



Arts

Some issues from the field:
who makes which distinctions on the basis of
what evidence?

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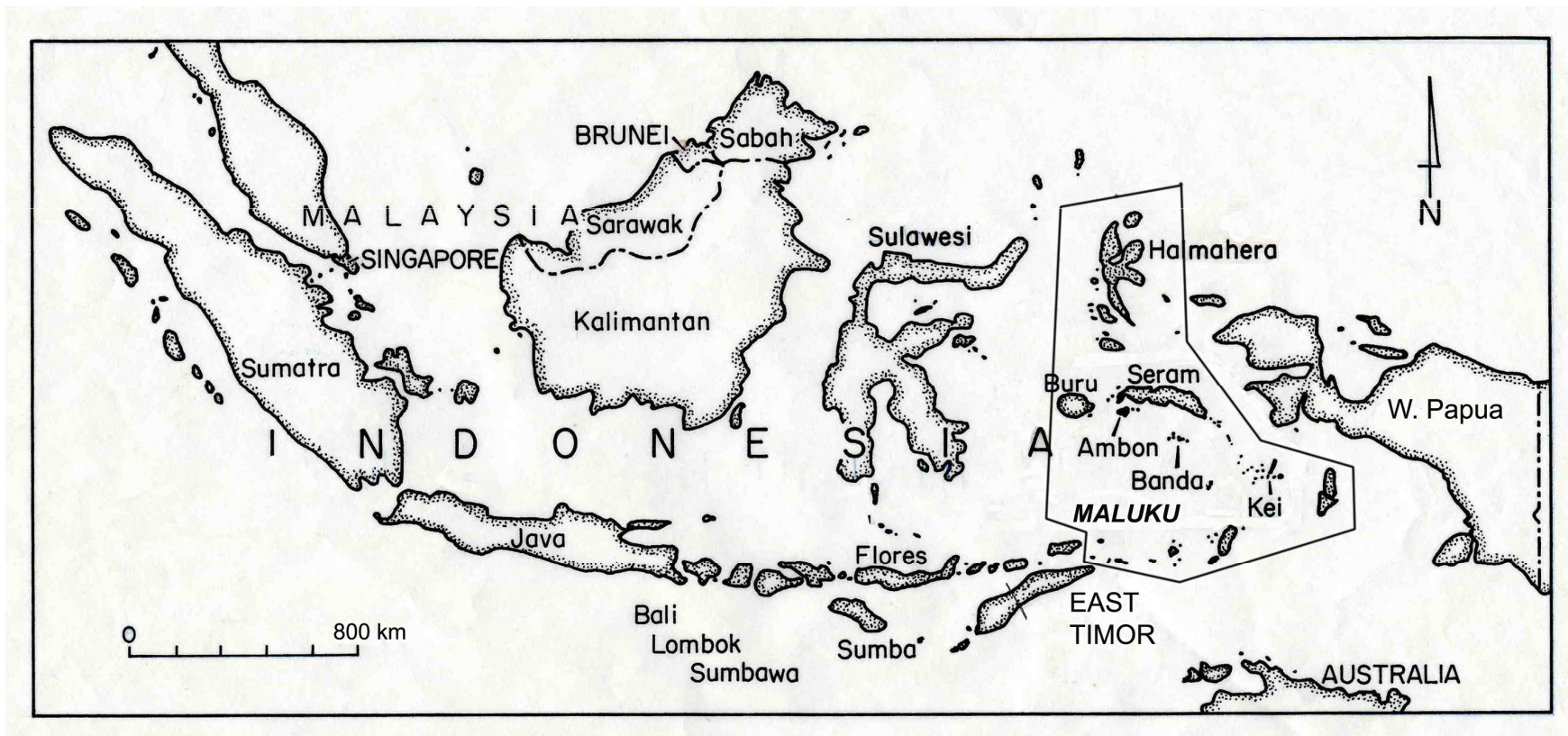
Differentiating language varieties

- What should be differentiated is an open question
 - Kamusella 2012
 - Nordhoff & Hammarström (ms)
- Assume we have some agreement about this
- Then there are questions about WHO and HOW
- WHO:
 - linguists
 - what sort of linguists?
 - speakers
 - others
- HOW:
 - using what sort of data?
 - what data is available?

