Creol Potuguese of the Tugu Village: Colonial Heritage in Jakarta Based on the Historical and Linguistic Review

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ABSTRACT: In 1641, the Dutch seized Malacca from Portuguese hands. The Portuguese society, which is left now, occupied the territory of "Kampung" (Village) of Portuguese on the west coast of Malacca. VOC (Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie) has then brought some of them to Batavia to be employed as unskilled laborers and soldiers. At Batavia (now Jakarta), they were forced to convert to Protestantism and the service was held at the Portuguese church outside of the city walls. To defend from attacks of Bantam Sultanate, some of them were placed in Tugu Village, outside of Batavia (now North Jakarta). They form an exclusive community by maintaining the Portuguese Creole language. This paper discusses the historical and linguistics of the Potuguese Creole by a small portion of the population, especially by older generations which were decreased naturally. They had to master the Indonesian language very well since the children entered the Elementary School. From the data contained inscriptions on the tombstone monument next to the church, seen their family names, for example Quiko, Abrahams, Michiels, Andries, Browne, Salomons, and others seem Portuguese influence.

KEY WORD: Portuguese Creole language, Tugu Village, extinction of languages, and historical and linguistic approachs.

INTRODUCTION

This paper reminds my meeting with the late of Mr. Fernando Quiko, as my informant during my language research about Creole Portuguese in *Kampung* (Village) of Tugu, almost seven years ago (interview on 24 January 2004 and 28 November 2004) at Plumpang area, North Jakarta. At the time, it happened on Sunday in the Tugu church, there was the worship service. The church was full with visitors from the Tugu Village. Most of the Church visitors came from Tugu village community itself.

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Before entering the church of Tugu, I stopped at the cemetery next to the church. What interesting is the inscription on the tombstones that almost all wore the name of such families *Quiko, Abrahams, Michiels, Andries, Browne, Salomons,* and others. These are clearly not a Dutch families name or the Moluccas or other ethnic group in Indonesia. These are family names of the Tugu villagers who handed down for generations to generations. At the time of passing villagers said they were admonished that is interesting to remark: "Happy Sunday!", a greeting that is not prevalent in the Jakarta area in general. I was received by Mr. Fernando Quiko, who asked me to come along to his house because I told him that I would like to know more about the community of Tugu Village.

My curiosity about language and culture of the Tugu Village was so large, in this research fortunetly I could collect a number of Creole dialect vocabulary in terms of linguistic which is called the *Creole Portuguese* (Suratminto, n.y.). My vocabulary lists of this language were become more complete because I was allowed to copy the list of words compiled by the father of my informan, Mr. Fernando Quiko.

I often wondered why the Dutch which had taken control of Indonesia for almost four centuries and during this period was certainly no social and cultural relationships that influence each others, and the Dutch language can never become a language of pidgin or language of creole.¹ This question has been answered by Kees Groeneboer in his dissertation entitled *Weg tot het Westen* (1993) which was then translated into Indonesian language by Erasmus Educatief with the title *Jalan ke Barat* or *the Way to the West* (1995).

Pidgin language emerged through a process of learning a second language because of pressure situation such as in plantations, where the slaves from various regions in Africa are employed in one place and they must communicate with their peers in addition to their master. Varieties of language emerge from the process of fossilization and convention (van Bree, 1996:272).

If the language was later inherited by their children and then followed by the development of language, functions of language structure can occur suddenly in one generation or gradually involving future generations, and this process called a process "creolisation". The term *creole* comes from

¹Look *Weg tot het Westen* by Kees Groeneboer (1993:90) whereas he stated as follows, "Als gevolg van de zwakke positie die het Nederlands op de taalkaart van Indië innam, heeft er zich nooit een 'pidgin-Nederlands', laat staan een 'gecreoliseerd Nederlands', ontwikkeld". Clearly, more Dutch people take advantage of the Malays and Portuguese language which has become a common communication tool in this trade and it is more economic.

the French *creole* or from Spanish *criollo* meaning "innate outward". Pidgin language thus also including creole languages.



Figure 1: The Church of *Kampung* Tugu (Source: Document of Lilie Suratminto)

The title of this article is "Creole Portuguese Language in Tugu Village". Since I have not mastered the Portuguese of Tugu Village language, I shall compare the data with the vocabulary of the Portuguese-English / English-Portuguese dictionary with their meaning in Indonesian language. Through this way, we will see how far these changes of the Creole Portuguese of Tugu. The Tugu ancestors came from Portuguese-speaking people from different colonies of the Portuguese in Malacca, Malabar Coast, Calcutta, Surate, Coromandel, Goa, and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Some of them as prisoners of war trafficked to Batavia and they were placed in Tugu Village which was geographically far from Batavia, the influence of Dutch was not so great. *Kampung* Tugu is surrounded by the Betawi people. Their language was influenced by Malay language.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

On the Padrão as a sign of the Portuguese relationship with the Indonesian people. A century before the arrival of the Dutch, Portuguese had made contact with the culture of tribes in this archipelago. As evidence was the discovery of the Padrão stone at the junction between Jalan Cengkeh and Jalan Kali Besar Timur. Padrão was discovered in 1918 when the Dutch East Indies government made a reclamation in this area. This agreement dated on August 21th, 1522 with the signature of the Portuguese officers (Heuken, 1999:49).

Padrão is a monument stone about 2 meters height which was founded by the Portuguese as a sign of having held an agreement with the local king, in this case the King Surawisesa of Pasundan (Pajajaran), in 1522. In the erection of this monument was usually accompanied by salvation ceremonies. The main contents of the agreement were that between these two peoples were friends. They helped each other in order to fight against the Muslims.² Padrão has a lance and the globe symbol, it is a symbol of the discovery of new places that used by King Manuel of Portugal (1495-1521).



Figure 2:

Padrão stone, the token of an agreement between Potuguese and the King of Pajajaran in 1522 (Source: Document of Lilie Suratminto)

At the top of Padrão is the symbol of the order of Christ with the words O (D) and the inscription reads: DSPOR ESFERA, a meaningful: the king of Portugal throws the lance to the whole universe. The signification of the inscription on the Padrão is as follows: (1) The cross is the symbol of the Order of Christ as the successor of the Order of the Temple of Jerusalem

²In the original manuscript reads, among others, thus: "*Em XXI dias do mes d'Agosto era de b XXI annos neste porto de Çumda estamdo ahy Amrrique Leme kapitam na dita viagem omde veyo emviado per Jorge d'Alboquerque capitam de Malaqua com embaxada a el rei de Çumda a fazer comcerto e trato de pazes e amizade ao dito rey de Çumda [...]*". See, for further, Adolf Heuken (1999:48).

in area of the Portuguese king's power; (2) DSPOR acronym stands for *Do Senhario D.S.P.O.R. de Portugal*; (3) ISFERя ^aM^o *Esfera du Mundo* or Espera do Mundo regions of the world/hope of the world; and (4) Sign of the cross as the first line but less clear.

C.L. Guillot questioned abaout the location of this Padrão. He said that Padrão is not in the Sunda Kelapa but in the village of Bantam Girang (cited by Suratminto, 1998). This opinion was disputed by Adolf Heuken (1999:57) based on his paleografi data. This argument should be interesting to investigate the truth. Hopefully, in the future, archaeologists can express an opinion which is true or both are incorrect. Document of the agreement between the Portuguese and the king of Pajajaran were still kept in the archives of Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, Portugal.

On the influence of Portuguese in Indonesia. Since the first arrival of Portuguese to Indonesia as described above, it is certainly happened language and cultural contacts between the Portuguese and the inhabitants of the archipelago. This language contact clearly visible of the number of the Portuguese vocabulary in the Indonesian language on vocabulary lists ever recorded, and published by C.D. Grijns, J.W. de Vries and L. Santa Maria entitled *European Loan-Words in Indonesian: A Check-List of Words of European Origin in Bahasa Indonesia and Traditional Malay*, Leiden: KITLV, Indonesian Etymological Project V (1983).

