Language Contact and Metatypic Restructuring

in the Directional System of North Maluku Malay

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One of the most interesting non-standard features of the Malay variety that is spoken in the North Maluku region is the system of directionals that is used to encode relative spatial location. This system differs substantially from that of standard Indonesian in both its semantic properties and in its morphosyntax, but it has striking parallels with the indigenous languages of the region, whether those languages are Austronesian or non-Austronesian.

Although very little discussion of semantic convergence in linguistic areas has appeared in the literature, I will argue that the semantic convergence seen in North Maluku actually preceded the syntactic convergence that is now going on in these linguistic systems. The indigenous languages of North Maluku are under long term threat of extinction as more and more people move to speaking Malay. However, at least some aspects of the structures of these languages – including the organisation of their directional systems – look set to be retained as emblematic features of the local Malay variety for some time to come.

Key words: language contact, metatypy, semantic convergence, syntactic convergence,
　　　　　 linguistic areas

1. Introduction[1]

There is a wealth of literature on the role of phonological, syntactic, and morphological convergence in linguistic areas. One hardly has to look hard to find extensive discussions of these topics in standard works on language contact and language change such as Thomason and Kaufman (1988), McMahon (1994), Harris and Campbell (1995), Hock and Joseph (1996), and Thomason (2001). Surprisingly, very few writers have discussed convergence in the organisation of particular semantic domains, although a few writers such as Ross (in press) have drawn attention to the issue in various ways. What is perhaps most surprising about the lack of attention that has been paid to semantic convergence is that semantic equivalence, or at least rough intertranslatability of morphemes would appear to be a prerequisite for morphosyntactic convergence. To illustrate this point, we can examine some of the shared morphosyntactic features of the Balkan linguistic area that Thomason (2001:109ff) claims arose as a result of language contact in the area.

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[1] The abbreviation conventions adopted in this paper are as follows: ALL: allative, F: feminine, M: masculine, POS: possessive, DETR: detransitiviser, INAL: inalienable, NH: non-human, PRED: predicate, ESS: essive, LOC: locative, NOM: nominaliser, REL: relativiser.

One of these is the postposed article as in Rumanian *aur-ul* 'the gold' (lit. gold-the.M) to which we can compare French *l'or* 'the gold' (lit. the.M gold) and Spanish *el oro* (lit. the.M gold). Another is a periphrastic future construction using the verb meaning 'want', comparable to the English periphrastic future tense, e.g. *I want to go*. It may seem trivial to say it (and this is why it has probably not often been remarked upon) but these instances of convergence would not have been possible if in the case of the postposed article, the languages concerned did not have articles at all, or if in the case of the periphrastic future there had been no verb meaning 'want'. Although the prerequisite of intertranslatability of morphemes may seem trivial in relation to these cases, it is not so trivial when the closed class items subject to morphosyntactic change are not, or were not at some stage readily transalatable. If such items were to be subject to contact-induced morphosyntactic change, a change in the semantic organisation in the language undergoing change would have to occur before any morphosyntactic changes were possible. In this paper, I want to discuss such a case: the case of directionals in North Maluku Malay (NMM).

After providing an introduction to the North Maluku linguistic area and to the place of NMM within it, I will provide a brief discussion of the directional paradigms found in a sample of indigenous languages from the area. Section three provides a more detailed description of the semantics of NMM directionals and compares them with those of Taba and the Tidore dialect of Ternate-Tidore, which are respectively an Austronesian and a West Papuan language spoken near Ternate, the capital of North Maluku Province. Section four goes on to discuss the striking similarities in the syntax of directionals in these three languages. In section five, I argue that the changes that have taken place in the North Maluku Malay directional system are an example of what Ross (in press) calls 'metatypy' which he characterises as 'a diachronic process in the course of which the syntax of one of the languages of a bilingual speech community is restructured on the model of the syntax of the speaker's other language'.

1.1 North Maluku Malay and the North Maluku linguistic area

North Maluku Malay is spoken by perhaps 100,000 native language speakers and a much larger number of second language lingua franca speakers in North Maluku province of eastern Indonesia. The largest concentration of native North Maluku Malay speakers is in Ternate township, but a reasonable number also reside in places like Soa Siu on Tidore island, and in larger settlements such as Tobelo on Halmahera island. Non-native speakers live throughout the North Maluku area, both on Halmahera and offshore islands. Map 1 shows the region in which North Maluku

Malay is spoken and also indicates where the languages discussed in this paper can be found. Although a comprehensive description of Ambon Malay has been published (van Minde 1997), very little has been published on North Maluku Malay. The only published articles I am aware of that address North Maluku Malay in detail both appeared in the same edited collection (Taylor 1983 and Voorhoeve 1983).
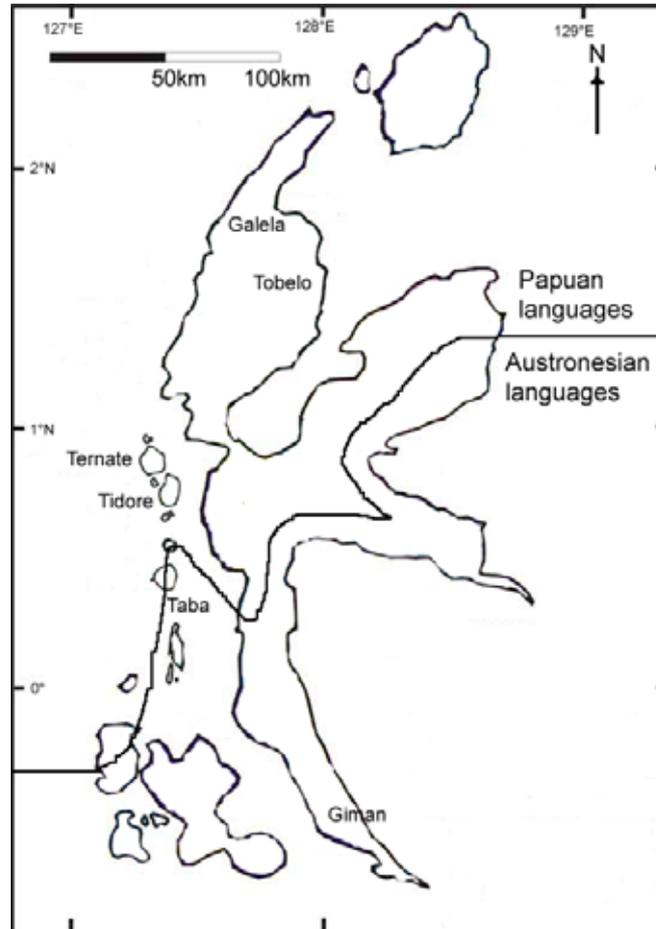
Map 1: Indigenous languages and dialects of North Maluku referred to in text

