

Indonesian in North Kalimantan: A melting pot of national, regional and local features

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This paper describes some features of the Indonesian variant spoken in the Province of North Kalimantan, in particular the language spoken in the island of Tarakan and some of the areas gravitating around it, namely the towns of Sekatak and of Malinau. Despite the presence of two traditional Malay dialects in the adjacent Provinces of East Kalimantan, Berau Malay and Kutai Malay, the language of interethnic communication spoken in North Kalimantan did not develop directly from those two dialects. In fact it developed from a combination of elements, comprising features of the national language used in the education systems, in the press, in politics, and of its colloquial variant originally spoken in the capital and that spread in the area thanks to the many immigrants from other regions. Few elements of Eastern Borneo Malay dialects and local lexemes and expressions enrich this variant where national, regional and local features merge.

1. Introduction¹

Indonesian is spoken in different ways in the archipelago depending on the poly-linguistic setting in which it occurs. In this paper I will provide a preliminary description of the Indonesian language spoken in some areas of the province of North Kalimantan (Kalimantan Utara or Kaltara). In particular I will question whether this variety, the language of interethnic communication spoken in Kaltara is a dialect of its own and has a specific name. To do this I will first question whether it developed directly from Malay dialects spoken in the surrounding areas or if it developed from the national language and from a local version of Indonesian. The national language is used in the education system, in the press, in the public sphere in its standard version, whereas in their informal interactions speakers of different backgrounds use a local variant of Indonesian that spread in the area thanks to the many immigrants from South Kalimantan (Banjar), South Sulawesi (Bugis, Makassar and Toraja) and Java mixed with features of colloquial varieties of Indonesian, such as Jakartan Indonesian. This (latter) language of socialization also called *bahasa gaul* has become the symbol of youth communication and therefore is easily found in online communication such as blogs, Facebook, twitter and Instagram posts as well as in Youtube. This variety has been spreading way beyond the borders of the capital city to reach many peripheral places to become emblematic of modern urban Indonesia.

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Through the analysis of naturalistic data recorded in informal settings, the common features of this variety will be described here. Some of these features coincide with Standard Indonesian, others with Malay varieties spoken in North-East Borneo, others derive from the local languages used in the area, others from Jakartan Indonesian. In this area like elsewhere in Indonesia, speakers live in polyglossic contexts where growing mobility and enhanced communication give them the possibility to have access to a pool of different resources that combined, contribute to the emergence of a dynamic language variety.

2. Language ecology in North Kalimantan

This study addresses the Indonesian language spoken in the newly formed Province of North Kalimantan (Kaltara = Kalimantan Utara) in the island of Borneo (see Figure 1), established in 2012. Once belonging to the Province of East Kalimantan (Kaltim = Kalimantan Timur) in the past this region was part of the Kutai Reign then fell under the Brunei Sultanate. The total population of this Province according to data from the Central Statistics Body for 2019 (see Badan 2019) is projected towards the figure of 742,245 inhabitants² distributed in 4 Regencies (*Kabupaten*) and one Administrative Town. The main place of observation for this paper is Tarakan, the Administrative Town and the Island from which it gets its name. Tarakan is at the moment the most populated and developed administrative section with around 260,000 inhabitants (see Badan 2018). The other Regencies are Malinau, Bulungan, Nunukan and Kabupaten Tana Tidung.



Figure 1. Map of the Indonesian Province of Kalimantan Utara (source mapsofworld.com)

² These figures represent only projections provided by the Central Statistics Body (Badan Pusat Statistik) which run the last National census in 2010 and will have the next census in 2020.

The area was originally part of the Bulungan Sultanate that was later subsumed within the Sulu Sultanate in the bigger Sulu Zone. This was the most expansive maritime network of trade in South-East Asia, that allowed exchanges with China and Philippines and comprised all coastal areas of Borneo, Sulawesi, Moluccas and the southern Philippines (see Figure 2). The Sulu Zone that saw its growth in the 17th and 18th century started to shrink when Western powers began to cooperate and to weaken the Samal and Tausug groups, the main actors of this network. The aggressive expansion of the West eventually provoked a decline of the maritime states at the end of the 19th century (see Warren 1981 and 1997).

Most of the data in this paper comes from the island of Tarakan and some towns on the main island of Borneo gravitating around it such as Sekatak (in Bulungan) and Malinau. The paper also includes data collected during the years for a language documentation project on the Kenyah and Punan languages in the Malinau Regency. During that project, speakers of Kenyah and Punan languages were noted entertaining conversations in Indonesian with non-Kenyah and non-Punan, especially in the capital town of Malinau and in Tarakan.

The particular position of Tarakan makes it a converging point of different interests in the past as well as today. During the pre-colonial and colonial times, Tarakan, being at the mouth of the Sesayap river on the Borneo island, was a *rendez-vous* place for the Tausug people arriving from the Sulu archipelago. The Tausug were involved in the trade of a wide range of forest products coming from the interior of Borneo and from the various Sultanates on the eastern coastal area of Borneo (see Figure 2). This maritime trade connected the Sulu Sultanates with other South-East Asia states and China and linked therefore the Philippines with Borneo, Sulawesi, Malaysia, Singapore and China and eventually with European powers (see Figure 3.) More recently in the 20th century Tarakan, being an island rich with natural resources such as coal, gold, gas and oil in its surrounding sea, attracted the interests of the Royal Dutch Colonial Company that started to make explorations and to extract large quantities of oil and gas. Nowadays Tarakan is a city with an international airport serving all the national air carriers and connecting most of the regions in Indonesia. It is the main point of arrival to the province of North Kalimantan and therefore to all towns and villages in the interior of the main island of Borneo.

The original population of Tarakan were the Tidung, a group of people speaking a Murutic language with the same name³ who, during the 17th-20th centuries, acted as intermediaries in the trade between the maritime traders and the local people from the interior of Borneo in the Sulu zone. This appears from the map in Figure 2. They also provided the Sulu with slaves of various origin, the necessary manpower for the collection of these goods. At the beginning of the 20th century the Dutch colonial officers were not able to fill the necessities imposed by the extraction of resources and therefore a considerable number of people from other areas especially from Java had to be imported. This movement of people (especially from Java) continued also during the Japanese occupation of the island to serve the needs of the thousands of Japanese soldiers living in Tarakan and later to accommodate the transmigration programs developed by the Indonesian Government. Development and trade during the centuries has also attracted other ethnic groups such as the Bugis, the Makassar and the Toraja

³ Tidung's ISO code is 393-3 (itd).

from South Sulawesi as well as the Banjar people from South Kalimantan and other people from the adjacent areas of Malinau, Bulungan and Berau as well as Chinese traders or people of Chinese descent in general.

This is just to give a picture of the socio-linguistic ecology of the island that is nowadays very complex and variegated and gives the context to provide a description of the language of interethnic communication spoken today among many different ethnolinguistic groups in the Indonesian province of North Kalimantan.

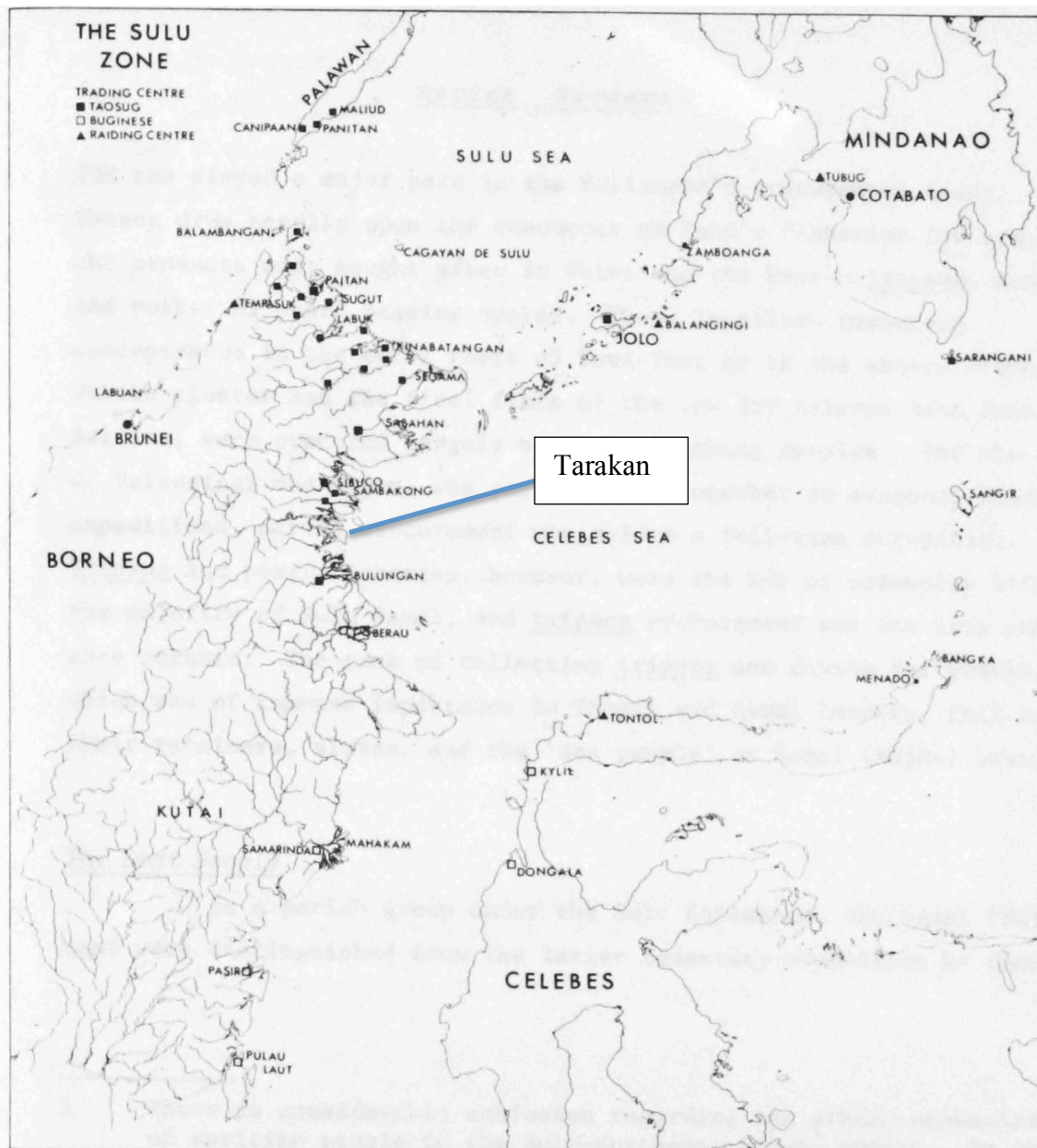


Figure 2. Map of the Sulu Zone (Warren 1975:115)

Beyond the multiethnic Tarakan, the whole province is home of different ethnolinguistic groups such as Kenyah, Kayan, Lun Daye, Murut, Punan who all mostly live in the adjacent regency of Malinau. The inhabitants are divided into several ethnic

groups: Javanese, South Sulawesi (generally referred to as Bugis, Makassar and Toraja), then Bornean indigenous people (Lun Dayeh, Kenyah, Murut, Bulungan, Tidung, Kutai and Banjar). Unfortunately the exact percentages of people according to ethno-linguistic groups vary a lot depending on the source. Here it is important just to give a picture of the heterogeneity of languages and dialects spoken in the area.



