THE REDUCTIVE SYSTEM OF AN INDONESIAN DIALECT: A STUDY OF IRIAN JAYA CASE

Ignatius Suharno

1. INTRODUCTION

The Irian dialect of Indonesian is one of a great number of dialects constituting Bahasa Indonesia. As with any other language name, Bahasa Indonesia is an ambiguous denomination: it is used generically as well as specifically. The latter use is clearly stated in the Indonesian Constitution, which ways that the state, i.e. official, language is Bahasa Indonesia. Inevitably, the constitutional accommodation is for the standard variety only. As far as Stewart's classification (Stewart 1968:531-545) goes, the Irian variety is also autonomous. As such, it is a dialect as well as a vernacular. Thus, using his abbreviations, we might as well call it a VD.

A study of the variety reveals that there are formal differences between it and the standard Indonesian. One of the significant differences which seems to be shared among non-standard varieties of Indonesian is the reduction characteristic of the dialect but not of the standard type (see Kridalaksana 1975).

The reductive characteristics are reflected in the phonology, morphology, and syntax. The phonological trait involves, among other things, omission of certain vowels and consonants, and in some cases also lowering of certain vowels. The morphological peculiarity is manifested by the use of phonemes not normally used in the standard variety, loan forms, and local entries, which generally reflect a cultural contribution. The use of grammatical markers in a way not known in the standard variety makes it distinct from the former.

This paper is a restatement of a previous study (Suharno 1978). There are only a few other descriptions of the subject, namely Roosman (1977), Silzer (1978), and Samaun (1979). The paucity of interest in the dialect is interesting, because due to the linguistic heterogeneity of Irian Jaya the dialect had been accepted as a lingua franca long before Bahasa Indonesia as the state language was introduced in the province. The role of the dialect as an introductory bridge to the use of standard forms is thus significant, if not beneficial.

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2. THE DIALECT vs THE STANDARD VARIETY

Kridalaksana (1975) outlined several features of standard Indonesian, a language which serves as a medium of communication in a context that is official, technical, public, and formal. His elaborations, however, were limited to grammatical and lexical differences. These function constraints seem to fit in with the criteria of the standard variety as the state language. It is also questionable whether there are any Indonesians who use the standard variety at all times.

The dialect under study is spoken in Jayapura, the provincial capital of Irian Jaya. It is spoken every day by the older generation as well as the younger generation of Irianese. In some cases the children's mastery of the dialect is better than their mastery of the first language of their parents.

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 High vs low

Where a higher vowel is predominant in a standard variety form, a lower vowel of the dialect tends to occur.

i vs e

(1)	kasih	vs	kase	*give*
(2)	ləbih	vs	lebe	*more*
(3)	bikin	vs	beken	*make*

u vs o

(4)	tau	vs	tao	*know*
(5)	ləmbut	vs	lombo	*soft*

ə vs a

(6)	sənaŋ	vs	sanaŋ	*happy*
(7)	sədikit	vs	sadeke	*little bit*

2.1.2 Schwa in standard Indonesian vs other vowels of dialect

In initial and interconsonantal positions, where schwa would occur in the standard variety, ɛ, e, or, less frequently, o would occur in the dialect.

(8)	mas	vs	emas	*gold*
(9)	bərsama	vs	bɛrsama	*together*
(10)	bərat	vs	bɛrat	*heavy*
(11)	tənaŋ	vs	tenaŋ	*calm*
(12)	gəde	vs	gode	*big*

2.1.3 Diphthong in standard Indonesian vs simple vowel

The dialect utilises no diphthong. Where a diphthong occurs in a word of standard variety, a simple vowel nearest to the glide of such a diphthong takes its place in the dialect word.

(13)	kau	vs	ko			*you*
(14)	kalau	vs	kalo	or	kalu	*if*
(15)	saudara	vs	sodara	or	sudara	*brother*
(16)	sampai	vs	sampe			*until*
(17)	pantai	vs	pante			*beach*
(18)	pakai	vs	pake			*use*

2.1.4 The standard h vs ø of the dialect in word-initial position

Where h occurs in word-initial position in the standard Indonesian, a zero may be substituted in the dialect.

