

Local languages, local Malay, and Bahasa Indonesia

A case study from North Maluku

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ABSTRACT

Many small languages from eastern Indonesia are threatened with extinction. While it is often assumed that ‘Indonesian’ is replacing the lost languages, in reality, local languages are being replaced by local Malay. In this paper I review some of the reasons for this in North Maluku. I review the directional system in North Maluku Malay and argue that features like the directionals allow those giving up local languages to retain a sense of local linguistic identity. Retaining such an identity makes it easier to abandon local languages than would be the case if people were switching to ‘standard’ Indonesian.

KEYWORDS

Local Malay, language endangerment, directionals, space, linguistic identity.

1 INTRODUCTION

Maluku Utara is one of Indonesia’s newest and least known provinces, centred on the island of Halmahera and located between North Sulawesi and West Papua provinces. The area is rich in linguistic diversity. According to *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009), the Halmahera region is home to seven Austronesian languages, 17 non-Austronesian languages and two distinct varieties of Malay.

Although Maluku Utara is something of a sleepy backwater today, it was once one of the most fabled and important parts of the Indonesian archipelago and it became the source of enormous treasure for outsiders. Its indigenous clove crop was one of the inspirations for the great European age of discovery which propelled navigators such as Christopher Columbus and Ferdinand Magellan to set forth on their epic journeys across the globe. While neither Columbus nor Magellan did reach Maluku, some members of Magellan’s

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first fleet to circumnavigate the globe did arrive in what is now the major town and capital of Maluku Utara, Ternate. Antonio Pigafetta, one of the few survivors of that mostly doomed voyage returned to Europe with one of the very first word lists of the Malay language, proof that Malay has long had an important role as a language of interethnic communication in the region.¹ In addition to Pigafetta's wordlist, one of the first written Malay manuscripts to have survived until this day was a letter from Sultan Abu Hayat, the "child-king of Ternate", written in 1521 (Collins 1998: 19).²

Until quite recently, Malay was used as a second or even third language by most people in the region. Most people grew up speaking one of the local languages and many used others of the local languages as well as or even in preference to, Malay as a lingua franca. In this regard, one of the local languages which are most imperilled, Ternatan, used to have a significant role as a lingua franca in earlier days. Today, however, Malay is taking an increasingly important role throughout the region. In fact, its growth has been explosive in recent years: the most recent *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) claims that North Maluku Malay has 700,000 speakers altogether and that 100,000 of these are monolingual. Only nine years earlier, Grimes (2000) claimed that there were just a few hundred native language speakers of North Maluku Malay and attributed this estimate to "J. Collins 1987" but provided no more information about what the reference to Collins was exactly. Although I am doubtful that the number of native speakers was so low in 1987 – my own impression after my first trips to the area in the early 1990's were that there were many more than a few hundred native speakers – it is clear that whatever the actual numbers were then growth in native speakers has been substantial in recent years. Ternate city has seen substantial economic growth and this has encouraged many people to migrate to town in search of paid employment and other opportunities. A steady growth in transmigration, both national and local, has also resulted in much mixing of people who do not speak the same local languages. Inter-marriage, as in other places, usually means that the offspring of people from different local language groups grow up speaking a regional lingua franca. Nowadays, many of the children and young adults growing up in the area have learned North Maluku Malay as their first language.

North Maluku Malay is one of a number of varieties of eastern Malay spoken throughout Maluku and nearby provinces and shares a number of affinities with varieties such as Ambon Malay and Kupang Malay. See Paauw (2008) for general discussion of eastern Malay varieties, and see Litamahuputty (2012) for a detailed description of North Maluku Malay grammar. Its closest relation amongst modern dialects of Malay is Manado Malay. While Manado Malay has many more speakers than North Maluku Malay, Manado Malay is probably an offshoot of North Maluku or Ternate Malay since it spread

¹ A Chinese – Malacca Malay vocabulary collected between 1403 and 1511 is the only earlier wordlist I am aware of (see Edwards and Blagden 1931).

² An earlier manuscript from Kerinci is discussed by Kozok (2004).

from the Ternate area as a result of the spice trade in the early seventeenth century (see Watuseke and Watuseke-Polliton 1981 for discussion). Amongst the evidence for North Maluku origins for Manado Malay are the 2SG pronoun *ngana* and 2PL *ngoni* which are clearly borrowed from the indigenous language of Ternate-Tidore. See Paauw (2008: 39-40) for further discussion.

North Maluku Malay, like other regional Malay varieties, is in a diglossic relationship with standard Indonesian. In its most basilectal form, North Maluku Malay is probably mutually incomprehensible with standard Indonesian and for that matter many other regional eastern Malay varieties such as Ambonese Malay. Most of its speakers, though, have some ability to range along a continuum from pure basilectal North Maluku Malay towards a more standard variety of Indonesian, so communication with people outside the area is made possible by adopting a more acrolectal variety.

