Preliminary study of Belitung Malay based on analysis of children's essays[1]

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This is a preliminary study of Belitung Malay (BM), a vernacular Malay dialect spoken on Belitung Island. Following an outline of the BM sociolinguistic situation, some structural features are described. Phonologically, BM exhibits features similar to those of Bangka Malay, such as the loss of Proto-Malay *h* and the presence of root final *ʔ*, which is absent in Proto-Malay. Most Proto-Malayic affixes are retained in BM, among which verbs with the applicative suffix *-eʔ*, a reflex of Proto-Malayic suffix *-i*, exhibit a wider domain of semantics, such as (simple) causative and benefactive, as well as locative; the former overlaps with verbs with another applicative BM suffix, *-kan*. In addition, BM has a definite clitic *=ə*. It has three types of transitive constructions: active, passive, and bare verb constructions, the last being used when an agent pronoun occurs before the verb.

1. Introduction

This is a preliminary study of the structural features and socio-linguistic situation of Belitung Malay, one of the Malay varieties spoken on Belitung Island, a small island covering a land area of about 4,800 km^2, located to the southeast of Sumatra Island, Indonesia (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Belitung Island

The population is approximately 270,000, and about 60% of the residents are Malay. There is also a large Chinese population, accounting for approximately 30% of the total, many of whom are Hakka (Nugroho 2013). Furthermore, there are Bugis communities in coastal areas. Many of them settled down as fishermen. Sundanese, Javanese, and Balinese settled in Belitung as part of Suharto's immigration policy. In addition to these groups, some East Javanese, including Madurese, are present there as migrant miners. Administratively, the island belongs to the Bangka-Belitung Province (ISO: ID-BB).

Historically, economically, and culturally, Bangka-Belitung has been considered a pair of islands sharing a history and economy as tin-mining islands, having produced more than 90% of Indonesia's tin output since the period of the Dutch East India Company (Heidhues 2008, Kurniawan 2011).

Belitung Malay (BM) is a vernacular Malay variety that shares linguistic features with peninsular Malay, Eastern Sumatra Malay, and the Malay of West Kalimantan (Adelaar 2005). The Belitung people recognize that BM is a Malay dialect, or *dialek Melayu* in their words, closer to peninsular Malay or Standard Malaysian Malay than to Bahasa Indonesia (BI) due to similarities in some phonetic features and kin terms that will be shown in Sections 3 and 4, respectively.

Very few studies have been conducted on BM grammar. The only available publications are morpho-syntactic descriptions published by the Center for Language Development, Ministry of Education and Culture (*Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa*, Departmen pendidikan dan kebudayaan; Syahrul Napsin et al. 1986) and a dictionary (Hoogstad and Tjik 2007). Nothopher (1997) conducted a comparative study of Malay dialects spoken on Bangka Island based on data collected from 10 locations. The phonological innovations Bangka Malay has undergone from Proto-Malay (PM) are, to a greater degree, shared with BM.

BM is the *bahasa ibu* ('mother tongue') of Malay people on the island. It is a spoken language used by Belitung speakers when talking with family members, friends, and co-workers on informal occasions in markets, shops, stalls, and so forth. It also functions as a lingua franca; non-Malay people, such as Chinese and Bugis, among others in the area, opt to speak BM as long as their interlocutors understand it.

BM is not used in formal situations; it is not taught in schools or used in governmental offices. It is BI, that is, Indonesia's official language that is learned at school, and children are exposed to BI from birth through television, the Internet, national ceremonial speeches, magazines, newspapers, books, and so forth. Nonetheless, BM retains its dominance as an everyday language, and somewhat less surprisingly, the Belitung people interviewed in this study said that they felt more comfortable speaking BM than BI.

The main sources of this study are two anthologies of children's essays edited by the third author (Fithrorozi 2012, 2015). They contain approximately 200 essays written by 100 students attending an elementary school in *Sijuk*, one of five districts in Belitung, located on the western coast of the island. The younger children's essays are rather short, around 200 words, while older children's essays range up to approximately 800 words.[2] The essays are categorized into 18 themes with which the children are familiar, such as their family and their surroundings.[3] Most essays were written in a diary form that specifies the date, event, and participants. The language observed in the essays is quite close to the one BM people use in their daily conversations[4].