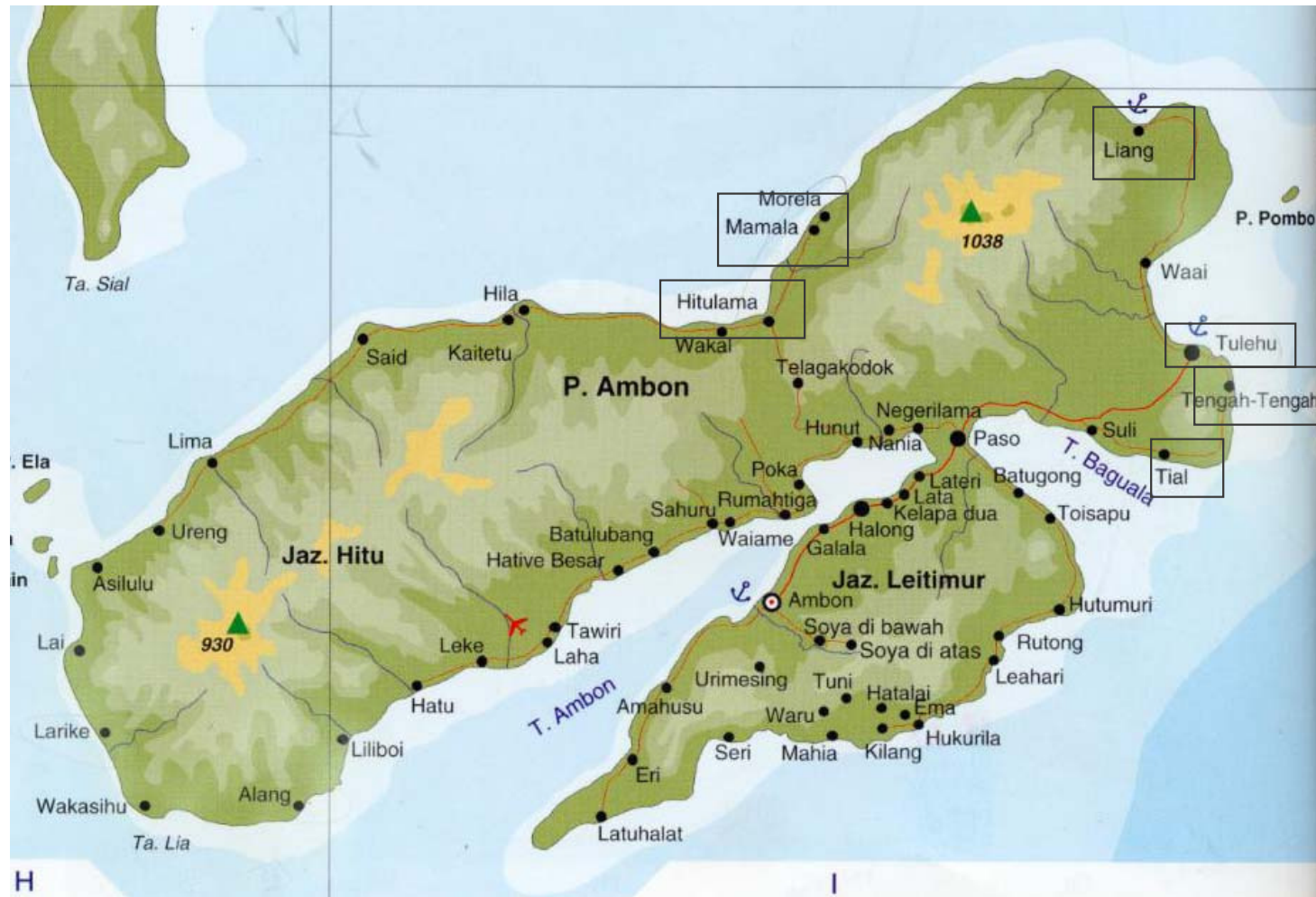
Outline

- Situation in NE Ambon
- Various views:
 - Historical
 - Descriptive
 - Sociolinguistic
 - etic
 - emic
- Implications