Local Malay varieties such as North Maluku Malay arose from "bazaar Malay", a simplified version of Malay that was used as lingua franca in trading posts throughout the Indonesian archipelago and beyond. Standard Indonesian was developed from the literary form of Malay that was used in the royal courts of Riau-Johor and southern Sumatra. For more on the origins of the national language and the history of Malay generally, see Sneddon (2003). As in most situations of diglossia, not everyone who has a command of the basilectal variety is equally competent in the acrolectal form and vice versa.

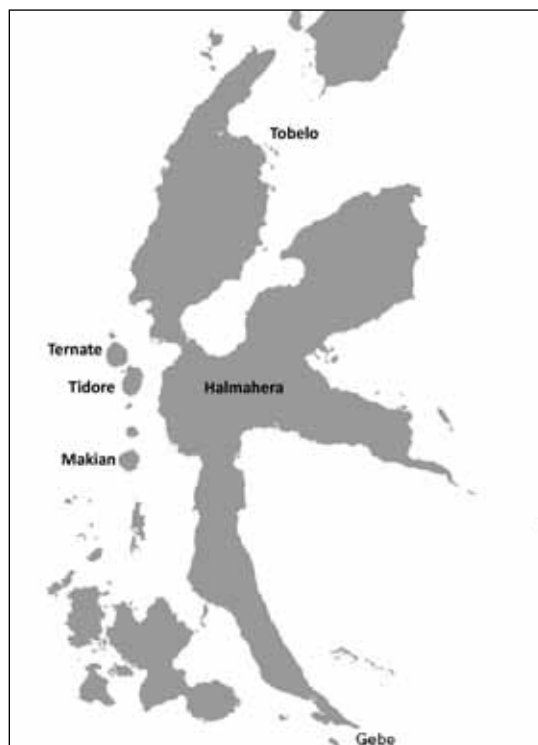
The concomitant of growth in the use of North Maluku Malay is an increasing threat to the long-term viability of local languages in the region. Contrary to what is often assumed by many people, though, children are not taking up Indonesian in place of their parents native vernaculars, but rather they are learning North Maluku Malay, and their native tongue is generally at the basilectal end of the diglossic continuum. As we shall see in the discussion that follows, there are very distinctive differences between local Malay and standard Indonesian. Some of the things that are very different about local Malay are in fact shared with the local languages which are gradually being abandoned by some. One of these seemingly idiosyncratic aspects of North Maluku Malay is the directional system which will be discussed in this paper.

2 LANGUAGE CONTACT AND THE NORTH MALUKU LINGUISTIC AREA

There is much discussion of phonological, syntactic, and morphological convergence in linguistic areas in the literature. Standard works on language contact such as Thomason and Kaufman (1988), McMahon (1994), Harris and Campbell (1995), Hock and Joseph (1996), and Thomason (2001) cover the topics extensively. Surprisingly, very few writers have discussed convergence in the organization of particular semantic domains, although a few writers such as Ross (2006) have drawn attention to the issue in various ways. What is perhaps most surprising about the lack of attention that has been paid to semantic convergence is that semantic equivalence or at least rough intertranslatability of morphemes would appear to be a prerequisite for morphosyntactic convergence. If, for example, a language is

going to develop a periphrastic future using the verb 'want' on the basis of a neighbouring language's morphosyntax, the language undergoing change needs a morpheme with the meaning 'want'. This may seem like a trivial point, and it may be why the point is seldom made, but in cases like the syntax of directionals in North Maluku which have much more idiosyncratic meanings than a basic verb like 'want', the point is much more important.

In this paper, I begin with a brief discussion of what we might call the North Maluku linguistic area (see Picture 1) and how North Maluku Malay fits into it. In section four I provide an overview of the semantics of directionals in North Maluku Malay and in section five I discuss briefly the semantics of North Maluku Malay directionals. (The interested reader is directed to Bowden 2005, for more detail.). Section six goes on to compare the semantics of North Maluku Malay directional with those of some of the indigenous languages from the region while in section seven I go on to explore the striking similarities in the syntax of directionals in three languages of the region: Taba, Tidore and North Maluku Malay. In section eight, I argue that the changes that have taken place in the North Maluku Malay directional system are an example of what Ross (2006) calls *metatypy*, characterized as "a diachronic process in the course of which the syntax of one of the languages of a bilingual speech community is restructured on the model of the syntax of the speaker's other language". Finally, in section nine I will turn to questions of speaker identity and language endangerment in eastern Indonesia.



Picture 1. Indigenous languages and dialects of North Maluku referred to in text.

3 NORTH MALUKU MALAY AND THE NORTH MALUKU LINGUISTIC AREA

The largest number of native speakers of North Maluku Malay lives in Ternate Township, but others can be found in larger settlements such as Tobelo on Halmahera and Soa Siu on Tidore Island. Picture 1 shows the region in which North Maluku Malay is spoken and also other locations discussed in this paper.

