The use of local Malay and Woirata in social media

Nazarudin

Universitas Indonesia
Leiden University Center for Linguistics
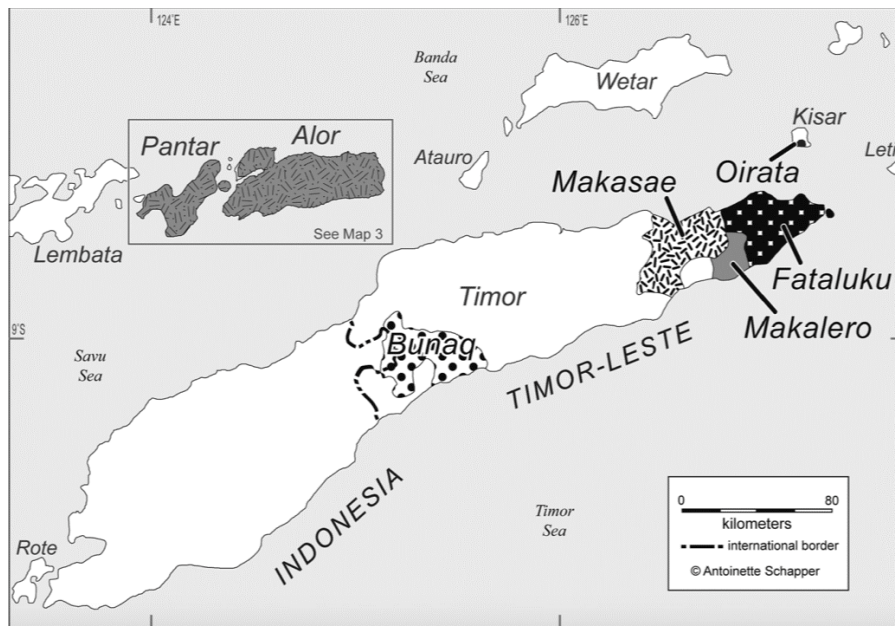
In this study, I investigated the language used by the Woirata community on Kisar Island in the Facebook groups "Putra Putri Oirata" and "Keluarga Manheri Mauhara". I classified the language used in the posts and comments on each Facebook group to capture the language repertoires of the Woirata people on social media. The data show that the Woirata community uses a different variety in different domains: formal Indonesian for obituaries and politics, local Malay (MTJ, or Far East Malay) for daily conversations and comments on politics, and Woirata for self-expressive comments. Younger users employ innovative orthography understood only among the younger MTJ users, boasting about their creativity. From the data, it can be seen that they have developed a new lingua franca on the Internet that can be defined as a new "writing orality".

1. Introduction[1]

Woirata is an indigenous language spoken on Kisar Island located in Maluku Province in Indonesia. It is closely related to Fataluku (Timor-Leste) and belongs to the East Timor subgroup of the Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) language family, together with Makalero and Makasai (Schapper, Huber & Engelenhoven 2012). It has approximately 1,566 speakers (Nazarudin 2015).

Another indigenous language spoken on Kisar Island is Meher, with more than 10,000 speakers (Nazarudin 2015). Meher forms a community larger than Woirata and is also spoken on Romang Island and in Kisar settlements throughout Indonesia, Wetar Island, and Ambon, Kupang, and Jakarta. This language belongs to the Luangic-Kisaric branch of the Central Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian family (Engelenhoven 2009).

Map 1. The Extent of the Timor Alor Pantar Family (Schapper 2017)

Apart from the speakers of the two indigenous languages mentioned above, the Ambonese, Javanese, Chinese Indonesian, Buginese, and other people from surrounding areas also live on Kisar Island. They all speak their own languages. A regional variety of Malay, which Engelenhoven calls Melayu Tenggara Jauh "Far East Malay" (MTJ, hereinafter), functions as a local lingua franca all over Kisar Island. Of course, in addition to Indonesian being the national language, it is also used as the standard language for education.

MTJ could be considered a Pidgin Malay Derived contact language in Southwest Moluccas and a trade language beyond. Engelenhoven (2015) argued that MTJ is a contact language among some 65,000 people in the Southwest Moluccas in the Luang and Babar Archipelago, on Leti, Moa, and Lakor, and on Kisar, Wetar, Damar, and Roma. These people also use MTJ in their trade dealings with East Timorese. The characteristics of this contact language are (1) clause chaining through a clitic element *la* 'then', (2) the formation of nouns with instrumental meaning through reduplication, (3) the use of terms of address belonging to the hearer's language, and (4) the stacking of deictic elements after the head noun (Engelenhoven 2015).

