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MONOSYLLABLES IN MALAY/INDONESIAN: A TALE OF TWO LUDLINGS

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In Malay/Indonesian, most of the lexicon is disyllabic; however, there is also a smaller number of words that are monosyllabic. This paper argues that most of these apparently monosyllabic words occupy a single syllabic position of a disyllabic Core Foot, thereby leaving the remaining syllabic position empty. Evidence for such an empty syllabic position is provided by two different ludlings, or language games, in two distinct dialects of Malay/Indonesian: Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay. However, the two ludlings show that the structure of monosyllabic forms differs from one dialect to the other. Whereas the Riau Indonesian ludling suggests that monosyllables occupy the second syllabic position of the foot leaving the first position empty, the Papuan Malay ludling points towards a mirror-image structure whereby monosyllables occupy the first syllabic position of the foot leaving the second position empty. This paper argues that such mirror-image structures are a consequence of certain other differences in the phonological profiles of the two Malay/Indonesian dialects, reflected also in their different stress assignment rules: final in Riau Indonesian, mostly penultimate in Papuan Malay.

Malay/Indonesian, Riau Indonesian, Papuan Malay, monosyllable, foot, stress, empty position, ludling

"כאן" זה במלעיל או במלרע? 'שאלתי. השממית מהרה להכניס אל תוך הקיר,
משאיכה אחריה ציץ וזנב."

"kan", is it penultimate or final stressed?' I asked. The gecko hastened into the wall, leaving behind a tweet and a tail."

(From "ארבע שאלות של טעם" 'Four Questions of Accentuation', by Hebrew poet Zohar Eitan.)¹

1 INTRODUCTION

In Malay/Indonesian, the overwhelming majority of the lexicon is disyllabic; however, there is also a smaller number of words that present themselves as monosyllabic. This paper argues that most of these apparently monosyllabic words occupy a single syllabic position of a disyllabic Core Foot, thereby leaving the remaining syllabic position empty. Evidence for such an empty syllabic position is provided by two different ludlings, or language games, in two distinct dialects of Malay/Indonesian: Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay. But there's a twist. Whereas the Riau Indonesian ludling suggests that monosyllables occupy the second syllabic position of the foot leaving the first position empty, the Papuan Malay ludling points towards a mirror image structure whereby monosyllables occupy the first syllabic position of the foot leaving the second position empty. This paper argues that such mirror-image structures are a consequence

¹ In Hebrew grammatical terminology, there are basic monomorphemic words, *milʕel* and *milraʕ*, whose dedicated meanings are 'penultimate stressed' and 'final stressed' respectively. Using these two terms, the narrator of Zohar Eitan's 2022 poem wonders, somewhat whimsically, whether the monosyllabic word *kan* 'here', as well as various other monosyllabic Hebrew words in the continuation of the poem, are penultimate or final stressed. A very similar question, but focusing on a quite different language, is what this paper is all about.

of certain other differences in the phonological profiles of the two Malay/Indonesian dialects, reflected, *inter alia*, in their different stress assignment rules: final in Riau Indonesian, mostly penultimate in Papuan Malay.

Section 2 introduces Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay, situating them within the broader Malay/Indonesian linguistic landscape. Section 3 presents the differential patterns of stress in the two dialects. Section 4 surveys the evidence for a disyllabic Core Foot in both dialects. Section 5 looks at monosyllabic words in the two dialects. Section 6, the paper's centerpiece, shows how the two ludlings provide evidence that monosyllables occupy the second syllabic position of the Core Foot in Riau Indonesian but the first syllabic position of the Core Foot in Papuan Malay. Following some concluding remarks in Section 7, an Appendix provides two naturalistic texts of ludlings in their respective dialects.²

2 THE MALAY/INDONESIAN LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

To analyze data and construct a linguistic argument, one has to know what language or language variety one is talking about, which is not always as simple and straightforward as it might seem. Malay/Indonesian is a member of the Malayic subgroup of the Austronesian language family, and with well over 200 million speakers is one of the world's major languages. The Malay/Indonesian linguistic landscape is one of extreme complexity; for a variety of perspectives see Adelaar and Prentice (1996), Collins (1998), Errington (1998), Sneddon (2003) and Gil (2009, 2020a, to appear a).

For many general linguists, "Malay/Indonesian" means the standard, or formal language, which, in one guise or another, functions as an official language in four different countries, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and Indonesia; indeed, until recently, most lin-

² Malay/Indonesian forms cited in this paper are for the most part presented in standard Malay/Indonesian orthography, which is largely phonetic, with the exception of two digraphs, *ny* for the palatal *nasal* [ɲ], and *ng* for the velar nasal [ŋ]. In Riau Indonesian, final *k*, and occasionally also the symbol ' , are pronounced as a glottal stop [ʔ].

guistic studies of Malay and Indonesian have been concerned with these standard varieties. However, standard Malay/Indonesian is a semi-artificial language that is spoken in a limited range of contexts, and never acquired naturally as a first language by children.

Instead, a majority of the population of these countries speak one or more varieties of colloquial Malay and/or Indonesian, often as their first language, but in other cases as a second language alongside other languages, of which there is a total of well over over 800 in these four countries. Varieties of colloquial Malay/Indonesian are delimited by a combination of geographical, ethnic and other factors; their degree of mutual intelligibility ranges from high to near zero. Speakers of colloquial varieties of Malay/Indonesian are typically diglossic, modulating their linguistic behaviour along a lectal cline ranging from a colloquial basilect to a formal acrolect.

Colloquial varieties of Malay/Indonesian may be classified into two main sociolinguistic types, *traditional* and *koiné*. Traditional varieties, found in parts of Sumatra, Peninsular Malaysia and Borneo, are typically spoken by ethnic Malays in predominantly rural settings — for example Siak Malay in Sumatra, Ulu Muar Malay in Peninsular Malaysia, and Sambas Malay in Borneo. In contrast, *koiné* varieties, occurring throughout Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and Indonesia, are spoken by persons of diverse ethnicities, often in situations involving cross-ethnic communication, though increasingly also in home settings where they may be acquired as a first language by children. Among such *koiné* varieties are Jakarta Indonesian, Sabah Malay, and, in addition, the two dialects under consideration in this paper, Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay.

Riau Indonesian is the *koiné* dialect of Malay/Indonesian spoken in east-central Sumatra, in the Indonesian provinces of Riau and Riau Kepulauan. Like other similar *koiné* varieties, it is spoken in a wide range of contexts, in both public and private domains, by the indigenous ethnic Malay population, as well as by migrants from other parts of Indonesia, primarily Minangkabau, Batak and Javanese. Since the indigenous population is Malay, Riau Indonesian is spoken alongside a variety of traditional Malay

dialects such as Siak Malay, Rokan Hilir Malay and others — which are sometimes referred to collectively as Riau Malay. An example of code switching between Riau Indonesian and Siak Malay can be seen in the Warasa ludling text in the Appendix. Riau Indonesian is the most commonly spoken language in the region, and is acquired as a native language by most or all children growing up in the provinces of Riau and Riau Kepulauan. For descriptions of various aspects of Riau Indonesian grammar see Gil (1994, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2013, 2020b).

A few thousand kilometers to the east, Papuan Malay is the *koiné* variety of Malay/Indonesian spoken on the western half of the island of New Guinea, in the Indonesian provinces of Papua and Papua Barat. Unlike Sumatra, there are no indigenous Malays in Papua; instead, speakers of Papuan Malay belong to a multitude of ethnicities of generally Melanesian affiliation, speaking close to 300 different languages, both Austronesian and non-Austronesian. Papuan Malay is also the most commonly spoken language in the region, in public and in many cases also private domains, so much so that it is in the process of replacing many of the local languages. Papuan Malay is described in a reference grammar by Kluge (2014), with further studies by Donohue and Sawaki (2007) and several others.³

3 STRESS

The location of stress plays a central role in the analysis of monosyllabic words in

³ The existence of two terms, "Malay" and "Indonesian" to refer to varieties of what is a single macro-language calls for further clarification. While varieties spoken in Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei are invariably referred to as "Malay", the terminological situation in Indonesia is somewhat more complex. In general, the term "Indonesian" is used for the standard language, and for many of the *koinés* spoken in western Indonesia, such as Riau Indonesian. In contrast, the term "Malay" is employed for the traditional dialects of Sumatra and Borneo, as well as for most of the *koinés* spoken in eastern Indonesia, such as Papuan Malay. However, usage is not always entirely consistent; in an earlier publication (Gil 2002a), written before the term "Papuan Malay" became widespread, I referred to it as "Irian Indonesian" (where "Irian" was part of the old province name "Irian Jaya"). A further complication stems from the fact that in some cases, a variety of Malay/Indonesian may be referred to not as "Malay" nor as "Indonesian" but instead with a language name formed from a toponym preceded by the Indonesian word *bahasa* 'language', e.g. the traditional dialect "Bahasa Palembang" or the *koiné* dialect "Bahasa Kupang".

Malay/Indonesian put forward in this paper.

The standard story for Standard Malay/Indonesian is that stress is penultimate unless the penultimate syllable is a schwa, in which case it is final. Whatever the merits of this description for Standard Malay/Indonesian, it is of essentially no relevance to most or all of the colloquial varieties. One reason is that many of them simply have no schwa — this is the case for one of two subdialects of Riau Indonesian, and more generally for Papuan Malay. But it's not just a question of the schwa.

An emerging consensus suggests that, contrary to earlier accounts, many or most colloquial varieties of Malay/Indonesian have no stress in the usual sense of the word, and that instead, the domain of stress assignment may be a larger phonological phrase. Analyses along these lines have been put forward by van Heuven, Roosman and van Zanten (2008) for Betawi Malay, Lai, Tynan and Park (2010) for Kupang Malay, Maskikit-Essed and Gussenhoven (2016) for Ambonese Malay, and Tadmor (2000), van Heuven and van Zanten (2007) and Kaufman and Himmelmann (2021, to appear) for a range of Malay/Indonesian varieties.⁴ In particular, similar arguments have been proposed also for the two dialects under consideration in this paper. For Riau Indonesian, Gil (2006) argues that the domain of stress is phrasal rather than lexical, while for Papuan Malay a similar analysis is entertained as a possibility by Kaland (2019, 2020) and Kaland, Kluge and van Heuven (2021), though they end up leaving open the question of whether the domain of stress is phrasal or lexical. In what follows, we shall assume that the domain of stress in Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay is phrasal, though for the purposes of this paper it does not matter whether the domain is phrasal or lexical — the arguments put forward go through equally well in either case.

What does matter, however, is that there is an important difference between Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay with regard to where the stress is placed. In Riau Indone-

⁴ In fact, analogous analyses have been offered also for other languages of the region; see Kaufman and Himmelmann (2021, to appear).

sian stress falls systematically on the final syllable of the phonological phrase. In contrast, in Papuan Malay stress usually falls on the penultimate syllable of the phonological phrase.

