

Monosyllabic Words, Foot Structure, Ludlings and Dialectal Variation in Malay/Indonesian

David Gil

Most words in Malay/Indonesian are bisyllabic. For this and other reasons, Gil (2002, 2006) posits the existence of a core bisyllabic foot which, for bisyllabic words, is coextensive with the word itself. However, a small number of words in Malay/Indonesian are monosyllabic, which raises the question what the role of the foot is in such words: Are monosyllabic words associated with a core foot, and if so how?

An answer to this question is provided by ludlings. This paper examines three different ludlings in three different dialects of Malay/Indonesian, illustrated in (1) below as they apply to bisyllabic words:

(1) *Ludling forms for bisyllabic words:*

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (a) | JAKARTA INDONESIAN | <i>makan</i> > <i>ukanmanang</i> | <i>mobil</i> > <i>ubalmoning</i> |
| (b) | SIAMALAY | <i>makan</i> > <i>warakan</i> | <i>mobil</i> > <i>warobil</i> |
| (c) | PAPUAN MALAY | <i>makan</i> > <i>makoken</i> | <i>mobil</i> > <i>mobobel</i> |

Informally, on the basis of bisyllabic words, these ludlings appear to follow the rules given below:

(2) (a) JAKARTA INDONESIAN

First, reduplicate the word. Next, replace the first syllable of the first copy with *u*; replace the vowel of the second syllable of the first copy with *a*; replace the onset of the second syllable of the second copy with *n*; and replace the coda of the second syllable of the second copy with *ng*.

(b) SIAMALAY

Replace the first onset of the word with *war*.

(c) PAPUAN MALAY

Replace the last vowel of the word with the sequence *oCe*, where *C* is a copy of the onset of the final syllable.

How, then, do these ludlings apply to monosyllabic words? Whereas for Jakarta Indonesian it is not clear how the rule in (2a) might generalize to monosyllabic words, for Siak Malay and Papuan Malay the rules in (2b) and (2c) predict the forms shown in (3b) and (3c):

(3) *Predicted ludling forms for monosyllabic words based on the rules in (2):*

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) | JAKARTA INDONESIAN | <i>jam</i> > ?? | <i>bos</i> > ?? |
| (b) | SIAMALAY | <i>jam</i> > * <i>waram</i> | <i>bos</i> > * <i>waros</i> |
| (c) | PAPUAN MALAY | <i>jam</i> > * <i>jojem</i> | <i>bos</i> > * <i>bozes</i> |

However, this predication is false; the actual attested ludling forms are shown in (4) below:

(4) *Actual ludling forms for monosyllabic words:*

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) | JAKARTA INDONESIAN | <i>jam</i> > <i>ujamenang</i> | <i>bos</i> > <i>ubasenong</i> |
| (b) | SIAMALAY | <i>jam</i> > <i>warejam</i> | <i>bos</i> > <i>warebos</i> |
| (c) | PAPUAN MALAY | <i>jam</i> > <i>jamome</i> | <i>bos</i> > <i>bosose</i> |

In order to account for the forms in (4), reference must be made to the core foot, with the rules in (2) replaced by those in (5):

- (5) (a) JAKARTA INDONESIAN
First, reduplicate the core foot and its associated segmental material. Next, replace any segmental material in the first syllabic position of the first foot with *u*; replace the vowel of the second syllabic position of the first foot with *a*; replace the onset of the second syllabic position of the second foot with *n*; and replace the coda of the second syllabic position of the second foot with *ng*. Finally, insert an epenthetic vowel *e* into any empty vowel position.
- (b) SIAK MALAY
Replace any segmental material in the first onset position of the core foot with *war*. Then insert an epenthetic vowel *e* into any empty vowel position.
- (c) PAPUAN MALAY
Replace any segmental material in the vowel position of the second syllabic position of the foot with the sequence *oCe*, where *C* is a copy of the consonant occupying the boundary between the first and second syllabic positions.

For the rules in (5) to work for monosyllabic words, they must be associated with a core foot. Crucially, however, the association works differently in different dialects. In Jakarta Indonesian and Siak Malay, monosyllabic words occupy the second syllabic position of the core foot, leaving the first syllabic position empty; however, this empty position remains visible to the ludling, in accordance with (5a) and (5b). In contrast, in Papuan Malay, monosyllabic words occupy the first syllabic position of the core foot, leaving the second syllabic position empty, while once again remaining accessible to the ludling, which makes reference to it, as per (5c).

Thus, ludlings provide strong support for the existence of a core bisyllabic foot across three quite diverse dialects of Malay/Indonesian. In particular, in monosyllabic words, they make substantive reference to the empty syllable of the core foot. In addition, ludlings provide evidence for a split between dialects such as Jakarta Indonesian and Siak Malay, in which monosyllabic words occupy the second syllabic position of the core foot, and dialects such as Papuan Malay, in which such words occupy the first syllabic position of the core foot. This split is clearly related to the distinct phrasal stress patterns of these dialects, with the phrase-final stress of Jakarta Indonesian and Siak Malay contrasting with the mostly phrase-penultimate stress of Papuan Malay.

Gil, David (2002) "Ludlings in Malayic Languages: An Introduction", in Bambang Kaswanti Purwo ed., *PELBBA 15, Pertemuan Linguistik Pusat Kajian Bahasa dan Budaya Atma Jaya: Kelima Belas*, Unika Atma Jaya, Jakarta, 125-180.

Gil, David (2006) "Intonation and Thematic Roles in Riau Indonesian", in C.M. Lee, M. Gordon, and D. Büring eds., *Topic and Focus, Cross-Linguistic Perspectives on Meaning and Intonation*, Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy 82, Springer, Dordrecht, 41-68.