Most adults in North Maluku province are either native speakers or lingua franca speakers of North Maluku Malay. Malay has been used in the region for centuries, its arrival in the area predating the arrival of the first Europeans who came in search of spices at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Cloves are indigenous to this region, so extensive trade with the wider world had been going on long before Europeans arrived in the area, and it was no doubt the spice trade that first brought Malay to the region. North Maluku is famous in the annals of Malay history, since the very first written Malay manuscript to have survived until this day was a letter from Sultan Abu Hayat, the 'child-king of Ternate', written in 1521 (Collins 1998:19). The first Malay word lists to have been recorded by Europeans were likewise

collected in Tidore (and Brunei) by the Portuguese sailor Pigafetta in 1522 (Collins 1998:18).

Although Malay was used in the region before the time of Pigafetta, it would appear that until very recently there were only a handful of native speakers of the language. The vast majority of those who used the language learned it as a second tongue after their native *bahasa daerah* or regional language. The 2000 edition of *The Ethnologue* (Grimes 2000) suggested that there were only a few hundred native language speakers of North Maluku Malay and attributed this estimate to 'J. Collins 1987' but provided no further reference to what sort of communication from Collins this information was contained in. The latest edition (Gordon 2005) suggests that there are approximately 700,000 speakers altogether and around 100,000 monolingual speakers. The discrepancy between the two sets of figures probably arose for two different reasons. It is likely that the 1987 estimate cited in *Ethnologue* understates the number of native speakers at that time by some degree. This estimate might have been more accurate in the late 1960's or early 1970's, before recent explosive growth in the numbers of native speakers took place. This growth is the second reason for the differences in the numbers of native speakers given in the two editions of Ethnologue. This growth has occurred as a result of a number of factors including the economic development of Ternate and other regional centers which has enticed many people to migrate to town in search of paid employment and other opportunities. A steady growth in transmigration, both national and local, has also resulted in much mixing of people who do not speak the same local language. Intermarriage between speakers of different languages has further cemented into place a situation where many of the children and young adults growing up in the area have learned North Maluku Malay as their first language. I myself know a large number of people who were brought up in Ternate and other places speaking one or other of the local languages as their mother tongue, but whose children have grown up speaking NMM as their first language.

North Maluku Malay is one of a number of varieties of eastern Malay spoken throughout Maluku and nearby provinces and shares a number of affinities with varieties such as Ambon Malay and Kupang Malay (see Collins 1998 for general discussion of eastern Malay varieties). Its closest relation amongst contemporary Malay dialects is Manado Malay, but although Manado Malay has many more speakers than North Maluku Malay it is clearly Manado Malay which is an offshoot of North Maluku Malay rather than the reverse. The distinctive variety of Malay spoken in Manado spread from the Ternate area as a result of the spice trade in the early seventeenth century (see Watuseke and Watuseke-Polliton 1981 for discussion). Some of the characteristic features of both NMM and Manado Malay such as the 2sg.

pronoun *ngana* and 2pl. *ngoni* are clearly borrowed from the indigenous language of Ternate-Tidore.

The national language of Indonesia is another variety of Malay. However, local Malay varieties such as North Maluku Malay arose from 'bazaar Malay', a simplified version of Malay that was used as lingua franca in trading posts throughout the Indonesian archipelago and beyond. On the other hand, standard Indonesian was developed from the literary form of Malay that was used in the royal courts of Riau-Johor and southern Sumatra. For more on the origins of the national language and the history of Malay generally, see Sneddon (2003). Although the origins of NMM and standard Indonesian are distinct, today the two varieties are in a diglossic relationship with NMM taking the basilectal role in the relationship and standard Indonesian performing the acrolectal role. As in most situations of diglossia, not everyone who has a command of the basilectal variety is equally competent in the acrolectal form and vice versa. The directional system which is the topic of this paper belongs clearly to the basilectal variety.

In addition to its distinctive variety of Malay, the North Maluku region is also home to 16 different indigenous languages according to Wurm and Hattori (1983). These are spoken by the residents of traditional villages in Halmahera and offshore islands as well as by a fair few inhabitants of the major towns. The sixteen indigenous languages belong to two distinct language families: six from the south are, like Malay, members of the Austronesian family. The rest, spoken in the north, are West Papuan languages from the West Papua phylum (Voorhoeve 1988). The distribution of these languages is given in Map 1.

The North Maluku linguistic area (defined here as encompassing the region of Halmahera and its immediate offshore islands) is part of a larger contact zone between Austronesian and Papuan languages which encompasses the whole region around the west, north and east coasts of the island of New Guinea. The earliest layers of contact between the unrelated languages of North Maluku probably took place in the order of 3000 years ago. Bellwood (1997:187-189) discusses the archaeological record for the northern Maluku area and notes that the first signs of human occupation occur over 30,000 years ago, with presumably Austronesian pottery appearing about 3,000 BP. In the earlier stages of contact between the two groups of languages, the non-Austronesian languages of the region absorbed a great deal of Austronesian vocabulary. Voorhoeve (1988:194) found that over 30% of the basic vocabulary collected for lexicostatistical analysis in the non-Austronesian North Halmahera languages was of Austronesian origin and that much of this vocabulary has undergone the regular sound changes which define subgroups of the North Halmahera group. Languages from the Birds Head area of New Guinea, which along with the North

Halmahera languages form the West Papuan language family, do not have anywhere near the same extent of Austronesian borrowing (Voorhoeve 1988:193-194). Austronesian grammatical influences on the non-Austronesian languages are uneven: in the NE part of North Halmahera, archaic non-Austronesian features such as SOV word order, subject and object prefixes, and postpositions are retained, but in other languages (Sahu, Ternate-Tidore, and West Makian) they have been lost under the influence of Austronesian contact (Voorhoeve 1988:192). The major direction of more recent influence between the language families seems to have shifted, with recent borrowings from Ternate-Tidore into the Austronesian languages. In Austronesian Taba, for example, Bowden (2001:21-22) describes a system of speech levels labelled as *alus* 'refined', *biasa* 'normal', and *kasar* 'coarse', in which many of the *alus* forms are borrowings from Ternatan, presumably because of the social influence of the sultanate over the last five hundred years or so.