The qualification with regard to Papuan Malay is necessary because there is a small but nevertheless substantial set of lexically-determined exceptions, words which, when occurring at the end of the phonological phrase, take final stress. Such words generally belong to one of six partly overlapping categories: (1) words whose penultimate vowel was historically a schwa, even though in Papuan Malay the schwa has been replaced by another vowel, most commonly *e*, eg. *besar* 'big', *cepat* 'fast', *belut* 'eel';⁵ (2) words exhibiting "phonological reduplication", in which the first and second syllables are phonologically identical, e.g. *kuskus* 'cuscus', *busbus* 'bush', *kumkum* 'Cinnamon-bellied Imperial pigeon'; (3) surnames ending in a sonorant consonant, eg. *Awom*, *Bonay*, *Rumbarar*; (4) loan words from local languages, eg. *amber* 'foreigner', *fakni* 'sea ghost', *kombrof* 'octopus', all most likely borrowed from Biak;⁶ (5) loans pertaining to global culture, eg. *mesjid* 'mosque', *gubernur* 'governor', *Liverpool* 'Liverpool';⁷ and (6) acronyms, e.g. *SD*

5 Kaland, Kluge and van Heuven (2021:162) account for these forms "by assuming that the default position of word stress in Papuan Malay is the penultimate syllable and that mid vowels generally reject stress"; however, my data do not support their generalization. To begin with, there are numerous examples of words in which a mid vowel in the penultimate syllable does bear stress, e.g. *pele* 'block', *pecek* 'mud', *meti* 'low tide' with *e*, and *noken* 'string bag', *gosi* 'penis' and *ompay*, a term of address for young men, with *o*. In fact, there are even cases of loan words in which an original high penultimate vowel lowers to mid while maintaining its stress, eg. *peknik* 'picnic', *mester* 'white person'. Conversely, the list, below, of words with exceptional final stress also contains several in which the final vowel is mid: *Awom*, *amber*, *kombrof*, *gubernur* and the acronyms *SD* [esde], and *HP* [hape]. At present, the most plausible account for this class of exceptions is diachronic, namely that they derive from an ancestral stage of the language in which the penultimate syllable could not bear stress because it was still a schwa (Kaufman and Himmelmann to appear).

6 Presumably, in many such cases, the final stress preserves the final stress in the donor language. In a different but related pattern, Laura Arnold (p.c.) reports that in the tonal language Ambel, indigenous surnames pronounced in Papuan Malay render High tone as stress; thus, when High tone falls on the final syllable, as in *Fidáy*, it is pronounced with final stress in Papuan Malay.

7 Most of these loans presumably arrived in Papuan Malay not directly from their original donor languages but rather via a variety of circuitous routes. For example, the final stress on *Liverpool* (generally referring to the football team rather than the city whose name they bear), contrasting with its initial stress in English, suggests that *Liverpool* most likely came into Papuan Malay via TV sports broadcasts in Jakarta Indonesian, which, like Riau Indonesian, has consistent phrase-final stress.

[esde] < *Sekolah Dasar* 'elementary school', *HP* [hape] < *henpon* < Hand Phone 'mobile phone', *KK* [kaka] < *Kartu Keluarga* 'family card'.⁸ However, most of the above six categories also contain other words with regular penultimate stress; at present I see no alternative to the conclusion that the presence of final stress is an arbitrary feature that must be specified, individually, for each word.⁹ Nevertheless, all of these final-stressed forms represent exceptions to the default and significantly more common pattern of penultimate stress characteristic of Papuan Malay, which thus contrasts with the universally phrase-final stress of Riau Indonesian.

The contrast between the final stress of Riau Indonesian and the mostly penultimate stress of Papuan Malay is not an isolated fact about these two dialects but rather part of a larger areal pattern. With few exceptions, western varieties of Malay/Indonesian resemble Riau Indonesian, exhibiting final stress, while eastern varieties of Malay/Indonesian resemble Papuan Malay, and are characterized by penultimate stress, generally with a lexically-determined set of exceptions bearing final stress.¹⁰ A simplified representation of the geographical distribution of final vs. mostly penultimate stress in Malay/Indonesian varieties is given in the map in Figure 1 below:

8 The latter example constitutes one half of the only perfect minimal pair that I am currently aware of, contrasting with penultimate-stressed *kaka* 'elder sibling'.

9 In this sense, then, stress in Papuan Malay may be characterized as "lexical". However, this use of the label "lexical" is logically independent of the use of the term "lexical" to refer to one of two potential domains of stress assignment, in which latter case "lexical" contrasts with "phrasal".

10 In fact, a somewhat similar geographical distribution of final and penultimate stress is suggested by Tadmor (2000) and Kaufman and Himmelmann (2021, to appear) to be characteristic not just of Malay/Indonesian varieties but of the languages of the Indonesian archipelago more generally, albeit with certain qualifications that are irrelevant for the purposes of the present paper (cf. the discussion of Kaufman and Himmelmann's "Java Prototype" in footnote 14).



Figure 1: Stress in Malay/Indonesian: The Komodo Line

The vertical red line down the middle of the map represents the boundary between final stress, to the west, including Riau Indonesian, and mostly penultimate stress to the east, including Papuan Malay.¹¹ The line is referred to as the "Komodo Line" since, in passing through the Lesser Sunda islands (the west-to-east archipelago in the bottom/southern part of the map), it crosses the small island of Komodo, located in the strait between the larger islands of Sumbawa to the west and Flores plus Sumba to the east. The proposed Komodo Line follows in the tradition of a series of proposals, by linguists and biologists, positing other similar lines separating the western and eastern parts of the Indonesian archipelago; in many cases, the import of such lines extends beyond the Indonesian archipelago, grouping the western parts of the archipelago with Eurasia, and

¹¹ The map in Figure 1 is based on the author's own field work, involving impressionistic observations of naturalistic speech in a large number of locations throughout the region. For the sake of simplicity, the map overlooks a small number of exceptions to the general rule: pockets of mostly penultimate stress in the west (eg. parts of northern Sumatra and possibly northeastern Borneo), and mirror-image enclaves of final stress (eg. parts of southeast Sulawesi). Also worthy of note is the fact that while in most points east of the Komodo Line, penultimate stress admits lexical exceptions, as it does in Papuan Malay, in at least one local Malay koiné, spoken on the island of Sumba, preliminary observations suggest that penultimate stress might be exceptionless.

the eastern parts with New Guinea, Australia and the Pacific.¹²

Summarizing: stress is final in Riau Indonesian, mostly penultimate in Papuan Malay. This is a robust observation that is independent of the thornier question of whether the domain of stress is lexical, or, as is assumed here, phrasal. Of course, the distinction between final and penultimate stress is only readily observable for words consisting of two or more syllables; for monosyllabic words it is neutralized. Nevertheless, as we shall see in the continuation, the distinction between final and penultimate stress bears significant ramifications also with respect to the behaviour of monosyllabic words in the two varieties of Malay/Indonesian.

4 THE CORE FOOT

In order to set the stage for an analysis of monosyllabic words, it is first necessary to consider one of the most central features of Malay/Indonesian phonology, namely the disyllabic Core Foot. A representation of the Core Foot is given in Figure 2 below.

¹² The most celebrated of these is of course the Wallace Line (Huxley 1868) which passes somewhat further to the west, between the islands of Bali and Lombok, distinguishing between Eurasian and Australian types of flora and fauna; alternative lines based on the distribution of various plants and animals include the Lydeker Line (Lydeker 1896) and the Weber Line (Weber 1902). In linguistics, the proposed lines differ from those of the biologists in that they generally pass to the east of Sulawesi, thereby grouping Sulawesi with the western archipelago; however, they vary considerably with regard to their treatment of the Lesser Sunda islands. In historical linguistics, the boundary between Western and Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian cuts right through the middle of the island of Sumbawa (Blust 1982/3, 1993), while in linguistic typology different lexical, phonological and grammatical features point towards a variety of different cut-off points along the Lesser Sunda island archipelago (Klamer 2002, Klamer, Reesink and van Staden 2008, Musgrave 2008, Schapper 2010, 2015 and others). Interestingly, in spite of its presumably rather shallow time depth, the Komodo line proposed here actually bears a closer resemblance to the lines drawn by biologists, in that it passes to the west of Sulawesi, along the strait that separates it from Borneo.

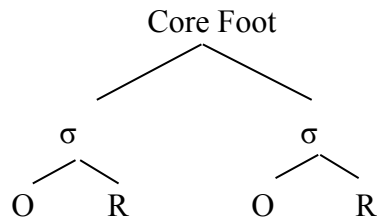


Figure 2: The Core Foot in Malay/Indonesian

As shown in Figure 2, the Core Foot consists of two syllables, σ , each syllable in turn consisting of a Rime, R, preceded by an Onset O, which may be empty.

Invoking Haspelmath's (2010) distinction between *descriptive categories*, emic properties of individual languages, and *comparative concepts*, etic constructs posited for the purpose of cross-linguistic comparisons and subsequent theorizing, the Core Foot is an example of the former: a descriptive category posited solely in order to account for a set of facts about certain Malay/Indonesian dialects. While clearly akin to the comparative concept of foot in phonological theory, the Core Foot differs from at least some of the proposed versions of foot in that it is not inherently headed, though, as suggested later on, towards the end of Section 6, individual syllables within the foot may bear W or S features.

The Core Foot is a central design feature of Malay/Indonesian. Gil (2020b) presents a detailed analysis of morphological structure in Riau Indonesian, seeking sources of evidence for the existence of a unit of word. While the evidence for words turns out to be relatively sparse, a much wider range of evidence emerges in support of the existence of a disyllabic Core Foot, as represented in Figure 2. Although Gil (2020b) deals exclusively with Riau Indonesian, ample evidence suggests that the Core Foot is present in most or all varieties of Malay/Indonesian, though the arguments may differ from one variety to another.

Table 1 below summarizes the sources of evidence for the Core Foot in Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay:¹³

	Riau Indonesian	Papuan Malay
(1) the canonical morpheme	√	√
(2) focus intonation	√	—
(3) locus of stress	—	√
(4) fast speech reduction	√	—
(5) epenthesis and spreading	√	—
(6) loan form expansion	√	√
(7) truncated name expansion	√	—
(8) realization of <i>N-</i> as <i>nge-</i>	√	—
(9) final [k] → [ʔ]	√	—
(10) hypocoristic shortening	√	√
(11) hypocoristic mutation	—	√

Table 1: Evidence for the Core Foot in Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay

As suggested by Table 1, several of the arguments for the Core Foot formulated for Riau Indonesian do not carry over to Papuan Malay; in part this is because of the even more strongly isolating nature of Papuan Malay, which accordingly fails to provide the requisite conditions for some of the arguments to go through. Nevertheless, even in Papuan Malay, there is sufficient evidence for the existence of a Core Foot. Since the evidence for the Core Foot in Riau Indonesian is laid out in great detail in Gil (2020b), in what follows we shall provide just a brief description of each source of evidence listed in Table 1, focusing on the differences, where present, between Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay.

¹³ For Riau Indonesian, the sources of evidence indicated in Table 1 correspond to those presented in Gil (2020b) with two exceptions. First, hypocoristic shortening is not discussed in Gil (2020b). Secondly, Gil (2020b) also adduces evidence for the Core Foot from two ludlings, one of which, the Warasa ludling, is discussed in Section 6 below.

The first source of evidence for the Core Foot is the fact that the overwhelming majority of morphemes are disyllabic and therefore coextensive with the Core Foot. This is equally true for both Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay. Exceptions to this generalization consist of two much smaller classes: polysyllabic morphemes, in which the Core Foot occupies the final two syllables of the morpheme, and monosyllabic morphemes, discussed in Section 5 below.

