# MALAY IN EAST INDONESIA: THE CASE OF LARANTUKA (FLORES)

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### 1.1

Wherever Malay may have originated, along the Strait of Malacca (as is generally and usually tacitly assumed) or in Kalimantan (adduced as a possibility in Adelaar 1985), it is certain that the Malay vernaculars in east Indonesia are later, and in the majority of cases comparatively recent, introductions.[1]

The *Language atlas of the Pacific area* (Wurm & Hattori 1983) indicates the following Malay-speaking centres in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago:

map 43:    Manado (Manado Malay);

map 45:    the town of Labuha in Bacan (Bacan Malay); the southern parts of Ambon, Haruku, Saparua, part of Nusa Laut, coastal areas along the Elpaputih Bay in west Seram and the town of Bula in north-east Seram (Ambon Malay); the Banda Islands (Banda Malay);

map 40:    Kupang (Kupang Malay), Larantuka (Larantuka Malay), and an anonymous settlement; also on the east coast of Flores (see below).

Not indicated on the maps are indigenous varieties of Malay in the larger towns of Irian (cf. Suharno 1983); "North Moluccan Malay" (cf. Voorhoeve 1983; Taylor 1983) is not indicated either, but according to the reverse of map 45 it is spoken in the Labuha area (where Bacan Malay is also used) and in Ternate "as the first language of small communities, mainly Christian, in addition to being the local lingua franca".

In fact, in many of the larger towns and cities in east Indonesia there are families or small communities for whom a variety of Malay is their first language. However, we know very little either about these varieties or about the more established east Indonesian Malay vernaculars.

### 1.2

The older publications that are available on these vernaculars are mainly of a lexicographical nature and tend to stress the 'deviations' from what is considered to be Standard Malay (SM), rather than to treat them as languages *sui generis;* moreover, these publications are usually of limited linguistic

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[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Fifth European Colloquium on Indonesian and Malay Studies, held in Sintra, Portugal, 19-25 March 1985.

sophistication. The number of recent and more linguistically oriented publications is largely confined to Collins (1974,1980,1983), Collins, ed. (1983), Kumanireng (1982), Karisoh Najoan et al. (1981), Steinhauer (1983,1988 and elsewhere in this issue), Suharno (1983) and Watuseke and Watuseke-Politton (1981). However, within the framework of the Dutch-Indonesian co-operation project ILDEP (Indonesian Linguistics Development Project) and the research projects sponsored by the Indonesian National Centre for Language Development (Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa) several studies have been made on east Indonesian Malay vernaculars, the results of which are available in the shape of stencilled or xeroxed research reports. One of these is Monteiro (1975), which is (besides Kumanireng and Suban Tukan) the only source on Larantuka Malay and the basis for my observations below.

Our lack of knowledge with regard to the east Indonesian Malay vernaculars is not restricted to grammar: virtually nothing is known about the circumstances under which they took root and developed subsequently into what they are today. They are sometimes referred to as creoles, but this term is not very informative. If it is as broadly defined as is done by Bolinger for instance, the label becomes applicable to a wide range of languages and with that nearly meaningless. He describes the process of creolisation in the following terms: "pidgins – trade languages...were compromises of two or more natural languages with most of the formal difficulties stripped away and a highly concrete vocabulary, whose use in particular areas became so intense that children began to learn them, and in the process turned them into natural languages – 'creoles'" (Bolinger 1980:61). And indeed he adds that "probably every language spoken in the world today is at least to some extent a creole, an offspring of contact and conflict". Once such a creole becomes established, it becomes subject to the hazards of any natural language: "foremost of which is the conflict of interests between hearers and speakers: 'you want to speak with least effort, so you speak sloppily; I want to hear with least effort, so I listen with half an ear'. The ancient round of making a mess of things and cleaning up the mess starts over again, with its consequences of near-chaos alternating with last-minute rescue." (p.61).

Most if not all languages of which it is certain that they are the result of such a creolisation process, that is which arose in historical periods, were side effects of European expansionism. This circumstance has become so much a part of more specific, socio-cultural definitions of creole, that Collins (1980) concludes that the term cannot be applied to a language such as Ambon Malay, because the Malay one may assume it was based on already had a well-established status long before the European expansion had reached the archipelago, and because the cultural interwebbing resulting in the rise and continuing development of the east Indonesian Malay vernaculars was and is of quite a different nature from the contacts that resulted in the European-based creoles. More specific *linguistic* features that have been proposed as typical of creoles turned out to fit a mainland dialect like Trengganu Malay as much as Ambon Malay, so that they can hardly be used to single out an alleged creole such as Ambon Malay vis-à-vis a variety nobody would think of as a creole. Moreover the features concerned were incidental, not structurally related, and identified on the ground of superficial similarity only.

However sophisticated the linguistic and socio-cultural criteria might become for labelling languages as creoles, no such label could replace fully-fledged descriptions of the languages and their history; moreover, these descriptions are a prerequisite for detecting the applicability of the criteria in question. The notes below are a first step in the direction of such a description for Larantuka Malay.

1.3

Although the east Indonesian Malay vernaculars have in common with each other that they present relatively recent developments in comparison to other languages in the area, which have a longer on-the-spot history, their origins and subsequent developments may be quite different.

It is clear for instance that Bacan Malay shows some conspicuous archaic features (Collins 1983:110-112) as compared with the other east Indonesian Malay vernaculars for which material is available. As J.T. Collins and C.L. Voorhoeve (the compilers of map 45 in Wurm & Hattori, eds 1983) remark, Bacan Malay and North Moluccan Malay (Ternate Malay) are not mutually intelligible; until recently Bacan Malay was even thought not to be Malay at all, but a language associated with Sula languages (Wurm & Hattori, eds 1983 reverse of map 45, cf. Collins 1983).

These differences between the various Malay vernaculars in east Indonesia may have the following causes:

1.  the source languages may differ; in so far as Malay is concerned, the contributing variety may have been a real vernacular or a pidginised variety, date from a different period and/or originate from a different area;

2.  the influences of local indigenous languages may have differed in intensity and character;

3.  the same may have been the case with contacts with the 'outside' world.

