Ternate Malay : grammar and texts

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1 Introduction

Ternate Malay is a variety of Malay spoken on the island of Ternate, a small island in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago. It is one of the main languages on the island. The majority of speakers live in Ternate town, where it is used as a mother tongue as well as the language of communication between people of various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds.

Malay varieties in eastern Indonesia received some scholarly attention in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1980, James T. Collins published a booklet on Ambon Malay, discussing it in terms of creolization theories of that time (Collins 1980). Almost a decade earlier, Paramita R. Abdurachman wrote on Portuguese loanwords in Ambon Malay (Abdurachman 1972). In the decades to follow, some more varieties were studied and various articles and descriptions of Malay in eastern Indonesia were published. A number of PhD dissertations were written, including: a description of word and phrase structures in Larantuka Malay (Kumanireng 1993); a phonology, morphology, and syntax of Ambon Malay (Van Minde 1997); a grammar of Manado Malay (Stoel 2005); and a typological comparison of seven Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, including Banda Malay, Kupang Malay and Papua Malay (Paauw 2009). A description of Ternate Malay may complete this series.

One of the challenges encountered in the study of the Ternate Malay variety (which might also occur in other varieties and languages) is the flexibility of lexical items and the limited overt marking of grammatical features on these items. Lexical items may fulfil distinct syntactic roles without showing any change in their formal shape. The point that in some Malay varieties there is no clear-cut distinction between some word classes, for instance between verbs and adjectives, is not new. Many scholars have studied this topic and have attempted to find satisfying solutions for this problem (inter alia Gonda (1949), Teeuw (1962), Steinhauer (1986)). For Riau Indonesian, a variety of colloquial Indonesian spoken in western Indonesia, David Gil suggests that a word has to be considered the smallest syntactic unit, and he argues that there is no strong evidence to support the distinguishing between nouns and verbs (Gil 1994, forthcoming). I have taken up and elaborated this suggestion here for Ternate Malay. The basic idea in this study is that a word receives its meaning from its relationship with other words. The meaning of a construction is determined by the meaning of the combination of the composing elements. Some lexical items merely serve to indicate the structure within sequences of words, and additionally contribute to the meaning of the construction. These items play an important role in determining the most appropriate interpretation of the construction. The linguistic context as well as the non-linguistic situation are crucial factors in determining which of the plausible interpretations works best. From this point of view, I describe the structure and the meaning of various constructions.

This first chapter provides some general information about Ternate and Ternate Malay. In § 1.2 I discuss some previous studies and publications on Malay in Ternate, while § 1.3 describes the Ternate Malay material collected and used in this study.

1.1 General Information

The island of Ternate is situated west of Halmahera, the largest island in the province of Maluku Utara, and is about 105 km^2 (about 65 square miles) large. One of the characteristics of this island is the volcanic mountain, named Gamalama. It is still active and plays an important role in the Ternate community. There are about fifty villages on the island, which are almost all situated along the coast with a few of them up against the mountain. An asphalted road running around the island connects all the villages. Ternate has one airfield strip used for daily flights to Manado (North Sulawesi), Makassar (South Sulawesi), Ambon Town (Ambon Island), Jakarta (Java), and with flights to other places in Maluku Utara (Morotai, Bacan, Tobelo). Ternate is relatively easy to reach and has an open market for products from all over Indonesia. The high costs of transportation and the weak economic position of the population, however, do not attract a lot of enterprise. Those who have enough financial means go to Manado, Ambon, Makassar, or Jakarta to buy more luxurious goods. Only recently, a large shopping mall was built, with outlets of national and international chain stores.

There is only one town on the island, also named Ternate, situated on the eastern part of the island. This forms an urban strip along the coast. Administratively, four districts (or *kecamatan*) are found on the island of Ternate: *kecamatan* Ternate Utara Ternate Tengah, Ternate Selatan, and Pulau Ternate. The first three are part of the administrative city of Ternate. Each district consists of a number of villages: Ternate Utara has 14 villages, Ternate Tengah has 15 villages, and Ternate Selatan consists of 17 villages. The rest of the island belongs to the *kecamatan* Pulau Ternate, the fourth district on the island, which consists of 13 villages (Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Ternate [2010]:31).