According to previous research conducted by Antonio Pinto da França (1970) in his book A Influencia Portuguesa na Indonesia (the book was later translated into Indonesian by Pustaka Sinar Harapan in 2000 with the title Pengaruh Portugis di Indonesia or Portuguese Influence in Indonesia). In the Indonesian language today, there is a lot of our vocabulary comes from the Portuguese, for example: *armada* = vehicles, *bola* = ball, *pena* = pen, roda = wheel, ronda = ronda, sisa = rest, tenda = tent, and tinta = ink. There are also experiencing a change of vocabulary words, for example: *algoio* = hangman (algoz), bangku = bench (banco), bantal = pillow (avental), bendera = flag (bandeira), biola = violin (viola), bolu = cake (balo), boneka = doll (boneca), jendela = window (janela), gereja = church (igreja), kaldu = broth (caldo), kantin = canteen (cantina), kemeja = shirt (camisa), kereta = train (carreta), meja = table (mesa), mentega = butter (manteiga), pesiar = cruises (passear), pigura = frame (textures), pita = ribbon (fita), sepatu = shoes (sapato), serdadu or soldadu = soldier (soldado), cerutu = cigars (*charuto*), and *tolol* = fool (*tolo*).

We do not realize that there are a lot of Portuguese vocabulary in the Indonesian language. This shows how great the role of Portuguese in Indonesia before and after the arrival of the Dutch in Indonesia. Keep in mind that without the help of cartographic knowledge of Portuguese and Malay-Portuguese interpreter, it was impossible for the Dutch to set their foot on the Archipelago.

On the arrival of the Dutch and the fall of the Portuguese in Indonesia. The aim of the first arrival of the Dutch in Indonesia in Karangantu, Banten (1596) was to look for spices. Because the trading monopoly of Dutch East Indies Company (VOC, *Vereneegde Oost-Indische Compagnie*), the status of Portuguese in the archipelago started resessive. The mission brought by VOC other than trading is to drive the Portuguese from the region. At that time, the Dutch Republic Seven States Union (*Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden*) is being fought against Spain in the 80 years war (*de tachtig jaarig oorlog*) in which Portugal fell to Spain and later be united with Spain. Portuguese thus automatically become the enemy of the Dutch and the several Dutch trade offices in Lisbon moved to the Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Middelburg, etc. (Heuken, 2000a).

In the year 1641, after a long blockade of the Portuguese fort at Malacca, VOC could finally capture Malacca. In the year 1657, following the fall of Malabar, Gujarat, and Sri Lanka, Governor-General Alfonso d'Albuquerque survived in Goa. In Indonesia, the Portuguese, after the fall of Sultan Hasanuddin of Makassar (1667) into Dutch hands, survived in East Timor (Heuken, 1996a; 1996b; and 2000b).

On the Mardyker groups and their residence. At the time of the fall of Malacca, Coromandel, Sri Lanka, and other Indian coast into the hands of the VOC, a lot of prisoners from the Portuguese who were transported to Batavia. Because of these were Roman Catholics, following the VOC legislation, they should not be used as slaves. They were free men, in Sanskrits means *mahardikha*. The Dutch people called them *Mardyker* (old spelling) and then became *Mardijker* (new spelling). In the Indonesian spelling, *Mardeiker* may be more appropriate. In a national movement of Indonesia (since the beginning of the 20th century) said that *mardijker* then chosen to become *merdeka* or independent, but its connotation is different with the prisoners of war from this Portuguese colony.

Mardyker people were living outside of the Castle of Batavia, and they should worship in Protestant church that is located outside the walls of Batavia (now Zion Church located on Jalan Pangeran Jayakarta). VOC used them as a shield of Batavia if there was an attack from outside the fortress of Batavia (Heuken, 2003). Zion Church was later called the Portuguese church outside the walls *Portugeesche Buitenkerk*. For church services were still in Portuguese, a language understood by them and many people of Batavia, Malays, and *Nederduits* (Dutch). Portuguese language was, at

that time, used as everyday language. Some of the *Mardeikers* asked for permission to live outside of Batavia. They are allowed to stay in *Kampung* Tugu or Tugu Village (now *Kampung* Semper in North Jakarta). This is very exciting because the *Mardeiker* can be used by the Company as a shield against attacks of Bantam.



Figure 3: The *Mardykers* familiy at Tugu Village in the 17th century (Source: Document of Lilie Suratminto)

Therefore, they are armed. Those who live among other Quiko family, Abrahams, Michiels, Andries, Browne, Salomon, and others as mentioned above. They formed a Tugu community, with there is non standard Portuguse as their language because a lot of changing, especially the use of everyday vocabulary. The worship service was until some time still in Portuguese. Leydecker, a Dutch government pastor, was allowed by the highest VOC to worship in Tugu Church in the Malay language.

From Mardyker through the community of Tugu. The people of the Tugu Village, in its development, show the characteristics of group identity, because they have the same historical background. This village, in the colonial period, was isolated with the surrounding area. Therefore, they were in a long time to maintain their group identity. This is still visible in the social life of their culture. They have also a strong religious group and, therefore, they form a group of isolated and not easily accept the group from

outside. They now embrace Protestant Christianity with the characterized Tugu community.



Figure 4: Mandi-mandi ceremony (Source: Document of Lilie Suratminto)

They used to be forced by the Dutch government into the flow of Calvinist Protestant Christianity which different greatly from the Roman Catholic religion they professed. This is apparent for example in the funeral ceremony and their attitude towards the buried of their familiy. They place an oil lamp in the tomb that lit continuously 40 days long. This behave is not contained in the teachings of Protestantism, may be possible in the Catholic religion or maybe it is the influence of their ancestors.

At the time of Christmas celebrations, they have to follow the ritual procedures before the guests entered the house and shook hands with the host. They have also to say this sentence:

Bi singku dia Desember, nasedu di nos sior, nos sior jabina mundu. Libra nos pekador, unga annti di kinta ferra assi klar kuma dia unga anju di nos sior assi grandi di allegria, ashi mes ku bosso ter, dies Lobu sua da bida kompredu lo-dapang kria so podeer, santu justru.

It means:

On December 25, God gave his only Son, the savior so is that whoever believes in Him should not perish, but eternal life, and we should be allowed to put my trust in Him.

After shaking the hands, the guests were invited in to enjoy the meal. In their Christmas celebrations are not allowed to drink liquor, and they sang the spiritual chants only. After the New Year celebrations in the church, the young people play the Tugu *keroncong* music that strongly influenced by Portuguese music. They are dancing and drinking. The New Year's event takes place every day for one week. At the closing party on the seventh day, they make a party called *mandi-mandi*, a shower-bath party. In this party, the young people, or in the local language be called *Viluvilu-vilavila*, accompanied with their music each other rub the powder into the face of the opposite sex.

On the distribution of the Tugu population. There was a wealthy landowner in Cilincing at the time of the Company named Justinus Vink. He presented the land for the church that established on 21th July 1647. As mention above, the worship was in the beginning in Portuguese language only, but later held in the Malay language. The use of this language was supported by the publication of the *New Testament* in Malay language translated by Malchior Leydecker in Amsterdam (Groeneboer, 1993:24 and 54).³

The Tugu community was experiencing the peak of its power at the time of pastor Capitein Jonker Leiydeckers that settled in this village. Influence of these two was very large, ranging from the village of Mango, Pejongkoran (probably from the word *Jonker*), Cilincing, Marunda, and Tugu. Therefore, until nowadays, there are still traces of the sacred relics of Captain Jonker in Pejongkoran. Since the death of both figures, the Tugu Village is declining. Many residents moved to Batavia, because their children have to go to Dutch school and then they became the Dutch citizens. The attention of the Tugu residents, who live outside the Tugu Village, is very less. This is understandable since they moved from this village to find a new life in order to survive and be able to educate their children.

With so many immigrants from Manado, Ambon, and east part of Indonesia, including teachers who are living in Tugu Village, then in the 19th century with the mediator of clergyman Leimena, they entered as the Dutch East Indies citizen, and at the time of independence be Indonesian citizen. In the period before World War II (1939-1945), the young men of Tugu who sign up as a Colonial Army Soldiers or KNIL (*het Koninklijk Nederlands Indische Leger*). They can only be accepted as a native soldiers or *de inheemse soldaat*.