The aim of this study was twofold. First, I examined the sociolinguistic situation of Woirata based on a survey that I conducted in 2014. Second, I investigated language use in Facebook group comments made by Woirata speakers. I classified the language used in the Facebook group to identify the language repertoires of the Woirata people on social media and to describe the Malay colloquial written form. Some members of the Woirata Facebook group live outside of Kisar Island, for example, in Ambon, Kupang, or Jakarta. Therefore, we can see the collective language knowledge of Woirata speakers across Indonesia, not only of those who use Woirata as their everyday language but also of those who use Woirata as their heritage language. The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. After providing an overview of sociolinguistic situation in Woirata in Section 2, we observe language use in social media in section 3. In section 4, we analyze the data given in previous sections. Section 5 is a conclusion.

2. Sociolinguistic situation in Woirata

In Woirata, the village community is divided into several clans,[2] each of which consists of several lineages.[3] At least seven clans in Woirata are presently attested, and their oral history confirms this. These are Hano'o, Selewaku, Irara, Hayao, Paumodo, Audoro, and Hunlori. Jong (1937:5) also listed these clans as Woirata. Three live in West Oirata (Oirata Barat), and the other four live in East Oirata (Oirata Timur).

Hano'o is the most prominent clan, followed by Selewaku, Audoro, Hayao, Irara, and Hunlori, and Paumodo is the smallest clan in number. West Woirata consists of three clans, namely Hayao, Irara, and Audoro, while, East Woirata consists of the four clans Hano'o, Selewaku, Hunlori, and Paumodo.

I conducted sociolinguistic surveys with 83 respondents in West Woirata and East Woirata villages on Kisar Island in 2014. Their ages range between 27 and 100 years old and the age average was 53 years. I picked representatives from all seven clans mentioned above.

The questionnaire used for the survey was adapted from a questionnaire created by the Max Planck Institute Jakarta Field Station (Cohn et al. 2013).[4] This questionnaire was divided into several sections: background information, language repertoire, language-use-related, and language-attitude-related questions.

The questionnaire responses were then analyzed using FileMaker Pro software to plot graphics from the data. The other plot was done using R software for cross-variable analysis, such as counting the average age of the respondents and plotting it with their first and second language. Therefore, the first step was to input the data into FileMaker Pro and then export the data into a CSV file. The second step was to plot the primary data using FileMaker Pro. Finally, the third step was to plot different data variables using R. Figure 1 shows how the coding for the plotting (age and language) was performed in R software.

---

[2] In the Woirata language a "clan" is called *pada*, while in MJT, some refer to it *soa*.

[3] In Woirata, they call it *koto*, but they often use MJT *matarumah* to refer to this term.

[4] The questionnaire was created during a collaborative study conducted by researchers at the Center for the Study of Language and Culture (PKBB), Atma Jaya and Jakarta Field Station, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Cohn et al. 2013).
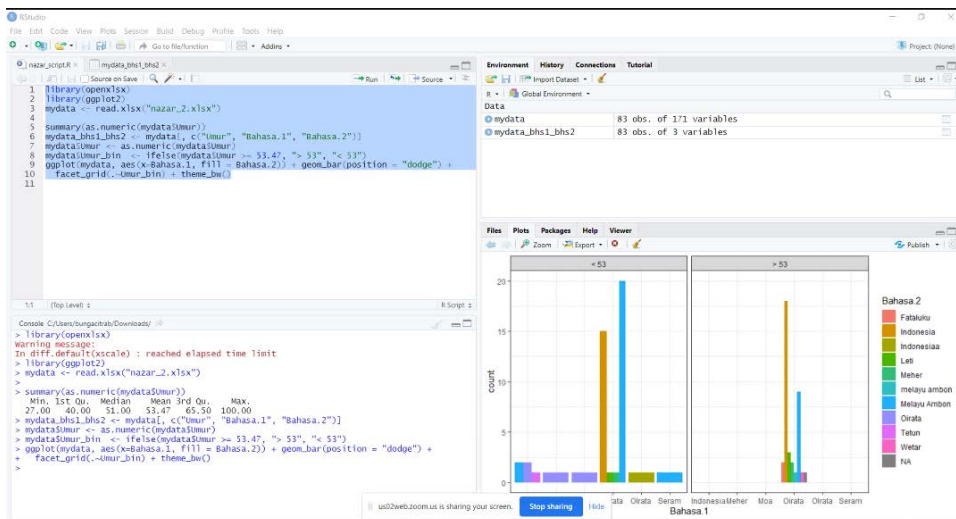
Figure 1. Data Plotting with R

Figure 2. shows first Language of the Woirata community. It shows that among 83 respondents, those older than 53 years (i.e., the average age of the respondents) stated that they used Woirata as their first language. In contrast, speakers younger than 53 years old were more diverse, even though they mostly stated that Woirata was their first language. Of those who reported Woirata as their first language, many younger speakers reported MJT (or Melayu Ambon to use their term)[5] as their second language, while many among the older generation reported Indonesian (or Bahasa Indonesia to use their term) as their second language. Not many of them reported a neighboring language, such as Leti and Leher, as their second language, but more older speakers did so than younger ones.

