

## THE DEVELOPMENT AND USE OF AMBONESE MALAY

BARBARA DIX GRIMES

The language that is spoken on the islands of Ambon and Lease is Malay. However, it is very different from the Malay of Sumatra and Java, mixed with many foreign part Portuguese and part Ternatan words, so that anyone who has just arrived in these parts, even if he has lived in the Indies for years, will initially have trouble understanding the language, and in making himself understood.<sup>1</sup>

G.W.W.C. Baron van Hoëvell, 1875:89

### 1. INTRODUCTION

When Baron van Hoëvell described the language spoken around the island of Ambon in the eastern part of present-day Indonesia, it is not surprising that in 1875 he found it to be very divergent from the Malay spoken in the western parts of the archipelago. This variety of Malay, referred to locally as *Bahasa Ambon* or *Bahasa Melaju Ambon* and described with terms such as 'lingua franca', 'patois', 'Low Malay' and 'Creole Malay', had been recognised as a different Malay for more than 200 years before van Hoëvell's time. Studies of Ambonese Malay (AM) to date have noted some of the major historical factors that have influenced its development, but they have focused primarily on aspects of its phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon (Ludeking 1868; van Hoëvell 1876; de Clercq 1876; Collins 1974, 1980a, 1981, 1983b; C. Grimes 1985). This paper attempts to balance the initial linguistic analyses of AM which have been done with an in-depth social analysis of the history of its speakers. The development of AM is considered here in light of sociohistorical data, linguistic data and sociolinguistic factors which influence its present-day use.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Original quote: "*De taal die op het eiland Ambon en de Oeliasers gesproken wordt, is maleisch, dat evenwel van het maleisch op Sumatra en Java gebezigt zeer veel verschilt en met vele vreemde deels portugeesche, deels ternataansche woorden vermengd is, zoodat iedereen die pas in deze gewesten komt, ook al is hij reeds jaren in Indië, in den eersten tijd moeite zal hebben de taal te verstaan en zich verstaanbaar it te drukken.*"

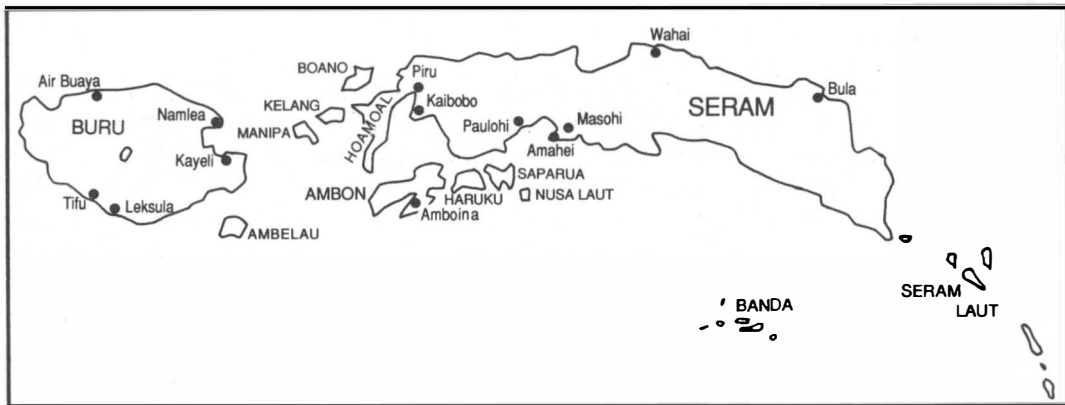
<sup>2</sup>This paper is a revised and expanded version of a paper presented at the Fifth International Conference on Austronesian languages in Auckland, New Zealand in 1988. Here the linguistic and historical data is expanded and re-analysed in light of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) framework for the linguistic results of language contact. I became aware of the fascinating sociolinguistic picture found in Central Maluku, Indonesia – particularly in relation to the use of Ambonese Malay – living on Ambon and Buru since 1983 while working under the auspices of Pattimura University in Ambon in cooperation with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I express my appreciation to several who have been alongside me in the development of this paper. Many Ambonese and Buru friends have shared their language and lives with me. Drs Jules Pattiselanno was very helpful in discussing some of my observations on language use in Ambon. His awareness of his own language, Ambonese Malay, is extraordinary and his love and enthusiasm for Ambonese culture is contagious. To Wilhelmina Munger I owe a debt of gratitude for helping me unravel the Dutch literature. I am also very grateful to Charles Grimes, James Collins, Tom Dutton and Peter Mühlhäusler who commented on earlier drafts of this paper.

H. Steinhauer, ed. *Papers in Austronesian linguistics*, No.1, 83-123.  
*Pacific Linguistics*, A-81, 1991.

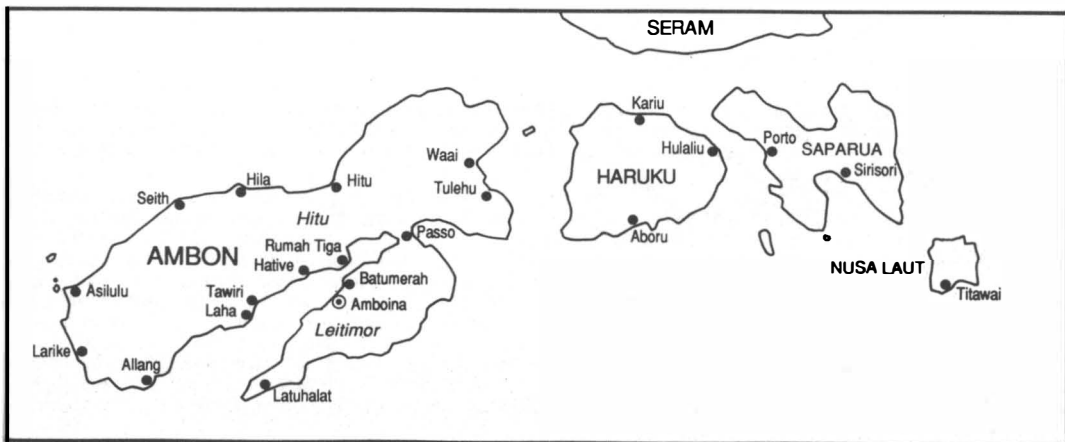
© Barbara Dix Grimes



MAP 1: THE INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO



MAP 2: CENTRAL MALUKU



MAP 3: AMBON AND THE LEASE ISLANDS

The island of Ambon is the central reference point of this study. Ambon is 52km long by 18km wide or 813 square kilometres in size. The island consists of two oblong peninsulas which rise from the sea, joined by a narrow alluvial isthmus. The northern and larger peninsula is called Hitu and the southern one Leitimor. Several harbours and bays around the island are of note, particularly the large Bay of Ambon between the two peninsulas where ships have sought harbour and refuge from monsoons for centuries. Geographically larger than any of the neighbouring Lease islands to the east (Saparua, Haruku and Nusa Laut), Ambon is nonetheless dwarfed in size by Seram to the north and Buru to the west and shows up as not much more than a dot on a world map. Today the island supports a population of 150,000 inhabitants who claim the distinction of being a population where 50 per cent of the inhabitants follow the religion of Islam and 50 per cent that of Christianity. The capital city of the Indonesian province of Maluku is the town of Amboina<sup>1</sup> located on the bay side of the Leitimor peninsula. Amboina has been a regional political and economic centre ever since the Portuguese built their fort, Nossa Senhor da Anunciada, on the shore there in 1576.

Although Ambon is the central focus, the scope of this paper includes surrounding areas which have also been influenced by AM. For lack of a better term, I call this area 'Central Maluku' and make use of the Anglicised term 'Central Moluccan'. These terms are used here to refer to a more limited geographical area than the political subdivision of the province which is also called 'Central Maluku' (*Maluku Tengah*).<sup>2</sup> The area I refer to is Ambon, the three Lease islands, and coastal areas of Seram, Buru and other smaller islands where AM is used as a lingua franca. The Banda Islands and eastern Seram were historically a separate regency under the Dutch, and are tentatively excluded from the scope of this paper due to the separate historical and linguistic influences which have occurred there.<sup>3</sup> The northern coasts of Buru and Seram appear to have had more influence from the Malay spoken in Ternate and for this paper are not included in my use of the term 'Central Maluku'.

### 1.1 OVERVIEW OF THE CURRENT LINGUISTIC PICTURE IN CENTRAL MALUKU

The linguistic setting in Central Maluku today is in many ways similar to what it was in 1875 when described by van Hoëvell. He noted (1875:94, 95) that a great variety of native languages were spoken in the area as well as AM, which was used as both a lingua franca and a mother tongue:

Because of this great variety of dialects [in Ambon and Lease], not a native language, but Ambonese Malay (mixed with some native words that are common to all dialects) is used as the medium of communication between the inhabitants of the different villages...On Ambon island the native language in most Christian villages is already completely gone, pushed out by Malay. Only in a few villages such as Alang and Liliboi has it been preserved to this day. With the followers of Islam however, this is not the case, and, except for the rulers and lesser chiefs, the only ones who understand Malay are those who, because of business interests, have left their villages many times and had contact

<sup>1</sup>The capital town on Ambon is frequently called Ambon, *Kota Ambon* 'Ambon City' or Amboina. To avoid confusion here I will refer to the island as Ambon and the capital town as Amboina.

<sup>2</sup>The political subdivision of *Kabupaten Maluku Tengah* includes the islands of Ambon, Saparua, Haruku, Nusa Laut, Buru, Seram, Boano, Manipa, Kelang, Ambelau, the islands of Seram Laut and Banda, and other smaller islands.

<sup>3</sup>The Malay lingua franca spoken around the Banda islands has been labelled by some (de Clercq 1876; Prentice 1978) as Banda Malay, distinct from AM. A good description of Banda Malay is needed, along with notes on the similarities between Banda Malay and AM and other Malay lingua francas in eastern Indonesia. Banda Malay is outside the scope of this paper.

with the natives of other regions or with Europeans. Rarely do Moslem women and girls understand Malay.<sup>1</sup>

There are a large number of indigenous Austronesian Central Malayo-Polynesian languages (following Blust's 1978 classification) spoken today in Central Maluku. Current estimates include around 45 mutually non-intelligible languages spoken on the island of Seram, an additional half dozen or so on Ambon and Buru (both had more in the past) and one each on the smaller islands of Ambelau, Boana, Manipa, Saparua, Haruku and Nusalaut (B.F. Grimes, ed. 1988). The language picture is still incomplete as dialect chaining is common and the boundaries of dialects and languages remain uncertain. Nevertheless, it can be estimated that somewhere in the neighbourhood of 55 indigenous languages are spoken in Central Maluku today.

Besides the indigenous languages, AM is the mother tongue of speakers in most Christian villages on Ambon and Lease.<sup>2</sup> AM also plays an important role as a lingua franca in Central Maluku, as it has for a long time. Today it is the second language of many who speak indigenous languages, including Moslem women and girls, the one group van Hoëvell noted rarely spoke it in his day. It is significant in this regard, that only since van Hoëvell's time have Moslem children been provided formal education on Ambon.

While indigenous Central Moluccan languages and AM are used in every-day life, several other languages are also used in Central Maluku. Among the Moslem population, Arabic functions as the traditional high religious language. Quran reading competitions are an annual occurrence among Moslem school children. Among the Christian population, in church settings a form of older literary Malay with specialised religious vocabulary is used which I refer to as 'Church Malay' in this paper.<sup>3</sup>

With the formation of the Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1945, Indonesian was declared the official national language. Formal Indonesian has its roots in the Malay used in the courts of the sultanates on the Malaysian peninsula, and in Ambon today it is used primarily in education and government.

<sup>1</sup>Original quote: "*Deze groote verscheidenheid van dialecten brengt mede, dat niet de bahasa tanah, maar het ambonsch maleisch [hoewel soms met woorden der bahasa, die in alle dialecten overeenkomen, vermengd] het voermiddel der gedachte is tusschen de bewoners der verschillende negorijen onderling...Op het eiland Ambon is de bahasa tanah zelfs in de meeste christennegorijen reeds geheel verloren gegaan en door het maleisch verdrongen. Slechts in enkele negorijen, zoo als bijv. te Alang en Liliboi is zij bewaard gebleven tot den huidige dag. Bij de Islammen daarentegen is dit niet het geval, en behalve de regenten en mindere hoofden, verstaan slechts diegenen maleisch, welke uit handelsbelangen reeds meermalen hunne negorijen verlaten hebben en met inlanders van andere streken of met Europeanen in aanraking geweest zijn. Vrouwen en meisjes, die maleisch verstaan, zijn bij de Islammen zeldzaam.*"

<sup>2</sup>The town of Amboina itself is becoming cosmopolitan. For the inhabitants of this town, what language(s) one speaks depends to a large degree on which village(s) one's parents (or grandparents) were originally from.

<sup>3</sup>The Malay of the church uses religious vocabulary frequently borrowed from Arabic and Sanscrit. Much of the actual Malay tends to be of older forms which are not used in common everyday Indonesian (BI for Bahasa Indonesian). The verbal affixation and pronouns of literary Malay are used extensively, including the pronoun *Hu*, used in referring to God. This language of the church has much in common with BI, which also developed from literary Malay, and most people consider it to be BI. However, the above points make Church Malay stylistically distinct from even the most formal BI as it is used today in non-church settings. Upon hearing just a short utterance, most Ambonese would immediately recognise this type of speech as *basagereja* 'church language'. The significant point sociolinguistically is that even though this form of Malay (the church variety) has been in Ambon for centuries, it remained foreign to a great extent and few people besides the preachers could ever really understand it, much less speak it. As van Hoëvell said, "*het gros der kerkgangers bijna niets of althans zeer weinig van de preek begrijpt*" – "the majority of churchgoers understand almost nothing or very little of the sermon" (1875:91). Van Hoëvell also noted that in Central Maluku there had been a *heligetaal* 'holy language', which, by his time, was preserved only in the old *pantung* 'proverbs' of the Moslem population (1875:92). The existence of a 'holy' or special religious language is a feature found in many traditional religions in insular Southeast Asia, where it was used primarily by native priests in the preservation of sacred tribal knowledge (cf. Fox 1987:524). In traditional Central Moluccan societies this would have set the pattern for another religious or specialised language, Church Malay, to be used in a new religion, which would need to be spoken and understood only by the preachers. This was basically the function this Malay initially took in Central Maluku.

In the latter half of the 19th century the Dutch language was spoken increasingly as a second and sometimes first language by Ambonese who attended schools taught in Dutch on Ambon. The prestige of speaking Dutch or of even using Dutch words was described by van Hoëvell (1875:90): "If they can use a Dutch word here and there that they've remembered (even in a 'crippled' sense), it is considered educated"<sup>1</sup>. The use of Dutch in Ambon has declined since independence, but it continues to be perceived as a prestige language associated with people who were educated in the Dutch schools.

Adding to the multilingualism of Central Maluku are a variety of immigrant languages – Butonese, Makassarese, Bugis, Javanese, various Chinese languages and other languages from both inside and outside of Maluku. Though able to communicate to some degree using Malay words, people new to Ambon continue reporting great difficulty in understanding AM, just as they did in van Hoëvell's time (1875:89). Outsiders who learn to speak AM do so with varying degrees of proficiency, depending on their personal and social motivation to do so.