On the music of Tugu community. For the fans of *keroncong* music surely they know *Mina Bobo* and *Keroncong Moresco*, these twoo songs were arranged by the Tugu people and most populer during the revolution

³*New Testament* book translation in the language of Malay by Malchior Leydecker published in Amsterdam, Netherlands, in 1731.

of Indonesian independence after World War II (Quiko, n.y.a. and n.y.b.). At that moment, how proud the fighters and the Indonesian people when they listened to the gold voice of the Indonesian *keroncong* singer, Miss Netty, broadcasted from the Voice of America (VOA). Of course, there are many patriotic songs like *Selendang Sutera* (Silk Shawl), *Sepasang Mata Bola* (A Pair of Eye Balls), *Rangkaian Melati* (Chain of Jasmine), etc.⁴



Figure 5: Fernando Quiko, the Manager of Tugu *Kroncong* (Source: Document of Lilie Suratminto)

Examples of children's play songs are as follows:

Tugu Creole Language:	Indonesian Language:
Yan kagè léti.	Yan buang air susu. (John throws milk)
Trees pedra keenti.	<i>Tiga batu panas</i> . (Three heat stones)
Ladang busi kampu.	Siapa jahatkan mantu. (Who tease doughter in law)
Boi thing picadu.	Maling ganggu di tanah lapang. (Thief disturbs in the field)
Tróng ku thing.	Bui ada tertutup. (The jail is closed)
Tróng ku èbèrtu.	Penjara ada terbuka. (The prison is opened)
Eru éru sinyo kaber jèru.	Ayo ayo kami bersorak. (Lets we applause)
Cirmel isté tèra.	Ciremai ini negri. (This is Ciremai state)
Tambur labe géra.	Tambur bikin rusuh. (The drum makes crowded)
Ja tokka piloor.	Kalau kena pelor. (If hits by bullet)
Ja bira bandè.	Terbalik bandera. (The flag be upside down)
Isa pusa naris di justisa.	Tarik-tarik hidung di hukuman. (Stretch the nose be
	punished)
Di dèra di dèra.	Lihat tetamu lagi datang. (Look the guests come)
Taflak fól figèra.	Buka taplak daun pisang. (Open tablecloth of banana leaf)
Unga rabana unga gitèra.	Satu rebana satu gitar. (One tambourine one guitar)
Unga alfada unga istèra.	Satu bantal satu tikar. (One pillow one plain mat)
Source: IKBT (Ikatan Keluar	ga Besar Tugu), 1995:21

⁴See an article on "Keroncong Kampung Toegoe" in magazine of *Sarinah* (Jakarta: 25 March 1991), p.115.

THE PORTUGUESE CREOLE OF TUGU VILLAGE

There are many attentions about the Portuguese Creole of Tugu Village and it has been studied and reviewed by language experts from the existence of their community in Batavia, among others, by Hugo Schuhardt (1891) entitled *Kreolische Studien IX: Über das Malaioportugiesische von Batavia und Tugu*. Hugo Schuhardt gave some examples of Portuguese vocabulary combined with other vocabularies. He gave for this language the term *Creole Malaioportugiesischen*. It was paralelized with the nature of language in Spanish-speaking community Tagalok, *Tagalosspanischen*, in the Philippine (Schuhardt, 1891:147).

Dutch people, in politics, were reluctant to develop their language to the indigenous people based on the political and economic reasons. They let the Portuguese and the Malays equally develop in the middle of their official language communities, *the Nederduits*. It created thus problems for the preachers who broadcasted their religion at that time. Benkhoff in Depok (1884) called the Portuguese language in Tugu, *the Portuguese dialect of Tugu* (as cited by Schuhardt, 1891). Based on the language situation in Batavia was so complicated the state paublisher (stadsdrukker in Tijgergracht – now Jalan Cengkeh – aan de Westzijden), in 1780 published a dictionary entitled *Nieuwe Woordenschat-uyt het Nederduitsch in het Gemeene Maleidsch en Portugeesch, zeer Gemakkelyk voor die Eerst op Batavia Komen.*

On May 15th, 1778 the Castle of Batavia had issued an order to publish a guide book in Dutch, Portuguese, and Malay languages. As a result, there were reprints of the Portuguese-Dutch dictionary by Allewijn en Colle.⁵ Seeing that language situation in Batavia in the 17th and 18th centuries was dominated by the language of Malay, Portuguese, and Dutch were the possibilities that the Portuguese language in Tugu Village was more influenced by the Dutch and Malay languages. At the time of the Dutch language began to dominate the language of government in the next centuries, followed by the disappearance of the Portuguese language, the language user community was capable of practical urgency and maintain until at some point for Tugu community that has a historical relationship and most closely with the Portuguese in the 16th century. Considering place in Tugu community outside the walls of Batavia, and if it may say a geographically isolated areas, marshy land, wet, and isolated from the daily interactions with the central government, they could maintain their language.

⁵See archive on the *Register op de Generale Resolution van het Casteel Batavia, 1632-1805, III.*

After the Dutch left Indonesia, and especially following the highway infrastructure Tugu-Tanjung Priok port, which was built by the Dutch government before World War II, the Tugu area start crowded and many settlers and settlements around the increasingly crowded, it was difficult for them to maintain their purity Portuguese Creole language.⁶

Language which the number of users in 1940 amounted to 300 people and at the Japanese occupation era had grown to 400 people, now left 40-50 people only. From this data, it can be predicted that this language is very difficult to maintain their existence. Now, only those users who are elderly could speak their Creole Portuguese language. Their children would attend public school in the surrounding areas and thought in the Indonesian language and this combined with intermarriage with people of Java, Ambon, Manado, and others who, of course, speak in Indonesian language.

To provide a clear describing of Creole Portuguese language, hereinafter *Portugis of Tugu*, the following will be shown several examples of Portuguese of Tugu vocabulary compared with Original Portuguese language. To the Portuguese of Tugu language likely come from Malay or Dutch languages are marked with an asterisk.⁷

Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:	Origional Portuguese:
air mata	olu soelager	rasgalo
badan	korpo	corpo
batok kepala	miolu	-
belakang	kosta	costas
bibir	besu	labio, borda
buah pelir	kote	-
buah pinggang	nier*	rim
butuh / pelir	kote / cuni	penis
dagu	barba	parente
dahi	testa	testa

Nominal

⁶Jalan Raya Tanjung Priok-Tugu developed by D.V.O. (*Divisie Voor de Oorlog*) of the Dutch-East Indies. See Adolf Heuken (1996a; 1996b; and 2000b).

⁷For the research, I used many dictionaries such as James L. Taylor (1963), *A Portuguse-English Dictionary*, California: Institute of Hispanic American and Luso-Brazilian Studies, Stanford University Press, second edition; Maria Fernanda Allen (1994), *Portuguese Dictionary (Portuguese-English/English-Portuguese)*, London: Plantin Intype; and Susi Moeimam & Hein Steinhauer (2004), *Nederlands-Indonesisch Woordenboek*, Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij.

hajat	merdah	desejo
hidung	nares	nariz
ingus	ranyoh	-
kentut	sedu	-
kepala	kabesa	cabeça
kumis	bril	bigode
lambung / pinggang	bras, kadera	-
lendir (reak)	salober	-
lubang hidung	burako nares	narina
lubang pantat	burako oldiko	-
ludah	kuspi	saliva
mata	olu	olho
muka	korto	cara, rosto
mulut	boka	boca
pantat	oldiko	fundo, traserio
pipi	rostu	bochecha, discaramento
pusar	imbigo	umbigo
rambut	kabelu	cabelo
rongga mulut	denter boka	gaita
suara	tuada	saudavel
tahi telinga	merda orela	-
telinga	orela	orelha
tulang belakang	osu kosta	-

For further this vocabulary, list is given only in the *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian Language) and its equivalent in the language of Creole Portuguese of Tugu as follows:

