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Language shift: Changing patterns of language allegiance in western Seram

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University of Hawaii, 1990
LANGUAGE SHIFT: CHANGING PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE ALLEGIANCE IN WESTERN SERAM

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

LINGUISTICS

AUGUST 1990

By

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the people of Lohiatala, who shared their knowledge and experience, and allowed me to become a member of their community. In particular, I thank Harun Kwalomine and Matheus Nikolebu, whose humor and patience sustained us through the many hours we worked together. I also gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Anderius Tibalilatu and Adrianus Tibalimeten. For accepting me into their homes and involving me in their lives, I thank Bapak Niko Souhaly, Mama Anaci Souhaly Kwalomine and children, Bapak Pendeta Syauta and family, and Bapak and Ibu Wakanno (in Kairatu). The friendship which the women of Lohiatala extended to me ensured that my experience in the village was both rewarding and pleasurable, and I fondly thank Kete Souhaly Touwely, Salomina Lumoli Nikolebu, Sara Iskiwar Somai, Susana Tibalimeten Nikolebu, Susana Tibalimeten Lumoli, and San Manakane.

Fieldwork was conducted under the auspices of the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (the Indonesian Institute of Sciences). I appreciate the assistance given to me by Prof. Dr. Anton Moeliono of the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa (Jakarta), who sponsored this research. I would like to thank the East West Center for support throughout my doctoral program, and during fieldwork in Indonesia. The last year of
graduate work was supported by a fellowship from the Henry Luce Foundation.

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I thank Susan Kaldor and Shelly Harrison (of the University of Western Australia), who inspired and developed my early interest in linguistics. I am grateful to my fellow students in linguistics and Indonesian at the University of Hawaii, and to members of the Austronesianist community, for their friendship, discussion, and advice - particularly Molly Burns, Susanna Cumming, Ephrosine Daniggelis, Jeanette Estes, Jeanne Gibson, Virginia Gorlinski, Paul Gracie, Andrew Weintraub, and John Wolff. Finally, I express my special thanks to Michael Ewing and Nicholas Thieberger, whose visits to the field and willingness to listen and to discuss ideas renewed my energy and enthusiasm for the task.
This dissertation documents the process of language shift from the indigenous language, Alune, to the regional Malay dialect, Ambonese Malay, which is taking place in the village of Lohiatala, located in western Seram (eastern Indonesia). Several key historical events appear central to the genesis of language shift - conversion to Christianity, the introduction of education through the medium of Malay, and a lengthy period during which the people of Lohiatala lived as refugees in a non-Alune village, following a forced migration from the mountains to the coast.

A language-usage survey, testing of Alune language proficiency, and observations and recordings of language usage in a variety of settings provided evidence that rapid language shift is occurring along generational lines in Lohiatala. Analysis of the survey results led to the identification of a small group of younger fluent speakers (aged approximately thirty-five to forty-five years) who consistently over-reported their use of Alune. Over-reporting is attributed to these speakers' desire to be visibly affiliated with traditional Alune community values, and to affirm their language loyalty in the contemporary setting in which language choices are restricted by the multilingual nature of the speech community.
An investigation of the attitudes of different age-groups of speakers towards traditional Alune folktales disclosed that this same group of younger speakers has reinterpreted the status of folktales (*tunī*) and secular origin myths (*ma' lulu*) from the mundane to the sacred category of traditional knowledge. The reinterpretation of the status of *tunī* and *ma' lulu* allows these speakers to visibly affirm their affiliation with traditional Alune values by providing them with sacred traditional knowledge.

The need to express their language loyalty and allegiance to Alune culture appears to derive from the period in which the people of Lohiatala were refugees in a coastal village, which resulted in the second generation's marginality in both the traditional Alune and modern Malay cultures. They endeavor to diminish their marginality by creating a role for themselves as mediators between the modern and traditional aspects of village life. It is argued that this process both encourages the use of Malay, and restricts the access of the youngest members of the community to the remaining domains of use for Alune, consequently hastening the demise of Alune.
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<td>AM</td>
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<tr>
<td>BI</td>
<td>Indonesian <em>(Bahasa Indonesia)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLASS</td>
<td>noun classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>central Maluku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>directional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>exclusive pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.P.M.</td>
<td><em>Gereja Protestan Maluku</em> <em>(Protestant Church of Maluku)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>inclusive pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IS</td>
<td>imperfect speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KKN</td>
<td><em>kuliah kerja nyata</em> <em>(rural social action internship)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
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<td>N</td>
<td>neuter pronoun</td>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>older fluent speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>plural pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.M.S.</td>
<td><em>Republik Maluku Selatan</em> <em>(Republic of South Moluccas)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RT</td>
<td><em>rukun tetangga</em> <em>(neighborhood association)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>sekolah dasar (elementary school)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>singular pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>southeast Maluku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMTA</td>
<td>sekolah menengah tingkat atas (senior high school)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMTP</td>
<td>sekolah menengah tingkat pertama (junior high school)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SR</td>
<td>sekolah rakyat (elementary school)</td>
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<tr>
<td>YFS</td>
<td>younger fluent speaker</td>
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1.1 Introduction

An overview of the contemporary linguistic situation in Central Maluku (eastern Indonesia) reveals that there is little linguistic stability, and that the majority of the indigenous languages are undergoing rapid language shift. Several languages are known to have been completely lost in the last 100 years, including Loun and Batumerah. Many more appear threatened due to the fact that they have few speakers and that those remaining are elderly. At the opposite extreme, some languages, such as Asilulu, East Littoral, and Geser, appear to be spreading and absorbing speakers from neighboring languages. Although the rate of change varies, speakers of the remaining languages all appear to be shifting to the regional Malay dialect, Ambonese Malay. In view of its history and the current status of its indigenous languages, Maluku provides an ideal setting in which to investigate the phenomenon of language obsolescence.

1. The current viability of the indigenous languages can be only roughly ascertained from the ethnographic and linguistic literature because few descriptions exist for these languages. See Collins (1982), Travis (1986), and Kotynski (1985) for an overview of the status of languages in Central Maluku.
2. According to Collins (1982), these include Nusa Laut, Manipa, Piru, Hulung, Naka'ela, Atamanu, Amahai, Kelang, Paulohi, and Kobi-Benggoi.
1.2 Language obsolescence literature

Language obsolescence has until recently been an inadequately researched linguistic field. Some aspects of language obsolescence were addressed, often incidentally, in earlier works (cf. Swadesh 1948,

\[\text{Figure 1.1 Map of the Indonesian Archipelago}\]

Bloomfield 1927). However the first extensive investigation of a dying language was that undertaken by Nancy Dorian, who worked primarily with speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic, a dialect of Gaelic spoken in northern Scotland. Although the representation of world regions

3. Dorian's extensive works are listed in the bibliography.
is beginning to broaden, the focus of research in this field traditionally has been the languages of Europe and North America. During the last decade, research attention began to turn to Australian languages. However the languages of Asia remain under-represented in this field, despite the fact that social and historical conditions make them ideal subjects for research.

Dorian's work continues to provide the theoretical perspective within which the issues associated with language obsolescence are addressed. A central theme in the literature is the search for a set of criteria which may allow comparison between the very different settings in which language obsolescence has occurred. With this goal as a focus, lines of investigation have included the varying social, historical, and linguistic conditions associated with language obsolescence, the innovative changes and extensive grammatical restructuring which frequently accompany the extinction of a language, the presence of an unusual degree of language loyalty among a community or a group of speakers and the reasons for such


loyalty, and identification of a continuum of speaker proficiency. These themes were made more explicit in a questionnaire distributed to contributors to a recent volume on language obsolescence (Dorian 1989). Questions were grouped under four headings: 1) Problems in locating terminal speakers and assessing their skills; 2) Skewed performance in terminal speech communities; 3) Linguistic change and reductive processes as a structured phenomenon; and 4) The phenomena of abrupt transmission failure or "tip", and of the persistence against seemingly high odds (Dorian 1989:8-10).6

1.3 Research questions

The primary goal of this dissertation is to document the process by which the Alune language, spoken on the island of Seram in Central Maluku, eastern Indonesia (see Figure 2.1), is becoming obsolescent. The need for more in-depth studies of language maintenance and shift, particularly in developing countries, has been recognized by Fasold (1984) and Dorian (1981), who emphasize that it is important that comparative work be undertaken so that generalizations can be drawn about language death. This investigation was designed to contribute to the study of

6. Although this dissertation could have benefitted from the focus which these questions provide, at the time this research was undertaken I had not had access to this questionnaire, in either its published or unpublished form.
language obsolescence as a growing area of research, by providing data from a very different geographical and linguistic setting from the locations studied by the majority of previous researchers. Fieldwork for this dissertation was undertaken from January to December 1988.

The research questions through which I originally sought to investigate the process of language shift were: who are the innovators, early adopters, and late adopters of language shift; what are the social and historical correlates of language shift; is the concept of 'semi-speaker' relevant in this community and, if so, how are these speakers identified; to what extent is the community aware of the process of language obsolescence; what linguistic changes (phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical) are accompanying language obsolescence, and are these changes ad hoc or are they becoming conventionalized?

Although most of these questions ultimately were answered, the research design was altered in response to more compelling issues which arose in the fieldwork situation. In the early months of fieldwork, it became evident that, in this setting, the process of language shift could not accurately be documented by focusing principally on overt patterns of language use. Critical
aspects of the process were clearly related to the ownership and transmission of traditional knowledge (including ritual practices, healing skills, folk tales, and origin myths), the traditional and contemporary categorization of this knowledge as sacred or secular, and means of expressing language allegiance. As my research progressed, it became apparent that there was an important relationship between the language loyalty of a small group of speakers, present-day changes in the categorization and transmission of traditional knowledge, and the process of language obsolescence. The investigation of this relationship is the focus of this dissertation.

1.4 Methodology

Although several aspects of data collection were conducted simultaneously, the following chronology outlines the principal methods which were employed.

The first month largely involved familiarizing myself with the community and beginning to study the Alune language. The task of selecting consultants was organized and undertaken by the community in my first week in the village. Five men, aged from approximately fifty-one to seventy-five years, were selected for their knowledge of a specific aspect of Alune life. This group included the village secretary (MN51), the tapel upui or
'guardian of the land' (JR75), a man renowned for his knowledge of traditional ceremonies (TN64), and one (OM69) whose knowledge of traditional song styles and folk tales was unique at the time this research was undertaken. The fifth man (HK69) held a position in traditional law which required him to represent the village at all meetings of the 'Three Rivers' communities: those located between the Eti, Tala, and Sapalewa rivers in Western Seram. Although I worked with all five men, my principal consultants were HK69 and TN64.

During the second month I extended data collection to include texts of folk stories and oral histories, and songs. In March I planned the language-usage survey, selected respondents, and conducted a pilot study. The survey was implemented from April through October. During the last three months of research I tested the Alune language ability of a wide age-range of speakers. Concurrent with these activities I researched Alune ritual life, healing practices, and history, and continued to learn the language both formally and informally. I also recorded and observed language usage by a variety of speakers in a number of different settings.
1.5 Outline of chapters

Chapter 2 outlines the socio-historical background to language shift in Central Maluku. The following chapter focuses on the Alune language by reviewing its historical classification and previous work, written from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. In Chapter 4, village life and the contemporary linguistic situation in the research site, Lohiatala, are described. Chapter 5 provides data from several sources to delineate the changing patterns of language use, including a language-usage interview, testing of Alune language proficiency, and observations and recordings of language usage in a variety of settings. Chapter 6 identifies the existence of a small group of speakers whose need to affirm their allegiance to Alune language and culture has led to the reinterpretation of the status of several categories of traditional knowledge from the secular to the sacred. In so doing, they have inadvertently blocked the transmission of this knowledge to younger speakers. Chapter 7, the conclusion, discusses the reasons for this reinterpretation and its consequences for patterns of language choice in Lohiatala. The following appendices are included: the language-usage interview; translations of Alune, Malay, and German quotations used in the dissertation; a glossary of Alune and Malay terms; the
Indonesian text of a village history; an English translation of the village history; and texts of folk tales narrated in Alune and Ambonese Malay.
2  SOCIO-HISTORICAL SETTING

2.1 Introduction

The regency (kabupaten) of Central Maluku comprises approximately 15 main islands\(^1\) and is administered from the capital of Masohi on the island of Seram (see Figure 2.1 below). Although Seram, with an area of 18,625

\[\text{square kilometers},\text{ is the largest island in Central Maluku, the population is concentrated on the much smaller neighboring island of Ambon.}^{2}\text{  Most of the}\]

\(^1\) The kabupaten of Central Maluku includes the islands of Ambon, Lease (Haruku, Saparua, Nusa Laut), Seram, Buru, Manipa, Boana, Kelang, Ambelau, and the Banda islands.

\(^2\) Population statistics gathered in the 1980 census indicate that 285,000 of the 443,225 people inhabiting Central Maluku live on Ambon Island (Biro Pusat
villages on Seram and Ambon are located on the coast due to the mountainous terrain of the interior. The principal religions of Maluku are Islam (776,495) and Calvinist Protestantism (544,072), with small numbers of Catholics, Buddhists, and Hindus.

Historically a complex set of factors have interacted to produce the contemporary linguistic situation in Central Maluku. These include many centuries of trade relations with culturally and linguistically diverse groups, economic and political competition between colonizing nations and powerful factions within Indonesia, religious rivalries, large-scale in-migration which has been intensified by the Indonesian Government's transmigrasi policy, and the introduction of the national language, Indonesian. Within this small region the processes of language spread, language shift, and language death are all exemplified. The local lingua franca, Ambonese Malay, continues to spread, while the majority of indigenous languages exhibit several stages of grammatical restructuring and a reduction in functional diversity, which indicates that rapid language shift and decay leading to language death are occurring. This chapter

will review briefly the history of Central Maluku from the pre-colonial era to post-independence in order to outline the key events which have influenced language allegiance.

2.2 The history of Maluku

Contact with regions beyond Central Maluku preceded the colonial era by many centuries, and brought cultural changes, which are remembered in the oral histories of the region. The impetus for this contact was the spice trade in nutmeg and clove. Although Central Maluku was not important as a spice-growing region until the seventeenth century, Ambon, Seram, and the smaller adjoining islands provided ports along the routes taken by the Javanese and Malay traders (van Fraassen 1983). Perhaps more influential was the trade relationship with the sultanates of Ternate and Tidore in North Maluku, because it brought religious and political change to Central Maluku. It has been estimated that Ternate converted to Islam around 1460 (Chauvel 1980:43), and that trade between north and central Maluku led to the introduction of Islam, thus preceding by a century Christianity, which accompanied European colonization.

The colonial era was marked by the arrival of the Portuguese in 1511 in an expedition led by Antonio d'Abreu, and a permanent Portuguese presence in Maluku
was established with the construction of a fort in Ternate. In Central Maluku the north coast of the Hitu peninsula of Ambon Island became the focus of Portuguese activities as its residents provided a friendly shelter during the months that the Portuguese waited for winds for the return journey north. However conflict between the Hituese and the Portuguese led to the latter establishing a new base on the south coast of the Peninsula. This split had far-reaching consequences for the status of indigenous languages in the region, as it was a precursor to the link between language maintenance and religious allegiance which has spread throughout Maluku. The villages on the north coast embraced Islam and sought support from Java, Ternate, and Makassar. Those on the south coast became the target of proselytization by the Portuguese, who provided them with support against the northern villages. Chauvel (1980:45) proposes that the roots of the pattern by which indigenous languages have been retained more successfully in Muslim villages can be found in these historical events as Muslims sought a means of distancing themselves from both the colonizing powers and Christianity.

Although it is clear that Malay\textsuperscript{3} was in relatively wide-spread use as a lingua franca when the Portuguese

\begin{footnote}
\textsuperscript{3} In this dissertation the term 'Malay' refers to all varieties of Malay, in particular Ambonese Malay and
\end{footnote}
first arrived (Collins 1980a), its functional domains spread rapidly during the colonial era. It continued to function as a trade language and, more important, became the language of everyday administrative dealings with residents of the region, and the vehicle for proselytization by the Christian missionaries. The speed with which Christianity, and hence the Malay language, spread is demonstrated by the fact that Francis Xavier found seven Christian villages in the Leitimor area of Ambon Island in 1546, only eight years after the first villages converted.

Policies introduced during the Dutch colonial era, which began in 1599, hastened the demise of indigenous languages. The deliberate destruction of a number of communities, including Banda in 1621 and Kelang in 1656, provide well-documented examples of the Dutch policy of attempting to control the spice trade rigidly. Further changes, which were brought about in an attempt to decrease opposition to Dutch rule, resulted in the removal of some of the mountain populations of Ambon to the coast. An additional source of conflict arose from

standard Indonesian. If, however, these two variants need to be disambiguated, the difference is made explicit by referring to 'Ambonese Malay' or 'Indonesian'.

4. This process, which continued throughout the period of Dutch rule, will be discussed in Chapter 4. Ellen (1978) records the effects of coastalization on the Nuaulu of Central Seram and the difficulties which they
Dutch efforts to halt the spread of Islam in Central Maluku. Muslim villages in Hoamoal and Hitu, which earlier had strongly opposed Portuguese rule, became centers of anti-Dutch resistance.

Van Fraassen (1983:18) contends that during the eighteenth century the Dutch maintained friendly relations only with the mountain people of West Seram, who were used in punitive expeditions against both Muslim and Christian enemies. However, by the second half of the nineteenth century the Dutch had begun to develop an economic interest in Seram. In his 1859 visit to Elpiputi (known today as Elpaputi or, more commonly, Paulohi), Wallace noted the wide-sweeping changes which were being brought about by the Dutch presence in the region. He wrote

In all this part of the archipelago, the Dutch make very praiseworthy efforts to improve the condition of the aborigines by establishing schoolmasters in every village (who are mostly natives of Amboyna or Saparua, who have been instructed by the resident missionaries). They also encourage the settlement of Europeans and the formation of new plantations of cacao and coffee, one of the best means of raising the condition of the natives, who thus obtain work at fair wages, and have the opportunity of acquiring something of European tastes and habits (1869:271).

In order to make the region safe for settlement and development, the Dutch conducted several military

still experience in trying to adapt to a coastal lifestyle.

5. Paulohi is a Proto-East Piru Bay language (Collins 1983:100) which is near extinction.
expeditions to end inter-village feuding and head-hunting expeditions. Head-hunting expeditions were responsible for frequent migrations within Central Maluku, which occasionally led to the merger of villages. In a society marked by conflict, the need to create stability and security was filled by pela arrangements (Bartels 1977), inter-village alliances which allowed safe travel between villages and the assurance of support against head-hunting raids. Both these factors ensured continued contact among speakers of the indigenous languages of the region.

During this period an increasing number of missionaries began to work on Seram (cf. van Ekris 1864), bringing more wide-spread exposure to Malay. Missionary activity was accompanied by the introduction of education, as the missionaries played the dual role of minister and teacher. On his arrival in the coastal village of Hatusua in October 1859 Wallace wrote

> In most of the villages of this part of Ceram are schools and native schoolmasters and the inhabitants have been long converted to Christianity. In the larger villages there are European missionaries (1869:269).

With the arrival in Central Maluku of the Dutch minister Joseph Kam, the relationship between the Christian villages and the Dutch strengthened, and by the
nineteenth century educational and employment opportunities were available to Christians.

In the period following Indonesian independence further impact on the lives of the people of Central Maluku was added by the guerilla war which was fought in the 1950s and early '60s between soldiers of the Indonesian National Army and a secessionist group known as Republik Maluku Selatan (R.M.S.). The R.M.S. was an independence movement formed largely by Christian Ambonese who had served the Dutch as officials and soldiers and who were uncertain of their future within the newly created Indonesian Republic (van Fraassen 1983:38, Hugo 1987:289). By mid-1951 the Indonesian army had regained control over the islands of Ambon and Lease and the guerillas had fled to Seram. There, the war created permanent changes in the lives of the people of Western Seram. During the next decade villages were devastated and many lives lost as the R.M.S. attempted to secure a base in the mountains. Whole villages (including the Alune villages of Kamal, Nurue, and Lohiatala) moved to safer localities on, or near, the coast.

Despite the fact that it is difficult to assess the extent to which this migration was voluntary or forced, it does, nevertheless, constitute a "conflict-induced
the refugee flow" (Hugo 1987:283). In terms of the effect which the migration to the coast had on the lives of villagers, and in order to place the setting for language shift in Lohiatala in a comparative frame, it is useful to view the villagers as refugees.7

The concept of conflict arising out of civil, political, religious, ethnic, and racial confrontation is central to the definition of a refugee and differentiates a refugee from other migrants, not whether he or she crosses an international boundary (ibid:294).

Use of this terminology emphasizes the role which the migration to the coast, and the ensuing social change, played in precipitating language shift.

Another refugee flow was instigated by the pacification of the R.M.S. rebellion in the mid-1960s, which led to the movement of approximately 4000 Ambonese soldiers and their families to the Netherlands (ibid:289).

The post-independence era brought further linguistic consequences through the introduction and propagation of Indonesian as the national language, the policy of inter-island migration which was initiated to relieve land shortages and population pressures in some parts of the

6. Whether the villagers chose or were forced to seek refuge, the migration was not instigated by the villagers, but was precipitated only by the conflict.

7. It is also important to note that, in a written history of Lohiatala (see Appendix 5), the former village headman stated that the villagers were refugees during the R.M.S. conflict.
archipelago, and an increase in voluntary migration to Maluku. Migration not only altered the linguistic economy of Maluku through increased exposure to non-indigenous languages (Grimes 1988:4), but also resulted in further social and economic changes. The most significant movement has been the unassisted migration of Butonese, Bugis, and Makassarese from South Sulawesi (Manning et al. 1989:4). Sponsored transmigrants constitute only 3.4 percent of all migrants to the province and migrants from Java and Bali constitute a further 13.9 percent (ibid:33). Although a net gain in population is achieved by the high level of in-migration, Maluku shows a higher rate of out-migration than all other provinces in Outer Eastern Indonesia excepting North Sulawesi (ibid:19). Irian Jaya and Jakarta are the main destinations for migrants from Maluku. Statistics show that migration patterns are not favorable economically to the indigenous peoples of Maluku, with an out-migration of skilled labor and an in-migration of unskilled labor. Manning et al. conclude that

8. Despite this low figure the location of transmigrants in South Seram has been a significant factor in language shift, and will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

9. This is an area constituted of the five provinces of North, Central, and South East Sulawesi, Maluku, and Irian Jaya which, for research purposes, Manning et al. adopted to "broadly describe the region's place in the national economy and labour market" (1989:8).
For Maluku, this suggests that while some of the better educated and/or more enterprising people continue to leave the province, jobs in rural areas in expanding sectors such as mining, fishing and construction are being partly filled by migrants from other provinces (1989:41).

The principal growth areas for employment which are being filled by migrants in urban areas are services, transport, and construction.

Linked to these demographic changes are the rapid spread of mass communication, the building and staffing of many more schools, the growth of transportation links, and the increasing role of Government servants (such as agricultural advisors, health teams, etc.) in village life.10

The following chapter will review earlier literature concerning the Alune language, and will describe the present-day locations of Alune villages.

10. These, together with the other factors described above, will be discussed in relation to the Alune people of Lohiatala in Chapter 4.
3.1 Introduction

Among the scores of languages spoken in Maluku which are undergoing language shift, Alune was selected as the focus of this study for several reasons. First, in contrast to the majority of languages in Central Maluku, which are very poorly described, both ethnographic and linguistic works dating back to the mid-nineteenth century are available for Alune. These provide a valuable point of comparison with contemporary conditions which, as Dorian (1986b) points out, is often lacking in studies of language obsolescence. Second, Alune villages traditionally occupied a large area of land extending from the interior to the north coast of Western Seram, thus ensuring their relative isolation from the traders and colonizers who were described in Chapter 2. In some cases prolonged contact with non-indigenous peoples began only within the last sixty or seventy years, making the factors which may have influenced language shift more readily apparent to the researcher. Third, in a region in which many villages can be reached only by several days hike over mountain terrain, and where transportation is inadequate, a number of Alune-speaking villages are comparatively accessible in their present-day locations.

1. Most significant among these are Jensen 1948a, 1948b, and Jensen and Niggemeyer 1939.
3.2 Language naming

According to the contemporary indigenous perspective, the name Alune is said to be related to the verb anune 'to weave'. This belief reflects the fact that the skill of weaving cloth from bark fibers was unique to the Alune, who were distinctive because of their dress of woven skirts and loincloths. The term 'Alune' is used now by its speakers to refer to themselves as a people who share a common history, language, and cultural traditions. However, the word which the Alune use to refer to their language is somtoline 'the true language'.

Historically, the Alune have been referred to by a variety of names including makahala or makabala (Sierevelt 1920, Tauern 1928), alfuren or alifura (van Ekris 1864), patasiwa alfuren (van Hoevell 1896) and

2. From sou 'language', and toline 'straight, true'.
3. Niggemeyer (1951:52) asserts that the name makabala means 'one who carries, a porter', and is a derisive name which the occupants of the northwest coast of Seram gave to the mountain people, who were often employed as porters by European travellers or military personnel. In the language of Lisabata, spoken on the northwest coast of Seram, and elsewhere /b/ corresponds to /h/, makahala. According to Niggemeyer, the people of Riring and Buria who were questioned about its use rejected the name makabala/makahala.
4. Alifura is a derogatory word used to describe unacculturated mountain peoples. The force which it still carries today is clear from the comment of an elderly villager who told me that a person could be killed for using the term.
5. Patasiwa is often translated as the 'League of Nine' and refers to one of two groups in Central Maluku
sapalewa (Stresemann 1918). In this dissertation the name 'Alune' will be used to refer to both the people and their language. There are two principal reasons for adopting this usage. First, when speaking Malay the Alune people use the term 'Alune' to refer to the language. Second, use of this term in preference to the indigenous one provides continuity within the modern literature.

3.3 Review of earlier studies of Alune

Since the mid-nineteenth century, missionaries, soldiers, administrators, and researchers working in Maluku have played an important role in describing aspects of the physical environment, religion, culture, and language of the Alune people. While their work varies greatly in quality and depth, it provides a basis for comparison with the current linguistic and social situation, which is crucial to a study of language death.

Most of the earlier records consist solely of Alune word lists, and include the work of van Ekris (1864), Ludeking (1868), and Holle (1894, 1904/1911, 1931). The Protestant missionary A. van Ekris worked in Seram from 1956-1866. His publication resulted from work undertaken which purportedly arose in the sixteenth century and which were based on religious and territorial oppositions. The League of Nine was originally aligned with Christianity.

6. Sapalewa is the name of one of the three major rivers in Western Seram.
during travels in Lease and Seram, and consists of approximately 1500 lexical entries in the language of Kamarian, to which are added their cognate form in the ten other languages\textsuperscript{7} which van Ekris recorded. The 'Alfur' or Alune material was obtained in the northern-dialect-speaking villages of Kawa, Sole, Buria, Murikau, and Murnaten. E. A. W. Ludeking was a Dutch medical doctor who recorded scientific and cultural information in approximately sixteen languages of Ambon, Lease, Buru, and Seram. Ludeking too collected Alune word lists from the villages of Buria and Murnaten. The word lists compiled in the late nineteenth century by K. F. Holle were more thorough in scope and were part of an ambitious project to gather lexical information about the languages of the Indonesian archipelago. Lists of approximately 1500 lexical items were distributed to "Dutch civil servants, officers, missionaries and 'intelligent Inlanders' such as village heads, merchants and teachers" (Stokhof 1980:17). The results, printed in Dutch, appeared in three volumes which were published in 1894, 1904/1911, and 1931. Information about Alune was included in the 1911 (list no. 154, Upper Sapolewa\textsuperscript{8}) and

\textsuperscript{7} These languages are Kariu (Haruku), Hatawano (Saparua), Nalahia (Nusalaut), Hatusua, Waisamu, Kaibobo, Piru, Tihulale, Rumahkai, and 'Alfur' (all spoken on Seram).

\textsuperscript{8} Holle lists the indigenous name of this language as \textit{soow kwele oeloei}, literally 'language of the head of the
1931 (list no. 224, Alune, W. Seram) publications.
Beginning in 1980 the word lists were reorganized and
published in one collection edited by W. A. L. Stokhof,
who aimed to preserve the material and make it accessible
to a larger audience. Stokhof expressed concern that the
spread of Indonesian as the national language would
hasten the demise of indigenous languages, about which
little is known, and considered it a priority to focus
research attention on such languages.

