

## SOME ASPECTS OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MALAY VIA THOMAS BOWREY'S BILINGUAL DICTIONARY, PUBLISHED IN 1701

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**Abstract.** This article presents a description and an analytical overview of Bowrey's bilingual dictionary, published in 1701. It examines the word entries (lemmas) found in the dictionary, including the content of the supplements of the dictionary. This article discusses some aspects of the morphology of oral Malay as found in the dictionary data, as well as some of the basic syntactic patterns and the nature of the sociolinguistic dimensions that are reflected in the dictionary. Some morphological and syntactic patterns identified in the dictionary are diachronically compared with either the forms found earlier in written text or those found later in contemporary oral Malay in order to estimate the authenticity and correctness of the forms. Some of the findings include the possibilities that the prefixes *ber-*, *ba-*, and *me-* and their variants could be allomorphic in 17th century oral Malay. Between the *ber-* and *ba-* variants, *ber-* seemed to have a broader function. It also seemed that only *ber-* had survived to the present day; the original function of the prefix *ba-* was likely taken over by either *ber-* or *me-* and their allomorphic variants. The syntactic data revealed five basic syntactic patterns. In the interrogative structures, the *wh-* questions seemed to favour placing *wh-* words in the initial position in a sentence, without any interrogative marker (*-kah*). The *yes-no* questions seemed to favour the echo variety. Although *ialah* was present, its corresponding *adalah* did not appear. The presence of *adakah* seemed to suggest the existence of the corresponding *adalah*. Bowrey probably did not remember this when writing the dictionary. Regarding the sociolinguistic dimension, the dictionary revealed that the pronominal form *kitta* (present-day *kita*) was used only as a first-person singular pronoun. While *aku* did exist at the time, there seemed to be no *saya* in 17th century oral Malay.

**Keywords and phrases:** lemma, supplements, allomorphic variants, morphology, syntax

### INTRODUCTION

After 19 years of navigating and trading in and around the Bay of Bengals and the islands of Southeast Asia, Thomas Bowrey, an Englishman, seemed to have achieved proficiency in oral Malay in the latter part of the 17th century. During

his long journey back to England in 1688, he wrote a bilingual dictionary that was published by Sam London in 1701. In the preface he wrote that, "...whereas in all the islands ..., the Malay Language is received and generally used in all trading ports of those islands, only as a Trading Language, ...most of those islands having a peculiar language of their own." He explained that the work was intended "...chiefly for the promotion of trade in the many countries where Malayo Language is spoken". The dictionary contains word lists entered in English-*Malayo* and *Malayo*-English. As supplements, he added the following: (a) short grammar rules and directions; (b) several miscellaneous items; (c) dialogues; and (d) letters in English and Malay. The current article shall present three interrelated areas. First, I will share my observations on some aspects of the nature of the morphology of the oral Malay of Bowrey's time and discuss lexical borrowing and several aspects of the verb morphology of oral Malay. With regard to the latter, I will focus particularly on those verbs surrounding the passive prefixes and the transitive prefixes *me-* and *ber-*. Wherever possible, I will compare them diachronically using De Saussure's (1974) theory with the functions of their counterparts in the earlier wordlists in Pigafetta (1523), Houtman (1598/1603), *Vocabulaer* [1599 as reported by Collins and Schmidt (1992)], Asmah (1991), and the *Tatabahasa Dewan* (Nik, Farid, Hashim & Abdul, 1986, reprinted 1993, 2008). Second, I will present some observations on the nature of the basic syntactic patterns of oral Malay in the late 17th century and compare them with whatever data that are available in Pigafetta, Houtman and *Vocabulaer*, as well as with their respective modern counterparts whenever such comparisons are deemed relevant. Finally, I will provide some sociolinguistic dimensions of Bowrey's dictionary. This presentation calls upon the morphological theories of Nida (1963), Chomsky's theory of government binding (1981), its later development as found in Haegeman (1991) and Culicover (1997), and some sociolinguistic ideas found in Fishman (1970).

## BACKGROUND

This article assumes some background knowledge of Malay grammar, especially the morphology and syntax as found in, for example, the *Tatabahasa Dewan* (Nik, Farid, Hashim & Abdul, 1986, reprinted in 1993, 2008) or any other similar publications. Hence, a formal comparison of the morphology and syntax of modern oral Malay or its earlier oral forms is not the intent of this article and therefore is not provided here. Descriptive study of and analytical commentaries on the oral Malay depicted in Bowrey's dictionary (from his memory) serve as the main purpose of this article. Diachronic comparison of the oral forms in Bowrey's dictionary (particularly aspects of its morphology and the pertinent sentence patterns) with either the corresponding forms in earlier wordlists or the forms in contemporary oral Malay are by-the-way comparisons meant to make

readers aware of the oral forms then and now. In some cases, the comparisons also serve to confirm the authenticity of Bowrey's dictionary entries and examples. For the data from Malay wordlists from the 16th century, the reader will be provided with only the relevant citations, without the full list of the data. Only the data relevant to the matter at hand shall be provided.

The dictionary, *A Dictionary: English and Malayo, Malayo and English*, will serve as the principal source of data. It was printed in London in 1701 by *Sam Bridge*. As for the purposes of this dictionary, Thomas Bowrey wrote on page A2:

The following work was undertaken chiefly for the promotion of trade in the many countries where the Malayo language is spoke, which your honours having perused in manuscript, were pleased to approve of; and to encourage the publishing of it:

The dictionary's goal of assisting Englishmen in learning the *Malayo* language was also apparent from the following statement: "That the ensuing work may become the more useful to my country men, for whom it is designed...." He then further expanded on his purpose as follows:

...but it was done out of a sincere desire to serve my country, giving my country-men all the helps my attainment in this language has made me capable of, which although I am sensible is attained with many imperfections, yet will I doubt not, be a great assistance to the learners of this easie (sic), diffusive, and (as it may be made) profitable language to England in general, and to those persons in particular who shall trade to, or travel the Malayo countries.

Regarding the extent of the *Malayo* country, Bowrey (1701) wrote in the preface:

The Peninsula beyond Ganges stretching down to Johor, which is the extreme southern point of land in Asia, is generally called and known by the name of the Malayo country, and very probably with great reason, it is retaining to this day the Malayo language, as the mother tongue, and general language of the country.

With respect to the extent of the use of the *Malayo* language in Malayo country, Bowrey indicated that:

Whereas in all the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Maccasser, Balee, Cumbava, Saayer, Booton, Booro, Ceram, the Mollucas and Innumerable other Islands, the Malayo language is received and generally used in all the trading ports of those islands, only as the trading language most of those islands having a peculiar language of their own...

Regarding the language situation in the "Greater Islands (as particularly Borneo)", he wrote in the preface:

...there is several different Nations and Languages... but I must tell you, that the Malayo Language spoken in the Islands, is somewhat different from the true Malayo spoken in the Malayo country, although not so much, but to be easily understood by each other. The Malayo spoken in the Islands is called Basadagang, that is to say, the Merchants or Trading Language, and is not so well esteemed as the true Malayo.

In the transcription, Bowrey used the English sounds as his reference points. On this point, he wrote:

...to set down the words of the foreign tongue in such letters of his own, as may best express the true sounds of the Language which he writes, ...spelling the Malayo Words in our character...

As a foreigner in the *Malayo* Country, Bowrey realised the importance of the *Malayo* language as a language of trade. Thus, he achieved the ability to communicate in the language. Fully convinced of its paramount importance to whoever wanted to trade in *Malayo* country, he seemed to have hoped that his dictionary would help others learn it effectively. This commendable attitude was obvious in his statement below:

...and I finding so very few English men that have attained any tolerable knowledge in the Malayo tongue, so absolutely necessary to trade in those Southern Seas, and that there is no Book of this kind published in English to help the attaining that language; there considerations, I say, has inboldened me to publish the insuing dictionary...

