

East Indonesian Vehicular Malay features in Malay pantuns from the Mardijker community

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In this paper I discuss the language of five and a half pantuns composed by members of the Mardijker community in the late 17th – early 18th century. Mardijker people were originally freed slaves and servants from Dutch and Portuguese colonisers. They lived in Batavia and Tugu in colonial times. Many of them descended from Indians and Sri Lankans, but there were also Moluccans (from eastern Indonesia) and Pampangan people (from the Philippines) among them. I also explain what I understand by Vehicular Malay (“Low” Malay, PDM), claiming that the Malay used in these pantuns has many Vehicular Malay features and is at least partly derived from eastern Indonesian Vehicular Malay. Finally, I point out some significant commonalities between Mardijker Malay, Cape Malay, Sri Lanka Malay and Ambon Malay.

1. Introduction¹

This is an initial description of the Malay (ML) used in a manuscript which bears the name *Panton Malaijoe dan Portugees* (‘Malay and Portuguese pantun verses’) and is currently kept in the archives of the National Museum of Archaeology in Lisbon. The manuscript is bilingual. One part of it is in a ML variety² which I call “Mardijker ML”; another part is in a form of creole Portuguese.

The word *Mardijker* was a colonial Dutch term based on the ML word *mərdeka* which means ‘free’ and is ultimately derived from Sanskrit. It referred to former slaves who had obtained free status. Mardijker people were initially brought in from several parts of insular South East Asia, especially from the Moluccas but also from Luzon in the Philippines. Later on they also came from the Indian subcontinent an even from as far as Africa (Lith and Snelleman (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* Part 2.) (1918:675); see further §2.2).

The poems in the *Panton Malaijoe dan Portugees* are each made up of quatrains in pantun format. Pantuns are ML-type four-line verses with a-b-a-b rhyme, of which the initial two lines are allegorically related to the last ones through formal devices such as alliteration, sound symbolism, parallel vowel patterning, parallel syllable structure and the like, as well as semantic devices, including metaphors and emblematic or figurative similarity (see also Wilkinson & Winstedt 1957).

The manuscript contains eleven poems, five of which are in Mardijker ML, five in Portuguese, and one is mixed, with alternatingly Mardijker ML and Portuguese lines. The Mardijker ML poems are the following ones:

(1) *Panton Malaijo* (‘Malay poem in pantun form’);

¹ **Acknowledgements:** Special thanks to Tom Hoogervorst, Gijs Koster and Waruno Mahdi for their very insightful comments.

² There are many Malay(ic) speech forms. While some are ML dialects, other ones are languages in their own right or have a disputed status as to the dialect/language distinction. I use the term “variety” to refer to all Malay(ic) speech forms irrespective of this distinction.

- (2) *Panton Malaijoo Naga Patanij* ('A Malay poem (in pantun form) about Naga Patani' [literally 'a snake from Pattani'; Pattani is a Malay region in South Thailand]);
- (3) *Cantiga Malaijoo Missurado Portugies* ('A Malay song mixed with Portuguese');
- (4) *Pantoon Malaijo Panhiboeran hati Doeka Dan Piloô* ['A Malay poem (in pantun form) to console the sad and sorrowful'];
- (5) *Panton Dari Setie Lela Maijan* ('poem (in pantun form) about the maiden Siti Lela Mayan'); and
- (6) *Panton Joncker* ('Poem (in pantun form) about Captain Jonker').

This paper is organised as follows. Section Two provides basic information about the poems. It also includes background information about the Mardijker community and the languages they spoke. Section Three discusses some issues concerning the definition of Vehicular ML, the language category to which Mardijker ML seems to belong. Section Four explains problems involving the spelling of the pantuns. Section Five shows how Mardijker ML shares the linguistic features that define respectively Vehicular ML and eastern Indonesian Vehicular ML (see §3). Section Six discusses some features shared among Mardijker ML, Sri Lanka ML, Ambon ML and Cape ML. Concluding remarks are in Section Six.

In my treatment of the language data in this paper I distinguish between the *transcription* of the original spelling of Mardijker ML, the *transliteration* of the data into—as far as possible—a uniform and phonemic spelling of Mardijker ML, and *standard ML structure and spelling*. In running text, I use angle brackets to write Mardijker ML letters, words or phrases in their original orthography (e.g., <c> and <cassie>) and single quotation marks to indicate the meaning of a word or phrase. I use square brackets to indicate the *phonetic realisation* of a sound or word (for instance, standard Indonesian [k], [kasih]) and italics to represent their *phonemic structure* (*k*, *kasi*). I use standard ML contrastively in order to highlight the specific features of Mardijker ML, representing it here with official Indonesian.³ I also use italics to represent Indonesian letters and words in their official spelling, as this spelling is fairly close to the phonemic structure of Indonesian (*k*, *kasih*).

2. Some background on the pantuns and the Mardijker community and language

2.1 About the manuscript.

The *Panton Malaijoe dan Portugees* manuscript belongs to the archive of the National Museum of Archaeology in Lisbon, where it was discovered a few years ago by one of the Museum librarians, Ms. Livia Coito, and by Ivo Castro (Professor in the Arts Faculty, University of Lisbon). An annotated edition of the manuscript was prepared by Ivo Castro (Editor-in-Chief), Hugo Cardoso, Gijs Koster, Alan Baxter and Alexander Adelaar; it will appear under the title *Livro de pantuns* (Portuguese for "(The Lisbon) Book of Pantuns" (Castro et al. in press). It will include an original facsimile reproduction of the text. The Mardijker ML part of the edition (including the mixed ML-Portuguese pantun) was authored as follows: a transcription of original text was made by Ivo Castro (Lisbon), Alexander Adelaar (Olomouc & Melbourne) and Gijs Koster (Universidade do Minho, Braga); the transliterations into Mardijker ML and standard ML were made by Adelaar and Koster respectively, the translation into English was made by both Adelaar and Koster, and the translation into Portuguese by Hugo Cardoso (University of Lisbon); an orthographic and linguistic analysis was provided by Adelaar, and a literary analysis and historical introduction by Koster. As for the Chapter on Portuguese

³ There are various forms of standard ML. I decided to use official Indonesian because it is currently the standard variety that most readers who know any form of ML will be familiar with. Furthermore, there was no standard form of ML before the 20th century (Mahdi 2016: 110–117; 125–159; 166–168).

pantuns: the transcription and translation of the original text were prepared by Alan Baxter (University of Saint Joseph, Macau) and Hugo Cardoso, who also wrote a historical, linguistic and literary introduction to the creole Portuguese pantuns (Baxter and Cardoso in press).

