

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF POSSESSIVE AND PASSIVE-LIKE CONSTRUCTIONS IN AMBONESE LANGUAGE<sup>1</sup>

Johnny Tjia

CNWS/Faculty of Letters, Leiden University

Ambonese language has developed some linguistic features that are uniquely different from other varieties of Malay. Two of them, the possessive and passive-like constructions, are presented in this paper. The former is considered here as being shaped by external (substratum influence) and internal factors while the latter is an internal, innovative one. Tentative diachronic explanations on the emergence of these constructions are given. It is hoped that the description is sufficient to show that Ambonese language has really undergone an internal development by itself, separately from Indonesian. This is to reject the labeling of the language as a substandard variation of Indonesian.

### 1 INTRODUCTION

Ambonese Malay (AM), as it is commonly labeled, first developed out of a pidgin-like situation (see Collins 1980, Grimes 1991, and Adelaar and Prentice 1996). Yet, its status as a pidgin or creole is still under dispute. The present paper, nevertheless, does not intend to discuss or to come up with a conclusion in regard to this subject.<sup>2</sup> But, for certain, developing in such a language contact situation, AM has been influenced by various sources. Collins (1974, 1980, and especially 1981) has addressed some substrate influence such as directionals, possessive and copula constructions. However, the matter regarding the identification of the origin of particular morphosyntactic features is not without a problem either. It is just possible to misinterpret a calque as grammaticalization, a substratum/superstratum influence as self-innovation within the language itself, and vice versa.<sup>3</sup> This paper attempts to address this issue for Ambonese Malay. I will argue here that some morphosyntactic constructions have undergone a process of grammaticalization via several stages, instead of just being viewed as a result of substratum/substratum influence, although the latter is involved in the process. This fact in part supports the idea of Adelaar and Prentice (1996:676) that Ambonese Malay is among the varieties of Malay that are on a par with 'inherited' Malay, that is, it is developing in its own way and is able to develop internally based on its native speakers' linguistic creativity.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it is an attempt to trace diachronic paths of grammaticalized constructions in Ambonese Malay. As an initial effort two grammatical features, i.e. the possessive and passive construction will be treated here. Second, it is hoped that this presentation can redirect us to seriously think of a proper sociolinguistic status of the language and not merely know it as a "substandard" form of Indonesian, as has long been circulated in folk theory, especially among Indonesians. AM has its own history and life, growing in its own way apart from Indonesian, although

---

<sup>1</sup>Drafts of this paper were written when I was still under the sponsorship of the Centre for Non-Western Studies (CNWS) for my studies at Leiden University. I would like to express my appreciation to this institution for this. I am grateful to Helen Miehle for editing and commenting the initial drafts of this paper. Much thanks go also to Don van Minde for valuable comments. I myself am responsible, however, for any errors and shortcomings.

<sup>2</sup>I thank Prof. James Collins for his valuable comments on part of an earlier draft of this paper, especially for reminding me about the delicate issue regarding the pidgin/creole status of AL.

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, Bruyn (1996) and Keesing (1991) for this issue.

they have been developing side by side for many years.<sup>4</sup> As Collins (1981:52) correctly puts it that it is through this language that beliefs are learned, customs are inherited, literature is created and business is run among its speakers. It is then valid to treat AM (and probably other similar varieties as well) as a vernacular or *bahasa daerah*, as we have been treating other languages such as Javanese, Sundanese, etc. From this point on this paper will call AM by the name Ambonese language (AL) as appears in the title of this paper, rather than Ambonese Malay (or *Melayu Ambon*). This is just a small attempt to help get rid of any stereotypical “substandard” negative connotation that has been long attached to its other name.

## 2 A BRIEF SUMMARY OF AL LINGUISTIC FEATURES

Collins (1980) and Grimes (1991) have described grammatical features of AL in relation to its Creole status and in comparison with Indonesian. A thorough detailed discussion of AL phonology and morphosyntax can be found in Minde (1997). A brief description would include the fact that its basic word order is SVO and it still retains a few prefixes of Malay. Only a few prefixes are productive, with meanings differing in many ways from, for example, the current standard Indonesian. In relatively many cases Malay affixes were borrowed intact, unanalyzed morphologically, from Malay (cf. also Minde 1997:107–108). Collins (1980) considers it as an affixal fossilization. In many cases the structure is periphrastic. Serial verbs are abundant (Tjia 1997). Lexical items are multifunctional. In short, AL is relatively isolating typologically.