The semantic organisation of the NMM directional system is clearly borrowed from the indigenous languages of North Maluku, but in this case, unlike that of the borrowed pronouns, its provenance is not so clearly from Ternate-Tidore alone. In fact, it is more likely than not that the directional systems have their origins in Austronesian rather than Papuan languages. It would seem likely that Austronesian languages provided the basic model since directional systems with some similar features are found in other Austronesian languages, and the mainland West Papuan languages I know about do not appear to have such systems. Since it is immaterial for my current purposes how this earlier process took place, I leave the final resolution of this question to others. Today it is clear that all of the indigenous languages of North Maluku, whether Austronesian or non-Austronesian, share to a remarkable degree very similar directional systems.

The directional systems found in these languages are of the kind characterised as 'absolute' in the typology of spatial semantics outlined by Levinson (2003). Levinson characterises the absolute frame of reference as occurring when there is no egocentric reference point from which orientation is determined, but when the environment provides the reference points from which all spatial relationships are established. Absolute systems are further divided into those that are either based on cardinal points (e.g. 'north', 'south', 'east', 'west') or based on landmarks (e.g. 'sea' vs. 'land'). The North Maluku languages show a strong preference for landmark-based absolute reference, with the directions 'seawards' and 'landwards' playing important roles in the system.

There are a few subtle differences in the meanings accorded to different directionals in different languages from North Maluku, but the overall systems share an enormous amount in common. Any minor differences that there may be in

different languages from the region do not impede communication by bilingual speakers of NMM because there are enough semantic commonalities between all of the directional systems employed. Since local geography plays such an important role in how different terms are understood, people are used to making subtle shifts in how they use directionals when they arrive in a new location anyway, no matter what language they are using.

2. Some background on North Maluku Malay directional use

The main differences found in directional semantics employed in different places from around the region concern the way in which the directional terms glossed as 'up' and 'down' are aligned with the coast in different parts of the region. For the sake of simplicity, the discussion of North Maluku Malay directional semantics will be confined to the variety that is spoken on Ternate island, since this is the variety I know best myself and since this is also the variety which has the largest number of speakers. For some limited discussion of directional use in the indigenous Ternatan dialect of Ternate-Tidore, on which some of the North Maluku Malay usage is no doubt based, see van Fraassen (1987:384-385). More details are provided for the Tidore dialect by van Staden (2000a) and (2000b). (Although many people have written about Ternate and Tidore as distinct languages, it is clear that they are mutually intelligible and that their traditional status as distinct languages owes more to the politics of having separate sultans rather than to any major linguistic differences that impede communication.)

It is quite striking that speakers of North Maluku Malay use directional terms in very different ways from speakers of standard Indonesian and other western varieties of Malay. Aside from a little phonological divergence from the standard forms, all of the directional terms found in North Maluku are also found in Standard Indonesian and in western varieties. However, the ways in which the terms are used, and their associated semantics, are likely to leave anyone who learned Malay in the western parts of the archipelago somewhat baffled. Example (1) shows a typical exchange in North Maluku Malay.

(1) A: Ngana pi mana
        2sg   go   where
        'Where are you going?'

   B: Pi   ka   atas
        go   to   top
        'I'm going upwards.'

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Such an exchange might not seem so unusual if speaker B had meant to say that she was, for example, on her way to the top of a mountain or to the top floor of a building, but neither of these things would normally have been what a North Maluku Malay speaker had in mind by saying this.   If the speaker had been in a southern area of Ternate such as the small boat port of *Bastion* she would have been far more likely trying to indicate that she was heading in a clockwise direction around Ternate island towards the northern downtown area of Ternate.   Map 2 of Ternate island gives the location of all the places on Ternate island that are discussed in the text.   If another speaker had been downtown when he uttered these words, he would have meant that he was about to head towards the *kedaton Sultan*, or the Sultan of Ternate's palace, which is located a few kilometres north of the business district.
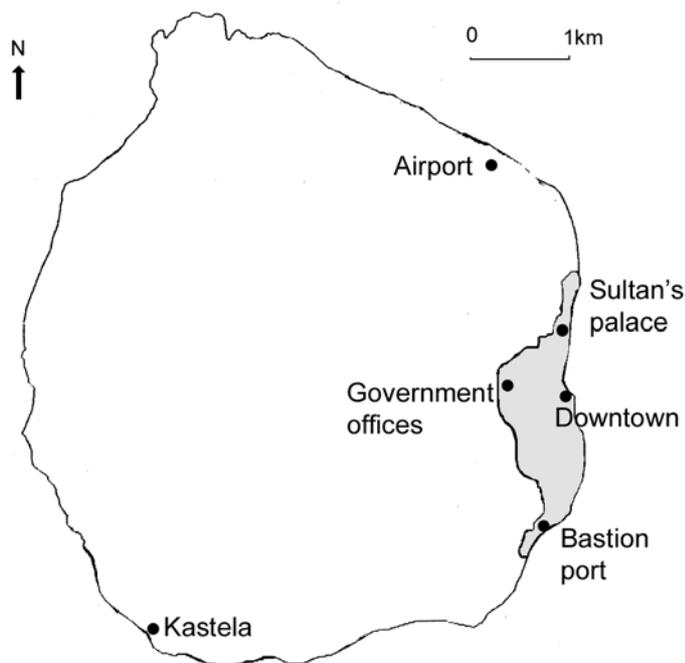
Map 2: Ternate island showing locations referred to in text

Below is another typical exchange.

(2)   A: Dong   di   mana?
           3pl   LOC   where
           'Where are they?'

