1971 though, other syntactic models have been proposed that have advanced our understanding of how Philippine-type languages are organised, one of these being Role and Reference grammar (RRG) by Foley and van Valin (1984). Among the innovations of RRG in comparison to Tagmemics are the notions of the 'macroroles' Actor and Undergoer.

This paper will show that understanding the feature of Split Intransitivity is essential for a clearer analysis of the verbal morphology of Timugon Murut,<sup>2</sup> that is the contrast between

1 The phonemes of Timugon Murut are: four vowels /a i o u/ and fifteen consonants /b d g j k l m n N p r s t w y/ as well as a glottal stop /ʔ/ represented in the orthography by the apostrophe '. The phonemes w and y occur only word finally and are written as u and i respectively.

2 Thanks are due to Ivan Lowe and Paul Kroeger of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for their assistance in analysis of the data. Thanks are also due to three Timugon Murut speakers, Tipor Brahim, Silipah Majius and Mantun Morris, without whose excellent help the task would have been infinitely more difficult.

An acknowledgement is also due to Jack Prentice, who read an earlier draft of this paper. I include an excerpt from his letter to me in February 1992:

K. Alexander Adelaar and Robert Blust, eds *Between worlds: linguistic papers in memory of David John Prentice*, 39–47. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 2002. DOI:10.15144/PL-529-39

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unaccusative and unergative roots with intransitive verbs — unergatives having a single core argument as Actor and unaccusatives having a single core argument as Undergoer. We will then demonstrate how this applies to intransitive clauses by comparing the use of the affixes *(-u)m-* Active Voice (AV) and *paG-* Agentiviser (AG).

### 1.1 Case marking

Timugon Murut is a language with both nominal case markers and verbal voice markers. Case markers indicate the relationship of nominal arguments to the verb. The prepositions used are not as extensive as in many other Philippine-type languages such as Ivatan (Prentice 1971:32).

Nominal arguments are divided into common and personal sets. Nominative (NOM) marks Subject, Genitive (GEN) marks Actor as Non-Subject and Dative (DAT) marks Non-Actor as Non-Subject (Oblique).

**Table 1:** Case markers of arguments

	Nominative	Genitive	Dative
Common	∅	<i>ru</i>	<i>ra</i>
Personal	<i>i-</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ra</i>

Timugon Murut has four sets of pronouns:

**Table 2:** Pronoun sets

	Emphatic	Nominative	Genitive	Dative
1S	<i>aku</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>raki'</i>
2S	<i>okou</i>	<i>kou</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>rirun</i>
3S	<i>io</i>	<i>io</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>riso</i>
DUAL	<i>ito</i>	<i>ito</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>rito</i>
1PIN	<i>itakau</i>	<i>takau</i>	<i>takau</i>	<i>ritakau</i>
1PEX	<i>akai</i>	<i>akai</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>ramon</i>
2P	<i>akau</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>ramuyun</i>
3P	<i>ilo</i>	<i>ilo</i>	<i>nilo</i>	<i>risilo</i>

There are also two referent pronouns for second person singular and plural, *tokou* (1SNOM + 2SDAT) and *takamin* (1SNOM + 2PDAT). In these pronouns, the reference to both speaker and referee are combined, having the resultant meaning 'I (vb) to you'. Nominative case pronouns only occur following the verb. If the Subject is topicalised (left dislocation) the emphatic pronoun set is used. However, the emphatic pronoun set may also be used post-verbally instead of the nominative pronoun set (Brewis & Levinsohn 1991:30).

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In view of my health and work problems, it may be a few weeks before you receive my annotated copy. But I can already say that, although I have some problems with your terminology (unfamiliar to me), your analysis is lucid and accurate. Were I to revise my 1971 description, I should certainly take the same tack as you (though whether we'd end up at the same destination is a different question!).

## 1.2 Voice

Like Tagalog and other Philippine-type languages Timugon Murut has a ‘verbal focus’ system (here referred to as ‘voice’). The semantic role of the sole nominative argument is reflected in an affix that occurs on the verb. These verbal affixes we call voice markers; see Table 3.

**Table 3:** Voice markers

	Voice marker	Semantic role
Active voice (AV)	<i>(-u)m-</i>	agent, effector, experiencer
Objective voice (OV)	<i>-on</i>	patient
Dative voice (DV)	<i>-in</i>	recipient, beneficent
Instrumental voice (IV)	<i>paG-R</i> <sup>3</sup>	instrument
Locative voice (LV)	<i>-an</i>	location, time, reason

Unlike English, many Philippine-type languages are patient-oriented. The Undergoer is the unmarked choice for subject and patient is the default Undergoer (Kroeger 1996:42). Every basic verb clause must have at least one definite core argument. Timugon Murut demonstrates the following scale for subject selection: Undergoer > other core argument > non-core argument. The core arguments of agent, patient and recipient of a ditransitive verb can be selected as Subject (if definite and with preference to the Undergoer) and occur post-verbally, i.e. in normal position. The non-core arguments of instrument, location, time, and reason under normal Subject selection rules are not selected.

The identification of *m-* as the full-marking with the Subject, and the absence of *m-* as the equivalent reduced-marking follows Kroeger’s analysis of Kimaragang verb affixation (Kroeger 1988). Prentice recognised sets of ‘Subject focus inflections’ which included the forms in Table 4 (ignoring morphophonemic changes):

**Table 4:** Full and reduced Subject marking

Aspect	marking	root	<i>PaG</i> -root	<i>PaN</i> -root
Imperfective	(full)	<i>(-u)m-</i>	<i>m-(p)aG-</i>	<i>m-(p)aN-</i>
Perfective	(full)	<i>(-imi)n-</i>	<i>n-(p)aG-</i>	<i>n-(p)aN-</i>
Atemporal	(reduced)	∅	∅- <i>paG-</i>	∅- <i>paN-</i>

## 1.3 Basic Word Order

The unmarked order of constituents for verbal clauses is verb–arguments. Particles occurring immediately after the verb are adverbial modifiers and these may be separated from the predicate only by a pronoun. Full phrases occur after the adverbial modifiers with the Subject usually first and then other elements following.

There are four factors which determine constituent order in Timugon (see also Prentice 1971:154–157).

<sup>3</sup> *R-* = syllable reduplication.

1. The overall order is: verb–pronouns–adverbial modifiers–full phrases.
2. If there is more than one pronoun or if the roles of the oblique phrases are ambiguous, then the order is according to the following hierarchy: actor–patient–recipient–instrument–locative.
3. Long phrases are usually final, especially when modified by a relative clause.
4. With full phrases, Subject precedes non-Subject, except where the Subject of the last sentence is restated.

## 2 Eventive viewpoint

Prototypical events can be characterised as perfective, punctiliar, realis and occurring on the main event line of the story.<sup>4</sup> Any departure of an event from any of these characteristics makes that event less prototypical.

Verb roots and stems affixed for Eventive Viewpoint describe events that are strongly prototypical; some will be exact prototypes, others less so. We discuss here two affixes that occur as prefixes with typical events, *(-u)m-* (AV) and *paG-* (AG). Both *(-u)m-* and *paG-* require that the overall clause structure be intransitive, i.e. only one core argument is permitted. Unergatives include both unergative roots and unergative stems. Section 2.1 discusses unergative roots, whereas §3 discusses unergative stems.

### 2.1 Unergatives

Unergative verb roots are agentive; that is, the single argument present is Actor (typically a volitional agent). In Eventive Viewpoint, intransitive clauses which have unergative verb roots are marked with the affix *(-u)m-* (AV). The sole argument takes the macrorole Actor and is marked as Subject.

The *(-u)m-* affix has various forms.

With roots beginning with a non-labial consonant, it has the form of an infix *-um-*, for example:

<i>(-u)m-</i> + <i>subol</i>	∅	<i>sumubol</i>	'enter';
<i>(-u)m-</i> + <i>tindak</i>	∅	<i>tumindak</i>	'leap/jump'.

With roots that begin with a labial consonant /p/ or /b/, it replaces that initial consonant by *m-* (the *u* of the affix being deleted); note:

<i>(-u)m-</i> + <i>baya'</i>	∅	<i>maya'</i>	'follow';
<i>(-u)m-</i> + <i>palit</i>	∅	<i>malit</i>	'exchange places with someone'.

With roots beginning with a vowel, it simply prefixes the root with *m-* (the *u* of the affix again being deleted), as in:

<i>(-u)m-</i> + <i>ongoi</i>	∅	<i>mongoi</i>	'go';
<i>(-u)m-</i> + <i>uli'</i>	∅	<i>muli'</i>	'go home'.

<sup>4</sup> Hopper linked foreground information with the event line of narrative discourse (Hopper 1979). The clauses which relate events falling on the main event line are foreground clauses, while those which do not fall on the main event line are the background ones.

Examples (1)–(3) show *(-u)m-* affixed to unergative roots.

- (1) *S-um-ubol aku (ra baloi).*<sup>5</sup>  
 \*-AV-enter 1SNOM DAT house<sup>6</sup>  
 ‘I enter the house.’
- (2) *Migor [(-u)m-bigor] aku (ra giti).*  
 AV-stand 1SNOM DAT here  
 ‘I stand here.’
- (3) *M-ongoi aku (ra kadai).*  
 AV-go 1SNOM DAT shop  
 ‘I go to the shop.’

## 2.2 Unaccusatives

The affix *(-u)m-* (AV) occurs in all Eventive Viewpoint verb forms, both transitive and intransitive, when the macrorole Actor is Subject. The same affix *(-u)m-* also occurs in unaccusative constructions with adjective, noun and unaccusative roots. These form non-agentive change of state verb forms (the achievement verbs of Foley and van Valin 1984:36). Intransitive clauses with such verbs have a single argument which is an Undergoer. Thus *(-u)m-* may not be described as always marking Actor Subject because it also marks Undergoer Subjects in the clauses just mentioned.<sup>7</sup> *(-u)m-* (AV) marks Actor as Subject in unergative eventive clauses (1)–(3) and also marks Undergoer as Subject in unaccusative eventive clauses (4).

- (4) *L-um-apak ø-luton no.*  
 \*-AV-lapak NOM-firewood that  
 ‘The firewood splits.’ (It has been exposed to the sun.)

When *(-u)m-* is affixed to adjective and noun roots the resultant verb form has the meaning ‘change of state’. We can say that *(-u)m-* + Adj/Nn root has the meaning ‘BECOMES state or condition’.

Other adjective roots that produce the same change of state verb forms include:

<i>ma-tukal</i>	‘ST-thin’	<i>t-um-ukal</i>	‘becomes thin’
<i>ma-kapal</i>	‘ST-thick’	<i>k-um-apal</i>	‘becomes thick’
<i>ma-salui</i>	‘ST-cool’	<i>s-um-alui</i>	‘becomes cool’
<i>ma-sawat</i>	‘ST-high’	<i>s-um-awat</i>	‘becomes high’
<i>ma-lami’</i>	‘ST-soft’	<i>l-um-ami’</i>	‘becomes soft’
<i>ma-gana’</i>	‘ST-low’	<i>g-um-ana’</i>	‘becomes low’
<i>mo-totoi</i>	‘ST-slow’	<i>t-um-otoi</i>	‘becomes slow’
<i>mo-lomok</i>	‘ST-fat’	<i>l-um-omok</i>	‘becomes fat’

<sup>5</sup> Examples (1)–(3) have optional non-core locative phrases marked by *ra* ‘DAT’.

<sup>6</sup> The \* represents the initial consonant of a root or stem that is separated by an infix.

<sup>7</sup> In previous analyses the *-um-* affix has usually been glossed as Actor Pivotal. This overlooks the use of *-um-* with achievement verbs. We note that Kroeger (1990) writing on Kimaragang Dusun, referred to the *m-* affix as voice-marker 1 whose thematic role was logical subject.

### 2.3 Transitives

Furthermore, *(-u)m-* derives reflexive verb forms from certain transitive roots. This fits neatly the constraints of both *(-u)m-* and the transitive root. On the one hand, *(-u)m-* requires that the overall clause structure be intransitive, allowing only a single core argument nominal. On the other hand, a transitive root requires both an Actor and an Undergoer. To satisfy both of these constraints the resultant verb form must be a reflexive. A reflexive has a single participant that is both Actor and Undergoer. Thus, the overall clause structure is intransitive and the single argument present is marked as Subject with a coreferential Patient.

Examples of *(-u)m-* deriving reflexive verbs from transitive roots:

- (5) *S-um-igot io.*  
 \*-AV-hang 3SNOM  
 'He hangs himself.'
- (6) *T-um-obok io.*  
 \*-AV-stab 3SNOM  
 'He stabs himself.'

### 3 Agentiviser (AG)

The affix *paG-* (AG) can be prefixed to unergative, unaccusative and transitive verb roots. The resultant forms are intransitive verb stems which have exactly one core argument. When *paG-* (AG) is applied to an unergative root, it forms an unergative stem. Both the old root and the new stem form verbs that take one core argument, which is an Actor with the semantic role of agent, but the new unergative stem requires a plural agent. When *paG-* (AG) is applied to an unaccusative root, it forms an unergative stem. The old verb formed from the unaccusative root took one core argument, an Undergoer. The new verb formed from the unergative stem also takes one core argument, which is an Actor with the semantic role of agent. When *paG-* (AG) is prefixed to transitive roots, it forms reciprocal stems, thus fulfilling the requirement that the new stem take exactly one core argument. The old transitive root formed the verb in a clause with two macroroles, an Actor and an Undergoer, realised by two different nominals. The new reciprocal stem, however, forms a verb in a clause with only one surface nominal; this nominal refers to a plural participant set whose participants are both Actors and Undergoers. The one core argument has the semantic role of agent and patient.

Thus, we see that in all three cases the *paG-* (AG) stem verb occurs in a clause with exactly one core argument, and that the semantic role of that core argument is either agent or contains agent (the reciprocal case), hence, the gloss 'Agentiviser'.

The prefix *paG-* (AG) has different forms, depending on the phonological environment offered by the root. With roots beginning with a consonant, *paG-* (AG) has the form *paN-*, where N is a nasal consonant that assimilates to the point of articulation of the root initial consonant.<sup>8</sup> Thus:

<i>paG-</i> + <i>siab</i>	∅	<i>pansiab</i>	'fly'
<i>paG-</i> + <i>kiwa'</i>	∅	<i>pangkiwa'</i>	'climb'
<i>paG-</i> + <i>busul</i>	∅	<i>pambusul</i>	'descend'

<sup>8</sup> Although *paG-* has allomorphs ending in a nasal consonant, note that it is quite distinct from the transitivity prefix *paN-* (which is not discussed further in this chapter).



With roots beginning with a vowel it has the form *paG-*:

<i>paG-</i> + <i>aloi</i>	∅	<i>pagaloi</i>	'go up'
<i>paG-</i> + <i>iru'</i>	∅	<i>pagiru'</i>	'flee'
<i>paG-</i> + <i>ilong</i>	∅	<i>pagilong</i>	'look at'

### 3.1 Agentiviser with unergatives

Of the following four examples, (7) and (9) are clauses whose verbs are formed from unergative verb roots. Such clauses have a single core argument, realised by a singular (non-collective) nominal in the semantic role of agent. By contrast, examples (8) and (10) are clauses whose verbs are formed from unergative verb stems made by prefixing the same unergative roots with *paG-* (AG). Such clauses also have a single core argument but this is a plural (and collective) agent.

- (7) *T-um-uun aku ra tukar.*  
 \*-AV-go.down 1SNOM DAT steps  
 'I go down the steps (of the house).'
- (8) *Mantuun [(-u)m-paG-tuun] ilo ra Tonom.*  
 AV-AG-go.down 3PNOM DAT Tenom  
 'They all go to Tenom (town) together.'
- (9) *S-um-ubol aku ra baloi.*  
 \*-AV-enter 1SNOM DAT house  
 'I enter the house.'
- (10) *Mansubol [(-u)m-paG-subol] ilo ra bajang.*  
 AV-AG-enter 3PNOM DAT sheet  
 'They all get under the sheet.'

### 3.2 Agentiviser with unaccusatives

In examples (11) and (13), the unaccusative verb roots *aloi* 'to rise' and *siab* 'to be blown' have the Undergoers *balun no* 'the balloon' and *apol no* 'the chaff' as their respective single core arguments. These Undergoers are marked as Subject with nominative case marking. In examples (12) and (14), when the same roots are prefixed with *paG-* (AG), they form the unergative stems *pagaloi* 'to go up' and *pansiab* 'to fly'. These unergative stems have the Actors *aku* '1SNOM' and *susuit no* 'the bird' as their respective single core arguments marked with nominative case.

- (11) *M-aloi ∅-balun no.*  
 AV-rise NOM-balloon the  
 'The balloon rises.' (unaccusative root)
- (12) *Magaloi [(-u)m-paG-aloi] aku ra tukar.*  
 AV-AG-rise 1SNOM DAT steps  
 'I climb the steps (of the house).' (unergative stem)

- (13) *S-um-iab*  $\emptyset$ -*apol* *no*.  
 \*-AV-blown NOM-chaff the  
 ‘The chaff is blown away.’ (unaccusative root)
- (14) *Mansiab* [(-u)m-*paG-siab*]  $\emptyset$ -*susuit no ra tataun*.  
 AV-AG-blown NOM-bird the DAT tree  
 ‘The bird flies to the tree.’ (unergative stem)

### 3.3 Agentiviser with transitives

When transitive verb roots are prefixed with *paG-* (AG), the resultant stems occur in reciprocal clauses. It is important to note that *paG-* (AG) only allows one core argument in the clause. In other words, the occurrence of a verb with a *paG-* (AG) stem is restricted to intransitive clauses. When *paG-* (AG) is prefixed to a transitive root, it requires that the overall surface clause structure be intransitive. But transitives have both an obligatory Actor and Undergoer, and, if we are to preserve relationships between participants, the Undergoer cannot be simply deleted. Therefore, the two possible options that satisfy both the requirements of *paG-* (AG) (single core argument) and the transitive root (obligatory Actor and Undergoer) are reflexive and reciprocal.

The inherent semantic content of some verbs, (e.g. ‘argue’) make reflexivisation impossible (for one does not argue with oneself), so the only option left for such verbs is reciprocalisation.

Reciprocal forms have at least two participants which are both Actors and Undergoers. Reciprocals form surface intransitive clauses that have a single core argument which is plural (minimum of dual). Since in a reciprocal construction every member of the participant set will be an Actor at some time during the interaction described by the verb, there is a sense in which we can say that Undergoers are promoted to Actors. (Conversely, we can equally say that Actors are demoted to Undergoers.)

Examples (15)–(17) show the transitive roots *sangor* ‘argue’, *lamba* ‘hit’ and *tobok* ‘stab’ prefixed with *paG-* (AG).

- (15) *Mansangor* [(-u)m-*paG-sangor*] *ilo*.  
 AV-AG-argue 3PNOM  
 ‘They argue with each other.’
- (16) *Manramba*’ [(-u)m-*paG-lamba*]’ *ilo*.  
 AV-AG-hit 3PNOM  
 ‘They hit each other.’
- (17) *Montobok* [(-u)m-*paG-tobok*] *ilo*.  
 AV-AG-stab 3PNOM  
 ‘They stab each other.’

The affix *paG-* (AG) also produces reciprocal verb forms when prefixed to nouns such as *andu* ‘wife’ (18) and *kubayau* ‘sweetheart’ (19). Both of these nouns express a transitive relation and when prefixed with *paG-* (AG), another agent is introduced producing a reciprocal verb form in an intransitive clause.

- (18) *Magandu*’ [(-u)m-*paG-andu*]’ *ilo*.  
 AV-AG-wife 3PNOM  
 ‘They marry each other.’

- (19) *Mangkubayau* [(-u)m-paG-kubayau] ilo.  
 AV-AG-sweetheart 3PNOM  
 'They are in love with each other.'

So, we can summarise *paG-* (AG) as having the following constraints.

First, *paG-* (AG) requires a single core argument as Actor (i.e. the overall structure of the clause MUST BE intransitive).

Second, *paG-* (AG) promotes any Undergoer present to Actor (provided that in reciprocals we understand this statement in the sense explained).

The functions of the affixes (-u)m- (AV) and *paG-* (AG) in intransitive clauses can be represented as in Table 5.

**Table 5:** (-u)m- (AV) and *paG-* (AG) contrasted

Root type	(-u)m- (AV)	<i>paG-</i> (AG)
unaccusative root	non-agentive	agentive
unergative root	agentive	plural agent
transitive root	reflexive	reciprocal

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# 4 *Observations on Lundayeh auxiliaries and the case of aru'*

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BEATRICE CLAYRE

## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Lundayeh<sup>2</sup> is one of the names used for a cluster of very closely related dialects spoken in Borneo. They are located in south-west Sabah, north Sarawak, Brunei and the north-east corner of Kalimantan in Indonesia. Until the 1960s the speakers of this cluster of dialects were usually referred to as Muruts, which caused much confusion with another, and neighbouring, language group in the southern part of Sabah, which was also called Murut. The Sabah Murut languages, which were studied by Jack Prentice, belong to a Sabah language family which has been called Murutic (Prentice 1971:1–4; King & King 1984:328–330). The ‘Sarawak Murut’ language, now called Lundayeh (Sabah and Kalimantan) or Lun Bawang (Sarawak and Brunei), was identified as a language isolate in the survey of Sabah languages (King & King 1984:333), but had earlier been identified by Alfred Hudson, working on data collected in Sarawak and Kalimantan, as a member of a group which he named the Apo Duat language group. This group also included Kelabit and Sa’ban (Hudson 1978:24–25). More recently, Blust (1998) has called this group the Kelabitic subgroup, and this name will be used here.

These two language groups, the Murutic and Kelabitic, have probably existed alongside each other for a few hundred years, and there are similarities between them. Lundayeh, however, is situated between the agglutinative Philippine-type languages of Sabah (including Murutic) and the more isolating type of language found in the other Kelabitic languages, and more generally throughout central Borneo. In previous studies, the Philippine-like features of

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations used in this paper are: AF – actor Focus; emph – emphatic particle; IF – instrument focus; impf – imperfective; int – question particle; loc – locative particle; neg – negative; pf – perfective; pnm – personal noun marker; RED – reduplication; rel – relative; sp – anaphoric particle; ST – stative prefix; UF – undergoer focus.

<sup>2</sup> Lundayeh is the legally registered form of the name in Sabah.

I wish to record my gratitude to the many Lundayeh who have helped me over the years, in particular Semion Lalung (Sabah) and John Labo (Trusan). I also wish to thank Dr René van den Berg, for his constructive comments at different stages in the preparation of this paper. The views expressed in it, and any errors are mine. I am grateful to the British Academy for a small personal research grant in 1990–91 which enabled me to carry out some of the research reported here.

Lundayeh have been emphasised (Clayre 1991, 1996, and in press), but evidence of a movement towards a more isolating structure in the language is highlighted by a study of the auxiliaries. Auxiliaries are barely evident in the Murutic languages, their function being largely fulfilled by affixes, but in Lundayeh the following auxiliaries occur: *pengeh* 'finished, already, after'; *pian* and *sikal*, both meaning 'to want' or 'future intention', *amé* 'to go', *miek* 'can, able', *ara* 'not want' and *aru* 'to make' or 'do'. The last is of particular interest because it is used to form a periphrastic undergoer focus.

No detailed study of auxiliaries has been carried out in the field. The observations in this paper are based on text material, taped conversations,<sup>3</sup> some elicited (or volunteered) material, examples cited in the *Kamus Lun Dayeh* by Samuel Labo Pur, a native speaker of Lundayeh (Labo Pur 1965), and the Lun Bawang folktale of Upai Kasim published by James Deegan and Robin Usad (1972). The source of each example in this paper will be given. These sources reflect different dialects of Lundayeh. The speakers of these dialects maintain that there are no significant differences between them, and certainly no differences were detected in the use of the auxiliaries. One of the main differences is a phonetic distinction between [f] found in dialects from the Kemaloh area of Kalimantan, and [p] used in other dialects, for example: *ngafung* and *ngapung* 'to hide'. In the absence of an adequate description of Lundayeh phonology, the spelling used here conforms, as far as possible, to that devised by Robert Blust for the closely related Kelabit language. This spelling differs from that in general use among Lundayeh speakers, and as used in the translation of the New Testament (*Pejani' luk mebaruh*). Thus the voiced aspirates are here written as *bh*, *dh*, and *gh*. In Lundayeh */dh/* is phonetically an affricate and usually written as *c*.

In common with Philippine-type languages, Lundayeh has a complex syntactic system called 'focus' whereby one noun phrase is marked out for special prominence, and this information is cross-referenced in the verb morphology (Clayre 1991). Lundayeh allows the actor, or the undergoer, or the instrument to be 'focussed', i.e. actor focus (AF), undergoer focus (UF) and instrument focus (IF). Unlike most Philippine-type languages there are no noun markers in Lundayeh to indicate the function of a noun phrase, and consequently word order has become important. As a general rule, the non-focussed noun phrase (actor or undergoer) immediately follows the verb, and the focussed noun phrase precedes it. This has resulted in a move in AF clauses away from a verb-first construction to an increasingly common actor-first construction. In IF clauses the focussed instrument occurs at the end of the clause. Focus is, however, signalled in the pronoun system. There are three sets of pronouns in Lundayeh (Table 1). Pronouns of Set I mark the focussed actor in the clause; those of Set II indicate the non-focussed actor and also function as possessive pronouns; Set III pronouns are used for non-focussed and non-actor participants in the clause, i.e. undergoer or benefactive.

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<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to the late Miss Jean Davies, formerly of the Borneo Evangelical Mission, for making available to me transcribed texts and conversations which she had recorded in Lawas in the 1960s and 1970s. The speakers represented a number of Lundayeh dialects, but these details were not recorded at the time.

**Table 1:** Pronoun sets in Lundayeh

	Set I	Set II	Set III
First person singular	<i>uih</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>negku</i>
Second person singular	<i>iko</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>nemu</i>
Third person singular	<i>ieh</i>	<i>neh</i>	<i>neneh</i>
First person plural inclusive	<i>tau</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>netau</i>
First person plural exclusive	<i>kai</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>nekai</i>
Second person plural	<i>muyuh</i>	<i>muyuh</i>	<i>nemuyuh</i>
Third person plural	<i>ideh</i>	<i>deh</i>	<i>nede</i>

The verbs are cross-referenced by affixes (Tables 2a,b) which indicate the focussed nominal.

**Table 2a:** Verbal marking in Lundayeh dynamic verbs

	Actor focus	Undergoer focus	Instrument focus
Imperfective	<i>N-/nge-</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>pi-N-</i>
Perfective	<i>ne-N-</i>	<i>-in-</i> or <i>-i-</i>	<i>ne-pi-N-</i>

*N-* indicates a nasal prefix which assimilates to the position of the initial consonant of the root. It occurs as *ng-* before vowel-initial roots and *nge-* before *l* or *r* initial roots. Intransitive verbs may have the infix *-em-*, or, in the case of the verb 'to eat' *-um-* (see (1)).

**Table 2b:** Verbal marking in Lundayeh stative verbs

	Actor focus	Undergoer focus	Instrument focus
Imperfective/ability	–	<i>me-</i>	–
Perfective/accidental	–	<i>ne-</i>	–

## 2 Auxiliaries in Lundayeh

### 2a *Pengeh*, *pian*, *sikal* and *amé*

Among the first affixes to be lost in the languages of central Borneo, including the Kelabit languages such as Sa'ban, are the prefix marking perfective aspect in AF, and the suffix *-en*, a UF marker which is used when imperfective applies. It is, therefore, particularly interesting to note that two of the four auxiliaries in this section have a similar area of meaning. *Pengeh* indicates perfective aspect, and it occurs predominantly in AF constructions, while *pian* indicates want or desire, and occurs frequently in UF constructions.

*Pengeh* as a root means 'finish' and is probably cognate with *pongo*<sup>4</sup> in Timugon Murut and *pungo* in Ida'an (Sabah) which mean 'to finish', while the Banggi language (Sabah) has

<sup>4</sup> The vowel /o/ in the orthographies of Sabah languages frequently represents a central vowel. For example, Rungus Dusun (Forschner 1994:7, where /o/ is described as a mid half closed central vowel); Kimaragang Dusun (Kroeger 1993:38, where the schwa [ə] is an allophone of both /o/ and /a/); Tombonuwo (King 1993:101) and Labok-Kinabatangan Kadazan (Hurlbut 1993:50, where /o/ is described as lower mid central unrounded vowel [ə]); and Timugon Murut (Prentice 1971:19, where two of the allophones of /o/ are lower mid central vowels). In Tagal, another Sabah Murut language (Harris & Chapple 1993:74), the schwa is interpreted as an allophone of /a/.

an auxiliary *punga* indicating finished action (Clayre 1996:71:fn.21). The Sarawak languages of Berawan, Melanau, Narom, Sa'ban and Kelabit all have an auxiliary which is a cognate of *pengeh*.

As a main verb, *pengeh* can occur in different focus constructions with perfective or imperfective aspect (the following forms have been recorded: *mengeh* (AF), *nemengeh* (AF/pf), *pingeh* (UF/pf), *mepengeh* (ST/impf) and *nepengeh* (ST/pf). When it functions as an auxiliary it is never affixed. It carries the sense of 'already completed', 'finished', but clause initially in dependent clauses it can mean 'after' (cf. (6)). It occurs more commonly with verbs in AF (1)–(4) but a few examples have been recorded with verbs in UF (5). It sometimes occurs redundantly with a main verb marked by the perfective prefix *ne-* as in (1) *ne-kuman* or (2) *ne-tudo*. At other times it occurs with a main verb apparently marked for imperfective aspect, as in (3) *t-em-ido* or (4) *m-bangun*.

Examples of the use of *pengeh* as an auxiliary are given in (1)–(6).

- (1) *Uih pengeh nekuman.*  
I finish AF/pf-eat  
'I have already eaten.' (Kamus)
- (2) *Kareb decur pengeh netudo iring se-delei ...*  
when girl finish AF/pf-sit beside one-man  
'After the girl has sat beside the man ...' (marriage customs)
- (3) *Idi kareb amung-amung deh pengeh temido ...*  
then when RED-all they finish AF-wail  
'Then when all of them have wailed/finished wailing ...' (burial customs)
- (4) *S.L. mada' isu' luk pengeh mangun kuan tetek ruma'*  
S.L. AF-tells change rel finish happen to room house  
*bang kareb luk mon nilaad.*  
in time rel long ago  
'S.L. tells the story of a change which happened to a family long ago.'  
(*tetek* is a family room/unit in a long house) (folk story)
- (5) *Pengeh ieh pinuer ku idi uih nemaman nedawa' uko',*  
finish it UF/pf-gut I then I AF/pf-feed to-they-2 dogs,  
*kai nuli' peh.*  
we AF/pf-return home yet  
'After it was gutted (by me), then I fed the two dogs, and we returned home.'  
or 'After I had gutted it, I fed the two dogs and we returned home.' (hunting story)
- (6) *Pengeh ini, idi ulad ineh mere neneh lemaba peh.*  
finish this then worm that AF-give to-him AF-pass yet  
'After this, the worm allows him to pass.' (folk story)

*Pian* and *sikal*. The history of *pian* or *sikal* is less clear. The final *-an* syllable of *pian*, combined with its frequent UF usage could suggest an earlier UF verb, but no roots spring to mind. Nor are any cognates known for these auxiliaries in any of the other languages of Sabah or central Borneo. Sa'ban, another Kelabitic language, for example, uses the auxiliary *la'* to indicate future intention, and Berawan uses *ka'*.



*Pian* can occur as a main verb (7)–(8), or as an auxiliary (9)–(10), in either case it occurs in both AF (8), (9) and UF (7), (10) constructions. No examples have been recorded of the occurrence of this verb with affixation.<sup>5</sup>

Examples of the use of *pian* include the following.

- (7) *“Idi peh pian mu” buri’ neh “idi berén ku tebhar mu”*  
 then yet want you word his then UF/impf-give I reward you  
 “‘Whatever you wish,” he said, “I will give you as a reward/ will be given as your reward.” (Upai Kasim)
- (8) *Uih pian radio ini. Tuda’-ké raga neh?*  
 I want radio this how-much-int price it  
 ‘I want this radio. How much is it?’ (Kamus)
- (9) *“Kudeng iko pian medhing ki-edho dei”, doo’ iko ngalap*  
 if you want AF/impf-reach to-sun there, good you AF/impf-x  
*batang sibak uen mu ku apir” keburi neh.*  
 batang sibak UF/impf-make you for bridge words his  
 ‘“If you want to reach the sun, you should take a *sibak* log and use it as a bridge”  
 he said.’ (folkstory)
- (10) *Enun pian mu rupen? Kopi atau té?*  
 what want you UF/impf-drink coffee or tea  
 ‘What would you like to drink? Coffee or tea?’ (Kamus)

The chief difference noticed between *pian* and *sikal* is that *sikal* was attested only as an auxiliary verb, and only in AF constructions (11)–(13). No obvious cognates for *sikal* are known to me. Most languages of central Borneo seem to have only one auxiliary with this meaning, and the auxiliaries used in Sa’ban and Berawan, *la’* and *ka’* respectively, have already been mentioned.<sup>6</sup>

Examples of the use of *sikal* as an auxiliary occur in (11)–(13):

- (11) *Ieh sikal ngalap ruma’ tau amé dei’ dita’.*  
 he want AF/impf-take house our go there high  
 ‘He wants to take our house up into the sky.’ (folk story)
- (12) *Ideh sikal amé nier lun pupu neh luk ketedhen tungé’ liang.*  
 they want AF-go AF-see people tribe his rel abandon here below  
 ‘They want to come and see their relatives who remained here below.’ (folk story)
- (13) *Dat-dat niat deh ineh, sikal nangi’ ngeceku nebha mesti*  
 RED-bad heart they that want cry because tomorrow must  
*(i)deh petayen Raca’ ku na ngalap amas.*  
 they UF/impf-die Rajah for not AF/impf-bring gold  
 ‘They were sad, and wanted to cry because the next day they would be killed by  
 the Rajah for not getting the gold.’ (Upai Kasim)

<sup>5</sup> Blust noted an instance of *p-in-ian* in Kelabit (Blust 1993:203).

<sup>6</sup> This statement may well be refined by further research. At the time of writing very little has been published on the languages of central Borneo.

In example (13), the initial *i* of *ideh* has elided with the final *i* of *mesti*. Note too, that *mesti* is also an auxiliary. It is not discussed here because it does not occur in other Lundayeh contexts, and it is clearly a word borrowed from Malay.

*Amé* is the verb 'to go'. As an intransitive verb it occurs in AF marked for imperfective (*amé*) or perfective (*iné*) aspect. Only the *amé* form is attested as an auxiliary. It occurs as an auxiliary with AF verbs to give a future meaning (14), and a similar usage has been noted in Sa'ban, another Kelabitic language.

- (14) *Ieh amé nginat ruma' tau ...*  
 he AF/impf-go AF-pull-up house our  
 'He is going to pull up our house ...' (folk story)

When *amé* occurs with stative verbs it indicates a process, and means 'to become' (15)–(16). This contrasts with the usage in a Dusunic language such as Kimaragang, and in Timugon Murut where process is indicated by the infix *-um-* (Kroeger 1990:§1.2.6; Brewis 1991a). In Sa'ban, *mai* 'go' occurs in a similar construction with a similar meaning to the Lundayeh form.

- (15) *Don ineh amé mesia'.*  
 leaf that go ST-red  
 'The leaf is becoming red.' (elicited)
- (16) *Ideh nganet padé di yok-yok amé mekara idi mebatek*  
 they AF-wait rice sp RED-slow go ST-mature then ST-pregnant  
*idi mirat idi melaak.*  
 then ST-seeds emerge then ST-ripe  
 'They wait for the rice to grow, swell, produce seeds and become ripe.'  
 (farming customs)

## 2b *Miek*

A set of affixes present in Lundayeh but whose occurrence has become more restricted in other Kelabitic languages is the stative set *me-* 'present state' and *ne-* 'completed state' (17).

- (17) *Lati' ku na neseb ngeceku ieh mebaa'.<sup>7</sup>*  
 farm my neg ST/pf-burn because it ST/impf-wet  
 'My farm did not burn off (properly) because it was wet.' (elicited)

In Lundayeh the prefix *me-* can also indicate the potentiality or liability of the undergoer to experience the action of the verb root (18)–(19), while the *ne-* prefix can indicate that the action was involuntary or accidental (22b). In this respect the Lundayeh prefixes have similarities with Tagalog *ma-*, *maka-* and *na-*, *naka-* prefixes (Dell 1984:176–177); with *o-*,

<sup>7</sup> Compare (17) with the following sentences in which (a) is a UF construction, (b) is an AF construction:

- (a) *Lati ku na iseb(ku) ngeceku ieh mebaa'.*  
 farm my neg UF/pf-burn (I) because it ST/impf-wet  
 'My farm was not burnt off (by me) because it was wet.' (i.e. I did not even start to burn off).
- (b) *Na uih nengeseb lati kidi ngeceku ieh mebaa'.*  
 neg I(focus) pf/AF-burn farm my-sp because it ST/impf-wet  
 'I (deliberately) did not burn off my farm because it was wet.'

*oko-* and *no-*, *noko-* prefixes in Kimaragang (Kroeger 1990); and with *ma-*, *maka-* and *na-*, *naka-* in Timugon (Prentice 1971:83ff., 1995:390–391; Brewis 1991b).

- (18) *Na ieh mesier<sup>8</sup> ku mekilu, ken-neh.*  
 neg he ST/impf-see because ST/impf-blur according to-he/she  
 'He was not able to be seen (visible) because (he) was blurred, they say.'  
 (folk story, Timugon)
- (19) *Na merot ku apui, meseb iko napeh.*  
 neg play with fire ST/impf-burn you (focus) later  
 'Don't play with fire, you'll get burnt/ you'll burn yourself.' (elicited, Kroeger  
 1990, example (11))

In Lundayeh, verbs with this set of prefixes are always in undergoer focus. In Kimaragang Dusun and Timugon Murut, it is possible to produce an actor focus construction by inserting *-ko-* or *-ka-*, respectively, following the stative prefix, to give *oko-* and *noko-* (Kroeger 1990) and *maka-* and *naka-* in Timugon (Prentice 1971:85–89; Brewis 1991b). A similar combination of prefixes exists in Lundayeh, *meke-*, but it has never been attested in actor focus constructions, only in undergoer focus constructions with an agent, although the agent is often not expressed. Example (20) is in undergoer focus and *ku* indicates the non-focus actor; *-k-* indicates a non-focussed agent.

- (20) *Mekeseb ku ruma' ineh.*  
 ST-k-burn I house that  
 'I can burn the house.' (implies certainty, e.g. the house is built of wood)

It would appear that the only way to obtain an actor focus construction with a stative verb in Lundayeh is by use of the auxiliary *miek*. Examples (21)–(24) are parallel constructions to show the way *miek* and the stative prefix *me-* are used. Examples (21), (23) are in AF and use the auxiliary *miek*, (22a), (24) are in undergoer focus and use the prefix *me-* (22a) or *meke-* (24). Example (22b) illustrates the use of *ne-*. Examples (23)–(24) were volunteered by the language helper who suggested they might be used following an accident.

- (21) *Uih miek ngekarem alud ineh.*  
 I able AF-capsize boat that  
 'I am able to/can capsized that boat.' (elicited)
- (22) a. *Mekarem ku alud ineh.*  
 ST/impf-capsize I boat that  
 'That boat is capsizable by me/I can capsized that boat.' (elicited)
- b. *Alud ineh nekarem ku.*  
 boat that ST/pf capsized I  
 'The boat was accidentally capsized by me/I accidentally capsized the boat.'  
 (elicited)
- (23) *Miek iko ngio kukud mu?*  
 able you AF-move leg your  
 'Are you able to move your leg?' (elicited)

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<sup>8</sup> The verb root is *sier* 'to see'; the AF/impf form is *nier*.

- (24) *Mekegio mu kukud mu?*  
 ST-k-move you leg your  
 'Is you leg moveable by you/Are you able to move your leg?' (elicited)

Example (25) uses the same verb root in a simple stative, UF clause:

- (25) *Kayuh ineh megio.*  
 tree that ST-move  
 'The tree moves/sways (in the wind).' (elicited)

The parallels with Kimaragang and Timugon would suggest that at an earlier stage in the history of Lundayeh, *meke-* may have been an AF form. Certainly, all the examples collected with *meke-* do have an agent, but the agent is never in actor focus. In the Lawas-Trusan area the stative prefix seemed to be less well understood by the younger generation, and (like *pengeh*) examples of the apparent redundant use of *miek* together with *me-* were encountered (26), but further questioning about such examples would establish that *miek* was not necessary to the construction and could be omitted.

- (26) *Kayuh ineh na (miek) meluka ngeceku ieh metueh.*  
 post that neg (able) ST-collapse because it ST-strong  
 'That post cannot fall over, it is very sturdy.' (elicited, Kroeger 1990, example (10))

Examples were found where *miek* occurred together with a main verb marked for UF in imperfective aspect, as (*a*)*lap-en* in (27). The language helper spontaneously provided examples of two clauses, where the use of the stative prefix *me-* and the use of *miek* plus a verb marked for undergoer focus in imperfective aspect gave different meanings (28)–(29). It would appear that the construction in (29) indicates that the undergoer, the fish, is in an inedible state (compare with (26) where the post is in an uncollapsible state), whereas in (27), (28) the implication seems to be that the actor is able, (or permitted, see (30)–(31)) to carry out the action of the main verb. Such subtle distinctions have already been lost in Sa'ban where *am parap naan* 'not able to be eaten' would occur in both examples.

- (27) *Idi terur luk mesia' ineh miek lapen ku awan mu.*  
 then egg rel ST-red that able UF/impf-take for wife you  
 'Then (you) can/may take the red egg for a wife.' (folk story)
- (28) *Lawid ini na miek kanen [kan-en] ngeceku ieh melu.*  
 fish this neg able UF/impf-eat because it ST-rotten  
 'This fish should not be eaten (by you) because it is rotten.' (Kroeger 1990, example (9))
- (29) *Lawid ini na mekan [me-kan] ngeceku ieh metueh.*  
 fish this neg ST-eat because it ST-strong  
 'This fish is inedible because it is tough.' (elicited)

Other examples with *miek* (30)–(32), all in AF, see also (47):

- (30) *Kareb deléi ineh telubid, na miek telubid pa-sium neh.*  
 when man that AF/lie-down neg able AF/lie-down loc-face her  
 'When the man lies down he cannot/should not face her.' (marriage customs)

- (31) *Idé-idé na miek améi ngedengan awan neh tanem neneh.*  
 RED-who neg able AF-go AF-help husband her bury her  
 'No-one can/may go with the husband to help to bury her.' (burial customs)
- (32) *Miek iko nulung negku teh?*  
 able you AF-help me also  
 'Can you help me too?' (*Upai Kasim*)

No cognates for *miek* are known in Sabah or Sarawak, and the origin of the word is unknown. Sa'ban, for example, has *parap*, Kayan *deng* (Southwell 1990), Iban *tau* (Richards 1981) and Bidayuh *bisaa* (Nais 1988). A glance through Asmah Haji Omar (1983) suggests that many languages of Sabah and Sarawak use a cognate of Malay *boleh* to convey the meaning of 'can' or 'able'.

The *ne-* prefix can imply that the action was accidental. Affixes, similar in form and function, are known in Kimaragang (*no-* and actor focus *noko-*; Kroeger 1990) and in Timugon (*na-* and *naka-*; Prentice 1971:84ff.; 1995:390–391). This prefix does not occur in Sa'ban, whereas in a related Kelabitic language it could have been expected. Neither *me-* nor *ne-* occurs in Sa'ban with the meaning of ability or of non-volitional action. To convey the notion of ability, Sa'ban employs the auxiliary *parap*, but there is no auxiliary to convey the notion of non-volitional action. This statement seems to reflect the situation in other languages of central Borneo too.

## 2c Ara'

*Ara'* means 'not want'. This auxiliary was not noted in the text data, but it occurred in a very few elicited examples. Too few data are available on which to base constructive comments. The following examples illustrate its use.

- (33) *Bulan nemepet rua' nidi(neh-di), ngeceku ieh ara'*  
 Bulan AF/pf-throw container her-sp because she not-want  
*duken ...*  
 UF/impf-order  
 'Bulan threw down the bamboo container because she did not want to be ordered ...  
 (to fetch water).' (Kroeger 1989, example (11)).
- (34) *Berén ku ieh neneh em ara' ieh.*  
 UF/impf-give I it to-him but not-want it  
 'I give it to him but he does not want it.' (elicited)

## 3 The case of aru'

The particular interest of *aru'* is that, unlike the auxiliaries described earlier, it can be used to form a periphrastic undergoer focus construction. Such constructions appear to be rare in Sabah languages. Boutin reports a 'periphrastic passive' in Bonggi which he traces to a development via grammaticalisation of the indefinite and generic substitute word *anu* meaning 'something/somebody' (Boutin 1996). He also notes that in Timugon Murut when *anu* 'what's it' replaces a verb, it takes all the inflectional affixes which would be borne by

the missing verb (Prentice 1981:198),<sup>9</sup> although there is no suggestion that it forms a periphrastic passive in Timugon.

In Lundayeh, the periphrastic undergoer focus is constructed with the auxiliary verb *aru'* which means 'make' or 'do'. As such, it does not fall into any of the three categories of periphrastic passives listed by Keenan (1985:257–261). When the construction with *aru'* occurs with some intransitive verbs (see (44)–(45)), it can carry a causative or permissive meaning. With other intransitives and with transitive verbs, however, it is clearly an undergoer focus construction.

The verb *aru'* may occur as the head verb of a clause. It then displays the normal range of verb affixation (Table 2). There are dialectal variations in the forms of this verb.<sup>10</sup> Examples of *aru'* used as a main verb are given in (35)–(40). In (35) the verb is affixed for actor focus and imperfective aspect. In (36)–(37) it signals undergoer focus and perfective aspect, in (38)–(40) undergoer focus and imperfective aspect. The undergoer focus, imperfective aspect form of the verb is often used as a polite imperative, as in (39).

- (35) *Idi ideh ngenau' eceh kukud dawan ...*  
 then they AF-make one foot tripod  
 'Then they make a cooking tripod ...' (burial customs)
- (36) *Awan nidi inau' neh pe-kebing.*  
 wife his-sp UF/make he loc-left  
 'He placed his wife on his left.' (folk story)
- (37) *Idi ideh nutud edteh ngapak ilu' luun dawan luk inau'*  
 then they light one bundle resin on tripod rel UF/pf-make  
*ratnan bulu' ineh.*  
 from bamboo that  
 'Then they light a bundle of resin on the tripod which was made from  
 that bamboo.' (burial customs)

<sup>9</sup> In this respect Timugon Murut *anu* seems to echo the behaviour of the Lundayeh interrogative *ngudé* 'why', which has been recorded with the following affixation: (AF) *ngudé, nengudé*, (UF) *kinudé, kudén*, (IF) *pingudé, nepingudé*, and (ST) *mekudé, nekudé*.

<sup>10</sup> Phonological processes at work on Kelabitic languages have produced many different forms of this verb. These processes typically affect the first syllable of a disyllabic word, resulting eventually in the loss of that syllable (in three syllable words it is typically the middle syllable that is lost). The original root of the verb 'to make or do' was probably *taru'*, this is shown by the UF/pf forms which occur in some Kelabit dialects as *t-in-aru'* or *s-in-aru'* (*t* alternates with *s* before a high front vowel in some Kelabit dialects). The initial consonant seems to have been generally lost in Lundayeh. The development of the UF/pf form seems to have been: *t-in-aru' > tiaru' > iaru' > yaru' > aru'* (all forms attested, except *iaru'*).

The development of the UF/impf forms is: *rueu > uen > en* [ən] (all forms attested).

The development of the AF/impf forms is more complex. Most Kelabitic dialects simply add the AF/impf prefix *nge-* to the root producing *ng-aru'*. Some Kelabitic dialects have *naru'* suggesting that the *t* of root (*taru'*) has been replaced by the nasal AF prefix which assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the root. In some Lundayeh dialects (Kemaloh) the forms *nau'* or *nge-nau'* appear. It looks as though the final vowel has been lengthened and the *r* has been lost, but the UF/impf form (*rueu*), retains *r*. The UF/pf may be *i-nau'* or *t-in-au'* according to the dialect. There is no evidence of *inau'* developing to *\*iau'* or *\*yau'*. The stative forms in the Kemaloh dialect are *metau'* and *netau'* which show retention of the initial *t*, but loss of the medial *r*.

- (38) *Kai perigai nekap war idi kayuh the ruen ku babeh.*  
 we each AF-look-for rattan and wood also UF/impf-make for carrier  
 'We each look for rattan and wood, too, to be made into a carrier [for carrying  
 on the back].' (hunting story)
- (39) *Doo' iko ngalap batang sibak uen mu ku apir.*  
 good you AF/impf-take log sibak UF/impf-make you for bridge  
 'Take a sibak log to use as a bridge.' (folkstory)
- (40) *Irau luk ruen kai bang bulan epat anid-anid laak.*  
 gathering rel UF/impf-make we in month four RED-every year  
 'The gathering which we hold in April every year.' (story)

In Lundayeh, when this verb is used to form a periphrastic undergoer focus construction, only the imperfective undergoer focus form (*ruen* or *uen*), the perfective undergoer focus form (*inau'* or *tinau'*), and the imperative form (*rua'*) are used. The typical construction in which they occur may be diagrammed as:

*inau' /tinau'}* + non-focus actor + main verb  
*ruen/uen}*  
*rua'}*

In this construction the auxiliary verb signals the focus of the clause and the main verb, though it still retains its actor focus prefix, is now the unmarked form. Equivalent clauses with a morphological undergoer focus may occur. Examples (41a,b) and (42a,b) illustrate this. In each example (a) is a periphrastic undergoer focus construction and (b) is a morphological undergoer focus.

- (41) a. *Idé ruen mu nier?*  
 who UF/make you AF-see  
 'Who are you meeting?' (elicited)
- b. *Idé sieren mu?*  
 who UF/impf-see you  
 'Who are you meeting?' (elicited)
- (42) a. *Uih uen neh mabeh.*  
 I UF/make he AF-carry  
 'I was carried by him/he carried me.' (elicited)
- b. *Uih binabeh neh.*  
 I UF/pf-carry he  
 'I was carried by him/he carried me.' (elicited)

The periphrastic undergoer focus was constructed most commonly with *ruen* or *uen* in my data, whereas examples with *inau'* or *tinau'* were comparatively rare. *Ruen* or *uen* were often used in 'impersonal passives', which occurred frequently in texts describing Lundayeh customs. Further research is required to establish when the periphrastic undergoer focus is used in preference to the morphological undergoer focus. One possibility is that it developed in relation to stative (or unaccusative) verbs, such as *anud* 'float'; *tot* 'fear', *bila* 'shatter', *ebheh* 'fall', *karem* 'capsize', *isu* 'change' or *lamuh* 'fat'. These verbs normally take the stative prefix *me-*, they can be made dynamic and transitive by adding *nge-* to the root, but it is often impossible to get the undergoer focus forms (*-in-* or *-en*) with these verbs. In these cases *ruen* or *uen* is used (as in (48)). In Sa'ban, a similar periphrastic undergoer construction

with *aru'* is widely used. The verb forms in Sa'ban are *aru'* and *uen* (*uen* or *an*).<sup>11</sup> The periphrastic undergoer focus also occurs in other languages of central Borneo, particularly Kayan, where the morphological undergoer focus survives in only a handful of verbs (Clayre, in press).

Examples of periphrastic undergoer focus constructions with *ruen* or *uen* are given in examples (43)–(50). In (43) the agent is indicated by a pronoun of Set II (*neh*). Examples (44)–(45) are examples with intransitive main verbs; *tudo'* and *rudap* belong to a category of verbs which are unmarked in AF, (indicated by brackets in the examples). Their combination with *ruen* in (44)–(45) produces a causative sense. In examples (46)–(48) the agent ('they' or 'one') has been omitted, and (49)–(50) are examples with *uen*.

- (43) *Kareb ieh amé munu, kudeng inan peh lemulun iput*  
 when he go head-hunting if exist still person UF/pf-shoot  
*neh, ruen neh nguk edheh bau delé ... maya' kiula lemulun*  
 he make he thread one bead corn follow number person  
*luk pinaté neh.*  
 rel UF/pf-kill he  
 'When he went head-hunting, if he shot someone with a blowpipe, he would thread a corn bead ... according to the number of people he had killed.'  
 (headhunting customs)
- (44) *Rebhu-rebhu demulun ruen tudo' luun burung ineh.*  
 RED-sometimes slave UF/impf-make (AF)-sit on heap that  
 'Sometimes a slave will be made to sit on the pile (of bridewealth).' (marriage customs)
- (45) *Idi didueh ruen rudap iring taman idi tinan.*  
 then they-two UF/impf-make (AF)-sleep beside father and mother  
 'Then the two of them [engaged couple] will be made/allowed to sleep beside [her] parents.' (marriage customs).
- (46) *Kareb peneh kuman na ngelepi' kelinan, iamo ruen*  
 when finish AF-eat not AF-fold leaves but UF/impf-make  
*mipin doo'-doo' rangen luun téeng.*  
 arrange RED-good UF/impf-place on eating mat  
 'When (they) have eaten, (they must) not fold the leaves but must arrange (them) carefully and place (them) on the mat used for eating.' (marriage customs)
- (47) *Bang kareb pebunu' na miek nalan se-buleng ngeceku*  
 In time head-hunting not able AF-walk alone because  
*metot ruen ngelalem.*  
 ST-fear UF/impf-make (AF)-surprise  
 'In head-hunting times one could not walk alone for fear of being surprised.' (story)
- (48) *Idi akang ineh ruen ngebheh pekak edho ngeramat.*  
 then image that UF/impf-make AF-drop early day gather  
 'Then the image will be dropped (through floor of house) early in the morning of the day when everyone gathers together.' (burial customs)

<sup>11</sup> The choice of *uen* or *en* [ɛn] seems to depend on dialect.



