

# **Papuan Colloquial Indonesian**

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## Abstract

This paper describes the informal or colloquial register used in the Papua province of Indonesia. This is the middle of three registers, between Standard Indonesian (the government sanctioned formal or “high” language) and Papuan Malay. Previous to this article, almost nothing has been written about Papuan Colloquial Indonesian, while the lowest register (Papuan Malay) has been the subject of many short articles and several important descriptions will soon appear. (Standard Indonesian is, of course, very well described.) This has led some to the false impression that there are only two registers in Papua, Standard Indonesian and Papuan Malay. In reality, the situation in Papua is analogous to the three registers found in the western part of the country in Jakarta and Riau, which have been well described. Papuan Colloquial Indonesian (PCI) fits several patterns found in the other two dialects. The most significant difference between PCI and the other described colloquial Indonesian dialects is that PCI has not developed alternative verb affixation to replace Standard Indonesian *meng-*, but rather simply drops many prefixes. This paper also shows differences between PCI and Papuan Malay.

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# Papuan Colloquial Indonesian

## 1. The language situation in Papua

It has been said that Indonesian is a language with one formal register and a thousand informal registers.<sup>1</sup> This paper describes the informal register used in Papua. This is the middle of three registers, between Standard Indonesian (the formal or “high” language) and Papuan Malay. The lowest register (Papuan Malay) has been the subject of many articles and several important descriptions will soon appear.<sup>2</sup>

While very little has been written about the middle register used in Papua, the situation is analogous to that found in Urban/Jakarta Colloquial Indonesian and Colloquial Riau Indonesian. Those other two colloquial varieties have been very well described.<sup>3</sup> Papuan Colloquial Indonesian (PCI) has many similarities and some significant differences with the other two dialects. The first obvious difference is that PCI is influenced by Papuan Malay (PM) instead of Betawi or Riau Malay. PCI is interesting because Papua is a melting pot within Indonesia, while being far removed from the influential Jakartan dialect. Fully half of Papua’s population is from other provinces. It is worth noting that PCI is also influenced in pronunciation by accents that come from Papua’s 280 vernacular languages.

The specific dialect of CI described here is that of Jayapura, which is spoken as an inter-ethnic language by all of the population of Papua except for members of the most remote language groups of the interior. Since most native Papuans have a vernacular as their first language, PCI is usually their second language. Four dialects of Papuan Malay are also spoken, but primarily in more accessible and populated coastal regions.<sup>4</sup> Because of vernacular languages dying out in the same coastal regions, PM is likely to be the basilect of people in the coastal regions. In the interior, a local vernacular takes the place of a basilect.<sup>5</sup> Few Papuans control the whole lectal cline, but almost everyone speaks Colloquial Indonesian. The percentages given are my guesses, which I am hoping will be affirmed by others. These numbers are intended only to show the general tendency.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This has been attributed to Alexander Adelaar in private correspondence with David Mead.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Donohue’s description has long been awaited. Angela Kluge is currently working on a doctoral thesis on the same subject.

<sup>3</sup> James Sneddon (2006) has written the most complete analysis of the Jakartan dialect, and it is particularly helpful that he was able to contrast the colloquial register with his own grammar of Standard Indonesian (1996). Other significant books written on this dialect are Ikranagara (1980) and Muhadjir (1981). The Riau dialect is described in many articles by David Gil (1994, 1999, 2000, 2001, and others forthcoming).

<sup>4</sup> A. Kluge (2008:18) cites M. Donohue in listing PM dialects as (1) South Coast Malay, spoken in and around Merauke, (2) Serui Malay, spoken in the area of Geelvink Bay, (3) Bird’s Head Malay, and (4) North Papua Malay spoken along Papua’s north coast.

<sup>5</sup> Technically, most vernaculars are not a basilect, since 95% of Papuan vernaculars are not in the same Austronesian language family as Malay and Indonesian. However in a social sense, vernaculars function like a basilect for many people.

<sup>6</sup> Only sketchy population data is available. What I have is courtesy of the SIL Survey Department, and they used figures from the 2008 census. The population of Papua was set as 2,015,600. It is only guessed by the KPA (Commission Combating AIDS) that half of that number are of non-native origin, which would include both recent arrivals and those who have been in Papua for more than a generation. The population of the four areas where PM dialects are spoken mentioned (in the first footnote) might roughly be as follows: (1) South Coast 339,211 in four towns, (2) Serui and Geelvink Bay 270,612 in three areas, (3) Bird’s Head probably somewhere around 350,000 (this area is a different province now and no figures were available), (4) North Coast including Biak Numfor

Language Cline in Papua	Perception	Native Coastal Papuans	Native Interior Papuans	Non-native Papuans
Standard Indonesian acrolect	“high,” formal	+/- 70-80% control of SI	+/- 20% control of SI	+/- 70-80%
Colloquial Indonesian mesolect	normal communication	+/- 95% control CI	+/- 90%	+/- 99% control CI
Malay basilect and 280 Vernaculars	“low,” family, friends, and neighborly talk	+/- 70% control of PM, +/- 30% control of vernacular	+/- 10% control of PM, +/- 90% control of vernacular	+/- 40% speak vernaculars from other islands

In Papua, as indeed is true for the rest of Indonesia, no one speaks Standard Indonesian as their first native language.<sup>7</sup> It is learned in school. A growing number of Papuans really only control PCI and PM. Many of these are of the younger generation in coastal or near-coastal regions who are losing their vernaculars, speaking these at only a 1-2 level. (Level 5 being that of a native speaker.) Perhaps only 5-7% of Papuans, primarily members of the most remote interior people groups, are monolingual in their vernaculars. I think there would be zero people monolingual in Papuan Malay. A majority of those who are fluent in PM would also be completely bilingual in PCI. It will be difficult to get accurate counts, since many in Jayapura only speak PM in certain restricted situations and domains, yet still consider themselves to be fluent in it. Few of them really control PM so as to use it in all domains. So generally speaking, PCI is the most commonly controlled interethnic language in the interior of Papua, while PCI-PM bilingualism is the norm in coastal regions.