Later researchers who began to produce works of
greater complexity include Sierevelt (1920), Stresemann
(1927), Tauern (1928-31), and Niggemeyer (1951/1952).
Sierevelt was a Dutch military officer who produced an
Alune wordlist and language-learning lessons for the
benefit of Dutch civil servants and members of the Dutch
army. The material was compiled in the village of Riring
(north dialect), and includes notes on dialect
differences, stress patterns, phonology, and some brief
explanations concerning morphology and the directional
system. Stresemann, a member of the Second Freiburg
Moluccas Expedition conducted in 1911-12 together with K.

river' (Stokhof 1980:193). No information is available
concerning the informant.
9. This list was collected in 1937 by a missionary
from the Piru region of West Seram. The informant was a
forty-year-old male who was the kepala soa in the village
of Laturake (located east of Riring and north of
Lohiasapalewa). He is reported to have been a fluent
speaker of Malay (Stokhof 1980:175).
Deninger and O. D. Tauern, developed a classification of the languages of Central Maluku which is still considered of value (Collins 1983). In contrast the work which Tauern produced, though extensive, has been criticized for its poor quality (van Fraassen 1983:48). In part these criticisms result from the fact that he focused on ethnography rather than linguistics, but the major weaknesses are attributable to the breadth of his task, which was to "make an ethnographic, linguistic and geographical study of the whole of Seram within a period of nine months" (van Fraassen 1983:48). This goal resulted in a very superficial linguistic analysis in which major problems arise from the constant confusion between Wemale\textsuperscript{10} and Alune features. His grammatical sketch of Alune\textsuperscript{11} consists of short sections on phonetics, nouns, adjectives, verbs, pronouns, particles, and conjunctions, together with a song and brief text. Of greater value is the linguistic research undertaken by the German anthropologist H. Niggemeyer during the

10. Although I have adopted this spelling of the name 'Wemale' for reasons of consistency in the literature, the Alune of Lohiatala pronounce the name with an initial glottal stop: '/wemale/.

11. He does not list the Alune villages in which fieldwork was conducted. However the use of /k/ in all examples makes it clear that the material is from the north dialect area. Tauern also appends two short texts, one taken from Stresemann's work, which were recorded in Murikau and Wakolo, and the northern dialect is spoken in both of these villages.
Frobenius expedition of 1937/38. Niggemeyer and his fellow researcher E. Jensen recorded a large number of Alune myths and folk stories in six Alune-speaking villages. These constitute the first written collection of texts in the language. Despite the loss of most of Niggemeyer's field notes during World War II, the folk stories, together with a grammatical sketch and wordlist, were published in 1951-52.

Recent interest concerning Alune has centered largely around subgrouping arguments and the classification of Moluccan languages. Included in this category are the works of Esser (1963), Chlenov (1976), Dyen (1978), and Collins (1983). While the first three authors draw extensively on secondary sources as a data base for their hypotheses, Collins provides some new morphological and syntactic information about Alune, in addition to a lengthy discussion of sound changes which are used to formulate subgrouping arguments. Current

12. These are the north-dialect villages of Buria, Lomoli, Uwit, and Riring, and the central-dialect villages of Manusa and Lohiatala.

13. For the purposes of the present study, the eight myths which were collected in Lohiatala provide an invaluable source of comparative data, as they were recorded in the old village location only a short time after prolonged contact with Malay speakers had begun.

14. An exception is the work which is currently being undertaken in the village of Riring by a linguist from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Yushin Taguchi, which involves the preparation of an Alune dictionary and grammar.
FIGURE 3.1  Historical classification of the Alune language

1. Not all daughter languages are included in this diagram.
subgrouping of the lower branches of the Austronesian language family classifies Alune as a member of the Proto-East Central Maluku branch of Central Malayo-Polynesian (see Figure 3.1, taken from Collins 1983). In 1984 the first description of Alune undertaken by an Indonesian researcher (Kakerissa 1984) appeared under the auspices of the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa (the National Center for Language Development and Cultivation). Unfortunately this publication consists largely of a comparison of the similarities and differences between the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Indonesian and Alune. This methodology leads to numerous omissions of information as well as to some glaring errors in analysis, which greatly diminish the value of the work.

3.4 Contemporary Alune-speaking villages

Today three dialects of the Alune language are spoken in approximately twenty-five villages in three kecamatan 'districts' (Seram Barat, Kairatu, and Taniwel) in Western Seram. The north dialect is the most widely spoken and is found in the villages of Nurue, Kamal, Lumoli, Laiuwin, Murikau, Kawa, Murnaten, Nikulukan, Niwelehu, Wakolo, Patahue, Buria, Rumasoa, Riring, Latuelak, Hukukecil, and Hukuanakota. The central Alune dialect is spoken in Lohiatala, Lohiasapalewa,
Manusamanue, Rumbatu, Rumberu, and Watui, while the south dialect is known only to a few elderly speakers in Kairatu (Collins 1983:40).

Niggemeyer (1952:52) briefly discussed Sierevelt's and Stresemann's contentions regarding dialect differences in Alune, and speculated that

3.1 Die Alune-Sprache ist, nach den Texten zu urteilen, im großen und ganzen recht einheitlich. Zwar variiert die Aussprache von Dorf zu Dorf (Sierevelt, S.1) und damit auch in gewissem Umfang die Schreibweise der Texte, aber zur Ausbildung besonderer Dialekte scheint es nicht gekommen zu sein (vgl. Grammatik 2). Es erscheint zunächst fraglich, ob sie zur Begründung eines echten Dialektunterschiedes ausreichen. Vielleicht handelt es sich nur um Sprachbeeinflussungen von außen her (1952:52).\[E\]

In a recent classification established on the basis of lexicostatistical surveys, Taguchi (1989:34) asserted that

the Alune language has five dialects which have diverged. Kairatu dialect, however, is almost a separate language and is almost extinct. The rest of the Alune-speaking villages fall into four dialect groups: South (Rambatu, Manussa, Rumberu etc.), Central West (Riring, Niniari, Lumoli etc.), Central East (Buriah, Weth and Laturake) and North Coastal (Nikulkan, Murnaten, Wakolo etc.).

However, beyond ascribing the principal difference between the four dialects to the shift from [k] to [?] Taguchi provides no supporting data for his

1. Appendix 3 contains a translation of all foreign language quotations (Alune, Malay, and German) used in this dissertation.
classification, making it impossible to assess its accuracy.

Due to the factors described in the previous chapter, a number of Alune villages have resettled in new locations in the last thirty years. These include Lohiatala, Nurue, Kamal, Murikau, and Lumoli. In the following chapter the contemporary linguistic and cultural setting in one Alune village, Lohiatala, will be described.

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2. Maps comparing the pre-1940 and present locations of Alune villages are given in Collins 1983:39,53.
4 CULTURAL SETTING: THE VILLAGE OF LOHIATALA

4.1 Introduction

The village of Lohiatala was selected in preference to other possible research sites primarily because of its recent history and its present location. The process of re-settlement on the coast has been cited in the literature as a critical factor in the inception of language shift among the languages of Central Maluku (cf. Collins 1983:38-40). Among the Alune-speaking villages, four are now located on or near the southwest coast. Kairatu had moved from the mountains much earlier in the century, and the process of shift to Malay is almost complete. The situation in Nurue and Kamal, which were relocated during the same period as Lohiatala, is complicated by the fact that they now have large migrant populations and a busy road which passes through the villages taking workers and traders to the town of Waisarisa. Lohiatala is located approximately four miles inland from the southwest coast and maintains a lifestyle which draws on both the mountains and coast. The decision to select this village was confirmed by Collins's (1978) observation that language shift from Alune to Ambonese Malay was occurring in Lohiatala.

This chapter will describe the socio-cultural setting of the village of Lohiatala from both a historical and contemporary perspective. A comparison
between the pre- and post-contact situations reveals a rapidly changing lifestyle in which Malay has become an integral part of everyday interaction. Each of the different facets of life which appear to have had an impact on language use, such as the village economy, religion, and education, will be described.

4.2 History of the Alune of Lohiatala

The village of Lohiatala formally came into existence in 1817 at a meeting of the traditional law group known as 'Three Rivers'; a group consisting of the Alune people living within the boundaries of the Eti, Tala, and Sapalewa rivers. An elderly villager (OS76M) partially narrated the origin of the name 'Lohia'. It is a variety of wild canari tree, a branch of which broke off and fell in the path of five people who were traveling in the region of the Tala river. The branch

1. In 1988 the village secretary, working closely with a former village headman, decided to write a brief history of Lohiatala. Their purpose in doing so was to keep the village history available to young community members who are no longer told the ma'lulu 'origin stories' which are the traditional repository of knowledge about the Lohiatala people. The history, and an English translation, are presented in Appendices 4 and 5. The material in this section was drawn both from the written history and from many conversations held with older community members.

2. It is unclear how this date was determined by the village secretary. There were no written records in the village before the arrival of the Calvinists in 1925. However it is possible that the date became part of the oral history of the village through the presence of Dutch administrators in the region.
divided the five so that they went in different directions. Three returned home, while two continued on their way. This story is said to explain the origin of the lineages which founded the village, specifically that of members of the Souhaly lineage, who determined the original location of Lohiatala.

Prior to that time the Lohiatala people had been part of the village of Lohiasapalewa. It is unclear why there was a split in the community leading to the formation of the new village; however it seems to have resulted from feuding between lineages in Lohiasapalewa. The new village was established at a place known as Tapel, Tnusa Batai on land to which the people of Lohia were given ownership at a meeting of the traditional law council. This location is within the Kairatu kecamatan, approximately twenty-five kilometers from the coast, and

3. Because the existence of a written history was kept secret from the community and was given to me only as I was leaving the village, I was unable to check any of the information for either accuracy or source.

4. The concept of 'village' in this dissertation follows the indigenous usage of the people of Lohiatala. Rather than referring to the physical entity, a "small community or group of houses in a rural area" (Random House College Dictionary, Revised edition 1975), the perspective used here accords with the secondary definition: "the inhabitants of such a community, taken as a whole" (ibid). Emphasis is thus placed on the sharing of a common history and identity.

5. The meaning of this name is unclear, and could not be checked for the reasons given in footnote 3 above.
bordered by the villages of Rumberu, Nurue\textsuperscript{6}, Hatusua, and Manusa.

The extent of early contact with non-indigenous people such as traders and the Dutch colonizers is unclear. However, aspects of village history point to the occurrence of at least limited contact by some members of the community. Dutch and Chinese plates were traded extensively throughout the mountains and were a valued part of the bridewealth payment. Older villagers remember a song-style, \textit{hiahoi}, which was sung by villagers when they were traveling over the mountains carrying heavy loads for the Dutch administrators and soldiers. One man reported that the song contained the power to give the bearers strength and to lighten their load, and that others working in the forest had to hide if they heard it. Several men were sent from the village to the Wemale village of Honitetu\textsuperscript{7}, where they attended trade schools to learn such skills as agriculture and building. Contact increased following the outbreak of World War II as Japanese soldiers moved between the

\textsuperscript{6} This reference is to the area on which the old village of Nurue was located before the people of Nurue moved to the coast in the early 1950s. They retain the rights to their land in the mountains.

\textsuperscript{7} During the colonial era the Dutch established a garrison in Honitetu which became a center for their military activities in Western Seram. Roads to the village which were created at that time are maintained today, and Honitetu remains an important transportation link between the mountain villages and the coast.
mountain villages, which they used as sources of food and
information.

In the 1950s the lives of the people of Lohiatala
were permanently altered by the outbreak of fighting
between the R.M.S. guerillas and the Indonesian Army,
which was described in Chapter 2. Many villagers
remember the hardships they were forced to endure after
their village and fields were destroyed by the
guerrillas. Although some people moved temporarily to
other mountain villages, such as Rumberu, where they had
relatives with whom they could stay, many more hid for
almost a year in the forest, suffering food shortages and
the absence of housing. In October 1951 a battalion of
the Indonesian Army succeeded in removing the guerrillas
from Lohiatala's land. However the villagers continued
to live in danger, and in August 1952 the army escorted
them to the coastal village of Hatusua, a non-Alune
village in which Malay is the primary language spoken.
Hatusua was chosen because it was the nearest village to
the south, and there had been some previous contact
between the two villages in the form of trade.

Testimony to the role of coastalization in the
changing language allegiance among the people of
Lohiatala is found in the comments of both earlier
writers, and older Alune villagers.

4.2 At that time we, in the mountains we were fluent in our language, Alune. Because we've lived for a long time on the coast we have already forgotten it. I mean we don't use it enough, Alune, so that it's not so easy. If we use it, there's probably a special reason to use Alune. If not, we don't use it any more (MN51M). After a year it was clear that it would not be safe for the people of Lohiatala to return to the mountains for several years. Therefore they were given permission to build their own houses and to establish farms in Hatusua. The villagers remained on the coast for thirteen years before the village elders considered it safe to re-establish their own village. A decision, which remains controversial, was reached that a new village should be erected nearer the coast. The sorrow which older members of the community continue to feel when they remember life in the old village is apparent from a song which is sung as they travel in the mountains: 9

8. This code denotes the speaker's initials, age, and sex.
9. The syllables -ya and -yo, which occur throughout the song, maintain the rhythmic cohesiveness of the
"Follow the Nala river inland, inland to the source of the Wasirin river. Climb the mountain, and follow along in the tall, yellow grass. Turning all around your view is unobscured. Turning seawards the ocean is visible. Turning to the mountains, [you see] the former village of Lohi. Go down the steps, follow along by the yellow trees, along by the bamboo. Descend to the river, [to the] Nala. Climb the mountain and go inland. I see the former village of Lohi and the sight fills me with sorrow. When, when will we return there?"
The singer explained:

4.3 If we're going from the new village to the old village, and see the old village, we want to turn away from the old village. We feel too sad, feel pity. See all the produce, much fruit, whatever. Therefore if we turn back to the old village we feel very sad. Especially if we remember that the new village isn't the same. It's not equal to the old village in regard to the produce of the old village. Therefore it's too sad. Then we think, we say "when can we return to the old village again? When can we return to the old village again?" You see, it's not possible that we won't return again, is it? Therefore, it's very sad. The song tells of that sorrow (SNT32F).

It appears that the main impetus for the relocation came from younger villagers who had grown up in Hatusua, and their parents who wanted to remain within easier reach of high schools and market towns. The move to the new village location occurred in October 1965.

4.3 Contemporary village life

4.3.1 Geographic location

The present-day village of Lohiatala is located approximately four miles inland from the south coast of western Seram in the province of Central Maluku, Indonesia. Administratively, Lohiatala is located within the kecamatan of Kairatu. The distribution of population in the twenty-six villages and towns which comprise the Kairatu kecamatan is given in Table 4.1. Of the twenty-six villages in the kecamatan, nine lie within a ten-mile radius of Lohiatala, spread southeast and northwest along the coast. These are the villages with which the
inhabitants of Lohiatatala have the most frequent contact for purposes of trade and schooling.

The easternmost town within this circle is the local administrative center, Kairatu, which, with approximately 8000 inhabitants, is the most densely populated in the kecamatan. Along with a small Alune population, Kairatu contains people who migrated under their own volition (and who are counted in the Government statistics as transmigrasi spontan\textsuperscript{10}) from Sulawesi, and under the transmigrasi lokal\textsuperscript{11} program from Maluku Tenggara.\textsuperscript{12} With the only senior high school in the district, many students from the surrounding villages board with families in Kairatu during the school year. To the west of Kairatu lie the towns of Waimital and Waipirit. The former was founded in 1954 for the transmigrasi nasional program, while the latter was established under the transmigrasi lokal program in 1965 for migrants from the

\textsuperscript{10} Transmigrasi spontan refers to migration which is undertaken at the initiative of the individual or family and for which no Government assistance is available. (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 1977/78. Pengaruh Migrasi Penduduk Terhadap Perkembangan Kegucayaan Daerah Propinsi Maluku: 40ff.).

\textsuperscript{11} The transmigrasi lokal program is organized by the regional Government and concerns migration within one region or province. Limited assistance is given, including two hectares of land per family.

\textsuperscript{12} Maluku Tenggara is the administrative district of southeast Maluku and includes the islands of Kei, Aru, Tanimbar, Babar, and Leti.
TABLE 4.1
Village populations\textsuperscript{13}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VILLAGE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lohiatala</td>
<td>301</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watui</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sumeith Pasinaro</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>94</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

nearby island of Saparua. Hatusua lies between Waipirit and Waihatu and contains both a small (non-Alune) indigenous population and migrants from Saparua.

\textsuperscript{13} These figures were released by the Camat’s office and are taken from the Laporan Kependudukan Kecamatan Kairatu for the month of September 1988. Every three months each village or town within a kecamatan is required to submit statistics concerning the number of births and deaths which have occurred during that period. Once a year the village secretary must carry out a complete census of all citizens. The italicized names in the table are Alune villages.

\textsuperscript{14} See also Table 4.2 below.
Lohiatala's nearest neighbor is the village of Waihatu, which was established in 1974 under the *transmigrasi nasional* program for migrants from the over-populated islands of Java and Lombok. Separated from Waihatu by the Temanu river is the small village of Waesamu which also has a (non-Alune) indigenous population together with migrants from the islands of Haria and Saparua. Further west are Nurue and Kamal, Alune villages which were re-established on the coast in 1952 and 1965 respectively. Migrants from the islands of Teon, Nila, and Serua in Maluku Tenggara have resettled in Nurue, while Kamal now contains migrants from Saparua and has several large compounds housing transitory workers for the plywood factories which were established during the last decade in Waisarisa. Because one of the junior high

15. The *Transmigrasi Nasional* program was established by the Indonesian Government in an effort to relieve the pressure on heavily overpopulated regions such as Java and Lombok by encouraging migration to less populated islands. Migrants receive assistance in the form of transportation costs, health care, housing, bedding, clothing, two hectares of land, farming tools, and seedlings. They are guaranteed an income for twelve months and are given guidance and instruction in appropriate farming techniques. Manning et al. point out that "perceived unskilled labour shortages, underdeveloped commercial agriculture, and national security and integration are important considerations in the selection of destination areas" (1989:3).

16. Collins (1983:100) classifies the languages of both Hatusua and Waesamu as members of the West Littoral branch of Proto-East Piru Bay. Alune, as a descendent of the Three Rivers branch of Nunusaku, is thus only distantly related to these languages.
schools in the district is located here, there is also a large student population in Kamal. Waisarisa, at the westernmost extreme of the circle, was first founded in 1949 for migrants from the island of Nusa Laut who moved under the transmigrasi lokal program. It was abandoned
during the guerrilla war and re-established in 1965. With its several plywood factories and large migrant worker population from as far away as Java, Waisarisa now forms the major market center for the towns and villages of this region.

To the north of Lohiatala are the Alune villages of Rumberu and Rumbatu. At a distance of approximately twenty miles from Lohiatala, these are a day's walk over rugged mountain terrain. The land between Lohiatala and its northern neighbors remains the territory of the Lohiatala people and includes the location of the old village, hunting grounds, and fruit orchards.

From the coastal village of Waihatu the paved road follows alongside the River Nala for several miles until it begins to rise gently into the mountain range. The village of Lohiatala begins on a small plateau at the end of the road. It contains 100 houses and is perceived by the villagers as comprising three physical divisions (see Figure 4.2 below). Twelve houses are located at the entrance, set out on either side of the road and separated by small gardens of fruit trees. Villagers call this section ndi teba 'the other side', a reference to its location across the valley which isolates it from the main area of Lohiatala. Residents of 'the other side' include the village headman, headmaster, village
crier, and members of the three Muslim households. The elementary school was recently relocated on a side street behind the headmaster's house.

Descending from the top section of the village, the asphalt road becomes a rough stony path which curves down through a deep valley and then rises sharply onto a large plateau on which the main section of the village is built. During the wet season from April through September the valley becomes a muddy flood plain for the Nala river, and contact between the two sections is limited.

The central section consists of sixty-seven houses which are clustered into extended family groups and organized along three roads running the length of the village. The Minister, two schoolteachers, former village headman, heads of the two soa, and the village secretary live in this section, which is bordered to the west by another valley and to the east by the river Nala. The tall, modern church provides a central focus to the village, and the parsonage occupies a large block of land opposite. Alongside the church a site of equal dimension stands unoccupied since the traditional village meeting hall was demolished in late 1988. The village office, a modest concrete building, also faces the church. The two
**Section 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2</th>
<th>Entrance to Lohiatala</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1 3 4 5 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>x x x 7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Section 2**

| 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| x x x x | x x x x | x x x x | x x x x | x x x x | x x x x | x x x x | x x x x | x x x x | x x x x |
Section 3

1: Village headman's house
2: Muslim household
3: " "
4: Village crier's house
5: Headmaster's house
6: School
7: Muslim household
8: Village headman's assistant; Head of Soa Tibali
9: Village store
10: Minister's house
11: Village office
12: Village store
13: Schoolteacher's house
14: Village secretary's house
15: Schoolteacher's house
16: Head of Soa Mokabane
17: Former village headman's house

x indicates location of a villager's house

**FIGURE 4.2** Map of the village of Lohiatala
small stores which are run by villagers are located at either end of the same street.

At the northern end of the central section the village opens out into a large field which is used as a sports ground. This constitutes the most recently established section, and twenty-one houses have been built around the field and along a road extending to the northern boundary of the plateau.

4.3.2 Demography

In 1988 the population of Lohiatala was 666. The statistics given in Table 4.2 reveal that 30.8 percent of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
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</thead>
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<td>0-4</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>16.7</td>
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<td>94</td>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>12.1</td>
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<td>28</td>
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<td>9.5</td>
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<td>83</td>
<td>12.5</td>
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<td>30-39</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>11.6</td>
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<td>50-59</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4.8</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>3.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. These population figures were drawn up by the village secretary in October 1988. A large discrepancy exists between the population figure given here and that given in Table 4.1. This discrepancy results from the manner in which the census is taken within the village and the difficulty which villagers have in processing statistical material. I consider Table 4.2 to contain the most accurate population statistics which I was able to obtain.
the population is between the ages of zero and nine years. 79 percent are less than forty years, and it is members of this age group who were born either in Hatusua or in the relocated village of Lohiatala. Because of the imbalance in population between males and females, women tend to marry at a younger age than men. In 1988 there were no unmarried women above the age of eighteen. While marriage was traditionally endogamous, in recent years there have been more marriages with people from other villages, both Alune and non-Alune.

**TABLE 4.3**

Marriages with people from other villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-Lohi</td>
<td>non-Lohi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alune</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-Alune</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1987 there were twenty-five births and eight deaths. In the eleven months to November 1988 there were twelve deaths: four newborn infants, three children aged two, three, and eight, two men aged twenty-eight and forty-three, and three people aged seventy or older.

4.3.3 Economy

Traditionally the Alune obtained food from several varied sources. They were known in the region for the rice which they planted in dry fields and harvested twice a year. In the entire Central Maluku region rice
cultivation was unique to the Alune, and an origin story, which is now told by older people as a folk tale, recounts how they first came to possess rice and the ability to plant, harvest, and process it. Several older men also recall the incantations which were spoken at planting time to increase the rice crop. Changes in village location are largely responsible for the fact that rice is rarely planted now and much of the knowledge needed to process the crops has been lost. The soil nearer the coast is considered less fertile and it is said that the introduction of wet rice fields by the Javanese migrants living in the neighboring village has led to an increase in rice pests which render the crops worthless. Recently several families have tried once again to establish dry rice fields at sites further into the mountains but it is unclear whether their efforts will be successful.

It was sago, however, which formed the Alune's staple diet, as it does for the majority of the people of Central Maluku. While sago is an important part of the diet of most groups in the region, the Alune strongly assert that they originally were given the knowledge required to process and prepare it. An origin story, which is known quite widely in the village, recounts how the Alune obtained this knowledge. In addition, the
people carried out some swidden agriculture which allowed them to farm cassava, yams, and taro. With the loss of their rice fields and the move to a more swampy lowland region these crops now form a larger part of the daily diet. Hunting still provides the people of Lohiatala with wild boar, deer, and cuscus², and the women continue to gather as vegetables leaves from bushes and trees.

Since the seventeenth century, the Alune's principal source of wealth has come from their damar resin and fruit trees. Produce from these trees was traded in season for Dutch and Chinese pottery, which was used as ritual payment in bridewealth ceremonies. Predictably, changes in village location and lifestyle have led to a more money-based economy. The need for a more stable income derives from several sources. The Alune are no longer self-sufficient with regard to food, clothing, and household implements. In 1988 a prolonged wet season led to a shortage of coconut and chilli pepper in the village, and these were bought on a daily basis from their Javanese neighbors in addition to rice and dried fish. Kerosene is used for lighting in place of the traditional damar tapers. Whereas previously the Alune cooked in bamboo over an open fire, they now buy pots, bowls, glasses, and spoons. Modern families scorn the

². A small arboreal phalanger.
sago-sheath containers which formerly were used to mix papeda, sago porridge, and now use large plastic bowls.

The church requests money for a variety of purposes in addition to the collection which is taken at the Saturday and Sunday services for the Minister's salary. Villagers are asked to buy new hymn books and bibles to support the Gereja Protestan Maluku³ (G.P.M.), to donate food and money to visiting theology students, and to donate part of their clove harvest to provide an income for the church's building and maintenance programs.

Schooling also places a large economic burden upon the family. Parents must pay school fees, and buy school uniforms, sports clothes, texts, and exercise books. This burden is increased by the need to pay living expenses for children who must board in another town.

A further source of economic pressure comes from the Government, which now requires villagers to pay taxes on their earnings from the sale of clove and durian. In late 1988 electricity was extended to Lohiatala, and each household wishing to be connected had to pay a fee of approximately RP85,000.⁴ Only the four villagers who receive a regular income (the village headman and the

³ The Protestant Church of Maluku.
⁴ Some indication of the value of this sum can be gained by comparison with the starting salary of a Government employee, which is approximately RP100,000 per month. In 1988 the exchange rate for US$1 was RP1,750.
three teachers) seemed likely to take advantage of this new service.

Increasing economic demands have resulted in more frequent contact with non-Alune people as the villagers attempt to develop an income. Younger community members with a better level of education look for outside employment in the army, police force, or Government offices. As a short-term solution to their financial problems, some people work in the plywood factory in Waisarisa, or as servants in Ambon. Several men have found irregular employment in the village, helping to maintain the dam which was built on the Nala river to provide irrigation channels for the wet rice fields established under the transmigrasi program. Men with training in construction are occasionally employed to build the foundations and frames for new houses both in Lohiatala and in neighboring villages.

Older people are reluctant to leave the village and have become more innovative in their financial ventures. One recent and controversial source of income derives from the ownership of small herds of cows. A Government program has been established under which villagers are loaned two cows for a period of five years. After this time the cows plus two offspring must be returned, and the villager can keep any surplus stock. This program
initially was greeted with enthusiasm, but villagers have
grown disillusioned because of the loss of stock through
disease, neglect, or accident. The need to move the
cows frequently to fresh grazing land increases the work
burden on all members of the family. Despite these
drawbacks, cows are still viewed as a valuable source of
income, to be sold in times of emergency.

A more common source of income is gained by the
(illegal) making and sale of sopi, fermented palm wine,
which is popular in the region. Families occasionally
will sell surplus sago but, because sago-processing is an
extremely labor-intensive task, it generally is not
considered worthwhile. Some men hunt wild boar and deer
and sell the meat to their fellow villagers. Others hunt
birds or snakes, which are sold to Chinese entrepreneurs
supplying Java or foreign countries.

Women too earn money from a variety of sources.
Each day several women go to the coast to buy fish for
resale in Lohiatala or in the mountain villages. Others
bake and sell bread and cakes in the village. Three
small stalls have been established which sell daily
necessities such as oil, rice, soap, sugar, and salt.
Women frequently carry large loads of bananas, cassava,

5. During the wet season it is common for several cows
to be caught in a flash flood and drowned. The villager
then owes the Government the full value of the cow.
or papaya to the *transmigrasi* village of Waihatu, from where they are transported to the market town of Waisarisa for sale. Under the influence of their Javanese neighbors some women are beginning to plant vegetables for sale in the market. It is increasingly common for women from Waihatu to go to Lohiatala to buy produce for resale.

None of these ventures provides the villagers with more than a subsistence income of a few thousand rupiah a week. Their main source of income remains the sale of clove and durian. However, with the decreasing value of clove, more villagers are turning to other crops in its place. The clove season lasts from approximately May to August and the durian season December to February. At these times, many of the villagers return to the old village in the mountains where their clove and fruit plantations are still located. Clove harvesting is a labor-intensive task, and all family members are expected to help with picking, cleaning, and drying. While some villagers go to Ambon to market their clove or durian, it is more common for them to make a quick sale at a lower price to one of the stall owners.

Few villagers are able to store their clove so that they have a source of money in an emergency. Even fewer have a bank account, although they are now encouraged to
by Government employees from Kairatu or Ambon who come to the village to talk to the people about planning for their children's futures. Financial emergencies remain the responsibility of the extended family.

4.3.4 Education

Education was introduced to the people of Lohiatana in 1926 by the first Calvinist missionary, who arrived in the village the previous year. The three-year school was known as sekolah rakyat, and villagers who were children at the time report that in the first years of the school all community members were compelled to attend.

4.4 That was the time when the school was just beginning; therefore everyone had to attend, even those who were already white-haired. There were those who didn't know any Malay, but they were forced to attend. Some were clever but others had no aptitude. They left at the end of Class One or Class Two. They couldn't go on (HK69M).

Students were taught reading, writing, and hymn singing and received religious education, all through the medium of Malay only. The use of Alune was strictly forbidden.

4.5 We knew no Malay at all. For example, if we were ordered to get something, we'd get something else. But the teacher never grew tired of it. He just kept on teaching us. Later if we'd bring back the wrong thing he'd say "no, not that. Not that, the other thing." (If we spoke Alune, the teacher) was angry, he punished us. For example he used a piece of wood to prop (our jaws) open. He'd leave us like that standing in front of the class. If not that, we'd be beaten till we were almost dead (HK69M).
Because of the language difficulties most students repeated at least one class, and the three years were frequently extended to as many as six. Former students emphasize the confusion they felt, and most claim they were in school for at least a year before they were able to understand anything which was asked of them.

