KAJIAN TENTANG NAMA BAHASA: KES BAKATIK, BAHASA YANG BERSEMPADANAN DENGAN BAHASA MELAYU DI BORNEO BARAT LAUT

(STUDY ON LANGUAGE NAMES: CASE OF BAKATIK, ADJACENT LANGUAGE TO MALAY IN NORTHWESTERN BORNEO)

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Abstrak

Abstract

Bakatik is a land Dayak language spoken in the depth of West Kalimantan, Indonesia and some parts of Sarawak, Malaysia. It is unique, not only in its grammatical mechanism but also in its naming system. Unlike its adjacent languages like Malay/Indonesian, the name of this language cannot be discussed by relating it with geographical places. It is very interesting to analyze this language name grammatically. It is constructed of prefix ba- and negative marker katik, which was grammatically derived from the reduced forms ka of kayak and tik of itik respectively. The form of itik itself may be categorized into verb, adjective, and particle. The finding shows that verbs and adjectives in Bakatik have the same feature, namely, negated by katik. However, their difference can be seen from the use of another negative particle, ennya. This negative particle may negate adjectives and nouns, but not verbs. In addition, this study finds out some grammatical points in Bakatik like how to create nouns, to derive verbs, and to analyze a construction, which is phonologically classed as a single word but when analyzed by morpho-syntax approach, it may be a complex word or even it is phrase or a clause.

Introduction

Bakatik is one of Land Dayak languages. It is spoken natively by about 60,000 people residing in northwestern Kalimantan, Indonesia. Although not in a big number, the speakers of this language are also found living in southwestern Sarawak, Malaysia. The adjacent languages are Salako and Bidayuh in the north, Banyaduk in the east, Beae in the south, and Malay in the west.

Bakatik native speakers mostly practice a shifting farming system. They typically live in homogeneous kampongs with strong practice of traditions in terms of divine belief, social order, laws, territory, and leadership.
Living in such a socio-economic cultural setting, they still maintain their native language for daily interaction among themselves. Most of them are at least bilinguals because they have a good interaction with the speakers of other languages. They generally speak Bakatik and Indonesian.

Bakatik refers to the parent of Riuk, Sara, and Lara dialects. From the social point of view, the accent of Riuk is characterized as polite, Lara coarse and Sara in between Riuk and Lara (Sudarsono, 2002: 10).

**Scope, Hypothesis and Purpose of Study**

One of the interesting points of investigating Bakatik deals with how its name was derived grammatically. This topic was raised from the unsatisfying answer from the native speakers when asked to explain the derivation of their language name. They only referred Bakatik to its lexical meaning, that is, have "katik" (Sudarsono, 2002: 9-10 and Alloy et al, 2008: 29).

This answer brings us to indicate that the word katik is unique. The native speakers use it to include all dialects applying this word into one language and thus to distinguish it from other languages. Such a language naming strategy is also applied by some adjacent Dayak languages like Bananak (ba+nanak) spoken in Mempawah, Bakaih (ba+kaih) spoken in Tamong hills, Bakidok (ba+kidok) spoken in Sanggau Kapuas, Benyaduk (be+nyaduk) spoken in Sintang, and Banadai (ba+nadai) spoken in Kapuas Hulu (Sudarsono, 2002: 10).

Due to the absence of the geographical place called Bakatik within the areas speaking this language, it is impossible to relate its derivation with a particular geographical place as indicated by the adjacent places like Sambas and Singkawang or to a particular legend like Pontianak (see
Map 1). The first and the second places were coined from Chinese words of sam+bas referring three peoples to Malay, Dayak, and Chinese living in that area and “san kew jong” referring to a town in hills nearby a sea and estuary. The third place, which was known by Chinese origins as Khun tien (坤甸), was named after the spirit called Kuntilanak. Since this spirit frequently disturbed Sultan Syarif Abdurrahman in establishing his sultanate, thus the Sultan shot it by cannon. To perpetuate this event, Kuntilanak with small phonological change into Pontianak was then used to name the newly established sultanate. Under this argument, the language name of Bakatik is not created by such a strategy indicated by “Indonesian”, the language spoken by Indonesian people living in the country called Indonesia or “English”, the language spoken by English people living in the state called England.