Figure 3. Map of the Sulu Sultanates Trade in South-East Asia (Warren 1981:2)

2.1 The role of Tidung and the other local languages in Tarakan

Among the people shaping the heterogeneity of North Kalimantan special mention should be given to the Tidung. Once the original people of Tarakan, now they represent a meager minority in the island (7,47%). They are also spread in other regencies, especially in the regency of KTT (Kabupaten Tana Tidung) and in Sabah. The Tidung represent an interesting indigenous group of Borneo that have changed their identity and identify themselves as the *Melayu Dayak*, or Dayak Malay. As parts of the Murutic group, Murut variants are also spread in the Sabah province of Malaysia and are divided into several groups. In Tarakan and KTT the speakers of these Murut languages are in majority Moslems and have adopted many of the Malay traditions to the point they identify themselves as Malay despite the fact they speak a non-Malay language. In Borneo the phenomenon of '*masuk Melayu*' meaning 'to become Malay' is well known. This process signifies a change of religion and relative change of ethnic identification (see among the others, Bond 2017 and Acciaoli & Reuter 2016).

In Tarakan it was expected that Tidung was spoken as a vernacular language within the Tidung community, especially in some of the traditional villages such as Mamburungan, Selumit Pantai and Juata Laut. Instead, a preliminary observation showed that the

dominant language is a regional variant of Indonesian and that the local language, Tidung, is used with proficiency but by a very limited number of elderly people. This is the case also of the other local languages spoken at different levels of proficiency on the island⁴. This poly-linguistic situation has triggered the questions of what kind of Indonesian do Tarakan people (and the people gravitating in towns around it) speak today, and how to name this variant. How far is it from Standard Indonesian? Is it a local version of Indonesian? Is it a colloquial variant? Another question is whether there is a difference in the Indonesian language spoken among the many ethnic groups shaping North Kalimantan Province. In particular it is questioned whether the Tidung people, - very proud of their ethnic background and supported by a local ethnic organization and by local intellectuals (see Arbain 2018) - speak a local variant of Indonesian and whether their language differs to that of the many people of Bugis, Makassar and Javanese background who have been living in the Province for three generations or more.

2.2 Is there a common vernacular Malay in North Kalimantan?

As elsewhere in Indonesia, especially in Borneo, variants of Malay vernaculars developed in coastal areas (see Adelaar & Prentice 1996). In the case of this paper's context, the Malay dialects that developed in this area in the North-East part of Borneo are especially Kutai Malay and Berau Malay in Indonesia and Sabah Malay spoken in the Province of Sabah in East Malaysia and Brunei Malay spoken in the Brunei Sultanate. No specific Malay labeled variant has been recorded in the area around Tarakan and in the Province of Kaltara.

Collins (2006) proposing some features of the Malayic Variants of Eastern Borneo, observes that very few Malay dialects are spoken in this area and especially in the East Kalimantan province of Indonesia. No reference is made about Tarakan and its surrounding area that at the time of Collins' paper was part of the province of East Kalimantan. Collins (2006:39) observes that in East Kalimantan, considering some phonological features, there are three Malay dialects: Kutai Malay, Berau Malay and Kutai Lakes Malay.

Kutai Malay, with its population of around 300,000 speakers according to *Ethnologue* 2018, (Simons and Fennig 2018) is spoken in the original Kutai and Bulungan Sultanates now being part of the provinces of East and North Kalimantan. Kutai Malay is phonologically similar to the Malay spoken in the West Malay speaking world, in particular to the dialects spoken in Johor and Riau and we can add, to the standard varieties of Malay and Indonesian. The main differences are especially in the open class of lexicon where relevant differences for common words are found⁵ (Collins 1996 and 2006).

⁴ This observation fits with the results of a survey carried at the local Borneo University in Tarakan and reported by Mohamad Thobroni, a lecturer of Indonesian literature on 14/09/16. A number of questionnaires filled by the students who acted as informants in this survey, showed that Tidung ethnic people might recognize Tidung as their mother-tongue but in fact they are unable to speak it. Actually also students of different origins but born in Tarakan such as Bugis, Makassar, Toraja and Java, acknowledged these languages as their mother tongues. They declared so when they filled the questionnaires but in fact when they were prompted to speak in these local languages they were unable to do so. They have a passive knowledge of their respective local languages and can just understand what their relatives speak in family gatherings.

⁵ Some of these differences are the following: *koyo* instead of *anjing* 'dog' *jukut* instead of *ikan* fish and *etam* instead of *kita* for the first person inclusive personal pronoun.

Berau Malay (counting around 11,200 speakers according to Ehtnologue 2018), is spoken in what was the Berau Sultanate, now part of the province of East Kalimantan. In the description of Collins (1994), Berau Malay (called *bahasa Banua*) does not display final glottal phonemes such as /h/ and glottal stop, PMP*ə has shifted to /a/ and it merges with the original *a, and the language has a three vowels system: /a/ /i/ /u/. Another typical feature is the gemination of consonants following the original *ə.

As far as Kutai Lakes Malay is concerned, phonologically it displays some features shared by Berau Malay such as the merging of *ə and *a in /a/. In this dialect there is a further development of a change of /a/ to /ə/ before voiceless consonants. For this reason, in this dialect the system has four vowels /a/ /i/ /u/ and /ə/ as a development of *a and the gemination of the following non-voiced consonant.

If we look at some features discussed by Hoogervorst (2011), for Sabah Malay, very closely related to Brunei Malay, we can definitely include this Malay dialect within the same Eastern Borneo Malay grouping proposed by Collins (2006: 47). The most striking phonological feature of Sabah Malay is the three vowels system and the change of PMP *schwa into /a/ /i/ or /u/ depending on the preceding consonant. Another feature of Sabah Malay is the absence of consonant clusters in words such as *karabau* ‘buffalo’ and *karaja* ‘to work’.

We should not ignore the important role played by other Malay variants spoken in the surroundings of North-East Kalimantan, in particular, of Banjar Malay that spread from the South Kalimantan area of Banjar towards north and east. It is well known that in the capital town of East Kalimantan Province, Samarinda, Banjar Malay is the local Malay lingua franca of the area and shares a certain amount of features with other Eastern Borneo languages. People speaking this variant have moved in many areas of East and North Kalimantan also. In conclusion the East Borneo Malay dialects are Brunei, Berau, Kutai Lakes, Banjar and Sabah Malay.

Next to these Malay vernaculars, one common Vehicular Malay⁶ must have been spoken in the wide maritime area covered by the Sulu Sultanate. Unfortunately lack of historical evidence prevents us to define the features of this vehicular trade language whose traces must have been left in the area. Similarities between features found in North Kalimantan with those found in other varieties of Malay attested in other areas (see Paauw 2008 and Adelaar & Prentice 1996) have been recorded. Of the eight features considered markers of vehicular/contact varieties of Malay and listed by Adelaar & Prentice (1996) at least five occur in the Indonesian spoken in North Kalimantan⁷.

What is interesting at this point to understand is whether and to what extent these Malay dialects did shape the language in this area. The Malay spoken in Sabah and in Brunei

⁶ According to Paauw 2008:39 who describes features of Eastern Indonesian: “Vehicular Malay is the term for the variety or varieties of Malay which spread the language through trade and colonial policy, to areas outside the Malay homeland. [...] The exact nature of Vehicular Malay is not known, and there were certainly different varieties over time, with differing places of origin. However, there are features which these varieties of Vehicular Malay had in common, and there are certain conclusions which can be drawn about the nature of the language.”

⁷ The eight features that contact varieties of Malay have in common according to Adelaar & Prentice (1996) are: 1. Possessor-*punya*-possessed construction; 2. plural pronouns with the element *orang* following the singular; 3. *ter-* and *ber-* as the only productive prefixes; 4. the verb *ada* to indicate progressive aspect; 5. pronominal *ini* and *itu* in function of determiners; 6. the verb *pergi* used as the preposition ‘towards’; 7. periphrastic causative construction with *bikin* and *kasih*; 8. use of the multifunctional preposition *sama*.

represents a continuum to which also Kutai Malay and Berau Malay belong (Collins 2006). To explore this question, it would be appropriate to observe some peculiar features of these dialects and see whether they are represented in the variant spoken in Kaltara.

Phonologically some typical features of Brunei/Sabah/East Kalimantan variants are basically three: the change of schwa into a; the change of /e/ and /o/ into /i/ and /u/ respectively, and the change of the typical six vowel system of the Malay/ Indonesian system into a three-vowel system (/a/, /i/ and /u/). The lack of schwa is an innovation shared by Brunei Malay, Sabah Malay, Berau Malay and Kutai Lakes Malay. The gemination of consonants after schwa, which is an innovation shared by Kutai Malay and Berau Malay, makes these variants very distinctive.

Comparing these phonological rules to the variant spoken in North Kalimantan it was acknowledged that these do not apply here. The phonologic structure of North Kalimantan Indonesian does not differ from other Vehicular Malay variants with the same set of consonants and vowels, including schwa. The only phonological features of Berau Malay (see Collins 1994) that can be observed in the data collected in North Kalimantan are the lack of glottal phonemes such as /h/ and glottal stop in final position in words of very high distribution⁸. It should be noticed though, that the lack of /h/ in all positions and of glottal stop in final position is found in other Malay dialects, such as in Sabah Malay⁹ but this is also a feature of many Vehicular Malay dialects.

The Berau Malay, the Kutai Lakes Malay spoken in the nearby provinces with their typical inventory of three vowel system and of geminated consonants, never spread in the wider area that is today North Kalimantan to become a language of communication of other language communities; rather they have remained the instrument of communication of the original Malay communities. Like many other ethnic groups speaking their own languages such as the Kenyah, the Punan, the Bulusu', the Tidung, the Berau Malay and the Kutai Malay are just spoken within their own communities and display a number of idiosyncratic features (see Collins 1994, 1996 and 2006).