## 1.2 THE MEDLEY OF MALAYS

Malay is a language with a very complicated history. It has taken on various characteristics as it has come into contact with other languages in places both near and far from its homeland. Referring to any form of speech as 'Malay' can be very confusing if some clarification is not made. Teeuw (1961:42, 43) pointed out that:

The problem of Malay and Malay dialects is a particularly complicated one and at present we lack sufficient raw material as well as clear cut criteria to reach a satisfactory solution. Because of the the enormous expansion geographically, for many centuries now, of Malay, through dispersion and colonialisation, the intensive contact of many Malay speakers – vagabonds, traders, religious propagandists, etc. – with the local populations, by mixing and influencing in various ways and at very different periods and with differing intensity, *an extremely intricate complex of Malay, Malay-like and Malay-influenced languages and dialects has come into existence over a very extensive area.* [emphasis mine]

Prentice (1978:20) clarified the picture somewhat by pointing out that three main types of Malay exist today: mother tongue Malay, official language Malay and lingua franca Malay. The various mother tongue Malay dialects of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo are outside the scope of this paper. However, the two other types of Malay – official language and lingua franca Malay – have both played an important role in Central Maluku and will be defined here.

### 'OFFICIAL LANGUAGE' MALAY – STANDARD MALAY

The 'official language' variety of Malay is often referred to as 'Riau-Johore Malay' and Prentice (1978:23) points out that it is "not the local dialect of Malay that is spoken in that region, but the literary Malay which represents the direct descendant of the language used in the court of the Malacca sultanate...and which continued to be used in the court of the sultans of Riau and Johore". This language is therefore seen as 'high' or 'literary' as it has been preserved in manuscripts from the 16th and 17th centuries, such as the classic *Sejarah Melayu*. This is the variety of Malay which largely

<sup>1</sup>Original quote: "Kunnen zij bovendien hier en daar een hollandsch woord, dat zij opgevangen en onthouden hebben, hoewel soms zeer verninkt, te pas brengen, dat wordt dit als zeer geleerd beschouwd."

developed into the present-day official national languages of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei. For the sake of simplicity, I refer to this Malay as 'Standard Malay' (SM).

#### LINGUA FRANCA MALAY

During the late 14th century numerous changes occurred in parts of Southeast Asia which linked the spread of commerce and trade (particularly in spices), the spread of Islam, and the spread of the Malay language (cf. Reid 1984). The city of Malacca, founded in 1401, was built on the shore of the strategic strait between the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra (see Map 1) and was destined to become the premier centre of Asian trade in the 15th and 16th centuries.

The life blood of Malacca was commerce. During the fourteenth century the Strait was the crucial sector of the world's major trade-route which had one terminus in Venice – or even further westwards – and the other in the Molucca Islands. Spices were carried through the Archipelago over many routes and in the ships of divers peoples; in the Indian Ocean they also followed various directions before finally entering the Middle East through either the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea, but to the Strait of Malacca there was no practical alternative. Here the staple produce of the Archipelago was funnelled through a narrow channel in places less than forty miles wide. This, as later the Portuguese were to realize, was the only point throughout the 8,000 miles of the trade-route at which a monopoly of spice distribution could be established...The pivotal position of Malacca at the junction of the Indian, China and Java Seas was fully appreciated by Tome Pires, the shrewd apothecary from Portugal, whose description of the economic regimen of Malacca can stand repetition here: 'Malacca is a city that was made for merchandise, fitter than any other in the world; the end of monsoons and the beginning of others. Malacca is surrounded and lies in the middle, and the trade and commerce between the different nations for a thousand leagues on every hand must come to Malacca (p.286)'. (Wheatley 1961:312-313)

The population of Malacca in the 15th century was very diverse:

Malays were always by far the most numerous but from the very earliest years foreign merchants resided in the town. First came traders from the Sumatran ports across the Strait...These were quickly joined by Bengalis, and then by Gujaratis, Klings, Parsis and merchants from as far afield as Arabia. Pires ([1512-1515 in *Suma Oriental*] vol.2, p.269) avers that no less than eighty-four distinct languages could be heard in the streets of Malacca. (Wheatley 1961:312)

Before the Portuguese arrived at Malacca in the early 16th century, Malay was well established as the lingua franca in this very heterogenous multi-ethnic trading city (Baxter 1988:4). Through trade and the spread of Islam, Malay came to be used throughout Southeast Asia. Reid (1984:21) notes that Pigafetta, on board one of the earliest Portuguese boats, felt that the Moors "had only one language, whether it was in the Philippines, Borneo, the Moluccas or Timor, and that of course was Malay".

## 2. A BRIEF COMPARISON: AMBONESE MALAY AND STANDARD MALAY

This short sketch presents some of the distinct linguistic features of AM in contrast to those of SM. Much of the data for this section are adapted from Collins (1980a) and C. Grimes (1985).

Although the great majority of AM lexical items are identifiably Malay, there are varying degrees of phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic differences between AM and SM.

(a) Phonology

Phonologically, AM is parallel to SM in many respects. However, there is the noticeable lack of a mid central unrounded vowel [e] in AM along with additional differences noted below. (Stress is indicated only where there is a difference between AM and SM.)

Absence of schwa:

SM	AM	
<i>celaka</i>	<i>cilaka</i>	misfortune
<i>keliling</i>	<i>kuliling</i>	go around
<i>sebentar</i>	<i>sabantar</i>	a moment
<i>pe'rut</i>	<i>'poro</i>	stomach

Loss of word-final stops:

SM	AM	
<i>dapat</i>	<i>dapa</i>	can, be able
<i>sakit</i>	<i>saki</i>	sick
<i>gemu?</i>	<i>gamu</i>	fat

Velarisation of final nasals:

SM	AM	
<i>bikin</i>	<i>biking</i>	make
<i>belum</i>	<i>balong/blong</i>	not yet
<i>malam</i>	<i>malang</i>	night
<i>cium</i>	<i>ciong</i>	sniff, kiss
<i>kawin</i>	<i>kaweng</i>	marry

Neutralisation of /u/ with /o/:

SM	AM	
<i>kunci</i>	<i>kunci/konci</i>	key
<i>taruh</i>	<i>taru/taro</i>	put
<i>pe'nuh</i>	<i>'ponu/'pono</i>	full

Elision:<sup>1</sup>

SM	AM	
<i>jangan</i>	<i>jang</i>	don't
<i>lagi</i>	<i>lai</i>	again
<i>sudah</i>	<i>su/s-</i>	already

(b) Pronouns

Most AM pronouns are different from those of SM, reflecting a variety of origins, some of which are similar to other varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia. AM has a distinctive third person singular neuter pronoun *akang* 'it', which, as Collins (1980a:28) points out, functions very differently from the SM *akan* which is an auxiliary 'will, for, in reference to' preposition.

<sup>1</sup>Elision is a general feature of many Central Moluccan languages (cf. Collins 1983a:24ff).

TABLE 1: SM AND AM PRONOUNS		
	SM	AM
1SG	<i>aku, saya</i>	<i>beta</i> (old court Malay 1SG)
2SG (familiar)	<i>kamu</i>	<i>ose/os/se</i> (Portuguese 2SG = <i>voce</i> )
(respect)	<i>engkau</i>	<i>ale</i> (various C.Maluku languages 2SG = <i>ale</i> )
3SG (familiar)	<i>dia</i>	<i>dia</i>
(respect)	<i>beliau</i>	<i>angtua</i> ( <i>orang</i> 'person' + <i>tua</i> 'old')
(neuter)	∅	<i>akang</i>
1PL(i/e)	<i>kami/kita</i>	<i>katong</i> ( <i>kita orang</i> )*
2PL	<i>kalian</i>	<i>kamong</i> ( <i>kamu orang</i> ) or addressee + <i>dong</i>
3PL	<i>mereka</i>	<i>dorang</i> ( <i>dia orang</i> ), <i>dong</i> or referent + <i>dong</i>

\**Batong* (said to be from *beta* + *orang*) is used for the first person plural pronoun on Saparua, reflecting some of the dialectical variations in AM.

Some examples of *akang*:

*Mangapa se blong kas klar akang?*  
 why 2SG not yet cause finish it  
 Why haven't you finished it?

*Akang su hilang!*  
 it already lost  
 It's lost!

(c) Possession

The possessive pronominal enclitics which occur in SM do not occur in AM.

	SM	AM
1SG	<i>-ku</i>	∅
2SG	<i>-mu</i>	∅
3SG	<i>-nya</i>	∅

The possessive construction POSSESSED + POSSESSOR of SM does not occur in AM.

SM	AM	
<i>rumah saya</i>	∅	my house
<i>rumah-ku</i>	∅	my house

In AM the possessive construction is POSSESSOR + POSSESSIVE PARTICLE + POSSESSED, where *puña* or *pung* functions as the possessive particle.<sup>1</sup> This type of construction is also found in other varieties of 'Low' (lingua franca type) Malay. Prentice (1978:19) considers the possessive particle *puña* in the genitive construction to be one of "the salient features" of Low Malay, a point that Rafferty also makes (in Collins 1983b:30).

Low Malay:	<i>saya</i>	<i>puña</i>	<i>rumah</i>	my house
AM:	<i>beta</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>ruma</i>	my house

<sup>1</sup> See Collins (1983b) for an entire article on the possessive construction in AM and for the distribution of *pung* and *puña*.



## (d) Verb Morphology

Morphological differences between AM and SM are highlighted in their verbal systems. Collins (1980a:22,25) has noted:

The most striking differences between AM and SM occur in their respective affix systems. SM is characterized by a fairly complex system of affixes, particularly verbal affixes. These change the syntactic and semantic function of the verbs...In AM the productive affix system is considerably smaller. Most affixes seem to appear only in fixed (fossilized) forms and these in uses which sometimes differ from SM uses.

Table 2 is adapted from Collins (1980a) and C. Grimes (1985). It reflects *productive* affixes in AM. Although one can find what look like occasional AM equivalents of other SM affixes, they are not productive – as Collins says, they are ‘fixed’ or ‘fossilised’. In several cases similar meaning is conveyed in AM by the use of a periphrastic verbal auxiliary as indicated on the right side of the chart.

TABLE 2: PRODUCTIVE SM AND AM VERBAL AFFIXES		
	SM	AM
Stative/Habitual/Intra-Directive	<i>ber-</i>	<i>ba</i> -*
Subject = Actor	<i>meN-</i>	∅
Causative/Benefactive	<i>meN-Rt-kan</i>	∅ ( <i>kas</i> ‘give’ + <i>Rt</i> )
Locative/Goal	<i>meN-Rt-i</i>	∅
Causative	<i>memper-Rt-(kan)</i>	∅ ( <i>biking</i> ‘make’ + <i>Rt</i> )
Locative/Goal	<i>memper-Rt-i</i>	∅
Subject = Undergoer	<i>di-</i>	∅ ( <i>dapa</i> ‘able’ + <i>Rt</i> )
	<i>di-Rt-kan</i>	∅
	<i>di-Rt-i</i>	∅
Accidental/Unintentional	<i>ter-</i>	<i>ta-</i>
Adversative	<i>ke-Rt-an</i>	∅ ( <i>kena</i> ‘advers.’ + <i>Rt</i> )
Agentive	<i>peN-</i>	∅
Nominalisation	<i>-an</i>	∅
Nominalisation	<i>ke-Rt-an</i>	∅
Abstract noun (process)	<i>peN-Rt-an</i>	∅
Abstract noun (state)	<i>per-Rt-an</i>	∅
Reciprocal	<i>Rt-meN-Rt</i>	<i>baku</i> -†

\*The prefix *ba-* in AM is sometimes also an active verb as in *beta ba-ganti dolo* ‘I’m going to change [my clothes]’.  
 †Collins calls *baku-* a reciprocal prefix, parallel to Asilulu *maka-* (1980a:27,67). It could be just as well (if not better) described in AM as an auxiliary verb or adverb, as in *dong pung fam baku kaweng* ‘their clans marry [get marriage partners from] each other’ or *dong baku dapa* ‘they met [each other]’.

## (e) Modals

Besides the above differences in SM and AM verbs, there are further differences in the modals that are used.

TABLE 3: MODALS		
	SM	AM
In progress	<i>sedang</i> VERB	<i>ada</i> VERB
Continuative	<i>masih</i> VERB	<i>ada...VERB...lai</i>
Obligatory	<i>harus/perlu/mesti</i>	<i>musti</i>
Purpose/desire/future	<i>ingin/hendak/mau</i>	<i>mau/mo</i>
Completive/perfective	<i>sudah</i>	<i>suda/su/s-</i>

## (f) Semantics

Although much of the AM lexicon is of Malay origin (with the distinguishing phonological features of AM) there are frequent cases where the semantics of AM and SM are shifted or where words for the same lexical item have different origins:

SM		AM	
<i>ikan lomba-lomba</i>	porpoise	<i>ikan babi</i>	porpoise (pig fish)
<i>ular</i>	snake	<i>ular</i>	worm, caterpillar, snake
<i>terlalu</i>	excessive	<i>talalu</i>	marker of superlative degree
<i>jahat</i>	evil	<i>jaha</i>	mischievous, excessively naughty

Confusion can arise when a word pronounced the same in both AM and SM has two different origins and two separate meanings, such as SM *bu* 'respectful term of address for a woman of marriageable age or older' (from *ibu* 'mother') versus AM *bu* 'elder brother'. Other terms of address are frequently very different between SM and AM (cf. C. Grimes 1985).

## (g) Discourse features

The discourse particles used in even ordinary conversation can be very different in SM and AM:

SM	AM	
<i>Setelah itu/kemudian/lalu...</i>	<i>Abis itu/tarus/lantas...</i>	Then...
<i>Kapan?</i>	<i>Apa tempo?</i>	When?
<i>Pantas!</i>	<i>Ada harus!</i>	Of course!
<i>Waktu itu...</i>	<i>Tempo hari...</i>	At that time...

## 3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

An overview of the major events which shaped the history of Central Maluku is presented here, considering specifically how events from each of the different periods in its history influenced language use and attitudes in Central Maluku and hence the development of AM.

## 3.1 1400S – THE ARRIVAL OF MALAY AND ISLAM IN TERNATE AND BANDA

Two trees native to Maluku influenced not only the history of these islands but, in many respects, the history of much of the world as it searched for spices. Clove trees (*Eugenia caryophyllata*) were native in what has historically been called the 'Mollucas Proper': the north Moluccan islands of Ternate, Tidore, Jailolo (Halmahera) and Bacan. Nutmeg and mace (both from the fruit of *Myristica fragrans*) were native to Banda (van Fraassen 1983:3). Because these trees originated in Maluku (a fact agreed on by most biologists), cloves and nutmeg serve as what Lapian (1965) calls 'tracers' of

contact and trade between Maluku and the outside world. Some scholars deduct from written sources that cloves were known in Europe as early as the 1st century AD. By the early 4th century, however, there is definite evidence that cloves had reached Europe when Silvester, the Bishop of Rome from 314-335, received a gift of 150 pounds of cloves (Lapian 1965:67). Some trade in cloves and nutmeg from Maluku had gone on for many centuries, but in the late 14th century the trade began to expand very rapidly as Europe became affected by what Reid (1984:20) has called the "spice-orgy". Asian traders brought the spices from Maluku to the western part of the Indonesian archipelago where they were purchased by Arab, Chinese and other foreign traders and eventually made their way to China, the Middle East and Europe via Venice (Lapian 1965:78).