## 3 PROBLEMS OF IDENTIFYING GRAMMATICALIZATION IN AL

Classic to the problem of studying grammaticalization is that there is not always sufficient historical data available. AL is no exception. There have been only a few written materials considered as AL or incipient AL that led to its current status. The old materials range from the late seventeenth century to the early twentieth century, written by Ambonese and Westerners (see for example Collins 1992 and Nivens 1994). However, all of them are very much standard (classical) Malay (SM) in nature. Even more, some of the materials, dated from the same or almost the same period of time, display different, inconsistent, linguistic characteristics of SM. The “standard Malay” of Maluku is different from that of, for example, Sumatran old Malay texts. There are several possible interpretations for this. First, there was a diagglossic situation at the time (as there still is) of using High Malay, which is the standard one, and Low Malay, which was a regional (spoken) Malay variety, in this case AL. Since AL had not been very much established in written form at the time chances for switching to SM were high. As evident in Clercq’s (1876) dictionary, the language examples used under the entries are very much similar to the current AL, but in the stories that he provided, the grammar is mixed with heavy SM features (e.g. by the use of various affixes). Secondly, the texts might be considered as showing a transition from SM to AL. However, this possibility is weak, since in Clercq (1876), which is dated in the same period as some other texts, the linguistic features found are very different. Language examples that appear in Clercq conversely look very much like current AL!

An alternative approach to grammaticalization is through a comparative diachronic-synchronic studies. For AL, I will do a comparative study of linguistics features between AL and other Malay varieties. If a particular feature is unique to AL, then, it deserves further tracing. It may be a substrate influence, as already evidenced in some features, for example, the directional system is calqued into AL from some languages indigenous to central Maluku (Collins 1980, 1981). If the feature is not a substrate influence, a diachronic development may be sought. But, what language should it be compared with? This raises a question as to what Malay serves as the source for the feature. As also posed by Nivens (1994:36), one of

---

<sup>4</sup>For a sociohistorical account on Ambonese Malay, see Collins (1980) and Grimes (1991).

the primary sources of AL is, the indirect inheritance from other Low Malays, beside SM. Different people, traders, travelers, etc., arrived in Maluku with different background knowledge of Malay. The ideal way would be to compare the feature in 1) old Malay texts written by the writers in/from western Indonesia, especially Sumatra and surrounding areas, 2) old texts of other regional Malay varieties, and 3) old Malay texts related to AL. The use of Classical Malay before the 20<sup>th</sup> century as data is more reliable than using standard Indonesian. The two varieties differ considerably in their structure. However, in the analysis below, I will include standard Indonesian as well for a comparative purpose, in which one could also see how Indonesian and AL have been developing in different directions.

In section 5, I will propose tentative explanations for two instances of grammaticalization in AL, i.e. those of the possessive construction and the passive marker. Several old Malay texts will be examined to trace the development of their use. I will argue that they are not instances of calque, but rather a self-development within the language itself.

#### 4 THE ORIGIN OF THE POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION AND PASSIVE MARKER IN AL

There are many candidates for grammaticalization in AL. To mention some of them: discourse particles, serial verbs, modality, the pronominal plural marker, the passive marker and the possessive construction. To gain some insights into possible paths of grammaticalization in AL, I will deal with the last two cases only. As for the understanding of grammaticalization, I have benefited from the discussion in Hopper and Traugott (1993), and, in addition, Traugott and Heine (1991).

For the present purpose, I have examined the following texts:

1. Several Malay texts of western Indonesia. The following were then taken as representatives: *Warisan Warkah Melayu* (early 1500), *Syair Hamzah Fansuri* (late 16<sup>th</sup> century), *Hikayat Abudullah* (1843), *Surat kepada Von de Wall (1856-1872)*, and *Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis* (1865).<sup>5</sup> The representative texts were randomly chosen, but with a consideration that it covered a period of years 1500s to 1800s. The relevant grammatical features found in these samplings are also seen in other Classical Malay texts not chosen here. (See the texts in the Proudfoot's website cited)
2. The following related-to-AL texts available to me: A letter from a teacher in Porto (1817), Clercq's (1876) dictionary, including some texts in it, Hoevell's (1876) dictionary, and the diary of J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong (1933-1934), which contains stories, riddles, etc.<sup>6</sup>

##### 4.1 Possessive construction

The possessive construction (PC) in AL is unique among Malay varieties. To begin with, consider the following examples:<sup>7</sup>

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| (1) | <i>Ayah saya</i><br>father 1s<br>'my father'                  | TYPE 1: [POSSESSED    POSSESSOR]                |
| (2) | <i>Saya punya ayah</i><br>1s    POSS    father<br>'my father' | TYPE 2: [POSSESSED    POSS.MARKER    POSSESSOR] |

<sup>5</sup>The texts were taken from the Proudfoot's internet website, under the Australian National University's situs ([www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/ahcen/proudfoot/MCP/](http://www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/ahcen/proudfoot/MCP/)). I benefited from his concordance tool.