Maluku in Indonesia



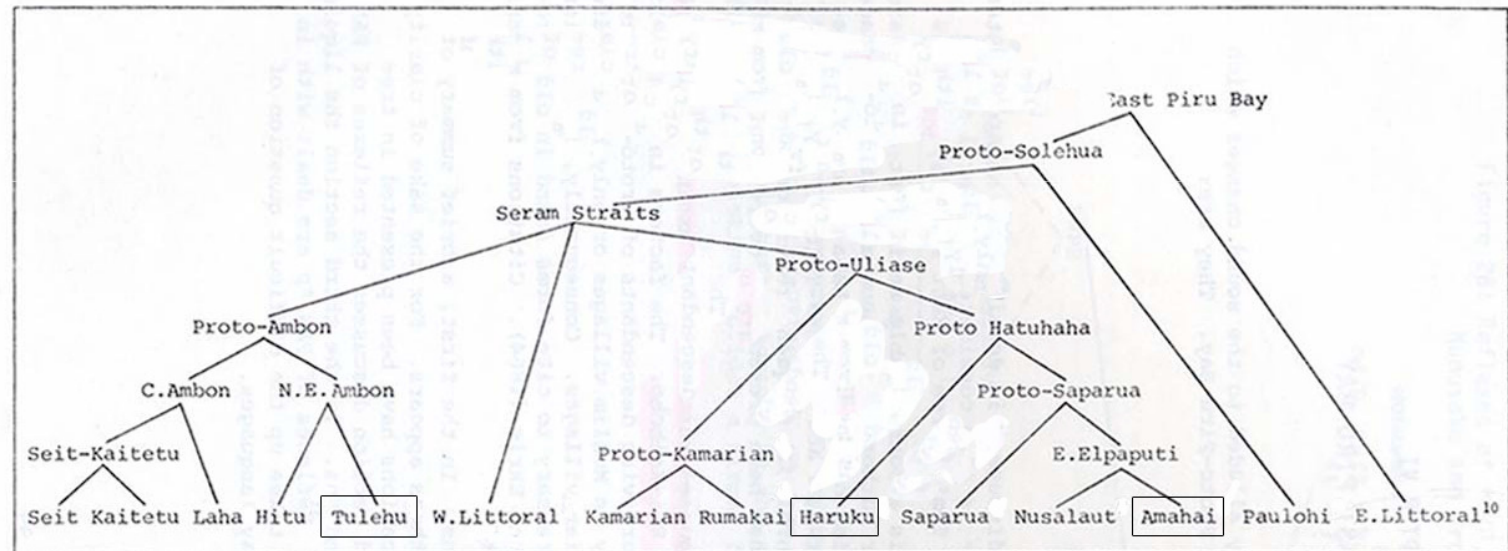
Ambon Island



Sou Amana Teru and related languages

- Related varieties are spoken in villages to the north and west along the north coast: Waai (now only a few elderly rememberers), Liang, Morela, Mamala, Hitu, Hila, Kaitetu and Seit
- Collins 1982:90
“the language spoken along the north coast [of Ambon Island – SM] from Seit to Tial and in Laha on Ambon Bay is called Hitu after its most prestigious village. There are three main dialects: Hitu-Tulehu, Seit-Kaitetu, and Laha”.
- But Collins 1983 treats Seit, Kaitetu, Hitu, Laha and Tulehu as separate, but closely-related languages.

Subgrouping from Collins 1983



Collins' methodology

- Classic comparative linguistics
- Comparison of synchronic phonological and morphological systems
 - these varieties have rather limited morphology, verb conjugation was the most important evidence of this type
- Reconstruction of the system(s) of a presumed protolanguage
- Data sources:
 - Collins own research in the area, which was primarily lexical data
 - some previous work by (mainly) Dutch scholars
- Four entities or two?

Descriptivist view

- My own work
- Based on description of current language use
- Two sorts of data:
 - word list data: c230 items, based on Swadesh 200 supplemented with locally specific items
 - standard elicitation text of 70+ clauses
- Plus general observation
- Data collected at Tulehu, Tengah-tengah, Tial, Liang, Hitu and Mamala

Descriptivist results - morphosyntax

- Identified some sound changes:
 - [l] → [r] before high vowels in Liang and 3T villages
 - palatalisation of [s] before [a] at Mamala and Hitu
 - palatalisation of [s] before [i] at Liang
- Also some morphosyntactic variation:
 - verb conjugation seen in Mamala and Hitu, but only remnant random variation
 - small difference in range of inalienably possessed kin terms in Mamala and Hitu
 - variation in –(C)V suffix on nouns (more later)
 - 3T villages same
 - Liang and Hitu have different vowels
 - Mamala has a different form of suffix

Verbs

- Central Maluku languages historically had a system of verb conjugation involving changes to the initial consonant of verb forms. In Hitu and Mamala, traces of this system can still be seen:

Hitu, Garden Story

Ite kolo wa'ale kula ite tolo ahasame
1Pl.E sit LOC-PROX with 1Pl.E sit rest

'We sat here and we rested.'

Mamala, Garden Story

*Au **kakak** mahina'a kolo wa'a luma'a*
1Sg o.sibling female sit LOC house-CV
'My big sister stayed at home.'

*Am tolo **istirihat** wa'ale.*

1Pl.I sit rest LOC-PROX
'We sat here and rested.'