(19) hutan vs utan or utaŋ *forest*
(20) hari vs ari *day*
(21) hilaŋ vs ilaŋ *disappear*
(22) hancur vs ancor *shattered*
(23) habis vs abes *finished*

2.1.5 Fluctuation of h and ø in word-final position

Where in the standard variety h occurs in word-final position, a zero may be substituted in the dialect. On the other hand, where standard Indonesian has an open syllable, the dialect may add h to this syllable. In the writing of many of our informants, this fluctuation is frequently reflected by the use of h when it should not be there and the absence of it when it should be.

(24) jauh vs jau *far*
(25) mudah vs muda *easy*
(26) gigih vs gigi *persistent*
(27) kasih vs kasi *give*

but

(28) muda vs mudah *young*
(29) sewa vs sewah *hire*
(30) gigi vs gigih *tooth*
(31) suka vs sukah *like*

Sometimes the fluctuation may result, to speakers of standard Indonesian, in misunderstanding:

(32) Ia melawan dengan *giginya
He fought with his teeth.

because the standard Indonesian expression would be:

(33) Ia melawan dengan gigihnya
He fought persistently.

2.1.6 Fluctuation of n and ŋ in word-final position

Where n occurs in word-final position in the standard variety, the dialect substitutes ŋ in the same position. On the other hand, though less frequently, where ŋ occurs word finally in standard Indonesian, the dialect uses n in the same position. This is also reflected in writing.

(34) asin vs asiŋ *salty*
(35) makan vs makaŋ *eat*
(36) lain vs laen *different*

but

(37) məlayaŋ vs malayan *float*
(38) binataŋ vs binatan *animal*
(39) asiŋ vs asin *strange, foreign*

Again, as in 2.1.5, the semantic change resulting from this fluctuation may produce an unexpected effect:

(40) Dorang ditangka dan *diasinkan

vs the standard Indonesian sentence:

(41) Dia ditangkap dan diasingkan
He was seized and banned

2.1.7 Omission of t, k, and l

For some standard Indonesian words that end in t, k, or l, the dialect equivalents omit these consonants. This is sometimes also reflected in writing.

(42)	baik	vs	bae		*good*
(43)	sədikit	vs	sadeke or sadiki		*little bit*
(44)	məmanggil	vs	mamaŋgi		*call*
(45)	tidak	vs	tida		*not*
(46)	laut	vs	lau	or lao	*sea*

2.1.8 Fluctuation of f and p

Where standard Indonesian uses p in intervocalic position, the dialect may, in some words and for some speakers, use f.

(47)	kəpala	vs	kefala	*head, chief*
(48)	lapar	vs	lafar	*hungry*

Among some informants, fluctuation of p with b also occurs:

(49)	bərəgu (SI)	vs	peregu (D)	*in groups*
(50)	pəroraŋan (SI)	vs	bɛoraŋan (D)	*individually*

Among some other informants, fluctuations of r and l; and p, t, k with b, d, and g respectively also occur.

2.2 Morphology

In a number of words derived from standard Indonesian, there is a tendency to reduce their size to smaller and simpler forms for easier articulation.

	(SI)		(D)		(D)	
(51)	sudah	vs	su	or	so	*already*
(52)	pərgi	vs	pigi	or	pi	*go*
(53)	aŋkau	vs	ko			*you*
(54)	puña	vs	puŋ	or	pu	*have, own*

Some of the pre-reduction forms may not be acceptable standard Indonesian forms:

	(SI)	(D)		(D)	
(55)	*kita oraŋ	kitoraŋ	or	kitɔŋ	*we*
(56)	*dia oraŋ	doraŋ	or	dɔŋ	*he, she, they*

For standard Indonesian speakers, the following sentence will mean *Where is the coffee?*:

(57) kopimana

while it really means: *Where are you going?*

2.3 Lexicon

There are many vocabulary items that are unique to the dialect. These lexical items are of three types: those that are distinct because of cultural difference; those that are loan words; and those independent innovations or loan words which have undergone semantic change. Only a limited number of those words can be found in such a standard dictionary as Poerwadarminta (1976).