Nominal

Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu :	Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:
adat	lajistil	kuku binatang	unyah animal
adik	adi*	kulit	peli
air	agu	kulit	kaska
air bah	agu funda	kulit buah	kaska
air seni	mijuh	kulit kayu	kaska pao
alang-alang	erba ispinyo	kulit kerang	kaska kerang
alat tenun	luga faji	kumbang	bandu fitu
alu	pilang so olu, filu*	kunang-kunang	kunang-kunang
ampas	ampas*	kupas	limpa

	<i>(</i> 1) <i>1</i>	1 1	1 1 4
anak binatang	filo animal	kupu-kupu	kupu-kupu*
anak bungsu	vilu piklina	kura-kura	kaudu
anak gadis	vila-vila	kutu	piolu*
anak kembar	pilodo	kutu anjing	piolu kocor
anak muda	jenti masegu	laba-laba	andua
anak sulung	vilu gerandi	labu air	bobrah rond*
anak-anak muda laki-laki dan	vilu-vilu-vila-vila	labu manis	bobrah
perempuan			
angin	bentu	lading, sawah	lugar tara, naseko
angin ribut	bentu drai*	lalat	moska
ani-ani	ani-ani*	lalat besar	moska grandi
anjing	kacor	landak	ratu sera
api	fogu	landasan	lugar dali
arang	karbang	langit	seau
asah	asah,* rusah	lantai, dasar	mio kaju
asap	sinja	laut	mar
atap, sirap	tela, atap*	layar	kabel
ayam betina	gali yemai	layar(tiang layer)	furkila
ayam jantan	galu	lebah	mel
babi	forku*	lebah penyengat	bandu
babi hutan	forku matu	lesung, lumpang	pilang so olu
bagian pohon kelapa	fruta koku	lintah	asmuga
bajing (tupai)	atu alber	lipas	kakerlak*
baju perempuan dan laki-laki	kabaya*	loteng	solder*
bakul	sestu, bakul*	luka	frida
balairung /aula	kaju kompu	lumbung padi	lugar neli
bale-bale	tratak*	lumut	moli
bambu	bambu*	luwak	ratu matu
bangku	bangku*	madu lebah	suker mel*
bangku kecil	bangku piklino	mahal	karuh
bangsa / kaum	nasang	makam	tara jenti nako
bantal kepala	alpada	makam	tara jenti nakoba
bapak	pai	makanan	komeria
bara api	senja	mangga	mangga*
barang dagangan	fatur per bende	manik-manik	kote-kote
batang padi	ram neli	martil	macadi
batas (perhinggaan)	watas*	mata air	olu ogu
batu	pedra	matahari	sol
			-

bayar	paga	mayang padi	ram neli
bedil, senapan	senapang* (spinggada)	menang	aca, ganya
bekas luka	rasto frida	menantu	jenda
bekas tapak kaki	rastu piah	тепетра	dali
belalang	balang*	mertua	suger omi
belanga	panela	minyak	ajiti
beli	nungku ganya	moncong binatang	naris animal
belirang	colak	monyet	baling ceru
belut, moa	india	mulut binatang	boka animal
benteng	lugar bakia	murah	bratu
beras	askura	musuh	makalai
bersetubuh (binatang)	intofa	nampan, baki	lugar bebe
bersetubuh (manusia)	tomarido	nangka	nagka*
besi	ver	nasi	aros
biawak	udumbu	nenek	tyang
bibit padi	lote neli	nira, tuak	saguer
biji buah	kote fruta	nyaman / segar	bong / saodi
bilik, kamar	kamber	nyamuk	muskito*
binatang	animal	nyanyian	kanta
bintang	istrela	nyawa / roh / jiwa	alma
biruang	biruang*	nyiru	supu
bisul	pateka	obat	mijina
blimbing	blimbing*	ombak (gelombang)	ombak*
blimbing asam	blimpiklina	orang bangsawan	jenti garendi
blimbing manis	blimbing dosi	orang tua laki-laki	belu
buah	fruta*	orang yang punya hutang	jenti dibda
buah psiang	fruta pigu	orang-orang tua	jenti belu-belu
buaya	largati	pacul	mamoti
bubu	bubu*	padang gurun	lugar erba
bubur	noli	padi belum diketam	neli indana korta
bubur nasi	aros noli	padi belum masak (masih muda)	inda tender
bubur sagu, pepeda	saguer moli	padi tua (siap panen)	cuku* belu
bukit	sera piklino	pagar	pagar*
bulan	lungar	paha	perna
	kabelu	paman / bibi	mu / mi
bulu			,
bulu bulu	kabelu*	pandai besi	sirbis ver