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[2] The anthologies include some poems written in BI that are not considered in this article.

[3] The whole list of 18 themes is as follows: Lotus of the Rembikang River, Studying, Studying Islam, Mine, Forest, Myths, Hunting, Fishing, My Bicycle, Playing, Playing (with ball), Fruit Picking, Traveling, Eating, Taking Care of Pets, Me and My Family, Being Together with Grandma, and Visiting (uncle, aunt, etc.).

[4] Belitung residents

The original text employed Indonesian orthography. In excerpts from the texts, some of the original spelling is replaced by International Phonetic Association (IPA) transcription to avoid ambiguity. Table 1 shows the correspondence between the original spelling and the IPA standard.

Table 1. Correspondences between the original spelling and the IPA standard

Original notation	IPA
ng	ŋ
ny	ɲ
c	tʃ
j	ʤ
k	ʔ
e	*e* or *ə*

As shown in the table, vowels *e* and *ə* are both spelled *e* in the original notation, which creates ambiguity. The second author, who is a native speaker of BM, made the judgment to replace it with the IPA standard.

The orthography used in the essays is faithful to BM pronunciation, although some spelling inconsistencies are observed in BM morphemes that have a BI equivalent. For example, the BM passive prefix *də-* is sometimes spelled as the corresponding BI form *di-*, but it is not clear whether this reflects the writers' actual use or their attempts to write the canonical BI form that they are told to write on other occasions in school.

In addition to the texts mentioned above, the knowledge and intuition of the second author, who is a native BM speaker, are employed. We also interviewed BM speakers of various backgrounds, such as civil servants for the East Belitung Regency office as well as owners and employees of a shop, hotel, and restaurant to determine the BM socio-linguistic situation described earlier in the Introduction.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. We describe BM phonology and morphology in Sections 2 and 3, respectively. We then address the definite clitic *=ə* and functional words in Section 4. In Section 5, we provide an outline of BM syntax. Section 6 is a summary. Although this study is not intended to clarify the historical status of BM in Malay, some comparisons with PM or Standard Indonesian (SI) are made to present the distinctions between BM and other Malay varieties. The PM features mentioned below are based on Adelaar (1992), and the SI features are based on Sneddon et al. (2015).

2. Phonology

2.1. Vowels

BM has six phonemic vowels, *i, ə, e, a, o,* and *u*, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. BM vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Open		a	

The central open vowel *a* does not occur in the final open syllables in BM, and the reflex of PM *a* in this position appears as *ə* (e.g., BM *adə* 'exist,' corresponding to SI *ada* and PM *ada*^(?)). *a* is retained in closed syllables (e.g., *dekat* 'close' and *abaŋ* 'elder brother').

PM close vowels *i* and *u* have often undergone lowering in closed syllables (e.g., BM *paser* 'sand' corresponding to PM *pasir* and BM *taroʔ* corresponding to PM *taruh*).

2.2. Consonants

BM exhibits 19 consonants, as listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Belitung Malay consonants

		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stop	voiceless	p		t	tʃ	k	ʔ
	voiced	b		d	dʒ	g	
Fricative	voiceless			s			
	voiced			z			
Approximant	central				j	w	
	lateral		l				
Trill				r			
Nasal		m		n	ɲ	ŋ	

Phoneme *ʔ* occurs only root-finally. BM does not have *h*. PM *h* is dropped (e.g., BM *ujan* corresponding to PM *hujan* 'rain' BM *ruma* corresponding to PM *rumah* 'house'). In some roots, *ʔ* occurs in the root-final position corresponding to *h* (e.g., BM *taroʔ* corresponding to PM *taruh*). The loss of *h* and the presence of root-final *ʔ* are features shared with Bangka Malay (Nothofer 1997: 23–24).

3. Morphology

3.1 An outline

In this section, we describe the BM morphology involved in the derivation of verbs and nouns. There are four types of verb-deriving affixes: (i) nasal prefixes *ŋəN-* and *N-*, (ii)

prefix *bə-*, (iii) prefix *tə-*, and (iv) applicative suffixes *-eʔ* and *-kan*.[5] In addition, one noun-deriving affix *per- -an* is attested (e.g., *pe-basu-an* 'washing' < *baso* 'wash').

