

## WRITTEN AMBONESE MALAY, 1895–1992

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### 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The study of Ambonese Malay (AM), or any variety of Malay for that matter, cannot be undertaken as if the language had developed in isolation. As Steinhauer (1991:197) points out, “Malay was at no stage a monolithic, static and undifferentiated language. On the contrary, even in the oldest Malay inscriptions dialect differences have been observed.” Teeuw (1961:43) says of the interrelationships between different varieties of Malay, “an extremely intricate complex of Malay, Malaylike and Malay-influenced languages and dialects has come into existence over a very extensive area.”

Is Ambonese Malay a homogeneous variety? Given that the spread of Malay in eastern Indonesia, far from its homeland, occurred as the result of continual commerce, port cities like Ambon were continually flooded with a barrage of Malay varieties. We thus need to distinguish “Malay varieties commonly used in Ambon” from “Ambonese Malay,” which is a more restrictive term. Nevertheless, Ambonese Malay itself, as a living language, must have internal stylistic variation as well. The interplay between different styles within Ambonese Malay and between Ambonese Malay and other varieties of Malay used in Ambon present an interesting challenge to linguists and language learners. The ability to codeswitch between SM and AM is a necessary part of the communicative competence of speakers of AM.

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As long as Malay has been used as the instrument of government and education, there has been a diglossic relationship between Standard Malay (SM) and a variety of regional Low Malays (LMs). Ferguson (1959) defined diglossia as:

a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

The definition has since been revised by various authors, but for our purposes here we need merely consider the question of competition between SM and LM in newspapers published in Ambon. As mentioned before, it is important to remember that the “Low” language may have internal stylistic variation, from “Casual” to “Formal,” quite apart from the “High–Low” dichotomy.

The distinction between oral and written registers influences the variety of language used, especially in diglossic communities. In this work I examine the various strands of Malay used in articles from two newspapers published in Ambon: *Penghentar* (1895) and *Pos Maluku* (1992). The articles are compared with regard to lexicon, syntax, phonology, and morphology. In order to put each of these samples in synchronic perspective, I further contrast the 1895 text with other samples of apparently oral style late 19th-century Malay, and I contrast the 1992 texts with part of an oral dialogue recorded in Ambon in 1983. As a result, the newspaper articles are defined in terms of both synchronic and diachronic contrasts, along the oral–written dimension. Furthermore, there are obvious linguistic differences based on the variety of genres represented by these texts. A full study of these differences would be interesting, and the present work merely hints at what patterns of variety may be uncovered by further study.

Because Ambonese speakers of Malay have at various periods had access to various portions of the “extremely intricate complex” mentioned by Teeuw, as well as to many other languages, any text produced by them will likely include elements from many sources. Therefore it should be kept in mind that we are examining a complex of language

varieties (on a predominantly Malay base) as used in Ambon. I will use the term “Standard Malay” (SM) to refer to the form of Malay prescriptively propagated by educational authorities in any given period; the term “Low Malay” (LM) will refer to any number of regional varieties that violate prescriptive norms. “Ambonese Malay” (AM) is the LM peculiar to Ambon, containing some features peculiar to Ambon as well as some features common to other LMs and SM. (Unless indicated otherwise, “AM” refers to *Casual AM*.) Of course, there are many words that are common to perhaps all varieties of Malay in the AM complex. However, where differences between SM and AM exist, the analyst should label portions of texts as to whether they represent one of the following styles:

1. “pure” AM (casual, not formal style);
2. “pure” SM;
3. some other Low Malay;
4. an imperfect Ambonese attempt at SM (which may include aspects of other Low Malays);
5. Formal AM, as distinct from #4 above;
6. intentional codeswitching between any of the above.

For each text, I have tried to indicate which words or morphemes are lexically, phonologically, or morphologically in AM and which are in SM (see Appendix). Words and morphemes common to both AM and SM (which constitute a significant portion of the texts) I have left unmarked. In addition, constituent orders in transitive and intransitive clauses are indicated in the texts. All of these features will be discussed.

## **2. Characteristics of modern AM**

Several authors (e.g., Collins 1980, Grimes 1991, Steinhauer 1991) have noted features characteristic of AM. I will summarize their discussions here.

### **2.1 Lexicon**

While it has been noted that the lexicon of AM is predominantly Malay, we should further distinguish between (a) what kind of Malay served as the source of each lexical item, and (b) what kind of AM makes use of each lexical item. Such a fine-grained analysis is beyond the scope of this brief sketch, but I will at least specify the primary sources of AM lexical items.

1. direct inheritance from Proto-Malay (PM) (or a later stage)
2. indirect inheritance (borrowing) from SM<sup>2</sup>
3. indirect inheritance (borrowing) from other Low Malays
4. Portuguese loans (cf. Abdurachman 1972)
5. Dutch loans
6. loans from Malukan or other Indonesian languages

There are, of course, Sanskrit and Arabic loans, but these were transmitted via PM, SM, or LM, just as some of the Dutch loans are actually French or Latin in origin.

The diverse lexical sources of AM are seen in the pronoun system (cf. Grimes 1991:90): *beta* ‘1st person singular’ is originally Sanskrit (Collins, pers. comm.) and was either directly inherited from PM or borrowed from SM; *ose* ‘2d person singular, familiar’ is from Portuguese *voce* and is exclusive to Malukan Malay; *ale* ‘2d person singular, respectful’ is borrowed from some language or languages indigenous to central Maluku. The plural pronouns are contractions of a directly inherited pronoun plus *orang*; the 3d person singular respectful pronoun *angtua* is also a contraction of directly inherited words. The 3d person singular neuter pronoun *akang* is, according to Collins’s (1974) analysis, cognate with the SM preposition *akan*. The remaining pronoun, *dia* ‘3d person singular, familiar’, is the same as SM, so it could be either directly descended from PM or borrowed from SM (probably the former).

As seen above in the use of *orang* to form plural pronouns, even words directly inherited from PM may have undergone a semantic shift. Grimes (1991:92) gives examples of AM modals that have undergone semantic shift. For example, *ada* is used in AM to mark progressive or continuative aspect.

Collins (1980, 1981) shows how the system of directionals in indigenous Ambonese languages was calqued into AM, using Malay words for the indigenous concepts. Another example of influence from indigenous languages of Ambon is in the use of the 3d person plural pronoun *dong* as a postnominal particle indicating accompaniment: *Rony dong* ‘Rony and those associated with him’. Collins (1980:33–34) also discusses the

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<sup>2</sup>It should be noted that lexical items borrowed from SM may or may not be assimilated into AM phonology. For example, in another article from *Penghentar* 1895, *angkaw* is used as the 2d person singular pronoun; this is phonologically assimilated from SM *engkaw*.

development of *-kah* into a particle (*ka*) used in dichotomous constructions.

## 2.2 Syntax

One of the most frequently reported characteristics of AM is the genitive construction: NP (*punya/pung*) NP.<sup>3</sup> Collins (1983b) points out the possible connection between genitive constructions in indigenous Ambonese languages and the fact that, in contrast to other Low Malays, the AM genitive construction does not coexist with the kind of construction used in SM.

In addition, a number of syntactic constructions differentiate AM from modern SM (i.e., Bahasa Indonesia):

1. Causatives are formed not morphologically with *-kan*, but syntactically with *kasi/kas* or *biking*.
2. Demonstratives often precede the noun. (This has also been noted in other Low Malays.)
3. There is no *di-* passive; rather, some transitive verbs can be passivized periphrastically using the auxiliary *dapa*.
4. Equative clauses are formed with the copula *par*, which in other contexts corresponds to SM *untuk*.
5. In some instances at least—I do not know how widespread this is—the numeral follows the noun and any modifying adjectives: *ruma basar satu* ‘a big house’. (Actually, *satu* in this example functions as an indefinite article, not a numeral.)

## 2.3 Phonology

AM has a number of phonological characteristics that distinguish it from modern SM (i.e., BI [Bahasa Indonesia]). Some of these are AM innovations, others are retained from an earlier stage of Malay, and still others may be the result of borrowing from other Low Malays.

There is no schwa phoneme in AM; reflexes of Proto-Malay schwa indicate a complex history of dialect contact. In some cases, schwa in the

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<sup>3</sup>Grimes (1991:90) follows Prentice (1978:19) and Rafferty (cited in Collins 1983b:30) in calling *pung* “Ambonese Malay” and *punya* “Low Malay.” It is my impression that *punya* is a good candidate for what I would call Formal AM, while *pung* is Casual AM.

penultimate syllable has assimilated to the vowel of following syllable, as in *pono* ‘full’, *poro* ‘stomach’, *binci* ‘hate’. Stress is penultimate in these words, in contrast to their BI cognates. However, in many other words a penultimate schwa has become /a/, as in *tado* ‘calm’, *balong* ‘not yet’. In these words, stress is on the final syllable, as in BI. Collins (1983a) notes that the assimilation of schwa is a regular sound change in Bacan Malay, and Collins (pers. comm.) believes that an earlier form of AM was similar to Bacan Malay in this regard. The words with /a/ would then be borrowings from another Low Malay, probably Makasar Malay, since (a) this is a sound change of Makasar Malay, and (b) the Makasarese were a dominant ethnic group of early Ambon.

In still other cases, schwa in the penultimate syllable became the front vowel /e/ in AM, as in *deng* ‘with’, *dengar* ‘hear’, *barenti* ‘stop’. Since Malay orthography does not distinguish schwa from /e/, I will not be able to comment on the existence of this characteristic in the written texts.