Thus the situation in Papua mirrors that of the dialects of Colloquial Indonesian that have previously been described by other linguists:

Cline in Jakarta	Cline in Riau	Perception
Standard Indonesian	Standard Indonesian	“high,” formal
Jakarta Colloquial Indonesian	Riau Colloquial Indonesian	normal communication
Betawi Malay with Javanese and other vernaculars	Riau Malay	“low,” family, friends, and neighborly talk

Since until recently relatively little attention has been paid to the mesolectal/colloquial level in general, there is great confusion about it even among Papuans themselves. Few Papuans think of the language situation as a three-step cline, although they would appreciate that a lot of spoken

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412,493. This leaves over 600,000 for over 200 interior ethnic groups. I haven't yet used the Ethnologue figures to total up the population of these interior groups. It should be observed that coastal areas that are difficult to travel to are still considered interior areas in the numbers above.

<sup>7</sup> David Gil (1990) writes: “When most people think of Malay / Indonesian, they generally have in mind one of the two ‘standard languages’, of Malaysia or of Indonesia – taught in elementary and high schools, and used in various formal or official situations, in politics, education, the media, and so forth. However, these standardized varieties are not the real Malay / Indonesian. Rather, they are artifacts of conscious, politically motivated language engineering, rarified registers which few people speak ‘properly’ (whatever that means), and nobody acquires through the natural processes of first language acquisition.”

language is mixed. (I have heard this is called *bahasa gado-gado*, after a popular food made of many mixed ingredients.) Some would look at the PCI described in this paper and say it is “good Papuan Malay.” Others, influenced by their education would say “That’s bad Indonesian,” even though they often talk that way themselves. Many Papuans lump PCI and Papuan Malay together as *bahasa pergaulan* ‘language of friendship’. When I talk with Papuans about the mesolect, we usually end up calling it *bahasa sederhana* ‘easy/humble language’ or *bahasa sehari-hari* ‘everyday language’.

Native Papuans often express pride that they speak Indonesian better than the Javanese. This paper will give some justification for this pride. It is clear that PCI is closer to Standard/Formal Indonesian than is Urban/Jakarta or Riau CI. In particular, there are fewer vowel changes from Standard Indonesian, and verb morphology in PCI does not alter the beginning of verb roots.

## 2. Vowel changes

This article owes much to the *bahasakita* web site <sup>8</sup>for their inspiration. In this section, I am adding PCI pronunciations to their list of sound changes between Standard Indonesian and Jakartan CI:

a → e / in the last syllable of a word

Root Word in SI	Jakartan CI	Papuan CI	Meaning
antar	anter	antar	escort, accompany, see off
benar	bener	benar	right, true
datang	dateng	datang	come
diam	diem	diam	hush, silent, quiet
malas	males	malas	lazy

PCI makes none of the changes above, but sometimes does lower ‘u’ to ‘o’.

Word in SI	Jakartan CI	Papuan CI	Meaning
belum	belom	belum	not yet
kaus kaki	kaos kaki	kaos kaki	socks
mabuk	mabok	mabuk	drunk
saus	saos	saos	sauce, gravy
supir	sopir	supir/sopir	driver
taruh	taro	taru	put down

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.bahasakita.com/colloquial/vowel-changes/>

### 3. Dropping of ‘h’

I suspect this phonological change would be true almost in any dialect of CI.

Word in SI	Jakartan CI <sup>9</sup>	Papuan CI	Meaning
sudah	ude/uda	suda	already, past tense
kasih	kasi	kasi	give
masih	masi	masi	still
sepuluh	sepulu	sepulu	ten
darah	dare/dara	dara	blood

Riau Indonesian drops the ‘h’ of *kasih* also. (Gil 1999:2)<sup>10</sup>

### 4. Differences in affixation

All dialects of CI seem to be alike in the tendency to drop the *meNG*-prefix,<sup>11</sup> however Jakartan CI frequently drops just the *me* and keeps the *NG*-pre-nasalization. Only a very partial list is given here. For a list organized according to the first letter of the verb root, see Uli Kozok’s article.<sup>12</sup> In each case Papuan CI simply uses the simple root form with no pre-nasalization.

Word in SI	Jakartan CI	Papuan CI	Meaning
mengambil	ngamil	ambil	take
membantu	mbantu	bantu	help
mencuci	nyuci	cuci	wash
memikir	mikir	pikir	think
merasa	ngerasa	rasa	feel (emotion)

The prefix *ber-* also seems to be often dropped in all forms of CI, and its optionality is noted even in SI.<sup>13</sup> A major difference between Jakartan CI and PCI is that PCI does not use the *-in* suffix at all. Since PCI simply uses the SI suffixes *-kan* and *-i* instead, this is another way PCI is closer to SI than Jakartan CI.

Word in SI	Jakartan CI <sup>14</sup>	Papuan CI	Meaning
menjatuhkan	ngejatuhin	jatuhkan	make fall
membeli	beliin	beli	buy
mendekati	ngedeketin	dekati/mendekati	approach

<sup>9</sup> Information about the Jakarta CI in this table is gleaned from various pages in Muhadjir (1981).

<sup>10</sup> There is not a large amount of data in Gil’s articles, but my observation is that the CI used there may be quite like that of Papua.

<sup>11</sup> I prefer to use the underlying form *meNG-*, since *meng-* occurs before vowels. Other linguists quoted in this article use *meN-*, where *N* stands for any nasal.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.bahasakita.com/articles/colloquial-urban-indonesian/>

<sup>13</sup> Mintz (2002:152–153), Sneddon (2006:24).

<sup>14</sup> This data is from Sneddon (2006:30–34).