3.2 The nasal prefix

BM has two nasal prefixes, *ŋəN-* and *N-*. These two forms exhibit the same function: the resultant verbs function as the predicate head of the actor-voice construction.

Napsin et al. (1986) treat *N-* and *ŋəN-* as the same affix, an analysis that this study also adopts. Although Napsin et al. (1986) do not explicitly show the conditions under which either form is used, the form *N-* is employed with roots that begin with voiceless sounds, and the form *ŋəN-* is employed with roots that begin with other sounds in the listed examples. Our data in Tables 4 and 5 conform in most cases to this principle, with some exceptions: *ŋəN-* is attached to some voiceless-sound-initial roots, such as *poyoŋan* or *cariʔ*, and the form *N-* is attached to some voiced-sound-initial roots, such as *baso*; the root *baso* takes both forms.

Examples of *ŋəN-* are presented in Table 4. The morphophoneme *N-* is realized as a nasal sound that is homorganic to the root-initial sound before stops or fricatives, whereas it is realized as *ŋ* before a vowel and *ŋə-* before liquids (that is, *l* and *r*).

Table 4. The prefix *ŋəN-*

Root Initial Sound[6]	Realization	Example
Vowels	*ŋ*	*ŋ-abiseʔ* 'to use up'
Bilabial stops	*ŋəm*	*ŋəm-poyoŋan* 'to run away fast'
		ŋəm-baso 'to wash (clothes)'
Alveolar stops/ affricates	*ŋən*	*ŋən-dəkateʔ* 'to get close'
		ŋən-cariʔ 'look for,'
		ŋən-juloʔ 'to nickname'
Velar stop	*ŋəŋ*	*ŋəŋ-garaŋ* 'to be self-conscious'
Approximant, trill	*ŋə*	*ŋə-liat* 'to look at'
		ŋə-rasə 'to feel'
		ŋə-wariskan 'bequeath'
		ŋə-yakenkan 'convince someone'

Examples of prefix *N-* are presented in Table 4. Unlike *ŋəN-*, the form *N-* is realized as a nasal substitution; that is, it is accompanied by root-initial sound deletion (Blust 2004).

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[5] Napsin et al. (1986) list the noun-deriving affixes *peN-* (e.g., *penyuro* messenger < *suro* 'order'), which is not attested in our data.

[6] Those roots with an initial nasal, such as *makan* 'eat' and *mandi* 'to swim', do not take either prefix.

Table 5. The prefix *N-*

Root Initial Sound	BM Prefix Nasalization	Example
Bilabials *p, b*	*m*	*manciŋ* (< *panciŋ*) 'to fish'
		muat (< *buat*) 'to make'
		maso (< *baso*) 'to wash'
Alveolar stop *t*	*n*	*naɲa* (< *taɲa*) 'to ask'
Alveolar fricative *s* and affricate *c*	*ɲ*	*ɲuci* (<-*cuci*) 'to wash'
		ɲiŋgaeʔ (< *siŋgaeʔ*) ' to drop by'
Velar stop *k*	*ŋ*	*ŋulat* (<-*kulat*) 'to go look for mushrooms'

3.3 The prefix *bə-*

Table 6 shows examples of words with the prefix *bə-*. An allomorph *bər-* occurs before a vowel-initial root (e.g., *bər-ilaʔ* 'to void,' derived from -*ilaʔ*).

Table 6. The prefix *bə-*

Prefixed Form	Meaning of the Root
bə-cərama 'to give a lecture'	lecture
bə-toko 'to run a shop'	shop
bə-lampu 'to turn on light'	lamp
bə-cariʔ 'to look for here and there'	to look for
bə-baju 'to put on clothes'	clothes

The roots are nouns in the first three examples and verbs in the last two. In the former cases, the resultant verbs indicate actions or situations related to the root noun's referent, while in the latter cases, the resultant verb indicates some type of imperfective situation related to the action referred by the root.

