THE SOUND SYSTEM OF AMBONESE MALAY

D. VAN MINDE
RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT TE LEIDEN

1. INTRODUCTION

This article deals with the phonology of Ambonese Malay. After the introductory section I will discuss the following topics: stress (2), vowel phonemes (3), vowel sequences (4), consonant phonemes (5), consonant sequences (6), syllable and root structure (7), and elliptic code (8). Lists of abbreviations and symbols, notes, and references follow the text.

The variety of Malay spoken on Ambon Island in the Central Moluccas is referred to by its speakers as Malayu Ambong. Its use as a mother-tongue or interethnic means of communication is not restricted to Ambon, however. More than in any other part of Indonesia, local culture and history cannot be understood without reference to Portuguese and Dutch presence in the area. When the Portuguese were driven out of Ternate in the North Moluccas and withdrew on Ambon and Tidore, the importance of Ambon as a regional center was first established. In 1605 Steven van der Haghen conquered the fort in the town of Ambon from the Portuguese for the Dutch East India Company. Gradually the center-function was strengthened when the cultivation of cloves—one of the natural products besides nutmeg which pulled the Moluccas from anonymity—shifted from the North Moluccas to the Central Moluccas. When in the long run the Dutch proved successful in obtaining a monopoly on nutmeg and cloves, Dutch interests and the fate of many Moluccans became ever more intertwined. Their relationship was not only expressed in a common religion, namely, the Protestant faith, but also in privileges pertaining to schooling, choice of profession, and wages. Within the colonial system the assistant (religious) teachers, low-ranking administrators, and private soldiers were recruited mainly among the Christian Moluccans. These men, together with those active in various sectors of trade and commerce, are the key figures through whom a new culture gradually spread outside the area on which the Dutch could keep a proper and effective control, that is, the area outside Ambon and the Lease (the islands east of Ambon: Haruku, Saparua, and Nusalaut). Therefore we may safely assume that it is mainly from these islands that Ambonese Malay spread to neighboring islands such as Buru and Seram and places further away.
Elsewhere I will go more deeply into the question where the origins of Ambonese Malay lie, its relation to other varieties of Malay and indigenous languages (which are called basa tanah 'language of the land' in Ambonese Malay), the sociopolitical setting in which it developed, and the sources which we have at our disposal for studying these languages. Here I would only like to stress the fact that the importance of Eastern Indonesian varieties of Malay can hardly be overestimated, and therefore it is warranted to undertake scientific research into these dialects.

The corpus of data on which this article is based was collected in the Bay District of Ambon Island (see Map) among Christian Moluccans.

Several factors have led to limitations concerning the selected area of research:

1. Most of the Leihitu peninsula (Ambon's northern half) has been excluded because Muslim villages have preserved their indigenous languages (basa tanah) (Collins 1983).
2. Because Laha (southern part of Leihitu peninsula) has maintained its indigenous language, especially in the older generations, the variety of Malay spoken there is likely to deviate from varieties spoken in areas where Ambonese Malay is the first and only mother-tongue (Collins 1980).
3. The area beyond the village of Amahusu towards Cape Nusaniwe was excluded because the Malay spoken there has distinctly idiosyncratic features. My provisional findings, based on a short field trip, show that the main difference occurs at the phonetic level only: /a/ in unstressed open final syllables of roots is realized as a mid-central vowel schwa.

### Ambon Island

Villages in the mountainous interior of Leitimur such as Ema, Hatalai, and Naku are sufficiently isolated to display dialectal characteristics of their own. Since no research was conducted in these villages, this area has been omitted from the present study.

At several places along the bay there are small settlements of people from southern and southeastern Sulawesi (Buginese, people from Buton, Binongko, etc.). Some of these immigrants settled here a long time ago, others only recently. In many cases, Ambonese Malay has replaced their original language; in other cases, it is a second language used in contacts with Moluccans.

6. A final, but very important, point should be mentioned here. Ambon Town houses a highly heterogeneous population, made up from people from all over Indonesia. Ever since it was founded by the Portuguese in 1576, the town has had a diverse social make-up. In the pre-Independence period, many of its inhabitants had quite close contacts with the Dutch. In fact, many members of the older generation are still conversant in Dutch. More than in rural areas, the population experiences intensive exposure to modern culture and its vehicle, the national language, Bahasa Indonesia. Therefore it is not surprising that a good deal of mixing between Bahasa Indonesia and Ambonese Malay takes place; however, among Moluccans, in informal, domestic, and traditional spheres, Ambonese Malay is the preferred medium. These factors yield a complex sociolinguistic situation, in which various languages, dialects, and sociolects interplay in an intricate manner.

This article is not concerned with sociolinguistic variation, and only occasional references to supposed sociolects will be made.

### STRESS

Ambonese Malay has phonemic wordstress, by which is meant that the position of stress within a word is unpredictable. Throughout this article wordstress will be indicated (by ') in phonemic and phonetic transcriptions immediately before the vowel which forms the nucleus of the stressed syllable. Monosyllables are neutral as regards stress, since it is a relative feature of prominence between syllables. Therefore stress is not indicated in these forms. In what I call lexically duplicated morphemes, both of the roots which together make up the morpheme contain a prominent (i.e., stressed) syllable, or, in the case of duplicated monosyllables, neither of the roots stands out as regards stress. Each of the accents on these syllables will be indicated, even if the morpheme consists of a duplicated monosyllable. This is done to distinguish them from those morphemes which are—synchronically at least—also monomorphic, but where one of two segmentally identical syllables is prominent. Examples of the latter kind are:
The only exception I recorded is:

/l'aU/ 'sea'

/l'aUtari/ 'deep-sea'

Two archiphonemes, /I/ and /U/, are not represented in Table 1; they will be dealt with after the regular vowels.

Before discussing the vowels and the system they constitute, I will first deal with two subphonemic phenomena.

Ambonese Malay has no phonemic glottal stop /ʔ/ (see Section 5); however, a phonetic glottal stop is realized word-initially, morpheme-initially after a vowel, and morpheme-medially between like vowels in morphemes which are obviously loans from indigenous languages. Examples:


In the following words, which are probably also loans from indigenous languages, there is individual variation, and [ʔ] is occasionally heard:

/paʔiʔa/ [paʔaʔiʔa] ~ [paʔiʔa] 'naked'; /paʔiʔa/ [paʔaʔiʔa] ~ [paʔiʔa] 'k.o. small proa'; /laʔa/ [laʔaʔa] ~ [laʔa] 'to clamber up'; /mʔuʔu/ [mʔoʔu] ~ [mʔuʔu] 'k.o. fish'; /ʔaʔulji/ [ʔaʔulji] ~ [ʔaʔulji] 'wife-giver group'.

Nasalized vowels occur predictably before nasal consonants belonging to the same syllable (see Section 7 for syllable structure). Therefore I regard nasalization as a phonetic phenomenon. Examples:

Nasalization is not operative beyond syllable boundaries. Witness for example:

/an'ioŋ/ [?a.nˈi.yoŋ] (not *[ā.ˈni.yoŋ]) ‘rolled up cloth to support load carried on head’; /ta'lan/ [ta.ˈlɑn] ‘to swallow’; /ba'änbür/ [ba.ʔanˈbʊɐ] ‘to strew, scatter (repeatedly)’.

The HIGH FRONT UNROUNDED VOWEL /i/ occurs in nonfinal and final closed and open syllables. It is always realized as [i]. In certain polysyllabic morphemes, /i/ in final unstressed syllables—be they open or closed—can always be replaced by /e/. Since it is not the case that every /e/ in that position and environment can be replaced by /i/, we cannot say that the opposition between these two phonemes is neutralized. The alteration /i ~ e/ in final unstressed syllables of polysyllabic morphemes is not attested in:

PR1 - syllables ending in /i/.