I have already noted how an increase in trade and commerce along with the spread of Islam and the use of the Malay language as a lingua franca were interlinked social processes which occurred throughout various parts of Southeast Asia in the late 14th and 15th centuries. Islam was introduced to Ternate at around 1460 and to Banda around 1480. In Ternatan accounts of this event there is no distinction made between the coming of the Malay traders and the formal acceptance of Islam (Jacobs 1971:104-105; Reid 1984:24). In the later part of the 15th century both Ternate and Banda thus became incorporated into the greater Malay-Muslim trading network of cities spread throughout Southeast Asia. The island of Tidore also accepted Islam and eventually became a rival sultanate to neighbouring Ternate.

During this part of the 15th century most of Central Maluku as defined in this study, however, remained out of focus, although it was not totally unaffected by the spice trade, or the centralisation and competition for power between Ternate and Tidore. In the 16th century these two sultanates strove to control vast areas in the region including much of North Maluku, parts of Central Maluku, Sulawesi and the Raja Ampat islands. The island of Ambon was also indirectly involved in the spice trade at this time as "a port of call and point of support on the trade route to and from the spice islands", particularly on the route between the nutmeg in Banda and the cloves in the northern islands (van Fraassen 1983:4).

### 3.2 1500s – THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE

In 1511 the Portuguese Captain Alfonso de Albuquerque gained control of the strategic city of Malacca on the Malay Peninsula. The next year Albuquerque sent a Portuguese fleet to Banda to find out all they could about the spice trade. One ship, commanded by Francisco Serrão, was shipwrecked on the Lucipara Islands shortly after leaving Banda on the way back to Malacca. Serrão and a few of his crew were discovered by 'natives' who offered to take them to Hitu on the island of Ambon. There the Portuguese helped the people of Hitu in a local war. Their fame soon spread throughout the islands and they were invited to Ternate by Bolief, the Sultan. Serrão, taking advantage of the warm reception, attempted to establish trade with the Sultan (Argensola 1708:5).

As the Portuguese attempted to control the trade of spices in Maluku, their initial focus was primarily at the two sources: Ternate, where they built a fort in 1522, and Banda. They continued to make calls at Ambon on their way to and from Malacca, spending from the end of February to mid May each year awaiting the east monsoon winds for the return journey to Malacca (van Fraassen 1983:4). The people of Hitu on Ambon had recently accepted Islam under the influence of the Sultan of Ternate. In 1524 conflict between the Moslem people of Hitu and the Portuguese escalated to such an extent that the Portuguese left the north coast of Hitu and established relations with the non-Moslem village of Rumah Tiga on Ambon Bay. The Portuguese soon found that in Central Maluku

they were caught in the middle of centuries-old interclan warfare between two native village alliance networks: Uli Lima ('The League of Five') and Uli Siwa ('The League of Nine'). In 1569 the Portuguese allied themselves with the League of Nine villages against Hitu and other League of Five villages. Van Fraassen (1983:5) describes this ancient political system and its consequences in Central Maluku:

Each village belonged to either the League of Five or the League of Nine, and in each region, island or group of islands the villages of the League of Five and the League of Nine were distributed in such a way as to make for a dual territorial division. It is apparent from 16th- and 17th-century sources that the two Leagues regarded each other as opponents...As a result of the influence of this system the villages of the one would make political and cultural choices that were opposed to the choices of nearby villages of the other. The villages of the north coast of Hitu belonged to the League of Five, had embraced Islam and sought support from the Javanese. The villages of the south coast of Hitu, including Hatiwe and Tawiri, belonged to the League of Nine, were still heathen, and sought alliance with the Portuguese. By and large the heathen villages of Ambon...and Lease...belonging to the League of Nine in the 16th century became the allies of the Portuguese, which as a rule implied that they embraced Christianity. The villages of the League of Five in these islands were inclined to accept Islam and seek the support of Javanese and Ternatans, on the other hand.

During this time the Portuguese had tried to monopolise the clove trade from Ternate. As a result, Hitu and the neighbouring Hoamoal Peninsula on Seram became a black market area, growing and selling cloves to Javanese and Malay traders. Ambon thus became strategically much more important to the Portuguese, motivating them to build a fort on the island in 1569 to better control the area. Another reason for the fort was to provide protection for their allies on the island. The League of Nine villages continued to be involved in warfare with the League of Five villages, the ancient conflict had now taken on Moslem versus Christian overtones. Jacobs (1974-84 vol.1:59\*) describes Ambon at this time:

Every year, from late February to mid May, while the ships were 'hibernating' in the large bay between Hitu and Leitimor, Portuguese power made its influence felt and the Christians knew they were relatively safe. But as soon as the ships left, the Muslims had free play. This situation was changed through the building of a fortress on Ambon, first in 1569 and definitively 1576, were it not that about the same time Portuguese power was steadily waning and scarcely able to exercise a full control over the island. The Christians began to leave their former centers and to cluster around the fortress in order to secure their religious freedom and even their lives.

Upon their arrival in Maluku in 1512 the Portuguese consistently reported that they found "a *lengua malaya que por todas estas partes corre*" 'the Malay language which runs through all these parts'.<sup>1</sup> The widespread use of Malay would explain why Serrão, when shipwrecked, was able to communicate first with his 'rescuers', then with the people of Hitu and later with the Sultan of

---

<sup>1</sup>Francisco Vieira wrote this in Ternate on 9 March 1559 (Jacobs 1974-84 vol.1:267) and it is only one of many such comments by the Portuguese at the time.

Ternate.<sup>1</sup> In the middle of the 16th century Jesuit missionaries began arriving in Maluku. Because Malay was spoken widely throughout the area, it became the language used for spreading Christianity, much like it had been used for spreading Islam. Many reports by Jesuits regarding language use can be found, such as the following written by Francisco Xavier from Ambon on 10 May 1546 to the Jesuits in Europe:

Each of these islands has its own language and there are some islands where they speak differently at each place [on the island]. The Malay language, which is what they speak in Malacca, is very widespread in these parts. Into this Malay language (when I was in Malacca) with much work I translated the Creed...[and other prayers]. A great fault in all these islands is that they have no written language and those who know how to read are very few. The language in which they write is Malay, and the letters are Arabic, which the Moor teachers taught them and teach them at present. Before they became Moors they did not know how to write.<sup>2</sup> (Jacobs 1974-84 vol.1:13,14)

From this statement and many others like it we know that 1) there were many indigenous languages in the area, 2) Malay was reportedly spoken throughout the area, 3) Xavier considered this to be the same Malay as that spoken in Malacca, and 4) the only written language at that time in Central Maluku was Malay using Arabic script. Because the Jesuits were sent out from the diocese of Goa in southern India via Malacca, many actually learned Malay in Malacca before travelling on to Maluku. They were convinced Malay was an easy language to learn. Jacobs (1974-84 vol.2:24\*) notes:

An obvious and necessary means to obtain the desired success in the mission work consisted in *learning the native language*, at least the common Malay, the *lingua franca* of the entire Indonesian Archipelago. Practically all the Jesuits did.

The many references in 16th century Portuguese documents to the widespread use of Malay in Maluku are balanced by other references indicating that Malay was not necessarily spoken by everyone. One priest, describing his work in the village of Ilat on Saparua, mentioned that confessions were done "*especialmente os homens que sabiao falar malayo*" "especially for the men who could speak Malay".<sup>3</sup> While there was widespread use of Malay it is also noteworthy that some Jesuits translated prayers and catechisms in Ternatan and other local languages in addition to Malay, evidently feeling Malay was not well enough known or not known by enough people to be used exclusively in their work (Jacobs 1974-84 vol.1:58,64,78,120). This suggests that although Malay was widely known, it was truly a *lingua franca*, a second language spoken with varying degrees of proficiency by different groups of people.

It is interesting to note what happened in the 16th century to the triad of social factors (commerce/Islam/Malay) which characterised commercial centres such as Ternate that had developed in the 15th century. Malay had been brought to Maluku by Moslem traders. When the Portuguese arrived, they competed intensely against the Moslem traders and rejected their religion. But they

<sup>1</sup>Argensola (1708) gives an account, in 18th century English, of the first Portuguese encounters in Maluku (see Appendix). There is no mention of any difficulty in the extensive amount of communication that occurred during these encounters.

<sup>2</sup>Original quote: "*Cada isla destas tiene lengua por si, ay isla que quasi cada lugar della tiene habla diferente. La lengua malaya, que es la que se habla en Malaca, es muy general por estas partes. En esta lengua malaya (el tiempo que yo estuve en Malaca) con mucho trabajo saque el Credo... Tienen una grande falta en todas estas islas, que no tienen escrituras, ny saben escrevir sono muy pocos. Y la lengua en que escriven es malaya, y las letras son arabias, que los moros cacizes enseñaron a escrevir y ensinan al presente. Antes que se hiziessem moros no sabian escrevir.*"

<sup>3</sup>Written by Pero Mascarenhas from Ambon to the Jesuits in Goa on 15 June 1570 (Jacobs 1974-84 vol.1:603).

actually encouraged the spread of the Malay language, using it not only in trade with non-Moslem villages but also in the propagation of Christianity.

During the Portuguese stay in Maluku, Malay was not the only outside language with which the people of Central Maluku had contact. There was also significant contact with the Portuguese language itself, although it came about in different ways. At the time it was not uncommon for Portuguese soldiers to marry native women and to build their homes around the forts. In 16th century Portugal women were largely secluded in society and very few Portuguese women ever left Portugal. Marrying native women overseas was officially encouraged by the Portuguese crown (Boxer 1968:58). Jacobs (1974-84:vol.3:14\*) describes the Portuguese town around the fortress at Ternate (a "*povoação de portugueses*" "a population of Portuguese"):

As to the island of Ternate, the Portuguese town around the fortress, inhabited by the 'casados', their native wives, their servants and slaves, was of course a Christian town.

These *casados* 'married ones' had an important influence on language use in Central Maluku as they did in other Portuguese colonies. In 1575 when the Ternatans seized the fort at Ternate, the Portuguese agreed to surrender, providing the *casados* and their wives, children and slaves were guaranteed passage to Ambon where the Portuguese were still in control. Many Portuguese men with their families and slaves went to Ambon at that time (Argensola 1708:63). When the Dutch took control of Maluku less than 30 years later, some 32 half-Portuguese families were given land by the village leader of Soa on Ambon island (da Franca 1970:22). As Abdurachman (1972:1) points out, these "*mestico*" households "will account for the Portuguese family-names, and words in family relations; terms for parts of the body, for plants, food, clothing, music and dances" which entered the lingua franca of Central Maluku. Terms of newly introduced items and political positions such as *kadera* 'chair', *meja* 'table', *kapitan* 'captain/war chief', also entered many of the indigenous languages.

Slaves for the Portuguese had been brought from Africa and Asia (mainly India) and long after the Portuguese officially left, their freed Christian slaves remained, forming a homogenous group in Ambonese society. Called *Orang Mardika* 'freed men' they continued to be viewed as a distinct Portuguese-speaking community in Ambon far into the 18th century (de Graaf 1977:51).<sup>1</sup> So in Central Maluku at the end of the 16th century, there were both Portuguese *mestico* households and their Portuguese-speaking slaves. It is not unreasonable to suggest that both these two groups may have spoken a pidgin/creole Portuguese like those which developed in other Portuguese colonies at this time (cf. Baxter 1988:10-18). Today their descendants are assimilated into Ambonese culture, still inheriting their Portuguese family names.

There is indication of some active teaching and learning of Portuguese, particularly by priests who educated young native boys to serve as interpreters. On the whole, however, language contact between Portuguese and the other languages spoken in Central Maluku seemed to have occurred primarily as a result of trade and intermarriage. There is no indication that the Portuguese actively sought to replace any of the languages in Central Maluku with their own as the Dutch later tried to. Nonetheless an awareness and use of Portuguese developed throughout the Indies, which continued long after the last Portuguese fleet left the region. During the next century superiors of the Dutch East Indies Company in Holland were very annoyed when they heard that Portuguese continued to be spoken in the colony and they proposed measures to stop it. In response Governor-General

<sup>1</sup>Baxter notes several varieties of Creole Portuguese that have been spoken until the present century: Malacca; Macao; Hong Kong; Jakarta; Larantuka, Flores; and Dili, East Timor.

Maetsuyker and his council tried to explain why it was futile to take any measures against the use of Portuguese. In 1659 they wrote to their superiors in Holland:

The Portuguese language is an easy language to speak and easy to learn. That is the reason why we cannot prevent the slaves brought here from Arakan who have never heard a word of Portuguese (and indeed even our own children) from taking to that language in preference to all other languages and making it their own. (Boxer 1968:57)

Despite Maetsuyker's explanation, in 1663 orders came from Holland setting out severe punishments for those who spoke Portuguese. By the end of the century, however, the officials had resigned themselves to the situation.

Before looking at further history and other influences on language use in Central Maluku it is helpful to consider Valkhoff's (1972:94,95) comments on the lasting effect of Portuguese in places that became Dutch colonies in the 17th century:

When we study the linguistic conditions which prevailed in the Dutch colonies in the 17th century we must not forget that the Portuguese were the first and the most active colonizers in the world. As from the middle of the 15th century they spread their language to Africa and Asia as well as to America. Next to the literary form, which we could call High Portuguese, a pidginized, creolized or simplified Portuguese was born, which was more or less adapted to the local languages on which it had been imposed (Bantu, Malay or Chinese). Yet we know that this Portuguese *lingua franca* or Low Portuguese had enough unity to be understood from the East to the West Indies. A linguist can still distinguish this basic unity in the remnants that have survived of it. Portuguese Creole was a language of communication – not just commercial, port or slave language – and was generally used, when the Dutch began to conquer the Portuguese colonies. Most traders and sailors had learnt to speak it, and in addition to it the officers of the Dutch Republic also knew High Portuguese, the language of the enemy. Even in newly built towns like Batavia, which was founded after the destruction of Jakatra, Portuguese was very popular.

### 3.3 1600S AND 1700S – THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

In 1605 the Portuguese surrendered their fort on Ambon to the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The primary goal of the VOC for the next two centuries was to establish and maintain a monopoly on the spice trade, but they were also interested in developing a 'proper' Dutch colony in Maluku, an attitude which was reflected in their educational policies.

