

SRI LANKAN MALAY: A UNIQUE CREOLE

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There are 46,000 Malays in Sri Lanka whose ability to speak Sri Lankan Malay Creole, a Malay-based contact language, is a key element of Malay identity. The degree of competence in Sri Lankan Malay Creole varies within the community. Some Sri Lankan Malays no longer speak the creole. Hussein (2001: 178) states that the local Malay speech is gradually dying out and is being superseded by Sinhala. He attributes this phenomenon to the increasingly common intermarriage and cordial relations between the Sinhalese and the Malays and also the availability of government-subsidized education in Sinhala. This paper explores the linguistic outcome of contact between the Malays and the Sinhalese. It examines if linguistic features in Sri Lankan Malay Creole are akin to those of Sinhala (an Indic language), the mother-tongue of 74% of Sri Lankans today, and the language of interethnic communication in Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon). According to Sinhalese tradition, the history of the Sinhala language dates way back to 544 BC. Old Sinhala inscriptions testify that the language had undergone significant changes that distinguished Sinhala from any other Indic language of North India by the early 2nd or late 3rd centuries BC (Gair 1998: 3).

1 INTRODUCTION

The Malays have always been intrepid sailors. They travelled westwards as far as Madagascar. A mariner sailing westwards from a port in the Malay Peninsula or the western coast of Western Sumatra would disembark on the eastern and southern coasts of Sri Lanka due to the direction that the winds blew (paranavitana, 1959). The earliest evidence of contact between Sri Lankans and Malays lies in Sinhala literary works. Sinhala literary works from the Polonnaruwa Period (1098-1234) and the Dambadeniya Period (1220-1293) testify to contact between the Malays and the Sinhalese. The history of Sri Lanka is divided into periods and is named after the cities (e.g. Polonnaruwa, Dambadeniya) from which the Sinhalese Kings ruled.

Historical evidence also confirms that there has been a Malay presence in Sri Lanka during the 13th century. In 1247 Chandrabhanu, the Buddhist Malay King in the Malay Peninsula attempted to invade Sri Lanka. Sinhala literary works record that Chandrabhanu's mission was supported by Malay (*Javaka* or *Malala*) soldiers. He was determined to possess the Buddha's tooth relic, which was sacrosanct to the Sinhalese, and which was in the possession of the Sinhalese monarch. In the 13th century, however, the Malay presence in Sri Lanka was not significant and they are not mentioned as a distinct ethnic group. There must have been intermarriages between these Buddhist Malays and the predominantly Buddhist indigenous population of Sri Lanka; their phenotype must have blended into multiethnic Sri Lanka. The present Malay communities in Sri Lanka are not, therefore, their descendants.

Today the Sri Lankan Malays form 0.31 % of the population (Statistical Pocket Book of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, 1998). Their ancestors came to Sri Lanka during the Dutch Era (1656-1796) and the British Era (1796-1948). The Dutch referred to the Sri Lankan Malays as 'Javanese' as they were recruited in Batavia (the Dutch appellation for Jakarta). The British referred to the Sri Lankan Malays as 'Malays' as they spoke Batavian Malay known today as Betawi or Jakarta Malay. The British are also responsible for the Malay diaspora in Sri Lanka as they transported people from the Malay Peninsula (Penang, Malacca, Singapore, Pahang, Trengganu, Kelantan), Java, Madura and North Borneo to Sri Lanka. The Indonesian soldiers in Sri Lanka were recruited from Jakarta in Java and therefore had a common 'geographical identity'. Ethnic groups from various parts of the Indonesian Archipelago lived in distinct parts of Jakarta. They spoke a common *lingua franca*, either Batavian Malay (*Omong Jakarta*) (a creole) or Low Malay/Trade Malay/Bazaar Malay (a pidgin). The Sinhalese have given the appellation

Jaminissu ('people from Java') to the Sri Lankan Malays whose ancestors originated from modern-day Indonesia and Malaysia. The people who came from Malaysia and Indonesia in the 17th century onwards were predominantly Muslims. The Malays, therefore, were able to establish a group identity in Sri Lanka due to their common language (the Malay-based creole that evolved in Sri Lanka in order to overcome the communication problems that arose between the Malays who spoke different Malay languages) and religion.

