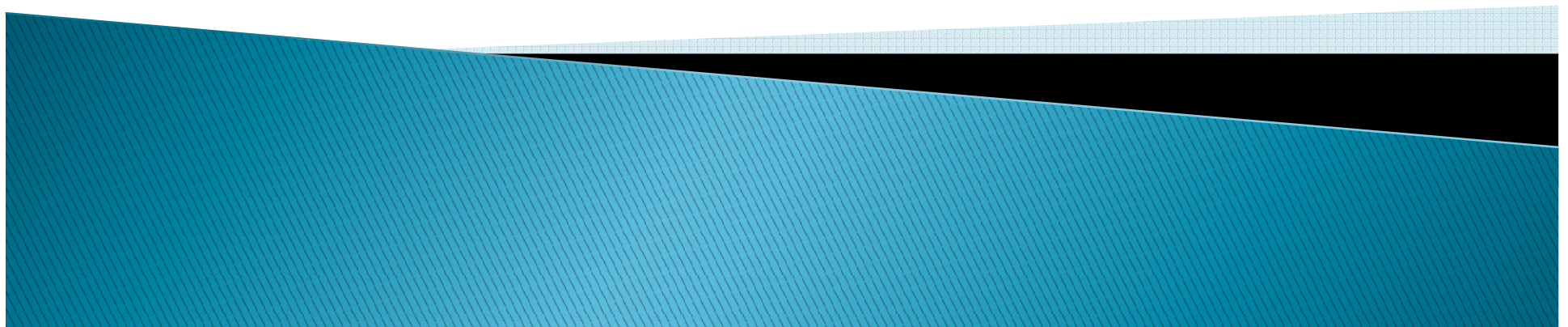


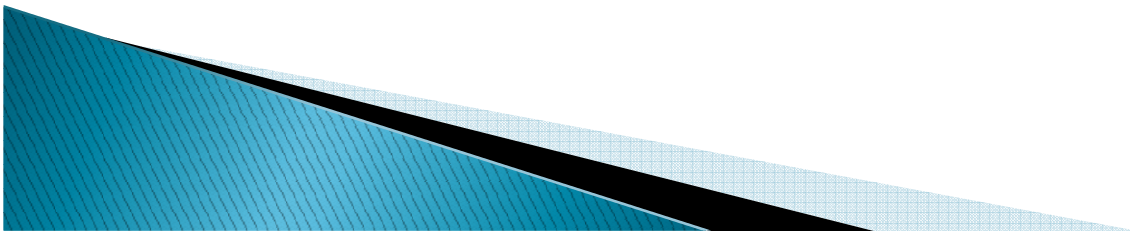
Local languages in Maluku: the historical context and current situation