When Admiral Cornelius Matelief arrived on Ambon in 1607 he immediately set out to make a colony "where the Dutch language ruled" (Brugmans 1938:21). He set up a school near the fort and gave Johannes Wogma, a medical student, the job of teaching a few students while awaiting the arrival of the official preachers who would also be involved in education. From the start Matelief decreed that the Dutch language would be the language of education. However, the effort was doomed to fail. Brugmans (1938:22) describes what happened:

Rev. Caspar Wiltens, who was the first preacher placed on Ambon in 1615, initially favored the use of the Dutch language. Quickly, however, he saw reality: "It was no go with the dull and lazy Ambonese who did not have the desire [to learn Dutch]" (Valentyn [1724]:vol.3; p.36). Thus a native language had to become the language of the church and school. The Ambonese language? This seemed to have fallen apart into so many

dialects that even the inhabitants of western Ambon could not understand the inhabitants of eastern Ambon. So Wilten's choice fell on Malay, a language that had already found an entrance as a common trade language in the region.<sup>1</sup>

The question of which language to use in the schools was by no means resolved at that point, however. Just three years later Rev. Sebastianus Danckaerts, the second preacher-teacher, arrived on Ambon wanting to put the Dutch language "on the throne again" (Brugmans 1938:22). The problem of which language to use in education continued to be a matter of controversy in Central Maluku (and to a certain extent in all of the Dutch East Indies) for the next 350 years.

The original school by the fort, when in session, seems to have had a stricter use of Dutch than the other schools which were established soon after. By 1627 there were 16 schools with teachers on Ambon and Lease, and 18 'lesser ones' with circuit teachers (Rumphius 1741 vol.1:59). The schools were considered to be the "right place for religion" and were places "where children could learn to read, pray, and write" (Brugmans 1938:21). From the very beginning, the acceptance of education, Christianity<sup>2</sup> and the VOC came in one package. Thus, the children who were educated in these schools were only from the traditional Uli Siwa villages which had accepted Christianity in allying themselves with the Portuguese in the previous century.

Even though Malay came to be used in the few schools on Ambon in the 17th century, it was still a second language for both the Dutch school masters and the Ambonese children. On one occasion during this time the children "absented themselves from school because the preacher spoke bad and unintelligible Malay to them" (Cooley 1961:354). There was also debate as to the educational value of these schools, in that motivation to attend may have often been the pound of rice given daily to each student present. Nevertheless, it is significant that these schools were the impetus by which the Malay lingua franca came to be used in education in Central Maluku.

In 1689 a very significant decision affecting language use was made by the colonial government in Batavia. They decided that the Malay spoken in Ambon was 'deficient' and decreed that 'pure' Malay had to be introduced in Ambon. The Dutch used the term *hoog maleisch* 'High Malay' to refer to the official literary Malay (SM). In contrast was *laag-maleisch* 'Low Malay', the regional lingua franca Malay. There are numerous remarks in the Dutch literature that this High Malay was unintelligible to the Ambonese and meant essentially the introduction of a foreign language. Brugmans (1938:27) sees this had a 'crippling' effect on education because, as Valentyn noted in 1724, "the Ambonese could not understand High Malay but could understand Low Malay well". In 1694 the church leaders in Batavia decided preaching could be done in Low Malay, but the preacher-teachers had to learn High Malay to teach the children (Brugmans 1938:28). Thus, SM came to Central Maluku.

Brugmans (1938:24) points out that the hope of using education to establish Dutch as a common language in Central Maluku never totally died out until 1733 when the translation of the High Malay (SM) Bible came off the press:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Original quote: "*Ds. Caspar Wiltens, die in 1615 als eerste predikant op Ambon werd geplaatst, was aanvankelijk voor het gebruik van de Nederlandsche taal geporteerd. Spoedig zag hij echter de werkelijkheid: het wilde met den botten en luyen Amboinees niet gaan*" [Valentijn III, blz. 36]. *Daarom moest een inheemsche taal de kerk- en schooltaal worden. De Ambonsche taal? Deze bleek in zoovele dialecten uiteen te vallen, dat zelfs de bewoners van westelijk Ambon de bewoners van het oostergedeelte niet konden verstaan. Zoo viel Wiltens' keuze op het Maleisch, de taal, die toenmaals reeds in deze streken als algemeene verkeerstaal ingang had gevonden."*

<sup>2</sup>After the Dutch arrived, Christianity in Central Maluku developed along lines of the Dutch Calvinist tradition although many forms of Portuguese Catholicism remained.

<sup>3</sup>Although several Malay translations of the New Testament and other portions of the Bible had been done in the 1600s the Company leaders decided in 1722 to have Rev. Leydekker's High Malay translation revised and finished by Rev. van der Vorm. This decision was after a twenty-year controversy "whether to publish this literary Malay version or a more



The primary reason for maintaining the Dutch language as the language of education had thus fallen. The forming of the students to be true Christians could take place without instruction in Dutch now that catechisms, question books and other religious workbooks were translated into Malay.<sup>1</sup>

In Ambon there were complaints about the frequent use of Arab and Persian words in the High Malay translation of the Bible (van Hoëvell 1875:91). This translation had significant and lasting sociolinguistic effects in Ambon in that the Bible became not only a school text for education, but its language – High Malay – was also the foundation for the language of the church in Central Maluku. Even after considerable time this still did not mean that High Malay was intelligible to the average person. The situation in Ambon around 1800 has been described:

The literary Malay was still respected and used, but precisely that language was poorly suited to communicate the Scriptures and sermons because the congregation and most of the teachers themselves understood it very imperfectly. (Cooley 1961:357, translation of Enklaar 1960:26-27)

#### 3.4 THE ENGLISH INTERLUDES – 1796-1803 AND 1810-1817

In 1796 the VOC went bankrupt, at which time the English took over control of Ambon. The area was restored to the Dutch in 1803 but controlled by the English again from 1810-1817 during the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. Although the English were only in control of the East Indies for a brief period, they initiated certain policies reflecting attitudes that continued even after the return of the Dutch colonial government. They did not totally abolish the monopoly on the spice trade, but they did make the entire system more flexible and less oppressive to the villagers. During this time Resident Martin of Ambon gave a good deal of attention to the work of the church and the mission and to the improvement of popular education (van Fraassen 1983:38).

#### 3.5 DUTCH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT – 1817-1948

When the Indies returned once again to Dutch control in 1817 it was no longer the Company but the Dutch colonial government that was in control. After suppressing initial rebellions over the return to Dutch rule, the colonial government became much more involved in the development of the colony through the encouragement of freer trade and the improvement of education. Reflecting changing attitudes in Holland at the time, the government clarified to all government and religious workers that the schools already in existence in Central Maluku were to be considered government schools, not church schools. Kroeskamp (1974:59) points out that at this time the schools were in a state of severe neglect, and even though they were government sponsored, missionary-teachers were encouraged to help improve the quality of education in these schools. In terms of actual practice, this distinction initially had very little effect. For the next fifty or more years education in Central Maluku remained mainly religious in nature, taught primarily only in Christian villages.

---

colloquial version in Ambon-Malay done by François Valentyn, the historian of the Company" (Cooley 1961:350). By 1733 both the Old and New Testaments were off the press and Leydekker's High Malay translation became the official translation of the Bible (van Boetzelaer 1941).

<sup>1</sup>Original quote: "De voornaamste reden om het Nederlandsche als onderwijstaal te handhaven was daarmede vervallen. De vorming der leerlingen tot ware Christenen kon, nu de catechismus, de vragenboekjes en de andere godsdienstige boekwerken reeds in het Maleisch waren vertaald, ook zonder onderricht in het Nederlandsch plaats hebben."

It was not until 1871 that the Fundamental Education Decree was passed in the colony, again reflecting the liberal trend in Holland which supported 'freedom of education' and the 'principle of neutrality in publicly maintained education'. This meant that public schools could no longer include religious instruction and that Moslem children would be provided an education as well as Christian children (Kroeskamp 1974:360). But again, a colony-wide decree had little effect in Central Maluku, because there were few schools actually in Moslem villages. Furthermore, the Moslem villages were relatively isolated, even on the island of Ambon.

During the time of the colonial government, language shift from the indigenous language(s) to Malay began to occur in some of the Christian villages on Ambon and Lease. It is difficult to pinpoint exactly when this shift occurred in the different villages, that is, in which generation Malay became the first language of children who never learned the native language indigenous to their village. There is evidence, however, that by the middle of the 19th century this shift had occurred in several Christian villages on Ambon Island (de Clercq 1876:3).

It would be naive to think that religion was the only factor influencing this language shift. In addition to the traditional alliance system which had determined to a large degree which new religion (Islam or Christianity) was adopted by which villages in the 16th century, geography and the topography of Ambon Island were also involved in the linguistic destiny of these villages. The lack of roads on Ambon has made boat travel the primary means of transport from Amboina to many of the villages on the island of Ambon. As Collins (1980b:7) points out, the dangerous exposed capes around Allang make travel to Amboina a very hazardous undertaking during four or five months of the year. Thus many villages, particularly on the north coast and southern tip of Hitu, had much less contact over the years with the Dutch and consequently with using Malay in education and other domains of life.<sup>1</sup>

After the middle of the 19th century, government officials and missionaries developed a growing interest in the linguistic situation in Central Maluku. Consequently, much of the linguistic literature on Central Maluku dates from that time forward. Two points can be made from examining this literature. Firstly, many of the authors noted that AM had become the native language in Christian villages by that time. In fact, the word lists of vernacular languages collected in Ambon and Lease at that time were for the most part collected in Moslem villages.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately this rise of linguistic interest occurred after the language shift in many of the Christian villages and we are left without any record of the languages spoken in those villages.

Secondly, the distinctiveness of AM from SM and other varieties of Malay spoken in the East Indies, although recognised much earlier, became an issue of much greater debate at this time.

---

<sup>1</sup>Although many of the Christian villages shifted to AM as their first language by the middle of the 19th century, by no means all of them had. In the more isolated Christian villages on Ambon and Lease this gradual shift to AM continues even through the present time. The village of Allang on the tip of the Hitu peninsula has continued to use its indigenous language, although according to Collins (1980a:11) it is now only spoken by those over 60 years of age. This was recently confirmed by Travis (1986b). The Christian village of Waai, a previously relatively isolated village on Ambon, still used its native language 50 years ago (Collins 1981:33). Kotynski (1985) recently found the Haruku language spoken in the Christian village of Hulaliu by those over 40, and likewise in Aboru, also on the island of Haruku. He reports that Christians in the village of Kariu on Haruku (where AM is the first language) "learn to speak Haruku as a second language as they get older because they live between two Muslim villages (Pelauw and Ori), which are strong in their use of the language" (p.10). On Nusa Laut, Kotynski found little use of the indigenous language as all the villages are Christian. He was, however, able to collect a 200-item word list in the Nusa Laut language from the village head of Titawai (p.12), indicating that some knowledge of the original language is still around. This all suggests that in Central Maluku there is some truth in Bickerton's (1981:75) statement, "although languages, like people, die, they do not, like some people, drop dead".

<sup>2</sup>Besides AM, these 19th century word lists included the languages of Haruku, Saparua, Nusa Laut, Batu Merah, Allang, Wai, Hitu, Hila, Larike, Asilulu (Negri Empat), Lilliboi and several languages from Seram and Buru.

Several writers pointed out the differences between AM and the Malay (SM) being used in education in other parts of the East Indies. Van Hoëvell (1877:91) discussed the SM versus AM dilemma, noting that these two varieties of Malay were non-intelligible, and that he considered AM a 'patois'. In 1867 van der Chijs, the Inspector General of schools in the East Indies, made a trip around the colony and decided that the Malay spoken in the schools of Ambon was 'abominable' (Brugmans 1938:234). De Clercq (1876:3) noted that "even if Riau Malay [SM] is diligently taught in the schools of the Moluccas it is doubtful that it would ever be used as the general language there" (translation from Collins 1980a:9).

Several missionary-teachers became involved in this SM-versus-AM debate and actually took to promoting the use of AM, in particular B.N.J. Roskott, an educator by profession, who wrote many schoolbooks and readers in AM, including an explanation in AM of words used in the High Church Malay liturgy. (See Steinhauer's 'On Malay in eastern Indonesia in the 19th century' in this volume for further information about Roskott.) He also translated several lengthy works into AM, including an adaptation of *Pilgrim's Progress* of over 455 pages, books on Biblical history, and the New Testament (Kroeskamp 1974:73,74). By far the most significant educator in Ambon during the latter part of the 19th century (he was head of the first teacher training college in the Indies, established in Ambon), Roskott oversaw the running of a printing press in Ambon to publish educational material and popular literature in AM.

Another significant development in the late 19th century was the establishment of the Ambon *Burgher* ('Citizens') school. During the time of the VOC, a privileged class of Ambonese had developed who rendered services to the Company and consequently came to consider themselves in a much higher social class than the 'toiling' villagers. Kroeskamp (1974:50,51) describes one result of this attitude:

This feeling of contempt went so far that quite a considerable number of 'burghers' did not send their children to school, because they would be in the same classroom together with the offspring of the despised villagers. To meet the objections of the 'burghers' a school was established in the principal town of Amboina in 1858, which was especially intended for the children of Amboinese 'burghers' and headed by a Netherlands headmaster, assisted by qualified assistant teachers, who were Amboinese 'burghers'. The Dutch language occupied an important place among the subjects taught. In 1869 the special character of the school was officially recognized by the government. From that time onwards it was called the Amboinese 'burgher' (citizen's) school. Apart from its pedagogical merits...it must from a psychological point of view have given rise to a considerable escalation of the feeling of superiority on the part of the Amboinese 'citizenry'.

For several decades the elite in Ambon were among the few who could receive an education in Dutch in the East Indies. In 1914 Dutch schools (*Hollandsch-Inlandsche*) for local children were started throughout the East Indies, but the Ambonese continued to be treated by the Dutch as 'favoured sons' and were often given preferred positions in the military and colonial government. The term *Belanda hitam* 'Black Dutchman' came to be used in referring to the Ambonese because of their adoption of the Dutch language and their Dutch education and values. An 1896 military publication, *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift*, includes a description of the Ambonese at that time:

Very lively by nature, which can possibly be attributed to their kinship with the Papuan race, they have a proud, haughty character, and pride themselves on their nationality while, because they profess the Christian faith, they regard themselves as superior to the

other peoples in our archipelago and imagine themselves as nearer the Europeans. They are very proud of the many ways in which they have been put on an equal footing with the Europeans. (van Kaam 1980:34)

The ethnic pride of the Ambonese at this time was very much associated with language. Cooley (1961:121, 122) notes the effects of the use of Malay throughout the Christian Ambonese society and the use of Dutch among the educated class:

It would be going much too far to suggest that the weakening of the indigenous language was foreseen by the leaders of the Company and that in fact the policy was fashioned to achieve this. But one of the significant results of substituting Malay for the native tongue was that the Christian Ambonese were thereby set apart from the other inhabitants of the region, both the Moluccans and those who had come from other parts of the Indies, all of whom were either Muslims or pagans. The Christian Ambonese were thereby encouraged to think of themselves as different from the others, as possessing a higher civilization than the others, of being superior to the others, of being closer to the Dutch than the others. This last attitude was considerably enhanced when Ambonese acquired facility in the Dutch language. Malay was a stepping-stone to this coveted achievement, for by reaching it a whole new world of experience and status was opened to the Ambonese. Most educated Ambonese until today are more at home in Dutch than in Malay. And these are completely ignorant of their native tongue, or rather of the indigenous language of their region, for Dutch is really their native tongue. Of course, the educated group is the tiny minority of the Christian Ambonese. For the majority Malay is the mother tongue. The effect of this linguistic trait on the personality of the Ambonese should not be underestimated, especially in regard to the relations between the Christian Ambonese and the others, and between the Christian Ambonese and the Javanese, the majority of whom, until very recently, at least, spoke a vernacular language, Javanese.