Some of the earliest Malay political exiles came to Sri Lanka from the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda Islands. From 1708 onwards Javanese princes were exiled to Sri Lanka. According to Dutch documents, these Indonesian aristocrats were mainly from Java, but others came from Bacan, Sumatra, Makassar, Tidore and Timor. The Dutch also exiled the King of Java, Susana Mangkurat Mas, to Sri Lanka, with his retinue. In 1723, he was followed by 44 Javanese princes and noblemen who surrendered at the battle of Batavia and were exiled to Sri Lanka. On the other end of the social spectrum, there was a steady inflow of Indonesian convicts who came from all ranks of life. However, no specific information is known on their ethnic background. The Dutch also brought Javanese men to be employed in several positions in Sri Lanka. The largest group of Indonesians, however, were the soldiers who served in the Dutch garrison in Sri Lanka. They came from Ambon, Banda, Bali, Java, Madura, Buginese and Malay areas. Most Malay slaves sent to Sri Lanka originated from the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda Islands. Christoph Schweitzer in his "Account of Ceylon (1676-1682)" reported that "Here is also a Company of Amboineses continually kept in the Dutch Service. Their Lieutenant was called Alons and was of Royal Blood. They live in the Town altogether and with their Huts they make a very pretty Street". These troops were called *Oostersche Militie* ('Eastern soldiery') by the Dutch. During the battle between the Dutch and the British for control of Colombo in 1795, the British troops faced resistance only from the fifteen companies of Malays in the Dutch services. This episode cost many Malay casualties. The British, who displaced the Dutch from Sri Lanka continued to import Malay families and formed a regiment. In 1801, the Ceylon Malay Regiment received King's Colours, becoming the first Asians to receive this honour from the British monarch. During the Dutch period and in the early British period, the Malays formed most of the Sri Lankan army. The Malays were enlisted in the Ceylon Rifle regiments. The last regiment was disbanded in 1873 and the Malay soldiers joined the Police force. Malays were, therefore, employed in the Sri Lankan military, police, fire brigade, prisons, plantation sector and in salterns.

Percival (1803:118), an Englishman wrote: "Their contempt for their former masters (after the capitulation of Colombo) and their admiration of the valour of our troops has served to render the Malays our most sincere friends, and they are now formed into a steady and well-disciplined regiment in the British service".

In 1800, the First British Governor, Frederick North wrote: "Lord Clive has allowed me to send an officer to the Eastward to crimp Malays and bring their families also to Ceylon. I expect to bring 800 men" (Ceylon Literary Register, p.295).

The British made several attempts to gain control of the Kandyan kingdom which remained under Sinhalese rule throughout the Portuguese and Dutch eras. The heroism of Captain Nouradeen and the Malays who fought in the war against the Kandyan kingdom in 1803 where the British were defeated remains a memorable episode in the history of the Malays.

The Sri Lankan Malays have blended into multiethnic Sri Lanka but have retained their 'Malay' ethnic consciousness. Language and religion are the most important elements in the culture set. In Sri Lanka there are two distinct ethnic groups whose religious faith is Islam: the Sri Lankan Malays and the Sri Lankan Moors (people of Arab descent). Not surprisingly, there have been intermarriages between the two communities. However, Sri Lankan Malay Creole unites, binds and defines the Sri Lankan Malay community. As language is the key element in cultural analysis, it is vital to analyse the language of the Sri Lankan Malay community.

2 SRI LANKAN MALAY CREOLE

Sri Lankan Malay Creole is a contact language. A creole, unlike a pidgin, is the mother-tongue of a speech community. Sri Lankan Malay Creole evolved in order to bridge the communication gap between the incoming Malays (who spoke several Malay languages) and the Sri Lankans. Most of the vocabulary of Sri Lankan Malay Creole is from the base language, Malay. This is typical of contact languages. Deviations from Standard Malay are attested, however, in the grammar of Sri Lankan Malay Creole. In creole languages, the lexicon is derived from one language, but it cannot be claimed that the grammar is derived from any one language.