B: Dong   di   lao
       3sg   LOC   sea
       'They are in a place that is seawards of here.'

Again, what B would mean here is quite different from what a speaker of standard Indonesian or a western Malay variety would mean.   In standard Indonesian, perhaps B would have meant that the people referred to had gone for a swim, but in North Maluku Malay, there would be no entailment whatsoever that anyone was actually in the water.   Much more commonly, the people referred to would simply be in a location that was located in a seawards direction from where the utterance was made. If both A and B were *pegawai* or 'civil servants' working for one of the government departments located in an area about a kilometre uphill from the downtown area of Ternate, and the people they were talking about were fellow *pegawai* who had taken the morning off to go shopping in Gamalama, such an utterance would be appropriate. Although the downtown area of Ternate is certainly not in the sea, it is seawards of the area where many government offices are located.

For comparison, we list the directional terms used in North Maluku Malay along with those found in a few local languages, both Austronesian and other Papuan.   The other regional languages here are some of those for which we have basic descriptive materials available.   The data for the Tidore dialect of Ternate-Tidore are from van Staden (2000a), those from Taba are from Bowden (2001), for Tobelo from Taylor (1984) and for Giman from Teljeur (1984).   Although perhaps the best described directional system of a West Papuan language is that of Galela (see Yoshida 1980) the data from Galela have not been included here because this language has far fewer speakers than either Tobelo or Ternate-Tidore, and this being the case it was probably less influential in the emergence of the distinctive Malay system used in Ternate than the other languages were.

Table 1. Comparative basic directional terms in North Maluku Malay and some local indigenous languages

| North Maluku Malay	Taba (Austronesian)	Tidore (Papuan)	Tobelo (Papuan)	Giman (Austronesian)	English
sini	-	*re*	-	*i*	'here'
situ	-	*ge*	-	*no(g)*	'there'
sana	-	*ta*	-	-	'over there'
-	*no(g)*		*nenanga*		deictic unmarked for distance
lao	*la(w)*	*tai*	*danena / dai*	*la(u)*	'seaward'
dara	*le(w)*	*tina*	*dinena / dina*	*le(u)*	'landward'
atas	*ya(s)*	*tau*	*dakena / daku*	*ya(u)*	'upward'
bawa	*po(p)*	*tahu / tau*	*daena / dau*	*po(p)*	'downward'

Although there is not an exact isomorphism between all of the terms listed for each language, the basic semantic categories of 'seawards', 'landwards', 'up' and 'down' are in opposition between each other in all the languages of the region. These are the terms at the core of system, since these are the ones that underly the *semantic* organisation of the directional systems in each of these languages. The other terms ('here', 'there', 'over there', or just 'deictic') are, while not isomorphic, actually deictic terms rather than terms that specify relative location. In some languages the deictic terms are split into different categories based on relative distance. Local Malay makes a three way 'here' vs. 'there' vs 'yonder' split based (roughly) on relative distance from the speaker: *sini* 'here', *situ* 'there' and *sana* 'yonder', while Taba has no such distance based split, with just the one deictic member of the directional set *no(g)* 'there'. While Tobelo encodes the same basic semantic distinctions of 'seawards' vs 'landwards' and 'upwards' vs 'downwards', it introduces a distance-based split into these categories: *danena*, *dinena*, *dakena*, *daena* all refer to things that are relatively close to the speaker; *dai*, *dina*, *daku* and *dau* all refer to things that are relatively far away.

3. The meaning of North Maluku Malay directionals

It is impossible to discuss the meanings of North Maluku Malay directionals without addressing how they are used within different scales. The scales that I identify here are the same as those identified by people who have written about the directional systems of indigenous languages from the region (see for example, Yoshida 1980, Teljeur 1984 and Bowden 1997). Three such scales can be listed.

1. Within a house
2. On the island
3. Further afield

3.1 Within a house (small-scale space)
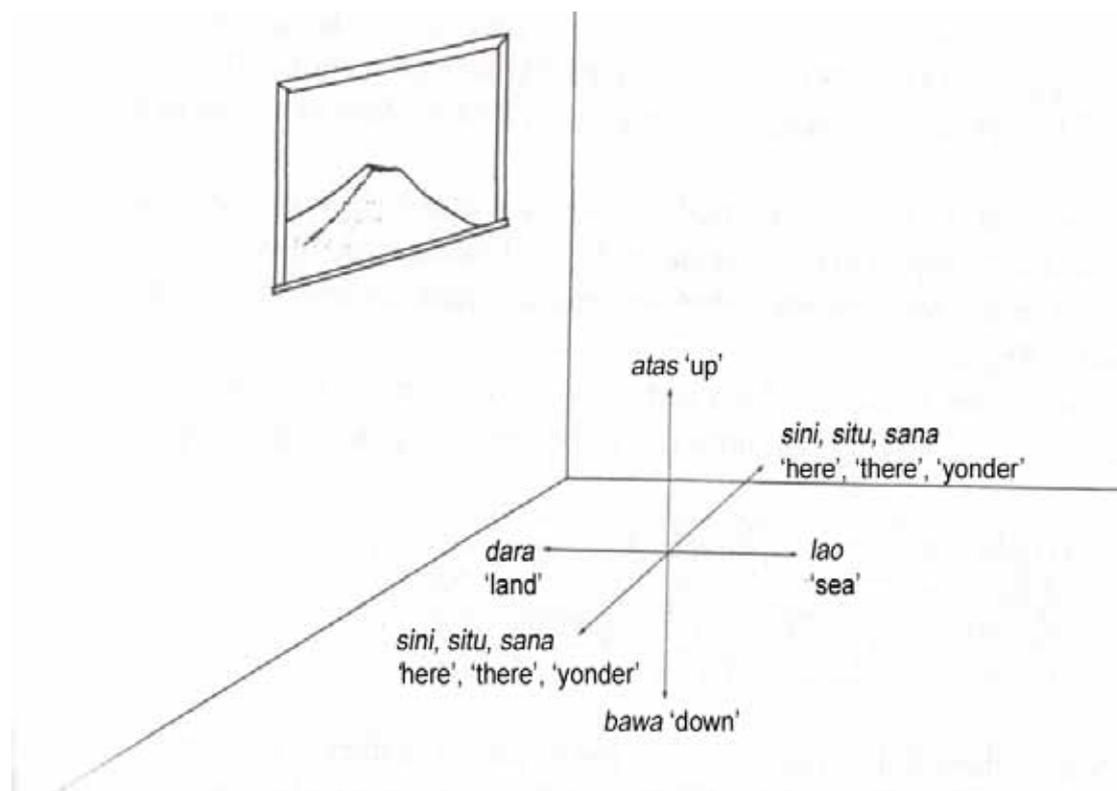
Figure 1: Direction within a house

Figure 1 illustrates how relative location is specified when the things to which reference are made are close at hand, perhaps in the same room as the speaker. It should be borne in mind that on islands like Ternate, which is simply a volcano that rises from the ocean floor, the relative location of the sea is always readily apparent.