1.1.1 Population

The total population of the island of Ternate in 2010 was about 175.000. This number is based on statistics published by the Bureau of Statistics of Ternate Town[1]. The majority, about 91.6%, live in the urban part of the island, in Ternate Town. A decade earlier, about 86.8 % of the total population of the island lived in Ternate Town. The number of people living in the rural part of Ternate, roughly those who live in the district of Pulau Ternate, has more or less remained the same over the last decade.

[1] The information is published on the website of the *Badan Pusat Statistik*, BPS-Statistics

Kecamatan/Year	1980	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Kota Ternate Utara	28,959	39,574	40,908	42,639	67,203	45,487
Kota Ternate Tengah	–	–	–	–	–	52,083
Kota Ternate Selatan	30,872	43,830	46,262	53,282	72,901	63,707
Pulau Ternate	10,825	12,372	13,019	14,554	18,388	14,788
Total Population	70,656	95,779	100,189	110,475	158,492	176,065

Population of Ternate 1980-2010

1.1.2 Languages in Ternate

The most important languages on the island are the indigenous language (*bahasa* Ternate), the local variety of Malay (Ternate Malay), the national language (Indonesian), as well as the colloquial form of Jakarta Indonesian. Ternate town has a multi-ethnic community with people from all over the province as well as from outside the province, and a lot of speakers of other languages can be found and heard in the town as well. The Ternate language is the first language for most of the people who live "*di blakang gunung*" (behind the mountain), referring to the people who live in the rural part of the region, while many people in Ternate Town have Ternate Malay as their first language. The standard Indonesian language has no speakers who use it as their first language. It is the national language and reaches people mainly in written form through newspapers, schoolbooks, and administrative documents and writing. Some radio and television broadcasting programs use standard Indonesian, but many soap series and other popular programs use a form of Jakarta Indonesian. Ternate Malay speakers may also have some knowledge of one or more of Indonesia's regional languages.

The term "Ternate Malay" is an artificial term. Some people in Ternate refer to it as *bahasa Ternate* 'Ternate language', but this term may lead to misunderstanding because for others *bahasa Ternate* refers to the local language of Ternate. In order to distinguish between the local form of Malay and the local language, the latter is also called *bahasa Ternate asli* 'original Ternate language'. In the literature on Malay in the Moluccas, the term "North Moluccan Malay" has been used to refer to the Malay spoken in the North Moluccan region, including Ternate and Tidore (see Voorhoeve (1983), Taylor (1983), and Van Staden (1998, 2000)). Incidentally, the term *Melayu Halmahera* (Halmahera Malay) has been used to refer to a lingua franca spoken throughout and outside Halmahera which has also become a home language (Masinambow 1976).

Malay in the various places in Maluku Utara and elsewhere has been locally coloured. The fact that in some places, including Ternate, two languages of different language families are in contact makes this phenomenon even more interesting. Since local situations differ from one place to another, the impression is that there are differences between Ternate Malay and Tidore Malay (Van Staden 2000:29) and that there are differences, for instance, in prosody and the use of particles between Bacan Malay[2] and Ternate Malay. Therefore the term Ternate Malay is used here to refer explicitly to the Malay variety that is spoken in Ternate.

[2] Bacan Malay is a colloquial variety of Malay spoken in Bacan, an island south of Ternate,

The terms "Ternate" and "Ternate language" refer to the indigenous language of Ternate. It is a non-Austronesian language and together with Northeast Halmaheran, Sahu, and West Makian, forms the North Moluccan sub-group of the West Papuan Phylum (Voorhoeve 1994:649). This group of languages is closely related to languages in the western tip of the Bird's Head peninsula of Papua (Voorhoeve 1988:181). The region where the Ternate language is spoken is not limited to Ternate. It is also spoken in Hiri, a small island north of Ternate, and in several villages on the west coast of Halmahera (See Voorhoeve 1988). Ternate language is also used for administrative matters within the sultanate and the sultan's court, particularly during traditional ceremonies and events. The Tobelo in Halmahera use the Ternate language in traditional chants, magical formulae and marriage rituals. Tobelo words may be formed with Ternate morphemes (Taylor 1990:14).