There are cases where the vowel of the antepenultimate syllable is schwa in BI, but some other vowel in AM. In many of these cases, the AM vowel reflects the original pronunciation (as seen in classical Malay texts), while BI has changed the vowel to schwa: *kuliling* ‘around’, *kombali* ‘return’. In at least one case, there appears to be assimilation to the preceding consonant, as in *cilaka* ‘misfortune’. Where the vowel of the antepenultimate syllable is /a/ in both AM and classical Malay texts, as for example in the prefixes *ka-* and *sa-* (cf. BI *se-*, *ke-*), Collins (pers. comm.) suspects that this is merely a change in orthographic conventions, that in fact there was never a contrast between /a/ and schwa in the antepenultimate syllable.

Another distinction between AM and BI that may be merely an artifact of orthography is the apparent lowering of SM high vowels to mid vowels in AM. Collins (pers. comm.) believes that the lowering or laxing of high vowels in closed final syllables is a very old and widespread phenomenon, and that in fact the modern pronunciations using high vowels are merely the reading pronunciations of those who learn Malay as a second language in school.

In all this it should be kept in mind that orthographies are never phonetic, and rarely completely phonemic. Thus, as Steinhauer (1991:204) points out in his discussion of B. J. N. Roskott’s spelling of Malay, words that already had been assigned a spelling in some other dialect of Malay were not necessarily “corrected” to conform with AM pronuncia-

tion. In older written texts, then, the most reliable indications of AM pronunciation are in the words peculiar to AM.

Word-final nasals are velarized in AM, except in loanwords. This also occurs in other Low Malays of eastern Indonesia (including Makasarese Malay). It does not seem to be an assimilation to the languages indigenous to Ambon, where final nasals tend to be alveolar.

Certain high-frequency words are abbreviated or contracted. There is probably more than one process involved here. The contraction sometimes involves loss of the final syllable (*su* < *sudah*) or just the coda of the final syllable if that syllable's onset is a nasal (*deng* < *dengan*, *jang* < *jangan*, *pung* < *punya*). In other cases an intervocalic consonant is lost (*lai* < *lagi*). The verb *pi* < *pigi* would fit either of these patterns. Although contraction of high-frequency words is a natural (if irregular) process, it also occurs in a number of other Malay dialects, often in the same words. For example, *sudah* becomes *udah* or *dah* in some western dialects of Malay. Note that Minangkabau also has *jang*, and that the front vowel /e/ in AM *deng* indicates a more complex history than direct descent from a previous stage of Malay.

In final position, /aw/ and /ay/ have coalesced to mid vowels /o/ and /e/ respectively. Although this is characteristic of other Low Malays as well, it could easily be a case of parallel development (being a very natural and common phonological process). Still, there are one or two features of AM that are apparently innovations of this dialect, and not candidates for dialect borrowing.

1. /h/ has been deleted in all positions, though it occurs in some loanwords.<sup>4</sup> (It should be noted, however, that people writing pure AM may use “silent h,” especially in final position, to make their work more readable to those already literate in SM.)
2. Syllable-final stops have been deleted, except in loans from Dutch, Arabic, etc.

Collins (pers. comm.) suggests that these two features may actually be the result of a single historical process. Since Makasarese Malay changed final stops to glottal stop (an assimilation to Makasarese), the earliest stages of Ambonese Malay may also have had glottal stops in final

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<sup>4</sup>The phoneme /f/ also occurs in some loanwords “of presumably Moluccan origin” (Steinhauer 1991:206), like *tifa* ‘drum’, but instances of /f/ and /h/ in loanwords are separate from the kinds of innovations I am listing here.

position. A single rule would then have deleted both glottal stops and glottal fricatives, as an assimilation to the languages indigenous to Ambon.

#### 2.4 Morphology

According to Collins (1980:22, 25), “The most striking differences between AM and SM occur in their respective affix systems. ... In AM ... most affixes seem to appear only in fixed (fossilized) forms and these in uses which sometimes differ from SM uses.” He notes (1980:26) that the only productive verbal affixes in AM are *ba-*, *ta-*, and *baku-*.<sup>5</sup> The AM forms *pancuri* ‘to steal’ and *pamalas* ‘lazy’ provide evidence that the nominalizing *peng-* prefix of SM is not productive in AM. The morphological process of reduplication is used in AM for certain kinds of plurals or distributives, as in BI.

#### 2.5 Sociolinguistics

As stated above, Ambonese Malay is a combination of many different layers and strands of Malay. Thus, in order to make any sense of such traditional linguistic features as lexicon, syntax, phonology, and morphology, we must also take note of the sociolinguistic context. One must keep in mind that newspaper articles are at the mercy of the newspaper’s editor; if these articles were edited, the criteria used were sociolinguistic in nature.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, I have no information about the degree of editing performed by the editor of the two newspapers in question. However, it is important to note that in the recorded conversation, as well as in the written texts to be compared, it is clear that more than one kind of Malay is being used.

### 3. An article from *Penghentar*, 1895

In the appendix is an article from *Penghentar: Surat Chabar Moluko* of 16 September 1895, by J. Wattimena. The article is entitled *Pertim-*

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<sup>5</sup>Grimes (1991:91) questions whether *baku-* is actually an affix; Collins (pers. comm.) believes it to be related to *ber-ke-*, which does have the same reciprocal meaning in Minangkabau, and notes that even in modern AM nothing can intervene between *baku-* and the verb.

<sup>6</sup>Grijns (1991:51) reports that in 1858 the editor of *Soerat Chabar Batawie* announced his intention to publish in a language “not too high, but not too low either, so that anybody who knew Malay would be able to understand it.”

*bangun katagoran*, and concerns a Christian interpretation of a widespread Malukan belief about demonic afflictions associated with certain places. The article actually consists of three texts: the main part of the article, a comment by the editor, and a reply by Wattimena. In each language component described below except phonology, SM predominates. Only in the phonology does the author attempt to give an Ambonese flavor to his otherwise SM article.

### 3.1 Lexicon

In the main article, the lexicon is almost entirely SM. The one word I identify as having an AM meaning in contrast to BI is *boleh* ‘can, possible’ (instead of ‘may’). Examples of SM lexical items in the text follow.

pronouns: *-nya, marika itu, kami, dia*  
 particles: *-lah, pon*  
 negatives: *tiada*  
 conjunctions: *maka, melainkan, jikalau/jika, dan*

In the editor’s intrusion as well, the lexicon is not AM.

pronouns: *aku, ia; -nya* as object of preposition  
 particles: *-kah*  
 negatives: *tiada*

But in the author’s answer to the editor, we find *beta* (which AM has retained as the unmarked 1st person singular, in contrast to SM, where it is a marked, “royal” pronoun) and *peleh* ‘to separate’ (spelled with a hypercorrect “h”), along with the SM lexical items.

particles: *-lah*  
 negatives: *tiada*  
 conjunctions: *bila, jika, pada*  
 pronouns: *-ku* as object of preposition; *Tuan* ‘you sir’

### 3.2 Syntax

In all three sections of this article, the SM genitive structure NP<sub>poss’d</sub>–NP<sub>poss’r</sub> is used, including the use of enclitics like *-ku* and *-nya*. In the author’s reply to the editor, we also see the order Adjective–Noun in the phrase *lain<sup>2</sup> orang*.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Some other Malay dialects also permit *lain<sup>2</sup>* to be preposed.

Constituent order in intransitive clauses is usually Subject–Predicate: in 16 instances when the predicate is a verb and in 4 instances when the predicate is a prepositional phrase. However, there are 6 instances with Predicate–Subject order. In one of these, a topic NP precedes the verb: “*katagoran*” *ini salah persebutannya*. In two others, the verb is *ada(lah)*. The three remaining instances occur in a single sentence: [*kedatangan sakit*], *bukan oleh karena* [*keras tempat itu*] *hanya oleh* [*keras udaranya yang sudah beracun*].

In transitive clauses, there are 26 instances of SVO order and 22 instances of VO order (e.g., in complements), and one instance of VSO order: *dapatlah orang itu* “*katagoran*.”

Both of the author’s sections of the article contain passive clauses, but the editor’s intrusion contains none, no doubt due to its brevity. Most of the passive clauses fit the order (Subject/Patient)–Verb–(Agent).<sup>8</sup>

<i>Order</i>	<i>Instances</i>
Subject/Patient–Verb	6
Subject/Patient–Verb–Agent	2
Subject/Patient–Verb– <i>oleh</i> Agent	4
Verb–Agent	7
Verb– <i>oleh</i> Agent	1

However, in contrast to these is a clause in which a “heavy” Subject/Patient follows the Agent *-nya*: *ditebangken[nya]* [*pohon yang tumbuh pada tempat itu yang disangka orang, tempat bermain segala jin d.l.s.*]. There is also a case where the Patient is the object of the preposition *oleh*: *sopaya* [*oleh setengah imannya,*] *diturunkan menjadi yang tiada mesehi*.

All equative clauses make use of *itulah* (5 instances), *inilah* (1 instance), or *ialah* (1 instance). In general, then, the syntax of this article is SM.

### 3.3 Phonology

In the main article, a number of AM phonological features are found. In several cases, what would be a penultimate schwa in BI is written with /a/ here: *sabab*, *tagal*, *katagoran*. However, in *katagoran* we see the assimilation of schwa to the following vowel. It may be significant that in the first sentence of the article the author claims that the “true” spelling

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<sup>8</sup>The terms “agent” and “patient” are used very loosely in this paper.

is the one with the assimilation. This may be an indication that assimilation is the older, native process, and that Collins is correct in believing that many forms with such assimilation were replaced by forms from a dialect such as Makasarese Malay where schwa became /a/ in this environment. There are also a number of words that apparently have schwa in the penultimate syllable, such as *lebeh*, *segenap*, *persebutan*, *benar*, *tempat*, *sebut*, *keras*, *bertemu*, *diperesihken*, *ditebangken*, and possibly *dengan*.