Within visible space, the directionals mean more or less what an English speaker would expect them to mean: anything *di lao* is seawards and movement *ka lao* means movement in a seawards direction.   Anything that is *di dara* is landwards, anything *di atas* is above and anything *di bawa* is below.   What distinguishes the North Moluccan Malay terms as they are used at this scalar level from their English equivalents is not so much their meanings as the fact that these terms are the default terms used for specifying relative location.   I have heard the protagonists in a chess match distinguish chess pieces by specifying that they are talking about the 'seawards' knight rather than the 'landwards' one, and a mother talking about wiping the mess from her grubby child's 'landwards' cheek.   When it comes to specifying the location of objects that are found along the axis which lies parallel to the coast, people use the North Maluku demonstratives as in (3) below.

(3)   A: Galas   mana?
           glass   what
           'Which glass?'
       B: Yang   situ   di   cangkir
            REL   there LOC   saucer
            'The one that lies in a direction parallel to the coast on the saucer.'

Note the gloss for the above example.   Although the use of demonstratives does not strictly entail that the item being referred to lies on the axis parallel to the coast, the pragmatic opposition with other semantically specifiable directions creates an implication in most instances where a demonstrative is used in contexts like in (3) whereby an addressee will infer that this is the speaker's intended meaning.   The speaker does get to specify relative distance by using demonstratives, and can also be more precise about specifying the location of a visible object by pointing.

3.2 Around the island (medium-scale space)

Once we move beyond visible space, the terms used to encode relative location shift in their meanings somewhat.   At this level, the terms *atas* 'up' and *bawa* 'down' are used for specifying directionality parallel to the coast in addition to their use within a smaller domain for the specification of direction on a vertical plane. Heading in a clockwise direction (or southwards) from downtown Gamalama is heading 'downwards' and heading in an anticlockwise direction is heading 'upwards'. As one goes further 'downwards', continuing in a clockwise direction, one eventually starts heading westwards and then northwards, eastwards, and finally southwards

again. Thus, 'downwards' could be conceived of as meaning 'heading in a direction that leads to the right of where one is facing if one looks out towards the sea'. 'Upwards' from the main residential areas of Ternate is in the direction of the Sultan of Ternate's palace. Locations beyond the sultan's palace are also 'upwards'. Use of the terms is illustrated in (4) and (5) below.

(4) Pi   ka   atas bandara
    go   to   up   airport
    'I'm going up to the airport.' [i.e. starting from downtown Gamalama and heading northwards along the east coast towards the airport.]

(5) Ngana   dari   bawa?
    2sg   from   down
   'Did you come from downwards?' [asked at the airport after the addressee had come from downtown Gamalama]

'Seawards' and 'landwards' retain the same meanings as they have within small-scale space, referring to the literal directions encoded. Likewise, the deictic terms *sini*, *situ* and *sana* can be used as they are in small-scale space to refer to relative space in any direction, but again as in small-scale space they tend to be used most frequently when one of the other terms is not appropriate. Thus, the use of the deictic terms usually implies that the direction referred to is neither 'upwards', 'downwards', 'seawards' or 'landwards'.

3.3 The rest of the world (large-scale space)

Ternate island sits just off the west coast of the much larger Halmahera island and Halmahera is almost always visible as a long mass of land with high mountain peaks several kilometres eastward. Adjacent parts of Halmahera are always *di dara* or 'landwards' from Ternate. Most places a long way away from Ternate, such as Jakarta, Europe or Australia (or closer to home, Ambon or Sulawesi), are *di lao* or 'seawards'. In addition, there is an 'up/down' axis that goes along the west coast of Halmahera. In contradiction to the way in which many people these days are used to reading north as the direction at the top of a map, and south as the direction at the bottom, in North Maluku Malay, heading south from Ternate is going *ka atas* 'upwards', and heading north is going *ka bawa* or 'downwards'. This world-wide 'up–down' axis seems to have its origins in the typical surface ocean currents that run past the west coast of Halmahera, where going 'up' to the southern end of Halmahera

is heading into the current and going 'down' to the north of the island is travelling with the current.   The end points of these directions are not altogether clear.   For some speakers, they end at about the northern and southern tips of Halmahera respectively, but for others, the upward direction extends eastward from the southern tip of Halamahera towards the island of New Guinea.   An overall view of this world-wide scale is given in Map 1.

