

THE PEOPLE OF KAO AND THEIR LANGUAGE IN THE NORTHERN COAST OF HALMAHERA: A STUDY OF A PAPUAN LANGUAGE COMMUNITY IN AUSTRONESIAN WORLD¹

ORANG KAO DAN BAHASANYA DI PANTAI UTARA HALMAHERA: STUDI KOMUNITAS BAHASA PAPUA DALAM DUNIA AUSTRONESIA

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ABSTRACT

There are two major language families existing in Indonesia. Those are Austronesian and Papuan languages. Most of Austronesian language speakers live in all over Indonesia. However, the non-Austronesian or Papuan language speakers live in some parts of Eastern Indonesia such as North Moluccas, Papua, West Papua and East Nusa Tenggara. The focus of this study will lie on one of the language communities in Halmahera Island, North Moluccas, namely Kao which is on the northern coast of the island. This study questions whether there is an influence on the characteristics of the Austronesian language in Kao as a Papuan (non-Austronesian) language and how it affects the Kao language. This study uses a qualitative description method through interviews and observations.

The article aims to explain the Kao people and their language which has started to be influenced by Austronesian features. Based on the research conducted from 2013 up to 2014, it is shown that the Kao language, which is categorized as Papuan language, has been affected by Austronesian features. The environment where Kao people live has influenced their life, especially their language. One of the influences is on the structure of their language, which has changed and shown the domination of the Austronesian characteristic in the case of word order, that is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO). Meanwhile, the existence of lingua franca as an inter-ethnic communication tool such as Ternate Malay which is also an Austronesian language has contributed to forming the present language of Kao as well.

Keywords: Kao People, Language, Halmahera, Papuan Language, Austronesia

ABSTRAK

Ada dua rumpun bahasa utama yang ada di Indonesia, yakni rumpun bahasa Austronesia dan rumpun bahasa Papua. Sebagian besar penutur rumpun bahasa Austronesia tinggal di hampir seluruh pelosok Indonesia. Namun, rumpun bahasa yang kedua, penutur bahasa non-Austronesia atau Papua hanya dapat ditemukan pada beberapa bagian wilayah di Kawasan Timur Indonesia seperti Maluku Utara, Papua, Papua Barat dan Nusa Tenggara Timur. Penelitian ini berfokus pada salah satu komunitas bahasa di Maluku Utara, tepatnya di Halmahera, yaitu komunitas bahasa Kao yang berada di pantai utara Halmahera. Studi ini mempertanyakan apakah ada pengaruh ciri bahasa Austronesia dalam bahasa Kao sebagai bahasa yang dikategorikan sebagai bahasa Papua (non-Austronesian language) dan bagaimana pengaruhnya terhadap bahasa Kao? Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskripsi kualitatif melalui wawancara dan observasi.

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan tentang orang Kao dan bahasanya yang sudah mulai dipengaruhi oleh karakteristik Austronesia. Penelitian yang dilakukan dari 2013 hingga 2014 memperlihatkan bahwa bahasa Kao yang dikategorikan sebagai bahasa Papua telah dipengaruhi oleh fitur atau ciri Austronesia. Lingkungan tempat tinggal mereka telah mempengaruhi kehidupan mereka terutama bahasa mereka. Salah satu pengaruhnya yaitu pada struktur bahasa mereka yang telah berubah dan menunjukkan dominasi karakteristik Austronesia dalam kasus susunan kata, yaitu Subjek-Obyek-Verb (SVO). Sementara itu, keberadaan lingua franca sebagai alat komunikasi antaretnik seperti bahasa Melayu Ternate yang juga bahasa Austronesia telah berkontribusi dalam membentuk bahasa Kao saat ini.

Kata Kunci: Orang Kao, Bahasa, Halmahera, Rumpun Papua, Austronesia.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper was made based on the data collected during the field research from 2013 up to 2014 in North Halmahera Regency, North Moluccas Province and has been added with the latest data on current linguistic and social situations. The research object is Kao multilingual speakers who live on the northern coast of Halmahera, exactly in Kao village. Most of them, especially the adults can speak two languages or more, namely Kao language and Ternate Malay. Some can speak in Ternate language or even other surrounding languages such as Tobelo, Galela, or Morotai which is caused by intermarriage.