In doing so, Bowrey himself realised the many imperfections in his work when he wrote:

...which I am sensible has many imperfections, I having had very little help to assist me, and not having had the opportunity of conversation with any Malayo, since I began this work, nor in several years before.

### **BOWREY'S VIEWS ON THE *MALAYO* LANGUAGE AND HIS EXPERIENCES**

Bowrey's experience in the *Malayo* country saw no need for an interpreter. By his own estimation and admission, Bowrey had attained sufficient mastery of the *Malayo* language. He claimed that even without the intervention of an interpreter,

he could engage in active oral communication with the "natives" (Malays) in commercial dealings at many ports in the *Malayo* country during his trading voyages. On this, he proudly wrote:

I am to tell you, that by nineteen years continuance in East-India wholly spent in navigation and trading in most places of those countries, and much of that time in the Malayo countries, Sumatra, Borneo, Bantam, Batavia, and other parts of Java, by my conversation and trading with the Inhabitants of which places, I did furnish myself with so much of the Malayo language as did enable me to negotiate my affairs, and converse with those people without the assistance of a prevaricating interpreter, as they commonly are.

### **WHAT DO OTHERS SAY ABOUT BOWREY'S DICTIONARY?**

The *Introduction* of Thomas Bowrey's *The Countries Round the Bay of Bengal 1669–1679*, published by the Haklyut Society in 1903, noted that:

William Marsden, F.R.S., who published "A Grammar of the Malay Language" in 1812, was apparently the first scholar to produce such a work in English. His remarks on Bowrey's dictionary are rather severe. Of Bowrey's work Marsden says,

This, although the work of an illiterate person, possesses considerable merit, and derived, as is evident, no advantage whatever from the preceding publications, of the existence of which the author was probably ignorant. His extensive knowledge of the language of the people whose ports he frequented as a trader, he laudably rendered permanent and useful to his countrymen by committing to paper all the words with which his memory furnished him, but he appeared as to have been entirely ignorant of the written language, as even the short specimen of words in the original character, printed at the end of his book, he acknowledges to have been prepared for him at Oxford by that learned and indefatigable orientalist, Thomas Hyde. Owing to his own want of sufficiency in this and some other respects, he has unavoidably fallen into numerous errors, and the sentences he has employed to exemplify the words, being of his own composition, and not quotations, are for the most part incorrect or vulgar, and uncouth in their phraseology (page Ivi, of Haklyut Society 1903).

In my view, Marsden's remarks are, on the whole, grossly unfair. To me, taken in its historical context in the late 17th century (when there was no guide for such writing), the effort and success of Thomas Bowrey in putting the spoken *Malayo* language (as he termed it) into print from memory was a remarkable achievement. It is possible that there were sources, but these were not easily available. Hence, to a large extent, his dictionary stood alone in its representation

of this period in the history of Malay. Language is primarily oral (that is, *la parole* in De Saussure's (1974) sense), and the written form (which usually comes later, after the writing system for it has been obtained) is a form of the more original oral representation. Thus, in my view, Bowrey's dictionary was, to a large extent, a success in recording the *Malayo* language of his time. Therefore, rather than criticising Bowrey's works (from a different time frame) as those of a person who made no reference to (or was ignorant of) the written language, I suggest that his work can be seen in as a positive light. For instance, it can be seen as a rich source of complementary "*la parole*" evidence (in print) of the written language sources. On its own terms, I suggest that the work shed some positive light on dynamic *oral* language usage among the traders of the various *Malayo* Country ports in the late 17th century.

### **THE PHYSICAL ASPECTS AND CONTENT OF THE DICTIONARY**

The preface contains a map entitled: *A map of the countries wherein the Malayo language was spoken*. The layout of the content is as follows:

- (a) It does not have page numbers.
- (b) It contains two parts:
  - i. The first part, entitled *A Dictionary English & Malayo*, is arranged in alphabetical order from AB, BA...ZE.
  - ii. The second part is entitled *A Dictionary of Malayo & English* and is arranged in alphabetical order from AB, AC...ZA.
- (c) It has the following appendices:
  - i. Grammar Rules for the *Malayo* language.
  - ii. Miscellanies English and *Malayo*.
  - iii. Dialogue English and *Malayo*.
  - iv. Letters: English and *Malayo*.
  - v. *Malayo's* and all other Mahometans, their manner of computation of time.

#### **A Dictionary of English and *Malayo***

In most cases, for each English word entry (lemma), the dictionary provides one corresponding Malay equivalent. For example:

Acted, *Berboat*  
 Added, *Bertamba*.  
 Affianced, *Bertoongang*.

In other cases, the dictionary provides a number of equivalents. For example:

Age, *Oomoor, Tooah*  
 Agreed *Berjanji, sooda janjee*.

Often, the English entries list synonyms followed by one or more Malay equivalents:

Abide, or remain, *Tingal*  
 to acquit or let go, *lepas*.

Sometimes an entry is followed by sub-entries:

An act or deed, *Booatan, Berbooatan*.  
 -or decree, *Titah*  
 to act or to do, *Booat*.

Finally, some entries are accompanied by the word's usage in the form of a phrase or short sentence. For example:

Acquainted, *berkenal, taoo*.  
 I am acquainted with him, *Saya berkenal padanea, Saya taoo padanea*.  
 Born, *Beranak, jaddee*.  
 A newborn child, *Anak eang baroo jaddee*.

### **A Dictionary of Malayo and English**

Here are some examples of the variety in word entries:

*Adeck*, youngest  
*Ahhad*, Sunday  
*Ajar*, reprove, admonish, warn, advise, teach, learn, educate, direct,  
 instruct, exhort, inform, prompt  
*Ampir datang*, almost come  
*Ampoon*, to pardon, absolve, remit, excuse, forgive a fault  
*Ampoon la Allah dosa etoo padako*,  
 O God forgive me that sin  
*Atee*, mind, conscience, heart  
*Ateenea besarr darree pada cawasanea dan artanya*,  
 He is proud from his power and his richness.

## **Grammar Rules of the Malay Language: Some Aspects of the Morphology and its Syntax**

### (a) General

This dictionary represented the first known attempt by any Englishman to write a Malay grammar from memory without reference to any previous work on the same subject. Other written sources, which Bowrey probably had no knowledge of, included two letters from Ternate (1521, 1522), Pigafetta's wordlist (1523), Houtman's wordlist (1598/1603), and *Vocabulaer* [1599, as mentioned in Collins and Schmidt (1992)]. Bowrey chose to use his own educational background and knowledge of Latin, adopting Latin grammar as his model of "description", i.e., '*...endeavour to Reduce any Foreign language to these Rules...*'. Such a strategy might have been Bowrey's only way out, as in his time knowledge of Latin was highly esteemed by the public; generally educated and erudite gentlemen were expected to have some knowledge of Latin grammar. In my view, the use of Latin grammar as a model of his description must have been fitting at the time.

In a number of places, he expressed his view that Malay was an easy language: "*...the Malayo language being of plain sound and easie Pronounciation....*" (Preface); and "*...that any Learner may by observing these Directions, soon attain to a Facility in this easie language*" (Grammar). This view must have come from his own experience in achieving a communicative ability in oral Malay without any formal learning.