There are several instances of high vowels lowered, both in the final syllable, as in *lebeh*, *ontong*, *pengasehan/mengasehi*, *Molokko*, and in other positions, as in *sopaya*, *ontong*, *morka*, *endah*, *Molokko*

In several words that would have schwa in the antepenultimate syllable in BI, another vowel appears, as in *kapada*, *sangsara*, *naraka*, *bersombahyang*, *tantera* (but also *tentera*, in the same sentence). These may all be retentions from an older form of Malay, and are in contrast to *semua*, *segala*. We also note the Javanese-style *-ken*.

There are no instances of deleted /h/ in any position. Instead we find *menghentar*, *sahaja*, *mencahari*, *kabawah*, *-lah*, *salah*. In addition, syllable-final stops are retained, the glottal being written with “q”: *waqtu*, *banyaq*, *masuq*, *anaq*, *bijaq*.

In the editor’s intrusion, we find instances of /a/ in the penultimate syllable corresponding to schwa in BI, as in *tagal*, *tampat*, *mengarti*. The latter two are not good examples, however, since *tampat* could also be a case of assimilation,<sup>9</sup> and *arti* is a synonymous root in BI. We also find no instances of deleted /h/. The schwa in the final syllable of *kemudian* may be an indication of influence from Javanese-style Malay (or perhaps merely Javanese-style orthography). Finally, it may be significant that the editor uses the spelling *supaya*, in contrast to the author’s *sopaya*—possibly indicating a pronunciation difference in different strands of 1895 AM.

In the author’s reply to the editor, we again see /a/ in the penultimate syllable instead of schwa (*tagal*, *sabab*, *kana*, *kapada*), but contrast *tegor*, *betul*, *tempat*, *dengan*, *segerahnya*. There is one instance of a high vowel lowered (*tegor*), and /a/ in the antepenultimate syllable as well, where BI would have schwa (*parigi*, *kapada*, *sebagitu*). We also see the

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<sup>9</sup>In fact, since modern AM *tampa* has stress on the penultimate syllable, it would be an instance of a word with assimilated schwa that was not replaced by a Makasarese Malay form (in Collins’s scenario).

hypercorrect form *berfikir*, and Javanese-style *-ken*. Finally, there are no instances of deletion either of /h/ or of final stops.

### 3.4 Morphology

In the main article, the morphology is mostly SM, and in fact looks just like BI except for *sa-* and *ka-* (which cooccur with *se-* and *ke-*), and the Javanese-style *-ken*. One apparent inconsistency is in the use of *percobaan* (rather than *pencobaan*) as the nominalization of the verb passivized as *dicobai*. To be explicit, the following morphology is used:

*-an, per- -an, peng- -an, ber-, di-, -i, -ken, meng-, ter-, se-, sa-, ke- -an, ka- -an,* and reduplication

Similarly, in the editor's intrusion we find SM morphology: *ka- -an, -kan, per- -an, ber- -kan, peng-, -an, meng-*. The same is true of the author's answer: *di-, -ken, meng-, ter-, ke- -an, ber-/be-, se-, -an*. However, there are some indications of AM (or at least Low Malay) influence in the dropping of prefixes; for example, the use of *jadi* rather than *menjadi*, *ajar* rather than *belajar*, and *dapat* rather than *mendapat*.

## 4. Van Hoëvell's AM sentences from the late 19th century

Van Hoëvell (1877) uses Ambonese Malay to gloss examples of central Malukan languages. It was not Van Hoëvell's purpose in his article to contrast AM with other Malays, therefore we cannot assume that the spelling he used was phonetically accurate throughout. However, it is clear that in many cases he did record the AM pronunciation. At any rate, the language here is in stark contrast to that in the *Penghentar* newspaper article.

### 4.1 Lexicon

These few sentences are full of typically Ambonese lexical items like the following.

pronouns: *beta, ose, diya, akan, kitorang, diorang*  
 conjunctions: *par*  
 negative: *tra* (*seng* is noticeable by its absence)  
 auxiliaries: *ada, boleh* 'able'  
*kasi* 'give'  
*bini* 'wife'  
*makan* 'food'  
*stori* 'chat'

*kadera* ‘chair’  
*tola(q)* ‘push’  
*tahon di muka* ‘next year’  
*sasi* ‘prohibition on harvesting’  
*putus habis* ‘finished’  
*kintal* ‘yard’

#### 4.2 Syntax

Here we also find some typical AM syntactic constructions: the NP *punya* NP genitive (not *pung*, however); two types of periphrastic causative (*kasi* Verb *par* NP; *bikin* Adjective NP), and Determiner–Noun order (*itu dusun*). We also find, however, some apparent Dutchisms, as for example when *yang* is used as a complementizer (*dengar yang...*).

There are three equative clauses, none of which use any copula. In transitive clauses, the constituent order is exclusively SVO (8 instances) or VO (15 instances). Actor focus clauses (i.e., logically transitive verbs with no overt direct object) are exclusively SV (6 instances). Intransitive clauses have SV order in 21 instances, VS order in 1: *berapa satu pohon punya harga?* Perhaps significantly, there are no passive clauses. This is what we would expect of AM. However, it may simply be an artifact of the disjoint nature of these sentences.

#### 4.3 Phonology

In these sentences are found some of the same AM phonological features that were seen in the *Penghentar* article. Penultimate schwa is written as /a/ (*tabang, ampat, kabaratan*); penultimate schwa assimilates (*misti*); high vowels are lowered in the final syllable (*suroh, masoq, tidor, pikol, tanjong, tedoh, pukol, tahon, taroh*) as well as in other syllables (*sopaya, korang*). In addition, however, there are instances of other AM sound changes: final /h/ is deleted (*rupia*) (and hypercorrectly added in *tuwah*); /ay/ has become /e/ (*sampe*) while /aw/ has become /ow/ (*kalow, atow*). Note also the spelling *tola(q)*, perhaps indicating that two pronunciations (Formal AM and Casual AM) were common. In addition, there are two words in which /i/ in the penultimate syllable corresponds to /e/ in BI (*bisoq, dinda*); and the Arabic back velar fricative is spelled as /h/ (*habar*). Significantly, there is no neutralization of final nasals as velar nasals.

#### 4.4 Morphology

These sentences contain instances of SM morphology, especially *ber-* (*bernanti*, *berhenti*, *berjalan*). Note that there are no instances of *ba-* in the sentences; either Van Hoëvell is mixing Formal AM with Casual AM or, more likely, he is using nonphonemic spelling (i.e. his *ber-* was pronounced [ba]). We know from earlier accounts that *ba-* was used in AM, Ternate Malay, and other Low Malays. At any rate, apparently *ba-* or *ber-* was one of the only productive verbal affixes in AM then, as now. Other instances of SM morphology include *pembayaran* (probably borrowed as an entire word), *kabaratan*, and *hukuman*.

But for the most part, these sentences are conspicuously AM in their morphology. There are few instances of *meng-* on transitive verbs, even in indicative mood (*bikin*, *bawa*, *tabang*, *kasi*, *cahari*, *dengar*, *panggih*, *dapat* ‘get’, *langgar*, *bayar*, *pariksa*, *suroh*, *taroh*, *buwang*). However, there are instances of *meng-* as a fossil (*mungail*, *menari*, *menyabrang*, *mencahari*, *menyapu*), in the same words that have *mang-* as a fossil in modern AM. Note especially that *cahari* is used as a transitive verb with a direct object, while *mencahari* is used as an intransitive verb with a different meaning (‘to work in order to get food’), the same meaning *mancari* has in AM today. There is also an instance of fossilized *-an* (*labuhan*).

#### 5. Text 1983, a recorded conversation

In the Appendix is a partial transcription of a conversation between two Ambonese, recorded by Jim Collins in Ambon in 1983. Most of it is AM, as described in Section 2.

##### 5.1 Lexicon

There are a great many lexical items identifying this text as AM.

###### Particles:

*yo*, *iyu* ‘yes’, *lai* ‘also, again’ [emphatic marker], *ka* [alternative question marker], *to* ‘okay?’, *e* [question marker], *ao* [disconfirmation marker]

###### Pronouns:

*dong* ‘they’, ‘and associates’, *ose* ‘you’, *akang* ‘it’, *katong* ‘we’, *antua* ‘respected person’, *kita* ‘I’

###### Conjunctions and prepositions:

*mar* ‘but’, *for* ‘for’, *barang* ‘because’, *macang* ‘like’, *par* ‘for’, [equative copula], *tau-tau* ‘come to find out’

## Verbs:

*sangka* ‘mistakenly thought’, *dapa* ‘get, arrive at’, *singga* ‘stop by’, *ada* [progressive aspect], *bilang kata* ‘say’ [for direct quote formula], *seng* ‘no, not’, *abis* ‘finished’

## Nouns:

*om* ‘man, title for a man’, *tante, tanta* ‘lady, title for a lady’, *nyong* ‘boy’, *Tete Manis* ‘God’, *bini* ‘wife’

There are also some lexical items that, although they distinguish AM from modern SM, may in fact be retentions from an earlier form of SM.

*beta* ‘I’  
*lao* ‘seaward’  
*jua* [emphatic particle]

Finally, there are a number of lexical items that represent a definite codeswitch into Bahasa Indonesia, among them the following two.

*kan* ‘you know’  
*atas* ‘for’<sup>10</sup>

## 5.2 Syntax

In Text 1983, constituent order in transitive clauses is SVO (18 instances), VO (10 instances), or SV (1 instance, in a relative clause). In actor focus clauses (i.e., where the verb is logically transitive but the object is simply omitted), the order is SV (3 instances). In intransitive clauses, constituent order is always SV (30 instances), except where the verb is *ada* (9 instances) and in the clause *bagus tu!* (BI *bagus itu!* ‘it’s beautiful!’). I believe that these generalizations about word order also characterize BI.