The reader may have noticed that there is a significant switch in the way that the directions 'up' and 'down' are used depending on whether one is talking about travelling along the eastern coast of Ternate island or whether one is talking about directions further away which one would travel by sea.   Heading north along the east coast of Ternate is going 'up' but heading north towards the tip of Halmahera is going 'down'.   I do not believe that anyone can give a definitive reason for this seeming anomaly in the system – one just has to accept that it is how things work – but the system may make some more sense if an historical explanation is sought.   Note that although heading north along the east coast of Ternate is going 'up', heading north on the west coast is actually going 'down'.   Van Fraassen (1987:map 4) shows the historical situation in 1607, when the the sultan's palace was located in the southwest corner of the island, at what is now known as Kastela as shown on Map 2 in this paper. From Gam-ma-lamo, heading north around the island is in fact heading 'down', just as it would be if travelling by sea.   Perhaps the anomaly has been introduced into the system because of the fact that the island's main centres of activity have moved.
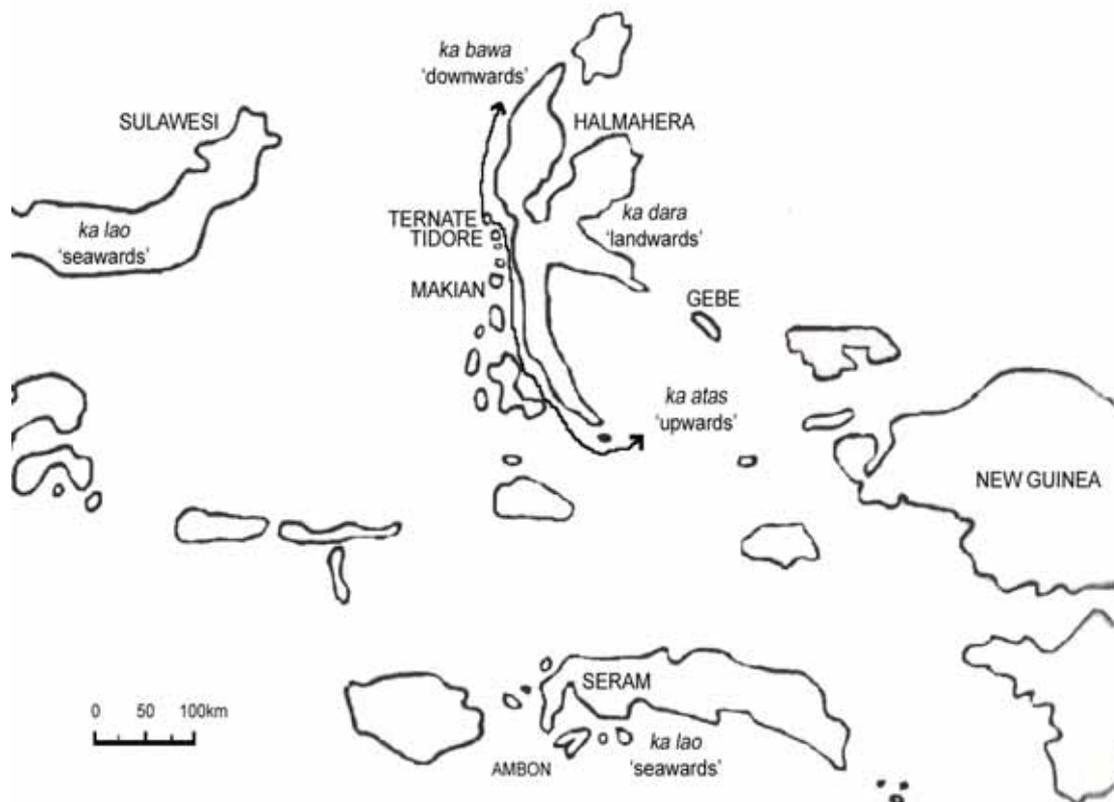
Map 3: Location within large-scale space

3.4 Comparing North Maluku Malay directional semantics with Taba, Tidore and other languages

Essentially, the rough outline of all three systems is very similar indeed, and typically, speakers of any of the regional vernaculars will readily understand glosses of the North Maluku Malay terms given in their own languages whether they speak Malay or not.   It may be that people who are newly arrived in a particular place will have to learn new things like how the 'up-down' axis works exactly in a new location, but this is more a matter of geography than it is a linguistic matter.   A Taba speaker who has not spent much time in Ternate, for example, has to learn how the 'up' and 'down' terms work in Ternate before s/he can apply this knowledge in *both* Taba and North Maluku Malay.

All systems basically concur in the meanings of terms used within the small-scale, except that Taba speakers and Tobelo speakers are not able to specify distinctions based on distance with the deictic *no(g)*.

Within each island things are similar, but not exactly the same.   Tidore, like Ternate, has a system where the sultan's palace is metaphorically associated with the 'upwards' direction.   (On both islands, the sultan's palace lies to the north of the

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main commercial and market areas.)   The metaphorical associations in Taba are quite different, probably due to the fact that Ternate and Tidore, both homes to sultans, are actually – according to the currents which govern the systems on the worldwide scale – 'downwards' from Makian island where Taba is spoken.

Different languages tend to focus on different sections of the major up–down axis that runs down the west coast of Halmahera: for Taba speakers who reside on Makian island to the south of Ternate, Ternate is the end of the downward axis, and regions further north on Halmahera are 'seawards', but for people in Ternate, the axis continues to the north of Halmahera.   The upwards axis extends right along the northwest coast of New Guinea, but not in any of the languages of the North Maluku linguistic area itself.   For residents of Ternate and Tidore, the upwards axis goes about as far as the southern tip of Halmahera, but for Taba speakers the 'upwards' axis can extend to Gebe island (shown on Map 3), which lies east of the southern Halmahera peninsula.   In languages of New Guinea outside the North Maluku linguistic area, however, the axis extends much further – right across the north coast of Papua province.   Held (1957) points out that the Waropen of Cenderawasih Bay in northern Papua province participated in a long-standing trade relationship with Ternate.   He notes that the Waropen go 'up' as they move eastwards along coast, away from Halmahera, and 'down' as they head west towards Maluku (Held 1957:45-46).

4. Syntax of directionals

Directional terms are ubiquitous in discourse in all the languages of North Maluku, whether indigenous or not.   While this ubiquity never quite takes the form of an absolute requirement that directionals be used in any particular grammatical environment, the statistical preponderance of directionals in all the languages is so strong that they can quite reasonably be categorised as being of a different type than other locative expressions.

Bowden (2001) argues that there are two distinct types of locative expressions in Taba, classified as 'independent' and 'dependent' locatives: the directionals and demonstratives are 'independent' in that they commonly occur on their own without any other locative elements, but place names and locative postpositional phrases are 'dependent' because their presence usually needs to be licensed by one of the independent locatives preceding them in a clause.   The distinction between these two subcategories of locatives is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. 'Independent' and 'dependent' locatives in Taba

Independent locatives		Dependent locatives	
Directionals	e.g. *lawe* 'seawards'	Place names	e.g. *dore* 'Tidore'
Demonstratives of place	e.g. *ane* 'here'	Locative postpositional phrases	e.g. *meja li* 'on the table'

Examples (6a) and (7a) below illustrate how 'independent' locatives are used to license 'dependent' locatives. Examples (6b) and (7b) are pragmatically marked since dependent locatives occur without a preceding independent locative. Utterances like these would generally require that the directionality with respect to the speaker be at least implicit in the context of the utterance.