### 3.6 THE SECOND WORLD WAR

During the brief but stressful time of World War II, in which much of Amboina was bombed, Japanese and Australian soldiers occupied parts of Central Maluku. AM continued to play a significant role as a lingua franca, including between the soldiers and the local people. Under Japanese control, Japanese was the language of government and the use of Dutch was forbidden and no longer used in education even though it had already become the first language of the elite educated class in Ambon. Japanese was taught in all government schools during this time (Alisjahbana 1956:17, 18). The Japanese also promoted the use of Indonesian which they officially recognised and even formed a *Komisi Bahasa Indonesia* 'Indonesian Language Commission' to develop new and modern words in the language (Prentice 1978:29).

### 3.7 INDEPENDENCE AND THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

In 1945, at the end of the War, Sukarno declared the Republic of Indonesia to be a sovereign state. For several years the Dutch attempted to regain control of their colony but failed and Maluku became part of the independent Republic of Indonesia. An attempt by the Ambonese to secede and form the Republic of the South Moluccas failed, but indicates the nature and strength of the Ambonese sense of identity.

At the time of independence Bahasa Indonesia (BI) was declared the national language. In 1949 the Department of Education was charged with the oversight of all government schools. In Central Maluku BI then became the official language of government and education.

Pre-1400	Exchange of cloves and nutmeg for cloth and other commodities carried out by Asian traders in Maluku for centuries.
1401	City of Malacca founded which became the centre of Southeast Asian commerce. Malay spoken as the lingua franca.
1460	Islam to Ternate and Banda. Under sultans' influence, Islam soon spread to Hoamoal on Seram and north coast of Ambon.
<b>1500</b>	
1511	Portuguese gained control of Malacca.
1512	Portuguese fleet sailed to Banda.
1524	Permanent Portuguese residence built on Hitu, Ambon. Uli Siwa villages desired Portuguese protection against Ternate and Hitu.
1546	Xavier visited Ambon when Uli Siwa villages accepted Christianity.
1547	Jesuit mission to Maluku began, administered from Goa via Malacca. Jesuits noted widespread use of Malay in Maluku, and used it in their work.
1575	Portuguese fort at Ternate surrendered to Sultan. <i>Casados</i> and their families fled to Ambon.
1576	Portuguese fort, <i>Nossa Senhora da Anunciada</i> , built in Amboina. Continuous native warfare in the area, Uli Lima vs Uli Siwa.
<b>1600</b>	
1605	Dutch (VOC) took Ambon fort and sought monopoly on spice trade.
1607	First Dutch schoolmaster, Johannes Wogma, to Ambon.
1624	Six schools in Ambon and Lease and 18 'lesser' schools. Attempts at education in Dutch language unsuccessful. Education mostly in Malay.
1689	Malay on Ambon noted as 'deficient'. Decision made by VOC to introduce High Malay in Ambon. Numerous reports of unintelligibility between the two varieties of Malay.
<b>1700</b>	
1733	Leydekker's translation of Bible in High Malay published. 'Literary' Malay used in sermons but poorly understood.
1796	English gained control of Ambon.
<b>1800</b>	
1803	Dutch resumed control in Ambon.
1810	English again in control.
1817	Dutch control of Ambon; now Dutch colonial government.
1850	Language shift: AM spoken as the first language in many Christian villages by the mid 1800s.
1869	Official recognition of Ambonese 'Citizens' school for upper-class Ambonese, taught by Dutch teachers in Dutch.
1871	<i>Fundamental Education Decree</i> : government schools were to provide education for children of all religions. SM vs AM debate among missionaries and educators. Translations and educational books printed in AM by Roskott.
<b>1900</b>	
1914	Native Dutch (' <i>Hollandsch-Inlandsche</i> ') schools started throughout the Dutch East Indies.
1943	Japanese in control. Japanese taught in all government schools. Use of Dutch forbidden, and use of Malay encouraged.
1945	Republic of Indonesia (RI) declared, BI as the national language.
1950	RI Department of Education in charge of schools. BI used as language of education and government.

FIGURE 1: HISTORICAL INFLUENCES ON LANGUAGE USE IN CENTRAL MALUKU

#### 4. A LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF AMBONESE MALAY

This section examines several aspects of AM illustrating the correlation between the social and historical data discussed above and AM linguistic data. Some linguistic features of AM were

discussed earlier when AM was compared to SM. The intent here is to examine more than just the differences between AM and SM, and to consider how the numerous languages which were historically in contact in Central Maluku have contributed to the development of AM. The lexicon of AM is considered first, then the structure.

#### 4.1 THE AM LEXICON

##### MALAY

It was noted earlier that the majority of the AM lexicon is comprised of Malay words, although there are frequent phonological and semantic differences between AM and SM today. Using Givón's (1979:19) terminology, Malay can be called the *l-language*, the lexifier, which "contributed the bulk of the lexical stems (words/morphemes)" to AM. There has been a considerable degree of contact with other foreign languages in Central Maluku and these too have contributed to the lexicon of AM, but none have done so to the degree that Malay has.

In light of the heavy contribution of Malay to the AM lexicon, it is noteworthy that Central Maluku is relatively far from the homeland of native Malay speakers. There is evidence there may have been a few native Malays and Javanese living in Ternate at the time of Islamisation in the late 15th century (Reid 1984:21), but contact was localised to the commercial centres of Ternate and Banda. In the 17th century the Dutch were ruthless in ridding the area of all Moslem traders.

Moslem traders also brought Malay to other parts of Southeast Asia where it is no longer used today, such as the Philippines. In Central Maluku, however, after the arrival of the Europeans the use of Malay did not decline but was actually fostered by them. Portuguese priests learned Malay in Malacca to use in their work in Maluku because Malay was already in use as a lingua franca there. After the arrival of the Dutch in 1605 attempts were made initially to educate local children in Dutch. Those attempts were soon abandoned and Malay (a second language for the Dutch as well as the local children) was used in the few schools that were established. Hardly more than 50 years later the Dutch government, centralised at Batavia on Java by then, noted that the Malay spoken around Ambon was somehow not 'proper'. In 1689 the decision was made that 'High Malay' (SM) had to be used in the schools on Ambon rather than the "Low Malay" that was spoken locally. In the 18th century the Bible was translated into High Malay and used as the foundational text in schools in Central Maluku. Preaching was supposed to be done in the churches in High Malay. In the 20th century Malay came again to Maluku as BI, the national language of Indonesia.

##### PORTUGUESE

Because the Portuguese were the first Europeans in Maluku and because they were there for almost the entire 16th century, it is not surprising to find lexical items of Portuguese origin in AM. AM names for items introduced at that time (such as chair, table, hat) are of Portuguese origin. In addition, names for body parts, family relationships and some homey items are of Portuguese origin as Abdurachman (1972:1) has noted, reflecting the fact that Portuguese soldiers and Portuguese-speaking slaves married local women and were eventually absorbed into Ambonese society.

Table 4 gives a sampling of AM words of Portuguese origin (adapted from Abdurachman 1972 and C. Grimes 1985). Some of these words can be found in other lingua franca Malays which had contact with Portuguese as well, but all the AM items listed here have different forms in SM or lack a SM equivalent. In the chart the SM equivalent of the AM gloss is listed. Numerous other words of Portuguese origin are to be found in both SM and AM.

TABLE 4: SOME PORTUGUESE LOANWORDS IN AMBONESE MALAY

AM		PORTUGUESE*		SM
<i>asar</i>	smoke s.t.	<i>assar</i>	roast s.t.	<i>mengasapi</i>
<i>balanse</i>	swing (in dance)	<i>balance</i>	swing (in dance)	∅
<i>bandolir</i>	woman's sash	<i>bandoleira</i>	shoulder-belt	<i>selendang</i>
<i>baniang</i>	vest coat	<i>banian</i>	vest coat	∅
<i>barangko</i>	ravine	<i>barranco</i>	ravine	<i>jurang</i>
<i>batatas</i>	yams	<i>batatas</i>	potato, sweet potato	<i>ubi</i>
<i>bolu</i>	k.o. cake	<i>bolo</i>	cake	∅
<i>capeo</i>	hat	<i>chapeu</i>	hat	<i>topi</i>
<i>forna/porna</i>	baked sago mould	<i>forno</i>	oven	∅
<i>gargantang</i>	throat	<i>garganta</i>	throat	<i>rongkongang</i>
<i>mata garida</i>	flirt	<i>garrida</i>	coquettish	<i>mainmata</i>
<i>goyaba</i>	guava/guava cake	<i>goiaba</i>	guava	<i>jambu</i>
<i>kadera</i>	chair	<i>cadeira</i>	chair	<i>kursi</i>
<i>kantar</i>	sing hymns/psalms	<i>cantar</i>	sing	<i>menānī</i>
<i>kapitang</i>	war chief	<i>capitāo</i>	ship captain, admin.	∅
<i>kaskadu</i>	skin disease	<i>casgado</i>	peeled	∅
<i>kastrol</i>	cooking pot	<i>caçarola</i>	cooking pot	<i>belanga</i>
<i>kintal</i>	yard	<i>quintal</i>	(back)yard	<i>halaman</i>
<i>konādu</i>	brother-in-law	<i>cunhado</i>	brother-in-law	<i>ipar</i>
<i>lenso</i>	head turban, handkerchief	<i>lenço</i>	handkerchief	<i>sapu tangan</i>
<i>loko</i>	crazy	<i>louco</i>	crazy	<i>gila</i>
<i>maitua</i>	wife	<i>māe</i>	mother(familiar)	<i>istri/ibu</i>
<i>mancadu</i>	axe	<i>machado</i>	axe	<i>kapak</i>
<i>marsego</i>	bat	<i>morcego</i>	bat	<i>keluang</i>
<i>nōra</i>	pastor's wife, village head's wife	<i>senhora</i>	lady	<i>ibu/nōnā</i>
<i>ose/os/se</i>	2SG	<i>voce</i>	2SG	<i>kamu/engkau</i>
<i>paitua</i>	husband, elder	<i>pai</i>	father(familiar)	<i>suami/bapa?</i>
<i>papinū</i>	cucumber	<i>pepino</i>	cucumber	<i>ketimun</i>
<i>par/por</i>	for	<i>para/por</i>	for	<i>untu?/bagi</i>
<i>parlente</i>	fake	<i>parlenda</i>	tall tale	?
<i>pasiar</i>	take a stroll	<i>passear</i>	to stroll	<i>jalan-jalan</i>
<i>salobar</i>	brackish water	<i>salobre</i>	brackish	<i>payau</i>
<i>seng</i>	no, not	<i>sem</i>	no, without	<i>tida?/bukan</i>
<i>sinō</i>	boy (caucasian)	<i>senhor</i>	adult male	' <i>tuan muda</i> '
<i>sombar</i>	shade	<i>sombra</i>	shadow	<i>naung</i>
<i>sono</i>	deep sleep	<i>sono</i>	asleep	<i>idur</i>
<i>totoruga</i>	sea tortoise	<i>tartaruga</i>	turtle, tortoise	<i>penū</i>
<i>testa</i>	forehead	<i>testa</i>	forehead	<i>dahi</i>

\*While the AM and SM words are written here somewhat phonemically, the Portuguese is shown using common spelling and does not necessarily reflect 16th century pronunciation.

## DUTCH

Like Portuguese, contact with the Dutch language in Central Maluku has resulted in a noticeable amount of lexical borrowing. As one would expect, names for many technical and introduced items in AM (and BI) are of Dutch origin, such as *slot* 'lock', *skop* 'spade/shovel', *klakson* 'horn'. Several Ambonese kinship terms are of Dutch origin: *tante* 'aunt', *om* 'uncle', *opa* 'grandfather', *oma* 'grandmother'. Dutch *jongen* has come to be AM *nōng*, an extremely common term for 'boy/lad' in Ambon. Because of the prestige of using Dutch, different idiolects (particularly higher class ones) contain a greater number of Dutch words, including the use of Dutch pronouns in place of AM pronouns.

## LOCAL LANGUAGES

While most of the AM lexicon is comprised of words recognisably from languages originally foreign to Central Maluku, some lexical items have their sources in either the languages that AM replaced or other local languages. These items tend to be names for traditional social positions or artifacts which did not have an obvious equivalent in any of the foreign languages which came to the area. Examples of such items are *nani* 'instrument for pounding sago' and *sahani runut* 'trough for processing sago'. Cooley (1961:297) attributes a Seram origin to the AM term *saniri* 'village council'. For centuries there has also been significant regional interaction, for both political and economic reasons, between the islands throughout eastern Indonesia, giving rise to the possibility of some lexical borrowing in AM from native languages spoken in areas outside of Central Maluku. Several words of Ternatan origin are used in AM, such as *soa*, 'kin group, clan'. Collins (pers. comm.) has suggested a Makassarese origin for some AM lexical items.

## 4.2 AM STRUCTURE

Despite its foreign lexicon, the most profitable way to understand the structure of AM is in reference to native Central Moluccan languages. In 1981 Collins pointed out many 'Asilulan-like' (an indigenous language on Ambon island) features in AM in his article "*Pertembangan Linguistik di Indonesia Timur: Bahasa Melayu dan Bahasa Asilulu di Pulau Ambon*" ['Linguistic development in eastern Indonesia: Malay and Asilulu on Ambon Island']. In other articles he has pointed out other calques from Asilulu to AM. Upon learning the Central Moluccan language of Buru, I became aware of many Buru-like features in AM. As yet there is no complete grammatical description of a Central Maluku language, yet the data that does exist shows how strongly "the indigenous languages influenced Ambonese Malay" Collins (1983b:35). The following sections note a few of many possible examples.

## (a) Possession

The AM possessive construction was described in section 2 as:

POSSESSOR + Possessive Particle + POSSESSED

Collins (1983a:35) notes how the order of the nouns in the AM possessive constructions parallels the order of the nouns in the Asilulu possessive construction:

The fact that the only sequence of nouns in Asilulu possessive constructions in NP1 NP2 may be related to the choice of NP1 *punā* NP2 sequence in AM over the alternative NP2 NP1 form of many other dialects of Malay.



The order of the nouns in the Buru possessive construction likewise parallels AM. Buru differentiates the possessive particle according to person and number while AM uses a single possessive (POS) word *punā/pung*, as shown:

	POSSESSOR	Possessive Particle	POSSESSED	
(AM)	<i>bet(a)</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>ruma</i>	my house
	<i>os(e)</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>mata</i>	your eye
	<i>angtua</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>bini</i>	his wife
	<i>katong</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>kabong</i>	our field
	<i>kamong</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>dusung</i>	your (PL) orchard
	<i>dorang</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>cengke</i>	their cloves
(Buru)	<i>ya</i>	<i>nang</i>	<i>huma</i>	my house
	<i>kae</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>raman</i>	your eye
	<i>rin</i>	<i>na?</i>	<i>finhaa</i>	his wife
	<i>kami</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>hawa</i>	our field
	<i>kimi</i>	<i>nim</i>	<i>waslale</i>	your (PL) orchards
	<i>sir</i>	<i>nun</i>	<i>buglawan</i>	their cloves

Embedded possessive constructions in AM again parallel Buru and, although similar to other forms of lingua franca Malay in eastern Indonesia, are significantly different from SM.