Significantly, however, there is not a single passive clause. Moreover, the characteristic genitive, NP *pung* NP, occurs eight times in the text. Direct quotes are usually introduced with AM: (NP *bilang*) *kata* .... And within the noun phrase we find *situ tu* and *itu tu*. There are thus several syntactic features that also mark Text 1983 as being AM.

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<sup>10</sup>This one occurred in quoting something written, and the style provoked laughter.

### 5.3 Phonology

Despite my rather careless transcription, in which I sometimes used SM orthographic conventions rather than straining my ears to hear if AM pronunciations were used, a great many instances of AM phonology are clearly evident.

Final velar nasal:

*biking* ‘do’, *simpang* ‘store’, *pung* [possessor word], *makang* ‘eat’, *makanang* ‘food’, *laeng* ‘other’, *macang* ‘like’, *malang* ‘night’, *kaweng* ‘marry’, *taong* ‘year’, *parangpuang* ‘female’

Contraction:

*deng* ‘with’, *tu* ‘that’, *ni* ‘this’, *pigi* ‘go’, *pi* ‘go’, *sapa* ‘who?’, *lai* ‘also’, ‘again’, [emphatic marker], *la* ‘then’, *su* ‘already’, *jang* ‘don’t’

Monophthongization:

*pake* ‘use’, *pante* ‘beach’, *sampe* ‘arrive’, *kalu* ‘as for, if’

/h/ deleted:

*suru* ‘command’, *ruma* ‘house’, *bua* ‘fruit’, *abis* ‘finished’, *lia* ‘see’, *pulu* ‘ten’, *tuju* ‘seven’, *skola* ‘school’, *suda* ‘okay, certainly’, *sabla* ‘side’, *labe* ‘more’

Final stop deleted:

*dapa* ‘get, arrive at’, *masa* ‘cook’, *banya* ‘much, many’, *pende* ‘short’, *bae* ‘good’, *tampa* ‘place’, *sika* ‘comb (of bananas)’, *lia* ‘see’, *tida* ‘no, not’ [Formal AM?], *maso* ‘enter’, *rambu* ‘hair of head’, *rayat* ‘society’

Front vowel lowered (i > e):

*laeng* ‘other’, *kase* ‘give’, *labe* ‘more’, *kaweng* ‘marry’, *panggil* ‘call’, *bae* ‘good’

Back vowel lowered (u > o):

*maso*, *masok* ‘enter’, *taong* ‘year’, *dolo* ‘first’, ‘now’, *tidor* ‘sleep’, *lao* ‘seaward’

Penult schwa > /a/:

*tanta* ‘lady, title for a lady’, *parsis* ‘exactly’, *tampa* ‘place’, *labe* ‘more’, *anam* ‘six’, *kanal* ‘know’, *karja* ‘work’

Monosyllable schwa > /a/ [could be retained from an older form of Malay]:

*ka* ‘to’

Antepenult schwa > /a/ [could be retained from an older form of Malay]:  
*bagini* ‘like this’, *sandiri* ‘alone’, *kaluar* ‘exit’, *sabla* ‘side’, *carita*  
 ‘chat’, *barapa* ‘how much, how many’, *samua* ‘all’

Schwa deleted:

*bli* ‘buy’, *trima* ‘receive’, *skarang* ‘now’, *trus* ‘then’, *sabla* ‘side’, *kluar*  
 ‘exit’, *skola* ‘school’, *blakang* ‘behind’, *blas* ‘-teen’

There are, however, a number of SM pronunciations as well. In one case, *pak* ‘sir’ (rather than AM *pa*) was used in quoting a teacher addressing a former student, and the absurdity of the situation was heightened by the SM pronunciation—a deliberate codeswitch.

#### 5.4 Morphology

There are instances in this text of AM prefix loss, as for example *kata* (cf. SM *berkata*) and *panggil* (cf. SM *memanggil*). There are also instances of *ba-* for SM *ber-* (*bajual*, *bacarita*) and *ta-* for SM *ter-* (*talalu*). There are also a few instances of hybrid forms that have SM morphology adapted to AM phonology, like *makanang* ‘food’ (cf. SM *makanan*, AM *makang*).

#### 6. Two articles from *Pos Maluku*, 1992

The Ambonese newspaper *Pos Maluku* is written almost entirely in BI, despite the fact that many stories are written by local reporters concerning local events. There is, however, a small column (*Ambon sehari-hari*) in almost every issue where AM is used. It is not pure AM; the column contains the various strands that make up the whole of AM.

The sociolinguistic situation in Ambon is very similar to that of Hawai‘i, where Hawai‘i Creole English (“Pidgin”) is seen by many as a deficient form of English, rather than as a dialect in its own right. These are rather typical diglossic situations. AM is not used in official documents, and is usually not heard in church (although the more popular preachers use AM to “make a point,” for example in illustrative narrative sections of the sermon).

The content of this *Pos Maluku* column is generally humorous. In a recent column (text 1992/1 in the Appendix), however, the traffic death of a youngster was reported in pure standard Indonesian, probably because the use of AM would have signalled “this is funny.” If we can view the column as a running text from one day to the next, the choice of BI is a case of deliberate codeswitching to signal a change in tone.

In the columns, AM is used more in quotations than in the writer's own words. In text 1992/2, the first paragraph is a mostly a quotation; within the quote, the only words that are not AM are the author's translations *alias tuli* and *alias bisu*. Paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 are the author's narrative and explanation of the outburst in paragraph 1. These paragraphs are mostly in BI, with some AM peppered throughout. The last three paragraphs are basically AM, both in the quotes and in the author's narrative.

### 6.1 Lexicon

This text contains a great deal of AM vocabulary. Examples follow.

conjunctions: *mangkali, par, mar*  
 prepositions: *di* (even after *pigi*), *deng*  
 pronouns: *dorang, katong, nona dorang*  
 auxiliaries: *su*  
 negation: *seng, tar-*  
 particles: *sa, lai, jua, ka, kaapa*

### 6.2 Syntax

The genitive construction NP *pung* NP is found here. However, even when using AM constructions, the author sometimes frames them within literary BI style (after all, this is literature!). For example, the first sentence of the last paragraph begins with a subordinate clause reminiscent of the literary style of European languages: *Lia dorang pung kalakuang, bung Ucu hanya berkomentar ...* 'Seeing their behavior, Ucu only commented ...'.

Among the clauses that are noticeably AM, transitive clauses are all SVO (2 instances) or VO (4 instances); the two actor focus clauses are SV; and the 9 intransitive clauses are all SV. In these sentences there are no passive clauses, although there are several in the article as a whole.

### 6.3 Phonology

A number of characteristics of AM phonology are evident in this text. Final stops are deleted: *dapa, lia, angka, sadiki, iko, bataria, nai, bai*. (But loans like *kanek* and *hak* retain the final /k/ even in AM.) Penultimate schwa has become /a/ in some cases (*kanek, karas, tarus, labeh*), /e/ in others (*dengar, tetap, barenti*). Final nasals have become velar (*macang, pung, jalang, kalakuang*). Antepenultimate schwa in BI corre-

sponds to /a/ (*bagitu, kanapa, sadiki, samua, bataria, kalakuang, sa-barang*). High vowels are lowered in the final syllable (*ambel, amper, iko*) and elsewhere (*sopir*). Initial and medial /h/ are deleted (*tau, lia, amper*), but final “h” retained, probably as a silent character (*marah, singgah, malah, labeh, kasih*). And final /ay/ and /aw/ coalesce into mid vowels (*sampe, rame, kalo*).

#### 6.4 Morphology

The degree of codeswitching in this text results in a number of instances of both BI morphology and AM morphology. The lack of *meng-* on *de-ngar* is a good example of AM, but not so with *panggil*. AM would be *panggal*. Therefore *panggil* could be analyzed either as a hybrid form or as Low Malay of another sort, though it may simply be that the author was being careless with his spelling. The prefix *ba-/bar-* occurs (*ba-singgah, bataria, barenti*), and in one instance is omitted (*jalang*). Another example of AM morphology in this text is *ka-laku-ang*.

#### 7. Conclusion

Crucial to any study of Malay is the notion that sociolinguistic concerns must be taken into account before any more traditional (syntactic, phonological, morphological) research is undertaken. This is at least as true for AM as for any other Malay dialect, and especially when considering written AM, because of the status of SM as the Malay language of literature. This paper has demonstrated that every putative specimen of “Ambonese Malay,” whether written or oral, must be analyzed into its various definable strands before generalizations can be made.

Not all differences between these texts ought to be ascribed to either historical change or sociolinguistic strata. Fundamental to any text analysis is an identification of the genre of the text under study, as well as the register(s) involved. For example, the texts studied here can be assigned to the following categories.

<i>Text</i>	<i>Genre</i>	<i>Style</i>	<i>Register</i>
1895	expository	formal	religious
1877	disjointed sentences	casual	daily life
1983	conversation, narrative	casual	daily life
1992/1	narrative	formal	daily life
1992/2	narrative	formal & casual	daily life

Despite the problems of comparing apples and oranges, this study has shown that although some changes have occurred in AM over the last century, there are a great many similarities between the AM of the late 19th century and AM of the late 20th century. Moreover, the SM of 100 years ago was similar to SM today. We have seen that a far greater gap is found between SM and AM of either period, although future studies may find that the gap is narrowing.

A more careful study of the different strands that make up Ambonese Malay is needed. Formal AM is apparently in the process of converging with SM. It remains to be seen how this process of convergence will continue, and what effect SM and Formal AM will continue to have on Casual AM.

In addition to the study of convergence, we need to determine whether the current phenomenon of codeswitching between strands of AM will result in the sociolinguistic domains of Casual AM being swallowed up by Formal AM and/or Bahasa Indonesia.

