

# Manado Malay: features, contact, and contrasts.

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# Introduction / Acknowledgments:

- Timothy Brickell – B.A (Hons.): Monash University 2007-2011.
- PhD: La Trobe University 2011-2015. Part of ARC DP 110100662 (CI Jukes) and ARC DECRA 120102017 (CI Schnell).
- 2016 – 2018: University of Melbourne - CI for Endangered Languages Documentation Programme/SOAS IPF 0246. ARC Center of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language (CoEDL) affiliate.
- Fieldwork: 11 months between 2011-2014 in Tondano speech community. 8 months between 2015-2018 in Tonsawang speech community.
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# PRESENTATION OVERVIEW:

- Background: brief outline of linguistic ecology of North Sulawesi. Background information on Manado Malay.
- Outline of various features of MM: phonology, lexicon, some phonological changes, personal pronouns, ordering of elements within NPs, possession, morphology, and causatives.
- Compare MM features with those of two indigenous with which have been in close contact with MM for at least 300 years - Tondano and Tonsawang.
- Primary questions: Has long-term contact with indigneous languages resulted in any shared features? Does MM demonstrate structural featues (Adelaar & Prentice 1996; Adelaar 2005) considered characteristic of contact Malay varities?

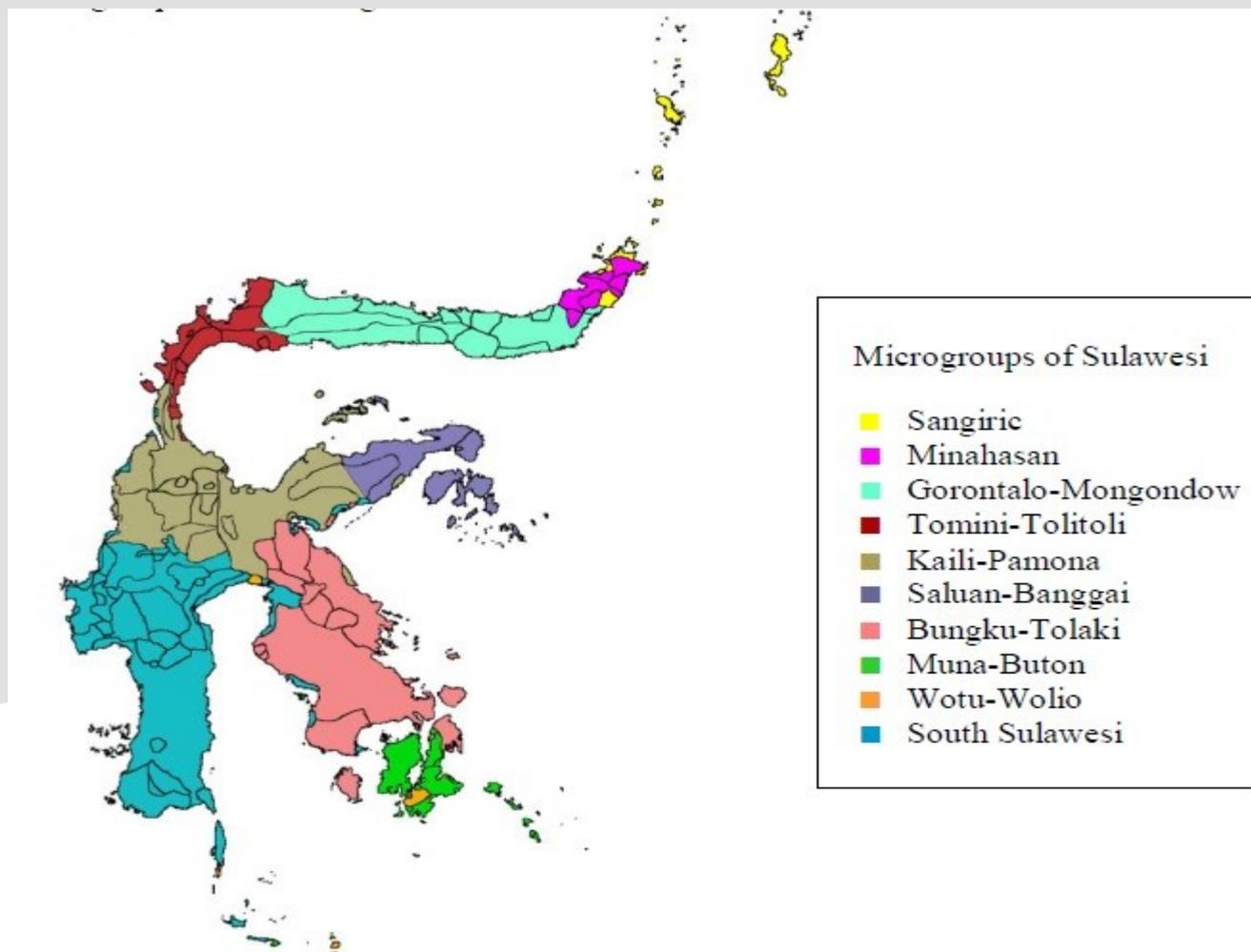
# Background: Geography

- Minahasan peninsula: northern tip of Sulawesi, Indonesia.