2.3.1 Culturally unique words

(58) forna *sago bread mould*
(59) maitua *wife*
(60) mambruk *crown pigeon*
(61) matoa *kind of fruit*
(62) koteka *penis gourd*
(63) nokɛŋ *string bag*
(64) paitua *the boss, husband*
(65) urip *king of bird*
(66) mayari *try to find a mate*
(67) sekan *plaited armband*
(68) seman *outrigger*
(69) kabila *chest*

2.3.2 Loan words

(70) petatas (Latin) *sweet potato*
(71) pace (Dutch) *guy, Mister*
(72) roksoe (Dutch) *bad, unlucky*
(73) tripan (Indonesian) *sea cucumber*
(74) sombar (Ambon) *shade*
(75) tritɔn (Latin) *conch shell*

2.3.3 Loan words with semantic change

(76) matajalan *intersection* (D); *observer, lookout* (SI)
(77) tempo *early* (D); *time, period* (SI)
(78) kmuka *earlier* (D); *(go, come, etc.) to the front* (SI)
(79) laŋgar *meet, overtake* (D); *violate, collide* (SI)
(80) bapa ade *uncle* (D); phrase non-existent in SI
(81) bapa mantu *father-in-law* (D); phrase non-existent in SI
(82) spolo lagi saprampa *fifteen minutes to ten* (D); non-existent in SI
(83) balabo *park (for a car), stop, rest* (D); bərlabuh *cast anchor* (SI)

2.4 Grammar

One of the most salient features of the dialect in contrast to standard Indonesian is its tendency to omit such verbal prefixes as bər- and məN-. When it does occur, however, the prefix bər- tends to be reduced to ba- or, less frequently, bə-.

The dialect also employs prefix ta- to express an adjective or a verb, which in standard Indonesian may be expressed by the use of different prefixes, i.e. tər- and bər-.

In many other cases the dialect tends to use words that would be redundant in standard Indonesian, where a synthetical construction is preferred. Still in other cases words that would function differently in standard Indonesian are used in the dialect to mark certain types of sentences or clauses. Word order unlike that in standard Indonesian is sometimes also used in the dialect.

2.4.1 Omission of prefixes

The omission of prefixes, and sometimes also suffixes, in the dialect qualifies it as a non-standard Indonesian (Kridalaksana 1975:15). There is no way to predict which ber- or maN- verb construction tends to undergo the omission. One of the most frequently used verbs is bilaŋ *say* in such constructions as doraŋ bilaŋ *he, she they, we say*: mama bilaŋ *mother says*, where standard Indonesian would use ia bərkata and ibu bərkata or ibu məŋatakan. Other prefixes, e.g. di-, tər-, are sometimes also omitted.

Examples:

(84) a. siapa yaŋ piara itu binataŋ (D)
b. siapa yaŋ məmelihara binataŋ itu (SI)
Who owns those animals?

(85) a. saya rasa sədi bətul (D)
b. saya mərasa sədih bətul (SI)
I really feel sorry.

(86) a. ini tɔŋ sampah ukuran raksasa tara bisa aŋka dua oraŋ (D)
b. tɔŋ sampah ukuran raksasa ini tidak bisa diaŋkat oleh dua oraŋ (SI)
This huge garbage bin cannot be moved by two men.

2.4.2 The use of ta-

(87) a. rodaña mase taputar (D)
b. rodaña masih bərputar (SI)
The wheel is still spinning.

(88) a. doraŋ tabale dan lia itu ruma (D)
b. dia bərbalik dan məlihat rumah itu (SI)
He turns around and sees the house.

(89) a. macam tataruga tabale (D)
b. səpərti kura kura tərbalik (SI)
like a tortoise turned upside down

2.4.3 Phrasal markers

Such words as ada *be*, bekeŋ *make*, kasi *give*, and puña *have, own* are among the most frequently used to mark certain dialect phrases.

2.4.3.1 The word ada

This word is inserted between subject and the verb related to it. The phrasal verb it forms expresses a progressive aspect.

(90) a. doraŋ ada pi dipasar (D)
b. dia (sədan) pərgi kəpasar (SI)
He is going to the market.

(91) a. meme ada makaŋ di dalam (D)
b. meme (sədaŋ) makan di dalam (SI)
Meme is eating inside.

2.4.3.2 The word bekeŋ

This word is used in the dialect before another word to form a phrasal verb. The standard equivalent is normally expressed by a synthetical construction.

(92) a. doraŋ bekeŋ mati itu mɛtər (D)
b. məreka məmatikan mətər itu (SI)
They stopped the engine.

