

THE LACK OF FORMATIVE IN AFFIXES IN THE MANGGARAI LANGUAGE

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1. About the Manggarai language Jonker writes¹: "About the grammatical relations it is well enough known that, as is the case in all languages of this group, the older form elements have largely been lost, among other things, all suffixes among them". It is now half a century later and, now that data are more complete, I should like to investigate if indeed at one time there were, in Manggarai, suffixes which have become lost later.

2. The formative affixes in the IN² languages

2.1. Brandstetter³ has shown that in the IN subgroup of AN languages affixation of formatives is a general phenomenon. His conclusion is: "Among the verbal formatives that we find in the various IN languages, we can show the following to be Common IN: four active formatives: ma-, mang-, ba-, -um-; three passive formatives: ka-, ta-, -in-; one transitive formative: -i-; and one causative formative: pa-" (117). "Among the substantive formatives the prefix ka-, the infix -an- and the suffix -an can be shown to be Common IN" (123). "The Common IN formative for the formation of adjectives is ma-" (124). "Ka-, which makes adverbs of time, has to be regarded as Common IN" (125). "For ordinals there is a Common IN formative, namely ka-" (125).

2.2. The formative affixes in the Bima-Sumba group

2.2.1. The Manggarai language is considered as belonging to the Bima-Sumba group by Jonker, l.c., and by Esser⁴. Therefore I now propose to review what the situation for affixes is in the other languages of this group.

2.2.2. About Bimanese Jonker has detailed data⁵. As fossilized prefixes he mentions ka-, which has, or used to have, various functions, ta-, semantically comparable to Malay ter-, and furthermore sa- and pa- (186). By comparison of the languages concerned it also appears that nasal prefixes or remnants thereof are present; and furthermore a great number of verbs begin with mb-, nd-, ngg-, mp-, nt- and nc-, while in a number of these cases we also find the basic word: ati 'roof (covering)' beside nggati 'to (cover the) roof'; mpou occurs beside pou 'to chase'.

Prefixes which are still productive are: ka-, which, among other things, forms causatives: doho 'to sit', kadoho 'to cause to sit', 'to set'; and ma-: "it forms participia activa, which in general are like our present participles: maru madoho kantée 'to sleep sitting quietly' (67). "They also fulfill the function of our adjectives, when these are used attributively: pana 'hot' and oi mapana 'hot water' (68).

2.2.3. About the Sumba language Onvlee says⁶: "The infixes and suffixes with which we are familiar from elsewhere have disappeared altogether, or almost so, from the Sumba language. [...] prefixes still used productively are a-, ma-, pa-, ka-".

2.2.4. Of another language of this group, Sawu, we possess a word list⁷. From it we may conclude that that language at one time used to have prefixes. Striking examples are mé-, pé- and ké-: nawu and ménawu 'to fall' occur beside pénawu 'to cause to fall', 'to fell'; na'o, beside mana'o, 'to steal' -- undoubtedly going back to IN *takav -- suggests use of prefix mé- + preferent nasal at some earlier stage of the lan-

guage. There is also Jonker's note in the entry "Sawoe-neesch" of the Encyclopedia: "[.....] of the prefixes it inherited, this language still uses productively the prefix pe-, which is used to form causatives and reciprocals [.....]. Suffixes have disappeared without leaving any trace."

2.2.5. Finally the Ngadha-Lio subgroup belongs also to the Bima-Sumba group; Ngadha and Lio are spoken in Western Central Flores. Arndt⁸ lists no formative affixes for Ngadha, and the dictionaries of Ngadha⁹ and Lio¹⁰ make one suspect that, as far as affixation is concerned, these languages differ very little from Manggarai. However, an example like naka 'to steal', which we find in both Ngadha and Lio and in which we find a remnant of a prefix + nasal, shows that further research is necessary.

3. Affixes in Manggarai

3.1. Phonetic joining is highly frequent. We find, that is to say, a number of enclitic and proclitic particles, e.g. de, le, ge, te, be, which, unaccented as they are, phonetically belong to the following word. In such cases we often find contraction: de nara daku 'of the brother of me' (aku 'I'), ita le tuang 'seen by Sir [=you]', ita lata 'seen by people'.

