

## THE USE OF *BIKING* AND *KASI* IN AMBONESE MALAY<sup>1</sup>

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### Introduction

Maluku, a group of thousands of islands in the eastern part of Indonesia, exhibit a large diversity of languages. In Muslim villages and in more remote places, indigenous languages can still be found, although varieties of Malay play an important role. One of these varieties, Ambonese Malay, is spoken in Central Maluku, of which Ambon, Buru, Seram, Haruku, Saparua and Nusalaut form the major islands. Here, Ambonese Malay has replaced many of the indigenous languages, in particular in Christian villages, where it has become the mother tongue of the inhabitants. In other places, where indigenous languages are the vernaculars, Ambonese Malay functions as a second language.

One of the main functions of varieties of Malay in Central Maluku society has been and still is to serve as a means of communication among speakers from different linguistic backgrounds.<sup>2</sup> Especially in places like the city of Ambon, whose residents come from various ethnic groups on adjacent islands and from elsewhere in the Indonesian archipelago, this is a valuable function. In earlier times, when this region was governed by the Portuguese and later by the Dutch, the successive colonial governments chose Malay as the language of administration. Prose-

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<sup>2</sup>This is not only true in Central Maluku, but also in other places where Malay functions as a lingua franca, let alone in countries where some variety of Malay has been chosen as a national language, as in Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, and Indonesia.

lytizers, Muslims as well as Christians, found Malay a suitable and useful language for their work. Later, when the school system was introduced, it became one of the languages of instruction, along with Dutch.

The preference for Malay did not enjoy everyone's support, so that in particular fields, as among missionaries, heated discussions preceded a final decision. These discussions often focused on the question of whether Malay could function as a cultural language, and which variety of Malay was most suitable: Low Malay, a low-prestige regional spoken variety such as Ambonese Malay; or High Malay, a high-prestige variety known from Malay literature and other writings. The choice of High Malay as the "standard," however, could not prevent what was happening in Central Maluku society and in other regions. Ambonese Malay and other regional varieties maintained their position within the society, alongside standard Malay and indigenous languages. Nowadays Ambonese Malay is still the mother tongue of tens of thousands of people and the second language of even more (Collins 1980: 11).

Malay did not originate in Central Maluku, but it is not clear when or how it came to this area. From the earliest European records, it is known that (some kind of) Malay was already in use throughout the archipelago as a *lingua franca*, a language for trade and commerce. Some scholars consider this variety of Malay, called *Melayu Pasar*, Bazaar Malay, or Low Malay, to be a pidginized form of Malay characterized by much simplified vocabulary, morphology, and sentence structure. In some areas Bazaar Malay became creolized: it became the mother-tongue of a community of people who were descendants of mixed marriages. Baba Malay, spoken by Straits-born Chinese in Malacca and Singapore, Betawi Malay, Menadonese Malay, and Ambonese Malay are considered examples of creolized forms of Malay (Prentice 1978: 19–20; Steinhauer 1980: 362).<sup>3</sup>

Although we do not know how Malay was spread throughout the archipelago, there are some records that prove Malay was already in use in the east in the 16th century. The oldest extant manuscripts written in Malay are two letters, dated 1521 and 1522, from the sultan of Ternate

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<sup>3</sup>Collins (1980) argued that Ambonese Malay cannot be regarded as a creole according to certain creolization theories. Moreover, he explicitly rejects the simplified monogenesis implied in Prentice's and Steinhauer's arguments (Collins 1980: 58)

(North Maluku) to the Portuguese king. These letters prove that Malay was used as a written language from at least the 1500s and as a means of communication for administrative correspondence in the area (Blagden 1930). Unfortunately, it is difficult to say to what extent this variety reflects the way Malay was spoken in the area. All kinds of other records from various periods are written in Malay, including wordlists, bible translations, sermons, folktales, *pantun*, *hikayat*, and newspapers. Some of them may give more insight into spoken Malay, if we suppose that the aim of the authors was to write a text that would be read aloud or would be easily understood. Although these sources were neglected for a long time, several recent articles focusing on these historical documents seem to have introduced a new era in Malay studies. We note, for example, Collins and Schmidt's (1992) article on a Malay wordlist from 1599; Steinhauer's (1991) article on Malay in eastern Indonesia, in which he pays attention to Roskott's publications in Malay (which have obvious Ambonese Malay characteristics); and Grijns's (1991) article on Malay in Java in the 1920s, in which examples are given of *dines*-Malay. Recently, Collins and Prentice have initiated a project at the KITLV to publish a collection of forty Malay sermons by Franchois Caron, a minister who resided in Ambon for about 13 years around the 1640s.