(93) a. jaŋ bekeŋ abes itu papeda (D)
b. jaŋan habiskan papəda itu (SI)
Don't finish up the sago porridge.

2.4.3.3 The word kasi

This word is used before another word to form a causative phrasal verb. The standard equivalent is a verb of synthetical construction.

(94) a. doraŋ kasi nae itu baraŋ (D)
b. məreka mənaikkan baraŋ itu (SI)

(95) a. jaŋ kasi tinggal sampe tamba takaruan
b. jaŋan ditiŋgalkan sampai mənjadi tidak karuan
Do not leave it, lest it should go wild.

2.4.3.4 The word puña

The word puña is sometimes used after an adjective or words or phrases which function as such. It is used as an emphasis.

(96) a. ini dari luar nəgri puña (D)
b. ini dari luar nəgri (SI)
This is from overseas.

(97) a. dia puŋ bau tara bae puña (D)
b. bauña tidak baik (SI)
It smells bad.

2.4.4 Clause type markers

The dialect employs certain words to mark certain type of clauses or sentences. These words have different functions in standard Indonesian. Some of these are sudah (SI) *already*, which is never shortened to so or su (cf. 2.2); baru (SI) *new, just, still*; and trus (SI tərus) *go on, continue.*

2.4.4.1 The word sudah

This word is used as an imperative marker or, in some cases, an emphatic marker. Used in this way, it always occurs at the end of an utterance.

(98) a. ko pi sudah (D)
b. pərgilah kau (SI)
Go away.

(99) a. itu sudah (D)
b. ya itulah dia (SI)
That's really it.

2.4.4.2 The word baru

This word is used as a contradictive marker. It occurs at the end of the clause or sentence it marks.

(100) a. tara laku baru mau stɛlstɛl lagi (D)
b. sudah tidak baik masih bərgaya juga (SI)
Despite (her) poor performance, she still put on airs.

(101) a. so cape baru disuru pi dipasar (D)
b. sudah capai masih juga disuruh pərgi kəpasar (SI)
Despite (my) being tired, I have to go to the market.

2.4.4.3 The word trus

This word is used at the end of a clause or sentence to mark a completive aspect.

(102) a. dia pi trus (D)
b. dia sudah pərgi (SI)
He has already gone.

2.4.5 Word order

2.4.5.1 The word of a possessive construction in standard Indonesian is Head + Poss. The word order in the dialect is Poss + puña + Head.

(103) a. doraŋ pu buku (D)
b. bukuña (SI)
His book.

(104) a. dia puŋ doi (D)
b. duitña (SI)
His money.

2.4.5.2 The word order of a definitive construction in standard Indonesian is Head + Det. The dialect word order is Det + Head.

(105) a. itu oraŋ (D)
b. oraŋ itu (SI)
that man

(106) a. ini ruma (D)
b. rumah ini (SI)
this house

2.4.5.3 The word order of a standard Indonesian sentence is S-V-O. Some of the informants tend to express sentences in S-O-V order.

(107) a. sayah ini mau minum (D)
b. saya mau minum ini (SI)
I like to drink this.

2.5 Sample text

The following is a sample text of the dialect, an article published in a local weekly. It is followed by a standard Indonesian equivalent and an English translation. The article is a social jab written by the editor.

JAYAPURA PUNG CERITA: NENE DORKAS BICARA BAHASA SETENGAH-SETENGAH

Waktu Nene Dorkas kaluar negeri dia pung bahasa lancar sekali. Tetapi waktu dia pulang kembali ke kitong pung tanah ini, eeh ..., dia pung bicara so laen lagi.

Waktu dia turun dari taxi dan mau bayar, dia mulai bilang "how much", (berapa harganya?) Sopir bilang: "Cuma seratus saja ibu". Nene Dorkas mulai balas lagi: "Maar ik punya uang besar, tien duizend (sepuluh ribu)". Sopir taxi kaget lalu bicara sandiri diam2: "Ibu ini, tadi baru bilang pake bahasa Inggris, sekarang dia bilang deng bahasa laen, macam bahasa Belanda kah! Mungkin dia pung tete orang Inggris deng nene orang Belanda, tetapi dia pung bentuk sama saja deng orang Indonesia".