There are some languages which can be categorized as Austronesian family and the others can be included in the non-Austronesian family or Papuan ones. This phenomenon is interesting to be studied because Kao people show mixed constructions in their language use and it seems that it can reveal many unsolved problems or puzzles on Austronesian origin, for instance. Furthermore, studies related to that issue is still very rarely done by linguists. Except for Masinambow (1976), there are some linguists who had conducted some studies on the relation between the two language families, but the research fields are commonly outside Halmahera. Those are Wurm (1982), Fernandez (1997, 2000), and Mbetse (2007) in East Nusa Tenggara, as well as Foley (1986) in Papua.

In his research in Halmahera, Masinambow (1976: 206) found that in the convergence point of view, the convergence in Tobelo (TBL) and Sawai (SAW) languages result in a condition where all syntactic constituents show a similarity. It is different from Melayu Halmahera (MH)² where it has four sequences apposite to TBL and/or SAW. The difference is caused by MH pertains that sequence based on its kind as VO language.

Kao language community, which is the object of the research, occupies Halmahera Island, particularly in Kao village, Kao Subdistrict, North Halmahera Regency, North Moluccas Province.

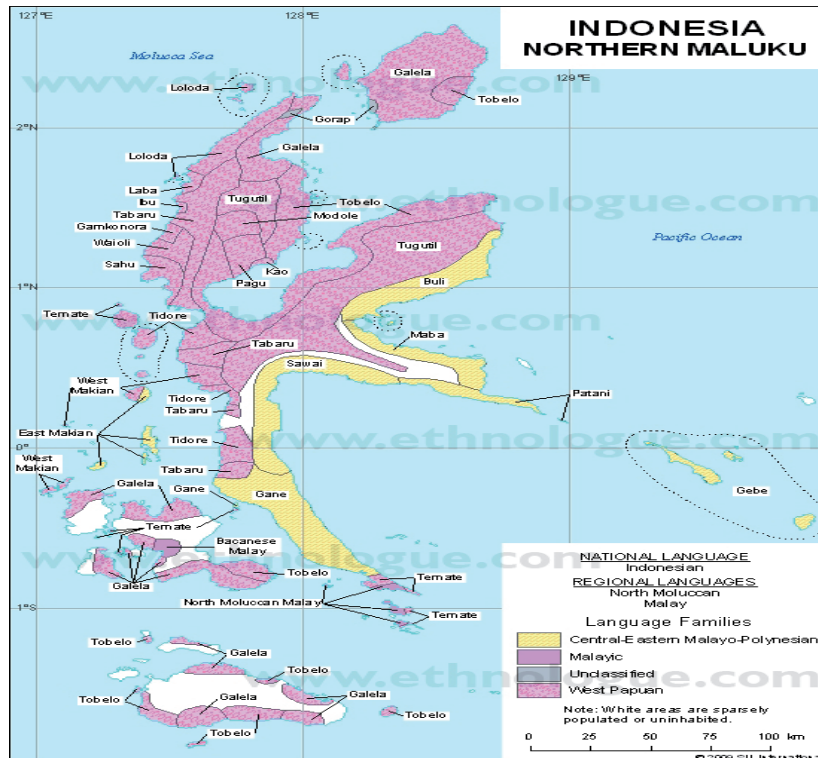
2 Some linguists mention this as other name, that is Ternate Malay. It is a lingua franca which belongs to various people with different ethnics in North Moluccas Province (including Halmahera island).

Halmahera Island and its surroundings constitute a research field that is actually very important because we can find various language communities there. The language communities in this region can be linguistically divided into two categories, namely those which belong to Austronesian language family and those which belong to non-Austronesian (West Papuan) language family. The Austronesian language communities concentrate in the southern parts of the island, whereas the non-Austronesian language communities including Kao can be found in the northern parts of the island (Masinambow 1980: 387-388; Taber 1996: 3-24). The languages which are included in the non-Austronesian family are Galela, Tobelo, Ternate, Tidore, Modole, Kao, Pagu, Gamkonora, Waioli, Ibu, Laba, Loloda, Makian Luar, Sahu, Tobaru, and Tugutil. Meanwhile, those which are included in Austronesian are Buli, Gane, Gebe, Maba, Patani, Makian Dalam, and Sawai.³ Map I (Languages in Northern Moluccas) below can show us the position of Kao language community.

The map below shows us the position of Kao language community which is on the Kao gulf of the North Halmahera Regency. From the map, it can be inferred that the language used by the people can be easily affected by other languages due to the site which is near to other languages or unavoidable contact with other languages. Kao village is also in the line of main street of the transportation of various cars or motorcycle from Ternate via Sofifi to Tobelo in North Halmahera and there are some places for people from other places to stop for a meal or coffee break so that language contact among different people with different languages is open there. It could be found some places for tourists as well to enjoy the natural beauty of Kao beach with views of the Japanese shipwrecks from the First Pacific War. Meanwhile, in that part of the region, we can find Japanese heritage bunkers that are usually visited by tourists.