<sup>6</sup>I thank Don van Minde for providing me with these materials.

<sup>7</sup>See also Minde (1997:161).

- (3) *Beta pung bapa* TYPE 2: [POSSESSED POSS.MARKER POSSESSOR]  
 1s POSS father  
 ‘my father’
- (4) *Beta bapa* TYPE 3: [POSSESSOR POSSESSED]  
 1s father  
 ‘my father’
- (5) *Beta seng pung apapa*  
 1s NEG have something  
 ‘I don’t have anything.’

Construction (1) is PC of SM, (and current Indonesian), whereas (2) is commonly considered as a non-standard Indonesian. Construction (3) is a type of PC in AL, which is structurally parallel to (2). The construction (4) is another type of PC in AL. Finally, in (5) the same possessive marker in AL serves as a main verb as well. PC Type 2 is commonly found in other Malay varieties elsewhere, and is considered by Adelaar and Prentice (1996:674-675) as one of the typical reduced features of low or early lingua franca Malay. PC Type 3 POSSESSOR POSSESSED as in (4) has so far been considered unique to AL, and hence constitutes the main focus of the following discussion.<sup>8</sup> Collins (1983) has given several possible explanations for its emergence. He concludes that Type 3 is a result of a syntactic change, a reanalysis that involves several factors, including influence from indigenous languages. While I have benefited from his discussion, I disagree with him in some respects:<sup>9</sup>

1. As is evident from early written records related to the use of Malay in central Maluku, two forms of PC appeared, namely Type 1 and 2. In a letter written in 1817 by an Ambonese teacher, Type 2 appeared more frequently than Type 1. In texts provided by Clercq (1876), the same thing happened as well. Indeed, it was Type 2 that was used in early (spoken) AL. We are not certain which source served as the lexifier, either SM or other local variants of Malay. The phonological shape of the possessive marker appeared in the early texts was *punya*, and not *pung* as we have now in the current AL, except one occurrence in Clercq (1876:28) under the entry *kes* ‘monkey’: *Kes pun telor per se* (monkey POSS egg for 2s) ‘een gemeen scheldwoord’.<sup>10</sup> Here it was *pun* without a velar nasal, if Hoevell’s notation is correct, then *punya* had been phonologically reduced to *pun* first and then to *pung*.<sup>11</sup> Note also that since the early period until now, this possessive marker has also been used as a main verb.

<sup>8</sup>Collins (1983:57) points out a sporadic deletion of the possessive marker *punya* in some idiolects of non-standard Malay in Malaysia, taken from Peh’s (1982) data. He quotes examples containing pronouns and a name of Chinese origin: *lu bapak* (2s father) ‘your father’, *gua bapak* (1s father) ‘my father’. However, these examples also suggest that that Pidgin-Malay may calque the Chinese system of PC; compare these Mandarin examples: *wo mama* ‘my mother’, *wo papa* ‘my father’, where the possessive marker *te* does not appear. It is interesting that the same “deletion phenomena” in Mandarin occurs in AL too.

<sup>9</sup>I have to give credits for Collins (1983) for its being the initiator of this paper, in fact.

<sup>10</sup>The spelling change is mine.

Interestingly, published in the same year, Hoevell (1876) gave this example sentence under the same entry: *kes punya telor*, which the possessive marker appearing as *punya*.

<sup>11</sup>Hoevell (1876:28), under the entry *presen*, also gave another word without the final velar nasal, that is *don* ‘they’ which is *dong* in current AL. But then he explained the word in parenthesis giving its original full form ‘*dya orang*’. This parenthesis might suggest that the reduced form *pun* was not well recognized at the time. Some time in a latter period, AL was phonologically influenced by Makassarese of South Sulawesi. The feature final velar nasal might be one such influence. However, Collins and Schmidt (1992:300), who examined a Malay text of 1599 – based on the Malay used in northern Maluku at the time –, have also noticed that the spelling of final nasals varied unexpectedly from word to word.

2. Why has Type 2 eventually been selected in AL, rather than Type 1? Collins (1983:58-9) convincingly demonstrated that there is a syntactic typological correlation between the construction Type 2 and the possessive construction of languages indigenous to central Maluku, in which the possessor precedes the possessed noun. As a sample case, he presented examples of alienable and inalienable possession of Asilulu, an Austronesian language of central Maluku. In this language, in an alienable PC, a pronominal possessive marker is prefixed to the possessed noun, whereas in the inalienable PC, the pronominal possessive marker is suffixed to the possessed.<sup>12</sup> In both PCs he noticed a deletion and phonological reduction of the possessive markers.
3. And then comes the crucial part: Collins concluded that “the deletion of the pronominal possessive markers in Asilulu is paralleled by the deletion of *punya* in AL possessive constructions” (Collins 1983:59). The Type 2 PC in AL may have been reinterpreted or modeled by its earlier speakers on the basis of the deletion phenomena in substratum language(s) yielding the Type 3 PC, i.e. the one without the possessive marker *punya*.