(SM) *perahu bapa? saya*  
boat father 1SG

(AM) *beta pung papi pung koli-koli*

(Buru) *ya nang ama na? waga*  
1SG POS father POS boat

my father's boat

Van Hoëvell's (1877:32) notes on AM also contain examples of this common type of possessive construction, such as the following:

*Malam beta maoe pergi ka laoet moengail dan tjahari ikan par*  
night 1SG want go to sea to.fish and hunt fish for

*beta poenja bini dan anaq poenja makan.*  
1SG POS wife and child POS eat

Tonight I'll go to the sea and hunt fish for my wife and children's food.

(b) Specifying number of plural subjects and objects (third person plural pronoun as plural marker)

AM frequently specifies the number of plural subjects and objects, particularly two and three. This can be specified in SM, but is rarely done. This and the frequent use of the third person plural pronoun as a general plural marker parallels Buru.

(AM) *Dong dua s-pi deng Abdul dong.*  
3PL two perfective-go with Abdul 3PL

(Buru) *Sir rua iko haik tu Abdul sira.*  
3PL wo go perfective with Abdul 3PL

The two of them already left with Abdul them [Abdul and those with him].

(c) Idioms

In describing idiomatic expressions in Cameroon Pidgin English and Tok Pisin, Todd and Mühlhäusler (1978:2) note that Cameroon Pidgin “reflects an African way of life” especially in its idioms which often calque from vernacular languages. Likewise, many AM idioms reflect Central Moluccan thinking and way of life. For example, the AM word for elder sibling, *kaka*, is also used to mean ‘placenta/afterbirth’ reflecting the Central Moluccan belief that a child is in a younger sibling relationship to his/her placenta.

(SM)	<i>tembuni</i>	placenta
(SM)	<i>kaka?</i>	elder sibling
(AM)	<i>kaka</i>	elder sibling, placenta
(Buru)	<i>kai</i>	elder same sex sibling, placenta

It is hardly surprising to find more AM idioms expressing Central Moluccan ideas and metaphors.

(SM) *keras kepala*  
hard head  
stubborn

(AM) *kapala batu*  
(Buru) *ol- fatu*  
head stone  
stubborn

(SM) *badan-nā sudah kurus*  
body 3SG POS perfective thin  
She's become skinny.

(AM) *dia pung badan s-turung*  
3SG POS body perfective-descend  
She's become skinny.

(Buru) *na? fatan toho haik*  
3SG.POS body descend perfective  
She's become skinny.

(SM) *pelipis*  
temple, side of head

(AM) *tampa mati*  
(Buru) *elen mata*  
place die  
temple, side of head

## (d) Directionals

Collins (1981:39-44) points out how the SM terms *hulu* and *hilir* 'upstream and downstream' are not used in AM. Instead, the directionals found in Central Moluccan languages calque into AM.

Asilulu directionals (from Collins 1981:40):

<i>lete</i>	to mountains
<i>wehe</i>	towards the cape/peninsula
<i>lau</i>	seaward
<i>la</i>	landward
<i>hali</i>	away from the cape/peninsula

Buru directionals:

<i>saka</i>	up [mountains/coast]
<i>pao</i>	down [mountains/coast]
<i>lawe</i>	seaward, downstream
<i>dae</i>	landward, upstream
<i>aki</i>	opposite side

AM directionals:

<i>atas</i>	up [mountains/coast]
<i>bawa</i>	down [mountains/coast]
<i>lau</i>	seaward, downstream
<i>dara</i>	landward, upstream

Buru *saka* 'up' and *pao* 'down' are the general terms for referring to up and down and are used in relation to anything, not just up or down the mountains or coast. The same is true for AM *atas* 'up' and *bawa* 'down', for example:

- (Buru) *Sir iko gam saka.*  
 (AM) *Dong pi ka atas.*  
 3PL go toward up  
 They went up [the mountains/coast].
- (Buru) *Tahu saka.*  
 (AM) *Taru atas.*  
 put up  
 Put it up there.

## (e) Quantifiers

Van Hoëvell (1877:27) noted that in five languages of Ambon and Lease (Asilulu, Saparua, Nusalaut, Haruku and Hila) "the quantifying word stands not *before* – as in Malay – but *after* the noun". His example of Asilulu *lumaa telu* 'three houses' (as well as Buru *humar telo*) parallels the word order in the name of a village on Ambon which had three original clans: *Ruma Tiga*. Frequently comments are made about the name of this village, as SM would be *tiga rumah*.

## (f) Prepositions

In Buru the preposition *tu* functions as an instrumental, comitative, and reason preposition. In AM the preposition *deng* also functions as instrument, comitative and reason. In SM *dengan* is primarily instrumental (also comitative), *dan* is comitative/coordinating, and *karena* used for reason. Where SM would use three prepositions, AM can use one, paralleling Buru.

'with' [Instrumental]

- (Buru) *sopi gehut tu katanan*  
 (AM) *kupas kaladi deng piso*  
 (SM) *kupas keladi dengan pisau*  
 peel taro with knife  
 peel the taro with a knife

'and' [Comitative/Coordinating]

- (Buru) *Usi An tu na? ina*  
 (AM) *Usi An deng dia pung mama*  
 (SM) *[Kaka?] An dan ibu-nā*  
 elder sister Ann and 3SG POS mother(-genitive)  
 elder sister Ann and her mother

'because' [Reason]

- (Buru) *Rogo tu dekat!*  
 (AM) *Maso deng ujang!*  
 (SM) *Masu? karena hujan!*  
 enter because rain  
 Come inside, it's raining!

## 5. THE USE OF AM IN CENTRAL MALUKU TODAY

Various sociolinguistic factors which influence how AM is used in Central Maluku society today are discussed in this section. The functionally differentiated uses of AM and other languages are discussed initially in terms of diglossia. Then I argue that because diglossia alone is not sufficient to totally explain how AM is used, it is necessary to also see AM as the basolect, or Low, in an acrolect-basolect post-creole continuum with BI functioning as the acrolect, or High.

### 5.1 DIGLOSSIA

The phenomenon that different speech varieties are commonly assigned different tasks in multilingual societies was described as diglossia by Ferguson in 1959. He considered the functions or situations calling for a 'High' (H) dialect to be those which were "decidedly formal and guarded" while those calling for the 'Low' (L) dialect were informal, homey and relaxed. In 1967 Fishman expanded the concept of diglossia to include "several separate codes" (versus only two), and to exist between "language varieties of whatever kind" – speech registers, dialects or totally separate languages, not just between "moderately distinct varieties of the same language" as Ferguson had indicated earlier (discussed in Fasold 1984:34f.,40ff.).

Fishman's approach to diglossia is useful in understanding language use in Central Maluku for several reasons. Firstly, some Central Moluccan speech communities use a plurality of languages – not just two. Secondly, while it may initially be difficult to describe the exact linguistic relationship between AM and BI, Fishman's model recognises that "language varieties of whatever kind" can form a diglossic pair or triad. For diglossia, the exact relationship between AM and BI is not important. What is important is the fact that they are functionally differentiated according to domains

of language use. The ideal domains of language use for native speakers of AM in Central Maluku are illustrated in Figure 2.<sup>1</sup>

Speaking to s.o. from C. Maluku	AM		
Talking with family/friends	AM		
Letter to family	AM		
Love songs	AM		
Folk proverbs ( <i>pantung</i> )	AM		
Education: primary school		BI	
University lecture		BI	
Formal poetry recitation		BI	
Political speech		BI	
Talking with government officials		BI	
Sermon			Church Malay

FIGURE 2: IDEAL DOMAINS BY NATIVE SPEAKERS OF AM

In Central Maluku television programs are received by satellite from Jakarta. There are local government sponsored radio stations in Central Maluku, with some scripts/programs coming from Jakarta and others written locally. Daily Jakarta newspapers and weekly news magazines are sold in Amboina, along with a local weekly newspaper, *Pos Maluku*.

Radio/TV news		BI
Television programs		BI
Radio: agricultural tips	AM	BI
Radio: personal messages	AM	BI
Jakarta newspaper/magazines		BI
<i>Pos Maluku</i>	AM	BI

FIGURE 3: LANGUAGE USE BY VARIOUS MEDIA

It is important to realise that while these domains do reflect actual language use, they are also very much *ideals*. BI, as a second language, is spoken with varying degrees of proficiency and frequently, when proficiency is limited, a speaker switches into AM, even in formal settings where BI typically should be spoken. This phenomena has been described to me as *lari ka basa Ambong*, 'running to AM'. Fasold (1984:36) notes that the "H is always an 'add-on' language, learned after L has been substantially acquired, usually by formal teaching in school". This is true in Central Maluku and explains why higher levels of proficiency in the H (BI) are restricted to the educated elite.

Education is typically a domain in which the H is used in diglossic communities. BI, the H, is assigned to the domain of education in Central Maluku. However, in order to communicate with students, a good deal of AM is used in schools, even at the university level, for explanation and interaction between teacher and students.

In diglossic situations it is also typical for a considerable amount of prestige to be associated with the H. Fasold (1984:36) describes this:

The attitude of speakers in diglossic communities is typically that H is the superior, more elegant, and more logical language. L is believed to be inferior, even to the point that its

<sup>1</sup>The use of Malay as a lingua franca in a diglossic relationship with BI which developed from the more literary form of Malay, is not really surprising. Diglossia between La antuka Malay and BI has been described by Kumanireng (1982).

existence is denied. Ferguson (1972:237) reports that many educated Arabs and Haitians insist that they never use L, when it is quite apparent that they always use it in ordinary conversation. This insistence is not a deliberate lie, but rather a sort of self-deception. Even people who do not understand H well insist that it be used in formal settings such as political speeches or poetry recitations. High regard for H and its appropriateness for elevated function outranks intelligibility as a criterion for the choice of dialect in these situations.

In Central Maluku many of these same attitudes have developed toward BI as the H and more superior language since it has become the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. At the same time, native AM speakers have a sense of pride in their own culture and in AM and see it as very legitimate in certain domains. If someone told folk stories or *pantung* (proverbs) in BI he would lose his audience, but telling them in AM captivates the audience.

In many descriptions of diglossia, letter writing (or anything in the written mode) is associated with the H. Native speakers of AM, however, have no difficulty in writing some things in AM and have been doing so for several centuries. SM (BI) is seen as the ideal for writing formal material, but AM is used in personal letter writing and other items of a 'non-official' nature. It should be recalled that at the end of the last century a significant amount of literature in AM was produced by Roskott and others at the teacher training college in Ambon, so the use of AM in the written mode was legitimated in the past, although it is no longer encouraged in formal education.

As with speaking, attempts at writing SM are still influenced by AM. Teeuw (1961:48) describes a number of songs collected in Central Maluku and published by Joest (1892) as written in a kind of Malay which had "been worked up as much as possible into official Malay, but still smells of Amboinese Malay". This is also illustrated in the following excerpts from a letter written by the widow of the Raja of SiriSori on Saparua to the Dutch Resident of Ambon on the 7th of December 1817. The widow signed the letter with an X and it is not known who wrote the letter for her, but the language used is basically AM, with occasional SM suffixes. Since this was an official letter to the Resident, we can see it as an early 19th century attempt at formal written Malay (SM), which turned out looking very much like AM:

*Tetapi pada 26. harij derij Bulang Meij, bijta suruw pangil bijta punja Lakij, punja sudarah nama Welhelmina Kesaulija, datang pada melihat barang2ku sebab bijta ada sakit, dan tijada boleh bangon derij tempatku, dan bijta minta derij itu sudarah djika bijta djadi matij ija tulong sarahkan ini barang2 jang ada, dalam tangan bijta punja Lakij.... d...marika itu sudah mentjurij itu kupan dan barang2, sedang wakhtu di 'awrang mentjurij, ini Saptu [name of a slave] pitja dinding dan masokh didalam dan ini tiga tamannja djaga diluwar, dan ija sudah melihat di 'awrang bawa keluwar lima kaduw kupan dan barang2 derij pakejan bungkus2, ata itu bejta kasij tahu pada njora Radja. Sebab bejta tahu jang njora ada sakit paja, maka itu bejta tijada baranij pada menjatakan hal ini pada njora dengar, djangan lebeh susah antara sakitanmu... (in Leirissa et al., eds 1982:40-42)*

Some of the notable AM features in this letter include the use of the first person singular pronoun *bijta* [beta], the AM possessive construction including the embedded possessive phrase *bijta punja Lakij punja saudara* 'my husband's sibling'. There is frequent use of the AM term *nōra* referring to the wife of the *raja*, the local headman.

Besides being used in writing, for a long time AM has also been used for composing songs. Currently, several young pop rock singers in Ambon are creating new songs in AM. If a singer

becomes well enough known to move on to the national capital in Jakarta, his songs become more influenced by BI as he accomodates his non-Ambonese audience. The following is a recent pop song, composed by Johny Putuhena. It is one of many songs composed and sung by young Ambonese males and sold on cassette tapes in stores in Amboina.

*Jane Oh...Jane*  
*Nona Batu Gaja*  
*Mata Garida Rambu Pata Mayang*  
*Se biking bet seng sono nona E...*  
*Mulai dari katong baku dapa Oh...Jane*  
*Se biking hati beta*  
*Sioh takaruang sabang hari ale*  
*La tunggu se mangaku nona E...*  
*Beta tunggu-tunggu jua nona E...*  
*Sampe kalo se mangaku beta la badansa*  
*Beta kele beta polo se katong dua badansa*  
*La dansa reggae E... Oh...Jane*  
*Bet pung hati sanang*  
*Le dengar ale su mangaku nona*  
*Deng apa lai ale bilang beta*  
*Sabang hari antar ale nona...*

One of the distinguishing social features of these songs is the proud use of AM. The songs are very well liked in Ambonese society and they are one of the few socially acceptable domains for the creative public expression of AM. In the market one can occasionally find a T-shirt proudly declaring in AM *Beta cinta os lebe* 'I love you more', a phrase from another popular song. In the above song, the phrase *Se biking bet seng sono nona, e...mulai dari katong baku dapa* 'You make me not sleep, girl, ever since we first met' is 'true' AM; it would be expressed very differently in SM.

While AM functions as the L and is considered inferior, less elegant, in relation to BI, AM itself can be considered an H in relation to local Central Moluccan vernaculars. There is often more prestige associated with AM than with Central Moluccan vernaculars. For the speakers of these vernaculars, AM is an 'add-on' language, although often learned at an early age. The domains of language use by second-language speakers of AM are charted in Figure 4.

Everyday village life	vernacular			
Talking to family	vernacular			
Talking to 'outsiders'		AM		
Education			BI	
Political speech			BI	
Talking to officials			BI	
Religion				Arabic/Church Malay

FIGURE 4: IDEAL DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE BY SECOND LANGUAGE SPEAKERS OF AM

Language use in the speech communities of Central Maluku can best be described as multilevel diglossia. Arabic and Church Malay function in specialised domains as the languages of religion. In native AM speech communities, AM is lower in prestige than BI which is used in domains of officialdom. In indigenous vernacular speech communities, the vernaculars have lower prestige than AM which is used as a lingua franca with non-vernacular speakers. This is diagrammed in Figure 5.