PR2 - open final syllables when the penultimate syllable contains /u/ or /i/.

Following Ebeling, I shall term /i/ a “heavy phoneme” wherever there is an alternation /i ~ e/, that is, in environments differing from those defined by PR1 and PR2. A heavy phoneme consists of one or more optional distinctive features in addition to the basic distinctive features, whereas a basic phoneme consists of basic distinctive features only (Ebeling 1967:135; Stokhof 1975, 1979). The procedure for registering an optional feature (or features) is as follows:

1. The suppression of an optional feature does not lead to a misinterpretation by the hearer. The resulting (basic) form is accepted as identical to the heavy form, e.g., <peti>- /peti/ [peti] (heavy form) ~ /pete/ [pete] (basic form) ‘packing-case’.

2. Conversely, if we add optional features to a basic phoneme then there are two possibilities. Either the hearer will interpret the resulting form as identical with the original, or the hearer will fail to interpret the resulting form because it is a nonexistent form or an impossible realization of the original, e.g., <pete> /pete/ [pete] (not *[peti]) ‘to pluck’.

From this I conclude that /i/ is a heavy phoneme in environments excluded by PR1 and PR2; /e/ is its basic phoneme, and [relative highness] is an optional feature. Examples:


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Closed final syllables:


Open final syllables:


The MIND FRONT UNROUNDED VOWEL /e/ is realized as [e] in all positions. Examples:


The phonemic status of /e/ versus /i/ is attested in the following minimal pairs:


These examples clearly demonstrate that /i/ is also opposed to /e/ in morpheme-final syllables, so that the alternation /i ~ e/ in final syllables under the
The following minimal pairs attest the opposition between /a/ and /i/:

/akaŋ/ 'it; the' - /ikan/ 'fish'; /ana/ 'child' - /ina/ 'mother'; /ina/ 'mother' - /ini/ 'this; these'; /satu/ 'one' - /situ/ 'there'; /bala/ 'to split s.t.' - /bali/ 'to buy s.t.'; /talaiT/ 'late' - /talTI/ 'embankment, slope'.

The opposition between /a/ and /e/ is attested by the following minimal pairs:

/ana/ 'child' - /ena/ 'tasty, delicious'; /baca/ 'to read' - /beca/ 'pedicab'; /cera/ 'k.o. edible leaf' - /cre/ 'to divorce'; / sala/ 'intervillage alliance' - /sala/ 'to obstruct'; /caka/ 'to strangle s.o.' - /cak'e/ '(vulg) to eat, stuff oneself'; /kas/ 'cupboard' - /kes/ 'monkey'.

The HIGH BACK ROUNDED VOWEL /u/ occurs in nonfinal and final closed and open syllables. It is always realized as [u]. In certain polysyllabic morphemes, /u/ in final unstressed syllables—be they open or closed—always alternates with /o/; however, since not every /o/ in that position and environment alternates with /u/, the opposition between these two phonemes is not neutralized. The alternation /u - o/ in final unstressed syllables of polysyllabic morphemes is not attested in:

PR3 - open final syllables when the penultimate syllable contains /u/ or /i/.

This situation parallels the /i - e/ alternation. Consequently, /u/ is regarded a heavy phoneme in final unstressed syllables of morphemes which have a nonhigh vowel in penultimate syllable; /o/ is its basic phoneme and [relative highness] is an optional feature. The following serves as an illustration of this claim:

\[
\begin{align*}
<\text{tobu}>/\text{tobu}/[\text{tobu}] & \sim <\text{tobo}>/\text{tobo}/[\text{tobo}] \text{ 'sugar cane'} - <\text{b'obo}>/\text{b'obo}/[\text{b'obo}] \text{ (not } [*\text{b'obu}]) \text{ 'children's language to sleep'}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Examples:

/\text{uNpoy}/[\text{r'ump'n}] 'baits'; /\text{uNti}/[\text{r'unt'i}] 'k.o. delicacy made of grated coconut and palm sugar'; /\text{aNt'ua}/[\text{r'unt'ua}, \text{r'unt'ua}] 'he; she (respectful)'; /\text{as'usin}/[\text{r'as'usin}] 'k.o. oyster'; /\text{b'ule}/[\text{b'ule}] 'blond(e);

white man or woman'; /\text{hul'a'ley}/[\text{hul'a'le}n] 'liana'; /\text{caparune}/[\text{caparune}] 'be carelessly dressed'; /\text{pus}/[\text{pus}] 'cat'.
The MID BACK ROUNDED VOWEL /o/ is realized as [ɔ] in all positions. Examples:


The following minimal pairs prove the phoneme status of /o/ vis-à-vis /i/:

The MID BACK ROUNDED VOWEL /o/ is realized as [ɔ] in all positions.

The opposition between /o/ and /u/ is exemplified by:

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The ARCHIPHONEME /u/ is posited in unstressed position after a vowel other than /u/ and immediately before a syllable or morpheme boundary, because the opposition /u/ vs. /w/ ceases to exist under those circumstances. (Notice that a phonetic transitional glide [y] may occur intercalarily in the sequences /ia/, /iu/, /eU/, while [w] may occur in a sequence /ua/, /Ui/, /Ua/:)

The ARCHIPHONEME /i/ results from the neutralization of the opposition /i/ vs. /y/ in unstressed position after a vowel, or alternatively, immediately before a stressed vowel. (Notice that a phonetic transitional glide [y] may occur intercalarily in the sequences /ia/, /iu/, /eU/):
‘wife-taker group’; /k'el/ [k'ei, key] in: /m'eti k'ei/ ‘exceptional low tide’; /s'ol/ [s'i, soy] in: /c'ari s'ol/ ‘get oneself into trouble’; /t'al'ol/ [t'alo'i, t'alo'y] ‘k.o. food bowl made of coconut-shell’; /b'ul/ [b'ui, buy] ‘prison’; /m'uI/ [m'ui, muy] ‘aunt (mother’s brother’s wife)’.

Examples of /i/ preceding a stressed vowel are:

/bl'asa/ [bi'asa, biy'asa, by'asa] ‘usual, normal’; /i'a/ [i'a, iy'a, ya] ‘yes (formal)’; /i'o/ [i'o, iy'o, yo] ‘yes (informal)’; /mut'o/ [mut'i'ara, muty'ara, muty'ara] ‘pearl’; /pi'ara/ [pi'ara, piy'ara, py'ara] ‘to support/keep s.o.’.

Again, not every sequence /yV/ alternates with /iV/, e.g. /ye/ [ye] (not *[ie, iy'e] in /ana ye/ ‘hair combed in the form of letter “j” next to the ears’. The opposition of /i/ and /y/ is exemplified by:

/i'ini/ [i'nini] (not *[yni]) ‘this; these’; /ye/ [ye] (not *[ie]) in: /ana ye/ ‘hair combed in the form of letter “j” next to the ears’; /ti'U/ [ti'yu, ti'u, tiw] (not *[tyu]) ‘uncle (mother’s brother)’; /ti'an/ [ti'y-an, t'an] (not *[ty-an]) ‘pole, post, pillar’.

Section 4 deals with vowel sequences. There I will discuss variability to which sequences involving an archiphoneme are subject.

The picture is not yet complete, since there are a number of morphemes which show unexpected alternations. These are /for/ ~ /fur/, /pun/ ~ /pon/, /su/ ~ /so/, /di/ ~ /de/, /p'ufa/ ~ /p'ufa/, /mar'ifi/ ~ /mar'ifi/, /p'ulu/ ~ /p'ulu/. First, we have seen that monosyllabic morphemes show no phonemic alternation. Witness:

/ti'm/ [ti'm] (not *[t'e)m] ‘sentence intonation; dialect’; /pus/ [pus] (not *[pos]) ‘cat’. However, /for/ ~ /fur/ (‘prep’ for, to’; /pun/ ~ /pon/ possessive marker in NP; /su/ ~ /so/ ‘(aspect marker perfective) already’; /di/ ~ /de/ ‘he; she; it’ seem to refute this rule.