Bowrey recognised the following word classes: nouns, adjectives, and verbs. This was possibly the earliest known classification of Malay word classes. From his word entries (lemmas), it seems obvious that he had full knowledge of many other words beyond the three word classes mentioned above. Yet, surprisingly, he did not classify these terms even though they could have been conveniently grouped as function words or into any other groupings using Latin/English terminologies. These function words include prepositions; adverbs; particles; negative words; sentence adverbials; connectives; and adverbial words of time, place, manner, etc. I assume that either Bowrey found these words too cumbersome to map onto Latin/English terminologies or he had no pragmatic need for such word classes, as his word entries (lemmas) did not include them. Whatever his reasons for not formally classifying such words, I believe that his dictionary would have been more complete with some kind of classification of function words. Returning to the three word classes Bowrey did define, he correctly observed that they were undeclined. This meant that the words (especially the main word classes) did not change their morphological forms in conjunction with changes in their functions. For example, the verb form did not change if the tense or person, gender, or number of the subject/noun phrase in the

sentence changed. Earlier wordlists from Pigafetta (426 words) (1523, in Harun Aminurrashid 1966) and Houtman (177 words) (1598/1603, in Harun Aminurrasid 1966) also failed to show any awareness of such non-conjugative characteristics of Malay verbs on the part of the author(s).

In his entries of adjectival words, Bowrey indirectly correctly observed that oral Malay in the 17th century had a comparative degree and a superlative degree. For example:

*Teggar*, hard; *Lebbee Teggar* more hard/harder,  
*Terteggar* hardest or  
*Teggar daree pada samoa*, Hardest of all.

In this respect, Bowrey unconsciously observed one way of expressing the comparative degree and two ways of expressing the superlative degree in the oral Malay of his time. He did this by using the word *lebbee* (modern Malay – henceforth simply *mm* – [lebih]) for the former case, and using the prefix *ter-* and the expression "daree pada samoa" (or *daripada semua*) for the latter case. Related to this, a cursory examination of Pigafetta (1523) and Houtman's (1598/1603) wordlists shows that neither list identified this particular characteristic of oral Malay observed by Bowrey.

However, Bowrey incorrectly observed that the oral Malay of the 17th century expressed genders in the English sense (i.e., male/female). The wordlists from Pigafetta and Houtman do not support Bowrey's contention.

Further, in the list of personal pronouns, Bowrey observed the presence of the following:

*ako* 'I', *Joo*, 'thou', *packanera* 'you', *dea* 'he/she', *camee* 'we', *camoo* 'ye',  
*deoran* 'they'.

The presence of the second personal pronoun, *joo* ('thou'), is interesting (in my view) for two reasons:

- i. It has no modern Malay equivalent (in either oral or written form).
- ii. It is likely that Bowrey was addressed by the traders at the ports he visited as *joo* ← you (English), possibly leading him to think that *joo* was a Malay pronoun. Nonetheless, it is also possible that *joo* was used in some ports along the Eastern part of Western Nusantara (such as Ternate, Ambon, Maluku, Banda, etc.) that Bowrey's ship visited. It is also possible that, in his business dealings in other ports, he encountered

Malay speakers who addressed him as *Joo*. Some of his examples are as follows:

*Joo poocool*, 'Thou dost beat.'

*Joo maoo poocool*, 'Thou wilt beat.'

*Poocooo la joo*, 'Beat Thou.'

*Joo sooda berpooool*, 'Thou art beaten.'

*Kitta teda maoo fadoolee dungan joo*, 'I won't concern myself with you.'

One other obvious reference by Bowrey to the second-person singular pronoun was the use of the Javanese honorific term, *packanera* ('you'), as in, *Carna apa packanera poocool pada nea?* ('Why do you strike him?'). This pronoun was listed as *pakanira* in Houtman's list [1598 – see Harun Aminurashid (1966)].

As evidenced by the dictionary, the word *kitta* seems to have been used regularly as an honorific form of address for the first person singular pronoun, as in *Kitta teda maoo fadoolee dungan joo* ('I won't concern myself with you'). A similar observation was made by Raja Marsitah Raja Ariffin (2001: 252) when Sultan Abu Hayat addressed his 1521 letter to the King of Portugal. This style of honorific address was reportedly sustained even as late as 1819, as seen in a letter from Farquhar to the Raja Bendahara of Pahang (Raja Masitah Raja Ariffin 2001: 255). As a matter of comparison, this "style" is no longer used in contemporary Malay (oral/written); *kita* now refers to only the 'first person inclusive plural'. The third-person plural noun, *mereka* ('they'), is noticeably absent from Bowrey's dictionary. Instead, *deoran* ('they'), the precursor of the colloquial/oral modern Malay *dia orang*, was found. However, this absence can be regarded as a lapse in Bowrey's memory, as a written Malay variant, *mereka itu*, was reported to exist in an earlier written Malay text from the 16th century (Asmah's *Bahasa Melayu Abad ke-16 'Aqa'id Al-Nasafi'* 1991: 115). The other third-person singular pronoun variants recognised by Bowrey were *dia* ('he/she') and *-nea*. The latter is a third person clitic pronoun equivalent of the modern '-nya', as in *Dia berbaju hijau* ('He has green clothes') and *Adda anak padanea?* ('Has he/she any children?'). Regarding this matter, Asmah (1991) indicated the existence of these pronouns in an earlier 16th-century written Malay "translation" of an Arabic religious text, using four variants: *ia*, *ia itu*, *dia*, and *-nya*. Meanwhile, Raja Marsitah Raja Ariffin (2001) noted that the variants *-nya* and *ia* were also observed in a letter from 1602: *Surat Izin Berdagang di Aceh*. However, the *ia* variant was not found in Bowrey's dictionary of oral Malay. None of the above personal pronouns were found in Pigafetta's earlier wordlist (1523, in Harun Aminurrashid 1966). Yet the third-person singular pronoun *dia* did appear in Houtman (1598) as *dya* (Harun Aminurrashid, 1966: 119).

## (b) Lexical borrowing

A foreigner in *Malayo* country like Bowrey must have noticed immediately (even as early as the late 17th century) the lexical borrowing from the various foreign languages that had come into contact with Malay throughout its history. Bowrey's observations note:

...some few words they have taken from the Indostan and Persian; as for wheat, bread etc. things not growing or made in their country, but brought to them from Indostan, Persia, or Arabia, and they together with the things, received the country-name it came from.

Bowrey's dictionary also recorded a few words borrowed from Arabic and Sanskrit/Tamil. However, as he wrote his dictionary from memory during his England-bound voyage and had not been in contact with oral Malay speakers for a while, it is not surprising that Bowrey did not record many words borrowed from other source languages, such as Chinese and Tamil. These languages must have existed at that time, considering that the *Malayo* country had been under the political, economic, and cultural influence of the Chinese and Indians at different times in its history many years before Bowrey was plying these places. As a by-the-way comparison, even Pigafetta's wordlist (which appeared almost two centuries earlier) recorded several foreign words of Chinese (such as *ajun* → *jong* 'junk'), Near Eastern (Indian sub-continent) and Middle Eastern origin (such as *Allah* 'God', *mischit* → *masjid* (mm) 'mosque', *calam* → *kalam* (mm) 'pen', *saytan* → *syaitan* 'devil', *capal* (Tamil) → *kapal* (mm) 'ship'). Houtman's (1598) list registered Arabic words such as *kytab* → *kitab* (mm) 'book', *cadda* → *kadi* (mm) 'judge, high priest', and *lonmahet* → *Jumaat* (mm) 'Friday'. Among the borrowed words mentioned by Bowrey were:

- i. Lexical borrowing from Arabic: *doosta* 'to lye', *cartas* 'paper', *sobat-sobat* 'friends', *acal* 'wise'
- ii. Lexical borrowing from Sanskrit/Tamil: *rootee* 'bread', *capal* 'a ship'

Some foreign words listed in Bowrey's dictionary, such as *sobat-sobat* (Arabic for 'friends'), *acal* (Arabic for 'wise'), and *rootee* (Tamil for 'bread'), seemed to have escaped the notice of Pigafetta and Houtman, whose wordlists were made almost two centuries before Bowrey's dictionary.