- (49) *Kareb iko melalid uen neh nedhat iko ne?*  
 when you ST-naughty UF/impf-make he AF-beat you emph  
 'When you are naughty, will he beat you/will you be beaten(by him)?' (*Kamus*)
- (50) *Uen neh ngerawé peburi' i-Raca di amas ...*  
 make he think words the Rajah sp gold  
 'He thought of the words of the Rajah about the gold ...' (*Upai Kasim*)

Examples (51)–(52) illustrate the use of *inau'* in a periphrastic undergoer construction.

- (51) *Inau' deh ngisu' ngadan deh ku lun museh*  
 UF/pf-make they AF-change name they because people ST-angry  
*nedeh di.*  
 to-them sp  
 'They changed their name because people were angry with them.' (elicited)
- (52) *Tinau'*<sup>12</sup> *ku ngegher tarub di iamo na kelabil di buro.*  
 UF/pf-make I AF-shake blanket sp but not cockroach sp.run-away  
 'I shook the blanket but that cockroach did not go away.' (Dell 1984,  
 example (27))

The imperative *rua'* is also used to form a periphrastic undergoer focus clause. There are three undergoer focus imperative suffixes known in Lundayeh (-a', -u', and -i), but they are rarely used today. When -a' is suffixed to *aru'* the resulting form is *rua'*. It implies that the action is to be carried out at a distance from the speaker (Clayre 1991). The two examples (53)–(54) were elicited.

- (53) *Rua' ngetot ideh!*  
 UF/imp-make AF-fear them  
 'Go and frighten them!'
- (54) *Rua' muyuh nganud batang neh!*  
 UF/imp-make you-pl AF-float log that  
 'Go and float that log away!'

Another verb which appears to behave in a rather similar way to *aru'* is *edhuk* 'to order'.<sup>13</sup> It has been recorded as a main verb in both Actor focus (imperfective and perfective) and Undergoer focus (imperfective and perfective) constructions. These forms are shown below:

	Actor focus	Undergoer focus
Imperfective	<i>ngedhuk</i> <sup>14</sup>	<i>duken</i>
Perfective	<i>nengedhuk</i>	<i>idhuk</i>

Of the three examples which follow, the first two (55)–(56) were elicited, the third (57) occurs in a text and should be compared with the use of *aru'* in (45). Example (55) illustrates the use of *eduk* as a main verb. Examples (56)–(57) illustrate its use as an auxiliary to form a periphrastic undergoer focus structure.

<sup>12</sup> *Tinau'* is a dialectal variant of *inau'* (see footnote 10).

<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, this use of *edhuk* was only noted on the last day of fieldwork, and could not be followed up.

<sup>14</sup> Plain and voiced stops alternate morphophonemically, see Blust (1993:147–148).

- (55) *Uih ngecuk anak kidih amé ruen i-dresser nusok.*  
 I AF-order child my-sp AF-go UF/impf-make pnm-dresser AF-inject  
 'I told my child to go and get an injection from the dresser.' (Kroeger 1989, example 9a)
- (56) *Duken ku dresser nusok anak kidih.*  
 UF/impf-order I dresser AF-inject child my-sp  
 'I tell the dresser to give my child an injection/The dresser is instructed by me to inject my child.' (see Kroeger 1989, example 9b)
- (57) *Anak dedhur ineh duken rudap iring taman-tinan neh.*  
 child girl that UF/impf-order sleep beside father-mother her  
 'A young girl will be told to sleep beside her parents.' (marriage customs)

#### 4 Conclusion

Lundayeh appears to be the most conservative of the Kelabitic languages. It has many features, particularly 'focus', in common with the Philippine-type languages of Sabah, such as Sabah Murut. This study of auxiliaries, however, shows that, as with all the other Kelabitic languages, the overall affixational morphology of Lundayeh is being reduced in the direction of a morphology like that of Malay. In 1991, a study of the use of stative affixes in the Lawas and Trusan area, suggested that the younger generation was less familiar with the subtleties of the system than their elders, and used the auxiliary *miek* more frequently. The periphrastic undergoer focus construction with *aru*' is in use in Lundayeh alongside the morphological undergoer focus construction, but in Sa'ban, another Kelabitic language, the periphrastic structure with *aru*' is more commonly used than the morphological undergoer focus.

A comparative study of the Kelabitic languages is made more difficult by the fact that they cross several political boundaries. Nevertheless, it seems clear that Lundayeh is moving in the same direction as the other Kelabitic languages towards a more isolating type of language structure, and will in time lose more of its Philippine-type features.

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# 5 *The study of Sarawak Malay in context*

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JAMES T. COLLINS

## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Four thousand years ago when Austronesian speakers began the exploration and settlement of Borneo (Bellwood 1997), they could not have guessed at the immensity of their adventure. The third largest island of the world must have presented technological challenges to the boatmen and rice farmers fanning out from the Philippine archipelago.<sup>2</sup> Some groups stayed behind to develop the resources and the skills with which to settle the vast area of this land mass; others moved on to other parts of island Southeast Asia. Still others developed complex cultures and technologies in Borneo itself, only to move on again 2,000 or 1,000 years ago; see Nothofer (1996). The prehistory of Borneo is complex and layered, as it is in most of the western archipelago. All the indigenous languages of Sarawak belong to the Austronesian family of languages. However, despite their distant unitary origin, there are at least twenty-five different Austronesian languages spoken in Sarawak.

Moreover, some of these languages share a closer relationship to languages spoken outside Sarawak than to other languages spoken in Sarawak. There is no 'Proto Sarawak language' so elegantly diagrammed by Asmah in 1983; nor is there a 'Sarawak-type language' (Asmah 1985). The languages of Sarawak — all Austronesian and all related — do not form a single

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was originally presented at the Nusantara Studies Workshop on the State of the Art, held at the Institute of East Asian Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, 5–6 July 1999. I express my thanks to the workshop organiser, Professor Michael B. Leigh, for inviting me to explore multilingualism and language shift in Sarawak. I am also grateful to the workshop participants, in particular Khoo Kay Jin, whose comments have added to the perspectives of this paper.

I dedicate this short paper to the memory of Jack Prentice, learned colleague and good friend.

<sup>2</sup> The homeland and migration theories that underlay this brief discussion are drawn from the linguistic work of Blust (1979), Adelaar (1992), Nothofer (1996) — among others — and the pre-eminent archaeologist of the Pacific, P. Bellwood (1997). Of course, there were earlier populations in island Southeast Asia. For example, the Niah Caves in Sarawak have yielded human remains dated to 40,000 BC. These early inhabitants of Sarawak preceded the subsequent migration of Austronesian speakers about 2500–2000 BC. These early human populations have been absorbed or replaced by today's Austronesian population. See Bellwood's discussion for a fuller explanation of the Southern Mongoloid Replacement Model (Bellwood 1997:83–89).

branch of Austronesian,<sup>3</sup> nor do they present a single typology for linguistic study. As we all know, Sarawak is a far more complicated place than that.

The closest congeners of Kayan, for example, can be found in eastern Borneo and the head waters of western Borneo in Indonesia (V.K. Gorlinski, pers. comm., 7 April 1999); Hudson (1978:22) also discussed Kayan variants in Indonesian Borneo (Kalimantan). Similarly, Kedayan can only be fully analysed by taking into account the Malay dialects of Brunei, Labuan and Sabah (Collins 1999a). The small Selako group of western Sarawak speaks a single variant of a very large language group, Kanayatn (Kendayan), spoken in the northern parts of Indonesian West Borneo (Adelaar 1993 and this volume; Collins 1997). Sarawak variants of Bidayuhic, such as Biatah, Jagoi, Singgai, Lara' and others, are diverse and numerous (Kroeger 1998), but Indonesian western Borneo has even more numerous and more divergent Bidayuhic variants, stretching far to the south (Hudson 1978; Collins 1997). Even Iban with more than a half-million speakers in Sarawak, is most closely linked to other Ibanic variants, mostly mutually intelligible, all spoken only along or near the Kapuas River, for example Mualang, Kantuk and Ketungau (Rahim 1997). For an incomplete overview of language distribution through Borneo, see Wurm and Hattori (1983).

The complex multilingualism of Sarawak is the product or rather the manifestation of a continuing process of the movement of peoples and ideas. Language affiliations and even cultural affiliations are not fixed; they shift and change, both through history but even within the course of an individual's lifetime, or maybe even a single day. Ethnolinguistics, or anthropological linguistics, studies the relationship of language and society. Although there has been considerable discussion of ethnicity in Sarawak, the relationship of ethnicity and language is not so often considered. In the following brief overview, two topics will be touched upon. First, the foundational prerequisites for the study of ethnolinguistics are taken up. Second, some concrete ethnolinguistic problems are surveyed. This overview<sup>4</sup> will focus on the Malay in Sarawak, with only a few attempts at contextualisation in a broader Borneo-wide setting. The concluding remarks look at some of the practical implications of this overview.

## 2 Foundations for the study of Malay language and society

From the perspective of studies in language history and dialectology, a *sine qua non* for ethnolinguistics must be the basic work of language classification and the description of language systems. Similarly, we need basic information about the societies involved, that is ethnographies and basic data about social organisation. Without a baseline, observations about language and society will be ad hoc, a-historic and anecdotal. We can not observe or measure change without a starting point; we cannot criticise, compare, draw wider inferences, or construct theories without the basic documentation. When we look at the study of Malay in Sarawak, it is obvious that the basic linguistic documentation is absent.<sup>5</sup>

First, the very distribution of Malay-speaking settlements is only poorly known. The experimental dialect survey (Collins 1986, 1987 and elsewhere) conducted in 1983, chiefly along branches of the Sarawak River, was a preliminary step in that direction, but apparently

<sup>3</sup> See Kroeger (1998) for his preliminary overview of language classification in Sarawak.

<sup>4</sup> Asmah (1994) covered a broader range of Sarawak languages and language topics in her overview.

<sup>5</sup> In this brief paper, remarks will be limited to linguistic information; ethnographies (Harrison 1970, for example) and anthropological research are of equal importance in ethnolinguistic research, but my comments would be merely impressionistic because my field does not encompass anthropology.

the only follow-up was an equally ersatz and experimental survey conducted in 1997 along the Saribas River (Collins 1999b). Other Sarawak centres of Malay-speaking culture as well as 'isolate' Malay communities remain undocumented, uncounted and unmapped; moreover, the very rough preliminary surveys on the Sarawak and Saribas rivers must be enhanced with more detailed and comprehensive research. It is not enough to know that in 1991 there were 360,400 Malays in Sarawak (Leete 1996). We want detailed information about the distribution of these counted Malays, whom we assume to be Malay-speakers.

Second, classification of the Malay variants spoken in Sarawak must proceed in a systematic way. There is a proven methodology for classifying languages and dialects and this historical comparative methodology must be applied to the data available and the data collected in future mapping and documentation surveys. At this point, it is clear that there are at least three regional dialects of Malay spoken in Sarawak.<sup>6</sup> The dialect of Malay spoken along the Sarawak River (Collins 1987) has spread to other parts of the state because of the dispersal of government servants and commercial interests. This Sarawak River Malay has also become the regionally dominant dialect of Malay because of its connection to the authoritative centre of the state; see Aminah and Ahmad (1994) on perceptions of Sarawak Malay. There is, however, another major dialect of Malay spoken in western Sarawak, which is often considered but a subdialect of 'Sarawak Malay'. At the mouth of many of the rivers emptying into the bay between the Sarawak River delta and the Rejang River delta and along the banks of many of these rivers stretching inland, another, demonstrably different, dialect of Malay is spoken. For example, in the Kota Samarahan area, Tanjung Bundong and other villages represent this dialect. Saratok and Kabong on the Krian River also belong within this dialect group. Because of the large number of Malay villages using variants of this dialect at the mouth of and far up the Saribas River, this dialect is tentatively named the Saribas dialect. A third dialect of Malay spoken in Sarawak is mostly found in eastern Sarawak, near Miri and in Limbang and Lawas. The Brunei Malay dialect is rather well known and documented (Collins 1990). The two major variants of Brunei Malay are Kadayan and Bandar Brunei (Collins 1999a). Although all these three major Malay dialects of Sarawak, namely Sarawak River Malay, Saribas Malay and Brunei Malay, are related to each other, they clearly stand apart from each other as distinctive dialects of Malay, each with subdialectal variation. The problem is that we do not know which Malay variants belong to each of these dialects; nor do we know if there are other Malay dialects which have not yet been documented and analysed.<sup>7</sup>

Third, for these three Malay dialects spoken in Sarawak there is still a long way to go in the task of basic description. Sarawak River Malay, for example, studied for about 140 years now, still cannot boast a dictionary, merely simple vocabularies and word lists. Furthermore, the existing word lists and glossaries do not even seem to have taken each other into account. Each seems to have started from zero, reinventing the wheel as the endeavour stumbled along. The earliest lexical study of Sarawak Malay, Chalmers's (1861) *Vocabulary of English, Malay, and Sarawak Dayaks*, does not seem to have been used or even known by

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<sup>6</sup> The national language of Malaysia, so-called standard Malay, and other forms of Malay such as colloquial Malay are not under consideration here in reviewing basic information, although they will be of importance in anthropological linguistic research.

<sup>7</sup> For example, Rokaiyah (1983/1984) offered a glimpse of the kind of Malay spoken in Kampung Sekrang (Igan). The limited data suggest that this variant is a distinctive subdialect of Sarawak River Malay, but further study and a collection of data from other Malay villages may necessitate reclassification.

Buck (1933) when he published his *Vocabulary of Sarawak Malay*.<sup>8</sup> The compilers of *Daftar kata bahasa Malaysia-dialek Melayu Sarawak* (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1992) also gave no indication of any knowledge of prior lexicographic work. And, although the latest version of that word list (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1998) is a complete and extensive revision that is certainly a significant improvement, the only earlier work referred to was the preceding 1992 version.<sup>9</sup> However, even this poor record of lexicographic coverage of Sarawak River Malay far exceeds the information available about Saribas Malay; only a few bachelor essays and brief articles that touch on lexical oddities have appeared so far, for example Fatimah (1986), Mohammed Azlan (1997), Wong and Aiwan (1996). The available word lists of Brunei Malay are perhaps only as good as those for Sarawak Malay, although one of the Brunei vocabularies is entitled *Kamus* (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Brunei 1991); see Collins (1999a) for a discussion and Collins (1990) for an overview of lexicographic resources for Brunei Malay.

Fourth, other basic linguistic documentation, especially with respect to grammatical descriptions of these three dialects, is also lacking. Although a number of basic studies of the phonology of Sarawak Malay have appeared, including Madzhi (1972), Mastura (1979) and Newman (1989), only very early information about Saribas Malay (Mohammed Azlan 1997; Collins 1999b) is available. Brunei Malay is represented by a number of phonological descriptions (details in Collins 1990). Very little has been written about the morphology of any of these dialects; Jaludin (1993) provided some information about Brunei Malay, as have a few other Bruneians and Sarawakians (for example, Hasanah (1983/1984)). The morphology of both Sarawak and Saribas Malay remains very poorly known; see Collins (1987). Only a few attempts at studying the syntax of these dialects have appeared, among them Bhaludin (1983) on Sarawak Malay. Nor Hashimah (1994) wrote a study of semantic and pragmatic aspects of Sarawak Malay. But on the whole, the distinctive grammatical and semantic features of all these dialects are not well studied. Admittedly, Maimunah's essays (1985 and later) represent a decade-long contribution to the study of Sarawak Malay, but often they serve only as high quality source materials that can be subjected to linguistic analysis, not as linguistic studies themselves.

In summary, we do not have in our hands most of the basic information that we need to determine a baseline to measure advances in the study of Malay in Sarawak or to compare Malay in Sarawak with other kinds of Malay spoken in Borneo. The distribution of Malay-speakers, the number of dialects spoken in Sarawak, the lexicons and grammars of these dialects are simply not adequate to the task of determining the baseline.

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<sup>8</sup> Chalmers provided numerous lexical items that are simply not found in Buck's otherwise more careful work. Among the words which are found in Chalmers and later in Buck are the following rather easy to detect vocabulary items; the list is based on Chalmers' spelling and definition. Examples are:

<i>bukut</i>	'beat, with fist'	<i>lukur</i>	'bald'
<i>bulu ansu</i>	'eyebrow'	<i>mupok</i>	'advance gradually'
<i>dudi</i>	'behind'	<i>palatut</i>	'knee'
<i>gru</i>	'neck'	<i>singgan</i>	'as far as'
<i>legu</i>	'wrist'	<i>supan</i>	'ashamed'

<sup>9</sup> An exception to this tradition of starting from scratch seems to be *A vocabulary of non-Malay words in common use in Sarawak*, a typed manuscript mechanically reproduced and distributed to trainees in the 1964(?) U.S. Peace Corps program in Hawaii. Although the anonymous compiler included 587 'non-Malay words', in fact these were all excerpted from Buck's vocabulary, which itself was clearly labelled 'Sarawak Malay'. The Peace Corps compiler, however, neither cited nor revised Buck's material. So, in this case, we have a writer who was familiar, perhaps too familiar, with at least Buck's work!



### 3 Ethnolinguistic issues in Malay language and society

Applying empirical methods to determine properties of languages, both seen from the inside and from the outside, tells us about a wide range of ways that language and culture interact, as well as how language contributes to the human condition. So, a wide range of specific issues or research problems are often considered within the scope of anthropological linguistics (ethnolinguistics). Certainly at the macro-sociolinguistic level, one of the prerequisites for further research closely parallels the foundational prerequisites cited in the previous section. In addition to knowing about the distribution, classification and characteristics of the variants under study, we also need to establish a sociolinguistic baseline. We must know about language competence, language use and language attitudes. We need a wide-ranging language survey, not only in Sarawak but in all of Malaysia. No one would talk about demography without census data, but all too often scholars talk about national or state-wide sociolinguistics without any language survey to contextualise or verify their speculations; see *Sarawak Tribune* (1999).

Notwithstanding the need for an empirically valid survey of language use and language attitudes, this section provides only a brief examination of two specific micro-sociolinguistic (ethnolinguistic) issues: bilingualism and language shift. Both these concrete topics are of vital interest in a multilingual setting such as Sarawak's, and both presuppose the availability of baseline data for comparison and verification. However, only isolated cases will be mentioned in their relationship to Malay in Sarawak.

#### 3.1 Bilingualism

Discussions of bilingualism in Sarawak — where they exist — generally focus on the non-Malays' acquiring and using of Malay, most often standard Malay (for example, Asmah 1988). However, of greater interest is the seldom discussed topic of ethnic Malays acquiring and using Sarawak's non-Malay languages. That many Malays in Sarawak are bilingual in various indigenous languages of Sarawak is well-known but seldom studied. Only three situations are considered here.

The largest community of first language speakers in Sarawak is the Iban community (Leete 1996). It is not surprising, then, that many Sarawakians of diverse ethnic backgrounds have learned Iban and use it frequently. In the Saribas River area, for example, many Malays of all ages and both genders speak Iban with great fluency and can be counted as true bilinguals.<sup>10</sup> Among Malays, Iban is a language marked with high social value<sup>11</sup> but usually its use is restricted to situations outside the home; see Collins (1999b). This widespread

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<sup>10</sup> Of course, not all Malays are equally fluent in Iban. In general, the further upriver one proceeds the greater fluency in Iban there is. But other factors intervene as well, for example, level of schooling. Education at the secondary level often contributes to the use of Iban because it brings together people from Malay and Iban villages in intensive cooperative activities, including soccer, in regions where Iban is the demographically dominant language.

<sup>11</sup> For example, elderly male Malay informants of Bintangor village on the lower Rejang informed me that most Malays in their village could speak Iban. Moreover, the Bintangor Malay informants added spontaneously that Iban was a very elaborate and socially complex language of great usefulness with numerous lexical items to specify social relations and social events (Collins 1999b). This positive evaluation of their second language perhaps reflected the demographic profile of the area. According to A. Samad (1998:70), there are almost three times more Ibans than Malays (9,989 to 3,637) in Bintangor (that is in Maradong district).

knowledge and use of Iban has implications for the development of Sarawak Malay dialects. It is probably not a coincidence that it is possible to isolate numerous Iban loan words in Saribas Malay; a widespread example is [təmway] 'guest'. This word is also used in Sarawak River Malay, where it appears in a more assimilated form, [təmue] (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1998:167).

A second situation of some relevance to our discussion here is the bilingualism noted by Rokaiyah (1983/1984) in Igan. There, all the Melanau speakers know Malay and all the Malays know Melanau. However, the dominant language is Melanau; nonetheless, many older ethnic Malays prefer to speak Malay to their Melanau colleagues to which they will receive replies in Melanau (Rokaiyah 1983/1984:24). This kind of 'dual-lingual' language use rests on complete bilingualism but divergent language loyalty and projections of ethnicity as well (Grace 1981:154–155). In this type of situation, we expect significant impact of Melanau on the local variant of Malay, which seems to be the case based on Rokaiyah's reports of phonological divergence.

The third situation, which apparently differs from the Igan setting, is the setting in which Kayan is in use among the Malays of Belaga town in the upper Rejang area. There the resident Malays form a small (less than three hundred members), distinct community contiguous to but just downriver from the main settlement, that is the shops and government offices. (A. Samad 1998 provided an impressionistic overview of the town and its facilities, without specifically mentioning the resident Malay community.) By unconfirmed report (Bhaludin, pers. comm., April 1983), all Belaga Malays are bilingual in Malay and Kayan. This pattern differs from the situation reported in Igan, where Melanau is a language shared by fellow Muslims; in Belaga Kayan is simply the dominant language of wider communication throughout the area. Not only Malays, but also Kenyah, Kejaman, Lahanan, Punan and Chinese speakers use Kayan in the Belaga area, where it has been reported to have a wider currency than Malay (Maxwell 1987:9–10). This appears to be a different kind of bilingualism, which might not involve solidarity but practicalities.<sup>12</sup> In Belaga, not only is Kayan a widely spoken language, it appears as a written language in some public signs side by side with Malay, English and Mandarin.

These three bilingual situations and probably many more in which ethnic Malays of Sarawak speak other languages of Sarawak, require serious *in situ* study. The contribution that such studies might make to understanding Malay ethnicity and Malaysian identity would not be a small one.

### 3.2 Language shift

A phenomenon perhaps related to bilingualism is language shift. Throughout the world, minority languages are often under severe pressure from dominant languages. In these

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<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the Belaga Malays are said to have numerous Kayan relatives, elders and ancestors so perhaps the intermarriage factor that Rokaiyah (1983/1984) noted in Igan may play just as important a role in Belaga. Furthermore, Khoo Kay Jin noted (pers. comm., 5/7/99) that he had observed that many younger Belaga Malays did not speak Kayan any longer; moreover, this was the case among some of the Chinese families of Belaga as well. According to him, in general the older generation speaks Kayan but the younger generation does not. However, in my opinion, it is precisely the actual distribution of Kayan speakers throughout the Malay community of Belaga that needs to be studied in a consistent empirical investigation. Moreover, the recent resettlement of the Kayan communities of the Balui River (because of the destruction of their ancestral lands as part of the Bakun dam project) to areas even closer to Belaga may also have an impact on the use and status of Kayan in Belaga.

situations, minority speakers may choose to affiliate themselves with the dominant language by transmitting only that language, not their ancestral language, to their children. In some cases, it is the children themselves who choose to use the dominant language exclusively. We have begun to receive various and sometimes conflicting reports about language shift in Sarawak.

Aminah and Ahmad (1994) reported on a shift away from the Miriek language to Sarawak Malay. At the time of their research, the number of fluent speakers of Miriek in and around the city of Miri was apparently still quite large, but many younger speakers chose not to speak Miriek, preferring Sarawak Malay. This led to a decreased number of domains for the use of Miriek. Their preliminary research suggests a strong link between the retention of traditional occupations and the retention of traditional language use. This in some ways parallels the findings of Martin and Yen (1994) which indicated that the retention of Kelabit was lessened in a changed extralinguistic environment.<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, McClellan (1994), using data collected among Bau Jagoi speakers, demonstrated that, despite the presence of numerous English and Malay loan words as well as frequent code-switching, Bau-Jagoi was a well-maintained language in a bilingual or multilingual setting. Although Malay was the dominant language, discourse analysis revealed the viability of Bau-Jagoi as a language choice among a wide range of speakers. It is important to note, however, that McClellan's data were collected in traditional village settings, not in an intense urban setting like Miri, Sarawak's third largest city.

The shift away from one's own language ('mother tongue') to Malay, as was reported to occur in Miri, is only one pattern of language shift possible among the ethnic Malays of Sarawak. Other kinds of language shift apparently have occurred in the past. For example, according to information displayed by the Sarawak Museum in their Niah Cave museum (3 July 1999), in historic times, the Penan who lived near Niah cave converted to Islam and intermarried with Malay merchants in the area; thus, these Penan became classificatory Malays. But enquiries in the vicinity of Batu Niah yielded the information, as yet unconfirmed, that in the Malay villages there, such as Sepupok, the principal and home language is Bintulu, not Malay. If this hear-say information is accurate, it means that a cultural shift from a society of Penan hunters and gatherers to sedentary Malay villagers did not involve adapting Malay as the home language ('mother tongue'). Rather, the language of another Muslim, classificatory Malay group, Bintulu, was chosen. Of course, the details of ethnicity and language use in the Batu Niah area still have to be investigated; but the implication is still a valid one, namely that there are, or at least have been, diverse patterns of language shift in Sarawak; no single pattern of language shift can describe all the complex realignments of ethnicity and language choice in Malaysia's largest state.

#### **4 Concluding remarks**

This has been a brief excursion into the complicated network of language and culture in Sarawak. Even though it has been focused only on Malay ethnolinguistic issues, many relevant topics have not been taken up. Language convergence, for example between Malay and Iban, has only been mentioned in passing. Dialect splitting has also only been touched upon, as in the case of the Malay variant spoken in the Igan area. There has been no

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<sup>13</sup> The association of traditional languages with traditional lifestyles has been well documented, whether Dorian's (1981) Gaelic fishermen or Gal's (1979) Hungarian-speaking farmers.

consideration of diglossia, or the shift from oral to written language, or the differences between standard and non-standard languages. Unfortunately, the shallowness of treatment in this paper largely reflects the lack of depth and breadth in the field of linguistic and sociolinguistic studies about Malay in Sarawak.

This thinness of scholarly endeavour is not unique to Sarawak. Although Malays constitute a significant component in the overall population of the island of Borneo, whether in Malaysia, Brunei or Indonesia, their culture and language remain poorly studied (Collins 1995). In view of the fact that most contemporary scholars of Austronesian languages acknowledge that western Borneo is the most likely location for the homeland of the Malay language more than 2,000 years ago, it is odd that so few studies about Malays in Borneo — including Sarawak — have been undertaken. As I have noted elsewhere, this lacuna in the study of Borneo is an artefact of colonial knowledge. The British and Dutch colonial authorities classified the peoples of Borneo into two broad categories: Malay and non-Malay. The Malays were a group that the colonial administrators 'knew' from their experiences in the Peninsula, Sumatra and the Riau Islands; so there was little to be gained from studying a 'known' population. The indigenous non-Malays, on the other hand were relatively unknown and, thus, deserving of more documentation and delineation. Moreover, by the late nineteenth century, the non-Malay population of Borneo was perceived as more exotic, more primitive, more noble — in short, more worthy of colonial, orientalist study.<sup>14</sup> Bureaucraticism, orientalism and exoticism made the study of the Malay language and culture a low priority in the hierarchy of colonial endeavour.

But, as we have noted above, the differences between Malay and non-Malay language use are more in the nature of a continuum, rather than a dichotomy. The complex interlinking of the Malay and Iban languages along many of the rivers of Sarawak make it difficult to separate the tasks of studying either. Just as Iban dictionaries (for example, Richards 1988), are scattered with notes on words of Malay origin, dictionaries of Malay spoken in Sarawak — if such dictionaries existed — would be full of words borrowed from Iban. How, then, could colonial knowledge separate the two, Iban and Malay, so conclusively? The answer is relatively straightforward: with guns and artillery.

As early as 1853, Charles Johnson, who was later to change his name to Brooke and become the second 'rajah' of Sarawak, ordered 'the Malays who lived at Banting to move downriver below the fort at Lingga. This removed the Dayaks [Ibans] from their [the Malays] influence, for the Brookes believed that effective political opposition to their rule could come only from Malays employing Dayak levies' (Saunders 1992:41). The traditional alliances between Malays and Ibans which repeatedly challenged the expansion of British control in Sarawak was broken, in part by separating Ibans and Malays, first, physically by enforced movement and resettlement and, then, culturally by focussing Christian proselytisation among the Iban.

The cognitive split of Malays from non-Malays in Borneo has persisted as a classificatory model both for modern scholars<sup>15</sup> as well as local populations. This elevation of colonial,

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<sup>14</sup> An illustration of the confluence of bureaucratic administration and colonial research is the narrative of a book with the rather startling title: *Fifty years of romance and research* (Hose 1994, first published in 1927).

<sup>15</sup> Even in a contemporary book written by scientists about the ecology of Borneo (MacKinnon et al. 1996), the discussion of indigenous ethnic groups excludes Malays who are treated in a single paragraph within a section 'Coastal communities', wherein Chinese, Bugis, Javanese and Bajau are also noted. Moreover, Malays are singled out with the descriptor 'a heterogeneous group' (MacKinnon et al. 1996:361), as if other groups in Borneo, such as Chinese, Iban or Kayan, are not heterogeneous.

'specialised' knowledge to both academic and indigenised 'traditions' is a common feature of contemporary discourse (Said 1979). Moreover, some Southeast Asian authors have added to the confusion by idealising their respective communities and mythologising their traditions. This wave of traditionalism obscures the persistent linkages among all the communities of Borneo. It is for this reason that empirical research must be conducted in all of Borneo, but in particular in Sarawak, first of all, to collect basic data and establish a baseline from which to work, and second, to explore the interface of communities in a language ecology characterised by multilingualism and language shift.

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# 6 *An introduction to the Inanwatan language of Irian Jaya*

LOURENS DE VRIES

## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Inanwatan (or Bira) is a Papuan language of the Inanwatan family spoken on the south coast of the Bird's Head peninsula of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. The Inanwatan language is spoken in three places. First, in the village Inanwatan on the south coast of the Bird's Head peninsula, where the Siganoi river debouches into the MacCluer Gulf. Second, at the southern entrance of Sele Strait which separates Salawati Island from the Bird's Head peninsula. And finally in the Jalan Ferry area in Sorong, the capital of Sorong regency. The Sele Strait and Sorong communities consist of migrants from the village of Inanwatan.

I chose to study the Inanwatan language<sup>2</sup> because it is a language of the south coast of the Bird's Head. This area is a linguistic *terra incognita*.<sup>3</sup> Three of the approximately sixty Papuan language families of New Guinea are situated here. A detailed study of at least one

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<sup>1</sup> I met Jack Prentice for the first time in 1982 when I took a Leiden University course in Indonesian that he taught. He had a good sense of humour, he loved Indonesian and he loved language. I dedicate this article on Inanwatan, one of the many beautiful languages of Indonesia, to his memory.

Abbreviations used in this paper are: 1,2,3 – first, second, third person; ADH – adhortative; ADV – adverbialiser; ASS – associative; ATTR – attributive; CAUS – causative; CF – counterfactual; CIRC – circumstantial; CONN – connective; DUR – durative; EMP – emphasis; EX – exclusive; F – feminine; FUT future; GEN – genitive; HAB – habitual; HOD – hodiernal(today's)-present; IMP – imperative; IN – inclusive; M – masculine; NEG – negative; O – object; PERF – perfective; PL – plural; Q – question-marker; S – subject; SG – singular; SUB – subordinator; TR – transitional sound.

<sup>2</sup> This study is part of the Irian Jaya Studies programme (ISIR), an interdisciplinary programme of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), carried out in cooperation with LIPI (*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia*). I collected data on Inanwatan in the first three months of 1994 and during three months in 1995. Thanks are due to Dr Hasan Alwi (director of the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa*, Jakarta) and to Dr A.O. Atururi (*Bupati* of the Sorong regency) for their support and interest in my research. I am also grateful to Mr Dominggus Muray of Inanwatan for teaching me the Inanwatan language and for recruiting many excellent informants.

<sup>3</sup> Voorhoeve (1975:440) and the survey reports of Gravelle (1986), Berry and Berry (1987) and Kempf (n.d.) contained some rudimentary information about Inanwatan. Voorhoeve (1985) contained notes on the Arandai language of the South Bird's Head family.

of the languages of that area, Inanwatan, is essential to obtain a more complete picture of Papuan languages.

In this section I first discuss some structural characteristics of Inanwatan and then I turn to the relationship of Inanwatan with other Papuan and Austronesian languages. My observations are based on only six months of fieldwork. Therefore, the results are preliminary, with an emphasis on lexical, phonological and morphological data.

## 2 Phonology

Inanwatan has twelve consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes. Stress is also phonemic (indicated phonemically with an acute accent on the vowel, and phonetically with an apostrophe preceding the stressed syllable). Here follow the charts of Inanwatan consonants and vowels (with allophones in brackets):

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives					
voiceless	p [p]	t [t]		k [k]	ʔ [ʔ]
voiced	b [b]	d [d]		g [g]	
Fricatives	ɸ [ɸ, pɸ]	s [s, ts]			
Nasals	m [m, β, w]	n [n, r, ɾ]			
Semi-vowels			j [j]		

	Front	Central	Back
Closed	i [i, ɪ]		u [u]
Half-closed	e [ɛ, e]	ə	o [ɔ, o]
Open		a [a, ɑ]	

In the orthography of this paper, I use the graphemes *q* for the glottal stop phoneme /ʔ/, *f* for /ɸ/, *y* for /j/. For intervocalic non-nasal allophones of /m/, I use the grapheme *w*; for the word initial [m] I use *m*. For intervocalic realisations of /n/, I use the grapheme *r*.

For reasons of space, I will limit myself to a few remarks concerning some of the consonants and vowels. There is one syllable-type: (C)V(V). Consonant clusters do not occur; nor do consonants occur finally in syllables and words. All consonants function both word initially and intervocalically, except for the marginal semi-vowel /j/ which functions only intervocalically.

The phoneme /n/ has three allophones [n], [r] and [ɾ]. The allophone [n] occurs only word initially and [r/ɾ] occur only intervocalically. The flap [ɾ] varies with the trill [r], which is the most frequent realisation. Consider the following examples: ['nɛrɔ] 'name', ['a-rɛrɔ] 'your name', ['nira] 'day', ['nira-rira] 'each day'. In adapted loan words, intervocalic /n/ is pronounced as [r/ɾ]. For example, the Patipi (see §4) word /inanwatan/ is adapted to the word structure prohibiting both final consonants and consonant clusters (> /inánowatano/) and to the allophonic patterns of the Inanwatan language ([i'rarɔwatarɔ]. Since Inanwatan has no [l], Indonesian [l] sounds are pronounced as [r/ɾ] but word initially they are pronounced as [n], e.g. ['niʒapuru] 'fifty' from Indonesian *limapuluh*.

Finally, an extremely frequent phenomenon is word initial variation of [n] and [r/r]. In citation forms, word initial [n] never varies with [r/r], but in conversation where initial /n/ is followed and immediately preceded by vowels, the phoneme is realised as [r/r]. Examples include ['muwuro 'napago] 'all rivers' (citation form), ['muwuro 'rapago] 'all rivers' (conversation form).

The facts mentioned above can be accounted for in the simplest way by assuming an alveolar nasal phoneme /n/ which has an oral alveolar realisation [r/r] between vowels.

For the bilabial nasal /m/ with its allophones [m], [w] and [β], the argument runs along the same lines with the additional argument of symmetry since our allophone assumptions yield two neatly symmetrical rows of bilabial and alveolar consonants.

The allophone [m] occurs word initially, [w] intervocalically adjacent to back vowels /o/ or /u/, and [β] elsewhere. Examples: ['muwuro] 'rivers'; ['naβe] 'me (object)'.

In adapted loan words, the intervocalic [m] of source forms is pronounced as [w] or [β] and the initial [w] of source forms as [m]. Examples: Dutch *emmer* 'pail' is adapted to [εβeɔ] 'pail'; Indonesian *wakil* 'deputy' is adapted to ['makiri] 'deputy headman', Indonesian *kacamata* 'glasses' is adapted to ['karowato]; Indonesian *limapuluh* 'fifty' to Inanwatan ['niβapuru]. (Regarding the initial [n] of this word, see above.) Dutch *commissie*, a term used for the Patipi headmen appointed by the Dutch administration to rule Inanwatan, is adapted to ['kowisi].

In morpheme sequencing, the allophonic relationship between [m] and [w/β] also surfaces, for example ['miri] 'stomach', ['na-βiri] 'my stomach'. Finally, word initially [m] and [w/β] are in variation, conditioned by use in conversation or in citation; since all words end in a vowel in Inanwatan, in conversation word initial /m/ is followed and preceded by vowels and accordingly receives a [w/β] realisation. Uttered in citation, the initial /m/ is realised as [m]. Examples include:

[ɔ'wɔiwɔ 'mɛtɛɛ] (citation form)  
 there they.sat  
 'They were there'

[ɔ'wɔiwɔ 'wɛtɛɛ] (conversation form)  
 there they.sat  
 'They were there'

The /ʔ/ functions as a consonant phoneme in Inanwatan. Evidence for this comes from contrasts in identical or near-identical environments and from vowel elision phenomena.

To start with the latter, consider the following data:

['ɛpɛ] 'tooth'  
 ['n-ɛpɛ] 'my tooth'

In these examples, vowel elision takes place: the final vowel of the first singular possessive prefix /na-/ 'my' is elided before the initial vowel of /épe/ 'tooth'. But in the following examples the glottal stop functions as an initial consonant and blocks vowel elision:

[ʔɛpɛ] 'foot'  
 ['na-ʔɛpɛ] 'my foot'

So far we have found the following contrastive evidence for /ʔ/:

/ʔ/-/p/:

[ʔʔʔɔ]	‘new’
[ʔʔpɔ]	‘small stick; splinter’

/ʔ/-/k/:

[ʔɛdidau]	‘sago species’ (with long spines)
[ʔkɛʔidau]	‘sago beetle’
[ʔɔpɔra]	‘don’t’
[ʔkɔpɔrao]	‘civil servant’
[ʔɛrɛrɔ]	‘(thatched) roof’
[ʔkɛrarɔ]	‘sea-turtle’

/ʔ/-/t/:

[ʔaʔɔ]	‘room’
[ʔatɔ]	‘mouse’
[ʔmɛ-ʔɛ-rɛ]	‘they spoke’
[ʔmɛ-tɛ-rɛ]	‘they sat’

Vowels in stressed syllables tend to be lengthened. The vowels /e/ and /a/ in unstressed syllables of the CV type may show some reduction in the direction of [ə] but this is rather rare, even in fast colloquial speech. Recorded examples include:

[ʔsɪdɛrɔ]	‘parrot’
[ʔsɪdərɔ]	‘parrot’
[na- <sup>1</sup> gawɔ]	‘my chin’
[nə- <sup>1</sup> gawɔ]	‘my chin’

Vowels in unstressed initial syllables of the V type (as in [ɔ<sup>1</sup>rɔwɔ] ‘spear’) show reduction in the form of devoicing, sometimes leading to completely devoiced vowels.

Sequences of two vowel phonemes occur frequently in Inanwatan, as in the following words:

[ʔɛra]	‘bind.IMP.SG’
[ʔa <sup>1</sup> rɔ]	‘crab’
[ʔa]	‘wood’
[ʔgawaɔ]	‘thumb’

In conversation, the second vowel of the sequence, syllabic in citation forms, becomes non-syllabic. Thus:

[ʔna.i.ti]	‘I’ (citation form, CV.V.CV)
[ʔnai.ti]	‘I’ (conversation form, CVV.CV)

So far, such gliding pronunciations of vowel phoneme sequences have been found with /ai/, /ae/, /au/, /ao/ and /ou/.

The vowels in VV sequences may also be identical (double vowels). With double vowels, usually there are two clearly audible breath pulses in citation. In conversation, the double vowels tend to be realised as a long vowel. I found clear cases of double vowels in the following two contexts. In the first place, when morpheme-sequencing results in double vowels. Compare:

- /mé-*era-re*/ '3.S-say-PAST (She/They said)'  
/mé-*ra-re*/ '3.S-take-PAST (She/They took)'

Secondly, some words with a /V<sup>?</sup>V/ sequence have been found to have variant forms without the medial glottal stop, resulting in a double vowel, giving contrasts like the following:

- /sí<sup>?</sup>*iwo*/ 'grass'  
/sí*iwo*/ 'grass'  
/sí*wo*/ 'comb'

Word stress is unpredictable and distinctive. Stress is a combination of pitch, force and length but pitch is the dominating element; note the following pairs:

- /á*wero*/ 'above'  
/awé*ro*/ 'grandmother'  
/me<sup>?</sup>*ó*/ 'rope'  
/mé<sup>?</sup>*o*/ 'wood'  
/tó<sup>?</sup>*o*/ 'bone'  
/to<sup>?</sup>*ó*/ 'palmwine'

With some words stress has been found to vary, for example /mí*do*/ 'sand', /mid*ó*/ 'sand'.

### 3 Morphology

In a previous article I presented an overview of the morphology of the Inanwatan language (De Vries 1996). Here I will only provide a summary. The Naworae text in §3 illustrates many morphological traits mentioned in this summary.

Verbs are inflected for subject person and number, object person and number, subject gender, tense, mood, aspect and negation. Subject and object are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes, with the exception of counterfactual and third person future forms which have subject suffixes.

In nouns, number (singular and plural) and gender (feminine and masculine) are distinguished. In the plural, gender distinctions are neutralised. Gender in nouns seems to be signalled by the last vowel. As a rule, nouns ending in a front vowel (/i/, /e/) are masculine and the remaining nouns (ending in /o/ and /a/) are feminine.

The adjective shows gender agreement in both attributive and predicative uses with the noun it qualifies. When the noun is masculine, the adjective ends in /e/ or /i/, when it is feminine the adjective ends in /o/.

- (1) *méqaro sówat-o*  
house good-F  
'a good house'

- (2) *fúgi sówat-e*  
 banana good-M  
 'a good banana'

In demonstratives and in the forms of the copula verb, gender is expressed in the opposition between /w/ (feminine) and /s/ (masculine), for example *ewái* 'this (F)' and *esái* 'this (M)'.

- (3) *méqaro e-wái sówat-o-wo*  
 house ATTR-this.F.SG good-F-be.3SG.F  
 'This house is good.'
- (4) *fúgi e-sái ápew-i-so*  
 banana ATTR-this.M.SG delicious-M-be.3SG.M  
 'This banana is delicious.'

The copula forms cliticise to the feminine and masculine adjectives in (3) and (4).

The Inanwatan traditionally count on hands and feet. Counting starts on the left little finger. The numerals from 1 to 4 reveal a binary system (3=2+1; 4=2+2). The numerals 5 (one hand), 10 (both hands), and 20 (one body) are body part based and combine with the numerals for 1–4 and with each other to form additive numeral phrases. Gestures tend to accompany the use of the numerals. The system is rapidly being replaced by Indonesian numerals.

- 1 *mútero/nagiáre/naguáre* (bending the little finger)
- 2 *éri-wo* (bending the ring finger)  
two-F
- 3 *éri-naguáre* (bending the middle finger)  
two-one
- 4 *éri-éri-dáre* (bending the index finger)  
two-two-?
- 5 *néwo-gáago* (clenching left fist)  
hand-side
- 6 *néwo-gáago nagiáre* (bending the right little finger)  
hand-side one
- 7 *néwo-gáago éridare* (bending right ring finger)  
hand-side two
- 8 *néwo-gáago éri-naguare* (bending right middle finger)  
hand-side two-one
- 9 *néwo-gáago éri-éri-dare* (bending right index finger)  
hand-side two-two
- 10 *néwo-wa sugéri* (clapping two hands)  
hand-PL both
- 11 *néwo-wa sugéri mútero* (touching left little toe)  
hand-PL both one

- 15 *néwo-wa sugéri néwo-gáago* (touching left big toe)  
hand-PL both hand-side
- 16 *néwo-wa sugéri néwo-gáago nagíáre*  
hand-PL both hand-side one  
(touching right little toe)
- 20 *nágia ga íragiro*  
one ASS body
- 21 *nágia ga íragiro mútero*  
one ASS body one
- 30 *nágia ga íragiro néwo-wa sugéri*  
one ASS body hand-PL both
- 40 *eridá ga iragíro*  
two ASS body
- 100 *néwo-gáagua ga íragíro*  
hand-side ASS body

The personal pronouns of Inanwatan are differentiated for subject, object and emphatic subject positions. Inanwatan has both free and bound possessive pronominal forms. The free forms express gender of the possessor. The third person singular free forms express double gender: male or female possessor plus the cross-referenced gender of the possessed noun (masculine: *-so*; feminine: *-wo*), such as:

- (5) *tigidáe-so suqére*  
his-M sago  
'his sago'
- (6) *tigae-so suqére*  
her-M sago  
'her sago'

The bound forms, used for body parts and kinship terms, do not differentiate gender. They occur only in the first and second person. When possession is not expressed on inalienably possessed nouns, third person possessors are understood. The inalienably possessed nouns indicate gender by the stem final vowel. Examples:

- (7) *ná-wir-i me-tutú-rita-bi*  
my-belly-M 3.S-hurt-DUR-M  
'I (male) have pain in my belly.'
- (8) *mír-o me-tutú-rita*  
belly-F 3.S-hurt-DUR  
'She has pain in her belly.'

A number of postpositions express nominal case relations. So far I have found *-qai(de)* 'in/at' (locative), *-wai* 'to(wards)' (direction), *-woide* 'from' (direction), *-(u)ru* '(together) with' (comitative), *-wo* 'in, at' and *-go*, a general circumstantial case suffix occurring with time, instrument, manner and place nominals, as in:

- (9) *irarói-go sé-ra*  
 quick-CIRC go-IMP.SG  
 'Go quickly!'

As far as conjunctions go, there is a subordinating conjunction *-qe* which cliticises to the verb which comes last in a clause. Clauses with this clitic are interpreted either as an adverbial clause or as a relative clause. Consider the examples (10) and (11).

- (10) *sídepa-o mé-i-de-qe nári nésiror-i-go*  
 Japanese-PL 3.S-descend-PAST-SUB I little-M-CIRC  
 'When the Japanese came, I was a little boy.'
- (11) *qóqora-o né-ri-be-qe áwete-wa mé-iba-be*  
 chicken-F 1SG.S-eat-HOD<sup>4</sup>-SUB who-this.F 3.S-sell-HOD  
 'Who sold the chicken which I ate?'

The coordinating clitic *-(e)re* which coordinates nouns is also used as an interclausal coordinator:

- (12) *nó-opo-be-re né-ri-be-re né-re-be*  
 1SG.S-take.a.bath-HOD-and 1SG.S-eat-HOD-and 1SG.S-sleep-HOD  
 'I took a bath, ate and slept.'

#### 4 Inanwatan relationships with two Austronesian *lingue franche*, Patipi and regional Malay

The language and village name Inanwatan originates from a Patipi expression meaning 'sago only' (*inan* 'sago' and *sewatan* 'one', see §1). The immense sago swamps of the area inspired Patipi colonists to call the area Inanwatan.

Patipi is a village on the south coast of the Bomberai peninsula, in the Onin area. It is also the name of the local dialect of Onin in Patipi (although the Onin language is presently known as Patipi on Bird's Head). The North Moluccan sultans of Tidore had their 'middle men' in the Onin area, who established trade monopolies on the south coast of the Bird's Head, especially where major rivers debouched into the MacCluer Gulf and the Seram Sea. These 'middle men' had the Malay title *raja* 'local head'. There were *rajas* in Rumbati, Patipi, Ati-Ati and Fatagar and each *raja* had his own section of the Bird's Head's south coast where he had some influence through representatives who settled near river mouths (see Vink 1932:41). The *raja* of Patipi sent representatives to the Siganoi river mouth where they engaged in slave trade with the Inanwatan people. To obtain slaves, the Inanwatan raided the interior but also neighbouring coastal peoples like the Yahadian. In exchange for slaves, they received *ikat* cloths, iron tools and weapons and guns from the Patipi 'middle men'. Although these *rajas* of Patipi never established a regular government in the Inanwatan area, the Patipi colonists in Inanwatan married local women and Patipi words were borrowed into the Inanwatan language.

To confirm the Patipi origin of the name Inanwatan and to investigate lexical links between Inanwatan and Patipi, an Austronesian language, I visited the Patipi-speaking village Kokas in October 1995. Examples of Inanwatan words with Patipi origin: *náti* 'raja'

<sup>4</sup> HOD refers to the Hodiernal-Present tense for events taking place at the moment of utterance (= 'now') or before that moment but after yesterday's sunset (= 'today', Latin *hodie*).



(<Patipi *nati*), *nóto* ‘cloth; *sarong*’ (<Patipi *not*), *pásao* ‘rice’ (<Patipi *pasa*), *sósorao* ‘forked fishing spear’ (<Patipi *sonona*), *pípiso* ‘money’ (<Patipi *pitis*).

Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, Patipi had become an important lingua franca in the MacCluer Gulf area. Old Inanwatan people told me that the first Protestant evangelists in Inanwatan (from 1908 onward) used a mixture of Patipi and Malay in their sermons. The senior Dutch civil servant F.H. Dumas (1911:9) writes in his *Nota van Overgave*: “*De op Bira geplaatste ambtenaar E.A. Tanasale is [...] de Papoeataal van Onin, die ook daar verstaan wordt machtig.*” (‘The civil servant E.A. Tanasale who has been placed in Bira knows the Papuan language of Onin which is also understood there.’)

With the arrival of the Dutch colonial administration in Inanwatan in 1908, the Patipi influence diminished, although the Dutch initially ruled the Inanwatan area through appointed Patipi *raja* who were called *raja-commissie* (*kówisi* in the Inanwatan language).

The relationship with Onin and Patipi is strongly reflected in the oral tradition of the Inanwatan people. This is exemplified by a story that I recorded about Namora (Indonesian pronunciation) or Naworae (Inanwatan pronunciation), the first *raja* of Inanwatan who came from Patipi.<sup>5</sup> He became the father of the Inanwatan clan Naworae. This clan name also occurs in the Onin area, in the village Puar, and the Inanwatan Naworae people and the Onin Namora people regard each other as kinsmen.

In the first line the story is announced as belonging to the *túgarido* genre, clan-possessed oral history.<sup>6</sup> According to this text, Naworae came from Patipi and settled on a small island in the Siganoi headwater opposite the mouth of the Solowat river. He married local women, introduced iron weapons and tools to the Inanwatan, engaged in slave trade with them and was finally killed by the Inanwatan people because he demanded too many girls to be given to him in marriage. Here follows the first part of the story, with adapted Malay items in bold and unadapted Malay items underlined:

- (13) *Nawórae aga séro túgarido né-qe-rita*<sup>7</sup>  
 Naworae ASS story inheritance 1SG-speak-DUR  
 ‘I am telling the history of Naworae.’
- (14) *Nawóra-esai Patipi-wotewe wé-de-wo-re*<sup>8</sup>  
 Namora-this Patipi-from 3.S-go.across-come-PAST  
 ‘Naworae came across from Patipi.’
- (15) *mé-de-wo-i ewáíwa muró-wai mura*  
 3.S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M and river-this.SG.F river(GEN)  
*gárebo-wai ura-wai Sarátubiro Nawétira-wo*<sup>9</sup>  
 mouth-this.SG.F DEM-this.SG.F Sartubir Nawétira-CONN

5 This story was told to me by B. Mitogai, a former *Kepala Desa* of Inanwatan (born in Inanwatan around 1930) in March 1994 in his house in Inanwatan.

6 Every clan in the Inanwatan community possesses its own oral tradition. An important genre is the *túgarido séro*, sacred oral history about the origin of the clan, relations with other clans and tribes, and so on. The word *séro* means ‘word, story, quarrel, argument, problem’. The word *túgarido* means heritage and is also used for inherited objects such as antique guns and plates. The *túgarido* texts are in contrast with the genre of the *eqíqa sero* ‘folktales’. A *túgarido* text and a *túgarido* object often belong together.

7 This is a conventional opening formula for a *túgarido* text.

8 Since Naworae had to cross the MacCluer Gulf separating Inanwatan from Patipi, the compound *de-wo* ‘to cross-come’ is used.

9 A small stream flowing from Inanwatan to the sea, with its mouth close to Cape Sartubir.

*Nawétira-wo máiwo-qede mura gárebo jadi*  
 Nawétira-CONN here-from river(GEN) mouth therefore

*máiwo-qede máso-we-ge-i*  
 here-from enter-3.S-do-PAST.M.SG

'He came across and via the mouth of the Nawetira river, at Cape Sartubir he entered.'

- (16) *ewáíwa terus mo-uwo-i-re mó-uwu-i*  
 and next 3.S-come.upriver-PAST.M.SG-and 3.S-sit-PAST.M.SG

*nusíro úra mó-uwu-ge Sorowáto gárebo-qai*  
 island DEM 3.S-sit-PAST Solowat mouth-at

'And having come upriver, he settled on the island, they settled opposite the mouth of the Solowat river.'

- (17) *máiwo wó-uwu-i ewáíwa ao nésaro áwuga era-era-ro*  
 here 3.S-sit-PAST.M.SG and his smithy iron(GEN) piece-piece-PL

*tétewo ogó-we-de-wo-i*  
 all carry-3.S-go.across-come-PAST.M.SG

'Here he settled and he brought across pieces of iron for his smithy.'

