

12 *European loan words in Ambonese Malay*

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1 Introduction

This essay deals with European loan words in Ambonese Malay, a Malay dialect of the central Moluccas (eastern Indonesia) which had begun to develop into a local variety by the time the Portuguese penetrated into the area some five hundred years ago (Collins 1980).¹

Among the many Malay dialects in Southeast Asia, Ambonese Malay is relatively well-documented.² This is due to the pivotal function of Ambon island during 350 years of colonial rule. The prominence of Ambonese Malay developed when the Portuguese founded the town of Ambon on the southern peninsula, Leitimur, in 1576, and increased even more after the Dutch took control at the beginning of the seventeenth century and turned Ambon

¹ Since the days of H. Kern (1889) it has been assumed that the Malay peninsula is the homeland of the Malays. Some included eastern parts of Sumatra around the Straits of Malacca in the region of origin (Prentice 1978). In these areas Malay has been the mother tongue of various communities for centuries. From this homeland Malay must have found its way to places further to the south (southern parts of Sumatra, and Java) and the east (in the case of Borneo at quite an early date). Nowadays west Borneo is considered by many as an earlier primary centre of dispersal of the Malay(ic) language (Adelaar 1992; Bellwood 1993; Blust 1988; Collins 1998).

Malay creoles east of Borneo have probably developed from pidginised versions used in trade and religious relations. Since the mid-seventies Collins has argued against calling Ambonese Malay a creole, primarily because creolisation theories based on linguistic features have not developed to a point that they have predictive strength (Collins 1980). Others (Prentice 1978; 1987; see also Steinhauer 1991 for further discussion) have applied the term creole to Ambonese Malay and other eastern Indonesian varieties of Malay.

A glimpse of the complexities inherent in questions of the origin and evolution of a particular form of Malay and its relationships with surrounding languages can be gained from an overview of the spread of Malay across insular and mainland Southeast Asia, Papua New Guinea, Australia, Sri Lanka, Madagascar, South Africa, and the Netherlands (Adelaar and Prentice 1996).

² An indication of the number of publications on the development of Malay studies can be obtained from the bibliographies on non-standard forms of Malay (Collins 1990, 1995a, 1995b, 1996b), Malay in the Moluccas (Holton 1996), an unpublished manuscript of a linguistic bibliography on standard Malay (Prentice forthcoming), and Polman (1983).

into a centre of the Spice trade, Protestant mission activities, and administration in eastern Indonesia.

At quite an early date, European travellers had become aware of the importance of Malay in Southeast Asia. This is evidenced by the drafting of word lists, dictionaries, and Bible translations from the early sixteenth century onwards.³

The oldest data on Ambonese Malay consist mainly of lexicographic materials, either contained in, or attached to, works on natural history (e.g. Rumphius 1741–1755; Ludeking 1868). For these works the reader is referred to the bibliographies listed in footnote 2; of the publications pertinent to the present subject only some are mentioned here.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, two small dictionaries appeared dealing exclusively with eastern Indonesian Malay dialects (de Clercq 1876, van Hoëvell 1876). Of these two works, the dictionary by de Clercq is more elaborate and reliable. An admirable study was written by the Indian scholar Msr S.R. Dalgado in 1913. His *Influencia do Vocabulario Português em Linguas Asiaticas* (translated into English and edited by A.X. Soares, see Dalgado 1988) traced a great many Portuguese words in some fifty Asian languages, including Malay. Dalgado gathered most data from contemporary dictionaries and grammars. In the case of Malay, he distinguished between a 'high', literary variety, and a 'low' variety spoken as a lingua franca throughout the archipelago. Included in the latter variety were Batavian and Moluccan data (Dalgado 1988:lxxxv). Santa Maria (1967) discussed 312 lexical items borrowed from Portuguese into Malay, i.e. not necessarily eastern Indonesian Malay. Besides giving their probable source and meaning, Santa Maria included notes on their distribution in the archipelago and comparisons with descriptions by earlier authors. Paramita Abdurachman (1972) was concerned only with Ambonese Malay. The title of her unpretentious publication indicates further restrictions: the words listed (some two hundred items) were in use among Christian Ambonese in the central Moluccas, i.e. the islands 'Ambon, Buru, Ceram and Lease' (Paramita 1972:1).

In varying degrees these works suffer from flaws which hamper etymological research on a sophisticated level. Apart from a general tendency to follow uncritically or copy previous authors, we observe in them a lack of descriptive essentials. Since in the case of Malay we are dealing with true colloquial languages or dialects, surely these relevant data ought to include precise phonetic forms including their variants and extensive semantic descriptions. Ideally such data would make it possible to identify the source from which an item was borrowed, to establish sound correspondences according to which borrowing usually takes place, and to identify semantic shifts. Such an approach is imperative, because as a rule we are dealing with competing lending languages. Additional information should specify the region and segments or layers of society in which the loan words are being used, since the whole of the borrowed lexicon is in a constant flux, as is the rest of the language. What all these activities presuppose, then, are reliable field data. Other obstacles are mentioned in the following section.

My research in the Moluccas⁴ focused on the grammar of Malay used as the first language among ethnic Ambonese Christians in the bay of Ambon island (van Minde 1997). Many of the loan words which were marked as such by Paramita Abdurachman and Santa Maria appear in my fieldnotes and recordings. This persistence of old borrowings perhaps comes as a surprise, since the influence of the national language, Indonesian, is growing as a result of its higher status, an increase in formal education, greater availability of modern

³ For an overview of these see also Teeuw (1961) and Swellengrebel (1974).

⁴ I did fieldwork from November 1986 to July 1987 and again from November 1988 to February 1989.

means of communication and higher mobility.⁵ Apparently it was premature to state that 'many words are becoming obsolete or in disuse' (Paramita Abdurachman 1972:1), or to draw conclusions from a small-scale survey (Santa Maria 1976:119–121). The following observations are offered as a modest attempt to rectify and refine these qualifications. They are dedicated to the memory of the late D.J. Prentice who, among his various areas of expertise and talents, combined a vast knowledge of Malay dialectology and lexicography with the patience to initiate students into linguistics.

2 Loan words

The main body of the Ambonese Malay lexicon consists of original Malay roots (van Minde 1997:§2.6). The majority of these roots have a disyllabic (C)V(C)V(C) structure, in which C and V stand for single phonemes. However, a sizeable number of words are loans from various languages, both indigenous and foreign. Although they have been remodelled to comply to the main phonological rules, a considerable number still deviate from the dominant root structure. The loans refer to concepts in the domain of basic vocabulary (e.g. body parts, family relations, etc.), as well as to foreign cultural entities (e.g. non-native religion, machinery).

The indigenous loans can be divided into those originating from native Ambonese languages and those stemming from other Indonesian languages. The main obstacle in identifying native words is that a more or less comprehensive dictionary of a native language has yet to be published.⁶ Indonesian lending languages other than native Ambonese languages include north Moluccan languages (e.g. Ternatan), South Sulawesi languages (Macassarese, Butonese), Javanese, Jakarta Malay, and Indonesian.

The foreign loans can be divided into those which were already part and parcel of the Malay language when it was initially introduced into the Moluccas, and those which have been absorbed at a later date. The former include words from Sanskrit (e.g. *bahasa* 'language', *suka* 'to like'), Arabic (e.g. *masjid* 'mosque'), and — through Indian intermediaries — Persian (e.g. *baju* 'shirt', *pasar* 'bazaar, market'; see Dalgado [1988:46] and Drewes [1929:133–134]). More recent borrowings (i.e. as of 1500 AD) come from a variety of European languages (Portuguese, Dutch, English), and only rarely from other non-indigenous Asian languages. Japanese *geta* in *sandal geta* 'open-toe slipper, flip-flop, thong' is probably an example of a recent Asian borrowing. Early English loans are also rather uncommon. *Hibop* 'pull up!' (< Eng *heave up!*) and *lego* 'drop!' (< Eng *let go!*) — two exclamations used in Ambon harbour which probably originate in nautical jargon — might be among the rare exceptions.

First, this classification of loan words reflects the rigid periodisation of historiography. The successive exchange of cultural concepts, socio-political and religious institutions and goods between the Indian, Arab and European world on the one hand, and Ambonese society on the other, is reflected in groups of borrowings. In theory such a classification according to source language and period of borrowing must be pursued, if at least we wish to write a history of Ambonese Malay, or, more ambitiously, of the Malay language, for that matter. The most reliable empirical evidence to track the history of words are written records. But in the case of Malay such proof is often absent, since uncorrupted non-formalised texts of

⁵ The influence of Javanese and Jakarta Malay is also growing, perhaps mostly through Indonesian.

⁶ Holton (1996) reports a forthcoming dictionary of Asilulu (north coast of Ambon island) by J.T. Collins.