Although the Portuguese Era (1505-1658) does not seem to have played a significant part in the Malay diaspora in Sri Lanka, evidence from literary sources suggest that the Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole mother-tongue speakers --the *Burghers* (descendants of the Portuguese and the Dutch) and the *Kaffirs* (descendants of the Africans brought to Sri Lanka by the three successive colonial powers: the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British) --had contact with people who spoke 'Malayan Dutch' (Nevill, 1904). For linguistic details of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole (also known as the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon) see De Silva Jayasuriya (2001a). Verse 101 of Song 5 entitled '*Chekothz*' ('Whip') in Group II (*Cantiga De Purtiegese -Kaffrein -Neger SongPortigiese*' 'Songs of the Portuguese -*Kaffrinha* -Portuguese Negro Songs') from the 19th century Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole (SLPC) manuscript in the Hugh Nevill Collection in the British Library, London (given below) illustrates. These verses represent the source from which modern Sri Lanka *baila* songs emerged. *Baila* is the form of music that evolved in Sri Lanka due to the Portuguese presence on the Island (De Silva Jayasuriya, 2001b). They are sung by all the ethnic groups on the Island including the Malays. For a translation and analysis of the entire Nevill manuscript, see de Silva Jayasuriya (1995, 1996, 1997, 2001c).

<i>Sie kere canta</i> [SLPC]	If you want to sing	[my translation]
<i>Canta dratoe purtiges</i>	Sing correct Portuguese	
<i>Numeste canta</i>	No need to sing	
<i>Mallaiva landes</i>	Malavan Dutch	

The singers are referring to Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole as 'Correct Portuguese'. It is apparent that the Portuguese Creole singers knew another language which is referred to as 'Malayan Dutch'. There are no known Dutch Pidgin or Creole languages but there are three mixed languages which have Dutch lexicon and Malay or Javanese morphosyntax: *Petjo* (*pecok*) (Jakarta Malay and Dutch), *Javindo* (Javanese and Dutch) and *Steurtjestaal* (Malay and Dutch) in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). 'Malayan Dutch' presumably is a Pidgin, Creole or Mixed Language. Unlike Pidgins and Creoles which are contact languages, mixed languages are in-group languages. They do not bridge a communication gap between distinct groups of people. Mixed languages are intertwined languages where the morpho syntax and the lexicon are from two distinct languages (Bakker, 1996). The speakers of these mixed languages identify themselves as 'Indo-Europeaenen' (from Indonesian and European) not as Dutch or Indonesian.

The etymon of *sayan* in Verses 256 and 390 of Group III (Valentine and Oersan) in the Hugh Nevill manuscript could be either Malay *sa yang* ('pitying') (Wilkinson, 1957:1029), Indonesian *sajang* (now spelt *sa yang*) ('pity') (Echols & Shadily, 1961:274) or Javanese *sajang* (now spelt *sayang*) ('pity') (Home, 1974:517) (see below).

<i>Falsole Cabeljeroe</i>	[SLPC]	The false Cavalier	[my translation]
<i>Sintiegrandie sayam</i>		Feeling great pity	
<i>Sientie grandie sayam</i>	[SLPC]	Feeling great pity	[my translation]
<i>Kie elle teen been longie</i>		That she is very far	

Verse 19 of Song 2, line 4 in the Hugo Schuchardt manuscript of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole (given below) makes reference to the 'language of Patani'. Patani Malay is spoken in Patani which was a Malay sultanate (now it is part of Thailand). The people in Patani speak peculiar dialects that differ in many detail from the other Peninsular Malays (Wilkinson 1957:853). In the context of the verse given below, Patani could refer to an unintelligible language, but the geographical reference to Patani indicates a familiarity with Malaysia. For a translation of the Hugo Schuchardt manuscript see de Silva Jayasuriya (1999a).

<i>Quando daje sope, te papia</i>		When you give him liquor, he speaks	
<i>Lingoa de Patani</i>	[SLPC]	The language of <i>Patani</i>	[my translation]

During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Portuguese network of *leitorias* ('factories') and *lortalezas* ('fortresses') in the *Estado da India* ('State of India') connected Malacca, Sri Lanka and the coastal cities in India such as Cochin on the Malabar Coast. This gave rise to the development of Asian Portuguese Creoles which bridged the communication gap in these contact situations. Reduplication of nouns to indicate plurality which exists in 19th and 20th century varieties of Indo-Portuguese (Portuguese-based creoles spoken in coastal India and Sri Lanka) suggests a Malay influence as Noun Reduplication is a feature attested in Malay languages and not attested in the substratum languages of the Indo-Portuguese varieties (de Silva Jayasuriya, 1999b, 2001d). Moreover, a Malay-based contact language, could have served as the *lingua franca* in the region before the Portuguese began to trade in the Indian Ocean. It is interesting to note that plurality in Sri Lankan Malay Creole (SLMC) is, however, not indicated by reduplication but by a plural marker *pada'*. Adelaar (1991:32) states that Sri Lankan Malay Creole has borrowed this feature from Javanese where *pada'* precedes the predicate and indicates plurality of the subject. Javanese, however, has borrowed this feature from Indonesian. Sinhala indicates plurality through inflection or by a plural marker *val*.