Along with the kinds of Malay spoken and written in various places throughout the archipelago, another literary form developed at the courts of Malacca, Riau/Johor, and elsewhere. This "classical" Riau Malay formed the base for Van Ophuysen's Malay grammar, written at the beginning of the 20th century. In that time, Van Ophuysen's grammar was the textbook for learning "high" Malay. This variety became the standard language for the Dutch colonial authorities and was used in education (see Van Ophuysen 1915). Books, newspapers, and official documents written in "Van Ophuysen's Malay" started to appear. Later, because so many people throughout the archipelago already understood Malay and because it was not seen as a "feudal" language, young Indonesian nationalists chose it as their national language, Bahasa Indonesia, on 28 October 1928.

The publication of Van Ophuysen's grammar of Malay, the use of Bahasa Indonesia in the national movement and in schools and churches, and its considerable prestige did not cause the displacement of other varieties of Malay. Jakarta (or Betawi) Malay, Menadonese Malay, Ternate Malay, and Ambonese Malay continued to exist side by side with the

standard language, Bahasa Indonesia. There is a division in the use of these varieties of Malay. Bahasa Indonesia is considered the formal language, for use in the media, in the administration (although local influences cannot always be avoided), and in education. Local varieties, such as Ambonese Malay, are used under informal circumstances, among intimates and in songs (see also Grimes 1991: 111). The fact that local varieties like Ambonese Malay have not been replaced by the national language and the fact that they still play an important role in society makes them an interesting subject for the study of Malay.

For many years scholars did not share this view, because of their normative attitude towards Malay and its varieties. They did not see the importance of studying all kinds of Malay and the relevance of each kind to the history of the language (Teeuw 1959: 139). For them, Malay varieties were deviations from Standard Malay and unworthy of serious scholarly attention.

The first publications about Ambonese Malay appeared in 1876, when two wordlists were published: De Clercq's *Het Maleisch der Molukken* and Van Hoëvell's *Vocabularium van vreemde woorden voorkomende in het Ambonsch Maleisch*.<sup>4</sup> Both works included texts in Ambonese Malay to show what the language looked like. In this century, a few other wordlists have appeared: *Kamus Ketjil bahasa Malayo Ambon kedalam Bahasa Indonesia* by B. Manuputty (n.d.) and a wordlist of Portuguese loanwords in Ambonese Malay by Paramita R. Abdurachman in 1972. Both were published in Indonesia. The *Logat Bahasa Ambon* by Hitjahubessy (n.d.) was published in the Netherlands. James T. Collins (1974, 1980) has also produced various studies. Recent contributions to the study of Ambonese Malay include Don van Minde's work (1990) on the phonology, Barbara Grimes (1991) on sociolinguistic aspects, and Johnny Tjia (1992) on particles.

There is a notable development in these publications. The first ones, during the 19th century, focused on the vocabulary, examining words (primarily archaisms and loanwords) that distinguished Ambonese Malay from other varieties of Malay. During this period, Ambonese Malay and other regional varieties were considered inferior to Riau Malay because of such differences (De Clercq 1876). Recent publications, more

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<sup>4</sup>These are the first publications that show explicit attention to a regional variety of Malay.

concerned with the structure of Ambonese Malay and its relationship to other Malay varieties reflect general developments in Malay studies. The present work, in this same vein, will consider two syntactic structures, namely, the causative uses of *biking* and *kasi* in Ambonese Malay.

There are several reasons why this subject is of interest for the study of Malay. First, the use of *biking* and *kasi* to form causative constructions in Ambonese Malay is a phenomenon that has not been described yet, although causatives have been of general concern in the description of Malay. Second, the description of certain features of Ambonese Malay can be used for comparison with similar features in other Malay varieties found throughout the archipelago, in general, and in eastern Indonesia, in particular. This will make more information available to determine whether a feature is characteristic of only a particular variety of Malay or is a more general phenomenon. Third, with knowledge about such features we can gain more insight into Malay syntax and its development, a domain in the study of Malay that has not yet been fully explored.

The material used in this article is taken from twenty-eight folktales recorded by J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong during his stay in Indonesia, especially eastern Indonesia, in 1933–34. Although the material is dated, it can still be used to gain a good impression of the state of the language at that time, as well as provide a starting point for contemporary field-work (see also Van Minde 1985).

This work is divided into three sections: on the use of *biking*, on the use of *kasi*, and a consideration of causative constructions in other varieties of Malay. The conclusion touches on a certain historical issue in the development of the syntactic patterns.