Simon Musgrave
Monash University
ILCAA/TUFS February 17 2012

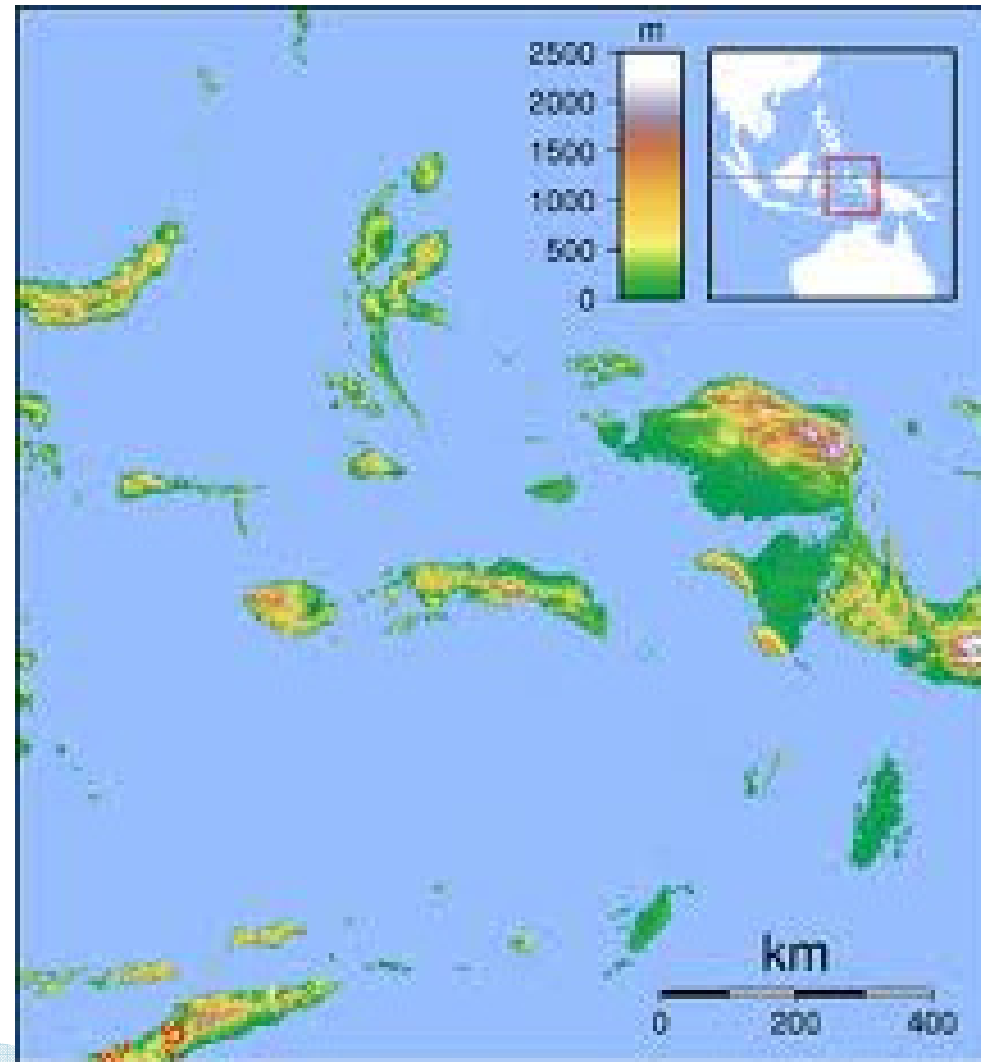


Overview

- ▶ Historical context
- ▶ Current state of research
- ▶ Recent changes
- ▶ Setting priorities

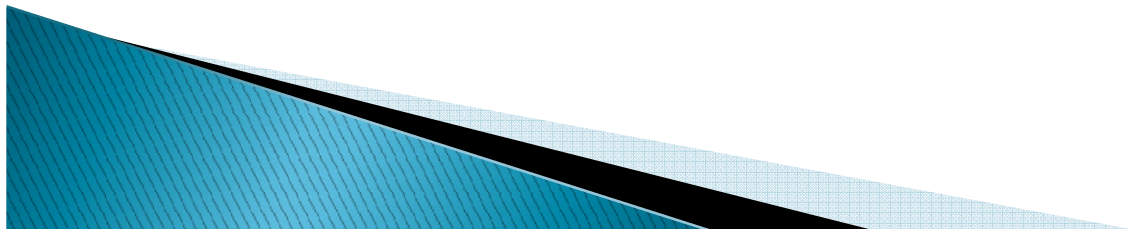


Geography



Historical context

- ▶ Maluku is geographically remote
- ▶ But long history of contact with external world
- ▶ Because (North) Maluku is the home of *Syzygium aromaticum* – the clove