SLMC	SM	SIN	Gloss
<i>Orang-pada</i> person PL	<i>Orang-Orang</i> person person	<i>Manussay-o</i> person	'people' PL
<i>Negeri-pada</i> country PL	<i>Negeri-Negeri</i> settlement/city-state	<i>rata-</i> country	<i>val</i> 'countries' PL

Contact between the Sinhalese and the Sri Lankan Malays is mirrored in the Malay/Javanese borrowings in Sinhala [See Table 1]. Sannasgala (1976) drew attention to the Malay/Javanese borrowings in Sinhala but a comprehensive study remains to be undertaken.

The examples illustrate that kinship terms, words relating to transport, food, flora, clothes, anatomy were borrowed. Borrowing is a linguistic phenomenon which is facilitated by bilingual speakers, Sinhala and Sri Lankan Malay Creole bilingual speakers, in this context. Malay/Javanese words in the speech of Sinhala monolingual speakers are Malay/Javanese borrowings.

In Malaysia, the national language is Bahasa Melayu. The term Bahasa Malaysia has been discontinued in Malaysia. Spoken Malay, in both Malaysia and Indonesia is called Malay (Bahasa Melayu). However, in Indonesia the national language is called *Bahasa Indonesia* or Indonesian. Indonesian is the national language of Indonesia. Many Indonesians are bilingual in Indonesian and in the regional native language. Therefore, Javanese speakers also speak Indonesian. Javanese and Malay have probably been influencing each other for many centuries, perhaps even for millenia (Poedjosoedarno, 1970). The nearest relatives of Javanese are the languages of western and central Indonesia spoken on the islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and some of the other Lesser Sunda Islands (Robson 1997).

Examples of the Standard Malay, Indonesian, Javanese and Sri Lankan Malay Creole equivalents are Malay or Javanese borrowings in Sinhala (see Table 1). Jakarta consisted of diverse linguistic groups as people were brought there by the Dutch East India company. Many of them were Javanese speakers and

Javanese influenced *OmongJakarta*. Approximately 10% of the vocabulary of Jakarta Malay is of Javanese origin. About another 30% is shared by Javanese and one or more of the following languages: Sundanese, Balinese, Madurese and Sasak.

The beginnings of Malay/Javanese linguistic influence on Sinhala can be traced back to the 11th century when classical Sinhala literary works contain Sinhala words of Malay/Javanese origin. The *Karyasekhara* composed by a Buddhist monk, Sri Rahula, in the 15th century, illustrates the commodities brought to Sri Lanka from Malaya, Java and other South East Asian countries. It testifies that Malaya and Java were renowned in the 15th century for spices, perfumes and other commodities in which the Arabs had traded from earlier times.

Contact between Malaysia, Indonesia and Sri Lanka dates back at least to the 8th century when the Sailendra dynasty which originated from Java, ruled over Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo. Little is known about the dynasty but the Buddhist monuments such as Borobudur were constructed during their rule. The Sailendra royalty were Mahayana Buddhists whose religious texts were written in Sanskrit. As a result Sanskrit influenced the Malay/Javanese languages. There were also genealogical connections between the Sailendra dynasty and the Sinhalese royalty who ruled Sri Lanka.

Today, the Sri Lankan Malay communities live in several geographic locations: Colombo (Western Province), Hambantota (Southern Province), Kandy (Central Province) and Gampaha (Western Province). The etymon of Hambantota, where the largest Malay community in Sri Lanka lives today, signals its significant Malay presence. *Sampan* «Malay 'boats' <*sam-pan* Chinese) are the boats in which the Malays arrived at the *tota* «Sinhala 'port'). In Sri Lanka, *hambankaraya* ('boat-doer') and *hambaya* ('possessor of boat') are appellations for a Muslim. Although the Sinhalese do not usually learn the minority languages, some Sinhalese in Hambantota are able to speak the *Ja Basava* ('Language of the Malay People' i.e. Sri Lankan Malay Creole). Constant contact between the Sinhalese and Malay communities have no doubt resulted in this atypical sociolinguistic phenomenon. In the Southern Province, near Hambantota, place names such as *Malala-levaya* ('Malay Saltern'), *Malala Oya* ('Malay Stream'), *Uda Malala* ('Upper Malay') and *Pal/e Malala* ('Lower Malay') signal the contact between the Malays and the Sinhalese. Place names in and around Colombo such as Malay Street, Java Lane, Jawatte ('Java garden') Road and Jaela ('Java stream') signal the Malay presence on the Island. The Malay presence is also felt through the Sri Lankan cuisine with dishes such as Malay Pickle, Malay Chicken Curry, Satay Curries and *Sirikaya* (a dessert better known as Wattalappan in Sri Lanka).