The second source of evidence for the Core Foot, focus intonation, is specific to Riau Indonesian. Focus intonation expresses semantic and pragmatic prominence by assigning suprasegmental prominence to the entire Core Foot, spanning both of its syllables, in a distinctive way. Typically, the rime of the first syllable, and sometimes also the consonant in-between the two syllables, are significantly extended in duration, while the rime of the second syllable is associated with a high falling pitch contour. Typically, focus intonation is found in western varieties of Malay/Indonesian associated with final stress, but not eastern varieties in which stress is mostly penultimate.¹⁴

While Papuan Malay does not have focus intonation, the location of stress, as discussed in the preceding section, itself provides additional support for the Core Foot. Specifically, stress can occur only on a syllable contained within the Core Foot, either the first of the two syllables, in the case of penultimate stress, or the second, in the exceptional cases of final stress. Indeed, the choice of the term "penultimate", rather than "initial", to refer to the former case, is motivated by the clearly penultimate stress in

14 As argued in Gil (2006), it is the clash between the lengthening of the penultimate syllable in focus intonation and the final stress characteristic of the unmarked intonation contour that results in the conflicting characterizations, by different sources, of many Malay/Indonesian varieties as having either penultimate or final stress; specifically, those sources characterizing such varieties as having penultimate stress are misinterpreting the penultimate lengthening of focus intonation as instantiating stress. Similar misinterpretations are widespread also in the descriptions of other languages of western Indonesia, and are what underlie the positing, by Kaufman and Himmelmann (2021, to appear) of what they refer to as the "Java prototype", in which, as they put it, the placement of stress seems to be free. In fact, preliminary observations suggest that languages such as Javanese also exhibit final phrasal stress, but, in addition, have the option of employing focus intonation with concomitant lengthening of the penultimate syllable — as is argued to be the case for Riau Indonesian.

polysyllabic words, such as *binatang* 'animal', *cakalang* 'tuna' and *gurano* 'shark'. The relevance of the Core Foot is in that there are no cases in which stress falls outside of it, for example in the first syllable of a trisyllabic word.

The next two sources of evidence, specific to Riau Indonesian, involve phonological processes whose effect is to beat into shape words that are either too long or too short, in order to make them conform to the canonical disyllabic template of the Core Foot. In Riau Indonesian, in fast speech, trisyllabic words such as *komputer* 'computer' may undergo fast-speech lengthening, to *mputer* or even *puter*, in order to fit them into the Core Foot; however, similar reductions are rare or unattested in Papuan Malay.

Conversely, in Riau Indonesian, words such as *besar* 'big', with alternative pronunciations [bʃar], [bəsar] and [besar], are argued to be derived from a melodic template bsar in which the segment *b* belongs to the onset of the first syllable, while the segment *s* is associated with the onset of the second syllable. The alternative pronunciations thus fill in the empty rime of the first syllable, either by backwards spreading of the [s] which becomes syllabic, or by epenthesis of [ə] or [e].

What Riau Indonesian does share, however, with Papuan Malay, is a similar rule that applies to monosyllabic loan words, expanding them in order to fit them into the disyllabic template of the Core Foot, for example, in both dialects, disyllabic *helem* 'helmet' from monosyllabic Dutch *helm*. However, such loanword expansion poses a diachronic quandary, in that the trajectory of the borrowing is usually not obvious, and it is not clear at which stage and in which variety of Malay/Indonesian the expansion actually took place.

The next three sources of evidence for the Core Foot make specific reference to morphological material that, while present in Riau Indonesian, is absent from Papuan Malay. The first, truncated name expansion, makes reference to the second of two processes that apply sequentially to proper nouns. The first process is that of hypocoristic truncation, for example *Rudi* > *Rud*. However, monosyllabic forms such as *Rud* violate

the preference for disyllabicity, which is where truncated name expansion comes in: in order for a form such as *Rud* to be used in most syntactic environments, it must be preceded by the personal prefix *si-*, as in *siRud*, thereby restoring the canonical disyllabic template.¹⁵ In contrast, Papuan Malay has neither hypocoristic truncation nor the personal prefix *si-*, so it doesn't get into the problem that Riau Indonesian manages to get out of.

The second, realization of *N-* as *nge-*, pertains to the prefix, commonly written as *N-*, whose function is to mark its host as being oriented towards an associated agent, see Gil (2002b) for detailed description. The form that *N-* assumes depends on the phonological properties of its host, specifically the first segment thereof, and generally involves some kind of prenasalization or nasal assimilation, as illustrated in examples such as *ngopi* 'drink coffee' from *kopi* 'coffee', *nulis* 'write' from *tulis* 'write', *mutar* 'revolve' from *putar* 'revolve' and many others. However, in the case of monosyllabic hosts, *N-* is realized as an invariable prefix *nge-*, as in *ngepel* 'mop' from *pel* 'mop', *ngetes* 'test' from *tes* 'test', and others. The effect of the prefix *nge-* is thus to restore the integrity of the Core Foot by converting the monosyllabic host word to disyllabic. As for Papuan Malay, it simply lacks the *N-* prefix, except in a handful of conventionalized forms where it occurs as part of a larger prefix *meN-*.

The third, a phonological rule that changes final [k] to [ʔ], applies at the rightmost edge of the Core Foot. In most cases, the end of the Core Foot coincides with the end of the word; evidence that it is the Core Foot, not the word, that is the relevant structural unit, is derived by the differential effects of two forms, the end-point (or applicative/causative) marker *=in*, and the marker *-an* associated with a variety of different functions. These differential effects may be illustrated in the contexts of stems such as *tabrak* [tabraʔ] 'collide' and *masak* [masaʔ] 'cook'. When *=in* is added to stems such as

15 Although the conventional orthography has it written as a separate word, Gil (2002b) provides evidence to the effect that in Riau Indonesian the form *si-* is most appropriately analyzed as a prefix, and therefore, in forms such as *siRud*, occurs within the Core Foot.

these, the [ʔ] is retained, for example *tabraʔin* [tabraʔin] 'collide with', *masakin* [masaʔin] 'cook for'. In contrast, when *-an* is added, the [k] resurfaces, for example, *tabraʔan* [tabraʔan] 'collide with each other', *masakan* [masakan] 'cuisine'. In order to account for this contrast, *=in* is analyzed as an enclitic, positioned outside the Core Foot, whose final segment, [k], accordingly changes to [ʔ], whereas *-an* is analyzed as a suffix, occurring within the Core Foot, as a result of which the stem-final [k] is pushed back to the middle of the Core Foot and therefore does not change to [ʔ]. Turning now to Papuan Malay, this variety does not have the [k] → [ʔ] rule, but it does have a superficially similar rule involving the optional deletion of final stops. However, in the absence of any enclitics such as *=in*, or suffixes such as *-an*, there is no way to distinguish between the end of the Core Foot and the end of the word, and therefore no evidence that this rule applies specifically at the level of the Core Foot.

The final two sources of evidence for the Core Foot pertain to various patterns of hypocoristic formation (other than hypocoristic truncation mentioned earlier). The first of these, common to both dialects, is the reduction of polysyllabic names to disyllabic, for example *Zainudin* > *Udin*, *Syapi'i* > *Pi'i*, and *Aripkamil* > *Arip* in Riau Indonesian, *Adolof* > *Olof*, *Atoples* > *Ato*, and *Nikodemus* > *Niko* in Papuan Malay. Although such reductions involve a certain degree of irregularity, their consistent effect is to take a name that is too long, and by deletion of one or more syllables, squeeze it into the Core Foot.

The second method of hypocoristic formation, namely mutation, is rare in Riau Indonesian, but more common in Papuan Malay. Hypocoristic mutation applies to names that are already disyllabic, either because they are inherently so, or else because they have already been reduced to disyllabic by hypocoristic shortening as per the preceding paragraph. The effects of hypocoristic mutation are irregular and idiosyncratic; however, they make reference to the structure of the Core Foot. The most salient feature is the mutation of the middle consonant or consonant cluster, that straddling the boundary

between the first and second syllables of the Core Foot; in contrast, the initial and/or final consonants are often deleted, while vowels typically remain unchanged. Examples of hypocoristic mutation formed from inherently disyllabic names include *Yusuf* > *Ucu*, *Maklon* > *Akon*, and *Lorens* > *Lompe*. In other cases, hypocoristic mutation appears to apply to the output of hypocoristic shortening, though the intermediate form (indicated in square brackets) may be unattested, for example *Dolfinus* > [Dolfin] > *Opin*. In Riau Indonesian, hypocoristic mutation is rare, but one possible example is *Afrizal* > [Rizal] > *Ijal*.

Summarizing, then, both Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay provide a diverse array of evidence for the existence of a disyllabic Core Foot. Note that of the 11 items in Table 1, only 2 pertain to suprasegmental features. This underscores the nature of the Core Foot as an abstract structure that is central to the grammatical organization of Malay/Indonesian, and not just a device posited in order to account for observed patterns of stress. As suggested by Table 1, the evidence is somewhat more plentiful in Riau Indonesian than in Papuan Malay, but this is probably due to the availability, in Riau Indonesian, of several morphological processes that make reference to the Core Foot, processes that are simply absent in Papuan Malay. Further work on both Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay is likely to uncover yet additional sources of evidence for the presence of the Core Foot.

5 MONOSYLLABIC FORMS

As we have seen, most morphemes in Malay/Indonesian are disyllabic, and coextensive with the Core Foot. However, it is the small residue of monosyllabic morphemes that are of concern to us here. In fact, it is just one particular subset of such monosyllabic morphemes that are of relevance to the argumentation put forward in this paper. The relevant subset may be defined within the typology of morphemes presented in Gil (2020b:32-36), which, although proposed specifically for Riau Indonesian, is applicable

in its entirety also to Papuan Malay. Simplifying somewhat, the typology classifies monosyllabic forms into four subclasses which may be termed suprasegmental, bound, ideophonic and regular. For the purposes of this paper, we exclude the first three subclasses and focus on the fourth, or regular subclass.

Suprasegmental monosyllables are a closed class of particles, usually occurring at the end of a phonological phrase, and typically bearing their own distinctive intonation contours — as such, they appear to constitute an island of tonality in an otherwise non-tonal language. In terms of their meanings, suprasegmental morphemes are a mixed bag, expressing idiosyncratic combinations of logico-semantic features such as deixis, focus and negative polarity, pragmatic functions such as emphasis, and affective value such as disapproval; in the literature they are sometimes referred to as "discourse", "pragmatic", or just "final" particles. Examples of such particles include *e*, *lah* and *ha* in Riau Indonesian, and *e*, *o*, and *ba* in Papuan Malay.

Bound monosyllables are those that cannot stand on their own as complete and non-elliptical utterances. Examples of bound monosyllables include *N-*, *=in* and *-an*, discussed in the preceding section, in Riau Indonesian, and *ba-*, *ta-* and *meN-*, with a variety of valency-related functions, in Papuan Malay.

Ideophonic monosyllables are a heterogeneous set, typically associated with exceptional phonological properties and affective meanings, and in many cases onomatopoeic. Examples of ideophonic monosyllables include *blong* 'broken', *kring* denoting the sound of a ringing telephone, and *is* expressing appreciation in Riau Indonesian, and *woy* for calling attention, *ais* [ajs] expressing frustration, and *ah* [ax] expressing irritation in Papuan Malay.