In the case of /for/ we are dealing with a loanword from Dutch, /vor/ ‘for, for the benefit of’, or maybe a contamination of Portuguese/Spanish /por/ and Dutch /vor/. It is indicative of the speech of older people in Ambon Town, where it competes with /b'uTaT/ and /boT/ ‘for, for the benefit of; to’ as in: /be bilan d'ia/, /be bilan fur d'ia/, /be bilan b'uTa d'ia/, /be bilan bo'T d'ia/ ‘I said to him’. Elsewhere the preposition /par/ is used, a loan from Portuguese /para/ ‘for; to; in order to’.

A possible explanation in the case of /pun/ ~ /pon/ and /su/ ~ /so/ could be that these morphemes are functional morphemes, and as such do not behave according to the phonological rules which apply to other morphemes. Both /pun/ and /su/ are intermediate forms in an ongoing (synchronic) process of reduction to which functional particles are subject. 

Furthermore I recorded two words with open final syllable and /i/ in penultimate position, where the /u/ ~ /o/ alternation does occur (compare PR3). Both words are loans from Portuguese: /papi'hu/ ~ /papi'ho/ ‘k.o. cucumber-like vegetable’ (< Por. pepino); /mar'ifi/ ~ /mar'ifi/ ‘village-messenger’ (< Por. marinho). In my analysis these pairs are to be considered lexical doublets.

Finally, /p'ulu/ ‘island’ is, in a certain sense, a predictable form, because it derives from *pulau (see Note 5 for examples of monophthongization). A form /p'ulu/ in the expression /p'ulu ilan'lan/ ‘tiny islands’ is again not excluded by PR3.

4. VOWEL SEQUENCES

Table 2 gives attested cases of vowel sequences V1V2 in monomorphemic roots (V stands for “vowel”).

Table 2: Vowel Sequences

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</table>

PR1, PR2, and PR3 (Section 3) state the conditions for the alternation of the vowels /i/ ~ /e/ and /u/ ~ /o/ in final unstressed syllables. The notion “heavy phoneme” versus “basic phoneme” explains the relationship between the high vowel and its nonhigh alternant.
Archiphonemes (V₂) in sequences /V₁V₂/ show a similar relationship to non-high vowels, that is, a sequence /V₁/ often alternates with a sequence /V₂/, while a sequence /V₁V₂/ is often found next to a sequence /V₂/.

PR4 - V₁ is a non-high vowel differing from V₂ in its point of articulation on the dimension Front–Central–Back.

The following may serve as proof of our claim that /i/ and /u/ have a heavy status in the said environments:


/U/ is a heavy archiphoneme, /e/ its basic phoneme: [relative highness] is an optional feature.

Examples:

/aI/ /a/d'aiJ / [aid'aiJ], /ayd'aiJ / [ayd'aiJ] 'k.o. banana'; /air/ /air/ [air] 'sea', versus /ael/ /ael/ [bail] 'dorsal muscle'.

The following are examples of other vowel sequences: (Notice that a phonetic transitional glide [y] may occur intervocally in sequences /ei/, /oa/.)

Examples:

/aI/ /a/d'aiJ / [aid'aiJ], /ayd'aiJ / [ayd'aiJ] 'k.o. banana'; /air/ /air/ [air] 'sea', versus /ael/ /ael/ [bail] 'dorsal muscle'.
/oi/ /oli:/ [oli:, ol:i:] in: /kaiu oli:/ 'k.o. wood'; /aini/ [ani:y, ani:n] 'rolled up cloth to support load carried on head'; /kari/ [kari:, kari:] in: /bakari/ 'to wrench oneself free (from grip)'; /ci:gi/ [ci:y, ci:y] 'to kiss'. This last example has an alternant with /iu/ (see below).


/U/ /pasti:U/ [pasti:y, pasti:, pasti:v] 'bored, fed up'; /tatiiU/ [tatii:y, tatii:, tatii:w] in: /kan tatii:U/ 'k.o. fish'; /ti:U/ [ti:y, ti:, ti:w] 'uncle (mothers' brother)'. These are the only examples I recorded, so apparently this is a functional load of this sequence of the low.

/I/ No attested cases.

/ie/ No attested cases.

/ee/ Only one form was recorded: /he:ni/ [he:ni] (exclam. particle). Section 2 explained that, between like vowels, a phonetic glottal stop is realized.

/e/ /e:/ [kei, key] 'Kei Islands'; /kei/ [kei:, key] in: /me:ti kei/ 'exceptional low tide'. Besides these two forms I recorded three others which have doublet forms with /a:/ /a:/ [kei:] 'sea'. This situation partly parallels to the /a:/ /a:/ (see below).


/oe/ Only one example: /teun/ [te:y, te:y] 'k.o. honorary title'; /teon/ is its basic form.

/ee/ /'e:/ [kei, key] 'Kei Islands'; /kei/ [kei:, key] in: /me:ti kei/ 'exceptional low tide'. Besides these two forms I recorded three others which have doublet forms with /a:/ /a:/ [kei:] 'sea'. This situation partly parallels to the /a:/ /a:/ (see below).


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/ke/ /kei/ [kei, key] 'Kei Islands'; /kei/ [kei:, key] in: /me:ti kei/ 'exceptional low tide'. Besides these two forms I recorded three others which have doublet forms with /a:/ /a:/ [kei:] 'sea'. This situation partly parallels to the /a:/ /a:/ (see below).


/oi/ /oli:/ [oli:, ol:i:] in: /kaiu oli:/ 'k.o. wood'; /aini/ [ani:y, ani:n] 'rolled up cloth to support load carried on head'; /kari/ [kari:, kari:] in: /bakari/ 'to wrench oneself free (from grip)'; /ci:gi/ [ci:y, ci:y] 'to kiss'. This last example has an alternant with /iu/ (see below).


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A second group of words displaying the sequence /ua/ are those which have doublet forms with a sequence /oa/ : /b'ula/ [b'ula, b'uwula] 'to throw (away)'; /k'uT/ [k'uat-, kuwat-] 'strong'; /paramp'ua/ [paramp'ua, paramp'uwua] 'woman'; /sam'ua/ [sam'ua, sam'uwa] 'all'; /tan'uwar/ [tan'ur, tan'uwar] 'eating-time'; /t'imbar'ua/ [timbar'ua, timbar'uwua] 'to scoop bilge-water'; /totob'ua/ [totob'ua, toto'uwua] 'k.o. trad. instrument'. The existence of a minimal pair /ua/ 'to feed s.o. by placing food in the mouth' vs. /s'oa/ 'k.o. trad. instrument'. The opposition between /ua/ and /owa/ can be taken as an argument for not assuming allophonic variation.

The ARCHIPHONEMES /P, T, K/ result from the neutralization of the opposition between /p/-/b'/, /t/-/d'/, and /k/-/g'/ respectively in the following positions:

1. Especially word-finally the occurrence of /P, T, K/ is frequent. Most words with /P, T, K/ in this position are (Dutch) loanwords, because many words of Malay origin have lost final stops *p, *t, *k, or *ʔ: *ana?> ana 'child'; *tutup > tutu 'to close'; *pantat > panta 'bottom, buttocks'. Word-finally the archiphonemes /P, T, K/ have a voiceless unreleased realization. Examples: /almaNak/ [almaNak-] 'calendar' (< Dut. almanak); /lanNisk/ [lanNisk-] 'languid, listless' (< Dut. landziek); /anBak/ [anBak-] 'character, habit' (< Jav. ambek); /otaK/ [otaK-] 'part of pulp of durian'; /agTa/ [agTa-] 'lukewarm'; /bOta/ [bOta-] 'ship, boat' (< Dut. boot); /dekaT/ [dekaT-] 'close to, near'; /molaT/ [molaT-] 'k.o. sago'; /apata/ [apata-] 'close to each other'; /swet/ [swet-] 'sweat' (< Dut. sweet); /galap/ [galap-] 'dark'; /iskrup/ [iskrup-] 'screw' (< Dut. schoef); /kanOp/ [kanOp-] 'button'.