3.2. Highly frequent is also the suffixation of shortened forms of personal and possessive pronouns. As these are not -- at least in the central Manggarai dialects -- syllabic, they unite themselves very closely with the preceding word. In such personal and possessive constructions one might even be misled into thinking that we have conjugation endings here, but for them to be such endings there is not, so to say, enough unity with the verb. Beside émé ngok (ngoh, ngoy, ngom) 'if I go (you go, you [pl.] go)' we find sentences such as ngos ga 'they have gone', ngo étas ga 'they have gone upwards', ngo éta pocos ga 'they have gone up the mountain', ngo éta poco Mando-Sawus ga 'they have gone up mountain Mando-Sawu'.

Moreover, we find the same kind of suffixation in sentences with a nonverbal predicate: asék 'I am the younger brother', aséy 'he is the younger brother', méséh 'you are tall', mésém 'you [pl.] are tall', and we even find possessive constructions: mésén-o! 'now tall he is!' and méséd-o! 'how tall they are!'.

3.3. But what about the genuinely formative affixes?

3.3.1. It is safe to say that Manggarai does not have now any productive prefixes and affixes. If there were, Burger¹¹ would have found them when writing his grammar, or I would have found them in my extensive lexicographical research¹².

3.3.2. As far as productive suffixes are concerned, -ng requires our attention immediately. Burger (l.c., 195-204) has dealt with that suffix in detail. His conclusion is that it has several functions. He also points out that it is comparable in function with -an in Sundanese, with -ang in Buginese, and with -ng in Sumbanese, but he also draws our attention to the hypothesis of Jonker and Onvlee¹³ that the latter form may well have originated from possessive -n.

Now that so much more Manggarai material has become available, perhaps a new study of the above has become desirable. For the matter in hand I would now only like to claim that, in any case, what we have here is not an IN formative suffix:

a. There is no convincing reason to trace -ng back to IN -an: our form is absolutely nonsyllabic and as a consequence confined to use with words ending in a vowel.

b. The development from the possessive -n is in many cases certain, and sometimes a form ending in -n is found beside one with -ng.

c. Almost every form has its own history of origin. If one can talk about comparative sameness of functions I would prefer to speak of "analogous use" by way of an explanation.

d. After my field work in 1975 and 1976 of the Rembong language (bordering on the Manggarai area and related to Manggarai), I feel I may claim that I have found the explanation of virtually all cases of formative -ng, insofar as those cannot be traced back to possessive -n. The -ng, in Rembong, originates from ngai 'and', 'with', 'to', 'for'. Often the suffixed form is found in variation with the free form, with no difference in meaning: ziu' ngai ema' and ziu'ng ema' 'give to father'. Semantically Manggarai ngai overlaps with Rembong ngai, and the function of the -ng is, in all cases known to me, identical.

3.4. The fossilized affixes

3.4.1. We find a remainder of an IN prefix ma-/me-/um- (-um-) with a number of words whose basic form begins with a vowel or with a h-.

They are:

(a) mosé 'life', 'live', 'food'. It can without any doubt be traced back to IN *hudip, and is to be found back in the MN and PN languages with a prefix ma-, me- or mo-, like in Sa'a me-uri and Futuna ma-uli (Dempwolff s.v. *hudip), whereas in many neighboring vernaculars we find an initial m-: in some Ngadha and Lio dialects muri, in others muzi and muji respectively, in Sawunese¹⁴ muri, in Bimanese and Sanggarese mori, in the dialect of Mamboro in West Sumba moripa, in Rembong moré, in the adjacent dialect of Wangka muzit, furthermore in Sikanese morét and in Tetumese on Timor meris.

(b) musi 'after [of time]', 'behind [of place]'. It may be retraced to AN *hudi 'backside', and we find it with an m- form in IN, PN and Primitive Amboinese¹⁵. In the Ngadha and Lio languages it is found in the form of muzi and muri (s.vv. vau and vaü respectively in Arndt's dictionaries). From the specifically Manggarai sound shift from AN *-d- (and *-d-) to -s- we know that, for this word (and the one preceding it) we will not accomplish anything by looking for a later borrowing.

(c) miteng 'black'. This word, deriving from IN *i(n)tem in the entire Nusantara region is found from Sumbawa to Timor: Bima mito, Sumba dialects miting, méting, Sawu medi, Tetum kométak, Solor, mitén, Sika mitak, mitang, Ngadha and Lio mité, East Manggarai dialects méteng, miteng, mitong. For these languages, therefore, we may assume a primitive form with m- (mitem, miteng, miten).