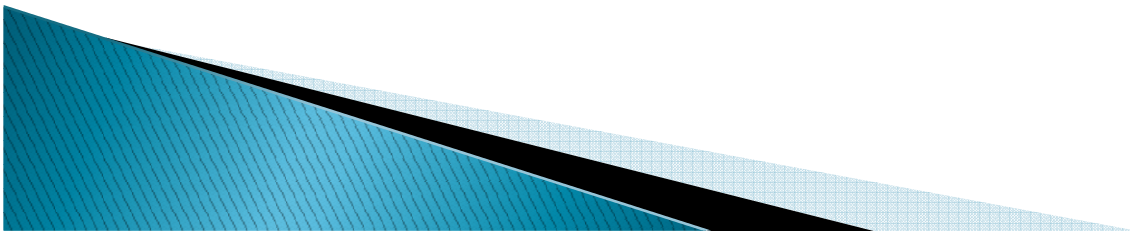


Cloves



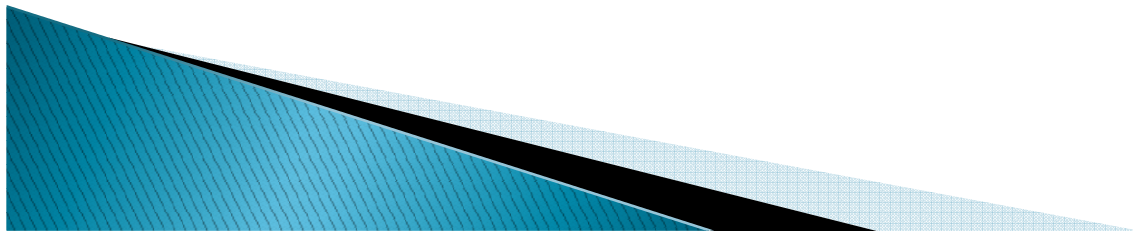
Cloves and trade

- ▶ The spice was very desirable
- ▶ Trade routes developed early
- ▶ Cloves have been found in Syria in a ceramic vessel, dating to c1721 BC
- ▶ North Maluku is the native environment
- ▶ Central Maluku was a provisioning centre, but later spices grown throughout islands



Trade and language

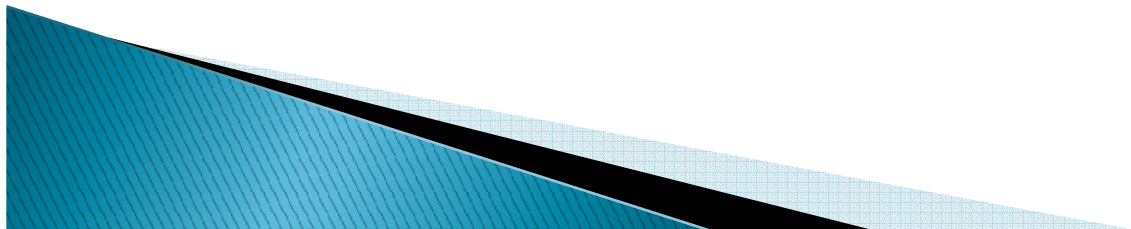
- ▶ Very likely that Malay was used as contact language from early period
- ▶ Evidence from differentiation of Malay varieties in relatively small area
- ▶ Ethnologue lists four distinct varieties: Ambonese, Bacanese, Banda, North Moluccan



Trade and language

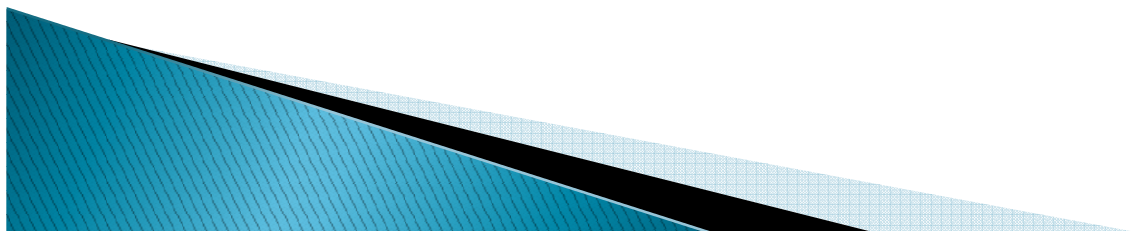
- Portuguese took control of Ambon in 1525
- Many Portuguese words retained in local Malays
- Wallace 1857 reports:

pombo	(pigeon)	milo	(maize)
testa	(forehead)	horas	(hours)
alfinete	(pin)	cadeira	(chair)
lenco	(handkerchief)	fresco	(cool)
trigo	(flour)	sono	(sloop)
histori	(talk)	mesmo	(even)
(amongst others)			



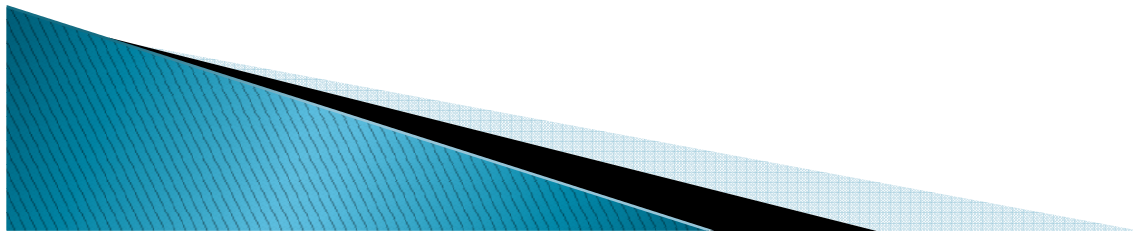
Trade and language

- ▶ VOC took control in 1605
- ▶ Dutch rule continued (except short interruptions) until independence after WW2
- ▶ Malay was the language of communication for colonial period
- ▶ But some Dutch influences also in local languages and local Malay