It seems that Halmahera is regarded as an important spot so that Richard Shutler Jr. as cited in Soegondho (1998) had proposed a hypothesis that Halmahera is the key to come to the conclu-

3 See also Ibrahim (2009), *Metamorfosa Sosial dan Kepunahan Bahasa*.



Source: Lewis, Simons, and Fennig (eds.). 2019. .

Figure 1: Languages in Northern Moluccas

sion on the homeland of the Austronesian people. Regarding the relation between Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages, a researcher from *National Museum of Ethnology* Osaka, Yuiti Wada (1980: 187) stated that Halmahera is linguistically regarded as the contact point between the two language families.

If Halmahera is regarded as the contact point then the problem is how is the influence of the Austronesian languages toward the Kao language as a non-Austronesian language as a result of the contact happening in the research location?

HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF KAO PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

Kao people have their own historical background that could also influence their language, especially on the vocabulary. Their history actually started from their original village in the headwaters, named *Air Kalak*. They moved from their original place and settled to some places on the seashores before finally coming to stay the present place named Kao village.

In the process of their migration from one place to another, they learned some new words and have contacted with other surrounding ethnics. Aside from being farmers, they also act as fishermen. They usually go to the gardens to grow some plants such as coconuts, bananas, etc. When they have finished their works in the garden, they usually go to the sea to catch fish. On the beach, they usually can find out some sea animals for eating such as lobsters, shells, shrimps, etc.

In relation to the North Halmahera context, Kao is bound in the identity and cultural value of *Hibualamo*, meaning ‘big home’ or ‘big octagonal house’. *Hibua* (Tobelo language) or *Sibua* (Galela language) means ‘home’, whereas *Lamo* means ‘big’. *Hibualamo* constitutes a bounding expression as a symbolic union of all life and ideas of all people in the North Halmahera peninsula and other surrounding regions to realize the prosperity for all as inherited by their ancestors from *Talaga Lina*.

Naping (2013: 481-482) explained that besides having the meaning on the material content, *Hibualamo* also has a spiritual meaning, namely

the spirit of togetherness, kinship, and equality in which respect towards each other can be created both in the life of the local community (Tobelo, Galela, Kao, Loloda, Morotai) along with people from different places to settle and to do activity in the scope of custom and culture of *Hibualamo*. Hibualamo with a universal spiritual meaning contains noble values which becomes the image of its people and functions as a strong adhesive (social cohesion) in the community life order.

In the aspect of the history of Kao people, the influence of Ternate is unavoidable. This is supported by what Fraassen (1994: 32) said that the influence of Ternate was widely spread and that it covered a vast area, from the southern fringe of the Philippines via East Sulawesi to the islands deep in the Banda Sea. It means the influence of Ternate was received by Kao people that live in the northern part of Halmahera as well. For the influences of Ternate culture during the power of Ternate Sultanate, the Kao people embraced the religion of Islam which is represented by a mosque established in the central of the village.

The influence of Ternate in the history of Kao people can also be seen in the linguistic point of view. The real evidence is that most of Kao people can speak Ternate language as well, or at minimum they passively master this language. This phenomenon could be seen during my field research in the area. It could be found in various situations.

During my field researches on the location, Kao people, specifically those whose age are around forty years old and above can still speak Ternate language. Ternate language is a Papuan language, so it is the same as Kao language which can be categorized into Papuan language family. At the time we meet or create language contact with Kao people, we can hear that they were speaking Ternate language, and they justified it. However, at the same time they can switch to Kao language when they want to communicate to people that only speak in Kao or Ternate Malay. In other situations, for instance at the wedding of Kao people, after the wedding ceremony, they will sing in Ternate language while the others were dancing.

AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES: COVERAGE AND HALMAHERA CONTEXT

In his book entitled *Austronesian Languages*, Robert Blust (2013:1) states that Austronesian language family has a distribution of most of the islands in the southern hemisphere and also on many more western islands, located partly or wholly north of the equator. The main western island groups include Indonesia or the Malay Islands, to the north of the smaller and more compact Philippine Islands, and still further north at 22 to 25 degrees north latitude and about 150 kilometers from the coast of China, the island of Taiwan (Formosa).