Malay dialects are rare. Indeed, with only few exceptions, linguists have 'discovered' these dialects as a source of serious investigation only in the last decades. Consequently, in practice we basically lean on gross perceived resemblance in form and meaning. Our method, therefore, not seldom involves an element of conjecture. A telling illustration of the pitfalls into which previous authors have stumbled was recently given by J.T. Collins when he — opposing the view that Portuguese had borrowed this item from Malay — proposed a reverse and more plausible route for Portuguese *baileu* 'k.o. meeting hall; k.o. superstructure on board ships'. He demonstrated that it was borrowed into Ambonese Malay as *baileu* 'ceremonial village meeting hall' (Collins 1996a).

Second, the static view that borrowing takes place in more or less neatly defined periods of time is in general unwarranted, since we must allow for the possibility of words entering the language — possibly through Indonesian — long after intimate contact with an alien culture has ceased to exist. Such is the case with newly coined terms that in the absence of appropriate Malay roots are based on regional Indonesian languages (e.g. Javanese, Sundanese), Sanskrit, Arabic, or European languages.⁷

Third, related to this question is the problem of delimiting Ambonese Malay from Indonesian. Historically, Indonesian and Ambonese Malay derive from different immediate sources (Collins 1980:5–6; Teeuw 1959). However, nowadays Ambonese Malay may be regarded as a regional dialect of the national language (van Minde 1997:§1.5). Many, if not most, Ambonese Malay speakers in the central Moluccas have enjoyed formal education in Indonesian for at least a number of years. They are also regularly exposed to the national language through the media and church services. Consequently, a considerable (and growing) number of them have a fair command of Indonesian; they are in a kind of diglossic situation. However, given the lexical and grammatical proximity or overlap of Ambonese Malay and Indonesian, a continuous scale stretches between them. Code switching and code mixing are frequently attested among educated speakers.

Fourth, also regarding Dutch loans there is a demonstrable asymmetry in the speech community. Many members of the oldest generation are still conversant in Dutch, some speak it fluently. Occasionally, when talking to peers who share the same background, and depending of course also on other variables of the situation, they colour their Malay with Dutch words. Although these older speakers are not representative of the Ambonese Malay speech community, they cannot be disregarded entirely either.

Finally, I should emphasise that my research took place among Christian Moluccans in the bay area of Ambon Island. It is a historical fact that Ambonese Malay was more widespread as the home language among Christians, and that Islamic Ambonese held on to their native languages. But things are changing rapidly now. Also given the Indonesian–Ambonese Malay continuum, Ambonese Malay has become the vehicle towards modernisation for Christians and Muslims alike and it tends to replace other languages in the Central Moluccas. It may turn out that differences in the speech of Islamic Moluccans from the bay area are few and confined to certain spheres of the lexicon, phonology, or grammar. Empirical data are missing in this area, and further investigation is called for.

⁷ See the General Guide for the Formation of Terms (*Pedoman Umum Pembentukan Istilah*) in the Standard Grammar of Indonesian (Moeliono 1988) issued by the Indonesian Center for Language Development and Cultivation, and the list of European loan words in Indonesian by C.D. Grijns, J.W. de Vries and L. Santa Maria (1983).

I have gathered all Portuguese, Dutch, and English loan words occurring in my fieldnotes in §§3.1–3.⁸ From what has been said above it will be clear that this is merely an attempt to identify a possible source. Questions regarding the period of borrowing of these loan words, their exact meaning and the semantic shifts and dispersion throughout the community that they have undergone, must await further research. Not included in the lists are names of months which were borrowed from Dutch (*Januari*, *Pebruari*, etc.), and personal names. Most (or all) Christians have first names borrowed from Dutch and (increasingly) from English. The majority of family names are native (although they sometimes reflect Dutch spelling principles, such as the double consonants in *Pattiselanno*, *Litamahuputty*), some have names derived from Dutch or Portuguese (e.g. *Pieter*, *Abrahams* and *da Costa*, *de Queljoe*, *de Fretes* respectively, see Drewes 1929:138). I have not studied place names extensively, and so (beside a few names of neighbourhoods in Ambon town) I also left out names of villages probably borrowed from Portuguese (*Passo*, *Porto*, *pulo Pombo*).⁹

I have used a spelling for Ambonese Malay which largely follows the principles of Indonesian. However, in addition I use an apostrophe (') to indicate (phonemic) word stress when it is not on the penultimate syllable. Many Ambonese Malay words have alternative forms, variation being conditioned by linguistic or socio-linguistic variables. Formally, these alternative forms may be the outcome of a (synchronic) phonological rule (e.g. the alternation between final high and mid vowels in certain environments, as in *pandasi* vs. *pandase* 'foundation'), they may be doublet forms (i.e. forms not governed by phonological rules, such as *snup* vs. *snuk* 'candy'), or they may be allegro forms (*salobar* vs. *slobar* 'brackish') (van Minde 1997:Chapter 2). I do not mention alternative forms of the first kind, i.e. those governed by phonological rules, because their occurrence is predictable. However, I do include doublets since they potentially come from different sources (compare *tamate* vs. *tomat* below), as well as allegro forms, since their occurrence is unpredictable. If word meaning in the lending language is not specified, then it corresponds to the meaning of the Ambonese Malay word. The dictionaries which I have used have been listed in the bibliography.

3.1 Loan words from Portuguese

Ambonese Malay	Portuguese
<i>anteru</i> 'completely'	<i>inteiro</i> 'entire, whole; perfect'
<i>arar'ut</i> 'arrowroot'	<i>Araruta</i>
<i>asar</i> 'roast, grill'	<i>assar</i>
<i>baileu</i> 'village ceremonial hall'	<i>baileu</i> 'scaffolding, ship's fore/aftcastle' ¹⁰
<i>bandera</i> 'flag'	<i>bandeira</i>

⁸ I assume that a few words which ultimately go back to French have been borrowed through Dutch. However, in general only the immediate source or lending language is identified here.

⁹ Abbreviations used: Dut – Dutch, Por – Portuguese, Spa – Spanish, Eng – English, Fre – French, obs – obsolete.

¹⁰ See Collins (1996a) for the etymology of this word.

Ambonese Malay	Portuguese
<i>bangku</i> 'bench'	<i>banco</i> ¹¹
<i>baranda</i> 'verandah'	<i>varanda</i>
<i>barba</i> 'beard'	<i>barba</i> 'beard; whiskers'
<i>batatas</i> see <i>patatas</i>	
<i>biola</i> 'violin'	<i>viola</i>
<i>boba</i> 'abcess'	<i>boba</i>
<i>bola</i> 'ball'	<i>bola</i>
<i>canela</i> '(traditional) women's slipper'	<i>chinela</i> 'slipper' ¹²
<i>capeu</i> 'hat'	<i>chapeu</i>
<i>dansa</i> 'to dance (European style)'	<i>dança</i> 'to dance'
<i>Dominggu</i> 'Sunday'	<i>domingo</i>
<i>fageti</i> (<i>pageti</i>) 'firework'	<i>foguete</i>
<i>forna</i> 'baking mould for sago bread'	<i>forma</i> 'mould; appearance' ¹³
<i>forno</i> '(traditional) oven (e.g. for sago bread)'	<i>forno</i>
<i>fresku</i> 'cool, fresh'	<i>fresco</i>
<i>gagu</i> 'to stutter'	<i>gago</i> 'stutterer' ¹⁴
<i>galojo</i> 'gluttonous'	<i>guloso</i> 'glutton; gluttonous'
<i>gareja</i> (<i>greja</i>) 'church'	<i>igreja</i>
<i>gargantang</i> (<i>gorgontong</i>) 'throat'	<i>garganta</i> 'throat, larynx'
<i>gar'os</i> 'big, coarse'	<i>grosso</i> 'big, gross; coarse' ¹⁵
<i>gars'er</i> 'become big, grow'	<i>grosseiro</i> 'lout, clumsy fellow; coarse; gross' ¹⁶
<i>guyawas</i> 'k.o. fruit (<i>Psidium guajava</i>)'	<i>goiaba(s)</i>
<i>Inggris</i> 'England'	<i>inglês</i> 'English'
<i>jaganti</i> 'giant'	<i>gigante</i>
<i>janela</i> 'window'	<i>janela</i>

¹¹ Others have mentioned Dutch *bank* as its source (Santa Maria 1967:25; Dalgado 1988:189). D.J. Prentice (pers. comm.) has pointed out that Dutch loan words could acquire a final *-u* after the Portuguese ceased to be in control in Indonesia. Other cases in point are *lampu* 'lamp' and *buku* 'book' which derive from Dutch *lamp* and *boek* respectively.

¹² *Canela* must have been derived from the feminine noun *chinela*, rather than masculine *chinelo* (Taylor 1958). In his discussion of Portuguese *chinela*, Dalgado's suggestion of an alternative Arabic source (viz. *ka-* 'like' + *n'ala* 'a shoe') seems far-fetched (Dalgado 1988:103).

¹³ De Clercq (1876) relates Ambonese Malay *forna* to Portuguese *forno* 'oven'. However, that would leave the vowel change *o* > *a* unexplained. Portuguese also has *fornalha* 'furnace, stove, hearth' which, however, has a different meaning and an extra syllable. The change *forma* > *forna* merely involves homorganic cluster assimilation, which is quite common in Malay dialects. Note also the next item in the list *forno*, which derives from Portuguese *forno* 'oven, hearth, stove'.