Although written in a Roman script, the poems are very difficult to read. Their handwriting is baroque in style, especially concerning the initial letter of each line. There is some variety in the spelling of the manuscripts, which seems to indicate that there were several authors (or at least copyists) involved. Among others, one apparent manifestation of this is seen in the use of <h>. In both Mardijker ML and Portuguese, phonemic *h* occurs sporadically, if it occurs at all. Nevertheless, most poems show an excessive use of initial and intervocalic <h>, as in <horrang> ‘person’ and <hannack> ‘child’. Its use is even extended to Portuguese text, e.g., <halma> for *alma* ‘soul’, and <húm> for the definite article *um*. However, whereas some of the poems make an abundant use of this hypercorrect (but wrong) <h>, it is almost absent in the last poem (*Pantun Joncker*).

2.2 The Mardijker community and the languages they spoke

Most of the Mardijkers were descendants of Christian slaves and servants who had been brought to Indonesia from India and Sri Lanka in the 17th century. These South Asians lived in and around Batavia (now Jakarta) and spoke a variety of Portuguese as a lingua franca. A minority among the Mardijkers were from the Moluccas and from Pampanga in the Philippines. The Moluccans were either Christians or Muslims. Many of them were troops fighting under Captain Jonker, a famous Moluccan warlord who was in service of the Dutch East Indian Company in the second half of the 17th century. It is not without relevance that Mardijkers from the Moluccas had already arrived in Batavia before the arrival of Mardijker people from the Indian subcontinent. They may have formed a nuclear speech community. It would explain why the ML that the Mardijker people in general used (along with their native languages and creole Portuguese) had a strong Moluccan flavour and was originally a form of EIVML.

In their daily dealings with other Indonesians, and with Chinese, the Mardijker people from the Indian subcontinent would have had to learn ML. Nevertheless, Portuguese was the main contact language in Jakarta around that time: not only the Mardijker people but also the Dutch used it as a daily language and often made it their mother tongue Mahdi (2016:108).

This prevalence of Portuguese did not last. It was in competition with ML, which managed to overtake it as a contact language by the turn of the 19th century (de Haan 1917:235–236). After that, most of the Mardijker people dissipated in the general population of Batavia, although in a separate community called Tugu (in Tanjung Priok, Jakarta’s harbour district) they were able to maintain their language until well into the 20th century, and their identity as a (Protestant) Christian community of Portuguese descent up to the present.

The fact that the *Pantun Joncker* can be related to the turn of the 18th century seems to suggest that familiarity with ML among South Asian Mardijker people started not long after they had arrived in Jakarta, and that they soon reached a level of literacy in it, expressing themselves in oral literature via ML pantuns and in ML writing. The variety of ML they became accustomed to must have been influenced by that of the Moluccans whom they were fighting along in Jonker’s army, and who had also settled in the city. Moluccan ML varieties by and large share the same EIVML features as Mardijker ML (see below).

3. Mardijker ML as a Vehicular ML language

Among the many varieties of ML, the Vehicular ML ones form a distinct category, both sociolinguistically and typologically (see below). And within that category, EIVML varieties are a subcategory. In this paper I contend that Mardijker ML has a clear EIVML signature and

must be derived from it, together with most eastern Indonesian ML varieties, Sri Lanka ML and Cape ML. The eastern Indonesian ML varieties include at least Ambon ML, Ternate ML, Manado ML, Kupang ML, and Papuan ML (Adelaar & Prentice 1996; Adelaar 2011).

Vehicular ML varieties share a configuration of linguistic features that set them off against other forms of Malayic and derive from a mixed language which came about through contact between ML and another language, which was most probably a Chinese variety (see Adelaar and Prentice 1996 and Adelaar 2011).⁴ That contact must have taken place in the Straits of Malacca during the Srivijaya period, which lasted from the late 7th to the early 14th century CE.⁵ Srivijaya and various other sovereign states along the Straits of Malacca were in a tribute relationship with China at the time, which brought them protection and trade advantages, even at times when Chinese emperors were not in favour of foreign trade relations. In the final years of Srivijaya, the polity fell into the hands of a Chinese pirate (Andaya and Andaya 2001:18–33), another illustration of the Chinese presence in the Straits of Malacca. Factors like these must have been the historical backdrop to the development of Vehicular ML as a contact language.

Adelaar and Prentice (1996) argued that Vehicular ML varieties (or “Pidgin Derived Malay” varieties, as they called them at the time) historically derive from this mixed language. They did not imply that the varieties themselves (such as Ambon ML) are necessarily mixed languages (675).

Adelaar and Prentice (1996) made a classification of ML varieties into literary ML, vernacular ML, and Vehicular ML. These are sociolinguistic categories, but the classification is basically a model to elucidate the historical developments behind the ML linguistic variety seen today. Several qualifications need to be made here. To begin with, whilst the Vehicular ML varieties occupy an important position between literary ML and vernacular forms of ML, they are not the only possible contact languages doing so, something that Adelaar and Prentice failed to make sufficiently clear. Furthermore, Paauw (2008) contended that there is a continuum between high and low varieties. However, this was never in dispute in Adelaar and Prentice (1996:675–676). They acknowledged this, pointing out that their model was meant to be an abstraction rather than a representation of the present reality in all its complexity (675). The observation that there is a continuum is correct *per se* but it is also trivial in that it describes the obvious outcome of most linguistic ecologies of considerable time depth. Finally, the principle that the contact nature of a language cannot be established on linguistic typology alone but should also be based on historical verification is generally a solid one. Nevertheless, in the case Vehicular ML, Adelaar and Prentice (1996) decided that this should not become a dogma. Vehicular ML varieties show all the hallmarks of non-Malayic (and even non-Austronesian) influence. Furthermore, they share a simplified phonological and morphological structure in comparison to other forms of ML. Finally, there are the aforementioned historical contacts between Malays and Chinese (especially in the Strait of Malacca) which go back to Srivijayan times, if not earlier. In a case like this, the fact that the circumstances involving the origins of Vehicular ML are beyond retrieval should not form an embargo against any form of speculation, provided it is a historically plausible one.

In Adelaar (1991) I argued that Sri Lanka ML is an EIVML variety: a large part of its structure and function words has an EIVML signature, and its core vocabulary displays a basically

⁴ The relevant linguistic features in question are also listed in Section 5.