4.6 It was hard; when we were at school it was very hard. The teacher would speak but we didn't know. It was truly hard! We studied but didn't know anything. It was the hardest thing (AT75M).

4.7 Every day we got into trouble. It was a long, long time before we knew Malay. At school we kept on talking Alune with our friends, we always talked Alune. The teacher got angry (SMK43F).

As students became more familiar with Malay they insisted that their younger siblings learn and use it constantly so that they wouldn't suffer the same problems when they entered school.

4.8 Indonesian was very hard! So, when we saw the teacher we were scared because we didn't know Indonesian. We ran away from the teacher. The teacher said "Don't speak too much Alune." We were beaten. Finally our younger siblings, the youngest one, because of that we didn't teach him Alune. But he can't speak the language, Alune. That was the result (PK40M).

This attitude continues today, and parents refuse to speak Alune with their young children so that they won't be handicapped by language problems in school. Those few who do attempt to teach Alune to their children are criticized for placing their children at an educational disadvantage.
A six-year elementary school (S.D.) was established by the G.P.M. shortly after the founding of the new village of Lohiatata. Although it was originally built in the central area of the village, it was later relocated near the entrance to give easier access to visiting officials. Relocation of the school has had the unfortunate effect of making access more difficult for students, particularly during the wet season, when the valley is flooded. There are three teachers who are responsible for the six classes totalling approximately seventy-five pupils. Only one of these is an Alune speaker and native to the village. The Headmaster is from Tanimbar, an island in South-east Maluku, and the third teacher is from the nearby island of Saparua. Many parents are concerned about problems within the school and dissatisfied with the level of education which their children receive. They have chosen instead to send their children to one of the two elementary schools in the neighboring town of Waihatu. At the beginning of the 1989 school year no children were enrolled in the first grade at Lohiatata.

There are nine Junior High Schools (S.M.T.P.) in the Kairatu Kecamatan which accept students from grades 7 to 9. They are located in the towns of Kamal, Waesamu, 6, Waihatu. At the beginning of the 1989 school year no children were enrolled in the first grade at Lohiatata.

6. The Junior High School at Waesamu was founded in 1988. In its first year of operation it only accepted
Waimital, Kairatu, Urasana\textsuperscript{7}, Kamarian, Rumahkai, Latu, and Tumalehu. The majority of Junior High students from Lohiatara attend school in either Kamal or Kairatu. As these towns contain an indigenous Alune population, most students are able to live with relatives while attending school. Students boarding in Kamal generally return to the village every second weekend. Those living in Kairatu return less frequently, particularly during the wet season, when the road becomes a muddy, pot-holed track, and the Nala river is impassable because of flooding. This system produces a strain on both the parents and the children. Parents try to contribute food to the family with whom the child is boarding, but they are handicapped both by their lack of income and by the intensive nature of their farming techniques, which makes it difficult for them to leave the village. It is not uncommon for students to drop out of school because they cannot cope with the long absences from their family and village. For students without relatives with whom they can stay, school work is hindered by the difficulties of daily life.\textsuperscript{8} For the residents of Lohiatara these students who were entering Year 7. Thus all other Junior High students in the district continued to attend schools in either Kamal or Kairatu.

7. Urasana is administratively considered part of the town of Honitetu.

8. In 1988 six students shared a small wooden shack in Waisarisa and commuted each day to Kamal. Their parents were rostered to visit three days a week to take food and
problems will gradually be alleviated as more students are able to commute to school in Waesamu. There is only one Senior High School (S.M.T.A.) in the district, and it is located in Kairatu. At Senior High School

**Table 4.4**

<table>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>SD current</td>
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<td>SD graduate</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD dropout</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMTP graduate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMTP dropout</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMTA current</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMTA graduate</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td></td>
<td>329</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

level students can choose to attend a school which will provide them with practical training in, for example, elementary school teaching, religious education, physical education, construction, or mechanical engineering. These schools are all located on the island of Ambon.

The fact that the cost of housing and tuition for Senior High School is beyond the means of most villagers is

---

9. These statistics were obtained from the village secretary. See also footnotes 11 and 17 above.

10. This figure includes older community members who graduated from the three year S.R.

11. This figure denotes community members who entered a particular school program but withdrew at some level before completing the final exams.
reflected in the statistics for the level of education attained by community members. Prior to 1988 no student from Lohiatala had succeeded in graduating from a tertiary education program. In 1988 one community member was in his final year at the Christian University in Ambon.

4.3.5 Government

Although three principal stages of change in the system of village organization in Lohiatala are identifiable, some components of each system have survived to the present time. The first stage existed in the era prior to conversion to Christianity, and the structure of Government was associated with the indigenous religion and the kakehan organization. A hierarchical system existed in which four levels of government position were filled by leaders of each of the four kakehan ranks. The role of latu was hereditary and incorporated the task of ritual leader with responsibilities for ceremonies involving the entire village, such as pela renewal. However certain ritual

12. Tertiary education has become the subject of superstition in the village, as three students have died of either accident or disease soon after completing their final exam. Several students cited these deaths as their reason for deciding to attend one of the specialized high schools rather than pursuing a course of education that would have allowed them to attend University.

13. The kakehan society will be described briefly in section 4.3.6.
tasks fell to either the kepala soa, luma matai, or the tapel upui.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITION</th>
<th>RANK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>latu latu pati</td>
<td>village headman lobia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amalela</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; nalaweili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba'ele</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; na'waweni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Soa were traditional political units composed of several lineages. Soa Mokabane consists of the Makerawe, Rumahpasal, Lumoli, Kwalomine, and Somai lineages, while soa Tibali includes the Tibalimeten, Tibalilatu, Nikolebu, Manakane, Lekalaete, Souhaly, and Soumolin lineages. The luma matai is the head of each lineage. He performed the rituals associated with events involving members of his lineage, such as the planting and harvesting of rice, marriage proposal and exchange of bridewealth, and house building. In addition the luma matai usually possessed incantations used for healing.

The tapel upui asserts influence over the spirits inhabiting territory owned by Lohiatala. He performs ceremonies to make the land safe for human occupation and possesses the knowledge to heal those who have been harmed physically or mentally by the spirits. In Lohiatala the hereditary role of tapel upui is held by the Rumahpasal family; however several other villagers have the right to speak for certain pieces of land which their family traditionally has occupied. They alone can
cure illnesses caused by the tutelary spirits which dwell in those areas.

Another key traditional role was that of the mlinu: the village chanter. The mlinu led the chants which accompanied all ceremonies or festive occasions. He also was the repository of knowledge about the village history which is contained in songs and poetry.

This system began to change in the period following conversion to Christianity. The kakehan ranks were abolished, and roles which had been established throughout the more acculturated villages in Central Maluku were introduced and adapted to the needs of the new situation. For example, the mlinu became the town crier or marinyo, and his principal function was to make announcements in the village. The term raja was introduced for the village headman. The ritual responsibilities of the latu, luma matai, and tapel upui were diminished as many of the traditional ceremonies which were associated with indigenous religious beliefs and headhunting were suppressed.

14. It is possible that this term which is now utilized by older speakers is not the traditional term for the chanter, but is from the Portuguese word marinyo, which is now used in Central Maluku to refer to the town crier. Possibly the chanter's title changed when he took on a modern role and the original word was lost. My consultants also gave me the term used in Lohiasapalewa: marimu.
The present system was introduced following Indonesian independence and the associated restructuring of the system of Government. The position of latu lost its hereditary status and became a Government appointment with the title kepala desa. With this change, the ritual and administrative roles of the latu were separated. In Maluku, the modern-day kepala desa frequently has spent long periods of time away from the village, often in military service, and does not possess the knowledge necessary to carry out the ritual responsibilities. Today the ritual tasks previously fulfilled by the latu are undertaken by the lineage leaders.

Further changes are inevitable. The present mlinu will be the last to hold this position in Lohiatala. He is aged sixty-eight, and only one of his children, a daughter, remains in the village. He says that children have no interest in or need for the old ways, and none of his children have been taught the chants. However the role of tapel upui continues, albeit with a limited sphere of responsibility, under the title tuan tanah. For example, when a logging company moved onto Lohiatala's land to begin felling trees, he was called on to perform a ceremony to protect the workers and their machinery from the anger of ancestral spirits.
Structural changes are also gradually being implemented. According to modern Indonesian government regulations, when a village population reaches 2,500 the village is divided into three rukun tetangga (R.T.), which act as administrative units under the control of the raja. However, as the population of Lohiatatala has not yet reached 700, the village remains divided into two soa.

4.3.6 Religion

Indigenous religious practices involved the use of incantations to call on mythical beings associated with all aspects of the physical environment. The practice of headhunting (which centered around the kakehan society\textsuperscript{15}) was tied integrally into the ritual life of the Alune. The kakehan was purported to be a secret society into which men were initiated as they approached adulthood. The rank of initiated members was apparent from the tattoo on their chests. A special design was reserved for the loincloth of the kakehan leader. Many of the societies' activities centered around headhunting and warfare with neighboring villages. A rise in rank was dependent upon the number of heads a warrior took, and these were

\textsuperscript{15} The kakehan society has been the subject of much research for the last 150 years. The best known reports are those of Deninger 1915, van Eckris 1861, 1867, Ludeking 1868, Sachse 1907, 1919, 1922, Tauern 1913, 1918, de Vries 1927, Jensen 1948a,b, Jensen and Niggemeyer 1939, van Hoevell 1896, and Stresemann 1923.
displayed in the kakehan meeting house, known in the old village as Salaputa. Women and children were expected to demonstrate their courage by touching and admiring the heads. A men's language, so mo'wai, was used by kakehan members to conceal their ill intent during hunting expeditions. This language is also associated with one of the styles of song, kapatate, which were sung just before the men would leave on a headhunting expedition and on their safe return.

In 1925 the first Calvinist missionary arrived in Lohiatlala. A Malay speaker from the neighboring island of Saparua, he initially communicated through an Alune-speaking interpreter who lived in the (non-Alune) village of Hatusua. Conversion appears to have taken place rapidly, and with it the suppression of all activities associated with the indigenous religion and the kakehan society. People still alive today who were children when the missionary arrived assess that all villagers had converted within five to ten years. Tutuarima points to several factors which help to account for the speed with which conversion purportedly occurred. In some districts bags of rice were used to encourage villagers to attend the church. More important, some aspects of Christianity were presented in terms which harmonized, rather than conflicted, with traditional life.
In virtue of the laws of its 'adat' (customary law) this nation attaches great importance to tradition, reverence for its elders, justice and fidelity towards one's neighbour. Therefore, the demands of the Old and New Testaments with regard to these things find a ready response there (Tutuarima 1960:152).

The process began with children and teenagers, who appear to have converted more readily, and then encouraged their parents and grandparents to attend catechism classes so that they too could be confirmed as full members of the church. Those attending catechism class were taught the very basic concepts of Christianity in Malay, including recital of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostle's Creed. Knowledge of these was considered essential before baptism could take place. Wallace, writing at the time of his 1859 visit to Seram, asserted

"It need hardly be said that with people in this low state of civilization religion is almost wholly ceremonial, and that neither are the doctrines of Christianity comprehended, nor its moral precepts obeyed (1869:270)."

This view receives some support from the testimony of old people, who today tell of the difficulties of learning and comprehending in a language with which they had little familiarity.

Today Lohiatala is predominantly a Protestant village, with only 5 households out of approximately 100 containing one or more non-Protestant member. There are three Muslim households, all located near the entrance to the village (see Figure 4.2 above). Two of these
households comprise women from Lohiatala who married Bugis men but who remained Christian themselves. The third involves a man from Lohiatala who married a Butonese woman and later converted to Islam. One other community member was Muslim (originating from Sulawesi), but converted to Christianity and changed his name upon his marriage. He is now one of the sextons in the church. There are also two Catholics living in Lohiatala, one of whom is a Timorese who has married into the village. The other is an Ambonese man who chose to become a permanent resident of Lohiatala and regularly attends the church.

The central role which the church plays in the lives of the villagers as an agent of social change is visually apparent through the large, modern structure which was consecrated in 1987. The building of the new church has effectively ended the possibility of a permanent return to the mountains. The laying of the foundation of the church marked wide-reaching cultural changes, which were symbolized by a ceremony held to mark the banning of the use of magic for any purpose. This ceremony reflects the strong opposition to traditional practices which the church continues to preach.

16. Despite the fact that these two women have remained Christian, they are not allowed to take Holy Communion because they have not married in a Christian wedding ceremony and are living with Muslim men.
The church administratively divides the village into three sectors which comprise approximately thirty-five households and are each headed by one of the three church elders. These are further divided into three sub-sectors with a coordinator responsible for each of the nine resulting units.17

![Church administrative divisions](image)

**FIGURE 4.3** Church administrative divisions

The dominant role which the church plays in the lives of villagers is clear both from the number of services which occur each week and from the positions of responsibility which a large number of people hold, or have held, within the church. The church week begins with the Sunday morning service which is conducted by the minister, a forty-eight year-old Saparuan who has lived in Lohiatala for approximately one and a half years. He is assisted by the three church elders, two deacons, and the deaconess,18 who comprise the parish council and are

17. The unit leaders are selected by the minister and sit to his right in the church.
18. The positions of church elder, deacon, and deaconess are filled by an election which is held every
seated to the left of the minister. The church service is followed by Sunday School, which is taught by five villagers. Two groups meet simultaneously on Sunday afternoons: the Youth Group, and Women's Service Group.

![Church administrative roles diagram]

**FIGURE 4.4** Church administrative roles

The former is organized by the Headmaster, while the Deaconess heads the latter. Each is held in the homes of different community members every week.¹⁹ A Bible study for four years. Those holding the positions may be reappointed for a second term.

¹⁹. In mid-1988, in an attempt to increase participation in the Women's Prayer Group, the Deaconess began to organize meetings in the homes of women who did not attend on a regular basis. She would open the
class for children is held each Friday afternoon. The church week is closed each Saturday evening with a prayer meeting, *kunci usbud*, which takes place in one house in each of the nine units. A further service, *kunci bulan*, is held in the church on the last day of each month to close the month. In addition, many community members are involved in regular practices for either the *suling* group which accompanies the hymns, or one of the three choirs which perform each week.

![Church Organizations Diagram](image)

**FIGURE 4.5** Church organizations

Full membership of the church is attained only through confirmation. Catechesis is held each Tuesday and Friday morning, and the level of education of the students determines the number of years of participation meeting with a prayer for the members of the household, who often chose to remain in the kitchen during the service.
which are required. Villagers with only an elementary school education will be expected to take classes for up to three years, whereas a Senior High School graduate can be confirmed within one year. Churchgoers must be confirmed before they can take part in the Holy Communion services which occur four times a year. Once a person has been confirmed, he or she can marry in the church. However, couples living in a de facto relationship must marry in the church first before being confirmed. Children of unmarried parents cannot be baptized, and unwed mothers may not take Communion for a year after the birth of their child.

4.3.7 Housing

Present-day housing patterns reflect the current state of social change in the village. Traditional Alune houses were raised off the ground, with four steps leading up to one large room, which provided the main living and sleeping area. Cooking was done over a wood fire in the space beneath the house or in a small shelter nearby. The floor of the living area was made of bamboo, while the walls were built from the stem of the sago leaf, and the roof was thatched from sago leaves. Today only one family in Lohiatala continues to live in a traditional house. This family maintains a home in the village but rarely returns there, despite strong pressure
from the minister to do so. They have chosen to live alone in an isolated area next to the river and approximately half a mile from the village.

The majority of villagers live in a modified version of the traditional-style house. The house is not raised, and usually consists of several rooms with dirt floors. A shallow gutter is dug around the house to keep out the rain which floods over the red clay earth during the wet season. Again, walls are made of sago branches pegged together, and the roof is thatched. There is frequently a small covered verandah in the front of the house, where family members and their friends gather in the afternoon heat to rest and exchange news.

In the village statistics the sago wood homes are termed 'emergency housing', a reference to the fact that this type of house was first built when the village was established on its present location in 1965. To date, only fourteen 'permanent' houses have been built in Lohiatala. These more closely resemble modern western-style homes with their concrete walls and floor, glass windows, and tin roof. However in design and furnishing they remain very similar to the majority of village houses. With one exception, they retain a traditional kitchen, which is attached to the rear of the house by a small corridor. Most villagers aspire to own a modern
home, and approximately nine were under various stages of construction in 1988. Because of lack of a stable income, construction is a long process, and sections of the house are added in the durian and clove seasons. In mid-1988 several cooperatives were formed, each consisting of twelve to fifteen young men who worked together for three days each week. While they undertook a variety of tasks, such as processing sago and clearing new fields, their main focus was house-building.

4.4 Contemporary linguistic situation in Lohiatala

The linguistic economy of the village of Lohiatala in its contemporary setting consists principally of the three codes Alune, Ambonese Malay, and standard Indonesian. The range of use of each of these codes will be investigated in detail in Chapter 5. This section will focus on briefly describing some of the more salient features of Alune, as well as the principal similarities and differences between Ambonese Malay and Indonesian.

20. The villagers are encouraged in these aspirations by the minister who frequently preaches about the benefits of 'progress' and compares the state of progress of Lohiatala with that of other villages in the region.

21. Although a number of migrant languages are known to some speakers in the village, they are rarely heard, as most are spoken by only one or two villagers who have married into Lohiatala.
4.4.1 Alune

As was noted in the previous chapter, Alune is an Austronesian language which has been classified as a member of the Proto-East Central Maluku branch of Central Malayo-Polynesian (Collins 1983). Descriptions of Alune can be found in Sierevelt (1920), Tauern (1926-31), and Niggemeyer (1952).

The rapid linguistic shift which is occurring in Lohiatatala is apparent in many aspects of the language. Only traces of a verbal conjugation system, a feature of the languages of Central Maluku in which the verb is inflected for person and number of the subject (Collins 1983:Ch.3), have been retained in Alune. The remnants of this system are apparent only in the alternation of initial consonants, which occur in free variation in verbal paradigms such as

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{au rani} & \text{sie si dani} \\
\text{1sg cry} & \text{3pl cry} \\
\text{au re'wa} & \text{au te'wa} & \text{ami de'wa} \\
\text{1sg know} & \text{1sg know} & \text{1plE know}
\end{array}
\]

Today case relations in Alune, which is an SVO language, are indicated by the use of free pronouns in conjunction with the fixed ordering of structural elements in a sentence.

In common with the languages of Central Maluku, the Alune genitive system distinguishes between alienable and
inalienable possession. This system too exhibits extensive changes, although less so among the older generation of speakers. These changes are described in detail in Chapter 5.

However, despite the changes which are occurring, some morphology persists. Some productive affixes are illustrated below.

1. Nominalizer /ma-/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma'a'ane</td>
<td>'eater'</td>
<td>(&lt; ane 'to eat')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'subulu</td>
<td>'headhunter'</td>
<td>(&lt; subu 'to uproot' + ulu 'head')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'alena</td>
<td>'storyteller'</td>
<td>(&lt; alena 'to narrate')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'oti</td>
<td>'caller'</td>
<td>(&lt; oti 'to call: one who hunts by using magic to call a cuscus down from a tree')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'otie</td>
<td>'beggar'</td>
<td>(&lt; oti 'to call' + transitivizing suffix)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Causative verbalizer /a-/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mlita</td>
<td>'clean'</td>
<td>amlita 'to clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lesi</td>
<td>'more'</td>
<td>amlesie 'to increase'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muti</td>
<td>'cold'</td>
<td>amutie 'to make s.t. cold'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Transitivizer {-e, -'we}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anau</td>
<td>'to study'</td>
<td>anau'we 'to teach s.o.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dulu</td>
<td>'to descend'</td>
<td>dulue 'to lower s.t.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>betu</td>
<td>'to wake'</td>
<td>betue 'to awaken s.o.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Instrumental nominalisation /-te/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asa</td>
<td>'to grate'</td>
<td>asate 'grater'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li'u</td>
<td>'to carry on shoulder'</td>
<td>li'ute 'carrying pole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlai</td>
<td>'to sweep'</td>
<td>hlaite 'broom'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4.2 Ambonese Malay

Chapter 2 revealed that Ambonese Malay (AM) was well-established as a lingua franca by the sixteenth century, and its use continued to spread throughout the colonial period. In the Christian villages of Central Maluku, AM has replaced many of the indigenous languages (cf. Collins 1980b:11). At the same time dialectal differentiation has emerged within AM. Dialectal differentiation is not well-documented, due to the paucity of sociolinguistic studies in Indonesia and particularly in Maluku. However Collins (1982:93) noted dialect differences between the variety of AM spoken in the Christian villages of Saparua and that of Ambon City. My own research revealed some differences in intonation patterns and lexical items in the variety of AM spoken in Lohiatala due to influence from Alune. AM can be expected to continue to develop greater complexity as it spreads throughout the region and its functions become more diversified.

Differences between Ambonese Malay and standard Indonesian have been noted at all levels: phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, the lexicon, and discourse.

22. Although standard Indonesian (BI) is not the lexifier language for Ambonese Malay, it has frequently formed the basis for comparison (cf. Collins 1980a, C. Grimes 1985, and B. Grimes 1988). The comparison is relevant in this section because it highlights the extent to which the two codes differ.

**Phonology:** The following phonological differences have been noted between AM and standard Indonesian (BI).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BI</th>
<th>AM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. stop | /
| 2. h   | /
| 3. nasal| /
| 4. ai  | /
| 5. au  | /
| 6.  | /

7. There is frequent ellipsis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BI</th>
<th>AM</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e.g. sudah</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>'e'ready'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pergi</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jangan</td>
<td>jang</td>
<td>'don't'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punya</td>
<td>pung</td>
<td>'possess'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barangkali</td>
<td>mangkali</td>
<td>'probably'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lexicon:** A large degree of dialectal divergence from BI is found in the lexicon of AM. Of the several Malay dialects which Dyen (1965) compared with (standard) Malay in his lexicostatistical survey of Austronesian languages, AM was the most divergent. Although AM shares 80.9 percent of its basic vocabulary with BI, the phonetic differences which were outlined above create an initial impression that the extent of lexical differentiation is much greater. AM shows borrowings from a number of different sources, including the

---

23. Collins (1980a:18) notes that in some cases other vowels occur in place of schwa, and that this can be principally attributed to vowel assimilation.
indigenous languages of eastern Indonesia, Portuguese, and Dutch.  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{seng} & = 'no' < \text{Portuguese sem 'no, without'} \\
\text{par} & = 'for, in order to' < \text{Portuguese para 'for'} \\
\text{po} & = 'but' < \text{Alune}  \\
\text{mar} & = 'but' < \text{Dutch maar 'but'} \\
\text{parlente} & = 'to lie, pretend' < \text{Portuguese parlenda 'tall tale'} \\
\text{nyong} & = 'boy, young man' < \text{Dutch jongen}
\end{align*}
\]

(BI tidak, bukan)  
(BI untuk)  
(BI tetapi, tapi)  
(BI bohong, tipu)  
(BI laki-laki dewasa, pria)

Pronoun paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BI</th>
<th>AM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>beta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg fam.</td>
<td>kamu,</td>
<td>ose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>engkau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect</td>
<td>Title,</td>
<td>ale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg fam.</td>
<td>dia</td>
<td>dia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect</td>
<td>beliau</td>
<td>ongtua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>akang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl inc</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>katong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl exc</td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>katong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>kalian</td>
<td>dong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>mereka</td>
<td>dong,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dorang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. Use of this word in Ambonese Malay is restricted to Alune villages.
Example:

Ongtua bilang "Béta pung bini dong dua dudu dolo."
3sg say 1sg POSS wife 3pl 2 sit first
He said 'Those two wives of mine are sitting
down.'  

Su sadia akang abis
already prepare 3sgN finish
(They) finished preparing it ... 

ose pung sodara-sodara dong
2sg POSS relatives 3pl
Your relatives

Morphology and Syntax: In comparison to BI, AM shows marked reduction in the number of productive verbal affixes. Whereas BI has approximately fifteen verbal affixes and a further four nominalizing affixes, the productive affix system of AM is restricted to six verbal and one nominalizing affix (Collins 1980a:21ff).

Instead, AM makes more extensive use of modals to mark, for example, aspect and causative constructions.

Example:

dong dua kasi makang ongtua deng makanang racong
3pl 2 CAUS eat 3sg with food poison
They fed him poisonous food.

ongtua ada dengar
3sg PROG listen
He was listening.

Some affixes serve the same function in AM and BI, for example the prefix ber- (ba- in Ambonese Malay), which marks a middle voice verb (Collins 1980a:22).

26. The examples given in this section are taken from the text of a story narrated in Ambonese Malay which can be found in Appendix 6.
They walked and called. Kept going that way, walking and calling.

The formation of yes/no questions is notably different between Bl and AM. Whereas the former uses either rising intonation or the use of the particle -kah, AM uses a structure which parallels that of Alune and other languages of Central Maluku.

Example:

Bl

lapar-kah?
Are you hungry?

AM

beta tidur dulu ka apa? Iyo, tidur dulu. lsg sleep first or what yes sleep first Should I sleep? Yes, go ahead and sleep.

Alune

au 'eu pi mo? 'eu lsg go or no go Should I go? Go.

A further striking difference between BI and AM occurs in the genitive system. Again, this construction shows influence from the indigenous languages of Maluku. Word order in the BI genitive system is possessed-possessor.

27. The AM genitive system is discussed in detail in Collins 1980a, 1983.
Example:

BI isteri saya pergi ke pasar
wife 1sg go to market
My wife went to the market.

In contrast, the AM word order in genitive constructions is possessor-punya-possessed. The word punya means 'to own, possess'. It may appear in a contracted form pung in genitive constructions. This word order parallels that found in Alune.\(^{28}\)

Example:

AM katong dua pung laki, mari katong makang jua.
1pl 2 POSS man please 1pl eat also
Husband, let's eat.

Discourse structure: The discourse particles which are used in Ambonese Malay also differ from those of BI. For example, while BI setelah or sesudah 'then, after that' occurs clause-initially to mark the passage of events in a narrative, AM abis 'to finish' occurs in a clause-final position and fills this discourse function.

Example:

BI setelah dia naik gunung, dia masuk kampung
after 3sg climb mountain 3sg enter village
After climbing the mountain, he entered the village.

AM campur dolo abis segeru jua bagitu
mix first finish palm wine also like that

\(^{28}\) Detailed examples of the use of genitive constructions in Alune are given in Chapter 5, section 5.3.
After mixing it, they did the same to the wine.

AM Lalu mamasa **abis** dong suru dong dua pi
then cook finish 3pl order 3pl 2 go
After they'd cooked, they ordered them to go.

4.4.3 Indonesian

No research has yet been undertaken in Central Maluku to assess the impact of the national language on the viability of the indigenous languages of the region. The few sociolinguistic studies which have been carried out in Indonesia have focussed largely on language planning issues, the conditions under which code-switching occurs, and stylistic variation. Not surprisingly, Javanese has been the focus of many of the papers. However, several authors have discussed the use of Indonesian both in inter-group communication and in public domains such as administration, education, and business (cf. Nababan 1985). The issue of the spread of functional domains is relevant to the question of the impact of Indonesian on Alune and the other indigenous languages of Central Maluku.

In contrast to Ambonese Malay, which is spoken in all informal settings in Lohiatala, the principal settings for the use of Indonesian are the school, the

church, and the village meeting house. The church also provides a forum for village meetings on most weeks, immediately following the Sunday church service. BI is used in all formal situations within the village, such as at village meetings, with visiting Government officials, and with fellow villagers on occasions when they are acting in an official capacity.\footnote{30}

The language of the church is a blend of standard Indonesian and 'Church Malay', an older form of Malay which pre-dates the introduction of Indonesian in Maluku by several centuries. B. Grimes (1988:42) notes that Church Malay incorporates borrowings from Arabic and Sanskrit, in addition to using forms from literary Malay (such as the pronoun hu, which refers to God), which are rarely used in standard Indonesian. While Church Malay and BI are utilized by the minister in the sermon and in spontaneous prayer, the formulaic content of the liturgy is in standard Indonesian.

In addition to the effect which the introduction of the national language has had on the languages of the region through raising the status of Malay and increasing its functional domains, its use in a variety of media, such as radio, television, and print (including books, magazines, and newspapers), has increased the impact.\footnote{30. Use of BI will be exemplified in Chapter 5, section 5.4.}
The fact that AM is a source of pride to the people of Central Maluku is apparent from the popularity throughout the archipelago of songs which are written and recorded in Ambonese Malay.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided both a historical and contemporary overview of the lives of the villagers of Lohiatala. The process of social change, which began in the 1920s with the arrival of the first Christian missionaries, has accelerated in the last thirty years since the relocation of the village near the coast. The impact of the changes which were described here on language use in Lohiatala will be examined in the following chapter.
5 LINGUISTIC SETTING: SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

5.1 Introduction

During the first two months of field work, initial impressions concerning language usage were formed on the basis of personal observations and some recordings of free conversations in a variety of settings. It is apparent that rapid language shift involving the displacement of Alune by Malay is occurring along generational lines. The fact that children and young people rarely speak Alune in any setting with any interlocutor is a strong indicator that language shift is leading to language death in Lohiatala.¹ To verify this impression, I sought more concrete documentation of the path of change. In order to obtain detailed information about linguistic behavior and language attitudes, two structured tasks were undertaken: a language-usage interview and testing of Alune language comprehension and speaking ability.