It is well known that the influence of Indonesian as the national and fully 'modernised' language is felt in all language communities in Indonesia. In urbanised areas this influence is stronger than in the more rural regions: life is less traditional, social mobility (in which the knowledge of Indonesian is indispensible) is more frequent and more frequently pursued, education has a longer established tradition, towns and cities are the centres of government and of interethnic communication. In short, the urbanised population is much more exposed to Indonesian than the inhabitants of the more rural areas.

Because the Malay-speaking communities in east Indonesia tend to be urbanised, they are as such already susceptible to the influence of Indonesian. This susceptibility is strengthened further by the lexical and grammatical similarities between Indonesian and the Malay vernaculars, which foster interference. This influence of Indonesian is the most recent source of possible correspondences between the east Indonesian Malay vernaculars. Other (older) sources are:

1.  possible mutual contacts;

2.  continued influence from the/a Malay 'motherland';

3.  common inheritance.

1.4

Much of the history of the east Indonesian Malay vernaculars can only be retrieved by pure historical research. Linguistics can only contribute by making descriptions, linguistic comparisons and reconstructions.

Below I will make a few remarks on the history of Larantuka and the setting of Larantuka Malay (LM), present a survey of LM phonology (both synchronic and diachronic) and discuss some aspects of LM grammar.

2.1

Larantuka Malay is spoken in and around Larantuka (the largest town of East Flores) and in the villages of Konga (East Flores) and Wure (North Adonare) (see Fernandez 1981:107; Suban Tukan 1976:18; Keraf 1977, who uses the spelling Wureh instead of Wure).
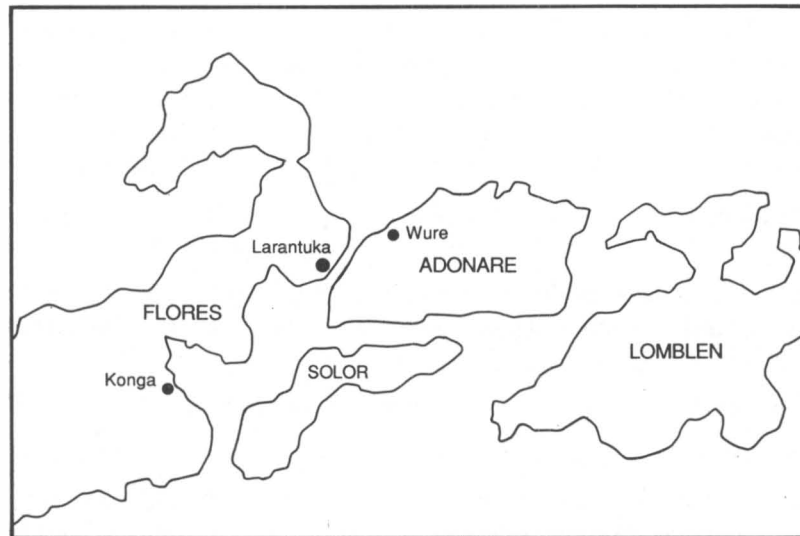


MAP:  SPREAD OF LARANTUKA MALAY

According to Threes Kumanireng (1982:132) "LM is spoken by about 10,000 people living in Larantuka...[it] has a long tradition as an interethnic means of communication, but is the first language only of the coast and a few up-country pockets". She does not identify these pockets any further, however.

The village of Konga seems to be the nameless settlement in East Flores indicated as Malay speaking on map 40 in Wurm and Hattori, eds 1983. For unclear reasons the reverse of that map identified LM as Ende Malay (the town of Ende itself is not marked as having its own or any other brand of Malay), while the "many thousands" of speakers are located in Flores and Pantar (!). The map does not indicate Malay-speaking settlements on Pantar, however. If there are any, they must be of very recent origin: as recently as 1975, when I did fieldwork in the area, they did not exist (cf. Stokhof 1975).

Vatter (1932:143) mentions Konga as an old Christian village with – as in Larantuka– a "portugiesische Brüderschaft" *(confreria),* a kind of Christian lay order (cf. Vatter 1932:43; Biermann 1924:44-45; Pinto da França 1985:15,42,49). Of Wure (spelled Wureh) Vatter (1932:184) remarks that it was founded in the 18th century by refugees from Larantuka: "It is not only alien to the island, but also to the Christian community; its isolation and conscious seclusion (the consequence of an old feud with Larantuka) fossilised its Christianity into mere idolatry; the Portuguese Fraternity, which is here just as in East Flores the bearer of ecclesiastical self-government, resists each novelty, so that up till now the Catholic mission has not succeeded in bringing life and a modern spirit into Wure

Christianity".[1]  Pinto da França whose book contains beautiful pictures on Larantuka and Wure (spelled Vure), recounts how in a nightly raid the Wure people took an old Portuguese bell they claimed to be theirs from a Larantuka church.

Antagonisms such as these must have led to dialectal differentiation.  Suban Tukan (1976:18) indeed confirms this when he observes that "the Larantuka language is further divided into the dialects of Larantuka, Konga and Wure".[2]

## 2.2

The use of Malay in Larantuka probably dates back to the 16th century, when the Dominicans started their proselytising activities in the area by establishing themselves first on Solor (1561). Larantuka in the early days was of minor importance: it was estimated to have a hundred Christian families in 1613, when the Dutch captain Scotte conquered the Portuguese fortress on Solor and allowed – much to the annoyance of J.P. Coen, when he heard about it – some Portuguese, mestizoes and Dominicans to move freely to Larantuka (Rouffaer 1923:212).  Larantuka now became the political centre of the Portuguese in the area; its importance rose even further after the fall of Malacca in 1641 (Rouffaer 1923:219).  As local tradition has it, many Christian Malay families followed the Malaccan Dominicans to Larantuka and even today quite a number of families retrace their history back to Malacca (Vatter 1932:43).