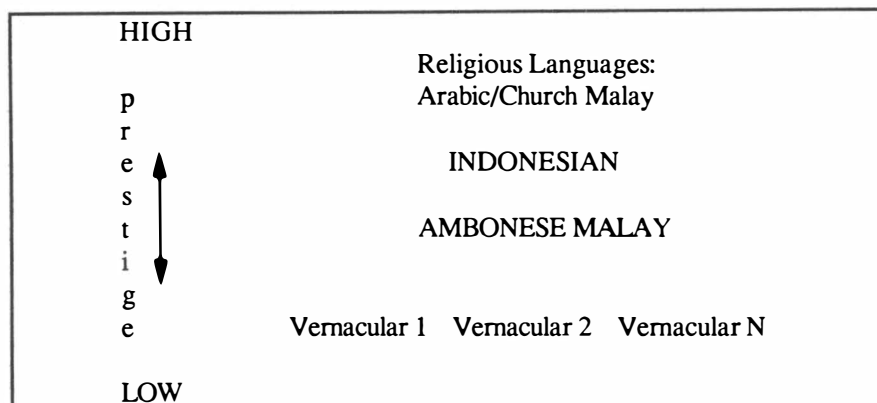


FIGURE 5: MULTILEVEL DIGLOSSIA IN CENTRAL MALUKU

## 5.2 AM AND BI: A CENTRAL MOLUCCAN POST-CREOLE CONTINUUM

In the diglossic setting of Central Maluku one not only hears people speaking 'proper' BI in the H domains and 'pure' AM in the L domains, but one also frequently hears people speaking a mixture of BI and AM. When someone is speaking 'proper' BI it is easily identifiable by the affixation, pronouns and other SM features. Likewise, it is possible to identify when someone is speaking 'pure' AM by the phonology, pronouns, minimal use of affixes, word order and other features unique to AM. However, when people are mixing the two speech forms it is not easy to label speech as either BI or AM. Mixing of AM and BI is especially common when people adjust their speech to accommodate outsiders unfamiliar with AM or when people are in situations requiring them to speak BI but their proficiency is limited and they *lari ka basa Ambong* 'run to AM'.

Mixed speech levels are characteristic of basolect-acrolect continuums, which typically occur when creoles are in contact with their original lexifying language. This can be illustrated by looking at a classic case of a post-creole acrolect-basolect continuum from Jamaica:

The post-creole continuum situation may be illustrated by reference to Jamaica, where, between the 'pure' creole described by Bailey (1966) and the standard Jamaican English, which is on par with all other international forms of standard English, there is a wide range of varieties of English, some nearer the creole end of the spectrum, some nearer the standard end. The two end points are mutually unintelligible but there is no break in the spectrum, and most Jamaicans are adept at manipulating several adjacent varieties of the continuum. There is some correlation between age, education, social status and the section of the spectrum that Jamaicans can command, but rigid correlations cannot be drawn....The effects of Jamaican creole on a speaker's English may be seen in pronunciation, intonation patterns, lexical selection and sentence structure. And these influences may appear singly or in different combinations. It is true that certain lexical items clearly mark the form of language being used; *nyam*, for example, meaning 'eat', occurs only in the speech of creole speakers or in the English of those who have been strongly influenced by the creole. It is, as it were, a shibboleth of standard Jamaican English. Unfortunately for the linguist, very few items are so easily and accurately placed. With most words only a context can show clearly the part of the spectrum they belong to. (Todd 1974:63-65)



Given the mixing of AM and BI that occurs in Central Maluku, it is very helpful to see 'proper' BI and 'pure' AM as *two ends of a spectrum*. Bickerton (1973, 1975) and others have used the terms *acrolect* and *basolect* to label the ends of such a spectrum with the in-between variations called *mesolects*. In the above example Jamaican Creole could be referred to as the basolect, and educated standard Jamaican English as the acrolect. The BI-AM acrolect-basolect continuum is illustrated in Figure 6:

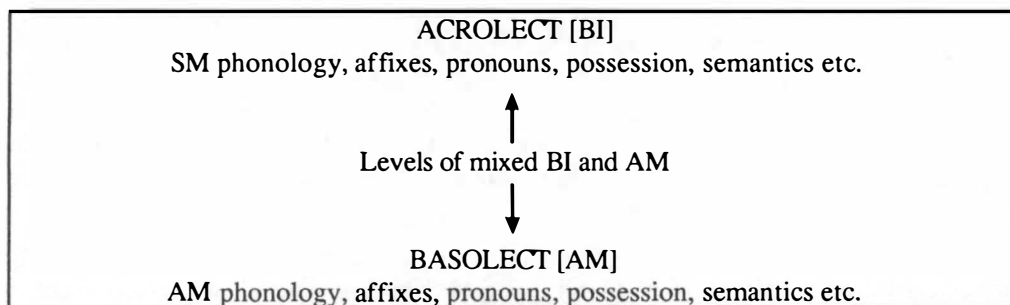


FIGURE 6: BI AND AM AS AN ACROLECT-BASOLECT CONTINUUM

## 6. CONCLUSION: AMBONESE MALAY AS A NATIVISED PIDGIN/CREOLE

Because an acrolect-basolect continuum is characteristic of creoles in their later stages of development, I now address the issue of creolisation in the development of AM. On the basis of the historical, linguistic and sociolinguistic evidence presented in this paper I argue that AM is best characterised as a nativised pidgin or creole. I do so, not because I think AM needs to be given a label of some linguistic typology, but because doing so clarifies both the historical development of AM and its relationship to other varieties of Malay.

Definitions of *pidgin* and *creole* have proliferated in recent times. In the past some definitions of creole or pidgin had purely linguistic criteria, such as the simplification of grammar and tendencies toward universal structure. Definitions at the other end of the spectrum allowed only a specific type of contact situation – such as slave trade – to be diagnostic in defining a pidgin or creole. The approach I am taking to creolisation is along the lines of Thomason and Kaufman (1988:174), who see pidgins as contact languages which develop as the result of mutual linguistic accommodation in a variety of contact situations. Because the goal of the contact situation is communication between speakers of different languages, pidgins do not necessarily have target languages, and do not always continue to be used beyond the initial contact situation. Mühlhäusler (1986:5) gives a concise definition of a pidgin:

Pidgins are examples of partially targeted or non-targeted second-language learning, developing from simpler to more complex systems as communicative requirements become more demanding. Pidgin languages by definition have no native speakers, they are social rather than individual solutions, and hence are characterized by norms of acceptability.

Mühlhäusler has followed here the traditional view in which pidgins are considered to not have native speakers and to be used only as second languages. Creoles are then pidgins which have “become the first language of a new generation of native speakers” (Mühlhäusler 1986:6).

When discussing the process of creolisation it is necessary to distinguish between the length of time involved in the development of the creole. Some contact languages have developed into creoles relatively rapidly by becoming the primary language of a community and gaining first language speakers within one generation. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) use the term *abrupt creole* (called "early-creolised creole" by others) to describe such creoles which develop rapidly. Typically this occurs in situations where members from various linguistic communities are uprooted from their native habitat and, for basic survival, are forced to develop a contact language which becomes their primary language almost immediately and the first language of any of their children born subsequent to the uprooting. Some of the creoles which developed from the slave trade of the West Indies are classic cases of abrupt creoles. On the other hand, in some situations a contact language continues to be used as a pidgin (second language) for a long period of time and only after several generations do native speakers arise. Long established pidgins which only gradually become creoles by gaining native speakers are well labelled *nativised pidgins* by Thomason and Kaufman (1988:108).

The linguistic evidence shows that AM truly is a 'mixed language' with its lexicon and the bulk of its grammatical structure coming from different sources. This linguistic phenomena is characteristic of creoles, but the same phenomena can also come about through other outcomes of language contact. The question then is: "Is AM really a creole?" I argue that yes, AM is a creole, a nativised pidgin. My argument is based primarily on the social history of AM speakers, although the linguistic evidence is relevant and supports my conclusion.

It is important to review here some of the important historical points. During the 15th century, as the world demand for Moluccan spices escalated, Ternate and Banda were incorporated into the Malayo-Moslem trading world. Islam was adopted in Ternate around 1460 and in Banda around 1480. The Malay language gave these crucial trading ports contact with the rest of the Moslem trading world throughout Southeast Asia. The language also had a great degree of 'local usefulness' in the multi-ethnic, multilingual setting of 15th century Maluku. When the Portuguese arrived at the beginning of the 16th century they found Malay used as a lingua franca by both Moslem and non-Moslem speakers from among the many non-intelligible languages in the region. There are numerous reports by the Portuguese that the Malay spoken in Maluku was the same as that of Malacca and, because of this, Portuguese priests learned Malay in Malacca before travelling on to their work in Maluku. It is important to note that in the 15th and 16th centuries there was a strong connection between Maluku and Malacca through both Moslem traders and the Portuguese. Malay was learned as a second language with varying degrees of proficiency by different segments of Central Moluccan societies.

At the beginning of the 17th century the Dutch arrived and soon became embroiled in intense wars to rid the area of all outside traders in order to establish a monopoly on the spice trade. They were also interested in education and, out of necessity, Malay became the contact medium between the Dutch and the Ambonese, who spoke a variety of Central Moluccan languages. Malay was not the mother tongue of either the Dutch or the Ambonese and there would have been little, if any, contact with native Malay speakers in Ambon. Not surprisingly, after 50 or more years in that situation, the Malay spoken in Ambon was recognised as being very different from the Malay spoken in the west. The decree of 1689 which led the Company to introduce "High Malay" into Ambon, can be interpreted as an official recognition of the divergence between AM and SM. The numerous reports of non-intelligibility between AM and SM at the time lead to the conclusion that the Malay spoken in Maluku during the 16th century, when the Portuguese were present in the area, was recognisably second language acquisition of SM. In the 17th century, however, under the settling of the Dutch,

there was much less contact in Maluku with native speakers of Malay and, as it was used almost exclusively for intergroup communication between non-native non-Malay speakers, it became pidginised and non-intelligible with SM.

The 1689 attempt to introduce High Malay into Ambon was only the first of many, but because AM had 'crystallised' or had its own norms of acceptability by that point, and was so divergent from SM, the AM pidgin and SM remained distinct. Over 150 years later in the 19th century certain villages in Central Maluku began to shift from speaking their native languages and the AM pidgin to speaking only AM. For over 200 years AM was thus spoken as a pidgin, distinct from SM. In the 19th century language shift occurred and AM became nativised or, in other words, a creole. AM can thus be characterised as a creole which developed from a long established pidgin, having a Malay-based lexicon with many Central Moluccan grammatical features, as well as numerous lexical borrowings from Portuguese, Dutch and the local languages with which it has come in contact.

Because a study on the creole status of AM has been done previous to this one, it is necessary to explain how in that analysis the conclusion was reached that AM is not a creole, while in my analysis I claim that it is. The approach Collins (1980a) took in his thesis was to compare the syntactic similarities common to known 'genuine' creoles with AM. He noted that "only four specific criteria for creoles in general have been established" (p.35). These were 1) preverbal particles or tactical devices to express aspect and tense, 2) switching of word class, 3) reduplication, 4) lack of copula. After looking at AM in the light of these four features he concluded, "Based on this comparison AM reflects the syntactic characteristics of creoles". He also compared AM to a detailed list of further characteristics of European-based creoles and concluded "characteristics common to these creoles correspond remarkably well to AM features".

Although Collins felt AM met the linguistic criterion of 'established' creoles, this, however, was not his final conclusion. He went on to use the identical linguistic criteria to examine Trengganu Malay, a dialect of Malay on the Malaysian peninsula, the dialect least influenced by foreign elements of all the Malay dialects. When he found that Trengganu Malay also met the criteria of 1) being significantly different from SM, 2) having syntactic properties common to all creoles, and even 3) having some characteristics of European-based creoles, he realised that in using these linguistic criterion one could conclude that Trengganu Malay was also a creole. Because, however, there is no evidence socially or historically to consider Trengganu Malay a creole, he concluded that the state of creole linguistics was, at that time, deficient. His final comments (Collins 1980a:58,59):

The kind of linguistic inter-relatedness and inter-receptivity of Austronesian languages (and perhaps others) defies the simplistic categorization which current creole theory would impose upon them. If we try to use the sociocultural and linguistic criteria of creole theory outside the narrow range of certain contact situations, we flounder. The term creole has no predictive strength. It is a convenient label for linguistic phenomena of a certain time and place but it does not encompass the linguistic processes which are taking place in eastern Indonesia.

Neither AM nor TM [Trengganu Malay] are creoles. Rather they are linguistic reflections of processes far too complex for theories and labels which have been developed within a narrow framework.

Because Trengganu Malay met the linguistic criteria of a creole but could in no way historically or socially be considered a creole, Collins rejected the state of creole theory at that time for being too 'narrow' and concluded that AM was not a creole. He was correct in concluding Trengganu Malay

cannot possibly be a creole: its social history provides no evidence. He was also correct to reject the state of creole linguistics at the time as being too narrow. Today linguistic 'universal features' of creoles are rarely accepted as total evidence of creolisation. In my analysis I have taken creolisation not as something evidenced by universal linguistic features, but as a social and historical phenomena having linguistic consequences. The historical evidence that a unique pidgin AM was spoken in Central Maluku for over 200 years and then eventually creolised in the 19th century is my basis for claiming AM is creole.

## 7. LANGUAGE CONTACT AND THE STUDY OF 'REGIONAL MALAYS'

There are numerous possible linguistic outcomes in language contact situations, and creolisation of course is only one of several possibilities. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:37) present a comprehensive framework for the linguistic results of contact situations. They describe two basic mechanisms for contact-induced language change. The first involves borrowing, which can range from minimal borrowing of a few lexical items to intensive structural borrowing of major grammatical features. When this occurs language maintenance results, albeit in a possibly very changed language. The second mechanism in contact-induced language change involves language shift. Shifting speakers may bring no interference from the language they leave into the target language, or they may bring considerable 'baggage' in the form of interference from their original language into the target language. Both types of interference in a language, borrowing or shift, may affect the entire language, or they may be localised to a given region or speech community. Pidgins and abrupt creoles do not involve 'normal' transmission in the sense that there may be no target language and, if there is, it is not built on as a set of interrelated lexical, phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic structures from a single source (p.146).

Given this type of framework, there are several possibilities in which one can have a language whose lexicon and grammatical structures come from different sources. Extreme structural borrowing of a language that maintains its original lexicon is one possible case. An example of this would be the language of Laha on Ambon, where a small group of speakers surrounded by AM have adopted many AM structural features into their language, yet have maintained a Laha-based lexicon (cf. Collins 1980b). Thomason and Kaufman (1988:75) point out that when this type of persistent language maintenance occurs, it is in the face of relatively strong cultural pressure, which is an adequate description of the relationship between speakers of AM and Laha. The second situation in which the lexicon and grammar of a language can come from two different sources occurs in language shift with extreme cases of interference from the original language. Thomason and Kaufman point out that this occurs frequently in cases where the target language is relatively unavailable to the shifting speakers who, with imperfect learning of the target language, maintain the grammatical structures of their original language. The third possible development of 'mixed' language is through creolisation.