This interaction of typology and the circumstances of shift of language allegiance provide an excellent explanatory basis for the selection of the Type 2 PC over the Type 1 PC in AL. However, there are some considerations that need to be taken into account. Collins apparently considered that the Type 3 PC emerged at relatively the same period as the Type 2. This can be seen from the fact that, first, he did not assume any phonological intermediate stage that could occur prior to the complete deletion of the possessive marker. Second, he insisted on using the marker *punya* that was deleted without referring to the other form, i.e. *pung* (which was more plausible to occur at a later stage than the former). This apparent ‘abrupt’ or ‘direct’ deletion seems to suggest a calque rather than a grammaticalization or syntactic change.

4. Instead of viewing the emergence of Type 3 PC in AL as a “copying” of the substrate corresponding construction, I propose here that the diachronic development of the Type 2 PC into Type 3 in AL is the result of the language developing internally. The change was driven by phonological factors rather than by (direct) substrate influence. The apparent similarity between Type 3 PC and that of Asilulu may be coincidental. I totally go along with Collins in saying that the selection of the Type 2 PC over Type 1 was based on the substratum characteristics; but, the substratum influence may not directly contribute to the genesis of Type 3.

My reconstruction of Type 3 PC is as follows: Type 2 PC with the marker *punya* was first adopted, and then the marker became *pung* (or *pun* first, if Clercq’s (1876) transcription was correct). Finally, the complete deletion of *pung* occurred through an intermediate phonological reduction, which is very common in AL: it has been pronounced as *pu* or *-ng*, with the latter becomes suffixed to the possessor, as in the following examples:



- (6) *beta pu bapa*  
1 POSS father  
‘my father’
- (7) *beta-ng bapa*  
1s-POSS father

---

<sup>12</sup>See also Grimes (1991:107), who gives another comparison of AL and Buru, again, an Austronesian language indigenous to central Maluku.

Such a phonological reduction is due to rapid speech, which became regularized, and then led to a complete deletion. Synchronically, the phonological reduction of *pu* and *-ng* are still heard in PC. (The form *pu*, but not *-ng*, is still heard when serving as a main verb). One of my older informants, about 65 years old, still recalled that *pung* was reduced to *-ng* and then to zero.

The most striking synchronic evidence for the language-internal development of Type 3 PC in AL is that we can still see a prosodic trace in that construction, as is presented in the following examples:<sup>13</sup>

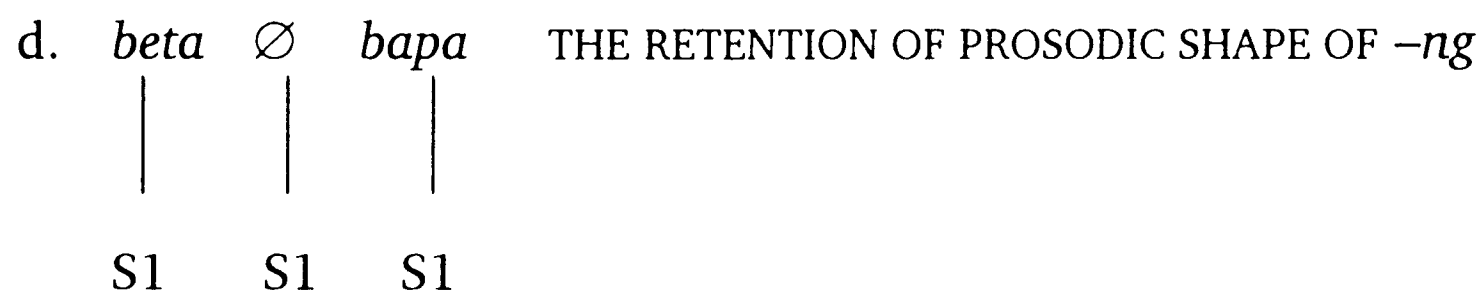
- (8) a. S1 S1  
*beta bapa versus*
- b. S1  
 S2   
 \**beta bapa*
- (9) a. S1 S1  
*ruma blakang*  
 house back 'the back (part) of the house'
- b. S1  
 S2   
 \**beta bapa*  
 'the back house (e.g. the neighbor's house)'