Once the above three subclasses are excluded, we are left with a set of monosyllables whose phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic properties are indistinguishable from most other ordinary disyllabic "content words" in the language. Examples of such regular monosyllabic forms, common to both dialects, include *jam* 'hour', *bos* 'boss', *pel*

'mop', *rem* 'brake', *cat* 'paint' and *mas*, a term of address for young men, prototypically of Javanese origin. It is this latter class of regular monosyllabic morphemes that constitute the main focus of this paper.¹⁶

6 A TALE OF TWO LUDLINGS

Now that the preceding sections have assembled the three supporting pieces, stress, the Core Foot, and monosyllables, we are in a position to put forward the central argument of this paper, by examining the differential ways in which monosyllabic forms in Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay are treated by two different ludlings in the respective dialects.

The value of ludlings, also known as secret languages, language disguises, language games, or backwards languages, as a window into linguistic structure has long been recognized, perhaps most notably in the pioneering work of Bagemihl (1988, 1989), though others, such as Nevins and Endress (2007), have questioned the utility of ludlings in providing evidence for such structures. For other varieties of Malay/Indonesian, ludlings have been described by Azizul Rahman (1995), Chambert-Loir (1998) and others.

This paper presents a contrastive analysis of two ludlings, whose names are formed from the outcome of their application to the Malay/Indonesian word *bahasa*. In Riau Indonesian, the Warasa ludling replaces the beginning of each word with the fixed sequence *war-*, while in Papuan Malay, the Bahasose ludling inserts a sequence of the form *-oCe-* towards the end of each word, where *C* represents a copy of a preceding consonant or consonant cluster. However, such loose and imprecise descriptions leave numerous questions unanswered. What counts as the "beginning" or "end" of a word? For that matter, what counts as a "word"? Questions such as these are what must be an-

¹⁶ As some readers may notice, most of these monosyllabic words are loanwords; however, they are phonologically well-integrated into Malay/Indonesian, and may therefore be used legitimately as evidence for the structure of the Core Foot in Malay/Indonesian.

swered by any proposed analysis.

Table 2 below presents some examples of Warasa and Bahasose forms, derived from base forms which happen to be shared by Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay:

	Base form	Warasa Riau Indonesian	Bahasose Papuan Malay
(a)	eat	makan	warakan
(b)	medicine	obat	warobat
(c)	two	dua	warua
(d)	cooked.rice	nasi	warasi
(e)	animal	binatang	waratang
(f)	all:garden	kekebun	warebun
(g)	cat:ASSOC	kucingnya	warucingnya

Table 2: The Warasa and Bahasose Ludlings

Table 2 presents examples of the two ludlings applying to base forms consisting of two or more syllables. In (a) - (d) the base form is a disyllabic morpheme, in (e) a trisyllabic morpheme, in (f) a bimorphemic combination of the allative marker *ke-* plus a disyllabic morpheme, and in (g) a bimorphemic combination of a disyllabic morpheme plus the associative marker *=nya*.¹⁷

Section 6.1 and 6.2 below propose analyses of the Warasa and Bahasose ludlings respectively, accounting for forms such as those in Table 2. In doing so they set the stage for Section 6.3, which presents the central argument of this paper: a contrastive analysis of the Warasa and Bahasose ludlings as they apply to monosyllabic forms. An Appendix

¹⁷ The attributive association marker *=nya* marks its host as being associated in an unspecified manner with some other entity, either overtly expressed or understood; in many cases it translates into English with a definite article or possessive pronoun. While common in Riau Indonesian, it is rare or absent in the most basilectal variety of Papuan Malay, but makes an appearance as soon as there is a shift to a somewhat higher register, as is the case in Bahasose examples (3), (11) and (30) in the Appendix.

to this paper provides an example of a naturalistic text in each of the two ludlings.

THE WARASA LUDLING IN RIAU INDONESIAN

The Warasa ludling was used by young boys and male adolescents in the village of Sungai Pakning in Riau province in east central Sumatra, during my stays there in the late '90s; the girls tended to use a different ludling, Bahasisa. The Warasa ludling is described and analyzed in detail in Gil (2002a) and more recently in Gil (2020b:66-71).

As is readily observable from Table 2, the invariant sequence *war-* is added to the beginning of each word. What constitutes a word for the purposes of the ludling is discussed in great detail in Gil (2020b) but need not concern us here; suffice to say, it typically consists of a single morpheme, as in (a) - (e), though in some cases it may include one or more additional affixes or clitics, such as *ke-* in (f) and *=nya* in (g).¹⁸ While in (b), *war-* is positioned directly in front of the source word *obat*, in the remaining examples it replaces some of the initial phonological material of the source word: a single segment in (a), (c), (d) and (g), but a longer sequence in (e) and (f).

The position of *war-* may be accounted for straightforwardly with reference to the Core Foot. Specifically, *war-* replaces whatever phonological material was present in the first onset of the Core Foot and in earlier positions within the word. Figure 3 below shows how this works for the Warasa forms in Table 2: for each form, the original base form is given, followed, right beneath it, by its Warasa form.¹⁹

18 Although *ke-* is written as a separate word in Standard Malay/Indonesian orthography, Gil (2020b) provides arguments to the effect that in Riau Indonesian both *ke-* and *=nya* are more appropriately considered as bound forms forming part of the same word as their hosts. At least some of these arguments carry over also to the corresponding forms in Papuan Malay.

19 In Figure 3, the Core Foot structure is to be understood as characterizing the ludling's input but not its output, with regard to which this paper remains agnostic. Thus, in (a), it represents the structure of input *makan* but not output *warakan*; in particular, while *m-* is associated with the onset of the first syllable, the position of *war-* remains unspecified. Analogous comments hold also with respect to Figures 4-6.

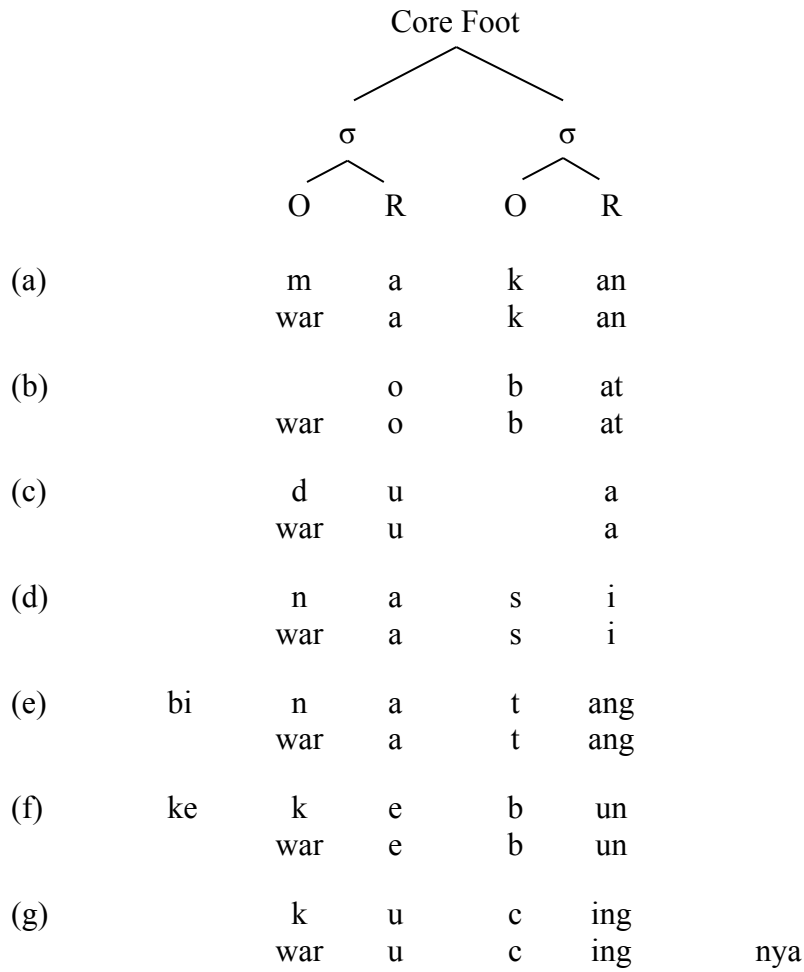


Figure 3: The Warasa Ludling

Examples such as (e) and (f) show that the position of *war-* cannot simply be described as the beginning of the word, since, in cases such as these, lengthier strings of phonological material are deleted. And examples such as (g) show that the position of *war-* cannot simply be determined by counting back to the second syllable before the end of the word. Rather, the position of *war-* can only be described with reference to the Core

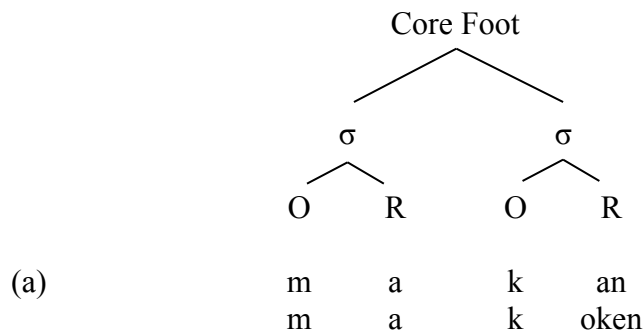
Foot, and, more specifically, its first onset.²⁰

THE BAHASOSE LUDLING IN PAPUAN MALAY

The Bahasose ludling was used by the small transgender community in Manokwari, West Papua, in the early '10s, though I have also encountered sporadic occurrences of superficially similar ludlings elsewhere in the archipelago. Although mentioned in passing in Gil (2020a:160, 2022:464), it is described in detail for the first time here.

As evident in Table 2, a sequence of the form *-oCe-* is inserted towards the end of each word, where C represents a copy of a preceding consonant or consonant cluster. Once again, the description of the ludling presupposes a definition of what constitutes a word in Papuan Malay, which, for reasons of space, we shall not provide here. While in examples (a) - (f) *-oCe-* replaces the final vowel of the word, in (g) it replaces the vowel that precedes the final vowel of the word.

As before, with the Warasa ludling, the placement of *-oCe-* may be defined with reference to the Core Foot. Specifically, *-oCe-* replaces the vowel occurring in the rime of the second syllabic position of the Core Foot. Figure 3 below shows how this works for the Bahasose forms in Table 2: for each form, the original base form is given, followed by its Bahasose form.



²⁰ The status of *=nya* as an enclitic whose position is outside of the Core Foot is supported by several other, independent criteria; see Gil (2020b).

(b)			o	b	at	
			o	b	obet	
(c)		d	u		a	
		d	u		wowe ²¹	
(d)		n	a	s	i	
		n	a	s	ose	
(e)	bi	n	a	t	ang	
	bi	n	a	t	oteng	
(f)	ke	k	e	b	un	
	ke	k	e	b	oben	
(g)		k	u	c	ing	nya
		k	u	c	oceng	nya

Figure 4: The Bahasose Ludling

Example (g) in particular shows that the position of the sequence *-oCe-* cannot be defined simply as the last vocalic position of the word, since, when the enclitic *=nya* is present, *-oCe-* occurs in the vocalic position preceding *=nya*. Rather, the position of *-oCe-* can only be described with reference to the Core Foot, and, in the case at hand, the vowel nucleus of its second syllabic position.