3 STRUCTURE

Word Order

In Standard Malay, the word order is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO); Noun-Adjective (NA), Genitive-Noun (GN) and prepositions prevail. Sinhala, on the other hand, is a verb final language (SOV) where Adjective-Noun (AN), Noun-Genitive (NG) and postpositions prevail. I have added in the Sinhala, Sri Lankan Moor Tamil and Standard Malay counterparts of the Sri Lankan Malay Creole examples given below in order to compare the three languages. I have included naturalistic data which I was able to collect from a Sri Lankan Malay Creole speaker who now lives in the United Kingdom. My informant is multilingual and speaks English, Sinhala and Tamil. Sri Lankan Malays are not monolingual. Their competence in English, Sinhala and Tamil varies depending on their exposure to these languages. Sinhala is the mother-tongue of the majority of Sri Lankans and is the language that is needed for employment purposes. English, on the other hand, is the international language which is spoken by an 'anglicised' minority. Many Malays are also conversant with the Sri Lankan Moor dialect of Tamil ('Sona Tamil') due to close association with the Muslim co-religionists (Hussein, 2001:178).

In Sri Lankan Malay Creole, tense, mood and aspects are expressed by pre-verbal free morphemes. Bichsel-Stettler (1989) states that *ara/ada* (progressive Marker), *as* (Imperfective), *anti/nanti* (Future), *so*

(Perfective), *ne* (past), *tar* (Negative) and *ma* (Volitive) appear to be TMA particles but that they needed further testing. The examples of my Informant's speech given in this paper illustrates *as*, *tar* and *anti*. A full study of the TMA system of the creole awaits further research and is beyond the scope of this paper. My Informant used three postpositions, *ne*, *nan* and *yan*, which act as linkers and link syntactic constituents. He also used *apa*, the conjunctive participle, as the Linking Past Participle. The conjunction, *ie* is also illustrated in his speech.

Major Constituent Order

The word order in Sri Lankan Malay Creole (SLMC), Sri Lankan Moor Tamil (SLMT) and Sinhala (SIN) is Subject-Object-Verb. However, the word order in Standard Malay (SM) is Subject-Verb-Object.

SLMC	<i>Amat</i>	<i>nasi</i>	<i>makan</i>		
SIN	Amat	bat	kaneva		
SLMT	<i>Amat</i>	<i>shorn</i>	<i>tinnararu</i>		
SM	<i>Amat</i>		<i>makan</i>	<i>nasi</i>	
	Amat	rice	eats	rice	
	<i>S</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>O</i>	
	'Amat eats rice'				

Some examples from my Informant's speech:

SLMC	<i>Yasmin</i>	<i>si:tu</i>	<i>eskol</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>pi.</i>
	Yasmin	there	school	LNK	P	go
	<i>S</i>		<i>O</i>			<i>V</i>
	'Yasmin went to school there'.					

SLMC	<i>de</i>	<i>eskol</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>pi</i>
	she	school	LNK	P	go
	<i>S</i>	<i>O</i>			<i>V</i>
	'She went to school'.				

Noun-Adjective Order

In Sri Lankan Malay Creole, Sinhala and Sri Lankan Moor Tamil, the adjective precedes the noun. This is in contrast to Standard Malay, where the noun precedes the adjective.

SLMC	<i>baru</i>	<i>pakian</i>	
SIN	<i>alut</i>	<i>endun</i>	
SLMT	<i>puziya</i>	<i>uduppu</i>	
SM		<i>pakian</i>	<i>baru</i>
	new	clothes	new
	ADJ	NOUN	ADJ

An example from my Informant's speech:

SLMC	<i>atu</i>	<i>ka:win</i>	<i>Kuala Kangsar</i>	<i>ka</i>
	One	wedding	Kuala Kangsar	at
	ADJ	N		
SLMC	<i>atu</i>	<i>ka:win</i>	<i>Kuala Lumpur</i>	
	one	wedding	Kuala Lumpur	
	ADJ	N		

'One wedding was at Kuala Kangsar and one wedding was at Kuala Lumpur'.