- (18) *mái-wo ura-sai tigó mírago mé-qobo-rita táwaro*  
 this-at DEM-this.M.SG there machete 3.S-hit-DUR steel.axe  
*sósora-wo<sup>10</sup> orówo ádawao mái-wo ura me-wága-rita-i-re*  
 fish.spear-CONN lance harpoon this-at DEM 3.S-make-DUR-PAST.M-and

*dáro itatábo-wasu tükari-we-rita-i suqére-go*  
 our(IN) ancestors-these exchange-3.S-DUR-PAST.M sago-CIRC

*wé-iba-rita-i*  
 3.S-trade-DUR-PAST.M.SG

'And there he pounded into shape machetes, axes, fishing spears, lances and harpoons, there he made them and traded them with our ancestors for sago.'

- (19) *érerau-wasu nábawo wé-we-rita-re baru mírago sówato*  
 other-these slave 3.S-give-DUR-PAST next machete good

*mé-we-rita-i táwaro sówato buat mogógo áreto*  
 3.S-give-DUR-PAST.M.SG steel.axe good for for thing

*wé-ra-rita-re itatábo iówosu*  
 3.S-make-DUR-PAST ancestors those

'Others gave slaves and he gave good machetes, good axes for the ancestors to do things.'

The Austronesian language Patipi functioned as the primary contact and trade language in the MacCluer Gulf area in pre-European times, but, after the arrival of the Dutch around 1900, Moluccan Malay took over that role. Of course, Malay had already established itself as the interregional lingua franca in the MacCluer Gulf area for contacts with peoples from outside the area long before the Dutch established government posts there.

<sup>10</sup> From Patipi *sosona*, a hooked fishing spear (Malay *kelawai*).

The regional variety of Indonesian spoken on the Bird's Head south coast still has Moluccan Malay characteristics. In fact, a range of varieties of Indonesian is used, from formal varieties approximating standard Indonesian to very informal varieties with strong Moluccan Malay and Bazaar Malay features.

Under the pressure from regional Malay, Inanwatan seems to be dying out in a gradual process of generational erosion. Generally speaking, only people older than fifty speak and understand Inanwatan well. Primary school children do not know the language; they speak regional Malay. At most, they have some passive lexical knowledge of Inanwatan. Whereas the Inanwatan people as an ethnic group number about 3,000, I estimate the number of people fluently speaking Inanwatan to be no higher than 800. The great majority of these speakers are also fluent in (regional) Malay. In most homes, children are daily exposed to both regional Malay and Inanwatan.

In this erosion process, the Inanwatan language is borrowing lexical items from Malay on a grand scale, and speakers constantly switch between regional Malay and Inanwatan. At the same time, the Inanwatan language still asserts itself in adapting Malay borrowings to the Inanwatan phonology and morphology. These phonological and morphological adaptation processes have drastic effects on the form of Malay loan words. In the speech of bilingual members of the Inanwatan community, one can find hundreds of pairs of words like *sekolah/sikorao* 'school', *tahun/taugo* 'year' (in which *-go* is the Inanwatan circumstantial postposition), *geredidao/kerja* 'work', *kaparo/kapal* 'ship', *ikowegei/ikut* 'to follow someone' in which an unadapted regional Malay word alternates with its adapted 'Inanwatan' counterpart. Many of these adapted forms have been around for a long time and have a stable, conventional form.

The meaning and range of reference of the adapted forms generally correspond to those of the unadapted regional Malay source forms. The sociolinguistic function of such oppositions as *sekolah/sikorao* 'school' is to signal and separate the two linguistic codes used in the community, namely regional Malay (without adaptation) and Inanwatan (with hundreds of adapted Malay lexical items).

The following fragment of a (spontaneous) conversation between Dominggus Muray and Yunus Mitogai<sup>11</sup> reflects both adaptation and code-switching processes, with adapted regional Malay items in bold, unadapted Malay items underlined:

(20) Muray:

*ago sĭbidaro mĕqaro?*  
 but church house  
 'But the church building?'

(21) Yunus:

*ah sudah ya kunsistori terus plafon terus mimbari môteqogeritau*  
 ah already yes consistory next ceiling next pulpit pulpit

*panggung owói-qi-are*  
 pulpit that.F.SG-?-again

'Ah, yes, finished, the consistory and the ceiling and the pulpit also.'

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<sup>11</sup> Dominggus Muray (67) is a retired health worker who received an education as a medical laboratory assistant during the rule of the Dutch. Yunus Mitogai (35) is a carpenter with primary school and high school education. Both men speak regional Malay fluently. Muray speaks Inanwatan fluently but Yunus Mitogai says he often 'jumps to Malay' when speaking Inanwatan because that comes easier to him.

- (22) Muray:  
*madéi oi-wébe? éwiqa mo popo-sa-be? i-wósu ara-owosu?*  
 already closed-be just there nail-FUT-3.S be-those still-those  
 'Has it already been closed? Are they going to nail it? Are they still there?'
- (23) Yunus:  
*mungki móqo mútero-wo ará-owosu*  
 possibly month one-be.3SG.F still-those  
 'Maybe they will stay one month.'
- (24) Muray:  
*agu-áwoqe qái-de-ta-sa?*  
 and-again follow-cross-go-FUT  
 'And you want to go there again?'
- (25) Yunus:  
*iyó rencana begitu tapi ísido-wo nárido gerédidao*  
 yes plan thus but empty-be.3SG.F my work  
*e-wai hanya karena bu dia sendiri disana*  
 ATTR-this.F.SG just because older.brother he himself there  
*mungkin kekurangan-kekurangan, owóiwóqe éra ne-qéro-sa.*  
 possibly shortages there for.him 1SG-saw-FUT  
 'Yes, that is the plan but my work must be finished, just because my older brother, he is there on his own and maybe there are shortages, I am going to saw there for him.'

Yunus is a speaker of thirty-five years of age and his utterance (25) is typical for speakers of the middle generations: in his turn of the conversation represented in (25) he starts speaking regional Malay (underlined), switches to Inanwatan (with adapted Malay words in bold), switches back to regional Malay to finish his utterance in Inanwatan.

## 5 Inanwatan's relationship with neighbouring Papuan languages

According to Voorhoeve (1975), the Inanwatan language belongs to the Inanwatan family, one of the sixty odd families of Papuan languages. Voorhoeve (1975) states that the Inanwatan family has two member languages, Inanwatan and Duriankari. It is very doubtful whether Duriankari, reported by Voorhoeve (1975:440) as spoken on the island of Duriankari at the southern entrance of Sele Strait, still exists.<sup>12</sup> When I visited the Inanwatan-speaking community of the village Seget, situated at the southern entrance to the Sele Strait, in March 1994, the Inanwatan people there claimed that the Duriankari language was no longer used.

<sup>12</sup> In one of the flood myths of the Inanwatan, the Duriankari speakers are regarded as Inanwatan people who in ancient times were carried off to the Sele Strait's area by a flood.

Apart from the migrant communities of Sele Strait and Sorong, all speakers of Inanwatan live in one village, Inanwatan. To the east and north of Inanwatan, the Puragi language is spoken by around 1,400 people in the villages Saga, Puragi, Bedare and Isogo. Puragi belongs to the South Bird's Head family together with Arandai (Voorhoeve 1985). The western neighbour of the Inanwatan language is Yahadian, of the Konda-Yahadian family,<sup>13</sup> which is spoken in the villages Mugim, Yahadian and (parts of) Kais by around 1,200 people.

In an initial survey, I found 8 per cent lexical correspondence between Yahadian and Inanwatan (sixteen corresponding words in 202 items). Inanwatan and Yahadian also differ very much in phonology and morphology. Yahadian morphology is very simple compared to Inanwatan; there seems to be no gender in Yahadian, whereas gender pervades Inanwatan morphology. Compare the following data from Yahadian (as spoken in the village of Mugim, the Yahadian village closest to Inanwatan).

Yahadian has twenty-one consonants and nine vowels; their phoneme status is uncertain. The Yahadian phonemes are as follows:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveolo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives						
voiceless	p	t	ts	c	k	
voiced	b	d	dʒ	ʃ	g	
Fricatives						
voiceless	ɸ				x	h
voiced	β				ɣ	
Nasals	m	n			ŋ	
Vibrants		r r				
Semivowels	w					

	Front	Central	Back
Closed	i ʉ		u
Half-closed	e		o
Half-open	ɛ	ə	ɔ
Open		a	

<sup>13</sup> Konda, spoken in the villages Konda and Sisir in the Teminabuan district, and Yahadian seem to be dialects of the Konda-Yahadian language. Speakers of the Mugim-Yahadian variety claimed that they could easily understand Konda speakers. They also claimed that they could not understand Tehit, and that they hardly understood Puragi and the language of Makororo, a village on the Kais river where a dialect of May Brat is spoken.

CC clusters occur with [rC], [Cr] or [Nt]:

<i>'mεrε</i>	'rotten'
<i>ba'brite</i>	'evening'
<i>pru'ε</i>	'to bite'
<i>umrei</i>	'to pierce'
<i>hɔmanta</i>	'to sing'
<i>ɛdamta</i>	'to play'

Nasals and liquids can be found in word final position:

<i>'detrun</i>	'bone'
<i>di'gir</i>	'skin'

Morphological data from Yahadian are limited; note the following examples:

*ne/e/wo rada no*  
I PERF eat  
'I/you/he have eaten'

*na/a/wo rada nore*  
we/you/they PERF eat.PL  
'we/you/they have eaten'

*ne ha(da) no-ta*  
I DUR eat-DUR/PRES  
'I am eating'

*na ha(da) nor-ta*  
we DUR eat.PL-DUR/PRES  
'we are eating'

*orame ye nanáigine*  
man this bad  
'this man is bad'

*wa ye nanáigine*  
woman this bad  
'this woman is bad'

Typologically and lexically, then, the boundary between Inanwatan and its western neighbour, Yahadian, is sharp and clear.

The picture is radically different when we compare Inanwatan with its eastern and northern neighbour, Puragi. I found 25 per cent corresponding lexical items between Inanwatan and Puragi (fifty-two corresponding words in 199 items). Lexical correspondence percentages tend to turn out much higher in later research than shown in initial surveys. An initial survey of Puragi phonology and morphology revealed striking correspondences with Inanwatan, with cognate grammatical morphemes in the tense and gender systems. Therefore, future research may very well establish Inanwatan as the westernmost member of the South Bird's Head family rather than as the only surviving member of the Inanwatan family. Compare the phonological data in the Puragi phone inventory:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveolo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives						
voiceless	p	t			k	ʔ
voiced	b	d		j	g	
Fricatives						
voiceless			ç			
voiced	β					
Nasals						
	m	n				
Vibrants						
		r				
Semivowels						
	w			j		

	Front	Central	Back
Closed	i		u
Half-closed	e		o
Half-open	ɛ	ə	ɔ
Open		a	

Morphological data from Puragi include:

*rabíni dá-i-qa badá-i-to*  
 man that-M-? bad-M-be.3SG.M  
 'that man is bad'

*ráwo dá-u-qa badá-o-mo*  
 woman that-F-? bad-F-be.3SG.F  
 'that woman is bad/ugly'

Notice that the morphemes expressing gender and plural (-i masculine, -o/-u feminine, -u plural) correspond to Inanwatan.

In the Past tense, there is a Past marker {rá} with [-da] after *i*-stems corresponding to the Inanwatan Past marker with its allomorphs:

*ni-dá-no* 'I ate'  
*ni-dá-de* 'you (SG) ate'  
*ni-dá-nedo* 'he ate'  
*ni-dá-nomo* 'she ate'  
*ni-dá-ninio* 'we ate'  
*ni-dá-duro* 'you (PL) ate'  
*ni-dá-numo* 'they ate'

An important difference between Inanwatan and Puragi is the fact that Inanwatan has subject prefixes in most verb paradigms (including the Past paradigm) whereas Puragi seems to use suffixes in all verb paradigms.

## 6 Summary and research outlook

The Inanwatan language is a Papuan language with a complex verb morphology, with subject and object prefixes, and a pervasive gender system affecting all major word classes.

Inanwatan has a long history of intensive contact with Austronesian languages, namely: Patipi, regional Malay and Standard Indonesian.

Inanwatan is giving way to regional Malay/Indonesian in a process of generational erosion characterised by grand scale borrowing and frequent code-switching. Borrowed lexical items from Malay are drastically adapted to the phonology and morphology of Inanwatan but when speaking regional Malay the same items often appear without adaptation.

I have argued that Inanwatan may be the westernmost member of the South Bird's Head family, rather than the only surviving member of the Inanwatan family.

Voorhoeve (1975) has shown that the lexical links of Inanwatan and of other languages of the Bird's Head south coast to language families of central New Guinea (Trans-New Guinea phylum) are stronger than the lexical links to West Papuan languages of the Bird's Head peninsula. The complex morphology also sets Inanwatan (and other South Bird's Head languages) clearly apart from the surrounding West Papuan languages of the Bird's Head like Tehit, May-Brat and Moi.

However, structurally Inanwatan is not a typical Trans-New Guinea phylum language: it has no clause-chaining, no medial verb forms, no sequence and simultaneity opposition. On the other hand, it has a two-gender system, subject/object prefixes and inclusive-exclusive pronouns.

It is striking that this same constellation of structural (and lexical) properties is found in other language families of the New Guinea mainland south coast like the Marind and Trans-Fly. In future research, it would be worthwhile to study the possibility of viewing Inanwatan as a 'typical south coast New Guinea language' in an areal sense, and to see Inanwatan from the perspective of the coastal zone of south New Guinea, as an area in which a specific constellation of cultural, lexical and morphosyntactic traits was diffused.

Culturally, the twin themes of ritual sexual creation of life force (fertility) and headhunting (the violent taking of life force) recur in a significant fashion in the turbulent history of this coastal zone (Knauft 1993). The abundance of sago, the techniques to store large quantities of sago and the technology to build very large war canoes made constant, massive headhunting possible. This led to grand scale migrations, depopulations and repopulations, and ethnic groups being absorbed by other ethnic groups. The groups living along the New Guinea south coast travelled very far and with large war parties.<sup>14</sup> As a result, the peoples of the south coast (including the swampy hinterland plains) became part of a complex and turbulent history of migration and contact, including contact with Austronesian groups settling in the south coast area. Dominant central south New Guinea coastal groups such as the Marind were both sources and causes of linguistic and cultural diffusion.

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<sup>14</sup> Round trips of 1,000 km and Marind headhunting parties of 1,500 people are mentioned in the literature (Knauft 1993).



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# 7

## *A note on 'spirit helpers' in the Lung Lejie epic of the Wehèa Modang (East Kalimantan)*

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ANTONIO J. GUERREIRO

### 1 Introduction

This short presentation of the Wehèa Modang religious beliefs focusses on oral literature and, more particularly, on an extract of the *Tek'na' Lung Lejie*. My approach towards literary speech was influenced by Jack Prentice's outstanding study of ritual invocations by Timugon Murut minstrel-priestesses (Prentice 1981), and this presentation is just a humble homage to his scholarly achievements. The combination of ethnolinguistic and ethnographic analyses as demonstrated in Prentice's major article would in itself be enough to raise methodological issues in both linguistics and anthropology. In this light, the questions raised in his conclusions about the ethnohistory of Sabah (1981:136) should also be taken up for other parts of Borneo.

Furthermore, as Prentice stressed, the fragility of oral traditions when confronted with the current trends of social change and religious conversions makes it even more urgent to record the ritual speech forms and poetical narrative of mythology. These tend to be lost much faster than more 'profane' linguistic materials such as basic vocabulary, oral histories and songs. This is because their performance is a ritual function, and in these societies ritual functions are vested in only a handful of trained individuals, priests, priestesses, mediums, shamans and customary chiefs (Guerreiro forthcoming-a).

Another factor lays in the intrinsic difficulties of recording, transcribing, and translating such literary works, tasks that obviously require a deep knowledge of the language itself, including its grammatical structure, its phonology and its specialised vocabulary and archaic lexical forms. Here again it must be stressed that Prentice's main linguistic work on the Murutic languages of Sabah and their dialectology (1971) was a prerequisite to his study of ritual invocations. In the case of Wehèa Modang, I began to compile an Indonesian-Wehèa Vocabulary (Guerreiro forthcoming-b) during my fieldwork. Although not a professional linguist, I have a basic training in phonetics and I consider the compilation of this vocabulary as a preliminary step towards further ethnolinguistic studies.

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For reasons of space, it is not possible to deal with the entire *tek'na'* here. I will therefore only mention that the epic chant of Lun Lejie relates the many adventures of the hero, his fights against enemies, his encounters with spirits and ghosts (*sekiah*), deities (*metà*) and their omens (*nehon*), as well as his alliances with humans and spirits. The hero's visits to friendly village communities, drinking parties and romances are also depicted with the vivid poetic imagery common to Wehèa oral narratives. Among the 'secret' allies of Lung Lejie are the four spirit helpers (*kempöè*) which play a recurrent role in the tale.

## 2 The situation of the Modang in East Kalimantan, Indonesia

The Modang — a generic term based on a linguistic classification — numbering about 5,000 people in East Kalimantan, live dispersed in the Kutai regency along the Mahakam river and its northern tributaries. In the Berau and Bulungan regencies north of Kutai, Modang communities are known by the exonyms '*Segai/Segayi*' (in Malay) or '*Ga'ai/Ga'è*' (in different Kayan-Kenyah isolects).<sup>1</sup> Their autonym, however, is *Menggaè* or *Mengga'ay* according to their subdivisions along the Kelay, Segah and lower Kayan rivers. The Merap People of Malinau basin, Lung Tembaue (autonym) in northern Bulungan, can be considered as related to the Modang. Basically, all these communities speak the same language which belongs to the Kayanic subgroup of languages, but this language has dialects which vary considerably in phonology (including morphophonemics) and lexicon. The five river-based groups refer to themselves by names other than 'Modang' (which is a derogatory exonym originating from Kutai): Long Glit (or Lung Gelaat) in the middle and upper Mahakam, Long Belah on the Belayan R., Long Way on the Kelinjau R., Wehèa on the Telen-Wahau rivers and *Menggaè* as already mentioned. The autonym Wehèa comes from the name of the river Wahau. The Wehèa are also known locally as Long Wahau, or Wahau Modang, or in Berau, Sawaw, lit. 'they [from] the Wahau'.

The Wehèa are in fact the demographically most important Modang subgroup (with about 2,300 members). They have also kept their traditional socio-ritual system, be it with some adaptations. The Modang distinguish themselves from their Kayan-Busang, Kenyah or Bahau Sa' neighbours in the province by their language, the style of their houses and their settlement organisation (Guerreiro 1984, 1985, 1987, 1992, 1993, 1996a,b, 1997a,b, 1998, 1999).

All Wehèa practise swidden cultivation of paddy and other crops including maize, millet, tubers and fruit trees. Their material culture shares most basic elements with the Kayanic and Kenyah sub-groups, and, in this way, they might be considered to be part of a cultural complex in central East Borneo. However, in regard to social institutions, values and religious beliefs, they show a wider range of variations than the Kayanic and Kenyah sub-groups. Like the latter, they are organised in a hierarchical structure which recognises three main

<sup>1</sup> Actually, this ethnonym is composed from the noun *gay*, 'sword, machete' or *parang* (Malay), with a verbal prefix *meng-*, 'to have a gay/to wear a gay'. It refers here to the long war sword, which is well-known in East Kalimantan under its nickname of *mandaw*, lit. 'to [cut] the head' or 'head cutting'. Interestingly, this lexical item can be related to the Barèè language of central Sulawesi, where the two verbs *mengga'é*: '[to go] head-hunting' and *manggaé*: 'harvesting', show a close lexical and semantic connection, derived from the root *nga'é* (Downs 1977:123, quoting Adriani 1928:463 under *nga'é*).

Among the Segah people at Long La'ay, the *gay mesge*, a pusaka, cannot be kept in the house but only in the rice barn (*wong*); each year the blade (*nōng*) is ritually 'fed' (*emkan*) by blood unction from a sacrificed chicken. Otherwise, the owner would suffer from swelling (*plong*), a belief known also by the term *busung* in Kayanic (on this belief see Blust 1981:289).

social orders. The chiefly families (*hepuy pwun*) and the nobles of various status (*hepuy so'*, *pekgwa'*, *tephè'*) constitute the upper level of society. Another social order is the commoners (*pangin*); the 'good people' (*sewün kas*) are commoners who have a higher standing in this stratum, and possibly, remote genealogical links with the nobility. Formerly, the third lower social order comprised two categories, dependent (*psap*) and 'slave' (*megwes*), originating both from war captives (*sewün helut*) and rarely from debtors — in the later case for short periods only. These two categories were under the authority of the village chiefs for whom they worked at different tasks (for details see Guerreiro 1992:20–22). All social ranks were hereditary and based on bilateral descent (*pehu'* or *son des*), but *sewün kas* status could also be achieved. Ritual specialists include priests and priestesses of noble descent and spirit mediums (*lun enjuk*), who are usually commoners or influential individuals, and mostly women. The customary chiefs (*un edat* or *du' edat*) are generally commoners of good standing. The village (*ekung*) is the main ritual and political unit of the Wehèa.

### 3 The epic of Lung Lejie and Wehèa spirit beliefs

I should point out that I have selected only a very short passage of this oral text of more than 3,000 lines, because the *tek'na'* gives a dramatic expression to the notion of ['spirit helper'] (*kempöè*) among the Wehèa. It raises also interesting questions about similar beliefs in the larger Austronesian/Austroasiatic area. According to Wehèa' belief each individual has its own *kempöè* protecting him or her in difficult situations in the village as well as in the fields or forest.

In ritual invocations, the *kempöè* can be summoned by using the special call, *juy!* It differs from the mediums' call (*èèè...*) to their spirit familiars which form yet another category of spirits. Invocations to the *kempöè* take place in dangerous locations, such as a mountain or a remote forest environment, but also in the village inner space during some invigorating ceremonies for men.<sup>2</sup> In any case, the *kempöè* manifests itself as a secret helper in times of danger. I assumed at first that the *kempöè* notion would be related to that of a 'guardian spirit', similar to the Iban *ngarong* described in the literature (see Hose and MacDougall 1912:II, 92ff.; Graham 1987:129–130; Jensen 1974:124–125). However, it would be closer to what the Iban call the *antu nulong* (lit. 'helping spirit') which may also appear in the form of an animal. The latter are also referred to as *tua* or *tuah*.<sup>3</sup>

Wehèa informants themselves insisted on the idea that the *kempöè* is a kind of 'emanation' of the soul (*welgwen*) of the individual. It may well be that such a spirit would be conceived of as a protective agent for men only, as the ritual context seems to indicate. Furthermore, the Wehèa recognise gender differences in spiritual matters and the notion of the soul; certain nutritional taboos (*pli'*) are only imposed on women. Women should not eat the flesh of the monkey, palm civet, deer or mouse-deer. These mammals are considered 'forest animals' (*kot maè las*); they have their own soul (*pin welgwen*) which may endanger the woman's soul and the soul of paddy that the women protect along the ritual cycle (Guerreiro 1999). However, such a taboo does not apply to wild boar (*sa'*), the most common game. Besides, one notices that short-tail macaque, deer and mouse-deer are eaten by men

<sup>2</sup> It includes the great headhunting Festival, the Nemlèn (Guerreiro 1992:35–39) and the Nebloh, an annual ritual for cleansing the village from bad influences and starting the new cycle of paddy cultivation (*na' edat plaè*; Guerreiro 1998:80–81). These rituals involve only men and boys.

<sup>3</sup> These spirits are to be distinguished from the spirit familiars of shamans called *yang* or *iyang*; see Graham (1987:131–132); on Iban beliefs compare Freeman (1967) and Sather (1978).

mostly during forest product collecting expeditions (*bos maè las*) or, in the past, head-hunting raids (*ngenie*). Various spirits, related to gender oppositions, may affect men and women differently, for example, in relation to pregnancy, miscarriage and still birth (*pe'us nèak*).

Interestingly, the passage of the *Tek'na* introducing the *kempöè* evokes the idea that the human afterbirth forms a 'container' of four symbolic 'friends' or siblings of Ego — although no gender or age indications are given.<sup>4</sup> These ideas are widespread in the Austronesian world, besides the general notion of an 'adoption' or 'alliance' with particular spirits (see Kemlin 1917:27sq. for similar beliefs). Among the Wehèa, alliances with spirits (*metà*) or ghosts (*sekiàh*) are conceived as a 'mutual agreement' (*petde'*). It can be achieved by performing ascetic tasks in order to obtain secret powers (*nlem*), and also by making offerings at certain spots in the forest, in the mountains or near rapids on river banks, that is, in the 'dangerous' outside space (*maè las*), far from the security of the village (*maè min*). Alliance and communication between men and deities by means of dreams (*tempin*) is also common. The higher deities, such as the pair Doh Ton Tenyè and Dèa Long Meluen, respectively elder and younger sister, give their advice and messages while appearing to humans in dreams. Lesser spirits also manifest themselves in that way (Thunder, Bo' Jekiah, the protectors of human life).

Here these ideas are transposed on a mytho-poetic level relating to the deeds of the hero, Lung Lejie, in a stylistic mode peculiar to epics. In the text, each of the four siblings is further associated with 'charms' (*keban* lit. 'medicine, charm, drug'), meant to help the main character in his gallant fights against enemies.

The full title of the epic is *Tek'na' Lung Lejie Béang Yung Long Guang Dèa* which can be freely translated as 'Tale of the Manly Tiger Flying in this World Forever'. The 'Manly Tiger' (*lung lejie*) gives its name to the epic. He was a chief of full noble descent (*hepuy penggup*) and is known as a great warrior of the past whose bravery made him into a protective ancestor-deity (*metà*) famous to the people. He is the headhunter par excellence, collecting a great many trophy-heads (*kuhung*).

His very name, a prerogative of his noble rank, constitutes a mark of fame (*ngelnöng kelan*). *Lejie* or *Lejiu* (*Lejo* in Kayan-Busang, *Lenjaw* in various Kenyah isolects) refers to the invisible 'spiritual tiger' whose powers are limitless. In decorative arts the figure of the Tiger is usually treated as 'dog-tiger' (*aso' ejo* Ka). Among the Kayan-Busang, and Modang, the same character carries the souls of the dead on their journey to the after-world; wooden statues of *aso' lejo/sah lejiu* are placed beside or under the coffins of chiefs, e.g. among the Long Glit, Mengga'ay and Bahau Sa' (Guerreiro 1989; Juynboll 1910; Nieuwenhuis 1925). *Lung*, 'virile, brave, champion', also indicates a person of noble status.

<sup>4</sup> The other components of the afterbirth, namely the placenta (*selah nèak*, lit. 'the child's nest'), the amniotic fluid (*si' selah*) and the umbilical cord (*pset nèak*) are not mentioned. Then again, the distinction between the 'elder' and 'younger' siblings of Ego, which could be expected in relation to the belief, is not expressed either, which maybe because it is implicit to the Wehèa audience. The precise meaning of the word itself remains to be determined. I was not able to elicit a gloss for *kempöè* (the prefix *kem-* implies 'to convey s.th. to s.o.' or 'to hold'); while the intransitive verb *ngempöè* could be translated as to 'have a victory' [over enemies: *ekung benu'*]. Besides *kempöè* also means 'sacred' (for persons) as a quality.

#### 4 The Wehèa oral genres

I will outline in broad terms several different oral genres to show the relation of the epic to other formal speech forms or 'ritual discourses'. First, prose forms of ritual speech can be either invocation, prayer or spell, all known as *sekèang*. They show a whole range of vocal spectrum from high voice declamation to muttering. Speed and stress may also vary according to passages in the same text. On some rare occasions, *sekèang* are accompanied by the beating of the long conical drum (*tewung*), for example during the Nebloh, propitiating the omens of paddy and invigoration rites in the men's house (*ewéang*). *Sekèang* are also associated with most of the rites invoking spiritual entities during the annual cycle of the village, such as:

1. *Edat na' plaè*, the custom of paddy cultivation, from selecting the swidden sites to harvesting;
2. *Na' pli'*, to do the sacred, the ritual, i.e. to sacrifice to the deities and souls of paddy; or, when major festivals are staged in the village, such as the *Nemlèn* or headhunting festival;
3. *Na' lom pwun*, the death ceremony of chiefs; and
4. *Dèa Pehos*, the ritual for cleansing the village of incest and adultery (both elder men and women are able to perform a *sekèang* on the occasion of household rites).

The cycle of *Edat na' plaè* comprises not less than thirteen rituals, organised mostly in the swidden fields (about from June to January), while *Na' pli'* takes place after the harvested rice is stored in the barn (usually in February). *Na' pli'* starts in the beginning of March, and lasts for three months. The climax of *Na' pli'* is the *Bob Jengéa* Festival, lasting one full day, when the village is purified by priestesses and the 'soul of rice' (*welgwen plaè*) is symbolically brought in the village by masked dancers, the *hedo'*, for the new agricultural year (starting in June).

From a formal point of view, *sekèang* are characterised by the recurrence of formulaic phrases, doublets and parallelisms, with emphasis on assonance and euphony (Guerreiro 1996b).

Besides the *sekèang*, the Wehèa perform several oral genres which, in contrast, are all sung in solo or chorus. The latter can be summarised briefly.

- *Na' wa' juk* (lit. 'to do the *juk* speech' or *enjuk* 'to be entered by a *juk* spirit').<sup>5</sup> These are texts displaying versified rhyme and archaic words. These archaic words are derived from the Long Way and Long Glit isolects, which in Modang constitute an 'older' speech stratum.
- *Tek'na'* are epics relating the deeds of the chiefs and distinguished nobles (*hepu*), the heroes of the past and tales of war and love. The singer performs in solo and a chorus of two to three individuals may repeat the last line (*bop*) of a stanza (*kehéang*). Usually only older men sing the *tek'na'* while sipping rice-beer (*benyè jakan*) or palm wine (*edap*).

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<sup>5</sup> A category of ancestral spirit (*metà*) but it is called *juk* or *enjuk* during the medium's séance, the latter is referred to by the same term *enjuk*.

- *Teluy* are ritual chants invoking deities, ancestors and the soul of paddy, i.e. the original paddy, *plàè long*.<sup>6</sup> These are sung by at least two soloists, responding to each other in turn. The last line of a stanza is repeated by a chorus of four to eight persons, male and female. They sing in unison (*embop*), and at some point their song forms a musical transition between lines. According to the ritual context of the *teluy* (agricultural rites, transition rites for children, death ceremonies) men and women may sing separately or together. During performances, betel nut chewing is customary.

In the two above mentioned genres, *tek'na'* and *teluy*, it should be noted that the chorus (*embop*) is said to 'accompany' or 'join' in singing the line (*engèng-eh*), while the soloist who starts singing the line is 'taking the lead' (*ngelngut wa* 'reversing the line'). When performing *teluy*, the prompter repeats the line (*enje' teluy*) to the main soloist, then to the other singers. The prompter speaks out (*newa'*) a non-sung version of the text which is whispered or spoken at slow voice. The same technique may be used for *tek'na'* performances, if one of the singers forgets his line or is tired. In both kinds of performances, which may be staged on the platform below the house (*sun tah*) or inside the living quarters (*maè mso*), all participants sing together in good spirits (*memay*). Both genres are characterised by chromaticism (I Made Bandem, Maceda José and Nicole Revel-Macdonald 1979).

- *Na'yong*, the fourth oral genre to be outlined here, is the singing of the genealogy of a deceased person, especially for individuals of *hepuy* or *sewün kas* status; it is addressed to the dead relatives (*lun lewas*) and remote ancestors (*bo'*) of the deceased. It takes place usually on the platform below the living quarters or in front of the house on a special platform nowadays on the second and third nights following death (because people are buried on the fourth day at the latest). The *na'yong* chant is aimed at accompanying the soul of the dead person (*welgwen lun lewas*) during its journey to Pang Kung Kelung, the village of the dead, or at least to somewhere in the vicinity of it — (the performance of another ritual, *Ngejjoy* 'to raise again' some time after death, enables the deceased 'to go up' (*hebèa*) to the village itself). *Na'yong* is performed only by older women, although some men may join in to help to trace genealogical relationships. It is done twice in the following order: first, from the apical ancestor (s) (*bo'*) — usually a married couple — to the deceased in the 'female descent line' (matrilinal, *sot ledoh*) then in the 'male descent line' (patrilinal, *sot lekaè*); and, then, from the deceased to the apical ancestors.

Tales and stories concerning the dead relatives are inserted in the chants with descriptions of the lives of people in the village of the dead, that is, of people who have died a good death (*lewas kas* or *lewas te' betung*, lit. 'dead on the floor beam'). People who have died a 'bad death' (*lewas ak* or *lewas te' eyen* lit. 'dead on the spot') go to another place called Pang Kung Néang. They do not need the sequence of death rites and *na'yong* is not necessary. They include women who died at childbirth, warriors who died in battle, drowned people (*lewas lemas*), people who died in accidents, and people bitten by venomous snakes.

<sup>6</sup> It is named after Long Déang Yung, the female deity associated in the myth with the paddy and the omens of rice cultivation, seven birds and animals; this young girl is sacrificed by her mother and her death allows the successful growth of paddy (Guerreiro 1996b, 1999).



## 5 The *Tek'na' Lung Lejie* text

The following passage has been transcribed and translated from the spoken version of *tek'na'* supplied in August 1994 by Lejie Tot, my Wehèa friend who himself is a performer of *Tek'na'* and *Teluy*. The numbering of lines here was made according to selected stanzas only; the Wehèa text is given after the translation).

### Introductory lines

- 1 The Thunder of Long Ta' Wetà gave spirit helpers to Lung Lejie ...
- 2 Look, in his placenta there were four kinds of spirit helpers ...

#### Stanza I

- 3 The shirt made of Eagle feathers,
- 4 to fly as fast as the news.

#### Stanza II

- 5 The Tiger at the river bed,
- 6 whose eyes are like the *leléang* fish.
- 7 He circles around just like the Face of the Moon.
- 8 He gave him the shield looking like a flat gong.
- 9 To be strong I may ask to hold tightly to
- 10 the root Tong Méang Bléang.

#### Stanza III

- 11 The Dragon below the waterfall of blood.
- 12 When you arrive flying through the air.
- 13 He gave a strong sword, such a sword ...
- 14 Sharpening the sword which causes people to go mad.

#### Stanza IV

- 15 The Lady Dewing Ding Dep Liey Long.
- 16 Who owns the 500,000 — charm.
- 17 The charm returning breath [to the dead]. (see Table 1)

### The vernacular text

- 1 *Dlay long ta' weta*  
/thunder of long ta' wetà (toponym)  
*haaè kempöè te' lung lejie*  
/to give / spirit helpers / to / personal name /
- 2 *Hewin mensah selah kempöè paèt na'an*  
/look / passing / placenta / spirit helpers / four / kind /
- 3 *Ebing blun neha*  
/shirt / feather / eagle /

- 4 *Kepit mléang dengéah*  
/wings/ to fly / news/
- 5 *Lejie dya' las hanguy*  
/tiger/ below / the river bottom /
- 6 *ne' pin mtan leléang*  
/who/ to have / eyes/ leléang fish (Silurus sp.) /
- 7 *Ngendo tëang nōng wellun*  
/turning/ like / face / the moon /
- 8 *Hi' haaè tewüp mehbéang*  
/to give/ to give<sup>7</sup>/ shield / flat brass gong /
- 9 *mlang nyen ka ngeduen*  
/to be able to / if / [I ] ask something / to hold /
- 10 *wekèah tong mèang bléang*  
/aerial root / personal name: 'which crush? [the bones]' /
- 11 *Gelong dia' dun leha'*  
/dragon / under / waterfall/ blood /
- 12 *Hewin ki' hay nembéang*  
/look / you / arrive/ flying /
- 13 *Hi' haaè klung ku'*  
/to give / to give / iron ore<sup>8</sup> / sword /
- 14 *sa' ku' na' heléang bengin*  
/to sharpen / sword / to cause / mad / epidemic /
- 15 *Dewingding dep liey long*  
/Dewing = personal name of kempöè /
- 16 *ne' pin keban me' tus jemlèn*  
/who/ to own / charm-medicine / five / hundred / thousand /
- 17 *keban emman lesgièn*  
/charm-medicine / to return / breath /

To facilitate the reader's grasp of the text, I offer in Table 1 a chart of *kempöè* (spirit helpers) and their specific realms of activity.

<sup>7</sup> Both *hi'* and *haaè* mean 'to give': *hi'* is a more literary term whereas *haaè* is the unmarked form.

<sup>8</sup> The ore from local deposits in the Apo Kayan area is called *mlaét kluh* (Kayan-Busang *tité Ititey keluh*; Kenyah Lepo' Taw *malat kelu(h)*). It produces sword blades (*nōng ku'*) of the best quality iron. Usually these blades are decorated with small round brass incrustations (on one side only). Swords with such a blade are called *ku' mtan*. They are kept as prestige goods (*ku' nyang* or *nyen*).

Table 1

The Spirit Helpers ( <i>kempöè</i> )	Realm ( <i>guang enyen</i> )
Eagle ( <i>neha döng</i> )	Sky
Tiger ( <i>lejie</i> )	River bed/Earth
Dragon ( <i>gelong</i> )	River/Water
Lady Dewing Ding Dep <sup>9</sup>	Air: this world

Here, I list the charms mentioned in the text:

the flying shirt (*ebing*), the shield (*tewüp*) and aerial root (*wekèah*),  
the magic sword (*klung ku*'), the ultimate charm: 'life' (*lesgièn* = lit. 'breath').

The Wehèa differentiate between the 'life-principle' of an individual or 'breath' (*lesgièn*) which is equated with life (*blom*). It ceases to function at physical death, dissolving into air, while the personal 'soul' (*welgwen*) passes through several states from its existence in this world (*welgwen lun blom*) to the world of the dead (*welgwen lun lewas*), becoming eventually an ancestral spirit (*mtò*) in the village of the dead. Sickness (*lèng ak* lit. 'feeling bad') is caused by the elopement of the soul attracted by some ancestral spirits at Pang Kung Kelung or Pang Kung Néang villages. These are conceived as deities (*metà*) when possessing the spirit-mediums (*lun enjuk*). These mediums may have up to five spirit familiars which are also ancestral spirits and therefore their relatives (*pewellin*). Both domesticated and wild animals are believed to have their own souls. From a lexical point of view, it is worth noting that *kempöè* is distinguished from the words for 'shade' (*ngèa*) or 'reflection' (*kelnyèè*) that could have been attached formerly to the expression of a 'two-fold' notion of the soul. In contrast, one's personal name (*ngelan*) forms an element of an ancestral name (*ngelan waés*) that will be part of an individual's genealogy after death (see note in Appendix 1). It cannot be equated with the soul of the dead. On the other hand, the 'spirit names' (*ngelan metà*) are replacing the personal names only, the former are given to sick persons by the mediums during an *enjuk* ritual.

## 6 Commentary on the Spirit helpers in the context of *Tek'na*'

To recapitulate, the four spirit helpers of Lung Lejie are introduced in the following order in the text:

- (1) The Black Eagle *neha döng* (*Ictinaetus malayensis*) gave the hero a wing (*kepít*) to fly. If enemies (*ekung benu*') are coming too close, the wing can fly away with Lung Lejie. It can also be used as a weapon: when fanned it turns enemies into dust (*ewa*'). The Black Eagle is the main headhunting and war omen (*nehon*).

<sup>9</sup> Dewing Ding Dep is an important mythical figure in paddy agricultural rites, especially during the sowing; she introduced humans to the custom of blowing into bamboo tubes, called *lu' bup*; they are played in combination with bamboo percussions, the *lu' teguk*. Only adolescent boys and girls may play these instruments in the swidden field. A Long Way Modang myth attributes the introduction of this custom to another character, the Lady Long Gèng (Liah Hong Djeng 1969:41–42). Lady Dewing Ding Dep's realm is the air, which is the intermediate level between the upper world and under world.

- (2) The Tiger of the river bottom gave Lung Lejie a shield which is as strong as a gong. It moreover gave a special root *wekéah* Tong Méang Bléang which can hurt the enemies in a peculiar way. If only touched by the root their bones are broken instantly. If only one enemy is actually touched all will suffer the same fate; they will be unable to engage in battle again.
- (3) The Dragon (*gelong*) offered him a magic sword (*klung ku'*) which can turn enemies into madmen (*sewün heléang*) so that they forget who they are. If sent by Lung Lejie, the sword can fly by itself attacking (*ha té*) his adversaries in a deadly manner.
- (4) Finally, Lady Dewing Ding Dep offered him a rare charm which has no price: it can return the breath (*emman lesgièn*) of the dead.

The belief in the four 'spirit helpers' of Lung Lejie can be also traced to current representations about this character. It should be noted that they encompass the three realms of the cosmos: the upperworld or sky, the underworld and river, and the world of humans which is the earth. Thus, the charms bestowed on the hero give him extraordinary fighting powers (*nlem*) and also mobility. He can appear and disappear at will, while living on his own for a long time. According to oral tradition, long ago Lung Lejie went on a headhunting expedition in the mountains (*sun kung*) and he never returned to his village. The area where this happened, on the fringes of the Apo Kayan plateau, is known as *Kejien*, lit. 'the Kayan', to the Wehèa. They think that he is not dead and will come back some day. As a great leader and warrior, Lung Lejie had accomplished many brave deeds in the Kejien area when the Wehèa and the other Kayanic groups were still living on the plateau (around the middle of the eighteenth century). Lung Lejie is said to have become a strong spirit, a deity (*metà*) guarding the people against enemies, diseases and misfortune (*enléa*). His former village site in the Kejien area, is mentioned in the *Tek'na'*.<sup>10</sup> The place is actually located in the upper reaches of the Telen River (*ol ilan*), along a tributary of the main Kayan river (*singèt kejien pwun*) probably the Kayan uk, or Kejien so', which is the Modang name of the river. This very remote area, above the rapids of Po' Liah Léang, was settled when the Wehèa migrated downstream from the Telen River where it meets with the Wahau River (*leböng wehèa*) in the early nineteenth century. Some caves (*guang wetà*) there which were used as burial places for the *hepuy* are still remembered and occasionally visited during forest product collecting expeditions and bird's nest collecting in the caves themselves.

Another mention of the charms as described in the *Tek'na' Lung Lejie* is found in a short passage, referring again to the character of Lady Dewing:

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<sup>10</sup> The following toponym is recorded in the text: *Min Lung Lejie* [village of Lung Lejie], *Béang Yung Dewung Ding Bong Long Yéang* (= son of Béang Yung Dewung Ding (m.) and Bong Long Yéang (f.)) at the place named: *Dia' Kehde' Lengèt Pang Bing Wellun Kenmaè*, a tentative translation could be, 'The [place] under the broad sky when the moon is rising'.

*keban lung bli' lan*  
/charm/ brave/ change<sup>11</sup> / real/

*ketun guang lung gelong*  
/dirt/ nose / dragon/

*tluang kepit pedan*  
/bone/ wing/ small bat, *Hipposideros* sp. ?/

*dewing ding dep liey long*  
/personal name (female)/

*jenie dèa léang mehbéang*  
/shelter with a flat roof / day [sun] / like / flat gong/

Translation:

A charm that can truly change into a brave warrior.  
Dirt from the Dragon's snout.  
Bone from the wing of the *pedan* bat.  
Lady Dewing Ding Dep Liey Long [under],  
A shelter like the top of a flat [shining] gong.

Here the *keban*, apart from being a 'medicine' (nowadays western 'drug') or a special plant brew sprinkled on paddy to protect its growth (*keban plaè*), is described metaphorically as a magic device with a characteristic transformative power. This female character is generally associated with life, i.e. 'breath' and 'air', the vibrating sound of the flat gong:

'she blows strongly the bamboo instrument,  
Lady Ding Dep Dèa Long Mehbéang'  
/ lu' bup lesgièn gandèng  
Ding Dep Dèa Long Mehbéang / (quoted from the *Teluy Long Way*)

The variations on the name of the character are by no means surprising in the context of *tek'na'* and *teluy*. For instance, *liey* in the name of this *kempòè* Dewing Ding Dep Liey Long means 'brass or copper', and the flat gongs (*mehbéang*) are made from brass, so in her name and elsewhere brass is used metonymously for gong (one may also note that in this line the full name has been altered; to play on the rhyme Dewing is dropped, Ding coming in front; both lines have six syllables).

## 7 Conclusion

In this short introduction to some of the Wehèa religious beliefs that are expressed in the *Tek'na' Lung Lejie*, I have tried to show the main features of Wehèa oral genres, mode of performance and style, that is, some of the aesthetic choices made by the Wehèa. I have tried

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<sup>11</sup> *Blie* 'to change into something', is an intransitive verb which is usually translated best as 'to become something' and in some cases 'to take place' (cf. Malay *jadi*). It is used attributively in certain idiomatic phrases, e.g. *Dlay blie* 'the Thunder which changes' (i.e. which petrifies people or villages, by causing a storm); *dlay la'* 'the Thunder which takes' (i.e. it punishes humans for transgressing correct behaviour (*edat*), an act called *nelhun* (for comparisons in central Borneo see Guerreiro 1989:490–491, 498, sq.).

to make this intelligible by combining the microanalysis of a passage of the text with general background information about Wehèa culture.

Honko (1996b:19–22) has stressed the close connection between epic and identity. He interprets the epic as a tale of identity which functions as a symbol or a point of reference for the community or group concerned. This happens through the ‘translation’ of history into myth and ultimately as a metaphor of the sacred (Honko 1996b:21). For small scale societies such as the Wehèa, the traditions which are linked to the character of Lung Lejie, point to Wehèa adherence to *edat*, way of life and religious beliefs, in contrast to their neighbours, whether Dayak (Kayan-Kenyah), Malay (including Kutai and Banjar Malays as well as Buginese), or, nowadays, Javanese.

Here the model of heroic conduct also reflects the martial values of Wehèa society which historically have ensured its survival as a distinct cultural group among demographically stronger peoples in the region.

The strong identification of the audience with the main characters of the tale suggests that the emotions and behaviour described in the epic are taking on new meanings in an era when the Wehèa’ environment and social space is experiencing rapid socio-cultural change (Honko 1996a). For instance, interaction with other ethnic groups has become more frequent. This is also noticeable in increasing ritual activity, such as the headhunting Festival Nemlèn, and other sumptuary rituals which have been performed lately in the six Wehèa villages.<sup>12</sup>

The *Tek’na’ Lung Lejie* is only a small part of the rich cultural heritage of the Wehèa, which is still maintained as a living oral tradition and needs to be recorded, at least on tape. The transcription and Indonesian translation of these oral texts and music could be carried out later on when more attention will be given to the expressions of local cultures in East Kalimantan. The example of the *Takna’ Lawe’* epic edited and translated *in extenso* by the late Father A.J. Ding Ngo of the Kayan Mendalam in West Kalimantan, a community of only 2,000 people or thereabouts (Ding Ngo & Lii’ Long 1985) demonstrates that such an undertaking is rewarding for the entire community.

## Note

The Wehèa isolect has been transcribed here with the following simplified orthography (for more details, see Guerreiro 1996a:224; 1999:159–163):

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<sup>12</sup> Since the pacification of the region by the Dutch (*circa* 1905), headhunting has been prohibited. However, it seems that sporadic raids took place during the 1920s against the Lebbu and Basap people on the Kutai-Berau border. From this time when the Nemlèn is celebrated, some old skulls and even fragments of skulls are used instead. During the last stage of the Nemlèn, on the eighth or the eleventh night, according to the category of ritual practised, effigies of dead relatives (*bo’ jöng*) of people of the noble rank are set up. Replacing the heads, (*kuhung*) now the jaws of the sacrificed pigs — at least one per image — are hung on the sculptures. Blood sacrifice and sprinkling of blood on the effigy is necessary for making it ‘alive’ (*na’ lom jöng*).

Formerly, the transition rites of the chief’s family (birth of a child, naming, burial, and the building of the ‘great house’) would require fresh heads as well. According to the Wehèa’s belief, the head houses a dangerous spirit, the ghost of the beheaded person (*sekiah ak*), who is being placated by offerings of food. However, after this rite has been performed the spirit abode is not known (see Guerreiro 1992, 1998).

[â]	:	/à/	[ɔ]	:	/ü/
[ɛ]	:	/è/	[ʔ]	:	/ʔ/
[ə] – [ʌ]	:	/e/			
[e]	:	/ē/			
[œ]	:	/ö/			
[ɔ] – [o]	:	/o/			

*-ey, èa, eè, éa, ay, aè, aaè, iè, ie, oè, ue, ow, oy, uy* (in all positions) are diphthongs.

Vowel clusters between consonants are articulated as one syllable in final position, in bisyllabic and monosyllabic words, morphemes and roots alike (*aè, èa, éa, èe, ie, iè, ia, ua, ue* occur in initial, medial and final positions, while *-èa, -eè, -ée, -ey, -ay, -aè, -aaè, -oè, -ew, -ow, -uy* occur in final position). Among the latter, length is phonemic in only one case, *-aaè* and *-ay*, according to my sample. In bisyllabic words, word stress is on the penultimate. All these diphthongs have a peak or stress on the articulated (first) vowel, especially in monosyllables it seems, with less stress on the glided part, the second vowel. This refers only to the spoken language; when sung accentuation may be different.

## Appendix: The formal features of the text

The Wehèa language, and Modang in general, shows a trend towards monosyllabism which is accentuated in the literary speech of invocations, epics and *teluy* chants. As far as rhythm and prosody are concerned, monosyllabism functions as a mnemonic device. I have suggested that homophony is a general feature of the language (Guerreiro 1996a), and it is even more pronounced in the literary speech in regard to the polysemic values of the words in mytho-poetic narratives (on this point see Ottino 1966 for two Austronesian examples: Tahitian and Malagasy). In contrast to *sekèang*, it does not show a parallel structure but rather emphasises echo from one line to the other combined with assonance in endings. From the above text sample one notices that the four (rare) five, six, seven, height syllable lines are opposing final nasals (*-ng, -n*) to final open vowels, semi-vowels, diphthongs or glottal stop endings (*-a, -ah, -a', -u' -ie, -uy*).

Five-syllable and six-syllable lines are more common, alternating with shorter or longer lines. The initial syllable almost always begins with a consonant contrasting with the final consonant. Compare the following formulas which show the three variations (based on the *Tek'na'* extract above):

- initial consonant corresponds to ending vowel or semi-vowel/diphthongs
- initial consonant corresponds to ending consonant (nasalised)
- initial consonant corresponds to ending consonant (stops)

The vocal enunciation of the text, including the *teluy*, rather emphasises these stylistic choices. However, when it is sung with the melody these are much less noticeable, although it can be perceived as a recitative rather than a 'chant' or 'music' (*sèa*), according to the Wehèa perception. The drone in-between lines is another feature of *tek'na'* and *teluy* genres. It gives a rather deep tune (*tèl al*) to the singing which is accentuated by chorus repetitions. Interestingly, some children's rhymes (*wa' pelhan*, lit. 'play speech'), when recited, present more regular oppositions, as is shown in this extract:

- 1 *Luy Liah Ding Dung Léang Song  
sege' Jie Déang Nedéang Dèa seka  
nèak Giah Ding Met Bong.*
- 2 *Lèng wa' kuy nekjang  
hebèa jel sun lan pwun pesdong.*
- 3 *Lan na' nèak hepuy pensèa  
tong lo' li' teban hin Long.*
- 4 *Mi teban hin Long kas sèa.  
melung un msow Ping Hong.*
- 5 *Nèak Doy Dung Helà Héang Dèa  
lihgiasswan tsu' wellun hin Long. (...)*

## A tentative translation:

- 1 Luy Liah Ding Dung Léang Song (f.)  
and Jie Déang Nedéang Dèa (m.), the children  
of Giah Ding Met Bong (m.)
- 2 Feeling like raising up I said,  
a monkey jel (*Macaca fascicularis*) coming up the main street  
[of village] continues
- 3 On the street the child of a chief passes,  
on all fours inside Long's (f.) cubicle
- 4 In Long's cubicle, it sounds nice,  
standing at the upstream end of Ping Hong's (f.) house.
- 5 Child of Doy Dung Helà Héang Dèa (f.),  
a fine chiselled sword took seven months for Long (...).

**Note**

The full names are made up of two, three or even four words, according to the social status of the individuals (f.: female, m.: male; the first name is the personal name, the others are usually the father's and /or mother's name). The names of both parents may be juxtaposed or not. In literary speech, names of chiefs or aristocrats of both sexes may increase up to height, usually monosyllabic, words as in the name of the hero Lung Lejie, see note 6 above. These are the 'ancestral names' (*ngelan waés bo'*). In this extract the naming is quite peculiar, I suspect that some words have been added for rhyme only. Examples of naming are:

Ping Hong: Ping [daughter] of Hong (f.); Jie Bang: Jie [son] of Bang (m.); Ding Dom Ping, Ding [son] of Dom Ping (f.); Lung Béang Lèe, Lung [son] of Béang Lèe (see Guerreiro 1983).



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# 8 *Inconsistent distinction of possessive and qualitative nominal attribution in Indonesian*

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WARUNO MAHDI

## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

In languages permitting the use of a noun as qualitative attribute, as contrasted with its use as possessive attribute, the distinction is usually marked (analytically or synthetically). In Indonesian (and other Malay dialects) too, in which the noun lends itself to both constructions, marking is provided to distinguish between the two, but its use is optional, and in formal style even avoided, leading to ambiguity. This paper studies modalities of the use of the marked and unmarked constructions, and various alternative means for specifying the attributive relation to be expressed, and inspects the historical development of the various means of expression involved.

In the much too short period during which I had the good fortune of knowing Jack Prentice, I not only learned to value the few opportunities we had to exchange opinions on various questions of Austronesian and Indonesian linguistics, but also became indebted to him for effective help and support for a publication of mine with some perhaps not altogether conventional views on certain questions of Indonesian grammar. It is perhaps only fitting that this contribution in his honour should deal with a feature of Indonesian grammar related to one of the questions at issue in that publication, that of the noun functioning as qualitative attribute.