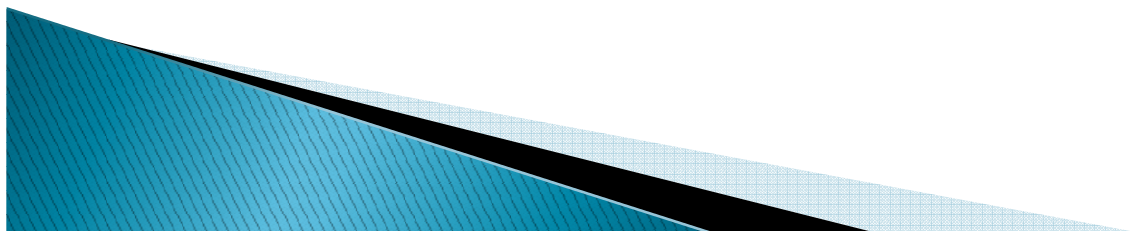
Trade and religion

- ▶ Contact with outside world also meant contact with world religions
- ▶ Islam came to Maluku c1460
- ▶ Portuguese brought Catholicism
 - Francis Xavier visited 1545
- ▶ Dutch brought Protestantism
- ▶ Maluku has one of the highest proportions of Christians of any Indonesian province



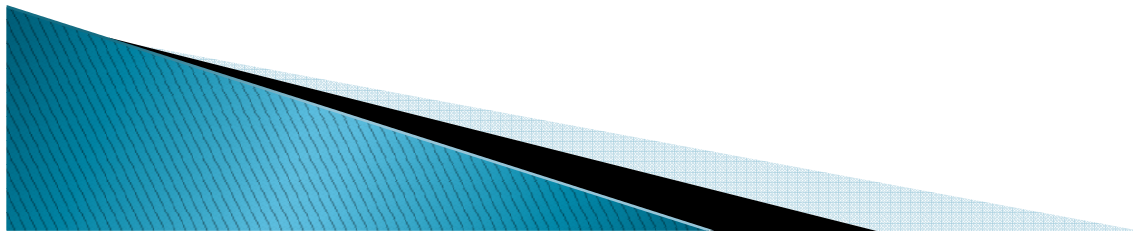
Language and religion

- ▶ Under Dutch rule, different treatment for religious groups:
 - Christians had better access to education, outside world
 - Muslims more restricted
- ▶ Villages were uniform in religion
- ▶ Consequence that Christian villages experienced early language shift



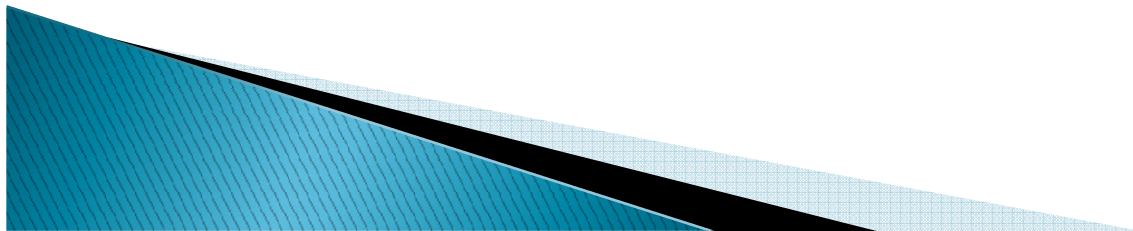
Situation in 1857

- ▶ Wallace observed this distinction:
“The Portuguese element decidedly predominates in the old Christian population, as indicated by features, habits, and the retention of many Portuguese words in the Malay, which is now their language. ... In a suburb of Amboyna there is a village of aboriginal Malays who are Mahometans, and who speak a peculiar language allied to those of Ceram, as well as Malay.”