---

[5] As indicated in the Introduction, this paper refers to the Lingua Franca Malay used in the region including Kisar as MTJ (which stands for Melayu Tenggara Jauh). However, this is a label almost exclusively used by linguists; its speakers refer to their Malay variants with the label of Bahasa Ambon or Melayu Ambon, which they used in their responses. While acknowledging that the referents of these two labels vary from researcher to researcher or from speaker to speaker in the region, this paper assumes them to be interchangeable.
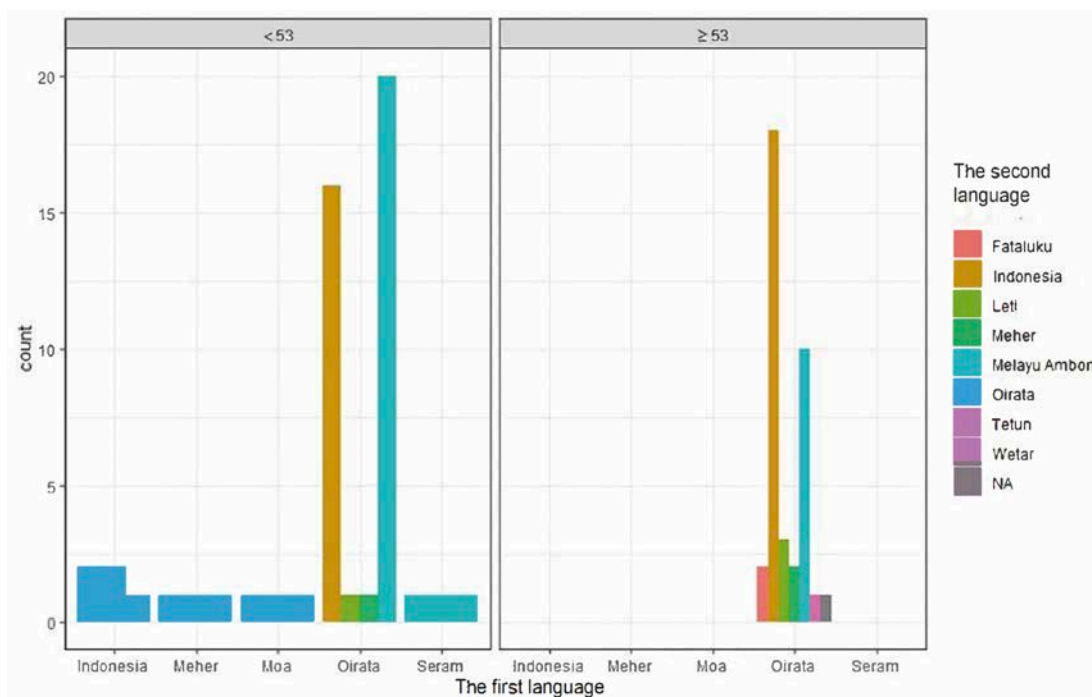
Figure 2. First Language of the Woirata community (Nazarudin in preparation)

At the time of the survey, Kisar Islanders' access to the Indonesian language was limited, but it did exist. Unlike any other area near the border of Indonesia, there is no local radio station on Kisar Island. They also did not have any local newspapers because their locations are too far from the center of Maluku Province: It took at least three days by ship to travel to Ambon, the capital city of Maluku Province. Moreover, since the independence of East Timor, it has taken around one night by ship to travel to Kupang, the capital city of Nusa Tenggara Timor Province. However, they still have television access if not up-to-date newspapers. Thus, when the electricity is on, they usually watch Indonesian soap operas on TV with their families during the evenings and watch the news together. They even collect money from the village office to rent a small generator to watch soccer.

Table 1 shows the responses to language-use-related questions, that is, questions about language use for different purposes. The results show that the respondents used Indonesian or MTJ exclusively for non-oral communication, including short message service (SMS, hereafter).

Table 1. Surveys related to digital literacy

Purpose	Woirata	Meher	Indonesian	MTJ	Mix	N/A
Reading newspaper	–	–	60	1	–	8
Sending SMS to the family	–	–	21	20	–	–
Sending SMS to friends	–	–	21	20	–	–
Sending SMS to spouse	–	–	22	16	–	–

This section has so far shown a diglossic situation in Woirata (see Nazarudin 2015). Although the results of the survey shown above suggest that Indonesian and MTJ are equally dominant, the author's observations of the speakers' daily lives reveal that MTJ is much more commonly used than Indonesian. MTJ seems to have infiltrated the territory of the indigenous minority languages. Younger speakers use MTJ not only for inter-ethnic communication but also for talking with their family members and close friends with the same mother tongue. Therefore, we could say that competition exists among the languages spoken on Kisar Island.