Although the majority of mother tongue speakers of the Ternate language live in the rural part of the island, there are places in Ternate Town where the language is used. At the market there, it is not uncommon to bargain in this language, because many of the sellers of fruit, vegetables, and other products are Ternate women. Bargaining in the Ternate language may result in a better price. The Ternate language is also the official language at events and ceremonies related to Ternate culture, during weddings, funerals and at events related to the sultan and his court. In a radio program on *lagu-lagu daerah* 'regional songs', the host addresses the listeners in the Ternate language. After the turmoil at the end of the twentieth century, some people have become more conscious about their ethnic background and use the Ternate language (or other regional languages) to distinguish themselves from other ethnic and linguistic groups.

Indonesian, as the national language, serves as the language of administration, mass media, religion, and formal events. Indonesian is the official language of education in which teaching material is written. However, in schools, churches, mosques, at official meetings and in other formal and semi-formal situations, as well as in conversations on abstract and philosophical topics, one may notice a locally flavoured kind of Indonesian. This variety of Indonesian could be considered a formal kind of Ternate Malay in which aspects of Indonesian (or "High Malay"), such as the affixes *-kan* and *-i* and prefixes as *me-* and *ber-* are used instead of Ternate Malay structures or equivalents. When using this variety, the choice of "Indonesian" words prevails over Ternate Malay words. A situation in which this "official" language was considered to be more appropriate was when someone explained the production of *bagea* 'k.o. sago cookie'. The woman probably imagined a general public and replaced typical Ternate Malay words such as *tore* 'crispy' with Indonesian *garing* 'crispy'. This was a very clear case in which the speaker preferred an Indonesian word. Often it is hard to decide whether a word is borrowed from Indonesian, is a member of Ternate Malay vocabulary, or belongs to a local variety of Indonesian. In this book, standard Indonesian words are not systematically marked, but are occasionally explicitly mentioned in the text.

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and differs from *bahasa* Bacan, the local language of Bacan, which seems to be related to languages in Borneo (Collins 1983b).

Young people may flavour their Ternate Malay with Jakarta Indonesian words and expressions, although others may consider this to be a form of showing off, particularly if the user has only spent a short time in the capital city. In the last decade, a large number of Javanese people has found a home in Ternate Town. They are sellers at an increasing number of stalls selling textiles, shoes, and household goods. At an open field in front of the governor's office, the Swering, dozens of stalls offer a large variety of food during the evening. Most of these stalls are run by Javanese who live in a small area close to fortress Oranye. At the textile market, the food court, and in the Javanese section, Javanese is the main language of communication. Non-Javanese speakers may insert some fixed Javanese words and expressions such as *piro, Mas?* 'how much is it, Sir?' in their interactions with the Javanese. What the influence of Javanese will be on Ternate Malay has yet to be seen. It is quite possible that these Javanese newcomers, similar to most of the other ethnic groups living in Ternate, will adopt the local Malay variety, and maintain certain Javanese expressions or characteristics to display their ethnic background.

1.2 Publications on Malay in Ternate

The number of available records of Ternate Malay either in its written or spoken form is limited. Scarce information on Ternate Malay may be found in journals written by participants in expeditions to the Moluccas and Ternate, journals by civil servants stationed in Ternate, or archives of trade companies or the governments of Portugal, England, and the Netherland. In earlier times, visitors compiled wordlists in an attempt to picture Malay as it was spoken in Ternate or in the Moluccas in general. However, it was not only outsiders who wrote about Ternate and Ternate Malay. Although at the sultan's court the main language is the Ternate language, correspondence in earlier times between the sultan and non-Ternate speaking allies and enemies was delivered in Malay. Other Malay records consist of letters and genealogies of which only a few have been published and others remain unread in the archives. Of the main publications, only a few are discussed here. They consist of examples of Malay in Ternate in its written and its spoken form as well as opinions about these texts and the way they can be of value for Malay studies.