# Background: Indigenous language groups

- Ten indigenous language micro-groups of Sulawesi (Mead 2013:141). Approx. 114 languages in total (Simons & Fennings 2018)



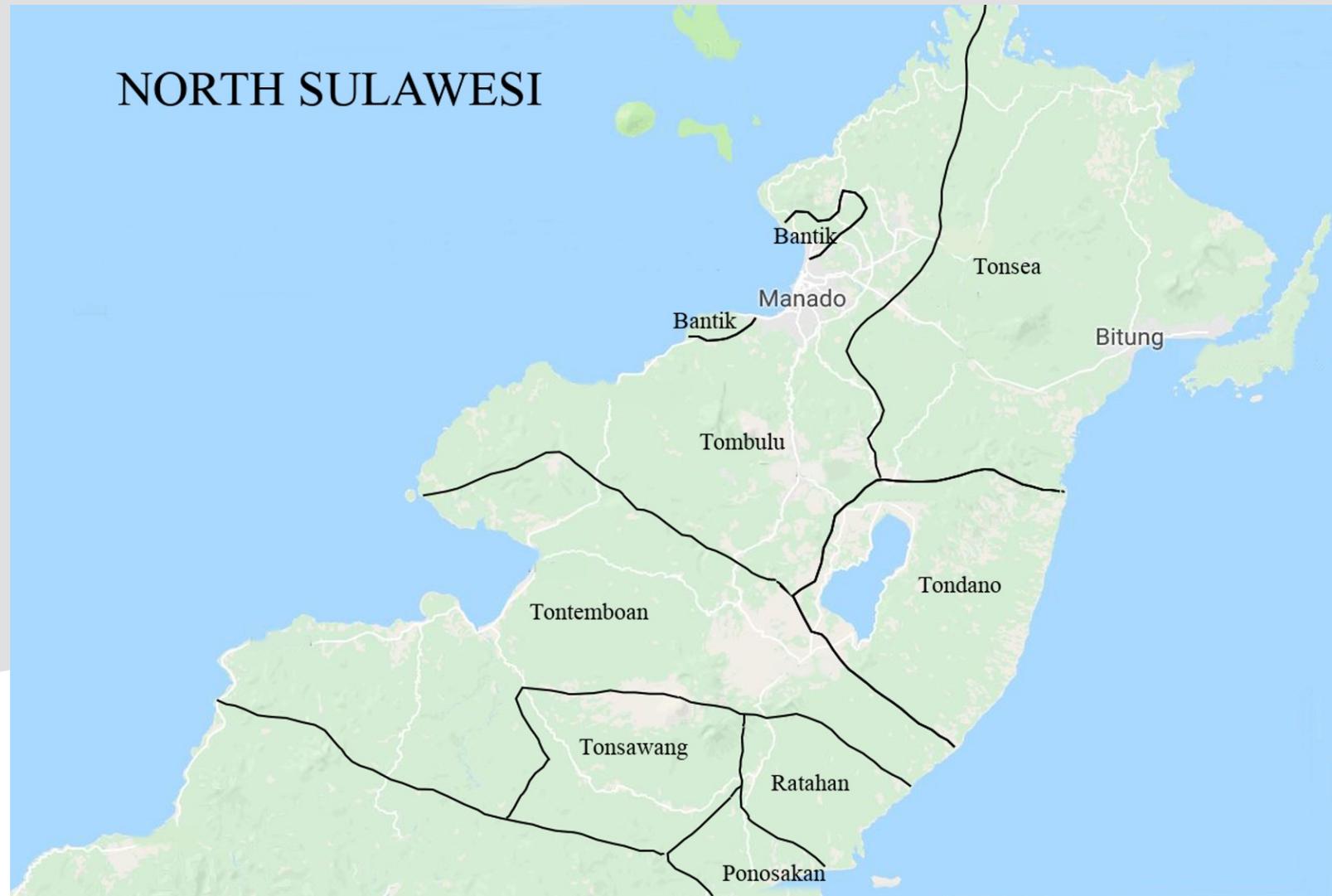
# North Sulawesi indigenous language/ethnic groups:

Languages spoken in North Sulawesi: Manado Malay (ISO 639-3: xmm) and nine languages from three microgroups - *Minahasan* (five), *Sangiric* (three), *Gorontalo-Mongondow* (one).

- *Tonsawang* (Minahasan. ISO 639-3: tnw)
- *Tontemboan* (Minahasan > North. ISO 639-3: tnt)
- *Tonsea* (Minahasan > North > Northeast. ISO 639-3:txs)
- *Tondano* (Minahasan > North > Northeast. ISO 639-3: tdn)
- *Tombulu* (Minahasan > North > Northeast. ISO 639-3: tom)
- *Ratahan/Torátan* (Sangiric. ISO 639-3: rth)
- *Bantik* (Sangiric. ISO 639-3: bnq)
- *Sangir* (Sangiric. ISO 639-3: sxn)
- *Ponosaken* (Gorontalo-Mongondow. ISO 639-3: gor)

# Indigenous language/ethnic group boundaries

- Approximate boundaries of ethnic/linguistic groups in North Sulawesi (based on Brandes 1894; Henley 1998).