¹⁴ Dalgado (1988:162) is not certain as to the real source.

¹⁵ Relating *gar'os* to *grosso* can be explained in terms of adaptation to dominant root structure (C)V(C)V(C); in the process of borrowing the consonant cluster *gr* obtained an epenthetic *a*, and by dropping final vowel *o* the preferred disyllabic base was created. See also the next item in the list.

¹⁶ If indeed *gars'er* is related to *grosseiro*, the same kind of formal adaptations as with *gar'os* (previous item) must have occurred in addition to monophthongisation *ei* > *e*. Given the multifunctionality of many Ambonese Malay items, it is moreover peculiar that *gars'er* only functions as an intransitive verb.

Ambonese Malay	Portuguese
<i>kabesa</i> 'to teach s.o. a lesson'	<i>cabeça</i> 'head; upper end; intelligence' ¹⁷
<i>kadera</i> 'chair'	<i>cadeira</i>
<i>kals'ang</i> see <i>kars'ang</i>	
<i>kampinjang</i> 'churchbell'	<i>campainha</i> 'small bell'
<i>kanastar</i> 'stacked containers for transporting food'	<i>canastra</i> 'chest, trunk'
<i>kant'ar</i> 'to sing (sad melodies, hymns)'	<i>cantar</i>
<i>kapadu</i> 'to cut off; prune, trim'	<i>capado</i> 'castrated'
<i>kapaseti</i> (<i>kapseti</i>) '(bird's) crest' ¹⁸	<i>capacete</i> 'helmet, helm; headpiece'
<i>kars'ang</i> (<i>kals'ang</i> , <i>kas'ang</i>)	<i>calção</i> 'trousers'
<i>kas'ar</i> 'hunt (by night)'	<i>caçar</i> 'to hunt, chase'
<i>kaskadu</i> 'k.o. skin fungus'	<i>cascado</i>
<i>kasta</i> in: <i>kasta tar bai</i> 'low class person'	<i>casta</i> 'caste; race; breed' ¹⁹
<i>kastigar</i> 'cause/bring into troubles'	<i>castigar</i> 'to punish, castigate'
<i>keju</i> 'cheese'	<i>queijo</i>
<i>kintal</i> 'yard, premises'	<i>quintal</i> 'yard'
<i>konyadu</i> (<i>nyadu</i>) 'brother-in-law, sister-in-law'	<i>cunhado</i> 'brother-in-law'
<i>kuca</i> 'to rub (laundry)'	<i>coçar</i> 'to rub; itch, scratch'
<i>kura</i> 'to bleach clothes, linen'	<i>curar</i> 'to bleach; to cure'
<i>kwarto</i> '(obs) labour services on behalf of village head'	<i>quarto</i> 'quarter(s)' ²⁰
<i>lamari</i> 'closet'	<i>armario</i>
<i>lanterna</i> 'small portable lantern'	<i>lanterna</i>
<i>lenso</i> (<i>lengso</i>) 'handkerchief'	<i>lenço</i>
<i>limar</i> 'file (for iron)' (cf. <i>raspa</i>)	<i>limar</i> 'to file, polish'
<i>mai</i> 'term of reference for women of mother's generation'	<i>mae</i> 'mother'
<i>mancadu</i> 'axe'	<i>machado</i> 'axe, hatchet'
<i>mantega</i> 'butter'	<i>manteiga</i>

¹⁷ Notwithstanding the striking phonetic resemblance between *kabesa* and *cabeça*, the semantic connection is not transparent. Probably the connection was made through *cabeça*'s secondary sense 'intelligence'. Dalgado has noted quite a different sense of Moluccan *kabesa*, related to the primary meaning 'head', which I have not found, viz. 'the head of a top' in relation to the best quality of camphor (Dalgado 1988:61).

¹⁸ Two types of crests are distinguished. A *kapaseti* (*kapseti*) is a crest which is in a permanent upright position. A *gomba* is a flat crest which may be extended as with certain kinds of cockatoos.

¹⁹ De Clercq (1878) relates *kasta* to Dutch *kaste*. However, *kaste* has a much more restricted meaning than Portuguese *casta*.

²⁰ In Dutch colonial literature the term *kwartodiensten* 'kwarto-services' occurs. Given the phonetic similarity it is much more plausible that *kwarto* derives from Portuguese *quarto* than Dutch *kwartier* 'quarters'. In colonial times, slaves and natives (*kwartolieden* 'kwarto-folks') were summoned by the Dutch administration to render labour services to public works. The *kwartolieden* were housed in a confined quarter (*ambachtskwartier*) of Ambon town. Later, during the nineteenth century, this type of service came to be called *herendiensten*.

Ambonese Malay	Portuguese
<i>marinyu</i> 'village messenger'	<i>meirinho</i> 'municipal officer for justice; sacristan; sacristan's assistant' ²¹
<i>marsegu</i> (<i>morsegu</i>) 'k.o. large bat'	<i>morçego</i> 'bat'
<i>martelu</i> (<i>mart'el</i>) 'hammer' (cf. <i>hamar</i>)	<i>martelo</i> 'hammer'
<i>masariku</i> 'k.o. small stilt-bird'	<i>maçarico</i> 'common name for shore birds'
<i>mask'i</i> (<i>mask'e</i>) 'although'	<i>mas que</i>
<i>meja</i> 'table'	<i>mesa</i>
<i>minggu</i> 'week'; <i>hari Minggu</i> 'Sunday'	<i>Domingo</i> 'Sunday'
<i>modo</i> in: <i>iko</i> ('follow') <i>modo</i> 'to imitate others'	<i>modo</i> 'mode, manner, fashion'
<i>monti</i> in: <i>samonti</i> 'a heap, a lot, much'	<i>monte</i> 'mount, hill, heap, pile'
<i>morea</i> 'eel'	<i>moreia</i>
<i>mustisa</i> in: <i>kaing</i> ('cloth') <i>mustisa</i> 'k.o. dress'	<i>mestiço</i> 'half-caste'
<i>Natal</i> 'Christmas (month of December)'	<i>Natal</i>
<i>nona</i> 'girl'	<i>dona</i> 'lady, mistress' (?) ²²
<i>nyora</i> '(obs) term of address for wives of certain officials'	<i>senhora</i> 'mistress; lady; landlady'
<i>oras</i> in: <i>orastadi</i> ('just now') <i>ni</i> ('this') 'now'	<i>hora</i> 'hour; point in time' (plural <i>horas</i>)
<i>os see ose</i>	
<i>ose</i> (<i>os, se</i>) 'you (singular)' ²³	<i>você</i> 'you'
<i>ostar</i> (k.o.?) 'shellfish, clam'	<i>ostra</i> 'oyster'
<i>pai</i> 'father' <i>pai tua</i> 'husband; older man; boyfriend'	<i>pai</i>
<i>panoso</i> in: <i>idong</i> ('nose') <i>panoso</i> '(ugly) flat nose'	<i>fanhoso</i> '(adjective) nasal'
<i>papaya</i> 'papaya'	<i>papaia</i>
<i>papinyu</i> 'k.o. cucumber'	<i>pepino</i> 'cucumber'
<i>par</i> (cf. <i>for, fur</i> below) 'for, for the benefit of; in order to'	<i>para</i> 'for, to, toward, in order to'
<i>Parancis</i> (<i>Prancis</i>) 'France'	<i>francês</i> 'French'
<i>pardidu</i> 'do nothing, be idle', <i>baj'ang</i> - 'stroll leisurely'	<i>perdido</i> 'lost'
<i>parlente</i> 'lie, cheat, fool'	<i>parlenda</i> 'gossip'
<i>pasiar</i> 'go on an outing, stroll'	<i>pasear</i> 'to walk, stroll'
<i>pastiu</i> 'bored, fed up'	<i>fastio</i> 'lack of appetite, aversion'
<i>patatas</i> 'sweet potato (<i>Ipomea batatas</i>)'	<i>batatas</i> 'potatoes'

²¹ Dalgado (1988:223) links Moluccan *marinyo* 'harbour master' (a meaning that I have not found) to *meirinho* 'sacristan; sacristan's assistant'. He also quotes Dr Heyligers, who derived it from *marinho* '(adjective) marine'. Although *marinho* is formally closer to Ambonese Malay *marinyu*, the semantic link is less conceivable.

²² Dalgado (1988:136–139) went to considerable lengths to demonstrate this etymology.

²³ The short form *se* is in semantic opposition to the full form *ose* and another short form *os*. While *se* is [+familiar], both *ose* and *os* are [-familiar].