In the Type 3 PC, as in (8a) and (9a), the possessor and the possessed are still marked with primary stress (S1), whereas in adjectival-like phrases, as in (9b), the whole phrase is uttered under a single contour with the primary stress (represented altogether by S1) falling penultimately on the modifier, while the head noun is stressed secondarily (S2).<sup>14</sup> (8b) does not have such a prosodic shape. I want to argue here that the prosodic shape of (8a) and (9a) is a prosodic retention of *pung*, as tentatively represented as follows, (modeled after Goldsmith's (1990) autosegmental analysis):

- (10) a. *beta pung bapa* FULL FORM OF *pung*  
 | | |  
 S1 S1 S1
- b. *beta -ng bapa* PHONOLOGICAL REDUCTION TO *-ng*  
 | | |  
 S1 S1 S1
- c. *beta (ng) bapa* COMPLETE DELETION OF *-ng*  
 | | |  
 S1 S1 S1

<sup>13</sup>A spectrograph analysis may be helpful in perceiving the prosodic features.

<sup>14</sup>Such prosodic features of (8a) and (9a) may be perceived also in a clause. This implies that the earlier form of the possessive construction might have developed out of a clausal construction before the verb *punya* was reanalyzed as a possessive marker in a noun phrase. (Cf. Adelaar and Prentice 1996:674 who consider the linker *punya* in the early lingua franca Malay as an influence from Chinese. Again, we are dealing with a calque and grammaticalization.



The prosodic shape of  $\emptyset$  as in (10d), in a broader sense behaving like a ‘floating tone’ (of Goldsmith 1990:20), serves to ‘hold’ the ‘original’ prosodic shape or ‘frame’ of the whole construction.

Note also that the Type 3 PC may have developed very recently, at least after the 1900s, since 1) it does not appear in texts written before the 1900s, whereas other forms do, 2) most AL speakers do not realize that they have such a construction. When asked to translate a PC into AL, most speakers would probably come up with the Type 2. So far, all my informants that I have asked, did so. This phenomenon is very typical in phonological change. In this sense, we may view the Type 2 as the basic one. The Type 3 may have developed first with pronominal human possessors, since it commonly occurs with these, though instances with non-pronominal are also abundant nowadays. The tendency of having human possessors first in the grammaticalization is not without explanation. Givón (1979:217, 1984:89), for example, has claimed the higher position of human over non-human entities in the implicational hierarchy. Meanwhile, the use of *pung* itself has developed to mark intensity, using the structure of Type 2 with an adjective-like stem, such as *ana pung manakal* (child-pung-naughty) ‘the child is extremely naughty’.<sup>15</sup>

A putative scenario of the development of the Type 3 PC, based on the available written materials, can be given as follows:

<b>Stage 1</b> POSSESSOR <i>PUNYA</i> POSSESSED (by analogy with the substratum characteristics)	before the 1800’s
<b>Stage 2</b> POSSESSOR <i>PUN(G)</i> POSSESSED (phonological reduction of <i>PUNYA</i> )	already in a text from the 1800’s
<b>Stage 3</b> POSSESSOR <i>-NG</i> POSSESSED (phonological reduction of <i>pung</i> )	no written records; still heard today
<b>Stage 4</b> POSSESSOR POSSESSED (by reanalysis via complete phonological deletion of <i>pung</i> )	probably after the end of 1800’s; psycholinguistically most speakers would first be aware of the existence of PC Type 2 rather than Type 3.

Again, the phonological traces of (10d) are still found synchronically in AL nowadays (see also Minde 1997:161), which suggests a very recent development of the Type 3.

#### 4.2 Passive-like constructions<sup>16</sup>

AL uses *dapa* + *Verb<sub>transitive</sub>* to construct what is generally meant in a passive construction.<sup>17</sup> As an illustration, consider (11)–(13) below. (11) is an example of a passive construction in Indonesian, with prefix *di-* as the passive marker. (12) is a passive with *dapa*, while (13) is its active counterpart. The argument structure of (12) changes in relation to the active sentence in (13), that is, the object is

<sup>15</sup>Another way to look at this is to consider forms such as *manakal* as a zero-derived event/action nominalization.

<sup>16</sup>This section presents some preliminary findings from an ongoing research on the morphosyntactic issue of *dapa*.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Collins (1980:29) and Minde (1997:323-326) for further information.

preposed. It is topicalized there. The use of *dapa* in a passive sense is unique among Malay varieties. Other usage of *dapa(t)*, as described below, appear in other varieties (see e.g. Prentice 1994 for Manado Malay), but only AL has further reanalyzed it as a passive-like marker.

(11) *Saya di-pukul (oleh dia).*

1s PASS-hit by 3s  
'I was hit (by him).'