(1) *pak ustadz   bə-cerama*
     Mr. Ustad   BE-lecture

     'Mr. Ustad gave lectures.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 47)'

(2) *busu   mimang   bə-toko*
     aunt   indeed   BE-shop

     'The aunt runs the shop well.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 61)

(3) *dak   tau   tang   manə,   aku tek bə-cariʔ.*
     NEG   know   LOC   where   1SG DM   BE-look.for

     'Not knowing where it was, I looked for here and there.' (Fitrorozi 2015: 32)

(4) *sampai   de   ruma   kameʔ   mandi   bə-bajuʔ*
    arrive   LOC home   1PL.EXCL   mandi   BE-clothes

'Returning home, we did mandi, put on clothes,…' (Fithrorozi 2015:58)

3.4 The prefix *tə-*

Table 7 presents examples of words with the prefix *te-*. The root may be either a noun, verb, or pre-categorial root. The resultant verbs always indicate unconscious, non-intentional, or accidental actions. An allomorph *tər-* occurs before a vowel-initial root, as in *tər-iŋat*.

Table 7. The prefix *tə-*

Root	Resultant Verb
rasə 'feeling'	*tə-rasə* 'suddenly feel'
jato 'fall'	*tə-jato* 'to accidentally fall'
lalu 'pass'	*tə-lalu* 'quickly pass'
iŋat 'remember'	*tər-iŋat* 'suddently remember'
lupə 'forget'	*tə-lupə* 'forget'
baŋun 'get up'	*tə-baŋun* 'suddenly wake up'
liat 'see'	*tə-liat* 'come into the sight'

tə of *təbukak* in (5) indicates an accidental opening of an internet site page.

(5) *tə-bukak carə   muat   gantongan kunci   tapi paya   nge-liat=ə.*
    TE-open way   make   key.chain   but troublesome AV-see=DEF.

'I happened to open a page about making key chains but it was difficult to see that.' (Fithrorozi 2015:26)

3.5 Combination of *bə- -an*

The suffix *-an* occurs with the prefix *bə-* to indicate that the action is conducted by multiple agents, as illustrated in (6)–(8).

(6) *kameʔ   bə-makan-an.*
    1PL.EXCL   BE-eat-CIRC

'We all ate together.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 58)

(7) *kameʔ   bə-bawa-an   nasiʔ   laoʔ.*
    1PL.EXCL   BE-bring-CIRC   rice   meat.or.vegetables.to.eat.with.rice

'We all carried/brought meals.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 58)

(8) *kameʔ   bə-masuʔ-an.*
    we   BE-enter-CIRC

'We all entered together.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 30)

3.6 Applicative suffixes *-eʔ* and *-kan*

BM has two applicative suffixes, *-eʔ* and *-kan*. Suffix *-eʔ* derives causative verbs, locative-recipient verbs, and benefactive verbs, whereas suffix *-kan* derives causative verbs and benefactive verbs.

Examples (9) through (10) include verbs with the suffix *-eʔ*. Sentences (9) and (10) both include the verb *ŋen-dekat-eʔ* derived from the intransitive verb *dekat* 'close.' In (9), the verb is used as a locative-recipient verb, as the object indicates the location that the referent of the subject approaches, while in (10), the verb is used as a causative verb, as the object indicates the patient that the referent of the subject makes move.

(9) *diə ŋən-dəkat-eʔ   aku.*
     3SG AV-close-APPL   1SG

   'S/he approached me.' (Elicited)

(10) *diə ŋən-dəkat-eʔ   mutor   kə   dindiŋ.*
      3SG AV-close-CAUS   motorcycle   to   wall

   'S/he moved the motorcycle closer to the wall.' (Elicited)

Sentence (11) is another example of a location-recipient verb in which *ŋe-layan-eʔ* 'to serve someone' takes a recipient noun phrase (NP) as the object.

(11) *aku ŋə-layan-eʔ   tamu   də   tuko   ini.*
      1SG AV-serve-APPL   guest   in   shop   this

   'I serve customers in this shop.' (Elicited)

Sentence (12) is another example of causative verbs *tiŋgal-eʔ* 'leave,' which takes a patient NP as the object.

(12) *kau tiŋgal-eʔ   tas ineʔ.*
      2SG leave-CAUS   bag this

   'You left this bag.' (Elicited)

In excerpts (13) and (14), verbs *antar-eʔ* and *buat-eʔ* are derived from transitive roots and have a benefactive meaning. In (13), the beneficiary is Edi, whereas in (14), the beneficiary is the narrator, which is not explicitly expressed in the clause:

(13) *la   uda   makan   Edi də-antar-eʔ   baliʔ   dari bapaʔ-ə.*
      DM   already   eat   Edi PASS-take-APPL   back   by   father-DEF

   'After eating, Edi was taken home by the father.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 109)

(14) *paʔ Ciʔ muat-eʔ   pəlataran   pəbasuan*
      uncle   AV.make-APPL   rack   doing.the.dishes

   kan   naʔ   makai   kayu.
      with   will   AV.use   wood

   'Uncle Cik made a rack (for drying dishes after washing) for us using wood.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 63)

Excerpts (15)–(16) include verbs with the suffix *-kan*. Sentence (15) shows an example of *paksə-kan* 'to force.' The verb is used as a causative verb, with the object indicating the patient.