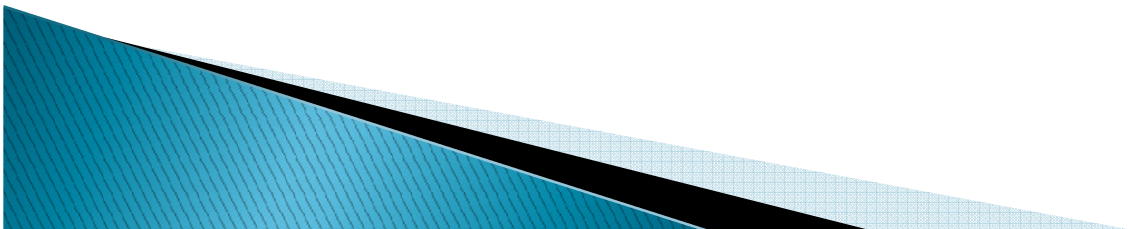
More recently

- ▶ Since independence, Muslim communities have had more outward orientation
- ▶ Language shift has occurred / is occurring in them now also



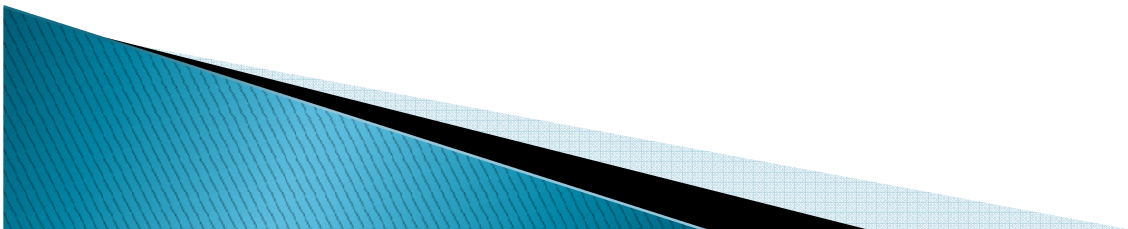
Linguistic overview

- ▶ Ethnologue lists 132 languages for Maluku overall
 - 128 spoken, 4 with no known speakers
 - 4 Malay varieties, one creole (Ternateño)
 - 16 non-Austronesian, all but one (Oirata) in North Maluku
 - By region:
 - North Maluku – 37 languages
 - Central Maluku – 52 languages
 - South Maluku – 43 languages



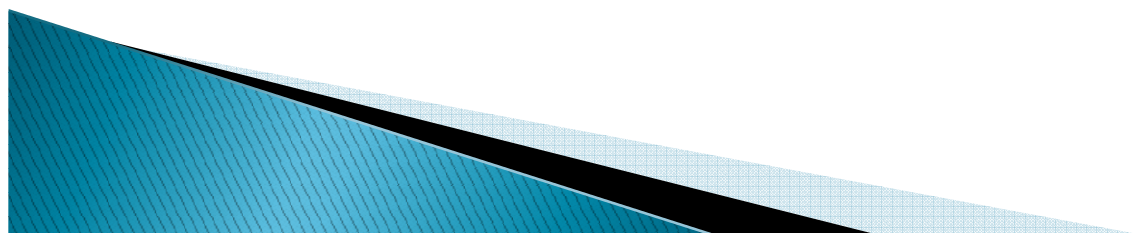
Overview – speaker numbers

- ▶ Maximum: Kei (85000)
- ▶ Minimum: Kayeli (3)
- ▶ Mean: 7221
- ▶ Median: 2625



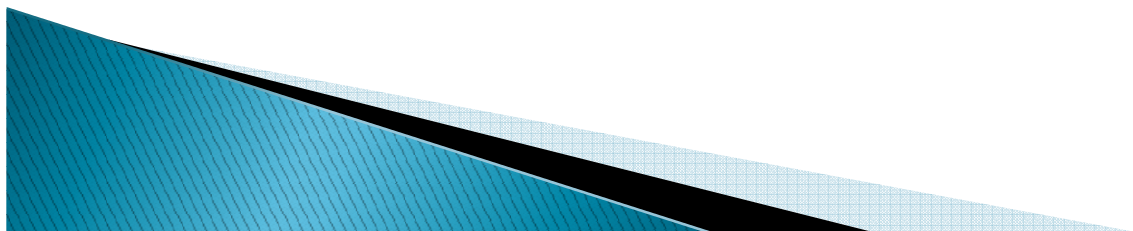
Documentation

- ▶ No language from Maluku has extensive accessible documentation
- ▶ Only one documentation project has been funded in region
 - ELDP – Florey, Ewing, Musgrave
- ▶ Heritage material?