Ambonese Malay	Portuguese
<i>pateka</i> 'watermelon (<i>Citrullus vulgaris</i>)'	<i>pateca</i>
<i>pena</i> 'pen (for writing)'	<i>pena</i>
<i>pesta</i> 'party, feast'	<i>festa</i>
<i>figura</i> 'apply illustrations to'	<i>figura</i> 'illustration'
<i>pipa</i> 'pipe'	<i>pipa</i>
<i>pombo</i> 'dove, pigeon'	<i>pombo</i> 'dove, pigeon'
<i>porsa</i> 'powerful, strongly'	<i>força</i> 'force, strength'
<i>postema</i> in: <i>ana</i> ('child') <i>postema!</i> 'Ugly guts!'	<i>postema</i> 'abscess, boil'
<i>raspa</i> 'file (for wood)'	<i>raspa</i> 'scraper'
<i>redi</i> 'big fishing net'	<i>rede</i> 'net'
<i>roda</i> 'wheel'	<i>roda</i>
<i>ronda</i> 'walk around, stroll'	<i>ronda</i> 'patrol; round'
<i>sabong</i> 'soap'	<i>sabão</i> 'laundry soap'
<i>Sadu</i> 'Saturday'	<i>sabado</i>
<i>salobar</i> (<i>slobar</i>) 'brackish (water)'	<i>salobre</i> 'brackish'
<i>salw'er</i> 'to serve (food, drinks)'	<i>servir</i>
<i>sapatu</i> (<i>spatu</i>) 'shoe'	<i>sapato</i>
<i>sar'ut</i> in: <i>kue sar'ut</i> 'k.o. cigar-shaped biscuit'	<i>charuto</i> 'cigar, cheroot; cigar-shaped cake'
<i>se see ose</i>	
<i>seng</i> 'no'	<i>sem</i> 'without'
<i>soldadu</i> 'soldier'	<i>soldado</i>
<i>sombar</i> 'shade'	<i>sombra</i>
<i>sono</i> 'to sleep'	<i>sono</i> 'slumber'
<i>stori see istori</i>	
<i>suar</i> 'sweat'	<i>suar</i> 'to sweat'
<i>tabaku</i> 'tobacco'	<i>tabaco</i>
<i>tamate</i> 'tomato'	<i>tomate</i> (cf. <i>tomat</i> below)
<i>tarigu</i> (<i>trigu</i>) 'wheat'	<i>trigo</i>
<i>testa</i> 'forehead'	<i>testa</i>
<i>teteruga</i> (<i>tete</i> , <i>totoruga</i>) 'turtle'	<i>tartaruga</i>
<i>tempo</i> 'time; early'	<i>tempo</i> 'time; duration; period'
<i>tinta</i> 'ink'	<i>tinta</i> 'ink; paint; colour'
<i>toma</i> 'row up against the currents'	<i>toma</i>
<i>totoruga</i> see <i>teteruga</i>	

3.2 Loan words from Dutch

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>af</i> 'finished' (love relationship)	<i>af</i> 'finished, complete'
<i>afker</i> (<i>apker</i>) 'worthless, broken down'	<i>afkeuren</i> 'reject, declare unfit'
<i>akteng</i> in: <i>kapala soa akteng</i> (obs) 'head of <i>soa</i> appointed by the Dutch colonial government' ²⁴	<i>akte</i> 'deed, act'
<i>alman'ak</i> 'calendar'	<i>almanak</i> 'almanac; yearbook'
<i>angkel</i> (<i>hangkel</i>) 'pocket money; (military) earnest money'	<i>handgeld</i> 'earnest money'
<i>apot'ek</i> 'pharmacy'	<i>apotheek</i>
<i>ar'es</i> 'detention; punishment'	<i>arrest</i> 'detention, custody'
<i>bak</i> 'reservoir'	<i>bak</i> '(storage) bin, bowl'
<i>balak</i> 'beam, joist, rafter'	<i>balk</i>
<i>Balanda</i> 'the Netherlands'	<i>Holland</i> ²⁵
<i>bal'as</i> 'blister'	<i>blaas</i> 'blister; bladder'
<i>bal'ek</i> (<i>bel'ek</i>) 'tin, can'	<i>blik</i> 'tin, can; tin plate'
<i>ban</i> 'tire; belt'	<i>band</i>
<i>bank</i> '(financial) bank'	<i>bank</i>
<i>baranda</i> 'verandah, porch'	<i>veranda</i> (cf. Por <i>varanda</i>)
<i>bas</i> 'champion, expert'	<i>baas</i> 'chief, boss'
<i>bas'it</i> '(administrative) decree'	<i>besluit</i>
<i>bat'ong</i> 'concrete (building material)'	<i>beton</i>
<i>batrei</i> (<i>batre</i>) '(electric) battery'	<i>batterij</i>
<i>bekel</i> 'to play knucklebones (game)'	<i>bikkel</i> 'knucklebone'
<i>bes</i> 'bus'	<i>bus</i>
<i>beskop</i> 'bishop'	<i>bisschop</i>
<i>bir</i> 'beer'	<i>bier</i>
<i>bleskeng</i> in: <i>ana bleskeng</i> 'damned kid'	<i>bliksems</i> 'damned'
<i>bolsak</i> (<i>boslak</i>) 'mattress'	<i>bultzak</i> 'straw mattress, mattress'
<i>bom</i> 'bomb'	<i>bom</i>
<i>bors</i> in: <i>bulu bors</i> 'place to store money, often in the bamboo wall of a house'	<i>beurs</i> 'purse'
<i>bortol</i> : see <i>wortol</i>	
<i>bot</i> 'big sailing proa; boat'	<i>boot</i> 'vessel, ship'
<i>broideh'ong</i> '(bride)groom'	<i>bruidegom</i>
<i>broit</i> 'bride'	<i>bruid</i>
<i>brot</i> 'bread' (<i>muka brot</i> 'solemn expression')	<i>brood</i>
<i>bui₁</i> 'prison'	<i>boei</i> 'chain, (hand)cuff'
<i>bui₂</i> 'buoy'	<i>boei</i>

²⁴ A *soa* is a traditional territorial village unit which has a *kapala* (head) as its spokesman. In colonial times these heads were appointed either through customary law (*kapala soa tana* literally 'head *soa* land'), or by the Dutch (*kapala soa akteng*).

²⁵ Via Javanese *welanda* and Portuguese *holanda* (Adelaar 1988:62).

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>buku</i> 'book'	<i>boek</i>
<i>busi</i> 'sparkplug'	<i>bougie</i> (< Fre)
<i>da</i> 'bye!'	<i>dáág!</i>
<i>dangki</i> in <i>dangki lei</i> 'thank you'	<i>dank u</i> 'thank you'
<i>dasi</i> '(neck)tie'	<i>dasje</i> (diminutive of <i>das</i>)
<i>des</i> '(conjunction) so, consequently'	<i>dus</i>
<i>desel</i> 'short chisel; to chisel'	<i>dissel</i> 'adze'
<i>dobol</i> 'double'	<i>dobol</i>
<i>doktor</i> ₁ 'Doctor (title)'	<i>doctor</i>
<i>doktor</i> ₂ '(medical) doctor'	<i>dokter</i>
<i>doktorandus</i> 'Master of Arts (title, term of reference)'	<i>doctorandus</i>
<i>donci</i> 'song, melody'	<i>deuntje</i> 'tune; song, ditty'
<i>dos</i> 'carton, cardboard box'	<i>doos</i> '(cardboard) box'
<i>dosi</i> 'carton, cardboard box'	<i>doosje</i> (diminutive of <i>doos</i> '(cardboard) box')
<i>ehin'ar</i> 'boss, employer'	<i>eigenaar</i> 'owner'
<i>ember</i> 'bucket'	<i>emmer</i>
<i>engsel</i> 'hinge'	<i>hengsel</i> 'handle; hinge'
<i>es</i> 'ice; ice cream'	<i>ijs</i>
<i>fader</i> 'term of address for males of father's generation'	<i>vader</i> 'father'
<i>fam</i> 'family-, clan name'	<i>fam</i> (abbreviation of <i>familie</i> 'family')
<i>far'ek</i> (<i>par'ek</i>) '(exclamation) damn!'	<i>verrek</i>
<i>farlegeng</i> 'shy, timid'	<i>verlegen</i>
<i>far'u</i> 'early (in the morning), in time'	<i>vroeg</i> 'early'
<i>film</i> 'film'	<i>film</i>
<i>floir</i> 'flute'	<i>fluit</i>
<i>flur</i> 'floor'	<i>vloer</i>
<i>fokstrot</i> 'foxtrot'	<i>foxtrot</i>
<i>fols</i> in: - <i>tangang</i> 'wrist', - <i>kaki</i> 'ankle'	<i>pols</i> 'wrist'
<i>for</i> (<i>fur</i>) 'for, in order to, for the benefit of' ²⁶	<i>voor</i> 'for, in order to; for the benefit of'
<i>fordomo</i> (<i>pordomo</i>) 'Damn it!'	<i>verdomme!</i>
<i>forok</i> 'fork'	<i>vork</i>
<i>garan'at</i> (<i>gran'at</i>) 'grenade, shell'	<i>granaat</i>
<i>golpi</i> 'fly (in trousers)'	<i>gulpje</i> '(obs) pair of trousers with a fly'; diminutive of <i>gulp</i> 'fly'
<i>goni</i> 'gunny(sack)'	<i>gonje</i> 'gunny'
<i>gordeng</i> 'curtain'	<i>gordijn</i>

²⁶ Ambonese Malay has three prepositions/conjunctions with overlapping function and meaning: *par*, *for* (*fur*), and *buat* (*bot*). While *par* was borrowed from Portuguese, and *buat* is Malay, the most probable source of *for* (*fur*) is Dutch *voor*, although it might also be a contamination of Dutch *voor* and Spanish/Portuguese *por* (see van Minde 1997:32).