The Larantuka population on the whole is strongly mixed: transmigrants from Roti, Sawu, Sulawesi (Buginese) and Ternate seem to be historically demonstrable (Vatter 1932:29); furthermore there is a Chinese community and of course there are people from the hinterland, where Lamaholot is spoken in various dialects (the Lamaholot-speaking area ranges from East Flores to some coastal areas of Pantar and Alor – see Stokhof 1975:9).

Last but not least the Portuguese, who integrated with the local population to a considerable extent should be mentioned.  Several authors comment on the number of Portuguese family names current among the Larantuka population (but these may have been also a matter of baptising practices; Biermann 1924:44).  One of the first Dutch officials who stayed in Larantuka after it had become Dutch by the Dutch-Portuguese treaty of 1859, was struck by the number of people whom it was clearly visible were of Portuguese origin (see Kluppel 1873:383; cf. also Vatter's (1932:30) description of the "black Portuguese").  Pinto da França (1985:59) concludes the main text of his book with the remark that "the Portuguese influence in Indonesia was the effect of a daily contact between Indonesian and humble Portuguese priests, sailors, merchants and soldiers – a relationship between man and man".  That the relationship may have been between man and woman also may be apparent from words such as /jetu/ 'handsome', /dənadu/ 'naughty', /kajumeNtu/ 'determination of the wedding date', /fəmili/ 'family, to be family', /kəwalu/ 'to carry a child on one's shoulders' (cf. Portuguese *jeito* 'appearance, manner', *denodado* 'bold, daring', *casamento* 'wedding', *família* 'family', *cavalo* 'horse').[3]  The LM personal pronouns of the third person singular, however,

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[1]"Sie ist nicht nur ein Fremdkörper auf der Insel [which is Islamic] sondern auch innerhalb der christlichen Gemeinden; ihre Isolierung und bewuszte Abschlieszung, die Folge alter Gegnerschaft gegen Larantuka, hat das Christentum in bloszen Bilderdienst erstarren lassen; die portugiesische Brüderschaft, die hier ebenso wie in Ost-Flores die Trägerin der kirchlichen Selbstverwaltung ist, sträubt sich gegen alles Neue, sodasz es auch bisher der Mission nicht gelungen ist, das Christentum in Wureh mit frischen Leben und modernen Geist zu erfüllen."

[2]"bahasa Larantuka masih terbagi lagi atas dialek Larantuka, dialek Konga dan dialek Wure".

[3]I thank D.J. Prentice for these and a number of other less obvious etymologies throughout this paper.  Monteiro's spelling of /kajumeNtu/, *kaju-mentu*, suggests a folk etymology (/kaju/ 'wood, tree', /meNtu/ '?'), which might explain the unexpected second syllable.  LM/fəmili/could of course also be of Dutch origin *(familie)*.

suggest that this romantic picture of integration may have had its dissonants: /bica/ 'she' and /bicu/ 'he' seem to be reinterpretations of Portuguese terms of abuse: *bicha* 'worm, snake, bad-tempered woman' and *bicho* 'worm, insect, ugly/awkward person'.

Approximately six per cent of Monteiro's lexemes are of Portuguese origin, and only one per cent are Dutch. About half of the Portuguese loanwords are in the sphere of (Roman Catholic) religion. Biermann (1924:43) remarks that the Christians in Larantuka used to learn Portuguese. Several authors were struck by the Portuguese hymns that were still used in church. And even today this practice has not been abandoned, as I.Y. Fernandez told me in a personal communication. Finally it seems that the Portuguese influence was strong enough to result in a Larantuka Portuguese creole. This spread subsequently via Oekusi to Dili, but is now extinct everywhere (see Wurm & Hattori, eds 1983 the reverse of map 46 (compiled by A.N. Baxter) on pidgin languages, trade languages and lingue franche). Today only LM and Indonesian are used in Larantuka by the indigenous population.

### 3.1

As I have no data on Wure and Konga Malay, I hereafter deal exclusively with the Malay of Larantuka itself. As said above, my main source is Monteiro (1975). This dictionary contains about 1,800 main entries, some with sub-entries, many with short constructions (which, however, are often repeated as examples of (the) other lexemes they contain); a short introduction discusses a few grammatical phenomena.

The spelling applied in the dictionary is consistent, apart from some obvious typing errors and the opposition /ə/ (schwa, written as *e*) versus /e/ (written as *é*, but very often also as *e*).[1]

According to Monteiro the LM phonemic system is as follows:

| consonants: | *b* | *p* | *m* | *f* | *w* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *d* | *t* | *n* | *s* | | *r* | *l* |
| | *j* | *c* | *ñ* | | *y* | | |
| | *g* | *k* | *ŋ* | | | | |
| | | | | *h* | | | |

| vowels: | *i* | *ĩ* | | | *u* | *ũ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *e* | *ẽ* | | *ə* | *o* | *õ* |
| | | *a* | *ã* | | | |

Monteiro writes *ny* and *ng* for /ñ/ and /ŋ/. The nasal vowels, *Ṽ*, are spelled as *Vn*. His examples (not his spelling) suggest that these nasal vowels occur word finally only. This is explicity confirmed by Threes Kumanireng, who writes them as *VN* (Kumanireng 1982:135). Because they probably also occur at the end of the segments of fully reduplicated forms (whether or not accompanied by modifications) and before the only productive suffix (or clitic?) /ña/ (see below), her statement should be modified accordingly: they occur only root finally.

The nasal consonants on the other hand do not occur root finally, but root initially, intervocalically and as the first part of a cluster (and then followed by a homorganic stop), while /n/ and /ŋ/ also occur before /s/: /bonsu/ 'youngest', /mənsia/ 'human being', /səŋsara/ 'misery'.

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[1] Thanks to the repeated illustrating constructions it is possible to reconstruct in most cases which *e* should in fact be *é*.

I interpret both the nasal element of the root-final nasal vowel and the one found before a stop and realised homorganically as the same archiphoneme /N/, with nasality as its only feature.

