SOME NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF SRI LANKA MALAY

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1. INTRODUCTION

Sri Lanka has a minority of Malays. They number about 47,000 and they live mainly in cities. Almost half of them live in Colombo and most others are concentrated in the districts of Gampaha, Hambantota and Kandy (Anne Bichsel pers. comm.).

Little is known about the Sri Lanka Malays. Hussainmiya (1984,1987) wrote a PhD thesis and a monograph on their history, language and literature, but many facets of this ethnic minority remain obscure and still need to be studied. In Bern, Switzerland, Anne Bichsel is preparing an MA thesis about the Sri Lanka Malay community and their language.

The study of Sri Lanka Malay (SLM) may help to clarify some questions on the origin of the first Malays, or rather Indonesians,[1] of Sri Lanka. In the following pages I use linguistic data on SLM to complement Hussainmiya's (1987) findings, and to correct some of his conclusions. I collected these data from two informants during a one week stay in Colombo (5-12 January 1987).[2] First I give a summary of Hussainmiya's interpretation of the origin of the Sri Lanka Malays and then proceed with a test of this reading against the linguistic data. Finally, I conclude that SLM bears a strong resemblance to Bazaar Malay and to East Indonesian Malay, and that it is probably an offshoot of North Moluccan Malay.

2. HUSSAINMIYA'S FINDINGS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INDONESIANS OF SRI LANKA

These findings (Hussainmiya 1987) can be summarised as follows:

The first Indonesians to be brought to Sri Lanka by the Dutch came subsequent to the latter's expulsion of the Portuguese power in 1656. These early Indonesians were referred to as 'Easterners' or 'Javanese' by the Dutch, and they can be divided into two broad categories: on the one hand political exiles and other (criminal) deportees, and on the other hand people who served the Dutch in various fields, mostly soldiers, but also some slaves.

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[1]Only some of the ancestors of the Sri Lanka Malays were ethnically Malay. Generally speaking they were from all over Indonesia and Malaysia, hence my use of the term 'Indonesian' to refer to people from Indonesia and Malaysia who went to Sri Lanka during Dutch and British colonisation. There must have been earlier Malay settlements in Sri Lanka. These had apparently ceased to exist in colonial times (Hussainmiya 1987 Chapter 2) and there is no historical connection with the Sri Lanka Malays referred to in this paper.

[2]The names of these informants are Mr Br. Dole and Mr Sabreen Noor Jumadeen. My stay in Colombo was made possible by financial support from NWO, the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research.

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Some of the earliest political exiles came from the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda Islands, but from 1708 on, several Javanese princes were exiled to Sri Lanka as a result of their involvement in the wars of succession which began in the late 17th century. From Dutch documents it appears that the Indonesian aristocrats belonging to this category were mainly from Java, but they also came from Bacan, Sumatra, Macassar, Tidore and Timor.

Throughout the Dutch period there was a steady inflow of Indonesian convicts to Sri Lanka. They came from all ranks of life (no specific information is given on their ethnic background).

The largest group making up the Indonesian population in the Dutch period were the soldiers who served in the Dutch garrison in Sri Lanka. They came from Ambon, Banda, Bali, Java, Madura and from the Buginese and Malay areas. It was not unusual for these soldiers to bring their wives along when they embarked for Sri Lanka.

Most of the slaves sent to Sri Lanka originated from the Moluccas and the Lesser Sundas.

The Dutch used the collective term 'Javanese' to refer to the Indonesians of Sri Lanka, whereas the British, after their take-over in 1795, referred to them as 'Malays'. Hussainmiya explains these different terms of reference from the fact that the Indonesian soldiers in Sri Lanka had a common 'geographical identity'. They were recruited in Batavia, where ethnic groups from all over the Indonesian archipelago used to live in separate neighbourhoods. Consequently, most of these soldiers, who formed the 'nucleus' of the original (Indonesian) population in Sri Lanka, had Batavia as their last residence. This common point of reference, along with the use of a common lingua franca (Batavian Malay, itself "a pidgin language in its origin" (Hussainmiya 1987:154)) and a common religion, gave them a group identity. Most of them were Muslim, and those who were not must have lost their Indonesian identity through integration with other groups. But it is also possible that the ethnic Javanese were the dominant group among the Indonesians in Sri Lanka, and that as a result the whole group was referred to as 'Javanese'. The British referred to the group as 'Malays' on account of the language they used, and this term became the more appropriate one in the 19th century, when many ethnic Malays from the Malay Peninsula[1] were integrated into the Sri Lanka Malay community.

On account of their common religion, the Sri Lanka Malays associated most closely with the Muslim Tamils, or Moors. Although from a cultural point of view they lost many of their traditional customs and practices due to their integration with the Moors, (with whom they have often intermarried), it is to them that the Malays owe the maintenance of their religious identity and possibly even their identity as a separate ethnic group.

3. THE LINGUISTIC DATA

The question now is how these historical data fit in with the linguistic data. It appears that the latter agree with Hussainmiya's (1987) account in-so-far as they reflect the Moluccan Malay, Javanese, Jakartanese (or Batavian) and Tamil components that made up the Sri Lanka Malay community. But they disagree as to Hussainmiya's implication that the basis of SLM was Jakartanese, and they also do not show a strong influence from Javanese as the reflection of a dominant position of the Javanese among the Indonesians in Sri Lanka.