1.2.1 Two letters from Ternate (1521 and 1522)

The oldest Malay manuscripts extant from the Moluccas are two letters written by the sultan of Ternate and addressed to the king of Portugal. They are written in Jawi script and dated 1521 and 1522. The style used in these letters shows resemblance to so-called classical Malay, a kind of Malay used in the literary tradition of the Malay courts of Malacca and Riau/Johor. The use of prefixes such as *me-*, *ber-* and *di-* as well as the suffixes *-kan* and *-lah* reflect this standardized form of Malay. However, there are also affixes found in these letters which are not familiar to classical Malay, like the prefix *a-* used in a verb *aserahkan*. The presence of particles like *pun*, and a word like *maka*, which is used as a marker to divide two sentences or paragraphs by

lack of punctuation in Jawi script, also indicates a classical Malay style of written language.

According to C.O. Blagden (1930), who has edited and translated these letters, it is clear that these letters cannot be considered as "typical of the Malay epistolary style of the period". He states that the style and grammar betray the fact that the scribe (and it seems more likely that there was more than one) does not master the Malay language very well. Blagden has the impression that the word order, for instance, is influenced by the syntax of the local language of Ternate (Blagden 1930:87). It is obvious that Blagden had a particular variety of Malay in mind when he assessed the form of Malay found in these letters. An example of the influence of local languages is seen in the word order of the possessive construction. In Malay varieties in the western part of the Indonesian archipelago and Malaysia, the possessum is followed by the possessor, like in *rumah bapak* (lit. house father; 'father's house'). In the first letter one finds the construction *Raja Sultan Abu Hayat surat*, which is translated by Blagden in 'Letter of Sultan Abu Hayat'. The translation shows that *surat* is interpreted as a noun and possessum and functions as the head of the noun phrase. This head is preceded by its modifier, the possessor, Raja Sultan Abu Hayat. However, it is the only example of such a possessive construction; in all other cases the word order is like in *rumah bapak*: the possessor follows the possessum.

Following Blagden, the presence of two ways of expressing possessive meanings can be seen as the result of local influences. They do not imply, however, a bad style and an obscure meaning. The style of these letters shows the language situation at that time in Ternate: there was more or less a standard notion of written Malay, although it was not elaborated to all domains in the language, so there was still space for individual variation and preference. This individual style can give indications about the number of scribes who wrote a manuscript. In the case of the Ternate letters, the spelling of some words indicates that more than one scribe must have been involved (Blagden 1930:98).

As remarked earlier, these records form a valuable source because they provide information about the language situation at a certain point in time in a particular place, and at the same time give linguistic data of the language used. These letters of the sultan of Ternate show that Malay, as a written form, was in use in the 16th century in the Moluccas for administrative matters in correspondence with the Portuguese and possibly also with other non-Ternate authorities.

1.2.2 Pigafetta's wordlist (1521)

That Malay was used not only as a written language is obvious from the wordlist compiled by Antonio Pigafetta, one of the few crew members who survived a Spanish voyage to the Moluccan islands with captain Ferdinan Magellan, who died in a battle in the Philippines. When Pigafetta returned to Europe, he wrote a report about this voyage and included two wordlists: a Philippino wordlist and another called "Words of those Moro people" (Robertson 1906 II:117). Most of the words he lists (totalling 426 items) are clearly Malay, but there are a few items that raise some doubts about their origin, and have resulted in discussions about how and where this

vocabulary was collected. The first person to draw attention to the wordlist was C.C.F.M. Le Roux (1929) in an article on the "Victoria", the name of one of Magellan's ships that survived the voyage around the world. In his article, Le Roux remarks that there is very little interest in Pigafetta's journal amongst Dutch scholars despite the wealth of information on historical, geographical and ethnological fields. He is surprised that the Malay wordlist attached at the end of the journal has not received any scholarly attention (Le Roux 1929:2). Le Roux, an ethnographer, copies the list from Robertson's edition of the Ambrosiana manuscript, provides a contemporary Malay spelling of the entries, and adds a literal Dutch translation of the Italian meanings. Later, C.O. Blagden (1931) gave his opinion on this list, added extra information and explanations about the obscure words, and pointed out that he did not agree with Le Roux's idea that these words originated from Maluku. According to Blagden, the idea of Maluku origin is based only on the fact that the vocabulary follows a description about Tidore, but no linguistic evidence can be found to support this. Blagden proposed the idea that Pigafetta picked up words in various places from different informants, and that this is why the vocabulary is mixed with words from Brunei and the Philippines. All the Malay words have a "common form", implying that although Malay is not the same everywhere, some words were widely used (Blagden 1931).