All these ethnic groups end up communicating with each other using a variety of Indonesian that is not exactly the standard version taught at school and used in the press as National Language but a non-standard variety (or even a collection of varieties) a regional variant of Indonesian used by the locals and also by the many immigrants coming to seek jobs in these new developing regions over the years, in particular people from Bugis, Banjar and Javanese background with some particular features. If we overlook the other Berau Malay phonological innovations that do not seem to play a role in the definition of this variety, but we indeed recognize some functional similarities with other members of the East-Borneo group, mainly Sabah Malay (the use of the negative marker *nda*, the perfective marker *suda* in final position, the pragmatic particle *ba* and the third personal pronoun *dorang*) we can hypothesize that there are some common Malay features that spread in this area of Borneo. Some of these features are also found in other variants in Borneo but also in other descendants of Vehicular Malay dialects spoken in Eastern Indonesia.

⁸ This phenomenon can be observed in the perfective aspect marker *suda*, the pragmatic particle *ba*, the verb *kasi* 'give' and the negation marker *nda*.

⁹ Hoogervorst (2011:59) describes this phenomenon acknowledging that there are few exceptions.

3. Data collection

This paper has the objective of discussing the Indonesian spoken in some areas of the Indonesian province of North Kalimantan and how to label it, whether Middle Indonesian as suggested by Errington (2014), or simply a regional Indonesian language identified by the name of the place where it is spoken like in this case, “Indonesian Tarakan style”. I will provide some examples of this Indonesian variant and define some of its features. I will do so on the basis of a preliminary analysis of naturalistic recordings of the language performed in the town of Tarakan and in the village of Sekatak, notes taken from free interaction among local speakers in the same towns and in Malinau, and some elicitations.

Given the high heterogeneity of the people living in Tarakan, Malinau and Sekatak, it was decided that the data should be taken not only from people of Tidung origin but also from those who were born in North Kalimantan but were of different ethnic backgrounds¹⁰. Some have Bugis parents, other have Banjar ancestors, others again are Punan or Tidung or are Javanese second generation transmigrants. In the conversations among people the concentration was focused on the morphology, lexicon and some specific morphosyntactic features. Informants whose age ranged between 22 and 50 years, were selected based on the fact that they represented different people in North Kalimantan while were freely having conversations with other North Kalimantan people and were available to be observed in their language habits. Most of the informants were students or young lecturers at the local university (Universitas Borneo Tarakan) but also their family members or other friends who had nothing to do with university life. In some conversations some fishermen were involved too. Efforts were made to have males and females equally represented. Topics of conversation were not designed a priori but were spontaneous and naturalistic. Conversations were transcribed with ELAN and the salient features were analyzed. Given the preliminary and descriptive nature of this presentation only a selection of the data is being accounted for. All the recorded material will be properly transcribed and tagged and then stored in some appropriate archive at the local University of Tarakan and elsewhere.

A part of the analysis was performed on elicited data based on the ‘Jackal and crow’ picture task (Carrol, Kelly and Gawne 2011) that some speakers agreed to tell. Recordings of the story based on the description of the single pictures were partly transcribed and utterances interesting for this study were selected. The use of an instrument like the ‘Jackal and Crow’ story was recognized as a neutral instrument able to produce easily comparable data among different varieties of Malay/Indonesian spoken in the Archipelago.

4. Features of Indonesian spoken in North Kalimantan: a special variant?

One of the main questions that arose prior to the collection of the data was whether and to which extent the variant spoken in the area had some specific features and whether at

¹⁰ In the case of Tarakan, given the impossibility to define who the real Tarakan people are, conversations involved some Tidung speakers and also speakers of different backgrounds. Some Tidung informants, who claimed to be the ‘real’ inhabitants of Tarakan mentioned the fact that the Indonesian language spoken by Tidung people has some quite distinctive features especially in their ‘accent’ that they define ‘*logat Tidung*’. Lack of evidence or simply lack of in-depth research in the phonology and phonotactics of the variant spoken by speakers with Tidung background prevents us from providing any data about this ‘Tidung accent’.

all the speakers were aware of speaking a variety of its own. One of the points often made by any Indonesian is the fact that they speak the national language and another or more other languages in a sociolinguistic continuum that goes from the more standard to the more colloquial. In the case of the area of observation, it has always been quite difficult to identify this language. Locals are aware that in Berau people speak Berau Malay, that in Samarinda the common language of communication is Banjar Malay and that in Kutai Kartanegara the Kutai Malay dialect, with its distinctive intonation and lexicon is used. On the other hand, when asked about what language is spoken in Tarakan and in the surrounding regencies the answer was always *Bahasa Indonesia* and when pressed to give a more detailed definition they said *Bahasa Indonesia Tarakan* 'Indonesian Tarakan style'¹¹. This answer was given both in the island itself but also in other towns such as Malinau and Sekatak where some of the naturalistic data came from. For this reason, it became interesting to understand what made this variety of Indonesian a special variety and what are these Tarakan features.

Considering that the phonologic structure did not display any of the innovations shared by the Eastern Borneo languages as proposed by Collins (2006) but observing the lack of the final glottal /h/ and glottal stop in words of large occurrence and other morphosyntactic characteristics, it became clear that this variety of Indonesian is made up of several layers. Beyond displaying features of the standard language learnt through the education system, used in the press, in politics, and of its sub-standard version, in this variant also some features of Vehicular Malay and others from local vernaculars as well as of Jakartan Indonesian occur. To describe this mixed variety, it might be useful to use the concept of 'feature pool' put forward by Mufwene (2001:30) who claims that when speakers have access to a number of features from different speech varieties, they pull features from this pool in a dynamic, identity-enforcing performance.

Some of the features that make Indonesian à la Tarakan quite distinctive and that will be discussed here, are shared by other Malay varieties, but their combination together with the incursion of some Jakartan colloquial Indonesian elements, contributes to the emergence of this variant of regional Indonesian. These comprise few morphological rules, some particular pronoun forms, (including the proclitics *ku-* and *ko(u)-* and *dorang*); the negation *nda*, the pragmatic particle *ba*, the perfective marker *suda* in head final position, some address forms taken from Banjar language like (*a*)*cil* 'auntie' and (*a*)*jang* 'uncle' and finally some specific lexemes taken from various local sources. In addition to all these, one should not ignore a number of features that come from the colloquial variant spoken in Jakarta, and hence might be characterized as a sort of koine in all the archipelago. One feature here that is in use through in the entire archipelago, is the applicative suffix *-in* that alternates with a more widespread *-kan* together for the periphrastic causative construction with *kasi* 'give' and *bikin* 'make', the possessive construction with *punya*, the multifunctional preposition *sama* 'with, by', the reduced form of the demonstratives *ni(h)* and *tu(h)* and a series of typical colloquial expressions that belong to the slang repertoire.¹²

¹¹ This Tarakan style is claimed by its speakers to be represented by a very much marked intonation and stress, but these were not identified. A specific research has to be carried out to provide evidence of these suprasegmental Tarakan features that are probably overstated by its speakers and fueled by local pride.

¹² It is important to stress that the use of *bikin*, *kasi*, *sama*, *ni(h)* and *tu(h)*, or the plural pronoun derived from the singular pronoun followed by *orang* 'person' such as *dorang* 'they', occur also in many other

4.1 Notes on Morphology

No particular region-specific rule applies in the morphology of the Indonesian spoken in Tarakan and in North Kalimantan. The morphological rules discussed here also apply to the standard and colloquial version of Indonesian spoken in Jakarta and elsewhere in other Malay dialects. In Table 1 the morphological structure of this language is provided. Here as elsewhere it is important to stress that the morphological rules of standard Indonesian apply next to more specific rules that will be displayed in examples taken from the collected data.

Table 1. Morphological rules in North Kalimantan Indonesian (NKI)

NKI	SI	Function
bə-	bər-	intransitive verbal prefix
N- (məN-)	məN-	nasalization of the first sound of the base. Seldom the nasalization is preceded by me- (like in standard Indonesian)
tə-/tər-	tər-	prefix for involuntary undergoer action
kə-an	kə-an	circumfix used to nominalize verbs and adjectives and to produce an adversative passive
di-	di-	undergoer voice prefix
-kan	-kan	causative, benefactive and applicative verbal suffix
-i	-i	locative and iterative verbal suffix
-in	-	colloquial Jakartan Indone-sian applicative suffix
reduplication	reduplication	several functions such as in Indonesian

The above table summarizes the morphological rules of this variant which show many similarities with Standard Indonesian (in the second column) and other colloquial variants such as Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian¹³ (see for instance Sneddon 2006). Here only some prefixes are accounted for: *be-* for intransitive verbs, *N-* for actor voice verbal prefix and *te-* for involuntary passive. Due to interference with the standard variant, very often the correspondent standard variant morphemes occur too. Some of the features related to morphology will be addressed also later in the section where the colloquial Jakartan Indonesian is examined. In particular examples with the poly-functional morpheme *-in* to replace the formal suffixes *-kan* and *-i* are displayed. As far as the suffix *-kan* is concerned, it occurs in its applicative function in few examples in this work (see examples (8) and (13)), whereas very few instances with *-i* were noticed (see (8) and (16)).

varieties of Malay and can be definitely ascribed to a common Vehicular Malay language known in the area and not necessarily coming from Jakartan Indonesian.

¹³ Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian is a descendant of Low Malay/Vehicular Malay varieties.

4.1.1 The prefix *be-*

The preferred intransitive prefix that corresponds in Standard Indonesian to *ber-* is *be-*¹⁴ (see example sentences (1) through (4) although in the data collected this morpheme sometimes alternates with its standard version *ber-*. For instance example sentence (1) shows that the numeral two is attached to the prefix *be-* to indicate ‘to be in two’ but in (2) it occurs with the standard form. This alternation between forms of standard and regional variant of Indonesian in North Kalimantan are found also in other instances where *ber-* verbs are employed¹⁵.

