

East Indonesian Vehicular Malay features in Malay pantuns from the Mardijker community

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1. About the Pantuns

- Name of manuscript: “Panton Malaijoe dan Portugees”
- Nature: pantuns. These are generally four-line verses with a-b-a-b rhyme, of which the first two lines are allegorically related to next two lines.
- Age of pantuns: ? 17th century to (ultimately) early 19th century, probably closer to 17th c.
- History of the manuscript: originally in possession of the sociolinguist Hugo Schuchardt (Graz Austria), passed on to the philologist and ethnographer José Leite de Vasconcelos (1900), who left it in the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia archives in Lisbon. Rediscovered by librarian Livia Coito and Prof. Ivo Castro few years ago.
- Materials: all have same watermark, so does not tell us much.
- Handwriting: horribly convoluted, hurtful to the eyes.
- Samples: see attached.
- Contents: eleven pantuns, five in Malay, five in Portuguese, one mixed Malay-Portuguese Malay pantuns are (1) Panton Malayo, (2) Panton Malaijoo Naga Patanij, (3) Cantiga Malaijoo Mussurado Portigies (mixed Malay-Portuguese), (4) Pantoon Malayo Panhiboeran hati Doeka Dan Piloe, (5) Panton Dari Setie Lela Maijan, (6) Panton Joncker.
- Mardijkers: descendants of 17th century Portuguese slaves and servants in and around Batavia (now Jakarta); currently lost the language and are members of Protestant church.
- Authorship: The pantuns written up by (multiple) copyists, not by their respective authors.

2. About the Project: a text edition of the manuscript.

- Chief editor: Professor Emeritus Ivo Castro (University of Lisbon), will write introduction
- Chapter on Malay pantuns: original text, transcription, translation, historical, linguistic and literary introduction by Sander Adelaar (Olomouc-Melbourne) and Gijs Koster (Coimbra).
- Chapter on Portuguese pantuns: original text, transcription, translation, historical, linguistic and literary introduction by Hugo Cardoso (Lisbon) and Alan Baxter (Macau)
- Will include an original facsimile reproduction of the text.

3. About Eastern Indonesian and Western Indonesian Vehicular Malay

- My main claim in this paper is the language of the pantuns under investigation is based on eastern Indonesian Vehicular Malay.
- Vehicular Malay dialects share a configuration of linguistic features that set them off against other forms of Malayic and derive from a mixed language based on (mainstream) Malay and another language (Adelaar and Prentice 1996, Adelaar 2005).
- The other language was most probably a Chinese dialect; contact must have happened in the (late?) Srivijaya period (12th century A.D.? cf. Andaya and Andaya 2000CHECK). It was most definitely not Baba Malay (contrary to assumption made by Paauw 2008:16).
- Adelaar and Prentice (1996) believe that Vehicular Malay varieties (or Pidgin Derived Malay varieties, as they called it) derive from this mixed language. They never implied that these varieties (such as Ambon Malay) were pidgins or creole languages themselves, although there are some or creole languages among them.
- They made a classification of Malay varieties into literary Malay, vernacular Malay, and Vehicular Malay. These are sociolinguistic categories, but the classification is basically a model to elucidate the historical developments behind the dialect variety seen today.
- Paauw's (2008) contentment that there is a continuum between high and low varieties is correct *persé* but it is also trivial in that it is the obvious outcome of most linguistic ecologies of considerable time depth. It was also not in dispute in Adelaar and Prentice (1996:675-676). As to our model, it was meant to be an abstraction rather than a representation of the present reality in all its complexity.
- The principle that the pidgin, creole ("mixed") nature of a language should not be established on linguistic typology alone but should also be based on historical verification is a solid one. But in a case like Vehicular Malay, Adelaar and Prentice (1996) decided that the principle should not become a dogma as the typological evidence is overwhelmingly non-Malayic, if not non-Austronesian (e.g. the lack of a symmetric voice system).
- Paauw (2008) distinguished Low Malay and Vehicular Malay and assumed that Java Malay is a member of Low Malay (without providing evidence as far as I can make out). Adelaar and Prentice (1996) and Adelaar (2005) do not make that distinction and classify Java Malay as one of the Vehicular Malay varieties.
- Eastern Indonesian Malay is a subcategory of Vehicular Malay (henceforth EIVML). Its members are represented in eastern Indonesia, Sri Lanka Malay, and, as will be demonstrated here, the Malay used by Mardijkers (henceforth Mardijker Malay) in some of their pantuns.
- Paauw (2003) claimed that Sri Lanka Malay is a Low Malay variety derived from Java Malay. I disagree with that assessment and continue to believe that it ultimately is an eastern Indonesian form of Vehicular Malay (1992). Paauw based his assessment on quantitative evidence (many words in common with Java Malay). On the other hand, my conclusion is based on the presence of various EIVML function words and the EIVML phonology of core vocabulary.
- I recognise a comparable situation in the language of the Mardijker Malay pantuns. While not all of its vocabulary is EIVML, the phonology of other (basic) vocabulary and many morphological and syntactic features are clearly EIVML.
- The histories of Mardijker Malay and Sri Lanka Malay are still much related to Batavia. Both have a strong Java Malay (Jakarta Malay?) lexical component. From the 17th century onwards the city was also home to various eastern Indonesian minorities, including slaves and military (such as the militia led by Captain Jonker, the hero in one of the pantuns).