3. Language Use on Facebook Groups

In the 2014 survey mentioned in Section 2, only a small number of Woirata people in Kisar used the Internet, and therefore social media such as social networking service (SNS, hereafter) represented by Facebook or WhatsApp. This is because there was no stable electricity in the area yet, and the signal for mobile phones was limited.

However, there have been significant changes since the end of 2015. The internet access has reached the island because of the government's policy for developing internet networks in remote areas. Today, everyone on the island can use the internet through their mobile phones.

One of the remarkable initiatives is the creation of the website of *Desa* (administrative village), in which they put content related to village information and identity. The West Woirata Village website can be accessed at http://oiratabarat.desa.id/.

The internet connects the Woirata people who live on Kisar Island and those who live outside the island. Interestingly, it triggered social media use and raised identity awareness among the Woirata people, which has led to the emergence of social media among the Woirata to revitalize their home language. There are at least two large Facebook groups in which Woirata people are involved. One is "Putra Putri Oirata" (hereinafter, PPO; https://www.facebook.com/groups/170030659698515), and the other is "Belajar Bahasa Kisar Meher dan Oirata" (hereinafter, BBKMO; https://www.facebook.com/groups/247688572397275).[6]

Picture 1 shows the front page of the latter Facebook group, where the members could post questions or share their knowledge in the Meher and Woirata languages.

---

[6] PPO is the largest Facebook group in which Woirata people are involved, with 1,238 members.
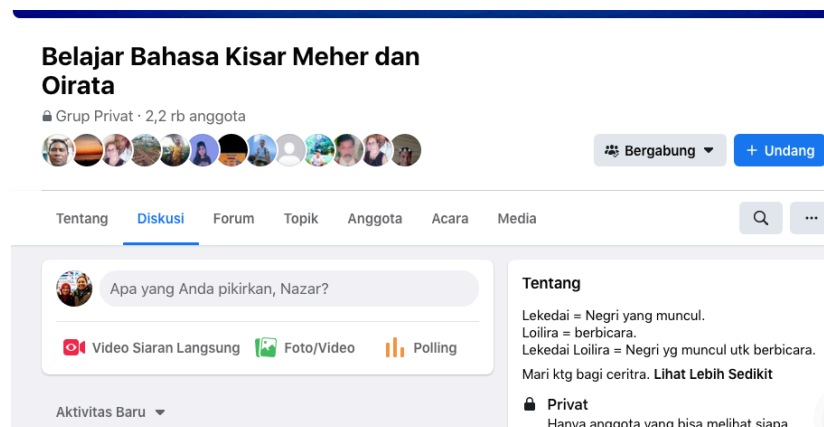
**Picture 1. Facebook group "Belajar Bahasa Kisar dan Oirata"
for people from Kisar Island**

Since 2015, I have been interacting with Woirata people through the Facebook pages mentioned above and regularly chatting with Woirata speakers through Facebook messenger and WhatsApp. I have used the "digital ethnography" approach to observe and compile data from the social media group of the Woirata community. Pink et al. (2016) mentions that digital ethnography outlines an approach to ethnography in the contemporary world. Digital ethnography also explores the consequences of the presence of digital media in shaping the techniques and processes through which we practice ethnography and accounts for how the digital, methodological, practical, and theoretical dimensions of ethnographic research are increasingly intertwined.

Since 2015, the roles of younger speakers in leading the cultural revitalization program have increased. Therefore, in 2018, some of the university students from Woirata or Meher community on Kisar Island, who studied in Ambon, created a collaborative platform called the Yotowawa Media Center. They also created the website https://www.yotowawa.com/ and tools to document their cultures and language. It contains information regarding the culture, tourism, and dictionaries of both languages used on Kisar Island, namely Meher and Woirata.

I collected data from the social media platforms mentioned above and then classified the data based on the language use domains: religious, cultural, and daily communication. The religious domain mostly consists of the invitation of the community for worship or obituaries. The cultural domain is mostly related to posts on *adat* announcements, such as marriage announcements (*yawanin pai*) or other announcements related to Woirata cultural activities. The "daily communication" domain includes all posts not included in the previous two domains. Facebook groups usually use "#" (hashtags) to identify the topics of most posts.

Some of the sentence examples are qualitatively analyzed, glossed, and described. From the glossing, I also describe what language is used in the example. In this section, I present samples of five posts with comments from PPO and two posts from BBKMO.