- (1) *Di mana.... di Lore kami bilang **bedua** apa...*
 di mana.... di Lore kami bilang *be-dua* apa
 LOC Where LOC Loreh 1PLEXCL say INTR-two what
 ‘Where? In Loreh we say, we were in two uhm...’ (Tar)
- (2) *Maksudnya mereka **berdua** yang punya data nda peduli.*
 maksud=nya mereka *ber-dua* yang punya data nda peduli
 intention=3SG 3PL INTR-two REL Have data NEG worry
 ‘Meaning that the two of them who have the data are not concerned with that.’
 (Tar)
- (3) *Nda... dia **beteriak** dari hp tuh ‘apa’ bilangny.*
 nda dia *be-teriak* dari hp tuh ‘apa’ bilang=nya.
 NEG 3 INTR-shout from handphone that what say=3SG
 ‘No, he shouted from his hand-phone, what’s the matter, he said.’ (Tar)
- (4) *Baju... baju tuh pake celana hitam **besepatu** kaus **bekaus***
 baju baju tuh pake celana hitam *be-sepatu* kaus *be-kaus*
 cloth cloth that use trousers black INTR-shoe sock INTR-sock
- celana tu bukan **bewarna** hitam sudah kuning... a:i*
 celana tu bukan *be-warna* hitam sudah kuning a:i
 trousers that NEG INTR-color black PFCT yellow EXCLM
- ‘As for clothes, he was wearing black trousers, shoes and socks, the trousers were not black any longer, they had become yellow.’ (ST)

4.1.2 The actor voice prefix *N-*

In North Kalimantan the main marker for active verbs is the prefix *N-* that assimilates to the first sound of the verb base according to the general morphological rule that applies

¹⁴ It should be noted that in many Vehicular Malay dialects this prefix is *ba-* although examples with *be-* were recorded in North Moluccan Malay and Larantuka Malay. Paauw (2008: 101) in a footnote acknowledges: “The change of /bər-/ > /bə-/ may also have occurred in this successor to Vehicular Malay, as most varieties of Eastern Indonesia show /ba-/ (Larantuka Malay has /bə-(r)/)”.

¹⁵ In the examples provided I use the typographic convention to mark with bold the words that fit with the topic discussed in the respective sections. Each example sentence is marked at the end with a code in parenthesis that indicate the name of the file name, or the name of the informant. The code (Tar) refers to the the set of files named Tarakan, (Mal) to those referring to data recorded in Malinau. The codes (ST), (RI), (Nur) and (Nar) correspond to the sets of files identified after the names of some of the informants.

to Standard Indonesian where the prefix is *meN-*. Despite the fact that no specific research on the use of active sentences has been performed, from the observation of naturalistic data, the main morphologic device used to mark active voice is the nasalization without the prefix *me-* as can be observed in the examples (5) and (6) (and in many other examples through the presentation). It has been observed also that there is a tendency to produce verbs without any prefix and to prefer a paratactic structure of clause combining, where juxtaposition is the rule. In some of these sentences both verbs with *meN-* and *N-* were produced (see examples (7) and (8). It should be stressed though that most of these observations come from free naturalistic interaction among people of different backgrounds. Therefore, there is no particular care for the speakers to produce well-formed utterances.

- (5) *Misalnya ada orang nabrak anjing, terus mati*
 misal=nya ada orang N-tabrak anjing terus mati
 example=3SG exist person AV-hit dog straight dead

kita tuh didenda gitu.
 kita tuh di-denda gitu
 1PLINCL DP UV-penalty that.way

‘For example, if somebody hits a dog and this dies, he/she will be fined.’ (RI)

- (6) *Bilang kamu yang baju putih itu*
 say 2SG REL cloth white that

jangan manggil macam-macam Ping kubilang.
 jangan N-panggil macam-macam Ping ku=bilang
 don't AV-call RED-kind Ping 1SG=say

‘You said that the man in white shirt... don't call him in any way, Ping, I said.’ (ST)

- (7) *Pernah ada juga itu yang mengganggu hatinya,*
 pernah ada juga itu yang meN-ganggu hati=nya
 SMLF exist also that REL AV-disturb heart=3SG

kalo aku ketemu deh kuajak deh [...]
 kalo aku ketemu deh ku=ajak deh
 if 1SG meet DP 1SG=invite DP

dia matah pisau tadi malam itu bilangny.
 dia N-patah pisau tadi malam itu bilang=nya
 3SG AV-broken knife earlier night that say=3SG

‘There was a time he had something that disturbed his hearth, if I met him I would invite him to talk... [...] he said he broke a knife last night.’ (ST)

- (8) *Toh juga di saat kamu memberikan sesuatu,*
 toh juga di saat kamu meN-beri-kan se-suatu
 DP also LOC moment 2SG AV-give-APP something
- di saat kamu susah dia akan menemani kamu,*
 di saat kamu susah dia akan meN-teman-i kamu
 LOC moment 2SG difficult 3SG FUT AV-friend-APP 2SG
- aku ngomong gitu kan.*
 aku N-omong gitu kan
 1SG AV-say like.this DP
- ‘After all, if you gave her something, in the moments of difficulties, she will be on your side, this is what I said.’ (Tar)

A note has to be made about example sentences (7) and (8) that display a mix of standard and local Indonesian morphology. In particular in (8) a more formal affixation system is used in reported speech. Here the speaker is reporting a very formal conversation about a girlfriend who is accused to be materialistic. The speaker uses a colloquial form to introduce her speech with *ngomong* ‘say’ but then in the reported speech, she uses well formed verbs such as *memberikan* ‘give’ and *menemani* ‘accompany’.

4.1.3 Involuntary undergoer voice prefix *te-*

To mark an involuntary undergoer action the prefix *te-* is used, though cases with the standar *ter-* have been recorded. Example sentences (9) and (10) illustrate the use of *te-* prefix.

- (9) *Betapa bujukan si srigala membuatnya tepengaruh.*
 betapa bujuk-an si srigala meN-buat=nya te-pengaruh
 how flattery-NMN PERS wolf AV-make=3SG INV.UV-influence
 ‘How the flattery of the jackal made (the crow) persuaded (to open the mouth).’(RI)
- (10) *Leptop nda ada kabel pun nggak tesambung*
 leptop nda ada kabel pun nggak te-sambung
 laptop NEG exist cable also NEG INV.UV-connect
- di mana-mana jadi aku nih bingung.*
 di mana-mana jadi aku nih bingung
 LOC RED-where So 1SG this confused
 ‘I did not have the cable for my laptop, so I couldn’t connect it anywhere and I did not know what to do.’ (TAR)

In the following conversation (11) where two friends discuss on the five pillars of Islam, both the forms with *te-* and *ter-* are used with the same verb *balik* ‘go back’. Maybe given the topic addressing religion, one of the speakers employs a more formal language in the attempt to repair the colloquialism of the friend talking of a serious topic and pronouncing *terbalik* instead of repeating *tebalik*.

- (11) A *Sholat... tebalik, puasa dulu baru zakat.*
 sholat te-balik, puasa dulu baru zakat
 prayer INV.UV-go.back fasting before new charity

- B *Kau yang terbalik-balik tuh.*
 kau yang ter-balik-balik tuh
 2SG REL INV.UV-RED-go.back DP
 ‘Prayer... uhm the other way around, fasting first, then charity.
 It’s you who inverted the order (of the five pillars of Islam).’ (Tar)

4.2 Personal Pronouns

In the North Kalimantan variant of Indonesian the inventory of personal pronouns is rather mainstream except for the first plural pronoun *kita* and for the third plural pronoun *dorang* that aligns with features observed in other vehicular Malay varieties and Eastern Indonesian dialects. In the following Table 2 and Table 3, personal pronouns and address terms are listed. Address terms that function as person reference, are generally kinship names used as first and second personal pronouns. Most of items listed in the following tables are shared also with Standard Indonesian except for *dorang* ‘they’ and some kinship/address terms such as *acil* and *ajang* that are Banjar, *goi* that is Tidung, *coi* that belongs to Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian etc. Some example sentences follow.

Table 2. Personal pronouns in North Kalimantan Indonesian

<i>aku/ku-/saya</i>	1SG
<i>kou/ko-/kau/kamu/kita</i>	2SG
<i>ia/dia</i>	3SG
<i>kami/kita</i>	1PL
<i>kamu/kalian</i>	2PL
<i>dorang/mereka</i>	3PL

Table 3. Address terms in North Kalimantan Indonesian

<i>ibu/bu</i>	mother
<i>bapak/pak</i>	father
<i>bang</i>	older brother
<i>ka’</i>	older brother/sister
<i>mas</i>	older brother
<i>mba’</i>	older sister
<i>de’</i>	younger brother/sister
<i>man < paman</i>	uncle
<i>te < tante</i>	aunt
<i>cil < acil</i>	younger aunt (< Banjar)
<i>julak</i>	older aunt (< Banjar)
<i>jang < ajang</i>	uncle (< Banjar)
<i>ko’</i>	older brother (used in the Chinese community)
<i>nya’</i>	older sister (used in the Chinese community)
<i>bro</i>	brother (< brother English)
<i>goi</i>	brother (< Tidung address term for a male friend)
<i>coi</i>	friend (< Jakartan Indonesian)
<i>aki</i>	grandfather (< Tidung to address an old man)
<i>nene</i>	grandmother (< Tidung, to address an old lady)
<i>miss</i>	miss (< English)
<i>boss</i>	boss (< English, to address somebody with respect)

The alternation between personal pronouns and address terms is a feature possessed by Indonesian in its standard/national language and also in its colloquial variants. Their choice depends on the social context of the speech and on the relationship between the speakers. In the Indonesian spoken in North Kalimantan some interesting comments need to be made especially for what concerns some proclitic singular forms, *kita* ‘we/you’ and *dorang* ‘they’. The most common pronouns for the first and second person pronoun are *aku* and *kou/kau* and their proclitic forms *ku-* and *ko-*. Few examples with the more formal *saya* and *kamu* were recorded too, as can be seen in the examples in this presentation. *Kita* is used sometimes in its standard function of first plural inclusive pronoun and also as a respectful form of a second personal form. This form is found everywhere in North Kalimantan and has often triggered ambiguities for its double possible meaning. In the following example (12), clearly *kita* is used to refer to the second singular respectful form, when a villager was addressing a lady from a nearby town with *kita* ‘you’ and the appellative (*a*)*cil* ‘aunt’. In the next example (13) the *kita* in the first part of the utterance might be referring to the second person singular who is in charge of recording whereas in the second part to the first plural (inclusive).

- (12) *Kita tinggal di mana cil?*
 1PLINCL stay LOC where aunt
 ‘Where do you live, Mam?’ (ST)

- (13) *Sebetulnya memang agak bingung kalau misalkan kek*
 se-betul=nya memang agak bingung kalau misal-kan kek
 one-true=3SG really rather confused if example-APP like

kita nih mau ngerekam tiba-tiba ini kita nih harus
 kita nih mau N-rekam tiba-tiba ini kita nih harus
 1PLINCL this want AV-record suddenly this 1PLINCL this must

bahasa Tarakan karena bahasa Tarakan tu keluar sendiri.
 language Tarakan because language Tarakan that come.out alone
 ‘Actually it’s a bit confusing, if you/we want to make a record of Tarakan language, suddenly we have to speak the Tarakan language, (well it is difficult because) it just comes out by itself.’ (Tar)

In (14) the speaker is referring to the fact that some newcomer who was not acquainted with the family had come into the house without prior announcement and had stayed there for a while. Not all the people in the conversation belonged to the same family so the exclusive *kami* form would be more appropriate.