## (c) Distinction between active and passive voice

Bowrey also noticed the distinction between active and passive voice. He suggested that one way to express the latter in oral Malay was *via* the 'particle [ber] or [ta]'. For example:

*Ako cassee* 'I love' → *Ako sooda ber cassee* 'I am loved.'  
*Joo sooda berpoocool*. 'Thou art beaten.'  
*Ako ajar* 'I teach' → *Ako sooda ber ajar* 'I am taught.'  
*Joo sooda berpoocool*. 'Thou art beaten.'  
*Ako soodah ta cassee* 'I am loved.'

In the above examples, Bowrey seems to be suggesting that *ta-* and *ber-* were variants or allomorphs. Whether the basis of such variants was the phonological environment or the semantic grouping of words was not clear, as there were too few examples of the *ta-* type in the dictionary for any clear conclusions to be drawn. Be that as it may, Bowrey's statement (implied by his examples) that there was a verbal prefix *ta-* in the oral Malay of the 17th century does support Collins and Schmidt's (1992) observation that the wordlist in the *Vocabulaer* (1599) contained an example in which the verbal prefix *ta-* occurred once in *tackan: betooveren* (Dutch) '*memukaukan, mempengaruhi dengan ilmu sihir*'. But while the linguistic form of the prefix was the same *ta-*, the semantic function of Bowrey's *ta-* seems to have been similar to the semantic function of the verbal *ber-*. Meanwhile, the function of the *ta-* cited by Collins and Schmidt was similar to that of the modern oral Malay *ter-*, as in *terkena* (Collins & Schmidt 1992: 307). Also, Bowrey's examples above suggest that 17th-century oral Malay had the prefix *ber-* as a passive voice marker, as seen in the above two examples. It is difficult to estimate outwardly whether Bowrey was correct or erred on the basis of restricted data. However, a look at some of the studies on the history of Malay affixes and languages that are related to Malay, such as Adelaar (1984), Roolvink (1965), and Syed Zainal (2005), shows that *ber-* could indeed function as a passive marker in some contexts. On this point, Roolvink (Ibid: 333) wrote, "*Ber-* derivative could occur...in (i) an active, but also in (ii) a middle or in (iii) a passive sense". Considering this observation, it is likely that Bowrey was correct in his data, where *ber-* functions as a passive verb marker in 17th century oral Malay. Incidentally, the passive function of *ber-* remains observable in modern oral Malay to this day, albeit in very restricted cases, as in the example below:

*Pinggan-mangkuk itu belum ber basuh lagi.*  
 dishes not [+passive] wash yet.

'The dishes are not yet washed.'

Bowrey's data also contain passive sentences with verbs in the form of *de + V* → *de tikam...*

*...looca eang de tikam dungan lambing.*  
 '...that was stab'd with a lance.'

*Dea de chabootcan pedang nea dan menetac capala nea.*  
'He drew his sword and cut him over the head.'

It seems quite apparent that Bowrey's acquisition of the Malay passive forms was limited to only the most basic, namely the form in which the verb was prefixed by the passive prefixes *ta-*, *ber-* (above), and *de-* (as in *de tikam* 'was stabbed' ← *de* + *tikam*). Either these were the only passive forms that existed at that time, or the other passive forms escaped Bowrey's memory and thus were not recorded. If modern oral Malay can be used as a reference, the other passive prefixes that were likely to have existed but do not appear in Bowrey's dictionary were *ter-* (*terkarang* 'was authored', *kena* 'being inflicted', first-person clitic pronouns such as *ku-* (*ku-pukul* 'hit by me' split passive *ke-an* (as in *kehujanan* 'being rained')). As a by-the-way diachronic comparison, Pigafetta's and Houtman's data also lacked such terms. Hence, it may be the case that Bowrey was correct in his recollection.

It seems that as a verbal prefix, *de-* had two functions in Bowrey's 17th century oral Malay:

(a) as a prefix of a passive verb yielding passive sentences:

*...looca eang de tikam dungan lambing.*  
'...that was stab'd with a lance.'

(b) as a prefix of an active verb yielding active sentences:

*Siappa de loomoorcan pakean moo?*  
'Who smeared your clothes?'

*Dea de chabootcan pedang nea dan menetac capala nea.*  
'He drew his sword and cut him over the head.'

The first function is similar to the function of *di+v* (transitive) in contemporary oral Malay. The two latter examples, in which *de-* is a prefix for active-transitive verbs (*de loomoorcan* and *de chabootcan*), are intriguing. Assuming that Bowrey's memory did not fail during the writing of his dictionary (such that the two latter examples above were correct representations of oral Malay), then one would expect to encounter more usages of *de-* as an active-transitive verb marker. If more examples could be found, then its presence could probably be deemed an allomorphic variant of the regular transitive-active prefix marker *me-*. A search for such additional data was in vain, however. In light of its restricted occurrence, it might be the case that Bowrey had meant it to be \**me loomoorcan* and \**mechabootcan*. Since such forms did not exist in the dictionary, the data at

hand cannot be used to draw a concrete conclusion. A review of earlier data from Pigafetta (1523), Houtman (1598/1603), and *Vocabulaer* [1599, as cited by Collins and Schmidt (1992)] also failed to produce supporting data. Thus, conjecture seems to indicate that it was an error, misconception, or oversight on Bowrey's part. This seems to be the most likely case. This contention stems from the fact that at least there was no supporting evidence of an active-transitive function of *de-* in earlier Malay data sources, such as Pigafetta (1523), Houtman (1598/1603), Asmah (1991) on *Aqa'id* (16th century), *Vocabulaer* (1599 in Collins and Schmidt 1992), Blagden (1930 on Malay Letters of 1521 and 1522), and Syed Zainal (2005). Even a paper devoted solely to the study of the active-passive verb forms in classical Malay (Roolvink 1965) does not mention the existence of *de-* as an active-transitive verb marker. Finally, there is no such function observable in modern oral Malay. Instead, modern oral Malay includes the morpheme *di-*, which functions as either a preposition (as in *di rumah*, 'at home') or a marker of a passive-transitive verb (as in *Ikan dimakan kucing*, 'the fish has been eaten by a cat').

(d) Tenses and some prefixes of verbs

Bowrey suggested the presence of past, present, and future tenses in 17th century oral Malay. That is, his contention was that oral Malay verbs were marked for tenses in the same way as English verbs. In this regard, I believe that Bowrey erred; my own observations of his data suggest that like modern oral Malay (in the absence of aspectual words or time adverbials), tenses were expressed *via* context. Bowrey was silent on the manner of indicating tenses *via* aspectual words such as *sudah/telah* ('past') and time adverbial words such as *kelmarin* ('yesterday') and *tadi* ('just now', etc.). However, his examples did contain the aspectual words and adverbials of time.

Bowrey seems to have been aware that some oral Malay prefixes played the role of tense-marking. For example, *ber-* expressed a 'sense of completeness' and was used to indicate a past action, as in the following case:

*Camoo sooda berpoocool.*  
'Ye are beaten.'