# Previous work on languages examined here:

- 1) Manado Malay: studies of any detail (English or BI) are relatively recent. Described to varying degrees in Taulu (1957), Karisah Najoen, Liwoso, Djojuroto, & Kembuan (1981), Prentice (1994), Wantalagi (1994), Adelaar & Prentice (1996), Stoel (2005), Paauw (2008). Dictionary: Solea-Warouw (1985).
- 2) Tondano and Tonsawang underdocumented, as are all Minahasan languages. Early wordlists in Dutch. Tondano described in Watupongoh et. al. (1992), Sneddon (1975), and Brickell (2015). Tonsawang phonology described in Sneddon (1978). Preliminary descriptions of Tonsawang phonology/morphology in Sneddon (1978) and aspects of morphosyntax in Brickell (2016b) and Utsumi (2018).
- 3) Dictionaries: Tondano - Dotulong (2010), Tonsawang - Kalangi (2012).

## Data corpora:

- Manado Malay data from personal field notes, observations, and elicitations as well as various publications (Wantalangi 1993; Prentice 1994; Stoel 2005; Paauw 2008; Dotulong 2010; Kalangi 2012).
- Tondano data taken from Brickell (2015, 2016a). Partial corpora available online at Multi-CAST (Köln) - <https://lac2.uni-koeln.de/en/multicast-tondano/>
- Tonsawang data taken from Brickell (2016b). Available online at ELAR repository - <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1035088>

# Manado Malay: Background

- *Manado Malay*, a.k.a. *Basaha Manado*, *bahasa pasar*, *bahasa sehari-hari*, or *bahasa Malayu Manado*. Spoken throughout the Minahasan peninsula and further south in Gorontalo province.
- Contact variety, a.k.a Pidgin Derived-Malay ‘PDM’ (Adelaar & Prentice 1996, Adelaar 2005:202). Most closely related to Ternate/ North Moluccan Malay (ISO 639-3: max).
- Lingua franca whose use was entrenched during the Dutch colonial period, i.e. 1650’s onwards, where it was used by the Dutch for colonial administration of indigenous population. Appears to be a transplanted variety of Ternate Malay which arrived in North Sulawesi already developed.

# Manado Malay: Background

- In more recent times (1900's onwards) used as outsiders moved to indigenous communities and due to intermarriage between Minahasans of different ethnic groups.
- Is now L1 for approx. 850,000 speakers (Simons & Fennings 2018). L2 for between another 1.5 million (*ibid*) – 3 million (Whisler 2006). Dominant in most formal and informal domains of use and replacing all indigenous languages.
- Likely shares a common source language with other PDMs (Collins 1998; Adelaar 2005:204; Stoel 2005:8). As a PDM considered likely to display a set of features as follows (Adelaar & Prentice 1996:3 Adelaar 2005; Paauw 2008:29 ):

# PDM shared structural features

- Possession encoded with possessor + *punya* + possessed.
- Plural pronouns derived from singular forms + *orang*.
- *ter-* and *ber-* as productive Malayic affixes.
- existential marker *ada* also encodes progressive aspect.
- Reduced forms of demonstratives *ini* and *itu* precede nouns and function as definite markers.
- Reduced form of *pergi* as both a verb and preposition.
- Causatives comprising AUX *kasi/beri* and *bikin* plus head verb.
- Use of *sama* as multifunctional preposition.

# Phonology

Phoneme inventory (Prentice 1994:413; Stoel 2005; Paauw 2008:314). Judged as indicative of all Malay PDMs (Paauw 2008:80).

- Voiced and voiceless stop pairs at four places of articulation: /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /c/, /ʃ/, and /k/, /g/. Nasals at four places of articulation: /m/, /n/, /ny/, and /ŋ/. Fricatives /f/ and /s/. Glides /j/ (y) and /w/, trill /r/, and lateral //.
- Glottal stop /ʔ/ (') given phonemic status in Prentice (1994) but not in Stoel (2005). Likely non-phonemic (word-initially and between vowels word internally) likely due to contact with BI.
- Five cardinal vowels and schwa: /a/, /i/, /ɛ/ (è), /u/, /o/, and /ə/ (e).

# Phonology

- Manado Malay phoneme inventory very similar to those of Tondano and Tonsawang.
- Both TDN and TNW lack */ny/*, */c/*, */ʃ/*, and */f/*. TDN also lacks */h/* but contains a highly unstable velar approximant */ɥ/*.
- Both TDN and TNW include glottal stop */ʔ/*.
- Vowel phonemes identical to those in MM: */a/*, */i/*, */ɛ/* (è), */u/*, */o/*, and */ə/* (e).

# Lexicon

- Many Dutch loanwords – possibly some which were formerly used in BI but which dropped out of use post- independence (Adelaar 2005:31).