5.2 Evidence from language-usage interview

5.2.1 Purpose

There were two reasons for conducting such a detailed interview in Lohiatala. First, the interview was constructed to determine whether a correlation could

¹ It is possible that children and young people speak Alune in some settings to which I did not have access, such as during the performance of rituals. However, they reported speaking AM even in conversations with the oldest villagers who spoke Alune to them.
be established between language choice and any other factor, such as strength of ties to the village, level of education, strength of religious affiliation, outside work experience, age of speaker and interlocutor, and status of interlocutor. A second reason for using a structured interview was to provide data which may be comparable with other studies of communities undergoing language shift (cf. Dorian 1981, Gal 1979).

5.2.2 Method

Over a six month period from April to October, I interviewed twenty-nine women and thirty-three men, aged between twenty-three and seventy-six years. The interview usually was held in Ambonese Malay with further explication in Alune if necessary. All interviews were recorded and responses were later transcribed.

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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>33</td>
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The sampling frame used was the village census, collected by the village secretary. The census yielded a survey population of all Alune villagers resident in Lohiatala aged twenty years or older, totalling 317 potential
respondents. A stratified sampling method was used to create a more homogenous population and decrease the probable sampling error (Babbie 1973:94). The survey population was stratified by lineage and sex. Fifty-six respondents (representing 17.35 percent of the survey population) were chosen by this method, and a further six were selected specifically: the village headman, village secretary, village crier, my two principal consultants, and my research assistant. Despite the fact that a number of people expressed concern about their ability to participate in the interview, there were no refusals.

The interview time averaged one and a half hours, and respondents were asked a total of 134 questions covering personal history, residence, education, employment, dwelling, church affiliation, language awareness, and knowledge of traditional practices (including folktales and Alune personal names). The full interview is presented in Appendix 1. Not all questions were asked of all respondents, as there were occasions on which some questions seemed inappropriate, or presented particular problems for a respondent.

The interview questions were determined following several months of observation of daily events and patterns of interaction which were relevant to village

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2. There are eleven principal lineages in Lohiatana.
life and language use. They were designed to focus on relationships between three sets of factors and language choice. First, factors specific to the speaker, such as age, sex, and language learning history: respondents were asked detailed questions about their personal history, and that of their parents and children. Second, the speaker's network: these questions centered on patterns of daily interaction in order to gain an initial picture of whether the respondent's strongest network links were with villagers whose outlook was more village-oriented and traditional, or outward-oriented and modern. Respondents were asked with whom they spent their leisure and work time, and a map of the village (Figure 4.2) provided information about the identity of their neighbors, which was supplemented by questions concerning their selection of residential location. Further questions were constructed to ascertain language choice with a range of interlocutors, including grandparents, mother, father, children, grandchildren, siblings, spouse, friends (both current and childhood playmates), teacher, health worker (both modern and traditional), village headman, government officials, work-mates, and church officials. Third, external factors: to determine their strength of ties with the village, respondents were asked about times they had spent in other locations,
their reasons for presently living in Lohiatala, and their aspirations for the future. Because the church had played such a prominent role in initiating and promoting the use of Malay in the village, it was also important to investigate whether a stronger tie to the church was associated with personal choices about language use.

5.2.3 Problems

The effectiveness of this interview as a means of obtaining accurate data about language choices was in doubt from the earliest stages of planning. My principal concern was the issue of over- or under-reporting of language use. I was uncertain whether the results would provide any useful insights into the process of language shift. Despite my doubts about the reliability of the results, there were two principal reasons for deciding to continue with the task. First, I began to conduct the interviews in my fourth month in Lohiatala, which ensured some familiarity with most of the people who were interviewed. Therefore I was able to check the responses against my personal observations of respondents' language choices which had been made in the preceding months. The earlier interviews were conducted with people with whom I had more frequent contact, such as friends, neighbors, and research consultants. Administering the interviews over a six-month period allowed me to become better
acquainted with a wider range of people in the village. In cases where I had had less contact with the respondent, I checked both the self-reports and my limited observations with other villagers.

Second, the interviews had the benefit of providing me with access to both a wider range of speakers in the community, and to a setting in which I could examine the extent of knowledge about aspects of traditional practices. In the course of the interview I was able to assess the sensitivity of these topics and the possibility of pursuing them further. Finally, it also gave me an opportunity to elicit stories about early schooling experiences, Alune history, and the process of conversion to Christianity.

Several problems arose both in the planning stages and throughout the period that the interview was conducted. During the trial sessions all questions concerning language usage were asked together towards the end of the interview. However it quickly became clear that this format appeared to pressure respondents to greatly over-report use of Alune. Therefore, the order was modified so that the language-usage questions were interspersed as appropriately as possible among the more

3. To some extent, these responses were given because the villagers understood the study of the Alune language to be my focus, and were providing me with the answer which they assumed I wanted.
general questions concerning the respondent's life. The modified survey proved a more effective tool for obtaining accurate data.

A recurring problem arose from the frequent presence of at least one other person during the interview. Older observers occasionally prompted the respondent in a direction which often led to over-reporting of the use of Alune by younger speakers. In such cases I recorded all responses along with the name of the observer, and later weighed them against answers to other questions, and my observations of language use.

A third problem arose from the abstract nature of some questions, which posed unforeseen difficulties for the villagers. Questions such as numbers eighteen, forty-seven, and ninety-two, which asked about residence away from the village, often resulted in contradictory answers. For example, one respondent answered that she had never lived in another town or village, and yet later revealed that she had attended school in Kairatu and then worked in Ambon for several years. I found it necessary both to cross-check responses and to build up a list of

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4. It is also possible that this problem arose from the Alune concept of 'living' or 'dwelling', which seems to involve more than mere residence in a place. The responses indicated that the villagers only 'lived' in Lohiatala: i.e., their only allegiance was to Lohiatala. Residence in any other location was inherently temporary in nature, and therefore constituted 'visiting'.
the most common alternate residence locations, and to ask specifically about each one.

5.2.4 Results

The results of the survey have been divided into two categories. The first category, which consists of responses to questions investigating how patterns of reported language choices have changed over time, demonstrates that rapid language shift along generational lines is occurring in Lohiatala. These responses were compared to the respondents' social networks and observed language use to ascertain their accuracy. The first category also addresses Gal's (1979) assertion that language choice is intimately tied to the speaker's linguistic presentation of self in interaction.

Data in the second category reflect the primacy of the status or role of the interlocutor in determining language choices. The significance of these data is tied to changing cultural associations between linguistic varieties and social groups. This concept is developed in section 5.2.4.2.5.

5.2.4.1 Changing patterns of language choice

The first category of data consists of responses to questions concerning interaction with different generations of speakers at different times in the respondent's life. The questions were designed to probe
not only actual changes in language usage, but also the speaker's awareness of these changes. I was interested in exploring the applicability of Gal's (1979) finding that changes in language choices derive from changes in how speakers wish to present themselves in interaction. Gal asserts that "the process of language shift should be seen within a broader framework of expressively and symbolically used linguistic variation" (1979:3). Within this framework, the different language choices which are made by speakers are linked to their evaluations of the status of the subgroups with which the available languages are associated. In Oberwart (Austria), the site of Gal's (1979) study, Hungarian is associated with a rural peasant lifestyle and traditional Hungarian community values, whereas German is associated with an urban lifestyle and pan-Austrian values. Language choice can be used by speakers in impression management to demonstrate their affiliation with the values associated with a particular language. The data which are presented in this section appear to confirm the validity of Gal's assertion for a small group of speakers in Lohiatala. However a crucial difference between the findings of this study and those of Gal's research is that in Lohiatala language choices are not used for impression management in verbal interaction but rather in attitudes towards
language and claims regarding language use. Language attitudes are inferred from reported language use, the linguistic behavior of speakers in different settings, and their comments regarding the importance of language maintenance.

5.2.4.1.1 Childhood language use

Respondents were asked about their childhood language use both with their playmates and with people of their parents' generation. The questions were set in the context of some event that may have occurred in their childhood. For example, I asked what language the respondents would have used if one of the friends with whom they were playing after school had some food and they wanted to share it.

Data presented in this section highlight the differences between language choices made with the two generations of interlocutors. Respondents reported using a much higher degree of Malay with their childhood playmates than with their parents. The process of language shift in progress can be seen very plainly here. Only the youngest speakers reported speaking Malay with their parents when they were children, but a wider age range of speakers claimed to use at least some Malay with

5. The relationship between language loyalty and reported language use is discussed in greater detail in section 5.2.5.
their childhood playmates, indicating an increasing degree of familiarity with that language among younger speakers.

**TABLE 5.2**

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**TABLE 5.3**

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</table>

Some speakers discussed the presence of an older person in the house as an influence on their childhood language use.

5.1 But in the house, when I was still young, we always spoke Alune because my grandmother, she always spoke Alune. My grandmother lived with us (NK33M).

6. 'Age' in all tables refers to the age of the respondent at the time of the interview. Letters in the tables refer to reported language choice: M = Malay only, A/M = some use of both languages, A = Alune only. The total number of responses tabulated in each of the tables varies slightly, as not all respondents answered all questions.
A strong attachment to a kinsman in the second ascending generation is one of the factors which Dorian (1981:107) cites as playing a possible role in the genesis of semi-speakers. These older people were found to play a crucial role in the linguistic socialization of speakers who display an unusual degree of language loyalty relative to their age. That this factor is also relevant in Lohiatala will become more obvious in the discussion of the children's and young adults' test results in section 5.3.2.

5.2.4.1.2 Present-day language use

A comparison of the results above with data regarding the respondents' present-day language use reveals how rapidly language shift is progressing throughout the community. Data in this section consist of reported language use with three groups of interlocutors: those in the generation of the

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7. The concept of semi-speaker will be discussed in section 5.3.1.
Table 5.5

Present-day language use with peers

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Table 5.6

Present-day language use with parents

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</table>

respondent, her parents, and her children. These data too show a definite transition from one generation to the next in language choice. Use of Alune increases noticeably, and use of Malay decreases, with the age of the speaker and interlocutor.

Speakers were frequently aware that there was a marked difference in their language choices according to the age of the interlocutor.

5.2 With my mother, it's different. (We) still use Alune. Because my mother usually speaks Alune. Therefore my mother and I speak Alune. But with my children I speak Indonesian. That's how it is (MN39M).
5.3 With the old people (we speak) Alune. With the young people we sometimes use Alune but they respond in Indonesian or Ambonese Malay. Certainly the young people don't understand Alune well (PM39M).

5.4 With people of our generation, that means we use Alune, but with the young ones, that means they can't: (therefore we speak) Indonesian. Because they don't understand it any more, Alune (MN51M).

When asked which language he speaks with his parents, one respondent added an explanation about the changes in language choices.

5.5 (I speak) Indonesian, because Alune, we don't usually speak it. The problem is, we were born in Hatusua (ZM34M).

However, there were occasional exceptions to the general pattern of language use, such as one young woman who reported teaching some Alune to her children.

5.6 Alune and Malay, the children already know a little. Yes, I teach them, teach them a little Alune and Malay. If I want to go to the field I say to Roi and Teni "Ono tete 'eu mina". That is "Go and make Grandpa go ahead of me". They know. I just mix (languages) (MSL29F). 8

Older people used this question as an opportunity to express their fears about the loss of Alune.

5.7 I said "Use Malay too, but you must teach your language first" (AMN70F).

5.8 I say to them "Children, you must teach Alune to the grandchildren. Don't let the language be lost." But when she heard that N's wife said "That's true Father but in this era yes, Alune, but they must know Indonesian." "Yes, that's true. I don't disagree with that but what's important is that each day as they grow older you must speak Alune

8. Exceptions such as this one will be discussed in section 5.2.5.
continually to the grandchildren. It mustn't be lost" (NR60M).

5.2.4.1.3 Language known at school entry

In Chapter 4 I described the first prolonged contact with Malay speakers, which began in 1925. From the time that the village school opened in 1926, with all teaching occurring through the medium of Malay only, all villagers had some exposure to Malay. This exposure intensified in the years following 1952, when the villagers moved to the coast. In order to estimate the rate at which Malay began to spread throughout the community and enter the home as a daily language, at least partly as a result of the influence of formal education, I asked the respondents whether they could already speak Malay when they entered their first school year. The results are tabulated below.

Given the village history, it is not surprising that several older speakers should report knowing some Malay at the time of school entry. It is more interesting to note that four younger people reported speaking only

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</table>
Alune when they first entered school. I asked the following speaker if she could speak Malay when she began school.

5.9 I didn't know it. I still spoke Alune (because of living) in the old village. I arrived at Hatusua, I was fourteen before I began school. Therefore it was difficult to speak to the teacher. You see, each day I spoke Alune so I didn't understand Indonesian well (SMK43F).

These speakers, together with the apparent exceptions to the patterns found in Tables 5.2-5.7 above, will be discussed in section 5.2.5.

5.2.4.2 The role of the interlocutor in determining language choice

The second category of data consists of the respondent's reported language choice with a range of interlocutors who hold a well-defined role in the village, either traditional or modern.

5.2.4.2.1 Health workers and healers

Within this category of data, the clearest evidence that the status of the interlocutor affects code-switching is shown by comparing the language choices which the respondents make with a traditional village healer with those made with a modern health worker. In asking about language use with traditional healers, I focussed principally on the village midwives, rather than healers who use incantations, as discussions concerning midwifery skills provoke less controversy in a community
in which many of the areas of traditional knowledge can no longer be discussed openly.

**TABLE 5.8**

Language use with traditional healer

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The midwives were four women aged between fifty-eight and approximately eighty years. The vast majority of speakers reported using only Malay with modern health workers, and Alune with traditional village healers regardless of the age of the respondent.

**TABLE 5.9**

Language use with modern health worker

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<tr>
<td>66+</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

9. There are several Alune-speaking health workers who travel to Lohiatala from Nurue and Kamal to perform basic health care.

10. The discrepancy in the number of respondents in these two tables is due to the fact that not all villagers were willing to reveal whether or not they called on the midwife or traditional healer at times of illness.
5.2.4.2.2 Church officials

The data presented in this section refer to the respondent's choice of language with Alune-speaking villagers who hold an official position in the church, and does not include interaction with the minister, who is not an Alune speaker.

A sizable majority of respondents reported using only Malay, or switching between Malay and Alune, when talking about church business with church officials. Some notable exceptions are the four people aged twenty-six to forty-five, who asserted that they spoke only Alune with these officials. One of these people, a thirty-three year-old woman, is herself a member of the parish council, and her response reflects the fact that church officials frequently use Alune between themselves as a secret language at council meetings when they want to exclude the minister from their discussions.¹¹ Two

<table>
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</table>

¹¹ This use of Alune as a secret language was reported to me by several members of the church council.
other exceptions to this category are women aged forty-three and forty-four years, who consistently over-reported their use of Alune. They will be discussed further in section 5.2.5.12

5.2.4.2.3 Government officials

Respondents were asked which language they usually chose with 1) the village headman and 2) other villagers who hold a formal Government position, such as the village secretary or one of the kepala soa. Although the role of village headman was formerly a traditional one, as I explained in Chapter 4, it is no longer a hereditary position, but is now a political appointment. The present village headman is strongly perceived to play a modern role as a representative of the Indonesian government. Although he was born in Lohiatala and is an Alune speaker, he was in the army for many years and lived in Ambon. He returned to the village following his appointment in 1987.13 His house, at the entrance to the village, is isolated from the majority of villagers' homes.

12. The fourth exception to this category is MLN30F. However, not enough information is available to explain her responses.

13. At the time of this research his appointment remained controversial and unpopular.
TABLE 5.11

Language use with village headman

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
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Total: 25 15 17

TABLE 5.12

Language use with other Government Officials

<table>
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<tr>
<td>66+</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 14 19 25

In contrast, the status of the minor Government officials in the village is less clearly defined. The role of kepala soa is a traditional one, which has temporarily been adapted for use by the Government until the village population reaches a level which would warrant the division of the village into rukun tetangga. Because of the traditional status of the kepala soa, and the fact that their modern role is a minor one, these officials are perceived primarily as villagers fulfilling a traditional role. This perception is reflected in the results. Of the fifty-seven respondents, twenty-five reported using only Malay with the village headman, and a
further fifteen claimed to switch between Malay and Alune. In comparison, only fourteen reported using no Alune with other Government officials.

These tables also shows the interplay of a second factor affecting language choice - that of age of respondent. Older people appear less affected by the status of the interlocutor than younger speakers, and more often make their language choice according to the linguistic ability of the interlocutor: that is, if the interlocutor is reasonably fluent in Alune, older speakers report using Alune.

5.2.4.2.4 Teacher

Respondents were asked which language they usually used with the one village teacher who speaks Alune.

**TABLE 5.13**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although these results are less decisive than those shown in Tables 5.8-5.12, they do indicate the same overall trend as that demonstrated above for language use.
with other villagers holding official positions. In his response, one man who is in the same age-range as the teacher recognized a clear connection between language choice and the teacher's role.

5.10 In the office or in school I use Indonesian [with the teacher], but in the street or his [the teacher's] house, Alune (PK40M).

5.2.4.2.5 Discussion of results

Each of the tables in this second category demonstrates that the status of the interlocutor is a significant factor in determining language choice, especially for younger speakers in the community. However, as Gal (1979) points out, this kind of code-switching is not restricted to a bilingual community in which rapid language shift is occurring. In a monolingual speech community which is relatively stable linguistically, the status, age, or sex of the speaker and interlocutor, social distance, or a change in setting or context, may trigger shifts in style. This phenomenon has been documented in numerous studies (cf. Labov 1966, Blom and Gumperz 1972, Brown and Gilman 1960). It is also important to note that style-shifting occurs within

14. Note however, that there are six speakers aged twenty-five to thirty-five who claim to speak only Alune with the teacher. They are ALT25F, MLN30F, AT32F, NSK33F, PPR34F, and ATM35F. I can find no satisfactory explanation for these aberrant results. This group of young women reported no other unusual language use. Only one of these women is related to the teacher - ATM35F, who is his sister-in-law.
each of the languages in use in a bilingual community. In Central Maluku many gradations can be noted between Ambonese Malay and standard Indonesian as speakers frequently incorporate features of one dialect when speaking the other, depending on the extent of the speaker's knowledge of Indonesian. Code-mixing can be seen in the examples presented throughout this chapter (particularly in section 5.4).

More important, the results which were presented in Tables 5.8-5.13 are significant because they highlight the interaction between external social forces and changing patterns of language choice. It is evident that a new set of cultural associations is becoming well-integrated into the community. Malay is associated with progress: the church, education, modern medicine, and the pan-Indonesian system of Government, while Alune is increasingly linked to traditional knowledge and indigenous religious beliefs. These associations are demonstrated in the results of the survey, which show that reported use of Malay increases with interlocutors holding a modern role (for example, with a church official, health worker, teacher, or the village headman). Conversely, the use of Alune increases with interlocutors holding a traditional role, such as a healer or the kepala soa. These changes in cultural
associations are a factor which is relevant in the search for explanations about the process of language shift.

5.2.5 Over-reporting of language use

Within each of the groups of data described in section 5.2.4, there are several respondents who appear not to fit the general trend of language shift. They include older speakers who report using only Malay with a wide range of interlocutors, and younger speakers who assert that they use only Alune regardless of the age of interlocutor. The following example from a forty-three year-old woman who claimed to speak only Alune to her children (aged two to sixteen years) illustrates this point.

5.11 I only use Alune. Even if they don't understand I only use Alune. They don't know how to speak but if I speak Alune they understand. Therefore (I say to) the children "Dana sari", they get it. "Si 'eu pene'a". (You) must speak Alune (SMK43F).

I asked if her children replied in Malay:

Yes. Later when they're about twenty they'll speak Alune.

In the case of most of the speakers who appeared not to fit the general trend of language shift, their self-reports of language use did not correlate with either my

15. 'Get the machete.'
16. 'They've already gone.'
17. It seems likely that this comment reflects the speaker's recognition that twenty years is approximately the age of the youngest speakers of Alune.
personal observations or the opinions of other community members. Therefore I searched for other information which could provide insights into the reasons for the discrepancies which their interview responses indicated. As the same speakers consistently over-reported their use of Alune, I looked for explanations in their backgrounds and personality traits.

OVER-REPORTING OF USE OF ALUNE BY SPEAKERS AGED TWENTY-SIX TO THIRTY-FIVE.

Only one speaker in this age bracket, a thirty-four year-old woman, reported speaking no Malay with her childhood playmates.\(^{18}\) This speaker also asserted that she addressed the village headman only in Alune. YIS was born in the old village a short while before the move to the coast occurred. She received six years of elementary school education and then moved to Ambon, where she worked for ten years as a servant in a Chinese household. She is married to a non-Alune speaker from Maluku Tenggara, and they live with their five young children in a house located near the entrance to the village.

This woman exemplifies the kind of inquisitive, gregarious personality which Dorian identified as one of the possible factors in the genesis of a semi-speaker. In her comprehensive research, Dorian found a number of

\(^{18}\) YIS34F.
young speakers whose unusual ability to speak Gaelic was related to their "drive to be included linguistically" (1981:109) regardless of the language. YIS is a very extroverted person who is active in the church and participates fully in all village activities. Although she would like to live in Ambon, her husband is very attached to his adopted home and prefers the quiet pace of village life. Despite her modern outlook, YIS is a fluent Alune speaker and retains an unusual interest in language. The first person of her age-group to show any curiosity in my research, she would speak only Alune with me and often created special opportunities for language learning.

OVER-REPORTING OF USE OF ALUNE BY SPEAKERS AGED THIRTY-SIX TO FORTY-FIVE.

In this age bracket five speakers\(^{19}\) reported using only Alune with their childhood playmates. This group includes three women and one man who also maintained that they currently use no Malay with their peers and children, and that Alune was their sole language at school entry.

PK and SMK are siblings, the niece and nephew of one of my principal consultants. As members of the K. family they are related to several key people in the community.

\(^{19}\) The male speakers in this group are PK40M and OT42M. The women are KST43F, SMK43F, and SLN44F.
who possess important inherited knowledge. Their uncle is respected for his knowledge of village history and frequently is called upon to attend law meetings of the communities which have traditional rights to land in the Three Rivers area. Their father is known for his healing skills, and it is this lineage which possesses all knowledge related to midwifery. PK, aged forty, took an unusual interest in language from a young age. He was born in the old village, but was only five years old when the move to the coast occurred. His father's mother lived with the family until her death, and he still spends a considerable amount of time with his aunt, the principal midwife and oldest female villager. Although he is likely to assume some of the traditional responsibilities of his lineage, transmission of knowledge and skills has not yet begun. Currently PK is the minister's assistant in his role as head of the majelis jemaah. He perceives himself as a central figure in village affairs. His older sister, SMK, is beginning to learn the midwifery skills from her aunt. She rarely attends church, and shows a strong attachment to the village despite recognizing the struggles which are inherent in such a lifestyle.

KST and SLN are sisters-in-law. In appearance, as well as linguistic ability, the women are linked with
villagers who retain a more traditional outlook. They wear a sarong in preference to the skirts which younger women favor, and their long hair is tied in a hairknot. Each of these women received six years of education at schools in Kamal and Hatusua respectively, and since that time they have lived in Lohiatala except for short visits to other towns or villages. Both are active in church affairs, regularly attending Sunday services and the women's prayer group. KTL, who is well-known for her extroverted personality, likes to demonstrate her ability to speak Javanese with traders from Waihatu. The women spend a lot of time in each other's company, particularly while SLN was nursing her seventy year-old mother, who lived at KTL's house until her death. KTL's older brother utilized his detailed knowledge of magic and healing until he renounced these skills in a church ceremony several years ago.

Although all the people described above are fluent Alune speakers, the discrepancy between their reported and actual language use is evident from a study of their close network links, which indicate daily interactions with speakers of varying Alune-language ability. For example, although SLN asserted that she spoke Alune with

20. Results of language testing for two of these speakers, PK40M AND SN44F, are presented in section 5.3.2.2.
all her friends, an observer interrupted to note an exception.

5.12 If a friend comes who speaks Malay then you can't speak Alune. Like the neighbors, his wife can't. Or can she speak Alune? (PK40M). Yes, she knows it but only a little (SLN44F).

The neighbor being discussed is a thirty year-old woman, who frequently visited SLN in her home. On these occasions Malay was usually spoken.

OVER-REPORTING OF USE OF MALAY BY SPEAKERS AGED THIRTY-SIX TO FORTY-FIVE.

One speaker in this group, OT, is interesting because of his marked shift in language use between childhood and adulthood. As a child, he reported speaking only Alune with his parents and playmates. However, as an adult of forty-two, he asserted that he uses only Malay with speakers of all generations as well as with villagers who hold an official position. This man is one of the three teachers in the village school, and is married to a non-Alune-speaking woman from Ambon, who is the child of a former minister in the village. He attended high school in Ambon, and then taught at two schools for six years before returning to the village. At the time of this research he was actively seeking a position away from Lohiatala. His language use appears to be influenced both by his status and aspirations. This explanation is supported by the fact that three
other speakers who over-reported their use of Malay, also hold an official role in the village, either in the church (AS40M) or as a minor Government official (NT41M, TM42M).

OVER-REPORTING OF USE OF MALAY BY SPEAKERS AGED FORTY-SIX TO FIFTY-FIVE.

Within this age bracket only one speaker consistently over-reported use of Malay, a fifty-one year-old woman, who was born in the mountain village of Rumbatu. I consider that her responses stem from her desire to distance herself from the increasing association of Alune with the indigenous religion. When asked if she had an Alune personal name, she loudly asserted that she did not, covering her son’s interjected response to the contrary. This woman attends church regularly and her husband is the choirmaster.

5.2.5.1 Conclusion

The language-usage survey revealed specific details about changing patterns of language use in Lohiatala as

21. The practice of giving Alune personal names, nasusu, altered during the period of conversion to Christianity due to its association with the indigenous religion. It did not, however, cease, but the practice decreased and became covert. All villagers have a Christian name, and it is unclear how many also have an Alune name.

22. Because of this woman's age, it is likely that she did possess an Alune personal name. This information was not checked later with her son because I was more interested in her response, and her attitude towards traditional knowledge, than in the name itself.
well as disclosing a relationship between language loyalty and reported language use. Data were presented which demonstrate that the status of the interlocutor, and the age of the speaker and interlocutor, correlate significantly with language choice. Apparently unusual instances of language loyalty were traced in part to certain personality traits such as extroversion and inquisitiveness, and to a strong attachment to an older relative. More significantly, it is asserted that over-reporting of the use of both Alune and Malay by the small group of speakers (aged approximately thirty-five to forty-five years) described in this section, arises from the speaker's desire to be affiliated with the social and cultural values which are currently associated with each code. The majority of the speakers who over-reported their use of Malay hold a modern position in the village (for example, that of teacher, government official, or church official). They perceive themselves, and wish to be perceived, as part of the modern Indonesian society. Conversely, speakers who over-report their use of Alune wish to demonstrate their loyalty to that language and to traditional Alune community values.

The assertion that over-reporting of Alune is an expression of language loyalty is supported by the comments which this group of speakers made about the
importance of Alune and the need to preserve it and teach it to children — for example, the comments made by MSL29F and SMK43F (nos. 5.6 and 5.11 above). In addition, observations of language use reveal that use of Alune by speakers in this age-group increases in settings in which they wish to make their identity apparent, such as when they pass through the neighboring transmigrasi village on trips to the market. Similarly, over-reporting which occurred in response to the language-usage survey appeared to be aimed at convincing me, as an outsider, of these speakers' language loyalty, the extent of which could not be apparent from an analysis of their verbal interactions.

Contrary to Gal's findings, the manner in which these speakers present themselves in verbal interaction is not an accurate gauge of their language loyalties. In the contemporary linguistic situation it is no longer possible to be a monolingual Alune speaker, because daily interactions with imperfect Alune speakers and non-Alune speakers require considerable use of Malay. Therefore, for speakers whose network ties cause a disparity between language use and language allegiance, it is necessary to state overtly where one's loyalties lie. This need is exacerbated by the fact that most speakers in the thirty-five to forty-five year age group do not have a formal
traditional role in the village\textsuperscript{23} despite being associated through their lineages with owners of traditional knowledge. It is interesting to observe that those in their age-group who do hold a recognized traditional position did not consistently over-report their use of Alune.\textsuperscript{24} The loyalties and traditional associations of these speakers are beyond question. In contrast, the younger fluent speakers described here must more actively assert their allegiance to the Alune language and their roles as preservers of tradition. These findings begin to provide an explanation for the manner in which language shift is proceeding in Lohiatala.

5.3 Evidence from testing

5.3.1 Purpose

Testing of Alune-language ability of three groups of speakers was conducted for several reasons. First, in order to ascertain the language ability of children and young people, it was necessary to test them because speakers younger than twenty rarely, if ever, speak Alune, making it very difficult to obtain examples of

\textsuperscript{23} Although, as I stated earlier, SMK is in the process of learning about midwifery, she will not be recognized as a skilled midwife for many years and villagers are aware that this traditional role may not then exist.