## 5. Factors influencing the use of prefixes in PCI

As seen above and in the texts given with this article, PCI uses much fewer prefixes than SI. This tendency is not peculiar to PCI and PM, but is noted in other Colloquial Indonesian dialects as well as Malay dialects in Indonesia and Malaysia. (Mintz 2002:141)

**Topic, social situation:** The use of prefixes is highly conditioned on the topic of conversation. If the topic moves to matters of religion or politics, for instance, one can expect more prefixes and more words to be borrowed from Standard Indonesian (SI). Also the cline from SI to CI to Papuan Malay is a rather smooth one. One can speak PM that is almost PCI, and PCI that is almost SI. The more informal, or the closer the conversation is to PM, the fewer the prefixes. The more a CI conversation approaches SI, the more the prefixes are used. Thus the use of prefixes is conditioned by topic, social situation, and the personal relationships among the people included in the conversation. Sneddon (1996:68) quotes Anderson (1983:6) in saying:

“in a particular survey *meN-*was dropped in only 21% of cases when the addressee was a stranger, a situation in which language is likely to be more formal, but was dropped in up to 67% of cases when the addressee was a member of the speaker’s family, a situation in which informal style is most likely.”

**Disambiguation:** Verbs that are formed from nouns or other word classes are more likely to be used with a prefix. This helps to make it clear that a verb is used. *Jalan* can be a noun meaning ‘road/street/path.’ So it is more likely that PCI will use *berjalan* for the verb ‘to walk/go.’ Similarly, *rencana* ‘plan’ can be an abstract noun or a verb. So the verb form including the prefix, *berencana*, is more likely to be used.

If the verb is preceded by an auxiliary, then the prefix is more optional, since the presence of the auxiliary automatically disambiguates.

*Boas sudah jalan.*  
‘Boas {has} already left.’

Or the descriptor *bawah* ‘below/under’ sounds just like the verb root *bawa* ‘take/carry.’ This is especially so in Papua because the final ‘h’ is dropped. Because of this, the prefix is more likely to be used for *membawa* than prefixes for some other similar motion verbs.

**Lexical conditioning:** The use of *meNG-*and *ber-*prefixes is also conditioned on properties within the lexicon. Here are two extreme examples: The verb *datang*, when used with its base meaning of ‘to come,’ is never used with a prefix, no matter whether one is speaking PM, PCI, or SI.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, no matter what level on the cline, *mengerti* ‘to understand’ is never used without its prefix.<sup>16</sup>

**Grammatical rules and tendencies:** There are also grammatical structures that influence the use of prefixes. The most invariable rule is that imperative verbs almost never take a prefix. (Ikranagara 1980:19)<sup>17</sup> This seems to be the only rule that is almost always followed. Another rather obvious rule is that when a few select verbs function as helping/auxiliary verbs, they never take a prefix. (See the next

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<sup>15</sup> For the normal meaning of ‘come’ one might expect that *berdatang* would be commonly used, corresponding to *berjalan*, which has similar semantic properties. While *berdatang* is found in the dictionary, it is not used with the normal base meaning. And *mendatang* has a special meaning of ‘appear//in the future’.

<sup>16</sup> PM more frequently uses the synonym *paham*. For SI, Sneddon (1996:67) analyzes *mengerti* as being originally based on *arti* ‘meaning’.

<sup>17</sup> Some rules governing imperatives are found in Mintz (2002:142–145).

section.) Ikranagara (1980:27) suggests that prefixes are dropped when immediately preceded by a pronoun in an embedded sentence. Ikranagara was writing about Betawi Malay/Indonesian, and her example is the relative clause, *surat yang ibu tulis*. (letter which {you/Mrs./mother} wrote) (1980:27). (*Yang* is the Indonesian relativizer.) Similarly, I have seen a tendency in PCI and even Standard Indonesian for prefixes to be dropped inside relative clauses.

**Phonological tendency:** It is possible that there is a tendency for PCI to drop *meNG-* before certain initial sounds. If so, it is a weak tendency that would need to be shown through analysis of a large corpus of data.<sup>18</sup>

## 6. Use of helping verbs to replace prefixes

The use of helping verbs instead of verb affixes seems common in the various colloquial Indonesian varieties as well as in Malay dialects.<sup>19</sup> These are probably more insightfully analyzed as serial verb constructions.<sup>20</sup>

SI	PCI	Meaning
dimarahi	dapat marah//dapa mara	to be (angrily) rebuked
disusahkan	dapat susa//dapa susa//kena susa	to be made to suffer//The PCI can also mean 'to experience suffering.' To be absolutely clear that the suffering is caused by someone, PCI would still use 'disusahkan.'
menyakiti hati X	bikin X sakit hati	make X offended
membuat kesalahan	bikin sala	do (something) wrong
memberitahukan	kasi tahu	inform
memperpendek	kasi pendek	make shorter
mengurangi/kurangi	kasi kurang	make (something) less

## 7. Papuan CI vocabulary as compared to SI

**Papuan CI use of pronouns:** I have stated that the lectal cline in Papua is very smooth. The biggest “bumps” or dividing markers on the lexical cline in Papua are pronouns and grammatical function words. Regardless of vocabulary, if you use PCI pronouns, you will be perceived as speaking PCI. And even if you use rather “high vocabulary,” you will be perceived as speaking PM if you use PM pronouns. All one needs to do to make it completely clear what level is being spoken is to add the appropriate grammatical function words.

<sup>18</sup> James Sneddon (2006:22) worked with a very large collection of recorded texts. He concluded that the “Prefix *nge-* occurs before all initial consonants except p, t, s, c, k. It is the most common prefix before initial b, d, j, g, l, r, h, and y.” In saying *nge-* is “the most common affix” before that last list of consonants, he is saying that it occurs more frequently than the SI prefix *meNG-*. If phonology plays a part in the PCI use of *meNG-*, I think it is very minor compared to the other variables listed.

<sup>19</sup> Donohue (2004) shows that *dapa(t)* is used as a substitute for the normal passive construction also in Ambonese Malay, but believe it to be in wider use than just in Papua and Maluku. *Bikin* is found in the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, and is flagged as colloquial (*ragam cakapan*). I have often heard *kasi tahu* in Jakarta.

<sup>20</sup> Donohue (2004).