The Austronesian languages geographically constitute a big language family (see Figure 2). In case of the numbers of languages, the Austronesian language family has quantitatively a big number. The number of Austronesian languages is predicted to be more than 1.257 languages (Lewis, 2014). In Indonesia itself, the languages included in this language family the majority. Of more than 700 languages in Indonesia, only 244 languages can be categorized as non-Austronesia, while the rest are categorized as Austronesian languages (SIL 2001) as cited in Lauder and Ayatrohaedi (2006: 372). Some of the Austronesian languages have a large number of speakers, for example, Javanese (75.200.000 speakers), Sundanese (27.000.000), Minangkabau (6.500.000), Batak (5.150.000), Bugis (4.000.000) and Malay language (20.000.000). Malay language also has various names according to its place such as Manado Malay, Tenggara Malay, Ternate Malay, Palembang Malay, Kupang Malay, Jambi Malay, etc. (SIL 2001) in Lauder and Ayatrohaedi (2006: 364).

If the information stated above is the description of the existence of Austronesian languages in general in Indonesia, then the following can be noted as the description of Austronesian languages, particularly in Moluccas region. Moluccas is a region that is famous in history as a producer of spices and consists of many islands containing volcanoes with Seram as the biggest island in that area. However, as stated by Blust (2013:90-91), historically and politically, the most important islands in the Moluccas are the tiny islands of

Ternate and Tidore (the major source of cloves), and Ambon and Banda in the central Moluccas (the latter the sole original location of nutmeg). For the most part, the southern Moluccas played little part in the history of the spice trade, and so were left out of the resulting networks of political and economic alliances that characterized the central and northern Moluccas. Furthermore, he stated that archaeological evidence of cloves which must have originated in the northern Moluccas has been claimed from sites as far as Terqa, Syria, dating to about 3,700 BP. Blust (2013: 91) explains in detail the Austronesian languages in Moluccas namely some largest and smallest Austronesian languages there. This can be noted in the the table below.

The table below shows that there are languages where there are still many speakers but so that it can be said to be an endangered language. Among the Austronesian languages proposed in the table, Ternate Malay is the language that is

widely spoken in the northern Moluccas region because it is the lingua franca for the multi-ethnic community there.

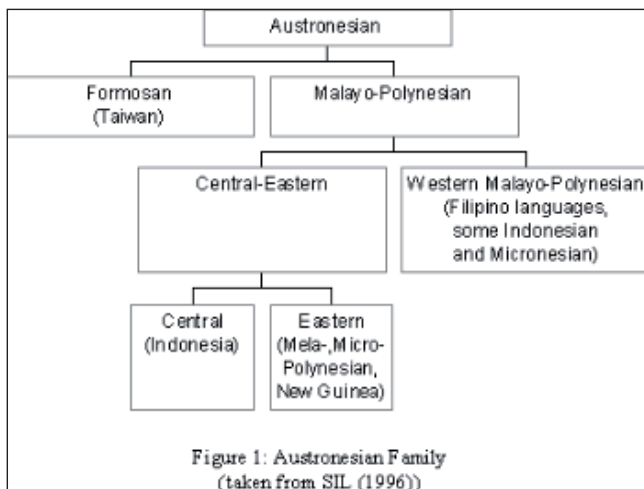
Regarding Halmahera context in the northern Moluccas, most Austronesian language families are spread in the southern parts of Halmahera, namely Buli, Gane, Gebe, Maba, Patani, Makian Dalam, and Sawai. In the current condition, Austronesian speakers, spread all over the regencies in the area as the impact of area expansion in terms of local autonomy policy applied by the central government. There is also Malay language, as mentioned before, which is spoken in the area called Ternate Malay. Aside from it, the Indonesian language also constitutes Austronesian language used especially in education and governmental activities. Table 1 shows is the chart which shows the classification of Austronesian language family and also Figure 3 on Geographical Coverage of Austronesian Language Family.