The major reference on North Maluku Malay is Litamahuputty (2012). Earlier articles discussing the language include Taylor (1983) and Voorhoeve (1983) which both appeared in the same edited collection.

In addition to its distinctive variety of Malay, the North Maluku region is also home to 16 different indigenous languages according to Wurm and Hattori (1983) or 17 different languages according to *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009). These are spoken by the residents of traditional villages in Halmahera and offshore islands as well as by a fair few inhabitants of the major towns. The sixteen indigenous languages belong to two distinct language families. There are two varieties of Malay: North Maluku Malay which is the focus of this paper and Bacan Malay which is a variety imported by immigrants from Brunei (Collins 1983). Six more from the south are South Halmahera - West New Guinea Austronesian languages. The rest, spoken in the north, are West Papuan languages from the West Papua phylum (Voorhoeve 1988).

The North Maluku linguistic area (defined here as encompassing the region of Halmahera and its immediate offshore islands) is part of a larger contact zone between Austronesian and Papuan languages which includes all the areas around the west, north and east coasts of New Guinea Island. A still larger contact zone encompasses the whole of eastern Indonesia (Donohue and Grimes 2008).

The first signs of human occupation in North Maluku occur over 30,000 years ago (Bellwood 1997: 187-189), with presumably Austronesian pottery appearing about 3,000 years BP. In the first stages of contact between the two groups of languages, the non-Austronesian languages of the region absorbed a great deal of Austronesian vocabulary including over 30% of basic vocabulary (Voorhoeve 1988: 194). Much of this vocabulary has also undergone all the regular sound changes which define subgroups of the North Halmahera group. Languages from the Birds Head area of New Guinea, which form the West Papuan language family along with the North Halmahera languages, do not have anywhere near the same amount of Austronesian borrowing (Voorhoeve 1988: 193-194).

In more recent times, as the influence of the sultanates in the area grew, more Ternate-Tidore borrowings have appeared in neighbouring Austronesian languages, especially those which were in closer contact with the sultanates. In Austronesian Taba, for example, Bowden (2001: 21-22) describes a system of speech levels labelled as *alus* 'refined', *biasa* 'normal', and *kasar* 'coarse', in which many of the *alus* forms are borrowings from Ternatan, presumably because of the social influence of the sultanate over the last five hundred years or so.

The semantic organization of the North Maluku Malay directional system is clearly borrowed from the indigenous languages of North Maluku. It seems most likely that the directional systems have their ultimate origins in Austronesian rather than Papuan languages since directional systems with similar features are found in other Austronesian languages, and the mainland West Papuan languages I know about do not appear to have anything similar. Whatever the direction of influence was, all the indigenous languages of North Maluku, whether Austronesian or non-Austronesian, share to a remarkable degree very similar directional systems, as does North Maluku Malay.

The directional systems of North Maluku languages are of the absolute variety in the typology of spatial semantics outlined by Levinson (2003). In Levinson's schema, the absolute frame of reference occurs when there is no egocentric reference point from which orientation is determined, (that is, when a speaker does not reckon spatial relationships with respect to him/herself). In an absolute system the environment provides reference points from which spatial relationships are established. There are a variety of different sorts of absolute systems found in the world's languages: some are based on cardinal points (for instance, north, south, east, west) while others are based on landmarks (such as sea versus land). In the North Maluku languages, the directions seawards and landwards play important roles and all the languages of the region show a strong preference for landmark-based absolute reference.

While there may be minor differences in the meanings of different directionals in different languages from North Maluku, the overall systems share much in common. Since local geography plays such an important role in how different terms are understood, people are used to making subtle shifts in how they use directionals when they arrive in a new location: differences between languages are often not much greater than differences within languages, so communication does not seem to be impeded when native speakers of different languages use North Maluku Malay and transfer their native systems to the *lingua franca*.

4 OVERVIEW OF DIRECTIONALS IN THE NORTH MALUKU LINGUISTIC AREA³

Since some of the directional terms used in North Maluku Malay shift their meanings slightly when they are used in different parts of the North Maluku Malay speaking area, I will confine myself to discussing the variety of North Maluku Malay used on Ternate Island, since this is the variety which has the largest number of speakers.

While there are minor phonological differences between the North Maluku Malay directional terms and their equivalents in Indonesian, all of the terms have obvious counterparts in Indonesian. The terms, however, are used in strikingly different ways, and the semantics of North Maluku Malay

³ The abbreviation conventions adopted in this paper are as follows: ALL: allative, F: feminine, M: masculine, POS: possessive, DETR: detransitiviser, INAL: inalienable, NH: non-human, PRED: predicate, ESS: essive, LOC: locative, NOM: nominaliser, REL: relativiser.

directionals are likely to leave anyone who learned standard Indonesian perplexed. Example (1) shows a typical exchange in North Maluku Malay.