bumibarpara-paratratak*bungafulapasang apisande foguburingfulapasarbojarburungpasterpasirariaburung bangauhanse paderpati sagu, sagusaguer*burung bangauhanse paderpati sagu, sagusaguer*burung darapombapedangkatanaburung elanggabyanpelangisinalburung elanggabyanpelangisinalburung gagakgralapelangisinalburung kantukrujapelita, lampulampu*burung kasauripaster papakai*pelorpilor*burung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelirupolberburung nuripaster kasuari*penipejtjipit*burung pipitpaster kasuari*penipejtjipit*burung puyuhpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperangbrigucacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacardorduenti grandpetimatikosancacardorduenti grandpeti-peti, rangganeli sumaicacarciliperangkapperipegacacardorduenti grandpeti-peti, rangganeli sumaicacardorduenti grandpeti-peti, rangganeli sumaicacingmiokaperegelangan tanganrantmao	bumbung, buluh air	lugar	parang, pedang	katana
bungafulapasang apisande foguburitan (perahu)tras perahu*pasarbajarburungpasterpasirariaburung bangauhanse paderpati sagu, sagusaguer*burung bayanpaster bayan*patungdonaburung darapombapedangkatanaburung darapombapedangkatanaburung elanggabyangpelandukpancilangburung aggangpaster enggong*pelandukpancilangburung kakaktuapaster papakai*pelorpilor*burung kakaktuapaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kakaktuapaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kakaktuapaster kasuari*penyu kaudukaudu marburung piltpaster kasuari*penyu kaudukaudu marburung piltpaster kiumi relipenyu kaudukaudu marburung puyuhpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperakpratacabang, dahanrampergengacacarcacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacarcarduenti grandperimyananammaocakarralapetimasang*cacardorduenti grandperimyannamkacacardorduenti grandperimatikosancerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacu		bar	para-para	tratak*
buritan (perahu)tras perahu*pasarbajarburungpasterpasirariaburung bangauhanse paderpati sagu, sagusaguer*burung bangauhanse paderpati sagu, sagusaguer*burung bangaupaster bayan*patungdonaburung darapombapedangkatanaburung elanggabyangpelabuhanroaburung elanggabyangpelandukpancilangburung gagakgralapelangisinalburung hantukrujapelita, lampulampu*burung kakaktuapaster papakai*pelorpilor*burung kerutpaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kerutpaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung pipitpaster nori*pematang (gili-gili)galang*burung pipitpaster ki kumi relipenjepitjipit*burung serinditpaster serindit*perahupratacabang, dahanramperagacacarcacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacarciliperagaramaoocakarralapeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeki, toke*peti-geti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, magkukpring *daging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardamma	bunga	fula		
burung bangauhanse paderpati sagu, sagusaguer*burung bangaupaster bayan*patungdonaburung darapombapedangkatanaburung daragombapelangkatanaburung elanggabyangpelabuhanroaburung enggangpaster enggong*pelangisinalburung gagakgralapelita, lampulampu*burung hantukrujapelita, lampulampu*burung kasuaripaster papakai*pelorpilor*burung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kerutpaster kasuari*pelitijipit*burung pipitpaster kasuari*penipipitjipit*burung pipitpaster nori*pernyu kaudukaudu marburung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperakpratacabang, dahanramperangbrigucakarcaliperangkappergegacacardorduenti grandpereglangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpinangarekacuunetapinangarekacuunetapinangarekacuunetapinangarekacacardamarpinangpohon damardaging, ikankarnipisau <td>buritan (perahu)</td> <td>tras perahu*</td> <td>pasar</td> <td>bajar</td>	buritan (perahu)	tras perahu*	pasar	bajar
burung bayanpaster bayan*patungdonaburung darapombapedangkatanaburung elanggabyangpelabuhanroaburung enggangpaster enggong*pelandukpancilangburung gagakgralapelangisinalburung hantukrujapelita, lampulampu*burung kasuaripaster papakai*pelorpilor*burung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kasuaripaster kerutpematang (gili-gili)galang*burung pipitpaster kerutpenippitjipit*burung pipitpaster kerutpenippitjipit*burung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperangbrigucabang, dahanramperangkapperpegacacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacingmiokapergelangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cacuunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringpirag*damardamar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon damaralber kapok*dapur tukang besivugang verpohon kapualber kapok*daunfolapohon kapualber kapok*	burung	paster	pasir	aria
burung darapombapedangkatanaburung elanggabyangpelabuhanroaburung enggangpaster enggong*pelandukpancilangburung aggakgralapelangisinalburung hantukrujapelita, lampulampu*burung kakutuapaster papakai*pelorpilor*burung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kerutpaster karutpematang (gili-gili)galang*burung puripaster karutpemimpin agamapaderburung puyuhpaster ki kumi relipenjepitjipit*burung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperahupatacabang, dahanramperaggangpeti matikasang*cacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacarralapetimatikosancecakarralapeti peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring granti*dagingkarnipintuportadaging, kaankarni, pespiringpiring*damardamar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon arenpohon aren, alberaren*damaralber dammaradamardapurtugangpohon kapokalber gaga*<	burung bangau	hanse pader	pati sagu, sagu	saguer*
burung elanggabyangpelabuhanroaburung enggangpaster enggong*pelandukpancilangburung gagakgralapelangisinalburung hantukrujapelita, lampulampu*burung kakaktuapaster papakai*pelorpilor*burung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelita, jipit*burung pitipaster ki kumi relipenjepitjipit*burung puyuhpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperangbrigucabang, dahanramperangbrigucacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekaduging, ikankarnipintupohon arendamardamar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon arenalber glaga*daratlugar altopohon kapokalber kapok*daunfolapohon kelapaalber klapa*	burung bayan	paster bayan*	patung	dona
burung enggangpaster enggong*pelandukpancilangburung gagakgralapelangisinalburung hantukrujapelita, lampulampu*burung kakaktuapaster papakai*pelorpilor*burung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kerutpaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kerutpaster kerutpematang (gili-gili)galang*burung pipitpaster kikmi relipenjepitjipit*burung pupuhpaster baarpenyu kaudukaudu marburung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperagpratacabang, dahanramperangkapperpegacacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacarralapetikasang*cakarralapetikasang*cacarkjikokpeti, rangganeli sumaicecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipinangareekaduaudamar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon arenpohon aren, alberdapur tukang besivugang verpohon damaralber dammardapurtugar altopohon keyaalber gag	burung dara	pomba	pedang	katana
burung gagakgralapelangisinalburung hantukrujapelita, lampulampu*burung kakaktuapaster papakai*pelorpilor*burung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kasuaripaster kerutpematang (gili-gili)galang*burung kerutpaster kerutpemimpin agamapaderburung pipitpaster ki kumi relipenjepitjipit*burung serinditpaster baarpenyu kaudukaudu marburung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandiburung serinditgalang marperakpratacabang, dahanramperangbrigucacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacardorduenti grandpetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*daging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardamar*pisaupakadapurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber gaga*darahsanggipohon kapokalber gaga*darahsanggipohon kapokalber gaa*	burung elang	gabyang	pelabuhan	roa
burung hantukrujapelita, lampulampu*burung kakaktuapaster papakai*pelorpilor*burung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kerutpaster kerutpematang (gili-gili)galang*burung nuripaster nori*pemimpin agamapaderburung pipitpaster ki kumi relipenjepitjipit*burung serinditpaster baarpenyu kaudukaudu marburung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandiburung serinditgalang marperakpratacabang, dahanramperangbrigucacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacarmiokapergelangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecik, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringmare*damardamar*pisaupakadamardamar*pisaupakadamardamar*pisaupakadarahsanggipohon damaralber dammardapurtugang verpohon glagahalber glaga*daratlugar alto <t< td=""><td>burung enggang</td><td>paster enggong*</td><td>pelanduk</td><td>pancilang</td></t<>	burung enggang	paster enggong*	pelanduk	pancilang
burung kakaktuapaster papakai*pelorpilor*burung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kerutpaster kerutpematang (gili-gili)galang*burung nuripaster nori*pemimpin agamapaderburung pipitpaster ki kumi relipenjepitjipit*burung puyuhpaster baarpenyu kaudukaudu marburung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperakpratacabang, dahanramperangbrigucacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacardorduenti grandpereglangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*daging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardamar*pisaupakadamardamar*pisaupakadamartugan guverpohon arenpohon aren, alber aren*daunfolapohon kapokalber kapok*daunfolapohon kapaalber kapa*	burung gagak	grala	pelangi	sinal
burung kasuaripaster kasuari*pelurupolberburung kerutpaster kerutpematang (gili-gili)galang*burung nuripaster nori*pemimpin agamapaderburung pipitpaster ki kumi relipenjepitjipit*burung puyuhpaster baarpenyu kaudukaudu marburung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperakpratacabang, dahanramperangbrigucacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacingmiokapergelangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcininanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*daging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardammar*pisaupakadamartugangpohon arenpohon aren, alber aren*dapurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapur tukang besivugang verpohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kapaalber kapok*daunfolapohon kelapaalber kapa*	burung hantu	kruja	pelita, lampu	lampu*
burung kerutpaster kerutpematang (gili-gili)galang*burung nuripaster nori*pemimpin agamapaderburung pipitpaster ki kumi relipenjepitjipit*burung puyuhpaster baarpenyu kaudukaudu marburung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperakpratacabang, dahanramperangbrigucabeciliperangkapperpegacacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacingmiokapergelangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadagingkarnipintuportadapurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber glaga*darahsanggipohon kapokalber kapok*daunfolapohon kelapaalber klapa*	burung kakaktua	paster papakai*	pelor	pilor*
burung nuripaster nori*pemimpin agamapaderburung pipitpaster ki kumi relipenjepitjipit*burung puyuhpaster baarpenyu kaudukaudu marburung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperakpratacabang, dahanramperangbrigucabeciliperangkapperpegacacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacingmiokapergelangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber kapok*darahsanggipohon kapokalber kapok*	burung kasuari	paster kasuari*	peluru	polber
burung pipitpaster ki kumi relipenjepitjipit*burung puyuhpaster baarpenyu kaudukaudu marburung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperakpratacabang, dahanramperangbrigucabeciliperangkapperpegacacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipinuportadamardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kapualber kapa*	burung kerut	paster kerut	pematang (gili-gili)	galang*
burung puyuhpaster baarpenyu kaudukaudu marburung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperakpratacabang, dahanramperangbrigucabeciliperangkapperpegacacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacingmiokapergelangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadamardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kapualber kapa*	burung nuri	paster nori*	pemimpin agama	pader
burung serinditpaster serindit*perahu (jukung)perahu garandibusung lautgalang marperahuperahupratacabang, dahanramperangbrigucabeciliperangkapperpegacacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacingmiokapergelangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadamardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber kapok*darahsanggipohon kapokalber kapok*daunfolapohon kelapaalber klapa*	burung pipit	paster ki kumi reli	penjepit	jipit*
busung lautgalang marperakpratacabang, dahanramperangbrigucabeciliperangkapperpegacacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacingmiokapergelangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadamardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kapualber kapok*daunfolapohon kapaalber klapa*	burung puyuh	paster baar	penyu kaudu	kaudu mar
cabang, dahanramperangbrigucabeciliperangkapperpegacacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacingmiokapergelangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardammar*pisaupakadapurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapur tukang besivugang verpohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kapualber paodaunfolapohon kapaalber klapa*	burung serindit	paster serindit*	perahu (jukung)	perahu garandi
cabeciliperangkapperpegacacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacingmiokapergelangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadamardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber glaga*darahsanggipohon kapokalber kapok*daunfolapohon kapaalber klapa*	busung laut	galang mar	perak	prata
cacardorduenti grandperempuan tuabelacacingmiokapergelangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringpisaudamardammar*pisaupakadanu, telagalugar agupohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber kapok*darahsanggipohon kapokalber kapok*daunfolapohon kelapaalber klapa*	cabang, dahan	ram	perang	brigu
cacingmiokapergelangan tanganrammaocakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*danardammar*pisaupakadanu, telagalugar agupohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kapaalber kapa*	cabe	cili	perangkap	perpega
cakarralapetikasang*cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon arenpohon aren, alberapurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kelapaalber klapa*	cacar	dorduenti grand	perempuan tua	bela
cawatkalsangpeti matikosancecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon arenpohon aren, alberaqurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kapaalber klapa*	cacing	mioka	pergelangan tangan	rammao
cecak, kadal, tokejeko, toke*peti-peti, rangganeli sumaicerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardammar*pisaupakadanu, telagalugar agupohon arenpohon aren, alber aren*dapurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapur tukang besivugang verpohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kapaalber klapa*	cakar	rala	peti	kasang*
cerita / kisahrejangpilekranyohcincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon arenpohon aren, alber aren*dapurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber glaga*daratlugar altopohon kapaalber klapa*	cawat	kalsang	peti mati	kosan
cincinanelapinangarekacucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon arenpohon aren, alber aren*dapurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber glaga*darahsanggipohon kapokalber paodaunfolapohon kelapaalber klapa*	cecak, kadal, toke	jeko, toke*	peti-peti, rangga	neli sumai
cucunetapinggan, mangkukpring grandi*dagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon arenpohon aren, alber aren*dapurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapurtugangpohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kapaalber kapa*	cerita / kisah	rejang	pilek	ranyoh
dagingkarnipintuportadaging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon arenpohon aren, alber aren*dapurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapur tukang besivugang verpohon glagahalber glaga*darahsanggipohon kapokalber kapok*daunfolapohon kelapaalber klapa*	cincin	anela	pinang	areka
daging, ikankarni, pespiringpiring*damardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon arenpohon aren, alber aren*dapurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapur tukang besivugang verpohon glagahalber glaga*darahsanggipohon kapokalber kapok*daunfolapohon kelapaalber klapa*	сиси	neta	pinggan, mangkuk	pring grandi*
damardammar*pisaupakadanau, telagalugar agupohon arenpohon aren, alber aren*dapurtugangpohon damaralber dammardapur tukang besivugang verpohon glagahalber glaga*darahsanggipohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kapaalber paodaunfolapohon kelapaalber klapa*	daging	karni	pintu	porta
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dapur tukang besivugang verpohon glagahalber glaga*darahsanggipohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kayualber paodaunfolapohon kelapaalber klapa*	danau, telaga	lugar agu	pohon aren	•
darahsanggipohon kapokalber kapok*daratlugar altopohon kayualber paodaunfolapohon kelapaalber klapa*	dapur	tugang	pohon damar	alber dammar
daratlugar altopohon kayualber paodaunfolapohon kelapaalber klapa*	dapur tukang besi	vugang ver	pohon glagah	alber glaga*
daun fola pohon kelapa alber klapa*	darah	sanggi	pohon kapok	alber kapok*
	darat	lugar alto	pohon kayu	alber pao
daun kelapa pol klapa* pohon lontar alber lontar	daun	fola	pohon kelapa	alber klapa*
	daun kelapa	pol klapa*	pohon lontar	alber lontar