Table 1: Some Largest and Smallest Austronesian languages of the Moluccas

No.	Language	Subgroup	No. of speakers
1.	Ternate Malay	(WMP/M-C)	700,000 (2001)
2.	Ambon Malay	(WMP/M-C)	200,000 (1987)
3.	Kei	K-F	85,000 (2000)
4.	Fordata	K-F	50,000 2000)
5.	Geser-Goram	ECM	36,500 (1989)
6.	Buruese	S-B	32,980 (1989)
7.	Taba/Makian Dalam	SHWNG	30-40,000 (2001)
8.	Yamdena	Y-S	25,000 (1991)
9a.	Kisar	L-K	20,000 (1995)
9b.	Luang	L-K	20,000 (1995)
9c.	Sula	S-B	20,000 (1983)
9d.	Soboyo	S-B	20,000 (1983)
1a.	Amahai	ECM	50 (1987)
1b.	Paulohi	ECM	50 (1982)
1c.	Salas	ECM?	50 (1989)
2.	Loun	ECM	20 (?)
3a.	Hoti	ECM	10 (1987)
3b.	Hulung	ECM	10 (1991)
3c.	Kamarian	ECM	10? (1987)
3d.	Nusa Laut	ECM	10 (1989)
3e.	Piru	ECM	10 (1985)
4.	Naka'ela	ECM	5 (1985)
5.	Kayeli	ECM	3 (1995)
6.	Hukumina	ECM	1 (1989)

Source: Blust (2013). *The Austronesian Languages* (Revised Edition). Canberra: Asia Pacific Linguistics Research Schools of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.

Figure 2 : The Classification of Austronesian Language Family



Source: Hallen (n.d.)

Figure 2 shows shows the classification of Austronesian languages divided into Formosan (Taiwanese) and Malayo-Polynesian languages. The languages in Indonesia, which are included

in this language family, can also be divided into several groups whose scope is cross-provincial. Some are included in the Central Eastern group but some are included in the Western Malayo-Polynesian group.

Figure 3 shows a wide scope of use of the Austronesian languages. Its use can be said to be very broad because it is spread from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east. According to Tryon (2006: 19-20), they are spoken almost universally in Indonesia and the Philippines, in Singapore and Malaysia, by the indigenous population of Taiwan, and by minority populations in Vietnam, Cambodia, and the Mergui Archipelago of the coast of Burma (currently Myanmar). Further east, Austronesian languages occupy almost all of the islands of Oceania with the exception of the inland and most coastal areas of the great island of New Guinea (Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea).