Pronoun	Standard Indonesian (and Western usage)	Papuan CI (and Eastern usage)	Papuan Malay
1sg	aku (informal)//saya (more formal, non-intimate))	saya (formal and informal)//aku (seldom used)//or one's own name	sa
2sg	engkau (formal, unequal status)//kamu (informal, equal status)//anda (new form since 1950s)//Bapak, Ibu, Saudara, etc. <sup>21</sup>	kamu (somewhat more informal) //engkau (used in special circumstances)// Bapa, Ibu, Saudara, etc.	ko/kamu
3sg	dia	dia	de/dong
1pl exclusive	kami	kami/kita <sup>22</sup>	kami/kitong/kitorang
1pl inclusive	kita	kita	kitong/kitorang
2pl	kalian (new since 1950s)//kamu (older, used in Alkitab Terjemahan Baru)	kalian/ (kamu, more often heard in church)	kamorang/kamong
3pl	mereka	mereka	dorang//dong dua//dong tiga

In general, speakers in Western Indonesia use *aku* with intimate relations, such as between husband and wife and brothers and sisters in a nuclear family.<sup>23</sup> *Saya* is used in all other contexts. There is some

<sup>21</sup> Kin terms and other terms of address are used very frequently to replace the second person singular pronoun in all dialects of Indonesian. In fact, compared to English, the use of the second person singular pronoun is quite scarce. Writing about SI, Mintz (2002:92) states, «Because choosing an appropriate second person pronoun is so difficult, such a pronoun is often omitted in conversation. Once it is established that a speaker is talking about his listener, or if it is clear from the start of the conversation who the listener must be, then the conversation may begin or continue with no mention of “you” at all.» Add to this that proper names are used much more frequently in Indonesian in places where English speakers would say ‘you.’ In Jakarta, I was working with a single 40-something female colleague. I was 59 at the time and married. Because of her status, I was calling her *Ibu* ‘mother’. This was proper even though she is unmarried and has no children. But after a few days she stopped me and said, “Why are you always so formal with me?” I didn’t realize that I was being formal, and learned that it was more appropriate and less formal to use her first name in place of a second person pronoun or a kin term. The same thing recently happened with a man I was calling *Bapa* ‘father’, thinking this was normal and polite. It was less stiff and formal to just use his name.

<sup>22</sup> In Papua the inclusive/exclusive distinction between *kami* and *kita* is often not observed, especially in PM. So the first person plural pronoun is used like the English ‘we,’ allowing context to determine if the speaker is included. The *kita* pronoun is quite variable in its use throughout Indonesia. In some places *kita* is used for first person singular (Mintz 2002:88). Humorous stories are told where *istri kita* was intended as ‘my wife’ or even ‘your (sg) wife,’ whereas the listener understood it as ‘our (inclusive) wife.’

<sup>23</sup> I say, “In general,” because I am told that Indonesian speakers from Central Java use *aku* with people who are just friends or in other informal relationships. I am not sure if this extends to Eastern Java. My statement about intimate use is certainly true for Jakartan Indonesian, and hence, probably true for most of Western Indonesia. Mintz (2002:86) describes *aku* as an “informal pronoun,” but I feel that is better described as “intimate,” which is how Sneddon describes it (1996:160). Mintz also states that “There is a delicate social balance involved in the use

indication that this distinction is not so often observed now.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, in Eastern Indonesia (and I am not sure where the boundary is), *saya* is used almost all of the time even between intimate relations. When *aku* is used, it can indicate a proud or bossy attitude on the part of the speaker. However *aku* is used almost exclusively in poetry and song, even in Papua. And the possessive *-ku* suffix may be used in poetry and vocatives (such as *anakku* ‘my son//child’) even in PCI.

A parallel situation exists with *engkau* and *kamu*. Western Indonesia tends to use *engkau* in a situation with more social distance. *Kamu* is used in more familiar situations, but when used outside of familiar relationships may indicate that the speaker feels he is socially higher than the person being spoken to. In Papua, *kamu* is used in almost all situations. *Engkau* may imply anger or a bossy attitude.

Differences in possessive pronouns also help separate the three levels of the lectal cline. The subject/object pronoun set just given does double duty as possessive pronouns. But in proper SI, the singular pronoun set is slightly altered and attached to the noun. This is not done in PCI and PM. The use of an embedded possessive phrase has been often pointed out as a trait of PM, but it is used in various CI and Malay dialects all over Indonesia.<sup>25</sup> So in SI, one might say, “After shopping, let’s go to *rumah saya* ‘house my’.” But optionally in PCI and almost always in PM, the sentence becomes, “..., let’s go to {*saya/sa*} {*punya/pu*} *ruma* ‘I possess house’.”

SI	PCI	PM	Meaning
rumahku//rumah saya	ruma saya//saya punya ruma	sa pu ruma	my house
rumahmu	rumamu//kamu punya ruma	ko pu ruma	your house
rumahnya <sup>26</sup>	rumanya//ruma dia//dia punya ruma	de pu ruma	his house
rumah {kami/kita}	ruma {kami/kita}	kitong pu ruma	our house
rumahmu//rumah kalian	ruma kalian	kamong pu ruma	your (pl) house
rumah mereka	ruma mereka	dong pu ruma	their house

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of informal pronouns and it is advisable for the language learner to avoid them.” In an informal e-mail survey I conducted, one native Indonesian young woman reported unwanted advances when she used *aku* with a new male acquaintance. This is perhaps the reason that members of our Papuan translation team, who are mainly young single women of marriageable age, report frequently using their own name instead of the pronoun ‘I.’ I suspect women are doing this more than men. This was reported by them to be in fashion in Papua, but it may be more widely spread. It should also be observed that *aku* will often be heard in quotations of Islamic and Christian Scripture, since the major translations use *aku* almost exclusively for 1st person singular. Since these translations have their roots a century ago or more, it is likely that language usage for the pronoun has changed.

<sup>24</sup> This is clear in Dewi and Vicki’s article.

<sup>25</sup> Ikranagara (1980:5) says that possessive phrases like *gue pune rume* are considered characteristic of Chinese speakers of Betawi Malay. See Mintz (2002:98). The CHILDES database (referred to in Gill 2006) includes numerous examples of *punya* used like PCI.