(6)   Taba

    a.   N-han   ak-la   Keten

        3s-go   ALL-sea Moti

        'He's gone seawards to Moti.'

    b.   ?N-han   Keten

        3s-go   Moti

        'He's gone to Moti.'

(7)   Taba

    a.   Galas   le-we   meja   li

        glass   ESS-land   table   LOC

        'The glass is in a landwards direction on the table.'

    b.   ?Galas meja   li

        glass   table   LOC

        'The glass is on the table.'

In my text counts dependent locatives are licensed by independent locatives in around 80% of all uses in Taba. Most of the remaining 20% of unlicensed use of dependent locatives occurs when a direction is anaphorically retrievable by the addressee.

A very similar situation exists in Tidore. Van Staden (2000a) analyses the equivalent Tidore constructions in a slightly different way to Bowden's analysis of Taba, but it seems clear that the basic notion of directionals (or 'locationals' in van Staden's terminology) being used to license other locative expressions applies equally in Tidore. The Tidore 'locationals can be prefixed with *ka-* giving a set of locational

predicates' (van Staden 2000a:162). 'Often the locational predicate precedes or follows a further specification of the exact location in a prepositional phrase' (van Staden 2000a:163). In example (8), *katina* 'landwards', the locative predicate, is followed by a prepositional phrase, *te mina miyeye mafola majiratina* 'at her grandmother's poor landward house'. The final enclitic in this example *tina* 'landward' shows the unaffixed locational being used attributively to refer to the location of the house. Examples (8)-(10) all show locational predicates being used before further specification of the relevant location.

(8) Tidore   (van Staden 2000a:163)

gosa   mina   isa   kai   <u>ka-tina</u>   te   mina
carry   3SG.F   landwards   marriage   PRED-landward   LOC   3SG.F
mi-yeye   ma-fola   ma-jira=tina
3SG.F.POS-grandmother   INAL-house   NOM-ugly=landward
'take her landwards to be married at her grandmother's poor/ugly [landward, JB] house.'

(9) Tidore   (van Staden 2000a:163)

una   sari mina   <u>ka-tina</u>   toma   banga   ma-toto
3SG.M   seek 3SG.F   PRED-landward   LOC   forest   3NH.POSS-interior
'He looks for her landwards in the depth of the forest.'

(10) Tidore   (van Staden 2000a:163)

una   sari mina   toma   banga   ma-toto   <u>ka-tina</u>
3SG.M   seek 3SG.F   LOC   forest   3NH.POSS-interior   PRED-landward
'He looks for her in the depth of the forest landwards.'

Although the Tidore locational predicates can either precede a prepositional phrase as in (8) and (9), or (with a difference in meaning) follow it as in (10), these examples and many others in van Staden (2000a, b) illustrate quite compellingly that overt use of locational predicates with other locative expressions is the norm.

Using directional elements in the ways illustrated above hardly ever occurs in standard Indonesian. But in North Maluku Malay, the national language's local basilectal diglossic counterpart, a similar use of directional expressions is the norm. In order to compare the situation in Taba and in North Maluku Malay, I examined two parallel texts, each relating the same personal story of a 40-year-old Makianese man's experiences during the volcanic eruption which devasated Makian island in 1987. This personal narrative was recorded twice: first in North Maluku Malay and then in

Taba. In the Taba text, 79% of occurrences of one of the dependent locatives were licensed by a preceding independent locative. In North Maluku Malay the figure was a little lower, but still quite high at 58%. Examples (11) and (12) show directionals co-occurring in both Taba and North Maluku Malay versions of the same sequence in the story.

(11) Taba

Indadi.. taplod malai.. lalhod. Lalhod... lhan appo.. solo li
so DETR-erupt then 3pl=run 3pl-run 3pl=go ALL-down beach LOC
'So it was erupting... then... they ran… They ran... they went down... to the beach.'

(12) North Maluku Malay

Baru meledak, baru dong lari…ka bawa di pante
then erupt then they run to down LOC beach
'Then it erupted and they ran downwards to the beach.'

It is worth noting that *bawa* 'down' in (12) does not mean 'downhill' to the coast, but in a clockwise direction around the island, just as its equivalent *appo* does in the Taba example. If the speaker had meant 'downhill' he would have used *lao* 'seawards' for this purpose. As we have already noted, examples like (12) never typically occur in standard Indonesian. A more 'standard' version of the same sentence would be as in (13) where *bawa* 'down' would simply be omitted (and North Maluku Malay *dong* would be replaced by Indonesian *mereka,* the connector *baru* replaced with *kemudian* and *ka* would be replaced with *ke*).

(13) Indonesian

Kemudian meledak, kemudian mereka lari… ke pante
then erupt then they run to beach
'Then it erupted and they ran to the beach.'

Examples (14) and (15) show two further typical usages of directionals to support the use of further locative devices in North Maluku Malay utterances, as is the norm in most local speech.

(14) North Maluku Malay

Turus	di	atas	dalam	gunung	ada	talaga.
so	LOC	up	inside	mountain	exist	lake

'So upwards inside the mountain there was a lake.'

(15) North Maluku Malay

Turus	di	atas	bagian	barat	ancur	samua
so	LOC	up	bagian	barat	destroyed	all

'So up on the western side everything was destroyed.'

5. Semantico-syntactic convergence, metatype and language obsolescence

It is clear that the directional system of North Maluku Malay has gone a long way in converging semantically with the directional systems of the local vernaculars spoken in North Maluku. Syntactic convergence may not yet have proceeded to quite the same extent as the semantic realignment has gone, but it is nevertheless real, and the processes which have led to such a state of affairs need further explanation.