In the case of *ber-* in *Ber kera* or *Ta Kera*, Bowrey seemed to have incorrectly assumed that it meant 'thought/did think'. The modern oral Malay counterparts are:

*berkira* (*Dia berkira*, 'He is calculative'); *Ta Kira*,  
'not counted' or 'not taken into consideration'

Also, in Bowrey's dictionary, there seems to be no statement on the other two functions of the prefix *ber-* seen in modern oral Malay, namely 'to show an action performed by oneself', as in *Dia berjalan* ('He walks/He is walking') and 'to express possession of some sort, as in *Dia berbaju hijau* ('He has green clothes on'). It is reasonable to suspect that the oral Malay of the 17th century included these other functions of the prefix *ber-*. Even the earlier data in Pigafetta (1523) and the data from a letter from the Sultan of Ternate to the King of Portugal (1521) contained words with the prefix *ber-* or its variants. For example, Pigafetta (1523) includes *suda babini* (mm: *sudah berbini* 'already married') and *biniaga* (mm: *berniaga* 'trading'). In the 1521 letter, *berhimpah* (mm: *berhimpun* 'to assemble', *balayar* (mm: *belayar* 'to sail'), and *beparanglah* (mm: *berperanglah* 'at war') are noted. In addition, Roolvink's (1965) study, which drew data from many classical written texts from the 18th and 19th centuries, also showed the presence of such functions of *ber-* in Malay.

Although there were few examples, Bowrey also seems to have suggested that the prefix *ba-* existed in the oral Malay of the 17th century. This can be seen in the example below:

*Ba bacha* 'reading', *Ba dungar*  
'hearing" and *Ba kena* 'applying'.

*Jangan baleter di senee*  
'Don't (chatter) here'.

*Brapa maoo bataroo atta etoo?*  
'What will you lay of that?'

Bowrey's recollection of oral Malay seems to be correct on this matter, as a cursory examination of data from earlier periods, such as Houtman's (1598/1603) list and *Vocabulaer* (1599, in Collins and Schmidt 1992), showed some examples of verb forms prefixed by *ba-*, as in the following:

Pigafetta (1523):

*suda babini* → (mm: *sudah berbini* 'already married')

Houtman (1598/1603):

*baccalays* → (mm: *berkelahi* 'fighting');

*Vocabulaer* (1599 in Collins and Schmidt 1992):

*badangar* (mm: *mendengar* 'to listen');  
*barnan* → (mm: *berenang* 'swimming');  
*baasap* → (mm: *berasap* 'producing smoke').  
*batturon cabauwa* → (mm: *(ber)turun ke bawah* 'going down')

Blagden (1930, Sultan Ternate's letters 1521 and 1523):

*balayar/belayar* 'to sail' and *baperang/beperang* 'to wage a war'.

A closer look at the restricted data suggests that the prefix *ba-*, as recorded by Bowrey, seems to have been used to prefix intransitive verbs. This seems to be similar to the observation made regarding the verbal prefix *ba-* in *Vocabulaer* (1599) by Collins and Schmidt (1992). The authors mention that *ba-* was a prefix to root verbs whose products were stative verbs that informed more about the nature of the subject. Abdul Razak (1994) and Syed Zaina (2005) also mention the existence of the prefix *ba-*.

The 17th century oral Malay in Bowrey's dictionary had not only the verbal prefix *ba-* as presented above, but also the verbal prefix *ber-*. The *ba-* and the *ber-* morphemes here could be allomorphic variants due to either verbal groupings or different phonological environments (which are not our concern here). They could also be a result of the morpheme *ba*, which occurred in few cases in 17th-century oral Malay. This was actually the fossilized form of *ba-* from earlier periods (see the examples from *Vocabulaer* 1599 above), yet most of these verb forms with *ba-* had become *ber-* in 17th-century oral Malay. This contention is motivated by the fact that, in Bowrey's dictionary, the *ba-* morpheme has few occurrences compared to the wider occurrence of the *ber-* morpheme. Here are some other examples in which *ber-* can function as a transitive marker, an intransitive marker (in relatively many more verbs), or a passive marker with certain verbs:

Acted, *berboat* (active-transitive);  
 Added, *bertamba* (intransitive);  
 Affianced, *bertoonang* (intransitive);  
 Acquainted, *berkenal, tao* (intransitive);  
 Born, *beranak, jaddee* (intransitive);  
 He is calculative, 'Dia *berkira*.' (intransitive);  
 An act or deed, *Booatan, Berbooatan*. (intransitive);  
 I only smiled, '...kitta *bersinjom saja*.' (intransitive); and  
 Let him be beaten. 'Bear la dea jaddee *berpooool*.' (passive)

In addition, there were words that had the derivative form of *ba+v* in the earlier period, but became *ber+v* in the 17th century (as found in the dictionary). Here are two illustrative cases:

Malay of earlier period 1599	Oral Malay in the 17th century
<i>Vocabulaer</i> (1599) list no.6: <i>bakanal</i> 'to know.'	Acquainted: <i>berkenal</i> , <i>taoo</i> .  'I am acquainted with him' <i>Saya berkenal padanea, Saya taoo padan</i>
<i>Vocabulaer</i> (1599) list no. 6: <i>blaygeer</i> 'to learn'.	<i>Ako ajar</i> 'I teach' → <i>Ako sooda ber ajar</i> 'I am taught.'

In the dictionary, the presence of allomorphic verbal prefixes to indicate a transitive-active action, namely {*me, mem, men, meng, meni*}, is quite noticeable. However, there was no evidence of the presence of the prefix *menge-*. In order to ascertain that Bowrey did not accidentally omit this prefix due to memory lapse, one might look for supporting or contradicting evidence in data that were recorded earlier [for example, Pigafetta's list, Houtman's list, the *Vocabulaer* mentioned earlier, and the Malay letters of 1521/1522 in Blagden (1930)]. However, these sources offer no supporting or contradicting evidence; in other words, no data can be found. This may lead to speculation that the prefix *menge-* did not exist in oral Malay, even up to the publication of Bowrey dictionary in 1701. Although the matter requires further study, it may be the case that the modern oral Malay *menge-* used today is a much later variant of the earlier allomorphic form of *meng-*. This may find support in the fact that the modern morpheme *menge-* occurs only in monosyllabic words (of which there are relatively few) as a result of more "recent" borrowing from the European language, such as *cat* → *mengecat* 'to paint' (English), *bom* → *mengebom* 'to bomb' (English), *cap* → *mengecap* 'to print' (English), *lap* → *mengelap* 'to wipe' (Dutch), and *pam* → *mengepam* 'to pump' (English).

(e) The particles

- i. **la:** The particle *la* is regularly found in oral Malay at the end of 17th century. This may be the precursor of the modern oral Malay *la* rather than the (borrowed) *la* from Chinese as has been suggested elsewhere. Some examples are as follows:

**In post-verbal position** to indicate a subjunctive function.

*Tooroon la daree pada cooda moo....* 'Do dismount from your horse.'  
*Poocool la joo.* 'Beat Thou.'  
*Poocco la camoo.* 'Beat ye, Do ye beat.'  
*Bear la dea jaddee berpocool."* Let him be beaten.'  
*Macan la acan rototee etoo.* 'Eat that bread.'  
*Minnoom la acan anggor too.* 'Drink that wine.'  
*Baring la.* 'Lie down.'

**In post-nominal position** to indicate displeasure.

*Banyak amat etoo la.* 'That is too much.'

ii. *acan/can* (the modern version is *akan/kan*).