⁵ It was certainly not implied to be 16th century Baba ML (contrary to Paauw’s interpretation (2008:16)).

EIVML phonology. Paauw (2004) claimed that Sri Lanka ML is derived from Java ML⁶ because it shares most of its Malayic vocabulary with the latter. However, while there are no doubt many Java ML words in Sri Lanka ML, the quantity of this shared vocabulary is no evidence of a common origin but only the result of lexical borrowing, which took place in the 17th century.

Mardijker ML shows a comparable development. Not all Mardijker ML vocabulary is EIVML, as the language has also adopted many loanwords from ML varieties spoken on Java. However, the phonology of its core vocabulary and its basic morphological and syntactic structure are EIVML. A similar linguistic picture comes across in the Cape ML material presented by Hoogervorst (in press). The commonalities between Mardijker ML, Sri Lanka ML and Cape ML can be attributed to the fact that they have an EIVML origin whereas their early colonial history is intimately related to the City of Batavia. All three varieties have an EIVML core overlaid with a strong Java ML (including Betawi ML?)⁷ lexical superstratum. Batavia was home to various eastern Indonesian minorities, whose members were brought in as slaves and servants as well as military in the service of the Dutch East India Company, such as the militia led by the aforementioned Captain Jonker. The presence in old Batavia of the latter and the army that he had brought in from the Moluccas no doubt form a crucial part in the explanation of the EIVML origins of Mardijker ML, Cape ML and Sri Lanka ML. However, since Batavia was also a city in Java, the influence of the Javanese and Sundanese languages on the ML spoken in Batavia was making itself increasingly felt, in spite of initial efforts by the Dutch colonial administration to keep the local population out of the colonial city (Grijns 1991: Map No. 5).

4. Spelling

In linguistics, spelling is considered of only marginal interest. Linguistic studies of written material often do not deal with spelling issues and only discuss phonemic transcriptions. However, the current analysis is as much a philological exercise as a linguistic one, in which spelling and linguistics both play crucial roles in the interpretation of the text. The word for ‘body’ may serve as an illustration. It is written as <badang>, <badan>, <badangh> and <badam>. In Mardijker ML the phonological structure of this word is reflected best in <badang>. It is phonologically most probably *badan*, which is the same as it is structured (and pronounced) in Ambon ML and other forms of EIVML. The form <badan> is a normative interpretation of the word based to standard ML, as it is the correct spelling of the word in this sociolect. The remaining two forms are due to foreign spelling conventions which have nothing to do with Mardijker ML. <badangh> ends in <h>, a letter often seen after final velar nasals in 17th century Dutch. It is a spelling convention of unclear functionality and is no longer used in modern Dutch spelling. Finally, the final <m> in <badam> is a Portuguese spelling convention for writing any historical final nasal: the language no longer pronounces these final nasals, and their nasal quality has shifted to the preceding vowel. In Portuguese orthography this is indicated either by a tilde on the preceding vowel (e.g., edição [edi’sãw] ‘edition’) or by a generic unpronounced final <m>, as in <bom> [bõ] ‘good’, or <som> [sõ] ‘sound, noise’.

⁶ According to Paauw (2008:8), Java ML is Vehicular form of ML. Adelaar and Prentice (1996) and Adelaar (2011) considered it a Vehicular ML variety which began to converge to more mainstream (vernacular and standard) forms of ML later on.

⁷ Betawi ML is nowadays better known as Jakarta ML, a seriously endangered community language in Jakarta. It is different from Jakartanese or Jakarta Indonesian: the latter has taken over some emblematic features from Betawi ML but is basically a colloquial form of Indonesian (Grijns 1991:XVII and Chapter 2; Sneddon 2006:5–6).

This Portuguese spelling convention also explains why the Javanese Banten [bantən] region is often spelt as <Bantam> in 17th century (Portuguese and Dutch) records.

The spelling variation involving *badan* is still relatively easy to work out. Real problems occur when such variation is compounded with other spelling irregularities, as in <tan poerom> (*tampuroŋ*, Indonesian *tempurung* ‘coconut shell’), in which the root is presented as two words. Compare also <dimanagom> (analysed as *di-mənanəŋuŋ* ‘to be endured’), showing an odd concatenation of the prefixes *di-* and *maN-* and lacking an expected <ng> in its intervocalic consonant cluster.⁸

The spelling of Mardijker ML shows a bewildering variation. It is basically grafted on 17th and 18th century Dutch orthography, the main rules of which are listed in Table 1. Some other ways of spelling are similar to English and Portuguese spelling rules.

Table 1. Spelling conventions based on (17th–18th century) Dutch

1. Dutch	2. Indonesian	3. Example + variation	4. Indonesian spelling
‘oe’, ‘ou’ (rare), ‘o’	‘u’	boeroeng ‘bird’ douhâ ‘two’ lahoût ‘sea’ tacot, tacoet ‘fear; afraid’ badorie dorie ‘with thorns’	burung dua laut takut berduri-duri
‘ú’ (following a or o)	‘u’, ‘w’	njaúwa ‘life, breath’ hoúlo ‘upriver’	nyawa hulu
‘ú’ (elsewhere mostly:)	‘i’	kúta ‘I; we’ júwa ‘soul’ kassúe, kassie ‘love, give’ dúeha ‘two’	kita ‘we (hearer included)’ jiwa kasih dua
‘i’, ‘ie’, ‘j’	‘i’	bierú ‘blue’ kassi, cassie, kasúe ‘love; give’ jngaet ‘to remember’	biru kasih ingat
‘ij’, ‘y’ (between vowels)	‘y’	maijeen ‘to play’ aijeer, haijer ‘water’ Malayo ‘Malay’	main air Melayu
-‘ij’ (in ‘njaij’)	y	njaij ‘local concubine of western or Chinese man’	nyai
-‘ij’ (elsewhere)	-i	balij ‘Bali Island’ padij ‘rice plant’	Bali padi
‘c’ (in ‘Ceylon’)	‘s’	Seylon ‘Sri Lanka’	(Sri Lanka)
‘c’ (elsewhere)	‘k’	tiecam ‘to stab’ casie, cassie ‘love; to give’ ciera kira ‘approximately’	tikam kasih kira-kira

⁸ This word occurs in the line <olle dimanagom lahaijer maata> (*ole di manangun la ayer mata*), freely translated as ‘because I have endured my tears’. Supporting evidence for this is the presence in the same verse of another form of the same verb, namely <manangoon> (*manangun*) ‘to carry on the shoulders’.