Although the phonemic systems of LM and SM (Standard Malay, for the purposes of this article, is to be identified with the inherited Malay element in Indonesian) are highly similar, the distribution of the phonemes and the word shapes are quite different. Most conspicuous is the fact that LM has become a language with phonetically open syllables at the end of roots. The only counter-examples are a few modern Dutch loanwords (all monosyllabic), such as /bal/ 'ball', /par/ 'to be of the same kind, to match', /pel/ 'pill', /pas/ 'exactly, precisely', /mir/ 'ant'[1] (cf. Dutch *bal* 'ball', *paar* 'pair', *pil* 'pill', *pas* 'just, (stem of the verb) to fit', *mier* 'ant').

### 3.2.1

Below I formulate the sound changes that presumably have occurred, illustrated by a few examples (on the left the SM root followed by a gloss, on the right the LM cognate(s)). The unprefixed SM roots, preceded by a hyphen are only used as imperatives. The translations as infinitives are meant to represent the lexical meaning of the words that belong to the SM inflectional verbal paradigm.

When I do not give separate translations for the LM cognates, it is understood that their meaning is the same. The LM verbal system does not have the inflectional categories that in SM are expressed by prefixes.

### 3.2.2

Loss of root-final nasals after a vowel preceded by a nasal or a prenasalised stop:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-anyam* | to weave | /aña/ | |
| *-tanam* | to plant | /tana/ | |
| *-pinjam* | to borrow | /piNja/ | |
| *kanan* | right | /kana/ | |
| *tangan* | arm, hand | /taŋa/ | |
| *gelombang* | wave | /gəloNba/ | |
| *pinang* | areca nut | /pina/ | |
| *embun* | dew | /əNbo/ | |
| *minum* | to drink | /mino/ | |
| *-gantung* | to hang (tr.) | /gaNto/ | to hang (tr., intr.) |
| *gunung* | mountain | /guno/ | |
| *angin* | wind | /aŋi/ | |
| *anjing* | dog | /aNji/ | |
| *dinding* | wall | /diNde/ | |
| *cacing* | worm | /caNci/ | |
| *lonceng* | bell | /loNci,loNce/ | |

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[1] It is remarkable that such a word should be borrowed. Also Kupang Malay has /mir/, while Manado Malay borrowed /bifi/ from Ternatan. LM /səmo/ 'ant' is the regular reflection of SM *semut* 'ant', which seems to be a loanword too.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *omong* | to talk | /omo/ | |
| *tonggeng* | to stick up one's posterior | /toNge/[1] | |

Modern loanwords follow this same pattern, cf. /səme/ 'cement' from SM *semen*.

Loss of final nasal after other vowels, accompanied by nasalisation of that vowel:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *malam* | night | /malaN/ | [malã] |
| *ikan* | fish | /ikaN/ | |
| *datang* | to come | /dataN/ | |
| *-cium* | to smell, to kiss | /cioN/ | [ciō] |
| *terjun* | to jump down | /tərəjoN/ | |
| *turun* | to descent | /turoN/ | |
| *ujung* | end, tip, top | /ujoN/ | |
| *bersin* | to sneeze | /bərəseN/ | [bərəsē] |
| *masin* | salty | /masiN/ | [masī] |
| *kucing* | cat | /kuciN/ | |
| *gong* | gong | /goN/ | |

Loanwords follow the same pattern, cf. Kupang Malay /fam/ 'family name', LM /faN/ (from Dutch *faam* 'fame'?); LM /kələsaN/ 'trousers' (Portuguese *calção*). The only exception I have found is /jəNbata/ 'bridge', instead of expected /jəNbataN/ (SM *jembatan* – cf. for instance the regular /bənataN/ 'animal' from SM *binatang*).

In all other positions the SM and LM nasals correspond completely, at least phonetically (the interpretation of the nasal consonants before homorganic stops as /N/ is at best a sound change of a different order, but the same neutralisation of homorganic nasals before stops should probably be adopted for SM too (cf. the SM distribution of nasals as set out in Adelaar 1985).

Loss of all other root-final consonants (*h*, *s*, *l*, *r*, *p*, *t*, *k* in that order):

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *antah* | unhusked rice grains remaining in the husked rice | /aNta/ | |
| *rumah* | house | /ruma/ | |
| *suluh* | torch | /sulo/ | |
| *jauh* | far | /jao/ | |
| *putih* | white | /pute/ | |
| *tindih* | to press | /tiNde/ | |
| *boleh* | to be allowed, to be able | /bole/ | to be able |
| *lekas* | quick | /ləka/ | |
| *panas* | hot | /pana/ | |
| *kurus* | thin | /kuro/ | |
| *haus* | thirsty | /ao/ | |
| *(se)ratus* | (one) hundred | /(sə)rato/ | |
| *-iris* | to slice | /ire/ | |
| *nipis* | thin | /nipe/ | |
| *habis* | finished | /abi/ | |
| *-tulis* | to write | /tuli/ | |

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[1]Wilkinson's (1932) *tonggeng* is a more likely source of /toNge/ than Poerwadarminta's (1976) *tungging, menungging*.

| *tinggal* | to stay | /tiNga/ | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-jual* | to sell | /jua/ | |
| *usul-asal* | (more usual *asal-usul*) | | |
| | origin | /usu-asa/ | |
| *-pukul* | to hit | /puko/ | |
| *betul* | right, just | /bəto/ | |
| *kecil* | little | /kəce/ | |
| *-panggil* | to call | /paNge/ | |
| *kail* | fishing hook | /kae/ | |

(cf. /orge/ 'organ' from Dutch *orgel*)

| *lempar* | to throw | /leNpa/ | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *besar* | big | /bəsa/ | |
| *telur* | egg | /təlo/ | |
| *-campur* | to mix | /caNpo/ | |
| *lendir* | mucus | /lənde/ | |
| *air* | water | /ae/ | |
| *pikir* | to think | /piki/ | |
| *encer* | thin (of liquids); | | |
| | intelligent | /eNce/ | |
| *kotor* | filthy | /koto/ | |