danna	nahiaa	nohon nin-h	albon ata=*
dayung	nabiga	pohon nipah	alber atap*
denda	pagu*	pohon pandan	alber pandan*
denda menurut adat		pohon pisang	alber pigu
dinding	pagar*	pohon rumbia	alber rumbia*
disiksa menurut adat	kastiga	pohon sukun	alber sukun
dosa	pekador	nondok	gubuk*
duku	juku*	pondok	-
	,	pulau raja / orang kaya	kumpuna miu mar
dunia orang mati	mundu jenti more		re house a
duri	ispinyo	ranjau	borang
durian	duriang*	rantang	lugar kukis
ekor	rabu	rawa	rawa*
emas	oru	rayap	aria
emas kawin	doykaya	rebung	rebung*
embun	seren	rimba raya	matu sertuh
galih kayu	korsang pao	rotan	rotang*
gambir	gamber*	rugi	nungku ganya
garam	sal	rumah	kaju
gasing	drai*	rumah berhala / kuil	kaju diabo
gelang	gelang*	rumput	erba
gelas	laba	rupa-rupa ikan	pesang-pesang pes
gempa bumi	buli cang	rupa-rupa kacang (buncis)	garang
gerhana bulan	kres* lungar	rupa-rupa tikus	ratu*
gerhana matahari	kres * sol	rupa-rupa ubi	batata
getah	lem*	rusa	biadi
gonggong	gonggong*	sabit, arit	parang*
gorango	hiu*	sagu baker, sagu lempeng	sagu asa*
guntur, geledek	donder*	sakit	dore
gunung	sera	saku, pundit-pundi	saku*
haluan (perahu)	dianti perahu*	sapi	baka
hamba (abdi dalem)	•	sapu tangan, ikat kepala	lengsu
hamil	prinyah	sarang	sarang*
harga	preju	sarung	panu
hilang	dios	sarung dukung	panu kumfridu
hilir	menmar	sarung pedang	kaska katana
hujan	сиа	saudagar	omi bende
hutan	matu	saudara / famili	arenti
hutang	dibda	sayur	bredu
писину	uibuu	Suyui	bicuu

ibu	mai	sekam padi	kaska neli
ibu jari (jempol)	dedu grandi	semangat	ekspristo
ijuk padi (merang)	macika neli	semut	furmingga
ikan	pes	sendok	kuler
ikan pari	pes kaskadu	sepupu (misan)	kosen
induk ayam	moi galinya	serambi, beranda	beranda*
ipar laki-laki	konyadu	seruling	fluit*
ipar perempuan	konyadu muler	siku	punyadu
isi	inci	siput	mati
isi buah	karni fruta	sirih	beter
istri	muler	sodet (untkuk goring)	tiansi
itik, bebek	adi	suami	maridu muler
jala, jaring	redi	suluh	obor*
jalan air	sorta agu	sungai	riu
jambu	goyaba	susu sapi	leti bakali
jamur	jamur*	talam, baki, dulang	dulang*
jarum	jarum*	tali	kordali
jembatan	fonti	tali hutan	alber korda
jendela	janela*	tanah	bar
jeruk	palmpamos	tanah datar	bai largo
kabut	cua seren	tanaman	tarado
kai seribu	kuja kumbridu	tandan buah	ram fruta
kain	panu	tanduk	rangga
kain tenunan	luga faji	tangan	mao*
kakak	bung*	tangga	iskada
kakek	tata	tanjung	punca
kaki binatang	pioh animal	tarum	blau*
kalah, ewas	jakore	tawanan	toka muda
kalung	kote-kote	tebu	kangsaker
kambing	kabra	teka-teki	bade-bade*
kampung	kompu	telapak tangan	dedu pioh
kandang babi	lugar kria	teluk	punca
kapak	makadi	telur	obu
kapur	cunambu	telur kutu (lingsa)	obu piolu
karang laut	pedra mar	teman	kambrado*
karpus rumah	riba kaju	tembaga	kobri*
kaso	kaso*	tembak	ponta
kayu	рао	tembakau	tabaku*
kayu api	paa fogu	tempurung	cireta
kedai, toko	butika*	tenggiling	tenggiling*
kelelawar (paniki)	morsegu	terbit bulan	lungar saai
	0		5

kelingking	iskardu	terbit matahari	sol saai
kemudi	kemudi*	tetek	korta
kepala kampung	weikmeester*	tiang rumah	forkila kaju
kepiting	kangreju*	tifa, tambur, gendang, rebana	gendang rebana
keponakan	niki	tikar	istera
kera, monyet	bujiu	tikus busuk (celurut)	ratu fede
keramaian orang meninggal	junta kaju more	topeng	baldera
kerbau betina	bufra muler	tugal	garbutu
kerbau jantan	bufra moridu	tulang	usu
kerbau muda	bufra femi	tuma (kutu kepala)	piolu brangku
kerikil	pedra finyo	tumbak, lembing	armu, lansa,keris*
keringat	suet	tumbuh-tumbuhan	parkis*
ketela, kastela	kastela*	tutup jenang	pagar*
ketimun	pipinyo	udang	kambrang
kijang	gajila	udara (hawa)	alagria
kodok	manduku	udik	mensera
kodok buduk	manduku kaskadu	ular	kobra*
kolong rumah	basa kaju	ular sawah	kobra sawah*
kubur	koba	ulat	kabludu
kucing	gatu	untung	ganya
kudis	kaskado	upeti	kas*
kuku	unyah	urat	nerba
		utusan	mandadu