(15) *səbənar-ə   daʔ cucoʔ   idaŋ   aku tapi aku makəsə-kan   diriʔ.*
     actually-DEF   NEG suitable   for   1SG but 1SG AV.force-APPL   self

   'Actually (this) is not suitable for me, but I forced myself (to do so).' (Fithrorozi 2015: 30)

In sentence (16), the verb *ɲiap-kan* has a benefactive meaning. The beneficiary is the narrator, who is not explicitly expressed in the clause.

(16) *sampai   də   ruma   PaʔCiʔ ɲiap-kan   alat-alat=ə.*
     arrive   in   house   uncle   AV.prepare-APPL   tools=DEF

   'Arriving home, Pak Cik prepared the tools.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 63)

We can readily see suffixes *-eʔ* and *-kan* as reflexes of suffixes *-i* and *-kan* in SI and Malay, respectively. However, verbs with suffix *-eʔ* cover a wider semantic domain than those with suffix *-i*, functioning as causative verbs, beneficiary verbs, and locative-recipient verbs. This leads to a semantic overlap between *-eʔ*-suffixed verbs and *-kan*-suffixed verbs. Table 8 lists the pairs of *-eʔ*-suffixed verbs and *-kan*-suffixed verbs with the same root found in our data. They all function as causative verbs, exhibiting similar meanings.

Table 8. BM verbs that have both N-*eʔ* and N-*kan* forms

Root	N-*eʔ*	N-*kan*	Gloss
sənaŋ	*sənaŋ-eʔ*	*sənaŋ-kan*	to make someone happy
siap	*siap-eʔ*	*siap-kan*	to prepare
abis	*abis-eʔ*	*abis-kan*	to use up

4. Functional words

4.1. The definite clitic =ə

The clitic *=ə* has two functions: First, it refers to an entity that is identifiable from the context. Excerpt (17) exemplifies this.

(17) *ləpas   Magrib   aku   ŋən-dəŋar   aya   aku   main   keyboard.*
     after   magrib   1SG   AV-hear   father   1SG   play   keyboard

     baru   uda   mukaʔ   telekoŋ gəribas
     right   after   open   prayer.garment

     aku   bəlajar   ŋən-dəkat-eʔ   aya
     1SG   learn   AV-close-APPL   father

     naʔ   turut   main   keyboard.
     want   follow   play   keyboard

     aku gaʔ   ŋən-dəŋar   biar   tau   cara   main=ə[7].
     1SG just   AV-listen   so.that   know   way   play=DEF

'After Magrib, I heard my father play a keyboard. Right after I opened the *telekong*, I learnt (it) to get closer to my father, following him playing the keyboard. I just listened (to him) so that I would get to know the way to play.' (Fithrorozi 2012: 31)

Second, it is used as a nominalizer, as shown in Excerpt (18).

(18) *malam   itu   cepat   bənar   ŋantoʔ=ə.*
     night   that fast   really   become.sleepy=DEF

'That night (I) got sleepy really early. (lit. sleepiness comes really quickly).' (Fithrorozi 2015: 63)

The third person possessive clitic *=ɲə* also functions similarly.

Sentence (19) comes from a town sign telling Belitung people to stop illegal mining.[8] Note that the associative suffix *-ɲe* is attached to *izin* 'permission.'

(19) *ŋapə   ndaʔ   takut   kaloʔ   kitə   bəgawe   atau*
     why   not   scared   if   1PL.INCL   work   or

     nambaŋ   təmpat   ndaʔ   adə   izin=ɲə?
     mine   place   NEG   exist   permission=3POSS

'Why don't you get scared of working or mining in the place (where) there is no permission?' (cited from a town sign)

In the children's essays, the clitics *=ə* and *=ɲə* seem to be used similarly as seen in (20) to (22). In (20a), *rase=ɲə* is of the first function, while *- ə* of (20b) is the nominalizer of the verb *jatu.*

(20)a.   *sakit,   rase=ɲə   badan   ne   naʔ   pata.*
         painful   feeling=DEF   body   this   will   fall

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[7] In the original essay, *=ə* is spelled separately from the preceding word.