Given these three possible processes, I return to AM. Obviously, the first case, involving structural borrowing with a maintained lexicon did not occur with AM for here it is the lexicon that is foreign and the structure that is 'local'. This leaves two possibilities: either AM developed through normal language shift with the shifting speakers carrying with them considerable Central Moluccan structural baggage, so to speak, or AM is a creole which developed from a long standing pidgin. If we restrict ourselves to examining only the linguistic evidence, either option would be plausible. If, however, we take into account the historical data, the latter is by far the most plausible option.

Thomason and Kauffman (1988:192) point out that language shift and borrowing typically involve only two languages. Pidgins, on the other hand, tend to arise when there is multilingualism. The multilingual situation on Ambon in the past centuries cannot be overlooked. There was no village at Amboina before the Portuguese built their fort there in 1576 and the people who settled around it came from all over Ambon and surrounding islands, both of their own free will and later forced by the VOC. Thus, from its very inception Amboina was a multi-ethnic, multilingual town consisting of Central Moluccans from various ethnic groups, the Portuguese, and later the Dutch. They shared a common language, Malay, but it was no one's first language. When the Dutch arrived in 1605 they cut off or at least decreased the ties with Malacca and Malay traders, and by 1689 the common language spoken in this multilingual setting was officially recognised as divergent and non-intelligible with SM. This divergent Malay continued to be spoken at and around Amboina for around 150 more years as a second language before there started to be speakers for whom it was their first language. In this context, the development of AM as normal language shift plus 'accompanying baggage' does not hold. From the mid 17th century to the mid 19th century *something* was spoken in the multilingual setting of Amboina which was divergent from SM and no one's first language. That I consider to be the pidgin which has become the creole of AM today.

There are several implications from this work for the study of other regional varieties of Malay. While AM was officially recognised as a distinct variety of Malay as early as 1689, various other varieties have also been recognised. In 1876 de Clercq listed as regional 'dialects' of Malay: Ambon, Manado, Ternate, Banda and Kupang. This is by no means an exhaustive list and in recent years the number of Malay varieties recognised and studied has increased dramatically (cf. other articles in this volume). Given the various types of language contact that have occurred with Malay in numerous regions it is very difficult to describe the nature of the inter-relationship of these Malay varieties to each other and to SM. Particularly within the context of Indonesia, these varieties are often referred to as 'substandard' varieties of Indonesian (SM). While such a label does reflect a value judgement, it certainly does not clarify the relationships of these varieties to SM or each other. The term 'creole' has also been applied to numerous of these varieties, and even to SM itself. While I believe AM is a nativised pidgin, and thus a creole I do not see that this is true of every regional variety of Malay. Each variety of Malay has to be considered in the light of the historical and social situation in which it has been and is currently used.

Many regional varieties of Malay may have a Malay lexicon with varying degrees of influence in the grammar and phonology from local languages and there are various ways the language could have arrived at that state. To take one example which has not developed through creolisation, Wolff (1988:87) describes the "Indonesian dialect of the Peranakan Chinese of East Java" as "Javanese which has been subject to a process of relexification". Another way of saying the same thing is to say that the Chinese of East Java have shifted from Javanese to Malay/Indonesian (SM) with significant structural interference or carry-over from Javanese into the Malay they speak, forming a distinct variety of Malay spoken by a socially bound group of speakers.

From only a cursory look we can see that regional Malays can develop in different ways and that 'variety' must be considered in the light of the social history of its own speakers. Ambonese Malay has developed through the process of creolisation after 200 plus years as a pidgin. The Chinese of East Java speak a variety of Malay that has heavy structural interference from Javanese which occurred in the normal process of language shift, without any pidginisation or creolisation. Makassarese Malay as described by Steinhauer (1988) is only spoken as a second language. In South Sulawesi there has been language maintenance of the local languages, although as speakers of

these languages learn Malay as a second language there is considerable interference from their local languages, making Makassarese Malay also a distinct variety of Malay.

Because of the complexity of language contact it is not possible to talk about Malay without referring to specific speakers, where they lived and when they lived. Only in looking at the social history of the speakers of the numerous regional varieties of Malay can we correctly interpret the relationship of the languages they speak to SM and to each other. A perpetual comparison of word lists will tell us little about their unique history and development.

## APPENDIX

### ARGENSOLA'S ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST PORTUGUESE ENCOUNTER IN CENTRAL MALUKU

The Barbarians thus surpris'd, reflecting on their Mismanagement, and perceiving they were lost Men, gave over the thoughts of robbing, and had recourse to Intreaties, throwing down their Bows and Arrows, and begging they would not leave them in that Island, but rather take pity, and pardon what they had done, and promising, if he would carry them off, to conduct him to another place, where Strangers were well receiv'd, and there was Trade. Serrano granted their Request, and admitted them, and having repair'd the shatter'd Junck, and Embarking together, they directed their Course to the Island of Amboyna, where they were well receiv'd by the People of Rucutelo, who were ancient Enemies to those of Veranula, a Neighboring City of Batochina, with whom those of Rucutelo coming to a Battle, they obtain'd the Victory, through the Assistance of the New-comers. The Fame of their Success flew over to the Molucco Islands, at the Time when Bolelyfe Reign'd in Ternate, and Almanzor in Tydore, who were bothe not long before Idolaters, and then Mahometans. These two were at Variance about the Limits of their Dominions, and understanding that the Portuguesc were at Amboyna, each of them desiring to Strengthen himself against his Enemy, sent Embassadors, and Ships, to invite, and bring over to them those Foreign Soldiers; thinking it also convenient upon other accounts, to enter into Alliance with those People, whose great Actions were then so fresh in the Mouths of all Men. Bolelyfe was quicker than Almanzor, and sent them Ships for Serrano, with a Thousand well Arm'd Soldiers for their Defence, the whole under the Command of his Kinsman Cachil Coliba. The Tydore Embassadors return'd from Rucutelo disappointed. It is but a short Cut between Amboyna and Ternate, and therefore Bolelyfe's Ships soon return'd with the Portugueses. That King went out attended by his Subjects, to receive the new Guests; all of them concluding, That they went to see the fulfilling of their so long expected Prophecy. Serrano Landed in bright white Armour, and his Companions in the same manner. When the King saw them, he embrac'd every Man, with a Countenance full of Pleasure and Admiration, shedding Tears, and lifting up his Hands to Heaven, bless'd God, and gave hearty Thanks, for that he had granted him to see that which had been Predicted so many Years before. 'These', said he, 'my Friends, are the Warriors you have so long wish'd for, on account of my Prophecy. Honour them, and let us all vie in Entertaining them; since the Grandeur of our Country depends on their Arms.' The Portugueses, well pleas'd to be thought worthy of a Prophecy, the Belief whereof was a Politick Invention, conducting to their Reputation, made no less Courteous Returns, expressing their singular Affection. They setteled Amity, and Trade in the Moluccos; whence they spread it to the adjacent, and remoter Islands.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABDURACHMAN, Paramita R.**, 1972, *Some Portuguese loanwords in the vocabulary of speakers of Ambonese Malay in Christian villages of Central Moluccas*. Jakarta: Lembaga Research Kebudayaan Nasional - LIPI.
- ALISJAHBANA, S. Takdir**, 1956, *Sedjarah Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka Rakjat.
- ARGENSOLA, Bartholomew J. Leonardo y**, 1708, *The discovery and conquest of the Molucco and Philippine Islands*. London. (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1982.)
- BAILEY, Beryl**, 1966, *Jamaican Creole syntax: a transformational approach*. Cambridge: University Press.
- BAXTER, ALAN N.**, 1988, *A grammar of Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese)*. PL, B-95.
- BICKERTON, Derek**, 1973, The nature of a creole continuum. *Language* 49/3, 640-669.
- 1975, *Dynamics of a creole system*. Cambridge: University Press.
- 1981, *Roots of language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.
- BLUST, Robert**, 1978, Eastern Malayo-Polynesian: a subgrouping argument. In Wurm and Carrington, eds 1978:181-234.
- BOETZELAER van Asperen en Dubbeldam, C.W. Th. Baron van**, 1941, De geschiedenis van de maleische bijbelvertaling in Nederlandsch-Indië. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 100:27-48.
- BOXER, C.R.**, 1968, *Four centuries of Portuguese expansion, 1415-1825: a succinct survey*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- BRUGMANS, I.J.**, 1938, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië*. Batavia/Groningen: Wolters.
- CLERCQ, F.S.A. de**, 1876, *Het Maleisch der Molukken*. Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
- COLLINS, James T.**, 1974, Catatan ringkas tentang Bahasa Ambon. *Dewan Bahasa* 18, 151-162.
- 1980a, *Ambonese Malay and creolization theory*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- 1980b, Laha, a language of the Central Moluccas. *Indonesia Circle* 23, November:3-19.
- 1981, Pertembungan linguistik di Indonesia Timur: Bahasa Melayu Ambon dan Bahasa Asilulu di Pulau Ambon. *Dewan Bahasa* 25/7, 30-55.
- 1983a, *The historical relationships of the languages of Central Maluku, Indonesia*. PL, D-47.
- 1983b, Syntactic change in Ambonese Malay: the possessive construction. In James T. Collins, ed. *Studies in Malay dialects*, part 2: *Malay dialects in Indonesia*. NUSA 17, 28-41.
- COLLINS, James T.**, ed., 1983, *Studies in Malay dialects*. 2 parts. NUSA 16 and 17. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA.
- COOLEY, F.L.**, 1961, Altar and throne in Central Moluccan societies: a study of the relationship between the institutions of religion and the institutions of local government in a traditional society undergoing rapid social change. PhD thesis, Yale University, New Haven.
- ENKLAAR, I.**, 1960, *Joseph Kam, Rasul Maluku*. Djakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen.
- FASOLD, Ralph**, 1984, *The sociolinguistics of society*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- FERGUSON, Charles**, 1959, Diglossia. *Word* 15:325-340.
- FISHMAN, Joshua**, 1967, Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 32:29-38.
- FOX, James J.**, 1987, Southeast Asian religions: insular cultures. In M. Eliade et al., eds *The encyclopedia of religion*, 520-527. New York: Macmillan.
- FRAASSEN, Ch. F. van**, 1983, Historical introduction, in K. Polman, *The Central Moluccas: an annotated bibliography*, 1-59. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- FRANCA, A. Pinto da**, 1970, *Portuguese influence in Indonesia*. Djakarta: Gunung Agung.
- GIVÓN, Talmy**, 1979, Prolegomena to any sane creology. In Hancock, ed. 1979:3-35.
- GRAAF, H.J. de**, 1977, *De geschiedenis van Ambon en de Zuid-Molukken*. Franeker: Wever.
- GRIMES, Barbara F.**, ed., 1984, *Ethnologue*. Tenth edition. Dallas, TX: Wycliffe Bible Translators.

- GRIMES, Charles E., 1985, Ambonese Malay: a brief orientation. *Bits & Pieces* April 1985, 14-28. Abepura: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- HANCOCK, Ian, ed., 1979, *Readings in creole studies*. Ghent, Belgium: Story-Scientia.
- HIGHFIELD, Arnold and Albert VALDMAN, eds, 1981, *Historicity and variation in creole studies*. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.
- HOËVELL, G.W.W.C. van, 1875, *Ambon en meer bepaaldelijk de Oeliasers*. Dordrecht: Blussé en van Braam.
- 1876, *Vocabularium van vreemde woorden, voorkomende in het Ambonsch-Maleisch*. Dordrecht: Blussé en van Braam.
- 1877, Iets over de vijf voornaamste dialecten der Ambonsche landtaal (bahasa tanah). *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië* 24:1-136.
- HYMES, Dell, ed., 1971, *Pidginization and creolization of languages*. Cambridge: University Press.
- JACOBS, Hubert, 1971, *A treatise on the Moluccas (c.1544)....* Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome. St Louis, MO: St Louis University.
- 1974-84, *Documenta Malucensia*, vols.1-3. Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute.
- JOEST, W., 1892, Malayische Lieder und Tänzer aus Ambon und den Uliase. *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 5:1-34.
- KAAM, B. van, 1980, *The South Moluccans: background to the train hijackings*. London: Hurst.
- KOTYNSKI, Edward, 1985, A lexicostatistic survey of the Lease Islands. Pattimura University and Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.
- KROESKAMP, H., 1974, *Early schoolmasters in a developing country: a history of experiments in school education in 19th century Indonesia*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- LAPIAN, A.B., 1965, Beberapa tjatatan mengenai djalan dagang maritim ke Maluku sebelum abad XVI. *Madjalah Ilmu-ilmu Sastra Indonesia* 3/1:63-78.
- LEIRISSA, R.Z., Z.J. MANUSAMA, A.B. LAPIAN and P.R. ABDURACHMAN, eds, 1982, *Maluku Tengah di masa lampau: gambaran sekilas lewat arsip abad sembilan belas*. Jakarta: Arsip National.
- LUDEKING, E.W.A., 1868, *Schets van de Residentie Amboina*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- MÜHLHÄUSLER, Peter, 1986, *Pidgin and creole linguistics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- PIRES, Tomé, 1944, *Suma Oriental: an account of the east, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515*. Translated and edited by A. Cortesão. 2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society.
- PRENTICE, D.J., 1978, The best chosen language. *Hemisphere* 22/3:18-13; 22/4:28-33.
- REID, Anthony, 1984, The Islamization of Southeast Asia. In Muhammad Abu Bakar et al., eds *Historia: essays in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the Department of History, University of Malaya*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya.
- RUMPHIUS, G.E., 1741, *Herbarium Amboinense (...). Het Amboinsche Kruid-boek (...)*. vol.1. Amsterdam.
- STEINHAEUER, H., 1988, Malay in East Indonesia: The case of Macassarese Malay. In Mohd. Thani Ahmad and Zaini Mohamed Zain, eds *Rekonstruksi dan cabang-cabang Bahasa Melayu Induk*, 108-151. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- TEEUW, A., 1961, *A critical survey of studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia*. Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Bibliographical Series 5. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- THOMASON, Sarah G. and Terrence KAUFMAN, 1988, *Language contact, creolization and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- TODD, Loreto and Peter MÜHLHÄUSLER, 1978, Idiomatic expressions in Cameroon Pidgin English and Tok Pisin. *PL*, A-54, 1-35.
- TRAVIS, Edgar, 1986, A lexicostatistic survey of Ambon Island. Pattimura University and Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.
- VALDMAN, Albert, ed., 1977, *Pidgin and creole linguistics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.



- VALENTYN, François**, 1724-1726, *Van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*. 8 vols. Amsterdam Dordrecht: Van Braam.
- VALKHOFF, Marius F.**, 1972, *New light on Afrikaans and 'Malayo-Portuguese'*. Louvain: Peeters.
- WHEATLEY, Paul**, 1961, *The golden Khersonese: studies in the historical geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.
- WOLFF, J.U.**, 1988, The contribution of Banjar Masin Malay to the reconstruction of Proto-Malay. In Mohd. Thani Ahmad and Zaini Mohamed Zain, eds *Rekonstruksi dan cabang-cabang Bahasa Melayu Induk*, 85-98. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- WURM, S.A. and Lois CARRINGTON**, eds, 1978, *Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics: proceedings*. PL. C-61.