### **1. The use of *biking***

In describing the way *biking* can be used in Ambonese Malay it is useful to distinguish three functions:

1. *biking* as an independent verb
2. *biking* in periphrastic causative constructions
3. *biking* as a causative marker

It will soon become apparent that these distinct functions are both semantically and historically related.

### 1.1. *Biking* as an independent verb

As an independent verb, *biking* means ‘make, manufacture’ or ‘prepare’. The latter meaning appears when the object of the verb refers to some kind of food, like fish or rice.

- (1) Raja kodo suru tukang **biking** kas  
king frog order workman make chest  
‘King Frog ordered the workman to make a chest.’
- (2) ontua **biking** gusepa basar  
3s make raft big  
‘He made a big raft.’
- (3) mama **biking** katupa dan aer susu par anana  
mother make *ketupat*<sup>5</sup> and water milk for children  
‘Mother prepared *ketupat* and milk for the children.’
- (4) bapa bilang: suda, lebe bae pi **biking** ikan tu  
father say enough more good go make fish Dem<sup>6</sup>  
‘Father said: Enough, (you) had better prepare the fish.’

The use of *biking* as an independent verb is striking in that, unlike many other verbs in Ambonese Malay, it does not undergo any kind of affixation, not even the otherwise productive *ba-* and *ta-* prefixes. The fact that *biking* is almost always followed by a patient perhaps precludes the use of either affix, both of which are largely stative markers.

### 1.2 *Biking* in periphrastic causatives

*Biking* is also used in combination with a static intransitive verb, in other words, a verb that denotes a state of affairs or quality. The resulting combination is transitive and has a causative sense: ‘cause, let, make someone/something V’. Because of the periphrastic way in which the causative event is described, namely, by the use of two separate verbs, with one (*biking*) expressing the cause and the other the result, these constructions are called “periphrastic causatives.”

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<sup>5</sup>*Ketupat* refers to rice boiled in a rhomboid packet plaited from strips of young coconut leaves.

<sup>6</sup>The following abbreviations are used in glossing the texts: Asp = aspect, Class = classifier, Dem = demonstrative, Neg = negator, p = plural, Part = particle, Poss = possessive marker, Prep = preposition, Rdp = reduplication, s = singular, 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, Vet = vetative.

- (5) abis itu    *caciwe*<sup>7</sup>    talang    tampayang    kecap  
 after Dem *caciwe*    swallow    jar    smack lips  
**biking**    poro    **basar**  
 Caus    belly    big  
 ‘After that, *caciwe* swallowed the jar, smacked her lips,  
 and made her belly big.’
- (6) dong    **biking**    nene    pung    ruma    **kancing**  
 3p    Caus    old woman    Poss    house    lock  
 ‘They locked the old woman’s house.’  
 (‘They made the old woman’s house locked.’)
- (7) **biking**    beta    pung    makanan    **klar**  
 Caus    1s    Poss    food    finished  
 ‘Get my food ready!’  
 (‘Make it so that my food is completely prepared.’)

There is no formal distinction between *biking* used as an independent verb, as in (2), and *biking* used in a periphrastic causative, as in (5). Example (2) could be interpreted in two ways. *Basar* can either be considered the modifier of *gusepa*, so that *biking gusepa basar* means ‘make a big raft’, or else *basar* can be considered part of the predicate, in which case *biking gusepa basar* would mean ‘enlarge the raft’. This construction is thus semantically complex, with context determining the correct interpretation.

### 1.3 *Biking* as a causative marker

When *biking* is directly followed by another verb, it acts more or less as a causative marker. Such causatives differ from the periphrastic causatives, in that there is a single predicate consisting of *biking* and the verb.<sup>8</sup> However, there seems to be no significant difference in meaning between these and the periphrastic causatives described in 1.2, so that the two constructions are freely interchangeable.

- (8) ose    **biking malu**    beta  
 2s    Caus    ashamed    1s  
 ‘You embarrassed me.’ (‘You made me feel embarrassed.’)

<sup>7</sup>*Caciwe* here means ‘whiner, crybaby’ and is used as a proper name.

<sup>8</sup>The combination of two (or more) verbs to form a single predicate is also referred to as verb serialization. There is a growing interest in serialization but here I will concentrate mainly on *biking* and *kasi*.