Bowrey noticed that it is "...often joined to *Verbs* in the active voice and the passive..." and that the particle [*acan*] or sometimes [*can*] signifies [to], as in [*acan oran*] 'to a Man', but is often added to verbs. For example:

*Ako maoo macan acan rootee etoo.* 'I will eat that bread.'  
*Ako maoo Minnoom can angoor etoo.* 'I will drink that wine.'

It is suggested here that the modern oral Malay form seems to be the *akan/kan* that often follows certain verbs, such as *cinta* ('love'), as in:

*Aku cinta (a)kan kau.* 'I love you'.

In modern oral Malay, this form of *(a)kan* seems to be out of use (in that it is left out, as in *Aku cinta kau*, meaning 'I love you').

(f) Some other morphological observations on numerals and fractions

- i. *Delapan* 'eight' → (Malay) *lapan*; cf. (Indonesian) *delapan*.
- ii. *laksa* '1000' → (Malay) *seribu*.
- iii. *Keetee* '10,000' → *sepuluh ribu*.
- iv. *Tengah dua* 'one and half' → *satu setengah*.
- v. *Tenga tega* 'two and half' → *dua setengah*.
- vi. *orang anak* 'a child' (notice that there was no word for *budak*).

The word *delapan* ('eight') in the dictionary is interesting in that it was recorded in the same way in Pigafetta (1523), as in *delapan* ('eight'), *delapan puluh* ('eighty'), *delapan ratus* ('eight hundred'), *delapan laksa* ('eight thousand'). This

suggests that the *delapan* form in Bowrey's dictionary is a continuation of an earlier form. Note that the modern oral Malay form for the number eight is simply *lapan* ('eight'), where the syllable onset CV-, *de*-, has been dropped. The word *laksa*, which is of Sanskrit origin (likely through Tamil), is seen in Bowrey's dictionary, but is out of use in contemporary oral Malay. Bowrey's numeral fractions in *tengah dua* ('one and half') and *tenga tega* ('two and a half'), which should have been *tengah tega*, are also out of use in modern oral Malay. Instead, the present corresponding forms are in reverse order with the addition of the syllable *se*-, as in *satu setengah* and *dua setengah*, respectively. Therefore, it is noted here that the way of stating the number *delapan* ('eight') and the fractions as shown above (e iv-v), which were correctly stated by Bowrey for 17th century oral Malay, has been dropped in modern oral Malay.

(g) The Absence of *ialah/adalah* and Presence of *adakah*

The *ialah/adalah* construction, which is often labelled a descriptive verb + particle (Malay "pemer" in the *Tatabahasa Dewan* 1986/reprinted in 1993 and 2008), was not found in Bowrey's dictionary.

*Orang kaya etoo soodagar.* 'That rich man is a merchant adventurer.'  
*cf.:* Tatabahasa Dewan as *Orang kaya itu (ialah) Saudagar*, where *ialah* is optional.

In this case, however, its absence from the dictionary might be attributed to a lapse in memory on Bowrey's part, as the 'descriptive word' or 'pemer' *ialah* was used once in Sultan Abu Hayat's letter (the Sultan of Ternate) to the King of Portugal in 1522, in the following form:

*Ini surat kaseh Sultan Abu Hayat surat datang ke-pada ayahanda Sultan Portukal dunia 'alam ialah yang maha besar...*

That is to say, the existence of *ialah/adalah* in Malay is not to be disputed, as its occurrence in 1522 is very strong evidence that it was actively used in the early 16th century.

With regard to *adalah*, Bowrey's dictionary does not contain any data. However, its interrogative counterpart, *adakah*, was observed in the following example:

*Adacca bugetoo?* 'Is it so?'

Here, *adacca* seems to be the precursor of the modern oral Malay *adakah*. It is premature, however, to determine whether one can infer that the occurrence of

*adakah* (Bowrey's *adacca*) in Bowrey's dictionary presupposes the existence of its corresponding form, *adalah*.

(h) Structures of the basic sentences (on the Surface)

The sentences provided by Bowrey can be summarised as within the purview of the structures in (i1) through (i5) below:

(i1) **The [N'- Adjective] Structure.**

*Cakkee moo panjang.* 'You have long foot.'  
*Soongoo tuan branee.* 'Really you are venturesome.'  
*Poogon nea tubbal amat.* 'The back is to(o) thick.'  
*Kapal sooda sarat.* 'The ship is over laden.'  
*Booa enee boocon boontar.* 'This ball is not round.'  
*Cheper ini boolat.* 'His trencher is round.'

(i2) **The [ N'- Prepositional Phrase] Structure.**

*Taddee dea de senee.* 'He was here just now.'

(i3) **The N-Predicate Phrase.**

*Sooda saya mengoobah pooas ko.* 'I have broke my fast.'  
*Saya mendungar boonee badangoong.* 'I heard a ruffling noise.'

(i4) **The [N'-N'] Structure.**

*Orang kaya etoo soodagar.* 'That rich man is a merchant adventurer.'

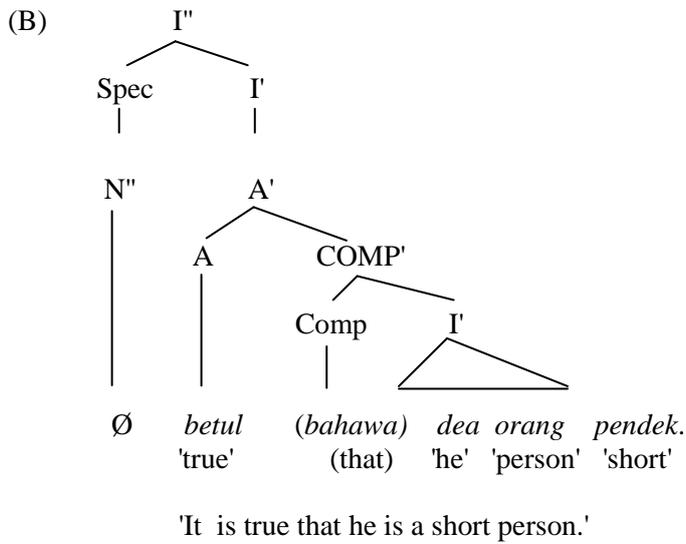
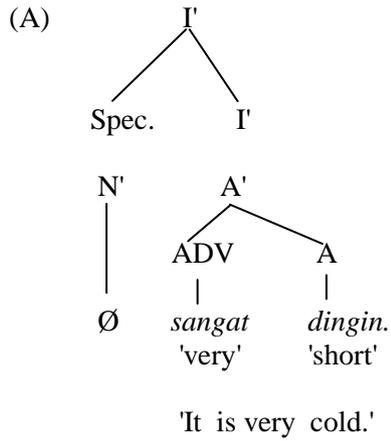
(i5) **The [Ø – Predicate] Structure.**

*Betool dea oran pendek.* 'Tis true he is a short man.'  
*Sangat dingin.* 'Tis very cold.'

Other evidence (in complex structures) is found in the following:

*Niata la pada orang samoa camoo pembohong...*  
 'It is known to all man that you are a liar...'





Given the above presentation in the (h) section, we note that the oral Malay of the 17th century (as reported in Bowrey's dictionary) suggests the presence of five basic surface structures shown in (i1) to (i5) above. Of particular significance is the presence of the fifth structure in (i5) with the relevant examples in (i5i) through (i5iii) in which the basic surface structure does not have a noun phrase subject, either overtly or covertly.

## (i) Other structures.

In Bowrey's data, there were also compound sentences joined by conjunctions, but they were limited to only *tetapee* ('but') and *daen* ('and'). There were also sentences with complements. For example, using *jeka* as a connective:

*Kitta teda taoo jeka saya kenal pada nea ca tidak.*  
'I don't know whether I know him or no(t).'