LUDLINGS MEET MONOSYLLABLES

We arrive now at the heart of the paper, an examination of how the Warasa and Bahasose ludlings apply to monosyllabic forms in the respective dialects of Malay/Indone-

21 In *duwowe*, *w* is inserted twice in order to facilitate the transition between the two vowels. Another similar case, involving the insertion of *y*, is that of *dia* > *diyoye* in example (21) of the Bahasose text in the Appendix. (Of course, the glides are present phonetically also in the base forms *dua* and *dia*, though not represented in the conventional orthography.)

sian. In accordance with the discussion in Section 5, we limit our attention to monosyllabic morphemes that are classified as regular.²² Table 3 below presents some examples of Warasa and Bahasose forms derived from monosyllabic forms shared by Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay:²³

	base form	Warasa Riau Indonesian	Bahasose Papuan Malay
(1)	hour	warejam	jamome
(2)	boss	warebos	bosose
(3)	mop	warepel	pelole

Table 3: The Warasa and Bahasose Ludlings, Monosyllables

Consider, first, the Warasa forms in Riau Indonesian. If *war-* simply replaced the initial consonants of words the way it seems to do in Table 2 examples (a), (c), (d), and (g), then the expected forms would be **waram*, **waros* and **warel* — but they're not. Instead, as suggested by Table 2 examples (e) and (f), *war-* actually takes the place of the onset of the first syllable of the Core Foot. And this is exactly what we observe to take place in the attested forms, provided we make a crucial additional assumption, namely, that the base forms, *jam*, *bos* and *pel*, occupy the second of the two syllabic positions of

22 As for the other classes of monosyllabic forms, they are generally opaque to the Warasa and Bahasose ludlings, as indeed to most or all other ludlings in Malay/Indonesian. Several examples of such monosyllabic forms can be viewed in the Warasa and Bahasose naturalistic texts provided in the Appendix. To mention just two: the question tag *e* occurs unchanged in the Warasa text, examples (4), (10), (45), (47), (51), and (54) (twice), and in the Bahasose text, example (28). And the deictic form *tu*, suggested in Gil (2020b:35) to have properties of a bound form (in Riau Indonesian at least) even though it is conventionally written as a separate word, occurs unchanged in the Warasa text, example (49), and in the Bahasose text, examples (18), (19) and (22).

23 Two of these forms may be observed in the naturalistic texts in the Appendix. The Warasa form *warejam*, derived from *jam* 'hour', occurs in the first text, in utterances (31), (32), (36), (39), (46) (twice), (49), (50) (twice), (51), and (56). And the Bahasose form *bosose*, derived from *bos* 'boss', occurs in the second text, in utterances (5), (18) and (19).

the Core Foot, the first one remaining empty.

The way in which the Warasa ludling applies to monosyllabic forms in Riau Indonesian is represented in Figure 5:²⁴

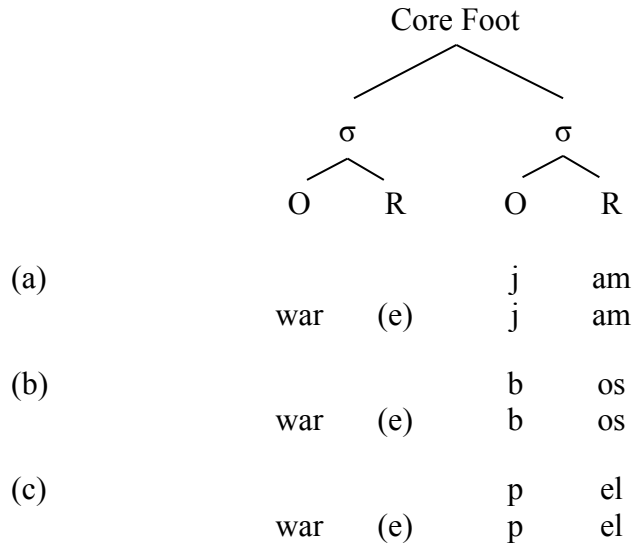


Figure 5: Monosyllables in the Warasa Ludling

As suggested in Figure 5, the Warasa ludling works just the same way for monosyllabic base forms as it does for other larger base forms, applying to the onset of the first syllabic position of a disyllabic Core Foot. The only difference is that in the case of monosyllabic forms, the first syllabic position of the Core Foot is completely empty.

Turning now to the Bahasose forms in Papuan Malay, a mirror-image pattern presents itself. If *-oCe-* simply replaced the last vowel of words, the way it appears to do in Table 2 examples (a) - (f), then the expected forms would be **jojem*, **bobes* and **popel* — but again they're not. Rather, as suggested by example (g), as analyzed in Fig-

²⁴ As suggested in Figure 5, the rime of the empty first syllabic position is filled by an epenthetic vowel *e*.

ure 4, *-oCe-* actually replaces the vowel in the rime of the second syllabic position of the Core Foot. Which, once again, is precisely what happens here, but with a crucial switcheroo: for the analysis to go through, an opposite assumption must be made concerning the structure of monosyllables, namely that the base forms, *jam*, *bos* and *pel*, occupy the first of the two syllabic positions of the Core Foot, while the second one remains empty.

The way in which the Bahasose ludling applies to monosyllabic forms in Papuan Malay is represented in Figure 6:

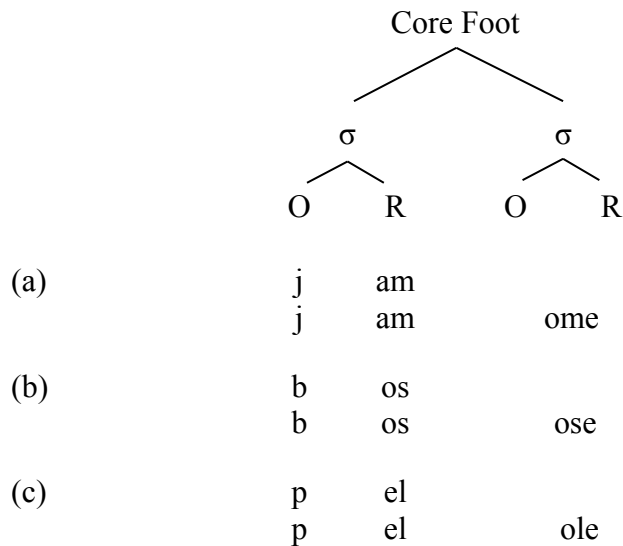


Figure 6: Monosyllables in the Bahasose Ludling

Again, as suggested in Figure 6, the Bahasose ludling works just the same way for monosyllabic base forms as it does for other larger base forms, applying to the rime of the second syllabic position of a disyllabic Core Foot. The only difference is that in the case of monosyllabic forms, the second syllabic position of the Core Foot is empty.

Thus, both ludlings support the analysis of monosyllabic forms as occupying a single syllabic position within a disyllabic Core Foot; however, they do so in diametrically op-

posed ways. Whereas in Riau Indonesian the monosyllable occupies the second syllabic position, leaving the first position empty, in Papuan Malay the monosyllable occupies the first syllabic position, leaving the second position empty. The contrasting structures of monosyllabic forms in Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay are represented schematically, with reference to the form *jam* 'hour', in Figure 7 below:

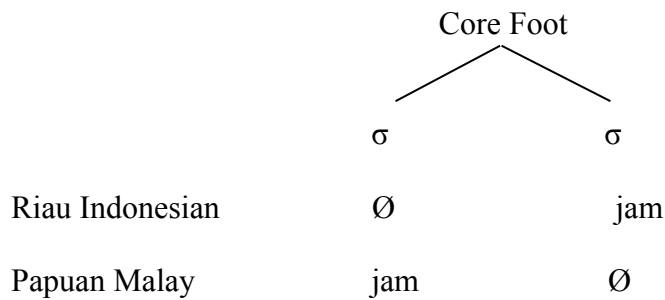


Figure 7: Monosyllables in Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay

An obvious question presents itself: How do speakers of Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay ever figure out that the structure of monosyllabic forms is as represented in Figure 7, with the monosyllable occupying the second syllabic position in the former, but the first syllabic position in the latter? Surely they do not wait for exposure to the ludling in order to know that they should say *warejam* but not **waram*, or *jamome* but not **jojem* — it would be a very long wait. Rather, what they have instead is a ubiquitous, high-frequency linguistic feature that they have been exposed to from earliest childhood which, among other things, determines the structure of monosyllables in Malay/Indonesian: stress.

As shown in Section 3, stress is final in Riau Indonesian but mostly penultimate in Papuan Malay. Clearly, it is this contrast between Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay that underlies the differential structures of monosyllables in the two varieties. Thus, while in Riau Indonesian it is the second syllabic position of the Core Foot that bears

stress and contains the monosyllable, in Papuan Malay it is the first syllabic position that is the default locus of stress and plays host to the monosyllable.

The contrast between Core Foot structure in the two varieties of Malay/Indonesian may be represented as in Figure 8 below:

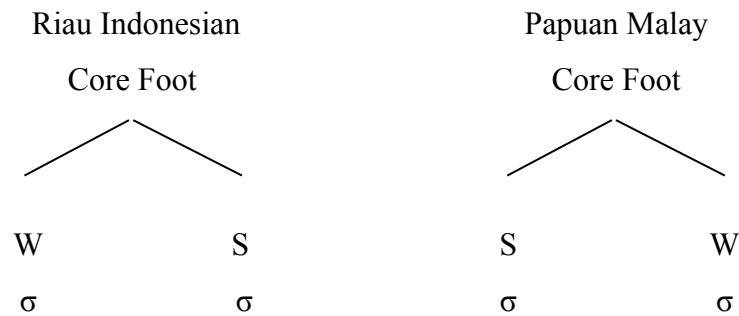


Figure 8: Core Foot structure in Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay

In accordance with Figure 8, the two syllables of the core foot are labelled with features S(trong) and W(eak). The S and W features are of an abstract nature, governing two distinct phonological realizations. The first is stress: the syllable labelled S is the one that constitutes the default locus of stress. And the second pertains to segmental content: the syllable labelled S is the one that is obligatorily filled with segmental material: this is what gives rise to the differential structure of monosyllables in Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay, as reflected in their respective Warasa and Bahasose ludlings.

As suggested by Figure 8, the contrasting Core Foot structures of Riau Indonesian and Papuan Malay may be characterized as iambic and trochaic respectively. Although we tend to think of iambs and trochees as being the stuff of stress patterns, the structures posited here support a more generalized notion of iambicity and trochaicity, governing not only the location of stress but additional features such as the position of the monosyllable.

7 SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

This paper presented evidence from two Malay/Indonesian ludlings arguing that monosyllables occupy one of two syllabic positions in a disyllabic Core Foot, leaving the other syllabic position empty.

The two ludlings considered in this paper are exceptional in that they make explicit reference not only to the Core Foot but more specifically to the syllabic position that, in the case of monosyllables, remains empty: the first in Riau Indonesian, the second in Papuan Malay. In this respect, they contrast with most other ludlings in Malay/Indonesian that are not sensitive to the particular structural features that are of relevance to the analysis of monosyllables.