A reaction from Dutch scholars to Le Roux's article was published some years later. In 1938, J. Gonda discussed Pigafetta's list of words as a "vocabulary of 'Moluccan Malay'", following Le Roux in assuming that the words were collected in the Moluccas. Knowing that there are other Malay records from approximately the same period, namely the two letters of the Sultan of Ternate, he compares the wordlist with these letters and concludes, "because of the different character of these documents, the wordlist and the letters do not enlighten each other very much" (Gonda 1938:105). Looking at loanwords, he notes that he cannot find any local (Moluccan) influence in the list, whereas the presence of Tagalog expressions "seems peculiar" (Gonda 1938:111). Gonda seems to have had some doubts about the suggestion that the wordlist was collected in the Moluccas, but he did not try to give an alternative. He focused on the spelling, comparing it with other sources.

In the same year as Gonda's publication, W. Kern gave his view on Le Roux's article and asked the question: where did Pigafetta collect his Malay words? He submits that it is impossible to find an answer to this question, because Pigafetta gives no information about the place, nor about the person who gave him a particular word (Kern 1938). Kern points out that Le Roux compared the list with "Riau" (Malay), yet he doubts that Pigafetta could have heard Riau Malay during his voyage through the eastern part of Indonesia. However, in his edition of the vocabulary, Le Roux does not mention Riau or Riau Malay at all, although it is obvious that this variety has been the base for his contemporary Malay transcription, a fact he admits in his reaction to Kern (Le Roux 1939). Lastly, Kern also suggests that it is quite possible that Pigafetta heard some Riau Malay before he arrived in Tidore, from Magellan or his Sumatran slave Henrique. Kern follows Blagden in the suggestion that the presence of Tagalog and Brunei words can be explained by the fact that Pigafetta stayed in these places.

Almost twenty years later, in 1960, Alessandro Bausani gave his view on this subject. He wanted to show the contribution of an Italian to the study of Malay, and blamed former authors for not taking the trouble to use the original text of Pigafetta's Malay vocabulary in their study. For his article on Pigafetta's vocabulary, Bausani (1960) used the Italian manuscript preserved in the Ambrosian Library of Milan which Robertson, who had already published a transcription together with an English translation in 1906, dated 1525. In his edition, Bausani corrected some words, making use of corrections suggested by Gonda. Bausani had the impression that Pigafetta had learned Malay "through a real teacher" and that he collected the words from Malay friends and the Malay-speaking slave Henrique. He implies that the words were collected not only in Tidore and that it is impossible to determine either where exactly Pigafetta collected his wordlist or which variety of Malay it reflects, a statement Kern had already made in 1938. Based on Robertson's dating, one can draw the conclusion that Pigafetta's report was not written on the spot, but was composed on the basis of notes taken in the various places he visited. Assuming that the vocabulary was compiled in Europe and that in the course of time Pigafetta mixed up the languages he knew, Bausani explains the presence of Philippino words as misplacings in the Malay words. A few "misplaced" Malay words in the Philippino list have to support his view.

Evaluating the views on Pigafetta's wordlist in the above-mentioned publications, one can conclude that it is hard to consider this wordlist to be an example of "Moluccan" Malay. The idea that Pigafetta's vocabulary was compiled in the Moluccas is based solely on its position in the manuscript, namely, immediately following a description of his stay in Tidore.

1.2.3 Dutch wordlist (1599)

Pigafetta's wordlist indicates a widespread use of Malay throughout the Indonesian archipelago and the Philippines. This use of Malay is also supported by a wordlist compiled by Dutch sailors during their voyage to the Moluccas in 1599. The Dutch arrived in Ternate under the command of Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck and Wybrandt Warwijck. They present a wordlist in their journal to "help those who wished to sail thitherwards, for the Malay language is used throughout whole the East Indies, mainly in the Moluccan islands." The wordlist is trilingual: Dutch-Malay-Javanese and consists of 708 items ordered alphabetically from A to S. A second vocabulary is presented, containing 249 words in Dutch and Malay followed by two short lists labelled "Some Javanese words" and "Moluccan numbers" with respectively 20 and 24 items. There are no details about the exact place where the wordlist was collected or who acted as informant(s); the only information given is that the list was written in Ternate (Commelin 1646 I:43; Keuning 1942:158).