(12) *Beta dapa pukul (dari dia).*

1s PASS hit from 3s  
'I was hit (by him).'

(13) *Dia pukul beta.*

3s hit 1s  
'He hit me.'

It is very common in AL passive construction to use active verbs denoting 'violent acts and acts involving an unpleasant experiences' for the passive subject, such as *pukul* 'hit, beat', *tandang* 'kick', *tabrak* 'collide', etc. (Collins 1980, Minde 1997:324). But this is not always the case, as (14) tells a good fortune:

(14) *Be dapa pili skola di Ambong.* (Minde 1997:325)

1s PASS choose go.to school at Ambon  
'I was chosen to attend school on Ambon-island.'

The word *dapa* can occur itself as a main verb meaning 'to get', 'to obtain', 'to find' (15). It also precedes various types of verbs, e.g. those of cognition and perception, as in (16) and (17). The latter cases are limited, and there is no "typical" passive sense involved, rather the use of *dapa* denotes 'ability' and/or 'intentionality' on the part of the subject. With verbs as in (16) and other "mental state" such as *sanang* 'happy', *susa* 'sad', it also denotes an ingressive aspectual meaning, i.e. it denotes the beginning and continuity of a situation or event (see Tadjuddin 1993:65 for this term). Since a detailed synchronic morphosyntactic and semantic treatment of its use merits another separate analysis, this current brief description is assumed sufficient for the present purpose.

(15) *Beta dapa kepeng dari antua tadi.*

1s get money from 3s a.while.ago  
'A while ago I got some money from him.'

(16) *Beta baru dapa inga ose.*

1s just dapa remember 2s  
'I just (suddenly) was reminded of you.'

(17) *Dapa lia ka seng?*

Dapa see or not  
'Are you able to see or not?'

We can exclude any substratum influence on the emergence of *dapa* passive, since indigenous languages of central Maluku themselves do not have passive constructions. A plausible explanation may be sought in the lexifier, which is Malay. The word *dapa* in AL came from the Malay word *dapat*. As an initial effort, I have examined the use of the verb *dapat* with its various derivational forms in several Malay texts



of western Indonesia of the early seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, and compared its occurrences in several early AL texts or AL-related-Malay texts dated in the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century; two of which were written in central Maluku. The following table shows the use and meanings of *dapat* in the texts studied:

STANDARD MALAY 1500s-1800s	CURRENT STANDARD INDONESIAN	AL 1800s	AL 1917 AND 1933/1934
1. <i>Dapat</i> has various derivational forms.	1. <i>dapat</i> has various derivational forms.	1. In derivational form, <i>dapat</i> only appeared with the reciprocal prefix <i>baku</i> , meaning 'to meet each other'.	1. In derivational form, <i>dapat</i> only appeared with the reciprocal prefix <i>baku</i> , meaning 'to meet each other'.
2. The structures: a) <i>Dapat</i> +verbs, meaning 'can', 'be able to'. e.g. <i>dapat kabarkan</i> 'can inform'. Very productive. b) <i>Dapat</i> +nouns and pronouns, meaning 'to get'. e.g. <i>dapat kabar</i> 'to get news'. Very productive.	2. The structures: <i>dapat</i> +verbs, meaning 'can', 'be able to'. Very productive. a) <i>dapat</i> +nouns and pronouns, meaning 'to get'. Very productive.	2. The structures: a) <i>dapat</i> +nouns/pronouns, meaning 'to get'. Very productive. b) <i>dapat</i> +dynamic intransitive verbs and static (adjective-like) words of cognition, perception and other mental reactions, such <i>dengar</i> 'hear', <i>tahu</i> 'know', <i>bingung</i> 'confused', <i>heran</i> 'puzzled', etc. In this use, <i>dapat</i> refers to sudden, unvolitional, and with or without an ability sense. The subject is focused. This usage of <i>dapat</i> was very productive. c) <i>dapat</i> has lost its modal meaning 'can' or 'to be able to'. This meaning of 'ability' was replaced by the word ' <i>boleh</i> '.	2. The structures: a) <i>dapa</i> +nouns/pronouns, meaning 'to get'. Productive. b) Only the intransitive verb <i>lia</i> 'to see' appeared with <i>dapa</i> : <i>dapa lia</i> means 'to be accidentally or undeliberately able to see something'. c) Only one transitive verb, i.e. <i>tandang</i> 'kick' occurred with <i>dapa</i> , which really has a passive reading as it appears in the current AL. Thus, <i>dapa tandang</i> means 'to be kicked'.
c) <i>dapat</i> + (mental) adjective-like roots, literally meaning 'to get (experience) the situation stated in the root (Ingressive aspect).' e.g. <i>dapat malu</i> (lit. get shamed) 'be(come) ashamed'; <i>dapat sakit</i> 'get sick'.	b) <i>dapat</i> +adjective-like roots: might be considered as non-standard (e.g. <i>Saya dapat malu karena hal itu</i> (?)).		