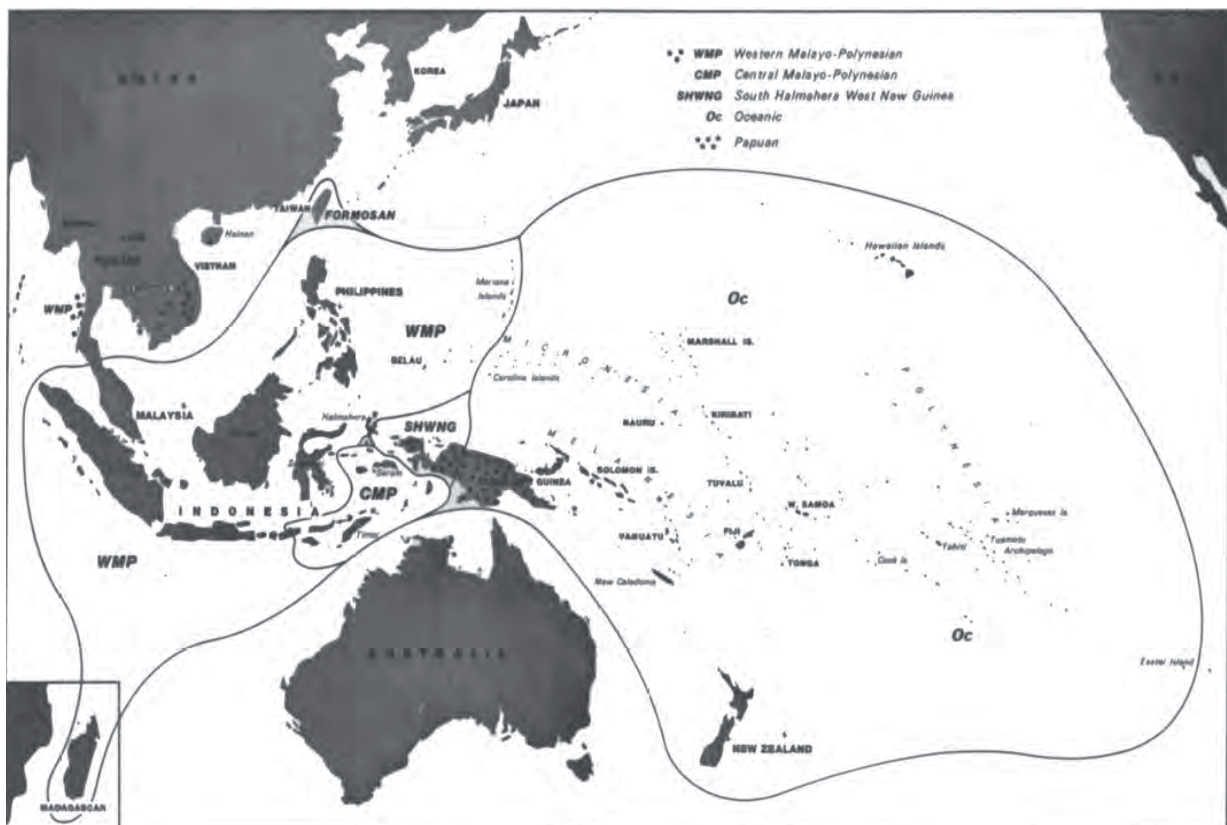


Figure 3 : Geographical Coverage of Austronesian Language Family (Tyron, 2006).

PAPUAN LANGUAGES AND THEIR SPREAD IN HALMAHERA

Summer Institute of Linguistics, also known as SIL (2001) as cited in Lauder and Ayatrohaedi (2006: 372) states that most of more than 700 languages in Indonesia can be categorized as non-Austronesian or Papuan languages. Those languages are spread in Moluccas, Papua, and East Nusa Tenggara. SIL data mentioned that 210 languages in Papua have been identified, 17 languages in Moluccas, and 17 languages in East Nusa Tenggara.

In his book entitled *The Papuan Languages of New Guinea*, Foley (1986: 3) stated that the Papuan languages occupy the land areas of New Guinea and adjacent islands not claimed by Austronesian languages. Foley, further explains that their most westerly position is eastern Indonesia: Northern Halmahera, Alor and Pantar, two small islands west of Timor, and the mountainous interior of eastern Timor. He added that the languages can be seen more even to the east, such as the great bulk of mainland New Guinea, as well as areas of the offshore islands New Britain, New Ireland, and the Bougainville.

Meanwhile, if it is seen more narrowly on the coverage of Halmahera languages, the non-Austronesian languages spreading in Northern parts of Halmahera are Galela, Loloda, Laba, Pagu, Modole, Kao, Sahu, Waioli, Gamkonora, Ibu, Tabaru, Tobelo, Tugutil, Makian Barat, Ternate, and Tidore (Lauder & Ayatrohaedi, 2006: 373). On the other hand, Ternate language, even though it is not shown in the map, is also used by the people there as a heritage of the past which is still spoken by some speakers in their communication as interethnic language except Ternate Malay.

KAO PEOPLE AS MULTILINGUAL LANGUAGE COMMUNITY AND THEIR LANGUAGE CONTACT

Multilingual phenomenon does not only happen in Indonesia, but also in the other parts of the world. There is even a prediction that around half of the world population master more than one language (Grosjean (1982, p.vii) as cited

in Romaine (2004: 385). In other part, Schmid (2001: 178) stated that the mastering of more than one language constitutes the complement for American pluralism and it is not a challenge towards English. According to him, in globalization century, the mastering of more than one language is an asset.

How about Kao people? Kao speakers who occupy Kao subdistrict, North Halmahera Regency constitute a multilingual language community as well. There are, of course, some people who are bilingual (speak Malay and Kao) or even monolingual (speak Ternate Malay only). The tendency of monolingualism occurs in the young generation in general without denying that there is also some young generation who speak Ternate Malay but speak Kao language as well although code-mixing frequently happens in their utterances. The code-mixing seems to be usual in the communication of Kao's young generation. The phenomenon can not certainly be separated from language contact that happens between the Kao language community and other language communities in Halmahera, both with the same language family and with different language family. The contact with Austronesian language family commonly occurs in Ternate Malay and Indonesian language. Different from the young generation, the adult generation of Kao can even master two or three languages or even more so that they can be categorized as multilingual speakers. They can speak Ternate Malay, Indonesia, Kao, and even Ternate language. There are also some of them who can speak Galela or Tobelo, especially in Kao's families of intermarriage. In the condition above, language contact can not certainly be avoided.

Language contact constitutes an event of using more than one language in the same place and time (Thomason, 2001: 1). Therefore, in language contact, a turnover of language usage can happen when a speaker learns the elements of a language system that is not their language. The contact language could happen inside the speaker. For instance, the language contact between Ternate Malay and Kao inside a Kao language speaker.