The kind of syntactic convergence that is taking place in North Maluku Malay seems to be of the sort labelled 'metatypy' in a series of papers by Malcom Ross (Ross 1996, 1997, 2001, 2003, in press). Ross (in press) characterises metatypy as 'a diachronic process in the course of which the syntax of one of the languages of a bilingual speech community is restructured on the model of the syntax of the speaker's other language'. As Ross points out, other labels that have been used to characterise this process are not really satisfactory: convergence is perhaps one of the most commonly applied labels (see, e.g. Sasse 1985 and Aikhenvald 2002) but this term covers changes in not just syntax, but also phonology, lexicon and morphology. It also implies that all the languages involved in the process undergo changes and that they all move towards each other in some way, when this is clearly not what happens in many cases of so-called convergence.

The changes in the directional system of basilectal Malay as it is spoken in North Maluku have not been accompanied by any changes in the directional systems of the local vernaculars that provided the model for metatypic restructuring in Malay. While the directionals of the indigenous languages have not undergone any change due to the influence of NMM, other parts of the languages have in some cases been quite dratstically affected by Malay. Van Staden (1998) and Bowden (2002) both discuss some of these changes in some detail.

Ross suggests that a number of stages are involved in the process of metatypy. Semantic convergence and intertranslatability of morphemes is a necessary

prerequisite for full blown syntactic and morphological convergence. He also notes that in areas where this kind of convergence takes place, calquing usually takes place and it typically precedes full-blown metatypy. The case of North Maluku Malay is no exception to this rule as example (16) below shows. The Taba example seems to be of some antiquity, since it is (a) lexicalised as the normal way of referring to the following day, and (b) since it is often phonologically reduced in form when it is used. (See Bowden 2001:73-74 for discussion of phonological reduction in Taba.) On the other hand, the NMM expression is readily replaceable by other expressions, and it is not phonologically reduced, so it seems likely that the NMM form is calqued on the Taba form or on forms like the Taba one found in other regional languages. Although this example might be thought of as pseudo-calquing rather than the real thing, it is noteworthy that the directional elements involved in this construction are direct mappings of each other.

(16) Taba   North Maluku Malay
      mawoappo
      mawowo-ap-po   besok   ka   bawa
      light-ALL-down   tomorrow   to   down
      'The next day'   'The next day'

The changes in the North Maluku Malay directional system outlined here provide rather strong confirmation for Ross's argument that semantic restructuring precedes full metatypy. Firstly, as noted with respect to changes in the Balkan linguistic area discussed in the introduction to this paper, syntactic restructuring would not be possible unless there were intertranslatable morphemes to be restructured: some degree of semantic equivalence is a logical prerequisite for syntactic remodelling. Secondly, in the NMM case, the semantic restructuring of the directional system has been completed, but the metatypic restructuring in the syntax of directionals still appears to be in progress. While there is a strong preference for marking all locations with a directional phrase in addition to any closer specification of the location, the preference is not quite as strong as it is in either Taba or Tidore.

Although Ross has changed his position in his most recent publication on the topic, he initially felt that metatypic restructuring always occurred in the language that is emblematic of a speaker's identity and that the language of intercultural communication always provided the metatypic model for the restructuring. Ross (in press) now notes a couple of examples of vehicles of interethnic communication which have undergone metatypy, namely 'Singlish' (Platt 1975) and Taiwan Mandarin (Chappell 2001).

It appears to me that the major problem with Ross' former view is that the dichotomy it entails between 'emblematic language' and 'language of interethnic communication' may be a false dichotomy. For its first language speakers, NMM is emblematic of local identity, but at the same time the language serves as a vehicle of interethnic communication for all those North Malukans who use it as their second language. As mentioned in the introduction, the number of native speakers of North Maluku Malay has undergone explosive growth in the last few decades. There is widespread pressure on North Malukans to drop their indigenous languages in favour of North Maluku Malay. At the same time, there is a countervailing pressure to maintain a sense of local identity in the face of the external world, and North Maluku Malay, being the basilectal variety in a diglossic relationship with standard Indonesian, is ideally suited to the role of emblematacity for its native speakers who may not know any of the indigenous languages. In short, the general situation with respect to what is emblematic and what is used for wider communication is in a state of flux.

It is also interesting to note that the vehicles of interethnic communication that Ross (in press) cites as having undergone metatypic restructuring would both seem to be emblematic for at least some of their speakers too. Both 'Singlish' and Taiwan Mandarin are the basilectal variants in diglossic relationships as well.

One of the arguments originally used by Ross to support the position that the emblematic language is more susceptible to metatypic change was the fact that grammatical changes are not so readily apparent to speakers as, for example, changes in the lexicon of their language brought about by widespread borrowing. This may be true, but semantic restructuring of the type discussed in this paper is very apparent to speakers of North Maluku Malay. Although they may not be so aware of the syntactic restructuring that is taking place, speakers are very conscious of the fact that the semantics of their directionals differ considerably from the semantics of the terms in standard Indonesian and western varieties of Malay. This can be clearly seen by the way in which NMM speakers use the directionals in their conversations with outsiders when they sometimes deliberately mean to confuse their interlocutors. For the people who have taken up North Maluku Malay as their main language, the conception of what is 'local' may be broader than it was for prior generations of speakers of the indigenous languages, but it is real nevertheless, and the desire to retain a local identity remains amongst modern urban dwellers as much as it does amongst villagers. Although urbanisation and intermarriage may eventually lead to the extinction of the indigenous languages of the region, it's interesting to see that traces of them will probably survive not just in the semantics, but also in the syntax of the regional lingua franca long after their demise.

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語言接觸及北馬魯古馬來語方位指示系統的重構

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　　北馬魯古地區馬來語最有趣的非標準馬來語特徵之一是標注相對空間的方位指示系統。這個方位指示系統跟印尼官方用的馬來語，在語意特質及型態句法上都有相當大的不同，但卻跟當地的原住民語言，不論是南島語或非南島語，有極相近的對應。

　　雖然文獻上對於語言區域的語意趨同現象討論的很少，我在本文主張北馬魯古地區語意趨同現象的發生，早於正在進行中的句法趨同現象。雖然長期以來，北馬魯古地區因有越來越多人使用馬來語，造成當地的原住民語言面臨消失的威脅，但在此同時這些原住民語言的某些結構--包括他們表達空間的方位指示系統--卻被保留，且成為該區域馬來語象徵性的特質。

關鍵字：語言接觸、句法轉借、語意趨同、句法趨同、語言區域