The Sound System of Ambonese Malay

The Sound System of Ambonese Malay has nineteen consonant phonemes and four consonant archiphonemes (see Table 3):

Table 3: Consonant System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of articulation</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Archiphoneme</td>
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<td>N</td>
<td>K</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
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<td>Lateral, Trill</td>
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<td>w</td>
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</table>
A considerable number of polysyllabic words with nonfinal stress have a doublet without final /p, t, k/ in nonemphatic speech:

/jaNkiK ~ jaNki/ 'mole-cricket'; /bakariaK ~ bakaria/ 'to wrench s.o. free from s.o.'s grip'; /rusuK ~ rusu/ 'rib (human, animal)'; /kawaT ~ kawa/ 'ironwire'; /takuT ~ taku/ 'afraid'; /runuT ~ runu/ 'fibroid material growing on palm trees'; /tutuP ~ tutu/ 'to close'; /siraP ~ sira/ 'shingles (for roofing)'; /siriP ~ siri/ 'fin (fish)'.

It may turn out that /p, t, k/ are heavy archiphonemes in this position and environment, that is, that they unidirectionally alternate with zero. Compare also:

/s'ira/ 'shing les (for roofing)'; /s'iri/ 'gill (of fish)'; /naN'ohi/ 'Nanlohi (clan name)'.

Furthermore I recorded two words where final /K/ corresponds to a semantic distinction *emphasis vs. 'zero emphasis':

/b'odo/ 'stupid' vs. /b'odoK/ 'very stupid' /
/k'uto/ 'damn it' vs. /k'utoK/ 'hell and damnation'!

2. In syllable-final position immediately before a stop, a nasal, the fricative /s/, or the lateral /l/, the archiphonemes /p, t, k/ have a voiceless unreleased realization.

Examples:


The ARCHIPHONEME /N/ results from the neutralization of the opposition between /m, n, ñ/ and /ŋ/ before their respective homorganic obstruents and /l/. Examples:


The VOICELESS and VOICED STOPS of the series /p, b, t, d, c, j, k, g/ are found in word-initial and in word-medial position. /p, b/ are bilabials, /t/ is an apico-alveo-dental, /d/ is an apico-alveolar, /c, j/ are laminal-palatalas, /k, g/ are dorsal-velars. Relevant (near) minimal pairs are:

/p : b /'pali/ (vulg) father' - /bali/ 'good' /t : b /'paNpa/ 'place, spot' - /taNpa/ 'to add s.t.' /d : b /'pari/ 'ray (fish)' - /p'ari/ 'cheek' /j : b /'pari/ 'ray (fish)' - /p'ari/ 'cheek' /k : b /'ple/ 'to obstruct' - /p'ele/ 'cheek' /g : b /'paran' 'machete' - /g'aran/ 'salt' /b : t /'baru'/ 'new' - /taru/ 'to place, put s.t. down' /gaba 'gaba/ 'sago-palm leaf rib' - /gaTaTa/ 'k.o. pincers' /abu 'abu/ 'k.o. banana' - /daPa/ 'to obtain, get' /amu 'amu/ 'to warm s.t.' - /maNbay/ 'beard (on cheek)' /k'¥ore / 'k.o. poisonous extract' - /k'¥ore/ 'to fumble, tinker' /cu 'cu/ (vulg) to copulate'
The NASALS /m, n, ŋ/ are distinguished on the basis of the following (sub-)minimal pairs:

\[\text{m:} \quad /\text{m'abu}/ 'beard'; /\text{m'adu}/ 'short for: /k'ōn/adu/ 'brother/sister-in-law'\]

\[\text{ŋ:} \quad /\text{ŋ'mana}/ 'where'; /\text{ŋ'ana}/ 'short for: /t'uan'ana/ '(excl) geel'\]

The distributional and functional load of the four nasals differs markedly. They occur word-initially and word-medially before vowels. Word-initially, the functional load of /ŋ/ and /ŋ/ is low. Some examples are:

\[/\text{ŋ'am}u/ [ŋ'amu] 'mosquito'; /ŋ'iru/ [ŋ'iru] 'winnow'; /ŋ'oj/ [ŋ'ōn] term of address for boys; /ŋ'as/ [ŋ'as] 'k.o. tax on trade goods'; /ŋ'ar/ [ŋ'ar] (but also /m'ar/) 'boy having reached marriageable age'; /ŋ'or/ [ŋ'or] in: /b'ajan'or/ 'to stroll aimlessly'.

Other examples of the four nasals in the said positions can be readily found throughout the text. Here I will only give some examples of /m/ and /n/ occurring in a number of morphemes in medial position after /l/, /s/, /K/, and /l:/

\[/w'armus/ [w'armus] 'to work in a slovenly manner'; /parm'ak/ [parm'ak]- 'to beat s.o. up'; /lara/ [la'n'terna] 'lantern'; /karm'ēnoj [karm'ēnoj] 'naughty boy'; /jarn'īn/ [jarn'īn] 'bright, transparent'; /carm'īn [carm'īn] 'mirror'; /pas'ana/ [pas'ana] in: /m'ul'pas'ana/ 'glutton, gorger', /mus'āl/T [mus'āl/-] 'rower, oarsman on large proa', /lor/Kma'T [lor/Kma'T] 'to snap, snarl'; /laman'aK/ [laman'aK]- 'calendar'.

In morpheme-final position, nasals other than /ŋ/ are rarely attested, and I was unable to find minimal pairs differing in just the morpheme-final nasal phoneme. Nevertheless, we cannot say that the opposition between the nasals is neutralized in this position. First, if we were to substitute the feature [labial] for [velar] in a word such as /tam'ān/ [tam'ān] 'friend', this would yield a form [tam'ām], which speakers of Ambonese Malay reject and distinguish from the word for 'friend'. This points to virtual opposition. Second, there are a number of morphemes showing final /m/ or /n/: /drom/ [drōm] 'oil/drum'; /ləm/[ləm] 'clan-name' (<Dut. familie); /l'afen/ [l'afen] 'harbour' (<Dut. haven); /l'asen/ [l'asen] 'k.o. children's game'; (<Dut. hazen); /l'ren/
[iren] 'Irene (Christian name)' (<Dut. Irene); /kan/ [kân] in: /k'ayu kan/ 'squared timber' (<Dut. kantoor); /karam/ [karâm] 'cramp' (<Dut. kramp); /kOtpord'em/ [kO-tord'em] 'damn it!' (<Dut. godverdomme); /nilon/ [nilan] 'nylon; nylon fishing line' (<Dut. <Eng. nylon); /om/ [ôm] term of address (<Dut. oom); /pompom/ [pomp'om] in: /sagu pompom/ 'k.o. sago-cakes roasted in cartridge-cases' (<Eng. pompom); /pum/ [pum] 'onomat) sound of explosion'; /rem/ [rêm] 'brake' (<Dut. rem); /rim/ [rim] 'belt, girdle' (<Dut. riem); /rim/ [rim] 'dialect' (<Dut. rijntje). These examples, apart from one case of onomatopoeia, were all borrowed from Dutch or English. And even though some of these loans are sometimes realized with /i/ (probably only multisyllables, e.g., /nilon/ ~ /nilan/), this does not alter the fact that a phonemic distinction is made. Finally, note that in the elliptic code word-final /i/ may assimilate to the following obstruent or /l/ (see Section 8).