- (14) *Ia nanjak kita punya rumah gitu.*
 ia N-tanjak kita punya rumah gitu
 3SG AV-step.in 1PLINCL POSS house thus
 ‘Yes, he stepped into our house.’ (Nur)

The exclusive first exclusive plural form *kami*, despite not consistently has been recorded in many utterances such as in (15) below.

- (15) *Eh-he itu itulah kami kami menolak*
 eh-he itu itulah kami kami meN-tolak
 EXCL that that-DP 1PLEXCL 1PLEXCL AV-reject

nda enak juga dipaksa sama nelayan tadi.
nda enak juga di-paksa sama nelayan tadi.
 NEG nice also UV-force AG fisherman earlier

‘Yes, the fact is that even if we wanted to refuse, it was not nice, we were forced (to accept the fish...) by the fisherman.’ (RI)

The most consistent personal pronoun that is not used in the standard language but indeed used in many other colloquial varieties especially in East Indonesia is the third plural personal pronoun *dorang* and its variant *diorang* that is a combination of the third singular pronoun *dia* followed by the word *orang* ‘person’. Instance (2) above displays the more formal *mereka* whereas the following sentences (16) through (18) display examples of the *dorang/diorang* pronoun.

- (16) *Tapi manusianya ada yang mati kan diambillah hasil di*
 tapi manusianya ada yang mati kan di-ambil=lah hasil di
 but humankind exist REL dead DP UV-bring=DP result LOC

laut tu ikan hiu ikan apa, baru dibungkus dorang nangis
 laut tu ikan hiu ikan apa, baru di-bungkus dorang N-tangis
 sea that fish shark fish what new UV-wrap 3PL AV-cry

tu orang depan ikan hiu itu meratapi mayat gitu.
 tu orang depan ikan hiu itu meN-ratap-i mayat gitu
 that person in.front.of fish shark that AV-weep-ITER corpse like.that
 ‘But if somebody dies, they (have the habit) to take a product from the sea, it can be a shark, it is wrapped and then they weep over that fish.’ (RI)

- (17) *Dari Tanjung ke Malinau sini iya naik mobil*
 from Tanjung LOC Malinau here yes go.up car

sama naik DAMRI dorang.
 with go.up DAMRI 3PL
 ‘From Tanjung ke Malinau, here, they go by car or they take the DAMRI bus’.
 (Mal)

- (18) *Banyak singkong, banyak ubi rambat, dia bilang banyak ubi*
 many tapioca many tuber creep 3SG say many tuber

rambat di sana tapi nda bisa diorang bawa ke kampung.
 creep LOC there but NEG can 3PL bring LOC village

‘There is a lot of sweet potatoes, a lot of yam tubers there but they are not capable to bring them down to the village (to sell)’. (Nar)

In the example sentences personal pronouns taken from Standard Indonesian, alternate with those that are more typical of the variant spoken in North Kalimantan. This is the case of example (2) that contains *mereka* or examples displaying the formal/standard *saya* in (21) instead of the more colloquial and widespread *aku*. It is interesting to notice the considerable use of proclitics *ku-* for the first person and *ko/kau-* for the second person (examples (19) through (22) and sometimes of the corresponding enclitics *-ku*, *-mu* and *-nya* (for the third person) in function of subject of verbs (see (23) and (24)).

Beyond the procliticization of the first and second person of the personal pronouns on verbs of thinking such as *kupikir* ‘I think’ and *kuyakin* ‘I am convinced’ (19), this phenomenon occurs also with transitive verbs such as *kuambil* ‘I take’, *kuhitung* ‘I count’ and *kupukul* ‘I hit’ (21) and intransitive verbs such as *kumasuk* ‘I enter’ and *kutinggal* ‘I remain’ (23) and other verbs like *suka* ‘like’, *bahas* ‘discuss’ and *bayangkan* ‘imagine’ (22) as exemplified below. These feature is quite widespread and shared by speakers in Tarakan and in Sekatak regardless of their background as Punan, Tidung, Bugis etc.

- (19) *Kuyakin* *nih dia sudah sadar tapi dia*
 ku=yakin nih dia sudah sadar tapi dia
 1SG=convince this 3SG PFCT aware but 3SG

nda berani ke sini.

NEG brave LOC here

‘I am convinced, he is aware but he does not dare to come here.’ (ST)

- (20) *Mau dikubur sudah nih paksa aku tinggal Pimping...*
 mau di-kubur sudah nih paksa aku tinggal Pimping...
 want UV-bury PFCT this force 1SG stay Pimping

di warung kutinggal.

di warung ku=tinggal.

LOC stall 1SG=stay

‘He was ready to be buried, so I was forced to remain in Pimping, I stayed in the stall.’ (Mal)

- (21) *Uda bilang kalo bu nda ada sama saya tadi malam*
 PFCT say if mother NEG exist with 1SG earlier night

sudah kupukul memang.

sudah ku=pukul memang

PFCT 1SG=hit really

‘I told you mam, if you were not with me last night I could have hit him.’ (ST)

- (22) *Sangking kobayangkan kami jalan dari Tanjung*
 sangking ko=bayang-kan kami jalan dari Tanjung
 because.of 2SG=imagine-APP 1PLEXCL road from Tanjung

ohi ini surfei.

EXCLM this survei

‘And imagine, we traveled from Tanjung, to make a survey’. (Tar)

- (23) *Asam urat kami sih lewat tapi asam lambung iya, bilangku.*
 asam urat kami sih lewat tapi asam lambung iya, bilang=ku.
 acid nerve 1PLEXCL DP pass but sour stomach yes say=1SG
 ‘Problems with uric acid may pass, but for me not those with gastric acid.’ (Tar)

- (24) *Nda lama dilihatnya kamera dicaj kan*
 nda lama di-lihat=nya kamera di-caj kan
 NEG long.time UV-see=3SG camera UV-charge DP

ini penyadap kah bilangnya.
 ini peN-sadap kah bilang=nya
 this PERS-bug DP say=3SG

‘Not too long after he looked at the camera that was being charged and he said:
 this is for sure a bugging.’ (ST)

In this framework, cases of truncation of the verb *coba* ‘try’ in *co-* followed by personal clitic pronouns can be listed. These examples of truncation of the verb *coba* are used to introduce some imperative forms with the first and second person clitic pronouns *coku* ‘let me’ and *coko* ‘do...’ in examples like *coku baca* ‘let me read’, *coko liat* ‘look’ *coko dengar* ‘listen’, that have become a kind of trademark of Tarakan colloquial speech. Some example utterances containing the truncated verb *coba* are in (25) through (27).

- (25) **Coko** liat ada timbanya nda di kamar mandi?
 co=ko liat ada timba=nya nda di kamar mandi?
 TRU-try=2SG See exist bucket=3SG NEG LOC room bathe
 ‘Look, is there a bucket in the bathroom?’ (Tar)

- (26) **Coko** dengar musik tu.
 co=ko dengar musik tu.
 TRU-try=2SG listen music that
 ‘Listen to that music.’ (Tar)

- (27) *Berkasmu desa (Se)tulang nah coku baca tu*
 berkas=mu desa (Se)tulang nah co=ku baca tu
 folder=2SG village Setulang DP TRU-try=1SG read that
 ‘Your folder about Setulang, let me read.’ (Tar)

4.3 The lexicon

As far as lexicon is concerned, comparing some specific terms listed in Hoogervorst (2001:60-64) who observes interrelatedness among Sabah Malay and other Malay variants in Borneo, and those mentioned by Collins (2006) not many similarities between the North Kalimantan lexicon with the Eastern Borneo variants have been detected. Indeed, in whatever conversation about language one might be involved, speakers in Tarakan and in other main towns around it, especially youths, might point out some specific words that are considered by its speakers as special ‘Tarakan words’. These can be also easily found in blogs or in YouTube where young kids would say for example: “in Tarakan if you need to say ‘plastic bag’, you do not say *kresek* but you say *kompe*.” Among those, the widespread truncated form *coko* used for some imperatives discussed in 4.2, is considered a trademark of Indonesian in Tarakan.

In conversations where the speakers are eager to show how they speak a language with specific features a number of items from the open class of lexemes comes out. It can be interesting to list some of these words and try to understand their origin. We can preliminarily conclude that the repertoire from which they come from is quite various: Banjar, Bugis, Jakarta, Tidung and probably other local languages. Despite the fact that

no in-depth study has been performed specifically on the lexicon, some observations can be made. In the following Table 4, a number of terms is listed together with their possible origin, when known.

Table 4. List of typical lexemes used in Tarakan

Tarakan word	Meaning	Possible origin
<i>bote /bote/</i>	lie	<i>bohong</i> < Indonesian
<i>ciwai /tʃiwaj/</i>	girl	<i>cewek</i> < Coll. Jak. Indonesian
<i>coko liat /tʃokolijat/</i>	look	< <i>coba kau lihat</i> (truncation)
<i>jingkang /dʒiŋkaŋ/</i>	kick	
<i>can //tʃan/</i> <i>kucan kau /kutʃan</i> <i>kaw/</i>	hit (I hit you)	
<i>tengahhari /təŋahari/</i>	midday	Malay
<i>sanggar sa^ugar/</i>	fried banana	Banjar
<i>pendeng /pəndəŋ/</i>	belt	Balikpapan
<i>kombet /kombet/</i>	army	< <i>combat</i> in English
<i>kompe /kompe/</i>	plastic bag	Balikpapan
<i>kumpau /kumpaw/</i>	big-headed	Tidung
<i>kt /kate/</i>	vehicle plate number	
<i>tudai /tudaj/</i>	clam	(Bugis)
<i>kapa /kapa/</i>	kind of clam	
<i>umbus /umbus/</i>	rice cake in coconut leaves	
<i>buras /buras/</i>	rice cake in coconut leaves	(Bugis)
<i>tohor /tohor/</i>	shallow	
<i>acil /atʃil/</i>	aunt	(Banjar)
<i>jula' /dʒulaʔ/</i>	uncle	(Banjar)
<i>aki /aki/</i>	grandparent	(Tidung/Bulusu'/Punan)
<i>goi /goj/</i>	brother	Tidung
<i>santoi /santoi/</i>	relax	Tidung

Some of these specific local words such as *kumpau*, ‘big-headed’ *kompa-kompa*, ‘provoke’, *abut* ‘care’, *goi* ‘male friend’, *santoi* ‘relax’ taken from the repertoire of the Tidung language occurred in utterances recorded in Tarakan. Others are Indonesian words that calque a common use in the local languages, such as *hari/bulan satu*, *hari/bulan dua*, *hari/bulan tiga*, etcetera, ‘day/month one, day/month two, day/month three’ for the days of the week and for the months of the year, which is done in local languages such as Kenyah and Punan and in other local languages in Borneo (see Hoogervorst 2011).