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>got</i> 'waste-, drainpipe'	<i>goot</i>
<i>goti</i> 'hollow trunk used to drain water during preparation of sago from flour'	<i>gootje</i> diminutive of <i>goot</i> 'waste-, drainpipe'
<i>gratis</i> 'free of charge'	<i>gratis</i>
<i>grendel</i> '(door)bolt'	<i>grendel</i>
<i>gruta mad'am</i> '(order in quadrille) Greet the lady' ²⁷	<i>groeten</i> 'greet'; <i>madam</i> (< Fre)
<i>hafen</i> 'harbour (of Ambon town)'	<i>haven</i> 'harbour'
<i>hamar</i> '(big) hammer'	<i>hamer</i> 'hammer'
<i>hangkel</i> see <i>angkel</i>	
<i>hasen</i> 'k.o. children's game'	<i>hazen</i> 'hares' (?)
<i>hek</i> '(to) hiccough'	<i>hik</i> 'hiccough'
<i>helem</i> 'helmet'	<i>helm</i>
<i>hes</i> 'yeast'	<i>gist</i>
<i>hodeng</i> 'sturdy, burly, macho'	<i>houding</i> 'attitude'
<i>hol</i> 'hollow'	<i>hol</i>
<i>horlap'ep</i> 'hornpipe (dance)'	<i>horlepijp</i>
<i>hotel</i> 'hotel'	<i>hotel</i>
<i>insiny'ur</i> 'engineer'	<i>ingenieur</i>
<i>iskrup</i> (<i>skrup</i>) 'screw'	<i>schroef</i>
<i>isprei</i> (<i>sprei</i>) '(bed)spread'	<i>sprei</i>
<i>istori</i> (<i>stori</i>) 'to tell (a story)'	<i>historie</i> '(real life) story; history'
<i>istrika</i> (<i>strika</i>) 'to iron'	<i>strijken</i>
<i>istrat</i> (<i>strat</i>) 'street'	<i>straat</i>
<i>istrong</i> (interjection) 'Shit!'	<i>stront</i> '(vulgar) faeces'
<i>kabel</i> 'cable'	<i>kabel</i>
<i>kakarlak</i> 'cockroach; albino' ²⁸	<i>kakkerlak</i> 'cockroach'
<i>kal'ar</i> (<i>klar</i>) 'ready, finished'	<i>klaar</i>
<i>kal'as</i> '(school)class; classroom'	<i>klas</i>
<i>kal'ot</i> (<i>klot</i>) (vulgar) 'penis, male genitals'	<i>kloot</i> 'testicle'
<i>kamar</i> 'room'	<i>kamer</i>
<i>kan in: kayu</i> ('wood') <i>kan</i> 'squared timber'	<i>kanthout</i>
<i>kan'ek</i> 'driver's assistant'	<i>knecht</i> 'servant, helper'
<i>kan'op</i> (<i>kноп</i>) 'button'	<i>knoop</i>
<i>kan'or</i> 'to grumble, grouch'	<i>knor</i>
<i>kantor</i> 'office'	<i>kantoor</i>
<i>kar'a</i> (<i>kra</i>) 'collar (of shirt)'	<i>kraag</i>
<i>kar'am</i> (<i>kram</i>) '(to suffer from) cramp'	<i>kramp</i>
<i>karesteng</i> (<i>kresteng</i>) 'Christian'	<i>Kristen</i>
<i>kartou</i> 'pants, boxer short'	<i>kartouw</i> (?) '(obs) k.o. gun'

²⁷ Only in this case *g* stands for velar fricative [x]. Usually Dutch /x/ is replaced by /h/ in loan words.

²⁸ The meaning 'albino' is motivated by the aversion for bright daylight characteristic of cockroaches.

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>kard'us</i> (<i>gardus</i>) 'k.o. packing paper'	<i>kard'us</i>
<i>karp'us</i> 'woollen cap'	<i>karpoets</i> (<Por)
<i>kart</i> 'map' in: <i>Ambong kart</i> 'Moluccan raised and living outside Moluccas'	<i>kaart</i>
<i>kas</i> 'closet, cupboard' in: <i>kas makang</i> 'provision cupboard'	<i>kast</i>
<i>katap'el</i> 'sling shot, catapult'	<i>katapult</i>
<i>katedr'al</i> 'Catholic Cathedral in Ambon town'	<i>kathedraal</i>
<i>katreji</i> 'quadrille'	<i>quadrille</i> (<Fre)
<i>katsasi</i> '(religious) confirmation classes'	<i>catechisatie</i>
<i>kep</i> 'notch, nick; to cut notches'	<i>keep</i>
<i>kerkop</i> (<i>kerko</i>) 'cemetery'	<i>kerkhof</i>
<i>kes</i> 'monkey'	<i>Kees</i> 'Cornelis (personal name); general name for monkeys or a kind of monkey'
<i>kewel</i> 'to chat'	<i>keuvelen</i>
<i>kilo₁</i> 'kilometre'	<i>kilometer</i>
<i>kilo₂</i> 'kilogram'	<i>kilogram</i>
<i>knefer</i> 'moustache'	<i>knevel</i>
<i>kob'ik</i> 'cubic metre'	<i>kubiek</i>
<i>kode</i> 'secret sign; to give a secret sign'	<i>code</i> 'code, (secret) sign'
<i>koi</i> 'bed'	<i>kooi</i> 'berth, bunk (on board ships)'
<i>kol</i> 'cabbage'	<i>kool</i>
<i>komando</i> 'commando'	<i>commando</i>
<i>komesi</i> 'go on inspection'	<i>commissie</i> '(investigation) committee'
<i>komplet</i> 'complete'	<i>compleet</i>
<i>kompōr</i> 'stove'	<i>komfoor</i>
<i>kontan</i> '(to pay) cash'	<i>contant</i>
<i>kontel'er</i> 'inspector'	<i>controleur</i>
<i>kontrak</i> 'contract'	<i>contract</i>
<i>kontra parti</i> 'opposite row of dancers in quadrille'	<i>contrapartij</i>
<i>kons</i> in: <i>seng kons</i> 'really easy' (lit. 'no art')	<i>kunst</i> 'art'
<i>kop₁</i> 'learn by heart'	<i>kop</i> '(vulgar) head'
<i>kop₂</i> 'to butt with the head (at soccer)'	<i>koppen</i>
<i>kopi</i> 'coffee'	<i>koffie</i>
<i>kopleng</i> '(car) gear'	<i>koppeling</i>
<i>kopor</i> 'suitcase'	<i>koffer</i>
<i>kopral</i> '(military) corporal'	<i>korporaal</i>
<i>kortsleteng</i> (<i>korsleteng</i>) 'short-circuit'	<i>kortsluiting</i>
<i>kos</i> 'stocking, sock'	<i>kous</i>
<i>koseng</i> 'window or door frame, casing'	<i>kozijn</i>
<i>kotpord'om</i> 'Damn it!'	<i>godverdomme!</i>

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>kransendans</i> 'k.o. dance'	<i>kransendans</i> ²⁹
<i>kronci</i> in: <i>mati deng kronci</i> 'die unmarried' ³⁰	<i>kroontje</i> (diminutive of <i>kroon</i> 'crown')
<i>kukis</i> 'cookie'	<i>koekjes</i> 'cookies'
<i>ladeng</i> 'bait put on hook of fishing rod'	<i>lading</i> 'charge; load'
<i>lampu</i> 'lamp'	<i>lamp</i>
<i>lansik</i> 'languid'	<i>landziek</i> 'landsick'
<i>lap</i> 'to punish s.o.'	<i>lap</i> 'a blow'; <i>lappen</i> 'to strike s.o.'
<i>lat</i> 'late'	<i>laat</i>
<i>lem</i> 'glue'	<i>lijm</i>
<i>listrik</i> 'electricity'	<i>electrisch</i>
<i>liter</i> 'litre'	<i>liter</i>
<i>lofrak</i> 'trench'	<i>loopgraaf</i>
<i>los</i> 'loose, undone' ³¹	<i>los</i>
<i>lur</i> 'to peep'	<i>loeren</i>
<i>mad'am</i>	<i>madame</i> (< Fre) (see <i>gruta</i>)
<i>makel'ar</i> (<i>makl'ar</i>) 'broker; middleman'	<i>makelaar</i>
<i>mama</i> '(term of address) mother'	<i>mama</i>
<i>mami</i> '(polite/intimate term of address) mother'	<i>mami</i> (children's language) 'mama'
<i>Mandak</i> in: <i>hari Mandak</i> (lit. 'day M.') 'Monday'	<i>maandag</i> 'Monday'
<i>man'er</i> (obs) 'term of address for adult men'	<i>meneer</i> 'mister'
<i>man'ir</i> 'behaviour, habits'	<i>manier</i> 'way, manner' (<i>manieren</i> 'behaviour; manners')
<i>mar</i> (<i>mor, mo</i>) 'but, however'	<i>maar</i> 'but, however; just'
<i>masina</i> 'machine'	<i>machine</i>
<i>mas'ing</i> 'machine'	<i>machine</i>
<i>mesel</i> 'to lay bricks'	<i>metsel(en)</i>
<i>mester</i> in: <i>seng mester</i> 'not pay attention to; not care'	<i>meesteren</i> 'to order s.t./s.o.' ³²
<i>meter</i> 'metre'	<i>meter</i>
<i>mili</i> 'millimetre'	<i>millimeter</i>
<i>milo</i> type of secondary school during colonial times	<i>Mulo</i> (<i>Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs</i>)

²⁹ In this dance the girls carry garlands (*kransen*).