- (1) A: *Ngana pi mana*
 2SG go where
 'Where are you going?'
- B: *Pi ka atas*
 go to top
 'I'm going upwards.'

The use of the term *atas* 'top' in this example might have been acceptable in standard Indonesian if speaker B was climbing to the top of a mountain or going to the top floor of a building, but these would not usually be the sorts of things a North Maluku Malay speaker would be talking about. A speaker in downtown Ternate city (otherwise known as Gamalama district), could mean they were going north towards the airport, or anywhere else that lay in a counter-clockwise direction around the island if viewed from above. Going *kabawa* 'downwards' means heading in a clockwise direction. Thus, a speaker at the airport (*bandara*) could go *kabawa* to Gamalama. Picture 2 gives the location of places on Ternate Island that are discussed in the text.

Below is another typical exchange.

- (2) A: *Dong di mana?*
 3PL LOC where
 'Where are they?'
- B: *Dong di lao*
 3SG LOC sea
 'They are in a place that is seawards of here.'

Again, what B would mean here is quite different from what a speaker of standard Indonesian or a western Malay variety might mean. In standard Indonesian, perhaps B would have meant that the people referred to had gone for a swim, but in North Maluku Malay, there would be no entailment whatsoever that anyone was in the water. The people referred to would simply be in a location that was located in a seawards direction from where the utterance was made, even if only a very short way away.



Picture 2. Ternate Island showing locations referred to in text.

Table 1 lists directional terms from North Maluku Malay and a selection of other local languages, Austronesian and Papuan.⁴

North Maluku Malay	Taba (AN)	Tidore (NAN)	Tobelo (NAN)	Giman (AN)	English
<i>sini</i>	-	<i>re</i>	-	<i>i</i>	'here'
<i>situ</i>	-	<i>ge</i>	-	<i>no(g)</i>	'there'
<i>sana</i>	-	<i>ta</i>	-	-	'over there'
-	<i>no(g)</i>	-	<i>nenanga</i>	-	deictic unmarked for distance
<i>lao</i>	<i>la(w)</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>danena / dai</i>	<i>la(u)</i>	'seaward'
<i>dara</i>	<i>le(w)</i>	<i>tina</i>	<i>dinena / dina</i>	<i>le(u)</i>	'landward'
<i>atas</i>	<i>ya(s)</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>dakena / daku</i>	<i>ya(u)</i>	'upward'
<i>bawa</i>	<i>po(p)</i>	<i>tahu / tau</i>	<i>daena / dau</i>	<i>po(p)</i>	'downward'

Table 1. Comparative basic directional terms in North Maluku Malay and some local indigenous languages. AN = Austronesian language, NAN = Non-Austronesian language.

⁴ Sources for the data are as follows: Tidore (Van Staden 2000b); Taba (Bowden 2001); Tobelo (Taylor 1984); Giman (Teljeur 1984).

Although there is not an exact equivalent for each of the terms listed for each language, the basic semantic categories of seawards, landwards, up and down are found in all the languages of the region. These are the terms that underlie the semantic organization of the directional systems in each language. The other terms do not have exact matches in every language but these terms do not specify relative location but rather they are deictic. Local Malay makes a three way here versus there versus yonder split based (roughly) on relative distance from the speaker: *sini* 'here', *situ* 'there' and *sana* 'yonder', while Taba has no such distance based split, with just the one deictic member of the directional set *no(g)* 'there'. Other languages split the deictic space in other ways. While Tobelo encodes the same basic semantic distinctions of seawards versus landwards and upwards versus downwards, it introduces a distance-based split into these categories: *danena*, *dinena*, *dakena*, *daena* all refer to things that are relatively close to the speaker; *dai*, *dina*, *daku* and *dau* all refer to things that are relatively far away.