This study is focused on the contact between Austronesian languages (in this case Ternate

Malay and Indonesian languages) and Kao language as a non-Austronesian language. There is certainly a contact as well with other language, especially with other non-Austronesian languages such as Tobelo and Galela which is caused by many factors including intermarriage however, that is not the focus of this study.

THE INFLUENCE OF AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES TOWARDS KAO LANGUAGE AS A RESULT OF THE CONTACT AMONG THEM

Language as a medium of communication plays an important role in human life because it can convey messages from one to another through a specific way. The way is the utterance of the human which contains a specific configuration of the related language. The configurations of a specific language have their own meanings. From the morphological point of view, for example, we can find the configuration of morphemes and words. A morpheme is the smallest meaningful unit where a word constitutes the configurations of two or more morphemes. However, from a syntactical point of view, it could be found some language configurations such as phrases, clauses, or sentences, both simple and complex sentences.

Kao language itself has its own specific configuration of utterances that are used in the communication with other people, including those of different languages in its surrounding areas. The people of Kao usually have some linguistic contacts with people speaking the languages of Pagu, Boeng, and Modole in the near distance and with languages such as Tobelo, Galela, Ternate, and some other languages in far distance. The contact could be in the Ternate Malay or by a major language. Ternate Malay is a lingua franca in that area, whereas the use of a major language means the use of a specific language where the majority in the area and some people from minor languages could also speak in that language due to the same characteristic of the languages.

Any language, wherever it is, has its own characteristic. It is the same as the Kao language. Kao language phonologically consists of six vowels and nineteen consonants which build the

language and colorize the speaking of Kao people with a mixture of words from other languages as a result of contact process among them. Identical to some other language in northern Halmahera, Kao language is a language which is in the non-Austronesia language family or many linguists usually called as Papuan language.

The language itself is mostly spoken by adults and some young generation. Unfortunately, the Kao language used by the young generation is not really the original language. It means that mixing with other languages sometimes happens in the language use of the Kao young people, since it has occurred for a long time, the use of language of that generation comes to the reality of mixed language because they usually use Ternate Malay in the structure of Kao language.

Dutton (2006: 208) tries to describe a little on the relation between non-Austronesian languages and Austronesian languages based on his researches in Melanesian islands. He stated that non-Austronesian languages are genetically unrelated to Austronesian languages. They vary widely amongst themselves and do not belong to one large family like the Austronesian languages do, although about 75 percent or so of them are thought to be distantly related to one another and to form a super-family called the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. Even so, no such relationship has yet been firmly demonstrated and the best that linguists are prepared to accept is that there are many families (about 60) which look as if they could group together in a large number of stocks and phyla. Speakers of these languages occupy the area not occupied by speakers of Austronesian languages, which for the most part is the interior of some of the larger western Melanesian islands.

In a different context with Dutton's, now, how about the relationship or contact between the two language families in Halmahera? In this case, the non-Austronesian language is Kao language, whereas the Austronesian languages are Ternate Malay and Indonesian language. Ternate Malay language as mentioned by Collins (1980: 7) in Masinambow (1995: 36) has been used as written language since the 16th century and constitutes the first Malay language which word list was made by Antonio Pigafetta, a European traveler who

conducted a trip in the eastern parts of Indonesia and lived in Tidore for some time and then continued his trip to Bacan, Buru, and Seram. According to Masinambow (1995: 36), it is noted that there are 696.327 speakers or 49% of all the numbers of population (1.407.465) in Moluccas recognizing to use Indonesian language as their lingua franca at home which can be interpreted that Moluccas⁴ people (including North Moluccas) think that their lingua franca is Indonesian language which is regarded as a Malay language by linguists. Therefore, the contact between Kao language and Ternate Malay language has been occurred for a long time.

Based on the study done, the language contact occurred in two forms, namely vocabulary and structure. In vocabulary dimension, the people of Kao relatively borrow the vocabulary of Ternate Malay. On the other side, however, Ternate Malay also actually borrows other language elements, in this case the Ternate language vocabulary (Djafar et al., 2012).

According to some experts, North Halmahera constitutes a region which has taken the characteristics of Austronesian structure (Voorhoeve 1982) as cited from Foley (1986: 283). What has been said by Voorhoeve seems to have the truth if we carefully notice the structure of Kao language. The researchers on the language of Kao (Arif, 2012; Muslim, 2011; Tondo, 2013) show that the word order in the structure of sentences of Kao language follows the sequence of the Subject-Verb-Object (S-V-O) which is the characteristic of Austronesian language. It means that it is different from the characteristic of the non-Austronesian language in general which has the otherwise characteristic namely S-O-V.