<sup>26</sup> The *-nya* form for 3rd person singular was probably historically derived from *dia punya*.

**Papuan Nouns:** Special Papuan vocabulary often has to do with life in the rural tropical rain forest. In most examples in the following four lists PCI and PM share the same vocabulary. PM retains many older pronunciations or cognates that are no longer popular in PCI. Examples would be PM *poro* for *perut* ‘stomach/belly’ and *sondo* for *sendok* ‘spoon’.<sup>27</sup>

SI	in both PCI and PM	Meaning
penjepit	gate-gate	long tongs made from bamboo or nibung palm, used to take things from the fire
pondok	honai	a hut made in the Dani style, with a grass roof
mertua	mama mantu	mother-in-law
om	bapa adik	uncle who is younger than one’s parent
singkong	kasbi	tapioca plant/root
gelas/cangkir	mok	drinking glass
tambur	tifa	drum
kacoa/kacoak	kakerlak (from Dutch)	cockroach
lipan	kaki seribu	centipede ( <i>kaki seribu</i> is literally ‘1,000 feet/legs’, from Dutch <i>duizenput</i> )
kepala suku	ondoapi/ondoafi (borrowed from Sentani <i>ondofolo</i> .)	chief, head of the tribe

#### Papuan adjectives:

SI	in both PCI and PM	Meaning
gemuk	gode/gode-gode (based on SI <i>gede</i> )	fat
(orang yang) ingin segala sesuatu	mata keranjang	greedy
(orang yang) genit	cakadidi	flirtatious, vain
lemah	loyo	weak

<sup>27</sup> A good list of vocabulary specific to PM is found in Samaun 1979, and Suharno 1981. Suharno shows that certain words have been borrowed from other languages, and that there is sometimes semantic shift in borrowed expressions.

### Papuan verbs:

SI	PCI (with PM cognates in parentheses)	Meaning
mengikuti	ikut/(iko)	accompany, follow
sentuh	kore	touch
mengatakan	bilang (also used in Jakartan CI)	say
menyelam	molo/(tobo)	dive (to spear fish)
mengetuk (di pintu)	toki/toki-toki (pintu) <sup>28</sup>	knock (at a door)

### Papuan adverbs:

SI	PCI (with PM cognates in parentheses)	Meaning
saling	baku/saling <sup>29</sup>	reciprocally
dahulu	dulu/(dolo)	formerly, previously

## 8. PCI contrasted with Papuan Malay

As mentioned above, a first major difference between PM and PCI is in the pronouns, and the second major difference is in the amputated form of some common grammatical function words.

SI	PCI	PM	Meaning
dengan	dengan	deng	with
sudah	suda	su	already
tidak	tidak/tida	tra	not
tidak ada	tida ada	trada	not any
mempunyai/ mempunya/punya	mempunya/punya	pung/pu	have, own
sedang	sedang	ada	is, are, was <sup>30</sup>
tetapi	tetapi/tapi	tapi	but

<sup>28</sup> The Papuan word is an onomopoeitic cognate of the SI word. I have heard second-hand that *toki* is also used in Java as the kind of language children speak. But in Papua it is used by adults in normal situations without causing a smile.

<sup>29</sup> *Baku* is listed with a definition of *saling* in the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia. There is a marked preference for *baku* in Papua over *saling*, such that *baku* is preferred in many contexts in PCI, and only *baku* is used in PM.

<sup>30</sup> Suharno (1981) gives example sentences like, *Dorang ada pi di pasar.* ‘{He/She/They} {is/are} going to the market.’ In SI/PCI this would be *Dia sedang (pergi) ke pasar.* Note also that PM uses the preposition *di* with a wider meaning than in SI, covering the usages both of *ke* and *di* in SI/PCI.

## 9. Sample text in Colloquial Papuan Indonesian

Ina Maware is from the Orya tribe, living about five hours by bus from Sentani. (Sentani is at the western end of the Jayapura metro area and the location of the Jayapura airport.) She has a Jr. High (SMP) education. In October of 2005, she was 21 and had been married for three years to her husband, Serdius, who is from the Biri tribe. This means that Ina and Serdius speak PCI, rather than one of the two tribal languages, in their home. Ina spoke in informal language to me since I am a longtime family friend and also speak her tribal language. I was interested to know her feelings about her marriage since it was arranged by her parents.

1. Jadi suami saya, orang Biri Dua.

[PCF] Bagaimana ketemu dengan dia?

2. Waktu itu, cuma orang tua yang urus, ya?

3. Saya juga tidak tahu.

4. Tidak ketemu dengan dia. Orang tua saya yang urus, secara tindakan, jadi.

[PCF] Aduh!

5. Saya juga ikuti saja apa yang orang tua atur.

6. Saya juga hargakan orang tua saya sebagai allah dunia.

7. Saya juga ikuti saja apa yang orang tua perintakan kepada saya, saya juga ikuti.

[PCF] Tapi apakah sedih atau senang?

8. Ya, dengan senang. (senyum, tertawa)

[PCF] Jadi waktu pergi tutup muka dengan kain atau tidak?

9. Tidak. Tidak tutup muka. Waktu itu laki-laki sendiri sampe di ruma. Akhirnya orang tua saya atur.

10. Orang tua saya kasi tahu, "Ini suda ko punya suami."

11. Akhirnya ... pertama, saya juga tolak. Tapi orang tua saya kasi tahu, "Kamu harus kawin sama laki-laki yang orang tua suda pilih."

12. Akhirnya saya juga ikuti saja apa yang orang tua katakan pada saya. (tertawa)

[PCF] Jadi pada waktu itu baru melihat dia.

13. Ya. Trus dari situ, laki-laki ini tinggal di sini cukup lama.

14. Akhirnya kita ke kampung sama laki-laki punya orang tua, kita ke sana.

15. Trus kembali lagi.

1. So my husband is a guy from Biri Two.

[PCF] How did you meet him?