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[1]There were also some people coming from Java, Madura and North Borneo (see note 2, page 33).

In order to obtain an impression of the position of SLM among the Malay dialects, let us see how SLM differs from Standard Malay (SM) and compare the differences with data from other Malay dialects. The ones that have most in common with SLM appear to be the Moluccan Malay[1] varieties, Baba Malay, Bazaar Malay and Jakartanese. My sources for Baba Malay, Bazaar Malay and Jakartanese, are Pakir (1986), Abdullah Hassan (1969) and Ikranagara (1980) respectively. The sources for Moluccan Malay are Voorhoeve (1983) for North Moluccan Malay as spoken in Ternate, and Collins (1980, 1983) for Ambonese Malay. (I use the term Moluccan Malay when I refer to both North Moluccan Malay and Ambonese Malay.) When other sources (or sources for other dialects) are used, this is indicated in the text. There is hardly any substantial information available on Bazaar Malay, and therefore I also drew Baba Malay into the comparison. In a technical sense Baba Malay is not Bazaar Malay. It is a creole used among some acculturated Chinese communities in Singapore and Malaysia, whereas Bazaar Malay is a pidgin used in interethnic communication in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. But Baba Malay is historically very close to Bazaar Malay (Lim 1988), and it is typologically very similar, so that it complements the scanty Bazaar Malay material.

The following list enumerates the most striking differences between SM and SLM, and it indicates when other Malay dialects show the same phenomena as those observed in SLM. (Notes on the differences follow the list.)

	Standard Malay	Sri Lanka Malay	Malay varieties following Sri Lanka Malay
1)	*-h > -h	*-h > ø	Moluccan, Bazaar, Baba, Jakartanese
2)	---	retroflex series	(Tamil and Sinhalese influence)
3)	---	(contrastive) vowel length	
4)	---	(contrastive) consonant gemination	
5)	-m/-n/-ŋ	ŋ	Moluccan
6)	ə	*i/u*, or ə varying with *i/u*	
7)	retention of most of the inherited morphology	loss of most of the inherited morphology	Moluccan, Bazaar, Baba (Jakartanese: see note)
8)	locative preposition + noun phrase	noun phrase + linker + locative postposition	Bazaar
9)	noun + determiner	determiner + noun	Moluccan, Bazaar, Baba (Jakartanese: see note)
10)	possessed + possessor	possessor + linker + possessed	Moluccan, Bazaar, Baba, elsewhere
11)	noun + adjective	adjective + noun	(Tamil and Sinhalese influence)

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[1]Some East Indonesian Malay varieties, such as Menado Malay, are actually very close to Moluccan Malay, although they are spoken outside the Moluccan area.

12) prepositions	postpositions	(Tamil and Sinhalese influence)
13) subject-verb-object	subject-object-verb	(Tamil and Sinhalese influence)
14) *ada* denoting existence of a noun	*aḍə/arə:* progressive aspect of a verb	Moluccan, Bazaar, Baba
15) ---	negators: *tər-/tra*	Moluccan, Bazaar
16) full tense-mood-aspect adverbials	full and reduced tense-mood-aspect adverbials	Moluccan, Baba
17) plural personal pronouns are independent lexemes	plural personal pronouns are historically compound forms with **oraŋ*	Moluccan, Bazaar, Baba
18) ---	1st and 2nd personal pronouns borrowed from Hokkien Chinese	Bazaar, Baba, Jakartanese
19) plural marker *-paḍa*	---	(Jakartanese: see note)

1)-4) It appears that these differences are not diagnostic for a classification. They occur in all dialects, or, if they do not, they are the result of Tamil and Sinhalese influence.

1) Moluccan Malay, Bazaar Malay, Baba Malay and Jakartanese all lost final **h*, for example:
SM *ləbih*, SLM *libbi,* Moluccan *lebe,* Jakartanese *ləbi* 'more';
SM *pənuh,* SLM *punnu,* Moluccan *pono,* Jakartanese *pənu* 'full';
SM *rumah,* SLM *rūma,* Ambonese *ruma,* Jakartanese *rumè* 'house'.

2) Speakers of SLM often use retroflex *ḍ* and *ṭ,* e.g. *kɔṭawi* 'sleep', *ḍūḍuk* 'sit; live, stay', *ḍātaŋ* 'come'. I have not been able to determine whether SLM makes a phonemic distinction between the retroflex and dental *d* and *t.* There was quite a variation in the use of retroflexes and dentals among speakers of SLM and even within the speech of individuals, which suggests that SLM is in the process of acquiring a retroflex pronunciation of the *t* and *d* (originally a superdental and an alveolar respectively). This pronunciation is undoubtedly due to Tamil (and Sinhalese?) influence; it is at any rate not inherited from an earlier stage of Malay. Other Malay dialects have no retroflex consonants, and if Proto Austronesian had a retroflex versus a dental series, it must have lost it in a very early stage (Dahl 1981).

3)-4) Although vowel length and consonant gemination are by no means absent in other Malay dialects, they are not phonemic.