³⁰ The *kronci* is an ornamental paper crown placed on the head of deceased unmarried persons (see de Clercq (1876), van Hoëvell (1876)).

³¹ Also in *mulu los* (lit. 'mouth loose') 'blabbermouth; to gossip'.

³² Dalgado (1988:227–228) raises the possibility that *mester* may be derived from Dutch *meester* or Portuguese *mestre* 'master'.

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>miter</i> in: <i>kuto par kaskadu miter ni!</i> 'Dammit!' ³³	(sode)mieter < Sodom
<i>moi</i> 'beautiful'	<i>mooi</i>
<i>mok</i> (<i>moko</i>) 'small bowl'	<i>mok</i> 'mug'
<i>moleng</i> '(concrete) mixer'	(beton)molen '(concrete) mixer'
<i>momprou</i> 'madam, misses'	<i>mevrouw</i>
<i>montir</i> 'mechanic'	<i>monteur</i> (< Fre)
<i>morgong</i> '(obs) (Good) morning'	<i>morgen</i> 'morning; (short for) Good morning'
<i>mot</i> 'piece (wood), fillet (fish); to cut into pieces'	<i>moot</i> 'piece (of fish)'
<i>mopor</i> (<i>mofo</i>) 'to grumble, grouch'	<i>mopperen</i> 'to grumble'
<i>motor</i> ₁ 'motorboat'	<i>motor</i> (boot)
<i>motor</i> ₂ 'motorcycle'	<i>motor</i> (fiets)
<i>mur</i> 'nut (of screw)'	<i>moer</i>
<i>naweng</i> (obs) '(Good) evening'	(Goeden)avond '(Good) evening'
<i>neptang</i> 'pincers'	<i>knijptang</i>
<i>no</i> '(interjection) well'	<i>nou</i> '(interjection) well; now'
<i>nodek</i> in: <i>seng nodek</i> 'have nothing to do with'	<i>nodig</i> 'necessary'
<i>noit</i> in: <i>batu</i> ('stone') <i>noit</i> '(construction) die' ³⁴	<i>neut</i>
<i>nomor</i> 'number'	<i>nummer</i>
<i>not</i> 'to invite s.o.; invitation'	<i>noden</i> 'to invite s.o.'
<i>om</i> 'uncle'; term of reference/address for adult men	<i>oom</i> 'uncle'
<i>oma</i> 'grandmother; term of address for old women'	<i>oma</i> 'grandmother'
<i>ondor</i> 'to give ground, give in to s.o.'	<i>onderdoen voor</i> 'yield to, be surpassed'
<i>ondors'up</i> (<i>ondors'uk</i>) 'to question, interrogate s.o.'	<i>onderzoeken</i> 'to investigate'
<i>opa</i> 'grandfather; term of address for old men'	<i>opa</i> 'grandfather'
<i>oplek</i> 'to keep an eye on, watch s.o. (suspiciously)'	<i>oplettten</i> 'attend; take care'
<i>opor</i> (<i>ofor</i>) in: <i>bakuopor</i> 'hand over (a function)' ³⁵	<i>over</i> (handigen) '(hand) over s.t.'
<i>oranye</i> in: <i>kakatua gomba oranye</i> 'orange-crested cockatoo'	<i>oranje</i> 'orange (colour)'
<i>oto</i> 'car'	<i>auto</i>
<i>pak</i> 'pack(age); to pack s.t.'	<i>pak</i>

³³ The Ambonese Malay imprecative is a concatenation of three expressive and suggestive elements. The literal meaning of the complex is 'louse for skin fungus *miter* this'. Dutch *mieter* derives from *sodemieter*, which in turn is based on the biblical place name *Sodom*. Dutch *sodemieter* and *mieter* occur in a variety of imprecatives with a range of non-specific meanings.

³⁴ The *batu noit* serve as a base for house posts.

³⁵ Ambonese Malay has social prefix *baku-* denoting actions performed by a plural Agent, including reciprocal actions.

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>pal</i> 'post, pole'	<i>paal</i>
<i>pal'ak</i> 'persist (in begging, ...)'	<i>plakken</i> 'stick, adhere' ³⁶
<i>palap'ong</i> (<i>plap'ong</i>) 'ceiling'	<i>plafond</i>
<i>pal'at</i> 'flat(-lying)'	<i>plat</i> 'flat'
<i>palau</i> 'to faint'	<i>flauw(vallen)</i>
<i>pals'ir</i> (<i>plasir</i>) 'have or make fun; have a happy time'	<i>plezier</i> 'fun'
<i>pamade</i> '(obs) pomade'	<i>pommade</i> (< Fre)
<i>pang</i> (<i>pan</i>) 'pot'	<i>pan</i>
<i>panak'uk</i> 'pancake'	<i>pannekoek</i>
<i>pandasi</i> (<i>pangdasi</i>) 'foundation (of house, etc.)'	<i>fundatie</i>
<i>panili</i> 'vanilla (plant, fruit)'	<i>vanille</i> (< Fre)
<i>papi</i> 'daddy'	<i>pappie</i>
<i>parangko</i> (<i>prangko</i>) '(postage-)stamp'	<i>franco</i>
<i>Pard'is</i> 'popular name of a neighbourhood in Ambon town'	<i>Paradijs</i> 'Paradise'
<i>pariasi</i> 'court several girls at a time (?)'	<i>variatie</i> 'variation'
<i>parm'ak</i> 'to beat s.o.'	<i>vermaken</i> 'remodel'
<i>par'op₁</i> (<i>prop</i>) 'to stuff, cram, gorge o.s.'	<i>proppen</i>
<i>par'op₂</i> (<i>prop</i>) 'cork (on bottle)'	<i>prop</i> 'ball, stopper, bung'
<i>pas</i> 'exactly when ... (in time indication)'	<i>pas</i>
<i>pars'is</i> 'right, exactly'	<i>precies</i>
<i>pasasi</i> 'fare; call to pay the fare on bus by assistant'	<i>passage</i> 'passage, crossing'
<i>per</i> 'spring'	<i>veer</i>
<i>perces</i> '(small) electric bulb'	<i>peertjes</i> (plural form of diminutive <i>peertje</i>)
<i>perked'el</i> 'k.o. fritter with bits of chopped meat'	<i>frikadel</i> 'minced meat'
<i>pisap'i</i> 'row of partners in <i>quadrille</i> dance'	<i>vis-à-vis</i> (< Fre)
<i>pist'ong</i> 'cap, primer (of bullet)'	<i>piston</i> (< Fre <i>piston</i>)
<i>plekster</i> 'plaster, bandaid'	<i>pleister</i>
<i>poci</i> in: <i>poci te</i> 'teapot'	<i>potje</i> (diminutive of <i>pot</i>)
<i>podeng</i> 'pudding'	<i>pudding</i>
<i>polisi</i> 'police'	<i>politie</i>
<i>pompa</i> 'pump'	<i>pomp</i>
<i>popi</i> 'doll' in: <i>ana popi</i> 'doll'	<i>popje</i> (diminutive of <i>pop</i>)
<i>poporces</i> 'k.o. small pancake'	<i>poffertjes</i> (plural of <i>poffertje</i>)
<i>pordomo</i> see <i>fordomo</i>	
<i>poris</i> 'front room (space)'	<i>voorhuis</i>

³⁶ Dutch *plagen* 'to tease' is a less likely source for *pal'ak* (Drewes 1929:144). First, I have recorded only the meaning 'to persist (in begging), ask repeatedly'; secondly, such a source would involve a change [x] > [k-], which occurs only incidentally (compare Dutch *maandag* 'Monday' > Ambonese Malay *hari Mandak*).