'dj' (also 'j')	'j'	djoega, joega 'also' djandjie, jandjie 'to promise' djaga 'to watch; to guard'	juga janji jaga
'tj', 'ts', 'tsj'	'c'	tsintjng, tsintjing, tsintsin 'ring' tsarie, tsjari 'to look for' batsere, batsjere 'to divorce' kietjil, kietsjil 'small'	cincin cari bercerai kecil
'nj'	'ny'	nanjie 'song; to sing' tanja 'to ask'	nyanyi tanya
-'ck' (-'k')	-'k'	hanack, hanak, anak, anack 'child' banjack, banjak, banjac 'much'	anak banyak
'ngh' ('ng')	'ng'	badangh, badang 'body' koeroeng, koeroengh 'cage' denghan, dengan, degan 'with'	badan kurung dengan
double consonants	single consonant	cassie, casi, kassie, kasi 'give' olle, ole 'by, because of' ollanda, olanda 'Holland' Samma, sama 'same' kappala, kapala 'head' orrand, orrand(h) 'person'	kasih oleh Belanda sama kepala orang

The use of double vowels for [i], [e] and [u], and the use of <j> for the voiced postalveolar affricate [dʒ] are prominent features of the way early colonial British authors spelt ML.⁹ However, attributing these conventions to British influence is not evident from a historical perspective, as the British had not yet made a significant presence in Java at the turn of the 18th century (that would only happen a century later with Raffles' administration). Compare the following examples:

Pantun texts	Indonesian	Pantun texts	Indonesian
<ee>	<i> (also <e>?)	kaijeen 'cloth, garment' maijeen 'to play' tasee, taze, taziee 'sea' ayeer, ayer, haijer 'water'	<i>kain</i> <i>main</i> <i>tasik</i> <i>air</i>
<ee>	<e>	boeleeleeng (Balinese name) bolee 'can, be allowed' heekoor 'a tail'	<i>buleleng</i> <i>boleh</i> <i>ekor</i>
<oo>	<u> (<o>?)	pintoo, pinto, pintoe 'door' batooloor 'with eggs' Malaijoo, Malaijo 'Malay' pantoon, panton 'Malay-style verse'	<i>pintu</i> <i>bertelor, bertelur</i> <i>Melayu</i> <i>pantun</i>
<j>	<j> [dz]	balajar 'to study' raja 'sovereign' jika, djikâ, jica 'if'	<i>belajar</i> <i>raja</i> <i>jika</i>

⁹ The use of <j> for [dʒ] is standard in modern Indonesian spelling, but this has only been the case since 1972.

Portuguese influence seems to be the use of <nh> for the palatal nasal [ɲ]. Mardijker ML <h> is occasionally also used in combinations expressing the velar nasal [ŋ] in intervocalic positions, which may or may not be a generalisation of the use on <h> in the writing of any non-coronal nasal.

Pantun texts	Indonesian	Pantun texts	Indonesian
<nh>	<ny>	sinho ‘Eurasian young man’ poenha, poenja, poenjha (word linking ‘possessor’ to ‘possessed’) nonjha ‘young lady’	<i>sinyo</i> <i>punya</i> ‘to have’ <i>nyonya</i>
<nh>, <ngh>	<ng>	kolanghiet ‘to the sky’ manhapa ‘why’ panhiboeran ‘entertainment’	<i>ke langit</i> <i>mengapa</i> <i>penghiburan</i>

Another Portuguese feature is the frequent use of <o> for the [u] sound at the end of a word. This is shown in the following words and clitics, which incidentally also occur with final <oe> (following a Dutch convention): <ko>, <koe> ‘my’ and <mo>, <moe> ‘your (singular and (sometimes) plural)’, <sapato> ‘shoe’, <sato>/<satoe> ‘one’, <soengo>/<soengoe> (also <songoe>/<songo>) ‘true, serious’, <jato>/<jatoe> ‘to fall’, <toejo>/<toejoe> ‘seven’. However, some other words always occur with ‘-oe’ to reflect this final [u], including <baroe> ‘new’, <maloe> ‘ashamed, bashful’, or <moesoe> ‘enemy’, <boenoe> ‘kill’.

A third feature is the aforementioned tendency to use <m> for all final nasals, as in <badam> ‘body’ for (*badan*), <pakatam> (*pakatan*), <trabam> ‘to fly’ (*traban*). A corroborating feature is the frequent inconsistency of writing actual final *ŋ* as <n>, e.g., in <tengamalan> (*tena malan*) ‘midnight’, <datan> (*datan*) ‘to come’, <orran> (*oran*) ‘person’.

Another Portuguese spelling convention must be <qu> in <masquí> ‘although’ (Indonesian *meski, meskipun*) and in <quítangh> ‘Guangdong province in China’ (but also the name of a neighbourhood in Jakarta (Koster in press)). However, <qu> also occurred in the writing of some 17th century Dutch authors, and it occasionally also appears in Dutch spelling applied to Asian languages.

Finally, as demonstrated above, the excessive use of initial and intervocalic <h> must be a hypercorrection, and as such it may be the indirect result of Portuguese influence.¹⁰ Neither Portuguese nor Mardijker ML have a phonemically distinct *h*. Compare:

Pantun texts	Indonesian
hakoo ‘I’	<i>aku</i>
dieha ‘she, he’	<i>dia</i>
hattas ‘on top of’	<i>atas</i>
doeha ‘two’	<i>dua</i>
toehan ‘you’	<i>tuan</i>
hattie ‘liver; “heart”, centre of emotions’	<i>hati</i>

Some ways of spelling do not belong to an identifiable spelling tradition but are typical of the pantuns themselves, although they may also reflect 17th century Dutch spelling uncertainty.

¹⁰ However, it is not the only context in which excessive use was made of <h>, see Mahdi (2015), who mentions it in text of the 14th century Tanjung Tanah Manuscript. Waruno Mahdi (p.c.) points out that it also occurs in some letters written in Vehicular ML in 1619 (Ricklefs 1976).

Compare the many ways in which velar nasals and palatal voiced stops are presented (see below).

The distinctions between <g> (a voiced velar stop [g]), <ng>/<ngh> (a velar nasal [ŋ]), and <ngg> (a velar nasal + voiced stop cluster [ŋg]) are often not made. The confusion is sometimes made worse by the expansion of <n> and <ng> with an <h> with no distinctive function.