4. Spelling

Relevance: it interferes with linguistic analysis

Spelling is grafted on 17th and 18th century Dutch orthography but shows a bewildering variation, **see Table**. Possibly some English and Portuguese spelling influence.

Early colonial English spelling of Malay (?): prominent features:

'ee'	'i'	kaijeen 'cloth, garment' maijeen 'to play' tasee, taze, taziee ayeer, ayer, haijer 'water'	kain main tasik air
'ee'	'e'	boeleeleeng (Balinese name) bolee 'can, be allowed' heekoor 'a tail'	buleleng boleh ekor
'oo'	'u' ('o?')	pintoo, pinto, pintoe 'door' batooloor 'with eggs' Malaijoo, Malaijo 'Malay' pantoon, panton	pintu bertelor, bertelur Melayu pantun
'j'	'j'	balajar 'to study' raja 'sovereign' jika, djikâ, jica 'if'	belajar raja jika

Portuguese influence (?) the use of 'nh' for the palatal nasal [ɲ], but also a velar nasal [ŋ]:

'nh'	'ny'	sinho 'Eurasian young man' poenha, poenja, poenjha (word linking 'possessor' to 'possessed') nonjha 'young lady'	sinyo punya 'to have' nyonya
'nh'	'ng'	Kolanghiet 'to the sky' manhapa 'why' panhiboeran 'entertainment'	ke langit mengapa penghiburan

Another Portuguese feature is the frequent use of 'o' for the [u] sound at the end of a word. -'ko' 'my' and -'mo' 'your (singular and (sometimes) plural)' (Also -'koe', -'moe'), 'doulo' 'first, ahead', 'sapato' 'shoe', 'sato'/'satoe' 'one', 'soengo'/'soengoe' (also 'songoe'/'songo') 'true, serious', 'jato'/'jatoe' 'to fall', 'toejo'/'toejoe' 'seven'

But some words always have -'oe' for the [u] sound in word-final position: 'baroe' 'new', 'maloe' 'ashamed, bashful', or moesoe' 'enemy', 'boenoeh' 'kill' etc.

Finally, the excessive use of initial and intervocalic 'h' could be due to hypercorrection and therefore the indirect result of Portuguese influence. Compare:

Pantun texts	Indonesian
hakoo 'I'	aku
dieha 'she, he'	dia
hattas 'on top of'	atas
doeha 'two'	dua
toehan 'you'	tuan
hattie 'liver; "heart", centre of emotions'	hati

Use of 'qu' in in 'masqú' 'although' (Indonesian *meski* or *meskipun*) and in *qúitangh* 'Guangdong province in China' (also the name of a neighbourhood in Jakarta): either Portuguese (but also common in 17th and 18th century Dutch).