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>porkici</i> 'parakeet'	<i>parkietje</i> (diminutive of <i>parkiet</i>)
<i>pos</i> 'mail'	<i>post</i>
<i>potlot</i> 'pencil'	<i>potlood</i>
<i>potret</i> 'photograph'	<i>portret</i> 'portrait; (obs) photograph'
<i>preman</i> 'civilian'	<i>vrij man</i> 'free man'
<i>pus</i> 'cat'	<i>poes</i> 'female cat'
<i>rai</i> 'to guess'	<i>raaien</i> ³⁷
<i>rar</i> in: <i>tukang bar'ar</i> 'weirdo'	<i>raar</i> 'weird' ³⁸
<i>rekeng</i> 'to count, figure'	<i>rekenen</i>
<i>rem</i> 'brake'	<i>rem</i>
<i>rem'is</i> (obs) in: <i>bayar rem'is-rem'is</i> 'pay in instalments'	<i>remise</i> 'remittance' (< Fr. <i>remise</i>)
<i>rim</i> ₁ 'sentence-intonation; dialect'	<i>rijm</i> 'rhyme'
<i>rim</i> ₂ 'belt, girdle'	<i>riem</i>
<i>rim</i> ₃ 'ream (of paper)'	<i>riem</i>
<i>rong</i> in: <i>bunga rong</i> 'k.o. ornament for hairdress'	<i>rond</i> 'round'
<i>sadis</i> in: <i>Paleng sadis!</i> 'Crazy! Impossible!'	<i>sadist</i> 'sadist' ³⁹
<i>sak</i> 'pocket (in trousers)'	<i>zak</i>
<i>sak'ak</i> (<i>skak</i>) 'chess; to play chess; checkmate'	<i>schaak</i>
<i>saklar</i> '(electric) switch'	<i>schakelaar</i>
<i>salei</i> (<i>sal'e</i>) 'jam'	<i>gelei</i> (< Fre <i>gelée</i>)
<i>salenter</i> 'to go around aimlessly'	<i>slenteren</i> 'loiter, loaf about'
<i>sal'ep</i> (<i>slep</i>) 'trail (a dress)'	<i>slepen</i>
<i>sandal</i> 'sandal (footwear)'	<i>sandal</i>
<i>sem'eng</i> 'cement, mortar'	<i>cement</i>
<i>seng</i> 'zinc; zinc roofing'	<i>zink</i> 'zinc'
<i>senter</i> 'flashlight'	<i>center(lamp)</i> ⁴⁰
<i>senti</i> 'centimetre'	<i>centimetre</i>
<i>ser</i> 'have one's eye on, fancy a person' (cf. <i>takser</i>)	<i>taxeren</i> 'evaluate; assess'
<i>sil'et</i> 'razor blade; razor'	<i>Gillette</i> (brandname)
<i>sipil</i> 'civil'	<i>civiel</i>
<i>skeleng</i> 'cross-eyed'	<i>scheel</i>

³⁷ Contemporary Dutch has colloquial *raaien* and standard *raden* 'to guess'. Ambonese Malay *rai* is derived from the colloquial form.

³⁸ Ambonese Malay *tukang* 'craftsman' is also used in compoundlike complexes to denote habitual or characteristic features. The form *bar'ar* has prefix *ba-* which conveys durative meaning.

³⁹ The expression *Paleng* ('very') *sadis* was popular among Ambonese youth at the time of my research.

⁴⁰ Dutch has a number of nominal compounds with first element *center* 'centre; centre punch', as well as a verb *centeren* 'to centre'. The Malay word *lampu senter* is a calque of Dutch *centerlamp*, a flashlight of which the beam could be focussed by turning its head.

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>skap</i> '(wood)plane'	<i>schaaf</i>
<i>Skit</i> (<i>Skip</i>) 'popular name of a neighbourhood in Ambon town'	<i>schier</i> ⁴¹
<i>skot</i> ₁ in: <i>tali skot</i> 'clew (on proa)'	<i>schoot</i>
<i>skot</i> ₂ 'shot'	<i>shot</i>
<i>skrup</i> see <i>iskrup</i>	
<i>slaber</i> '(floor-)cloth, rag; to mop'	<i>slabber</i>
<i>slak</i> in: <i>slak bicara</i> 'speech style'	<i>slag</i> 'manner, style'; kind'
<i>sledri</i> 'celery'	<i>selderie</i>
<i>sloki</i> 'shot (of liquor); shot glass'	<i>slokje</i> '(a) drink, sip, nip'
<i>smerlap</i> (<i>smerlak</i>) 'bastard, son-of-a-gun'	<i>smeerlap</i> 'dirty fellow, pig; son-of-a-gun'
<i>snup</i> (<i>snuk</i>) 'candy'	<i>snoep</i>
<i>Sondak</i> 'Sunday'	<i>zondag</i>
<i>sondor</i> 'without'	<i>zonder</i>
<i>sopi</i> 'distilled palmwine'	<i>zopie</i> (<i>zoopje</i>) 'sip of liquor'
<i>sopir</i> 'driver'	<i>chauffeur</i>
<i>sos</i> 'sauce'	<i>saus</i>
<i>spet</i> 'squirt, spurt; to spray-paint'	<i>spuiten</i>
<i>spok</i> 'ghost'	<i>spook</i>
<i>sprei</i> see <i>isprei</i>	
<i>spul</i> 'rinse, wash out; run away, flee'	<i>spoelen</i> 'rinse, wash out' ⁴²
<i>stapel</i> in: <i>kayu stapel</i> '(chopped) firewood'	<i>stapel</i> 'heap'
<i>sterek</i> 'very'	<i>sterk</i> 'strong' ⁴³
<i>stip</i> 'eraser'	<i>stuf</i>
<i>stir</i> 'steering wheel; to steer, drive'	<i>stuur</i>
<i>stop</i> 'to stop'	<i>stoppen</i>
<i>strat</i> see <i>istrat</i>	
<i>strep</i> 'stripe, slash'	<i>streep</i>
<i>strika</i> see <i>istrika</i>	
<i>strong</i> see <i>istrong</i>	
<i>suklet</i> 'searchlight' ⁴⁴	<i>zoeklicht</i>
<i>suw'ak</i> (<i>swak</i>) 'weak, languid'	<i>zwak</i>
<i>suw'et</i> (<i>swet</i>) 'sweat'	<i>zweet</i>

⁴¹ In the Dutch colonial period there used to be a rifle range in this neighbourhood. The source is Dutch *schieten* 'to shoot'.

⁴² Ambonese *spul* in the sense 'run away, flee' occurs as single main verb, and in combination with other verbs in sequence (*spul pi* 'flee', 'go', 'flee away (from reference point)').

⁴³ *Sterek* probably has a limited distribution, the usual adverbs for superlatives being *paleng*, *paskali*, and *lawang* 'very'. One combination I recorded is *maraju sterek* 'really bad-tempered'. Collins, however, has noted its occurrence as an exclamation 'Terrific!' (J.T. Collins, pers. comm.).

⁴⁴ Also in *kapal suklet* 'patrol boat with searchlight(s)'.

Ambonese Malay	Dutch
<i>takel</i> 'tackle, hoist; to tackle'	<i>takel</i>
<i>takser</i> 'to estimate' (cf. <i>ser</i>)	<i>taxeren</i>
<i>taksi</i> 'taxi'	<i>taxi</i> (< Eng)
<i>tal'at</i> '(too) late'	<i>te laat</i>
<i>talenta</i> 'talent, gift, ability'	<i>talenten</i> (singular <i>talent</i>) ⁴⁵
<i>tal'it</i> 'incline, slope'	<i>talud</i>
<i>tanta</i> 'aunt; term of reference/address for adult women'	<i>tante</i> 'aunt'
<i>taplak</i> 'table-cloth'	<i>tafellaken</i>
<i>tas</i> 'bag'	<i>tas</i>
<i>te</i> 'tea'	<i>thee</i>
<i>terek</i> 'tease'	<i>tergen</i> 'provoke; badger'
<i>tes</i> '(school) examination'	<i>test</i>
<i>tesis</i> '(university) thesis'	<i>thesis</i>
<i>tilpung</i> 'telephone; to make a phone call'	<i>telefoon</i>
<i>toit</i> 'spout'	<i>tuit</i>
<i>tolbang</i> '(turban-shaped) Christmas cake'	<i>tulband</i>
<i>tomat</i> 'tomato'	<i>tomaat</i> (see <i>tamate</i> above)
<i>tong</i> 'cask' in: <i>tong air</i> 'water butt/cask'	<i>ton</i>
<i>trosol</i> 'dawdle, loiter'	<i>treuzelen</i>
<i>wals</i> 'waltz'	<i>wals</i>
<i>war</i> in: <i>laki-laki seng war</i> 'good-for-nothing'	(<i>niets</i>) <i>waard</i> '(no) value'
<i>warmus</i> in: <i>pi warmus</i> 'go steal (fruits, vegetables)'	<i>warmoes</i> '(obs) vegetables' ⁴⁶
<i>waterp'as</i> 'level (instrument)'	<i>waterpas</i>
<i>weleng</i> in: <i>ana weleng</i> 'k.o. pike (fish)'	<i>Willem</i> 'William' (first name) ⁴⁷
<i>wer</i> 'weather'	<i>weer</i>
<i>wortol</i> (<i>bortol</i>) 'carrot'	<i>wortel</i>
<i>yal'urs</i> (<i>yal'us</i>) 'jealous'	<i>jaloers</i>
<i>ye</i> '(letter) j' in: <i>ana ye</i> 'j-shaped lock of hair near the ear of girls and women'	<i>j</i> (standing for a semivowel)

⁴⁵ Portuguese *talento* is less likely as a source, for this requires an explanation of the final vowel change /u/ > /a/.