Based on the above hypothesis, it will be interesting to investigate it on the grammatical concern. This study will be plausible because a word or a name is grammatical (see Anderson, 2007). Morphologically the name “Bakatik” is an intransitive verb, which is derived from the base form katik and the prefix ba-. The word katik is a negative marker in this language. It is prohibitive particle ka phonologically reduced from kayak and the form tik from itik. Grammatically the word itik may be categorized as an existing verb, linking verb, possessive verb, adjective, and particle. With a time noun phrase itik may form time complement.

The findings of this research may be significant. Firstly, it may be functional to uncover the unique strategy applied by the Bakatik native speakers in naming their language, which is distinctive from that applied by other languages. Secondly, the research findings may also be functional to predict some grammatical phenomena before investigating the relevant language in details.

About Names

Most grammar textbooks classify nouns into common nouns and proper nouns. From the philosophical and logical point of view, the former refer to “general terms”, that is, more than one thing like horse; the latter to “singular terms”, denoting specific individuals, that is, proper names, which is in this paper just called “name”, like Muhammad Omar, definite
descriptions like the president of Indonesia, singular pronouns like he, and demonstrative pronouns like that (see Lycan, 2006: 255).

Jeshion (2004: 591) classifies names into ostensive and descriptive ones. They respectively refer to the names “whose reference was fixed via ostension” and to the names “whose reference was fixed exclusively with the use of a definite description”. According to him, these two terminologies do not involve the discussion about “the semantic content or how we think with names contributes to identifying them as ostensive or descriptive”.

Names are indeed short, specific portrayals that a speaker minimally implicitly has in mind (Russell cited in Lycan, 2006: 262). It becomes possessed with its meaning just by specifying the specific object it specifies and by presenting the specified into discourse (Lycan, 1999: 37). It functions as a distinguishing label. It marks an individual person or object and to contribute no more than the individual himself to the meaning of a sentence in which it occurs (John Stuart Mill cited in Lycan (1999: 38), to signify the same individual in every possible world in which that individual exists (Kripke cited in Lycan, 1999: 68), or to single out, show, and categorize one’s “experience of the world” (Roberts and Turgeon, 1989: 69-70). Different peoples may have different cultures in naming, and some of which may be strange to others (J.N. Hook cited in Roberts and Turgeon (1989: 71).

A name may be created differently. Anderson (2007: 107), for instance, claims that a name may be created from a noun or a verb. A place name may be derived from a native place origin, a personal name, another place, or a common word (W.F Bolton cited in Roberts and Turgeon, 1989: 90).

Based on their themes, names can be monothematic or dithematic. The term “dithematic” here is not necessarily understood as two separate words. It may refer to the reduced forms like bynames, names developed on other names, all names, and names formed with non-names (Anderson, 2007: 107).
Investigating a name is not simple. It includes a variety of subjects like linguistics, anthropology, sociology, literature, demography, ethnography, and history. It may also cover big and various terms like “proper / first / personal / given / adopted / Christian name / forename / font-name, pet name / short name / pet name [sic], second name / middle name, last name / family name / surname, by-name / to-name, nickname / soubriquet/ substitute name, makeshift or sham name, place-name / toponym, patronymic/ metronymic, pseudonym / pen name / stage name / nom de plume / nom de guerre, eponym, epithet, double-barrelled name, oath-name, imperative name, ornamental name / arbitrary name, brand name / trademark / proprietary name, company name, fun name, namesake, metonym, etc” (Anderson, 2007: 77).