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Director of the Division of Physical Chemistry of the Fritz Haber Institute of the Max Planck Society, Gerhardt Ertl, for the generous permission to use Institute facilities in my private linguistic studies. Thanks are also due to Zhong Baoning, a one-year post-doctoral at the Institute in 1996, for checking my Chinese glosses, and to Vietnamese students studying in Voronezh between 1968 and 1976, from whom I collected my Vietnamese data including the glosses in this paper.

Abbreviations used in this paper are: Art – personal article or equivalent; Cl – classifier; Dct – deictic; PC – possessive copula; PNA – possessive nominal attribute; QNA – qualitative nominal attribute; UNA – unspecific nominal attribute.

## 2 Possessive and qualitative nominal attribution

Many languages of East and Southeast Asia permit the use of a noun as qualitative attribute (as in English *the table leg*) beside its more universally observable attributive use to express possession (*the table's leg*). I shall refer to the two syntagmatic modes as qualitative and possessive nominal attribute (QNA and PNA) respectively. It should perhaps be stressed that it is the formal grammatical apposition that is meant here. On the plane of content, of course, a *table leg* and a *table's leg* are essentially one and the same. From a purely semantic point of view, therefore, a PNA and a QNA may express the same material relationship, or sometimes also one in which the either qualitative or possessive nature of the relationship is deemed irrelevant. In some languages, perhaps, there only was one unspecific nominal attribute (UNA) which gradually specialised into a QNA after the emergence of a distinct PNA.

In more classical grammatical tradition, PNA is a generally quite well described feature. In languages with case marking of the noun, it is usually marked as the genitive case. In those without such marking, the possessive is typically indicated with the help of a preposition or some other auxiliary or grammatical word. I shall subsume all such analytical means of specifying the possessive nature of nominal attribution under the general term 'possessive copula' (PC).

The treatment of QNA, on the other hand, seems to be somewhat more problematic. In some languages the use of a noun as qualitative attribute is not possible or at least unusual. Instead, the mediation of a preposition or some other auxiliary word may be used (e.g. French *chemin de fer* 'railway', lit. 'path of iron'), or the entire group of <attribute + target> becomes one compound word (e.g. German *Eisenbahn* 'railway' lit. 'iron-path'). The more standard procedure, at least from the point of view of classical grammatical tradition, seems to be replacing the noun which is to serve as attribute by the corresponding adjective (e.g. Russian *zheleznaja doroga* 'railway', lit. 'iron-ADJ path', cf. *zhelezo* 'iron').

For this reason, perhaps, the phenomenon of a noun directly serving as qualitative attribute (e.g. English *stone* in *stone house*) had occasionally been the cause of some theoretical embarrassment, as a result of which analogies with certain de-noun adjectives were drawn (e.g. with that in *wooden house*), which suggested a noun—adjective derivational paradigm involving affixless conversion (*stone*—*stone* by analogy to *wood*—*wooden*). The comparison seems, nevertheless, not always to adequately reflect the actual grammatical relationship, because the 'adjectival' mode in the pair may not generally share a number of features characteristic of adjectives. More significant is perhaps the circumstance, that any noun in such languages seems to lend itself at least potentially to the attributive construction. It is thus best treated as an intrinsic feature of the noun, rather than as involving derivational conversion into a different word class (part of speech).

In most languages featuring both nominal constructions being treated here, the possessive, when not marked by genitive case endings, can as a rule be distinguished from the qualitative in that the former requires the mediation of a PC between the PNA and the target of attribution. It is thus typically:

$$N_1 - PC - N_2 \text{ versus } N_1 - N_2,$$

where  $N_1$  and  $N_2$  are respectively the target and attribute nouns in languages with 'post-attributing' word order, or vice versa in those with 'pre-attributing' order.

Typically, the PC derives etymologically from a third person singular possessive pronoun, or from a noun meaning 'thing, possession, belonging'. In English, the possessive 'suffix' '-s', which one could essentially also treat as an enclitic, seems to have derived from *his*. The use of *his* as PC, which apparently evolved during the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, is believed

to have been the result of re-interpretation of the Middle English genitive ending *-es*, often spelled *-is* or *-ys*, and pronounced accordingly (Baugh & Cable 1978:240). Influence of the use of *sein* 'his' and *ihr* 'her' as PC for the masculine and feminine respectively in Low German vernacular may perhaps have encouraged this development. It was the language of traders of the Hanseatic League who had been very active in the North and Baltic Seas.

In some Austronesian languages of insular Southeast Asia, the PC derives from the third person singular possessive pronoun too. It is often a clitic, which I shall indicate with a hyphen before an enclitic, or after a proclitic. Examples of PC in these languages are Malay *-nya*, Javanese *-ne/-e* (the latter after a word with final consonant). In mainland Southeast Asia, the PC typically derives from a word meaning 'thing, possession', e.g. Vietnamese *cu<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>* (originally 'thing, possession'), Thai *khóong* ('thing'). In some languages of East Indonesia and Melanesia, the etymology points to 'possession' as original meaning, e.g. Moluccan Malay *punya*<sup>3</sup> (see below), Bislama *bilong* (from English *belong*). In Chinese, the PC *de* appears to derive from *dì* 'target' which is written with the same character.

When the noun can be used as a qualitative attribute, the PC obtains additional significance as formal marker distinguishing explicit possessive nominal attribution from the qualitative. In some of the languages, explicit PNA appears to be conditioned by the definiteness of the target or of the possessor, which may be expressed with the help of a preceding classifier<sup>4</sup> (Cl), sometimes preceded in turn by a deictic (Dct) or a numeral.

Thai:

- (1) *duang séeng khóong tàwan*  
 Cl light-ray PC sun  
 'the light rays of the sun'
- (2) *séeng tàwan*  
 light-ray sun  
 'sunlight, sunbeam'

Chinese:<sup>5</sup>

- (3) *zhè gè jiàoshi -de bàngōngshì*  
 Dct Cl teacher PC office  
 'the office of this teacher'
- (4) *yī gè jiàoshi -de bàngōngshì*  
 one Cl teacher PC office  
 'the office of a teacher'
- (5) *jiàoshi bàngōngshì*  
 teacher office  
 'teachers' [office] room'

<sup>2</sup> The superscript question mark directly following the syllabic vowel indicates the *ho<sup>2</sup>i* or 'question' tone, and not a glottal stop.

<sup>3</sup> In Ambon and neighbouring regions this is usually contracted to *pung*.

<sup>4</sup> Also known as 'generic determinator' (Simon 1953:329, 337), or 'qualifier' (Honey 1956:539–540, 543).

<sup>5</sup> For typographical convenience, I use dieresis in place of macron provided in Pinyin transcription of Chinese for the even tone.

Thai is 'post-attributing', Chinese 'pre-attributing'. In the latter gloss, the teachers' room in a school is meant, i.e. the room reserved for teachers to meet or rest in during breaks.

Personal pronouns differ from nouns in that they cannot normally occupy the position of qualitative attribute. When serving as attribute, it is thus invariably a possessive one, so that the PC becomes redundant. In some of the languages, for which this holds, no PC is used at all before a pronoun in possessive mode, in some others, its use is optional. In Vietnamese, for example, the construction with personal pronoun involving the PC seems to be restricted to instances when the target is rendered definite by a preceding classifier (compare also the Thai glosses above):

- (6) *cái nhà cu<sup>2</sup>a tôi*  
 Cl house PC me  
 'the house that is mine'
- (7) *nhà tôi*  
 house me  
 'my house'

In the instance of nouns, however, the general rule seems to be that a PC is required, because its absence would automatically imply qualitative attribution, or at least render the attributive relation unspecified.

### 3 The development in Indonesian

In Indonesian we have a remarkable exception to the general rule assumed above, in that the use of a PC in possessive nominal attribution is optional, and under certain stylistic conditions even avoided. Whereas the construction with PC is unambiguously possessive, that without a PC may essentially be interpreted as either qualitative or possessive:

- (8) *pintu -nya rumah*  
 door PC house  
 'door of the house'
- (9) *pintu rumah*  
 door house  
 '1. house door, 2. door of a/the house'
- (10) *kamar -nya guru*  
 room PC teacher  
 'the teacher's room'
- (11) *kamar guru*  
 room teacher  
 '1. teachers' room, 2. the teacher's room'

The construction with *-nya* originally was a feature of Bazaar Malay, where it probably evolved through influence of Javanese *-né* (alternating with *-é* after words ending in a consonant). In Classical (High) Malay, a PC was not normally used, and rare instances of the contrary should probably be seen as contaminations from Bazaar or other Low Malay dialects. Consequently, the construction with PC was not provided in School Malay (see van Ophuijsen 1910:49), the language which was officially prescribed since the first decade of the twentieth century for Malay classes in government schools and for Malay publications by

the government Commission for Popular Literature till the end of the colonial period.<sup>6</sup> This artificially preserved dialect, however, did not reflect the language actually spoken by the reading public. The historical language tradition it reflected was gradually losing actual significance since the fall of Malacca in 1511, drawing to its end as an isolated court language of the petty Sultanate of Riau, which was practically powerless since 1824. In spite of some noteworthy mid-nineteenth-century compositions in that language, e.g. by Raja Ali Haji (Viceroy of Riau), it was apparently close to becoming extinct when it was revived, almost exclusively by non-native speakers, in the first two decades of this century (Mahdi in preparation).

### 3.1 The original and Moluccan possessive constructions with *Punya*

The declining role of literary and courtly High Malay was compensated for by the dramatically increased importance and distribution of Low Malay vernaculars in all places of business and trade or other interethnic exchange all over the archipelago. The omnipresence of these variants was already noted in a letter written on behalf of the church council of Batavia by the Malay Bible translator Melchior Leydecker on November 15, 1697, to the Christian Synod of North Holland, in which the writer referred to them as *Bahàsa Katsjòkan* or a 'mixed or crooked crippled language' (p.13 in the text of the letter reproduced in Valentyn 1698:9–30).<sup>7</sup> During the period of Dutch rule, a but loosely uniform tradition of Low Malay developed as administrative or 'Service Malay' (Dutch *Dienst Maleis[ch]*), in which the Moluccan Malay possessive construction with *punya* as PC (see Collins 1983:28–30)<sup>8</sup> was a prominent feature. The following may serve as an example:<sup>9</sup>

*Lain tidak, kita punya tabék sama saudara, dan kita punya anak pangéran-pangéran kirim tabék sama sudara dan kasih selamat jalan sama saudara.*

'And nothing but **our** farewell wishes are with you, and **our** sons, the princes, send their farewell wishes to you and wish you a good journey.' (Sultan of Madura to Cornets de Groot, 24 September 1830)<sup>10</sup>

It is remarkable in that it preserves the 'pre-attributing' word order which, as already noted by Brandes (1884:20–22; see also Kanski & Kaspruch 1931), is a typical feature of languages of East Indonesia (and New Guinea, see Bradshaw 1982), being in contrast with

<sup>6</sup> This was not very strictly implemented until around 1919, and even then only in publications for indigenous readers.

<sup>7</sup> In the literature, this 1697 description of the Malay language situation by Leydecker is often mistakenly credited to Werndly (1736:xlvi–x) who reproduced it almost verbatim without mentioning his source. The language situation was therefore already extant in the seventeenth century, instead of only first in the 18th. That literary High Malay was only marginally intelligible to speakers of a local Malay vernacular in Ambon is also evident from Dutch correspondence from the first half of the seventeenth century (Mahdi in preparation).

<sup>8</sup> In Ambon, as the author indicates, the PC is now as a rule contracted to *pung*.

<sup>9</sup> For convenience of readers not familiar with the various historical Latin-script spellings used for Malay and Indonesian, this and all further Malay glosses will be transliterated and brought into accordance with modern Indonesian spelling. A treatment with original spellings will follow elsewhere (Mahdi in preparation). With the same view of making the reading easier for the reader, I shall everywhere retain the distinction between *e* and *é*, which has been dropped in the spelling rules currently in force.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted from Francis (1892:39–40).

the otherwise ‘post-attributing’ order in Malay. Indeed, Collins (1980:30–31) already pointed out that the word order in the Moluccan Malay possessive construction resembled that in Asilulu, the original indigenous language of Ambon, and Dix Grimes (1991:106–107) demonstrated its parallelism with the possessive construction in Buru.

The Dutch missionary school at Ambon in the Moluccas played a crucial role in the implementation, advancement, and propagation of Latin script Malay as language of school instruction, correspondence, and publication. It is therefore not surprising, that this and other features of Moluccan Malay gained such wide distribution in Malay administrative correspondence throughout the archipelago (Mahdi in preparation). It is already attested in one of the earliest sketches on Malay, apparently written in the Moluccas, and appended to the Malay dictionary of Wiltens and Danckaerts (1623:135):

*Béta tahu dia punya gila*  
‘I know of **his** madness’

It, of course, also occurs in the dictionary itself, the authors both having had considerable Ambon experience:

*itu punya harga ada begitu*  
‘**its** price is like that’ (p.23 under *ghelden*)  
for seventeenth century Dutch *dat ghelt soo veel*.

*itu-lah engkau punya salah*  
‘that is **your** fault’ (p.49 under *schult*)  
for seventeenth century Dutch *dat is uwe schult*.

and

*raja punya negeri*  
‘land of a/the king’ (p.13 under *coninckryck*)  
*telor punya kulit*  
‘shell of an egg’ (p.17 under *dop van een ey*)  
*rumah punya tuan*  
‘master of the house’ (p.29 under *huysheer*)

Note for the last phrase that, in a nuclear or High Malay dialect, it would be understood to mean either ‘the house that is yours’, or ‘the house of the master, that belongs to the master’.

The Moluccan attributive construction was also used throughout the Malay New Testament translation of Daniel Brouwerius (see van Boetzelaer & van Dubbeldam 1941:35), being essentially in the same locally spoken dialect, but with considerably more Portuguese elements:

*Maka dia [a]da berjalan ke hadapan muka Dia dengan Elias punya Spirito dan kuasa, pada balikkan bapak-bapak punya hati kepada anak-anak-nya, dan orang nakal kepada orang adil punya budiman, pada hadirkan rakyat berhadir pada Allah Taala*

‘And he shall go before him in the **spirit and power of Elias**, to turn the **hearts of the fathers** to the children, and the disobedient to the **wisdom of the just**: to make ready a people prepared for the Lord’ (Brouwerius 1668:108 verso): (Luke 1:17)<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> The English is the King James Version.



Originally, the word *punya* apparently developed from *empunya* 'owner' (< *empu* 'master' + *-nya* 'its/his/her'), as Dempwolff (1941:20) suggested. But it consequently seems to have acquired the meaning 'possession' at an early stage. This is apparent from the derived verb *berpunya* 'be of means, be wealthy', literally 'have possession' (compare the verb *bergigi* 'have teeth', from *gigi* 'tooth'). A doublet *\*\*berempunya* 'be of means' does not exist.<sup>12</sup> A possible mechanism of how the semantic shift could have occurred will be proposed below.

At least some of the writers of Service Malay appear to have been aware of the etymology of the word, for in official correspondence one sometimes wrote *empunya* instead of *punya* in the Moluccan possessive construction, thereby treating the two forms as still being doublets. An early example is a letter dated October 16, 1717, from the Dutch governor in Ternate, J. Bottendorp, to three local heads in Manado, published by de Clercq (1894:52), in which both doublet forms are used alternately:

... maka kamu orang sudah berjanji dan sudah mengaku bahwa jikalau tuan kompeni *empunya Selup*,<sup>13</sup> atau lain lain perahu yang tuan kompeni *empunya*,<sup>14</sup> sudah sampai di Labuhan Manado, niscaya segera segera kamu orang hendak suruh manusia dibawa kepada **tuan kompeni empunya loji**, pada menolong muat selup atau perahu itu, dengan beras, padi atau lain lain jenis muatan, pun demikian lagi sekalian kerjaan **tuan kompeni kamu sudah mengaku hendak menyuruh kamu punya manusia dibuat, dan dipedulikan kerjaan itu.**

'... you have promised and have agreed that if **the honourable Company's**<sup>15</sup> sloop or any other boat of the honourable Company arrived in the harbour of Manado, you would for sure quite immediately order men to be brought to **the honourable Company's quarters**, to help load the sloop or boat with husked or unhusked rice, or other kinds of cargo, and likewise with all other tasks of the honourable Company you have agreed to order **your men** to do those tasks, and to attend to them.'

<sup>12</sup> The noun *empunya* does serve as base for a possessive verb, i.e. *berempunya* 'have an owner', which is however not a semantic doublet of *berpunya* 'be of means'.

<sup>13</sup> Spelled *Siloup* in the original. Here it is provisionally translated literally, as 'sloop', but as de Clercq indicated, no ships of the kind referred to in Europe as *sloop* were engaged in the traffic between Menado and the Moluccas. The indigenous *selup* (Francillon 1988 even suggested this as possible ultimate precursor of the European cognates of the word) was possibly one of several ship types built in local shipyards using traditional technology, but with constructional elements inspired by that of European ships. The name of the Buginese *pinisi*, for example, ultimately derives from English *pinnace*. The ship type was originally known as *palari*, and acquired its new name when it sported a European-inspired fore and aft rigging (see Gibson-Hill 1950:121). That new name it seems to have acquired through Malay *penis* (also *pinas*, from French *pinasse*, see Gibson-Hill 1949:109–111). The latter may in turn have been introduced into Malay from India, where a certain type of yacht in the nineteenth century was often referred to as *pinnace* (see Mookerji 1912:251 and plate facing p.252). None of the respectively designated ship types (Buginese, Malay, Indian) are identical with that which is known either as *pinnace* in English, or as *pinasse* in French. Incidentally, the latter two — although obviously cognate — likewise refer to different types of watercraft.

<sup>14</sup> This particular use of either *empunya* or *punya* practically only occurred in Malay as spoken or written by foreigners, Dutch as well as Chinese, so I shall not discuss it any further here. The passage under consideration, of course, also diverges from the speech of a native speaker in other respects.

<sup>15</sup> The Dutch United East India Company.

The apparent distinctive use of *empunya* after noun or proper name, and *punya* after pronoun here is coincidental, and not representative for the whole of the text. Later examples of the use of *empunya* instead of *punya* as PC in Service Malay are provided in Francis (1892:11–13, 39, 41–42).

The Moluccan possessive construction with *punya* was also taken up in twentieth century intellectual Bazaar Malay as an emphatic alternative to the more neutral style possessive with *-nya* as PC. As an expression of emphasis it has been retained in Indonesian, and in the precursor language tradition of prewar Indonesian intellectuals, where it could be frequently encountered in newspapers and publicist literature since the 1920s, and has already been attested in the literary language since the 1940s, as, for example, in the poetry of Chairil Anwar:

*Kami sudah beri kami punya nyawa*  
 'We have given already **our** lives'  
 (Ch. Anwar, *Krawang-Bekasi*, 1948)<sup>16</sup>

The original nuclear Malay construction which may perhaps have initially inspired the Moluccan Malay PNA, but having the for Malay normal 'post-attributing' word order, likewise continues to persist in Indonesian, as can be illustrated by another poem of Chairil Anwar:

*Taman punya kita berdua*  
 'That **garden, of us** two, a pair,  
*tak lebar luas, kecil saja*  
 is but small, with not much room to spare  
*satu tak kehilangan lain dalam-nya.*  
 one couldn't ever lose another there.'  
 (Ch. Anwar, *Taman*, 1943)<sup>17</sup>

The construction shows the typical way of forming relative clauses in Malay, like in the use of *ciptaan* 'creation', *tempat* 'place' and *waktu* 'time' in the following:

*taman punya kita berdua*  
 garden possession we be-twosome  
 'the garden which is ours, of us two'

*taman ciptaan kita bersama*  
 garden creation we be-together  
 'the garden which we created together'

*taman tempat kita bermain*  
 garden place we be-at-play  
 'the garden where we play'

*hari-hari waktu kita bersama*  
 days time we be-together  
 'the days when we are/were together'

<sup>16</sup> Published in Anwar (1949:43–44).

<sup>17</sup> Published in Anwar (1949:15).

The first strophe in the cited poem of Chairil Anwar thus literally translates as '[the] garden [being the] possession [of] us [who are a] twosome'. The construction is now relatively rarely used, and has in any case not become a standard means of expressing possession.

Based on data from Dempwolff (1941:19), Collins (1983:30–31) proposed the following development of the possessive construction with *punya*:<sup>18</sup>

- (1) *rumah ini saya empu-nya*  
'this house, I am its owner (master)'
- (2) *rumah ini saya pu-nya*  
> 'this house, I am its owner (master)'  
  
> *rumah ini saya punya*  
> 'this house is mine'

In the latter meaning, however, sentence (2) is not an authentic item of high or nuclear or standard Malay (where it would have been *rumah ini punya saya* 'this house is mine'), but reflects the syntax of Low Malay. It is thus not comparable with sentence (1). The development could nevertheless have proceeded along the lines suggested by Collins, if one takes the following sentences of the high or standard dialect:

- (3) *rumah ini empu-nya saya*  
'this house is owned by me' (lit. 'house this, master its [be] me')
- (4) *rumah ini pu-nya saya*  
> 'this house is owned by me' (id.) >  
  
> *rumah ini punya saya*  
> 'this house is mine'

We must merely assume a syntagmatic re-interpretation of (4) which one may describe as shift in the literal meaning from 'house this owner-its [be] me' to 'house this [be] possession my'.

### 3.2 The Bazaar Malay possessive construction with *-nya*

When not speaking Dutch, the culturally western-exposed indigenous middle class emerging at the beginning of the twentieth century, which was to form the social basis of the independence movement, quite naturally availed itself of the living language, Bazaar Malay, rather than of the obsolete School Malay. In the former, the neutral style PNA was usually formed with the PC *-nya*. The following samples of this intellectual Bazaar Malay are taken

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<sup>18</sup> As already indicated by Dempwolff (1941:20), *empu* is not used in the modern language in this way, and a *pu* as short form of the former does not even exist now. It seems realistic, however, to assume the proposed existence and use of the forms at a much earlier period. The annals of the (Northern) Song dynasty note that people in the nuclear Malay lands often 'had the surname *pu*' (Groeneveldt 1877:63). In China, the surname is preposed to the personal name, and in other occasions too, a preposed foreign titular term had been described as surname in Chinese sources. One may therefore conclude from the Chinese report, that *pu* had been used for 'master, Mr' before names of Malays around the turn from the first to the second millennium AD.

from the 1913 statutes of the Islamic League (*Sarékat Islam*) as published in the weekly *Hindia Serikat*, vol. 1 (1913), p.173:<sup>19</sup>

*memberi pertolongan kepada lid-lid-nya perhimpunan*  
'to provide assistance for **members of the organisation**'

*memajukan kepandaian dan segala sesuatu yang menjadikan selamat dan senang hidup-nya bumiputera*  
'to promote education and all things which bring welfare and happiness in the **life of the indigenous population**'

Already in Bazaar Malay, however, the use of the PC in a PNA was not consistent, and when the attributive relation to be expressed was either clear from the context or deemed irrelevant, the PC could be left out. The following example is from the same source:

*memajukan nafsu bumi putera pada hal perdagangan*  
'to promote the **enthusiasm of indigenous people** for commerce'

In practice, the strict use of School Malay was only enforced in government schools for the indigenous population and (since 1919) in publications of the Commission for Popular Literature. Schools for the non-indigenous, so-called 'foreign orientals' successfully resisted its implementation, and Malay courses and textbooks for Europeans ignored it altogether. It was not even always implemented in official government publications. The following example from a form appended to the 1918 Instructions on the Implementation of the Landleasing Regulations for Surakarta and Yogyakarta illustrates the use of the PC *-nya* in a legal text:<sup>20</sup>

*bahwa jikalau ada perselisihan tentang batas-nya tanah-tanah sewaan, ...*  
'that if a dispute should arise over the **boundaries of the lands** leased, ...'

The following analogical example is from an official (government edition) translation of laws pertaining to jurisdiction in Aceh and subject territories (Peratoeran 1913:4):

*Pasal 3. Sri Paduka yang dipertuan Besar Gouverneur Generaal menentukan pegawai-pegawai mana yang akan menjalankan pekerjaan magistraat dan hingga mana tiap-tiap bilangan-nya mereka itu.*

'Article 3. His High Excellency the Governor General determines which civil officers shall exercise the duties of magistrate and the extent of **their** respective **competences**'.<sup>21</sup>

Up to around 1919, when the editors of the Commission for Popular Literature began to require more stringent conformity of the language with the standards of School Malay laid down by van Ophuijsen, the Bazaar Malay PNA with *-nya* even found its way into publications of the Commission:

*Ini perban dibikin menurut modél-nya tuan Utermohlen, ...*  
'This bandage is made according to the **fashion of Mr Utermohlen, ...**'  
(M.Pw. Soeardja 1915)<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> These examples seem 'less Bazaar' because of the spelling 'correction' to modern orthography. The original retained the Bazaar Malay schwa in the ultimate, particularly in the suffix *-ken* (here re-spelled *-kan*).

<sup>20</sup> *Besluit* No.39 of January 15, 1918, published in 1919 as No.2029 in *Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 54:180–242. The quoted fragment is from p.224.

<sup>21</sup> This is presumably what was meant: *bilangan* must be a calque from Dutch *gezag* 'authority, power' (from *zeggen* 'to say'), although Malay *bilangan*, from *bilang* '(to) tell' (*membilang* 'to count'), actually means 'number', in some dialects perhaps also 'that which is told'.

*Kalau kita perhatikan perantaraan kedua macam-nya benda itu yaitu jarum gangsa dan gading ...*

'If we consider the mediation of the two **kinds of things**, that is the brass and ivory needle ...' (Rassat 1918:34)

The development of spoken Indonesian was a continuous gradual 'amelioration' of intellectual Bazaar Malay through introduction of ever more elements of the more prestigious School Malay, while that of written Indonesian tended to depart from School Malay by incorporating ever more elements of Bazaar. As a result of its Bazaar pedigree, the PNA with PC *-nya* retains a certain colloquial connotation, and there continues to be a tendency to avoid it in formal or bookish style. Nevertheless, already in the 1930s, in spite of the still widely prevailing orthodox use of School Malay in serious publications, the PNA with *-nya* began to present itself in this genre too. And a sentence like the following by the prominent writer and grammarian Alisjahbana (1935:365) no longer caused a sensation:

*Tuan tiada tahu arti-nya hidup*

'You do not know the **meaning of life**'

In absence of the PC, the meaning could also be interpreted as 'you do not know the **living meaning**'.

The versatility of the construction, the possibilities its use opened for expressing various abstract relationships, made it an ubiquitous feature of spoken intellectual Bazaar Malay, particularly when educated speakers grappled for adequate Malay equivalents of the Dutch expressions and phrase constructions more familiar to them. An additional factor seems to have been the circumstance that *-nya* as PC also tended to stress the nominal grammatical meaning of the preceding word, particularly in view of the well-known tendency to nominalise expressions of quality and process in intellectual speech. The following example is from Ki Hadjar Dewantara's report to the First Bahasa Indonesia Congress in 1938 (cited from Kridalaksana 1991:240):

*Sungguhnya pun rakyat Indonésia itu hingga kini terbagi menjadi beberapa bahasa daérah, akan tetapi mulai dahulu kala hingga sekarang terbukti, seluruh-nya rakyat yang saling berhubungan, suka lah mempergunakan bahasa Melayu sebagai bahasa persatuan.*

'Though indeed the Indonesian people is till now divided into [speakers of] several local languages, but beginning from olden times until now it has become evident, that the **entirety of the people** which is in mutual communication, has willed to use Malay as the common language.'

The PNA with *-nya* has meanwhile become a feature of the literary language as well, to which the following example bears testimony:

*Ia pun lelah*

He was tired now

*dan mengerti arti-nya rumah.*

and understood the **meaning of home**.'

(W.S. Rendra, *Ada Tilgram Tiba Senja*, 1957)<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> In BGD (1915:1).

<sup>23</sup> Quoted from the reprint in Rendra (1971:32–34). The quoted fragment is from p.33.

Nevertheless, in formal language, there still is a tendency to avoid it, and one can easily find books and texts (of a scientific, legal, publicistic, or belletristic nature) in which PNA with the PC does not occur even once. When it occurs, it is often in instances where the PC additionally helps to stress the nominalised meaning of the target when this is a nominalised form of either an adjective (as in the first following sample sentence) or a verb (second sample sentence):

*Kelihatan orang-orang itu bekerja dengan tenang, tak merasa wegah karena luasnya tanah yang mesti digarap, tak merasa sungkan karena panasnya hari yang membakar jangat, ...*

'You could see the people quietly doing their work, not being discouraged by the **expanse of the land** that had to be tilled, not being deterred by the **heat of the sun** that scorched their hides, ...' (Tjakar, Mencari, 1954)<sup>24</sup>

*Otaknya belum kuasa menganyam rangkaian peristiwa yang serobot-menyerobot mencekam waktu: Jatuh-nya Okinawa, bertekuk lutut-nya Nippon yang padahal sangat dia bangga-banggakan dalam hati-nya, meletus-nya perjuangan kemerdekaan, révolusi yang mengamuki keluarga raja-raja ...*

'His mind had not yet the power to align the chain of happenings which were fighting it out, each snatching away the actuality of the day for itself: the **fall of Okinawa**, the **buckling-through-its-knees of Japan** which he had actually been so proud of in his heart, the **breaking out of the struggle** for independence, the revolution which was ravaging the princely families ...' (Partahi H. Sirait, Si Penakut, 1959)<sup>25</sup>

But of course, whenever there is no editor watching over strict adherence to prescribed style, the colloquial PC *-nya* quickly finds its way into official documents and correspondence even in the least excusable contexts, like in the following example of a standard closing phrase in a summons of the office of the district attorney (*kejaksaan negeri*) of Tasikmalaya, West Java:<sup>26</sup>

*Atas kehadiran-nya Saudara diucapkan terima kasih.*

'We thank you for **your presence** [at the indicated time]'

(District Attorney of Tasikmalaya to Agustiana, Jan. 6, 1997)

The example is remarkable because the word *saudara* is functioning as second person personal pronoun, before which the use of *-nya* as PC is not normative and is markedly colloquial.

Personal pronouns, which in Indonesian do not share the paradigm of nouns (see Mahdi 1993:199–200), cannot serve as QNA, so the nature of the attribution is unambiguous even in absence of a PC. Though it does occur, the use of *-nya* before a personal pronoun tends to be stylistically very colloquial even in Bazaar Malay. In anecdotes it may even serve as a means of attaching a folksy tag to a character.

### 3.3 Dutch-inspired possessive construction with preposition

Certain reserve in the use of possessive constructions with PC has been felt since the 1920s, when Bazaar Malay-speaking Indonesian intellectuals were made particularly

<sup>24</sup> Quoted from the reprint in Rosidi (1970:40–58) of the translation (it appeared originally in Sundanese). The quoted fragment is from p.41.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted from the reprint in Hoerip (1986:203–215). The quoted fragment is from p.204.

<sup>26</sup> The text was broadcasted on the internet on January 27 1997, on INDONESIA-L mailing list moderated by John MacDougall.

conscious of language style through the official contrasting between a 'learned' School Malay and a supposedly 'backward' or at least 'unenlightened' Bazaar. The first alternative means of explicitly specifying possessiveness of the attribution to be taken up in the speech of intellectuals having knowledge of European languages, was the replacement of the implied PNA by a prepositional phrase introduced by *dari* 'from' or *daripada* 'of'.<sup>27</sup> It apparently was a mechanical translation of Dutch *van* 'from, of', and its use was particularly widespread in the 1920s and 1930s, for example:

*Ledenvergadering umum daripada Perhimpunan Indonesia, yang diadakan pada tanggal 14 Oktober 1928 di Amsterdam,*

*Mengambil pengetahuan daripada ...*

'The general meeting of the Indonesian Association, which was conducted on October 14, 1928, in Amsterdam,

Taking notice of ...' (a resolution of the Perhimpunan Indonesia, 1928)<sup>28</sup>

*... mereka kita ambil sebagai prototipe, contoh dari kaum terpelajar, walaupun saya tahu, bahwa di luar golongan sekolah tinggi ada juga orang yang setimbang kepandaian-nya*

'... we take them as the prototype, as an example of the educated, although I know, that outside the group with higher education there must also be people of comparable intelligence' (Amir 1939:149)

The same 'solution', using the preposition *dari* (often spelled *deri* or *derri*), had of course also been occasionally used by Dutch writers and translators. This does not seem to have developed into any sort of 'standard' procedure (there not having been the imperative to avoid Bazaar Malay PNA with PC), but in most instances was probably the fruit of the speaker's or writer's own 'resourcefulness' under understandable conditions of limited mastery of Malay. In the following passage, taken from the *Biang Lala* (a Dutch edited Malay newspaper appearing in Batavia) of January 7, 1869, the use of *dari* (spelled *deri* in the original, in one instance as *dei*: probably through a typographical error) as PC alternates with the Moluccan possessive with *punya*:

*Pemeriksaan dari kali kuning di negeri Cina sudah disanggup oleh pertolongan dari satu perhimpunan dari hakim Inggeris, di Asiatic Society. Dia punya pesuruhan, tuan Cooper, sudah datang sampai di batas dari Tibet ...*

'The exploration of the Yellow River in China has been made possible through the support of an association of English judges<sup>29</sup> in the Asiatic Society. Their agent, Mr Cooper, has come as far as the border of Tibet ...'

The use of the two prepositions has not become a standard means of expressing possession in the modern language, but, like the two constructions with *punya* (original and Moluccan), and also that with *-nya*, it remains in a reserve, which a speaker or writer may revert to when the particular occasion calls for it. To avoid monotonous repetition in a somewhat lengthy listing, the author in the following example makes use of all available constructions: that with

<sup>27</sup> *Daripada* occurred occasionally as PC in some Classical Malay manuscripts, but was not explicitly provided for that in School Malay. The proposal to use the preposition *oléh* 'by' to indicate possession, made by van Ophujsen (1910:50), does not seem to have been followed by indigenous speakers or writers.

<sup>28</sup> From the text of the resolution published in Perhimpunan Indonesia (1928:327).

<sup>29</sup> This is the meaning of *hakim*, but perhaps the writer actually meant *mualim* 'learned person, scholar'.

preposition *dari*, with the PC *punya* (with original 'post-attributing' word order), and with the PC *-nya*:

*Beberapa di antara-nya bahkan sampai lama kemudian masih segar di benak saya. Misalkan saja 'Muséum' oléh Asrul Sani, 'Kuli Kontrak' oléh Mochtar Lubis, 'Inem' karangan Pramoedya Ananta Toer, 'Layar Berkembang' tulisan Suparto Brata, lalu 'Umi Kalsum' dari Djamil Suherman, 'Kisah Malti' punya Achdiat K. Mihadja, 'Anak Révolusi'-nya M. Balfas dan 'Lebih Hitam dari Hitam' tulisan Iwan Simatupang.*

'Some of these have remained still fresh in my mind even till a long time afterwards, for example Muséum by Asrul Sani, Kuli Kontrak by Mochtar Lubis, Inem composed by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Layar Berkembang written by Suparto Brata, and further Umi Kalsum from Djamil Suherman, Kisah Malti of Achdiat K. Mihadja, M. Balfas's Anak Révolusi, and Lebih Hitam dari Hitam written by Iwan Simatupang.' (Hoerip 1985:vii)

In general, the officially recommended treatment is not to use *-nya* as PC except in instances or contexts in which its implementation is felt necessary to remove uncertainties or avoid ambiguity, and the same also holds for the use of the preposition *dari* pada 'of' for expression of possession (see Badudu 1989:144). With regard to the latter, however, it should probably also be noted that it does not necessarily express possession, but that *rumah dari* pada batu 'a house of stone' refers to nothing other than *rumah batu* 'a stone house', which is quite different from *rumah-nya batu* 'a stone's house'.

#### 4 The pragmatics around the use of PNA, QNA and UNA

It has already been mentioned that in consequence of the optionality of the use of the PC in a PNA in Indonesian, a nominal attribute not mediated by a PC could either be a PNA or a QNA. There are, however, a number of circumstances that may reveal the actually implied nature of attribution.

In the absence of contextual or 'common-sense' indications of the nature of the attribute, the attribution must be considered either ambiguous, or unspecific. The former may answer more to an analytical theoretical approach, but it is the latter, in my opinion, which more closely characterises the pragmatics involved. Classical Malay literature, in which neither *-nya* nor another PC was normally used, evolved in the decadent feudal atmosphere of Late Medieval and even later Malay courts, for which perhaps anything worthy of being put down in writing had either to be above the confining concreteness and profane materialism of the real world, or be brought into a form more fitting for lofty poetic style. A far-reaching degree of normativism in the choice of canonical attributes, metaphors, and similes (e.g. a princess would be 'beautiful as a rose' by force of being a princess, regardless of actual appearance) seems to have contributed further to the redundancy of means to express the specific relation of attribution implied, i.e. whether PNA or QNA.

In modern language, the use of effective UNA as a rule comprises instances in which the distinction between PNA and QNA may be considered irrelevant. For example:

*kaki kursi ini dibuat dari kaki méja*  
 foot chair Dct be-made from foot table  
 'This chair's leg is made from a table leg'

Frequently, qualitative attribution is implied by circumstantial wisdom in instances in which the nature of attribution would theoretically seem to be unspecific, for example in:



*kamar guru*  
'teachers' room' (not 'a teacher's room')

*kantor polisi*  
'police office' (not 'a policeman's office')

In such cases, the explicit means of expression already referred to above will usually be expected when the alternative possessive attribution is implied (see below). Often, however, transformation to PNA would lead to such semantically exotic expressions that circumstantial knowledge quite unambiguously identifies the attribution as QNA. This is particularly true when the attribute is a noun denoting some material or substance serving as characterisation of the target:

*rumah batu*  
'stone house' (not 'house belonging to a stone')

*mesin uap*  
'steam engine' (not 'machine belonging to steam')

*tenaga listrik*  
'electric energy' (not 'the energy of electricity')

Qualitative attribution is also implicit in a large number of fixed expressions:

*wakil présidén*  
deputy president  
'vice-president' (not 'the president's deputy')

*lemari és*  
cupboard ice  
'refrigerator' (not 'the ice's cupboard')

*burung unta*  
bird camel  
'ostrich' (not 'the bird belonging to the camel')

Here too, explicit means would be needed in the unlikely occasion that one should wish to express the alternative possessive attribution.

Finally, there is a subclass of nouns in Indonesian which can only be used as QNA or circumstantial complement (the latter with verbs and adjectives as target), which I have called 'anominal' (Mahdi 1993:191). When they are to be used in positions other than that of QNA, an 'empty' target of qualitative attribution has to be placed before them, the meaning of which is redundant (being already expressed by the anominal noun itself). These are names of countries, rivers, mountains, islands, dates, weekdays, months, years, fish, snakes, birds, and trees. The respective 'empty' targets are words meaning 'country', 'river', etc. In absence of such an empty target, the attribute is always a QNA:

*kuda Nil*  
horse Nile  
'hippopotamus'

*pasar* *Senin*  
 market Monday  
 'Monday market'

*minyak kayuputih*  
 oil cajeput  
 'cajeput oil'

In possessive attribution, with or without PC, the corresponding 'empty' target of qualitative attribution then serves as the actual PNA:

*arus sungai Nil*  
 current river Nile  
 'current of the Nile'

*pagi -nya hari Senin*  
 morning PC day Monday  
 'the morning of Monday'

*daun pohon kayuputih*  
 leaf tree cajeput  
 'leaf of the cajeput tree'

The former and latter of the three last glosses at the same time serve as illustrations of the instance when the relationship between the denotata of the target and the attribute would be readily perceived by circumstantial wisdom as corresponding to that expressed in possessive attribution even in absence of a PC. Compare also:

*potlot guru*  
 pencil teacher  
 'the teacher's pencil'

*anggota organisasi*  
 member organisation  
 'member of the organisation'

*isteri direktur*  
 wife director  
 'wife of the director'

## 5 Disambiguating to PNA

The role of the language as vehicle of cultural renovation in the process of gaining and consolidating national independence called for greater precision of formulation. This led to increased recourse to various means for overcoming the ambiguity in nominal attribution. The matter of course was of particular urgency in the use of the language in education, where one obviously had to be able to differentiate, for example, between 'scientific definition' and 'definition of science'. However, the problem was more acute in the officially prescribed language taught in the schools, which was being developed on the base of School Malay, than in the spoken language which grew out of Bazaar Malay, the latter already featuring a ready means to specify possessiveness explicitly, the PC *nya*. The introduction of the same means into the written language, as already indicated above, of course suggested itself:

*kamar-nya guru* 'the teacher's room'  
*kantor-nya polisi* 'office of the police, policeman's office'

Alternatively, as already discussed above, one has the constructions with *punya* and the prepositions at one's disposal.

A more subtle means of specifying possessive attribution derives from a particularity in the syntagmatics of the Indonesian noun, on the base of which I have proposed to distinguish between a 'nominal' form of the noun and a homonymic 'participial' form, the latter only occurring in the functions of QNA and circumstantial complement (Mahdi 1993:183, 187). Rigid constraints exist in the realisation of syntactic valencies characteristic of the noun, most of which being actually valencies not of the noun in general, but of its 'nominal' form. The realisation of one of these valencies in the case of a noun in the 'participial' form immediately transforms it into the 'nominal' form. As a noun serving as QNA is in the first-mentioned form, and that serving as PNA is in the latter, realisation of any of these valencies immediately identifies the attribution as a possessive one.

One of the critical valencies is the combination with a preceding numeral group consisting of a numeral and, optionally, a classifier or a unit of measure. When the nominal attribute is a count noun, inserting a group consisting of the clitic *se-* 'one' and a classifier suffices to immediately establish it as PNA. For inanimates, the word *suatu* 'a, one', historically deriving from such a group (< *se-watu* < \**sa-* 'one' + \**Batu* 'stone')<sup>30</sup> also does the trick:

*pintu suatu rumah*  
 door a house  
 'door of a house'

*kamar se- orang guru*  
 room one Cl teacher  
 'room of a teacher'

*kantor se- orang polisi*  
 office one Cl police  
 'office of a policeman'

*cinta se- orang ibu*  
 love one Cl mother  
 'love of a mother'

Another critical valency was actually already discussed above in conjunction with the use of *dari* and *daripada*, and that is the capability of combining with a preceding preposition, which is likewise impossible for a noun in the 'participial' form.

A noun in the 'participial' form can also not have a possessive attribute. Therefore, if a QNA is immediately followed by such an attribute, the latter cannot refer to the noun serving as QNA, but must aim at the latter's target. The opposite interpretation would immediately transform the QNA into a PNA. Compare:

<sup>30</sup> See Gerth van Wijk (1909:198–199). The original compound apparently dates back to the time when the sound law \**aBa* > *awa* was still operative in (pre-)Malay (see Adelaar 1985:85–86). *Suatu* has the doublet *satu* 'one' exhibiting loss of the antepenultimate vowel that sometimes occurred in often-used words (compare *dulu* 'earlier, before, previously', beside *dahulu* < \**Di* 'at' + \**qulu* 'head'; see Adelaar 1985:61, 63).

*rumah batu kami*  
 house stone we  
 'our stone house'

Here, *rumah* is the target of the QNA *batu* as well as of the possessive attribute *kami*. If one assumes *kami* to be aimed at *batu*, this latter would automatically be transformed into the 'nominal' form which cannot be a QNA, but must in this context be a PNA of *rumah*. The phrase would then translate as 'our stone's house' which, being unrealistic, is eliminated by circumstantial wisdom. When, however, the latter grammatical interpretation is contextually or circumstantially the preferred or more realistic one, then we have a disambiguation of the (first) attribute to PNA:

*pintu rumah saya*  
 door house me  
 'the door of my house'

*cinta ibu kami*  
 love mother we  
 'our mother's love'

Although a noun in the 'participial' form cannot be the target of a possessive attribute, it can be that of a qualitative attribute which may be expressed by a noun, an adjective, or some other word forms:

*arca batu pualam*  
 statue stone marble  
 'a marble statue'

*pangkat letnan muda*  
 rank lieutenant young  
 'the rank of junior lieutenant'

It was already noted above that Indonesian personal pronouns do not share the same morphological paradigm with nouns. Instead, they form a distinct hyperclass of words together with proper names, and a class of words I have called 'relational pro-names', being 'pronominalised' kinship and titular terms. As a result of this pronominalisation, they display properties similar to those of personal pronouns and proper names (Mahdi 1993:199). It is common to all three word classes that they do not have a 'participial' form and thus cannot serve as QNA. An attribute solely consisting of any one word of these three classes is thus necessarily possessive:

*rumah kami*  
 house we  
 'our house'

*rumus Einstein*  
 formula Einstein  
 'Einstein's formula'

*kantor Tuan*  
 office <Mister>  
 'your office'

This means that any context leading to the identification of an attribute as a member of one of these three classes automatically disambiguates the attribution to a possessive one. The 'relational pro-names' have a full and an abbreviated article form in their paradigm. These forms function like the two personal articles *si* (neutral or familiar) and *sang* (honorific) in that they identify a following word as a proper name or its equivalent. Whenever an attribute is preceded by either an article form or a personal article (both terms will be abbreviated to 'Art'), it can only be a possessive attribute:

*pendapat si penulis*  
 opinion Art writer  
 'opinion of the writer'

*penaikan Sang Dwiwarna*  
 the-raising Art Bicolour  
 'the hoisting of the Bicolour'<sup>31</sup>

*kantor Pak Polisi*  
 office Art police  
 'the policeman's office'

For 'substantive' nouns, i.e. not proper names or related word classes, there seems to be a more general rule, and that is that the 'participial' form of a noun must immediately follow the noun it is the attribute of, or the verb or adjective which it serves as circumstantial complement. Thus, any other word inserted between a nominal attribute and the target would have a similar effect of disambiguating to possessive attribution.

## 6 Disambiguating to QNA

It is much more difficult to specify explicitly the nature of a nominal attribute as being qualitative, than to establish its being possessive. The 'participial' form of the noun does not have any syntactic valencies, not shared by the 'nominal' form. Some rather 'artificial' steps therefore have to be taken, when one wishes to make the qualitative nature of the attribution explicit. When an abstract noun serves as attribute, it is by circumstantial wisdom less likely to be a PNA, and thus more likely to be a QNA, than in the instance of a concrete noun. In Indonesian, abstract nouns can be formed by circumfixation of *ke-...-an* to verbs, adjectives, and nouns, for example:

<i>datang</i> 'come'	—	<i>kedatangan</i> 'arrival'
<i>kaya</i> 'rich'	—	<i>kekayaan</i> 'wealth'
<i>ibu</i> 'mother'	—	<i>keibuan</i> 'motherliness, motherhood'
<i>negara</i> 'state'	—	<i>kenegaraan</i> 'statehood, stateliness'
<i>raja</i> 'king'	—	<i>kerajaan</i> 'kingdom, kingship'

Replacement of the basic noun by the respective derived noun tends to have the effect of implying or suggesting that the attribute is a QNA. The parallel existence of the two competing expressions has the additional effect of mutually excluding the respective less

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<sup>31</sup> The Indonesian red-and-white national flag.

likely nature of attribution implied. One always has in the back of one's mind that if the speaker or writer meant the other nature of attribution, he/she would have used the corresponding other expression. In this way the tendency arises to perceive the basic noun as PNA, and the corresponding derived abstract noun as QNA:

<i>cinta ibu</i> 'a mother's love'	—	<i>cinta keibuan</i> 'motherly love'
<i>tamu negara</i> 'guest of the state'	—	<i>tamu kenegaraan</i> 'state guest'
<i>tanda raja</i> 'sign of a king'	—	<i>tanda kerajaan</i> 'royal insignia', but also 'sign of royalty'

As the latter example demonstrates, however, the apposition is not absolute, and the respective 'less likely' nature of attribution is actually never totally excluded.

Alternatively one is left to take recourse to a circumscribing relative clause, typically introduced by *yang* and having a verb like *bersifat* 'have the quality of' as predicate. This would, however, no longer be a qualitative attribute. A qualitative attribute as a means to qualify a noun can be retained, in that an adjective is used in place of a QNA. Of course, this solution too no longer belongs strictly within the scope delineated by the title of this paper. However, besides offering an alternative means for that which one intended to express by the QNA, it also involves some interesting points in language reform and maintenance policy. Moreover, it serves to underline the difference between an adjective and a noun acting as qualitative attribute.

Malay does not have an original means of deriving adjectives from nouns. And although several such means borrowed from other languages have been taken up, there had been prolonged official resistance against their 'legalisation'. Among language policy officials and the Commission editors in charge of guarding the purity of School Malay there seems to have been a tendency to regard these derivational means as a feature foreign to the very nature of Malay and as being superfluous for the development of this literary language tradition. The question of the significance of distinguishing qualitative from possessive attribution was already touched upon above. The notion that the derivational feature was foreign to the nature of Malay, furthermore, took no account of the development of Malay in the last centuries prior to colonial rule.

As a result of conversion to Islam, Malay experienced profound influences from Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani.<sup>32</sup> Already since the beginnings of Classical Malay, a number of lexical items were borrowed twice, as noun in the nominative, and either as noun in the genitive or as derived adjective. These latter retained their attributive or adjectival grammatical meanings in Malay.<sup>33</sup> These are firstly some geographical names (which, unlike personal proper names, are included among the nouns in Malay):

<sup>32</sup> I use the term Hindustani to refer to both Hindi and Urdu, or to their former common precursor.

<sup>33</sup> Adjectival derivations borrowed later, during the colonial period via Bazaar Malay, on the other hand, often obtained a nominal grammatical meaning, so that, for example, the Portuguese adjectives *inglês* and *francês* are reflected as (*negeri*) *Inggeris* 'England, English' (via a substandard or Creole Portuguese cognate) and (*negeri*) *Perancis* 'France, French' respectively (the latter still attested as *Peransis* in mid-nineteenth century usage). For the former, the corresponding noun *Inglitir* 'England' (also from the Portuguese) is attested for seventeenth century High Malay. In nineteenth century Bazaar Malay, meanwhile, we even find (*negeri*) *Prasman* (from Dutch *fransman* 'Frenchman') for 'France, French' (Mahdi in preparation).

<i>Kabul</i> 'Kabul'	→	<i>nasi kebuli</i> 'pilaff (Kabul rice)'
<i>Korasan</i> 'Khorasan'	→	<i>besi karsani</i> 'good quality iron (Khorasan iron)'
<i>Rum</i> 'Rome'	→	<i>surat rumi</i> 'Latin script'
<i>Surat</i> 'Surat (town in India)'	→	<i>itik surati</i> 'Manila duck (Surat duck)'

Similar noun/adjective pairs for non-geographical words were also acquired from Arabic:

<i>asas</i> 'basis'	→	<i>asasi</i> 'basic' <sup>34</sup>
<i>insan</i> 'man'	→	<i>insani</i> 'human, pertaining to mankind'
<i>jisim</i> 'body'	→	<i>jasmani</i> 'physical'
<i>roh</i> 'soul'	→	<i>rohani</i> 'spiritual'
<i>unsur</i> 'element'	→	<i>unsuri</i> 'elementary'
<i>hakékat</i> 'essence'	→	<i>hakiki</i> 'essential'
<i>dunia</i> 'world'	→	<i>duniawi</i> 'worldly'
<i>alam</i> 'nature'	→	<i>alamiah</i> 'natural'
<i>ilmu</i> 'science, art'	→	<i>ilmiah</i> 'scientific'

Forms ending in *-i* or *-wi* (the latter applies when the root morph ends in an *a*) reflect the Arabic masculine form of the adjective, those in *-iah* the feminine. I have also included some examples, in which the historical morphophonology is somewhat less transparent (Arabic is a vowel-intercalating language), to illustrate the complexity of the feature when seen from the Malay end.<sup>35</sup>

Since the implementation of Indonesian as official language and thus also as language of education and of technical literature, the use of derived adjectives has increased tremendously, and the paradigm has become quite productive. It has thus also been applied to nouns of non-Arabic origin.<sup>36</sup>

<i>manusia</i> 'human being'	→	<i>manusiawi</i> 'human, humane'
<i>Roma</i> 'Rome'	→	<i>Romawi</i> 'Roman'

The former is from Sanskrit, the latter from Latin.

The persistent tradition inherited from School Malay language policy, to regard these derivations as 'non-orthodox', initially had the effect that the speaking public coined derived adjectives spontaneously, without scholarly guidance. Predictably this sometimes led to redundant and somewhat irregular forms, such as:

<i>ilmu</i> 'science'	→	<i>ilmiawi</i> 'scientific'
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This had led Badudu (1983:73–79) to provide some guidelines in a textbook which was subsequently endorsed for use in school instruction since October 1984.

An important undertaking in the accommodation of Indonesian to its new role as official language was the coining of technical terms. But apparently under the influence of patriotic

<sup>34</sup> These are now often replaced by the hyper-Arabisms *azas/azasi*.

<sup>35</sup> As a consequence of this circumstance, derivations are often not recognised as such, e.g. *anasir* '(political) elements', and *arwah* 'spirits (of ancestors)', representing in the donor language the plural forms of the etyma of *unsur* 'element' and *roh* 'soul' respectively.

<sup>36</sup> An isolated instance of this application is attested at the beginning of this century. Thus, *Hindiawi* seems to have appeared in the name of a newspaper as a Malay match to Dutch *Indisch(e)*. It is derived from Malay *Hindia*, which corresponds to Dutch *Indië* 'the Indies' and is of Indic origin.

sentiments in combination with puristic traditions of School Malay, many names of scientific disciplines, previously borrowed into the spoken language from Dutch, were replaced by terms felt to be more congruent with an oriental tradition of the language. In practice, this meant replacing Graeco-Latin morphemes by Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Javanese, and original Malay ones, or creating calques of the Dutch terms with means provided from these Asian source languages.