The wordlist gives an impression of sixteenth century spoken Malay as it was perceived (and probably used) by the Dutch. Collins and Schmidt (1992) discuss the phonological, morphological, and syntactic aspects extracted from the wordlist. These aspects show similarities with other Malay varieties in the region, including those of Ambon, Manado, Bacan, and Ternate. This brings the authors to the idea that all these Malay varieties inherited their characteristics from a kind of Malay

similar to that of the wordlist. As they did not find any genitive constructions with (a variant of) *punya* as a linker between the possessor and the possessum, causative constructions with *kasi*, or any Chinese loanwords except for a single one, the authors conclude that this Malay is not related to that of Malacca (Collins and Schmidt 1992:318). Other scholars consider the Malacca Malay variety to be the base for Malay varieties that evolved in trading centres along the coast (Adelaar and Prentice 1996)[3]. It should be noted, however, that the wordlist does contain causative constructions with *beri* 'give' and *buat* 'make', also discussed by the authors. These causative constructions show similarities with other Malay varieties in that verbs meaning "give" and "make" serve to express a causative meaning.

1.2.4 The history of Ternate (1878)

In 1878, P. van der Crab published the *Geschiedenis van Ternate*, a history of Ternate which was originally written by Naidah in both the Ternate language as well as Malay, and probably in Jawi script. Van der Crab, who owned this manuscript, transliterated it into Latin script, and based on the Malay version he made a Dutch translation. The original manuscript is now lost (Van Fraassen 1987 I:10-11). Van der Crab himself was not very pleased with this publication. In his annotations, he complains that it is very hard to make a comprehensive translation, because of the many spelling errors, inaccuracies, and an inconsistent order of events. He considers the text to have no historical value, because events and persons have been mixed up. The Ternate text could be of linguistic interest, he suggests, but he has the impression that if the language were closely studied, the text would show its uselessness due to its inconsistencies in grammar (Van der Crab 1878:489-490). It is remarkable that Van der Crab himself did not edit the text before publication. It shows quite a number of spelling errors not only in the Ternate text (Van Fraassen 1987 I: 10), but also the Malay text, and even Van der Crab's own annotations contain inaccuracies.

The style in which this Malay text is written differs largely from that of the letters discussed by Blagden (1930) although one may assume that court officials have written both texts. The style in the letters resembles so-called "High Malay" or "classical Malay", while Naidah's style reminds one of colloquial Malay as it is spoken in contemporary Ternate. Besides differences in the language competence of the two writers, the different styles may be explained from the purpose of the texts: the letters were directed to a person of high esteem who may have forced the scribe to choose a more "sophisticated" style, while the history of Ternate was written for a Dutch civil servant who was only interested in the story. However, the content of the history is so closely connected to the sultan and his family that a more formal style could be appropriate.[4] Whatever the reasons were to use these different styles in

[3] This Malay variety has characteristics that also occur in Chinese varieties and are ascribed to the influence of Chinese-speaking traders who used Malay in their dealings with the local people. These characteristics consist of paraphrastic possessive constructions of the shape: possessor + *punya + possession, the use of *orang* 'person' in plural pronouns, and causative constructions with *kasi* 'give' and *biking* 'make'.

[4] A similar style is found in the Hikayat Ternate, a manuscript kept in the library of Leiden University and mentioned in Van Fraassen (1987 I:11). This manuscript is a small booklet

written Malay, it becomes clear that a "spoken" as well as a more "classic" form has been used in Malay writings.

The publications discussed above give an impression of the styles in which spoken and written Malay have been used throughout the centuries. A formal style or register resembling "classical" Malay has been used for administrative and political matters in correspondence with foreign sovereigns. The Dutch wordlist illustrates a "spoken" form of Malay showing phonological and morphological similarities with contemporary spoken Ternate Malay and other Malay varieties. One would expect that the choice for one of these styles would be determined by whether the language is written or spoken. However, the style in which the history of Ternate is written shows that this is not always the case. It is also likely that the status of the receiver of the message determines the choice for a certain style.