(d) muwang 'gray', '[a kind of] moss'. For this word we have to go back to IN uban. Beside Ngadha, Lio and Kampera uwa, we also find: Ngadha muwa 'pale', Lio muwa, and Roti mofa(k) 'gray [of hair]'.
(e) meti 'dry', 'dried', 'beach', 'low water'. In some such meaning, or a related one, we find this word in the same form in the Ngadha, Lio and Sika languages; as moti in Bimanese and Sanggarese (Sangg. 'sea'), as métin in Solorese, and as méti/mèti in Roti, Tetum, Yamdena, and Primitive Amboinese (Stresemann, page 96). Now, in several Celebes languages we find forms like Tontemboan eti, Bugis etti,

Selayar atti, Bare'e Toraja oti, and Tae' Toraja a'ti, with meanings like 'to empty', 'to dry', and by their side also m- forms with intransitive meaning, such as Tae' Toraja maa'ti 'to become dry', 'to be dry'. For the languages on and around Flores we therefore have to assume that we have there an original form with a fossilized prefix m-.

(f) We could mention also mata 'dead', representing IN *mataj, as it is normally associated with IN *pataj.

3.4.2. A fossilized prefix pa-/pe- we find in pakang 'cooked pig fodder', representing IN *pakan, from *kan; we also find peka with a similar meaning. If pakang were a Manggarai formation, then we face the unexplained problem how -k- could have been retained, considering that IN k- has become h-: hang 'to eat'. It is possible that the form came in along with the introduction of pigs, as also doublet peka; but the latter from a language that must have used the form ka for 'eat'. The word pahang 'woof in weaving' (IN *pakan) I have only found in the Pongkor dialect. Here, too, I am inclined to hypothesize that there is borrowing.

3.4.3. A fossilized infix -er- or -ar- is perhaps present in the word rangang 'dung beetle'. In Ngadha and Lio this beetle is called banga, in Endé mbanga, in Solor berangan. In the Solor language, in which infixation is normal, one might be inclined to think of infixation. A similar (pre-) Manggarai *berangan(g) would, on this assumption, have lost its first syllable.

For the possibility of assuming the existence of an infix -um-, see 3.4.1.

3.4.4. If we look for fossilized suffixes, we will have to look, first of all, for -ang, as the analogue of IN -an. A form like Manggarai *hangang, from hang 'to eat', might well, from a phonetic point of view, have survived. Dissyllabic basic words would, then, perhaps have lost their first syllable after syllabic suffixation, something that has happened to a great number of loan words. Words, e.g. Manggarai oikang 'trousers pocket', 'pouch' sometimes in the form kecikang, from Makasarese koccikang, derived from kocci 'to produce'. -- I have found only one word that probably possesses an original IN *-an. It is likang 'hearth stone', 'trivet'. For the Lesser Sunda Islands we may go back to an original *likan: Bima riha, Ngada and Lio lika, Sika li'at, Solor likat, (Tetum lali'an). This form is also known in the Philippines and in Celebes: Tae' Toraja lalikan, Bare'e Toraja dali, dalika, Sangir dalikang, dakilang, Lepanto Igorot¹⁶ dalikan, Chamoro halihan. It does not surprise me that Costenoble¹⁷ mentions an original IN basic word *dalik (61). Compare, in Teeuw¹⁸, the alternative forms jalik and likan in the Belongas dialect of the Sasak language (127, 170).

3.4.5. The Manggarai language has countless pairs, or groups, of synonyms or semisynonymous words, which are, moreover, very much like one another phonetically, by reason of features like alliteration and assonance. Often they differ only in one sound, not rarely the initial one, and when, then, variability of that initial phoneme is with a nasal, one might be inclined to think of a formative prefix. Thus in the pair pagat¹⁹ 'measure [with span between thumb and little finger]' and magat 'measure [as above]', 'to foretell [with span of fingers]'. Another such pair is paca 'dowry', 'to pay a dowry' and naca 'bride', 'bridegroom', represented in Ngada and Lio as pasa and nasa, in Sika and Solor as paha and maha, the latter in Sika meaning 'slave'. Other examples are: pesot 'to withdraw respectfully' and mesot 'to withdraw', pesa 'to be extinguished [of the fire]' and mesa 'to disappear', hédok 'to wiggle one's behind' and ngédok, same gloss.

Even though more research would be necessary to make

sure, we may assume that the rate of nasal-nonnasal variation is not higher than the rate of variation of other consonants. Also, it would be hard to pinpoint any functionality of any initial consonants which elsewhere we may identify as prefixes, among other things because the phenomenon that I have called "homoeonymy" in the "Introductory Notes" of my Dictionary (6.4.) may often be observed within the same word class: makot, pakot, kapot 'moth [in clothes]'; petok, metok, getok 'correct', 'to the point'; pa'it peték, pa'it meték, pa'it keték 'very bitter'; gagél, kangél, ngangél, tangél '[mouth which is] tired of chewing'. In contrast to Bimanese, it seems to me that we shall look in vain for evidence of prefixation in Manggarai in such cases, even though superficially there is a good deal of likeness.