\textsuperscript{24} This group includes AR40M, who has inherited the role of tuan tanah, and HM46F, who is a healer.
their use of Alune in free conversation. Second, non-Alune residents who had moved to Lohiatlala following their marriage were tested to determine the level of proficiency they had attained in Alune. The test results were used to infer whether or not it had been necessary for them to learn Alune to participate fully in village life. Third, the tests were conducted to provide data which could be compared with earlier studies of dying languages (cf. Dorian 1981, Schmidt 1985a, 1985b, Donaldson 1980, Lee 1987). The goal in providing comparative data was to investigate whether concepts which were developed in these earlier studies were relevant in this setting in attempting to explain the direction of language shift. These concepts include the category of 'semi-speaker', and the delineation of a proficiency continuum from the more conservative language use of older speakers to the radically innovative usage of the youngest speakers.

Before moving on to describe the methodology and test results, it is useful to look more closely at the concept 'semi-speaker' in order to assess its applicability to this linguistic situation. This concept was first introduced by Dorian (1977b) to account for the existence of a group of 'imperfect speakers' whose speech is "markedly different from the fluent-speaker norm"
Dorian found that four factors could operate to produce a semi-speaker. These are: 1) late birth order in a large, relatively language loyal family; 2) cross-generational linguistic socialization outside the nuclear family; 3) exile, either temporary or permanent, in the company of a few fellow exiles; and 4) an inquisitive and gregarious personality. Dorian stresses that there is no predictive power to these factors, and that the phenomenon of the semi-speaker is not universal. Semi-speakers are identifiable primarily by their continued use of a "limited-currency language" despite their imperfect control of its structure. The latter feature can be determined only by testing.

5.3.2 Method

Tests were administered to a total of thirty-three Alune residents aged between four and forty-four years to gauge their ability to comprehend and produce Alune. Responses of the test subjects were compared to an older fluent speaker norm established from extensive interviews with two men aged sixty-four and sixty-nine. Subjects were tested over a two-month period between October and December.

25. It has, however, been found in several other communities where language death is occurring. See, for example, Schmidt 1985, Donaldson 1980, Lee 1987, Dorian 1980a.
The results of these tests cannot be considered conclusive because of the small sample size (less than one percent of the population), the limited number of test items, and the villagers' lack of familiarity with this kind of testing procedure. However, despite these limitations the results reveal several interesting trends, which allow inferences to be drawn about the path of language shift and point to the potential value of more extensive testing.

5.3.2.1 Children

A set of tests comprising four sections was administered to thirteen children aged four to fifteen years. The children were randomly selected, and both parents of all children were Alune speakers. Although most of the children were tested in a setting where I was alone with the child, older siblings or adults were present for several of the tests. Observers occasionally prompted or mocked the child when she or he was slow in responding. Answers given under these conditions were omitted from the results.

Test 1) The first section tested recognition of lexical items. The child was presented with two sets of ten photos each which depicted familiar objects such as a

26. An exception was the youngest child, whom I tested because of the unusual fact that her mother occasionally talked to her in Alune.
house, dog, sago tree, and a machete. A tape was played of two older fluent speakers\textsuperscript{27} reciting the lexical items in Alune. After hearing each word twice, the child was asked to identify the appropriate photo. Test 2) The second set tested the children's ability to comprehend simple sentences. The subject was presented with a set of ten photos depicting a familiar activity or event, such as a man processing sago, a woman working in the field, children playing, and a baby sleeping. A tape was played of two older fluent speakers reciting simple sentences in Alune describing the activities. After hearing each sentence twice, the child was asked to identify the appropriate photo. Test 3) The third section tested the children's ability to comprehend fluent Alune. They listened to a tape of an Alune folk story of approximately 150 words, which was recited by a fluent Alune speaker.\textsuperscript{28} After hearing the story as many times as they required, the children were asked to retell the story in Ambonese Malay. Test 4) The final task involved the translation of sixteen sentences from Ambonese Malay to Alune. The children listed to a tape on which two speakers\textsuperscript{29} recited the sentences in Ambonese Malay, and they then attempted to translate them.

\textsuperscript{27} HK69M and MN64M.
\textsuperscript{28} The text of this story is given in Appendix 6.
\textsuperscript{29} NS35M and NSK33F.
5.3.2.1.1 Results

a) Recognition tests: The results demonstrate that even the youngest speakers were able to correctly identify fifty percent or more of the lexical items with which they were tested. Five of the children recognized almost all of the test items. The results were consistently better for the second test in which the children were presented with simple sentences. This outcome is probably due to the fact that the sentences and accompanying photos gave the children more context with which to determine the appropriate answer.

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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL13F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Comprehension test: Four of the thirteen children were unable to make any attempt at interpreting

30. The highest possible score for the first recognition test was twenty, and ten for the second recognition test.
the folk story. Three gave a brief summary, which indicated that they had identified at least the main actor in the story, although they misinterpreted other features\textsuperscript{31} of the plot.

5.13 There was a sorcerer. He prepared a pig. They ate its faeces. The sorcerer died (YT11M).

\textbf{TABLE 5.15}

Results of comprehension test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>TEST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HS4F</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS11F</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BT12F</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET12F</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YM9M</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YT11M</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YK12F</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KL8F</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM13F</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN10M</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL13F</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LT14F</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS15F</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. The Alune word \textit{tai}, which occurs in the folk story, means both 'intestines' and 'faeces'. It is the use of the 3sg inalienable genitive suffix /-ni/ which identifies it as 'intestines' in this context. However Ambonese Malay has a cognate word \textit{tai} with the sole meaning 'faeces'. Therefore, most younger speakers immediately translated it this way in the test.

32. The results of the comprehension test were scored in the following way: no attempt = 0, simple interpretation consisting of one or two sentences which correctly identified some of the key actors = 1, more complex interpretation which correctly identified the key actors and the basic storyline = 2, a reasonably complete and accurate interpretation = 3.
Two speakers presented a slightly more detailed interpretation indicating that they could identify the central characters and understand key points of the plot.

5.14 There were two people drinking palm wine. Drinking palm wine with bat's intestines. A sorcerer came. He drank palm wine. They stabbed the sorcerer with a knife. The sorcerer died. Then those two went (MM13F).

Four speakers were able to give a reasonably complete and correct interpretation of the folk story. These include the three oldest subjects, and the ten year-old.

5.15 [He] said these two people, they were processing palm wine. Then an old man came and those two said "We two have finished eating our intestines." The intestines were bat's intestines. Therefore they ate their x like that. Then the old man slept and they stabbed him. One child stabbed his stomach. They took out his intestines and they burned the hut. They ran away (SN10M).

5.16 Before, there were two people. They were processing palm wine. Then they ate bat, drank palm wine with bat's intestines. Then a sorcerer came to them and asked "What are you two eating?" Then they answered "Eating bat's intestines." "Tasty?" Then they said "Yes, tasty." Then the old man slept. Then they stabbed his stomach. Then they took his intestines. Then they burned the hut. Then ran away (AL13F).

c) Sentence translation: Some of the results of this test, particularly those of the older and more fluent children, will be analyzed and discussed in conjunction with the adults test results below. Therefore only a few brief observations will be made here.
Eleven of the children made an attempt to produce a response to most of the sentences. However, this task was clearly a stressful and difficult one for all children.

**TABLE 5.16**

Results of sentence translation task

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>TEST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HS4F</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS11F</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KL8F</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BT12F</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XT11M</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET12F</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YM9M</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN10M</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YK12F</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM13F</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL13F</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LT14F</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS15F</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some level of mixing of AM and Alune was apparent in many of the sentences which the children produced, even among the better speakers. In the following examples Malay words are italicized.

---

33. The exceptions were the youngest speaker, HS4F, and her cousin, TS11F.

34. For comparative purposes, the results of the sentence translation task were scored in the following way: No attempt = 0, correct use of one Alune word per sentence attempted = 1, correct use of two Alune words per S attempted = 2, correct use of two or more Alune words per S and some complete Alune sentences = 3, almost complete Alune Ss using features appropriate to passive bilingual ability = 4.
Subjects rarely attempted to translate a sentence for which they could not produce at least one Alune word.
This phenomenon was most apparent in the responses of the eight year-old girl, whose only Alune word was the 1sg pronoun au, which she used in every sentence she translated.

Another technique, which was frequently employed by older children, was the use of Alune phonology and/or morphology with Malay words.

A comparison of the results of the comprehension test with the sentence translation test shows that the speaker's ability on each of these tasks is similar.

35. Ale is also an Ambonese Malay form of the 2sg pronoun. However, this form is rarely used in Lohiatala, where the commonly used AM pronoun is ose.
36. This word is a mix of the 3sg Ambonese Malay pronoun ongtua and Alune tuane 'man'.
37. /-te/ is a marker of clause-final dependent verbs (Collins 1983:30-31).
However, these results do not correlate well with those of the recognition tasks. For several subjects there was a wide discrepancy between the two sets of results. For example, KL8F was able to identify correctly both the main actors and the basic storyline of the folktale, yet performed poorly on the recognition tasks. BT12F gained an almost perfect score on the recognition tasks, yet was unable to understand the story.

**TABLE 5.17**

Comparison of test results

| SUBJECT | TEST | | |
|---------|------|---|---|---|---|
| TS11F   | 9    | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| HS4F    | 12   | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| KL8F    | 9    | 8 | 2 | 1 |
| YT11M   | 11   | 10| 1 | 2 |
| ET12F   | 14   | 9 | 0 | 2 |
| YK12F   | 16   | 9 | 1 | 3 |
| BT12F   | 19   | 10| 0 | 1 |
| SN10M   | 16   | 9 | 3 | 3 |
| LT14F   | 14   | 10| 3 | 4 |
| YM9M    | 19   | 9 | 1 | 3 |
| MM13F   | 18   | 9 | 2 | 4 |
| LS15F   | 19   | 10| 3 | 4 |
| AL13F   | 20   | 10| 3 | 4 |

It appears that knowledge of lexical items is not a good indicator of productive or receptive ability. This result parallels that of Dorian (1981), who found that near-passive bilingual speakers were able to produce words which they were unable to use productively in sentences. She concluded that "a good deal of the lexicon lingers on in a community after the language
which provided the lexicon has effectively died out" (1981:146). A further explanation for these results lies in the background of the speaker. In contrast to the majority of the children who were tested, KL8F and LT14F live in households where an active storytelling tradition remains. It can be assumed that listening to and interpreting fluent Alune is not unfamiliar to them.38 SN10M too is constantly exposed to a much greater degree of Alune than the vast majority of children in the village due to the unusual composition of his household, which consists only of his grandparents and himself. In contrast, TS11F, lives in a household with young parents (NS35M, NSK33F) who speak only Malay with their children.

5.3.2.2 Adults

Ten male and ten female speakers aged between eighteen and forty-four years were tested. The results were matched against an older fluent speaker norm established by two speakers aged sixty-nine and sixty-four. In contrast to the children's tests, adult respondents were presented with only one task in which they were asked to translate orally a set of thirty-five stimulus sentences from Ambonese Malay to Alune. The first sixteen sentences were identical with those on

38. My research did not reveal any instances (either witnessed or reported) of children narrating Alune folktales in either Alune or Malay.
section four of the children's test. The stimulus sentences were designed to elicit a range of fifteen syntactic structures, and some sentences contained more than one feature.

5.3.2.2.1 Results

The younger speakers often expressed reluctance to be tested and appeared embarrassed to be heard speaking Alune in front of other people. When I arranged appointments to test these speakers, their spouse and friends frequently suggested that I should instead test older people who could speak fluently. Although this reluctance can, in part, be attributed to speakers' lack of familiarity with the testing procedure, it is undoubtedly also related to lack of confidence in their ability to speak Alune. However, no speakers refused the task, and they were occasionally pleased with their performance in comparison with their expectations. Although some speakers were unable to translate one or two sentences, most speakers completed the full test. 39

In the following section, results from three syntactic categories will be presented: genitive, directional, and locative systems. These results parallel the ability of speakers on the other syntactic

39. One young speaker, BL25M, who performed very poorly on the first sixteen sentences, was given the children's test in place of the full set of sentences.
categories which were tested, and are presented as a sample of the complete test results.

**GENITIVE.** The languages of Central Maluku distinguish two categories of nouns: alienable and inalienable. Inalienable nouns include all items considered "irrevocably possessed" (Collins 1983:27), including body parts, certain emotions, and kinship terms. All other nouns are alienably possessed. The two categories are reflected in the system of genitive marking. If the possessed noun is alienable,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Alienable</th>
<th>Inalienable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>au 'u-asu</td>
<td>au mata-'u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>ale mu-asu</td>
<td>ale mata-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1plInc</td>
<td>ile ni-asu</td>
<td>ile mata-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1plExc</td>
<td>ite ma-asu</td>
<td>ite mata-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>ami ma-asu</td>
<td>ami mata-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>sie si-asu</td>
<td>sie mata-si</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the pronominal marker precedes it, whereas the pronominal marker follows the possessed noun in an inalienable construction. 41 This system has been radically

40. Several examples of the 3sg pronominal marker -ni were found in the texts of stories told by a sixty-nine year-old speaker, though this form was never elicited in isolation from the same speaker.

wali-ni bunu-i pene'a
sibling-3sgGEN kill-3sg already
His brother had killed him.

Collins (1983:28) found the same two allomorphs in the Hitu, Latu, and Wemale languages with the following phonetic conditioning: -ni following high front vowels, -i elsewhere.

41. The rapid pace of language shift in this village is highlighted by the fact that, during a brief period of fieldwork in 1978, J. T. Collins was able to collect a
restructured by younger Alune speakers. Inalienable constructions display three stages of change. 42

e.g. I 'I'm scared of snakes''

YK12F au takut nia'we
1sg afraid snake

AT18F au dila nia'we
1sg fear snake

AT23M au dila-ₐ nia'we
1sg fear-3sg snake

PK40M au dila-ᵮ le nia'we
1sg fear-1sg because snake

HK69M au dila-ᵮ le nia'we
1sg fear-1sg because snake

---

genitive paradigm which reflected the remnants of a distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive pronouns. In the alienable paradigm, both first person plural pronouns took the genitive marker ma-, and in the inalienable paradigm, the marker was zero. Ten years later this distinction was lost. Based on data from related languages, it is likely that, at an earlier stage, ma was the first person plural exclusive genitive marker for both alienable and inalienable nouns, whereas zero was the first person plural inclusive genitive marker. The three stages of change are shown in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Alienable</th>
<th>Inalienable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1plInc. 0-</td>
<td>-0-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1plExc. ma-</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1plI ma-</td>
<td>-0-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1plE ma-</td>
<td>-0-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1plI ma-</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1plE ma-</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42. In the example sets (which are indicated by a roman numeral), use of Malay in the responses of younger speakers is italicized.
Speakers at the lower end of the proficiency continuum use no marking and frequently mix Alune and Malay. Those in the middle age group use the 3sg genitive marker -i regardless of person, and older speakers retain conservative genitive marking. However some speakers, particularly those within the group aged approximately twenty to thirty-five, use a variety of strategies. Most apparent is the use of double genitive marking.

\textit{\textbf{e.g. III}} 'Your mother's gone to wash'

\begin{verbatim}
PT23M au nie ina-i 'eu su'u
1sg own/possess mother-3sg go wash
\end{verbatim}

43. In several of the example sets, the pronoun produced in the responses of some younger speakers differed from that presented to them in the Ambonese Malay stimulus sentence. Misunderstanding of whether the first or second person singular pronoun is required is a common problem in elicitation tasks. In this setting, in which younger speakers do not ordinarily speak Alune, this problem was compounded by the stress which the task caused the respondents. As I was interested in the system of agreement between the possessor and possessed, all responses were included for analysis.
The use of nie 'to own, possess' by PT23M parallels the AM construction, described in chapter 4 (section 4.4.2). Further testing may reveal that the direction of change is more extensively influenced by AM.

In contrast to the inalienable constructions, alienable nouns display use of only two genitive marking strategies: zero marking for younger speakers, while older speakers retain the full paradigm.44

e.g. IV 'Your dog is dead'

YK12F au asu e mata pene'ka45
1sg dog 3sg die already

AT18F au asu mata pene'a
1sg dog die already

AT23M ale asure mata pene'a
2sg dog die already

PK40M ale mu-asu mata pene'a
2sg 2sg-dog die already

HK69M ale mu-asure e mata pene
2sg 2sg-dog 3sg die already

44. Collins (1980b) found similar reduction in the genitive system of Laha, a language spoken on Ambon Island. There, both the alienable and inalienable systems were reduced to one marker -ŋ. However inalienable possession was distinguished by the use of double marking, with the genitive marker postposed on both the pronoun and possessed noun. e.g. nu-ŋ mata-ŋ 'my eye' (1980:11).

45. The use of /k/ in pene'ka is a dialectal variant of glottal stop, which is a feature of the southern and northern dialects of Alune, (and which appears to be spreading to the central dialect).
To summarize, genitive constructions in Alune show that there appear to be three stages of change. The youngest speakers, aged eighteen and under, use no genitive marking on nouns. Speakers aged approximately nineteen to thirty still contrastively mark alienably versus inalienably possessed nouns, but the marking has been simplified to $0^-$ (alienable) versus $-i$ (inalienable). Older speakers retain the full genitive paradigm. These differences can be shown on a continuum of proficiency as follows:

```
Dorian discusses the fact that age and proficiency need not correlate. In most cases, however, although speakers cannot be "perfectly ordered along the proficiency continuum by age alone", an age/proficiency grading can be established among groups of "differentially skilled speakers" (1986b:558). The present study, in which a relationship between age and proficiency can be noted, confirms the results of both Dorian's (1981) and Schmidt's (1985) research.
```

46. This continuum is based on an analysis of all test sentences involving genitive structures, not just the few presented here, and placement of speakers on the continuum correlates broadly with age.
DIRECTIONALS. The traditional Alune system displays six directionals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mlete/nete</td>
<td>upwards direction, to a distant place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpei</td>
<td>downwards direction, to a distant place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndi</td>
<td>towards the river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mlau/nau</td>
<td>away from the river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nda</td>
<td>towards the ocean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>away from the ocean</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This system is being eroded as younger speakers arbitrarily choose any directional, or replace the Alune with Malay.

* e.g. V 'They're going to the old village'

* YK12F au 'eu ke kampung lama 1sg go to village old

* AL13F ite 'eu pei kampung lama 1plI go DIR village old

* LS15F tamata 'eu pai kampung lama person go DIR village old

* AR40M e 'eu mte hena buine 3sg go DIR village old/empty

* HK69M sie si 'eu mte hena buine 3pl go DIR village old/empty

LOCATIVE. It is also evident that younger speakers are beginning to collapse the categories of locative and directional.

* e.g. VI 'We stay in the hut'

* HM19F ami due mpei tale 1plE stay DIR hut

47. These alternative forms reflect the difference between formal and informal styles of speaking.
5.3.2.3 Non-Alune residents: the role of Alune in everyday communication

Fourteen non-Alune residents were tested to determine the level of proficiency they had attained in Alune. The test results were used to infer whether comprehension of Alune is necessary for everyday communication within the village. The seven male and seven female speakers aged between nineteen and fifty years had resided in Lohiatala from two to thirty years. Respondents were asked to complete the first three sections of the children's tests, which were described in section 5.3.2.1 above. No non-Alune resident was required to produce Alune in the tests.

These tests were, almost without exception, very difficult to administer. Respondents were embarrassed and upset by their inability to complete even the simplest task. I consider that, in part, the non-Alune residents were embarrassed because many of them had learned to mask their lack of ability to speak Alune.
TABLE 5.18

Age, sex, and years of residence in Lohiatala of non-Alune test subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>YEARS OF RESIDENCE</th>
<th>PLACE OF BIRTH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>C.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>C.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>C.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>C.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>C.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Sulawesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Java</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>C.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>C.M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When they were with a group of people who were speaking Alune, they followed the conversational cues of their friends, and appeared to be laughing or expressing shock or sympathy appropriately. Their relative skill at appearing to interact appropriately was apparent in the comments which Alune-speaking community members made when they heard who I was going to test. Several were scornful about the ability of a fifty year-old man who had lived in the village for eighteen years, saying that he was unable to understand or speak Alune. In contrast, villagers were confident that a thirty-nine year-old woman would do well on the test, as she could participate in their conversations. During the language-usage

48. S.M.= Southeast Maluku, C.M. = Central Maluku
interview her husband had told me that he and his wife use Alune as a secret language when they want to conceal the content of their conversation from their children. However both villagers showed approximately the same ability on the recognition tasks.

5.3.2.3.1 Results

Overall, the non-Alune residents performed poorly in comparison to the children, 49 scoring lower on the recognition tasks and having much more difficulty with the comprehension task. However, there was more consistency within the results of each subject on all three tasks.

Subjects' interpretations of the folk story were often accompanied by uncertainty and requests for confirmation.

5.17 That's a sorcerer. One person's dead, isn't he? The sorcerer's dead (LT26F).

5.18 That was about a person making palm wine. Then he drank palm wine. He made it then he drank it. After that I don't know. He said there was a sorcerer, didn't he? A sorcerer is a person who is

49. Ten of the fourteen subjects scored lower than the youngest child tested. However, two adults performed well on all tasks. The first is a young man who was a ten-year-old child when he first moved to the village, and who was educated in the Lohiatala elementary school. He was the only subject in this group with whom I attempted the sentence translation task, and he performed on a level appropriate to the Alune speakers of his age group. The second speaker is the headmaster's wife, who, before moving to Lohiatala, had lived for four years in an inland Alune village where the language is spoken much more widely.
evil. He said "Is that tasty, that food which you're eating there?" "No, it's not tasty" he said. Then, after that they were dead weren't they? That child was dead (AK41F).

TABLE 5.19

Results of recognition tasks and comprehension test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>YRS RESIDENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OS30M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN19F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS27F</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP36M</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM39M</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DR45F</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MR40M</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LT26F</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI34M</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP50M</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM39F</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AK41F</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL33F</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM35M</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be inferred from the test results that non-Alune speakers marrying into the village can communicate successfully with very little comprehension of Alune. Their language skills do not appear to improve over time, and the few who can speak Alune do so because of curiosity or intellectual interest rather than through need.

5.3.3 Discussion of test results

It is apparent from the results of both the language-usage survey and the language ability tests, that the concept of semi-speaker does not clearly fit any

50. These tests were scored on the same scale as the children's tests.
one group of speakers in Lohiatala. A group of speakers whose proficiency level fits Dorian's (1977b, 1981) definition of semi-speakers cannot be distinguished as such by either their personalities or their language-learning backgrounds. These speakers, in approximately the nineteen to thirty year age-range, do not persist in speaking Alune, nor do they display an unusual degree of loyalty to the language. In contrast, the personality profiles and the language-learning backgrounds of the anomalous group of speakers aged thirty-five to forty-five years, described in section 5.2.5 above, match that of the semi-speaker as it has been defined by Dorian. However, their linguistic proficiency almost equals the older fluent speaker norm. 51 Their fluency is demonstrated in the example groups I - VI above (section 5.3.2.2), in which the responses of PK40M and AR40M match those of HK69M in most cases. In contrast to the issue raised by Dorian (1986b:560), these speakers were not misrepresenting their personal competence.

Therefore, on the basis of the results which have been presented in this chapter, four groups of speakers are identified: 1) near-passive bilinguals (children and young people aged eighteen or less); 2) imperfect

51. Although SMK43F was not tested, analysis of the syntactic structures used in a story which she told in Alune, identifies her as a younger fluent speaker.
speakers (aged nineteen to thirty-four); 3) younger fluent speakers (aged thirty-five to forty-five); and 4) older fluent speakers (aged forty-six or older). As these age ranges can only be approximations, there are, of course, some exceptions in each of these categories.

5.4 Evidence from other sources

The data introduced in this section consist of recordings of language use made in a variety of settings. These examples provide support for the data presented in sections 5.2 and 5.3 that 1) the use of standard Indonesian is dependent on the co-occurrence of two factors: a formal setting such as the church or the village hall, and the principal speaker holding a modern formal role such as that of the minister or a Government official; 2) children younger than fifteen years interacting in informal settings speak only Ambonese Malay, never Alune; 3) language choices of adults interacting informally are restricted by the multilingual nature of the contemporary setting, such that Ambonese Malay is commonly used in situations involving participants from mixed linguistic backgrounds.

I. VILLAGE MEETING. This meeting was convened in the village meeting hall for two purposes: first, to allow two visiting bank officials to speak to the villagers about banking and insurance, and second, to
introduce the villagers to the six KKN\textsuperscript{52} students who would be staying in Lohiatala for three months. Five of the two female and four male students were from the islands of Ambon, Nusalaut, and Saparua in Central Maluku, and the sixth was Javanese. All were attending the Pattimura University in Ambon studying either agriculture, fishery science, law, or engineering. The meeting was opened by the assistant to the village headman.

The village headman then began to speak:

52. The KKN (kuliah kerja nyata) program is an obligatory rural social action internship for advanced university students. In 1988 two groups of KKN students undertook their internship in Lohiatala.
... things for which we are still unprepared. So that probably there are things, for example, like agriculture, animal husbandry, etc. By having the KKN students among us it means we now have the prerequisite (skills)' (10/16/1988: Tape 59).

This short passage is interesting because of the multitude of standard Indonesian features which it contains. There is extensive use of affixation, for example, the per- -an and ke- -an nominalizers, di- passive construction, and -kan causative, none of which appear in Ambonese Malay. It also contains the BI 1plI pronoun, kita, and a BI compound noun structure mahasiswa KKN.

II. VILLAGE MEETING. In contrast, a village meeting, which was convened in the church following the regular Sunday church service, is remarkable for the extensive use of Ambonese Malay. The minister was the speaker on this occasion.

saudara-saudara sekalian yang pertama saudara- friends all that first friends

saudara tanggal 13 Oktober baru lari ya kami katong date 13 October just run yes 1plE 1pl

majelis jemaat di gereja ini katong rapat di parish council LOC church this 1pl meet LOC

xxx dalam rapat ini kami tetap xxx (unclear) in meeting this 1plE fixed (unclear)
Dengan satu ke-putus-an di sana untuk nanti-nya with one decision LOC there for later
Bikin Natal di sana di jemaat Hatu di make Christmas LOC there LOC parish Hatu LOC
Waihatu ya nah selain daripada Natal Waihatu yes then besides from Christmas
Bersama itu dari katong pung Natal hubung-an together that from 1pl POSS Christmas connection
Akang di-isi dengan xxx lalu kemudian 3sgN PASS-contain with (unclear) then then
Kerja bakti dolo-dolo itu beta tanya dong su work service earlier that 1sg ask 3pl already
Bikin kerja bakti dolo-dolo ka seng kata seng make work service earlier or no say no
Nah sakarang ini katong kerja bakti di halaman then now this 1pl work service LOC grounds
Mesjid dan di halaman dua gereja Yacob mosque and LOC grounds 2 church Jacob

'Friends, first friends, on the 13th of October, the one just past, we, we of the Parish Council of this church, we met at x. In that meeting, we settled x on the decision there that later we'd have Christmas there in the Hatu Parish, in Waihatu. Now, apart from having Christmas together, our joint Christmas service will contain x. Then, next, work service. Earlier, I asked them if they'd ever had work service before or not. They said "no." Now, this time we'll do work service in the grounds of the mosque, and in the grounds of the two churches of Jacob' (10/23/1988: Tape 47).

While this excerpt too contains some features of standard Indonesian, such as the switching between the BI and AM 1pl pronouns kami and katong, the speaker increasingly uses AM features as the talk progresses. There are two factors which are relevant to his language choice. First, it is the minister's intention to mark the
separation between the church service which preceded, and the meeting. This separation is done both linguistically through his choice of AM, and physically by his descent from the raised pulpit to the lectern, which stands at the front of the church. Second, the choice of AM creates an informal atmosphere, which de-emphasizes the difference in status between the minister and the congregation, and marks the interaction as one occurring between equals: partners in decision-making concerning a project to be undertaken jointly.

Some attempts, which received the minister's support, were made to use Alune during the post-church meetings. Use of Alune in the church was discussed by one of the deacons.

5.19 Indonesian is easy compared to Alune, but I like Alune! I would like, when I'm talking in the church I don't want to use Indonesian. I don't want (Alune) to be lost. There are secrets which you don't want someone else to know, special things, or things which are related to the village only. It's better if other people don't know them (PK40M).

However, these attempts were not well received by the congregation, principally because they excluded not only outsiders to the village (such as the KKN students), but also non-Alune speaking villagers, who felt they were losing their right to participate in the meetings.

III. WOMEN'S PRAYER MEETING. The women's prayer meeting took place in the house of a different villager
each Sunday afternoon with approximately ten to fifteen women aged between thirty and sixty years in attendance. Among those attending most regularly were the Deaconess who led the service (NSK34), five Alune speakers,53 and three non-Alune speakers.54 In support of the data presented in section 5.2.4.2 above, it is important to note that three of these women are among the group of speakers who consistently over-reported their use of Alune. The multilingual nature of this group ensured that most of the informal interaction occurred in Ambonese Malay. While the women waited for other members to gather, they chatted informally about events occurring in the village. In the following passage the women are discussing the morning church service in which the congregation sang a different hymn than that which the suling band played, a problem which arose due to the recent introduction of a new hymn book.

1 dorang taru kidung jemaat itu kidung
   3pl put hymn congregation that hymn
   jemaat barapa itu
   congregation which that

2 e dua ratus anam pulu lima bagian C nyanyian
   um 265 part C song

53. SLN44, YIS34, SLT32, SNT32, KST43.
54. This group includes the minister's fifty-two-year-old wife (a Saperuan), the thirty-nine-year-old wife of a Deacon (from Southeast Maluku), and the school teacher's wife, aged forty-one (from Ambon).
Although the women are discussing an issue connected with
the church, the fact that their conversation takes place
in Ambonese Malay highlights the informality of the
interaction. Their conversational use of AM was in
marked contrast to the service itself, which is opened by
the Deaconess in standard Indonesian.
ibu-ibu mari kita ber-doa
women please lplI pray
'Let us pray.'