Examples of four often interchangeable ways ('ng', 'ngh', 'nh' and 'g') to represent [ŋ]:

Pantun texts

lagit, langit, lanhiet 'sky'
singa 'to drop in, pass by'
sangoo 'to be able'
tangan 'hand'
boenga 'flower'
degan, dengan, denghan 'with'

Indonesian

langit [laŋit]
singah [siŋgah]
sanggup [saŋgup]
tangan [taŋan]
bunga [buŋa]
dengan [dəŋan]

Examples of the tendency to write both the semivowel [j] and the affricate [dz] as 'j':

Pantun texts

joega 'also'
jang 'who, which'
djúka, djika, júca 'if'

Indonesian

juga [djuɡa]
yang [jaŋg]
jika [djika]

Finally, in some cases both <z> and <s> are used for [s], both <ch> and <tsj> are used for [tsj], both <k> and <ch> are used for [k], and both <i> (or <j>, <y>) and <ú> are used for the high front vowel *i*, as in the following instances:

Pantun texts

taziee, taze, tasee [tasi] 'sea'
zoeda, soeda [suda] 'already'
kazie 'love; to give', chasi sabar 'exercise patience'
kietsjil 'small'
tsjarie 'look for'
chata 'to talk'
china 'China; Chinese'
<cassúe>, <kassie>, <kassie>, <chassie> 'love; to give'
<kúta> '1st person pronoun'
<baagú>, <bagú> 'like, as'

Indonesian

tasik 'lake'
sudah
kasih, kasih sabar
kecil [kəcil]
cari
(ber)kata [(bər-)kata]
Cina
kasih
kita
(se)bagai [(sə)bagai]

5. Language

Mardijker ML shares many features with Vehicular ML in general, and with EIVML in particular. In what follows, I present inventories of distinctive features pertaining to each of these categories. I also show evidence that each of them also occurs in Mardijker ML. Two factors should be considered. On the one hand, these features are not manifested systematically in Mardijker ML but are competing with features that belong to more mainstream varieties of ML. The latter may have been more prestigious sociolects, to which Mardijker ML speakers felt the urge to adapt. On the other hand, some Vehicular ML features occasionally occur in mainstream ML varieties and even in Indonesian, but when they do, they are considered stylistically marked.

5.1 Linguistic features that are diagnostic of Vehicular ML in general

The following diagnostic features were listed in Adelaar (2011):

1. Plural pronouns consist of singular pronouns + *oraŋ* ‘human being, people’.
2. Possessive phrases consist of possessor + a linker (usually *puña* or a related form) + possessed.
3. The existential marker *ada* also functions as a progressive aspect marker.
4. A form related to the Indonesian verb *pərgi* ‘to go’ (usually *pigi* or its short form *pi*) doubles as a directional particle or a preposition ‘to(wards)’.
5. The demonstratives *ini* ‘this’ and *itu* ‘that’ function as definite markers (often in the reduced forms *ni(h)* and *tu(h)*). In some Vehicular ML varieties there is also a tendency to precede the head instead of following it.
6. The causative is expressed periphrastically with the verbs *kasi* ‘give’ and *bikin* ‘make’.
7. The original Malayic morphology is reduced: only *ba-* and *ta-* (or *bər-* and *tər-*) occur regularly.
8. The Indonesian (adaptation of the) “symmetrical voice system” (see Himmelmann 2011) is common to most other varieties of Malayic. It was lost in Vehicular ML.

Most of these developments are shown either regularly or at least occasionally in Mardijker ML. The only two missing are the use of plural pronouns through the addition of *oraŋ* and the tendency for demonstratives to become definite markers. Some examples follow:

1. The expression of possession with the linking word <poenja> (or <poenha>) is seen in the following constructions:

- (1) <kieta poenha nanjie>
 kita puña nañi
 we linker song
 ‘our song’
- (2) <bagito baúwa toean poenya njaúwa>
 bagito bau -a tuaŋ puña ñawa
 such smell its lady linker soul
 ‘Such is the fragrance of your soul.’

In mainstream ML varieties, the equivalent construction is reversed and there is no linker, compare Indonesian *nyanyi kita* (song we) ‘our song’, *kasih tuan* (love you) ‘your love’. In (2), note the 3rd person singular possessive suffix *-a*, which is odd. The usual Mardijker ML 3rd person possessive suffix is *-ya*: possibly *y* was lost when occurring directly after *w*, which is another semivowel. Other instances of the regular *-ya* are in <tanganja soeda ber hikat> (*taŋan-ya suda bər-ikat*) ‘his hands were tied’, <binnija Jatoe die kakie> (*bini-ya jatu di kaki*) ‘his wife fell at his feet’, <horangja la tieda dengaar> (*oraŋ-ya la tida deŋar*) ‘(even) his men couldn’t hear him’.

2. In one instance, the existential marker <ada> is used to indicate ongoing action (or “progressive aspect”):

- (3) <Sian malang ada managies>
 siaŋ malaŋ ada managis
 day night *ada* weep
 ‘weeping day and night’

3. The Mardijker ML tendency to use <pigi> (originally a verb ‘to go’) as a preposition meaning ‘to(wards)’ is demonstrated when comparing the Mardijker ML sentence (4) with the Indonesian sentence (5):

(4) <Sieti jalang pigie pasaer>
 Siti jalan pigi pasar
 Siti walk/go go/to(wards) market
 ‘Siti went to the market.’

(5) Siti pergi ke pasar
 Siti go to market
 ‘Siti went to the market.’

4. Causativity is expressed through a periphrastic construction involving <kassi> ‘give’, as illustrated in phrases (6) and (7):

(6) <Kassie mienom nonja lagie>
 kasi minom noña lagi
 give drink young.lady again
 ‘Give her some more to drink.’