It is interesting to see the interactions among the community members of two different ethnic groups, namely Woirata and Meher, in the BBKMO Facebook group. The younger generations from these two groups collaborated to create a platform for both languages. Picture 3, an excerpt of which is shown in Example (1), shows how one member of that Facebook group requested other members to participate in their documentation project

from yotowawa.com by registering themselves and collecting words and sentences on the website. The post can be classified into the daily communication domain and is delivered in MTJ.

(1)   Basudara   semua   bisa   tolong   baku.bantu   isi   data   ini
      brother/sister   all   can   please   REC.help   fill   data   this
      'All Brothers and Sisters, could you please help (us) to fill this data.'
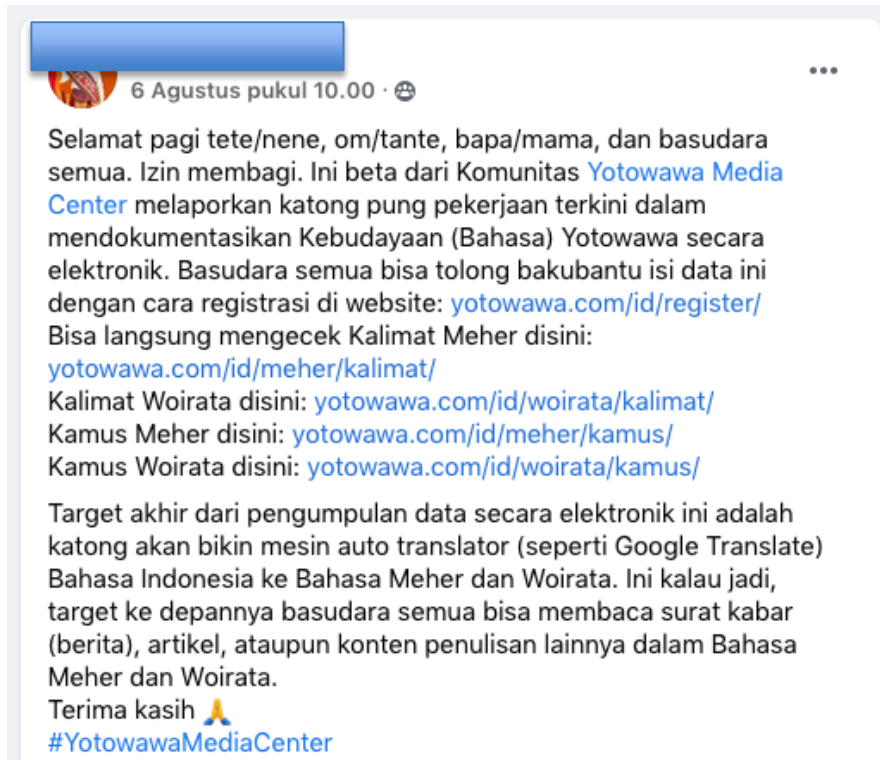
**Picture 2. Request for word crowd-sourcing for dictionary making
in Woirata and Meher**

Excerpts (2)–(4) are all announcements of worship events in one of the Woirata community houses in Ambon and are therefore considered to belong to the religious domain. These posts are written in standard Indonesian, presumably because they are dedicated to members of Ikatan Keluarga Manheri (IKMM),[7] that is, an organization for the diaspora of Woirata community members who mostly live in Ambon city.

(2)   Syaloom   diberitahukan   bahwa   ibadah   IKMM   dilaksanakan
      greeting   PASS-announce   that   worship   IKMM   held
      pada   hari   Minggu   sore
      PREP   day   Sunday   afternoon
      'Greetings! I announce that the IKMM worship will be held on Sunday afternoon.'

---

[7] IKMM is an organization for the diaspora of Woirata community members who mostly live in the Ambon city.

(3) bertempat Di   Kel   Somarwain belakang Gereja   Anugerah
     took.place LOC   family Somarwain behind   church   Anugerah
     'It took place in the Somarmain family's house behind the Anugerah church.'

(4) Mohon   kehadirannya dan   mohon diteruskan kepada yg   lain
     wish   presence   and   wish   forward   to   which   other
     Trima.kasih
     thank.you
     'Please be present and forward the message to others, thank you!'

Examples (5)–(7) are excerpts from obituary posts on Facebook and comments on those obituaries. In these excerpts, MTJ and standard Indonesian are mixed. The original post (5) is written in standard Indonesian, as seen from the word *menyayangi*   with   the prefix *meN-* indicating active voice and the suffix *-i* indicating applicative, while Excerpts (6) and (7) are the comments written in MTJ, such as the word *lebe* 'more' and *katong* '1pl' in Excerpt (6) and *su* 'already' and *kstinggal,* which is an abbreviation of *kasih tinggal* 'to let (someone) stay'.