Position of Genitival Modifier

In Sri Lankan Malay Creole, Sinhala and Sri Lankan Moor Tamil, the possessor precedes the possessed. In Sri Lankan Malay it is linked to the function word *pe* («*puna* SLMC) and in Sinhala it is linked to *ve*.

SLMC			<i>Sri Lanka-</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>daun</i>
SIN			<i>Sri Lanka-</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>kole</i>
SLMT			<i>Sri Lanka-</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>tele</i>	<i>tul</i>
SM	<i>daun</i>	<i>teh</i>	<i>Sri Lanka</i>			
	leaf	tea	Sri Lanka's	GEN	tea	leaf
			'Sri Lankan tea'			

The possessor + linker + possessed or *puna* constructions are also attested in other Malay languages, for example, in Moluccan Malay, Bazaar Malay and Baba Malay (Adelaar, 1991). The Sri Lankan Malay Creole allegro form *pe* is also attested in North Moluccan Malay and Menado Malay.

Examples from my Informant's speech:

SLMC	<i>atu</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>na:ma</i>	<i>A:liya</i>
	one	child	GEN	name	Aaliya
	'One child's name is Aaliya'.				

SLMC	<i>Stephen</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>uma</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>ba.pa</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>a:liya</i>	<i>ambel</i>
	Stephen	GEN	mother	CNJ	father	CNJ	Aaliya	take
	'Stephen's parents take Aaliya away'.							

Adposition Order

Sri Lankan Malay Creole, Sinhala and Sri Lankan Moor Tamil have postpositions. Standard Malay, on the other hand, has prepositions.

SLMC	<i>Dey</i>	<i>ruma-</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ere</i>	<i>tinggal</i>
SIN	<i>Ohu</i>	<i>gey-</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>inneva</i>
SLMT	<i>A waru</i>	<i>utu-</i>	<i>la</i>		<i>erekurara</i>
	He	house	at		stay
SM	<i>Dia</i>	<i>tinggal</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>rumah</i>	
	He	stay	at	house	
	'He stays at the house'				

SLMC			<i>kure-pe</i>	<i>bawa</i>
SIN			<i>vahal-e</i>	<i>yale</i>
SLMT			<i>koora</i>	<i>adila</i>
SM	<i>di</i>	<i>bawah</i>	<i>atap</i>	
	at	under	roof-its	under
	PREP	PREP		POST
	'under the roof'			

Examples from my Informant's speech:

SLMC	<i>Camberley</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>du:duk</i>	<i>atu</i>	<i>ti:ga</i>	<i>ta:won</i>
	Camberley	at	LNK	live	a	three	year
			POST				
	'We lived for three years at Camberley.'						

SLMC *ltu bla:kan de Chingford ka eskol na ne pi*
 that after she Chingford at school LNK P go
 POST 'After that she went to school at Chingford.'

Question Marker

In Sri Lankan Malay Creole, the question particle, *si*, may be postposed to mark the information that the listener expects the hearer to agree with. In Sinhala the particle *neda* and in Sri Lankan Moor Tamil *pashiya* perform this function. In Standard Malay, a question is indicated by intonation or sometimes with the question word particle, *kah* ('Is it so', a suffix) used by Malays when a question cannot be indicated either by intonation or by context). These languages, however, employ a postposed particle to mark a question.

SLMC	<i>Lapar</i>	<i>-si</i>
SIN	<i>Badagini</i>	<i>-neda</i>
SLMT	<i>Ogalaku</i>	<i>-pashiya</i>
SM	<i>Lapar</i>	<i>-kah</i>
	<i>hunger</i>	<i>TAG</i>
	'Aren't you hungry?'	

An example from my Informant's speech:

SLMC	<i>Se pe address ter tau si</i>
	I GEN address NEGMKR know TAG
	'Don't you know my address?'

In this feature, Sri Lankan Malay Creole is similar to both Sinhala and Standard Malay. An interesting feature of my Informant's speech is that he does not use the 2nd person singular; it is considered impolite to address a person directly.

Conditional

Sri Lankan Malay Creole employs the suffix *kalu* ('if) for the conditional. In Sinhala the conditional is formed by suffixing *ot* to the past tense stem of the verb. In Sri Lankan Moor Tamil, the conditional is *na*.