[8] This sentence was originally written in capital letters.

b.   *untuŋ   jatuʔ=ǝ di paser.*
      lucky   fall=DEF LOC sand

'(a) Auch. The body felt like it was falling apart. (b) (I) was lucky to fall on sand. (Fithrorozi 2015:65)'

ɲǝ of *mandiʔ= ɲǝ* in (21) can be interpreted as a nominalizer of the verb *mandi* as well as an associative of the speaker's nominalized action, *mandi*.

(21) *Aku di-mara-eʔ   dari   umaʔ   basǝ   mandiʔ=ɲǝ   kǝlamaan.*
     1SG di-scold-APPL from   mom   because mandi=DEF   long

'I was scolded by Mom as the mandi took too long.' (Fithroroi 2015: 65)

Likewise, *ǝ* of *nasiʔ=ǝ* in (22) is an associative that identifies the before the mentioned entity.

(22) *Risma   tek bǝ-cǝritǝ dapat   nasiʔ   uduk   laok   ayam*
     Risma   DM BE-say can   rice   meal   side.dish chicken

   tapi   nasiʔ=ǝ kǝrai   macam
   but   rice=DEF stiff   like

   kuraŋ   masak.
   not.enough   cooked

'Risma said (she) rice cooked in coconut milk with chicken but the rice was stiff as though it had not been well cooked.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 28)

ɲǝ of *tuan= ɲǝ* in (23) is an associative use of =*ɲǝ*, whose antecedent is not explicit.

(23) *pas   kamek   bǝ-jalan,   kamek   ŋe-liat   tuan= ɲǝ.*
     just.when 1PL.EXCL BE-walk   1PL.EXCL AV-see   master=DEF

   asukʔ   itu   ŋ-ǝjarkan   tuan=ɲǝ.
   dog   that AV-come.after master=DEF

'Right when we were walking, we saw the man. That dog chased that man.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 47)

4.2. Prepositions, auxiliaries, and connectives

Tables 9–11 show the BM prepositions, auxiliaries, and conjunctions, respectively.

Table 9. Belitung Malay prepositions

Form	Meaning
dǝ	location 'at, in'
kǝ	direction 'to'
dari	ablative 'from,' passive agent (6.3) 'by'
kan	instrument, comitative 'with'
akan	target of the emotion

Table 10. Belitung Malay auxiliaries

Form	Meanings
kuaŋ	permitted 'may or can'
lum	not yet
naʔ	intention, future 'want, will'
daʔ	negator
giʔ	progressive, or 'still'
usa	prohibition 'must not'

Table 11. Belitung Malay connectives

Form	Meaning
mun	conditional 'if'
kan	coordinator 'and/with'
kun	coordinator 'and/with'
noʔ	relativizer
basə	reason 'because'
muji	reason 'because'
kidaŋ/idaŋ	result, purpose 'so that, in order to'

4.3 Pronouns

The BM pronouns are listed in Table 12.[9] In addition to the reflexes of PM forms, some second-person pronouns, such as *mika* and *bundi*, are specific to BM.

Table 12. Belitung Malay pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	*aku/ ku=*	*kameʔ* (EXCL), *kitə* (INCL)
2	*kau/ kao, sidaʔ* *mikaʔ* (plain, informal) *ikam* (deferential)	*mika-mika*, *bundi*
3	*diə* *bəlau* (honorific)	*mərikə*

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[9] The formal 2pl and 3pl forms *mika-mika* and *bundi* are rarely used, and they are not found in the children's essays in the anthorogy.

The form *mikaʔ* is used for general or public use, or anonymous second-person pronouns, while *ikam* is used in both formal and informal situations, typically referring to someone senior to, and close to, the speaker. Excerpts (24) and (25) illustrate this.