(5) keluarga   besar   Ratuilwaly sangat   menyayangi mama   Ota tapi
     family   big   Ratuilwaly really   love   mother   Ota but
     Tuhan   lbh   menyayangi
     God   more   love
     'The big family of Ratuilwaly loves you so much, but God loves you more, Mama Ota.'

(6) Katong   saygng Oma   tp   Tuhan lebe   sygg   Oma
     1PL   love   grandma but   God   more   love   grandma
     'We love you grandma, but God loves you more.'

(7) Oma   su   phe   kstinggl   ktong eee Slmat jalan Oma
     grandma   already have.been   give.stay   1SG   Dis good.bye   Grandma
     ota
     Ota
     'You have allowed me to stay, goodbye Grandma Ota.'

The SNS-specific notation in Excerpts (5)–(7) is also interesting. It seems that a type of writing convention has already been established, as seen in *kstinggl* (read *kasi tinggal*) in Excerpt (7). However, Excerpt (7) shows the abbreviation *phe* for the word *pernah* 'have been', which is not common either in MTJ or standard Indonesian,[8] which shows the creativity of the writers.

Excerpt (8), which is also a comment on an obituary, is an example of a mixture of the MTJ and standard Indonesian. The clitic *la* 'then' exhibits a characteristic MTJ feature, while the verbs *meninggal* 'passed away' and *berduka* 'grieve' exhibit features of standard Indonesian.

---

[8] A more commonly used abbreviation for *pernah* 'have been' is *pnh*.

(8)   sapa   yg   meninggal   la   turut   berduka   cita
      who   which   die   then   follow   grieve   mind
      'Who has passed away? I give my condolences.'

Excerpt (9) is cited from the post sharing an article titled *Merasa Dirugikan, Ratusan Masyarakat Desa Oirata "Sasi" Sumber Air* "Feeling treated unfairly, hundreds of Woirata people sealed the water source" on the news website "TitaStory" and the comments on it. The comments in Excerpts (9b) and (9c), which can be classified as the "political domain," are expressed in MTJ.

(9)   a   merasa   dirugikan   ratusan   masyarakat   desa   oirata   sasi   sumber
          feel   harmed   hundreds people   village oirata   sasi   source
          air
          water
          'Hundreds of Woirata people sealed the water source because they are treated unfairly'

      b   bicarakan   bae-bae   jua   dgn   pemerintah   daerah   …
          discuss   nice-RED   also   with   government   local   …
          '(Try to) discuss it carefully with the local government …'

      c   enak   saja   eee   bangun   pipanisasi   seng   sampe   Woirata   …
          good   also   Dis   built   pipe   NEG   until   Woirata   …
          'No way, eee, (you) build the (water) pipe, not until Woirata …'

      d   lalu   mata   air   dari   Woirata
          then   eye   water   from   Woirata
          '(but) then (you took) the water source from Woirata.'

Excerpt (10a) is an excerpt of the post for a missing person search, and Excerpt (10b) is a response to it; both of these can be classified into the daily communication domain. It is interesting to see how they communicate using two different varieties of local Malay. The negation *tra* in Excerpt (9) is commonly used in Papuan Malay, and the negation *seng* in Excerpt (10) is very common in MTJ. The mixture shows that the Facebook community functions as a platform for people of Woirata origin who presently belong to various regional or linguistic communities.

(10) a orang   tenggara   bnyak   d   ambon   situ   tra   bisa   lihat
        person   southeast   a.lot   PREP   ambon   there   NEG   able   see
        ontua   k
        old.person INT
        'there are many Southeastern people in Ambon, can they not see him?'

     b seng   tau   lai
        NEG   know   again
        'well, I don't know.'

Excerpts (11) and (12), which show the interactions between Woirata speakers, reveal a mixture of the Woirata language and MTJ. The writer of Excerpt (11) uses Woirata words, such as the definite article *te*, the interrogative word *tarha* 'how many', and the noun *wadu* 'day', and that of Excerpt (12) responds with a full Woirata expression.

Interestingly, these two sentences use different writing conventions, as seen in *wadu* and *watu*. In this example, the retroflex sound /ʈ/ in Woirata is sometimes written with a *d* or a *t*. Meanwhile, they used *d* more than they used *t* in the non-digital writing convention.

(11) oh   barang   kegiatan   te   tgl   tarha   la   wadu   tarha
     dm   things   activity   DEF   date   how.many   then   day   how.many
     'Ah, when is the event date? What day and how long?'

(12) watu   utu   ra
     day   three   Dis
     '(It is) the third.'