In addition to the structure, other form of contact is in the form of borrowing. The borrowing, words from Ternate Malay could be noticed in the following examples: *falo-falo* 'scoop', *pake* 'wear', *pacol* 'hoe', *diki-diki* 'stick', *karong* 'sack', *popaya* 'papaya', *garamakusu* 'sere', *donga-donga* 'joints', *taong* 'year', *gaba-gaba* 'lungs', *pombo* 'pigeon', *goraka* 'ginger', *jubi*

'arrow', *polulu* 'round', *tusa* 'cat', and *boto-boto* 'grasshopper'.

Like the contact with Ternate Malay, the contact between Indonesian language and Kao language seems to have been for a long time as well and has been in some processes in such a way up to its form in present. It means that in the language use of Kao people, there have been some elements of Indonesian language. Those elements exist in the forms of vocabulary of Indonesian language in the language use of Kao people. In some chances of interviews, some informants did not know the process of how the Indonesian language vocabulary enter and become the custom of communication in Kao language. However, Sneddon (2003), in his book entitled *The Indonesian Language: Its History and Role in Modern Society*, explains the historical, cultural, and linguistic study of Indonesian. According to him, Indonesia is the most linguistically complex nation with more than 500 languages and of these Malay, renamed Indonesian, was chosen to be the sole national and official language. This condition has caused this language to have a large influence on all ethnicities in general. Thus, consciously or not, it has caused linguistic influences on speakers of ethnic languages in almost all regions of Indonesia.

In vocabulary dimension, the influence of Indonesian language on Kao language could be seen in the presence of vocabulary like *bawang* 'onion', *bendera* 'flag', *bahasa* 'language', *durian* 'durian', *adat* 'custom', *soklat* 'chocolate', *puasa* 'fasting', *polisi* 'police', *sunat* 'circumcision', *galas* 'glass', *tampayan* 'crock', *dendeng* 'jerked meat', *cuka* 'vinegar', *madu* 'honey', *minggu* 'week', *awal* 'early', *akhir* 'end', *keris* 'kris', *mas kawin* 'dowry', *nakal* 'naughty', *paku* 'nail', *pasar* 'market', *susu* 'milk', *baca* 'read', *kecap* 'soy sauce', *listrik* 'electricity', *sikolah* 'school', and *sapi* 'cow'. The use of the Indonesian language elements in sentences could be seen in the following sentences:

Bawang kundung oras nena ikali 'Red onion is expensive now'.

Nisi dekos bendera ngawatol 'Hang out a rainbow flag'.

Wasi puasa ipasal ala de toma deai ledi 'Later

4 Today, Moluccas has been divided into Moluccas and North Moluccas provinces. Kao language community is in the territory of North Moluccas Province.

after the fasting month I will work on the garden'.
Tongomi mia wola de dau polisi 'My house is near with the police office'.

By seeing the language contact phenomenon happening in Kao language community, it could be assumed that the cognitive structure of Kao community with the characteristic of non-Austronesian culture has been influenced by the characteristic of Austronesian culture which is caused by the contacts with the languages in the language family. The phenomena like borrowings both in vocabulary and the tendency of word order change in sentences have shown that the contacts of Kao language with other languages have been occurring for a long enough time. Further studies, on the influences of this language contact are very important to be done for advancing the linguistic studies especially on the relation between Austronesian and non-Austronesian in Indonesia.

CLOSING REMARKS

Based on the explanation above, it is found that Kao people have their own linguistic history which shapes the current condition of their language. The environment of where they live has influenced their linguistic configuration, especially for the language use of the young generation. The existence of the Ternate and Ternate Malay language features in the structure of the Kao language is very clear. In short, the Kao language, which is categorized as Papuan language, has been affected by other languages, especially the Austronesian language namely Ternate Malay.

It seems that the result of this study is parallel with Masinambow's findings (1976), especially on the convergence point of view. In his study, it is found that the convergence in terms of syntactic constituents had occurred in Tobelo as a non-Austronesian Language and Sawai as an Austronesian language. It is similar to the result of my study where the convergence happened in the syntactic level as well. In this case, the characteristics or the uses of Ternate and Ternate Malay words have emerged in the syntactical level of the Kao language. Meanwhile, the statement of Yuiti Wada (1980: 187) that Halmahera

is linguistically regarded as the contact point between the two language families has certainly been proven in my study.

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