SLM has long and short vowels, for example:

SLM		SM		
	kiccil	SM	*kəcil*	small
	tumman		*təman*	friend
	dātaŋ		*dataŋ*	come
	mālaŋ		*malam*	night
	ḍūḍuk		*duduk*	live, stay
	ḍīŋiŋ		*diŋin*	cold

Vowel length is phonemic in at least the following cases:

SLM	*pāḍi*	paddy	*paḍḍi*	steps, stairs
	āti	heart	*ati, atti*	(future marker)

SLM also has geminated versus simple consonants (see the above examples), but whether gemination is phonemic or not is problematic. Geminated consonants seem always to be preceded by short vowels, and in minimal pairs the geminated versus simple opposition is concomitant with a short versus long opposition with regard to the preceding vowel (e.g. above, *pāḍi* versus *paḍḍi*). I have not found instances which combine a long vowel with a following geminated consonant, but there are quite a few cases which apparently have neither long vowel nor geminated consonant. Long vowels do not necessarily have to be followed by a single consonant, for example *rūmput* 'grass' and *rāmbut* 'hair'. Historically, SLM short vowels usually developed from *ə*, and SLM geminated consonants usually developed after what was historically *ə*, as can be seen in *piggi* 'go; last, past' (< *pərgi*), *tubbal* 'thick' (< *təbal*), *kiccil* 'small' (< *kəcil*) and *tumman* 'friend' (< *təman*). However, there is also gemination in *inni* 'this' (< *ini*), *ittu* 'that' (< *itu*), *appi* 'fire' (< *api*), *assap* 'smoke' (< *asəp*).

5) Quite often SLM merged final *-m*, *-n* and *-ŋ*, for example:

SLM	*tāŋaŋ*	SM	*taŋan*	hand
	ciɔŋ		*cium*	kiss
	pɔmpaŋ, prɔmpaŋ		*pərəmpuan*	woman
	tūlaŋ		*tulaŋ*	bone
	jālaŋ		*jalan*	road, way

But in some cases, the reverse occurred (as a result of hypercorrection?), for example:

SLM	*burūan*	bear	SM	*bəruaŋ*	bear
	mātam	ripe	Javanese, Jakartanese	*matəŋ*	ripe, cooked

Sometimes there are variant forms, as with *bukkaŋ/bukkan* 'not' and the suffix *-kaŋ/-kam* (see below). Velarisation of final nasals is also seen in Moluccan Malay, e.g. Ambonese *malaŋ* 'night', *baloŋ* 'not yet', *jalaŋ* 'road', North Moluccan Malay *ombɔŋ* 'dew', *bolɔŋ* 'not yet'.[1]

6) Corresponding to SM *ə*, SLM has *ø*, *ə* or high vowel.

ø occurs at historical morpheme boundaries of originally trisyllabic derivations, e.g. *spūlu* 'ten', SM *sə-puluh*; *brinti* 'stop', SM *bərhənti*.

It is unclear what the conditions are for the occurrence of *ə* or a high vowel. A high vowel seems often to be the result of assimilation to a following high vowel, e.g. *libbi* 'more', SM *ləbih*; *kinciŋ* 'urine', SM *kənciŋ*; *punnu* 'full', SM *pənuh*; *purrut* 'belly', SM *pərut*; but note *karriŋ* 'dry' and SM *kəriŋ*, where the original *ə* remained *ə*. In other cases a high vowel seems to be the result of colouring by an adjacent consonant, e.g. *kumbaŋ* 'flower', Malay (as used in Java) *kəmbaŋ*; *kupāla* 'head', SM *kəpala*.

Finally, in fast speech and depending on the individual speaker, *ə* is often realised as a high vowel, the colour of which is determined by the adjacent consonants, for example:

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[1] It is also found in Trengganu Malay (a peninsular dialect, see Collins 1980) and in Kerinci Malay (Sumatra, see Steinhauer and Hakim Usman 1978). But from a historical and linguistic point of view, there is no reason to suppose a close relationship between these dialects and SLM.

SLM   *əmpat*[umpat],[əmpat]   four   SM   *əmpat*   four
SLM   *pəggi*, [piggi], [pəggi]   gone, last   SM   *pərgi*   go
SLM   *dəmmam*[dummam], [dəmmam]   fever(ish)   SM   *dəmam*   fever

In Moluccan Malay dialects, the original ə as still found in SM became *a* or assimilated to the high vowel of the following syllable (see Collins (1980:18 +n)) for these phenomena in Ambonese Malay). It has this assimilation in common with SLM, although the outcome is not uniform in the different Moluccan Malay dialects. Compare the following examples:

SM	SLM	North Moluccan	Ambonese	English
kənciŋ	*kinciŋ*	*kinciŋ* (de Clercq 1876)	*kinciŋ*	urine
ləbih	*libbi*	*lebe*	*lebe*	more
pərgi	*pəggi, piggi* (gone, last)	*pigi*	*pigi*	go
kəcil	*kiccil*	*kacil*	*kacil*	small
pənuh	*punnu*	*pono*	*pono*	full
əmbun	*umbuŋ* (fog)	*omboŋ*	?	dew
təlor	*tullɔr*	?	*talor*	egg
təbu	*tubbu*	?	*tobu*	sugarcane
pərut	*purut*	*poro*	*poro*	belly
kəntut	*kuntut*	*konto*	*konto*	fart
bəlum	--	*boloŋ*	*baloŋ*	not yet