This paper has not attempted to answer all the questions related to the history of Ambonese Malay or the relationship between diglossia and such things as genres, registers, styles, and the oral/written parameter. Rather, it has been an introduction to the questions, and a call for a more detailed look at the varieties that are commonly subsumed under the label “Ambonese Malay.”

#### APPENDIX: THE TEXTS

The following texts have been compared in this study and are included in this Appendix.

- 1 article from *Penghentar*, 1895
- 28 sentences from van Hoëvell (1877)
- 2 articles from *Pos Maluku*, 1992

The texts that follow are given clause-by-clause, with the original orthographic paragraph breaks indicated by horizontal lines. Four different typesets are used to indicate the dialectal identity of various words or morphemes.

*masok*    Forms that exhibit characteristic AM innovations are italicized.

- kapada*** Forms that differ from modern BI but are not really AM innovations are in bold italics.
- menuju** Forms that are distinctly SM and not AM are in bold sans-serif type.
- adat Words and morphemes that would be the same in either AM or BI are in normal roman type.

I have made some orthographic changes in older texts, while being careful to maintain the pronunciation represented by the original orthography. My substitutions follow.

oe > u  
 j > y  
 ch > kh  
 c > k  
 tj > c  
 dj > j

Some portions of the texts were more or less illegible/inaudible. In those cases where I could make a guess, I enclosed my guess in angle brackets. Where I could not make out anything, I use the following notation: <...>.

### 1. Text 1895: An essay about demonic afflictions: “Pertimbangan katagoran”

(From *Penghentar: Surat Chabar Moluko* [a bimonthly newspaper]; 16 September 1895 [Angka 24], pp. 2–4.)

---

PP - Topic - INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject

Bermula maka pada sangkaku “*katagoran*” ini salah persebutannya;

EQUATIVE

benarnya itulah: “*katogoran*,”

Subject - PREPOSITIONAL PREDICATE

asalnya dari perkataan “*togor*,” yang *ertinya*: “*teгахken*.”

---

Auxiliary - Topic - Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP[Rel.Clause]  
 [Rel.Clause: Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB]

Maka *tiada*lah semua tempat orang mendapat *katagoran*, melainkan tempat<sup>2</sup> di mana sahaja iblis dan jin dan hantu berhimpun

Patient1 - Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient2  
dan tempat<sup>2</sup> itu kami biasa sebut “tempat<sup>2</sup> keras” *adanya*.

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP  
Jikalau orang tiba pada tempat itu

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient  
dan bertemu *barang* binatang

Subject/Patient - PASSIVE VERB  
sehingga hatinya ditakuti

Subject/Patient - PASSIVE VERB - Agent  
atau tempat itu *diperesihkannya*

PASSIVE VERB - Agent - Subject/Patient[Rel.Clause]  
[Rel.Clause: PASSIVE VERB - Agent - Patient2]  
atau ditebang*kennya* pohon yang tumbuh pada tempat itu yang disangka orang,  
tempat bermain segala jin d.l.s.,

TRANSITIVE VERB - Agent - Patient  
maka dapatlah orang itu “*katogoran*”,

Subject/Patient - PASSIVE VERB - *oleh* Agent  
*ertinya* ia *ditogor* oleh jin atau setan dari tempat itu.  
Dan dari *sabab* setan, ialah *kaadaan* yang bengis *adanya*,

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP[Rel.Clause]  
[Rel.Clause: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - Time Phrase]  
maka ia *menogor* orang dengan siksa yang menyakiti orang beberapa waktu  
lamanya,

EQUATIVE  
sehingga “*katogoran*” itulah suatu sakitan *adanya*

PP - Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB  
dan oleh sakitan *katogoran* itu, kadang<sup>2</sup> akal orang *jadi* hilang, dan akhirnya  
*jadi saupama* gila *adanya*.

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP  
Maka sakitan “*katogoran*” itu, *tiada* asing dari kami orang<sup>2</sup> *Molokko adanya*.

---

Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient  
*Bahua* senya sekalian orang manusia, baik yang *mesehi* benar, baik yang se-  
tengah *mesehi* dan baik yang bukan *mesehi*, boleh mendapat sakit *katogoran*,

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient  
jika masuq tempat<sup>2</sup> *sebagitu*

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient  
dan berbuat segala yang disebut di muka.

---

a. *Mesehi* benar.

Subject/Patient - PASSIVE VERB - *oleh* Agent  
Orang demikian dicobai dan disakiti *lebeh* kuat oleh iblis,  
Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - [Complement]  
[Complement: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP]  
karena iblis berusaha terlebi<h> menggugur*ken* orang<sup>2</sup> demikian dari kemuliaannya,  
Subject/Patient - PASSIVE VERB  
agar *sopaya* kerajaan iblis diluaskan.

---

b. *Satengah mesehi*.

Subject/Patient - PASSIVE VERB - *oleh* Agent  
Orang *sebagini* dicobai dan disakiti oleh iblis,  
*oleh* Patient - PASSIVE VERB - [Complement]  
[Complement: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]  
*sopaya* oleh setengah imannya, diturun*ken* menjadi yang *tiada mesehi*.

---

EQUATIVE

c. Yang *tiada mesehi* itulah anaq<sup>2</sup> yang cinta dari iblis,  
PASSIVE VERB - *oleh* Agent  
hanya terkadang<sup>2</sup> disakiti juga oleh iblis,  
oleh karena kurang setia *kapada* iblis yang ada rajanya yang lalim itu.

---

Subject/Patient1 - PASSIVE VERB - Patient2  
Maka segala tipu daya yang terbit dari iblis, disebut percobaan.

EQUATIVE

Maka *katogoran* ini ialah lagi suatu percobaan *adanya*,  
Agent - Auxiliary - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP  
akan tetapi manusia *tiada boleh* kena sakit *katogoran* dengan gampang,

Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - PP - Patient[Rel.Clause]  
[Rel.Clause: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - [Complement]]  
[Complement: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]

jikalau iblis *tiada* dapat dalam manusia *barang* jazah [stof] yang menjadi perkakas pada iblis akan menjalankan pekerjaannya; umpamanya:

Subject/Patient - Auxiliary - Auxiliary - PASSIVE VERB - *oleh* Agent

*S*abagaimana Adam dan Hawa *tiada boleh* dicobai oleh iblis,

Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP

jika iblis *tiada* mendapat ketinggian hati dalam hati *marika itu*,

Agent - Auxiliary - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

demikian iblis *tiada boleh togorken* kami,

Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - PP - Patient

jika iblis *tiada* dapat dalam kami takutan atau percaya akan tempat keras itu.

EQUATIVE[Rel.Clause]  
[Rel.Clause: PASSIVE VERB - Agent - PP[Rel.Clause]]  
[Rel.Clause: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]

Maka takutan dan percaya dalam kami itulah jazah yang dipakai iblis akan perkakas dan pesawat menjalan*ken* pekerjaannya.

---

Subject - Auxiliary - [INTRANSITIVE VERB *dan* INTRANSITIVE VERB] - PP  
Banyaq orang *tiada* takut dan *tiada* percaya akan perkara<sup>2</sup> *sebagitu*,

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

hanya kena juga *ketogoran*,

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

*sabab* hati *marika itu* terlalu tinggi,

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

sehingga ia harap akan kuat sendirinya sahaja.

EQUATIVE[Rel.Clause]  
[Rel.Clause: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP]

<Inilah> ketinggian hati seperti Adam dan Hawa <yang> sudah jadi perkakas pada setan

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

akan jalan*ken* pekerjaannya itu.

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP

Dan *maskipon* iblis mendapat banyaq jazah dalam manusia,

Auxiliary - Subject[Rel.Clause] - PREPOSITIONAL PREDICATE  
 [Rel.Clause: TRANSITIVE VERB *dan* TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]

tetapi *tiadalah* kuasanya akan mencobai dan menyiksaken manusia diluar kehendaq T.A, [ingatlah akan Ayub]

Subject[Rel.Clause] *bukan* Prepositional Predicate [Complement] *tetapi* PP  
 [Rel.Clause: PASSIVE VERB - Agent - PP]  
 [Complement: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP]

maka *sabab* itu segala percobaan dan siksa yang didatangken iblis *kapada* manusia,  
 bukan akan menghentar manusia *kapada* kebinasaan  
 tetapi *kapada ontong* dan selamat manusia,

PP - Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - [Complement]

karena olehnya itu kami dapat ajar:

TRANSITIVE VERB - PP - Patient

a. mengenal dengan trus terang kuat dari dosa, kutuq <sariet> torat, morka T.A. atas dosa, siksa yang berat dan adil dan besarnya lalim setan itu.

---

b. Kebesaran dan kehargaan *sangsara* Elm. kebesaran kebaikannya dan pengasehan kelepasannya,

PP - Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

yang oleh <balisa> jiwanya, kami beroleh kelepasan dari siksa dan ketakutan *naraka* yang kekal itu.

---

PP - Subject/Patient - PASSIVE VERB - PP

c. *Sopaya* olehnya itu kami disarupakan dalam tuladan Elm.

---

Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

d. *Sopaya* kami dapat merasa, kuatnya perkataan T.A. dan penghiburannya.

---

Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - [Complement]

e. *Sopaya* kami mulai ajar percaya, *mengasehi*, berharap, merindahken diri dan bersombahyang,  
*sopaya* iman kami *kadapatan* banyaq *lebeh endah* dari pada emas yang kebinasaan yang dicobai oleh api.

---

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

f. *Sopaya* kami mendapat penghiburan dengan limpah<sup>2</sup>.

---

Subject/Patient - PP - PASSIVE VERB - PP - PP

g. *Sopaya* kami pada akhirnya dimuli**aken** serta dengan Elm, dalam kehidupan yang kekal itu.