The LABIO-DENTAL FRICATIVE /r/ occurs only in loanwords and in words of unknown origin. The word /rofu/ has a sound-suggestive meaning 'to blow in one's hands (while practicing black-magic)', and a derived meaning 'to practise black magic'. Examples:

/ťader/ [ťader] term of address for men (<Dut. vader); /ťam/ [ťam] 'clan-name' (<Dut. familie); /forok/ [forok] 'fork' (<Dut. vork); /foris/ [foris] 'living-room' (<Dut. voorhuis); /fols/ [fols] 'wrist' (<Dut. pols); /ťal'unku/ [ťal'unku] 'fist' (<?).

Examples of /r/ in word-medial position are:


Other instances of word-medial /r/ concern European loanwords:

/ťarker/ [ťarker] 'worthless, broken down' (<Dut. afkeuren, afgekeurd); /kńeřer/ [kńeřer] 'moustache' (<Dut. knof); /ťefri/ [ťefri] 'referee' (<Eng. referees); /řofraK/ [řofrak] 'trench' (<Dut. loopgraaf); /mọľfor/ [mọľfor] 'to grumble' (<Dut. mopperen).

It is not yet clear in which circumstances /r/ alternates with /p/ (or /P/). In daily conversations words such as /paluNku/, /foris/, /ťarker/ are heard next to paluNku/, /oris/, /ťarker/. Even though I did not record minimal pairs, /p/ cannot regularly be replaced by /r/ ('paku' [paku] not *'[paku] nail'). Nor does it appear to be the case that every /r/ can be replaced by /p/ ('ťader/ [ťader] not [ťader] term of address for grown man). So, while phonemic status can be attributed to both /p/ and /r/, the opposition between these two phonemes is not neutralized in certain positions, nor can "heaviness" (of either /p/ or /r/) be a crucial factor. Sociolinguistic factors (e.g., relative status of addressee) may well play an important role in the /p/ - /r/ variability. For the time being I will consider these words as doubles.

I recorded only two cases of word-final /l/. One was a Dutch loanword used by (young) people in Ambon Town: /tal/ [tal] 'finished (of love relation)'; and the other was onomatopoeic /buf/ [buf], which is suggestive of the fall of a heavy object.

The ALVEOLAR FRICATIVE /s/ occurs in word-initial, -medial, and -final position. Examples:

/sawal/ [sawal], saway] 'awry, aslant, on one side'; /səv/ [səv] 'no; not'; /bolśK/ [bolśK] 'mattress'; /goğas/ [goğas] 'k.o. tree'; /goğos/ [goğos] 'k.o. deliciacy'; /rabus/ [rabus] 'to boil, cook'.

The GLOTTAL FRICATIVE /h/ occurs word-initially and word-medially. Only in the exclamations /ih/ (indicative of surprise) and /ah/ (indicative of irritation) does /h/ occur word-finally. Examples:


In quite a few words word-medial /h/ is optional; when /h/ is deleted between like vowels, one of the two adjacent vowel segments is also deleted. See for example:

/bah'asa/ ~ /bas/ 'language'; /istirahat/ ~ /istirat/ 'to rest'; /pʰono/ ~ /pon/ 'tree; bush; plant'; /tʰer/ ~ /ter/ 'neck'; /kok'ohu/ ~ /kok'ou/ 'k.o. dish' (<k'ohu k'ohu/); /tawaru/ ~ /tawaru/ 'to find out by means of magic'; /padahal/ ~ /padal/ 'whereas'; /matari/ ~ /matari/ 'sun'; /h'ahu/ ~ /h'ahu/ 'bad, wicked'; /kaŋ/atari/ ~ /kaŋ/atari/ 'very bad, wicked'; /masoŋi/ ~ /masoŋ/ 'mutual aid, assistance'; /amahe/ ~ /amahe/ 'Amahai (village)'; /lautulahat/ ~ /lautulahat/ 'Lautuhalat (village)'; /tuhumena/ ~ /tumena/ 'Tuhumena (clan-name)'; /naŋ'ohi/ ~ /naŋ'ol/ 'Nanlohi (clan-name)'.

But it seems that deletion of medial /h/ can not be generalized into a rule because in some words deletion can not take place: /hahak'ae/ (not *'[hak'ae]') 'to
act premature, rash'; /həralaŋ/ (not */halaŋ/) 'carrying pole'; /həral/ 'exclamatory scream expressing laughter' (not */hal/).

Both LIQUIDS /l/ and /r/ occur in word-initial, - medial, and -final position. Examples:

/ləNbo/[ləombo] 'soft; weak'; /ləna/[ləna] 'to have a walk'; /ləpaləpa/ [ləpaləpa] 'k.o. proa'; /bələf/[bələf] 'to buy'; /sələ/səle/ 'a fourth part, quarter'; /təgal/[təgal] 'because of, on account of'; /səsəl/[səsəl] 'k.o. tree'; /rəcə/[rəcə] 'to rub s.t. down'; /rəbə/[rəbə] 'to tear up, apart';


The SEMIVOWELS /w/ and /y/ occur in word-initial and word-medial position before a vowel. Some examples of /w/ and /y/ are:


/kələyəu/[kələyəu] 'k.o. plaited mat used as hat during rainfall'.

### 1. CONSONANT SEQUENCES

Table 4 shows attested consonant sequences $C_1C_2$ belonging to the same syllable.

Regarding these clusters the following observations must be made. First, in daily speech words are frequently shortened in such a way that consonant clusters result from syncopation. In the examples which follow, syncopated orms are given next to full forms. See Section 7 for the structure of full forms, and Section 8 for some more details on forms in the elliptic code. Second, a process which runs counter to syncopation is epenthesis. Epenthesis results in luster simplification and is frequently attested in loans from European languages. Nevertheless, the number of loans from European languages which display a $C_1C_2$ cluster is relatively high. Finally, archiphones /P, T, K/ have been left out of Table 4, even though consonant clusters involving these phonemes were recorded. For instance: /kərət/ in: /əNəbo kərət/ 'a Moluccan aised and living outside the Moluccas'. Examples of $C_1C_2$ clusters are:

| $C_2$ | p | b | t | d | c | j | k | g | m | n | ə | s | h | l | r | w | y |
|-------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| p     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| b     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| t     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| d     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| c     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| j     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| k     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| g     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| m     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| n     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| ə     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| s     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| h     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| l     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| r     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| w     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| y     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

| /pl/ | /pəKster/[pəKster] 'plaster (for wound)' (< Dut. pleister); /pləpən/ [pləpən] 'ceiling' (< Dut. plafond); /pləcəs/[pləcəs] in: /məlu pləcəs/ 'twaddler' (< ?); /pləK/kə[pləK] in: /pləK meja/ 'tablecloth' (< Dut. tafellaken); /koNpət/ [koNpət] 'complete, full' (< Dut. complete); /plən/ [plən] 'to buy'; /pləKpən/ [pləKpən] 'slowly, gently; softly'.

| /pr/ | /prən/ [prən] onomatopoeia suggestive of falling or clashing objects; /prəmən/ [prəmən] in: /pəkən prəmən/ 'plain (civilian) clothes (as opposed to uniforms)'; /prən'pən/ [prən'pən] 'woman'.

| /bs/ | /bəsər/[bəsər] > /bsər/ 'big'.

| /bl/ | /bləNblən/[bləNblən] 'be gaudily dressed'; /baləcan/[baləcan] > /bləcan/[bləcan] 'k.o. paste made from pounded fish or shrimps'; /səbələ/səbələ > /səbla/ [səbla] 'side'.

| /br/ | /broydən/[broydən] 'bridegroom' (< Dut. bruidegom); /broI/ [broI] 'bride' (< Dut. bruid); /brot/ [brot] 'bread' (< Dut. brood);
THE SOUND SYSTEM OF AMBONESE MALAY

/sk/ /sk'ola/ [sk'ola] 'school' (< Por. escola); /sk'elen/ [sk'elen] in: /mata sk'elen/ 'cross-eyed' (< Dut. scheel); /skapa/ [skap-] 'carpenter's plane' (< Dut. schaaf); /sk'aran/ [sk'arən] > /skaran/ [sk'arən] 'now'.