In many cases, SLM, North Moluccan Malay and Ambonese Malay have assimilated +ə to the high vowel of the following syllable. However, this assimilation did not apply to the same lexemes in the individual dialects, as can be seen from SLM *pəggi, piggi* versus North Moluccan Malay, Ambonese Malay *pigi*; SLM *kiccil* versus Moluccan Malay, *kacil*; SLM *tullɔr* versus Ambonese Malay *talor*; and North Moluccan Malay *beloŋ* versus Ambonese Malay *baloŋ*. Moreover, in the Moluccan Malay dialects, this assimilation resulted in the lowering of the assimilated vowels, whereas in SLM this lowering did not take place.

Allowing for the differences outlined above, the principle of assimilating +ə to a following high vowel is common to SLM and Moluccan Malay.

7) SLM, like Moluccan Malay and Baba Malay, lost most of the Proto Malayic morphology.[1]

SLM has three living affixes:

a transitivising suffix *-kam:*

māra	angry	*mārakiŋ*	annoy someone
mandi	bathe	*mandikiŋ*	wash someone
jādi	become	*jādikiŋ*	grow (plants)
birsi	clean	*birsikiŋ*	clean something

a suffix *-an* forming deverbal nouns:

pukul	beat, slap	*pukulan*	a slap, beating

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[1]See Adelaar (1985 Chapter 6) for Proto Malayic morphology. Most of this morphology is fairly well maintained in, for example, SM and Banjarese Malay.

a prefix *ka-* deriving ordinal numbers from cardinal ones:

dua	two	*kadua*	second
tiga	three	*katiga*	third

Other original affixes became petrified and are now part of the root to which they were attached (cf. *kutumu* 'meet' < +*kA-* + +*təmu;pukurjan* 'work' < +*p (r)-* + +*kərja* + +*-an,* etc.).

-kiŋ is a very recent development. It may be derived from *-kən,* a transitivising suffix found in non-standard forms of Malay and Javanese. If it is derived from *-kən,* its vowel remains unexplained. Another explanation is that it is derived from **bikiŋ,* cf. Jakartanese *bikin,* Ambonese *bikiŋ* 'to do, make'.[1] In my material I found only one set of words exemplifying the suffixation of *-an,* but there are many more instances (Bichsel pers. comm.). Jakartanese also lost much of the original morphology, but in a different way and to a lesser extent, to wit the maintenance of nasalisation (the active voice marker in a voice system which was lost in SLM, Moluccan Malay, Bazaar Malay, and Baba Malay). It also maintained *bə-* (forming intransitive verbs), *kə-/tə-* (denoting non-controlled action), *pə(N)- -an* (forming deverbal nouns) and *-an* (forming nouns or denoting diffuseness/plurality/reciprocity in verbs). Finally, Jakartanese has *di-* (a passive voice marker) which is not inherited from Proto Malayic, but which nevertheless occurs in many Malay dialects.[2] (It does not occur in SLM, Moluccan Malay, Bazaar Malay or Baba Malay). It could be argued that Jakartanese lost its original morphology as well, and that some of the present-day Jakartanese morphology was reintroduced under the influence of SM and/or Javanese, Balinese and Sundanese. But with the present state of knowledge of the history of Jakartanese this matter remains unclear.

8) In SLM, locative constructions are formed with *pe* (which is an allegro or shortened form of *puɲa*) linking a noun phrase to the locative postposition, whereas in SM these constructions are formed with a locative preposition preceding the noun phrase (and without linker), for example:

SLM	*rūma-pe dālaŋ*	SM	*di dalam rumah*
	house-its inside		at interior house
	inside the house		inside the house
	kūre-pe bāwa		*di bawah atap*
	roof-its (space, side) under		at under roof
	under the roof		under the roof

A similar construction to SLM is made by Bazaar-Malay-speaking Chinese and Tamils (Abdullah Hassan 1969:214) and in Baba Malay (Shellabear 1913:58):

meja puɲa atas	*di-atas meja*
table its (top, position above)	at-(top) table
on the table	on the table

9) Bazaar Malay and Baba Malay agree with SLM in having the determiner preceding the noun in noun phrases. In Jakartanese, the determiner can precede or follow the noun, but the unmarked order is noun + determiner. In Moluccan Malay, the determiner can precede, follow, or both precede and follow, the noun. The unmarked order, however, is to precede the noun.

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[1] In some non-standard forms of Malay used in Java, *bikin* is used before an adjective in order to form a periphrastic causative construction.

[2] Jakartanese has also a suffix *-in* forming transitive verbs, but this is a recent innovation (probably a Balinese borrowing, see Ikranagara 1980).