SLMC	<i>Dey ruma- na pi kalu</i>
SIN	<i>Ohu gedere- te giy -ot</i>
SLMT	<i>Awaru utu- ke po -na</i>
SM	<i>Dia rumah kalau pergi</i>
	He house DAT go COND go
	'I to she goes to she house'

An example from my Informant's speech:

SLMC	<i>Baye a:ri kalu kitan tuman pada yan ru:ma nan anti u:ndan</i>
	good day COND we friend PL LNK house LNK FUT invite
	'If it is a nice day, we will invite our friends to our house'.

SLMC	<i>Si:tu Croydon nan ar da:tan kalu kitan ne da:tan apa liyat</i>
	here Croydon LNK PRO come COND we LNK come CNJ see
	MKR

'If you are coming to Croydon, please come and see us'.

Retroflex *d* and *t*.

Sri Lankan Malay has acquired a retroflex pronunciation of the *t* and *d*. Standard Malay has a superdental *d* and an alveolar *t*. This feature is quite distinct from other Malay dialects. If Proto Austronesian had a retroflex versus dental series, then it must have been lost at a very early stage (Dahl, 1981). This feature could be attributed to influence from Sinhala which has a retroflex *t* and *d*.

4 DISCUSSION

Sri Lankan Malay Creole and the Sri Lankan Malay community have been researched by Husainmiya (1984, 1987), Adelaar (1991), Bichsel-Stettler (1989) and Thapowanaya (1986) but they have not investigated the influence of Sinhala and Sri Lankan Moor Tamil on Sri Lankan Malay Creole. Sri Lankan Malay Creole demonstrates morphological features which are not attested in Standard Malay. Some of these features are also attested in Moluccan Malay, Baba Malay, Bazaar Malay, Jakartanese and Manado Malay (Adelaar, 1991). Sri Lankan Malay Creole also contains features which are not Austronesian and therefore which cannot be attributed to the influence of Malaysian or Indonesian languages.

The history of a language cannot be studied without reference to the social context in which it is embedded as it is a function of the history of its speakers (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:4). The non-Austronesian features in Sri Lankan Malay Creole could be attributed to influence from Sinhala. In view of the contact between the Sinhalese and the Sri Lankan Malays, this is not surprising. This phenomenon is also attested in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, a Portuguese-based contact language, which has diverged from Standard Portuguese under the influence of Sinhala (de Silva Jayasuriya, 1999c).

Contact with Sinhala and Sri Lankan Moor Tamil, verb final languages, has made Sri Lankan Malay Creole unintelligible to speakers of other Malay dialects. Therefore Sri Lankan Malay Creole is a unique Malay. Saldin (1996) states that some Sri Lankan Malay Creole constructions are amusing to Indonesians and Malaysians. These constructions illustrate Sinhala influence on Sri Lankan Malay Creole. For example:

SLMC	Se	buk	baca	baca	kapan	duduk	seppe	temanya	datang	
SIN	Mame	pathak	bala	bala	inna-	kale	mage	yahaluva	av- a	
	I	book	read	read	when	wait	when	my	friend	come TNS
Literal Translation:	Whilst I was reading the book and waiting my friend came.									
Meaning:	'Whilst I was reading the book my friend came'.									

SLMC	Se	lari	lari	kapan	duduk	ujang	su	datang	
SIN	Mame	duwa	duwa	inna	kola	vesse	av-	a	
	I	run	run	when	wait	when	rain	TNS	come TNS
Literal Translation:	Whilst I was running and waiting the rain came down.								
Meaning:	Whilst I was running it rained.								

Some words in Sri Lankan Malay Creole are semantically different to those of Standard Malay. Historical evidence suggests that the Sri Lankan Malays originated from several regions in Malaysia and Indonesia. Therefore it is not surprising that Malay/Javanese borrowings in Sinhala have etyma in Penang Malay, Perak Malay, Minankabau Malay, Bazaar Malay, Batavia Malay, Kelantan Malay, Indonesian, Javanese and in Sumatran dialects.

Concluding Remarks

Sinhala and Sri Lankan Moor Tamil have contributed to the uniqueness of Sri Lankan Malay Creole. Prolonged and sustained contact with verb-final languages has resulted in Sri Lankan Malay Creole

evolving away from a SVO language into a SOY language. The morpho syntax of Sri Lankan Malay Creole is different to that of other Malay dialects.