(cf. /kəneke/ 'marble', /brude/ 'brother (of a religious order)', *suste* 'nun' from Dutch *knikker, broeder, zuster* respectively)

| *asap* | smoke | /asa/ | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *genap* | complete | /gəna/ | |
| *-celup* | to immerse | /cəlo/ | |
| *tutup* | to close | /tuto/ | |
| *kelip* | glittering of eyes | /kəle/ | to glance sideways |
| *teritip* | kind of sea-snail | /tərite/ | |

| *dekat* | close, near | /dəka/ | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *lambat* | late | /laNba/ | |
| *laut* | sea | /lao/ | |
| *lembut* | soft | /ləNbo/ | |
| *sakit* | ill, painful | /sake/ | |
| *-jinjit* | to carry in one's hand | /jiNje/ | |
| *leset* | to slip away | /lese-lese/ | to totter |
| *me-rosot* | to slip down, to decline | /roso/ | to shuffle, to slip down |

(cf. /doi/ 'money', /təroNpe/ 'trumpet' from Dutch *duit* 'coin', *trompet* 'trumpet')

| *banyak* | much, many | /baña/ | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-tembak* | to shoot | /teNba/ | |
| *duduk* | to sit | /dudo/ | |
| *tanduk* | horns (of animal) | /taNdo/ | |
| *baik* | good | /bae/ | |
| *-petik* | to pick (flowers, leaves) | /pəte/ | |

| *nenek* | grandmother | /nene/ |
|---|---|---|
| *gosok* | to rub | /goso/ |

This loss of final consonants has resulted in quite a number of homonyms, for example:

|  |  | SM |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| /tana/ | soil, earth | *tanah* | |
|  | to plant | *-tanam* | |
| /kəra/ | hard | *keras* | |
|  | to cut off | *-kerat* | |
|  | crust | *kerak* | |
| /təgo/ | firm | *teguh* | |
|  | to drink (a bit) | *-teguk* | to gulp |
|  | to address (someone) | *-tegur* | |

## 3.2.3

The examples given so far show that the SM high vowels in closed root-final syllables tend to appear as /o/ and /e/ in LM.

It should be realised that the SM root-final vowels remain unchanged, for example *dua* 'two', *tiga* 'three', *mata* 'eye', *suka* 'to like', *tahi* 'excrement', *api* 'fire', *-cari* 'to look for', *kaki* 'foot, leg', *tahu* 'to know', *dulu* 'in former times', *abu* 'dust' have the LM cognates /dua, tiga, mata, suka, tai, api, cari, kaki, tau, dulu, abu/.

The lowering in originally closed root-final syllables seems to be unconditioned for *u*. Alongside nearly 200 examples of lowering there are fewer than ten exceptions:

*-suruh*   to order   /suru/
(the expected LM /suro/ means 'to ebb', cf. *surut* 'to withdraw, to decrease, to ebb')

*bancuh*   mixed up, confused   /baNcu/   to mix hot with cold water

*-gerumut*   to swarm like ants   /gərumu/
(Wilkinson)

*-bubuh(i)*   to put, to place, to affix   /bubu/   to fill, to put into, to give a name to a child
(the expected form /bubo/ means 'porridge' (SM *bubur*))

*lapuk*   rotten, mouldy   /kəlapu/
(the unexplained initial /kə/ makes this a suspect etymology anyway)

*-kumpul*   to gather   /kuNpu/
*kampung*   village   /kaNpu/
(these latter two LM words are probably later loans: the expected form /kaNpo/ has the original and probably etymological meaning 'to gather into a whole' (cf. Wilkinson 1932; Adelaar 1985) – it may have ousted *\*kuNpo;* with *kampung* 'village' becoming an administrative unit, the word became part of LM vocabulary in the present form)

/usu/ in /usu-asa/ origin
(see above)

(this is ultimately a loan from Arabic, while it is also irregular by being only the first part of a compound)

/bru/ trousers

(a recent loanword from Dutch *broek*)

In short, the nature of these exceptions tends to corroborate the *Ausnahmslosigkeit* 'exceptionlessness' of the lowering of *u* in originally closed root-final syllables.

The lowering of *i* in the same positions, however, shows less regularity. Before original root-final nasals and *s*, lowering tends to stay out. Below I list all relevant forms.

With lowering:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *dinding* | wall | /diNde/ |
| *-tinting* | to winnow with a swaying motion | /tiNte/ |
| *licin* | smooth, slippery | /liceN/ |
| *lain* | other | /laeN/ |
| *lilin* | candle | /lileN/ |
| *kawin* | to marry | /kaweN/ |
| *bersin* | to sneeze | /bərəseN/ |
| *bersalin* | to give birth | /bərsaleN/ |
| *-kikis* | to scrape off | /kike/ |
| *garis* | line, scratch | /gare/ |
| *-garis* | to line, to scratch | |
| *-iris* | to slice | /ire/ |
| *nipis* | thin | /nipe/ |
| *kudis* | scabies | /kude/ |
| *tiris* | leaking | /tire/ |

(/Portuge/ 'Portuguese' is a loanword which rather goes back to Dutch *Portugees* or Portuguese *português* than to SM *portugis*.)