- (9) for **biking senang** nene pung hati  
 to Caus contented old woman Poss heart  
 ‘... to please the old woman(’s heart)’
- (10) dia su **biking sadia** makanang rupa-rupa  
 3s Asp Caus ready food kind-Rdp  
 deng sadap-sadap  
 and tasty-Rdp  
 ‘He prepared all kinds of tasty dishes.’
- (11) dong tanya: nene su **biking barsi** aer  
 3p ask old woman Asp Caus clean water  
 ka balong  
 or Neg  
 ‘They asked: Have you cleaned the water yet?’

In summary, the following remarks can be made. Besides functioning as an independent verb with the meaning ‘make, manufacture, prepare’, *biking* is also used in combination with static intransitive verbs. The result is a transitive verb with a causative meaning. Two kinds of structures are found: [*biking* + Noun + Verb<sub>intr</sub>] and [*biking* + Verb<sub>intr</sub> + Noun]. These structures do not differ in meaning and are freely interchangeable.

## 2. The use of *kasi*

Just as in the case of *biking*, it is possible to distinguish three ways of using *kasi* in Ambonese Malay:

1. *kasi* as an independent verb
2. *kasi* in permissive causatives
3. *kasi* as a causative marker

### 2.1. *Kasi* as an independent verb

As an independent verb, *kasi* means ‘give’. In this function it does not undergo any affixation and occurs only in this form.

- (12) raja kodo **kasi** konci  
 king frog give key  
 ‘King Frog gave the key.’
- (13) tra usa **kasi** beta pung bagian  
 Neg have to give 1s Poss part  
 ‘It is not necessary to give my part.’

- (14) beta     **kasi**     ana     kambing     saekor  
 1s     give     child     goat     one-Class  
 'I gave a young goat.'

Without any change in verbal form *kasi* can take an oblique object, either unmarked or preceded by the preposition *par* 'to'. Semantically, this object denotes the recipient of the action of the verb. Depending on the context the direct object can be omitted, as in (15).

- (15) tra     usa     **kasi**     par     beta  
 Neg     have to     give     to     1s  
 'It is not necessary to give (it) to me.'

- (16) lalu     orang jaga     ambil     ana     kambing **kasi**     akang  
 then     person guard     take     child goat     give     3s  
 par     tuang raja  
 to     lordking  
 'Then the guards took the young goat (and) gave it to the king.'

- (17) raja Bawar **kasi**     putri     anamtu     kamar saorang     satu  
 king Bawar     give     princess     six     Dem     room one-person     one  
 'King Bawar gave the six princesses a room each.'

Thus *kasi* as an independent verb does not undergo any affixation. It is a ditransitive verb that can take a direct object denoting the patient and an oblique object denoting the recipient of the verb. The use of the preposition *par* with the oblique object is optional. However, it seems that *par* is lost when the oblique object immediately follows the verb, as in (17). More examples are needed for a detailed analysis.

## 2.2 *Kasi* in permissive causative constructions

In the material studied so far, a few examples have been found in which *kasi* combines with dynamic intransitive verbs. The resulting combinations are transitive and have a causative sense. However, they are not typical causatives where an agent causes a certain event. In *kasi* causatives, the agent merely refrains from preventing the event. The meaning is thus 'allow (O) to V'. Following Comrie (1981), we can call such structures "permissive causatives."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Comrie states that in some languages the same structure ranges over both the true causative and permissive senses. The relationship between true causatives and permissives is that "in both constructions the anterior event/agent has

- (18) tuang raja, beta su lala ni, **kasi** beta **dudu** dolo  
 lord king 1s Asp tired Dem Caus 1s sit first  
 ‘Sire, I am (so) tired, allow me to sit first.’
- (19) lalu dong anam tu manangis, tar mau **kasi**  
 then 3p six Dem cry Neg want Caus  
 dong pung kaka **balayar**  
 3p Poss brother sail  
 ‘Then six of them cried (they) did not want to allow  
 their brother to sail.’
- (20) orang tua tuang raja mau **kasi**  
 parents lord king Asp Caus  
 Albercang **kaweng** deng putri Ombong Kapas  
 Albercang marry with princess Ombong Kapas  
 ‘(The) king’s parents will allow Albercang  
 to marry princess Ombong Kapas.’

### 2.3 *Kasi* as a causative marker

When it functions as a causative marker, *kasi* is immediately followed by a dynamic intransitive verb that denotes an action, event or process. The result is a transitive construction with a causative sense: ‘cause, let, make someone/something V’. In such constructions, where *kasi* is immediately followed by a verb, the short form *kas-* can occur, as in (21) and (23–28).