The contribution of local languages in the lexicon of Indonesian spoken in North Kalimantan can be seen in the examples (28), (29) and (30). Example (56) displays the use of numerals following the word for month and day (*bulan duabelas* ‘December’). In the following examples the speaker, RI, a Tarakan guy is clearly showing his ethnic Tidung background when reproducing the story of the “Jackal and the Crow” accessing his limited repertoire of Tidung words and inserting words such as *kumpau*, *kompa-kompa* and *diabut*. Despite the fact that the language used in this context is particularly formal, as it is common every time speakers are asked to tell stories based on images, still the speaker ‘makes efforts’ to show words and forms typical of his background

language. Beyond these lexical items, no particular feature of Tidung was observed in the Indonesian spoken by people with Tidung background.

- (28) *Kata-kata srigala itu bikin kumpau si gagak*
 kata-kata srigala itu bikin kumpau si gagak
 RED-word wolf that make big-headed PERS crow

mulai kelihatan.

mulai ke<lihat>an.

start UV<see>

‘The words of the wolf made the crow big-headed, so the crow appeared overconfident.’ (RI)

- (29) *Menyesal dengan kumpaunya, mau dikompa-kompa*
 meN-sesal dengan kumpau=nya, mau di-kompa-kompa
 AV-regret with arrogant=3SG want UV-RED-provoke

si srigala.

PERS wolf

‘(The crow) regretted his egotism that successfully was provoked by the jackal.’ (RI)

- (30) *Si gagak bawa ikan ‘eh bagi bah’ kata si srigala*
 PERS crow bring fish hey share DP say PERS wolf

yang ternyata nda juga diabut.

yang ternyata nda juga di-abut

REL actually NEG also UV-care

‘The crow took the fish, ‘hey, share it with me’ said the jackal without getting any reaction’. (RI)

4.4 Function words in North Kalimantan

In the next part of the paper specific function words that define this variant are addressed. The first one to be discussed here is the negative marker *nda* found in many examples in this paper such as in (31) used to negate verbs and adjectives. *Nda* is reported in different variants, in other Malay dialects in Borneo, (Sabah, Brunei, Banjar, Kutai Malay) but also beyond Borneo in Western Indonesia in other Malayic languages such as in Minangkabau and in the Vehicular Java Malay.

- (31) *Anak itu memang nda pelit anak itu cepat dia mau*
 child that actually NEG stingy child that fast 3SG want

mbantu orang tapi nda taulah.

N-bantu orang tapi nda tau=lah

AV-help person but NEG know=DP

‘That guy is not stingy, on the contrary he is always available to help others, but I do not know exactly.’ (ST)

Other sentences containing the negative marker *nda* are instance sentences (2), (10), (15), (18), (21), (24), (25), (30) and many more. In (3) and (58) *nda* negates the entire clause.

Other words that are considered here, like the hesitation word *anu* (see examples (34), (39), (56), (61), (63) and the personal marker *si*, have a very large occurrence in informal speech. Given space constraints only few examples are provided here. Particular attention is paid to the perfective marker *suda(h)* and the interactional particle *ba*. Other function words such as *ni(h)* and *tu(h)* in their function as pragmatic particles in final clause position are only mentioned. Their full analysis is overlooked here but it is important to stress that their occurrence deserves special study.

The personal marker *si* occurs in many instances in the speech of people speaking in Tarakan and in Sekatak as can be seen in the examples (32) and (33). This feature is widespread in other Malay variants and seems to be not typical of this variety but its large occurrence, beyond the personification of animals, is felt particularly marked when referring to personal names of people distant from the speaker.

(32) *Oh mana si Reret nih yang janji mo bikin (sup).*
 EXCLM where PERS Reret this REL promise want make soup
 ‘Oh where is Reret, he promised to make soup.’ (Tar)

(33) *Endri kenal kan sama si Endri yang tu Endri sama*
 Endri know DP with PERS Endri REL that Endri same

si Apin sama kelakuan yang sekarang kaya gini.

si Apin sama ke<laku>an yang sekarang kaya gini.

PERS Apin same NML<do> REL now like like.this

‘Endri, do you know that Endri... just like Apin, he is showing the same behavior as him.’ (ST)

4.4.1 *Suda*: a temporal marker and a discourse particle

One of the typical features of the language spoken in North Kalimantan is the use of the marker *suda* (and its variants *sudah*, *uda*, *udah*)¹⁶ that unlike its standard version in Indonesian and Malay, tends to occur in final clause position. The canonical meaning of perfective aspectual meaning possessed by *suda* in clause initial position, or in general preceding the predicate, is to indicate that an action has occurred or that a state has been achieved (see for Standard Indonesian, Sneddon et al 2010: 204-205). Although instances of *suda* before the predication are recorded, the perfective meaning of *suda* in final position can be definitely recognized as predominant here. Beyond marking perfective actions, in its final position, this marker has also the function to index urgency to perform an action, a kind of imperative. This has been observed by Kluge for Papuan Malay (2014:500) and by Hoogervorst (2011) for Sabah Malay and Ambon

¹⁶ As previously acknowledged, often the glottal /h/ in final position is not pronounced but recordings provide examples of variation where the temporal marker *sudah* is pronounced as *suda*, *uda*, *udah* and *sudah*. In general *sudah* (with final h) tends to occur when it precedes the predication as it happens in Standard Indonesian whereas *suda* has a large occurrence in head final position but no absolute rule can be applied.

Malay. With this function, *suda* seems to behave like a pragmatic particle, an interactional particle in the definition given by Djenar, Ewing & Manns (2018) that marks emphasis, a way to close the utterance with a clear expression of participation and empathy of the speaker towards his/her interlocutor.¹⁷ In conclusion, in its final position *suda* has a double function to mark perfectivity and emphasis as can be illustrated by the following examples.

In (34) the speaker is referring to the fact that nowadays the old traditions are outdated, are no longer applicable. Here it is interesting to notice that in the first part the perfective marker *suda* is located as in the standard language, before the predication, but the utterance is concluded with the same marker *suda* at the end of the whole predication. Here again, other than marking perfectivity, the head final position *suda* marks emphasis, a kind of preoccupation that the speaker wants to share.

- (34) *Itu memang mulanya banyak tradisi kita ini yang*
 Itu memang mula=nya banyak tradisi kita ini yang
 that actually beginning=3SG many traditions 1PLINCL this REL

suda nda anu sih pak nda sesuai dengan ini suda.
 PFCT NEG HES DP sir NEG according with this DP

‘Actually in the past many of our traditions are now not appropriate any longer with these times.’ (RI)

In (35) *sudah* marks a state already in effect either when the speaker, a teen-ager just come back from school, says to his mother that he has already eaten, or in statement (36) made by a speaker of Tidung background, RI, who is telling that in some traditional Tidung villages women are already married at the age of nineteen.

- (35) *Makan sudah.*
 eat PFCT
 ‘I have already eaten.’ (Mal)

- (36) *Misalnya baru umur berapa ya umur sembilan belas,*
 misal=nya baru umur berapa ya umur sembilan belas,
 example=3SG new age how.many yes age nine teen

nikah sudah.
 marry PFCT

‘Let’s say ‘she is only nineteen and she is already married.’ (RI)

In the following examples *suda* marks perfectivity and bears the meaning that the action has been concluded and that a state has been achieved. In (37) a hotel receptionist in Malinau says on the phone to a Bugis motorcycle taxi driver that the guest is ready to be picked up.

¹⁷ Given its poly-functionality *suda* (and its variants) is glossed in different ways according to the function in the examples provided. It is glossed as PFCT when it functions as perfective marker, as DP when it functions as a discourse particle (when it marks emphasis or preoccupation to share something), and IMP when it has an imperative meaning.

- (37) *Tamu ini mau berangkat suda.*
 tamu ini mau ber-angkat suda
 guest this want INTR-leave PFCT
 ‘The guest is (already) ready to leave. (Mal)

In the following sentences the speakers want to convey a kind of preoccupation, in (38) that some traditions such as the habit to help each other in the field, are lost, whereas in (39) that in some villages the rule still applies that women get married very early.

- (38) *Dulu masih ada gotong-royong di sini,*
 in.the.past still exist mutual.cooperation LOC here

sekarang nda ada sudah.
 now NEG exist PFCT

‘In the past we used to have mutual cooperation (helping each other in the field), now there is not any more this tradition.’ (Nar)

- (39) *Di sini kok anu ya perempuannya umur-umur masih muda*
 di sini kok anu ya perempuan=nya umur-umur masih muda
 LOC here DP HES yes woman=3SG RED-age still young

nikah sudah.
 marry PFCT

‘Here, you know, women still at very young age are already married.’ (RI)

In the example (40) the *suda(h)* at the end of the predication combines the meaning of perfectivity with the indication that the addressee should already know what the speaker is saying.

- (40) *Kan sudah dibilang hari minggu pulang...*
 kan sudah dibilang hari minggu pulang
 DP PFCT UV-say day Sunday go.home

kalo teman yang lain pulang sudah.
 TOP friend REL other go.home PFCT

‘I told you, she would go home on Sunday, the other friends already are already gone.’ (ST)

Some occurrences also demonstrate the use of postposed *suda(h)* with the function of time conjunction to indicate a clause of time just like *sesudah* or *setelah* in standard Indonesian. Follows an example (41) with this function.

- (41) *Itu Tanjung, atas itu sudah baru itu.*
 that Tanjung over that PFCT new that
 ‘That’s Tanjung over there, only after that it comes that (other village). (Tar)

In the following examples, *sudah* marks an urgency to update the interlocutor to give an answer in (42) or to urge herself to do something in (43).

- (42) *Jadi... ada kabar Dina sudah?*
 therefore exist news Dina PFCT

‘So, do you have news about Dina?’ (Have you heard of Dina?) (Tar)

(43) *Mo pulang suda.*

want go.home PFCT

‘It’s time to go home.’ (Time has arrived to go home.) (ST)

Example (44) is a very common expression used to invite somebody to eat. This kind of imperative is heard everywhere in North Kalimantan both for a second person and also for a first inclusive plural person like in (45). In (44) a landlady is inviting her guest to have some food whereas in (45) the invitation is made in a car by a Malinau passenger (of Javanese background) eager to have a break after a long journey, to his Banjar taxi driver from Balikpapan. The passenger is showing the driver his acknowledgment that he might be tired from the long drive and shows his empathy by suggesting the driver to have a rest.