Verb

Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:	Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:
ambil	toma	memecahkan	fai kebra
angkut	karta*	memejamkan mata	picaolu
bangun / sadar	irgidi drumi	memelihara	kria*
batuk	tose	memintal tali	fai kordali
bawa	lawa	memotong	rusa
bawa kemari	mandabi	memotong kepala	korta kabesa
bawa pergi	anda loba	memukul kulit kayu	dali kas kepau
bekerja	sirbis	memutuskan	fai kurtu
beranak	pare	menabur	abuna samenti
berangkat	kere paa	menaman	fara
berbau	ceru	menambah	sebeju
berbisik	papiah bagar	menanam padi	fara neli

berburu dengan anjing	pontedor ku kacor	menangis	curah
bercrai	diskaya	menanti, tunggu	isprah
berdiam diri	laladu	mencari	buska
berdiri	empe	mencium	cera
berdusta	mintoju	mencuri	furta
berfikir	lembrang sah	mendatangkan	mandabi
berhenti	pora	тепетра	dali
berhenti	pora	menenun	faji panu
beri, kasih	da	menertawakan	ri
berjalan	santa	menetas	kebra obu
berjina	fajimah	mengail	pincaredi
berjumpa	jing konta	mengantuk	sonah
berkata, omong	papia	menganyam	anyam*
berkelahi	baklai*	mengawinkan	dakaja
berkumpul	junta	mengecap	purba
berlayar	nabiga*	mengeong	mengeong*
bermain	bringa	mengeram	coka
bermain bantingan	bate-bate	mengerjakan tanah	sirbis cang
bermain gasing	bringka drai*	menggeram	jimi
bermimpi	sunyah	menggiling	rola
berniaga	anda bende	mengikat	mara
berperang	brigu	mengonggong	gomggomg*
bersembunyi	perbakia	mengsihi, cinta	koitadu
bersila	minjura	mengtakan, bilang	parpala
bersin	deskria	menguap	Abriboka, detuada
bersua /bertemu	jing konta	mengusung	karta dosang
bertanya	prunta	menikah	toma muler / toma maridu
bertelur	fuja	meninggal	more
berteriak	abrigurla	menipu (berdusta)	faji mintrioju
bicara, berkata	rejang	meniup api	sande fogu
bisa, dapat	cadu	menjaga	berbijah
boleh	poi	menjerit	padede, palpa
buang	pinca	menuai	korta
buang hajat	kaga, boprago	menuai padi	korta neli
buat, bikin	faji	menugal	faji buraku kufer
cari	boska	menumbuk padi	pila neli
cubit, jepit	ranyah	menutup	picah
cuci muka	limpa rastu	menyabung ayam	de baklai galu*
cuci pakaian	limpa ropa	menyahut	raskundi

cuci piring	limpa piring*	menyampaikan	mandabi
cuci rambut	limpa kabelu	menyanyi	kanta
dapat	juku aca	menyembunyikan	bkia
datang	bi	menyunat	kortu pontu
dengar	obi	menyunat,	kortu
		mengurangi	
dimakan api	kumi fogu	meraba	palpa
gali	garbuta	merajut, menjahit	tisi*
gendong, dukung	bota na basu petu	merasa	sabar*
gigit	mordeh	merasa sakit	sintidore
habiskan	fai kaba	merebus, menanak	kuji lemang*
hanguskan	fai karbang	meringkik	grita*
hantar	antar*	merombak rumah	abri kaju
hirup	bebe	minta	pidi
ingat	lembra	mudik	mensera
isap	cupa*	mulai	ong bes
jongkok	rakuah	naik ke rumah	subi na kaju
junjung	karta na kabesa	panggil	сота
kena	toka	patah	kebra
kenal	kongse	pegang	pega*
kencing	mijah	pergi	anda
kentut	sedu	pergi ambil	anda toma
kirim	delaba	pergi ke sana	anda ala
lempar	pinca	pikul	karta
lihat	ola	pimpin	pega mao
lupa	jiskesi	putus	larga
mabuk (minuman keras)	beridu (beudu)	sampai, tiba	cega
makan minum	kumi	sangkal	mintroju
maki-maki	rondadi	siapkan, sediakan	juku lestu
mandi	limpa korpu	suka	kotenti
masuk	intra*	suruh	manda
mau	kere	tahu (tau)	sabe
mebengbeng	marah	telan	ingguli
megaku	da sabe	terbang	aboah
melompat (ke atas)	salta	terbit	saai
meludah	pinca, kuspi	terjun, melompat* (ke bawah)	pinca korpu
melukai	faji frida	tertawa	ri
menakan memadamkan api		tidak kasih	ning kere
	fogu more		-
memang	aca ganya	tidak tidur (berjaga)	irji drumi

memanjat	trafe*	tidur	drumi
mematahkan	fai kebra	unjuk	musta
membakar belanga	jara*	membawa di sarung	bota na mad
membangun rumah	empe kaju	membuka	abri
membawa di sarung	bota na mad	membunuh	faji more
membangun rumah	empe kaju		

Adjective

Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:	Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:
asam	ajidu	lancip, mancung	agudu
asin	salgado	lebar	largo
bagus, elok	bunitu	lega, luas, lapang	largo
baik	bong	lekas, laju	gas*
baru	nabu	lelah, capek	soeet
basah	toka agu	lemah	nungku forsa
belu	tua	lembut, lembek	moli
bengkok	bira	liar, malu	bergonyah
berani	almi	longgra, kendor	abri
berat	fejedu	lurus	lurus*
besar	grandi	malas	luidadi*
betul, benar	dretu	manis	dosi
biru	blau*	marah	reiba
bodoh	beste, dadi	menggigil	freme
bulat	rond*	mentah	krua
busuk	fede	merah	bormelu, belu
buta	tartu	miskin	fabric
ceper	seku	moridu	jantan
dermawan	bangloy	muda	masegu
dingin	vriu	muler	betina
empat segi	kater jiku	pahit	marga
femi	muda	pandai, pintar	cadisa
gemuk	gordu	panjang	kompridu
gila	dodu	pedas	arde
hangat, panas	kenti	pendek	kurtu*
hartawan (kaya)	riku*	penuh	oinci
hijau	berdi	perlahan-lahan, lambat	bagar-bagar
hitam	pretu	putih	brangko
jahat	mal*	rajin	kroju

jeli	feiya	ramping	kadera, piklino
jemur	seka	rendah	kurto
jinak	bong	ringan	lebi
kecil	piklino	salah	aradu
keras	duruh	sempit	nungku largo
kering	deku	tajam	agudu
kikir, pelit	eskader	takut	medrang
kosong	bajiu	tebal	tebal*
kuar	forsa	terikat, erat	marah
kurang	nungku	timpang	pio kebrah
kurang lebar	nungku largo	tinggi	alto
kurus	mager*	tipis	piklino
lama	dura	tua	idadi
lama (barang- barang)	dura	tuli	surdu
lancip, mancung	agudu	tumpul	nungku
uncip, muncung	uyuuu	tumpui	пипуки