4. Summary and conclusions

4.1. The Manggarai language has no living IN affixes.

4.2. Concerning the demonstrable IN affixes appearing in fossilized form we may note the following: six cases of a prefix m-, a doubtful infix -er- and one case of a suffix -an are to be traced back to a pre-Manggarai period. Furthermore, beside numerous borrowings that are evidently more recent and a few older ones that show a fossilized prefix pa-/pe-, there still is the solitary form pahang, yet to be explained (3.4.2).

4.3. In my opinion, on the basis of approximately 30,000 known Manggarai basic forms plus the data discussed above, we may hypothesize that the Manggarai language itself (as distinct from what it has borrowed from elsewhere) has never known affixation. In this respect the Manggarai language forms an exception, together with the Ngadha-Lio subgroup in the IN languages more generally and among the languages of the Bima-Sumba group more particularly, also by other criteria.

4.4. I may be permitted to propose a hypothesis. The strong preference of Manggarai word structure for dissyllabicity -- whatever its cause -- has, ever since this language began to develop, exercised a dominating influence on word formation. As a consequence, borrowing of trisyllabic words has been limited and reduced to dissyllabic forms; and the preference mentioned has inhibited the development of prefixes, infixes, and suffixes.

Ruteng, August 1974

NOTES

1) Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1917-1921, I-IV, 's-Gravenhage.

2) We use the abbreviations AN, IN, MN, PN as in

Dempwolff, Otto, 1934-1938, Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes. I-III. His hypothetical reconstructions, marked by an asterisk, have here been represented in a spelling in keeping with the principles of the latest spelling reform in Indonesia. Our symbol for hanzah is h'; furthermore we distinguish /é/ from pepet /e/.

3) Branstetter, Renward. 1911. Gemeinindonesisch und Urindonesisch. Luzern. Our quotations have been taken from Blagden, C.O. 1916. An introduction to Indonesian Linguistics. London.

4) See his linguistic map, which is found s.v. "Indonesia" in: Ensiklopedi Indonesia. 1953-1955. I-III. Bandung-'s-Gravenhage.

5) Jonker, J. C. G. 1898. Bimaneesche spraakkunst. Batavia-'s-Gravenhage.

6) Onvlee, L. 1973. Cultuur als antwoord. Leiden, in the article "Enige opmerkingen over de Sumbase taal en literatuur". (1936), p. 169.

7) Wijngaarden, J.K. 1896. Sawuneesche woordenlijst. 's-Gravenhage.

8) Arndt, P. 1933. Grammatik der Ngad'a Sprache. Bandung.

9) Arndt, P. 1961. Wörterbuch der Ngadha Sprache. Posieux, Fribourg.

10) Arndt, P. 1939. Li'onesisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch. Ende.

11) Burger, Adolf. 1946. Voorlopige Manggaraise spraakkunst. In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië. 103: 15-265.

12) Verheljen, J.A.J. 1967. Kamus Manggarai I. Manggarai-Indonesia, 's-Gravenhage; 1970. Kamus Manggarai II. Indonesia-Manggarai, 's-Gravenhage.

13) Thus, after Burger, in Onvlee's dissertation (1925). In the 1936 article cited, p. 169, Onvlee says about Sumbang ng/-ngu/-ngo/-n(a), that "in these endings we recognize a rudiment of Malayo-Polynesian -an'".

14) Kern, H. 1892. Sawuneesche bijdragen. Grammatische inleiding, In: Verspreide Geschriften 6: 181-195. On p. 190 Kern says: "The infix, resp. prefix, m, um, must have existed at one time in Sawunese; a remnant of it is muri 'to live', from humurip, hmurip, but muri has wholly become a basic stem [...]"

15) Stresemann, Ernst. 1937. Die Lauterscheiningen in den ambonischen Sprachen. Berlin. (p. 96: mudi).

16) van Overbergh, Morice. 1933. A dictionary of Lepanto Igorot or Kankanay. Mödling bei Wien.

17) Costenoble, H. 1940. Die Chamoro Sprache. 's-Gravenhage.

18) Teeuw, A. 1958. Lombok. Een dialekt-geografische studie. 's-Gravenhage.

19) For these and the following Manggarai words I refer the reader to my Kamus Manggarai (see note 12, above).

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