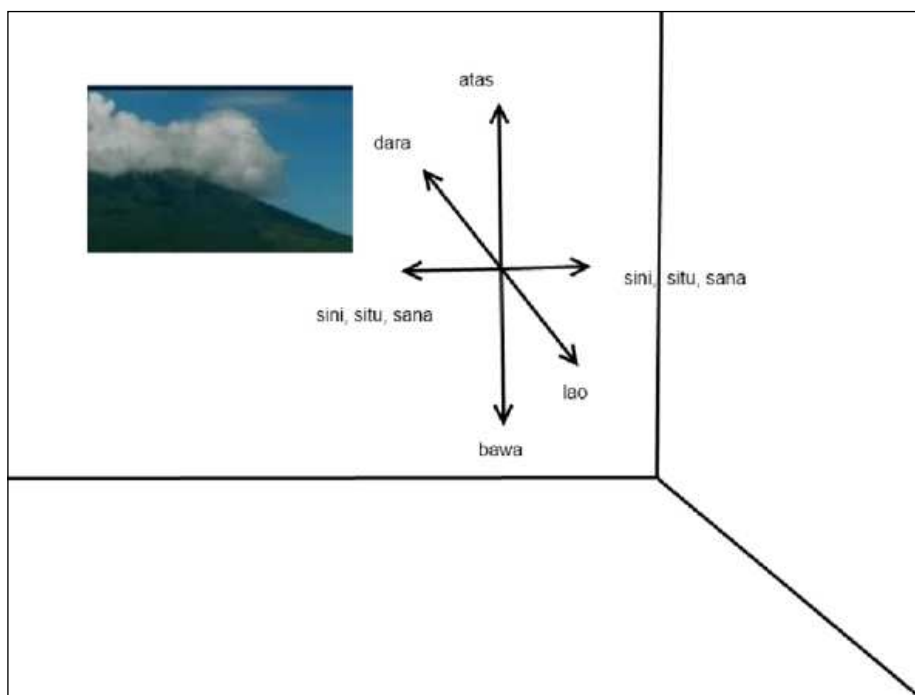
5 THE MEANING OF NORTH MALUKU MALAY DIRECTIONALS

In order to discuss the meanings of the North Maluku Malay directional we shall need to address their meanings at three scalar levels as other authors discussing other languages have done. These authors include Yoshida (1980), Teljeur (1984) and Bowden (1997). The levels I will use are:

1. within a room / house
2. on the island
3. Further afield

5.1 WITHIN A ROOM / HOUSE

Picture 3 illustrates how relative location is specified when the things to which reference are made are close at hand, perhaps in the same room as the speaker. On islands like Ternate, which is simply a volcano that rises from the ocean floor, the relative location of the sea is always readily apparent. Within visible space, the directionals mean more or less what an English speaker would expect them to mean: anything *di lao* is 'seawards and movement' *kalao* means 'movement in a seawards direction'. Anything that is *di dara* is 'landwards', anything *di atas* is 'above' and anything *di bawa* is 'below'. The picture within the picture is the view of the mountain through the window so that the viewer is facing the interior of the island with his/her back towards the sea. The arrows are to be viewed three-dimensionally.



Picture 3. Direction within a house.

The meanings of the North Maluku Malay terms as they are used at this scalar level are not very different from their English or standard Indonesian equivalents. What is different is that these terms are the default terms used for specifying relative location. Protagonists in a chess game will specify pieces by talking about the seawards knight rather than the landwards one, and a mother will talk about wiping the mess from her grubby child's landwards cheek. When specifying the location of objects that are found along the axis which lies parallel to the coast, people use the North Maluku demonstratives as in (3) below.

(3) A: *Galas mana?*
 glass what
 'Which glass?'

B: *Yang situ di cangkir*
 REL there LOC saucer

'The one that lies in a direction parallel to the coast on the saucer.'

Although the use of demonstratives does not strictly entail that the item being referred to lies on the axis parallel to the coast, the pragmatic opposition with other semantically specifiable directions creates an implication in most instances of demonstrative use in contexts like (3) whereby an addressee will infer that this is the speaker's intended meaning. The construction can also specify relative distance by using demonstratives.

5.2 AROUND THE ISLAND (MEDIUM-SCALE SPACE)

Once we move beyond visible space, the terms used to encode relative location shift in their meanings somewhat. At this level, the terms *atas* 'up' and *bawa* 'down' are used for specifying directionality parallel to the coast. Moving in a clockwise direction (or southwards) from downtown Gamalama is heading downwards and moving in an anticlockwise direction is heading upwards. As one goes further downwards, continuing in a clockwise direction, one eventually starts heading westwards and then northwards, eastwards, and finally southwards again. Thus, downwards could be conceived of as meaning 'moving in a direction that leads to the right of where one is facing if one looks out towards the sea'. Upwards from the main residential areas of Ternate is in the direction of the Sultan of Ternate's palace. Locations beyond the Sultan's palace are also upwards. Use of the terms is illustrated in (4) and (5) below.

- (4) *Pi ka atas bandara*
go to up airport

'I'm going up to the airport.' [For instance, starting from downtown Gamalama and heading northwards along the east coast towards the airport.]

- (5) *Ngana dari bawa?*
2SG from down

'Did you come from downwards?' [Asked at the airport after the addressee had come from downtown Gamalama.]

'Seawards' and 'landwards' retain the same meanings they have within small-scale space, referring to the literal directions encoded. Likewise, the deictic terms *sini*, *situ* and *sana* can be used as they are in small-scale space to refer to relative space in any direction, but again as in small-scale space they tend to be used most frequently when one of the other terms is not appropriate. Thus, the use of the deictic terms usually implies that the direction referred to is neither upwards, downwards, seawards or landwards.