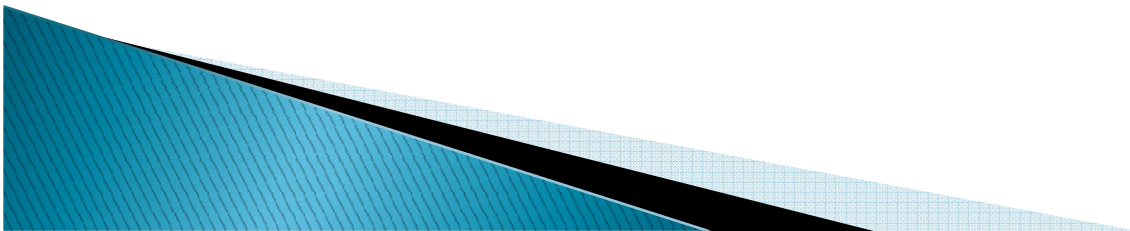
Inaccessible documentation

- ▶ Plenty of work has been done
- ▶ Undoubtedly unpublished material exists
- ▶ Probably even audio in some cases
- ▶ But how much will ever be made accessible?



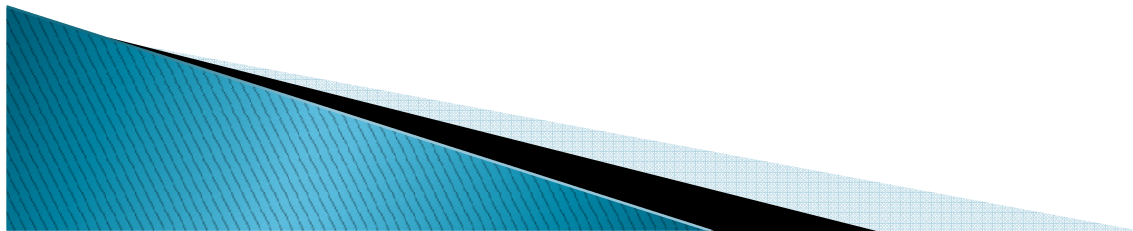
Example – Asilulu

- ▶ Collins' work from 1970s–1980s
- ▶ Partial reports e.g. Collins 1982, 1983
- ▶ Detailed dictionary resources known to exist
- ▶ Various efforts to encourage publication:
- ▶ Finally published by NUSA 2003



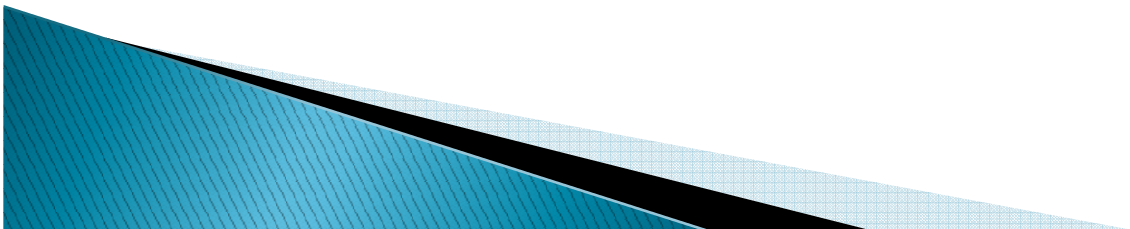
Lexical resources

- ▶ Concentration of work on sub-grouping
- ▶ Word lists a common type of data
 - Especially for quantitative methods
- ▶ Accessibility still problematic
- ▶ Wallace:
 - 27 languages



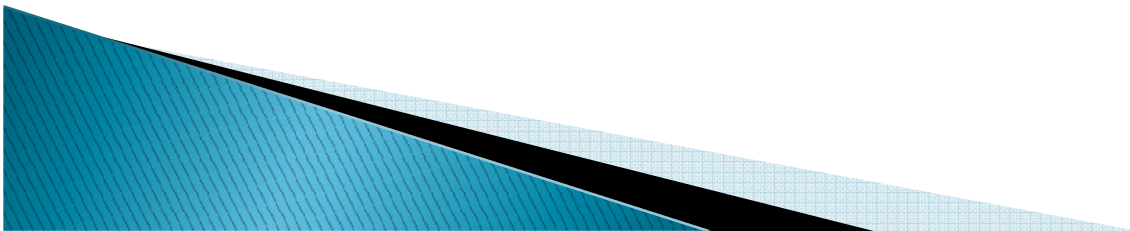
Holle lists

- ▶ Almost one third of Ethnologue's languages are represented in Holle lists
- ▶ 41 (approximately) of 132
- ▶ 19 of those languages have multiple lists
- ▶ Valuable resource, especially in looking at language change



