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KORTE MEDEDELING

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THE IDENTIFICATION OF AN 'UNIDENTIFIED' HOLLE LIST: THE LAST WORD (LIST)

In 1979, under the aegis of the Cultural Agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands, W.A.L. Stokhof undertook the task of publishing the surviving wordlists which had been collected within the methodological framework set forth by K.F. Holle in 1880 (Stokhof 1980:1). This painstaking and admirable project was concluded in 1987 with the publication of Volume 11 of the *Holle List* series (Stokhof 1987). This final volume includes lists found in the manuscript room of Indonesia's *Museum Nasional* as well as lists found in the Oriental Manuscript Collection of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden. Scholars of Indonesian studies and Austronesian linguistics are indebted to Stokhof and his colleagues for providing us with a rich source of language and culture information, hitherto virtually inaccessible and likely to become dust in Box 109! These lists have already served various scholars well, and their worth will further prove itself as the international community of specialists interprets these valuable data. As a step towards that task of interpretation, this short note intends to solve a small puzzle posed in Volume 11. On pages 321-34 of this volume (Stokhof 1987), there appears the last Holle wordlist to be published; it is labelled 'unidentified', with an added note 'Malay dialect from Sumatra?'. In the following paragraphs, it will become clear that it is indeed a Malay dialect, but not from Sumatra. The unidentified list is a wordlist of Banjarese Malay, albeit of uncertain provenance.

To the casual reader, three features of this list immediately suggest that it is Banjarese Malay. First, one notices the occurrence of *a* (the low central vowel) in most places where one would expect *ə* (the mid-central vowel) in many other dialects of Malay. For example¹,

<i>paroet</i>	:	[pərut]	'stomach';
<i>tagoek</i>	:	[təguʔ]	'to swallow';
<i>mangatam</i>	:	[məŋətam]	'to reap (with a hand-held <i>tuai</i>)';
<i>alang</i>	:	[ələn]	'hawk'; and so forth.

¹ Material in italics is taken from the relevant Holle list; material in brackets represents standard Malay cognates.

Moreover, in certain prepenultimate syllables which contain *a* in many other dialects, vowels other than *a* (or *ə*) appear, such as

<i>minantoe</i>	:	[mənantu]	'son- or daughter-in-law';
<i>tjilaka</i>	:	[cəlaka]	'unlucky'; and
<i>koeliling</i>	:	[kəlilij]	'surrounding'.

Second, many initial and medial *h*'s no longer found in most Malay dialects are retained in this wordlist; note:

<i>bahera</i>	:	[beraʔ]	'to defecate';
<i>batiharap</i>	:	[tiarap]	'face downwards';
<i>'lantoehoet</i>	:	[lutut]	'knee' ² ;
<i>hanau</i>	:	[ənaw]	'the arenga palm'; and so forth.

The features noted above are, in fact, found in some Malay dialects spoken in Sumatra, in particular Minangkabau subdialects; and, perhaps, this led to the tentative label 'from Sumatra?'. However, a third immediate feature supports the argument in favour of Banjarese. Even a cursory reading of the list reveals a number of words which are similar to Javanese; compare the following entries to the Javanese forms.³

<i>ilat</i>	:	Jv. <i>ilat</i> (<i>ngoko</i>)	'tongue';
<i>sampean</i>	:	Jv. <i>sampeyan</i> (<i>kromo</i>)	'you';
<i>andika</i>	:	Jv. <i>andika</i> (literary)	'you';
<i>banyoe</i>	:	Jv. <i>bapu</i> (<i>ngoko</i>)	'water';
<i>lawang</i>	:	Jv. <i>lawan</i> (<i>ngoko</i>)	'door';
<i>tetamba</i>	:	Jv. <i>tamba</i> (<i>ngoko</i>)	'medicine';
<i>iwak</i>	:	Jv. <i>iwak</i> (<i>ngoko</i>)	'fish'
<i>bagawie</i>	:	Jv. <i>gawe</i> (<i>ngoko</i>)	'to work'
<i>garing</i>	:	Jv. <i>gəriŋ</i> (<i>ngoko</i>)	'ill'; and
<i>kiwa</i>	:	Jv. <i>kiwa</i>	'left side'.

Although there may be Sumatran variants of Malay which show retention of *h*, shift of *a* to *ə*, and lexical items similar to Javanese, the combination

² In fact, other Banjarese materials (for example Abdul Djebar Hapip 1977 and Fudiat Suryadikara et al. 1981) have *lintuhut*.