10) In SLM possessive constructions, the possessor precedes the possessed and it is linked to it with the function word *pe* (derived from *puɲa* as already noted), for example:

> *Sri Laŋka-pe te dawɔŋ*
> Sri Lanka-*pe* tea leaf
> Sri Lankan tea, tea from Sri Lanka (SM: *daun teh Sri Laŋka*)

> *se pe bini-ka*
> I-*pe* wife-to
> to my wife (SM: *kəpada istəri saya*)

> *deraŋ deraŋ-pe* [drampe] *ānak-klāki-na duit ɲa-kasi*
> they they-*pe*   son-to   money past-give
> they gave money to their son

> *luraŋ-pe* [lurampe] *kar*
> you.PL-*pe*   car
> your car (SM: *mobil kalian*)

The so-called '*puɲa*-constructions' (= possessor + linker + possessed) are found in Moluccan Malay, Bazaar Malay and Baba Malay. Jakartanese, as a rule, has possessed-possessor constructions, and it does not use a linker.[1]. The allegro forms of *puɲa* vary from one dialect to another: whereas SLM has -*pe*, Ambonese Malay has *pu* or *puŋ*, North Moluccan Malay has *pe*,[2] and Baba Malay has *miya* (no allegro form was found for Bazaar Malay).

11)-13) In SLM noun phrases the attribute precedes the head, for example:

SLM *ūdik oraŋ* cf. SM *oraŋ udik, oraŋ hulu* 'uneducated person'
SLM *bāru pakiaŋ* cf. SM *pakaian baru* 'new clothes'
SLM *pām pɔhɔŋ* cf. SM *pohon kəlapa* 'palm tree'; also
SLM *kumbaŋ pɔhɔŋ* 'plant (with flowers)' (lit. 'plant/vegetation with flowers')
SLM *hattu gīla oraŋ* cf. SM *sə-oraŋ gila* 'a crazy person'
SLM *Siŋgala prɔmpaŋ* cf. SM *pərəmpuan Sinhala* 'a Sinhalese woman'

SLM uses cliticised postpositions instead of prepositions, for example:

> *jaŋ pi luar-na!*
> don't go outside-to
> don't go outside! (SM *jaŋan (pərgi) kə luar!*)

> *se-pe bini-ka baɲak kumbaŋ pɔhɔŋ*
> I-*pe* wife-to many flower vegetation
> my wife has many plants (lit. 'to my wife (there are) many plants')
> SM *baɲak tanaman buɲa pada isteri saya*)

> *se-daŋ aḍa kəpala pinniŋ*
> I-to   there is   headache
> I have a headache (SM *saya pəniŋ kəpala*)

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[1]Although it may have used *punya*-constructions more frequently (Collins 1983:31 note 11).
[2]*pe* is also found in Menado Malay (Solea Warouw 1985).

> *inni prɔmpaŋ arə   ḍūḍuk   Kulumbu-ka*
> this woman   progressive aspect live, stay Colombo-at
> this woman lives in Colombo (SM *pərəmpuan ini tiŋgal di Kolombo*)

13) SLM is an 'SOV' language: in the basic sentence structure, the Subject comes first, the Verb comes last, and the Object is in between. Other Malay dialects have an 'SVO' construction. Examples:

> *de   attu pɔhɔŋ   mɔ jadi-kiŋ   arə   pi*
> (s)he = S   one vegetation = O will grow = V going to
> she's going to grow plants
> (SM *dia* (S) *mau mənumbuhkan* (V) *tanaman* (O), *dia mau mənanam*)

> *deraŋ   deraŋ-pe   ānak-klāki-na duit   ɲa-kasi*
> they = S   their   son-to   money = O   past-give = V
> they gave money to their son
> (SM *məreka* (S) *məmbərikan* (V) *uaŋ* (O) *kəpada anak laki-lakiɲa*)

This complex of syntactically interrelated features presented in 11), 12) and 13) (attribute preceding head, the use of postpositions and an SOV basic sentence pattern), is typical for 'SOV languages' such as Turkish, Japanese and Tamil. It is undoubtedly the result of Tamil influence on SLM, and it sets this language apart from other Malay dialects.[1]

It is worth noting that in the Bazaar Malay of Chinese and Tamils in Malaysia, adjectives are linked to following nouns with *puɲa*, e.g. *bəsar puɲa anjiŋ* 'a big dog' (Abdullah Hassan1969:214). I have not found such constructions in SLM.

14) SLM uses *arə* (which is an allegro form of *aḍa*) as a progressive aspect marker, for example:

> *se arə   mākaŋ*
> I   progressive aspect eat
> I am eating (SM *saya sedaŋ makan*)

The use of *ada* (or a related form) for progressive aspect is also found in Moluccan Malay, Bazaar Malay and Baba Malay.

15) SLM has the negators *tər-* or *t(a)ra;* these are also found in Bazaar Malay and Moluccan Malay.

16) SLM has a set of full and reduced adverbials for tense, mood and aspect. In SM only the full forms are used, for example:

SLM *aḍa* (full), *ara, arə* (reduced) progressive aspect (SM *ada*, however, is not used for aspectual purposes)
SLM *suda* (full), *so* (reduced) perfective aspect (SM *sudah* perfective aspect)
SLM *anti* (full), *atti, ati, ti* (reduced) future tense (SM *nanti* 'soon')
SLM *piggi* (full), *pi* (reduced) 'go; past', compare *pi rūma-na!* 'go home!' *piggi wik, piggi miŋgu* 'last week' (SM *pərgi* 'go')

The use of reduced tense-mood-aspect adverbials (alongside full ones) is also observed in Moluccan Malay and in Baba Malay. Ambonese Malay has *su/suda* (perfective aspect), *pi* 'go; go to (do

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[1] Although in the Bazaar Malay of Malaysian Tamils, SOV constructions also occur (Abdullah Hassan 1969:213).

something)'. (Note also the SLM full and reduced sets *tər-/tra/tara* 'no(t)' and *puɲa/-pe* '(linker)'; Ambonese Malay: *tar/tra,* 'no(t)', *pu/puŋ/puɲa* '(linker)'.)