When investigating words, the analysis may be related with other linguistic elements within the whole network of language. The elements of a name can be determined from the structure of the name and the system of naming in the relevant language. Anderson, 2007: 83) recommends that all of these domains be discussed in name grammar.

Due to the available data and the limited pages of discussion, this article will only analyze the language name of Bakatik from grammatical point of view. The non-grammatical data, if any, will not be presented here.

**Bakatik = Ba + Katik**

The prefix *ba-* derives an intransitive verb when it is prefixed to a noun. The relevant examples are shown below.

1. *kuluk* blanket → *bakuluk* to wear a blanket
2. *ongan* body → *baongan* → *bongan* to have a body
3. *adeih* sweat → *baradeih* to be sweaty

Similar to *ber-* in its adjacent languages, Sambas Malay and Indonesian, the prefix *ba-* in Bakatik may also be prefixed to "precategorials" to derive a free syntactic form. In the following example, the form *tanem* (*hide*) cannot stand as a syntactic constituent (4a) before
it is prefixed by ba- (4b). The asterisk (*) indicates ungrammaticality of the construction.

(4a)*Obet tanem supaya katik katn naa neneh.
Obet (hide) in.order not PART person see
Obet is hiding to make sure nobody sees him.

(4b) Obet batanem supaya katik katn naa neneh.
Obet BA-(hide) in.order not PART person see
Obet is hiding to make sure nobody sees him.

The group of ba-intransitive verbs commonly carries the meaning of ‘have, possess what is designated by [the stem]’ and ‘use, wear [the stem]’ as seen below.

(5) Mak Asong baramin ka Lumar ogak.
Mr. Asong BA-house in Lumar also
Mr. Asong also has a house in Lumar.

(6) Farhan katik balawar.
Farhan not BA-pants
Farhan doesn’t wear pants.

With nouns like taik fetus, gone use, ngarem night, banen husband, and sautn wife the prefix ba- may derive meaning that respectively translate well in English as pregnant, useful, to spend the night, to get married and to get married. Utterance (7) is an example of this ba-verb group.

(7) Fida bataik rema beretn.
Fida BA-fetus five month
Fida is five months pregnant.

In a limited context, this prefix can function as an inflectional tool. It only enables the stem to occur in a particular syntactic slot without affecting the lexical identity of the root. In this context the prefix ba- is applied inflectionally to comply with grammatical need. Adjectival predicator sontok poor cannot stand without prefix ba- after the syntactic
forms like **bokan main** *terribly* are not acceptable grammatically to occur in a resultative clause as shown below.

(8a)* Ade bokan-main **sontok**, katikabak mayer otakng. 3 terribly poor not can NGAN-(pay) debt. He is so poor that he cannot pay his debts.

(8b) Ade bokan-main **basontok**, katik abak mayer otakng. 3 terribly BA-poor not can NGAN-(pay) debt. He is so poor that he cannot pay his debts.

Based on the above analysis, it may be reasonable to argue that Bakatik is a complex form that is derived from the prefix ba- and the base form katik. The prefix ba- here means “have” and the linguistic unit katik is seen as a word realized by katik, not as its grammatical function. Thus, semantically Bakatik refers to the language that has the word katik.

**Katik = Ka + Tik**

Bakatik speakers may create new forms by phonemic reduction strategy. The reduction may occur in the level of a single word, a phrase, or a clause (Sudarsono, 2002: 77) like rak of **arak** **will**, kuma of **ka uma** to the dry field, and damba of **da amba** who is old as illustrated below where “/” means “can be replaced by”.

(9) Induk **arak/ rak** mari japo ge ikuk. mother will buy shirt for 1SG Mother will buy a shirt for me.

(10) Ikuk noo **ka uma/ kuma**. 1SG go to-dry.field I am going to the dry field.