MM:	Dutch:	English gloss:	MM:	Dutch:	English gloss:
<i>adfen</i>	<i>adven</i>	'advent'	<i>lastok</i>	<i>laadstok</i>	'ramrod'
<i>brot</i>	<i>brood</i>	'bread'	<i>leper</i>	<i>lepel</i>	'spoon'
<i>broit</i>	<i>bruid</i>	'bride'	<i>leis</i>	<i>leidsal</i>	'bridle'
<i>daag</i>	<i>daag</i>	'goodbye'	<i>opstok</i>	<i>opstok</i>	'stir.up'
<i>engkel</i>	<i>enkel</i>	'ankle	<i>strom</i>	<i>stroom</i>	'stream'
<i>for</i>	<i>voor</i>	'so.that'	<i>toples</i>	<i>stopfles</i>	'jar lid'
<i>fol</i>	<i>vol</i>	'full'	<i>stempel</i>	<i>stempel</i>	'stamp'
<i>flao</i>	<i>flauw</i>	'faint'	<i>trektek</i>	<i>techter</i>	'funnel'
<i>plat</i>	<i>plat</i>	'plate'	<i>rem</i>	<i>rem</i>	'brake'
<i>floit</i>	<i>fluit</i>	'flute'	<i>visir</i>	<i>vizier</i>	'gun sight'
<i>klaar</i>	<i>klaar</i>	'finish'	<i>wastafel</i>	<i>wastafel</i>	'sink'

# Lexicon

- Words of Portuguese origin (despite the fact that the Portuguese had only very brief contact with indigenous population of North Sulawesi):

MM:	Portugese/ Spanish:	Gloss:	MM:	Portugese/ Spanish:	Gloss:
<i>forsa</i>	<i>forca</i>	'strong'	<i>pastiu</i>	<i>fastio</i>	'bored'
<i>fresko</i>	<i>fresco</i>	'fresh'	<i>pendo</i>	<i>pendejo</i>	'stupid/fuck'
<i>fugado</i>	<i>fogado</i>	'humid'	<i>pesta</i>	<i>feira</i>	'party'
<i>kawalo</i>	<i>cavalo</i>	'horse'	<i>porno</i>	<i>forno</i>	'oven'
<i>kadera</i>	<i>cadiera</i>	'chair'	<i>soldado</i>	<i>soldado</i>	'soldier'
<i>lenso</i>	<i>lenco</i>	'handkerchief'	<i>sono</i>	<i>sono</i>	'tired'
<i>mai</i>	<i>mae</i>	'mother'	<i>suar</i>	<i>suar</i>	'sweat'
<i>milu</i>	<i>milho</i>	'corn'	<i>tera</i>	<i>terra</i>	'earth'
<i>natal</i>	<i>natal</i>	'Christmas'	<i>tuturuga</i>	<i>tartaruga</i>	'turtle'
<i>oras</i>	<i>horas</i>	'time'	<i>tempo</i>	<i>tempo</i>	'time'

# Lexicon: words from indigenous languages.

- Loan words from indigenous Minahasan languages appear uncommon. Semantic domains usually restricted to (TDN/TOM/TXS):

- 1) Place names - *Pinèlèng* (*p<in>èlèng-en*), *Tanawangko* ('land big'), *Tondano* (*tou ndano* - 'people water') *Watulanèy* ('stone slippery'), *Wèwèlan* (*wè'wèl-an*).
- 2) Food - *tinutu'an* (*t<in>utu'-an*) 'vegetable porridge', *sa'ut* '(cooked) banana palm trunk', *ragèy* 'pork skewers', *rintek wu'uk (rw)* 'small/thin hair (euphenism for dog)'.  
3) Animals – *kolombi* 'snail', *pongkor* 'carp', *manguni* 'owl'.

# Lexicon: Loan words occurring in indigenous languages via MM.

- Various semantic domains, e.g.:

*sèipa* ‘hat’ (TDN) < *capèò* (MM) < *chapeu* (POR), *lènso* ‘hankchief’ (TDN) < *lènso* (MM) < *lenso* (POR), *towaku* ‘tobacco’ (TND) < *tabaku* (MM) < *tabak* (DUT), *porek* ‘fork’ (TND) < *forek* (MM) < *vork* (DUT), *lèper* ‘spoon’ (TND) < *leper* (MM) < *lepel* (DUT), *bulu* ‘bamboo’ (TND) < *bulu* (MM) < *buluh* (IND), *sèng* ‘roof sheeting’ (TDN) < *sèng* (MM)

- Function words also sometimes occur:

• *for* ‘so that’ (TND) < *vor* (DUT), *musti* ‘have to’ (TND) < *musti* (MM) < *moet zijn* (DUT), *jadi* ‘thus’ (TND) < *jadi* (MM) < *jadi* (BI), *sebab* ‘thus’ (TND/TNW) < *sebab* (MM) < *sebab* (BI).

# Phonological changes in the lexicon

A (non-exhaustive list) of phonological simplifications in words shared with BI (see also Prentice 1994; Paauw 2008).

1. Loss of word-final /p/, /t/, /k/, and //: *empat* ‘four’ (BI) > *ampa* (MM), *tutup* (BI) ‘close’ > *tutu* (MM), *mulut* (BI) ‘mouth’ > *mulu* (MM), and *balik* (BI) ‘return’ > *balè* (MM), *panggil* (BI) ‘call’ > *pangè* (MM).
2. Loss of /h/ in any position, e.g. word initial: *hati* ‘liver’(BI) > *atè* (MM) and *hampir* ‘almost’ (BI) > *ampèr* (MM). Word medial: *lihat* ‘see’ (BI) > *lia* (MM), *tahu* ‘know’ (BI) > *tao* (MM). Word final: *rumah* ‘house’ (BI) > *ruma* (MM) and *sedih* ‘sad’ (BI) > *sidii* (MM).
3. Shortening of common words, e.g.: *dèngan* ‘with’ (BI) > *dèng* (MM), *sudah* ‘already’ (BI) > *so* (MM), and *nyanda* ‘not’ (BI) > *nya* (MM).