17) SLM and SM have the following pronouns:

SLM			SM	
1SG	*go,* (polite) *se*		*aku,* (polite *saya*)	
2SG	*lu*		*(əŋkaw), kamu*	
3SG	*de*		*dia*	
1PL	*kitaŋ* < **kita* + **oraŋ*		*kita, kami*	
2PL	*luraŋ* < **lu* + **oraŋ*		*(kamu), kalian*	
3PL	*deraŋ* < **dia* + **oraŋ*		*mareka (itu), oraŋ itu*	

Sometimes the plural marker *-paḍa* is cliticised to *deraŋ*, e.g. *deraŋ paḍa* [derampaḍa], [drampaḍa] 'they'.

Plural personal pronouns originally formed on the basis of singular personal pronouns + *⁺oraŋ* are found in Moluccan Malay, Baba Malay, and Bazaar Malay, cf. Ambonese Malay *kita oraŋ,* (allegro) *katoŋ* 'we' < **kita *oraŋ; dia oraŋ,* (allegro) *doŋ* 'they' < **dia *oraŋ;* Baba *lu-oraŋ* 'you (plural)', *dia-oraŋ* 'they'. Jakartanese has no series of plural personal pronouns: it has *guè* (or *kitè*) '(1st person)', *lu* '(2nd person)' and *diè* '(3rd person)' and the plural can be expressed by putting *pada* before the predicate.

18) *go* 'I' and *lu* 'you (sg.)' are borrowed from Hokkien Chinese, which is also the case with Jakartanese *guè* and *lu,* and with Bazaar Malay, Baba Malay *gua, lu* (same meanings).

19) Jakartanese has *pada* preceding the predicate and indicating plurality of subject. The syntactically different SLM *-paḍa* must be borrowed from Jakartanese, which in turn probably borrowed it from Javanese.

In summary, the features which are possible criteria for a classification of SLM among the other Malay dialects are the ones numbered 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. Eight of these features are shared with Moluccan Malay (5, 6, 7, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18) and nine with Bazaar Malay/Baba Malay (7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18). Jakartanese shares only two features (18, 19), with the possibility of a third one (9). 18 and 19 are both lexical similarities with a limited structural impact. This suggests that SLM has a stronger affinity with Moluccan Malay and with Bazaar Malay/Baba Malay than with Jakartanese. But it is not easy to determine the exact position of SLM vis-à-vis Moluccan Malay and Bazaar Malay/Baba Malay, nor is it, for that matter, clear what the exact connections are between Moluccan Malay and Bazaar Malay/Baba Malay, although it is obvious that they are historically closely related. Evidently, not all of the above features are of equal weight. For instance, in addition to the historical evidence for a fair representation of Moluccans among the early Indonesians in Sri Lanka, the linguistic phenomena of neutralisation of final nasals and the allegro form of *puɲa (pe)* are strong qualitative evidence for a subclassification of SLM with (the North Moluccan variant of) Moluccan Malay. But then again, there are certain features common to Moluccan Malay dialects which are not found in SLM, such as the loss on a large scale of final stops in lexemes belonging to the inherited vocabulary (e.g. Moluccan Malay *ana,* SLM, SM *anak* 'child'; Moluccan Malay *ampa,* SLM *umpat, əmpat,* SM *əmpat* 'four'), the frequent change of inherited *ə* to *a* (e.g. Moluccan Malay *ampa* 'four'; Moluccan Malay *anam,* SLM *ənnam,* SM *ənam* 'six'; Ambonese Malay *kacil,* SLM *kiccil,* SM *kəcil* 'small'), and the use of a prefix *baku-* denoting reciprocality or togetherness in performing an action. Some of these may be recent developments, postdating the migration of Indonesians to Sri Lanka, but there is no way to establish their chronology.

4. CONCLUSION

SLM seems to be related to Moluccan Malay and to Bazaar Malay/Baba Malay. Historically it seems to be closest to North Moluccan Malay (on account of the shared innovations of neutralisation of final nasals, assimilation of schwa to a following high vowel, and the allegro form *-pe* of *puɲa*). However, it is difficult to make an accurate subdivision of SLM unless more data become available on the nature, the history, and the interrelationship of the various forms of Malay which originated through contact with non-Malays.[1]

SLM clearly underwent lexical influence from Jakartanese (and hence also some from Javanese), but the agreements with this dialect are much less structural than with Moluccan Malay and Bazaar Malay/Baba Malay. It is possible that Jakartanese was originally much more similar to Moluccan Malay and to Bazaar/Baba Malay, and that the present lack of structural similarities between Jakartanese and SLM are due to recent contact-induced changes in Jakartanese. But with the present lack of knowledge of the linguistic history of Jakartanese it is not warranted to make this assumption.