(Malay loan words are **bolded** in examples)

Descriptivist results - wordlists

- Cognate percentages calculated over the word lists give the following results:

	Tulehu	Tengah	Tial	Liang	Mamala
Tengah	94.3				
Tial	92.6	92.1			
Liang	77.1	77.7	77.8		
Mamala	72.6	74.3	74.6	69.3	
Hitu	73.1	75.9	76.0	69.2	85.7

- More on these data later

Some tentative conclusions (Musgrave 2006)

- Tulehu, Tial and Tengah-tengah form a homogeneous speech community.
- The variety at Liang is a dialect of Sou Amana Teru, distinguished by a phonological change and lexical differences.
- The varieties at Hitu and Mamala are distinct from Sou Amana Teru but cluster together:
 - They retain /l/ in all environments
 - They share lexical differences
 - They share remnants of verb conjugation
- The account in Collins 1983 (Hitu and Tulehu as distinct languages) seems preferable to Collins 1982 (dialects).

A sociolinguistic view

- Various perspectives possible here:
 - etic view
 - variation
 - identity
 - emic view
 - intelligibility
 - ethnonyms

Etic view - variation

- Lexicostatistics shows variation by village
- Greatest source of variation in word lists is age of speaker
- Data collected from three speakers from Liang
 - one M 60+ (used for main lexicostatistical calculation)
 - two F 20-30
- Lowest cognate % in main table was 69%
- Same as highest cognate percentage for these three speakers
- Lowest cognate percentage is between two younger speakers

Variation by age

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	20+ ¹	20+ ²
60+	64.0	68.5
20+ ¹		57.9

- Morphosyntactic variation by age is even more striking
- Various systems of grammar are almost unused by young speakers
 - split between types of possession is vanishing
 - use of subject markers is vanishing
 - split in intransitive verbs has vanished

Etic perspective - identity

- These communities have three main language resources:
 - Bahasa Indonesia: national language, used in education, administration, media, contact outside Maluku
 - Melayu Ambon: creolised Malay variety, used for almost all every day personal interactions
BI: *Saya tidak pergi ke rumah saya*
MA: *Beta seng pi ke beta pung rumah*
'I didn't go home'
 - indigenous variety: used by older speakers (>30yo) in some private contexts, (formal ritual situations)
- No formal study, impressionistic view

Identities

- BI is used to project an identity as
 - a member of the national society
 - also indexes modernity (although English is even better for this for the few who can manage it)
- Melayu Ambon projects an identity
 - as Moluccan NOT Indonesian
 - people from these villages will use a higher number of Arabic loans/religious terms to establish Moluccan Muslim identity as opposed to Moluccan Christian, neutral as to modernity
- Indigenous varieties project an identity
 - as member of a local community
 - but not necessarily as a member of one specific community
 - indexes that value is attached to tradition

Emic views – naming varieties

- Standard term for any local variety in Maluku is *bahasa tanah* ‘language of the land’
- If greater specificity is needed, name of a village will be used:
 - bahasa Tulehu = bahasa tanah spoken at Tulehu
- Speakers have some awareness that varieties extend more widely
 - Tulehu, Tengah-tengah and Tial people use the term *bahasa tiga T* ‘language of the three Ts’
 - judgments of intelligibility are mixed
 - everyone agrees that three Ts are homogeneous
 - when asked about people from Hitu, some say they understand, some say they don’t

Finding a name

- A dictionary has been published by a native of Tengah-tengah
- He used the name *Bahasa Uli Solemata*
 - *uli* was jurisdictional division when the raja of Hitu controlled most of the Island before Dutch control
 - but Uli Solemata did not correspond to current geographical range
 - my geographical suggestion was rejected
- Following consultation, I am currently using as ethnonym *Sou Amana Teru* ‘language of the three villages’
 - acknowledges emic view of 3Ts as core
 - definitely makes northern villages separate
 - but what about Liang? (not to mention Waai....)

Emic views - shibboleths

- Variation in –(C)V suffix on nouns
 - 3T villages same
 - Liang and Hitu have different vowels
 - Mamala has a different form of suffix
- Recognised by speakers as differentiating communities/varieties
- Used by young people who have limited knowledge of indigenous variety to claim local identity
- Example from Tulehu – all lexical items are Malay, but suffix is added to noun:
Beta naik gunung-e
1sg climb mountain-V
“I climbed the mountain”

Some implications

- Who can/should be involved in making distinctions?
 - Speakers – yes, but they may not have strong views (as in this case)
 - what value should political and economic interests of speakers have? e.g. Siraya in Taiwan, minorities in EU
 - Linguists – what sort of linguists?
 - and what sort of data is available?
 - anyone else?
 - governments?
 - economic interests?

Some implications

- Time is important
 - Important morphological evidence used by Collins would not be found today
 - Lexical variation will look very different in the future
 - Relation between language and identity changes over time:
 - 2/3 generation Moluccans in the Netherlands have different relation to ancestral language compared to Ambonese people of same age