5.3 THE REST OF THE WORLD (LARGE-SCALE SPACE)

Ternate Island sits just off the west coast of the much larger Halmahera Island and Halmahera is almost always visible as a long mass of land with high mountain peaks several kilometres eastward. Adjacent parts of Halmahera are always *di dara* 'landwards' from Ternate. Most places a long way away from Ternate, such as Jakarta, Europe or Australia (or closer to home, Ambon or Sulawesi), are *di lao* 'seawards'. In addition, there is an up/down axis that goes along the west coast of Halmahera. In contradiction to the way in which many people these days are used to reading north as the direction at the top of a map, and south as the direction at the bottom, in North Maluku Malay, heading south from Ternate is going *ka atas* 'upwards', and heading north is going *ka bawa* 'downwards'. This world-wide up-down axis seems to have its origins in the typical surface ocean currents that run past the west coast of Halmahera, where going up to the southern end of Halmahera is heading

into the current and going down to the north of the island is travelling with the current. The end points of these directions are not altogether clear. For some speakers, they end at about the northern and southern tips of Halmahera respectively, but for others, the upward direction extends eastward from the southern tip of Halmahera towards the island of New Guinea. Further details on these matters can be found in Bowden (2005).

6 COMPARING NORTH MALUKU MALAY DIRECTIONAL SEMANTICS WITH TABA, TIDORE, AND OTHER LANGUAGES

Essentially, the rough outline of all three systems is very similar indeed, and typically, speakers of any of the regional vernaculars will readily understand glosses of the North Maluku Malay terms given in their own languages whether they speak Malay or not. It may be that people who are newly arrived in a particular place will have to learn new things like how the up-down axis works exactly in a new location, but this is more a matter of geography than it is a linguistic matter. A Taba speaker who has not spent much time in Ternate, for example, has to learn how the up and down terms work in Ternate before s/he can apply this knowledge in both Taba and North Maluku Malay.

All systems basically concur in the meanings of terms used within the small-scale, except that Taba speakers and Tobelo speakers are not able to specify distinctions based on distance with their deictics. Within each island things are similar, but not exactly the same. Different languages tend to focus on different sections of the major up-down axis that runs down the west coast of Halmahera: for Taba speakers who reside on Makian island to the south of Ternate, Ternate is the end of the downward axis, and regions further north on Halmahera are seawards, but for people in Ternate, the axis continues to the north of Halmahera. The upwards axis extends right along the northwest coast of New Guinea, but not in any of the languages of the North Maluku linguistic area itself. For residents of Ternate and Tidore, the upwards axis goes about as far as the southern tip of Halmahera, but for Taba speakers the upwards axis can extend to Gebe island (shown on Picture 1), which lies east of the southern Halmahera peninsula. In languages of New Guinea outside the North Maluku linguistic area, the axis extends much further – right across the north coast of Papua province. Held (1957) points out that the Waropen of Cenderawasih Bay in northern Papua province participated in a long-standing trade relationship with Ternate. He notes that the Waropen go up as they move eastwards along the coast, away from Halmahera, and down as they head west towards Maluku (Held 1957: 45-46).

7 GRAMMAR OF DIRECTIONALS

As with the semantics of directionals, I do not intend to review their syntax in great detail here. Again, as for the semantics, the interested reader is referred to Bowden (2005) for more details. Only a brief discussion of directional syntax is found here. Directional terms are ubiquitous in discourse in all the languages of North Maluku, whether indigenous or not. While this ubiquity

never quite takes the form of an absolute requirement that directionals be used in any particular grammatical environment, the statistical preponderance of directionals in all the languages is so strong that they can quite reasonably be categorized as being of a different type than other locative expressions.

Bowden (2001) argues that there are two distinct types of locative expressions in Taba, classified as independent and dependent locatives. The directionals and demonstratives are independent in that they commonly occur on their own without any other locative elements, but place names and locative postpositional phrases are dependent because their presence usually needs to be licensed by one of the independent locatives preceding them in a clause. The distinction between these two subcategories of locatives is shown in Table 2.

Independent locatives		Dependent locatives	
Directionals	<i>lawe</i> 'seawards'	Place names	<i>Dore</i> 'Tidore'
Demonstratives of place	<i>ane</i> 'here'	Locative postpositional phrases	<i>meja li</i> 'on the table'

Table 2. Independent and dependent locatives in Taba.

A very similar situation exists in Tidore. Van Staden (2000a) analyses the equivalent Tidore constructions in a slightly different way to Bowden's analysis of Taba (Bowden 2001), but it seems clear that the basic notion of directionals (or locationals in Van Staden's terminology) being used to license other locative expressions applies equally in Tidore. The Tidore "locationals can be prefixed with *ka-* giving a set of locational predicates" (Van Staden 2000a: 162). "Often the locational predicate precedes or follows a further specification of the exact location in a prepositional phrase" (Van Staden 2000a: 163). In example (6), *katina* 'landwards', the locative predicate, is followed by a prepositional phrase, *te mina miyeye mafola majiratina* 'at her grandmother's poor landward house'. The final enclitic in this example *tina* 'landward' shows the un-affixed locational being used attributively to refer to the location of the house.