2. At that time, it was only the parents who arranged it, yeah?

3. I also didn't know.

4. (I) didn't meet with him. My parents were the ones to arrange it, in a forced manner, so...

[PCF] Wow!

5. This means that, in their home, Ina and Serdius speak PCI rather than one of the two tribal languages.

6. I also respected (my) parents as gods of this world.

7. I also went along with what (my) parents ordered me (to do), I also went along (with it).

[PCF] But were you sad or happy?

8. Yeah, happily. (smile and giggle)

[PCF] So when you went (or, were escorted to their village) did you cover your face with a cloth or not? (Which I have seen brides do on some occasions. They were weeping.)

9. No, (I) didn't cover (my) face. At that time he himself (Serdius) had come to (our) house. Finally the parents arranged it.

10. My parents informed (me), "This is your husband." (Note the PM pronoun *ko*. It is common to descend into PM in reported speech.)

11. Finally...(well) at first, I also rejected (it/him). But my parents informed (me), "You must marry with the man which has been chosen by (the/your) parents."

12. So finally I also just went along with what the parents said to me. (laugh)

[PCF] So it was at that time you first saw him.

13. Yeah. Then after that, he stayed here for quite a while.

14. Finally all of us went to (their) village with his parents, we went there.

15. Then we all returned again.

16. Akhirnya orang tua juga antar saya ke sana, antar dengan adat, ya?
17. Antar ke sana...
18. Akhirnya orang di sana punya adat itu, mereka sambut kita dengan tipa.
19. Acara itu, siang, hampir siang, acaranya.
20. Akhirnya orang di sana punya adat itu,
21. mereka juga senang— ingin punya anak mantu dari tempat yang jauh.
22. Akhirnya mereka juga gembira.
23. Akhirnya mereka gendong saya, seperti dua orang, toh?
24. Gendong saya,
25. taru saya di atas bahu sini. (sambil tunjuk bahunya)
26. Akhirnya saya digendong pada waktu itu.
27. Caranya cukup ramai. (dengan tertawa)
  
28. Selesai acara,
29. habis itu bagi harta selesai,
30. akhirnya orang tua saya juga pulang ke sini.
31. Saya sementara itu di kampung dulu,
32. akhirnya sudah lama,
33. saya trus ikut sama suami saya ke sini, pulang ke Wapoga.
34. Tinggal di sini sampe sekarang.
  
35. Kan sementara ini, ada saudara laki-laki saya, toh? Belum kawin.
36. Akhirnya bapa ini dia ambil kebijaksanaan sendiri untuk dia urus perempuan dari sana untuk kawin dengan saudara saya.
  

[PCF] O, ema dot ëka.

  
37. Ya, dot ënkam. Akhirnya mereka paksa saya; saya harus kawin di sana. (sambil senyum)
38. Akhirnya saya juga ikuti apa yang orang tua perintakan kepada saya. (dengan tertawa sedikit)
  

[PCF] Tidak ada laki-laki lain yang dipikirkan pada waktu itu?

  
39. Ada, tapi ya, bagaimana? Orang tua saya suda urus, akhirnya saya ikuti saja.

16. Finally (my) parents escorted me to there, escorted in the traditional way, yeah? (for the traditional wedding)
  17. Escorted there...
  18. Finally in tradition of the people there, they received us with (playing) drums.
  19. The ceremony, was late morning, almost late morning, the {ceremony/celebration}.
  20. Finally in the tradition of the people there,
  21. they also were happy— wanting to have a daughter-in-law from a distant place.
  22. Finally they also were rejoicing.
  23. And they carried me, like between two men, ya-know?
  24. (They) carried me,
  25. putting me on (their) shoulders here. (motioning to her shoulder)
  26. So they carried me at that time.
  27. It was very {joyful/busy/crowded}. (laugh)
  28. After the celebration,
  29. then after (they) finished distributing the (bride) wealth,
  30. then my parents came home to here.
  31. At that time I stayed at (his) village first,
  32. then finally after a long while,
  33. I accompanied my husband to here, came home to Wapoga.
  34. (We've) lived here until now.
  35. And after all, there was my brother, ya-know? — (who) wasn't yet married.
  36. So finally (my) father considered it wise to arrange for a girl from there to marry my brother.
- [PCF] In Orya: "O, you traded marriages." (This is a custom where each family gives a son and a daughter reciprocally, thereby nullifying bride price.)
37. Yeah, reciprocal. (Orya word) So they forced me; I must marry (a guy) from there. (smiling)
  38. So in the end I also went along with what the parents ordered me (to do). (little laugh)
- [PCF] There wasn't another man who you thought of at the time?
39. There was, but yeah, what could I do? The parents had arranged it, so finally I just went along.

Ina seemed completely happy in her arranged marriage. She shows that her first language is Orya in her use of "Akhirnya" (finally) in a way that replaces the Orya discourse marker *Ki zep* 'And then'. But other than that, her language is typical of PCI used all over the island. She used only one *meng-* prefix and only one passive.

*Kebijaksanaan* 'wisdom' is also a higher register word, although *ambil kebijaksanaan* 'take//use wisdom' is quite commonly used. She used a few expressions that are shared with PM. It is very typical for little quotations in a PCI story to be conveyed in PM. Her first quote is in that style. She also used *kita* as 'we exclusive', since I was not included in the group who went to the groom's village. Her speech is neither SI nor PM, but very typical of PCI.