(11) Ikuk katik panne naa **da amba/ damba** dikuh. 1SG not know person who-old that I don’t know him. (Lit. I don’t know that person who is old.)
The base form of katik is also constructed of the reduced forms. They are ka of kayak that translates well in Malay jangan and tik of itik respectively. Note that the reduced form of ka can still stand by itself, and thus it is syntactically interchangeable with kayak as shown below.

(12a) Ka/kayak ngakal!
PROH deceive
Don’t deceive [someone]!

(12b) Akepm ka/kayak morak, Pak!
2 PROH enter sir
You are not permitted to enter [the operation room], Sir!

Based on the phonological reduction argument, negative marker katik is phonologically a single word but morpho-syntactically it is a construction of two words, ka and tik. Through a grammaticalization mechanism this phonologically-reduced construction changed its syntactic function into a negative marker. Semantically ka lost its prohibitiveness in the new form and tik lost its verbness particularly when katik is used to negate a non-itik predicate. When katik negates an itik predicate, the itikness is still maintained by the avoidance of double itik or by the replacement of its synonym.

**Linguistic from of “ITIK”**

Itik is a unique form. Grammatically, it can be classified as a verb, an adjective, and a particle. When taking the predicate head slot, it is classified as existential, possessive, or linking verbs. This form can be used as an attribute and a verb intensifier, too. With a temporal noun phrase it can form a time complement.

- As an existential verb

The clause with the predicate head itik may express existence of an entity. It is frequently used to introduce a new argument. It is established minimally with two nuclear constituents, that is, the subject and the
predicate manifested by the existential verb *itik*. The predicate of this clause typically precedes the subject like *amot spirit* as shown in the following example.

(13) **Itik** amot.
exist spirit
Spirits exist.

The existential clause with *itik* frequently contains a locative prepositional phrase. In (14) the phrase is *ka rabet ramin diah behind this house*.

(14) **Itik puutn dietn ka rabet ramin diah.**
exist tree durian in back house this
There is a durian tree behind this house.

A noun phrase functioning as subject must be indefinite and does not refer to the previous noun phrase mentioned before when it follows the verb *itik to exist*. Thus, the specific noun phrase like *ramin ikuk my house* shown in (15) is ungrammatical.

(15)*Itik ramin ikuk ka jeket lekok diuh.*
exist house 1 SG in near bend that
My house is at that bend.

The basic order of this clause type is that the verb precedes the noun phrase. However, if the noun phrase is definite, it can occur before the verb. This non-canonical word order is used by the speaker to respond the preceding speech. It is the opposite of the basic order, which is used to present new and general information. The clause with the non-canonical word order is illustrated below.

(16) Ramin ade *itik* ka sabarakng gali.
house 3 exist in across street
Her house is across the street.
As a linking verb

If the complement is a location prepositional phrase and itik occurs after the subject, itik changes its category from an existential verb to a linking verb, which is more or less equivalent with English to be. This results not only in permitting the specific noun phrase to be the subject of the clause like buku ikuk 1SG-book but also in having the verb itik optionally to occur in the clause as shown in (17a). When the linking verb itik is absent from the clause, the resultant is a clause predicated by a prepositional phrase (17b).

(17a) Buku ikuk itik ka atong.
book 1SG LKG-V in cupboard
My book is in the cupboard.

(17b) Buku ikuk ka atong.
book 1SG in cupboard
My book is in the cupboard.

As a possessive verb

The form itik can also serve as possessive predicate centre. When occurring in this syntactic slot, this verb requires an obligatory complement indicating the thing possessed. Serving this function, this verb is parallel with the function of “to have” in English. It is interesting to note that this verb is optional in this slot. Thus, the utterances (18a) and (18b) are both grammatical and produce the same notion Omar has a house in Sintang.

(18a) Omar itik ramin ka Sintang.
Omar have house in Sintang.
Omar has a house in Sintang.