Excerpts (13a) and (13b) show posts about something related to expressions about God. Meanwhile, the comments in Excerpts (13c), (13d), and (13e) are their reactions and could be considered greetings among members in Woirata. These posts show how they also reacted and how they communicate in the Woirata language among themselves in this Facebook group.

> Ratlapai e Ate alwas yani
> tartei tono ante E yani ti walase pa Rattlapai e Ate alwasyani...
> ..
>
> 👍 Like   💬 Comment   ➤ Share
>
> 🔵 4   ✔ Seen by 41
>
> ▰▰▰▰▰▰ Mari watu ani ra.
> February 6, 2014 at 1:32am · Like · 👍1
>
> ▰▰▰▰▰▰ Yo matahi ra hele ee
> February 6, 2014 at 1:40am · Like · 👍2
>
> ▰▰▰▰▰ Mari Wathu tede an ra
> February 6, 2014 at 9:27am · Like

(13) a Ratlapai ate   al   was.yani
         God   2SG   to   really.good
         'God is really good to you.'

      b tartei tono ante e   yani-n   ti   walase-pa
         when   will 1SG   2SG   kind-NMLZ   DEF   repay-INT
         'When will I (can) repay Your kindness?'

      c yo   ma.tahi   ra   hele   ee
         yes   truly.right indeed   friend   dm
         'Yes, that is right, friend.'

      d mari watu ani   ra
         POSS day   INT   indeed
         'There is time, really.'

      e mari wathu tede an(i) ra
         POSS day   also EXT   indeed
         'There is time also, really.'

Excerpts (14a) and (14b) are cited from a post announcing religious worship. They show code-switching from Woirata into standard Indonesian. The first part in Excerpt (14a), in which the writer addresses the readers, is written in Woirata, while the latter part, which shows the body of the announcement, is written in standard Indonesian.

(14) a Nara2   Hara2   upupur   tour2u
         mother.PL   father.PL   family.RED.PL   relative.RED.PL
         'Ladies and gentlemen, family and relatives…'

      b Ibadah   IKMM   esok   di   rumah   Kel.   F. de Queljoe
         worship   IKMM   tomorrow   Prep   house   family   F. de Queljoe
         'IKMM praise and worship event tomorrow at the F. De Queljoe family's house.'

4. Discussion

The data from the Facebook group show that the Woirata community uses different language varieties for different domains: formal Indonesian for funeral announcements and politics, local Malay (MTJ, or even a mixture of Woirata and MTJ) for daily conversations and comments on politics, and Woirata for daily conversations and greetings.

Social network sites such as the Facebook group have helped to extend the domains of language use for the Woirata language. Moreover, they could help the language to reach the younger speakers' generation. The increasing language awareness that we have seen among younger speakers of Woirata and Meher has given the Woirata and Meher new hope of survival. From the traditional view, the linguistic divide between Woirata and Meher on Kisar Island appears to be perceived by Woirata as a natural argument for political groupings and identity marking. Therefore, social media could have been a new place for language and identity competition among the people of Kisar Island, especially Woirata and Meher speakers. However, such a scenario never eventuated on SNSs like Facebook. The Woirata and the Meher have been working together as inhabitants of Kisar Island or as their descendants. It seems that there are at least two layers of identity: Kisar identity and Woirata or Meher identity. These differences are epitomized by language, *lukun wisara* 'speech and speak', and customs, *ilas nair* 'customs and behavior'. Language became the pivot of the creation and maintenance of different histories; eventually, for Woirata it also became a stronghold for the defense of their embattled identity.

Another aspect that needs to be discussed further in this paper is the creativity behind their writing style on social media. Omar and Miah (2012) confirmed that technologies and online information shape and reform modern spelling. Nowadays, people often substitute lexical elements in sentences by using emoticons or *emojis*. Putra and Triono (2018) suggest a regional orthographic invention that had been used by the Internet society, particularly teenagers. The peculiarity of their writing was that they often added orthographic elements. They also mentioned that this orthographic spelling system was peculiar. For these reasons, only a part of the community can easily decode the spelling (Putra and Triono 2018). However, this study was conducted in an Indonesian society that already has an orthographic system. The result would be different if this phenomenon occurs in a society with no orthographic system, such as the Woirata community.

Despite the inconsistency of orthographic invention that has been used by the Facebook group, I argue that this indicates a favorable situation from the point of view of language conservation. The Woirata community, especially the younger generation, have devised an innovative way to express themselves through their informal writing system. Informal writing may appear based on informal speech input since the primary medium of communication is oral (Lanchantin et al. 2012). The phonemes in oral communication are then represented alphabetically. For example, from the Woirata community Facebook group data, I found several ways to write the MJT negation *sing,* such as *zg*, *z*, and *seng*. Therefore, if one has produced a peculiar spelling, it may resemble one's speech, since cognitively there is a relationship between sound and symbol.