(7) <chassie sabar>
 kasi sabar
 give patience
 ‘exert patience’

5. The original Malayic morphology is reduced: only *ba-* and *ta-* (or *bər-* and *tər-*) occur regularly.

The active verb prefix *man-* does occur but is not used as systematically as in mainstream forms of ML, and it is not really integrated in Mardijker ML grammar. In contrast to Indonesian, its nasal ending <ng> [ŋ] does not assimilate to the following consonant, as the following instances show:

(8) Mardijker ML	Indonesian
<mangbla> ‘to split’	<i>membelah</i> (from the root <i>belah</i>)
<manbale batu> ‘to turn over stones’	<i>membalik batu</i> (< <i>balik</i>)
<manhaijeel, mangaijeel, manghael> ‘to angle, catch fish’	<i>mengail</i> (< <i>kail</i>)
<manoaat> ‘to contain’	<i>memuat</i> (< <i>muat</i>)
<manoetos hati> ‘to break hearts’	<i>memutus hati</i> (< <i>putus</i>)
<manhapa> ‘why?’	<i>mengapa</i> (< <i>apa</i>)

6. There are very few passive voice constructions. Although they involve the ML passive prefix *di-*, they are usually shallow in structure and seem to be “copied” from other ML varieties. They do not represent the more involved passive voice constructions that are typical for other ML varieties and Austronesian languages in general.

Some other features found in Mardijker ML are not listed in Adelaar and Prentice (1996) or in Adelaar (2011) but they are also part of the history of Vehicular ML varieties:

1. The use of the negator *tra* ‘no(t)’. Historically, *tra* is a reduced form of mainstream ML *tiada* ‘(there is) not’. An example of <tra> is in line (9):

(9) <Burung inda tra mau bamalam>
 buruŋ inda tra mau ba-malaŋ [ʔba-malam]
 bird beautiful no(t) want.to INTR-(pass).the.night
 ‘The beautiful bird does not want to stay the night.’

2. The use of <kita> as a general 1st person pronoun. In mainstream ML and many other Indonesian languages, *kita* is a 1st person plural inclusive pronoun, the use of which implies inclusion of the hearer. However, in Vehicular ML varieties, both plural and inclusive connotations have been lost and the pronoun came to indicate both ‘we (in general)’ and ‘I’.¹¹ For instance, in sentence (10) the reference of <kita> is a first person singular (the context is the reply of an old lady being asked if she had seen Siti Lelang Mayang):

- (10) <kita lihat Satoe nonja ada doedok di balle bale>
 kita liat satu noña ada dudok di bale-bale
 1st.person see one/a young.lady PROGR sit on bench
 ‘[Yes] I saw a young lady sitting on a bench.’

But it has a plural reference in the following phrase:

- (11) <dalam mimpi kita bertoemoe
 dalaŋ mimpi kita bər-tumu
 in dream 1st.person INTR-meet
 ‘It’s in dreams that we meet.’

3. Examples of the monophthongisation of the Malayic final diphthongs *-aw and *-ay endings to -o/-u and -e/-I are in (12):

- | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------|
| (12) | Pantun text | Indonesian |
| | <bacere> (<i>ba-cere</i>) ‘to split, divorce’ | <i>bercerai</i> [bər-cəray] |
| | <soengi> (<i>suŋi</i>) ‘river’ | <i>sungai</i> [suŋay] |
| | <kapoelo> (<i>ka pulo</i>) ‘to the island’ | <i>ke pulau</i> [kə pulaw] |
| | <rimoo> (<i>rimo</i>) ‘tiger’ | <i>harimau</i> [harimaw] |

This reduction does not take place in final *au* and *ai* sequences which consist of two syllabic vowels, as is seen in the following words, which are disyllabic:

- | | | |
|------|---|---------------------------|
| (13) | Pantun text | Indonesian |
| | <njaij> (<i>ñai</i>) ‘lady; concubine of a European or Chinese man’ | <i>nyai</i> [ñai] |
| | <maúô>, <mau> (<i>mau</i>) ‘want to’ | <i>mau</i> |
| | <baúô>, <baúo>, <baúhoe> (<i>bau</i>) ‘smell, odour’ | <i>bau</i> |
| | <taúô>, <tauô> (<i>tau</i>) ‘to know’ | <i>tahu</i> [tahu], [tau] |
| | <jaúô> (<i>jau</i>) ‘far’ | <i>jauh</i> |

5.2 Features that are characteristic of eastern Indonesian Vehicular ML

Adelaar and Prentice (1996:675) give a list of characteristic EIVML features:

1. final stops were lost
2. final nasals merged into velar nasals
3. Malayic schwa became *a* in some cases
4. in other cases, schwa assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable

¹¹ In Ternate (Littamahuputty 2012) and Manado ML (Stoel 2005:30) *kita* means ‘I’. Most other Vehicular ML varieties do not have *kita* as such but they do have a 1st person plural based on a contraction of **kita* + **oraŋ* ‘people’, for instance Ambon ML *katoŋ* (Minde 1997:69), Manado ML *toroŋ* (Stoel 2005:30), Sri Lanka ML *kitaoŋ* (Adelaar 1991:32), all meaning ‘we’. These pronouns are derived from a compound in which *kita* had become a general 1st person (unspecific for singular or plural), and *oraŋ* functioned as an explicit plural marker. In Jakarta ML (which is not a Vehicular ML variety), *kitè* ‘I, we’ is also no longer a dedicated plural pronoun but it became a 1st person pronoun in general (Muhadjir 1981:41), as in Mardijker ML.

5. high vowels became lowered in certain circumstances
6. the perfective marker *sudah* was formally reduced to *su* or *so*

Of these, the first four also occur in Mardijker ML, as shown below:

1. Frequent loss of final occlusives (-p, -t, -k):

(14) Pantun text	Indonesian
<sangoo> (<i>saŋu</i>) ‘capable’	<i>sanggup</i>
<taco>, <takoet> (<i>taku, takut</i>) ‘fear; afraid’	<i>takut</i>
<moeloe>, <moeloet> (<i>mulu, mulut</i>) ‘mouth’	<i>mulut</i>
<tassie> (<i>tasi</i>) ‘sea’	<i>tasik</i> ‘lake’
<banja> (<i>baña</i>) ‘much, many’	<i>banyak</i>

2. Final nasals often merging in -<ng> (the velar nasal ŋ):

(15) Pantun text	Indonesian
<dahoon>, <dahong> (<i>daoŋ</i>) ‘leaf’	<i>daun</i>
<jalang> (<i>jalaoŋ</i>) ‘to walk; road’	<i>jalan</i>
<badan>, <badang(h)>, <badam> (<i>badaoŋ</i>) ‘body’	<i>badan</i>
<trabam>, <trabang> (<i>trabaoŋ</i>) ‘to fly’	<i>terbang</i> [tərbaŋ]
<misking> (<i>miskioŋ</i>) ‘poor’	<i>miskin</i>
<malam> (<i>malaŋ</i>) ‘night’, <mamalang> (<i>mamalaŋ</i>) ‘at night’	(<i>waktu</i>) <i>malam</i>