(18b) Omar ramin ka Sintang.
Omar house in Sintang.
Omar has a house in Sintang.
• **As an adjective**

Besides, *itik* may also be categorized as an adjective meaning *rich* (cf. English *haves* and *have-nots*). Under this category, it shows the descriptive meaning, that is, *rich* as shown in (19a). The adjectiveness of *itik* is attested by the canonical feature of Bakatik adjectives, that is, modifiable by a grading adverb such as *koat very* as shown in (19b).

(19a) Ade neneh pangamba da *itik*.
3 see parent RP rich
He is proud of his rich parents.

(19b) Ade neneh pangamba da *koat itik*.
3 see parent RP very rich
He is proud of his very rich parents.

• **As a particle**

The form *itik* can precede the verb taking the predicate slot. When it occurs in this syntactic slot, this form is categorized as an intensive particle. There are two requirements to enable the form *itik* to function as an intensifier. If the clause contains an object, the object must be indefinite and the existence of a set of the indefinite objects or the location needs to be emphasized. Thus, the example shown in (20) is grammatical. In contrast, the (21) is not grammatical because the object is specific.

(20) Amak *itik* nyool saakng ka Sarikin.
father INT MAN-(trade) black.pepper in Sarikin
Father really sold black pepper in Sarikin.

(21) * Dakngade *itik* ngamih kasuk ikuk da senget ka detn taretn
3PL INT kill dog LIG black in inside forest
They really killed my black dog in the forest.

As an intensifier, the form *itik* can occur before the subject, too. In (22) *itik* occurs before the subject *akak* older sibling.
(22) Lalu, itik akak basarak ka bencong-bencong.  
then INT older.sibling BA-word to REDUP:transvestite  
Then, [our] older sister really spoke to the transvestites.

- **With time noun phase to from time complement**

  The form *itik* can also be used to express time when *itik* is followed by a subject filled by a temporal noun phrase. The resultant clause refers to how much time has passed. This type of clause is restricted to function as an adjunct of time as shown below.

(23) Ameng nganti imuk itik unum jam.  
Ameng wait 2 exist six hour  
Ameng waited for you for six hours.

**Negating “ITIK” – Headed Predicate**

The predicator of *itik* classified as verb or adjective is negated by *katik*. In such a clause, the form *itik* is omitted. If it is maintained, the clause will not be naturally accepted. The following examples of (a) will be considered natural but not of (b).

(24a) Katik palisi ka diah.  
not police m here  
There is no police here.

(24b)*Katik itik palisi ka diah.  
not exist police in here  
There is no policeman here.

(25a) Runtih katik ongkos ure ka Singkawang.  
Runtih not fare return to Singkawang  
Runtih doesn’t have any money to return to Singkawang.

(25b)*Runtih katik itik ongkos ure ka Singkawang.  
Runtih not have fare return to Singkawang  
Runtih doesn’t have any money to return to Singkawang.
(26a) Bambang katik ka ramin ngaa nyaberetn.
Bambang not in house already NYA-month
Bambang hasn't been home for a month.

(26b)*Bambang katik itik ka ramin ngaa nyaberetn.
Bambang not Link-V in house already NYA-month
Bambang hasn't been home for a month

(27a) Toak ade katik ogak.
uncle 3 not also
His uncle isn't rich, either.

(27b)*Toak ade katik itik ogak.
uncle 3 not rich also
His uncle isn't rich, either.
When the predicator is non-itik, it must be maintained as shown below.

(28a) Ontong, ade katik nyampah kaca.
lucky 3 not MAN-(collide) glass
Luckily, she didn't hit the glass.

(28b)*Ontong, ade katik kaca.
lucky 3 not glass
Luckily, she didn't hit the glass.

Examples (24a) and (25a) above are potentially confusing.
Therefore, the native speakers generally prefer using (29) and (30) below to using them respectively.

(29) Katik bapalisi ka diah.
not BA-police in here
There is no police here.