- (6) Tidore (Van Staden 2000a: 163)
- | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| <i>gosa</i> | <i>mina</i> | <i>isa</i> |
| carry | 3SG.F | landwards |
| <i>kai</i> | <i>ka-tina</i> | <i>te mina</i> |
| marriage | PRED-landward | LOC 3SG.F |
| <i>mi-yeye</i> | <i>ma-fole</i> | <i>ma-jira=tina</i> |
| 3SG.F.POS-grandmother | INAL-house | NOM-ugly=landward |
- 'take her landwards to be married at her grandmother's poor/ugly [landward] house.'

As in most of Tidore discourse, this example illustrates quite compellingly that overt use of locational predicates with other locative expressions is the norm.

Although directionals are hardly ever used in the ways shown above in standard Indonesian, similar constructions are the norm in North Maluku Malay. In order to compare the situation in Taba and in North Maluku Malay, I examined two parallel texts, each relating the same personal story of a 40-year-old Makianese man's experiences during the volcanic eruption which devastated Makian Island in 1987. The story was recorded twice: both in North Maluku Malay and then in Taba. In the Taba text, 79% of occurrences of one of the dependent locatives were licensed by a preceding independent locative. In North Maluku Malay the figure was lower, but still rather high at 58%. Examples (7) and (8) show directionals co-occurring in both Taba and North Maluku Malay versions of the same sequence in the story.

(7) Taba

<i>Indadi...</i>	<i>taplod</i>	<i>malai...</i>	<i>lalhod...</i>	<i>Lalhod...</i>	<i>appo...</i>
so	DETR-erupt	then	3PL=run	3PL-run	ALL-down
<i>solo</i>	<i>li</i>				
beach	LOC				

'So it was erupting... then... they ran... They ran... they went down... to the beach.'

(8) North Maluku Malay

<i>Baru</i>	<i>meledak,</i>	<i>baru</i>	<i>dong</i>	<i>lari</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bawa</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>pante</i>
then	erupt	then	they	run	to	down	LOC	beach

'Then it erupted and they ran downwards to the beach.'

It is worth noting that *bawa* 'down' in (8) does not mean 'downhill' to the coast, but in a clockwise direction around the island, just as its equivalent *appo* does in the Taba example. If the speaker had meant 'downhill' he would have used *lao* 'seawards' for this purpose. As has already been pointed out, examples like (8) really do not occur in standard Indonesian. A more standard version of the same sentence would be as in (9) where *bawa* 'down' would simply be omitted (and North Maluku Malay *dong* would be replaced by Indonesian *mereka*, the connector *baru* replaced with *kemudian* and *ka* would be replaced with *ke*).

(9) Indonesian

<i>Kemudian</i>	<i>meledak,</i>	<i>kemudian</i>	<i>mereka</i>	<i>lari...</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>pantai</i>
then	erupt	then	they	run	to	beach

'Then it erupted and they ran to the beach.'

8 SEMANTICO-SYNTACTIC CONVERGENCE AND METATYPY

As I discussed in Bowden (2005), it is clear that the directional system of North Maluku Malay has gone a long way in converging both semantically and syntactically with the directional systems of the local vernaculars spoken in North Maluku. Malcolm Ross (1996, 1997, 2001, 2003, 2006) labels the kind of syntactic change-taking place in North Maluku Malay as metatypy. Ross (2006) characterizes metatypy as “a diachronic process in the course of which the syntax of one of the languages of a bilingual speech community is restructured on the model of the syntax of the speaker’s other language”. As Ross points out, other labels that have been used to characterize this process are not really satisfactory: convergence is perhaps one of the most commonly applied labels (see, for example, Sasse 1985 and Aikhenvald 2002) but this term covers changes in not just syntax, but also phonology, lexicon and morphology. It also implies that all the languages involved in the process undergo changes and that they all move towards each other in some way, when this is clearly not what happens in many cases of metatypy.

The changes in the directional system of basilectal Malay as it is spoken in North Maluku have not been accompanied by any changes in the directional systems of the local vernaculars that provided the model for metatypic restructuring in Malay. While the directionals of the indigenous languages have not undergone any change due to the influence of North Maluku Malay, other parts of the languages have in some cases been quite drastically affected by Malay. Van Staden (1998) and Bowden (2001) both discuss some of these changes.

The changes in the North Maluku Malay directional system outlined here provide rather strong confirmation for Ross’ argument that semantic restructuring precedes full metatypy. Firstly, as has been discussed with respect to changes in the Balkan linguistic area (Thomason 2001: 109ff), syntactic restructuring would not be possible unless there were intertranslatable morphemes to be restructured: some degree of semantic equivalence is a logical prerequisite for syntactic remodelling. Secondly, in the North Maluku Malay case, the semantic restructuring of the directional system has been completed, but the metatypic restructuring in the syntax of directionals still appears to be in progress. While there is a strong preference for marking all locations with a directional phrase in addition to any closer specification of the location, the preference is not quite as strong as it is in either Taba or Tidore.