Without lowering:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *anjing* | dog | /aNji/ |
| *-banting* | to throw down | /baNti/ |
| *cacing* | worm | /caNci/ |
| *kambing* | goat | /kaNbi/ |
| *pening* | dizzy | /pəni/ |
| *daging* | meat | /dagiN/ |
| *garing* | crisp | /gariN/ |
| *-guling* | to roll | /guliN/ |
| *kering* | dry | /kəriN/ |
| *kucing* | cat | /kuciN/ |
| *masing-masing* | each | /masiN-masiN, məsiN-məsiN, məmasiN/ |
| *pusing* | dizzy | /pusiN/ |
| *angin* | wind | /aɲi/ |
| *masin* | salty | /masiN/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *makin* | increasingly, the more | /makiN, məkiN, mekiN/ |
| *bikin* | to do, to make | /beki/ |

(the etymology of this LM word is doubtful, not only because of the lack of a final nasal, but also because of the vowel of the first syllable, found in Manado Malay too (*beking* – cf. Salea-Warouw))

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *habis* | finished | /abi/ |
| *manis* | sweet | /mani/ |
| *menangis* | to cry | /mənaɲi/ |
| *-tulis* | to write | /tuli/ |

Incidental exceptions are found with other final consonants too. In seven cases *i* is lowered before root-final *h*; the exception is:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *masih* | still, yet | /masi, məsi/ |

(*bersih* 'clean', LM /bərisi/ is only seemingly an exception: Wilkinson gives as a variant form *bərisi;* cf. Kupang Malay /barisi/)

In 14 cases root-final *ik* changes to /e/; the exceptions are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *musik* | music (loanword) | /musi/ |
| *tisi/tisek* | to mend a hole | /tisi/ |

(/tisi/ is related to Johor *tisi* (alongside *tisek*) found in Wilkinson (1932), rather than to Jakartan *-tisik* given by Poerwadarminta (1976))

Alongside ten instances of root-final *ir* becoming /e/, the only – unexplained– exception is:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *pikir* | thought | /piki/    to think |

The conclusion must be that the lowering of *i* to /e/ in closed root-final syllables is in fact regular in inherited Malay words for other consonants than nasals and *s* (it should be added that Monteiro does not give any roots reflecting *\*im*, and that /masi, məsi/ cannot be explained).

### 3.2.4

It is now possible to arrange the sound changes discussed so far in their interrelationship and in a partly hypothetical chronological order.

Two broad phases should be distinguished.

1. The lowering of *u* in closed root-final syllables preceded the loss of root-final nasals (with or without nasalisation of the preceding vowel) and the loss of the other root-final consonants. This first sound change may in fact have been gradual, starting with some consonants and spreading to others. The Malaysian spelling until the reform of 1972 reflects such a situation: lowering of *u* to *o* before velar consonants *(k, ŋ, r)* and *h*.

It seems likely that the lowering of the other high vowel, *i*, in closed root-final syllables was related to this lowering of *u*. It may again have been a process that started before some consonants and subsequently spread to other consonants. The old Malaysian spelling can serve as an illustration again: *i* is lowered to *e* before *h* and *k*.

What is more important is that it must have been gradual in another sense, viz. as a process of lexical diffusion, at least with regard to positions before nasal or *s*. Otherwise it could not have been caught up with the rules affecting these consonants.

(The alternative solution is less attractive: the loss of root-final *s* and root-final nasal (the latter with or without nasalisation of the preceding vowel) would both have to be processes of lexical diffusion, caught up with by the lowering of *i* to /e/. Though this is in itself not impossible, it seems likely that the vowel nasalisation was a matter of Portuguese pronunciation,[1] and that affected the whole lexicon at the same time.)

2. The lowering of *i* to /e/ before root-final *s* or nasal was still proceeding when the following sound changes took place:

a) root-final *s* was dropped, and

b) root-final nasals were dropped and the preceding vowels nasalised, unless they were preceded by a nasal or a prenasalised consonant. Before other root-final consonants, the lowering of *i* to /e/ had already affected all roots, when those consonants disappeared. Again there may have been consonants that were forerunners and others that followed behind. There is no evidence that any relative order of the sound changes mentioned in this paragraph is impossible, as long as the conditions with regard to the lowering of *i* are fulfilled.

### 3.2.5

In principle, independent of the sound changes discussed so far a number of other sound changes have occurred. The order of their presentation below has no relation to their historical order of occurrence.

The loss of root-final *h* is complemented by the loss of *h* in intervocalic position:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *tahu* | to know | /tau/[2] |
| *tahi* | excrement | /tai/ |
| *dahi* | forehead | /dai/ |
| *perahu* | prow | /pərau/ |

Like vowels contract after the loss of such an intervocalic *h:*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *pohon* | tree | /poN/ | |
| *jahat* | bad, evil | /ja/ | |
| *-tahan* | to hold | /taN/ | to hold, to touch |
| *leher* | neck | /le/ | |

Also loss of *h* word initially can be observed, but this process may have been slow (through lexical diffusion), or it was counteracted under the influence of Lamaholot where /h/ is a regular phoneme. If it had gone at all, it was reintroduced through a number of words of non-Malay origin, such as:

---

[1]Monteiro describes the nasal vowels as nasalised with an additional [ŋ]-like quality.
[2]These phonemic notations are in fact doubtful. It is not clear whether Monteiro's *-au* in *mau, tau, pərau* represents the same sound, that is, a diphthong or a sequence of two vowels; similarly *-ai* in *tai, dai, mulai*.

| /hole/ | to plant out |
| /hewiN/ | to mark (cattle) by cutting a piece out of the ear |
| /hopu/ | to sit shamelessly on something |
| /hodi-holo/ | last negotiations between the representatives of bride and groom on the eve of the wedding |

Through these and similar words it was possible to retain /h/ word initially in some words (or restore it where SM or another Malay variety showed where it had to be?). Monteiro gives with /h/: /hara/ 'to hope', /hela/ 'to draw, to catch (fish)', /haluaN, aluaN/ 'bow (of a ship)', /hari, ari/, 'day', (cf. SM *harap, hela, haluan, hari*). Other roots are given only without initial *h:* /alo/, 'fine', /aNpa/ 'empty', /ido/ 'to live, to be alive', /ujaN/ 'rain' etc. (cf. SM *halus, hampa, hidup, hujan*).

Word-initial *s* is usually retained, but in one word it disappears:

| *sama* | same | /ama/ |

In two instances it changes into /h/:

| *sana* | there | /hana/ |
| *satu* | one | /hatu/ |

A reason for these changes cannot be given, but they may be considered to reflect the uncertain position of initial /h/.