# Phonological features in the lexicon

4. Merger of word-final nasals /n/ and /m/ > velar /ng/ word finally. e.g: *hujan* (BI) ‘rain’ > *ujang* (MM), *nonton* (BI) ‘watch’ > *nontong* (MM), *jangan* (BI) ‘don’t’ > *jangang* (MM), *jarum* (BI) ‘needle’ > *jarong* (MM), *malam* (BI) ‘night’ > *malang* (MM), and *belum* (BI) ‘not.yet’ > *blung* (MM).
5. Word final /h/ may correspond with /ng/. e.g.: *jatuh* (BI) ‘fall’ > *jatung* (MM), *sentuh* (BI) ‘nudge’ > *sontong* (MM),
6. Vowel lowering - /u/ > /o/ and /i/ > /è/, e.g.: *ikut* (BI) ‘follow’ > *iko* (MM), *masuk* (BI) ‘enter’ > *maso* (MM), *ngantuk* (BI) ‘tired’ > *nganto* (MM), *lebih* (BI) ‘more’ > *lèbè* (MM), *ambil* (BI) ‘bring’ > *ambè* (MM), and *kasih* (BI) ‘affection’ > *kasè* (MM).

# Personal pronouns: Manado Malay

- 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and plural. Free and bound forms. No inclusive/exclusive distinction in 1PL. 2SG and 2PL are Ternate loans.

	Independent:	Bound:
1SG	<i>kita</i>	<i>ta=</i>
2SG	<i>ngana</i> (Ternate)	<i>na=</i>
3SG	<i>dia</i>	<i>dè=</i>
1PL	<i>torang</i> (< <i>kita orang</i> )	<i>tong=</i>
2PL	<i>ngoni</i> (Ternate)	-
3PL	<i>dorang</i> (< <i>dia orang</i> )	<i>dong=</i>

- Pronouns mostly adhere to expected PDM structure, with exception of 2PL taken from Ternate.

# Personal pronouns: Tondano

- Additional paradigms and forms than observed in MM. Bound forms have specific syntactic functions. Independent forms with varied functions (Brickell 2015).

	Independent form:	NOM proclitics:	GEN enclitics:
1SG	niaku	ku=	=ku
2SG	niko	ko=	=(m)u
3SG	sisia/sia	si=	=na
1PL.IN	nikita	ta=	=ta
1PL.EX	nikèy	kèy=	=(m)èy
2PL	nikow	kow=	=(m)iu
3PL	nisèa/sèa	sè=	=nèa

- Free forms: mostly reflexes of PMP forms plus PMP GEN marker *\*ni* (Ross 2006:6). Bound forms derived from free forms.

# Personal pronouns: Tonsawang

- Also differs to MM with exception of *kita*. One paradigm of independent forms with various syntactic functions. Bound pronouns in singular only (Brickell 2016).

	Independent form:	GEN enclitics:
1SG	siahu	=ku/(a)hu
2SG	sihow	=(n)u
3SG	sisia/sia	=na
1PL.IN	kita	-
1PL.EX	kamitahula	-
2PL	komotahula	-
3PL	silatahula	-

- Singular forms comprise PMP case marker *\*si* (Reid 1978; Ross 2002:151) and reflexes of PMP pronouns.

## Order of elements with NP: MM

- Previous literature (Prentice 1994: 425; Paauw 2008:324) states some flexibility, but “basic order” is for quantifiers and numerals to follow head.
- Fieldwork discussions with younger MM speaker attest more flexibility (possible influence from BI?):

Head + modifier:	Modifier + head:	Gloss:
<i>torang samua</i> (us all)	<i>samua torang</i> (all us)	‘all of us’
<i>paniki banya</i> (bat many)	<i>banya paniki</i> (many bat)	‘many bats’
<i>ruma dua</i> (house two)	<i>dua ruma</i> (two house)	‘two houses’
<i>blangang tiga</i> (pot three)	<i>tiga blangang</i> (three pot)	‘three pots’
<i>anjing ampa</i> (dog four)	<i>ampa anjing</i> (four dog)	‘four dogs’

# Order of elements with NP: Tondano

- Some flexibility possible, but quantifiers and numerals are much more likely to occur before the head (Brickell 2015:266-68). Quantifiers essentially restricted to pre-head position.

MOD (QUANT/NUM):	Head:	Gloss:
<i>susur</i> 'every'	<i>nendo</i> 'day'	'every day'
<i>laker</i> 'many'	<i>nuka</i> 'coconut shell'	'many coconut shells'
<i>mbaya</i> 'all'	<i>ngkaan</i> 'rice'	'all the rice'
<i>wo'opira</i> 'several'	<i>minggu</i> 'week'	'several weeks'
<i>rua</i> 'two'	<i>tolè</i> 'boy'	'two boys'
<i>telu</i> 'three'	<i>kekantaren</i> 'song'	'three songs'
<i>epat</i> 'four'	<i>tabelang</i> 'bamboo'	'four bamboo tubes'

# Order of elements with NP: Tonsawang

- Again structure differs to that of MM. Quantifiers and numerals much more frequently precede head (Brickell 2016b).