For a contrast, and for those who read Indonesian, I will show here the difference between PCI and Papuan Malay. This text is also about a wedding, spoken by Hudy, a 24 year old university student and a resident of Jayapura. I am assuming he is male from his name and his actions in the story.<sup>31</sup>

Oke sa kas tau sedikit yang kitong pu persiapan yang jelang-jelang kaka pu acara nikah yang kemarin e... . ini pertama, pertama-tama tu waktu bapa kitom masi baku ribut dengan yang ipar laki-laki ini de pu mama to. Gara-gara ini dong dua ini suda ini lama begini...masa belum-belum nika juga. Tapi de pu mama, de pu mama bilang a...tunggu nanti, kaka, ipar yang laki-laki ko suda sidi ka belum. A...ini. Ini saja persyara apa, bikim-bikin bosan juga to. Kalo ah...de bilang a, suda. Kalo lama-lama suda, gereja Baptis saja. Na... nanti nika di gereja Baptis saja. Da...datang kitong konsultasi ini, oke si geres sini bisa. Setela ini, tong mulai ko apa...kumpul-kumpul ana-ana yan nanti bantu-bantu dekor. Sida tao bawa Dimas ka, o Dimas bisa tu, Karel Karel trus, tamba kitong sendiri trus... ughm... kalo apa... untuk makanan, a... kaka ipar laki-laki de punya mama don yan tanggung makanan yang... dom bilang makanan amber itu. Itu. Trus yang kitom pu makanannya, mama...mama Uli yang ini to... iyo pace Obed pu maitua dondua. Don tanggung. A, setela itu, tong hari itu datang dekor. Dekor pertama memang bapa Obed dondua belum ada. Belum. Tom masi ba dudu bicara-bicara me mana saja yam mo bikin-bikin ini. Pas pace di ruma kas tau:"Ah, kenapa tu prau mansusu yan di gudang blakang tu tida pake saja. Pake ktom pu apa, padukan, padukan, iyo prau dengan kitom punya adat dari...dari...Sorong yam pake kaen Timor itu. A, setela itu, oke bisa. Ini pas ton datang sore-sore, e datang siang bawa prau, kalo sa, sa datang dengan... o, sa datang sendiri. Maka sa naek ke atas bawa Dimas, turun kiton dua kasturun prau. Kasturun prau kas masuk di greja.

The telling thing about the contrast between these two texts is that Ina would not be able to talk about her own wedding using PM like Huby's above.<sup>32</sup> Her village of Wapoga is only five hours south-west by bus from Sentani and six hours from Jayapura, but it has only been in her lifetime that roads have improved to the point where there is regular bus service. Remember that Ina's first language is Orya. She heard SI in church and in announcements from government officials, and learned it in school. And at home, if she misbehaved as a child, her parents would probably break into very low PCI or even PM. For some reason, many Orya parents seem to like to change to PM for rebuking their kids. It evidently sounds appropriately harsh! Ina was able to produce the quote, *Ini ko punya suami*, (This is your husband.) a quote from her parents, which may have been uttered during an argument. Note that she used the PM pronoun *ko*, but not the amputated form *pu* instead of *punya*. So Ina herself is certainly able to produce such borderline PM, which would use PM pronouns and some other traits. But she, and Orya people in general, cannot produce an unbroken stream of the lowest level PM like Huby. She would, however, be able to understand Huby's story at a 90% level. And of course, the comprehension of PM and the ability to produce it decrease as farther into the interior one goes from the coast.

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<sup>31</sup> This text was collected as part of the recent SIL survey of Papuan Malay.

<sup>32</sup> I have confirmed this assertion with her extended 'older brother' (actually her father's second cousin). His answer was as follows: *Ee mese ina baksa takensibik zeno bosesa de ale gun hup dena, zen man asa gubluk in sapsa. Ina molya Jayapurak de zini in mokim melayau papuana insa ton anam. Hen zen molya tangan 100 persenkam tame gu'un san ha 90 atau 80kam maka. Sap kirekam de ol toranna in orang bisa tertawa dia.* Translation: 'I have asked Ina about writing (using) her name (in the article), and she said it's fine with her. Ina can't talk like that guy from Jayapura did in Melayu Papua. And she wouldn't be able to understand 100 percent either, maybe 90 or 80 percent. Because talking like that guy did, (our people) would laugh at him.' (His last four words are in Indonesian.)

## Appendix

Other texts to accompany this article will be posted on the Internet.

These texts are given without a translation into English.

[Text 1](#): Stefan's Sunday School class.

One of the best places to find PCI is in the classroom, adults speaking to children. Stefan teaches about Jesus going with his parents to Jerusalem for the Passover.

[Text 2](#): Ina's Sunday School class.

The same newly-married Ina who gave the preceding text taught a class on Lazarus and the rich man. She uses the same *sederhana* language when teaching as when she was telling about her wedding.

[Text 3](#): Demons, and things that "go bump" in the night.

Petrus Bunggu, 46, tells a humorous story that is on the borderline between PCI and PM. His story also illustrates using PM in quotes.

[Text 4](#): Daminggus tells of the village of Kaptiau's relocation.

Daminggus, 46, was the head of Kaptiau village when this was recorded in 2005. His village had recently been forced to move inland because of coastal erosion. Kaptiau is one of those North coast Papuan villages that used to have its own language— a language spoken by the 250 people of that village only. Only the oldest of the people can speak their language today.

[Text 5](#): Bartolomeus, 52, tells a traditional Sentani tale of Palaroa.

The people around Lake Sentani say that Palaroa was really Jesus because of the miracles that he could do. Bartolomeus spoke in Colloquial Indonesian, borrowing some words from SI.

[Text 6](#): Kristen tells of the Americans defeating the Japanese in his area, and finishes with a folk tale.

Kristen is the head of a clan in the village of Suma, Papua. Suma is five hours west of Jayapura by car. At the time of this recording, on the 27th of October, 2005, he was approximately 64 years old. Kristen stays consistently in Malay, without borrowing from Indonesian. As he told the story, the house filled up with family and neighborhood kids. He's a good story teller!

These files can all be downloaded here: <http://www.box.net/shared/4p6rirkc32>

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Donohue, Mark. 2004. Alternative event codings, *SEALS XIV (Papers from the 14th annual meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society)*, 107–116. Australian National University. Online link: [http://pacling.anu.edu.au/catalogue/SEALSXIV\\_Vol1.pdf](http://pacling.anu.edu.au/catalogue/SEALSXIV_Vol1.pdf).