Ways of spelling that do not belong to an identifiable spelling tradition are typical of the pantuns themselves, e.g., the Malay opposition between a simple velar nasal 'ng', 'ngh' and a velar nasal + occlusive cluster 'ngg' [ŋg] is not made. This is shown in the following pairs (note that 'ng' is sometimes expanded with 'h' but this has no distinctive function):

Pantun texts	Indonesian
singa 'to drop in, pass by'	singgah [singah]
sangoo 'to be able'	sanggup [sangup]
tangan 'hand'	tangan [taŋan]
boenga 'flower'	bunga [buŋa]

Tendency to write both [j] and [dj] as 'j':

joega 'also'	juga [djuga]
jang 'who, which'	yang [jang]
djúka, djika, júca 'if'	jika [djika]

Four often interchangeable ways ('ng', 'ngh', 'nh' and 'g') to represent the velar nasal [ŋ]:

lagit, langit, lanhiet 'sky'	langit [laŋit]
degan, dengan, denghan 'with'	dengan [dɛŋan]

Finally, there are still some spelling conventions and individual spelling forms that are not classifiable in the inventory presented above, including 'z' for [s], 'ch' for either [tsj] or [k]

5. Language

Many features of Vehicular Malay (Low Malay) of the Eastern Indonesian variety. (However, these features are not always manifested where they are expected: most probably due to influence from and partial assimilation to standard Malay varieties).

General Vehicular Malay features:

1. -aw and -ay endings become -o and -e (/i) respectively

Pantun text	other Malay varieties
bacere 'to split, divorce'	bercerai [bər-cəray]
bage, bagi, bagi 'like'	bagai [bagay]
soengi 'river'	sungai [suŋay]
kapoelo 'to the island'	ke pulau [pulaʷ]
rimoo 'tiger'	harimau [harimaw]

Note: this reduction does not take place in au and ai sequences which consist of syllabic vowels):

njaij 'local concubine of a European or Chinese man'	nyai [ñai], [ñay]
mauô 'want to'	mau [mau], [maw]
bauô, baou 'smell, odour'	bau [bau], [baw]

2. Very few (if any) Austronesian-type passive constructions. Note: in Vehicular Malay, di- is most likely not authentic but "copied" from other Malay dialects. It is no evidence of the typically Austronesian "symmetrical voice system".
3. Lack of morphology

Only ba- and ta- occur regularly (typical of Vehicular Malay/Low Malay): meng- forms (indicating that a verb is active) do occur but are fossilised or borrowed: (1) they are not used as systematically as in mainstream forms of Malay, and (2) they do not adapt in the same regular and phonologically predictable way to the following consonant as it does in Indonesian:

mangbla 'to split(?)	membelah (from the root belah)
manhaijeel, mangaijeel,	
manghael 'to angle, catch fish'	mengail (< kail)
manoat 'to contain'	memuat (< muat)
manoetos hati 'to break hearts'	memutus hati (< putus)
manbale patu 'to turn over stones'	membalik batu (< balik)
manhapa 'why?'	mengapa (< apa)

4. Tendency to use 'pigi' (< pergi 'go') as a preposition meaning 'to(wards)', e.g.

Sieti jalang pigie pasaer
Siti go to market
'Siti went to the market'

- Possession uses possessor-possessed order with intermediate poenja as a linker, compare poenja badan (you-linker-body) 'your body' or nonja poenja mata (you-linker-eye) 'your eyes'
- Use of 'ada' as a progressive aspect marker:

Kita lihat Satoe nonja [...] ada doedok di balle bale
 I see one young lady ADA sit on (sleeping) ibench
 'I saw a young lady sitting on a bench'

Sian malang ada managies
 Day night ADA weep 'weeping day and night'

- Causatives are formed periphrastically with the use of kassi 'give':

Kassie mienom nonja lagie
 Give drink young lady more 'Give her some more to drink'

chassie sabar 'exert patience'.

In mainstream Malay varieties causativity is usually expressed with -kan (although in the case of 'to feed' Indonesian may also use a periphrastic construction ?)

- Use of certain function words, e.g. tra for 'no(t)', with variant forms tara and tar-. A (rare) example is Burung inda tra mau bamalam "the beautiful bird does not want to stay the night".

Semantic change: 'kita' became unspecific for number and inclusiveness:

kita as a singular: compare the (above) example, in which an old lady, upon being asked if she saw Siti Lelang Mayang, answers with "Kita lihat Satoe nonja [...] ada doedok di balle bale 'Yes I saw a young lady sitting on a bench, ...'".

kita as a plural: dalam mimpi kita bertoemoe "It's in dreams that we meet".