In view of the initial reservations of the officials towards adjective derivation, reflecting the same School Malay influence, the replacement of the terms took no account of the need for such derivation. Consequently, most of the original Graeco-Latin nominal terms were replaced by etymologically oriental counterparts, but the corresponding adjectives featuring the Dutch derivational suffix, for which a more and more informed speaking and writing public found steadily increasing use, remained unreplaced. In the following examples, the dash separates semantic doublets, the original Indonesian-Malay Graeco-Latin term to the left, its 'oriental' replacement to the right, whereas the arrow points at the adjectival form derived from the former:<sup>37</sup>

<i>astronomi</i>	—	<i>ilmu falak</i> 'astronomy'	→	<i>astronomis</i> 'astronomical'
<i>biologi</i>	—	<i>ilmu hayat</i> 'biology'	→	<i>biologis</i> 'biological'
<i>géografi</i>	—	<i>ilmu bumi</i> 'geography'	→	<i>géografis</i> 'geographical'
<i>géométri</i>	—	<i>ilmu ukur</i> 'geometry'	→	<i>géométris</i> 'geometrical'

The productive use of the 'oriental' term as qualitative attribute is only possible in some exceptional instances, for example:

<i>dérétan</i>	<i>ukur</i>	'geometrical progression (mathematical term)'
row	<measure>	

Strictly speaking, it is not an example of a QNA, because *ukur* is not a noun but an attributive basic form of the verb *mengukur* 'measure'.

It might be worthwhile to consider either retaining the nominal Graeco-Latin term as well as the adjectival one, or to contract the 'oriental' phrase replacing the former by a compound word, which would permit creating adjectives by means of the suffix *-i* or *-iah*. One could then have for example *\*ilmuhayati* 'biological', *\*ilmubumiah* 'geographical', etc.

The superseding of Dutch by English as the chief source of 'European' linguistic influence during the last decades under initial reservations of language officials towards adjective derivation led to the spontaneous formation of two parallel series of derived adjectives, differing from each other in that one series displays adjectival suffixes taken from Dutch, whereas the other features such suffixes from English.<sup>38</sup> In the following examples, the

<sup>37</sup> Only where a European term was recognised as reflex of an originally Arabic form, i.e. in the case of 'algebra', did Indonesian apparently retain the direct loan from Arabic (*aljabar*) from the very start, rather than first borrowing the European term and subsequently replacing it by a direct loan from Arabic. Consequently, a corresponding adjective of European provenance is not readily available in the language. In the analogical example, in which, however, the Arabic etymon was a loan from Greek, *filisafat* 'philosophy' (compare *filisuf* 'philosopher'), we do find the expected European loan for the corresponding adjective: *filosofis* 'philosophical'.

<sup>38</sup> This process has not, however, stopped another tendency already existing for some time, which is to replace the English suffix in a word borrowed from that language by its Dutch cognate, thereby coining terms not always having a cognate in Dutch. One very recent example, demonstrating that this 're-derivational borrowing' still is productive, is *solusi* 'solution (of a problem)' (as against *larutan* 'solution [dispersed in a solvent]'). The suffix *-si* reflects Dutch *-tie*, being the Dutch cognate of English *-tion*, both borrowed from Latin *-tio(n)*.



Dutch-style derivation is in the second column from the left, the English-inspired one in the third:

<i>individu</i>	→	<i>individuil</i>	—	<i>individual</i>	‘individual (adj.)’
<i>rasio</i>	→	<i>rasionil</i>	—	<i>rasional</i>	‘rational’
<i>tradisi</i>	→	<i>tradisionil</i>	—	<i>tradisional</i>	‘traditional’
<i>gramatika</i>	→	<i>gramatis</i>	—	<i>gramatikal</i>	‘grammatic(al)’
<i>tipe</i>	→	<i>tipis</i>	—	<i>tipikal</i>	‘typical’
<i>mékanika</i>	→	<i>mékanis</i>	—	<i>mékanik</i>	‘mechanic(al)’
<i>période</i>	→	<i>périodis</i>	—	<i>périodik</i>	‘periodic’

Since the 1980s, the official recommendation is generally to use forms with *-al* exclusively (see, for example, Moeliono et al. 1989:1051), mainly because this led to more morphophonological transparency in the context of the already existing means of deriving the corresponding abstract noun, as can be seen from the following example:<sup>39</sup>

*formil* — *formal* ‘formal’ → *formalitas* ‘formality’

The adjectival derivation with *-il* is now only retained when the doublets differ in meaning, as in the following examples taken from Badudu (1983:78), where *-il* marks adjectives and *-al* marks nouns:

<i>moril</i> ‘moral (ethical)’	—	<i>moral</i> ‘morale (esprit)’
<i>idiil</i> ‘ideal (conceptual, imaginary)’	—	<i>idéal</i> ‘ideal (model, perfect)’

For the forms in the left column, the recommended spelling given in Moeliono et al. (1989:1051) is even *morél* and *idiél* respectively (which better reflects the underlying phonemics).

With regard to doublets with *-is* from Dutch *-isch* and *-ik(al)* from English *-ic(al)*, the recommended treatment is to prefer *-is* to *-ikal*, but *-ik* to *-is*, except in some cases in which the opposite has become ingrained in the language (see Badudu 1986:122–123).<sup>40</sup>

Meanwhile, official handling of the problem has in general become more flexible, and the use of indigenous or oriental replacements is no longer always regarded preferable to that of the originally borrowed European term. In the following examples, the tolerated synonym is on the left, and the corresponding recommended term is on the right:<sup>41</sup>

<i>absorb</i>	<i>serap</i>	‘absorb’
<i>aksélerasi</i>	<i>percepatan</i>	‘acceleration’
<i>diaméter</i>	<i>garis tengah</i>	‘diameter’
<i>kekerapan</i>	<i>frékuénsi</i>	‘frequency’
<i>nisbi</i>	<i>relatif</i>	‘relative’
<i>téperatur</i>	<i>suhu</i>	‘temperature’

Note that in two of the examples, the European loan is the recommended term.

<sup>39</sup> The for Indonesian-Malay euphony somewhat ungainly suffix *-itét*, reflecting Dutch *-iteit* (corresponding to English *-ity*), was replaced in the mid 1950s by *-itas*, which was taken directly from the Latin (apparently at the initiative of Mohammad Yamin).

<sup>40</sup> The suffix *-is* is also retained when it reflects Dutch or English *-ist*, as in *idéalis* ‘idealist’.

<sup>41</sup> The examples are taken from the recommendation of the Minister of Education and Culture appended to the standard dictionary of Moeliono et al. (1989:1045).

## 7 Conclusions

With regard to the expression of possession and of qualitative attribution, Indonesian presents a somewhat unsystematic picture, reflecting the complex historical developments which led up to the present language situation. Instead of having some standard morphological or syntactic procedure for distinguishing possessive and qualitative nominal attribution, the language provides a number of borrowed, in part stylistically non-neutral means for specifying the nature of such attribution, and otherwise maintains ambiguity of the latter as the stylistically neutral normal state.

To specifically indicate that a nominal attribute expresses possession, one has the choice of the use of the Bazaar Malay copula *-nya* of Javanese origin, the Moluccan Malay construction using *punya* as copula, or the preposition *dari* or *dari pada* by analogy to the use of *van* in Dutch. To stress that qualitative attribution is implied, on the other hand, one has either to take recourse to using the corresponding abstract derivation of the noun as attribute, in which case the disambiguation is not absolute, or to replacing the noun with an adjective which may be formed from it, using means of derivation originating ultimately either from Arabic or from Latin. In the latter instance, the borrowing of the involved affixes were usually mediated either by Dutch or by English.

Besides going into the pragmatics of the use of these various means, the foregoing discussion repeatedly touched upon aspects of interaction between official language policy and spontaneous usage by the language community. The language situation as regards the use of Malay before World War II was characterised on one side by stringent enforcement of an obsolete late-medieval literary language tradition in publications of the Commission for Indigenous Popular Literature and in school language classes. On the other side, versions of Bazaar Malay were used in actual daily conversation as well as in political and publicist discourse. Furthermore, the indigenous elite was schooled in Dutch rather than in Malay, and therefore in the main only literate in the former (except teachers that had been trained to teach in Malay schools). Although there has been a deliberate tendency towards convergence, in that the Bazaar Malay of educated speakers began incorporating features of the standard language since the 1880s (Mahdi in preparation), and a renovated language standard incorporating features of the actually spoken language began to be developed since the early 1930s, there still remains a considerable gap between the standard language and that which is actually spoken.

The main problem seems to have been that language politicians were initially unwilling, and subsequently too slow in adapting the language standard to the actual needs of contemporary conditions. Under these circumstances, the language community spontaneously developed the means of expression which the economic, social, and cultural development made necessary. In this, it made full use of resources that had been made available through the multiplicity of cultural contacts the country had experienced in the past. Acquisitions from languages of both oriental and western foreign cultures have been indiscriminately utilised, as also appropriations from a variety of domestic sources. Language policy has apparently learned from this experience, and a newer trend which strives to introduce a certain guidance and order in the spontaneous development, rather than resisting it, seems indeed to represent a more productive attitude.

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# 9 *Dutch loan-translations in Indonesian*

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STUART ROBSON

## 1 Introduction

The development of the Indonesian language is a fascinating and important story. It is well-known that Malay was adopted as 'the language of Indonesia' in the *Sumpah Pemuda* (Oath of the Youth) in 1928, and it is agreed that this was 'the best chosen language', as Jack Prentice wrote in *Hemisphere* in 1978, because of its wide spread and accessibility to the population of the East Indies.

The story becomes more complicated, however, when we observe that several different varieties of Malay were involved in the process, a process which had been going on for some centuries, long before the nationalist movement was ever heard of. The variety of Malay that was adopted as a worthy medium for the new state of Indonesia was High or Riau Malay, rather than Low, the lingua franca or bazaar Malay.

In fact both varieties played a vital part. In the centuries preceding Independence, we see the involvement of outsiders in the use and spread of this indigenous language, on both official and non-official levels. From very small beginnings in Ambon and Batavia in the early seventeenth century, Dutch authority extended itself little by little till it covered the entire Archipelago, and parallel with this it became necessary to address questions and adopt measures relating to language use, beginning with the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and continuing in the post-VOC period in the nineteenth century (Hoffman 1979).

In the course of the nineteenth century we note the efforts of scholars such as H. Von Dewall, H.N. van der Tuuk and H.C. Klinkert to standardise and codify the Malay language. There were also government initiatives to set out rules for spelling and grammar seen in the work of C.A. van Ophuijsen, at one time inspector of native education and later Leiden professor, in particular his *Maleische Spraakkunst* (Malay grammar) of 1910 (revised edition 1915). This set up a norm for correct Malay usage which had a definitive influence till the end of the colonial period and perhaps beyond.

It might be thought remarkable that the Dutch did not promote the use of Dutch as lingua franca among their native subjects, and in practice often refused to speak Dutch to them (Groeneboer 1993:233). Instead, they used a variety of Malay for purposes of communication. This was done by officials in the field, by planters and traders, and others

who had to have dealings with the natives. The variety used by them has to be distinguished from the so-called High Malay promoted by the government, and that used in Malay literature, at the Malay courts, for purposes of the Islamic religion, and of course the varieties used as vernacular by a range of ethnic groups.

In 1891, A.A. Fokker had already foreseen the unifying influence that one language, namely Malay, could have for the Indies (cited in Hoffman 1979:84–85). With the spread of education beginning in the early twentieth century, Low Malay became unfashionable, and the literature which had grown up in it would eventually become extinct. Before long the editors of Balai Pustaka would be working to produce and distribute ‘good, correct’ Malay in their publications; and the effect of this on the development of Malay/Indonesian has been stressed elsewhere (Teeuw 1972).

Also from the beginning of the twentieth century, as part of the Ethical Policy, Dutch began to occupy a much more prominent place in education (Groeneboer 1993:233). It can be said that a knowledge of Dutch was essential for advancement, and it is this language that the elite, including leaders of the nationalist movement, learned and used for purposes of communication, both at home and in public. It can safely be claimed that Dutch was the sole window on the modern world, as very few would have had an opportunity to study other European languages, such as French, German or English. On the other hand, many obtained an excellent mastery of Dutch via their schooling. An early and famous example is R.A. Kartini, whose letters are written in highly idiomatic Dutch. In the prewar period a number of young men got the chance to travel to The Netherlands for purposes of study at Dutch universities, so that Dutch became not only socially and culturally prestigious but also a natural vehicle for their thoughts.

The very idea of deliberate intervention in order to regulate or develop one’s language is an unfamiliar one to speakers of English. In Indonesia, however, having made their choice of the ‘language of Indonesia’ in 1928, at the first Language Congress held on 25–28 June 1938 the speakers were already debating the steps needing to be taken to make it into a modern, effective language. For example, Amir Sjarifoeddin spoke on the topic of ‘Accommodating Foreign Words and Concepts into the Indonesian Language’ (Resolutions 1995:1). No action could be taken in this direction until the Japanese Occupation, when a Komisi Bahasa was set up and allowed to work on the development of terminology; as a result of its efforts two little volumes under the title of *Kamoes Istilah* [Dictionary of Terms] appeared in 1946 and 1947. In fact the creation of terms, perceived as necessary to express concepts in foreign languages, has remained a preoccupation of the relevant institutions right down to the present day, with the publication of a *Pedoman Pengindonesiaan Nama dan Kata Asing* [Guide to the Indonesianisation of foreign names and words] by the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Jakarta, in 1995. The policy has been, if possible, to create a new term by taking indigenous elements rather than foreign ones, sometimes leading to grotesque results. An example is the word *kinerja* created to render ‘business performance’, constructed from a Malay root-word, *kerja*, with an archaic Javanese infix, *-in-* which has the function of forming a passive verb. Incongruity and artificiality are features of these formations.

At the same time, borrowing by Malay/Indonesian from Western sources continues to occur in a spontaneous way, at an unofficial level, and this process has probably been occurring since the early part of this century. This borrowing will have taken place due to:



- (a) a perceived lack of a suitable equivalent in Malay/Indonesian, more specifically for objects and concepts that did not exist in traditional culture and society; and
- (b) a familiarity on the part of the speaker/writer and his audience with the donor language.

English-speaking students of Indonesian are often unaware of the origin of loans in Indonesian, or they attribute them to English in cases where they resemble English words. However, the strong influence of English on Indonesian is something quite recent, and the loan words concerned may date from an earlier stage than is realised. Sometimes such loans can be confusing to speakers of English (or of Malaysian Malay, where English influence predominates) who do not realise that the loans originate not from English, but from Dutch. Examples include the following:

Indonesian *polis* 'insurance policy', from Dutch *polis*, but compare

Indonesian *polisi* 'police', from Dutch *politie* pronounced [politsi];

Indonesian *konsekwen*, pronounced [konsekwén] 'consistent', from Dutch *consequent*, hence not English 'consequent(ly)'.

Tracing the etymologies of such loan words is not difficult, as they can easily be detected due to their appearance: their lack of similarity to other Indonesian words and corresponding resemblance to a foreign word.

There is, however, another type of loan, which may not readily be recognisable as such. Students of Indonesian may well attribute the seeming oddity of certain words to some eccentricity of Indonesian, whereas it may also be attributable to a source outside Indonesian.

The type of loans being referred to here have been termed 'loan-translation' (probably based on the Dutch term *leenvertaling*), although the term itself may not be entirely satisfactory: if it means a translation which has been borrowed, then it is unclear. Actually it is a loan which has been translated. In the linguistic literature the term 'calque' is found. The definition proposed here is 'a word which is a product of semantic transference between languages'.

It is because of the fact that these loans do look like Indonesian, and of course are Indonesian, that they may not be recognised as such, until one analyses them and discovers that the literal meaning of the base word corresponds directly with that of a foreign word. There are two interesting characteristics to note:

- (a) The new term is odd if explained according to the normal meaning of the Indonesian root-word it is based on; and,
- (b) The new term is likely to be associated with an area of meaning or activity that was absent in traditional culture or society.

Above it was argued that Dutch was widely used and possessed a high degree of prestige in the pre-war period when the Indonesian language was receiving its modern form. For this reason, the origin of the loan-translations in Indonesian from this early period can be traced to Dutch. However, it is not yet possible to trace exactly *when* a word entered circulation, without extensive research using datable materials. The influence of Dutch on those who developed and used Malay/Indonesian probably dates from at least as early as the 1920s, and also continued much longer than is generally surmised — while the generation of Dutch-educated people continued to live, and there are still many of them alive today. The influence of English may well be stronger among the next generation, who had no Dutch education, suggesting a generational difference, although against this assertion it can be

stated that Dutch words still occur in the youth slang of Jakarta, for example *spreken* 'to speak Dutch', or *sterek* 'strong'.

As long ago as 1964 Slametmuljana produced a little book entitled *Semantik* [Semantics], in which he described all kinds of shifts in meaning in the development of Indonesian, but does not seem to have recognised the phenomenon of loan-translation as such. And in 1989 Harimurti Kridalaksana wrote a short article on 'The Impact of Borrowing on the Structure of Language — The Indonesian Case', in which he wrote:

Through the ages, our language has shown itself to be a very flexible language by freely incorporating lexical items and adapting a significant number of grammatical items and constructions, so that its identity is preserved. Another method of maintaining its identity is translation. In fact it does involve borrowing, namely semantic borrowing, because in translation we transfer a message (as formulated by meaning) and change the form. Still, translation does enrich the language. (Kridalaksana 1989:295)

No examples are given to illustrate this.

There do not seem to exist any other discussions of this subject, so we are now free to consider some specific instances of loan-translation. The method will be to take a particular Indonesian term, give the usual English translation, and then explain its derivation by comparison with a Dutch word. The list is not intended to be exhaustive. Finally a comparison with (Malayan) Malay, using R.O. Winstedt's *English–Malay dictionary* of 1958, a time when any Indonesian influence on Malay will have been negligible, will demonstrate the fact that Indonesian is different. L. Suryadinata's *Comparative dictionary of Malay–Indonesian synonyms* of 1991 can be used as a check. When this has been done, some general conclusions will be drawn.

## 2 Loan-translations

Among the items which come under consideration as possible loan-translations, some appear to be quite clear cases, while others are less clear, and may be the result of independent parallel development. Bearing this in mind, the examples have been arranged into four groups.

I. The following items can be traced fairly clearly to a Dutch substratum. They are not listed in any particular order.

### 1. *keberatan* 'objection'

Winstedt (1958) lists *sangkutan* 'obstacle'. However, *keberatan* reflects Dutch 'bezwaar', which contains the word *zwaar* 'heavy', which in turn corresponds with Malay *berat* 'heavy'. With the affixes *ke-* *-an*, we might have expected an abstract noun, 'heaviness' (not listed by Echols and Shadily 1989), or a meaning 'too heavy'.

### 2. *pendapat* 'opinion'

Winstedt gives *fikiran* 'thought'. It reflects Dutch *bevinding*, which contains *vinde* 'to find', hence leading back to *dapat* 'get'. The affix *peN-*, however, would normally give a noun with meaning 'the doer ...'.

3. *mengenai* 'concerning'

Winstedt gives *fasal, dari hal*, but *mengenai* reflects Dutch *betreffend*, which contains *treffen* 'to hit, strike', in turn leading to *kena* 'hit', the base word of *mengenai*.

4. *kurang lebih* 'approximately'

Winstedt gives *lebih kurang*. Given the word order, the Indonesian order is more likely to reflect Dutch *min of meer* 'less or more'.

5. *sampai dengan, s/d* 'until'

Winstedt gives *hingga sampai*. The expression reflects Dutch *tot en met* 'up to and including', which is made explicit in Dutch when counting a series of items, but is understood in English.

6. *bersih* 'net' and its opposite *kotor* 'gross'

For the former Winstedt gives *berseh* and the latter *penoh*. The Indonesian terms are likely to come from Dutch *zuiver* and *onzuiver*, which mean 'pure' and 'impure', and thus lead to Indonesian 'clean' and 'dirty'. The current Dutch terms are *bruto* and *netto*.

7. *sebesar* 'in the amount of'

Winstedt lists nothing for this item. It occurs regularly before an amount (e.g. of money), and can be translated with 'to the amount of' (not: 'as large as'). It is not normal to use anything in English here. Thus, *sebesar* reflects Dutch *ter grote van* or *ten bedrage van*, meaning 'to the amount of'.

8. *penerangan* 'information'

Winstedt gives only *khobar* 'news'. However, in Indonesian *penerangan* has the rather specific meaning of 'spreading information'. The Dutch term is *inlichting*, which contains *licht*, meaning 'light', suggesting Indonesian *terang* 'bright, clear' as the base word.

9. *penyuluhan* 'education extension, counselling'

Winstedt seems to have nothing here. The Indonesian term is a noun indicating 'the act of ...', corresponding to the verb *menyulahi*, meaning 'to light the way ahead'. This is suggested by the Dutch term *voorlichting*, from elements meaning: 'in-front-lighting'. The image in Indonesian is of a torch (*suluh*) lighting the path, hence of the spread of useful information.

10. *tenaga* 'member of staff, employee, worker'

Winstedt gives *orang gaji* 'wage-earner'. The basic meaning of *tenaga* is 'power'; the above is listed as a secondary meaning. It reflects Dutch *werkkracht* or just *kracht*, meaning 'employee', alongside the primary meaning 'strength'.

11. *angkatan* '1. generation (class, cohort); 2. clearance (of letterbox)'

Winstedt does not seem to have anything for either of these two meanings. Both reflect the Dutch *lichting* (although in slightly different meanings), which comes from the verb *lichten*, meaning 'to lift, raise; unload, clear', hence the use of a derived form of *angkat* 'to lift'.

12. *tembusan* 'carbon copy'

Winstedt has nothing, but Suryadinata gives *salinan berkarbon*. However, *tembusan* reflects Dutch *doorslag*, literally 'hit-through', hence the choice of *tembus* meaning 'to penetrate, break through'.

13. *menetap* 'to settle/stay permanently'

Winstedt just has *tinggal* 'to stay, live'. The word reflects Dutch *zich vestigen*, which means 'to take up one's abode' and is related to the word *vast* 'firm, fixed', which is seen in the base word, *tetap* 'fixed, stable'.

14. *jurusan* '1. direction, route (bus); 2. subject, course (university)'

For the former Winstedt gives *arah* 'direction', and for the latter *jabatan* 'department'. Both of these meanings are found in Dutch *richting* (for the latter also *studierichting*), which is connected with the verb *zich richten*, meaning 'to head for', suggesting *jurus*, meaning 'to head straight for' (apparently not an original Malay word, but Javanese).

15. *pihak* 'side'

This word, meaning 'side, party' (given by Winstedt in this meaning) is used in many places in Indonesian where it does not need to be translated into English. It reflects a specific Dutch use of *zijde* 'side', which is found in expressions such as *van katholieke zijde*, meaning literally 'from Catholic quarters', i.e. just '(from) the Catholics'. Alternatively, it could be from Dutch *kant*, as in *van de kant van*, with the same meaning.

16. *demikian* 'thus'

This word is sometimes used in Indonesian to mark the end of a quotation, attributing it to a source. This reflects Dutch *aldus*, as in *Aldus de minister*. Instead of following the quotation, in English such an attribution is more usually put in front, e.g. 'According to the minister, ...', as part of a complete sentence.

17. *keterangan* 'statement'

Winstedt: *sebutan, perkataan* 'something said'. This term is based on Dutch *verklaring*, meaning 'statement, declaration'. This contains the element *klaar*, meaning 'clear', hence Indonesian *terang* 'clear', despite the fact that the form with *ke-* *-an* should form an abstract noun 'clearness'.

18. *kepentingan* 'interests'

Winstedt gives 'concern *perkara* Sk.; advantage *untung, fa'edah* Ar.'. *Penting* is the usual word in Indonesian for 'important'; compare *mustahak* in Malaysian, according to Suryadinata. The Dutch translation of *penting* is *belangrijk*; the abstract noun *kepentingan* translates as *belang* or *belangrijkheid* 'importance', but its more frequent meaning is *belang* in the sense of 'interest(s)'. This is a very clear example of the influence of Dutch in the transfer of meaning.

Alongside the above group, there are more examples where the arguments are not quite so strong, but which may nevertheless be instances of loan-translation.

## II. There is an interesting group of words all taking the prefix *ter-*.

### 1. *tergantung pada* 'depending on'

Winstedt has *bersandar kepada* 'leaning on', whereas Indonesian is based on *gantung* 'to hang, suspend'. The Dutch *afhankelijk van* 'dependent on' has the idea of 'hanging' in it, just as the Latin element *pend* in the English *depend*. However, the word is likely to have been introduced independently of any English influence.

### 2. *terdiri dari* 'consisting of'

Winstedt gives *dibuat dari-pada* 'made of', but Indonesian has a word *diri/berdiri* 'to stand'. The Dutch *bestaand uit* contains the idea of 'standing' (compare *berdiri*), also found in the Latin element *sist* in the English *consist*; however, again the Indonesian construction is probably an early borrowing.

### 3. *tersebut* 'aforementioned'

Winstedt gives *yang tersebut tahadi* 'which was mentioned just now', based on the root *sebut* 'say, utter'. The Dutch seems to be simply *genoemd*, or *bovengenoemd*, meaning 'mentioned above'. This term is very common in Indonesian, and mostly does not deserve a translation into English, where it is not needed, but is much commoner in Dutch.

### 4. *termasuk* 'including'

Winstedt: *masuk* 'entering'. The Dutch *inclusief* or *inbegrepen* do not have any direct association with 'entering', but rather 'closing in'. The occurrence of the prefix *ter-*, normally indicating an accidental action, is also puzzling.

### 5. *tertanggal* 'dated'

Winstedt: *bertarikh* 'with date'. The Dutch *gedagtekend* (also the more modern form *gedateerd*) contains the idea of day or date as well as a passive form.

### 6. *terdapat* 'to be found, to occur; obtainable, available'

Winstedt gives *selaroh*, which he marks as 'In' (Indonesian), but such a word has not been found in Indonesian; however, *dapat* means 'to get, obtain'. The Dutch word *verkrijgbaar* contains the word *krijgen* 'to get', while the suffix *-baar* suggests '-able', one of the meanings of Indonesian *ter-*.

### 7. *tercatat* 'registered (letter)'

Winstedt has nothing, but Suryadinata gives us *surat daftar* 'listed (?) letter'. The Dutch term is *aangetekend*, which contains the verb *aantekenen*, meaning 'to note', which corresponds to Indonesian *catat*, with *ter-* rendering the passive seen in the combined Dutch affixes *ge-* and *-d*.

### 8. *ternyata* 'apparently; to turn out to be ...'

Winstedt gives *rupa-nya*, *rasa-nya*, *nampak-nya*. The underlying Dutch words are probably *klaarblijkelijk*, *blijken te ...*, and *het blijkt dat*, with the idea of 'to appear/turn out to be true'. Note that *nyata* means 'obvious, visible'.

### III. There are some other words which are of more debatable origins.

#### 1. *rumah sakit* 'hospital'

Winstedt gives *rumah sakit*, while Suryadinata tells us '*Rumah sakit* is also used in BM but it is not as frequent as hospital' (Suryadinata 1991:167). This is odd. The form of the word is strongly reminiscent of Dutch *ziekenhuis*, meaning literally 'house of the sick'; in addition, the formation in Indonesian is also irregular: it should mean 'the sick house'.

#### 2. *pengisap debu* 'vacuum cleaner'

Winstedt gives us *pengisap abu* 'dust-sucker'. Both of these forms are again strongly reminiscent of Dutch *stofzuiger*, meaning 'dust-sucker'. Does this mean that in both Indonesian and Malay the vacuum cleaner became known via Dutch? Or that Malay created the term independently?

#### 3. *latarbelakang* 'background'

Winstedt gives only *tanah*, for a fabric. The Dutch is *achtergrond*, which translates as 'back-ground'. Despite the resemblance, it is not likely to be from English via Malay, as the word *latar* is not Malay but Javanese, and therefore the term must have originated in Indonesia under influence of the Dutch word.

#### 4. *kerajinan tangan* 'handicrafts'

Winstedt gives *pertukangan* 'skill'. The Dutch term is *handvaardigheid*, in which we see literally 'hand-skill-ness'. However, *rajin* 'industrious, diligent' is not quite the same as *vaardig*, meaning 'skilful, competent, deft'. Despite the closeness of the English, the correspondence between the affixes *ke-* *-an* and *-heid*, both making an abstract noun, makes an influence of Dutch more likely.

#### 5. *kata pengantar* 'preface, introduction'

Winstedt lists *permulaan*, *pendahuluan*, *kata penghantar* *In*. So he attributes this term to Indonesian. The Dutch *inleiding* suggests 'leading in', and thus Indonesian *antar* 'to lead' in *kata pengantar* 'a word which leads'. However, this Dutch word means 'introduction', rather than 'preface'. There is no clear distinction in Indonesian. The Latin elements of English *introduction* also mean 'leading in'. Compare to *pendahuluan* below.

#### 6. *pendahuluan* 'preface, introduction'

A Dutch phrase which springs to mind here is *een woord vooraf* (lit. 'a word in advance'), in which *vooraf* may be connected with Indonesian *dahulu* 'first' (before something else).

#### 7. *lampiran* 'enclosure, attachment, appendix'

Winstedt gives *benda lampiran* for 'enclosure', marked as 'In', telling us that this has been borrowed. There appears to be no Malay word *lampir*. The term *lampiran* turns up as early as 1938 in Pigeaud's Javanese-Dutch dictionary, with the meaning *bijlage* 'appendix', together with the verbal form *nglampiri* 'to provide with an appendix'. Here too it is apparently a neologism; a base word *lampir* does not exist in Javanese, but we do find *slampir*, as in *nylampiraké*, meaning to 'hang/drape something over (an object)'. This form can be traced to a base *sampir*. This term may therefore have been inspired by another

Dutch term, *aanhangsel*, meaning 'appendix', namely 'something hung on something else'. The possible role of Javanese is remarkable here.

8. *jiwa* 'soul' [counting word for persons]

Alongside the usual meanings of 'soul, spirit', this word is also used to count people, e.g. the inhabitants of a place. This is a normal use of Dutch *ziel*, also meaning 'soul', but has an archaic flavour in English.

9. *mempekerjakan* 'to put to work, employ'

Winstedt gives only *mengupahkan*, *menggajikan* for 'to employ'. The Indonesian form containing the root *kerja* 'work' corresponds very closely to Dutch *tewerkstellen*, which means literally 'to set to work'. The Indonesian is a *memper-* form, with causative meaning: 'to have s.o. work'.

IV. Some forms which may be late examples are interesting to note, if they give evidence of the continuing influence of Dutch.

1. *mengamankan* 'to place in protective custody'

Suryadinata (1991:18) makes a distinction between a meaning 'to make secure' and a later one; "In Indonesia, after the 1965 coup the term *mengamankan* took another meaning: to arrest or take a person into police custody". This meaning may, however, be based on the Dutch idiom *in verzekerde bewaring stelling* 'to place in protective custody', if the idea of *verzekerde* 'secured' has inspired the base word *aman* 'safe, secure'.

2. *menghayati* '1. to experience to the full; 2. to inspire'

This word does not mean the same as *mengalami* 'to experience'. It is difficult to translate into a single English word, and for this reason alone is unlikely to be influenced by it. However, it corresponds closely to the Dutch verb *beleven* 'to live through, experience', in which we see the word *leven*, meaning 'life', which in turn is the meaning of *hayat*. This is an Arabic loan word, alongside the original Malay *hidup*. A verb *menghidupi* already existed, with the meaning of 'to provide for'; would this explain the appearance of a new word? If so, it would be curious if a Dutch word formed its substratum.

### 3 Conclusions

There are more examples that could be discussed, but the above may be considered representative. Several tentative conclusions can be drawn.

First, the items involved seem, in many cases, to be associated with what one would call in Dutch the *ambtelijke sfeer*, the area of official activities or 'the office'. This would suggest that this was the place *par excellence* where educated 'natives' worked and where they assimilated Dutch terms and, in due course, expressed them in Malay.

Second, as far as form is concerned, the resulting terms show correspondences in the base word, but the processes of affixation often do not appear to show a regular pattern, suggesting a random, spontaneous process of word formation rather than a deliberate effort on the part of the users of this nascent Indonesian.

Third, there is a possibility that Dutch itself has changed over the period extending from the early decades of the twentieth century up to the present within this official area, so that it is not necessarily the latest Dutch term that underlies the Indonesian one.

Fourth, the innovations that occurred may have been based on Javanese as well as Malay, suggesting a role for Javanese in the formation of early Indonesian in the prewar period that has not yet been considered, although this raises the questions of when and how that may have happened, which it has been impossible to address here.

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# 10 *More (on) Kerinci sound-changes*

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HEIN STEINHAUER

To the memory of Jack Prentice, whose love for the beauty and absurdities of language shattered on the ugliness of life.

## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

1.1 In January 1977 Jack Prentice and I started working at Leiden University in the same department on the same day. At that time the Indonesian linguist Amir Hakim Usman was studying there, with the consequence that we both concentrated our research on his language, the Sungai Penuh dialect of Kerinci. Our first publications written in Leiden, with Amir Hakim Usman as co-author, were a result of that research: Prentice and Usman (1978; henceforth P&U) discussed the typologically rather aberrant Kerinci phenomena from a diachronic viewpoint, while Steinhauer and Usman (1978; henceforth S&U) presented the basis for a synchronic description.

1.2 P&U leaves no doubt that Kerinci is a close relative of Malay which probably is nearest to Minangkabau. It has, however, undergone a number of remarkable changes which sharply mark it off from its relatives: ‘extensive diphthongisation of high vowels in final syllables, further differentiation in the same area of words which contain a G-class phoneme [i.e. a non-prenasalised voiced stop] from those which do not, development of distinctive phrase-final and phrase-medial forms, the assignment to this distinction of the role of marking a number of important syntactic functions, and, finally, loss of all suffixes’ (P&U:154).

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Harry van der Hulst for his valuable suggestions in the preparation stage of this paper, and to Amir Hakim Usman for refreshing my memory on Kerinci pronunciation during the intervals of the Seventh National Language Congress on Indonesian, Jakarta, 24–29 October 1998.

A few examples suffice to illustrate this typical character of (the Sungai Penuh dialect of) Kerinci as compared to, for instance, standard Indonesian as a representative of a more widespread type of Malay. The Kerinci sample sentences are written phonemically, following the analysis of P&U (p.122), but with IPA symbols (with *j* and *y* replacing *ʃ* and *ʒ*). High offglides of diphthongs will be rendered with semivowels (the Sungai Penuh inventory being *ey*, *ɔy*, *ay*, *ew*, *ow*, *ɛw*, *aw*). Indonesian parallel translations are in standard Indonesian spelling. Phrase-final and phrase-medial forms are glossed as ABS (absolute) and OBL (oblique) respectively.<sup>2</sup>

The opposition between such forms in noun phrases are illustrated in (1 a-e):

- (1) a. *bateŋ*  
*batang/pohon*  
 stem/tree(ABS)  
 'stem/tree'<sup>3</sup>
- b. *batɔŋ ɲo*  
*batangnya/pohonnya*  
 stem/tree(OBL) 3SG  
 'his/her/its stem/tree'
- c. *batɔŋ pinan*  
*pohon pinang*  
 tree areca.nut  
 'areca nut tree'
- d. *batɔŋ pinan licayn*  
*pohon pinang licin*  
 tree(OBL) areca.nut(OBL) smooth(ABS)  
 'smooth areca nut tree'
- e. *batɔŋ pinan (licen) itoh*  
*pohon pinang licin itu*  
 tree(OBL) areca.nut(OBL) smooth(OBL) that  
 'that (smooth) areca nut tree'

Sentences (2a-d) are illustrations of the same opposition (phrase-final versus phrase-medial) in verb phrases:

<sup>2</sup> These not very felicitous terms were introduced by S&U and P&U. Van Reijn (1976) uses the terms 'pausal' for the ABS and 'non-pausal' for the OBL forms, but this is synchronically no longer correct (see §2.2 below). Usman (1988) prefers the neutral though uninformative labels FORM I and FORM II. As the discussion in §2.2 suggests, the labels INDEFINITE and DEFINITE would probably describe the functions of the ABS and OBL forms better. However, for old times' sake I continue to use the terms ABS and OBL. In the English glosses of sample sentences and quoted forms I will indicate whether the forms in question belong to one or another of these categories. Function words, some pronouns, some morphological categories and some loan words do not participate in an ABS-OBL opposition. In the running translations of ABS forms '(the)' should not be interpreted as specific, but rather as 'the phenomenon of there being ...'

<sup>3</sup> The Kerinci root can be interpreted as 'stem' or 'tree'. In (1c-e) the latter interpretation is the most likely one. The Indonesian etymon only means 'stem', the equivalent of 'tree' being *pohon*.

- (2) a. *akaw ide? bisə nəbeŋ*  
*aku tidak bisa menebang*  
 1SG not can fell (ABS)  
 'I cannot fell (trees)'
- b. *akaw nəbɔn batɔn pinaŋ*  
*aku menebang pohon pinang*  
 1SG fell (OBL) tree (OBL) areca.nut (ABS)  
 'I fell areca nut trees'
- c. *batɔn itoh ditəbeŋ*  
*pohon itu ditebang*  
 tree(OBL) that be-felled(ABS)  
 'that tree is felled'
- d. *batɔn itoh ditəbɔn ɲo*  
*pohon itu ditebangnya*  
 tree(OBL) that be-felled(OBL) 3SG  
 'that tree is felled by him/her'

The ABS-OBL pairs *bateŋ* — *batɔn* versus *pinaŋ* — *pinan* in (1a-e) show the effects of the presence versus the absence of a non-prenasalised voiced stop. The bold -VC sequences are the reflexes of Pre-Kerinci \*-aŋ, respectively in a 'G-word' (a word containing a non-prenasalised voiced stop) and in a 'K-word' (a word without such a consonant).

The sound changing effects of the presence versus the absence of a non-prenasalised voiced stop are also apparent in the morphology of the verb. The passive verb forms of (3a-b) are 'G-words', whereas the active forms of (4a-b) belong to the category of 'K-words':

- (3) a. *ɲo digangew*  
*dia diganggu*  
 3SG be-hindered(ABS)  
 'he/she was hindered'
- b. *ɲo digangu burewŋ*  
*dia diganggu burung*  
 3SG be-hindered(OBL) bird(ABS)  
 'he/she was hindered by birds'
- (4) a. *burewŋ ɲangaw*  
*burung mengganggu*  
 bird(ABS) hinder(ABS)  
 'birds are a hindrance'
- b. *burewŋ ɲangow ɲo*  
*burung mengganggunya*  
 bird(ABS) hinder(OBL) 3SG  
 'birds hindered him/her'

The bold (sequences of) phonemes in (3) and (4) are all reflexes of Proto Kerinci \*-u.

1.3 P&U is a meticulous and comprehensive account of the sound patterns of Sungai Penuh Kerinci in comparison with Standard Malay and a number of Malay(-like) vernaculars. Correspondences with Proto Malay are presented in terms of sound-changes. Given the scope of that pioneering task, it stands to reason that 'no attempt has been made ... to determine the relative chronology of the changes' (P&U:154). Moreover P&U concentrates on the ABS forms only.

It is the aim of this paper to make such an attempt, especially with regard to the sound-changes which affected root-final V(C) sequences. At the same time I shall present some hypotheses on the origin of the ABS-OBL opposition and the loss of all suffixes in Sungai Penuh Kerinci. Apart from P&U and Usman (1988), my main data sources were Jack Prentice's copy of Usman (1976) and my own, both with handwritten notes and additions by the author and ourselves.

1.4 The core area of Kerinci is the central region of the Kerinci district, nowadays belonging to the province of Jambi (Sumatra). Usman (1988:11–12) mentions furthermore the existence of a few Kerinci speaking villages in other districts of the same province, one such village in the province of North Sumatra (Tanjung Morawa), and four in the Ulu Langat district of Selangor, Malaysia (Sungai Lui, Sungai Gahal, Sungai Semungkis and Pansen).

Although criteria for distinguishing Kerinci dialects from more common Malay varieties are not mentioned explicitly, the presentation of six Swadesh lists for language varieties spoken in the Kerinci district indicates that the typical Kerinci features are found only in four of the six dialects (Usman 1988:148–159). The dialects compared are Sungai Penuh, Pondok Tinggi, Dusun Baru and Rawang, which belong to the central or core group of dialects, and Semurup and Lempur, which presumably are representative of the northern and southern groups.<sup>4</sup> The list representing the northern dialects does show a considerable number of ABS-OBL oppositions (about twenty per cent), but the sound-changes appear to have been less dramatic, and there is only a suggestion of a differentiation of K- and G-words. The list representing the southern dialects is practically standard Malay/Indonesian: sound-changes are minimal, G- and K-words show the same developments, while there seem to be only four ABS-OBL oppositions. In what follows I shall not make use of the data from Kerinci dialects other than Sungai Penuh: some \*-VC combinations are underrepresented in the Swadesh lists, information on phonology and phonetics of these dialects is incomplete, whereas information on morphology is absent altogether.

## 2 The ABS-OBL opposition; loss of suffixes

2.1 P&U (p.149), discussing the ABS-OBL opposition which exists for most words in Kerinci, draws a parallel with the modification of final syllables in Minangkabau root morphemes; this type of modification depends on the absence or presence of a following suffix beginning with a vowel; two examples are *manih* 'sweet (adj.)' (Indonesian

<sup>4</sup> Pondok Tinggi and Dusun Baru are uphill satellites of Sungai Penuh. Rawang lies about four kilometres to the east. Semurup lies an estimated twelve kilometres north of Sungai Penuh. All these places are north of Lake Kerinci. Of the villages from which Swadesh lists are available Lempur is the only one south of the lake, at a distance of some forty kilometres from Sungai Penuh.

*manis*), versus *manisan* 'sweets (n.)', and *ayia* 'water' (Indonesian *air*), versus *pajairan* 'irrigation'. Yet, it is difficult to imagine that this would be the origin of the ABS-OBL opposition in Kerinci: there does not seem to be any motive for extrapolating a phonological, mere word-internal phenomenon to the level of the phrase. For another, perhaps more likely scenario, the following observations should be taken into account.

- (i) Sungai Penuh Kerinci today has a clearly observable words stress and consequently phrase stress, namely on the final word syllable and on the final syllable of the phrase. Original unsuffixed forms may have undergone sound changes which were a corollary to this phrasal intonation, whereas final syllables of roots followed by a suffix, or occurring phrase-internally, were protected from these changes.
- (ii) In the declarative mood (active voice), undergoer noun phrases following the verb require the OBL verb form (such as *ɲaŋgow* in example (4b)). Imperatives of transitive verbs (which consist of the unprefixated verbal roots), however, always have the ABS form, even though they are followed by an undergoer noun phrase; compare (5)–(7):

(5) *ano?*            *guru*    *itoh*   *minon*    *aye*  
*anak*            *guru*    *itu*    *minum*    *air*  
 child(OBL) teacher that drink(OBL) water(ABS)  
 'that teacher's child drinks water'

(6) *ano?*            *itoh*   *minawŋ*  
*anak*            *itu*    *minum*  
 child(OBL) that drink(ABS)  
 'that child drinks'

(7) *minawŋ*    *aye!*  
*minum*    *air!*  
 drink(ABS) water(ABS)  
 'drink water!'

(8) *minawŋ*    *akaw?*  
*minum*    *aku?*  
 drink(ABS) 1SG  
 'was I drinking?'

The difference between (7) and the lexically parallel sequence *minon aye* in (5) is a matter of word shape, combined with a difference in intonation: *aye* in (5) bears the main stress of the phrase and the sentence, with a rise-fall on the final syllable. In (7) it is *minawŋ* which bears the main stress, whereas the stress on the final syllable of *aye* is less prominent; there is a sharp rise-fall on the second syllable of *minawŋ* followed by a further but more gradual fall in the pronunciation of *aye*. The word order predicate-subject in which the subject is a kind of afterthought, such as in (8), has the same intonation.

- (iii) A similar intonational phenomenon is described in Usman (1988:212). In possessive constructions the expression of the possession precedes the expression of the possessor: the former is consequently phrase-internal and should therefore

appear in the OBL form. This is indeed what usually happens (see the OBL forms *ano?* in (5) above). However, with first and second person pronominal possessors there is a choice: in (9) it is the *possessor* which is stressed and which causes the preceding expression for the entity possessed to become OBL, in (10) it is the *possession* which is stressed and which therefore is in the ABS form.

(9) *indow?*      *akaw lah daten*  
*ibu*            *saya sudah dating*  
 mother(OBL) 1SG already come(ABS)  
 'my mother has already come' (yours hasn't)

(10) *indow?*      *akaw lah daten*  
*ibu*            *saya sudah dating*  
 mother(ABS) 1SG already come(ABS)  
 'my mother has already come' (my father hasn't)

(iv) In 75 per cent of the compounds of the shape X-Y (X and Y being lexical morphemes), X has the OBL form, whereas Y participates in the ABS-OBL opposition (Usman 1988:261–262). In other words, the first segment of a compound behaves like a phrase internal lexical word. The word for 'tomato', for instance, is a compound formed from the roots *təhawŋ/təhon* 'egg-fruit (ABS/OBL)' and *aka/ako* 'root (ABS/OBL)'; compare its shapes in the following sentences ((11)–(13)).

(11) *ŋo sədɔn makan təhon aka*  
*dia sedang makan tomat*  
 3SG be-...ing eat(OBL) tomato(ABS)  
 's/he is eating tomatoes'

(12) *təhon ako itoh gədəŋ gədəŋ*  
*tomat itu besar-besar*  
 tomato(OBL) that big(ABS) big(ABS)  
 'those tomatoes are all very big'

(13) *bukɔn maɛŋ gədɔn gədɔn təhon ako itoh*  
*bukan main besar-besarnya tomat itu*  
 no play(ABS) big(OBL) big(OBL) tomato(OBL) that  
 'amazing the size of those tomatoes'

These examples also show that reduplication is not a special case of compounding: both elements of the reduplicated form are either ABS or OBL. The audible difference with compounds is that the latter are intonationally one word, with stress on the final syllable, whereas in reduplicated forms both constituents have practically the same stress pattern.

The observations discussed in (i-iv) strongly suggest that Kerinci phrase-internal and word-internal changes have the same origin: they are an intonational rather than a collocational phenomenon. Historically therefore, intonation must have been the decisive factor triggering the sound-changes which resulted in the ABS-OBL paradigms.

**2.2** Once these formal oppositions existed, a new semantic opposition emerged. For an ABS form such as *umah* 'house(s)' any unspecified number of entities having house-like

features would be an appropriate referent. For the OBL form *umoh*, however, it could only be a subset of the set of appropriate referents of *umah*: *umoh* would always be followed by a specification and has therefore acquired the meaning of a specific set of one or more entities having house-like properties. Given this meaning the OBL forms came to be used phrase-finally with a definite meaning, the referent being retrievable from the preceding context. Example sentences (14)–(17) are quoted from Usman (1988:226, 230, 232, 240). The ABS counterparts of the OBL words at the end of the sentences are *kandaŋ*, *minawŋ*, *dikawayn* and *baju ije*.

- (14) *ayaŋ*            *dikuħŋ*            *dalɔn*    *kandaŋ*  
*ayam*            *dikurung*            *dalam*    *kandang(nya)*  
 chicken(ABS) be-locked-up(ABS) inside    pen(OBL)  
 'the chicken was locked up in its pen'
- (15) *didiŋɔyn*        *dulowh* *ayey*            *itoh, bahu*    *buleyh*  
*didinginkan*    *dulu*    *air*            *itu*    *baru*    *boleh*  
 be-cooled(ABS) first    water(OBL) that    only.then    may(ABS)  
  
*ikɔ*    *minon*  
*engkau* *meminum(nya)*  
 2SG    drink(OBL)  
 'only after the water has been cooled first, you can drink it'
- (16) *ano?*            *mamo?*                            *jo*    *dikawen*  
*anak*            *mamaknya*                            *dikawini(nya)*  
 child(OBL) mother's-brother(OBL) 3SG    be-married-to(OBL)  
 'he married his maternal cross-cousin'
- (17) *indo?*            *kailan*                            *baju*            *ijow*  
*ibu*            *kehilangan*                            *baju*            *hijau(nya)*  
 mother(ABS) suffer-loss(OBL) blouse(OBL) green(OBL)  
 'mother lost her green blouse'

2.3 Pre-Kerinci, like some other Malay varieties, must have been poor in suffixes. There are no traces of suffixes corresponding to the Indonesian verbal suffixes *-kan* and *-i*.<sup>5</sup> Adelaar (1984) derives Indonesian *-kan* from an earlier preposition *\*akAn* (see also Collins 1986). It may have been absent therefore from Pre-Kerinci, in any case as a suffix. Whether a Pre-Kerinci suffix *\*-i* should be reconstructed is questionable.<sup>6</sup> A

5 Usman (1976) does contain several sub-entries with such a suffix, e.g. *malahɛkan* 'give birth to', *sədəŋkan* 'whereas', *dikaluakan* 'be taken out', *disalidiki* 'be investigated'. But these are obviously borrowings from Indonesian, Minangkabau or regional (Jambi?) Malay.

6 According to my (limited) experience, Minangkabau informants are hesitant to come up with suffixed equivalents of Indonesian verbs ending in *-i*. They prefer prepositional paraphrases, or produce forms with a suffix which is cognate with Indonesian *-kan*. Both Van der Toorn (1891) and Moussay (1981) contain many examples of forms with a suffix *-i*. From Medan (1980:104–106) it appears that a suffix *-i* is found in twenty-three of his twenty-five Minangkabau investigation points, all over the province of West Sumatra. In the peripheral northern and southern investigation points (Rao and Tapan) only, is it absent. It is the southern area which borders on the Kerinci district, but it is unclear to what extent the Tapan dialect is representative of the Minangkabau

suffix corresponding to Indonesian *-an* was presumably the most salient. After the differentiation of ABS and OBL roots suffixes were preceded by an OBL root.

The obligatory obliqueness of roots preceding suffixes was apparently a sufficient condition for dropping the suffixes completely. I assume that this process started with anaphoric *\*-nya*. Once the OBL form conveyed the notion of definiteness, it made the anaphoric pronominal third person singular suffix or clitic rather redundant. Also for the *\*-an* suffix, redundancy may have been a factor contributing to its disappearance. In many cases *\*-an* formed the suffix part of a circumfix. Even when it was not, the semantic contribution of the suffix was nearly always supported by syntax: as a deverbal noun the suffixed form occurred in other positions than the verbal forms with the same root. This again made the suffix redundant. In the rare cases where syntax was not disambiguating, the ABS-OBL opposition did the job. Compare (18) and (19), which both have the same intonation, i.e. with a prominence peak on the equivalent of 'kiss':

(18) *ciawŋ akaw*  
*cium aku*  
 'kiss me'

(19) *cion akaw*  
*ciuman aku*  
 'my kiss'<sup>7</sup>

For most Sungai Penuh Kerinci derivations the Indonesian cognates of which end in *-nya* or *-an* the only trace of a suffix is the fact that they only occur in an OBL form. My data contain some 100 cases which belong to the seven morphological types represented in (20). The derivational base is given in the ABS and OBL forms (in that order),<sup>8</sup> the Indonesian cognate of the derivation (if extant) is added in parentheses.

(20)	<i>tajen/tajɔn</i> 'sharp'	> <i>satajɔn-tajɔn</i> 'extremely sharp' ( <i>setajam-tajamnya</i> )
	<i>duə/duow</i> 'two'	> <i>kaduow</i> 'both' ( <i>keduanya</i> )
	<i>abɔyh/abih</i> 'finished'	> <i>dadə abih-abih</i> 'unceasing' ( <i>tiada habis-habisnya</i> )
	<i>ijaw/ijow</i> 'green'	> <i>kaijow-ijow</i> 'greenish' ( <i>kehijau-hijauan</i> )
	<i>lapa/lapo</i> 'hungry'	> <i>kalapo</i> 'hunger, starvation' ( <i>kelaparan</i> )
	<i>idew?/idu?</i> 'live'	> <i>pangidu?</i> 'way of living' ( <i>penghidupan</i> )
	<i>pəlɔ?/pəlɔw?</i> 'embrace' (v.)	> <i>pəlɔw?</i> 'embrace' (n.) ( <i>pelukan</i> )

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dialects which may be closest to Kerinci. In any case it is highly deviant from the other Minangkabau dialects, as well as from Kerinci, for one thing in that it largely preserves the original final consonants. I leave the question open.

<sup>7</sup> Example (19) with a prominence peak on *akaw* only, would be 'my kiss' (see (9) and (10) above).

<sup>8</sup> Henceforth two Kerinci forms separated by a slash always represent the ABS and the OBL forms respectively.



In only twelve of these cases a more overt trace of the original suffix *\*-an* has been preserved. They are listed in (21). All have a root which ended in a vowel. All but one lost the vowel of the suffix. All but two have only one shape, typically an OBL form.