3. Standard ML [ə] often became *a*:

(16) Pantun text	Indonesian
<Malajoo> (<i>malayu</i>) ‘Malay’	<i>Melayu</i> [məlayu]
<bataria> (<i>bataria</i>) ‘to cry, shout’	<i>berteriak</i> [bɛrtəriak]
<sapparti> (<i>saparti</i>) ‘like, similar to’	<i>seperti</i> [sɛpɛrti]
<passan> (<i>pasan</i>) ‘give an instruction’	<i>pesan</i> [pɛsan]
<tampat> (<i>tampat</i>) ‘place’	<i>tempat</i> [tɛmpat]

4. In other instances, this [ə] assimilated to the vowel in the following syllable:

(17) Pantun text	Indonesian
<cietcil> (<i>kicil</i>) ‘small’	<i>kecil</i> [kɛcil]
<pigi> (<i>pigi</i>) ‘to go; to(wards)’	<i>pergi</i> [pɛrgi]
<bilie> (<i>bili</i>) ‘to buy’	<i>beli</i> [bɛli]
<bertoemoe> (<i>bærtumu</i>) ‘to meet, cross’	<i>bertemu</i> [bɛrtɛmu]
<poeroet> (<i>purut</i>) ‘stomach’	<i>perut</i> [pɛrut]

Two more Mardijker ML features that are also typical of EIVML varieties are the loss of final *h and the use of *beta* as a general 1st person pronoun.

5. The loss of final -h:

The loss of final *h is demonstrated in the following examples:

(18) Pantun text	Indonesian
<roema> (<i>ruma</i>) ‘house’	<i>rumah</i>
<olle> (<i>ole</i>) ‘because of, by’	<i>oleh</i>
<cassie> (<i>kasi</i>) ‘love; to give’	<i>kasih</i>

6. The use of *beta* ‘1st person singular’:

The pronoun *beta* also occurs in some other forms of Malay(ic), where it is generally a 1st person singular pronoun which is used in self-reference by a sovereign. In Mardijker ML, it is used in the same way as in the other EIVML varieties that have *beta*: it is a default pronoun for

the 1st person singular, and it can have a singular or plural reference, depending on context. Compare the following instances:

- (19) Boeaang betta die nigrie jaúo
 buaŋ beta di nigri jao
 to exile 1st.person LOC country far
 ‘They exile us to a country far away!’
- (20) Beta nimpie njaij
 beta nimpi ñai
 1st.person to dream you (lady; concubine)
 ‘I’m dreaming of you [my Lady]’

6. Mardijker ML as an EIVML variety and its relation to Cape ML and Sri Lanka ML

As mentioned, Mardijker ML, Cape ML and Sri Lanka ML have many common features and show historical links with EIVML. The links between these varieties are also noted by Hoogervorst (in press), who proposes Betawi ML (ML from Batavia) as a common origin. However, the relationship with Betawi ML seems to be one of contact rather than of a common origin. Hoogervorst notes a number of lexical and formal similarities including Cape ML <bighimana> and Mardijker ML *bigimana* ‘how’, Cape ML <soembaing> and Mardijker ML *sumbahaŋ* ‘to pray’, Cape ML <intji> and Mardijker ML *ince* (terms of address and/or reference), and the use of *beta* as a 1st person pronoun. These pairs are important comparative evidence, even if in some cases their members differ slightly in form or meaning. The <bighimana> and *bigimana* pair are cognates of Indonesian *bagaimana* (same meaning) and share the same vowel changes in their antepenultimate syllables. The pair <soembaing> and *sumbahaŋ* are cognates of Indonesian *sembahyang* and agree to the degree that both forms lost the intervocalic *y between their last two syllables. The Cape ML terms <intji> and Mardijker ML *ince* have slightly different meanings: <intji> basically means ‘Mr.’, whereas in the pantuns *ince* is a term of both reference and address and is not gender specific, covering both ‘Mr.’ and ‘Madam’. (*ənci?* is originally a respectful epithet used for both women and men). The pronoun *beta* is a 1st person singular pronoun in Cape ML but in the Mardijker ML pantuns it can have any 1st person reference (see above).

Hoogervorst (in press) also notes loss of final stops and *h, merger of final nasals into a velar nasal, and assimilation of penultimate *e to the last syllable vowel as sound changes that Cape ML and Mardijker ML have in common (although he has a different explanation for the vowel assimilation in penultimate syllables).

These changes are demonstrated below with evidence from Mardijker ML, Ambon ML¹², Cape ML and (to a less extent) Sri Lanka ML. Apart from the loss of final *h, these changes are not shared with Betawi ML (Adelaar 1991), at least not in the form of Jakarta ML as we know it today.

1. Loss of final stop

(21) Indonesian	Mardijker ML	Sri Lanka ML	Ambon ML	Cape ML
anak ‘child’	ana	a:nak	ana	–
masuk ‘to go in’	masu	ma:sok	maso	–
balik ‘return’	bale	ba:lek	bale	–

¹² I am grateful to Ms. Lise YianSui de Fretes (Assen, Netherlands) for providing me with Ambon ML data.

takut ‘afraid’	taku	ta:kut	taku, tako	–
banyak ‘much, many’	baña	ba:ñaak	baña	<baie>
tersebut ‘mentioned’	–	–	–	<taseboe>
menyahut ‘to reply’	–	–	–	<manjahoe>
sedikit ‘a little’	sadikit	sədi:kit	sadiki	<sediki>, <diki>

NB: Loss of final stop also applies to Cape ML more generally but is manifested in different words, as in <taseboe> ‘mentioned’ (Indonesian *tersebut*), <sediki>, <diki> ‘a little’ (Indonesian *sedikit*), <manjahoe> ‘to reply’ (Indonesian *menyahut*) etc.