⁴⁶ Dutch *warmoes* 'vegetables' has become obsolete. It occurred in a number of compounds, including *warmoes hof*, *-land*, *-tuin* 'garden, land where vegetables are grown'. Apparently Ambonese Malay has retained the element *warmus* in the expression *pi warmus* 'to go to someone's orchard/garden and steal its fruits/vegetables'.

⁴⁷ According to de Clercq (1876:23), *willem* occurs in two fishnames in neighbouring Banda Malay (south of Ambon), viz. *ikan willem* and *ikan willem anak*.

3.3 Loan words from English

Ambonese Malay	English
<i>arar'ut</i> 'arrowroot (<i>Maranta arundinacea</i>)'	arrowroot ⁴⁸
<i>bar</i> 'bar'	bar
<i>botol</i> 'bottle'	bottle
<i>cok</i> 'choke (of car); electric plug'	choke
<i>digr'i</i> '(university) degree'	degree
<i>diko</i> 'plaster; to apply plaster'	Duco (brand name)
<i>disko</i>	disco
<i>drom</i> 'drum (container)'	drum
<i>feri</i> 'ferry'	ferry
<i>foli</i> 'volleyball; to play volleyball'	volley
<i>gol</i> 'goal (at soccer)'	goal
<i>hib'op</i> 'Pull up! (a load at harbour, on board ship)'	heave up
<i>hobi</i> in: <i>seng</i> ('no') <i>hobi</i> 'to dislike, not fancy'	hobby
<i>hostes</i> 'bar waitress; prostitute'	hostess
<i>kaset</i> '(music) cassette'	cassette
<i>kiper</i> 'goalkeeper'	keeper
<i>kopi</i> 'photocopy; to copy'	copy
<i>lefri</i> 'referee; to whistle' ⁴⁹	referee
<i>lego</i> 'Drop it! (a load)'	let go
<i>mester</i> 'term of address for foreigners'	mister
<i>motor</i> 'engine; (small) motorboat; motor(cycle)'	motor
<i>nilon</i> (<i>nilong</i>) '(nylon) fishing line'	nylon
<i>oke</i> 'okay'	okay
<i>pomp'om</i> in: <i>sagu pomp'om</i> 'sago roasted in copper pipes'	pompom '(k.o. automatic gun)' ⁵⁰
<i>repopol</i> 'revolver'	revolver
<i>seks</i> 'sex'	sex
<i>strongkeng</i> 'kerosene lamp'	Storm King (brand name)
<i>swipeng</i> 'general traffic inspection'	sweeping
<i>tatu</i> 'tattoo; to tattoo'	tattoo
<i>tenis</i> 'tennis'	tennis
<i>tifi</i> (<i>tipi</i>) 'television'	TV
<i>tim</i> 'team'	team

⁴⁸ It is also possible that the name of this plant, which originates in the West Indies, derives from Portuguese *araruta*. In that case, however, loss of final /a/ should be explained as accommodation to preferred syllable number.

⁴⁹ The phrase *dapa lefri* ('get referee') means 'to be stopped' (and be fined, e.g. by the traffic police).

⁵⁰ Presumably, this kind of sago cake was originally roasted in the empty shells of bullets for such automatic guns.

4 Conclusion

The previous section features 473 lexical items of European origin. Their breakdown in absolute figures and rounded percentages according to source is: Portuguese 115 items (24.3 per cent), Dutch 326 items (68.9 per cent), English thirty-two items (6.8 per cent). Some concluding remarks regarding these loans will be made here.

Given the nature of my data, the listing of European loan words is certainly not exhaustive, and therefore the numbers are potentially misleading. It is quite obvious, for instance, that the share of English loans is underrepresented, for Ambonese society does not escape the massive influence of modern western culture and its carrier *par excellence*, (American-)English. Urban youngsters pepper their speech with pop culture and nightlife terms (*song, breakdance, rap, whisky, happy* ('go out and have a good time'), *jeans, hamburger*), terms drawn from sports (*jab, knockout* (boxing), *off side* (soccer)), and other technical terms. We find an unprecedented influx of English terms associated with modern technology (*computer, CD, laserdisc, video, shooting* (with a videorecorder), *coldstorage* (fishery)), but surely other segments of society, other spheres (e.g. higher education, administration, telecommunication) and vocations (construction, engineering, car mechanics) will not remain unaffected either as the Moluccas become increasingly involved in global changes. Many of these English terms are currently borrowed through Indonesian or Jakarta Malay, since they are channelled through national television, but we also should not underestimate the influence of mobility when growing numbers of people are involved in exchange programs or scholarships abroad, or in vocational training in Jakarta in which English course books are being used when Indonesian translations are lacking.

Concerning the ratio between Portuguese and Dutch loans it is also worth mentioning that at the beginning of this century A.A. Fokker noted the relative paucity of Dutch loans as against Portuguese loans. Even though at the time the Dutch had been in the area three times longer than the Portuguese, Dutch loans numbered less than half of the Portuguese loans in his list (Fokker 1902:1732). Regarding the number of loans the reverse holds true in my list. More importantly, Fokker's observation is not corroborated by de Clercq's findings of 1876 either, for also in de Clercq's dictionary Dutch loans by far outnumber Portuguese loans. Against this background Fokker's claim seems untenable, at least if he meant it as a general statement encompassing the whole of Ambonese Malay-speaking society. It is likely, moreover, that after the turn of the century the quantitative influence of Dutch developed exponentially, that it increasingly affected the speech of lower strata in society and that its command ceased to be the prerogative of the happy few from the upperclass. Groeneboer has reported this trend for the period 1900–1940, which was basically the result of an increase of schooling and the use of Dutch as the medium of instruction. In 1900 there were an estimated 5,600 natives and other Asians who could speak Dutch in the Netherlands Indies. In 1942 their number had grown to 1.6 million if we include those that had a passive command of Dutch (Groeneboer 1993:209, 383). Not surprisingly those who could speak Dutch were concentrated in towns, and especially Ambon and Menado (north Sulawesi) were outstanding. In 1930 Ambon counted 21.6 per cent Dutch speaking natives among its total population, whereas Batavia (present-day Jakarta) counted 10.4 per cent (Groeneboer 1993:395). Once again these growth figures underscore the importance of selecting informants representing the various layers in society, if one wishes to make statements about the number of loans and their distribution throughout the community.

The final point concerns a structural aspect of the borrowed lexicon. It is quite obvious that both in the case of Dutch and Portuguese loans the large majority of items were

borrowed from the stock of content words, and that functionwords were borrowed only sporadically. Moreover, if a semantic shift occurred, it was often not dramatic. If we ignore grammatical incongruence between borrowing and lending language,⁵¹ and disregard the complicating factor that many Ambonese Malay words are multifunctional,⁵² the subgrouping of Dutch and Portuguese loans in terms of Ambonese Malay categories is as follows:

115 Portuguese loans: eighty-one nouns (70.4 per cent), thirty verbs (26.1 per cent), four functionwords;

326 Dutch loans: 256 nouns (78.5 per cent), fifty-two verbs (15.9 per cent), eighteen functionwords.

From these figures it follows that nouns are more easily incorporated than verbs. Moreover, within the group of nouns, the number of realia by far exceeds the number of abstract concepts. These are evident, if not trivial observations, and so, I contend, we must proceed from here if we ever want to go beyond historiographic commonplaces of the Malay language or cultural exchange between the various groups in Southeast Asia. Digitalising speech might just be part of the answer to this question, since it is now possible to automatically process large quantities of data into concordances once we have fed texts into a database.⁵³ In doing this we should not be eclectic; we must include all kinds of published and unpublished materials from various sources and different periods in history.

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⁵¹ I am referring to the fact that I have divided Ambonese Malay content words into two major word classes: i.e. nouns and verbs. The latter has three subcategories: transitive verbs, intransitive dynamic verbs, intransitive stative verbs. In this analysis there is no separate major class of adjectives as in Dutch or English (van Minde 1997:Chapter 3). Ambonese Malay *los* 'loose, undone' for instance was counted as a verb, although it is an adjective in Dutch.

⁵² One frequent type of multifunctionality is the correspondence between nouns and verbs. This type is certainly not unique to Ambonese Malay (compare English *paper* - (*to*) *paper*, Dutch *zout* 'salt' - *zout(en)* 'to add salt to', Ambonese Malay *paku* 'nail' - *paku* 'to nail', *kep* '(a) notch' - *kep* '(to) notch', etc). But while multifunctionality is a feature common to each of these three languages, there may still be quantitative differences.

⁵³ Proudfoot (1991) discusses possibilities and restrictions of automatic text processing in relation to the study of Classical Malay.

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