- (21) lalu tuang putri **kastau** par dia pung bapa  
 then lady princess Caus-know to 3s Poss father  
 ‘Then the princess let her father know.’
- (22) nene mau **kasi pulang** bulu ka seng  
 grandmother Asp Caus go home bamboo or not  
 ‘Will grandmother bring home the bamboo or not?’
- (23) ontua **kasnai** bandera putih  
 3s Caus-go up flag white  
 ‘He raised a white flag.’

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control over whether or not the effect is realized: with the true causative, the anterior event/agent has the power to bring the effect about; in the permissive, the anterior event/agent has the power to prevent the effect from coming about” (Comrie 1981: 164).

- (24) lalu nene **kasbangong** tete  
 then grandmother Caus-wake up grandfather  
 'Then grandmother woke up grandfather.'
- (25) batul mo **kasmandi** ana trus putri anam  
 just Asp Caus-bath child then princess six  
 bunu lampu-lampu  
 kill lamp-Rdp  
 '(She) was just going to bathe the children (and) then  
 the six princesses extinguished the lamps.'
- (26) ontua **kaskeluar** ontua pung potret  
 3s Caus-go out 3s Poss picture  
 'He takes out his picture.'
- (27) dia **kastinggal** Fatima  
 3s Caus-remain Fatima  
 'He left Fatima behind.'
- (28) lalu ontua **kasanyo** katong  
 then 3s Caus-drift 1p  
 'Then he set us adrift.'
- (29) ontua **kasi turun** satu bungkus  
 3s Caus go down one package  
 'She let down a package.'

It should be noted here that these verbs that follow *kas(i)—bangong*, *kaluar*, *tinggal*, *anyo*, etc.—are not transitive in Ambonese Malay. They denote to static activities and states.

In some contexts, either the agent, the object, or both can be omitted, as in (21) and (30–32).

- (30) lalu ana kambing angka ontua **kasmasu**, trus ontua bai  
 then child goat lift up 3s Caus-go in then 3s good  
 'Then the young goat lifted her up, brought (her) inside,  
 (and) then she was fine.'
- (31) ontua tandang dia **kaspulang**  
 3s kick 3s Caus-go home  
 'She kicked him (and) sent (him) home.'
- (32) kalu parampuan **kasi hidop**  
 if woman Caus live  
 'If (it is a) girl, keep (her) alive.'

There are also a few examples where the combination of *kasi* and a transitive verb is used to express a causative situation. This possibility seems restricted to certain transitive verbs. Some, like *minong* ‘drink’ and *makang* ‘eat’, are transitive verbs with a frequent usage. They are odd in Malay in that they contain a fossilized prefix *ma-*, which may have something to do with their irregular behavior. *Tunju* is a peculiar case, because it means ‘point to, show (O)’, implying causation. The combination of *tunju* with *kasi* to express a causative action is an indication that the causative aspect of *tunju* has been lost or weakened.

- (33) *kalu adi bangong kasminong aer susu tu*  
 when sibling wake up Caus-drink water milk Dem  
 ‘When (your) brother wakes up, give (him) milk to drink.’
- (34) *nene kasmakang dorang kanyang-kanyang*  
 grandmother Caus-eat 3p satisfied-Rdp  
 ‘Grandmother fed them (until they were) satisfied.’
- (35) *dia buka dia pung sarong kastunju rupa par*  
 3s opens 3s Poss dress Caus-show shape to  
*dia pung mai*  
 3s Poss mother  
 ‘He opened his sarong showing his shape (his genitals) to his mother.’

Several observations can be made by comparing the dual-predicate *kasi* causatives in 2.2 with the single-predicate *kasi* causatives discussed here. First, the structural difference between [*kasi* + noun + verb<sub>intr</sub>] and [*kasi* + verb<sub>intr</sub> + noun] correlates with a slight difference in meaning. Although both constructions are called causative, the former bears a more permissive semantic sense while the second is more directly causative. Second, the short form *kas-* only occurs when another verb immediately follows. In all other positions, only the full form of *kasi* appears. Third, adding *kasi* to a verb increases its valency. This seems to be one of the main functions, so that *kasi* largely occurs with intransitive verbs. The few transitive verbs with which *kasi* combines show some inherited peculiarities that may explain their odd behavior.

Summarizing the use of *biking* and *kasi* in Ambonese Malay, the following remarks can be made. The use of *biking* and *kasi* show some

similarities.<sup>10</sup> Both function as independent verbs with the respective meanings ‘make (O)’ and ‘give (O)’ and both can be combined with intransitive verbs in order to transitivize them. On the basis of structure, these causative constructions can be divided into two groups, those where *biking* and *kasi* form part of a single predicate and those where they form separate predicates. As can be seen from the examples above, it is only in the former that *kasi* can appear in its short form *kas-*. In all other cases, only the full form appears. Taking all this into account, the conclusion may be drawn that *kasi* is in a transitional stage on the path from a full verb to a causative verbal prefix.