(30) Martinus katik baongkos ure ka Singkawang.
Martinus not BA-fare return to Singkawang
Martinus doesn't have any money to return to Singkawang.
When itik is categorized as an adjective functioning as a predicator, the word itik is substituted by its synonym kaye (31a) borrowed from Malay/Indonesian. If it is maintained, the negative marker will be replaced by enynya (31b) that shares with noun-headed predicate (Sudarsono, 2002: 289).

(31a) Toak ade katik kaye ogak.
uncle 3 not rich also
His uncle isn’t rich, either.

(31b) Toak ade enynya itik ogak.
uncle 3 not rich also
His uncle isn’t rich, either.

When the negation is not intended to convey the meaning of prohibition, Bakatik has two negative particles, that is, katik not, which is shared by verb phrases and adjective phrases and enynya not, which is shared by noun phrases and adjective phrases as respectively illustrated below.

(32a) Amakko katik /enynya noo kuma matekdiah.
Father-1SG NEG go to-dry field today
My father does not go to the dry field today.

(32b) Ade* katik / enynya amakko
3SG NEG father-1SG
He is not my father.

(32c) Barak dikuh katik / enynya ansak.
banana that not ripe
That banana isn’t ripe.

Conclusion

Bakatik is unique, not only in its grammatical forms but also in its naming system. The language name of “Bakatik” is derived from a non-name common word. This name is categorized grammatically as an intransitive verb. Etymologically it was derived from prefix ba- and
particle katik. Of the complex word bakatik, katik here is not treated in its syntactic category as a negative particle, but in its wordness, that is, the word spelled out k-a-t-i-k. In this context, katik is categorized as a noun.

In addition, the investigation of the language name of “Bakatik” found out the uniqueness about how its native speakers created their language name by simply picking up a function word that can characterize their language and its dialects and distinguish it from other languages around. This study also found out how the native speakers form proper nouns in particular and nouns in general, derive transitive verbs from nouns, and negate predicate heads. The findings also show that a form may not necessarily be a single word phonologically and morphologically. It may concern a phrase or a clause.

The findings may be used to predict the potential grammatical forms in this language. They cover phonemic reduction, shortening forms, and new word formation. In addition, Bakatik has a homophonous word, which syntactically belongs to different categories of words. Studying the name of this language also found out how the prohibitive particle kayak and the verb itik are grammaticalized into a negative particle.

Although katik was derived from prohibitive particle kayak and the form itik, it already lost its prohibitiveness but still maintain its itik-ness particularly when negating itik predicate head. This grammatical form may also be predicted that it still has the potential function to negate the class-words of itik, that is, verbs and adjectives. Based on the above discussion, verbs in Bakatik may be distinguished from adjectives by the negative marker. The former are negated by katik and the latter by either katik or enynya.

Katik may not negate a noun-headed predicate because kayak is not permitted to negate such a predicate. Under this context it may be predicted that verbs and nouns in Bakatik do not share the same property. They are negated by different negative markers. On the other hand, adjectives share property with verbs, being negated by katik and with nouns, being negated by enynya.
(33a) Imuk ka/kayak agetn ka dikuh.  
2 PROH stand in that  
Don't stand over there.

(33b) Imuk katik agetn ka dikuh.  
2 NEG stand in that  
Don't stand over there.

(34a) *Induk dikuh ka/kayak guru.  
Mrs. That PROH teacher  
*That lady does not a teacher.

(34b) *Induk dikuh ka/katik guru.  
Mrs. That NEG teacher  
That lady is not a teacher.

(34c) Induk dikuh enynya guru.  
Mrs. That NEG teacher  
That lady is not a teacher.

Above all, the study of the Bakatik name may indicate the philosophical way how the native speakers think and use their language to see the world around. The speakers at least see it on the basis of uniqueness of properties that make them look distinct from others. They do not see the world from what place they come or from what color they look but from what they have. Finally, studying the language name of Bakatik may trace how the native speakers use language to perceive and think about the world within their reach.

Bibliography