The service, which consists of several prayers, hymn singing, and a short sermon, continues in standard Indonesian.

IV. CHILDREN PLAYING. During the rainy season children would gather frequently on the front porch of the house in which I lived to play games. These occasions provided an ideal opportunity in which to tape their interactions and study their language use. Each episode is approximately fifteen minutes long and involved a group of five to ten children, who were unaware that they were being recorded. On each of these occasions the children, who were aged four to twelve years, spoke only Ambonese Malay.

In this first excerpt the children are playing a card game.

1 sapa balong taro dalapang blas
who not yet place 18

2 sapulu
10

3 beta dolo
1sg first

4 dalapang pulu
80

55. The unease which the women feel at using Indonesian is clear from the fact that the person responsible for the day's sermon invariably writes it down, and reads it haltingly.
In the second excerpt the children are playing a game which involves firing rubber bands at a target.

---

1 'Who hasn't put down 10?'
2 'Ten.'
3 'Me first.'
4 'Eighty!'
3 'Someone's already won.'
4 'It's over.'
1 'Do it again, play from number one again' (9/6/1988: Tape 44).

---

3 orang su manang
person already win

4 abis
finish

1 ulang-ulang lai main dari satu lai
repeat again play from one again

---

In the second excerpt the children are playing a game which involves firing rubber bands at a target.
Despite the brevity of these examples, the use of Ambonese Malay is apparent phonologically, syntactically, and lexically.

Adults who passed by and called out to the children while they were playing, also used Ambonese Malay.

Teda pi minta api janji seng main jang bamain
Teda go ask for fire promise NEG play NEG play
saja
just
'Teda, go and ask for some fire. You promised not to play. Don't just play!' (9/6/1988: Tape 44).

5.5 Conclusion

The data from both the language-usage interview and language ability tests, which were presented in this chapter, confirmed my initial impressions that rapid language shift is proceeding along generational lines in Lohiatala. The age of the speaker and interlocutor, and the status of the interlocutor, were clearly related to language choice. It was also demonstrated that a new set of cultural associations are affecting language choice in the community. Malay is associated with progress and a move away from village life to the benefits which are promised by fuller participation in the modern Indonesian lifestyle. Conversely, young people perceive Alune as linked to the past, associated with the hardships of village life, and traditions which they evaluate as being of little worth in a modern setting.
Within the patterns of language choice established by the data presented in this chapter, a small group of younger fluent speakers was identified who are unusual in the degree of their reported use of Alune. Instances of over-reporting among this group of speakers was related to language loyalty. Despite their high level of profiency, which was verified by testing, conflict between language usage and language allegiance is produced by the contemporary linguistic situation in the village. It is asserted that, in this setting, verbal interaction is not a useful gauge of language loyalty. Instead, language loyalty must be expressed through recourse to some other measure. Early attempts to record Alune folktales and origin stories provided initial insights into the changes which are being brought about by younger speakers who wish to affirm their allegiance to Alune traditions. The effect of these changes on patterns of language use will be elucidated in Chapter 6.
6 INSIGHTS INTO THE PROCESS OF LANGUAGE SHIFT

6.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I presented both quantitative and qualitative data from three sources to demonstrate how language shift is proceeding in Lohiatala. In section 5.2.5 a small group of younger fluent speakers (YFSs) who consistently over-reported their use of Alune was identified. The responses of these speakers (who were aged approximately thirty-five to forty-five years) contrasted with the responses of both the older fluent speakers (OFSs) and the imperfect speakers (ISs), whose reports of language use correlated more closely with their actual language use, established on the basis of testing and observation. It was argued that over-reporting of the use of Alune by some YFSs arose from their desire to make their association with traditional Alune values visible. Over-reporting also appeared to be a means of affirming language loyalty in a multilingual setting in which the extent of a speaker's language allegiance cannot be gauged only through the language choices made in verbal interaction. This pattern of over-reporting did not occur among YFSs who hold a recognized traditional role in the community, which suggests that possession of such a role diminishes or removes the need to affirm one's traditional affiliation and language loyalty.
This chapter will investigate the role which younger fluent speakers are playing in the process of language shift by focussing on the attitude of speakers in different age groups towards Alune folktales. This category, which includes both tuni (folktales) and secular ma’lulu (myths relating the origin of an aspect of Alune life), formerly held no spiritual significance.\(^1\)

It is argued that their wish to be visibly affiliated with traditional Alune values has led the YFSs to attach spiritual significance to folktales (the only traditional knowledge they actually possess) - in effect reinterpreting the status of tuni and secular ma’lulu. This process of reinterpretation has been possible because of the insufficient exposure which younger speakers (both ISs and YFSs) have had to the formerly appropriate uses of Alune in both its sacred and mundane contexts.

By accentuating the attitudes of speakers in the thirty-five to forty-five age range, precisely those who over-reported their use of Alune, it is possible to identify the manner in which they are initiating a change in the role of Alune from a language used in all domains

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1. The assertion that this knowledge held little or no spiritual significance is supported by oral evidence from older speakers, and by the apparent ease with which Niggemeyer and Jensen, in 1937/38, were able to record thirty-three ma’lulu and tuni.
of daily life to a secret language in which the mundane increasingly is becoming sacred. Documentation of the process of change illuminates the role which the reinterpretation of the status of traditional knowledge is playing in hastening the demise of Alune in this language community. It is asserted that the process of reinterpretation has directly affected the transmission of knowledge to younger speakers (ISs and passive bilinguals) and, as a consequence, is removing domains of use for Alune which might have been expected to persist.

6.2 Methodology and problems of data collection

During my first month in the village, language learning had consisted principally of daily sessions with two older fluent speakers, in which I elicited sentences, paradigms, and lexical items, had simple conversations in Alune, and discussed aspects of precontact Alune life. In the second month of research, I was ready to begin collecting folktales (tuni) and other texts, both as a means of extending my tentative analysis of the language and to gain further insight into Alune history and culture. Fortuitously, the process of trying to record tuni provided a critical insight into the manner in which the status of certain categories of knowledge is changing differentially throughout the community. To show the way in which the nature of this shift gradually became
apparent, it is necessary to describe in some detail
several central events in the research process.

The difficulties I experienced in my early attempts
to record tuni were puzzling because of the seemingly
positive responses which my requests generated. These
initial efforts primarily involved one younger man
(PK40M) and my two principal consultants (HK69M, TN64M).
Both older men were enthusiastic about the task and, in
Malay, discussed stories they had heard. The entry in my
field notebook states:

Both men seem keen to give me folk stories.
They suggested this themselves, and then proceeded
to give me several stories in Indonesian: about how
people first ate sago, and men getting wives from a
snake and from a sago tree. They say there are many
such stories. (1:99, 3/16/88)

Despite their apparent enthusiasm, the men continued to
delay the recording of stories, as this later entry
indicates.

Began session by asking the men to tell me
folktales. Both immediately said they needed time
to prepare first as they couldn't remember all the
details. Later we discussed this again, and HK
began to recall parts of a children's game with hand
actions and a chanted chorus. They've said they
will visit HK's older sister, and ask her to help
them remember some stories. (1:103, 3/18/88)

Even more confusing was the attitude of PK, a
younger fluent speaker who was discussed in Chapter 5
)section 5.2.5). During my first month in Lohiatala, PK
had frequently expressed an interest in assisting me with
language learning, and had often asked me what I had learned during my morning session with his uncle, HK69M, and with TN64M, correcting or expanding on what he considered errors in the explanations I had been given. Occasionally, at PK's initiative, his visits became informal language lessons. For example, during one such session he explained the Alune directional system, and on another occasion he gave me extensive wordlists in several semantic fields, including terms for house-parts, animals, insects, and sago-processing apparatus. However, he resisted my suggestions that we work together regularly, on a similar basis to the sessions which I held with my older consultants. The shift to this more structured role was impeded both by his concern about his ability to give me the 'right' answer to my questions, and his fear of mixing languages.

Although his role as a language teacher never became formal, he publicized his involvement in my work in a number of ways. On several occasions he arrived at a house where I was administering the language usage survey, and sat listening or interrupting to provide answers for the respondent. During Saturday morning community work sessions he would call out corrections to the Alune which I or my women friends were speaking. He
offered advice about whom to talk to and who couldn't speak Alune.

When, in my fifth week of research, PK again expressed an interest in playing a more active role in my research, I suggested that he tell me some tuni. After some initial concern about the type of stories I wanted, he was excited by the idea and began to tell me about the different situations in which he had heard tuni. These situations include time spent with his paternal grandmother, evenings during his childhood, and when men are sitting and drinking palm wine. Despite his apparent enthusiasm, and the range of methods which I used to encourage him to narrate folktales, I was never successful in obtaining recordings of tuni from PK.

I continued to pursue this task with a range of speakers, and as the difficulties did not diminish, my curiosity grew. It appeared that the villagers' hesitation to provide me with the information I sought was not related simply to the speaker's ability to remember and retell tuni. It became clear that access to, and willingness to discuss, this category of knowledge was not equally distributed throughout the community.

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2. The strategies I used to encourage PK included lending him one of my tape recorders so he could record the stories privately at a time convenient to himself.
In order to investigate the current status of folktales, the distribution of knowledge, and 'willingness to tell', I added several questions to the language usage survey. The respondent was asked if he or she had heard folktales as a child. If so, who was the storyteller, and in which language was the story told? I then asked respondents if they could still recall the stories, and if they told them to their children. If they replied positively, I asked them to retell one of these stories to me.

**TABLE 6.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>HEARD STORY?</th>
<th>NARRATED STORY?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-45</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-65</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66+</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These questions produced some interesting reactions. Forty-eight of the sixty-two respondents reported having heard traditional folktales, and in thirty-eight cases the narrator, who was most often one of the child's

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3. See Appendix 1, questions 126-34.
parents,\(^4\) had used Alune. However, only eleven people, nine of whom were aged fifty or older, were willing to retell a story. More revealing than the refusals were the attitudes which, implicitly or explicitly, accompanied them. These will be discussed in the following sections.

6.2.1 The storytellers

One month after my initial attempts, I was finally able to record some tuni. Within a week I had collected nine stories from three storytellers, all men aged fifty-five or older, with whom I had had frequent contact. It appeared that, among older fluent speakers, 'willingness to tell' was based on their growing familiarity with and trust in me, together with improvements in my ability to speak Alune. A consensus seemed to have been reached that I was becoming part of the Alune-speaking community and could be given this knowledge. This experience parallels Gal's in Austria, in which more accurate recordings of language use were made in the second half of her fieldwork once "mutual interest, familiarity and sympathy developed" (1979:66-67). Once the process had begun, other older fluent speakers were eager to tell me

\(^4\) 70 percent of the respondents answered that the primary storyteller was one of their parents, and, more often, their father. A further 25 percent responded that the primary storyteller was a grandparent, or an 'old person'.

stories, and my principal consultants encouraged me to seek out other storytellers. In part, this growth in enthusiasm can be attributed to another factor. Once I had obtained some knowledge of traditional stories, I found I could, in effect, 'trade' this knowledge for new information. This method enabled me to identify quickly those who were renowned for their storytelling ability.

In three cases (NTK80F, OM69M, ITM53F), I was summoned to the home of a storyteller and told to bring my tape recorder. In another instance a young consultant (AT24M) borrowed a tape recorder in response to his father's (FT50sM) request that his stories be recorded.

At first my analysis revealed that knowledge of tuni, and speakers' willingness to narrate the stories, appeared to increase with the age of the speaker. However, this impression was modified following the very enthusiastic manner in which two younger imperfect speakers narrated stories. Both stories were narrated in Malay. It is probable that one story is a ma'ulu, however the origin of the other, which appears to be a folktale from another region, is uncertain.5

These two ISs provided an interesting insight into the process of the transmission of knowledge and the

5. Older speakers were reluctant to speculate about the origin of stories because of the many possible sources. A story could, for example, have been given by the ancestors, or have been 'dreamt'.
concept of increasing sacrality of traditional knowledge in the community. They were siblings whose father was

TABLE 6.2

Narrators of folktales (tuni)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NARRATOR</th>
<th>SEX/AGE</th>
<th>NO. OF STORIES</th>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OTK</td>
<td>F80s</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HK</td>
<td>M69</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>A, M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OM</td>
<td>M69</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>A, M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TN</td>
<td>M64</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>A, M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>M61</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN</td>
<td>M59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A, M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM</td>
<td>M57</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FT</td>
<td>M50s</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>A, M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITM</td>
<td>F53</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>A, M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMT</td>
<td>F31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YT</td>
<td>M28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL = 29 stories from 11 storytellers (8 stories from 3 women, 21 stories from 8 men)

reputed to have been a black magic practitioner and the possessor of traditional healing knowledge. He rarely lived in the village, preferring to stay with his wife in the mountains at the old village location. His families ties to the church were weak, although he was nominally a Christian and had 'given up' his knowledge of magic in a church ceremony. His children had been reared in unusual

6. Use of Malay by HK, OM, TN, SN, FT, and ITM was at my request, as I was interested in comparing the Malay and Alune versions of the same folktale. The fact that older speakers were uncomfortable using Malay was apparent from the responses of FT and HK (with whom I had frequent contact), who eventually insisted that it was unnecessary to narrate stories in AM because of my ability to speak Alune.
circumstances in which narratives, both tuni and ma'lulu, were frequently told, and traditional healing knowledge was transmitted. This combination of circumstances partially explains the willingness of these two young people to narrate tuni. 7

Further evidence that some knowledge of folktales had filtered down to even the passive bilinguals is found in the results of the Alune comprehension test presented in the previous chapter (section 5.3.2.1). Two children in particular (KL8F and LT14F) were familiar with tuni and performed well on the comprehension test. LT is the youngest child of one of the better-known and more enthusiastic storytellers in the village (ITM53F).

It must be stressed that there was no secrecy surrounding the performance of any of the tuni I was subsequently able to record from the OFSs and ISs and, often, a group of all ages gathered around to listen to storytelling sessions.

6.2.2 Younger fluent speakers and the transmission of knowledge

The results presented in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 (above) make it clear that despite my eventual success in

7. Their willingness to narrate tuni is consistent with other aspects of the lives of these two people. Both have some knowledge of traditional healing skills, and the brother is proud of his ability to use black magic as a means of self-defense. The sister and brother's wife never attend church services.
recording tuni from both the oldest and youngest speakers, I was never able to record either tuni or ma'lulu from YFSs. Speakers in the group aged approximately thirty-five to forty-five continued to appear uneasy when I raised the subject and would talk cautiously in a lowered voice, always aware of who might be overhearing the conversation. Contrary to what one might assume from the results, these were precisely the people with whom I had spent the most time and established the strongest bonds: the couple in whose home I lived, the women with whom I attended the weekly prayer meeting, and the friends I accompanied to the gardens or to wash clothes at the river.

Whereas the youngest (imperfect) speakers forthrightly cited their lack of knowledge of both the Alune language and the folktales as their reason for being unable to narrate a tuni, the YFSs made it clear that they knew the stories but simply were unable to narrate one at that particular time. For example, the Alune-speaking school teacher (OT42M) talked about the many tuni he had heard as a child from his maternal grandfather. However, he said he preferred to write down the stories first to ensure their accuracy. PK40M (who was discussed in section 6.2) ascribed the problems he

8. Table 6.1 indicates that 75 percent of the YFSs claimed to have heard folktales.
encountered using a tape recorder both to the ancestors and to the stories themselves, asserting the stories didn’t want to be told. Neither of these cases resulted in either the writing or the recording of folktales.

Additional evidence makes it clear that this group of YFSs considers both secular ma’lulu and tuni to be secret, and that they are not only reluctant to divulge their knowledge, but they also play an active role in blocking the access of younger speakers to this information. Again, my personal experience in seeking access to Alune narratives exemplifies this process.

On several occasions I attempted to discuss the content of stories which I had recorded with a YFS (NSK33F) in whose house I lived. Her reluctance to discuss them was clearly related to the nature or content of the stories. While she was more willing to assist in explaining lexical items related to folktales, she was very reluctant to take part in discussions of ma’lulu or stories concerning headhunting, or the indigenous religion and the practice of rituals associated with the kakehan society. In one instance, I asked about a story which explains the origin of Alune midwifery practices, a story I had been told by an OFS (TN64M). Although NSK is in the lineage which owns this knowledge, and has begun to inherit some aspects of midwifery practices, she told
me I had been given information which is secret, and to which she and most younger people do not have access. Similarly, she denied understanding the origin story concerning her lineage name, a story which her father had narrated, and which contains references to headhunting. Again, she said that younger people did not know such stories. These responses conflicted with her general attitude to my research. Throughout the year, she played an active role in assisting me by finding respondents for the survey, locating young people with the literacy skills necessary to transcribe tapes, arranging appointments with my principal consultants, speaking Alune with me, and teaching me Alune words associated with many household activities.

In my eighth month of research, I was informed that the oldest midwife (OTK, a woman aged approximately eighty years, and the oldest villager) had requested that I spend a week working with her so she could teach me all she knew "from the time the earth was created" (2:156). The request had been passed to OTK's niece (NSK33F), her daughter-in-law (STL32F) and her nephew's wife (AK41F). Despite her repeated requests, the three women had delayed giving me the message in the hope that OTK, who was terminally ill, would either forget or would cease asking. When I eventually received the message, NSK
stressed that the knowledge I would be given was secret: that I could never discuss it with any villager, and that my two young transcribers could not have access to any recordings I made. Both NSK and her husband were shocked to hear that OTK had narrated the origin of the midwifery knowledge and the Alune creation story to the minister. Narration of these stories was attributed to her illness and senility.

Three of the four sessions I spent with OTK before both her physical and mental condition deteriorated were 'supervised' by her three young female relatives. NSK continued to express her fear and embarrassment at the prospect that her aunt would describe how the world began, and that people beyond the village would laugh at her stupidity. On each occasion, NSK attempted to plan the agenda with her aunt, and to ensure that she only told me tuni. My attempts to keep the sessions unstructured were largely unsuccessful, as the notes I took following the first session demonstrate.

She began by talking about my links with her family: through HK, NSK, and PK. She said that even the older people like HK no longer know or remember everything. NSK got impatient and told OTK I was recording her so not to talk nonsense but to tell me tuni. OTK protested that she would do that later, but wanted to talk first. However NSK's insistence won, and she told me a tuni. Then she began to tell me all sorts of odd bits and pieces of knowledge: beginning with the kakehan and listing various ranks and tattoos. She went on to give me
the nasusu⁹ of various people in the village, doing it in an almost secretive way and often giggling as she talked. Then she told me several ma’mosi (avoidance) terms for common objects before NSK again stopped her, and she told me two more tuni. At that point NSK said it was time we went home. OTK was reluctant to let us go, as I was reluctant to leave. However, once more NSK's persistence won. Before we left, OTK told me to bring a pen tomorrow and she would give me more nasusu. NSK immediately told her I already know all that (2:161-162, 8/15/1988).

On the one occasion that I was able to talk to OTK alone, the content was very different. She began the session by reciting the Biblical story of Adam and Eve, which was immediately followed by the Alune creation story. This session included the naming of places on Seram, the indigenous religion, and several songs relating aspects of Alune history. During my final session with OTK, she talked about a dream in which she taught me in conjunction with her young relatives so that the information was shared among us, and available to the younger villagers "who don't know the stories" (2:168). My access to her, however, continued to be blocked by both her younger relatives and the minister, all of whom told OTK I was busy or was not in the village.

The fact that traditional folktales are not transmitted from the YFSs to their own children is apparent from the results of the comprehension test presented in the previous chapter (section 5.3.2.1).

9. Nasusu are Alune personal names, which are associated with the indigenous religion.
TS11F, BT12F, ET12F, and YM9M, whose parents are all aged between thirty-one and forty-one, all performed poorly on this test.

6.3 Reinterpreting the status of categories of knowledge

A strong relationship is evident between age and the willingness of speakers to narrate tuni. The willingness of both the oldest and the youngest speakers to narrate tuni was restricted only by the limits of their personal knowledge.\(^\text{10}\) In contrast, YFSs, while stressing that they possessed knowledge of traditional stories, used a variety of techniques to avoid divulging the content and extent of their knowledge. If one compares the ages of the speakers from whom I was unable to elicit narratives with the results of the language usage survey and language testing, which were discussed in the previous chapter, it becomes evident that a pattern is emerging in which the same group of speakers is playing a critical role in the manner in which language shift is proceeding.

10. The limited knowledge of narratives which has filtered down to the imperfect speakers and even a few passive bilinguals (despite active blocking of information by the YFSs), can be attributed to the fact that a few paths of transmission are still open. These paths include transmission from grandparents to grandchildren who live in the same household: for example, SN10M who lives with his grandfather (DN72M); and transmission from OFS parents to their youngest children, particularly if the parent holds a traditional role in the community: for example KL6F, whose mother is a midwife (ELT58F); LT14F, whose mother is a storyteller (ITM53F); and PMT31F and YT28M, who were described in section 6.2.1.
through this community. The speakers who were unwilling either to discuss or to narrate tuni and ma'lulu, and who were blocking the access of younger speakers to this information, were also those who over-reported their use of Alune, and who most openly asserted their allegiance to the Alune language. A critical question thus arises: what is the relationship between this group's language allegiance and their reluctance to divulge any traditional knowledge? This can be answered by focussing on the process of reinterpretation.

The reinterpretation of tuni from the secular to the sacred can be understood through the perspective of the traditional ownership of knowledge. In traditional Alune society, knowledge, and the prestige with which its owner was imbued, was a resource, distribution of which was controlled, and could be exploited, by its owner/s. Several categories of knowledge can be identified: that which was public, that owned by a lineage, and that owned by an individual.11 The content of each category is listed briefly here. (1) Public knowledge: this category included rituals such as the marriage proposal ceremony, the transfer of bridewealth, the renewal of inter-village alliances (pela), songs (kapatale),

11. Valeri's (1985) categorization of knowledge among the Huaulu of Central Seram, which is very similar to the Alune system described here, was influential in the development of this analysis.
rituals, and the men's secret language (so mo'wai) associated with headhunting and the indigenous religion (kakehan), together with two kinds of narratives--folktales (tuni) and the ma'lulu which describe a secular aspect of Alune history such as the origin of sago and rice. (2) Knowledge owned by a lineage: this category contained the traditional roles which were inherited within a lineage (and their associated ritual responsibilities), such as that of the latu, tapel upui, mlinu, and the midwives, rituals associated with the planting and harvesting of rice, the ritual performed upon the completion of the building of a new house, and the ma'lulu which narrate the origin and history of a lineage. (3) Knowledge owned by an individual: this category included Alune personal names (nasusu) and their meaning, and incantations, which were used for healing, hunting, the protection of property, and to cause illness or the destruction of property.12

In contemporary Alune society these categories persist, but their content has been modified through the influence of the church and the process of 'modernization'. Figure 6.1 summarizes the current status of traditional knowledge. While this list is

12. Data concerning the majority of the areas of knowledge which are listed here are too extensive to be included in this analysis, and will be presented elsewhere.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OWNER-SHIP</th>
<th>CURRENT (functions in use)</th>
<th>HISTORICAL&lt;sup&gt;13&lt;/sup&gt; (functions lost)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PUBLIC</td>
<td>marriage proposal</td>
<td>headhunting ceremonies</td>
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<td>bridewealth ceremony</td>
<td>healing language</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pela&lt;sup&gt;14&lt;/sup&gt; renewal ceremony</td>
<td>so mo'wai&lt;sup&gt;15&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>kapatate&lt;sup&gt;16&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ma'mosi (avoidance terms for nasusu)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>folktales</td>
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<td>LINEAGE</td>
<td>midwifery rituals</td>
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<td>rice planting ceremony</td>
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<td>land ceremonies (appeasement of ancestors)</td>
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<td>house building ceremony</td>
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<td>sacred ma'lulu (lineage names and history)</td>
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<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>nasusu (Alune names)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>incantations</td>
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<td>black magic</td>
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<td></td>
<td>property protection</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 6.1 Current status of traditional knowledge

13. The division which has been drawn here between knowledge which is currently functional and that which is historical should not be taken as an indication that this knowledge is evenly distributed throughout the community. Much of the knowledge in the column labelled 'current' (including cosmology stories, ritual practices, and incantations) is in fact known to only the oldest members of the community.

14. A pela relationship is an inter-village alliance.

15. So mo'wai is the men's secret language formerly used primarily in association with headhunting, and secondarily with the marriage proposal and bridewealth ceremonies.

16. Kapatate are a kind of song which are often written in so mo'wai because of the references they contain to warfare and headhunting.
undoubtedly incomplete, it represents the information to which I had access both through ethnographic literature and extensive discussions with older villagers.

The majority of these categories, although they persist, have become covert under the pressure which the church exerts to cease all traditional practices. This historical position of the church is promulgated as a theological requirement.

The church should aim with determination at putting an end to superstition and the belief in magic, which assert themselves strongly in isolated and primitive regions in times of distress, trouble and sickness, in spite of the Gospel being preached (Tutuarima 1960:158).

This attitude has affected all of the knowledge listed in Figure 6.1 under lineage and individual ownership with the exception of the midwifery rituals. These continue under an agreement between the oldest midwife and the minister that they will cease upon her death.

Traditionally, a number of different techniques were employed to ensure the secrecy of knowledge (and the protection of a resource) owned by a lineage or an individual. Among the Alune, these included the whispering of mantras, and the use of loanwords (primarily from Wemale) to increase their opacity.17

17. Taylor provides an interesting discussion concerning the role of opaque magical formulae as a "secret, prestigious, and relatively liquid asset" (1988:425) among the Tobelo of Halmahera in north Maluku.
Knowledge is also protected by the manner through which it is distributed. Knowledge which is owned by an individual or a lineage cannot be given away freely. To do so removes the efficacy of incantations for both the owner and the benefactor. The primary means through which knowledge is transferred is as a financial transaction. Less commonly, knowledge may be transferred as a gift. 18

Another aspect which restricts the access to knowledge to only the rightful performer of a ritual or the owner of an incantation is the belief that the power of this knowledge is contained within the precise use of language. Consequently, misuse of language may be disastrous for the individual or the community. This belief is not unique to the Alune. Ellen (1990), for example, noted that among the Nuaulu of Central Seram an "ancestrally ordained decree" requires the correct use of incantations at the right time. Misuse is hazardous and can incur ancestral displeasure leading to illness or ill-fortune. Similarly among the Huaulu, Valeri asserts that

any modification or error of transmission or use is said to be punished by the ancestors with sickness or even death (1985:3).

18. For example, towards the end of my fieldwork in Lohiatala, several of the OFSs with whom I had developed close friendships gave me healing incantations as farewell gifts.
Today, in regard to sacred knowledge, the use of Malay serves two purposes. First, where a speaker is uncertain of his or her ability to recite an incantation or ma’lulu accurately, Malay is used to diffuse the danger of inaccurate recital. Second, Malay is used in the transmission of sacred knowledge to protect and maintain the status of this knowledge. This strategy was adopted by my principal consultants in our initial discussions about tuni and ma’lulu. It was also used by an OFS (IL61M) to avoid divulging his knowledge of traditional narratives. However, it became most apparent to me following my analysis of the material I had recorded, which revealed that the Alune creation story, the ma’lulu relating the origin of midwifery knowledge and the origin of language groups on Seram, and all stories concerning the origin of Alune lineage names had been narrated in Malay19. This technique allows the stories to be told without imparting their essence. The ages of the ten narrators involved ranged from fifty-one to seventy-six years. The use of Malay to transmit knowledge within these particular categories underlines the sacred status which they maintain.

19. Although at the time of recording it was obvious that the speaker was using Malay, it was not immediately apparent that a pattern was emerging in which these particular stories were all being narrated in Malay. This pattern only emerged once the analysis was complete, and I had compared type of story with language choice.
6.4 The innovators of change

The discussion above clearly reveals why tuni and secular ma'ulu are the most salient categories in the process of reinterpretation. The access of YFSs to other areas of public knowledge is restricted by their youth and their lack of a traditional role in the community. Rituals within the category of public knowledge are carried out by the oldest male in each lineage. The YFSs have, therefore, extended the category of sacred knowledge (which has always existed in Alune society) to incorporate tuni and secular ma'ulu: the only knowledge which is both accessible and amenable to reinterpretation. This reinterpretation provides them with a category of sacred knowledge, possession of which can be used as an overt expression of their allegiance to Alune language and culture.

However, a further question remains unanswered: to what factors can we trace this group's language loyalty, and their apparent need for an overt expression of their allegiance to Alune culture? This need appears to have arisen from the YFSs' marginality in both the traditional Alune and modern Malay cultures: a marginality which stems from the age of the younger fluent speakers relative to a major event in the village history--the forced migration to the coast.
Support for the role which migration can play in precipitating language shift is provided by extensive research undertaken in immigrant settings in the United States and Australia (cf. Clyne 1982, 1985, Fishman 1966, Haugen 1969). These studies, which have investigated inter-generational changes in patterns of language use by immigrants, have demonstrated that there is an overall decline in the retention of immigrant languages from one generation to the next. Language loss in these settings has been attributed, among other factors, to the social mobility of the second generation, and the varying prestige of the mother tongue in relation to socio-political events (Fishman 1966:40).