- |      |                                      |   |
|------|--------------------------------------|---|
| (21) | <i>adɛw/adu</i> 'report'             | > <i>paŋadun</i> (< * <i>paŋadun</i> ) 'denunciation'<br>( <i>pengaduan</i> )                 |
|      | <i>cahay/cahey</i> 'seek'            | > <i>pancahen</i> (< * <i>pancahin</i> ) 'livelihood'<br>( <i>pencaharian</i> )               |
|      | <i>matay/matey</i> 'die, dead'       | > <i>kamaten</i> (< * <i>kamatin</i> ) 'bereaved'<br>( <i>kematian</i> )                      |
|      | <i>mudə/mudow</i> 'young'            | > <i>kamudɔn</i> (< * <i>kamudan</i> ) 'lecherous (of<br>old men)' (< * <i>kəmudaan</i> )     |
|      | <i>ragew/ragu</i> 'hesitate'         | > <i>karagun</i> (< * <i>karagun</i> ) 'hesitation'<br>( <i>keraguan</i> )                    |
|      | <i>ramay/ramey</i> 'busy'            | > <i>karamen</i> (< * <i>karamin</i> ) 'noise, bustle'<br>( <i>keramaian</i> )                |
|      | <i>bukə/bukow</i> 'break one's fast' | > <i>bukɔn</i> (< * <i>bukan</i> ) 'fast breaking<br>drink/snack' (< * <i>bukaan</i> )        |
|      | <i>jadɔy/jadi</i> 'become'           | > [ <i>imo</i> ] <i>jadin</i> (< * <i>jadin</i> ) 'were[-tiger]'<br>( <i>jadian</i> )         |
|      | <i>titay/titey</i> 'cross a bridge'  | > <i>titen</i> (< * <i>titin</i> ) 'log-bridge'<br>( <i>titian</i> )                          |
|      | <i>tumpaw/tumpow</i> 'basis'         | > <i>tumpon</i> (< * <i>tumpun</i> ) 'ricefield<br>closest to village' (< * <i>tumpuan</i> )  |
|      | <i>lakaw/lakow</i> 'deed'            | > <i>kalakawŋ/kalakon</i> 'behaviour'<br>(< * <i>kalakun</i> ) ( <i>kelakuan</i> )            |
|      | <i>təpay/təpey</i> 'edge'            | > <i>tapiar/tapian</i> (< * <i>tapian</i> ) 'place to wash<br>and defecate' ( <i>tepian</i> ) |

In my data, however, there are also derivations of roots ending (originally) in a vowel which do not have the expected suffix:

- |      |                                   |   |
|------|-----------------------------------|---|
| (22) | <i>sukɔ/suko</i> 'like'           | > <i>kasuko</i> 'joy'<br>( <i>kesukaan</i> )                                    |
|      | <i>sampe/sampe</i> 'arrive'       | > <i>kasampe</i> 'accomplished'<br>( <i>kesampaian</i> )                        |
|      | <i>rindaw/rindow</i> 'long for'   | > <i>karindow</i> 'longing'<br>( <i>kerinduan</i> )                             |
|      | <i>abew/abu</i> 'ash'             | > <i>kaabuabu</i> 'greyish'<br>( <i>keabu-abuan</i> )                           |
|      | <i>balandə/balandow</i> 'Holland' | > <i>kabalandowbalandow</i> 'act (too) Dutch'<br>( <i>kebelanda-belandaan</i> ) |

As it is unlikely that all overtly suffixed forms are borrowings, one must assume that with some lexical roots the suffix had fused with the root, whereas with others it had remained syllabic and separable, which finally resulted in its total disappearance.

The ABS-OBL opposition for the derivations in the last two examples of (21), the lack of vowel contraction in *tapiay/tapian*, and the OBL-only paradigm for all other overtly suffixed roots suggest a long history of lexical diffusion for the changes involved. Without more systematic morphological research no chronology of these changes can be established.

### 3 Sound-changes: introduction

3.1 None of the Kerinci dialects show any indication of \*ə and \*a not being merged in final (root) syllables. It is possible that Proto Malayic root-final \*i and \*u had split into Pre-Kerinci \*i and \*ɛ, and \*u and \*ɔ respectively. But the number of roots that demonstrably have undergone this lowering is much smaller than that of Standard Malay/Indonesian, or even Minangkabau, which is more conservative than Standard Malay in this respect. In most cases historical high vowels seem to underlie the current Kerinci reflexes. There are a few cases which seem to show reflexes of inherited \*ɛ and \*ɔ, but some of these could well be loan words. The cases for which borrowing is an unlikely explanation are too few in number to enable the discovery of clear patterns. For the purpose of this paper I shall therefore assume that Pre-Kerinci had a three-vowel system in final root syllables:<sup>9</sup>

	[front]	[central]	[back]
[high]	*i		*u
[low]		*a	

As indicated in §2.1 above these vowels could be stressed (i.e. occur in phrase-final syllables), and unstressed (occur in phrase-medial syllables).

I further assume that, at least in root-final position, the consonantal system of Pre-Kerinci did not differ from the Proto Malayic one as reconstructed by Adelaar (1992:102), with the addition that there are no indications that in word-final position there was an opposition between (voiceless) velar and glottal stop: \*-k merged with \*-ʔ independently of all other sound-changes. Theoretically it may have been one of the most recent changes to occur, but given its wide spread (it is found in all documented Kerinci dialects and in most varieties of Malay), I assume that the merger antedated Pre-Kerinci times, and I shall write \*-ʔ instead of \*-k as a reflex of Proto Malayic \*-k.

It is likely that Pre-Kerinci had two trills, one alveolar, the other uvular or velar,<sup>10</sup> but this is not relevant for the topic of this paper, since root-finally they were never distinguished or had merged at an early stage. The conditions of the sound-changes

<sup>9</sup> In other syllables there may have been mid front and back vowels, but they have all become high now. Even recent loan words assimilate to this pattern, e.g. *uto* 'car' (from Dutch *auto* [oto]), *kuda* 'camera; photograph' (from *Kodak*).

<sup>10</sup> The latter is reflected as zero root-initially and as *h* root-medially, the former in both positions as *r*. Their lexical distribution is at variance with the reconstructed distribution of Proto Austronesian \**R* and \**r*. See P&U (pp.129–132) for a discussion. See also Adelaar (1992:83–93), who considers *r* a borrowing.

discussed below suggest that this root-final trill was a back consonant, rather than alveolar. Since a back articulation for the word-final trill is found in many varieties of Malay, I assume that it is a change which antedated Pre-Kerinci as well, and I shall write \*R as the Pre-Kerinci input.

Possibly the most typical feature of Kerinci sound-changes is the diverging development of root-final syllable nuclei in roots which contained a non-prenasalised voiced stop (called G-words), and those which did not (K-words).<sup>11</sup> Apparently phonetic voicedness of stops was not a sufficient condition for the classification of a root as a G-word: what counted as a G-word had to contain a stop that was voiced in a well-defined way: voice had to be phonemic. Although sonorants were presumably voiced as well, they were not phonemically so. In what in current Sungai Penuh pronunciation are sequences of a nasal and a homorganic stop, voicedness or voicelessness of the latter is phonemic: e.g. *kandanj* 'cage' versus *kantanj* 'beat up, lynch'. Now, several languages in Sumatra have developed an opposition between two kinds of nasals: a plain one and a 'checked' one (e.g. in Rejang, see Blust 1984:423), or a 'funny' one (such as in Acehese; see Durie 1985:15); both these latter types of nasal, which in Blust (1997:170) are described as 'postploded' derive historically from a homorganic sequence of a nasal followed by a voiced stop. In Urak Lawoi?, a variety of Malay spoken in some insular villages along the south-west coast of Thailand, original sequences of a nasal followed by a homorganic voiced stop lost their stops, whereas original sequences of a nasal and a homorganic voiceless stop lost their nasals (see Steinhauer to appear). Similar phenomena are known from other Malay or Malay-like languages. I assume therefore that also in Pre-Kerinci original sequences of a nasal and a homorganic voiced stop had developed into nasals with a denasalised release. The effect of this articulation was that voice for the resulting set of unit phonemes was no longer phonemically relevant: words with such a phoneme could not therefore be classified as G-words.

The fusion of the nasal-voiced stop sequences into single phonemes antedated the divergence of G- and K-words. Since in other, distantly related, varieties of Malay a similar development of the original nasal-voiced stop sequences can be observed, I assume it was Pre-Kerinci input. Below I shall write \**mb*, \**nd*, \**ɲj*, \**ŋg* instead of \**mb*, \**nd*, \**ɲj* and \**ŋg*.<sup>12</sup>

3.2 Table 1 is a summary, based on this Pre-Kerinci input, of the vowel and consonant changes in root-final \*-V(C) sequences which characterise the dialect of Sungai Penuh. The table clearly shows that splits in the vowels are the rule, both in stressed (i.e. originally phrase-final), and in unstressed (originally phrase-medial) positions. It also

11 Some polysyllabic words containing a prenasalised voiced stop should be classified as G-words, however. See footnote 12.

12 This development of the nasal-voiced stop sequences seems to have been without exception in bisyllabic roots. The vast majority of roots are bisyllabic. Prenasalised voiced stops before the penultimate vowel in polysyllabic roots behave unpredictably. Sometimes the stop disappears, while the word behaves like a K-word, e.g. *camuhaw/camuhow* (<\**cəmburu*) 'jealous'. In other cases the stop is preserved, which mostly, but not always, turns the word into a G-word, e.g. *paɲjarə/paɲjarow* 'jail' (<\**pəɲjara*) (a G-word), but *sajjatə/sajjato* 'weapon' (<\**səɲjata*) (a K-word).

shows that in current Sungai Penuh Kerinci the resulting vowels or diphthongs can only be followed by the root boundary, or by one of the following consonants: *ʔ, h, ŋ, n, t*.<sup>13</sup>

**Table 1:** Changes in root-final \*-V(C) sequences in Sungai Penuh Kerinci

final root vowel *V	changes		in the position before root-final:
	in G-words into:	in K-words into:	
*i	ɔy	ay	# < *#                    ʔ < *p, *t                    h < *s n < *m, *n, *ŋ, *l
	ey	ɛ	# < *R, *l                    ʔ < *ʔ                    h < *h
*i	i	ey	# < *#, *R                    ʔ < *p, *t, *ʔ                    h < *s, *h
		e	# < *l n < *m, *n, *ŋ, *l
*ú	ɛw	aw	# < *#                    ʔ < *p, *t                    h < *s ŋ < *m, *n
	ew	ɔ	# < *R, *l <sup>13</sup> ʔ < *ʔ                    h < *h ŋ < *ŋ, *l
*u	u	ow	# < *#, *R, *l <sup>14</sup> ʔ < *p, *t, *ʔ                    h < *s, *h
		o	n < *m, *n, *ŋ, *l
*á	ə	ɔ	# < *#, *w
	e	a	# < *#, *R, *l, *w                    ʔ < *p, *t, *ʔ                    h < *h ŋ < *m, *n, *N, *l w < *w <sup>13</sup>
		ɛ	# < *y                    h < *s
*a	ow	o	# < *#, *R, *l, *w                    ʔ < *ʔ                    h < *h w < *w <sup>15</sup>
	ɔ	a	t < *p, *t n < *ŋ, *m, *n, *l
		e	# < *y                    h < *s

At first sight the impression raised by this table is one of prevailing madness. On closer inspection, however, some sense can be made of it. The observed Sungai Penuh word shapes, illustrated in Table 1, are the result of the following eighteen sound-changes:

- 1 Split of \*-l.
- 2 Merger of all root-final nasals.
- 3 Nasalisation of some \*-l after \*-i-.
- 4 Merger of root-final anterior stops.

<sup>13</sup> With the exclusion of recent loan words (see S&U:484).

<sup>14</sup> Examples with \*l are found in two G-words only.

<sup>15</sup> Examples with w < \*w are found in a few K-words only.

- 5 Monophthongisation of \*-ay, and fronting of \*-a- before \*-s.
- 6 Loss of \*-w in some roots.
- 7 Rounding of \*-a.
- 8 Raising and rounding of unstressed <sup>+</sup>a- before back consonants.
- 9 Loss of \*-w in some other roots.
- 10 Diphthongisation of stressed high vowels.
- 11 Centralisation of <sup>+</sup>ʔ in G-words.
- 12 Merger of <sup>+</sup>t with <sup>+</sup>ʔ, and of \*-s with \*-h.
- 13 Loss of <sup>+</sup>R.
- 14 Diphthongisation of mid vowels in the final syllables of G-words, and diphthongisation and lowering of high vowels in the final syllables of K-words.
- 15 Raising of low and lower mid vowels in the final syllables of G-words.
- 16 Loss of <sup>+</sup>y.
- 17 Assimilation of <sup>+</sup>n after <sup>+</sup>w-.
- 18 Biphonemic reinterpretation of the nasals with denasalised voiced release.

These sound-changes can be grouped into four subsequent sets of sound-changes. The first set (1–9) is valid for all roots, i.e. for both G- and K-words. They set the stage for those sound-changes which make Kerinci so different from other Malay vernaculars: these latter changes are all directly related to the presence or absence of a non-prenasalised voiced stop in the root. They will collectively be referred to as the ‘primary G-effect’, which is limited to stressed syllables only (sound-changes 10 and 11). After two intermediate consonant changes (12 and 13), the G-effect continues with vowel changes occurring mainly in syllables which were originally unstressed (sound-changes 14 and 15). The final set of changes (16–18) are consonant changes which presumably occurred after this secondary G-effect.

In the following section the sound-changes are discussed in detail.

## 4 Sound-changes: chronology

4.1 Each sound-change is numbered with a slash code x/y, in which x corresponds to the order of presentation, while y — if not empty — is the number of the earliest sound-change in which the result of sound-change x figures as input or constraint. A higher number does not imply that the sound-change came later, but a later sound-change always has a higher number than an earlier one.

In the sound-change formulas the following conventions will be used:

\*X stands for a Pre-Kerinci phoneme or phonemic form; as a phoneme it may be an unchanged reflex of a Pre-Kerinci phoneme at a later stage of development. X is a phoneme or phonemic form attested in current Sungai Penuh Kerinci. <sup>+</sup>X is the reflex of one or more Pre-Kerinci phonemes or of a phonemic form at an intermediate stage; as a phoneme it may be the same as a Pre-Kerinci phoneme, but it is always the result of some sound-change (a shift, a merger or a split). Y stands for Y in stressed and

unstressed position, unless it is in opposition to  $\acute{Y}$ , in which case  $Y$  and  $\acute{Y}$  indicate  $Y$  in unstressed and stressed position respectively.

Each sound-change is illustrated with examples of roots undergoing the change. If the immediate input of the change is some intermediate form, the original Pre-Kerinci form and meaning will be given in parentheses followed by the symbol  $>_n(\dots)$ , in which the index corresponds to the number(s) of the intermediate sound-change(s) leading to the input of the sound-change in question: (\*XYZ 'xyz'  $>_{2,7}$ ) +ABC  $>$  +OPQ or OPQ.

No separate OBL form will be presented in these illustrations, unless it is already different from the ABS form, either in shape or in history.

Sound-changes other than those concerning \*-V(C)# are in principle independent of the latter. The most conspicuous of these other sound-changes are raising of mid high vowels (see footnote 9), loss of \*h- and \*R-, changes of \*R- to -h- (see footnote 10), lowering of \*-ə- to -a- in antepenultimate syllables.<sup>16</sup> In the illustrations of the sound-changes below, these other changes are presented as cooccurring with the first change of \*-V(C)#.

#### 4.2.1 Early changes

##### 1/2 Split of \*-l

This was apparently an unconditioned change. In many roots \*-l became velarised and nasalised, in others it behaved more or less like \*-R (see the discussion and examples in P&U:139–141):

\*-l  $>$  +-ŋ in most roots

Examples:	*gatal 'itch'	$>$ +gataŋ
	*tingal 'stay'	$>$ +tingaŋ
	*tampil 'appear'	$>$ +tampaŋ
	*bətul 'true'	$>$ +bətuaŋ
	*pikul 'carry on shoulder'	$>$ +pikuŋ

The nasalisation of \*-l after \*-a- occurred in eight G-words and in sixteen K-words, and after \*-u- in all K-words and all but two G-words. After \*-i- this nasalisation process must have been relatively slower than after other vowels: at this stage \*tampil is the only non-suspect example. In six other cases in which \*-l after \*-i- changed into a nasal<sup>17</sup> the change must have postdated the merger of root-final nasals into +-n after a high vowel (sound-change 2/7).

In other roots, in which \*-l was not nasalised, it became only velarised, merging with \*-R after vowels other than \*-i-, but preserving a separate articulation after (stressed and unstressed) \*-i-:

<sup>16</sup> This may have been only a phonetic change — if any — since there may not have been an opposition between \*ə and \*a in this position to begin with.

<sup>17</sup> Some of these are loan words, lacking an ABS/OBL opposition, such as *aden* from Indonesian *adil* 'fair'. Although it would be a G-word because of its -d- it apparently underwent the changes typical of the OBL form of a K-word deriving from a form in \*-il.

\*-l > +-ɣ after \*-i-<sup>18</sup>

\*-l > +-R elsewhere

Examples:	*sabil 'the Holy Way'	> +sabiɣ
	*katil 'small bench'	> +katiɣ
	*gundul 'bold'	> +gunduR
	*kidal 'left-handed'	> +kidaR
	*kumal 'lump'	> +kumaR

This velarisation of \*-l to +-R after \*-i- occurs in four G-words and in five K-words, and after \*-a- in four G-words and eleven K-words. After \*-u-, however, it was attested in two G-words only (\*gun<sup>d</sup>ul 'bold' and \*gumul 'wrestle').

### 2/3 Merger of root-final nasals

\*-m and \*-n > +-ŋ after \*-á-

\*-m > +-n elsewhere

+ -ŋ > +-n after any unstressed vowel and after \*-í-

In other positions \*-n and +-ŋ remained unchanged.

The difference between the stressed vowels seems to have been a matter of assimilation: openness of the vowel caused the nasals to become back. It is likely that the mergers of all three nasals were in fact gradual, \*-m and \*-n changing into +-n first. Moreover, the process may have spread from one vocalic environment to the next.

Examples:	*dalam 'deep'	> +dalam/+dalam
	*malam 'night'	> malam/malan
	*badan 'body'	> +badan/+badan
	*ləŋan 'arm'	> ləŋan/ləŋan
	*kiRim 'send'	> +kihin
	*jarum 'needle'	> +jarun
	*cium 'smell'	> +ciun
	*datan 'come'	> +datan/+datan
	*ləŋan 'quiet'	> ləŋan/ləŋan
	(*gatal 'itch' > <sub>1</sub> )	+gatan > +gatan/+gatan
	(*tingal 'stay' > <sub>1</sub> )	+tingan > +tingan/+tingan
	*bətun 'k.o. bamboo'	> +bətun/+bətun
	(*bətul 'true' > <sub>1</sub> )	+bətun > +bətun/+bətun
	*patun 'statue'	> patun/+patun
	(*pikul 'carry on shoulder' > <sub>1</sub> )	+pikun > +pikun/+pikun
	*dindiŋ 'wall'	> +dindin
	*cacij 'worm'	> +cacin
	(*tampil 'appear' > <sub>1</sub> )	+tampin > +tampin

<sup>18</sup> The exact phonetic nature of this back consonant +-ɣ is unclear, but it must have been different from other consonants at this stage of development.

The merger of nasals must have been completed before the primary G-effect (sound-change 10/12). However, the obvious parallelism with sound-change 4/10 justifies the assumption that it antedated the raising and rounding of unstressed  $^+a-$  before back consonants (sound-change 8/9). This is corroborated by the conditions for 8/9: if  $^+\eta$  had not become  $^+n$  by then, one would expect to find  $**on < *a\eta$ , instead of attested  $-an$ .

### 3/10 Nasalisation of some $*l$ after $*i-$

$*l$  >  $^+\eta$  after  $*i-$   
>  $^+n$  after  $*i-$

This is in fact the continuation of the split of  $*l$  discussed above (sound-change 1/2). Since  $^+\eta < *l$  did not become  $**n$  after  $*i-$ , the pertinent roots must have become subject to the change into  $^+\eta$  only after 2/3. The resultant forms did not change before the primary G-effect (sound-change 10/12). There are only a few non-suspect examples, one of them being:

Example: *\*kancil* 'mouse-deer' >  $^+kanci\eta/^+kancin$

### 4/10 Merger of root-final anterior stops

After  $*á-$ ,  $*p$  and  $*t$  merged into a glottal stop, whereas after (stressed and unstressed) high vowels they merged into  $^+t$ . This change of  $*p$  into  $^+t$  also occurred in thirty-eight out of sixty-seven cases of  $*p$  after unstressed  $*a-$ . In the other twenty-eight reflexes of  $*ap$  in my data  $*p$  became a glottal stop):

$*p$  and  $*t$  >  $^+?$  after  $*á-$   
(\* $t$  remained unchanged elsewhere)  
 $*p$  >  $^+t$  after (stressed and unstressed)  $*i-$  and  $*u-$ ,  
and in thirty-eight roots also after (unstressed)  $*a-$   
 $*p$  >  $^+?$  after  $*a-$  in twenty-eight other roots

Because of their parallelism, these sound-changes may have co-occurred or at least largely overlapped in time with the mergers of the nasals (sound-change 2/3). Like the mergers of all three nasals after  $*á-$ , the merger of  $*p$  and  $*t$  with  $*?$  may have been gradual too,  $*p$  and  $*t$  changing into  $^+t$  first. At the latest this merger with  $*?$  was part of sound-change 12/14 (see there). The merger of  $*p$  and  $*t$  into  $^+t$  antedated the primary G-effect (sound-change 10/12). The twenty-eight cases of a direct change of  $*p$  into  $^+?$  must have antedated sound-change 8/9.

Examples: *\*səbap* 'reason' >  $^+səba?/^+səbat$   
*\*lalap* 'raw vegetables' >  $^+lala?/^+lalat$   
*\*ləbat* 'dense' >  $^+ləba?/^+ləbat$   
*\*lalat* 'fly' >  $^+lala?/^+lalat$



*hidup 'live'	> +idut
*cukup 'enough'	> +cukut
*wajip 'obliged'	> +wajit
*lancip 'pointed'	> +lancit
*gəlap 'dark'	> +gəla?/+gəla?
*ləŋkap 'complete'	> ləŋka?/+ləŋka?

#### 5/10 Monophthongisation of \*-ay, and fronting of \*-a before \*-s

The resulting vowels from these changes have different height in stressed and unstressed position.

*-ay	> +-ɛ if stressed + -e if unstressed
*-a-	> +-ɛ- before *-s if stressed + -e- before *-s if unstressed

The fact that \*-s has the same fronting effect as \*-y suggests that its articulation was palatal rather than alveolar.

As to the opposition between the higher and lower mid front vowels depending on stress, it is uncertain whether this was already phonemic at this stage of development. It appears to be a general tendency for the articulation to be less open in unstressed final root syllables than in their stressed counterparts. For the mid vowels this relative tongue height became phonemic at the latest after the loss of the suffixes, but probably already as a consequence of their diverging developments under the G-effect (see sound-change 10/12 below).

Examples:	*ləbay 'mosque servant'	> +ləbɛ/+ləbe
	*suŋay 'river'	> suŋɛ/suŋe
	*bəbas 'free'	> +bibɛs/+bibes
	*ləmas 'week'	> +ləmɛs/+ləmes

#### 6/7 Loss of some \*-w

The only position where \*-w occurred at this stage was after \*-a-. The change occurred in a number of roots only.

*-w	> 0 (zero) in some roots
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The beginning of this process may have coincided with the monophthongisation of \*-ay. In any case it must have been a process of slow lexical diffusion. Before the rounding of root-final +-a (sound-change 7/9) only three out of thirty-nine documented roots underwent the change: \*igaw 'rave', \*kəmaraw 'dry (season)', \*kincaw 'mix'; in twenty-two cases the loss of \*-w only occurred after \*-a- had become rounded in certain final root syllables (i.e. after the sound-changes 7/9 and 8/9). In the examples below this preserved \*-w will be referred to as +-w.

Examples: \*igaw 'rave' > +iga  
 \*kəmaRaw 'dry (season)' > +kəmaha

but \*danaw 'lake', \*lampaw 'past' and \*pulaw 'island' remain at this stage unchanged.

### 7/9 Rounding of +-a

+*-a* > +*-ɔ* if stressed  
 > +*-o* if unstressed

Also here the realisation of the resulting mid vowel, which I assume to have been rather low in stressed position, must have been higher in unstressed final root syllables (see sound-change 5/10).

Examples: \*gila 'crazy' > +gilɔ/ +gilo  
 \*rasa 'feel' > rasɔ/ raso  
 (\*igaw 'rave' ><sub>6</sub>) +iga > +igɔ/ +igo  
 (\*kəmaRaw 'dry (season)' ><sub>6</sub>) +kamaha > kamahɔ/ kamaho

### 8/9 Raising and rounding of unstressed +*-a-* before back consonants

+*-a-* > +*-o-* in unstressed final syllables before back consonants, i.e. before \**-h*, \**-w*, +*-ʔ*, and +*-R*

At this stage there were no other back consonants after unstressed +*-a-*.

In stressed position +*-á-* remained unchanged before these consonants.

Phonetically, this rounding was a process of assimilation, the vowel becoming back before back consonants in unstressed position, where the pronunciation of +*-a* was presumably coloured by adjacent consonants.

The previous sound-change (7/9) is perhaps not completely independent of this change: it is likely that mutual reinforcement took place, with the implication that they coincided.

Examples: \*basah 'wet' > +basah/ +basoh  
 \*lan̄kah 'step' > lan̄kah/ lan̄koh  
 \*danaw 'lake' > +danaw/ +danow  
 \*lampaw 'past' > +lampaw/ +lampow  
 \*pulaw 'island' > pulaw/ pulow  
 \*bapaʔ 'father' > +bapaʔ/ +bapoʔ  
 \*awaʔ 'body' > awaʔ/ awoʔ  
 (\*gəlap 'dark' ><sub>4</sub>) +gəlaʔ/ +gəlaʔ > +gəlaʔ/ +gəloʔ  
 (\*lan̄kap 'complete' ><sub>4</sub>) lan̄kaʔ/ +lan̄kaʔ > lan̄kaʔ/ lan̄koʔ  
 \*dataR 'flat' > +dataR/ +datoR  
 \*lapaR 'hungry' > +lapaR/ +lapoR  
 (\*kidal 'left-handed' ><sub>1</sub>) +kidaR > +kidaR/ +kidoR  
 (\*kumal 'lump' ><sub>1</sub>) +kumaR > +kumaR/ +kumoR

*9/10 Loss of \*-w in some more roots*

\*-w > 0 (zero) in a number of roots

This change is to a certain extent the continuation of 6/7. According to my data, it covered another twenty-six roots, but left ten roots unchanged.<sup>19</sup>

The change did not effect the new diphthongs which developed out of the original root-final high vowels; consequently it must have antedated the diphthongisations of the primary G-effect (sound-change 10/12).

Examples: (\**danaw* 'lake' ><sub>8</sub>) +*danaw*/+*danow* > +*dana*/+*dano*  
 (\**lampaw* 'past' ><sub>8</sub>) +*lampaw*/+*lampow* > *lampa*/*lampo*

As indicated above, the sound-changes 6/7–9/10 occurred in that order, with the possibility of 7/9 and 8/9 coinciding. But they are independent of the other changes and may in fact be dated back to a period before the sound-changes 1/2 and 2/3.

The fronting of \*-*a* (sound-change 5/10) is also independent of the other changes discussed so far and may also have antedated the split of \*-*l*. But since 5/10, 7/9 and 8/9 can all be seen as demonstrating the instability of stressed and unstressed \*-*a*, it seems that there was a close temporal relation between these sound-changes.

Sound-changes 2 and 4 (merger of nasals and merger of stops) finally, are too similar not to be closely related in time. I assume that both preceded the rounding of unstressed +-*a*- before back (oral) consonants (sound-change 8/9). The alternative (rounding of unstressed +-*a*- before some \*-*p* and subsequent change of \*-*p* to -*ʔ* after all stressed and unstressed vowels except unstressed +-*a*-) is less attractive because of the more complicated phonetic constraints.<sup>20</sup>

Whatever their exact relative order, these first changes set the stage for the next set, which were the result and the expression of a growing difference between K- and G-words.

**4.2.2 Primary G-effect: vowel changes in stressed syllables***10/12 Diphthongisation of stressed high vowels*

The sound-changes which occurred in this second stage in the development of Sungai Penuh Kerinci were presumably triggered by a difference in phonation type which developed between G- and K-words. G-words — I repeat it — are those roots which contain at least one functionally voiced stop; all other roots are K-words. The presence of one or more sonorants, including those with a voiced non-nasal release, is an insufficient condition for a root to qualify as a G-word.

Now, I assume that as a corollary of voicedness in the G-words a phonation type developed which had its effects throughout the word, but most noticeably in stressed, i.e. in phrase-final syllables. Whatever the exact phonetic nature of this phonation type may

<sup>19</sup> These ten roots all appear to be K-words, but since only twenty per cent of all roots in \*-*aw* are G-words, this may well be accidental.

<sup>20</sup> This objection can be circumvented by splitting the nasal mergers into a change of +-*ŋ* to -*n* after unstressed +-*a*- preceding 8/9, and the other mergers, which then could have postdated 8/9. For the moment I prefer the more generalising scenario.

have been, it was most likely related to relative advancement of the tongue root. In contrast, K-words were pronounced with relatively retracted tongue root. The effect of the advanced tongue root articulation was raising of root-final stressed vowels, whereas retraction of the tongue root resulted in lowering. In G-words the following sound-changes occurred in stressed position:

* <i>i</i>	> <i>ɔy</i>	word-finally and before *-s, +n, and +t
	> <i>éy</i>	before *-h, *-, *-R, and +y
* <i>ú</i>	> <i>ɛw</i>	word-finally and before *-s, +n, and +t
	> <i>éw</i>	before *-h, *-, +R, and +ŋ.

In fact, the effect may also be analysed as raising from a high vowel to a corresponding glide, with concomitant syllabification by insertion of a preceding mid vowel. This vowel differed, inversely depending on the nature of the final consonant. Before non-diffuse consonants this vowel was higher than in the other positions (word-finally and before diffuse consonants): *-e(w(C))* versus *-ɛ(w(C))*; before *-y(C)*, however, there was (and still is) no opposition between a lower and a higher mid *front* vowel; the given reflexes, *-e(y(C))* versus *-ɔ(y(C))*, are the only way to realise a relative difference in height in this position.

Examples:	* <i>gigi</i> 'tooth'		> <i>gigɔy/gigi</i>
	* <i>bətis</i> 'calf of leg'		> <i>+bətɔys/+bətis</i>
	* <i>dinjin</i> 'cold'		> <i>dinɔyn/dinjin</i>
	(* <i>dindin</i> 'wall' > <sub>2</sub> )	+ <i>dindin</i>	> <i>+dindɔyn/+dindin</i>
	* <i>bukit</i> 'hill'		> <i>+bukɔyt/+bukit</i>
	(* <i>wajip</i> 'obliged' > <sub>4</sub> )	+ <i>wajit</i>	> <i>+wajɔyt/+wajit</i>
	* <i>ləbih</i> 'more'		> <i>+ləbeyh/+ləbih</i>
	* <i>cabi?</i> 'torn'		> <i>cabey?/cabi?</i>
	* <i>bibiR</i> 'lip'		> <i>+bibeyR/+bibiR</i>
	(* <i>sabil</i> 'the Holy Way' > <sub>1</sub> )	+ <i>sabiy</i>	> <i>+sabeyy/+sabiy</i>
	* <i>bulu</i> 'feather'		> <i>bulew/bulu</i>
	* <i>bunkus</i> 'wrap up'		> <i>+bunkews/+bunkus</i>
	* <i>dusun</i> 'village'		> <i>+dusewn/dusun</i>
	(* <i>jarum</i> 'needle' > <sub>2</sub> )	+ <i>jarun</i>	> <i>+jarəwn/jarun</i>
	* <i>kabut</i> 'mist'		> <i>+kabəwt/+kabut</i>
	(* <i>hidup</i> 'live' > <sub>4</sub> )	+ <i>idut</i>	> <i>+idəwt/+idut</i>
	* <i>basuh</i> 'wash'		> <i>+basəwh/+basuh</i>
	* <i>dudu?</i> 'sit'		> <i>dudew?/dudu?</i>
	* <i>kubuR</i> 'grave'		> <i>+kubəwR/+kubuR</i>
	(* <i>gundul</i> 'bold' > <sub>1</sub> )	+ <i>gunduR+</i>	> <i>+gundewR/+gunduR</i>
	(* <i>bətuŋ</i> 'k.o.bamboo' > <sub>2</sub> )	+ <i>bətuŋ/bətuŋ</i>	> <i>bətewŋ/bətuŋ</i>
	(* <i>bətul</i> 'true' > <sub>1,2</sub> )	+ <i>bətun/bətun</i>	> <i>bətewŋ/bətun</i>

The absence of the phonation type which developed in G-words, or to put it more positively, the relatively retracted tongue root position, triggered lowering of the high vowels in stressed syllables in K-words. This lowering is realised as maximal diphthongisation before diffuse consonants and word-finally; before non-diffuse consonants the lowering results in a lower mid vowel:

* <sup>l</sup> i	> áy	word-finally and before *-s, + <i>-n</i> , and + <i>-t</i>
	> é	before *- <i>h</i> , * <i>-?</i> , * <i>-R</i> , + <i>-y</i> , and + <i>-ŋ</i>
* <sup>l</sup> u	> áw	word-finally and before *-s, + <i>-n</i> , and + <i>-t</i>
	> ɔ́	before *- <i>h</i> , * <i>-?</i> , * <i>-R</i> , and + <i>-ŋ</i>

There are no other diffuse and non-diffuse consonants in the relevant positions than those given in these formulas.

Examples: * <i>pipi</i> ‘cheek’		> <i>pipay/+pipi</i>
* <i>taŋis</i> ‘weep’		> <i>+taŋays/+taŋis</i>
* <i>cincin</i> ‘ring’		> <i>cincayn/+cincin</i>
(* <i>kirim</i> ‘send’ > <sub>2</sub> )	+ <i>kihin</i>	> <i>kihayn/+kihin</i>
(* <i>caciy</i> ‘worm’ > <sub>2</sub> )	+ <i>cacin</i>	> <i>cacayn/+cacin</i>
(* <i>tampil</i> ‘appear’ > <sub>1,2</sub> )	+ <i>tampin</i>	> <i>tampayn/+tampin</i>
* <i>kulit</i> ‘skin’		> <i>+kulayt/+kulit</i>
(* <i>lancip</i> ‘pointed’ > <sub>4</sub> )	+ <i>lancit</i>	> <i>+lancayt/+lancit</i>
* <i>pilih</i> ‘choose’		> <i>pilih/+pilih</i>
* <i>titi?</i> ‘dot’		> <i>titi?/+titi?</i>
* <i>pikiR</i> ‘think’		> <i>+pikεR/+pikiR</i>
(* <i>katil</i> ‘small bench’ > <sub>1</sub> )	+ <i>katiy</i>	> <i>+katεy/+katiy</i>
(* <i>kancil</i> ‘mouse deer’ > <sub>3</sub> )	+ <i>kancin/+kancin</i>	> <i>kancεŋ/+kancin</i>
* <i>kuku</i> ‘nail’		> <i>kukaw/+kuku</i>
* <i>halus</i> ‘fine’		> <i>+alaws/+alus</i>
* <i>tənun</i> ‘weave’		> <i>+tənawn/+tənun</i>
(* <i>cium</i> ‘smell’ > <sub>2</sub> )	+ <i>ciun</i>	> <i>+ciawn/+ciun</i>
* <i>lutut</i> ‘knee’		> <i>+lutawt/+lutut</i>
(* <i>cukup</i> ‘enough’ > <sub>4</sub> )	+ <i>cukut</i>	> <i>+cukawt/+cukut</i>
* <i>kukuh</i> ‘steady’		> <i>kukɔh/+kukuh</i>
* <i>kutu?</i> ‘curse’		> <i>kutɔ?/+kutu?</i>
* <i>kapuR</i> ‘chalk’		> <i>+kapɔR/+kapuR</i>
(* <i>patuŋ</i> ‘statue’ > <sub>2</sub> )	+ <i>patuŋ/+patuŋ</i>	> <i>patɔŋ/+patuŋ</i>
(* <i>pikul</i> ‘carry on shoulder’ > <sub>1,2</sub> )	+ <i>pikuŋ/+pikuŋ</i>	> <i>pikɔŋ/+pikuŋ</i>

### 11/ Centralisation of +*-ɔ́* in G-words

Also the reflex of root-final \**-á* was changed in G-words. In K-words it remained unchanged.

+*-ɔ́* > *-ɔ́* in G-words

This latter change is in fact independent of the developments of the stressed \*high vowels. The process can only be qualified as raising — and thus become consonant with the general pattern — if one assumes that +*-ɔ́* was rather low (see sound-change 7/9).

Being part of the G-effect, the process should not antedate 10/12. At the latest, however, it is part of the secondary G-effect, but it is independent of those changes as well. Its inclusion in the set of changes belonging to the primary G-effect is admittedly rather arbitrary.

Examples: (\**gila* 'crazy' ><sub>7</sub>)                    +*gilɔ*/*+gilo*                    > *gilə*/*+gilo*  
 (\**igaw* 'rave' ><sub>6,7</sub>)                    +*igɔ*/*+igo*                    > *igə*/*+igo*

### 4.2.3 Intermediate consonantal changes

Also, other root-final vowels, such as those which are unstressed, split as a result of advanced and retracted tongue root position. However, the environmental conditions are different, and it is likely therefore that first the following consonant changes occurred.

#### 12/14 Merger of *+t* with *+ʔ* and of *\*-s* with *\*-h*

*+t*     > *-ʔ*     except after unstressed *\*-a-* where it remained unchanged  
*\*-s*     > *-h*

Although these mergers are probably independent of each other, they are grouped together here since they both involve a shift to a glottal articulation.

The change of *\*-t* to *+ʔ* after *\*-á-* was already postulated for 4/10, mainly because of the parallelism with 2/3. However, if it was a more gradual process, its final stage coincided with 12/14.

Examples: (\**bukit* 'hill' ><sub>10</sub>)                    +*bukɔyt*/*+bukit*                    > *bukɔyʔ*/*bukiʔ*  
 (\**kulit* 'skin' ><sub>10</sub>)                    +*kulayt*/*+kulit*                    > *kulayʔ*/*+kuliʔ*  
 (\**wajip* 'obliged' ><sub>4,10</sub>)                    +*wajɔyt*/*+wajit*                    > *wajɔyʔ*/*wajiʔ*  
 (\**lancip* 'pointed' ><sub>4,10</sub>)                    +*lancayt*/*+lancit*                    > *lancayʔ*/*+lanciʔ*  
 (\**kabut* 'mist' ><sub>10</sub>)                    +*kabewt*/*+kabut*                    > *kabewʔ*/*kabuʔ*  
 (\**lutut* 'knee' ><sub>10</sub>)                    +*lutawt*/*+lutut*                    > *lutawʔ*/*+lutuʔ*  
 (\**hidup* 'live' ><sub>4,10</sub>)                    +*idewt*/*+idut*                    > *idewʔ*/*iduʔ*  
 (\**cukup* 'enough' ><sub>4,10</sub>)                    +*cukawt*/*+cukut*                    > *cukawʔ*/*+cukuʔ*  
 (\**bətis* 'calf of leg' ><sub>10</sub>)                    +*bətɔys*/*+bətis*                    > *bətɔyh*/*bətih*  
 (\**tanis* 'weep' ><sub>10</sub>)                    +*tanays*/*+tanis*                    > *tanayh*/*+tanih*  
 (\**buŋkus* 'wrap up' ><sub>10</sub>)                    +*buŋkews*/*+buŋkus*                    > *buŋkewh*/*buŋkuh*  
 (\**halus* 'fine' ><sub>10</sub>)                    +*alaws*/*+alus*                    > *alawh*/*+aluh*  
 (\**bebas* 'free' ><sub>5</sub>)                    +*bibes*/*+bibes*                    > *bibeh*/*+bibeh*  
 (\**ləmas* 'week' ><sub>5</sub>)                    +*ləmes*/*+ləmes*                    > *ləmeh*/*ləmeh*

#### 13/14 Loss of *+R*

*+R*     > 0 (zero)

Examples:	(* <i>dataR</i> 'flat' >8)	+ <i>dataR</i> /+ <i>datoR</i>	> + <i>data</i> /+ <i>dato</i>
	(* <i>lapaR</i> 'hungry' >8)	+ <i>lapaR</i> /+ <i>lapoR</i>	> <i>lapa</i> / <i>lapo</i>
	(* <i>kidal</i> 'left-handed' >1,8)	+ <i>kidaR</i> /+ <i>kidoR</i>	> + <i>kida</i> /+ <i>kido</i>
	(* <i>kumal</i> 'lump' >1,8)	+ <i>kumaR</i> /+ <i>kumoR</i>	> <i>kuma</i> / <i>kumo</i>
	(* <i>bibiR</i> 'lip' >10)	+ <i>bibeyR</i> /+ <i>bibiR</i>	> <i>bibey</i> / <i>bibi</i>
	(* <i>pikiR</i> 'think' >10)	+ <i>pikεR</i> /+ <i>pikiR</i>	> <i>pikε</i> /+ <i>piki</i>
	(* <i>kubuR</i> 'grave' >8)	+ <i>kubewR</i> /+ <i>kubuR</i>	> <i>kubew</i> / <i>kubu</i>
	(* <i>kapuR</i> 'chalk' >10)	+ <i>kapɔR</i> /+ <i>kapuR</i>	> <i>kapɔ</i> /+ <i>kapu</i>
	(* <i>gundul</i> 'bold' >1,10)	+ <i>gundewR</i> /+ <i>gunduR</i>	> + <i>gundew</i> /+ <i>gundu</i>

The existence of ABS/OBL pairs such as +*kida*/+*kido*, *kuma*/*kumo*, +*data*/+*dato*, and *lapa*/*lapo* caused loan words in -a, which presumably came into the language at this stage, to assimilate to this pattern:

Examples:	* <i>istana</i> 'palace'	> <i>istana</i> / <i>istano</i>
	* <i>bənd<sup>d</sup>era</i> 'flag' (< Portuguese <i>bandeira</i> )	> + <i>ban<sup>d</sup>ira</i> /+ <i>ban<sup>d</sup>iro</i>

#### 4.2.4 Secondary G-effect: vowel changes in originally unstressed syllables

At this stage root-final stressed syllables were sufficiently differentiated from their unstressed variants in suffixed forms, so that suffixes had become redundant and were dropped. Now, the root-final syllables all had become word-final, and the formal oppositions in final root-syllables acquired the semantic value 'indefinite' versus 'definite' (ABS versus OBL).

Both forms could now occur phrase-finally; in other words, the formal oppositions were no longer a matter of stress versus its absence; both forms could now be equally stressed. I assume that also phrase-internally root-final syllables became less outspokenly unstressed. Consequently stress will no longer be marked in the formulas below.

The effect was that the originally unstressed final root syllables became sensitive to the phonation types that differentiated G- and K-words. The following sound-changes were the result.

#### 14/15 Diphthongisation of mid vowels in G-words, and lowering and diphthongisation of high vowels in K-words

In K-words retracted tongue root position caused the higher mid vowels to remain what they were. In G-words, however, they were raised to the corresponding diphthongs:

+ <i>e</i>	> <i>ey</i>
+ <i>o</i>	> <i>ow</i>

Examples:	(* <i>labay</i> 'mosque servant' >5)	+ <i>labε</i> /+ <i>labε</i>	> + <i>labε</i> / <i>labey</i>
	(* <i>bebas</i> 'free' >5,12)	<i>bibεh</i> /+ <i>bibεh</i>	> <i>bibεh</i> / <i>bibeyh</i>
	(* <i>gila</i> 'crazy' >7,11)	<i>gilə</i> /+ <i>gilo</i>	> <i>gilə</i> / <i>gilow</i>

(*igaw 'rave' >6,7,11)	igə/+igo	> igə/igow
(*danaw 'lake' >6,8,9)	+dana/+dano	> +dana/danow
(*kidal 'left-handed' >1,8,13)	+kida/+kido	> +kida/kidow
*dataR 'flat' >8,13)	+data/+dato	> +data/datow
(*bāndra 'flag' >13)	+bandira/+bandiro	> +bandira/ +bandirow
(*basah 'wet' >8)	+basah/+basoh	> +basah/basowh
(*bapa? 'father' >8)	+bapa?/+bapo?	> +bapa?/bapow?
(*gəlap 'dark' >4,8)	+gəla?/+gəlo?	> +gəla?/gəlow?

With the \*high vowels the roles were changed: in G-words advanced tongue root position caused these vowels to remain high. Retracted tongue root position in K-words, however, caused them to be lowered. Where the coda of the final root syllable before the change was defined merely by the position of the vocal cords (open: +V, closed: +V?, half closed: +Vh) the nucleus became a relatively high diphthong, before the other consonants (+-γ and +-n) the \*high vowel was lowered to the corresponding higher mid vowel. Consequently in K-words the following changes occurred:

*i	> ey	word-finally and before +-? and +-h
	> e	before +-γ and +-n
*u	> ow	word-finally and before +-? and +-h
	> o	before +-n

Examples: (*pipi 'cheek' >10)	pipay/+pipi	> pipay/pipey
(*pikiR 'think' >10,13)	pikε/+piki	> pikε/pikey
(*titi? 'dot' >10)	tite?/+titi?	> tite?/titey?
(*lancip 'pointed' >4,10,12)	lancay?/+lanci?	> lancay?/lancey?
(*kulit 'skin' >10,12)	kulay?/+kuli?	> kulay?/kuley?
(*pilih 'choose' >10)	pileh/+pilih	> pileh/pileyh
(*tanjıs 'weep' >10,12)	tanjayh/+tanjih	> tanjayh/tanjeyh
(*katil 'small bench' >1,10)	+katey/+katiy	> +katey/+katey
(*cincin 'ring' >10)	cincayn/+cincin	> cincayn/cincen
(*kirim 'send' >2,10)	kihayn/+kihin	> kihayn/kihen
(*cacinj 'worm' >2,10)	cacayn/+cacin	> cacayn/cacen
(*tampil 'appear' > 1,2,10)	tampayn/+tampin	> tampayn/tampen
(*kancil 'mouse deer' >3,10)	kancεy/+kancin	> kancεy/kancen
(*kuku 'nail' >10)	kukaw/+kuku	> kukaw/kukow
(*kapuR 'chalk' >10,13)	+kapɔ/+kapu	> +kapɔ/+kapow
(*kutu? 'curse' >10)	kutɔ?/+kutu?	> kutɔ?/kutow?
(*lutut 'knee' >10,12)	lutaw?/+lutu?	> lutaw?/lutow?
(*cukup 'enough' >4,10,12)	cukaw?/+cuku?	> cukaw?/cukow?
(*kukuh 'steady' >2,10)	kukɔh/+kukuh	> kukɔh/kukowh
(*halus 'fine' >10,12)	alawh/+aluh	> alawh/alowh



*( <i>tənun</i> 'weave' >10)	+ <i>tənawn</i> / <i>+tənun</i>	> + <i>tənawn</i> / <i>tənon</i>
*( <i>cium</i> 'smell' >2,10)	+ <i>ciawn</i> / <i>+ciun</i>	> + <i>ciawn</i> / <i>cion</i>
*( <i>patuŋ</i> 'statue' >2,10)	<i>patɔŋ</i> / <i>+patun</i>	> <i>patɔŋ</i> / <i>paton</i>
*( <i>pikul</i> 'carry on shoulder' >1,2,10)	<i>pikɔŋ</i> / <i>+pikun</i>	> <i>pikɔŋ</i> / <i>pikon</i>

To what extent these opposite vowel changes co-occurred is uncertain, but they are grouped together here, since the two sets of changes are complementary.

The results of both sets of changes confirm the already familiar picture of lower vowels in K-words and higher ones in G-words.

#### 15/ Raising of low and lower mid vowels in G-words

With the higher mid vowels out of the way, there was room for the lower vowels to be raised in G-words:

+ <i>-ε</i>	> <i>-e</i>
* <i>-a</i>	> <i>-e</i>
* <i>-a-</i>	> <i>-e-</i> before <i>+?</i> , * <i>-h</i> , and <i>+ŋ</i>
	> <i>-ɔ-</i> before <i>+n</i> , and <i>+t</i>

The latter two changes show vowel-consonant dissimilation: before back consonants the vowels are fronted, before anterior consonants they become back.

Examples: (* <i>ləbay</i> 'mosque servant' >5,14)	+ <i>ləbe</i> / <i>ləbey</i>	> <i>ləbe</i> / <i>ləbey</i>
(* <i>bebas</i> 'free' >5,12,14)	+ <i>bibeh</i> / <i>bibeyh</i>	> <i>bibeh</i> / <i>bibeyh</i>
(* <i>bəndəra</i> 'flag' >13,14)	+ <i>bandira</i> / <i>+bandirow</i>	> + <i>bandire</i> / + <i>bandirow</i>
(* <i>danaw</i> 'lake' >6,8,9,14)	+ <i>dana</i> / <i>danow</i>	> <i>dane</i> / <i>danow</i>
(* <i>kidal</i> 'left-handed' >1,8,13,14)	+ <i>kida</i> / <i>kidow</i>	> <i>kide</i> / <i>kidow</i>
(* <i>dataR</i> 'flat' >8,13,14)	+ <i>data</i> / <i>datow</i>	> <i>date</i> / <i>datow</i>
(* <i>bapa?</i> 'father' >8,14)	+ <i>baba?</i> / <i>bapow?</i>	> <i>bape?</i> / <i>bapow?</i>
(* <i>səbap</i> 'reason' >4)	+ <i>səba?</i> / <i>+səbat</i>	> <i>səbe?</i> / <i>səbɔt</i>
(* <i>ləbat</i> 'dense' >4)	+ <i>ləba?</i> / <i>+ləbat</i>	> <i>ləbe?</i> / <i>ləbɔt</i>
(* <i>basah</i> 'wet' >8,14)	+ <i>basah</i> / <i>basowh</i>	> <i>baseh</i> / <i>basowh</i>
(* <i>datan</i> 'come' >2)	+ <i>datan</i> / <i>+datan</i>	> <i>dater</i> / <i>datɔn</i>
(* <i>dalam</i> 'deep' >2)	+ <i>dalan</i> / <i>+dalan</i>	> <i>daler</i> / <i>dalɔn</i>
(* <i>badan</i> 'body' >2)	+ <i>badan</i> / <i>+badan</i>	> <i>bader</i> / <i>badɔn</i>
(* <i>gatal</i> 'itch' >1,2)	+ <i>gatan</i> / <i>+gatan</i>	> <i>gater</i> / <i>gatɔn</i>

#### 4.2.5 Final consonantal changes

##### 16/ Loss of *+γ*

+ <i>γ</i>	> 0 (zero)
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This change occurred after 14/15. As a hypothetical reflex of *\*-l* after *\*-i-*, the phonetic nature of this *+y* is rather enigmatic. It has to be postulated only for sound-change 14/15. Where it conditions other sound-changes (notably 10/12), it cannot be distinguished from *-R*, the more common reflex of *\*-l*.

Examples: (*\*katil* 'small bench' ><sub>1,10,14</sub>)    *+katɛy/+katɛy*    > *kate/kate*  
 (*\*sabil* 'the Holy Way' ><sub>1,10</sub>)<sup>21</sup>    *+sabeyy/+sabiyy*    > *sabey/sabi*

### 17/ Assimilation of *+n* to a preceding *+w*

*+n*    > *-ŋ* after *-w-*

Only originally stressed syllables of roots which once ended in *\*-um*, *\*-un* or *\*-uŋ* provided the necessary condition for this change. It obviously postdated the primary G-effect on the stressed high vowels (sound-change 10/12), but is independent of all other later changes.

Examples: (*\*cium* 'smell' ><sub>2,10,14</sub>)    *+ciawn/cion*    > *ciawŋ/cion*  
 (*\*tənun* 'weave' ><sub>10,14</sub>)    *+tənawn/tənon*    > *tənawŋ/tənon*  
 (*\*jarum* 'needle' ><sub>2,10</sub>)    *+jarewn/jarun*    > *jarewŋ/jarun*  
 (*\*dusun* 'village' ><sub>10</sub>)    *+dusewn/dusun*    > *dusewŋ/dusun*

### 18/ Biphonemic reinterpretation of the nasals with voiced denasalised release

*+m<sup>b</sup>-*, *+n<sup>d</sup>-*, *+ŋ<sup>j</sup>-*, and *+ŋ<sup>g</sup>-*    > *-mb-*, *-nd-*, *-ŋj-*, and *-ŋg-*

This reinterpretation corresponds to current Sungai Penuh Kerinci pronunciation. The change must have postdated the secondary G-effect (sound-changes 14 and 15), but was independent of the other later changes.

Examples: (*\*gam<sup>b</sup>aR* 'picture' ><sub>8,13,14,15</sub>)    *+gambe/+gambow*    > *gambe/gambow*  
 (*\*bəndera* 'flag' ><sub>13,14,15</sub>)    *+bandire/+bandirow* > *bandire/bandirow*  
 (*\*gundul* 'bold' ><sub>1,10,13</sub>)    *+gundew/+gundu*    > *gundew/gundu*  
 (*\*dindiŋ* 'wall' ><sub>2,10</sub>)    *+dindɔyn/+dindin*    > *dindɔyn/dindin*  
 (*\*paŋjaŋ* 'long' ><sub>2</sub>)    *+paŋjaŋ/+paŋjan*    > *paŋjaŋ/paŋjan*  
 (*\*tingal* 'stay' ><sub>1,2</sub>)    *+tingaŋ/+tingan*    > *tingaŋ/tingan*

## 5 Conclusion

**5.1** The above chronology of sound-changes is summarised in Figure 1. The figures refer to the numbers of the sound-changes discussed above. It should be stressed that the chronology is relative, which implies that beginning and end of the subsequent sound-

<sup>21</sup> Instead of *+iy* as the reflex of *\*-il* in *\*sabil* according to sound-change 1/2, one could also propose another split, whereby some *\*-il* became *+iR* and others *+iy*. However, I prefer the more general formulation in this case, which may be a matter of loan word adaptation.

changes cannot be related to real time. A thick horizontal line indicates that the vertical borders between subsequent sound-changes above and below it have no real time connection to each other. Although it is likely that 2 and 4 largely coincided, the picture illustrates the possibility that 4 was a more gradual process, which for part of its effects may have been effective until sound-change 12.

monophthongisation of *-ay fronting of *-a- before *-s (5)					diphthongisation of stressed high vowels (10)	*-s > h (12) + -i > -ʔ (12) (4?)	diphthongisations in G- and K- words (14)	raising of lower vowels in G- words (15)	+ -mb- etc. > -mb- etc. (18)
split of *-l (1)	merger of stops (4)							loss of + -R (13)	loss of + -y (16)
	merger of nasals (2)	*-l > -ŋ (3)	rounding of *-a- (8)	loss of some more *-w (9)		assimilation of + -n after -w- (17)			
loss of some *-w (6)		rounding of *-a (7)		centralisation of + ʔ in G- words (11)					

order of sound-changes in time ---->

Figure 1: Relative chronology of sound-changes in Sungai Penuh Kerinci

5.2 The chronology proposed in this paper remains hypothetical. Basic concepts in the reconstruction are the stressed-unstressed opposition, the phonetic definition of G- words, and the corollary of the latter: advanced tongue root position with the effect of vowel raising.