/sm/ /sm'era/ [sm'erak-] 'dirty fellow, rascal' (< Dut. smeerlap).

/sn/ /sn'ul/ [sn'ul-] 'candy' (< Dut. snoep).

/sl/ /sl'aba/ [sl'aba] 'floor-cloth' (< Dut. slabber); /sl'oki/ [sl'oki] 'tot of liquor' (< Dut. slokje); /sal'obar/ [sal'obar] > /sl'obar/ [sl'obar] 'brackish, saltish'.


/sw/ /sw'ang/ [sw'ang] 'k.o. evil spirit'; /sw'ipeji/ [sw'ipeji] 'general traffic inspection' (< Eng. sweeeping); /swami/ [swami] 'k.o. cassava dish'.

/tl/ /tl'ar/ < /tl'ar/ [tl'ar-] 'basket'.

/w/ /b'uru/ [b'uru] 'k.o. oil lamp' (< Eng. beurs).

/xl/ /sk'ebi/ [sk'ebi] 'excl) Go away!' (< Dut. knevel).

/y/ /y'ung/ [y'ung] 'referee, umpire' (< Eng. referee).

/z/ /z'we/ [z'we] 'to swallow'.

/ʃ/ /ʃ'a/ [ʃ'a] 'to spray, spout, squirt' (< Dut. stuif); /ʃ'el/ [ʃ'el] 'pencil-eraser' (< Dut. stuif); /ʃt/ [ʃt-] 'to wash, rinse' (< Dut. spoelen).

The examples above can be summarized as follows:

1. /sk/ is the most frequent cluster occurring in word-initial position.
2. /sk/ clusters consist of a stop followed by a lateral or trill; other clusters occupy a marginal position in this respect.
3. /s/ is the most frequent consonant in C1 position regarding combinatorial possibilities.
4. Considering the occurrence of the cluster /s/ the nonoccurrence of the cluster /tr/ must be seen as an incidental gap.

Other consonant sequences, which are far less often attested however, are of the C1C2C3 type. These are all (or nearly all) loans from European languages and occur in word-initial position only, while C1 position is occupied by /s/.

Examples:

/sk/ /sk'olen/ [sk'olen] 'cross-eyed' (< Dut. scheel); /skapa/ [skap-] 'carpenter's plane' (< Dut. schaaf); /skaran/ [sk'arən] > /skaran/ [sk'arən] 'now'.

/sm/ /sm'eral/ [sm'erak-] 'dirty fellow, rascal' (< Dut. smeerlap).

/sn/ /sn'ul/ [sn'ul-] 'candy' (< Dut. snoep).

/sl/ /sl'aba/ [sl'aba] 'floor-cloth' (< Dut. slabber); /sl'oki/ [sl'oki] 'tot of liquor' (< Dut. slokje); /sal'obar/ [sal'obar] > /sl'obar/ [sl'obar] 'brackish, saltish'.


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/y/ /y'ung/ [y'ung] 'referee, umpire' (< Eng. referee).

/z/ /z'we/ [z'we] 'to swallow'.

/ʃ/ /ʃ'a/ [ʃ'a] 'to spray, spout, squirt' (< Dut. stuif); /ʃ'el/ [ʃ'el] 'pencil-eraser' (< Dut. stuif); /ʃt/ [ʃt-] 'to wash, rinse' (< Dut. spoelen).

/st/ /st'ap/ [st'ap] 'to spray, spout, squirt' (< Dut. stuif); /ʃt/ [ʃt-] 'to wash, rinse' (< Dut. spoelen).
7. SYLLABLE AND ROOT STRUCTURE

7.1 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

If we start from the assumption that there is a close relationship between syllable structure and word structure, we arrive at the following general scheme for the syllable: \((C_1)(C_2)(C_3) V (C_4)(C_5)\). The phonotactic constraints of the language allow at most a sequence of three consonants in word-initial position, and no more than two consonants in word-final position. In this analysis it is also assumed that every vowel constitutes a nucleus on its own, while no syllabic consonants were observed. Examples of syllable types can be found in the next section.

7.2 ROOT STRUCTURE

Pulgram (1970) proposes three principles—both general and language specific in nature—for establishing syllable boundaries. Assuming that each syllable can be divided phonologically into onset and core, and each core divided phonetically into nucleus and coda, the principles can be summarized as follows: (1) maximal open syllabicity, (2) minimal coda and maximal onset, (3) irregular coda. The following serves as an illustration. The word "<tampa> place, spot" is syllabified as "<ta. mpa>" according to the first principle. This, however, creates a consonant cluster at the onset of the second syllable which violates a sequential constraint in AM. The second principle resyllabifies "<ta.mpa>" into "<tam.pa>" because as many consonants as necessary—but no more—are detached from the onset of the second syllable and moved to the first as coda. I have not come across instances where the third principle operates to put the burden of unavoidable word-structure irregularities on the coda rather than the onset.

The archiphonemes /I/ and /U/ are treated as vowels although their realizations may yield forms with varying syllabicity. Based on 1741 entries taken from an early version of my wordlist, roots in Ambonese Malay can be divided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>monosyllables</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disyllables</td>
<td>1227</td>
<td>70.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trisyllables</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quadrissyllables</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures show that disyllabic roots form the majority of morphemes that were recorded, while monosyllables and quadrissyllables occupy a numerically more marginal position in this sample. Roots containing more than four syllables were not found.

The various combinations of syllable types which are displayed by these roots follow. Number of occurrences is given in parentheses; syllable boundaries are indicated by a dot; not all structures are exemplified.

7.3 SOUND SYSTEM OF AMBONSE MALAY

Monosyllables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V (1)</td>
<td>CV (15), VC (5), CVC (65), CCV (1), CVCC (16), CVCC (3), CCCVC (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

/е/ (interj) he, gee; /bu/ (term of address/reference) older brother; /ir/ drunk; /seg/ no; not; /tri/ in; /buriŋ trir/ k.o bird; /speT/ to spray, squirt; /fols/ wrist; /streP/ stripe.

Disyllables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.V (3), V.CV (42), V.CV (45), V.CV (52), CV.CV (416), CV.CV (23), CV.CV (345), CV.CV (2), CV.CCV (5), VC.CV (13), VC.CV (24), CV.CCV (4), CV.CV (95), CV.CV (121), CV.CCV (1), CV.CCV (3), CCV.CV (5), CCV.CV (1), CV.CV (11), CV.CCV (8), CV.CCV (2), CV.CCV (2), CCCV.CV (1), CCCV.CV (1), CCCV.CV (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

/a.U/ (exclam. expressing displeasure); /a.cut/ to ignore; /a.r/ water; /aN.p/ four; /ba.l/ good; /ta.u/ year; /aN.s/ gill; /g.a/ beautiful, handsome; /de.ka/ near, not far; /tiN.b/ to sweep; /haN.t/ to hit; /koN.p/ to/t/ complete; /fr/ k.o fres/ /skro.bi/ Go away!; /blN.l/ be gaudily dressed; /str/ key k.o. oil lamp.