The people of Lohiatala migrated from a relatively isolated setting in the mountains to a multi-cultural setting on the coast, in which Malay had been the dominant language for over a hundred years. The Alune were not only exposed to the cultural and linguistic norms of the people of Hatusua, with whom they sought refuge, but also to those of the people of Waesamu, who fled to Hatusua and Kairatu for the duration of the R.M.S. conflict (Collins:pers. comm.). The villagers who, through the data introduced in this and the previous

20. Bradley (1989) provides one of the very few discussions of the process of language loss and cultural change in a migrant setting.
chapter, have been identified as central to the process of language shift, are those who were young children (aged approximately five to ten years) when the move occurred. Unlike their younger siblings and relatives who were born in Hatusua, or in the relocated village of Lohiatala, they had had little exposure to the Malay language prior to the move. They experienced difficulties, particularly in the school setting, in adjusting to the demands placed upon them to adapt quickly to their new circumstances as refugees, and to learn an unfamiliar language. This assertion is substantiated by the excerpts from their personal histories which were presented in Chapter 4. These speakers were also marginal in Alune culture: they were tied to the old village by virtue of their early years, yet excluded from a context in which Alune tradition played a central role. In this aspect of their history the YFSs differ from both the older villagers, who were well-grounded in Alune culture, and viewed the move as temporary, and from their younger siblings and relatives, who were born in Hatusua into a principally Malay-speaking environment.

These circumstances resulted in what Fishman has described as a "fragmented ethnicity" (1966:395). While they appreciate the benefits associated with
modernization, this group of younger fluent speakers also see a need to protect the traditional knowledge necessary for survival in an uncertain and rapidly changing world: traditional healing skills, the use of magic, and the practice of rituals concerned with the appeasement of ancestors.

While members of the oldest generation identify themselves as Alune, and the youngest generation is undeniably Malay in orientation, those of the second generation attempt to minimize their marginality by presenting themselves as mediators between the two cultures. The adoption of this role is exemplified by the behavior of PK40M in the community meetings held in the church following the Sunday service. In his modern role as deacon of the church, PK occasionally acted as an interpreter between the minister and the older members of the congregation, asserting that this was necessary so that older people could understand the issues being discussed and participate in the meetings.

Their success as mediators is dependent upon the YFSs' possession of a visible role in both the traditional and modern aspects of village life. The positions they hold in both the church and government administrative structures assure their place as key figures in the process of modernization. However, as we
have seen earlier, traditional roles are less accessible to this group of YFSs. This obstacle is overcome through their visible affiliation with traditional Alune culture which is provided by the possession of sacred knowledge.

6.5 Conclusion

The concept of marginality, which was introduced in this chapter, was developed from the earlier work of Labov (1972) and Milroy (1987), who used this concept to explain the paths through which linguistic innovations spread. In the present study the YFSs neither possess weak network ties nor are they isolated individuals like Labov's 'lames', who were "outside of the central group and its culture" (Labov 1972:258). However, it appears that their role in the process of language shift can be traced to the YFSs marginality, which arises from their lack of full integration into either the traditional (Alune) or modern (Malay) aspects of village life. It is into this framework that the reinterpretation of tuni, and its consequences for language use, must be placed.

The dual roles which the YFSs play is directly affecting the pace at which the Alune language is dying in Lohiatala. Their role as supporters of the push for modernization requires them to use, and to encourage the use of, Malay. Their role as possessors of sacred traditional knowledge requires them to limit its
transmission, and to use Malay when imparting sacred knowledge in a mundane setting. Previous studies of language shift and language obsolescence have shown that the domains of language use in which the threatened language persists longest are the home and religion (cf. Romaine 1989:375, Gal 1979:126, Dorian 1981:90ff). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that, in a setting in which the traditional context of use for the indigenous religion remained intact, such as the mountain village location, this domain might have slowed the rate of loss of Alune. However, the forced migration to the coast, the ensuing marginality of the second generation, and the consequent process of reinterpretation of some categories of knowledge, has ensured the removal of this domain as a possible source of language maintenance. In Lohiatala, it is precisely the domain of indigenous religion which, due to restrictions on the transmission of sacred knowledge and the reinterpretation of previously secular knowledge into this category, is hastening the demise of Alune.
7 CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The data presented in this dissertation have demonstrated that language shift leading to language obsolescence is proceeding rapidly in the village of Lohiatala. Investigation of the village history revealed that language shift was precipitated by conversion to Christianity and the introduction of education in the medium of Malay in 1925, and hastened by the forced migration to the coast, brought about by the R.M.S. conflict in the 1950s.

A language-usage survey documented the path of language shift by demonstrating how patterns of language choice have changed over time. These changes were related to external social forces, demographic changes within the village, and changing cultural associations through which Malay is recognized by the villagers as the language of modernization and progress. The association between Malay and modernization was inferred from the responses to the language-usage survey, which showed that reported use of Malay increases with interlocutors who hold a modern role in the village. Samples of language use substantiated the analyses of the quantitative data, and exemplified the use of Ambonese Malay in different settings by a variety of speakers.
Testing of Alune language proficiency by a wide age-range of speakers revealed that the shift from Alune to Malay is occurring along generational lines. Proficiency testing was used to identify four groups of speakers: near-passive bilinguals (aged eighteen or less), imperfect speakers (aged nineteen to thirty-four), younger fluent speakers (aged thirty-five to forty-five), and older fluent speakers (aged forty-six or older).1 The category of semi-speaker, which was distinguished in earlier studies of language obsolescence (Dorian 1977b, 1981, Schmidt 1985c), did not appear to correspond to any one of these groups. While the linguistic ability of the imperfect speakers in Lohiatala corresponded to Dorian's definition of a semi-speaker, their personality profiles differed. In contrast, the younger fluent speakers match the personality profile of a semi-speaker, but their level of language proficiency is much higher.

Because of the limited testing which was undertaken, it cannot be conclusively determined whether the changes which were noted among the youngest speakers are ad hoc or are becoming conventionalized. However, there are indications that a shared system is developing among the

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1. The ages given in each group of speakers is only approximate, and there are some exceptions within each group.
imperfect speakers. Therefore an age-related proficiency continuum was established from the conservative Alune of the oldest speakers to the innovative Alune of the imperfect speakers and passive bilinguals.

Despite the fact that language shift was clearly occurring in the old village of Lohiatala, as Dorian (1981:111) points out "there is nothing foreordained about the extinction of a local language in competition with a language of wider currency." Cases have been recorded where indigenous languages have persisted despite strong pressure from an expanding, high-prestige language. Additive bilingualism might have been possible in the mountain village of Lohiatala. However, the changed circumstances following the relocation of Lohiatala on the coast removed this possibility.

The manner in which these changed circumstances have affected patterns of language use in Lohiatala was revealed through analysis of the quantitative data in Chapter 5, which led to the identification of a small group of younger fluent speakers who consistently over-reported their use of Alune. Over-reporting was attributed to the YFSs' desire to be visibly affiliated

2. Invariable use of the 3sg genitive marker by the ISs in inalienably possessed constructions exemplifies this process.
with traditional Alune values, and to affirm their language allegiance in the contemporary setting in which language choices are restricted by the multilingual nature of the speech community.

In Chapter 6, evidence was presented to demonstrate that these YFSs had reinterpreted the status of folktales (tuni) and secular origin myths (ma'ulu) from the mundane to the sacred category of traditional knowledge. The reinterpretation of the status of tuni and secular ma'ulu allows the YFSs to visibly affirm their affiliation with traditional Alune life by providing them with sacred traditional knowledge.

It was argued that the need of some younger fluent speakers to express their language loyalty and allegiance to Alune culture derives from the period in which the people of Lohiatala were refugees in the coastal village of Hatusua during the R.M.S. conflict, which resulted in the second generation's marginality in both the traditional Alune and modern Malay cultures. The acceptance of positions in the church and government structures, and the possession of sacred knowledge via the reinterpretation of the status of tuni and ma'ulu, is an integral part of their endeavor to diminish their marginality by creating a role for themselves as mediators between the modern and traditional aspects of
village life. It was asserted that this process both encourages the use of Malay, and restricts the access of the youngest members of the community to the remaining domains of use for Alune. As a consequence, these speakers are unintentionally hastening the demise of Alune.

7.2 Methodological issues

This dissertation demonstrates that valuable insights into the process of language obsolescence can be gained through research which is undertaken in a very different geographical and cultural setting from the locations studied by the majority of previous researchers. The issues which have largely formed the focus of earlier projects, such as the structural changes which commonly accompany language death, and the identification of the social and historical factors which may precipitate language obsolescence, appear to have been influenced by the setting in which language obsolescence is occurring. However, the findings presented in this dissertation point to the fact that significant aspects of the process of language shift (and its endpoint, language obsolescence) may not be apparent only from linguistic evidence gained through the study of verbal interaction.
In a community in which rapid language shift is occurring, socio-cultural patterns often will also be in transition, and patterns of language usage may be affected by wide-sweeping societal changes. In some settings, such as Lohiatala, the researcher's access to certain domains of use of the indigenous language may be restricted. However, these restrictions may themselves prove to be a valuable source of information for understanding how language shift is proceeding. Earlier linguistic and ethnographic material (where it exists), together with extensive interviews with community members, can provide information about the full range of knowledge which is potentially available to speakers. This information can then form a basis for analysing the contemporary patterns of language choice which operate within different domains, and determining changing patterns in the distribution of knowledge and the interaction which may exist between these changes and the process of language shift.

7.3 Future research

In order to assess the extent to which the theoretical and methodological issues which have been raised in this dissertation are generalizable to other settings in which language obsolescence is occurring, several comparative studies are suggested. Among the
Alune villages in western Seram there are several settings which provide potentially interesting sites for comparative studies. First, villages sharing a similar history to Lohiatala: it is possible that language shift has followed the same path in other Alune villages, such as Nurue and Kamal, which were subjected to a forced migration to the coast through pressure from the R.M.S. conflict. In these villages it is conceivable that the need for an expression of ethnicity and language loyalty is stronger than that found in Lohiatala due to the presence of a large migrant population (which was described in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1), and more constant exposure to non-indigenous people passing along the road leading to the market town of Waisarisa. Second, villages which returned to their mountain location: unlike Lohiatala, the occupants of some mountain villages, such as Riring, returned to their previous location following the suppression of guerrilla activity. This village would provide a valuable setting in which to compare the pace of language shift. Third, villages affected by very different historical processes to those on the south coast: for example, the Alune village of Murnaten, which moved to the north coast approximately 100 years ago, at a time when the region was inhabited by speakers of non-Alune languages such as Noniali and
Lisabata, and the now extinct language of Naka'ela. The villagers of Murnaten are exposed to a rich linguistic complexity as well as greater religious diversity because of their location near the Muslim village of Lisabata. Four, villages which did not leave their original location: although no Alune villages remained in the mountains throughout the R.M.S. conflict, the Manusela-speaking village of Maneo provides a possible location for such a comparison.

Each of these settings would enable further testing to be undertaken of the conclusions which have been drawn in this dissertation, and an analysis of the wider applicability of the methods which were utilized.
1. Name of respondent
2. Sex
3. Approximate year of birth\textsuperscript{1}
4. Place of birth
5. Number of siblings
6. Position in birth order
7. Mother's name and place of birth
8. Father's name and place of birth
9. Marital status
10. Spouse's name, age, and place of birth
11. Number of children
12. Names and ages of children
13. Children's places of birth
14. Children's current residence

Language usage

15. When you talk with your mother/ father/
     grandparents/ siblings/ spouse/ children/
     grandchildren, what language do you usually
     use?

16. If you meet a member of your family in some place
     away from the village, for example at the
     market, what language do you usually speak?

\textsuperscript{1} For older respondents, age was gauged in relation to
a major event - for example, the arrival of the first
Calvinist missionary, or World War II.
17. If you write a letter to a family member living in another place, what language do you use?

RESIDENCE

A. Respondents from Lohiatala

18. Have you ever lived in another village, or on another island? If so, where?

19. How long did you live there?

20. Why did you move there?

21. When did you return to L-T?

22. Has your spouse ever lived in another place? If so, where?

23. How long did he/she live there?

24. Why did he/she move there?

25. When did you return to L-T?

26. Have your children ever lived in another place? If so, where?

27. How long did they live there?

28. Why did they move there?

29. When did they return to L-T?

30. Do you want or plan to move to another village or town? If so, where?

31. Why do you want to move there?

32. Would you like your children to live in another village or town? If so, where?
Language usage

Men

33. If you sit drinking palm wine with a friend, what language do you use?

34. If you go hunting cuscus or snakes with a friend, what language do you use?

35. If you go to the police station or the District Administrator's office in Kairatu and meet a friend from L-T there, what language do you use?

36. If you talk with someone from Rumbatu or Rumberu who is passing through the village, what language do you use?

Women

33. If you go to fetch water from the well or to wash clothes with a friend, what language do you speak to your friend?

34. If you meet a friend from L-T in Waihatu or Waisarisa, what language do you use?

35. If you go to the market in Kairatu and meet a friend from L-T there, what language do you use?

36. If you talk with someone from Rumbatu or Rumberu who is passing through the village, what language do you use?
37. If you go visiting to a friend's house in the village, what language do you use?
38. If a friend comes to your house to borrow something, what language do you use?

B. Respondents born in another village or town
39. When did you move to L-T?
40. Why did you move here?
41. How often do you return home?
42. Can you understand Alune?
43. Can you speak Alune?
44. Can you speak any other language in addition to Malay?
45. Which language?

EDUCATION

A. Respondent
46. How long did you attend school?
47. Where did you go to elementary school/ junior high/ senior high?
48. When you were attending school where did you live?

If you attended school in another village or town:
49. Could the people in whose house you lived speak Alune?
50. Could your school friends speak Alune?

B. Respondent's spouse
51. How long did you attend school?
52. Where did you go to elementary school/ junior high/ senior high?

53. When you were attending school where did you live?

If you attended school in another village or town:

54. Could the people in whose house you lived speak Alune?

55. Could your school friends speak Alune?

C. Respondent's children

56. How long did each of your children attend school?

57. Where did they live while they attended school?

58. Would you like your children to attend high school?

59. If so, where would you like them to attend school?

60. Would you like them to attend a university?

D. Respondent's parents

61. How long did your parents attend school?

62. Where did they go to school?

63. Can your mother and father read and write?

Language usage

64. If you meet with the (Alune speaking) school teacher in the village, what language do you use?

65. When you were young and attending school, what language did you speak with your friends?

66. When you were young and first entered school, could you already speak Malay?
67. If not, how long did you attend school before you could understand Malay?

68. If one of your children is sick and can't attend school, what language do you use with the teacher when you explain his or her absence?

EMPLOYMENT

A. In Lohiatala

69. What do you plant in your field?

70. How often do you go and work there?

71. Do you usually go alone or with someone else? Who?

72. If you are sick or have a young baby does anyone else work in the field for you? Who?

73. Do you sell the produce from your field?

74. Where do you sell it?

75. How many times each week do you usually go to the market?

76. Do you usually go alone or with someone else? Who?

Language usage

77. If a health worker comes to your home, what language do you use?

78. If the village healer comes to your home, what language do you use?

B. Other sources of income

79. Do you own cows or hens? How many?

80. Do you ever hunt pig, cuscus, or deer to sell?
81. Do you ever sell snakes or birds?
82. Do you have another source of income: for example from selling cakes, fish, palm wine, or sago, or from house-building?

Language usage
83. If you meet the village head or another government official from the village, what language do you use?

C. In the old village
84. Do you have a field or orchard in the old village?
85. What do you plant there?
86. How often do you go there?
87. Do you usually go to the old village alone or with someone else? Who?
88. How long do you usually stay there?
89. Where do you sell the produce from your orchard?
90. How often do you go to the market?
91. Do you have any damar resin trees?

D. Work elsewhere
92. Have you ever worked in another place: for example, the factory in Waisarisa? Where?
93. How long did you work there?
94. While you worked there, did you live with other people from L-T?
95. Were there other Alune speakers working with you?
96. Why did you stop working there and return to L-T?

**Language usage**

97. What language did you use with your workmates?

98. If you work with someone else in the field, what language do you use?

99. When you're doing community work in the village, what language do you use?

**E. Future**

100. Do any of your children already work? If so, where?

101. How long have they been working there?

102. Where would you like to work in the future?

103. Where would you like your children to work in the future?

**DWELLING**

104. How long have you lived in this house?

105. Who built this house?

106. Why did you build on this site in preference to any other?

107. How many people live in this house?

108. Before you lived in this house, where did you live?

109. Do you plan to build a new house in the future? Where?

**CHURCH AFFILIATION**

110. What is your religion?
111. Are you already baptized?

112. Are you confirmed?

113. Have you ever been a Deacon or held some other position in the church?

114. How many times each month do you usually go to church?

115. Were you married in the church?

Language usage

116. If you meet one of the Deacons, what language do you use to discuss church business?

117. If you pray in the church/ at a prayer meeting/ at home, what language do you use?

118. When the minister preaches, can you always understand the sermon?

Language Awareness

119. If the village head discusses some village business after the church service, what language does he use?

120. When the village crier circles the village calling out an announcement, what language does he use?

121. When you were young, if you wanted to ask your mother for cakes/ your father for money/ a friend for some fruit, what language did you use?
122. When you first began to speak Malay, who was that with?

123. Which language do you prefer to use?

124. Is it easier for you to use one language than another? If so, which language?

125. When you were young, if your father and mother spoke Alune to each other, could you understand?

TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE

126. When you were young, did you ever hear folktales?

127. Who told them, and in what language?

128. Can you still remember the stories?

129. Do you ever re-tell them to your children? If so, what language do you use?

130. Could you tell me one of those stories?

131. Do you have a traditional Alune name?

132. Do you know its meaning?

133. Did you give your children Alune names?

134. Do you know the story about the origin of your clan name?
3.1 The Alune language is, judging from the texts, largely uniform. To be sure, the pronunciation varies from village to village (Sierevelt, p.1) and with that also to a certain extent the style (orthography) of the texts, but as to the development of special dialects, it doesn't appear to have happened. [F]or the moment it seems uncertain whether they are sufficient to constitute grounds for a real dialect difference. Perhaps we're just dealing with linguistic influence from the outside (Niggemeyer 1952:52).

4.1 So at the time of our trip Alune gave no impression at all of being a dying language. In the long run, mind you, the tendency also encouraged by the government will become noticeable--to replace the indigenous languages by Malay. In the coastal villages this process has already advanced considerably. Through trade with Malay-speaking foreigners from Maluku, Sulawesi, etc., who have in part settled in their own villages, Alune is pushed back so far, that here it can be regarded as a dying language (Niggemeyer 1952:52).


5.1 Tapi kalau di rumah, waktu masih kecil, sudah berbahasa Alune, karena nenek saya itu, selalu dengan Bahasa Alune. Nenek tinggal di rumah (NK33M:Tape 18).


5.4 Kalau yang sejaman dengan kita berarti Bahasa Daerah, tapi yang muda berarti seng bisa, Bahasa Indonesia. Karena mereka juga seng mengerti lagi, tentang Bahasa Daerah (MN51M:Tape 27).

5.5 Bahasa Indonesia. Sebab Bahasa Alune, kita kurang biasa. Soalnya kita lahir di Hatusua (ZM34M:Tape 29).


5.7 Beta bilang kata "Biar Melayu jua po mesti ose pung bahasa itu, ajar dulu." (AMN70F:Tape 39).


5.10 Kalau di kantor atau di sekolah saya pakai Bahasa Indonesia, tapi kalau di jalan-jalan atau rumah, pakai Bahasa Daerah (PK40M:Tape 36).

Ya. Nanti kalau umur dua puluh begitu, sudah, dia sudah bahasa (SMK43F:Tape 33).

Iya, dia tahu mar sekali-sekali (SLN44F:Tape 15).


Anak satu tikang tete pung porot. Tali porot keluar dan dong bakar walang. Dong dua lari (SN10M:Tape 60).

5.16 Tadi ada dua orang. Dong dua tipar segeru.
Lalu ambil tali porot. Lalu dong dua bakar walang.
Lalu lari (AL13F:Tape 60).


5.19 Yang gampang itu Bahasa Indonesia dari Bahasa Daerah. Tapi saya senang Bahasa Daerah! Saya mau, kalau saya bicara di gereja juga saya tidak mau pakai Bahasa Indonesia. Saya mau supaya jangan
hilang. Ada hal-hal rahasia, apa perlu orang jangan tahu, hal-hal khusus, atau hal-hal di daerah saja itu, bisa orang lain tahu tidak bagus (PK40M:Tape 36).
APPENDIX 3  Glossary of Alune and Malay terms

alifura  a derogatory word used to describe unacculturated mountain people.

angkatan muda  youth group formed within the G.P.M. organization.

camat  the head of a subdistrict or kecamatan.

damar  resin.

Gereja Protestant Maluku (G.P.M.)  the Protestant church of Maluku: the Calvinist church organization in Maluku.

kabupaten  regional administrative area: regency.

kakehan  a society associated with headhunting and the indigenous religion.

kapatake  a song style often written in so mo'wai and associated with headhunting.

kecamatan  a small administrative district or subdistrict within the modern Indonesian system of Government incorporating a number of villages and small towns.

kepala adat  traditionally, the ritual leader of the community.

kepala desa  the modern, Government appointed village headman.

kepala soa  the head of a traditional village political division.

koster  vergers in the church.
kuliah kerja nyata (KKN) an obligatory rural social action internship for advanced university students.

kunci bulan a prayer meeting which is held to mark the end of the month.

kunci usbud a Saturday evening prayer meeting which is held to close the previous Church week and to prepare the congregation for the Sunday service.

latu the traditional hereditary position of village headman and ritual leader.

luma matai the head of a lineage.

ma' lulu stories which tell the history or the origin of some aspect of village life: for example, the origin of sago and the ability to process it; the origin of the midwife's knowledge, etc.

majelis jemaah the Parish Council.

makabala, makahala names used historically by linguists and ethnographers to refer to the Alune people.

marinyo the present-day role of town crier (which serves the primary function of calling out Government announcements): adapted from the traditional hereditary role of village crier.

mlinu traditionally, the hereditary role of village chanter.

patalima the 'League of Five': one of two groups in Central Maluku which purportedly arose in the
sixteenth century and which were based on religious and territorial oppositions.

*patasiwa* the 'League of Nine'.

*pela* inter-village alliances.

*pelayanan wanita* (*Pelawata*) a women's service group formed within the G.P.M. organization to educate women about Christianity, and which meets once a week for a prayer service.

*penatua* church elders.

*pendeta* Minister.

*pengasuh* Sunday school teachers.

*raja* literally 'king'; the term used in the village for the village headman, known as *kepala desa* within the modern Indonesian Government system.

*Republik Maluku Selatan* 'The Republic of the South Moluccas': an independence movement formed in Maluku in April 1950 by a group of soldiers and officials who had prospered under Dutch rule, and who wished to gain independence from the Indonesian Government.

*rukun tetangga* neighborhood associations: a modern administrative unit at the village level.

*sekolah rakyat* (*S.R.*) the people's school.

*semas* church deacons.
so mo'wai the men's secret language associated with the kakehan society.

soa a traditional political division on the village level composed of several lineages. Utilized for administrative purposes by the Indonesian Government in villages in which the population is too small to be divided into rukun tetangga.

somtoline the Alune language.

sopi distilled palm wine.

suling a bamboo flute.

tapel upui traditionally, a hereditary role of guardianship over the land owned and inhabited by the people of Lohiatala. He performs ceremonies to make the land safe for human occupation and possesses the power to heal people who have been harmed physically or mentally by spirits after they have unknowingly entered areas which are of spiritual significance.

transmigrasi lokal a program which is organized by the regional Government pertaining to migration within one region or province. Limited assistance is given, including two hectares of land per family.

transmigrasi nasional a program which was established by the Indonesian Government in an effort to relieve the pressure on heavily overpopulated regions such
as Java and Lombok by encouraging migration to less populated islands. Migrants receive assistance in the form of transportation costs, health care, housing, bedding, clothing, two hectares of land, farming tools, and seedlings. They are guaranteed an income for twelve months and are given guidance and instruction in appropriate farming techniques. 

transmigrasi spontan migration which is undertaken at the initiative of the individual or family and for which no Government assistance is available.

tuan tanah the guardian of the land. See tapel upui.

unit pelayanan administrative units established in the village by the church.
APPENDIX 4

SUILLIMA: Sejarah Singkat Asal Mula Lahirnya Desa Lohiatala.¹

Matheus Makerawe & Maxmilian Nikolebu

Pemerintah Kabupaten Daerah Tkt. II Maluku Tengah,
Kecamatan Kairatu, Desa Lohiatala.

BAB 1

Berdasarkan keputusan Saniri Besar Tiga Batang Air,
Tala, Eti, Sapalewa, maka pada tahun 1817, sekelompok
manusia yg disebut dengan istila hukum adat, Anggota
Lohia.

Anggota Lohia, berangkat mengadakan perjalanan dari
Numputi Kwayasu tempat pertama manusia berkabung² di -
SOBAEN LATAL. Anggota Lohia, dibawa seorang pengawasan
dari Inama Hahu Inai TUAN TOKAI, dari Pemerintah
Nyonyiali Kecamatan Taniwel Seram Utara.

Anggota Lohia dipimpin oleh seorang pemimpin Wakil
Pemerintah bernama: SAMAI. MANAKANE. dan, seorang
penunjuk jalan bernama MELUA. SOUALY.

Anggota Lohia, berangkat dari sebuah kampung kecil
yang bernama: Lohiasapalewa, yang berkedudukan di
pegunungan Pulau Seram sebelah Utara.

¹ The original format and punctuation of this short
history of the village of Lohiatala have been retained.
The original spelling has also been retained, and, where
necessary, errors have been corrected in footnotes. Most
of these "errors" can be attributed to hypercorrection
from Ambonese Malay.
² bergabung
Anggota Lohia mengadakan perjanan menuju ke sebelah selatan pegunungan Pulau Seram tiba disuatu tempat, dimana anggota Lohia berteduh. Tempat anggota Lohia berteduh itu, dinamakan SOU UEI.

Di SOU UEI, anggota Lohia, mengadakan musyawarah, dan menyelidiki tempat itu, kenyataan tidak bisa untuk menjadikan kampung. Anggota Lohia berpindah lagi ke suatu tempat yang lain bernama Kawaliki.

Musyawarah kedua pun, tidak berhasil, berdasarkan daerah Kawaliki, tidak memiliki air untuk tempat mandi, dan minum.

Justru didalam musyawarah kedua ini dihadiri pula seorang tokoh dari Lumahbotoi/Nurue, bernama MOSOLA, dan sesuai keputusan bersama oleh Tiga Batang Air, Tala, Eti, Sapalewa, maka tempat yg ditetapkan oleh Saniri Besar Tiga Batang Air, ialah: Tapel, Tnusa Batai dengan pengertian bahwa:

1. Anggota Lohia, diberi hak untuk duduk digaris perbatasan Tala, dan Eti.
2. Anggota Lohia diberi hak, makan dari petuanan tanah batang air Tala, dan Eti.
3. Anggota Lohia, diberi hak duduk sebagai anggota.
Untuk itu, anggota Lohia diberi hak untuk mengambil tempat pada Tapel, Tnusa Batai, karena dilihat dari segi airnya dapat memuaskan untuk anggota Lohia, menetap dan mendirikan kampung.

BAB 2

Anggota Lohia pada saat itu memiliki suatu kepercayaan yang dinamakan agama; Kakihane.

Istila Kakihane, maka anggota Lohia disebut; anggota Lohia Sisin Salaputa.

Ditempat itu anggota Lohia mengadakan/ menetapkan suatu tempat khusus untuk anggota berbakti tiap tahun sekali, dengan ditandai cap pada setiap testa pada seorang pria/ wanita, yang suli.

Suli, artinya sebagai Agama Kristen, Sidi, sebagai Agama Islam, sunat, -

Sehingga ditempat kampung Lohialala, ini ada sebuah mata air yang ditanam oleh datuk - datuk, maka air ini tetap hidup sampai dengan saat ini, yang bernama Suilima. Artinya lima orang Suli/Sidi.

Sepanjang sejarah perjalanan anggota Lohia, mengambil tempat pada Tapel, Tnusa Batai, dengan Istila Kampung, maka Lohia, dibatasi dengan beberapa

5. *setiap*
6. AM 'forehead', probably from Portuguese.
Desa/kampung, sebagai berikut:

sebelah timur dengan desa Rumberu

" barat " " Nurue
" selatan " " Hatusua
" utara " " Manusa.

Dengan kedudukan kampung Lohia, ini sudah duduk/letak di daerah Tala, maka kampung ini merubah7 nama menjadi Lohiatata. Desa ini terletak antara 20km dari pesisir pantai, di pegunungan pulau Seram Kecamatan Kairatu.

Sejak tahun 1817, sampai dengan 1840, kampung ini berangsur-angsur meningkat menjadi desa dengan penduduk berjumlah 65.KK.8 dan berjiwa 385. orang.

Selama satu abad9 setengah kampung Lohiatatala ini masih bertempat tinggal di pegunungan Pulau Seram.