This article mentions agentless passive constructions ‘*Saya kena tipu*,’ and ‘*Saya dapa(t) pukul*,’ in ‘Bazaar Malay’ and Ambonese Malay, and he analyzes these as serial verb constructions. (I have modified the second example quoted to be like PCI.) ‘*Kena*’ can stand alone as a main verb meaning ‘to come into contact,’ while ‘*dapat*’ when used by itself means ‘obtain.’ “What is perhaps unusual for the languages described here in detail, Skou and Palu’e, is that the verbs used in the passive are also completely compatible with being the sole verb in a simplex predicate, with a meaning that is entirely compatible with their function in the serialised voice construction. This cannot so easily be said for the mainland Asian languages discussed here.”

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Gil, David. 2000. Reflexive Anaphor or Conjunctive Operator? : Riau Indonesian sendiri, in Cole, Peter; Huang, C.-T. J.; Hermon, Gabriella (eds.), *Long Distance Reflexives, Syntax and Semantics* 83–117. Academic Press, New York.

Gil, David. 2006. The Acquisition of Voice Morphology in Jakarta Indonesian, in N. Gagarina and I. Gülzow (eds.), *The acquisition of Verbs and their Grammar: The Effect of Particular Languages*, 201–227. Springer, Netherlands.

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Gravelle, Gilles. 2006. Five local Malay dialects of eastern Indonesia. Jakarta: SIL International-Indonesia. (perhaps unpublished), 36 pages.

Ikranagara, Kay Glassburner. 1980. *Melayu Betawi Grammar*. NUSA, Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia, Jakarta: Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya, Volume 9.

Although this book is entitled “Melayu Betawi,” it is the same Jakartan dialect as described by Sneddon (2006).

Kluge, Angela. 2008. Papuan Malay: Some insights, *Insights 10.1, SIL Indonesia Branch Technical Studies Bulletin*, June 2008:16–26.

Kozok, Ulrich. 2008. Colloquial Urban Indonesian. Online URL: <http://www.bahasakita.com/articles/colloquial-urban-indonesian/>

Mintz, Malcolm W. 2002. *An Indonesian & Malay Grammar For Students*. Uniprint, Perth, Western Australia.

Muhadjir. 1981. *Morphology of Jakarta Dialect, Affixation and Reduplication*. NUSA, Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia, Jakarta: Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya, Volume 11.

Scott, Graham, Hyun Kim, Eleonora Scott, Benny Rumaropen, Bob Cochran and Christian Nussy. (in progress). A preliminary report on some linguistic and sociolinguistic features of Papuan Malay. Sentani: SIL Indonesia.

Roosman, Raden S. 1982. Pidgin Malay as spoken in Irian Jaya. *The Indonesian Quarterly* 10(2):95-104.

The article has some useful historical information and some texts. However Roosman seems to over-emphasize the role of Maluku/Ambonese Malay in Papua. His study was done before more current information about the dialects of Papuan Malay.

Samaun. 1979. The system of the contracted forms of the vernacular bahasa Indonesia in Jayapura, Irian Jaya (Project paper in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Certificate in Modern Trends in Linguistic Analysis and Their Application to Linguistic Research and Language Teaching in Southeast Asia). Singapore: SEAMEO: iii, 35 p.

This article has an interesting page of historical information concerning Malay contact in Irian Jaya from before the Dutch government. (p. 3) Samaun analyzes Papuan Malay (which he calls Dialek Indonesia Irian, DII) based on sound changes, substitutions, and "syllable amputations." Samaun says the two dialects come from "the same source language," (p. 31) although all of the sound comparisons he lists are compared with Standard Indonesian. Pages 6-11 list 206 lexical changes. Pages 12-13 list 62 "simplified syntactic" phrases. Pages 14-19a analyze word initial sound changes: 14-15 vowel changes, p. 16 vowel and consonant deletions, 16-17 vowel insertions, 17-19 prefix change, and prefix and syllable deletion. Pages 19-20 analyze word medial vowel and consonant changes. Pages 21-25 analyze sound changes in the final position. Pages 26-28b list "syntactic effects" such as contractions, structures with "baku," etc. Pages 28-30 list "semantic effects" or homophony resulting from sound changes. Conclusions start on 31, and list some good summary points: Sound changes between Standard Indonesian and PM can be characterized as simplifications. The results include more open syllables, shortened words and "greater ease of articulation and greater sonority."

Sneddon, James N. 1996. *INDONESIAN, A Comprehensive Grammar*. Routledge Grammars, London and New York.

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Suharno, Ignatius. 1981. The reductive system of an Indonesian dialect - A study of Irian Jaya Case. Paper presented at the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Denpasar, Bali, 19-24.

Suharno gives an excellent brief summary of the differences between PM and SI. Phonology pp. 3-6b, morphology p. 6c-7b, lexicon 7c-8, grammar 9-13.

Torchia, Christopher. 2007. *Indonesian Idioms and Expressions, Colloquial Indonesian at Work*. Tuttle Publishing, Tokyo, Vermont, Singapore.

Torchia worked as a journalist with the AP in Indonesia starting in 1997. He must have learned Indonesian very well and he also has done his homework on Indonesian idioms. He uses idioms as a mirror reflecting the culture, and it is very entertaining. From his introduction: "...modern Indonesians love word play. The tongue slips and skids, chopping words, piling on syllables and flipping them. Indonesians turn phrases into acronyms, and construct double meanings. Their inventions reflect

social trends, mock authority, or get a point across in a hurry. Colloquial Indonesian is constantly evolving, and often bears little resemblance to the “correct,” written form of the language, a source of concern to some linguists. Such divergence is common in languages worldwide, but the vast ethnic mix and breadth of linguistic influences in Indonesia deepens the trend.”

## For further reading:

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- Goodman, Thomas. 2002. The Rajas of Papua and East Seram during the early modern period (17th – 18th centuries): A bibliographic essay. *Papuaweb's Annotated Bibliographies*. Manokwari, Jayapura, Canberra: Universitas Negeri Papua, Universitas Cenderawasih, Australian National University: 11 p. Online URL: <http://www.papuaweb.org/bib/abib/goodman.pdf>.