It remains rather unsatisfactory that some neo-hocus-pocus is required to analyse diphthongisation of high vowels in one case (\*i > ay and \*ú > aw) as raising, and in another case (\*i > ey and \*u > ow) as lowering. Yet, a more plausible solution does not seem to be obvious. Whatever the solution might be, it remains typologically amazing that the G-effect jumps syllables.<sup>22</sup>

The sound-changes of Kerinci appear to be quite regular. Nonetheless, there are exceptions. Some of these have been incorporated in the above chronology in terms of unconditioned splits (\*-l in 1/2 and \*-p in 4/10), and slow lexical diffusion (\*-w in 6/7 and 9/10). Borrowing was suggested as a source of some other exceptions (\*-a > -e/-ow as discussed in 13/14).

To what extent borrowing is an explanation depends on factors such as statistics, source, domain and time of borrowing. I hope to return to these questions on another occasion.

<sup>22</sup> In a recent paper Blust describes similar (but not identical) phenomena (fronting of \*a, triggered by the presence of a voiced consonant earlier in the word) in a number of languages in and around northern Sarawak (Blust 2000).

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# 11 *Verb sequences in Melayu Tenggara Jauh: the interface of Malay and the indigenous languages of Southwest Maluku*

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AONE VAN ENGELENHOVEN

In memory of Jack Prentice, who introduced me to Tagalog and Malay linguistics. *Kalo malilianan ku, Jack!*

## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

This paper focuses on the prevailing contact language in Southwest Maluku called *Melayu Tenggara Jauh*,<sup>2</sup> or ‘Far Southeastern Malay’. Except for my short note in Adelaar and Prentice (1996:684), this is the first publication to provide any data about this language. Inspired by Bakker and Mous (1994), I intend to test the applicability of the term ‘mixed language’ to *Melayu Tenggara Jauh*, which has become the primary vernacular for interinsular contacts in the region.

### 1.1 The history of Malay in Southwest Maluku

Malay has spread throughout insular Southeast Asia. However, it penetrated only relatively recently in ‘Southwest Maluku’, the region off the easternmost tip of Timor, which

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<sup>1</sup> In writing this paper I benefited very much from discussions with various colleagues of whom David Gil and Gloria Poedjosoedarmo deserve special mention. Any shortcomings in this paper are of course my own responsibility alone.

Abbreviations used in this paper are: 1,2,3 – first, second, third person; d – dual; DEM – demonstrative; DEX – indexer clitic; EI – East Indonesian Malay; IND – indicative clitic; MTD – Melayu Tenggara Dekat; MTJ – Melayu Tenggara Jauh; pl – plural; plinc – plural inclusive; POL – polite; RED – reduplication; sg – singular; [-] morpheme boundary.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Indonesian term, the local term does not have a final /h/.

in 1999 became an independent Regency in Maluku Province (East Indonesia) (van Dijk 2000:25fn.2). Malay was probably introduced in the first half of the last century, when the Protestant mission held a huge Christianisation campaign in the region, which turned out to be a complete failure (Neurdenberg 1876, 1884).

The reason why Malay had apparently not been introduced earlier must be sought in the fact that the Southwest Maluku region had never been a link in any of the trade networks through which Malay spread rapidly throughout the entire archipelago. Since the fourteenth century, Banda had evolved into the primary centre of trade where cloth from India was bartered for Southeast Malukan products like mother-of-pearl and feathers, the latter probably in the form of dried parrots and birds-of-paradise (Meilink-Roelofs 1962). Because the main route to Banda and East-Seram from the West went along the north coast of Timor and west of Wetar, nautical traffic was diverted from Southwest Maluku.

Although little is known about the Southwest Maluku region in the sixteenth century, it is obvious that around that time some kind of economic system must have existed between the islands. This is suggested by the presence of a local network, called *Nohpaikra-Raipiatra* ('Guided Islands and Conducted Continents'). Local tradition has it that it was established by Luang islanders. In this economic alliance each island was assigned its own exclusive export product. Local ethnohistory mentions a special vernacular, which was not Malay and which was used between the islands in trade and warfare. Elsewhere I elaborate on how this mythical vernacular could transform into a register labelled *Lirasniara* (sung language), which is apparently used from Babar in the East to Roma in the West (van Engelenhoven in press).

## 1.2 The indigenous languages

Southwest Maluku comprises fifteen inhabited islands and some uninhabited islets, grouped into three administrative centres: Tepa in the East (Babar archipelago, Sermata and Luang), Serwaru in the middle (Leti, Moa and Lakor) and Wonreli in the West (Kisar, Wetar, Roma and Damar).

The Tepa district, on Babar Island, and the Wonreli district, on Wetar Island, are the most diverse from a linguistic point of view. On each island there are five different, although genetically closely related, languages. The Serwaru district is less diverse, with a dialect chain which extends into the Tepa district. On morphological grounds Leti (at the western end of the chain) and Wetan (at the eastern end) are to be considered languages in their own right, although there is as yet no consensus about this in the literature.<sup>3</sup>

The majority of indigenous Southwest Maluku languages belong to the Central Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Blust 1993). Oirata (in South Kisar) is a non-Austronesian isolate closely related to Fataluku in the tip of East Timor. Another apparent isolate, which is spoken on West Damar and referred to as Batu Mera<sup>4</sup> in local Malay, was identified as Austronesian by Taber (1993). On the basis of lexicostatistical findings, Taber divides the remaining languages into two groups, the Southwest Maluku group and the Babar group. In his classification, only the Southwest Maluku group is linked to the Austronesian languages of Timor. I propose some modifications to this picture and

<sup>3</sup> In van Engelenhoven (1995b, 1997) I demonstrate a separate language status for Leti and Wetan. Taber (1993) considers them to be dialects of each other. Taber and Taber (1995, note 4), however, tend towards a different language status for Leti.

<sup>4</sup> *Batu Merah* in Indonesian, *Amaya* in the indigenous language (see Pannell 1991).

analyse the languages on North Kisar, Roma (Jerusu), East Damar and the island chain from Leti to Wetan as descendants of one protolanguage, Luangic-Kisaric (van Engelenhoven 1995b).<sup>5</sup>

### 1.3 A working definition of 'mixed language'

According to Bakker and Mous (1994), it is very difficult to provide an airtight definition of the term 'mixed language'. They '... propose the term "language intertwining" for the process forming mixed languages showing a combination of the grammatical system (phonology, morphology, syntax) of one language with the lexicon of another language' (p.4–5).

While the majority of lexical items used is clearly Malay, *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* (henceforth MTJ) does not feature the sound shifts from final dental and labial nasal to velar nasal and from schwa to a central low vowel [a], which are typical in Malay in East-Indonesia (Nivens 1994:37–39). This is exemplified below by contrasting lexical items in Ambonese Malay with their counterparts in Colloquial Indonesian and MTJ.

#### 1. *n, m > ŋ / \_#* in East-Indonesian Malay

Gloss	Ambonese-Malay	Colloquial Indonesian	MTJ
'fish'	<i>ikaŋ</i>	<i>ikan</i>	<i>ikan</i>
'moon'	<i>bulaŋ</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>bulan</i>
'yesterday'	<i>kamaŋ</i>	<i>kamaren</i>	<i>kemaren</i>
'night'	<i>malaŋ</i>	<i>malam</i>	<i>malam</i>
'not yet'	<i>baŋ</i>	<i>belum</i>	<i>blum</i>

#### 2. in East-Indonesian Malay, *ə > a*

in MTJ, *ə > ø* between continuants and occlusives in non-final syllables  
*ə > fronted e* (elsewhere)

Gloss	Ambonese-Malay	Colloquial Indonesian	MTJ
'buy'	<i>bali</i>	<i>bəli</i>	<i>bli</i>
'k.o. boat'	<i>paraw</i>	<i>pəraw</i>	<i>praw</i>
'shoe'	<i>sapatu</i>	<i>səpatu</i>	<i>spatu</i>
'half'	<i>sateŋa</i>	<i>sətəŋah/sətəŋah</i>	<i>steŋa</i>

Many lexical items in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* are easily recognised as loans from East-Indonesian Malay, possibly Ambonese Malay, because they feature the typical lowering of schwa to /a/:

Gloss	Ambonese Malay	Colloquial Indonesian	MTJ	expected
'butter'	<i>mantega</i>	<i>məntega</i>	<i>mantega</i>	* <i>mentega</i>
'pepper'	<i>marica</i>	<i>mərica</i>	<i>marica</i>	* <i>merica</i>

<sup>5</sup> The insertion of East-Damar in the Luangic-Kisaric branch is based on the rate of common vocabulary of this language with the Kisaric and Luangic isolects (55 per cent with each subgroup).

More research is needed before it can be determined what kind of words are typical loans and which are not. At first sight, most are taken directly from Ambonese Malay. Non-traditional food stuffs are usually indicated by Ambonese Malay words, whereas for traditional food indigenous terms are used:

Gloss	MTJ	< donor language	< source language
'k.o. liquor'	<i>arke</i>	< Luangic	< <i>arak</i> (Ambonese Malay < Arabic)
'biscuit'	<i>kuksi</i>	< Luangic	< <i>kukis</i> (Ambonese Malay < Dutch)
'maize'	<i>wetra</i>	< $\beta$ etra (Leti)	
'k.o. cake'	<i>protu</i>	< pro:tu (Leti)	< <i>brood</i> [browt] (Dutch)

While the *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* lexicon is largely derived, directly or indirectly, from Malay, the role of the local languages becomes apparent in comparing *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* morphosyntax with that of the languages of Southwest Maluku.

## 2 Clause combining

One of the most typical phenomena in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* is extensive clause combining, which is formally distinguished in two types.

Coordination by means of a clitic 'then' iconically signals the chronological order of the messages encoded in the respective clauses, referred to here as *sequential coordination* or *sequencing*. Thus, the message in a coordinated clause is always subsequent in time to the message in the preceding clause. Reversing the order of sequenced clauses therefore imply a different proposition, exemplified by the underlined clauses in (1a) that are reversed in (1b).

- (1) a. *Mau ujan la tante minta payong la pi greja.*  
 want rain then aunt ask umbrella then go church  
 'It is about to rain. Therefore I<sup>6</sup> ask (your) umbrella in order to go to the church.' (MTJ)
- b. *Mau ujan la tante pi greja la minta payong.*  
 want rain then aunt go church then ask umbrella  
 'It is about to rain. Therefore I go to the church in order to ask (your) umbrella.' (MTJ)

Clauses that are coordinated through adposition signal that the encoded messages take place at the same time, referred to here as *simultaneous coordination*. Clauses displaying this type of coordination thus constitute a single moment in the event line that is built up in the sentence. Because of that reversing the order of adposed clauses will rather effectuate a shift in focal point.

- (2) *Ai, tante pulang greja lupa payong!*  
 hey aunt go.back church forget umbrella  
 'Hey, I came back from the church and forgot the umbrella!' (MTJ)

<sup>6</sup> In *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* and the regional languages of Southwest Maluku 'indirect' reference through names or titles is preferred over first and second person 'direct' reference when the social statuses of the respective speech participants do not match.



Unlike the standard dialects of Malay, *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* makes use of prepositional phrases only to specify the location of the State-of-Affairs. Directional, instrumental notions and the like are rather encoded through clause-combining.

### Same subject coordination: instrumental and directional constructions

In order to describe clause combining properly, core coordinations are best divided into same subject and different subject coordinations (van Engelenhoven 1995a:245). For a proper elaboration on same subject coordination the last part of the *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* example (1b) is repeated once more as (3a).

- (3) a. *Tante pi greja la ø minta payong.*  
 aunt go church then ø ask umbrella  
 'I go to the church in order to ask (your) umbrella.' (MTJ).

In same subject coordinations the subject of the second core is coreferentially elided (indicated in the example above as  $\emptyset$ ). All indigenous languages, except for Oirata, however, feature pronominal inflection on the verb to confirm that the subjects in both cores are identical, as displayed in the following Leti translation of the *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* sentence.

- (3) b. *In-mu l-la krèi po ø n-vake paanu.*  
 aunt-2sg 3sg-go church then ø 3sg-ask umbrella  
 'I (lit. your aunt) go to the church in order to ask (your) umbrella.' (Leti)

In both the indigenous languages of Southwest Maluku and *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* there are 'instrumental constructions', as I refer to them here. In these constructions, same subject coordination is used to combine cores, whereby the object of one core refers to the instrument of the event encoded in the other core.

In *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* instruments are encoded as objects of 'to use' or 'to ascend', when referring to a means of transportation. The enclitic *la* 'then' (< Standard Malay *lalu*) coordinates both cores and iconically indicates that the event encoded in the first core precedes the event encoded in the second core in time (labelled 'sequencing' above). In a sequenced construction the instrumental object appears in the first core (4a), whereas in a juxtaposed construction it appears in the second core (4b).

- (4) a. *Kita pake glasi la minum arke.*  
 we use glass then drink arrack  
 'We drink arrack in a glass.' (lit. 'We use (a) glass and then drink arrack.') (MTJ)
- b. *Kita minum arke pake glasi.*  
 we drink arrack use glass  
 'We drink arrack in a glass.' (lit. 'We drink arrack use (a) glass.') (MTJ)

In the indigenous languages instruments are mostly encoded as the object of a verb meaning 'to carry'. However, the syntax of these constructions differs according to language subgroup. In Wetaric instrumental constructions, which are always juxtapositions, 'to carry' may occur in either core without any noticeable semantic differentiation (Hinton 1991:137).

In the Luangic-Kisaric languages, on the other hand, 'to carry' — and sometimes 'to take'<sup>7</sup> — is required in the initial core of the juxtaposition, as is in the following Leti example:

- (5) a. *R-odi spou r-sòple la Rali'avan.*  
 3pl-carry boat 3pl-sail go Timor:IND  
 'They sail to Timor by boat.' (lit. 'They take the boat and sail to Timor.')(Leti)  
 [van Engelenhoven 1995a:249]

Since juxtaposition is first of all the main device for simultaneous coordination in Luangic, the core messages of an instrumental construction are characterised as a single moment in the event line. In a language like Leti where sequential and simultaneous coordination are formally distinct, the insertion of a conjunction meaning 'then' adds a notion of intentionality.

- (5) b. *R-odi spou po r-sòple la Rali'avan.*  
 3pl-carry boat then 3pl-sail go Timor:IND  
 'They sail to Timor with the boat.' (lit. 'They take the boat and then sail to Timor.')(Leti)  
 [van Engelenhoven 1995a:248]

In Southwest Maluku languages directional specification differs as to whether or not reference is made to the location of the speech participant. If such reference is made in this paper, I use the term 'speech-based orientation', and if not, I use the term 'non-speech based orientation'.<sup>8</sup> Speech-based orientation is common to most East-Indonesian languages. In these languages, terms meaning 'hither', 'thither' or another term connoting the position of the Speaker and/or Hearer are obligatorily added to any motion verb.

*Melayu Tenggara Jauh* directional constructions are less elaborate than those of Wetaric and Luangic-Kisaric. Whereas the indigenous languages feature three verbs, *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* is confined to two, 'to come' and 'to go', which are encoded in the second core. 'To come', like in the indigenous languages, indicates movement towards the Speaker without reference to a source.

- (6) *Kita bawa yaklu datang.*  
 we carry top come  
 'We bring the (playing-) top (hither).' (MTJ)

An ablative notion is encoded in both Wetaric and Luangic by means of the verb 'to be from'. Whereas source or origin in Luangic is always referred to by the object of this verb, it is an argument of *dari* 'from' in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh*, which is obligatorily sequenced in the first core.

- (7) *Kita (datang) dari skola la bawa yaklu.*  
 we come from school then carry top  
 'We bring (along) the (playing-) top from school.' (MTJ)

<sup>7</sup> The data consulted for this study suggest that in Luangic-Kisaric 'to carry' requires non-human objects. In Leti, arguments with a human referent can only appear as objects of 'to take', whereas non-human objects of 'to take' describe the event in the second core as a premeditated action (van Engelenhoven 1995a:249). A similar observation can also be made for Meher and Wetan (see de Josselin de Jong 1987:194).

<sup>8</sup> Non-speech-based orientation ('up', 'down', 'asunder', etc.) is beyond the scope of this paper, because it is indicated by means of postpositions or adjuncts.

Whether 'from' has a verbal character or not in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* is difficult to determine, because of the absence of subject agreement. As indicated by the brackets in the example above, verbs are optional with 'from'. 'To come' is ungrammatical when a source is already mentioned. Whereas 'to go' in the indigenous languages can appear intransitively, it requires an object in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* (8a).

- (8) a. *Ongtua antar surat pi Ambon.*  
 he(POL) carry letter go A.  
 'He brings the letter to Ambon (himself).' (MTJ)

Being a same subject coordination, a directional construction with 'to go' implies that the subject is physically involved in the motion. If it is not, the location is encoded in an oblique phrase marked with 'at'. This is exemplified below with the verb 'to send', which excludes any physical involvement of the subject.

- (8) b. *Ongtua kirim surat di Ambon.*  
 he(POL) send letter at A.  
 'He sends the letter to Ambon.' (MTJ)

Hinton's (1991) Tugun data provide the best insight in Wetaric directional constructions. Three direction verbs are reported, *nai* 'to be from', *la* 'to go' and *qoen* 'to go to'.<sup>9</sup> Hinton points out that these verbs lack subject agreement when functioning as adjuncts to the predicate.

- (9) *Fafata farua go ru-sua nai meti.*  
 woman two that 2d-go.inland be.from reef  
 'The two women went inland from the reef.' (Tugun) [Hinton 1991:152]

This phenomenon, which he labels 'multiverb construction' (Hinton 1991:136) is equally observed in Luangic speech-based orientation, where the monosyllabic transitive allomorphs of the directional verbs 'to come', 'to go' and 'to arrive' are being grammaticalised into oblique markers. As such they are not inflected, and are equally subjected to metathesis, the morphological process of inverting consonants and vowels at morpheme boundaries (van Engelenhoven 1995a:70).

Directional constructions are juxtapositions that indicate the simultaneity of the core events in Luangic<sup>10</sup> as well in Kisaric. Kisaric, however, resembles *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* in that it confines speech-based orientation to motion towards and away from the Speaker, respectively by means of 'to come' (example 10a) and 'to go' (example 10b).

- (10) a. *Enine m-odi rana mai here.*  
 then 2sg-carry pot come<sup>11</sup> now  
 'Then you bring the pot (hither).' (Meher) [Christensen et al. 1991:60]

<sup>9</sup> To this list he also adds *oi* 'to be at' (Hinton 1991:105–106).

<sup>10</sup> In Luangic, however, 'to be from' is an aberrant direction verb which requires sequential rather than simultaneous coordination. Whereas the other direction verbs are genuine motion verbs ('to come', 'to go', 'to arrive') that occupy the second (juxtaposed) clause, 'to be from' in a language like Leti is clearly derived from *dena* meaning 'to stay' plus the locative marker *lo* 'at' and occupies the first (sequentially coordinated) clause.

<sup>11</sup> Note that *mai* has no pronominal prefix. In Meher subject agreement markers can only be prefixed to verbs with initial vowels. For a discussion, see Blood (1992).

- (10) b. *Inhoi n-odi kude la oiri?*  
 who 3sg-carry horse go water  
 'Who took the horse to the water?' (Meher) [Christensen et al. 1991:22]

Jerusu, being a Kisaric language, does encode speech-based orientation. However, the data suggest that its directional constructions are not same subject coordinations as in Meher. The subject agreement marker on the direction verb in the Jerusu example below refers to the object of 'to take' in the preceding core.

- (11) *Maine a pritu luli mw-ala hiry-ei n-mai tilu.*  
 but I advise taboo 2sg-take man-DEM 3sg-come up  
 'But I tell you it is forbidden to get that man out (from the well).' (Jerusu)  
 [Dirks et al. 1990:17]

## 2.2 Different subject coordination: comitative and causative constructions

Different subject coordinations are distinguished in comitative and causative constructions. The Jerusu sentence in (11) exemplifies the causative construction. The marker on the verb in the second core (*n-mai* 'he comes') agrees with the object (*hiry-ei* 'that man') in the preceding core. In comitative constructions, as exemplified in the Luang sentence in (13) below, the marker on the verb in the second core (*r-kakru* 'they cry') agrees with both the subject (*Gotlifa*) and the object (*Jakomina*) in the preceding core.

### 2.2.1 Comitative constructions

In all Southwest Malukan languages comitative constructions are made by means of a verb meaning 'to be with' (in the glosses indicated as 'with') in the first core whose arguments are identified as the subject of the verb in the second core. In *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* the comitative construction features *sama* 'to be with'. Its obligatory appearance in the first core confirms its verbal character, whereas the absence of a subject filler in the second core corefers to the arguments of 'to be with' in the preceding core.

- (12) a. *Ongtua sama pa'a pi Kisar.*  
 he(POL) with brother go Kisar  
 'He goes to Kisar with you.' (MTJ)

A reversed order, with *sama* in the second core, implies that the first core is nominalised, either through comma-intonation or deictic modification. This, however, is a topic-comment construction, rather than a comitative construction.

- (12) b. *Ongtua pi Kisar tu sama pa'a.*  
 [he(POL) go Kisar] that with brother  
 'When he goes to Kisar, he goes with you.' (lit. 'He goes to Kisar, it is together with you.') (MTJ)

In Luangic-Kisaric and Wetaric the cores are obligatorily juxtaposed, whereas the agreement marker on the verb in the second core refers to the arguments of 'to be with' in the preceding core. This is clearly displayed in Luang sentence (13). The plural marker in the second core refers to both the subject (*Gotlifa*) and the object (*Jakomina*) in the first core.

- (13) *Yahoam-de Gotlifa n-ora Jakomina r-kakru le-lera mel-mela.*  
 because-DEM Gotlifa 3sg-with Jakomina 3pl-cry RED-day RED-night  
 'Because of this Gotlifa and Jakomina cried day and night.' (Luang) [Taber and  
 Taber 1995:102]

Whereas 'to be with' is confined to the first core in Luangic, the order of the cores is less rigid in Kisaric. In Meher, at least, 'to be with' is also attested in the second core (see Christensen et al. 1991:50–51). Wetaric shows a similar tendency to fill 'to be with' in either core. This phenomenon has led to a situation where the verb is being grammaticalised as a means for simultaneous coordination in Tugun and an adverbial adjunct in Iliun,<sup>12</sup> as exemplified by (14) and (15), respectively.

- (14) *It-ter qeja t-oro it-tafa qeja.*  
 1plinc-spear kill 1plinc<sup>13</sup> 1plinc-stab kill  
 'We spear and stab to death.' (Tugun) [Hinton 1991:137]
- (15) *N-ohik n-oro ni-tea.*  
 3sg-take 3sg-with his-spear  
 'He took his spear too.' (Iliun) [De Josselin de Jong 1947:107]

### 2.2.2 Causative constructions

Austronesian languages in the area indicate causation by means of a verb 'to make' or 'to do'. For clarity's sake and because of lack of time and space, this discussion focusses on *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* causative constructions with intransitive verbs. It must be stated, however, that all the languages discussed also allow similar constructions with transitive verbs.

Causative constructions in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* use 'to give' as an auxiliary and are either multiverb constructions or different subject constructions, depending on the animateness of the object of 'to give'. Inanimate objects are placed in a multiverb construction after the second verb.

- (16) a. *Di kas turun layar.*  
 he give descend sail  
 'He lowers the sail.' (MTJ)

A multiverb construction with animate objects indicates that the object is subjected to the action and cannot exert any influence.

- (16) b. *Di kas turun nara.*  
 he give descend sister<sup>14</sup>  
 'He lowers you.' (MTJ)

If an animate object can influence the action, it is encoded as the coreferentially deleted subject of the second verb. This phenomenon has been labelled different subject coordination

<sup>12</sup> In Iliun 'to be with' has also been attested in multiverb constructions, which are beyond the scope of the present discussion.

<sup>13</sup> Hinton glossed this morpheme as 'to follow', however further on he translated it as 'with' (p.153).

<sup>14</sup> 'Sister' is used here as a term of reference, see footnote 6.

above. As can be seen from the following example, the cores are juxtaposed. Coordination with a linker meaning 'then' (*la*) is ungrammatical.

- (16) c. *Di kas nara turun.*  
 he give sister descend  
 'He has you get down.' (MTJ)

Both Wetaric and Kisaric use a structure which can best be analysed as a transitive multiverb construction.

- (17) ... *ni ma n-ohi peu ami.*  
 he come 3sg-make ill we.ex  
 '... it would make us ill.' (Iliun) [de Josselin de Jong 1947:101]

Luangic is the only subgroup requiring different subject coordination for causative constructions. In Leti a causative construction may signal the simultaneity or the succession of the events by means of juxtaposition coordination with *po* 'then', respectively, if the object of 'to do' is a noun. Pronominal objects require sequential coordination (18a).

- (18) a. *N-si=it=po t-kakir=o.*  
 3sg-do=we.inc=then 1plinc-cry=IND  
 'He causes us to cry.' (lit. 'He does us and then we cry.')
- (Leti) [van Engelenhoven 1995a:252]

It is only by encoding the pronoun in the second core's subject slot that the simultaneity of the events can be signalled (18b), in which case 'to do' is obligatorily inflected with the indexer suffix (DEX).

- (18) b. *N-si=e i t-kakir=o.*  
 3sg-do=DEX we 1plinc-cry=IND  
 'He let us cry.' (lit. 'He does it, we cry.')
- (Leti) van Engelenhoven 1995a:252]

### 3 Discussion

#### 3.1 Interpretation

A typological analysis of *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* reveals that it features a verb where other Malay variants display a preposition, conjunction or adverb. Clause internally verb sequences in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* are dubbed 'multiverb constructions' (as in Wetaric) or nominalisations (as in Luangic) to indicate their syntactic unity. In general, however, they are analysed as combinations of clauses (as in Oirata and Luangic-Kisaric). *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* and the Central Malayo-Polynesian languages of Southwest Maluku have very similar typologies, which, according to Bakker and Mous (1994), is a salient problem in the study of language-mixing. Appel and Muysken (1987) on the other hand point out that at the same time this is a major component in second language acquisition. The exceptional character of *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* amid the other variants of Malay is therefore best explained in a scenario where Malay is learned as a second language.

On the phonological plane, Malay is fairly similar to the indigenous languages of Southwest Maluku. Discarding the phonotactic appearance of the Luangic isolects there is only one noticeable difference: whereas palatal and velar nasals are assigned phonemic

status in Malay, they are not in the indigenous inventories.<sup>15</sup> Phonological interference from indigenous languages on *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* is therefore hard to find. I have found one case of possible articulatory transfer in the *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* speech of Meher-speakers throughout Indonesia and in the Netherlands: the homorganic prefricativisation of intervocalic voiceless velar plosives, as in [s'axkit] for *sakit* 'ill'. Whereas this phenomenon has been analysed as an optional articulation in Meher (Christensen and Christensen 1992), de Josselin de Jong (1937) did not mention it in his discussion on the phonology of the other language on Kisar, Oirata. I did attest it, however, in the *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* speech of Oiratans in Dili (Timor-Timur), where it was also very salient. This fact suggests that there is a sociolinguistic dimension to this articulatory peculiarity. Perhaps it functions as an identity marker for Kisarese outside their home island.

Morphological transfer is even more difficult to detect in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh*, because Malay and the Southwest Malukan languages have little morphology. A very salient morphological device of *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* is instrumental reduplication of verbal stems, for example *pukul-pukul* 'egg-whisk' (< *pukul* 'to beat') and *gepeng-gepeng* 'clothes-peg' (< *gepeng* 'to pinch'). Although I am not aware of this phenomenon in Malay variants in West Indonesia, it is rather abundant in most languages of Maluku, including Malay variants like Ambonese Malay and Ternatan Malay.<sup>16</sup> Like the so-called 'reversed genitive construction', which all languages east of Flores seem to feature (Brandes 1884), it cannot qualify as an example of indigenous interference.

Influence of the indigenous languages is easiest to detect on the syntactic level. The most obvious example of transfer on the phrase level in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* is the so-called stacking of deictic markers (van Engelenhoven 1996). For a discussion of deictic stacking in an indigenous language, I refer to van Engelenhoven (1994). Lack of space forces me to confine the present discussion to the following example, where Standard Indonesian, *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* and Meher are displayed contrastively.<sup>17</sup>

- |      |                        |              |                         |            |                       |
|------|------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| (19) | <i>ikan</i>            | <i>besar</i> | <i>itu</i>              |            | (Standard Indonesian) |
|      |                        |              |                         |            |                       |
|      | <i>ikan</i>            | <i>besar</i> | <i>itu</i>              | <i>ni</i>  | <i>nya</i>            |
|      |                        |              |                         |            |                       |
|      | <i>i'an</i>            | <i>lalap</i> | <i>on</i> <sup>18</sup> | <i>eni</i> | <i>he</i>             |
|      | fish                   | big          | that                    | this       | DEF                   |
|      | 'those fish over here' |              |                         |            |                       |

A closer look at the verb sequences shows that *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* has at least two sources of imitation beside the indigenous language(s). Instrumental constructions in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* feature *pake* 'to use', like most variants of East-Indonesian Malay. Comitative constructions in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh*, however, feature *sama* '(to be the) same', as in Colloquial Indonesian.

<sup>15</sup> In a language like Leti, however, they have been introduced as loan phonemes (van Engelenhoven 1995a).

<sup>16</sup> Personal communication with respectively Don van Minde and Betty Litamahuputty.

<sup>17</sup> Deictic stacking is most elaborated in Leti (nineteen combinations) and least elaborate in Meher (eight combinations). Surprisingly enough, it is more abundant in the *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* speech of Meher-speakers (twenty-five combinations!) than in that of Leti speakers (van Engelenhoven 1987, 1996).

<sup>18</sup> The final /e/ in *onne* is deleted, because the next morpheme also has /e/.

In other words, the Southwest Malukan learner of Malay screens his frame of reference for Malay structures that resemble the ones in his first language (L1). The verbal character of comitative constructions in L1 (see example (13)) causes the Southwest Malukan learner to opt for Colloquial Indonesian *sama* 'same' (see example 12a), which he recognises as a verb and not for the non-verbal *deng* 'with' (< Standard Malay *dengan*) of East-Indonesian Malay. For the same reason the East-Indonesian Malay *pake* 'to use' is mirrored in the *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* instrumental construction (see examples (5a) and (5b)), even though it may very well no longer be verbal in the replica structure (van Minde 1996).

Directional constructions in Malay feature either an adverb (Colloquial Indonesian) or a demonstrative adjunct (East-Indonesian Malay) and as such do not resemble the indigenous structures where they require a motion verb. Therefore the latter are directly copied in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh*. The notion 'away from the Speaker' is encoded in the indigenous languages by means of 'to go' (see example 10b). Because this verb is perceived as transitive in the indigenous languages, the directional construction with *pi* (< *pigi* 'to go') requires an object in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* (see example 8a), but not necessarily in East-Indonesian Malay.

Since sequential coordination is an inherent feature of Southwest Malukan languages (see example (3b)), it does not come as a surprise that it also appears in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* (see examples (1a) and (1b)). This is confirmed when *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* is compared to the neighbouring *Melayu Tenggara Dekat*, another Malay-based contact language, which is spoken in the eastern part of the Maluku Tenggara region. Whereas in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* ablative *dari* 'from' is confined to the first core, it may occur in either core in *Melayu Tenggara Dekat* (MTD).

- (19) *I bawa bola dari skola.*  
 he carry ball from school  
 'He brings along the ball from school.' (MTD)

In most Southwest Malukan languages the ablative notion is obligatorily encoded as a verb 'to be from' in the first core,<sup>19</sup> its object referring to the source. Consequently, such a construction is mirrored in the *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* speech of speakers of Southwest Malukan languages (see example (7)). Ongoing research in the Southeast Malukan migrant community of Zwolle (East Netherlands) reveals that the ablative verb is not at all restricted to the first core in Ewaw, the major language in Southeast Maluku.

- (20) *I n-taha bol i n-how sakol.*  
 he 3sg-bring ball he 3sg-from school  
 'He brings along the ball from school.' (Ewaw)

From the phonological and morphological perspective both Malay variants are fairly identical. Inhabitants of Maluku Tenggara usually mention the habit of preferring the Ewaw pronouns over the Malay ones in *Melayu Tenggara Dekat* as a distinctive feature (Adelaar and Prentice 1996). As can be seen in the example above, differences between both Malay regiolects are found rather on syntactic level, which can be explained as syntactic differences between the indigenous languages of the respective regions.

<sup>19</sup> A notable exception is Tugun (Wetaric), where it is better analysed as a clause-final deverbal adjunct (see example (9)).



## 4 Conclusion

The main objective of the government's language policy is to introduce and popularise Standard Indonesian as it is designed by the National Centre for Language Cultivation and Development in Jakarta (Steinhauer 1994). The structures displayed in *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* indicate that it is daily speech in the form of Colloquial Indonesian and East-Indonesian variants of Malay that function as models of imitation, even though everybody will acknowledge Standard Indonesian as the target language.

Except for the books at school and the Indonesian Bible, no sources are available for Standard Indonesian in Southwest Maluku. Radio is still confined to the few financially strong, whereas television broadcastings cannot yet be received on the islands. It is a known fact that speakers like to copy the speech patterns of people that are ranked high on the social ladder, for example officials and the church minister. Especially among such people in Southwest Maluku, there is a strong tendency to speak 'fancy' Indonesian. This sociolect is heavily influenced by Jakarta Malay because of the capital's impact on modern Indonesian society. The only other sources for Southwest Malukans to receive Malay influence are return migrants visiting their native villages (referred to as *pulang kampung*) and traders from other islands, who come to the region on the steamships calling in at set times. However, these return migrants and traders use an East-Indonesian variant of Malay (mostly Ambonese Malay), seldom Standard Indonesian.

The spread of Standard Indonesian in Southwest Maluku depends on infrastructure, which is still relatively deficient. Although transport by sea has improved thanks to the establishment of a bimonthly service from Ambon and Dili, contact with the outside world is still feeble. No telephone or cable connections exist, although they could easily be introduced through the nearby satellite stations in Saumlaki (Southeast Maluku) and Dili (Timor-Timur). The installation of a landing strip near Pura-Pura and a telegraph station in Wonreli (both on Kisar) promise a complete and final connection of Southwest Maluku to the rest of Indonesia. Following Appel and Muysken (1987), *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* now qualifies for the term interlanguage, a transitional speech phase of the second language learner on his way to master the target language. When connection of Southwest Maluku becomes a fact, television will replace the visitors travelling by ship as the main source for learning Malay. The Malay dialects of East-Indonesia will then be unmasked as non-standard variants. If it has not yet fossilised by then into an identity marker as it has in Dili up to 1999, *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* will probably disappear from the linguistic scene in Southwest Maluku.

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# 12 *European loan words in Ambonese Malay*

DON VAN MINDE

## 1 Introduction

This essay deals with European loan words in Ambonese Malay, a Malay dialect of the central Moluccas (eastern Indonesia) which had begun to develop into a local variety by the time the Portuguese penetrated into the area some five hundred years ago (Collins 1980).<sup>1</sup>

Among the many Malay dialects in Southeast Asia, Ambonese Malay is relatively well-documented.<sup>2</sup> This is due to the pivotal function of Ambon island during 350 years of colonial rule. The prominence of Ambonese Malay developed when the Portuguese founded the town of Ambon on the southern peninsula, Leitimur, in 1576, and increased even more after the Dutch took control at the beginning of the seventeenth century and turned Ambon

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<sup>1</sup> Since the days of H. Kern (1889) it has been assumed that the Malay peninsula is the homeland of the Malays. Some included eastern parts of Sumatra around the Straits of Malacca in the region of origin (Prentice 1978). In these areas Malay has been the mother tongue of various communities for centuries. From this homeland Malay must have found its way to places further to the south (southern parts of Sumatra, and Java) and the east (in the case of Borneo at quite an early date). Nowadays west Borneo is considered by many as an earlier primary centre of dispersal of the Malay(ic) language (Adelaar 1992; Bellwood 1993; Blust 1988; Collins 1998).

Malay creoles east of Borneo have probably developed from pidginised versions used in trade and religious relations. Since the mid-seventies Collins has argued against calling Ambonese Malay a creole, primarily because creolisation theories based on linguistic features have not developed to a point that they have predictive strength (Collins 1980). Others (Prentice 1978; 1987; see also Steinhauer 1991 for further discussion) have applied the term creole to Ambonese Malay and other eastern Indonesian varieties of Malay.

A glimpse of the complexities inherent in questions of the origin and evolution of a particular form of Malay and its relationships with surrounding languages can be gained from an overview of the spread of Malay across insular and mainland Southeast Asia, Papua New Guinea, Australia, Sri Lanka, Madagascar, South Africa, and the Netherlands (Adelaar and Prentice 1996).

<sup>2</sup> An indication of the number of publications on the development of Malay studies can be obtained from the bibliographies on non-standard forms of Malay (Collins 1990, 1995a, 1995b, 1996b), Malay in the Moluccas (Holton 1996), an unpublished manuscript of a linguistic bibliography on standard Malay (Prentice forthcoming), and Polman (1983).

into a centre of the Spice trade, Protestant mission activities, and administration in eastern Indonesia.

At quite an early date, European travellers had become aware of the importance of Malay in Southeast Asia. This is evidenced by the drafting of word lists, dictionaries, and Bible translations from the early sixteenth century onwards.<sup>3</sup>

The oldest data on Ambonese Malay consist mainly of lexicographic materials, either contained in, or attached to, works on natural history (e.g. Rumphius 1741–1755; Ludeking 1868). For these works the reader is referred to the bibliographies listed in footnote 2; of the publications pertinent to the present subject only some are mentioned here.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, two small dictionaries appeared dealing exclusively with eastern Indonesian Malay dialects (de Clercq 1876, van Hoëvell 1876). Of these two works, the dictionary by de Clercq is more elaborate and reliable. An admirable study was written by the Indian scholar Msr S.R. Dalgado in 1913. His *Influencia do Vocabulario Português em Linguas Asiaticas* (translated into English and edited by A.X. Soares, see Dalgado 1988) traced a great many Portuguese words in some fifty Asian languages, including Malay. Dalgado gathered most data from contemporary dictionaries and grammars. In the case of Malay, he distinguished between a 'high', literary variety, and a 'low' variety spoken as a lingua franca throughout the archipelago. Included in the latter variety were Batavian and Moluccan data (Dalgado 1988:lxxxv). Santa Maria (1967) discussed 312 lexical items borrowed from Portuguese into Malay, i.e. not necessarily eastern Indonesian Malay. Besides giving their probable source and meaning, Santa Maria included notes on their distribution in the archipelago and comparisons with descriptions by earlier authors. Paramita Abdurachman (1972) was concerned only with Ambonese Malay. The title of her unpretentious publication indicates further restrictions: the words listed (some two hundred items) were in use among Christian Ambonese in the central Moluccas, i.e. the islands 'Ambon, Buru, Ceram and Lease' (Paramita 1972:1).

In varying degrees these works suffer from flaws which hamper etymological research on a sophisticated level. Apart from a general tendency to follow uncritically or copy previous authors, we observe in them a lack of descriptive essentials. Since in the case of Malay we are dealing with true colloquial languages or dialects, surely these relevant data ought to include precise phonetic forms including their variants and extensive semantic descriptions. Ideally such data would make it possible to identify the source from which an item was borrowed, to establish sound correspondences according to which borrowing usually takes place, and to identify semantic shifts. Such an approach is imperative, because as a rule we are dealing with competing lending languages. Additional information should specify the region and segments or layers of society in which the loan words are being used, since the whole of the borrowed lexicon is in a constant flux, as is the rest of the language. What all these activities presuppose, then, are reliable field data. Other obstacles are mentioned in the following section.

My research in the Moluccas<sup>4</sup> focused on the grammar of Malay used as the first language among ethnic Ambonese Christians in the bay of Ambon island (van Minde 1997). Many of the loan words which were marked as such by Paramita Abdurachman and Santa Maria appear in my fieldnotes and recordings. This persistence of old borrowings perhaps comes as a surprise, since the influence of the national language, Indonesian, is growing as a result of its higher status, an increase in formal education, greater availability of modern

<sup>3</sup> For an overview of these see also Teeuw (1961) and Swellengrebel (1974).

<sup>4</sup> I did fieldwork from November 1986 to July 1987 and again from November 1988 to February 1989.

means of communication and higher mobility.<sup>5</sup> Apparently it was premature to state that 'many words are becoming obsolete or in disuse' (Paramita Abdurachman 1972:1), or to draw conclusions from a small-scale survey (Santa Maria 1976:119–121). The following observations are offered as a modest attempt to rectify and refine these qualifications. They are dedicated to the memory of the late D.J. Prentice who, among his various areas of expertise and talents, combined a vast knowledge of Malay dialectology and lexicography with the patience to initiate students into linguistics.

## 2 Loan words

The main body of the Ambonese Malay lexicon consists of original Malay roots (van Minde 1997:§2.6). The majority of these roots have a disyllabic (C)V(C)V(C) structure, in which C and V stand for single phonemes. However, a sizeable number of words are loans from various languages, both indigenous and foreign. Although they have been remodelled to comply to the main phonological rules, a considerable number still deviate from the dominant root structure. The loans refer to concepts in the domain of basic vocabulary (e.g. body parts, family relations, etc.), as well as to foreign cultural entities (e.g. non-native religion, machinery).

The indigenous loans can be divided into those originating from native Ambonese languages and those stemming from other Indonesian languages. The main obstacle in identifying native words is that a more or less comprehensive dictionary of a native language has yet to be published.<sup>6</sup> Indonesian lending languages other than native Ambonese languages include north Moluccan languages (e.g. Ternatan), South Sulawesi languages (Macassarese, Butonese), Javanese, Jakarta Malay, and Indonesian.

The foreign loans can be divided into those which were already part and parcel of the Malay language when it was initially introduced into the Moluccas, and those which have been absorbed at a later date. The former include words from Sanskrit (e.g. *bahasa* 'language', *suka* 'to like'), Arabic (e.g. *masjid* 'mosque'), and — through Indian intermediaries — Persian (e.g. *baju* 'shirt', *pasar* 'bazaar, market'; see Dalgado [1988:46] and Drewes [1929:133–134]). More recent borrowings (i.e. as of 1500 AD) come from a variety of European languages (Portuguese, Dutch, English), and only rarely from other non-indigenous Asian languages. Japanese *geta* in *sandal geta* 'open-toe slipper, flip-flop, thong' is probably an example of a recent Asian borrowing. Early English loans are also rather uncommon. *Hibop* 'pull up!' (< Eng *heave up!*) and *lego* 'drop!' (< Eng *let go!*) — two exclamations used in Ambon harbour which probably originate in nautical jargon — might be among the rare exceptions.

First, this classification of loan words reflects the rigid periodisation of historiography. The successive exchange of cultural concepts, socio-political and religious institutions and goods between the Indian, Arab and European world on the one hand, and Ambonese society on the other, is reflected in groups of borrowings. In theory such a classification according to source language and period of borrowing must be pursued, if at least we wish to write a history of Ambonese Malay, or, more ambitiously, of the Malay language, for that matter. The most reliable empirical evidence to track the history of words are written records. But in the case of Malay such proof is often absent, since uncorrupted non-formalised texts of

<sup>5</sup> The influence of Javanese and Jakarta Malay is also growing, perhaps mostly through Indonesian.

<sup>6</sup> Holton (1996) reports a forthcoming dictionary of Asilulu (north coast of Ambon island) by J.T. Collins.

Malay dialects are rare. Indeed, with only few exceptions, linguists have 'discovered' these dialects as a source of serious investigation only in the last decades. Consequently, in practice we basically lean on gross perceived resemblance in form and meaning. Our method, therefore, not seldom involves an element of conjecture. A telling illustration of the pitfalls into which previous authors have stumbled was recently given by J.T. Collins when he — opposing the view that Portuguese had borrowed this item from Malay — proposed a reverse and more plausible route for Portuguese *baileu* 'k.o. meeting hall; k.o. superstructure on board ships'. He demonstrated that it was borrowed into Ambonese Malay as *baileu* 'ceremonial village meeting hall' (Collins 1996a).

Second, the static view that borrowing takes place in more or less neatly defined periods of time is in general unwarranted, since we must allow for the possibility of words entering the language — possibly through Indonesian — long after intimate contact with an alien culture has ceased to exist. Such is the case with newly coined terms that in the absence of appropriate Malay roots are based on regional Indonesian languages (e.g. Javanese, Sundanese), Sanskrit, Arabic, or European languages.<sup>7</sup>

Third, related to this question is the problem of delimiting Ambonese Malay from Indonesian. Historically, Indonesian and Ambonese Malay derive from different immediate sources (Collins 1980:5–6; Teeuw 1959). However, nowadays Ambonese Malay may be regarded as a regional dialect of the national language (van Minde 1997:§1.5). Many, if not most, Ambonese Malay speakers in the central Moluccas have enjoyed formal education in Indonesian for at least a number of years. They are also regularly exposed to the national language through the media and church services. Consequently, a considerable (and growing) number of them have a fair command of Indonesian; they are in a kind of diglossic situation. However, given the lexical and grammatical proximity or overlap of Ambonese Malay and Indonesian, a continuous scale stretches between them. Code switching and code mixing are frequently attested among educated speakers.

Fourth, also regarding Dutch loans there is a demonstrable asymmetry in the speech community. Many members of the oldest generation are still conversant in Dutch, some speak it fluently. Occasionally, when talking to peers who share the same background, and depending of course also on other variables of the situation, they colour their Malay with Dutch words. Although these older speakers are not representative of the Ambonese Malay speech community, they cannot be disregarded entirely either.

Finally, I should emphasise that my research took place among Christian Moluccans in the bay area of Ambon Island. It is a historical fact that Ambonese Malay was more widespread as the home language among Christians, and that Islamic Ambonese held on to their native languages. But things are changing rapidly now. Also given the Indonesian–Ambonese Malay continuum, Ambonese Malay has become the vehicle towards modernisation for Christians and Muslims alike and it tends to replace other languages in the Central Moluccas. It may turn out that differences in the speech of Islamic Moluccans from the bay area are few and confined to certain spheres of the lexicon, phonology, or grammar. Empirical data are missing in this area, and further investigation is called for.

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<sup>7</sup> See the General Guide for the Formation of Terms (*Pedoman Umum Pembentukan Istilah*) in the Standard Grammar of Indonesian (Moeliono 1988) issued by the Indonesian Center for Language Development and Cultivation, and the list of European loan words in Indonesian by C.D. Grijns, J.W. de Vries and L. Santa Maria (1983).



I have gathered all Portuguese, Dutch, and English loan words occurring in my fieldnotes in §§3.1–3.<sup>8</sup> From what has been said above it will be clear that this is merely an attempt to identify a possible source. Questions regarding the period of borrowing of these loan words, their exact meaning and the semantic shifts and dispersion throughout the community that they have undergone, must await further research. Not included in the lists are names of months which were borrowed from Dutch (*Januari, Pebruari*, etc.), and personal names. Most (or all) Christians have first names borrowed from Dutch and (increasingly) from English. The majority of family names are native (although they sometimes reflect Dutch spelling principles, such as the double consonants in *Pattiselanno, Litamahuputty*), some have names derived from Dutch or Portuguese (e.g. *Pieter, Abrahams* and *da Costa, de Queljoe, de Fretes* respectively, see Drewes 1929:138). I have not studied place names extensively, and so (beside a few names of neighbourhoods in Ambon town) I also left out names of villages probably borrowed from Portuguese (*Passo, Porto, pulo Pombo*).<sup>9</sup>

I have used a spelling for Ambonese Malay which largely follows the principles of Indonesian. However, in addition I use an apostrophe ( ' ) to indicate (phonemic) word stress when it is not on the penultimate syllable. Many Ambonese Malay words have alternative forms, variation being conditioned by linguistic or socio-linguistic variables. Formally, these alternative forms may be the outcome of a (synchronic) phonological rule (e.g. the alternation between final high and mid vowels in certain environments, as in *pandasi* vs. *pandase* 'foundation'), they may be doublet forms (i.e. forms not governed by phonological rules, such as *snup* vs. *snuk* 'candy'), or they may be allegro forms (*salobar* vs. *slobar* 'brackish') (van Minde 1997:Chapter 2). I do not mention alternative forms of the first kind, i.e. those governed by phonological rules, because their occurrence is predictable. However, I do include doublets since they potentially come from different sources (compare *tamate* vs. *tomat* below), as well as allegro forms, since their occurrence is unpredictable. If word meaning in the lending language is not specified, then it corresponds to the meaning of the Ambonese Malay word. The dictionaries which I have used have been listed in the bibliography.

### 3.1 Loan words from Portuguese

Ambonese Malay	Portuguese
<i>anteru</i> 'completely'	<i>inteiro</i> 'entire, whole; perfect'
<i>arar'ut</i> 'arrowroot'	<i>Araruta</i>
<i>asar</i> 'roast, grill'	<i>assar</i>
<i>baileu</i> 'village ceremonial hall'	<i>baileu</i> 'scaffolding, ship's fore/aftcastle' <sup>10</sup>
<i>bandera</i> 'flag'	<i>bandeira</i>

<sup>8</sup> I assume that a few words which ultimately go back to French have been borrowed through Dutch. However, in general only the immediate source or lending language is identified here.

<sup>9</sup> Abbreviations used: Dut – Dutch, Por – Portuguese, Spa – Spanish, Eng – English, Fre – French, obs – obsolete.

<sup>10</sup> See Collins (1996a) for the etymology of this word.

Ambonese Malay	Portuguese
<i>bangku</i> 'bench'	<i>banco</i> <sup>11</sup>
<i>baranda</i> 'verandah'	<i>varanda</i>
<i>barba</i> 'beard'	<i>barba</i> 'beard; whiskers'
<i>batatas</i> see <i>patatas</i>	
<i>biola</i> 'violin'	<i>viola</i>
<i>boba</i> 'abcess'	<i>boba</i>
<i>bola</i> 'ball'	<i>bola</i>
<i>canela</i> '(traditional) women's slipper'	<i>chinela</i> 'slipper' <sup>12</sup>
<i>capeu</i> 'hat'	<i>chapeu</i>
<i>dansa</i> 'to dance (European style)'	<i>dança</i> 'to dance'
<i>Dominggu</i> 'Sunday'	<i>domingo</i>
<i>fageti</i> ( <i>pageti</i> ) 'firework'	<i>foguete</i>
<i>forna</i> 'baking mould for sago bread'	<i>forma</i> 'mould; appearance' <sup>13</sup>
<i>forno</i> '(traditional) oven (e.g. for sago bread)'	<i>forno</i>
<i>fresku</i> 'cool, fresh'	<i>fresco</i>
<i>gagu</i> 'to stutter'	<i>gago</i> 'stutterer' <sup>14</sup>
<i>galojo</i> 'gluttonous'	<i>guloso</i> 'glutton; gluttonous'
<i>gareja</i> ( <i>greja</i> ) 'church'	<i>igreja</i>
<i>gargantang</i> ( <i>gorgontong</i> ) 'throat'	<i>garganta</i> 'throat, larynx'
<i>gar'os</i> 'big, coarse'	<i>grosso</i> 'big, gross; coarse' <sup>15</sup>
<i>gars'er</i> 'become big, grow'	<i>grosseiro</i> 'lout, clumsy fellow; coarse; gross' <sup>16</sup>
<i>guyawas</i> 'k.o. fruit ( <i>Psidium guajava</i> )'	<i>goiaba(s)</i>
<i>Inggris</i> 'England'	<i>inglês</i> 'English'
<i>jaganti</i> 'giant'	<i>gigante</i>
<i>janela</i> 'window'	<i>janela</i>

<sup>11</sup> Others have mentioned Dutch *bank* as its source (Santa Maria 1967:25; Dalgado 1988:189). D.J. Prentice (pers. comm.) has pointed out that Dutch loan words could acquire a final *-u* after the Portuguese ceased to be in control in Indonesia. Other cases in point are *lampu* 'lamp' and *buku* 'book' which derive from Dutch *lamp* and *boek* respectively.

<sup>12</sup> *Canela* must have been derived from the feminine noun *chinela*, rather than masculine *chinelo* (Taylor 1958). In his discussion of Portuguese *chinela*, Dalgado's suggestion of an alternative Arabic source (viz. *ka-* 'like' + *n'ala* 'a shoe') seems far-fetched (Dalgado 1988:103).

<sup>13</sup> De Clercq (1876) relates Ambonese Malay *forna* to Portuguese *forno* 'oven'. However, that would leave the vowel change *o* > *a* unexplained. Portuguese also has *fornalha* 'furnace, stove, hearth' which, however, has a different meaning and an extra syllable. The change *forma* > *forna* merely involves homorganic cluster assimilation, which is quite common in Malay dialects. Note also the next item in the list *forno*, which derives from Portuguese *forno* 'oven, hearth, stove'.

<sup>14</sup> Dalgado (1988:162) is not certain as to the real source.