Mostly with  
“adversity” or mental  
adjective-like roots.  
Very productive.

3. The spelling of *dapa*  
(without the final stop)  
was found once in  
Hoevell (1876:2).

3. *Dapa* no longer meant  
'can' or 'to be able' as  
in the current standard  
Indonesian. The modal  
*boleh* had replaced the  
meaning.

There are some important paths that can be traced from the table presented regarding the development of *dapa* in AL:

1. The 'ability' meaning, as existing in old standard (classical) Malay, has been lost in the current AL. It was very apparent in the texts of 1800s that this meaning had been taken over by the modal *boleh* (and later by *bisa*). However, in the current AL, some verbs, mostly those of perception and cognition, when combined with *dapa*, still exhibit this ability meaning, but the event occurs by accident, beyond the control of the subject (see example (17) above). I consider this 'unvolitional ability' as a remnant of the original meaning.
2. In old texts of SM, the construction *dapat* followed by a 'mental' expression adjective-like root like *susah* 'sad', *malu* 'ashamed', *sakit* 'sick', *sehat* 'healthy', *senang* 'happy', etc. was used in a situation where the subject was in focus and beyond its control in experiencing the condition mentioned in the root. It carries an ingressive aspectual meaning. To quote an example:
 

(18) *Dan ini kepada siapa lagi kita hendak minta tolong, musuh sudah berkeliling pinggang.*  
'And of whom will we ask for help, the enemy has surrounded us  
*Akhirnya kita ini dapat malu tiada boleh tiada.*  
Finally, we have become ashamed, it must be.'  
(*Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis*, p. 234, verse 14).

In the texts related to AL of 1800s, such a construction with a 'mental condition' was productively utilized. The use was triggered in part due to the vast occurrence of active voice in the texts, which were almost a hundred percent. In this case, it could be possible to see a substratum influence of indigenous languages which do not have a passive voice. Another influence is the massive use of the 'tail-head linkage' in the stories. So, it looks like the discourse information packaging here plays an important role.<sup>18</sup> Such a use of *dapa* with those kinds of adjective-like roots, then, was extended to (i.e. by analogy) active transitive verbs. It might first happen to the 'typical adversary' active transitive verbs, such as *tandang* 'kick', *bunu* 'kill', *potong* 'cut', *pukol* 'beat', etc. Nowadays other types of verbs, with a positive sense, can enter into that construction, such as *pili* 'select, choose', *angka* 'appoint', but are still restricted to some cases.

Another way of looking at the emergence of *dapa*-passive is as follows: the basic meaning of *dapa* as a main verb is 'to get' which is an active transitive, that is, any argument that follows it should be (considered) an NP (noun phrase). Thus, e.g. *susa* 'sad' in *dapa susa* 'starting to and still experiencing a sadness', should be a noun. In AL it is, as in:

<sup>18</sup>The similar motivation for grammaticalization, that is from the discourse point of view, has been argued elsewhere, e.g. by Givón (1979).

- (19) *Dong seng mester deng katong pung susa lae.*  
3p NEG care with 1p POSS sad DISC  
'They don't care with at all with our sadness.'

The use of *susa* in the possessive NP proves it to be a noun, to be precise, a zero-derived nominalization. The same derivational process holds for active verbal roots, which yields in a zero-derived *action nominalization*, e.g. *tandang* 'to kick' becomes *tandang* 'a kicking', as in (20):

- (20) *De pung tandang paleng karas.*  
3s POSS kick very hard  
'His kicking is very strong.'

Such an action nominalization, when used with *dapa* can express a passive reading. However, this interpretation still suggests a self-innovation within AL, which is a good sign of divergence from standard Indonesian.

In summary, as in the case of the possessive construction, the passive construction in AL exhibits a language-internal development, starting out from the lexifier with some basic conditioning from the indigenous languages.