Kemudian dia kasi kembali nene Dorkas pung uang: "Terima kasi bu." Tante Dorkas balas: "Tankyu (terima kasih)".

Panumpang taxi deng sopir pung kaget, deng mulai bilang, waktu taxi su bajalang. "Kalau bicara bahasa itu jangan setengah2" "dan kalau mau bicara bahasa luar negeri itu, bicara buat orang luar negeri saja, kitorang ini orang Indonesia, baru dia kira kitong orang luar negeri lagi." Lalu satu orang penumpang mulai tambah lagi: "Iyo, dia sendiri orang Indonesia asli baru biking diri macam keturunan luar negeri kah. Rupanya dia pung mental Indonesia tara tau bagemana. Tara laku baru mau stel-stel lagi!!!"

(*Berita Karya*, January 24, 1977, p.3).

CERITERA DARI JAYAPURA: NENEK DORKAS BERBAHASA SETENGAH-SETENGAH

Waktu Nenek Dorkas pergi ke luar negeri bahasa Indonesianya lancar sekali. Tetapi waktu dia pulang ke tanah air kita ini, eeh ..., lagaknya sudah lain.

Waktu dia turun dari taxi dan mau membayar, dia mulai berkata: "How much?" Sopir menjawab: "Cuma seratus saja Ibu." Nenek Dorkas mulai bicara lagi: "Maar ik punya uang besar, tien duizend." Sopir taxi terkejut dan berkata dalam hati: "Ibu ini, tadi baru saja berbicara dalam bahasa Inggris, sekarang dia berbahasa lain lagi, mungkin bahasa Belanda? Mungkin kakeknya orang Inggris dan neneknya orang Belanda, tetapi tubuhnya seperti orang Indonesia saja."

Kemudian dia memberikan uang kembali kepada Nenek Dorkas: "Terima kasih Bu." Tante Dorkas menjawab: "Tankyu."

Penumpang taxi dan sopir pun terkejut, dan mulai berbicara waktu taxi sudah berjalan. "Kalau berbahasa itu jangan sentengah-setengah. Dan kalau mau berbahasa asing itu untuk orang asing saja. Kita ini

orang Indonesia, tetapi dikiranya orang asing?" Lalu seorang penumpang menambahkan: "Ya, dia sendiri orang Indonesia tetapi berlagak seperti orang asing. Bagaimana mental Indonesianya? Sudah tidak baik masih berlagak juga."

JAYAPURA STORY: GRANDMA DORKAS SPEAKS INCONSISTENTLY

When Grandma Dorkas went overseas, she spoke Indonesian fluently. But when she returned home, her language was different.

When she got off a taxi and wanted to pay her fare, she asked in English: "How much?" The driver said: "Only one hundred, Ma'am". Grandma Dorkas continued, in Dutch: But I have large cash here, ten thousand." The driver was surprised and said to himself: "This woman had just spoken in English, now she was speaking in ... was it Dutch? Perhaps her grandfather was English and her grandmother was Dutch, but she looks Indonesian all right."

Then he gave her the change and said, in Indonesian: "Thank you, Ma'am." Aunt Dorkas answered, in English: "Thank you."

The other passengers and the driver were startled. They began talking when the car started running again. "When you speak, speak consistently. Use a foreign language to foreigners only. We are all Indonesians, yet she spoke to us in a foreign language." Another passenger added: "Yes, she is an Indonesian, but acted like a foreigner. I don't know what has happened to her Indonesian self-respect. It was bad, but she put on airs anyway."

3. CONCLUSION

It seems that, except for the cultural contribution and influences of the local Irian languages, there are consistent formal differences between the Irian dialect and the standard Indonesian. In view of the fact that the dialect has functioned as a lingua franca for a long time and that it is the first language for an increasing number of the young generation, it will not only tend to last for a long time to come, but it also deserves serious attention and further research. The need seems even more urgent if it is correct to assume that the dialect, and not the numerous unrelated local languages, presents less interference for the acquisition of the standard Indonesian.

The unique characteristics of the dialect may have resulted from the interference of the specific ethnic language properties. The characteristics are mostly reflected in the simplification of the dialect forms, very probably to facilitate expression. Other characteristics which seem difficult to identify except in a list are mostly local and cultural contributions.

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