Adverb

Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:	Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:
apabila, kapan-	kiora	keluar	sai
kapan			
atas	riba	kemarau	ekstemper sol
banyak	tantu	kemari, lekas	biaki gas
barangkali	alum bes	kemarin	onti
barat	moresol	kemarin dulu	onti dia
bawah	basu	kemudian hari	tra sero dia
beberapa	perkantu	lekas	gas
begini	asley	luar	for a
begini	asley	lusa	oter dia
begitu	asley ka	lusa	oter dia
belum	indana	malam	anoti
bermacam-macam	pesang-pesang	mana	undi
besok	amiang	musim hujan	ektemper cua
besok	amiang	pada hari ini	iste dia
betapa	kiler	pagi	palmiang
bukan	oter	pagi ini	miang iste
bukan	oter	petang, sore	artadi
cukup	cega	sakit	bariga
cuma	cuma*	sama (seperti)	inggoal
dalam	denter	sangat, amat	mutu*

dari	dari*	seberapa banyak	kantu
dari atas	na riba	sedikit	empoku
dari bawah	na basu	sekarang	agora
dekat	perto	seketika (sebentar)	mas engkora
di atas	nariba	selatan	menura
di bawah	na basu	siang	media
di dalam	na denter	tadi (baru saja)	engkora
di luar	nafora	tadi pagi	angkora palmiang
di mana	na undi	tahun	anno
di sana	na alo	telah, sudah	basta
di sini	na aki	tempo dulu	akel dia
gelap	iskur	tempo hari	akel dia
hamper, kurang sedikit	falta empoko	terang	lumi
hari	dia	terpingkal-pingkal	iskardo
hari ini	iste dia	tiada lagi	nungku mas
jangan-jangan	nang numeiste	tidak	nungku
jauh	lonji	timur	nasesol
kadang-kadang	oter sumau	utara	menmar
kapan-kapan	kiora	уа	seng
kelak	mas engkora	yang	ki
keliling	rudia		

Conjuction

Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:	Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:
dengan	ku	oleh karena itu	aka bida
jikalau, kalau	alum bes	oleh sebab itu	aka bida
meskipun, meski	desa, asley	tetapi	mer*

Preposition

Indonesian	Portuguese of	Indonesian	Portuguese of
Language:	Tugu:	Language:	Tugu:
dari	dari	di atas	nariba
dengan	ku	di bawah	na basu
di	na	keliling	rudia

Pronoun

Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:	Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:
dia	ele, seng	kita	nos
engkau, kamu	bos	mereka	jenti
ia, dia	seng	mereka itu	jenti aka
kami	nos, nosoter	saya	yo (kasar), parmi (halus)
kamu	bos, booster	saya sendiri	yo ong song

Interrogation

Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:	Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:
apa	gi	mana	undi
berapa	kantu	mengapa	parki
di mana	na undi	siapa	?

Numeral

Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:	Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:
delapan	oitu	satu kaki	ung bes
delapan belas	disoitu	sebelas	onji
delapan puluh	oitenta	sembilan	nabi
dua	dos	sembilan belas	disnobi
dua puluh	binti	sembilan puluh	nobenta
dua belas	onji doji	seperempat	perkater
dua kaki	dos bes	sepuluh	des
dua puluh dua	binti dos	seratus	ungaentu
dua puluh satu	binti unga	seribu	ung mil
dua puluh tiga	binti tres	setengah	metey
dua ratus	dosentu	tiga	tres
empat	kater	tiga belas	freji
empat belas	katarji	tiga puluh	frenta
empat puluh	korenta	tujuh	seti
enam	ses	tujuh belas	diseti
enam belas	dises	tujuh puluh	setenta
enam puluh	sesenta	yang kedua	ki per dos
lima	singko	yang kedua kali	ki per dos bes
lima belas	disingku	yang ketiga	ki per tres bes
lima puluh	singkunta	yang ketiga kali	ki per tres bes

satu	unga	yang pertama	ki per unga
satu kaki	ung bes	yang pertama kali	ki per unga embe

Possession

Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:	Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:
dia orang punya	eleter sua	kita punya	nos sua
dia punya	ele sua	saya punya	mes sua (halus) yo sua (kasar)
kami punya	nos sua	siapa punya	keng sua
kamu punya	bos sua	-	-

Determination

Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:	Indonesian Language:	Portuguese of Tugu:
ini	iste	sana	-
itu	-	sini	-

On the everyday example sentences are as follows:

I like it or not. (Bos kere ning kere) Do st down! (Santa!) Why do you cry? (Parki bos cura?) I can not. (Yo nungku cadu) I do not know yet. (*Yo ja sabe*) Put it! (Bota!) Where are you going? (Bos anda undi?) Wait a minute! (*Ispra mas saint*) Ten days before we left. (Des dia mas nubu yo anda) I do not allow it. (*Yo ningker dah*) She's dead. (Ele ja more) He's not dead. (*Ele indana more*) Put on the fire. (Asah) It's boiling. (*Ja forbeh*) Cooked! (*Ja teng**) Food is ready. (Komaria juku lestu) I go take a bath first. (Yo anda limpa korpu) Do you have taken a bath? (Bos ja limpa korpu?) What do you ask? (Bos frunta gi?) Good bye, have a nice trip. (Sao di pasa, bong pasa) Let's go now. (*Bino soter pasa agora*) Tomorrow leaving two men. (Amiang pasa dosong omi-omi) Eat this rice! (Kumi iste aros!) Please you eat this rice. (Kumi bos iste aros!)

I want to buy a chicken. (*Yo kere kompra ung galinya*) I have to kill pigs or zwine. (*Vorku ki yo jimata*) Which ring is for me? (*Anela kiundi per yo?*) He said that a certain man had already left. (*Ele pala ja anda*)

Compare the examples sentence above with a recorded conversation between two soldiers of the Company in the colonial period, the soldier *orlam* or *orang lama* (senior) B and *orenpare* or *orang baru* (junior), a newly arrived in Batavia, as cited by Hugo Schuhardt (1891:11) is as follows:

A: Dabtjes, Camrad.	A: Glück zu, Camrad.	
B: Mutemersi Camrad, bene vene aqui	B: Grossen danck Camrad, willekommen	
Supra Java Major au Batavia.	auf Java Major oder Batavia.	
A: Este terre mute cinte.	A: Dieses ist ein überaus warmes land.	
B: Causa Sole cum ille cima.	B: Das machete die Sonne und dero heftiges stralenbrennen.	
A: Semper aqui aussi cinte?	A: Ists hier allezeit zo warm?	
B: Se, semper, anno, de annos.	B: Ja, allezeit, jahr aus, ein.	
A: O! Miracul de munde, contra	A: 0! Verwunderliche welt, gegen	
Europa nos, Patria au simper, frige	Europa, unserm Vaterlande, oder	
cum Nova Zemla.	allezet kalten Norden-Ländern.	

CONCLUSION

From this small study, we can conclude that the language of the Tugu Village is the Creole Portuguese. This language can survive longer in Batavia, because the location of Tugu Village is isolated with other villages surround by marsh and big river. The community of Tugu Village is Christian and their customs, clothes, and food are different with the Betawi people that are mostly Muslims, in addition they are very tied with another group of Portuguese Church in Batavia. For this hypothesis is still to be investigated in depth.

This language is on the verge of a critical period in the time of independence, because there are economic, sociological, and anthropological reasons. Economic reasons, they could not hunting and farming any more because the land surround this village is increasingly narrow and turned into a residents of immigrants or people around. They should look for livelihood outside their community. In other words, they are forced to change the type of their livelihoods and they are forced to use Indonesian language in their daily lives. Politically, they felt in the colonial times to feel proud of their languages and customs which are more European, but at the time of independence, they have the same degree with the other people.

Sociological reasons, the Dutch government at the recruitment of the army received the youth of Tugu Village as local soldiers or *inheemse soldaten* and not a Colonial Army (KNIL, *Koninklijk Nederlands Indische Leger*). This was probably due to educational reasons and this may made them disappointed to the Dutch government and they must realize that their standing in society was equal with other Indonesian citizens. And, finally, anthropological reasons, they are difficult to sustain indigenous culture or their customs because of erosion from the outside.

The validity of this hypothesis still needs to be tested. Therefore, research on Tugu Village community still needs to be done, before this precious cultural heritage disappear forever from the Indonesian society.

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