---

Agent - Auxiliary - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

Maka *sabagaimana saorang* tukang emas *tiada* boleh balik belakangnya

INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP[Rel.Clause]

[Rel.Clause: PASSIVE VERB - Agent - PP]

dan jauh dari emas yang diuj**kennya** *kadalam* api,

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP[Rel.Clause]

[Rel.Clause: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]

demikian*pon* T.A. tukang yang amat bijaq itu *tiada* jauh dari *sasaorang* manusia yang kena “*katogoran*” atau lain<sup>2</sup> percobaan;

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - PP - [Complement]

*tagal* itu baiklah kami tahu dengan sungguh,

*bahua* T.A. sendiri saja yang demikian oleh I. Elm, *lebeh* dari lain<sup>2</sup> *tolongan*,

Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

karena I. Elm sudah mengalah**ken** setan dan dunia;

PP - Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

maka dari Dia sendiri saja patut kami mencahari, *tolongan* dan *fikiran* dan penghiburan;

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

karena sebagaimana Daud mengalah**ken** Joliat,

Subject/Patient - PASSIVE VERB - PP

maka segenap *tentera* orang Filistin ditaalokken *kabawah tentera* Israel,

PP - Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP

demikianlah oleh kemenangan Elm, sekalian orang yang percaya akan beroleh kemenangan besertanya.

---

Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

Karangan yang diatas ini *kalihatan salaku* mau sungguhkan percaya sia<sup>2</sup>,

INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject - PP

tetapi ada banyak pertimbangan yang bagus dalamnya;

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

*tagal* itu aku sudah bertanyakan pengarang,

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

kalaupun<sup>2</sup> ia percaya akan *katogoran* dan *tampat* keras ataukah *tiada*.

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

Maka jawabnya ada dibawah ini.

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

Aku minta pembaca surat *Penghentar*,

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP[Rel.Clause]  
[Rel.Clause: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]

baca karangan yang dibawah ini *kemudien* dari pada baca karangan yang diatas ini,

supaya jangan *mengarti* salah akan maksud pengarang.

Peng<aluar>

PP - INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject[Rel.Clause]  
[Rel.Clause: PASSIVE VERB - Agent - PP]

Dalam “*Penghentar*” No. 10 [pembalasan surat] adalah *sual* yang dibuat Tuan padaku,

... - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

maka *tagal* itu dengan segala suka hati *beta ada* itu hormat menjawabken Tuan.

PP - Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

I. “Akan tempat yang keras” itu *beta* percaya sungguh<sup>2</sup>,

Subject - PREPOSITIONAL PREDICATE [Complement]  
[Complement: Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP]

akan tetapi percaya itu seperti *beta* sudah percaya akan suatu tempat di lain tanah yang disebut “*alurkematian*” [doodenda!],

NP[Rel.Clause 1] - EQUATIVE - NP[Rel.Clause 2]  
[Rel.Clause 1: PASSIVE VERB - Agent - Patient2]  
[Rel.Clause 2: Auxiliary - PASSIVE VERB - Agent]

*sabab* tempat<sup>2</sup> yang dikata orang disini “tempat<sup>2</sup> keras” terbanyaq itulah: hutan<sup>2</sup> belukar, ayer<sup>2</sup> mati, tempat<sup>2</sup> berawah atau berlumpur dan *parigi*<sup>2</sup> yang lama *tiada* dipakai orang,

Subject/Patient - PASSIVE VERB - Agent

yang banyaq kali bila tempat<sup>2</sup> itu ditebasken orang,

INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject - *bukan* PP[Complement1] - *hanya* PP[Complement2]  
[Complement1: INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject]  
[Complement2: INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject]

kedatangan sakit,  
bukan oleh karena keras tempat itu  
hanya oleh keras udaranya yang sudah beracun,

Subject - Auxiliary - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - Preposition  
yang mana orang<sup>2</sup> yang bebal *sakali<sup>2</sup> tiada boleh berfikir* sampai.

---

PP - Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

II. Akan "*kategoran*" itu *beta* percaya,

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - [Complement]  
[Complement: [TRANSITIVE VERB *atau* TRANSITIVE VERB] - Patient - PP - PP

*bahua* iblis senantiasa *ada* berusaha  
akan *tegor* atau *peleh* manusia oleh rupa<sup>2</sup> tipu daya dari percaya yang betul,

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP  
*tagal* itu banyaq kali jika orang [*kana* sakit di tempat<sup>2</sup> *sebagitu*

INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP  
dan memikir salah akan sakitannya,]

Agent - PP - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP  
maka iblis dengan segerahnya memasuk*ken* bisanya yang beracun *kapada* orang  
sakit itu

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient  
akan menangkap dia dan lain<sup>2</sup> orang

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient  
pada menjadi hamba<sup>2</sup>nya.

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**2. Text 1877: Van Hoëvell's Ambonese Malay sentences**(From *Bijdragen* 1877, pp. 33–37.)

EQUATIVE

*Ose* siapa?

EQUATIVE

**Beta** orang (naam der negorij).Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP - [Complement]  
[Complement: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]*Ose* datang disini  
bikin apa?

Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP

**Beta** mau bawa hal *par* tuwan.

Perkara apa?

Topic - Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

Hal dusun, orang *tabang beta* punya pohon sagu.... *dan* INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject

Berapa pohon dan berapa satu pohon punya harga?

EQUATIVE

Satu pohon *ampat rupia*.

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

Tutup pintu.

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - [Complement]  
[Complement: Agent/Subject - ACTOR FOCUS VERB]Kasi *ayer**par beta* minum

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

*karana beta* haus.

INTRANSITIVE VERB - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

Tinggal bernanti *sampe bisoq*

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

baharu **beta** kasi *akan*.

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP - [Complement]  
[Complement: [INTRANSITIVE VERB] *dan* [TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient] - PP]

Malam **beta** mau pergi ka laut  
*mungail* dan cahari ikan *par beta* punya *bini* dan anaq punya *makan*.

Auxiliary - Agent/Subject - Auxiliary - ACTOR FOCUS VERB

*Boleh ose tra* dengar,

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

sedang **beta** sendiri sudah janji *par ose*.

Apa *korang ose* lari,

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - [Complement]  
[Complement: Agent/Subject - ACTOR FOCUS VERB]

*ose tra* dengar yang **beta** panggil?

Mengapa *tra* datang lekas *kamari*?

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB

**Beta** *misti* pulang, sebab mau hujan besar.

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP - [Complement]  
[Complement: Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP]

**Beta** dapat *habar dāri* Ambon, jang Tuwan besar mau pergi **ka** Buru.

INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP  
TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP  
Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

Pergi **ka** rumah Raja, panggil diya *kamari*, sebab **beta** mau *stori* dengan diya.

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - [Complement1]  
[Complement1: [INTRANSITIVE VERB - [Complement2]] *dan* [INTRANSITIVE VERB - [Complement3]]]  
[Complement2: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]  
[Complement3: INTRANSITIVE VERB]

He! Raja, *suroh diorang* berhenti pukul tifa dan berhenti menari,

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - [Complement]

sebab **beta** mau *masoq tidor*.

[INTRANSITIVE VERB] *dan* [TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]

Berjalan bayi*q* bayi*q* dan jaga *kadera pikol*,

Subject - Auxiliary - [Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB] *dan* [INTRANSITIVE VERB]

sebab jalan *ada tra* bayi*q* dan licin.

ACTOR FOCUS VERB - [Complement]

[Complement: [TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP] *dan* [CAUSATIVE - ADJECTIVE - Patient]]

*Suroh tola(q) orembai kalaut dan bikin sadia masnait,*

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - INTRANSITIVE VERB - INTRANSITIVE VERB(?)

sebab esaq *beta* mau *kaluwar* pergi *komisi*.

Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

*Kalow kitorang* sudah langgar *tanjong* disana,

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

*kitorang* dapat *labuhan* yang *tedoh*.

Agent/Subject - ACTOR FOCUS VERB - [Complement]

[Complement: [TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient] *dan* [TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]]

*Ose suroh* buka layar besar dan jaga *kamudi* bayiq bayiq,

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

sebab *kitorang* mau *menyabrang ka*-tanah besar (Seram).

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

*Ose* pulang

CAUSATIVE - VERB - PP - [Complement1]

[Complement1: Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP - [Complement2]]

[Complement2: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]

*kasi tahu par* tuwan Raja

yang lusa *beta* mau datang di negori *pukol* bea.

Topic[Rel.Clause] - Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP - [Complement2]

[Rel.Clause: Auxiliary - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - [Complement1] - PP]

[Complement1: *par* TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]

[Complement2: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - [Complement3]]

[Complement3: *par* Agent/Subject - ACTOR FOCUS VERB]

Siapa *däri* orang orang yang sudah *tra* mampu lagi *par* bayar kupang bea

oleh sebab sakit *sosiri atow* muntah darah, *atow* sebab sudah tuwah,

diya boleh datang *kamari*

bawa diya punya *kabaratan*

*par beta pariksa*.

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB

*Ose* punya *kabaratan tra* betul,

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - [par Complement]

sebab *ose ada* kuwat lagi *par* mencahari,

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

*ose* bernanti *sampe tahon di muka*

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

baharu *ose* boleh luput *däri pembayaran* bea.

Auxiliary - Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

Jangan *ose masoq* dalam itu dusun lagi,

Agent/Subject - Auxiliary - ACTOR FOCUS VERB - [Complement]  
[Complement: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]

sebab *beta* mau *suroh taroh sasi*

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB

*sampe ose* punya perkara sudah *putus habis*.

Agent - Auxiliary - [TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient] *dan* [TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP]

*Diorang* harus menyapu jalan dan buang rumput rumput *däri* dalam *kintal*

Auxiliary - Agent - [TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient] *atow* [TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient]

*sopaya* jangan *diorang* dapat hukuman *dinda atow masoq panjara* delapan hari.