### 3. Causative constructions in other varieties of Malay

*Biking* and *kasi* are two verbs used in Ambonese Malay to express causative situations. Apart from sharing this function, there are some other things they have in common. Both function as independent verbs that do not undergo any affixation. When *biking* and *kasi* are used in combination with intransitive verbs they produce transitives. However, *biking* occurs mainly with static intransitive verbs, which denote states of affairs or qualities, whereas *kasi* occurs with dynamic intransitive verbs, which denote actions, events, or processes. On the basis of structure, the causative constructions thus formed can be divided into two groups, those where *biking* and *kasi* participate in a single predicate (*biking malu; kasi pulang*) and those where they form a separate one (*biking beta malu; kasi beta pulang*). With respect to *biking*, this formal difference does not correlate with any semantic difference, so that both structures are freely interchangeable. In the case of *kasi*, the structure correlates with an important difference in meaning. When *kasi* immediately precedes the verb, the meaning is more strictly causative than when *kasi* forms a separate predicate. Furthermore, *kasi* has a short form *kas-* that only occurs immediately preceding a verb. This is a strong indication that *kasi* is in a transitional stage in the path from a full verb to a causative verbal prefix. This process, however, has not affected *biking*.

In general, the use of auxiliary verbs to express certain semantic features in the predicate and, in particular, the use of verbs similar to Am-

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<sup>10</sup>In an article on particles in Ambonese Malay, Tjia remarks that with certain verbs both *biking* and *kasi* occur and are substitutable one for the other (Tjia 1992: 44–45).

bonese Malay *biking* and *kasi* is not limited to this variety of Malay. Although standard Malay does not allow such constructions, forming causatives by means of the affixes *-kan* or *per-*, numerous descriptions of other nonstandard varieties of Malay mention the same kinds of phenomena described here.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately these descriptions do not clarify the uses. Some examples will be provided below to show that the use of *biking* and *kasi* in Ambonese Malay resembles structures found in other kinds of Malay in the archipelago.

### 3.1. *Beking* and *kase* in Menadonese Malay

In Menadonese Malay, spoken in the northern part of Sulawesi, *beking* and *kase* are verbs used to form causative constructions.<sup>12</sup> Unlike *biking* in Ambonese Malay, *beking* in Menadonese Malay can undergo morphological processes such as affixation with *ba-* and reduplication, two productive processes in this variety of Malay. Affixation of *ba-* to *beking* forms an intransitive verb, *babeking*, meaning ‘make, do’. Reduplicating *beking* into *beking-beking* expresses continuity or repetition, conveying the meaning ‘make, do something continuously or repetitively’.

Full reduplication of verbs, where the whole verb is repeated, only occurs when the verb does not bear any prefixes. When a verb contains one or more prefixes, this can be reduplicated. Repeating the prefix expresses continuity or repetition. (See Prentice 1994 for more information on morphological processes in Menadonese Malay.)

This process of reduplication is also found on auxiliary verbs, such as *beking* (and *kase*), as in (40). The ability of *beking* to undergo this process indicates its close association with the following verb. Another indication of its close relation to the verb is the fact that, unlike causative *biking* in Ambonese Malay, *beking* in Menadonese Malay cannot be separated from its following verb.

When followed by a stative intransitive verb, *beking* acts as a causative marker. The result is a transitive verb with a causative sense.

- (36) tu    bak   di   kamar mandi   musti   hari-hari   **beking bersi**  
 Dem tank in room bath   have to day-Rdp   Caus   clean  
 ‘The tank in the bathroom has to be cleaned daily.’

<sup>11</sup>For instance, in Baba Malay (Lim 1981, Pakir 1986) and Kupang Malay (Steinhauer 1983).

<sup>12</sup>Salea-Warouw (1985) provided the examples of Menado Malay.

- (37) ta ilang jiwa kwaq dia da **beking** **kage**  
 1s loose soul Part 3s Asp Caus startle  
 'I fainted when he startled (me).'
- (38) jang **beking sala** pa kita  
 Vet Caus wrong Part 1s  
 'Do not blame me.'
- (39) dia pe fara di pongo-pongo **beking fasung** pa dia  
 3s Poss birthmark Prep cheek Caus pretty Prep 3s  
 'The birthmark on her cheek makes her pretty.'
- (40) dia pe kalakuan tu **beking-beking dusta** orang  
 3s Poss behavior Dem Caus-Rdp cheat person  
 'His behavior is to cheat people all the time.'