## 5 CLOSING REMARKS

It is hoped that this paper has sufficiently given some insights about some possible paths of grammaticalization in AL, and therefore is able to present another piece of evidence that AL has been developing with a life of its own side by side with Indonesian. It has to be admitted that AL has recently been greatly much influenced by Indonesian. However, it is still premature to conclude that AL is now in the stage of 'post-creole continuum' (cf. Grimes 1991), in the sense that it is converging with Indonesian, for the following reasons: 1) Indonesian is not the lexifier of AL; 2) It is just a coincidence that AL coexists with Indonesian in a diaglossic situation, in which AL is greatly influenced by Indonesian as the socially prestigious language. It looks like the case of AL mirrors that that occurs in the West Tarangan of Southeast Maluku, where the language is under severe influence from AL (Nivens 1997). The difference may be that between AL and Indonesian, the grammatical and phonological similarities make it harder to see the contrast between the two languages, whereas between West Tarangan and AL the grammatical and phonological contrast is relatively clear; yet it is not completely correct to say that West Tarangan is converging with AL. At the very last stage, what would probably happen would be a gradual shift from one language to the other, and not a convergence; 3) Although some claims have been made about the ongoing convergence of AL with Indonesian, thus far no linguistic evidence have provided.

### Abbreviation:

- 1s = first person singular  
1p = first person plural  
2s = second person singular  
3p = third person plural  
DISC = discourse particle  
NEG = negation  
PASS = passive marker  
POSS = possessive marker

## REFERENCES

- Adelaar, K. Alexander and D.J. Prentice. 1996. Malay: its history, role and spread. Wurm, Stephen A, Peter Muhlhausler and Darrell T. Tryon (eds.), *Atlas of languages of intercultural communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas*, Vol. II.1. (Trends in Linguistics Documentation 13). Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bruyn, A., 1996. On identifying instances of grammaticalization in Creole languages. Baker, P. and A. Sycia, (eds.), 1996. *Changing meanings, changing functions: Papers relating to grammaticalization in contact languages*. Westminster: University of Westminster Press, 29–46.
- Clercq, F.S.A. de, 1876. *Het Maleisch der Molukken*. Batavia: W. Bruining.
- Collins, J., 1974. Catatan ringkas tentang bahasa Ambon. *Dewan Bahasa* 18:151–162.
- Collins, J., 1980. *Ambonese Malay and creolization theory*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Collins, J., 1981. Pertembungan linguistik di Indonesia Timur: Bahasa Melayu dan bahasa Asilulu di Pulau Ambon. *Dewan Bahasa* 25.7:30–55.
- Collins, J., 1983. Syntactic change in Ambonese Malay: The possessive construction. *NUSA* 17. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA.
- Collins, J., 1992. Research report: Studying seventeenth-century Malay. *Cakalele* 3.99–122.
- Collins, J. and H. Schmidt. 1992. Bahasa Melayu di Pulau Ternate: Maklumat tahun 1599. *Dewan Bahasa*, April.
- Dutton, Tom and Darrell Tryon (eds.). 1994. *Language contact and change in the Austronesian world*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Givón, T. 1979. *On understanding grammar*. New York: Academic Press.
- Givón, T. 1984. *Syntax: A functional-typological introduction*. Vol. I. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Goldsmith, J.A. 1990. *Autosegmental and metrical phonology*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Grimes, B.D., 1991. The development and use of Ambonese Malay. In *Papers in Austronesian linguistics No. 1*, ed. by Hein Steinhauer. *Pacific Linguistics* A–81.
- Grimes, B.D., 1994. Cloves and nutmeg, traders and wars: Language contact in the Spice Islands. In Dutton and Tryon (eds.), 251–274.
- Grimes, B.F., 1995. *Ethnologue*. Dallas: SIL.
- Hoeyell, G.W.W.C. van, 1876. *Vocabularium van vreemde woorden, voorkomende in het Ambonsch-Maleisch*. Dordrech: Blusse En van Braam.
- Hopper, P.J. and E.C. Traugott, 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keesing, R.M. 1991. Substrate, calquing and grammaticalization in Melanesian Pidgin. In Traugott and Heine (eds.), Vol. 1, 315–38.
- Minde, D. van, 1997. *Malayu Ambong: Phonology, morphology, and syntax*. Leiden University PhD. dissertation.
- Nivens, Richard, 1994. Written Ambonese Malay, 1895–1992. *Cakalele* 5.33–75.
- Peh, See King, 1982. Bahasa Melayu Pijin di Kampung Bahru Sitiawan: Satu kajian sosiolinguistik. B.A. Essay: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- Prentice, Jack. 1994. Manado Malay: Product and agent of language change. In Dutton and Tryon (eds.), 411–441.
- Tadjuddin, Moh. 1993. *Pengungkapan makna aktualitas bahasa Rusia dalam bahasa Indonesia: Suatu telaah tentang aspek dan aksionalitas*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa.
- Tjia, J. 1997. *Verb serialization in Ambonese Malay*. University of Oregon M.A. thesis.
- Traugott, E.C. and Heine, B., 1991. *Approaches to grammaticalization*. 2 vols. Amsterdam.