Another point that becomes evident from these publications is the way the language of the texts has been evaluated. The lack of linguistic interest in Pigafetta's wordlist, as noted by Le Roux, may reflect either the indifference towards Malay varieties in general, or the preference for first hand information only, or maybe both. Le Roux's critique provoked reactions, mainly concerning the origin of the non-Malay entries in an attempt to answer the question about where Pigafetta collected his wordlist. No attempts were made to extract structural features from this list as Collins and Schmidt did later. Gonda does note differences and similarities in spelling between the various sources, but he attributes these to misinterpretations of the sounds and to the poor methods used in collecting the data. Although he acknowledges the accuracy of some of the sources, he does not use this data to find regularities and to describe the features of these particular varieties of Malay.

1.2.5 Studies on North Moluccan Malay varieties

There are a few publications concerning Malay varieties of the region of Maluku Utara. In 1983, two articles on varieties of Malay spoken in the North Moluccas appeared in a volume on studies on Malay dialects (Collins 1983a). In his article, Voorhoeve describes some aspects of a variety of Malay named North Moluccan Malay (Voorhoeve 1983) in comparison with Standard Indonesian. He shows amongst other things that Standard Indonesian word-final stops are lost in North Moluccan Malay, and that some words in Standard Indonesian with a word-final [m] or [n] appear in North Moluccan Malay with a velar nasal [ŋ]. He notices that North Moluccan Malay does not have productive affixes that correspond to Indonesian productive affixes, since the only productive verbal prefix *baku-* to mark a verb as reciprocal is not found in Standard Indonesian. He also shows that certain North Moluccan Malay verbal phrases with *kase* 'give' and *bikin* 'make' correspond to Standard Indonesian verbs suffixed with *-i* or *-kan* (Voorhoeve 1983:5). The illustrative texts are taken from the written text Hikayat Ternate and from recordings with speakers from the Sahu and Ibu district in Halmahera and with a speaker from West Makian.

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with a Ternate as well as a Malay text, both written in Jawi script.

In his article, Taylor (1983) concentrates on the speakers of the Kao-district. He shows the complex multilingual situation of the village of Wasile and where the use of local languages seems to be disappearing, while the use of North Moluccan Malay is growing. He describes influences of some local languages on North Moluccan Malay such as in deixis and compares morphological structures, amongst others the use of the productive verbal prefix *ba-* with the use of the equivalent verbal prefix *ber-* in Standard Indonesian.

Bowden published an article on the directionals in North Moluccan Malay (Bowden 2005). He describes the directional system as is used in Malay in Ternate and argues that the organization of the directional systems of Austronesian as well as non-Austronesian languages of Maluku Utara have contributed to the system used in this Malay variety.

The current study on Ternate Malay is an addition to these publications on Malay varieties in the Maluku Utara region, and complements descriptions of Malay varieties in general, and particularly in eastern Indonesia. It hopes to provide insight into the structure of the language, as well as material for comparison between Malay varieties. A study on Ternate Malay may be of value for a broader study of (the development of) Malay varieties in the Indonesian archipelago, and more specifically in eastern Indonesia.

1.3 Ternate Malay corpus

During two fieldwork periods conducted between 1994–1995, I collected a number of audio recordings with naturally spoken Ternate Malay conversations and story telling. The recordings were made with an analogue audiocassette recorder and an external microphone. The speakers who were recorded have different backgrounds: they are Christian as well as Muslim, male as well as female, and both old and young. For most of the speakers, Ternate Malay is their first language, although some of the older speakers may have another language as their mother tongue. During most of the recordings I was present, and attempted to intervene as little as possible in conversations. After being in the field for some months I learned the language myself and was able to converse in some variety of Ternate Malay. My familiarity with Ambon Malay and Indonesian may have been useful with respect to acquiring vocabulary, but from the publications on Ternate Malay that I studied during the preparations for fieldwork, as well as in my first contacts with Ternate Malay speakers, it was clear that all these varieties are quite different from each other, and that Ternate Malay has to be regarded as a variety in its own right. During my fieldwork in Ternate, the region of Maluku Utara was part of the province of Maluku, with Ambon as its capital. The two regions have very different historical and cultural backgrounds. Some Ternate people showed a generally reserved attitude towards officials from Ambon and being somehow associated or identified with Ambon proved to be an obstacle than an advantage in my contacts with the community. Only with people of Ambonese descent, and particularly when they would add some Ambonese words, for instance, Ambon Malay pronouns to their variety of Ternate