<sup>15</sup> Relating *gar'os* to *grosso* can be explained in terms of adaptation to dominant root structure (C)V(C)V(C); in the process of borrowing the consonant cluster *gr* obtained an epenthetic *a*, and by dropping final vowel *o* the preferred disyllabic base was created. See also the next item in the list.

<sup>16</sup> If indeed *gars'er* is related to *grosseiro*, the same kind of formal adaptations as with *gar'os* (previous item) must have occurred in addition to monophthongisation *ei* > *e*. Given the multifunctionality of many Ambonese Malay items, it is moreover peculiar that *gars'er* only functions as an intransitive verb.

Ambonese Malay	Portuguese
<i>kabesa</i> 'to teach s.o. a lesson'	<i>cabeça</i> 'head; upper end; intelligence' <sup>17</sup>
<i>kadera</i> 'chair'	<i>cadeira</i>
<i>kals'ang</i> see <i>kars'ang</i>	
<i>kampinjang</i> 'churchbell'	<i>campainha</i> 'small bell'
<i>kanastar</i> 'stacked containers for transporting food'	<i>canastra</i> 'chest, trunk'
<i>kant'ar</i> 'to sing (sad melodies, hymns)'	<i>cantar</i>
<i>kapadu</i> 'to cut off; prune, trim'	<i>capado</i> 'castrated'
<i>kapaseti</i> ( <i>kapseti</i> ) '(bird's) crest' <sup>18</sup>	<i>capacete</i> 'helmet, helm; headpiece'
<i>kars'ang</i> ( <i>kals'ang</i> , <i>kas'ang</i> )	<i>calção</i> 'trousers'
<i>kas'ar</i> 'hunt (by night)'	<i>caçar</i> 'to hunt, chase'
<i>kaskadu</i> 'k.o. skin fungus'	<i>casgado</i>
<i>kasta</i> in: <i>kasta tar bai</i> 'low class person'	<i>casta</i> 'caste; race; breed' <sup>19</sup>
<i>kastigar</i> 'cause/bring into troubles'	<i>castigar</i> 'to punish, castigate'
<i>keju</i> 'cheese'	<i>queijo</i>
<i>kintal</i> 'yard, premises'	<i>quintal</i> 'yard'
<i>konyadu</i> ( <i>nyadu</i> ) 'brother-in-law, sister-in-law'	<i>cunhado</i> 'brother-in-law'
<i>kuca</i> 'to rub (laundry)'	<i>coçar</i> 'to rub; itch, scratch'
<i>kura</i> 'to bleach clothes, linen'	<i>curar</i> 'to bleach; to cure'
<i>kwarto</i> '(obs) labour services on behalf of village head'	<i>quarto</i> 'quarter(s)' <sup>20</sup>
<i>lamari</i> 'closet'	<i>armario</i>
<i>lanterna</i> 'small portable lantern'	<i>lanterna</i>
<i>lenso</i> ( <i>lengso</i> ) 'handkerchief'	<i>lenço</i>
<i>limar</i> 'file (for iron)' (cf. <i>raspa</i> )	<i>limar</i> 'to file, polish'
<i>mai</i> 'term of reference for women of mother's generation'	<i>mae</i> 'mother'
<i>mancadu</i> 'axe'	<i>machado</i> 'axe, hatchet'
<i>mantega</i> 'butter'	<i>manteiga</i>

<sup>17</sup> Notwithstanding the striking phonetic resemblance between *kabesa* and *cabeça*, the semantic connection is not transparent. Probably the connection was made through *cabeça*'s secondary sense 'intelligence'. Dalgado has noted quite a different sense of Moluccan *kabesa*, related to the primary meaning 'head', which I have not found, viz. 'the head of a top' in relation to the best quality of camphor (Dalgado 1988:61).

<sup>18</sup> Two types of crests are distinguished. A *kapaseti* (*kapseti*) is a crest which is in a permanent upright position. A *gomba* is a flat crest which may be extended as with certain kinds of cockatoos.

<sup>19</sup> De Clercq (1878) relates *kasta* to Dutch *kaste*. However, *kaste* has a much more restricted meaning than Portuguese *casta*.

<sup>20</sup> In Dutch colonial literature the term *kwartodiensten* 'kwarto-services' occurs. Given the phonetic similarity it is much more plausible that *kwarto* derives from Portuguese *quarto* than Dutch *kwartier* 'quarters'. In colonial times, slaves and natives (*kwartolieden* 'kwarto-folks') were summoned by the Dutch administration to render labour services to public works. The *kwartolieden* were housed in a confined quarter (*ambachtskwartier*) of Ambon town. Later, during the nineteenth century, this type of service came to be called *herendiensten*.

Ambonese Malay	Portuguese
<i>marinyu</i> 'village messenger'	<i>meirinho</i> 'municipal officer for justice; sacristan; sacristan's assistant' <sup>21</sup>
<i>marsegu</i> ( <i>morsegu</i> ) 'k.o. large bat'	<i>morçego</i> 'bat'
<i>martelu</i> ( <i>mart'el</i> ) 'hammer' (cf. <i>hamar</i> )	<i>martelo</i> 'hammer'
<i>masariku</i> 'k.o. small stilt-bird'	<i>maçarico</i> 'common name for shore birds'
<i>mask'i</i> ( <i>mask'e</i> ) 'although'	<i>mas que</i>
<i>meja</i> 'table'	<i>mesa</i>
<i>minggu</i> 'week'; <i>hari Minggu</i> 'Sunday'	<i>Domingo</i> 'Sunday'
<i>modo</i> in: <i>iko</i> ('follow') <i>modo</i> 'to imitate others'	<i>modo</i> 'mode, manner, fashion'
<i>monti</i> in: <i>samonti</i> 'a heap, a lot, much'	<i>monte</i> 'mount, hill, heap, pile'
<i>morea</i> 'eel'	<i>moreia</i>
<i>mustisa</i> in: <i>kaing</i> ('cloth') <i>mustisa</i> 'k.o. dress'	<i>mestiço</i> 'half-caste'
<i>Natal</i> 'Christmas (month of December)'	<i>Natal</i>
<i>nona</i> 'girl'	<i>dona</i> 'lady, mistress' (?) <sup>22</sup>
<i>nyora</i> '(obs) term of address for wives of certain officials'	<i>senhora</i> 'mistress; lady; landlady'
<i>oras</i> in: <i>oras tadi</i> ('just now') <i>ni</i> ('this') 'now'	<i>hora</i> 'hour; point in time' (plural <i>horas</i> )
<i>os see ose</i>	
<i>ose</i> ( <i>os, se</i> ) 'you (singular)' <sup>23</sup>	<i>você</i> 'you'
<i>ostar</i> (k.o.?) 'shellfish, clam'	<i>ostra</i> 'oyster'
<i>pai</i> 'father' <i>pai tua</i> 'husband; older man; boyfriend'	<i>pai</i>
<i>panoso</i> in: <i>idong</i> ('nose') <i>panoso</i> '(ugly) flat nose'	<i>fanhoso</i> '(adjective) nasal'
<i>papaya</i> 'papaya'	<i>papaia</i>
<i>papinyu</i> 'k.o. cucumber'	<i>pepino</i> 'cucumber'
<i>par</i> (cf. <i>for, fur</i> below) 'for, for the benefit of; in order to'	<i>para</i> 'for, to, toward, in order to'
<i>Parancis</i> ( <i>Prancis</i> ) 'France'	<i>francês</i> 'French'
<i>pardidu</i> 'do nothing, be idle', <i>baj'ang</i> - 'stroll leisurely'	<i>perdido</i> 'lost'
<i>parlente</i> 'lie, cheat, fool'	<i>parlenda</i> 'gossip'
<i>pasiar</i> 'go on an outing, stroll'	<i>pasear</i> 'to walk, stroll'
<i>pastiu</i> 'bored, fed up'	<i>fastio</i> 'lack of appetite, aversion'
<i>patatas</i> 'sweet potato ( <i>Ipomea batatas</i> )'	<i>batatas</i> 'potatoes'

<sup>21</sup> Dalgado (1988:223) links Moluccan *marinyo* 'harbour master' (a meaning that I have not found) to *meirinho* 'sacristan; sacristan's assistant'. He also quotes Dr Heyligers, who derived it from *marinho* '(adjective) marine'. Although *marinho* is formally closer to Ambonese Malay *marinyu*, the semantic link is less conceivable.

<sup>22</sup> Dalgado (1988:136–139) went to considerable lengths to demonstrate this etymology.

<sup>23</sup> The short form *se* is in semantic opposition to the full form *ose* and another short form *os*. While *se* is [+ familiar], both *ose* and *os* are [- familiar].

Ambonese Malay	Portuguese
<i>pateka</i> 'watermelon ( <i>Citrullus vulgaris</i> )'	<i>pateca</i>
<i>pena</i> 'pen (for writing)'	<i>pena</i>
<i>pesta</i> 'party, feast'	<i>festa</i>
<i>pigura</i> 'apply illustrations to'	<i>figura</i> 'illustration'
<i>pipa</i> 'pipe'	<i>pipa</i>
<i>pombo</i> 'dove, pigeon'	<i>pombo</i> 'dove, pigeon'
<i>porisa</i> 'powerful, strongly'	<i>força</i> 'force, strength'
<i>postema</i> in: <i>ana</i> ('child') <i>postema!</i> 'Ugly guts!'	<i>postema</i> 'abscess, boil'
<i>raspa</i> 'file (for wood)'	<i>raspa</i> 'scraper'
<i>redi</i> 'big fishing net'	<i>rede</i> 'net'
<i>roda</i> 'wheel'	<i>roda</i>
<i>ronda</i> 'walk around, stroll'	<i>ronda</i> 'patrol; round'
<i>sabong</i> 'soap'	<i>sabão</i> 'laundry soap'
<i>Sadu</i> 'Saturday'	<i>sabado</i>
<i>salobar</i> ( <i>slobar</i> ) 'brackish (water)'	<i>salobre</i> 'brackish'
<i>salw'er</i> 'to serve (food, drinks)'	<i>servir</i>
<i>sapatu</i> ( <i>spatu</i> ) 'shoe'	<i>sapato</i>
<i>sar'ut</i> in: <i>kue sar'ut</i> 'k.o. cigar-shaped biscuit'	<i>charuto</i> 'cigar, cheroot; cigar-shaped cake'
<i>se see ose</i>	
<i>seng</i> 'no'	<i>sem</i> 'without'
<i>soldadu</i> 'soldier'	<i>soldado</i>
<i>sombar</i> 'shade'	<i>sombra</i>
<i>sono</i> 'to sleep'	<i>sono</i> 'slumber'
<i>stori</i> see <i>istori</i>	
<i>suar</i> 'sweat'	<i>suar</i> 'to sweat'
<i>tabaku</i> 'tobacco'	<i>tabaco</i>
<i>tamate</i> 'tomato'	<i>tomate</i> (cf. <i>tomat</i> below)
<i>tarigu</i> ( <i>trigu</i> ) 'wheat'	<i>trigo</i>
<i>testa</i> 'forehead'	<i>testa</i>
<i>teteruga</i> ( <i>tete</i> , <i>totoruga</i> ) 'turtle'	<i>tartaruga</i>
<i>tempo</i> 'time; early'	<i>tempo</i> 'time; duration; period'
<i>tinta</i> 'ink'	<i>tinta</i> 'ink; paint; colour'
<i>toma</i> 'row up against the currents'	<i>toma</i>
<i>totoruga</i> see <i>teteruga</i>	

## 3.2 Loan words from Dutch

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>af</i> 'finished' (love relationship)	<i>af</i> 'finished, complete'
<i>afker</i> ( <i>apker</i> ) 'worthless, broken down'	<i>afkeuren</i> 'reject, declare unfit'
<i>akteng</i> in: <i>kapala soa akteng</i> (obs) 'head of <i>soa</i> appointed by the Dutch colonial government' <sup>24</sup>	<i>akte</i> 'dæd, act'
<i>alman'ak</i> 'calendar'	<i>almanak</i> 'almanac; yearbook'
<i>angkel</i> ( <i>hangkel</i> ) 'pocket money; (military) earnest money'	<i>handgeld</i> 'earnest money'
<i>apot'ek</i> 'pharmacy'	<i>apotheek</i>
<i>ar'es</i> 'detention; punishment'	<i>arrest</i> 'detention, custody'
<i>bak</i> 'reservoir'	<i>bak</i> '(storage) bin, bowl'
<i>balak</i> 'beam, joist, rafter'	<i>balk</i>
<i>Balanda</i> 'the Netherlands'	<i>Holland</i> <sup>25</sup>
<i>bal'as</i> 'blister'	<i>blaas</i> 'blister; bladder'
<i>bal'ek</i> ( <i>bel'ek</i> ) 'tin, can'	<i>blik</i> 'tin, can; tin plate'
<i>ban</i> 'tire; belt'	<i>band</i>
<i>bank</i> '(financial) bank'	<i>bank</i>
<i>baranda</i> 'verandah, porch'	<i>veranda</i> (cf. Por <i>varanda</i> )
<i>bas</i> 'champion, expert'	<i>baas</i> 'chief, boss'
<i>bas'it</i> '(administrative) decree'	<i>besluit</i>
<i>bat'ong</i> 'concrete (building material)'	<i>beton</i>
<i>batrei</i> ( <i>batre</i> ) '(electric) battery'	<i>batterij</i>
<i>bekel</i> 'to play knucklebones (game)'	<i>bikkel</i> 'knucklebone'
<i>bes</i> 'bus'	<i>bus</i>
<i>beskop</i> 'bishop'	<i>bisschop</i>
<i>bir</i> 'beer'	<i>bier</i>
<i>bleskeng</i> in: <i>ana bleskeng</i> 'damned kid'	<i>bliksems</i> 'damned'
<i>bolsak</i> ( <i>boslak</i> ) 'mattress'	<i>bultzak</i> 'straw mattress, mattress'
<i>bom</i> 'bomb'	<i>bom</i>
<i>bors</i> in: <i>bulu bors</i> 'place to store money, often in the bamboo wall of a house'	<i>beurs</i> 'purse'
<i>bortol</i> : see <i>wortol</i>	
<i>bot</i> 'big sailing proa; boat'	<i>boot</i> 'vessel, ship'
<i>broideh'ong</i> '(bride)groom'	<i>bruidegom</i>
<i>broit</i> 'bride'	<i>bruid</i>
<i>brot</i> 'bread' ( <i>muka brot</i> 'solemn expression')	<i>brood</i>
<i>bui</i> <sub>1</sub> 'prison'	<i>boei</i> 'chain, (hand)cuff'
<i>bui</i> <sub>2</sub> 'buoy'	<i>boei</i>

<sup>24</sup> A *soa* is a traditional territorial village unit which has a *kapala* (head) as its spokesman. In colonial times these heads were appointed either through customary law (*kapala soa tana* literally 'head *soa* land'), or by the Dutch (*kapala soa akteng*).

<sup>25</sup> Via Javanese *welanda* and Portuguese *holanda* (Adelaar 1988:62).

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>buku</i> 'book'	<i>boek</i>
<i>busi</i> 'sparkplug'	<i>bougie</i> (< Fre)
<i>da</i> 'bye!'	<i>dáág!</i>
<i>dangki</i> in <i>dangki lei</i> 'thank you'	<i>dank u</i> 'thank you'
<i>dasi</i> '(neck)tie'	<i>dasje</i> (diminutive of <i>das</i> )
<i>des</i> '(conjunction) so, consequently'	<i>dus</i>
<i>desel</i> 'short chisel; to chisel'	<i>dissel</i> 'adze'
<i>dobol</i> 'double'	<i>dobol</i>
<i>doktor</i> <sub>1</sub> 'Doctor (title)'	<i>doctor</i>
<i>doktor</i> <sub>2</sub> '(medical) doctor'	<i>dokter</i>
<i>doktorandus</i> 'Master of Arts (title, term of reference)'	<i>doctorandus</i>
<i>donci</i> 'song, melody'	<i>deuntje</i> 'tune; song, ditty'
<i>dos</i> 'carton, cardboard box'	<i>doos</i> '(cardboard) box'
<i>dosi</i> 'carton, cardboard box'	<i>doosje</i> (diminutive of <i>doos</i> '(cardboard) box')
<i>ehin'ar</i> 'boss, employer'	<i>eigenaar</i> 'owner'
<i>ember</i> 'bucket'	<i>emmer</i>
<i>engsel</i> 'hinge'	<i>hengsel</i> 'handle; hinge'
<i>es</i> 'ice; ice cream'	<i>ijs</i>
<i>fader</i> 'term of address for males of father's generation'	<i>vader</i> 'father'
<i>fam</i> 'family-, clan name'	<i>fam</i> (abbreviation of <i>familie</i> 'family')
<i>far'ek</i> ( <i>par'ek</i> ) '(exclamation) damn!'	<i>verrek</i>
<i>farlegeng</i> 'shy, timid'	<i>verlegen</i>
<i>far'u</i> 'early (in the morning), in time'	<i>vroeg</i> 'early'
<i>film</i> 'film'	<i>film</i>
<i>floit</i> 'flute'	<i>fluit</i>
<i>flur</i> 'floor'	<i>vloer</i>
<i>fokstrot</i> 'foxtrot'	<i>foxtrot</i>
<i>fols</i> in: - <i>tangang</i> 'wrist', - <i>kaki</i> 'ankle'	<i>pols</i> 'wrist'
<i>for</i> ( <i>fur</i> ) 'for, in order to, for the benefit of' <sup>26</sup>	<i>voor</i> 'for, in order to; for the benefit of'
<i>fordomo</i> ( <i>pordomo</i> ) 'Damn it!'	<i>verdomme!</i>
<i>forok</i> 'fork'	<i>vork</i>
<i>garan'at</i> ( <i>gran'at</i> ) 'grenade, shell'	<i>granaat</i>
<i>golpi</i> 'fly (in trousers)'	<i>gulpje</i> '(obs) pair of trousers with a fly'; diminutive of <i>gulp</i> 'fly'
<i>goni</i> 'gunny(sack)'	<i>gonje</i> 'gunny'
<i>gordeng</i> 'curtain'	<i>gordijn</i>

<sup>26</sup> Ambonese Malay has three prepositions/conjunctions with overlapping function and meaning: *par*, *for* (*fur*), and *buat* (*bot*). While *par* was borrowed from Portuguese, and *buat* is Malay, the most probable source of *for* (*fur*) is Dutch *voor*, although it might also be a contamination of Dutch *voor* and Spanish/Portuguese *por* (see van Minde 1997:32).

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>goot</i> 'waste-, drainpipe'	<i>goot</i>
<i>goti</i> 'hollow trunk used to drain water during preparation of sago from flour'	<i>gootje</i> diminutive of <i>goot</i> 'waste-, drainpipe'
<i>gratis</i> 'free of charge'	<i>gratis</i>
<i>grendel</i> '(door)bolt'	<i>grendel</i>
<i>gruta mad'am</i> '(order in quadrille) Greet the lady' <sup>27</sup>	<i>groeten</i> 'greet'; <i>madam</i> (< Fre)
<i>hafen</i> 'harbour (of Ambon town)'	<i>haven</i> 'harbour'
<i>hamar</i> '(big) hammer'	<i>hamer</i> 'hammer'
<i>hangkel</i> see <i>angkel</i>	
<i>hasen</i> 'k.o. children's game'	<i>hazen</i> 'hares' (?)
<i>hek</i> '(to) hiccough'	<i>hik</i> 'hiccough'
<i>helem</i> 'helmet'	<i>helm</i>
<i>hes</i> 'yeast'	<i>gist</i>
<i>hodeng</i> 'sturdy, burly, macho'	<i>houding</i> 'attitude'
<i>hol</i> 'hollow'	<i>hol</i>
<i>horlap'ep</i> 'hornpipe (dance)'	<i>horlepijp</i>
<i>hotel</i> 'hotel'	<i>hotel</i>
<i>insiny'ur</i> 'engineer'	<i>ingenieur</i>
<i>iskrup</i> ( <i>skrup</i> ) 'screw'	<i>schroef</i>
<i>isprei</i> ( <i>sprei</i> ) '(bed)spread'	<i>sprei</i>
<i>istori</i> ( <i>stori</i> ) 'to tell (a story)'	<i>historie</i> '(real life) story; history'
<i>istrika</i> ( <i>strika</i> ) 'to iron'	<i>strijken</i>
<i>istrat</i> ( <i>strat</i> ) 'street'	<i>straat</i>
<i>istrong</i> (interjection) 'Shit!'	<i>stront</i> '(vulgar) faeces'
<i>kabel</i> 'cable'	<i>kabel</i>
<i>kakarlak</i> 'cockroach; albino' <sup>28</sup>	<i>kakkerlak</i> 'cockroach'
<i>kal'ar</i> ( <i>klar</i> ) 'ready, finished'	<i>klaar</i>
<i>kal'as</i> '(school)class; classroom'	<i>klas</i>
<i>kal'ot</i> ( <i>klot</i> ) (vulgar) 'penis, male genitals'	<i>kloot</i> 'testicle'
<i>kamar</i> 'room'	<i>kamer</i>
<i>kan</i> in: <i>kayu</i> ('wood') <i>kan</i> 'squared timber'	<i>kanthout</i>
<i>kan'ek</i> 'driver's assistant'	<i>knecht</i> 'servant, helper'
<i>kan'op</i> ( <i>knop</i> ) 'button'	<i>knoop</i>
<i>kan'or</i> 'to grumble, grouch'	<i>knor</i>
<i>kantor</i> 'office'	<i>kantoor</i>
<i>kar'a</i> ( <i>kra</i> ) 'collar (of shirt)'	<i>kraag</i>
<i>kar'am</i> ( <i>kram</i> ) '(to suffer from) cramp'	<i>kramp</i>
<i>karesteng</i> ( <i>kresteng</i> ) 'Christian'	<i>Kristen</i>
<i>kartou</i> 'pants, boxer short'	<i>kartouw</i> (?) '(obs) k.o. gun'

<sup>27</sup> Only in this case *g* stands for velar fricative [x]. Usually Dutch /x/ is replaced by /h/ in loan words.

<sup>28</sup> The meaning 'albino' is motivated by the aversion for bright daylight characteristic of cockroaches.



Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>kard'us</i> ( <i>gardus</i> ) 'k.o. packing paper'	<i>kard'us</i>
<i>karp'us</i> 'woollen cap'	<i>karpoets</i> (<Por)
<i>kart</i> 'map' in: <i>Ambong kart</i> 'Moluccan raised and living outside Moluccas'	<i>kaart</i>
<i>kas</i> 'closet, cupboard' in: <i>kas makang</i> 'provision cupboard'	<i>kast</i>
<i>katap'el</i> 'sling shot, catapult'	<i>katapult</i>
<i>katedr'al</i> 'Catholic Cathedral in Ambon town'	<i>kathedraal</i>
<i>katreji</i> 'quadrille'	<i>quadrille</i> (< Fre)
<i>katsasi</i> '(religious) confirmation classes'	<i>catechisatie</i>
<i>kep</i> 'notch, nick; to cut notches'	<i>keep</i>
<i>kerkop</i> ( <i>kerko</i> ) 'cemetery'	<i>kerkhof</i>
<i>kes</i> 'monkey'	<i>Kees</i> 'Cornelis (personal name); general name for monkeys or a kind of monkey'
<i>kewel</i> 'to chat'	<i>keuvelen</i>
<i>kilo<sub>1</sub></i> 'kilometre'	<i>kilometer</i>
<i>kilo<sub>2</sub></i> 'kilogram'	<i>kilogram</i>
<i>knefer</i> 'moustache'	<i>knevel</i>
<i>kob'ik</i> 'cubic metre'	<i>kubiek</i>
<i>kode</i> 'secret sign; to give a secret sign'	<i>code</i> 'code, (secret) sign'
<i>koi</i> 'bed'	<i>kooi</i> 'berth, bunk (on board ships)'
<i>kol</i> 'cabbage'	<i>kool</i>
<i>komando</i> 'commando'	<i>commando</i>
<i>comesi</i> 'go on inspection'	<i>commissie</i> '(investigation) committee'
<i>komplet</i> 'complete'	<i>compleet</i>
<i>kompōr</i> 'stove'	<i>komfoor</i>
<i>kontan</i> '(to pay) cash'	<i>contant</i>
<i>kontel'er</i> 'inspector'	<i>controleur</i>
<i>kontrak</i> 'contract'	<i>contract</i>
<i>kontra parti</i> 'opposite row of dancers in quadrille'	<i>contrapartij</i>
<i>kons</i> in: <i>seng kons</i> 'really easy' (lit. 'no art')	<i>kunst</i> 'art'
<i>kop<sub>1</sub></i> 'learn by heart'	<i>kop</i> '(vulgar) head'
<i>kop<sub>2</sub></i> 'to butt with the head (at soccer)'	<i>koppen</i>
<i>kopi</i> 'coffee'	<i>koffie</i>
<i>kopleng</i> '(car) gear'	<i>koppeling</i>
<i>kopor</i> 'suitcase'	<i>koffer</i>
<i>kopral</i> '(military) corporal'	<i>korporaal</i>
<i>kortsleteng</i> ( <i>korsleteng</i> ) 'short-circuit'	<i>kortsluiting</i>
<i>kos</i> 'stocking, sock'	<i>kous</i>
<i>koseng</i> 'window or door frame, casing'	<i>kozijn</i>
<i>katpord'om</i> 'Damn it!'	<i>godverdomme!</i>

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>kransendans</i> 'k.o. dance'	<i>kransendans</i> <sup>29</sup>
<i>kronci</i> in: <i>mati deng kronci</i> 'die unmarried' <sup>30</sup>	<i>kroontje</i> (diminutive of <i>kroon</i> 'crown')
<i>kukis</i> 'cookie'	<i>koekjes</i> 'cookies'
<i>ladeng</i> 'bait put on hook of fishing rod'	<i>lading</i> 'charge; load'
<i>lampu</i> 'lamp'	<i>lamp</i>
<i>lansik</i> 'languid'	<i>landziek</i> 'landsick'
<i>lap</i> 'to punish s.o.'	<i>lap</i> 'a blow'; <i>lappen</i> 'to strike s.o.'
<i>lat</i> 'late'	<i>laat</i>
<i>lem</i> 'glue'	<i>lijm</i>
<i>listrik</i> 'electricity'	<i>electrisch</i>
<i>liter</i> 'litre'	<i>liter</i>
<i>lofrak</i> 'trench'	<i>loopgraaf</i>
<i>los</i> 'loose, undone' <sup>31</sup>	<i>los</i>
<i>lur</i> 'to peep'	<i>loeren</i>
<i>mad'am</i>	<i>madame</i> (< Fre) (see <i>gruta</i> )
<i>makel'ar</i> ( <i>makl'ar</i> ) 'broker; middleman'	<i>makelaar</i>
<i>mama</i> '(term of address) mother'	<i>mama</i>
<i>mami</i> '(polite/intimate term of address) mother'	<i>mami</i> (children's language) 'mama'
<i>Mandak</i> in: <i>hari Mandak</i> (lit. 'day M.') 'Monday'	<i>maandag</i> 'Monday'
<i>man'er</i> (obs) 'term of address for adult men'	<i>meneer</i> 'mister'
<i>man'ir</i> 'behaviour, habits'	<i>manier</i> 'way, manner' ( <i>manieren</i> 'behaviour; manners')
<i>mar</i> ( <i>mor, mo</i> ) 'but, however'	<i>maar</i> 'but, however; just'
<i>masina</i> 'machine'	<i>machine</i>
<i>mas'ing</i> 'machine'	<i>machine</i>
<i>mesel</i> 'to lay bricks'	<i>metsel(en)</i>
<i>mester</i> in: <i>seng mester</i> 'not pay attention to; not care'	<i>meesteren</i> 'to order s.t./s.o.' <sup>32</sup>
<i>meter</i> 'metre'	<i>meter</i>
<i>mili</i> 'millimetre'	<i>millimeter</i>
<i>milo</i> type of secondary school during colonial times	<i>Mulo</i> ( <i>Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs</i> )

<sup>29</sup> In this dance the girls carry garlands (*kransen*).

<sup>30</sup> The *kronci* is an ornamental paper crown placed on the head of deceased unmarried persons (see de Clercq (1876), van Hoëvell (1876)).

<sup>31</sup> Also in *mulu los* (lit. 'mouth loose') 'blabbermouth; to gossip'.

<sup>32</sup> Dalgado (1988:227–228) raises the possibility that *mester* may be derived from Dutch *meester* or Portuguese *mestre* 'master'.

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>miter</i> in: <i>kuto par kaskadu miter ni!</i> 'Dammit!' <sup>33</sup>	( <i>sode</i> ) <i>mieter</i> < Sodom
<i>moi</i> 'beautiful'	<i>mooi</i>
<i>mok</i> ( <i>moko</i> ) 'small bowl'	<i>mok</i> 'mug'
<i>moleng</i> '(concrete) mixer'	( <i>beton</i> ) <i>molen</i> '(concrete) mixer'
<i>momprou</i> 'madam, misses'	<i>mevrouw</i>
<i>montir</i> 'mechanic'	<i>monteur</i> (< Fre)
<i>morgong</i> '(obs) (Good) morning'	<i>morgen</i> 'morning; (short for) Good morning'
<i>mot</i> 'piece (wood), fillet (fish); to cut into pieces'	<i>moot</i> 'piece (of fish)'
<i>mopor</i> ( <i>mofo</i> ) 'to grumble, grouch'	<i>mopperen</i> 'to grumble'
<i>motor</i> <sub>1</sub> 'motorboat'	<i>motor</i> ( <i>boot</i> )
<i>motor</i> <sub>2</sub> 'motorcycle'	<i>motor</i> ( <i>fiets</i> )
<i>mur</i> 'nut (of screw)'	<i>moer</i>
<i>naweng</i> (obs) '(Good) evening'	( <i>Goeden</i> ) <i>avond</i> '(Good) evening'
<i>neptang</i> 'pincers'	<i>knijptang</i>
<i>no</i> '(interjection) well'	<i>nou</i> '(interjection) well; now'
<i>nodek</i> in: <i>seng nodek</i> 'have nothing to do with'	<i>nodig</i> 'necessary'
<i>noit</i> in: <i>batu</i> ('stone') <i>noit</i> '(construction) die' <sup>34</sup>	<i>neut</i>
<i>nomor</i> 'number'	<i>nummer</i>
<i>not</i> 'to invite s.o.; invitation'	<i>noden</i> 'to invite s.o.'
<i>om</i> 'uncle'; term of reference/address for adult men	<i>oom</i> 'uncle'
<i>oma</i> 'grandmother; term of address for old women'	<i>oma</i> 'grandmother'
<i>ondor</i> 'to give ground, give in to s.o.'	<i>onderdoen voor</i> 'yield to, be surpassed'
<i>ondors'up</i> ( <i>ondors'uk</i> ) 'to question, interrogate s.o.'	<i>onderzoeken</i> 'to investigate'
<i>opa</i> 'grandfather; term of address for old men'	<i>opa</i> 'grandfather'
<i>oplek</i> 'to keep an eye on, watch s.o. (suspiciously)'	<i>opletten</i> 'attend; take care'
<i>opor</i> ( <i>ofor</i> ) in: <i>bakuopor</i> 'hand over (a function)' <sup>35</sup>	<i>over</i> ( <i>handigen</i> ) '(hand) over s.t.'
<i>oranye</i> in: <i>kakatua gomba oranye</i> 'orange-crested cockatoo'	<i>oranje</i> 'orange (colour)'
<i>oto</i> 'car'	<i>auto</i>
<i>pak</i> 'pack(age); to pack s.t.'	<i>pak</i>

<sup>33</sup> The Ambonese Malay imprecative is a concatenation of three expressive and suggestive elements. The literal meaning of the complex is 'louse for skin fungus *miter* this'. Dutch *mieter* derives from *sodemieter*, which in turn is based on the biblical place name *Sodom*. Dutch *sodemieter* and *mieter* occur in a variety of imprecatives with a range of non-specific meanings.

<sup>34</sup> The *batu noit* serve as a base for house posts.

<sup>35</sup> Ambonese Malay has social prefix *baku-* denoting actions performed by a plural Agent, including reciprocal actions.

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>pal</i> 'post, pole'	<i>paal</i>
<i>pal'ak</i> 'persist (in begging, ...)'	<i>plakken</i> 'stick, adhere' <sup>36</sup>
<i>palap'ong</i> ( <i>plap'ong</i> ) 'ceiling'	<i>plafond</i>
<i>pal'at</i> 'flat(-lying)'	<i>plat</i> 'flat'
<i>palau</i> 'to faint'	<i>flauw(vallen)</i>
<i>pals'ir</i> ( <i>plasir</i> ) 'have or make fun; have a happy time'	<i>plezier</i> 'fun'
<i>pamade</i> '(obs) pomade'	<i>pommade</i> (< Fre)
<i>pang</i> ( <i>pan</i> ) 'pot'	<i>pan</i>
<i>panak'uk</i> 'pancake'	<i>pannekoek</i>
<i>pandasi</i> ( <i>pangdasi</i> ) 'foundation (of house, etc.)'	<i>fundatie</i>
<i>panili</i> 'vanilla (plant, fruit)'	<i>vanille</i> (< Fre)
<i>papi</i> 'daddy'	<i>pappie</i>
<i>parangko</i> ( <i>prangko</i> ) '(postage-)stamp'	<i>franco</i>
<i>Pard'is</i> 'popular name of a neighbourhood in Ambon town'	<i>Paradijs</i> 'Paradise'
<i>pariasi</i> 'court several girls at a time (?)'	<i>variatie</i> 'variation'
<i>parm'ak</i> 'to beat s.o.'	<i>vermaken</i> 'remodel'
<i>par'op<sub>1</sub></i> ( <i>prop</i> ) 'to stuff, cram, gorge o.s.'	<i>proppen</i>
<i>par'op<sub>2</sub></i> ( <i>prop</i> ) 'cork (on bottle)'	<i>prop</i> 'ball, stopper, bung'
<i>pas</i> 'exactly when ... (in time indication)'	<i>pas</i>
<i>pars'is</i> 'right, exactly'	<i>precies</i>
<i>pasasi</i> 'fare; call to pay the fare on bus by assistant'	<i>passage</i> 'passage, crossing'
<i>per</i> 'spring'	<i>veer</i>
<i>perces</i> '(small) electric bulb'	<i>peertjes</i> (plural form of diminutive <i>peertje</i> )
<i>perked'el</i> 'k.o. fritter with bits of chopped meat'	<i>frikadel</i> 'minced meat'
<i>pisap'i</i> 'row of partners in <i>quadrille</i> dance'	<i>vis-à-vis</i> (< Fre)
<i>pist'ong</i> 'cap, primer (of bullet)'	<i>piston</i> (< Fre <i>piston</i> )
<i>plekster</i> 'plaster, bandaid'	<i>pleister</i>
<i>poci</i> in: <i>poci te</i> 'teapot'	<i>potje</i> (diminutive of <i>pot</i> )
<i>podeng</i> 'pudding'	<i>pudding</i>
<i>polisi</i> 'police'	<i>politie</i>
<i>pompa</i> 'pump'	<i>pomp</i>
<i>popi</i> 'doll' in: <i>ana popi</i> 'doll'	<i>popje</i> (diminutive of <i>pop</i> )
<i>poporces</i> 'k.o. small pancake'	<i>poffertjes</i> (plural of <i>poffertje</i> )
<i>pordomo</i> see <i>fordomo</i>	
<i>poris</i> 'front room (space)'	<i>voorhuis</i>

<sup>36</sup> Dutch *plagen* 'to tease' is a less likely source for *pal'ak* (Drewes 1929:144). First, I have recorded only the meaning 'to persist (in begging), ask repeatedly'; secondly, such a source would involve a change [x] > [k-], which occurs only incidentally (compare Dutch *maandag* 'Monday' > Ambonese Malay *hari Mandak*).

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>porkici</i> 'parakeet'	<i>parkietje</i> (diminutive of <i>parkiet</i> )
<i>pos</i> 'mail'	<i>post</i>
<i>potlot</i> 'pencil'	<i>potlood</i>
<i>potret</i> 'photograph'	<i>portret</i> 'portrait; (obs) photograph'
<i>preman</i> 'civilian'	<i>vrij man</i> 'free man'
<i>pus</i> 'cat'	<i>poes</i> 'female cat'
<i>rai</i> 'to guess'	<i>raaien</i> <sup>37</sup>
<i>rar</i> in: <i>tukang bar'ar</i> 'weirdo'	<i>raar</i> 'weird' <sup>38</sup>
<i>rekeng</i> 'to count, figure'	<i>rekenen</i>
<i>rem</i> 'brake'	<i>rem</i>
<i>rem'is</i> (obs) in: <i>bayar rem'is-rem'is</i> 'pay in instalments'	<i>remise</i> 'remittance' (< Fr. <i>remise</i> )
<i>rim</i> <sub>1</sub> 'sentence-intonation; dialect'	<i>rijm</i> 'rhyme'
<i>rim</i> <sub>2</sub> 'belt, girdle'	<i>riem</i>
<i>rim</i> <sub>3</sub> 'ream (of paper)'	<i>riem</i>
<i>rong</i> in: <i>bunga rong</i> 'k.o. ornament for hairdress'	<i>rond</i> 'round'
<i>sadis</i> in: <i>Paleng sadis!</i> 'Crazy! Impossible!'	<i>sadist</i> 'sadist' <sup>39</sup>
<i>sak</i> 'pocket (in trousers)'	<i>zak</i>
<i>sak'ak</i> ( <i>skak</i> ) 'chess; to play chess; checkmate'	<i>schaak</i>
<i>saklar</i> '(electric) switch'	<i>schakelaar</i>
<i>salei</i> ( <i>sal'e</i> ) 'jam'	<i>gelei</i> (< Fre <i>gelée</i> )
<i>salenter</i> 'to go around aimlessly'	<i>slenteren</i> 'loiter, loaf about'
<i>sal'ep</i> ( <i>slep</i> ) 'trail (a dress)'	<i>slepen</i>
<i>sandal</i> 'sandal (footwear)'	<i>sandal</i>
<i>sem'eng</i> 'cement, mortar'	<i>cement</i>
<i>seng</i> 'zinc; zinc roofing'	<i>zink</i> 'zinc'
<i>senter</i> 'flashlight'	<i>center(lamp)</i> <sup>40</sup>
<i>senti</i> 'centimetre'	<i>centimetre</i>
<i>ser</i> 'have one's eye on, fancy a person' (cf. <i>takser</i> )	<i>taxeren</i> 'evaluate; assess'
<i>sil'et</i> 'razor blade; razor'	<i>Gillette</i> (brandname)
<i>sipil</i> 'civil'	<i>civiel</i>
<i>skeleng</i> 'cross-eyed'	<i>scheel</i>

37 Contemporary Dutch has colloquial *raaien* and standard *raden* 'to guess'. Ambonese Malay *rai* is derived from the colloquial form.

38 Ambonese Malay *tukang* 'craftsman' is also used in compoundlike complexes to denote habitual or characteristic features. The form *bar'ar* has prefix *ba-* which conveys durative meaning.

39 The expression *Paleng* ('very') *sadis* was popular among Ambonese youth at the time of my research.

40 Dutch has a number of nominal compounds with first element *center* 'centre; centre punch', as well as a verb *centeren* 'to centre'. The Malay word *lampu senter* is a calque of Dutch *centerlamp*, a flashlight of which the beam could be focussed by turning its head.

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>skap</i> '(wood)plane'	<i>schaaf</i>
<i>Skit</i> ( <i>Skip</i> ) 'popular name of a neighbourhood in Ambon town'	<i>schier</i> <sup>41</sup>
<i>skot</i> <sub>1</sub> in: <i>tali skot</i> 'clew (on proa)'	<i>schoot</i>
<i>skot</i> <sub>2</sub> 'shot'	<i>schot</i>
<i>skrup</i> see <i>iskrup</i>	
<i>slaber</i> '(floor-)cloth, rag; to mop'	<i>slabber</i>
<i>slak</i> in: <i>slak bicara</i> 'speech style'	<i>slag</i> 'manner, style'; kind'
<i>sledri</i> 'celery'	<i>selderie</i>
<i>sloki</i> 'shot (of liquor); shot glass'	<i>slokje</i> '(a) drink, sip, nip'
<i>smerlap</i> ( <i>smerlak</i> ) 'bastard, son-of-a-gun'	<i>smeerlap</i> 'dirty fellow, pig; son-of-a-gun'
<i>snu</i> ( <i>snu</i> ) 'candy'	<i>snoep</i>
<i>Sondak</i> 'Sunday'	<i>zondag</i>
<i>sondor</i> 'without'	<i>zonder</i>
<i>sopi</i> 'distilled palmwine'	<i>zopie</i> ( <i>zoopje</i> ) 'sip of liquor'
<i>sopir</i> 'driver'	<i>chauffeur</i>
<i>sos</i> 'sauce'	<i>saus</i>
<i>spet</i> 'squirt, spurt; to spray-paint'	<i>spuiten</i>
<i>spok</i> 'ghost'	<i>spook</i>
<i>sprei</i> see <i>isprei</i>	
<i>spul</i> 'rinse, wash out; run away, flee'	<i>spoelen</i> 'rinse, wash out' <sup>42</sup>
<i>stapel</i> in: <i>kayu stapel</i> '(chopped) firewood'	<i>stapel</i> 'heap'
<i>sterek</i> 'very'	<i>sterk</i> 'strong' <sup>43</sup>
<i>stip</i> 'eraser'	<i>stuf</i>
<i>stir</i> 'steering wheel; to steer, drive'	<i>stuur</i>
<i>stop</i> 'to stop'	<i>stoppen</i>
<i>strat</i> see <i>istrat</i>	
<i>strep</i> 'stripe, slash'	<i>streep</i>
<i>strika</i> see <i>istrika</i>	
<i>strong</i> see <i>istrong</i>	
<i>suklet</i> 'searchlight' <sup>44</sup>	<i>zoeklicht</i>
<i>suw'ak</i> ( <i>swak</i> ) 'weak, languid'	<i>zwak</i>
<i>suw'et</i> ( <i>swet</i> ) 'sweat'	<i>zweet</i>

<sup>41</sup> In the Dutch colonial period there used to be a rifle range in this neighbourhood. The source is Dutch *schieten* 'to shoot'.

<sup>42</sup> Ambonese *spul* in the sense 'run away, flee' occurs as single main verb, and in combination with other verbs in sequence (*spul pi* 'flee', 'go', 'flee away (from reference point)').

<sup>43</sup> *Sterek* probably has a limited distribution, the usual adverbs for superlatives being *paleng*, *paskali*, and *lawang* 'very'. One combination I recorded is *maraju sterek* 'really bad-tempered'. Collins, however, has noted its occurrence as an exclamation 'Terrific!' (J.T. Collins, pers. comm.).

<sup>44</sup> Also in *kapal suklet* 'patrol boat with searchlight(s)'.

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>takel</i> 'tackle, hoist; to tackle'	<i>takel</i>
<i>takser</i> 'to estimate' (cf. <i>ser</i> )	<i>taxeren</i>
<i>taksi</i> 'taxi'	<i>taxi</i> (< Eng)
<i>tal'at</i> '(too) late'	<i>te laat</i>
<i>talenta</i> 'talent, gift, ability'	<i>talenten</i> (singular <i>talent</i> ) <sup>45</sup>
<i>tal'it</i> 'incline, slope'	<i>talud</i>
<i>tanta</i> 'aunt; term of reference/address for adult women'	<i>tante</i> 'aunt'
<i>taplak</i> 'table-cloth'	<i>tafellaken</i>
<i>tas</i> 'bag'	<i>tas</i>
<i>te</i> 'tea'	<i>thee</i>
<i>terek</i> 'tease'	<i>tergen</i> 'provoke; badger'
<i>tes</i> '(school) examination'	<i>test</i>
<i>tesis</i> '(university) thesis'	<i>thesis</i>
<i>tilpung</i> 'telephone; to make a phone call'	<i>telefoon</i>
<i>toit</i> 'spout'	<i>tuit</i>
<i>tolbang</i> '(turban-shaped) Christmas cake'	<i>tulband</i>
<i>tomat</i> 'tomato'	<i>tomaat</i> (see <i>tamate</i> above)
<i>tong</i> 'cask' in: <i>tong air</i> 'water butt/cask'	<i>ton</i>
<i>trosol</i> 'dawdle, loiter'	<i>treuzelen</i>
<i>wals</i> 'waltz'	<i>wals</i>
<i>war</i> in: <i>laki-laki seng war</i> 'good-for-nothing'	<i>(niets) waard</i> '(no) value'
<i>warmus</i> in: <i>pi warmus</i> 'go steal (fruits, vegetables)'	<i>warmoes</i> '(obs) vegetables' <sup>46</sup>
<i>waterpas</i> 'level (instrument)'	<i>waterpas</i>
<i>weleng</i> in: <i>ana weleng</i> 'k.o. pike (fish)'	<i>Willem</i> 'William' (first name) <sup>47</sup>
<i>wer</i> 'weather'	<i>weer</i>
<i>wortol</i> ( <i>bortol</i> ) 'carrot'	<i>wortel</i>
<i>yal'urs</i> ( <i>yal'us</i> ) 'jealous'	<i>jaloers</i>
<i>ye</i> '(letter) j' in: <i>ana ye</i> 'j-shaped lock of hair near the ear of girls and women'	<i>j</i> (standing for a semivowel)

45 Portuguese *talento* is less likely as a source, for this requires an explanation of the final vowel change /u/ > /a/.

46 Dutch *warmoes* 'vegetables' has become obsolete. It occurred in a number of compounds, including *warmoes hof*, *-land*, *-tuin* 'garden, land where vegetables are grown'. Apparently Ambonese Malay has retained the element *warmus* in the expression *pi warmus* 'to go to someone's orchard/garden and steal its fruits/vegetables'.

47 According to de Clercq (1876:23), *willem* occurs in two fishnames in neighbouring Banda Malay (south of Ambon), viz. *ikan willem* and *ikan willem anak*.

## 3.3 Loan words from English

Ambonese Malay	English
<i>arar'ut</i> 'arrowroot ( <i>Maranta arundinacea</i> )'	arrowroot <sup>48</sup>
<i>bar</i> 'bar'	bar
<i>botol</i> 'bottle'	bottle
<i>cok</i> 'choke (of car); electric plug'	choke
<i>digr'i</i> '(university) degree'	degree
<i>diko</i> 'plaster; to apply plaster'	Duco (brand name)
<i>disko</i>	disco
<i>drom</i> 'drum (container)'	drum
<i>feri</i> 'ferry'	ferry
<i>foli</i> 'volleyball; to play volleyball'	volley
<i>gol</i> 'goal (at soccer)'	goal
<i>hib'op</i> 'Pull up! (a load at harbour, on board ship)'	heave up
<i>hobi</i> in: <i>seng</i> ('no') <i>hobi</i> 'to dislike, not fancy'	hobby
<i>hostes</i> 'bar waitress; prostitute'	hostess
<i>kaset</i> '(music) cassette'	cassette
<i>ki per</i> 'goalkeeper'	keeper
<i>kopi</i> 'photocopy; to copy'	copy
<i>lefri</i> 'referee; to whistle' <sup>49</sup>	referee
<i>lego</i> 'Drop it! (a load)'	let go
<i>mester</i> 'term of address for foreigners'	mister
<i>motor</i> 'engine; (small) motorboat; motor(cycle)'	motor
<i>nilon</i> ( <i>nilong</i> ) '(nylon) fishing line'	nylon
<i>oke</i> 'okay'	okay
<i>pomp'om</i> in: <i>sagu pomp'om</i> 'sago roasted in copper pipes'	pompom '(k.o. automatic gun) <sup>50</sup>
<i>repopol</i> 'revolver'	revolver
<i>seks</i> 'sex'	sex
<i>strongkeng</i> 'kerosene lamp'	Storm King (brand name)
<i>swipeng</i> 'general traffic inspection'	sweeping
<i>tatu</i> 'tattoo; to tattoo'	tattoo
<i>tenis</i> 'tennis'	tennis
<i>tifi</i> ( <i>tipi</i> ) 'television'	TV
<i>tim</i> 'team'	team

<sup>48</sup> It is also possible that the name of this plant, which originates in the West Indies, derives from Portuguese *araruta*. In that case, however, loss of final /a/ should be explained as accommodation to preferred syllable number.

<sup>49</sup> The phrase *dapa lefri* ('get referee') means 'to be stopped' (and be fined, e.g. by the traffic police).

<sup>50</sup> Presumably, this kind of sago cake was originally roasted in the empty shells of bullets for such automatic guns.



## 4 Conclusion

The previous section features 473 lexical items of European origin. Their breakdown in absolute figures and rounded percentages according to source is: Portuguese 115 items (24.3 per cent), Dutch 326 items (68.9 per cent), English thirty-two items (6.8 per cent). Some concluding remarks regarding these loans will be made here.

Given the nature of my data, the listing of European loan words is certainly not exhaustive, and therefore the numbers are potentially misleading. It is quite obvious, for instance, that the share of English loans is underrepresented, for Ambonese society does not escape the massive influence of modern western culture and its carrier *par excellence*, (American-)English. Urban youngsters pepper their speech with pop culture and nightlife terms (*song, breakdance, rap, whisky, happy* ('go out and have a good time'), *jeans, hamburger*), terms drawn from sports (*jab, knockout* (boxing), *off side* (soccer)), and other technical terms. We find an unprecedented influx of English terms associated with modern technology (*computer, CD, laserdisc, video, shooting* (with a videorecorder), *coldstorage* (fishery), but surely other segments of society, other spheres (e.g. higher education, administration, telecommunication) and vocations (construction, engineering, car mechanics) will not remain unaffected either as the Moluccas become increasingly involved in global changes. Many of these English terms are currently borrowed through Indonesian or Jakarta Malay, since they are channelled through national television, but we also should not underestimate the influence of mobility when growing numbers of people are involved in exchange programs or scholarships abroad, or in vocational training in Jakarta in which English course books are being used when Indonesian translations are lacking.

Concerning the ratio between Portuguese and Dutch loans it is also worth mentioning that at the beginning of this century A.A. Fokker noted the relative paucity of Dutch loans as against Portuguese loans. Even though at the time the Dutch had been in the area three times longer than the Portuguese, Dutch loans numbered less than half of the Portuguese loans in his list (Fokker 1902:1732). Regarding the number of loans the reverse holds true in my list. More importantly, Fokker's observation is not corroborated by de Clercq's findings of 1876 either, for also in de Clercq's dictionary Dutch loans by far outnumber Portuguese loans. Against this background Fokker's claim seems untenable, at least if he meant it as a general statement encompassing the whole of Ambonese Malay-speaking society. It is likely, moreover, that after the turn of the century the quantitative influence of Dutch developed exponentially, that it increasingly affected the speech of lower strata in society and that its command ceased to be the prerogative of the happy few from the upperclass. Groeneboer has reported this trend for the period 1900–1940, which was basically the result of an increase of schooling and the use of Dutch as the medium of instruction. In 1900 there were an estimated 5,600 natives and other Asians who could speak Dutch in the Netherlands Indies. In 1942 their number had grown to 1.6 million if we include those that had a passive command of Dutch (Groeneboer 1993:209, 383). Not surprisingly those who could speak Dutch were concentrated in towns, and especially Ambon and Menado (north Sulawesi) were outstanding. In 1930 Ambon counted 21.6 per cent Dutch speaking natives among its total population, whereas Batavia (present-day Jakarta) counted 10.4 per cent (Groeneboer 1993:395). Once again these growth figures underscore the importance of selecting informants representing the various layers in society, if one wishes to make statements about the number of loans and their distribution throughout the community.

The final point concerns a structural aspect of the borrowed lexicon. It is quite obvious that both in the case of Dutch and Portuguese loans the large majority of items were

borrowed from the stock of content words, and that functionwords were borrowed only sporadically. Moreover, if a semantic shift occurred, it was often not dramatic. If we ignore grammatical incongruence between borrowing and lending language,<sup>51</sup> and disregard the complicating factor that many Ambonese Malay words are multifunctional,<sup>52</sup> the subgrouping of Dutch and Portuguese loans in terms of Ambonese Malay categories is as follows:

115 Portuguese loans: eighty-one nouns (70.4 per cent), thirty verbs (26.1 per cent), four functionwords;

326 Dutch loans: 256 nouns (78.5 per cent), fifty-two verbs (15.9 per cent), eighteen functionwords.

From these figures it follows that nouns are more easily incorporated than verbs. Moreover, within the group of nouns, the number of realia by far exceeds the number of abstract concepts. These are evident, if not trivial observations, and so, I contend, we must proceed from here if we ever want to go beyond historiographic commonplaces of the Malay language or cultural exchange between the various groups in Southeast Asia. Digitalising speech might just be part of the answer to this question, since it is now possible to automatically process large quantities of data into concordances once we have fed texts into a database.<sup>53</sup> In doing this we should not be eclectic; we must include all kinds of published and unpublished materials from various sources and different periods in history.

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<sup>51</sup> I am referring to the fact that I have divided Ambonese Malay content words into two major word classes: i.e. nouns and verbs. The latter has three subcategories: transitive verbs, intransitive dynamic verbs, intransitive stative verbs. In this analysis there is no separate major class of adjectives as in Dutch or English (van Minde 1997:Chapter 3). Ambonese Malay *los* 'loose, undone' for instance was counted as a verb, although it is an adjective in Dutch.

<sup>52</sup> One frequent type of multifunctionality is the correspondence between nouns and verbs. This type is certainly not unique to Ambonese Malay (compare English *paper* - (*to*) *paper*, Dutch *zout* 'salt' - *zout(en)* 'to add salt to', Ambonese Malay *paku* 'nail' - *paku* 'to nail', *kep* '(a) notch' - *kep* '(to) notch', etc). But while multifunctionality is a feature common to each of these three languages, there may still be quantitative differences.

<sup>53</sup> Proudfoot (1991) discusses possibilities and restrictions of automatic text processing in relation to the study of Classical Malay.

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