Root-final diphthongs are monophthongised:

| *engkau* | you (SG) | /əNko/ |
| *pulau* | island | /pulo/ |
| *pantai* | shore | /paNte/ |
| *sungai* | river | /suŋe/ |

Function words behave unpredictably, however:

| *kalau* | when | /kalu, kalo/ |
| *mau* | to want | /mu, mo, mau/ |
| *mulai* | to begin | /mulai/ |

Function words seem to behave irregularly also in other cases (cf. /masi, məsi/ instead of expected *mase* discussed above). In a number of function words the penultimate syllables appear to have been reduced:

| *lagi* | again | /ləgi/ |
| *tadi* | a while ago | /tədi/ |
| *mana* | which | /məna/ |
| *di mana* | where | /dəmăna/ |
| *ke mana* | whither | /kəmăna/ |
| *bagaimana* | how | /bəge(mə)na/ |
| *bilamana* | when | /bəlmăna/ |
| *sekarang* | now | /səkəraN/ |
| *kembali* | back | /kəNbəli/ |
| *masing-masing* | each | /masiN-masiN, məsiN-məsiN, məmasiN/ |

(cf. -*tarik* 'to pull' /tare, təre/, the only lexical word with such a change)

In three cases ə changes into /e/:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *-jemur* | to dry in the sun | /jemo/ (a typing error?) |
| *lebih* | more | /lebe, ləbe/ (both occur more than once) |
| *berkat* | blessing | /berka/ |
| (a loanword from Arabic ultimately) | | |

In a number of unpredictable cases lowering of high vowels to /e/ and /o/ occurs in penultimate syllables:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *berteriak* | to shout | /bətərea/ |
| *perintah* | order | /pəreNta/ |
| *-perintah* | to order | |
| *-periksa* | to inspect | /pəresa/ |
| (the same cluster simplification is found in /sasi/ 'witness' (SM *saksi*)) | | |
| *bungsu* | the youngest | /bonsu/ |

(For the above words Wilkinson gives variant SM forms with lowered penultimate vowels: *təreak, pərentah, pəreksa, bongsu.*)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *-kerimuk* | to rumple | /kəremo/   filthy and rumpled (of a rag) |
| (the LM form could also be related to Wilkinson's *kərimut/kəremut* 'puckering of the face') | | |
| *peluru* | bullet | /pəloru/ |
| (a loanword from Portuguese: *pellouro*) | | |
| *kiri* | left (side) | /keri/ |

(this may reflect an earlier contraction: < *ka-iri*, a form that is still found, for instance in Bacan Malay (Collins 1983:99)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *kupu-kupu* | butterfly | /kəkopu/ |

Within bisyllabic roots ər changes into /ərə/ if followed by a consonant:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *terbang* | to fly | /tərəbaN/ |
| *terjun* | to jump down | /tərəjoN/ |
| *bersin* | to sneeze | /bərəseN/ |
| *kerbau* | water buffalo | /kərəbo/ |
| *berkas* | bundle | /bərəka/ |

*berkat* 'blessing', discussed above, is an exception. SM *bersih* 'clean' seems to be reflected as /bərisi/, but this form is related rather to the variant form *bərisi,* (see above). Wilkinson (1932) gives many variant forms which resemble the LM type, but of the words listed here only *tərbang* has such a form: *tərəbang.*

Finally I mention the remarkable though not uncommon tendency of LM to reduce antepenultimate syllables. Consider:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *buaya* | crocodile | /bəwaya/ | |
| *suara* | voice | /səwara/ | |
| *suang(g)i* | evil spirit | /səwaNgi/ | |
| *dua hari* | two days | /dəwari/ | the day after tomorrow (with loss of intervocalic *h,* and subsequent vowel contraction) |
| *bicara* | to talk | /bəcara/ | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *rupiah* | *rupiah* | /rəpia/ |
| *kiriman* | consignment, package | /kərima/    to send |
| *binatang* | animal | /bənataN/ |
| *bagian* | part, section | /bəgiaN/ |
| *pikiran* | thought | /pəkiraN/ |
| *mata hari* | sun | /mətari/ (see *dua hari*) |
| *siapa* | who | /sapa/ |
| *di atas* | on | /data/ |
| *berapa hari* | how many days | /bapari/ |
| *dini hari* | early in the morning | /dənari/ |
| *pagi hari* | in the morning | /pəgari/ |
| *prajurit* | soldier | /pəjure/ |
| *manusia* | human being | /mənsia/ |
| *bagaimana* | how | /bəge(mə)na/ |
| *-beri tahu* | to tell | /bətau/ |
| *buah keras* | hard fruit | /bəkəra/    candlenut |
| *layang-layang* | kite | /ləlayaN/ |
| *laki-laki* | man | /kəlaki/ |
| *kupu-kupu* | butterfly | /kəkopu/ |

4.

In this section I discuss some aspects of LM grammar. Lack of space forces me to do this in a cursory manner.

Morphologically LM is less complicated than SM. As I indicated above, verbal inflection by means of affixes and the SM opposition of actor and object focus forms is absent in LM. There are no traces of the SM verbal suffixes -*kan* and -*i*.

In a number of cases affixed forms seem to have been borrowed from Indonesian or another variety of Malay, or even inherited directly.

This is probably the case for instance, with the following verbal forms (all intransitive): /mələpo/ 'to swell', /məŋaNto/ 'to be sleepy', /mərata/ 'to roar', /məNdide, mənide/ 'to boil'. Yet prefixation of /mə/ and 'nasalization' (as in SM) seems to be productively used to derive verbs from noun bases with the meaning 'to apply [noun]', e.g. /kae/ 'fishhook', /məŋae/ 'to fish with fishhooks'.

Monteiro's (1975) dictionary contains five derivations with /pə/ + 'nasalization', but it is unclear whether they represent a productive morphological category; four refer to an instrument, one to a person, e.g. /tako/ 'to fear', /pənako/ 'coward'; /dara/ 'land (as opposed to the sea)', /pəNdara/ 'moorings'.