Trisyllables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.CV (1), V.CV.V (2), V.CV.CV (5), V.CV.CV (1), V.CV.CV (8), V.CV (1), V.CV.CV (5), V.CV.CV (23), V.CV.CV (64), V.CV.CV (19), CV.CV.CVC (68), CV.CV.CVC (2), CV.CV.CVC (15), CV.CV.CVC (18), V.CV.CV (1), V.CV.CV (2), V.CV.CV.CVC (1), V.CV.CV (2), V.CV.CV (2), V.CV.CV.CVC (6), V.CV.CV.CVC (36), V.CV.CV.CVC (3), CCCV.CV (20), CCCV.CV (3), CCCV.CV (3), CCCV.CV (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

/a.U.w/o/ (exclam. expressing displeasure); /a.ma.t/ farewell; /a.r.i.p/ light, not heavy; /o.fi.o/ k.o. wood; /aN.tu.a/ he; she; /is.to.r/ to tell; /sa.k/a. very; /pan.g/a.yo/ to row; /taN.pi.as/ to spatter, splash; /maN.ja. / to sew; /pan.k.o.to/ dirty; /biN.t/ a.o/ k.o. tree; /is.k/a.kar/ avaricious, stingy; /moN.pro.U/ (term of address) madam.

Quadrissyllables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.CV.CV.CVC (1), V.CV.CV.V (1), V.CV.CV.V (1), V.CV.CV.CV (1), V.CV.CV.CV (1), V.CV.CV.CV (2), V.CV.CV.CV (2), V.CV.CV.CV (1), V.CV.CV.CV (10), V.CV.CV.CV (31), V.CV.CV.CV (5), CV.CV.CV.CV (1), CV.CV.CV.CV (2), CV.CV.CV.CV (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:
I am aware that this represents a simplistic picture of the actual sociolinguistic situation. To begin with, it is probably more correct to view explicit code and elliptic code as the extreme ends of a continuum between which other codes are situated, and from which AM speakers—consciously or not—continually select styles which are deemed proper for the speech situation. Secondly, it must be borne in mind that bordering on the explicit code is the national standard language, Bahasa Indonesia, to which AM stands in a dialect-language relation.

A careful investigation of additional data may provide useful insights into the often neglected phenomena of segment deletion, assimilation, and other features which fall under the heading of so-called Rapid Speech Phenomena. Because my own scanty data do not allow for giving solid conclusions nor formulating exact rules—if there are any—I will restrict myself to some provisional observations on external assimilation (sandhi), segment deletion, and vowel coalescence. (Interior dissimilation was described under archiphoneme /N/ in Section 5.)

**Exterior assimilation:**

In the elliptic code word-final /ŋ/ may assimilate to a following obstruent or /l/. Examples: /ə/ni bəsə/ > /ə/ni bəsə/ 'not possible'; /be səj dəpa/ > /be səj dəpa/ 'I didn’t get (it)'; /məkə səm kəs/ > /məkə səm kəs/ 'a face like a monkey'; /məkə məkaŋ cəna mati/ > /məkə məkaŋ cəna mati/ 'to have a pale, sickly complexion' (lit. ‘to have a face like a dead Chinese’); /koŋ bətə/ > /koŋ bətə/ ‘And what about me?’; /də səj lət akəŋ > /de sələt akəŋ/ ‘he didn’t see it’; /də səj səm onə> /de sələ səm onə/ ‘he is not asleep’; /sən jəU/ > /sən jəU/ ‘not far (away)’.

**Segment deletion:**

Because syllables and words resulting from deletion processes often deviate from preferred syllable-structure and word-structure types, it is inferred that the main factor which triggers deletion is the desire to speak fast rather than to comply with syllable-structure or word-structure rules (see Sections 7.1, 7.2).

Deletion of segments occurs in initial, medial, and final position. It may affect on or more segments.

Vowels in stressed syllables are usually not deleted (exceptions are: /ose/ > /se/ alongside /os/ ‘you’. Perhaps not surprisingly there is a semantic distinction between full forms and shortened forms (see below); /akəŋ > /kəŋ/ alongside /əŋ/ ‘it’). Usually, but not always, shortened forms appear in sentence context only, that is, only some shortened words may constitute a one-word sentence (e.g., Pil. ‘Go (away)!’; Se? ‘(And what about) you?’).
Short-form personal pronouns occur in certain syntactic positions only (e.g., /beT/ > /be/ < /beta/ 'I', and /di/ < /dia/ 'he, she, it' only in Subject position; /se/, /os/ < /ose/ 'you' both in Subject and Object position; /an/, /kan/ < /akany/ 'it' only in Object position).

Some examples of forms with deleted segments are:

Deletion of initial segment(s):

/aN/ > /aN/ 'it'; /kan/ > /aN/ 'it'; /bag'ini/ > /g'ini/ 'like this'; /agitru/ > /gitu/ 'like that'; /ko'tadu/ > /tadu/ 'brother/sister-in-law'.

In the case of /ose/ > /se/ deletion corresponds to a semantic distinction [-familiar] versus [+ familiar].

Deletion of medial segment(s):

/ambe/ > /ame/ 'to take'; /d'oraN/ > /doy/ 'they; you'; /kam'oray/ > /kam'or/ 'you'; /bahakaN/ > /b'akaN/ 'back side'); /bar'as/ > /bras/ '(uncooked) rice'; /bar'aT/ > /bra'T/ 'heavy' (cf. /'bra'T/ not * /'bra'T/ 'west'); /nusal'aU/ > /nusl'aU/ 'Nusalaut (island)'; /naN'ohi/ > /nanaU/ 'Nanohi (clan-name)'; /feh/ > /fer/ 'neck'; /po'hon/ > /pon/ 'tree'; /d'ohod'oho/ > /do'do/ 'present taken home from journey'; /k'ohuk'ou/ > /'okou/ 'k.o. dish made from grated coconut and smoked fish'; /tomtom'omi/ > /tom'tomi/ 'k.o. cherry-like fruit'; /laijaN/ > /laiN/ 'kite'; /mo'Nom'ono/ > /mon'omo/ 'stupid idiot'; /naN'ohi/ > /nanaU/ 'imbecile, stupid'; /t'en'ena/ > /t'en'ena/ 'in the middle of); /t'ut'uN/ > /tut'uU/ 'orang tutuU /elders'; /pa'kaN'ake/ > /pakaN'ake/ 'black magic, to practise blackmagic'.

Deletion of final segment(s):

/d'ekatu/ > /d'ekat/ 'close, nearby'; /paN/ > /pa/ 'bitter'; /seNtaP/ > /seNta/ 'frame of large proa'; /rus'at/ > /rusa/ 'dammaged, broken down'; /beta/ > /beT/ 'I'; /aNbe/ > /aNbe/ 'to take'; /pangel/ > /paNge/ 'to call'; /bawat/ > /baw/ 'to bring'; /baN'ake/ > /b'aka/ 'to bring'; /lia/ > /li/ 'to look, see'; /dia/ > /di/ 'he; she; it'; /ala/ > /al/ 'you'; /sam'at/ > /sam/ 'just like; too'; /hari/ > /har/ 'day'; /ari/ > /ar/ 'from'; /mar'at/ > /mar/ 'come'; /ini/ > /in/ 'this; these'; /usi/ > /us/ 'older sister'; /itu/ > /it/ 'that; those'; /baru/ > /b'ari/ 'new'; /kalo/ > /kal/ 'if, when'; /ka'si/ > /kas/ 'to give'; /sapaNulu/ > /sapaNu/ 'ten'; /alu/ > /al/ 'and then'; /alu/ > /al/ 'and then'; /satu/ > /saT/ 'one'; /dio/ > /do/ 'first'; /pigii/ > /pi/ 'to go'; /saja/ > /sa/ 'only, just'; /suda/ > /su/ 'already'; /deN'ake/ > /deN/ 'with'; /sapa/ > /saP/ 'who'; /sini/ > /siN/ 'here'; /sana/ > /saN/ 'there'.