A further example of a ludling that may shed light on the structure of monosyllables in Malay/Indonesian is the Usahanang ludling in Jakarta Indonesian.²⁵ In the most common case, the Usahanang ludling applies to disyllabic forms with the template $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3$ to produce a quadrisyllabic form with the template $uC_2aC_3C_1V_1nV_2ng$. Some examples of the Usahanang ludling in Jakarta Indonesian include *makan* > *ukanmanang* 'eat', *botak* > *utakbonang* 'bald', and *kalung* > *ulangkanung* 'necklace'. But what of monosyllables? As pointed out in Section 3, stress in Jakarta Indonesian resembles Riau Indonesian in that it is final, so based on this, one might expect that, in analogy to the Riau Indonesian Warasa ludling, the Jakarta Indonesian Usahanang ludling would also treat monosyllables as though they occupied the second syllabic position of a Core Foot. And indeed, such is the case, as evidenced by forms such as *cat* > *ucat(e)nang* 'paint',

²⁵ Unlike the Warasa and Bahasose ludlings, my familiarity with the Usahanang ludling is more superficial, limited to a few casual elicitation sessions. In particular, since my data on trisyllabic forms is sparse and inconsistent, my rendition of the ludling form of the word *bahasa*, as reflected in the ludling's name Usahanang, must remain tentative.

ntar > *untar(e)nang* 'later', and *sep* > *usap(e)neng* 'save' (in the context of computers).²⁶ Thus, for example, for *cat*, the form *ucat(e)nang* shows that the *c* occupies the C2 slot between the first and second syllables, while the *t* occupies the C3 slot at the end of the second syllable.

The differential ways in which the Warasa and Bahasose ludlings apply to monosyllabic forms provides a striking window into dialectal variation within Malay/Indonesian. As presented in the map in Figure 1, Section 3, the Komodo Line defines the boundary of a single and seemingly rather superficial linguistic feature, namely the location of stress. However, as suggested by the different structures posited in Figure 8, Section 6, the Komodo Line may actually demarcate a boundary between two more abstract foot types, iambic and trochaic, bearing further possible ramifications with respect to additional linguistic features distinguishing western from eastern varieties of Malay/Indonesian.²⁷

As a brief aside, one might wonder about the small class of words in Papuan Malay that bear exceptional final stress: how do they fit into the general picture outlined above? To begin, it should be noted that in the Bahasose ludling, *-oCe-* insertion applies, in words bearing final stress, just as it does in most other words, to the second of the two syllables of the Core Foot, for example, *besar* > *besoser* 'big', *kuskus* > *kuskokes* 'cuscus', and so forth. The absence of forms such as **besarore* and **kuskusose* shows that the final stress of such words cannot be derived by positing a trochaic Core Foot in

26 As for the Warasa ludling earlier, application of the Usahanang ludling to monosyllabic forms requires the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, represented here as *e*, and whose phonetic realization is generally [ə].

27 An interesting case study is provided by Standard Malay. Based on some facts pertaining to the prefixation of *meN-* and *di-*, Teoh (1994) and Zaharani (2000) argue that monosyllabic words in Standard Malay contain an empty first syllable — similar to what is argued here for Riau Indonesian in Figure 7. Although Standard Malay is purported to have mostly penultimate stress, the colloquial varieties of Malay spoken in Malaysia are predominantly if not exclusively associated with final stress — a feature which often percolates upwards to the acrolect, affecting the pronunciation of Standard Malay. These facts would suggest that with regard to its foot structure, Standard Malay groups together with Riau Indonesian as a typical variety of western Malay/Indonesian, with iambic foot structure, which would be reflected not only by stress, but also, as argued by Teoh and Zaharani, by certain patterns of prefixation.

which the first S syllable is occupied by the final and stressed syllable of the word, while the second W syllable is empty, like it is in monosyllabic words.²⁸ Rather, the attested Bahasose forms suggest that disyllabic final-stressed words such as *besar* and *kuskus* also occupy the two syllabic positions of the Core Foot. However, this raises the question what the correct S and W labels are in such words. Under one possible analysis, final stress would be accounted for by a simple flip from trochaic SW to iambic WS, with stress being read directly off the W and S features. However, such an analysis would not only be inconsistent with attested Bahasose forms such as *besoser* and *kuskokes* above, but in addition would fail to provide an account for the fact that penultimate stress is the default option while final stress is considerably less common. Alternatively, under a second and somewhat more abstract analysis, the trochaic SW structure would be an invariant property of the Core Foot in Papuan Malay. This would account straightforwardly for the attested Bahasose forms as well as the default nature of penultimate stress. In order to account for the exceptional cases of final stress, the stressed syllables in question would be assigned a privative feature, call it "/", representing suprasegmental prominence — a feature that would override the default assignment of penultimate stress by the trochaic SW structure.²⁹

The focus of this paper was on two ludlings in two dialects of Malay/Indonesian. The approach adopted here was particularist and bottom-up, positing all and only those structures necessary to account for the facts under consideration. Of course, the ultimate

28 Such an approach would be analogous to that proposed by Kim (2003) for word-final stress in English.
 29 While it might seem odd for a stressed syllable to occur in a W position, a potentially insightful perspective might be derived from the analogy between stress and tone, and in particular the privative nature of several analyses that have been proposed in the literature for high tone. Following Maddieson (1978:342), who claims that tonal systems in which high tone is marked are more frequent than ones in which low tone is marked, privative analyses of high tone have been proposed for languages such as Slave, Navajo, Somali, Paicĩ, and several Bantu languages by Hyman (2000) and others. In fact, similar analyses have also been proposed for at least two of the local languages spoken alongside Papuan Malay, namely Metnyo Ambel (Arnold 2018) and Roon (Gil to appear b). Such analyses suggest that a privative feature associated with stress and/or high tone might be an areal feature characteristic of at least some of the regions in which Papuan Malay is spoken — a feature which might then also subsume the phenomenon of exceptional word-final stress in Papuan Malay.

goal of linguistics is to integrate findings from individual languages into an overall theory of how language works, but this is a task for another time; for now, just a few brief comments will suffice. The existence of various null syllables, or empty syllabic positions, have also been posited for a variety of reasons by Burzio (1994), Hammond (1999) and several others. More generally, disyllabic foot structures similar to the Core Foot are commonplace in the linguistic literature, though for the most part, they are associated with inherent iambic and trochaic structures, in contrast to the kinds of structures posited here, in which W and S features are added on to a more basic headless Core Foot constituency.

The more general notion of iambicity and trochaicity proposed in this paper, governing not only stress but also the location of the monosyllable, dovetails well with the theory of prosody of metered verse put forward in Stein and Gil (1980) and Gil (1986, 1991, 1993), in which S and W labels associated with hierarchically organized prosodic structures determine the distribution not only of suprasegmental features such as stress but also a wide range of features of a segmental phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic nature. To cite just one example, the English Vietnam-war-era cheer *Hó Hó Hó Chi Minh*, with its four-beat scansion (indicated here with accents) exhibits overall iambic structure, consisting of two two-beat hemistiches, the first weak hemistich, *Hó Hó*, labelled W, and the second strong hemistich, *Hó Chi Minh*, labelled S. As is the case with the Malay/Indonesian Core Feet in Figure 8, iambic structure here is reflected by two logically independent features, stress and number of syllables: stress in that the strongest stress falls in the second hemistich, on the final *Mính*, and number of syllables, in that the second hemistich contains 3 but the first hemistich only 2 — thereby accounting for the unacceptability of alternative scansions such as **Hó Ho Hó Chi Minh*, with 3 syllables in the first hemistich but just 2 in the second. In addition, in the case at hand, the S label on the second hemistich is also reflected by the presence of more highly obstruent consonants, thereby providing an account for why cheerers choose to

reduplicate *Ho* rather than, say, *Minh*, as in **Minh Minh Hó Chi Minh*, and also by its greater morphosyntactic and semantic complexity, thereby offering an explanation for why cheerers choose to locate the reduplicated syllables at the beginning rather than at the end of the cheer, as in, say, **Hó Chí Minh Minh Minh*. The analysis of Malay/Indonesian monosyllables presented in this paper suggests that such a more abstract interpretation of S and W labels governing not just suprasegmental features but in addition a range of other kinds of linguistic material, may be relevant not only for metered verse but also for ordinary non-stylized language.

ABBREVIATIONS

The interlinear glosses in this paper generally follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, making use of the following abbreviations: AFF affective; AG agent orientation; ALL allative; ASSOC associative; CONTR contrastive; DEIC deictic; DEM demonstrative; DIST distal; DISTR distributive; DU dual; EMPH emphatic; EP end point (applicative/causative); EXCL exclusive; EXCLM exclamation; FUT future; HYP hypocoristic; INCL inclusive; IRRIT irritation; LOC locative; NEG negative; NMLZ nominalizer; NPAT non-patient orientation; PFCT perfect; POL polarity; PL plural; POSS possessive; PROX proximal; PST past; Q question particle; REL relative; SG singular; TOP topic; UNCRT uncertainty; 1 1st person; 2 2nd person; 3 3rd person.

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APPENDIX

The appendix presents two naturalistic conversations making use of ludlings, the first in the Warasa ludling in Riau Indonesian, the second in the Bahasose ludling in Papuan Malay. The original recordings may be accessed here: Warasa (<http://radical.cnrs.fr/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Warasa.wav>, duration 3:39), Bahasose (<http://radical.cnrs.fr/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Bahasose.wav>, duration 2:07)

The data is presented in four lines: the recorded ludling form, the base form from which the ludling form is derived, an interlinear gloss and a free translation into English. In some cases the ludling form is identical to the base form; this may be either because the base form is opaque to the ludling, as is the case for certain final particles, bound morphemes, and others, or because the speakers simply chose not to use the ludling in that particular stretch of speech. Each utterance is preceded by the initial of the speaker's name.

TEXT 1: RIAU INDONESIAN, WARASA LUDLING

Three young boys, Bowo, Pi'i and Udin, discuss an upcoming trip to the beach with their adult friend Elly. Bowo is Javanese, Pi'i is of Malay and Acehnese ancestry, Udin is part Malay and part Tamil, while Elly is mixed Malay, Javanese and Bugis.

The conversation is in a mixture of Riau Indonesian and Siak Malay that is often difficult to disentangle. Thus, the word 'sleep' is pronounced in its Riau Indonesian form, *tidur*, in (32), (46), (49) and (50), in its Siak Malay guise, *tido*, in (33); and in a blend of the two, *tidor*, in (34), (38), (49), and (55). Similarly, for 'get up', speakers use the Riau Indonesian word *bangon* in (37), (39), (47), (49) and (50) and the Siak Malay word *bangket* in (31), (40), (46), (51), (55) — no wonder one speaker, Udin in (54), can't decide and uses both.

This particular text was previously presented and discussed in Gil (2002a).

- (1) P Warowok, Warowok, waradi warito waregi waresok?
 Bowok Bowok jadi kito pegi besok
 Bowok Bowok become 1PL.INCL go next.day
 ‘Bowok, Bowok, are we really going tomorrow?’
- (2) U Waradi warelah³⁰
 Jadi lah
 become CONTR
 ‘Sure we are’
- (3) P Warowok
 Bowok
 Bowok
 ‘Bowok’
- (4) B E?
 E
 Q
 ‘Huh?’
- (5) P Warengkau waregi waresok?
 Engkau pegi besok
 2 go next.day
 ‘Are you coming tomorrow?’
- (6) B Waradi
 Jadi
 become
 ‘Sure’
- (7) P Warengkau warakai warapo?
 Engkau pakai apo
 2 use what
 ‘What are you going to wear?’

30 As suggested by the present text, speakers treat the form *lah* inconsistently. Here as well as in (42) the ludling applies to *lah*, treating it as a regular monosyllable occupying the second syllabic position of the Core Foot, resulting in the form *warelah*. However, in (8), (12) and (47), the ludling is not applied to *lah*, suggesting that in such cases, *lah* is treated similar to other final particles, such as the question tag *e*.