One factor which remains to be studied regarding the history of SLM is the linguistic impact of the Malays and Indonesians[2] who were brought in by the British in the 19th century. It is to be expected that they had some extra influence on the history and preservation of SLM.

SLM underwent strong syntactic influence from Tamil (and Sinhalese?). The result is a number of typological characteristics (attribute preceding head, postpositions, SVO constructions) which make SLM difficult – if not impossible – to understand for speakers of other Malay dialects. For this reason SLM may be considered a language in its own right, in spite of its rather conservative basic vocabulary.

WORD LIST

above	*atas*	below	*bāwa*
all	*samma*	bicycle	*baysikal*
and/with	*-- de -- de*	big	*bəssar, bussar*
angry	*māra*	bird	*būruŋ*
annoy	*mārakiŋ*	bite	*gīgit*
ash	*ābu*	black	*ītam*
at	*-ka*	blood	*dāra*
		body hair	*rāmbut*
bad, evil	*jāhat* (also 'severe')	bone	*tūlaŋ*
beard	*jēŋgɔt*	branch	*taŋke*
be afraid	*tākut*	breast	*tete* (also *sūsu*)
belly	*pur(r)ut*		

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[1]Lim (1988) discusses the origin of Baba Malay and Bazaar Malay. According to her, Baba Malay and Bazaar Malay both developed from a pre-pidgin continuum created in the 17th century by Chinese men who took Malay wives but maintained their ethnicity. The pre-pidgin continuum they used developed into the mother tongue of their children as Baba Malay, and it developed into a pidgin used in inter-ethnic contact in general as Bazaar Malay. Lim traces most syntactic peculiarities of Baba Malay and Bazaar Malay to Hokkien Chinese. But many of these syntactic peculiarites are also shared with other Malay varieties, such as Moluccan Malay and Menado Malay. It remains to be investigated whether these varieties ultimately also derive from the above continuum.

[2]These Malays and Indonesians came from the Malay Peninsula (Penang, Malacca, Singapore, Pahang, Trengganu, Kelantan), Java, Madura and North Borneo (Hussainmiya 1984).

breath	*nāpas*	far	*jāu*
breathe	*nāpas ambel*	fat, grease	*gummuk*
brother (older)	*kāka*	father	*bāpa*
(younger)	*āde*	father's brother	
burn (tr.)	*bākar*	(older)	(see 'parent's')
butterfly	*wannati*	(younger)	*mūda*
buy	*bəlli*	father's sister	
		(older)	(see 'parent's')
chew	*cap(p)i*	(younger)	?
chick	*kunji*	feather	*sāyap*
chicken	*āyaŋ*	fire	*appi*
child	*ānak*	first	*katāma*
child-in-law	*ānak mantu*	fish	*ikkaŋ*
choose	*pīli*	flower	*kumbaŋ*
clean (adj.)	*bərsi, birsi*	fly (v.)	*tərbaŋ, turbaŋ*
clean (v.)	*bərsikiŋ*	fog	*umbuŋ*
climb	*naik*	foot	(see leg)
cold (weather)	*dīŋiŋ*	four	*əmpat, umpat*
come	*mari*	friend	*tumman*
cooked	*māsak*	fruit	*būa*
correct, true	*bənnar*		
count (v.)	*ītɔm, ītɔŋ*	ginger	*jāya*
cow	*sampi*	go	*pi, pəggi, piggi*
crow	*gāgak*	go down	*tūruŋ*
cry	*nāŋis*	good	*baye*
cut, hack	*pōtɔŋ*	grass	*rumput*
		green	*dāwɔŋ* (also leaf)
day	*āri*	grow (intr.v.)	*jādi*
die, be dead	*māti*	grow (tr.v.)	*jādikiŋ*
dig	*gāli*	guts	*pur(r)ut muda*
dirty	*kōtɔr*		
dog	*aɲjiŋ*	hair	(see head, body, pubic)
donkey	*kalde*	hand	*tāŋaŋ*
don't	*tussa* (< *tra usa*), *jaŋ*	happy	*sūka*
dream (v.)	*m(ə)nimpi, nimpi*	head	*pāla, kupāla, kəpāla*
drink	*mīnuŋ*	head hair	*rāmbut*
dry	*kirriŋ*	headache	(have a --) *pənniŋ*
dull, blunt	*mɔṭṭi*	hear	*dəŋŋar, diŋŋar*
dust	*dubbu*	heavy	*bərrat, burrat*
		hen	*āyaŋ*
ear	*kūpiŋ*	here	*sinni*
earth, soil	*būmi*	hide (v.)	*subūni*
eat	*mākaŋ*	hit	*pūkul*
egg	*tullɔr*	hold (in fist)	*pəgaŋ*
evening	*sore*	horse	*kūda*
extinguished	*pādaŋ*	house	*rūma*
eye	*māta*	how?	*āpa cāra*
		human being	*mənsīa*
fall (as fruit)	*jātɔ*		