In the case of /ose/ > /os/ 'you', deletion corresponds to a semantic distinction [-respect] versus [+ respect]. Final segments of the prefixes baku- and kasi- may be deleted as well: /baku/ > /bak/ RECIPIROCAL PREFIX; /kas/ > /kas/ TRANSITIVIZING PREFIX.

Vowel coalescence:

coalescence of two vowels resulting in monosyllables—a process which stands apart from deletion—is attested in: /d'ua/ > /do/ 'two'; /jua/ > /jo/ 'please'; /b'uaT/ > /b'T/ 'for, in order to'; /tuaN/ > /toN/ 'Lord' in: /TuaN 'ala/ (excl) God!'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article is based on research conducted on Ambon Island from November 1986 until July 1987, and from November 1988 until February 1989. The project was funded by NWO (Netherlands Organization for Scientific research, Project W38-39), while in Indonesia it was carried out under the auspices of LIPI (Indonesian Institute of Sciences) and sponsored by the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Nasional (National Center for Language Development). I express my gratitude to all who have made the research possible. I received stimulating advice and help from Professor Dr. Anton Moeliono, first head of the National Center for Language Development. Dr. Hein Steinhauer (University of Leiden) acted as supervisor before and during my fieldwork. My meetings with Dr. Jack Prentice (University of Leiden) yielded valuable insights into Malay dialect study; his careful proofreading, moreover, has saved me from many pitfalls. Upon returning from my fieldwork, the patient and enthusiastic approach of Professor Dr. W. Stokhof (University of Leiden) proved very effective: there seems to be a system in the madness after all. Only with the generous assistance of Dr. Maureen Westerkamp and Dr. Walther Bloem could I wrench the manuscript from my capricious PC. Of course, no linguistic investigation whatsoever is possible without the cooperation of the speakers concerned. The people of Galala have accepted my presence wholeheartedly. The generosity
and kindness of the family Soumokil can hardly be reciprocated. Finally, I owe it to Om Ka Pieter in Ambon Town that I could leave the island with a handbag full of notes and recordings. It stands to reason that any shortcomings remain my responsibility.

NOTES

1. The results of my research will appear in a descriptive analysis of Ambonese Malay which covers phonology, morphology, and parts of its syntax.

2. Grimes (1988) deals with the sociolinguistic situation on Ambon Island.

3. Considering the fact that AM has phonemic wordstress I propose an orthography in which stress is consistently indicated by ' if it is not on the penultimate syllable, but which otherwise deviates as minimally as possible from the spelling principles for Bahasa Indonesia which are laid down in Pedoman Umum Ejaan Bahasa Indonesia Yang Disempurnakan and in Pedoman Umum Pembentukan Istilah (Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Nasional, 1980). The orthographic vowel symbols are the same as corresponding symbols used by Pike (Phonemics). The orthographic consonant symbols which differ from Pikes' counterparts are: /h/ = <ny>, /j/ = <ng>. The archiphonemes /I/ and /U/ are represented by <i> and <u> respectively; in the orthography they are treated as if they were (syllabic) vowels. I will use <p, t, k> for the archiphonemes /P, T, K/ respectively. Please note that I use /j/ and [j] for the voiced centro-palatal stop. Examples: /baraN/ <barang> 'things, goods'; /tana/ <tanya> 'to ask'; /tamaN/ <tamiang> 'friend'; /paiasi/ <pasi> 'naked'; /paitua/ <paitu> 'husband'; /waa/ <wa> 'trunk of sago palm from which pith has been taken'; /ba'air/ <baar> 'watery, sloppy'; /sabaP/ <sabap> 'because'; /kalawai/ <kalawai> 'fishing spear'; /bal/ <bai> 'good'.

4. I use the term "root" to refer to elements such as /tri/ in /buruN tritri/ 'k.o. bird'; /twi/ in /ikan twiNtwiN/ 'flying fish'; /eleke/ in /elekelekeK/ 'oil-lamp made from glass jar'. Duplicated roots will be separated orthographically by a hyphen (-): /buruN tritri/ <burung tri-tri>, /elekelekeK/ <elek-elek>, etc.

5. I recorded five morphemes showing phonemic alternation of the heavy kind which provide interesting cases of complete integration into the AM soundsystem. They are: /diko/ 'under-coating, filling putty; to apply' (from Duco). In the case of /sopo/ ~ /sopu/ and /t'opo/ ~ /topu/ the facts are more complicated. In the framework of the present study, I will not dwell upon reflexes of *schwa and other phonemic innovations which occurred in a fair number of morphemes. Suffice it to say here that these innovations comprise replacement of the mid-central vowel *schwa, vowel lowering in final syllable, loss of final consonant, and stress-shift from final to penultimate syllable. Schematically the following changes can be noted (not necessarily in this order, however; <> stands for schwa): *sep'uh > sep'o > sop'o > sop'oh > sop'o > *t'ep'uk > tep'ok > tep'o > top'o > t'opo. Quite a few historical diphthongs have been monophthongized to a mid-vowel /e/ or /o/ in Ambonese Malay. Thus, *sampai becomes /saNpe/ 'until', and likewise *pisau becomes /p'iso/ 'knife'. The Bahasa Indonesia forms which correspond to /kalau/ and /kasau/ are /kalo/ and /kasau/ respectively.

6. The same, or same kind of, morphemes are subject to severe reduction in other varieties of Malay, though with different results (D. J. Prentice, pers. comm.):

- Urban Bazaar Malay (W. Malaysia): /puha > myë /poss. marker (*puñã > puñe > *peñê > *pmyê > myê)
- Jakarta Malay: /sudah > de 'already' (*sudah > *suda > *sude > ude > de)
- Manado Malay: /kita-oran > toŋ 'we' (*kita-oran > kitoran > *keteran > toran > toŋ)

7. If we opted for treating the archiphonemes as consonants, words such as /alr/ 'water' and /malN/ 'to play' must be analysed V.CC and CV.CC respectively, which is of course not possible. Alternatively, if we treat these archiphonemes as vowels the syllable division becomes V.CV and CV.VC, which is structurally acceptable.

REFERENCES


**REVIEWS**


**SANDRA G. WIMBISH**

**PATTIMURA UNIVERSITY AND THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS**

Anyone interested in the history, culture, religion, or the development of the church of the peoples of Halmahera will find worthwhile reading in *Barhera Injil di Halmahera* (translated, *The Gospel Ship of Halmahera*). This book was written in conjunction with the commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the Gereja Masehi Injil di Halmahera (GMIH, the Protestant Christian Church of Halmahera) on June 6, 1984.

The author, Thimotheus Magana, was born in the town of Tobelo on the island of Halmahera. He worked as a church leader in Halmahera for a number of years, then served as an associate pastor in Jakarta. This book was actually completed in 1979, but was not printed until 1984 under request from the committee of the Church Council of Indonesia (*Dewan Gereja Indonesia*).

Though the author's main consideration is to give a thorough history of the church, he first discusses the factors which influenced its development. The first three chapters set the stage as he describes what the foreword calls, "the thick wall which had to be battered down by the Gospel," (p. 5), that is, the day-to-day aspects of life and the belief systems of the Halmaheran peoples before the church came upon the scene.

Chapter 2 breaks down the complex of spirits and gods, and differentiates each one. Thirty-two specific gods and spirits are described. This is followed by a brief discussion of the basic beliefs: Animism, Pantheism, Spiritism, and "Law" (the regulations which, when adhered to, safeguarded a follower from the wrath of the gods, ancestors, and fellowmen).

Chapter 3 details many of the traditional beliefs and practices of Halmaherans, guided by native (traditional) law. Childbirth, adoption, proposal of marriage, bridewealth, and all activities related to marriage were carried out in accordance with native law. Also described are deathbed practices and many ceremonies connected with placating spirits in order to harvest crops or hunt for daily food.