ABBREVIATIONS

A Aspect ; ADJ Adjective ASP Aspect ; CNJ Conjunction COND Conditional; FUT Future
G Genitive ; IMPF Imperfective Marker; LNK Linker; MKR Marker; MOD Mood; N Noun; NEG Negative; O Object; P Past Tense; PASS Passive; PL Plural; POST Postposition; PREP Preposition; S Subject ; SIN Sinhala; SLMC Sri Lankan Malay Creole; SLPC Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole; T Tense; TAG Tag Question Marker; V Verb.

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TABEL 1

<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Standard Malay</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Indonesian</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Javanese</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>SLMC</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
bambu	bamboo	bambu	bamboo	bambu	bamboo	bambu	bamboo	bambu	bamboo
batik	batik design	batek/batik (<Javanese)	design for cloth	batik	batik/ batik design for cloth	batik	fabric to be worked by the batik process	batik	batik
bappa	father's younger brother	bapa	father/ uncle/ stepfather	bapak	father	bapa/ bapak	father	bapa	father
bilim	an acidic fruit	belimbing	an acidic fruit					belimbing	an acidic fruit
binna	a Kandyan marriage arrangement where the husband goes to live in the wife's home permanently*	bini	wife/ spouse	bini	wife	bini	wife	bini	wife

*This is in contrast to the digaya, where in a Kandyan marriage, the wife goes to live in the husband's home

<u>Sinhala</u>	Gloss	<u>Standard Malay</u>	Gloss	<u>Indonesian</u>	Gloss	<u>Javanese</u>	Gloss	<u>SLMC</u>	Gloss
duriyan	a fruit/tree	durian	a fruit /tree	durian	a fruit/tree	durèn	a fruit/tree	durian	a fruit
gatissi	lass/ maiden	gadis (< Sumatra)	young girl/ maiden	gadis	young girl/ maiden			perawan	young girl/ maiden
giraya	arecanut/ nut cracker	girek-girek (< Min- ankabau Malay)	arecanut slicer					kachip	arecanut slicer
hambana	large boat/ dhoney/ smack	sampan (< Chinese)	a shoe-boat	sampan	small boat	sampana	boat	sampan	a boat
kinissa/ kisiya	dagger	keris	dagger	keris	creese	keris/kris	creese/a kind of dagger	keris	dagger
mamandi/ mama	maternal uncle	mamanda/ mamak	maternal uncle	mamanda/ mamak	maternal uncle	man	uncle	mama	maternal uncle
mangus	mangosteen	manggis	mangosteen	manggis	mangosteen	manggis	mangosteen	buah manggis	mangosteen
nagula	plough	nanggal penarek	shaft (of a plough)			luku	plough		

<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Standard Malay</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Indonesian</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Javanese</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>SLMC</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
oluva	head	hulu (<i>< Indonesian</i>)	head	hulu	head	hulu/ulu	head/leader	kepala	head
paruva	'pada' boat/barge	perahu	a kind of boat	perahu	a kind of boat			perahu	a kind of boat
pukki	indecent word for females	puki	female genitals	puki	vulva	poeki	female genitals	puki	female genitals
rabana	tambourine	rabana (<i>< Minan-kabau Malay</i>)	small drum/ tambourine	rebana	tambourine	reban	tambourine	rebana	tambourine
rambutan	a kind of fruit/tree	rambutan	a kind of fruit/tree			rambutan	a kind of fruit/tree	rambutan	a kind of fruit/tree
sabukkuva	whip	sabok (<i>< Javanese</i>)	sash	sabuk	loin cloth/ belt/seat belt	sabuk	cloth sash worn by males for Javanese dress	cambuk	whip

<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>Gloss Malay</u>	<u>Standard</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Indonesian</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Javanese</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>SLMC</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
sambal/ sambola	a kind of side salad	sambal	condiment eaten with curry	sambal	spicy	sambel	hot spicy condiment/ hot pepper sauce	sambal	a spicy sauce/ paste
sarama/ saroma	cloth worn by men	sarong	Malay long kilt/skirt	sarung	sarong	sarung/ sarong	men's ankle- length wrap- around skirt	sarong	wrap- around cloth worn by men and women
suruttuva	cigar	cheroot/ serutu	cherutu/ cigar	serutu	cigar			curutu	cigar
varaya	harbour	barus	a Sumatran port famed for export of camphor	barus	harbour/ port			pelabuhan	harbour
vedilla	firing shot	bedil (< Java Malay)	firearm	bedil	gun/ rifle	bedil	gun/rifle	bedil	gun powder
		badil (in Sumatra)	firearm						