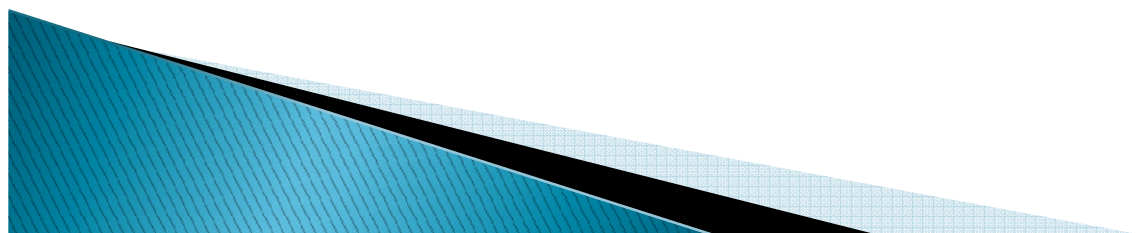
Lists from Dutch Moluccans

- ▶ Some word lists / dictionaries published recently in The Netherlands
- ▶ Created by members of the Dutch Moluccan community
- ▶ Based on data from elderly speakers, most with little contact with vital speech community for decades
- ▶ Not reliable, but worth noting



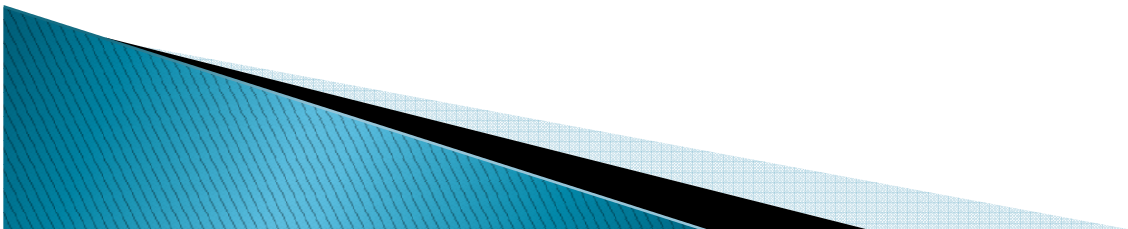
Description

- ▶ Older sources exist
- ▶ E.g. Stresemann grammar of Paulohi (1918)
- ▶ Again, important resources but not always easily accessible



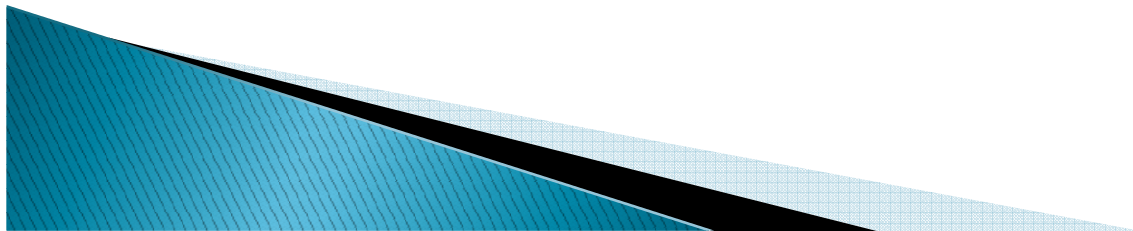
Recent descriptions

- ▶ Detailed – a short list
 - Grimes – Buru
 - Van Engelenhoven – Leti
 - Bowden – Taba
 - Van Staden – Tidore
- ▶ Less detailed – still not many
 - Bolton – Nuaulu
 - And others
- ▶ Then isolated papers...



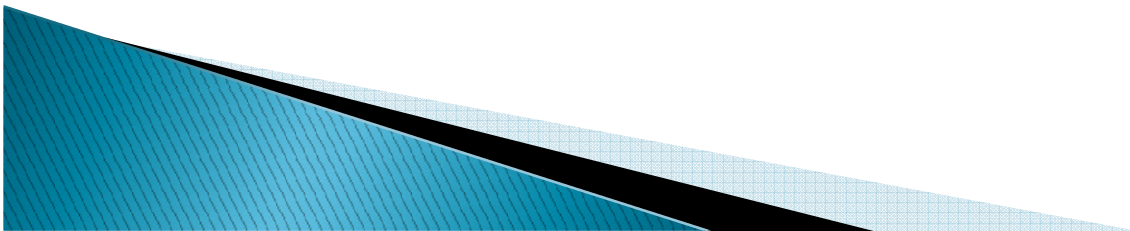
Recent changes

- ▶ Previously – even communities with good language maintenance are now at risk
- ▶ Mass media, mobile phones, etc, all have impact
- ▶ Language shift not perceived as threatening
- ▶ Two possible reasons