The SM suffix -*an* is found in a limited number of words, which apparently came into the language in that shape. There is no indication of a productive morphological process. Any synchronic morphological relationship between these suffixed forms and their historically related roots (that have undergone the sound changes described above) is doubtful. I found the following pairs:

| /lia/ | to see | /kəliataN/ | visible |
| /piki/ | to think | /pəkiraN/ | thought |
| /bage/ | to divide | /bəgiaN/ | part, section |
| /aja/ | to teach | /pəŋajaraN/ | sermon |

The following five morphological processes seem to be productive.

1. Prefixation of /tə/ to verbal roots to express 'perfectivity, involuntary action, absence of actor' and the like (as SM):

| /baNti/ | to throw down | /təbaNti/ | fallen down |
| | | | and with a non-Malay stem |
| /wisi/ | to open | /təwisi/ | open(ed) |

2. Prefixation of /bə/ to nominal, verbal and adjectival stems

Functionally this /bə/ seems to resemble Kupang Malay /ba/ more than SM *ber-*. The data are too limited, however, to illustrate its wide range of use adequately. See Steinhauer (1983) for an indication of the variety of functions which LM /bə/ may turn out to have. Like Kupang Malay /ba/, but unlike SM *ber-*, LM /bə/ with transitive verb bases seems to have a detransitivising effect: e.g. /bəcuci/ 'to do the washing' from /cuci/ 'to wash (something)'.

3. Full reduplication[1]

I found examples of verbs, adjectives and nouns. There seems to be no difference from SM as to their meaning.

4. Partial reduplication

The process is formally as follows: $C_1V_1$... ---> $C_1 \vartheta C_1 V_1$...; a variant form $C_1 \vartheta NC_1 V_1$... occurs when the rest of the root contains a nasal and $C_1$ is not a nasal. The base can be a noun, verb, adjective or even a function word, as long as it does not begin with a vowel. There seems to be no clear functional difference from full reduplication, e.g. /masiN-masiN, məmasiN/ 'each', /bəto/ 'true', /bəto-bəto, bəbəto/ 'very, really'. Other examples are: /buda/ 'boy', /bəbuda/ 'boys', /təma/ 'friend', /tətəma, təNtəma/ 'friends', /tido/ 'to sleep', /tətido/ 'to take a nap', /təraN/ 'clear', /tətəraN, təNtəraN/ 'very clear', /tədi/ 'a while ago', /tətədi/ 'since a while ago'.

The reduplicated form of /bae/ 'good' is /babae/ 'well, good in many respects'; /bəbae/ contains the prefix /bə/ and has the meaning 'good to each other'; /bəbuñi/ on the other hand is 'sounds' (reduplication) and 'to sound' (prefixation) (/buñi/ 'sound').

5. Suffixation with the third person pronominal possessive suffix /ña/ (SM *-nya*), e.g. /ruma-ña/ 'his/her/its house'.

I only found one instance of a possessive suffix /mu/ for the second person; /ña/, however, is very frequent. In this connection it should be mentioned that possessive constructions with a cognate of *punya*, which are typical of Ambon Malay, Kupang Malay and Manado Malay, do occur in LM (e.g.

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[1] 'Full' reduplication with modification is frequent but not productive. Either the first or the second part of the reduplicated form is modified. Reduplicated bases are verbal or adjectival and express random variety, duration and have often an onomatopoeic and emotional value: /koto/ 'filthy', /koto-moto/ 'very and disorderly filthy', /suNpa/ 'to swear', /suNpa-saNpa/ 'to swear and abuse (without cause or constraint)'.

/pa puN nama/ 'Dad's name'), but constructions of the SM type (/namaña/ 'his/her/its name') are much more frequent.[1]

Finally one morphological process should be mentioned that is of Portuguese origin, but has spread to at least one Malay stem. It concerns the opposition of nouns in /u/ for men and in /a/ for women. The personal pronouns for the third person singular discussed above are examples too (/bicu/ 'he', /bica/ 'she'). Examples of nouns are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /tiu/ | uncle | /tia/ | aunt |
| /kəñadu/ | brother-in-law | /kəñada/ | sister-in-law |
| /iñu/ | godfather | /iña/ | godmother |
| /saNtu/ | male saint | /saNta/ | female saint |

(cf. Portuguese *tio, tia, cunhado, cunhada, padrinho, madrinha, santo, santa*)

/ana səNbriñu/ 'step-son' and /ana səNbriña/ 'step-daughter' are probably also of Portuguese origin (cf. *sobrinho* 'nephew', *sobrinha* 'niece'); /mənaNtu/ 'son-in-law' and /mənaNta/ 'daughter-in-law, however, are Malay (cf. SM *menantu* 'son-in-law, daughter-in-law').

5.

Above I dealt with the Malay core of LM, and alluded to the important Portuguese contribution to it. A large part of the LM vocabulary consists of words that resist easy etymologies, however. These words are probably of local origin. Lack of Lamaholot lexicographic data, however, prevents research in this direction for the moment. The Lamaholot words in Fernandez (1981) show that it cannot have triggered the typical LM sound changes discussed above.

The reduction of LM to its earlier stages seems to show that its links with Peninsular Malay are more direct than those of the other known varieties of Malay in east Indonesia. On the whole, the similarities between LM and its closest Malay neighbours (Kupang Malay and Ambon Malay) seem to be limited. But this is a preliminary conclusion. Further research on all these Malay varieties is urgently required.

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[1]The independent personal pronouns are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | /beta kita/ | 1PL | /(kə)toraN/ |
| 2SG | /əNko/ | 2PL | /(əN)koraN/ |
| 3SG | /bicu/ 'he' | 3PL | /doraN/ |
| | /bica/ 'she' | | |
| | /dia/ 'he, she, it' | | |

The functional difference – if any – between the different forms for the same person is not clear; /kita, dia, toraN, koraN/ are chosen more often.

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