Features characteristic of eastern Indonesian Vehicular Malay:

- standard) Malay [ə] often became a:

Pantun text	Indonesian
Malaijoo 'Malay'	Melayu [məlayu]
bataria 'to cry, shout'	berteriak [bærtəriak]
sapparti 'like, similar to'	seperti [səpərti]
passan 'give an instruction'	pesan [pəsan]
tampat 'place'	tempat [təmpat]
- In other instances, this [ə] assimilated to the vowel in the following syllable:

cietcil 'small'	kecil [kəcil]
pigi '1. to go; 2. to(wards)'	pergi [pərgi]

bilie 'to buy'	beli [bəli]
bertoemoe 'to meet, cross'	bertemu [bərtəmu]
peroet 'stomach'	perut [pərut]

3. Loss of final -h

roema 'house'	rumah
olle 'because of, by'	oleh
cassie 'love; to give'	kasih 'love'

4. Frequent loss of final occlusives (-p, -t, -k)

sangoo 'capable'	sanggup
taco, takoet 'fear; afraid'	takut
moeloe, moeloet 'mouth'	mulut
tassie 'sea'	tasik 'lake'
banja 'much, many'	banyak

5. Final nasals often merging in -ng (the velar nasal [ŋ])

dahoon, dahong 'leaf'	daun
jalang 'to walk; road'	jalan
badan, badang(h), badam 'body'	badan
trabam, trabang 'to fly'	terbang [tərbaŋ]
misking 'poor'	miskin
malam 'night', mamalang 'at night'	(waktu) malam

6. The use of béta 'I; we', e.g.

Boeaang	beta	die	nigrie	jauo
to exile	1 st	Loc	country	far

'They exile us to a country far away!'

Beta	nimpie	njaij
1 st	to dream	you (lady; concubine)

"I'm dreaming of you [Lady]".

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Table. Spelling conventions based on (17th-18th century) Dutch

1. Dutch	2. Indonesian	3. Example + variation	4. Indonesian spelling
'oe', 'ou' (rare), 'o'	'u'	boeroeng 'bird'	burung
		douhâ 'two'	dua
		lahoût 'sea'	laut
		tacot, tacoet 'fear; afraid'	takut
		badorie dorie 'with thorns'	berduri-duri
'ú' (following a or o)	'u', 'w'	njaúwa 'life, breath'	nyawa
		hoúlo 'upriver'	hulu
'ú' (elsewhere mostly): 'i'		kúta 'I; we'	kita 'we (hearer included)'
		júwa 'soul'	jiwa
		kassúe , kassie, cassie 'love'	kasih
'i', 'ie', 'j'	'i'	bierú 'blue'	biru
		kassi, cassie, kasúe 'give'	kasih
		jngaet 'to remember'	ingat
'ij', 'y' (between vowels) 'y'		maijeen 'to play'	main
		aijeer, haijer 'water'	air
		Malayo 'Malay'	Melayu
'-ij' (in 'njaij')	y	njaij 'local concubine of western or Chinese man'	nyai
'-ij' (elsewhere) -i		balij 'Bali Island'	Bali
		padij 'rice plant'	padi
'c' (in 'Ceylon') 's'		Seylon 'Sri Lanka'	(Sri Lanka)
'c' (elsewhere)	'k'	tiecam 'to stab'	tikam
		casie 'love; to give'	kasih
		ciera kira 'approximately'	kira-kira
'dj' (also 'j')	'j'	djoega, joega 'also'	juga
		djandjie, jandjie 'to promise'	janji
		djaga 'to watch'	jaga
'tj', 'ts', 'tsj'	'c'	tsintjng, tsintjing, tsintsin 'ring'	cincin
		tsarie, tsjari 'to look for'	cari
		batsere, batsjere 'to divorce'	bercerai
		kietjil, kietsjil 'small'	kecil
'nj'	'ny'	nanjie 'song; to sing'	nyanyi
		tanja 'to ask'	tanya
'-ck' ('-k')	'-k'	hanack, hanak,	
		anak, anack 'child'	anak
		banjack, banjak, banjac 'much'	banyak
'ngh' ('ng')	'ng'	badangh, badang 'body'	badan
		koeroeng, koeroengh 'cage'	kurung
		denghan, dengan, degan 'with'	dengan
double consonants	single consonant	cassie, casi, assie, kasi 'give'	kasih
		olle, ole 'by, because of'	oleh
		ollanda, olanda 'Holland'	Belanda
		Samma, sama 'same'	sama
		kappala, kapala 'head'	kepala
		orrand, orang(h) 'person'	orang
		betta, beta 'I'	beta