The use of a connective, *sama ada* ('whether'), would be expected in the above example, yet Bowrey used *jeka* ('if') instead. Perhaps this was Bowrey's own version, modelled on his native English in which both *whether* and *if* can be used interchangeably. It is also possible that *sama ada* had not appeared in oral Malay by the 17th century.

(j) Nature and distribution of *Wh-words* in the interrogative structures.

In *wh-* interrogative sentences, the *wh-* words were not accompanied by any question particle, such as *-kah*. The favoured pattern of 17th century oral Malay seems to have been to place the *wh-* word in the initial position in the sentence. The examples below have been drawn from Bowrey's translation of his corresponding English *wh-* questions. The 17th century oral Malay *wh-* words, as well as the corresponding English *wh-* words, are underlined. The < symbol means the Malay forms are Bowrey's 17th century translations of the corresponding and original 17th century English sentences.

*Carnaapa tuan mengadau candea*  
< 'Why do you accuse him?'

*Carna appa teda dea minta jamat?*  
< 'Why don't he ask advice?'

*Carna apa packanera poocoo pada nea?*  
< 'Why do you strike him?'

*Joo carna appa mengancat bechara de antara oran sobat sobat?*  
< 'Why do you raise a dispute among friends?'

*Carna appa joo mengajockcan kitta?*  
< 'Why do you urge me?'

*Carna appa joo meninggalkan pintu terbuka?*  
< 'Why do you leave the door open?'

*Carna appa gawool can dagangan ko?*  
 < Why did you tumble my goods?'

*Sebab appa terchingon?*  
 < Why are you amazed?'

*Mengapa berpindah ayer mooca moo?*  
 < What makes your countenance change?'

*Bagaimana moolay haroo biroo enee?*  
 < How began the quarrel?'

*Bagaimana jernih ayer etoo?*  
 < How clear that water is?'

*Bagaimana ko bolee perchaya oran etoo?*  
 < How can I trust thatman?'

*Bootapa tuan basso buggetoo?*  
 < How come you so wet?'

*Brapa maoo bataroo atta etoo?*  
 < What will you lay of that?'

*Berapa dalam nea?*  
 < What depth of water?'

*Brapa telore adda pada moo?*  
 < How many eggs have you?'

*Brapa calee dea paloo pada moo?*  
 < How many times did he strike you?'

*Apa berjangkit pada moo maka meratap daen poolas tangan buggetoo?*  
 < What has befallen you that you lament and ring your hands so?'

*Siappa adda de rooma?*  
 < Who is in the house?'

*Darree negree mana tuan?*  
 < What country man are you?'

In some cases in the above data, there seems to be more than one oral Malay variant for an English *wh-* word. That is, there were three oral Malay variants for the English 'why', namely *carna appa*, *sebab app*, and *mengapa*; two oral Malay variants for 'how', namely *baggemana* and *bootapa*; two oral Malay variants for the English 'how many', namely *brapa/berapa*; one form for the English 'what', namely *apa*; one form for the English 'who', namely *siappa*; and one form for the English 'where from', namely *darree...mana*. All of these *wh-* words appeared in the sentence's initial position. As there were no corresponding forms in the dictionary in which the *wh-* words appeared in the predicates, the present article does not wish to speculate on the original position of these *wh-* words. A brief look at the limited data from Pigafetta's (1523) list as a diachronic comparison supported Bowrey's data. That is, as in Bowrey's data, Pigafetta's list placed the *wh-* words in the initial position, as seen below:

*apenmaito* 'What is its name?' (mm: *Apa nama itu?*);  
*appa ito?* 'What is that' (*Apa itu?*);  
*dimana ajun?* 'Where is the junk?' (*Di mana jong (itu)?*);  
*dimana horan?* 'Where is he?' (*Di mana dia?*);  
*appa mau?* 'What do you want?' (*Apa (kau) mahu?*);  
*barapa bahasa tau?* 'How many languages do you know?'  
 (*Berapa bahasa awak tahu?*)

Hence, it may be indicated here that the above interrogative pattern in Bowrey's dictionary, in which the *wh-* words appeared in the sentence initial position, seemed to be a continuation of the same pattern that appeared in Pigafetta's (1523) data about 190 years earlier. The relevance of this diachronic comparison was that there is at least some inclination that Bowrey's data have a high degree of correctness and accuracy, as they were actually a continuation of an interrogative pattern that existed in oral Malay through the 16th and 17th centuries. In addition, the diachronic comparison assisted in rejecting any possibility that Bowrey's data were unconsciously modelled on his original English sentences in which all *wh-* words occurred only in the sentence initial position.

To continue with the *wh-* words, Bowrey gave only one example in which the *wh-* word remained in the predicate phrase:

*Bawoo boosooc app enee?*  
 < 'What stinking smell is this?'

So what can we make from this? There is no doubt that this is a variation of *app enee bawoo boosooc?* 'What stinking smell is this?', in which the *wh-* word

appeared in the sentence initial position. Whether this was the beginning of allowing variations in the way the speakers asked *wh*- questions must remain a subject of speculation due to the limited data at hand. Whatever the case may be, there are two possibilities with respect to the position of the *wh*- words in Bowrey's data. One was the sentence initial position, which was more popular orally. The other possibility was placing the *wh*- word in the predicate. Perhaps the variant, which placed the *wh*- word in the sentence initial position, was originally the only variant, while the one that placed the *wh*- word in the predicate was simply a "new innovation" that had just began to appear during the period in which Bowrey's dictionary was written. According to this line of thinking, the isolated case above in which the *wh*- word appeared in the predicate fell under "new innovation".

(k) The Particle *-kah/la* in Yes-No Questions.

It seems that in the 17th century, Malay *yes-no* questions existed only as intonation or echo questions. That is, *yes-no* questions were expressed using ordinary statements with different question intonations. For example:

*Adda anak padanea?* 'Has he any children?'  
*Soodah lama dea ca marree?* 'Is it long time since he came here?'  
*Capal sooda de poongah?* 'Is the ship unladen?'

An absence of the question particle *-kah* in the *yes-no* questions can also be observed. In expressing a question with emphasis, the particle *-la* (instead of the expected particle *kah*) appears to have been used. Such is the case in the following example:

*Boccon enee la dea?* 'Is not this he?'  
*Addala la buggetoo?* 'Is it so?'

## SOCIOLINGUISTIC DIMENSIONS

Commendably, Bowrey remarked in several places on the varieties of oral Malay language usage in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This section touches on some of the pronoun uses, including the difference between *lakee* ('male') and *parampoan* ('female'):

## Second-Person Pronouns

Bowrey remarked as follows:

The second person has several words to express it by, according to the quality of the person spoken to; as to a person of quality or superior, tis proper to say [Tuan] thou or you, to anequal [Joo] thou or you, to a Servant or Inferior, [Packanera] thou or you.

The last example, *Packanera* is of Javanese origin and was also mentioned in Houtman's (1599/1603) wordlist, suggesting its long existence in Malay. This honorific pronoun of address mentioned in Bowrey's dictionary did not survive, as it is never seen in modern oral Malay. Neither is there any equivalent or near-equivalent of Bowrey's second-person form [joo] ('thou or you'). Regarding the latter, [joo] might have occurred in a conversation when someone else was addressing Thomas Bowrey in the course of his function as shipmaster/captain. That is, I suspect it was likely to have been drawn from the English second-person form of address, *you*. It was suggested to me (through personal communication with an Indonesian academician) that the *joo* form may be the honorific form of address used in some varieties of Malay in the eastern islands of West Nusantara, a possibility that should be investigated further. Bowrey also reported a distinction between *joo* 'thou' and *camoo* 'ye'. While the *joo* form has been lost in modern oral Malay, the familiar form *camoo* ('ye') remains as [kamu].