The fact that *beking* and the following intransitive verb are inseparable points to a close relation to this verb, similar to that of an affix. One characteristic of Menadonese Malay with respect to verbs is, as mentioned above, the repetition of verbal affixes. Although only a single example has been found of a reduplicated form of *beking* followed by an intransitive verb, it is possible to assume that *beking* possesses affixlike qualities that may indicate a path of development from full verb to verbal affix.

While *beking* serves to transitive static intransitive verbs, *kase* performs a similar function for dynamic intransitive verbs. As an independent verb, *kase* is transitive and means 'give'. Participating in a single predicate with an intransitive verb, it adds a causative sense, so that the whole construction means 'cause, let, make someone/something V', as in (41–45).

- (41) dia **kase anyor** ta pe lenso bagus  
 3s Caus drift 1s Poss handkerchief pretty  
 'He set my pretty handkerchief adrift.'
- (42) pe pakat skali dorang mo **kase kaluar** doi  
 Poss slow very 3p Asp Caus go out money  
 'They are very reluctant to spend money.'  
 (lit. 'How very slowly they took out the money!')
- (43) samua tu dia pe orang tua ada **kase tinggal** pa dia  
 all Dem 3s Poss parents Asp Caus remain Prep 3s  
 'All that is what his parents left to him.'

- (44) tu dokumen rahasia ada **kase sosoru** di katu  
 Dem document secret Asp Caus insert Prep roof  
 'The secret document was slipped between the leaves of the roof.'
- (45) sasa pelabuhan ada gudang tanpa barang-barang ja  
 each harbor Asp warehouse place goods-Rdp Asp  
**kase turung** deng ja **kase muat** di kapal  
 Caus go down and Asp Caus load Prep ship  
 'Each harbor has a warehouse, a place where goods are unloaded from  
 and loaded onto the ships.'

These examples show *kase* immediately followed by a verb. Together they form a single predicate. This inseparability indicates their close relation, with *kase* behaving almost like an affix. This affixlike character of *kase*, which was also noticed for *beking*, is reinforced by the possibility of *kase* (and *beking*) participating in an accumulation of prefixes, analogous to other (productive) verbal prefixes, like *baku-*, shown in (48).

Furthermore, *kase* can occur in combination with certain transitive verbs. These transitive verbs are *makan* (46) and *tunjung* (47). It is remarkable that only these transitive verbs were found in combination with *kase*. *Makan* is an odd verb because it contains a fossilized prefix *ma-*, and *tunjung* is a lexical causative verb meaning 'point to, show (O)'. These peculiarities were discussed in section 2.3, where it was noted that these same verbs were the only transitives to combine with *kasi* in Ambonese Malay. Note that *kase* has a short form *se* in (49).

- (46) torang mo **kase makan** bas  
 1p Asp Caus eat boss  
 'We will feed the boss.'
- (47) nanti kita **kase tunjung** dorang pe rumah  
 later 1s Caus point 3p Poss house  
 'Later I will point out their house.'
- (48) jang ja **kase bakuganti** dodutu rica  
 Vet Asp Caus Baku-switch pounder chili pepper  
 deng dodotu rica jawa  
 with pounder white pepper  
 'Don't switch the chili pepper pounder with  
 the white pepper pounder!'

- (49) *parcuma ta da se skola pa ngana*  
 useless 1s Asp Caus attend school Prep 2s  
 'It is useless (that) I educated (schooled) you.'

Thus, there are similarities between the use of *beking* and *kase* in Menadonese Malay and the use of *kasi* and *biking* in Ambonese Malay. It is clear from their shape that the two forms are related to each other, and both are used for the same purpose: to form causatives and to increase the valency of another verb.

Both *biking* and *kasi* in Ambonese Malay and *beking* and *kase* in Menadonese Malay also share a more general development, namely, the development of a full verb into a verbal prefix. In Ambonese Malay this process is clearly noticeable in *kasi*, which has produced the prefix *kas-*. *Biking* has not yet undergone this development, although its variable position (with no change in meaning) may mark the starting point on the path to becoming a prefix. It is too early, however, to draw any definite conclusions based on these observations.

In Menadonese Malay there are also some clear indications that *beking* and *kase* are changing into verbal prefixes. The description of the use of these two forms show that *beking* and *kase* are considered to be inseparable parts of the verbs with which they combine. Another indication is the fact that some of the morphological processes that apply to verbal prefixes also apply to *beking* and *kase*.