5. Conclusion

The Woirata people in the Facebook group are dominated by young speakers, especially the youth. From the perspective of the language used in social media, I argue that the Woirata people use different varieties in different domains. For example, they use

standard Indonesian for obituaries and politics, local Malay (MTJ, or even mixed) for identity conversations and comments on politics, and Woirata for self-expressive comments. Moreover, the MTJ found in the data mimics the syntactic structures of regional languages, while colloquial Indonesian and East Indonesian Malay variants are the primary sources of its lexicon.

Younger users write their language using their orthographic inventions on social media. Therefore, this is not necessarily accessible to the outsider; in other words, only a part of the community can easily decode the spelling. Through this invention, people seem to show each other their creativity. It can be seen that they have developed a new lingua franca on the Internet that can be defined as a new "writing orality".

Social media has become a melting pot for speakers to meet and interact. It has become a new domain in Woirata language use. This particular domain is more common among younger speakers than among older speakers. For the younger generation of the Woirata community, social media is the place to write their orality. Therefore, there is significant potential for Woirata community members to use this platform to maintain their local language. Nevertheless, the needs and awareness of themselves to maintain their identity, tradition, and culture have become crucial aspects that could keep the language sustainable.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3: first, second, third person; DEF: Definite article; Dis: discourse marker; EXT: Existential Verb; INT: interjection; LOC: location; NEG: negation; NMNL: nominalizer; PL: plural; POSS: possesive marker; PREP: preposition; REC: reciprocal; RED: reduplication; SG: singular.

References

Cohn, A., J. Bowden, T. McKinnon, M. Ravindranath, R. Simanjuntak, B. Taylor, & Yanti. 2013. *Kuesioner Penggunaan Bahasa Sehari-hari*. https://lingweb. eva.mpg.de/archive/jakarta/socio/kuesionerbahasakita2013.pdf

Engelenhoven, Aone van. 2009. The position of Makuva among the Austronesian languages of East Timor and Southwest Maluku. In: K. Alexander Adelaar & Andrew Pawley (eds.), *Austronesian historical linguistics and culture history; A festschrift for Bob Blust* [Pacific Linguistics 601]. 425–441. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

Engelenhoven, Aone van. 2015. *Kasi* and *bikin*; Two causative strategies in Melayu Tenggara Jauh (Southwest Maluku, Indonesia). *Wacana. Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* 16. 80–104.

Engelenhoven, Aone van & Nazarudin. 2016. A tale of narrative annexation. Stories from Kisar Island (Southwest Maluku, Indonesia). *Wacana. Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* 17. 191–231.

Jong, J. P. B. de Josselin de. 1937. *Studies in Indonesian culture; I. Oirata, a Timorese settlement on Kisar*. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche uitgeversmaatschappij.

Lanchantin, T., A. Simoës-Perlant & P. Largy. 2012. The case of digital writing in instant messaging: When cyber written productions are closer to the oral code than the written code. *PsychNology Journal* 10 (3). 187–214.

Nazarudin. 2013. Revitalisasi bahasa Oirata berbasis masyarakat. In: Soewarsono, Leolita Masnun, dan Nazarudin, *Revitalisasi Budaya dan Bahasa Oirata*. 57–91. Jakarta: LIPI dan PT Gading Inti Prima.

Nazarudin. 2015. Causative constructions in Woirata, Kisar Island (Southwest Maluku, Indonesia). *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* 16. 27–41.

Nazarudin. in preparation. Language contact on Kisar Island, Southwest Maluku, Indonesia: The case of Woirata. To be Ph.D. thesis. Leiden University.

Omar, A. & M. Miah. 2012. Impact of technology on teens' written language. *International Journal of Advanced Trends in Computer science and Engineering* 1 (1). 9–17.

Pink, Sarah et al. 2016. *Digital ethnography: Principles and practices*. London: Sage.

Putra, Rizky Anugrah & Sulis Triono. 2018. Outlandish spelling system invented by Indonesian Internet society: The case of language usage in social networking site. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature* 7 (7). 66–73. http://dx.doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.7n.7p.66

Schapper, Antoinette (ed.). 2017. *The Papuan languages of Timor-Alor-Pantar, Volume 2*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Schapper, Antoinette, Juliette Huber & Aone van Engelenhoven. 2012. The historical relations of the Papuan languages of Timor and Kisar. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia, Special Issue on the History, Contact & Classification of Papuan languages*. 194–242.

Websites

Putra Putri Oirata. https://www.facebook.com/groups/170030659698515
Yotowawa Media Center. https://www.yotowawa.com/
Woirata Maaro Documentary Film. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t6rgw-17-EI