### 3. Text 1983: A recorded conversation

(The following transcription is not entirely accurate phonologically, and as a result some Ambonese Malay words are no doubt mistranscribed with standard Bahasa Indonesia spelling. Where speakers overlap, I have indicated the beginning of the overlap with an asterisk. Unintelligible portions are enclosed in angle brackets.)

Rony: Lalu di Masohi bagaimana, <...> di Masohi?

Fina: [LAUGHTER] Pi Masohi?

R: *Iyo*.

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

F: Pi Masohi *biking* apa *lai*?

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

R: *Seng*, waktu *dong* pulang *deng* pesawat *tu*, bagaimana *ka*, crita *dolo*, *ose tu*.

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

F: *Iyo, to? Katong pigi, (iyo, carita, yo), katong pigi* di ini, *to? Katong pigi* di, di, di apa? <...> <carita>,

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

priksa ini, priksa sosial *pung* bahan-bahan itu, stimulas, *to*?

INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject

Lalu ada *om* satu di situ, nama *om* Bop.

R: *Om* Bop *sapa*?

F: *Om* Bop Tamaela, *om* Bop Tamaela.

R: Mm.

... [Rel.Clause: Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - PP]

F: La *om* Bo-- *om*-- *om* Bop Tamaela <...>-- *om* Bop <mana> barang-barang yang *dong kase for om Bop dong* di sini,

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP

*trus* “Ada. Ada *beta simpang akang*” kata “di, di ruangan situ *tu*. Di ruangan situ.” <...> “Di ruangan mana?” *Antua* bilang kata “Itu *tu*, ada ruangan,” apa? pemuda *pung* apa *tu*, remaja *pung* apa *ka antua* bilang

R: Di sebela mana *e*?

F: Di dekat lapangan! di dekat lapangan.

R: Lapangan?

... Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

F: *Masok kan* kalau *katong* turun lapangan

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

jalan blakang,

R: \*Ya.

Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

F: \*Ialu *parsis* mau *kluar* jalan raya,

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

*la trus dapa akang*, bangunan satu di jiku situ.

EQUATIVE

R: Oh, itu *dolo* kantor, kantor kesehatan. \*Dinas kesehatan.

F: \*Ao, kantor kesehatan di mana ini, di Amahei dekat lapangan \*sana!

R: \*O, Amahei, *beta* \**sangka* di Masohi

F: \*Bukan di Masohi, Amahei!

R: Lapangan Amahei.

INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject - PP

F: Ya yo ada *ruma* bagus satu di situ, *to*?

R: O ya.

EQUATIVE

F: Na, *om* Bop *pung ruma* itu,

INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject

bagus *tu*.

*Antua* nama *om* Bop Tamaela, yang *pung*, *pung* ini, Ron, *antua pung* apa? (tsk)

e, apa nama? *ruma* makan, yang di itu, di pelabuhan prau, pelabuhan kapal,

motor, motor \**laut*, yang bagus *tu*,

R: \*Itu <...> \*<...>

... Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB ...

F: \*yang ada <tar> “Mama *singga dolo*.” \**ka* apa *tu*.

R: \*Ya, *la ada* tulis di *antua pung* dinding-dinding situ

F: \*Yo, mas<...>

R: \*<...> jadi ***kaluar***, apa apa *ka*, \*<...>

F: \**Iyo*, *iy*, *iy*.

R: *Sapa suru* mau beli harga mahal, berangkat ***kaluar*** dari sini, \*[LAUGHTER]

F: \*<...> <tulis> bahasa Ambon \*<...>

R: \*Iya, tulis bahasa Ambon, *to*?

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

A, ***beta*** makan di situ *lai*.

F: *Iyo*.

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

R: ***Beta*** turun barang dapa-- datang \*<...>

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

F: \**Ose pi deng* motor, *seng*? datang *deng* motor, *to*? waktu itu?

R: Datang *deng* motor.

F: Barang pulang *pake* \*pesawat.

Time Phrase - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject

R: \**Iyo*. *Barang* hari itu *seng* ada, apa? *Seng* ada motor-- *Seng* ada pesawat.

F: Mm.

R: Jadi turun *deng* motor. Jadi waktu *sampe* situ <*beta*> *su* lapar <...> *loko maso*

\*makan <...>

INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject

F: \*Ada *makanang* apa *la*?

R: Ya?

INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject

F: Ada *makanang* apa <...>? kue kue?

R: *Seng!* *Makanang banya*, rupa-rupa macam, ada sup, ada \*nasi

PP - INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject

F: \*Disitu ada <*makanang*>

... Subject - Auxiliary - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB

R: Iya! Lalu *beta* bilang *kata*, *beta* *su abis makang trus* bilang *kata*

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

“*Tante, kase* pisang *tu*, *beta* pisang satu *dolo*.”

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

F: *Ose* datang *sandiri*, *ka*?

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

R: *Sandiri*. <...> <bilang> “*Tante kase* pisang.”

... Topic - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

*La tante* bilang “*Nyong*, ini jual *sika*.” \*[LAUGHTER]

F: \*Oh [LAUGHTER]

... Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

R: <*la beta* bilang> “*Ao*, *beta* bli *bua jua*.”

... Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient ...

*Kata*, “*Seng, nyong*, nanti *beta lia* yang *laeng jua*.” <...> “*Suda*, <*pake*> yang *laeng*.” [LAUGHTER]

Agent/Subject - Auxiliary - ACTOR FOCUS VERB

F: *La antua seng* jual begitu.

Agent/Subject - Auxiliary - ACTOR FOCUS VERB

R: *Seng, antua seng* jual gitu *lai*

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

*beta* makan *deng* itu saja.

OTHER: Lelian!

R: *Abis* makan (Sh! Sh!)

OTHER: <...>

... Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

R: Baru apa *ni lai*, barang barang mahal di sana *lai*. Barang barang mahal.

F: Di mana? Di Amahei?

R: Di Masohi *beta* <*pi lai kang*> *dong* tukang-tukang lelang *tu, to?* *Macang* orang-orang padang *ka* itu. <*La su* tinggal *dapa lia*> *kata*, “*E, tanta - tanta tanta* mari bli, bli, bli di sini *suda*,

Time Phrase - Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

ini besok *lai kita suda* menuju kotamadya Ambon” \*[LAUGHTER]

F: \*[LAUGHTER]

R: <...> Kata “Harga murah, harga murah,” kata “Dua ribu, dua ribu, dua ribu,

Time Phrase - Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

besok *lai kita* menuju kotamadya Ambon,

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

besok *kita tida* ada di sini lagi.”

Time Phrase - Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP - PP

F: No *malang-malang dong ada* bajual di *sabla kalao*, dekat *pante* sini,  
*dong* bilang <termasuk> pasar senggol, *la dong ada* jual

R: Di *sebla* mana, di Masohi *ni*!

F: *Iyo*, di Masohi! Di *sebla* kiri, di *tampa dong* jual-jual mi, *malang-malang*  
barang orang *biking* <super> mi, di situ, *to*?

R: Oh *iyoyo, suda*.

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

F: *La dong masa* mi.

R: No *kalu* di Saparua, nanti *kalu ose pigi, to?* itu **kan** cuma satu barang ini **beta**  
*ni* dengar dari An,

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

jadi waktu **beta sampe** di, apa? sampe di Saparua, *sampe* Saparua, *trus* dia mulai

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

F: Penginapan mahal *le*?

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

R: Iya, penginapan mahal. Lalu An bilang *kata* “Nanti **beta** ada \*<...>

EQUATIVE

F: \*Itu *ruma-ruma* begitu, bukan *macang* orang *pung ruma*, bukan *husus*  
penginapan, *seng*?

R: *Seng! Ruma-ruma* tinggal.

F: Mm

R: Lalu ada orang Gerem satu bilang *kata* “Nanti \**kalau* ada <...>

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

F: \*<...> *ruma paling* mahal *le*! Lima blas ribu satu hari?

*le or e*?

R: *Iyo, sampe* di sana, tinggal di fam <...>.

F: *Sapa* yang bilang?

R: An yang bilang *ni*! *La beta* bilang *kata* “*Iyo, sabarang* saja, *tida*”

F: *Trus*?

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

R: **Beta** *pigi*.

*Sampe sana la An bilang kata* “Ron, *katong* makan dadar.” <lalu **beta** bilang>  
“*labe* bagus *makang* dadar,

Auxiliary - Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

supaya *jang katong* repot-repot *lai*.”

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

F: Padahal, warong murah.

R: Eh?

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

F: Nasi ikan *banya* di situ!

INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject

Ada nasi daging, \*<...>

... Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

R: \**Iyo banya, ruma makang* Padang, *ruma* makan ini, **kan** *banya to* di situ.

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

Jadi *katong maso* di situ *lai*,  
*tau tau bagini, masok, beta--*

Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

*antua ni su gunting rambu biking, dong bilang* model

F: *Sapa yang gunting rambu? Tante yang gunting rambu?*

R: *Iyo!* Padahal, carita *bacarita beta pung* ibu guru. <...>

... Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB

F: *Su tua? Antua su tua?*

... Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB

R: *Su tua!* <COUGH> <lai> *antua seng kaweng, to?*

F: Lalu?

R: Lalu *antua* mulai, *seng*, masuk <... *macang ini, beta> pung* ibu guru *ni suda*.

**Carita dolo.**

F: Ibu guru di mana? Di Ambon?

R: Di *skola rayat ni*.

F: *Skola rayat* di blakang Soya?

R: Di *blakang* Soya.

F: *Trus?*

... Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

R: *La beta* <...> “Ibu *dolo* jadi guru?”