Ross initially felt that metatypic restructuring always occurred in the language that is emblematic of a speaker’s identity and that the language of intercultural communication always provided the metatypic model for the restructuring. Ross (2006) now notes a few examples of vehicles of interethnic communication which have undergone metatypy, namely Singlish (Platt 1975) and Taiwan Mandarin (Chappell 2001) as well as North Maluku Malay (Bowden 2005). It is noteworthy that all of the varieties cited by Ross above are not just vehicles of interethnic communication, but they are also all substandard variants of national languages with which they all participate

in indiglossic relationships.

One of the arguments originally used by Ross to support the position that the emblematic language is more susceptible to metatypic change was the fact that grammatical changes are not usually as apparent to speakers as, for example, changes in the lexicon of their language brought about by widespread borrowing. This may be true, but the semantic restructuring of the type discussed in this paper which is a precursor to metatypical grammatical restructuring is very apparent to speakers of North Maluku Malay. Although they may not be so aware of the syntactic restructuring that is taking place, speakers are very conscious of the fact that the semantics of their directionals differ considerably from the semantics of the terms in standard Indonesian and western varieties of Malay. This can be clearly seen by the way in which North Maluku Malay speakers use the directionals in their conversations with outsiders when they sometimes use directionals in an abundant way in order to deliberately confuse their interlocutors. For the people who have taken up North Maluku Malay as their main language, the conception of what is local may be broader than it was for prior generations of speakers of the indigenous languages, but it is real nevertheless, and the desire to retain a local identity remains amongst modern urban dwellers as much as it does amongst villagers.

9 LOCAL IDENTITY, LOCAL MALAY, AND LANGUAGE OBSOLESCENCE

The view that Ross espoused in his earlier writings on metatypy assumed that there is a dichotomy between emblematic language and language of interethnic communication, when this appears not always to be the case at all. North Maluku Malay (as well as Singlish and Taiwanese Mandarin for that matter) would appear to be at the same time languages of interethnic communication and emblematic of their speakers' identity. For its first language speakers, North Maluku Malay is clearly emblematic of local identity, as is made clear when I meet speakers of North Maluku Malay in Jakarta who discover that I have some proficiency in the variety. Using features such as its directional system as well as others (including distinctive pronouns, lack of applicative and causative affixation, distinctive vocabulary, and so on), mark an interlocutor as an "insider", although the language clearly also functions as a vehicle of intercultural communication for everyone in the North Maluku region.

As noted in the opening sections of this paper, the number of native speakers of North Maluku Malay has undergone explosive growth in the past few decades. There is widespread pressure on people from North Maluku to drop their indigenous languages in favour of North Maluku Malay. At the same time, there is a countervailing pressure to maintain a sense of local identity in the face of the external world and the wider Indonesian state. North Maluku Malay, being the basilectal variety in a diglossic relationship with standard Indonesian, is ideally suited to the role of emblematicity for its speakers.

In this paper I have sought to argue that (a) North Maluku Malay retains

many features of the local languages it is now replacing, and that (b) the retention of these features serves to give its speakers a sense of regional identity that allows its speakers to differentiate themselves from the broad mass of Indonesians. While this paper has focused on North Maluku Malay, the same kinds of arguments could have been made about any of the distinctive eastern Malay varieties that are slowly but surely assuming a dominant role in their regions as their numbers of native speakers inexorably grow. Manado Malay, Ambon Malay, Kupang Malay, Manokwari Malay and others are all emblematic languages for their speakers. Many commentators tend to write about the Indonesian language replacing local vernaculars across the archipelago. However, I have seen little evidence that anything like standard Indonesian is replacing local languages in any of the eastern regions in which bazaar Malay functioned as a lingua franca before independence when the national language was established and nurtured. No doubt, the adoption of basilectal varieties of local Malay by the generations who have given up their parents' ancestral languages has allowed such people to retain a sense of local identity which marks them as members of a distinctive regional group as well as citizens of the wider nation. Modern bazaar Malay varieties all have idiosyncratic local characteristics which no doubt make it easier for people speaking them as their first languages to feel that they have not had to give up quite so much in terms of local identity as an outside observer might think.

Although urbanization and intermarriage may eventually lead to the extinction of the indigenous languages of North Maluku and other parts of Indonesia, it is interesting to see that traces of local languages will probably survive not just in the semantics, but also in the syntax of the regional lingua franca long after the demise of the local languages themselves. Moreover, people from the regions will be able to retain a sense of local linguistic identity in spite of the fact that their ancestral languages have died, just as Singaporeans retain a sense of local identity through the use of Singlish, and the Taiwanese retain a local linguistic identity through the use of Taiwanese Mandarin.

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