MOD (QUANT/NUM):	Head:	Gloss:
<i>pahasa</i> 'all'	<i>suru</i> 'descendent'	'all the descendents'
<i>tado'om</i> 'many'	<i>ndo'ong</i> 'village'	'many villages'
<i>susud</i> 'every'	<i>inendo</i> 'day'	'every day'
<i>tahula</i> 'some'	<i>ando</i> 'day'	'several days'
<i>telu</i> 'three'	<i>sèng</i> 'roof iron'	'three sheets of roof iron'
<i>pitu</i> 'seven'	<i>sando</i> 'tomorrow'	'(in) seven days (time)'
<i>walu</i> 'eight'	<i>togulu</i> 'coconut'	'eight coconuts'

# Encoding possession: Manado Malay (1)

- Structure consistent with patterns expected of PDMs: possessor + *punya* 'have' related form + possessed entity, (i.e. head of NP) (Adelaar & Prentice 1996, Adelaar 2005: Paauw 2008).
- MM utilises bound proforms (except 2PL) attaching to shortened variant of *punya*, *pè*:

	Proform + <i>pè</i> + possessed entity	Gloss:
1SG	<i>ta=pè ruma</i>	'my house'
2SG	<i>nga=pè ruma</i>	'your house'
3SG	<i>dè=pè ruma</i>	'his/her house'
1PL	<i>tong=pè ruma</i>	'our house'
2PL	<i>ngoni pè ruma</i>	'your house'
3PL	<i>dong=pè ruma</i>	'their house'

## Encoding possession: Manado Malay (2)

- When possessor/possessed are expressed by NPs the structure remains: possessor + *pè* + possessed entity (head of NP).

Possessor + <i>pè</i> + possessed	Gloss:
<i>Jan pè kalapa</i>	'Jan's coconut'
<i>pendèta pè roko</i>	'the priest's cigarette'
<i>Minahasa pè orang</i>	'Minahasan people'
<i>Albert pè senjata</i>	'Albert's gun'

# Encoding possession: Tondano (1)

- Different order and structure in contrast to MM: possessed entity (head of NP) + possessor encoded by GEN enclitic.

	Possessed entity + GEN enclitic	Gloss:
1SG	<i>walè=ku</i>	'my house'
2SG	<i>walè=mu</i>	'your house'
3SG	<i>walè=na</i>	'his/her house'
1PL.IN	<i>walè=ta</i>	'our house'
1PL.EX	<i>walè=mèy</i>	'our house'
2PL	<i>walè=miu</i>	'your house'
3PL	<i>walè=nèa</i>	'their house'

## Encoding possession: Tondano (2)

- When possessor/possessed are expressed by NPs the structure differs but the order is the same: possessed entity (head of NP) + GEN phrase marker + possessor.

Possessed + <i>ni=</i> + possessor	Gloss:
<i>po'po ni=Jan</i>	'Jan's coconut'
<i>lelingkun ni=walian</i>	'The priest's cigarette'
<i>tou ni=Minahasa</i>	'Minahasan people'
<i>lelutam ni=Albert</i>	'Albert's gun'

# Encoding possession: Tonsawang (1)

- Again differs in contrast to MM. Singular: possessed entity (head) + possessor encoded by GEN enclitic. Plural: possessed entity (head) + possessor encoded by independent pronoun.

	Possessed entity + GEN enclitic	Gloss:
1SG	<i>walè=ku</i>	'my house'
2SG	<i>walè=mu</i>	'your house'
3SG	<i>walè=na</i>	'his/her house'
	Possessed entity + free pronoun	
1PL.IN	<i>walè kita</i>	'our house'
1PL.EX	<i>walè kamitahula</i>	'our house'
2PL	<i>walè komotahula</i>	'your house'
3PL	<i>walè ilatahula</i>	'their house'

## Encoding possession: Tonsawang (2)

- When possessor/possessed are expressed by NPs the structure matches that of TDN: possessed entity + GEN phrase marker + possessor.

Possessed + <i>i=</i> + possessor	Gloss:
<i>togulu' i=Jan</i>	'Jan's coconut'
<i>roko i=balian</i>	'The priest's cigarette'
<i>tou i=Minahasa</i>	'Minahasan people'
<i>lolutam i=Albert</i>	'Albert's gun'

# Morphology: Manado Malay

- Morphologically isolating. Minimal verbal morphology - five prefixes: *ba-*, *ta-*, *baku-*, *paN-*, and *ka-*. (Prentice 1994:431-34; Stoel 2005:18; Paauw 2008:238-241). *ba-* most productive.
- *ba-* and *ta-* are etymologically identical to BI *ber-* and *ter-*. However, only partially shared functions. Varying analyses of *ba-* in previous literature (Prentice 1994; Stoel 2005; Paauw 2008).