It can therefore be concluded that both varieties of Malay are undergoing similar developments, namely, the change in status from full verb to verbal prefix. However, in Ambonese Malay only *kasi* shows signs of such a development, while in Menadonese Malay both *beking* and *kase* act as verbal prefixes.

### 3.2. *Biking* and *kasi* in Ternate Malay

In Ternate Malay (also called North Maluku Malay), spoken in North Maluku, causative constructions are also formed with *biking* and *kasi*. As in the other varieties of Malay discussed here, *biking* seems to occur in combination with static intransitive verbs, while *kasi* is used with dynamic intransitive verbs (Voorhoeve 1983: 5; see also Taylor 1983). However, more research on Ternate Malay is needed in order to give a detailed description of these causative constructions.

Despite the lack of information on Ternate Malay, it is important to pay some attention to this variety, especially to the use of *biking* and

*kasi*. In a wordlist noted down by Dutch sailors in Ternate in 1599, combinations of *buat* ‘make’ and *beri* ‘give’ are found (*Begin ende voortgangh* 1646: 43–53). These two verbs are combined respectively with static and dynamic intransitive verbs to denote causative actions (see also Collins & Schmidt 1992: 313).<sup>13</sup>

britou	(< beri tahu)	‘let know’
britacot	(< beri takut)	‘frighten, make afraid’
boeat bae	(< buat baik)	‘improve (something)’
boatbassaer	(< buat besar)	‘honor (something/someone)’
boatsouka	(< buat suka)	‘placate (someone)’
boat siamar	(< buat cemar)	‘soil or stain (something)’

This wordlist shows that the creation of causative constructions with auxiliary verbs dates back (at least) to the 16th century. When this is compared with the more recent observations that causative constructions are formed by using *biking* and *kasi*, it seems that at a certain point in time there was a change from the use of *buat* and *beri* to *biking* and *kasi*. This change is remarkable because the choice fell on verbs with the same meaning. The current use of forms like these is widespread, found in Ambonese Malay and Menadonese Malay, among others. This leads to two possible ideas about the spread of these constructions. First, under pressure of *biking* and *kasi*, constructions outside Ternate may have replaced *buat* and *beri*. Second, after *buat* and *beri* were replaced by *biking* and *kasi*, this change spread to other regions. Their presence in Menadonese Malay (and in other varieties of Malay in this region) can be explained in this way, for we know from other indications that Menadonese Malay is closely related to Ternate Malay.<sup>14</sup> Whether this is plausible for other kinds of Malay is difficult to say. In fact, it is more likely that Ternate Malay itself was subject to other influences.

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<sup>13</sup>In the 1599 wordlist, (*pande*) *brijckatt* (< [*pandai*] *beri ikut*) ‘dominate’ also occurs. In the same list, *icat* is given with the Dutch meaning *nastelen* ‘lace, tie with laces’, so that (*pande*) *brijckatt* means ‘tie, knot with laces’ and does not form a causative construction. However, this is not equivalent to the Dutch translation *meesteren* ‘master, dominate’, so the precise meaning is still uncertain.

<sup>14</sup>The evidence consists of lexical items that are found in Ternatese, the indigenous language on the island of Ternate and in Ternate Malay.

### Conclusion

The aim of this article has been to describe the use of *biking* and *kasi* in Ambonese Malay, especially as they function to form causative constructions. A tendency has been shown for these full verbs to develop into auxiliaries that mark causativity. In the case of *kasi*, this change is progressing even further as *kasi* develops into a verbal prefix *kas-*.

A closer look at the same phenomena in other Malay varieties, such as Menadonese Malay, not only shows similarities of form and function, but also a similar path of development. In both varieties the same general phenomenon occurs: the verbs used to form causative constructions are developing into verbal prefixes.

The cognate forms in Ternate Malay, *biking* and *kasi*, are also used to form causative constructions. Although a more detailed description is needed of causative constructions in Ternate Malay (and of Ternate Malay in general), some interesting observations can still be made. A 16th-century wordlist records the use of the two verbs *buat* and *beri* (with meanings similar to *biking* and *kasi*) in functions that seem to parallel those now performed by *biking* and *kasi*. It thus appears that certain lexical items have replaced others without corresponding changes in the semantics or the grammar of these constructions. This could mean that at a certain point in time (not earlier than the 16th century) Ternate Malay was subject to the influence of another speech variety (of Malay?) which gave it its current shape. This raises the question of whether Ambonese Malay has also been under the influence of this same variety or is closely related to Ternate Malay. Further research is needed to provide answers to questions like these and to obtain a better picture of the history of Malay and its spread throughout the archipelago.

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