Dalam satu abad setengah itu, yaitu: tahun 1925, menemui perubahan yaitu mulai menerima Agama, yaitu Agama Kristen/Protestan, dan mulai menerima pendidikan,/sekolah.

Justru karena itu kampung Lohiatatala ini, pada mulainya, beragama Hindu,/Kakihane, sebagai tersebut diatas.

BAB 3 Peralihan Kampung Lohiatatala Lama ke Lohiatatala Yang Baru.

7. merubah
8. kepala keluarga
9. abad
Bahwa pada tahun 1950an kampung Lohiatala diduduki oleh apa yang dinamakan dirinya (RMS).

Disebabkan timbulnya gerahan tersebut maka kampung Lohiatala pada waktu itu, rakyatnya ditindas tampa ampun.

Untuk meluaskan gerahan tersebut, maka kampung Lohiatala pada waktu itu, rumah-rumah dibakar dan rakyat Lohiatala ditindas masuk hutan dan semua harta benda dimusnah.

Selama sembilan (9) bulan rakyat Lohiatala, dikuasai oleh gerahan tersebut.

Dengan rahmat Tuhan yang Mahakuasa, maka pada tgl.11. Oktober. 1951, tibalah Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI) mengadakan Patroli dari jurusan barat Pulau Seram Kecamatan Piru, oleh Batalion 709- Banten Putih, dan disinilah hilangnya gerahan tersebut diatas, dari petuanan desa Lohiatala.

Maka pada saat itu, kesempatan, bagi rakyat Lohiatala untuk mencari jalan kembali ke Pangkuan Ibu Pertiwi.

Maka pada tanggal. 6 Juli 1952, terbentuk suatu Tim Perundingan yang disponsori oleh M. Makerawe, Almarhum sebagai Pemerintah Negeri pada waktu itu, turun ke desa Hatusua berhubungan dengan Tentara Nasional Indonesia,

10. *banteng*
Batalion 704, yang berada di desa Hatusua, dibawa Komendan Sarsan mayor Lohande.

Hasil perundingan yang dibawahkan oleh Tim, dapat mengembirahkan, berhasil baik.

Maka pada tanggal 11. Agustus 1952, atas pengumuman dari M. Makerawe Almarhum, bahwa semua rakyat Lohiatala yang berkeliparan di hutan-hutan selama ini, yang berada didalam petuanan desa Lohiatala, sudah harus keluar mengikuti panggilan Ibu Pertiwi yang merdeka dan berdaulat dalam kesatuan Republik Indonesia, yang tercinta.


Rakyat Lohiatala desambut oleh Komandan Pos, bersama anggota, serta masyarakat Hatusua, dalam suatu acara gerejani.

BAB 4 Masyarakat Lohiatala berada di Hatusua.

Pada tgl. 15. Agustus 1952, rakyat Lohiatala berada di Hatusua, sebagai tamu, dan dapat dibagi pada tiap-tiap kepala keluarga masyarakat Hatusua.

Kira-kira setahun lamanya, maka atas perintah Pemerintah Negeri Hatusua, mengeluarkan suatu pengumuman, untuk masyarakat Lohiatala membangun rumah sendiri.
Disamping itu juga, Pemerintah Negeri, memberikan keluasan untuk membuka hutan untuk berkebun, pun hasil-hasil lain yang punya milik negeri Hatusua, dapat menjadi milik Lohiatala juga.

Sepanjang 13 tahun kedua pemerintah Negeri Hatusua, dan Lohiatala, dapat bekerja sama sebagai satu negeri.

Oleh karena hubungan antara negeri Hatusua, Lohiatala, memakan waktu yang begitu lama, maka disini timbullah perkawinan antara kedua desa semakin mengikat persekutuan keluarga.

Dan sebagai akhir dimana negeri Lohiatala kembali dari Hatusua, ketempat sendiri untuk membangun desa sendiri, ternyata terdapat peninggalan anak-anak cucu dari negeri Lohiatala semakin berkembang sampai dengan saat ini.

Pemerintah negeri Hatusua pada saat itu, dikuasai oleh Bapak Yohanis. Tetehuka.


Dengan ketentuan yang belum begitu positif, maka terjadi keputusan darurat untuk membangun sebuah kampung darurat, yang bertempat, di tempat yang bernama Kunate.
Dan pada saat itu juga, belum dengan resmi Lohiatala menetap, pada kampung tersebut.


Dan sebelum itu, ditandai dengan suatu rapat bersama yang bertempat di rumah Bapak Pemerintah Negeri S. Leirissa, dan di dalam rapat tersebut, kesan-kesan terakhir yang disampaikan oleh kedua Pemerintah negeri Hatusua.

Begini baiklah sekarang saudara kembali tetapi saya atas nama masyarakat Hatusua pesankan kepada saudara-saudara, ingatlah dan jaga hubungan baik antara kedua desa.

Agar persatuan tinggal tetap sebagaimana 13 tahun Lohiatala berada di negeri Hatusua.

BAB 5 Lohiatala berada pada Desa Sendiri.

1\(\frac{1}{2}\) tahun negeri Lohiatala berada pada sebuah kampung darurat, disamping itu, bersama-sama membangun sebuah kampung/desa yang baru, yang berlokasi pada tempat yang bernama Kweletei.

Dan selama 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) tahun dikerjakan dan dapat selesai, dan diresmikan pada tgl. 29. Nopember 1966.

Demikian sejarah singkat desa Lohiatala sampai dengan saat ini.

Begitu kisah nyata dari pada desa Lohiatala, dengan jumlah penduduk saat ini, 638 jiwa, dari 122 kepala keluarga.

Struktur pemerintahan sampai saat ini

1. Pemerintahan ditangan Samai Manakane 46 tahun
2. Balai Manakane 37 "
3. Piter Manakane 19 "
4. Suita Makerawe 25 "
5. Matheus Makerawe 35 "
6. Saul Manakane 5 "
7. Max Nikolebu 1.5 "
8. Dantje Manakane 1 "

sekarang dan selanjutnya

Surat Riwayat Hidup

Maxmilian Nikolebu dilahirkan di Lohiatala pada tanggal 31 Agustus 1937, dibesarkan oleh ayah Yusuf Nikolebu, dan Ibu Oktovina Tibalilatu.

Pada tahun 1950, karena timbul apa yang dinamakan dirinya (RMS) maka tidapat melanjutkan pendidikan hanya sampai pada kelas 5.

Pada tahun 1957 Maxmilian Nikolebu mengikuti pendidikan agama selama 3 (tiga) tahun, dan tahun 1960, M. Nikolebu menyelesaikan pendidikan itu.


Dan pada tahun 1968, M. Nikolebu, ditunjuk untuk duduk di stap Pemerintah Desa pada bidang Administrasi Desa dengan kedudukan sebagai Sekretaris Desa, sampai dengan saat ini.

Demikian Riwayat singkat M. Nikolebu.

Riwayat Hidup M. Makerawe Almarhum

Matheus Makerawe Almarhum dilahirkan di Lohiatala pada tgl. 9 Maret 1925.
Almarhum dibesarkan oleh Ayah Yacob Makerawe, dan Ibu Makdalena Rumahpasal.

Almarhum disekolahkan di Negeri Hatusua pada tahun 1938, dan menamatkan pendidikan pada tahun 1940.

Pada tahun 1940 Almarhum terpiara dengan seorang mantri pada Kantor Bistour\textsuperscript{11} Asisten di Piru.

Almarhum dibina dan dididik oleh M. Kesulia.

Bahwa Almarhum adalah anak yang jujur dan baik, hidup prestasi tinggi maka Almarhum dapat dipakai pada Kantor Bistour Asisten di Piru, sebagai pegawai bawahan juru tulis.

Selama 4 tahun Almarhum bekerja pada Kantor Bistour Asisten Piru, dan dipindahkan ke Resort Hunitetu pada jabatan yang sama.

Pada tahun 1945, Almarhum dipanggil pulang oleh masyarakat Lohiatala untuk dipilih menduduki jabatan Ayahnya, sebagai Kepala Desa.

Almarhum menduduki jabatan selama 4 bulan, justru karena Almarhum masih berkemauan tinggi, maka pada saat itu almarhum lari meninggalkan jabatan mendaftarkan diri masuk serdadu Knil, selama 3 tahun.

Yaitu: dari tahun 1946, sampai dengan tahun 1949 almarhum dipanggil pulang lagi untuk kembali menduduki jabatannya semula.

\textsuperscript{11} bestuur 'government, administration'
Almarhum kembali dengan pangkat Prajurit, I. pada tahun 1949.

Dan pada tahun 1950, Almarhum serahterima jabatan dengan seorang yang mewakili jabatan pada saat itu, bernama H. Rumahpasal.

Dan pada tahun 1950, sampai tahun 1951, timbul suatu gerahkan yg dinamakan dirinya (RMS).

Oleh karena gerahkan tersebut, maka pada tahun 1952, rakyat Lohiatala dibawa Almarhum turun ke Hatusua menyerahkan diri pada tentara Nasional Indonesia di Hatusua.

Selama 13 tahun rakyat Lohiatala menjadi orang pengungsi.

Dan pada tahun 1965 rakyat Lohiatala pulang ke tempat sendiri membangun desanya sendiri.

Selama 30 tahun Almarhum menjabat Pemerintahan Desa Lohiatala, dan tiba pada tgl. 9 Oktober 1988, berakhirlah riwayat Almarhum M. Makerawe.
APPENDIX 5

Translation of "Suilima: A Brief History of the Village of Lohiatala"

Matheus Makerawe & Maximilian Nikolebu
(Lohiatala - November 1988)

Government 2nd Level Regency District of Central Maluku,
Subdistrict of Kairatu, Village of Lohiatala.

CHAPTER 1

Based on a decision made at a Law meeting of the
Three Rivers, Tala, Eti, and Sapalewa, in 1817 a group of people were recognized who were known legally as 'citizens of Lohia'. The citizens of Lohia arranged their departure from Numputi Kwayasu, the original gathering place of humans at Sobaen Latal. The citizens of Lohia were escorted by a supervisor from Inama Hahu Inai, Mr Tokai, from the Government Regency district of Nyonyiali in the Taniwel subdistrict of north Seram. The citizens of Lohia were led by a Government representative named Samai Manakane and a guide named Melua Souhaly. The citizens of Lohia departed from a small hamlet named Lohiasapalewa, which was located in the mountains of northern Seram. The citizens of Lohia, heading for the mountains of southern Seram, arrived at a place where they took shelter. The place where the citizens of Lohia sheltered was called Sou Uei. At Sou Uei the citizens of

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1. The original version gives the word berkabung 'to mourn'. However, it seems likely that the writer's intention was bergabung 'to gather together, fuse'.
Lohia arranged a meeting and, having investigated the place, decided that it couldn't become their hamlet. The citizens of Lohia moved to another place, which was called Kawaliki. A second meeting was unsuccessful, based on the fact that there wasn't drinking or bathing water in the Kawaliki region. The second meeting was attended by an important figure from Lumahbotoi/Nurue, named Mosola, and in accord with the joint decision made by the Three Rivers, Tala, Eti, and Sapalewa, so the place which was determined by the Law meeting of the Three Rivers was: Tapel, Thusa Batai with the understanding that:

1. The citizens of Lohia were given the right to live within the borders of the Tala and Eti rivers.
2. The citizens of Lohia were given the right to eat from the sovereign lands of the Tala and Eti rivers.
3. The people were given the right to live as citizens.

Accordingly, the citizens of Lohia were give the right to move to Tapel, Thusa Batai because, from the perspective of water, it was satisfactory for the citizens of Lohia to reside and erect their hamlet there.
CHAPTER 2

At that time the citizens of Lohia had a faith which was called Kakihane. The Kakihane is referred to by the citizens of Lohia as Sisin Salaputa\(^2\). There the citizens of Lohia created a special place to worship once a year, and a mark was stamped on the chest of men or women who were initiated. Suli has the same meaning as *sidi* 'confirmed' for Christians, or *sunat* 'circumcised' for Muslims. Hence, at the hamlet of Lohiatala there was a water source which was 'planted' by the ancestors. This water source has existed until the present time and is called Suilima, meaning 'five initiated people'.

According to the history of travels of the citizens of Lohia, on arriving at Tapel, Tnusa Batai and calling it 'hamlet', Lohia was bordered by several villages or hamlets, as follows:

- to the east by the village of Rumberu
- to the west by the village of Nurue
- to the south by the village of Hatusua
- to the north by the village of Manusa

With the founding of the village of Lohia, which stood in the Tala region, the village changed its name to Lohiatala. The village was located approximately twenty

\(^2\) Salaputa was the name of the *kakehan* meeting house in the old village of Lohiatala. After Christianity was introduced, the house was destroyed and the area 'baptized' or cleansed and given the name 'Betel'.
kilometers from the coast in the mountains of Seram within the subdistrict of Kairatu. From 1817 until 1840 the hamlet gradually became a village with inhabitants totalling sixty-five families incorporating 385 people.

For one and a half centuries the village of Lohiatala stayed in the mountains of Seram. After one and a half centuries, that is, in 1925, there were some changes which involved the acceptance of religion, that is, the Christian or Protestant religion, and the acceptance of education or schooling. Before that time the village of Lohiatala was of the pagan or kakihane faith, as was explained above.

CHAPTER 3: The move of the old village of Lohiatala to the new village of Lohiatala.

In the 1950s the village of Lohiatala was occupied by a group which called itself R.M.S. (Republik Maluku Selatan). Because of the nature of the movement, the villagers of Lohiatala at that time were oppressed mercilessly. To spread the aforementioned movement, the houses of Lohiatala were burned and the villagers were forced to enter the forest and their property destroyed. For nine months the people of Lohiatala were dominated by the aforementioned movement. Through the mercy of God the Almighty on the 11th of October 1951 the 709th
Battalion, *Banteng Putih*,\(^3\) of the Indonesian National Army (T.N.I.) arrived on patrol from the Piru subdistrict of West Seram and they chased the aforementioned movement from the suzerainty of Lohiatala.

At that time there was an opportunity for the people of Lohiatala to look for a way back to the *Pangkuan Ibu Pertiwi*.\(^4\) So, on the 6th July 1952, a negotiating team was formed, under the leadership of M. Makerawe dec., who was then the head of Government, to go down to the village of Hatusua and contact Battalion 704 of the Indonesian National Army which, led by Commander (Sergeant Major) Lahonde, was in Hatusua. The results of the negotiations, which were supervised by the team, were encouraging. Therefore, on the 11th August 1952, M. Makerawe dec. announced that all the people of the suzerainty of Lohiatala who had been roaming in the forest all this time must emerge and follow the call of the Fatherland, which was independent and sovereign as the beloved unity of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, on exactly the 12th August 1952, the people of Lohiatala were led to Hatusua under the leadership of M. Makerawe dec. and surrendered to the Indonesian National Army in Hatusua. The people of Lohiatala were welcomed

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3. The original version gives the word *banten*. It seems likely that the author's intention was *banteng putih* 'white buffalo'.

4. Meaning 'to the lap of the Motherland'.
by the Commander and the forces together with the people of Hatusua in a church service.

CHAPTER 4: The people of Lohiatana in Hatusua.

On the 15th of August 1952 the people of Lohiatana were in Hatusua as guests and were divided among the heads of the houses of the people of Hatusua. Approximately one year later, according to an order issued by the administration of Hatusua, the people of Lohiatana could build their own houses. In addition, the administration gave permission to open the forest for farming, and the produce which was owned by Hatusua would also belong to Lohiatana. For thirteen years the two administrations of Hatusua and Lohiatana worked together as one unit. Because of the connection between Hatusua and Lohiatana, as time went on there were marriages between the two villages, which contracted extended family memberships. Therefore, when Lohiatana finally returned from Hatusua to its own land in order to erect its own village, grandchildren from Lohiatana were left behind, and that continues to occur today. At this time the village of Hatusua is governed by Mr. Yohanis Tetehuka.

On the 21st July 1964 the village administrator, M. Makerawe dec., held a meeting with the village staff and the village elders to plan how the village of Lohiatana
could return to the old village. A decision was reached, though the reasons are uncertain, that an emergency village would be erected in a place named Kunate. At that time the village had not been officially established in that location. On the 30th October 1965 the people of Lohiatala left the village of Hatusua. Before they departed, the event was marked by a meeting at the house of the village head S. Leirissa, and in that meeting final words were spoken by the village head of Hatusua. "And so now our brothers return, but I, in the name of the citizens of Hatusua, ask that our brothers remember and guard the close connection between our two villages."

That was the end of the thirteen years that Lohiatala stayed in the village of Hatusua.

**CHAPTER 5: Lohiatala has its own village.**

To continue from the 30th October 1965 onwards: the people of Lohiatala in their decision not to return again to the old village of Lohiatala but to build a new village, which would be located adjacent to the gardens of Lohiatala and adjacent to the village of Hatusua, established the village of Lohiatala six kilometers from Hatusua. For one and a half years Lohiatala was located in an emergency hamlet while a new village was built in a place called Kweletei. For one and a half years the
village was worked on and completed, and was made official on the 29th November 1966.

That is the brief history of the village of Lohiatala until the present time. That is the true story of the village of Lohiatala, with a present population of 638 residents, and 122 heads of households.

**Government Structure to the Present Time**

The administration was held by:

1. Samai MANAKANE for 46 years
2. Balai MANAKANE 37 years
3. Piter MANAKANE 19 years
4. Suita MAKERAWE 25 years
5. Matheus MAKERAWE 35 years
6. Saul MANAKANE 5 years
7. Max NIKOLEBU 1.5 years
8. Dantje MANAKANE 1 year and continuing

**Curriculum Vitae**

Maxmilian Nikolebu was born in Lohiatala on the thirty-first of August 1937, and was reared by his father, Yusuf Nikolebu, and his mother, Oktovina Tibalilatu. Maxmilian Nikolebu attended the Lohiatala elementary school from 1944 to 1948. Maxmilian Nikolebu continued his education at the Kairatu elementary school in Kairatu. In 1950, because of the R.M.S. uprising,
(he) was not able to continue his education beyond class 5.

In 1957, Maxmilian Nikolebu commenced three years of religious education, finishing in 1960. In 1961, Maxmilian Nikolebu was selected by a church organization to serve as a deacon for six years, and at the same time was a Sunday School teacher, and choir-master.

In 1967, Maxmilian Nikolebu returned to Lohiatala from Kairatu. In 1968, Maxmilian Nikolebu was appointed to the staff of the village government in the village administrative section, with the position of village secretary, and remains in that position today.

That is the short biography of Maxmilian Nikolebu.

Curriculum Vitae M. Makerawe (dec.)

Matheus Makerawe was born in Lohiatala on the ninth of March 1925. The deceased was reared by his father, Yacob Makerawe, and his mother, Makdalena Rumahpasal. The deceased entered school in Hatusua in 1938, and graduated in 1940.

In 1940, the deceased was taken into the guardianship of a civil servant in the Assistant Administrator's office in Piru. The deceased was instructed and educated by M. Kesulia. Because the deceased was a good and diligent child, a high achiever, the deceased was employed by the Assistant
Administrator’s office in Piru as an office clerk. For four years the deceased worked in the Assistant Administrator’s office in Piru, and was moved to the Honitetu military post in the same position.

In 1945, the deceased was called home by the people of Lohiatala to be chosen to take up his father’s position as village headman. The deceased filled this position for four months, after which time, precisely because of his high aspirations, he ran away to sign up for the KNIL.\(^5\) He served three years, that is, from 1946 to 1949, and then the deceased was again called home to take up his former position. In 1949, the deceased returned with the rank of private. And in 1950, the deceased took over his duties from a person named H. Rumahpasal, who had been his temporary replacement.

And from 1950 to 1951, a movement known as R.M.S. developed. Because of that movement, in 1952 the people of Lohiatala were led by the deceased to Hatusua, where they surrendered themselves to the Indonesian army. For thirteen years the people of Lohiatala were refugees. In 1965, the people of Lohiatala returned to their own land to build their own village.

For thirty years the deceased occupied the office of government administration in the village of Lohiatala,

\(^5\) Dutch colonial army.
and on the ninth of October 1988, the life of the deceased, M. Makerawe, ended.
APPENDIX 6  Texts

1. Alune folktale (HK69M)

tuni meje bei wetela-lua. wetela-lua meje hi folktale this from child-two child-two this 3pl

butu tuai. lalu butu tuai. ele lomei process palm wine then process palm wine then LOC

inu tuiare le salune. po hi inu le hi- drink palm wine with bat but 3pl drink with 3pl-
inaije mo-le hi inu le tai-ni. hele munine CLASS 3pl drink with intestines-3sg then sorcerer

me busa. munine meje ma'ane tamata. busale lomei i LOC come sorcerer this eater people come LOC 3sg

bete lo'o "lua-mi ono saisa?" "mo lua-ma ane salune po say to 2-2pl do what no 2-1plE eat bat but

lua-ma ane salune tai-ni. inu tuai le-le." 2-1plE eat bat intestines-3sg drink palm wine with-it

ele munine i ombe "nte. salune ntau-ni then sorcerer 3sg say tasty bat intestines-3g

telet-o?" "nte po meje ami-lua ane salune tai-
tasty-Q tasty but this 1plE-2 eat bat intestines-
i mo-le meje ami-lua tai-ma." "o ntele-o?" 3g NEG this 1plE-2 intestines-1pl o tasty-Q

"nte." ele dilue salune tai-ni atue ntuane tasty then give bat intestines-3sg to old man

munine. i ane iyo i ombe "tele tinai." wetel lua-
sorcerer 3sg eat yes 3sg say tasty true child 2-

ru hi ombe "upu meje ami-lua pusu pene po pl 3pl say grandfather this 1plE-2 finish already but

ami-lua tai-ma pusu pene po upute 1plE-2 intestines-1pl finish already but grandfather

1. Use of Malay in the text is italicized.

2. inai is a noun classifier which is used with round objects (e.g. seeds, fruit) and animals.
This folktale is about two children. These two children were processing palm wine. They processed palm wine then drank it with (while eating) bat. But they didn't drink it with that animal of theirs, they drank with (while eating) its intestines. Then a sorcerer came. The sorcerer ate people. He came there and said to them "What are you two doing?" "We're just eating bat, but we're eating bat's intestines. Drinking palm wine with it." Then the sorcerer said "Are bat's intestines tasty?" "Yes, tasty, but we're not eating bat's intestines. We're eating our intestines." "O, is that tasty?" "Yes, tasty." Then they gave the bat's intestines to the sorcerer. He ate, yes he said "Truly tasty." The two children said "Grandfather, ours are finished but, our intestines are finished but grandfather you could drink palm wine with yours." Then the old man slept. The boy took a knife then he stabbed the old
man's stomach and took his intestines. The sorcerer died. And they covered him over in the hut and burnt the hut and they ran away.

2. Alune Folktale narrated in Ambonese Malay (IT53F)

Osulate ongtua orang makang manusia. Jadi satu Osula 3sg person eat humans therefore one

kampong ini, satu negri ini, ada bilang "Sadia hamlet this one village this PROG say prepare

prempuang dua orang. Dong pi." Jadi dong pi, suru woman two people 3pl go therefore 3pl go order

dong dua sadia makanang. Makanang itu makanang racong. 3pl 2 prepare food food that food poison

Jadi dong kikise itu lumu-lumu yang ada di therefore 3pl scrape that k.o. fungus that be LOC

pohong pinang itu, lalu dong campur deng dia pung baras, tree that then 3pl mix with 3sg POSS rice

campur-campur manta. Campur dulu abis segeru jua mix mix raw mix first finish palm wine also

bagitu lai, kikis racong di akang lai. Lalu dong like that then scrape poison LOC 3sg then then 3pl

mule. Su sadia akang abis dong dua pung begin already prepare 3sg finish 3pl 2 POSS

makanang sendiri, mamasa akang sendiri lai. Lalu food themselves cook 3sg themselves then then

mamasa abis, dong suru dong dua pi. Pi. Dong dua cook finish 3pl order 3pl 2 go go 3pl 2

bajalang bajalang nai gunung, turung gunung, walk walk climb mountain descend mountain

di mana dong dua bajalang saja. Paling jau. wherever 3pl 2 walk just most far
Kira-kira mangkali barang lima pulu kilo
approximately probably about five ten kilometer

bagitu. Bajalang trus, dong dua prempuamg muda
like that walk continuously 3pl 2 woman young

ini. Panggil. Panggil kata "Tete Osula di mana?
this call call quoth grandfather Osula where

Katong datang kawing deng ose jua. Barang ose
1pl come marry with 2sg also the thing is 2sg

pung sodara-sodara dong, dong bilang kata katong dua
POSS relatives 3pl 3pl say quoth 1pl 2

ini, katong dua kawing deng ose jua." Bateria di
this 1pl 2 marry with 2sg also call LOC

gunung-gunung balong dengar lai. Bajalang bateria.
mountains not yet hear then walk call

Bajalang bateria bagitu, trus. Bajalang
walk call like that continuously walk

bajalang bateria kambali ongtua dengar. Ongtua ada
walk call again 3sg hear 3sg PROG

dengar ongtua bilang kata "Iyo iyo iyo, mari mari mari,
hear 3sg say quoth yes yes yes come come

beta ada, beta ada." Dong dua sampe ongtua rambut
1sg be 1sg be 3pl 2 arrive 3sg hair

su tabuka basar-basar, seng sisir sisir akang
already open big-big NEG comb comb 3sg

lai. Su kribo paskali. Lalu dong dua bilang
any more already curly very then 3pl 2 say

kata "E ose pung sodara-sodara dong bilang kata
quoth hey 2sg POSS relatives 3pl say quoth

katong dua mo kawing deng ose jua." "Iyo iyo iyo, mari
1pl 2 want marry with 2sg also yes yes yes come

katong tiga jua, katong tiga jua." Lalu suda. Satu
1pl 3 also 1pl 3 also then already one

dudu cari kutu, cari ongtua pung kutu ini,
sit look for lice look for 3sg POSS lice this
bukang kutu lai. Ular ular mata buta yang ada
NEG lice any more snake snake eye blind which be
di tana itu. Su dudu di rambut. Jadi yang
LOC earth that already sit LOC hair therefore that
satu itu cari kutu, satu mamasa ini makanang racong
one that look for lice one cook this food poison
ini. Serta mamasa abis. lalu dong tiga bilang "E
this while cook finish then 3pl 3 say hey
mari katong dua pung laki, mari katong makanang jua."
please 1pl 2 POSS man please 1pl eat also
Lalu dong makang. Makang dong dua makang makanang yang
then 3pl eat eat 3pl 2 eat food that
bai. Dong dua kasi makang ongtua deng makanang racong.
good 3pl 2 CAUS eat 3sg with food poison
Makang abis minung segeru di satu kalabasa. Su
eat finish drink palm wine LOC one gourd already
minung su mabu lai. Racong su nai, skoim
drink already drunk then poison already climb froth
su mule keluar. Lalu ongtua bilang "Beta pung bini
already begin out then 3sg say 1sg POSS wife
dong dua dudu dulu beta tidur dulu ka apa?" "Iyo tidur
3pl 2 sit first 1sg sleep first or what yes sleep
dulu, tidur dulu." Tidur lai begini yo skoim
first sleep first sleep then like this yes froth
su mule keluar. Su seng tahu biking lai.
already begin out already NEG know make any more
Deng dong dua bakar ruma. Deng dong dua lari lai.
with 3pl 2 burn house with 3pl 2 run then
Su lari lari jau paskali dengar lai. Tali poro
already run run far very listen again intestines
su babunyi. Itu dia su mati. Pulang par dong
already sound that 3sg already die go home to 3pl
di kampung. Bilang bagini kata "Seng lai, dia
LOC village say like this quoth NEG again 3sg
Osula was a person who ate people. Therefore this one, this one village, said "Get two women ready. They're going." Therefore they went, ordered those two to prepare food. That food was poisonous. Therefore they scraped the fungus from the pinang tree, then they mixed it with his rice, mixed and mixed it uncooked. After they mixed it they did the same to the palm wine, scraped the palm wine into it too. Then they began. When they finished preparing it they prepared their own food. After cooking they were ordered to leave. Go. Those two walked and walked, climbing mountains, descending mountains, they walked everywhere. Very far. Probably about fifty kilometers. They kept on walking, those two young women. Calling. Calling "Osula, where are you? We've come to marry you. Your relatives, they told us to marry you." They kept calling in the mountains but didn't hear anything. They walked and called, walked and called, on and on like that. After walking and walking and calling again, he heard. He was listening and said "Yes yes yes, come come come, I'm here, I'm here." When those two got there his hair was
wild, uncombed, and very curly. Then those two said "Hey your relatives told us to marry you." "Yes yes yes, come, we'll be together, we'll be together." So that was decided. One sat looking for lice, looking for his head-lice, but they weren't head-lice. The snakes which live in the earth, they were in his hair. So one was looking for lice, and one was cooking the poisonous food. She finished cooking. Then then said "Hey husband, let's eat." They they ate. Those two ate their good food. Those two fed him the poisonous food. After eating he drank palm wine from a container. After drinking he was drunk. The poison was already working, froth was showing. Then he said "Wives, shall I sleep while you two are sitting there?" "Yes go ahead and sleep, sleep." While he was sleeping froth was coming out. He was already unconscious. Those two burned the house. They were running. They listened while they ran far away. His intestines were making a noise. That meant he was dead. They went home to their village. They said "No more, he's already dead." They were happy. They liked that. If that hadn't happened, everyone would have been eaten.
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