Kata “Iya, di Blakang Soya, e, *taong lima pulu anam sampe taong lima pulu barapa tu.*

F: Mm.

R: E, *taong lima pulu anam sampe taong tuju pulu*, waktu itu *barapa tu?*

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

F: *Yo, antua pende-pende, ka? Su tua?*

... Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

R: Ibu guru Pipers *seng, antua kanal dong samua.*

F: *Ka?*

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

R: *Kanal samua.* <Itu pokoknya *antua kanal samua.* ...> \*<...>

F: \*<...>

... EQUATIVE

R: Lalu *beta* bilang *kata*, “Jadi Ibu *ni*, Ibu *pung* murid *par*, e, nona Wan Tanamal?”

Kata “Iya, murid.” “Oh, iya. Kalau gitu, *suda.*

EQUATIVE

Sama-sama Ibu *pung* murid *par beta*,

Agent/Subject - Auxiliary - ACTOR FOCUS VERB ...

*mar* Ibu *su* lupa.” “Ye? *Sapa?*”

F: [LAUGHTER]

R: *Kata* “Ye? *sapa?*” *Beta* bilang, lalu An bilang *kata* “Ronald.” \*An bilang *kata* “Ronald.”

F: [LAUGHTER]

... Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient2

R: *Beta* bilang “*Seng*, <...> *panggil* Rony, *dong* di *skola* *panggil* Rony.” “Rony *sapa?*” *Kata* “Rony Manuhuttu.” “Ye, Manuhuttu di mana?” \*<...>

F: \*Haria.

R: *Seng!*

F: [LAUGHTER]

R: <...> *Mardika* <itu memang.> Ya dosa. E *antua* <...> “*Tete Manis! Tanta Tin pung ana?*” *Kata* “Iya.”

Agent - Auxiliary - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient ...

“*Yo, mami ada biking apa?*” *Kata* “*Ada bae-bae jua.* Mm. Bagus.

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB

*Skarang dong su* hebat samaskali.”

*Maso maso* barang *maso maso* <*deng*> “Mari **pak!**”

F: \*[LAUGHTER]

R: \*<...> <ibu guru *panggil* “**pak**”> skarang, *to?* <...> Ibu guru yang *panggil!*  
Lalu *suda*, mulai <tinggal di *ruma deng antua su tidor, mar*> *antua bae*.

F: <...> *talalu mahal!*

R: Mm.

F: Dua *blas* ribu.

R: *Abis* itu *su*, lanjutan, *antua bilang kata* “Ada dari Akuntan datang.”

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP

**Beta** *lia* nama begini di buku tamu, Pa Dade *deng*

F: Abaik.

R: Abaik. \*Lalu

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

F: \*<...> *dong* tinggal di situ *lai?*

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

R: Ya. Lalu *katong* isi, skarang isi buku itu

... TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

lalu *antua bilang kata* “*Kase* kesan, kesan.”

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

**Beta** *jua* *kasi* kesan

F: <*Se kasi*> kesan, “*Talalu mahal!*”

R: *Seng!* \***Beta** *seng kasi-- Seng!*

F: \*[LAUGHTER]

R: **Beta** *seng bilang* itu \**lai!*

F: \*[LAUGHTER] di Ternate cuma dua ribu, *e? e Jim e?* \*<skarang> <...> <dua  
*blas* ribu-- e lima *blas* ribu>

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

R: \***Beta-- Beta** *kase* kesan **bagini**, *kata* “*E trima* kasi Ibu guru!”

\*[LAUGHTER]

F: \*[LAUGHTER]

R: “*Trima* kasi Ibu guru **atas pelayanan.**” [LAUGHTER]

TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

F: **layani** *makan.* <*makan.*>

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

*Antua sandiri* di situ?

R: E?

INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject

F: Ada orang *karja?*

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

R: *Seng, antua sandiri*

INTRANSITIVE VERB - Subject

<lalu> ada orang, orang Jawa, *ka* orang *sapa* yang *ada* tinggal *deng antua* situ *lai*.

F: Mm. Orang Jawa?

R: *Iyo, Jawa maso kaweng, to? \*<...>*

F: *\*<...>*

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient

R: *bini* tinggal *tampa laeng*.

F: Oh.

Topic - Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

R: Lalu, orang Jawa ini, dia tuli. Jadi kalau

F: *Parangpuang ka* laki laki?

R: *Parangpuang ni*.

...

#### 4. Text 1992/1: A fatal traffic accident: Tewas Digilas Truk Tanah

(Ambon Sehari-hari, *Pos Maluku*, 29 August 1992, no. 54)

**Seorang anak lelaki berusia tujuh tahun, tewas dalam kecelakaan lalu lintas di Jl Sultan Hasanuddin, Batumerah, Jumat (28/8) siang. Ia tergilas sebuah truk bermuatan sarat dengan tanah.**

Menurut saksi mata, kecelakaan itu terjadi saat Dody Hentihu tengah berlari menyeberangi jalan di daerah penyeberangan (cebra cross). Saat bersamaan, datang truk berwarna kuning dengan logo JB yang bermuatan tanah berlari kencang dengan arah menuju kota.

Tabrakan pun tidak terhindarkan lagi. Korban jatuh berlumuran darah, sedangkan pengemudi truk bersangkutan melarikan mobilnya melaporkan diri ke Polisi.

Nyawa murid SD itu tidak lagi tertolong setelah upaya melarikannya ke rumah sakit. Dari keterangan yang dihimpun bahwa setelah terjatuh di jalan, korban tergilas roda truk yang terus berlari.

Dody saat itu dikabarkan tengah mencari kakaknya yang bermain ke luar rumah. Sore kemarin juga, jenazahnya telah dimakamkan.

#### 5. Text 1992/2: A story about pedestrians: Dorang Mou-Mou Kaapa

(Ambon Sehari-hari, *Pos Maluku* 4 September 1992, no. 59)

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Topic - Agent/Subject - Auxiliary - Auxiliary - Auxiliary - ACTOR FOCUS VERB

Orang-orang ini *mangkali dorang su seng dapa dengar* **alias tuli kaapa**.

Agent/Subject - Auxiliary - ACTOR FOCUS VERB

Masa *kanek su* **panggil karas-karas macang bagitu**  
*par naik* di *katong pung oto*,

Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB

*mar dorang tetap sa* pura-pura *tartau*.

*Seng* hanya tuli, tapi *mangkali mou-mou lai* **alias bisu, keluh bung** Ucu  
(**samaran**), *sopir oto* **penumpang** Tantui.

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*Tau kanapa sampe* **bung** Ucu marah-marahlah?

Soalnya, Kamis **kemarin** (3/9), **sekitar pukul** 12.00 WIT **sebagaimana** bi-  
asanya yang namanya oto **penumpang** itu **kan seringkali** singgah *ambil pe-*  
numpang di **setiap** lorong atau gang-gang di **sepanjang jalan** yang **menjadi** rute  
atau **trayeknya**.

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Karena kebetulan oto yang **dikemudikan bung** Ucu **adalah** oto **penumpang**  
**jurusan** Terminal Mardika Tantui, maka *seng* bisa **dipungkiri lai kalo** **otonya**  
terpaksa **harus** singgah-singgah *malulu*, karena di **sepanjang** jalur yang **dile-**  
**watnya banyak** terdapat lorong-lorongnya.

Dengan **begitu** praktis, **setiap** lewat *su* pasti pak *sopir* dan **keneknya selalu**  
*basingah par lia* sekaligus **angka** **penumpang**.

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Siang itu, **otonya bung** Ucu **mendadak barenti** dan singgah di lorong Hotel  
Monalisa *par ambil* **penumpang**, kebetulan **bung** Ucu dan **kaneknya melihat**  
ada **cewek-cewek** yang **berjalan** dari arah Hotel Monalisa ke jalan raya.  
Karena **dikiranya akan** ke Terminal Mardika, **bung** Ucu **bersama kaneknya**  
**lalu memanggil-manggil mereka untuk naik di otonya**.

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“Mardika ... Mardika ... Mardika.

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB - PP

Nona *dorang* mau *pigi di* Pasar Mardika *ka*?

Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB

*Oe* nona-nona, *dorang* mau *pigi ka seng*,” **teriak kanek** dan **bung sopir** dengan  
suara *sadiki* **merayu**.

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**Bukan** hanya *sopir* dan *kanek* yang **panggil-panggil**,

Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient  
malah *amper samua* penumpang di oto, *bataria cewek-cewek* itu *rame-rame*,  
Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB  
*parsis macang orang ada tabaos bagitu.*  
Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB  
*Mar, dorang tetap sa jalang tarus, pura-pura tartau dengan panggilan bung sopir.*

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TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient  
*Lia dorang pung kalakuang,*  
... [Rel.Clause: TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - [Complement]]  
**bung** Ucu hanya **berkomentar**, “*seng ada yang paksa dorang par nai di oto.*  
Agent - TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - [Complement]  
[Complement: *par* [TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient] dan [INTRANSITIVE VERB]]  
*Dorang pung hak par nai oto sabarang dapa dan iko sa.*  
*Tapi kalo memang seng mau nai di katong pung oto, bilang-bilang ka.*  
*Kalo seng bisa bicara alias mou-mou*  
TRANSITIVE VERB - Patient - PP  
*labeh bai kasih kode deng tangan,*  
Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB  
*biar katong jua tau.*  
*Mar kalo pura-pura tartau dan bisu macang bagitu*  
Subject - Auxiliary - INTRANSITIVE VERB  
**kan** *katong seng tau,*  
Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB  
*terpaksa katong tunggu par tunggu,*  
**sambil** *batarai tarus-tarus,*  
Subject - INTRANSITIVE VERB  
*mar dorang tetap sa mou-mou. Iyah toh”?*

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