	Function encoded:		Function encoded:
Form:		Form:	
<i>ba-</i> + Noun	Use/possess Noun	<i>baku-</i>	Reciprocal
<i>ba-</i> + Adjective	Achieve action/state	<i>ta-</i>	Non-volitional event
<i>ba-</i> + verb (Intrans.)	Ongoing action/state	<i>paN-</i>	Nominanliser (Agt.)
<i>ba-</i> + verb (Trans.)	Ongoing action	<i>ka-</i>	Ordinal numerals

# Morphology: Manado Malay

- *ba-* + noun base (use/possess)

1) *dia nyanda batelpon pa dèpè mama tadi malam*

dia      nyanda    *ba-telpon*      pa      dè=pè      mama    tadi    malam

3SG      NEG      *BA-telephone*    to (OBJ)    3SG=POSS    mother    last    night

'He did not call his mother last night'

(Paauw 2008:239)

- *ba-* + adjective base (achieve action/state)

2) *kalamaring tu cuaca sadiki badinging*

kalamaring    tu=      cuaca      sadiki    *ba-dinging*

yesterday    DEF=    weather    small    *BA-cold*

'Yesterday the weather cooled down a bit'

(Elicited)

- Example 2) also demonstrates reduced form of *itu* used as DEF marker.

# Morphology: Manado Malay

- *ba-* + intrans. verb base (ongoing activity/state – intrans.)

3) *tiap ari dorang salalu bakarlota*

tiap	ari	dorang	salalu	<i>ba-karlota</i>
every	day	3PL	always	<i>BA-talk.constantly</i>

'Every day they are always gossiping' (Elicited)

- *ba-* + trans. verb base (ongoing action – trans.)

4) *Jenry pè papa bapotong ayam di blakang ruma*

Jenry	pè	papa	<i>ba-potong</i>	ayam	di	blakang	ruma
PN	POSS	father	<i>BA-cut</i>	chicken	LOC	behind	house

'Jenry's father is slaughtering chickens behind the house' (Elicited)

- Incredibly productive. Also common on loan words, e.g. *ba-disco*, *ba-sumo*, *ba-ps* (playstation). Even *ba-bulè* 'become western-looking (by dying hair blond, for example)'.

# Morphology: Manado Malay

- *ta-* + verb (involuntary event). 5) also displays use of *ada* as realis aspect (Stoel 2005:36) marker.

5) *oto itu ada tatabrak*

oto    itu    ada    *ta-tabrak*  
car    DEM    ASP    *NVOL-crash*

'The car was hit (by another car)'

(Paauw 2008:240)

- *baku-* + verb (reciprocal action or state)

6) *dorang mèmang mo bakuhantam*

dorang    mèmang    mo    *baku-hantam*  
3PL        much        ASP    *RECIP-hit*

'They really want to fight (each other)'

(Elicited)

- Examples 1)-6) demonstrate the minimal morphology expected of PDMs.

# Morphology: Tondano

- Much more morphology. Agglutinating (occasionally inflectional): a list of some Tondano affixes (Brickell 2015:184).

	Function encoded:		Function encoded:
Form:		Form:	
<um>	Actor voice	Ce-	Nominanliser (Instr.)
-en	Patient voice	pa <sub>2</sub> -	Causative
-an	Locative voice	CVCV-	Imperfective aspect
i-	Conveyance voice	paka-	Completive aspect
<in>	Past tense (PV/LV)	paki-	Requestive
<im>	Past tense (AV)	ka <sub>2</sub> -	Associative noun
pa <sub>1</sub> -	Dynamic	ka <sub>3</sub> -	Degree
ma-	Stative	ka <sub>4</sub> -	Ordinal numerals
ka <sub>1</sub> -	Potentive	-an	Mutual action
Ce-	Irrealis mood	kapa-	Manner



# Morphology: Tonsawang

- Also agglutinating – but fewer bound elements. Some Tonsawang affixes: preliminary analysis (Brickell 2016).

	Function encoded:		Function encoded:
Form:		Form:	
<um>	Actor voice	Co-	Nominanliser (Instr.)
-en	Patient voice	ta-	Nominanliser (Agt.)
-an	Locative voice	pa <sub>2</sub> -	Causative (?)
i-	Conveyance voice	CVCV-	Imperfective aspect
<in>	Past tense (PV/LV)	mo-	?
i-	Past tense (AV)	po-	?
bè-	Past tense (CV)	mong-	?
pa <sub>1</sub> -	Dynamic	ka <sub>3</sub> -	Ordinal numerals
ma-	Stative	-an	Mutual action
ka <sub>1</sub> -	Potentive	kawa-	Manner

# Morphology: Tonsawang

- Verbal predicates host various affixes and clitics, e.g. 9)-10).

9) *isumondo'om silatahula*

i-s<um>ondo'      =em      silatahula

PST<AV> stay      =CMP      3PL

'They waited'

(TNW\_18 RP\_00:10:44)

- Bound elements (GEN enclitics) also express arguments.

10) *sebab sa iwahasirisiritahu*

sebab      sa      i-paha-CVCV-sirita      =ku

because      when      CV-COMP-RDP-story      =1SG.GEN

'Because when I've narrated (I've been talking too long'      (TNW\_02\_JP\_00:11:18)

- Examples 1)-10) demonstrate that MM has kept its simplified morphology and hasn't absorbed any morphology from indigenous languages.