Malay, would I allow Ambonese Malay features to enter my variety of Ternate Malay. In other circumstances, and particularly in order to be exposed to spontaneous spoken Ternate Malay, I tried to find myself a place within the community, and that meant adopting the local variety of Malay. Since the Ternate Malay speaking community is diverse, it is common to notice particularities in individual speech. During my fieldwork, I managed to master this local variety of Malay to such a degree that I became associated with the North Moluccan region. Sometimes, people thought that I must have spent some period of time outside the region. When I had to go to Ambon for administrative matters, people there associated me with Manado, probably because Manado Malay is more familiar through Manado Malay pop songs, and resembles Ternate Malay, while Ambonese relatives were concerned to notice that my Malay had changed dramatically.

I collected various recordings, including a recording of about 45 minutes with two young men. One of them, from Bacan, tries to elicit short stories from a younger man who was born in Ternate Town, and whose father originates from Bacan while his mother is of Ternate descent. He talks about his family and his experiences when he was in Jakarta.

Another recording was made in Kalumpang, a section in Ternate Town where a number of Christian families lived. These Christian families are of mixed descent with Dutch or other European ancestry, and people from other regions of Maluku Utara, Ambon, and other places in the archipelago. At the time of the fieldwork, there was a slight majority of Christians living in this area.

At most of the recordings I was present myself and sometimes I participated in the conversations. On other occasions when more people were present, I would remain in the background. At other times I would converse while I taking the role of listener and keeping an eye on the recorder.

From the collected recordings, I chose one recording of about three hours as the main source for the examples provided in the descriptions presented here. The speaker was one of my main informants. I found in him the 'ideal' speaker of and informant for Ternate Malay. He had experienced limited exposure to other varieties of Malay and his intuition about the language was spontaneous and unrestricted. The recording consists of a series of short stories and anecdotes. The storyteller is a young man in his early twenties who lives in Salero, an area in the northern part of Ternate Town. His home language is Ternate Malay, but his family is closely related to the sultan's family and considers itself a member of the ethnic Ternate community. Some of the family members have some knowledge of the Ternate language. At the time of fieldwork, the speaker had some passive knowledge of and knew some expressions in the Ternate language. He had completed lower junior high school. He works in construction and assists in the building and the restoration of houses. The recording was made in the house where I stayed in Salero, where the speaker would visit me and talk about all kinds of topics. That evening, he started to tell some stories and my husband who was in Ternate for a short holiday decided to record the session. We tried to restrict ourselves in our reactions, and the recording forms one long monologue.

I transcribed some recordings during fieldwork and after returning from the first fieldtrip in 1994. During a second fieldtrip, I discussed unclear parts of the transcriptions with the speaker and had several elicitation sessions and discussions about various aspects of the language and the language use.

After returning from the field, some of the audio recordings were digitized to wav-formatted files. Some of these files were cut into segments of a 1-8 minutes to keep the size within (for that time) manageable limits.

Some years after joining the Jakarta Field Station of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig in 2001, I decided to enter the transcriptions into the database that was developed and maintained for the Field Station by Bradley Taylor. The recording submitted there which forms the base for the examples presented here numbers about 5,300 records. Each record consists of one utterance or sentence, written in an orthography used for Indonesian, a broad phonemic transcription as well as an interlinear gloss and a free English translation. The recording has been divided into smaller segments and numbers 57 files with a total length of about 3 hours. These sound files as well as 15 digitized files of recordings made during the fieldtrips with a total length of ± 8.5 hours and about 12 Ternate Malay speakers were also submitted to the database.

Dalan Perangin-angin and Erni Farida Ginting, both working as research assistants in the Jakarta Field Station, and interested in Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, particularly those of Papua, assisted in entering some of the recordings into the database with an orthographic transcription, an English translation and interlinear glosses. This data together with the sound files has been submitted to the database of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology with the aim of making them accessible to a larger public. As an example of the data, a few short stories have been extracted from the main recording. The sound files can be found on the CD together with an orthographic transcription in the Indonesian spelling, interlinear glosses, and an English translation. Chapter 8 contains four of these stories.