³ These items were checked against Horne's (1974) dictionary of Javanese; judgments about style and register (*ngoko* 'familiar' and *kromo* 'formal') are Horne's; see Errington 1985 and Keeler 1984. Cense noted these Javanese forms in 1928, but Ras (1968:524) wisely noted that identifying a word as Javanese should not suggest that such a word is 'a "loan" either direct or indirect . . .'. Indeed, some dialects of Malay may preserve words – lost in other dialects – which are cognate to Javanese. Malay and Malayic etymology is an underdeveloped field of study.

of these phonological and lexical features⁴ noted in a superficial examination of the list warranted a closer comparison with Banjarese lexical and grammatical studies. This subsequent comparison confirmed that the list is Banjarese. Of the seventy-nine entries on the first page of the Holle list, seventy-six are found in *Kamus Banjar-Indonesia* (Abdul Djebar Hapip 1977).⁵ This is the pattern throughout the wordlist. Furthermore, a large number of words in the Holle list are found only in Banjarese or other Borneo dialects of Malay.⁶ We note, for example, the parallels between entries in the Holle list – in italics – and the dictionary entries (Abdul Djebar Hapip 1977) – in bold print:

<i>lalongkang</i>	lalonkan	'window'
<i>moeha</i>	muha	'face'
<i>moentoeng</i>	muntun	'mouth'
<i>sasengot</i>	sasengot	'moustache'
<i>bahaman</i>	bahaman	'molar tooth'
<i>rakoengan</i>	rakun	'throat'
<i>bakamih</i>	bakamih	'to urinate'
<i>batis</i>	batis	'leg'
<i>landauw</i>	landaw	'calf/shin' ⁷
<i>djeridjie</i>	jariji	'finger'
<i>bahinak</i>	bahinak	'to breathe'
<i>manginoem</i>	kinum	'to drink'
<i>goering</i>	guriŋ	'to sleep'
<i>ma-igoet2</i>	maigut	'to bite/to suffer cramps'
<i>kipa</i>	kipa	'stiff/paralyzed'
<i>banoea</i>	banua	'village'
<i>hampatoeng</i>	hampatun	'idol'
<i>ba-äh</i>	ba?ah	'flood' ⁸
<i>andie2</i>	andi-andi	'tale, legend' ⁹
<i>kasaloekoetan</i>	kasalukutan	'to be afire'

⁴ Other lexical items characteristic of Borneo's Malay dialects such as *tawak-tawak* 'small suspended gongs' and *tajau* 'large ceramic jars' are also found in Sumatran dialects, viz. Wilkinson 1932:544, 516.

⁵ The exceptions, *poesaran* 'crown of the head', *iboe-gangan* 'thumb' and *toenjoek hantu* 'middle finger', are probably either transcription errors on the part of the unidentified wordlist collector (*gangan* for 'tangan') or oversights in the Banjarese dictionary (*tunjuk* 'finger' and *hantu* 'spirit' suggest that *tunjuk hantu* might exist in Banjarese).

⁶ Undoubtedly, given the state of Malay etymological studies, some of the words cited here will be found in dialects outside Borneo; so this statement should be qualified.

⁷ Two definitions separated by a diagonal stroke (/) such as 'calf/shin' indicate that the first definition is that of the Holle word list and the second that of Abdul Djebar Hapip (1977).

⁸ Other Malay dialects display [bah] or sometimes [ba:h].

⁹ See [*Andi-andi*] 1977.

Morphological patterns of affixation and reduplication also support the identification of the wordlist as Banjarese. The use of *akan* ('*die alah akan orang*' [dialahakan oraŋ] 'to surrender', Entry 634, note /dialahakan/; and *die moepakat akan* 'to negotiate', Entry 992, note /dimupakatkan/) instead of the *-kan* of many Malay dialects, the occurrence of reduplication within the {*ka - an*} circumfix (*kasa-samoetan* 'fallen asleep or numb (of limbs)', Entry 223), the combination of *-an* and *-i* (*wadah djahat die takoetani orang* 'sacred place', Entry 382, note /ditakutani/), the form *manamoelaie* <{*maN + ta + mula + i*} 'to begin', Entry 1261), and the appearance of *ma-* as the apparent allomorph of {*maN-*} before vowels (*maambil* 'to take', Entry 1179, and *ma-indjam* 'to lend to', Entry 1018) – all suggest the complex verbal morphology so striking in Banjarese Malay (see Adelaar 1983, Abdurachman Ismail 1967, Durdje Durasid et al. 1984, and Kern 1941 for information on Banjarese morphology).

Although we can demonstrate that the list is Banjarese Malay, it is not possible to identify a subdialect. The occurrence of mid-vowels, e.g. *sasengot* 'moustache' (upriver Banjarese: *sasingut*), and the replacement of Banjarese numerals (*asa, talu, pitu, walu, sanga*) with standard or near-standard forms (*satoe, tiga, toedjoeh, delapan, sambilan*) point to downriver Banjarese, perhaps near the city of Banjarmasin. Nonetheless, the retention of *h* in *hanau* and *hampatung* (cited above) is considered in both these lexical items a feature of upriver Banjarese (Abdul Djebar Hapip 1977). Perhaps colleagues in Banjarmasin can shed more light on the provenance of this wordlist.

This short note on a minor wordlist of the eleven-volume series of Holle lists should be considered an example of the discussions made possible by the publication of these materials. It is intended, too, as an acknowledgement of gratitude to Professor Stokhof and his colleagues. May all the dusty boxes in libraries worldwide find compilers and editors as persevering and meticulous!

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