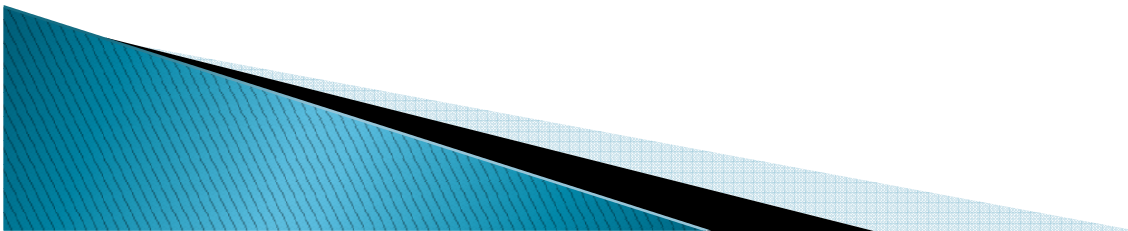
Reason 1 – other threats

- ▶ Obviously relevant to last 15 years – *kerusuhan*
- ▶ But conflicts went back much further, at least to independence
- ▶ Against these threats, language shift is not perceived as important



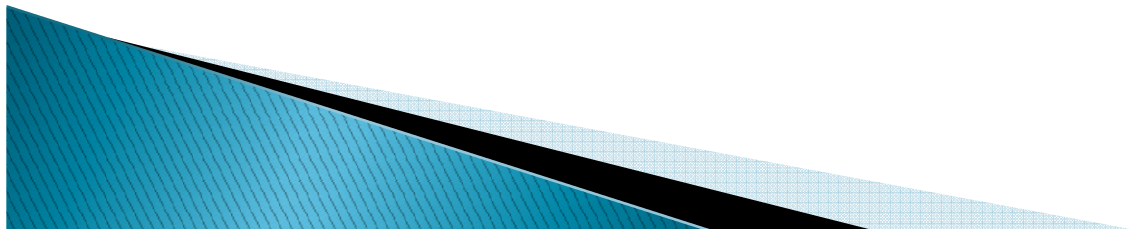
Effects of *kerusuhan*

- ▶ One effect on linguistic research – end of Universitas Pattimura as research partner
- ▶ Other effects:
 - Renewed interest in *adat* – but language not always central
 - Awareness of possibility of secret language
- ▶ Post-*kerusuhan* period has emphasised economic links beyond Maluku



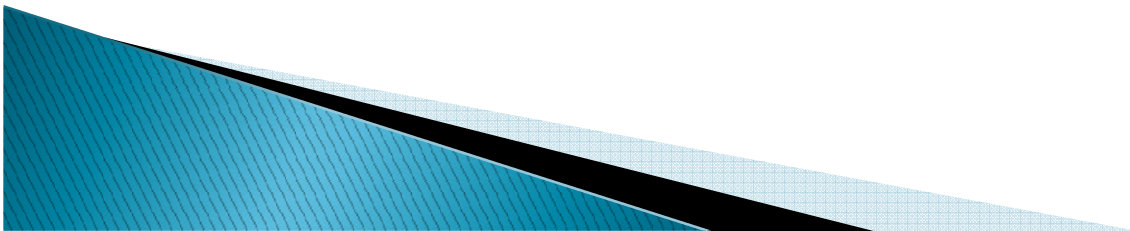
Reason 2 – historic multilingualism

- ▶ History of region suggests use of more than one language for most people/communities
- ▶ More recent language shift is not shift from language A to language B
- ▶ Shift is realignment of multilingual repertoires
- ▶ Felt as less threatening?
- ▶ Even less noticeable?



Setting priorities

- ▶ Priority number 1
- ▶ Anything!



Priorities

- ▶ Documentation
 - Central and South Maluku especially?
 - South Maluku is difficult for logistics
- ▶ Descriptions – yes, but collecting data seems more urgent
- ▶ Making heritage material more available
 - Highly desirable and highly unfundable