(44) *Makan suda.*

eat IMP

‘Let’s eat.’ or ‘Please have some food’. (Mal)

(45) *Bro kita makan suda.*

bro 1PLINCL eat IMP

‘Bro, let’s eat, (it’s time to have a break)! (Mal)

In the following example (46) uttered by a mother to her child in Malinau, *suda* emphasizes the need to study after school, a way to remind him that school requires commitment and dedication also beyond the school hours. Here emphasis is on the fact that this is something that is already known by the kid, a reminder to be a good boy. In (47) the speaker urges the interlocutor to hurry up because it is time to go to the harbor to catch a speed boat to reach his final destination. *Suda* concludes the utterance with the emphasis on the fact that both speaker and interlocutor know that time has arrived to catch the boat.

(46) *Kalo pulang sekolah belajar suda.*

kalo pulang sekolah ber-ajar suda

if go.home school INTR-study IMP

‘When you are back from school, you have to study.’ (Mal)

(47) *Kalo mau ke pelabuhan silakan suda.*

kalo mau ke pe<labuh>an silakan suda

if want LOC NML<dock> please IMP

‘If you want to go to the harbour, please it’s time now, let’s go’. (Mal)

In the following example (48) a motorcycle taxi driver who has taken his passenger to destination after a quite long journey, the *suda* in final position has, beyond its perfective meaning, clearly an interactional function to emphasize that the speaker has concluded his task and can leave his passenger. His task is done and requires a kind of acknowledgment from his passenger.

(48) *Saya tinggal suda.*

1SG leave DP

‘I have to go now.’ (Mal)

3.4.2 Pragmatic particles: the poly-functional interactional particle *ba* and *ni/tu*

The pragmatic particle *ba* (also noted as *bah*) is another typical feature of many colloquial Malay variants in Borneo and beyond. It is found in Pontianak Malay, in Banjar Malay and in Sabah Malay. Hoogervorst (2011:70) who describes features of Sabah Malay mentions that this particle (*bah*) occurs also in several regional Borneo languages such as Kadazan Dusun, Timugon Murut, Belangin, Bisaya and Brunei Malay. For Tarakan it is definitely one of the most emblematic parts of the language to the point that it has become the symbol of Tarakan language. It is very much discussed and mentioned in blogs, in Facebook posts and in whatever conversation about the colloquial languages spoken in the area. It is used in any sociolinguistic situation, in comics, in movies and occurs in a very high percentage of cases by different speakers regardless of their linguistic background, their age and their social status, according to the small database of North Kalimantan Indonesian that is being built.

The reason for this very high distribution is the fact that it has various functions and can occur in different positions within an utterance. In most of the cases the occurrence is at the end of a clause (see examples (49) through (58)) but in few examples it is at the beginning of a sentence like in (59) and (60). To examine the function of this pragmatic particle in different contexts it is necessary to understand who are the speakers, what is their relationship and whether or not they share the same common ground. According to Djenar, Ewing & Manns (2018: 3), the concept of common ground is the key to understanding the function of these pragmatic particles because they manage perspective and common ground. Using their words: "... two people's common ground is the sum of their mutual, common, or joint knowledge, beliefs, and suppositions. Common ground thus informs how, and the degree to which, speakers and communities can successfully interact." Djenar, Ewing & Manns (2018:66), who take the view of Morita (2015) in addressing the Indonesian pragmatic particles as interactional particles, propose that "[...] discourse markers – and interactional particles in particular – invoke a relationship between speaker and hearer, who have particular complementary and communal responsibilities to each other and the ongoing discourse."

Although this is not the place to provide a neat description of pragmatic particles in North Kalimantan Indonesian, a number of utterances containing the poly-functional particle *ba* have been selected to be displayed as examples of different positions of the speakers within the discourse. In most of the cases *ba* occurs in statements, but often also in questions like in example (50) where it functions as a way to express disbelief and surprise. Example (49) displays *ba* in final position where the particle indicates that the addressee should already know what the speaker is saying.

- (49) A *Siapa yang kasi abis rokokku semalam?*
 Siapa yang kasi abis rokok=ku semalam?
 who REL give finish sigarete=1SG last.night
 B *Kamu ba.*
 2SG EMPH
 'Who finished my sigaretes last night?
 What a question, you!' (ST)

- (50) A *Eh minuman aku mana ba?*
 eh minum-an aku mana ba?
 EXCLM drink-NML 1SG where DP

B *Yang itu ba.*
REL that DP
'Hey, where's my drink?
That's over there.' (ST)

In the following examples *ba* functions as an urging particle, a way to emphasize an imperative and at the same time to confirm that the addressee shares a common ground like in (51) and a way to ask the driver to decrease its speed in (52).

(51) *Jangan dulu ba dia da begitu dia.*
don't Before DP 3SG TRU-PFCT like.this 3SG
'Don't do that now, he is in such situation.' (ST)

(52) *Santoi aja jalan ba.*
relax only road DP
'Slow down, take it easy.' (Tar)

In (53) a Punan Tuvu' playing badminton with a Kenyah is inviting him to give more energy to the game and to play stronger.

(53) *Kuat dikit ba.*
strong a.little DP
'Play a bit stronger.' (Mal)

In the following sentences (54) and (55) *ba* has an emphatic function to stress an assertion of truth.

(54) *Tapi itu penginapannya boy... cuman kayu aja ba boy.*
tapi itu peN-inap-an=nya boy... cuman kayu aja ba boy
but that NML<stay.overnight> boy only wood only DP boy
=NYA
'But the lodge, gosh, it was just wood.' (Tar)

(55) *Seketika dalam pikirannya "Ih, enak nya ba."*
se-ketika dalam pikir-an=nya "Ih, enak=nya ba
one-time inside think-NML=3SG EXCLM delicious=3SG DP
'Immediately in his thoughts he said: 'Mmm, this is really delicious.' (RI)

Ba also occurs after the particle *anu* to indicate hesitation, it is therefore also a kind of filler as can be seen in example (56).

(56) *Kemaren kulihat bulan duabelas anu ba.*
kemaren ku=lihat bulan duabelas anu ba
yesterday 1SG=see month twelve HES DP
'I saw it, last December.' (ST)

In the following examples the particle *ba* seems to have the function to show that the addressee's assumption is not the case. In (57) the speaker wants to stress that contrary

to what other friends think, he has traveled a lot. In (58), the speaker is explaining that the kind of sex motel he is talking about, is not the one the addressee thinks of.

- (57) *Aku Lui sudah tau sudah keliling ba ku nih bilang kan.*
 1SG Lui PFCT know PFCT around DP 1SG this say DP
 ‘I have been going around, Lui knows it, I say.’ (Tar)

- (58) A *Penginapan Cahaya?*
 peN<inap>an Cahaya
 NML<stay.overnight> Cahaya

E *Nda, yang kemarin kami di situ banyak ba*
 NEG REL yesterday 1PLEXCL LOC there many DP

orang-orang bawa perempuan di situ.
 orang-orang bawa perempuan di situ.
 RED-person bring woman LOC there

‘Cahaya Lodge?’

No, the one we went together, where many men brought women there.’ (Tar)

In a limited number of cases *ba* occurs at the beginning of an utterance generally to express disappointment like in example (59) or disbelief like in the conversation (60) below. In the Facebook post in example (59) related to the lack of basic commodities in the market during the Corona Virus emergency, the speaker (ST) is complaining with ironic disappointment that some people wrote in their Facebook status that they are boiling eggs. In (60), the response of B in the conversation between two female speakers in Tarakan emphasizes that she does not believe at all to what speaker A is saying. On the contrary, she says, the conversation has been very useful.

- (59) **Bah** *status pada rebus telur eh...*
 DP status PL boil egg EXCLM

Pantas pula telur habis di toko-toko tuh diborong ke?
 pantas pula telur habis di toko-toko tuh di-borong ke?
 suitable also egg finished LOC RED-shop DP UV-buy.up DP

‘The status of these people is boiling eggs. No wonder eggs disappeared from shops, they were stockpiled, uh?’ (ST in Facebook post 25/03/2020)¹⁸

- (60) A *Pembahasan kita hari ini nggak berfaedah banget.*
 peN<bahas>an kita hari ini nggak ber-faedah banget.
 NML<discuss> 1PLINCL day this NEG INTR-utility very

B **Ba** *sangat... kita bertukar pikiran dengan Liu.*
 Ba sangat... kita ber-tukar pikir-an dengan Liu.
 DP very 1PLINCL INTR-exchange think-NML with Liu

‘A: Our discussion today was very useless.

B: No way... we had nice exchanges with Liu.’ (Tar)

¹⁸ Being a Facebook post, it was decided to write the pragmatic particle *bah* with a final h following the way the post was written.

The reduced forms of the demonstratives *ni* and *tu*¹⁹ have a very high occurrence both as demonstratives and determiners and as pragmatic particles. Example sentences with *ni(h)* are among the others, (19), (20), (57), (62) whereas those with *tu(h)* are (4), (11), (26), (33), (61), (63), (72) and (76). In particular *tu(h)*, preceding a noun and functioning as a determiner can be seen in (62), (66) and (69). The observation of these reduced forms *ni* and *tu*, that are among the features that other Malay vehicular varieties have in common (Adelaar & Prentice 1996), requires further investigation.

- (61) *Kemarin tuh kan pas anu nenekku meninggal*
 kemarin tuh kan pas anu nenek=ku meN-tinggal
 yesterday that DP exactly HES granny=1SG AV-rest

di Tanjung baru-baru juga pagi.
 di Tanjung baru-baru juga pagi.
 LOC Tanjung RED-new also morning

‘When hmm my granny died, just recently it was in the morning.’ (Tar)

- (62) *Kubilang ni nda dua kali sudah aku naik motor baru*
 1SG=say this NEG two time PFCT 1SG go.on motorbike new

tu motor pakai motor apa.
 that motorbike use motorbike what

‘I say that I have not been able to ride that new motorbike more than two times’.
 (ST)

- (63) *Iya... sebelah kiri... baru anu itunya tuh sebelah kanan.*
 iya... sebelah kiri... baru anu itu=nya tuh se-belah kanan.
 yes one-side left new HES that=3SG that one-side Right

‘Yes, on the left side, then soon after on the right side.’ (RI)

4.5 Periphrastic causative constructions and possessive constructions

Unlike standard Indonesian that uses the suffix *-kan* to form causative verbs such as *kembalikan* ‘return something’ *memasukkan* ‘cause something to enter’, causative constructions in the Indonesian variant spoken in North Kalimantan often employs the serialization of verbs indicating ‘make’ (*bikin*) or ‘give’ (*kasi*) before verbs or adjectives to produce periphrastic causative constructions. Examples sentences with *bikin* are illustrated in (28) mentioned before and in (64) and (65) whereas the periphrastic construction with *kasi* is in examples (66) through (69).