hunt	*m(ə)nembak* (cf. 'shoot')	no	*tər-, t(a)ra; bukkan, bukkaŋ*
husband	*lāki,* (more polite:) *ābaŋ*	noon	*təŋŋāri, təŋŋa āri*
I	*go;* (polite:) *se*	not	(see no)
if	*kaso, kalu*	not yet	*lai tara, lai tra*
in, inside	*-- pe dālaŋ, -- pe dālam*	nose	*īdɔŋ*
kill	*būnu*		
		old	*lāma*
lake; river	*kōlaŋ*	one	*sattu, (h)attu*
last, past	*puggi (tāwɔŋ, wik,* etc.*)*	open, uncover	*būka*
laugh	*tāwa*	other	*layeŋ*
leaf	*dāwɔŋ*		
left side	*tāŋaŋ kīri*	palm tree	*pām pɔhɔŋ*
leg/foot	*kāki*	parent's older sibling	*ūa*
lie down	*sənder*	person	*ōraŋ* (see also human being)
lightning	*kīlap*		
live, be alive	*(īī)dɔp*	plant (n.)	*pɔhɔŋ* (also 'tree')
liver	*āti*	pound (rice)	*tūmbuk*
long (objects)	*pānjaŋ*	pubic hair	*būlu*
mad, crazy	*gīla*	rat	*tikus*
man, male	*klāki*	really	*buttul*
meat, flesh	*dāgiŋ*	red	*m(eē)ra*
meet, see	*kutumu*	right side	*tāŋaŋ nāsi*
milk	*sūsu*	river	(see 'lake')
mid	*təŋŋa, tiŋŋa*	road, path	*jālaŋ*
month, moon	*būlaŋ*	roof	*kūre*
morning	*pāgi*	root	*ākar*
mosquito	*ɲamuk*	rope	*tāli*
mother	*(ə)mma*	rotten	*būsuk*
mother's sister			
(older)	(see 'parent's')	salt	*gāram*
(younger)	*bībi*	sand	*tāna*
mother's brother		say, utter	*ōmɔŋ*
(older)	(see 'parent's')	scratch (an itch)	*gārɔk*
(younger)	*māma*	sea, ocean	*lāwut*
moustache	*kūmis*	see	*līat*
mouth	*mūlut*	second	*kadūa*
		sew (clothing)	*jāit*
name	*nāma*	sharp	*tājam*
narrow	*səmpit*	shoot (arrow)	*tembak*
near	*dəkkat*	short	*pēndɛk*
neck	*lēher*	shoulder	*pūndak*
needle	*jārɔŋ*	shout	*bətərak*
neighbours	*subla*	shy, ashamed	*mālu*
new	*bāru*	sick, painful	*sākit*
night	*mālaŋ*		

sister	(older)	*dāta*	
	(younger)	*āḍe*	
sit		*ḍūḍuk*	
skin		*kūlit*	
sky		*lāŋit*	
sleep (v.)		*tīdɔr*	
slim (people)		*kūrus*	
small		*kiccil*	
smoke		*assap*	
snake		*ūlar*	
sniff, smell		*ciɔŋ*	
spider		*sɛlɛndi*	
spit		*lūḍa*	
squeeze		*jippit, pərras*	
stab, pierce		*tīkam*	
stand, stop		*brinti*	
star		*bintaŋ*	
steal		*cūri*	
stick (wood)		*kāyu, kāi*	
stone		*bātu*	
suck		*īrup*	
sun		*bintāri*	
sweat		*krīŋat*	
swell (abscess)		*bəŋkak, buŋkak*	
swim		*bərnaŋ, burnāŋ*	
tail		*ēkɔr*	
Tamil		*məlbar*	
teach		*ājarkāsi*	
that		*uttu, ittu*	
thatch		(see 'roof')	
there		*sittu*	
they		*dəraŋ (paḍa), ḍrampaḍa*	
thief		*māliŋ*	
thick (solid)		*tubbal*	
thin (objects)		*ālus*	
third		*katīga*	
this		*inni*	
three		*tīga*	
throat		*tuŋgōrɔk*	
throw (as a stone)		*lɛmpar*	
thunder		*glūdut*	

tie up, fasten	*īkat*
tomorrow	*b(eē)so*
tongue	*līda*
tooth	*gīgi*
tough, strict	*jāhat* (see 'bad')
tree	*pɔhɔŋ* (also 'plant')
two	*dūa*
veer to the side	*bālik*
vomit	*munta, mənta*
wake up	*bāwuŋ*
walk, go	*jālaŋ*
warm (weather)	*pānas*
warm (body)	*āŋat*
warm (food)	*āŋat, pānas*
we (excl., incl.)	*kitaŋ*
week	*miŋgu, wik*
well	*sūmur*
wet	*bāsa*
what?	*āpa*
when?	*kāpaŋ*
where	*māna-ka*
where do you live?	*māna-ka lu arə ḍūḍuk?*
white	*pūti*
who?	*sāpa*
wide	*ləbar*
wife	*bīni*
wind	*āŋiŋ*
wing	*sāyap*
woman	*pɔmpaŋ, prɔmpaŋ*
woodapple	*blāŋga*
woods, forest	*ūtaŋ*
work	*pukurjan*
wrap	*gūluŋ*
yawn	*kɔṭawi*
year	*tāwɔŋ*
yellow	*kūɲit* (also *curcuma*)
yesterday	*kumāriŋ*
you (pl.)	*loraŋ*
you (sg.)	*lu*

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