2. Loss of final *h

(22) Indonesian	Mardijker ML	Sri Lanka ML	Ambon ML	Cape ML
suruh ‘to send s.o.’	suru	su:ru	suru	<soeri>
tujuh ‘seven’	tuju	tu:ju	tuju	<toedjie>
kasih ‘love; to give’	kasi	ka:si	kasi	<kassie>
sudah ‘already; done’	suda	su:da	suda	–

3. Merger of final nasals to the velar nasal ŋ

(23) Indonesian	Mardijker ML	Sri Lanka ML	Ambon ML	Cape ML
daun ‘leaf’	dahonŋ	da:onŋ	daunŋ	–
malam ‘night’	malaŋ	ma:laŋ	malaŋ	<malang>
miskin ‘poor’	miskinŋ	miskin	miskin	–
makan ‘to eat’	makaŋ	ma:kaŋ	makaŋ	<makkaŋ>
kasihan ‘compassion’	kasiaŋ	kasiyan, kisiyan	kasiaŋ	<kassiaŋ>
rotan ‘rattan’	rotaŋ	ro:tan	rotaŋ	<rottang>
ampun ‘forgiveness’	amponŋ	amponŋ	amponŋ	–

4. *ə usually becomes *a* or takes on the colouring of the following consonant (as in <kolanhiet> (*ko lanit*) ‘into the sky’ and <koboeroeng>, <koeboeroeng> (*ku-buruŋ*) ‘in a hurry, overhaste’). However, in roots, penultimate *ə assimilates to the vowel of the final syllable:

(24) Indonesian	Mardijker ML	Sri Lanka ML	Ambon ML	Cape ML
perang [pəraŋ] ‘war’	paraŋ	–	praŋ	–
kecil [kəcil] ‘small’	kicil	kiccil	kacil	–
lebih [ləbih] ‘more’	–	libbi	lebe, labe	–
beli [bəli] ‘to buy’	bili	billi	bali	–
pergi [pərgi] ‘to go’	pigi	piggi	pigi	<pighi>, <piki>
perut [pərut] ‘stomach’	purut	pu:rut	poro	–
telor [təlor] ‘egg’	tulor	tellor	talor	–
peluk [pəluk] ‘embrace’	polo	pəllok	polo	–

Whilst the evidence does not show regular agreement for each cognate pair, and there is an obvious dearth of comparative data for Cape ML, it appears that Mardijker ML agrees to a fair degree with Ambon ML and Cape ML, more so than with Sri Lanka ML, which did not undergo final stop deletion.

It will take more research to make a conclusive historical classification of these Malayic varieties. However, it is hoped that the notes presented here will be useful for future comparative endeavours, either by showing the direction in which to go, or by providing arguments to set off against in an improved and more comprehensive study.

7. Concluding remarks

The main aim of this paper was to investigate the origins of Mardijker ML, one of the two languages used in the *Panton Malaijoe dan Portugees* by members of the Mardijker ML community in old Batavia.

It appears that Mardijker ML is originally a form of EIVML. However, it is by no means identical to other EIVML varieties such as Ambon ML and Ternate ML, and it shows many adaptations to varieties of ML that have developed in Java. Nevertheless, while Mardijker ML was influenced by these Javanese ML varieties and may have been in a basilect/acrolect relation to them, there are strong indications that its core structure was EIVML.

This historical characterisation seems also to apply to Sri Lanka ML and Cape ML, although Sri Lanka ML fails to show the loss of final occlusives (*p, *t, *k) as one of the main criteria of EIVML membership. This may indicate that it had a slightly different history immediately prior to the shipment of its speakers to Sri Lanka. Alternatively (or additionally) the language may have undergone a certain amount of relexification under the influence of literacy and/or ML speakers from elsewhere than Batavia who arrived much later than the initial ones from just after 1656.

The ML language and content of the *Panton Malaijoe dan Portugees* also testify to another important historical fact. Although the Mardijker community (or at least a large part of it) was originally a foreign one on the island of Java, it appears that at the turn of the 18th century its members had already acquired enough proficiency in ML that they were able to express themselves in typically ML forms of poetry and to put the result in writing. This is an indication that the community's shift to ML (estimated to have taken its full course in the 19th century) had already begun a century earlier.

Abbreviations

CAUS	causative marker
EIVML	Eastern Indonesian Vehicular Malay
EXIS	existential marker
ML	Malay
POSS	possessive linker

Sources for the main languages referred to in this paper are as follows: Ambon ML: Minde (1997), Lise AnSui de Fretes (p.c.); Cape ML: Hoogervorst (in press); Indonesian: Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings (2010); Mardijker ML: Castro et al. (in press); Sri Lanka ML: Adelaar (1991), Saldin (2007).

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Appendix: Excerpts from the Pantun Malayo poem

Boeron kau die boomú baoú: haijer maawar jica roepa toehan Saa bagú pannabar	buroŋ kau di bumi bau ayer mawar jika rupa tuan sa bagi panabar	you are a bird perched on the ground your fragrance is that of rosewater as for your beauty my lady, it's like a healing charm to me.
[some verses deleted]		
Tsaija bagie boelangh Roepa widarie roepa bagú toehan die manacoo tsaarú	Caya bagi bulan rupa wida[da]ri rupa bagi tuan di mana ku cari	Radiant like the moon beautiful like a nymph A beauty like yours Where will I find it?
Marie toehan mari marie beta kata Sama bidadarú dúehâ bijú matâ.	Mari tuan mari mari beta kata sama bidadari Dua biji mata	Well then, my lady, Let me say it: They equal those of a nymph, Those eyes of yours.
[some verses deleted]		
Roepa bagú biantan pera mata arúe Lihat roepa toehan bagú wieda darú.	Rupa bagi bintang pera mata ari liat rupa tuan Bagi widadari	You look like the stars gem of the day When I behold your beauty It is like that of a nymph.
Liat roepa toehan boeloong jries hatúe bintaan die mikihan amba tanam matie.	Liat rupa tuan buluŋ iris ati bintang dimikiaŋ Amba tanam mati	When I behold your beauty It perforates and slices my heart With so beautiful a star Your servant wants to be buried.
Amba tanam matie tingal cansa haoemoer badangh dengan badangh tanam Satoe koeboer.	amba tanam mati tiŋ[g]alkan sa-aumur badan deŋan badan tanam satu kubur	Your servant wants to be buried. He'll remain with you for life Lying with you body to body He'll be buried in one grave
Doea kali lima jadi cansa poloo tagal njaij Satoe maski orang boenooe.	dua kali lima jadikan sapulu tagal ñai satu Maski oraŋ bunu	Two times five Makes ten. Because you are the only one, my lady, [I'm doing this] although they'll kill me.
Beta jalang jalangh andjng caúo kaúo beta maúô masso takoet orrang taúô.	beta jalaŋ-jalaŋ anjing kau-kau beta mau masu takut oraŋ tau	When I roam around the dogs are barking bow-wow, I want to go inside but am afraid people may find out.