- (64) *Yang bikin kita mengganggu itu... semak-semak itu.*
 yang bikin kita meN- itu... semak-semak itu.
 ganggu

REL make 1PLINCL AV-disturb that RED-bush that

‘What disturbs us, is when... something is messed up’. (Tar)

- (65) *Ngapain ko di sini sampe bikin semak aja.*
 N-apa-in ko di sini sampe bikin semak aja.

¹⁹ The naturalistic data display a mixed distribution of *ni/tu* with or without an audible final h. Generally when the final h is more audible it corresponds to emphasis.

AV-what-APP 2SG LOC here until make bush only
 ‘What are you doing here, you’re messing everything up.’ (Tar)

- (66) *Nda kukasi masuk tu motor.*
 nda ku=kasi masuk tu motor.
 NEG 1SG=give enter that motorbike
 ‘I did not put the motorbike inside.’ (ST).

- (67) *Siapa yang kasi abis batre komputerku?*
 siapa yang kasi abis batre komputer=ku?
 who REL give finish battery computer=1SG
 ‘Who consumed all the battery of my computer?’ (ST)

- (68) *Kalo orang dulu juga ngayun anak tu*
 kalo orang dulu juga N-ayun anak tu
 TOP person in.the past also AV-swing child that

pake besyair ayun kasi tidur anak kan pake sarung.
 pake be=syair ayun kasi tidur anak kan pake sarung
 use INTR-poem swing give sleep child DP use sarung
 ‘In the past when a child was put to sleep it was swayed back and forth
 accompanied by poems, the swinging was done with a sarong.’ (RI)

- (69) *Kasi kembali tu hp.*
 gove return that cellphone
 ‘Give me back the cellphone.’ (ST)

As far as possessive constructions are concerned, next to the usual construction where the possessor follows the possessed thing, employed in Standard Indonesian, a number of utterances where the construction consisting of POSSESSOR-punya-POSSESSED, were recorded. In these constructions considered among the features of Vehicular Malay, the possessor precedes the possessed thing and is linked to it by the verb *punya* ‘have’. This can be seen in the example sentence (14) mentioned before and in (70).

- (70) *Aha, kalau si gagak buka mulut pasti jato*
 EXCLM if PERS crow open mouth certain fall

dia punya ikan tuh.
 3SG have fish that
 ‘Eh-he, if the crow opens its mouth, his fish will drop’. (RI)

4.6 The role of Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian / *bahasa gaul*

In the free conversations recorded in Tarakan and Sekatak among speakers not older than forty years, many features of Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian or also called *bahasa gaul* ‘language of sociability’ occurred. These were words referring to typical address terms like *coi* (71) used when addressing a male friend, acronyms such as *bucin* (*budak cinta*) ‘slave of love, madly in love’ (74). Others were word distortions such as *doi* instead of *dia* ‘he, she’ or *ayang bebeb* instead of *sayang baby* ‘lovely baby’ in (73). Some morphological traits typical of Jakartan Indonesian such as the suffix *-in* can be seen in

examples (73) through (75) and (79). Elsewhere other function words belonging to Jakartan Indonesian such as *pas*, *kek*, *kalo*, *sama* and the negation marker *nggak/gak* were recorded. *Pas* ‘when’, used to mark past events, can be illustrated in the sentence (61), (76) and (78); *kek* (*kayak*) ‘just like’ occurs in (13) and (77); *kalo* in the meaning of ‘if’ for hypothetical discourse occurs in (7), (24), (46) and (47) whereas when it is used to topicalize is in examples (40) and (68). The polyfunctional word *sama* ‘same, with, by’ occurs among the others in (15), (17), (21), (33) and (75). Belong to the repertoire of *bahasa gaul* some words taken from English for specific purposes such as *gege* (great! - an acronym from the words *great game*) in (72) used for video-games, typical words such as *cowok* ‘boy’, *cewek* ‘girl’, *matre* ‘materialistic’ (an English naturalized word), or the English word *boy* in sentence (54). The following examples (71) through (79) display some features of *bahasa gaul*.

- (71) *Aku belum cuci motor coi.*
 1SG not.yet wash motorbike friend
 ‘I haven’t washed my motorbike yet, my friend’. (ST)
- (72) *Eh gege sekali kemarin tu.*
 EXCLM good.game very yesterday that
 ‘Wow, it was great yesterday’. (referring to a performance of a friend in a video game) (Tar)
- (73) *Sekarang manggilnya apa dong mm kirain ayang bebeb.*
 sekarang N-panggil=nya apa dong mm kira-in ayang bebeb.
 now AV-call=3SG what DP hmm think-APP love baby
 ‘Now how does he call (me), hmm maybe darling baby.’ (Tar)
- (74) *Pernah bucin dan rela ngapain aja buat doi.*
 pernah bucin dan rela N-apa-in aja buat doi.
 SMLF slave.love and willing AV-what-APP only for 3SG
 ‘I once was madly in love and ready to do whatever for ‘him’ (Tar)
- (75) *Jadi aku dibilangin sama teman-teman aku gila.*
 jadi aku di-bilang-in sama teman-teman aku gila.
 therefore 1SG UV-say-APP AG RED-friend 1SG crazy
 ‘So my friend keep saying that I am crazy.’ (Tar)
- (76) *Makanya pas saya sensus kemarin tuh hm apa namanya...*
 maka=nya pas saya sensus kemarin tuh hm apa nama=nya...
 then=3SG exactly 1SG census yesterday that hmm what name=3SG
 ‘That’s why I when I joined the census, hmm how do you call it... (RI)
- (77) *Aku nda ngomong kek gitu.*
 aku nda N-omong kek gitu.
 1SG NEG AV-speak like that
 ‘I don’t speak like that.’ (Tar)

Despite the negation marker mostly used in Kaltara is *nda(k)* many utterances containing the *bahasa gaul* negation marker *nggak/ga* were recorded. Example utterances such as (78) and (79) recorded in Tarakan in a conversation between people

of different backgrounds, demonstrate that the colloquial, metropolitan ‘national’ variant is easily accessible to the speakers in urban and sub-urban areas of North Kalimantan. In (78) and (79) the same speaker, in this case a Bugis woman born in Tarakan, would alternate the use of the negation marker from Tarakan *nda* with that taken from the colloquial national language *nggak, ga*. The same alternation is found in other examples such as in (10).

- (78) *Terekam CCTV ga itu yang pas gedak gitu*
 ter-rekam CCTV ga itu yang pas gedak gitu
 INV.UV-record CCTV NEG that REL exactly explosion like.that

tuh tu terekam.

tuh tu ter-rekam.

DP that INV.UV-record

‘It got recorded on the CCTV that thing when there was an explosion, it got recorded.’ (Tar)

- (79) *Kan nggak malu-maluin dibawa susah juga nda nyusahin.*
 kan nggak malu-malu=in di-bawa susah juga nda N-susah-in
 DP NEG embarrassed-CAUS UV-bring difficult also NEG AV-difficult-CAUS

‘He did not feel embarrassed about her. If he brought her along (it could be embarrassing) if not it would be difficult too.’ (N. Tar)

5. Conclusion

Analyzing the preliminary data taken from the variant of Indonesian spoken in North Kalimantan we can conclude that it reveals several features drawn from different repertoires that converge in a variant that is a melting pot of various elements. Mufwene (2001:3) refers to the totality of various linguistic features used in a speech community with the definition of ‘feature pool’. In this case the pool is made of features of Standard Indonesian, features of regional Malay variants and of Vehicular Malay, few elements of local languages and colloquial Indonesian as spoken in Jakarta. The combination of all these elements create a mixed language that allows its speakers to communicate in a way that is socially intermediary. Thanks to this language, speakers can engage in conversations with a wide range of interlocutors and demonstrate being part of a community that has, at the same time, very strong links with the territory, to master the national language with a regional taste, and be part of the globalized world. Regardless of the background of the speakers, this language of interethnic communication has emerged borne by the universal education and the study of the standard language by people being raised in environments where other languages are mother tongues. Given the important role played by the Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, this language integrates also many features of this koine in addition to few local terms.

The variant of Indonesian spoken in North Kalimantan is labeled as *Bahasa Indonesia* in Tarakan or Malinau style. Naming this variety has turned to be a difficult task as it shares with many other linguistic realities, the same pattern of different elements in different contexts. It is obviously a regional variety of Indonesian that mirrors the way Indonesian is spoken in contemporary Indonesia, or, borrowing Errington’s (2014) definition, a kind of Middle Indonesian. Similarly to the language variety spoken in Kupang, observed by Errington (2014:), this Middle Indonesian serves the needs of people of different ethnic backgrounds blurring differences of ethnic and social status. Errington (2014: 217) sees this kind of mixing a way “that helps speakers to neutralize

norms that dictate a forced choice between ‘separate and unequal’ languages and allows them to deal with each other as middle-class Indonesians and, at the same time, as co-members of a local, but non-ethnic, community”.

The features shared with other Malay variants spoken in Borneo are the use of the perfective marker *suda* in final clause position, the interactional particle *ba*, the negative marker *nda*. Other common features like the loss of final /h/ and glottal stop, the occurrence of reduced forms of the demonstratives, the periphrastic causative and the *punya* construction, the plural pronoun *dorang* ‘they’, the polyfunctional preposition *sama* has led to believe that these are areal features probably belonging to a Vehicular Malay language that spread in all the Sulu Zone during the centuries that has left traces here and there. The combination of these features, together with some very local items such as the imperative expression *coko*, some particular lexemes in addition to the pervasive influence of the colloquial language spoken in Jakarta, have contributed to the emergence of this new variant that just like elsewhere in Indonesia, presents a mix of national, regional and local features.

The Indonesian variant spoken in North Kalimantan, in particular on the island of Tarakan, is an example of a dynamic linguistic situation where the interaction between local languages and the national language is integrated into a new linguistic reality where a number of features merge. The tendency of speakers of local languages, in this case Tidung, allegedly the original language of the Tarakan people, to shift towards a common (and globalized) language is observed here. This phenomenon has already been discussed by other scholars such as Steinhauer (1994), Anderbeck (2015) and Cohn & Ravindranath (2014) in the Indonesian context. Here like elsewhere, the national language shows the tendency to be used in different styles, in different areas and in a wider range of domains replacing what once was the role of local languages.

Abbreviations

1	first person	INV	involuntary
2	second person	ITER	iterative
3	third person	LOC	locative
AG	agent marker	NEG	negation
APP	applicative	NML	nominalizer
AV	actor voice	PERS	personal marker
CAUS	causative	PFCT	perfective
DP	discourse particle	PL	plural
EMPH	emphatic particle	RED	reduplication
EXCL	exclusive	REL	relativizer
EXCLM	exclamation	SMLF	semelfactive
HES	hesitation particle	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	TOP	topicalizer
INCL	inclusive	TRU	truncation
INTR	intransitive	UV	undergoer voice

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