## Kitta/Kita

The first-person plural pronoun *kitta* ('we', inclusive) was used interchangeably to mean 'I/me', as in the following:

*Ea tuan kitta lagee cheriteracan etoo pada moo?*  
'Yes Sir, I will relate it to you.'

*Carna appa joo mengajockcan kitta?*  
'Why do you urge me?'

*Teda bolee kitta menahan moorka ko.*  
'I cannot govern my passion.'

*Kitta moo toocar cooda ko gantee cooda moo jeka tuan penoojo.*  
'I will change my horse for yourhorse if you please.'

*Sooda kitta boonoo lalad eang terbang senee sana dungan kipas.*  
'I kill'd the fly that did fly about with the fly-flap.'

*Bear kitta sundar capala ko attas tuan poonea bahoo.*  
'Let me lean my head on your shoulder.'

*Carna kitta lagee charee soodara lakke ko.'*  
'Because I was looking for my brother.'

*Booloom lama kitta datang ca maree.*  
'It is not long since I came here. '

*Kitta teda maoo fadoolee dungan joo.*  
'I won't concern myself with you.'

*Bree kitta masook.*  
'Let me come in.'

It seems that the extension of *kita* ('inclusive *we*') to mean *me* ('I/me') is a kind of sociolinguistic strategy to signal respect for the person being addressed. However, searching the dictionary for *kitta* (the precursor of modern Malay *kita*, inclusive), which may reflect the meaning of the modern Malay *kita* (inclusive), did not produce any positive results. Hence, either Bowrey missed the other usage of the word *kitta*, or *kitta* was used to mean 'euphematic first-person pronoun' exclusively, as an option to the more regularly used *akoo* (the precursor of *aku* 'I') in 17<sup>th</sup>-century oral Malay. It is likely that the latter is the case, as *kita* did appear earlier as a 'first-person pronoun' in a 1521 letter from Sultan Abu Hayat of Ternate to the King of Portugal. Hence, it is likely that even in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the usage of *kita* as a first-person pronoun was still very much in vogue.

### **Between *lakee* and *parampoan***

Bowrey observed differences in these two words used to express male/female humans. They were "...never applied to bird or beast". He also noticed that the words *jantan* and *betina* "... are words of inferiority..." and that they were "...used to express the Male and Female of all other creatures except Man, as being esteem'd not Noble enough to be apply'd to Humanity; and therefore to say [*Oran jantan*] for a Male, Humane Person, or a Man, would be extremely improper, and also equally so, to say [*cooda lakkee*] for a Stoned-Horse". Such sociolinguistic distinctions in language usage remain dynamic even in present-day spoken/written Malay.

### Dialect varieties of Malay

...there is several different nations and languages...but I must tell you, that the Malayo language spoken in the Islands, is somewhat different from the true Malayo spoken in the Malayo country, although not so much, but to be easily understood by each other. The Malayo spoken in the Islands is called Basadagang, that is to say, the merchants or trading language, and is not so well esteemed as the true Malayo.

With the above statement, Bowrey showed his awareness of dialectal differences in the oral Malay of *Malayo* country; the trading variety (called *Basadagang*) seems to have been well received at the many ports he visited.

### CONCLUSION

Although William Marsden has described Bowrey as *illiterate* because he did not make any references to a literary form of 17th century Malay, it is my view that Bowrey had, in many respects, acquired a commendable mastery of the oral Malay language of the time. Considering that at the time of the dictionary was written, Bowrey did not receive guidance from any native speakers and instead wrote exclusively from memory (largely during his long voyage from India to England at the end of the 17th century), I submit that Bowrey was a linguistically intelligent and erudite person. I do not believe that he was ever an *illiterate* person, as I find that he made a substantial contribution; his work stood alone as a representation of the oral Malay of the 17th century and it has shed some light on the form of oral Malay that existed then. Hence, my own estimation of Bowrey's Dictionary is that it had its faults: it was written in a poor transcription style (relative to the *International Phonetic Alphabets* of present-day linguistics); the grammar rules were modelled on Latin grammar; and the data (especially the sentences) were written backward from English to Malay translation. Nonetheless, the basic rudiments of Malay grammar (with few errors here and there of course) seem to have been captured successfully and represented fairly accurately. Evidence from Pigafetta (1523), Houtman (1598/1603), *Vocabulaer* [1599 as in Collins and Schmidt (1992)], and Asmah (1991) on the 16th-century Malay text *Aqa'id* has all shown that Bowrey recorded the nature of the oral Malay of the 17th century fairly accurately. In this light, his purposes for writing the dictionary, to disseminate the knowledge of Malay that he had acquired to his future English comrades who might ply the Malay world of the southern seas and to facilitate communication in *Malayo Language* between foreigners and the locals in the Malay world of the time, were highly commendable and highly successful. To help conceptualise Bowrey's success, it is not far-fetched to believe that if we were to travel back in time to the 17th century equipped with

the knowledge of the Bowrey's Dictionary, we would be able to communicate rather well with the traders in the ports of the Malayo world. With reference to morphology and syntax, only the principal ones have been recaptured here. In my view, Bowrey's dictionary shed some light on morphophonology, especially regarding the use of the prefix *ber-* as a marker of an active transitive verb, an active verb, and a passive verb. In addition, the prefix *meng-* (with its allomorphs *me-*, *men*, *mem-*, *meny*, *meng-*) also marked an active transitive verb. As one of the functions of the prefix *ber-* was as a marker of an active transitive verb, it seems likely that in those early years, *ber-* was also an allomorph (or variant) of the prefix *bar-* and *meng-*. However, the *bar-* morphemic variant either disappeared or merged with the more widely used *ber-* variant. Also, as the prefix *menge-* (of modern oral Malay) does not appear in Bowrey's data, either the data was not comprehensive enough or the *menge-* morpheme was actually non-existent in the 17th century. The latter seems more likely; thus, by implication, *menge-* was a relatively new phenomenon in Malay morphophonology. This is supported by the fact that it occurred only with monosyllabic words that were recently borrowed from European languages.

With regard to syntax, one very significant observation resulting from Bowrey's Dictionary of 1701 (especially his sentences) is the fact that there were five basic surface structures in Malay basic sentences all along:

- [Noun Phrase - Noun Phrase]
- [Noun Phrase -Adjectival Phrase]
- [Noun Phrase - Prepositional Phrase]
- [Noun Phrase -Predicate Phrase]
- [ Ø - Predicate Phrase].

The fifth structure [Ø - Predicate Phrase] suggests that, since the 17th century, some Malay sentences have had surface structures containing only predicates manifested in sentences that are repeated here:

(i5(i)) [ [ Ø ] [sangat dingin]]  
           very cold  
           'It is very cold.'

(i5(ii)) [ [ Ø ] - [beetol ]  
                                   ]   
                                   [*dea orang pendek*]]  
           true he person short

'It is true that he is short person.'

(i5 (iii)) [ [Ø] [nyata la pada orang-~~semua~~]  
 Spec I'

obvious emphasis to personal all  
 [ [camoo pembohong]]  
 COMP I' you liar

'It is obvious to all people (that) you are a liar].

Finally, from the word entries and examples provided by Bowrey, it is possible to obtain a brief view of some of the sociolinguistic dimensions of the oral Malay of the 17th century. This is particularly true for those pertaining to the use of the pronominal addresses and the uses of *lakee* and *parampoan*.

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