- (8) B Waraju lah
 Baju lah
 clothes CONTR
 ‘Clothes, of course’
- (9) U Warodoh waretul warakap warudak warini
 Bodoh betul cakap budak ini
 stupid very speak child DEM:DEM.PROX
 ‘That's really dumb what that kid said’
- (10) E Macam warorang warilo e
 Macam orang gilo e
 type person crazy Q
 ‘Like an idiot, huh’
- (11) B Wari'i, warengkau warakai warolor?
 Pi'i engkau pakai kolor
 Pi'i 2 use underpants
 ‘Pi'i, are you going to wear underpants?’
- (12) P Warakai lah, waraku warinjam warolor warabang Warelly
 Pakai lah aku pinjam kolor abang Elly
 use CONTR 1SG borrow underpants elder.brother Elly
 warendak warasi, warokek waretul
 tendak kasi lokek betul
 NEG.want give stingy really
 ‘Sure I will, Elly won't let me borrow his underpants, he's really stingy’
- (13) B Warakai warolor warengkau warajo
 Pakai kolor engkau ajo
 use underpants 2 just
 ‘Just wear your own’
- (14) P Waraku warakai warolor war- wariaso-riaso³¹ warajo
 Aku pakai kolor biasa-biasa ajo
 1SG use underpants DISTR~ordinary just
 ‘I'll just wear ordinary underpants’
- (15) E Warengkau warakap waridak waregi
 Engkau cakap tidak pegi
 2 speak NEG go
 ‘You said you weren't going’

31 This appears to be a production error; the expected form would be *wariaso-wariaso*.

- (16) P Warokek waretul, Warelly, Warelly warana warolol
 Lokek betul Elly Elly celana tolol
 stingy really Elly Elly trousers silly
 ‘Really stingy Elly is, Elly's pants are silly’
- (17) P Warelly warana warolol warendak wareli waranyak waranyak,
 Elly celana tolol tendak beli banyak banyak
 Elly trousers silly NEG.want buy many many
 wareli waratu
 beli satu
 buy one
 ‘Elly's pants are silly, he won't buy lots and lots, just one pair’
- (18)³² E E, warada tadi warolor wara-, kolor, kolor orang,
 E ada tadi kolor, kolor kolor orang
 EXCLM exist PST.PROX underpants underpants underpants person
 kolor senang
 kolor senang
 underpants happy
 ‘Hey, there were these underpants, somebody's underpants, really nice under-
 pants’
- (19) E Yang langsung sama ini, disini-sini-sini
 Yang langsung sama ini disini-sini-sini
 REL straight together DEM:DEM.PROX LOC:DISTR~LOC:DEM:DEM.PROX
 banyak
 banyak
 many
 ‘Straight with things here, lots of things here’
- (20) P It- waritu unt- waruntuk waruan, warukan waruntuk
 Itu untuk perempuan bukan untuk
 DEM:DEM.DIST for woman NEG for
 wararaki-waraki³³
 laki-laki
 man
 ‘That's for girls, not for guys’

32 In this utterance the speaker switches back to ordinary language, and continues using ordinary language for the remainder of the text.

33 The expected ludling form here would be *waraki-waraki*. Note, however, that an alternative version of the base form *laki-laki* is *lelaki*. It is possible, therefore, that the speaker switched, mid-word from base form *lelaki* to base form *laki-laki*, and that *wararaki* represents an application of the ludling to *lelaki*, in a pattern similar to that in partially reduplicated *lalamo* in (55) below.

- (21) B Waraku warakai warolor warini
 Aku pakai kolor ini
 1SG use underpants DEM:DEM.PROX
 ‘I’m going to wear these underpants’
- (22) P Waraku warakai warolor wara- warna waruteh
 Aku pakai kolor warna putih
 1SG use underpants colour white
 ‘I’m going to wear white underpants’
- (23) U Warengkau warakai warolor ware- eh warolor
 Engkau pakai kolor eh kolor
 2 use underpants EXCLM underpants
 ‘You wear underpants that... underpants...’
- (24) B Waravid warajok
 David merajok
 David AG:sulk
 ‘David’s sulking’
- (25) P Tendak warakap
 Tendak cakap
 NEG.want speak
 ‘He doesn’t want to speak’
- (26) E Besok besok besok, sabtu besok mau carikan lagi
 Besok besok besok, sabtu besok mau carikan lagi
 next.day next.day next.day Saturday next.day want search:EP again
 ‘Next, next, next, next Saturday we’ll go and look for some for you’
- (27) P Warudak waraya
 Budak gaya
 child style
 ‘Cool kid’
- (28) E Betul
 Betul
 really
 ‘Yeah’
- (29) P Udah
 Udah
 PFCT
 ‘Okay’

- (30) E Dah, besok cari sama Kudin, tak boleh cari-cari tigo
 Dah besok cari sama Kudin tak boleh cari-cari tigo
 PFCT next.day search together Kudin NEG can DISTR~search three
 dulu macam satu dapat
 dulu macam satu dapat
 before type one get
 ‘Okay, I’ll look for some with Kudin, we can’t go all three, before when there
 was only one we found some’
- (31) B Wari’i, warejam wa- warapo warengkau warangket waresok?
 Pi’i jam berapa engkau bangket besok
 Pi’i hour how.much 2 get.up next.day
 ‘Pi’i, what time are you getting up tomorrow?’
- (32) P Waraku, wara- waraku warendak waridur do, waraku wara- warari
 Aku, aku tendak tidur do aku hari
 1SG 1SG NEG.want sleep NEG.POL 1SG day
 warejam warailan waraen warai- walai- warelai wareson
 jam sembilan maen play- play- play station
 hour nine play Play Play Play Station
 ‘I don’t want to sleep, I’m going to play Play Station at nine o’clock’
- (33) B Warisa warido kang
 Tak bisa tido kang
 NEG:can sleep FUT
 ‘You won’t be able to sleep afterwards’
- (34) P Warisa
 Bisa
 can
 ‘Yes I will’
- (35) B War- waridak
 Tidak
 NEG
 ‘No you won’t’
- (36) P Waralek warejam warempat warimo waraku waridor kejap
 Balek jam empat limo aku tido kejap
 return hour four five 1SG sleep wink
 ‘I’ll go home at four or five o’clock and sleep for a little bit’

- (37) B Waridak warisa warangon
 Tidak bisa bangun
 NEG can get.up
 ‘You won't be able to get up’
- (38) P Warisa, waraku waridor waramo warapo do
 Bisa aku tidor lamo tak apo do
 can 1SG sleep long.time NEG:what NEG.POL
 ‘Yes I will, if it's a long time before I go to sleep, it doesn't matter’
- (39) B Warakai warapo warisa warangon warejam wara- warenaam?
 Pakai apo bisa bangun jam enam
 use what can get.up hour six
 ‘How will you get up at six o'clock?’
- (40) P Waraku waretau³⁴ wariko warangket waramo
 Aku tau miko bangket lamo
 1SG know 2PL get.up long.time
 ‘I know you all take a long time to get up’
- (41) B Warengak warengkau
 Bengak engkau
 lie 2
 ‘Liar’
- (42) P Warengok warelah
 Tengok lah
 see CONTR
 ‘You'll see’
- (43) P Warakap waralau warendak, warengkau warendak warayo
 Cakap kalau ndak engkau tendak percayo
 speak TOP NEG 2 NEG.want believe
 ‘Tell me if it isn't so, you won't believe me’
- (44) B Warengok waranti
 Tengok nanti
 see FUT
 ‘You'll see’

34 This form is unexpected: the usual result of applying the Warasa ludling to the disyllabic form *tau* is *warau*. In this case, however, *tau* is being treated by the ludling as a regular monosyllable *taw*, occupying the second syllabic position of the Core Foot.

- (45) U Warentot waranak waranti Waravid e
 Ngentot beranak nanti David e
 AG:fuck NPAT:child FUT David Q
 ‘If you fuck you'll have a child, right David?’
- (46) P Waralau waraku waridur warejam warimo, warangket warejam
 Kalau aku tidur jam limo bangket jam
 TOP 1SG sleep hour five get.up hour
 warenam warawas warengkau, waraku warumbuk
 enam awas engkau aku tumbuk
 six beware 2 1SG hit
 warengkau
 engkau
 2
 ‘If I go to sleep at five o'clock and get up at six, you better be careful, I'll clobber you’
- (47) B Waravid e warengkau warangonkan waraku lah
 David e engkau bangonkan aku lah
 David Q 2 get.up:EP 1SG CONTR
 ‘David, you wake me up’
- (48) U Waravid wara-
 David
 David
 ‘David...’

- (49) P Warengkau tu waridur warendak warisa warangon repat,³⁵
 Engkau tu tidur ndak bisa bangun cepat
 2 DEM.DIST sleep NEG.can get.up fast
 waridur warangon warejam waruluh waruwalas waramo
 tidur bangun jam sepuluh sebelas lamo
 sleep get.up hour ten eleven long.time
 Warevid³⁶
 Vid
 HYP\David
 ‘You, when you sleep, you can’t get up quickly, you sleep a long time, until ten or eleven, right David?’
- (50) B Warisa, waraku warangon war- warajam³⁷ wari-warimo waralau warapat
 Bisa aku bangun jam limo kalau dapat
 can 1SG get.up hour five TOP get
 waraku waridur, waramo warajam waratu
 aku tidur lamo jam satu
 1SG sleep long.time hour one
 ‘Yes I can, I can get up at five if I stay up for a long time until one o’clock’
- (51) P Waralau warengkau warel- warejam warenam warelum warangket,
 Kalau engkau jam enam belum bangket
 TOP 2 hour six NEG.PFCT get.up
 warami waringgal, waravid e
 kami tinggal David e
 1PL.EXCL remain David Q
 ‘If you’re not up by six o’clock we’ll leave you behind, right David?’

35 This form, and also *waruwalas* in the same utterance, appear to represent performance errors; the expected forms would have been *warepat* and *warelas*.

36 In this example, hypocoristic truncation, mentioned briefly in Section 4 earlier, applies to my name *David* to yield *Vid*, which in turn forms the base for the application of the ludling, resulting in *Warevid*. However, the text also contains several instances of my full name *David* providing the basis for the ludling form *Waravid*, which presents a descriptive quandary. Transcribing naturalistic speech, it is often difficult to distinguish between *Warevid* and *Waravid*; moreover, the conditions governing the distribution of full names and their truncated forms are not hard and fast. It is possible, therefore, that some of the transcriptions of these two forms in the above text are incorrect, and the other of the two forms should have been provided instead. Nevertheless, evidence from elsewhere suggests that the ludling form *Warevid* does clearly exist, thereby providing another example, albeit a bimorphemic one, of a Riau Indonesian monosyllable, *Vid*, occupying the second of the two syllabic positions of the Core Foot, while leaving the first position empty.

37 In this utterance, instead of *warejam*, the form *warajam* appears twice. For whatever reason, the speaker seems to have chosen a different epenthetic vowel, *a* instead of *e*, to fill the empty rime in the first syllabic position of the Core Foot.