# Causatives: Manado Malay

- MM utilises auxiliaries *kasè* ‘give’ or *bèking* ‘make’ in periphrastic constructions with a head verb. Anecdotaly, *kasè* is more common than *bèking*.
- Standard CAUS function – intrans. verb base > transitive:

11) *Hendrik kasè dudu dèpè anak for basmokol*

Hendrik *kasè* *dudu* dè= pè anak for ba-smokol

PN *give* *sit* 3SG= POSS child so.that BA-breakfast

‘Hendrik seats his child so that (he) eats breakfast’ (Elicited)

12) *dia so bèking bodo pa torang*

dia so *bèking* *bodo* pa torang

3SG ASP *make* *stupid* to (OBJ) 1PL

‘He fooled us (i.e. ‘made us stupid’)’ (Stoel 2005:34)

# Causatives: Tondano

- In contrast, Tondano causatives are encoded morphologically using the prefix *pa-* (reflex of PAn *\*pa-* Blust 2003:440). *pa-* occurs on heads of verbal predicates together with other verbal morphology:

13) *kupapaupi'en nitu'awènèku*

ku=            **pa**-pa-upi'-en            ni=            tu'awènè    =ku  
1SG.NOM=    **CAUS**-DYN-angry-PV    AN.SG.GEN=    old.lady    =1SG.GEN

'My girlfriend makes me angry'

(Elicited - Brickell 2015:401)

14) *sia papaloongkula wia siwewènè*

sia    **pa**-pa-loo'-en            =ku            =la            wia    si=            wewènè  
3SG    **CAUS**-DYN-see-PV    =1SG.GEN    =DIR.PROX    PREP    AN.SG=    woman

'I showed (introduced) him to the woman'

(TDN\_31\_KK\_00:06:40)

## MM: Use of *sama* and *pergi* (*pigi*) as prepositions.

- Speakers I have asked state that *sama* cannot be used as a multifunctional preposition. Not described as such in Wantalangi (1993), Prentice (1994), or Paauw (2008). Use of *pigi* as a preposition is similarly unattested.
- Unconfirmed optional use of *sama* together with *dèng* (as preposition) apparently occurs:

15) *Jenry pigi ka pasar ampa lima (sama) dèng Jezar*

Jenry pigi ka pasar ampa lima (sama) dèng Jezar

PN go to market four five (with) with PN

'Jenry does to (the) 45 market (together) with Jezar (Elicited)

# Manado Malay: overview of features and contrasts

- MM shared features with Tondano and Tonsawang:

Lexical items:	Minimal	Possessive constructions:	No
Phonology:	Yes	Morphology:	No
Pronouns:	No	Causatives:	No
Ordering within NPs:	No		

- MM features in contrast to those judged common to PDMs?

<b>PDM feature:</b>		<b>PDM feature:</b>	
Possession with <i>punya</i>	Yes	<i>sama/pergi</i> as prepositions	No
Plural pronouns with <i>orang</i>	Mostly	Causatives with <i>kasi</i> and <i>bikin</i>	Yes
<i>ber-/ter-</i> affixes	Yes (and more)	<i>ini/itu</i> reduced forms as def. markers	Yes
<i>ada</i> as aspect marker	Yes		

# Conclusion:

- Manado Malay displays most but not all of the structural features judged as typical of PDMs.
- With the exception of a limited set of lexical items, MM has absorbed no features of indigenous Minahasan languages (or vice-versa) despite a minimum of 300 years of contact.
- MM morphosyntax maintains somewhat simplified structure expected of derived creoles, i.e. minimal morphology and periphrastic and juxtaposed causative constructions.
- Further evidence that MM did not develop *in situ*.

## Questions/issues:

- How much change or borrowing via contact between Manado Malay and indigenous languages should be expected? If change via contact more commonly occurs in typologically similar languages (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988) perhaps none!
- Also, if structural language change requires “extensive bilingualism” (Bybee 2015:248), how widespread was any use of Ternate/Manado Malay in North Sulawesi in pre-colonial times? Probably minimal with no periods of ongoing bilingualism.

## Questions/issues:

- Levels of bilingualism during colonial period? Again, likely to be minimal to begin with. Usage primarily between Dutch and selected “elite” indigenous officials, i.e. *burgers* or *borgo* (Schouten 1983:101). *Borgo* were soldiers from Ternate relocated to Manado by Dutch East Indies company (VOC).
- Areas of stable biligualism nowadays also appear rare. Perhaps in Tontemboan speech areas (Ron Whisler pers. comm.).
- How has MM spread so effectively? Likely assisted by a couple of hundred years of concerted effort by Dutch state, VOC, and NZG create a unified Minahasan territorial unit (Henley 1996:45-61). Use of MM as a marker of Minahasan identity - a cultural trait which continues today.

# The end:

- *Thank you very much*
- *Terimakasih banyak*
- *Makasè banya (MM)*
- *Tarumakasè laker (TDN)*
- *Ahio mbelesio (TNW)*
- Special thanks to speech community members: Jan Pelleng, Julin Ponomban, Ariel Pangau, Jenry Mandey, Kalo Kojongian, and Leo Memaris.

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