(24) *təkidar   kan abaŋ-abaŋ   nok ŋgən-jagok   teʔ, mikaʔ   usa*
     around   with brothers   REL AV-compete   DM   2SG   should.not

   niru.
   imitate

   'When old brothers are competing like that, you should not imitate that.'
   (Fithrorozi 2015: 60)

(25) *loŋ!   ikam   masak   apə   ikan   teʔ?*
     uncle   2SG.DFR cook   what   fish   DM

   'Big uncle, what are you going to make from that fish?' (Fithrorozi 2015: 61)

In addition to the free forms in Table 12, the clitic *=ɲə* '3.POSS' is used to mark the possession of the third person. As mentioned in 4.1, this form also functions as a definite marker.

BM has distinctive kinship terms, including reference terms and terms of address, as listed in Table 13. Some of the address and kinship terms appear when BM speakers use SI. This is probably because in BM, *ibu/bu* is used both as a term of address and as a reference form for aunts, such as in *bu loŋ* 'older aunt,' *bu ŋa* '(lit.) middle aunt,' and *busu* '(lit.) short mother.' It should be noted that BM differentiates the order of birth of uncles and aunts. Thus, the oldest brother/sister of the speaker's parent is *pak/bu loŋ* '*loŋ* father/mother,' while the youngest brother/sister of the speaker's parent is *pak/bu su* in both reference and address forms. These terms are bilateral.

Table 13. BM reference and address forms for kin

Kinship term	Address	Meaning
abaŋ 'older brother'	*baŋ*	older brother
lakaʔ 'older sister'	*kaʔ*	older sister
adiʔ 'younger sibing'	*adiʔ, diʔ*	younger sibling
ayah 'father'	*ayah*	father
bapaʔ 'father'	*paʔ*	father
umaʔ 'mother'	*maʔ*	mother
ibu 'mother'	*ibu*	mother
paʔ loŋ	(*paʔ*) *loŋ*	the oldest brother of parent
ibu loŋ	(*maʔ*) *loŋ*	oldest sister of parent
paʔ busu	(*paʔ*) *busu*	the youngest brother of
paʔ ciʔ	(*paʔ*) *ciʔ*	parent, man of older generation

Table 13. BM reference and address forms for kin (cont.)

Kinship term	Address	Meaning
maʔ busu	(*maʔ*) *busu*	the youngest sister of
maʔ ciʔ	(*maʔ*) *ciʔ*	parent, woman of older generation
paʔ ŋa	(*paʔ*) *ŋa*	other brothers of parent
ibu ŋa	(*maʔ*) *ŋa*	other sisters of parent
kakiʔ	*kiʔ*	grandfather
nineʔ	*neʔ*	grandmother

5. Clause structure

5.1 NP structure and equational sentences

As in other vernacular Malay varieties, the head noun precedes the modifier(s), as in excerpts (26) and (27). In (26), a noun modifies the head noun, while in (27), a relative clause introduced by the relativizer *noʔ* modifies the head noun.

(26) *bau   ikan*
     smell   fish

   'fish smell' (Fithrorozi 2015:60)

(27) *bua   jeroʔ   noʔ la masaʔ   to*
     fruit   orange   REL DM ripened   that

   'The orange that is already ripened.'(Fithrorozi 2015: 60)

5.2 Intransitive clauses

The constituent order is flexible in intransitive clauses. A single argument may occur either before the predicate, as in sentence (28), or after the predicate, as in sentence (29).

(28) *ari Jum'at   jam 15:12   aku kun abaŋ   aku pəgi   kə   kuloŋ.*
     day Friday   hour 15:12   1SG and brother   1SG go   to   mine.

   'Friday at 15:12, me and my older brother went to tin mining ponds.' (Fithrorozi 2015:56)

(29) *seteŋah jaman   baliʔ   la   kameʔ   muji   ari*
     half   hour   return then   1PL.EXCL   because day

   la   sure.
   already   evening

   'We returned after half an hour because it was already late in the evening.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 30)

5.3 Transitive clauses

There are three types of transitive clauses: active voice construction, passive voice construction, and bare verb construction. In the active voice construction, verbs with nasal

prefixes, that is, *ŋəN-* or *N-* occur in the predicate. The construction takes the SVO constituent order, as shown in sentences (30) and (31).