- (52) B Waraku, waralau waraku waremankan warengkau warain warees,
 Aku kalau aku temankan engkau main PS
 1SG TOP 1SG companion:EP 2 play PS
 warapees, warewaes,³⁸ waropi waraku
 PS, PS, kopi aku
 PS PS coffee 1SG
 ‘If I keep you company playing PS, make me some coffee’
- (53) P Waraku ajo warendak warakai waropi, warapo waritu
 Aku ajo tendak pakai kopi ngapo gitu
 1SG just NEG.want use coffee AG:what like:DEM:DEM.DIST
 warakai waropi
 pakai kopi
 use coffee
 ‘Me, I don't want coffee, why should I have coffee?’
- (54) U Waravid, waralau Waravid warangon warangket w- warambat Wari'i e,
 David kalau David bangon bangket lambat Pi'i e
 David TOP David get.up get.up slow Pi'i Q
 warawas warambat, warami warumbuk e
 awas lambat, kami tumbuk e
 beware slow 1PL.EXCL hit Q
 ‘David, if you get up late, right Pi'i, watch out, we'll clobber you’
- (55) B Waraku waridak warisa waralau warangket warapa wara- waramo,
 Aku tidak bisa kalau bangket apa lamo
 1SG NEG can TOP get.up what long.time
 waridor wararamo, waralau waridak warinum waropi
 tidor lalamo kalau tidak minum kopi
 sleep DISTR~long.time TOP NEG drink coffee
 ‘I can't get up if I've stayed up a long time if I don't drink coffee’
- (56) P War- waralau warengkau waridor, warendak warangket warejam
 Kalau engkau tidor ndak bangket jam
 TOP 2 sleep NEG get.up hour
 warenam warengkau waringgal warendak waregi
 enam engkau tinggal ndak pegi
 six 2 remain NEG go
 ‘If you're asleep and won't get up at six o'clock we'll leave you behind and you won't go’

38 The speaker gets the ludling form right the first time, with *warees*, but then seems to get confused and starts producing variant forms.

TEXT 2: PAPUAN MALAY, BAHASOSE LUDLING

Klemens and Icon, both transgender, discuss prices at hair salons, and then switch to trash talking (at which point we leave them). Both are ethnically Biak, but largely monolingual speakers of Malay/Indonesian.

The text is mostly in Papuan Malay, but with a smattering of forms from other Malay/Indonesian varieties. The Jakarta Indonesian intensifier *bangat* in (11), and the exclamatory use of the association marker =*nya* in (3) express the speakers' would-be identification with the trendy but distant capital city as a role model for the transgender community. The Standard Indonesian circumfix *peN- an* in conjunction with the association marker =*nya* signals a somewhat more formal business context in (11), and a formulaic conclusion to the topic of discourse in (30).

- (1) I Klemomens, di koyoye punyonye salolen, kalole tarorek rambobet
 Klemens di ko(i)³⁹ punya salon, kalo tarik rambut
 Klemens LOC 2SG POSS hair.salon TOP pull hair
 berapope ka
 berapa ka
 how.much UNCRT
 'Klemens, at your hair salon, how much does it cost to straighten hair?'
- (2) K Adode kalole tarorek rambobet begitote, adode tigoge ratotes
 Ada kalo tarik rambut begitu ada tiga ratus
 exist TOP pull hair like:DEM:DEM.DIST exist three hundred
 empopet ratotes
 empat ratus
 four hundred
 'Straightening hair is like three hundred or four hundred'

39 In Papuan Malay, pronouns have long disyllabic forms and short monosyllabic forms, with no obvious differences in meaning. For the 2nd person singular, the forms are *koi* and *ko*; however, the distinction between the two is neutralized under the Bahasose ludling, and hence the base form is given as *ko(i)*.

- (3) I Mahohelnya o, sayoye tidode punyonye uwowen banyonyek
 Mahalnya o saya tida punya uwan banyak
 expensive:ASSOC AFF 1SG NEG have money much
 begitote ba, koyoye kasose mureore sudode mo
 begitu ba, ko(i) kasi mura suda mo
 like:DEM:DEM.DIST IRRIT 2SG give cheap PFCT EMPH
 'That's so expensive, I don't have that kind of money, you can let me have it a bit cheaper'
- (4) K Tidode bisose, itote bos yang punyonye salolen,
 Tida bisa, itu bos yang punya salon
 NEG can DEM:DEM.DIST boss REL have hair.salon
 jadode tororeng mo bikoken bagaimanoneng lagoge
 jadi torang mo bikin bagaimana lagi
 become 1PL want do how again
 'I can't, it's the boss' hair salon, how can we do that?'
- (5) I Koyoye punyonye bosose sapope?
 Ko(i) punya bos sapa
 2SG have boss who
 'Who's your boss?'
- (6) K Adode to
 ada to
 Exist Q
 'Somebody'
- (7) K Makikoke
 Makiki
 Makiki
 'Makiki'
- (8) I O
 O
 Oh
 'Oh'
- (9) K Makikoke e
 Makiki e
 Makiki DEIC
 'Makiki'

- (10) I Salolen Icocen mawowe tarorek rambobet
 salon Icon mau tarik rambut
 hair.salon Icon want pull hair
 'The hair salon — but I want to have my hair straightened'
- (11) K Adode tapope pembayarorennnya mahohel bangonget
 Ada tapi pembayarannya mahal banget
 exist but <NMLZ>pay:ASSOC expensive very
 'You can, but the price is very expensive'
- (12) I Gilole, nantote m- Makikoke diyoye bilolen tidode papope sudode,
 Gila nanti Makiki dia bilan tida papa suda
 crazy FUT Makiki 3SG say NEG DISTR~what PFCT
 limamo⁴⁰ pulole ribobe s- sudode
 lima pulu ribu suda
 five ten thousand PFCT
 'Idiot, Makiki will say it's alright, just fifty thousand'
- (13) K I, tidode bisose ko - i belole obobet itote jugoge
 I tida bisa ko i beli obat itu juga
 EXCLM NEG can 2SG EXCLM buy medicine DEM:DEM.DIST also
 mawowe⁴¹
 mo
 EMPH
 'Eee, you can't, buying the ingredients is already expensive'
- (14) I A, kalole di salolen la-laoyen bisose seratotes limo- yo boleh
 A kalo di salon lain bisa seratus limo yo boleh
 IRRIT TOP LOC hair.salon other can one:hundred thousand yes can
 'Huh, at other hair salons you can do it for a hundred and fifty'

40 The expected form here would be *limome*, as in (14) and (15) below; the actual form *limamo* is probably a production error.

41 The form *mo* is homophonous between an emphatic particle, which, like other such particles, is opaque to the ludling, and a reduced form of *mau* 'want', whose ludling form is *mawowe*, as in (10), (13) and (27). In this example, although the context appears to be that of the emphatic particle, the speaker unexpectedly uses the ludling form.

- (15) K Yo ini dapopet di salolen manone, tidode salolen
 Yo ini dapat di salon mana tida salon
 yes DEM:DEM.PROX get LOC hair.salon which NEG hair.salon
 yang lima pulole kalole tarorek rambobet
 yang lima pulu kalo tarik rambut
 REL five ten TOP pull hair
 'Yeah, at which hair.salon can you get that, there's no hair salon where you can get it for fifty thousand, your hair straightened'
- (16) I Divove Divove Divove
 Diva Diva Diva
 Diva Diva Diva
 'Diva, Diva, Diva'
- (17) K Tidode adode
 Tida ada
 NEG exist
 'No way'
- (18) I E, di Divove tu kalole tarorek, kasose bosose to Pitote⁴²
 E di Diva tu kalo tarik kasi bos to Pit
 EXCLM LOC Diva DEM.DIST TOP pull give boss Q Pit
 seratotes
 seratus
 one:hundred
 'At Diva's, for straightening your hair, the boss will do it for you, right Pit, for a hundred'
- (19) K E, Divove ka, tra pu jugoge o, bosose tu namome,
 E Diva ka tra pu juga o bos tu nama
 EXCLM Diva UNCRT NEG POSS also AFF boss DEM.DIST name
 tarorek kamduwowe pu, Pitote bisose tarorek
 tarik kamdua pu Pit bisa tarik
 pull 2DU POSS Pit can pull
 'Ey, Diva right, doesn't matter, he's the boss, he can have the hair straightened for you both, Pit can have his straightened'

42 Unlike Riau Indonesian (cf. footnote 36 above), Papuan Malay does not have hypocoristic truncation. However, speakers of Papuan Malay who encountered the truncated version of my name, pronounced or written by speakers of Riau or other western Indonesian dialects, reinterpreted it as a simple monomorphemic name *Pit*. As such, here and in the following utterance, *Pitote* provides another clear cut example of how the Bahasose ludling applies to monosyllables in Papuan Malay, showing that forms such as *Pit* occupy the first of the two syllabic positions of the Core Foot, while leaving the second syllable empty — the opposite of the Riau Indonesian pattern.

- (20) K Koyoye jalolen lontote samome
 Ko(i) jalan lonte sama
 2SG go whore together
 'The two of you go walking together like whores'
- (21) I Biasose diyoye –
 Biasa dia
 usual 3SG
 'Usually he -'
- (22) I Biasose diyoye tu agoge sintoteng de adode xxxxxx⁴³
 Biasa dia tu aga sinting de ada
 usual 3SG DEM.DIST rather woozy 3SG exist
 agoge sintoteng, koyoye kapope
 aga sinting ko(i) kapa
 rather woozy 2SG Q:what
 'Usually he's a bit woozy, he's xxxxxx a bit woozy, what's with you?'
- (23) K I, siapope?
 I, siapa
 EXCLM who
 'Hey, who's that?'
- (24) I Koyoye kapope
 ko(i) kapa
 2SG UNCRT:what
 'You, who else'
- (25) I Lontote
 Lonte
 whore
 'Whore'
- (26) K Sebentote koyoye biloleng ka⁴⁴ Kikoke
 Sebentar ko(i) bilang ka Kiki
 soon 2SG say ALL Kiki
 'Soon you tell Kiki ...'

43 A short passage of speech is uninterpretable, drowned out by the other speaker.

44 The form *ka* is an alternative pronunciation of the allative marker *ke*. Its opacity to the ludling is consistent with its characterization as a bound form, as is argued also for Riau Indonesian in Gil (2020b) and mentioned in Section 6.1 and footnote 18 above.

- (27) I Diyoye kalole sayoye mawowe semototeng
 Dia kalo saya mau semoting
 3SG TOP 1SG want smoothing
 'He, as for me, I like smoothing'
- (28) K Tapope tigoge ratotes e
 Tapi tiga ratus e
 but three hundred Q
 'But three hundred, yeah'
- (29) I M, iyoye sudode, nantote sayoye tanyonye sayoye punyonye mamome
 M iyo suda nanti saya tanya saya punya mama
 Mmm yes PFCT FUT.PROX 1SG ask 1SG POSS mummy
 'Hmm, okay then, I'll ask my mummy'
- (30) K Yo sudode, trimome kasose atas pembantuannya
 Yo suda trima kasi atas pembantuannya
 yes PFCT receive compassion over <NMLZ>help:ASSOC
 'Okay then, thanks for your help'
- (31) I Da, da klemomens
 Da, da, klemens
 bye bye Klemens
 'Bye, bye Klemens'
- (32) I Lontote
 Lonte
 whore
 'Whore'
- (33) K Ko yang lonte besar Icon
 Ko yang lonte besar Icon
 2SG REL whore big Icon
 'You're the big whore Icon'
- (34) I Klemomens lonte, Klemomens lonte
 Klemens lonte Klemens lonte
 Klemens whore Klemens whore
 'Klemens is a whore, Klemens is a whore'