(30) *səkali   sampai   də kuloŋ,   baŋ   Utet   giʔ   ŋapaʔ   tana.*
      once   arrive   in mine   brother Utet   PROG   mine/dig land

   'When he arrived at the mining pond, elder brother Utet was still digging the land.' (Fithrorozi 2015:56)

(31) *la   uda   mandiʔ   aku makai   bajuʔ   kan saluar   panjaŋ*
      there   already   take.a.shower   1SG AV.use   clothes   and pants   long.

   'After washing myself, I put on a jacket and loose pants.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 48)

The short form for 1SG *ku=* may be used before the verb, as seen in sentence (32).

(32) *la   di   atas   ku=picit   klakson   əmpat   kali.*
      there   in   above   1SG=honk   klaxon   four   time

   'There I honked the klaxon four times.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 56)

Excerpt (33) is an example of a passive construction with a verb and the prefix *di-*. In most cases, the patient NP precedes the predicate, and the agent NP occurs immediately after the predicate without a preposition.

(33) *aku di-suro   bapaʔ   ŋumpulkan   kayu   noʔ la*
      1SG PASS-order   father   AV.collect   wood   REL then

   də-tebaŋ[10]   *bapaʔ   aku tadi.*
   PASS-cut.down   father   1SG before

   'I was told by my father to collect the woods which had been cut down by my father before.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 59)

In some cases, the preposition *dari* 'from' precedes the passive agent, as seen in excerpt (34).

(34) *kameʔ   teʔ də-baris-eʔ   dari   Paʔ Hendra*
      1PL   DM PASS-line-CAUS   from   Mr. Hendra

   'We were ordered to form into a line by Mr. Hendra (their classroom teacher).' (Fithrorozi 2015: 23)

Excerpts (35) and (36) are examples of bare verb constructions. Here, bare verbs are immediately preceded by an agent pronoun. The patient NP precedes the combination of the agent pronoun and predicate.

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[10] As mentioned in Introduction, an inconsistency is observed in the spelling of the passive prefix (*di-/de-*) here.

(35) *bua*   *jəroʔ*   *noʔ la*   *masaʔ*   *to*
      fruit   orange   REL DM   ripen   that down

      ku=bela,   *ku=taroʔ*   *baŋ aiʔ.*
      1SG=break   1SG=put   in   water

      'Oranges which were ripened, I cut (them) into halves and put (them) in water.' (Fithrorozi 2015: 56)

(36) *uda*   *tu,*   *aku bəlau*   *paksə.*
      after   that   1SG 3SG   push

      'After that, he pushed/forced me (to accept his gift, a bird).' (Fithrorozi 2015: 60)

Based on limited observations of the usage in our data, the bare verb construction is used when both the agent and patient exhibit high topicality.

6. Summary

BM is a vernacular Malay dialect spoken on Belitung Island. It is used for inter-ethnic communication on this ethnically divergent island, and is the native language of Malay people there. The main source of data for this study is children's essays in two volumes of anthologies (Fithrorozi 2012, 2015) written in children's natural speech style.

Phonologically, BM exhibits similar features to Bangka Malay, such as the loss of PM *h* and the presence of root-final *ʔ*, which is absent in PM.

Most PM affixes are retained in BM, but the function underwent independent development. For example, verbs with the applicative suffix *-eʔ*, which is considered a reflex of PM suffix *-i*, exhibit a wider domain of semantics, such as (simple) causative and benefactive, as well as locative; the former overlaps with the verbs with another applicative suffix, BM *-kan*.

As for functional words, the prepositions and pronouns retain the PM forms to a greater degree, although connectives and auxiliaries seem to have undergone independent innovations. Some may have their origins in loans. BM also has a definite clitic *=ə*, the semantics of which overlap with the definite marking usage of the third-person possessive enclitic *=ɲə*.

BM has three types of transitive construction: the active construction, the passive construction, and the bare verb construction. The bare verb construction is used when the agent pronouns occur immediately before the verb.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3   The first, second, third person; APPL: applicative; AV: active voice; BI: Bahasa Indonesia; BM: Belitung Malay; CAUS: causative; DEF: definite; DFR: deferential; DM: discourse marker; EXCL: exclusive; FML: formal; INCL: inclusive; INFML: informal; IPA: International Phonetic Association; NEG: negator; PASS: passive; PL: plural; POSS: possessive; PROG: progressive; REL: relativizer; SG: singular; SI: Standard Indonesian.

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